

# Adjectival passives and the structure of VP in Tagalog<sup>\*</sup>

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## Abstract:

This paper explores certain surprising contrasts between two major classes of adjectives in Tagalog. It is concerned, in particular, with the discovery that adjectival passives in Tagalog cannot occur as the main predicate of various types of impersonal clauses—i.e., clause types in which the adjective's sole argument cannot be “promoted” to subject. I argue that this fact follows ultimately from the unaccusativity of adjectival passives. The claim that adjectival passives in Tagalog are unaccusative is compared with the observation that in many other languages, adjectival passives appear to exhibit an unergative argument structure. I explore the possibility that differences relating to the argument structure of adjectival passives may be related to larger architectural differences among languages relating, specifically, to the structure of VP.

Keywords: Tagalog, Adjectival passives, Argument structure, Unaccusativity, Verb phrase structure

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If no other source is provided, example sentences for Tagalog are taken from my field notes (examples cited as LE are taken from Leo English's *Tagalog-English* dictionary; 1986, National Book Store). The following abbreviations are used in glossing the examples:

S = Subject

NS = Non-subject

Obl = Oblique

Loc = Locative

Pl = Plural

Agr = Agreement

Asp = Aspect

Inf = Infinitive

Inv = Inversion marker (=ay)

L = Linker

L(Rel) = Linker occurring in a relative clause

## 1 Introduction

This paper has two aims. The first is to document and analyze several surprising—yet completely systematic—contrasts between the class of adjectival passives in Tagalog and a second major class of adjectives in the language (“*ma*-adjectives”, which includes adjectives such as *maganda* (‘beautiful’), *masaya* (‘happy’), etc.). As we will see, the latter class of adjectives can occur as the main predicate of a clause regardless of whether their sole DP argument is a subject or not, while—by contrast—adjectival passives can occur as the main predicate of a clause *only* when their sole DP argument is a subject. I will develop an account of this contrast in which it follows from a fundamental difference in the argument structure of the two classes of adjectives—concretely, from the claim that adjectival passives are unaccusative predicates, while *ma*-adjectives are unergative. Given this distinction, I will argue that the generalization follows from basic Case-theoretic principles.

The claim that adjectival passives in Tagalog are unaccusative predicates may seem rather benign. After all, it is generally the case the sole DP argument of an adjectival passive is semantically related to the direct object of a related transitive verb, and, thus, we generally expect there to be a configurationally identical underlying syntactic relationship between this argument (the “theme” argument) and its predicate (verb or adjective) on the basis of hypotheses like Baker’s (1988) Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH) (see also, Perlmutter and Postal’s (1984) Uniform Alignment Hypothesis (UAH), and much related work). On the other hand, much work on the argument structure of adjectival passives in other languages has revealed that adjectival passives often pattern—surprisingly—as unergative rather than unaccusative (Pestsky 1982; Borer 1984; Borer and Grodzinsky 1986; Levine and Rappaport 1986; Beletti and Rizzi 1981; Burzio 1986; Cinque 1990).

A second aim of this paper, therefore, will be to attempt to reconcile the evidence relating to the unaccusativity of adjectival passives in Tagalog with the reported findings relating to adjectival passives in other languages. With this goal in mind, I draw upon Baker’s (2003) resolution to the problem posed for the UTAH by the unergative behavior of adjectival passives in certain languages. Baker demonstrates that the existence of unergative adjectival passives does not pose a problem for the UTAH (contra Borer 1998, 2005:55-64) as long as one is willing to adopt an abstract structure for VP, in which the theme argument of a verb is projected as an external argument of the verb—more specifically, as a specifier to an complex VP constituent embedded within a larger “VP-shell” structure (see, e.g., Larson 1988 and many others in his wake; see also, Hale and Keyser 1993, 2002 and related work). By adopting this type of structure for VP, Baker demonstrates that the theme argument of a verb (be it transitive or unaccusative) as well as the theme argument of an unergative adjectival passive are projected in a *configurationally uniform* way syntactically, in a manner which accords with the UTAH. Reversing this logic, I will attempt to demonstrate, on the other hand, that Tagalog does not countenance the type of VP structure which Baker motivates, and I will use this conclusion as the basis for explaining why adjectival passives must—in order to ensure configurational uniformity—have an unaccusative rather than an unergative argument structure.

Overall, this work raises and addresses a larger question. Namely, what kinds of differences do we find with respect to the argument structure properties of predicates (namely, adjectives) cross-linguistically, and how might these differences (assuming they exist) be explained in a principled fashion so that a constrained theory of argument structure can still be maintained? The paper is organized as follows: In Section 2, I offer general background relating to Tagalog clause structure and provide some initial descriptive background relating to adjectives in the language. In Section 3, I present the data that demonstrates the generalization named above, and I provide my account of this generalization in terms of the argument structure differences between the two classes of adjectives. In Section 4, I address the larger architectural questions that arise from a comparison of the Tagalog data concerning adjectival passives with evidence from other languages. It is here that I draw upon Baker’s (2003) proposals, to show how variation relating to the argument structure of adjectival passives may be related to independent properties of languages—in particular, pertaining to the structure of VP.

## 2 Preliminary Background

### 2.1. Tagalog Clause Structure

Tagalog is a predicate-initial language. In general, clauses have one argument that is singled out as the subject of the clause. In clauses containing a transitive verb serving as the main predicate, the argument that advances to subject may bear any one of a number of thematic relations to the verb. Consider the examples in (1).

- (1) a. *Pumunit si Maria ng kanya-ng damit nang siya ’y magalit.*  
 AGR.ASP.tear S Maria NS her-L dress when she INV got.mad  
 ‘Maria tore her dress when she got mad.’
- b. *I-binaon ng mga pirata sa isa-ng lugar na lihim ang kanila-ng mga dinambong.*  
 AGR-ASP.hide NS PL pirate LOC a-L place L secret S their-L  
 PL treasure  
 ‘The pirates hid their treasure in a secret place.’ (LE 406)
- c. *Bigy-an mo ng kendi ang bawa’t isa.*  
 give-AGR you(NS) NS candy S every one  
 ‘Give everyone some candy.’ (LE 176)

Significantly, subjects are morphologically distinguished from primary argument non-subjects and obliques. The table in (2) summarizes the morphological cases that arguments inflect for depending on their grammatical function as subject, primary argument non-subject, or oblique.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> There is a debate in the Austronesian literature (specifically concerning “Philippine-type” languages) as to whether or not the morphological cases in (2) correspond to abstract Cases (Nominative/Accusative; Ergative/Absolutive), or whether they simply

## (2) Morphological Cases

NP-TYPE	SUBJECT (S)	NON-SUBJECT (NS)	OBLIQUE (OBL)
COMMON NOUN:	<i>ang</i>	<i>ng</i> [nang]	<i>sa</i>
PROPER NAME:	<i>si</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>kay</i>

Thus, the subject is the agent argument of the transitive verb in (1a), the theme argument of the transitive verb in (1b), and the goal argument of the transitive verb in (1c). Note that the agreement inflection on the verb varies depending on which argument—agent, theme, or goal—is selected as the subject.

Following Guilfoyle, Hung, and Travis (1992), I adopt a view of the clause structure of sentences like (1) in which the subject occupies Spec, TP, which is projected to the right (cf. Kroeger 1993; Rackowski 2002; and Aldridge 2003). I leave aside for now questions regarding the derivation of surface word order, as this is not relevant to the discussion at hand.

Alongside clauses of the type in (1), Tagalog also has a number of impersonal clause types—namely, clause types in which no argument of the predicate advances to subject. For instance, clauses containing a verbal predicate inflected for recent perfective aspect, as in (3), are impersonal in this sense. Note in particular that no argument of the predicate is inflected with the subject morphological case (*ang* or *si*) in these sentences. Observe, furthermore, that the verb does not show inflection for agreement.

- (3) a. Kapagluluto lang ng babae ng turon.  
REC-PERF.cook just NS woman NS turon  
‘The woman just cooked some turons.’
- b. Kauupo lang nina Ben at Joe.  
REC-PERF.sit just NS(PL) Ben and Joe  
‘Ben and Joe just sat down.’

mark structural distinctions (Subject/Non-subject). The former view is the view of authors such as Guilfoyle, Hung, and Travis (1992), De Guzman (1988), MacLachlan and Nakamura (1994), and—more recently, Aldridge (2003), among others. The former view is taken by authors such as Richards (2000) and Sells (1998, 2000). The debate centers around the question of whether clauses in which the non-agent argument of a predicate is a subject (as in 1a,b) are passive sentences or active sentences (see Pearson 2005 for recent discussion). Though I will not enter into this debate here, I take the later view.

I do, however, assume that arguments must be assigned abstract Case, in accordance with the Case Filter (Vergnaud 1980, Chomsky 1981, etc.). Concretely, I will assume that external arguments are assigned inherent Case from the head—e.g., *v*—that assigns the external theta-role. Internal arguments—e.g., direct objects—I assume are assigned accusative Case by *v*. This assumption will play an important role in Section 3 of the paper.

Existential clauses are another type of impersonal clause. In existential clauses, the sole DP argument of the intransitive existential predicate is inflected for the non-subject morphological case rather than the subject morphological case, as shown in (4).

- (4) M-agkakaroon ng parada dito bukas.  
 ASP.exist.there NS parade here tomorrow  
 ‘There will be a parade here tomorrow.’

Regarding clauses of this type, I assume that they differ minimally from the personal clauses in (1) in that there is no overt subject projected in Spec, TP. Rather, all arguments of the predicate in impersonal clauses of this type remain in the underlying position where they are assigned a semantic-role.<sup>2</sup> The relevance of impersonal clauses will become clear shortly.

All of the examples considered so far have contained a verb as their main predicate. Tagalog also allows adjectives to function as the main predicate of a clause. In general, the sole DP argument of the adjective is a subject. Observe that adjectival predicates, in contrast to verbs, do not inflect for tense-aspect or agreement and there is no copula.

- (5) a. Bastós ang tao kung tumitig sa kapwa-tao.  
 rude S person if AGR.ASP.stare OBL other person  
 ‘A person is rude if he stares at another person.’ (LE 166)
- b. Si Maria ay pagód na m-aglinis ng kanya-ng kuwarto.  
 S Maria INV tired L AGR.INF-clean NS her-L room  
 ‘Maria is tired of cleaning her room.’
- c. Biglá’ ang kanya-ng pagkamatay.  
 sudden S his-L death  
 ‘His death was sudden.’ (LE 194)

The remainder of this paper will focus entirely on adjectival predicates. The next section will lay out some of the basic properties of the two classes of adjectives—adjectival passives and *ma*-adjectives—which will then be the focus of Section 3 to follow.

## 2.2. *Adjectives: Basic Facts*

Consider first the class first class of adjectival passives. Some representative examples are listed in (6).

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<sup>2</sup> We can plausibly assume that the subject position of an existential construction is filled by a null expletive. We might assume the presence of a null expletive in recent perfective clauses as well.

(6) **Adjectival Passives**

baság ‘broken’, punít ‘ripped’, sunóg ‘burnt’, batí ‘beaten’, gamít ‘used’  
tapós ‘finished’, abalá ‘busy (occupied)’, kilalá ‘well-known’, hiló ‘dizzy’

Like adjectival passives in other languages, adjectival passives in Tagalog generally form part of a larger paradigm with transitive verbs. From a semantic point of view, one could say in general that the adjectival passive denotes the result state inherent in the meaning of the corresponding event denoted by the transitive verb.

(7)	<b>Transitive Verb</b>	<b>Adjectival Passive</b>
	m-agbasag ‘to break’	baság ‘broken’
	m-agpunít ‘to tear’	punít ‘torn’
	sumunog ‘to burn’	sunóg ‘burnt’
	tumapos ‘to finish’	tapós ‘finished’

We can further elucidate the relationship between adjectival passives and transitive verbs by observing that the sole DP argument of an adjectival passive, which functions as a subject of the sentence in (8a), corresponds thematically to the internal argument (i.e., the direct object) of the related transitive verb in (8b). Using the familiar terminology of thematic roles, the subject of (8a) and the object in (8b) is the “theme” argument of, respectively, the adjectival passive predicate and the transitive verb.

- (8) a. Baság ang bote.  
broken S bottle  
‘The bottle is broken.’
- b. N-agbasag si Juan ng bote.  
AGR.ASP-broke S Juan NS bottle  
‘Juan broke the bottle.’

Given the correspondence in terms of the thematic role between the surface subject in (8a) and the internal argument of the transitive verb in (8b), we can point out here—in anticipation of the discussion to come in Section 3—the prediction that the surface subject of the sentence in (8a) would be an underlying object of the adjectival passive. This prediction is based on hypotheses such as Baker’s (1988) Uniformity of Theta-Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH) (see also, Perlmutter and Postal 1984), the hypothesis that identical thematic relations between related lexical items bear identical syntactic relations at a non-surface level of representation (e.g., deep-structure). In Section 3, we will consider evidence confirming this prediction.

