Specificity and Objecthood in Tagalog

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10/20/2012
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Abstract

This paper provides a comprehensive survey of the morphosyntax of transitive constructions in Tagalog focussing, specifically, on the relationship between specificity and the morphosyntactic strategies by which theme arguments are realized. Contrary to what previous studies have claimed, I show that specific noun phrases are attested as direct objects of active clause in Tagalog. An exception to this is pronoun and proper name themes, which must either be oblique marked to function as a direct object or be realized as a subject. Developing upon analyses in Rackowski (2002) and Rackowski & Richards (2005), I propose that the differential behavior of specific themes (pronoun/proper names on the one hand vs. non-pronoun/proper name specific themes on the other) follows from a clausal architecture in which there are at least two VP external positions to which specific themes must raise—a relatively high position for pronoun and proper name themes, and a position intermediate between vP and VP for all other specific themes. The distribution of syntactic positions available for the theme argument is claimed to follow from a proposal in Merchant (2006), pre-figured in Jelinek (1993) and in related work, that relational hierarchies of the type familiar from typological research—in particular, the definiteness hierarchy—are directly encoded in the phrase structure.

1 Introduction

This paper has two goals. The first is to provide a detailed survey of the morphosyntax of transitive constructions in Tagalog focussing, in particular, on the morphosyntax of the theme argument. This study will validate something that is already familiar from the Tagalog syntax literature—namely, that specificity plays a significant role in how theme arguments are morphosyntactically realized. However, it will also be shown that the attested morphosyntactic patterns are more complicated than existing descriptions of the language have yet recognized or for which theoretical analyses of the language are presently able to account for.

Existing analyses, primarily, have observed and attempted to account for the apparent fact that a non-specific theme must be expressed as the object of a ACTOR-SUBJECT sentence like (1), while a specific theme must be expressed as the subject of a THEME-SUBJECT sentence like (2) (Schachter & Otanes 1972:72, 75-76; Naylor 1976; Adams & Manaster-Ramer 1988, Maclachlan & Nakamura 1997, Richards 2000, Rackowski 2002, Mercado 2004, Aldridge 2004, 2005, 2006, 2012, Culwell-Kanarek 2005, Richards & Rackowski 2005, and others).

- (1) Bumili ang babae ng isda.
 PERF.ACT.buy SUBJ woman GEN fish
 'The woman bought (a) fish/*the fish.'
 (Aldridge 2012:194)
- (2) Binili ng babae ang isda.

 PERF.TH.buy GEN woman SUBJ fish

 'The woman bought the fish.'

 (Aldridge 2012:194)

Drawing primarily on naturally occurring examples, I aim to demonstrate that the morphosyntactic realization of the theme argument in Tagalog is more complex in a couple of ways. First, the realization of a theme as the subject of a theme-subject sentence like (2) (hereafter, THEME-EXTERNALIZATION) is differential in that it does not apply equally to all specific themes. Instead, it is obligatory for pronoun and proper name themes, but optional for other types of specific themes—namely, definite and specific indefinites. Second, in addition to theme-externalization, a specific theme may alternatively be expressed as an oblique marked object of an actor-subject sentence. This strategy for marking specific themes has occasionally been pointed out but has not received much attention. Of particular interest for this work is the observation that both strategies (theme-externalization and oblique marking) operate in a completely parallel way—both strategies are obligatory for pronoun and proper name themes but optional for definite and specific indefinite themes (and unattested for non-specific themes).

The second goal for this paper is to provide a formal account of these patterns. The analysis I will propose builds on the proposal by Rackowski (2002), which is pre-figured by the work of Diesing & Jelinek (1995) and Diesing (1997), that specific themes in Tagalog must externalize from the VP. For Rackowski, externalization of the theme from the VP targets the outermost specifier of vP (above the external argument) and this process is proposed to underly theme-externalization. I will propose that this process likewise underlies oblique marking for themes in actor-subject clauses.

A problem for the analysis, however, is that it is unable to account for the the differential behavior of pronoun and proper name themes on the one hand, and definite and specific indefinite themes on the other with respect to theme-externalization and oblique case marking. The solution to this problem that I will propose involves postulating a second syntactic position intermediate between vP and vP to which theme arguments raise. Given this, the main proposal will be that pronouns and proper names obligatorily raise to the higher of two positions which externalization of the theme from vP may target (roughly, the outermost specifier of vP), while non-pronoun/proper names (minimally) raise to the lower, intermediate, position. This distribution of positions to which the theme raises, I will suggest, flows from a particular formal integration of the the definiteness hierarchy in (3) into the architecture of the clause.

(3) DEFINITENESS HIERARCHY (Aissen 2003:437):

Pro > Proper name > Definite NP > Indefinite Specific NP > Non-Specific

In a broader context, then, this work aims to contribute to theoretical discussion of how relational hierarchies like (3), drawn primarily from typological research, might best be formally integrated into linguistics analysis of morphosyntactic patterns (see e.g. Jelinek 1993, Aissen 1999, 2003, Jelinek & Carnie 2003, Carnie 2005, Carnie & Nash 2006, Merchant 2006).

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 presents a brief background on Tagalog. Section 3 offers a detailed survey of the morphosyntax of theme arguments. Section 4 introduces Racwkoski (2002)'s analysis of Tagalog clause structure and suggests a modification to account for the facts presented in Section 3. Section 5 briefly discusses the relationship between the morphosyntax and semantic scope. Finally, in Section 6, I compare two analyses of the Tagalog facts which share the idea that the definiteness hierarchy in (3) can be formally integrated into linguistic description.

2 Tagalog Basics

Tagalog (Austronesian) is a head initial and predicate initial language. It allows predicates of any category type, and word order following the predicate is generally flexible. Simple active clauses may be realized in one of two ways, depending on which of the verb's arguments functions as the subject. In an ACTOR-SUBJECT clause ((1)), the external argument (i.e. the agent/experience) is the subject of the clause. In a THEME-SUBJECT clause ((2)), it is the verb's internal argument (i.e. the theme) that is the subject of the clause.¹

¹My use of the term "subject" (what other authors have referred to as the "topic") should be taken with a grain of salt. The "subject" in what I am referring to as the theme-subject sentence bears many of the properties that one would expect of a subject (e.g. relativizability, ability to associate with floating quantifiers, etc.) but other subject properties are retained by the external argument (e.g. ability to bind PRO, ability to antecede reflexives, etc.). In this sense, there is some change in the grammatical function of the theme argument between (1) and (2), but it is not a change that is as

Full noun phrases as well as proper names are marked by a case particle that precedes the noun phrase. Tagalog contrasts three cases, which I refer to here as GENITIVE, OBLIQUE and SUBJECT. The genitive case is an elsewhere case which marks the direct object of an actor-subject sentence, the agent argument of an theme-subject sentence, and possessors. The oblique case marks indirect objects in addition to certain types of direct objects (see 3.2). The subject case marks the subject of the clause.² Pronouns have distinctive case forms reflecting each of the three cases.

(4)	NON-PRONOMINAL CASE:				(5)	PRONOMINAL CASE:			
		GEN	OBL	SUBJ			GEN	OBL	SUBJ
	COMMON N	ng [nang]	sa	ang		1sg	ko	akin	ako
	PROPER N	ni	kay	si		2sg	mo	iyo	ka
						3sg	niya	kanya	siya
						•••	•••		

Genitive and subject pronouns do not co-occur with the corresponding case markers that mark full noun phrases (i.e. (*ng) niya, (*ang) siya). Oblique pronouns, by contrast, must in general co-occur with the corresponding case marker which also marks full noun phrases (i.e. *(sa) kanya). I take these facts to indicate that oblique case marker sa is a preposition while the genitive and subject case markers are instances of the category D(eterminer). Concretely, supposing that pronouns are also instances of the category D (Postal 1966), the fact that genitive and subject pronouns are in complementary distribution with their corresponding full noun phrase case markers follows since these belong to the same category. The non-complementarity of oblique pronouns and the full noun phrase marker sa follows, then, from the claim these belong to different syntactic categories. In short, oblique noun phrases are PPs, while genitive and subject noun phrases are DPs. This point will become important later on.

There is no definite article in Tagalog, and the best candidate for an indefinite article (*isa* ('a, one') is never obligatory. Modulo the presence of an obligatory case marker, noun phrases in Tagalog are therefore often bare nominals and ambiguous with respect to whether they are interpreted as indefinite (specific or non-specific) or definite. This fact is the starting point for the investigation to which we now turn.

clear-cut as with other grammatical function changing operations like passive. Thus, I ascribe to the "symmetric voice" view according to which (1) and (2) are both transitive sentences (Kroeger 1993, Foley 1998, Ross 2002; Cf. Aldridge 2004). My use of the term "subject" is thus largely for expository convenience.

²These terms refer to morphological case rather than abstract Case. With respect to abstract Case that underlies the "subject case", it is not crucial to the discussion whether it is taken to be Nominative, Absolutive, or some type of Topic-related Case.

3 Specificity and the Morphosyntax of the Theme

As mentioned in the introduction, much current work on Tagalog syntax asserts that if the theme argument of a transitive verb is specific, then it must be realized as the subject of a theme-subject sentence—or, equivalently, that the object of an actor-subject sentence must be non-specific. The evidence that is cited for the existence of this SPECIFICITY RESTRICTION is typically based on the elicited interpretation of an actor-subject sentence containing two unmarked nominals compared to a theme-subject sentence containing the same two unmarked nominals. The reported fact, as exemplified in sentence pairs like (1) and (2), is that the theme argument is *interpreted* non-specifically in actor-subject sentences and specifically in theme-subject sentences. Few studies, however, have gone much farther with the investigation to ask whether noun phrases that are explicitly marked as specific in some way may actually *occur* as the direct object of an actor-subject sentence. In other words, while previous work seems to tacitly assume a negative answer to this question, none to my knowledge have actually demonstrated that an unambiguously specific noun phrase (e.g. one containing a demonstrative, or some other marking of specificity) cannot function as a direct object in an actor-subject sentence.³

The main goal of this section is to broaden the empirical base surrounding the issue of the relationship between specificity and the morphosyntactic realization of theme arguments in transitive constructions. We will see, on the one hand, that specific direct objects are in fact attested in actor-subject sentences, contra the expectations of the specificity restriction. On the other hand, we will see that specificity does still play an important role in how theme arguments are realized, but in a more intricate way than previous studies have yet to observe.⁴

Many authors make a distinction between different types of specificity. Farkas (1994), for example, argues that at least three types of specificity should be distinguished: EPISTEMIC, PARTITIVE, and SCOPAL specificity. Epistemic specificity is usually defined with respect to speakers knowledge. An indefinite that is specific in this sense is one which makes reference to an entity that is known by the speaker or is otherwise inherently identifiable. Partitive specificity relates to an existence presupposition of a set denoted by a noun in a (quantificational) noun phrase (e.g. the specific use of *some ghosts* presupposes the existence of ghosts). Scopal specificity is defined in terms of an indefinite's interpretation outside the scope of an operator such as an intensional verb (e.g. *want*), a modal, or negation. The Tagalog examples discussed in this can, to a good approximation, be characterized as specific either because they are definite, or because they are specific in one of the above mentioned senses of the terms.

³A precise definition of SPECIFICITY is a matter of much (and sometimes controversial) discussion in the syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic literature (Fodor & Sag 1982, Enç 1991, Farkas 1994, von Heusinger 2002, Ionin 2009, among others). However, all authors who have attempted to give a precise definition of the notion of specificity make a distinction between specificity and definiteness. Definite noun phrases are those which are familiar and identifiable to both speaker and hearer, and which are usually associated with a presupposition of existence and uniqueness (Heim 1991). Specific noun phrases carry a presupposition of existence, but not necessarily one of uniqueness and they are not required to be familiar and identifiable to both speaker and hearer (though they are usually assumed to be identifiable with the speaker). Definite noun phrases are therefore always specific, but specific noun phrases are not necessarily definite. Hence, it is common in the literature to refer to "specific indefinites" as opposed to "non-specific indefinites". Non-specific indefinites differ from specific indefinites in that they do not carry an existence presupposition and they are not normally familiar to either speaker or hearer.

