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EVENT EXISTENTIALS IN TAGALOG

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The Proceedings of AFLA 18

PREFACE

The 18th annual meeting of the Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association (AFLA 18) was held March 4-6, 2011, at Harvard University. A total of 30 presentations representing the work of 43 researchers were given, including three plenary talks by Robert Blust, Marc Brunelle, and Manfred Krifka. In addition to work on the syntax of Austronesian languages, the original focus of AFLA, researchers presented analyses of phenomena from a variety of core linguistics subfields including phonetics, phonology, and semantics, as well as their interfaces. In order to personalize the meeting and highlight the strong historical component of Harvard's Department of Linguistics, we also encouraged the presentation of work dealing with diachronic analyses of language phenomena. The culmination of these efforts appears here in these Conference Proceedings, which include twelve papers presented during the conference.

Throughout this process we have received generous support from a variety of sources within the Harvard Community. Financial support came from the Office of the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, the Office of the Provost, Linguistics Circle: A Workshop of Linguistic Interfaces, the GSAS Research Workshop in Indo-European and Historical Linguistics, the GSAS Research Workshop in Language Universals and Linguistic Fieldwork, and the Harvard GSAS Graduate Student Council. Student participants in the volunteer effort include Michael Erlewine, Ruthe Foushee, Laura Grestenberger, Christopher Hopper, Julie Li Jiang, Caitlin Keenan, Louis Liu, Andreea Nicolae, Hazel Pearson, and Cheng-Yu Edwin Tsai. We also gratefully acknowledge the encouragement, endorsement, and assistance of the Harvard Department of Linguistics.

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To the groups and individuals who made this conference possible, and to the many researchers who made the event as enriching and stimulating as it was, we offer our sincerest thanks.

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EVENT EXISTENTIALS IN TAGALOG*

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This paper proposes an analysis of a relatively under-described existential construction in Tagalog. This construction at first glance appears to embed a relative clause under the existential predicate. However, it differs from this type of existential in two crucial respects. The complement of the existential verb allows extraction, demonstrating that it is not a DP. Additionally, rather than asserting the existence of just an individual, this type of existential asserts the existence of an event. I therefore propose an analysis in which the complement of the existential verb is not a DP but a clause. Extraction is accounted for by proposing that this is a reduced clause, consisting of a *vP*, rather than a *CP*. This analysis shows Tagalog to be similar to modal existential constructions, particularly in Slavic and Romance languages. Surface differences between Tagalog and modal existentials derive from language-specific characteristics, principally the verb-initial word order of Tagalog, which results in fronting of all or part of the predicate so that it immediately follows the existential verb in the matrix clause.

1. Introduction

This paper proposes an analysis of Tagalog existential constructions of the type seen in (1). This type of existential involves embedding of a clausal complement under an existential verb. However, this constituent is not a full clause. In particular, the external argument is not contained within the clause. Rather, it is licensed as the absolutive argument of the existential verb in the matrix clause. Note also that what is being asserted in (1) is the existence of an event rather than just an individual in (1). For this reason, I refer to this type of existential as “event” existentials.

- (1) May [b<in>ili-ng **libro**] ang babae.
exist <Tr.Perf>buy-Lk book Abs woman
‘The woman bought a book.’

Superficially, this type of existential construction bears resemblance to what Sabbagh (2009) terms Type 2 existentials like (2). The existential verb has a nominal complement, in this case a relative clause. What is asserted to exist is an individual.

- (2) May [**libro**-ng b<in>ili ng babae].
exist book-Lk <Tr.Perf>buy Erg woman
‘There is a book which the woman bought.’

* I would like to thank the organizers of the 18th AFLA conference for the opportunity to present this paper at Harvard University in March of 2011. Let me offer particular thanks to Ileana Paul, Eric Potsdam, Joseph Sabbagh, and Lisa Travis for their questions and comments.

In this paper, I present an analysis of event existentials as involving a reduced embedded clause, crucially not a relative clause or even a bare CP. I draw on parallels between Tagalog event existentials and modal existentials as analyzed by Ivorski (1998), Grosu (2004), Šimík (2011), and others for Slavic and Romance languages. I further show how surface differences between these languages and Tagalog derive from language-specific characteristics of Tagalog.

2. Previous Work on Tagalog Event Existentials

The event existential construction has not escaped notice in work on Tagalog syntax, having been documented in descriptive works such as Ramos (1971) and Schachter and Otnes (1972) and analyzed recently by Law (2010). In this section, I introduce Law (2010) and note significant problems for this approach.

