

Predicate, Subject, and Cleft in Austronesian Languages*

Edith Aldridge, University of Washington

This paper proposes an analysis of Austronesian cleft structure which is parallel to the derivation of basic word order in VOS Austronesian languages. VOS word order is derived by moving the subject or absolutive DP to a low topic position in the left periphery, following which the remnant TP moves to a higher focus position. In a cleft, it is the presupposed relative clause which functions as the absolutive and moves to the topic position, while the focused constituent is pied-piped within the remnant TP to the focus position. Accordingly, this analysis is in agreement with the tradition in Austronesian syntax of analyzing the clause-initial focused constituent as the matrix predicate rather than the subject. However, this approach to Austronesian cleft structure deviates from accepted analyses of clefts in non-Austronesian languages in which the focused constituent is analyzed as the matrix subject. This discrepancy is justified in the present paper by showing that the movements involved in the derivation target the CP layer, specifically the focus and topic positions in the left periphery, where the moving constituents receive their respective interpretations. Consequently, neither the focus nor the headless relative clause resides in the [Spec, TP] subject position.

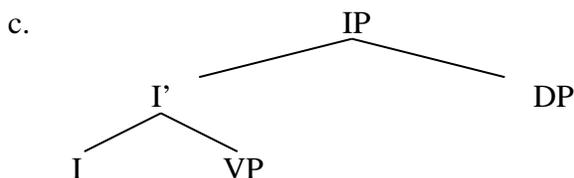
1. Introduction

This paper proposes an analysis of the structure of clefts in Austronesian languages. Cleft constructions have been addressed rather frequently in the literature, particularly because of the fact that *wh*-questions are formed on clefts in a great number of Austronesian languages (Georgopoulos 1991; Paul 2001; Pearson 2001; Massam 2003; Aldridge 2002, 2004; Potsdam 2006, 2007, 2009; among others). In the following Tagalog examples, (1a) shows basic VSO order in a declarative clause. (1b) shows a *wh*-question in which the direct object is the *wh*-phrase. This constituent appears in clause-initial position, but it does not reach this position through movement to [Spec, CP]. Rather, the *wh*-word acts as the matrix predicate in a cleft construction. The remainder of the clause is packaged as a headless relative clause preceded by the absolutive case-marker. This structure is parallel to the specificational pseudocleft shown in (1c).

- Tagalog
- (1) a. **B<in>ili** ng babae ang isda.
 <Tr.Perf>buy Erg woman Abs fish
 ‘The woman bought the fish.’
- b. **Ano** [ang b<in>ili ng babae].
 what Abs <Tr.Perf>buy Erg woman
 ‘What did the woman buy?’
- c. **Ang isda** [ang b<in>ili ng babae].
 Abs fish Abs <Tr.Perf>buy Erg woman
 ‘The fish is what the woman bought.’

The fact that DP *wh*-phrases do not move to [Spec, CP] but must rather be embedded in a higher predicate is generally attributed to the predicate-initial nature of basic word order in these languages. Paul’s (2001) seminal analysis of Malagasy clefts proposes that they are parallel to the derivation of VOS basic word order in the language. Paul bases her analysis on Guilfoyle et al.’s (1992) analysis of Malagasy word order in which the subject moves to a rightward [Spec, IP], leaving Infl and the VP predicate in clause-initial position. In a cleft, the focused constituent is located inside the predicate.

- Malagasy
- (2) a. [IP [I’ M-an-sasa ny lamba amin’ny savony] [DP ny zazavavy]]
 AT-wash the clothes with the soap the girl
 ‘The girl washes the clothes with the soap.’ (Guilfoyle, Hung, & Travis 1992: 380)
- b. [IP [I’ iza] [DP [CP OP no [IP nihomehy *t_{OP}*]]]?
 who Part laugh.AT
 ‘Who laughed?’ (Potsdam 2006: 2161; based on Paul 2001)

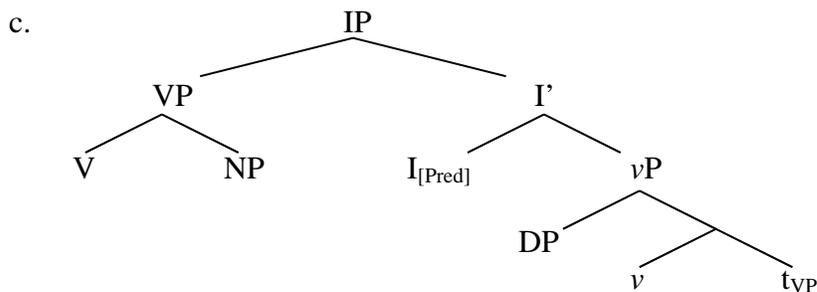


Recent work on VOS word order in Austronesian languages (Massam 2000, 2001, 2003 for Niuean; Rackowski & Travis 2000, Pearson 2001 for Malagasy; Aldridge 2004 for Seediq; Cole & Hermon 2008 for Toba Batak) has turned away from an approach based on rightward movement of the subject and favors instead a derivation involving leftward movement of this DP to a position external to VP, ν P, or TP. Following this, the remnant predicate or clause moves to a position above the DP¹. In terms of the parallelism between VOS word order and the derivation of clefts, Massam (2000, 2001, 2003) and Oda (2002) propose that the parameter distinguishing SVO languages from verb-initial ones is the feature responsible for the EPP requirement on Infl. In SVO languages, this is a [D] feature, while it is the predicate which Infl attracts in verb-initial languages.

- (3) Massam (2003), Oda (2002)
 Infl has a [Pred] feature and not a [D] feature.

What this means for *wh*-questions is that these languages have no feature to attract a DP to clause-initial position. The focused DP must instead be pied-piped to clause-initial position with the predicate.

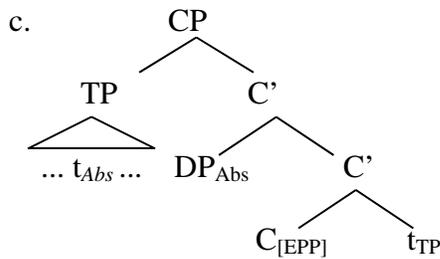
- Niuean
- (4) a. [IP [VP Takafaga ika] [I' tumau ni a ia]].
 hunt fish always Emph Abs he
 ‘He is always fishing.’ (Massam 2001: 157)
- b. [IP [VP Ko hai] [DP [CP OP [C' ne [IP lalaga t_{OP} e kato e:]]]]]?
 Pred who C weave Abs basket this
 ‘Who wove this basket?’ (Massam 2003: 97)



A variation on the predicate-fronting approach is proposed by Pearson (2001, 2005)² and Aldridge (2004). On this alternative, it is not the VP or predicate which fronts but rather a larger constituent. The subject (or absolutive) DP first raises to a topic position in the left periphery³. Subsequently, the remnant clause fronts to a position above the absolutive. In a cleft, it is the headless relative which is topicalized. The focused constituent is contained in the fronted TP.

- Seediq
- (5) a. [TP wada burig-un na Ape t_{Abs}] ka patis.
 Past buy-Tr Erg Ape Abs book
 ‘Ape bought the book.’

- b. [TP t_{Abs} maanu][DP ka [CP OP [TP wada=na burig-un t_{OP}]]].
 what Abs Past=3.Sg.Erg buy-Tr
 ‘What did he/she buy?’



