Matters of locality in Tagalog A′-extraction

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Introduction

- Well-known restriction: A′-extraction in Tagalog favors a syntactically prominent argument in a clause

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(1) a. K**\<um\>**a~kain ang kambing ng papel.
        av.ipfv~eat   nom goat   gen paper
        'The goat is eating paper.'

   b. K**\<in\>**a~kain ng kambing ang papel.
       ipfv~eat[pv] gen goat   nom paper
       'The goat is eating the paper.'

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        paper LK AV.IPFV~eat   NOM goat   GEN paper
        Intended: 'paper the goat is eating'   *AV Theme (= non-pivot) rel. clause
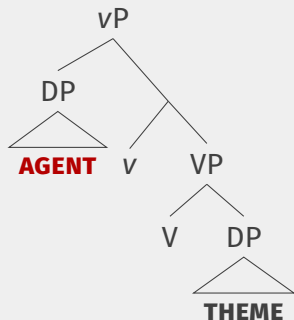
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    c. papel na [k**\<in\>**a~kain ng kambing *\<ang papel\>*]
       paper LK IPFV~eat[PV] GEN goat   NOM paper
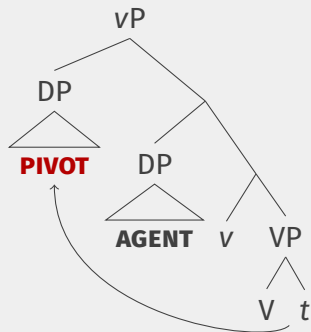   'paper that the goat is eating'   ✓PV Theme (= pivot) rel. clause

A common intuition

The pivot is the **structurally highest** argument (often outside the *v*P phase), privileging it for A′-extraction. (e.g., Rackowski, 2002; Aldridge, 2004, 2017; Rackowski and Richards, 2005; Kaufman, 2009; Erlewine and Lim, 2018; Branan and Erlewine, 2020)

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(4) NON-AV CONFIGURATION

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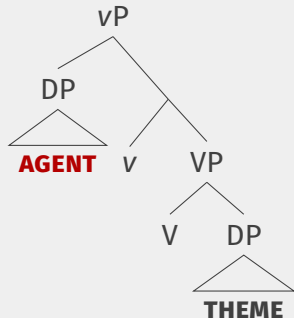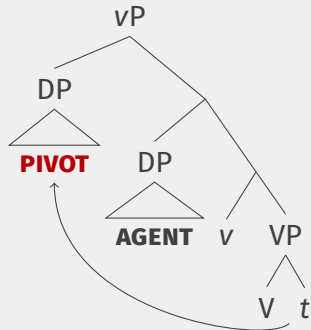
(3) AV CONFIGURATION

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- **HIGHER** argument is closer to A′-probe **OR**
- Extraction of **LOWER** argument causes licensing problems

General Claim

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Will show:

- Absence of INFLECTIONAL STRUCTURE renders the domain of THETA-ROLE ASSIGNMENT transparent to A′-extraction
- Analysis of previously noted behavior with the RECENT PERFECTIVE form (McGinn, 1988; Schachter, 1996)
- Novel evidence from EXCLAMATIVE ADJECTIVES
- Focus on relativization

Background: Extraction of pivots

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- Propose functional head **Agr**^{O} adopting label from McGinn (1988)
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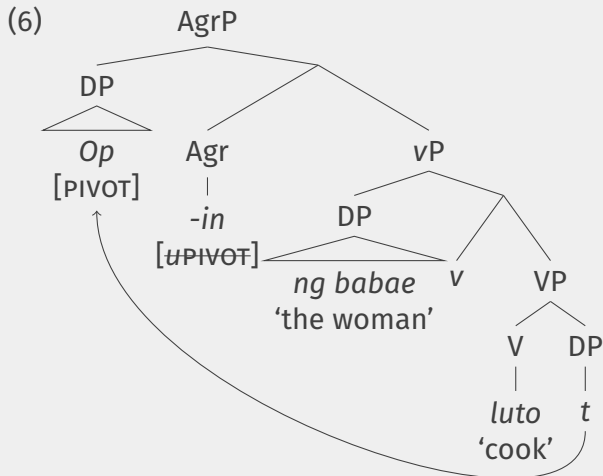   - ▶ Single specifier position hosts the **Pivot**
- Agr[O] is merged outside *v*P
    - ▶ Pivot necessarily moves out of *v*P, thus allowing it to undergo A′-extraction
    - ▶ NOTE: Not distinguishable from **Highest-DP** approaches as the pivot DP is the highest argument — stay tuned

