

EXTERNAL POSSESSION AND THE ν P PHASE EDGE IN PANGASINAN *

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Within the Austronesian literature, the phenomenon of External Possession (EP) has been commonly analysed by various works to involve applicative constructions that host external possessors (Zeitoun et al. 1999; Nie 2019; Lin 2021). In this paper, I present novel data from Pangasinan showing that EP in the language behaves differently from that in related languages. This difference in behaviour is attributed to a more general process in the language, termed by Benton in his 1971 grammar as “apposition”. I describe the behaviour of EP in Pangasinan and offer a concrete analysis, examining extraction patterns out of clauses with external possessors to reveal information about how the ν P phase edge is organised. This in turn contributes to a better understanding of the process of “apposition”.

1. Introduction

External Possession (EP) is the process whereby a nominal which is semantically the possessor of another nominal (its possessum) is syntactically separate from it (Landau 1999; Payne and Barshi 1999; Deal 2013, 2017). (1) below is an example from Tagalog, where the possessor *ang bata* ‘the child’ and the possessum *ng buhok* ‘hair’ can be separated by a temporal adjunct, *kahapon* ‘yesterday’:¹

- (1) *Tagalog* (Nie 2019, p.11):
Ginupit-an =ko [ng buhok] kahapon [ang bata].
cut-LV =1SG.GEN GEN hair yesterday NOM child
‘I cut the child’s hair yesterday.’

EP in Tagalog is characterised by (a) locative voice morphology on the verb, and (b) the external possessor attaining pivot status and being marked with nominative case. Nie (2019) attributes these characteristics to external possessors in Tagalog moving to the specifier of a raising applicative projection, where these possessors get licensed and receive nominative case from VoiceP. The raising applicative head is then spelled out as locative voice morphology.

Here, I study EP in another Philippine language, Pangasinan, where the above description does not apply. (2) is an example from the language, showing an alternation between internal and external possession.

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¹ The following abbreviations are used in this paper. ACC: accusative, AV: actor voice, DAT: dative, DEM: demonstrative, ERG: ergative, GEN: genitive, LV: locative voice, NOM: nominative, PFV: perfective, PL: plural, PV: patient voice, SG: singular. For Nez Perce, I additionally abbreviate: 3SUBJ: 3rd person subject agreement, OBJ: objective.

(2) a. *Internal Possession:*²

Nap-plag [su aso [(**karuman*) **la laki**]].
 AV.PFV-fall NOM dog yesterday GEN boy
 ‘The boy’s dog fell (yesterday).’

b. *External Possession:*

Nap-plag [su aso *(=to_i)] (karuman) [**may laki**]_i.
 AV.PFV-fell NOM dog =3SG.GEN yesterday DEM boy
 ‘The boy’s dog fell (yesterday).’

Unlike Tagalog, EP does not affect the voice morphology of the clause. Here, the verb carries actor voice morphology, marking the agent as pivot. Correspondingly, the pivot in (2b) is the possessum argument, and not the external possessor.

In this paper, I set out to provide an in-depth analysis for EP in Pangasinan, which deviates from that involving applicatives commonly noted in the Austronesian literature. I propose that external possessors in Pangasinan are base generated at the edge of *vP* together with the external arguments, in a process termed by Benton (1971) as “apposition”. An outline of the characteristics of EP in the language will be given, supporting this analysis. I will then turn to looking at how extraction patterns in clauses with EP, revealing that external possessors are located at the lowest possible position where they are able to bind into their pronouns. This allows us to have a better understanding of the more general phenomenon of “apposition”.

2. Pangasinan Voice and Nominal Morphology

I begin by introducing some basic information about Pangasinan clause types crucial for the discussion of EP. Like many other related Philippine languages (Reid and Liao 2004), Pangasinan is predicate-initial, with postverbal word order being relatively free (Lim and Erlewine 2020). The language exhibits a familiar Philippine-type voice system, where systematic correlations exist between case marking, verbal morphology and extraction restrictions (Wolff 1973; Shibatani 1988; Ross 2002; Reid and Liao 2004; Erlewine et al. 2017). Here, following Kroeger (1993); Sells (2000); Reid and Liao (2004), a.o., I gloss pivot arguments with the nominative case. However, as will be illustrated later, pivots in Pangasinan can also be introduced with a demonstrative article in place of the nominative case marker. Non-pivot arguments are marked with either the genitive or oblique case. Examples of canonical transitive sentences are given in (3) below:

(3) a. *Actor Voice (AV):*

Nan-basa su laki la libro.
 AV.PFV-read NOM boy GEN book
 ‘The boy read a book.’

b. *Patient Voice (PV):*

B<in>asa la laki su libro.
 read.PV.PFV GEN boy NOM book
 ‘The boy read the book.’

² Unless otherwise stated, all uncredited Pangasinan data in this paper comes from original elicitation work with two native speakers of the language.

