

ON CERTAIN SENTENTIAL COMPLEMENTS
IN TAGALOG *

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This article deals with certain properties of the sentential complements embedded under verbs like *subok* 'to try', *iwas* 'to avoid', *utos* 'to order', etc.

1. BASIC FEATURES OF TAGALOG SYNTAX¹

- (1) umiiyak si Pedro
acv-imp-cry nom
'Pedro is crying'
- (2) naglagay ng libro sa kahon ang titser
acv-pf-put gen book dat box nom teacher
'The teacher put a book into the box'
- (3) naglagay ang titser ng libro sa kahon
acv-pf-put nom teacher gen book dat box
synonymous with (2)

These sentences illustrate the following basic facts about the syntax of Tagalog. In stylistically neutral sentences the predicate comes first. The ordering of the subject noun phrase (NP) with respect to the other complement NPs is free (Schachter and Otnes 1972: 83-85). NPs are usually marked for (surface) case. There are three cases. Nominative is found on subject NPs and on those predicate NPs which bear a case marking. Genitive is typically found on direct objects and on NPs indicating possessors. Dative is found on NPs indicating the recipient of an action, or the source or goal of a movement. Case markers are proclitic particles which occur as the leftmost element of their NP, except that demonstratives and personal pronouns have special suppletive forms (Schachter and Otnes 1972: 87-95).

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¹All examples are written in the standard spelling. Setting aside some terminological differences, the introductory discussion of this section is in accord with Schachter and Otnes (1972) and McFarland (1976). Our term 'subject' corresponds to Schachter and Otnes's 'topic', and our term 'voice', to Schachter and Otnes's 'focus'. In the glosses to the examples we use the following abbreviations: *act2v*, secondary actor voice (see Schachter and Otnes 1972: 321 ss.); *acv*, active voice; *apt*, aptative; *bas*, basic; *benv*, benefactive voice; *caus*, causative voice; *dat*, dative; *dov*, direct objective voice; *fut*, future; *gen*, genitive; *imp*, imperfective; *insv*, instrumental voice; *iov*, indirect objective voice; *locv*, locative voice; *nom*, nominative; *pf*, perfective, *plur*, plural; *refv*, referential voice (see Schachter and Otnes 1972: 317); *sg*, singular.

As a convenient expository device, we will describe the passive sentences as though they were derived from their active counterparts by operations of passivization which proceed as follows

- a) one of the NP complements of the active sentence is put in the nominative, thus becoming the new subject
- b) the verb is given the morphology of one of the passive voices (Schachter and Otanes's 'goal foci'; see 1972: 70)
- c) the original subject of the active sentence is demoted from the nominative to the genitive case.

(4) inilagay ng titser ang libro sa kahon
 dov-pf-put gen teacher nom book dat box

'The book was put into the box by the teacher'

(5) nilagyan ng titser ng libro ang kahon
 lov-pf-put gen teacher gen book nom box

'A book was put into the box by the teacher'

(4) and (5) are two passive sentences corresponding to the active sentence (3). Leaving aside differences of the "topic-comment" type and some restrictions on the possibility of interpreting certain NPs as definite, (3), (4) and (5) are synonymous. In (4) it is the direct object of (3) which has been turned into a subject (i.e. *libro*), whereas in (5) it is the indirect object of (3) (i.e. *kahon*), and correspondingly, in (4) the verb has taken on the affixes of the direct objective voice whereas in (5) it has taken on the affixes of the indirect objective voice. Tagalog has other passive voices besides the direct and indirect objective voices: the locative voice, the benefactive voice, the instrumental voice, and so on, which correspond to cases where the NP turned into a subject indicates, respectively, the place where an event takes place, the being on whose behalf an action is done, an instrument, etc. Each of these passive voices is marked onto the verb by a morphology of its own.²

The following three pairs of sentences illustrate the use of the locative, instrumental, and benefactive voices.

(6) nagdurog siya ng mani sa plato
 acv-pf-crush nom-3sg gen peanut dat plate

'He crushed some peanuts on the plate'

(6') pinagdurugan niya ng mani ang plato
 locv-pf-crush gen-3sg gen peanut nom plate

'He crushed some peanuts on the plate'

(7) nagdurog siya ng mani sa pamamagitan ng kutsara³
 acv-pf-crush nom-3sg gen peanut dat by means of • gen spoon

'He crushed some peanuts with the spoon'

²The morphology of voice is rather complex. A convenient outline may be found in McFarland (1976: 12-24).

³Slightly bookish.