(5) ang aklat na [ba~basah-**in** ng   babae <*ang aklat*>]
     NOM book LK   FUT~read-PV GEN woman NOM book
     'the book that the woman will read'

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(6)

- **vP**: typical argument base positions
- *Op*
  - ▶ bears [PIVOT]
  - ▶ moves to Spec,AgrP
  - ▶ position outside *v*P makes it accessible to higher A′-probes
- **Agent**
  - ▶ not accessible in its base position

- Spells out Austronesian-type **voice morphology** as a reflex of Agree (similar in spirit to agreement-based analyses of Pearson, 2001; Rackowski, 2002; Chen, 2017)
  - ▶ AV *<um>/m-*, PV *-in*, LV *-an*, CV *i-*

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    - ▶ AV *<um>*/*m-*, PV *-in*, LV *-an*, CV *i-*
- In verbal constructions, **presence of NOM-marked pivot** is determined by the presence of voice, rather than of tense/aspect (7) vs (8) ("high"-ABS; but not as high as T⁰; *cf.* Aldridge, 2004)

(7) **Nag-pa-**labas **ako**   ng   delata [para **i-pa-**kain   **ang pusa**].
    AV.PFV-CAUS-out 1SG.NOM NOM canned for   CV-CAUS-eat NOM cat
    'I had a can taken out (of the pantry) [to feed the cat].'

(8) Na-tuwa   ang mga bata [sa   **pagpa~pa-**kain ko   sa   pusa].
    PFV-be.delighted NOM PL   child OBL GER~CAUS-eat   1SG.GEN OBL cat
    'The children were delighted [at my feeding of the cat].'

- **Co-occurrence** in different environments suggests the hierarchy: **T[O] > Agr[O] > v[O]**

Table: Implicational hierarchy in verbal morphology

	T[O]	Agr[O]	v[O]	root	
nagpalabas	n-	m-	(p)ag- / pa-	labas	*Fully inflected*
ipakain		i-	pa-	kain	*Aspectless*
pagpapakain			pa- (pag+RED-?)	kain	*Gerund*

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  - ▶ **A > B** = Environments that allow A also allow B to appear

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    for   CV-**FUT**~CAUS-eat   CV-**\<PFV\>**CAUS-eat   NOM cat
    Intended: 'to feed the cat'

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(10) *(sa) {**i-pa~pa-kain** / **pa-kain-in**} ko   ng   isda sa   pusa
     OBL   **CV-FUT**~CAUS-eat CAUS-eat-**PV** 1SG.GEN GEN isda OBL cat
     Intended: '(at) my feeding of fish the cat'

- Sketched analysis of classical pivot extraction
  - DP must move out of the theta-domain (= vP) to be accessible to high A′-probes
  - Pivot movement thus **feeds** A′-extraction
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    - ▶ Possessor subextraction (Ceña, 1979; Kroeger, 1993; Nakamura, 1996; also Bell, 1983 on Cebuano)
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  - ▶ Feeding by a process I call Genitive Inversion (see Hsieh 2020 for details)
- **Up next:** Evidence for the activity of the proposed boundary
  - ▶ "Phase" boundary inactive when **inflectional layer absent → feeding unnecessary**
  - ▶ Freer extraction in the RECENT PERFECTIVE construction
  - ▶ Asymmetrical behavior among EXCLAMATIVE ADJECTIVE constructions

The recent perfective form

(11) {**Kabi~bili**/**Kaka-bili**} lang ng   mag-aarál ng   pantalon.
     RPFV~buy RPFV-buy   only GEN student   GEN pants
     'The student has just bought pants.'

- Marked with a prefix *kaRED-/kaka-* + clitic adverb *lang* 'only'
- Conveys the recent completion of some event

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- **Question:** Is it possible to A'-extract arguments from RPFV?