Despite the paradigmatic relationship of adjectival passives with transitive verbs, adjectival passives are categorically distinct from verbs. To show this, it is instructive to compare adjectival passives to related “stative verb” forms.<sup>3,4</sup> “Stative verbs” are closely

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<sup>3</sup> The motivation for the term “stative verb” as coined by the authors mentioned in the main text is somewhat unclear. In particular, it is not clear in what sense these verbs are actually stative rather than eventive. They do differ from other eventive verbs, however, in that they are inherently telic—i.e., they entail rather than imply that the result of the

related to adjectival passives in that both seem to “focus on” the resulting state of an event rather than the event itself (see, in particular, Dell 1983; Kroeger 1990: 117; Phillips 2000; Travis 2002; and Himmelman 2006). In certain environments, however, “stative verbs” and adjectival passives can be categorically distinguished. For instance, adjectival passives may appear as the complement of the verb *maging* (‘become’), as the examples in (9) illustrate.

- (9) a. Masyado ako-ng naging abalá sa pagtuturo.  
           too I(S)-L ASP.become busy OBL teaching  
           ‘I became too busy (occupied) with teaching.’  
       b. Medyo naging hiló ako kanina sa simbahan.  
           rather ASP.become dizzy I(S) a.while.ago LOC church  
           ‘I became rather dizzy a while ago in church.’

By contrast, a “stative verb” cannot appear in this environment, as shown by the ungrammaticality of the following examples:

- (10) a. \*Naging ma-abala sa pagtuturo.  
           ASP.become AGR.ASP-busy OBL teaching  
           (I became busy (occupied) with teaching.)  
       b. \*Naging ma-hilo ako kanina sa simbahan.  
           ASP.become AGR.ASP-dizzy I(S) a.while.ago LOC church  
           (I became dizzy a while ago in church.)

This distinction seems to be similar to the distinction observed in English and other languages between adjectival passives and verbal passives. Consider the contrast between the English examples in (11) (the *by*-phrase in (11b) is used to disambiguate between the verbal passive and the adjectival passive):

- (11) a. This problem became expected after a while. (Adjectival Passive)  
       b. ?\*This problem became expected by Pablo after a while. (Verbal Passive)

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action described by the verb has been achieved. Non-“stative verbs”, by contrast, are atelic (see, in particular, Dell 1983). A better term for these predicates might therefore be *result predicate*. “Stative verbs” have gone by many other names as well—including: “abilitatives”, “potentives”. To avoid introducing yet another coinage here to describe these verbs, I will simply stick with “stative verb”. However, in Section 4, I will make a distinction between “stative verbs” and true statives like *gusto* ‘want’, *marunong* ‘know’, etc.

<sup>4</sup> I refer to the adjectives in (6) (in the main text) as adjectival passives on the basis of the observation that they share many characteristics of adjectival passives in other languages (stativity, inability to co-occur with an agent, etc.). Note, however, that it is unclear at present whether or not there also exists a true verbal passive in Tagalog. It will therefore not be possible to compare the properties of adjectival passives to verbal passives.

Plausibly, the ungrammaticality of the Tagalog examples in (10) and the English example in (11b) is due to a restriction imposed by *become* that it selects only non-verbal categories—namely, nouns and adjectives but not verbs as its complement (see, e.g., Wasow 1972 and Levine and Rappaport 1986).

Adjectival passives and “stative verbs” differ in a couple of other ways as well. For instance, a non-subject agent argument—i.e., an external argument—may co-occur with a “stative verb” when its theme argument functions as the subject of the clause, though this is not possible with an adjectival passive. This is illustrated by the contrast in (12).

- (12) a. Na-basag niya ang salamin. (“Stative Verb”)  
 AGR.ASP-break he(NS) S mirror  
 ‘The mirror was broken by him.’  
 b. \*Baság niya ang salamin. (Adjectival Passive)  
 broken he(NS) S mirror  
 (The mirror is broken by him.)

Related to this difference, “stative verbs” may be modified by manner adverbs like *madali* (‘easily’), as shown by (13), which seem to imply the presence of an agent argument even though no agent is overtly expressed in these examples (see, e.g., Kratzer 2000). By contrast, such adverbs cannot co-occur with adjectival passives, as the ungrammaticality of the examples in (14) demonstrates.

- (13) a. Madali-ng ma-basag ang manipis na baso. (“Stative Verb”)  
 easily-L AGR.STAT-broke S thin L glass  
 ‘Thin glass is easily broken.’ (LE 164)  
 b. Madali-ng ma-punit ang puntás. (“Stative Verb”)  
 easily-L AGR.STAT-tear S lace  
 ‘Lace is easily torn.’  
 (14) a. \*Madali-ng baság ang manipis na baso. (Adjectival Passive)  
 easily-L broken S thin L glass  
 (Thin glass is easily broken.)  
 b. \*Madali-ng punít ang puntás. (Adjectival Passive)  
 easily-L torn S lace  
 (Lace is easily torn.)

The other major class of adjectives in Tagalog is the class of “*ma*-adjectives”. Some representative examples are provided in (15).

- (15) ***Ma*-Adjectives**  
 (ma-)mahal ‘expensive’, ma-saráp ‘delicious’, ma-dali ‘quick’, ma-ínit ‘hot’,  
 ma-ganda ‘beautiful’, ma-tahimik ‘quiet’, ma-búti ‘good’, ma-talino ‘intelligent’



*Ma*-adjectives have phonological and morphological characteristics that suggest that they form a separate class from the adjectival passives. Most obviously, *ma*-adjectives typically occur with the prefix *ma*-, while adjectival passives are always unaffixed. There are also phonological differences relating to the placement of stress. Stress on a *ma*-adjective may be either final or penultimate, while stress on an adjectival passive, by contrast, is always final. Along with these morphological and phonological differences, there also appears to be a semantic difference between the two classes of adjectives. In particular, *ma*-adjectives tend to denote more permanent or inherent states of the individual they are applied to, whereas adjectival passives denote resultant states which does not necessarily hold of an individual permanently or inherently. Roughly, this semantic difference might be stated in terms of the Stage-/Individual-level distinction (Milsark 1974; Carlson 1977; Diesing 1992), with adjectival passives belonging to the Stage-level category, and *ma*-adjectives belonging to the Individual-level category. (I return to this semantic difference later to show that is not syntactically relevant.)

A final point concerning the difference between adjectival passives and *ma*-adjectives is that *ma*-adjectives are paradigmatically related to intransitive unergative verbs rather than to transitive verbs, in contrast to adjectival passives which are paradigmatically related to transitive verbs (see (7) above). Consider (16).<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> One reason to believe that these verbs are unergatives comes from the formation of Causatives. Travis (2002) notes that verbal roots that co-occur with an internal theme argument take part in lexical-causative formation:

- |     |                |             |  |
|-----|----------------|-------------|--|
| (i) | (Root)         |             | <i>Lexical Causative</i>               |
|     | <i>tumumba</i> | ‘fall down’ | <i>m-agtumumba</i> ‘knock down (s.t.)’ |
|     | <i>sumabog</i> | ‘explode’   | <i>m-agsabog</i> ‘scatter (s.t.)’      |
|     | <i>sumali</i>  | ‘join’      | <i>m-ag sali</i> ‘include (s.t.)’      |

A predicate with an external argument (e.g., a transitive verb) can be causativized by a productive causative formation rule, which involves a causative morpheme *pa*-:

- |      |                   |                  |   |
|------|-------------------|------------------|---|
| (ii) | <i>Transitive</i> |                  | <i>Productive Causative</i>                           |
|      | <i>m-ag sabog</i> | ‘scatter (s.t.)’ | <i>m-ag-pa-sabog</i> ‘cause (s.o.) to scatter (s.t.)’ |

Relevantly, the verbs in (16) (main text) cannot be take part in the lexical-causative formation. To form a causative on the basis of such verbs, it is necessary to use the productive causative formation rule involving *pa*-.

- |       |                        |                             |   |
|-------|------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| (iii) | <i>Unergative</i>      |                             | <i>Lexical Causative</i>                |
|       | <i>tumahimik</i>       | ‘be(come) quiet’            | * <i>m-ag tahimik</i> ‘to quiet (s.o.)’ |
|       |                        | <i>Productive Causative</i> |   |
|       | <i>m-ag-pa-tahimik</i> | ‘to quiet (s.o.)’           |   |

(16)	<b>Unergative Verb</b>	<b>Ma-Adjective</b>
	<i>dumali</i> ‘to become quick or quicker’	<i>ma-dali</i> ‘quick’
	<i>m-agsaya</i> ‘to be(come) happy’	<i>ma-saya</i> ‘happy’
	<i>tumahimik</i> ‘to be(come) quiet’	<i>ma-tahimik</i> ‘quiet’
	<i>m-agputik</i> ‘to become muddy’	<i>ma-putik</i> ‘muddy’

Like adjectival passives, however, *ma*-adjectives clearly pattern as adjectives rather than verbs. For instance, *ma*-adjectives may occur as the complement of *maging* (‘become’), as shown in (17). But as the ungrammaticality of the examples in (18) shows, an unergative verb that is related to a *ma*-adjective may not occur in this environment.

- (17) a. *N-agbaha at naging maputik ang mga lansangan*  
 AGR.ASP-flood and ASP.become muddy S PL street  
*at bukid.*  
*and farm*  
 ‘The streets and farms flooded and became muddy.’
- b. *Nagiging masaya ako kapag nakikita ka*  
 ASP.become happy I(S) when AGR.ASP.see you(s)  
 ‘I become happy when I see you.’
- (18) a. \**Naging m-agputik ang mga lansangan at bukid.*  
 ASP.become AGR.INF-muddy S PL street and farm  
 (The streets and farms became muddy.)
- b. \**Nagiging m-agsaya ako kapag nakikita ka.*  
 ASP.become AGR.INFIN-happy I(S) when ASP.AGR.see you(s)  
 (I become happy when I see you.)

2.2.1. *Interim Summary.* Summarizing up to this point, Tagalog appears to have a lexical class of adjectives that is categorically distinct from verbs. Within this class of adjectives, there are two important sub-classes—namely, adjectival passives and *ma*-adjectives. The preliminary basis for this distinction centers on the observation that two classes exhibit distinct morphological and phonological, as well as semantic properties. In the next section, I argue that the two types of adjectives are further distinguishable in terms of their argument structure. I will argue, in particular, that adjectival passives are unaccusative, whereas *ma*-adjectives are unergative.

### 3 Argument Structure of Adjectives

In all of the examples cited above where an adjective serves as the main predicate of a clause, its sole DP argument is the subject of the clause. There are certain exceptions to this pattern, however, which will be the focus of the present section. In particular, there are three types of clauses where an adjective’s sole DP argument does not function as a subject. These are (i) impersonal clauses whose main predicate is an intensified adjective formed with *nápaka-* (‘very’); (ii) Exclamative clauses, which are also impersonal; and

(iii) Equative comparative clauses. The important and surprising generalization regarding these three types of clauses is that while *ma*-adjectives can occur as the main predicate of each of these types of clauses, adjectival passives systematically cannot. I will provide an account of this generalization in which the generalization follows from the claim the adjectival passives are unaccusative, while *ma*-adjectives are unergative.

### 3.1. *Intensification of Adjectives*

Adjectives in Tagalog may be intensified in one of two ways. First, any adjective may be intensified by full reduplication. Thus, a construction used to intensify the *ma*-adjective occurring in the sentence in (19a) is the one given in (19b). Additional examples *ma*-adjectives being intensified with reduplication are given in (20).

- (19) a. Matahimik na ang aso.  
quiet now S dog  
'The dog is quiet now.'
- b. Matahimik na matahimik na ang aso.  
quiet L quiet now S dog  
'The dog is *very* quiet now.'
- (20) a. Matabang mataba si Juan.  
fat-L fat S Juan  
'Juan is *very* fat.'
- b. Mahal na mahal ang presyo.  
expensive L expensive S price  
'The price is *very* expensive.'
- c. Maganda-ng maganda ang pelikula.  
good-L good s movie  
'The movie was *very* good.'

Observe that apart from the reduplication of the adjective, clauses containing intensified adjectives of this type do not differ significantly from examples that contain simple—i.e., non-intensive—adjectives. In the examples in (20), in particular, the adjective's sole DP argument is inflected with the subject morphological case (*ang/si*), just as it is in an example like (19a). Unsurprisingly, then, adjectival passives may also be intensified using the reduplication strategy. Consider the examples in (21).

