

Abstract. All nominal arguments in Tagalog receive a proclitic marker that corresponds to certain syntactic and semantic properties, including definiteness. There is an active debate over whether these markers encode definiteness themselves or reflect syntactic positions associated with definiteness. I argue that the marking patterns and general distribution of referentially interpreted proper names in Tagalog show that their definiteness cannot be derived by syntactic position alone, and that some process internal to the nominal structure must be at work. I therefore propose that Tagalog is a DP language where proper names undergo N-to-D movement, and that the language’s pre-nominal markers are expressions of features present at the D-projection.

Keywords. Tagalog; proper names; nominal structure; N-to-D movement; definiteness; determiners

1. Introduction. Tagalog (Austronesian) is known for displaying what many refer to as ‘Philippine-type’ alignment in its voice system (Schachter 1976; Shibatani 1988; Guilfoyle et al. 1992; Rackowski & Richards 2005, among others). Within this system, each nominal argument is obligatorily preceded by a marker that indicates whether or not that argument is the ‘pivot’ of a sentence. The pivot can then take on many roles, depending on the verb’s voice morphology.¹

- (1) a. k<um>ain **ang** lalaki **ng** kanin
 <AV>eat **PIVOT** man **CM**₂ rice
 ‘The man ate some rice.’
 b. k<in>ain **ng** lalaki **ang** kanin
 <PV>eat **CM**₁ man **PIVOT** rice
 ‘The/a man ate the rice.’

Whether an argument is pivot-marked or not corresponds to a variety of syntactic and semantic properties, such as eligibility for \bar{A} -extraction and relativization (Schachter & Otnes 1983). Pivohood also plays a crucial role in an argument’s definiteness: non-quantified pivots always receive definite interpretation, regardless of where they base-generate, while non-pivots are obligatorily indefinite as internal arguments but can receive either interpretation as external arguments (Rackowski & Richards 2005; Sabbagh 2016).

This particular aspect of the argument-marking system of Tagalog has been the source of some debate, specifically over whether these markers encode definiteness themselves or are reflexes of syntactic positions that are associated with definiteness (see Diesing 1992; Pesetsky

* I would like to thank Luis Sarmenta for providing acceptability judgments. I am also grateful to Boris Harizanov and Vera Gribova for their support and guidance, as well as the members of the Stanford Syntax and Morphology Circle (SMircle) and the audience at the 2026 Annual Meeting of the LSA. All errors and shortcomings are my own. Author: Joseph Sarmenta, independent scholar (jsarmenta@alumni.stanford.edu).

¹ There is a longstanding debate over whether Philippine-type alignment is ergative (e.g. Payne 1982; Aldridge 2012), accusative (e.g. Shibatani 1988; Rackowski 2002; Rackowski & Richards 2005; Chen 2025), or typologically unique (Foley 2008). In glosses, I use the neutral labels from Chen (2025), where non-pivots are simply ‘case-marked’ (CM).

1996 for examples of such architecture). Himmelmann (2021) and Kaufman (2025) take the former position, while others like Paul et al. (2015), Sabbagh (2016), and Collins (2019) argue for the latter. Paul et al. (2015) go so far as to say that Tagalog lacks a D-projection altogether, using diagnostics from Boskovic (2008) to say that Tagalog is an NP language.

In this paper, I will refer to these two theories as the ‘determiner theory’ (where the marker is a determiner that inherently encodes definiteness) and the ‘position theory’ (where the marker represents some height along the clausal spine). We might further divide the position theory into a strong camp (no D-projection, all definiteness comes from position) and a weak camp (definiteness is regularly derived from position, but a D-projection and associated phenomena are not ruled out). These theories all make predictions about the distribution of definites in the language, with the position theory requiring some kind of restriction. As such, comparing these predictions with the facts of Tagalog may illuminate reasons to adopt one theory over the others.

Proper names pose an interesting question for these theories. If we assume something like Aissen (2003)’s definiteness hierarchy, then names can be thought of as a type of definite nominal that should therefore fit some way into the system that a theory makes about where definiteness comes from. For the determiner theory, an analysis like Longobardi (1994) handles names by attributing their interpretation to the same D-projection that all nominals get their interpretation from. For the strong position theory, proper names should have to move up the clausal spine, just like any other definite noun, in order to be properly interpreted. The weak version of the position theory could allow for a split process: common nouns must raise, but names can rely on internal (perhaps Longobardian) phenomena.