EXTRACTION

- All DP arguments can extract out of RPFV (Kroeger, 1993; McGinn, 1988; Schachter, 1996)

(12) a. mag-aarál na [kabi~bili lang *<ng mag-aarál>* ng pantalon]
     student LK RPFV~buy only GEN student GEN pants
     'student that has just bought pants'   Agent RC

   b. pantalo[n]=ng [kabi~bili lang ng mag-aarál *<ng pantalon>*]
      pants=LK RPFV~buy only GEN student GEN pants
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- **Recall:** No reflexes of **Agr**^{O} = No pivot + No voice morphemes (*<um>*/*m-*, *-in*, *-an*, *i-*)

- Lacks **aspect morphology**, despite its meaning (*pace* McGinn 1988)

Table: Regular aspectual paradigm (root *bili* 'buy')

	[+Compl]	**CV-Redup.** [−Compl]
[+Begun]	*bilh-an* (Aspectless)	***bi*~*bilh-an*** (Future)
n-/<in> [−Begun]	*b<in>ilh-an* (Perfective)	***b<in>i~bilh-an*** (Imperfective)

rpfv form(s):

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ka-**bi**~bili

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    - ▶ **CV-reduplication** normally contributes *non-completedness* (FUT, IPFV)

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(13) *Negation*
   a. **Hindi** ko   **bi~bilh-in** ang damit.
      NEG   1SG.GEN FUT~buy-PV NOM clothes
      'I won't buy the clothes.'
   b. ***Hindi** ko   lang **kabi~bili** ang damit.
      NEG   1SG.GEN only FUT~buy-PV NOM clothes
      'I haven't just bought the clothes.'

Defective left periphery

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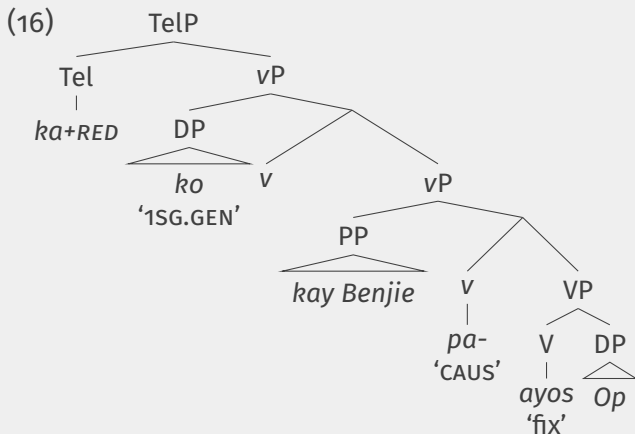(14) *Genitive inversion* (see Hsieh, 2020)
   a. **Aki[n]=ng bi~bilh-in** *<ko>*   ang damit.
      1SG.OBL=LK FUT~buy-PV 1SG.GEN NOM clothes
      'I will buy the clothes.'
   b. ***Aki[n]=ng kabi~bili** *<ko>*   lang ng damit.
      1SG.OBL=LK RPFV~buy 1SG.GEN only GEN clothes
      Intended: 'I have just bought clothes.'

(15) ang relo=ng   [kapa~pa-ayos ko   lang kay Benjie *<ng relo>*   ]
      NOM wristwatch=LK RPFV~CAUS-fix   1SG.GEN only OBL.P Benjie GEN wristwatch
      'the wristwatch that I had just made Benjie fix'

RECENT PERFECTIVE: ANALYSIS

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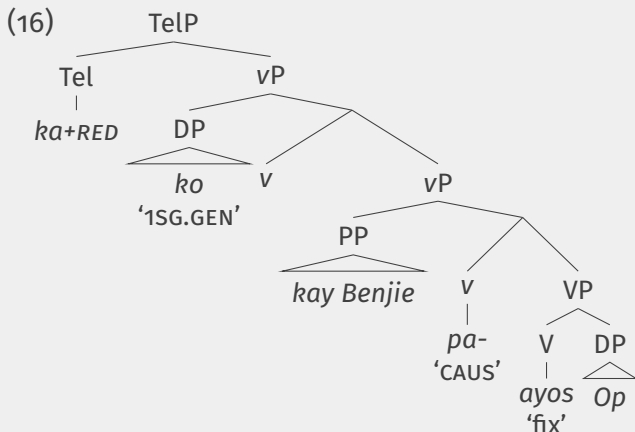   'the wristwatch that I had just made Benjie fix'

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- RPFV lacks structure from the inflectional domain (AgrP, TP)
- Assume **Tel**^{O} = *ka+RED*-[1]

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[1] Similar morphology in other constructions, e.g., "perfective" gerunds (Schachter and Otanes, 1972, §3.26), non-volitional/implicative verb forms (Dell, 1983).