- (21) a. Basag na basag ang salamin.  
broke L broke S mirror  
'The mirror is *very* broken.'
- b. Sira-ng sira ang buhok nila.  
damaged-L damaged s hair their  
'Their hair was *very* damaged.'

- c. Bagót na bagót ang ina sa kanya-ng anak na babae.  
fed.up L fed.up S mother OBL her-L child L girl  
'The mother was *very* fed up with her daughter.' (LE 115)
- d. Abalá-ng abalá si G. Cruz ngayon.  
busy-L busy S Mr. Cruz now  
'Mr. Cruz is *very* busy now.' (LE 2)
- e. Batí-ng batín ang punti' ng itlog.  
beaten-L beaten s white of eggs  
'The whites of the eggs are well beaten.' (LE 172)

Intensive adjectives can also be formed using the prefix *nápaka-* ('very'). In contrast to clauses whose main predicate is an intensive adjective formed by reduplication, clauses containing an adjective intensified with *nápaka-* appear to be impersonal. Consider the sentences in (22). Observe, in particular, that adjective's sole DP argument is inflected with the non-subject morphological case (*ng/ni*) rather than the subject morphological case (*ang/si*). These examples thus clearly contrast with the examples above, in which the adjective's DP argument is plainly a subject and the clauses are personal rather than impersonal.

- (22) a. Nápaka-mahal ng presyo.  
very-expensive NS price  
'The price is *very* expensive.'
- b. Nápaka-tahimik ng aso.  
very-quiet NS dog  
'The dog is *very* quiet.'
- c. Nápaka-sarap ng pansit.  
very-delicious NS noodles  
'The noodles are *very* delicious.'
- d. Nápaka-ganda ng bulaklak na ito.  
very-beautiful NS flower L this  
'This flower is *very* beautiful.'

Significantly, adjectival passives cannot be intensified using *nápaka-*, a fact that is illustrated by the ungrammaticality of the examples in (23), which should be compared with the examples in (21) above.

- (23) a. \*Nápaka-basag ng salamin.  
very-broken NS mirror  
(The mirror is *very* broken.)
- b. \*Nápaka-sira' ng buhok nila.  
very-damaged NS hair their  
(Their hair was *very* damaged.)

- c. \*Nápaka-bagot ng ina sa kanya-ng anak na babae.  
very-fed.up NS mother OBL her-L child L female  
(The mother was very fed up with her daughter.)
- d. \*Nápaka-abala ni G. Cruz ngayon.  
very-busy NS Mr. Cruz now  
(Mr. Cruz is *very* busy now.)
- e. \*Nápaka-kilala ng artista-ng iyon.  
very.known NS artist-L this  
(This artist is *very* well known.)

We can dismiss the possibility right off that the ungrammaticality of the examples in (23) is somehow rooted in the semantics. In particular, given that adjectival passives can be intensified using reduplication (compare the examples in (23) with those in (21)), it is plain that there is no semantic incompatibility between adjectival passives and the meaning associated with intensification. Observe, furthermore, that adjectival passives can also co-occur with a variety of other types of degree modifiers, indicating—more generally—that they “gradable”.

- (24)
- a. Punit-punit ang aki-ng mga damit.  
ripped-ripped S my-L PL dress  
'My dress is *thoroughly* torn.'
  - b. Medyo kilala ang artista-ng iyon.  
rather well.known S artist-L this  
'This artist is *rather* well known.'
  - c. Medyo sira' pa ang motor kaya hindi' pa ma-gamit.  
rather damaged still S motor therefore not still INF.ABLE-use  
'The motor is still *rather* damaged, and so it's still unable to be used.'

It seems reasonable to conjecture, therefore, that the ungrammaticality of the examples in (23) lies with the syntax rather than the semantics. In the next sub-section, I will provide a syntactic account of these contrasts in which they flow from the different argument structure properties of the two classes of adjectives.

### 3.2. A Syntactic Account

The basis for the syntactic account of the contrasts observed above—and, in particular, of the ungrammaticality of sentences like (23)—is the observation that clauses containing adjectival predicates intensified with *nápaka-* are impersonal. Constructions based on *nápaka-* therefore resemble other types of impersonal clauses, such as recent perfective and existential clauses (see Section 1.1). Recall that with respect to these types of clauses, it was claimed that no argument of the predicate occupies the subject position of the clause (Spec, TP). Rather, all of the predicate's arguments in an impersonal clause reside within the predicate phrase, in the underlying or “deep structure” position where they are initially merged and assigned a semantic role.

Suppose, then, that the adjective's argument in the impersonal sentences in (22) occupies its underlying syntactic position. Supposing this, we can now describe the contrast between the sentences in (22) and (23) in the following way. The DP argument of a *ma*-adjective can be syntactically licensed either in its underlying position (as in the examples in (22)) or as a subject in Spec, TP (as in the examples in (20)). The argument of an adjectival passive, by contrast, can only be licensed as a subject—i.e., by raising to Spec, TP as in the examples in (21). The first step towards accounting for this difference, then, involves fleshing out the identity of the relevant licensing principle involved.

Within the Principles and Parameters/Minimalist framework, it is hypothesized that arguments (specifically, DP arguments) must be licensed in accordance with the Case Filter—the condition that an overt DP must be assigned abstract Case (Rouverf and Vergnaud 1980, Chomsky 1981).<sup>6</sup> As a syntactic licensing requirement, the Case Filter is intended to explain why DPs can occur in certain environments but not others. In English, for instance, a DP can occupy the subject position of a finite clause but not the subject position of an embedded infinitival clause selected by raising predicates like *seem*. Consider the contrasts in (25).

- (25) a. Maria seems [to be tired]. (subject of finite clause)  
 b. It seems [that Maria is tired]. (subject of embedded finite clause)  
 c. \*It seems [Maria to be tired]. (subject of embedded non-finite clause)

The Case Filter also explains why nouns and adjectives in certain languages—e.g., English—cannot take internal arguments directly without the presence of a “dummy” preposition, as the examples in (26) illustrate. The hypothesis here is that nouns and adjectives constitute the class of non-Case assigners in English, distinct from verbs and prepositions, which constitute the class of Case assigners.

- (26) a. Bill was afraid \*(of) the storm.  
 b. Bill's fear \*(of) the storm.

Returning to the ungrammaticality of the examples in (23), I propose that the licensing principle that is involved is the Case Filter. Concretely, suppose that the sole DP argument of an adjectival passive is an internal argument of the adjective—in other words, that adjectival passives are unaccusative. Significantly, this proposal accords with the expectation, raised earlier in Section 2.2, based on the UTAH. In other words, given that the surface subject of an adjectival passive bears the same thematic role as the

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<sup>6</sup> Within the general framework being assumed here (namely, that of Principles and Parameters/Minimalism), Case theory has undergone many refinements and changes over the years (see Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2005 and also the papers collected in Brander and Zinsmeister 2003 for overview and discussion of some of these changes). As far as I have been able to determine, none of these developments affect my overall characterization of the phenomena being discussed in Case-theoretic terms.

internal argument of a transitive verb, we predict it to be syntactically realized likewise as an underlying internal argument.

Now, as clauses with adjectives intensified with *nápaka-* are impersonal, the internal argument of the adjectival passive does not raise to the subject position of the clause (Spec, TP). The adjectival passive's argument is forced, rather, to remain in its underlying position (as a complement of A). Adjectives are canonical non-Case assigners (cf. (26a)), and—as such—the adjectival passive does not assign Case to its DP complement. Given these two points, it follows that the adjectival passive's DP argument fails to be licensed in accordance with the Case Filter.<sup>7</sup> The examples in (23) are therefore correctly ruled out.

Two empirical issues remain for this account. First, why is the adjectival passive's argument licensed when it is a subject, as in the examples in (21)? Second, what is the difference between *ma*-adjectives and adjectival passives that accounts for why the former but not the latter are compatible with *nápaka-*? I deal with each of these questions in turn.

*3.2.1. Licensing the Subject in Spec, TP.* If Case cannot be assigned to the underlying position of an adjectival passive, why does this Case Filter effect not persist in examples like (21), i.e., when the adjectival passive's argument is a subject? Note that this is the same question that arises with respect to unaccusative verbs in other languages. Why, for instance, must the argument of an unaccusative verb like *sink* in English raise to subject position rather than remain in its underlying internal argument position?<sup>8</sup>

- (27) a. \*There broke a plate.  
b. A plate broke.

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<sup>7</sup> This assumes, of course, that there are no other mechanisms of case assignment available. In particular, there is evidently no process of “Case transmission” (Safir 1985) in Tagalog. Thus, Tagalog contrasts with other languages that have impersonal clauses where an argument of an unaccusative verb remains in-situ but acquires Case through some process of transmission or long-distance Case assignment (e.g., viz. á viz. the *Agree* operation proposed in Chomsky 2001 and related work in its wake). As will become clear shortly, this is not particularly surprising given that the A-bar properties of Spec, TP.

<sup>8</sup> Of course, there are certain unaccusative verbs in English that may occur in impersonal configurations like (26). In particular, verbs like existential-*be*, *arrive*, *appear* fall into this class. The fact that this class of verbs may occur in an impersonal configuration presumably relates to two things—namely, some special syntactic and/or semantic property of this class of adjectives (see, in particular Hale and Keyser, Chapter 6), in addition to a generally available process of Case transmission that allows their internal argument to be licensed in-situ. Regarding the latter, its existence is made plausible given the assumption that the locus of *nominative* Case in English is the functional head of the clause—T(ense). As noted in the present section, the T(ense) head of the clause in Tagalog is not associated with Case—in particular, as a consequence of the A-bar status of Spec, TP.

One standard answer given to this question is that unaccusative verbs in English do not assign accusative Case, thus explaining why (27a) is bad. The internal argument of the unaccusative verb must therefore raise to the subject position (i.e., Spec, TP) where nominative Case is assigned. Can this account be generalized to Tagalog to account for the minimal contrast between the examples in (21) and (23)?

The answer to this question is basically yes, though there is an important difference between a language like English and Tagalog that requires discussion before the full picture can be fleshed out. In particular, there is reason to believe that the subject position in Tagalog—Spec, TP—is an A-bar position rather than an A-position (Pearson 2005, Richards 2000, and Sells 1998, 2000; cf. Aldridge 2003). I will not review the evidence for this claim here (see above reference), but note, as a consequence, that the subject (Spec, TP) is plausibly not a Case position.

On the other hand, there is also evidence that a DP in an A-bar position with no clause internal source for Case need not actually be assigned Case. Evidence for this comes from “Hanging topic” constructions of the sort exemplified by the examples in (28).

- (28) a. Ang nais ko ay [TP *tumira* sila dito].  
           S wish I(NS) INV ASP.AGR-live they(S) here  
           ‘What I wish is for them to live here.’  
           (lit. My wish, they live here.) (Schachter and Otnes 1972:487)
- b. Ang *ginawa* ko, [TP *tinulong-an* ko si Mutya].  
           S ASP.do-AGR I(NS) ASP.help-AGR I(NS) S Mutya  
           ‘What I did was help Mutya.’  
           (lit. What I did, I helped Mutya.) (Nagaya 2004:15)

Suppose that the left-peripheral position of the DPs in (28) is an A-bar position such as Spec, CP or Spec, TopicP/FocusP, noting that the left-peripheral position in (27a) is associated with either pragmatic topic or focus, while the left-peripheral position in (28b) is associated with pragmatic topic (see Kroeger 1993, and Schachter and Otnes 1972 for more detailed discussion of these types of structures and their discourse functions). What is important for our purposes is the observation that the left-peripheral DP in both of these examples is not an argument of the clause it precedes.<sup>9</sup> Given this, it is presumably the case that these DPs have not been assigned Case internal to the clause. On the other hand, the “hanging topic” DPs do appear to be syntactically licensed.

We can account for this observation by supposing that the DPs that occupy the left-peripheral A-bar positions in (28) are exempt from the Case Filter, perhaps relating to a more general “amnesty” on A-bar DPs (see Legate 2005 for a discussion of “Hanging

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<sup>9</sup> Arguments (in particular, subject arguments and obliques) may and commonly do appear in these pre-verbal positions, however.

- (i) Si Juan ay dadating dito kahapon.  
       s Juan inv agr.asp.come here tomorrow  
       ‘Juan will come here tomorrow.’



topic” constructions in Warlpiri and other languages, and Shcütze 2001 for a more general discussion of the nature of default Case in relation to A-bar phenomena in particular.)

