

MATTERS OF LOCALITY IN TAGALOG A'-EXTRACTION

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION: TAGALOG EXTRACTION RESTRICTION

- Well-known restriction: A'-extraction in Tagalog favors a **syntactically prominent argument** in a clause
- **PIVOT**:
 - ▶ Typically one per clause
 - ▶ Bears nominative marking (*ang, si*, etc.)
 - ▶ In verbally predicated clauses, determined by the **voice** form

- (1) a. K<um>a~kain **ang kambing** ng papel.
AV.IPFV~eat NOM goat GEN paper
'The goat is eating paper.'
- b. K<in>a~kain ng kambing **ang papel**.
IPFV~eat[PV] GEN goat NOM paper
'The goat is eating the paper.'

Pivot-only restriction

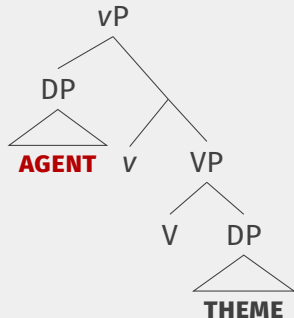
Only the **PIVOT** of a clause is a valid target for A'-dependency formation.

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

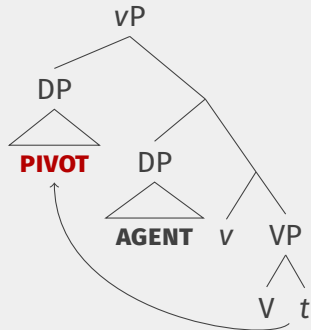
A common intuition

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

(3) AV CONFIGURATION



(4) NON-AV CONFIGURATION



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

General Claim

What blocks certain DP arguments from being accessible to A'-extraction in Tagalog is the **vP phase** (or something like it), rather than the presence of a higher DP.

Corollaries:

1. Any DP that escapes this “phase” can undergo A'-extraction (\approx Pivot extraction)
2. **Eliminating the “phase boundary” allows free extraction**

Will show:

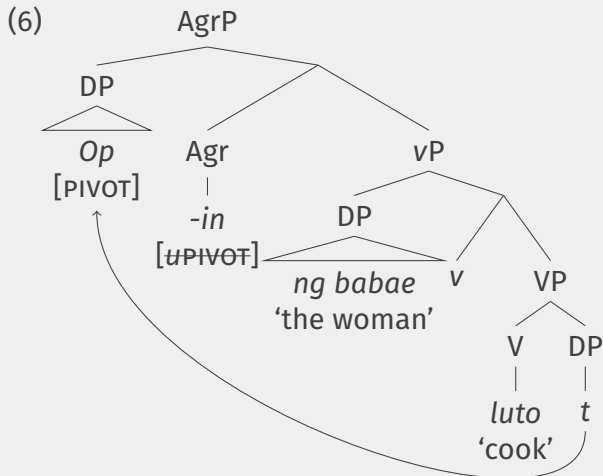
- Absence of **INFLECTIONAL STRUCTURE** renders the domain of **THETA-ROLE ASSIGNMENT** transparent to A'-extraction
- Analysis of previously noted behavior with the **RECENT PERFECTIVE** form (McGinn, 1988; Schachter, 1996)
- Novel evidence from **EXCLAMATIVE ADJECTIVES**
- Focus on relativization

BACKGROUND: EXTRACTION OF PIVOTS

- Analysis as applied to the classical examples of pivot extraction
- Propose functional head **Agr^o** adopting label from McGinn (1988)
 - ▶ Spelled out as Austronesian **Voice** morphemes (*m-/<um>, -in, -an, i-*)
 - ▶ Single specifier position hosts the **Pivot**
- Agr^o is merged outside vP
 - ▶ Pivot necessarily moves out of vP, thus allowing it to undergo A'-extraction
 - ▶ **NOTE:** Not distinguishable from **Highest-DP** approaches as the pivot DP is the highest argument — stay tuned

RELATIVIZATION OF PIVOT

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



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

- Spells out Austronesian-type **voice morphology** as a reflex of Agree (similar in spirit to agreement-based analyses of Pearson, 2001; Rackowski, 2002; Chen, 2017)
 - ▶ AV <um>/m-, PV -in, LV -an, CV i-
- In verbal constructions, **presence of NOM-marked pivot** is determined by the presence of voice, rather than of tense/aspect (7) vs (8) (“high”-ABS; but not as high as T⁰; cf. Aldridge, 2004)

(7) **Nag-pa-labas ako** ng delata [para **i-pa-kain ang pusa**].