A common thread running through all of the analyses sketched above is that DP *wh*-questions assume a pseudo-cleft structure in which the focused constituent is (or is contained in) the matrix predicate, while the rest of the clause forms a headless relative clause functioning as the matrix subject.

However, quite a different structure has been put forth for pseudoclefts in other languages (Heggie 1988, den Dikken 2006, among many others), notably English. Specifically, the focused constituent is argued to be the subject, while the clause is treated as the predicate.

My goal in this paper is two-fold. First, I argue that the traditional approach to Austronesian clefts is on the right track in that the focused constituent is indeed contained within the predicate or a larger constituent which itself contains the predicate. To account for the obvious discrepancy between Austronesian and other languages, I next argue for an analysis of the type shown in (5c), in which the movements involved in the derivation target the CP layer. Consequently, neither the focus nor the clause resides in the [Spec, TP] subject position. Rather, both are located in A'-positions, i.e. the focus and topic positions in the left periphery where they receive their respective interpretations.

2. Austronesian: Focus as Predicate

It has been argued convincingly for several Austronesian languages that the focused constituent is (or is located within) the predicate – and is not the subject – in Austronesian clefts. For example, Paul (2000) shows that the focused part of a cleft can contain other elements typically found with predicates and not with subjects. (6) shows that focused constituents in Malagasy can be negated.

- Malagasy (Paul 2000: 714)
- (6) [Tsy Raso] no nanoroka an-dRakoto.
 Neg Raso Foc Past.AT.kiss Acc-Rakoto
 ‘It’s not Raso who kissed Rakoto.’

(7) shows similar facts for Tagalog. (7a&b) show that the negator precedes the predicate but cannot be used to negate just the subject. (7c) shows that the negator can negate the focused constituent in a cleft. If the pre-verbal absolutive DP were analyzed as the subject, we would expect (7c) to pattern with (7b). Instead, (7c) patterns with (7a), suggesting that the pre-verbal focused constituent resides in the predicate and is not in subject position.

Tagalog

- (7) a. **Hindi** p<um>unta sa Maynila si Maria.
Neg <Intr.Perf>go to Manila Abs Maria
'Maria didn't go to Manila.'
- b. *P<um>unta sa Maynila **hindi** si Maria.
<Intr.Perf>go to Manila Neg Abs Maria
'Not Maria went to Manila (but ...).'
- c. [**Hindi** si Maria] ang p<um>unta sa Maynila.
Neg Abs Maria Abs <Intr.Perf>go to Manila
'It wasn't Maria who went to Manila.'

A similar point is made by examining post-predicate particles. The Indonesian focus particle *kah* attaches to or within the predicate, as shown in (8a). But this particle cannot attach to a DP in subject position, as in (8b).

Indonesian (Cole et al. to appear)

- (8) a. Fatima kata [Siti [membeli buku itu-**kah** semalam]]?
Fatima say Siti bought book this-Q yesterday
'Did Fatimah say that Siti bought *that book* yesterday?'
- b. *Fatima kata [Siti-**kah** [membeli buku itu semalam]]?
Fatima say Siti-Q bought book this yesterday
'Did Fatimah say that *Siti* bought that book yesterday?'

In a cleft, *kah* can attach to the focused constituent. In (9a), this constituent happens to correspond to the subject of the headless relative clause. This contrasts clearly with ungrammatical (9b), in which *kah* attaches to a subject which is in subject position in a verbal clause.

Indonesian (Kroeger 2009: 820; Mashudi 1981: 50)

- (9) a. Abu_i=**kah** [yang e_i minum air itu tadi]?
Abu=Q Rel drink water that just.now
'Was it Abu who just drank that water?'
- b. *Abu=**kah** minum air itu tadi?
Abu=Q drink water that just.now
'Was it Abu who just drank that water?'

Potsdam (2009) makes a similar case for the particle *tale* in Fijian. Like Indonesian *kah*, *tale* attaches to predicates but not subjects.

Fijian (Potsdam 2009: 765)

- (10) a. [e na lagasere] **tale** o Pita
3.Sg.Subj Fut sing again D Peter
'Peter will sing again.'
- b. *[e na lagasere] o Pita **tale**
3.Sg.Subj Fut sing D Peter again
'Peter will sing again.'

In a cleft, *tale* can attach to the predicate in the embedded clause or to the focused constituent. Note the change in interpretation between (11a) and (11b), indicating the different scopes for *tale*.

- Fijian (Potsdam 2009: 765)
- (11) a. [o cei] [[e na lagasere] **tale**]
 D who 3.Sg.Subj Fut sing again
 ‘Who will sing again?’
- b. [o cei] **tale**] e na lagasere
 D who again 3.Sg.Subj Fut sing
 ‘Who else will sing?’

Finally, Massam (2003) shows that the *yes/no* question particle follows the fronted VP in a verbal clause, while it follows the focused constituent in a cleft.

- Niuean (Massam 2003: 94)
- (12) a. [[Kua kai] **nakai**] e Moka e apala
 Perf eat Q Erg Moka Abs apple
 ‘Did Moka eat the apple?’
- b. [[Ko Lemani] **nakai**] ne moto a koe
 Pred Lemani Q Nfut punch Abs you
 ‘Was it Lemani who punched you?’

The parallel between verbal predicates and clefted constituents is further illustrated by auxiliary verbs. Potsdam (2006) also shows that verbal auxiliaries like modals can appear before the clefted constituent in Malagasy. (13a) shows the modal with a verbal predicate; (13b) shows the same modal preceding the focused constituent in a cleft.

- Malagasy (Potsdam 2006)
- (13) a. **tokony** hamangy an-dRabe Rasoa (p. 2165)
 should visit Acc-Rabe Rasoa
 ‘Rasoa should visit Rabe.’
- b. [**tokony** Rasoa] no hamangy an-dRabe (p. 2170)
 should Rasoa Part visit Acc-dRabe
 ‘It should be Rasoa who visits Rabe?’

Palauan verbal predicates show agreement with their subjects in the form of pre-verbal clitics (Georgopoulos 1991). (14a) and (14b) show the contrast between 1st and 3rd person singular clitic agreement forms.

- Palauan (Georgopoulos 1991: 26-7)
- (14) a. **ak-mo** er a katsudo
 R.1.Sg-go P movies
 ‘I am going to the movies.’
- b. **ng-mo** er a ngebard er a klukuk
 R.3.Sg-go P west P tomorrow
 ‘She is going to America tomorrow.’

Georgopoulos further shows that the same 3rd person agreement marker appears before the focused constituent in a cleft. This again suggests that the focused constituent resides in the predicate, since it hosts the agreement with the subject nominalized clause.

Palauan (Georgopoulos 1991: 66)

- (15) a. [**ng**-Basilia] **a** mengaus er tia el tet
 Cleft-Basilia N R.weave P Dem Lk bag
 ‘It is Basilia who is weaving this bag.’
 b. [**ng**-‘obokuk] **a** mlamerng-ii a se’elik
 Cleft-brother.1.Sg N R.Aux R.Perf-hit friend.1.Sg
 ‘It is my brother who has hit my friend.’

Finally, absolutive case markers in Seediq must appear between the predicate and the rest of the clause. Unsurprisingly, this case-marker must follow (and can never precede) the focused constituent in a cleft.

Seediq

- (16) a. [Wada burig-un na Ape] **ka** patis.
 Past buy-Tr Erg Ape Abs book
 ‘Ape bought the book.’
 b. [(***ka**) patis] **ka** wada burig-un na Ape
 Abs book Abs Past buy-Tr Erg Ape
 ‘What bought bought was a book.’