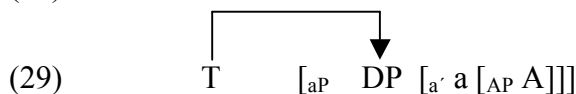
Supposing this to be a plausible way to understand the constructions in (28), the proposal that A-bar DPs are exempt from the Case Filter can now be generalized to explain the examples in (21). Concretely, given the claim, mentioned above, that the subject position in Tagalog (Spec, TP) is an A-bar position, the subjects in the examples in (21) are “amnestied” from the Case Filter. Thus, the adjectival passive’s argument is licensed in the examples in (21) irrespective of its not having been assigned Case in its underlying position as a direct complement of the adjective.

3.2.2. *Ma-adjectives*. The account of why adjectival passives cannot combine with *nápaka-* to form an intensive adjective is that the argument of the adjectival passive could not be Case licensed in its underlying position *as an internal argument* (complement to A). As the adjectival passive’s argument cannot be a subject (the presence of *nápaka-* somehow relating to the unavailability of Spec, TP), it fails to be syntactically licensed in accordance with the Case Filter. We now must account for the contrast between adjectival passives and *ma*-adjectives with respect to the ability of the later but not the former to licitly occur in impersonal clauses involving intensification with *nápaka-*.

When *nápaka-* combines with a *ma*-adjective to form an intensive adjective, the argument of the *ma*-adjective does not (and cannot) function as the grammatical subject of the clause containing the *nápaka*-adjective as its predicate (see the examples in (22) above, noting in particular the non-subject form of the morphological case preceding the adjective’s argument). Presumably, then, the argument of the *ma*-adjective resides its underlying position within the predicate phrase where it is assigned its semantic role. Clearly, we would not want to claim that the argument of a *ma*-adjective is an underlying internal argument (complement of A), since—if it were—we would expect that it would fail to be Case licensed in exactly the same way that the argument of an adjectival passive fails to be Case licensed according to the account given of the ungrammatical constructions in (23).

Let us suppose, on the other hand, that the argument of a *ma*-adjective is not an internal argument, but rather that it is an external argument. This proposal is parsimonious with the observation, made earlier in Section 2.2. that *ma*-adjectives are paradigmatically related to unergative verbs. Thus, given a hypothesis like the UTAH, we expect, given that since the sole DP argument of an unergative verb is an external argument, that the sole DP argument of a related *ma*-adjective should likewise be an external argument. Suppose this is so.

There are, then, two conceivable ways in which the argument of a *ma*-adjective, as an external argument, can be Case licensed. The first possibility, drawing on the proposals of Guilfoyle, Hung, and Travis (1992), would be to say that the external argument is assigned Case from the inflectional head of the clause (T) as schematized in (29).



This approach likens the manner in which the (in-situ) external argument is assigned Case to the manner in which subjects of embedded clauses are assigned Case in *Exceptional Case Marking* constructions in languages like English (see, e.g., Chomsky 1981, 1986).

- (30) a. The committee believes [*Paula* to be an asset to the company].  
 b. The committee considers [*Kyle* to be a traitor].

Drawing on the work of Aldridge (2003), who proposes that the external argument of verbs is assigned inherent Case (ergative Case, in her framework) by *v*, we might alternatively suppose that the external argument of an adjective is assigned inherent Case, in particular, by *a*. This approach is schematized in (31).

- (31) 
$$\begin{array}{c} [\text{aP DP } [\text{a'} \text{ a } [\text{AP A}]]] \\ \uparrow \quad | \\ \quad \quad \end{array}$$

Both of these approaches seem equally plausible. For the purposes of this discussion, however, I will adopt the approach in (29) based on Aldridge's proposal that the external argument is assigned inherent Case from the element (*v*, *a*) that assigns the semantic role to the external argument. The appeal of this approach is that, since inherent Case is tied to semantic role assignment (see, e.g., Woolford 1997, 2006), there is an automatic locality restriction imposed that has the desired effect that the only argument that is eligible to receiving this Case is the external argument. If we adopted instead the approach in which *T* assigns Case (e.g., nominative) to the external argument, as in (29), we would also have to find a way to impose an additional locality condition that would prevent *T* from assigning Case as far down as the internal argument. Otherwise, it should be possible for *T* to assign Case to the adjective's internal argument in the examples in (23). To keep the discussion as simple as possible, therefore, I will avoid taking this approach, noting in passing that this is primarily for expository purposes.

### 3.3. Exclamative Clauses

My aim in this section and the next is to demonstrate the contrasts between adjectival passives and *ma*-adjectives observed above with respect to intensification with *nápaka-* is not simply an isolated case, but—in fact—more general. Specifically, the contrast arises generally and systematically in contexts where an adjective's sole DP argument does not advance to subject.

Let us first consider, then, another impersonal clause type in which an adjective serves as the main predicate of a clause—namely, exclamative clauses like the ones shown in (32).

- (32) a. Ang ganda ni Rosa!  
           S   pretty   NS Rosa  
           ‘How pretty Rosa is!’

- b. Kay tahimik ng aso!  
OBL quiet NS dog  
'How quiet the dog is!'
- c. Kay lalaki ng patak ng ulan!  
OBL PL.big NS drop of rain  
'How big the rain drops are!'

Observe that each of the exclamative clauses in (32) are formed on the basis of a *ma*-adjective predicate (*ma-ganda* 'pretty' in (32a), *ma-tahimik* 'quiet' in (32b), and *ma-laki* 'big' in (32c)). Observe, furthermore, that the adjective's argument is inflected with the non-subject morphological case, a fact that provides the morpho-syntactic clue that we are dealing here with impersonal clauses. Given this, it should come as no surprise at this point that exclamatory clauses cannot be formed with adjectival passives, as the ungrammaticality of the examples in (33) attest.

- (33)
- a. \*Kay basag ng pinggan!  
OBL broken NS plate  
(How broken the plate is!)
  - b. \*Ang punit ng damit niya!  
S torn NS dress her  
(How torn her dress is!)
  - c. \*Kay hilo ng aso!  
OBL dizzy NS dog  
(How dizzy the dog is!)

The ungrammaticality of the examples in (33) can be accounted for in exactly the same way that the ungrammaticality of the examples in (23) from Section 3.1 was accounted for. Concretely, since the adjectival passive's argument is an internal argument that cannot raise to the subject position (viz. á viz. the impersonal nature of the sentences), it is forced to remain in a position (complement to A) where no Case is assigned.<sup>10</sup> As a result, the adjectival passive's internal argument fails to be assigned Case and, therefore, to satisfy the Case Filter. Exclamative clauses based on adjectival passives are therefore ruled out. By contrast, *ma*-adjectives are licensed in exclamative clauses because they have a source for Case that adjectival passives do not. Namely, *ma*-adjectives project an external argument (in Spec, aP), and inherent Case can be assigned to the external argument by a.

Significantly, then, the fact that there is another type of impersonal clause involving adjectival predication where adjectival passives and *ma*-adjectives contrast

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<sup>10</sup> The question arises what the subject position is occupied by such that the adjective's internal argument cannot raise to this position. Drawing on Zannuti and Portner's (2003) analysis of exclamatives in English and Paduan, one possibility is that a null factitive operator occupies the subject position (Spec, TP).

shows that the contrast is not simply an idiosyncratic fact about either clauses involving intensification (with *nápaka-*) or exclamative clauses.

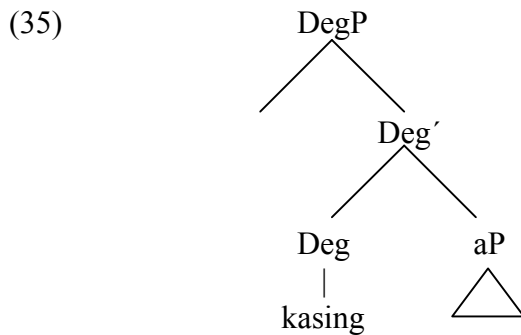
### 3.4. Comparative Clauses

The focus of this section is equative comparatives and inequality comparatives in Tagalog. The main empirical point to be made here is that only *ma*-adjectives can licitly occur in equative comparatives, while both *ma*-adjectives and adjectival passives may occur in inequality comparatives. Once certain details of the syntax of comparative clauses are fleshed out, these contrasts are shown to follow from exactly the same account as was given for the contrasting behavior of the two adjective classes with respect to the two types of impersonal constructions documented above.

Equative comparatives are formed in Tagalog with the prefix *kasing-* which is added to an adjective. In addition to the presence of this prefix, the number of arguments compared to a clause containing a non-comparative adjective is increased by one. Consider the examples in (34).

- (34) a. Kasingtalino ni Elena si Maria.  
as.intelligent.as NS Elena S Maria  
'Maria is as intelligent as Elena.'
- b. Hindi' pa kasingganda ng Maynila ang Mandaluyong.  
not still as.beautiful.as NS Manila S Mandaluyong  
'Mandaluyong is still not as beautiful as Manila.' (*Kabayan*, 8/31/2003)
- c. Hindi' ito kasingtaas ng iba pa-ng kilala-ng bundok sa Tsina  
not this as.tall.as NS other-L well.known-L mountain LOC China  
na 1200 metro.  
L(REL) 1200 meter  
'This is not as tall as the other well known mountain in China which  
is 1200 meters' (*China International Radio*, 6/2/2006)

For concreteness, suppose that the prefix *kasing-* belongs to the functional category, Deg(ree), which heads its own projection, DegP, which in turn dominates the projection of the adjective (see, e.g., Abney 1987; Corver 1997; among others). The basic syntax for the comparatives constructions in (34) that I assume is schematized in (35).



Note that there are two DP arguments in an equative comparative. In terms of the surface syntax, one of these arguments is the subject (inflected with *ang/si*) of the clause while the other is a non-subject (inflected with *ng/ni*). Evidence from variable binding can be used to demonstrate that the argument of the comparative that is the grammatical subject c-commands the non-subject argument both on the surface and from its underlying position. Consider the contrast in (36). In (36a), the subject—a universal quantifier—licitly binds a pronoun contained within the non-subject argument. By contrast, a bound variable reading is impossible when the non-subject argument is a universal quantifier and the subject contains the pronoun.

- (36) a. Kasingtalino      ng kanya<sub>i</sub>-ng anak ang bawa't ama<sub>i</sub>.  
           as.intelligent.as NS his-L      child S    every father  
           'Every father is as intelligent as his child.'
- b. Kasingtalino      ng bawa't ama<sub>i</sub> ang kanya\*<sub>i,j</sub>-ng anak.  
           as.intelligent.as NS every father S    his-L      child  
           (His\*<sub>i,j</sub> child is as intelligent as every father)

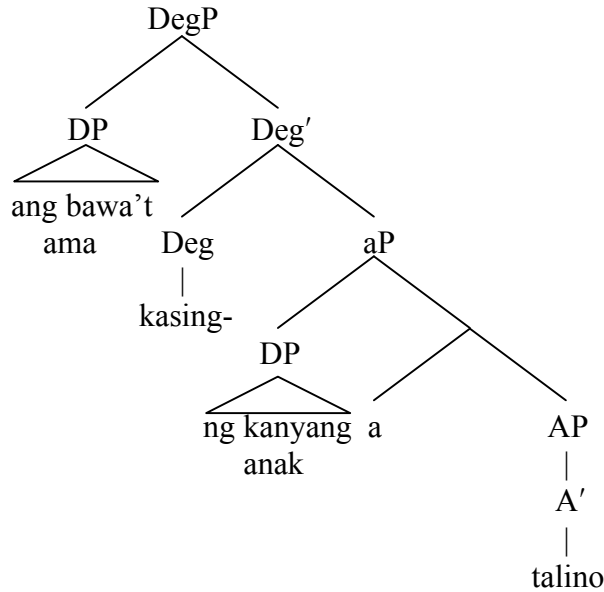
Importantly, the binding asymmetry in (36) shows not only that the subject c-commands the non-subject argument (as we expect, in any case, given the clause structure we have been assuming so far in which the subject occupies Spec, TP), but also that the underlying position of the subject c-commands the non-subject argument. Concretely, Rackowski (2002) has shown that an internal (theme) argument of a transitive verb may contain a variable bound by an external (agent) argument when the former but not the latter is the grammatical subject of the clause. Consider (37) (from Rackowski 2002).

- (37) Minamahal-      ng bawa't ama<sub>i</sub> ang kanya<sub>i</sub>-ng anak.  
           ASP.love-AGR NS every father S    his-L      child  
           'Every father<sub>i</sub> loves his<sub>i</sub> child.'

The fact in (37) is straightforwardly accounted for assuming reconstruction of the theme subject to its underlying position (complement of V), a position that is crucially lower than and therefore c-commanded by the position of the external argument (see Section 2). Significantly, the contrast between (37) and (36b) shows that the subject argument in (36b) does not, in contrast to the subject argument in (37), originate in a position lower than the non-subject argument.

