Argument apposition in Pangasinan

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Introduction

Today, we investigate the phenomenon described in the Benton 1971 grammar of **Pangasinan** (northern Philippines) as "apposition":

> An argument "may be pronominalized and followed by an appositive phrase marked as topic" (p. 154), "identifying the entity represented by the pronoun" (p. 145)

(1) In-sulat =**to**$_i$ [**may** laki]$_i$ [su   liham].
pv-write gen.3sg   dem   man   nom letter
'The man wrote the letter.'
literally: ≈ 'He wrote the letter, the man.'

Introduction

- ▶ We argue that "apposition" is best analyzed as involving a **clause-medial hanging topic** which then gets <u>linearised postverbally</u>.
- • All uncredited data come from original elicitation work with native speakers of Pangasinan residing in Singapore and the Philippines.

Roadmap

§1 Basic characteristics

Voice and case

Pangasinan exhibits a familiar Philippine-type voice system:

- The *pivot*, whose choice is cross-referenced by voice morphology on the verb, is marked **nominative**;
- Other arguments receive **genitive or oblique case.**

(2) a. Nan-basa su laki la libro.
    read.PFV.AV NOM boy GEN book
    'The boy read a book.'   *Actor Voice (AV)*

  b. B<in>asa la laki su libro.
    read.PFV.PV GEN boy NOM book
    'A/The boy read the book.'   *Patient Voice (PV)*

Postverbal word order is subject to scrambling and thus generally free.

Apposition

In Benton 1971, "apposition" refers to a **pronoun** with a corresponding **"topic" NP**, "identifying the entity represented by the pronoun" (p. 145).

- We call the latter phrase the "<u>associate</u>."
- We follow Benton's usage in referring to "apposition" here. This construction should not be confused with so-called nominal appositives (*the linguist <u>Benton</u>*) or appositive relative clauses.

Apposition and demonstratives

Associates do not bear a regular case marker such as *su* or *la*, but are instead headed by a demonstrative article:

	Singular	Plural
Unmarked	*(a)may*	*(i)ra-may*
Proximate	*(a)yay*	*(i)ra-yay*
Distal	*(a)tay*	*(i)ra-tay*

We will now look at a few examples of argument apposition.

Non-pivot agent apposition

Apposition is quite productive and frequent for Non-Actor Voice clause agents, which are in genitive case:

(3) **Baseline PV clause with genitive agent:**

In-sulat [**la** laki] [su liham].
PV-write GEN man NOM letter

'A/The man wrote the letter.'

(4) **Non-pivot agent apposition:**

In-sulat *(=**to**$_i$) [**may/yay/tay** laki]$_i$ [su liham].
PV-write GEN.3SG DEM(PROX/DIST) man NOM letter

'The/this/that man wrote the letter.'

Non-pivot agent apposition

(5) **Baseline PV clause with plural genitive agent:**

S<in>aliw [**la** la~laki] [su aso].
buy.PV GEN PL-boy NOM dog

'The boys bought the dog.'

(6) **Plural non-pivot agent apposition:**

S<in>aliw =**da**$_i$ [**ra-may** la~laki]$_i$ [su aso].
buy.PV GEN.3PL PL-DEM PL-boy NOM dog

'The boys bought the dog.'

Pivot apposition

Apposition can also target pivots, which are in nominative case:

(7) **Baseline AV clause with nominative agent:**

Nan-puniti [la laki] [**su** bi~bie].
AV-hit GEN man NOM PL-woman

'The women hit a man.'

(8) **Pivot apposition:**

Nan-puniti (=**ra**$_i$) [la laki] [**ira-may** bie]$_i$.
AV-hit NOM.3PL GEN man PL-DEM woman

'The women hit a man.'

Pivot apposition

We note two quirks of pivot apposition:

1. The third plural pronoun *ra* is <u>optional</u> for plural pivot apposition as in (8), whereas the genitive pronoun for non-pivot agent apposition was obligatory (4).

