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(dir.)

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WHO DOES WHO COMPOSE?

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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 of 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.

Finally, we would like to thank our reviewers for providing thoughtful commentary on abstracts submitted to the conference: Edith Aldridge, Michael Becker, Loren A. Billings, Marc Brunelle, Sandra Chung, Abby Cohn, Peter Cole, Jessica Coon, Amy Rose Deal, Marcel den Dikken, Mark Donohue, Dan Finer, Edward Flemming, Catherine Fortin, Randall Hendrick, Gabriella Hermon, Arthur Holmer, Hui-chuan Huang, Jay Jasano, Peter Jenks, Edward Keenan, Hilda Koopman, Paul Law, Jonathan MacDonald, Diane Massam, Ileana Paul, Hazel Pearson, Matt Pearson, Maria Polinsky, Eric Potsdam, Omer Preminger, Nina Radkevich, Norvin Richards, Joseph Sabbagh, Peter Sells, Lisa Travis, Wei-Tien Dylan Tsai and Elizabeth Zeitoun. Thank you also to the University of Western Ontario for hosting the website where AFLA proceedings are published.

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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HOW DOES WHO COMPOSE?

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This paper proposes an analysis of sino ‘who’ in Tagalog as a proper noun that leaves behind an individual-denoting trace, type e, in cases of gapped extraction. This is in contrast to ano ‘what,’ which, following (Heim 1987), we claim is the common noun variant of wh-words and leaves behind a trace of type \(\{e,t\}\). We form our argument on the basis of three pieces of evidence: first, in existential constructions, both sino and proper nouns are disallowed. Second, sino suggests a morphological decomposition that includes the proper noun determiner si. Third, like proper nouns, sino is disallowed in cases of incorporation/compounding. Having established that sino is an interrogative proper noun and ano an interrogative common noun, we show how assumptions about linker in Tagalog, a particle that signals non-saturating semantic composition, must be amended to handle the new facts.

1. Introduction

This paper aims to classify the wh–word for ‘who’ in Tagalog, sino, as a proper noun. We show that the behavior of ‘who,’ that is, where it can and cannot occur, mirrors that of proper nouns and pronouns. Furthermore, we show how sino may straightforwardly decompose into a proper noun determiner together with a question particle, the word for ‘what.’ We take this evidence to suggest that ‘who,’ rather than behaving like ‘which persons,’ is in fact a proper noun with interrogative force. We show how this proposal is in line with previous work on the semantics of ‘who’ (Heim 1987) in that it predicts significant differences in behavior between ‘who’ and ‘what’; while ‘who’ is the interrogative form of a proper noun and thus behaves as such, ‘what’ is the interrogative form of a common noun, and so its behavior mirrors that of other common nouns. In each of our diagnostics, we find this to be the case for Tagalog: ‘who’ patterns with proper nouns while ‘what’ patterns with common nouns. Once we accept that ‘who’ is in fact a proper noun, its idiosyncrasies receive a straightforward explanation on the basis of semantic types.

* We would like to thank our consultants, Justine Santa Cruz and Henrison Hsieh. Thanks also to Daniel Kaufman, Paul Kroeger, Joey Sabbaghi, Norvin Richards and Sandra Chung for insightful comments and crucial data. Thanks especially to Maria Polinsky for her guidance, patience and expertise. Lastly, we would like to thank the audiences of AFLA17 at Stony Brook, AFLA18 at Harvard, and the Workshop of Modification at CSIC–CCHS in Madrid.
2. **Existentials**

2.1. Background: English existentials

Existentials are sentences whose basic function is to affirm the non–emptiness of a set denoted by a noun phrase; we refer to this noun phrase as the pivot of the existential construction. In (1), we assert that the pivot (underlined) has an instance in Maine.

(1) There is a **dense forest** in Maine.

There is a well-known, systematic class of restrictions on the pivots of existential sentences. First, the pivot cannot be an overt bound variable pronoun, as in (2). Second, when the pivot is quantificational, it must receive a narrow scope reading, (3a).

