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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

A Case Grammar of Pampangan

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the  
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy  
in Linguistics

by

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To all who helped make it possible  
This work is gratefully dedicated

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## ABBREVIATIONS\*

A	Agentive
AAP	Agentive Agreement Particle
AB	Ability
ADJ	Adjective
ADV	Adverb (Non-terminal symbol)
Adv	Adverb (Terminal symbol; lexical category)
AP	Agreement Particle
ARM	Agentive Relation Marker
ART	Article
ASP	Aspect
AT	Agentive Topic
AUX	Auxiliary
B	Benefactive
BRM	Benefactive Relation Marker
BT	Benefactive Topic
C	Case
Ca	Causative
CaRM	Causative Relation Marker
CaT	Causative Topic
CONC	Concrete
CONJ	Conjunction
GRM	Case Relation Marker
D	Dative
DAP	Dative Agreement Particle
DEF	Definite

---

\*All abbreviations are defined here and on their first occurrence in the text. Those that are in common use in the literature, e.g., NP, SI, are not defined again. Those used in this study and limitedly or not at all elsewhere in the literature are defined on their first occurrence in each chapter.

DET	Determiner
Di	Directional
DIRM	Directional Relation Marker
DIST	Distinct
DiT	Directional Topic
DNM	Distinctive Nominal Marker
DRM	Dative Relation Marker
DS	Dummy Symbol
DT	Dative Topic
EMPH	Emphasis
END	Equi-NP-Deletion
ERM	Essive Relation Marker
ESS	Essive
F W	Full word
I	Identity
I	Instrumental
IA	Intermittent Action
IRM	Instrumental Relation Marker
IT	Instrumental Topic
JA	Joint Action
KA	Kind of Action
L	Locative
LKR	Linker
LRM	Locative Relation Marker
LT	Locative Topic
MOD	Modality
N	Neutral
NEG	Negative
Nn	Noun

NOM	Nominal
NP	Noun Phrase
NRM	Neutral Relation Marker
NT	Neutral Topic
P	Phonological
PL	Plural
PM	Plural Marker
P-marker	Phrase Marker
PRED	Predicate
PREP	Preposition
PRO	Pronominal
PROP	Proposition
PS	Phrase Structure
R	Request
RA	Repeated Action
REL	Relative
RM	Relation Marker
S	Sentence
SC	Structural Change
SEC TOP	Secondary Topicalization
SI	Structural Index
SPEC	Specific
SRM	Scope of Relation Marker
T	Topic
T	Transformation(al)
TAP	Topic Agreement Particle
TR	Topic Raising
TRM	Topic Relation Marker
UESP	University English Syntax Project
V	Verb

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

A Case Grammar of Pampangan

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This study is set forth within the framework of the transformational model of grammar developed by Noam Chomsky, and the particular direction given to it by Charles Fillmore known as case grammar. The close correlation between a deep structure base representable in the format of case grammar and the surface structure of simplex sentences in Philippine languages makes case grammar the ideal model for describing those languages.

A grammar of English, Integration of Transformational Theories on English Syntax (1968), has served as the most immediate model for this study. The areas covered include phrase structure rules, case relations, modality, determiners, topicalization, pronominalization, interrogatives, negatives, and nominalization. In numerous instances, a number of alternative ways of accounting for a given structure are examined with arguments presented for and against the various possibilities. Some of the matters discussed in greatest detail include the structure of the case node, topicalization, Equi-NP-Deletion, topic raising,



## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0 Relationship to other languages.

Pampangan<sup>1</sup> is one of the eight major languages of the Philippines, i.e., one of the eight languages spoken by more than one million persons. It is spoken in an area north of Manila, in the provinces of Pampanga and Tarlac. Lexico-statistical studies indicate that, using a word list of 189 words, there is a .598 correlation with cognates in Tagalog, the language group that is geographically nearest on the east and south (Fox, Sibley, and Eggan, 1953, pg. 9). This was the highest correlation with any other language. According to Swadesh's formula, this indicates a separation date of 755 A.D. The nearest neighbor on the west is Sambal, with which there is a .524 correlation using 191 words, indicating a separation date of 356 A.D. The nearest neighbor on the north is Pangasinan, with which there is a .450 correlation using 180 words, indicating a separation date of 99 A.D. There is only one other language, Gaddang, for which an A.D. separation date is indicated. The reason for the different

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<sup>1</sup>Native speakers of this language have a slight preference for the name Capampangan. The name Pampangan is used in this study because it is the one which is most common in the literature.

numbers of words on the lists of cognates is that there were differences in the lists used.<sup>2</sup>

### 1.1 Aim of the study.

The aim of this study is to write a generative grammar of Pampangan using the case model developed by Charles Fillmore (Fillmore, 1967). Although it is not intended as a contrastive analysis, occasional comparisons are made with both Tagalog and English showing points of similarity and points of difference. It is hoped that this study will be a significant contribution to the growing body of knowledge about the languages of the world,

---

<sup>2</sup>Isidore Dyen (Dyen, 1965) claims that Pampangan's highest correlation with any other language is .392 with Cuyunon, which is spoken on Palawan, an island west of the Visayas, and is classified by him as belonging to the Bisayan Cluster of the Tagalic Hesion of the Mesophilippine Hesion (Cluster, Hesion, and Linkage are technical terms in Dyen's system indicating progressively smaller relative measures of internal versus external diversity). Pampangan is reckoned by him as being on a level equivalent to that of the Mesophilippine Hesion in the classification on the basis of cognate percentages among languages. Dyen does not include lists from Pangasinan and Sambal, and it is not known why he doesn't because they apparently meet his test of adequacy, 174 words. He does mention Tagalog but does not give the percentage of cognates between it and Pampangan since it is his practice to list only the highest percentage with another language. It thus follows that, in his calculations, the percentage of cognates between Pampangan and Tagalog is less than .392. The discrepancy between his figures and those of Fox, et al, must be due to one or both of two factors: 1) They used different lists; 2) Fox, et al, considered some items as cognates which Dyen didn't. Without the raw data, it is impossible--and for our purpose, unnecessary--to determine to what extent in relation to each other these two factors have produced this result.

particularly of the Philippines, and will facilitate and hasten a comparison of their grammatical systems.

## 1.2 Background and assumptions.

### 1.2.1 The generative theory of language.

The generative theory of language developed by Noam Chomsky (Chomsky, 1957 and 1965) serves as the basic orientation of this study. It asserts, among other things, that each language consists of a set of rules which generate all and only the sentences of that language. The rules fall into the following four categories:

- 1) A set of context-free Phrase Structure (PS) rules which generate basic structures. The basic meaning relations are determined by the PS component. There is a limited number of such meaning relations. At least one of the symbols, Sentence (S), is recursive, which makes the generating capacity of the PS rules infinite.<sup>3</sup>
- 2) A set of Transformational (T) rules which operate on the output of the PS rules, the base Phrase-marker (P-marker), to delete, insert, copy, replace, reduce, and reorder (and thus reattach) its elements. Among other things, the T rules serve as a kind of filter. Since the PS rules are context-free, they may generate strings which cannot be realized as grammatical sentences following

---

<sup>3</sup>Two other possible recursive symbols are discussed in Chapter 4, ADV and NOM.

lexical insertion. One of the functions of the T rules is to determine when a structure does not meet the requirements and to reject it.

3) Lexical insertion which inserts lexical items into base P-markers. Chomsky's original system inserted them as the last step in the PS rules. More recently a second lexical lookup has been advocated, which follows the application of the T rules, and assigns a phonological matrix to items inserted or modified by the T rules. Each lexical item may be viewed as a set of three kinds of features:<sup>4</sup>

- a) Semantic, which determine the meaning of the word;
- b) Syntactic, which determine where it can be inserted in a base P-marker, and which T rules may/must/may not be applied to a tree into which it has been inserted;
- c) Phonological, which provide an underlying representation from which the pronunciation is determined. For each type of feature there are redundancy rules at the end which fill in redundant features, i.e., features which need not be specified for any item in the lexicon which has a certain combination of values of other features because their presence and their value can always be predicted from the values of those other features, e.g.,

$$\left[ \begin{array}{l} +N \\ +Abstract \end{array} \right] \Rightarrow \left[ \begin{array}{l} -Animate \\ -Human \end{array} \right] \text{ (UESP, 1968, pg. 964),}^5 \text{ i.e.,}$$

---

<sup>4</sup>Not everything set forth in the remainder of this paragraph is necessarily from Chomsky.

<sup>5</sup>The meaning of the term UESP is given on pp. 8-9.

if a given word is an abstract noun, then it designates something which is not animate and not human.

4) A set of Phonological (P) rules which operate on the phonological matrices to determine the pronunciation, down to, but not including, free variation.

### 1.2.2 Case grammar.

Within the general framework of generative grammar, Charles Fillmore has developed a theory called Case Grammar. Fillmore assumes the centrality of syntax and the importance of covert categories. He declares that his essay is "a contribution to the study of formal and substantive syntactic universals" (Fillmore, 1967, pg. 3). He believes that there is a universal base common to all languages. There are two distinguishing features of Fillmore's grammar: 1) Included in the base as syntactic primitives is a limited set of case relations; 2) The case relations are semantic in nature, i.e., they are semantic primitives, so that the syntactic relations of the base are also the basic semantic relations.

Fillmore has suggested some candidates for the cases to be included in the base, along with a working definition of each.

Agentive (A), the case of the animate responsible source of the action identified by the verb; Instrumental (I), the case of the inanimate force or object which contributes to the action or state identified by the verb; Dative (D), the case of the animate being affected by the action or state identified by

the verb; Resultative (R), the case of the object or being resulting from the action identified by the verb; Locative (L), the case which identifies the location or spatial orientation of the state or action identified by the verb; and Objective (O), the semantically most neutral case, the case of anything representable by a noun whose role in the action or state identified by the verb is identified in the semantic interpretation of the verb itself (Fillmore, 1967, pg. 32).<sup>6</sup>

This study includes two modifications and three additions to Fillmore's classification. The two modifications are: 1) The case which Fillmore calls Objective is here called Neutral (N), following the UESP. 2) The Resultative case is not distinguished from the Neutral Case. The three additional cases are: 1) Benefactive (B), the case of the animate being for whose benefit the action identified by the verb is performed. 2) Directional (Di), the case of the object or being toward which or upon which the action identified by the verb is performed. 3) Causative (Ca), the case of the factor which has caused the action identified by the verb.<sup>7</sup> These cases are added because, for each one, there are some verbs with which it may be topicalized, i.e., made the topic of the sentence with that verb, and candidacy for topicalization is the criterion adopted in this study for distinguishing Noun Phrases (NP's) that are dominated by a case node from

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<sup>6</sup>The list in a later version of this paper in Universals in Linguistic Theory (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968), pp. 24-25, differs somewhat from this.

<sup>7</sup>The possibility of including Essive, a case that is included in the UESP, is discussed in Chapters 2 and 6.

NP's that are dominated by some other node, e.g., Adverb. Di is distinguished from D and L because there are some verbs which can accept all three in their case frames and can topicalize any one of them.<sup>8</sup>

It will be noted that the traditional case names, nominative and genitive, do not appear in this list, and a familiar case designation, dative, is semantically defined. None is defined as the case with a certain inflectional ending or set of endings as it would be in a traditional grammar. It is convincingly argued by Fillmore that the traditional cases, along with the notion 'subject'--which is also absent from Fillmore's base--are properly surface phenomena of particular languages and thus the end product of transformations, and are not to be accounted for in the deep structure.

The pattern of cases that must, and optionally may, occur with a given verb is called its case frame.<sup>9</sup> Verbs differ in their case frames and in the cases in their case frames which may or may not be raised to subject position when various other cases are present in the case frame.

Because of the significance attached to covert categories, the appearance or non-appearance of overt case relation markers in the surface structure of a given language is not a matter of major importance. Several

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<sup>8</sup> An example is given in Chapter 4.

<sup>9</sup> The manner of listing cases is given on pg. 16.

different deep structure relations may be represented in the same surface structure form, and a given deep structure relation may be represented in different surface structure forms, depending on other elements in the linguistic environment.

The grammars of Philippine languages correlate closely with the features of Fillmore's system. The first symbol, S, is rewritten as a modality and a proposition. The proposition is rewritten as a predicate followed by one or more cases. Each case is rewritten as a Case Relation Marker (CRM) and an NP. One of these NP's is topicalized by the topicalization T, and in the surface structure, the position of the CRM is occupied instead by the Topic Relation Marker (TRM). If the predicate is a verb, an affix is placed on the verb indicating what the case was in the deep structure of the NP that has been topicalized. The other cases retain their original CRM's. There is usually a relatively free ordering of the cases in the surface structure. The result is that there is a close correlation between the claimed deep structure and the observed surface structure. It is this close correlation which leads to the claim made in the first sentence of this paragraph.

### 1.2.3 The UESP.

The University English Syntax Project of UCLA has used Fillmore's model in describing English. The full



title of the work is, Integration of Transformational Theories on English Syntax. It is the work of a group of faculty members and graduate students at UCLA under the direction of Robert P. Stockwell, Chairman of the Linguistics Department, Paul Schachter, and Barbara Hall Partee. The abbreviation, UESP, is the designation by which the work has become most commonly known in the Linguistics Department at UCLA. The format, rules, and discussion of that study are followed to some degree in this study. Thus, many items which are discussed explicitly there are not discussed here, e.g., the X-Bar Convention and many details of rules, where these do not seem to require special discussion in this study. A general familiarity with the UESP is assumed herein but is not required for an understanding of this study.

## Chapter 2

### PHRASE STRUCTURE RULES

Rule 1:  $S \rightarrow \# \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{CONJ } S \text{ } S \text{ } (S)^* \\ \text{MOD } \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } \text{ } \end{array} \right\} \#$

This rule is copied directly from the UESP (pg. 30). The first rewrite is intended to provide for conjoined sentences. Conjunction and conjunction reduction are not investigated as such in this study. Attention is restricted herein to the second rewrite.

Rule 2:  $\text{MOD} \rightarrow (\text{ADV}) (\text{NEG}) \text{AUX}$

The order of the items is different from what it is in the UESP.<sup>1</sup> This order is chosen as corresponding more closely to the order of elements in a Pampangan sentence and as possibly leading to a somewhat simpler formulation of transformations at a later stage. Also, the separability of AUX from the main verb in English argues for placing it earlier in the string. Since AUX is never separated from the verb in Pampangan, the natural place for it in the PS rules is immediately before the verb.

There is only one negative (NEG) in a simplex sentence, and it occurs before the predicate of the sentence in the surface structure. As a result, the problems

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<sup>1</sup>There the order is (NEG) AUX (ADV).

of NEG placement which arise in English, including double negatives, which may result from the fact that NEG may occur in more than one place in the surface structure, do not arise in Pampangan.

Rule 3: ADV  $\rightarrow$   $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ADV ADV (ADV)*}^2 \\ \text{Adv} \end{array} \right\}$

Adverb (ADV) is rewritten in this manner because there may be more than one adverb in a sentence. It is similar to the rule that rewrites S in that it rewrites a symbol as a sequence of two or more symbols identical to the rewritten symbol. It is different in that it does not contain the symbol CONJ. No instance has been found of two adverbs joined by a conjunction. Presumably, two adverbs of the same kind would be joined by a conjunction, but not two adverbs of different kinds, e.g., "He worked on Monday and (on) Tuesday," but not, \*"He worked diligently and on Tuesday." The sentence with two time adverbs can be accounted for by claiming that two sentences which are identical in every respect except for their time adverbs are conjoined, and that one of them is reduced by conjunction reduction so that only the conjunction and the time adverb remain. The sentence with two adverbs of different kinds could also be accounted for by claiming that the two adverbs are generated in different sentences, and

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<sup>2</sup>The symbol ADV is not rewritten in the UESP. In this grammar it is the source of untopicalizable NP's.

that one of them is reduced by conjunction reduction which deletes the identical portions and the conjunction and leaves only the non-identical adverb. This possibility cannot be rejected a priori, but it seems unlikely for the following reason: In order for the rule of conjunction reduction to be able to determine whether or not to delete the conjunction preceding the adverb in the second sentence, a class of adverbs would have to be established--whatever a class turns out to be--so that the rule would delete the conjunction if and only if the adverbs belonged to different classes. But if different classes of adverbs must be established in order to make the rule operate correctly, then it appears to be just as easy to provide for the different classes of adverbs in the PS rules. A brief word is given below regarding a possible basis of classification of adverbs. However they are ultimately classified, the rule is intended to account for the fact that a sentence may contain more than one adverb, and that a conjunction does not occur between them if they are different kinds of adverbs.

ADV and Adv are not identical. ADV is a non-terminal symbol, and as such, is rewritten by a PS rule wherever it appears. Adv is a terminal symbol, and lexical items are inserted under it. One symbol may not serve both functions.

As indicated above, there are a number of different

kinds of items that can be inserted under Adv. A semantic grouping might be possible for some of them, e.g., time or manner, but others would be very difficult to classify in any general way, e.g., those that mean, 'indeed', 'only', 'it is said', 'please', etc. A syntactic grouping is possible, e.g., enclitic vs. non-enclitic, and some attention is given to this difference among adverbs, as well as to the positions in which two or more adverbs occur in relation to one another in a given sentence, in Chapter 3.

Rule 4: AUX → KA ASP T (AB) (REL)

The order of the elements is that which appears to provide for the simplest statement of the transformations in which they are involved. It is also, for the most part, the order in which they are most commonly encountered in a given verb.

KA means 'Kind of Action'. There are three:

1) Simple; 2) Repeated Action; 3) Intermittent Action.

ASP means 'Aspect'. Although its nearest English translation equivalent is usually tense, it differs from tense in that it specifies the action or state of the verb as begun/not begun and completed/not completed. There are three: 1) Potential, which includes infinitive, imperative, and future. These are identical in form. 2) Imperfective, action begun but not completed. 3) Perfective, action begun and completed. Every verb is marked for ASP. The second lexical lookup spells out its phonological form.

T means 'Topic'. A specific case topicalization is inserted under it by lexical insertion, e.g., Neutral Topic (NT). If a topic symbol is inserted for which the corresponding case is not present in the tree, then the Structure Index (SI) of the topicalization transformation is not met, and the tree is rejected. If it is not rejected, then the second lexical lookup spells out the phonological form of the topic affix with the verb in that tree.

AB means 'Ability'. It is roughly comparable to the English modal auxiliary 'can'.

REL means 'Relation', and it has to do with the relation of the agent to someone else. There are two: 1) Joint Action (JA), 'join (someone) in doing (something)'. 2) Request (R), 'kindly do (something)'.

Examples of all of these are found in Chapters 3 and 4.

Rule 5: PROP → PRED (N) (D) (A) (Di) (L) (I) (B) (Ca)

The order of the actants is usually relatively free in surface structures. The one exception to this is N. The Neutral Relation Marker (NRM), the formative that introduces the neutral case, is a suffix which is most frequently attached to the Agreement Particle (AP), a pronoun-like particle that occurs in most sentences, and most frequently occurs immediately after the verb. Thus, the neutral case is usually the first case in the surface structure of a sentence.

The choice of the term PRED instead of V--the symbol introduced at this point in the UESP<sup>3</sup>-- is significant. More than one kind of item may occur in this position, including some which are transformationally inserted, so the PS rule is not written to introduce a lexical category at this point. Since the term PRED is not expanded, only rewritten as one of five alternatives in Rule 6, the term PRED could be eliminated and the five alternatives inserted in its place in this rule. It is used because it provides a convenient node for the attachment of the AP. If this node were not present, the AP would have to be attached to PROP or to the node which would be inserted instead of PRED, one of the five alternative rewrites of PRED, by Chomsky adjunction. An argument against the use of the symbol PRED is that subcategorization is not then strictly local in the sense defined in the UESP, "The symbols relevant to the item being inserted are immediately dominated by the node dominating the node under which the item is inserted" (UESP, pg. 27). Though this fact makes the use of the node PRED questionable, it is retained for the reason stated above. The notion of strictly local subcategorization, which is not explicitly dis-

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<sup>3</sup>The use of the symbol V here in the UESP is well motivated since every English sentence has a verb. The copula 'be' is inflected for tense and subject agreement as is every other verb. In Pampangan, however, there are many sentences which do not have verb-like elements. Instead, they have something else which functions as the predicate, and it has no aspect information.

cussed in this study, if utilized, would have to be redefined to include an additional "dominating the node" in the appropriate place in the definition given above.

Each of the remaining symbols is a case node. The cases that must occur with a given predicate are listed with it in the lexicon with the value plus (+). Those that may not occur with it are listed with the value minus (-). Those that are optional are not listed. The insertability of a given predicate in a particular tree is determined by whether or not its case frame accepts the pattern of cases that has been chosen in the application of the PS rules. This is the relevance of the notion of strictly local subcategorization referred to above. The designation of the case node symbols is given on pp. 5-6.

Rule 6: PRED  $\rightarrow$   $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} V \\ ADJ \\ DS \\ NOM \\ NP \end{array} \right\}$

The five kinds of items that may be inserted under PRED are: 1) Verb (V); 2) Adjective (ADJ); 3) Dummy Symbol (DS); 4) Nominal (NOM); 5) Noun Phrase (NP). The UESP accepts the classification of adjectives as verbs (Verbs have the features (+V -Adj); adjectives have the features (+V +Adj)), so it is not considered necessary to justify including ADJ as a rewrite of PRED. Including the others does require discussion and justification.

1) DS, as the name implies, has no significance in itself;



it is not rewritten as anything in the PS rules, and no lexical item per se is inserted under it by lexical insertion. It simply holds the position of the PRED until it, DS, is replaced with something else by a transformation. The things that replace it are case nodes. The possibilities are discussed in Chapter 6. If it is not replaced with something, then it is itself spelled out in a certain way in the second lexical lookup depending on the topic symbol which has been attached to PRED as the left sister of DS by the topicalization transformation. The possibilities of this spelling are also discussed in Chapter 6.

2) NOM is introduced here to account for indefinite predicate nominatives. It is evident that, whatever node is utilized here, it must be something higher than Noun (Nn) because indefinite predicate nominatives can include modifiers, e.g.,

(2.1) masikan yan lala·ki i pedro

Peter is a strong man.

3) NP is introduced here to account for definite predicate nominatives in a structure which in this grammar is called a secondary topicalization, e.g.,

(2.2) in masikan a lala·ki i pedro

Peter is the strong man.

Even though NOM is introduced in the rewrite of NP in PS Rule 8, the position is taken in this study that the NOM that dominates an indefinite predicate nominative is

introduced in the rewrite of PRED, not in the rewrite of that NP. The argument in favor of this position is given in Chapter 6, Section 4, and is summarized here. All of the rewrites of PRED as given in PS Rule 6 above other than NP may occur either alone or preceded by the Topic Relation Marker (TRM). The claim is made here that, when they occur alone, they are inserted immediately under PRED in the rewrite of that symbol, and when they are preceded by the TRM, the symbol NP is inserted immediately under PRED, and the other symbol occurs at a lower point in the tree, also dominated by NP. The parallelism between NOM and the other symbols as being able to occur either alone or preceded by the TRM is preserved if NOM, like the others, can be inserted immediately under PRED.

In English, both definite and indefinite predicate nominatives require an article. Ex. 2.1 above cannot be translated as, \*"Peter is strong man." A node is required for the attachment of the article. In Pampangan, however, count nouns do not require an article, and there is no Case Relation Marker (CRM) with an indefinite predicate nominative. Since no node is required for the attachment of an indefinite article, NOM can be inserted immediately under PRED as the source of indefinite predicate nominatives.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>This grammar departs from the precedent established by the UESP in this matter. In the UESP, NP is introduced only in the rewrite of a case node or Partitive

Rule 7:  $C_i \rightarrow C_i\text{RM NP}$

The individual cases are rewritten as indicated here, as a Case Relation Marker (CRM) of that particular case and an NP. The form of the individual CRM's is given in Chapter 4.

(PART), an element in the Determiner (DET) which is not investigated in this study. Both definite and indefinite predicate nominatives are introduced in the UESP under the Essive (ESS) case node, a case which is not included in this grammar. It is this writer's opinion that, even in English, predicate nominatives should not be introduced under the ESS case, and there are two reasons why.

1) The UESP notes that either NEUT or ESS may dominate an S, and this allows the generation of certain non-well-formed copulative sentences. This problem would not arise if there were no ESS case.

2) The insertion of 'be' can occur in either of two ways: a) Lexical insertion when the ESS case is in the case frame; b) Transformational insertion when V dominates an adjective. This is a clear case of syntactic complementarity distribution, i.e., transformational 'be' when there is an adjective but no ESS, and lexical 'be' when there is an ESS but no adjective. Furthermore, ESS does not occur with any other verb (except possibly 'become'). If both 'be's' were inserted transformationally, and NOM and ADJ were alternative rewrites of the same node, along with V, as they are in this grammar, there would be a uniform account of the two structures and no need for the ESS case.

If there is no ESS case in English, and hence no NP node, the point of attachment of the indefinite article in an indefinite predicate nominative presents a problem. Where is it attached? The fact that a singular count noun must be preceded by an article is a surface structure fact about English that must be provided for. The method of providing for it in the UESP is to introduce the ESS case, evidently feeling that the necessity of having an article (ART) node to which 'a' can be attached carries more weight than the arguments given above for not including the ESS case. This writer has no satisfactory explanation of where to attach 'a' in an indefinite predicate nominative. However, since this is a grammar of Pampangan, the fact noted in the text, i.e., that Pampangan count nouns do not require an article, eliminates the necessity of an ESS case in this language. Allowing PRED to rewrite as NOM accounts for the facts about indefinite predicate nominatives that have been observed.

Rule 8: NP  $\rightarrow$   $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{DET NOM} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right\}$

NP may be rewritten as DET plus NOM. Determiners are discussed in Chapter 5, where attention is restricted to articles. NP may alternatively be rewritten as S.<sup>5</sup> This S is the source of nominalizations, which are discussed in Chapter 10.

Rule 9: NOM  $\rightarrow$   $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Nn} \\ \text{NOM S} \end{array} \right\}$

NOM may alternatively be rewritten as Nn, under which nouns are inserted lexically, or as NOM plus S. This S is the source of restrictive modifiers. Non-restrictive modifiers are not discussed in this study. NOM is thus the only symbol in the grammar other than S and ADV which can be rewritten as itself and something else. It is different from S and ADV in that Rule 9, when applied more than once, assigns a hierarchical structure, sometimes called "stacking", to a sequence of restrictive modifiers, whereas Rules 1 and 3 assign a parallel structure to a sequence of sentences and adverbs, respectively.

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<sup>5</sup>This option is available only to the NP that is dominated by the N case node. Pampangan does not have a structure that is directly parallel to the English sentence, "To know him is to love him."

## Chapter 3

### MODALITY

#### 3.0 Introduction.

There are several elements that occur in sentences which are obviously not part of the proposition and concerning which it can be said that there is no motivation for generating them as predicates--or anything else--of higher sentences.<sup>1</sup> The modality is a handy 'catch-all' for generating such elements. PS rule 2, repeated here for convenience, is the one which rewrites the symbol MOD. PS Rule 2: MOD → (ADV) (NEG) AUX  
NEG is discussed in a separate chapter. The discussion here deals with the other two elements.

#### 3.1 ADV(erb).

Several different kinds of elements could be introduced here. Elements that have been investigated to some degree which are most likely generated here can be classified into two groups: enclitics and non-enclitics. The symbol ADV is placed first in MOD because, if a sentence contains a non-enclitic adverb, it may, and in some cases must, occur first in the sentence. The discussion here

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<sup>1</sup>There is one, pa-, which is dealt with in sec. 3.3, concerning which it can be said that there is good motivation for generating it as part of a higher sentence.

is divided into two parts, each part dealing with one of these two kinds of adverbs.

### 3.1.1 Non-enclitic adverbs.

Some adverbs which are likely candidates for inclusion in this category are: sigu.ru 'maybe'; maralas 'often'; nunmi.san 'sometimes'; mala.gad 'seldom'; sigura.du and syempre 'certainly'; bala.mu 'apparently'; para.ti 'always'; and multiple word adverbs, e.g., time adverbs, inyan lu.nis 'last (previous) Monday'; ken lu.nis 'next (coming) Monday'; nen lu.nis 'on Monday'. Only those from bala.mu on in the list just given have been investigated to any extent in this study, and those investigated differ from one another in very noticeable ways, as will be seen shortly. This fact argues for a subclassification among these adverbs, but none is attempted as such here. We only note a few ways in which they differ in their syntactic properties. An imperfective verb is required with para.ti 'always'.

1) Time adverbs and para.ti, but not bala.mu, may be followed immediately by an enclitic. For the purpose of illustrating this, we use only the Topic Agreement Particle (TAP), which occurs in most sentences, cf. Chapters 6 and 7.

(3.1) para.ti (ya)ŋ ma·maŋan maŋga iŋ anak  
The child is always eating mangoes.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>In this chapter and in Chapter 4, the topic NP of

(3.2) inyan lu.nis ya mejan manga in anak

The child ate a mango on Monday.

(3.3a) bala.mu mejan (ya)ŋ manga in anak

(b) \*bala.mu (ya)ŋ mejan manga in anak

Apparently the child ate a mango.

Two other differences among these adverbs are illustrated in the examples just given and are discussed next.

2) Para.ti, but not bala.mu or inyan lu.nis, is followed by ŋ, which we consider as a linker, a syntactic formative which, as the name implies, joins or links two constituents together. It is unlikely that the ŋ is the Neutral Relation Marker (NRM), and no other syntactic formative has been discovered that has this phonological form.

3) Following para.ti and bala.mu, but not inyan lu.nis, the TAP is optional. It would not be optional if these adverbs were not present in the sentence. This study does not investigate the reason why the TAP is optional when these adverbs are present in the sentence. It may be due to some syntactic feature on the adverb. Because the precise factor which makes the TAP optional is not known, the rule in Chapter 7 that introduces the TAP does not attempt to make its introduction optional in relation to that factor.

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the sentence is underlined in the English translation to aid the reader in identifying the topic NP. In Pampangan, the topic is the NP introduced by in.

4) These adverbs differ in the freedom with which they may occur elsewhere in the sentence.

a) A time adverb may occur at the end of the sentence. In fact, that is the preferred place of its occurrence. It may not occur between the verb and the N case, though it may occur between the cases.

(3.4a) mejan yaŋ manga iŋ anak inyaŋ lu.nis

(b) \*mejan ya inyaŋ lu.nis manga iŋ anak

(c) mejan yaŋ manga inyaŋ lu.nis iŋ anak

The child ate a mango on Monday.

b) Para.ti may not occur at the end of the sentence or between the cases, but it may occur between the TAP and the N case, though this is marginal.

(3.5a) \*ma.majan yaŋ manga iŋ anak para.ti

(b) \*ma.majan yaŋ manga para.ti iŋ anak

(c) ?ma.majan ya para.tiŋ manga iŋ anak

The child is always eating mangoes.

c) Bala.mu may not occur elsewhere in the sentence.

(3.6a) \*mejan yaŋ manga iŋ anak bala.mu

(b) \*mejan yaŋ manga bala.mu iŋ anak

(c) \*mejan ya bala.muŋ manga iŋ anak

Apparently the child ate a mango.

5) These adverbs differ in the positions relative to one another in which they occur when two or more occur in the same sentence, i.e., there is a partially fixed order, and some, but not all, of the adverbs are interchangeable.



a) Bala·mu must precede para·ti.

(3.7a) bala·mu para·ti (ya)ŋ ma·magan manga iŋ anak

(b) \*para·ti (yaŋ) bala·mu (yaŋ) ma·magan manga  
iŋ anak<sup>3</sup>

Apparently the child is always eating mangoes.

b) A time adverb must precede para·ti when both occur at the beginning of the sentence. The time adverb may occur at the end of the sentence with para·ti at the beginning.

(3.8a) neŋ lu·nis para·ti (ya)ŋ ma·magan manga iŋ anak

(b) \*para·ti (yaŋ) neŋ lu·nis (yaŋ) ma·magan manga  
iŋ anak<sup>3</sup>

(c) para·ti (ya)ŋ ma·magan manga iŋ anak neŋ lu·nis

The child was always eating mangoes on Monday.

c) Bala·mu and a time adverb are interchangeable.

(3.9a) bala·mu inyaŋ lu·nis (ya) meŋan manga iŋ anak

(b) inyaŋ lu·nis bala·mu (ya)ŋ meŋan manga iŋ anak

Apparently the child ate a mango on Monday.

6) These adverbs differ in the position in which the negative occurs with reference to them.

a) Bala·mu must precede the negative.

(3.10a) bala·mu e(ya) meŋan manga iŋ anak

(b) \*e(ya) bala·mu meŋan manga iŋ anak

It appears that the child didn't eat a mango.

b) Para·ti must follow the negative.

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<sup>3</sup>The TAP is included in two places to indicate that it was tested in both places, but it is not acceptable in either place.

(3.11a) e(ya) para·tiŋ ma·magan manga iŋ anak

(b) \*para·ti(ŋ) e((ya)ŋ) ma·magan manga iŋ anak<sup>4</sup>

The child isn't always eating mangoes.

c) A time adverb may precede or follow the negative.

9 (3.12a) e inyaŋ lu·nis ya meŋan manga iŋ anak

(b) inyaŋ lu·nis eya meŋan manga iŋ anak

The child didn't eat a mango on Monday.

In English, the position of the negative can vary, and sometimes different meanings are associated with the different positions in which it occurs, e.g., an alternate word order of the English translation of Ex. 3.10 is, 'It doesn't appear that the child ate a mango.' There is no comparable distinction in word order in Pampangan either with or without a difference in meaning.

### 3.1.2 Enclitic adverbs.

As the name implies, enclitics may not occur initially in the sentence. They must occur after the first full word. They must be generated under MOD since they are obviously not part of the PROP, and almost as obviously, they must be generated under ADV. Thus, their appearance in the surface structure of the sentence inside the PROP must be accounted for by a transformation which properly positions them. Though there is a generally preferred order, there is some freedom in the order. For those that

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<sup>4</sup>The linker was tested in both positions in this example.

occur later in the series, any two which are adjacent in the series, and probably those that are separated by one, are freely interchangeable. Those that are separated by two or more are usually not interchangeable. The first four, which includes the Agreement Particles (AP's), may not be interchanged. The AP's, of course, are not generated under MOD but are introduced by transformations. They are included in this discussion because they are syntactically enclitic, and the position of the enclitic adverbs is determined with reference to them. The enclitics are listed in the lexicon with a number indicating the relative position in the sequence which is preferred for them individually, and then a reordering transformation places them in the proper position in relation to the other items in the sentence. The order of presentation below follows the order of their occurrence in the surface structure of the sentence.

#### 3.1.2.1 Time particles, na and pa.

These two enclitics are mutually exclusive in their occurrence, representing, as they do, different time views of an action or state with reference to its inception. Na indicates that the proposition contained in the sentence represents a change from a previous action or state, and pa indicates that the proposition contained in the sentence represents a continuation of a previous action or state. Two other things must be noted about them before

examples can be given: 1) They do not occupy the same relative position in the order; na occurs before the TAP's, and pa occurs after them; 2) na is homophonous with two other enclitics; one means 'please' and is included in the discussion below; the other is the third person singular Agentive Agreement Particle (AAP)<sup>5</sup> which precedes the time particle na in the series. All three na's enter into the same morphophonemic combinations with the TAP's ya and la.<sup>6</sup>

In the sequential ordering of the enclitics, the nontopic AAP occurs first in the series; the time particle na is second; the TAP is third; and the time particle pa is fourth, though, as indicated above, the two time particles, na and pa, do not both occur in the same sentence. Only first, second, and third person singular AP's are included in the examples, but all AP's were tested and found to conform to this pattern. The singular AAP's in the following example are: first person ku (da when the topic is second person singular), second person mu, third person na. The TAP's are: ku, ka and ya, respectively, for the same number and persons.

(3.13) a·ka·kit da na ka

I see you already.

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<sup>5</sup>Cf. Chapters 6 and 7, especially Chapter 7.

<sup>6</sup>A full list of the morphophonemic combinations is given in Chapter 7. Those included in the examples given here are: ku ya ⇒ ke; mu ya ⇒ me; na ya ⇒ ne.

- (3.14) a·ka·kit ku ne  
I see him already.
- (3.15) a·ka·kit da ka pa  
I still see you.
- (3.16) a·ka·kit ke pa  
I still see him.
- (3.17) a·ka·kit mu na a·ku<sup>7</sup>  
You see me already.
- (3.18) a·ka·kit mu ne  
You see him already.
- (3.19) a·ka·kit mu ku pa  
You still see me.
- (3.20) a·ka·kit me pa  
You still see him.
- (3.21) a·ka·kit na a·ku pa<sup>7</sup>  
He still sees me.
- (3.22) a·ka·kit na ka pa  
He still sees you.
- (3.23) a·ka·kit na na a·ku<sup>7</sup>  
He sees me already.

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<sup>7</sup>In Chapter 7 the basic form of the first person singular pronoun is given as a·ku for reasons given there. The initial a· is retained in secondary topicalizations, but usually not in primary topicalizations, e.g., mu a·ku is not acceptable in Ex. 3.19. In Ex's. 3.17, 21, and 23, where na precedes the TAP, the a is long. The a of na is not long in Ex. 3.22. The easiest way of accounting for the length of a in Ex. 3.17, etc., is to claim that the initial a· of a·ku is retained after na, and that a and a· coalesce into a long vowel.

(3.24) a·ka·kit na na ka  
He sees you already.

(3.25) a·ka·kit ne pa  
He still sees him.

(3.26) a·ka·kit na ne  
He sees him already.

### 3.1.2.2 Request particle, na.

This particle occurs in the same position and has the same form as the time particle na. It is distinguished from the time particle by its meaning.

(3.27) saliwan mu ne in manga  
Please buy the mango.

### 3.1.2.3 Certainty particle, pin.

If a speaker wishes to emphasize the certainty of the proposition, he uses the enclitic pin 'indeed'. If it is the last enclitic, and if it is followed by the N case, the final n optionally, but preferably, becomes ŋ.<sup>8</sup>

(3.28) ma·maŋan ku {pin  
\*piŋ}

Indeed, I am eating.

(3.29) ma·maŋan ku {pin  
piŋ} manga

Indeed, I am eating a mango.

### 3.1.2.4 Restrictive particle, mu.

In English, the scope of 'only' varies according to

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<sup>8</sup>This is the form of the NRM, cf., Chapter 4.

its position in the sentence, e.g., 'Only John ate a mango,' 'John only ate a mango,' 'John ate only a mango,' (for some speakers, the last two sentences may be synonymous). The syntactic enclitic property of mu prevents its movement within the sentence to positions preceding various NP's. Furthermore, its generation as part of the modality precludes the restriction of its scope to one of the cases in the sentence, so that sentences that contain it are not ambiguous with reference to its scope. Finally, it is homophonous with the second person singular AAP, mu. Both may occur in the same sentence.

(3.30) peṅan mu mu iṅ na-si<sup>9</sup>

You only ate the rice.

It is possible to claim that the scope of mu is the predication, i.e., that the predicate is the element in the proposition to which it is most directly related. Different items can occur in predicate position, and variations in the item that occurs in that position are associated with variations in the apparent scope of mu.

(3.31a) manga ya mu iṅ peṅan na niṅ anak

The thing eaten by the child is only a mango.

(b) iṅ manga ya muṅ peṅan na niṅ anak

It's only the mango that the child ate.

---

<sup>9</sup>Na-si is used in this example because, as a (-COUNT) noun, it does not introduce a TAP, cf., Chapter 5. The result is that the two mu's occur in sequence. If the topic were a (+COUNT) noun, e.g., manga, it would introduce a TAP, ya, which would occur between the two mu's.

There is very little difference in meaning between these two sentences, and both express the general meaning, 'only a/the mango, not some other kind of fruit.'

(3.32a) anak ya mu in mejan manga

The one who ate a mango is only a/some child.

(b) in anak ya mu mejan manga

It's only the child who ate a mango.

Again, the only apparent difference between these two sentences is that in the first, anak is indefinite, and in the second, it is definite. Both express the general meaning, 'only a/the child, not a/the man or woman.'

(3.33a) mejan ne mu in manga nin anak

The child only ate the mango.

(b) mejan ya mu manga in anak

The child only ate a mango.

Both sentences express the general meaning, 'only ate a/the mango, not pick, buy, or peel it.'

### 3.1.2.5 Reportive particle, kanu.

This particle means, 'it is said; someone said'.

(3.34) mejan ya kanu manga in anak

Someone said that the child ate a mango.

### 3.1.2.6 Switching particle, pala.

This particle indicates that something has just come to the mind of someone, which may be directly or indirectly related to what has preceded it in the conver-



sation or situation, and represents a kind of switch from what has been the mainstream of thought prior to the sentence in which it is used. Its closest equivalents in English are probably, 'by the way; it just occurred to me/him.' The switch may be in the mind or view of the speaker.

(3.35) ati ka na pala keni

You are here now (and I just perceived it).

If the topic is third person, the switch may be in the mind or view of that person.

(3.36) mejan ya palan manga in anak

The child just remembered that he ate a mango.

It appears that the relation between the topic and the person in whose mind the switch occurs could be somewhat complicated, and could be related to a number of other factors. However, no attempt is made in this study to discover all the conditions nor how they interact with one another in determining where the switch occurs.

### 3.1.2.7 Additive particle, mu·rin.

This particle indicates that the thing asserted in the proposition is in addition to something else. It is equivalent to Tagalog din, which may replace it in all instances except following pin. It means, 'too, also'.

(3.37) mejan ya  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mu·rin} \\ \text{mu·rin} \end{array} \right\}$  manga in anak

The child also ate a mango.

As with pin, the final n optionally, but preferably, be-

comes ŋ when it is followed by the N case. In English, 'also', like 'only', may occur in different positions with different scopes. In Pampangan, mu·rin, like mu, may occur in only one position, with the predication as its scope. Not all of the variants given above in sec. 3.1.2.4 for mu were checked with mu·rin, but one was, and it was found to be acceptable.

(3.38) *in anak ya mu·rin meŋan marga*

It's the child who also ate a mango.

The implication is, 'the child in addition to, e.g., the man and/or the woman.'

#### 3.1.2.8 Probability particle, a·ta.

This particle indicates that the speaker thinks it is possible or probable that the assertion in the proposition is true. It can be translated either, 'maybe, probably.'

(3.39) *meŋan ya a·taŋ marga in anak*

Maybe the child ate a mango.

#### 3.1.2.9 Respect particle, pu.

This particle shows respect on the part of the speaker toward the person he is speaking to. It can be translated as, 'sir; ma'am', as appropriate.

(3.40) *meŋan ya puŋ marga in anak*

The child ate a mango, sir.

### 3.2 AUX(iliary).

The rule that rewrites AUX is PS rule 4, repeated here for convenience.

PS Rule 4: AUX → KA ASP T (AB) (REL)

The individual items in the rewrite of the rule are the headings of the subsections of this section and are discussed individually. The meaning of each symbol is given in Chapter 2 and in the place where it is discussed in this section. The order is somewhat, though not entirely, arbitrary. The two parenthesized elements are given in the order listed above because that is the relative order in which they occur when both are present in a given sentence. T is given after ASP in order that T might be closer to the verb stem because, even though both are spelled out in the second lexical lookup, there seems to be a sense in which T is added to the verb first, i.e., if the T affix is known, the ASP forms are usually easily predicted, but the converse is not true. The position of KA is probably the most arbitrary of all. It is placed first in the sequence in order to have it farthest removed from the verb. As noted in the discussion of Repeated Action below, the whole verb form is reduplicated, which involves two occurrences of the verb and all its affixes. By placing this symbol here, it is assumed that the topicalization transformation applies first, attaching ASP T (AB) (REL), the items which are closest to the verb in

the string, to PRED as left daughters of PRED and left sisters of V, and then, if Repeated Action (RA) is present, it is the element generated farthest from the verb, and it results in all the other items of AUX plus the main verb being copied. The individual items generated in AUX are not discussed in the order in which they are generated but in the order which seems to make their treatment simplest.

### 3.2.1 T(topic).

T is usually called 'Focus' in treatments of the grammar of Tagalog and sometimes in studies of other Philippine languages. There are two reasons for changing the term: 1) The present writer prefers the term 'Topic' because he feels that the relation between the topic NP and the rest of the sentence is a clear instance of the topic-comment relation, and the use of the term 'Topic' calls attention to that fact; 2) As noted in the introduction, we are following Fillmore in this study, and he uses the term 'Topic' to designate this NP (Fillmore, 1967, pg. 71)(possibly following McKaughan).

T is probably the single most distinctive and most discussed element in the grammar of Philippine languages. Two chapters in this study are devoted chiefly to it, Chapters 4 and 6. Hence, it is only mentioned here. A particular case topicalization symbol is inserted under T by lexical insertion, e.g., Agentive Topic (AT). The topic symbol triggers the topicalization transformation. In that

transformation, the Case Relation Marker (CRM) of the case that has been chosen for topicalization in the lexical insertion under T has the feature (+TOP) added to it. The case topic symbol itself is attached as left daughter of PRED, along with ASP (AB) (REL), by the topicalization transformation, and the case topic symbol is spelled out as the appropriate affix with the PRED in that particular structure in the second lexical lookup. If there is no case node in the case frame of the PRED which corresponds to the case topic symbol inserted under T, the tree is rejected. If PRED has been rewritten as V, then the surface form of the affix is determined by two things: 1) The case chosen for topicalization; 2) The particular verb. The various affixes that are correlated with the topicalization of the various cases are discussed in Chapter 4.

### 3.2.2 ASP(ect).

There are three aspects: 1) Potential: action not begun. This includes future, imperative, and infinitive, all of which have the same form. 2) Imperfective: action begun but not completed. 3) Perfective: action begun and completed. These are manifested in different ways with different verbs, depending mainly on what has been added to the verb stem previously by other processes. The surface realizations of the various aspects with the various other affixes are given in Chapter 4.

### 3.2.3 K(ind of) A(ction).

There are three kinds of action: 1) Simple. All verbs in their basic form express simple action. 2) R(epeated) A(ction). This is realized as two identical verb forms with all of the other elements that have been generated in AUX, ASP T (AB) (REL), attached to each verb form, with na, the TAP, and n between them. 3) I(ntermittent) A(ction). This is realized as a reduplication of the first two syllables of the verb root. If the root consists of only two syllables, then the entire root is reduplicated. Affixes which precede the root, or occur following the initial consonant of the root, occur in those positions with reference to the first root only. Suffixes follow the full verb, i.e., the second or full root form.

As noted above, the other elements in AUX besides KA are placed in their proper positions by the topicalization transformation, which is discussed in Chapter 6. Their placement is determined by the lexical item inserted under T. Of the three kinds of action, Simple has no effect on the surface form of the sentence. RA and IA do. Each one triggers a transformation that involves copying of a certain kind. We now consider these two rules.

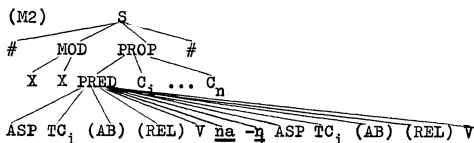
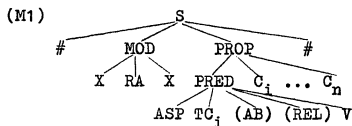
#### 3.2.3.1 R(epeated) A(ction).

The rule for RA can be stated as follows:

SI: X RA X PRED(ASP TC<sub>i</sub> (AB) (REL) V) X  
 1 2

- SC: 1. Attach na as right sister of 2.  
 2. Attach -ŋ as right sister of na.  
 3. Copy 2 as right sister of -ŋ.  
 4. Erase 1.

The rule converts tree (M1) to tree (M2):



The rule is written to follow the topicalization rule which attaches the elements of AUX other than KA as left sisters of V. If it precedes that rule, then it would not be necessary to include all the elements of AUX that are included in this rule, but the topicalization transformation would have to be written to provide for attaching the AUX elements to each verb form. As the rule and tree imply, all affixes occur on both verb forms.

(3.41) meka·pagan neŋ meka·pagan manga iŋ anak

The child was able to eat and (?was able to)  
 eat mangoes.

The first two SC's attach items as right sisters of V. These two SC's could be combined into one. The reason for separating them is that other items can occur between them, as we shall soon see. The position in which the na that is inserted by this transformation occurs is the second position among the enclitics discussed in sec. 3.1.2 of this chapter, i.e., it follows the AAP and precedes the TAP. In Ex. 3.42, the TAP is the only enclitic.

(3.42) meŋan na kaŋ meŋan (manga)

You ate and ate (mangoes).

In Ex. 3.43, the sentence is in the Neutral Topic (NT) form, so both AP's are present.

(3.43) peŋan mu na laŋ peŋan diŋ manga

You ate and ate the mangoes.

Other enclitics may also occur in this position.

(3.44) meŋan ne kaŋuŋ meŋan manga iŋ anak

It is said that the child ate and ate mangoes.

An adverb may occur in initial position in the sentence. If it is a time adverb, the AP's may follow it or the first full word of the predicate.

(3.45a) inyaŋ lu·nis ya meŋan naŋ meŋan manga iŋ anak

(b) inyaŋ lu·nis meŋan neŋ meŋan manga iŋ anak

On Monday the child ate and ate mangoes.

If another enclitic is included in the sentence with a time adverb, the two enclitics may occur in different positions with reference to the adverb and the first



full word of the predicate.

(3.46a) inyan lu·nis kanu mejan ney mejan manga in anak

(b) inyan lu·nis ya kanu mejan nan mejan manga  
in anak

(c) inyan lu·nis mejan ne kanuy mejan manga in anak

(d) inyan lu·nis ya mejan na kanuy mejan manga  
in anak

It is said that on Monday the child ate and  
ate mangoes.

Chap. 7, sec. 6.8, notes that the AP's may not occur in different positions, i.e., they may not be separated as kanu and ya are in Ex's. 3.46a and d. Even in this construction, the AP's may not be inserted in different places, cf., Ex's. 3.47c and d:

(3.47a) inyan lu·nis na la pejan nan pejan diy manga  
niy anak

(b) inyan lu·nis pejan na na lay pejan diy manga  
niy anak

(c) \*inyan lu·nis na pejan na lay pejan diy manga  
niy anak

(d) \*inyan lu·nis la pejan na nan pejan diy manga  
niy anak

On Monday the child ate and ate the mangoes.

No provision is made for the occurrence of the enclitics in different positions in the sentence, i.e., Ex's. 3.46a and b are not generated in this grammar.

Since the AAP and TAP occur on different sides of the na that is introduced by the RA rule, it appears that the simplest method of accounting for their relative order is by following the suggestion made in sec. 3.1.2 of assigning rank numbers to the particles. The relative order of their occurrence is not, then, a factor in the ordering of the rules by which they are introduced or reordered.

There are, of course, semantic limitations on acts that are likely to be repeated. For example, an act such as buying or eating may be performed once on a given object, e.g., a mango, and it may be performed again on a different object/mango, but it is unlikely or impossible that it would be performed again on the same object. A sentence that would mean that it was would thus be anomalous. That is the reason for the use of the plural diŋ manga in Ex's. 3.43 and 3.47. The indefinite NRM -ŋ is unspecified for number, so the AT sentences, Ex's. 3.42, 3.44, 3.45, and 3.46 are fully acceptable. Other actions can be performed many times on the same object, so a repeated action verb with a singular topic is fully acceptable.

(3.48) lina·we ku neŋ lina·we iŋ kotsiŋ maragul  
I looked and looked at the big car.

### 3.2.3.2 I(intermittent) A(ction).

As the name implies, IA signifies action done from time to time. If the verb consists of two syllables, and together they constitute the verb root, then IA is formed

by repeating the entire verb root. If the verb has a prefix, the prefix is not repeated. If the verb has a suffix, the suffix occurs at the end of the full verb form only, not at the end of the first verb form, even though it may be the full root. If the aspects are marked in a prefix, then they are manifest therein in its single occurrence at the beginning of the verb, Ex. 3.49. If they are marked by a reduplicative prefix or by an infix, that affix is present on the first root only. Ex's. 3.50 and 3.51 differ only in aspect, as do 3.53 and 3.54. Ex's. 3.50 and 3.52 differ only in topic form; 3.50 is AT, and 3.52 is DiT.

(3.49) magyabanyaban/ma.gyabanyaban/migyabanyaban ya  
in anak

The child boasted from time to time.<sup>10</sup>

(3.50) lu.lukluklukluk ya in anak kin da.se

The child sits on the mat from time to time.

(3.51) li.nukluklukluk ya in anak kin da.se

The child sat on the mat from time to time.

(3.52) luklukluklukan ne nin anak in da.se

The child sits on the mat from time to time.

(3.53) sumu.sulatsu.lat ya in lala.ki

The man will write from time to time.

(3.54) si.nu.latsu.lat ya in lala.ki

The man wrote from time to time.

---

<sup>10</sup>All three aspect forms are given in Pampangan: potential, imperfective, and perfective, in that order, but the perfective only is given in the translation.

If a verb root has more than two syllables, only the first two syllables are reduplicated.

- (3.55) magara·ʔara·na/ma·gara·ʔara·na/migara·ʔara·na  
ya in lala·ki

The man serenaded from time to time.

If a verb forms the perfective by the use of -in-, but does not have an initial consonant, or if it forms the perfective by changing a root a to e, intermittent action is not realized in the surface structure in any form that has been discovered in this study.

- (3.56) \*ina·buta·but ke in pialu·ʔan kin anak  
I handed the toy to the child from time to time.

- (3.57) \*mekomeko ku  
I left from time to time.

- (3.58) \*lekoleko ke in batu kin silab  
I removed the stone from the fire from time to time.

- (3.59) \*beronberonga ke in bola kin anak  
I threw the ball to the child from time to time.

There is one unexplained exception to this rule, i.e., the aspect is marked in both verb forms, a·kit 'see'.

- (3.60) i·kiti·kit ne nin lala·ki in anak  
The man saw the child from time to time.

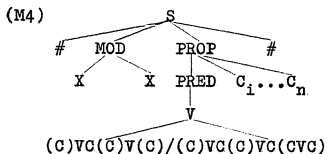
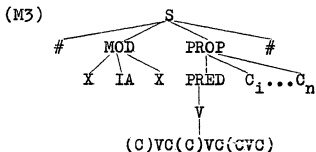
The rule for intermittent action may be stated as follows:

SI: X IA X V

1 2

- SC: 1. Copy the initial (C)VC(C)VC of the lexical item dominated by 2 and attach them as left sister of that lexical item. Include the last C in the sequence just given only if it is the last C in the word.
2. Erase 1.

The rule converts tree (M3) to tree (M4).



Discussion of the rule:

1) The rule copies phonological material as such. It does not introduce another V node (or any other node) into the tree since only root morphemes, in whole or in part, are copied.

2) The fact that a single node is involved in the transformation accounts for the fact that formative prefixes are not copied, internal affixes occur only in the first root, suffixes occur only on the second root, and enclitics do

not occur between the two roots.

3) The rule is disjunctively ordered with respect to repeated action.

#### 3.2.4 AB(ility).

There are two semantic notions that are introduced under this node, and both have the same form.

##### 3.2.4.1 Ability.

This formative may indicate that the agent is able to perform the action indicated by the verb.

If the A NP is topicalized, ability is expressed in the prefix maka for the potential aspect. The imperfective is formed by lengthening the vowel in the first syllable, and the perfective by replacing a with e.

(3.61) maka·basa/ma·ka·basa/meka·basa yan anak  
in lala·ki

The man was able to get a child wet.

If some NP other than the A is the topic, ability is expressed in the prefix a. The potential and the perfective are identical in form. The imperfective is formed by reduplicating the initial CV of the root.

(3.62) a·basa/a·babasa/a·basa ne in anak nin lala·ki  
The man was able to get the child wet.

##### 3.2.4.2 Accidental action.

This formative may indicate that the agent accidentally performs the action indicated by the verb.

The form of this affix is identical with the ability affix in both topic forms. The result is that some sentences are ambiguous, e.g., Ex's. 3.61 and 3.62 above may also mean, "The man accidentally got a/the child wet." With some verbs, the unlikelihood of their action being done accidentally makes that meaning of the affix unlikely.

(3.63) maka·ba·sa/ma·ka·ba·sa/meka·ba·sa yaŋ libru

in anak

The child was able to read a book.

### 3.2.5 REL(ative).

There are two semantic notions that are introduced under this node, and both have the same form, paki-. If the A NP is topicalized, p is replaced by m.

#### 3.2.5.1 Joint action.

This formative may indicate that the agent joins someone else in performing the action indicated by the verb. The person joined may be left unexpressed. If he/she is included, it is in the dative case.

(3.64) makiba·sa/ma·kiba·sa/mekiba·sa kaŋ libru

(kaŋ anak)

You read a book with someone/the child.

If kaŋ anak is not included, the meaning is 'someone'.

#### 3.2.5.2 Request.

This formative may indicate that someone is requesting or has requested the agent to perform the action indicated

by the verb. If the aspect of the verb is imperfective or perfective, there is also the implication that the action is being performed, and that it is/was performed graciously and willingly in response to a request. If the aspect is potential, there is simply the notion that the A is being requested to do it, and there is the possibility that it might not be done.

(3.65) makisali na kay mangga<sup>11</sup>

(You) kindly buy some mangoes, please.

Because of the identity of the affixes that mean joint action and request, it would be supposed that there would be some sentences that would be ambiguous. This is in fact the case. Some nouns sound more natural following kin with one meaning than others do. If kla.se 'class' is substituted for anak in Ex. 3.64, the meaning of request is just as natural with makiba.sa as joint action is, if not a little moreso.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>The enclitic na here means 'please', and though it is not, strictly speaking, syntactically obligatory, the sentence is socially more acceptable with it.

<sup>12</sup>It is well known that sentences may sound 'odd' for a number of different reasons, e.g., semantics, style, and situational appropriateness, as well as ungrammaticality. The informant has often said, "A more natural way to say that is..." The fact that one meaning of an ambiguous sentence is considerably more common than another may have led to the rejection of some meanings of some sentences. Chomsky has pointed out that the sentence, "I had a book stolen," has three meanings, but that not all three meanings would necessarily come to the mind of an individual upon hearing that sentence. It is also possible that some undiscovered factor makes some sentences slightly ungram-



(3.66) makiba·sa kaŋ libru kiŋ kla·se

(You) read a book with the class.

(You) kindly read a book to the class.

However, Ex. 3.65 may not mean, "Buy some mangoes with someone, please."

The investigation of REL has not been pursued far enough to determine if the requirement that paki- have one of these meanings and not the other with some verbs can be predicted from other features or not. As long as there is one verb with which it can mean either, e.g., ba·sa in the examples just given, it is assumed that it must be marked separately in the lexicon.

In order for the affix to mean joint action, one of the participants in the action must be the topic. Thus, Ex. 3.67, which topicalizes the person joined in the action, can mean either. Ex. 3.68, which topicalizes 'book', can only mean request.

(3.67) pakiba·san/pa·kiba·san/pekiba·san meŋ libru  
iq anak

---

matical, and other, nearly identical, sentences fully grammatical. This is especially apt to be the case with different topic forms of the same verb.

In this situation, it should be noted that the informant is a school teacher, and in that capacity, she has often had occasion to instruct students to share a book. It is less likely that one book would be shared by the whole class. This could account for the fact that, for her, Ex. 3.64 'naturally' means, "Share the book with the child," and Ex. 3.66 'allows' the meaning of request. Her teaching experience could be the thing that is obscuring the ambiguity of Ex. 3.64 for her. This interpretation cannot be proved, but is offered as a possible explanation for an otherwise unexplained lack of ambiguity.

You read a book with the child.  
?You kindly read a book to the child.

(3.68) pakiba·sa/pa·kiba·sa/pekiba·sa me in libru  
kiŋ anak

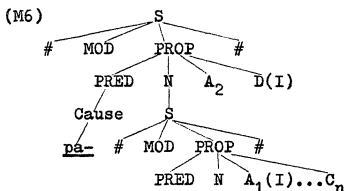
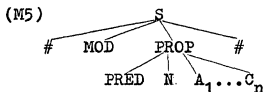
You kindly read the book to the child.  
\*You read the book with the child.