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- RPFV lacks structure from the inflectional domain (AgrP, TP)
- Assume **Tel**[O] = *ka+RED*-[1]
- TelP is the extent of the functional structure for RPFV
- All DP arguments are accessible, even though none have evacuated *v*P

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2. **Elimination of inflectional layer**
   - ▶ RPFV arguments can extract despite lacking (evidence of) feeding movement
   - ▶ **Further support** from exclamative adjectives
     - • Again, no evidence of feeding movement
     - • Availability of extraction corresponds to presence of (adjectival) inflectional structure

Adjectives and exclamatives

(17) **Ma**-galing ang bata sa pagpi~pinta.
ADJ-skillful NOM child OBL GER~paint
'The child is good at painting.'

(18) bata=ng [**ma**-galing <*ang bata*> sa pagpi~pinta]
child=LK ADJ-skillful NOM child OBL GER~paint
'child who is good at painting' / ('[good at painting] child'?)

- **Plain positive adjectives** assign NOM to their subjects
- For the class we are concerned with, prefix *ma-* usually appears (so-called *unergative adjectives* from Sabbagh 2005)

(17) **Ma-**galing ang bata sa   pagpi~pinta.
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- **Plain positive adjectives** assign nom to their subjects
- For the class we are concerned with, prefix *ma-* usually appears (so-called *unergative adjectives* from Sabbagh 2005)
- Adjectival modification is hard to distinguish from relativization
  - ▶ No specialized morphology found in one but not the other
  - ▶ Similar behavior for relative ordering of head noun and modifier

EXCLAMATIVE ADJECTIVES

- Exclamative forms bear a **different prefix**, assign GEN to subjects

(19) {**Napaka**-/**Kay**/**Ang**} galing ng   bata sa   pagpi~pinta!
         very-   *kay ang* fat   GEN child OBL GER~paint
         'The child is very/so good at painting!'

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(20) a. bata=ng [{**napaka-**/**kay**} galing sa   pagpi~pinta]
            child=LK very-   *kay* skillful OBL GER~paint
            'child that is so good at painting'

      b. *baboy na [**ang** galing sa   pagpi~pinta]
            pig   LK *ang* skillful OBL GER~paint
            Intended: 'child that is so good at painting'

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     'The child is very/so good at painting!'

(20) a. bata=ng [{**napaka-**/**kay**} galing sa pagpi~pinta]
        child=LK very-   *kay* skillful OBL GER~paint
        'child that is so good at painting'

     b. *baboy na [**ang** galing sa pagpi~pinta]
        pig   LK *ang* skillful OBL GER~paint
        Intended: 'child that is so good at painting'

Claim

The observed patterns with exclamative adjectives are explained by presence or absence of (adjectival) inflectional structure

- Parallel with Recent Perfective: Arguments stay in-situ
  - ▶ **Pivot movement**: No NOM argument (assume *ma-* is a reflex of Agr^o with adjectives)

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(21) a. ***Iyo=ng** {napaka-/kay/ang} talino <*mo*>!
    2SG.OBL=LK very- *kay ang* smart 2SG.GEN
    Intended: 'You're so smart!'

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          very-   *kay ang* 2SG.OBL=LK smart 2SG.GEN
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- **Implication:** A′-extraction cannot be fed by movement out of the domain of theta-role assignment, so the phase boundary must be missing in some cases
- I claim again that this boundary is tied to the presence or absence of **inflection**

(22) ***Optional plural agreement*** (CV-reduplication)
    a. Ma-(**ta~**)talino ang mga mag-aarál.
       ADJ-PL~smart   NOM PL   student
       'The students are smart.'
    b. *Ma-(***ta~**)talino ang mag-aarál.
       ADJ-PL~smart   NOM student
       Intended: 'The student is smart.'