In the AV clause (3a), the agent argument, *laki* ‘boy’, is selected as the pivot, and is introduced with the nominative case marker *su*. The non-pivot theme argument is marked with *la*, the genitive case marker.³ Conversely, in the PV clause (3b), the theme argument, *libro* ‘book’, is selected as the pivot and is introduced with nominative *su*, while the agent argument gets marked with the genitive case marker *la*.

Besides canonical nominative case markings, pivots in Pangasinan have the option of being marked with a demonstrative article alone (4a). This privilege is asymmetric; non-pivots typically cannot be demonstrative marked (4b).

(4) a. *Pivots can be demonstrative-marked :*

Nan-basa **may laki** la libro.

AV.PFV-read DEM boy GEN book

‘The boy read a book.’

b. *Non-pivot case marker cannot be replaced by demonstrative :*

*Nan-basa su/may laki **may libro**.

AV.PFV-read NOM/DEM boy DEM book

‘The boy read a book.’

Table 1 below provides a full list of demonstratives in the language. All the demonstratives listed can be used to mark pivots, with each item differing in terms of the distance and number information encoded.

	Singular	Plural
Unmarked	(a)may ⁴	(i)ra-may
Proximate	(a)yay	(i)ra-yay
Distal	(a)tay	(i)ra-tay

Table 1: *List of demonstratives in Pangasinan*

Why demonstratives are crucial to our discussion will become apparent when we examine the structure of EP in Pangasinan in the next section.

3. External Possession in Pangasinan

There are two ways of expressing possession in Pangasinan, internal and external. (2) is repeated here as (5), demonstrating the alternation between the two.

³ Dialectal variation exists for the genitive case marker; for some speakers, this is *a*, *ya* or *na*. The *la* form will be used in this paper, but this choice is completely arbitrary.

⁴ *Amay*, *ayay* and *atay* are the clause-initial variants of the demonstratives *may*, *yay* and *tay*.

- (5) a. *Internal Possession:*
 Nap-plag [su aso [(**karuman*) **la laki**]].
 AV.PFV-fall NOM dog yesterday GEN boy
 ‘The boy’s dog fell (yesterday).’
- b. *External Possession:*
 Nap-plag [su aso **(=to_i)*] (karuman) [**may laki**]_i.
 AV.PFV-fell NOM dog =3SG.GEN yesterday DEM boy
 ‘The boy’s dog fell (yesterday).’

When possession is *internal* (as in (5a)), like in other Philippine languages (Reid and Liao 2004), possessors in Pangasinan pattern with non-pivot arguments in being marked with genitive case. When possession is *external*, however (as in (5b)), possessors are marked with a demonstrative article. An additional third person genitive clitic pronoun surfaces on the possessum DP, coindexed with the external possessor. This clitic pronoun can either be the third person singular genitive =*to*, or the third plural genitive clitic =*da* if the external possessor is plural as in (6). For ease of reference, all possessor arguments are **bolded**, while all possessum arguments are *italicised*.

- (6) Nap-plag [su aso **(=da_i)*] [**ra-may laki**]_i.
 AV.PFV-fell NOM dog =3PL.GEN PL-DEM boy
 ‘The boys’ dog fell.’

A hallmark of EP is that possessors and their possessums behave as if they belong to separate constituents. This is observable from (5); in internal possession (5a), the possessor *la laki* ‘the boy’ and possessum *su aso* ‘the dog’ form a constituent which cannot be separated with an adjunct *karuman* ‘yesterday’. On the contrary, in externally possessed clause (5b), a sentential adjunct may intervene without causing ungrammaticality, paralleling the Tagalog example in (1).⁵

Like for pivots, besides *may*, any demonstrative in Table 1 may be used to introduce external possessors, depending on distance and number. (7) below shows an external possessor proximal to the speaker, marked with the demonstrative *yay*.

⁵ This does not mean that just any constituent may intervene between external possessors and their possessums. When another argument appears between an external possessor and its possessum, the sentence is deemed by native speakers to be very confusing, possibly in part due to parsing difficulties.

- (i) ?An-gawit [su nanay =*to_i*] [la libro] [**may bie**]_i.
 AV.PFV-bring NOM mother =3SG.GEN GEN book DEM girl
 ‘The girl’s mother brought a book.’

More generally, because pivots in Pangasinan may appear with a demonstrative, pivots and external possessors might be easily confusable. To avoid potential misparses, there is a preference for possessum arguments to directly precede their external possessors.

- (ii) a. ✓ *Possessum < Possessor:*
 An-gawit la libro [su nanay =*to_i*] [**may bie**]_i.
 AV.PFV-bring GEN book NOM mother =3SG.GEN DEM girl
 ‘The girl’s mother brought a book.’
- b. **Possessor < Possessum:*

- (7) Nap-plag [su aso =to_i] [yay laki]_i.
 AV.PFV-fell NOM dog =3SG.GEN DEM boy
 ‘This boy’s dog fell.’

