External Possession and the *v*P Phase Edge in Pangasinan

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External Possession (EP) involves a nominal that is:

- *semantically* the possessor of another argument, yet
- *syntactically* separate from its possessum DP (Landau, 1999; Payne & Barshi, 1999; Deal, 2013, 2017).
- (1) **German** (Landau, 1999, p. 1)

Tim hat **der Nachbarin** das Auto gewaschen. Tim has **the.DAT neighbour** the.Acc car washed 'Tim washed the neighbour's car.' External Possession (EP) involves a nominal that is:

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Tim hat derNachbarin dasAuto gewaschen.Tim has the.DAT neighbour the.Acc carwashed'Tim washed the neighbour's car.'

Introduction to External Possession

- ► Today, I investigate the phenomenon of EP in Pangasinan.
- Although EP has been attested and studied in other Austronesian languages, I will show that EP in Pangasinan differs markedly from that in related languages.
- All uncredited data from the talk today comes from original fieldwork elicitation with two speakers of Pangasinan residing in Singapore and the Philippines.

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- §1 Preliminaries
- §2 Basic Characteristics of EP in Pangasinan
- §3 Proposal and Analysis
- §4 Extraction Patterns and the vP Phase Edge
- §5 Conclusion

§1 Preliminaries

Preliminaries

- ► Pangasinan is a **predicate-initial language**, with relatively free postverbal word order (Lim & Erlewine, 2020).
- ► The language displays a Philippine-type voice system:
 - Pivot arguments are marked with **nominative case or a demonstrative** (more on this later); while
 - Other arguments receive genitive or oblique case.
 - (2) a. <u>Actor Voice</u>

Nan-basa su/may laki la libro. read.pfv.av Nom/May boy gen book 'The boy read a book.'

b. Patient Voice

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- Besides *may*, **other demonstratives** exist in the language.
- The full list of demonstratives include:

	Singular	Plural
Proximate	(a)yay	(i)rayay
Distal	(a)tay	(i)ratay
Unmarked	(a)may	(i)ramay

• Any of these demonstratives can be used to **mark pivots** as well, in place of *may*.

External Possession in Pangasinan

- ► There are two ways of expressing possession in Pangasinan.
- ► In cases of internal possession, possessors pattern with non-pivot arguments in receiving the **genitive case**.
 - (3) Internal Possession

Nap-plag [su aso [**la** laki]]. fell.av NOM dog GEN boy 'The boy's dog fell.'

- ► In cases of external possession, however, the possessor becomes marked with an article *may*, and a 3^{*rd*} person genitive clitic pronoun appears on the possessum.
 - (4) External Possession

Nap-plag [su aso *($=to_i$)] [**may laki**]_{*i*}. fell.av NOM dog =3sg.gen MAY boy 'The boy's dog fell.'

External Possession in Pangasinan

- ▶ Note here that in EP, *su* cannot be used in place of *may*.
 - (5) External Possession

*Nap-plag [*su aso =to_i*] [**su laki**]_{*i*}. fell.av NOM dog =3sG.GEN NOM boy 'The boy's dog fell.'

- ▶ The genitive case marker *la* can also not be used in EP.
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External Possession in Pangasinan

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- ▶ The genitive case marker *la* can also not be used in EP.
 - (6) <u>External Possession</u>

*Nap-plag [*su* aso =*to*_i] [**la** laki]_i. fell.Av NOM dog =3sg.GEN GEN boy 'The boy's dog fell.'

§2 Basic Characteristics of EP in Pangasinan

External possessors form separate constituents from their possessums.

► EP possessors and possessums may be separated by adjuncts, unlike in internal possession.

(7) a. Internal Possession

*Binmatek [*su pusa* [ed sayan agew] **la bie**]. run.pfv.pv NOM cat DAT this morning GEN girl 'The girl's cat ran this morning.'

b. External Possession

Binmatek [*su pusa* = *to*] [ed sayan agew] [**may bie**]. run.PFV.PV NOM cat =3SG.GEN DAT this morning MAY girl 'The girl's cat ran this morning.'

