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Clitics and clause structure in Tagalog

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List of abbreviations used:

AV	active voice	NOM	nominative case
ADV	adverbial linker	NONVOL	non-volitive mood
BV	benefactive voice	OV	objective voice
COMP	complementizer	PERF	perfective aspect
DAT	dative case	PL	plural
DV	dative/locative voice	Q	question
FUT	future ("contemplated") aspect	SG	singular
GEN	genitive case	STAT	stative
HON	honorific	1	first person
IMPERF	imperfective aspect	2	second person
INV	inversion marker	3	third person
IV	instrumental voice	x-y	morpheme boundary
LNK	linker	x=y	clitic boundary
		x.y	word boundary

"Second position" is special in a surprising number of languages. In some (including various Germanic languages, the Kru languages of West Africa, and a number of Australian languages) the second element in a basic sentence must be either an auxiliary verb or (if there is no auxiliary) a finite verb form. Such languages are often referred to as "verb-second" (or V-2) languages. In many other languages there are certain lexical items (typically pronouns and/or "particles" of various kinds) which are required, or strongly preferred, to occur as the second element in the sentence. Such forms are often called SECOND-POSITION (or 2P) CLITICS.

This paper examines the distribution of second-position clitics in Tagalog, and attempts to use these clitics as a diagnostic tool for examining the phrase structure of Tagalog clauses. Two conclusions are suggested: First, even though the basic word-order in Tagalog is verb-initial, the language can be said to have the phrase structure of a verb-second language. Second, there is a fundamental difference in the structure of verbal clauses vs. non-verbal clauses. Non-verbal clauses in Tagalog are often CONFIGURATIONAL, meaning that the predicate phrase forms a constituent distinct from the subject. However, verbal clauses are always NON-CONFIGURATIONAL, suggesting that Tagalog lacks the category VP.

1. Second position clitics

The 2P clitics of Tagalog include nominative and genitive pronouns, question markers, aspectual particles, various markers of speaker's attitude, reportatives, etc. Schachter (1973) has presented a detailed discussion of the relative order of these clitic elements. Since (as

noted above) the basic word-order in Tagalog is verb-initial, these clitics normally occur immediately after the verb, as in (1) and (2). When a negative or other adverbial element appears in pre-verbal position, as in (3), the clitics will also precede the verb.

- (1) Ibinigay ko na ang=pera kay=Charlie.
IV-PERF-give 1.SG.GEN PERF NOM=money DAT=Charlie
I already gave the money to Charlie.
- (2) Nagtatrabaho rin ho ba kayo roon?
IMPERF-AV-work also HON Q 2.PL.NOM there
Are you working there too, sir? (Schachter and Otnes, 1972, p. 414)
- (3) Hindi pa man lamang tuloy nakakapag-almusal si=Juan.
not IMPERF even only as.result eat.breakfast NOM=Juan
As a result, Juan hasn't even had breakfast yet.
(Schachter and Otnes, 1972, p. 414)

The definition of “second position” varies somewhat from language to language. In some languages, 2P clitics always follow the first word of the sentence; in others, they follow the first constituent. In some languages, both possibilities are allowed under certain circumstances.

Schachter and Otnes (1972) report that some kinds of complex phrases always count as a single element for purposes of clitic placement:

- (4) a. [Bukas ng gabi nang alas.otso] siya aalis.
tomorrow GEN night ADV eight.o'clock 3.SG.NOM FUT.AV-leave
It's tomorrow night at eight that he's leaving.
- b. [Isa=ng taon at apat na buwan] siya.
one=LNK year and four LNK month 3.SG.NOM
He is one year and four months old.

Such examples show that second position clitics in Tagalog may, at least sometimes, follow the first constituent of the sentence rather than the first word. I will argue below that, contrary to appearances, this is in fact always the case (or at least the strongly preferred pattern).

2. Sentence-internal clause boundaries

The 2P clitics are extremely helpful for identifying clause boundaries within a complex sentence. It turns out that “second position” in Tagalog means second position in the clause, not the sentence; so a 2P clitic must always be the second element in its immediate clause. Example (5) contains a complement clause (set off in square brackets) following the complementizer *na*. The clitic particles *mo* and *na* immediately follow the complement verb *ibinigay*, because that verb is the first element their immediate clause:

- (5) Sinabihan ako ni=Luz na
 PERF-say-DV 1.SG.NOM GEN=Luz COMP
- [ibinigay mo na ang=pera kay=Charlie].
 IV-PERF-give 2.SG.GEN already NOM=money DAT=Charlie
I was told by Luz that you already gave the money to Charlie.