⁴The majority of examples to be discussed are naturally occurring examples collected over several months via the web. Each such example is followed by a tag (e.g. A1, A2, etc.) which corresponds to a citation of the source of the

3.1 Specific (genitive) objects in actor-subject sentences

3.1.1. DPs containing demonstratives

In the following examples, the theme argument is modified the proximal demonstrative *ito* ('this'). In each example, the theme argument is realized as a genitive marked direct object of a (transitive) actor-subject sentence.⁵

- (6) At kaya gusto ko-ng manalo ng award na ito and so want 1SG(GEN)-COMP INF.ACT.win GEN award LK this 'And so I want to win this award [=Comedy actress award]' (A1)
- (7) ako ay natulog, kumain, nagbukas nitong kampyuter, 1SG(SUBJ) AY PERF.ACT.sleep PERF.ACT.eat, PERF.ACT.open this(GEN).LK computer nanood ng telebisyon, natulog uli
 PERF.ACT.watch GEN telivision PERF.ACT.sleep again
 'I slept, ate, opened this computer, watched television, and then went back to sleep again.'
 (A2)
- (8) ...at naka-kita nitong dakilang pangitain, at nawalan ako ng and PERF.ACT-see this(GEN).LK great.LK vision and PERF.ACT.loose 1SG(SUBJ) GEN lakas.

 strength

 '(When I was left alone) I saw this great vision and lost (my) strength.' (A3)
- (9) Kung *nagbabasa* sila *nitong blog ko*, at nakita if IMPERF.ACT.read 3PL(SUBJ) this(GEN).LK blog 1SG(GEN) and PERF.TH.see nila ang pics, pwes, kilala na nila ako.

 3PL(GEN) SUBJ pic then know PART 3PL(GEN) 1SG(SUBJ)

 'If they have been reading my blog (lit. this blog of mine) and have seen (my) pictures, then they know who I am.' (A4)
- (10) Kaya nga ayaw ko sana-ng *magsusuot nitong mask namin* dito so PRT not.like 1SG(GEN) PART-COMP FUT.ACT.wear this(GEN).LK mask 1PL here sa work kung hindi lang talaga maalikabok LOC work if not just really dusty 'I wouldn't like wearing this mask here at work were it not for it being really dusty (...because it might accentuate the size of my nose).' (A5)

Example (6) is perhaps the clearest case where the demonstrative contributes a definite meaning to the noun phrase. This example occurs in a context in which several actresses who were nominated

example provided in the appendix. All examples were "vetted" by one or more native speaker who also provided helped with the translations. In general, despite the expectation raised by previous research relating to the specificity restriction, consultants judged most of the sentences to be grammatical and fairly ordinary.

⁵In these and the examples throughout this paper, the relevant portion of the example illustrating the occurrence of an actor-subject clause with a specific direct object has been italicized.

for a comedy-actress award are being interviewed about why they hope to win the award. In this context, then, the referent of the direct object (*award na ito* 'this award') is clearly unique and known to both the speaker and the hearer.

For other examples, for instance (8), the use of the demonstrative might better be described as having a "presentative" use in which the speaker has a specific referent in mind even though this referent may not be known to the hearer (see von Heusinger 2011, Ionin 2006:187, Prince 1981). In this sense, the direct object in (8), while not strictly definite, is presumably specific nevertheless. It is less clear whether the demonstrative in the remaining examples ((7), (9), (10)) are being used in a definite or in a similarly presentative way. Either way, however, the use of the demonstrative appears to mark the noun phrase as specific.

3.1.2. Possessed DPs

The theme argument in the next set of examples is a possessed DP. Once again, the theme argument in each example is realized as a genitive marked direct object of an actor-subject clauses.⁶

- (11) Hindi ba kayo *nagkita ng asawa ni Col. Adante*? not Q you PERF.ACT.meet GEN spouce GEN Col. Adante 'Have you not met Col. Adante's wife?' (A6)
- Hayaan ninyo-ng magbahagi ako ng isang sariling karanasan let 2PL(GEN)-COMP INF.ACT.share 1SG(SUBJ) GEN one.LK self.LK experience upang tulung-an ang sinumang naka-darama ng kirot kapag... in.order INF.help-OBL SUBJ anyone.LK PARF.ACT-feel GEN pain when 'Allow me to share a personal experience in order to help anyone who has felt pain when...' (A7)
- (13) Hindi matanda-an ni Noel kung saan at kailan sila *nagkita ng* not remember-OBL GEN Noel COMP where and when 3PL(SUBJ) PERF.ACT.meet GEN *pintor na kaibigan ni Allyssa* na siyang *gum*uhit sa larawang ito. painter LK friend GEN Allyssa LK the.one.LK PERF.ACT.drew OBL picture.LK this 'Noel can't remember where or when they met Allyssa's painter friend who drew this picture.' (A8)
- (14) Agad-agad akong tumakbo sa banyo at naghugas ng immediately 1SG(SUBJ).LK PERF.ACT.ran LOC bathroom and PERF.ACT.washed GEN aking mukha...

 1SG(OBL).LK face
 'I immediately ran to the bathroom and washed my face.' (A9)

⁶Possessors in Tagalog typically occur post-nominally and are realized in the genitive case. Pronominal possessors may pre-nominally (as in (14) and (15)). Pre-nominal pronominal possessors are realized in the oblique form.

(15) Pagkaraa'y isa-isang *nagbasa ng kanilang tula* ang aking then.AY one-one.LK PERF.ACT.read GEN 3SG(OBL).LK poem SUBJ 1SG(OBL).LK mga estudyante.

PL student

'Then, one by one, my students read their poems.' (A10)

Possessed DPs are typically construed as definite (and hence, specific) in many languages. However, some languages also apparently permit indefinite possessed DPs. Indeed, examples like (16) also establish that there are truly indefinite and non-specific possessed DPs in Tagalog. Here, the possessed DP functions as a predicate and in this context therefore simply names a property (which, in the example, is attributed to the speaker) but plainly does not itself refer to a specific individual.

(16) Bilang [isang anak ng isang cancer patient] at [isang alagad ng science], minarapat as.LK a.LK child GEN a.LK cancer patient and a.LK student GEN science pleased kong i-bahagi ang aking kaalaman ukol sa sakit na 1SG(GEN).LK INF.TH-share SUBJ 1SG(OBL).LK knowledge about OBL sick LK CANCER.

cancer

'As a cancer patient's child (i.e. a child of a cancer patient), and a student of science, I am pleased to be able to share my knowledge about cancer.' (A11)

The fact that there are non-specific possessed DPs in Tagalog does not, of course, entail that all possessed DPs in Tagalog are non-specific. The issue of the interpretation of possessed DPs has been raised before by Adams & Manaster-Ramer (1988:94), who cite a number of examples that are similar to those provided in in (11)-(15).

- (17) a. M-aglalaba ang babae *ng medyas niya*.

 FUT.ACT-will.wash SUBJ woman GEN nylons 3SG(GEN)

 'The woman will wash her nylons.'

 (Ramos 1974:108)
 - b. N-agbasta ako *ng aking damit*.

 PERF.ACT-pack 1SG(SUBJ) GEN 1SG(OBL).LK clothes 'I packed up my clothes.'

 (Based on Bloomfield 1917:232)
 - c. N-amaso siya *ng daliri ng kapwa niya bata*.

 PERF.ACT-scorch 3SG(SUBJ) GEN finger GEN fellow 3SG(GEN) child 'He scorched his playmate's finger.'

 (Bloomfield 1917:240)

Regarding examples like this, Adams & Manaster-Ramer (1988:95) suggest that "[t]hese Tagalog sentence describe actions affecting some entity without specificying the extent to which that

entity is involved or whether that entity is uniquely identifiable". They then conclude on the basis of this observation that the direct objects of these sentences are not definite. Adams & Manaster-Ramer do not consider, however, whether the possessed DPs in their examples could be construed as indefinite but specific. In example (12), for instance, it is relatively clear that the possessed DP is not definite, but it is plainly specific (the speaker clearly has a (specific) experience from his/her life in mind, which s/he intends to share). In (11), the possessed DP *ng asawa ni Col. Adante* ('Colonel Adante's wife') is presumably definite. Assuming that Col. Adante has only one spouse, the referent of the possessed DP presumably has a unique referent (a sign of definiteness). Furthermore, sentence (11) is a polar question that could only be felicitous if the speaker presupposes that Col. Adante in fact has a wife.⁷ The possessive noun phrase in (14) also is clearly specific for much the same reason, perhaps even more clearly so by virtue of the fact that possessive relationship is one of inalianable possession (this is true also for Adams & Manaster-Ramer's example in (17c)).

The possessed DP in example (13) is also decidedly specific, if not fully definite. In this example the possessed noun (*kaibigan* 'friend') is modified by the relative clause *na siyang gumuhit sa larawang ito* ('who drew this picture'). Of particular interest here is the pronominal form *siya* that occurs within the relative clause. This pronominal, which is homophonous with the third person singular subject pronoun, is as close to a formal marker of definiteness as there could be in Tagalog. It is usually translated as 'the one', and always conveys uniqueness. It is commonly used, for instance, in specificational copular clauses like (18) where it conveys (in the context in which such a sentence is uttered) that Maria is the (one and) only doctor.

(18) Si Maria ang siyang doctor.

SUBJ Maria SUBJ the.one.LK doctor.

'Maria is the doctor.'

The presence of this pronominal in the relative clause that modifies the noun phrase of the possessed DP in (13) is therefore a particularly clear indication that the possessed noun is referring to a single (unique) and identifiable individual—i.e. that the possessed DP is specific.

3.1.3. Ordinal and superlative modifiers

The following examples involve another set of transitive actor-subject sentences in which the theme argument is specific and is realized as a genitive marked direct object. For this set of examples, the relevant marker of specificity is an ordinal modifier ((19)-(21)) or a superlative modifier ((22)-(23)).

⁷Some speakers were reluctant to categorically rule out an interpretation in which (11) is asking whether or not Col. Adante in fact *has* wife. These speakers noted, however, that the most natural way to express this intended meaning would be to use a possessive construction: *May asawa ba si Col. Adante?* ('Does Col. Adante have a wife?').

- (19) Ang paaralan ay *nakapagtapos* ng kanilang unang batch ng law graduates s school AY PERF.ACT.finish GEN 3PL(OBL).LK first.LK batch GEN law graduates noong 2008.

 in 2008
 'The school graduated (lit. finished) its first batch of law graduates in 2008.' (A12)
- Nanalo si Batumbakal ng unang gantimpala sa isang timpalak ng PERF.ACT.win SUBJ Batumbakal GEN first.LK prize LOC one.LK contest GEN magasin na Taliba noong 1937 para sa kanyang kwentong "Busilak ng magazine LK Taliba in.LK 1937 for OBL 3SG(OBL).LK story.LK "Busilak ng Sampaguita" Sampaguita"

 'B. won first prize in a contest of the Taliba magazine in 1937, for his story "Busilak ng Sampaguita" (A13)
- ...nagkamit ng ikalawang gantimpala si Kevin Bryan Marin para sa PERF.ACT.receive GEN second.LK prize SUBJ Kevin Bryan Marin for OBL kanyang "Por Kilo"...
 3SG(OBL).LK "Por Kilo"
 'Kevin Bryan earned the second prize for his "Por Kilo" (a poem)' (A14)
- (22)mundo, ang taong 2008 ay nakapagbigay Sa buong LOC whole.LK world SUBJ year.LK 2008 AY PERF.ACT.brought.forth GEN pinaka-mahirap na "challenge", ang pagbagsak ng ekonomiya na naging most-difficult LK challenge SUBJ collapse GEN economy LK PERF.ACT.become dahilan ng "recession" sa maraming bansa, kung saan ang problemang ito ay reason GEN recession LOC many.LK country COMP where SUBJ problem.LK this AY lubos na nakaapekto sa taong 2009. fully still PERF.ACT.having-effect LOC year.LK 2009 'Worldwide, the year 2008 has brought forth the most difficult challenge—(namely,) the economic collapse that has become the reason for recession in many countries, where this problem is still having a full effect in the year 2009' (A15)
- (23) Maswerte na nga ako sa buhay ko at *nakapag-asawa* lucky now really 1SG(SUBJ) OBL life 1SG(GEN) and PERF.ACT.happen.to-marry ako *ng pinaka-magandang lalaki sa balat ng lupa*.

