Alternating VSO/VOS Word Order

1. Pseudo-Noun Incorporation

Infl has a [Pred] feature and not a [D] feature.

Alternating VOS/VSO order in Niuean:

Niuean
(2) 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 top e kato e:]]]]]
   PRED who C weave ABS basket this
   ‘Who wove this basket?’ (Massam 2003: 97)

c. IP
   VP
   V NP I[Pred] vP
   DP v tVP

Evidence for VP-movement rather than noun-incorporation:

Niuean
(3) a. Ne holoholo [kapiniku kiva] fakaeneena a Sione.
   PAST wash dish dirty slowly ABS Sione
   ‘Sione is washing dirty dishes slowly.’ (Massam 2000:106)

b. Ne [kai sipi mo e ika mitaki] a Sione.
   PAST eat chip with ABS fish good ABS Sione
   ‘Sione ate good fish and chips.’ (Massam 2001:160)

Pseudo-incorporated object as NP, not DP:
(4) a. *Kua holoholo tau kapiniu a Mele.
PERF wash PL dishes ABS Mele
'Mele washes the dishes.'
b. Ne vali fale ha Mele a Sione.
PAST paint house GEN Mele ABS Sione
'Sione paints Mele’s house.'

Characteristics of General Pseudo-Noun Incorporation:

(5) (i) occurs productively with an open class of verbs
(ii) NP is non-specific and non-referential
(iii) no extended nominal categories or dependants of extended nominal categories (i.e.,
tensed relative clauses) appear over N
(iv) durative/frequentative meaning (Seiter 1980)
(v) objects (absolutive/middle) incorporate

Questions for the TP landing site:

1. Position of yes/no question particle

(6) 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?’

2. Position of TAM markers

(7) To nakai [liu feleveia foki] a taua.
Fut not again meet also Abs we
“We will never again meet.”

Massam (2000): Tense markers in Niuean are located in C and that tense and the complementizer
are morphologically merged. Tense markers are in complementary distribution with the factive
(*he) and subjunctive (*ke) markers.

(8) a. Gagao foki ni a au
Sick also Emph Abs I
he hifo a Maka ki tahi.
C go.down Abs Maka to sea
“I’m also sick of Maka going down to the sea.”
b. Ne foa e lautolu e valavao
   Past clear Erg they Abs bushland
   ke tā aki e falepola.
   Sbjn build Instr Abs house
   “They cleared the bushland to build a thatch house.”

Massam (2000:104) proposes the following clause structure, in which C and T form a
portmanteau element, to account for these facts.

(7)  [CTP CT [NegP Neg [IP Infl [VP Subj V Obj ]]]]

But VP-fronting sometimes does seem to access the CP layer.

Niuean

(8) 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)

2. Prosodic Lowering in Tagalog

2.1. Evidence for WH lowering

Wh-phrase follows complementizer:

Tagalog

(1) a. Bakit=siya <um>alis?
   why=3SG.NOM <INTR.PRV>leave
   ‘Why did he/she leave?’
b. Hink=ko alam [kung bakit=siya <um>alis]
   NEG=1SG.GEN know C why=3SG.NOM <INTR.PRV>leave
   ‘I don’t know why he/she left.’

Fronting with “ay”:

Tagalog

(2) a. Sí Maria ay <um>alis=na.
   NOM Maria AY <INTR.PRV>leave=ASP
   ‘As for Maria, she has already left.’
b. Bago=ka g<um>astos lagi=mo-ng i-tanong sa sarili=mo
   before=2SG.NOM <INTR>spend always=2SG.GEN APPL-ask DAT self=2SG.GEN
Before you spend, you should always ask yourself whether what you will buy is a need or just a want.'

C > WH > AY

Tagalog

(3) sa mga burol at bundok [kung saan ang kanila-ng hill and mountain the place=3PL-GEN where=3PL-GEN mga bahay ay nakakalat].

‘in the hills and mountains where their homes are widespread.’

CP coordination with WH:

Tagalog

(4) Ang mga s<um>a-sagot sa mga pagbati na ito ay hindi kailangan-g sabih-in [kung saan talaga=sila pu-punta] o neg need-LK say-TR the place=3PL-GEN this AY

‘The responses to these greetings need not really say where one is going or where one has been.’

TP coordination with AY:

Tagalog

(5) Sa panahon ng globalisasyon [kung kalian [ang lahat ay maaari=natin-g in time Gen globalization the place=1PL-GEN-LK ma-angkin] o [ang lahat ay maaari-ng <um>angkin sa atin]].

‘In this time of globalization, when we can have everything or everything can have us ….’

(6) [CP [TP Hu-hugas-an=ko] at [TP pu-punas-an=mo] ang mga pinggan] 

‘I will wash and you dry the dishes.’