Example (6) contains a coordinate sentence in which the two conjoined clauses are separated by a pause. The fact that this pause corresponds to a clause boundary is confirmed by the position of the clitic particle *pa* immediately following the predicator of the second clause:

- (6) (Wolfenden, 1967, DL-118)
 Hindi mo pa ako mahahagkan sa=noo,
 not 2.SG.GEN IMPERF 1.SG.NOM NONVOL.FUT-kiss-DV DAT=forehead
- [sariwa pa ang=sugat].
 fresh IMPERF NOM=wound
You cannot kiss me on the forehead yet, the wound is still fresh.

Using 2P clitic placement as a test, we discover that some seemingly monoclausal constructions do in fact have internal clause boundaries. The following examples illustrate three constructions in which some element of the clause occurs before the verb. In each case, 2P clitics appear immediately after the verb, indicating that the verb is the first element of its immediate clause. In other words, there is an internal clause boundary separating the fronted element from the body of the clause:

- (7) **Cleft:**
 Ito=ng tasa ang [binili ko sa=pamilyahan].
 this=LNK cup NOM PERF-buy-OV I(GEN) DAT=market
This cup is what I bought at the market.

ay-Inversion:
 Ito=ng tasa ay [binili ko sa=pamilyahan].
 this=LNK cup INV PERF-buy-OV I(GEN) DAT=market
I bought this cup at the market.

Topicalization:
 Ito=ng tasa, [binili ko sa=pamilyahan].
 this=LNK cup PERF-buy-OV I(GEN) DAT=market
As for this cup, I bought it at the market.

- (8) **Cleft:**
 Si=Charlie ang [binigyan ko ng=pera].
 NOM=Charlie NOM PERF-give-DV I(GEN) GEN=money
Charlie is the one I gave (the) money to.

ay-Inversion:

Si=Charlie ay [binigyan ko ng=pera].
 NOM=Charlie INV PERF-give-DV I(GEN) GEN=money
I gave (the) money to Charlie.

Topicalization:

Si=Charlie, [binigyan ko ng=pera].
 NOM=Charlie PERF-give-DV I(GEN) GEN=money
As for Charlie, I gave her (the) money.

In all of these examples the clitic pronoun immediately follows the verb, indicating that the verb is the first element in its immediate clause. Contrast this pattern with another construction, which Schachter and Otnes (1972) call “Emphatic Inversion”, and which I will refer to as “Oblique Fronting”.¹ This construction is distinguished from the fronting processes illustrated above in at least two ways: first, because no intonation break is possible between the fronted element and the body of the clause; and second, by the placement of clitic pronouns (underlined in example (9)) immediately following the fronted element. The position of the clitics in these examples indicates that there is no internal clause boundary, i.e. that the fronted element is part of the same minimal clause as the rest of the sentence:

(9) Oblique Fronting ((a)-(c) from Schachter and Otnes, 1972, pp. 496-498)

- a. Dito siya magtatayo ng=bahay.
 here 3.SG.NOM FUT.AV-build GEN=house
Here he will build a house.
- b. [Para=kay Pedro] ko binili ang laruan.
 for=DAT Pedro I(GEN) PERF-buy-OV NOM toy
For Pedro I bought the toy.
- c. [Sa=akin] nila ibinigay ang premyo.
 DAT=me they(GEN) IV-PERF-give NOM prize
To me they gave the prize.
- d. [Sa=pamamagitan ng=makina] ako itinahi
 DAT=use GEN=sewing.machine I(NOM) BV.PERF-sew
 ni=Linda ng=damit
 GEN=Linda GEN=dress
With the sewing machine Linda sewed a dress for me.
- e. [Sa=opisina] siya amo, pero [sa=bahay] siya alipin.
 DAT=office 3.SG.NOM boss but DAT=house 3.SG.NOM slave
At the office he is the boss, but at home he is a slave.

¹Kroeger (1993) refers to this construction as “Adjunct Fronting”. However, as noted below, oblique arguments may appear as the fronted element in this construction as well as adjuncts.

Schachter and Otnes (1972, pp. 488-500) point out that certain adverbs can occur in several of these constructions. In the following sentences (based on examples from Schachter and Otnes, and following their English translations) the Topicalization and *ay*-Inversion constructions (10b-c) show the clitic pronoun following the verb. However, in the Oblique Fronting example (10a) the pronoun precedes the verb. Once again, this pattern shows that the fronted adverb is part of the smallest clause which contains the verb in (10a), but not in (10b-c):

(10) a. **Oblique Fronting**

Bukas siya aalis.
 tomorrow 3.SG.NOM FUT.AF-leave
It's tomorrow that he's leaving.

b. **Topicalization:**

Bukas, aalis siya.
Tomorrow, he's leaving.

c. ***ay*-Inversion:**

Bukas ay aalis siya.
Tomorrow he's leaving.