 1SG(SUBJ) GEN most-beautiful.LK man LOC whole GEN earth.

 'Im really lucky in my life now and I happened to marry the most beautiful/wonderful man on the whole earth.' (A16)

Ordinal and superlative modifiers normally presuppose a unique set of entities denoted by the nouns that they modify. The function of these modifiers is to then order these entities (e.g. from first to last, or from best to worst) and then to pick out a single entity from the set. Since the set of entities denoted by the noun that is modified by ordinal or superlative is presupposed, so too typically will the reference of the entity that the ordinal or superlative picks out from this set. In this

sense, DPs which contain an ordinal or superlative modifier are specific.8

3.1.4. Specificity modifers

Transitive actor-subject sentences may also contain genitive marked direct objects that are modified by an adjective that quite explicitly marks the noun it modifies as specific. Consider the following examples, in which the theme argument of each functions as an actor-subject clause direct object and is modified by the specificity modifier *tiyak* ('specific') or *partikular* ('particular').

- (24)Maaari ka-ng gumamit ng tiyak na mga site na ito bilang bahagi 2SG(GEN)-COMP INF.ACT.use GEN specific LK PL sites LK this as can part pananaliksik upang mahanap ang perpektong hotel para sa GEN 2SG(OBL).LK research for INF.PSV.find SUBJ perfect.LK hotel for OBL iyo 2sg(obl) 'You can use these specific sites as part of your research into finding the perfect hotel for you.' (A17)
- Parehong mga genes ay kasangkot sa pagpoproseso ng RNAs mensahero, na same.LK PL genes AY involved OBL processing GEN RNAs messanger LK nagdadala ang genetic code upang gumawa ng partikular na mga IMPERF.ACT.carry SUBJ genetic code in.order INF.ACT.make GEN particular LK PL proteins.

 proteins

 'The same genes are involved in the processing of the RNA's (mensahero), which the genetic code carries in order to make specific proteins.' (A18)
- Ang mga pinagmulan ng lahi mula sa aklat ng Genesis, higit sa lahat mula sa SUBJ PL origin GEN race from OBL book GEN Genesis more LOC all from OBL ika-5 at ika-11 na mga kabanata, ay nagpapakita ng tiyak na talaan ng 5th and 11th LK PL chapters AY PERF.ACT.show GEN specific LK record GEN kasaysayan ng sangkatauhan sa mundong ito.

 history GEN mankind LOC planet.LK this 'The origins of the human race from the book of Genesis, particularly from the 5th and 11th chapters, gives a specific record of the history of mankind on this planet.' (A19)

⁸See Heim (1999) for more formal treatments of ordinal and superlative modifiers. A noun phrase modified by an ordinal or superlative modifier can be interpreted non-specifically in certain contexts, such as when they occur within the scope of an intentional predicate or a quantificational adverb. For instance, in a sentence like *I want the smallest cat*, or *I rarely pet the smallest cat*, a non-specific interpretation is available for the direct object. In general, though, such non-specific interpretations are only available in these types of contexts. Crucially, none of the direct object in the examples in (19)-(23) appear under the scope of an intentional verb or quantificational adverb.

- (27) Karamihan sa mga internasyonal na kalakalan transaksyon ay *nangangailangan* most OBL PL international LK trade transaction AY IMPERF.ACT.require *ng tiyak na mga dokumento na transportasyon, administrative mga dokumento*, GEN specific LK PL document LK transportation administrative PL document *komersyal na mga dokumento at Seguro dokumento*. commercial LK PL document and insurance document 'Most international trade transactions require specific transportation documents, commercial documents, and insurance documents.' (A20)
- (28)Pagkatapos mahawa-an ng HIV ang isang tao, ang kanyang katawan ay INF.infect-TH GEN HIV SUBJ one.LK person SUBJ 3SG(OBL).LK body after lilikha ng tiyak na "antibody" (o mga selula sa dugo na or PL cell FUT.ACT.create GEN specific LK antibody OBL blood LK nililikha ng katawan upang laban-an ang mga mikrobyo at birus). IMPERF.TH.create GEN body in.order INF.fight-OBL SUBJ PL germs and virus 'After a person is infected by HIV, their body will produce specific antibodies (or blood cells that the body produces in order to fight germs and viruses).' (A21)

3.1.5. Anaphoric antecedents

A classic feature that is often cited as the basis for contrasting specific indefinite and non-specific indefinite noun phrases is the ability of the former but not the latter to serve as the antecedent for a pronominal anaphor (Kartunnen 1968, 1976, Fodor & Sag 1982). In the following set of examples, which consist of two separate clauses, a theme argument realized as a genitive marked direct object in the first clause appears to serve as an antecedent for an anaphor (italicized) in the second clause. As this is classic behavior of specificity, these examples provide yet a further example illustrating that a specific theme may be expressed as a (genitive marked) direct object in an actor-subject clause.

Ang mga tagasaliksik ay [naka-kita [ng isang bagong paraan upang SUBJ PL researcher AY PERF.ACT-detect GEN one.LK new.LK way for matuklas-an kung mayroong prostate cancer ang isang lalake]₁]. Ito₁ ay to.find.out-OBL if exist.LK prostate cancer SUBJ one.LK man. It AY i-sinulat sa British journal na Nature.

TH-PERF.write-up LOC British journal LK Nature 'Researchers have found a new way to detect if a man has prostate cancer₁. It₁ was written up in the British journal of nature.' (A22)

- (30)[Tumanggap ako [ng tawag]₁] mula sa kapatid ko sa PERF.ACT.recieved 1SG(SUBJ) GEN call from OBL sibling 1SG(NS) LOC Pampanga, at sinabi niya-ng p*um*anaw na ang minamahal Pampanga and PERF.ACT.say 3SG(GEN)-COMP PERF.ACT.die PART S beloved kuya. Napakulungkot ng balitang iyon₁, subalit... kong 1SG(GEN).LK brother very-sad GEN news.LK that but... 'I received a call₁ from my sister in Pampanga and she said that my beloved brother had died. This news₁ was very said, but...' (A23)
- (31)Isang araw, habang nangangahoy si Mang Kandoy, [naka-kita ito one-LK day while IMPERF.ACT.gather-firewood S Mang Kandoy PERF.ACT-see this [ng isang kweba sa gitna ng kagubatan]₁]. "Tila ngayon ko GEN one.LK cave LOC middle GEN wood seems now 1sG(GEN) just ang kwebang ito₁" wika niya napans-in sa kanyang sarili. PERF.notice-TH S cave.LK this saying 3SG(GEN) OBL 3SG(OBL).LK self "One day while Mang Kandoy was out gathering firewood, he happened to see a cave₁ in the middle of the woods. "It seems I have only just noticed this cave₁", he said to himself.' (A24)
- (32) Isang araw bago ang kaarawan ni papa [naka-kita ako [ng one.LK day before SUBJ birthday GEN father PERF.ACT-saw 1SG(SUBJ) GEN paru-paro]₁, kulay puti ito₁.

 butterfly color white this 'One day before (my) Father's birthday, I saw a butterfly₁. It₁ was white.' (A25)
- "Ah, ang aming komunidad ay [gumagawa [ng isang magandang "Ah, SUBJ our.LK community AY IMPERF.ACT.make GEN one.LK beautiful.LK istraktura]₁]," sagot niya. "Ito₁ ay maluwag at maganda at malakas." building" said 3SG(GEN) It AY roomy and beautiful and strong" "'Ah, our community is building a beautiful building₁", he said. "It₁ is roomy and beautiful and strong." (A26)

Consider next the examples in (34)-(35). Like the preceding examples, these examples show the ability of a formally indefinite theme, expressed as the direct object of an actor-subject sentence, to antecede an anaphor in a following clause. An additional point of interest with these examples, though, is that the direct object that is the antecedent for the anaphor is contained in a clause that is itself embedded under an intentional verb (*gusto* 'want' in (34) and *kailangan* 'must' in (35)). The fact that the indefinite direct object in these examples is an antecedent for an anaphor indicates that they scope over the intentional verb—i.e. that they are scopally specific.

- [Gusto ko-ng [mag-asawa [ng isang Muslim kapatid na lalaki]₁]].
 want 1sG(GEN)-COMP INF.ACT-marry GEN one.LK Muslim brother LK man
 Siya₁ ay 36 taon at dumating mula sa Algeria. Ako ay 18.
 3sG(SUBJ) AY 36 year and PERF.ACT.come from LOC Algeria I AY 18.
 'I want to marry a Muslim man₁. He₁ is 36 years old and is from Algeria. I am 18.' (A27)
- ng CIW Security Analyst sertipikasyon, [kailangan (35)Upang maka-kuha in.order INF.ACT.be.able.to-get GEN CIW Security Analyst certification must [kumuha [ng dalawang pagsusulit]₁]]]: ang isa₁ ay sapilitan 2SG(GEN)-COMP INF.ACT.take GEN two.LK exam: SUBJ one AY required Core pagsubok, ibig-sabihin CIW pundasyon 1D0-510 at iba pang sertipikasyon CIW foundation ID0-510 and other PART.LK certification Core exam namely ng iba't-ibang mga vendor. GEN other.and-other.LK PL vendor 'In order to obtain CIW Security Analyst certification, you must take two tests₁: One₁ is a required test—namely, the CIW foundation ID0-510, and another certification from different vendors.' (A28)

3.2 Pronouns and Names

We have thus far seen numerous instances where a specific theme argument is realized as a genitive marked direct object of an actor-subject sentence, contra what is predicted to be possible given the specificity restriction. There is, however, an important residue of the specificity restriction. Namely, if the theme argument is a pronoun or a proper name, it is never realized as a genitive marked direct object.

- (36) a. *Bakit mo kumagat niya?
 why you PERF.ACT.bite 3SG(GEN)
 (Why did you bite him?)
 - b. *Isa-isa kaming bumangon para humalik ni Mommy.
 one-one we-LK got.up for INF.ACT.kiss GEN Mommy
 (One by one we got up to kiss Mommy.)

There are, however, two options for expressing a sentence with an pronoun/proper name theme. One of these options is for the theme to be realized as the subject of a theme-subject clause as in (37).

- (37) a. Bakit ka kinagat siya? why you(GEN) PERF.TH.bite 3SG(SUB) 'Why did you bit him?'
 - b. Isa-isa kaming bumangon para halik-an si Mommy. one-one we.LK got.up for INFkiss-TH SUBJ Mommy 'One by one we got up to kiss Mommy.'

A second option, one that has been less frequently recognized in the literature, is for the pronoun/proper name theme to be realized as an oblique marked object of an actor-subject clause. Some attested examples illustrating this pattern are given in (38) (for pronouns) and (39) (for proper names).

(38) a. Sinubuk-an kong MySpace para sa unang pagkakataon ngayon at noon PERF.try-TH 1SG(GEN) MySpace for OBL first.LK time now and then ay talagang impressed gaano karaming mga tao ay nagdagdag sa akin AY really.LK impressed how much.LK PL person AY PERF.ACT.add OBL me bilang isang kaibigan.

as.LK a.LK friend

'I tried MySpace for the first time today and am really impressed how many people have added me as a friend.' (A29)

b. ...saka h*in*awak-an ang batok niya, at muling *h*um*alik sa* then PERF.held-OBL SUBJ nape 3SG(GEN) and again.LK PERF.ACT.kiss OBL *kanya*.