2.2. Evidence for subject lowering

Clausal coordination in Tagalog takes place on an absolutive (glossed as nominative) pivot.
But there is a second mysterious pattern, in which the absolutive surfaces in what appears to be its base position in one of the conjuncts.

(7) a. \([\text{CP} [\text{TP} [\text{P<um>unta __ sa tindahan}]] \text{ at} \]
\(<\text{INTR.PRv}>\text{go to store and} \]
\([\text{TP} [\text{b<um>ili ang kapatid=ko ng bigas}]]\]
\(<\text{INTR.PRv}>\text{buy NOM sibling=1S GEN GEN rice} \]
‘My brother went to the store and bought some rice.’

b. \([\text{Hu-hugas-an=ko ang mga pinggan} \text{ at} \]
\(<\text{RED-wash-APPL=1S GEN NOM PL dish and} \>
\(<\text{RED-dry-APPL=2S GEN} \] \]
‘I will wash the dishes and you dry (them).’

2.3. Problems with Lowering

(8) Stipulations (plus original proposals)
Weak start
Prosodic lowering
“ay” cannot be a head.
Adjoined positions calculated outside that projection (against Bare Phrase Structure)

Prosodic lowering appears to be able to freely generate word orders not attested or strongly dispreferred.

Tagalog
(9) a. Na-kita ng babae ang lalaki.
\(<\text{TR.PRv-see GEN woman NOM man} \]
‘The woman saw the man.’

b. Na-kita ang lalaki ng babae.
\(<\text{TR.PRv-see NOM man GEN woman} \]
‘The woman saw the man.’

Movement to [Spec, TP] should allow wh-movement over the subject to [Spec, CP].

Tagalog
(10) a. isda-ng b<in>ili ng babae (Transitive object: OK)
fish-LK \(<\text{TR.PRv-buy GEN woman} \]
‘fish that the woman bought’

b. *babae-ng b<in>ili ang isda (Transitive subject: *)
woman-ng \(<\text{TR.PRv-buy NOM fish} \]
‘woman who bought the fish’

What about word order in DP?
3. Alternative Account

3.1. Complementizer position

Split CP: “kung” in Force; wh-movement targets [Spec, FocP].

(12) Italian (Rizzi 1997:288)
Credo che il tuo libro, loro lo apprezzerrebbero molto.
‘I believe that your book, they would appreciate very much.’

3.2. Coordination

Clausal coordination with pivot in clause-final position:

The way I accounted for this in my dissertation (and subsequent work) is by movement of the absolutive to the CP layer and then fronting the remnant clause. This is actually the basic derivation for VOS word order in Austronesian languages, and some version of this approach is assumed by Matt Pearson in his work on Malagasy as well.

(13)a. [CP [TP Hu-hugas-an=ko] at [TP pu-punas-an=mo] ang mga pinggan]
   RED-wash-APPL=1S. GEN and RED-dry-APPL=2S. GEN NOM PL dish
   ‘I will wash and you dry the dishes.’

b. Mysterious pattern, in which the absolutive surfaces in what appears to be its base position in one of the conjuncts:

Diagram:
(14a. [CP [TP [P<um>unta _ sa tindahan] at
<INTR.PRV>go to store and
[TP [b<um>ili ang kapatid=ko ng bigas]]]
<INTR.PRV>buy NOM sibling=1S.GEN GEN rice
‘My brother went to the store and bought some rice.’

b. [Hu-hugas-an=ko ang mga pinggan] at [pu-punas-an=mo __].
RED-wash-APPL=1S.GEN NOM PL dish and RED-dry-APPL=2S.GEN
‘I will wash the dishes and you dry (them).’

I capitalize on the “covert” movement used in derivation of basic word order. Absolutive objects
move to the edge of vP. This affords the absolutive DP a presuppositional interpretation and also
allows it to undergo further A’-movement (since only absolutives can do this in syntactically
ergative languages like Tagalog). But the absolutive will normally be spelled out in its base
position, so the movement is actually “covert”.

(15) a. B<in>ili ng babae ang isda.
<TR.PRV>buy GEN woman NOM fish
‘The woman bought the/*a fish.’

b. [TP
V+v+T
vP
DP[NOM]
v’
DP[GEN]
v’
tV+[NOM, EPP] VP
tV <DP[NOM]>

The surprising word orders in (3) can be accounted for by ATB extracting the absolutive to the
CP layer but then spelling it out in its base position in one of the conjuncts. Remnant clausal
fronting would not take place. Remnant fronting only takes place when there is overt material in
[Spec, CP].

(16) a. [CP [TP [P<um>unta _ sa tindahan] at
<INTR.PRV>go to store and
[TP [b<um>ili ang kapatid=ko ng bigas]]]
<INTR.PRV>buy NOM sibling=1S.GEN GEN rice
‘My brother went to the store and bought some rice.’
References