- (7') ipinandurog niya ng mani ang kutsara
 insv-pf-crush gen-3sg gen peanut nom spoon

'He used the spoon to crush some peanuts'

- (8) nagdurog siya ng mani para sa inyo
 acv-pf-crush nom-3sg gen peanut for dat dat-2plur

'He crushed some peanuts for you'

- (8') ipinagdurog niya kayo ng mani
 benv-pf-crush gen-3sg nom-2plur gen peanut

same meaning as (8)

2. THE LIGATURE

Before examining the internal structure of sentential complements in Tagalog, we must clarify some basic properties of the complementizer which heads them, the so-called 'ligature'. Due to the extreme freedom of word ordering in Tagalog, it is often difficult to ascertain the surface constituent structure of sentences. The position of the ligature, however, provides a very reliable clue as to the location of the leftward boundary of embedded sentences, once one accepts certain assumptions that I will try to make clear below. The Tagalog ligature (henceforth LG) is a grammatical morpheme which introduces a wide range of modifiers and complements to adjectives, nouns and verbs,⁴ relative clauses and sentential complements among other things. However LG has a few basic properties which are invariant throughout the whole gamut of contexts in which it appears. Consider the following:

- (12) Na ihatid ka sa erport
 LG dov-bas- nom-2sg dat airport
 escort

'to take you to the airport' (not a complete sentence, but a possible answer to the question *ano ang binalak ni Pedro?* 'What did Pedro plan to do?')

- (13) binalak ni Inday NA ihatid ka sa erport
 dov-pf-plan gen Inday LG dov-bas- nom- dat airport
 escort 2sg

'Inday planned to take you to the airport'

- (14) binalak ni Pedro-NG ihatid ka sa erport
 dov-pf-plan gen Pedro LG dov-bas- nom- dat airport
 escort 2sg

'Pedro planned to take you to the airport'

- (15) iyan ang libro-NG ipinadala ko sa Maynila
 nom-that nom book LG dov-caus-pf- gen- dat Manila
 carry 1sg

'That is the book I sent to Manila'

⁴For some discussion, see Buhain (1958), Gonzalez (1971).

(12) and sentences (13-15) illustrate the well-known fact that the phonological shape of LG depends (among other things) on what immediately precedes it. LG shows up as /na/ when no other word precedes it in the sentence (see 12) or when the preceding word ends in a non-syllabic segment which is neither /n/ nor a glottal stop (see 13). But when the preceding word ends in a vowel, a glottal stop or /n/ (see 14-15), the LG can show up either as /na/ or as a velar nasal (spelled -ng) closing the last syllable of that word. In this phonological context, the choice between the variants *na* and *-ng* depends on the inter-play of syntactic and stylistic factors that need not concern us here. The LG will be written in capitals in all our examples for the sake of conspicuousness.

Although the phonological shape of the LG depends on that of the word which precedes it, and although it looks in some cases as though it were a suffix to that word, it is our contention that from the point of view of syntax, the only thing that matters to the proper placement of the ligature in sentences, is what follows it:

Ligature Placement Rule: the ligature is always the leftmost term of the constituent that it introduces.

This single ordering statement is, in our opinion, all that need be said about the placement of the ligature in Tagalog.

There are two types of facts which indicate that, although the LG is in some cases attached to the word which precedes it, it always has a much closer syntactic relationship with the word that follows it.

First, whereas the LG can appear without anything preceding it in the same utterance (see 12), it cannot be left dangling at the end of a sentence. In particular, the LG does not show up if the complement it introduces is elided for some reason. Consider for instance sentence (16), whose main verb *mayroon* requires its complement to be introduced by the ligature (see Schachter and Otnes 1972: 275). The correct elliptical form of (16) (as in an answer to a question) is (17), not (18):

(16) *mayroon siya-NG pera*
 have nom-3sg LG money
 'He has some money'

(17) *mayroon siya*
 'He has some'

(18) **mayroon siya-NG*

This is simply accounted for if one assumes that in (16) the constituent which is the complement of *mayroon* is the sequence *-NG pera*, rather than the word *pera* alone. Then, the ellipsis of the complement of *mayroon* ipso facto entails that of the LG.

Second, if one considers the LG as belonging to the same constituent as the word which follows it, then a grammar of Tagalog need not contain any special provisions concerning word ordering in sentences containing a LG. Consider for instance sentence (19), where the verb is followed by three NPs, one of which (*papa*) is introduced by a LG (Schachter and Otnes 1972: 394-5):

(19) *tinawag NA papa ni Lorna si Pedro*
 dov-pf-call LG Papa gen Lorna nom Pedro
 'Lorna called Pedro papa'

If one considers the sequence *LG+papa* to be a constituent, one can envision all the se-

quences obtained from (19) by trying the different orderings of this constituent relative to the two other NPs⁵:

- (20) tinawag NA PAPA si Pedro ni Lorna
- (21) tinawag ni Lorna-NG PAPA si Pedro
- (22) tinawag si Pedro-NG PAPA ni Lorna
- (23) tinawag ni Lorna si Pedro-NG PAPA
- (24) tinawag si Pedro ni Lorna-NG PAPA

All six sentences (19) to (24) are grammatical and synonymous. This is but a particular case of the freedom of ordering enjoyed by the NPs behind the verb in Tagalog (see Schachter and Otnes 1972: 83), and needs no special mention. On the other hand, whenever the sequence *LG + papa* is broken or reshuffled, the resulting sentence is ungrammatical, as in (25-6):

- (25) *tinawag NA ni Lorna PAPA si Pedro
- (26) *tinawag ni Lorna PAPA-NG si Pedro

Consider also the contrast between the grammatical sequence (27), where the LG follows the interrogative enclitic particle *ba*, and the ungrammatical sequence (28), where it precedes it:

- (27) tinawag ba-NG PAPA si Pedro ni Lorna?
'Did Lorna call Pedro Papa?
- (28) *tinawag NA ba PAPA si Pedro ni Lorna?