However, the behaviours of pivots and external possessors differ. Although both can be demonstrative marked, contrary to pivot arguments, external possessors cannot be marked with the nominative case marker, *su*.

- (8) *Nap-plag [su/la aso =to_i] [su laki]_i.
 AV.PFV-fell NOM/GEN dog =3SG.GEN NOM boy
 ‘The boy’s dog fell.’

Even in a locative voice clause, external possessors cannot be nominative marked pivots.

- (9) *Binatek-an nen John [su/la jardin =to_i] [su laki]_i.
 run-LV GEN John NOM/GEN garden =3SG.GEN MAY man
 ‘John ran in the man’s garden.’

This is a crucial point of deviation from applicative analyses like that seen in Tagalog (Nie 2019), Paran Seediq (Zeitoun et al. 1999) and Isbukun Bunun (Lin 2021), where external possessors must attain pivot status and are marked nominative. External possessors in Pangasinan cannot be pivots and therefore cannot be marked with nominative. Furthermore, EP in Pangasinan may apply multiply within a single clause. (10) below shows an example where two of the external possessors, *may amigo to* and *may agi to*, themselves have an external possessor:

- (10) An-gan [su aso =to_i] [may amigo =to_j]_i [may agi =to_k]_j
 AV.PFV-eat NOM dog =3SG.GEN DEM friend =3SG.GEN DEM sibling =3SG.GEN
 [may bie]_k.
 DEM girl
 ‘The girl’s brother’s friend’s dog ate.’

Iteration thus renders analyses where external possessors are necessarily pivots inappropriate for Pangasinan.

In the sections that follow, an analysis of EP in Pangasinan will be provided, first attempting to determine the nature of the external possessor within the typology of Deal (2017). Once it has been established that external possessors in Pangasinan are base generated in athematic positions, the analysis will then shift to determining where the external possessor is located. Examining extraction patterns out of clauses where there is EP will allow us to hone in on the precise location of the external possessor.

*An-gawit la libro [may bie]_i [su nanay =to_i].
 AV.PFV-bring GEN book DEM girl NOM mother =3SG.GEN
 ‘The girl’s mother brought a book.’

4. Analysis

4.1. The nature of the external possessor

Deal (2017) proposes two parameters from which EP might be approached cross-linguistically. This classifies EP into four possible types shown in Table 2 below.

		Parameter 2: Does the possessor move?	
		Yes	No
Parameter 1: Is the possessor affected?	Yes	<i>Control</i> ⁶	<i>Base-generated Binding</i>
	No	<i>Raising</i>	<i>ECM</i>

Table 2: A typology of EP (Deal 2017, p.13, modified)

The first parameter is concerned with *possessor affectedness*, a set of criteria stemming from the intuition that “possessors must be affected for the external possession construction to be semantically appropriate” (Deal 2017, p.9). An example comes from Hebrew, where possessor affectedness has been reported for externally possessed constructions (Berman 1981; Landau 1999; Linzen 2014).

- (11) *Hebrew (Berman 1981):*
 ‘íma kiftera le-dáni ‘et ha-svéder.
 mom buttoned to-Danny ACC the-sweater
 ‘Mom buttoned Danny’s sweater.’

According to Berman (1981), the externally possessed clause (11) can only be felicitously uttered if the external possessor, *Danny*, is wearing the sweater during the action of the buttoning. This is because external possessors have to be physically affected by the action of the verb for the construction to be semantically appropriate.⁷

In languages such as Hebrew where external possessors have to be affected for EP to be semantically appropriate, external possessors occupy positions where they obtain an additional AFFECTEE theta role apart from their usual POSSESSOR theta role (Kiss 2014; Lee-Schoenfeld 2016; Deal 2017). Because affected possessors have to be physically impacted by the action of the verb, they cannot be inanimate, and cannot co-occur with stative verbs which do not affect their experiencers.

In Pangasinan, no affectedness requirements are observed. External possessors may be inanimate (12) and EP can co-occur with stative verbs (13), implying that external possessors do not have to be affected for EP to be possible. Unlike Hebrew, Pangasinan external possessors occupy athematic positions where they do not gain additional AFFECTEE theta roles.

⁶ Deal (2017) analyses various types of EP in relation to processes familiar from the syntax of infinitivals, such as raising and control. For examples and a more detailed explanation of the parallels, see Deal 2013, 2017.

⁷ This criteria, however, seem to be weakening. See Linzen (2016) for a corpus study of how external possessors in Hebrew increasingly do not have to be affected among younger users of the language.

- (12) *Inanimate external possessor:*
 A-nengneng la bie [su anino =to_i] [may puno]_i.
 PV.PFV-see GEN girl NOM shadow =3SG.GEN DEM tree
 ‘The girl saw the *tree*’s shadow.’
- (13) *EP with a stative verb:*
 Gabay la bie [su pusa =to_i] [may guro]_i.
 like.PV.PFV GEN girl NOM cat =3SG.GEN DEM teacher
 ‘The girl *likes* the teacher’s cat.’