I thus conclude in agreement with the traditional analysis of cleft constructions in Austronesian languages, which places the focused constituent in the position for the matrix predicate.

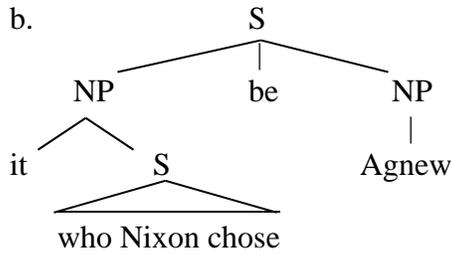
3. Approaches to Pseudocleft Structure

The conclusion of the previous section is surprising if we consider recent work on pseudocleft structure in other languages. Heggie (1988), Moro (1997), den Dikken (2006), and others argue that the focused constituent in specificational copula constructions, including specificational pseudoclefts, occupies subject position at some point in the derivation. In this section, I summarize some well-known analyses of cleft and pseudocleft constructions in English and introduce diagnostics for determining respective subject and predicate status of the focused and presupposed portions of the clause.

3.1. Wh-clause as Subject

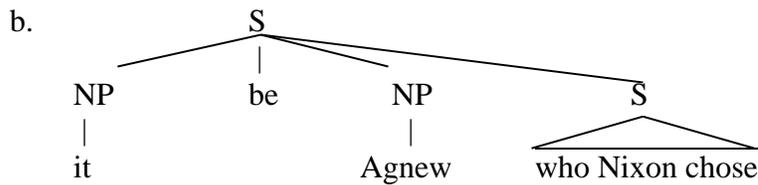
Early work on cleft structures in English actually more closely resembles the current proposal for Austronesian clefts. Akmajian (1970) proposes that clefts and pseudoclefts are derived from a common underlying structure in which the *wh*-clause is the subject and the focused constituent the predicate. See also Gundel (1977) for a similar approach.

- (17) a. The one who Nixon chose was Agnew.



The cleft is derived from the pseudocleft by extraposing the clause.

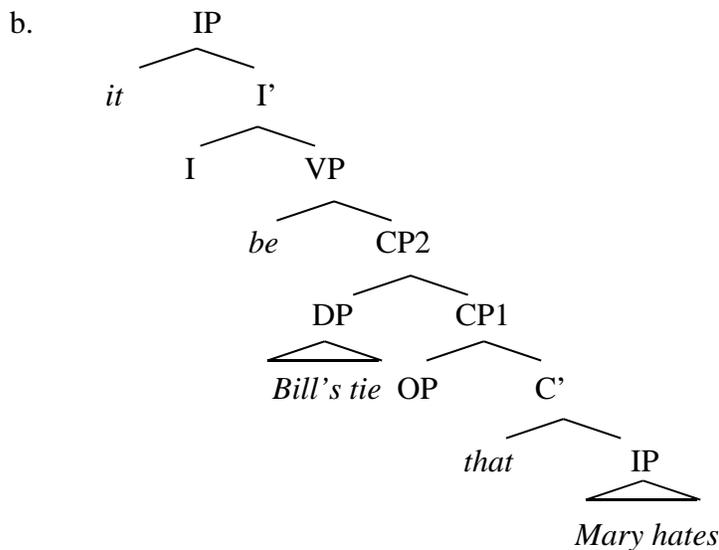
(18) a. It was Agnew who Nixon chose.



3.2. Focus as Subject

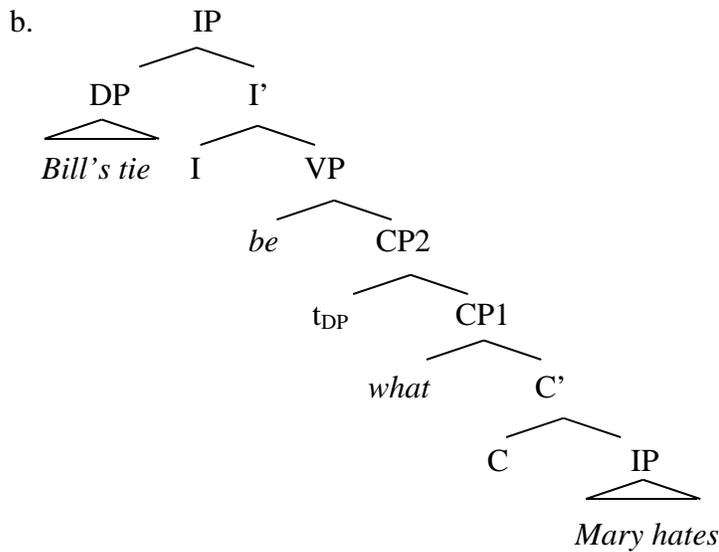
More recent approaches also assume a common underlying structure for clefts and pseudoclefts. However, the structural positions of the *wh*-clause and the focus are reversed. Heggie (1988) embeds these under the matrix copula in a structure in which the focus is predicated of the *wh*-clause, which is a headless relative clause containing a gap. To derive the cleft, an expletive is inserted in the [Spec, IP] subject position.

(19) a. It's Bill's tie that Mary hates.



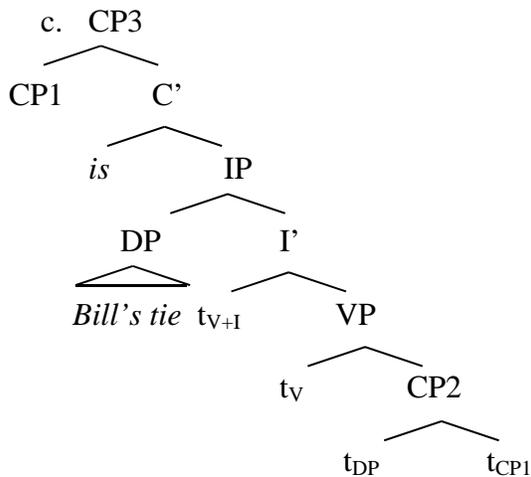
In the pseudocleft, the focus moves to [Spec, IP].

(20) a. Bill's tie is what Mary hates.



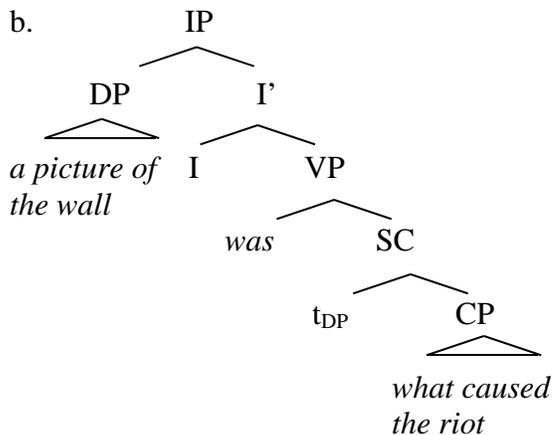
An interesting characteristic of English pseudoclefts is that they are reversible. The order of the focus and *wh*-clause can be switched without significantly affecting the information structure. Heggie (1988) derives the inverse pseudocleft from the pseudocleft by moving the *wh*-clause to [Spec, CP].