2. Pangasinan has <u>no nominative third singular clitic pronoun</u> (Benton, 1971; Rubino, 2001), and therefore no pronoun appears in cases of third singular pivot apposition:

   (9) Nan-puniti [la laki] [**may** bie].
       AV-hit   GEN man DEM woman
       'The woman hit a man.'

▶ We argue below that, even when null, nominative 3pl and 3sg clitic pronouns are present in apposition.

Possessor apposition

Apposition can also target possessors, which are genitive:

(10) **Baseline genitive possessor:**

Nap-plag [su aso [**la** laki]].
fell.AV NOM dog GEN boy

'The boy's dog fell.'

(11) **Possessor apposition:**

Nap-plag [su aso *(=**to**$_i$)] [**may** laki]$_i$.
fell.AV NOM dog GEN.3SG DEM boy

'The boy's dog fell.'

Apposition without clitic pronouns

So far, all examples of apposition have involved clitic pronouns.

► Clitic pronoun forms are only available for pivot and non-pivot agent arguments (Erlewine and Levin, 2021) and possessors.

(12) **Non-pivot theme apposition with full pronoun:**

Akaneneneng su laki ed **satan**$_i$,   [**may** pusa]$_i$.
see.AV   NOM boy DAT OBL.DEM.DIST DEM cat
'The boy saw that cat.'

(13) **Inanimate pivot apposition with full pronoun:**

Anengneng nen John **tan**$_i$,   [**may** aso]$_i$.
see.PV   GEN John DEM.DIST DEM dog
'John saw that dog.'

The status of the associate

- ► In each of these examples, the associate feels like a **post-verbal argument**.
- • Associates can be <u>clause-medial</u>, without obvious comma/parenthetical intonation.
  - • A pause is natural in cases of apposition using a full demonstrative pronoun, rather than a clitic pronoun.
  - • In these cases, the pause might be in place to avoid having two adjacent demonstratives.

The status of the associate

Associates do not have to remain in-situ; they can undergo A'-movement (here, topicalization) to appear pre-verbally.

(14) [**Amay** laki]$_i$, b<in>asa =**to**$_i$ su   libro __.
     DEM boy   read.PFV.PV GEN.3SG NOM libro
     literally 'The boy, he read the book.'

Examples that are structurally similar to (14) are attested in Tagalog, Bikol, and Kapampangan and described as *hanging topic left dislocation* in Erlewine and Lim 2019, but only with the associate in preverbal topic position.

§2 Possible analyses

Possible analyses

There are two ways "apposition" might be described formally:

1. A **clitic doubling** account, where the associate is in its normal argument position, doubled by a higher (clitic) pronoun.

2. A **hanging topic** account, where the associate is base-generated higher than the pronoun. Akin to hanging topic left dislocation in some languages, except not to the left.

Clitic doubling

Under a **clitic doubling** account, the "associate" is in its **normal argument position** ("true clitic doubling" in Harizanov's terms).

- The associate DP is agreed with, or (partially) copied, resulting in the corresponding (clitic) pronoun.
  - See e.g. Anagnostopoulou 2006, Harizanov 2014, and citations there for more specific analytic options.
- In addition, this process must have the effect of blocking the associate DP from occurring with its expected case marker (i.e. nominative or genitive), forcing it to be headed by a demonstrative.

Hanging topics

Under a **hanging topic** account, the "associate" gets base generated in a high position, **c-commanding and binding the pronoun**.

- This analysis predicts that **the pronoun, not the associate,** is in the normal argument position.

- A separately generated associate predicts no case connectivity:

  (15) **Greek HTLD** (Anagnostopoulou, 1997: 154)

  [**I Maria**$_i$], **tin**$_i$ ematha kala tosa hronia.
  the.NOM Mary Cl.ACC knew.1sg good so many years

  'Mary$_i$, I have figured her$_i$ out after so many years.'

  The hanging topic must be exempt from regular Case-licensing requirements, and is limited to a default case or topic-marking.

Evidence from reflexive binding

▶ We argue in favour of the **hanging topic** account, using evidence from **reflexive binding** in the language.