Returning, then, to the structure in (31) above, we can account for the binding asymmetry observed in (32) by supposing that the subject of the equative comparative originates in Spec, DegP (i.e., before raising to Spec, TP), while the non-subject argument is contained within the projection of aP. Fleshing out the structure in (35) to indicate the underlying syntactic relations of the two arguments gives us (38) (representing example (36a) above).

(38)



The important fact that these observations establish is that the adjective's argument in the equative comparative is a non-subject that is located in its underlying syntactic position, while some other argument (the one originating in Spec, DegP) occupies the subject position (Spec, TP) of the clause. (I return shortly to the question of why it is that the argument introduced in Spec, DegP and not the adjective's argument must occupy the subject position.)

Now, we have already seen two contexts where adjectival passives could not licitly occur where their argument cannot be a subject—namely, impersonal constructions involving *nápaka*-intensified adjectival predicates and exclamatives. Recall that the failure of adjectival passives to occur in this environment was accounted for by claiming that the adjectival passive's argument is an in-situ internal argument and that, as a direct complement of the adjective, it cannot be assigned Case. Based on this account, we now make the prediction that adjectival passives will also be unable to serve as the predicate of an equative comparative. Concretely, since in this context the adjective's argument does not advance to the subject position, but rather is forced to remain in its underlying position, then—as an in-situ internal argument—it should fail to be Case licensed. This prediction is born out. Adjectival passives cannot occur in equative comparatives.

- (39) a. \*Kasingbasag ng salamin ang bintana.  
as.broken.as NS mirror S window  
(The window is as broken as the mirror.)
- b. \*Kasingsira' ng aki-ng kotse ang kotse niya.  
as.damaged.as NS my-L car S car his  
(His car is as damaged as mine.)
- c. \*Kasingabala ni Juan si Al.  
as.busy.as NS Juan S Al  
(Al is as busy (occupied) as Juan.)

- d. \*Kasingkilala ko ni Al si Juan.  
 as.well-known.as I(NS) NS Al S Juan  
 (Juan is as well known to me as Al.)

Note, that there is a way to express a meaning that is quite similar to the sentences in (39), using the adverbial *pareho* ('same'). Consider the examples in (40):

- (40) a. Pareho-ng basag ang salamin at ang bintana.  
 same-L broken S mirror and S window  
 'The mirror and the window are equally (lit. same) broken.' (cf. (39a))
- b. Pareho-ng abala kami sa trabaho.  
 same-L busy we(S.PL) OBL work  
 'We are equally (lit. same) busy (occupied) with work.' (cf. (39c))

In these examples, the equality relation is expressed with respect to a plural subject rather than as a relation between two singular DP arguments. These examples should make it clear, therefore, that the problem with the examples in (39) is not semantic in nature, but rather that it is syntactic. The ungrammaticality of the examples in (39) follows straightforwardly from the claim that the argument of the adjectival passive is an internal argument of the adjective with no source for Case licensing. Concretely, since the argument that originates in Spec, DegP advances to subject, the adjectival passives argument is forced to remain in-situ. But this in-situ position (complement of A) is a position where no Case is assigned. The adjectival passive's internal argument therefore fails to be Case licensed, and the result is that examples like (39) are ungrammatical.

3.3.1. *Inequality Comparatives.* A question left open by the account of equality comparatives is why the argument in Spec, DegP must advance to the subject position of the clause (Spec, TP) rather than the adjective's argument. The reason for this plausibly relates to locality conditions on movement to Spec, TP. Concretely, suppose that the inflectional head of the clause in Tagalog—T—has an  $EPP_D$  feature which must be 'checked' by bringing some DP argument within its c-command domain into Spec, TP. Suppose, furthermore, that the only eligible DP which can raise to Spec, TP is the one that is closest to T, where "closest" can be defined, for present purposes, as in (41) (cf. Chomsky 1995, 2001).

- (41) *Closest*  
 Y is closest to X if there is no Z such that Z c-commands Y, and  
 both Y and Z contain a feature matching X.

Given (41), the closest DP argument in the structure of an equative comparative that is within T's c-command domain is the DP that occupies Spec, DegP. Crucially, raising the adjective's argument from within aP to Spec, TP would violate closest.

Crucially, if the argument in Spec, DegP were occupied by a non-DP, then we would expect that the argument of an adjective within aP rather than a higher element in Spec, DegP would be able to raise out of the aP to Spec, TP and become the grammatical subject of the clause. In other words, the element in Spec, DegP (if there is one) in such a

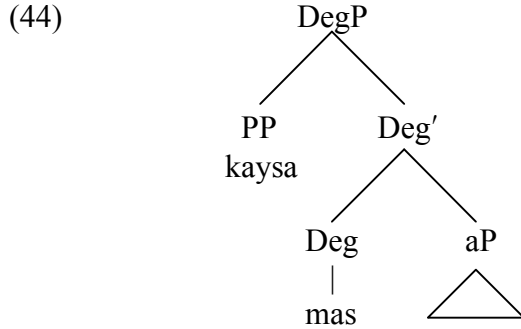
construction would not create an “intervention effect” that would prevent the adjective’s argument contained within aP from raising to Spec, TP. Crucially, furthermore, both *ma*-adjectives as well as adjectival passive would predictably occur in such constructions. A construction of this hypothetical sort, I claim, is attested by the inequality comparative construction in Tagalog.

Alongside equative comparatives, Tagalog also has comparative construction of the sort that express inequality (equivalent to *more...than* comparatives in English). With respect to this type of comparative, *ma*-adjectives as well as adjectival passives are permitted. The examples in (42) are inequality comparatives formed on the basis of *ma*-adjectives. The examples in (43) are inequality comparatives formed on the basis of adjectival passives.

- (42) a. Mas matanda siya kaysa kay Juan.  
           more old       he(s) than OBL Juan  
           ‘He is older than Juan.’               (Schachter and Otones 1972:240)
- b. Totoo ba-ng mas matalino ang computer kaysa tao?  
           really Q-L more intelligent S computer than person  
           ‘Is the computer really smarter than a person?’
- (43) a. Si Juan ay mas kilala ko kaysa kay Al.  
           S Juan INV more well.known me(NS) than OBL Al  
           ‘Juan is more well known to me than Al.’
- b. Naging mas abala na si Juan sa kanya-ng mga trabaho  
           ASP.become more busy now S Juan OBL his-L PL work  
           at sa kanya-ng relihiyon.  
           and OBL his-L religion  
           ‘Juan has become more busy with his work and his religion.’
- c. Pero kung ako ang inyo-ng i-boboto, aba ‘y  
           but if I(s) s you.PL-L AGR-ASP.vote-for well inv  
           mas sira ang ulo ninyo kaysa akin.  
           more damaged s head your than mine  
           ‘But if you vote for me, then you are crazier than I am.’  
           (lit., But if I am the one who you vote for, then your head is more  
           damaged than mine.)                       (Philippine Post, March 2001)

Like the equative comparative, the number of arguments in an inequality comparative is one more compared to a clause containing a non-compared adjective. The important observation to take note of here, however, is that the additional argument that is introduced in the comparative constructions in (42)-(43) is a PP headed by the preposition *kaysa* (‘than’) (note that in (43b), this argument is not expressed). Significantly, this argument is not the subject of the clause (PPs never serve as subjects in Tagalog). Let us suppose that this PP argument is introduced as the argument of the degree element *mas* (‘more’), so that the structure of the inequality is as shown in (44).





Crucially, the PP in Spec, DegP is not eligible to become the subject of the clause, on the hypothesis that the  $EPP_D$  feature of T can only be satisfied (checked) by having a DP brought into its specifier.<sup>11</sup> Given the definition of Closest in (41), it follows that a lower DP contained within aP may raise to the subject position to satisfy T's  $EPP_D$  requirement. The important consequence of this relates to the licensing of adjectival passives in inequality comparatives. Concretely, the internal argument of an adjectival passive is eligible to raise from its underlying position (complement of A) to the subject position (Spec, TP). This situation contrasts with the equality comparative based on an adjectival passive (cf. the examples in (39)) where the adjectival passive's internal argument is forced to remain in its underlying position (where no Case can be assigned to it) because of the DP argument in Spec, DegP which must raise to Spec, TP because of Closest. Because the internal argument of the adjectival passive is able to raise to Spec, TP in the inequality comparatives, however, and because Spec, TP is an A-bar position where default Case can be assigned, it evades the Case Filter violation that it incurred in the equative comparative.

### 3.4. *An Alternative Syntactic Account*

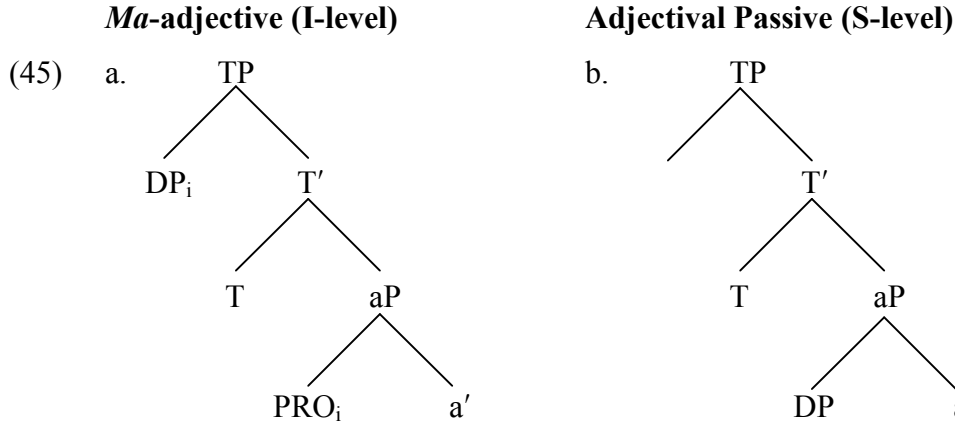
At this point, one might want to consider an alternative way to derive the contrast between *ma*-adjectives and adjectival passives in Tagalog that does not rely on the claim that adjectival passives are unaccusative. Such an alternative might be desirable from a cross-linguistic point of view, based on the observation (to be discussed in more detail shortly) that adjectival passives in many other languages apparently pattern as unergative predicates rather than as unaccusative predicates.

The alternative I will sketch here, but ultimately reject, involves the observation—noted earlier—that the two classes of adjectives contrast in a way that could reasonably be related to the Stage/Individual distinction of Carlson (1974) and others.

First, let us suppose that neither *ma*-adjectives nor adjectival passives accept internal argument DPs. Following proposals of Diesing (1992), let us suppose that the argument of a Individual-level predicate is a controlled PRO external argument,

<sup>11</sup> Tagalog evidently has no constructions where a PP occupies the subject position of the clause. For instance, there is no equivalent of the English Locative Inversion construction in the language.

bound to an overt DP which is base generated in the subject position of the clause. The argument of a Stage-level predicate, by contrast, is merged as a predicate internal external argument, which may—depending on language particular factors—raise to the subject position of the clause. Under this approach, *ma*-adjectives would have I-level syntax in (45a). Adjectival passives, on the other hand, would have the S-level syntax shown in (45b).



Adopting these structures for the moment, we can develop an account of at least the contrast between *ma*-adjectives and adjectival passives with respect to the impersonal constructions discussed in Section 3. Consider again the contrast between *ma*-adjectives and adjectival passives with respect to intensification involving *nápaka*-, as illustrated by the examples in (46) (repeated from Section 3 above):

- (46) a. *Nápaka-mahal ng presyo.* (*Ma*-adjective)  
           very-expensive NS price  
           ‘The price is *very* expensive.’
- b. \**Nápaka-basag ng salamin.* (Adjectival Passive)  
           very-broken NS mirror  
           (The mirror is *very* broken.)

The alternative account of this contrast based on the structural distinctions proposed in (45) runs as follows: As in Section 3, we might suppose that an overt DP argument contained within the projection of the predicate (i.e., not in Spec, TP) must be licensed in accordance with the Case Filter. For a *ma*-adjective, given the structure in (45a), the only argument within the aP projection is PRO. According to classic assumptions about the distribution of PRO (Chomsky 1981), it is limited to positions where Case is not assigned. Thus, the argument PRO in Spec, aP in (45a) is licensed by virtue of the absence of Case. (Thus, this analysis departs somewhat from the analysis in Section 3, in which it was claimed that inherent Case is assigned to Spec, aP.) The overt DP that binds the aP-internal PRO in (45a) occupies Spec, TP. By our earlier observations, which we can carry over to the alternative account, a DP in Spec, TP does not require Case by virtue of occupying an A-bar position. Thus, the DP in Spec, TP in

(45a) is licensed irrespective of whether it has been assigned Case clause-internally or not. Overall, then, sentences like (46a) are correctly accounted for as grammatical.