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- However, not just any material can intervene between EP possessors and possessums.
- When another argument appears between a possessor and possessum, the sentence is judged by native speakers to be very confusing.
- (8) ??Angawit [su nanay =to_i] [la bag] [may bie]_i.
 bring.Av NOM mother =3sg.GEN GEN bag MAY girl
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Characteristic #2: Fixed Word Order

- Post-verbally, it is required that the *may*-marked external possessor **follows** its possessum (preferably immediately, as seen above).
- (9) a. $\sqrt{\text{Possessum} > \text{Possessor}}$

Angawit la bag [su nana $y = to_i$] [**may bie**]_{*i*}. bring.AV GEN bag NOM mother =3sg.GEN MAY girl 'The girl's mother brought a bag.'

b. * <u>Possessor < Possessum</u>

*Angawit la bag [**may bie**]_{*i*} [*su nanay* =*to_i*]. bring.AV GEN bag MAY girl NOM mother =3sG.GEN 'The girl's mother brought a bag.'

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► This might be due to the fact that *may* can also mark pivots in Pangasinan, resulting in difficulties with parsing.

- ► The next characteristic of EP in Pangasinan is that the external possessor occupies an athematic position.
- ► In some languages, external possession cannot co-occur with sentences where the possessor is not directly affected by the action of the verb.
 - (10) Hebrew (Berman et al., 1981)

'íma kiftera le-dáni 'et ha-svéder. mom buttoned to-Danny Acc the-sweater 'Mom buttoned Danny's sweater.'

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- ▶ In these languages, EP has an **affectedness** requirement.
- External possessors occupy positions where they obtain an additional AFFECTEE theta role (Kiss, 2014; Lee-Schoenfeld, 2016; Deal, 2017).

► In Pangasinan, there are <u>no</u> semantic requirements for EP.

- External possessors can be inanimate (11) or occur with stative verbs (12):
 - (11) Anengneng la bie [su anino =to_i] [may puno]_i.
 see.PFV.PV GEN girl NOM shadow =3sG.GEN MAY tree
 'The girl saw the tree's shadow.'
 - (12) Gabay la bie [su pusa =to_i] [may guro]_i
 like.pv GEN girl NOM cat =3SG.GEN MAY teacher
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- ► However, this does not mean that internal and external possession are semantically identical.
- ► There is a **specificity distinction**, where:
 - Bare common noun **internal possessors** are obligatorily non-specific.
 - Bare common noun **external possessors** can be specific or non-specific.

Consider the following 2 contexts:

Context A (Many girls context)

The prince went to a ball with many girls. He found a shoe belonging to one of the girls.

Context B (Unique girl context)

A prince was dancing with a girl at the ball. When she left, she dropped her shoe. The prince found the shoe which he knew belonged to that girl. Internal Possessors are obligatorily **non-specific**, and is only compatible with **Context A (Many girls context)**.

- (13) Nalmo la prinsipe [su sapatos la bie]. find.av GEN prince NOM shoe GEN girl 'The prince found the shoe of **a** girl.'
 - a. <u>Context A:</u> Many girls context
 - b. # <u>Context B:</u> Unique girl context

On the other hand, External Possessors can be **specific/non-specific**, and is compatible with **both Contexts A and B**.

- (14) Nalmo la prinsipe [su sapatos =to] [may bie].
 find.PV.PFV GEN prince NOM shoe =3SG.GEN NOM girl
 'The prince found the shoe of <u>a/the</u> girl.'
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 - b. Context B: Unique girl context
- ▶ We will return to this difference in specificity later in the analysis section.

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- ► We will return to this difference in specificity later in the analysis section.

Next, a salient part of External Possession in Pangasinan is that **verbal morphology** is not affected by External Possession.

- (15) Actor Voice
 - a. Internal Possession

Nanpakan subie [la pusa la lakin ugaw].feed.AvNOM girl GEN catGEN male child'The woman fed the boy's cat.'

b. External Possession

Nanpakan su bie $[la pusa = to_i]$ [**may lakin ugaw**]_{*i*}. feed.Av NOM girl GEN cat =3SG.GEN MAY male child 'The woman fed the boy's cat.'