3sg(obl)

'(He) held her nape and kissed her again.' (A30)

(39) a. Kinailangan ko pa-ng tumawag kay Dr. Dave para tanung-in must.LK 1SG(GEN) still.LK INF.ACT.call OBL Dr. Dave in.order INF.ask-TH kung anong gamot ang pwede kong inumin para nga sa muscle COMP what.LK medicine SUB can 1SG(SUBJ).LK take for PART OBL muscle pains ko.

pains 1SG(GEN)

'I need to call Dr. Dave in order to ask what medicines I can take for my muscle pains.' (A31)

b. Walang nanood sa ibang mesa dahil lahat ay *nanood* not.exist.LK PERF.ACT.watch OBL other.LK table because all AY PERF.ACT.watch *kay Rubilen*.

OBL Rubilen

'No one was watching the other table because everyone was watching Rubilen.' (A32)

c. Ngunit si Jonathan na anak ni Haring Saul ay *nagmahal kay David* bilang but Jonathan LK son king.LK Saul AY PERF.ACT.love OBL David as.LK isang kapatid.

one.LK son

'But Jonathan, the son of king Saul, loved David as a son.' (A33)

d. Tanging pumansin kay Elias si Maria Clara. only.LK PERF.ACT.notice OBL Elias SUBJ Maria Clara 'Only Maria Clara noticed Elias.' (A34) e. Para sa karagdagang impormasyon at kaalaman sa pagkain at nutrisyon, for OBL more.LK information and knowledge about food and nutrition sumulat o tumawag kay Dr. Mario V. Capanzana.

INF.ACT.write or INF.ACT.call OBL Dr. Mario V. Capanzana

"For more information about food and nutrition, write or call Dr. Mario V. Capanzana.' (A35)

Note that the oblique marking on the theme argument in these examples cannot be attributed to a lexical idiosyncrasy of the verbs that govern them. This is clear from the following examples where the same verbs used in the above examples governs a theme that is not a pronoun/proper name. Crucially, the theme is marked genitive rather than oblique in these examples.

- (40) Ang ICHS ay nagdagdag ng mas marami pang paradahan para sa mga SUBJ ICHS AY IMPERF.ACT.add GEN more many PART.LK parking for OBL PL pasyente sa ilalim ng gusali sa tapat ng kalye mula sa ID Clinic. patient LOC under GEN building LOC across GEN street from OBL ID Clinic 'ICHS has added more parking spaces for patients in the underground lot across the street from the ID Clinic.' (A36) (compare to (38a))
- (41) Minsan nga nagkaroon ako ng role na kailangan kong once PRT PERF.have 1SG(SUBJ) GEN role COMP need 1SG(GEN).LK humalik ng lalaki, pero smack lang naman.

 INF.ACT.kiss GEN guy but peck just only 'I once had a role where I had to kiss a guy, but just a peck (light kiss).' (A37) (comare to (38b))
- (42)tumawag ako ng taxi at pumunta ako sa Quezon City, PERF.ACT.call 1SG(SUBJ) GEN taxi and PERF.ACT.go 1SG(SUBJ) LOC Quezon City, Cubao.
 Cubao
 'I called a taxi and went to Quezon City, Cubao' (A38)
 (compare to (39a), (39e))

Making matters slightly more complicated is the fact that oblique marking of the theme argument also appears to exist as an option for other specific theme arguments (i.e. non-pronoun/proper name themes). This pattern is exemplified by the following examples.⁹

⁹This pattern has been observed elsewhere (references). According to the description of Adams & Manaster-Ramer (1988:82-38), oblique marking for a theme (in an actor-subject sentence) is possible only when the external argument has been realativized. Crucially, the examples in (38)-(43) do not involve any relativization.

- (43) ...ang mga estudyanteng nangangailangang g*um*amit ng isa.ng computer ay PIV PL student.LK IMPERF.ACT.need.LK INF.ACT.use GEN a.LK computer AY maaaring gumamit sa mga web station sa Administration and Records Office INF.ACT.use OBL PL web station LOC Administration and Records office can alinman lokasyon ng aming tatlong campus. sa location GEN 1PL(GEN).LK three.LK campus '(During open and late registration, students who need to use a computer can use the web stations in the Adminstration and Records office at any location on our three campuses.' (A39)
 - b. Sa totoo lang, hindi kami *makapaniwala sa kuwentong ito*. OBL true just not 1PL(SUBJ) INF.ACT.believe OBL story.LK this 'Actually, we could not believe this story.' (A40)
 - c. Lihim akong *nagmahal sa bestfriend ko*. secret 1SG(SUBJ).LK PERF.ACT.love OBL best-friend 1SG(GEN) "I secretly loved my best friend."

Crucially, these oblique marked themes pattern syntactically with genitive marked themes rather than "true" oblique arguments. In Tagalog, subjects and "true" oblique compliments (e.g. of ditransitive verbs) may undergo wh-movement or relativization, but direct objects may not. The paradigm in (44) illustrates this.

- (44) a. Sino ang nagbigay ng aklat sa matandang babae? Who SUBJ PERF.ACT.give GEN book OBL old.LK woman 'Who gave money to the old person?'
 - b. *Aling aklat ang nagbigay si Juan sa matandang babae?
 Which.LK book SUBJ PERF.ACT.give SUBJ Juan OBL old.LK woman
 (Which book did Juan give to the old woman?)
 - c. Sa aling babae nagbigay si Juan ng aklat?

 OBL which.LK woman PERF.ACT.give SUBJ Juan GEN book?

 'Which woman did Juan give the book to?'

A theme cannot be extracted (from an actor-subject clause) even if it is oblique marked.

- (45) a. *Sa aling aklat (ang) nagbigay si Juan sa matandang babae?

 OBL which.LK book SUBJ PERF.ACT.give SUBJ Juan OBL old.LK woman

 (Which book did Juan give the old woman?)
 - b. *Sa aling lalaki (ang) lihim na nagmahal si Maria?

 OBL which.LK man SUBJ secret LK PERF.ACT.love SUBJ Maria

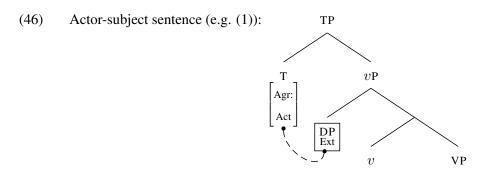
 (Which man does Maria secretly love?)

To summarize: We have now observed that there are three options relating to the morphosyntactic realization of a theme argument: (i) A theme may be realized as genitive marked direct objects of actor-subject sentences (as long as it is non-pronominal and not a proper name); (ii) A theme may

be realized as an oblique marked direct object of an actor-subject sentence (obligatory for pronoun and proper name themes, optional for other specific themes); and, finally (iii) A specific theme of any kind may always be realized as the subject of an theme-subject sentence.

4 The Specificity Restriction Revisited

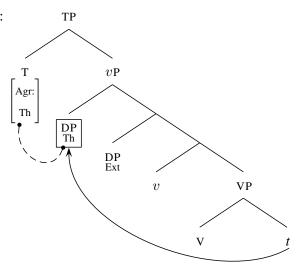
The goal for the remainder of this paper will be to provide a formal account of the patterns just summarized. Our starting point will be the analysis of actor-subject and theme-subject sentences and their interrelationship proposed in Rackowski (2002) (see also Rackowski & Richards 2005). For Rackowski (2002:81-84), clauses in Tagalog are headed by a inflectional head T(ENSE), which must agree with a local DP—namely, whatever DP happens to be the closest to T within T's c-command domain. In an actor-subject sentence, the external argument which resides in the specifier of a functional head (vP) immediately dominated by TP is the closest DP c-commanded by T and therefore the DP that T agrees with. This is represented in (46). (The dashed line indicates the agreement relationship.)¹⁰



Theme-subject sentences for Rackowski are derived when the verb's internal argument is moved out of the VP, as shematized in (47), and placed in the highest specifier position of the projection where the external argument is merged. As a result of this process, which Rackowski refers to as OBJECT SHIFT, the internal argument winds up closer to T than the external argument and hence becomes the closer target for agreement.

¹⁰Morphologically, this agreement does not result in the realization of the full set of Phi-features (e.g. person, number, gender) of the subject on the verb, though plural agreement can be optionally realized on the verb at least in the case of actor-subject sentences. For Rackowski, the agreement morphology only registers the sharing of (abstract) Case features (e.g. nominative/accusative) between T and the subject (i.e. the verb in an actor-subject clause inflects for nominative-agreement (typically realized as -*um*-), while the verb in a theme-subject clause inflects for accusative-agreement (typically realized as -*in*- or -*in*)). The details of this aspect of Rackowski's proposal are not particulary important for this work, and so I have chosen to gloss the agreement morphology of the verb simply as ACT (for actor-subject clauses) and TH (for theme-subject clauses).

(47) Theme-subject sentence (e.g. (2)):



According to Rackowski, object shift of the verb's theme argument is triggered by an [EPP] features on v, which selects a DP within its c-command domain to be merged in its specifier. This feature is absent on v of actor-subject sentences, and so object shift does not apply. 11,12

Of particular interest for our purposes, Rackowski also suggests that the often-cited specificity restriction introduced above (i.e. the (putative) requirement that the theme of an actor-subject clause be non-specific, and that the theme of a theme-subject clause be specific) also follows from the analyses sketched in (46) and (47) in conjunction with an assertion appearing in Chomsky (2001:33) that configurations resulting from displacement of the object from the VP (i.e. object shift) have particular semantic properties that correlate with (e.g.) specificity, and that certain types of objects (pronouns, definite DPs, etc.) may be incompatible with the interpretations that would be assigned if they have not undergone object shift. Though not acknowledged as such, the relationship between object shift and the semantic properties alluded to by Chomsky is what is pre-figured explicitly by Diesing (1992)'s MAPPING HYPOTHESIS.¹³

According to the Mapping Hypothesis, there is a unique mapping from the Logical Form of a sentence to the tripartite semantics of quantification, whereby syntactic material outside the VP is mapped onto a quantifier's restriction, while material inside the VP is mapped into the nuclear scope. Following Hiem (1982), Diesing assumes that indefinite as well as other types of "weak" (non-presuppositional) DPs are interpreted as free variables that must acquire their quantificational force from a quantifier or some other type of operator that binds them. Among the possible binders

¹¹The effect of object shift cannot, in general, be detected by the word order of the clause. Rackowski (2002:36-38) shows that object shift can extend the binding domain for bound variable anaphora, and in Section 5 I show that semantic scope also indicates that object shift has taken place.

¹² Aldridge (2004, 2005, 2006, 2012) likewise proposes that the theme raises out of the VP in theme-subject clauses. The details of Aldridge's analysis are tightly wed with her view of Tagalog as an ergative-absolutive language, rather than the symmetric-voice analysis that I assume here (see footnote 1). While a full comparison of these two analyses is beyond the scope of this paper but, most of the claims that will be made in what follows are largely compatible with either view modulo certain notational differences.

¹³Aldridge (ibid) explicitly connects the specificity restriction to the Mapping Hypothesis. I follow her in this respect.

is the existential quantifier which, according to Diesing, is introduced into the Logical Form representation by an operation of EXISTENTIAL CLOSURE, which takes the VP as its syntactic domain.

As discussed in detail in Diesing & Jelenik (1995) and Diesing (1997), the Mapping Hypothesis predicts certain restrictions on the syntactic distribution of direct objects. Concretely, because the VP is the domain of existential closure, only those DPs functioning as objects that introduce a free variable may appear within the VP. A non-specific indefinite DP will always meet this condition—the variable introduced by an indefinite DP is bound by the existential operator that is introduced by existential closure, which yields an existential (indefinite, non-specific) interpretation. Specific indefinite and definite DPs likewise introduce a variable (following Heim 1982), but because binding by existential closure is subject to a Novelty Condition (Heim 1982:193-200), they may not appear within the VP. Likewise, pronouns and proper names may not appear within the VP. Diesing & Jelenik and Diesing hypothesize that specific DPs can escape the effects of existential closure by moving out of the VP either in the overt syntax or by Logical Form (see also, de Hoop 1992; Runner 1995; and Hallman 2004). 14

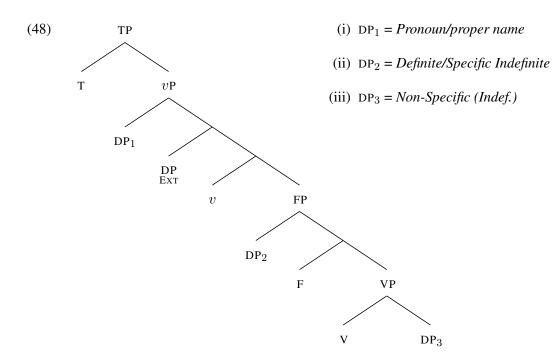
It should now be clear that the Mapping Hypothesis, when wedded with Rackowski's analysis of Tagalog actor and theme-subject sentences ((46) and (47)) predicts a single pattern relating to the morphosyntactic realization of the theme argument in Tagalog. Concretely, a specific theme must be realized as the subject of a theme-subject clause, while a non-specific theme can only function as the object of an actor-subject clause. The latter follows because a non-specific theme must remain within the VP (given the Mapping Hypothesis), in which case it is too distant from T to enter into an agreement relationship with it (T therefore agrees with the external argument). The former follows because a specific theme obligatorily moves out of the VP (i.e. outside of the domain of existential closure) to a position where it becomes the closer target for agreement with T.