Law (2010) proposes that event existentials, which he terms “impersonal constructions”, embed a relative clause structure like nominal (Type 2) existentials mentioned in (2). The existential verb takes two arguments: a relative clause and a possessor, which is understood as the external argument in the relative clause. (3) shows the application of Law’s analysis to (1).

- (3) May [_{NP} [_{CP} [_{IP} b<in>ili-ng libro]] ang babae.
 exist <Tr.Perf>buy-Lk book Abs woman
 ‘The woman bought a book.’

The relative clause analysis predicts that this NP is an island to extraction. The prediction is borne out for Sabbagh’s (2009) Type 2 (nominal) existentials like (2). (4a) shows that adjunct extraction is not permitted from a relative clause in Tagalog. (4b) shows that the same is true of Type 2 existentials.

- (4) a. *Saan mina-mahal ni Juan [_{DP} ang bata-ng i<ni>ligtas=niya *t_{saan}*]?
 where Tr.Prog-love Erg Juan Abs child-Lk App-<Tr.Perf>rescue=3s.Erg
 ‘*Where does Juan love the child who he rescued __?’
 b. *Saan may [_{DP} bata-ng i<ni>ligtas ni Huan *t_{saan}*].
 where exist child-Lk App-<Tr.Perf>rescue Erg Huan
 ‘*Where is there a child which Juan rescued __?’

In contrast to nominal existentials, it is possible to extract adjuncts from event existentials. Law claims that these are extracted from the matrix clause, not from inside the relative clause, thereby circumventing a locality violation.

- (5) Saan may [_{NP} [_{CP} [_{IP} niluto-ng isda]]] *t_{saan}* ang guro.
 where exist cooked.PF-Lk fish Nom teacher
 Nominal: ‘Where does the teacher have fish that was cooked.’
 Event: ‘Where did the teacher cook a fish?’

However, there is evidence that this is not the correct analysis of extraction in event existentials. First, the translations given by my consultants for examples like (5) all have the event

interpretation, not the nominal interpretation that Law gives. This suggests, at least indirectly, that the trace position should be inside the embedded clause. Direct evidence for this comes from the fact that an argument selected by the embedded verb can be dislocated. In (6), a goal PP selected by the embedded verb has been fronted to clause-initial position.

- (6) **Sa lalaki** may [i-b<in>igay na bulaklak t_{pp}] ang babae.
 Dat man exist App-<Tr.Perf>give Lk flower Abs woman
 ‘To the man, the woman gave a flower.’

Given that this PP is an argument of the embedded ditransitive verb and adjunct or an argument selected by the matrix verb, it could not have been base merged in the matrix clause. Additional evidence comes from the fact that long distance extraction is also possible. The dislocated goal PP in (7) is selected by the most deeply embedded verb.

- (7) **Sa lalaki** may [gusto-ng i-bigay na bulaklak t_{pp}] ang babae.
 Dat man exist want-Lk App-give Lk flower Abs woman
 ‘To the man, the woman gave a flower.’

In short, the relative clause analysis must be rejected, because it cannot account for the lack of island effects in extraction from event existentials. I present my analysis of event existentials in section 4. Before that, I discuss some theoretical foundations for this proposal in section 3.

3. Structural Foundations for the Proposal

Côté (1999) analyzes an existential construction in Québec French which shares two of the key characteristics of Tagalog event existentials.

- (8) Y a un gars qui est venu.
 ‘There is a man who came.’ (Côté 1999:149)

First, we have seen in the previous section that Tagalog event existentials allow extraction. This is also true for the corresponding construction in Québec French. They freely allow extraction of both arguments (9a) and adjuncts (9b).

- (9) a. V’là l’édifice qu’y a un gars qui a fait exploser.
 ‘This is the building that there is a man who blew up.’
 b. C’est de même qu’y a un joueur qui s’est blessé.
 ‘It is like this that there is a player who hurt himself.’ (Côté 1999:148)

Secondly, this construction asserts the existence of an event or an individual. Thus, the following Québec French sentence in (10a) is compatible with either the English translation in (10b) or that in (10c).

- (10) a. Y a un employé qui est aprè inspecter un édifice.
 b. There is an employee who is inspecting a building.
 c. There is an employee inspecting a building. (Côté 1999:149)

Tagalog event existentials likewise have both functions. In addition to the event interpretation, Tagalog event existentials introduce referents into the discourse. In fact, this is the normal way to package a specific indefinite in this language. Absolutive arguments are typically definite or generic and cannot be indefinite, as shown in (11a). In contrast to this, antipassive objects must be indefinite, as in (11b).

- (11) a. B<in>ili ng babae *ang* *isda*.
 <Tr.Past>buy Erg woman Abs fish
 ‘The woman bought the/*a fish.’
 b. B<um>ili ang babae *ng* *isda*.
 <Intr.Perf>buy Abs woman Obl fish
 ‘The woman bought a/*the fish.’