(16) **Patient Voice**

a. Internal Possession

Pinakan la bie [su pusa la lakin ugaw]. feed.pv GEN girl NOM cat GEN male child 'The woman fed the boy's cat.'

b. External Possession

Pinakan la bie [su pusa = to_i] [**may lakin ugaw**]_i. feed.pv GEN girl NOM cat =3sG.GEN MAY male child 'The woman fed the boy's cat.'

 Verbal morphology reflects the status of the pivot argument (NOM), not the internal or external possessor.

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 Verbal morphology reflects the status of the pivot argument (NOM), not the internal or external possessor. This differs from the behaviour of External Possession in many other Austronesian languages, where external possession is accompanied by **locative or applicative** morphology on the verb (Zeitoun et al., 1999; Nie, 2019; Tan, 2021; Lin, 2021):

- (17) <u>Isbukun Bunun</u> (Lin, 2021, p. 1)
 - a. Aiza inak asu. be_{Exist} 1sg.gen dog 'I have a dog.'
 - b. Aiza-**an** saikin asu. be_{Exist}-IV 1SG.NOM dog 'I have a dog.'

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 - b. Aiza-an saikin asu.
 be_{Exist}-LV 1SG.NOM dog 'I have a dog.'

Characteristic #5: Verbal Morphology Inertia

 Existing analyses where the external possessors are hosted in applicative projections (see e.g. recently Nie 2019) are thus not applicable to EP in Pangasinan. For the analysis of EP where possessors do not gain an additional theta role, external possessors can either be:

- <u>Moved</u> from a lower position to a higher position (Perlmutter & Postal, 1977; Ura, 1996; Landau, 1999; Lee-Schoenfeld, 2006; Deal, 2013; Jeoung, 2018; Nie, 2019); or
- ► **Base generated** at a higher position (Hole, 2004, 2005; Rodrigues, 2010; Lin, 2021).

In Nez Perce, a language with possessor raising, when there are two internal arguments, only the **higher internal argument** can be externally possessed (Deal, 2013).

(18) Nez Perce

'aayat-om hi-kiwyek-ey'-se-0 'iin-e picpic woman-erg Зѕивј-feed-µ-імрегғ-ргеѕ 1ѕб-овј cat.nom cuu'yem. fish.noм

a. 'The woman fed *my* cat the fish.'

b. *'The woman fed a/the cat *my* fish.' (Deal, 2013)

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- a. 'The woman fed *my* cat the fish.'
- b. *'The woman fed a/the cat *my* fish.' (Deal, 2013)

- This is attributed to Relative Locality constraints, where a probes are constrained to attract only the closest potential goal.
- ► As goal arguments are higher than themes, only these goal arguments are subject to raising (Deal, 2013).

Characteristic #6: Movement vs. Base Generation

In a double object construction in Pangasinan, external possession can occur out of both internal arguments.

(19) a. External Possession of Beneficiary

Initd-an [la bie]_i [su pusa = to_k] [may laki]_k [la sira give-lv gen girl nom cat =3sg.gen may boy gen fish = $to_{i/j}$]. =3sg.gen

'The woman gave the *boy's* cat her fish.'

b. External Possession of Theme

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

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мау boy

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Characteristic #6: Movement vs. Base Generation

- ► If we were to posit that external possessors are moved to higher positions, this may entail **violation of locality constraints**.
- Thus, external possessors might be base generated in their current positions.

External possessors, however, do not need to remain in their base generated positions.

- ▶ They may optionally undergo A' movement as in this cleft.
- (20) [Amay bie]_i su angawit [su nanay =to_i] t_i la bag.
 MAY girl NOM bring.AV NOM mother =3sG.GEN GEN bag
 'It is *the girl* whose (her) mother brought a bag.'

The clefted *may*-marked external possessor is \underline{not} built into the higher clause directly.

