

Clitic Doubling, the Double Nominative Construction, and Word Order in Pangasinan

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This Honours Thesis represents my own work and due acknowledgement is given whenever information is derived from other sources. No part of this Honours Thesis has been or is being concurrently submitted for any other qualifications at any other university.

Signed:

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Joey Lim', with a stylized flourish at the end.

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13th April 2020

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ABBREVIATIONS

AV	Actor Voice
BV	Benefactive Voice
DAT	Dative Case Marker
DET	Determiner
DP	Determiner Phrase
EXCL	Exclusive Person
GEN	Genitive Case Marker
IPFV	Imperfective Aspect
NOM	Nominative Case Marker
NP	Noun Phrase
OBL	Oblique
PROG	Progressive aspect
PFV	Perfective Aspect
PL	Plural
PV	Patient Voice
SG	Singular

? Unestablished Morpheme

ABSTRACT

This thesis describes how transitive sentences in Pangasinan are formed and interpreted. Semantic theta roles of arguments in the language can be organised in many different ways, and relies on syntactic cues such as word ordering, clitic doubling, and case marking. This work explores the 22 ways in which a transitive sentence in Pangasinan can be expressed. In the process, I delve into marked phenomenon in the language such as the need for clitic doubling and the allowance for two nominative arguments in a sentence. This description of the language may form the base of future theoretical discussion that furthers work on this underdescribed language.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Pangasinan, also known as Pangasinanese, is an Austronesian language spoken in the central province of Pangasinan in north-central Luzon, Philippines (Anderson & Anderson, 2007). It belongs to the Northern Luzon, Southern Cordilleran sub-group of Philippine languages, closely related to languages such as Ilocano and Ilongot (Himes, 1998; Oco, Sylionka & Roxas, 2016; Rubino, n.d.). In this thesis, I look at three aspects of the Pangasinan grammar: the phenomenon of clitic doubling, the double nominative construction, and word order, all of which affects the interpretation of semantic roles in single transitive sentences in the language. This language is of interest for two reasons: firstly, the language is relatively understudied, and secondly, this language exhibits certain phenomena which are not commonly observed in related Philippine languages.

Unless otherwise stated, all the Pangasinan data and judgments in this paper are provided by Jayson Ocampo. Dialectal variation exists between different villages in Pangasinan, and the relevant dialect studied in this paper spoken by Jayson is the dialect of Pangasinan spoken in Dulamandan, a barangay¹ located in Lingayen, the capital of Pangasinan.

¹A barangay is the smallest administrative unit in the Philippines (similar to a village) (Merriam-Webster, n.d.)

CHAPTER 2 A BRIEF BACKGROUND ON PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

Before delving into the grammar of Pangasinan, a brief background of the characteristics of Philippine languages is due. Although Philippine languages belong to the larger Austronesian language family group, these languages exhibit enough distinct characteristics to set them apart from the other Austronesian languages. Below are some characteristics of Philippine languages which will be relevant to our discussion at hand:

2. 1 Word Order of Philippine Languages

The supposed universal categories of subjects and objects, and the consequent typological classification of languages as SVO, SOV, etc. do not seem to be as applicable to Philippine languages. Topics and actors in these languages are associated with certain properties of subjects, but they essentially lack certain features that classify them as subjects (Schachter, 1976). To avoid confusing terminology, the terms “subject”² and “object” will not be used in this analysis. Instead, I will refer to the arguments of a declarative transitive clause using two sets of terminologies, “agent” and “theme” to refer to the semantic theta roles of the arguments, and

²The term “subject” is used in a very different way in the literature of Philippine language. See Section 2.3 for a discussion of voice systems.

“nominative” and “genitive” to refer to the morphosyntactic markings on the arguments.

Philippine languages are typically predicate-initial, with verbal dependents such as nominal complements following the verb. Post-verbal word order is usually relatively free, although some languages have preferences for where different arguments may occur (Reid & Liao, 2004). For instance, (1) is an example from Garcia, Dery, Roeser, & Höhle (2018, p.620) on how Tagalog has free word order (Glosses are altered by me to fit the terminology used in this paper):

(1) **Tagalog** (Garcia et al., 2018, p.620)

- a. H-um-ihila ng baboy ang baka.
AV-pull.IPFV GEN pig NOM cow
‘The cow is pulling a pig.’
- b. H-um-ihila ang baka ng baboy.
AV-pull.IPFV NOM cow GEN pig
‘The cow is pulling a pig.’

In (1), even though the order of the arguments *baka* ‘cow’ and *baboy* ‘pig’ are swapped, the meaning of the sentence still unambiguously remain the same, with the cow being the agent and the pig being the theme. Word order in Philippine languages are thus relatively flexible.

However, speakers might have preferences on the order which arguments appear in a sentence. (2) is another example from Tagalog taken from

Culwell-Kanarek (2005, p.45):

(2) **Tagalog** (Culwell-Kanarek, 2005, p.45):

- a. * I-binili ang bata ng nanay ng isda.
 BV.PFV.buy NOM child GEN mother GENfish
 ‘A/the mother bought a/the fish for the child.’
- b. I-b-in-ili ng nanay ang bata ng isda.
 BV.PFV.buy GEN mother NOM child GENfish
 ‘A/the mother bought a/the fish for the child.’

According to Culwell-Kanarek (2005), even though Tagalog has a flexible word order, some speakers may have more restrictive judgements, accepting only a portion of the permissible word orders. The subset of permissible word orders that they accept are not random. Between (2a) and (2b), if speakers have different grammatical judgments, they would normally accept (2b) and rule (2a) out. Culwell-Kanarek attributes this to the speaker’s preference for the agent to occupy the direct postverbal position. Philippine languages therefore typically have relatively free word orders, but some orders are preferred over others.

2. 2 Voice Systems and Case in Philippine Languages

Next, the most salient feature of Philippine languages that set them apart from the other Austronesian languages is the presence of a “voice system”,

also known as the “Philippine alignment”. In these voice systems, a selected argument is chosen to be the “subject”³ or “pivot” of the construction, with the verbal morphology corresponding to the choice of pivot. In addition to the verbal morphology, the pivot is marked with the **nominative** case. On the other hand, non-pivot arguments receive a different case, usually the **genitive** case, which corresponds with the forms of possessors. Although Philippine languages are sometimes analysed as ergative (Reid & Liao, 2004), nominative and genitive will be the case terms used in this description.

One last feature of voice systems is that there is an extraction asymmetry in voice system languages. Generally, it has been described that only pivot arguments can be A’ extracted (Erlewine, Levine, & van Urk, 2017).

An example of the voice system in action can be observed in Bikol, another Philippine language:

(3) **Bikol** (Erlewine & Lim, 2019, p. 8):

- a. Nag-bakal **su** babayi **ning** keso sa tindahan.
AV-buy NOM woman GEN cheese DAT shop
‘The woman bought cheese at the shop.’
- b. Pig-bakal **kasu** babayi **su** keso sa tindahan.
PV-buy GEN woman NOM cheese DAT shop
‘The woman bought the cheese at the shop.’

³As mentioned in Section 2.1, the term “subject” will be avoided in this paper, though it is sometimes used in the literature to refer to the “pivot” argument.

The AV/PV alternation hallmark of voice systems can be observed in (3) above. In (3a), the verb root *bakal* ‘buy’ takes on Actor Voice (AV) morphology, evidenced through the prefix *nag-*, which indicates the verb’s selection of the pivot. The agent argument of the sentence, *babayi* ‘woman’, takes the role of the pivot, receiving nominative case, indicated by the nominative case marker *su*. On the other hand, the theme of the verb, *keso* ‘cheese’, receives genitive case with the genitive case marker *ning*. When the verb takes on Patient Voice (PV) morphology instead, as in (3b), the thematic argument, *keso* ‘cheese’, becomes the pivot, indicated by the nominative case marker *su*. Correspondingly, the agent, *babayi* ‘woman’, is marked with the genitive case marker *kaso*.

A similar voice system is also attested in Pangasinan and will be discussed in depth in Chapter 3.

2. 3 Clitic Pronominal Agreement in Philippine Languages

Lastly, another unique feature of Philippine languages is that some languages allow pivot arguments and non-pivot agents to have bound pronominal forms, appearing as second position clitics (Erlewine & Levin, 2019). In some languages, clitic pronouns can co-occur with full NP arguments, resulting in a pattern that could be described as agreement.

According to Reid & Liao (2004, p. 446), these languages “require or allow agreement marking of either or both the Genitive and Nominative third-person argument”. For instance, in Central Cagayan Agta, a Northern Cordillean language related to Pangasinan, the third-person genitive pronoun can co-occur with a genitive marked agent of a full NP:

(4) **Central Cagayan Agta** (Liao, 2005, p.348):

...kinagāt=**na** hapa **na taggam** ya huli na atu.
 bit=GEN.3SG also GEN ant NOM rump GEN dog
 ‘..the ant bit the rump of the dog.’

In (4), the genitive clitic pronoun *na* attached to the verb *kinagāt* “bit’ cooccurs with the full agent NP *taggam* ‘ant’ marked with the genitive case marker. This agreement relationship is also observed in Pangasinan, and will be discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

One final thing to note is that in Philippine languages, clitics are second position, occurring after the “first constituent of the phrasal unit to which they belong (Himmelman, 2005, p.131)”. For instance, (5) is an example from Tagalog showing what happens when a sentence containing clitics is negated:

(5) **Tagalog** (Himmelman, 2005, p.131):

- a. Alam =naman =namin.
 know =really =1PL.EXCL.GEN

‘Of course we knew.’

- b. Hindi =naman =namin alam.
NEG =really =1PL.EXCL.GEN know
‘Of course we didn’t know.’

In (5a), the first constituent is the verbal predicate *alam*. The clitics thus follow the verb, occupying the second position. However, when the sentence is negated as in (5b), the negator *hindi* now takes the first position. The clitics now occur in second position directly after the negator, preceding the verb.

With this brief summary of key characteristics of Philippine languages, we can then turn to examine aspects of the Pangasinan grammar.

CHAPTER 3 THE VOICE SYSTEM AND TYPICAL PATTERNS IN PANGASINAN

In Pangasinan, behaviour of arguments differ depending on the voice morphology on the verb. Thus, it will only be logical to begin the discussion of Pangasinan grammar with a closer examination of its voice system. Currently, two main voices have been identified in Pangasinan, the Actor Voice (AV) and Patient Voice (PV).