Attention then turns to the question of how external possessors end up in these athematic positions from their original positions. Referring back to Table 2, two possibilities exist. The first involves a movement-type analysis where the possessor raises from a lower to a higher position (see Perlmutter and Postal 1977; Ura 1996; Landau 1999; Deal 2013; Jeoung 2018; Nie 2019 for examples of languages with possessor raising). The second analyses external possessors simply as base generated at the higher position (see Hole 2004, 2005; Rodrigues 2010; Lin 2021 for examples).

To determine which analysis is applicable to Pangasinan, an examination of the characteristics of languages which exhibit possessor raising is helpful. One such language is Nez Perce (Deal 2013), where a piece of evidence in support of the raising analysis is the presence of relative locality constraints.⁸ When there are two internal arguments, only the higher internal argument can be externally possessed. Thus, in (14) below, the first person singular external possessor ‘*iin-e*’ may modify the beneficiary argument, *picpic* ‘cat’, but not the theme argument *cuu’yem* ‘fish’⁹.

- (14) *Nez Perce (Deal 2013):*
 ’aayat-om hi-kiwyek-ey’-se-0 ’iin-e picpic cuu’yem.
 woman-ERG 3SUBJ-feed-μ-IMPERF-PRES 1SG-OBJ cat.NOM fish.NOM
 a. ‘The woman fed *my* cat the fish.’
 b. *‘The woman fed a/the cat *my* fish.’

Deal (2013) attributes this asymmetry to relative locality constraints, where probes can only attract the closest goal. Because beneficiary arguments are structurally higher than theme arguments, the probe on the position where the external possessor is hosted can only attract a possessor from the beneficiary argument to move upwards, and not the theme argument. This argues in favour of a movement analysis of EP in Nez Perce.

If a movement analysis were to be amenable to EP in Pangasinan, similar locality constraints may be expected. However, double object constructions in the language allow external possession to occur out of both internal arguments. In (15) below, the argument that the external possessor *may laki* ‘the boy’ modifies differs depending on its position in the clause. (See footnote 5 for more on word order requirements for EP.)

⁸ Relative locality here refers to the constraints of the sort noted by Rizzi 1990 (Relativised Minimality), Chomsky 1995 (Minimal Link Condition, Attract Closest) and Chomsky 2000 (Shortest Move).

⁹ As opposed to nominative case marking as in some languages, external possessors in Nez Perce receive the objective case instead. See Deal 2013 for a detailed analysis.

(15)a. *External Possession of Beneficiary Argument:*

Initd-an [la bie]_i [su pusa =to_k] [may laki]_k [la sira =to_{i/j}].
 give-LV.PFV GEN woman NOM cat =3SG.GEN DEM boy GEN fish =3SG.GEN
 ‘The woman gave the *boy*’s cat her fish.

b. *External Possession of Theme Argument:*

Initd-an [la bie]_i [su pusa =to_{i/j}] [la sira =to_k] [may laki]_k.
 give-LV.PFV GEN woman NOM cat =3SG.GEN GEN fish =3SG.GEN DEM boy
 ‘The woman gave her cat the *boy*’s fish.’

When the external possessor directly follows the beneficiary argument (as in (15a)), the external possessor is interpreted as associated with the beneficiary argument (i.e. the *cat* belongs to the boy, instead of the *fish*). However, theme arguments can be externally possessed as well (as in (15b), where the *fish* belongs to the boy, instead of the *cat*). Because theme arguments are structurally lower, if a movement analysis were to be posited, this would entail that locality constraints would have been circumvented. I therefore assume that unlike Nez Perce, EP in Pangasinan does not involve movement. External possessors are simply base generated at a higher position, accounting for why lower theme arguments may be externally possessed.

As external possessors in Pangasinan do not have to be affected and do not display the properties we would expect of elements in a derived position, referring back to Table 2, EP in the language falls under the category of base-generated binding. According to Deal (2017), EP in this category involves an external possessor being base generated separated from a coindexed pronoun that is syntactically independent of it (see Lee-Schoenfeld 2006; Rodrigues 2010 for examples in German and Brazilian Portuguese, respectively). As we have seen in previous examples, in Pangasinan, the coindexed pronoun appears in the form of a third person genitive clitic on the possessum DP, separate from the demonstrative-marked external possessor which binds this pronoun. (16) summarises our discussion thus far.

(16) *Nature of EP in Pangasinan:* EP in Pangasinan involves athematic base generated external possessors binding their coindexed genitive clitics on the possessum DP.

Now that it has been established that external possessors in Pangasinan are base generated in athematic positions, we can then turn our attention towards the question of where exactly external possessors are base generated.

4.2. Location of external possessor

A couple of diagnostics can be used to determine the location of external possessors. One of these diagnostics relates to the discussion in the previous subsection. Because EP in Pangasinan involves some sort of base-generated binding, the external possessor must be in a position where this binding can take place, i.e. the external possessor must be in a position where it can c-command the pronoun contained within the possessum DP.