- (21) a. Bill's tie is what Mary hates. (Pseudocleft)
 b. What Mary hates is Bill's tie. (Inverse)



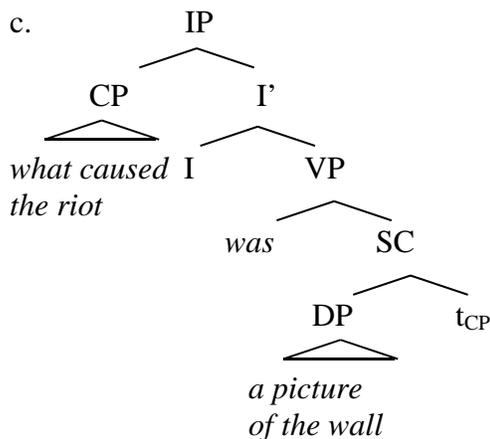
Moro (1997) and Den Dikken (2006) propose an analysis of pseudoclefts which is very similar to Heggie (1988). The focus and *wh*-clause are base merged as subject and predicate, respectively, of a small clause embedded under the copula. In the pseudocleft, the focus moves to surface subject position in [Spec, IP].

- (22) a. A picture of the wall was what caused the riot.



The derivation of the inverse pseudocleft differs from Heggie (1988) in that the *wh*-clause in embedded predicate position, moves to become the subject in [Spec, IP]. Thus, for Moro and den Dikken, inverse pseudoclefts are derived through A-movement, while for Heggie this is A'-movement.

- (23) a. A picture of the wall was what caused the riot. (Pseudocleft)
 b. What caused the riot was a picture of the wall. (Inverse)



Arguments that the focus is the subject of the embedded small clause comes from facts like the following. If a specificational pseudocleft is itself embedded in a small clause, the focus must precede the clause. Given that the small clause has no functional layers supporting subject movement, the constituents must be assumed to reside in their base positions.

Small clause (Den Dikken 2006: 347)

- (24) a. I consider [important to himself what John is]
 b. *I consider [what John is important to himself]

The focused constituent can also undergo raising to subject position in a higher clause, while the *wh*-clause cannot.

Raising (Den Dikken 2006:349)

- (25) a. Important to himself seems to be what John is.
 b. *What John is seems to be important to himself.

To summarize the discussion in this section, English pseudoclefts have been argued convincingly to involve an underlying small clause structure in which the focused constituent is the subject and the *wh*-clause the predicate.

4. Distinguishing Characteristics of Tagalog Clefts

In this section, I examine clefts in Tagalog and argue that they differ significantly from their English counterparts. Principally, they are not reversible. The focused constituent always resides in clause-initial position. To account for this fact, I propose that Austronesian clefts are derived through A'-movement, since that movement can serve to place the clause-initial constituent in a focus position in the left periphery. The diagnostics for subjecthood applied to English clefts likewise do not apply in Tagalog, again suggesting that the Tagalog constituents in question do not reside in A-positions.

As seen in the previous section, English specificational pseudoclefts are reversible. In contrast to this, Tagalog clefts are not reversible. The order of the major constituents in (26a) can be switched, but the clause-initial constituent is always focused, suggesting that this constituent resides in the position where it receives its interpretation, i.e. a focus position in the left periphery of the clause. This is easily accounted for if Tagalog cleft derivation involves A'-movement to the left periphery.

- Tagalog
- (26) a. [*Ang lalaki*] ang na-kita ng babae.
 Abs man Abs Perf-see Erg woman
 'It is the man that the woman saw.'
- b. [*Ang na-kita ng babae*] ang lalaki.
 Abs Perf-see Erg woman Abs man
 'It the one that the woman saw which is the man.'

Applying the tests used for English to determine the subjecthood of either the focus or the *wh*-clause, we see that neither the small clause test nor the raising test can be applied in Tagalog. Recall from (24) that the focused constituent must precede the clause if an English specificational pseudocleft is embedded in a small clause. It is possible to form small clauses in Tagalog, but they are predicational and not specificational. The subject and predicate can appear in either order.

- Tagalog
- (27) a. I-t<in>uturing=ko [*si Maria-ng mabuti-ng kaibigan*].
 Appl<Tr.Perf>treat=1.Sg.Erg Abs Maria-Lk good-Lk friend
 'I consider Maria a good friend.'
- b. I-t<in>uturing=ko-ng [*mabuti-ng kaibigan si Maria*].
 Appl<Tr.Perf>treat=1.Sg.Erg-Lk good-Lk friend Abs Maria
 'I consider Maria a good friend.'

Tagalog small clauses cannot be specificational. (28a) is a root-level specificational copula construction. This construction cannot be embedded in a small clause, as shown in (28b).

- Tagalog
- (28) a. Ang mga babae ang mata(ta)lino.
 Abs Pl woman Abs intelligent.Pl
 ‘The women are the intelligent ones.’
- b. *I-t<in>u-turing=nila-ng ang mga babae-ng
 Appl-<Tr>Prog-treat=3.Pl.Erg-Lk Abs Pl woman-Lk
 ang mata(ta)lino.
 Abs intelligent(Pl)
 ‘They consider the women the intelligent ones.’

From the above discussion, it should be clear that small clauses do not contribute to the debate regarding whether the focus or the clause is the subject. On the other hand, the small clause facts are consistent with the current proposal that clefts are derived through A'-movement to the left periphery. The reason that specificational clefts cannot be embedded in small clauses is simply due to the fact that small clauses do not project A'-positions which could serve as landing sites for these movements.

Turning to raising, it has been claimed that raising is possible in Tagalog (Kroeger 1993; Maclachlan 1996; Maclachlan and Nakamura 1997; De Guzman 1988, 2000; Nakamura 2000; and others). In (29b), the absolutive DP has been raised from the embedded to the matrix clause.

- Tagalog (Kroeger 1993:173)
- (29) a. In-asah-an=ko-ng [awit-in ni Linda
 Tr.Perf-expect-Appl=1.Sg.Erg-Lk sing-Tr Erg Linda
ang pambansang awit].
 Abs national song
 ‘I expected for Linda to sing the national anthem.’
- b. In-asah-an=ko **ang pambansang awit** na [awit-in
 Tr.Perf-expect-Appl=1.Sg.Erg Abs national song Lk sing-Tr
 ni Linda]
 Erg Linda.
 ‘I expected the national anthem to be sung by Linda.’

However, raising is not possible from a specificational pseudocleft. (30a) shows that it is possible for the cleft to appear in the embedded clause. However, raising from the embedded clause is not possible.

- Tagalog
- (30) a. In-asah-an=ko-ng [**ang pambansang awit**
 Tr.Perf-expect-Appl=1.Sg.Erg-Lk Abs national song
 ang a-awit-in ni Linda]
 Abs Fut-sing-Tr Erg Linda.
 ‘I expected the national anthem to be what Linda would sing.’
- b. *In-asah-an=ko **ang pambansang awit** na
 Tr.Perf-expect-Appl=1.Sg.Erg Abs national song Lk

[ang a-awit-in ni Linda]
 Abs Fut-sing-Tr Erg Linda.

'I expected the national anthem to be what Linda would sing.'