Given our observations from the preceding section, it is plain that this relatively simple picture does not account for the full range of facts. The analysis predicts the right pattern for pronoun and proper names as far as what I have referred to as theme-externalization is concerned (i.e. the realization of the theme as the subject of a theme-subject sentence, or—in Rackowski's terms—object shift followed by agreement between T and the theme), but incorrectly precludes definite and specific indefinite themes from being realized as genitive marked objects in actor-subject clauses. Put in other terms, Rackowski's analysis does not presently account for the more fine-grained *differential* behavior of themes with respect to theme-externalization. Furthermore, Rackowski's analysis, being solely concerned with the relationship between actor-subject and theme-subject clauses, does not account for the possibility discussed in 3.2 of oblique case marking for specific themes in actor-subject clauses.

¹⁴Diesing and Diesing & Jelinek offer evidence for this hypothesis based on languages (e.g. German, Icelandic) where at least a certain subset of specific direct objects (e.g. pronouns) in contrast to non-specific ones show visible effects of displacement from the VP. As noted in footnote 10, properties other than word order will have to be marshaled as evidence for displacement of the theme from VP in Tagalog (see especially, Section 5).

A solution to the problem of the differential behavior of themes vis-à-vis theme-externalization that is consistent with Rackowski's basic proposal would be to stipulate that pronoun and proper name DPs undergo object shift overtly (with the "narrow" syntax), while object shift for other specific DPs may apply overtly or covertly (at L(ogical) F(orm)). If we make the further assumption that covert movement in contrast to overt movement does not feed agreement with T, then the correct pattern follows. The problem with this approach, however, is that there is no principled reason why the covert/overt distinction should work this particular way, as opposed to, say, the other way around with object shift (optionally) covert for pronouns and proper names and obligatorily overt for non-pronoun/proper name specifics. In other words, there is no obvious reason why overt movement should specifically "privilege" pronoun and proper names.

It would be preferable, then, to maintain that all themes which must raise out of the VP to escape existential-closure (i.e. pronouns, proper names, definite and specific indefinites) do so overtly. A way to do this and account for the difference between pronouns and proper names on the one hand and definite and specific indefinites on the other is to suppose that there are two distinct positions external to the VP that Rackowski's object shift targets. Concretely, suppose following proposals of Johnson (1991), Travis (2010), Collins & Thráisson (1996), Bascillico (1998), Hornstein (1999), Hallman (2004), among many others, that there is an intermediate derived object position located above VP but below *v*P. Suppose that this position exists in addition to the position that Rackowski identifies as the sole target of object shift for Tagalog—i.e. the outermost specifier of *v*P. If we suppose, finally, that non-pronoun/proper name specific themes minimally target the lower object position, while pronoun and proper name themes obligatorily target the higher position (see (48)) the contrast between the different types of themes follows.



Concretely, given the proposal already in place that T agrees with the closet DP within its c-command domain, T will obligatorily agree with either a pronoun or a proper name which has undergone object shift to the highest derived object shift position (DP₁ in (48)). The intermediate object position (DP₂), on the other hand, is high enough for the class of DPs that raise to this position (i.e. non-pronoun/pronoun noun specifics) to escape existential-closure, but crucially low enough that they will not be targeted for agreement with T.

Given this much, three questions now open up.

QUESTION 1: Why should different types of themes be "attracted to" different object positions. More concretely, why are pronouns and proper name themes attracted to the higher object shift position (DP_1) while other types of specific themes are attracted to the intermediate object shift position (DP_2) ?

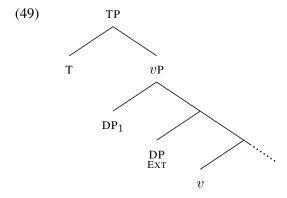
QUESTION 2: How is the fact that non-pronoun/proper name specific themes may optionally be realized as the subject of a theme-subject sentence to be accounted for? (The proposal so far only accounts for the fact that pronoun and proper name themes must be realized as the subject of a theme-subject sentence.)

QUESTION 3: How is the option of expressing a specific theme as an oblique marked object (as opposed to subject-externalization) to be accounted for?

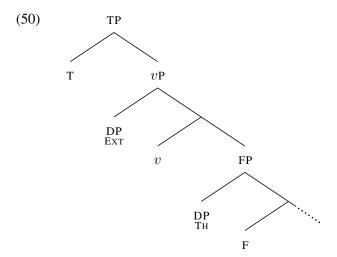
I will defer answering Question 1 until Section 6. Regarding Question 2, I will do for the moment with stipulating that non-pronoun/proper name specific themes must minimally raise to the

intermediate object position DP_2 in the structure in (48), but they may also target the higher position DP_1 —in which case, they will be agreed with by T and realized as the subject of a theme-subject clause. In Section 6, I will suggest a slightly different analysis that follows more naturally from the proposal I will make in regards to Question 1. I now turn directly to proposing an answer to Question 3.

As we have observed, the option of oblique marking for the theme argument in an actor-subject clause operates in a way that completely parallels the option of theme-externalization. Specifically, although these two morphosyntactic strategies for realizing a theme argument are mutually exclusive of one another (a point we will return to shortly), the option of oblique marking, like the option of theme-externalization, is obligatory for pronoun and proper name themes, and optional for other specific themes. The correspondence between these two strategies emerges naturally if we suppose that the rule that assigns oblique case to a theme argument applies to the same syntactic configuration that underlies theme-externalization—namely, to a syntactic configuration like the one in (49) in which the theme has raised to a functional projection located above the projection wherein the external argument is located.



Furthermore, the rule that assigns oblique marking to the theme should not apply in a configuration like (50), where the theme is located below the external argument in (e.g.) the lower derived object position.



A rule that meets these needs is given in (51).

(51) OBLIQUE CASE RULE (for Tagalog):

If there are two distinct argumental DPs within a domain D, such that DP1 c-commands DP2, assign [+oblique] to DP1.

I will take the domain referred to by this rule to correspond to the SPELL-OUT DOMAIN of a PHASE. Following Chomsky (2000, 2001), I take the relevant Phases to be, at least, vP and CP, and the Spell-out domain corresponds to the complement of the Phase heads—C and v, hence TP and VP. Given this, the oblique case rule can apply in the configuration in (49) because the theme and the external argument are within the same Spell-out domain. By contrast, the rule will not apply to the configuration in (50) because the external argument and the theme argument are within distinct Spell-out domains.

The oblique case assignment rule in (51) is modeled on the type of case assignment rules which have been formulated within a framework which proposes that the assignment of at least certain morphological cases to a DP depends crucially on the presence of another DP within the same domain. Case that is assigned in this way is sometimes referred to as DEPENDENT CASE (Marantz 1991, McFadden 2004). Dependent case assignment has been particularly influential in the domain of analyzing ACCUSATIVE case (in NOMINATIVE-ACCUSATIVE languages) and ERGATIVE case (in ERGATIVE-ABSOLUTIVE languages), but dependent case assignment rules have been formulated for other cases as well. Baker & Vinokurova (2010:595), for instance, propose a dependent case assignment rule for Dative case in Sakha (Turkic) which is the model upon which (51) is formulated.¹⁵

¹⁵In formulating the rule in (51) for Tagalog on the model of Baker & Vinokurova's Dative case assignment rule in (52), I have omitted the condition that the DP to be assigned [+oblique] compete with a DP that has not already been valued for case. The only reason for not including this condition at this point is lack of evidence internal to Tagalog to include it, and—more generally—lack of evidence that this is a universal condition on dependent case assignment rules. That said,

(52) DATIVE CASE RULE (for Saka (Baker & Vinokurova 2010:595)):

If there are two distinct argumental NPs in the same phase such that NP1 c-commands NP2, then value the case feature of NP1 as dative unless NP2 has already been marked for case.

A question that must now be addressed is how the oblique case assignment rule in (51) interact with the process of agreement that underlies theme-externalization. Put in other words, what guarantees that a sentence like (53) will not be generated, in which the verb (a theme-subject form of the verb) appears to agree with an oblique marked theme?

(53) *Hinalik ng babae sa bata.

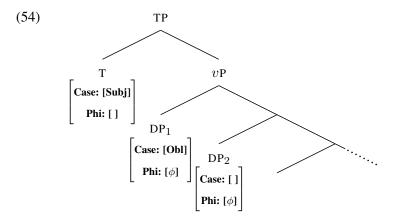
PERF.TH.kiss GEN woman OBL child

('The woman kissed the child.')

To preclude sentences like this, it must minimally be the case that T can never agree with a [+oblique] marked nominal. This conjecture follows from the approach to Case and agreement sketched by Chomsky (2001:6-7) in which agreement and Case "assignment" are closely linked. Concretely, Chomsky proposes that that DPs enter a derivation with unvalued Case features which must be valued. Valuation of the case feature of a DP is typically accomplished through agreement (Chomsky's AGREE operation) with a functional head which has an valued but uninterpretable case feature (e.g. NOMINATIVE) but unvalued Phi-features that must be valued. Simply put, agreement between a functional head such as T and a DP supplies the DP with a value for case and, reciprocally, the DP supplies the functional head with a value for Phi-features. Now, consider the situation schematized in (54) (cf. (49)), in which the theme argument has raised to the highest specifier of vP (just above the external argument) and is marked oblique by the rule in (51). Here, T has unvalued Phi-features that could in principle be supplied by either of the two DPs within its c-command domain—either DP₁, which is closet to T and has both valued Phi-features and a valued case feature that is distinct from the case feature value of T, or DP₂ which has valued Phi-features but no value for its case feature.

the proposal so far sketched and its further elaboration below are compatible with this condition being stipulated as part of the rule in (51).

An obvious question at this point is whether the rule in (51) has broader applicability in the grammar of Tagalog—i.e. whether it accounts for other instances where oblique case surfaces (e.g. on the agent argument in causative constructions and on the indirect object in ditransitive clauses). While I believe it is possible that (51) accounts for the presence of oblique case in other grammatical contexts, I cannot offer a full defense of this view here.



At least two outcomes are possible here: T could agree with both DP_1 and DP_2 (getting its Phi-feature values from DP_1 and valuing the case feature of DP_2). Alternatively, T could ignore DP_1 completely and agree only with DP_2 , simultaneously valuing its Phi-features and valuing DP_2 's Case feature.