A grammar of Tagalog need not contain any special statements to guarantee that the LG always be located to the right of all the enclitic words.⁶ This restriction just follows from the following facts about clitic placement, which have to be accounted for anyway, whatever one's particular views about the LG: (i) in a sentence, aside from the leftmost word, onto which all the enclitics are attached, all the other non-enclitics appear to the right of all the enclitics;⁷ (ii) only monomorphemic items can be enclitics. Hence constituents which have the LG as their leftmost term cannot be enclitics, since they contain at least two morphemes (the ligature morpheme plus another one).

There are, to be sure, apparent counter-examples to the Ligature Placement Rule, such as for instance sentence (29), which is accepted by some speakers as synonymous with (13):

- (29) binalak ka ni Inday NA ihatid sa erport

In (29) the subject *ka* of the sentential complement appears to the left of the LG. This

⁵The word *papa* is written in capitals for the sake of conspicuousness.

⁶For such statements, see for instance, Schachter and Otnes 1972: 189 D, Blake 1925: 292-3.

⁷This is an oversimplification. For some discussion in the direction of a more accurate statement, see Schachter and Otnes 1972: 186. In sentence (27) the enclitic particle *ba* is attached to the leftmost word *tinawag*, and all the remaining words, which are not enclitics, appear to the right of *ba*.

sentences and others similar to it form a very homogeneous set of cases which are most conveniently seen as resulting from a movement transformation. As far as the LG is concerned, we believe that movement transformations only effect reorderings of a very restricted sort. Let us call 'LG complement' any constituent introduced by the ligature. It is our contention that no transformation can ever move the LG out of its complement-initial position, nor take material from outside the LG complement and insert it between the LG and the rest of the LG complement. All that movement transformations can do is to take some material out of the LG complement and move it to the left of the LG. For instance, sentence (29) is obtained from sentence (13) by taking the subject *ka* of the sentential complement *NA ihatid ka sa erport*, and moving it up into the matrix sentence (see below sec. 6).

3. EQUI OPERATES REGARDLESS OF VOICE

(30) si Pedro ang umiwas sa butas
 nom Pedro nom acv-pf-avoid dat hole

'It is Pedro who avoided the hole'

(31) iniwasan ni Pedro ang butas
 lov-pf-avoid gen Pedro nom hole

'Pedro avoided the hole'

Sentences (30-31) illustrate the fact that the verb *iwas* can appear in the active or the indirect objective voice with an NP as an object. Sentences (32-33) below illustrate the fact that this object can also consist of a whole sentence whose verb is in the 'basic form' (see Schacter and Otnes 1972: 68), an inflection which corresponds in part to the infinitive in English.

(32) umiwas si Pedro-NG mabasa ng ulan ang buhok niya
 acv-pf-avoid nom Pedro LG dav-apt-pf-wet gen rain nom hair gen-3sg

(33) iniwasan ni Pedro-NG mabasa ng ulan ang buhok niya
 lov-pf-avoid gen Pedro LG dov-apt-pf-wet gen rain nom hair gen-3sg

'Pedro avoided getting his hair wet under the rain'

Consider now sentences (34-41):

(34) umiwas ako-NG tumingin ako kay Lorna
 acv-pf-avoid nom- LG acv-bas-look nom-1sg dat Lorna
 1sg

(35) umiwas ako-NG tingnan ko si Lorna
 acv-pf-avoid nom- LG lov-bas-look gen-1sg nom Lorna
 avoid 1sg look 1sg

'I avoided looking at Lorna'

(36) iniwasan ko-NG tumingin ako kay Lorna
 lov-pf-avoid gen- LG acv-bas-look nom-1sg dat Lorna
 1sg look 1sg

(37)	iniwasan lov-pf- avoid	ko-NG gen- LG 1sg	tingnan iov-bas- look	ko gen- 1sg	si nom	Lorna Lorna
(38)	umiwas acv-pf- avoid	ako-NG nom- LG 1sg	tumingin acv-bas- look	kay dat	Lorna Lorna	
(39)	umiwas acv-pf- avoid	ako-NG nom- LG 1sg	tingnan lov-bas- look	si nom	Lorna Lorna	
(40)	iniwasan lov-pf-avoid	ko-NG gen- LG 1sg	tumingin acv-bas- look	kay dat	Lorna Lorna	
(41)	iniwasan lov-pf- avoid	ko-NG gen- LG 1sg	tingnan iov-bas- look	si nom	Lorna Lorna	

These sentences, which are all synonymous, illustrate the fact that in certain cases, when the matrix clause and the embedded clause share a coreferential NP (in our example it is the 1sg pronoun), this NP can optionally⁸ be deleted. We are assuming here for Tagalog an analogue of the rule of Equi-NP Deletion (henceforth Equi) that has been posited for English (see rule 2 in Rosenbaum 1967: 6) and other languages (e.g. for French, see Gross 1968). From the point of view of this paper it is irrelevant whether one chooses to account for Equi phenomena by a deletion rule, as assumed here, or some kind of interpretive device.