### 3.3 Second agent.

At the beginning of this chapter it was stated that there is one affix concerning which it can be said that there is good motivation for generating it as part of a higher sentence, probably the predicate. Its form is that of a prefix, pa-, and its meaning is that of a second agent, an animate being who had someone else--the first agent--do something. Because the position is taken here that it is the predicate of a higher sentence, it would not be part of MOD. Therefore, it does not properly belong in this chapter. It is included here because it is expressed in the surface structure in the form of an affix on the verb, and thus comes closer to fitting here than any other place in this study. The fact that it is not a part of the MOD is the reason it is discussed in a separate section and is not generated under the node MOD.

There are two reasons for claiming that the second agent is an agent in a higher sentence instead of just another case node in the same sentence. The first is that its presence in the sentence is always marked by the presence of the affix pa- on the verb, whether it is the topic

or not. For other cases, a certain affix marks their topicalization, and if they are not topicalized, their presence usually has no effect on the affix(es) on the verb. The second is that the presence of pa- has an effect on the CRM that occurs with the first agent. If the first agent is not the topic, it does not have the ARM, which it would have in a simplex sentence in which it occurs but is not the topic; instead it has the DRM, which suggests that it is a D in a dominating sentence, and that the A in the lower sentence is deleted by Equi-NP-Deletion. These facts, along with the semantics, can be most easily accounted for by claiming that the second agent is generated in a higher sentence, i.e., that when a second agent is present in a sentence, it means that a structure like (M5) is embedded in a higher sentence as in (M6).



The (I) following D and A<sub>1</sub> means Identity, and it indicates

the cases whose NP's are identical. The identity does not, of course, include the case node or CRM.

The form of the second agent affix was given above as pa-. It could somewhat more precisely be given as pa(pa)-. In the potential aspect, there is only one pa-, and the vowel is short. (Two pa-'s are unlikely, may even be ungrammatical, but if they are used, both vowels would be short). In the imperfective aspect, one or two pa-'s may be used. If one, the vowel is long; if two, the first vowel is long. (That is the reason for putting the parentheses around the second pa- rather than the first). In the perfective aspect, two pa-'s are used, and a is replaced by e in the first one. In Ex. 3.69, the second A, i.e., the A of the topmost sentence, is the topic. The three forms illustrate the manner of forming the three aspects.

(3.69a)  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{pagawa} \\ \text{*papagawa} \end{array} \right\} \text{yan burarol kin anak in lala.ki}$

The man will have the child make a kite.

(b)  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{pa.gawa} \\ \text{pa.pagawa} \end{array} \right\} \text{yan burarol kin anak in lala.ki}$

The man is having the child make a kite.

(c)  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{*pegawa} \\ \text{pepagawa} \end{array} \right\} \text{yan burarol kin anak in lala.ki}$

The man had the child make a kite.

The pattern of forming the aspects just given is used regardless of what case is topicalized if pa- is the first affix that occurs on the verb.

If the second agent is topicalized, there is an

alternate way of indicating it. The stem formative mag- may be used, followed by pa-. The aspects are shown in mag-. This affix is less commonly used.

(3.70) magpagawa/ma.gpagawa/megpagawa yan burarol

kiŋ anak iŋ lala.ki

The man had the child make a kite.

When the first agent is topicalized, the verb takes the dative affix -an in addition to pa(pa)-.

(3.71) paga.wan/pa.(pa)ga.wan/pepaga.wan neŋ burarol

iŋ anak niŋ lala.ki

The man had the child make a kite.

The first vowel in the root of the verb in the last example is long. No attempt is made here to account for that.

When there is a second agent in the sentence, and when some NP in the case frame other than one of the A's is topicalized, the verb has the affix that it would normally have when that case is topicalized, and in addition it also has the second agent affix pa(pa)-. There is usually no ambiguity since it is obvious semantically which case is topicalized. The second agent takes the ARM, and the first agent takes the DRM.

(3.72) pepagawa ne iŋ burarol kiŋ anak niŋ lala.ki

The man had the child make the kite.

(3.73) pepasu.lat yan su.lat kiŋ anak iŋ lala.ki

The man had the child write a letter.

(3.74) pepasula·tan neŋ su·lat iŋ anak niŋ lala·ki

The man had the child write a letter.

(3.75) pepasu·lat ne iŋ su·lat kiŋ anak niŋ lala·ki

The man had the child write the letter.

Thus, when the N is topicalized, the verb form is the same as when the second agent is topicalized. In Chapter 4, it is noted that for some verbs, the affix that occurs with the verb when the N case is topicalized is zero. Thus, with those verbs, when the N case is topicalized with the second agent prefix pa(pa)-, it has the same surface form as it does when the second agent itself is topicalized, cf., Ex. 3.72 with 3.69c, and Ex. 3.73 with 3.75.

#### 3.4 Cooccurring affixes.

More than one of the affixes which have been discussed in the preceding sections can occur on a verb in a given sentence. It is not claimed that all of the possibilities have been discovered, but it is hoped that what is set forth here covers the major points.

##### 3.4.1 AB with other affixes.

If AB occurs with any other affix, AB occurs first. When AB occurs with a second agent, the translation indicates that the AB was generated in the AUX of the topmost sentence.

(3.76) maka·pasali/ma·ka·pasali/meka·pasali kuŋ manga  
kaya

I was able to have him buy (some) mangoes.  
\*I had him be able to buy (some) mangoes.

When AB occurs with request, both of them are generated in the AUX of the same sentence, there being no higher sentence in this structure. Even when the sentence is AT, the p of paki- is not replaced by m if it is not first, i.e., if it is preceded by maka-.

- (3.77a) meka.pakisali }  
(b) \*meka.makisali } yan mangga in lala.ki (kin anak)  
(c) \*mekipaka.sali }

The man was able to kindly buy (some) mangoes from someone/the child.

The man was able to ask someone/the child to kindly buy (some) mangoes (for him).<sup>13</sup>

The ambiguity noted above for verbs with which paki- may mean either joint action or request exists also when AB is included in AUX. The sentence is ambiguous only if the kin-phrase is absent. If it is present, the sentence must mean joint action.

- (3.78a) meka.pakiba.sa yan buku in lala.ki

The man was able to read a book with someone.  
The man was able to kindly read a book.

- (b) meka.pakiba.sa yan buku in lala.ki kin anak

The man was able to read a book with the child.

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<sup>13</sup>Both translations are possible; the second is 'more natural'. If kin anak is not in the sentence, the meaning would be 'someone' in the place indicated. The second translation suggests the possibility, not investigated here, that paki- could also be the predicate of a higher sentence.

Other NP's may be topicalized in these sentences.

(3.79) a.pasaliwan keŋ manga iŋ anak

I was able to have the child buy (some) mangoes.

I was able to have someone buy (some) mangoes  
for the child.

(3.80) a.pasali ke iŋ kotsi kiŋ lala.ki

I was able to have the man buy the car.

(3.81) a.pakiba.sa keŋ libru iŋ anak<sup>14</sup>

I was able to kindly read a book to the child.

I was able to have the child read a book with  
someone.

(3.82) a.pakiba.sa ke iŋ libru kiŋ anak<sup>15</sup>

I was able to kindly read the book to the child.

#### 3.4.2 Request with other affixes.

If request occurs with second agent pa(pa)-, the affixes occur in that order, and the translation indicates that request is generated in the higher sentence.

(3.83) makipaba.sa kaŋ libru kiŋ anak

(You) kindly have the child read a book.

Other possible translations of this sentence come to mind, e.g., "Join the child in having someone read a book," or

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<sup>14</sup>This sentence may also contain a kiŋ-phrase as the person read with. If such a phrase is present, the sentence must have the second meaning given.

<sup>15</sup>This sentence cannot mean joint action because, as noted earlier, in order for paki- to have that meaning, one of the participants in the action must be the topic.



"Join someone in having the child read a book," as well as others, but the informant is certain that none of these is correct.

No instances have been discovered in which paki- occurs with pa- and has the meaning of joint action.

Other topic forms of these verbs are possible.

(3.84) pakipaba·san }<sup>16</sup> meŋ libru iŋ anak  
pakipapama·san }

Kindly have the child read a book.

(3.85) pakipaba·sa me iŋ libru kiŋ anak

Kindly have the child read the book.

For these sentences, too, the informant is certain that there is no other translation.

### 3.4.3 Multiple affixes.

All three of these affixes may occur on the same verb, and if they do, the translation indicates that AB and REL are generated in the topmost sentence.

(3.86) meka·pakipaba·sa kuŋ libru kiŋ anak

I was able to have the child kindly read a book.

(3.87) a·pakipaba·san keŋ libru iŋ anak

I was able to have the child kindly read a book.

(3.88) a·pakipaba·sa ke iŋ libru kiŋ anak

I was able to have the child kindly read the book.

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<sup>16</sup>The AT form of ba·sa is mama·sa (from pama·sa with p becoming m), and both forms are acceptable here.

The form of the affix in the above sentences allows the meaning of accidental action as well as ability, but that meaning is unlikely because of its semantic incongruity. They would not have the meaning of joint action.

#### 3.4.4 AB, REL, and Second agent with case topicalizations.

The affixes discussed in this section, AB, REL, and second agent, do not occur with all case topicalizations. Not all possible combinations have been investigated, but a few that were are listed below. The rules are not written in such a way as to block the generation of the ungrammatical sentences, mostly because it is not known which ones to include in the category of those to be blocked, nor why they should be blocked, i.e., if there is some pattern, as presumably there should be, or if it would be a matter of listing the combinations which are ungrammatical. To that extent the grammar is defective because it provides for the generation of non-well-formed sentences.

1) AB may not cooccur with I.

(3.89) \*meka·pisula·tan keŋ su·lat iŋ lamesa

I was able to write a letter at the table.

2) AB may marginally occur with Ca.

(3.90) ?a·kesambut ne niŋ lala·ki iŋ anak

The child was able to cause the man to lose.

3) AB may cooccur with I.

(3.91) a·pamusni neŋ pasbul iŋ su·si niŋ anak

The child was able to open a door with the key.

4) AB may occur with B.

- (3.92) a·pamira·su neŋ keso niŋ lala·ki iŋ anak  
The man was able to cut a piece of cheese for  
the child.

3.4.5 AB, REL, and second agent with RA and IA.

As indicated in the rule that rewrites AUX, AB and REL may occur with RA and IA, and second agent may also. When they occur with repeated action, the entire verb form with all the affixes is repeated.

- (3.93) meka·sali na kuŋ meka·saliŋ manga  
I was able to buy mangoes and buy mangoes.
- (3.94) makiba·sa na kaŋ makiba·saŋ libru  
(You) kindly read and read books.  
(You) read and read books with someone.
- (3.95) pepagawa neŋ pepagawaŋ burarol kiŋ anak  
iŋ lala·ki  
The man had the child make kites and make kites.

When they occur with intermittent action, the affix occurs before the whole verb form.

- (3.96) ma·ka·su·latsu·lat ku  
I am able to write from time to time.
- (3.97) makiba·sa·ba·sa kaŋ libru  
(You) kindly read a book from time to time.  
(You) read a book with someone from time to time.
- (3.98) pepagawa·gawa yaŋ burarol kiŋ anak iŋ lala·ki  
The man had the child make kites occasionally.

## Chapter 4

### CASE RELATIONS, MARKERS, AND CORRELATED VERBAL AFFIXES

#### 4.0 Introduction.

As noted in Chapter 1, the cases are semantic primitives, which also function as syntactic primitives. Also, Philippine languages are particularly well suited to description by Fillmore's model because of the close correlation between the underlying base and the surface structure of simplex sentences, i.e., most sentences consist of a verb and one or more cases or actants, and each case in turn consists of a Case Relation Marker (CRM) and a Noun Phrase (NP).

#### 4.1 Case relation markers.

On the basis of statistical frequency, it is possible to establish an unmarked CRM for each case. As discussed in Chapter 5, whereas English has three surface structure morphemes dominated by a case node, viz., preposition, determiner, and noun, Pampangan has only two, CRM and noun. The CRM has the features which in English are found on the preposition and determiner. Whereas English determiners distinguish between definite and indefinite regardless of the dominating case node, only one CRM, the Neutral Relation Marker (NRM), makes that distinction. In addition, an inherent feature on some nominals, a class

which includes personal names, a feature which in this grammar is called Distinct (DIST),<sup>1</sup> influences the surface form of the CRM. Finally, all CRM's except the indefinite NRM are also marked for number, i.e., have a separate plural form.<sup>2, 3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The term 'marked' is used in the Tagalog Reference Grammar (Schachter and Otnes, 1966) to designate the nominals which are here called 'distinct'. The reason for the change in terminology is that the term 'marked' is used in this grammar in reference to a CRM which is different from the basic one, but in a slightly different way. The occurrence of the distinct CRM is due to the presence of the feature (+DIST) on the nominal. A marked CRM in this grammar is due to the presence of a particular lexical item elsewhere in the sentence, usually (possibly always) the verb. This usage of the term 'marked' follows the pattern of the UESP, pg. 42. (The term 'marked' is used in this grammar in a similar way in reference to an affix which is different from the statistically most common one that occurs with a particular lexical item, sec. 4.2.) Since both terms refer to a CRM which is different from the basic one, but different in different ways, if the term 'marked' were used for both, it might lead to confusion. Thus, the term 'distinct' is adopted here for the feature on these nominals in order to be able to use the term 'marked' in the manner in which the UESP has used it.

<sup>2</sup>Tagalog distinguishes definite from indefinite also in, and only in, the neutral case. As indicated in the preceding footnote, it utilizes the feature which is here called 'distinct'. It distinguishes plural from singular by the presence of ma-*na* following the CRM.

<sup>3</sup>For each CRM, the initial letter of the name of that case plus RM indicates the CRM of that case, e.g., NRM, Neutral Relation Marker; ARM, Agentive Relation Marker, etc.

The unmarked CRM's, along with the variants for the features (DIST) and Plural (PL), are as follows:

CASE	BASIC CRM	PLURAL	DISTINCT	PLURAL
N (-DEF)	-ŋ <sup>4</sup>	-ŋ <sup>4</sup>	- <sup>5</sup>	- <sup>5</sup>
A	niŋ	diŋ	-ŋ <sup>4</sup>	di
D, Di, L <sup>6</sup> N (+DEF)	kiŋ	kariŋ	kaŋ	kari
B	para kiŋ	para kariŋ	para kaŋ	para kari
Ca	uli niŋ	uli (da) <sup>7</sup> diŋ	uli naŋ	uli (da) di <sup>7</sup>
I	kapami·latan <sup>8</sup> na niŋ	kapami·latan <sup>7</sup> da diŋ	kapami·latan naŋ	kapami·latan <sup>7</sup> da di
T <sup>9</sup>	iŋ	diŋ	i	di

<sup>4</sup>A hyphen before a CRM means it is a suffix, and it most frequently occurs after the Topic Agreement Particle (TAP), which is discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. When there is no AP, if the verb ends in a vowel, -ŋ is attached to the verb. If it ends in a consonant, the NRM becomes  $\emptyset$ . Because two CRM's are suffixes, a Dative Topic (DT) sentence with a (-DEF) N and a (+DIST) A involves a conflict for the position after the TAP. Neither order sounds good, but the best one has the N first, then the A with the TRM.

<sup>5</sup>Since (+DIST) implies (+DEF), there cannot be a (+DIST) (-DEF) CRM.

<sup>6</sup>D, Di, and L are established as separate cases by the fact that some verbs may topicalize any one of the three and a different affix is correlated with the topicalization of each. Examples are given in the discussion below.

<sup>7</sup>Intervocalic d regularly becomes r.

<sup>8</sup>The last three CRM's are morphologically complex, especially the last one, but since each functions as a unit, a further analysis is not attempted here.

<sup>9</sup>Topic (T) is not, of course, a CRM. It is included because its forms must be listed somewhere.

It is immediately obvious that not all of the cases have unique unmarked CRM's, i.e., there is not a unique 1:1 correlation between  $C_i$  and  $RM_i$  for all cases and RM's.  $C_i$  may dominate  $RM_i$  or  $RM_j$ , and  $RM_i$  may be dominated by  $C_i$  or  $C_j$ . Because the cases are semantic primitives, the decision as to which case a given CRM introduces must be based on semantics, and if a CRM other than the unmarked one for that case occurs, it is considered as marked.

The absence of the number distinction from the indefinite NRM means that an indefinite NRM can be either singular or plural.

(4.1) *menintun yaŋ manga iŋ anak*

The child looked for { a mango.<sup>10</sup>  
(some) mangoes.

The definite NRM is marked for number.

(4.2) *menintun ya kiŋ manga iŋ anak*<sup>11</sup>

The child looked for the mango.

The forms given for the DRM are those which it has when there is also an A in the case frame, and the D is not the topic. The UESP takes the position, and it is accepted here without question, that not all verbs have an A in their case frames, i.e., that there are some verbs

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<sup>10</sup>As in Chapter 3, the NP in the English translation which corresponds to the topic NP in the Pampangan sentence is underlined.

<sup>11</sup>Not all Pampangan verbs permit a definite nontopic N in their case frame, consequently, this fact must be indicated in the lexical entry. The verb manintun does.

whose active subjects are really D's. This classification, like all case assignments in a case grammar, is semantically based. Included in the class of verbs whose active subject is a D are: 'believe' (pg. 971), 'hope, imagine' (pg. 987), 'regret, remember' (pg. 999), 'think' (pg. 1005). These verbs may also have an N in their case frames, and when the N is topicalized, in Pampangan, the D takes the RM which in the chart is listed as an ARM. With these verbs, of course, it is a DRM. This distinction is usually not explicitly indicated in this study. Thus, wherever the designation ARM is used, it is to be understood as meaning: ARM, or, if the verb does not have an A in its case frame, but does have a D, DRM.

The following is an example of a marked CRM. It includes three cases. Others are possible, but were not investigated. All three topicalizations are included for comparison. The N case is the one with the marked CRM.

(4.3a) magyabaṅ/ma.gyabaṅ/megyabaṅ ya tuṅkul kiṅ bale  
kiṅ anak iṅ lala.ki<sup>12</sup>

The man bragged to the child about the house.

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<sup>12</sup>It is stated in Chapter 3 that the surface realizations of the three aspects are given in this chapter. The three verb forms in each example in this chapter are the potential, imperfective, and perfective, in that order. Only one tense form is given in the translation, the past. Also, English active word order is used in all translations because the Pampangan topic does not always sound natural as an English subject, e.g., "The child was bragged to about the house by the man."



(b) pagyabaᅇ/pa.gyabaᅇ/pegyabaᅇ ne iᅇ bale kiᅇ anak  
niᅇ lala.ki

The man bragged to the child about the house.

(c) pagyaba.ᅇan/pa.gyaba.ᅇan/pegyaba.ᅇan }<sup>13</sup> ne  
pagyabaᅇnan/pa.gyabaᅇnan/pegyabaᅇnan }

tunᅇul kiᅇ bale iᅇ anak niᅇ lala.ki

The man bragged to the child about the house.

Pampangan tunᅇul kiᅇ is equivalent to English 'about'. Two alternatives are available in determining the case relationship of the NP which it introduces:

1) Establish a separate case on the grounds that the CRM is different from other CRM's. 2) Consider this as a marked CRM of some case, presumably N. The second alternative is chosen for the following reasons: a) There is an economy principle which says, in effect, "Do not add any more cases than necessary." b) The affix on the verb when this case is topicalized is the same as that which occurs with the topicalization of obviously neutral NP's with other verbs. c) There is no contrasting neutral case whose topicalization is correlated with a different affix on the verb. In the case of su.lat 'write', it is established later in this chapter that D, Di, and L are separate cases on the grounds that all three occur with the same verb, all three are topicalizable, and all three topicalizations are correlated with different verbal affixes. There is no contrasting neutral case in the

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<sup>13</sup>Either DT form is acceptable.

case frame of magyaban, a kind of complementary distribution of CRM's. The equivalence of tupkul kin and 'about' may argue for something about the psychology of the relation or about the nature of the neutral case relation with this verb, but if it is taken as arguing for the establishment of another case, then the argument applies with equal force in both Pampangan and English, for Pampangan \*megyaban yan bale in lala.ki, and its English equivalent, \*"The man bragged a house," are equally unacceptable.

#### 4.2 Verbal affixes correlated with case topicalizations.

When a given case is topicalized, an affix is placed on the verb which indicates what the underlying case of the topicalized NP was. There is not a 1:1 correlation between affix and case topicalized. On the basis of statistical frequency, it is possible to establish an unmarked affix for each case. Each case is considered here, along with the unmarked and marked affixes correlated with the topicalization of each.

##### 4.2.1 Agentive.

Agentive is the one case for which it can be claimed that there is no marked affix, i.e., given the verb stem, the form of the affix correlated with the topicalization of the A case is always predictable--at least, it is with all verbs discovered so far. The basic form of the affix is m.

#### 4.2.1.1 Roots that begin with a vowel.

If the root begins with a vowel,<sup>14</sup> and there is no formative prefix such as pag-, m is prefixed to the root to form the potential aspect. The imperfective is formed by reduplicating the initial CV, and for this purpose, the agentive m is treated as a stem consonant. The perfective is formed by infixing -in- after the initial stem consonant, and here, too, the agentive m is treated as a stem consonant. As a noun, i·sip means 'mind'; as a verb, it means 'think'.

(4.4) mi·sip/mi·mi·sip/mini·sip yag paki·bat in anak  
The child thought of an answer.

#### 4.2.1.2 Roots that begin with a bilabial consonant.

If the root begins with a bilabial consonant and does not take a formative prefix, or if the verb takes a formative prefix (regardless of what the root begins with) that begins with p, e.g., pag- or paN-<sup>15</sup> (but not the second agent pa-), the basic m combines with the bilabial consonant to produce m in the potential aspect.

If the root begins with a bilabial consonant and does not take a formative prefix, the m may or may not be

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<sup>14</sup>This study does not include an investigation of the phonology. Pampangenyos are frequently teased by other Filipinos because they do not have an h sound. A thorough study of the phonology might reveal a reason for claiming that words begin with h or ʔ instead of with a vowel.

<sup>15</sup>The N in the transcription means a nasal consonant. Its surface form is determined by what follows it.

present in the surface form of the imperfective. Some verbs have both a nasal and a nonnasal form with no difference in meaning, and others have only a nonnasal form. The possibility of predicting the alternation cannot be positively correlated with any other factor. The initial consonant in punta 'go' alternates freely, Ex. 4.5; the initial consonant in pulai 'run' must be nonnasal, Ex. 4.6. No verb whose initial consonant is b has been found which permits the nasal consonant in the imperfective, Ex. 4.7, bi'li 'put down, plant (seeds)'. It is noted below that some verbs accept more than one of the affixes discussed in this section. Pulai and bi·li are among these verbs. If a verb accepts the affix paN-, and m combines with the initial p to become ṃ, then, of course, a root that begins with b has a nasal form, but it does not arise from m combining with b, cf., Ex's. 4.10a and 4.11a below. Because alternation is unpredictable with verbs whose root begins with p, it must be listed in the lexicon. The imperfective is realized as a lengthening of the vowel in the reduplicated syllable, cf., sec. 4.2.1.3. The perfective has the ṃ, and the infix -in- immediately follows it.

(4.5) munta/pu·punta ~ mumunta/minta ya in anak

The child went.

(4.6) mulai/pu·pulai \*mumulai/milai ya in anak

The child ran.

(4.7) mi·li/bi·bi·li \*mimi·li/mini·li yaṅ pa·le in anak

The child planted (some) rice.

Another phenomenon is observed in these examples.

Following the insertion of the -in- infix, the n of the infix and the immediately following vowel of the root are deleted. The conditions which determine this deletion are:

1) The vowel to be deleted may not be long, e.g., NT<sup>16</sup> sinu·lat ⇨ \*si·lat/silat, 'write'.

2) The vowel of the infix may not be long,<sup>17</sup> e.g., AT si·nali ⇨ \*si·li/sili 'buy'.

3) There must be an initial consonant, e.g., NT inaluk ⇨ \*i·luk/iluk 'offer for sale'. One exception to this condition has been discovered, which is also an exception to the first condition given above, NT \*ina·kit ⇒ i·kit 'see'. This must be marked in the lexicon as an irregular perfective aspect form.

If all these conditions are met, the deletion must occur, e.g., AT \*minunta ⇒ mintā 'go'; NT \*binuklat ⇒ biklat 'open'. If the vowel in the first syllable of the root is a short i,<sup>18</sup> the vowel in the first syllable of the perfective aspect is lengthened when nV deletion applies. When nV deletion applies, in this case deleting ni,

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<sup>16</sup>Neutral Topic (NT). For each case, the initial letter of the name of that case combines with Topic (T) to indicate that case as topic, and the form of the verb when that case is the topic.

<sup>17</sup>The condition under which it is long is given below in sec. 4.2.1.3.

<sup>18</sup>Condition 2 would block deletion of long i.

the resulting form would be identical with the potential aspect if this lengthening did not occur. The two forms are distinguished by means of the lengthening.

(4.8) silaban/sisilaban/si·laban<sup>19</sup> ne in̄ apa in̄ lala·ki

The man burned the rice husk.

Some verbs that do not have a formative prefix, and which have an a in the first syllable of the root, form their perfective by changing the root a to e, e.g., NT sali ⇒ seli 'buy'; AT baronga ⇒ meronga 'throw'. These must be marked in the lexicon.

If the root takes a formative prefix that begins with p, the imperfective is formed by lengthening the vowel in (the first syllable of) the prefix, and the perfective is formed in one of two ways: 1) Replacing the vowel of the prefix with i (possibly by means of -in- infixation and nV deletion, as discussed above); or 2) Replacing the vowel of the prefix with e (possibly by means of n deletion and collapsing of i and a to e. It is doubtful that this is the correct explanation of e here because that collapsing usually occurs when a precedes i). No basis of predicting which of these will occur has been found which covers all cases, but e occurs in maka· 'ability', and

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<sup>19</sup>The fact that -an is not deleted from the perfective of an obviously NT verb is unexplained, cf., sec. 4.2.2. It may be related to the fact of the vowel lengthening discussed in the text. This is the only verb with a short i in the first syllable of the root that was discovered, so the evidence is too limited to base any conclusion on it.

paki- 'joint action' and 'request', and is most common in paN-. In pag-, i occurs most frequently. Many verbs can take either, though degree of preference varies from verb to verb and from speaker to speaker.

(4.9) magtapat/ma.gtapat/migtapat~megtapat yaŋ kri.men  
kiŋ pulis iŋ lala.ki

The man confessed a crime to the policeman.

Some verbs can take more than one of the affixes discussed above, e.g., buklat 'open', can occur with simple m or with paN- plus m with no apparent difference in meaning.<sup>20</sup> The form with paN- is more common.

(4.10a) mamuklat/ma.muklat/memuklat yaŋ pasbul iŋ anak

(b) muklat/bu.buklat/miklat yaŋ pasbul iŋ anak

The child closed a door.

(4.11a) mamalbal/ma.malbal/memalbal yaŋ ebun iŋ anak

(b) malbal/ba.balbal/milbal yaŋ ebun iŋ anak

The child broke an egg.

Not all verbs permit this alternation, e.g., punta, which is used in Ex. 4.5 as an illustration of nasal replacement of an initial p, may not take the affix paN-.

(4.12) \*mamunta/\*ma.munta/\*memunta ya iŋ anak

The child went.

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<sup>20</sup>The possibility cannot be ruled out that there is some difference which did not occur to the informant at the time of inquiry. The statement in the text is based on her inability to think of one at that time.

#### 4.2.1.3 Roots that begin with a non-bilabial consonant.

If the root begins with some consonant other than a bilabial consonant, and if it does not take a formative prefix, the m is realized in some other way, depending on the length of the vowel in the first syllable of the root.

##### 4.2.1.3.1 Roots that have a short vowel.

If the vowel in the first syllable of the root is short, the m is realized in a lengthening of the first vowel in the surface form of the verb. In the potential aspect, that is the vowel in the first syllable of the root. In the imperfective aspect, that is the vowel in the syllable that results from reduplication. In the perfective aspect, that is the vowel of the infix -in-. It thus turns out, as is seen in the discussion of NT affixes, that the length of the vowel in the first syllable is sometimes the only difference between an AT and an NT verb form.

(4.13) sa·li/sa·sali/si·nali yaṅ manga iṅ anak

The child bought a mango.

##### 4.2.1.3.2 Roots that have a long vowel.

If the vowel in the first syllable of the root is long, the potential aspect takes the infix -um-. The other two aspects are realized as a long vowel in the first syllable in the manner described above.

(4.14) sumu·lat/su·su·lat/si·nu·lat yaṅ libru iṅ anak

The child wrote a book.



Some verbs do not fit the pattern given above, e.g., lako 'leave, remove', instead of the expected \*la·ko/\*la·lako/\*li·nako, has the following unexpected forms.

(4.15) mako/ma·mako/meko ya in anak

The child left.

The discussion of the realizations of the m affix have all dealt with its use when the topicalized case is A. In sec. 4.1, it is noted that not all verbs have an A in their case frames, and for verbs that don't, but whose active form actually involves a D, the RM used with the D is the one that in this grammar is called the ARM. It is also the case that, if a verb does not have an A in its case frame, but does have a D, the topicalization of the D is correlated with the m affix in the forms that have been presented here. Furthermore, if a given predicate has neither an A nor a D in its case frame, the topicalization of the N case is correlated with an affix that begins with m. There is, then, a kind of rank preference among the three cases, A, D, and N, in that order. The first one of these three cases to occur in the case frame of a given verb is the one whose topicalization is correlated with the m affix on the verb. This rank preference is quite significant in nominalization. The use of the m affix in correlation with the topicalization of D and N is included in the discussion of those cases.

#### 4.2.2 Neutral.

The unmarked affix with the neutral case is i/∅.<sup>21</sup>

If there is no formative prefix, the root occurs by itself as the potential aspect form. The imperfective is formed by reduplicating the initial (C)V. The perfective is formed in one of two ways: 1) Infixation of -in- after the initial consonant (or prefixation of in- if the root begins with a vowel); 2) If the vowel in the first syllable of

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<sup>21</sup>The method of designating this affix requires discussion. With each verb, there is a certain pattern of occurrence of i with the three aspects. In the examples in the text, i with no mark means it is obligatory; (i) means it is optional, and where it is optional, it would usually not occur; its absence means it may not occur. In the discussion in this footnote, the pattern of occurrence of i is represented in a sequence of three symbols separated by slant lines. Obligatory and optional occurrence are indicated in the manner in which they are indicated in the text; obligatory non-occurrence is indicated by ∅. The sequence of three symbols represents the three aspects in the order: potential/imperfective/perfective.

It is not the case that all verbs have the same pattern of occurrence of i. The following have been observed. Example numbers are given. Not all are found with NT verbs, so the case topic is given with each.

i/(i)/(i): su.lat 'write' NT, Ex. 4.16.

(i)/(i)/∅: buklat 'open' NT, Ex. 4.17; sali 'buy' BT, Ex.

4.58; sadya 'prepare' BT, Ex. 4.61.

i/(i)/∅: sa.bug 'splash' NT, Ex. 4.42; basi.bas 'throw' NT,

Ex. 4.44; baronga 'throw' NT, Ex. 4.45; sambut 'lose' CaT,

Ex. 4.64; mate 'die' CaT, Ex. 4.65.

∅/(i)/∅: aluk 'offer for sale' NT, Ex. 4.18.

i becomes y before a vowel, e.g., ya.luk.

It is obvious that the most frequently occurring one in the data is the next to last one, i/(i)/∅. It would be possible to claim that each of these patterns represents a different affix, but that seems quite unlikely. It is possible that some, if not all, of the differences arise from different degrees of sensitivity on the part of the informant to different forms at different times. No attempt is made to explain or account for the differences. All are treated as a single affix designated i/∅.

the root is a, it may be replaced by e. The basis for determining which of these two processes applies has not been discovered. If the imperfective is formed by the reduplication of the initial CV, and if the -in- infix is used to form the perfective of both the AT and NT forms, they are still distinguished by the fact that the vowel in the syllable resulting from the reduplication in the imperfective, and the i of the infix in the perfective, are both long in the AT form but short in the NT form.

(4.16) isu·lat/(i)susu·lat/(i)sinu·lat ne iŋ libru  
niŋ lala·ki

The man wrote the book.

(4.17) (i)buklat/(i)bubuklat/biklat ne iŋ pasbul  
niŋ anak

The child closed the door.

(4.18) aluk/(y)a·luk/inaluk ne iŋ libru niŋ lala·ki  
kiŋ anak

The man offered the book to the child for sale.

When the formative prefix pag- or paN- has been added to a root, the zero affix means that no further change is made; i is not prefixed to these forms. As indicated in the discussion of the agentive topic, sec. 4.2.1.2, the vowel is lengthened in the imperfective, and replaced by i or e in the perfective.

(4.19) pagtapat/pa·gtapat/pigtapat na iŋ kri·men  
niŋ lala·ki kiŋ pulis<sup>22</sup>

The man confessed the crime to the policeman.

(4.20) paŋa·ku/pa·ŋa·ku/peŋa·ku ne iŋ libru niŋ lala·ki  
kiŋ anak

The man promised the book to the child.

The marked affix with neutral topicalization is -an, the affix which is usually correlated with the topicalization of D or Di, and sometimes with L. Two independent but cooccurring factors make it possible to determine whether a given NP, whose topicalization is correlated with the affix -an, is N or one of the others. If it is N, the NP can be preceded by the indefinite NRM -ŋ when some other NP is the topic. If it is D, Di, or L, it must be preceded by kiŋ. With some verbs, a definite N is possible, and as noted earlier, the definite NRM is kiŋ. Thus, if kiŋ can be used, the case may be either N, D, Di, or L, but if -ŋ may or must be used, it can only be N. The other factor is this: If the topicalized case is N, the -an correlated with its topicalization is usually deleted in the perfective,<sup>23</sup> but if it is a D, Di, or L, the -an is usually not deleted.<sup>24</sup> Ex. 4.21 is the NT form of Ex. 4.11, and Ex. 4.22 is the NT form of Ex. 4.13.

<sup>22</sup>The use of pa here instead of ne is correlated with the fact that the topic, iŋ kri·men, is (-CONC)rete. This is discussed in Chapter 5.

<sup>23</sup>An exception to this is given earlier, Ex. 4.8.

<sup>24</sup>An exception is discussed below, sec. 4.2.4. Because this limitation is not universal, the first is considered criterial.

(4.21) balbalan/babalbalan/bilbal ne iŋ ebun niŋ anak  
The child broke the egg.

(4.22) saliwan/sasaliwan/seli ne iŋ mayga niŋ anak  
The child bought the mango.

No semantic basis has been discovered for determining which verbs will take -an and which verbs will take i/ø as the affix correlated with neutral topicalization. Translations of some that take i/ø are: open, run, drop, throw, give, go, leave, approve, answer, climb. Translations of some that take -an are: break, pound, beat, warn, chop, sweep, shoot.

All of the examples considered so far involve verbs which also have an A in their case frame. There may be verbs which have only an N in their case frames. As noted above at the end of the discussion of the A case, if there is an N and no A or D in the case frame of a given verb, then the topicalization of the N case is correlated with the m affix. So far, two verbs have been discovered which have only an N in their case frames. The affix on the verb when that case is topicalized is ma-. The imperfective is formed by reduplicating the initial CV of the root, or lengthening the vowel of the prefix. The perfective is formed by replacing the a of the prefix with i or e.

(4.23) malya·ri/malilya·ri/milya·ri iŋ aksidente<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>The absence of the TAP here is due to the fact that aksidente is (-CONC)rete, cf., Chapter 5.

The accident happened.

(4.24) matudtud/ma.tudtud/metudtud ya inq anak<sup>26</sup>

The child slept.

If a verb which optionally accepts an A or a D in its case frame does not have that case in its case frame in a given sentence, then the topicalization of the N case is correlated with the affix ma-.

(4.25) masi·si/masisi·si/mesi·si inq aksidente

The accident was regretted.

(4.26) masali/masasali/mesali ya inq manga

The mango was bought.

If an adjective has only one case in its case frame, that case is probably N.<sup>27</sup> Most adjectives have the prefix

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<sup>26</sup>The UESP lexicon does not include 'sleep', but it does include 'sleepy' as (among other things) (-NEUT +DAT). Presumably, this is based on the fact that only animate beings can sleep. The claim is made here that the semantic basis of the N case, i.e., "the semantically most neutral case, the case of anything representable by a noun whose role in the action or state identifiable by the verb is identified in the semantic interpretation of the verb itself," leads to classifying the sleeper as N. The fact that it must be an animate being is considered secondary. However, nothing crucial hinges on this. Even if it is a D, the rank preference factor would still lead to the use of the m affix in correlation with its topicalization.

<sup>27</sup>The UESP lists some adjectives as (+DAT), presumably because, like 'sleepy', they imply animateness, e.g., angry, anxious. Other adjectives, e.g., big, hard, are (+NEUT). Still others, e.g., confident, dangerous, are (+NEUT +DAT). Some adjectives may, of course, accept more than one case in their case frames. For the reason discussed in the preceding footnote, i.e., identification in the semantic interpretation of the predicate, the position is taken here that, if an adjective has only one case in its case frame, that case is N, and that no adjective has just one case in its case frame where that case is D.

ma-, though it is not inflectable for aspect. It may be the case that the ma- prefix on adjectives is related to the m topicalization and rank preference factors.

(4.27) masikan ya in lala·ki

The man is strong.

(4.28) malagu ya in dala·ga

The maiden is beautiful.

(4.29) maragul ya in bale

The house is large.

#### 4.2.3 Dative.

The unmarked affix that is correlated with the topicalization of the dative case is -an. When there is no formative prefix on the root, e.g., pag-, the -an is suffixed to the root to form the potential aspect. The imperfective and perfective aspects are formed as they are when the neutral case is topicalized. In the following example, kutan means 'ask'. In the DT form, the vowel of the final syllable of the root is deleted, and the ŋ becomes n by assimilation to the point of articulation of the preceding consonant, t. In Ex. 4.31, there is an instance of suppletion. It is included, however, because the DT is correlated with the -an affix. In each example, a and b are the AT and DT forms, respectively.

(4.30) ku·taŋ/ku·kutaŋ/ki·nutaŋ yaŋ dailan in lala·ki

kiŋ anak

The man asked the child for a reason.

(b) kutnan/kukutnan/kitnan neŋ dailan niŋ lala·ki  
iŋ anak

The man asked the child for a reason.

(4.31a) mye/babye/minye yaŋ manga iŋ lala·ki kiŋ anak  
The man gave the child a mango.

(b) di·nan/didi·nan/dini·nan neŋ manga niŋ lala·ki  
iŋ anak

The man gave the child a mango.

When the formative prefixes pag- and paN- are used, the addition of the DT affix results in two affixes occurring with the verb root, pag- -an or paN- -an.

(4.32a) magtapat/ma·gtapat/migtapat yaŋ kri·men  
iŋ lala·ki kiŋ pulis

The man confessed a crime to the policeman.

(b) pagtapatan/pa·gtapatan/pigtapatan neŋ kri·men  
niŋ lala·ki iŋ pulis

The man confessed a crime to the policeman.

(4.33a) maŋa·ku/ma·ŋa·ku/meŋa·ku yaŋ libru iŋ lala·ki  
kiŋ anak

The man promised a book to the child.

(b) paŋakwan/pa·ŋakwan/peŋakwa·nan neŋ libru  
niŋ lala·ki iŋ anak<sup>28</sup>

The man promised a book to the child.

The NT forms of Ex's. 4.32 and 4.33 are Ex's. 4.19 and 4.20.

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<sup>28</sup>The occurrence of the extra -an in the perfective, but not the other two aspects, is unexplained.



The marked affix correlated with the topicalization of the dative case is -anan. The verb in the example is atad 'take'. The AT form uses the formative prefix maN-; the non-AT forms do not use paN-. Also, the vowel of the final syllable of the root is dropped in the non-AT forms.

(4.34a) manatad/ma.natad/menatad yanj libru inj lala.ki  
kiŋ anak

The man took a book to the child.

(b) atda.nan/a.tda.nan/inatda.nan neŋ libru  
niŋ lala.ki inj anak

The man took a book to the child.

(4.35) sulata.nan/susulata.nan/silata.nan neŋ su.lat a  
maka.ba<sup>29</sup> niŋ lala.ki inj anak (kiŋ papel a  
malu.tu kiŋ lamesa)<sup>30</sup>

The man wrote a long letter to the child  
(on the red paper at the table).

Ex's. 4.14 and 4.16 are the AT and NT forms respectively of Ex. 4.35.

No verbs have been discovered which simultaneously have both the formative prefix pag- or paN- and the marked DT affix -anan.

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<sup>29</sup>Since the noun and the verb are the same word, the use of su.lat in the N case is more natural if it is accompanied by a restrictive modifier.

<sup>30</sup>The sentence is a bit cumbersome with all of these cases included, and that is the reason for the parentheses around the last two actants. It is apparently grammatical since the informant is unable to point out any incorrect element other than the fact of the length.

All of the verbs considered so far in this section also have an A in their case frame. As noted above, some verbs may not have an A in their case frames, but the active subject is actually a D. According to the principle of rank preference discussed above, if a verb has a D in its case frame but does not have an A, the m affix is correlated with the topicalization of the D case. Some English verbs included in this category are: believe, hope, imagine, regret, remember, think. These verbs all have a neutral case as well.

(4.36a) maniwa.la/ma.niwa.la/meniwa.la kuṅ masikan ya  
I believed (that) he was strong.

(b) paniwalan/pa.niwalan/peniwalan ku iṅ masikan ya  
I believed (that) he was strong.

(4.37a) mi.sip/mi.mi.sip/mini.sip kuṅ masikan ya  
I thought (that) he was strong.

(b) isi.pan/i.si.pan/ini.sip ku iṅ masikan ya  
I thought (that) he was strong.

#### 4.2.4 Directional.

The unmarked affix correlated with the topicalization of the directional case is -an. As noted earlier, this is the marked affix correlated with the topicalization of the N case and the unmarked affix correlated with the topicalization of the D case. It may also be a marked affix correlated with the topicalization of the L case. The N case can apparently be distinguished from the other

three on formal grounds, but because the other three all take the CRM kin, and because all three may be topicalized, and their topicalization correlated with the affix -an with some verb, the distinction is harder to establish. The fact that there are three distinct cases can be determined by the fact that some verbs, e.g., su.lat 'write', can topicalize any one of the three, as well as N, and a different affix is correlated with the topicalization of each case. With any given verb, for any given case, the identity of the case node is determined semantically. The decision is not always easy to make, but it is hoped that the disagreements will not be too numerous nor too great.

- (4.38) sula.tan/susula.tan/sila.tan neq su.lat a  
maka.ba niq lala.ki iq papel a malu.tu<sup>31</sup>

The man wrote a long letter on the red paper.

- (4.39a) magprisi.nta/ma.gprisi.nta/migprisi.nta ya  
iq lala.ki kin opisi.na para kin obra  
The man applied at the office for a job.

- (b) pagprisintan/pa.gprisintan/pigprisintan ne  
niq lala.ki iq opisi.na para kin obra  
The man applied at the office for the job.

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<sup>31</sup>This sentence is unacceptable if it contains a D. It may not, however, topicalize a D, i.e., it is not correct with in anak instead of in papel, so it is not a case of this verb having two DT affixes. It is simply a restriction on which case(s) may be present when another case is topicalized. This fact must be marked on the verb in the lexicon.

(4.40a) magkera/ma·gkera/migkera ya iŋ lala·ki kiŋ da·se

The man lay on the mat.

(b) pagkeran/pa·gkeran/pigkeran ne niŋ lala·ki

iŋ da·se

The man lay on the mat.

Ex's. 4.39 and 4.40 illustrate what happens when a formative prefix pag- or paN- is added to a verb root besides the DiT affix -an. The result is a two part affix, pag- -an or paN- -an. The roots in both of the examples end in a, which coalesces with the a of the suffix. Since the vowel in the final syllable of all words is long, it is not marked in the transcription.

It would be possible to argue that Ex's. 4.39 and 4.40 are actually L instead of Di, and if they are, then pag- -an is a marked affix with the topicalization of L. The following verb is semantically similar to Ex. 4.40 as far as case relations are concerned, and it has the unmarked Di affix.

(4.41a) lukluk/lu·lukluk/li·nukluk ya iŋ lala·ki

kiŋ tabureti

The man sat on the chair.

(b) luklukan/luluklukan/liklu·kan ne iŋ tabureti

niŋ lala·ki

The man sat on the chair.

The claim that these verbs have a Di in their case frames rather than an L is based on the assumption that L

involves action or existence at a place, and Di involves motion toward (or possibly from) a place. According to the informant, the potential and perfective aspects of magkera and lukluk may have either of these meanings. Because of the relation of the time of the action to the time of speaking, the perfective aspect would most likely have the meaning of L, i.e., that the A was there, sitting or lying on the mat; and the potential aspect would most likely have the meaning of Di, i.e., that the A was moving or would move in the direction of the mat to sit or lie on it. An AT imperfective verb would most likely have the meaning of Di, i.e., the A is now moving toward the mat to sit or lie on it, or the meaning of L with a customary action, i.e., the A customarily sits or lies on the mat. The meaning of L with reference to a present state, i.e., that the A is there now, would be expressed by an adjective, makakera or makalukluk, respectively.

The non-AT forms can mean any one of the three: Di, L, or customary action. This is the case for both verbs.<sup>32</sup> It hardly seems likely that we would want to claim that these verbs can have either case in their case frames, though that possibility cannot be ruled out with certainty. Since the meaning variants are the same for both verbs,

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<sup>32</sup>In English, the simple verbs are more likely to be L, and verbs followed by 'down' are more likely to be Di. "The man is sitting/lying on the bed," (L); "The man is sitting/lying down on the bed," (Di).

if we allow only one case in the case frame of each verb, it should be the same case for both verbs. Since the affix is the unmarked affix for Di, and the preferred meaning for the imperfective aspect is definitely that of the Di case, the actant is assigned to that case and the claim is made that any I meaning is secondary and derived.

The AT form of the verb in the next three examples denotes a generalized, aimless action, so that it is not likely to be used with a nontopic Di that is small in scope in a primary topicalization.<sup>33</sup> In a secondary topicalization, a small Di is acceptable. Thus, kiñ anak sounds strange in Ex. 42a, but not in Ex. 43. A kiñ-phrase that is large in scope, e.g., kiñ bale 'house', may be construed as either a Di or an L. In an NT or DiT sentence, a Di that is small in scope is fully acceptable.

(4.42a)  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{suma}\cdot\text{bug}/\text{sa}\cdot\text{sa}\cdot\text{bug}/\text{si}\cdot\text{na}\cdot\text{bug} \\ \text{manya}\cdot\text{bug}/\text{ma}\cdot\text{nya}\cdot\text{bug}/\text{menya}\cdot\text{bug} \end{array} \right\}^{34} \text{yan danum}$

in lala·ki kiñ bale

The man splashed water  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{in} \\ \text{on} \end{array} \right\}$  the house.

<sup>33</sup>It has been noted in treatments of Tagalog grammar that the AT form of some verbs is not acceptable in a primary topicalization but is in a secondary topicalization. (These two types of topicalization are discussed in Chapter 6). The same thing is true in Pampangan. This is a feature of verbs which must be indicated in the lexicon. It is not discussed separately in this study. However, some verbs are included as examples in various places to which this limitation applies, and their examples are in a secondary topicalization form. The fact noted in the text is another limitation on primary topicalization.

<sup>34</sup>The morphophonemic sequence Ns becomes phonemically ny.

(b) isa·bug/(i)sasa·bug/sina·bug na iŋ danum

niŋ lala·ki kiŋ { anak  
bale

The man splashed the water { on the child.  
in } the house.  
on }

(c) sabu·gan/sasabu·gan/sebu·gan neŋ danum

niŋ lala·ki iŋ { anak  
bale

The man splashed water { on the child.  
in } the house.  
on }

(4.43) ni·nu iŋ si·na·bug danum kiŋ { anak  
bale

Who splashed water { on the child?  
in } the house.  
on }

In addition to the limitation just discussed, the verbs in the next two examples have the unusual phenomenon of deleting the -an suffix in the perfective of the DiT form. This deletion results in the perfective of the NT and DiT forms being identical. They are distinguished by semantics, plus the fact that an untopicalized NP has its own CRM. Secondary topicalization sentences are not given.

(4.44a) masi·bas/ba·basi·bas/mesi·bas } yaŋ batu  
mamasi·bas/ma·masi·bas/memasi·bas }

iŋ anak kiŋ bale

The child threw a stone { at } the house.  
in }

(b) ibasi·bas/(i)babasi·bas/besi·bas ne iŋ batu

niŋ anak kiŋ bale

The child threw the stone { at } the house.  
in }

(c) basiba·san/babasiba·san/besi·bas neŋ batu  
niŋ anak iŋ bale

The child threw a stone at the house.<sup>35</sup>

(4.45a) maroŋga/ba·baroŋga/meroŋga  
mamaroŋga/ma·maroŋga/memaroŋga } yaŋ batu  
iŋ anak kiŋ bale

The child threw a stone {at  
in} the house.

(b) ibaroŋga/(i)babaroŋga/beroŋga ne iŋ batu  
niŋ anak kiŋ bale

The child threw the stone {at  
in} the house.

(c) baroŋgan/babaroŋgan/beroŋga neŋ batu niŋ anak  
iŋ bale

The child threw a stone at the house.<sup>35</sup>

The marked affix correlated with the topicalization of the Di case is pi- -anan, which is similar to the unmarked affix that is correlated with the topicalization of the L case, except that it has an additional -an.

(4.46a) mami·li/ma·mi·li/memi·li<sup>36</sup> yaŋ libru iŋ anak  
kiŋ lamesa

The child put a book (down) on the table.

<sup>35</sup>As a nontopic phrase, kiŋ bale can be either Di or L, and is so translated in Ex's. 4.44 and 4.45 a and b. In c, however, it is the topic, and the verb has a DiT affix, so it can only be a Di.

<sup>36</sup>In sec. 4.2.1.1 it is noted that bi·li can take either the m affix or m plus the paN- affix, and its translation is given as 'put down, plant (seeds)'. It has the second meaning when it occurs with the m affix, cf. Ex. 4.5. It has the first meaning when it occurs with m plus the paN- affix, as in Ex. 4.46.



(b) bi·li/bibi·li/bini·li ne iŋ libru niŋ anak  
kiŋ lamesa

The child put the book (down) on the table.

(c) sa·nuŋ lamesa iŋ pibilya·nan/pibibilya·nan/  
pi·bilya·nan<sup>37</sup> naŋ libru niŋ anak<sup>38</sup>

Which table did the child put a book on?

#### 4.2.5 Locative.

The unmarked affix correlated with the topicalization of the locative case is pi- -an. The addition of this affix to the root produces the potential aspect of an LT verb. In the imperfective aspect, the initial CV of the root is reduplicated. In the perfective aspect, the i of the locative affix is lengthened. In the first example, the topic NP is preferred following the N.

(4.47) pisula·tan/pisusula·tan/pi·sula·tan neŋ su·lat  
a maka·ba iŋ lamesa niŋ lala·ki kiŋ anak<sup>39, 40</sup>

The man wrote a long letter to the child  
at the table on the red paper.

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<sup>37</sup>The manner of forming the aspects is given in the discussion of the L case.

<sup>38</sup>It is noted in fn. 33 earlier in this chapter that some verbs require a secondary topicalization with their AT form. With some verbs, some topic forms other than A are apparently so rare that they sound natural only in a secondary topicalization. It is noted in Chapter 8 that some questions require a secondary topicalization, thus a question is the most natural sentence form for Ex. 4.46c.

<sup>39</sup>Without lamesa, papel could be the topic here.

<sup>40</sup>This sentence is cumbersome but grammatical.

The following example contains the AT, DiT, and LT forms of the same verb.

(4.48a) kuldás/ku·kuldás/ki·nuldás ya in̄ anak kin̄ bus  
kin̄ karyedo

The child got off the bus at Carriedo.<sup>41</sup>

(b) sa·nuḡ bus in̄ kuldásan/kukuldásan/kilda·san<sup>42</sup>  
niḡ anak kin̄ karyedo<sup>43</sup>

Which bus did the child get off of at Carriedo?

(c) pikulda·san/pikukulda·san/pi·kulda·san ne  
niḡ anak kin̄ bus in̄ karyedo

The child got off the bus at Carriedo.

If a verb has a formative prefix, e.g., pag- or paN-, that prefix is added to the verb first, so that it occurs closest to the verb root, and then the locative affix is added so that the pi- of the locative affix occurs first in the morphemic sequence of the verb.

(4.49) pipagtapatan/pipa·gtapatan/pi·pagtapatan neḡ  
kri·men niḡ lala·ki in̄ bale niḡ pulis

The man confessed a crime in the house of the policeman.

(4.50) pipanintunan/pipa·nintunan/pi·panintunan neḡ  
anak niḡ lala·ki in̄ iskwela

<sup>41</sup>This is a street in downtown Manila.

<sup>42</sup>Only the perfective has a long vowel. No explanation has been discovered for this. The form kulda·san is a noun meaning 'place of getting off'.

<sup>43</sup>This DiT verb prefers a secondary topicalization.

The man looked for a child in the school.

It was noted earlier, sec. 4.2.2, that when the N case is topicalized, if an A (or D) is present in the case frame of a given verb, even though it may be reduced to a pronoun, one affix occurs on the verb. If an A or D is not present in the case frame, a different affix occurs on the verb. With L and all subsequent cases, its topicalization is correlated with the same affix on the verb regardless of the presence/absence of other cases in the sentence.

(4.51) su·lat/susu·lat/sinu·lat {<sup>\*ya</sup><sub>ne</sub>} in libru

He wrote the book.

(4.52) masu·lat/masusu·lat/mesu·lat {<sup>ya</sup><sub>\*ne</sub>} in libru

The book was written.

L is more likely to be the only case with an imperfective verb than with the other two aspects, but sentences with those aspects are not ungrammatical.

(4.53) pisula·tan/pisusula·tan/pi·sula·tan ya in lamesa

The table was {written at.  
the place of writing.

#### 4.2.6 Instrumental.

The unmarked affix correlated with the topicalization of the instrumental case is paN-. So far, it is the only affix discovered that is correlated with the topicalization of that case. The aspects are formed as they are when paN- is used as a formative prefix. The third example shows that no other case is required with I. A and N are

not required in the other examples, either.

(4.54) pamusni/pa·musni/pemusni neŋ pasbul niŋ anak  
iŋ su·si<sup>44</sup>

The child opened a door with the key.

(4.55) panyu·lat/pa·nyu·lat/penyu·lat ne niŋ anak  
iŋ la·pis

The child wrote with the pencil.

(4.56) panabak/pa·nabak/penabak ya iŋ palang<sup>45</sup>

The bolo was chopped with.

Because paN- is also a formative prefix, it would seem that there would be a potential ambiguity for some sentences, i.e., that for verbs whose NT form has the prefix paN-, the topic NP with such a verb could be either N or I. No instances of this ambiguity have been discovered. Verbs whose NT form has the prefix paN- either do not have an I in the case frame or do not topicalize it.

#### 4.2.7 Benefactive.

This is one of the less frequently occurring cases, as might be expected. Thus, the statement made at the beginning of this chapter that unmarked CRM's and affixes could be established on the basis of statistical frequency becomes almost meaningless here. This case has not been investigated with many verbs. For those with which it has

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<sup>44</sup>The root of the verb is busni.

<sup>45</sup>The root of the verb is tabak.

been investigated, it appears that two affixes, paN- and i/∅,<sup>46</sup> may be used interchangeably with some verbs when B is topicalized. No verb has been investigated for which either of these affixes is excluded as a BT affix. The aspects are formed in the manner indicated previously for these affixes. As a noun, pira·su means 'piece'; as a verb, it means 'cut a piece (off)'.  
(4.57a) ipira·su/(i)pipira·su/pi·ra·su neŋ keso  
niŋ lala·ki iŋ anak  
(b) pamira·su/pa·mira·su/pemira·su neŋ keso  
niŋ lala·ki iŋ anak  
The man cut a piece of cheese for the child.

- (4.58a) (i)sali/(i)sasali/seli neŋ manga niŋ lala·ki  
iŋ anak  
(b) panyali/pa·nyali/penyali neŋ manga niŋ lala·ki  
iŋ anak  
The man bought a mango for the child.

The i/∅ affix is used with some verbs as an NT affix. That means that some sentences are potentially ambiguous.

- (4.59) pi·ra·su ne niŋ lala·ki iŋ anak  
The man cut a piece of the child.  
The man cut a piece (of something) for the child.  
(4.60) seli ne niŋ lala·ki iŋ anak  
The man bought the child.  
The man bought (something) for the child.

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<sup>46</sup>Cf. fn. 21, pg. 74.

There is one verb which may take the affix pag- when the benefactive case is topicalized, and it may also take the other two affixes previously given.

(4.61a) pagsadya/pa·gsadya/pigsadya neṅ ma·mador

niṅ baba·2i iṅ anak

(b) (i)sadya/(i)sasadya/sidyā neṅ ma·mador

niṅ baba·2i iṅ anak

(c) panyadya/pa·nyadya/penyadya neṅ ma·mador

niṅ baba·2i iṅ anak

The woman prepared a bottle for the child.

There is the possibility of a so-called second benefactive, but it is doubtful that it is to be regarded as another case in the same sentence. It is probably in a higher sentence. In the following example, the order of the actants cannot be changed, and there must be a definite pause before the benefactive phrase at the end.

(4.62) pagsadya/pa·gsadya/pigsadya neṅ ma·mador

niṅ baba·2i iṅ inda, para kiṅ anak

The woman prepared a bottle for the mother,  
for the child.

#### 4.2.8 Causative.

Only one affix has been discovered that is correlated with the topicalization of the causative case, ika-. The imperfective aspect is formed by reduplicating the ka-, and the perfective aspect by changing the a of the prefix to e and dropping the i. Not many verbs permit the

topicalization of the Ca case, even though that case may occur in a sentence which topicalizes another case.

(4.63a) aranan/a·ranan/inara·na ne in̄ dala·ga  
nīn lala·ki uli nīn pi·sta

The man serenaded the maiden because of the feast.

(b) \*ika·ra·na/\*(i)kaka·ra·na/\*keʔara·na nēn̄  
dala·ga nīn lala·ki in̄ pi·sta

The man serenaded a maiden because of the feast.

Among the verbs that permit the topicalization of the Ca case are the following.

(4.64) ikasambut/(i)kakasambut/kesambut ne nīn lala·ki  
in̄ anak

The man lost because of the child.

(4.65) ikamate/(i)kakamate/kemate ne nīn lala·ki  
in̄ baril na

The man died because of his gun.

The Ca case may occur alone in a sentence, though this is marginal.

(4.64) kesambut ya in̄ anak

(Someone) lost because of the child.

The child caused (someone) to lose.

## Chapter 5

### DETERMINERS

#### 5.0 Introduction.

The discussion of determiners undertaken here is limited to articles. Although the term determiner is used occasionally, it is to be understood, unless otherwise specified, that the element referred to is that part of the determiner which is commonly designated as the article. The other elements included under determiners in the UESP, e.g., partitives, are not investigated here. Also, the feature source of articles is assumed, i.e., that articles, when inserted as lexical items into base P-markers, represent a combination of features which are subject to change or supplementation by the application of various transformations, and that a given combination of features results in a certain phonological representation in the second lexical lookup.

#### 5.1 The existence, nature, and function of the DET node.

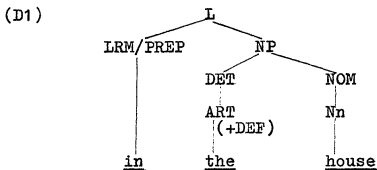
The most obvious difference between Pampangan and English is in the number of separate, obligatory,<sup>1</sup> surface structure morphemes that occur under a given case node.

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<sup>1</sup>Under certain conditions, one of these might be phonologically zero. Obligatory, as used here, is meant to rule out items which are optional in the PS rules in the UESP.



In English there are three separate morphemes under a case node, An example, along with the tree representing the structural relationships, is (D1).