In Pangasinan, both internal and external arguments can be externally possessed (17).

- (17)a. *External Possession of Internal Argument:*
P<in>akan la pastor [su pusa =to] [may laki].
feed.PV.PFV GEN pastor NOM cat =3SG.GEN DEM boy
The pastor fed *the boy's cat*.
- b. *External Possession of External Argument:*
P<in>akan [la pastor =to] [may laki] su pusa.
feed.PV.PFV GEN friend =3SG.GEN DEM boy NOM cat
‘The boy’s pastor fed the cat.’

For this to happen, external possessors in the language must be able to be in a position higher than external arguments, so that external possessors can bind pronouns in the external argument possessum. I address the exact location of the external possessor in §4.3 below.

Furthermore, EP in Pangasinan is logically independent of the voice system. In (18) & (19) below, the verbs in both the (a) and (b) examples maintain the same voice:

- (18) *Actor Voice (AV):*
- a. **Nan-pakan** su bie [la pusa la laki]. *Internal Possession*
AV.PFV-feed NOM girl GEN cat GEN male
‘The woman fed the boy’s cat.’
- b. **Nan-pakan** su bie [la pusa =to_i] [may laki]_i. *External Possession*
AV.PFV-feed NOM girl GEN cat =3SG.GEN DEM male
‘The woman fed the boy’s cat.’
- (19) *Patient Voice (PV):*
- a. **P<in>akan** la bie [su pusa la laki]. *Internal Possession*
feed.PV.PFV GEN girl NOM cat GEN male
‘The woman fed the boy’s cat.’
- b. **P<in>akan** la bie [su pusa =to_i] [may laki]_i. *External Possession*
feed.PV.PFV GEN girl NOM cat =3SG.GEN DEM male
‘The woman fed the boy’s cat.’

Recall that in applicative analyses such as Nie (2019)’s of Tagalog, EP is correlated with the presence of locative voice morphology. This locative voice morphology is associated with the spell-out of a raising applicative head, which licenses the external possessor so it can be assigned nominative case. In Pangasinan, there is no corresponding change in voice, hence no additional applicative projections may be present.

In addition, recall that external possessors in Pangasinan do not get marked with nominative case. (20) below is repeated from (8) above:

- (20) *Nap-plag [su aso =to_i] [su laki]_i.
AV.PFV-fell NOM dog =3SG.GEN NOM boy
‘The boy’s dog fell.’

Since external possessors do not become pivots and do not receive nominative case, an applicative head whose main function is to license nominals to receive nominative case is unnec-

essary. It is more parsimonious to assume that there are no additional projections, and external possessors are simply hosted together with the external argument, which I take to be at the ν P phase edge.¹⁰ This hypothesis is summarised in (21).

- (21) *Location of external possessor*: External possessors are hosted at the edge of ν P, together with the external argument (and pivot argument in NAV clauses).

If (21) were to hold, we may expect there to be a specificity distinction between internal and external possessors of the sort reported by Rackowski and Richards (2005) between internal and external arguments. According to Rackowski and Richards (2005), following work in Germanic languages by Diesing and Jelinek (1993, 1995), Bobaljik (1995) and Thráinsson (2001), external and internal arguments differ in their specificity because positions at the edge of ν P can receive specific interpretations, whereas positions internal to ν P are assigned nonspecific interpretations.¹¹ If external possessors are indeed at the edge of ν P, there would be an expectation that bare common noun external possessors pattern with external arguments in specificity.

This expectation is indeed borne out.¹² Consider the following contexts in (22), differing in the specificity of the possessor.

- (22)a. *Context A (Non-specific possessor)*: The prince went to a ball with many girls. He found a shoe belonging to one of the girls.

- b. *Context B (Specific possessor)*: A prince was dancing with a girl at the ball. When she left, she dropped her shoe. The prince found the shoe which he knew belonged to that girl.

Speakers report internally possessed clauses such as (23) to be only compatible with Context A, entailing that bare common noun internal possessors are obligatorily non-specific. (23) roughly translates to something like ‘The prince found the shoe of some (non-specific) girl.’

- (23) Akaalmo su prinsipe [*la sapatos la bie*].
 find.AV.PFV NOM prince GEN shoe GEN girl
 ‘The prince found the shoe of *some* girl.’

On the contrary, an externally possessed clause like (24) is reported to be compatible with both Contexts A & B, implying that external possessors can be interpreted as either specific or non-specific.

- (24) Akaalmo su prinsipe [*la sapatos =to*] [**may bie**].
 find.AV.PFV NOM prince GEN shoe =3SG.GEN DEM girl
 ‘The prince found the shoe of *a/the* girl.’