Antipassive objects must also be nonspecific and as such cannot introduce discourse referents. As demonstrated by Flegg (2004), an event existential can introduce a discourse referent, as in (12a), which can be referred to later in the discourse, as in (12b).

- (12) a. Mayroon=ako-ng hina-hanap na libro tungkol sa mga giraffe.
 exist=1s.Abs-Lk Red.Tr-look.for Lk book about Dat Pl giraffe
 ‘I’m looking for a book about giraffes.’
 b. Mayroon litrato sa loob.
 exist picture in inside
 ‘It has pictures inside.’

But an antipassive like (13a) is not able to do this, since the object in a Tagalog antipassive must be nonspecific.

- (13) a. Nag-ha-hanap=ako ng libro tungkol sa mga giraffe.
 Intr-Red-look.for=1s.Abs Obl book about Dat Pl giraffe
 ‘I’m looking for a(ny) book about giraffes.’
 b. #Mayroon litrato sa loob.
 exist picture in inside
 ‘It has pictures inside.’

Given that indefinite DPs introduce variables which can be bound by an existential operator in order to assert the existence of an individual, Côté (1999) proposes that the event interpretation and Québec French existentials is obtained because the complement of the existential verb is a clause rather than a DP. The freedom of extraction from inside this clause is accounted for by analyzing the CP as a predicate, thereby making the specifier of CP an A-position. Consequently, the subject in [Spec, CP] does not block A’-movement by other constituents, as per Relativized

Minimality (Rizzi 1990).

- (14) a. Y a [_{CP} Jean/un gars_i [_C qui [_{IP} e_i est venu]]]
 b. Y a [_{CP} Jean/un gars_i [_C qui [_{IP} t_i est venu]]]
 ‘There is Jean who came.’ (Côté 1999:154)

It is difficult to reconcile the proposal allowing direct movement from within IP/TP with the current Minimalist views regarding locality, specifically the Phase Impenetrability Condition (PIC), which states that only the edge of a phase (vP, CP) is accessible to operations (Chomsky 2004). There are also empirical reasons to believe that the complement of the Tagalog existential verb is not as large as a CP. The embedded verb can inflect for any aspect, suggesting that the embedded constituent contains an aspectual projection.

- (15) a. May i-b<in>igay na bulaklak ang babae sa lalaki.
 exist App-<Tr.Perf>give Lk flower Abs woman Dat man
 ‘The woman gave a flower to the man.’
 b. May i-bi-bigay na bulaklak ang babae sa lalaki.
 exist App-Fut-give Lk flower Abs woman Dat man
 ‘The woman will give a flower to the man.’
 c. May i-bini-bigay na bulaklak ang babae sa lalaki.
 exist App-Tr.Prog-give Lk flower Abs woman Dat man
 ‘The woman is giving a flower to the man.’

However, there does not appear to be independent tense in the embedded domain and consequently no evidence for a TP projection there. Nominal existentials (Type 2 existentials, according to Sabbagh 2009) can contain a temporal adverb, and this adverb can also contradict a temporal adverb in the matrix clause. This suggests that both the matrix and embedded clauses are finite and contain a TP node for the adverb to adjoin to.

- (16) **Kanina** may [_{DP} love letter [_{CP} na i-s<in>ulat=niya *kahapon*]].
 just now exist love letter Lk App-<Tr.Perf>write=3s.Erg yesterday
 ‘Just now there was just a love letter which he/she wrote yesterday.’

In contrast to this, event existentials do not allow a temporal adverb in the embedded clause which conflicts with one in the matrix clause. This can be accounted for if we assume that the embedded domain in event existentials does not large enough to project a TP layer. I offer additional evidence in the next section for the reduced nature of the embedded clause in event existentials.

- (17) a. [_{TP} May [i-s<in>ulat=siya-ng love letter] *kahapon*]
 exist App-<Tr.Perf>write=3s.Abs-Lk love letter yesterday
 ‘He/she wrote a love letter yesterday.’

- b. *_{[TP} **Kanina** may [i-s<in>ulat=siya-ng love letter] *kahapon*
 just now exist App-Tr.Perf-write=3s.Abs-Lk love letter yesterday
 ‘*Just now, he/she wrote a love letter yesterday.’

I turn now to another possible structure for Tagalog event existentials, one based on recent approaches to modal existential constructions, which have also been claimed to embed a clausal complement to the existential verb (Ivorski 1998, Grosu 2004, Šimík 2011, and others). In modal existentials like the Czech example in (18), the matrix predicate is headed by an existential verb. Its complement is a clause in which *wh*-movement has taken place.