AV.PFV-CAUS-out 1SG.NOM NOM canned for CV-CAUS-eat NOM cat
 ‘I had a can taken out (of the pantry) [to feed the cat].’

(8) Na-tuwa ang mga bata [sa **pagpa~pa-kain ko sa pusa**].

PFV-be.delighted NOM PL child OBL GER~CAUS-eat 1SG.GEN OBL cat
 ‘The children were delighted [at my feeding of the cat].’

POSITION OF AGR⁰

- **Co-occurrence** in different environments suggests the hierarchy: **T⁰ > Agr⁰ > v⁰**
 - ▶ **A > B** = Environments that allow A also allow B to appear

Table: Implicational hierarchy in verbal morphology

	T ⁰	Agr ⁰	v ⁰	root	
nagpalabas	n-	m-	(p)ag- / pa-	labas	<i>Fully inflected</i>
ipakain		i-	pa-	kain	<i>Aspectless</i>
pagpapakain			pa- (pag+RED-?)	kain	<i>Gerund</i>

- (9) *para {**i-pa~pa-kain** / **i-p<in>a-kain** } ang pusa
 for CV-**FUT**~CAUS-eat CV-**<PFV>**CAUS-eat NOM cat
 Intended: 'to feed the cat'
- (10) *(sa) {**i-pa~pa-kain** / **pa-kain-in**} ko ng isda sa pusa
 OBL **CV-FUT**~CAUS-eat CAUS-eat-**PV** 1SG.GEN GEN isda OBL cat
 Intended: '(at) my feeding of fish the cat'

- **Sketched analysis of classical pivot extraction**
 - ▶ DP must move out of the theta-domain (= vP) to be accessible to high A'-probes
 - ▶ Pivot movement thus **feeds** A'-extraction
 - ▶ Non-pivot DPs remain within vP and are therefore inaccessible
- **Extending the feeding approach...**
 - ▶ Non-pivot agent extraction (Tanaka et al., 2016; Pizarro-Guevara and Wagers, 2018; also Erlewine and Lim, 2018 on Bikol)
 - ▶ Possessor subextraction (Ceña, 1979; Kroeger, 1993; Nakamura, 1996; also Bell, 1983 on Cebuano)
 - ▶ Feeding by a process I call Genitive Inversion (see Hsieh 2020 for details)
- **Up next: Evidence for the activity of the proposed boundary**
 - ▶ “Phase” boundary inactive when **inflectional layer absent** → **feeding unnecessary**
 - ▶ Freer extraction in the **RECENT PERFECTIVE** construction
 - ▶ Asymmetrical behavior among **EXCLAMATIVE ADJECTIVE** constructions

THE RECENT PERFECTIVE FORM

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

- Marked with a prefix **kaRED-/kaka-** + clitic adverb *lang* 'only'
- Conveys the recent completion of some event
- No reflexes of **Agr^o**: No pivot + No voice morphemes (<um>/m-, -in, -an, i-)
- **Question:** Is it possible to A'-extract arguments from RPFV?

EXTRACTION

- All DP arguments can extract out of RPFV (Kroeger, 1993; McGinn, 1988; Schachter, 1996)
- **ABSENCE OF PIVOT MOVEMENT** perhaps paradoxically leads to **FREER** extraction

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

Proposal

Absence of inflectional structure in the Recent Perfective construction allows A'-probes to target all vP-internal DPs

- **Recall:** No reflexes of **Agr^o** = No pivot + No voice morphemes (<um>/m-, -in, -an, i-)

- Lacks **aspect morphology**, despite its meaning (*pace* McGinn 1988)
 - ▶ **Ka-** does not appear in the regular aspectual paradigm
 - ▶ **CV-reduplication** normally contributes *non-completedness* (FUT, IPFV)

Table: Regular aspectual paradigm (root *bili* ‘buy’)

	[+COMPL]	CV-Redup. [–COMPL]	RPFV form(s):
[+BEGUN]	<i>bilh-an</i> (Aspectless)	bi ~ <i>bilh-an</i> (Future)	kaka -bili ka-bi ~bili
<i>n-/<in></i>	<i>b<in>ilh-an</i> (Perfective)	b<in>i ~ <i>bilh-an</i> (Imperfective)	