Such a deletion can operate regardless of the voice of the higher (i.e. matrix) clause and of that of the lower (i.e. embedded) clause. In (34-35) the matrix clause is in the active voice, while in (36-37) the matrix clause is in a passive voice. In sentences (34) and (36) the embedded clause is in the active voice, whereas in (35) and (37) it is in a passive voice. Sentences (38-41) are the analogues of (34-37), with deletion of the shared coreferential NP in the embedded clause.

The next group of sentences (42-46) illustrate the fact that the deletion of the shared coreferential NP in the lower clause can operate whatever the voice of that clause.

(42a)	umiwas acv-pf- avoid	si nom	Pedro-NG Pedro LG	durugin dov-bas- crush	ang nom	mani peanut
(42b)	iniwasan lov-pf-avoid	ni gen	Pedro-NG Pedro LG	durugin dov-base- crush	ang nom	mani peanut

'Pedro avoided crushing the peanuts'

⁸Some speakers reject sentences (34) - (37). This means that for them the deletion of the coreferential NP is obligatory in sentential complements of the verb *hwas*, while for those speakers who accept these sentences, the deletion in question is only optional. T. Rafael pointed out to me that sentences 33, 36, 40, 42b, 43b, etc. sounded much better to her informants than their active voice counterparts, respectively 32, 34, 38, 42a, 43a, although it was not clear whether they still considered the latter sentences acceptable. Any acceptability problem disappears if the active sentences are modified so as to begin by *si Pedro ang umiwas . . .*, *ako ang umiwas . . .*. This modification does not affect the points made in the text.

(43a) umiwas si Pedro-NG paglabhan ang palanggana
 acv-pf- nom Pedro LG locv-bas- nom basin
 avoid wash

(44a) umiwas si Pedro-NG ipampunas ang panyo ko
 acv-pf- nom Pedro LG msv-bas- nom handkerchief gen-1sg
 avoid wipe

'Pedro avoided wiping himself with my handkerchief'

(45a) umiwas si Pedro-NG ipirma si Lorna
 acv-pf- nom Pedro LG benv-bas- nom Lorna
 avoid sign

(45b) iniwasan ni Pedro-NG ipirma si Lorna
 lov-pf-avoid gen Pedro LG benv-bas- nom Lorna
 sign

'Pedro avoided signing on Lorna's behalf'

(46a) umiwas si Pedro-NG ipabili ang bir sa akin
 acv-pf- nom Pedro LG dov-caus- nom beer dat dat-
 avoid bas-buy 1sg

(46b) iniwasan ni Pedro NG ipabili ang bir sa akin
 lov-pf- gen Pedro LG dov-caus- nom beer dat dat-
 avoid bas-buy 1sg

'Pedro avoided having me buy the beer'

4. SENTENTIAL COMPLEMENTS VS. FREE RELATIVE CLAUSES

Tagalog has an elision process whereby in relaxed speech certain 'word-initial vowels are dropped following another vowel (this elision still awaits a detailed study). For instance in relaxed speech the sequence *ko ang* in (47) can be pronounced *kong*, and as a result, (47) can be pronounced as homophonous (intonation aside) with the part of (48) which is written in capitals:

(47) binili ko ang mga susi
 'I bought the keys'

(48) nasaan ang BINILI KONG MGA SUSI?
 'Where are the keys that I bought?'

T. Rafael (personal communication) has pointed out to us that (40'-41') are equally acceptable as variants of (40-41):

(40') iniwasan ko ang tumingin kay Lorna

(41) iniwasan ko ang tingnan si Lorna

where *ang* is the nominative marker (for similar examples, see Schachter and Otnes 1972: 157). This might at first seem to indicate that the final velar nasal, which we construed in (40-41) as an occurrence of the postvocalic allomorph of the ligature, is in fact an elided variant of the nominative marker *ang*, and that sentential complements are headed by the ligature only when they are not subjects in the matrix sentence. But then consider the

following, which differ from (40-41) in that the actor of the matrix sentence ends in a consonant other than *n*:

(40'') iniwasan ni Manuel $\left. \begin{matrix} \text{NA} \\ \text{ang} \end{matrix} \right\}$ tumingin kay Lorna

(41'') iniwasan ni Manuel $\left. \begin{matrix} \text{NA} \\ \text{ang} \end{matrix} \right\}$ tingnan si Lorna

'Manuel avoided looking at Lorna'

The *na* which occurs in the sentences above is the postconsonantic allomorph of the ligature. The situation, then, is the following: sentential complements of *iwás* 'to avoid', *utos* 'to order', *sanay* 'to get used to', and other verbs with similar syntactic properties, can always be headed by the ligature, whatever the syntactic role of these sentential complements in the matrix clause. Furthermore, when such a sentential complement is the subject of the matrix clause, it may in certain cases⁹ be headed by the nominative marker, instead of the ligature. As noted in Schachter and Otnes (1972: 155), sentential complements are never headed by the genitive or dative marker. Sentential complements, then, differ from the NPs filling the same syntactic slots in the matrix clause, in that they need not bear a case marker and can do so only when they are subjects. This distinguishes sharply the sentential complements from the free relative clauses, which have exactly the same case marking possibilities as *bona fide* NPs. I am using the expression 'free relative clause' by analogy with English, to refer to a relative clause which is hooked onto a lexically unspecified head noun, such as the relative clause *what I gave him* in *he ate what I gave him*. In English, a relative pronoun (e.g. *what*) shows up as the head, but in Tagalog, where there are no relative pronouns, the position of the head in free relative clauses is empty. Compare (49) and (50):