Like its sister language Bikol as mentioned in (3) above, Pangasinan makes use of case markings to mark its nominative and genitive arguments.

Canonical transitive sentences in Pangasinan look like (6):

- (6) a. Man-luluto la sira may lakin ugaw.
 AV.PROG-cook GEN fish NOM male child
 ‘The boy is cooking the fish.’
- b. Luluto-en may sira la lakin ugaw.
 Cook-PV.PROG NOM fish GEN male child
 ‘The boy is cooking the fish.’

The voice system in Pangasinan works very similarly to that in Bikol described in Chapter 2.2 above. In (6a), the verb with the root *luluto* has AV morphology, and takes on the prefix *man-*, a portmanteau morpheme containing composite information about aspect and voice. The agent argument, *lakin ugaw* ‘boy’, is selected as the pivot. Correspondingly, it is

marked with the nominative case marker *may*, while the genitive argument, *sira* ‘fish’, is marked with the genitive case marker *la*. On the other hand, in (6b), when the verb takes on PV morphology, the thematic argument, *sira* ‘fish’, is selected as the pivot and receives nominative case marking, whereas the agent, *lakin ugaw* ‘boy’, receives genitive case marking.

In the case of canonical transitive sentences in Pangasinan as in (6), postverbal word order is free. The agent and theme arguments can occur in different positions relative to each other without any restrictions. Thus, (7) is also grammatical, even when the order of the agent and theme arguments in (6) are switched:

- (7) a. Man-luluto may lakin ugaw la sira.
 AV.PROG-cook NOM male child GEN fish
 ‘The boy is cooking the fish.’
- b. Luluto-en la lakin ugaw may sira.
 Cook-PV.PROG GEN male child NOM fish
 ‘The boy is cooking the fish.’

Additionally, the pivot argument of a sentence (bolded in (8) below) has the option to appear preverbally. In this case, the nominative case marker *may* morphologically changes to *amay*:

- (8) **Amay lakin ugaw** man-luluto la sira.
 NOM male child AV.PROG-cook GEN fish
 ‘The boy is cooking the fish.’

In the discussion that follows, the inventory of case markers will be important, so we first study the case markers in the language. Three case markers, *may*, *amay*, and *la* are already shown in the examples above, but it is necessary to ascertain and establish that they are indeed nominative and genitive case markers respectively.

3. 1 Nominative Case Markers

To determine what the nominative case markers are, a clefting test was used. This is because as mentioned in Chapter 2.2, a characteristic of Philippine voice systems is that A' extraction is generally only limited to the pivot argument. When a sentence is clefted, we can determine which argument is the pivot and hence, what the nominative case marker is. (9) provides an instance of such clefting extraction:

- (9) **Amay** lakin ugaw may/su ang-aliw la lapis.
 NOM male child NOM AV.PFV-BUY GEN pen
 'It is the boy that bought the pen.'

In (9), the agent *lakin ugaw* 'boy' was extracted during the clefting process. The agent is thus the pivot which receives nominative case, and since the agent is marked with *amay*, we can assume that the nominative case marker is *amay*. When the sentence is predicate-initial instead, as in (10), the nominative case marker changes morphologically from *amay* to *may*.

- (10) Ang-aliw la lapis **may** lakin ugaw.
 AV.PFV-buy GEN pen NOM male child
 ‘The boy bought the pen.’

We can thus conclude that *amay* is the preverbal nominative case marker, whereas *may* is the postverbal nominative case marker. Using *may* preverbally results in ungrammaticality. Likewise, using *amay* postverbally is unacceptable, as in (11):

- (11) * **May** lakin ugaw ang-aliw la lapis.
 NOM male child AV.PFV-buy GEN pen
 ‘The boy bought the pen.’
- a. * Ang-aliw **amay** lakin ugaw la lapis.
 AV.PFV-buy NOM male child GEN pen
 ‘The boy bought the pen.’

When the nominative pivot is pluralised, the nominative case marker changes to *iramay*. *Iramay* can be used both pre- and postverbally:

- (12) a. **Ira-may** lakin ugaw ang-aliw la lapis.
 PL-NOM male child AV.PFV-buy GEN pen
 ‘The boys bought the pen.’
- b. Ang-aliw **ira-may** lakin ugaw la lapis.
 AV.PFV-buy PL-NOM male child GEN pen
 ‘The boys bought the pen.’

In addition, another nominative case marker was found. Nominative case marking tends to appear preceding the verb in cleft constructions, marking

the start of a headless relative clause (Alridge, 2014, p.98). Since in (9), *may* and *su* can both appear in that position, it might be possible that *su* is a nominative marker as well. Further examining the distribution of *su*, it is found that in most cases, *may* and *su* can be used interchangeably. For instance, (13) is exactly the same as (10) above, except that the nominative case marker used to mark the pivot agent is *su* instead of *may*:

- (13) Ang-aliw la lapis **su** lakin ugaw.
 AV.PFV-buy GEN pen NOM male child
 ‘The boy bought the pen.’

Similarly, *su* can be used as the nominative case marker under PV conditions:

- (14) Sin-aliw la lakin ugaw **su** lapis.
 PV.PFV-buy GEN male child NOM pen
 ‘The boy bought the pen.’

Since *may* and *su* can be used interchangeably marking pivot agents under AV conditions and pivot themes under PV conditions, I can thus assume that they are both nominative case markers.

However, one initial difference that can be observed here is that the pivot marked with *su* cannot be pluralised by adding the morpheme *(i)ra*. Instead, to pluralise a pivot marked by *su*, the first syllable of the pivot can be reduplicated:

- (15) a. * Pinu-niti la lakin ugaw (i)ra-su bien ugaw.
 PV.PFV-hit GEN male child PL-NOM female child
 ‘The boy hit the girls.’
- b. Pinu-niti la lakin ugaw su **bi**-bien ugaw.
 PV.PFV-hit GEN male child NOM PL-female child
 ‘The boy hit the girls.’

This plural reduplication strategy is flexible and available regardless of the case marker used. For instance, it can occur together with the plural nominative case marker, *iramay* to indicate a plural argument:

- (16) Pinu-niti la lakin ugaw **ira-may bi**-bien ugaw.
 PV.PFV-hit GEN male child PL-NOM PL-female child
 ‘The boy hit the girls.’

In (16), the nominative theme marked with the plural case marker can also have its first syllable reduplicated to indicate that it is plural. This strategy can also be applied to the non-pivot genitive argument to pluralise it:

- (17) Nanpu-niti may lakin ugaw la **bi**-bien ugaw.
 AV.PFV-hit NOM male child GEN PL-female child
 ‘The boy hit the girls.’

Another difference between *may* and *su* is that when the preceding element ends in a vowel, the *su* nominative case marker can be phonologically reduced to a *-y* suffix, which attaches itself to the previous element. Both (18a) and (18b) below are grammatical (ignore the double nominative markings here, they will be addressed in Chapter 4-6):

- (18) a. Luluto-en =to **su** sira may lakin ugaw.
 Cook-PV.PROG =3SG NOM fish NOM male child
 ‘The boy is cooking the fish.’
- b. Luluto-en =to-**y** sira may lakin ugaw.
 Cook-PV.PROG 3SG-NOM fish NOM male child
 ‘The boy is cooking the fish.’

However, if the preceding element is an argument of the verb, this phonological reduction cannot occur.

- (19) a. Pinu-niti la laki **su** kieu.
 PV.PFV-hit GEN man NOM tree
 ‘The man hit a tree.’
- b. * Pinu-niti la laki-**y** kieu.
 PV.PFV-hit GEN man-NOM tree
 ‘The man hit a tree.’

The reasons for this will be discussed in the next section.

There is one last nominative case marker, used when referring to proper NPs. (20) below shows a AV sentence with a proper NP argument:

- (20) Nanpu-niti **si** John la lakin ugaw.
 AV.PFV-hit NOM John GEN male child
 ‘John hit the boy.’

In (20), because the verb takes on AV morphology, it must be the case that the agent is marked with nominative case. Since *John* is the agent and

John is marked with the case marker *si*, it can be concluded that *si* is a nominative case marker. To confirm, a clefting test is used:

- (21) Si John may/su pinu-niti la lakin ugaw.
 NOM John NOM PV.PFV-hit GEN male child
 ‘It is John that the boy hit.’

When the pivot argument *John* is extracted during the clefting process, it is marked with the nominative case marker *si*, as *John* is a proper noun. *Si* is thus a nominative case marker, but for proper nouns.

3. 2 Genitive Case Markers

Looking back to (9), repeated here as (22), we can also see that the non-pivot argument, *lapis* ‘pen’, which is not extracted, is marked with the case marker *la*.

- (22) Amay lakin ugaw may/su ang-aliw la lapis.
 NOM male child NOM AV.PFV-BUY GEN pen
 ‘It is the boy that bought the pen.’

We can thus assume that *la* is the genitive case marker. This can be further confirmed when we look at possessive constructions, as in (23):

- (23) Amay lapis la lakin ugaw ambalanga.
 NOM pen GEN male child red

‘The boy’s pen is red.’

As mentioned in Chapter 2.2, the genitive markers used to mark non-pivots in Austronesian-type voice systems typically take the form of markers used to indicate possession. Here, *la* is used to attribute the possessed (*lapis* ‘pen’) to the possessor (*lakin ugaw* ‘boy’). *La* can thus be confirmed to be a genitive case marker, which also marks possession.

Interestingly, the genitive case marker *la* can also be phonologically reduced to become *-y* when the preceding word ends with a vowel. Both (24a) and (24b) below are grammatical:

- (24) a. Amay bien ugaw pinu-niti **la** lakin ugaw.
NOM female child PV.PFV-hit GEN male child
‘The girl hit the man.’
- b. Amay bien ugaw pinu-niti-**y** lakin ugaw.
NOM female child PV.PFV-hit-NOM male child
‘The girl hit the man.’

Like *su* reduction in nominative case, this *-y* cannot be attached to arguments in transitive sentences. (25b) below is ungrammatical when the genitive case marker *la* in (25a) reduces to *-y* suffix:

- (25) a. Pinu-niti may laki la bien ugaw.
PV.PFV-hit NOM man GEN female child
‘The girl hit the man.’

- b. * Pinu-niti may laki-**y** bien ugaw.
 PV.PFV-hit NOM man-GEN female child
 ‘The girl hit the man.’