(2) *No perfect relationship is such that there is it.*

(3) a. There must be **someone** in John’s house. (narrow scope only)
   b. Someone must be in John’s house. (ambiguous)

Taken together, the data in (2) and (3) suggest that the pivot of an existential cannot be filled by a bound individual variable, whether overt or covert. Heim (1987) uses this description to characterize her Definiteness Restriction (DR).

(4) **Definiteness Restriction** (Heim 1987)

*There be x when x is an individual variable.

We may use the DR in (4) to inform our understanding of a broader range of data involving existential constructions. For example, we find that *wh*-traces in existential questions form a heterogenous class with respect to their ability to occur as pivots, exemplified in (5) (judgments from Safir (1982)).

(5) a. How many soldiers were there in the infirmary?
   b. ??Which actors were there in the room?
   c. *Who was there in the room when you got home?*

The acceptability of these constructions appears to depend on the semantic type of the moved *wh*-phrase. Given that *which NP* behaves as a definite, type *e*, the DR rules it out. On the other hand, *how many* is modificational, and so *how many NP* will be property-denoting, type *(e, t)*. Most interestingly, the acceptability of *who* is unclear, and so we cannot use the DR as a diagnostic for its semantics, at least not with these English data.

Before turning to *who* in more detail, however, let’s consider the facts about *what*. The acceptability of (6) suggests that ‘what’ should be analyzed as something other than ‘which thing(s)’; if it received such an analysis it should pattern with the examples containing ‘which’ like (5b).
(6) What is there in Austin?

Based on data like (6), Heim (1987) claims that what-questions may be analyzed as involving narrow-scope occurrences of "something of kind x," where x is a variable bound by the interrogative operator. In effect, Heim analyzes the trace of what as something that is property denoting, type \langle e, t \rangle. We may thus restate her DR as a constraint on individual-denoting expressions, type e, appearing as pivots of existentials:

(7) **Definiteness Restriction** reconceived:
*There be x when x is type e.

Given this constraint and the dubious status of who in (5c), we are faced with the question of how who should be analyzed, that is, whether its trace is akin to that of 'what person' or that of 'which person.' While the data from English are unclear, data from Austronesian, specifically Tagalog, are much sharper and will constitute our first argument in favor of viewing 'who' in this language as an individual-denoting proper noun on a par with 'which person.' We turn to these data next.

2.2. Tagalog existentials

As a basic introduction to the existential constructions in Tagalog, consider the examples in (8).

(8) a. May malaki-ng disyerto sa Australya.
    exist big-LK desert LOC Australia
    'There is a big desert in Australia.'

    b. May babae-ng darating sa bahay ko.
    exist woman-LK came LOC house NS.1SG
    'There was a woman (who) came to my house.'

Existential sentences are formed by may, an existential predicate, followed by a noun phrase (the pivot).\(^1\) As in English, these sentences assert the non-emptiness of the set denoted by the pivot. They optionally contain a locative PP or some other phrase following the noun phrase. Only indefinite, property-denoting pivots are allowed in existential constructions. Note that the examples in (9), where the pivots are headed by the weak quantifiers ila 'some,' marami 'many,' and kaunti 'few,' are grammatical.

(9) a. Mayroo-ng ila-ng mga dahilan kung bakit atrasado ang mga bayad
    exist.there-LK some-LK PL reason COMP why late S PL payment
    'There are a few reasons why the payments are late.'

    b. Mayroo-ng marami-ng ilaw sa silid na pinagkakatipunan nila
    exist.there-LK many-LK lamp LOC room LK gathered NS.3PL

\(^1\) Note that may sometimes occurs with room, which Sabbagh (2009) takes to be the semantically vacuous 'there'. We return to this issue in §6.
‘There were many lamps in the room where we were gathered.’

c. May kaunti-ng gulo sa Mindanao.
   exist few-LK riot LOC Mindanao
   ‘There were a few riots in Mindanao.’

However, when the noun phrase is headed by a strong quantifier such as lahat ‘all,’ bawat ‘every,’ or karamiha ‘most,’ the sentence is ungrammatical.

(10) a. *May(roo-ng) bawat (isa-ng) babae sa bahay.
    exist THERE-LK every one-LK woman LOC house
    (‘There is each/each of the woman in the house.’)

b. *May lahat sa bahay.
   exist THERE-LK all LOC house
   (‘There is everyone in the house.’)

c. *May(roo-ng) karamiha-ng tao sa bahay.
   exist THERE-LK most-LK person LOC house
   (‘There were most of the people at the house.’)