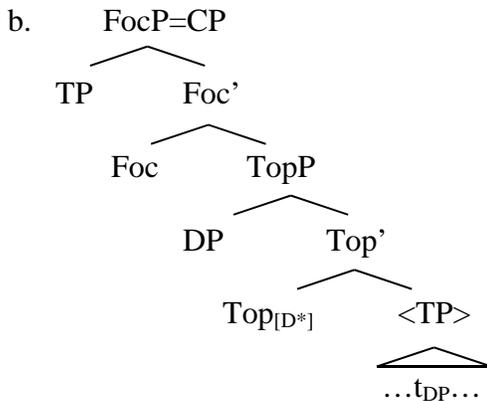
There are several possible reasons for the inability of raising to take place in (30b). One possibility is suggested by the analysis of clefts proposed in this paper. The cleft in the embedded clause in (30a) is derived through A'-movement. Raising would move a constituent in a A'-position into an A-position, which is an instance of improper movement in the sense of Chomsky (1981) (cf. also Chomsky 1973). Hence, the lack of raising also provides indirect evidence for the proposal put forth in this paper.

5. Analysis of Tagalog Clefts

In this section, I present the analysis of clefts in Tagalog and other Austronesian languages and show how the A'-movements involved account for the characteristics discussed above. The crucial characteristic is that Tagalog clefts are not reversible. We can account for the Tagalog facts under an approach in which predicate fronting targets the CP layer, and there is in fact no subject A-position within the TP.

According to Pearson (2001, 2005) and Aldridge (2004), VOS basic word order in languages like Malagasy and Seediq is derived by moving the absolutive DP out of *v*P and TP into the left periphery, specifically into a low topic position in an expanded CP layer (in the sense of Rizzi 1997). Following this, the remnant TP fronts further to the left into a focus position.

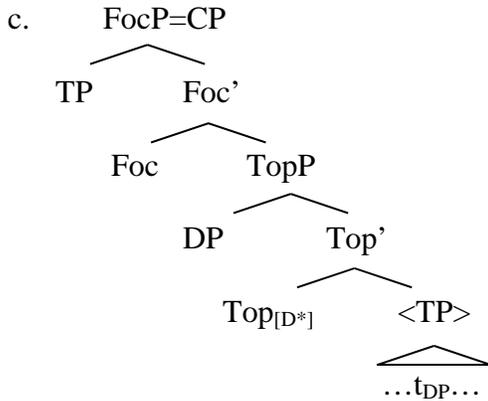
- (31) a. Seediq
 [TP wada burig-un na Ape *t*_{Abs}] ka patis.
 Past buy-Tr Erg Ape Abs book
 'Ape bought the book.'



A derivation along these lines also accounts for the properties of clefts discussed above. In the preceding sections, I have demonstrated that the clause-initial constituent is always focused and functions as the predicate of the sentence as a whole. In contrast, the presupposition is expressed by the clause following the absolutive case marker. Note that this predicate-absolutive word order is parallel to the [VO]S order found in a declarative clause. These facts can be accounted for using the analysis in (31). The clause is base-merged as the subject and then moves to the low topic position. Consequently, this constituent functions as the surface absolutive argument. The

focused constituent is contained inside the remnant TP which moves to the focus position above the clausal absolutive, where it functions as the surface predicate.

- (32) a. [TP *t_{DP}* patis] [DP ka [CP wada=na burig-un]]. (Seediq)
 book Abs Past=3.Sg.Erg buy-Tr
 ‘What he/she bought is a book.’
 b. [TP *t_{DP}* ang lalaki] [DP ang [CP na-kita ng babae]]. (Tagalog)
 Abs man Abs Perf-see Erg woman
 ‘It is the man that the woman saw.’



The lack of reversibility observed for Tagalog clefts in the preceding section is due to the fact that the derivation places the clause and focus in the positions where they are interpreted. This means that the higher of the two constituents in the left periphery will always receive a focus interpretation.

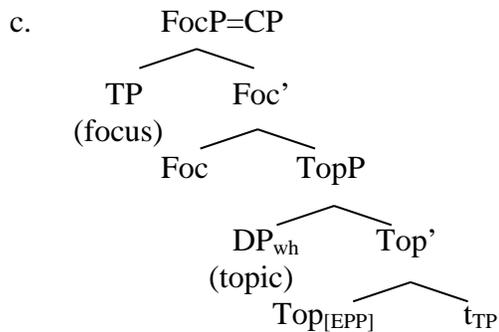
Tagalog

- (33) [_{FocP} [_{TP} Ang na-kita ng babae] [_{TopP} ang lalaki [*t_{TP}*]]]
 Abs Perf-see Erg woman Abs man
 ‘It the one that the woman saw which is the man.’

Further evidence for the lack of reversibility can be found in Seediq. In VOS languages in general, it has been shown (cf. Chang 1997; Pearson 2001, 2005; and Sabel 2003) that *wh*-phrases are excluded from subject/absolutive position. This is naturally accounted for since absolutives move to a topic position, which is incompatible with a focus interpretation.

Seediq (Chang 1997:146)

- (34) a. **Ima** (ka) [CP *Op* [TP s<m>ebut *t_{Op}* laqi]]
 who Abs <Intr>hit child
 ‘Who hits a child?’
 b. *S<m>ebut laqi ka **ima**?
 <Intr>hit child Abs who
 ‘Who hits a child?’



This subsection has shown how Aldridge’s (2004) analysis of VOS word order accounts for the characteristics of cleft constructions in Tagalog and Seediq. The key aspect of the proposal is that the movements involved target the CP layer, placing the moving constituents directly into the positions where they receive their focus and topic interpretations. The question of whether the focus or presupposition occupies surface subject position is also rendered irrelevant, since no movement to [Spec, TP] is involved.

This conclusion encounters an obstacle, however, if we accept Massam’s (2000, 2001, 2003) analysis of Niuean, since this analysis claims that both VOS word order and clefts are derived through movement to [Spec, IP], which is presumably A-movement. However, there are some empirical questions left unanswered by Massam’s A-movement approach. For example, tense markers precede the fronted VP. If the VP fronts to [Spec, IP], then these auxiliaries must be analyzed as occupying the CP layer. This potential problem is circumvented if the tense auxiliaries are pied-piped to the C domain together with the fronted predicate, as per the proposed analysis of VOS word order.

- Niuean (Massam 2000: 101)
- (35) *To nakai [liu feleveia foki] a taua.*
 Fut not again meet also Abs we
 “We will never again meet.”

There is additional evidence that predicate-fronting in Niuean accesses the left periphery. (36a) shows that the fronted predicate precedes the *yes/no* question particle. (36b) shows that an adjunct *wh*-phrase is pied-piped along with the fronted predicate, presumably to the position where a [wh] feature can be checked. Note that (36b) is not simply a case of *wh*-in-situ, since a non-interrogative locative phrase cannot be pied-piped with the fronted predicate, as shown in (36c).

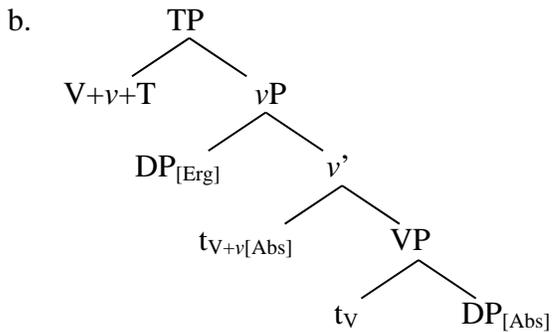
- Niuean
- (36) a. [Manako manu] **nakai** a koe?
 like animal Q Abs you
 ‘Do you like animals?’ (Massam 2001: 180)
- b. [Totou **he mena fe:**] e Mele e pepa?
 Read Loc thing which Erg Mele Abs paper
 ‘Where did Mary read the book?’ (Massam 2003)
- c. *[Totou **he peito**] e Mele e pepa?
 Read Loc kitchen Erg Mele Abs paper
 ‘Mary read the book in the kitchen’ (Massam 2003)

This examples in (36) can also be subsumed in the analysis proposed in this paper. The fronted TP moves above the focus head housing the Q particle in (36a). In (36b), the *wh*-word is pied-piped to the focus position together with the predicate. Aldridge (2004) proposes a similar analysis for locative *wh*-words in Seediq. (36c) is ungrammatical because the fronted predicate must contain focused material.