The alternative account just provided is like the one proposed in Section 3 in that it attempts to explain the contrast exemplified by such minimal pairs as (46) in Case-theoretic terms that are tied to the different structural relations between a *ma*-adjective and its argument on the one hand, and an adjectival passive and its argument on the other. However, while it seems to provide a coherent re-analysis of contrasts impersonal constructions like (41), it does not fair as well in dealing with the contrast we observed earlier involving comparative constructions. Consider the minimal pair in (47) (repeated from Section 3.4):

The problem for the alternative account based on the structures in (45) is this: Recall that in Section 3, we argued that the subject of an equality comparative occupies Spec, TP while the non-subject argument is predicate-internal. This means that in a sentence like (47a), the non-subject argument, *ni Elena*, must occur internal to the aP projection of the adjective. On the conjecture that adjectives are “external predictors”, the only predicate internal position for the adjective’s argument would be Spec, aP. However, it is crucial to the alternative being considered here that Spec, aP is not a Case position—as this is the assumption that provided the basis for ruling out the structure in (45b) and hence, the ungrammatical (46b) as well as (47b).

to the subject position of the clause. Hence, impersonal constructions like (46a) and equative comparative clauses like (47a) are grammatical. By contrast, the unavailability of a Case licensing position for adjectival passives meant that an argument originating there cannot remain there, but must raise to Spec, TP when possible. This accounted for the ungrammaticality of impersonal constructions like (46b) and equality comparatives like (47b), as subject raising is blocked in these context.

In sum, the alternative approach based on the structures in (45) does not account for the full paradigm of contrasts between *ma*-adjectives and adjectival passives that our earlier account in terms of the unergative/unaccusative distinction allowed us to account for. I conclude, therefore, that the unergative/unaccusative account is superior.

#### 4 Broader Implications

Up to this point, the discussion has centered on motivating an unaccusative analysis of adjectival passives in Tagalog. It was noted earlier on that from the point of view of a hypothesis like Baker's UTAH, the result that adjectival passives are unaccusative is rather unsurprising. Concretely, the semantic role of the sole DP argument of many adjectival passive corresponds to the semantic role of the internal argument of a related transitive verb. For instance, the subject of the sentence in (48a) seems to bear the same semantic role—namely, that of theme—as the object of the sentence in (48b).

- (48) a. Baság ang bote.  
broken s bottle  
'The bottle broke.'
- b. N-agbasag si Juan ng bote.  
AGR.ASP-broke S Juan NS bottle  
'Juan broke the bottle.'

If the UTAH is correct, then, the expectation as far as the syntax is concerned is that the subject of the sentence in (48a) originates as an underlying internal argument (i.e., as a "deep-structure" object) of the adjectival passive predicate. From the point of view of the evidence presented in Section 3, we now have reason to believe that this expectation is born out.

The picture becomes more interesting and surprising, however, when we place the Tagalog facts alongside the facts that have been reported regarding adjectival passives in other languages. Concretely, when tests for unaccusativity from other languages are applied to adjectival passives in those languages, adjectival passives appear to pattern as unergative predicates rather than unaccusative ones. Perhaps the most extensively documented, and—to my knowledge—unchallenged, case illustrating this claim comes from Hebrew (Borer and Gordzinsky 1986; Horvath and Siloni 2005: 5-7; Borer 2005).

In Hebrew, the ability of an argument to be construed in a possessive relation with a dative argument diagnoses unaccusativity. Concretely, an internal arguments (e.g., a direct object) but not external arguments may be stand in a possessor-possesse relation with a dative argument, as illustrated with the example in (49) (all Hebrew examples below are from Borer 2005: 40, 62).

- (49) ha-yeladim<sub>i</sub> xatxu le-Rani\*<sub>ilj</sub> ‘et ha-gader<sub>j</sub>.  
 the-children cut to-Rani ACC the-fence  
 ‘The children cut *Rani’s fence*.’  
 (not, *Rani’s children* cut the fence.)

The dative-possessive relation is not a simple matter of the surface subject/object distinction. As (50) shows, the surface subject of an unaccusative verb—e.g., a verbal passive—may stand in a possessed relation to the dative, establishing that the surface subject of an unaccusative is underlyingly an internal argument.

- (50) ha-‘uga<sub>i</sub> hunxa l-i<sub>i</sub> ‘al Sulxan.  
 the-cake placed(V.PASS) to-me on table  
 ‘My cake was placed on a table.’

Significantly, the surface subject of an adjectival passive cannot have a possessed interpretation in relation to a dative argument, as (51) shows, which strongly suggests that the adjectival passives surface subject is an external argument rather than an underlying internal argument.

- (51) \*ha-‘uga<sub>i</sub> munaxat l-i<sub>i</sub> ‘al Sulxan.  
 the-cake placed(A.PASS) to-me on table  
 (My cake was placed on a table.)

The patterning of adjectival passives as unergative rather than unaccusative has been reported on the basis of other languages as well. The list of languages include, at least, Italian (Burzio 1986; Cinque 1990); Russian (Pesetsky 1982); as well as English (Levine and Rappaport 1986). The evidence regarding adjectival passives in these languages has been taken as support for the general claim that adjectives fundamentally differ from verbs in that they are unexceptionally “external predictors”—that is, for the claim that adjectives never take internal arguments (see, in particular, Borer 1984, Levine and Rappaport 1986, and Baker 2003).<sup>12</sup> From what we have argued so far on the basis of Tagalog, we now know adjectives are not universally “external predictors”. The question that we now face is whether or not we can explain, in a principled way, why adjectival passives in Tagalog pattern in the way they do—as unaccusative—rather than in the way that adjectival passives in other languages pattern—as unergative. Below, I will suggest that there is a way to explain this variation in a principled way.

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<sup>12</sup> Although Cinque (1990) concurs with other authors that adjectival passives in Italian are unergative predicates rather than unaccusative, he denies the larger claim that adjectives are systematically unergative. In particular, he argues that there exists a large class of adjectives in Italian that are syntactically unaccusative.

#### 4.1. *The UTAH Problem*

Before we answer the cross-linguistic puzzle posed above, let us first consider a different problem posed by adjectival passives, relating—in particular—to the UTAH. Concretely, the fact that adjectival passives pattern as unergative in many languages is problematic for the UTAH, which predicts adjectival passives to be unaccusative. In particular, given that adjectival passives are related to transitive and passive verbs whose theme argument is realized underlyingly as an internal argument, then it ought to follow that the theme argument of an adjectival passive is an (underlying) internal argument as well. As discussed above, however, this expectation is not born out in all languages. I now outline two approaches to this problem.

*4.1.1. Abandoning the UTAH.* Borer (1998, 2005) argues that the unergative behavior of adjectival passives in languages like Hebrew presents strong evidence against the UTAH. She thus rejects a theory of argument structure that assumes the UTAH—so called “endo-skeletal” approaches to argument structure, and develops instead an alternative “exo-skeletal” approach to argument structure in which the projection of arguments is entirely independent of any lexical information.

According to Borer, unaccusative verbs (including passive verbs) and transitive change-of-state verbs are interpreted telic events (see also, Hoekstra 1984; van Valin 1990; Dowty 1991; Tenny 1992; among others). Telicity, she proposes, arises as a consequence of a specifier-head relationship between a DP (a theme argument) and a functional head,  $\text{Asp(ect)}_Q$  (Q for quantity). The projection of  $\text{Asp}_Q$  is necessary for a telic event interpretation, and the Spec,  $\text{Asp}_Q$  position is associated with all the properties associated with internal arguments. Adjectival passives, on the other hand, are atelic and stative. Thus, in the syntactic representation of a clause containing an adjectival passive,  $\text{Asp}_Q\text{P}$  is not projected. As such, there is no syntactic position associated with internal argument properties for the argument of an adjectival passive, and hence, the argument that is co-present in a clause containing an adjectival passive predicate (which, according to Borer, is generated directly in Spec, TP), exhibits proto-typical external argument properties. The fact that adjectival passives and, say, verbal passive differ in their argument structure properties (the former being unergative, the later unaccusative) thus arises as a consequence of their different aspectual properties.

Within Borer’s system, it seems that there is only one way in which adjectival passives could differ from one language to another in terms of their argument structure. Concretely, adjectival passives might pattern as unaccusative rather than unergative in a given language if their aspectual properties pattern with unaccusative or transitive change-of-state verbs—i.e., if they were telic and eventive predicates rather than stative predicates. Such an interpretation would be the result of a DP occupying Spec,  $\text{Asp}_Q$ , which is associated with internal argument properties (i.e., unaccusativity). This does not seem to be the right approach to the characterization of adjectival passives in Tagalog, however, as I will now attempt to show.

Adjectival passives describe a result state but not the activity by which the result state is achieved. Thus, it does not make much sense to classify them as telic predicates, as this term applies only to eventive predicates rather than to stative ones. We can illustrate the claim that adjectival passives are stative rather than eventive by observing

that eventive predicates in Tagalog, of the sort that describe an activity with an endpoint, may be modified by a phrase indicating the duration of the activity before the endpoint was reached (e.g., modifiers of the sort—in English—in *an hour*).

- (52) Sa loob ng isa-ng linggo matapos ang miting.  
 LOC head NS one-L week AGR.ASP.finish S meeting  
 ‘The meeting finished within a week.’  
 (=It took a week for the meeting to finish.)

As in English and other languages, stative predicates in Tagalog cannot co-occur with a modifier of this sort, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (53) where the stative verb *marunong* (‘know’) co-occurs with the modifier *sa loob ng isa-ng linggo* (‘in a week’).

- (53) \*Sa loob ng isa-ng linggo marunong ng Tagalog.  
 LOC head NS a-L week know NS Tagalog  
 (I know/knew Tagalog in a week.)

Significantly, adjectival passives also cannot co-occur with such a modifier, as the ungrammaticality of (54) demonstrates (compare to (52)).

- (54) \*Sa loob ng isa-ng linggo tapos ang miting.  
 LOC head NS a-L week finished S meeting  
 (The meeting is/was finished within a week.)

The contrast between (54) and (52) indicates that adjectival passives in Tagalog are stative rather than eventive. Thus, according to Borer’s syntactic characterization of unaccusativity, adjectival passives are predicted to be unergative predicates.

*4.1.2. Baker’s Resolution.* Baker (2003) offers a different approach to the UTAH problem, which attempts to resolve the problem while still maintaining the correctness of UTAH. His solution involves adopting a view of thematic roles in which thematic roles like *agent* and *theme* are always associated with specific syntactic configurations.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> This approach to the structure of simple transitives is similar to the approach presented in the work of Hale and Keyser (1993, 2002) (and see McCawley 1969 for precedent), though it differs in that thematic roles, while associated with specific syntactic configurations, are not defined with respect to these configurations. Other considerations lead to positing this type of structure as well. In particular, if one assumes Larson’s (1990) “shell-structure” view of triadic verbs such as *give*. Concretely, Larson (1990) (along with many others in the wake of Larson (1990)) assume that the dative argument of verbs in the *give*-class is the innermost argument of the verb (as in (i)) rather than an outermost argument (as in (ii)):

- (i) [<sub>VP</sub> V [<sub>VP</sub> the toy [<sub>V'</sub> give [<sub>PP</sub> to the child]]]]  
 (ii) [<sub>VP</sub> V [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>V'</sub> give the toy] [<sub>PP</sub> to the child]]]

First, Baker starts with claim that all adjectives are systematically incapable of combining with arguments on their own. This amounts to saying that adjectives are non-predicative, or—in more concrete semantic terms—that they are type <e> rather than type <e,t>.<sup>14</sup> In order for an adjective to acquire the ability to combine with an argument

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Since the dative (=goal) argument in (i) is the innermost complement of V, this leaves only the specifier position of VP as a location for the verb's theme argument. If this is the correct structure for triadic predicates like *give*, then according to the UTAH, the theme argument of even a simple dyadic verb such as *break* must also be realized as the Spec, VP.

I will argue in the following section (Section 4.4) against a VP-structure for Tagalog in which the theme argument of the verb is projected as a specifier of VP, as in (56). If these arguments are sound, the conclusion would seem to preclude a Larsonian analysis of triadic predicates in Tagalog. In general, the available evidence on triadic verbs in Tagalog is consistent with either Larsonian analysis or an analysis along the lines in (ii). It can be noted, however, that there is a significant distinction between an oblique argument that happens to be directly selected by a verb, and the oblique argument that occurs with triadic predicates. Concretely, the latter type of oblique (along with various PP adverbials)—but not the former—are may be extracted in apparent violation of the celebrated “Subject-only” restriction that is the hallmark of many “Philippine-type” languages. This is shown by the contrast in (iii)-(iv), from De Guzman (1986:65):

- (iii) *Sa akin nila i-binigay ang laruan.*  
 Obl me they(ns) agr-asp.give s toy  
 ‘To me, they gave the toy.’
- (iv) \**Sa bata’ ako n-agbantay.*  
 Obl child I(s) agr.asp-guard  
 ‘The child, I guarded.’