Assuming that strong quantifiers need to undergo QR for interpretability, the pivots in (10) will leave behind an individual variable trace of type e; this configuration is ruled out by the DR in either of the forms presented above. In (9), the pivot will denote a property as a result of modification by a weak quantifier; note that this property-denoting pivot, type \((e, t)\), is not in violation of the DR.

As in English, we find that not all \(wh\)-questions pattern alike with respect to their ability to function as a pivot. In Tagalog, however, the contrast between ‘who’ and ‘what’ is much clearer. In (11), we see that gapped extraction of \(ano\) ‘what’ is possible in an existential construction; when we try to do the same with \(sino\) ‘who,’ the sentence becomes ungrammatical as in (12).

(11) a. Ano ang mayroon \(t\) sa bahay ni Juan?
    exist.S what LOC house NS Juan
    ‘What is there in Juan’s house?’

b. Kung gusto mo malaman kung ano ang mayroon \(t\), magtanong lang.
    if what NS.2SG know COMP what S exist THERE ask just
    ‘If you want to know what there is, just ask.’

(12) *Sino ang mayroon \(t\) sa bahay?
    exist.S who LOC house
    (‘Who is there in the house?’)

It seems then that \(ano\) ‘what’ is patterning with indefinites with respect to its ability to function as a pivot in existentials. On the other hand, \(sino\) ‘who’ patterns with non-indefinites (e.g., DPs with strong quantifiers) in that it cannot act as a pivot. Crucially, both \(sino\) and \(ano\) are allowed in regular \(wh\)-questions with gapped extraction, as in (13).
(13) a. Sino ang nagnakaw ng kotse mo?
   who TOP stole. LK car your
   ‘Who stole your car’
   Wegmüller (1998, p. 45)

   b. Kanino mo ibinigay ang pera?
   whom NS.2SG give S money
   ‘Who did you give the money to?’
   Schachter and Otanes (1972, p. 512)

   c. Sino ang nakakita kanino?
   who S saw whom
   ‘Who saw who?’
   Kaufman (p.c.)

   d. Ano ang ninakaw ni Pedro?
   what S steal NS Pedro
   ‘What did Pedro steal?’
   Wegmüller (1998, p. 46)

When we look for other elements that pattern with *sino* in their inability to function as existential pivots, we find that like *sino*, neither pronouns nor proper nouns may serve as the pivot of an existential, as illustrated in (14).

(14) a. *May(roo-ng) siya/niya sa bahay.
    exist.there-LK S.3SG/NS.3SG LOC house
    (‘There was him in the house.’)

    exist.there-LK S/NS Pablo LOC party NS.1SG
    (‘There was Pablo at my party.’)

   According to Sabbagh (2009), the restriction on the pivot of a Tagalog existential is that it must be property-denoting. type \( <e, t> \), which is directly in line with our restatement of Heim’s DR in (7) above. For Sabbagh, this restriction follows straightforwardly from the semantics he gives to the existential predicate *may*, which he takes to be of type \( \langle \langle e, t \rangle, t \rangle \).

(15) \[ may = \lambda P_{\langle e, t \rangle}. \exists x \ P(x) \]

(16) a. May manok sa bahay.
    exist chicken LOC house
    ‘There’s a chicken in the house.’

   b. \( \exists x. \ [\text{there}(x) \land \text{chicken}(x)] \)

   \[ \lambda P_{\langle e, t \rangle}. \exists x \ P(x) \]
   \[ \lambda x. \text{chicken}(x) \]

   As we see in the semantics in (15), *may* requires that its argument be property-denoting. Thus, when the complement of *may* is not property-denoting, say of type \( e \), the derivation crashes, (17).

    exist.there-LK S/NS Pablo LOC party NS.1SG
    (‘There was Pablo at my party.’)