(23) Softening ***bisyllabic reduplication***
    a. Ma-ínit pa ang sabaw.
       ADJ-hot still NOM soup
       'The soup is still hot.'
    b. Ma-**inít~**inít pa ang sabaw.
       ADJ-RED~hot still NOM soup
       'The soup is still somewhat hot.'

■ **Plural agreement** and **bisyllabic reduplication** are unavailable for these forms
(contra Schachter and Otanes 1972)

(24) a. *****{Napaka-/Kay} **ta~**talino ng   mga mag-aarál!
         very-   *kay* PL~smart GEN PL   student
         Intended: 'The students are very smart!'

      b. *****{Napaka-/Kay} **tali~**talino ng   mga mag-aarál!
         very-   *kay* RED~smart GEN PL   student
         'The students are very smart!'

- **Plural agreement** is possible
- **Bisyllabic reduplication** also possible (but with an emphatic effect)

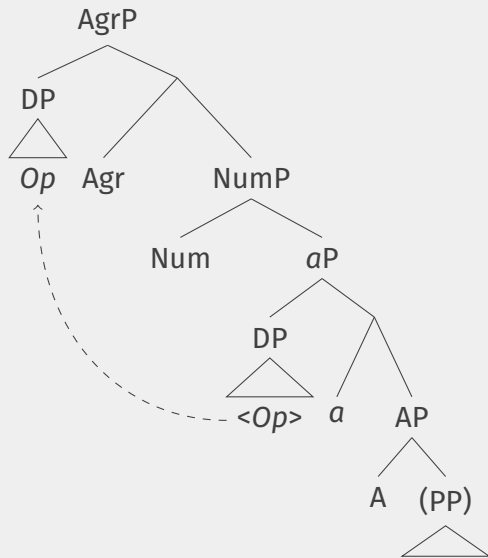(25) a. Ang **ta~**talino ng   mga mag-aarál!
          ang PL~smart GEN PL   student
          'The students are so smart!'

      b. Ang **tali~**talino ng   mga mag-aarál!
          ang RED~smart GEN PL   student
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- **Plural agreement** is possible
- **Bisyllabic reduplication** also possible (but with an emphatic effect)

(25) a. Ang **ta~**talino ng mga mag-aarál!
        ang PL~smart GEN PL   student
        'The students are so smart!'

     b. Ang **tali~**talino ng mga mag-aarál!
        ang RED~smart GEN PL   student
        'The students are so smart!'

- **Note:** This also shows that the *ang*-form cannot simply be analyzed as a DP used in an exclamative manner (i.e., 'The intelligence of the students!')—this morphology is not available in unambiguous DPs.

(26) Ipinakita ko   sa   kanila [ang (*****{**ta~**/**tali~**})talino ng mga mag-aarál].
        showed   1SG.GEN OBL 3PL.OBL NOM   PL~ RED~ smart GEN PL   student
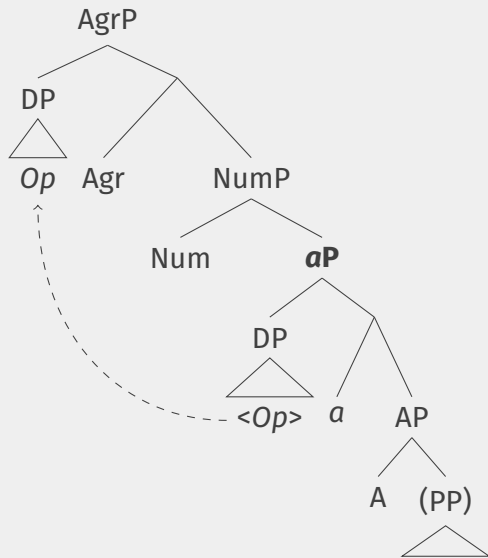   'I showed them [the intelligence of the students].'