(49) iniwasan niya ang mga babae-NG namimili sa palengke
 lov-pf- gen- nom plur woman LG acv-imp- dat market
 avoid 3sg shop

'He avoided the women who did their shopping at the market'

(50) iniwasan niya ang mga namimili sa palengke
 lov-pf-avoid gen-3sg nom plus acv-imp- dat market
 shop

'He avoided those who did their shopping at the market'

In (49-50), the strings *ang mga . . . palengke* are complex NPs, i.e. NPs containing an embedded clause, and like NPs in general, they bear a case marking (*ang*, in our examples). In (49) the relative clause *namimili sa palengke* modifies the head noun *babae*, to which it is attached by the ligature. In (50) there is no head noun, and as a result the relative clause¹⁰ immediately follows the case and number markers. Although free relative clauses and sentential complements may on the surface look very similar (compare (50) with

⁹Apart from the requirement that the sentential complement be the subject of the matrix clause, it is not yet known what exactly are the conditions under which the ligature can be replaced by the nominative marker.

¹⁰For more discussion of relative clauses, free or otherwise, see our paper, Dell, In preparation.

(51)), they must carefully be kept apart.¹¹

(51)	iniwasan	niya-NG	mamili	sa	palengke
	lov-pf-avoid	gen- LG	acv-bas-	dat	market
		3sg	shop		

'He avoided shopping at the market'

Relative clauses, but not sentential complements, are subject to Ross's (1967) Complex NP Constraint, which prohibits moving material from inside a relative clause. (52) and (53) are the sentences corresponding to (51) and (50) respectively, when the locative phrase in the embedded clause is replaced by the question word *saan* 'where' (question phrases must be sentence-initial; see Schachter and Otnes 1972: 504 ff.):

(52)	saan	niya	iniwasan-G	mamili
	where	gen-3sg	lov-pf- LG	acv-bas-
			avoid	shop

'Where did he avoid shopping?'

(53)	*saan	niya	iniwasan	ang	mga	namimili
	where	gen-3sg	lov-pf-avoid	nom	plur	acv-imp-
						shop

*'Where did he avoid those who were shopping?'

The readings of (52) and (53) under consideration here are those where the word *saan* concerns the place of shopping. Under that interpretation, (52) is grammatical, but not (53).¹² Sentences (54-57) are other examples of the same point:

(54)	natatakot	siya-NG	lumapit	kay	Pedro
	acv-imp-be	nom- LG	acv-bas-	dat	Pedro
	afraid	3sg	approach		

'He is afraid of approaching Pedro'

(55)	kanino	siya	natatakot	NA	lumapit
	dat-who	nom-3sg	acv-imp-	LG	acv-bas-approach
			be afraid		

'Whom is he afraid of approaching?'

(56)	natatakot	siya	sa	lumapit	kay	Pedro
	acv-imp-be	nom-	dat	acv-pf-	dat	Pedro
	afraid	3sg		approach		

'He is afraid of the one who approached Pedro'

¹¹Relative clauses attached to a nonnull head are dealt with in Schachter and Otnes 1972:123 ss. (under the heading 'noun head with modifying phrase'), whereas free relative clauses are treated as nominalizations (Schachter and Otnes 1972 150ss), on a par with sentential complements (Schachter and Otnes 1972 153ss).

¹²(53) is grammatical when the word *saan* concerns the place where the avoidance occurred (as is its English translation with the corresponding interpretation of *where*), but this is irrelevant here.

- (57) *kanino siya natatakot sa lumapit
 dat-who nom- acv-imp-be dat acv-pf-
 3sg afraid approach

*‘Whom is he afraid of the one who approached?’

Again in conformity with the Complex NP Constraint, one can relativize out of a sentential complement, but not out of a relative clause. For instance, one can relativize out of the sentential complement of *gusto* ‘want’ in (58), as shown by the grammaticality of (59):

- (58) gusto nila-NG iwasan-G pag-usapan iyong babae
 want gen- LG lov-bas- LG refv-bas- nom-that woman
 3plur avoid discuss

‘They want to avoid discussing that woman’

- (59) iyan ang babae-NG gusto nila-NG iwasan-G pag-usapan
 that nom woman LG want gen- LG lov-bas- refv-bas-
 3 plur. avoid discuss

‘That is the woman they want to avoid discussing’

But one cannot relativize out of the free relative clause which is the subject of *gusto* ‘to like’ in (60), as shown by the ungrammaticality of (61):

- (60) gusto nila ang mga umiiwas NA pag-usapan iyong babae
 want gen- nom plur acv-imp- LG refv-bas- nom- woman
 3plur avoid discuss that

‘They like those who avoid discussing that woman’

- (61) *iyan ang babae-NG gusto nila ang mga umiiwas NA
 that nom woman LG want gen-3 nom plur acv-imp- LG
 plur avoid

pag-usapan
 refv-bas-discuss

*‘That is the woman whom they like those who avoid discussing’

5. EQUI ON NON-ACTORS?

Let us adapt from Schachter (1976: 505, 508) the term ‘actor’ to designate (i) the subject NP in an active sentence (ii) in a passive sentence, the NP which has the subject as its analogue in the corresponding active sentence. By this definition, the actor is *ang títser* in (2), and it is *ng títser* in (4) and in (5) since this NP is the analogue of the subject of the corresponding active sentence (2). The notion ‘actor’ as defined here is a syntactic notion which should not be confused with any one of the variants of the semantic notion of ‘agent’ or ‘instigator of the action’ (see Schachter 1976: 497).