6. Typological Considerations

Before concluding this paper, I consider the typological correlation between basic word order and the employment of the cleft strategy in forming DP *wh*-questions in Austronesian languages. As mentioned in section 1, several proposals have been put forth linking clefted *wh*-questions to verb-initial word order in these languages. Potsdam (2009) proposes specifically that the correlation is strongest in predicate fronting VOS languages. Potsdam’s proposal is thus similar to my own in making a specific connection between VOS word order generation and the lack of DP *wh*-movement in a language. However, Potsdam’s generalization suffers from a lack of generality in that it accounts for only a subset of Austronesian languages which employ cleft structures to express *wh*-questions. Tagalog, for example, is a VSO language whose basic word order is the result of verb movement to a tense or aspect projection above vP (Richards 2000, Rackowski 2002, Aldridge 2004, and Rackowski and Richards 2005).

- (37) a. Tagalog
 B<in>ili ng babae ang isda.
 <Tr.Perf>buy Erg woman Abs fish
 ‘The woman bought the fish.’



Evidence that the CP layer is not accessed in basic word order derivation comes from the fact that *wh*-phrases and other focused constituents can move to preverbal position. Though Tagalog has no movement of DP *wh*-words, non-DPs are free to front to the CP layer. (38b) shows fronting of a focused PP. In (38c) a locative adjunct undergoes *wh*-movement. This suggests that the focus position in the CP layer is still available as a landing site and is not filled by TP.

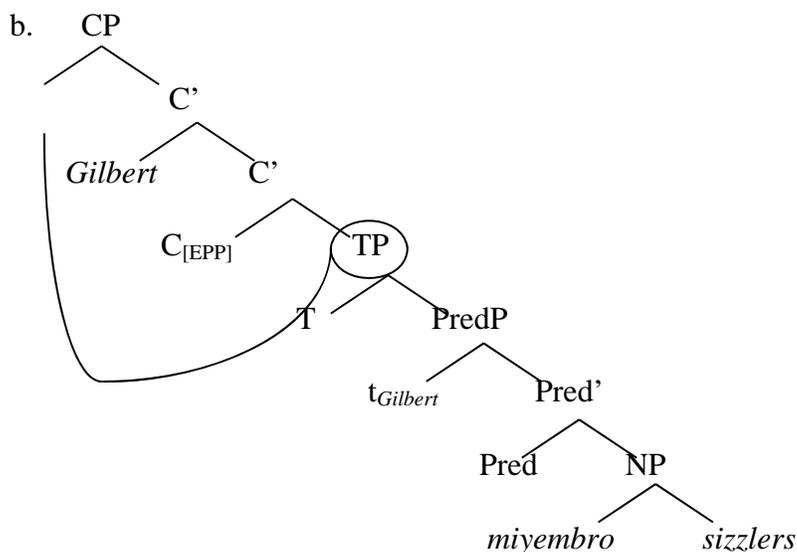
- (38) a. Tagalog
 Bi-bili si Maria ng bahay sa **Maynila**.
 Fut-buy Abs Maria Obl house in Manila
 ‘Maria will buy a house in Manila.’

- b. **Sa Maynila** bi-bili si Maria ng bahay.
 in Manila Fut-buy Abs Maria Obl house
 ‘Maria will buy a house *in Manila*.’
- c. **Saan** bi-bili si Maria ng bahay.
 where Fut-buy Abs Maria Obl house
 ‘Where will Maria buy a house?’

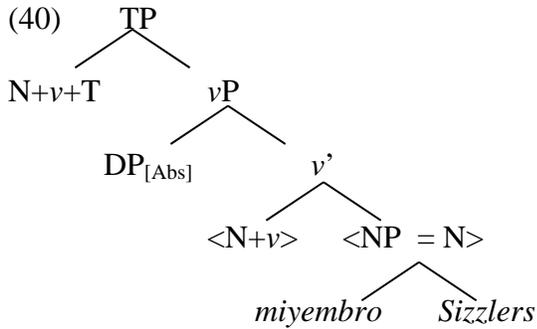
Consequently, this language does not require phrasal predicate fronting in order to derive basic word order. Yet, it does require *wh*-questions formed on DPs to be clefts. In this section, I suggest a more encompassing generalization than Potsdam’s (2009) claim that clefting is required in predicate-fronting VOS languages. I propose that the true generalization is not related to basic word order itself but rather to the availability of A’-derived predicate fronting. The generalization I propose can be extended to Austronesian languages whose basic word order is not VOS – or even verb-initial – but which have optional VOS order derived through the topic and focus movements operating obligatorily in VOS languages like Seediq and Malagasy.

To begin, I show that large-scale predicate fronting can and does sometimes take place in Tagalog. Crucially, this is the case in copula constructions. In unmarked word order, the absolutive follows the predicate. (39b) shows a derivation which is parallel to the cleft analysis presented in (32).

- (39) a. Tagalog
 Miyembro ng Sizzlers **si** **Gilbert**.
 member Gen Sizzlers Abs Gilbert
 ‘Gilbert is a member of the Sizzlers.’

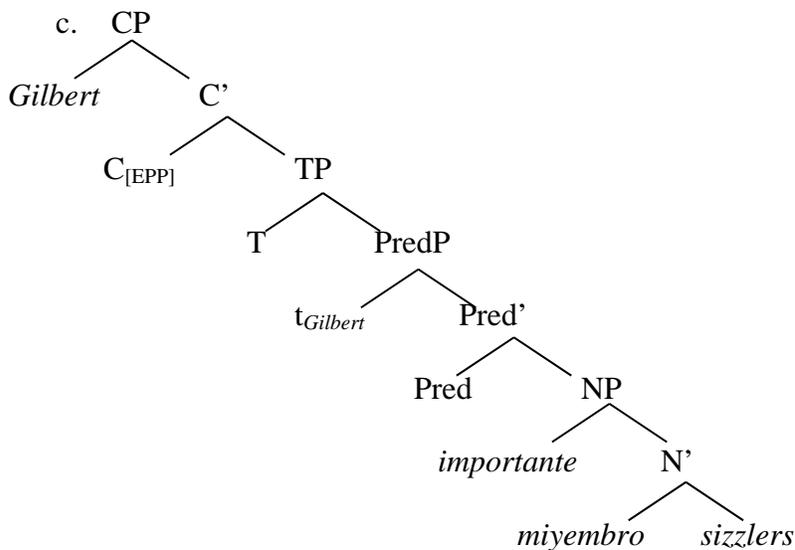


The example in (39a) is not necessarily an argument in favor of the phrasal predicate fronting analysis. Carnie (1995) argues that not only VSO verbal clauses but also VOS copula constructions in Irish are derived uniformly through head movement. In copula constructions, the head nominal and its complement are reanalyzed as a head and move to T.