It is the second of these outcomes that is needed to answer the question of how to rule out (53). Concretely, (53) will be precluded if T completely ignores the oblique marked theme (which, by hypothesis, gets its oblique marking from the rule in (51)) and enters directly into an Agree relationship with the external argument—valuing the Case-feature of the external argument and concomitantly getting its Phi-features valued from it. One might conjecture that T can ignore the oblique marked theme in search of another agreement target because the theme already has a valued Case-feature. This might follow, for instance, if there were a constraint that prohibited a nominal from receiving more than one case value. Given the existence of multiple case marking languages (Plank 1995), however, the possibility of multiple case assignment to a single nominal in Tagalog cannot be completely ruled out. I propose instead that T can ignore an oblique marked theme because the Phi-features are simply inaccessible to T, a conjecture that has some grounding in the fact, noted in Section 2, that oblique marked nominals are syntactically PPs and not DPs. Concretely, if we suppose that the Phi-features associated with a DP do not 'percolate up' when a DP is embedded within a PP structure, then the oblique marked theme itself does not carry any Phi-features. Since T is specifically looking to establish an agreement relationship with a category that does bear Phifeatures, the theme can be ignored. 16

One may note that there is still an additional route by which (53) might be derived. In particular, (53) might possibly arise if T first agrees with the theme (valuing T's Phi-features and valuing (subject) case on the theme) in the derivation and then the oblique case assignment rule subsequently applies—i.e. assigning oblique case over the nominative case that had been assigned first via the agreement relationship between T and the theme. What I'd like to suggest is that a derivation of this sort is actually unproblematic. Instead, the issue with (53) is simply that it is not the correct surface

¹⁶Preiminger 2011:Chapter 5 derives the the fact that PPs are are opaque domains for Phi-features from the claim that PPs are Phases and hence the DP contained within a PP is inaccessible to outside operations—namely, agreement with T.

form that will result from this derivation. This follows, in particular, if we assume that in instances where multiple case marking occurs, only the first case assigned will be morphologically realized (see, e.g. Lefebvre & Muysken 1988:146-148 for a similar proposal based on Quechua). Under this view, then, (53) is morphologically ill-formed rather than syntactically ill-formed.

5 Quantified DPs

We have proposed thus far that all but non-specific indefinite themes in Tagalog raise out of the VP in the overt syntax. Under this view, the morphosyntax of a verb's theme argument is directly connected to the scope of its movement—oblique marked themes and themes that enter into an agreement relationship with T (i.e. are realized as the subject of a theme-subject clause) raise to a relatively high position above the external argument, while genitive marked (specific) themes need only raise as high as the intermediate functional projection located between *vP* and *VP*. One would obviously hope that this analysis could be supported directly by word order evidence. However, word order in Tagalog is quite flexible and therefore an unreliable guide to syntactic structure (see Author:Date for more extensive discussion of this point). Indirect support for the analysis can be gleaned, however, by looking at the scope behavior of quantified noun phrases—in particular, the relationship between the scope behavior of a quantificational theme argument in relation to its morphosyntax.

Tagalog has a handful of quantifiers, which can be divided into the usual WEAK and STRONG categories.¹⁷ The list in (55) gives some of these quantifiers.

```
    a. WEAK:
        marami 'many', ilan 'some', isa 'a, one'
    b. STRONG:
        lahat 'all, every', bawa't 'each', karamihan 'most'
```

In terms of their realization as the theme argument of a transitive clause, quantified DPs appear in general to pattern with non-pronoun/proper name DPs. For instance, both weak and strong quantified DPs may function as a genitive marked direct object of an actor-subject clause.

(56) a. Nakakita ako roon ng maraming taong naglalakad
PERF.ACT.see 1SG(SUBJ) there GEN many.LK person.LK IMPERF.ACT.walk
patungo sa landas na ito.
toward OBL path LK this
'I saw many people there walking towards the path.' (A41)

¹⁷Evidence for this distinction is based on the observation that DPs headed by the weak quantifiers may function as the pivot of existential sentences, while those headed by the strong quantifiers typically cannot (Author:Date).

- Nakarinig ako ng ilang kalampag sa loob ng apartment PERF.ACT.hear 1SG(SUBJ) GEN some.LK banging LOC inside GEN apartment niya at sana lang okay siya.
 3SG(GEN) and hope PRT okay 3SG(SUBJ)
 'I head some banging (noises) from inside his apartment, and (I) hoped that he was okay.' (A42)
- c. Puwede kang kumain ng lahat ng mga gusto mo kapag can 2SG(SUBJ).LK INF.ACT.eat GEN all GEN PL want 2SG(GEN) when nagda-diet ka, di ba?

 IMPERF.ACT.diet SUBJ not Q

 'You can eat everything you want when you are dieting, can't you?' (A43)
- d. ...bumili ng bawat isa sa kanyang mga papeles.

 PERF.ACT.bought GEN each one OBL 3SG(OBL).LK PL papers

 '(I) bought each one of his neswpapers.' (A44)
- e. Siya ang nanalo sa poll kung saan nakakuha 3sG(NOM) SUBJ PERF.ACT.win OBL poll COMP where PERF.ACT.recieve siya ng karamihan ng boto.

 3sG(SUBJ) GEN most GEN vote

 'He won in the poll by receiving most of the votes.' (A45)

Quantified DPs may also appear as oblique marked objects of actor-subject clauses. In general, this option appears to be more natural for DPs headed by a strong quantifier as in the examples in (57).

- (57) a. Maka-kahadlang ang bakunang ito sa karamihan ng mga kaso ng cervical FUT.ACT-prevent SUBJ vaccine.LK this OBL most GEN PL case GEN cervical na cancer sa mga babae.

 LK cancer OBL PL woman 'This vaccine will prevent most cases of cervical cancer in woman.' (A46)
 - b. Ang bawat problema sa ating buhay ay nakakaapekto sa bawat SUBJ each problem OBL 1PL(GEN).LK life AY IMPERF.ACT.affect OBL each tao sa iba't ibang paraan.

 person OBL different way

 'Each problem in our lives affects each person in different ways.' (A47)

Finally, both weak and strong quantified DPs may function as the subject of a theme-subject clause.

(58) a. Pinakain ni Jesus ang maraming tao.

PERF.TH.feed GEN Jesus SUBJ many.LK person

'Jesus fed many people.' (A48)

- Ni-yanig ng lindol ang ilang bahagi ng Mindanao kaninang PERF.TH-strike GEN earthquake SUBJ some.LK part GEN Mindanao recently.LK alas 3:33 ng hapon.
 at 3:33 ADV afternoon
 - 'An earthquake struck some parts of Mindanao just a while ago at 3:33 in the afternoon.' (A49)
- c. ...nakita niya ang karamihan ng mga tao sa lipunan bilang mga PERF.TH.see 3SG(GEN) SUBJ most GEN PL person LOC word as.LK PL hangal na tumalima lamang sa buhay. silly LK PERF.ACT.comply LOC life 'He saw most of the people in the world as silly (people) who simply complied in life.' (A50)
- d. Maaari nating makuha ang bawat lokasyon sa pamamagitan ng can 3PL(GEN).LK obtain SUBJ each location OBL with GEN paggamit ng radar.
 using GEN radar.
 'We can obtain each location by using radar.' (A51)

I will not attempt to offer an explanation here for why quantified DPs pattern with non-pronoun/ proper name specific noun phrases. The fact that quantified DPs can appear in actor-subject clauses in either of the patterns exemplified in (56) (genitive marked) or (57)/(58) (oblique marked, subject of theme-subject clause) can, however, be used to investigate a prediction made by the account of these patterns sketched above. Concretely, our hypothesis is that a genitive marked theme occupies a position below the external argument, while a theme that is either oblique marked or realized as the subject of a theme-subject clause occupies a position above the external argument. The prediction for sentences where both the theme and the external argument are quantified DPs, then, is this: If the external argument and the theme are both quantified DPs, then an oblique marked theme or one realized as the subject of a theme-subject sentence ought to scope above the external argument, while a genitive marked theme ought to scope below the external argument.

This prediction is borne out, as a couple of observations demonstrate. Consider first the sentence in (59).

(59) Humuli ng bawat magnanakaw ang isang pulis.

PERF.ACT.catch GEN each thief SUBJ one.LK police 'A police officer caught each thief.'

The most salient reading for (59) is one in which there is a single police officer who has arrested every thief—i.e. the subject has wide-scope over the genitive marked object. In fact, this interpretation of the sentence seems to be the only one. When asked to judge the plausibility of this sentence in a context where *bawat magnanakaw* ('each thief') denotes every thief in a single large geographical area (e.g. the state of Texas), speakers noted that sentence (59) does not seem very

plausible because a single individual is unlikely to be able to carry out so many arrests all on their own. Now consider the sentences in (60) and (61). Sentence (60) is an actor-subject sentence with an oblique marked theme object, while sentence (61) is a theme-subject sentence.

- (60) Humili sa bawat magnanakaw ang isang pulis.

 PERF.ACT.catch OBL each thief SUBJ one.LK police

 'A police officer caught each theif.' (A > EACH)

 'Each thief was caught by a police officer.' (EACH > A)
- (61) Hinili ng isang pulis ang bawat magnanakaw. PERF.TH.catch GEN one.LK police SUBJ each thief 'Each thief was caught by a police officer.' (EACH > A)

As predicted, both of these sentences have an interpretation that is absent in (59), according to which (more plausibly) different police officers were responsible for the arrest of individual thieves. This interpretation is a straightforward result of a syntactic configuration in which the theme has scope above the external argument. Curiously, though, sentence (60) with the oblique marked theme has both an interpretation where the theme has wider scope than the external argument as well as one (like (59)) where the external argument has wider scope than the theme. By contrast, sentence (61) which involves an externalized theme, seems to only have the interpretation where the theme has wider scope than the external argument. The difference between (60) and (61) follows, I claim, from a hypothesis that the noun phrase that functions as the subject (i.e. the agent in an actor-subject clause, the theme in a theme-subject clause) ultimately winds up in SPEC, TP (see Author:Date). For the structure of a sentence like (60), then, the external argument occupies two positions. One of these positions is the specifier of vP, below the hypothesized position to which the oblique-marked theme has raised. The other position is the specifier of TP, which is above the position of the oblique-marked theme.

(62)
$$[_{TP} (DP) T^{0} [_{vP} DP [_{v'} (DP) [_{v'} v^{0} ...]]]] (Scope: TH > EXT, or EXT > TH)$$

Given this, we can now conjecture that the availability of the two interpretations for (60) arise because there are two locations where the external argument can be interpreted. Concretely, if the external argument is interpreted in the specifier of TP, then we obtain the A > EACH interpretation. On the other hand, if the external argument is interpreted in the specifier of vP, then the EACH > A is obtained. For sentence (61), by contrast, the external argument does not raise to TP's specifier. Instead, it is the theme argument which, by hypothesis raises to this position. In principle, then, there are two positions where the (externalized) theme may be interpreted, as schematized in (63), but both of these positions crucially scope above the external argument and, hence, the only interpretation available given the relative scope of the theme and the external argument will be the EACH > A

interpretation.¹⁸

(63)
$$[_{TP} (DP) T^0 [_{vP} (DP) [_{v'} DP [_{v'} DP [_{v'} v^0 ...]]]]$$
 (Scope: TH > EXT only)

The same conclusion can be reached by considering a slightly more complex example involving the interaction between quantified noun phrases headed by the (Tagalog equivalents of) *many* and *most*.¹⁹ First, it will be important to note that when a quantified noun phrase headed by the quantifier *marami* ('many') in subject position elicits a subtle ambiguity between what Cohen (2001) refers to as a 'linear' and a 'reverse' reading. Sentence (64), for instance, can be understood either as an assertion that among Philippinos, many are living in debt (=the linear reading) or as an assertion that among those living in debt, many are Philippino (=the reverse reading).

- (64) Nabubuhay sa utang ang maraming Pinoy.

 IMPERF.ACT.live OBL debt SUBJ many.LK Philippino
 'Many Philippinos are living in debt.'
 - = Many individuals who are Philippino are living in debt (=linear), or
 - =Many individuals who are living in debt are Philippino (=reverse)

For the examples to be discussed immediately below, we will be primarily concerned with the reverse readings associated with quantified noun phrases containing the quantifier *marami* ('many'). Consider, then, the sentence minimal pair in (65) and (66) and the two scenarios described below the examples. Note that the difference between (65) and (66) resides solely in the case marking associated with the object—it is marked genitive in (65) and oblique marked in (66).

- (65) N-agsiyasat ang maraming pulis ng karamihan ng krimen.

 PERF.ACT-investigate SUBJ many.LK police GEN most GEN crime

 'Many police investigated most crimes.'
- (66) N-agsiyasat ang maraming pulis sa karamihan ng krimen.