- (18) Mám [co číst] Šimík (2011:2)
 Have.1SG what.ACC read.INF
 ‘I have something that I can read.’

Based on extractions fact like those in (19), Šimík (2011) proposes that the embedded clause is smaller than a CP, specifically a *v*P. This captures the fact that not only *wh*-movement but also clitic climbing, which is dependent on restructuring, is possible from the embedded domain.

- (19) a. Komu nemá co dát? (Šimík 2011:51)
 who.DAT NEG.have.2SG what give.INF
 ‘Who is such that you can’t give anything to him?’
 b. Petr ho_i má kam pozvat. (Šimík 2011:52; from Ceplová 2007:37)
 Petr him.CL has where pozvat
 ‘Petr has a place where he could invite him.’

Šimík (2011) proposes that the matrix subject is base merged in the specifier of the embedded *v*P and raises to [Spec, TP] in the matrix clause. The existential verb is merged in *Be*, which predicates the existence of an object and expresses the possibility of the object’s involvement in some event. The event is expressed by the complement of *Be*. *Wh*-movement targets the edge of the embedded phase.

- (20) Šimík (2011:145)
-
- ```

graph TD
 TP --> DP[Nom]
 TP --> T_prime[T']
 T_prime --> T[Nom]
 T_prime --> BeP
 BeP --> Be
 BeP --> vP
 vP --> WH
 vP --> v_prime[v']
 v_prime --> tSubj[tSubj]
 v_prime --> v_prime2[v']
 v_prime2 --> clause_triangle[△]
 clause_triangle --> tWH[...tWH...]

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In the following section, I show how a similar structure can account for event existentials in Tagalog.

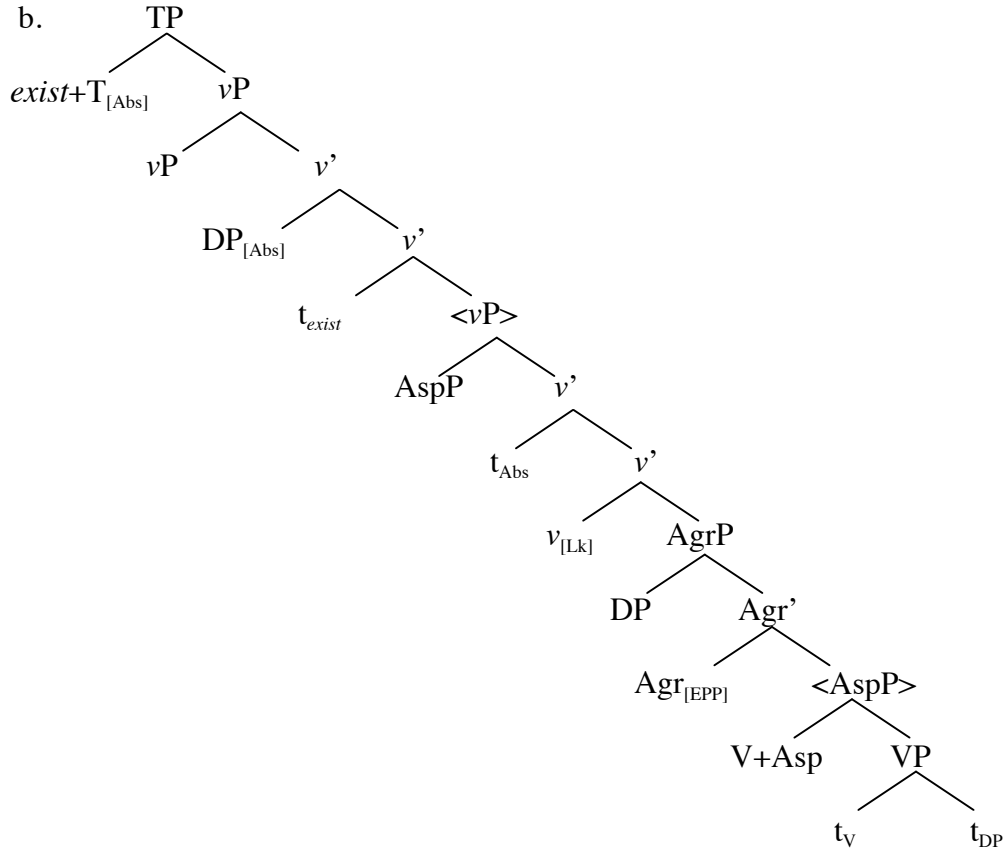
#### 4. Analysis of Tagalog Event Existentials

The analysis I propose for Tagalog event existentials is as follows. Following Šimík (2011) for Czech, I propose that the existential verb in Tagalog embeds a  $\nu$ P. The external argument raises to the edge of matrix  $\nu$ P. See Aldridge (2002, 2004b) for arguments that DPs remain in  $\nu$ P in Tagalog and do not raise to [Spec, TP]. Other differences between Tagalog and Czech are likewise the consequence of independent properties of the languages. First, what is fronted to the edge of the embedded  $\nu$ P in Tagalog is not an argument but the embedded predicate. This is related not only to the verb-initial word order of Tagalog but also to the fact that what is asserted to exist is an event and not simply an individual. Czech modal existentials assert the existence of an individual. This participant is indicated by the *wh*-word moving in the embedded clause. Another difference between Czech and Tagalog is that the embedded  $\nu$ P in the latter is projected by a linker.<sup>1</sup>

- (21) a. May [b<in>ili-ng **libro**] ang babae.  
exist <Tr.Perf>buy-Lk book Abs woman  
'The woman bought a book.'

---

<sup>1</sup> At present, I have no specific proposal to make concerning the function of the linker. One possibility is that it is a relator (in the sense of den Dikken 2006) which mediates between the subject and predicate of a small clause. In this case, the small clause is the embedded  $\nu$ P, the predicate is the fronted AspP, and subject is the object in [Spec, AgrP]. I leave this question to future research.