In Pampangan only two surface structure morphemes are required to express the same information, kin bale. The first of these is called the Locative Relation Marker (LRM) in this grammar. When a given case/NP node is the topic of the sentence, there are still only two surface structure morphemes, in bale. The first of these is called the Topic Relation Marker (TRM) in this grammar. It conveys no case information. It simply indicates that the noun that follows it is the topic of the sentence. The information as to what the underlying case of the topic NP was is conveyed by other elements in the sentence, usually by the affix on the verb. These facts raise certain questions about determiners which must be considered first.

The basic question is: Is there a separate ART node in Pampangan? In the UESP, ART is the only obligatory element in the PS rule that rewrites DET (UESP, pg. 34). Thus, if it should be determined that there isn't a separate ART node, and that DET is only a cover term for a

group of categories, e.g., quantifiers, partitives, etc., all of which are optional, then the DET node itself would be optional. In attempting to find the answer to this question, certain other questions must be answered, or at least dealt with. 1) What kinds of features are usually manifested on articles? 2) What is the source of these features? 3) Where are they manifested in Pampangan? In addition, there are other questions whose answers are related to the answer to the basic question which must be considered. 4) To what node is the feature (+TOP)ic attached when it is inserted? 5) Where is the TRM to be attached? 6) Where is the Distinct Nominal Marker (DNM), the marker that occurs with a class of nominals that have the feature (+DIST)inct, to be attached? 7) Are the case and CRM nodes retained or deleted when a given case/NP is topicalized? 8) What node is rewritten as S in a nominalization? The ensuing discussion deals with each of these questions in turn. With some of the later questions, the way in which its answer is related to the answers to the other questions is also discussed.

#### 5.1.1 Kinds of features usually manifested on articles.

The syntactic features manifested on articles in various languages can be divided into three categories:

1) Noun-derived; 2) Contextual; 3) Situational.

Noun-derived features are those which, as the name implies, are derived from the head noun/nominal. They may

be involved in the basic meaning of the noun with which the article is used and signify a basic syntactic property,<sup>2</sup> e.g., 'boy' is (+CONC) (+COUNT) (+HUM) (+MASC), With some nouns, not all of the features just given with 'boy' are specified with a particular value in the lexicon, e.g., 'neighbor' has no inherent value for the feature (MASC), and 'champion' has no inherent value for the features (HUM) and (MASC). If a noun does not have an inherent value for a given feature, it is listed in the lexicon with an asterisk for that feature, e.g., 'neighbor' is (\*MASC), with the provision that all asterisks must be assigned a specific value (+/-) at the time of lexical insertion.<sup>3</sup>

Contextual features are those which are determined by the immediate constituency relationship(s) of the NP.

Situational features are those for which a given NP may/must be specified in a given instance, e.g., (DEF)inite, (SPEC)ific.<sup>4</sup>

These features are treated differently in different languages, e.g., English utilizes the feature (MASC) as a syntactic feature only in third person singular personal pronouns, not in other singular personal pronouns, not in

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<sup>2</sup>Not all semantic features are also syntactic, and we are interested here only in those that are.

<sup>3</sup>(MASC) could be called quasi-inherent for a noun like 'neighbor'. It is still noun-derived.

<sup>4</sup>The basis of distinguishing situational from quasi-inherent, even though both are specified at the time of lexical insertion, is discussed in sec. 5.1.2.

plural personal pronouns, not in other kinds of pronouns, and not in articles.<sup>5</sup> Pampangan makes no (MASC) distinction in its pronoun or article system at all, to whatever extent it can be said to have an article system. In some languages, e.g., French, Spanish, German, Latin, and Greek, pronouns, articles, and adjectives, as well as nouns, include inherent feature information such as (MASC).

English utilizes contextual features to make distinctions in pronouns, though not in articles. Pampangan expresses these features in the CRM's and in the pronouns. Some of the pro-forms include the contextual features as part of a single morphemic form, e.g., mu is second person singular and has the nontopic feature (+A)gentive as well. In other pro-forms, the case information, in the form of the CRM, is morphemically separable, e.g., keka is second person singular, having the (+DIST) Dative Relation Marker (DRM) ka(N), and the basic pronominal form ika. In the other languages mentioned above, contextual features are expressed in articles, pronouns, nouns, and adjectives.

The features which we have called situational are those which in English are expressed by articles and pronouns, but not by nouns. Similarly, in the other languages mentioned above, they are expressed in the articles, but

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<sup>5</sup>In the UESP, pronouns are a subset of articles. Wherever these two classes are contrasted herein, the term articles is to be understood as meaning, 'articles other than pronouns.'

not usually in the nouns. (Possible exceptions need not concern us here). In Pampangan, these features are for the most part left unspecified. Only one CRM, the Neutral Relation Marker (NRM), makes a distinction for the feature (DEF); -n is (-DEF), and kin is (+DEF). Not all verbs accept a (+DEF) N in a primary topicalization sentence. Were it not for the distinction made in the NRM, the feature (DEF) could be excluded altogether from the CRM's, and with it, the need for the node ART. The topic of a sentence that undergoes primary topicalization is always (+DEF).<sup>6</sup> It appears to be necessary, then, to retain the feature (DEF), wherever it is attached, for topic NP's. It is assumed in this grammar that the feature (+DEF) is inserted in the PS rules, and that its presence is necessary on a case/NP node in order for that case/NP to be topicalized by primary topicalization. This, in turn, requires that there be some node on which it can be introduced under every case node.

#### 5.1.2 Sources of features manifested on articles.

In those languages whose articles express noun-inherent features, it is obvious that they originate on

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<sup>6</sup>It is possible that we would not necessarily want to claim that the topic NP of every sentence is (+DEF). Chapter 6 considers the possibility that the topic of an existential sentence may be (-DEF), and that the two sentence types may be distinguished from one another, at least in part, if not solely, by the fact that they have a different value for that feature.

the noun, and it is a simple matter to account for their presence on the article by a transformation which copies them there from the head noun/nominal. The features remain on the head as well, so that they are manifested in both places, redundantly on the article. English has that rule for the features (COUNT) (HUM) (MASC) (PL). Articles use only (COUNT) to make the distinction a/some; pronouns use the others. In Pampangan, the features which have an effect, either on the surface form of the RM or on the introduction of the Agreement Particles (AP's), or both, and thus could be reasonable candidates for such a rule, are (CONC)rete, (COUNT) (DIST) (PL).

In those languages whose articles express contextual features, this kind of feature and its presence on the article can be accounted for in terms of the relationship of the NP to neighboring nodes. An example in English is the attachment of the feature (+ACCUS)ative to the ART of an NP that is immediately preceded by a preposition or a verb on the condition that they are a constituent (UESP, pg. 880).<sup>7</sup> In Pampangan, contextual features are manifested on the CRM/TRM, and are determined by the dominating case node, which, in turn, is determined in the PS rules. The feature (+TOP) is assumed to be a contextual feature.

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<sup>7</sup>This is valid for English since, in English, surface structure case information is manifested only on pronouns, a subset of articles, and on the genitive case, which is also an article in the UESP, pg. 896.

It is inserted by a transformation, but the node to which it is to be attached is determined by the specific case chosen for topicalization in the lexical item inserted under T.

The nature of situational features makes it more difficult to determine where they come from. They are obviously not contextual in the sense defined above. They are like features which were designated as quasi-inherent in footnote 3 in the sense that both are assigned a value in a particular occurrence of an item, not in the lexicon, and not by the syntactic relation to neighboring nodes. The two kinds of features must be distinguished from one another because relativization requires that those which we have called inherent and quasi-inherent be identical in the two NP's, but those which we have called contextual and situational are excluded from the identity requirement. That inherent and quasi-inherent features are both required to be identical is evident from the fact that the following two sentences are anomolous in exactly the same way and to the same degree, \*"The boy who is pregnant lives next door," \*"My neighbor who is pregnant is a nice fellow." This can only be accounted for if the conditions for relativization include identity of the value of the feature (MASC) equally for 'boy' and 'neighbor' in these two sentences. For the same reason, the feature (PL)ural is classified as noun-inherent/quasi-inherent, \*"The boys who lives next

door are nice fellows." Contextual features are not required to be identical. In the following example from English, the NP in the constituent sentence has the feature (+ACCUS), but not the NP in the matrix sentence, "The student on whom the responsibility fell did a good job." The claim that relativization does not involve identity of situational features may be somewhat more difficult to prove, but there are two fairly good evidences of it.

1) It has often been observed that a sentence like, "Every person I talked to agreed with me," does not entail, "I talked to every person." If it be granted that words like 'every' are composed of situational features, then it is very evident that the situational features of the NP's in the constituent and matrix sentences of the example just given are different.

2) The UESP takes the position, which is accepted here, that the situational features of a constituent NP that is relativized are always the same, regardless of the values of those features in the matrix sentence, viz., (-DEF) (+SPEC), and that relative clauses can occur with NP's whose situational features have different values, e.g., "I'm looking for a/the red-haired boy; have you seen one/him?" 'The' is (+DEF)(+SPEC), and 'a' is (-DEF)(+/-SPEC). If the features on the constituent NP are always the same, then the fact that the features on the matrix NP are unconstrained means identity of these features is not required.



Chomsky (1965) treated articles, and thus situational features, as a lexical category. Postal (1966) suggested that they be introduced as syntactic features on the head noun and later be segmentalized, i.e., copied out, for articles. If they are dealt with in this manner, then segmentalization must apply before relativization for the reason given above. But then, if just those features that we have called situational must be erased--the other features copied onto the article must not be erased, for their presence is required to establish the necessary identity conditions for relativization--then that is an argument for introducing them under a separate node in the PS rules. The UESP has adopted a position midway between these, viz., there is a PS category ART into which certain syntactic features are inserted in the first lexical lookup, but which are subject to change by various transformations.

In Pampangan, a nontopic case node never has a separate PS category ART.<sup>8</sup> Situational features could, then, be introduced on the CRM.

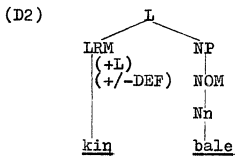
### 5.1.3 The place of manifestation of these features.

In English, situational features are manifested on ART in all instances. In Pampangan, as indicated above, these are the features which, for the most part, are left unspecified. In the one instance where the two values of

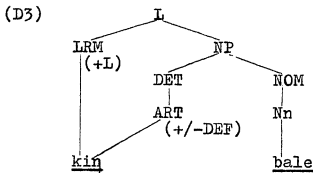
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<sup>8</sup>A possible exception to this, involving the feature (DIST), is discussed in sec. 5.1.6.

the feature (DEF) make a difference in a surface structure form, that form is the CRM. That is an argument in favor of introducing them in the deep structure on the CRM and of eliminating the node ART from the PS rules. The structure of a case node could be as represented in tree (D2).



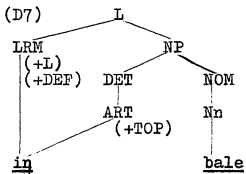
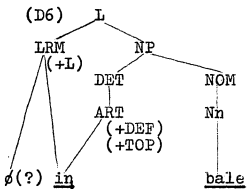
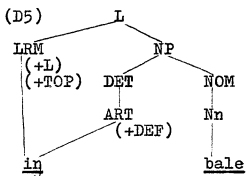
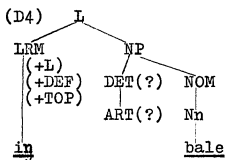
If the ART node be retained as the place of attachment of the feature (DEF), then its realization in the surface structure in the CRM would lead to postulating the following tree as representative of the structure of a case node.



#### 5.1.4 The place of attachment of the feature (+TOP)ic.

This feature is introduced by the topicalization transformation, which is discussed in Chapter 6. In the PS rules, the symbol T(topic) is introduced in the rewrite of AUX. A particular case topicalization is inserted

under T by lexical insertion. In the application of the topicalization transformation, the feature (+TOP) is attached to the node dominated by the case chosen for topicalization in that lexical insertion. Presumably, the actual node to which that feature is attached would be either the CRM or ART (if ART is included). It may be, but it need not be, the same as the node to which the feature (DEF) is attached. There are, then, four logically possible different ways in which the point of attachment of these two features can differ.



The (?) in (D4) indicates that there is no evidence that these nodes should be included in this structure if it be adopted. In (D6) it indicates that it is not known which of these two surface realizations to claim for the CRM.

Of these four points of attachment of these features, any one of the first three is considered possible. The fourth one, (D7), is rejected outright for the following reason. The basic motivation for including the node ART in the first place is to enable Pampangan to conform to a universal base in which situational features are introduced on the node ART. It would be unprincipled and contrary to the facts of Pampangan to attach the feature (+DEF) to the CRM and then introduce the node ART for the sole purpose of having a node to which to attach the feature (+TOP).

#### 5.1.5 The point of attachment of the TRM.

The TRM is here assumed to be attached to the node to which the feature (+TOP) is attached. This assumption is reflected in the trees included in the preceding subsection. It would be entirely unprincipled to attach it anywhere else. It is noted in sec. 5.1 that the TRM never occurs in addition to the CRM. It always occurs instead of it. Thus, it is possible to claim that the TRM is attached to the CRM node alone as in (D4), or to the CRM node jointly with the DET node as in (D5). If it is attached to the ART node alone as in (D6), then the CRM node, if present, could simply have a zero manifestation in the surface structure. The CRM node could be attached to the TRM in the manner indicated by the other line. If the TRM is considered as being attached to the CRM node in any one of the three ways indicated, it is with the provision that

the feature (+TOP) overrides, or possibly replaces, the case feature of the CRM.

#### 5.1.6 The point of attachment of the DNM.

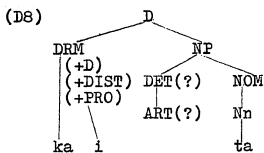
The DNM i occurs with nominals that have the feature which in this grammar is called (DIST)inct.<sup>9</sup> Personal names have this feature and so in topic position are preceded by the DNM, i pedro, 'Peter'. Personal pronouns have this feature, and their basic forms are preceded by the DNM as a long vowel, i·ka 'you (sg.)'. The basic form occurs in secondary topicalizations, but the initial i· is deleted in primary topicalizations. Deictics have this feature, and their basic forms are preceded by the DNM as a short vowel, e.g., ita 'that (one)'. The basic form with the DNM occurs in both primary and secondary topicalizations. The DNM also has a separate morphemic representation in some nontopic pro-forms, viz., A, D, and definite N deictics, and D personal pronouns, in addition to the fact that some of these have a (+DIST) CRM.<sup>10</sup>

This presents a problem. Presumably, the DNM should be attached to the same node in every instance where it occurs. If it is attached to the CRM node, then with some nontopic pro-forms, it would mean that two separate surface structure morphemes are attached to the same node.

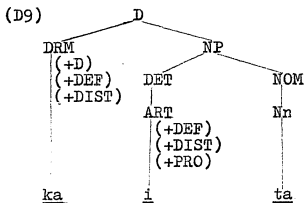
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<sup>9</sup>The reason for the choice of this term is given in Chapter 4, footnote 1.

<sup>10</sup>This is discussed more fully in Chapter 7.



This cannot be ruled out a priori, but it seems unlikely. Alternatively, the DNM could be attached to the ART node.



The feature (+DIST) is needed on both the DRM and the ART because both surface morphemes, ka and i, are (+DIST). The feature (+PRO) in both (D8) and (D9) serves a different purpose than in the UESP. It is claimed in Chapter 7 that the item ta in (D8) and (D9) is lexically inserted, and that the head morpheme in a personal pronoun is attached to the node NOM. The feature (+PRO) is then used in this position to account for the fact that the DNM occurs with deictics and personal pronouns in addition to the DRM. Personal names do not have that feature, so the DNM does not occur with them as a separate morpheme when preceded by the (+DIST) DRM. The absence of the feature (+TOP) accounts for the fact that the DRM has a separate surface

structure realization in the presence of the DNM. If we accept tree (D9) and the parallelism of the TRM and DNM, and they appear to be parallel in topic NP's, e.g., in anak 'the child', i pedro 'Peter', then we have a strong argument for attaching the feature (+DEF) to ART as in (D5) or (D6), regardless of where the feature (+TOP) is attached. This argues for (D9) as the structure of a nontopic case node and (D5) or (D6) as the structure of a topic case node.

#### 5.1.7 Fate of the case and CRM nodes in topicalization.

It was noted above that the TRM conveys no case information. This is true of the DNM as well. The CRM node, then, cannot be said to necessarily be present if the case/NP it is associated with is topicalized. If some feature(s) is/are attached to it which has/have an effect on the TRM, then of course it should be retained. This is the situation in (D4) and (D5). If no relevant feature is attached to it, as in (D6), then both the case and the CRM nodes could be deleted, and the NP node could be attached wherever the case node was previously attached.<sup>11</sup>

Conversely, if (D4) be adopted, then there is no need for the DET and ART nodes, and no need for the NP node either, i.e., the PS rule that rewrites the case node could be  $C_i \rightarrow C_i^{RM}$  NOM. However, it was noted earlier that other elements potentially included under DET, e.g., quan-

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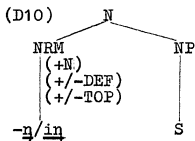
<sup>11</sup>This is somewhat similar to attaching subject NP's to S and deleting associated case and PREP nodes in English.

tifiers, have not been investigated in this grammar, and it may simply be that the apparent lack of a need for the node NP, if (D4) be adopted, is due to the fact that the option of including DET and one or more of its rewrites was not taken in the application of the PS rules.

#### 5.1.8 The node that rewrites as S.

In this grammar, only a node dominated by the N case, either NOM or NP, may be rewritten as S. This is the source of nominalizations, cf. Chapter 10. Which of these two nodes is it? The nominalized S is introduced by an RM. If that S is the topic of the matrix S, the RM is the TRM. If it is not the topic of the matrix S, the marker is the indefinite NRM. The implications of the choice of symbol that rewrites as S are as follows:

1) If that node is NP, then both the NRM and the TRM, and any features relevant to the surface structure form, must be attached to the NRM node as in (D10).



It is possible that the feature (+DEF) would not have to be included with (+TOP) here, but that is not investigated. The feature (+TOP) would be sufficient to make the distinction between the NRM and the TRM in the surface form.



2) If that node is NOM, then the NRM has its normal surface structure realization, and the TRM could be attached to either or both nodes, as in (D4) to (D6), except that NOM would be rewritten as S instead of Nn. The difference is so small that those trees are not redrawn to incorporate it.

It is argued in Chapter 10 that the node that rewrites as S must be NP. The main point of the argument is that sentential NP's cannot occur with either quantifiers or restrictive modifiers, a limitation which is accounted for in a natural way if NP rewrites as S. Otherwise, it must be accounted for in some ad hoc way. If this argument is accepted, and it seems to be quite strong, then (D10) must be accepted as correct, with at least the feature (+TOP) attached to NRM.

The evidence presented earlier seemed to favor attaching the features (+DEF) and (+DIST), and possibly (+TOP), to ART. Of the alternatives that can be conceived of, certain ones are clearly unacceptable.

- 1) The TRM cannot be attached solely to ART, and the GRM be realized as zero, as indicated by one line in (D6), because that would not allow a node to which to attach the TRM in nominalizations.
- 2) The TRM cannot be attached to different nodes when NOM rewrites as S and when it rewrites as Nn, for that would be totally ad hoc, and thus unacceptable.

3) The TRM and DNM in topic NP's cannot be attached to different nodes because that misses the obvious parallelism between the two structures.

4) If we claim that the DNM is always attached to the CRM node, then the fact that the CRM can precede the DNM means that we would have to claim that two surface structure morphemes are attached to one deep structure node as in (D8).

As indicated in sec. 5.1.6, there is evidence for claiming that the feature (+DIST) is attached to more than one node. We thus conclude that the node DET is necessary to provide that second point of attachment, the first being the CRM. We further conclude that the feature (+TOP) is attached to the CRM in order to have a node to which to attach the TRM when NP rewrites as S. The feature (DEF) could be attached to either CRM or DET. If attached to CRM, then it can have the value plus (+) when a sentential NP is the topic. If it is attached to DET, then the claim must be made that a sentential NP is not marked for definiteness, only for topic/nontopic status.

There is one more point to consider here. The PS rules allow PRED to rewrite as NP for the purpose of providing for definite PRED's in a construction called a secondary topicalization in this grammar. The justification of this rewrite is included in the discussion of secondary topicalization in Chapter 6, along with an argument against the inclusion of the essive case. A problem

with including NP as a rewrite of PRED, which is not discussed there, is that not including a case node for the attachment of the TRM forces the attachment of it to DET. Consistency should require attaching it to the same node in all instances. If we accept the conclusion given above, i.e., that the TRM is attached to a case node, then this may be a strong argument for the inclusion of the essive case in order to have the node ERM to which to attach the TRM in a secondary topicalization.

Although, as noted above, pronouns are a subclass of determiners in the UESP, the remaining sections of this chapter do not include a discussion of pronouns and deictics. They are included in Chapter 7. As noted above, with all other nominals, contextual information, i.e., case/topic, situational information, i.e., (DEF)(SPEC), and noun-inherent information, e.g., (DIST)(COUNT)(CONC), are all manifested in one form, the CRM/TRM. The discussion deals with the features (DIST), (DEF), COUNT, (CONC).

## 5.2 Distinct nouns.

Distinct nouns are those which are most like proper nouns in English. They differ from English proper nouns in two important respects: 1) Topic distinct nouns are preceded by an overt formative whereas English subject proper nouns are not, e.g., i pedro, \*pedro; 'Peter', \*'the Peter'; 2) Fewer nouns are included in this category in Pampangan than are included as proper nouns in English.

5.2.1 The surface form of the distinct CRM/TRM.

The surface form of the RM depends on two things other than the feature (+DIST): 1) The number of the nominal, singular/plural; 2) The syntactic relation, case/topic. The surface forms are given in a chart on pg. 62 and are repeated here for convenience.

CASE	SINGULAR	PLURAL
N (-DEF)	-	-
A	-ŋ	di
D, Di, L N (+DEF)	kaŋ	kari
B	para kaŋ	para kari
Ca	uli naŋ	uli (da) di
I	kapami.latan naŋ	kapami.latan da di
T	i	di

The blank for the (-DEF) N is due to the fact that (+DIST) nouns are also (+DEF). A few examples of sentences with (+DIST) nouns are:

(5.1) masikan ya i pedro

Peter is strong.

(5.2) i.kit neŋ pedro iŋ anak

Peter saw the child.

(5.3) mena.ya ku kaŋ pedro

I waited for Peter.

Because (+DIST) nouns are also (+DEF), they cannot be used with verbs which do not allow a definite nontopic

N.

(5.4) \*mena·kit ku kaŋ pedro<sup>12</sup>

I saw Peter.

Plural CRM's may be used either with conjoined nominals or with a single nominal with the implication that there are others with that one.

(5.5) i·kit ku la di pedro at wan

I saw Peter and John.

(5.6) i·kit ku la di pedro

I saw Peter and the others who were with him.

(5.7) i·kit de iŋ anak di pedro at wan

Peter and John saw the child.

(5.8) i·kit de iŋ anak di pedro

Peter and the others with him saw the child.

(5.9) mena·kit yaŋ anak i pedro

Peter saw a child.

(5.10) mena·kit laŋ anak di pedro (at wan)

Peter and {John  
the others with him} saw a child.

#### 5.2.2 The nouns included in the class.

Only personal names are included in the class of distinct nouns in Philippine languages. Names of cities, institutions, etc., are not included as they are in English.

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<sup>12</sup>Another meaning of a·kit is 'get', and Ex. 5.4 is grammatical with the meaning, 'I was able to get something from Peter.'

(5.11) maragul ya {<sup>\*i</sup><sub>iŋ</sub>} meni·la

Manila is large.

(5.12) ati yu {<sup>\*kan</sup><sub>kiŋ</sub>} nama·rko iŋ lala·ki

The man is in Namarco (National Marketing Corp.).

### 5.3 Definite/indefinite.

As noted earlier, all of the CRM's but one are unspecified for the feature of definiteness. For that reason, the contrast can be observed in only one, and possibly two, places. The NRM has the form -ŋ when used with an indefinite NP, and kiŋ when used with a definite one. As with (+DIST) RM's, the surface form of the RM depends on the number of the nominal and the syntactic relation. The surface forms of the (+/-DEF)(-DIST) CRM/TRM's are given in the chart on pg. 62, and are repeated here.

CASE	SINGULAR	PLURAL
N (-DEF)	-ŋ	-ŋ
A	niŋ	diŋ
D, Di, L, N (+DEF)	kiŋ	kariŋ
B	para kiŋ	para kariŋ
Ca	uli niŋ	uli (da) diŋ
I	kapami·latan na niŋ	kapami·latan da di
T	iŋ	diŋ

A comparison of this chart with the (+DIST) chart reveals certain similarities, particularly in that portion

of the last three which conveys the semantic part of the CRM. The differences are seen to exist almost entirely in either the vowel: a (+DIST), i (-DIST); or the presence/absence of -ŋ: ɔ (+DIST), -ŋ (-DIST). An analysis which would decompose the CRM's into various parts and correlate certain parts with (+DIST) and/or other features is thus presumably possible but is not undertaken here.

As noted above, not all verbs can take a definite nontopic N in their case frames. This, then, is a feature for which verbs should be marked in the lexicon. This study has not attempted to determine the value of this feature for every verb. It could be independent of all other features or linked with one or more of them.

(5.13) mena.ya yaŋ anak iŋ lala.ki

The man waited for a child.

(5.14) mena.ya ya kiŋ anak iŋ lala.ki<sup>13</sup>

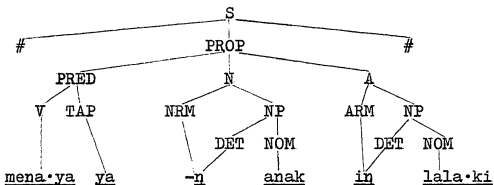
The man waited for the child.

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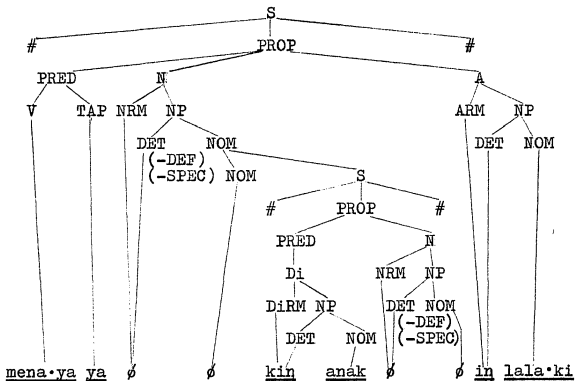
<sup>13</sup>One informant, a public school teacher in the first grade in the Pampangan speaking area (thus one who uses Pampangan in the classroom, a somewhat formal situation), claims that this sentence does not involve a definite N. Instead, the translation should be, 'The man waited for something from the child.' Similarly for Ex. 5.16. Furthermore, Ex. 5.18 is grammatical for her with this meaning. In Pampangan there is no overt form meaning 'something', so there is no reason why this meaning would not be possible. She is the last informant consulted, so there has been no opportunity to check this with anyone else. If this explanation is correct, then there is no alternation here. The apparent alternation is instead a matter of the presence vs. the absence of a head noun (and also an NRM) of the NP dominated by the N case. The structure of Ex. 5.13 with a noun present as the overtly manifested head of the N NP is (omitting details):

(5.15) menintun yang anak ing lala·ki

The man looked for a child.



The structure of Ex. 5.14 without a noun present as the overtly manifested head of the NP dominated by the N case would be something like the following. The reason there is no overtly manifested head is that Pampangan has no overt form meaning 'something' or 'one' as a pro-form. The surface form is simply zero. There is, of course, room for disagreement as to the exact structure of, and manner of introducing and attaching, the modifier. It is only the general facts that concern us here.





- (5.16) menintun ya kiŋ anak  
The man looked for the child.
- (5.17) mena.kit yaŋ anak iŋ lala.ki  
The man saw a child.
- (5.18) \*mena.kit ya kiŋ anak iŋ lala.ki  
The man saw the child.
- (5.19) mekamate yaŋ manuk iŋ lala.ki  
The man killed a chicken.
- (5.20) \*mekamate ya kiŋ manuk iŋ lala.ki  
The man killed the chicken.

Though Ex's. 5.18 and 5.20, which involve primary topicalization, may not contain a definite NRM, a secondary topicalization and a relative clause may. The indefinite NRM is a suffix, and as such it may be added to an agreement particle or to the stem of a verb that ends in a vowel. If the verb stem ends in a consonant, the NRM has a zero form. The N NP may then be preceded by kiŋ if it is definite or by the zero allomorph if it is indefinite.

- (5.21) iŋ lala.ki iŋ mena.kit anak  
The man is the one who saw a child.
- (5.22) kakila.la ke iŋ lala.kiŋ mena.kit anak  
I know the man who saw a child.
- (5.23) iŋ lala.ki iŋ mena.kit kiŋ anak  
The man is the one who saw the child.
- (5.24) kakila.la ke iŋ lala.kiŋ mena.kit kiŋ anak  
I know the man who saw the child.

The other place where a contrast may appear between definite and indefinite is in topicalization. It is generally agreed by grammarians of Philippine languages that the TRM is (+DEF). Can it be claimed that only (+DEF) NP's can be topics? If so, upon what basis? The answer to the first question is yes, at least in primary topicalization. The answer to the second question is by defining topic in a manner different from that of subject, i.e., by defining it as something like, 'The NP that is the center of attention or focus,' hence, definite. It is however, most apt to be definite because of a previous reference. Even in the English sentence, "Peter saw the child," (the translation of Ex. 5.2), there is the presupposition that both the speaker and the hearer know which child is referred to. In English, this presupposition is expressed by the article of the NP, independently of which NP is the subject. In Philippine languages, it is expressed by the topicalization of that NP. By definition, then, an indefinite NP cannot be the primary topic of a sentence. However, Pampangan, and Philippine languages generally, do have existential sentences, cf. Chapter 6, which have an NP which functions like a topic in the sense that it is the thing that the sentence is about. It could be called a subject. In this study it is called the apparent topic. It is indefinite and does not presuppose a previous reference. If this designation is correct, then topicalization with the TRM

occurs with (+DEF) NP's, and apparent topicalization, resulting in an existential sentence, occurs with (-DEF) NP's. This possibility is discussed at some length in Chapter 6. It is noted there, however, that the matter is complicated by the fact that in existential sentences which contain a lexically inserted PRED, there are two strong evidences that the sentences contain two S nodes: 1) There are two predicate-like elements: a) The lexical item inserted under the verb node, and b) atin, which functions as a Dummy Symbol (DS) predicate in some other sentences; 2) There is the possibility of two NEG's, e.g., alan e meko 'There wasn't anybody who didn't leave.' The conclusion reached there is that existential sentences do indeed have a (-DEF)(+SPEC) topic.<sup>14</sup> The apparent topic is preceded by the indefinite NRM, -n, and it may be followed by a relative clause.<sup>15</sup> If existential sentences are derived from deep structures with a single S node (except that the topic NP may dominate an S), then (-DEF)(+SPEC) NP's which occur under case nodes which are marked for topicalization in the MOD become apparent topics in existential sentences, and (+DEF)(+SPEC) NP's in that position become topics in

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<sup>14</sup>They also differ from deep structures that undergo primary topicalization in other ways, but they do not concern us here.

<sup>15</sup>The possibility is also considered there that the deep structure topic of a sentence that undergoes secondary topicalization may also be indefinite.

primary topicalization sentences and are preceded by the TRM. It is probably the case that (-SPEC) NP's are not topicalized. The indefinite nontopic NRM is apparently not specified for the value of the feature (SPEC).

(5.25) ma·nintun kuꞑ anak a maragul;  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{i·kit me?} \\ \text{mena·kit ka?} \\ \text{atin kaꞑ anak?} \end{array} \right.$

I'm looking for a large child;

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{have you seen him?} \\ \text{have you seen (one)?} \\ \text{is there one you've seen?} \end{array} \right.$

#### 5.4 Count and concrete.

There are two more features or combinations of features which have a syntactic effect which must be considered. The syntactic effect is in the presence vs. the absence of the Topic Agreement Particle (TAP). If a sentence is in the AT form (or DT form for verbs that do not have an A in their case frames, or NT form for predicates that have neither an A nor a D in their case frames), the TAP is obligatory.

(5.26) mena·kit  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{yan} \\ \text{*}\phi \end{array} \right\}$  anak in lala·ki

The man saw a child.

If these sentences undergo secondary topicalization or relativization, or occur as existential sentences, they may not contain a TAP, cf. Ex's. 5.21 and 5.23, and the following.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>These may be variants of the same process.

(5.27) in lala·ki in mena·ya (\*ya)  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kin} \\ -\eta \end{array} \right\}$  anak

The man is the one who waited for  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{the} \\ a \end{array} \right\}$  child.

(5.28) kakila·la ke in lala·kin mena·ya (\*ya)  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kin} \\ -\eta \end{array} \right\}$  anak

I know the man who waited for  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{the} \\ a \end{array} \right\}$  child.

(5.29) atin lala·kin mena·ya (\*ya)  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kin} \\ -\eta \end{array} \right\}$  anak

There was a man (who was) waiting for  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{the} \\ a \end{array} \right\}$  child.

Ex. 5.27 may contain a TAP, but not in the place indicated.

It must be after the initial NP.

(5.30) in lala·ki (ya) in mena·ya  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kin} \\ -\eta \end{array} \right\}$  anak

The man is the one who waited for  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{the} \\ a \end{array} \right\}$  child.

The matter of the presence vs. the absence of the TAP in Ex's. 5.20 to 5.30 is discussed in Chapter 6 where it is noted that the difference may be accounted for either by an ordering of the transformations so that, in secondary topicalizations and relativizations, the topic is removed from domination by the S node before the application of the transformation that introduces the TAP, or by postulating a deep structure topic that is (-DEF)(+SPEC), and then claiming that only (+DEF) topics lead to the introduction of a TAP.

If a simple sentence is in some other topic form, there is in addition to the TAP an Agentive Agreement Particle (AAP), which precedes the TAP, and which is optional under certain conditions, cf., Chapter 6.

(5.31) pena·ya ne in̄ anak niŋ lala·ki<sup>17</sup>

The man waited for the child.

Ex. 5.31 and 5.32 would be incorrect without a TAP. Other sentences, e.g., Ex. 5.33, would be incorrect with a TAP. Still others, e.g., Ex. 5.34 may contain one, but the presence/absence thereof is correlated with a difference in meaning which must be accounted for in some way.

(5.32) i·kit {<sup>\*ku</sup><sub>ke</sub>} in̄ {  
i·lug  
a·su  
anak  
lamesa

I saw the {  
river.  
dog.  
child.  
table.

(5.33) i·kit {<sup>ku</sup><sub>\*ke</sub>} in̄ {  
uran  
danum  
silab  
pa·le  
abyas  
na·si

I saw the {  
rain.  
water.  
fire.  
unhusked rice.  
husked rice.  
cooked rice.

(5.34a) i·kit ku in̄ {  
maran̄le  
kalamundin̄  
pera<sup>18</sup>  
batu

<sup>17</sup>The underlying structure has the sequence na ya. This is obligatorily contracted to ne. Both AP's have different forms for different person and number categories. A full list, including contractions, is given in Chapter 7.

<sup>18</sup>This sentence is correct meaning, 'I earned the money.' That does not invalidate the analysis made here.

I saw the { open land.  
calamansi.  
money.  
stone/rock.

(b) i·kit ke in { marangle  
kalamundin  
pera  
batu

I saw the. { particular field.  
calamansi tree.<sup>19</sup>  
piece of money.  
stone (as in a ring).

A correlated syntactic feature is that dakal 'much, many', may be used with the nouns in both Ex. 5.32 and 5.33, but when it is used with the nouns in Ex. 5.33, it uses the singular TRM and no TAP.

(5.35) dakal (\*ya) in { uran  
danum  
silab  
pa·le  
abyas  
na·si

There is a lot of<sup>20</sup> { rain.  
water.  
fire.  
unhusked rice.  
husked rice.  
cooked rice.

When dakal is used with the nouns in Ex. 5.32, it occurs with the plural TRM and TAP.

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<sup>19</sup>The fact that the tree is the referent in this sentence does not invalidate the analysis made here.

<sup>20</sup>An existential sentence is used in the translation because the sentence, \*"The rain is much," is not grammatical.

(5.36) dakal la diŋ

{ i.lug  
la.mesa<sup>21</sup>  
a.su  
a.nak<sup>21</sup>

There are a lot of

{ rivers.  
tables.  
dogs.  
children.

All of the nouns in all of the examples are (+CONC), which eliminates that as a possible distinguishing feature. All those in Ex. 5.33 are (-HUM), but those in Ex. 5.32 include both (+/-HUM). Those in Ex. 5.33 are all (-COUNT), and those in Ex. 5.32 are all (+COUNT). Those in Ex. 5.34 can be either, and the different meanings are associated with the different values of this feature. It must, then, be the feature which determines the presence/absence of the TAP in these sentences. The fact that some nouns can have either value for the feature (COUNT) is not surprising. English nouns such as 'salad' and 'coke' can have either value. The value of the feature must simply be specified at the time of insertion into a tree. In a few instances, the meaning difference may be great enough to warrant having two lexical entries. Some (-COUNT) nouns may in some instances take a TAP, but this phenomenon is rare and of doubtful grammaticality.

(5.37) ininum<sub>{<sup>ku</sup>  
?ke}</sub> in danum

I drank the water.

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<sup>21</sup>If the vowel in the first syllable of a singular count noun is short and followed by a single consonant, it is lengthened in the plural.



The feature (GEN)eric apparently has no effect.

(5.38) masikan } ya in damu.lag  
maragul }

The carabao is {strong.  
large.

(5.39) bya.sa } ya in ta.2u  
animal }

(The) man is {intelligent.  
an animal.

These sentences are ungrammatical without the TAP, and they are ambiguous in meaning between generic and nongeneric.<sup>22</sup>

All of the nouns used so far have been (+CONC). If a noun is (-CONC) (-COUNT), it does not lead to the introduction of a TAP.

(5.40) buri {ku } in { legwan  
\*ke } { si.kanan  
katipiran } na  
katapatan }

I like {his } { beauty.  
her } { strength.  
industriousness.  
thrift.  
honesty.

If a noun is (-CONC) (+COUNT), it does not take a TAP in the singular. If it is plural, then it takes both the plural TRM and the plural TAP.

(5.41) sina.bi {ku } kaya in { idi.ya<sup>23</sup>  
\*ke } { isi.pan  
pama.lak<sup>23</sup> } ku  
disi.syon<sup>23</sup> }

<sup>22</sup>One informant accepted these sentences without a TAP and said the absence thereof made them generic.

<sup>23</sup>The borrowed English words are so common that the informant could not think of the Pampangan words here.

I told him my {  
idea.  
thought.  
opinion.  
decision.

(5.42) sina·bi ku {  
la  
\*ø } kaya diŋ {  
i·di·ya  
i·si·pan  
pa·ma·lak  
di·si·syon

I told him my {  
ideas.  
thoughts.  
opinions.  
decisions.

(5.43) pigtapat na {  
ø in  
la diŋ } kri·men niŋ lala·ki

kiŋ pulis

The man confessed the {  
crime  
crimes } to the policeman.

## Chapter 6

### TOPICALIZATION

#### 6.1 Primary topicalization.

From among the actants in the case frame, one becomes the topic of the sentence by a transformation. The choice as to which case is to be topicalized is determined by lexical insertion under Topic (T) in AUX. T has a particular case topicalization inserted under it, and if that case is not present in that sentence, the tree is rejected. In discourse the choice as to which case is to be topicalized is rarely free. It is usually determined by which NP has been mentioned or has been most prominent in the preceding discussion. The topicalized NP is the topic of the sentence, and the remainder of the sentence is the comment. The topic NP is always definite in a primary topicalization sentence.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The possibility is considered in sec. 6.2 that existential sentences may be the surface structure realizations of deep structures with indefinite NP's in cases which are topicalized. Existential sentences are not considered as undergoing primary topicalization.

A brief, rather superficial comparison of English subjectivalization and Pampangan topicalization may be helpful at this point. As will be noted, they are not equivalent processes, but for the purpose of establishing a parallelism for comparison, English active and passive voice are paired with Pampangan Agentive Topic (AT) and Neutral Topic (NT) respectively. In the comparison below, the translation equivalents in Pampangan of English sentences 6 and 8 are the same because, as noted in Chapter 4, the Agentive Relation Marker (ARM) is not specified for the

value of the feature (DEF)inite. The three variables: voice (topic), definite/indefinite topic, and definite/indefinite nontopic make a total of eight possibilities. The verb mana-ya 'wait for' is used because it allows either a definite or an indefinite nontopic N. Not all Pampangan verbs allow a definite nontopic N.

ENGLISH	PAMPANGAN
1. A man waited for a child.	- - -
2. A child was waited for by a man.	- - -
3. The man waited for a child.	mena-ya yan anak in lala-ki
4. A child was waited for by the man.	- - -
5. A man waited for the child.	- - -
6. The child was waited for by a man.	pena-ya ne in anak niy lala-ki
7. The man waited for the child.	mena-ya ya kin anak in lala-ki
8. The child was waited for by the man.	pena-ya ne in anak niy lala-ki

It will be noticed immediately that the gaps on the Pampangan side occur where the English sentence has an indefinite subject. This is because, as noted above, the topic of a Pampangan sentence is always definite in a sentence with primary topicalization. If existential sentences were included as sentences with indefinite topics, there would be no gaps. The two processes could, then, be considered as complementary to one another, and the choice as to which one applies would be determined by the value of the feature (DEF) on the DET of the NP of the case that is chosen for topicalization in a given sentence.

The source of the value of that feature must be given some attention. Presumably, some value is assigned to it at the time of insertion into a tree. If we assume, as suggested above, that primary topicalizations and existential sentences differ in their deep structures only in the value of the feature (DEF) on the DET of the topicalized NP, then it must not be the case that primary topicalization is permitted to change the value of that feature, or else no deep structures would be realized as existential sentences. It must, then, be the case that the value of this feature is not changed by the topicalization transformation. If the deep structures underlying the two sentence types are determined to differ in some other significant way, then this restriction would not need to apply. The topic-like NP in an existential sentence would still, however, need to have the value minus (-) on (DEF).

The sentences that are discussed in this section can be divided into three categories:

- 1) Sentences in which PRED is rewritten as a lexical category, V or ADJ, or as a symbol which in turn may be rewritten as a lexical category, NOM. If PRED is rewritten as ADJ or NOM, there is usually one case in the case frame, and it is probably either N or D. There are probably some adjectives, e.g., 'anxious' and 'certain', which can have both an N and a D in their case frames. If PRED is rewritten as V, there may be several cases in the case frame, and usually almost any one of them can be topicalized. As discussed in Chapter 4, the affix on the verb indicates what the underlying case of the topicalized NP was.
- 2) Sentences in which PRED is rewritten as Dummy Symbol (DS), which, as the name implies, does not have any inherent lexical meaning, but simply holds the place of the predicate until the topicalization transformation is applied, and in which DS is replaced by a case.
- 3) Sentences in which PRED is rewritten as DS, and in which DS is not replaced by a case.

The third category bears certain similarities to each of the first two. It is like the second in that PRED is rewritten as DS in both. It is like the first in that neither involves reattachment of a case node under PRED. For the purpose of writing the topicalization rule, similarity to the first category is more significant.

Following are examples of the different types of sentences.

1) Sentences in which PRED dominates a lexical category.

1a) PRED dominates V.

(6.1) mejan yaŋ manga iŋ anak

The child ate a mango.

(6.2) pejan ne iŋ manga niŋ anak

The child ate the mango.

1b) PRED dominates ADJ.

(6.3) masikan ya iŋ anak

The child is strong.

1c) PRED dominates NOM.

(6.4) mestro ya iŋ lala·ki

The man is a teacher.

2) Sentences in which PRED is rewritten as DS, which is subsequently replaced by a case. The topic is always N.

2a) DS replaced by D.

(6.5) kiŋ anak ya iŋ libru

The book is the child's/belongs to the child.

2b) DS replaced by B.

(6.6) para kiŋ anak ya iŋ libru

The book is for the child.

2c) DS may be replaced by A only if A dominates a distinct nominal. Also, the ARM is spelled out in the surface structure in the same form as the (+DIST)inct DRM, so that Ex. 6.7a is ambiguous between A and D derivations of the

case that appears under PRED. Because only a distinct nominal can occur in this position if introduced under A, Ex. 6.5 above is not ambiguous.

(6.7a) kaŋ ra·mus ya iŋ libru

The book is by/belongs to Ramos.

(b) \*niŋ lala·ki ya iŋ libru

?The book is by the man.

2d) When DS is replaced by Di, the DiRM takes the form pa, which in the orthography is written as a prefix on the noun.

(6.8) paba·gyu ya iŋ bus

The bus is/goes to Baguio.

2e) DS replaced by I.

(6.9) kapami·latan na niŋ aksidente iŋ sugat

?The injury is by means of the accident.

2f) DS replaced by Ca is of doubtful grammaticality.

(6.10) ?uli niŋ pi·sta ya iŋ tera·kan

The dancing is because of the feast.

2g) DS may not be replaced by L. The idea that Ex. 6.11 is trying to express is expressed by Ex. 6.13 instead.

(6.11) \*kiŋ bale ya iŋ anak

The child is in the house.

2h) DS may not, of course, be replaced by N when N is the topic. It may if some other case is the topic. This possibility is discussed below in connection with Ex. 6.14.

3) Sentences in which PRED is rewritten as DS, which is not subsequently replaced by a case. In such a sentence,

DS is spelled out in the second lexical lookup. Its form is determined by the case that is topicalized.

3a) DS with a Dative Topic (DT). The other case is N.

(6.12) atin yaŋ libru iŋ anak

The child has a book.

3b) DS with a Neutral Topic (NT). The other case is L.

(6.13) ati yu kiŋ bale iŋ anak

The child is in the house.

3c) DS apparently does not occur with any other case as topic. (No examples of ungrammatical sentences are given).

There is one sentence form, an alternate surface form of Ex. 6.12, which presents a special problem.

(6.14) miki libru ya iŋ anak.

The child has a book.

The nature of the special problem is this: Where shall miki be attached? i.e., What is it a spelling of? There are two possibilities: 1) It is an alternate surface form of atin; 2) It is the NRM. If miki is the NRM, then Ex. 6.14 belongs under 2 as an instance of the replacement of DS by a case node. If it is an alternate spelling of atin, then Ex. 6.14 could be included under 3 as an example of a DS PRED that is spelled out in the second lexical lookup.

The arguments in favor of the two alternatives are as follows.

1) If miki is considered as an alternate surface form of atin, there is a considerable simplification of the topic-



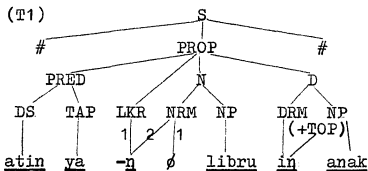
alization process. (Various possibilities are presented below). Topicalization can be provided for with one or two fairly simple rules. If topicalization can insert N under PRED as a replacement of DS, then either: a) One rule must be made considerably more complicated to include it, or b) A separate rule is required to provide for one type of sentence which is simply an alternate surface form of another type of sentence.

The nature of the problem--the reason why a separate rule, or a complication of the one rule, is required--is this. An ordered base is assumed in the rules, i.e., a left-to-right ordering of the elements. If a sentence contains a DS PRED and the cases N and D, either case may be topicalized, and the other case may be inserted under PRED as a replacement of DS. One simple rule cannot accomplish both operations because a string that meets the structure index for one transformation will not meet the structure index for the other.

2) The argument in favor of considering miki as the surface form of the NRM, occurring in initial position as a result of replacement of DS by the N case, is more involved.

2a) It seems fairly obvious that the case that dominates the NP that follows atin and miki is N. In a sentence that has atin, atin is immediately followed by the Topic Agreement Particle (TAP), which in turn is immediately followed by -ŋ. This is the phonological form of the

indefinite NRM,<sup>2</sup> Since that is its form, we seem to have a good reason for calling it the NRM. If we call it something else, and attach it some place else, then it means that we must delete the NRM<sup>3</sup> and transformationally insert in its place another formative which is phonologically identical in its surface realization with the deleted form. This appears to be totally ad hoc. In other words, this argument involves making the claim that, in tree (T1) below, the line numbered 2 represents the correct point of attachment of -n rather than 1, for Ex. 6.12. The number 1 is also used to indicate the deletion of the NRM that is entailed by the designation of -n as a linker. The point of attachment of the linker is arbitrary, but reasonable. (Some details are omitted).

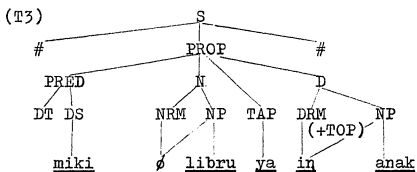
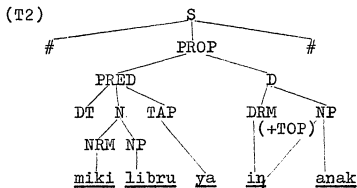


<sup>2</sup>By way of comparison, in Tagalog, the NRM is nan (spelled ng in the standard orthography), and the formative which occurs in this position is -n, and is called "linker two". ("Linker one" is used in modification constructions). The NRM and linker two are thus seen to be quite different from each other in Tagalog, which gives greater justification to making a distinction between them in that language.

<sup>3</sup>This is apparently what is done in Tagalog.

If -*n* is considered to be the NRM in Ex. 6.12, tree (T1), then the door is opened to the possibility that the NRM may also be present in the sentence that has *miki* instead of *atin*, Ex. 6.14. This does not, of course, prove that that is the correct analysis, but it does show that it is possible and reasonable.

Before going on to a consideration of the other reasons for considering *miki* as an NRM rather than as an alternate spelling of *atin*, we present the trees showing the two structures correlated with the two possible classifications of *miki*. Tree (T2) represents *miki* as an NRM; tree (T3) represents it as a DS PRED. The reason for presenting the trees here is that the remaining arguments have to do with parts of the trees. (Details are omitted).



The point of attachment of the TAP in the last tree is not certain. It might be to N (not to D since it is enclitic, not proclitic), but it seems more likely that it would be PROP than a case node.

2b) If miki is taken as an alternate spelling of atin, then there is no principled basis for accounting for the deletion of the NRM since it could reasonably be expected to follow a DS PRED. The fact that miki is not a full word is irrelevant since the NRM is most frequently attached to an enclitic, which, of course, is not a full word, either. Since miki ends with a vowel, we would expect \*mikin libru ya in anak for Ex. 6.14, 'The child had a book', but this is definitely ungrammatical.<sup>4</sup>

2c) The position of the TAP in the sentence is difficult to account for. Its position is most easily stated as being after the first full word. How is full word to be defined? Certainly not phonologically. The most common spelling of NEG is e, and it functions as a full word, e.g., eya masikan in anak, 'The child is not strong.' Furthermore, miki has the same number of phonemes as atin. There is thus no phonological basis for distinguishing atin as a full word from miki as not a full word.

More relevant, however, is the fact that the spelling out of DS is accomplished in the second lexical lookup,

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<sup>4</sup>The force of this argument depends, of course, upon acceptance of the preceding argument, i.e., that -ŋ is the NRM and not a linker.

after the application of all the transformations, including the one which inserts the TAP. This means that, at the time of the application of the transformation which inserts the TAP, the choice between miki and atin would not have been made, if they are simply alternate spellings of the same symbol.

There are two possible solutions to this problem. One is to introduce some item, either transformationally or as a fifth alternate rewrite of PRED, which could be assigned the value plus (+) or minus (-) Full Word (FW) at the time of insertion into the tree. The value of this feature would then determine the spelling of that symbol and the point of attachment of the TAP. If that symbol is introduced transformationally, it would be by a rule, or by an additional SC on an existing rule, which is not included in this grammar. If it is introduced as a fifth rewrite of PRED, another symbol is needed, Dummy Predicate (DP), under which only two items, atin and miki, can be inserted lexically. This possibility is included below in the rules that provide for topicalization. The weakness of this solution is that it appears to be quite ad hoc. The other solution is to claim that DS has the feature (\*FW), and that a value is assigned to it at the time of lexical insertion. The problem with this solution is that, if it has the value minus (-), and NT is inserted under T, and the other case is L, then one of two courses is open:

a) Give the rule that results in Ex. 6.13 power to change the value of the feature (FW), or b) Allow only those trees in which (FW) has the value plus (+) to be realized as sentences and reject those in which it has the value minus (-). This solution is better than the first one.

If the analysis of miki as an NRM is accepted, then its classification as not being a full word has a perfectly natural explanation since CRM's are not full words.

2d) There is a related fact which deserves separate mention, and that is the point of attachment of the TAP. It is usually attached to PRED, and usually as the right daughter. It is not the right daughter of a multiple word predicate. It may be attached as right sister of an element in MOD. According to tree (T3), it would be attached either to PROP, or possibly as the right daughter of the N case node. It could not possibly be attached to PRED. If tree (T2) is accepted, then the TAP can be attached to PRED in what would be considered its normal place of attachment, and Ex. 6.14 would not be an exception.

The arguments in favor of both alternatives appear to be quite strong, and no definite choice is made here. Rules are written to correspond with both alternatives.

It was stated earlier that there are various possible ways of providing for topicalization. The first way to be presented here is to have one rule for general topicalization, i.e., topicalization when PRED has been rewrites

ten as a lexical category, and another rule for the replacement of DS, which is still needed, even if DP is included, for sentences in which a case is inserted under PRED in the topicalization process.<sup>5</sup>

The rule for general topicalization is as follows:

Rule T1:

$$\text{SI: } S(\# \text{ X } C_i T \text{ X } \left. \begin{array}{c} V \\ \text{ADJ} \\ \text{NOM} \\ \text{DP} \end{array} \right\} \text{ X } C_i (C_i \text{RM NP}) \text{ X } \#)$$

1                      2                      3

SC: 1. Attach 1 as left sister of 2.  
2. Erase original 1.  
3. Attach the feature (+TOP) to 3.

Rule T2:

$$\text{SI: } S(\# \text{ X } NT \text{ X } DS \text{ } N(\text{NRM NP}) C_i \text{ X } \#)$$

1                      2                      3                      4

Condition: If 4 is A, it dominates (+DIST).

SC: 1. Attach 1 as left sister of 2.  
2. Erase original 1.  
3. Attach the feature (+TOP) to 3.  
4. If 4 is not L, replace 2 with 4, and erase original 4.

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<sup>5</sup>The following conventions are followed in these rules. They are based on observed practice in the UESP. The number of the rule in the UESP in which each is observed is given after each one. 1. Dominating and dominated nodes may be deleted simultaneously, Rules 13, 15, 22. 2. When a node is reattached, the node that dominated it may be left behind with the assumption that tree pruning deletes it at a later time, Rules 7, 32. 3. If a node is moved that dominates other nodes, all that it dominates is moved as part of the reattachment, Rule 29. 4. X includes symbols, lexical items, and parentheses, Rules 3 and 11. 5. Not every item must be numbered, Rules 5, 26, and 30.

Rule T1 provides for Ex's. 6.1 to 6.4, 6.12, and 6.14. Rule T2 provides for Ex's. 6.5 to 6.10, and, by virtue of the condition on SC4, Ex. 6.13. The condition on Rule T2 allows the generation of Ex. 6.7a, but not 6.7b.

The second way is to have one rule provide for all topicalizations. Rule T3 does that. It is more complicated than rule T1 or T2, but not greatly so.

Rule T3:

$$SI: S(\# X C_1 T X \left\{ \begin{array}{l} V \\ ADJ \\ NOM \\ DP \\ DS \end{array} \right\} X C_i (C_i RM NP) X (C_j) X \#)$$

1
2
3
4

- SC: 1. Attach 1 as left sister of 2.  
 2. Erase original 1.  
 3. Attach the feature (+TOP) to 3.  
 4. If 1 is NT, 2 is DS and 4 is not L, or if 4 is A, it dominates an item marked (+DIST), replace 2 with 4 and erase original 4.

Since the first three SC's are the same for rules T1 and T2, this rule achieves economy by stating them only once. The difference between the SI's of the first two rules is covered by the elaborate conditions on SC4 in rule T3, enabling it to provide for Ex's. 6.5 to 6.10. All the other examples involve lexical insertion under some rewrite of PRED, and the cases required/permitted by a particular PRED are accounted for in the case frame of that item in the lexicon.  $C_j$  is in parentheses because it is required for the application of SC4, but may not occur in the case frame of many lexically inserted items.



In both methods of topicalization discussed so far, DP is assumed as a possible rewrite of PRED. However, as is noted in the general discussion, if atin is considered as a spelling of DS, and miki as an NRM, the process of topicalization is more complicated. The third way of providing for topicalization is like the first in that it utilizes two rules, one for general topicalization, i.e., when PRED dominates a lexical category, and one when PRED is rewritten as DS. The rule for general topicalization would be like rule T1 except that it would not have the symbol DP. The difference is so small that the rule incorporating it need not be given separately. Rule T4 provides for topicalization when PRED has been rewritten as DS.

Rule T4:

$$SI: \quad S(\# \quad X \quad C_1 T \quad X \quad DS \quad N(NRM \quad NP) \quad X \quad C_j (C_j RM \quad NP) \quad X \quad \#)$$

1
2
3
4
5
6

- SC: 1. Attach 1 as left sister of 2.  
 2. Erase original 1.  
 3. If 1 is NT and 5 is not L, or if 5 is A, it dominates an item marked (+DIST), replace 2 with 5, and erase original 5.  
 4. If 1 is NT, add the feature (+TOP) to 4.  
 5. If 1 is DT and 5 is D, add the feature (+TOP) to 6.  
 6. If 1 is DT and 5 is D, replace 2 with 3 and erase original 3 (optional).

SC's 3 and 4 must be separated because of the condition on SC3 that is not imposed on SC4, i.e., the feature (+TOP) is added to 4 whether or not 5 is L, but if 5 is L, it may not replace 2, Ex. 6.13. SC's 5 and 6 must be separated because (+TOP) must be added to the DRM in both

Ex's. 6.12 and 6.14, but N replaces DS only in 6.14. SC's 1 to 4 are like the SC's of rule T3. SC's 5 and 6 had to be added because of classifying miki as an NRM. Whereas Ex's. 6.12 and 6.14 were provided for by rule T1 in the first method, because of the elimination of the category DP, they are accounted for by SC's 5 and 6 of rule T4. The complication consists of adding two SC's, of adding a condition to SC4, and of adding a few more things to the SI. The problem can be avoided if rule T4 is broken down into two rules, one for the topicalization of N, and one for the topicalization of D. If this is done, rule T2 accomplishes the topicalization of N, and rule T5 accomplishes the topicalization of D.

Rule T5:

SI: S(# X DT X DS N D(DRM NP) #)  
                   1      2   3      4

SC: 1. Attach 1 as left sister of 2.  
       2. Erase original 1.  
       3. Attach the feature (+TOP) to 4.  
       4. Replace 2 with 3. (Optional).  
       5. Erase original 3.

SC's 1 to 3 are obligatory; SC4 is optional, and the application of SC5 depends on the application of SC4. If the option is taken, the result is Ex. 6.14; if it is not taken, the result is Ex. 6.12. The rule as such is simple; it is the fact that a separate rule is required that argues against classifying atin and miki as different kinds of formatives.

If atin and miki are classified differently, and if we attempt to account for topicalization with one rule, that one rule is quite complicated. Rule T6 is the equivalent of rule T3 except that it does not have DP.

Rule T6:

$$SI: S(\# X \quad C_i T \quad X \quad \left. \begin{array}{c} V \\ ADJ \\ NOM \\ DS \end{array} \right\} (N(NRM \quad NP))X \quad (C_j (C_j RM \quad NP))X \#)$$

1                    2        3    4                    5    6

- SC: 1. Attach 1 as left sister of 2.  
 2. Erase original 1.  
 3. If 1 is C<sub>i</sub>T, attach the feature (+TOP) to 6.  
 4. If 1 is NT, attach the feature (+TOP) to 4.  
 5. If 1 is NT, 2 is DS, and 5 is not L, or if 5 is A, it dominates an item marked (+DIST), replace 2 with 5 and erase original 5.  
 6. If 1 is DT, 5 is D, and 2 is DS, then replace 2 with 3, and erase original 3. Optional.