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Before turning to the semantics of wh-words in pivot positions, let’s review how an analysis along the lines of Sabbagh’s proposal can account for the contrast in grammaticality between weakly and strongly quantified pivots, as in (9) and (10). Following Landman 2004, weak quantifiers like ‘few’ are assumed to be of type $\langle e, t \rangle$, composing with their nominal complements via Predicate Modification to form a DP of type $\langle e, t \rangle$, the type needed to compose with the existential predicate. On the other hand, strong quantifiers like ‘every’ are of type $\langle \langle e, t \rangle, \langle \langle e, t \rangle, t \rangle \rangle$. They compose with their complements via Functional Application, resulting in DPs of type $\langle \langle e, t \rangle, t \rangle$, which are unable to compose with the existential predicate. The reason, then, why weak but not strong quantifiers may appear in the pivot of an existential is that the semantic type of the existential predicate is compatible with the semantic type of the former but not the latter.

At this point we must ask why ano, and not sino, is allowed to function as the pivot of an existential. If we assume that wh-words leave behind a trace of type $e$, we expect that neither ‘who’ nor ‘what’ should be allowed in existentials. In the spirit of Heim (1987), we assume instead that ‘what’ leaves behind a trace of type $\langle e, t \rangle$, explaining its ability to compose with may via Functional Application. Heim does not, however, explain the asymmetry with ‘who’; that is, we lack an argument for why ‘who’ cannot leave a trace of type $\langle e, t \rangle$. As an interim conclusion, the behavior of sino ‘who’ in existentials will follow if we assume that sino is a proper noun that leaves behind a trace of type $e$, a type which cannot compose with the existential predicate. We next turn to our second piece of evidence suggesting that sino should be analyzed as an interrogative proper noun.

3. **Sino = si+(a)no**

We saw in the previous section evidence from the behavior of sino in existentials suggesting that it behaves as a proper noun. Now, we consider the morphological makeup of sino. As we shall see, sino’s morphological makeup suggests that it is a fusion of the proper noun determiner, together either with the word for ‘what,’ or with a Proto-Austronesian question particle. To piece together the elements in the historical decomposition of sino, first consider the following paradigm:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>COMMON N SG</th>
<th>COMMON N PL</th>
<th>PROPER N SG</th>
<th>PROPER N PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$S$ marker</td>
<td>ang</td>
<td>ang mga</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>sina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NS marker</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>ng mga</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>nina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sa–form’</td>
<td>sa</td>
<td>sa mga</td>
<td>kay</td>
<td>kina</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Tagalog Determiners
Notice that Tagalog has separate determiners for proper and common nouns. Notice further that the proper noun S marker is si, as seen in Table 1. Now, following Blust (1995), we assume that sino is morphologically complex. At this point we are faced with two options for decomposing sino; both options involve the proper noun determiner si.

The first option is to decompose sino into si+ano, where no is a variant of the Proto-Austronesian uncertainty marker *nu. A survey of question words in Austronesian (see Table 2 for question words in Tagalog) shows that *nu is a common component of these words. The second option for decomposing sino is into si+ano ‘what’. Under this analysis, ano is further decomposed into a+*nu. Looking at the Tagalog wh-word paradigm, we find evidence for both analyses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAGALOG</th>
<th>sino</th>
<th>ano</th>
<th>saan</th>
<th>kailan</th>
<th>paano</th>
<th>bakit</th>
<th>kanino</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ENGLISH</td>
<td>who</td>
<td>what</td>
<td>where</td>
<td>when</td>
<td>how</td>
<td>why</td>
<td>whose</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Tagalog Question Words

Consider the word saan ‘where’, in which we see the oblique marker sa followed by an, presumably from ano. On the other hand, kanino ‘whose’ appears to decompose into kay+ni+no, or [prepositional determiner+NS detminer+*nu]. This decomposition for kanino is appealing on conceptual grounds since asking about the possessor of something amounts to asking about a non-topic/subject participant who relates to what is possessed via an oblique, or prepositional relationship, hence the presence of the prepositional determiner.

We find evidence to mediate between these hypotheses in closely related AN languages such as Indonesian, where the decomposition is more transparent. Consider the data in (18).

(18) a. Siapa orang itu?
   who person that
   ‘Who is that person?’

b. Apa yang kamu mau?
   what EMPH you want
   ‘What do you want?’