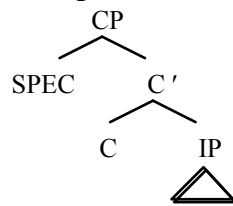
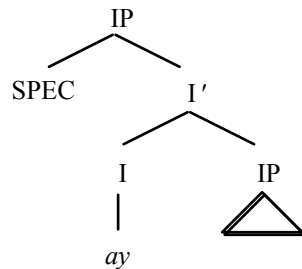
3. Phrase structure representation

Before we begin our discussion of Tagalog constituent structure, it will be helpful to clarify some of the category labels which will be used.² We will make use of two “functional categories”, C for COMP(lementizer) and I for INFL(ection).

INFL corresponds to the AUX(iliary) position of earlier versions of Transformational Grammar. This position will normally contain either an auxiliary or a finite (tensed) verb, and is assumed to be the head of the clause. Thus IP, the phrasal unit which has INFL (or AUX) as its head, is the clause. Our basic descriptive generalization is that the clitics we have been discussing must occupy the second position in the smallest IP which contains them.

CP, the phrasal unit which has COMP as its head, corresponds to the S' constituent used in earlier versions of Transformational Grammar. Both IP and CP include a “specifier” position, where various phrasal constituents may appear. Kroeger (1993, pp. 125-8) presents evidence for suggesting that the fronted elements in Topicalization and *ay*-Inversion occupy the SPEC(ifier) positions in the following structures:

²The version of X-bar theory adopted here is essentially that of Chomsky (1986), except for the use of “S” to represent small clause (see below).

(11) a. **Topicalization:**b. **ay-Inversion:**

For our present purposes, what is important is that the fronted elements in these structures are outside the minimal clause (IP) which contains the verb. It is the embedded IP which defines the domain of clitic placement.

3.1 Evidence for [SPEC, IP]

The position of the clitics in examples like (9) shows that the fronted element in the Oblique Fronting construction must be inside the minimal IP which contains the verb. In the model of phrase structure adopted here, the only pre-verbal position available which is inside the IP is the SPEC(ifier) of IP position, often designated [SPEC, IP].

Before proposing a complete Phrase Structure diagram for this construction, we will need to discuss the internal structure of the clause in greater detail. But first, let us think about where this analysis is leading us. If we claim that fronted elements like those in (9) occupy the [SPEC, IP] position, our model would predict that only one constituent at a time can appear in this position. In other words, we would predict that all preverbal material within the minimal clause (apart from the 2P clitics, of course) must form a single constituent.

In fact, this prediction appears to be essentially correct. We will consider two kinds of evidence which support this analysis.

3.1.1 Clitic placement

Examples like the following show that, when a phrase occurs in the [SPEC, IP] position, 2P clitics must appear at the end of the fronted phrase and never inside it. In other words, clitic placement always treats the fronted constituent as a single unit, and never as a sequence of distinct elements.

(12) from Schachter and Otnes, 1972, p. 190)

- a. [Buhat sa=Maynila] siya maglalakad.
 from DAT=Manila 3.SG.NOM AV.FUT-walk
He will walk from Manila.

b. *Buhat siya sa=Maynila maglalakad.

(13)

a. [Sa=matanda ko=ng kapatid] siya nagbigay
 DAT=old my=LNK sibling 3.SG.NOM PERF.AV-give

ng=sanlibo=ng peso.
 GEN=one.thousand=LNK peso

To my older brother he gave 1000 pesos.

b. *Sa=matanda ko siya=ng kapatid nagbigay ng=sanlibo=ng peso.

3.1.2 Negation

The interpretation of the negative element in the following sentences gives further support to our analysis, which predicts that all material before the clitic pronouns must be a single constituent in [SPEC, IP]:

(14) a. Hindi siya kinakausap ng=kahit ninuman sa=opisina.
 not 3.SG.NOM IMPERF-speak-OV GEN=even anyone(GEN) DAT=office
No one at all talks to him at the office.

b. Sa=opisina siya hindi kinakausap ng=kahit ninuman.
 DAT=office 3.SG.NOM not IMPERF-speak-OV GEN=even anyone(GEN)
At the office no one at all talks to him.

c. Hindi sa=opisina siya kinakausap ng=kahit ninuman
 not DAT=office 3.SG.NOM IMPERF-speak-OV GEN=even anyone(GEN)

(, pero sa=eskwela).
 but DAT=school

It is not at the office that everyone/anyone at all talks to him (but at school).
 (Not: **At the office no one at all talks to him.*)

d. Hindi sa=opisina siya hindi kinakausap ng=kahit ninuman.
 not DAT=office 3.SG.NOM not IMPERF-speak-OV GEN=even anyone
It is not at the office that no one at all talks to him.