This rule has all the weaknesses of rule T4 plus others. SC's 3 and 4 accomplish the same thing for sentences with verbs that differ only in their topic NP's. SC4 is needed as a separate SC to enable N to be available for insertion under PRED. Parentheses are placed around both cases since no one case occurs in all sentences.

It was stated earlier that the classification of miki as an NRM results in either a considerable complication of the topicalization rule or a separate rule. Rule T6 in relation to T1 is the complication of one rule; rule T5 is the separate rule. If DS has the feature (\*F W), which is assigned a value at the time of lexical insertion,

with the two forms atin and miki being correlated with the two values of that feature, then rule T1 can accomplish topicalization without requiring the extra symbol DP.

These are the evidences in favor of the two alternatives. The reader is left to decide for himself. No preference is indicated here.

## 6.2 Existential sentences.

Existential sentences lack two things which the sentences considered so far contain: A TRM and a TAP. The absence of these two elements allows the possibility that existential sentences may not contain a topic. If they don't, then that fact should exclude them from the chapter on topicalization. They are included here because, as a sentence type, they come closer to fitting here than any place else in the grammar. Also, even though they may not have topics, they do contain an NP which in some sense seems to be the thing that the sentence is about, and this NP is hereinafter called the apparent topic. Finally, as suggested in footnote 1 at the beginning of this chapter, they may be the surface structure realizations of deep structures that differ from those that undergo primary topicalization only in the value of some feature(s).

The first and probably most important question to be asked about existential sentences is how to represent them in the deep structure. There are basically three problems that arise in determining how to represent them:

1) What elements may/must be present? 2) In simple sentences, how are deep structures that undergo primary topicalization to be distinguished from those that become existential sentences? 3) Are existential sentences that contain two predicate-like elements to be considered as derived from simplex sentences or from matrix existential sentences with an embedded sentence? These questions are taken up and discussed in turn here.

#### 6.2.1 The elements that may/must be present.

It may be the case that N is always present.

(6.15) atin dyos<sup>6</sup>

There is a God.

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<sup>6</sup>Some speakers prefer the form atin, which is not considered as standard, as is evidenced by the fact that atin is used in the school text books in grades one and two where the vernacular is used as the medium of instruction. If the sentence contains an enclitic, it is followed by u:

atin paŋ dyos 'There is still a God.'

Although this formative is designated as a linker in Tagalog, the fact that it is identical in form with the NRM makes that the simplest designation of it in Pampangan. For some speakers, the enclitic may occur after the N case:

?atin libru pa kiŋ anak 'There's still a book that's the child's,' though this is less acceptable. It may not occur after para if the other case besides N is B:

\*atin libru para pa kiŋ anak 'There's still a book for the child.'

The fact that atin does not become atin in the standard dialect is a result of the fact that the NRM has a different phonological distribution in Pampangan than the formative sometimes called linker two in Tagalog. (For those persons for whom atin is correct, the distribution of the NRM (if it is the NRM) is the same as that of Tagalog

The rule that generates Ex. 6.15 would also generate 6.16.

(6.16) atin lala·ki

There is a man.

Whereas this sounds strange as an existential sentence, its strangeness is probably philosophical, not grammatical.

Existential sentences per se affirm the existence of something, and normally we only affirm the existence of those things about whose existence there might be a question.

The naturalness of a sentence that contains two cases, e.g.,

(6.17) atin lala·ki kin bale<sup>7</sup>

There is a man in the house.

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linker two). If the TAP is absent from a construction in which it would ordinarily occur, so that the NRM immediately follows the verb, if the verb ends in a vowel (it is noted elsewhere that a study of the phonology might lead to the conclusion that these verbs end in h or ʔ), the NRM is added to that verb. If the verb ends in any consonant, including n, the NRM is zero. To illustrate this, we must anticipate something that is discussed later in this chapter, secondary topicalization. A sentence that undergoes secondary topicalization does not contain a TAP. In such a sentence, then, the NRM immediately follows the predicate.

in anak in si·nalin manga 'The child is the one who bought a mango.'

in anak in { menan } manga 'The child is the one who ate a mango.'

in anak in { atin } manga 'The child is the one who has a mango.'

The conclusion, then, is simply that the NRM has a zero allomorph after words ending in a consonant. (Persons who accept atin dyos also accept menan and atin in the sentences just given, and for them, as noted above, the distribution pattern of the NRM is the same as that of Tagalog linker two).

<sup>7</sup>The possibility that Ex's. 6.17 and 6.22 might contain more than one S node is discussed below.

results from the fact that, though all admit the existence of men, there might be a question about the existence/ presence of one in the house. Thus, it does not appear to be a function of the grammar to prevent the generation of monocase sentences like Ex. 6.16 by restrictions on lexical insertion in sentences of this type. Ex. 6.17 contains an L in addition to the N. Other cases that can occur with N are A, D, Di, B, and Ca.

(6.18) atin da·lan kiŋ ba·gyu

There is a road to/in Baguio.

The ambiguity of the sentence is correlated with the fact that kiŋ ba·gyu may be dominated by either L or Di.

(6.19) atin libru para kiŋ anak

There is a book for the child.

(6.20) atin tera·kan uli niŋ pi·sta

There is dancing because of the feast.

(6.21) atin libru naŋ ra·mus (kiŋ laybreri)

There is a book by Ramos (in the library).

(6.22) atin libru kiŋ anak

There is a book that belongs to the child.

The form of the D is the same in the surface structure as it is in the deep structure. Ordinarily, when a deep structure D is incorporated into a noun phrase, kiŋ is replaced with niŋ.

(6.23) i·kit ke iŋ libru { <sup>\*</sup>kiŋ }  
niŋ } anak

I saw the book of the child/the child's book.

The use of nin in Ex. 6.22 would make the phrase an A instead of a D, and the deep structure would be like that of Ex. 6.21.

It is apparently not possible to have just N and I in the case frame of an existential sentence.

(6.24) \*atin libru kapami·latan na nin la·pis

\*There is a book by means of a pencil.

There are existential sentences that contain verbs, and special attention is given to them in sec. 6.2.3.

No existential sentence (unless it might be an existential sentence that includes a verb), and no sentence whose PRED dominates DS, has been discovered which does not contain an N. That is the basis for the statement at the beginning of this subsection that it may be the case that every existential sentence contains an N.

In addition to N and one or more other cases optionally, every existential sentence has a DS PRED, which is represented as atin in the surface structure. Certainly the easiest method of accounting for it in the sentences considered so far is to claim that, when PRED is rewritten as DS in the PS rules, DS is spelled out as atin in the second lexical lookup. Whether it always arises from that source, or whether it sometimes arises from transformational insertion, is a question that is discussed in sec. 6.2.3.

In summary, every existential sentence probably contains an N, and may contain one or more other cases and may



also contain a verb.

### 6.2.2 Deep structure differences.

How are deep structures that undergo primary topicalization to be distinguished from those that become existential sentences? There are at least two possible ways of making this distinction.

#### 6.2.2.1 T as an optional element in MOD.

T can be made an optional element in MOD. If it is not included in the rewrite of MOD in a given sentence, then there would not, of course, be a  $C_iT$  in the structure, and since the SI of the topicalization transformation would not be met, it would not apply, (+TOP) would not be added to the CRM of any case so that the TRM would not occur with an NP, and the various cases would all appear in the surface structure of the sentence with their deep structure CRM's, which is what we find in existential sentences. A possible problem with this solution is that existential sentences may include verbs, which have a topicalization affix. If however, we adopt the position that an existential sentence that contains a verb also contains an embedded sentence, then that affix can be accounted for in the embedded sentence in the deep structure, cf., sec. 6.2.3. Deep structures with single S nodes can be the source of existential sentences such as Ex. 6.15 to 6.21, and deep structures with an embedded S node can be the source of

existential sentences that contain verbs. It is important to note that this is not ad hoc. As is noted in sec. 6.2.3.1, there are other reasons for regarding these sentences as containing embedded sentences.

#### 6.2.2.2 Feature determination.

Primary topicalization can be made dependent upon the value of some feature(s) on the CRM and/or DEF of the case to be topicalized by making it/them part of the SI. If the value differs from that required, the SI is not met, and the transformation is not applied. The transformation that results in an existential sentence could be disjunctively ordered with respect to primary topicalization and applied when that feature has, or those features have, the opposite value. It was noted in a footnote at the beginning of this chapter that the feature DEF(inite) is the most likely candidate for making that distinction. The topic of a sentence that undergoes primary topicalization is always definite, and the apparent topic of an existential sentence seems always to be (-DEF)(+SPEC)ific. The two sentence types could thus be considered as the surface structure realizations of deep structures that differ from one another only in the value of one feature, (DEF), on the topicalized NP. This solution is intuitively satisfying in that it provides for a kind of topicalization for both definite and indefinite NP's and does not restrict topicalization to definite NP's.

An indirect confirmation of this view is found in the DET that can occur with personal names. The UESP takes the position that they can function just like common count nouns except that the definite article is zero unless there is a relative clause. This means that, instead of being inherently (+DEF), they can be (-DEF)(+SPEC).

(6.25) atin pedro kiŋ kla.si ku

There is a (person named) Peter in my class.

The writer favors the second of these alternatives, at least for structures that do not contain an embedded sentence.

### 6.2.3 Sentences with two predicate-like elements.

There are sentences that contain two predicate-like elements. There appear to be four possible sources of the extra predicate-like element: 1) It is part of an embedded sentence in a relative clause on the head noun of some case (probably the N). 2) There is some node other than PRED introduced in the PS rules to which atin is attached. 3) The extra predicate-like element is inserted transformationally as part of the existential transformation. 4) It is part of an S generated under a case node in a higher sentence. These possibilities are considered in turn here.

#### 6.2.3.1 A relative clause on the head noun of a case.

If there is just one case in the matrix sentence, and other cases in sentences that contain two predicate-

like elements are regarded as being in the embedded sentence, that one case would probably be N, as noted earlier. Examples with more than one predicate-like element are:

(6.26) atin anak a {makakera} kinj ka.ma<sup>8</sup>  
  ma.gkera

There is a child lying on the bed.

(6.27) atin libruŋ gewa/sinu.lat naŋ ra.mus

There is a book made/written by Ramos.

In favor of the view that the extra predicate is part of an embedded sentence in a relative clause are the following facts: 1) The presence of two predicate-like elements is accounted for, each generated in its own sentence. 2) No special rule or element in the PS rules is required. 3) The presence of the linker, which is found in modification constructions, is accounted for. The surface form in the examples above is the same as that of undisputed modification constructions, e.g.,

(6.28) menintun ku kinj anak a {makakera} kinj ka.ma  
  ma.gkera

I looked for the child who was lying on the bed. Since Ex. 6.28 is derived from a deep structure in which there is an embedded sentence under the NP that dominates anak, and that relationship is indicated by the presence of the linker, the presence of the linker in Ex's. 6.26

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<sup>8</sup>The form makakera is an adjective and is not inflectable for aspect. It is preferred in this sentence, though an inflected verb is acceptable.

and 6.27 is accounted for naturally, as is the rest of the structure if we assume an embedded sentence on the head noun of an N case in the deep structure of an existential sentence. 4) The required structure is built by the PS rules. If Ex's. 6.26 and 6.27 are derived transformationally from simplex sentence deep structures, then the transformation will apparently have to build a certain amount of structure. The form of the output is considered below in sec. 6.2.3.3, along with implications regarding the deep structure from which it comes. 5) The possibility of introducing NEG in either or both of two places is accounted for.<sup>9</sup> It may be introduced in the matrix sentence as in Ex. 6.30, or in the embedded sentence as in Ex. 6.31.

(6.29) atin meko

Somebody left.

(6.30) alaj meko

Nobody left.

(6.31) atin e meko

Somebody didn't leave.

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<sup>9</sup>It has been claimed that, in English, the difference between the translations of Ex's. 6.30 and 6.31 is that the subject of 6.30 is (-SPEC), and the subject of 6.31 is (+SPEC). The view advanced here for Pampangan (and it may be the correct view for English) is that both topics are (+SPEC), that one sentence is embedded in a higher sentence, and that in Ex. 6.30, the NEG is in the matrix sentence (cf. the paraphrase of the English translation, "There is not somebody who left"), and in Ex. 6.31, the NEG is in the constituent sentence (cf. the expanded paraphrase of the English translation, "(There is) somebody (who) didn't leave").

If the constituent sentence contains an NT verb, so that it has an AAP, the AAP is subject to topic raising, so that it must occur in the matrix sentence.<sup>10</sup> If there is a NEG in the constituent sentence, then the AAP may occur either before or after that NEG.

(6.32a) ala kuŋ i·kit

(b) \*alaŋ i·kit ku

There was {nobody  
not somebody} that I saw /

I {saw nobody.  
didn't see anybody.

(6.33a) atin eku i·kit

(b) atin kuŋ e i·kit

There was somebody that I didn't see.

As noted above, NEG may occur in both places in the same sentence, which argues strongly for the claim that it is introduced in two places, under two different S nodes.<sup>11</sup>

(6.34) alaŋ e meko

There wasn't somebody (anybody) who didn't leave/  
Nobody didn't leave.

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<sup>10</sup>Topic raising is discussed in Chapter 10, sec. 5.

<sup>11</sup>The PS rules introduce NEG in only one place, under MOD. This necessarily means that either: 1) There are two S nodes, or 2) The PS rules are wrong. The second possibility cannot be ruled out a priori. The statement in the text follows the PS rules as written. It is this writer's opinion that the rules are correct in introducing NEG in only one place in the sentence, and that the presence of two NEG's in Ex. 6.34 is an argument for the presence of two S nodes in its deep structure.

If we claim that there is a possibility that an existential sentence that contains a verb has two S nodes, then it seems that we must also allow the possibility that an existential sentence without a verb may have two S nodes. The evidence from the possible positions of NEG suggests that this is in fact the case.

(6.35) *alaj libru(\*η) kiη lamesa*<sup>12</sup>

There's no book on the table.

(6.36) *atin libruη ala (yu) kiη lamesa*

There's a book that's not on the table.

This in turn suggests the possibility that all sentences that contain two case nodes may also contain two S nodes, and that the examples discussed earlier, Ex's. 6.17 to 6.22, actually have only one case in the matrix sentence, and the other case is dominated by an S on the head noun of that case. We may not be able to determine conclusively whether or not that possibility is a fact, but a few relevant observations can be made here.

1) It is possible that there are two different sources of a sentence that contains an N and a D: one which has one S node, and one which has two S nodes. The one with one S node would not have a linker and would be translated, "There's a book on the table." It would be the affirmative

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<sup>12</sup>The \*η in this example means that it was rejected by the school teacher informant, though it was previously accepted by another informant.

form of Ex. 6.35. The one with two S nodes could have a linker and would be translated, "There's a book that is on the table." It would be the affirmative form of Ex. 6.36. The affirmative form of the sentence may not have a linker.

(6.37) atin libru(\*ɲ) kiɲ lamesa<sup>13</sup>

There's a book (that is) on the table.

This does not necessarily invalidate the claim that there is a possible deep structure underlying this sentence that has two S nodes. It would simply mean that two different deep structures could have the same surface realization. The fact that the two sentences are cognitively synonymous would not invalidate the claim that the deep structures are, in fact, different since it is possible for two surface structures which are paraphrases of one another to correspond to different deep structures. If there are two different sources of the second case node, then an existential sentence that contains two case nodes and no verb may, but not must, contain two S nodes.

2) It was noted in the discussion of Ex's. 6.22 and 6.23 that in an existential sentence, D retains its original DRM, but in a modification construction, in which D is part of an S on the head noun, the DRM has the form niɲ. This constitutes to this writer a very strong argument that the D in Ex. 6.22 is dominated by the matrix S, not an S on the

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<sup>13</sup>This was rejected with the linker by the school teacher informant only.



head noun of the N in the matrix sentence.

#### 6.2.3.2 Another node in the PS rules.

There may be some node other than PRED introduced in the PS rules to which atin is attached. This has two variants: 1) Attach atin to that node in all its occurrences, in which case the explanation given earlier of atin as the spelling of DS is incorrect. 2) Make atin the spelling of DS in sentences that do not have a verb, and attach it to that special node only if the sentence contains a verb. The second of these is a very handy solution, but it is ad hoc in the worst way, and for that reason obviously incorrect. The first alternative is quite possible and cannot be rejected a priori. However, it would necessitate the introduction of an ad hoc node for the purpose of having some place to attach atin, a node which would have no other apparent use, and which would be used just in case there was no PRED, i.e., PRED was made optional in the PS rules or was deleted by a transformation, except, of course, in sentences which contain a verb, which would then contain both atin and a PRED.

#### 6.2.3.3 Transformational insertion.

We could claim that atin is inserted transformationally as part of the existential transformation. In favor of this view is the fact that it would impose no restriction on the case of the apparent topic. In the two S-node

analysis, it was noted that the matrix S could be considered as always containing an N. That may be either a strength or a weakness of that analysis. In any case, if existential sentences containing verbs are derived from simplex sentence deep structures by a special transformation, then there is apparently no limitation on which case may become the apparent topic, other than that it must be capable of being topicalized from the deep structure of the sentence in which it occurs, e.g.,

(6.38) atin marti·lyuŋ pa·mukpuk naŋ pa·ko niŋ lala·ki

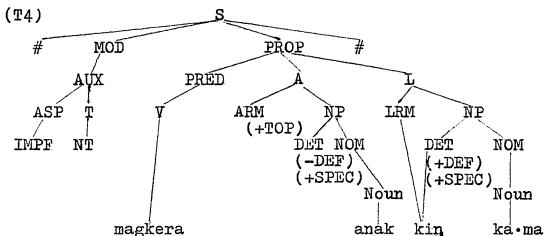
There's a hammer that the man hit a nail with.

If we derive existential sentences from simplex deep structures, we face a major hurdle in attempting to determine the surface structure relationships and how they got to be what they are. We use Ex. 6.26 as an example, repeated here for convenience.

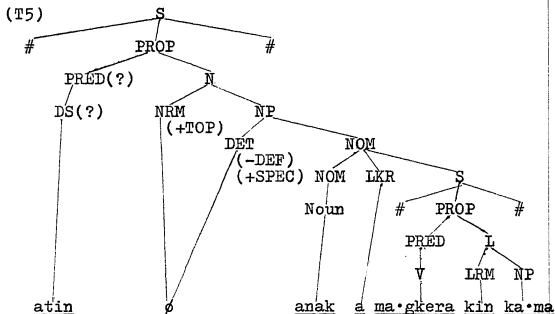
(6.26) atin anak a ma·gkera kiŋ ka·ma

There is a child (who is) lying on the bed.

The deep structure of this sentence would be as follows:

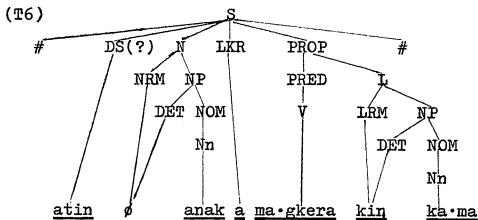


From this tree we could claim to derive the following (assuming a few additional transformations).



The tree was drawn this way because, as noted earlier, the sequence noun+linker+rest-of-sentence strongly implies domination by an NP. That is provided for in this structure. The terms PRED and DS are followed by (?) because it is not known what these nodes should be called, if indeed they should even exist. The feature (+TOP) is attached to the NRM on the assumption that the apparent topic is actually the topic, but that the feature (-DEF) on the DET of the NP causes it to become an existential sentence rather than to undergo primary topicalization. The serious problem, of course, is that there is too much structure here, and if this much structure is required, and a transformation can't build it, then those facts would be fatal to this approach. However, it is possible that

this is not the actual structure. Another possible tree is the following:



Again, there is a (?) after DS because it is not certain that this is the correct designation of this node, or if it is even present. This tree has the advantage of having just one S node, and of reattaching N and introducing the new nodes as sisters or daughters of previously existing nodes. The point of attachment of the linker, and whether or not there is a common node dominating atin and N below S are suspect points in it. No common node was introduced because it would have built some structure. The linker is attached where it is because, to attach it to a lower node on either side would have obscured its relationship to the whole constituent on the other side.<sup>14</sup>

In favor of considering existential sentences as simply the surface form of sentences with indefinite topics

<sup>14</sup>The UESP achieves this objective by Chomsky adjunction of the NP node that dominates the relative pronoun to the S node that dominates the relative clause in relativization, pp. 504-5. Such a device might be employed here, but this possibility is not discussed in this paper.

is the fact that, in English, indefinite topics and existential sentences are synonymous for some, e.g., "A book was lying on the table," "There was a book lying on the table." For others, the first sentence is stylistically unacceptable; the second sentence is the only acceptable surface form of the underlying deep structure. For those for whom both sentences are acceptable, and for whom they are synonymous, the existential transformation is optional; for those for whom the first sentence is unacceptable, it is obligatory. (It is not known if there are any for whom both are acceptable, but with different interpretations). The grammar of Pampangan could be considered as being like that of the second group on this respect.

#### 6.2.3.4 A case node in a higher sentence.

There is another possible solution which is a kind of inverted version of the one discussed in sec. 6.2.3.1 above. That analysis claims that there are two S nodes, that the matrix sentence has one case, N, and that there is a relative clause on the head noun of the NP. The analysis suggested here is that the main sentence is the matrix sentence, that the PRED that dominates a lexical item, either by lexical insertion or by transformational insertion of a case node thereunder, is in the matrix sentence, and that the existential sentence is dominated by the NP that is topicalized in the matrix sentence.<sup>15</sup>

This solution shares with the solution proposed

in sec. 6.2.3.1 the advantage of having two S nodes, thus providing in the PS rules for two NEG's and two PRED's, and of allowing for a kind of topicalization of indefinite NP's, and thus of not restricting topicalization to definite NP's (though what we have called primary topicalization is, of course, restricted thereto).

This solution has the additional advantage of not imposing a restriction on the cases that may occur and/or be (apparently) topicalized in the matrix sentence. It was noted earlier that there may be a limitation on what may/must occur in an existential sentence, i.e., that it may be the case that all existential sentences contain an N, and that it becomes the apparent topic, whereas there is no special limitation on what can be generated or which case topicalized in the constituent sentence. The analysis suggested here reverses the position of the two S nodes, thus placing the one on which there is a restriction in the constituent position--an intuitively more satisfying arrangement. A possible formulation of the transformation that would accomplish this change is:

Rule T8:

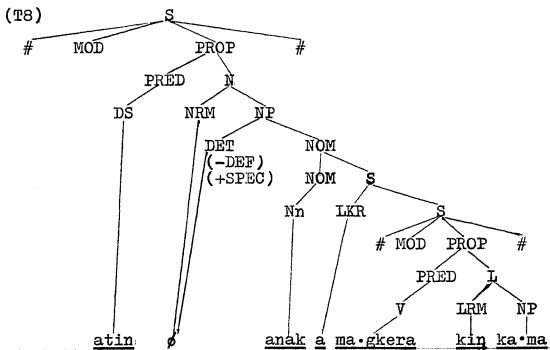
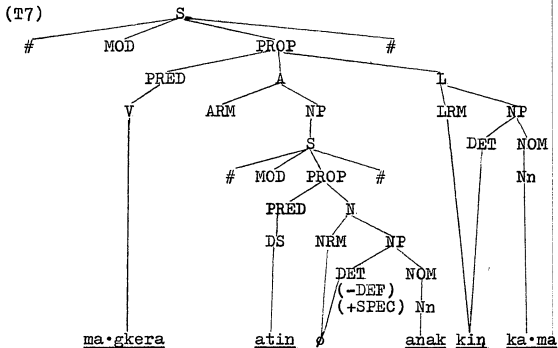
SI:	$S$	(#	$X$	$C_i$	( $C_i$ RM	$NP$	( $S$ ( $X$	DET	NOM)))	$X$	#)
								(-DEF)			
								(+SPEC)			
	1	2	3	4	5	6					

---

<sup>15</sup>Baker has claimed (1966) that existential sentences are the source of indefinite NP's. Possibly only (+SPEC) indefinites come from existential sentences.

- SC: 1. Attach 4 as left sister of 1.  
 2. Chomsky-adjoin <sub>1</sub>(2 6), but not 3 4 5, as right daughter of new 5.  
 3. Chomsky-adjoin LKR as left daughter of new 1.  
 4. Erase original 1,4.

This would convert tree (T7) to tree (T8) (ignoring details):



Discussion of the rule:

- 1) The first SC attaches the S that dominates the existential sentence to the matrix sentence in order to place it in the proper position.
- 2) The second SC must be worded as it is in order to avoid copying all of the material of the indefinite NP and the case node that dominates it when the matrix sentence is copied as the right daughter of new 5.
- 3) The third SC places the linker arbitrarily, but in a position that is reasonable.
- 4) The fourth SC erases the original nodes that have been reattached as a result of this transformation. It erases the entire original structure, and herein lies the weakness of this analysis. It is not intuitively satisfying to have a transformation that erases the entire original structure after reattaching all of the elements that were generated. In relation to the solution discussed in sec. 6.2.3.1, this one has the disadvantage of having to reattach all of the items in the position and order in which that one generates them. That fact outweighs the advantages discussed above for this solution, and accordingly, there is a slight preference for the solution discussed in sec. 6.2.3.1. That solution provides for generating existential sentences in the same manner as modification constructions are generated, so no special rule is required here for existential sentences.



### 6.3 Emphasis sentences.

Emphasis is not a topicalization, and so the discussion of this subject does not properly belong here. It is discussed here because it comes closer to fitting here than under any other chapter in this grammar. By this transformation, one of the case nodes is placed before the predicate and receives special emphasis.

It is not always possible to represent it in an English translation. In English, subjectivalization involves placing the subject NP at the beginning of the sentence. In Pampangan, topicalization does not involve placing the topic NP at the beginning of the sentence. Consequently, when the emphasis transformation later places an NP at the beginning of the sentence, there is no separate English translation that correlates with this change. Hence, no attempt is made here to express the difference in the translation. It may be that the nearest equivalent in English is a rise to a higher level of the stress and/or pitch on the emphasized NP.

Only definite NP's may be emphasized. If an N NP is emphasized, it must have the definite NRM, kiŋ. If the A NP is emphasized, the ARM is replaced by the TRM.

Emphasis could be considered as triggered by a morpheme in the AUX or by a feature on a definite NP. If it is triggered by a morpheme in AUX, then it can be limited to one occurrence per sentence. Usually, there is only

one emphasized NP per sentence. However, it is possible to have more than one in a sentence. For that reason, the transformation is dependent upon the feature (+EMPH)asis on the DET of the NP that is emphasized. If several NP's in a given sentence are generated with that feature, the resulting sentence would be awkward. That fact is a weakness in the analysis that makes (EMPH) a feature on DET. The alternative would be a complicated cooccurrence restriction in the AUX. Hence, it is assumed that the traffic jam that would result from preposing too many NP's is a surface structure constraint.

The point of attachment of the preposed NP is determined by what is preposed. It may occur on either side of a time adverb, but this is assumed to be due to a late, optional reordering rule that applies to the adverb, and so is of no help in determining the point of attachment of the emphasized case. In fact, when a case node is preposed, the preferred location of a time adverb is at the end of the sentence. The point of attachment of the preposed NP can best be determined by observing where it occurs with reference to NEG. Since the TAP is introduced later, its position is determined by what occurs first.

If the A is preposed, the TAP may not occur following it. The TAP must occur after PRED, or after NEG if there is one. The A must precede NEG.

(6.39) in lala·ki { mena·ya ya } kin anak  
 { \*ya mena·ya }

The man waited for the child.

- (6.40)  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{in lala.ki eya} \\ * \text{eya in lala.ki} \end{array} \right\} \text{mena.ya kin anak}$

The man didn't wait for the child.

- (6.41)  $\text{in lala.ki} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{seli ne} \\ * \text{ne seli} \end{array} \right\} \text{in manga}$

The man bought the mango.

- (6.42)  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{in lala.ki ene} \\ * \text{ene in lala.ki} \end{array} \right\} \text{seli in manga}$

The man didn't buy the mango.

The same limitation applies to N when it is the topic.

- (6.43)  $\text{in manga} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{seli ne} \\ * \text{ne seli} \end{array} \right\} \text{nin lala.ki}$

The man bought the mango.

- (6.44)  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{in manga ene} \\ * \text{ene in manga} \end{array} \right\} \text{seli nin lala.ki}$

The man didn't buy the mango.

If the proposed case has the CRM kin, whether as the marker of I, D, or Di, or of a definite N, this limitation is reversed for affirmative sentences.

- (6.45)  $\text{kin tinda.han} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ya si.nalij} \\ * \text{si.nali yan} \end{array} \right\} \text{manga in lala.ki}$

The man bought a mango at the store.

In negative sentences, the proposed case may occur before or after the NEG. The TAP follows NEG in both orders.

- (6.46)  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{kin anak eya} \\ \text{eya kin anak} \end{array} \right\} \text{mena.ya in lala.ki}$

The man didn't wait for the child.

We note first that the TAP may not occur immediately following a proposed NP that is a topic and/or an A.



#### 6.4 Secondary topicalization.

There is another type of sentence to be considered, and we call it a secondary topicalization. It is taken to be roughly equivalent to an English sentence in which the subject and predicate both consist of a definite NP, e.g., "The (one who) X is the (one who) Y."

A secondary topicalization in Pampangan consists of two NP's, each introduced by a TRM, and an optional TAP which, if it occurs, follows the first NP, which may be considered the logical predicate.

(6.47) *in masikan (ya) in lala·ki*

The man is the strong one.

(6.48) *in atin libru (ya) in meko*

The one who left is the one who has a book.

As with existential sentences, the basic question is: How do the sentences that we have called secondary topicalizations differ in the deep structure from those that we have called primary topicalizations? There seem to be (at least) two basic possibilities: 1) They differ minimally, e.g., in some feature or morpheme. 2) They differ extensively, i.e., different PS rules are applied in generating the two structures. These alternatives are considered in some detail here.

##### 6.4.1 Feature or morpheme difference.

Secondary topicalizations may differ from primary topicalizations in that the former have some morpheme,

probably introduced in MOD, or some feature, probably on the DET of the topic NP, which the latter do not have. If this deep structure is assumed, one of the SC's will obligatorily raise the topic NP out of the PROP. It was noted in the discussion of primary topicalization that the topicalized NP remains in the position where it was generated, though it may later be moved to the front of the sentence by the emphasis transformation discussed in the preceding section, or it may be reordered with the other cases by the application of a late, optional reordering transformation not discussed in this study. In a secondary topicalization sentence, however, the topicalized NP may not occur inside the PROP.

(6.49a)  $i\eta$  manga  $i\eta$  seli  $\left\{ \begin{matrix} na \\ *ne \end{matrix} \right\}$  ni $\eta$  lala·ki

(b) \* $i\eta$  seli  $\left\{ \begin{matrix} na \\ ne \end{matrix} \right\}$   $i\eta$  manga ni $\eta$  lala·ki

The thing the man bought was the mango.

Ex. 6.49 shows another feature of secondary topicalization sentences: There is no TAP in the position where one would occur in a primary topicalization sentence. If it be assumed that the topicalized NP was dominated by PROP in the deep structure, which is the position we are discussing in this section, then the absence of the TAP could be accounted for by claiming that the secondary topicalization transformation applies before the introduction of the TAP and changes the structure of the sentence in such a way that the SI of the transformation that

introduces the TAP is not met.

It is also worth noting that primary topicalization and secondary topicalization are interrelated in such a way that the two processes may not apply independently of one another to different NP's.<sup>16</sup> For that reason, if they are derived from deep structures which differ only in some morpheme or feature, then one of two courses should be followed: 1) Make secondary topicalization follow, and be dependent upon, primary topicalization; 2) Make secondary topicalization disjunctive with respect to primary topicalization so that only one will apply, thus insuring that they do not both apply, to different NP's.

It is stated above that the absence of the TAP from either of the NP's introduced by the TRM could be accounted for by claiming that secondary topicalization changes the structure in such a way as to block its introduction. We turn now to a consideration of what that difference might be.

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<sup>16</sup>By way of comparison, English primary subjectivalization and secondary subjectivalization are independent. For the purpose of the comparison, English subjectivalization is considered equivalent to Pampangan topicalization.

in lala·ki in si·nalin manga  
The one who bought a mango was the man.

in manga in seli na nin lala·ki  
The thing bought by the man was the mango.

\*in lala·ki in seli ya/na/ne in manga  
The one who(m) the mango was bought by was the man.

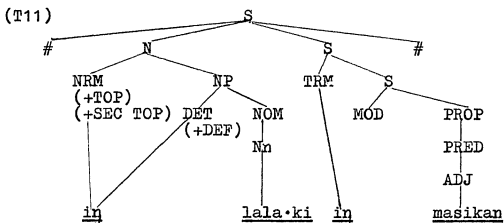
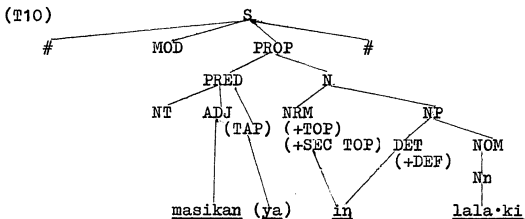
\*in manga in si·nali ya/na/ne in lala·ki  
The thing (that) the man bought was the mango.





- SC: 1. Chomsky-adjoin 2 as left daughter of 1.  
 2. Chomsky-adjoin TRM as left daughter of 1.  
 3. Erase original 2.

This would convert a tree such as (T10) to one like (T11):



Discussion of the rule and trees.

1) TAP is in parentheses in tree (T10) because it is not introduced by this rule but by a later one. As noted above, the application of this rule blocks the introduction of the TAP. It is included to show where it would appear if the sentence underwent primary topicalization.

2) As written, the rule follows primary topicalization and assumes its SC's, i.e., that T and ASP are attached to PRED and that the feature (+TOP) has been attached to the NRM.

If this rule were written to be disjunctively ordered with respect to primary topicalization, then it would have to include those SC's.

3) As (EMPH) is attached to DET in the PS rules, (SEC TOP) is attached to the CRM in the PS rules. Even though this allows the possibility that (+SEC TOP) might be introduced on more than one NP, there would be no problem of the rule applying more than once to different NP's. Because the feature (+TOP) is introduced by the primary topicalization rule, and its presence on the CRM is part of the SI of this rule, so that it would not apply if (+TOP) were not on the CRM, the SEC TOP rule can only apply once.

4) (+EMPH) and (+SEC TOP) may not both occur on the same case within a given sentence--or, if they do, (+SEC TOP) applies rather than (+EMPH)--but they may occur on different cases so that a given sentence may contain an instance of each.

(6.50) *iq lala·ki iq kiñ anak mena·ya*

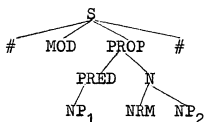
The one who waited for the child was the man.

Although Chomsky adjunction is currently an accepted operation among transformational grammarians, its application in attaching nodes to the topmost S appears to be questionable. Furthermore, as drawn, tree (T11) fails to capture the fact that the sequence TRM+S, *iq masikan*, is an NP. For these reasons, an alternative explanation is sought.

#### 6.4.2 Major structure difference.

The second possible source of secondary topicalization sentences is one that claims that the deep structure of such a sentence differs from one that undergoes primary topicalization in a greater way than simply by the presence of an additional feature or morpheme in the base P-marker. The two structures could differ from one another in any one of a number of different ways. The one that seems to be closest to the structures considered so far is (T12).

(T12)



This tree assumes that PRED can be rewritten as NP, an option which is included in the PS rules in Chapter 2.<sup>18</sup> This could be a weakness in this analysis. As noted in Chapter 2, in the UESP, NP is introduced only in the rewrite of a case node or PART(itive). If the pattern of the UESP had been followed here, NP<sub>1</sub> in tree (T12) above

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<sup>18</sup>Bach (1967) implies that a PRED consisting of a definite NP is something special. "The only way in which pronouns, definite nouns (and names) can occur in the predicate is by way of a noun-phrase consisting of a pronominal-like item of a nature yet to be precisely determined plus a further embedded sentence," pg. 19. The "pronominal-like item" is presumably the operator "some" (though no explicit statement to this effect could be found). He does not discuss how the "further embedded sentence" is introduced. A suggestion is made here in the ensuing discussion.

would have been introduced under the case node ESS(ive). In favor of the inclusion of the ESS case are the following facts: 1) It would eliminate the necessity of introducing NP as a rewrite of PRED. 2) The PS rules provide for the introduction of DS as one rewrite of PRED, which in some sentences is replaced by a case node. A secondary topicalization sentence would simply be another instance of replacement of DS by a case node, in this instance by ESS. The reason for not including ESS in this grammar is discussed in Chapter 2 and is summarized here for convenience. All of the cases except ESS can occur with lexically inserted verbs, and some of them can replace DS in the application of the topicalization transformation. ESS, on the other hand, would occur only in sentences in which PRED is rewritten as DS, not when a lexical category occurs under it. This oddity in cooccurrence restrictions with ESS can be eliminated if PRED is allowed to be rewritten as NOM for predicates consisting of indefinite nominals and as NP for predicates consisting of definite nominals.

It seems that there might be some justification for an ESS case dominating definite predicate NP's, but not indefinite ones. The reason for claiming that both rewrites must be allowed independently, i.e., both NOM and NP, even if NP ultimately turns out to have been generated under the ESS case node, is the fact that definite and indefinite nominals in predicate position convey basically

different kinds of information, though they have often been grouped together as equational sentences. A primary topicalization sentence contains what could properly be called classificational information.

(6.51)  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{mestro} \\ \text{masikan} \\ \text{meko} \end{array} \right\} \text{ya in lala.ki}$   
 The man  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{is a teacher.} \\ \text{is strong.} \\ \text{left.} \end{array} \right.$

i.e.,        The man is a member of the class of those who  
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{are teachers.} \\ \text{are strong.} \\ \text{left.} \end{array} \right.$

A secondary topicalization sentence contains what could properly be called identificational information.

(6.52)  $\text{in} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mestro} \\ \text{masikan} \\ \text{meko} \end{array} \right\} (\text{ya}) \text{in lala.ki}$   
 The man is the one who  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{is a teacher.} \\ \text{is strong.} \\ \text{left.} \end{array} \right.$

Most significant in this connection is the fact that any type of PRED can be definite, and if the ESS case is employed when the PRED dominates an NP with a definite TRM/DET preceding a noun, then it should also be used when the PRED dominates a structure in which a definite TRM/DET precedes an adjective or a verb. Structurally and semantically, there is greater justification for the grouping:

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{verb} \\ \text{adjective} \\ \text{indefinite nominal} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{definite determiner + verb} \\ \text{definite determiner + adjective} \\ \text{definite determiner + nominal} \end{array} \right\}$

than there is for the grouping:

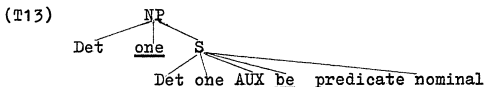
{ verb adjective }	{ definite determiner + verb definite determiner + adjective definite determiner + nominal indefinite nominal }
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It is here claimed, then, that, if the ESS case is included, it must not be the node under which both indefinite and definite nominals, as well as verbs and adjectives preceded by a definite TRM/DET are introduced, i.e., the second of these groupings. This grouping misses the fact that there is a common structure and function of the three types of lexical items when they are not preceded by a definite TRM/DET, and a common structure and function of the same three types when they are preceded by a definite TRM/DET, i.e., the first of these groupings. Sentences with secondary topicalizations are assumed to involve a uniform process by which the TRM is placed before some structure or lexical item, regardless of what that structure or lexical item might be, whatever the process may be. The use of the ESS case to dominate an NP, which is transformationally inserted under PRED, has some value, but it would require limiting the DET in the ESS case to (+DEF) in accordance with what is said above, i.e., that ESS would be used always and only when PRED dominates a lexical item preceded by a definite TRM/DET. Since that would be an ad hoc restriction on a case node, the conclusion is reached that there still is not a principled basis for the inclusion of the ESS case. However the NP node is introduced, and wherever it is attached, it has a (+DEF) DET.

The next thing to consider is the structure of tree (T12). The node PRED seems to be reasonably well motivated in the sense that: 1) It affords a natural node for the attachment of the TAP, which is optional here; and 2) One of the NP's seems, in some sense, to be the topic (old information), and the other the comment (new information), and this fact is accounted for naturally if PRED is allowed to dominate the comment (new information). The node MOD seems to be well motivated in that the topmost S (lower S's have not yet been discussed) can dominate a NEG. The other nodes, PROP, N, NRM, are not independently well motivated but are introduced in accordance with the PS rules as written to generate the structure needed for this sentence type, and as, to some extent, entailed by the introduction of the MOD and PRED nodes. The symbols NP<sub>1</sub> and NP<sub>2</sub>, wherever and however they are introduced, do indicate that whatever is dominated by that node is just that, an NP.

At this point the thing to be considered is the structure of an NP that would occur in the position of NP<sub>1</sub> or NP<sub>2</sub> in tree (T12), or, for that matter, any NP. So far, all that has been said about those NP's is that their DET is (+DEF). (How an NP with an indefinite determiner might fit into the description that follows must ultimately be a matter of importance, but it is not of immediate concern in the discussion in this section). In fn. 18, pg. 179, a reference is made to Bach (1967). The claim is made in

this paper that the source that Bach postulates for NP's is indeed the correct one, and that the differences noted between nouns, verbs, and adjectives in English, e.g., in the translations of Ex. 6.51, is due to transformations and surface structure properties of the various classes of what Bach calls 'contentives'.<sup>19</sup> Bach claims "that nouns should be introduced into English sentences by way of relative clauses, that is, that noun-phrases with nouns as their heads are exactly like noun-phrases with verbs and adjectives (or their derivatives) as heads in their underlying form" (Bach, 1967, pg. 1). He does not include any trees, but what he says leads to tree (T13).



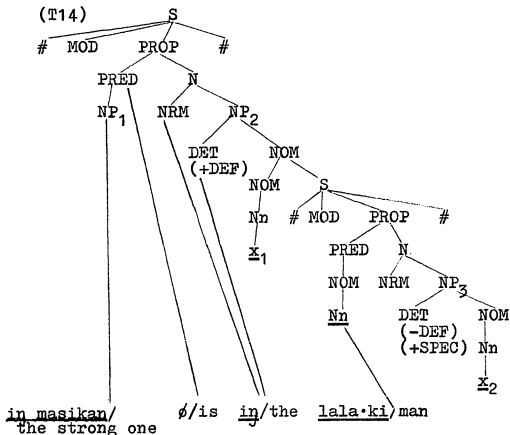
He then adds the comment, "... or whatever the correct underlying form for such structures turns out to be" (Bach, 1967, pp. 2-4). He later (pg. 21) suggests using a system of variables, e.g., x, y, z, etc., to replace one in the above tree. It is to that portion of the tree which is dominated by S in (T13), in the light of Bach's comment about it, that our attention is now directed.

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<sup>19</sup>Not all parts of Bach's analysis are assumed nor argued for here, e.g., the designation of determiners as operators is not of interest at this point. It is his claim, referred to in the text, that definite NP's contain embedded S's as relative clauses on non-lexical heads, that is of interest and is argued for here.



The first thing to note is that the PS rules of this grammar would generate a slightly different tree. For the purpose of relating the discussion here to the total discussion of secondary topicalization, the tree that would be generated by the PS rules of this grammar that would be equivalent to tree (T13) is embedded into tree (T12). The topmost node in the tree that is equivalent to tree (T13) corresponds to NP<sub>2</sub> in tree (T12).



The Pampangan is given first, underlined, followed by the English. The underlined Nn represents the noun that becomes the head of NP<sub>2</sub>, being transformationally inserted in place of x<sub>1</sub>. The identity of x<sub>1</sub> and x<sub>2</sub> is the identity required for relativization. Of special interest in this

tree are the features on the DET of NP<sub>3</sub>. They are the features claimed in the UESP to be those on a relativized NP (UESP, pg. 464). If secondary topicalization is a form of relativization, as is claimed here, and if these are the features on a relativized NP, which is the position accepted here, then the absence of a TAP from the sentence dominated by NP<sub>2</sub> (and NP<sub>1</sub> as well), or, more precisely, by the NOM of that NP, is accounted for in a natural way. The features on the DET of the topic NP of that S, i.e., NP<sub>3</sub>, do not lead to the introduction of a TAP. Only a (+DEF) NP introduces a TAP.

If the PRED in the bottommost S dominates some lexical category other than Nn, it makes no difference in the surface structure in Pampangan. In English it does. In English,  $\underline{x}_1$  and  $\underline{x}_2$  would be realized in the surface structure as 'one',<sup>20</sup> and the various other transformations involved in relativization would apply, yielding, e.g., "The one who is strong," if PRED dominates ADJ, and, "The one who left," if PRED dominates V. If the PRED in the bottommost S dominates NOM, which in turn dominates Nn, then that Nn is raised and inserted in the position of  $\underline{x}_1$ , or, by an optional variant, may insert 'one' as  $\underline{x}_1$ , and relativize the lowest S yielding, e.g., "The (one who is a) man." In Pampangan, all three lexical classes replace  $\underline{x}_1$ .

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<sup>20</sup>The 'one' in the tree, if lexically inserted, is probably the third 'one' in the UESP lexicon, pg. 994.



nates. The rest of the S remains and constitutes the topicalization.

The proposed analysis, by claiming that the NP's dominate an S, allows the possibility of the introduction of NEG in three places, viz., in the MOD's of the topmost S and the S in each NP. This is exactly the situation that exists. The possibilities are presented in the chapter on negatives and are repeated here.

(6.54) in masikan (ya) in lala·ki

The man is the strong one.

(6.55) aliwa (ya) in masikan in lala·ki

The (one who is a) man is not the strong one.

(6.56) in e masikan (ya) in lala·ki

The (one who is a) man is the one who is not strong.

(6.57) in masikan (ya) in e lala·ki

The one who is not a man is the one who is strong.

(6.58) aliwa (ya) in e masikan in e lala·ki

The one who is not a man is not the one who is not strong.

It has been noted by others (UESP, pg. 271ff) that sentences may contain more than one NEG. If only one NEG can be introduced per sentence, then sentences with more than one NEG pose a problem. If NP's are regarded as containing embedded S's, then at least some of the apparently

simplex sentences with more than one NEG can be accounted for. Ex's. 6.55 to 6.58 are evidence of this.

### 6.5 Relativization.

Relativization is included here because, as has been mentioned before, the rule that relativizes a sentence is very similar to the rule of secondary topicalization. The relativized NP must be the topic of its own sentence. English has no comparable restriction.

(6.59) ini in lala.kin si.nalin manga

This is the man that bought a mango.

(6.60) ini in mangaŋ seli nin lala.ki

This is the mango that was bought by the man.

(6.61) \*ini in lala.kin seli in manga

This is the man that the mango was bought by.

(6.62) \*ini in mangaŋ si.nali in lala.ki

This is the mango that the man bought.

Ex's. 6.61 and 6.62 are incorrect when the NP inside the S has the TRM that it has in a primary topicalization with that form of the verb. They are also incorrect when that NP has the CRM it would have if that NP were not the topic.

If the NOM in the deep structure embedded sentence is identical with the NOM in the matrix NP, it is deleted, and a formative called a linker (LKR) is inserted at the front of the sentence.

Relativization in English involves deletion of the NOM of the relativized NP, after certain of its features

have been attached to DET, and fronting of the NP and the DET that the NP dominates, so that it is the first element in its sentence. The DET is realized in the surface structure as a relative pronoun if it is not deleted by a subsequent rule (UESP, pp. 889-903). Relativization in Pamangan could be made analogous to relativization in English by claiming that the relativized NP is similarly reduced to the linker and fronted. An advantage in this explanation is that it accounts for the linker as the surface structure realization of, and as being attached to, an element that is generated in the PS rules, i.e., an NP. The linker does not, however, appear to be a pronoun in the same sense that English relative pronouns are actual pronouns. The linker has two phonological forms, and the choice between them is determined by whether the word which the linker follows ends in a vowel or consonant. For that reason, the rule does not, like English relativization, postulate the reattachment of the relativized NP and consider the linker as attached to that NP. Instead, it claims that the relativized NP is deleted, and the linker is inserted by a separate SC.

Rule T12:

SI: NP(X NOM S(# X C<sub>i</sub>(C<sub>i</sub>RM NP(DET NOM)) X #)  
 (-DEF)  
 (+SPEC)

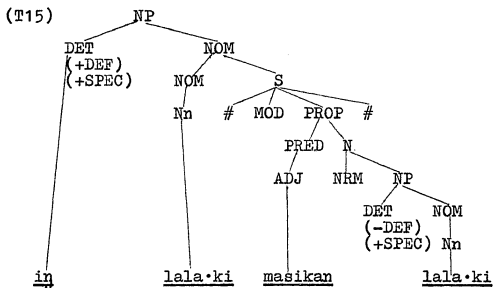
1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

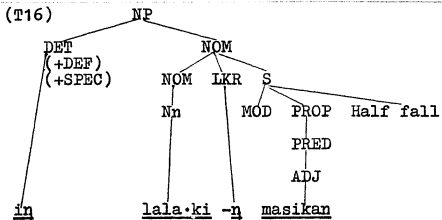
Condition: 1 = 4

- SC: 1. Attach LKR as right sister of 1.  
 2. Erase 2 and 3.  
 3. Replace 5 with 'half fall'.

In the UESP, the relative pronoun is Chomsky adjoined as left daughter of the S that dominates the relative clause. Since, as noted above, the linker does not appear to be a pronoun, this attachment is adequate.

It is evident that this rule is similar to the secondary topicalization rule. The fact that relativization, but not secondary topicalization, has a linker can be attributed to the fact that in the former, but not in the latter, there is a lexical item as head of both the dominating NP and the relativized NP. If insertion of the linker were made dependent upon the fact that 1 and/or 4 dominate a lexical item, one rule would accomplish both. The rule converts a tree of the form of (T15) to one of the form of (T16).





It is not, of course, necessary for the DET in the matrix NP to have the feature (+DEF). A (-DEF) DET can occur with a noun that has a modifier on it.

(6.63) mena.kit kuꝯ lala.kiꝯ masikan

I saw a strong man.



## Chapter 7

### PRONOMINALIZATION

#### 7.0 Introduction.

This chapter includes the kinds of forms which are traditionally classified as pronouns plus those that are usually referred to as deictics.

Pampangan differs from other Philippine languages in this significant respect: Formatives which are simply pronouns in those languages are cognate with forms which are both pronouns and agreement particles in Pampangan. When an NP is topicalized, and that NP is (+DEF)(+COUNT)(+CONG),<sup>1</sup> an agreement particle, herein called the Topic Agreement Particle (TAP), is placed after the first full word, which agrees with the topicalized NP in person and number. If some NP other than A is topicalized, and there is an A in the case frame,<sup>2</sup> then there are two agreement particles, one agreeing with the topicalized NP, the TAP, and one agreeing with the A NP, the Agentive Agreement Particle (AAP).

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<sup>1</sup>Cf., discussion of (DEF) in Chapter 6, and (COUNT) and (CONG) in Chapter 5.

<sup>2</sup>It may be a D with verbs that do not have an A, but do have a D, in their case frames.

The presence of the AP's is not dependent upon the head noun having the feature (+HUM), or (+ANIM).

(7.1) i·kit ke (in { anak  
a·su  
libru } )<sup>3</sup>

I saw { him (the child).  
it ( { the dog  
the book } ) }.

In Tagalog, the cognate pronominal form is dependent upon the noun which it replaces having those features, so that Ex. 7.2 would be said only of human beings.

(7.2) naki·ta ku siya

I saw him/her.

If one wanted to refer to an inanimate or nonhuman object in Tagalog, he would either delete the NP or use a deictic as in Ex. 7.3.

(7.3) naki·ta ku (iyon)

I saw (that (one)).

As noted above, the TAP is dependent upon the features (+DEF)(+COUNT)(+CONC). Since A is by definition, "The animate being responsible for the action or state designated by the verb," it is also (+COUNT)(+CONC), and usually (+HUM). It can logically be (-DEF), but the AAP is never absent with a corresponding difference in meaning of (-DEF). The AAP is optional in a sentence in which, for some reason, there is no TAP, and the A NP occurs

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<sup>3</sup>The form ke is an obligatory contraction of ku ya, and ·a is the third person singular TAP. A full list of agreement particles and contractions is given below.

immediately following the predicate. The reason why there is no TAP may be either that the topic has a minus (-) value for one of the features listed above, or because the sentence does not have an overt topic, as in a relative clause.<sup>4</sup> In order for the AAP to be optional, the nontopic A must include a noun which is not deleted, which means that it is usually third person. Since the A in Ex. 7.1 is first person, and there is no head noun, the AAP ku is not deletable. Neither AP is optional in Ex. 7.4 because the topic has all three features listed above, so that there is a TAP, and the A NP thus does not immediately follow the predicate.

(7.4) i·kit  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ne} \\ *na \\ *ya \\ *\emptyset \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{in } i\text{-lug } nin \text{ anak} \\ nin \text{ anak } in \text{ } i\text{-lug} \end{array} \right.$

The child saw the river.

In Ex. 7.5 the TAP does not occur because the topic is (-COUNT). However, the topic NP occurs between the verb and the A NP, so the AAP is still obligatory.

(7.5) i·kit  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *ne \\ na \\ *ya \\ *\emptyset \end{array} \right\} in \text{ danum } nin \text{ anak}$

The child saw the water.

In Ex. 7.6 the TAP does not occur, and the A NP immediately

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<sup>4</sup>The absence of a TAP from a relative clause may, as discussed in Chapter 6, be because the topic is (-DEF), in which case it is not a separate reason.

follows the verb, so the AAP is optional.

(7.6) i·kit  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *ne \\ na \\ *ya \\ \emptyset \end{array} \right\}$  nin anak in danum

The child saw the water.

The Pampangan TAP is somewhat like the inflectional agreement suffix that occurs on verbs in some Indo-European languages. The two differ from one another in at least two important respects: 1) A pronominal subject may occur in addition to an inflectional ending; in Pampangan, the AP is the pronoun. 2) In those languages, an inflectional ending may occur only on a verb. If the predicate is a nominal or an adjective, the sentence contains a verbal element, which is probably transformationally inserted, a copula, to which the inflectional morpheme is attached. In Pampangan, the AP may occur after an adjective or nominal predicate, in the middle of a multiple-word predicate, after an unpredicate-like word, the negative, or after a Dummy Symbol (DS) predicate. The reason apparently is that historically it derived from a pronominal form which is syntactically enclitic, i.e., its location in the surface structure of the sentence is after the first full word in the sentence. It is similar to an inflectional ending in that it is transformationally inserted, and its form is determined by what is generated under an NP in the case frame in the PS rules. The case node may subsequently be deleted if it is identical with some preceding NP. There

is a dialect of English, not the standard one, in which NP's in subject position are followed by a pronoun of the same person and number, e.g., "My brother he is tall," "My friends they came to see me." The rule that inserts those pronouns in that dialect is probably more like the rule that inserts the TAP in Pampangan than any of the other rules mentioned above.

Below is a list of sentences in which Pampangan and Tagalog are placed parallel to one another in order that the grammatical features of the two languages may be compared. The pronominal sequence na ya in Pampangan is obligatorily contracted to ne. The uncontracted forms are used in the examples to simplify the comparison.

(7.9) Pam. mena·kit ya -ŋ anak in lala·ki

Tag. nakaki·ta naŋ anak aŋ lala·ki

Eng. The man saw a child.

(7.10) Pam. mena·kit ya -ŋ anak

Tag. nakaki·ta siya naŋ anak

Eng. He saw a child.

(7.11) Pam. i·kit na ya niŋ lala·ki in anak

Tag. naki·ta naŋ lala·ki aŋ anak

Eng. The man saw the child.

(7.12) Pam. i·kit na ya in anak

Tag. naki·ta niya aŋ anak

Eng. He saw the child.

- (7.13) Pam. i·kit na ya niḡ lala·ki  
 Tag. naki·ta siya naḡ lala·ki  
 Eng. The man saw him.
- (7.14) Pam. i·kit na ya  
 Tag. naki·ta niya siya  
 Eng. He saw him.
- (7.15) Pam. \*mena·kit na ya  
 Tag. \*nakaki·ta niya siya  
 Eng. He saw him.
- (7.16) Pam. \*i·kit niḡ lala·ki iḡ anak (Eq. Tag. 7.11)  
 Eng. The man saw the child.
- (7.17) Tag. \*naki·ta niya siya naḡ lala·ki aḡ anak  
 (Eq. Pam. 7.11)  
 Eng. The man saw the child.

Ex. 7.15 illustrates the inability of both languages to pronominalize an N NP in an AT sentence. Ex. 7.16 shows Pampangan's requirement of the agreement particles, and Ex. 7.17 shows that Tagalog may not have the pronouns in addition to the NP's.

#### 7.1 Basic pronominal forms.

The pronouns are given first in what is considered to be their basic form, the form from which their occurrence in various environments can most easily be predicted. The purpose of the number after each pronoun is to provide a convenient device for referring to the person and number category independently of the grammatical relation in the

sentence, and without having to repeat the classificational information.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u> (singular plus others)
Speaker	a·ku (1)	i·kami (5) (First person)
Spoken to	i·ka (2)	i·kayu (6) (Second person)
Speaker and spoken to	i·kata (3)	i·kata·mu (7) (First and second person)
Spoken of	i·ya (4)	i·la (8) (Third person)

The pronominal system utilizes a four-way distinction in the singular pronouns. The one not found in English is, as indicated, the speaker and the one he is speaking to. For this reason, the plural pronouns are best considered as marking the singular referent plus others. This classification, which is becoming obsolete in Tagalog with the loss of the singular 'speaker and spoken to' category, and the absorption of its uses by the plural counterpart, is still a functional part of the Pampangan system.

The basic forms occur as free forms in secondary topicalizations.

(7.18) a·ku in lala·ki

I am the man.

(7.19) i·la din masikan

They are the strong ones.

The basic form may also be used in initial position in addition to the regular topic pronoun for emphasis.

(7.20) a·ku lala·ki ku

I am a man.

(7.21) i·ka lala·ki ka

You are a man.

It is possible to account for all the pronouns by the use of only three features. In English, the pronouns are related in such a way that, if the speaker is included, alone, the form is 'I', and if anyone else is included with him, the form is 'we'. If the speaker is not included, and the person he is speaking to is, the form is 'you'. If neither is included, other possibilities are determined by the values of such features as (PL), (COUNT), (HUM), (MASC), (PRO). These facts lend themselves nicely to a hierarchical separation of pronouns with first person separated at the topmost node, and second person at the next highest node. The facts of Pampangan are quite different. First and second person are completely independent. For that reason, the interrelationship is better represented by a matrix than by a hierarchy. Using a matrix, the eight pronouns can be accounted for by the use of only three features (except, of course, for case relations), which means that the features are used with maximum efficiency. The topic forms are given in the examples.

				<u>Features</u>			
	I	II	PL		I	II	PL
ku	+	-	-	kami	+	-	+
ka	-	+	-	kayu	-	+	+
kata	+	+	-	kata·mu	+	+	+
ya	-	-	-	la	-	-	+



This is both economical and accurate and is submitted as the correct analysis of the Pampangan pronominal system.

## 7.2 Topic pronoun forms.

In simple sentences, the initial vowel of the basic form is deleted to produce the topic pronoun/TAP form, e.g., Ex's. 7.20 and 7.21 without the initial pronoun.

In an NT DS PRED sentence, the vowel of the 'spoken of' category changes from a to u in both numbers.

(7.22) ati yu/lu kiŋ bale

\*ati ya/la kiŋ bale

He is/They are in the house.

## 7.3 Reduced topic pronoun forms.

Some topic pronouns also have short forms which may be used in place of the full forms in certain instances.

ku/ko (1) ke (5)

ka (2) ko (6)

kata (3) ta·mu/ta· (7)

ya (4) la (8)

For (1), (2), (3), (4), and (8), the form is the same as the topic pronoun following deletion of the initial a/i. Of these five, all but (3) already became monosyllabic by that deletion.

The use of ko in category (1) is restricted to final position in yes/no questions, and in this position occurs with the rising terminal contour which marks such

questions.<sup>5</sup>

(7.23) i·kit na { ku  
  \*ko

He saw me.