Indeed, there is evidence that head movement might be possible as well in Tagalog copula constructions, as shown by the VSO word order in (41a). However, the order shown in (41b) is unlikely to be a candidate for Carnies’s approach. In this example, an adjectival modifier is fronted together with the noun and its complement. We might, for example, take “reanalysis” in (40) to be the result of head movement of the complement to the head. However, head movement will not yield a constituent which also includes the modifier in (41b), given that the modifier is an adjunct. Consequently, the only way for the head noun to form a constituent with both the complement and the adjective for the purpose of fronting is for the entire phrase to be pied-piped to clause-initial position.

- (41) Tagalog
- a. **Miyembro** si Gilbert ng Sizzlers.
 member Abs Gilbert Gen Sizzlers
 ‘Gilbert is a member of the Sizzlers.’
- b. **Importante-ng miyembro ng Sizzlers** si Gilbert.
 important-Lk member Gen Sizzlers Abs Gilbert
 ‘Gilbert is an important member of the Sizzlers.’



In this way, large-scale predicate fronting is available and employed in deriving Tagalog copula constructions, including clefts. However, basic word order in VSO verbal clauses is derived simply by head movement of the verb.

Hermon (2009) further points out that the SVO language Indonesian also employs the cleft strategy but is not otherwise a predicate-fronting language. (42a) shows basic SVO word order. (42b) is a *wh*-question which takes the form of a cleft. The *wh*-word is the matrix predicate, while the remainder of the clause is contained in a headless relative clause.

- Indonesian
- (42) a. Ali **mem**-beli buku.
 Ali Act-buy buku
 ‘Ali bought a book.’
- b. Siapa [yang **mem**-beli buku-nya]?
 who C Act-give book-Def
 ‘Who bought the book?’

(43) shows that the clause introduced by *yang* is indeed a relative clause, as this type of constituent can modify a nominal in a headed relative clause.

- Indonesian (Cole & Hermon 2005: 66)
- (43) a. [Buku [yang tidak akan kami baca]] sangat menarik.
 book that not will we read very interesting
 ‘The book that will not be read by us is very interesting.’
- b. [Anak [yang tidak kami pukul-i] itu] men-angis.
 child that not we hit-Appl that *meN*-cry
 ‘The child that wasn’t hit by us is crying.’

Furthermore, there is evidence that leftward movements in Indonesian involve A’-movement. Alongside SVO basic word order, Indonesian also permits verb-initial order.

- Indonesian (Chung 2008: 1557)
- (44) [Mem-bayar tukang becak satu rupiah] bapak saya.
 Act-pay worker pedicab one rupiah father my
 ‘My father paid the pedicab driver one rupiah.’

Interestingly, Chung reports that sentences like (44) with verb-initial order have a distinctive intonation pattern which highlights the predicate and backgrounds the subject. This suggests immediately that the predicate and subject occupy focus and topic positions, respectively.

Even in basic SVO word order derivation, Aldridge (2010) argues that the subject at least potentially moves to an A’-position. Evidence for this comes from reflexive binding in Balinese, another SVO language spoken in Indonesian. In Balinese, internal argument reflexive pronouns can be bound by the agent, regardless of whether they remain in VP or move to clause-initial position. In the actor voice construction in (45a), the agent is the subject and can bind the object reflexive in VP. In the object voice construction in (45b), however, the internal argument has been moved to clause-initial position, while the agent remains in situ to the right of the verb. Note that binding still obtains, indicating that movement of the object cannot be A-movement

which would alter binding relations. Therefore, examples like (45) provide evidence that clause-initial position sometimes has A'-properties.

- Balinese (Wechsler & Arka 1998: 406)
- (45) a. Ia ningalin awakne.
3 AV.see self
'(S)he saw herself/himself.'
- b. Awakne tingalin=a.
self OV.see=3
'(S)he saw herself/himself.'

Interestingly, Pearson (2001, 2005) uses similar reconstruction effects to argue that the clause-final DP in the VOS language Malagasy occupies an A'-topic position rather than [Spec, TP].

The languages considered in this section do not have basic VOS word order, but this word order is available, at least optionally. These languages also employ clefts to form DP *wh*-questions and consequently fall outside of Potsdam's (2009) proposal that clefting is required in languages with VOS basic word order. Space limitations do not permit a detailed investigation of the properties of VOS word order in Tagalog and Indonesian. However, given that related languages historically inherit syntactic characteristics and operations from a common ancestor, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, we can at least initially analyze VOS order in all of the languages considered in this paper as being derived through similar means. This postulate in turn allows us to extend and clarify the typological correlation between VOS word order derivation and the employment of the cleft strategy in forming DP *wh*-questions. It is not the *requirement* of this type of word order derivation but rather its *availability* which ensures that DP movement in a language will be topicalization, while focus (and consequently *wh*-) movement is reserved for constituents of other categories, beginning with predicates and clauses.

7. Conclusion

In this paper, I have argued that Austronesian pseudoclefts are derived through A'-movements into the left periphery. This accounts for the fact that Austronesian clefts are not reversible, because the movements involved in the derivation serve to place the focus and presupposition in the positions where they are interpreted. The A'-movement analysis also accounts for the fact that neither the focused constituent nor the clause functions as the subject of the construction as a whole. Finally, I have proposed a typological correlation between the requirement that DP *wh*-questions take the form of clefts in a given language and the availability of A'-movement based VOS word order derivation in that language.

References

- Abels, Klaus. 2008. Towards a restrictive theory of (remnant) movement. In *Linguistic Variation Yearbook 2007*. Ed. by Jeroen Van Craenenbroeck. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 53-120.
- Akmajian, Adrian. 1970. "On deriving cleft sentences." *Linguistic Inquiry*, 1: 147-168.
- Aldridge, Edith. 2002. "Wh-movement in Seediq and Tagalog." In *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 44: Proceedings of AFLA 8: The 8th Meeting of the Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association*. Ed. by Andrea Rackowski and Norvin Richards. Cambridge, MA: MIT Working Papers in Linguistics, 1-28.