The negative element *hindi* immediately precedes the material in its scope. The quantified NP *kahit sinuman* means ‘everyone/anyone at all’ in positive contexts and ‘no one at all’ in negative contexts. In example (14a), the negative in initial position has scope over the whole sentence. In example (14b), a locative adjunct occurs in [SPEC, IP]; the negative has scope over the material which follows it, but not over the locative. The crucial example is (14c). Here the negative can only have scope over the locative in [SPEC, IP], and not over the sentence as a whole; the quantified NP is not within the scope of the negative. Since a negative in initial position normally takes scope over the whole sentence, as in example (14a), example (14c) shows that the negative and the fronted locative obligatorily form a single constituent. This conclusion is supported by (14d), which contains two instances of

the negative *hindi*. Double negatives are normally ungrammatical, so the second *hindi* cannot be interpreted as being in the scope of the first, i.e. the first *hindi* must take scope only over the locative with which it forms a constituent. Thus these examples support our claim that all material which precedes INFL must form a single constituent.

3.1.3 What can appear in [SPEC, IP]?

The identity of the fronted elements in the constructions illustrated in (7)-(9) are subject to various constraints, both syntactic and pragmatic.³ Clefting applies only to subjects, and the clefted element always bears pragmatic focus. *Ay*-inversion normally applies to subjects, in which case the inverted element has the properties of a pragmatic topic; but it may also apply to adverbial elements, with a different pragmatic effect (focus rather than topic). Topicalization can apply to almost anything, whether it is an element of the clause or not.

Oblique Fronting can apply to adverbs (e.g. 9a and 10a), PPs (9b), dative NPs (whether oblique arguments as in (9c) or adjuncts as in (9e)), and oblique instrumental phrases (9d), or even adverbial clauses (one example is found in Schachter and Otnes, 1972, p. 497). But it never applies to subjects (15a), Actors (15b) or patients (15c).

(15) a. *Si=Pedro ko binigyan ng=laruan.
 NOM=Pedro I(GEN) PERF-give-DV GEN=toy
 (For: *Pedro I gave this toy to.*)

b. *Ni=Pedro ako binigyan ng=pera.
 GEN=Pedro I(NOM) PERF-give-DV GEN=money
 (For: *Pedro gave me (the) money.* / *By Pedro I was given (the) money.*)

c. *Ng=isda siya hindi makakakain.
 GEN=fish 3.SG.NOM not AV.NONVOL.FUT-eat
 (For: *Fish he cannot eat.*)

More generally, Oblique Fronting cannot (apparently) apply to NPs which bear nominative or genitive case. My hypothesis is that this restriction is fundamentally related to grammatical relations, rather than case: Oblique Fronting cannot apply to terms (direct arguments).

3.1.4 Tagalog as a V-2 language?

We have argued that the phrase structure of Tagalog allows for at most one constituent to occur before INFL within the clause (IP). But this is precisely the same structure which gives rise to the verb-second word order of German and various other languages. In other words, the major difference between Tagalog and German word order lies not so much in their phrase structure as in the constraints placed on the [SPEC, IP] position.

In German, [SPEC, IP] is a topic position which must always be filled in a basic declarative sentence. Virtually any clausal element can appear in this position (subject,

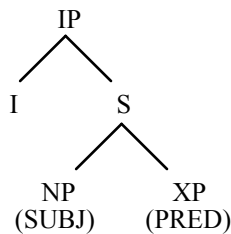
³I have not yet had the opportunity to study the pragmatic effects of Oblique Fronting, but the description by Schachter and Otnes (1972) suggests a focusing effect. See Kroeger (1993, ch. 3) for a more detailed discussion of the pragmatic functions involved in the other constructions.

object, adjuncts, etc.). In Tagalog, [SPEC, IP] may optionally be filled by anything which is not a term (or direct argument). But crucially the occurrence of a constituent in this position is optional, and in fact pragmatically marked. That is why the word order of a basic sentence in Tagalog is different from that of German (verb initial vs. verb second), even though the two languages have, in at least this respect, very similar phrase structures.

3.2 The “Small Clause” analysis

We have established that the phrase structure of the minimal clause in Tagalog includes only one preverbal position. Let us now consider the structure of the material which follows the verb within IP. Chung and McCloskey (1987) proposed an analysis of Irish based on the phrase structure schema shown in (16).

(16) **Irish** (Chung and McCloskey, 1987)



Under their proposal, the sister if INFL is not a phrasal category of the usual sort but a “small clause”, which I will represent here with the symbol “S”.⁴ The small clause is the domain of predication, a constituent which contains both a predicate of some kind and the corresponding subject, but no finite verb form. (Note that there is no [SPEC, IP] position in (16), which accounts for the basic VSO order of Irish.)

The small clause analysis seems to provide a good account for many facts about Tagalog. Kroeger (1993, pp. 138-44) argues that the negative imperative element *huwag* is an auxiliary which occupies the INFL position. Other elements which must occupy this position include initial adjectives in complex predicate constructions and the matrix predicate in the “Clause Reduction” construction (see below). Based on these assumptions, the following examples provide evidence that everything which follows the auxiliary position (INFL) must form a single constituent. It is this constituent which we have identified as a small clause (S).