(7.24) i·kit na { ko  
  \*ku

Did he see me?

If the category (1) pronoun is not in final position, it must be ku, not ko, whether it is a question or not.

(7.25) i·kit na { ku  
  \*ko } nin anak

Did the child see me?

As discussed below, ko is used in category (6) only in nonfinal position, and optionally there. Since the rising terminal contour occurs, as the name implies, on the final word, it thus never occurs on ko in category (6). There is therefore never any ambiguity in the reference of ko since the environments in which it can have the two meanings are mutually exclusive.

The form of (5) can be accounted for by postulating the dropping of medial m, and reduction of the resulting ai to e. The form of (6) can be accounted for by postulating the dropping of medial y, and reduction of the resulting au to o. Both reduction processes are regular in the language. The form of (7) is accounted for by dropping

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<sup>5</sup>It cannot be stated with certainty that it does not occur anywhere else, but this is the only place that has been discovered where it can occur.

the initial ka. A further reduction is possible which consists of dropping the final mu. The intermediate form of (7) may be used in final position.

(7.26) masikan ta·mu

You and I and others are strong.

In nonfinal position, the short forms are all optional variants of the full forms. The short forms may not occur in final position.

(7.27) masikan  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kami} \\ *ke \end{array} \right.$

Others and I are strong.

(7.28) masikan  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kayu} \\ *ko \end{array} \right.$

You (pl.) are strong.

(7.29) masikan  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ta·mu} \\ *ta· \end{array} \right.$

You and I and others are strong.

(7.30) masikan  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kami} \\ ke \end{array} \right\}$  ŋan

Others and I are all strong.

(7.31) masikan  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kayu} \\ ko \end{array} \right\}$  ŋan

You (pl.) are all strong.

(7.32) masikan  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ta·mu} \\ ta· \end{array} \right\}$  ŋan

You and I and others are all strong.

(7.33) minye  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ke \\ ko \\ ta· \end{array} \right\}$  -ŋ manga kiŋ anak

Others and I  
You (pl.)  
You and I and others } gave a mango to the child.

(7.34) ati  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ke} \\ \text{ko} \\ \text{ta} \cdot \end{array} \right\}$  keti

Others and I  
You (pl.)  
You and I and others } are here.

#### 7.4 Nontopic A and post-nominal possessive pronouns.

ku/ko	(1)	mi	(5)
mu	(2)	yu	(6)
ta	(3)	ta·mu/ta·	(7)
na	(4)	da	(8)

The forms for (1) and (7) are the same as the reduced form of the topic pronoun.

When an A is not topicalized, the AAP has the form indicated in this set. The forms in this set are also used to show possession, and when they are so used, they occur after the noun head. As with topic pronouns, the ko variant of (1) is used in final position in yes/no questions, and in this position occurs with a rising terminal contour.

(7.35) i·kit ne niŋ anak iŋ libru  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ku} \\ \text{*ko} \end{array} \right\}$

The child saw my book.

(7.36) i·kit ne niŋ anak iŋ libru  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ko} \\ \text{*ku} \end{array} \right\}$

Did the child see my book?

If the category (1) pronoun is not in final position, it must be ku, not ko, whether it is a question or not.

(7.37) i·kit ne iŋ libru  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ku} \\ \text{*ko} \end{array} \right\}$  niŋ anak

Did the child see my book?

The category (1) pronoun can be used in an NP alone, e.g., in anak ko 'My child?' with the implication, "Why are you like that?" e.g., sick, disobedient, etc. It is used in this construction with this meaning only with persons, not with inanimate objects.

The forms for (3), (5), and (6) are the same as the topic forms except that the initial ka has been deleted. The forms for (2), (4), and (8) are completely different. The choice between the alternate forms of (7) is determined by the following factors: 1) If final or possessive, the form is ta·mu; 2) If nonfinal and there is a TAP, the form is ta·; 3) If nonfinal and there is no TAP, either form may be used.

(7.38) i·kit ne in libru { ta·mu } nin anak  
 { \*ta }

The child saw our book (yours, mine and others).

(7.39) binye { ta·mu }  
 { \*ta· }

You and I and others gave.

(7.40) binye { ta· } ya in manga kin anak  
 { \*ta·mu }

You and I and others gave the mango to the child.

(7.41) binye { ta·mu } in pa·le kin anak  
 { ta· }

You and I and others gave the rice to the child.

The short form of (7), ta·, would not be confused with (3), ta, because they are kept distinct by vowel length. Contraction of (3) occurs with ya because of the short vowel, ta ya → te, but not with ta· ya.

As indicated above, topic and nontopic pronouns occur in the same sentence only if the verb is not an Agentive Topic (AT) verb. In sentences that contain two AP's, three facts need to be noted.

- 1) The nontopic A is always first. The other two facts lead to unexpected results.
- 2) There are several morphophonemic combinations. Some are obligatory. Others are optional under certain conditions, i.e., when nonfinal; when final, they do not occur. In Pampangan, combinations involving ya are obligatory; those involving la are optional in the sense defined.

(7.42a) i·kit na la niŋ lala·ki diŋ anak

(b) i·kit no niŋ lala·ki diŋ anak

The man saw the children.

(7.43a) i·kit na la

(b) \*i·kit no

He saw them.

(7.44a) \*i·kit na ya

(b) i·kit ne

He saw him.

The forms of these combinations are given in a chart below.

- 3) There are overlapping combinations, i.e., the referents of the two pronouns include one or more of the same members. These give rise to the use of reflexive forms. The requirements for reflexives in Pampangan are different from what they are in English. In English the requirement is

identity, e.g., "I saw myself," "We saw ourselves," but \*"We saw myself," \*"I saw ourselves." In Pampangan the requirement is that they not be distinct, i.e., that they intersect, so that the counterparts of all four of the sentences just given in English are correct, and sentences without the reflexive form are incorrect. English can utilize a reflexive form in a sentence with conjoined NP's, "I saw myself and others," but this English sentence would most likely be derived from two sentences by conjunction reduction, not from a simplex sentence as the Pampangan sentence is. Because of the Pampangan requirement, there are numerous reflexive forms, e.g., since (1) intersects not only with itself but also with (3), (5), and (7), i.e., at least one member of (1) (there happens to be only one member) is also a member of (3), (5), and (7), the occurrence of (1) with any one of these results in a reflexive form.

Reflexives involve another irregularity. As noted before, topic NP's which are (+DEF)(+COUNT)(+CONG) lead to the introduction of a TAP. A reflexive NP optionally introduces a TAP, but the sentence without it is preferred. TAP's are not included in future examples with reflexives.

(7.45) i·kit  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ku} \\ \text{ke} \end{array} \right\}$  iŋ sari·li ku

I saw myself (the self of me).

The first number in the chart is the A; the second is the topic. Footnotes are on the page after the chart.

(1)(1).. ku iŋ sari·li ku  
(1)(2).. da ka<sup>6</sup>  
(1)(3).. ku iŋ sari·li ta  
(1)(4).. ke  
  
(2)(1).. mu ku  
(2)(2).. mu iŋ sari·li mu  
(2)(3).. mu iŋ sari·li ta  
(2)(4).. me  
  
(3)(1).. ta iŋ sari·li ku  
(3)(2).. ta iŋ sari·li mu  
(3)(3).. ta iŋ sari·li ta  
(3)(4).. te  
  
(4)(1).. na a·ku<sup>7</sup>  
(4)(2).. na ka  
(4)(3).. na kata.  
(4)(4).. ne/na iŋ sari·li na<sup>8</sup>  
  
(5)(1).. mi iŋ sari·li ku  
(5)(2).. mi ka  
(5)(3).. mi iŋ sari·li ta  
(5)(4).. mi ya  
  
(6)(1).. yu ku  
(6)(2).. yu iŋ sari·li mu  
(6)(3).. yu iŋ sari·li ta/mi<sup>9</sup>  
(6)(4).. ye  
  
(7)(1).. ta·mu iŋ sari·li ku  
(7)(2).. ta·mu iŋ sari·li mu  
(7)(3).. ta·mu iŋ sari·li ta/mi<sup>9</sup>  
(7)(4).. ta· ya  
  
(8)(1).. da ku  
(8)(2).. da ka  
(8)(3).. da kata  
(8)(4).. de/da iŋ sari·li na<sup>8</sup>



(1)(5).. ku iŋ sari·li mi  
 (1)(6).. da kayu<sup>6</sup>  
 (1)(7).. ku iŋ sari·li ta·mu  
 (1)(8).. ku la/ko<sup>10</sup>  
 (2)(5).. mu kami  
 (2)(6).. mu iŋ sari·li yu  
 (2)(7).. mu iŋ sari·li ta·mu  
 (2)(8).. mu la/mo<sup>10</sup>  
 (3)(5).. ta iŋ sari·li mi  
 (3)(6).. ta iŋ sari·li yu  
 (3)(7).. ta iŋ sari·li ta·mu  
 (3)(8).. ta la/to<sup>10</sup>  
 (4)(5).. na kami  
 (4)(6).. na kayu  
 (4)(7).. na kata·mu  
 (4)(8).. na la/no<sup>10</sup> na diŋ sari·li da<sup>8</sup>  
 (5)(5).. mi iŋ sari·li mi  
 (5)(6).. mi kayu  
 (5)(7).. mi iŋ sari·li ta·mu  
 (5)(8).. mi la  
 (6)(5).. yu kami  
 (6)(6).. yu iŋ sari·li yu  
 (6)(7).. yu iŋ sari·li ta·mu  
 (6)(8).. yu la  
 (7)(5).. ta·/ta·mu iŋ sari·li mi  
 (7)(6).. ta·/ta·mu iŋ sari·li yu  
 (7)(7).. ta·/ta·mu iŋ sari·li ta·mu  
 (7)(8).. ta· la  
 (8)(5).. da kami  
 (8)(6).. da kayu  
 (8)(7).. da kata·mu  
 (8)(8).. da la/do<sup>10</sup> da diŋ sari·li da<sup>8</sup>

### 7.5 Nontopic D pronominal forms.

In sec. 7.1 forms were given which were called basic because other forms could be most easily predicted from them. It was also noted, sec. 7.2, that the basic form without the initial i/a is the common topic pronoun. The nontopic D pronouns can best be described as consisting of the (+DIST)inct DRM, ka(N), plus the basic pronominal form. The combining elements, and the surface realizations, are as follows:

ka(N)+a.ku	→ kana.ku (1)	ka+i.kami	→ kekami (5)
	ka.ku		
ka+i.ka	→ keka (2)	ka+i.kayu	→ kekayu (6)
ka+i.kata	→ kekata (3)	ka+i.kata.mu	→ kekata.mu(7)
ka+(i.)ya	→ keya (4)	ka+da+i.la	→ karela (8)
	kaya		

There are a few unexplained irregularities in the above chart: 1) The presence of the N of the (+DIST) DRM in category (1) and only in (1). The short form without N is not used in all environments. Those in which it is

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<sup>6</sup>The expected ku is replaced here by an unexpected da. This is parallel to the Tagalog combination of ku ka into the portmanteau form kita.

<sup>7</sup>It is noted in Chapter 3, fn. 7, pg. 29, that the basic form of category (1) topic pronoun occurs after the category (4) AAP. This is unexplained.

<sup>8</sup>The alternatives are correlated with nonintersection and intersection, respectively, of the two referents.

<sup>9</sup>In these instances, ta is considered as proper, but in practice it is usually replaced by mi.

<sup>10</sup>The contracted form may be used when nonfinal.

used are noted when they are used as examples. 2) There is an alternate form which does not include i. in category (4). It is the form most commonly used. 3) In category (8), da, the nontopic AAP of that category is included, in addition to the basic form i.la. In all other forms, the combination is regular: The (+DIST) DRM, ka, combines with the i. of the basic form to produce ke, plus the rest of the individual basic forms. These forms are used in any construction where a D would be used, e.g., as a D PRED and in the case frame of a verb.

(7.46)  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{kana}\cdot\text{ku} \\ \text{ka}\cdot\text{ku} \end{array} \right\} \text{ya in libru}$

The book is mine.

(7.47)  $\text{binye keŋ manga} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{keya} \\ \text{kaya} \end{array} \right.$

I gave him a mango.

(7.48)  $\text{binye neŋ manga} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kana}\cdot\text{ku} \\ \text{ka}\cdot\text{ku} \end{array} \right.$

He gave me a mango.

In the last example, ka.ku is used only when the sentence is intended as a yes/no question. (This is not investigated further).

They function as possessive forms when placed before the possessed noun. They are joined to the head noun by the linker. A possible explanation of this is discussed below in sec. 7.7.1.2.

(7.49)  $\text{ini in kekaminŋ libru}$

This is our book.

They may be preceded by the TERM in a secondary topicalization.

(7.50) *iq libru (ya) iq keka*

The thing that belongs to you (sg.) is the book.

#### 7.6 Rule for the pronouns/AP's.

In formulating the rule for the introduction of the AP's, a number of things must be kept in mind. They are discussed here.

##### 7.6.1 The rule applies to all NP's.

The rule applies to all NP's, including those which dominate only a pronoun in the PS rules. It might seem that such NP's would be exempt from the rule. The reason this might seem to be the case is that pronouns arise from two different sources. There are pronouns that refer to or replace a lexical item that occurs elsewhere in the context, and the pronoun replaces the second NP in which the lexical item occurs on the basis of certain identity conditions (though the antecedent may be in a preceding sentence, or even in the nonlinguistic context). Such a pronoun is usually in the 'spoken of', i.e., third person, category. There are other pronouns, those that refer to the speaker and/or persons spoken to, that must be considered as inserted in the PS rules. It is fairly obvious that an AP whose antecedent may still be in the sentence is attached somewhere other than the case/NP node from

which it was derived, e.g., that ya in Ex. 7.51 is derived from the case node that dominates in lala·ki.

(7.51) mena·kit yaŋ anak in lala·ki

The man saw a child.

It is not so obvious that the AP whose referent is the speaker or person spoken to, and for which there is no separate NP, is attached at a place different from the one where it was generated. The position taken here is that all AP's involve attachment of certain features to another node, regardless of whether those features were generated under a case node that dominated a lexical category such as noun, or under a case node which dominated only a pronoun following lexical insertion. There are at least two good reasons for claiming that the rule applies to lexically inserted pronouns as well as to pronouns whose features are derived from lexically inserted nouns.

1) There is no principled reason for it not to apply to both kinds. Since the rule has to apply to introduce a new node for the attachment of a new morpheme in a sentence like Ex. 7.51 above, and to erase the original NP if that NP meets the conditions of identity with some preceding NP, leaving simply, mena·kit yaŋ anak "He saw a child," it would be ad hoc to make the rule apply only to the 'spoken of' NP and not to the others. If the NP under the case node dominates only a pronoun, then the rule must, of course, delete the original pronoun in order to avoid

having two pronouns in the sentence.

2) The pronoun/AP always occurs in the same place (or one of a very limited number of places in those sentences in which there is more than one place in which it might occur), and that place is rarely the same in the sequence of formatives in the surface structure that it was in the deep structure. If there is only one NP in the case frame, and no adverb, the topic pronoun immediately follows the verb.

(7.52) di·nataŋ ka

You arrived.

Since nothing occurs between the AP and the verb, there is no need to claim that the topic pronoun is reattached, as far as the surface structure order is concerned. However, if we assume an ordered base, as we do in this grammar, with N as the first case, and if we assume Ex's. 7.53 and 7.54 to be parallel to each other (and this assumption seems to be inescapable), then the nontopic A, ku, in Ex. 7.54 must have been generated at the same place in the tree as niŋ anak in Ex. 7.53 in the deep structure, with the additional provision that the original ku was deleted by the transformation.

(7.53) i·kit ne iŋ lala·ki niŋ anak

The child saw the man.

(7.54) i·kit ke iŋ lala·ki

I saw the man.

Ex's. 7.53 and 7.54 are examples of AP's occurring

in a position where they are separated by a case node from the place where they were generated. They may be separated from it by another enclitic node, as in Ex. 7.55, or by the PRED node when they occur after a NEG, as in Ex. 7.56.

(7.55) masikan ka kanu / \*masikan kanu ka

It is said that you (sg.) are strong.

(7.56) e ku masikan / \*e masikan ku

I am not strong.

These examples confirm the position stated above, i.e., that lexically inserted pronouns are introduced into deep structures under case nodes, as are lexically inserted nouns, and the AP rules apply to all topic and A NP's, copying appropriate features and deleting NP's which dominate only a pronoun in the deep structure.

#### 7.6.2 The rule applies after embeddings.

The rule applies after all transformations within embedded sentences have applied. The predicate may dominate a nominal, which in turn dominates a head noun and a modifier (relative clause). If it does, the TAP occurs after the first full word of the predicate, not after the whole predicate. The linker of the modification construction follows the TAP.

(7.57a) lala·ki yaŋ masikan i pedro

(b) \*lala·kiŋ masikan ya i pedro

Peter is a strong man.

### 7.6.3 Location in relation to a time adverb.

The place of insertion of the TAP may be before or after a time adverb, but if the TAP follows a time adverb in a sentence in which PRED is rewritten as DS, then it is the regular form, not the one that occurs after DS.

- (7.58a) inyaŋ lu·nis ati yu keti  
(b) inyaŋ lu·nis ya ati keti  
(c) \*inyaŋ lu·nis yu ati keti  
(d) \*inyaŋ lu·nis ati ya keti  
He was here (on) Monday.

### 7.6.4 Location in relation to emphasized NP's.

As is noted in Chapter 6, if the emphasis transformation has applied, the place of insertion of the TAP is to some extent determined by the element that has been preposed by that transformation. A time adverb could occur in any one of the examples below. They do not include time adverbs because that would add an unnecessary complication. The preferred location of a time adverb is at the end of the sentence. It may occur at the beginning. If a nontopic A is preposed, a time adverb may occur after it.

If the preposed NP is either the topic or the A in an NT sentence, or the topic A in an AT sentence, the AP's must occur after the verb, not after the preposed NP.

- (7.59a) iŋ manga seli ne niŋ lala·ki kiŋ tinda·han  
(b) \*iŋ manga ne seli niŋ lala·ki kiŋ tinda·han  
The man bought the mango at the store.



(7.60a) iŋ lala·ki seli ne iŋ manga kiŋ tinda·han

(b) \*iŋ lala·ki ne seli iŋ manga kiŋ tinda·han  
The man bought the mango at the store.

(7.61a) iŋ lala·ki si·nali yaŋ manga.

(b) \*iŋ lala·ki ya si·naliŋ manga.  
The man bought a mango.

If the preposed NP is an L or Di, the TAP must follow the preposed NP in both an AT and NT sentence.

(7.62a) kiŋ bale ya mena·yaŋ anak iŋ lala·ki

(b) \*kiŋ bale mena·ya yaŋ anak iŋ lala·ki<sup>11</sup>  
The man waited for a child in the house.

(7.63a) kiŋ tinda·han ne seli iŋ manga niŋ lala·ki

(b) \*kiŋ tinda·han seli ne iŋ manga niŋ lala·ki<sup>11</sup>  
The man bought the mango at the store.

If the preposed NP is a definite N in an AT sentence, the TAP must follow the preposed NP.

(7.64a) kiŋ anak ya mena·ya iŋ lala·ki

(b) \*kiŋ anak mena·ya ya iŋ lala·ki<sup>11</sup>  
The man waited for the child.

Questions regarding points of attachment of the preposed NP's and possible multiple applications of the rule are discussed in Chapter 6, sec. 3. The position of the

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<sup>11</sup>The informant says that Ex's. 7.62b, 7.63b, and 7.64b are acceptable in poetry. Since poetry apparently involves unusual constructions in all languages, and since the rule(s) will be much easier to state if these sentences do not have to be generated, the rule(s) will not generate them as written.

TAP with reference to the various preposed NP's can be accounted for in either of two ways. 1) Utilize a particular sequence in the application of the rules. That sequence would be: a) An emphasis rule that preposes an I, Di, or definite N. b) The TAP rule, which introduces TAP as the right sister of the first full word. c) An emphasis rule that preposes a topic, or nontopic A. A time adverb would optionally be marked as a full word at the time of lexical insertion. This arrangement of rules accounts for the fact that the TAP does not occur after a preposed topic NP by introducing the TAP before the topic NP is preposed, and for the fact that more than one NP can be preposed in a given sentence, but if more than one is preposed, the TAP always follows the second one, i.e., the I, Di, or definite N. It has the added advantage of introducing the TAP when the topic NP is still in the position in which it was generated, so that the TAP rule does not have to scan the string to find the topic NP in initial position.

2) Make it a condition on the rule that inserts the TAP that the word which it is inserted after may not be dominated by a case node whose CRM has the feature (+TOP), or is the ARM. The second is adopted because it is simpler and because, as discussed in Chapter 10, the rule that introduces the TAP may be last-cyclic.

#### 7.6.5 Order in relation to topicalization.

It must follow topicalization since it introduces

a TAP from the case to which the topicalization rule has attached the feature (+TOP).

#### 7.6.6 Limitation on the AAP rule.

The AAP rule, which applies immediately after the TAP rule, applies only if the A NP is not the topic. The fact that in an AT sentence the topicalization rule adds the feature (+TOP) to the ARM would keep the structure from meeting the SI of the AAP rule. It is applied after the TAP rule in order to account for the fact that it always precedes the TAP. By applying last, it preempts the position immediately following the first full word.<sup>12</sup>

#### 7.6.7 The AP('s) never initial.

Because the AP's are enclitics, they never occur initially. An AP may occur after certain adverbs that can occur initially, if those adverbs are marked as full words. If there isn't an adverb marked as a full word, an AP occurs after NEG, if there is one. If there isn't a NEG, it occurs after the first full word dominated by PRED. 'Full word' is an abstract property which is to be considered as a feature on lexically inserted items. All items in the lexicon are redundantly marked (+F W) (Full Word) unless

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<sup>12</sup>An alternative possibility, mentioned in Chapter 3, sec. 1.2.1, but not provided for by a rule in this study, is to assign each enclitic an index number, and then allow a reordering transformation to properly position them according to their respective numbers. By this method, AAP is 1; the time particle na 'already' is 2; the TAP is 3.

they are listed in the lexicon with the value minus (-) for that feature. Some items inserted by the PS rules, but not spelled out until the second lexical lookup, e.g., NEG and DS, must be marked (+F W).<sup>13</sup> Most CRM's and the TRM are marked (-F W). As noted in Chapter 6, the BRM has two parts, para and kiŋ, and when the B case is inserted under PRED by the topicalization transformation, the TAP may optionally occur after para, or after the whole B phrase, but not between the BRM and the head noun.

- (7.69a) para ya kiŋ anak iŋ libru  
(b) para kiŋ anak ya iŋ libru  
(c) \*para kiŋ ya anak iŋ libru  
The book is for the child.

For this reason it may be necessary to decompose the BRM to para plus the features of the DRM in the first lexical lookup, with para marked (\*F W) in the lexicon, to be assigned a value at the time of lexical insertion. The other feature which causes a variation in the surface form of the CRM, (DIST), can be attached to the associated DRM. This should cause no problem since that's where it always appears in the surface structure anyway, never on para.

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<sup>13</sup>In Chapter 6 there is a rather lengthy discussion of two alternatives for classifying the formative miki. If it is classified as a DS, then DS could be listed in the lexicon as (\*F W), and assigned a value at the time of lexical insertion. If it is assigned the value plus (+), and is not replaced by a transformation, it is spelled out as atin. If it is assigned the value minus (-), and is not replaced, it is spelled out as miki.

#### 7.6.8 Relation to secondary topicalization.

It is noted in Chapter 3, sec. 2.3.1, that the TAP and the AAP must always occur together; they may not be separated by another node. This is illustrated there in a sentence which has two verbs as a result of Repeated Action (RA) being generated in AUX. It is illustrated here with a time adverb. An AP may occur either after a time adverb or after the verb that follows it, but the AP's must occur together.

(7.70) \*inyang lu·nis  $\begin{Bmatrix} ya \\ na \end{Bmatrix}$  seli  $\begin{Bmatrix} na \\ ya \end{Bmatrix}$  in manga nin anak

The child bought the mango on Monday.

Furthermore, it is noted above in Ex's. 7.59 to 7.61 that, when a topic NP or a nontopic A is preposed by the emphasis transformation, the AP('s) may not follow it. In a secondary topicalization, however, the AP's may not occur together. An AAP follows an NT verb. The TAP is optional, and if it occurs, it follows the initial structure that is introduced by the TRM.

(7.71) in manga (ya) in seli  $\begin{Bmatrix} na \\ *ne \end{Bmatrix}$  nin anak

The thing (that was) bought by the child was  
the mango.

As discussed in Chapter 6, and summarized here, this can be accounted for in either of (at least) two ways.  
1) Order the transformations so that the one which introduces the TAP applies after secondary topicalization so that the NP to which the rule applies is no longer dominat-

ed by the S to which the rule applies. This assumes that the NP that occurs at the beginning of the sentence is introduced under a case node dominated by the sentence.

2) Introduce the NP at the beginning of the sentence under the node PRED so that it is not dominated by the lowest S node that dominates the verb, and claim that the DET of the topic NP has the features (-DEF)(+SPEC), and the NP has no lexical head. The second alternative is chosen for several reasons, as discussed in Chapter 6, and this one is added here, that it appears to offer the only reasonable explanation of the fact that the TAP and AAP not only can, but must, occur in different places, and that the TAP follows an NP that occurs initially and is preceded by the TRM.

#### 7.6.9 The AP as a pronoun.

If the NP which leads to the introduction of the AP is identical with some NP that precedes it, it is deleted, and the AP functions as a pronoun. (This is the basis of a statement made elsewhere in this grammar that an NP is deleted by pronominalization). If lexical insertion has only inserted a pronoun under the NP node, then the TAP or AAP may be the antecedent which results in the deletion of the NP node. This grammar does not attempt to determine formally the conditions under which identity leads to pronominalization/deletion. The antecedent may be, as just noted, the AP, or it may be in a preceding sentence,

or even in the nonlinguistic context. For that reason, the rule uses only the general statement, "Identical with some preceding NP," an unsatisfactory statement, but not enough is known to provide for anything more formal or more satisfactory.

#### 7.6.10 Pronominalization of an indefinite nontopic N.

If the NP that is identical with some preceding NP is an indefinite nontopic N, then pronominalization results in deletion of the identical NP, and there is no AP.

(7.72) meŋan kaŋ maŋga  
Did you eat a mango?

(7.73) meŋan ku  
I ate (one).

#### 7.6.11 Pronominalization of other nontopic NP's.

If the NP that is identical with some preceding NP is not the topic, and it is not dominated by A or N, then it becomes a pronoun dominated by the case node under which the NP was generated. The nontopic D pronouns are given above under sec. 7.5. The CRM is always present, followed by either a nontopic A or nontopic D pronoun, depending on the case. The list is not given here.

#### 7.6.12 The number of rules.

The final question to be discussed before writing the rule(s) is: How many rules are there?

#### 7.6.12.1 Relation to the number of AP's.

Since some sentences contain more than one AP, and the form of the AP is determined, among other things, by whether or not the NP which leads to its introduction is the topic, it seems evident that there must be at least two rules, one introducing each of the AP's.

#### 7.6.12.2 Relation to the number of changes.

Each pronominalization involves one, and potentially two, operations, i.e., insertion of the AP, and deletion of the NP if it is identical with some preceding NP.

These operations can be performed by two different transformations, or by two SC's of a single transformation.

The second alternative is chosen here for two reasons.

1) Making the two operations SC's of a single rule captures in a natural way the notion that the AP's are pronouns, a notion which it would be difficult to capture if the two changes were accomplished by different rules.

2) Economy. The SI for the deletion of the NP is the structure which exists following insertion of the AP. Utilization of a separate rule would involve repeating much of the same information unnecessarily. One of the pronominalizations is stated both ways to facilitate comparison of the one-rule and two-rule methods.

#### 7.6.12.3 Deletion of the nontopic N.

As noted in sec. 7.6.10, an indefinite nontopic N



that is identical with a preceding NP is deleted. This can be accounted for in a separate rule or by making it part of one of the other rules. Since one of the preceding rules, the one that introduces the AAP, provides for the deletion of a nontopic NP, it would require only minor changes in that rule to account for the deletion of the nontopic N.

#### 7.6.12.4 Relation to pronominalization of other case NP's.

If the NP that is identical with some preceding NP is dominated by some case other than A or N and is not topicalized, then it is replaced by a pro-form that is still dominated by the case node under which the NP which it replaces was generated. This operation is significantly different from that which inserts a TAP or an AAP in a position where it is not dominated by the case node under which the NP which leads to its introduction was generated. For that reason, pronominalization of nontopic NP's which are dominated by some case node other than A or N is considered as accomplished by a different rule.

#### 7.6.12.5 Conclusion.

The foregoing observations lead to the conclusion that there are three rules: 1) The first provides for the introduction of the TAP and deletion of the NP that introduces it if it is identical with some preceding NP. 2) The second provides for introduction of the AAP and deletion





features that are listed, the TAP would not be identical with that lexical item, so it would not be deleted by SC 3. That deletion could occur from the TAP only if the features listed were all of the features of 4, and it could occur from some other NP only if all of the features of that NP were the same as the features of 3 in the rule.

7) SC 3 is not technically correct as stated. The NP dominates DET as well as NOM, and the feature (+DEF) is on DET. Either the SC should make identity between the TAP and NOM the requirement, or there should be an intermediate transformation, not formulated here, that transfers the pertinent features of NOM to DET. The second alternative is probably the correct one. (but cf., pg. 231 below).

8) In sentences in which the TAP may occur in either of two or more places, e.g., Ex. 7.58, the choice is made dependent upon the value assigned to the feature (F W) at the time of lexical insertion, a feature whose value is unspecified in the lexicon for time adverbs, but not most other words. If B has been attached to PRED, para must be assigned a value at the time of lexical insertion.

9) As stated, the rule assumes that emphasis may be applied to more than one NP, and if it is, both NP's are preposed by the same rule applying more than once. Furthermore, it is assumed that both applications precede this rule. If the position of TAP insertion were determined by the order of the rules, condition 2 could be dropped.

Rule P2: AAP insertion/Pronominalization and indefinite N deletion.

SI: S(# X X (+F W) X C<sub>i</sub> C<sub>i</sub>RM NP(DEF NOM)) X #)  
 (9I)  
 (9II)  
 (9PL)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Conditions: 1. 1 does not dominate an item with the feature (+F W).  
 2. 2 is not dominated by A or by a case node that also dominates the feature (+TOP).  
 3. 5 does not have the feature (+TOP).

SC: 1. If 4 is A, or if 4 is D and 8 does not dominate A, insert AAP as right sister of 2. If 3 either dominates only V or ADJ or is zero, optional. Otherwise, obligatory.  
 2. Attach the features of 7 to AAP.  
 3. If 4 is A, D, or N, and 6 is identical with some preceding NP, delete 6. (The AAP can be that preceding NP).

Discussion of the rule:

- 1) The significance of the first two conditions is discussed under the preceding rule.
- 2) The third condition assures that the rule applies only to nontopic NP's.
- 3) Fewer features are included in 7 because fewer features are relevant. Since all agents are, by definition, (+ANIM), they are also, presumably, (+CONC)(+COUNT), so those features do not need to be included, either as conditions or as part of the SI. In any case, the introduction of the AAP has never been found to be dependent upon the value of one of those features, or the feature (DEF). Its form is determined by the values of the features listed.

- 4) If deletion of an indefinite N were accomplished by a separate rule, 4 in the SI would still have to be  $C_1RM$  because, as noted elsewhere, the D case results in the insertion of the AAP if the verb is one that has a D, but does not have an A, in its case frame. Providing for the deletion of an indefinite N with this rule is simply a matter of adding the name of the N case to the proper SC.
- 5) It is noted above in the discussion of Ex's. 7.4 to 7.6 that the AAP is optional if, and only if, nothing occurs between the A case and the verb or adjective dominated by PRED. If the TAP and/or a case node occurs there, it is not optional. This optionality is provided for in the condition on SC 1.

Rule P3: Pronominalization of a nontopic, non-A/N NP.

SI:  $S(\# X C_1(C_1RM NP(DET NOM)) X \#)$

1                    2                    3

Condition: 1 is not N or A.

SC: If 2 is identical with some preceding NP, attach the feature (+PRO) to 3.

Discussion of the rule:

- 1) As noted above, this rule provides for pronominalization when the pro-form is still dominated by the case node under which the NP was generated.
- 2) The SC provides for the attachment of the feature (+PRO) to the same node as the one to which the features

copied by the other rules are attached. In the UESP, these features, and pronouns as such, are attached to the node DET. The attachment of these features to NOM here requires justification. First, as discussed in Chapter 5, the pro-forms under discussion here seem to have three morphemically distinct elements, the GRM, the Distinct Nominal Marker (DNM), and the head, which, with personal pronouns, is the person-number category morpheme. The simplest method of accounting for these forms is by claiming that these three morphemes are attached to the nodes CRM, DET, and NOM, respectively. If the DNM is attached to the DET, then presumably the features (DEF), (SPEC), and (DIST) are, too. If the features (DEF), (SPEC), and (DIST) are attached to DET, and have a morphemic representation that is separate from the pronominal head in the surface structure, then there seems to be good reason for claiming that the pronominal head is attached to NOM instead of to DET. Also, it is at least possible that the absence of the (+DIST) nominal marker, which is part of the basic pronominal form, e.g., i.ya 'he', from the TAP, e.g., ya 'he', is due to the fact that only the features of NOM, not the feature(s) of DET, are copied by the TAP insertion rule.

Second, it is noted in the discussion of deictics that a deictic may be followed by a nominal to which it is joined by a linker, and this fact is taken as evidence that the deictic contains an element which can be consid-

ered as the head of the construction, i.e., as lexically inserted under Noun. It is also the case that a pro-form can be followed by a nominal to which it is joined by a linker.

(7.74) masikan kamiŋ pilipi·no

We Filipinos are strong.

(7.75) memye kamiŋ na·si kekayuŋ amerika·nu

We gave rice to you Americans.

This is considered to be evidence that the pronoun is dominated by the noun node.<sup>14</sup> Pronominalization is here, then, accomplished by adding the feature (+PRO) to the noun that is the head of the NP. If that feature is present on a lexical item, then the second lexical lookup replaces the phonological matrix of the lexical item with the phonological matrix of the appropriate pro-form.

The presence of the DRM in the D pronouns seems to be adequate evidence that the pro-form is not attached to the DRM. The presence of the (+DIST) nominal marker, i·, is taken as evidence of the presence of the DET node in the tree as a node separate from the one to which the pronominal head is attached. The evidence is not conclusive, but it is considered sufficient to justify the conclusion drawn here.

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<sup>14</sup>It is noted in Chapter 5 that this study does not investigate the other elements in DET besides ART. If it did, the view presented here might have to be changed.



## 7.7 Deictics.

There is another class of forms to be included here as pro-forms, viz., deictics. They are apparently not dominated in their entirety by the CRM and/or DET. There are two reasons for making this claim: 1) Deictics function syntactically as full nominals/NP's. This is discussed more fully in sec. 7.7.1.3. 2) Like pronouns, deictics can be analyzed into component parts, each of which can be considered as attached to a specific node in the PS tree. Each deictic contains the Distinctive Nominal Marker (DNM), i. This can be considered as attached to the DET node. Preceding the i is the Plural Marker (PM) in plural deictics. Preceding that, and initial, is the CRM in nontopic deictics. Topic deictics do not have a CRM or TRM. Following the DNM, the position of the head nominal is occupied by one of four elements which differ from one another in the scope of their reference. These are herein called the Scope of Reference Marker (SRM). The four elements, and the scope of their reference, are: ni 'close to speaker'; ti 'vicinity or area of speaker'; an 'close to hearer'; ta 'far from speaker and hearer'.

### 7.7.1 Topic deictics.

The following chart shows the composition of topic deictics, including the component parts and full forms. The symbols used are defined in the discussion above.

TOPIC DEICTICS

TRM	PM	DNM	SRM	FORM	TRM	PM	DNM	SRM	FORM
∅ <sup>15</sup>	∅	i	ni	ini	∅	da	i	ni	deni
∅	∅	i	ti	iti	∅	da	i	ti	deti
∅	∅	i	an	yan	∅	da	i	an	den
∅	∅	i	ta	ita	∅	da	i	ta	deta

7.7.1.1 Used as topics.

Topic deictics are used as topics in both primary and secondary topicalizations.

(7.76) masikan ya yan

That one is strong.

(7.77) i·kit ke ita

I saw that one.

(7.78) iti in̄ yu si el e

This is UCLA.

7.7.1.2 Used first in a modification construction.

Topic deictics occur as the first item in a modification construction. That they include head nominals is confirmed by the fact that they are joined to the other form in the construction by a linker.

(7.79) i·kit ke itaŋ lala·ki

I saw that man.

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<sup>15</sup>The zero here means that there is no separate morphemic representation of the TRM. It could be considered as present and coalescing with the DNM. PM and DNM could both be considered as attached to the TRM node.

As suggested above, the same fact indicates that nontopic D pronouns that occur as possessive forms before a noun head may be the head of the construction, e.g., Ex. 7.49, repeated here for convenience, and Ex. 7.80.

(7.49) ini in kekaminj libru

This is our book.

(7.80) i·kit ke in kekanj libru

I saw your book.

The difference between the deictic and the nontopic D in this construction is that the latter, but not the former, is preceded by the TRM. This in turn is related to the fact that with the deictic, the i is attached directly under the topmost case/NP,<sup>16</sup> and the SRM is lexically inserted under Noun. In Ex's. 7.49 and 7.80, in is attached to the CRM, and the morphological complexity of the D pronoun is accounted for by the fact that there is a fairly complicated tree structure dominating it, between it and the topmost NP node, and a translation of Ex. 7.80 which would more closely indicate that structure would be something like, "I saw the thing that belongs to you which is a book." A deictic could be inserted at the same place in the deep structure as the D pronoun in Ex. 7.80.

(7.81) i·kit ke in ketanj libru

I saw that one's book.

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<sup>16</sup>Cf., discussion of the point of attachment of the DNM in Chapter 5.

Thus, the SRM of the deictic in Ex's. 7.76 to 7.79 is the head nominal by reason of being lexically inserted in that position; a nontopic D pronoun and deictic in Ex's. 7.80 and 7.81 is the head of the construction by reason of being raised to that position by a transformation.

#### 7.7.1.3 Used following head nominals.

Topic deictics are used following head nominals, which in turn are preceded by a CRM/TRM (but not the indefinite NRM) in modification constructions.

(7.82) i·kit ke in lala·kiŋ ita

I saw that man.

It is this fact which is referred to earlier as the syntactic function that confirms that deictics are full NP's. Ex's. 7.79 and 7.82 differ in that, in Ex. 7.79, the SRM of the deictic is the head of the NP, and lala·ki is the modifier; in 7.82, lala·ki is the head of the NP, and the deictic is the modifier. This in turn implies, as it would in any modification construction, that Ex. 7.79 would be used in a situation in which it was being emphasized that that man, not that woman or child, was the one seen; and that Ex. 7.82 would be used in a situation in which it was being emphasized that that man, not some other man, was the one seen. Both deictics may be used in the same construction, and both emphases are present.

(7.83) i·kit ke itaŋ lala·kiŋ ita

I saw that man.

As noted above, the topic deictic may be used following any head noun except one which follows an indefinite NRM.

(7.84a) menintun ya kiꞑ anak a ini iꞑ lala·ki

(b) \*menintun yayꞑ anak a ini iꞑ lala·ki

The man looked for this child.

#### 7.7.2 Nontopic niꞑ deictics.

Deictics in this group are called niꞑ deictics because they occur where an ordinary nominal would occur preceded by the RM niꞑ. The singular forms consist of the (+DIST) RM ni, the DNM i, and the SRM. The plural forms include the PM da, but inexplicably, not the RM ni. This means that the plural forms of this set are the same as the plural forms of the topic set.

#### niꞑ DEICTICS

CRM	PM	DNM	SRM	FORM	CRM	PM	DNM	SRM	FORM
ni	∅	i	ni	ni·ni	∅	da	i	ni	deni
ni	∅	i	ti	ni·ti	∅	da	i	ti	deti
ni	∅	i	an	nyan	∅	da	i	an	den
ni	∅	i	ta	ni·ta	∅	da	i	ta	deta

As with the topic set, if the deictic is followed by a noun, adjective, or verb, the two are joined by a linker.

This set is used as a nontopic A.

(7.85) i·kit de iꞑ anak ni·niꞑ lala·ki

This man saw the child.



PM in the plural forms, the DNM, and the SRM. There is an alternate singular set which includes the (+DIST) RM ni between the DRM and the DNM. No attempt is made here to postulate a structure which would account for the presence of two CRM's with this form. The two sets are interchangeable in some, but not all, environments. The limitations on their distribution are discussed below.

kin DEICTICS

DRM	RM	DNM	SRM	FORM	DRM	PM	DNM	SRM	FORM
ka		i	ni	keni	ka	da	i	ni	kareni
ka	ni	i	ni	kani·ni					
ka		i	ti	keti	ka	da	i	ti	kareti
ka	ni	i	ti	kani·ti					
ka		i	an	ken	ka	da	i	an	karen
ka	ni	i	an	kanyan					
ka		i	ta	keta	ka	da	i	ta	kareta
ka	ni	i	ta	kani·ta					

7.7.3.1 Used as a D or B.

A member of either singular set may be used as a D or B, both when that case occurs in a sentence in which there is a lexically inserted verb, and when that case is inserted under PRED by the topicalization transformation. There is no difference in meaning between the two forms when they are used in these positions. B includes para.

(7.90) minye yan manga in lala·ki { kani·nin  
kenin } anak

The man gave a mango to this child.

(7.91) si·nali kun manga para {kani·tay  
ketan} anak

I bought (some) mangoes for that child.

(7.92) kani·nin } anak ya in libru  
kenin }

The book belongs to this child.

(7.93) para {kani·tay } anak la din manga  
ketan }

The mangoes are for that child.

In Ex. 7.91, kani.ta indicates a child who is a little bit farther away than does keta. This difference is not investigated further here.

#### 7.7.3.2 Used as an L or Di.

A member of the set without ni may be used as an L or Di.

(7.94) keni  
\*kani·ni } ya makakera in anak

The child is sitting here.

(7.95) keta  
\*kani.ta } ya meko in anak

The child left there.

#### 7.7.3.3 Used in other environments.

The set with ni is used as a definite N, in time expressions, in similarity expressions, and in causative expressions.

##### 7.7.3.3.1 As a definite N.

(7.96) ma·nandam ya {kani·ni  
\*keni }



She's borrowing this.

(7.97) da·raldak ku {<sup>kanyan</sup>  
\*ken

I pound that.

(7.98) ma·naila·ngan kami {<sup>kani·ta</sup>  
\*keta

We need that.<sup>17</sup>

Although Ex's. 7.96 to 7.98 may not have a form without ni as a definite N by itself, a member of either set may occur as a definite N if it is followed by a nominal to which it is joined by a linker.

(7.99) ma·nandam ya {<sup>kani·niñ</sup>  
keniñ } libru.

She's borrowing this book.

(7.100) da·raldak ku {<sup>kanyan</sup>  
ken } pa·le

I pound that unhusked rice.

(7.101) ma·naila·ngan kami {<sup>kani·tan</sup>  
ketan } danum

We need that water.

If a verb does not allow a definite N in its case frame, it may not occur with either of these deictics.

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<sup>17</sup>Ex's. 7.96 to 7.98 are the Pampangan equivalents of three sentences in Beginning Tagalog (Bowen, 1965, p.158).

1. Nanghihram siya nito.

2. Bumabayo ako niyan.

3. Nangangailangan kami noon/niyon.

In Tagalog, the deictic that is used for the nontopic N is the same as the one that is used for a nontopic A. Pampangan uses different deictic forms. The use of a nontopic A deictic in the position of a nontopic N is ungrammatical.

1. \*ma·nandam ya ni·ni

2. \*da·raldak ku nyan

3. \*ma·naila·ngan kami ni·ta

(7.102) \*mena·kit ku {kani·tan  
ketan} anak

I saw that child.

7.7.3.3.2 In time expressions.

(7.103) anti kani·tan oras milya·ri in aksidente

The accident happened at this hour.

More is said about this in sec. 7.7.3.4.

7.7.3.3.3 In similarity expressions.

The set without ni may be used in this construction, but the set with ni is definitely preferred, so it is the only one illustrated. In Tagalog, ganito is used for this.

(7.104) anti ya kani·ni in la·pis ku

My pencil is like this.

(7.105) anti ya kani·ta in bale mu

Your house is like that.

(7.106) anti la kareni detan manga

Those mangoes are like these.

7.7.3.3.4 In causative expressions.

The set with ni is used in expressions meaning, 'on account of'. The first one, kani·ni, is not usually used in this way. The topic deictic is required after the noun with kanyan and kani·ta, but is optional with kani·ti.

(7.107) kani·tin ba'ge(n) (iti)  
kanyan ba'ge(n) yan } ya ml·pakari·ne  
kani·tan ba'ge(n) ita }

On account of {this thing  
that thing}, he was put to shame.  
that thing

#### 7.7.3.4 Used together.

A member of either or both sets may occur in a given sentence. Time expressions are usually, if not always, optional. An indefinite N without a lexical head is realized as zero. Apparently, an indefinite L or Di without a lexical head may also be realized as zero. Thus, a sentence in which one would expect an L or Di may contain a form with ni with the meaning of an indefinite N or a time expression, and the L or Di has no overt manifestation.

(7.108a) ati yu ken kanyan in̄ anak

The child is there (by you) at this time.

(b) ati yu ken in̄ anak

The child is there (by you).

(c) ati yu kanyan in̄ anak

The child is (somewhere) at this time.

(7.109a) minta ya keta kani'ta in̄ anak

The child went there (far away) before.

(b) minta ya keta in̄ anak

The child went there (far away).

(c) minta ya kani'ta in̄ anak

The child went (somewhere) before.

The c examples just given indicate that a sentence which one would expect to contain a form without ni may have one with ni. The ni form is not incorrect; it is dominated by a different node. Thus, Ex's. 7.96 to 7.98, in which the ni form is starred, are grammatical, but as time expressions.

## Chapter 8

### INTERROGATIVES

#### 8.0 Introduction.

Interrogatives are sentences in which some information is lacking. What it is and where it fits in the structure of the sentence can vary widely from one sentence to another. The variations form the basis of classification and analysis in this study. The major dichotomy is that of indirect and direct questions.

#### 8.1 Indirect questions.

In Pampangan, indirect questions involve minimal changes, viz., pronoun changes required by the change of relationship between speaker and referent, and intonation change on yes/no questions from rise to normal fall. No other changes have been discovered. For that reason, indirect questions are not discussed at length but are considered here only briefly.

In indirect discourse, interrogatives are generated under N.

(8.1) ki·nutan̄ yan̄ kutaŋ in̄ anak<sup>1</sup>

The child asked a question.

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<sup>1</sup>Any topic form of this sentence sounds a little strange because the noun and the verb are the same word. This need not concern us here, however, since the N NP usually rewrites as S.

(8.2) ki·taŋ ne iŋ kutaŋ niŋ anak

The child asked the question.

(8.3) \*ki·nutaŋ ya kiŋ kutaŋ iŋ anak

The child asked the question.

The fact that Ex. 8.3 is ungrammatical means that this verb does not allow a definite nontopic N.

If the symbol S is chosen in the PS rules as the rewrite of the N NP, and the verb in the matrix sentence is kutaŋ, or some other appropriate verb, then an indirect question results in the surface structure. There are three facts to be noted: 1) The NT form of the verb is definitely preferred in the matrix sentence, though the AT form is not considered as ungrammatical. 2) The TRM does not occur preceding the question; instead, nuŋ 'if' is used with both yes/no and information questions. 3) There is no TAP in the matrix sentence that is introduced by the constituent sentence. In Chapter 10 it is pointed out that with some verbs, the TRM does occur with sentential N's. The occurrence of nuŋ instead of iŋ must, then, be due to a feature on the verb in the matrix sentence. In Ex's. 8.4 to 8.6, N dominates a yes/no question.

(8.4) ki·taŋ (na)<sup>2</sup> niŋ anak nuŋ masikan ya iŋ lala·ki

The child asked if the man was strong.

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<sup>2</sup>It is noted in various other places in this grammar that, when there is no TAP, and the A case immediately follows the verb, the AAP is optional.

(8.5) ki·nutan̄ ya in̄ anak nūn masikan ya in̄ lala·ki  
The child asked if the man was strong.

(8.6) ki·tan̄ (na) nīn anak nūn meko ya in̄ lala·ki  
The child asked if the man had left.

In the following sentences, N dominates an information question.

(8.7) ki·tan̄ (na) nīn anak nūn { nu·(karin) ku munta  
ni·nūn da·tan̄  
kapilan ku mako  
ba·kit (ma·)mako ku  
na·nūn kakanan ku  
makana·nū kūn mako

The child asked (\*if) { where I was going.  
who was coming.  
when I was leaving.  
why I was leaving.  
what I was eating.  
how I was leaving.

Presumably there are a few other verbs whose N may dominate an indirect question, though only one was found.

(8.8) pa·gtakan ku nūn ba·kit meko ya  
I wonder why he left.

## 8.2 Direct questions.

Direct questions can in turn be divided into two categories: 1) Those in which a question word is attached

to some node within the sentence; and 2) Those in which there is no question word, but rather, the question is about the sentence as a whole. The second of these categories is the one that is discussed first.

### 8.2.1 Non-question-word questions.

In this type of question, all of the major category symbols dominate a lexically inserted item, except that PRED may dominate DS. The only thing that is uncertain is the truth value of the sentence. The question is about the whole sentence rather than about some element within the sentence. The purpose of this type of question is to determine if the sentence is true. There are two sub-categories of this category: yes/no questions and tag questions. Both are formed simply in Pampangan.

#### 8.2.1.1 Yes/no questions.

Yes/no questions are formed by terminating the sentence with a rising intonation instead of with the falling intonation characteristic of declaratives.<sup>3</sup>

(8.9) masikan ya in lala•ki

Is the man strong?

(8.10) menan yan manga in lala•ki

Did the man eat a mango?

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<sup>3</sup>Tagalog uses the interrogative particle *ba* in addition to rising intonation. Pampangan has no interrogative particle. It uses only intonation.

The UESP analysis of English is that yes/no questions arise from antithetical alternative questions joined with 'or', with the question feature (+WH) introduced into each sentence as a feature on 'or' by the conjunction spreading rule.<sup>4</sup> This is followed by appropriate deletion of specified identical elements. Since the first question is followed by another question in the deep structure, if the second question is entirely deleted, the only trace of its presence in the deep structure is the rising intonation on the first question. The facts observed in Pampangan suggest the possibility of a similar source of yes/no questions in that language. An example, with progressive reduction of the second question, follows:

(8.11) masikan ya in lala·ki, o eya masikan in lala·ki

Is the man strong, or isn't the man strong?

(8.12) masikan ya in lala·ki, o eya masikan

Is the man strong, or isn't he strong?

(8.13) masikan ya in lala·ki, o ali ya

Is the man strong, or isn't he?

(8.14) masikan ya in lala·ki, o ali

Is the man strong, or not?

Ex. 8.9 follows this as the final reduction. The negative form e is actually a reduced form of ali, derived by dele-

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<sup>4</sup>UESP, pp. 635-6. Conjunction is not included in this study, which means that the rule by which conjunctions are spread is not stated here. The question reduction rule, which applies to conjoined questions of the sort under discussion here, is given below.



tion of the medial l and reduction of the resulting ai to e. However, e is apparently proclitic (though it is a full word for the purpose of determining the point of attachment of the TAP) since it must be followed by a full word, i.e., something besides the TAP. Ex's. 8.13 and 8.14 are unacceptable with e.

Reduction is thus, as in English, by major constituents, i.e., case nodes and PRED. It must be applied after the rule that introduces the TAP since the TAP may occur even if the topic NP does not, so it must be introduced at a time when the features of the topic NP are still present to be copied. The example that does not include the TAP in the second clause, Ex. 8.14, can be accounted for, as its position in the above sequence implies, by the application of one more reduction step, i.e., deletion of the TAP. To attempt to derive Ex. 8.14 by claiming that reduction applied before the introduction of the TAP would be contrary to the evidence of all the preceding sentences.

An alternative order of the elements in Ex. 8.13 is possible. However, it is considered here that it is the result of the application of a different rule, i.e., conjunction reduction, and for that reason is not provided for in the question reduction rule. The full forms of both sentences are given here, with parentheses around the items in each sentence which would be deleted to give the alternative order in the surface structure referred to above.

(8.15) masikan ya (iŋ lala·ki), o ali ya (masikan)  
iŋ lala·ki

Further illustrations of reduction involving sentences that contain verbs could be given, but they only involve more steps because of having more nodes and more cases. Nothing new is introduced, so they are not given.

It is possible to have the negative sentence be the first of the alternative questions.

(8.16) eya masikan iŋ lala·ki, o masikan ya iŋ lala·ki  
Isn't the man strong, or is the man strong?

(8.17) eya masikan iŋ lala·ki, o masikan ya  
Isn't the man strong, or is he strong?

(8.18) eya masikan iŋ lala·ki  
Isn't the man strong?

Only two reductions are possible here. The PRED may not occur without the TAP, and o 'or' is not a full word, so cannot support the TAP. Thus, the second reduction must delete all of the second sentence.

Rule I1:

SI:	#	PRED	AP	X	C <sub>i</sub>	CONT	#	o	#	NEG	AP	PRED	X	C <sub>i</sub>	#
		1	2		3	4	5			6	7	8	9		

Condition: 1, 2, 3 equal 7, 6, 8, respectively.

SC: 1. Delete 8, or:  
2. Delete 7, 8, or:  
3. Delete 6, 7, 8, or:  
4. Delete 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

Discussion of the rule:

1) As noted above, the rule must be applied after the

introduction of the AP's, and since the AP's are inserted in different places depending on whether the sentence contains a NEG or not, the condition must be stated as it is.

2) The variable must be included between PRED and  $C_1$  because there may be more than one case in the case frame, and any number of cases may be deleted by this rule. The rule must be allowed to apply more than once to delete the individual cases. The alternative would be to write the rule to provide an alternate SC for each successive case node that may be deleted. This is rejected because it is too cumbersome. Reapplication of the rule is simpler.

3) A different rule is required if the first sentence is the one with NEG, but that rule is not stated here.

#### 8.2.1.2 Tag questions.

Tag questions are formed by adding ne to a statement, whether it is affirmative or negative. This is approximately equivalent to Tagalog ano in this position. Tagalog has two tag question particles, ano 'what', and hindi ba 'isn't that so?' None of the Pampangan negatives can occur alone as a tag, and since there is no equivalent of ba to occur with them, they are not used as tags.

English tags can occur with either a rising or a falling intonation, and the falling intonation is correlated with a higher level of expectation of agreement with the statement made in the sentence than is expressed by the rising intonation. In Pampangan, ne as a tag may have

either a rising or a falling intonation, and the distinction made in Pampangan by the two intonations is the same as that made by them in English.

(8.19) masikan ya in lala·ki, ne

The man is strong, isn't he.

(8.20) mejan yan manga in lala·ki, ne

The man ate a mango, didn't he?

(8.21) eya masikan in lala·ki, ne

The man isn't strong, is he?

(8.22) eya mejan manga in lala·ki, ne

The man didn't eat a mango, did he?

The UESP tentatively suggests (pp. 647-8) that tags may arise from sentence adverbs (which in turn may dominate alternative questions), or (WH), which triggers a copying rule which copies the subject and relevant parts of AUX. Something fairly elaborate is necessary for English since the tag can occur in any one of a number of different forms, but the form in any one sentence is always quite narrowly limited by the form of the AUX in the main sentence, plus the fact that the presence/absence of NEG is always the opposite of what it is in the main sentence. In Pampangan, the tag has just one form, ne, and it occurs after both affirmative and negative sentences, and with any PRED and any AUX. A copying rule is thus not necessary, though the source may be a sentence adverb. It makes a question out of an otherwise declarative sentence.

### 8.2.2 Question-word questions.

The other major type of questions consists of those in which (+Q)<sup>5</sup> is attached to the CRM or determiner of some NP, rather than to o 'or', so that the question word is dominated by a case node. The purpose of this type of question is to obtain the information that would be contained in that part of the tree which the NP that dominates the question word would dominate if the tree were complete, i.e., if lexical items had been inserted under all nodes. Question words are spelled out in the second lexical look-up. Their form is determined by the feature composition of the dominating node, and by whether or not that NP has undergone topicalization. The question word nearly always occurs initially in the sentence.

Within a simplex sentence, there is usually only one occurrence of (+Q). In English there may be two interrogative words, but there is a limitation on the place where they may occur in the surface structure. 1) Only one is fronted. 2) Both may be fronted if they are joined by a conjunction, indicating that they were generated in separate sentences, one of which has been reduced to zero except for the question word and the conjunction. They

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<sup>5</sup>The symbol used in the UESP is (WH). (Q) is used here because (WH) is suggestive of English interrogative words and is of no relevance in Pampangan. The symbol (NU) could have been used since nu is part of several interrogative words, but not all.

may not both be fronted from within a single sentence. In Pampangan, a sentence with an unfronted question word is usually unacceptable, though sentences with interrogative words joined by a conjunction are acceptable.

(8.23) \*nukarin ya mejan manga iq lala·ki kapilan  
?Where did the man eat a mango when?

(8.24) nukarin at kapilan ya mejan manga iq lala·ki  
Where and when did the man eat a mango?

(8.25) \*nukarin kapilan ya mejan manga iq lala·ki  
\*Where when did the man eat a mango?

If the questions are about NP's within the case frame, a second question word is less objectionable.

(8.26) ni·nu iq minye kani·nu  
Who gave (something) to whom?

(8.27) ?ni·nu iq minye na·nu  
Who gave what?

Three question words from within a simple sentence are not acceptable.

(8.28) \*ni·nu iq minye na·nu kani·nu  
Who gave what to whom?

The preference is definitely to ask for this information by asking three different questions.

(8.29) na·nu iq binye  
What was given?

(8.30) ni·nu iq minye  
Who gave?

(8.31) kani·nu iŋ binye

To whom was it given?

The limitation on the number of occurrences of (Q) in a sentence can be accounted for in one of two ways.

1) There can be a general constraint that there may be only one occurrence of (Q) per sentence.<sup>6</sup> 2) (Q) can be generated in the MOD and attached later to some node in the tree. The node could be determined by having the item on which (Q) is introduced obligatorily specified with a positive value for some node in the tree to which it will then be attached, or which it will attract to the front of the sentence. In favor of the second alternative is the fact that a given sentence may only ask one type of question, yes/no or information, e.g., \*"Did who leave?"<sup>7</sup> Since a sentence may not contain a (Q) if it has a (Q) attached to it from o 'or', this limitation can be stated simply if (Q) is generated in MOD. The argument does not appear to be conclusive, however. Against it is the fact that the node to which (Q) is attached is related to the fact that some information is missing from the tree, viz.,

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<sup>6</sup>Though there is one sentence, Ex. 8.26, which is apparently not objectionable, it is such a marginal thing in comparison with the general limitation on the occurrence of more than one (Q) per sentence that it is ignored, and the rule is not written to generate it.

<sup>7</sup>This is acceptable as an echo question, "You asked if X left, but who is X?" It is not acceptable as asking simultaneously, "Who left?" and, "Did that person leave?"

the information that would have been dominated by that NP if a lexical item had been inserted under it, and if (Q) is generated in MOD, that correlation would be difficult to express. For that reason, the first alternative is adopted here, i.e., that there can be only one (Q) per S.

The subdivisions within this section are determined on the basis of the node to which (Q) is attached, and what that node in turn is dominated by.

#### 8.2.2.1 Questions on topicalized case nodes.

The first subgroup consists of questions in which (+Q) is dominated by a node in the case frame which undergoes topicalization. The surface form of such questions contains the following: 1) A question word (there are three of them, and they are considered later); 2) A secondary topicalization, i.e., the TRM followed by the rest of what would be a sentence if there were a topic NP and a TAP. The question asks for the information which the topic NP would contain. Ex's. 8.26, 8.29, and 8.30 are examples. Some additional examples are:

(8.32) ni·nu in masikan

Who is the one who is strong?