In all the sentences examined so far, the NP deleted in the lower clause is the actor. And in fact, Schachter claimed (1976: 505) that it is always the *actor* that is absent in structures analyzable as involving equi-noun-phrase deletion. But we give below a few examples to show that the subject of the embedded clause can be absent even when it is

not an actor.¹³

- | | | | | | |
|------|-----|------------------------------|-----------|----------------------|---|
| (62) | (a) | umiwas
acv-base-
avoid | si
nom | Pedro-NG
Pedro LG | } mahuli ng pulis
dov-apt- gen police
bas-catch |
| | (b) | iniwasan
lov-pf-
avoid | ni
gen | Pedro-NG
Pedro LG | |

'Pedro avoided being caught by the policeman'

- | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|--------------------------------|-----------|----------------------|------------------------------------|-----------|-------------|---------------|
| (63) | (a) | nasanay
acv-pf-
get used | si
nom | Lorna-NG
Lorna LG | matitigan
lov-apt-bas-
stare | ng
gen | mga
plur | lalaki
man |
|------|-----|--------------------------------|-----------|----------------------|------------------------------------|-----------|-------------|---------------|

'Lorna got used to being stared at by men'

- | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|------------------------------|-----------|----------------------|------------------------------------|-----------|-------------|---------------|
| (63) | (b) | kinasayan
lov-pf-get used | ni
gen | Lorna-NG
Lorna LG | matitigan
lov-apt-bas-
stare | ng
gen | mga
plur | lalaki
man |
|------|-----|------------------------------|-----------|----------------------|------------------------------------|-----------|-------------|---------------|

same meaning as (a)

- | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------|----------------|
| (64) | (a) | nawiwili
acv-imp-
enjoy | siya-NG
nom LG
3sg | makiliti
dov-apt-bas-
tickle | ni
gen | Pedro
Pedro |
|------|-----|-------------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------|----------------|

'He enjoys being tickled by Pedro'

- | | | | | | | |
|--|-----|--------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------|----------------|
| | (b) | kinawiwilihan
lov-imp-enjoy | niya-NG
gen- LG
3sg | makiliti
dov-apt-
bas-tickle | ni
gen | Pedro
Pedro |
|--|-----|--------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------|----------------|

same meaning as (a)

- | | | | | | | |
|------|----------------|-----------|----------------------|------------------------------------|-----------|----------------|
| (65) | ugali
habit | ni
gen | Pedro-NG
Pedro LG | matulungan
lov-apt-bas-
help | ni
gen | Lorna
Lorna |
|------|----------------|-----------|----------------------|------------------------------------|-----------|----------------|

'It is in Pedro's habit to be helped by Lorna'

- | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|----------------|---------------|------------|--------------------|----------|-----------------------------------|-----------|-------------|-----------------|
| (66) | handa
ready | na
already | ang
nom | bangos
milkfish | NA
LG | maisilbi
dov-apt-
bas-serve | ng
dat | mga
plur | bisita
guest |
|------|----------------|---------------|------------|--------------------|----------|-----------------------------------|-----------|-------------|-----------------|

'The milkfish is ready to be served to the guests'

The deletion of the subject of the lower clause is allowed whatever the voice of the

¹³Tagalog has a process of zero pronominalization, as in *pinuprublema mo ba kung huhulihin ka nung pulis? aba, e, di lagyan!* ('Are you worried about being caught by that policeman? Well, then, bribe him!'), where *lagyan* is elliptical for *lagyan mo siya* (iov-bas-bribe/gen-2sg/nom-3sg). If it could be shown that the deletions in examples (62) and following are due to zero pronominalization rather than to Equi, Schachter's claim could be maintained. We leave this question to subsequent research.

verb in that clause, as is illustrated in the following examples.¹⁴

- (67) nasaney si Lorna-NG maaway ni Pedro
 acv-pf-get from Lorna LG dov-apt-base- gen Pedro
 used quarrel
 'Lorna got used to shouted at by Pedro'
- (68) nasaney si Lorna-NG mapainom ng suka
 acv-pf-get nom Lorna LG act2v-caus- gen vinegar
 used apt-bas-drink
 'Lorna got used to people having her drink vinegar'
- (69) nasaney si Lorna-NG mapag-usapan sa tibi
 acv-pf- nom Lorna-LG refv-apt-bas- dat televison
 get used talk
 'Lorna got used to being talked about on TV'
- (70) nasaney si Lorna-NG ipirma ni Ben
 acv-pf- nom Lorna LG benv-bas- gen Ben
 get used sign
 'Lorna got used to Ben signing for her'
- (71) nasaney si Lorna-NG mahingian ko ng pera
 acv-pf- nom Lorna LG lov-apt-bas- gen- gen money
 get used ask 1sg
 'Lorna got used to my asking her for money'
- (72) nasaney si Lorna-NG ipatawag ni Ben
 acv-pf- nom Lorna LG dov-caus- gen Ben
 get used bas-call
 'Lorna got used to Ben having her called'
- (73) nasaney si Lorna-NG maipantukso sa mga kliente
 acv-pf- nom Lorna LG insv-apt-bas- dat plur customer
 get used tempt
 'Lorna got used to being used as a bait for the customers'

Finally, a shared coreferential NP cannot be deleted in the embedded clause unless it is either the actor or the subject of that clause. Consider for instance sentence (74).