- ► It has to be base generated near the pronoun in the possessum DP, before moving upwards.
- ▶ We know this because this movement is **island sensitive** (See Iatridou 1995 for a similar phenomenon in Modern Greek).
 - (21) *[Amay laki] su akalek-an =ko [ta s<in>aliw MAY boy NOM laugh-LV =1SG.GEN because buy.PV [*la agi =to_i*] su libro].
 GEN sister =3SG.GEN NOM book 'lit. It is *the boy* that I laughed because his sister bought the book.'

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§3 Proposal and Analysis

- In this proposal, following Aldridge (2004); Rackowski & Richards (2005); Erlewine et al. (2017); Erlewine & Levin (2021), I adopt a **phase-based analysis** of Philippine voice systems.
- ► Non-AV pivot moves to Spec, *v*P, where it usually becomes the highest argument at the *v*P phase edge.

- In External Possession, the external possessor is base generated at the edge of vP.
 - No extra applicative projection is required to host the external possessor, evidenced through the lack of effect of EP on the verbal morphology.
- ► This *may*-marked external possessor then binds the possessor pronoun on the possessum.

- ► This is in line with the specificity facts presented in §2.
- According to Rackowski & Richards (2005)'s analysis of Tagalog, arguments at the edge of vP behaves like agents, which are usually specific.
- Common noun arguments <u>internal to vP</u> are obligatorily non-specific (with the exception of oblique arguments; see Sabbagh 2016).

► Recall:

- Bare common noun **internal possessors** are obligatorily non-specific.
- Bare common noun **external possessors** can be specific/non-specific.
- These differences in specificity can be explained if we assume the external possessors are base generated at the edge of Spec, vP.

Q: Where exactly is the external possessor located?

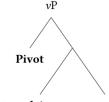
• To obtain an answer, we need to take a closer look at extraction patterns at the *v*P phase edge.

§4 Extraction and the vP phase edge

► In a phase-based approaches to voice, only the highest argument in the lower vP phase edge can be A' extracted (relativised, clefted) due to locality restrictions, following Aldridge (2004). Without EP, in an AV clause, because only the external argument is at Spec, vP, it is the **highest ar**gument that can be clefted. In a NAV clause, because the pivot moves to the outer edge of vP, the **pivot** is the highest argument that can be clefted.

νP

External Argument



External Argument

- ► However, when there is external possession, patterns of A' extraction differ.
- ► Looking at these patterns help us organise the vP phase edge with regards to the elements that occupy it.

- Considering only AV and PV, there are 4 types of clauses to cleft out of.
- ► In each of these cases, there are asymmetries regarding which arguments can be extracted.
- Because in a phase based theory only the highest argument can be clefted, I propose that in each case, the phase edge is organised in a particular manner.

- Considering only AV and PV, there are 4 types of clauses to cleft out of.
- ► In each of these cases, there are asymmetries regarding which arguments can be extracted.
- Because in a phase based theory only the highest argument can be clefted, I propose that in each case, the phase edge is organised in a particular manner.

- ► In particular, clefting asymmetries tell us two things about where the external possessor might be.
- ► The external possessor must:
 - 1. Be at a position where it can **bind the pronoun on the possessum DP.**
 - 2. Be at the lowest possible position that this can happen.

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 - 2. Be at the **lowest possible position** that this can happen.

Case #1: AV, EP of an agent pivot

- ► In an AV clause, when there is EP of an agent pivot, the external possessor **can be extracted**.
 - (22) [Amay guro]_i su nan-pakan [su assistant =to_i] la MAY teacher NOM AV-feed NOM assistant =3sg.gen gen pusa. cat

'It is the *teacher* whose (her) assistant fed the cat.'

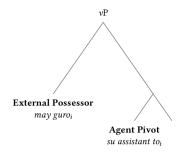
- ▶ On the other hand, the agent pivot **cannot be extracted**.
 - (23) *[Su assistant =to_i] su nan-pakan [may guro]_i la NOM assistant =3sG.GEN NOM AV-feed MAY teacher GEN pusa. cat
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'lit. It is *her*_i assistant who the teacher's_i fed the cat.'

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 cat
 'lit. It is *her_i assistant* who the teacher's_i fed the cat.'