#### 4.1. Predictions of the Analysis

In this subsection, I show how the analysis in (21b) accounts for the structural properties of Tagalog event existentials. We have seen in (15) above that the embedded verb can inflect for any aspect. I assume that there is a vP-internal ‘inner aspect’ projection as proposed by Travis (1991, 2000). The lack of a TP layer, on the other hand, accounts for the lack of independent tense in the embedded vP.

The external argument is not licensed within the embedded vP. The DP following the linker in the embedded vP can be any type of internal argument, i.e. theme, patient or applied object, but not an external argument. (22) shows examples of applied objects.

- (22) a. May i-ha-hatid=siya-ng good news.  
 exist App-Fut-bring=3s.Abs-Lk good news  
 ‘He/she is bringing good news.’  
 (Ngayong Mahal Na Kita)
- b. Marami=sila-ng ma-tu-tun-an sa ganya-ng mga bagay.  
 be.much=3p.Abs-Lk Pass-Fut-learn-App Dat such-Lk Pl thing  
 ‘They can learn a lot from such things.’  
 (Ngayong Mahal Na Kita)

Direct evidence that constructions like (22) are event existentials, as opposed to nominal existentials, comes from the fact that they allow fronting. (23) employs the same type of

applicative as seen in (22a).

- (23) **Sa mga bata**=siya marami-ng na-i-turo.  
 Dat Pl child=3s.Abs be.much-Lk Perf.Pot-App-teach  
 ‘To the children, he/she was able to teach a lot of things.’

In contrast to internal arguments, external arguments do not surface in the embedded clause in event existentials. (24) shows existential constructions in which an external argument is the DP whose existence is asserted. These are nominal existentials; the complement of the existential verb is a relative clause. (24a-b) outwardly resemble event existentials in that the verb precedes the DP. See Aldridge (2003, 2004b) for an analysis of prenominal relative clauses in Tagalog.

- (24) a. May [luma-lapit na isa-ng lalaki].  
 exist Intr.Prog-approach Lk one-Lk man  
 ‘There is a man approaching.’  
 b. May [tuma-tawa-ng babae].  
 exist Intr.Prog-laugh-Lk woman  
 ‘There is a woman who is laughing.’

It is clear that (24a-b) are nominal existentials (and not event existentials), because fronting of a clause-internal constituent is not grammatical.

- (25) \***Sa lalaki** may [<sub>CP</sub> tuma-tawa-ng babae *t<sub>PP</sub>*].  
 Dat man exist Intr.Prog-laugh-Lk woman  
 ‘There is a woman who is laughing at the man.’

The inability of external arguments to surface in the embedded clause of an event existential is accounted for by the analysis in (21b), since external arguments are not licensed in the embedded domain. They must raise to the matrix clause so that they are visible to the case valuing probe on T and receive absolutive case.

Moving to another aspect of the derivation in (21b), (26) argues for phrasal AspP fronting within the embedded domain. This is because material can intervene between the embedded verb and the DP stranded below the linker.

- (26) May [<sub>AspP</sub> i-b<in>igay kay Pedro] na bulaklak si Maria.  
 exist App-<Tr.Perf>give Dat Pedro] Lk flower Abs Maria  
 ‘Maria gave a flower to Pedro.’