- Reflexive binding in Pangasinan behaves similarly to that in related languages such as Tagalog (Rackowski, 2002) and Cebuano (Bell, 1976), following **two conditions**:

  1. The antecedent must **c-command** the reflexive in their base positions.
  2. The antecedent must **precede** the reflexive.

Evidence from reflexive binding

Condition 1: The antecedent must **c-command** the reflexive in their base positions.

(16)   a.   Agent binding into theme:
          Anengneng [la   laki]$_i$ [su **sarili=to**]$_i$.
          see.PV   GEN boy   NOM REFL=GEN.3SG
          'The boy saw himself.'

      b.   *Theme binding into agent:
           *Anengneng [su   laki]$_i$ [la **sarili=to**]$_i$
           see.PV   NOM boy   GEN REFL=GEN.3SG
           'The boy saw himself.'

Evidence from reflexive binding

Condition 2: The antecedent must **precede** the reflexive.

(17) a. Antecedent < reflexive:

Anengneng [la laki]$_i$ [su **sarili=to**]$_i$.
see.PV GEN boy NOM REFL=GEN.3SG
'The boy saw himself.'

b. *Reflexive < antecedent:

*Anengneng [su **sarili=to**]$_i$ [la laki]$_i$.
see.PV NOM REFL=GEN.3SG GEN boy
'The boy saw himself.'

Reflexive binding with non-pivot apposition

When apposition applies to the non-pivot agent of a PV clause, the **word order restriction does not hold** between the antecedent 'boy' (agent associate) and the reflexive (theme pivot):

(18) a. <u>Antecedent associate < reflexive:</u>

Anengneng =**to**   [may laki]$_i$ [su **sarili=to**]$_i$.
see.PV   =GEN.3SG DEM boy   NOM REFL=GEN.3SG
'The boy saw himself.'

b. <u>Reflexive < antecedent associate:</u>

Anengneng =**to**   [su **sarili=to**]$_i$ [may laki]$_i$.
see.PV   =GEN.3SG NOM REFL=GEN.3SG DEM boy
'The boy saw himself.'

Reflexive binding with non-pivot apposition

This apparent insensitivity of reflexive binding to scrambling with respect to the agent associate in (18)...

- is unexplained if the associate itself is the antecedent;
- is explained if the *clitic pronoun* — preceding the reflexive in both (18a,b) — is the actual nominal involved in binding.
- ▶ Scrambling of the associate is irrelevant for the conditions on reflexive binding.

Reflexive binding with pivot apposition

The same precedence requirement is observed in AV clauses:

(19) a. <u>Antecedent < reflexive:</u>

Akanengneng [su   ug-ugaw]ᵢ [ed **sarili=da**]ᵢ.
see.AV   NOM PL-child   DAT REFL=GEN.3PL

'The children saw themselves.'

b. <u>*Reflexive < antecedent:</u>

*Akanengneng [ed **sarili=da**]ᵢ   [su   ug-ugaw]ᵢ.
see.AV   DAT REFL=GEN.3PL   NOM PL-child

'The children saw themselves.'

Reflexive binding with pivot apposition

Likewise, when apposition applies to the pivot, **the word order restriction disappears:**

(20)   a.   <u>Antecedent associate < reflexive:</u>

Akanengneng =**ira**   [may ug-ugaw]$_i$ [ed **sarili=da**]$_i$.
see.AV   =NOM.3PL DEM PL-child   DAT REFL=GEN.3PL
'The children saw themselves.'

        b.   <u>Reflexive < antecedent associate:</u>

Akanengneng =**ira**   [ed **sarili=da**]$_i$ [may ug-ugaw]$_i$.
see.AV   =NOM.3PL DAT REFL=GEN.3PL DEM PL-child
'The children saw themselves.'

▶ This similarly points to the clitic pronoun being the true antecedent for the reflexive.

Reflexive binding with pivot apposition

<u>Recall:</u> The NOM.3PL pronoun is optional with pivot apposition.

► Interestingly, even for pivot apposition without a clitic pronoun, reflexive binding is insensitive to scrambling.