Case #1: AV, EP of an agent pivot



 Assuming that only the highest element of vP can be extracted, this means that the external possessor is the highest argument, above the agent pivot.

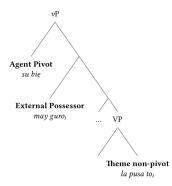
Case #2: AV, EP of a theme non-pivot

- ► In an AV clause, when the external possessor binds into a theme non-pivot, the external possessor **cannot be extracted**.
 - (24) *[Amay guro]_i su nan-pakan su bie [la pusa =to]_i.
 MAY teacher NOM AV-feed NOM girl GEN cat =3SG.GEN
 'It is the *teacher* whom the girl fed her cat.'
- On the other hand, the agent pivot **can be extracted**.
 - (25) Su bie su nan-pakan [*la pusa =to_i*] [may guro]_i.
 NOM girl NOM AV-feed GEN cat =3SG.GEN MAY teacher
 'It is *the girl* who fed the teacher's cat.'

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

- ► In an AV clause, when the external possessor binds into a theme non-pivot, the external possessor **cannot be extracted**.
 - (24) *[Amay guro]_i su nan-pakan su bie [la pusa =to]_i.
 MAY teacher NOM AV-feed NOM girl GEN cat =3SG.GEN
 'It is the *teacher* whom the girl fed her cat.'
- ▶ On the other hand, the agent pivot **can be extracted**.
 - (25) Su bie su nan-pakan [$la pusa = to_i$] [**may guro**]_{*i*}. NOM girl NOM AV-feed GEN cat =3sG.GEN MAY teacher 'It is *the girl* who fed the teacher's cat.'

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



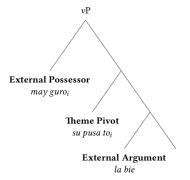
- ► The agent pivot is thus **higher than the external possessor** in this scenario.
- Note that this requires adjunction of the external possessor to v' before v Merges in the external argument.

Case #3: PV, EP of a theme pivot

- Likewise, when the external possessor binds into an theme pivot, the external possessor can be extracted.
 - (26) [Amay guro]_i su p<in>akan la bie [su pusa =to_i].
 MAY teacher NOM feed.PV GEN girl NOM cat =3sG.GEN
 'It is the *teacher* whom the girl fed her cat.'
- ► The theme pivot **cannot be extracted**.
 - (27) *[Su pusa =to_i] su p<in>akan la bie [may guro_i].
 NOM cat =3sg.GEN NOM feed.PV GEN girl MAY teacher
 'lit. It is *her_i* cat that the girl fed the teacher's_i.'

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 - (27) *[Su pusa =to_i] su p<in>akan la bie [may guro_i]. NOM cat =3SG.GEN NOM feed.PV GEN girl MAY teacher 'lit. It is *her_i* cat that the girl fed the teacher's_i.'

Case #3: PV, EP of a theme pivot



This means that the external possessor is higher than the pivot argument, which is higher than the external argument.

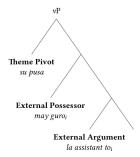
Case #4: PV, EP of an agent non-pivot

- Lastly, in a PV clause, when there is external possession of an agent non-pivot, the external possessor cannot be extracted.
 - (28) *[Amay guro]_i su p<in>akan [la assistant =to_i] MAY teacher NOM feed.PV GEN assistant =3sG.GEN su pusa. NOM cat 'It is *the teacher* whose (her) assistant fed the cat.'
- ▶ Pivot theme **can be extracted**.
 - (29) Su pusa su p<in>akan [la assistant =to_i] [may NOM cat NOM feed.PV GEN assistant =3sG.GEN MAY guro]_i. teacher
 'It is the cat who the teacher's assistant fed.'

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 'It is the cat who the teacher's assistant fed.'

Case #4: PV, EP of an agent non-pivot



The pivot argument is thus higher than the external possessor.

There seem to be two conditions that determine the position of the external possessor at the *v*P phase edge.

- 1. The external possessor must be in a position where it can **bind the pronoun in the possessum DP**,
- 2. at the **lowest position possible.**

Thus, when the external possessor is binding into a non-pivot argument, it <u>need not</u> surface as the highest argument at the vP phase edge.