The proper noun S marker/determiner in Indonesian, as in Tagalog, is si. The word for ‘what’ is apa. Thus, siapa ‘who’ in Indonesian directly decomposes into [proper noun determiner+‘what’]. Assuming that Tagalog sino developed along a similar trajectory, this represents evidence for the decomposition of sino into si+ano.

Regardless of the approach we take to the diachronic decomposition of sino, it is important to note that both analyses lend support to the idea that sino would behave just like any other proper noun: diachronically, it is morphologically headed by a proper noun determiner. In the last section

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2 At this point we are not sure what the semantic origin of a would be. One option is that it comes form ang, the common noun determiner, where ng has deleted before n.
we saw this parallel between proper nouns and *sino* in the case of existentials. In the next section, we demonstrate further similarities between proper nouns and ‘who.’

4. *Wh*-incorporation and compounding

We have encountered two pieces of evidence suggesting *sino* should be treated as a proper noun: *sino*’s inability to function as the pivot of an existential constructions, and the proper noun determiner in *sino*’s diachronic decomposition. Now, we consider the case of *wh*-incorporation. In Austronesian languages that allow incorporation, when it comes to *wh*-words, ‘what’ can incorporate while ‘who’ cannot. Consider the following data from Tongan (Polinsky p.c.); in (19) we see an instance of noun incorporation, while in (20) we see that when it comes to *wh*-incorporation, ‘who’ is disallowed from participating in these constructions.

(19) a. na’e inu a e koke ’e Sione
   PAST drink ABS DET Coke ERG Sione
   ‘Sione drank a/the coke.’
   b. na’e inu koke ’a Sione
   PAST drink coke ABS Sione
   ‘Sione drank coke.’ (noun incorporation)

(20) a. Ko hai/e haa na’e fakamavahevahe’i ’e he tu’i?
   who/what PAST separate ERG DET chief
   Whom/what did the chief separate?
   b. na’e fakamavahevahe haa ’a e tu’i?
   PAST separate what ABS DET chief
   ‘What did the chief separate?’ (what-incorporation)
   c. *na’e fakamavahevahe hai ’a e tu’i?
   PAST separate who ABS DET chief
   (‘Who did the chief separate?’) (who-incorporation)

Note that where we have incorporation, nouns appear without determiners/case adjacent to the verb. Tagalog does not have productive verbal incorporation, so it is not possible to test these constructions directly. However, a limited number of roots allow compounding. These compounding constructions, similarly to incorporation, disallow proper nouns, as the contrast in (21) illustrates.

(21) a. Amoy-lupa ang lalahey.
   odor-earth s man
   ‘That man smells like earth.’
   b. *Amoy-si-Juan ang lalahey.
   odor-s-Juan s man
   (‘That man smells like John.’)
Here, like in incorporation, the noun appears without any determiner, which would otherwise be necessary if the noun were standing on its own. Crucially, as in Tongan, Tagalog illustrates the same asymmetry with respect to the ability of wh-words to incorporate: only ano ‘what’ may participate in these compounding constructions. Where we try to compound ‘who,’ the result is ungrammatical, as illustrated in (22).

(22) a. Amoy-ano kaya siya?
   smell-what SPEC S.3SG
   ‘I wonder what he/she smells like?’

b. *Amoy-sino kaya siya?
   smell-who SPEC S.3SG
   (‘I wonder who he/she smells like?’)

As in the existential construction, we can explain this asymmetry in compounding/incorporation if we assume that the composing material must be of type \(<e, t>\). Thus, a common noun like ‘earth’ may form a compound as in (21a). Proper nouns, on the other hand, resist this type of composition as they are of type \(e\); observe the ungrammaticality of (21b). Returning to wh-words, we must now explain the asymmetry between sino and ano. As before, we may use Heim’s strategy for turning the trace associated with ‘what’ into something of type \(<e, t>\), and therefore into something that may incorporate/compound. Continuing to assume that ‘who’ is a proper noun, we predict its inability to incorporate/compound by maintaining that its trace is of type \(e\).³ With this conception of the semantics of ‘who’ and the trace it leaves behind, we must now reconcile our analysis with facts about the linker in Tagalog. We turn to this issue in the two sections that follow.