I aim to argue in this paper that the distribution of proper names and their marking in Tagalog is not compatible with the strong position theory, and that a D-projection is necessary in the analysis of the language’s nominal structure. I then provide an analysis compatible with both the determiner theory and the weak position theory.

2. Proper names in Tagalog: distribution and marking. As mentioned, all nominal arguments receive some kind of marking in the voice system of Tagalog, including names. Common nouns and inanimate proper names (places, companies, events) receive the same type of marking: *ang* for pivots and *ng* or *sa* for non-pivots. Animate proper names (people, pets), however, have their own set, with *si* corresponding to *ang*, *ni* corresponding to *ng*, and *kay* corresponding to *sa*.

- (2) a. k<um>ain **si** Pedro **ng** kanin
 <AV>eat PIVOT Pedro CM₂ rice
 ‘Pedro ate some rice.’
- b. k<in>ain **ni** Pedro **ang** kanin
 <PV>eat CM₁ Pedro PIVOT rice
 ‘Pedro ate the rice.’
- c. b<in>ili **ng** Microsoft **ang** Nokia
 <PV>buy CM₁ Microsoft PIVOT Nokia
 ‘Microsoft bought Nokia.’
- d. gusto **ni** Pedro **ang** Pasko
 likes CM₁ Pedro PIVOT Christmas
 ‘Pedro likes Christmas.’

My goal is to demonstrate that these distinctions in the marking of animate names, inanimate names, and definite common nouns pose a problem for any theory of Tagalog that lacks a D-projection.

2.1. OBJECT-REFERRING VS. KIND-REFERRING NAMES. To be interpreted as object-referring, an animate name must be marked with *si/ni/kay* (henceforth ‘*si*-type’ markers). However, if the name is kind-referring, then *ang/ng/sa* (henceforth ‘*ang*-type’ markers) become obligatory:

- (3) a. ang Juan na mahal ni Carmen
 PIVOT Juan LNK love CM₁ Carmen
 ‘the Juan that Carmen loves’ (as opposed to the other Juan)
- b. ang apat na Pedro
 PIVOT four LNK Pedro
 ‘the four Pedros’

The occurrence of *si*-type markers essentially corresponds to the lack of a determiner on a name in English, while the *ang*-type markers correspond to a determiner being present. However, this distinction becomes ambiguous with inanimate names, which always get *ang*-type markers.

- (4) a. na-kita ko si Henry
 PV-see 1SG.CM₁ PIVOT Henry
 ‘I saw **Henry**.’ *object-referring*
- b. na-kita ko ang Henry na na-kilala mo
 PV-see 1SG.CM₁ PIVOT Henry LNK PV-meet 2SG.CM₁
 ‘I saw **the Henry** that you met.’ *kind-referring*
- c. gusto ko ang Paris
 like 1SG.CM₁ PIVOT Paris
 ‘I like **Paris**.’ *object-referring*
- d. gusto ko ang Paris na sa Texas
 like 1SG.CM₁ PIVOT Paris LNK PREP Texas
 ‘I like **the Paris** in Texas.’ *kind-referring*

Examples (4a-b) show that Tagalog makes a morphological distinction between kind-referring and object-referring animate names, which would imply distinct structures. Since inanimate names are capable of both interpretations as well, we would expect that same structural distinction to be underlyingly present beneath the morphologically identical forms in (4c-d).

This is a major problem for a theory where the interpretation of names relies on structural position alone. If *si*-type markers were reflexes of an especially high position reserved for proper names (necessarily higher than *ang*-type markers, in order to derive the distinctions in (4a-b)), then all names, regardless of animacy, should have a marker distinct from *ang* when interpreted referentially. Positing a special height reserved for animacy would not solve the problem, since inanimate names and all common nouns, regardless of animacy, pattern together here. One arguing the strong theory of position-based definiteness would then be required to posit a strange case of homophony to explain these facts, where the reflex of the extra-high name position happens to look the same as the reflex of the common noun position, but only for inanimates.

If one is willing to indeed solve this problem by positing such homophony, they would be faced with other reasons to question the strong version of the position theory, as I will show in the next subsection.

2.2. PROPER NAMES IN COPULAR CLAUSES. It has long been argued that copular clauses have a distinct structure from clauses that arise from verbs (e.g. Zubizarreta 1987 and Baker 2003, among others). Thus, the distribution and marking patterns of the nominals involved in copular clauses are another useful testing ground for the theories of definiteness presented here.