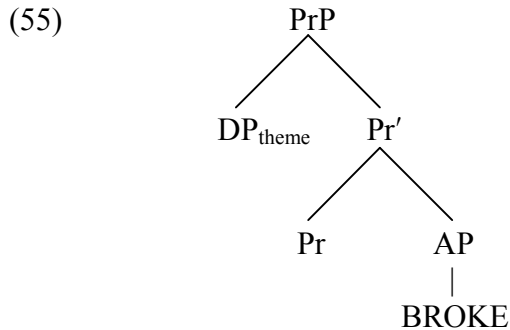
The contrast here could be explained—at least partly—in terms of a structural difference in the relation between the verb and the oblique argument. Concretely, if it is supposed that the extraction restriction in Tagalog prohibits any argument directly governed by the verb from extracting, then the possibility of extraction in (iii) might follow from the fact that the oblique (=the goal argument) is not directly governed by the verb, as the Larsonian analysis of triadic verbs would have it.

<sup>14</sup> Of course, there are adjectives (e.g., *afraid*, *upset*, etc.) that select oblique arguments. Baker's claim pertains specifically to the ability of an adjective to take an internal DP argument that bears a theme theta-role. Things are complicated, however, in the light of de-verbal adjectives formed with *-ive*. Consider the following:

- (i) Marjorie is supportive *of my proposal*.
- (ii) Evil examples are destructive to/of *the morals of youth*.
- (iii) It is also critical and corrective *of the inadequacies, omissions, and distortions of mainstream American education leading into the 21<sup>st</sup> century*.



(e.g., a theme DP), the adjective (or a projection thereof, rather) must first merge with a functional head—Pred(icate) (following Bowers 1993). Pred, according to Baker, is a syntactic head that is defined as having the function of Chierchia’s (1984) “up operator”. Its semantic function is to raise the type of a non-predicate of type  $\langle e \rangle$  into a predicate of type  $\langle e, t \rangle$ . Given these assumptions, the partial structure associated with an adjectival passive like *broken* would be as shown in (55).



On the one hand, Baker’s proposal simply represents one way of formalizing the claim that adjectives are, in Levine and Rappaport’s (1986) terms, “external predictors”. Plainly, the theme argument in (55) is an external argument in the strict sense that it is not an argument that is selected directly by the adjective.

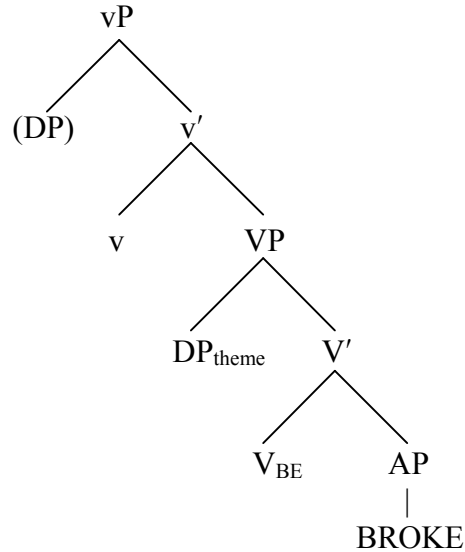
Assuming (55), Baker proposes to solve the UTAH problem posed by adjectival passives by adopting a more complex structure of VP than that which is traditionally assumed. Concretely, he adopts a structure for VP in which the theme argument of a verb is not the internal argument of a verb in the traditional sense (i.e., a direct complement of a verb), but rather in which it “severed” from the verb. The version of this proposal that Baker adopts places the theme argument of a verb like *break* in the specifier of a predicate forming element,  $V_{BE}$ , which has an AP (denoting the result state inherent in the meaning of the verb) as its complement, as shown in (56).<sup>15</sup>

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Regarding examples of this sort, Baker (2003:page) is forced to claim that the thematic role of the adjective’s argument is distinct from the thematic role of the corresponding verb’s direct object (cf. *Evil examples destroy the morals of youth.*) No independent evidence is offered to support this claim, however.

<sup>15</sup> This structure is not particularly novel to Baker’s work. In particular, it is related to the proposals of McCawley 1968, Dowty 1979, Parsons 1990, among others) in which event predicates (e.g., *break*) are semantically decomposed into an activity sub-event and a result/state sub-event. What is unique to Baker’s proposal is the proposal that this semantic decomposition is also represented syntactically (see also, Hale and Keyser 1993, 2002), something which the authors above did not explicitly assume.

(56)



What is crucial for Baker in adopting (56) is that the theme argument is projected in a configurationally uniform way with the theme argument in the structure in (55). Concretely, the theme argument of an adjective as well as the theme argument of a verb is projected in the specifier of a predicate forming head (Pred/V<sub>BE</sub>), which takes an AP complement. In this way, Baker claims that the UTAH is able to be maintained.<sup>16</sup>

#### 4.2. *Interim Discussion*

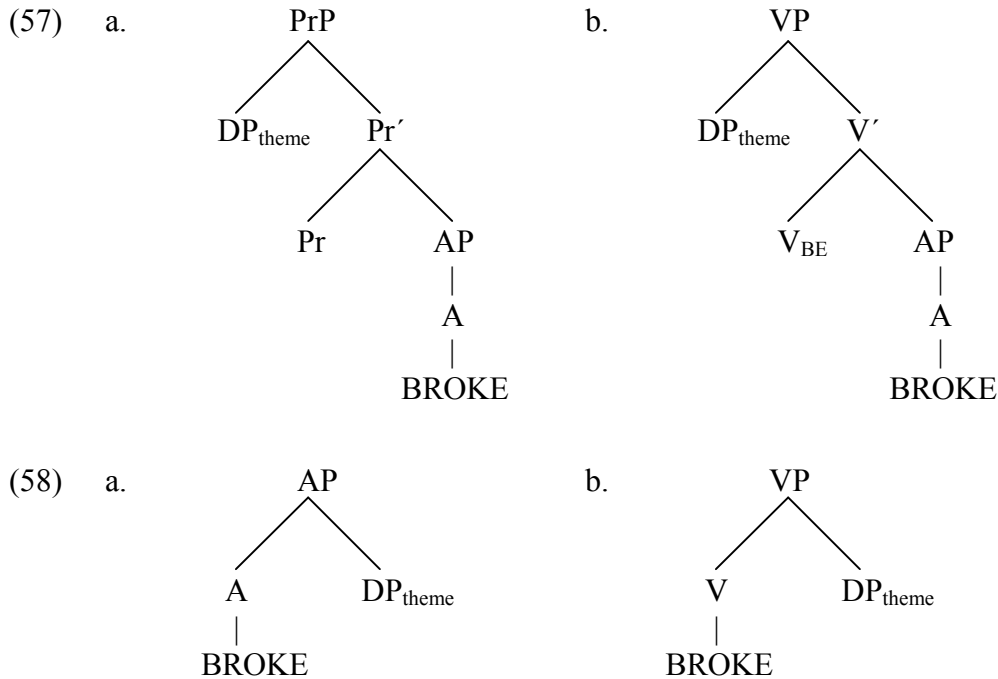
Baker's solution to the UTAH problem is particularly interesting because it opens up a way for explaining cross-linguistic variation in the domain of the argument structure of adjectival passives. Concretely, Baker's solution to the UTAH problem crucially depends on the independent availability of the VP-structure in (56) within the grammar of a language. If the VP-structure in (56) is not countenanced by the grammar of a particular language, on the other hand, then there would be no way to solve the UTAH problem posed by adjectival passives that pattern as unergative rather than unaccusative. The UTAH can still be respected in a language where (51) is not countenanced, on the other hand, if adjectival passives pattern as unaccusative rather than unergative. Of course, for this reasoning to be sound, we must assume that the UTAH (or whatever principles derive the UTAH) does not require the mapping of arguments onto syntactic structure to be uniform across-languages—rather, it simply requires the mapping to be uniformly consisting *within a language*. Suppose this is so.

Fleshing out these suggestions in more detail, let us suppose that UG makes two options available regarding the syntactic configuration in which a theme argument is

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<sup>16</sup> Note that according to this analysis, the theme argument is always an “external argument” in a narrow sense. I am leaving out of my exposition a demonstration of how the configurations in (55) and (56) still derive the major syntactic differences between internal and external arguments in a broad sense—e.g., relating to the Hebrew examples in (49-51). See Baker (2003:62-77) for a demonstration that such differences still follow.

projected. The theme argument of verbs and adjectives may be uniformly projected as the specifier of a Pred/V<sub>BE</sub> head, which takes an AP complement, as in (57) following Baker (2003). Alternatively, the theme argument for verbs and adjectives may be uniformly projected as the complement of V/A, as in (58). (For illustration, I use the predicate BROKE, with capitals used to abstract away from particular surface inflected forms.)



Theoretically speaking, there does not seem to be an issue of simplicity in the “choice” of (57) over (58). The option spelled out in (57) involves positing a more abstract syntax, but arguably involves simpler lexical representations because lexical items like *broke* do not need to be listed in the lexicon with information about the argument that they syntactically co-occur with. On the other hand, the option spelled out in (58) involves a simpler syntax, but more complex lexical representations since lexical items like *broke*—as both an adjective and as a verb—must have the fact that it co-occurs with a DP complement stipulated as part of its lexical entry.

Assuming the correctness of the UTAH, (57) and (58) can be the only options. In other words, there can be no language where the theme argument of an adjective occurs in the configuration in (57a) while the theme argument of a verb occurs in the configuration in (58b). Likewise, there can be no language in which the theme argument of an adjective occurs in the configuration in (58a) while the theme argument of a verb occurs in the configuration in (57b), and so on. This assumption has the important consequence that if, for example, the VP-structure in (57b) is not countenanced by the grammar of a given language, then the structure in (57b) will also be precluded. In such a language, the only option with respect to the syntactic configuration in which the theme argument is projected will be the one represented by the structures in (58). In such a language, in other words, adjectival passives will be predicted to be unaccusative.

Bringing Tagalog back into the discussion, we have now seen the evidence that adjectival passives are unaccusative and thus, have the argument structure representation

of (58a). If the suggestion sketched in the immediately preceding paragraphs is correct, we should now be able to explain why adjectival passives would have this structure and not the one in (57a) if we can also demonstrate that the VP-structure in (57b) is not an available structure in the grammar of Tagalog. We now turn to this task.

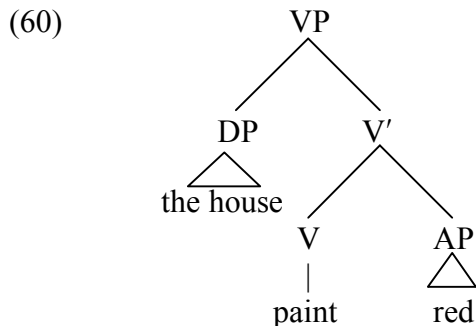
### 4.3. *VP-structure in Tagalog*

The difference between the structure in (57b) and (58b) is subtle enough that it is difficult to provide direct evidence that can decide which of these structures a language makes use of. However, there are three kinds of indirect evidence that can be used to argue that Tagalog does not countenance the more complex VP-structure in (57b).

*4.3.1. Resultative Constructions.* Structures analogous to (56) have been proposed in the analysis of various types of “complex predicate” constructions. Notably, the structure in (56) has been proposed as the structure that underlies resultative constructions in languages like English, as exemplified by sentences like (59).

- (59) a. John painted the house red. (complex predicate = *paint* + *red*)  
 b. John pounded the metal flat. (complex predicate = *pound* + *flat*)

The term “complex predicate” here refers to the particular analysis of these constructions, in which it is supposed that a main verb (e.g., *paint*, *pound*) combines with an AP complement denoting the result state that is achieved by the activity denoted by the main verb. Such an analysis is schematized in (60) (see, e.g., Hale and Keyser 1993, Embick 2003, Larson 1988, Marantz 1993, among others):<sup>17</sup>



What is unique about such constructions in English is that a bare adjective which serves as the result or depictive seem to combine with a verb via direct complementation rather

<sup>17</sup> With respect to Baker’s VP-structure, he proposes that the resultative predicate is head-adjoined to the lexical A projection that is the most deeply embedded projection with the verb phrase.

- (i) [<sub>VP</sub> John [<sub>V'</sub> v(Cause) [<sub>VP</sub> the house [<sub>V'</sub> V(BE) [<sub>AP</sub> [[<sub>A</sub> paint][<sub>A</sub> red]]]]]]]]

than adverbial modification. Observe, for instance, that the adjectives in (59) do not have the same type of distributional flexibility available to adverbs. Compare:

- (61) a. John (\*red) painted the house (red).  
 b. John (\*flat) pounded the metal (flat).  
 c. John (deliberately) painted the house (deliberately).