Coordination:

(17) *Huwag mo=ng [kagalit-an ang=anak ng=kapitbahay mo]*
 don't 2.SG.GEN=LNK scold-DV NOM=child GEN=neighbor 2.SG.GEN

o [paluin ang=kaniya=ng aso].
 or beat-OV NOM=his=LNK dog

Don't scold your neighbor's child or beat his dog.

(18) *Hindi mo dapat Ø [tawanan ang=mga=lumpo]*
 not 2.SG.GEN ought LNK laugh-DV NOM=PL=cripple

⁴In earlier versions of Transformational Grammar, “S” was used to represent the clause. It is important to remember that in the present paper, “IP” represents a clause while “S” represents a small clause.

o [hamakin ang=mga=mahihirap].
 or humble-OV NOM=PL=poor
You should not mock the crippled or belittle the poor.

- (19) Huwag ka=ng [umiyak] at [sumigaw sa=kapatid mo].
 don't 2.SG.NOM=LNK AV-cry and AV-shout DAT=sibling 2.SG.GEN
Don't cry and scream at your sister!

Right Node Raising:

- (20) Gusto ko, pero hindi ko puwede=ng,
 want 1.SG.GEN but not 1.SG.GEN can=LNK

bilhin ang=bahay na iyon.
 buy-OV NOM=house LNK that
I want to, but can't, buy that house.

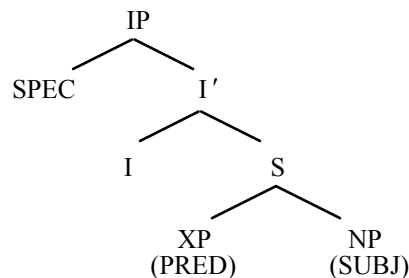
- (21) Mabuti, pero hindi importante=ng,
 good but not important=LNK

magsuot ng=korbata kung bibisita ka sa=kanila.
 AV-wear GEN=necktie if FUT.AV-visit 2.SG.NOM DAT=them
It is nice, but not important, to wear a tie when you visit them.

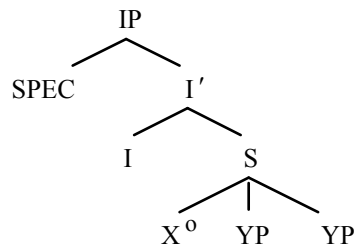
The conjoined constituents in (17) - (19), and the shared constituents in (20)-(21), all correspond to S.

The next question is, what is the internal structure of S? I will argue that Tagalog in fact allows for two different structures: the CONFIGURATIONAL structure in (22a), in which the predicate phrase forms a constituent distinct from the subject; and the NON-CONFIGURATIONAL (or “flat”) structure in (22b), in which the word order is quite free provided the lexical head of the predicate (X^0 , which may be a verb, noun, adjective or preposition) is the first element within the S.

- (22) a. S with predicate-subject configuration



b. flat structure for S



We will first consider the evidence for these two structures in non-verbal clauses, and then consider the structure of verbal clauses.

3.3 Discontinuous predicates in non-verbal clauses

The (a) sentences in the following three examples illustrate the configurational structure in (22a), with the predicate phrase forming an unbroken constituent. The (b) sentences in these examples illustrate the non-configurational structure in (22b), with the subject and other elements appearing “inside” the predicate phrase.

(23) **NP predicate** (from Sityar, 1989)

- a. [Anak ni=Belen] si=Romy talaga.
 child GEN=Belen NOM=Romy really
Romy is really Belen's son.

- b. Anak talaga si=Romy ni=Belen.

(24) **PP predicate** (from Sityar, 1989)

- a. [Galing sa=Maynila] si=Ben dati.
 from DAT=Manila NOM=Ben previous
Ben is from Manila originally.

- b. Galing dati si=Ben sa=Maynila.

(25) **AdjP predicate** (from Schachter and Otones, 1972)

- a. [Takot sa=kulog] si=Jessica.
 afraid DAT=thunder NOM=Jessica
Jessica is afraid of thunder.

- b. Takot si=Jessica sa=kulog.

But given the free word order associated with the non-configurational clause structure, one might object that the structure in (22b) would allow for both the (a) and the (b) sentences above. These examples by themselves do not force us to recognize any configurational structure at all.

The evidence for the configurational structure in (22a) comes from clitic placement. Sityar (1989) points out that a clitic pronoun will never appear in sentence-final position if there is another possible site available. So the final pronouns in the (a) examples below show

that the predicate phrases in these sentences form a single constituent, as represented in (22a), which the clitic cannot “invade”. The (b) examples, in contrast, correspond to the structure in (22b), with clitic pronouns immediately following the lexical head of the predicate.

(26) **PP predicate** (from Schachter and Otnes, 1972)

- a. [Galing sa=Maynila] siya.
 from DAT=Manila 3.SG.NOM
He is from Manila.

- b. Galing siya sa=Maynila.