This specificity dichotomy parallels the patterns observed by Rackowski and Richards (2005) for internal versus external arguments, thus supporting the idea in (21) that external posses-

¹⁰ The relevant projection is also known as VoiceP in Rackowski (2002); Harley (2013); Legate (2014); Jeoung (2018); Nie (2019). For ease of exposition, I follow Rackowski and Richards (2005); Aldridge (2004); Erlewine and Levin (2021) in referring to the projection which hosts the external argument in its specifier as ν P.

¹¹ An exception to this is oblique arguments (see Sabbagh 2016).

¹² Note that this specificity distinction only applies to bare common noun possessors, which exclude proper name and quantificational possessors. Proper name possessors are always specific, regardless of whether possession is internal or external.

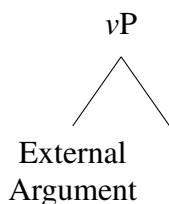
sors are indeed base generated in a location similar to that of external arguments.

4.3. Further evidence from extraction

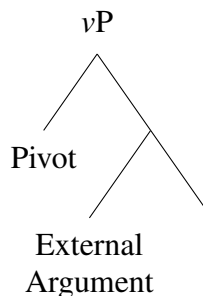
Now that we have established that both external possessors and external arguments occupy the ν P phase edge, we can go a step further in determining how exactly the ν P phase edge is organised by looking at various \bar{A} -extraction patterns.

To do that, a few preliminaries have to be laid out. In what follows, I follow Aldridge (2004); Rackowski and Richards (2005); Erlewine et al. (2017); Branan and Erlewine (2021); Erlewine and Levin (2021) a.o. in adopting a view of Philippine voice systems where ν P is a phase and only the highest DP at the ν P edge may be \bar{A} -extracted.¹³ Because pivot arguments are always extractable in canonical non-EP clauses, non-AV pivots are claimed to move to the outer edge of Spec, ν P, where they become the highest argument, accounting for the subject-only extraction restriction commonly noted among Austronesian languages. Typical phase edges without EP are shown in (25) below; an AV phase edge hosts only the external argument, whereas a non-AV phase edge hosts both the pivot and the external argument.

(25)a. AV Phase Edge



b. Non-AV Phase Edge



Next, it is essential to note before proceeding with the subsequent discussion that although external possessors are base generated in Spec, ν P, external possessors do not have to remain in their base generated positions. They may undergo \bar{A} -movement to Spec, CP for information structural reasons. (26) below is a clefted example.

- (26) [Amay bie]_i su an-gawit [su nanay =to_i] t_i la bag.
 DEM girl NOM AV.PFV-bring NOM mother =3SG.GEN GEN bag
 ‘It is *the girl* whose (her) mother brought a bag.’

I propose that in such cases where the EP is in a preverbal position, it has been moved there rather than having been base generated higher. External possessors must be base-generated somewhere close to their coindexed pronoun in the possessum DP (*t_i* in (26) above) before moving upwards. Evidence for this comes from the fact that \bar{A} extraction of an external possessor is sensitive to adjunct islands:¹⁴

¹³ Refer to Branan and Erlewine 2021 for a proposal of how \bar{A} -extraction targets the closest DP because \bar{A} -probes seek a combination of \bar{A} -features and A-features.

¹⁴ See Iatridou 1995 for a similar phenomenon in Modern Greek.

- (27) *[**Amay laki**] su akalek-an =ko [ta s<in>aliw [la agi
 DEM boy NOM laugh-LV.PFV =1SG.GEN because buy.PV.PFV GEN sister
 =to_i] su libro].
 =3SG.GEN NOM book
 ‘lit. It is *the boy* that I laughed because his sister bought the book.’

In what follows, I investigate patterns of \bar{A} -extraction from clauses with EP. Because only the highest DP of vP might be targeted by the \bar{A} -probe at Spec, CP, an investigation of patterns of \bar{A} -extraction in clauses with EP might thus give us a hint to how the vP phase edge is organised. It will also allow us to more precisely pinpoint the location of the external possessor, and better understand the process of EP.

Considering only cases of AV and PV, there are four types of clauses to cleft out of, along the dimensions of (i) the voice of the clause, and (ii) whether EP applies to a pivot or a non-pivot argument. Each of these cases will be examined in subsections that follow. From studying the clefting asymmetries between external possessors and pivot arguments, we will observe that external possessors are located at the *lowest possible* position where they can bind the coindexed pronouns on their possessums.

4.3.1. Case #1: AV, EP of a pivot agent

To start, consider a case where EP applies to a pivot agent argument.

- (28) Nan-pakan [su assistant =to_i] [**may guro**]_i la pusa.
 AV.PFV-feed NOM assistant =3SG.GEN DEM teacher GEN cat
 ‘The teacher’s assistant fed the cat.’

Here, the external possessor, *may guro*, may be clefted and moved preverbally.