Note however, that it is not always the case that genitive marker *la* cannot be reduced to *-y* suffix before an argument. In possessive constructions, the genitive *la* can be reduced to *-y* suffix even when a NP precedes. Both (26a) and (26b) are grammatical, even though *la* is reduced to *-y* which attaches onto an argument:

- (26) a. Andeket may aso **la** lakin ugaw.
 black NOM dog GEN male child
 ‘The boy’s dog is black.’
- b. Andeket may aso-**y** lakin ugaw.
 black NOM dog-GEN male child
 ‘The boy’s dog is black.’

Why the *la* in transitive constructions (such as in (25)) cannot be reduced to *-y* while the *la* in possessive constructions (such as in (26)) can, is probably due to interpretative reasons. This is because in transitive contexts, both the nominative and genitive case markers can be reduced to *-y*. Thus, we need to use context to determine whether the reduction took place for the nominative case marker *su* or the genitive case marker *la*. The context clues us in on which marker was reduced based on two restrictions.

Firstly, the nominative case marker *su* cannot directly follow the verb. A sentence like (27a) below is ungrammatical because the nominative case

marker *su* follows the verb. When the order of the arguments are reversed as in (27b), the sentence becomes grammatical:

- (27) a. * Sin-aliw **su** lapis la lakin ugaw.
 PV.PFV-buy NOM pen GEN male child
 ‘The boy bought the pen.’
- b. Sin-aliw la lakin ugaw **su** lapis.
 PV.PFV-buy GEN male child NOM pen
 ‘The boy bought the pen.’

This is surprising, because the nominative case marker *may* can follow the verb in the exact same sentence without any problems:

- (28) Sin-aliw **may** lapis la lakin ugaw.
 PV.PFV-buy NOM pen GEN male child
 ‘The boy bought the pen.’

Thus, the problem must be that *su* cannot occur in a direct postverbal position. As such, only the genitive case marker *la* can follow the verb. Therefore, if we were to observe a *-y* suffix on the verb, it would invariably be a reduction of *la* instead of a reduction of *su*. The *-y* reduction for *su* generally takes place when a clitic pronoun precedes, and the *-y* suffix attaches itself to a clitic pronoun, as in (18b), repeated here as (29) (Again, here, ignore the clitic pronoun and double nominative arguments as they will be discussed in the chapters that follow):

- (29) Luluto-en =to-**y** sira may lakin ugaw.
 Cook-PV.PROG 3SG-NOM fish NOM male child
 ‘The boy is cooking the fish.’

Secondly, as mentioned, phonological *-y* reduction cannot take place when an argument precedes (see example (19 & 25)). This rules out the possibility of having both nominative and genitive cases being marked as *-y* in a single sentence, as in (30a):

- (30) a. * Pinu-niti-**y** laki-**y** kieu.
 PV.PFV-hit-GEN man-NOM tree
 ‘The man hit the tree.’
 b. Pinu-niti-**y** laki **su** kieu.
 PV.PFV-hit-GEN man NOM tree
 ‘The man hit the tree.’

Therefore, even though both nominative and genitive case markers can be phonologically reduced to *-y*, within a transitive sentence, it is only possible to have one *-y* suffix. This ensures that it is generally not ambiguous whether the *-y* suffix marks a nominative or a genitive argument.

Note that this restriction that the two arguments of a verb cannot both be *-y* marked only applies to transitive sentences. It is possible to have both *su* and *la* be reduced to *-y* in the same sentence within possessive constructions:

- (31) a. Ambalaga **su** aso **la** too.
 red NOM dog GEN man
 ‘The man’s dog is red.’
- b. Ambalaga-**y** aso-**y** too.
 red-NOM dog-GEN man
 ‘The boy’s dog is red.’

Since the genitive marker *la* is used to indicate possession between two NPs in (31), the relevant *-y* suffix is the one that occurs in the middle of the two NPs. Hence, unlike in transitive sentences, there is no need to disambiguate which *-y* suffix is the genitive case marker and which is the nominative case marker.

Therefore, it can be hypothesised that the restriction on two *-y* suffixes occurring together in a transitive sentence is to aid in interpretation and disambiguation, and that it is not in place because of syntactic constraints.

Moving on, similar to the nominative case, a version of the genitive marker exists for proper nouns. (32) below shows a PV sentence with a proper noun as the genitive agent:

- (32) Pinu-niti **nen** John su lakin ugaw.
 PV.PFV-hit GEN John NOM male child
 ‘John hit the boy.’

Since the verb displays PV morphology, the agentive argument should be marked genitive. As the agent, *John*, is marked with the marker *nen*, I can

assume that *nen* is a genitive case marker for proper nouns.

To confirm, a clefting test can also be used:

- (33) Amay lakin ugaw su pinu-niti **nen** John.
NOM male child NOM PV.PFV-hit GEN John
'It was John that hit the boy.'

In (33) above, the verb is marked with PV morphology. Thus, when the thematic pivot is extracted, the genitive agent NP remains in its original place. This genitive agent argument is marked with the case marker *nen*. We can thus conclude that *nen* is the genitive case marker for proper nouns. We can also observe *nen* being used to mark possession:

- (34) Amay agi **nen** Mark su ang-aliw la lapis.
NOM brother GEN Mark NOM AV.PFV-buy GEN pen
'Mark's brother bought a pen.' (lit. It is the brother of Mark who bought a pen.)

3. 3 Case Markers: Summary

Table 1 below summarises the possible case markers found in Pangasinan.

These case markers aid in our semantic interpretation of common sentences in Pangasinan.

Case	Marker	Context
Nominative	Amay	Pre-verbally for common nouns.
	May	Post-verbally for common nouns.
	Iramay	Pre-/post-verbally for plural common nouns.
	Su	Pre/post-verbally for common nouns. Same distribution as <i>may</i> except cannot occur directly after verb.
	-y suffix	In contexts where <i>su</i> can occur.
	Si	For proper nouns.
Genitive	la	For common nouns.
	-y suffix	In contexts where <i>la</i> can occur.
	Nen	For proper nouns.

Table 1: Summary of Case Markers in Pangasinan

- (35) a. Amay bien ugaw nanpu-niti la lakin ugaw.
 NOM female child AV.PFV-hit GEN male child
 ‘The girl hit the boy.’
- b. Amay lakin ugaw pinu-niti la bien ugaw.
 NOM male child PV.PFV-hit GEN female child
 ‘The girl hit the boy.’

Therefore, we can tell with fair confidence that the sentences in (35a) and (35b) mean exactly the same, even though in (35a), the argument *bien ugaw* ‘the girl’ precedes the verb and in (35b), the argument *lakin ugaw* ‘the boy’ precedes the verb. This is because in (35a), the AV morphology on the verb selects the agent to receive the nominative case, thus, we can interpret the argument marked with the nominative case marker, *bien ugaw* ‘the girl’, to be the agent. Conversely, the PV morphology on the verb in (35b) selects the theme to be the pivot. Therefore, the argument marked

with the nominative case in this example, *lakin ugaw* ‘the boy’, is the theme. Even though word orders are swapped, it is still understandable that it is the girl that is hitting the boy.

3. 4 Pronouns

When pronouns are used instead of full arguments, case markers are not present as case is marked on the pronouns themselves. Table 2 below is a summary of pronouns and their cases:

	Nom Clitic	Gen Clitic	Full
1SG	ak	ko, -k, ta (if occurring before 2SG NOM pronoun)	siyak
1PL	kami	mi	sikami
2SG	ka	mo, -m	sika
2PL	kayo	yo	sikayo
3SG	-	to	sikato
3PL	(i)ra	da	sikara/sikada

Table 2: Summary of Pronouns in Pangasinan

(36) below is a typical AV/PV alternation when one of the arguments is a pronoun.

- (36) a. Aka-nenneng =ak la aso.
 AV.PFV-see =1SG.NOM GEN dog
 ‘I saw a dog.’
- b. A-nenneng =ko may aso.
 PV.PFV-see =1SG.GEN NOM dog

‘I saw a dog.’

In (36a), as the verb displays AV morphology, pronominal *ak*, which is a nominative first-person clitic pronoun, is the pivot agent. The theme, *aso* ‘dog’ is marked with the genitive case marker *la*. In (36b), the verb takes on PV morphology. The non-pivot agent is thus the genitive first-person pronoun instead, and the pivot theme is marked with the nominative case marker *may*.

However, pronouns differ from full arguments in that word order is more restricted. This is expected, as clitic pronouns in Philippine languages are second-order (Refer to Chapter 2.3), and “languages prefer a word order in which a nominative pronoun occurs immediately following the verb (Reid & Liao, 2004, p. 441; see also Erlewine & Levin, 2019)”. (37) below is ungrammatical because the pronoun does not occur in the second position:

- (37) * Aka-nenneng la aso =ak.
AV.PFV-see GEN dog =1SG.NOM
‘I saw a dog.’

In addition, when there are two pronominal arguments, the genitive pronoun has to come first, before the nominative pronoun. For instance, (38a) is grammatical but (38b) is not:

- (38) a. Pinu-niti =mo =ak.
PV.PFV-hit =2SG.GEN =1SG.NOM

‘You hit me.’

- b. * Pinu-niti =ak =mo.
PV.PFV-hit =1SG.NOM =2SG.GEN
‘You hit me.’

The next restriction is that AV forms of verbs cannot be used when there are two pronominal arguments. (39) below is ungrammatical:

- (39) * Nanpu-niti =ta =ka.
AV.PFV-hit 1SG.GEN 2SG.NOM
‘You hit me.’

This is unexpected, as no other restrictions have been violated. As the verb displays AV morphology, the pivot agent is a nominative pronoun and the non-pivot theme is a genitive pronoun which directly follows the verb.

This ungrammaticality is probably the result of non-pivot themes not being able to appear as clitics. According to Erlewine & Levin (2019), “pronominal non-pivot themes must be full, free pronouns”. As *ko* above is a genitive clitic non-pivot theme, it is not allowed to occur. This is indeed the case. (40) below, which is a cleft construction, is grammatical when the pivot agent is extracted and non-pivot theme appears in its full form:

- (40) Sika su nanpu-niti ed siyak.
2SG NOM AV.PFV-hit DAT 1SG
‘You hit me. (lit. ‘It is you who hit me.’)’