Significantly, Tagalog thus clearly contrasts with English in that resultative APs behave like adverbs rather than complements. This is evidenced first by the fact, seen in (62), that they exhibit positional freedom with respect to the verb, which true complements never do. Further evidence for their adverbial status comes from the fact that they can only be integrated into the clause by means of the linker element *na* (allomorph, *-ng*), which is generally responsible for joining adverbs to phrases but which does not—in general—have a role in introducing arguments.

- (62) a. Pula-ng *pininturah*-an ni Juan ang bahay.  
 red-L ASP.paint-AGR NS Juan S house  
 ‘Juan painted the house red.’  
 b. *Pininturah*-an na pula ni Juan ang bahay.  
 ASP.paint-AGR L red NS Juan S house  
 ‘Juan painted the house red.’

What this observation suggests is that Tagalog does not countenance structures of the type in (59), in which a lexical verb selects a bare lexical AP complement. But observe now that this is basically the same type of configuration posited by the articulated VP-structure in (56). To the extent that structures like (59) are ruled out, therefore, it stands to reason that structures like (56) will also be ruled out.

4.3.2. *Snyder’s Complex Predicate Constraint*. What type of constraint would rule out complex predicate structure like (59) and—by extension—(56)? Interestingly, the absence of “true” resultative constructions in Tagalog (i.e., of the English type involving the V+AP complement structure, rather than adverbial modification) is predicted on the basis of the claims and proposal reported in Snyder (2001).

Based on comparative findings as well as evidence from language acquisition, Snyder observes a significant correlation between the availability of complex predicate constructions like the English resultative construction and the availability of endocentric root compounds of the (cross-linguistically rare) type that do not require any overt morphological or syntactic connective. Thus, while English clearly allows such compound forms (e.g., *emergency-exit*), many other languages require a morphological or syntactic connective to combine items such as two nouns (e.g., in French, *sortie de secours*, ‘exit of emergency’). Significantly, Tagalog does not permit endocentric compounds of the English sort. When combining two nouns to form an endocentric compound, for instance, a linker is required. Consider the forms in (63).

- (63) a. mesa-ng sulatan  
table-L writing  
'writing table'
- b. awiti-ng bayan  
song-L nation  
'folk-song'
- c. mata-ng lawin  
eye-L hawk  
'hawk-eyes'

By Snyder's observed correlation, therefore, Tagalog is predicted not to countenance complex predicate structure like the English resultative construction. As we saw with respect to the examples in (62) above, this prediction is born out.

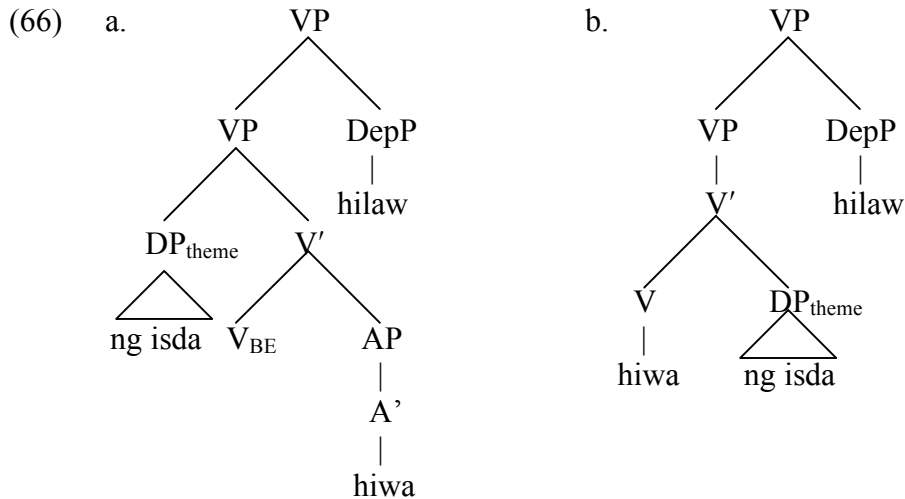
Snyder formalizes the correlation between endocentric compounding and complex predicate structure as an LF constraint, which he refers to as the *Complex Predicate Constraint*. Broadly speaking, he proposes that complex predicate structures of the sort in (61) can only be interpreted if the head of the complement (AP) combines with (in surface structure or at LF) the V head that selects it (e.g., by head-movement A-to-V), essentially forming an endocentric compound (cf. von Stechow 1996). Given this assumption, Snyder reasons that complex predicate structures will only be possible in a language that independently permits the formation of endocentric compounds in this manner, as evidenced by whether they allow endocentric compounds to be formed (as in English) without a morphological or syntactic connective. The important point, for our purposes, is that the absence in Tagalog of complex predicate structures of the English resultative type in (61) is consistent with and apparently predicted by Snyder's correlation. To the extent that we are equating structures like (61) with the VP-structure in (56), it follows that Snyder's correlation also predicts that Tagalog does not countenance the VP structure in (56).

Overall, then, the absence of both types of complex predicate structures is predicted and may very well follow from a deeper source (see Beck and Snyder 2001; and Beck 2005 for more in-depth discussion of the Complex Predicate Constraint and the type of structures it covers).

*4.3.3. Depictives.* One final observation that is relevant to this discussion is the observation that, while Tagalog allows subjects and non-subject external arguments to serve as controllers for depictive modifiers, true object depictives in which a non-subject direct object is predicated of the depictive modifier are not possible (Kroeger 1993, Nagaya 2003). The facts are exemplified by the paradigm in (64)-(65) (from Nagaya 2003). (64) shows that an external argument (whether it is the subject as in (64a) or a non-subject as in (64b) may be predicated of the depictive. (65) shows that a non-subject direct object may not be predicated of a depictive ((65a)) unless the direct object advances to subject as in (65b).

- (64) a. Lasing na *tumakbo* ang lalaki sa dagat. (External/Subject)  
 drunk L AGR.ASP.run S man LOC beach  
 ‘The man ran to the beach *drunk*.’
- b. Nakahubad na kina-in ni Juan ang hapunan. (External/Non-Subject)  
 naked L ASP.eat-AGR NS Juan S supper  
 ‘Juan ate the supper *naked*.’
- (65) a. \*Hilaw na *humiwa* ang lalaki ng isda. (Object/Non-Subject)  
 raw L AGR.ASP.cut S man NS fish  
 (The man cut *some fish raw*.)
- b. Hilaw na *hiniwa* ng lalaki ang isda. (Object/Subject)  
 raw L ASP.cut-AGR NS man S fish  
 ‘The man cut *the fish raw*.’

To understand this pattern, let us first assume the minimal condition on depictive predication that the argued predicated of the depictive must c-command the depictive (Williams 1980: 204; Hale and Keyser 2002: 164-168). Now contrast the two structures in (66), based upon the sentences in (65). The structure in (66a) is based on the articulated VP-structure in (56), in which the verb’s internal argument is the argument of a complex predicate consisting of  $V_{BE}$  plus a bare AP complement. The structure in (66b) is based on the more traditional VP structure in which the verb’s internal argument is the direct complement of the verb.



Comparing these two structures, we can see that in (66a) the verb’s theme argument c-commands the depictive—or rather, that the theme argument and the depictive mutually c-command one another. By contrast, the theme argument does not c-command the depictive in (66b). Of these two structure, only the one in (66b) precludes the depictive from being predicated of the object. If Tagalog countenanced the structure in (66a), crucially, we would incorrectly predict object depictive modification to be possible, contrary to the fact.

#### 4.4. Summary

There is, then, reason to believe that Tagalog does not countenance the kind of VP-structure proposed in (56). The available evidence suggests that VP-structure in Tagalog is, in fact, more minimal. Concretely, the theme argument of a verb apparently bears the structural relation to the verb that traditional approaches to VP-structure posit—namely, that of being a direct complement. To the extent that Tagalog argument structure conforms in an expected way given the UTAH, it follows that the theme argument of an adjectival passive (like that of a verb) must also be licensed as a direct complement—i.e., that adjectival passives must be unaccusative. Concretely, if adjectival passives instead had an unergative argument structure (based—for instance—on a structure like the one in (55)), then the argument structure of adjectives and verbs would not accord with the UTAH. Put in other terms, having adjectival passives with an unaccusative argument structure is the only way for the UTAH to be respected, once it is recognized that the VP-structure in (56) is independently unavailable (perhaps, because it is ruled out by a constraint like Snyder’s *Complex Predicate Constraint*).

## 5 Conclusion

This central proposal of this paper is that adjectival passives in Tagalog have an unaccusative argument structure. This proposal formed the basis for providing an explanation for the otherwise mysterious contrasts (documented in Section 3) between adjectival passives and *ma*-adjectives with respect to their (in)ability to serve as the main predicate of a clause when their sole DP argument is unable to advance to subject.

While the proposal is expected on the basis of hypotheses about argument structure such as Baker’s UTAH, it was also observed that the proposal—if correct—leads to the surprising conclusion that the argument structure of adjectival passives could vary from one language to another—in particular, with adjectival passives patterning as unaccusative in one language but unergative in another. It is perhaps worth noting now that this conclusion was anticipated by Cinque (1990) on the basis of Italian adjectives.

Cinque concurs with the claim of previous research on adjectival passives in Italian that they pattern as unergative rather than unaccusative. He argues at length, however, that unergative argument structure is not a defining property of adjectives—as some authors have suggested (see, in particular, Baker’s 2003 discussion). In particular, he argues that there is a class of adjectives (including, *noto* (‘well-known’), *chiar(o)* (‘clear’), *cert(o)* (‘certain’), *sicur(o)* (‘sure’), *oscur(o)* (‘obscure’), *probabil(e)* (‘probably’), *gradit(o)* (‘welcome’), among others) that pattern as unaccusative with respect to the range of diagnostics available in Italian for distinguishing unergative from unaccusative predicates. For him, the desideratum is thus to explain why adjectival passives pattern as unergative, given that it is unexpected for them to do so from the point of view of the UTAH and related hypotheses. He attempts to solve this problem by connecting the unergative behavior of adjectival passives to their specific participle morphology. Concretely, he proposes that the addition of adjective-forming participle morphology to a verb root blocks the ability of the verb root to assign a theta-role directly to its complement (thus, the adjectival passive’s argument must be generated directly in



the subject position, where it can be construed with the predicate via “predication” (Williams 1980)).

One could easily imagine an extension of Cinque’s proposal to the problem of accounting for the cross-linguistic difference among adjectival passives. Concretely, adjectival passives have no distinctive participle morphology in Tagalog. Drawing on Cinque’s proposal, therefore, one might suppose that adjectival passives in Tagalog differ from their Italian counterparts in that there is no “blocking” of theta-role assignment caused by this participle morphology. I have not taken this approach in the present paper. Instead, I proposed that an unergative argument structure for adjectival passives is ruled out, at least in part, as a consequence of the observations about VP-structure. Tagalog does not seem to countenance an articulated VP-structure in which the theme argument of a verb is projected as the “external argument” of a complex predicate consisting of the abstract light-verb (V(BE)) and its AP complement. Rather, the theme argument of a verb is simply a direct complement of the verb. Given this, if Tagalog adjectival passive were to pattern as unergative (as a consequence of a structure like (55)), then the theme argument would be projected in a configurationally non-uniform way for verbs and adjectives—something which, by hypothesis, UG must rule out.

One of the reasons I chose to offer this analysis rather than adopting a version of Cinque’s proposal is that it makes a somewhat more interesting prediction. Concretely, if my proposal to relate the argument structure of adjectival passives to VP-structure is on the right track, I generally predict that a language with unergative adjectival passives will also show positive evidence for the type of articulated VP-structure in (56). Testing this prediction is not a simple task, as it involves both careful scrutiny of unaccusativity diagnostics as well as sophisticated tools for probing VP-structure—a task that requires extensive knowledge of the particular languages being investigated, and is therefore beyond the scope of the present article to test this prediction.

Overall, my discussion of adjectival passives in Tagalog and Cinque’s discussion of argument structure properties of adjectives in Italian concur in arriving at a larger conclusion—namely, that the argument structure property of adjectival passives is not a consequence of their category status of adjectives any more than the argument structure of verbs is determined by category. In other words, since there is significant language internal as well as cross-linguistic difference in the argument structure of adjectives, it would seem inappropriate to connect the argument structure properties of a given class of adjectives to the category adjective (cf. Levine and Rappaport 1986; and Baker 2003). At the same time, I have attempted to show that the variation in the argument structure of adjectives is not random, but may in fact be linked to other syntactic properties of the language—namely, the structure of VP.

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