5. The Linker in Tagalog

As noted in Foley (1976), Tagalog possesses a particle which surfaces as enclitic -ng on words ending in a vowel, and as na elsewhere, which is distinct from the adverb na ‘already.’ In its enclitic form (-ng), it is important not to confuse this particle with the standalone non-subject marker ng, which is phonologically distinct ([ŋ] vs. [ŋaʔ]). In what follows, we examine the distribution of this particle, henceforth LINKER (also referred to elsewhere in the literature as “ligature”).

In (23), we see that when a noun composes with an adjective in attributive position, LINKER is obligatory, (23a). If the adjective appears in predicative position, LINKER is prohibited, (23b). Furthermore, the relative order of the property-denoting terms flanking LINKER is flexible.

(23) a. bahay *(na) maganda
   house LK beautiful
   ‘beautiful house’

a’. maganda-ng bahay
   beautiful-LK house
   ‘beautiful house’

³ Daniel Kaufman (p.c.) notes that compounds with place names and proper names are appropriate, but only when the determiner is omitted. He suggests that sino’s inability to incorporate is in fact solely an effect on the proper-noun determiner si, which makes up part of the morphologically complex sino (cf. Section 3).
b. Maganda(*-ng) ang bahay
   beautiful-LK S house
   ‘The house is beautiful.’

Nominal modifiers also surface with LINKER, whereas predicative nominals do not. That is, the combination of N+N in argument position requires LINKER.

(24) a. ang doktor *(na) babae
   S doctor LK woman
   ‘the woman–doctor’ (i.e., the doctor that is a woman)

b. Doktor ang babae
   doctor S woman
   ‘The woman is a doctor.’

Adverbial modification surfaces with LINKER, similarly to modificational adjectives and nominals. However, when the adverb serves as a predicate of the clause, LINKER is prohibited, as in (25b).

(25) a. Bigla*(-ng) binukasan ni Fred ang pintuan
   sudden-LK be opened NS Fred S door
   ‘Fred suddenly opened the door.’

b. Bigla(*-ng) ang pagbukas ni Fred ng pintuan
   sudden-LK S opening NS Fred NS door
   ‘The opening of the door by Fred was sudden.’

Another area in which we witness a contrast in the distribution of LINKER is the clausal domain. Observe that when we modify a noun with a relative clause, LINKER obligatorily intervenes between the head noun and the relative clause, as in (26). When the same clause serves as a standalone proposition, i.e. a matrix clause as in (27), LINKER no longer appears.

(26) a. bahay *(na) nakita ko
   house LK saw I
   ‘house that I saw’

b. ang babae*(-ng) nagbabasa ng diyaryo
   S woman-LK read NS newspaper
   ‘the woman who is reading the newspaper’

(27) a. Nakita ko (*ng) ang bahay
   saw I LK S house
   ‘I saw the house.’

b. Ang babae*(-ng) ay nagbabasa ng diyaryo
   S woman-LK is reading NS newspaper
   ‘The woman is reading the newspaper.’
Finally, when we look at quantificational expressions, we see that what have been classified as weak quantifiers appear with LINKER, while strong quantifiers do not.

(28) a. kaunti*(-ng) gulo
    few-LK riot
    ‘a few riots’
    Sabbagh (2009, p. 680)

b. bawa’t (*na) bata
    each/every LK child
    ‘every child’

The puzzle we are faced with at this point is what characterizes the distribution of LINKER. More precisely, we ask what role LINKER serves such that it obligatorily appears in the positions in which we observe it and is prohibited elsewhere. Review its distribution in Table 3 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>✓LINKER</th>
<th>*LINKER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attributive adjective</td>
<td>Predicative adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbial modifier</td>
<td>Predicative adverbial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominal modifier</td>
<td>Predicative nominal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relative clause</td>
<td>Matrix clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weak quantification</td>
<td>Strong quantification</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: The distribution of LINKER