Thus, it is not the case that the verb cannot display AV morphology when both arguments are pronouns. Rather, it is that non-pivot themes cannot appear as bound second position clitics. Since there are no non-pivot themes in PV sentences, two clitic pronominal arguments are allowed. On the other hand, since the theme is non-pivotal in AV verbs, it cannot be a clitic pronoun and there cannot be two clitic pronominal arguments.

One more interesting thing to note is that there is no third-person nominative clitic pronoun in Pangasinan.

- (41) a. Pinu-niti =to su aso.
PV.PFV-hit =3SG.GEN NOM dog
‘He hit the dog.’
- b. Sikato su nanpuniti ed aso.
3SG NOM AV.PFV-hit DAT dog
‘He hit the dog. (lit.‘It was he who hit the dog.’)’

In (41), there seems to be an asymmetry between the AV and PV sentence. The only way to express the meaning in (41a) using a verb with AV morphology is (41b), where the agent pronoun is extracted in a clefting process and is hence in its full form. This lack of third-person nominative pronoun is confirmed by Rubino (2001, p. 540), who notes that “[t]hird-person singular topics [referring to agents in this paper] are usually not pronominali[s]ed.”

This lack of a third-person nominative clitic pronoun is important to keep

in mind as it will have implications in the Pangasinan grammar when we discuss clitic doubling later on.

CHAPTER 4 UNEXPECTED PHENOMENON AND CLITIC DOUBLING

Up till now, we have discussed examples of canonical sentences in Pangasinan, where arguments exhibit behaviours typically expected of voice system languages. However, there are certain phenomena in Pangasinan that causes it to deviate from typical voice systems.

For instance, the sentence in (42a) can also be expressed as (42b):

- (42) a. Pinu-niti **la** bien ugaw may lakin ugaw.
 PV.PFV-hit GEN female child NOM male child
 ‘The girl hit the boy.’
- b. Pinu-niti **to-may** bien ugaw may lakin ugaw.
 PV.PFV-hit ? female child NOM male child
 ‘The girl hit the boy.’

(42b) introduces another possible clause type in Pangasinan. It is equivalent to (42a) except that in place of the genitive marker *la*, an alternative morpheme, *tomay* can be used instead. This leads to a possibility that *tomay* may also be another genitive case marker. Similar to *la*, *tomay* can also be used to mark possession. Compare (43a) below to (23) above, repeated here as (43b):

- (43) a. [Amay lapis **tomay** lakin ugaw] ambalanga.
 NOM pen ? male child red

‘The boy’s pen is red.’

- b. [Amay lapis **la** lakin ugaw] ambalanga.
NOM pen GEN male child red
‘The boy’s pen is red.’

However, a simple negation reveals that *tomay* is actually made up of two morphemes, *to* and *may*:

- (44) a. Sin-aliw tomay lakin ugaw may lapis.
Buy-PV.PFV ? male child NOM pen
‘The boy bought the pen.’
b. Ag =**to** sin-aliw **may** lakin ugaw may lapis.
NEG =3SG.GEN buy-PV.PFV NOM male child NOM pen
‘The boy didn’t buy the pen.’

As established in Chapter 3.4, *to* is actually the third-person genitive clitic pronoun. This explains why *to* shifts to occur directly preverbally after negation, as clitics typically like to show up in the second position (Refer to Chapter 2.3 for a discussion on second-position clitics).

In addition, we know from Chapter 3.1 that *may* is a nominative case marker. Thus, *tomay* cannot be a monomorphemic genitive marker.

Looking at the clause type expressed in (41b), there seem to be two concurrent phenomena. First, the *to* in (44) looks like a clitic pronoun which expresses an agreement with an argument, similar to that discussed in Chapter 2.3 earlier (Refer to example (4)). Similar to (4), in (44), a

pronoun referencing a full NP is present, agreeing with the NP. This phenomenon will be the topic of discussion for this chapter.

Secondly, the presence of the morpheme *may*, which we have previously established as a nominative case marker, means that there are two postverbal nominative arguments in the sentence. This is highly surprising as it is not expected of voice system languages. The double nominative pattern will be discussed in the next chapter.

Here, it is important to note that although the phenomena of clitic doubling and double nominative are discussed in separate chapters, the two are highly correlated. This will become evident when we examine the distribution of both clitic doubling and the double nominative.

Interestingly, native speakers write the clitic pronoun and the nominative case marker together as one word. There seem to be a native speaker intuition that *tomay*, and as we will see later, similar words like *toramay*, *damay* and *daramay*, are single words.

4. 1 Clitic Doubling

Focusing first on the presence of the clitic pronoun, the question now is whether *to* agrees with the agent or the theme. To find out which argument is tracked, I manipulated the numbers of both arguments:

- (45) a. Pinu-niti =to-may bien ugaw may lakin ugaw
 PV.PFV-hit =3SG.GEN-NOM female child NOM male child
 ‘The girl hit the boy.’
- b. Pinu-niti =**da**-ra-may bien ugaw may lakin ugaw.
 PV.PFV-hit =3PL.GEN-PL-NOM female child NOM male child
 ‘The girls hit the boy.’

In (45b), the non-pivot agent of the sentence, *bien ugaw* ‘the girl’ is pluralised through the use of the plural morpheme *ra*, causing a mismatch in number between the agent and theme argument. Correspondingly, there is a shift in the clitic pronoun from *to* to *da*. This provides preliminary evidence that the clitic pronoun is supposed to agree with the agent.

To confirm, we can check if the pronoun changes when the theme is pluralised instead, as in (46) below:

- (46) Amay bien ugaw pinu-niti =to-ra-may lakin ugaw.
 NOM female child PV.PFV-hit =3SG.GEN-PL-NOM male child
 ‘The girl hit the boys.’

Although the pivot theme is pluralised, *to* still appears instead of *da*. Instead, to indicate plurality, the affix *ra* is added to the nominative case marker *may*. Since the agent is singular in this case, it corresponds to the singular pronoun, and we can thus conclude that the pronoun *to* tracks the agent. The clitic pronoun in this construction thus agrees in number with the agent.

Benton (1971, p.145) describes this process, where a clitic pronoun agrees with an argument in the sentence, as a “cross-reference” relationship. He theorised that an “attributive pronoun may be followed by a phrase marked as topic [termed ‘nominative’ in this paper], identifying the entity represented by the pronoun”. Here, we will refer to the phenomenon as “clitic doubling”, borrowing Anagnostopoulou (2006, p.520)’s definition that clitic doubling is a phenomenon where “a clitic co-occurs with a full DP in argument position forming a discontinuous constituent with it.”

4. 2 Distribution of Clitic Doubling

The distribution of where clitic doubling can and cannot occur in Pangasinan is interesting to explore. In general, with exceptions, clitic doubling can only occur in PV constructions where there are two nominative arguments, but there are no equivalents in AV constructions. Adding *to* to any sentence which has a verb with AV morphology will lead to ungrammaticality:

- (47) a. Amay bien ugaw nanpu-niti (*=to) la lakin ugaw.
 NOM female child AV.PFV-hit =3SG.GEN GEN male child
 ‘The girl hit the boy.’
- b. * Amay bien ugaw nanpu-niti =to-may lakin ugaw.
 NOM female child AV.PFV-hit =3SG.GEN-NOM male child
 ‘The girl hit the boy.’

- c. Amay bien ugaw pinu-niti =to-may lakin ugaw.
 NOM female child PV.PFV-hit =3SG.GEN-NOM male child
 ‘The girl hit the boy.’

(47a) is only grammatical when the clitic pronoun, *to* is removed. (47b) is the AV counterpart to the PV sentence in (47c), yet (47c) is grammatical whereas (47b) is not. This shows that clitic pronouns are not allowed to occur when the verb displays AV morphology. Why clitic doubling is disallowed in sentences where the verb is marked with AV morphology is probably because AV morphology requires a nominative third-person clitic pronoun instead of the genitive one, but as mentioned in Chapter 3.4, there is no nominative third-person clitic pronoun in Pangasinan. Thus, clitic doubling necessarily cannot appear in AV sentences.

An exception to this rule arises when the pivot agent is plural. In such cases, the third-person clitic pronoun *ra* is allowed to appear optionally, even if the verb exhibits an AV voice morphology. This can be observed in (48):

- (48) Nanpu-niti (**ra**) la lakin ugaw ira-may bien ugaw.
 AV.PFV-hit (3PL.NOM) GEN male child PL-NOM female child
 ‘The girls hit the boy.’

This exception is not unexpected, because according to Reid & Liao (2004), languages such as Ilocano, which is closely related to Pangasinan, only has agreement marking when the nominative noun phrase is third-person

plural, as seen in (49).

(49) **Ilocano** (Reid & Liao, 2004, p. 446)

Naturog=da dagiti ubbing.
sleep=3PL.NOM DET.PL.NOM children
‘The children are asleep.’

Reid & Liao (2004) observed that the languages with this phenomenon only have agreement marking for third-person plural arguments but not third-person singular arguments since there is no third-person singular nominative pronoun. This is also the case in Pangasinan, which has a third-person plural nominative pronoun *ra*, and third-person singular genitive pronoun *to*, but no corresponding third-person nominative singular pronoun.

In addition, another restriction to clitic doubling is that in PV clauses, this process cannot occur in any sentence which has one argument marked nominative and another marked genitive. In other words, *to*, *da* and *ra* cannot co-occur with *la*, if the verb is marked with PV morphology.

(50) Pinu-niti (*=to) la lakin ugaw may bien ugaw.
PV.PFV-hit =3SG.GEN GEN male child NOM female child
‘The boy hit the girl.’

Under certain circumstances, clitic doubling is obligatory. These scenarios are what this paper will refer to as ‘double nominative constructions’,

which is a cross-linguistically marked phenomenon where both the agent and theme in a sentence receives nominative case.

CHAPTER 5 THE DOUBLE NOMINATIVE CONSTRUCTION

The double nominative construction is surprising. (51) is (44a) repeated here:

- (51) Sin-aliw =to-**may** lakin ugaw **may** lapis.
Buy-PV.PFV =3SG.GEN-NOM male child NOM pen
'The boy bought the pen.'

In (51), the nominative case marker *may* repeats twice, once marking the non-pivot agent *lakin ugaw* 'boy' and once marking the pivot theme *lapis* 'pen'. This is unexpected because case markings are normally used to disambiguate between the different semantic theta roles in a transitive sentence. Yet in this case, both the agent and theme are marked with the same case marker.