The Tagalog copula is null in the absence of overt aspect morphology (Richards 2009), and the pivot of copular clauses is usually at the right edge, though it can be displaced to the left in an inversion process marked by the particle *ay*. Below are Tagalog examples of each type of copular clause according to the typology of Higgins (1973):

- (5) a. guro ang lalaki
 teacher PIVOT man
 ‘The man is a teacher.’ *predicative*
- b. si Clark Kent ay si Superman
 PIVOT Clark Kent INV PIVOT Superman
 ‘Clark Kent is Superman.’ *equative*
- c. ang akin-g guro ay si Juan
 PIVOT 1SG-LNK teacher INV PIVOT Juan
 ‘My teacher is Juan.’ *specificational*
- d. ito ang kanya-ng guro
 this.PIVOT PIVOT 3SG-LNK teacher
 ‘This is her teacher.’ *identificational*

As we might predict given the distinct structures involved in copulation, the distribution of the markers in such clauses is also distinct. Indefiniteness, for example, is induced by simply leaving the noun unmarked (e.g. (5a)), which is never permitted in the argument structure of a verbal clause. This fact creates the appearance of a minimal pair where the interpretation hinges entirely on the presence of the pivot marker:

- (6) a. akin-g guro si Juan
 1SG-LNK teacher PIVOT Juan
 ‘Juan is one of my teachers.’
- b. ang akin-g guro si Juan
 PIVOT 1SG-LNK teacher PIVOT Juan
 ‘Juan is my teacher.’

On its own, (6) does not actually favor one theory over the other, because both provide sensible analyses. The determiner theory would say that *ang* lexically assigns definiteness as a head at D, and in (6a) *aking guro* either lacks a determiner or has a null one that assigns indefinite interpretation. The position theory, on the other hand, would argue that (6a), which is predicational, has a different structure from (6b), which is specificational. In (6b), *aking guro* raises high to receive

the correct interpretation and thus is marked with *ang*. In (6a), it remains low and fails to trigger *ang*-marking.

However, proper names pose a problem for this position-based analysis, at least according to recent observations I have made. While animate proper names pattern with definite common nouns in that they must always be pivot-marked in copular clauses, it appears that inanimate proper names may optionally go bare in many cases and still receive their referential interpretation.

- (7) a. *ang paborito ko-ng holiday ay Pasko*
 PIVOT favorite 1SG-LNK holiday INV Christmas
 ‘My favorite holiday is Christmas.’ *specificational*
- b. *ito ay Maynila*
 this.PIVOT INV Manila
 ‘This is Manila.’ *identificational*

Compare these with animate counterparts, where pivot-marking is obligatory:

- (8) a. *ang paborito ko-ng guro ay *(si) Juan*
 PIVOT favorite 1SG-LNK teacher INV PIVOT Juan
 ‘My favorite teacher is Juan.’ *specificational*
- b. *ito ay *(si) Juan*
 this.PIVOT INV PIVOT Juan
 ‘This is Juan.’ *identificational*

This poses a problem that the strong version of the position theory cannot easily solve. If the interpretation relies on a certain position, and raising to that position gets representation as a marker, it is troubling that the inanimate names should be able to go bare in the same positions where animate names receive marking. At least in the problem posed in 2.1, the asymmetry could be explained by homophony. Here, there would appear to be no other way out for the strong position theory other than to say that, mysteriously, the position for inanimate names in copular clauses is reflected by a null reflex. But a null reflex might as well be no reflex, which then violates the entire premise of the theory.

2.3. INTERIM SUMMARY. There are two asymmetries in the distribution of pivot-marking on proper names which encourage abandoning a strong version of the position theory of definiteness in Tagalog. The first is the fact that animate proper names rely on a morphologically distinct set of markers for their referential interpretation, while the inanimate names simply use the regular set. In this case, inanimate names and common nouns pattern together, while animate names stand out. The second asymmetry is that inanimate proper names can go bare in copular clauses, while animate names and definite common nouns must be pivot-marked. Here it is the inanimate names which pattern apart from the other two. Together, these facts indicate that proper names in Tagalog rely on something other than height for their interpretation. Additionally, it seems that inanimate proper names do something which allows them to achieve referentiality on their own that definite common nouns (or animate proper names, for that matter) cannot do without the pivot-marking.