 PERF.ACT-investigate SUBJ many.LK police OBL most GEN crime
 'Many police investigated most crimes.'

 'Most crimes were investigated by many police.'

SCENARIO 1: There are 15 police officers, 5 FBI agents, and 10 crimes. There are 10 police officers and 1 FBI agent who investigated a total of (at least) 7 crimes, while the remaining 5 police officers and 4 FBI agents each investigated only a single crime.

¹⁸A question remains here as to why the theme argument cannot be reconstructed and interpreted in its base position—i.e. as a complement of V. This and other questions about reconstruction and scope will have to await further study.

¹⁹This discussion owes much to the discussion of similar English facts in Hallman 2004:737-741.

SCENARIO 2: There are 15 police officers, 5 FBI agents, and 10 crimes. There are 4 police officers and 1 FBI agent who investigated a total of (at least) 7 crimes, while the remaining 11 police officers and 4 FBI agents each investigated only a single crime.

Sentence (65) was perceived to be true given the first scenario above, but false under the second scenario. By contrast, sentence (66) was perceived to be true given either of these two scenarios. This is expected if the object can be interpreted as having wider scope than the external argument only when it is oblique marked (as it is in (66)) but not when it is genitive marked (as it is in (65)). Concretely, the second scenario is one that is only true on the interpretation paraphrased in (67b) in which the object ('most crimes') is interpreted as having wide-scope over the external argument ('many police officers'). The other scope arrangement, paraphrased in (67a), could only be true of the first scenario.

- (67) a. MANY > MOST: Many of the individuals who are investigating most crimes are police officers.
 - b. MOST > MANY: Most crimes are such that many of the individuals who are investigating them are police officers.

In sum, the scope facts reviewed here offer a fairly clear piece of evidence that there is a relationship between the morphosyntactic realization of a theme argument and its relative syntactic scope—concretely, that those themes that are either marked oblique or realized as a subject are syntactically more prominent than the external argument, while genitive marked themes appear to less prominent than the external argument. In the absence of simple word order evidence, this is the type of evidence one would hope for to confirm that the basic analysis is on the right track.

6 Clause Structure and the Definiteness Hierarchy

A pronoun or proper name theme must be expressed either as an oblique marked object in an actor-subject clause, or as the subject of a theme-subject clause. Other (non-pronoun/proper name) specific themes, by contrast, may be expressed in either of these ways, or they may be expressed as a genitive marked direct object in an actor-subject clause. In terms of the account of these patterns sketched above, the difference relates to the claim that pronoun and proper name themes obligatorily raise to the higher of two VP-external positions, while other specific themes raise minimally to the lower of the two VP-external positions (thought they may raise higher). The question we turn to now is why there should be this particular distribution. The key to answering this question, I propose, is the definiteness hierarchy in (68).

(68) DEFINITENESS HIERARCHY (Aissen 2003:437):

Pro > proper name > Definite NP > Indefinite Specific NP > Non-Specific

The definiteness hierarchy is, primarily, a descriptive statement based on typological observations about the relative markedness of different types of noun phrases with respect to particular syntactic configurations or grammatical functions (Aissen 1999, 2003, Comrie 1979, 1989, Croft 1991). Recent work, however, has explored the hypothesis that the markedness relations described by hierarchies like (68) are might be expressed in the geometry of clause structure (see, in particular, Jelinek 1993, Jelinek & Carnie 2003, Carnie & Nash 2006, Merchant 2006). Roughly speaking, this hypothesis amounts to the claim that the markedness relations among individual points on (e.g.) the definiteness hierarchy, or natural classes of points defined by this hierarchy, correspond to c-command relationships in the syntax. Holding off for the moment on the question of the exact nature of the correspondence, consider how this hypothesis might answer the question posed above. According to (68), pronoun and proper name phrases form a natural class of noun phrases in the sense that they are contiguous points on the hierarchy and outrank all other noun phrase types. Definite and specific indefinite noun phrases also form a natural class as they are likewise contiguous points on the hierarchy—both are outranked by pronoun and proper name noun phrases and ranked above non-specific (indefinite) noun phrases. From the perspective of the hypothesis that the markedness relations described by the hierarchy correspond to c-command relationships, it follows—assuming that there are two phrases structure positions where the theme argument may raise—that the phrase structure position to which pronoun/proper name themes should raise will be higher than (i.e. c-command) the position to which a definite or specific indefinite theme argument should raise. If this is correct, then the distribution of object positions in (48) is accounted for.

Given this much, we can now turn to the question just raised of how the correspondence between the definiteness hierarchy and the phrase structure is achieved. A very clear answer to this question is provided by Merchant (2006), for whom the relationship between the definiteness hierarchy in (68) and the clause structure is direct. Concretely, Merchant proposes that the functional architecture of the clause includes a set of functional heads, as in (69), whose purpose is to host in their specifiers phrases (DPs) with the particular prominence properties described in the hierarchy.

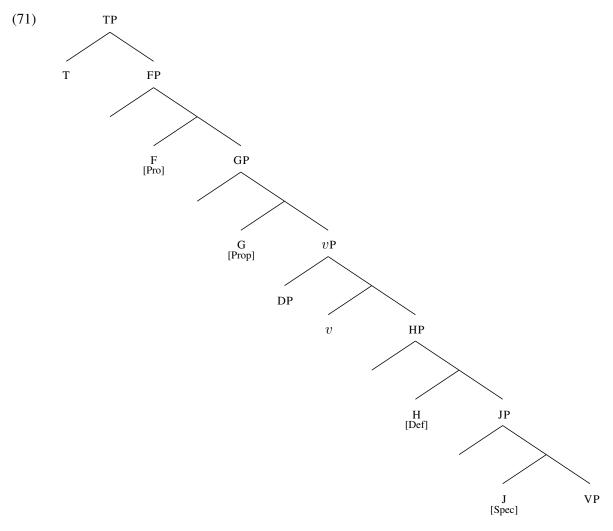
The goal for Merchant's proposal is to provide an account for (among other things) phenomenon like DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING—the phenomenon whereby in certain languages certain types of objects are case marked (or agreed with) while other types of objects are not (Bossong 1985, Aissen 2003). Merchant's account of this behavior involves two key claims: First, all noun phrases (in particular) objects move (overtly) to the appropriate functional projection for their type (i.e. a pronoun moves to FP's specifier, etc.). Second, a functional head responsible for case assignment (e.g. v) is interpolated at a specific point in the hierarchy (e.g. above JP but below HP). Objects that must move to a functional projection above this head will be assigned case.

To illustrate with a concrete example, consider the case of differential object marking in Hebrew. In Hebrew, pronoun, proper name, and definite objects are marked by the preposition 'et, while specific indefinite and non-specific indefinite objects are not marked (Givón 1978). Merchant's proposal accounts for this pattern by proposing that the functional head responsible for case assignment (e.g. v) is interpolated in the hierarchy below the functional head associated with definite noun phrases (HP) but above the functional projections JP and KP associated with, respective specific indefinite and non-specific indefinite noun phrases as in (70).

(70)
$$[_{FP} \text{ Pro } [_{GP} \text{ PN } [_{HP} \text{ Def } [v]_{JP} \text{ Spec } (\text{Indefinite})]_{KP} \text{ Non-Specific } (\text{Indefinite})]_{JP}]$$

Language variation with respect to which types of objects are marked and which ones are not falls out from the different locations where the case assigning head is merged. Thus, for a languages where, say, only pronouns and proper names are case marked (e.g. Pitjanjatjara, as cited in Aissen 2003:452), v would be merged below GP but above HP.

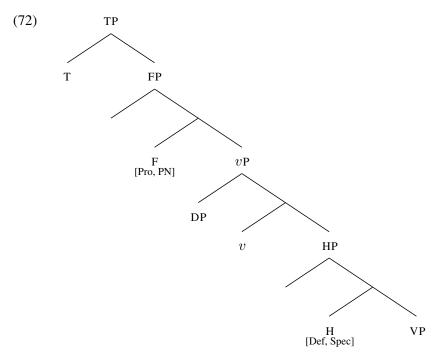
The account of differential object marking supplied by Merchant can be used to give us a basic account of the differential behavior of themes in Tagalog vis-à-vis theme-externalization or oblique marking. Concretely, we can propose that the functional heads in Tagalog that host pronoun and proper name DPs in their specifier are located above the position of the external argument (in vP), and that the functional heads that host other specific DPs (i.e. definite and specific indefinites) are located below this position. This is schematized in (71).



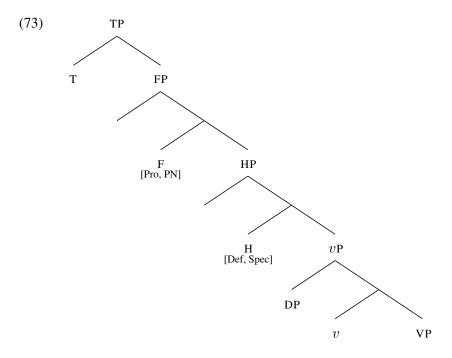
Note that the outcome of this is exactly the same as the analysis sketched earlier in (48)—pronoun and proper name themes move to a position above the external argument where they may either be the target for agreement with T (=theme-externalization) or be marked oblique by the oblique case rule of (51). By contrast, if other specific themes (definite and specific indefinite themes) move to the functional projections located below the external argument they will not be able to agree with T nor will the oblique case assignment rule apply.

One might at this point worry about the number of functional projections that are introduced under Merchant's proposal. More specifically, one might worry that although the proposal captures the fact that pronouns and proper names pattern as a natural class (by virtue of the claim that the functional projections associated with both noun phrase types occur above v), there is no direct or even indirect evidence for two separate functional projections—one for pronouns and one for proper names. The same is true for the separate functional projections hypothesized to occur below v for definite and specific indefinite noun phrases. Merchant suggests in passing that it may be possible

to reduce this worry by supposing that the different functional heads may be fused into a single functional head. The structure in (71) might therefore be reduced to the less complex structure in (72).



Accepting this much, we can also now also say more about the optionality of theme-externalization or oblique case marking for non-pronoun/proper name specific theme arguments. Up to this point, this option has been accounted for by the stipulation that non-pronoun/proper name specific may optionally target the higher of the two positions in a structure like (48). From the present perspective, we can provide a solution to this optionality that is grounded in the way that Merchant's approach proposes to handle cross-linguistic variation in the domain of (e.g.) differential object marking. Concretely, the optionality of theme-externalization or oblique case marking can be accounted for by supposing that there is variability concerning the point where vP is folded in with respect to the hierarchy of functional projections. For instance, suppose that in addition to the structure in (72), a structure like (73) is available in which vP is merged below the functional projection that hosts definite and specific (indefinite) noun phrases.



A definite or specific indefinite theme will obligatorily raise to the specifier of HP in this structure, where it will either be marked [+oblique] by the rule in (51) or become the target of agreement with T. Overall, then, the distribution of syntactic positions for theme arguments and hence the differential morphosyntactic behavior of themes receives a principled account given the hypothesis that the definiteness hierarchy is directly encoded in the phrase structure.

The analysis just fleshed out contrasts with another type of approach developed by Judith Aissen in Aissen (1999, 2003), which relatedly seeks to account for the role of markedness hierarchies (e.g. the definiteness hierarchy) in morphosyntax by formally integrating such hierarchies into linguistic description. Aissen's work is couched within Optimality Theory (OT), and is primarily concerned with two phenomena: Subject choice/voice (Aissen 1999) and differential object marking (Aissen 2003). Aissen's approach to these phenomenon can be straightforwardly extended to account for the morphosyntactic patterns in Tagalog (theme-externalization and oblique marking) that have been our primary focus.

The key ingredient to such an account is the set of constraints in (76), where the constraint $*OBJ/PRO \& *\emptyset_{OBL}$, for instance, is read as "avoid a pronominal object that is not oblique marked". These constraint are derived by two operations. The first operation is HARMONIC ALIGNMENT of the definiteness hierarchy in (68) with the grammatical relation hierarchy in (74).²⁰

 $^{^{20}}$ Harmonic Alignment (Prince & Smolensky 1993:136). Suppose given a binary dimension D_1 with a scale X > Y on its elements $\{X, Y\}$, and another dimension D_2 with a scale a > b... > z on its elements. The harmonic alignment of D_1 and D_2 is the pair of Harmony scales.