What we see is that LINKER appears wherever we expect to find non-saturating semantic composition. In other words, -ng or na surface in the context of modification (cf. Rubin 1994, Sabbagh 2009). When we have two property-denoting elements, type \( \langle e, t \rangle \), LINKER is present between them, flagging that the semantics needs to resort to a compositional mechanism other than Functional Application, say Predicate Modification (Heim and Kratzer 1998).\footnote{Another mode of non-saturating semantic composition that could be signaled by LINKER is Restrict (Chung and Ladusaw 2004).} Alternatively, one can view the contribution of LINKER as that of symmetry breaking: two elements of the same type are composing, and LINKER intervenes. For the purposes of this discussion, we need not distinguish between an analysis that takes LINKER to be a functional element performing the role of Predicate Modification (type \( \langle \langle e, t \rangle, \langle e, t \rangle, \langle e, t \rangle \rangle \)), and one under which LINKER merely serves as a morphological flag of the fact that this non-saturating composition is taking place (cf. Chung and Ladusaw 2004). With this conception of LINKER in mind, we now return to the issue of existential constructions. Recall Sabbagh’s semantics for the existential predicate *may*, repeated below.

(29) \[ [may] = \lambda P(e,t). \exists x P(x) \]

Now, consider the data in (30) where we see both the particle *roon* and LINKER. Sabbagh
(2009) analyzes roon as a semantically inert ‘there’ (cf. Moro 1997, Chapter 3 for discussion), and provides the semantics in (31).

(30) a. May-roon*(g) manok sa bahay
   exists-there-LK chicken LOC house
   ‘There is a chicken in the house.’

   b. May-roon*(-g) malaki-ng disyerto sa Australya
   exists-there-LK big-LK desert LOC Australia
   ‘There is a big desert in Australia.’

   Sabbagh (2009, p. 715)

(31) \[
\text{[roon]} = \lambda x. \text{there}(x)
\]

According the Sabbagh, the reason LINKER appears in the presence of roon is just as we have stated above: the pivot is predicate-denoting, type \(\langle e, t \rangle\), and so is roon; in order to compose, we need to resort to non-saturating composition, signaled by LINKER. In (32), we illustrate how this composition proceeds for a sentence such as (30a). Crucially, where non-saturating composition is required between roon ‘there’ and the pivot manok ‘chicken’, LINKER appears.

(32) \[
\begin{array}{c}
vP: \exists x \left[ \text{there}(x) \land \text{chicken}(x) \right] \\
v: AP_{\langle e, t \rangle, t} \\
\{\langle e, t \rangle, t\} \\
\text{may} \quad \text{VP: } \lambda x. \left[ \text{there}(x) \land \text{chicken}(x) \right] \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{V: } \lambda x. \text{there}(x) \\
\text{DP: } \lambda x. \text{chicken}(x) \\
\text{manok} \\
\end{array}
\]

Lastly, note that when roon is absent, LINKER is prohibited, as in (33).

(33) May *(ng/na) manok sa bahay
    exist chicken LOC house
    ‘There is a chicken in the house.’

Having identified the role of LINKER with modification in the grammar of Tagalog, we can now return to the analysis of wh-words and their behavior in existential constructions.

6. LINKER and sino

With an analysis of LINKER in hand, we may revisit the issue of wh-words in existentials and see how this analysis better informs our understanding of these constructions. Recall what was said about the contrast between ano ‘what’ and sino ‘who’: the former, but not the latter, may
leave behind a trace of type \( \langle e, t \rangle \), thus satisfying the reconceived Definiteness Restriction banning individual-denoting pivots. As we saw above, in the presence of roon, property-denoting (type \( \langle e, t \rangle \)) pivots surface with LINKER realized on roon. Assuming that ano ‘what’ moves from the pivot position and leaves behind a trace of type \( \langle e, t \rangle \), we might expect to find LINKER signaling the composition of roon and this trace. Interestingly, LINKER does not surface with ano (or with sino, for that matter) as we see in (34), repeated from (11) and (12) above.

(34) a. Ano ang may-roon(*-g) t sa bahay ni Juan?
   what S exist-there-LK LOC house NS Juan
   ‘What is there in Juan’s house?’

b. *Sino ang may-roon(-g) t sa bahay?
   who S exist-there-LK LOC house
   (‘Who is there in the house?’)