- Aldridge, Edith. 2004. "Ergativity and Verb-initial Word Order in Austronesian Languages." Doctoral dissertation, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY.
- Aldridge, Edith. 2010. "Directionality in word order change in Austronesian languages." In *Continuity and Change in Grammar*, ed. by Anne Breitbarth, Christopher Lucas, Sheila Watts, David Willis. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 169-180.
- Arka, Wayan and Christopher Manning. 1998. "Voice and grammatical relations in Indonesian: A new perspective", In *Proceedings of the LFG98 Conference*, ed. by M. Butt and T.H. King (eds). Stanford: Center for the Study of Language and Information.
- Carnie, Andrew. 1995. "Non-Verbal Predication and Head-Movement." Doctoral dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Chang, Yung-li. 1997. "Voice, Case and Agreement in Seediq and Kavalan." Doctoral dissertation, National Tsing Hua University, Hsinchu, Taiwan.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1973. "Conditions on transformations." In *A festschrift for Morris Halle*. Ed. by Stephen Anderson and Paul Kiparsky. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 232-286.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1981. *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Chomsky, Noam. 2005. Three factors in language design. *Linguistic Inquiry* 36.1: 1-22.
- Chung, Sandra. 2008. "Indonesian clause structure from an Austronesian perspective." *Lingua*, 118.10: 1554-1582.
- Cole, Peter and Gabriella Hermon. 2005. "Subject and non-subject relativization in Indonesian." *Journal of East Asian Linguistics*. 14: 59-88.
- Cole, Peter and Gabriella Hermon. 2008. "VP raising in a VOS language." *Syntax*, 11.2: 144-197.
- Cole, Peter, Gabriella Hermon, and Norhaida Aman. To appear. "Clefted questions in Malay." In *Malay/Indonesian linguistics*. Ed. by David Gil and James Collins. London: Curzon Press.
- De Guzman, Videia P. 1988. "Ergative analysis for Philippine languages: An analysis." In *Studies in Austronesian linguistics*. Ed. by Richard McGinn. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Center for International Studies, 323-345.
- Den Dikken, Marcel. 2006. *Relators and Linkers: The syntax of predication, predicate inversion, and copulas*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Fiengo, Robert. 1977. "On trace theory." *Linguistic Inquiry*, 8: 35-61.
- Georgopoulos, Carol. 1991. *Syntactic Variables*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Guilfoyle, Eithne, Henrietta Hung, and Lisa Travis. 1992. "Spec of IP and spec of VP: Two subjects in Austronesian languages." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 10: 375-414.
- Gundel, Jeanette K. 1977. "Where do cleft sentences come from?" *Language*, 53.3: 543-559.
- Heggie, Lorie. 1988. *The Syntax of Copular Structures*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California, Los Angeles.
- Hermon, Gabriella. 2009. "Language typology and universal grammar: A commentary on the paper by Eric Potsdam." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 27: 773-787.
- Hiraiwa, Ken. 2010. Scrambling to the edge. *Syntax* 13.2: 133-164.
- Kroeger, Paul. 1993. *Phrase Structure and Grammatical Relations in Tagalog*. Stanford: Center for the Study of Language and Information.
- Kroeger, Paul. 2009. "Malagasy clefts from a Western Malayo-Polynesian perspective: Commentary on the paper by Hans-Martin Gaertner." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 27: 817-838.
- Maclachlan, Anna. 1996. "Aspects of Ergativity in Tagalog." Doctoral dissertation, McGill University, Montreal.
- Maclachlan, Anna and Masanori Nakamura. 1997. "Case-checking and specificity in Tagalog." *The Linguistic Review*, 14: 307-333.

- Mashudi, B.H. Kader. 1981. *The syntax of Malay interrogatives*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Massam, Diane. 2000. "VSO and VOS: Aspects of Niuean word order." In *The syntax of verb initial languages*. Ed. by Andrew Carnie and Eithne Guilfoyle. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 97-116.
- Massam, Diane. 2001. "Pseudo noun incorporation in Niuean." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 19: 153-197.
- Massam, Diane. 2003. "Questions and the left periphery in Niuean." *Proceedings of the ninth annual meeting of the Austronesia Formal Linguistics Association*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell Working Papers in Linguistics, 94-106.
- Moro, Andrea. 1997. *The Raising of Predicates*. Cambridge University Press.
- Müller, Gereon, 1996. A constraint on remnant movement. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 14: 355-407.
- Müller, Gereon. 1998. *Incomplete Category Fronting*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Nakamura, Masanori. 2000. "On raising in Tagalog." *Lingua* 110: 391-408.
- Oda, Kenji. 2002. "Wh-questions in V-initial Languages." MA thesis, University of Toronto.
- Paul, Ileana. 2000. "Malagasy Clause Structure." Doctoral dissertation, McGill University, Montreal.
- Paul, Ileana. 2001. "Concealed pseudo-clefts." *Lingua* 111: 707-727.
- Pearson, Matthew. 2001. "The Clause Structure of Malagasy: A minimalist approach." Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Pearson, Matthew. 2005. "The Malagasy Subject/Topic as an A'-Element." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 23.2: 381-457.
- Potsdam, Eric. 2006. "More concealed pseudoclefts in Malagasy and the clausal typing hypothesis." *Lingua*, 116: 2154-2182.
- Potsdam, Eric. 2007. "Malagasy sluicing and its consequences for the identity requirement on ellipsis." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 25: 577-613.
- Potsdam, Eric. 2009. "Austronesian verb-initial languages and wh-question strategies." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 27: 737-771.
- Rackowski, Andrea. 2002. "The Structure of Tagalog: Specificity, voice, and the distribution of arguments. Doctoral dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Rackowski, Andrea and Norvin Richards. 2005. "Phase edge and extraction: A Tagalog case study." *Linguistic Inquiry*, 36.4: 565-599.
- Rackowski, Andrea and Lisa Travis. 2000. "V-initial languages: X or XP movement and adverbial placement." In *The Syntax of Verb Initial Languages*. Ed. by Andrew Carnie and Eithne Guilfoyle. Oxford University Press, 117-142.
- Richards, Norvin. 2000. "Another look at Tagalog subjects." In *Formal Issues in Austronesian Linguistics*. Ed. by Ileana Paul, Vivianne Phillips, and Lisa Travis. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 105-116.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. "The fine structure of the left periphery." In *Elements of Grammar*. Ed. by Liliane Haegeman. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 281-337.
- Sabel, Joachim. 2003. "Malagasy as an optional multiple Wh-fronting language." In *Multiple wh-fronting*. Ed. by Cedric Boeckx and Kleanthes Grohmann. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 229-254.
- Wechsler, Stephen and Wayan Arka. 1998. "Syntactic Ergativity in Balinese: An Argument Structure Based Theory". *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 16: 387-441.

* I am indebted to Thess Savella and Raph Mercado for invaluable native speaker input on many of the Tagalog sentences. I also thank the participants and organizers of the 17th meeting of the Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association for comments on the oral presentation of this paper. Let me further offer my congratulations to Professor Yasuhiko Kato on the occasion of his retirement. I also owe him a debt of gratitude for his guidance and patience during my MA studies at Sophia University, without which I would never have been able to embark on a career as a linguist and syntactician.

¹ An anonymous reviewer points out that remnant movement violates Fiengo's (1977) Proper Binding Condition, since the trace of the moving category which creates the remnant is not bound after remnant movement. The reader is referred to Müller (1996, 1998), Abels (2008), Hiraiwa (2010), among many others for evidence that remnant movement exists and proposals for how it is constrained. I elaborate on how the specific proposal put forth in this paper conforms to common approaches in the discussion of the derivation in (5c), specifically in note 3.

² For Pearson, it is not the absolutive DP itself which undergoes movement. This nominal is base generated outside of the clause, while a null operator moves to the left periphery of the clause.

³ It might be countered that the movements of the absolutive DP and the remnant TP do not strictly conform to commonly accepted constraints on remnant movement such as those put forth by Müller (1996, 1998), Abels (2008), Hiraiwa (2010), and others. Specifically, Abels proposes that movements must be ordered such that A-movements precede *wh*- (and presumably other focus) movements which in turn precede topicalization. However, the derivation in (5c) does not necessarily violate this (or other) constraints if we adopt Aldridge's (2004) approach to topicalization of the absolutive DP. Aldridge proposes that syntactically ergative languages like Tagalog and Seediq do not have an [EPP] feature on T but rather this feature resides on C. Translated into more recent Minimalist parlance, Aldridge's (2004) analysis of absolutive movement amounts to saying that T does not inherit the [EPP] property from C (in the sense of Chomsky 2005 and subsequent works) in syntactically ergative languages. Consequently, absolutive movement to the lower topic position is substantively different from topicalization in languages like German and should not be subject to all of the same constraints.