(8.33) ni·nu in meko

Who is the one who left?

(8.34) na·nu in i·kit mu

What is the thing that you saw?

(8.35) sa·nu in seli mu



Which (one) is the one you bought?

In a secondary topicalization, if the first NP is followed by ya, it and the TRM of the second NP optionally contract to yan. Similarly, ni·nu in optionally becomes ni·nun. The other topic question words optionally, but usually, contract with in in the same way. This contraction almost always occurs in normal speech.

If one of the nodes dominates a question word, it may not simultaneously dominate a NEG. This follows from the fact that the PS rules provide for disjunctive rewrites of NP as DET NOM or S, and since interrogative words are considered to be attached to DET or NOM, and NEG is introduced in the MOD of the S, then they may not both occur under the same NP node. As would be expected, this limitation applies in English as well.

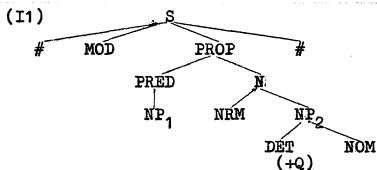
(8.36) \*ali }  
\*e } ni·nu in mejan manga

\*Not who is the one who } ate a mango?  
\*Who isn't it that }

If we assume that questions on topicalized NP's have a structure something like that of tree (I1),<sup>8</sup> in which the DET of NP<sub>2</sub> has the feature (+Q), then the deep structure of a topicalization question is directly parallel to that of a declarative secondary topicalization sentence except in the structure of the topicalized NP.

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<sup>8</sup>Cf., the discussion of the structure of a sentence that involves secondary topicalization in Chap. 6, sec. 4.



NP<sub>1</sub> in the above tree may dominate a NEG.

(8.37) ni·nu iŋ e meŋan manga

Who (is the one who) didn't eat a mango?

(8.38) ni·nu iŋ e masikan

Who (is the one who) is not strong?

(8.39) ni·nu iŋ e lala·ki

Who (is the one who) is not a man?

In the UESP, question words are included in the determiner chart (pg. 145). Which is listed as (+DEF) (and thus redundantly (+SPEC)) (+PRO)(+HUM). What (not the surface form) is listed as (-DEF)(-PRO). It combines with 'thing' to produce the surface form 'what', and with 'one' to produce the surface form 'who' (pg. 149). Elsewhere (pg. 631), 'who' and 'what' (surface forms) are said to be (+PRO)(-SPEC). These feature assignments are illustrated in the following examples.

(8.40) Which ( { child }  
                   { dog }  
                   { book } ) did you see?

The alternation of nouns illustrates the options of (+HUM) and (+ANIM), and the fact that the items are in parentheses, which indicates that they are optional, illustrates

the option (+PRO). The same alternations are possible with the question word 'what', and they illustrate the same options.<sup>9</sup>

(8.41) What {  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{child} \\ \text{dog} \\ \text{book} \end{array} \right\}$  } did you see?

The difference between the last two examples is that Ex. 8.40, but not Ex. 8.41, presupposes some previous reference to the alternatives, which is, approximately, the presupposition of definiteness.

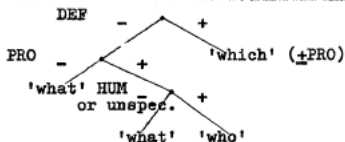
These alternations are not possible with 'who'.

(8.42) Who(m) {  $\left. \begin{array}{l} *child \\ *dog \\ *book \end{array} \right\}$  } did you see?

The impossibility of any noun occurring after 'who' illustrates the fact that, as a surface form, 'who' is a combination of the underlying interrogative DET word what and the pro-form 'one', which replaces a human noun, so that 'who' is (+HUM)(+PRO). From these facts we can now construct the following feature tree of English interrogative words (ignoring other articles, and indicating surface forms, not underlying determiners).

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<sup>9</sup>The (+PRO) option, of course, is the one in which the DET what has combined with the pro-form 'thing' to give the surface form 'what'. The (+PRO) 'what' does, of course, allow the possibility of a human referent, e.g., "What did you see?" can be answered with, "(I saw) a child".



Pampangan question words differ from English question words in only two significant respects: 1) ni·nu 'who' may be (-PRO).

(8.43) ni·nuṅ anak in i·kit mu

\*Who(m) child did you see?

2) Question words may be (+PL). By contrast, (+PRO) English question words may not be used as grammatically plural, e.g., in determining number agreement, even though the referent must obviously be plural, and a plural form may be used or required in the answer.

(8.44) Who {<sup>is</sup>/<sub>\*are</sub>} getting married?

If the question word is (-PRO), the head noun may be plural with plural verb agreement.

(8.45) Which } persons {<sup>\*is</sup>/<sub>are</sub>} getting married?  
?What }

In Pampangan, pluralization of the interrogative pronoun is achieved by a repetition of the question word.

(8.46) ni·nu-ni·nu }  
sa·nu-sa·nu } diṅ i·kit mu  
ni·nu-ni·nu }  
Who }  
Which ones/things } did you see?  
What things }  
What things }

None of these is common. The sentence is less acceptable with sa·nu-sa·nu than it is with ni·nu-ni·nu, and it is still less acceptable with na·nu-na·nu. The question words sa·nu and na·nu are more likely to be used with nan 'all' if a plural referent is intended, and the TRM on the secondary topicalization may be either (+PL).

- (8.47)  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{sa·nu} \\ \text{na·nu} \end{array} \right\} \text{nan} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{in} \\ \text{din} \end{array} \right\} \text{i·kit mu}$   
 ?Which } all did you see?  
 What }

The plural interrogative form presupposes an answer specifying individuals. The answer to Ex. 8.48,

- (8.48)  $\text{ni·nu in i·kit mu}$   
 Who(m) did you see?

could be either singular or plural.

- (8.49)  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{in anak (in} \\ \text{din a·nak (din} \end{array} \right\} \text{i·kit ku}$   
 (I saw) { the child.  
 the children.

The plural form in Ex. 8.49 would not be an appropriate answer to the question in Ex. 8.46 with ni·nu-ni·nu. That question presupposes an answer like di pedro at wan, 'Peter and John'.

Since all three question words may be (+PRO), and possibly, though marginally, (+PL), those features cannot be used to distinguish Pampangan question words from one another. Accordingly, the following tree is proposed as the feature tree of Pampangan question words.



Examples illustrating these question words follow. They parallel Ex's. 8.40 to 8.42, which illustrate English question words. There is some overlap with examples already given.

(8.50) sa·nu( $\eta$  { anak  
a·su  
libru }) i $\eta$  i·kit mu

Which { child  
dog  
book } did you see?

(8.51) na·nu( $\eta$  { anak  
a·su  
libru }) i $\eta$  i·kit mu

What { child  
dog  
book } did you see?

(8.52) ni·nu( $\eta$  { anak  
\*a·su  
\*libru }) i $\eta$  i·kit mu

\*Who { child  
dog  
book } did you see?

It is noted earlier in the discussion that these questions involve secondary topicalization. In accordance with that analysis, no special rule is required for the interrogatives discussed in this section. It is possible to assume that (+Q) is attached to the NP dominated by N, that it is fronted by the rule stated at the end of this chapter, and that (+Q), along with the other feature(s) on

the DET of that NP, determine the spelling of the question word in the second lexical lookup.

In the examples considered so far, the questioned element has been an NP. There are questions in which the information that is lacking is that which would be dominated by PRED or PROP in a complete tree. The question word used in such questions is na·nu.

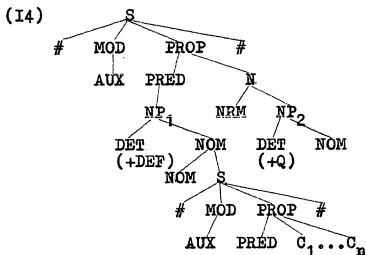
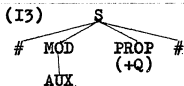
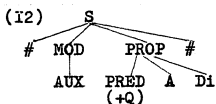
(8.53) na·nu in̄ gewa niñ lala·ki kiñ anak  
What did the man do to the child?

(8.54) na·nu in̄ milya·ri (kiñ bale)  
What happened (in the house)?

An adverb of time and/or place is required in Ex. 8.54, though it may be deleted if it is identical with an adverb in the preceding linguistic or nonlinguistic context. The Di case can be omitted from Ex. 8.53.

(8.55) na·nu in̄ gewa niñ lala·ki  
What did the man do?

Questions of this sort can be considered as derived from one of two sources: 1) Primary topicalization sentences in which gewa and milya·ri are inserted as dummy verbs, and where (+Q) is attached to PRED and PROP, respectively, as shown in trees (I2) and (I3) below; 2) Secondary topicalization sentences in which gewa and milya·ri are lexically inserted in the sentence dominated by NP<sub>1</sub>, and (+Q) is attached to the DET of NP<sub>2</sub>, as shown in tree (I4).



The second alternative is considered to be the correct one because it accounts for the TRM preceding the verb, an inseparable correlate of secondary topicalization, and for the topicalization affix on the verb. The verb gewa is an NT verb form. The topicalization affix in milya·ri is ma- (mi- is the perfective aspect), which is most frequently, if not always, used to mark the topicalization of N. This must be accounted for in some ad hoc way if the verbs in the questions are construed as dummy verbs.

In answer to Ex. 8.53, any one of the following is acceptable:

(8.56) berug ne (iq anak)  
 He whipped him (the child).

(8.57) sinau·pan ne (iq anak)



He helped him (the child).

but not:

(8.58) *memarug ya*  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kin} \\ -\text{y} \end{array} \right\}$  *anak in lala.ki*

The man whipped  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{the} \\ \text{a} \end{array} \right\}$  child.

In answer to Ex. 8.55, any one of the three preceding sentences is acceptable. The answer to Ex. 8.54 can be any one of those sentences, assuming either that those sentences contain NP's, or that the antecedent of the pronoun is obvious, or either of the following:

(8.59) *mipate kami*

We had a fight.

(8.60) *atin aksidente*

There was an accident.

There is thus apparently some relation between the question and the acceptable form of the answer. This study does not attempt to explore all the possibilities. It is sufficient to note here that there is apparently no requirement that the case that is topicalized in the answer be the case that is topicalized in the question in Ex's. 8.53 to 8.55. (That requirement does hold for the questions given earlier, Ex's. 8.50 to 8.52) This tends to confirm the view that the verb in the question is not a dummy verb but rather a verb in the sentence dominated by  $NP_1$  in tree (I4). The verb in the answer, which would then be the verb of the sentence dominated by  $NP_2$ , can have any one of various topic forms.

### 8.2.2.2 Questions on untopicalized case nodes.

The second major subgroup of questions which contain a question word consists of those in which (+Q) is attached to a node which does not undergo topicalization. This includes all of the cases except A. If A is questioned, it must be topicalized. Every other case can be questioned without being topicalized. For most of the examples given from here to the end of this section, there is another form of the question that involves secondary topicalization. In most instances, the other form is not given. It is included only if it is more common than the form that does not involve secondary topicalization. The form of the question word is determined by the dominating node, i.e., the case node. Each subsection deals with a case node.

#### 8.2.2.2.1 The N case.

N is the only case that can be questioned without being placed in initial position.<sup>10</sup> The basic, indefinite NRM is retained, followed by the question word.

(8.61) mena.kit kay { \*sa.nu  
                          \*ni.nu  
                          na.nu

As indicated, only na.nu may be used in this position. There is no difference in meaning between this question and the one which involves secondary topicalization, Ex. 8.51, though Ex. 8.51 is preferred and much more common.

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<sup>10</sup>An exception to this is given earlier, Ex. 8.26, but it involves a special situation and is not generated.

In a sentence in which PRED has been rewritten as DS, the N case may be questioned by na·nu, but not by the other question words.

(8.62) atin yan { \*sa·nu  
                  \*ni·nu } in anak  
                  na·nu

What does the child have?

There is no meaning difference between this sentence and the more common one involving secondary topicalization.

(8.63) na·nu in atin na niy anak

What does the child have?

#### 8.2.2.2.2 The D case.

The nature of the D case is such that it is always (+ANIM). It is usually (+HUM). This fact is reflected in the surface form of the interrogative word, kani·nu. The first part is ka, which occurs as part of the (+DIST) pronouns and deictics. This interrogative word can, then, be analyzed as composed of the (+DIST) DRM and the (+HUM) topic question word.

For this case and all subsequent cases and all adverbs, the question word is placed in initial position in the sentence. The following examples illustrate questioned D's in a sentence in which there is a verb, a sentence in which D replaces DS, and a sentence in which D is attached to some other case node in a possessive construction. The last example shows that the TAP is inserted after the interrogative rule has applied, fronting the D case node.

(8.64) kani·nu ya minyeŋ bola iŋ lala·ki

To whom did the man give a ball?

(8.65) kani·nu ya iniy manga

(8.66) <sup>Whose is this mango?</sup>  
kani·nu ya manga } ini  
\*kani·nu(ŋ) manga ya } ini  
10.00 \*kani·nu(ŋ) māŋga ya } ni

Whose mango is this?

#### 8.2.2.2.3 The B case.

The B case has many similarities to D, and they are evident in the questions as well. The only additional observation to be made is that there is only one position in which the TAP may occur. It is noted in Chapter 6 that the AP's may occur either before kiŋ, i.e., para ya kiŋ, or after the whole B phrase, para kiŋ NOM ya. In a question, it may occur only after the question word.

(8.67) para kani·nu ya } iŋ libru  
\*para ya kani·nu }

Who is the book for?

(8.68) para kani·nu ya megsadyaŋ ma·mador iŋ inda

For whom did the mother prepare the bottle?

#### 8.2.2.2.4 The Di case.

The Di question word is nukarin. It replaces both the NP and the case node. The phonemic sequence nu, which is a part of several question words, is a part of the Di question word also, and it may be used alone as the question word. The remainder might be analyzed into ka and diŋ,

but there seems to be no advantage in doing that with this word, though there is for deictics (cf. Chapter 7, sec. 7.3).

(8.69)  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{nukarin} \\ \text{nu} \end{array} \right\} \text{ya minta}$

Where did he go?

#### 8.2.2.2.5 The L case.

The close relationship of the L case to Di is manifested in the fact that the question word for L is also nukarin. If PRED dominates a verb, the alternate short form, nu is possible.

(8.70)  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{nukarin} \\ \text{nu} \end{array} \right\} \text{ya menjan manga in anak}$

Where did the child eat a mango.

If PRED has been rewritten as DS, nu is not acceptable.

(8.71)  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{nukarin} \\ * \text{nu} \end{array} \right\} \text{ya in libru}$

Where is the book?

#### 8.2.2.2.6 The I case.

If the questioned NP is dominated by I, the question word that replaces the IRM and the NP is makana.nu.<sup>11</sup> This appears to be maka plus na.nu. There is no evident

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<sup>11</sup>As in the UESP grammar, the I case is rather broad in that it includes things that might more correctly be designated as 'manner' or 'means'. The I case is here assumed to include those functions for the sake of simplicity in the absence of a separate case node which could reasonably include them. As is seen in the discussion of adverbs below, makana.nu must be the question word for an adverb of manner.

gain from claiming this to be the component structure of this form. Ex's. 8.73 to 8.76 are all acceptable answers to the question in Ex. 8.72.

- (8.72) makana·nu ya sinu·lat su·lat iŋ lala·ki  
How did the man write a letter?
- (8.73) gi·na·mit yaŋ la·pis kiŋ pa·mamyu·lat na  
He used a pencil for his writing.
- (8.74) si·nu·lat ya kapami·latan ne niŋ la·pis  
He wrote with/by means of a pencil.
- (8.75) penyu·lat ne iŋ la·pis  
He wrote with the pencil.
- (8.76) mabilis yaŋ si·nu·lat  
He wrote fast.

#### 8.2.2.2.7 The Ca case.

The case marker and the NP are replaced by ba·kit. It optionally functions as a full word, so that the TAP may follow it or the next full word.

- (8.77) ba·kit { meko ya<sup>12</sup>  
              ya meko  
Why did he leave?

#### 8.2.2.3 Questions on non-case nodes.

NP's that are not dominated by a case node in the case frame may be questioned. Presumably, they are domi-

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<sup>12</sup>This appears to be a dialect variation since, with some persons, the order is optional; with other persons, the second order given above is ungrammatical.

nated by an adverb node of some type. Only two question words have been discovered which apparently are attached to the NP of an adverb node. Thus, apparently only two types of adverbs are questioned.

#### 8.2.2.3.1 Time.

If the feature (+Q) is attached to the NP of the time adverb, the time relation marker and the NP are replaced by kapilan. It functions as a full word.

(8.78) kapilan ya meko

When did he leave?

(8.79) kapilan ya ati yu keti<sup>13</sup>

When was he here?

#### 8.2.2.3.2 Manner.

It is noted in sec. 8.2.2.2.6 that makana'nu is the question word used when (+Q) is attached to the NP of the manner adverb. Ex. 8.72 is the form of a question when a manner adverb dominates that question word, and Ex. 8.76 is the form of the answer to such a question.

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<sup>13</sup>This sentence shows that the status of yu is somewhat different from that of the other TAP's. In a simple, declarative sentence, the full range of TAP's occurs in this position, e.g., ati ku keti 'I am here', ati ka keti 'You (sg.) are here', etc. However, in Ex. 8.79, yu occurs in addition to the regular TAP, ya, after the question word. So far, no explanation for this has been discovered. It is not investigated further here. The TAP rule is not written to provide for the second TAP, and to that extent, that rule is defective. It is not written to introduce it because the conditions on which its presence depends are not fully known.

The rule for forming questions when the questioned NP is dominated by a case node can be stated as follows:

Rule I2:

SI: S(# X C<sub>1</sub>(C<sub>1</sub>RM NP(DET NOM)) X #)  
          1 2 3  
                  (+Q)

Conditions: 1. 3 is not A.  
              2. If 3 is N, then 2 dominates S.  
              3. This rule has not applied previously.

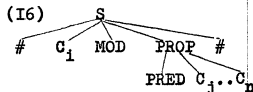
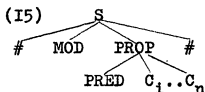
SC: 1. Attach 3 as right sister of 1.  
      2. Erase original 3.

Discussion of the rule:

- 1) It is noted earlier that A can only be questioned by the secondary topicalization question form in which 3 is N, and the A is in the S dominated by 2. Condition 1 thus blocks application of the rule if (+Q) is attached to the DET of the A case, and the tree is rejected.
- 2) If the N case is questioned in a sentence that does not involve secondary topicalization, it is not fronted. In questions that involve secondary topicalization, all of the questioned NP's are considered as being dominated by N, and the rest of the question as being dominated by an S, which in turn is dominated successively by an NP and then by PRED. The second condition assures that the transformation will apply only to a secondary topicalization question if 3 is N. If 3 is some case other than A or N, the rule applies and fronts it in a primary topicalization question.
- 3) Condition three assures that only one NP is fronted.



4) The SC attaches the questioned case as right sister of the boundary marker, thus making it the initial element in the sentence. It converts a tree of the form of (I5) into one of the form of (I6).



5) As it is stated, the rule provides only for questioning a case. An alternate SI must therefore be given for structures in which (+Q) is attached to an adverb. Except for a brief treatment in Chapter 3, adverbs, as such, are not investigated in this study. However, it is noted in the discussion above that at least some kinds of adverbs can be questioned. Since the exact structure of adverbs is not known, we cannot determine precisely where (+Q) should be attached. In accordance with the decision to attach it to the DET node of the NP when a case node is questioned, the decision is made here to attach it to the same node under Adv on the assumption that that node dominates an NP. Presumably, other features on the adverb determine the form of the question word. The rule is similar enough to the preceding rule that no separate tree need be drawn.

Rule I3:

SI: S(# X Adv(X NP<sup>(DET NOM)</sup><sub>(+Q)</sub>) X #)

1 2

SC: Attach 2 as right sister of 1. Erase original 2.

It is stated earlier that a general constraint on the PS rules could be assumed that prevents them from generating more than one (+Q) per sentence. The question rule does allow the generation of more than one (+Q) per sentence, but only one may be fronted.

Providing the correct surface form of the question word is a function of the second lexical lookup. The cases and adverbs and their question words are:

N	NRM + <u>na·nu</u>
D	<u>kani·nu</u>
B	<u>para kani·nu</u>
Di	<u>nu/nukarin</u>
L	<u>nu/nukarin</u> (with verb) <u>mukarin</u> (with DS)
I	<u>makana·nu</u>
Ca	<u>ba·kit</u>
Time	<u>kapilan</u>
Manner	<u>makana·nu</u>

In secondary topicalizations, the question words are:

'Which'	<u>sa·nu</u>
'Who'	<u>ni·nu</u>
'What'	<u>na·nu</u>

The tag question word is:

'Right?'	<u>ne</u>
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## Chapter 9

### NEGATIVES

#### 9.0 Introduction.

The negative morpheme is generated in the PS rules as the second element in the modality. It is optional. The reason for placing it second is that it follows certain adverbs which are optional. When they are not present, NEG occurs initially in the sentence in which it appears. It functions as a full word in determining the location of the agreement particles.

There are three surface forms of NEG, and the choice among them is determined by what has been generated by the PS rules and the output of the transformational rules. The spelling of NEG is thus determined in the second lexical lookup, not the first. If the PS rules have generated V, ADJ, or NOM under PRED, the spelling of NEG is ali, which usually contracts to e. If the PS rules have generated a DS under PRED, which has subsequently been replaced by a case node other than N, the spelling of NEG is also e. If DS has not been replaced by some case node, NEG combines with DS to be spelled as ala. If the PS rules have generated symbols which have caused the secondary topicalization form of the sentence to occur, then the second lexical lookup spells NEG as aliwa if the topmost S dominates NEG.

9.1 PRED dominates V, ADJ, or NOM.

(9.1a) di·nataŋ ya iŋ lala·ki

The man arrived.

(b) eya di·nataŋ iŋ lala·ki

The man didn't arrive.

(9.2a) masikan ya iŋ lala·ki

The man is strong.

(b) eya masikan iŋ lala·ki

The man is not strong.

(9.3a) mestro ya iŋ lala·ki

The man is a teacher.

(b) eya mestro iŋ lala·ki

The man is not a teacher.

9.2 DS replaced by a case other than N.

(9.4a) kiŋ anak ya iŋ libru

The book belongs to the child.

(b) eya kiŋ anak iŋ libru

The book doesn't belong to the child.

(9.5a) para (ya) kiŋ anak (ya) iŋ libru<sup>1</sup>

The book is for the child.

(b) eya para kiŋ anak iŋ libru

The book is not for the child.

The N case may be inserted under PRED, but, as

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<sup>1</sup>The TAP is inserted twice in this sentence, not because it may simultaneously occur in both places, but it may occur in either place.

noted above, NEG does not occur in this construction.

(9.6a) miki libru ya in lala·ki

The man has a book.

(b) \*eya miki libru in lala·ki

The man doesn't have a book.

Since the transformation that produces Ex. 9.6a is a free alternant of one which produces another surface structure which can be negated, there isn't a hole in the pattern. If the structure underlying Ex. 9.6 should contain a NEG, there is a way for it to be realized as a sentence.

### 9.3 DS not replaced by a case node.

In sentences of this type, DS combines with NEG to be spelled out in the second lexical lookup as ala.

(9.7a) atin yan libru in anak

The child has a book.

(b) ala yan libru in anak

The child doesn't have a book.

(9.8a) ati yu kin bale in anak

The child is in the house.

(b) ala yu kin bale in anak

The child is not in the house.

Since existential sentences involve the retention of DS, their negatives are formed by the combination of that symbol with NEG, and the spelling is ala.

(9.9a) atin dyos

There is a God.

(b) alañ dyos

There is no God.

(9.10a) atin libru kiñ lamesa

There is a book on the table.

(b) alañ libru kiñ lamesa

There is no book on the table.

(9.11a) atin libru para kiñ anak

There is a book for the child.

(b) alañ libru para kiñ anak

There is no book for the child.

(9.12a) atin tera·kan uli niñ pi·sta

There is dancing because of the feast.

(b) alañ tera·kan uli niñ pi·sta

There is no dancing because of the feast.

(9.13a) atin da·lan kiñ ba·gyu

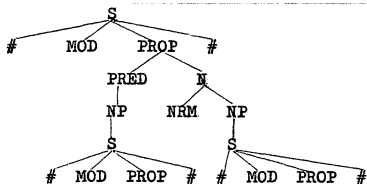
There is a road to/in Baguio.

(b) alañ da·lan kiñ ba·gyu

There is no road to/in Baguio.

#### 9.4 Secondary topicalizations.

The position is taken in Chapter 6, sec. 4, that secondary topicalizations contain more than one S node. One argument in favor of this view is that NEG may occur in more than one position in the sentence, and that different meanings are associated with the different positions. The structure of a secondary topicalization, with the three MOD's under which NEG can be generated, is as follows:



If the NEG is dominated by either of the lower S nodes, its form is determined by the rewrite of the PRED in the PROP of that S and any transformations that may apply. If it is dominated by the topmost S, it is aliwa, which may be followed by a TAP, but usually isn't, and it is associated with the first NP as the PRED of the sentence.

(9.14a) iŋ atin libru (ya) iŋ masikan

The one who is strong is the one who has a book.

(b) iŋ atin libru (ya) iŋ e masikan

The one who is not strong is the one who has a book.

(c) iŋ alaj libru (ya) iŋ masikan

The one who is strong is the one who doesn't have a book.

(d) aliwa (ya) iŋ atin libru iŋ masikan

The one who is strong is not the one who has a book.

The topic NP may be placed at the beginning of the sentence, possibly by the emphasis transformation discussed in Chapter 6, sec. 3. The difference would be expressed in

English by a greater stress on the emphasized NP rather than by a reordering of the NP's as in Ex. 9.14e.

(e) in masikan aliwa (ya) in atin libru

The one who is strong is not the one who has  
a book.

If the NEG is placed before the other NP, there is a corresponding change of the topic predicate relation.

(f) aliwa (ya) in masikan in atin libru

(g) in atin libru aliwa (ya) in masikan

The one who has a book is not the one who is  
strong.

#### 9.5 The contraction of ali to e.

As noted above, e is actually a shortened form of ali.<sup>2</sup> Both forms are full words for the purpose of determining the location of the AP's, but e is proclitic, i.e., it must itself be followed by a full word, and the TAP is not a full word. For that reason, if reduction of the second member of a pair of antithetical alternative questions results in NEG not being followed by a full word, it is spelled out as ali in the second lexical lookup.

(9.15) masikan ya, o {<sup>ali</sup><sub>\*e</sub>} ya

Is he strong, or isn't he?

---

<sup>2</sup>This is discussed more fully in Chapter 8, sec. 2.1.1.



## Chapter 10

### NOMINALIZATION

#### 10.0 Introduction.

The first symbol in the grammar is S. Not only is it the primary symbol, but it may also be introduced again at various places in the grammar. One such place is as a rewrite of NP. In this grammar, only the NP dominated by the case node N may be rewritten as S. This chapter deals with the process of embedding an S introduced in this manner into a matrix S.

There are a number of parameters of nominalization. This study has found the following to be relevant in Pampangan. The page numbers on which sections begin are given.

<u>Section Number and Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. Gerundivization	288
2. Topic form of the matrix sentence verb	298
3. Use of the TRM preceding nominalization	301
4. Equi-NP-Deletion	302
5. Topic Raising	349
6. Aspect	391
7. Reflexivization	398
8. Factivity	400
9. Indefinite agent nominal	402

Most, but not all, variables are investigated for all verbs. A sample of verbs (about fifteen) was used which permit (none were used which require, though this possibility cannot be ruled out) their N's to dominate S, and they were found to differ in the ways indicated above.

Embedded sentences of whatever form do not result in the introduction of a Topic Agreement Particle (TAP) following the PRED(icate) in the matrix sentence. The verb mana.ya 'wait for, expect' can have either a noun or an S under its N NP. In Ex. 10.1 it dominates a noun.

(10.1) pa.na.yan  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ke} \\ *ku \end{array} \right\}$  iŋ anak

I am waiting for the child.

Since the head noun anak 'child' is (+CONC)(+COUNT), it introduces a TAP when it is topicalized. When the N NP dominates S, the TAP may not occur.

(10.2) pa.na.yan  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *ke \\ ku \end{array} \right\}$  iŋ mako ya iŋ lala.ki

I am waiting for the man to leave.

In Ex. 10.2 the TAP is definitely unacceptable in the matrix sentence. If the PRED in the matrix sentence has no case other than N in its case frame, whether that PRED is a verb or an adjective, the TAP is less objectionable. It is still not fully grammatical, however. Below are examples of sentences without and with a D in the case frame of the matrix sentence predicate in addition to the N that dominates the S. A question mark is placed next to the TAP in Ex's. 10.4 and 10.5 to indicate that it is not

fully grammatical, and an asterisk is placed next to the combined Agentive Agreement Particle (AAP) and TAP in Ex's. 10.6 and 10.7 to indicate that it is completely ungrammatical. The sentences with (?) are exactly as bad as Ex. 10.3.

(10.3) ma·yap (?ya) in̄ pama·lak mu

Your idea is good.

(10.4a) pirmi (?ya) in̄ mako ya in̄ anak

It is certain that the child will leave.

(b) pirmi (?ya) in̄ pa·maglako (na)<sup>1</sup> niñ anak

The child's leaving is certain.

(10.5a) masisi·si (?ya) in̄ mako ya in̄ anak

It is regretted that the child will leave.

(b) masisi·si (?ya) in̄ pa·maglako (na) niñ anak

The child's leaving is regretted.

If the matrix sentence has an AAP,<sup>2</sup> then a TAP in the same sentence is unacceptable.

(10.6a) a·pipirmi<sup>3</sup> { $\begin{matrix} \text{mu} \\ *me \end{matrix}$ } in̄ mako ya in̄ anak

You are certain that the child will leave.

---

<sup>1</sup>The significance of the parentheses around na is discussed in sec. 10.1.2.

<sup>2</sup>The other case in these examples is D. As indicated in Chapter 4, and in sec. 10.2.1, it is called an AAP because it is the AP that occurs with a nontopic A, but with verbs that have a D, but not an A, in their case frames, it occurs with the nontopic D. It is not here called a DAP.

<sup>3</sup>Pirmi is an adjective uninflectable for aspect. A·pipirmi is inflectable for aspect and is the imperfective aspect; a·pirmi is potential; pinirmi ~ pinilmi is perfective. The D may be included in the case frame of pirmi, but if it is, it is in the form of a nontopic D, not a nontopic

(b) a.pipirmi  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mu} \\ *me \end{array} \right\}$  in pa.maglako (na) nin anak

You are certain of the child's leaving.

(10.7a) sisisyan<sup>4</sup>  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mu} \\ *me \end{array} \right\}$  in mako ya in anak

You regret (it) that the child will leave.

(b) sisisyan  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mu} \\ *me \end{array} \right\}$  in pa.maglako (na) nin anak

You regret the child's leaving.

The fact that a matrix sentence whose N dominates an S is exactly as unacceptable as a sentence whose N dominates a (-CONC) noun when those sentences include a TAP, plus the fact that the nominalized S is introduced by the TRM, require some discussion. In Chapter 5, considerable attention is given to the structure that is dominated by a case node and to the point of introduction and attachment of the various kinds of features. It is claimed there that the structure of the case node cannot be the same as it is in English, and one of the strong evidences that it cannot is found in the facts associated with nominalization. We now come to a consideration of those facts.

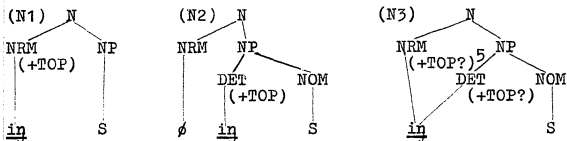
A. It may occur either before or after the adjective.

keka pirmi } in pa.maglako na 'To you his leaving  
pirmi keka } is certain.'  
If the TAP were to be inserted, it could only be after the adjective. The first sentence below is the best one.

keka pirmi (?ya) } in pa.maglako na 'To you his leaving  
pirmi (?ya) keka } is certain.'  
\*keka ya pirmi  
\*pirmi keka ya

<sup>4</sup>The presence/absence of a D in the case frame results in the different verb forms in Ex's. 10.5 and 10.7.

The first point to be considered in this connection has to do with the possible points of attachment of the various items and the implications of the various points to which the items may be attached. The fact that the nominalization is introduced by the TRM if it is the topic means that there must be a node to which to attach the TRM. Presumably, it should be the same node as the one to which it is attached when an ordinary noun is the head of the construction. That node could be either CRM or DET, or possibly both. Presumably, also, that node should be the one to which the feature (+TOP) has been added by the topicalization transformation. The choice, of course, has a close relationship to the choice of which node is allowed to rewrite as S, i.e., the structure would be that of one of the following trees.



Tree (N1) shows that, if the symbol that rewrites as S is NP, then (+TOP) must be attached to the NRM. Tree (N2) shows that, if the feature (+TOP) is attached to DET, then the symbol that rewrites as S must be NOM. The NRM could

<sup>5</sup>The significance of the question mark here is that it is not certain which of these two nodes the feature (+TOP) should be attached to in this tree.

then be considered as simply having a zero surface realization. Tree (N3) shows that, if the TRM is considered as a portmanteau realization of the NRM and the DET, then the feature (+TOP) could be attached to either of them, but the symbol that rewrites as S would still be NOM.

Tree (N2) implies, by the fact that the NRM has a zero realization in the surface structure, that the DET node is realized as a separate node in the surface structure if, and only if, the N case is topicalized. The fact that a nontopic constituent sentence is preceded by the NRM means that the NRM is manifested in the surface structure if, and only if, the N case is not topicalized. This seems to be unprincipled and ad hoc. In addition, the fact that the nontopic N makes a distinction between definite and indefinite when NOM rewrites as Nn indicates that the node to which the feature (DEF) is attached must be connected with the surface NRM. Unless we want to claim different structures for topic and nontopic case nodes, the choice appears to be restricted to tree (N1) or (N3).

The second point to be considered has to do with the identity of the node which is rewritten as S. There appear to be good reasons for claiming that the node that rewrites as S is NP and not some lower node.

- 1) Quantifiers apparently do not occur with sentential N's:  
'His going surprised us.' (Gerund)  
'Some boys surprised us.' ('Some' plus pl. count noun)

\*'Some (of) his goings surprised us.' ('Some' plus pl. gerund).<sup>6</sup>

'I know he left.' (Sentential N).

'I know some boys.' ('Some' plus pl. count noun).

\*'I know some he lefts.' ('Some' plus pl. sentential N).

2) Modifiers apparently do not occur with sentential N's:

'I know the boy that you know.' (Sg. count noun plus modifier).

\*'I know (the) he left that you know.' (Sentential N plus modifier).

If tree (N2) or (N3) is accepted, which imply that NOM rewrites as S, then there is no apparent way to block the generation of the ungrammatical sentences just given. They can be blocked in a simple and principled way if tree (N1) is accepted, which implies that NP rewrites as S.

One of the variables discussed below is the use of the TRM to introduce the nominalization and the fact that it is replaced by in in certain transformations. A preliminary observation must be made here. It is noted in Chapter 8 that when a question word is followed by in, which in turn introduces a secondary topicalization, the two optionally contract, e.g., na·nu in → na·nun, and usually do. Here also, the AP (an AAP of the matrix

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<sup>6</sup>This sentence is less objectionable with 'of', but since with 'of', the gerund would be generated under the NP of PART(itive), the evidence is still clear that it is NP, not NOM, that rewrites as S.

sentence) is usually followed by the TRM that introduces the nominalization, and when it is, the two contract, e.g., na in → nan. Though the contraction is optional, it is one which occurs most of the time, like English it is → it's. However, when nan is used in a sentence, it may not always be expanded to na in. It turns out that this fact is correlated with a structural difference which is discussed at the appropriate place. It is sufficient to note here that, in the examples below, wherever the sequence na in appears, it would in normal speech be contracted to nan. The contraction is not included as an alternative. Wherever nan appears, it is not a contraction but is the required form since na in would be ungrammatical there. What is said here about na in and nan is true, of course, of all agreement particles including the morphophonemically contracted ones, e.g., ne in and nen (ne is an obligatory contraction of na ya).

## 10.1 Gerundivization.

### 10.1.0 Introduction.

The verb that occurs in a constituent sentence may be in a form that could appropriately be called a gerund.<sup>7</sup> No matrix verb whose N NP may rewrite as S has been discovered which does not allow the verb in the constituent

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<sup>7</sup>The possibility is considered in sec. 10.1.5 that this form might appropriately be called something else.



sentence to be gerundivized. No matrix verb has been discovered for which gerundivization of the constituent sentence verb is obligatory. There are two verbs that have been investigated which logically imply an action begun and in progress, and with these verbs a gerund is preferred. An imperfective verb is acceptable, but a potential or perfective aspect verb is unacceptable.<sup>8</sup>

(10.8a) pegumpisan na in pa·mamaŋan naŋ na·si niŋ anak  
The child started eating rice.

(b) pegumpisan na in  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *maŋan \\ ma·maŋan \\ *meŋan \end{array} \right\} (yaŋ)^9$  na·si  
niŋ anak  
The child started eating rice.

(10.9a) sindu na in pa·mamaŋan naŋ na·si niŋ anak  
The child continued eating rice.

(b) sindu na in  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *maŋan \\ ma·maŋan \\ *meŋan \end{array} \right\} (yaŋ)$  na·si niŋ anak  
The child continued eating rice.

#### 10.1.1 Structure of the phrase and order of the rule.

When a constituent sentence is gerundivized, it does not have a topic. All of the cases in the case frame of the gerund occur with their regular CRM. There may be

<sup>8</sup>The relationship between the aspects and the semantic requirements of the verbs in the two sentences is discussed in sec. 10.6.

<sup>9</sup>The reason for the parentheses around ya is discussed in sec. 10.4. The -ŋ occurs in this sentence because there is a word ending in a vowel to attach it to.

an AAP following the gerund, but two regular correlates of primary topicalization, the TAP and the TRM, do not occur.

(10.10a) mebigla ya { \* $\eta$  }<sup>10</sup> pa·mana·kit naŋ anak  
niŋ lala·ki

(b) \*mebigla ya kiŋ pa·mana·kit yaŋ anak iŋ lala·ki

(c) \*mebigla ya kiŋ pa·mana·kit ne iŋ anak  
niŋ lala·ki

He was surprised at the man's seeing a/the child.

He was surprised at the child's being seen by the man.

In English, subjectivalization occurs in the cycle of the constituent sentence, and gerundivization of the constituent sentence occurs in the cycle of the matrix sentence. Thus it is that a gerund can be either active or passive as indicated in the two translations of Ex. 10.10.

In Pampangan, the fact that gerunds are topicless can be accounted for in any one of at least four ways.

1) It can be made to undo the change accomplished by topicalization. If topicalization is applied in the cycle of the constituent sentence, then gerundivization can be applied in the cycle of the matrix sentence to reverse the SC's of topicalization and restore the original CRM's. This is ad hoc and uneconomical, and is thus rejected.

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<sup>10</sup>The indefinite NRM is unacceptable here. The definite NRM is required.

- 2) If gerundivization of a constituent sentence is to be accomplished before topicalization of that sentence, and gerundivization is applied in the cycle of the matrix sentence, then topicalization of the constituent sentence can be made a last-cyclic rule so that it would apply to the constituent sentence after gerundivization had applied in the cycle of the matrix sentence. Theoretically, this is quite acceptable in itself, but there appear to be certain problems. They center on this fact, that topicalization is an early rule. Most of the other rules discussed in this grammar apply after topicalization, e.g., repeated action, pronominalization, enclitic ordering, etc., and if topicalization is last-cyclic, then these rules also must be last cyclic, following topicalization. A grammar in which most of the rules are last-cyclic would be difficult to defend. So, we still do not have an acceptable solution.
- 3) If gerundivization is accomplished in the cycle of the constituent sentence, then it can precede and block topicalization. This is theoretically indefensible, however, given the present model, since, even if we could avoid reference to a feature on a word in the matrix sentence by making the rule optional in all instances, we would still have to refer to the presence of a matrix sentence, i.e., to the fact that the sentence being gerundivized is a constituent sentence, and the current model does not allow this. Thus, there appears to be no way to provide for the

gerundivization of a structure dominated by the node S.

4) If the form that has herein been called a gerund is inserted lexically instead of being derived from a structure that is dominated by S, then no special rule is required to account for its form or for the fact that the various cases all occur with their regular CRM. This in turn means that this form is not directly parallel to an English gerund but is closer to an action nominal in English. This is discussed more extensively in sec. 10.1.5, where other differences between English gerunds and action nominals are pointed out, along with the fact that the Pampangan structure is more like the second of these than the first. Even without that section, what has been discussed here appears to be sufficient to warrant claiming that the Pampangan forms are lexically inserted, not transformationally derived. However, since there is no parallel contrasting form that is transformationally derived to which the term gerund would properly be applied, that term is here applied to the lexically inserted nominal.

#### 10.1.2 The occurrence of the AAP in a gerund phrase.

It is noted in Chapter 7 that, when a nontopic A NP immediately follows the verb, the AAP is optional. If some other NP and/or the TAP occurs between it and the verb, the AAP is obligatory. An AAP is optional or obligatory in a gerund phrase under the same conditions.

It is also noted in Chapter 7 that some verbs which

do not allow an N to occur with a definite NRM in a primary topicalization do allow that in a secondary topicalization. They also allow it in a gerund phrase. Ex. 10.11 illustrates the variations of word order within the gerund phrase when the matrix sentence is in the DT form. Ex. 10.12 gives one order when the matrix sentence is in the NT form.

(10.11a) mebigla ya  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kiŋ} \\ *-\eta \end{array} \right\}$  pa·mana·kit (na) niŋ lala·ki  
 kiŋ anak

(b) mebigla ya  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kiŋ} \\ *-\eta \end{array} \right\}$  pa·mana·kit  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} * \emptyset \\ \text{na} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{kiŋ} \\ -\eta \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$  anak  
 niŋ lala·ki

He was surprised at the man's seeing a/the child.

(10.12) mekabigla kaya iŋ pa·mana·kit (na) niŋ lala·ki  
 kiŋ anak

He was surprised at the man's seeing a/the child.

### 10.1.3 Alternate pronominal forms.

In Chapter 7 it is noted that a possessive pronoun may occur either before or after a noun head. The form of the pronoun that occurs in the two positions is different. The one that occurs before the noun head is a member of what is herein called the kiŋ set; the one that occurs after the noun head is a member of what is herein called the niŋ set. Similarly, in a gerund phrase, if a given actant

has been replaced by the AAP na, which is the same form as the nin possessive pronoun, it may optionally be replaced by the kin pronoun before the gerund.

(10.13) mebigla ku kin { pa·maglako na  
                                  kayaŋ pa·maglako

I was surprised at his leaving.

This replacement may not occur if the NP is still in the sentence.

(10.14) mebigla ku kin { pa·maglako na  
                                  \*kayaŋ pa·maglako } nin lala·ki

I was surprised at the man's leaving.

#### 10.1.4 Aspect on gerunds.

In both English and Pampangan, the verb in the constituent sentence may occur in any tense/aspect if it is not in the form of a gerund when the predicate in the matrix sentence is pirmi 'certain'.

(10.15) pirmi in { mako  
                                  ma·mako } ya  
                                  meko

It is certain that he { will leave.  
                                  is leaving.  
                                  left.

In English, gerunds may also include tense, e.g., 'His { leaving  
                                  having left } is certain.' In both languages, the gerund in Ex. 10.4b, repeated here, necessarily has the meaning of future.

(10.4b) pirmi in pa·maglako (na) nin anak

The child's leaving is certain.

The prefixes which may be added to a verb stem to make a gerund are: pag-, paN-, pa'mag-, and pa'man-. Each verb stem uses one or more of these in producing its gerund form. Some verbs can use all four, e.g., lako 'leave', paglako, panlako, pa'maglako, and pa'manlako, 'leaving'. Different gerund forms in Tagalog express a difference in aspect, but the informant is confident that no such difference exists between gerund forms in Pampangan.

#### 10.1.5 The use of the term gerund.

It is possible that the designation of the nominal in the construction presently under discussion as a gerund is incorrect, or at least, that the syntactic features of these nominals are different from those of gerunds in English. It is probably the case that these nominals are most like English words which end in '-ing', but in the UESP, the term gerundive is used of a particular construction in which the subject of a sentence has POSS(essive) inserted after it, and TENS(e) and M(odal) are replaced by '-ing', to produce, e.g., 'John's eating popcorn,' from the deep structure that would otherwise yield the sentence, 'John eats popcorn.' An apparently similar construction, 'John's eating of popcorn,' is said to be an action nominal. The difference between them is that gerunds, but not action nominals, are derived from a deep structure in which the PS rule NP → S was applied. The action nominal is derived from a construction in which the head noun is inserted by

lexical insertion under the node Nn. In English, an NP with a possessive suffix may occur at the beginning of both constructions, but only the action nominal, not the gerund, comes from a deep structure in which a DET was generated. That the structures do, in fact, differ in this way is evident from the fact that the NP that has the possessive suffix may occur at the end of the construction, preceded by 'by', and an article may occur in the position of the DET only with an action nominal, e.g., 'The eating of popcorn by John,' but \*'The eating popcorn by John.'<sup>11</sup> Since in Pampangan there is no occurrence of a possessive NP in the position of and instead of the DET and/or the NRM in the sequential order of elements,<sup>12</sup> e.g., \*in lala.kin pa.maglako<sup>13</sup> is not the equivalent of in pa.maglako na nin lala.ki, 'The leaving of the man/The man's leaving,' there is actually, then, no direct counterpart to the gerundive construction in English. As noted in sec. 10.1.1, the term gerund is applied to this lexically inserted nominal in the absence of a contrasting transformationally derived gerund.

<sup>11</sup>Nouns designating actions or events need not have the '-ing' suffix. Two nouns may be formed on the same root, one with and one without '-ing', with little or no difference in meaning, e.g., 'The postponing/postponement of the meeting surprised us.'

<sup>12</sup>This statement is intended to be neutral with reference to the point of attachment since, as indicated above, the point of attachment of the possessive form is different for gerundives and action nominals.

<sup>13</sup>This is grammatical meaning, 'The man who is leaving.'



In the introduction to this chapter it is argued that at least some of the features which are attached to ART, under DET, in the UESP are attached to the CRM in Pampangan. We would not, then, expect these features to be affected by the relative position of the topic NP within the gerund phrase. The important point to note in the preceding discussion is that no NP is placed before the action word at all, let alone with syntactic consequences similar to those which distinguish gerunds from action nominals in English. The fact discussed above, sec. 10.1.3, that a pronominal form, kaya, can occur before the action word instead of the na which occurs after it, is not an exception to this rule. The additional fact noted there, i.e., that this alternation may not occur if the NP which led to the introduction of the AAP is still in the sentence, shows that insertion of kaya before the action word is a late, optional reordering rule that follows deletion of the NP since the full NP cannot occur in that position.

Since the surface structure ordering of elements in Pampangan corresponds more closely to a permissible order in English with action nominals, the position could reasonably be taken that these words are actually action nominals and not gerunds. However, since there is no construction that is directly parallel to English gerundivization from which these nominals must be distinguished, these forms are herein given the designation gerund. Analyzing them

as action nominals could account for the fact discussed in sec. 10.1.4 that these nominals do not contain an aspect marker since English action nominals do not accept a past tense marker, e.g., \*'The having eaten popcorn by John.' Finally, since they are lexically inserted, it is not necessary to have a rule of gerundivization.

## 10.2 Topic form of the matrix sentence verb.

### 10.2.1 Verbs that freely accept more than one topic form.

There are some verbs that can freely occur in more than one topic form in matrix sentences when the N NP in their case frame rewrites as S. In each of the following examples, the a and b sentences are different topic forms of what are otherwise identical deep structures. The two topic forms are not always necessarily A and N. With some verbs that do not have an A in their case frame, e.g., maniwa·la 'believe', the a sentence of the pair may be DT and the b sentence NT. With others that obligatorily have an A in their case frame, e.g., sa·up 'help', the a sentence is AT, and the b sentence is DT. There appears to be a kind of ranking of topic preference among the three cases, A, D, and N, in that order. The first of these three cases that a given predicate accepts in its case frame is the one whose topicalization is correlated with m for that predicate, and which leads to the introduction of the AAP if a case below it in the ranking is topicalized. It is the one

given in the a sentence of each example below. The second one in the sequence that that predicate accepts is given in the b sentence.

As would be expected, the a member of each pair has only a TAP, no AAP, and the constituent sentence is preceded by the NRM. The b member of each pair has an AAP, and the TRM precedes either the sentence, as in Ex's. 10.16, 10.17, and 10.19, or the NP which is not the A, as in Ex. 10.18. The other differences between the members of each pair of sentences are discussed in secs. 10.4 and 10.5. The forms of the verb in Ex. 10.19 are quite different from each other, but the parallels to other pairs of sentences make it evident that they are related to each other as DT and NT forms of the same verb.

(10.16a) ma·na·ya yaŋ mako ku

(b) pa·na·yan na iŋ mako ku

He expects me to leave.

(10.17a) ma·niwa·la kuŋ masikan ya

(b) pa·niwalan ku iŋ masikan ya

I believe that he is strong.

(10.18a) si·na·up kuŋ gi·nawaŋ bale iŋ lala·ki.

(b) sinau·pan keŋ gi·nawaŋ bale iŋ lala·ki

I helped the man build a house.

(10.19a) bi·sa kuŋ mako

(b) buri ku iŋ mako ku

I want to leave.

### 10.2.2 Verbs that prefer one topic form over another.

Most verbs whose N NP can be rewritten as S have a definite preference for the topicalization of the N case, or of the D case with verbs that can have both A and D in their case frames. There are some verbs which are unacceptable with an AT form if the sentence undergoes primary topicalization. They are acceptable with secondary topicalization.<sup>14</sup> So far, the following have been discovered.

(10.20a) \*ma·ka·ganaka yaj mejan na·si inj anak

The child remembers eating (some) rice.

(b) inj anak inj ma·ka·ganakaj mejan yaj na·si

The child is the one who remembers eating  
(some) rice.

(10.21a) \*ma·ka·tanda yaj mejan na·si inj anak

The child remembers to eat rice.

(b) inj anak inj ma·ka·tandaj mejan yaj na·si

The child is the one who remembers to eat  
(some) rice.

(10.22a) \*a·lub { na nen }<sup>15</sup> manjan na·si inj anak  
                  { ne naj }

The child is anxious to eat (some) rice.

(b) inj anak inj a·lub na naj manjan na·si

The child is the one who is anxious to eat rice.

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<sup>14</sup>It is certain that the difference here is in the verb in the matrix sentence because the same sentence frame with other verbs is acceptable, cf., sec. 10.4 below.

<sup>15</sup>This sentence is acceptable with na nen with the meaning, 'Someone is anxious for the child to eat rice.' This involves topic raising, which is discussed in 10.5.

### 10.3 Use of the TRM preceding the nominalization.

The TRM regularly precedes a topic nominalization, though, as noted earlier, it usually contracts with the AP. There are a few verbs that permit deletion of the TRM with no difference in meaning. These verbs are listed in the lexicon with the feature (\*TRM DEL) and must be assigned a value plus/minus (+/-) at the time of insertion into a tree. Verbs which do not permit this deletion are marked (-TRM DEL) by a redundancy rule.

(10.23) a.ganaka na (iŋ) mako ya

He remembered to leave.

(10.24) buri ku (iŋ) mako  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ku} \\ \text{ya} \end{array} \right.$

I want (him) to leave.

Some verbs marginally permit this deletion, but the sentence is preferred with the TRM.

(10.25a) pa.niwalan ku iŋ masikan  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ku} \\ \text{ya} \end{array} \right.$

(b) ?pa.niwalan ku masikan  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ku} \\ \text{ya} \end{array} \right.$

I believe that  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{I am} \\ \text{he is} \end{array} \right.$  strong.

Some verbs do not permit this deletion at all.

(10.26a) pa.na.yan ku iŋ mako  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ku} \\ \text{ya} \end{array} \right.$

(b) \*pa.na.yan ku mako  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ku} \\ \text{ya} \end{array} \right.$

I expect (him) to leave.

This is a feature for which not all verbs were checked, but several were, and the majority were found not to permit this deletion.

#### 10.4 Equi-NP-Deletion.

When an NP in a constituent sentence is identical with an NP in its matrix sentence, the former is deleted if the verb in the matrix sentence has the feature (+END), i. e., plus Equi-NP-Deletion, and if other conditions are met. This rule must apply before the rule that introduces the AP's in either sentence and before pronominalization. The reason is this. Pronominalization introduces the AP's into the sentence, and then deletes an A or N that is identical with some preceding NP so that the AP functions as a pronoun. An NP following any other case node is replaced by a pro-form, cf., Chapter 7. Thus, when pronominalization applies, the AP's are always present, though the NP and case nodes may not be if they are identical with some preceding NP.

(10.27) na.nu iŋ gewa niŋ lala.ki kiŋ anak

What did the man do to the child?

(10.28) berugan ne (niŋ lala.ki iŋ anak)

He (The man) spanked him (the child).

The AP's are not optional in the answer. They therefore must be introduced before the NP's are deleted, otherwise there would be no features for the AP rules to copy.

When Equi-NP-Deletion applies, there is no AP for the deleted NP. It would be possible to account for this by claiming that the rule deletes both the NP and the AP. It seems simpler and more natural to claim that the rule of

Equi-NP-Deletion applies before the rules that introduce the AP's. That way, the absence of the AP as well as the NP is accounted for in a natural way. Equi-NP-Deletion and pronominalization are thus distinguished in this way in the structure under consideration here. If Equi-NP-Deletion applies, the constituent sentence does not contain an AP that was introduced by the NP which, in the deep structure, is identical with some preceding NP. If Equi-NP-Deletion does not apply, then pronominalization does, and it introduces an AP into the constituent sentence before deleting the NP. A consequence of the decision to make Equi-NP-Deletion delete the NP before the introduction of the AP is that pronominalization must be last-cyclic. The reason is that pronominalization applies in the cycle of the constituent sentence, and Equi-NP-Deletion applies in the cycle of the matrix sentence. If both rules are cyclic, then there would be no way to prevent the introduction of the AP's in the constituent sentence before the application of Equi-NP-Deletion. Only by making pronominalization last-cyclic can it be made to apply to the constituent sentence after Equi-NP-Deletion has applied to the matrix sentence. As noted above, an alternative, not adopted here, would be to have Equi-NP-Deletion delete both the NP and the AP.

Several factors are interrelated in determining whether or not Equi-NP-Deletion applies. Those which were

most extensively investigated in this study are the cases of the identical NP's, and whether or not the NP in one of the two sentences, matrix and constituent, is the topic of its own sentence.

Three cases have been included in the case frames of matrix sentence verbs, N, A, and D. Two have been included in the case frames of constituent sentence verbs, N and A. It is presumed that what is discussed here regarding these cases would be relevant to the other cases as well. Since the N in the matrix sentence dominates the constituent sentence, it must always be present. The other two cases may or may not be present. There are, then, for the purpose of this discussion, four logically possible combinations of cases in the case frame of the matrix sentence verb: (+N +A +D); (+N +A -D); (+N -A +D); (+N -A -D). Since Equi-NP-Deletion depends on the presence in the matrix sentence of some case other than the one which dominates the S, it cannot occur when the fourth of these combinations is present in the matrix sentence. Thus, only three matrix sentence case frames are included in this study.

Verbs are listed in the lexicon according to the case frames which they accept. If a given case is obligatory in the case frame of a given verb, that case symbol is preceded by a plus (+) in the lexical listing of that verb. If a given case may not occur in the case frame of a given verb, that case symbol is preceded by a minus (-) in the



lexical listing of that verb. If a given case is optional in the case frame of a given verb, it is not included in the lexical listing of that verb. Thus, if a verb is listed in the lexicon with the case frame (+N +A -D), then it can accept only that case frame.<sup>16</sup> If a verb is listed in the lexicon with the case frame (+N +A), then it can accept either of two case frames, (+N +A +D) or (+N +A -D). There are, then, five possible ways in which verbs that are included here could be listed in the lexicon: (+N +A +D); (+N +A -D); (+N -A +D); (+N +A); (+N +D). The last two of these can, of course, accept either of two case frames; the first one, and the second or third, depending on the case that it is marked plus (+) for.

The verbs used in this study can, then, be divided into groups in either of two ways: 1) According to their case frames as they are listed in the lexicon; 2) According to the case frames which they accept, i.e., the trees or base P-markers into which they can be inserted. If they are grouped according to the case frame of the verb as it is listed in the lexicon, the groups are as follows:

(+N +A +D) sa·up 'help'

(+N +A) pi·lit 'insist on, persuade'; pana·yan 'wait for, expect'<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>At least, that is the only frame it can accept with reference to those three cases. Whether or not it can accept other cases is beyond the scope of the present study.

<sup>17</sup>The justification for claiming that pana·yan is

- (+N +D) si·si 'regret, blame'
- (+N +A -D) su·buk 'try'; sundu 'continue'; ba·lak 'plan'
- (+N -A +D) a·sa 'hope'; paniwalan 'believe'; buri 'want';  
wariwaryan 'imagine'; ganaka 'remember (to do)'; tanda  
 'remember (doing)'; a·kit 'see'; a·lub 'anxious';  
a·pirmi '(someone is) certain'
- (+N -A -D) pirmi '(it is) certain'<sup>18</sup>

If they are grouped according to the sentence frame in which the verb may be inserted, the groups are as follows:

- (+N +A +D) se·up 'help'; pi·lit 'persuade'; pana·yan  
 'expect'; si·si 'blame'
- (+N +A -D) su·buk 'try'; sundu 'continue'; ba·lak 'plan';  
pi·lit 'insist on'; pana·yan 'wait for, expect'
- (+N -A +D) a·sa 'hope'; paniwalan 'believe'; buri 'want';  
wariwaryan 'imagine'; ganaka 'remember (to do)'; tanda  
 'remember (doing)'; a·kit 'see'; a·lub 'anxious'; si·si  
 'regret'; a·pirmi '(someone is) certain'

The words in groups two and three in the first system of grouping now appear in two groups, and if they have two definitions in the first listing, those definitions are probably separated and correlated with their different case frames in the two listings in the second system of grouping.

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(+N +A) and not (+N +A -D) is given in sec. 10.5.2.2.3.

<sup>18</sup>As noted earlier, a predicate with only one case in its case frame would not trigger Equi-NP-Deletion. It is included for the sake of completeness, as a predicate which is listed in the lexicon with that case frame.

The lists above combined verbs on the basis of one of two similarities: case frame listing and case frame acceptance. These two factors can be made independent of one another, and verbs can be grouped according to their case frame listing in the lexicon in relation to the case frame that they accept independently, e.g., verbs that are listed in the lexicon as (+N -A +D) would occur in only one group since they accept only one case frame, but those that are listed as (+N +D) would occur in two groups since they accept two case frames. This results in seven groups:

	Case frame acceptance	Case frame listing in the lexicon
1.	(+N +A -D)	(+N +A -D)
2.	(+N +A -D)	(+N +A)
3.	(+N -A +D)	(+N -A +D)
4.	(+N -A +D)	(+N +D)
5.	(+N +A +D)	(+N +A +D)
6.	(+N +A +D)	(+N +A)
7.	(+N +A +D)	(+N +D)

Presumably, any one of the cases present in a given sentence can be topicalized.<sup>19</sup> If there were three cases in a sentence with every verb, there would be  $3 \times 7 = 21$  topicalization possibilities. Since four of the sentence case frames have only two cases, there are  $21 - 4 = 17$

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<sup>19</sup>There are limitations on some of the possibilities which are discussed in the appropriate place.

actual topicalization possibilities in the matrix sentence. It was noted in Chapter 4, and in sec. 10.2.1 above, that there is a kind of rank preference among the three cases, A, D, and N, in that order. The first one of these three cases that occurs in the case frame of a given verb is the one whose topicalization is correlated with the affix m on that verb. Thus, if a verb has an A in its case frame, regardless of whether or not it has a D or an N, the topicalization of A is correlated with the affix m on that verb. If a verb has a D in its case frame, and does not have an A, the topicalization of D is correlated with the affix m on the verb. It is this fact, with reference to the verbs marked (+N +D) in the lexicon, which thus accept the case frame (+N +A +D), which makes the grouping into seven groups necessary.