At this point, a word is in order about the AgrP that the object moves to. I assume that this is the position where the internal argument is case licensed. Movement of the object to [Spec, AgrP] and subsequent fronting of the embedded predicate is based on Massam’s (2000) analysis of VSO word order in Niuean. In this language, the object moves to an absolutive case position above VP but below *v*. The remnant VP then fronts to clause-initial position, thereby deriving VSO word order.

- (27) [<sub>VP</sub> Takafaga *t*<sub>Abs</sub>] tumau ni [<sub>VP</sub> e ia [<sub>AbsP</sub> e tau ika *t*<sub>VP</sub>]]  
 hunt always Emph Erg he Abs Pl fish  
 ‘He is always fishing.’ (Massam 2001:157; from Seiter 1980:183a)

Another prediction made by the analysis in (21b) is that the DP stranded below the linker cannot be extracted beyond the embedded *vP*. This is due to the well-known restriction that absolutes block extraction of other DPs (Aldridge 2004b, Rackowski and Richards 2005, and many others). The absolutive external argument in the matrix clause can move, as in (28b), but it blocks movement of the internal argument, as shown in (28c).

- (28) a. May b<in>ili-ng libro ang babae.  
 exist <Tr.Perf>buy-Lk book Abs woman  
 ‘The woman bought a book.’  
 b. Ang babae ang may b<in>ili-ng libro.  
 Abs woman Abs exist <Tr.Perf>buy-Lk book  
 ‘The woman is the one who bought books.’  
 c. \*Libro ang may b<in>ili ang babae.  
 book Abs exist <Tr.Perf>buy Abs woman  
 ‘A book is what the woman bought.’

Although the embedded object cannot be fronted, it can be stranded. This is allowed on the analysis in (21b) if we assume that the *AspP* in a specifier of the embedded *vP* is free to front independently to the matrix *vP*. The embedded *vP* itself remains in place, with the linker in the embedded *v* and the object in [Spec, *AgrP*].

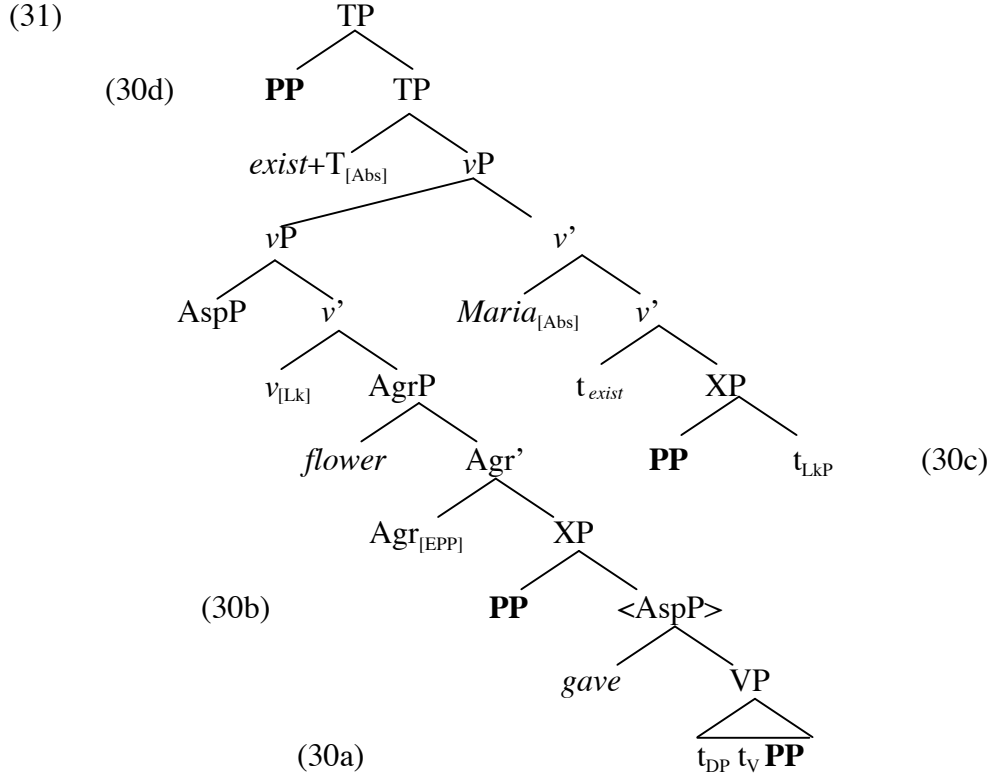
- (29) a. May [<sub>AspP</sub> hawak *t*<sub>i</sub>] <sub>j</sub> ang lalaki  
 exist hold Abs man  
 [<sub>VP</sub> *t*<sub>j</sub> na [<sub>AgrP</sub> bote ng champagne<sub>i</sub>]].  
 Lk bottle of champagne  
 ‘The man was holding a bottle of champagne.’ (Liwayway 10/22/2001)  
 b. May [<sub>AspP</sub> i-ni-abot *t*<sub>i</sub>] <sub>j</sub> ang babae  
 exist App-Tr.Perf-hand Abs woman  
 [<sub>VP</sub> *t*<sub>j</sub> na [<sub>AgrP</sub> dokumento<sub>i</sub>] sa kanya.  
 Lk document to 3s  
 ‘The woman handed a document to him.’

#### 4.2. Analysis of Extraction

In this subsection, I turn to the analysis of extraction from event existentials. I have mentioned repeatedly throughout this paper that event existentials allow constituents base merged in the embedded *vP* to front to clause-initial position. Stranding is also possible within the embedded or matrix *vP*s. (30) shows the full range of positions for PPs and adjuncts in event existentials.

- (30) a. May i-b<in>igay sa lalaki na bulaklak ang babae.  
 exist App-<Tr.Perf>give Dat man Lk flower Abs woman  
 ‘The woman gave a flower to the man.’  
 b. May i-b<in>igay  $t_{pp}$  na bulaklak sa lalaki ang babae.  
 exist App-<Tr.Perf>give Lk flower Dat man Abs woman  
 ‘The woman gave a flower to the man.’  
 c. May i-b<in>igay na bulaklak ang babae sa lalaki.  