The absence of LINKER in (34a) presents a puzzle: either we have mischaracterized the distribution of LINKER and it does not surface whenever we have non-saturating composition, or we have misidentified the semantic type of the trace of ano ‘what’ such that in fact it may compose in a saturating manner with roon. In what follows, we will pursue the first of these approaches to account for the absence of LINKER with ano. There are two reasons for this tack: first, we presented strong evidence above in favor of viewing LINKER as an element that arises in the context of modification. Second, it is not clear how the semantic composition would proceed if the trace of ano were to saturate the argument of roon given that roon is predicate-denoting, type \( \langle e, t \rangle \). In order for the trace that ano leaves behind to saturate the argument of roon, it would have to be individual denoting, type e. Ignoring the fact that this sort of trace violates both incarnations of the Definiteness Restriction presented above, once roon has its argument saturated the resulting structure is propositional in type, and so it cannot compose with the existential predicate; we expect the derivation to crash when the existential predicate tries to compose with the unit that results from the composition of roon and an individual-denoting expression, the trace. We illustrate this point in the tree below.

(35)  
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{vP: ??} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{VP: there(x)} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{V: } \lambda x. \text{there(x)} \\
\downarrow \\
\text{roon}
\end{array}
\]

(CRASH)

(Saturating)
Without changing our assumptions about the semantic type of the trace left behind by ano, we retain our characterization of the contrast between sino and ano in existentials: the semantic types of the traces left behind by these wh-words differ such that ano’s trace, type \(\langle e, t \rangle\), satisfies the Definiteness Restriction whereas sino’s trace, type \(e\), does not and so it cannot serve as the pivot of an existential.

Why, then, is LINKER absent in an ano-existential with roon, as in (34a)? By characterizing its presence in terms of whether or not we have non-saturating composition, and by assigning both roon and the trace left behind by ano property-denoting types, our analysis predicts that LINKER should be present. While the issue requires further, more detailed study, at this point we hypothesize that LINKER only flags non-saturating composition when the elements participating in this operation overtly flank it. Because the elements involved in the case of an ano-existential are roon and a trace, that is, one of the elements is covert and thus not phonologically realized, either the phonological/syntactic pressure to break up these elements is absent, or the function of LINKER, now characterized as signaling non-saturating composition of the overt elements that flank it, is rendered inappropriate in this particular case.

To summarize, we have shown that the facts about LINKER, namely that it surfaces in the context of non-saturating composition when the composing elements overtly flank it, are compatible with our proper noun analysis of sino: what sets sino apart from ano is that the former, but not the latter, leaves an individual-denoting trace that is semantically incompatible with the pivot position of an existential construction which requires a property-denoting element.

7. Conclusion

We began with the observation that sino ‘who,’ together with pronouns and proper nouns, is disallowed in the pivot position of existential constructions in Tagalog. We found additional support for aligning sino ‘who’ with proper nouns from two domains: morphologically, sino lends itself to a decomposition that includes the proper noun determiner si; syntactically and semantically, both ‘who’ and proper nouns resist incorporation and entering into compounds. Throughout our discussion we compared sino with what we saw to be its common noun counterpart, ano ‘what.’ Our claim is that the difference between these wh-words lies in the type of the traces they leave behind: sino leaves an individual-denoting trace of type \(e\) whereas ano leaves a property-denoting trace of type \(\langle e, t \rangle\). This claim led us to consider the facts about the linker particle -ng/ha in Tagalog, which we showed surfaces in the context of non-saturating semantic composition between two property-denoting elements. While the absence of LINKER in existential constructions with gapped extraction of ano initially posed a problem for this characterization of the role of LINKER, we showed how a minor amendment to the role of LINKER yielded the structures compatible with our claims. Together, these arguments lead us to the conclusion that the asymmetry in behavior between sino and ano should follow from the fact that these two wh-words leave traces of distinct types. One prediction that arises from this analysis is that sino ought to appear wherever we ex-
pect to find something of type $e$, while *ano* ought to appear wherever we expect to find something property-denoting, type $\langle e, t \rangle$.

Future work on *sino* should explore the role contributed by the proper noun determiner *si*, as its presence is non-trivial in that it determines whether a name behaves as a proper or a common noun (Nicolae and Scontras 2010). Additionally, we must ask whether ‘who’ in Austronesian, or even just Tagalog, is unique in its proper noun-­hood; the strongest form of our proposal would be that ‘who’ in fact behaves as a proper noun across Language.

**References**