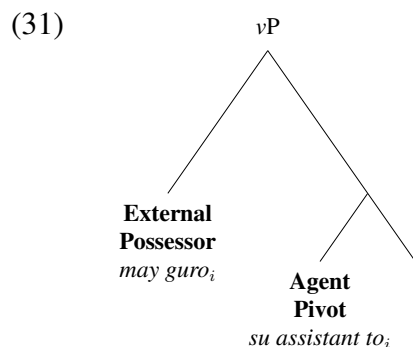
- (29) [**Amay guro**]_i su nan-pakan [su assistant =to_i] la pusa.
 DEM teacher NOM AV.PFV-feed NOM assistant =3SG.GEN GEN cat
 ‘It is the *teacher* whose (her) assistant fed the cat.’

However, somewhat unexpectedly, extraction of the agent pivot in (28) is blocked.

- (30) *[Su assistant =to_i] su nan-pakan [**may guro**]_i la pusa.
 NOM assistant =3SG.GEN NOM AV.PFV-feed DEM teacher GEN cat
 ‘lit. It is *her_i assistant* who the teacher’s_i fed the cat.’

Recall that only the highest DP at the edge of vP may be extracted. Since the external possessor but not the pivot agent may be extracted, this suggests that the external possessor is structurally higher than the pivot agent. A schematic representation of this is given in (31) below.¹⁵

¹⁵ To obtain a correct word order, I follow Erlewine et al. (2020) in assuming that specifiers of vP get freely linearised to the right of the verb.



4.3.2. Case #2: AV, EP of a non-pivot theme

Next, consider another AV clause, this time with EP applied to the non-pivot theme.

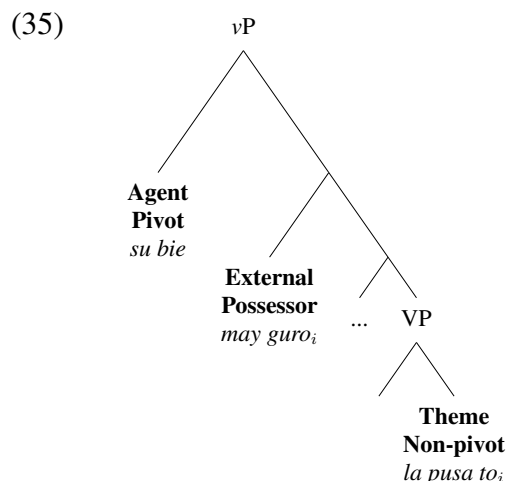
- (32) Nan-pakan su bie [*la pusa =to_i*] [may guro]_{*i*}.
 AV.PFV-feed NOM girl GEN cat =3SG.GEN DEM teacher
 ‘The girl fed the *teacher*’s cat.’

Here, extraction of the external possessor is disallowed (33), but the agent pivot argument may be extracted as in simple AV clauses without EP (34).

- (33) *[Amay guro]_{*i*} su nan-pakan su bie [*la pusa =to_i*].
 DEM teacher NOM AV.PFV-feed NOM girl GEN cat =3SG.GEN
 ‘It is the *teacher* whom the girl fed her cat.’

- (34) Su bie su nan-pakan [*la pusa =to_i*] [may guro]_{*i*}.
 NOM girl NOM AV.PFV-feed GEN cat =3SG.GEN DEM teacher
 ‘It is *the girl* who fed the teacher’s cat.’

Following the same line of reasoning, the extraction asymmetry between the pivot argument and external possessor in this case reveals that the pivot is structurally higher than the external possessor. This is represented in (35) below.



In this scenario, because EP applies to a non-pivot argument, the external possessor does not have to be the highest argument at the vP phase edge in order to bind the pronoun in the possessum, which remains VP-internal. The external possessor will thus be below the agent pivot, as this too would be a position from which it could bind the pronoun.¹⁶ In the cases that follow, we will observe similar patterns: external possessors get base generated in the lowest possible position where they are high enough to bind the pronoun in their possessum.

4.3.3. Case #3: PV, EP of a pivot theme

Moving on, when EP applies to a pivot theme in a PV clause (36), a similar pattern as that in AV Case #1 emerges. Namely, the external possessor in this case can be extracted (37), but extraction of the pivot theme is blocked (38).

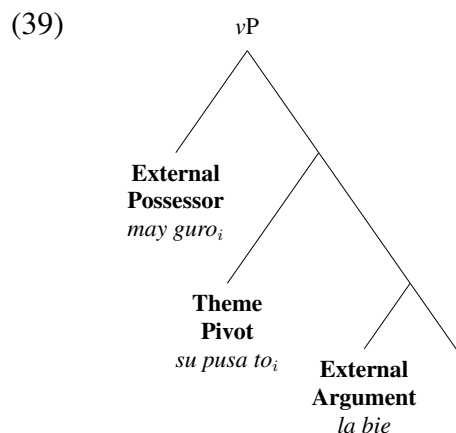
(36) P<in>akan la bie [su pusa =to_i] [may guro]_i.
 feed.PV.PFV GEN girl NOM cat =3SG.GEN DEM teacher
 ‘The teacher fed the girl’s cat.’

