Remnant Movement and Internally Headed Relative Clauses in Tagalog
Edith Aldridge, University of Washington

Tagalog has head-initial, head-final, and what appears to be head-internal relative clauses. In this paper, I propose analyses of the head-final and "internally" headed types. (1a) shows a head-final relative, with the modifying clause preceding the head NP and a linker appearing between the clause and the NP. (1b) is an example of a "head-internal" relative clause. The head NP appears between the verb and ergative subject of the modifying clause and thus gives the appearance of being a head-internal relative. The linker surfaces between the verb and head NP.

(1) a. b<in>ili   ng   babae-ng   **libro**   (head-final)
         <PRV>buy   ERG   woman-LK   book
         'book which the woman bought'

   b. b<in>ili-ng   **libro** ng   babae   ("internally" headed)
         <PRV>buy-LK   book   ERG   woman
         'book which the woman bought'

In Aldridge (2003, 2004), I proposed that the head-final type is derived by raising the head NP from inside TP and subsequently fronting the remnant clause into the DP layer, as per Kayne's (1994) analysis of head-final relative clauses. The type in (1b), on the other hand, was treated as a true internally headed relative clause. Following Basilico (1996), I proposed that the head NP moved to the edge of *v*P and was coindexed with an operator in the DP layer.

The movement approach to head-final relatives was supported by the following asymmetry involving stranded material following the head NP. In (2a), a dative PP appears following the head NP. (2b) shows that a direct object cannot be stranded in this way.

(2) a. K<in>ain=ko   ang   [[hindi i-b<in>igay   ng   babae]-ng
         <TR.PRV>eat=1S.ERG ABS   NEG   APPL-<TR.PRV>give   ERG   woman-LK
            kendi *sa bata*].
            candy   to   child
         'I ate the [**candy** [that the woman did not give *to the child*]].'

   b.?*Hindi=ko   kilala   ang   [[b<um>a-basa-ng   **lalaki**] *ng   diyaryo*].
         NEG=1S.ERG   know   ABS   <INTR>PROG-read-LK man   OBL   paper
         'I don't know the [**man** [who is reading *a newspaper*]].'

This asymmetry provides evidence for the raising analysis, because it is parallel to the asymmetry found in scrambling in Tagalog. PPs can freely move to clause-initial position.

(3) a. Hindi i-b<in>igay   ng   babae   ang   kendi **sa bata**.
         NEG   APPL-<TR.PRV>give ERG   woman   ABS   candy to child
         'The woman did not give the candy to the child.'

   b. **Sa bata**   hindi i-b<in>igay   ng   babae   ang   kendi.
         to child   NEG   APPL-<TR.PRV>give ERG   woman   ABS   candy
         'To the child, the woman did not give the candy.'

Direct objects with oblique case, however, do not have this freedom. They must remain within the VP and cannot move to preverbal position.

(4) a. B<um>a-basa   ang   lalaki **ng   diyaryo**.
         <INTR>PROG-read   ABS   man   OBL   paper
         'The man is reading a newspaper.'

b. ***Ng**　**diyaryo**　b<um>a-basa　　ang　　lalaki.
　　OBL　paper　　<INTR>PROG-read ABS　man
　　'A newspaper, the man is reading.'

This asymmetry is accounted for by positing that scrambling moves a PP outside of TP, with the result that it will surface following the head NP when the remnant clause moves to the DP layer.

(5)　　[$_{DP}$ TP [$_{D'}$ D [$_{CP}$ NP [$_{C'}$ C [$_{XP}$ PP [$_{X'}$ <TP>]]]]]]

In contrast to head-final relatives, "internal" headed relatives allow greater freedom in stranding. As seen in (1b), the ergative subject can be stranded following the head NP. Scrambling of the ergative DP, however, is not allowed in Tagalog. Thus, "internally" headed relatives are not derived through movement external to *v*P. The head NP and the ergative subject both reside in the edge of *v*P in surface order.

(6) a.　B<in>ili　　**ng**　**babae**　ang　　libro.
　　　<PRV>buy　ERG　woman　ABS　book
　　　'The woman bought the book.'

　　b. ***Ng**　**babae**　b<in>ili　　ang　　libro.
　　　ERG　woman　<PRV>buy　ABS　book
　　　'The woman bought the book.'

New evidence, however, requires a revision of this analysis. I show in the current paper that head-final and "internally" headed relatives are parallel in every respect except for stranding possibilities. Crucially, the fronted part of the modifying clause can precede material in the DP layer (e.g. a numeral or adjective) in both cases.

(7) a.　Hindi　brand new [(ito-ng)　*b<in>ili*　　ng　　*ahensya*-ng
　　　NEG　brand new DEM-LK　<TR.PRV>buy　ERG　agency-LK
　　　　tatlo-ng　**malaki**-ng helicopter noong　2009].　　(head-final relative)
　　　　3-LK　　big-LK　　helicopter in　　2009
　　　'These three big helicopters the agency bought in 2009 are not brand new.'

　　b.　Hindi　brand new [(ito-ng)　*b<in>ili*-ng　**tatlo-ng**　**malaki**-ng helicopter
　　　NEG　brand new DEM-LK　<TR.PRV>buy-LK 3-LK　　big-LK　　helicopter
　　　ng　　ahensya　noong 2009].　　　　　　　("internally" headed relative)
　　　ERG　agency　in　　2009
　　　'These three big helicopters the agency bought in 2009 are not brand new.'

I propose in this paper that both types of relative clause are derived through remnant movement into the DP layer. This allows numerals and adjectives to follow the fronted material, as in (7). The asymmetry between head-final and the "internally" headed type is accounted for by positing that the clause is a different size in each case. I propose that the "internally" headed relative is reduced, consisting of a *v*P dominated by a DP layer. The head NP moves to the edge of this *v*P, followed by raising of the remnant VP into the DP layer.

(8)　　[$_{DP}$ VP [$_{D'}$ D [$_{vP}$ NP [$_{vP}$ DP$_{[ERG]}$ [$_{v'}$ *v* <VP>]]]]]

References

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