3. An analysis of the Tagalog DP. Following these facts, I propose an analysis where Tagalog nominals rely on interactions at the D-projection to receive definite interpretation. I build on assumptions from Longobardi (1994) to handle proper names in Tagalog. This analysis of proper names should be consistent with both the determiner theory and the weak version of the position theory; in the latter case, common nouns would pattern separately from names by relying on position.

3.1. ANALYTICAL GOALS. As outlined in 2.1 and 2.2, proper names in Tagalog have a number of intriguing behaviors. Any analysis would ideally account for the following:

- (9) a. Only animate proper names have a unique marker set (*si*-type)—animate common nouns use the same marker set as inanimate proper names and inanimate common nouns (*ang*-type).
- b. The interpretation of an animate proper name can be controlled by whether or not the special markers are used—the name is object-referring with *si*-type markers, but kind-referring with *ang*-type markers.
- c. Animate names and definite common nouns require marking regardless of argument structure, but inanimate names may go bare in certain copular constructions.

I aim to show that the facts in (9) can be explained by positing these properties of Tagalog:

- (10) a. Nominals may project a D-layer, i.e. Tagalog is a DP language.
- b. When a DP receives its phonological representation, a proclitic marker is inserted that reflects the features present at D.
- c. Proper names move from N to D in order to receive referential interpretation.

3.2. N-TO-D MOVEMENT. Longobardi (1994) essentially argues that referential interpretation obtains whenever an object-referring expression is interpreted at D. Assuming that names base-generate at N, they would then LF-raise to D in order to receive their proper interpretation. Whether or not this movement is subject to a requirement at PF, according to the theory, is language-specific. In English, for example, a referential name would raise only at LF, while in Italian it would raise at both LF and PF. Additionally, Italian would have an option of satisfying the PF requirement with an expletive article (e.g. *Gianni/il Gianni*, c.f. English *John/*the John* if referential).

While there are a number of good reasons we should be cautious about adopting this theory wholesale, the core idea that proper names can undergo some internal process to distinguish between interpretations is attractive for the situation in Tagalog. Assuming (10b), moving the name to the position where features get phonological representation would explain the behaviors in (9a-b). If animacy is present at D, pronounce *si*-type markers. Else, pronounce *ang*-type markers. Animate names get *si*-type marking when interpreted referentially because they have moved to D and have their animacy feature represented. When interpreted as kind-referring, they do not move and their feature remains low (and thus invisible to the insertion rule), which results in *ang*-type marking (see (3) and (4)). This is the same situation with the animate common nouns—they remain at N, and so their animacy feature is never represented.

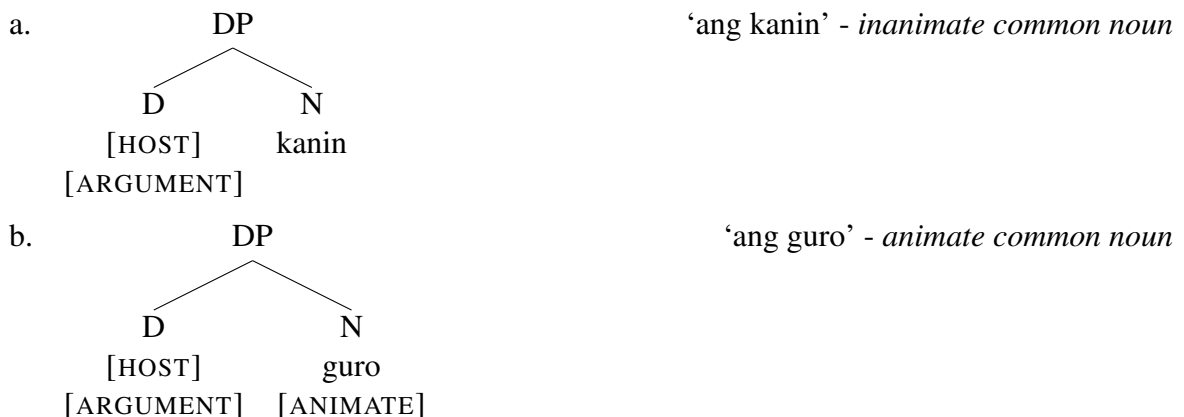
N-to-D movement of names can also explain (9c). We know that arguments of verbal clauses always get marking, so we might assume that such marking reflects Agreement relations (such as case) that, like the animacy feature, get phonological representation at D. Common nouns may need to Merge a distinct D-head in order to license their argument in a verbal clause and host things like case, but names, by their movement to D, are satisfactory hosts themselves. Given that definite common nouns still require such marking in copular clauses, it is also possible that this head licenses definiteness in some way. Regardless, this could be why inanimate names can go bare in copular clauses: no features or Agree relations are being represented at D, so no marker surfaces. Animate names still get their marking in these cases because their animacy feature is present at D, irrespective of the clausal structure.