(37) [Amay guro]_i su p<in>akan la bie [su pusa =to_i].
 DEM teacher NOM feed.PV.PFV GEN girl NOM cat =3SG.GEN
 ‘It is the *teacher* whom the girl fed her cat.’

(38) *[Su pusa =to_i] su p<in>akan la bie [may guro]_i.
 NOM cat =3SG.GEN NOM feed.PV.PFV GEN girl DEM teacher
 ‘lit. It is *her_i cat* that the girl fed the teacher’s_i.’

Consequently, this structure has the external possessor structurally higher than the pivot theme, as in (39) below.

¹⁶ Here, I note that this requires adjunction of the external possessor to v’ before v Merges in the external argument, but comment no further on this quirk.



4.3.4. Case #4: PV, EP of a non-pivot agent

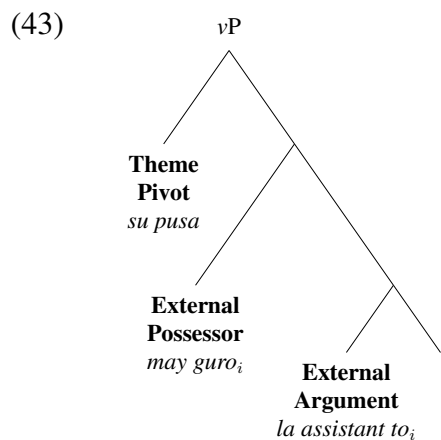
Lastly, consider the case of a PV clause where EP is associated with a non-pivot agent.

- (40) P<in>akan [la assistant =to_i] [may guro]_i su pusa.
 feed.PV.PFV GEN assistant =3SG.GEN DEM teacher NOM cat
 ‘The teacher’s assistant fed the cat.’

Parallel to AV Case #2, the external possessor in this scenario cannot be extracted (41). The theme pivot, however, can be moved pre-verbally (42), revealing a structure where the external possessor must be below the theme pivot (43).

- (41) *[Amay guro]_i su p<in>akan [la assistant =to_i] su pusa.
 DEM teacher NOM feed.PV.PFV GEN assistant =3SG.GEN NOM cat
 ‘It is *the teacher* whose (her) assistant fed the cat.’

- (42) Su pusa su p<in>akan [la assistant =to_i] [may guro]_i.
 NOM cat NOM feed.PV.PFV GEN assistant =3SG.GEN DEM teacher
 ‘It is *the cat* who the teacher’s assistant fed.’



From Cases #1 and #3, we see that when EP targets pivots, external possessors are base generated structurally higher than the pivots so that the clitic pronoun within the pivot possessum can be bound. On the contrary, when EP applies to non-pivots as in Cases #2 and #4, the possessums are lower in the structure, and the external possessors can be below the pivots and still bind their corresponding pronouns. External possessors thus always have to be at a position where they can bind their coindexed pronouns, and they furthermore must be in the lowest possible position that allows for this binding. This is summarised in (44) below:

- (44) *Rule for base generation of external possessors:* External possessors must be base generated at the lowest possible position where they can bind their coindexed pronouns within the possessum DP.

5. EP and “Apposition”

The significance of studying EP in Pangasinan is that it is connected to another more general process in the language, referred to by Benton in his 1971 grammar as “apposition”. According to Benton (1971, p. 145), “apposition” involves the coexistence of a pronoun and a corresponding “topic” NP identifying the entity represented by the pronoun (referred to as the *associate*). One of the most productive forms of “apposition” is that of non-pivot agents, where a third-person genitive pronominal clitic appears directly after the verb, co-referring to a demonstrative-marked phrase later in the clause. See Lim and Erlewine 2021 for more on other forms of “apposition”.

- (45)a. *Baseline PV clause with genitive agent:*
 In-sulat [la laki] [su liham].
 PV.PFV-write GEN man NOM letter
 ‘A/The man wrote the letter.’
- b. *Non-pivot agent apposition:*
 In-sulat *(=to_i) [may laki]_i [su liham].
 PV.PFV-write =3SG.GEN DEM man NOM letter
 ‘The man wrote the letter.’

This form of non-pivot agent “apposition” bears a striking resemblance to EP. As “apposition” is a cover term for all processes where a pronoun gets coindexed with a demonstrative-marked DP, EP can be thought of as another form of “apposition”. Insights from EP, such as that in (44) thus may be extrapolated to other forms of “apposition” as well, helping us better understand the relationship between pronouns and their associates in “apposition”.

Analysing EP as an instance of “apposition” explains why EP in Pangasinan exhibits noticeably different characteristics from that in related Austronesian languages. Zooming out, these similarities might perhaps hint that cross-linguistically, what has traditionally been thought of as EP may in some cases be due to different independent processes in different languages that all result in possessors and possessums being separated, helping to explain the vastly differing manifestations of EP cross-linguistically.

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