(27) **AdjP predicate** (from Schachter and Otnes, 1972)

- a. [Takot sa=kulog] siya.
 afraid DAT=thunder 3.SG.NOM
He is afraid of thunder.

- b. Takot siya sa=kulog.

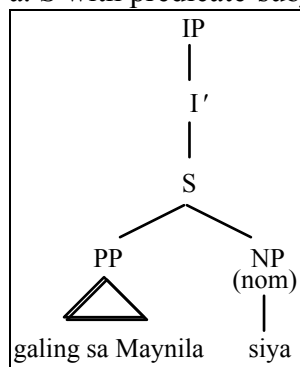
(28) **NP predicate** (adapted from Ramos, 1971, p. 173)

- a. [Matanda ko=ng kapatid] siya.
 old my=LNK sibling 3.SG.NOM
He is my older brother.

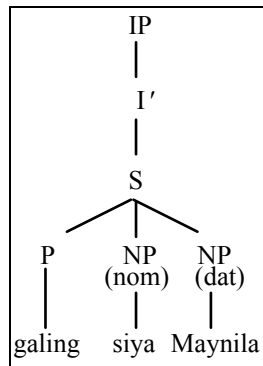
- b. Matanda ko siya=ng kapatid.

Note the contrast between (26b) and the ungrammatical (12b) above. Since the material in [SPEC, IP] must form a single constituent, and clitics must follow the first constituent in their clause, the clitic in (12b) cannot appear inside the fronted PP. But of course there is no constraint against multiple constituents occurring inside S. The appearance of the clitic following the preposition in (26b) indicates that the elements of the predicate PP do not in fact form a constituent in this example, i.e. that S has the flat structure shown in (22b). The two structures corresponding to examples (26a-b) are shown in the following diagrams:

(29) a. S with predicate-subject configuration



b. flat structure for S



So the general pattern is that, when there is nothing in the [SPEC, IP] or INFL positions, 2P clitics will immediately follow the first daughter of S. The first daughter of S will be the whole predicate phrase when it forms a constituent, as in (22a), but the first word of the predicate when S has the structure shown in (22b).

3.4 Verbal clauses

With these facts in mind, let us consider the structure of verbal clauses. In contrast to the non-verbal clauses illustrated above, only one pattern of clitic placement is possible with verbal clauses:

- (30) a. Bumili ka ba ng=palay?
 AV.PERF-buy 2.SG.NOM Q GEN=rice
Did you buy some rice?

b. *Bumili ng=palay ka ba?

- (31) a. Hinagkan ako ng=Nanay.
 PERF-kiss-DV I(NOM) GEN=mother
I was kissed by mother.

b. ??Hinagkan ng=Nanay ako.

Examples like these show that neither the verb plus its object (30) nor the verb plus its actor (31) form a constituent which can “host” a clitic; that is, a unit which, when it is clause initial, 2P clitics must immediately follow. No other combination of verb plus arguments forms such a unit either. In other words, only the non-configurational structure in (22b) is available for verbal clauses.

Clitics are sensitive to phrasal boundaries in two ways: from the inside and from the outside. From the inside, phrasal boundaries define the domain of clitic placement: clitics appear immediately after the first constituent of the minimal IP (or NP, as in ex. (28a)) which contains them. From the outside, clitics respect the boundaries (i.e. will not “invade”) a phrasal host; they treat the host as a single, indivisible unit.

We have seen that various kinds of phrases can serve as hosts: NP, PP and AP;⁵ and that IP and NP can form the domain of clitic placement. Two categories are missing from both these lists: S and VP. We have seen no evidence that clitics are sensitive to the boundaries of either of these types of constituent.

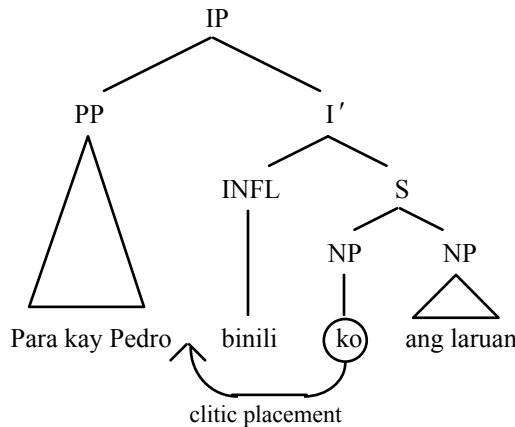
In the case of S, the fact that its boundaries are invisible to clitics seems to be related to its unique status among phrasal categories. It is not a “phrase” at all, in the sense of being projected from a lexical head. In fact, S does not contain a head in the normal sense, i.e. the word which determines the category of its phrase. For this reason S is said to be an EXOCENTRIC category (in this model, the only exocentric category).

The simplest explanation for the invisibility of VP seems to be that Tagalog simply lacks the category VP. That is why only the flat-S structure is available for verbal clauses.