(27)

- Following Sabbagh's (2005) structure for adjectives
  - ► A⁰ = Adjectival root
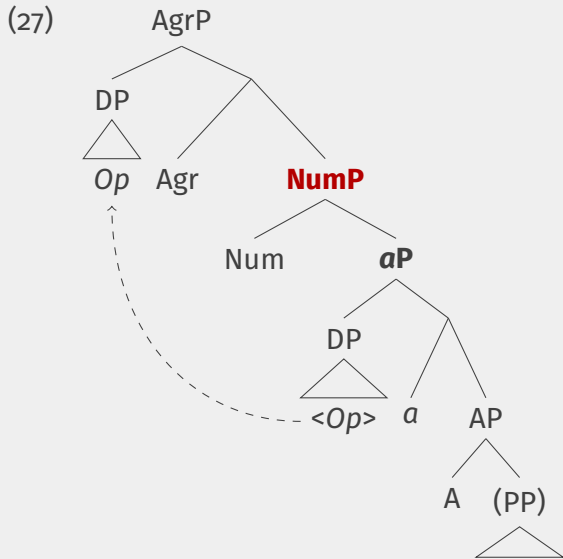 - ► Adjectival subject in Spec,*a*P

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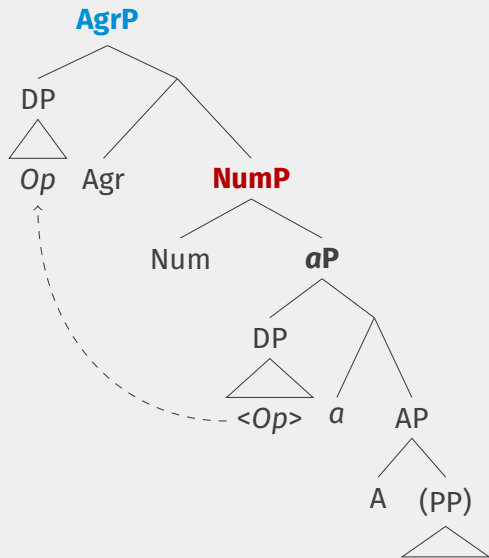 - ▶ Adjectival subject in Spec,*a*P
- **Napaka-** and **kay**: structure up to ***a*P**
  - ▶ No inflectional structure
  - ▶ In-situ *Op* accessible to A′-probe

(27)

AgrP

DP

Op Agr **NumP**

Num ***a*P**

DP

<*Op*> *a* AP

A (PP)

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- **Ang**: structure up to **NumP**
  - ▶ Inflectional layer renders *a*P opaque to extraction
  - ▶ No feeding movements
  - ▶ *Op* is trapped

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- **Ang**: structure up to **NumP**
  - ▶ Inflectional layer renders *a*P opaque to extraction
  - ▶ No feeding movements
  - ▶ *Op* is trapped
- **Plain positive adj**: up to **AgrP**
  - ▶ *a*P is opaque to extraction
  - ▶ *Op* escapes via pivot movement
  - ▶ A′-extraction can proceed

Summary and Discussion

Main Claim

The domain of theta-role assignment is inaccessible to A′-extraction in Tagalog;

1. DPs must escape this domain to be accessible to A′-extraction
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  - ▶ Fully inflected forms require pivot movement; no extraction of in-situ DPs
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The domain of theta-role assignment is inaccessible to A′-extraction in Tagalog;

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- In the verbal domain
  - ▶ Fully inflected forms require pivot movement; no extraction of in-situ DPs
  - ▶ Recent Perfective form lacks inflection; allows free DP extraction
- In the adjectival domain
  - ▶ Exclamatives adjective forms lack feeding movement (e.g., pivot movement)
  - ▶ *Napaka-* and *kay* exclamatives lack inflection; in-situ DP argument is accessible
  - ▶ *Ang* exclamatives exhibit inflection; in-situ DP argument is trapped

- **Nature of opacity**
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  - ▶ Under a phase-based approach: Timing of spell-out?

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  - ▶ Only DP extraction in this presentation
  - ▶ Major differences in structure and locality signatures of these two kinds of extraction
    - • Low PPs extract freely, non-pivot (theme) DPs do not
    - • In recent perfective, PPs cannot extract, while DP extraction is free
  - ▶ Hsieh (2020): Non-DP extraction is true A′-extraction; DP extraction involves binding of a null pronoun

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■ **Structure of adjectives in Tagalog**
  ▶ Broader range of adjectival constructions necessary to ascertain full structure

THANK YOU!
SALAMAT PO!

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