 H_x : $X/a \succ X/b \succ ... \succ X/z$ H_y Y/z ... $\succ Y/b \succ Y/a$

Harmonic alignment yields the Harmony scales in (75), which are reinterpreted in an OT setting as the constraint hierarchies in (76). The second operation involved in deriving the constraints in (77) is local conjunction of the constraints in (76b) with a constraint $*\emptyset_{Obl}$, which penalizes noun phrases that surface without oblique case marking.

- (74) Subj(ect) > Obj(ect)
- (75) a. Subj/Pro ≻ Subj/Name ≻ Subj/Def ≻ Subj/Spec ≻ Subj/NSpec
 - b. Obj/NSpec > Obj/Spec > Obj/Def > Obj/Name > Obj/Pro
- (76) a. *SUBJ/NSPEC ≫ *SUBJ/SPEC ≫ *SUBJ/DEF ≫ *SUBJ/NAME ≫ *SUBJ/PRO
 - b. $*Obj/Pro \gg *Obj/Name \gg *Obj/Def \gg *Obj/Spec \gg *Obj/NSpec$

(77) *ObJ/Pro & *
$$\emptyset_{OBL}$$
 > *ObJ/Name & * \emptyset_{OBL} > *ObJ/Def & * \emptyset_{OBL} > *ObJ/Spec & * \emptyset_{OBL} > *ObJ/NSpecific & * \emptyset_{OBL}

Two constraints in addition to the ones in (77) will play an important role: *THEME/SUB(JECT) (which penalizes a clause in which the theme is realized as the subject) and *STRUC_{OBL}, which penalizes any realization of oblique case. Given these constraints, the pattern with respect to pronoun and proper name themes can be accounted for by stipulating that the constraints *OBJ/PRO & * \emptyset _{OBL} and *OBJ/NAME & * \emptyset _{OBL} outrank the constraints *THEME/SUB(JECT) and *STRUC_{OBL}. Consider the tableau in (78), where a form with a pronominal theme is realized as a non-oblique (e.g. genitive) marked object ((78a)) is compared to a form where the pronominal theme is realized either as the subject ((78b)) or an oblique marked object ((78c)). Of these three forms, only the latter two forms satisfy the highly ranked constraint.

	V Th/Pro	*ObJ/Pro & *∅ _{Obl}	*TH/SUBJ	*STRUC _{OBL}
(78)	a. V[ACT] Th/Obj/Pro/[-obl]	*!		
(70)	☞ b. V[TH] Th/Subj/Pro/[-obl]		*	
	☞ c. V[ACT] Th/Obj/Pro/[+obl]			*

As long as the constraints *THEME/SUB(JECT) and *STRUC_{OBL} are not crucially ranked with respect to one another, either of the forms (78b) or (78c) will be generated.²¹ Given that both of these forms are possible and widely attested, this is a positive result.

The constraint alignment is the pair of constraint hierarchies.

$$C_x$$
: *X/z \gg ... \gg *X/b \gg *X/a
 C_y : *Y/a \gg *Y/b \gg ... \gg *Y/z

²¹In OT, it is uncommon to suppose that constraints can be unranked with respect to one another. Instead, it is typically proposed that there is principle optionality of constraint ranking, but at the time of constraint evaluation, all constraints are ordered. A variety of proposals for handling optionality in OT exist, including Antilla (1997)'s stratified partial ordering approach, and the stochastic OT approach of Boersma & Hayes (2001).

The patterns for realizing non-pronoun/proper name specific themes can also be described in this framework. The fact that such themes can be realized as genitive marked objects of actor-subject clauses follows if the constraints *OBJ/DEF & * \emptyset_{OBL} and *OBJ/SPEC & * \emptyset_{OBL} are equally ranked with the (equally ranked) *THEME/SUB(JECT) and *STRUC_{OBL} constraints. Tableau (79) shows the three possible output forms for a sentence with a specific theme (the theme may be realized as a non-oblique object ((79a)), as the subject of a theme-subject sentence ((79b)), or as an oblique object of an actor-subject clause ((79c)).

The OT approach and the approach articulated above (as (71)/(72)-(73)) both make crucial use of the idea the definiteness hierarchy in (68) plays a key role in accounting for the morphosyntactic patterns relating to the realization of the theme argument in Tagalog. They differ, of course, with respect to exactly how the hierarchy is formally integrated into the grammar—in terms of (violable) constraints or in terms of the phrase structure. As far as the surface morphosyntactic patterns are concerned, both approaches fair well. The scope facts discussed in Section 5, however, point to at least one clear advantage of the approach which makes the definiteness hierarchy a part of the phrase structure. Concretely, because this approach connects the morphpsyntax of the theme directly the to syntactic scope of the theme, such that (e.g.) oblique marked objects are necessarily structurally more prominent than genitive marked objects, the observation that oblique but not genitive marked objects may have wider scope with respect to the external argument follows.

The OT approach, on the other hand, makes no connection between the surface morphosyntactic patterns and relative syntactic scope. This is not because such connections are incompatible with the OT approach, as Aissen (2003:474-475) notes, but because the OT approach is concerned with the surface morphosyntax alone. For the phrase structure approach, the morphosyntactic patterns are inextricably linked to the hierarchical distribution of arguments in the structure of the clause. The is because the processes like agreement and oblique case assignment (e.g. whether T agrees with the theme or the external argument; whether the oblique case assignment rule in (51) marks a theme as oblique or not) are sensitive to structural properties of the theme argument involving structural notions like c-command (e.g. for agreement: whether the theme c-command the external argument, or whether the external argument c-commands the theme) and Phase-hood (e.g. for oblique case assignment: whether the theme and the external are in the same Phase or in separate Phases). Because the phrase-structure approach to the definiteness hierarchy provides a direct connection between morphosyntax and syntactic (as well as semantic) scope, it offers a more parsimonious account of the Tagalog facts.

7 Conclusion

This paper started out by introducing two goals—(i) to provide an expanded empirical study of the relationship between specificity and the morphosyntax of the theme argument in Tagalog and (ii) to offer a formal account of the observed patterns. Regarding the first goal, we have observed, contra the claims of previous work on this subject, that not all specific themes behave alike. Pronouns and proper name themes must be realized either as the subject of a theme-subject clause (=theme-externalization) or as an oblique marked object of an actor-subject clause. These two strategies are available for non-pronoun/proper name specific themes as well, but in addition, non-pronoun/proper name specific themes may be expressed as genitive marked objects in actor-subject clauses. Regarding the second goal, I proposed an account for these patterns that rested on the idea, originally proposed in Merchant (2006) with antecedents in [references], that the definiteness hierarchy is directly encoded in the clause structure and makes available distinct landing sites for themes that have been displaced from the VP. The resulting clausal architecture (see (71)/(72)-(73)) interacts with an invariant agreement process between T and a local DP and a rule that assigns oblique case to DPs to derive the surface morphosyntactic patterns.

Appendix

Source of attested examples.

- A1 http://m.pep.ph/mobile/news
- A2 http://www.pinoyexchange.com/forums/printthread.php?t=345875&pp=40&page=43
- A3 http://adb.scripturetext.com/daniel/10.htm
- A4 http://misschuniverse.blogspot.com/2011/07/other-boleyn-gurl.html?zx=62472e556241e80
- A5 http://chook-mindersquill.blogspot.com/2008/12/nagpapasalamat-ako-kay-maya-at-kay.html
- A6 http://pasapinoy.com/2011/03/21/historyador-iv-bagabag/
- A7 http://lds.org/conference/talk/display/0,5232,23-8-33-11,00.html
- A8 http://www.iluko.com/article.aspx?articleid=9485
- A9 http://flightlessbird.blogdrive.com/comments?id=1
- A10 http://sandalilamang.blogspot.com/2007/02/pagtula.html
- A11 http://michaelcdeuna.blogspot.com/2009/01/cancer-awareness-week.html

- A12 http://fil.wikipilipinas.org/index.php?title=10_Pinakamagagandang_ Unibersidad_para_sa_Abogasya_sa_Pilipinas&redirect=no
- A13 http://openlibrary.org/authors/OL212685A/Brigido_C._Batungbakal
- A14 http://kagawaran.blogspot.com/2008_09_01_archive.html
- A15 http://sandionisiocredit.coop/content/ulat-ng-lupon-sa-pag-utang
- A16 http://groups.yahoo.com/group/SRHS76ERS/message/4265
- A17 http://www.wikiknow.info/index.php?lang=tl&id=2187
- A18 www.news-medical.net/news/20110902/182/Filipino.aspx
- A19 http://www.ebiblefellowship.com/tl/may21_tl.html
- A20 http://tl.reingex.com/Dokumento-I-export-Import.shtml
- A21 http://www.info.gov.hk/aids/rrc/res/pa018.pdf
- A22 http://www.abante-tonite.com/issue/mar1310/public_dokz.htm
- A23 http://knowledgearoundyou.weebly.com/1/post/2011/6/buhay-sa-mundo.html
- A24 http://pilipinasatbp.wordpress.com/tag/alamat/
- A25 http://www.tinig.com/forums/viewtopic.php?f=16&t=1291
- A26 http://www.scn.org/mpfc/modules/tm-sttt.htm
- A27 http://forums.ansaar.nl/huwelijk-islam/20061-hoe-haal-ik-mijn-ouders-over.html?language=tl
- A28 http://www.ucertify.com/l/tl/ciw-security-analyst.html
- A29 http://www.computerflux.org/index.php?lang=tl&id=6149
- A30 http://www.oh-philippines.com/au2/bookstore/view.php?id=774&cat=love
- A31 http://atesienna.pansitan.net/archives/2004/04/index.html
- A32 http://forum.bilyar.net/viewtopic.php?t=3298&sid=30f78c5c815ece5f38cc3ebbda3766bb
- A33 http://www.bibleforchildren.org/PDFs/tagalog/David%20the%20Shepherd%20Boy%20Tagalog%20CB.pdf
- A34 http://monmen.multiply.com/journal/item/24
- A35 http://tuklasinnatin.wordpress.com/page/40/

- A36 http://www.ichs.com/Image/Health%20Line%20Aut09&Win10%20lo-res.pdf
- A37 http://www.pinoyexchange.com/forums/printthread.php?t=391188&pp=20&page=65
- A38 http://philippinelaw.info/jurisprudence/grl23464-people-v-arabaca.html
- A39 http://www.chaffey.edu/registration_steps/tagalog.pdf
- A40 http://telebisyon.net/balita/Sandara-walang-Korean-bf/artikulo/172990/
- A41 http://divinerevelations.info/Documents/8_year_old_girl/Tagalog_Visions_of_the_Rapture.pdf
- A42 http://www.wattpad.com/5336369-my-thesis-adviser-on-hold-my-thesis-adviser-second?p=3
- A43 http://www.pinoyexchange.com/forums/showthread.php?t555543&page148
- A44 http://www.learn-math.info/filipino/historyDetail.htm?idDinghas
- A45 http://www.engrmoks.com/2011/06/pilipinas-got-talent-2-grand-winner.html#axzz28dAsdbTx
- A46 http://www.immunize.org/vis/tagalog_hpv_gardasil.pdf
- A47 http://dongchoco14.wordpress.com/2012/08/31/hindi-perpekto-ang-buhay/
- A48 http://www.jw.org/tl/turo-ng-bibliya/pamilya/pambata/laro-at-larawan/pinakain-ni-jesus-maraming-tao/
- A49 http://www.bomboradyo.com/news/41-top-headlines/18793-bahagi-ng-mindanao-niyanig-ng-lindol
- A50 http://www.filipinopod101.com/2012/09/27/advanced-audio-blog-s2-13-top-10-filipino-artists-ang-kiukok/
- A51 http://tl.answers.com/Q/Paano_kunin_ang_bawat_lokasyon

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