Now at last we are ready to propose a phrase structure representation for the Oblique Fronting construction. (When there is no auxiliary element, I will assume that the finite verb appears in INFL rather than as the first element of S, though there is little or no direct evidence for this since the two positions are always adjacent.)

(32) **Oblique Fronting:** (=9b)

[Para=kay Pedro] ko binili ang laruan.
 for=DAT Pedro I(GEN) PERF-buy-OV NOM toy
For Pedro I bought the toy.



3.5 Issues for further study

The reader may have noted a problem with examples (14b, d): these two sentences seem to contradict our claim that at most one constituent may appear in [SPEC, IP]. In (14b), for example, we find a preverbal PP, which functions as the host for clitic placement, plus the negative element *hindi* which follows the clitic but precedes the verb. The model of phrase structure developed above does not seem to provide any position for the negative element in (14b).

⁵As noted above, IP can occur in [SPEC, IP] position, where it would also be able to host 2P clitics; see Schachter and Otones (1972, p. 497).

A similar problem is observed in (33a). Once again, we find the negative element following the 2P clitics but preceding the verb. (Some Tagalog speakers I have consulted find (33a) quite unnatural and would much prefer the word order in (33b), which poses no problem for our analysis. But the fact that other speakers find (33a) acceptable requires an explanation.)

(33) (from Schachter, 1973)

- a. (??)Bakit ko siya hindi nakita ngayon?
 why I(GEN) 3.SG.NOM not OV.PERF-see today
Why haven't I seen him/her today?

- b. Bakit hindi ko siya nakita ngayon?

It seems that *hindi* has special properties of some kind. Schachter and Otnes (1972, pp. 499-500) point out that negated clauses which contain an adverbial element are typically ambiguous in “normal” word order, i.e. with *hindi* before the verb and the adverbial after the verb as in (34a) and (35a). This ambiguity arises because it is not clear whether or not the negative has scope over the adverbial. When the adverbial is fronted, this ambiguity disappears. If the adverbial precedes the negative, it is outside the scope of the negative, as in the (b) sentences below. If the adverbial follows the negative, it is inside the scope of the negative, as in the (c) sentences below.

(34) (from Schachter and Otnes, 1972, p. 499)

- a. Hindi pumunta si=Juan doon
 not AV.PERF-go NOM=Juan there
Juan didn't go there.

- b. Doon hindi pumunta si=Juan.
It's there that Juan didn't go.

- c. Hindi doon pumunta si=Juan.
It isn't there that Juan went.

(35) (from Schachter and Otnes, 1972, p. 499)

- a. Hindi nagsusumbrero si=Juan=ng palagi
 not AV.PERF-go NOM=Juan=LNK always
Juan {doesn't always/always doesn't} wear a hat.

- b. Palagi=ng hindi nagsusumbrero si=Juan.
Juan always doesn't wear a hat. (he never does)

- c. Hindi palagi=ng nagsusumbrero si=Juan.
Juan doesn't always wear a hat. (he does sometimes, but not always)

My hypothesis is that *hindi* occupies the [SPEC, IP] position when it has scope over the whole clause including adjuncts, but is adjoined to V when it has narrow scope (excluding adjuncts). But obviously more work needs to be done on the structural properties of negation in Tagalog.

4. Clause Reduction (Restructuring)

Certain modal predicates and Equi (or control) verbs may appear as the matrix verb in two different but related sentence patterns. One of these patterns involves a biclausal structure in which a complement IP is embedded in the matrix IP; the second involves a semantically equivalent monoclausal structure in which a single IP contains two verbs in a kind of complex-predicate relationship. Kroeger (1993, ch. 6) refers to the alternation between these two structures as Clause Reduction, the name given to a very similar pattern of alternations in various Romance languages.⁶

It will not be possible to discuss this construction in any detail in the present paper, but it is worth a brief mention here because the distribution of 2P clitics plays an important role in the analysis. The alternation is illustrated in the following examples using the modal predicate *kaya* ‘able to’ and the Equi verb *subuk* ‘try to’.

- (36) a. Kaya ni=Maria=ng bumili ng=bago=ng kotse.
 able GEN=Maria=COMP AV-buy GEN=new=LNK car
 Maria is able to buy a new car.
- b. Kaya=ng bumili si=Maria ng=bago=ng kotse.
 able=LNK AV-buy NOM=Maria GEN=new=LNK car
 Maria is able to buy a new car.
- (37) a. Sinubuk ni=Manuel na hulihin ang=kalabaw niya.
 PERF-try-OV GEN=Manuel COMP catch-OV NOM=buffalo his
 Manuel tried to catch his buffalo.
- b. Sinubuk Ø hulihin ni=Manuel ang=kalabaw niya.
 PERF-try-OV LNK catch-OV GEN=Manuel NOM=buffalo his
 Manuel tried to catch his buffalo.