¹⁴One of my informants tended to accept sentences involving the deletion of a non-actor subject only when the verb of the embedded clause was an aptative form. For instance, the analogues of (67) and (68) with a non-aptative verb in the embedded clause are the sentences (i) and (ii), where *awayin* and *painumin* are the non-aptative forms corresponding to *maaway* and *mapainom* respectively:

- (i) nasaney si Lorna-NG awayin ni Pedro
 (ii) nasaney si Lorna-NG painumin ng suka

Whereas the other informants found (i) and (ii) as readily acceptable as (67) and (68), one of them accepted only (67) and (68), to the exclusion of (i) and (ii). In the whole inflectional paradigm of the Tagalog verb, the aptative/non-aptative contrast is probably the most poorly understood. For some discussion, see Dell, In preparation, b.

(77) natatakot ako-NG ipakilala mo ang bata sa akin
 acv-imp-fear nom-LG dov-bas- gen- nom child dat dat-1sg
 1sg introduced 2sg

'I am afraid of your introducing the child to me'

(78) natatakot ako-NG ipakilala mo ang bata
 acv-imp-fear nom-LG dov-bas- gen- nom child
 1sg introduce 2sg

'I am afraid of your introducing the child'

Although sentence (78) differs from sentence (77) only in that it lacks a dative complement *sa akin* in the embedded clause, it is not synonymous with it, as it would be if it derived from the same underlying structure as (77) by the deletion of *sa akin*.¹⁵ Contrary to (77), (78) carries no indication as to whom the child might be introduced to. The meaning relationship between (77) and (78) is exactly the same as that between (74) and (79).

(79) ipakilala mo ang bata
 dov-bas- gen- nom child
 introduce 2sg

'Introduce the child'

In both (78) and (79) the person to whom the child is introduced is left unspecified.

Let us call 'controller' the coreferential NP whose occurrence triggers the operation of Equi. For instance, the controller of Equi in (75) is *ka*, and in (76) it is *ang bata*. In all the examples given above, the controller is the actor of the matrix clause. But this need

(74) ipakilala mo ang bata sa akin
 dov-bas- gen-2sg nom child dat dat-1sg
 introduce

'Introduce the child to me'

When this sentence is used as an embedded clause, its actor can be deleted if coreferential with that of the matrix sentence, as shown in (75), and its subject can be deleted if coreferential with the actor of the matrix sentence, as shown in (76). But the complement *sa akin*, which is neither an actor nor a subject in (74), cannot be deleted even if the actor of the matrix sentence is a first person singular pronoun. This is shown by the difference between (77) and (78).

(75) natatakot ka-NG ipakilala ang bata sa akin
 acv-imp-fear nom-LG dov-bas- nom child dat dat-1sg
 2sg introduce

'You are afraid of introducing the child to me'

(76) natatakot ang bata-NG maipakilala mo sa akin
 acv-imp-fear nom child LG dov-apt-bas- gen dat dat-1sg
 introduced 2sg

'The child is afraid of being introduced by you to me'

¹⁵This remains true when the non-aptative form *ipakilala* in (78) is replaced by its aptative analogue *maipakilala*.

not always be the case, as illustrated by sentences (80) – (82).

- (80) (a) nagbiling ako kay Pepe-NG tumawag kay Lorna
 acv-pf- nom-1sg dat Pedro LG acv-bas- call up dat Lorna
 instruct
- (b) ipinagbiling ko kay Pepe-NG tumawag kay Lorna
 dov-pf-, gen- dat Pepe LG acv-bas- call up dat Lorna
 instruct 1sg
- ‘I left instructions to Pepe to call up Lorna’
- (81) (a) nagbiling ako kay Pepe-NG tawagan si Lorna
 acv-pf- nom- dat Pepe LG lov-bas- nom Lorna
 instruct 1sg call up
- (b) ipinagbiling ko kay Pepe-NG tawagan si Lorna
 dov-pf- gen- dat Pepe LG lov-bas- nom Lorna
 instruct 1sg call up
- same meaning as (80)
- (82) (a) ugali ni Pedro-NG tumulong kay Lorna
 habit gen Pedro LG acv-bas- help dat Lorna
- (b) ugali ni Pedro-NG tulungan si Lorna
 habit gen Pedro LG lov-bas- help nom Lorna
- ‘It is Pedro’s habit to help Lorna’

In sentences (80) – (81) the controller of Equi is a dative complement (*kay Pepe*) to the verb,¹⁶ whereas in (82) it is a genitive complement (*ni Pedro*) belonging to the predicate NP.