 exist App-<Tr.Perf>give Lk flower Abs woman Dat Pedro  
 ‘The woman gave a flower to Pedro.’  
 d. Sa lalaki may i-b<in>igay na bulaklak ang babae.  
 Dat man exist App-<Tr.Perf>give Lk flower Abs woman  
 ‘To the man, the woman gave a flower.’

(31) shows the movements involved for deriving each of the PP positions in (30). A PP can be pied-piped in the AspP which is fronted to the edge of the embedded vP, as in (30a). It can also be stranded by VP fronting and follow the embedded object, as in (30b). Thirdly, it can move independently from the embedded vP and be stranded when the embedded vP fronts to the matrix clause, as in (30c). Finally, it can move all the way to clause-initial position, where they receive a focus interpretation, as in (30d).



In the remainder of this section, I show that the fronting and stranding possibilities shown in (30) and (31) follow from known constraints on movement in Tagalog. First, PP fronting to clause-

initial position is independently demonstrated by examples like the following. As mentioned in regard to (28) in section 5.1, movement of DPs is constrained by the absolute restriction on extraction. Fronting of non-DPs, however, is free as long as universal locality constraints are observed, e.g. the PIC. The PP in (32) moves via the edge of vP and further to the left periphery of the clause. Extraction of the PP in (30d) likewise first targets the embedded and matrix vP phase edges on its way to a specifier in the CP layer.

- (32) a. I-b<in>igay                      ng      babae      ang      bulaklak      **sa**      **lalaki**.  
          App-<Tr.Perf>give      Erg      woman      Abs      flower      Dat      man  
          ‘The woman gave the flower to the man.’  
       b. **Sa**      **lalaki** i-b<in>igay                      ng      babae      ang      bulaklak.  
          Dat      man      App-<Tr.Perf>give      Erg      woman      Abs      flower  
          ‘The woman gave the flower to the man.’

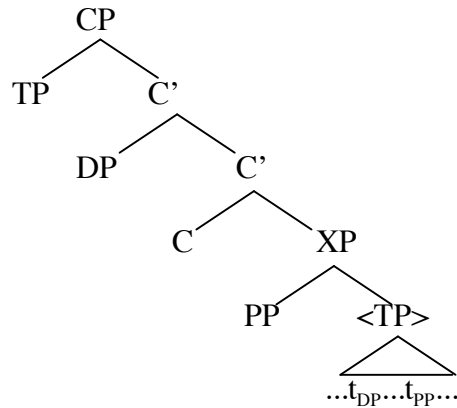
There is also a precedent for PP stranding in (30b) and (30c). Tagalog prenominal relative clauses allow stranding of clause-internal material to the right of the head NP. On the basis of the observation that only material which is otherwise eligible to undergo movement can be stranded, Aldridge (2003, 2004b) proposes that stranding is fed by scrambling during the derivation of the relative clause. I sketch this analysis very briefly here. The reader is referred to my other work for detailed discussion. First, Tagalog allows both postnominal (33a) and prenominal (33b) relative clauses. The prenominal version allows stranding of constituents which can independently undergo movement. In (33b), the dative PP follows the head of the relative clause in surface order.<sup>2</sup> This gives the appearance of a discontinuous constituent, as clause-internal material is found separated from the clause by the head nominal.

- (33) a. *kendi*-ng [i-b<in>igay                      ng      babae      sa      bata]      (postnominal)  
          candy-Lk App-<Tr.Perf>give      Erg      woman      Dat      child  
          ‘candy which the woman gave to the child’  