This phenomenon of double postverbal nominative marking does not occur in Pangasinan's sister languages, such as Bikol:

- (52) **Bikol** (Erlewine & Lim, 2018, p. 8):

* Pigbakal **su** babayi sa tindahan **su** keso.
Buy.PV NOM woman DAT store NOM cheese
'The woman bought cheese at the store.'

In Bikol, postverbally, there cannot be two nominative arguments. This ungrammaticality is expected because if both the agent and theme are marked with nominative case, it might be hard to tease apart which argument is the agent and which is the theme. This is especially so when both arguments are animate.

In Pangasinan, however, the double nominative is a common phenomenon for verbs with PV voice morphology. In fact, in translation tasks, the unmarked PV sentence typically contains a nominative pivot theme together with a nominative non-pivot agent, both marked with *may*, such as in (51). Another example of a typical PV sentence in Pangasinan is shown in (53):

- (53) Pinu-niti =to-**may** lakin ugaw **may** bien ugaw.
hit-PV.PROG =3SG.GEN-NOM male child NOM female child
Ag Th
'The boy hit the girl.'

In (53), both arguments, the agent and the theme are marked with the nominative case marker *may*. However, it is completely unambiguous which argument is doing the hitting and which one is being hit, even though both arguments are animate. Here, the third-person pronoun *to* precedes the non-pivot agent, but *tomay* can precede the pivot theme as well:

- (54) Amay lakin ugaw pinu-niti =to-may bien ugaw.
 NOM male child hit-PV.PROG =3SG.GEN-NOM female child

Ag

Th

‘The boy hit the girl.’

Likewise, the interpretation of (54) is completely unambiguous, even though *tomay* now appears in front of the thematic argument. (53) and (54) still mean the same, even though a different argument follows *tomay* in each case.

Thus, it seems like the position of the clitic pronoun is not restricted by the argument that follows it. Rather, it seems like the clitic pronoun must invariably directly follow the verb, regardless of the argument it precedes. Failure to follow the verb results in ungrammaticality, as in (55):

- (55) * **Akanen** may siwet =**to**-may sira.
Eat.PV.PROG NOM bird =3SG.GEN-NOM fish
‘The bird is eating the fish.’

The double nominative can occur in sentences containing proper nouns as well. For instance, in (56), both the agent *John* and theme *Mary* receives the nominative proper noun case marker *si*:

- (56) Pinu-niti =to si John si Mary.
PV.PFV-hit =3SG.GEN NOM John NOM Mary
 Ag **Th**
‘John hit Mary.’

Again, even though both arguments are marked nominative here, there is no ambiguity on which argument is the agent and which is the theme.

Important to note is that the clitic pronoun, *to*, must be present. Failure to include a clitic pronoun in double nominative constructions will result in ungrammaticality:

- (57) Pinu-niti *(=to)-may lakin ugaw may bien ugaw.
 hit-PV.PROG =3SG.GEN-NOM male child NOM female child
 ‘The boy hit the girl.’

Also important to note is that like clitic doubling as mentioned in Chapter 4.2, the double nominative can occur in, and only in sentences where the verb has PV morphology. Any attempts to mark both pivot agent and non-pivot theme with nominative cases when the verb displays AV morphology will result in ungrammaticality:

- (58) * Ang-aliw =to-may lakin ugaw may aso.
 AV.PFV-buy 3SG.GEN-NOM male child NOM dog
 ‘The boy bought the dog.’

This is even so when the clitic pronoun is removed (since we know that clitic pronouns cannot occur when there is AV morphology and the agent is singular):

- (59) * Ang-aliw may lakin ugaw may aso.
 AV.PFV-buy NOM male child NOM dog

‘The boy bought the dog.’

Since both clitic doubling and the double nominative cannot occur when the verb is AV marked, it might be that the double nominative construction is closely correlated to the phenomenon of clitic doubling. Because clitic doubling cannot occur under AV conditions, the double nominative cannot as well. We can thus assume a correlation between clitic doubling and the double nominative construction.

5. 1 Types of Double Nominative Constructions

Besides double nominatives that use *may* and *si*, other types of double nominative constructions are present. Namely, the other nominative case marker, *su*, can be used as well, as in (60):

- (60) Sin-aliw =to-**may** lakin ugaw **su** lapis.
 PV.PFV-buy =3SG.GEN-NOM male child NOM pen
 Ag Th

‘The boy bought the pen.’

Here, the *may* used to mark the pivot theme is replaced by *su*. Note however, that the clitic pronoun still directly follows the verb.

However, there are essential differences between the nominative case markers *may* and *su* when we look at them in the context of a double

nominative construction.

For starters, even though a double nominative construction can have double *may* markings, it cannot have double *su* markings:

- (61) * Sin-aliw =to **su** lakin ugaw **su** lapis.
 PV.PFV-buy =3SG.GEN male child NOM pen
 ‘The boy bought a pen.’

Using *su* to mark both the pivot theme and the non-pivot agent thus results in ungrammaticality.

Next, although non-pivots and pivots can both be marked with *may*, only pivot themes can be marked with *su*:

- (62) a. Pinu-niti =to **su** bien ugaw may lakin ugaw.
 PV.PFV-hit =3SG.GEN NOM female child NOM male child
Th Ag
 ‘The boy hit the girl.’
- b. Pinu-niti =to-**may** bien ugaw **su** lakin ugaw.
 PV.PFV-hit =3SG.GEN-NOM female child NOM male child
Ag Th
 ‘The girl hit the boy.’

In (62a), when we try to replace the *may* of the non-pivot agent with *su*, the resultant sentence is (62b), with the interpretation completely reversed. Instead of obtaining the meaning where the boy is the agent and the girl is

the theme, their semantic roles are reversed. There seems to be a hierarchy between the nominative case markers *may* and *su*, such that *su* is solely used to mark pivots. On the other hand, *may* can be used to mark both pivots and non-pivots.

It is also important to note in this example that when there is a double nominative, the word order of the argument marked with *su* does not matter. In (62a), the nominative theme marked with *su* appears directly following the verb, violating a restriction mentioned in Chapter 3.2 that *su* cannot directly follow the verb, for interpretative purposes. However, why *su* can follow the verb is due to a clitic pronoun intervening between the verb and the pivot theme, and also because there is no genitive argument in the construction. Thus, even if the *su* in (62a) undergoes phonological reduction to the suffix *-y*, there will be no confusion over whether it is a nominative marker *su* or genitive marker *la*.

Lastly, we can tell the difference between *may* and *su* when we look at proper nouns. For proper nouns, there is no split between 2 different case markers that might represent *may* and *su* respectively. Thus, the proper nominative case marker *si* should either correspond to the behaviour of *may* or the behaviour of *su*. Replacing one argument in each sentence with a proper noun, we can observe that the proper nominative case marker *si* behaves in a manner that is closer to the behaviour of *may* instead of *su*. Note that the interpretations in (63) are all unambiguous, despite the

different markers used and different word order of arguments:

- (63) a. Pinu-niti =to **su** bien ugaw **may** lakin ugaw.
 PV.PFV-hit =3SG.GEN NOM female child NOM male child
Th Ag

‘The boy hit the girl.’

- b. Pinu-niti =to **su** bien ugaw **si** John.
 PV.PFV-hit =3SG.GEN NOM female child NOM John
Th Ag

‘John hit the girl.’

- c. Pinu-niti =to **si** John **may** bien ugaw.
 PV.PFV-hit =3SG.GEN NOM John NOM female child
Ag Th

‘John hit the girl.’

(63a) is (62a) repeated here, where the pivot theme is marked with *su* and the non-pivot agent is marked with *may*, with the theme appearing preceding the agent. When we attempt to replace *may* with *si* in (63b), we successfully replace the agent from *lakin ugaw* ‘boy’ to *John*. However, when we replace *su* with *si* in (63c), we are unable to replace the theme of the sentence, *bien ugaw* ‘the girl’, with *John*. Instead, given the interpretation of the sentence in (63c), John becomes the agent.

In addition, as seen in (56), repeated here as (64), double *si* markings can exist.

- (64) Pinu-niti =to **si** John **si** Mary.
 PV.PFV-hit =3SG.GEN NOM John NOM Mary
 ‘John hit Mary.’

As previously established, there can be double *may* markings, but there cannot be double *su* markings. Thus, the proper nominative case marker *si* behaves closer to *may* than *su*.

Thus, the last difference between *may* and *su* is that *may* can be replaced with *si*, but *su* cannot.

Table 3 below summarises the differences between *may* and *su* (the first point is taken from Chapter 3.1 and pertains to the differences between *may* and *su* in general, the rest are from this chapter and only pertain to double nominative constructions). Thus, even though *may* and *su* both serve the same syntactic function of being nominative case markers, they must be used with caution as there are differences between the two.

<i>May</i>	<i>Su</i>
Can mark plural arguments by adding the prefix <i>ira-</i> to form <i>iramay</i> .	Can only mark plural arguments when the first syllable of the nominative argument is reduplicated.
The proper noun nominative case marker <i>si</i> behaves like <i>may</i> .	The proper noun nominative case marker <i>si</i> does not behave like <i>su</i> .
In PV sentences, both the pivot theme and non-pivot agent can receive the <i>may</i> case marker, though the non-pivot agent requires clitic doubling.	In PV sentences, only the pivot theme can receive <i>su</i> .
Word order is rigid when we look at double nominative constructions receiving double <i>mays</i> .	Word order is not fixed when we look at double nominative constructions where the pivot receives <i>su</i> and the non-pivot receives <i>may</i> .

Table 3: Differences between *may* and *su*

The last difference mentioned in Table 3 about word order has been briefly alluded to in this chapter, but word orders in double nominative constructions will be talked about in greater detail in Chapter 6. However, before we proceed to a discussion of word order, it is imperative to consider an alternative possible interpretation of *may*. In addition to it being a nominative case marker, *may* might be a genitive case marker as well.

5. 2 *May* as a Possible Genitive Marker?

The differences between *may* and *su* are puzzling. In a double nominative construction, only double *mays* are allowed, but double *sus* are definitely not. This raises the possibility of an alternative analysis that there might be two different underlying morphemes present in Pangasinan, one corresponding to the nominative case marker and the other corresponding to a genitive case marker, of which both over time evolved and are realised on the surface as homophonous *mays*. If this analysis is indeed true, there would be no double nominative constructions in Pangasinan, as one *may*, the one marking the pivot, would be a nominative case marker, whereas the other *may* marking the non-pivot would be a genitive case marker which coincidentally has the same surface form as the nominative case marker. It is not out of line to think about a nominative and genitive marker having the same surface form in Pangasinan, since as mentioned previously, both nominative case marker *su* and genitive case marker *la* can actually take the same form in terms of a *-y* suffix.