6. SUBJECT RAISING

- (83) iniwasan niya-NG lapitan ako
 lov-pf-avoid gen- LG lov-bas- nom-1sg
 3sg approach
- (84) iniwasan niya ako-NG lapitan
 lov-pf-avoid gen- nom- LG lov-bas-
 3sg 1sg approach
- ‘He avoided approaching me’

¹⁶All four sentences (80a-81b) are cognitively synonymous. Sentences (80a-b) have an embedded clause in the active voice, while (81a-b) have an embedded clause in a passive voice. Sentences (80a) and (81a) have the active voice in the matrix clause, whereas sentences (80b) and (81b) have the verb of the matrix clause in the direct objective voice (its subject is the embedded clause taken as a whole).

(83) and (84) illustrate the fact that a personal pronoun which is the subject of a sentential complement can in certain cases be raised into the matrix clause.¹⁷ As far as sequential ordering in the matrix sentence is concerned, pronouns thus raised behave no differently from the others.¹⁸

- | | | | | | |
|------|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|
| (85) | iniwasan
lov-pf-
avoid | ba
question
marker | niya-NG
gen- LG
3sg | lapitan
lov-bas-
approach | ka?
nom-
2sg |
| (86) | iniwasan
lov-pf-
avoid | ka ba
nom- question
2sg marker | niya-NG
gen- LG
3sg | lapitan?
lov-bas-
approach | |
- 'Did he avoid approaching you?'

Consider the following:

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| (87) | nagpilit
acv-pf-strive | ako-NG
nom- LG
1sg | tulungan
lov-bas-help | silā
nom-3plur |
| (88) | pinilit
dov-pf-
strive | ko-NG
gen- LG
1sg | tulungan
lov-bas-help | silā
nom-3plur |
| (89) | *nagpilit
acv-pf-
strive | ako
nom-
1sg | silā-NG
nom- LG
3plur | tulungan
lov-bas-help |
| (90) | pinilit
dov-pf-
strive | ko
gen-
1sg | silā-NG
nom- LG
3plur | tulungan
lov-bas-help |
- 'I did my best to help them'

(87) and (88) are synonymous and differ only in the voice of the matrix clause. The subject of the embedded clause can be raised in (88), hence the grammatical sentence (90), which has the same meaning as (88), but it cannot be raised in (87), as shown by the ungrammaticality of (89). To account for this, we venture the following restriction on raising:

- (91) *A subject can be raised out of a sentential complement only if that sentential complement is itself a subject in its matrix clause.*¹⁹

The ungrammaticality of (89) cannot just be a matter of violating an output constraint on pronoun sequences which would prohibit a sequence like *ako silā*, or even a constraint

¹⁷In fact not only personal pronouns, but all subject NPs can be thus raised. However, stylistic factors come into play, which have to do with the length of the raised constituent relative to its environment, and we will use here only data concerning personal pronouns.

¹⁸On the ordering of pronouns, see Schachter and Otones 1972: 183-193, and Schachter 1973.

¹⁹i.e. only 'maximal subjects' can be raised. On the notion of 'maximal subject', see Dell, In preparation a.

against verbs with two nominative complements. For if one raises *siya* in the next higher clause in (92), one obtains (93), which contains no pronoun sequence and no verb with two nominative complements, but is nonetheless ungrammatical:

(92)	kakaunti few	lang only	ang nom	mga plur	nagpilit acv-pf- strive	NA LG	tulungan lov-bas- help	siya nom-3 plur
(93)	*kakaunti few	lang only	ang nom	mga plur	nagpilit acv-pf- strive	siya-NG nom- LG 3plur	tulungan lov-bas- help	

‘Only a few people did their best to help them’

Restriction (91) accounts for the ungrammaticality of (93).

Finally, the subject of a sentential complement S can be raised into a clause which is higher up in the syntactic tree than the clause immediately dominating S. For instance, in (94), *siya* can be raised from S₃ to S₁, yielding the grammatical sentence (95), which has the same meaning as (94):

(94)	gusto S ₁ want	ko gen- 1sg	-NG S ₂ LG	makasanayan lov-apt-bas -get used	-G S ₃ LG	tulungan love-bas- help	siya nom- 3plur
(95)	gusto want	ko gen- 1sg	siya-NG nom- LG 3sg	makasanayan-G lov-apt-bas- get used	LG	tulungan lov-bas-help	

‘I want to get used to helping him’

But consider now (96), which is identical with (94) except for the verb in S₂, which is in the active voice (apt-acv-bas-get used).

(96)	gusto want	ko-NG gen- LG 1sg	masanay acv-apt-bas- get used	NA LG	tulungan lov-bas-help	siya nom-3sg
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If *siya* is raised from S₃ to S₁ in (96), one obtains (97), which is ungrammatical.

(97)	*gusto want	ko gen- 1sg	siya-NG nom- LG 3sg	masanay acv-apt- bas-get used	NA LG	tulungan lov-bas-help
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The ungrammaticality of (97) is due to a violation of restriction (91) : in (96), S₂ is indeed the subject of S₁, but S₃ is not the subject of S₂.

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