3.3. DERIVATIONS. In illustrating these structural distinctions, I use the label [ARGUMENT] to broadly represent any Agree relations from the verbal argument structure. The label [HOST] represents a distinct D-head that licenses argumenthood and definiteness for common nouns. [ANIMATE] represents the animacy feature. The distribution of the markers can then be explained by the insertion rules in (11), which provide the proclitics to pronounce given certain features at D. Features which may be present but are not necessary to trigger the rule are given in parentheses (e.g. (11b)).

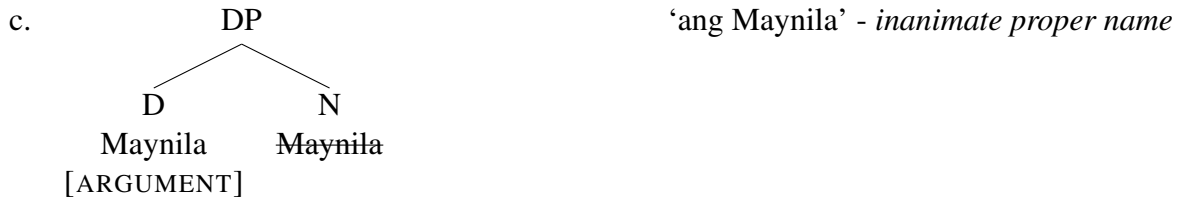
- (11) a. [HOST] - *ang/sa*²
 b. [ARGUMENT] + ([HOST]) - *ang/ng/sa*
 c. [ANIMATE] - *si/kay*
 d. [ANIMATE] + [ARGUMENT] - *si/ni/kay*
 e. \emptyset - \emptyset

The examples in (12-13) show how N-to-D movement gives rise to the observed distribution of marking. For the examples in (12), I have chosen to represent the marking as a pivot-marker, but non-pivot markers would also arise in these cases, determined by the specific relations broadly subsumed here under the [ARGUMENT] label.

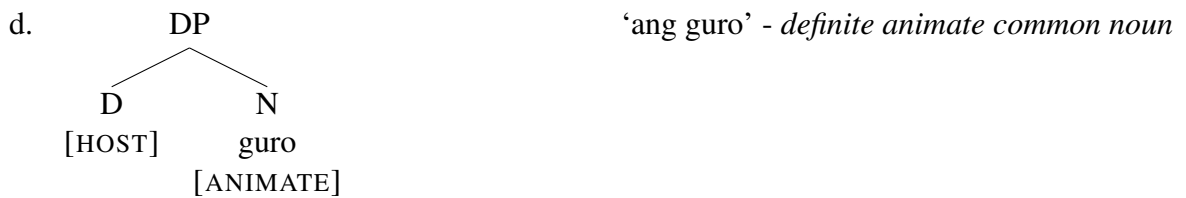
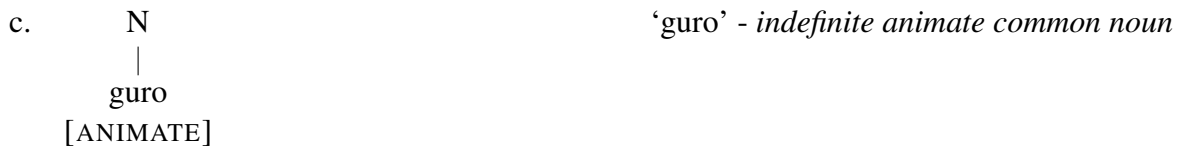
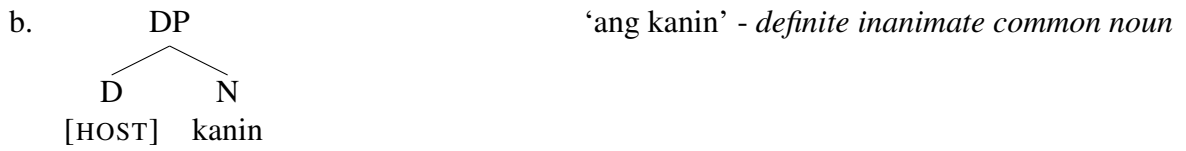
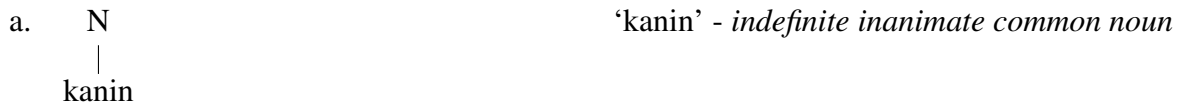
(12) **In verbal clauses:**