This analysis would explain a few peculiarities in the language. Firstly, it would allow us to make sense of why, when *su* and *may* coexist, only *su* can be used to mark the pivot, whereas *may* has to be used to mark the non-pivot. This is because when *su* and *may* appear together, the relevant *may* that manifests is the genitive *may* marking the non-pivot agent which traditionally receives genitive case.

Secondly, it would allow us to make sense of example (43a), repeated here as (65):

- (65) Amay lapis =to-may lakin ugaw ambalanga.
 NOM pen =3SG.GEN-GEN? male child red
 ‘The boy’s pen is red.’

Here, *may* is used in conjunction with the clitic pronoun *to* to mark possession linking the possessed to the possessor, a job traditionally done by the genitive case marker. If genitive *may* indeed exists, then it would explain why *may* would be used in this scenario.

However, there are still some inconsistencies if we adopt this analysis. For instance, the genitive *may* analysis will not support the difference where *may* can be replaced by *si* but *su* cannot. If we were to maintain the distinction that the differences between *may* and *su* is because *may* is a genitive marker whereas *su* is a nominative marker, it would mean that *si* might also be a genitive case marker.

However, it seems highly unlikely that *si* is a genitive case marker because *si* is never used in terms of possession:

- (66) a. * Amay ina si Mary saisentay singkan taon la.
 NOM mother GEN? Mary sixty five age GEN
 ‘Mary’s mum is 65 years old.’
 b. Amay ina nen Mary saisentay singkan taon la.
 NOM mother GEN Mary sixty five age GEN

‘Mary’s mum is 65 years old.’

Only *nen*, the correct genitive proper noun marker can be used to mark possession. Since *si* behaves like *may*, it cannot be that *may* is a genitive marker.

Furthermore, if *may* were to be a genitive marker, another problem is created as we would have to explain away the differences between *may* and *la*.

For instance, there must be an account of why double *may* markings are not allowed in AV sentences. If there really were a genitive *may*, there is no reason that this genitive *may* should not be allowed to mark non-pivot themes in AV sentences. For instance, the example mentioned above in (58) could be glossed as follows (the clitic pronoun is removed as clitic doubling is a feature of the double nominative. Since there is only one nominative argument, there should not be a need for a clitic):

- (67) * Ang-aliw may lakin ugaw may aso.
 AV.PFV-buy NOM male child GEN dog
 ‘The boy bought the dog.’

However, (67) is ungrammatical. Theoretically, if *may* could be a genitive marker, we would expect this to be completely fine, as the pivot agent receives nominative case and the non-pivot theme receives genitive case, as

is expected in AV clauses. However, the sentence in (67) is ruled out as ungrammatical in Pangasinan.

More importantly, if we were to maintain that *may* is a genitive marker, we would have to account for why clitic doubling only occurs when the genitive *may* is used, and not when the genitive *la* is used.

- (68) a. Sin-aliw (*=**to**) la lakin ugaw may lapis.
 PV.PFV-buy 3SG.GEN GEN male child NOM pen
 ‘The boy bought the pen.’
- b. Sin-aliw *(=**to**)-may lakin ugaw may lapis.
 PV.PFV-buy =3SG.GEN-GEN? male child NOM pen
 ‘The boy bought the pen.’

The following two tables list the scenarios where clitic doubling does and does not occur, considering competing hypotheses of *may* being nominative and *may* being genitive. Table 4 shows the distribution of clitic doubling if *may* were hypothetically nominative, and Table 5 shows the distribution of clitic doubling if *may* were hypothetically genitive.

For **nominative** *may*:

Voice	Scenario	Number/Type of arguments	Does clitic doubling occur?
PV	Two <i>may</i> markings	Two nominatives	Yes, of Agent
	One <i>su</i> marking and one <i>may</i> marking	Two nominatives	Yes, of Agent
AV or PV	One <i>may</i> marking and one <i>la</i> marking	One nominative, one genitive	No
	One <i>su</i> marking and one <i>la</i> marking	One nominative, one genitive	No

Table 4: Distribution of Clitic Doubling if *may* were hypothetically **nominative**

For **genitive** *may*:

Voice	Scenario	Number/Type of arguments	Does clitic doubling occur?
PV	Two <i>may</i> markings	One nominative, one genitive	Yes, of Agent
	One <i>su</i> marking and one <i>may</i> marking	One nominative (<i>su</i>), one genitive (<i>may</i>)	Yes, of Agent
AV or PV	One <i>may</i> marking and one <i>la</i> marking	One nominative, one genitive	No
	One <i>su</i> marking and one <i>la</i> marking	One nominative, one genitive	No

Table 5: Distribution of Clitic Doubling if *may* were hypothetically **genitive**

In Table 4, the distribution of clitic doubling is highly consistent. As long as there are two nominative arguments, clitic doubling occurs. This indicates that clitic doubling is dependent on the number and type of arguments in the sentence.

However, this consistency is not replicated in Table 5. Even though in all scenarios there is one nominative and one genitive argument, clitic doubling occurs in the first two scenarios but not the last two.

Thus, it would be more parsimonious to claim that the pattern in Table 4 is correct and that *may* is nominative. We can then generalise that clitic doubling occurs when there are two nominative arguments but does not occur when one argument is nominative and the other is genitive.

From the available evidence, we can thus safely conclude that *may* is not a genitive marker, and instead, Pangasinan has double nominative constructions. Further research has to be done in order to account for the theoretical implications of the differences between *may* and *su*, see Chapter 8 on further research below.

CHAPTER 6 WORD ORDER

Now that we have dismissed the possibility of *may* being a genitive case marker, we can safely proceed on to a discussion of how word order relates to case in Pangasinan.

Generally, word order in Pangasinan is relatively free because of its use of case markers, as previously discussed. Like most Philippine languages, as mentioned in Chapter 2.1, Pangasinan is dominantly predicate-initial, especially in its spoken variety.

However, certain word order restrictions apply, some of which have already been discussed in previous chapters but will be repeated here as a form of summary.

6. 1 Word Order Restrictions in Pangasinan

First, I discussed in Chapter 4 word order with regards to the clitic pronoun. Clitic pronouns must invariably follow the verb. This is a strict restriction with any exceptions resulting in ungrammaticality.

Second, in sentences where the verb exhibits PV morphology and there is one nominative and one genitive argument, *su* cannot occur directly following the verb (Chapter 3.2). This is hypothesised to be so to avoid

confusion between *su* and *la* when they phonologically reduce to the *-y* suffix, as it is common for the genitive marker *la* to cliticise on verbs when it is phonologically reduced.

Third, verbs in transitive sentences cannot occur in final position. This means that it is not possible to have two preverbal arguments:

- (69) a. * Amay lakin ugaw la bien ugaw nanpu-niti
 NOM male child GEN female child AV.PFV-hit
 ‘The boy hit the girl.’
 b. * Amay lakin ugaw la bien ugaw pinu-niti
 NOM male child GEN female child PV.PFV-hit
 ‘The girl hit the boy.’

Ungrammaticality results when clauses end with a verb, regardless of whether the verb is AV (as in (69a)) or PV (as in (69b)).

The last word order restriction will form the topic of discussion for the rest of this chapter. It is an important restriction because it informs interpretation of semantic roles in transitive sentences. This word order restriction is that when there are double *may* or *si* markings in a sentence, **the agent must always precede the theme**. This is regardless of whether a verb intervenes between the agent and the theme.

- (70) a. Amay lakin ugaw luluto-en =to-may sira.
 NOM male child cook-PV.PROG =3SG.GEN-NOM fish
 Ag Th

‘The boy is cooking the fish.’

- b. * Amay sira luluto-en =to-may lakin ugaw.
 NOM fish cook-PV.PROG =3SG.GEN-NOM male child
Th Ag

‘Intended: The boy is cooking the fish.’ (Grammatical as: ‘The fish is cooking the boy.’)

- c. Luluto-en =to-may lakin ugaw may sira.
 Cook-PV.PROG =3SG.GEN-NOM male child NOM fish
Ag Th

‘The boy is cooking the fish.’

- d. * Luluto-en =to-may sira may lakin ugaw.
 Cook-PV.PROG =3SG.GEN-NOM fish NOM male child
Th Ag

‘Intended: The boy is cooking the fish.’ (Grammatical as: ‘The fish is cooking the boy.’)

As can be seen in (70), interpretations are reversed when the word order changes between agent and theme. Note that the ungrammaticalities in (70b) and (70d) are not a result of a restriction that requires agents to always precede themes. In examples where non-pivot agents are marked with genitive case instead, themes can precede agents without affecting their interpretation:

- (71) a. Amay sira luluto-en la lakin ugaw
 NOM fish cook-PV.PROG GEN male child
Th Ag

‘The boy is cooking the fish.’

- b. Luluto-en may sira la lakin ugaw
Cook-PV.PFV NOM fish GEN male child
 Th **Ag**

‘The boy is cooking the fish.’

It is also important to note in (71a) that there are no restrictions in themes being extracted to the pre-verbal position as long as they are pivots.

Thus, only in sentences with double *may* marking must agents obligatorily precede themes. A fixed word order for such cases is logical, because without fixing word order, it would be hard to interpret which argument is the theme and which argument is the agent. This is particularly so for sentences with two animate arguments as in (72):

- (72) Pinu-niti =to-may bien ugaw may lakin ugaw.
PV.PFV-hit =3SG.GEN-NOM female child NOM male child
 Ag **Th**

‘The girl hit the boy.’ (*‘The boy hit the girl.’)

With fixed word order, in (72), even though both arguments are marked with the nominative case marker, we know that the argument *bien ugaw* ‘the girl’ is the one doing the hitting and not being hit, as *bien ugaw* is the argument that comes first linearly. Word order restrictions thus help to disambiguate semantic roles.

One last thing we have to ascertain is if the relevant word order restriction is because agents must always precede themes, or because agents must always occur beside the verb. We can disambiguate between these two scenarios through the insertion of an adjunct:

- (73) Pinu-niti =to [ed eskwelaan] may lakin ugaw may
 PV.PFV-hit =3SG.GEN [DAT school] NOM male child NOM
 bien ugaw.
 female child
 ‘The boy hit the girl at school.’

