

Ang-marked NPs in Recent Perfective in Tagalog

Emerson Lopez Odango and Yuko Otsuka (University of Hawaii)

Tagalog is a predicate-initial language with five-way system of verbal morphology that correlates with the thematic role of the syntactically prominent NP of the clause, marked by a prenominal marker *ang*: Actor Focus (AF), Patient Focus (PF), Locative Focus (LF), Beneficiary Focus (BF), and Instrumental Focus (IF) (1). Other NPs are marked by either *ng* (genitive) or *sa* (oblique). The *ang*-marked NP is obligatorily specific and is the only constituent that can be *wh*-extracted (2). *Ng*-marked NPs are ambiguous in specificity (Schachter & Otnes 1972).

Recent Perfective (RP) demonstrates peculiar properties: (a) the verb lacks focus morphology (3); (b) *ang*-marking is optional and restricted to patient (PAT, fully or partially affected) and beneficiary involving transfer of possession (BEN/POSSR), but not agent (AGT), location (LOC), or instrument (INST, including BEN not involving transfer of possession) (4); and (c) AGT and PAT can be *wh*-extracted (5), but the extraction of LOC and INST is banned, and that of BEN and partially affected PAT is marginal (Kroeger 1993, Odango 2011). In short, unlike the regular verbal constructions, RP does not show correlation between the verbal morphology, *ang*-marking, and the constraint on *wh*-extraction (6).

The special properties of *ang* have been associated with [Spec, *v*] (Aldridge 2004; Rackowski 2002). In non-AF constructions, an NP raises to [Spec, *v*] from a VP-internal base position due to *v*'s EPP-feature and receives *ang*-marking. LF/BF/IF are analyzed as applicative constructions, where the applied object (located above the patient) undergoes raising. The specificity effect of *ang* is explained in terms of the mapping hypothesis (MH, Diesing 1992): VP-external materials receive specific interpretation. Accessibility to *wh*-extraction is explained in terms of locality: due to raising, *ang*-DP is higher and therefore closer to the probe, C, than the other DPs in the construction. Focus morphology is seen either as agreement with the *ang*-NP or derivational morphology responsible for (di)transitivity. A crucial hypothesis is that non-AF constructions contain *v* with an EPP-feature, which is responsible for *ang*-assignment.

In RP, the distribution of *ang* does not correlate with verbal morphology or the ability to be *wh*-extracted. The only common property the *ang*-NPs in RP share with those in regular verbal constructions is specificity. We therefore argue that the assignment of *ang* in RP is semantic-driven, rather than syntactically motivated. We argue that the lack of focus morphology should be understood as the lack of relevant functional heads to license DP raising and that consequently, the DPs remain in situ in RP (cf. Guilfoyle et al. 1992). Given MH, AGT (outside VP) receives specific interpretation. To compensate for the unavailability of the syntactic means to force specific interpretation of VP-internal arguments, speakers utilize *ang* as a morphological marker of specificity instead. This need to morphologically mark specificity arises only for non-agents; hence the agent in RP is never *ang*-marked.

The inability of LOC/INST to take *ang* or to undergo *wh*-movement in RP suggests that they cannot be applicativized (due to the lack of relevant verbal morphology) and can only be OBL (marked by *sa*). OBL-extraction is also banned in non-RP constructions, except for LOC, for which the locative *wh*-form *saan* is used (7). Note that OBL NPs tend to receive specific interpretation (Himmelman 2005, inter alia). Thus, according to our hypothesis, it is unnecessary (hence impossible) to use *ang*. In contrast, BEN/POSSR can take *ang*. We interpret this to suggest that applicativization of BEN/POSSR is available in RP despite the absence of the relevant morphology. BEN/POSSR is VP-internal (low applicative in Pytkänen's (2002) sense); *ang* is needed to indicate specificity.

Finally, the puzzling constraint on *wh*-extraction can then be accounted for in terms of Keenan & Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy (7): extraction is freely permitted on DO and

up, but only marginally on IO. The latter is probably due to the ambivalent status of BEN/POSSR between OBL and IO (applicativized object).

(1a) B<um>ili **ang** **lalake** ng bigas para sa babae. AF
 buy<AF.PERF> ANG man GEN rice for OBL woman
 'The **man** bought the/some rice for the woman.'

(1b) B<in>ili ng lalake **ang** **bigas** para sa babae. PF
 buy<PF.PERF> GEN man ANG rice for OBL woman
 'The/A man bought **the rice** for the woman.'

(2a) Sino ang b<um>ili ___ ng bigas? Actor wh-question in AF
 who ANG buy<AF.PERF> GEN rice
 'Who bought some rice?'

(2b) *Ano ang b<um>ili ang lalake ___? Patient wh-question in AF
 what ANG buy<AF.PERF> ANG man
 Intended: 'What did the man buy?'

(3) Kabi-bili (lang) ng lalake ng bigas.
 RP-buy just GEN man GEN rice
 'The man just bought some rice.'

(4a) RP with *ang* patient: Kabi-bili (lang) ng bata **ang** **mangga**.
 RP-buy just GEN child ANG mango
 'The/A child just bought **the mango**.'

(4b) RP with *ang* beneficiary:
 (transfer of possession) Kabi-bili (lang) ng bata ng mangga **ang** **guro**.
 RP-buy just GEN child GEN mango ANG teacher
 'The/A child just bought some mangos **for the teacher**.'

(4c) RP with *ang* agent:
 *Kabi-bili (lang) **ang** **bata** ng mangga.
 RP-buy just ANG child GEN mango
 Intended: '**The child** just bought the mango.'

(4d) RP with *ang* location Kau-upo (lang) ng bata ***ang/sa** **banig**.
 RP-sit just GEN child ANG/OBL mat
 Intended: 'The/A child just sat down on **the mat**.'

(5a) Sino ang kabi-bili ___(lang) ng bigas?
 who ANG RP-BUY just GEN rice
 'Who just bought some rice?'

(5b) Ano ang kabi-bili (lang) ng lalake ___?
 what ANG RP-buy just GEN man
 'What did the man just buy?'

(6)	agent	patient	beneficiary	location	instrument
Ang-marking	*	√	√	*	*
Wh-extraction	√	√	?	*	*

(7) **Saan** b<um>ili ang lalake ng bigas ___?
 where BUY<AF.PERF> ANG man GEN rice
 'Where did the man buy the/some rice?'

(8) SBJ (AGT) > DO (PAT) > IO (BEN/POSSR) > OBL (LOC/INST) > GEN > OCOMP