It was also noted in Chapter 4 that the unmarked affix correlated with the topicalization of the N case is i/ø when there is either an A or a D in the case frame. The unmarked affix correlated with the topicalization of D, when there is an A in the case frame, is -an. The affix that occurs with a given verb for a given topicalization may, of course, differ from this, e.g., the topicalization of N may be correlated with -an. That is the case with two of the verbs used in this study, pana.yan and si.si. Since both of these verbs accept either two or three cases in their case frames, and since both use the affix -an in

correlation with the topicalization of both N and D when an A is present, the analysis was made more difficult. Semantic factors led to their being classified as they are. The chart given above is now expanded to show all of the topicalization possibilities of all of the verbs used in this study. The symbol in each square of the matrix is the unmarked affix correlated with the topicalization of that case with the verbs in that group. (Individual verbs may, of course, as noted above, have different affixes). The blanks represent cases that are not present in a given sentence frame.

	Case frame acceptance	Case frame listing	Topicalized case		
			A	D	N
1.	(+N +A -D)	(+N +A -D)	<u>m</u>	-	∅
2.	(+N +A -D)	(+N +A)	<u>m</u>	-	∅
3.	(+N -A +D)	(+N -A +D)	-	<u>m</u>	∅
4.	(+N -A +D)	(+N +D)	-	<u>m</u>	∅
5.	(+N +A +D)	(+N +A +D)	<u>m</u>	- <u>an</u>	∅
6.	(+N +A +D)	(+N +A)	<u>m</u>	- <u>an</u>	∅
7.	(+N +A +D)	(+N +D)	<u>m</u>	- <u>an</u>	∅

It is the fact, noted above, that a given verb with the lexical listing (+N +D) may in one sentence, i.e., a sentence of type 4, topicalize a D with the affix m, and in another sentence, i.e., a sentence of type 7, topicalize an A with the affix m, that makes this division necessary. Also, certain problems arise with verbs listed

as (+N +A) or (+N +D) that are discussed in the appropriate places.

For the purpose of determining the applicability of Equi-NP-Deletion (hereinafter called END), the most relevant division is into the three-fold classification: m-topicalization; N-(case)-topicalization; D-(case)-topicalization, when all three cases are present in a given sentence. This classification is most relevant in the sense that the conditions that determine the applicability of END are the same for all of the verbs in one of these topicalization forms. The general discussion is divided into three sections, one section dealing with each of these three classifications. Within each section there are subsections, divided in turn into subsections according to the case frame that the verb can accept, and then the case frame of the verb as it is listed in the lexicon. An inevitable consequence of this method of classification of the data and grouping of the examples is that not all of the examples involving a given verb are together. Those with different topicalization forms, and those that accept different case frames, are in different sections. If it is desired to compare the different topicalization forms of a given verb, they are found under subsections with the same third and fourth digits after the chapter number, e.g., the different topicalization forms of si.si are found under 10.4.1.2.2 and 10.4.2.2.2. This pattern is not followed

in section 10.4.3 because of the special problems that arise there.<sup>20</sup>

In the constituent sentence, there are three NP's that might be identical with a matrix NP, and thus possibly subject to END, that have been investigated in this study: 1) Topic A; 2) Nontopic A; 3) Topic N. A nontopic N is excluded because, if an indefinite constituent N is identical with a matrix NP, it is deleted by pronominalization, leaving no AP, so it would be indistinguishable from END.

(10.29) *meṅan kaṅ manga?*

Did you eat a mango?

(10.30) *meṅan ku*

I ate (one).

Seventeen topicalization possibilities in the matrix sentence, times three deletion possibilities in the constituent sentence, make fifty-one different combinations of deletion possibilities. END does not result in grammatical sentences with all combinations. As noted above, one of the factors is the relation of the topicalization in the matrix sentence to the topicalization in the constituent sentence. The chart on the following page relates these topicalizations to one another for all verb classes, tells whether or not END applies, and gives the section number where examples are given. The symbols in → n indicate an obligatory

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<sup>20</sup>This pattern is followed to some extent in sec. 10.5, Topic Raising. Special limitations on topic raising prevent it from being followed exactly.

## EQUI-NP-DELETION

Accepts case frame	Lexical listing	Topic case	Topic affix	Section	Topic A	Mont. A	Topic N
(+N +A -D)	(+N +A -D)	A	<u>m</u>	4.1.1.1	Applies	Doesn't	Applies
(+N +A -D)	(+N +A)	A	<u>m</u>	4.1.1.2	Applies	Doesn't	Applies
(+N -A +D)	(+N -A +D)	D	<u>m</u>	4.1.2.1	Applies	Doesn't	Applies
(+N -A +D)	(+N +D)	D	<u>m</u>	4.1.2.2	Applies	Doesn't	Applies
(+N +A +D)	(+N +A)	A	<u>m</u>	4.1.3	Applies	Doesn't	Doesn't
(+N +A +D)	(+N +D)	A	<u>m</u>	4.1.3	Ex. ST	Doesn't	Doesn't
(+N +A +D)	(+N +A +D)	A	<u>m</u>	4.1.3	Applies	Doesn't	Doesn't
(+N +A -D)	(+N +A -D)	N	∅	4.2.1.1	Applies	<u>iq</u> → <u>ḡ</u>	Applies
(+N +A -D)	(+N +A)	N	∅	4.2.1.2	Applies	<u>iq</u> → <u>ḡ</u>	Applies
(+N -A +D)	(+N -A +D)	N	∅	4.2.2.1	Applies	<u>iq</u> → <u>ḡ</u>	Applies
(+N -A +D)	(+N +D)	N	∅	4.2.2.2	Applies	<u>iq</u> → <u>ḡ</u>	Applies
(+N +A +D)	(+N +A)	N	∅	4.2.3	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't
(+N +A +D)	(+N +D)	N	∅	4.2.3	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't
(+N +A +D)	(+N +A +D)	N	∅	4.2.3	Doesn't	Doesn't	Doesn't
(+N +A +D)	(+N +A)	D	- <u>an</u>	4.3	Applies	Doesn't	Applies
(+N +A +D)	(+N +D)	D	- <u>an</u>	4.3	Applies	Doesn't	Applies
(+N +A +D)	(+N +A +D)	D	- <u>an</u>	4.3	Applies	Doesn't	Applies



contraction when END applies; EX. ST means it doesn't apply except possibly when secondary topicalization occurs. The chart shows that a number of factors are interrelated in determining whether or not END applies.

Finally, a few words need to be said about the choice, relation, and organization of examples.

First, and probably most important, for all of the verbs investigated in this study, the NT form of the matrix sentence verb is definitely preferred if there is only one other case in the matrix sentence besides N. Many times in working with AT and DT forms, the informant has said, "But a better way to say that is..," and then given the NT form. The AT and DT forms are included in the discussion, but the reader should always keep in mind the fact that they are not the preferred forms.

Second, some of the examples that are included do not involve END. At various points, the discussion deals with the conditions for the applicability of END, what happens in the sentence and what doesn't, and for the purpose of comparison, sentences in which END does not apply are included.

Third, some of the examples included are ambiguous, i.e., they can have more than one meaning, thus must be capable of being derived from more than one deep structure. In at least one subsection of each section, usually the first, the ambiguities and alternate word orders and their

effects on the ambiguities are discussed. The rule at the end of this section attempts to provide only for END, not the other meaning(s), i.e., since the other meanings arise from different deep structures, and presumably from the application of a different rule or rules, they are not provided for in this section.

Fourth, END is usually not obligatory, i.e., the sentence is acceptable if it does not occur. Hence, it is assumed that the verb is listed in the lexicon as (\*END), that the feature is assigned a value, plus or minus (+/-) at the time of lexical insertion, and that that value determines whether or not the rule applies, assuming, of course, that the SI and conditions are met for its application. Thus, in the discussion, when it is stated that END applies, it is to be understood as meaning, 'applies if END has the value plus (+).' The statement is used in referring to structures that meet the conditions for its application. Assuming that the conditions are met, if a D is present, it triggers END whether an A is present or not. If a D is not present, but an A is, then A triggers it.

Fifth, in order to minimize the variables, the following standards have been adhered to in the examples:

- 1) The constituent sentence is the same in all examples except for changes required for the following reasons:
  - a) Topic change to illustrate the various possibilities;
  - b) Aspect change to make the verb more natural with the

matrix verb; c) A different verb is required to illustrate the application to a constituent topic N in order to avoid the notion of cannibalism since the verb used in most examples is maran 'eat', and the N is the thing eaten.

2) The matrix sentence predicates are all imperfectives.

3) The topic form of the matrix verb is changed only from one subsection to another. 4) A (-COUNT) noun is used as the constituent N in order to avoid introducing the possibility of topic raising, a phenomenon to be discussed in the next section. Adherence to these standards occasionally results in a sentence that is semantically odd, but this consequence is considered preferable to running the risk of introducing hidden variables that might complicate the picture. Matrix verbs that allow only one other case besides N are discussed first in each subsection because the pattern is simpler.

Finally, the verbs in each group are treated as if END applied equally with all. This may or may not be the case. In the course of the investigation, the informant produced or accepted END with some verbs, e.g., huri 'want' with no hesitation. With other verbs, e.g., paniwalan 'believe', and a.kit 'see', she at first rejected the sentence but then accepted it when a situation was structured in which it might be situationally appropriate. At a later time, seeing just the sentence, she would again challenge it. These variations in acceptability are ignored herein.

#### 10.4.1 The m-topicalization.

If the NP in the constituent sentence that is identical with an NP in the matrix sentence is an A which is the topic of its sentence, END applies. If there is a TAP in the constituent sentence resulting from a minus value being assigned to END at the time of lexical insertion, then the sentence is ambiguous as to whether or not the topics of the two sentences are identical. If there is one NP in the sentence, it is construed with the verb and TAP it is closest to in the surface structure. If the identical NP in the constituent sentence is a nontopic A, then END does not apply. If the identical NP in the constituent sentence is a topic N, then END applies. Again, a TAP in the constituent sentence makes it ambiguous.

##### 10.4.1.1 Verbs that accept the case frame (+N +A -D).

##### 10.4.1.1.1 Verbs with the lexical listing (+N +A -D).

There are three verbs in this group: ba.lak 'plan'; su.buk 'try'; sundu 'continue'.

1) If the identical NP is a topic A, END applies:

(10.31a) ma.gba.lak } yaŋ maŋan na.si iŋ anak  
(b) su.su.buk }

(a) The child is {planning} to eat rice.  
(b) The child is {trying}

The verb sundu requires secondary topicalization.

(c) iŋ anak iŋ su.sunduŋ ma.maŋan na.si

The child is the one who is continuing to eat rice.

If a TAP occurs in the constituent sentence, the two TAP's are ambiguous in their reference, i.e., they may refer to the same or to different persons. If there is one NP, it is construed with the verb and TAP it is closest to in the sentence.

- (10.32) ma.gba.lak yaŋ maŋan yaŋ na.si iŋ anak  
 He is planning for the child to eat rice.  
 The child is planning (for himself) to eat rice.

- (10.33) iŋ anak ma.gba.lak yaŋ maŋan yaŋ na.si  
 The child is planning for him(self) to eat rice.

If there are two NP's, then the two TAP's must refer to different persons. In English, 'try' requires an identical agent in the constituent sentence. In Pampangan, it prefers one. It may accept a non-identical agent, i.e., if a TAP occurs in each sentence, they may refer to different persons. An interpretation of identity would be most likely if there is only one NP in the sentence. The presence of the TAP in the constituent sentence is less acceptable with su.buk and sundu than with ba.lak.

- (10.34a) iŋ lala.ki {ma.gba.lak } yaŋ maŋan yaŋ na.si  
 (b) {su.su.buk }

iŋ anak

- (a) The man is {planning } for the child to eat  
 (b) {\*trying } rice.

- (c) iŋ lala.ki iŋ su.sunduy ma.maŋan yaŋ na.si  
 iŋ anak

\*The man is the one who is continuing the  
child to eat rice.

2) If the identical NP is a nontopic A, END doesn't apply.

(10.35a) ma.gba.lak } yang kanan na in na.si in anak  
(b) su.su.buk }

(a) The child is {planning} to eat the rice.  
(b) The child is {trying}

(c) in anak in su.sundun kakanan na in na.si  
The child is the one who is continuing to eat  
the rice.

If an AAP does not occur in the constituent sentence, then the agent is unspecified, i.e., the action is done, but there is no indication as to who did it. With ba.lak, and with all of the verbs in the remaining subsections, that is the obvious meaning. The preference of su.buk and sundu for agent identity makes that interpretation more likely with those verbs, but at the same time makes the sentence less acceptable with an indefinite agent nominal in the constituent sentence, cf., sec. 10.9. Thus, the rule is not written to apply to this topicalization combination.

3) If the identical NP is a topic N, END applies.

(10.36a) ma.gba.lak } yang lawan (na) nin lala.ki in anak  
(b) su.su.buk }

(a) The child is {planning} to be looked at by  
(b) The child is {trying} the man.

(c) in anak in su.sundun lalawan (na) nin lala.ki  
The child is the one who is continuing to be  
looked at by the man.

As with the identical topic A, if the TAP is in the constituent sentence because END is assigned the value minus (-) at the time of lexical insertion (it's in ne), the reference is ambiguous, i.e., the agent in the matrix sentence may be the child or someone else. As noted earlier, na is optional if there is no TAP and if the A NP immediately follows the verb. Those conditions exist here. If the order of the last two NP's is reversed, na is not optional.

#### 10.4.1.1.2 Verbs with the lexical listing (+N +A).

1) If the identical NP is a topic A, END applies.

(10.37a) ma.na.ya } yan manan na.si iy anak  
 (b) ma.mi.lit }

(a) The child {expects to eat rice.  
 (b) The child {insists on eating rice.

2) If the identical NP is a nontopic A, END doesn't apply.

(10.38a) ma.na.ya } yan kanan na iy na.si iy anak  
 (b) ma.mi.lit }

(a) The child {expects to eat the rice.  
 (b) The child {insists on eating the rice.

3) If the identical NP is a topic N, END applies.

(10.39a) ma.na.ya } yan lawan (na) niy lala.ki iy anak  
 (b) ma.mi.lit }

(a) The child {expects to be } seen by the man.  
 (b) The child {insists on being }

#### 10.4.1.2 Verbs that accept the case frame (+N -A +D).

##### 10.4.1.2.1 Verbs with the lexical listing (+N -A +D).

Four verbs in this group require secondary topicalization when the D is topicalized.

1) If the identical NP is a topic A, END applies.

(10.40a) bi·sa  
 (b) ma·ma·sa  
 (c) ma·ka·wa·ri  
 (d) ma·niwa·la  
 (e) mi·mi·sip  
 (f) ma·na·kit } yaŋ maŋan na·si iŋ anak

(a) } wants } to eat rice.  
 (b) } hopes }  
 (c) The child { imagines }  
 (d) { believes } that he will eat rice.  
 (e) { thinks }  
 (f) { sees }

(g) } ma·ka·ganakaŋ }  
 (h) iŋ anak iŋ { ma·ka·tandaŋ<sup>21</sup> } maŋan na·si  
 (i) { a·lub na naŋ }  
 (j) { a·pipirmi naŋ }

<sup>21</sup>The two predicates, a·lub and a·pirmi, are in a special category. The other two verbs included in the secondary topicalization form are described by the informant as being "not pleasant to hear" in a primary topicalization, but a·lub and a·pirmi are completely ungrammatical.

\*a·lub na } neŋ maŋan na·si iŋ anak  
 \*a·pipirmi }

The child is { anxious to eat rice.  
 { certain of eating rice.

These sentences are acceptable with the meaning,

He is { anxious for the child to eat rice.  
 { certain of the child eating rice.

With these meanings, the sentences involve topic raising, which is discussed in the next section, 10.5. END is definitely not involved in these examples.

Furthermore, the na (the first na with a·lub; the second na is a particle meaning 'rather' that is required with a·lub, and together they mean something like, 'anxious to do this rather than that') is evidently the nontopic AAP (actually, DAP) because the other AAP's occur in this position in primary topicalization sentences:

a·lub ku naŋ }  
 a·pipirmi muŋ } maŋan na·si

I am anxious to eat rice.  
 You are certain of eating rice.

The presence of the AAP in the secondary topicalization



(g)  
(h)  
(i) The child is the one who  
(j) } remembers to eat  
remembers eating  
is anxious to eat  
is certain of eating  
rice.

2) If the identical NP is a nontopic A, END doesn't apply.

(10.41a) bi·sa  
(b) ma·ma·sa  
(c) ma·ka·wa·ri  
(d) ma·niwa·la  
(e) mi·mi·sip  
(f) ma·na·kit } yan kanan na in na·si in anak

(a)  
(b) The child  
(c) } wants } to eat the rice.  
(d) hopes }  
(e) imagines }  
(f) believes } that he will eat the rice.  
thinks }  
sees }

(g)  
(h) in anak in  
(i) } ma·ka·ganakan } kanan na in na·si  
(j) } ma·ka·tanda }  
a·lub na nan }  
a·pipirmi nan }

(g)  
(h) The child is the one who  
(i) } remembers to eat  
(j) } remembers eating  
is anxious to eat  
is certain of eating  
the rice.

sentences with these predicates is highly irregular. The regular practice, as discussed in Chapter 6, and illustrated in Ex. 10.40g and h above, is for the predicate to have the form that it would have if the NP at the beginning of the sentence were its primary topic. The difference between the two kinds of topicalization is that in secondary topicalization, the NP must precede the predicate, which is itself preceded by the TRM, and the TAP does not follow the predicate. With a·lub and a·pirmi, in a primary topicalization, the A NP is preceded by the ARM and introduces the AAP, and in a secondary topicalization, the A is preceded by the TRM, but it still introduces an AAP. No attempt is made to account for this in the discussion of secondary topicalization. There is no need to make a special provision for it here since END applies from the NP in the matrix sentence to delete the NP in the constituent sentence.

3) If the identical NP is a topic N, END applies.

(10.42a) bi·sa  
(b) ma·ma·sa  
(c) ma·ka·wa·ri  
(d) ma·niwa·la  
(e) mi·mi·sip  
(f) ma·na·kit

} yaŋ lawan (na) niŋ lala·ki iŋ anak

(a) {wants } to be looked at by the man.  
(b) {hopes }  
(c) The child {imagines }  
(d) {believes } that he will be looked at  
(e) {thinks }  
(f) {sees }

by the man.

(g) {ma·ka·ganakan }  
(h) {ma·ka·tandar }  
(i) iŋ anak iŋ {a·lub na naŋ } lawan (na) niŋ  
(j) {a·pipirmi naŋ }

lala·ki

(g) {remembers to be }  
(h) {remembers being }  
(i) The child is the one who {is anxious to be }  
(j) {is certain of being }

looked at by the man.

#### 10.4.1.2.2 Verbs with the lexical listing (+N +D).

1) If the identical NP is a topic A, END applies.

(10.43) si·si·si yaŋ maŋan na·si iŋ anak  
The child regrets that he will eat rice.

2) If the identical NP is a nontopic A, END doesn't apply.

(10.44) si·si·si yaŋ kanan na iŋ na·si iŋ anak  
The child regrets that he will eat the rice.

3) If the identical NP is a topic N, END applies.

(10.45) si·si·si yaŋ lawan (na) niŋ lala·ki iŋ anak  
The child regrets that he will be looked at by

the man.

10.4.1.3 Verbs that accept the case frame (+N +A +D).

Verbs with three different kinds of case frame listings in the lexicon can be inserted into a base P-marker with these three cases present: 1) (+N +A); 2) (+N +D); 3) (+N +A +D). When a verb is inserted into a base P-marker in which all three cases are present, if it is a member of either of the first two classes just listed, the D case is almost always topicalized. A D-topicalization is definitely preferred for all three classes when a D is present. If the verb occurs in an AT or NT form, which it can, if a kin-phrase is present, it is construed as something other than a D, usually as a Di,<sup>22</sup> unless it immediately follows the matrix verb. If it is a Di, then of course it is not a D. END does not apply from a Di, but may apply from the matrix A.

1) If the identical NP is a topic A, END applies from the matrix A, there being no matrix D.

(10.46a) ma·na·y } yan manan na·si kin anak iy lala·ki  
(b) ma·mi·lit }

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<sup>22</sup>This could be considered as a very strong argument for claiming that there are two verbs in the lexicon instead of one for each of these verbs, e.g., that, instead of one verb with the lexical listing (+N +A), there is one verb with the lexical listing (+N +A -D), and one verb with the lexical listing (+N +A +D). The decision on this point is not crucial to anything under discussion here. However, even this method of listing verbs, if adopted, would not eliminate the fact that, except under the conditions indicated, the D is usually topicalized if it is present.

(a) The man {expects to eat} rice from the child.  
(b) The man {insists on eating} rice from the child.

(c) si·si·si yan mejan na·si kin anak in lala·ki  
The man regrets eating rice from the child.

Ex's. 10.46a to c do not have the meaning of a D.

(a) {expects the child to eat rice.  
(b) The man {is persuading the child to eat rice.  
(c) {blames the child for eating rice.

The word order can be changed, placing kin anak in initial position by the emphasis transformation. When it is placed in this position, it is still construed as a matrix Di. Since the TAP now occurs following the preposed kin-phrase, the constituent sentence immediately follows the matrix verb. If the matrix verb ends in a vowel, it is followed by -ŋ. If it ends in a consonant, it is optionally followed by a. END still applies from the matrix A, there being no matrix D.

(10.47a) {kin anak ya {ma·na·yan  
(b) {kin anak ya {ma·mi·lit (a) } manan na·si  
(c) {kin anak ya {si·si·sin

in lala·ki

(a) {expects to eat  
(b) From the child, the man {insists on eating  
(c) {regrets eating

rice.

The kin-phrase can be placed immediately after the matrix verb, where it occurs between that verb and the constituent sentence. This in turn requires ŋ/a to be inserted between the noun of the kin-phrase and the constituent sentence. The a is not optional here. The result is that the sentence

is ambiguous. The other meaning besides END is one in which the constituent sentence is construed as a modification construction. When the kin-phrase is in this position, it is construed as a D with (+N +A) verbs, but as a Di with (+N +D) verbs. END is from the matrix D in all instances, from the nontopic D with (+N +A) verbs, and from the topic D with (+N +D) verbs.

(10.48a) ma·na·ya } ya kin anak a manan na·si iy lala·ki  
 (b) ma·mi·lit }

(a) The man {expects  
 (b) {is persuading} the child to eat rice.

(c) si·si·si ya kin anak a manan na·si iy lala·ki  
 The man expresses regret to the child that he  
 ate rice.

The alternate interpretation, the one that treats the constituent sentence as a modification construction, would be translated as follows:

(a) The man {expects  
 (b) {insists on} the child who will eat  
 rice.

(c) The man expresses regret to the child who ate  
 rice.

2) If the identical NP is a nontopic A, END doesn't apply. The observations made above about the way in which a kin-phrase is construed with the various word orders apply here also. Only the third word order is given, and it may not be construed as a modification construction because it contains a topic NP, which a modification construction does not.

(10.49a) ma.na.ya } ya kiŋ anak a kanan na iŋ na.si  
(b) ma.mi.lit }

iŋ lala.ki

{a} The man {expects  
(b) {is persuading } the child to eat the  
rice.

(c) si.si.si ya kiŋ anak a peŋan na iŋ na.si  
iŋ lala.ki

The man expresses regret to the child that he  
ate the rice.

3) If the identical NP is a topic N, END doesn't apply.  
Without the TAP, the constituent sentence would again be  
construed as a modification construction. The translation  
expressing that meaning is not given.

(10.50a) ma.na.ya } ya kiŋ anak a lawan ne niŋ baba.2i  
(b) ma.mi.lit }

iŋ lala.ki

{a} The man {expects  
(b) {is persuading } the child to be  
looked at by the woman.

(c) si.si.si ya kiŋ anak a lina.we ne niŋ baba.2i  
iŋ lala.ki

The man expresses regret to the child that he  
was looked at by the woman.

With all of these, the pattern of application of  
END is the same when it is permitted. It is triggered by  
the matrix D when there is one, and by the matrix A if  
there isn't a D. It is apparently not triggered by the  
matrix Di as is seen in the examples in which the

kiŋ-phrase is construed as a matrix Di, and END does not apply from that NP, though it does from the kiŋ-phrase that is construed as a matrix D. In all instances, the kiŋ-phrase with a (+N +D) verb is construed as a Di rather than as a D, with the topic then being construed as a D.

If a sentence undergoes secondary topicalization, the same general limitations apply, but with a few changes. If the kiŋ-phrase occurs at the end of the sentence, it is again construed as a Di. (Not all verbs are included in these examples. Some are excluded to spare the reader the burden of reading repetitious examples).

(10.51) iŋ lala.ki iŋ ma.na.yaŋ maŋan na.si kiŋ anak

The man is the one who expects to eat rice  
from the child.

If the kiŋ-phrase occurs before the matrix sentence verb, and following the TRM that introduces the sentence, it is ungrammatical.

(10.52) \*iŋ lala.ki iŋ kiŋ anak ma.na.yaŋ maŋan na.si

\*The man is the the child one who expects to  
eat rice.

If the kiŋ-phrase occurs between the verb of the matrix sentence and the verb of the constituent sentence, then it is construed as a matrix D with both classes of verbs currently under consideration, (+N +A) and (+N +D). The linker n/a follows the kiŋ-phrase, which makes the construction ambiguous. Only one translation is given. END applies.

(10.53a) in lala.ki in {ma.na.ya} kin anak a mejan  
(b) {ma.mi.lit}

(a) The man is the one who {expects  
(b) {is persuading  
the child to eat rice.

(c) in lala.ki in si.si.si kin anak a mejan na.si  
The man is the one who blames the child for  
eating rice.

2) As in primary topicalization, if the identical NP is a nontopic A, END doesn't apply. With the various word orders, the kin-phrase is construed in the manner indicated above with secondary topicalizations. (Again, not all verbs are included).

(10.54) in lala.ki in ma.na.yaj kanan na in na.si  
kin anak  
The man is the one who expects to eat the rice  
from the child.

(10.55) \*in lala.ki in kin anak ma.na.yaj kanan na  
in na.si  
\*The man is the the child one who expects to  
eat the rice.

(10.56a) in lala.ki in {ma.na.ya} kin anak a kanan na  
(b) {ma.mi.lit} in na.si

(a) The man is the one who {expects  
(b) {is persuading  
the child to eat the rice.



(c) in lala.ki in si.si.si kin anak a kanan na  
in na.si

The man is the one who blames the child for  
eating the rice.

3) Again, as in a primary topicalization, if the identical NP is a topic N, END doesn't apply, and with the various word orders, the kin-phrase is construed in the manner indicated above with the other secondary topicalizations. (Again, not all verbs are included).

(10.57) in lala.ki in ma.na.yay lawan ne nin baba.2i  
kin anak

The man is the one who expects to be looked at  
by the woman near the child.

(10.58) \*in lala.ki in kin anak ma.na.yay lawan ne  
nin baba.2i

\*The man is the the child one who expects to be  
looked at by the woman.

(10.59a) in lala.ki in {ma.na.ya } kin anak a lawan ne  
(b) {ma.mi.lit} nin baba.2i

(a) The man is the one who {expects  
(b) is persuading

the child to be looked at by the woman.

(c) in lala.ki in si.si.si kin anak a lina.we ne  
nin baba.2i

The man is the one who blames the child for  
being looked at by the woman.

If a D is present in the case frame listing of the verb, then it can apparently have an untopicalized D in a primary topicalization sentence in which it occurs. The position of the kin-phrase is not quite so limited as it is with verbs that have only two cases in their case frame listings, though there are some limitations, which are noted in the appropriate place. It is construed as a matrix D regardless of where it occurs if the sentence is grammatical. More variations in word order are investigated here than were investigated for (+N +A) and (+N +D) verbs above.

1) If the identical NP is a topic A, END applies. Ex. 10.60b and c are ambiguous, the other meaning being that of a modification construction. That translation is not given.

- (10.60a) kin anak ya sa.sa.up (a) manan na.si in lala.ki  
 (b) sa.sa.up ya kin anak a manan na.si in lala.ki  
 (c) in lala.ki sa.sa.up ya kin anak a manan na.si  
 (d) in lala.ki kin anak ya sa.sa.up (a) manan na.si  
 (e) in lala.ki sa.sa.up yan manan na.si kin anak  
 (f) sa.sa.up yan manan na.si kin anak in lala.ki

The man is helping the child eat rice.

2) If the identical NP is a nontopic A, END doesn't apply. Because na.si is preceded by the TRM, two additional word order variations are possible. The last four are all ungrammatical. The factor which they have in common is that the kin-phrase follows the verb of the constituent sentence. If the AAP is omitted from the constituent sentence, then the A of that sentence is construed as unspecified, i.e., as meaning, "rice will be eaten."

- (10.61a) kiŋ anak ya sa.sa.up (a) kanan na iŋ na.si<sup>23</sup>  
           iŋ lala.ki  
 (b) sa.sa.up ya kiŋ anak a kanan na iŋ na.si  
           iŋ lala.ki  
 (c) iŋ lala.ki sa.sa.up ya kiŋ anak a kanan na  
           iŋ na.si  
 (d) iŋ lala.ki kiŋ anak ya sa.sa.up (a) kanan na  
           iŋ na.si  
 (e) \*iŋ lala.ki sa.sa.up yaŋ kanan na iŋ na.si  
           kiŋ anak  
 (f) \*sa.sa.up yaŋ kanan na iŋ na.si kiŋ anak  
           iŋ lala.ki  
 (g) \*sa.sa.up yaŋ kanan na iŋ na.si kiŋ anak  
           iŋ lala.ki  
 (h) \*iŋ lala.ki sa.sa.up yaŋ kanan na kiŋ anak  
           iŋ na.si

The man is helping the child eat the rice.

3) If the identical NP is a topic N, END doesn't apply. If the constituent sentence has na instead of ne, b and c would be construed as a modification construction, and a to d as having an unspecified A. Sentences b and c would thus be ambiguous. The last four sentences are ungrammatical.

- (10.62a) kiŋ anak ya sa.sa.up (a) lawan ne niŋ baba.2i  
           iŋ lala.ki  
 (b) sa.sa.up ya kiŋ anak a lawan ne niŋ baba.2i  
           iŋ lala.ki  
 (c) iŋ lala.ki sa.sa.up ya kiŋ anak a lawan ne  
           niŋ baba.2i  
 (d) iŋ lala.ki kiŋ anak ya sa.sa.up (a) lawan ne  
           niŋ baba.2i  
 (e) \*iŋ lala.ki sa.sa.up yaŋ lawan ne niŋ baba.2i  
           kiŋ anak  
 (f) \*sa.sa.up yaŋ lawan ne niŋ baba.2i kiŋ anak  
           iŋ lala.ki  
 (g) \*sa.sa.up yaŋ lawan ne niŋ baba.2i kiŋ anak  
           iŋ lala.ki  
 (h) \*iŋ lala.ki sa.sa.up yaŋ lawan ne kiŋ anak  
           niŋ baba.2i

The man is helping the child (to) be looked at  
 by the woman

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<sup>23</sup> If one verb is next to the other, a is optional.

#### 10.4.2 The N-case-topicalization.

The N-case-topicalization is different from the m-topicalization in that END applies to all three types of NP's in constituent sentences. There are, however, a few facts to be noted.

If the NP is a constituent topic A, END applies. However, another construction, one in which the topic A is unspecified, has the same surface realization, so that the structure is ambiguous, the other meaning being, 'to have the thing done.' This meaning is less likely to occur.

If the NP is a nontopic A, END applies, but with the additional requirement that na in becomes nan. If it does not, then the constituent sentence has the meaning of an unspecified A, which means that the structure has not arisen from the application of END. The first subsection below contains a full discussion and illustration of this point.

If the NP is a topic N, END applies, but the form of the sentence in which it has not applied is preferred. Since the form in which it applies is grammatical, no attempt is made to account for the fact that it is less acceptable. It must be generated because it is a necessary intermediate step in generating a fully grammatical sentence discussed in sec. 10.5.3.

##### 10.4.2.1 Verbs that accept the case frame (+N +A -D).

###### 10.4.2.1.1 Verbs with the lexical listing (+N +A -D).

1) If the identical NP is a topic A, END applies.

(10.63a) babala·kan }  
(b) susubu·kan } na iq maḡan na·si niḡ anak

(a) The child is {planning } to eat rice.  
(b) The child is {trying } to eat rice.

(c) susundu na iq ma·maḡan na·si niḡ anak

The child is continuing to eat rice.

These sentences are ambiguous. The first one may also mean, "The child is planning for the eating of rice," with an unspecified constituent A. This meaning is less likely. If the A NP is placed in initial position, and the constituent sentence has yaḡ because END was assigned the value minus (-) at the time of lexical insertion, the sentence is still ambiguous. (Not all verbs are included here).

(10.64) iq anak babala·kan na iq maḡan yaḡ na·si

The child is planning that he ({the child }  
{another })  
eat rice.

2) If the identical NP is a nontopic A, END applies, but with an additional change. If an identical NP is not deleted, and an AAP occurs in the constituent sentence, it is ambiguous.

(10.65a) babala·kan }  
(b) susubu·kan } na iq kanaan na iq na·si niḡ anak

(a) He ({The child }  
{Another }) is {planning } to have the  
child eat rice.

(c) susundu na iq kanaan na iq na·si niḡ anak

He ({The child }  
{Another }) is continuing to have the  
child eat rice.

If the constituent sentence does not have an AAP, then the A of the constituent sentence is unspecified, which means that the example does not involve END. (Not all verbs are used in the examples).

(10.66) babala·kan na iŋ kanan iŋ na·si niŋ anak

The child is planning that the rice will be eaten.

If the A NP is placed in initial position, and the constituent sentence has no AAP, the meaning is unchanged.

(10.67) iŋ anak babala·kan na iŋ kanan iŋ na·si

The child is planning that the rice will be eaten.

The last two examples do, of course, allow the possibility that the child will eat the rice, but that is a fact to be accounted for in the semantic component. The fact that the sentence does not require it means that END has not applied, for END is a syntactic operation that can only occur when two NP's are identical. This, in turn, requires the sentence to have the interpretation that the A in the two sentences is the same, and Ex's. 10.66 and 10.67 do not.

If the A NP is placed in initial position, and the constituent sentence has an AAP, which means that END has not applied, the sentence is ambiguous, but this way, the A NP is construed with the closest verb, which is the matrix verb.

(10.68) iŋ anak babala·kan na iŋ kanan na iŋ na·si

The child is planning that he ( {the child} / {another} )

will eat the rice.

When END applies to this construction, another change is required, i.e., that na in become naŋ. If this change occurs, then agent-identity is definitely implied,<sup>24</sup> which means that END is involved. All three word orders have the same meaning.

- (10.69a) in anak babala·kan naŋ kanan in na·si  
(b) babala·kan naŋ kanan in na·si niŋ anak  
(c) babala·kan naŋ kanan niŋ anak in na·si

The child is planning to eat the rice.

3) If the identical NP is a topic N, END applies. The sentence in which it has not applied is preferred slightly, but if the constituent sentence contains a TAP, then the sentence is ambiguous. It is applied in Ex. 10.70.

- (10.70a) babala·kan } na in lawan (na) niŋ lala·ki  
(b) susubu·kan }

niŋ anak

- (a) The child is {planning } to be looked at by  
(b) {trying }
- the man.

- (c) susundu na in lalawan (na) niŋ lala·ki niŋ anak  
The child is continuing to be looked at by  
the man.

In Ex. 10.71 END is not applied, and it is ambiguous. In both orders, the phrase with anak is construed as the A of

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<sup>24</sup>The informant has indicated at times that Ex. 10.69 may be ambiguous, the other meaning being that of an unspecified A, though this meaning is less common. This simply means, however, that Ex. 10.69 may arise from two different deep structures, not that END is not involved.

the matrix sentence: if it is at the end of the sentence, because it has the ARM; if it is at the beginning of the sentence, because of its proximity to the matrix verb.

- (10.71a) babala·kan na iŋ lawan ne niŋ lala·ki niŋ anak  
(b) iŋ anak babala·kan na iŋ lawan ne niŋ lala·ki

The child is planning to have him(self)  
looked at by the man.

#### 10.4.2.1.2 Verbs with the lexical listing (+N +A).

1) If the identical NP is a topic A, END applies.

- (10.72a) pa·na·yan } na iŋ maŋan na·si niŋ anak  
(b) pipi·lit }

(a) The child {expects to eat rice.  
(b) The child {insists on eating rice.

2) If the identical NP is a nontopic A, END applies, and na iŋ is replaced by naŋ.

- (10.73a) pa·na·yan } naŋ kanan iŋ na·si niŋ anak  
(b) pipi·lit }

(a) The child {expects to eat the rice.  
(b) The child {insists on eating the rice.

All three word orders illustrated in Ex. 10.69 for babala·kan are acceptable with these verbs also.

3) If the identical NP is a topic N, END applies, but the sentence is preferred if it doesn't, but it is ambiguous if it doesn't. The other meaning is not given here.

- (10.74a) pa·na·yan } na iŋ lawan (na) niŋ lala·ki niŋ anak  
(b) pipi·lit }

(a) The child {expects to be } looked at by the  
(b) The child {insists on being } man.



10.4.2.2 Verbs that accept the case frame (+N -A +D).

10.4.2.2.1 Verbs with the lexical listing (+N -A +D).

1) If the identical NP is a topic A, END applies.

- |          |               |   |                            |   |                |                        |
|----------|---------------|---|----------------------------|---|----------------|------------------------|
| (10.75a) | a.sa.han      | } | na in maṅan                | } | na.si niṅ anak |                        |
| (b)      | huri          |   |                            |   |                |                        |
| (c)      | pa.niwalan    |   |                            |   |                |                        |
| (d)      | i.si.pan      |   |                            |   |                |                        |
| (e)      | a.lub na      |   |                            |   |                |                        |
| (f)      | a.pipirmi     |   |                            |   |                |                        |
| (g)      | wa.riwaryan   | } | na in ma.maṅan             | } |                |                        |
| (h)      | a.ka.kit      |   |                            |   |                |                        |
| (i)      | a.gaganaka    |   |                            |   |                |                        |
| (j)      | a.tatanda.nan |   |                            |   |                |                        |
| (a)      | The child     | } | hopes                      | } | to eat rice.   |                        |
| (b)      |               |   | wants                      |   |                |                        |
| (c)      |               |   | believes                   |   | }              | that he will eat rice. |
| (d)      |               |   | thinks                     |   |                |                        |
| (e)      |               |   | is anxious to eat rice.    |   |                |                        |
| (f)      |               |   | is certain of eating rice. |   |                |                        |
| (g)      |               |   | imagines eating rice.      |   |                |                        |
| (h)      |               |   | sees himself eating rice.  |   |                |                        |
| (i)      |               |   | remembers to eat rice.     |   |                |                        |
| (j)      |               |   | remembers eating rice.     |   |                |                        |

2) If the identical NP is a nontopic A, END applies, and na in is replaced by naṅ.

- |          |               |   |                             |   |                   |                          |
|----------|---------------|---|-----------------------------|---|-------------------|--------------------------|
| (10.76a) | a.sa.han      | } | naṅ kanan                   | } | in na.si niṅ anak |                          |
| (b)      | huri          |   |                             |   |                   |                          |
| (c)      | pa.niwalan    |   |                             |   |                   |                          |
| (d)      | i.si.pan      |   |                             |   |                   |                          |
| (e)      | a.lub na      |   |                             |   |                   |                          |
| (f)      | a.pipirmi     |   |                             |   |                   |                          |
| (g)      | wa.riwaryan   | } | naṅ kakanan                 | } |                   |                          |
| (h)      | a.ka.kit      |   |                             |   |                   |                          |
| (i)      | a.gaganaka    |   |                             |   |                   |                          |
| (j)      | a.tatanda.nan |   |                             |   |                   |                          |
| (a)      | The child     | } | hopes                       | } | to eat the rice.  |                          |
| (b)      |               |   | wants                       |   |                   |                          |
| (c)      |               |   | believes                    |   | }                 | that he'll eat the rice. |
| (d)      |               |   | thinks                      |   |                   |                          |
| (e)      |               |   | is anxious to eat the rice. |   |                   |                          |
| (f)      |               |   | is certain of               |   | }                 | eating the rice.         |
| (g)      |               |   | imagines                    |   |                   |                          |

- (h) } sees himself eating the rice.  
 (i) The child } remembers to eat the rice.  
 (j) } remembers eating the rice.

All three word orders illustrated in Ex. 10.69 for ba.lak are acceptable here also.

3) If the identical NP is a topic N, END applies, but the sentence is preferred if it doesn't, though it is ambiguous if it doesn't. The other meaning is not given here.

- (10.77a) a.sa.han }  
 (b) buri }  
 (c) pa.niwalan } na in lawan  
 (d) i.si.pan }  
 (e) a.lub na }  
 (f) a.pipirmi }  
 (g) wa.riwaryan }  
 (h) a.ka.kit } na in lalawan  
 (i) a.gaganaka }  
 (j) a.tatanda.nan }
- (na) niy lala.ki  
 niy anak

- (a) } hopes } to be  
 (b) } wants }  
 (c) } believes } that he'll be  
 (d) } thinks }  
 (e) The child } is anxious to be  
 (f) } is certain of }  
 (g) } imagines } being  
 (h) } sees himself }  
 (i) } remembers to be }  
 (j) } remembers being }
- looked  
 at by  
 the man.

#### 10.4.2.2.2 Verbs with the lexical listing (+N +D).

1) If the identical NP is a topic A, END applies.

- (10.78) sisisyan na in mejan na.si niy anak  
 The child regrets eating rice.

2) If the identical NP is a nontopic A, END applies, and na in is replaced by nan.

- (10.79) sisisyan nan pejan in na.si niy anak  
 The child regrets eating the rice.

All three word orders illustrated in Ex. 10.69 for ba·lak are acceptable here also.

3) If the identical NP is a topic N, END applies. The sentence is preferred if it doesn't, and is ambiguous if it doesn't. The other translation is not given here.

(10.80) sisisyān na iŋ lina·we (na) niŋ lala·ki niŋ anak  
The child regrets being looked at by the man.

#### 10.4.2.3 Verbs that accept the case frame (+N +A +D).

It was noted in sec. 10.4.1.3 that, for verbs that are listed in the lexicon with the case frame (+N +A) or (+N +D), if all three cases are present in a base P-marker into which a verb is inserted, the topicalization of the D case is definitely preferred. If a kiŋ-phrase is present in the sentence, it is usually construed as something other than a D, most frequently as a Di. If it occurs immediately after the verb, it may be interpreted as a D with (+N +A) verbs but not with (+N +D) verbs. If the matrix verb is in the NT form, END does not apply from the kiŋ-phrase, regardless of how it is construed, nor from the nontopic A. In all cases, the constituent sentence has an AP (TAP or AAP, depending on whether or not the identical NP is a topic), but the AP is ambiguous. (The ambiguity is not included in the translations given below). If the constituent sentence does not contain a TAP, then the A is unspecified in the AT and nontopic A constituent sentences, and the sentence is simply ungrammatical without a topic N TAP.

1) If the identical NP is a topic A, END doesn't apply.

(10.81a) pa·na·yan }  
(b) pipi·lit } na kiŋ anak iŋ meŋan yaŋ na·si  
niŋ lala·ki

(a) The man {expects of}  
(b) The man {insists to} the child that he eat  
rice.

(c) sisisyān na kiŋ anak iŋ meŋan yaŋ na·si  
niŋ lala·ki

The man expresses regret to the child that  
he (the man) ate rice.

If yaŋ is removed from Ex. 10.81, the meanings are:

(a) The man {expects of  
(b) The man {insists to } the child that  
(c) The man {expresses regret to} someone will eat rice.

2) If the identical NP is a nontopic A, END doesn't apply.

(10.82a) pa·na·yan }  
(b) pipi·lit } na kiŋ anak iŋ kanan na iŋ na·si  
niŋ lala·ki

(a) The man {expects of}  
(b) The man {insists to} the child that he eat  
the rice.

(c) sisisyān na kiŋ anak iŋ peŋan na iŋ na·si  
niŋ lala·ki

The man expresses regret to the child that  
he (the man) ate the rice.

If na is removed from the constituent sentence of Ex. 10.82,  
the meanings are:

(a) The man { expects of  
 (b) insists to  
 (c) expresses regret to } the child that  
 someone will eat the rice.

3) If the identical NP is a topic N, END doesn't apply.

(10.83a) pa·na·yan } na kiŋ anak iŋ lawan ne niŋ baba·2i  
 (b) pipi·lit }  
 niŋ lala·ki

(a) The man { expects of } the child that he be  
 (b) insists to } looked at by the woman.

(c) sisisyan na kiŋ anak iŋ lawan ne niŋ baba·2i  
 niŋ lala·ki

The man expresses regret to the child that he  
 (the man) was looked at by the woman.

As noted above, if the TAP is removed from the constituent sentence of Ex. 10.83, leaving na (or zero with deletion of the now-optional na), it is simply ungrammatical.

If the sentence undergoes secondary topicalization, a special problem is introduced. Since the N of the matrix sentence dominates the constituent sentence, if secondary topicalization is applied to the N, it means that the S that directly dominates the verb and the other cases does not dominate the N case. As in Ex's. 10.52 and 10.55, if the kiŋ-phrase is placed before the verb and immediately after the TRM, the sentence is ungrammatical.

(10.84) \*iŋ maŋan na·si iŋ kiŋ anak pa·na·yan (na)  
 niŋ lala·ki

\*To eat rice is the the child thing the man  
expects of.

If the kiŋ-phrase is placed after the verb, it is not construed as a D. The TAP in the secondary topicalization sentence is not required, but if it is not included, the A of that sentence is unspecified.

1) If the identical NP is a topic A, END doesn't apply.

(10.85a) iŋ maŋan yaŋ na·si iŋ {pa·na·yan} (na)  
(b) pipi·lit }

niŋ lala·ki kiŋ anak

That he eat rice is the thing the man

(a) expects of } the child (that he (will) do).  
(b) insists to }

(c) iŋ meŋan yaŋ na·si iŋ sisisyān (na)

niŋ lala·ki kiŋ anak

That he ate rice is the thing the man

expresses regret to the child (that he did).

2) If the identical NP is a nontopic A, END doesn't apply.

(10.86a) iŋ kanan na iŋ na·si iŋ {pa·na·yan} (na)  
(b) pipi·lit }

niŋ lala·ki kiŋ anak

That he eat the rice is the thing the man

(a) expects of } the child (that he (will) do).  
(b) insists to }

(c) iŋ peŋan na iŋ na·si iŋ sisisyān (na)

niŋ lala·ki kiŋ anak

That he ate the rice is the thing the man

expresses regret to the child (that he did).

3) If the identical NP is a topic N, END doesn't apply.

(10.87a)  
(b) *iy lawan ne niy baba·2i iy*  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{pa·na·yan} \\ \text{pipi·lit} \end{array} \right\}$  (na)

*niy lala·ki kiñ anak*

That he be looked at by the woman is the thing

(a) the man  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{expects of} \\ \text{insists to} \end{array} \right\}$  the child (that he  
(b) (will) do).

(c) *iy lina·we ne niy baba·2i iy sisisyān* (na)

*niy lala·ki kiñ anak*

That he was looked at by the woman is the  
thing the man expresses regret to the child  
(that he did).

If a verb is listed in the lexicon with the case frame (+N +A +D), then it can have an untopicalized D in a sentence in which it occurs. As with the (+N +A) and (+N +D) verbs, the TAF is not obligatory in the constituent sentence when it is in the AT form, but if it is not present, the sentence has the meaning of an unspecified agent, and is thus presumed not to arise from END. The TAP/AAP is obligatory in the constituent sentence of the second and third types. Thus, END does not apply in any one of them. In the following examples, all of the word orders were tested which were tested earlier in Ex's. 10.60 to 10.62. Only one word order is given here to avoid burdening the reader with superfluous examples. Because the constituent sentence is preceded by the TRM, it is never construed as

a modification construction. In Ex's. 10.61 and 10.62, the last four word orders tested are ungrammatical. With the construction under consideration here, the fifth and sixth word orders are marginal, and the seventh and eighth are ungrammatical.

1) If the identical NP is a topic A, END does not apply.

(10.88) iŋ lala·ki kiŋ anak na sasa·up iŋ maŋan yaŋ  
na·si

The man is helping the child with his eating  
of rice.<sup>25</sup>

2) If the identical NP is a nontopic A, END doesn't apply.

(10.89) iŋ lala·ki kiŋ anak na sasa·up iŋ kanan na  
iŋ na·si

The man is helping the child with his eating  
of the rice.

3) If the identical NP is a topic N, END doesn't apply.

(10.90) iŋ lala·ki kiŋ anak na sasa·up iŋ lawan ne  
niŋ baba·2i

The man is helping the child with his being  
looked at by the woman.

Though END does not apply, the A of the constituent sentence is interpreted as being identical with the matrix A.

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<sup>25</sup>It should not be taken from the translation that this is an adverb of manner. Rather, N dominates the thing that is done to help, which is the semantic basis of the N case with the verb 'help', and this construction was chosen. It might have been translated, 'His eating of rice is the help the man is giving to the child,' or something similar.



It is thus evident that the constituent NP cannot bypass a non-identical matrix D to be deleted by an identical matrix A. Why the constituent NP is not construed as being identical with the matrix D is not known, but in this, the verb sa·up is like the (+N +A) and (+N +D) verbs with which the constituent NP was not deleted because it was not construed as being identical with the matrix D when all three cases were present in the matrix sentence.

#### 10.4.3 The D-case-topicalization.

It has been stated twice before, secs. 10.1.3 and 10.2.3, that, if a verb is listed in the lexicon with the case frame (+N +A), (+N +D), or (+N +A +D), and is inserted into a base F-marker that has all three cases, the topicalization of the D case is definitely preferred. When that case is topicalized, END applies from the matrix topic D to a topic A or a topic N but not to a nontopic A in the constituent sentence. If a TAP were included in the constituent sentences to which END should apply, the sentence is ambiguous, the ambiguity being of the sort discussed in sec. 10.4.2.1.1

1) If the identical NP is a topic A, END applies.

(10.91a) pa·na·yan }  
 (b) pipili·tan } neŋ meŋan na·si iŋ anak niŋ lala·ki  
 (c) sasau·pan }

(a) { expects  
 (b) The man { is persuading } the child to eat rice.  
 (c) { is helping }

(d) sisisyan neŋ meŋan na·si iŋ anak niŋ lala·ki

The man blames the child for eating rice.

2) If the identical NP is a nontopic A, END doesn't apply.

(10.92a) pa·na·yan }  
 (b) pipili·tan } neŋ kanan na iŋ na·si iŋ anak  
 (c) sasau·pan }

niŋ lala·ki

(a) }  
 (b) The man { expects  
 (c) } { is persuading } the child to eat the  
 { is helping }

rice.

(d) sisisyān neŋ peŋan na iŋ na·si iŋ anak

niŋ lala·ki

The man blames the child for eating the rice.

3) If the identical NP is a topic N, END applies.

(10.93a) pa·na·yan }  
 (b) pipili·tan } neŋ lawan (na) niŋ lala·ki iŋ anak  
 (c) sasau·pan }

niŋ baba·2i

(a) }  
 (b) The man { expects  
 (c) } { is persuading } the child to be  
 { is helping }

looked at by the woman.

(d) sisisyān neŋ lina·we (na) niŋ baba·2i iŋ anak

niŋ lala·ki

The man blames the child for being looked at

by the woman.

The rule for END may be stated as follows:

SI: S(  $\begin{matrix} V \\ \text{ADJ} \end{matrix}$  X N(NRM NP(S(X C<sub>1</sub> (C<sub>1</sub>RM NP)X))) C<sub>j</sub> (C<sub>j</sub>RM NP)X)  
 (+END)  
 1                    2                    3    4    5                    6    7    8

- Conditions:
1. 5 = 7.
  2. If 8 does not include A, and 6 has the feature (+TOP), then 4 has the feature (+TOP).
  3. If 8 includes A, then 2 does not have the feature (+TOP), and if 6 does not have the feature (+TOP), then 3 is A, and 4 has the feature (+TOP).

- SC:
1. Erase 5.
  2. If 2 has the feature (+TOP), and 3 is A, and 4 does not have the feature (+TOP), replace 2 with LKR.
  3. If 1 was assigned the value minus (-) for the feature (\*TR), change that value to plus (+).

Discussion of the rule:

- 1) This rule differs from the rule for END in the UESP in that that rule, but not this one, has D and A listed separately in the SI. Since no verb has been investigated that permits a constituent NP to bypass a non-identical matrix D and be triggered by an identical matrix A, there is no advantage in listing the two matrix cases separately.
- 2) There would be a distinct disadvantage in listing the matrix cases separately in this rule. As noted in the discussion and in the rule, its application is directly determined by whether or not a given case is topicalized (has the feature (+TOP)). It is also determined by the presence/absence of other cases in the matrix sentence. As stated, the rule provides for that determination in a fairly simple way. If A and D are listed separately in the SI, then the interrelationship of the presence/absence of cases and the topicalization of cases requires a very complex, overlapping statement of conditions or two or three rules with a lot of repetitions. Collapsing the two cases achieves a

significant economy in the statement of the rule.

3) Condition 1 provides for the required identity.

4) Condition 2 requires that A not follow the NP in the matrix sentence that is identical with the NP in the constituent sentence. This may result from  $C_j$  being D in a sentence without an A, or  $C_j$  being A in a sentence without a D. In either case, there is an m-topicalization, and END applies. The last clause in the condition blocks application of the rule to a nontopic A.

5) Condition 3 provides for END when there is an A in the matrix sentence in addition to  $C_j$ , i.e., D. When both cases are present, it is the presence of A, not its potential identity with the constituent NP, that must be considered. As noted above, the constituent NP may not bypass a non-identical D to be triggered by an identical A. The second clause of the condition provides for the fact that, if all three cases are present, and the constituent sentence is the topic of the matrix sentence, END may not apply. The third clause provides for the fact that, if the matrix sentence is in the DT form, END applies, but if it is not, i.e., if it is in the AT form, then, with the rest of the condition, it limits application of END to a constituent topic A.

6) The second SC provides for the replacement of the TRM with the linker under the required conditions.

7) The third SI changes the value of the feature for topic raising, which is obligatory if END applies, cf., sec. 10.5.

## 10.5 Topic raising.

### 10.5.0 Introduction.

The topic of a constituent sentence may be raised to become the topic of its matrix sentence. When it is raised, the TRM at the beginning of the constituent sentence is obligatorily replaced by  $-n$ . The question of what to call this formative is discussed below.

(10.94) wa·riwaryan na in ma·magan yan manga in anak  
nig lala·ki

The man imagines that the child is eating  
a mango.

(10.95) wa·riwaryan  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nen} \\ \text{*ne} \end{array} \right\}$  in ma·magan manga in anak  
nig lala·ki

The man imagines the child to be eating  
a mango.

Two claims are made regarding this example, both in Pampangan and in English, which are basic here.

1) The two examples just given are synonymous, i.e., they are derived from deep structures which are identical except for the fact that topic raising (hereinafter called TR) is assigned the value minus (-) in the first and plus (+) in the second. Even though the second example contains the sequence of words, "The man imagines the child," that is only a secondary implication of the sentence. The primary implication is the same as that of the first sentence,

"The man imagines (that) S," and the S is, "The child is eating a mango." This is the basis for claiming that, in both languages, 'child' is generated in the constituent sentence in the deep structure.

2) The phrase 'the child' is part of the matrix sentence in the second example. In English, this is evident from two facts: a) If 'the child' is replaced by a pronoun, it is the accusative form, 'him'; and b) The AUX of the constituent sentence is replaced by 'to'. In Pampangan, the evidence is seen in the position of the TAP. In the example above, the relative order of the cases is the same after the application of the rule as before, and the various cases all occur with the same CRM/TRM. The NRM of the N case in the constituent sentence takes the zero allomorph following the removal of the TAP, and the TRM preceding the constituent sentence is replaced by -n as noted above, but the TRM preceding anak, and the CRM's preceding any other cases that might have been included, remain unchanged. There is some freedom in the reordering of the cases. As is discussed below, sec. 10.5.1.4, in anak, but not nin lala.ki, may occur between the raised TAP and the predicate of the constituent sentence. Either NP can be placed at the beginning of the sentence. It is precisely because the order of the major constituents in the surface structure of the sentence is relatively flexible, and because all but the constituent sentence itself are preceded by the same CRM/

TRM in the second example as in the first, that it would be impossible to maintain on the basis of these factors alone that the topic NP of the constituent sentence has in any sense been raised to become the topic of a higher sentence in the tree. However, the TAP is an element concerning which it can fairly accurately be determined which sentence it was generated in, and its enclitic property causes it to appear in the surface structure immediately following the first full word in the sentence in which it was generated. If the first claim made above be granted, i.e., that the two examples are synonymous, and that in anak is generated, and its TAP, ya, is introduced, in the constituent sentence, then the appearance of the TAP of the constituent sentence in the matrix sentence in the surface structure must be the result of a transformation. That transformation, which assumes also that the topic NP of the constituent sentence becomes the topic of the matrix sentence, is what is here called topic raising. The question of the point of attachment of the topic NP is discussed below in sec. 10.5.1.7.

The -ŋ that follows the agreement particle(s) in the matrix sentence could be classified as any one of three things: 1) A reduced TRM; 2) The NRM; 3) The linker.

In favor of the first alternative is the fact that it replaces the TRM. That is probably not the correct designation of it, however, since most other instances of

a reduced TRM are phonological reductions and are optional. The other exception is discussed in sec. 10.4.2.1.1. To make it syntactic and obligatory here would be ad hoc.

In favor of the second alternative is the fact that the N case does dominate the sentence, and since the raising of the TAP of the constituent sentence to become the TAP of the matrix sentence can be interpreted as removing the constituent sentence from the position of topic of the matrix sentence, then it would be reasonable to expect the N case, the sentence, to be introduced by the basic NRM.

In favor of the third alternative is the fact that the TAP of the constituent sentence has been incorporated into the matrix sentence, and the remainder of the constituent sentence may be considered as joined to it in a manner comparable to that in which a modifier is joined to the head which it modifies. The formative which joins the comment to the head in a modification construction is called a linker, and if this construction is comparable to that one, the -n here could also be designated as a linker. In the discussion of END, sec. 10.4.1.3, it was noted that it is possible for a case node of the matrix sentence to occur between the matrix verb and the constituent sentence, though this is not common. If TR applies, an NP of the constituent sentence, but not an NP of the matrix sentence, may occur between the AP's and the rest of the constituent sentence, cf., sec. 10.5.1. This could be decisive in favor of



designating this formative as a linker when TR is applied. It is worth noting in passing that Tagalog utilizes the linker, not the NRM, in the comparable construction.

#### 10.5.1 Limitations.

There are a number of limitations on the applicability of TR, and they are discussed here.

##### 10.5.1.1 Raising must be to topic position.

A constituent topic may not be raised to a nontopic position in the matrix sentence. In the English translation of an example used above, Ex. 10.95, "The man imagines the child to be eating a mango," 'the child' is inserted into object position in the matrix sentence. This is not what happens in Pampangan. A sentence structure which makes the raised topic a nontopic N or D is ungrammatical.

(10.96) \*wa·riwaryan na {<sup>nan</sup><sub>kayan</sub>} ma·magan manga {<sup>-n</sup><sub>kin</sub>  
anak niñ lala·ki

The man imagines the child to be eating a mango.

If the matrix verb is in the m-topicalization form, the sentence is still bad.

(10.97) \*ma·ka·wa·ri {<sup>nen</sup><sub>ya</sub> } ma·magan manga {<sup>-n</sup><sub>kin</sub>  
anak niñ lala·ki

The man imagines the child to be eating a mango.

This means that there is no counterpart to the English rule: Raise-Subject-to-Object, unless, of course, the object is

topicalized. The rule does, in fact, raise the topic of the constituent sentence to become the topic of the NT verb in the matrix sentence.