(21) a. <u>Antecedent associate < reflexive:</u>
Akanengneng =∅ [may ug-ugaw]ᵢ [ed **sarili=da**]ᵢ.
see.AV   DEM PL-child   DAT REFL=GEN.3PL
'The children saw themselves.'

b. <u>Reflexive < antecedent associate:</u>
Akanengneng =∅ [ed **sarili=da**]ᵢ   [may ug-ugaw]ᵢ.
see.AV   DAT REFL=GEN.3PL DEM PL-child
'The children saw themselves.'

Reflexive binding with pivot apposition

The relaxed word order constraint can be explained if...

- Pivot apposition with and without an overt pronoun are underlyingly structurally equivalent; and
- The nominative 3pl clitic pronoun simply has a null variant.

We adopt these assumptions here.

§3 Proposal

Background

For our proposal, we follow and build on the widely adopted **phase-based** accounts to Philippine-type voice systems; see e.g. Aldridge 2004; Rackowski and Richards 2005; Erlewine, Levin, and Van Urk 2017; Erlewine and Lim 2019; Erlewine and Levin 2021.

- The pivot is the highest DP in the vP phase.
- The pivot receives **nominative** case; non-pivots generally receive **genitive** (see e.g. Erlewine, Levin, and Van Urk, 2020). (See e.g. Sabbagh 2016, Collins 2019 on **oblique** case.)

Background

- Following Fowlie 2013 and Erlewine, Levin, and Van Urk 2020, we assume that everything within *v*P gets **linearised freely**, as long as the verbal complex is leftmost. (See also Branan 2021 for another approach.)

- Clitic pronouns get linearised by their own **second position requirement** (Kaufman, 2010; Erlewine and Levin, 2021).

Apposition

▶ We propose that **"apposition"** in Pangasinan resembles **hanging topic dislocation** in other languages.

More specifically, apposition is a "*low integrated dislocation*":

- *"Integrated"* because the associate is adjoined within the clause, rather than somehow later interpolated (like a parenthetical);

- *"Low"* because the point of adjunction must be at the vP phase edge, rather than a higher-level CP projection, as in dislocation in other languages.

Proposal

Consider a typical PV clause with non-pivot agent apposition (=(4)):

(22) In-sulat *(=**to**$_i$) [**may** laki]$_i$ [su liham].
     PV-write GEN.3SG DEM man NOM letter
     'The man wrote the letter.'

(22) can be derived in the following three steps:
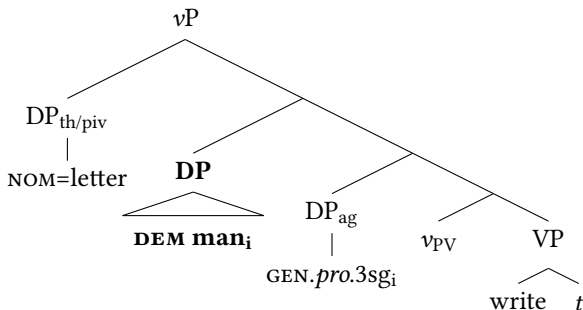
Proposal

Step 1. **Building the *v*P phase**

In a PV clause, the theme pivot (pronoun) moves to the outer specifier of *v*P:
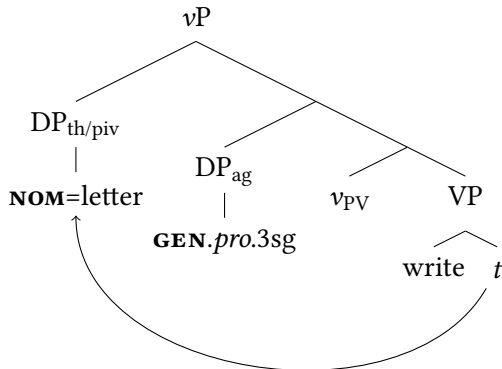
Proposal