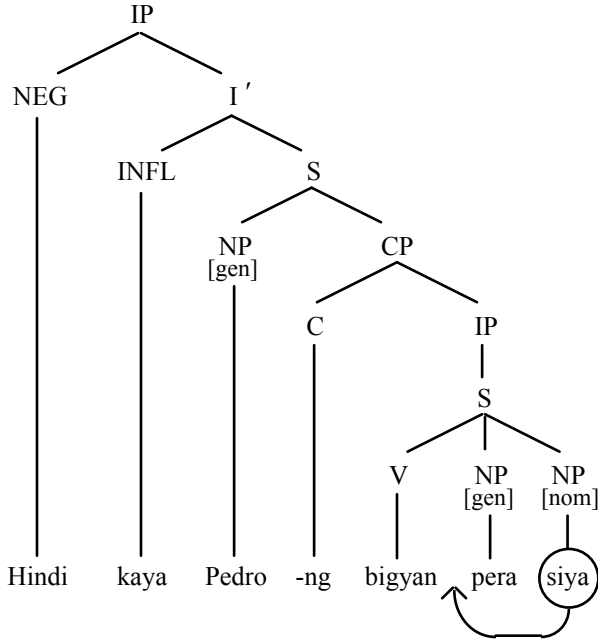
Examples (36a) and (37a) illustrate the normal biclausal pattern, while examples (36b) and (37b) are the result of Clause Reduction. The structural difference is shown by the position of the matrix Actor phrase following the complement verb in the (b) sentences, and by the change in case marking of the Actor phrase (NOM instead of GEN) when the complement verb is marked for Active Voice, as in (36b).

But the clearest and most striking evidence for a structural difference comes from the pattern of clitic placement. When a clitic pronoun occurs as an argument of the complement verb, it will remain “downstairs” in the biclausal structure because it must appear in second position within the smallest IP which contains it (i.e. the complement clause). But in the monoclausal structure it will appear in second position within the sentence as a whole, because the matrix clause is now the the smallest IP (in fact the only IP) which contains it. This pattern of “clitic climbing” is illustrated in the following examples:

⁶The pattern is also referred to as “Restructuring”, after a well-known transformational analysis of the phenomenon.

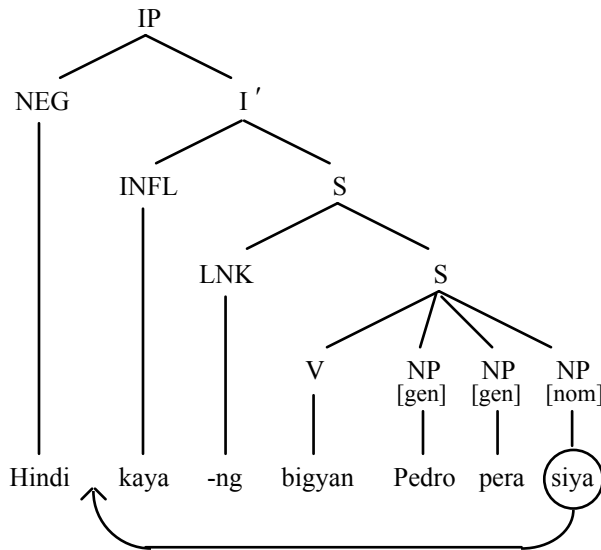
(38) **Biclausal**

Hindi kaya ni=Pedro=ng bigyan siya ng=pera.
 not able GEN=Pedro=COMP give-DV 3.SG.NOM GEN=money
Pedro cannot give her money.



(39) **Clause Reduction**

Hindi siya kaya=ng bigyan ni=Pedro ng=pera.
 not 3.SG.NOM able=LNK give-DV GEN=Pedro GEN=money
Pedro cannot give her money.



5. Conclusion

We have suggested that the basic generalization concerning clitic placement in Tagalog is this: 2P clitics will immediately follow the first constituent within the phrasal category (IP or NP) which defines their domain.⁷ If that constituent is a phrase, rather than a single word, 2P clitics will occur after the end of that phrase and never inside it. Apparent examples of clitics “invading” their host phrase are actually due to a flat (non-configurational) clause structure, as shown by the fact that non-clitic NPs, adverbial elements, etc. can also appear “inside” the predicate phrase under the same conditions.

Based on this generalization, we have used clitic placement to support the following conclusions: First, Tagalog phrase structure includes a single pre-verbal (pre-INFL) position. Thus it has the basic clause structure characteristic of V-2 languages. Basic word order is verb-initial because the pre-verbal position is optional, and only filled in order to give pragmatic focus to an oblique element of the clause. Second, the exocentric category S (small clause) can function as neither the host nor the domain of clitic placement. Third, Tagalog seems to lack the category VP entirely.

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⁷Some additional complications are noted in Sityar (1989) and Kroeger (1993).