² *ng* is omitted here because it always marks an argument (though not necessarily a verbal one), while *ang* and *sa* can mark predicates. The same is true of *si* and *kay* (11c).



(13) **In copular clauses:**



3.4. DISCUSSION. Because the nature of [HOST] is underspecified, this analysis is compatible with both the determiner theory and the weak version of the position theory of definiteness in Tagalog. Under the determiner theory, [HOST] itself encodes definiteness, while under the position theory, it licenses movement to a higher position where definite interpretation becomes available. However, in either case, proper names get their interpretation through N-to-D movement, which solves the issues that the strong position struggles with in 2.1 and 2.2.

Worth noting is the fact that this analysis relies on a theory of head movement where the moved object has the category feature of both its base-generated position (N) and its landing site (D), because otherwise names would not be licensed for argumenthood on their own. See Harizanov & Gribanova (2019) for discussion of syntactic movement and some support for this idea.

In discussions of definiteness/specificity and syntactic position in Tagalog, the facts in (14) may come to mind:

- (14) a. h<um>abol ang aso kay/*ni Pedro
 <AV>chase PIVOT dog CM Pedro
 ‘The dog chased Pedro.’
 b. b<um>isita ang babae sa/*ng Tagaytay
 <AV>visit PIVOT woman CM Tagaytay
 ‘The woman visited Tagaytay.’

This is a pattern of differential object marking in Tagalog which requires referential internal arguments to be marked with *sa* or *kay* instead of *ng* or *ni*. Rackowski (2002) and Sabbagh (2016), among others, argue that this is evidence that definite arguments move to higher positions. Without disagreeing, I would add that a requirement for definites to raise does not necessitate that such raising is responsible for the definiteness.

One issue that my analysis must still contend with is the exact distribution of the unmarked inanimate proper names. It appears that for the most part, going bare is frequently an option, and there may be some cases where it is preferred. There are, however, definitely cases where omitting a marker consistently results in degraded acceptability. The process of inversion with *ay* seems to repair such cases, but the exact reason why is not obvious. Because this particular pattern is so crucial to this analysis, more data in this area should be collected before any attempts to extend the theory further. In general, a deeper understanding of copular argument structure of Tagalog is necessary to confirm some of the conclusions made here.

4. Conclusion. This paper identifies two theories of definiteness in Tagalog: the determiner theory, which argues that a D-head assigns definiteness to its NP, and the position theory, which argues that there is some extent to which definiteness is the result of syntactic position. The strong version of this theory would have this be true for all nominals, removing the need for a D-projection. The weak version of this theory allows room for different types of nominals to receive definiteness in different ways.

The goal of this paper to argue that Tagalog is a DP language (against the strong version of the position theory) by pointing out how the behavior of proper names in the language requires such a projection to be present in the nominal spine. As arguments, proper names in Tagalog are like any other noun in that they receive a proclitic marker that allows them to enter into Agree re-

lations with other heads. However, proper names pattern distinctly from common nouns in asymmetrical ways: animate names have a unique set of markers, while inanimate names are uniquely able to omit their markers in the absence of verbal argument structure without changing their interpretation. An analysis where proper names can derive definiteness from DP-internal phenomena handles these asymmetries straightforwardly, while the position-only theory struggles.

I then proposed an analysis which identifies this DP-internal phenomenon as N-to-D movement, following some assumptions from Longobardi (1994). I also proposed that the *si*-type and *ang*-type markers are phonological representations of features at D. Combining these two proposals, we arrive at an explanation of why proper names are marked in unique ways: they involve a head moving to a site where the presence of certain features determines what marker gets pronounced.