In (73), inserting a locational adjunct, *ed eskwelaan* ‘at school’ separates the agent from the verb. This confirms that the relevant restriction is that agents must precede themes, and not that agents must directly be beside verbs. However, note here that unlike the agent, the clitic pronoun must still directly follow the verb.

6. 2 Exceptions to Word Order Restrictions

There are, however, exceptions to the abovementioned word order restriction. These involve the cases where there is double *may* marking, but there is a mismatch between the number of the agent and the theme. In cases where the agent is singular, but the theme is plural, and cases where the agent is plural, but the theme is singular, the agent-before-theme word order restriction does not apply. Instead, in such sentences, word order is

free. First considering the singular agent, plural theme case:

- (74) a. Luluto-en =to-ra-may sira may lakin ugaw.
Cook-PV.PROG =3SG.GEN-PL-NOM fish NOM male child
Th Ag

‘The boy is cooking the fishes.’

- b. Luluto-en =to-may lakin ugaw ira-may sira.
Cook-PV.PROG =3SG.GEN-NOM male child PL-NOM fish
Ag Th

‘The boy is cooking the fishes.’

- c. Ira-may sira luluto-en =to-may lakin ugaw.
 PL-NOM fish cook-PV.PROG =3SG.GEN-NOM male child
Th Ag

‘The boy is cooking the fishes.’

- d. Amay lakin ugaw luluto-en =to-ra-may sira
NOM male child cook-PV.PROG =3SG.GEN-PL-NOM fish
Ag **Th**

‘The boy is cooking the fishes.’

In (74a) & (74c), we can see that even though both agent and theme are marked with *may*, the plural theme, *sira* ‘fish’, is able to precede the agent, *lakin ugaw* ‘boy’. This is a word order which is **not** permissible when both arguments are singular.

Likewise, in cases where the agent is plural, and the theme is singular, the thematic argument can precede the agent:

- (75) a. Luluto-en =da-may sira ira-may lakin ugaw.
Cook-PV.PROG =3PL.GEN-NOM fish PL-NOM male child
Th Ag

'The boys are cooking the fish.'
- b. Luluto-en =da-ra-may lakin ugaw may sira.
Cook-PV.PROG =3PL.GEN-PL-NOM male child NOM fish
Ag Th

'The boys are cooking the fish.'
- c. Amay sira luluto-en =da-ra-may lakin ugaw.
NOM fish cook-PV.PROG =3PL.GEN-PL-NOM male child
Th Ag

'The boys are cooking the fish.'
- d. Ira-may lakin ugaw luluto-en =da-may sira.
PL-NOM male child cook-PV.PROG =3PL.GEN-NOM fish
Ag Th

'The boys are cooking the fish.'

This relative flexibility of the word order is probably due to the semantic disambiguation provided by clitic doubling. As mentioned, the third-person pronominal clitic tracks the non-pivot agent argument. Thus, from the clitic pronoun, we can ascertain if the agent is singular or plural. For instance, if the clitic pronoun is *da* as in (75), we will be able to deduce that the agent is plural, and hence, must be marked by the plural nominative case marker *iramay* or plural affix *ra*. By this process, we can then deduce that the argument *sira* ‘the fish’, marked with the singular nominative marker *may*, is not the agent, but the theme. Conversely, if the singular third-person

pronoun *to* follows the verb as in (74), we know that the agentive argument is singular. Therefore, the argument marked by the plural nominative marker *iramay* or plural affix *ra* cannot be the agent. The agent is thus the argument *lakin ugaw* ‘the boy’, which is the singular argument.

To further confirm this hypothesis, we can look at cases where there are plural agents and plural themes. In these cases, we cannot determine which argument is the agent and which is the theme based on the clitic pronoun present, since both arguments are plural. If what was hypothesised holds true, then word order between agent and theme in plural agent, plural theme cases should be fixed, with agents occurring before themes:

- (76) a. Pinu-niti =da-ra-may bien ugaw ira-may lakin ugaw.
 PV.PFV-hit 3PL.GEN-PL-NOM female child PL-NOM male child
Ag **Th**
 ‘The girls hit the boys.’
- b. * Pinu-niti =da-ra-may lakin ugaw iramay bien
 PV.PFV-hit 3PL.GEN-PL-NOM male child PL-NOM female
 ugaw.
 child
Th **Ag**
 ‘Intended: The girls hit the boys.’ (Grammatical as: ‘The boys
 hit the girls.’)

This is indeed the case. When we try to swap the order of the arguments in (76a), we get (76b), which is ungrammatical for the translation ‘the girls

hit the boys'. Instead, because the argument *lakin ugaw* 'boy' now comes first, the interpretation is reversed, with 'the boys' being interpreted as the agent of the sentence.

This evidence suggests that the agent-before-theme word order restriction in Pangasinan has its motivations in semantic interpretation. This restriction will not exist if we can disambiguate which is the agent and which is the theme from the clitic pronoun.

CHAPTER 7 IDENTIFICATION OF SEMANTIC THETA ROLES IN PANGASINAN

The identification of semantic theta roles in Pangasinan thus depends on a complex confluence of factors including the case markers used, the clitic pronoun present, and the word order. This chapter will now summarise the findings of this paper to provide an approach to interpreting simple transitive sentences in Pangasinan. Figure 1 below is a summary on how transitive sentences with two arguments in Pangasinan can be interpreted. All single transitive sentences in Pangasinan fall under four possible scenarios as marked out by the flow chart. The sections that follow will detail each of the possible scenarios, presenting how arguments will look both in their singular and plural forms.

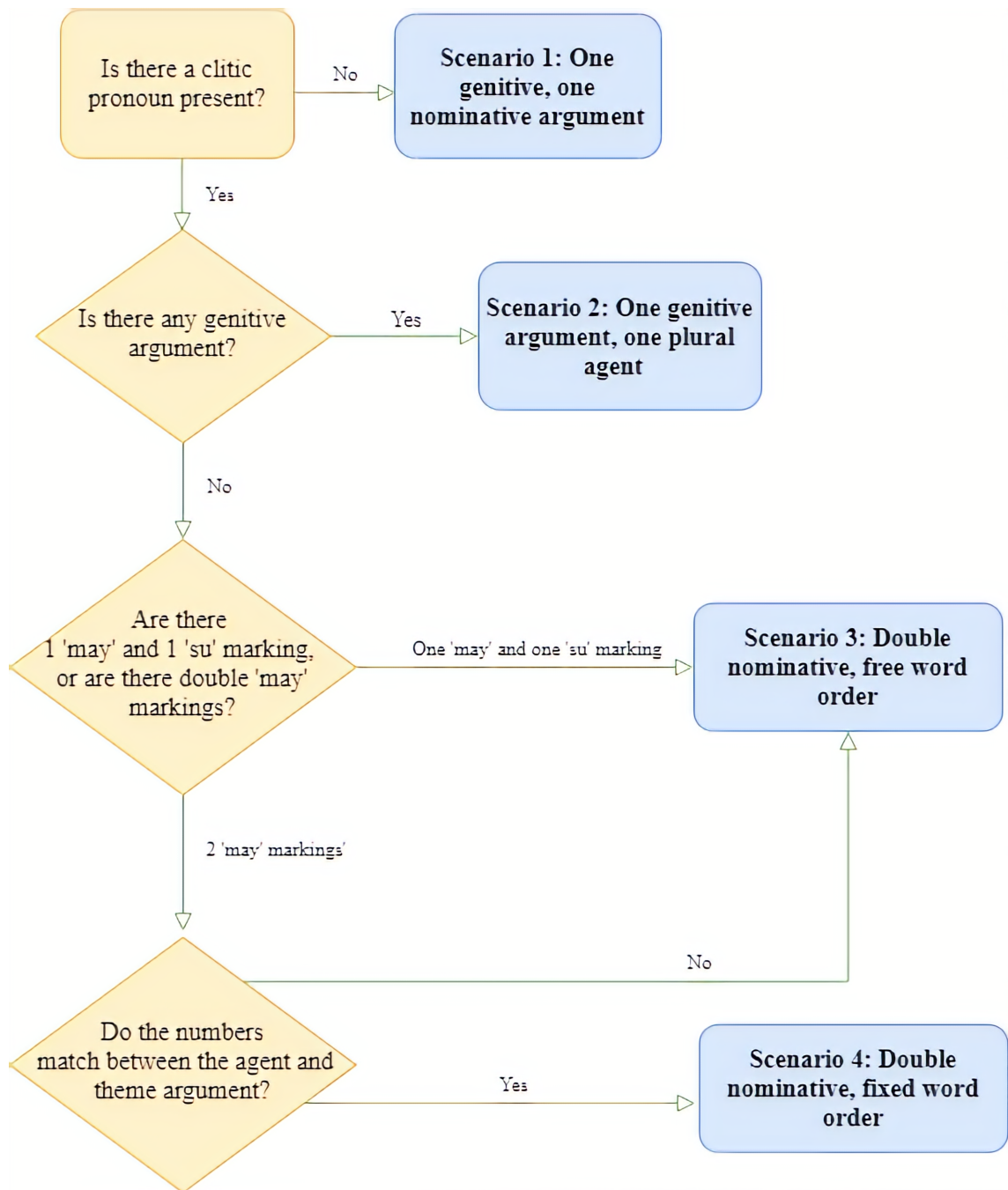


Figure 1: Flow Chart of Possible Scenarios in Pangasinan

7. 1 Scenario 1: One Genitive, One Nominative argument

Clitic doubling is a feature of double nominative constructions (except for Scenario 2). Thus, when there is no clitic doubling, we can assume that the sentence only contains one nominative and one genitive argument. Under such circumstances, if the verb displays AV voice morphology, the one that receives nominative case marking is the pivot agent and the one that receives genitive case marking is the non-pivot theme. Conversely, if the verb exhibits PV voice morphology, the one that receives nominative case marking is the pivot theme and the one that receives genitive case marking is the non-pivot agent.

Generally, in Scenario 1, word order of the agent and theme is relatively free. The only exceptions are that non-pivots cannot appear pre-verbally, and that if *su* is used as the nominative case marker, it cannot directly follow the verb.