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§5 Conclusion

- ► EP in Pangasinan involves base generating a *may*-marked argument at the edge of *v*P.
- ► This differs from EP in other documented Austronesian languages, where EP typically behave like applicative pivots.

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- EP requires a particular organisation of the vP phase edge.
- This is because the external possessor has to be merged in as low as possible, while still being able to <u>bind the coindexed</u> pronoun contained within its possessum.

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Thank you! Questions?

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Appendix #1: Clitic as a D head?

Jeoung (2018)'s analysis of Indonesian languages involves a clitic that is argued to be a D head.

 However, in Pangasinan, the clitic is most likely a pronoun, as it bears the φ features of the external possessor.

Unbabatek [su a-aso = $to_i/*=da_i$] [may laki] $_i$. run.AV.PROG NOM PL-dog =3SG.GEN/=3PL.GEN MAY boy 'The boy's dogs were running.'

b. Plural Possessor

Angawit la bag [su nanay $=da_i/^*=to_i$] [may bring.AV.PFV GEN bag NOM mother =3PL.GEN/=3SG.GEN MAY **bi-bie**]_{*i*}.

PL-girl 'The girls' mother carried a bag.' Example of EP in Tagalog:

(31) **Tagalog** (Nie, 2019)

G<in>upit-an [ko] [*ng buhok*] [**ang kaibigan ng bata**]. cut-LV 1SG.GEN GEN hair NOM friend GEN child 'I cut the child's friend's hair.'

The same form of EP in Pangasinan is ungrammatical:

(32) Pangasinan

*Initd-an [la bie] [*la sira*] [**su laki**] [ed pusa]. give-LV GEN girl GEN fish NOM boy DAT cat 'The girl gave the cat the boy's fish.' External Possessors can, however bind into **locative voice pivots**.

- (33) Binatek-an nen John [su garden =to_i] [may matakken run.lv GEN John NOM garden =3SG.GEN MAY old la laki]_i.
 LNKR man 'John ran in the old man's garden.'
- ► In such cases, the *v*P phase edge would look like that when external possessors bind into theme pivots.
 - External Possessor > Applicative Pivot > External Argument

External Possessors can be topicalised in all 4 scenarios, even when the external possessor binds into a non-pivot:

(34) [Amay laki]_i, t<in>upak [la amigo =to_i] su aso. MAY boy hit.PV GEN friend =3sg.GEN NOM dog 'The boy's friend hit the dog.' External Possessors in the language is recursive.

- (35) Angan su aso =to may amigo =to may agi eat.AV NOM dog =3sg.GEN MAY friend =3sg.GEN MAY sibling =to may bie.
 =3sg.GEN MAY girl
 'The girl's brother's friend's dog ate.'
- ► This probably speaks more to the fact that *may* is not a nominative case marker.
- ► If *may* were nominative, we would require a lot of licensing head to license and assign case to the multiple external possessors.

Appendix #5: Argument Apposition

EP in Pangasinan might be an instance of a more general process in the language known as **argument "apposition"** (Benton, 1971).

In canonical declarative clauses in the language, non-core arguments may be replaced with a pronoun, coindexed with a *may*-marked phrase:

- (36) a. <u>Canonical non-pivot agent</u> In-sulat [**la** laki] [su liham]. PV-write GEN man NOM letter 'The man wrote the letter.'
 - b. Appositive non-pivot agent

In-sulat *(=**to**_i) [**may** laki]_i [su liham]. PV-write GEN.3SG MAY man NOM letter 'The man wrote the letter.'

Appendix #5: Argument Apposition

- ► The apposition of non-pivot agent looks strikingly similar to external possession in the language!
- ► In fact, both processes may occur in tandem:
 - (37) Tinupak [=to_i] [may lakin ugaw]_i [su aso =to_j] hit =3sg.gen may male child nom dog =3sg.gen [may pastor]_j. MAY pastor 'The boy hit the pastor's dog.'
- ► Come to our other talk to find out more!