While there is more data to be collected on the facts of Tagalog to confirm certain conclusions made in this paper, this analysis aims to be a step towards a more nuanced view of definiteness in Tagalog that takes into account a wide variety of nominal and clausal structures. A good theory of definiteness, given what it must say about how arguments are marked, has major implications for our understanding of the argument structure of Tagalog in general and could even help develop our theory of its voice system. As such, much more work should be dedicated to probing relevant areas of Tagalog and other Philippine languages that are often overlooked.

References

- Aissen, Judith. 2003. Differential object marking: Iconicity vs. economy. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 21. 435–483.
- Aldridge, Edith. 2012. Antipassive and ergativity in Tagalog. *Lingua* 122(3). 192–203.
- Baker, Mark C. 2003. *Lexical categories: Verbs, nouns and adjectives*, vol. 102. Cambridge University Press.
- Boskovic, Zeljko. 2008. What will you have, DP or NP? In *Proceedings-NELS*, vol. 37 1, 101.
- Chen, Victoria. 2025. The syntax of Philippine-type alignment: Insights from case-marking. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 1–60.
- Collins, J. 2019. Definiteness determined by syntax: A case study in Tagalog. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 37. 1367–1420.
- Diesing, Molly. 1992. *Indefinites*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Foley, William. 2008. The place of Philippine languages in a typology of voice systems. In Peter Austin & Simon Musgrave (eds.), *Voice and grammatical relations in Austronesian languages*, 22–44. Stanford: CSLI Publications.
- Guilfoyle, Eithne, Henrietta Hung & Lisa Travis. 1992. Spec of IP and spec of VP: Two subjects in Austronesian languages. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 10. 375–414.
- Harizanov, Boris & Vera Gribanova. 2019. Whither head movement? *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 37(2). 461–522.
- Higgins, Francis R. 1973. The pseudo-cleft construction in English.
- Himmelmann, Nikolaus P. 2021. Notes on 'noun phrase structure' in Tagalog.
- Kaufman, Daniel. 2025. Case marking determiners and the role of register in Philippine NP-interpretation. In Mercedes E. Arzadon, Antonio D. Igalinos & Thomas E. Payne (eds.), *Philippine languages and education reform: Papers in honor of Ricardo Ma Duran Nolasco*, Sorsogon City: Sorsogon University Press.

- Longobardi, Giuseppe. 1994. Reference and proper names: A theory of N-movement in syntax and logical form. *Linguistic inquiry* 609–665.
- Paul, Ileana, Key Cortes & Lareina Milambiling. 2015. Definiteness without D: The case of ang and ng in Tagalog. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics/Revue canadienne de linguistique* 60(3). 361–390.
- Payne, Thomas. 1982. Role and reference related subject properties and ergativity in Yup'ik Eskimo and Tagalog. *Studies in Language* 6. 75–106.
- Pesetsky, David Michael. 1996. *Zero syntax: Experiencers and cascades* 27. MIT press.
- Rackowski, Andrea. 2002. *The structure of Tagalog: Specificity, voice, and the distribution of arguments*: Massachusetts Institute of Technology dissertation.
- Rackowski, Andrea & Norvin Richards. 2005. Phase edge and extraction: A Tagalog case study. *Linguistic inquiry* 36(4). 565–599.
- Richards, Norvin. 2009. The Tagalog copula. In Sandy Chung, Daniel Finer, Ileana Paul & Eric Potsdam (eds.), *Proceedings of AFLA 16*, 181–195. <http://ling.uwo.ca/afla/meetings/afla16/proceedings.htm>.
- Sabbagh, Joseph. 2016. Specificity and objecthood in Tagalog. *Journal of Linguistics* 52(3). 639–688.
- Schachter, Paul. 1976. The subject in Philippine languages: Topic, actor, actor-topic, or none of the above? In Charles N. Li (ed.), *Subject and topic*, 491–518.
- Schachter, Paul & Fe T Otones. 1983. *Tagalog reference grammar*. Univ of California Press.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi. 1988. Voice in Philippine languages. In Masayoshi Shibatani (ed.), *Passive and voice*, 85–142. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Zubizarreta, Maria Luisa. 1987. *Levels of representation in the lexicon and in the syntax*. Foris.