<u>Step 2.</u> **(Late) adjoin and coindex**

The "associate" is adjoined (as low as possible; see Lim, block 5) into the vP phase edge and coindexed with the pronoun in its scope:
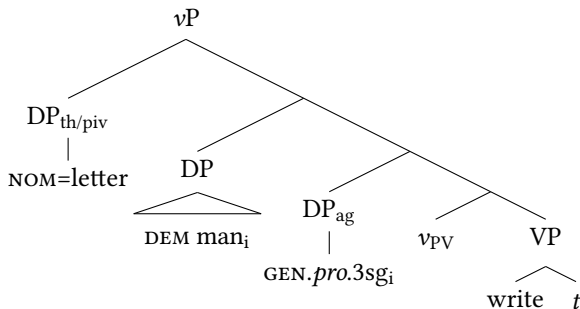

The adjoined associate is exempt from regular Case-licensing and case-marking, and thus must appear in a case-invariant form.

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Proposal

Step 3. **Linearise entire _v_P**

The entire _v_P then gets linearised freely, with the verb leftmost.

$\Rightarrow$ "write.PV =GEN.3SG$_i$ [DEM man$_i$] [NOM letter]" *or*

$\Rightarrow$ "write.PV =GEN.3SG$_i$ [NOM letter] [DEM man$_i$]" *or*

Movement evidence for low integration

Although we claim that "associates" are (akin to) hanging topics that semantically just bind a pronoun in its scope, the associate must be introduced **in the local *v*P edge**.

► Evidence comes from Ā-movement of associates. Although associates can be moved (e.g. via topicalisation), the path between the associate and its pronoun is **island-sensitive**:

  (23)   * [**Amay** laki]ᵢ, binmatek =ak   [adjunct dahil
           DEM boy run.AV NOM.1SG   because
         pinuniti =**to**ᵢ   su   aso __].
         hit.PV GEN.3SG NOM dog
         literally: 'The boyᵢ, I ran [because heᵢ hit the dog].'

• Associates are therefore **integrated low, at the local *v*P,** and then may optionally undergo Ā-movement higher. (See Iatridou 1995 for a similar facts in Greek clitic left dislocation.) 38

§5 Conclusion

Conclusion

Today we described the phenomenon of **argument "apposition"** in Pangasinan (Benton, 1971), where a pronoun is accompanied by a corresponding case-invariant "associate" DP.

- Associates are linearised and prosodified like any other post-verbal argument, without obvious commas or parenthetical intonation.

▶ We argue that "apposition" reflects a process of **hanging topic dislocation**, where the associate (hanging topic) is **adjoined at the local vP phase edge** and binds its pronoun.

Thank you! Questions?

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Appendix: Double apposition

Apposition can simultaneously apply to **two core arguments** of a clause, leading to a clause with **two associates**.

When both demonstrative-marked arguments have the same formal features, **arguments become confuseable**.

Word order restriction

- ▶ In specifically such situations, their word order gets restricted to an **"agent < pivot" order:**

(24) P<in>uniti =**to** [**may** bie] [**may** laki].
hit.pv GEN.3SG DEM girl DEM boy

    a. <u>Ag < th</u>: 'The girl hit the boy.'

    b. * <u>Th < ag</u>: 'The boy hit the girl.'

Similar rigid "agent < pivot" order for confusable arguments is reported in the Tagalog recent perfective (Guilfoyle et al., 1992: 396).

Word order restriction

For two of our speakers, the word order restriction holds even when
world knowledge might plausibly disambiguate:

(25) Anengneng =**to**   [**may** bulag la   laki] [**may** bie].
     see.PV   =GEN.3SG DEM blind LNKR man DEM woman
    a.   # <u>Ag < th</u>: 'The blind man saw the woman.'
    b.   % <u>Th < ag</u>: 'The woman saw the blind man.'

Word order restriction

Word order flexibility returns when the two associates become
formally distinguishable:

(26) a. Lu-luto-en   =**da**   [**ra-may** lakin ugaw] [**may** sira].
         IMPF-cook-PV GEN.3PL PL-NOM male child   NOM fish
         Ag < th: 'The boys are cooking the fish.'

     b. Lu-luto-en   =**da**   [**may** sira] [**ira-may** lakin ugaw].
         IMPF-cook-PV GEN.3PL NOM fish   PL-NOM   male child
         Th < ag: 'The boys are cooking the fish.'