       b. [i-b<in>igay                      ng      babae *t<sub>pp</sub>* ]-ng      *kendi*      **sa**      **bata**      (prenominal)  
          App-<Tr.Perf>give      Erg      woman-Lk                      candy      Dat      child  
          ‘candy which the woman gave to the child’

In my earlier work, I resolved this apparent conflict by proposing that the PP undergoes scrambling before fronting of the TP to form the prenominal relative clause. The parallel with stranding in event existentials is that a PP can be scrambled just above the remnant category which undergoes the subsequent fronting. I have given independent evidence for fronting of AspP and the embedded vP in section 4.1. This provides two landing sites for scrambling: just above AspP and just above embedded vP, which are precisely the positions where we see PPs stranded in (30b-c) and (31b-c).

<sup>2</sup> Aldridge (2004a) argues against a possible internally headed analysis of relative clauses like (33b), demonstrating that the head NP, and consequently the following PP, are external to the fronted clause.

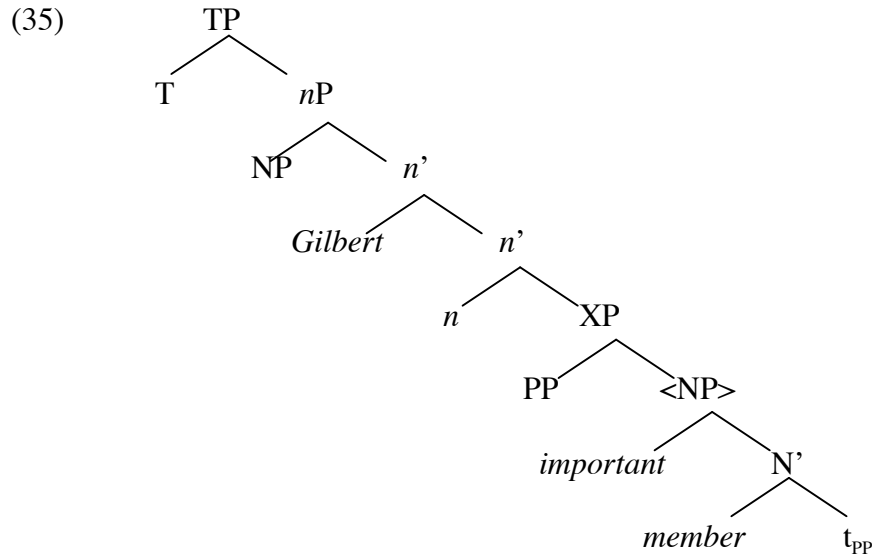
(34)



Aldridge (2004b) shows that scrambling can also feed fronting of a predicate within *vP* (or its nominal equivalent *nP*). As is true of verbal predicates, nominal predicates in Tagalog appear in clause-initial position. It is clear that this predicate is a full phrasal category, as it can take a complement and/or be modified by an adjective, as in (35a). What is important for the discussion at hand is that this clause-initial predicate can also be a remnant projection. In other words, the complement of the NP predicate can be scrambled out and stranded below the subject.

- (35) a. [Importante-ng    miyembro    **ng**    **Sizzlers**]    si    Gilbert.  
          important-Lk    member    Gen    Sizzlers    Abs    Gilbert  
          ‘Gilbert is an important member of the Sizzlers.’  
       b. [Importante-ng    miyembro *t<sub>i</sub>*]    si    Gilbert    [**ng**    **Sizzlers**]<sub>*i*</sub>  
          Important-Lk    member    Abs    Gilbert    Gen    Sizzlers  
          ‘Gilbert is an important member of the Sizzlers.’

Aldridge (2004b) accounts for this word order by positing a scrambling landing site just above the NP to be fronted. This places the scrambled constituent in clause-final position following the subject after the predicate fronts to clause-initial position. This landing site just below the *n* phase head is parallel to the PP stranding position in (30c).



## 5. Concluding Remarks

In this paper, I have proposed an analysis of Tagalog event existentials analogous to modal existentials in Slavic and Romance languages, in which the existential verb embeds a reduced clausal complement consisting of a *vP*. This accounts for the interpretation in which an event (and not just an individual) is asserted to exist, as well as the fact that extraction is permitted from the embedded domain. Other characteristics, such as surface word order, are the consequence of independently demonstrated characteristics of Tagalog syntax.

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