#### 10.5.1.2 Raising of a nontopic A.

A nontopic A(AP) may not be raised, either to topic or nontopic position.

(10.98) \*wa·riwaryan  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nen} \\ \text{na} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nan} \\ \text{kayan} \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$  kakanan ya in mangga

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{nin} \\ \text{in} \end{array} \right\}$  anak nin lala·ki

The man imagines the child to be eating the mango.

(10.99) \*ma·ka·wa·ri  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{yen} \\ \text{nen} \\ \text{ya} \text{ kayan} \end{array} \right\}$  kakanan ya in mangga

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{nin} \\ \text{in} \end{array} \right\}$  anak in lala·ki

The man imagines the child to be eating the mango.

There are two exceptions to this general limitation.

1) If the matrix sentence has no other case in its case frame except N, then the TAP may be raised, and in addition, the AAP may be raised, but the raising of the AAP is optional, i.e., the TAP may be raised without raising the AAP, but the AAP may not be raised without raising the TAP. If the TAP is raised when there is no AAP in the matrix sentence, then deletion of the TAP from the constituent sentence is obligatory, cf., sec. 10.5.1.7.

(10.100) pirmi in maŋan yaŋ maŋga in anak  
It is certain that the child will eat a mango.

(10.101a) pirmi yaŋ maŋan maŋga in anak  
(b) \*pirmi yaŋ maŋan yaŋ maŋga in anak

The child is certain to eat a mango.

(10.102) pirmi in kanan ne in maŋga niŋ anak  
It is certain that the child will eat the  
mango.

(10.103a) pirmi yaŋ kanan  $\begin{cases} *ne \\ (na) \\ na \end{cases}$  niŋ anak in maŋga<sup>26</sup>  
in maŋga niŋ anak

(b) pirmi neŋ kanan in maŋga niŋ anak

(c) \*pirmi maŋ kanan ya  $\begin{cases} in maŋga niŋ anak \\ niŋ anak in maŋga \end{cases}$

The mango is certain to be eaten by the child.

2) If the matrix predicate has no other case in its case frame except N, and the constituent sentence has only a nontopic A, the nontopic A may optionally be raised to topic position in the matrix sentence. The ARM of the constituent A is replaced by the TRM. This can be considered as an evidence that the constituent NP is raised to become the topic of the matrix sentence. The only construction that has been found in which these conditions exist is the existential sentence.

(10.104a) alaŋ i·kit na niŋ anak  
(b) ala yaŋ i·kit in anak

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<sup>26</sup>As noted elsewhere, the AAP is optional if there is no TAP, and if the A NP occurs first.

There was nothing (that) the child saw.

(10.105a) alaq libruḡ sinu·lat naḡ ra·mus kiḡ laybreri

(b) ala yaḡ libruḡ sinu·lat i ra·mus kiḡ laybreri

There's no book written by Ramos in the  
library.

If the constituent sentence has only a pronominal topic A, this raising is obligatory, the only instance discovered in which TR is obligatory.

(10.106a) ala yaḡ i·kit

(b) \*alag i·kit na

There's nothing (that) he saw.

### 10.5.1.3 Raising of a nontopic N.

A constituent nontopic N may not be raised. A nontopic N does not result in the introduction of an AP. Thus, the criterion established earlier for determining when TR has applied, i.e., the appearance in the surface structure of a TAP in the matrix sentence that was introduced in the constituent sentence, is not applicable here. The only evidence that can be given is that an N generated in the constituent sentence may not occur with the TRM, which it presumably would have if it had been raised to topic position in the matrix sentence, either with or without a TAP in the matrix sentence, unless the verb in the constituent sentence is in the NT form.

(10.107) \*wa·riwaryan {<sub>naḡ</sub><sup>naḡ</sup>} ma·magan ya iḡ anak  
iḡ marga niḡ lala·ki

\*The man imagines the child the mango to be eating.

There is thus no counterpart to the English rule that raises a non-subject N to the position of subject in the matrix sentence. This is the rule that yields the sentence, "John is easy (for someone) to please."

10.5.1.4 TR is optional.

This was stated, discussed, and an example given, at the beginning of the discussion of TR.

10.5.1.5 Dependent upon previous application of END.

TR may not apply if END could have but didn't. END is optional in the sense that the feature (\*END) may be assigned the value minus (-) at the time of lexical insertion. If it is, then an NP that is identical with an NP in a higher sentence is not deleted, and the AAP occurs in both sentences, and the TAP occurs in the constituent sentence.

(10.108) pa·na·yan ku iq kanan ke iq mangga  
I expect that I will eat the mango.

(10.109) pa·na·yan na iq kanan ne iq mangga (niq anak)  
He/The child expects that he (the child)  
will eat the mango.

If the AAP's are identical, so that END could have applied but didn't (because it was assigned the value minus (-) at the time of lexical insertion), then the TAP may not occur in the matrix sentence, regardless of whether or not it is

erased from the constituent sentence.

(10.110) \*pa·na·yan keŋ kanan {<sup>ku</sup><sub>ke</sub>} iŋ mangga

I expect to eat the mango.

(10.111) \*pa·na·yan neŋ kanan {<sup>na</sup><sub>ne</sub>} iŋ mangga niŋ anak

The child expects to eat the mango.

Ex. 10.111 is unacceptable if the AAP's are coreferential. If they are not coreferential, the sentence is acceptable. The A NP can be construed with either sentence, so that it may mean either, "The child expects him (someone else) to eat the mango," or "He expects the child to eat the mango." These facts pose a problem in stating the rule. The problem is somewhat similar to the problem of reflexivization in English pronominalization and must be dealt with in the same way (UESP, pg. 230). The present model of syntactic description can only use formal identity in determining the applicability of rules; it cannot use referential identity. Since referential identity of the AAP's makes Ex. 10.111 unacceptable, but referential non-identity makes it acceptable, the inability of the model to use referential non-identity as a condition on the applicability of the rule forces the undesirable consequence of placing the following conditions on the rule. If the AAP's are identical and are (+I) and/or (+II) (first and/or second person), TR is blocked; if the AAP's are identical and are (-I)(-II), TR is optional. If it applies, the

AAP's are interpreted as non-coreferential. If it does not apply, they may be either coreferential or non-coreferential.

#### 10.5.1.6 Reordering of NP's.

Topic raising does not permit another NP from the matrix sentence to be inserted between the AP's and the constituent sentence. Ordinarily, the various cases of a sentence may be optionally reordered in the surface structure with little or no difference in meaning, except, of course, when placed before the predicate by the emphasis transformation. The matrix A may occur where it is generated, after the N. If the deep structure has (+EMPH), it may be placed before the matrix predicate. It may not be placed between the AP's and the constituent sentence.

(10.112a) wa·riwaryan neŋ ma·maŋan maŋga iŋ anak  
niŋ lala·ki

(b) iŋ lala·ki wa·riwaryan neŋ ma·maŋan maŋga  
iŋ anak

(c) \*wa·riwaryan ne niŋ lala·ki(ŋ) ma·maŋan  
maŋga iŋ anak

The man imagines the child to be eating a  
mango.

In the discussion of END, sec. 10.4.1.3, it was noted that, if a kin-phrase occurs in a sentence with a verb that is listed in the lexicon with the case frame (+N +A) or (+N +D), it is interpreted as a Di unless it

immediately follows the AP of the matrix sentence. The constituent sentence then follows the kin-phrase, with n/a between them. When TR applies, the kin-phrase may not occur between the raised TAP and the constituent sentence.

1) If a topic A TAP is raised:

(10.113a)  $\left. \begin{array}{l} *pa \cdot na \cdot yan \\ (b) \ *pipi \cdot lit \\ (c) \ *sisisyan \end{array} \right\}$  ne kin anak a manan manga

in baba.2i nin lala.ki

$\left. \begin{array}{l} (a) \\ (b) \text{ The man} \\ (c) \end{array} \right\}$   $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{expects of} \\ \text{insists to} \\ \text{expresses regret to} \end{array} \right\}$  the child that

the woman will eat a mango.

2) If a topic N TAP is raised:

(10.114a)  $\left. \begin{array}{l} *pa \cdot na \cdot yan \\ (b) \ *pipi \cdot lit \\ (c) \ *sisisyan \end{array} \right\}$  ne kin anak a lawan nin mestro

in baba.2i nin lala.ki

$\left. \begin{array}{l} (a) \\ (b) \text{ The man} \\ (c) \end{array} \right\}$   $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{expects of} \\ \text{insists to} \\ \text{expresses regret to} \end{array} \right\}$  the child that

the woman will be looked at by the teacher.

The constituent topic A may be placed between the raised TAP and the predicate of the constituent sentence, and n/a inserted between the topic NP and the predicate. In this order, the construction is ambiguous, the other meaning being that of a modification construction.

(10.115) wa.riwaryan ne in anak a ma.manan manga

nin lala.ki

The man imagines the child to be eating a



mango.

The man imagines the child who is eating a  
mango.

This variation is not investigated further.

#### 10.5.1.7 Deletion of the TAP from the constituent sentence.

After TR has copied the TAP in the matrix sentence, the TAP in the constituent sentence may or may not be erased, depending on certain conditions. Those conditions are set forth here.

##### 10.5.1.7.1 From a topic A.

If the raised TAP was introduced by a topic A in the constituent sentence, deletion of the constituent TAP is optional.

(10.116) wa·riwaryan neŋ ma·magan (yaŋ) manga iŋ anak  
niŋ lala·ki

The man imagines the child to be eating a  
mango.

It was noted earlier, sec. 10.5.1.2, Ex. 10.103, that the constituent TAP must be deleted when TR is applied if the predicate in the matrix sentence is an adjective that has only one case in its case frame. It is here assumed that it is the fact that there is only one case in the case frame of the matrix predicate, and thus no AAP introduced by an A in the matrix sentence, rather than the fact that the matrix predicate is an adjective, that makes deletion

of the constituent TAP obligatory there and optional here.

10.5.1.7.2 After END has applied.

If the raised TAP was introduced by a topic N in the constituent sentence, and if END has applied previously, so that there is neither an AAP nor an A NP in the constituent sentence, the TAP in the constituent sentence is obligatorily erased.

(10.117a) wa·riwaryan neŋ kakanan iŋ manga niŋ anak

(b) \*wa·riwaryan neŋ kakanan ya iŋ manga niŋ anak

The child imagines eating a mango.

This means that the END rule must have the power to change the value of this feature to plus (+) in case it has been assigned the value minus (-) at the time of lexical insertion. The third SC of the END rule makes that change.

10.5.1.7.3 The constituent nontopic A is a pronoun.

If the constituent nontopic A is only a pronoun, the constituent TAP may not be erased. There are two ways in which this condition may come about. 1) It may be only a pronoun following lexical insertion.

(10.118) wa·riwaryan neŋ kakanan  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{me} \\ *mu \\ *ya \\ *\emptyset \end{array} \right\}$  iŋ manga niŋ anak

The child imagines you to be eating the mango.

2) The constituent nontopic A may be identical with some preceding NP, and as a result, it may be deleted following insertion of the constituent TAP, cf., Chapter 7.

(10.119) wa·riwaryan neŋ kakanan  $\left. \begin{array}{l} ne \\ *na \\ *ya \\ *\emptyset \end{array} \right\} inj$  mangga  
 niŋ lala·ki

The man imagines him to be eating the mango.

Ex. 10.119 contains a niŋ-phrase following the verb of the constituent sentence, and it can be construed as attached to that sentence. If it is, then the TAP may be deleted, so that the sentence is grammatical without a TAP in the constituent sentence with the meaning, "He imagines the man to be eating the mango." The TR rule must, then, be able to determine whether or not there is an A NP in the constituent sentence in order to determine whether or not the constituent TAP is deletable.

The topic forms of the verbs in the two sentences impose a limitation on the applicability of TR. This is a matter of such size and significance that a major subsection, 10.5.2, is devoted to it.

#### 10.5.2 The topic forms of the verbs.

The topic forms of the verbs in the matrix and constituent sentences determine the applicability of TR. In the introduction to the study of END it was stated that, by combining the case frames of verbs as they are listed in the lexicon with the case frames they accept in base P-markers into which they can be inserted, there are seventeen different topicalization possibilities for the verbs included in this study. All of these were included in the

discussion of END, along with examples of its applications and conditions on its applicability and discussion of topicalizations from which it does not apply. It is not the case that TR can apply with all seventeen topicalization possibilities. This does not mean that there are gaps, i.e., that there are things one can't express. There may be English sentences which do not have a direct counterpart in Pampangan, but that is a different matter. TR is not obligatory unless END has applied. In the UESP, it is obligatory. A number of verbs are listed in the UESP lexicon with (\*RAIS-OBJ), and a few with (+RAIS-OBJ), but none with (-RAIS-OBJ).<sup>27</sup> For verbs with which it is optional, the optionality is accounted for in the fact that the feature is unspecified in the lexicon. Since no Pampangan verb has been investigated in this study which requires it, or which does not permit it, it would be possible to make the rule optional in this grammar. Because of the possibility that there may be verbs which were not investigated that do not permit it, it is made obligatory, but it is dependent upon two things: 1) The value plus (+) on the feature (TR), though for all verbs investigated, the lexical listing has (\*TR). 2) The SI and other conditions must be met. The topicalization possibilities with which TR does not

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<sup>27</sup>There are some, e.g., 'say', which are (-RAIS-OBJ), "I said that he was wise," \*"I said him to be wise." Presumably, these verbs are assigned the value minus (-) for that feature by an unstated redundancy rule.

apply are conditions on its application, and if the conditions are not met, it does not apply, and the TAP remains in the constituent sentence. The specific limitations that have been discovered are discussed in the subsections below.

In the discussion of END, three categories of NP's in constituent sentences were investigated: 1) Topic A; 2) Nontopic A; 3) Topic N. In this section, a fourth category is included which is logically excluded from the discussion of END. The fourth category is a (-ANIM) topic N. It is excluded because, in the matrix sentence, the N dominates S, and the only other two cases which are included in this study which could trigger END are A and D, both of which are, by definition, (+ANIM), hence, could not be identical with a (-ANIM) constituent N.

In the chart below, only the grammatical and marginally grammatical combinations are listed, along with the section in which they are illustrated. Categories that are excluded, along with the number of the section that gives the reason why they are excluded, are the following: 1) All m-topicalizations, 10.5.2.1; 2) D-topicalizations when both A and D are in the case frame, 10.5.2.2.3; 3) N-topicalization with verbs listed in the lexicon as (+N +A) or (+N +D) when a nontopic D is in the case frame, 10.5.1.4; 4) Constituent nontopic A, 10.5.1.2. There are seventeen matrix sentence topicalization possibilities. There are four constituent sentence AP raising possibilities. Of the

17 X 4 = 68 possible combinations that this provides, the exclusions listed above leave only 15. All involve an N-topicalization in the matrix sentence. There are five of these. All involve raising a topic NP. There are three of these. The raising of a nontopic AAP when the matrix predicate has no case other than N in its case frame is provided for in the rule, but it does not require special discussion here since everything that needs to be said about it is said in sec. 10.5.1.2. For verbs that accept only two cases in their case frames, TR applies freely. For verbs that are listed in the lexicon with the case frame (+N +A +D), TR is a little less natural, but is still grammatical. For verbs with the lexical listing (+N +A) or (+N +D), TR is marginal, but better with a (-ANIM) constituent topic N raised than with one of the others raised.

#### TOPIC RAISING

Accepts case frame	Lexical listing	Section	Topic A	Topic N (+ANIM)	Topic N (-ANIM)
(+N +A -D)	(+N +A -D)	5.2.2.1	Applies	Applies	Applies
(+N -A +D)	(+N -A +D)	5.2.2.2	Applies	Applies	Applies
(+N +A +D)	(+N +A +D)	5.2.2.3.3	Applies	Applies	Applies
(+N +A -D)	(+N +A)	5.2.2.3.1	Marginal	Marginal	Marginal
(+N -A +D)	(+N +D)	5.2.2.3.2	Marginal	Marginal	Marginal

To facilitate the spacing of the rows, the chapter number, 10, is omitted from the section numbers. In the examples used in this section, these general guidelines are followed:

- 1) Every NP in the constituent sentence is distinct from every NP in the matrix sentence. END and TR may both apply to the same structure, cf., sec. 10.5.3, but all NP's are distinct here to isolate TR and avoid confusing it with END.
- 2) A (+COUNT) (+CONG) N is used in the constituent sentence. In the discussion of END, a (-COUNT) N is used, one which thus does not result in the introduction of a TAP in the constituent sentence. With no TAP, the TAP cannot be raised so the discussion of END is not confused with TR. In this section it is TR that is being investigated, so a TAP in the constituent sentence is necessary.
- 3) In discussing and illustrating the conditions under which TR may not apply, not all verbs are used in the examples. One verb from each of the five groups, divided according to the case frame of the verb as it is listed in the lexicon, is included where possible. Where only two cases occur with a matrix verb, sa-up 'help', which has the lexical listing (+N +A +D), assumes that an indefinite D without a lexical head was deleted. This limitation is imposed to avoid burdening the reader with pages of ungrammatical examples.
- 4) Wherever possible, a comparable ungrammaticality is introduced into the English sentence to show how a similar structure might sound in that language. Sometimes the comparable English sentence is grammatical, but this is due to the difference between the grammars of the two languages.

10.5.2.1 The m-topicalization.

If the case in the matrix sentence whose topicalization is correlated with m is topicalized, TR doesn't apply. If the sentence undergoes primary topicalization, TR would result in two TAP's in the matrix sentence, and this would be completely ungrammatical.

1) If a topic A TAP is raised:

(10.120a) \*ma.gba.lak }  
 (b) \*ma.mi.lit }  
 (c) \*si.si.si }  
 (d) \*ma.ma.sa }  
 (e) \*sa.sa.up }

yeŋ maŋan maŋa iŋ anak

iŋ lala.ki

(a) }  
 (b) }  
 (c) \*The man the child }  
 (d) }  
 (e) }

{ plans  
 insists  
 regrets  
 hopes  
 helps }

{ to have eat a

mango.

2) If a (-ANIM) topic N is raised:

(10.121a) \*ma.gba.lak }  
 (b) \*ma.mi.lit }  
 (c) \*si.si.si }  
 (d) \*ma.ma.sa }  
 (e) \*sa.sa.up }

yeŋ kanan na iŋ maŋa niŋ anak

iŋ lala.ki

(a) }  
 (b) }  
 (c) \*The man the mango }  
 (d) }  
 (e) }

{ plans  
 insists  
 regrets  
 hopes  
 helps }

{ to be eaten

by the child.

3) If a (+ANIM) topic N is raised:



(10.122a) \*ma.gba.lak }  
 (b) \*ma.mi.lit }  
 (c) \*si.si.si }  
 (d) \*ma.ma.sa }  
 (e) \*sa.sa.up }

iy lala.ki

(a) } plans  
 (b) } insists  
 (c) \*The man the child } regrets  
 (d) } hopes  
 (e) } helps }

by the woman.

Some of the English sentences sound almost acceptable. The problem in the Pampangan sentence, which the word order in English attempts to convey, is that by raising the topic of the constituent sentence to become the topic of the matrix sentence, it gives the matrix verb two topics, and this is simply unacceptable.

If the sentence undergoes secondary topicalization, the topic NP does not introduce a TAP into the sentence. Without its own TAP, the matrix verb might be thought of as permitting the raising of the TAP of the constituent sentence. It still doesn't because of the logical implication noted above, i.e., that two NP's are simultaneously the topic of the same verb. Only one of the constituent topics is illustrated, the raising of A, but the same limitation applies to the others also.

(10.123a) }  
 (b) }  
 (c) \*iy lala.ki iy }  
 (d) }  
 (e) }  
 iy anak }

- |                                 |                                   |   |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| (a)<br>(b)<br>(c)<br>(d)<br>(e) | *The man is the one the child who | { plans<br>insists<br>regrets<br>hopes<br>helps       } |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
- to eat a mango.

10.5.2.2 The N-topicalization.

10.5.2.2.1 Verbs with the lexical listing (+N +A -D).

1) If a topic A is raised:

- (10.124a) babala·kan } neŋ maŋan maŋga iŋ anak  
 (b) susubu·kan }  
 niŋ lala·ki

- (a) The man is {planning } to have the child eat  
 (b) {trying } a mango.

- (c) susundu neŋ ma·maŋan maŋga iŋ anak niŋ  
 lala·ki  
 The man is continuing to have the child eat  
 a mango.

2) If a (-ANIM) topic N is raised:

- (10.125a) babala·kan } neŋ kanan na iŋ maŋga niŋ anak  
 (b) susubu·kan }  
 niŋ lala·ki

- (a) The man is {planning } to have the child eat  
 (b) {trying } the mango.

- (c) susundu neŋ kakanan na iŋ maŋga niŋ anak  
 niŋ lala·ki  
 The man is continuing to have the child eat  
 the mango.

3) If a (+ANIM) topic N is raised:

(10.126a) babala·kan }  
 (b) susubu·kan } neŋ lawan na inŋ anak niŋ baba·2i

niŋ lala·ki

(a) The man is {planning } to have the child  
 (b) {trying }

looked at by the woman.

(c) susundu neŋ lalawan na inŋ anak niŋ baba·2i

niŋ lala·ki

The man is continuing to have the child

looked at by the woman.

10.5.2.2.2 Verbs with the lexical listing (+N -A +D).

1) If a topic A is raised:

(10.127a) a·sa·han }  
 (b) buri }  
 (c) pa·niwalan } neŋ maŋan  
 (d) i·si·pan }  
 (e) a·lub na }  
 (f) a·pipirmi } manga inŋ anak  
 (g) wa·riwaryan }  
 (h) a·ka·kit } neŋ ma·maŋan } niŋ lala·ki  
 (i) a·gaganaka }  
 (j) a·tatanda·nan }

(a) hopes the child will eat  
 (b) wants the child to eat  
 (c) believes } the child will eat  
 (d) thinks }  
 (e) The man } is anxious for the child to eat  
 (f) } is certain the child will eat  
 (g) } imagines the child eating  
 (h) } sees the child eating  
 (i) } remembers the child eating  
 (j) } remembers the child eating

a mango.

2) If a (-ANIM) topic N is raised:

- (10.128a) a.sa.han }  
 (b) buri }  
 (c) pa.niwalan } neŋ kanan  
 (d) i.si.pan }  
 (e) a.lub na }  
 (f) a.pipirmi }  
 (g) wa.riwaryan }  
 (h) a.ka.kit } neŋ kakanan  
 (i) a.gaganaka }  
 (j) a.tatanda.nan }
- na inŋ manga niŋ  
 anak niŋ lala.ki

- (a) hopes the child will eat  
 (b) wants the child to eat  
 (c) believes } the child will eat  
 (d) thinks }  
 (e) The man } is anxious for the child to eat  
 (f) } is certain the child will eat  
 (g) imagines }  
 (h) sees } the child eating  
 (i) remembers }  
 (j) remembers }

the mango.

3) If a (+ANIM) topic N is raised:

- (10.129a) a.sa.han }  
 (b) buri }  
 (c) pa.niwalan } neŋ lawan  
 (d) i.si.pan }  
 (e) a.lub na }  
 (f) a.pipirmi }  
 (g) wa.riwaryan }  
 (h) a.ka.kit } neŋ lalawan  
 (i) a.gaganaka }  
 (j) a.tatanda.nan }
- na inŋ anak niŋ  
 baba.2i niŋ  
 lala.ki

- (a) hopes the child will be  
 (b) wants the child to be  
 (c) believes } the child will be  
 (d) thinks }  
 (e) The man } is anxious for the child to be  
 (f) } is certain the child will be  
 (g) imagines }  
 (h) sees } the child being  
 (i) remembers }  
 (j) remembers }

looked at by the woman.

### 10.5.2.2.3 Verbs that accept three cases.

Verbs that accept three cases in their case frames create a special problem. It has been noted in several places previously that these verbs definitely prefer to topicalize the D case when it is present in the case frame. If that case is topicalized, then the same limitation would be present as when the matrix verb is in the m-topicalization form, i.e., TR cannot apply because it would result in two TAP's in the matrix sentence, and that would be ungrammatical. Thus, TR can apply only if the matrix verb is in the N-case-topicalization form, but that topicalization is not the preferred one. If it does apply, the output is a string of formatives which is exactly the same as the string that occurs when the D case is present in the matrix sentence and is topicalized. The surface structure is in fact, then, ambiguous, corresponding to two different deep structures. The string consists of the following forms:

matrix	matrix	TAP	LKR	constituent	const.	topic	matrix
verb	AAP		verb		N	NP	A

pa·na·yan na ya -ŋ maqan manga in anak nin lal.

The two sources of this surface structure, and the methods of deriving it from them, are as follows: 1) The topic NP is generated under the A node in the constituent sentence, topicalized, the TAP is inserted, and then the TAP is raised into the matrix sentence. 2) The topic NP is generated under the D node in the matrix sentence, and END is applied to delete an identical constituent sentence NP.

If a verb accepts only two cases in its case frame in the deep structure, then, when a TAP appears in the surface structure following such a verb when it is in the NT form and its N case has been rewritten as S, it is obvious that the TAP was placed there by TR. If a verb can accept three cases in its case frame in the deep structure, then, when a TAP appears in the surface structure following such a verb, the preference of the verb for the topicalization of the D case leads to construing that TAP as having been introduced by a D in the matrix sentence rather than having been introduced in the constituent sentence and raised by TR, i.e., that it arises from the second of the two sources just described rather than the first.

At the beginning of this section, we used two sentences as examples, one to which TR had not applied, and so the TAP is still in the constituent sentence, and one to which TR had applied, so that the TAP is in the matrix sentence. Because transformations do not affect meaning, the sentences mean the same thing. They are repeated here for convenience.

(10.94) wa·riwaryan na iŋ ma·magan yaŋ manga iŋ anak  
niŋ lala·ki  
The man imagines that the child is eating a  
mango.

(10.95) wa·riwaryan neŋ ma·magan manga iŋ anak niŋ  
lala·ki

The man imagines the child to be eating a mango.

If we find two sentences which are parallel to these two sentences in the sequence of formatives, i.e., they differ from one another in the same way that these differ from one another in the surface structure sequence of elements, and yet are different in meaning, then we must conclude that they are not parallel to the above two sentences in their deep structures, i.e., that they come from different deep structures, whereas the above two sentences come from the same deep structure. If they arise from different deep structures, then presumably, a different rule has applied to derive the surface structure order of elements. We do, in fact, find such pairs of sentences, and their existence is the basis for claiming that the sentence with the TAP in the constituent sentence arises from a deep structure with two cases in the matrix sentence and the TAP introduced in the constituent sentence; and the sentence with the TAP in the matrix sentence, which has a different meaning, arises from a deep structure with three cases in the matrix sentence, one of which is a D which is topicalized. The fact that the NT and DT forms of the verb are identical with some verbs allows the surface form of the two sentences to be identical. With some verbs, the NT and DT forms are different, at least in some aspects, so that the surface form of the verb is different with one

structure and meaning from what it is with the other structure and meaning in that aspect or those aspects.

(10.130a) pipi·lit } na in manan yan manga in anak  
(b) pini·lit }  
niny lala·ki

(a) The man {insists } that the child eat a mango.  
(b) The man {insisted }

(10.131a) pipili·tan } ney manan manga in anak niny  
(b) pini·lit }  
lala·ki

(a) The man {is } persuading the child to eat a  
(b) The man {was }  
mango.

In the above examples, The NT and DT forms are distinct in the imperfective aspect, but not in the perfective. The important point is that Ex's. 10.95 and 10.131 have the same sequence of formatives, but the fact that they do not respectively bear the same meaning relations to Ex's. 10.94 and 10.130 is taken as evidence that Ex's. 10.130 and 10.131 are derived from different deep structures. It is here claimed that Ex. 10.131 is derived from a deep structure in which a D is generated in the matrix sentence, which is topicalized, and an identical NP, the topic A of the constituent sentence, is deleted by END. The problem of determining where the topic NP was generated is complicated by the fact that, of the four verbs that have been included here that accept all three cases in their case frames, only two make a distinction between the NT and the DT forms,



which makes it more difficult to determine whether an N or a D is being topicalized with verbs that do not make a distinction between the two topicalization forms. The two that make a distinction are: pi·lit 'insist, persuade', NT pipi·lit, DT pipili·tan; sa·up 'help', NT sasa·up, DT sasau·pan. (The forms just given are imperfectives). The other two do not distinguish between NT and DT forms: pana·yan 'expect'; sisyan 'regret, blame'. The different topic forms for NT and DT with sa·up and pi·lit justify claiming that they accept three different cases in their case frames. The different translations correlated with the different topic forms and/or different case topicalizations justifies the claim that pi·lit and si·si have three cases in their case frames. But pana·yan makes no distinction between the two topic forms, and both topic forms are translated as 'expect'. On what basis are we justified in claiming that pana·yan has the lexical listing (+N +A) and not (+N +A -D)? The answer is found in semantics. In establishing this claim, we assume that transformations do not affect meaning. A difference in meaning between pipi·lit and pipili·tan is illustrated above in Ex's. 10.130 and 10.131, and the two forms occur in two different sentence structures. A similar difference in meaning exists between the same two sentences when pa·na·yan is used in both, though of a lesser degree.

(10.132) pa·na·yan na in manan yan manga in anak nin  
lala·ki

The man expects { the child to eat a  
that the child will eat a  
mango.

(10.133) pa·na·yan ney manan manga in anak nin lala·ki

The man expects { the child to eat a mango.  
eating a mango of the child.

Since these two sentences have different meanings, then it must be the case that, as for pi.lit, they arise from different deep structures, the first being one without a matrix D, to which TR might apply but hasn't, and the second being one with a matrix D to which END has applied to delete a constituent topic A. Of course, the possibility cannot be ruled out that Ex. 10.133 is ambiguous, and it is only the preference of pana·yan for a dative topic that makes this ambiguity elusive.

It is worth noting in passing that the UESP claims (UESP, pg. 860-1) that, "I expect him to go," is ambiguous in its derivation between, "I expect (he SJC go)," with raising of the subject of the embedded sentence to object in the matrix sentence, and, "I expect (he SJC go) of him," with END of the subject of the embedded sentence by the dative NP, and then raising of the D to object. The sample lexicon lists two verbs 'expect' (UESP, pg. 981), one with an optional D with END, and the other with (-D) and (\*RAIS-OBJ) to correlate with this difference. The Pampangan verb pana·yan 'expect, wait for' is very similar to this.

If a verb that accepts all three cases in its case frame allows TR at all, it must be with its NT form. As noted above, TR with a matrix DT verb would be blocked just as it is with an AT matrix verb, and for the same reason. The reader is not burdened here with ungrammatical examples. If the raised TAP is a (-ANIM) topic N, it is obviously not a matrix D, and the interpretation of the topic NP and TAP as raised from the constituent sentence is more likely, at least with (+N +A) verbs.

10.5.2.2.3.1 Verbs with the lexical listing (+N +A).

1) If a topic A is raised:

- (10.134a) pa.na.yan } neŋ manan manga iŋ anak niŋ lala.ki  
 (b) pipi.lit }
- (a) The man {expects the child to  
 (b) insists that the child} eat a mango.

For reasons discussed above, the informant corrected Ex. 10.134b by substituting pipili.tan, but after discussion did accept pipi.lit as grammatical and possible, though unlikely. If secondary topicalization is applied to the N, then the constituent sentence is no longer dominated by the S node that dominates the matrix verb, and that destroys the environment in which TR might apply. Thus, this construction, if it exists, is marginal. The same problem exists with a (+ANIM) topic N.

2) If a (-ANIM) topic N is raised:

- (10.135a) pa.na.yan } neŋ kanan na iŋ manga niŋ anak  
 (b) pipi.lit }
- niŋ lala.ki

(a) The man { expects the mango to be } eaten  
 (b) { insists that the mango be }  
 by the child.

3) If a (+ANIM) topic N is raised:

(10.136a) pa·na·yan } neŋ lawan na iŋ anak niŋ lala·ki  
 (b) pipi·lit }  
 niŋ baba·2i

(a) The woman { expects the child to be } looked  
 (b) { insists that the child be }  
 at by the man.

10.5.2.2.3.2 Verbs with the lexical listing (+N +D).

The same problem exists with these verbs that exists with the (+N +A) verbs, only moreso. The interpretation of the TAP in the matrix sentence as having been generated in the constituent sentence is very unlikely.

1) If a topic A is raised:

(10.137) sisisyan neŋ meŋan manga iŋ anak niŋ lala·ki  
 The man blames the child for eating a mango.  
 ??The man regrets the child's eating a mango.

2) If a (-ANIM) topic N is raised:

(10.138) sisisyan neŋ kanan na iŋ manga niŋ anak niŋ  
 lala·ki  
 The man regrets the mango's being eaten by  
 the child.

The informant corrected this example by reversing TR, but after reflection, considered it as possibly grammatical.

3) If a (+ANIM) topic N is raised:

(10.139) sisisyan neŋ lina·we na iŋ anak niŋ lala·ki

nij baba·2i

The woman blames the child for } being seen  
??The woman regrets the child's }  
by the man.

The meaning 'regret' is more probable here if the constituent sentence has ne, thus lending weight to the interpretation in which the TAP is introduced first in the constituent sentence and is raised, but not deleted from, the constituent sentence.

#### 10.5.2.2.3.3 Verbs with the lexical listing (+N +A +D).

The same problem exists for these verbs as for those discussed in the preceding two subsections, i.e., the preference for a D topic, but not as much so. The verbs in this class apparently allow TR more freely than the verbs in those two classes. The one verb used in this study with the case frame (+N +A +D) makes a distinction between the NT and DT forms, which makes it easier to interpret the TAP in the matrix sentence as having been generated in the constituent sentence.

1) If a topic A is raised:

(10.140) sasa·up neŋ maŋan maŋga iŋ anak kiŋ baba·2i  
nij lala·ki

The man is helping the woman by having  
The man's help to the woman is for  
the child (to) eat a mango.

2) If a (-ANIM) topic N is raised:

(10.141) sasa·up neŋ kanan na iŋ maŋga nij anak

kiŋ baba·2i niŋ lala·ki

The man is helping the woman by having  
The man's help to the woman is for

the child (to) eat the mango.

3) If a (+ANIM) topic N is raised:

(10.142) sasa·up neŋ lawan na iŋ anak niŋ baba·2i

kiŋ mest्रो niŋ lala·ki

The man is helping the teacher by having  
The man's help to the teacher is for

the child (to) be looked at by the woman.

Before formulating the rule, there is a question to which some attention must be given: Does TR raise the topic NP and attach it to the matrix S before insertion of the TAP, or does it simply raise the TAP after its insertion? In favor of the first alternative is the fact that NP's which appear to have been generated as nontopic constituent A's in the deep structure may appear in the surface structure with the TRM and introduce a TAP, instead of appearing with the ARM and/or introducing an AAP, cf., sec. 10.5.1.2, Ex. 10.104 and 10.105. In favor of the second alternative, i.e., claiming that the TAP is raised after its insertion is the fact that the TAP may occur in both sentences, cf., sec. 10.5.1.7.1, Ex. 10.116. This fact can be accounted for simply if the TAP is raised after its introduction by making deletion of the constituent TAP dependent upon the presence of the constituent A NP or the previous application of END. However, if the topic NP is

raised before the introduction of the TAP, and is attached to the matrix S, then the occurrence of the TAP in the constituent sentence is difficult to account for. If we claim that topic raising copies the topic NP in the matrix sentence and leaves it in the constituent sentence as well, then accounting for the presence/absence of the TAP in the constituent sentence becomes quite complicated. The argument in favor of the second of these two alternatives is considered to be the stronger. There may be some other explanation of the presence of topic forms in the matrix sentence of Ex's. 10.104 and 10.105, but none has been discovered. As written, the rule requires a special SC to provide for them. Since TR is considered as raising only the AP's, and the rules that introduce the AP's are last-cyclic, TR must also be last-cyclic, following those rules. The rule for topic raising may be stated as follows:

$$SI: S \begin{matrix} V \\ (X \text{ NT } X \text{ ADJ} \quad (AAP) \quad N \begin{matrix} (NRM \quad X \quad (AAP) \quad TAP \quad X \quad (A) \quad X) \quad X \\ DS \\ (+TR) \\ (+TOP) \end{matrix} \end{matrix}$$

1            2            3            4            5            6

Conditions: 1. If 2 and/or 4 has the feature(s) (+I) and/or (+II), then  $2 \neq 4$ .  
 2. Optional, unless  $4 = \emptyset$ .

SC: 1. If  $2 = \emptyset$ ,  $5 = \emptyset$ , and  $1 = DS$ , attach TAP as right sister of 1, and add the feature (+TOP) to 6.  
 2. If  $2 \neq \emptyset$ , attach 5 as right sister of 2.  
 3. If  $2 = \emptyset$ , attach 5 as right sister of 1.  
 4. Erase original 5:  
 a. If  $4 = \emptyset$ , and  $6 = \emptyset$ , obligatory.  
 b. If  $6 \neq \emptyset$ , optional.  
 5. If  $2 = \emptyset$ , attach 4 as right sister of 1. Optional.  
 6. Replace 3 with LKR.

7. If SC 1 or 5 has applied, erase (original) 3.

Discussion of the rule:

- 1) This rule combines three rules into one: a) The rule that raises the TAP, b) The rule that raises the AAP if the TAP has already been raised, c) The rule that raises the AAP to become a TAP following a DS predicate. If the rules were stated separately, the SI would be somewhat simpler, and the SC's would be distributed among the three rules. The rules are not stated separately here. They are combined because they perform the same general operation, and the rule is not too complicated in this form.
- 2) The first condition must be stated as it is because of the inability of this model to include referential identity. As noted in sec. 10.5.1.4, 2 may be identical with 4 only if both are third person, and then they are interpreted as non-coreferential if TR applies, and as coreferential if it doesn't. The options are indicated in the special condition which makes the rule optional unless  $4 = \phi$ . If  $4 = \phi$ , it is because END has applied, and if it has, TR is obligatory, cf., sec. 10.5.1.7.2.
- 3) The first SC is the one which raises a nontopic AAP to become a TAP in the matrix sentence. More precisely, it introduces a TAP into the matrix sentence, and a later SC erases the AAP. This SC also adds the feature (+TOP) to the A. This treatment is admittedly ad hoc, but, as noted earlier, no other solution has been discovered, and this



is the undesirable but unavoidable consequence of the decision to make the rule raise only the AP's. This SC is placed first because one of its conditions is that  $5 = \emptyset$ . If it is placed after SC 4, which deletes 5, then it will apply where it should not. If it were a separate rule, it would not be a problem.

4) The second and third SC's raise the TAP and attach it in the proper place in the matrix sentence depending on the presence/absence of the AAP there.

5) The condition on SC 4a is the condition that exists when END has applied, cf., sec. 10.5.1.7.2.

6) The condition on SC 4b is the condition that exists when the constituent sentence contains a topic A, sec. 10.5.1.7.1, and when it contains a topic N, and END has not applied, sec. 10.5.1.7.3.

7) SC 5 raises a nontopic AAP if the matrix sentence does not have an AAP, cf., sec. 10.5.1.2.

8) SC 6 replaces the TRM with the linker, cf., sec. 10.5.0.1.

9) SC 7 erases the constituent AAP if it has been raised to the matrix sentence by either of two SC's. It must be stated in a general manner because, as noted above, this rule combines three rules, and the two methods of raising it would be in two different rules if the rules were separated, and the AP in the matrix sentence which replaces it is introduced by two different methods.

### 10.5.3 TR in relation to END.

In all of the examples discussed so far, END and TR have been separated, i.e., the examples have been constructed in such a way that one or the other, but not both, would apply. We now consider the possibility of both rules applying to the same structure.

There are six combinations of matrix and constituent topic forms that freely result in TR: (+N +A -D) and (+N -A +D) verbs with constituent topic A, (-ANIM) topic N, and (+ANIM) topic N. There are three combinations that result in TR, but not quite so freely: (+N +A +D) matrix verbs with the three constituent topic forms listed above. There are six combinations that marginally allow TR: (+N +A) and (+N +D) verbs with the three constituent topic forms listed above. All require NT in the matrix sentence. Of these fifteen combinations, five are logically excluded here. They are the ones with a constituent topic A with all five types of matrix verbs. The reason they are excluded is this: If a constituent topic A is identical with a matrix A or D, it is deleted by END, not raised by TR, cf., secs. 10.4.2.1.1 and 10.4.2.2.1. Both rules can apply only if END applies to a constituent nontopic A, and TR applies to a constituent (+ANIM) or (-ANIM) topic N. If the matrix sentence has three cases, and the identical NP in the constituent sentence is a nontopic A, END does not apply, cf., sec. 10.4.2.3 Thus, if a constituent sentence

to which TR has applied is also without an AAP, and the matrix verb is one that can accept three cases in its case frame, the constituent sentence is construed as having an unspecified A.

(10.143a) pa·na·yan }  
 (b) pipi·lit } nen kanan in mangga nin anak  
 (c) sisisyan }  
 (d) ?sasa·up }

(a) }  
 (b) } The child { expects  
 (c) } { insists  
 (d) } { regrets  
 { ?helps } that the mango will be  
 eaten.

The same thing is true with a (+ANIM) topic N in the constituent sentence, though that is not illustrated here. This eliminates six of the ten remaining possibilities.

The four that remain are matrix verbs with the case frame (+N +A -D) and (+N -A +D) with a (+ANIM) and (-ANIM) topic N in the constituent sentence. It is noted above, sec., 10.4.2, that when this pattern exists, the structure to which END has not applied is preferred to the one to which it has applied, but that, since the structure to which it has applied is grammatical, it is generated. It is necessary to generate it because it is the only structure to which TR can also apply to produce the examples given below which are fully grammatical. For reasons which are given following the statement of the rule, TR must follow END. Since the END rule cannot know in advance whether or not TR will apply, it must be the case that the output

of END is grammatical whether TR is applied later or not.

10.5.3.1 Verbs with the lexical listing (+N +A -D).

1) If an identical nontopic A is deleted, and a constituent (-ANIM) topic N is raised:

- (10.144a) babala·kan } neŋ kanan iŋ manga niŋ anak  
(b) susubu·kan }
- (a) The child is {planning } to eat the mango.  
(b) The child is {trying }
- (c) susundu neŋ kakanan iŋ manga niŋ anak  
The child is continuing to eat the mango.

In all of these examples, the topic of the constituent sentence is now the topic of the matrix sentence. If the translation were to attempt to reflect that fact more directly, it would mean, e.g., that Ex. 10.144a would be translated as something like, "The mango is being planned to be eaten by the child," and so for the other examples.

2) If an identical nontopic A is deleted, and a constituent (+ANIM) topic N is raised:

- (10.145a) babala·kan } neŋ lawan iŋ anak niŋ lala·ki  
(b) susubu·kan }
- (a) The man is {planning } to look at the child.  
(b) The man is {trying }
- (c) susundu neŋ lalawan iŋ anak niŋ lala·ki  
The man is continuing to look at the child.

10.5.3.2 Verbs with the lexical listing (+N -A +D).

1) If an identical nontopic A is deleted, and a constituent (-ANIM) topic N is raised:

- (10.146a) a.sa.han  
 (b) buri  
 (c) pa.niwalan  
 (d) i.si.pan  
 (e) a.lub na  
 (f) a.pipirmi  
 (g) wa.riwaryan  
 (h) a.ka.kit  
 (i) a.gaganaka  
 (j) a.tatanda.nan
- neŋ kanan  
 neŋ kakanan  
 in manga nin anak
- (a) hopes  
 (b) wants } to eat  
 (c) believes  
 (d) thinks } that he will eat  
 (e) The child } is anxious to eat  
 (f) is certain of }  
 (g) imagines } eating  
 (h) sees himself }  
 (i) remembers to eat  
 (j) remembers eating
- the  
 mango.

2) If an identical nontopic A is deleted, and a constituent (+ANIM) topic N is raised:

- (10.147a) a.sa.han  
 (b) buri  
 (c) pa.niwalan  
 (d) i.si.pan  
 (e) a.lub na  
 (f) a.pipirmi  
 (g) wa.riwaryan  
 (h) a.ka.kit  
 (i) a.gaganaka  
 (j) a.tatanda.nan
- neŋ lawan  
 neŋ lalawan  
 in anak nin lala.ki
- (a) hopes  
 (b) wants } to look  
 (c) believes  
 (d) thinks } that he will look  
 (e) The man } is anxious to look  
 (f) is certain of }  
 (g) imagines } looking  
 (h) sees himself }  
 (i) remembers to look  
 (j) remembers looking
- at the child.

In closing, a word must be said about the order of application of rules, END, TR, and two others. The two rules that we have just discussed, END and TR, are applied in that order, and the argument for doing so, and for applying the other two rules in a certain order is given here.

Topicalization must come first. END must be able to determine whether a given CRM has the symbol (+TOP) attached to it in order to know whether to apply to the NP of that case node or not.

END must apply before the rule that introduces the TAP or be rewritten to provide for deleting both the NP and the TAP. The rule could be written to do that, but it is not so written here. As written, END deletes the NP before the introduction of the TAP so that no trace is left of the NP node in the tree. Since END is applied in the cycle of the matrix sentence, if pronominalization applies to insert the AP's in the constituent sentence after END has applied, then it must be the case that AP insertion is last-cyclic. If the constituent NP is identical with a matrix NP, and END is not applied, then pronominalization introduces an AP and then deletes the NP because of identity with the preceding NP, leaving the AP as a pronoun.

Pronominalization must precede TR because, as noted above, TR attaches the AP's introduced into the constituent sentence to the matrix sentence, and obviously it can't reattach something that hasn't been introduced.

TR must be last for the reason just given.

If the rules were written differently, some variations in the order would be possible. Topicalization must be first for the reason given. TR must follow END because TR is obligatory if END is applied. If TR were written to raise the whole NP, it could precede introduction of the AP's. If END were written to delete both the NP and the AP, pronominalization could precede it, and all rules could be cyclic.

#### 10.6 Aspect.

##### 10.6.0 Introduction.

The aspect form of the verb in the constituent sentence may be restricted by the aspect and meaning of the verb in the matrix sentence, but there is no restriction on the form of the verb in the constituent sentence due to the application of END or TR.

The position taken in the UESP (UESP, pg. 572), which is based on a paper by P. and C. Kiparsky (Kiparsky, 1968), is that the absence of tense from a constituent sentence, always marked by 'to', unless (+TC DEL) has applied, is due to the fact that the verb has not undergone agreement with a subject. This in turn results from the removal of the subject from the constituent sentence either by END or by raising it to subject or object in the matrix sentence, or from its being marked with an oblique surface

case because of being in construction with a preposition, e.g., 'for' with (+EMOT) verbs.

None of these factors has been found to be relevant in Pampangan. Because the TAP's must occur after full words, they may not occur after prepositions/CRM's which are not full words, so the last mentioned condition does not arise. Neither END nor TR has been found to have any effect on the aspect of the verb in the constituent sentence. Any aspect marker which may occur on a verb in a constituent sentence when its TAP is present may also occur when it is absent, whether its absence is a result of END or TR. It must, then, be the case that the transformation which attaches T(topic) and ASP(ect) to the verb are applied before END and TR, and that any limitation on the aspect forms in the constituent sentence is the result of some factor other than the removal of the topic from that sentence.

There are some verbs, which, when used in the matrix sentence, are frequently followed in the constituent sentence by a verb in the potential form. The potential form of the verb is used as the infinitive, imperative, and future. This is the case for all verbs investigated so far. There is thus no way of proving that a given form is one and not the other, e.g., that it is the infinitive form and not the future. It is assumed here that it is the future aspect for the following reasons: 1) In all instances



Investigated so far, an imperfective verb may be substituted with a corresponding change in meaning to, 'do it several times.' 2) Any limitations that exist on the form of the verb in the constituent sentence are present before the application of END and/or TR, so they must be there for some other reason. 3) Since there are verbs that require a perfective aspect in the constituent sentence, it must be the case that the requirement imposed by the verb in the matrix sentence is an aspect requirement, not a requirement that there be no aspect on the verb. 4) The nature of the aspect requirement of the verb in the matrix sentence is semantic, i.e., if a given verb in a matrix sentence is regularly followed by a future verb form in the constituent sentence (except that an imperfective verb may be used to indicate repeated action), it is because the action of the verb in the constituent sentence follows that of the verb in the matrix sentence. The general indication of the aspect form of the verb in the constituent sentence is as follows: a) Future: Action not begun at the time of the action of the verb in the matrix sentence. b) Imperfective: Action going on at the time of the action of the verb in the matrix sentence, or repeated action. c) Perfective: Action completed at the time of the action of the verb in the matrix sentence, or at the time the sentence is spoken. The fact that the aspect of the verb in the constituent sentence conveys the meaning(s) indicated above is the

factor which determines the limitation on the aspect of the verb in the constituent sentence in relation to the verb in the matrix sentence.

This factor is not investigated in depth in this study. Occasionally the informant has expressed a preference for a certain aspect in a given example, and these preferences are generally followed in the examples in the other sections of this chapter. A significant problem is that the expressed preference has not always been the same. Not all verbs and possibilities have been investigated. Only a general outline and a few examples and suggestions are presented here.

#### 10.6.1 Verbs that require an imperfective.

Only two verbs have been discovered which require an imperfective, sundu 'continue', and pagumpisan 'begin'. Some other verbs, e.g., a·kit 'see', and wariwaryan 'imagine' prefer it.

- (10.148a) 

sundu	}	ku in	{	*magobra	}	(ku)
(b) susundu				ma·gobra		
(c) sindu				*megobra		
- |                     |   |          |
|---------------------|---|----------|
| (a) I will continue | } | working. |
| (b) I am continuing |   |          |
| (c) I continued     |   |          |

#### 10.6.2 Verbs that require a subsequent action.

The lexical meaning of some verbs requires that the action of the verb in the constituent sentence follow the action of the verb in the matrix sentence. Because the

imperfective can mean repeated action, it can be used with a constituent sentence verb when the matrix sentence verb would otherwise require a future aspect verb. Also, since the requirement is simply that the action of the verb in the constituent sentence follow that of the verb in the matrix sentence, both verbs may be in the perfective form if both actions are completed at the time the sentence is spoken.

(10.149a) bala·kan } ku in { magobra  
 (b) babala·kan } { ma·gobra  
 \*megobra } (ku)

(a) I will plan } { to work.  
 (b) I am planning } { to work several times.  
 \*that I worked.

(c) bina·lak ku in { magobra  
 ma·gobra } (ku)  
 megobra }

I planned { to work.  
 to work several times.  
 to work (and I did).

A similar pattern of limitations exists for the following verbs as discovered so far: asa·han 'hope', pili·tan 'persuade', pana·yan 'expect, wait for', a·lub 'anxious', ganakan 'remember (to)'.

Cutting across this limitation is the notion of what the speaker might reasonably be expected to know. Thus, whereas he would not ordinarily say, "I hope that I left," he might reasonably say, "I hope that (it is the case that) he left." Also, whereas he would not say, \*"I remember to left," a·gaganaka ku in meko is possible with the meaning, "I remember that I was supposed to leave."

### 10.6.3 Verbs with a simultaneous or antecedent action.

The lexical meaning of a verb may require that the action of the verb in the constituent sentence not be later than the action of the verb in the matrix sentence, and antecedent action is more likely. The only verb used in this study that has been found to have that requirement is si·si 'blame' when it has both A and D in its case frame.

(10.150a) sisyan ken  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{mako} \\ \text{ma·mako} \\ \text{meko} \end{array} \right\}$  in anak

I will blame the child for leaving.

(b) sisisyan ken  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *mako \\ \text{ma·mako} \\ \text{meko} \end{array} \right\}$  in anak

I blame the child for leaving.

(c) sinisyan ken  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *mako \\ *ma·mako \\ \text{meko} \end{array} \right\}$  in anak

I blamed the child for leaving.

END has applied in these sentences to delete the topic of the constituent sentence from the D in the matrix sentence. Because si·si also allows TR, the starred examples are also grammatical with the meaning, "I regret that the child will leave," for b, and similarly for c. In this case, however, the verb would have only N and D in its case frame, not A.

### 10.6.4 Verbs that require a simultaneous action.

The lexical meaning of some verbs requires that the action of the verb in the constituent sentence be going on at the same time as the action of the verb in the matrix

sentence. Three verbs have been discovered with this limitation: su·buk 'try', sa·up 'help', a·kit 'see'.

(10.151a) sau·pan kej { magobra  
\*ma·gobra  
\*megobra

I will help him (when he will) work.

(b) sasau·pan kej { \*magobra  
ma·gobra  
\*magobra  
(c) sinau·pan kej { \*magobra  
\*ma·gobra<sub>e</sub> does) work.  
megobra  
(c) sinau·pan kej { \*magobra  
\*ma·gobra  
megobra

I helped him (when he did) work.

#### 10.6.5 Verbs that have no aspect requirement.

There are some verbs which apparently impose no limitation on the aspect of the verb in the constituent sentence. They are: paniwalan 'believe', isi·pan 'think', and pirmi 'certain'.

(10.151a) paniwalan } ku in { mako  
(b) pa·niwalan } ma·mako } ya  
(c) peniwalan } meko }

{ (a) I will believe } that he { will leave.  
(b) I believe } is leaving.  
(c) I believed } left.

No rule is required for this section. Any limitation can be registered in the lexicon in the form of a feature on the verb that appears in the matrix sentence. For any aspect that may not occur on the verb in the constituent sentence with a given verb in the matrix sentence, it can be marked minus (-) for that aspect with the matrix

sentence verb, e.g., (-PERF)ective, which is to be interpreted as an abbreviation of  $(-\mathbb{N}(\text{NRM}_{\text{NP}}(\text{S}(\text{X}(+\text{PERF})\text{X}))))$ , i.e., that it may not be the case that the aspect in a sentence dominated by the N in the case frame of that verb is (+PERF).

### 10.7 Reflexives.

Very few of the verbs used in this study have, as their English translation equivalents, verbs that would use a reflexive form. One, which has a D in its case frame, and requires identity between the D and some NP in the constituent sentence, is pi.li.t, which we have translated as 'insist on, persuade', but which might also have been translated as 'force', e.g., "He forced himself to eat a mango." A marginal one is sa<sup>3a</sup> } \*He believes  
 (b) \*He thinks } himself  
 (c) \*He imagines }  
 (d) \*He considers }  
 (e) \*He expects }

Others, A in the case frame, but which may

Subject-to-Object) applied to them are: 'believe, think, imagine, consider', and marginally, 'expect'.

- (10.152a) He believes }  
 (2a) He believes }  
 (b) He thinks } himself to be { intelligent.  
 (c) He imagines } a great linguist.  
 (d) He considers } doing well.  
 (e) He expects }

Generally, even these seem to require some form of 'be' in the constituent sentence as shown by the following:

- (10.153a) \*He believes }  
 (b) \*He thinks } himself { working.  
 (c) \*He imagines } to work.  
 (d) \*He considers }  
 (e) \*He expects }

A few of the starred combinations may be possible. "He imagines/considers himself working," and "He expects himself to work," sound pretty good. With the first of these, there appears to this writer to be an obvious 'to be' deletion. In general, it can be said that, after the rule has raised the subject of the constituent sentence to the position of object in the matrix sentence, the normal reflexive rule applies to produce a reflexive surface form.

In Pampangan, however, none of the above sentences would include a reflexive form. Even pi·lit, which, as noted earlier, may mean 'persuade, force' when it has a D in its case frame, does not take a reflexive form, so that

(10.154) pini·lit ku in mako ku

may mean either, "I insisted on leaving," or "I forced myself to leave."

A reflexive form may be used in a sentence with pi·lit, but the meaning shows that the reflexive NP was generated under a case node in the matrix sentence, not in the constituent sentence, and that that case is probably Di.

(10.155) pini·lit ku { kin sari·li ku in mako ku  
in mako ku kin sari·li ku

I insisted to myself that I would leave.

An identical NP that may have been generated as part of the constituent sentence may have a reflexive form, but the translation shows it's still part of the embedded sentence.

(10.156) pini·lit ku in sari·li ku mako ku

I insisted on leaving by myself.

#### 10.8 Factivity.

Factivity in Pampangan is apparently only semantic.

(10.157) a·tatanda·nan ku iŋ meko

I remember leaving.

(10.158) eku a·tatanda·nan iŋ meko

I don't remember leaving.

(10.159) a·ganaka ku iŋ meko

I remembered to leave.

(10.160) eku a·ganaka iŋ meko

I didn't remember to leave.

In accordance with what is said in the UESP (following the Kiparskys) about factivity, the constituent sentence, "I left," is assumed to be true both in the affirmative sentence, Ex. 10.157, and in the negative sentence, Ex. 10.158. On the other hand, the constituent sentence, "I left," is assumed to be true in the affirmative sentence, Ex. 10.159, but not in the negative sentence, Ex. 10.160. Thus, a·tanda·nan is said to be (+FACT), and a·ganaka is said to be (-FACT).

The analysis in the UESP is that there are two verbs 'remember'. The one corresponding to a·ganaka has the feature (-FACT) and optionally (+S), i.e., the N NP in the case frame may be rewritten as S. The one corresponding to a·tanda·nan has the features (-S) and optionally (+FACT). If its N NP dominates an S, it is not immediate domination; the N NP has the head noun 'fact', and the S



is dominated by an N complement on that head noun. The noun 'fact' is usually deletable. Since the deletion is optional, surface structures arising from deep structures which contained it can be distinguished from deep structures which did not contain it by the fact that it may be retained and appear in the surface structure of the former, but not of the latter, since it was not in the deep structure of the latter, cf., "He remembered the fact of leaving," but \*"He remembered the fact to leave."

In Pampangan there is no word corresponding to the English noun 'fact'. In constructions where it is desired to use a word that would function like the English noun 'fact', ba·ge 'thing' is used. However, it is not distinguished for factivity.

(10.161) a·tatanda·nan ku iŋ ba·ge meko  
?I remember the thing of leaving.

(10.162) a·ganaka ku iŋ ba·ge meko  
?I remembered the thing to leave.

The other syntactic differences between factives and non-factives in English which are discussed in the UESP have not been found to have direct counterparts in Pampangan. There is evidence, however, that the Pampangan verbs do differ in the manner indicated. It is in their respective ability/inability to follow an indicative sentence when they are preceded by a negative.

(10.163) meko ku, pero eku a·tatanda·man (iŋ meko)

I left, but I don't remember it (leaving).

(10.164) \*meko ku, pero eku a.ganaka (in meko)

\*I left, but I didn't remember to (leave).

The sentence is acceptable with a particle indicating obligation, but which does not imply fulfillment.

(10.165) meko ku sana, pero eku a.ganaka in mako

I was supposed to leave, but I didn't remember to (leave).

This is the only correlate that has been discovered for factivity, but no special rule is written here to attempt to prevent the generation of sentences like Ex. 10.164.

#### 10.9 Indefinite agent nominals.

Indefinite agent nominals are those which designate an action without reference to the performer thereof. In English they include infinitives and gerunds with impersonal subjects. In Pampangan they include NP's in which the head of the construction is a verb or a gerund which may be accompanied by one or more of its associated cases, but not by an expressed agent. Also, since they are (-CONC), they do not result in the introduction of a TAP in the matrix sentence.

(10.166a)  $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{marya}\cdot\text{man} \\ \text{(b) masantiq} \end{array} \right\} \text{in } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{magan} \\ \text{ma}\cdot\text{magan} \\ \text{pa}\cdot\text{maganan} \end{array} \right\} \text{manga}$

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{To eat} \\ \text{Eating} \\ \text{The eating of} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a mango} \\ \text{mangoes} \end{array} \right\} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{is delicious.} \\ \text{is nice.} \end{array} \right.$

(10.167a) manya·man } in {kanan } { \*ne }  
 (b) masantiñ } {kakanan } { \*na } in manga  
 { ya }  
 { \*ø }

To eat } the mango } { is delicious.  
 Eating } } { is nice.  
 The eating of the mango }

English would not use 'delicious' here, but it is quite acceptable in Pampangan. Also, the sentence, masantiñ ya in ma·magan manga, is grammatical with the meaning, "The one who is eating a mango is nice," but that involves a secondary topicalization, not an indefinite agent nominal.

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