The genitive case marker used in this scenario is invariably *la*. This case marker cannot be pluralised, but the genitive argument can be pluralised in two ways:

- (77) a. Amay lakin ugaw ang-aliw la **dakel la** aso.
NOM male child AV.PFV-buy GEN many GEN dog
'The boy bought many dogs.'

- b. Amay lakin ugaw nanpu-niti la **bi**-bien ugaw.
 NOM male child AV.PFV-hit GEN PL-female child
 ‘The boy hit the girls.’

One way of pluralising the genitive argument is by adding the quantifier *dakel la* before the argument, as in (77a). This pluralises the genitive argument but alters its meaning slightly.

The other way of pluralising the genitive argument is by reduplicating the first syllable of the genitive argument. This allows the genitive argument to be pluralised without adding additional adjuncts. However, it is not the case that all NPs can undergo such reduplication. For instance, in (77b), the root word for ‘female’, *bien*, can undergo first syllable reduplication for pluralisation. However, the root word for ‘dog’, *aso* cannot undergo reduplication; there is no word *aaso* meaning ‘dogs’. For such NPs where reduplication is not available as a means of pluralisation, the only way to make the genitive argument plural is to add the quantifier *dakel la*.

7. 2 Scenario 2: One Genitive, One Plural Agent

If a plural clitic pronoun and genitive case markings co-exist, it must be that the **agent** of the construction is plural, with a plural nominative clitic occurring right after the verb. Note that this is regardless of whether the agent is the pivot or the non-pivot of the sentence. As long as the agent of

the sentence is plural, clitic doubling can occur.

- (78) a. Nanpu-niti ra la lakin ugaw ira-may bien ugaw.
AV.PFV-hit 3PL.NOM GEN male child PL-NOM female child
Th **Ag**
- 'The girls hit the boy.'
- b. Pinu-niti =da-may lakin ugaw la bi-bien ugaw.
PV.PFV-hit =3PL.GEN-NOM male child GEN PL-female child
Th **Ag**
- 'The girls hit the boy.'

In (78a), the agent is the pivot which receives nominative case. The *ira-* prefix to the case marker indicates that the agent is plural. In (78b), the agent is the non-pivot and hence receives genitive case. We can tell that the agent is plural through the first-syllable reduplication process as talked about previously. Clitic doubling can occur in both of these cases.

On the other hand, when the theme is pluralised while the agent is singular, clitic doubling cannot occur.

- (79) a. * Nanpu-niti =to la la-lakin ugaw may bien
AV.PFV-hit =3SG/3PL.GEN GEN PL-male child NOM female
ugaw.
child
- | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| | Th | Ag |
| ‘The girl hit the boys.’ | | |

- b. * Pinu-niti =to-ra-may lakin ugaw la bien
 PV.PFV-hit =3SG/3PL.GEN-PL-NOM male child GEN female
 ugaw.
 child

Th

Ag

‘The girl hit the boys.’

In (79a), the singular nominative case marker *may* marks that the pivot agent is singular, whereas the reduplication of the genitive argument *lakin ugaw* indicates that the non-pivot theme is plural. In this case, clitic doubling is not allowed. In (79b), the affix *ra* before the nominative case marker indicates that the pivot theme is plural, whereas the lack of reduplication in the genitive argument indicates that the non-pivot agent is singular. In this case, clitic doubling is not allowed as well.

This is so even when the clitic pronoun agrees in number with the thematic argument, though we have already established in Chapter 4 that the clitic pronoun must agree in number with the non-pivot theme.

- (80) a. * Nanpu-niti =ra la la-lakin ugaw may bien ugaw.
 AV.PFV-hit =3PL.NOM GEN PL-male child NOM female child

Th

Ag

‘The girl hit the boys.’

- b. * Pinu-niti =da-ra-may lakin ugaw la bien ugaw.
 PV.PFV-hit =3PL.GEN-PL-NOM male child GEN female child

Th

Ag

‘The girl hit the boys.’

Thus, if a sentence has a genitive argument and yet there is clitic doubling, the agent of the sentence must be plural, regardless if the agent is a pivot or a non-pivot.

7. 3 Scenario 3: Double Nominative, Free Word Order

Even though Scenarios 1 and 2 are possibilities that might occur regardless of what the voice morphology on the verb is, Scenarios 3 and 4 are possibilities that only occur when the verb displays PV morphology. This is because verbs with AV morphology do not allow sentences which have two nominative arguments, since clitic doubling does not occur in AV constructions. In AV constructions, there must at least be one genitive argument. Thus, the answer ‘no’ to the question ‘is there any genitive argument?’ in Figure 1 effectively filters out all AV sentences. The question is only phrased as such to provide leeway for PV constructions with genitive arguments to fall into Scenario 2.

As established previously, both *may* and *su* are nominative case markers. Thus, if a sentence has both *may* and *su*, the sentence has two nominative arguments. It also has been established that the pivot theme must always

be marked with *su*. The non-pivot agent is marked with *may*, since two *sus* cannot occur together in a single sentence.

Since it is extremely clear which argument is the agent and which is the theme from the case marking, in this scenario, word order does not matter.

7. 4 Scenario 4: Double Nominative, Fixed Word Order

Lastly, when a PV sentence has two *may* markings, it has two nominative arguments. In this case, generally, word order is fixed. The non-pivot agent has to precede the pivot theme to aid disambiguation of semantic roles.

The only exception is when there is a mismatch in the number of the agent and theme arguments. In this case, the clitic pronoun is recruited to help us determine which argument is the agent and which is the theme, and word order does not matter.

As this scenario has been discussed in detail in Chapter 6 above, it will not be further touched on in this section.

Chapters 7.1 through 7.4 thus provides us with an exhaustive list of possibilities for simple transitive sentences in Pangasinan. Considering word order, case markings used, phonological reduction, and the choice of whether to have one or two nominative arguments in a sentence, there can

be up to 22 ways to express a single transitive sentence in Pangasinan. The complete list of permissible combinations can be found in the Appendix at the end of this thesis.

CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSION AND FURTHER RESEARCH

In conclusion, this paper has provided a detailed description on how transitive sentences are interpreted in Pangasinan, an Austronesian language spoken in Luzon, Philippines. In the process of this description, the paper has delved into aspects of the Pangasinan syntax, including looking at word order, case marking, and the phenomenon of clitic doubling.

Though unusual, not all aspects of the Pangasinanese syntax are novel. For instance, many other Philippine languages do allow two nominative arguments, in cases where the non-pivot agent is topicalised (Erlewine & Lim, 2018):

- (81) **Tagalog** (De Guzman, 1995, p.56-57 ; reproduced in Erlewine & Lim, 2018, p. 48):

Ang nanay, lu-lutu-in (=niya) ang isda.
NOM mother IPFV-cook-PV =3SG.GEN NOM fish

‘The mother, (she) will cook the fish’

Similar to our discussion of Pangasinan non-pivot agents, here in Tagalog, we also see that the agent is in nominative case, even though it is not the pivot. Because the verb displays PV morphology, we should expect a genitive agent, but the agent here is nominative.

However, in Tagalog, the nominative case of the agent is because the agent is topicalised. Topicalisation refers to when some NP appears in initial pre-clausal position, “correferential with a gap/trace occurring somewhere in the clause” (Prince, 2000, p.10). In the Tagalog example above, the non-pivot agent only receives the nominative case because it has been A’ extracted to appear preverbally.

Conversely, in Pangasinan, even when the theme appears clause-initially, the postverbal agent can still receive nominative case marking:

- (82) Su/amay sira luluto-en =to-may lakin ugaw.
 NOM fish cook-PV.PFV =3SG.GEN-NOM male child
 ‘The boy is cooking the fish.’

Since nominative case is not dependent on topicalisation as it is in Tagalog and Bikol, further research has to be done to understand the theoretical underpinnings behind the double nominative construction in Pangasinan. Tentatively, this double nominative seem to be correlated to clitic doubling; though in the Tagalog example, the genitive enclitic pronoun is completely optional, in Pangasinan, omitting the clitic pronoun in double nominative constructions immediately result in ungrammaticality.

Furthermore, more research has to be done to study the syntactic and semantic differences between the nominative case markers *may* and *su*. Fully understanding their differences may allow us to gain further ground in

trying to understand the nature of the double nominative in Pangasinan, since non-pivot agents are never allowed to be marked with *su*.

To end off, it is hoped that this description of Pangasinan can form the base of more theoretically driven research to deepen the understanding of the seeming idiosyncrasies of the Pangasinan language, and its implications for the theory of syntax of Austronesian languages. At the same time, it is hoped that by supplementing the dearth of literature on the Pangasinan language, this paper can raise awareness for this relatively understudied language.

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APPENDIX

This appendix lists permissible word orders in Pangasinan for transitive sentences with **singular** arguments. The scenarios listed below are based off those described in Chapter 7. Scenario 2 is left out since it describes a situation where there are plural arguments.

Legend:

Ag	Agent
Th	Theme
V.AV	Verb with AV morphology
V.PV	Verb with PV morphology
(A)may, su	Nominative case markers (Refer to Chapter 3.1 for description)
la	Genitive case markers (Refer to Chapter 3.2 for description)
to	Clitic Pronoun (Refer to Chapter 4)

Permissible Word Orders in Pangasinan for Verbs with AV morphology

Scenario 1: One nominative one genitive	V.AV	may	Ag	la	Th
	V.AV	la	Th	may	Ag
	V.AV	la	Th	su	Ag
	V.AV	-y	Th	su	Ag
	V.AV	-y	Th	may	Ag
	Amay	Ag	V.AV	la	Th
	Su	Ag	V.AV	la	Th

Permissible Word Orders in Pangasinan for Verbs with PV morphology

Scenario 1: One nominative one genitive	V.PV	may	Th	la	Ag	
	V.PV	la	Ag	may	Th	
	V.PV	la	Ag	su	Th	
	V.PV	-y	Ag	su	Th	
	V.PV	-y	Ag	may	Th	
	Amay	Th	V.PV	la	Ag	
	Su	Th	V.PV	la	Ag	
Scenario 3: Double nominative, free word order	V.PV	to	may	Ag	su	Th
	V.PV	to	su	Th	may	Ag
	V.PV	to	-y	Th	may	Ag
	Amay	Ag	V.PV	to	su	Th
	Amay	Ag	V.PV	to	-y	Th
	Su	Th	V.PV	to	may	Ag
Scenario 4: Double nominative, fixed word order	V.PV	to	may	Ag	may	Th
	Amay	Ag	V.PV	to	may	Th