- Various **left-peripheral processes** are unavailable

(13) *Negation*

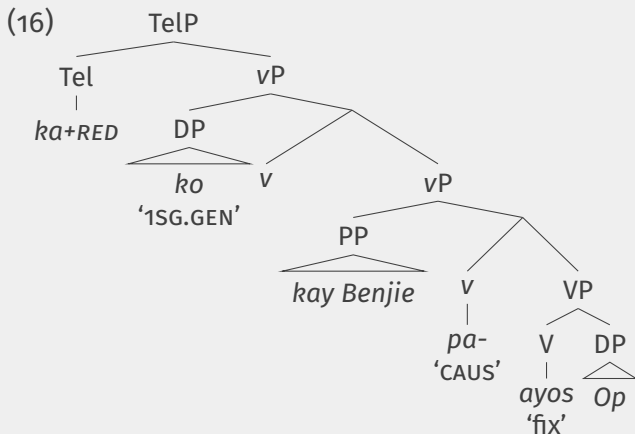
- a. **Hindi** ko **bi~bilh-in** ang damit.
NEG 1SG.GEN FUT~buy-PV NOM clothes
'I won't buy the clothes.'
- b. ***Hindi** ko lang **kabi~bili** ang damit.
NEG 1SG.GEN only FUT~buy-PV NOM clothes
'I haven't just bought the clothes.'

(14) *Genitive inversion* (see Hsieh, 2020)

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

RECENT PERFECTIVE: ANALYSIS

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



- RPFV lacks structure from the inflectional domain (AgrP, TP)
- Assume $\text{Tel}^0 = ka+RED^{-1}$
- TelP is the extent of the functional structure for RPFV
- All DP arguments are accessible, **even though none have evacuated vP**

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

Two ways that A'-extraction in Tagalog can proceed

1. FEEDING MOVEMENT

- ▶ Follows some intuition of previous work: High position facilitates extraction
- ▶ Different formalization: Escaping vP is the crucial detail
- ▶ Pivot movement proposed as one way to do this

2. ELIMINATION OF INFLECTIONAL LAYER

- ▶ RPFV arguments can extract despite lacking (evidence of) feeding movement
- ▶ **Further support** from EXCLAMATIVE ADJECTIVES
 - Again, no evidence of feeding movement
 - Availability of extraction corresponds to presence of (adjectival) inflectional structure

ADJECTIVES AND EXCLAMATIVES

ADJECTIVALLY PREDICATED CLAUSES

(17) **Ma-**galing **ang bata** sa pagpi~pinta.

ADJ-skillful NOM child OBL GER~paint

'The child is good at painting.'

(18) bata=ng [**ma-**galing <**ang bata**> sa pagpi~pinta]

child=LK ADJ-skillful NOM child OBL GER~paint

'child who is good at painting' / ('[good at painting] child?')

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

EXCLAMATIVE ADJECTIVES

- Exclamative forms bear a **different prefix**, assign **GEN** to subjects
- Extraction is possible with *napaka-* and *kay* but not with *ang*

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

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

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

Claim

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

NO FEEDING MOVEMENTS

■ Parallel with Recent Perfective: Arguments stay in-situ

- ▶ **PIVOT MOVEMENT:** No NOM argument (assume *ma-* is a reflex of Agr^0 with adjectives)
- ▶ **GENITIVE INVERSION:** Ungrammatical (21)

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

- ## ■ **Implication:** A'-extraction cannot be fed by movement out of the domain of theta-role assignment, so the phase boundary must be missing in some cases
- ## ■ I claim again that this boundary is tied to the presence or absence of **inflection**

(22) **Optional plural agreement** (CV-reduplication)

a. Ma-(**ta~**)talino ang mga mag-aarál.

ADJ-PL~smart NOM PL student
'The students are smart.'

b. *Ma-(***ta~**)talino ang mag-aarál.

ADJ-PL~smart NOM student
Intended: 'The student is smart.'

(23) Softening **bisyllabic reduplication**

a. Ma-ínit pa ang sabaw.

ADJ-hot still NOM soup
'The soup is still hot.'

b. Ma-**inít~**ínit pa ang sabaw.

ADJ-RED~hot still NOM soup
'The soup is still somewhat hot.'

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

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

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

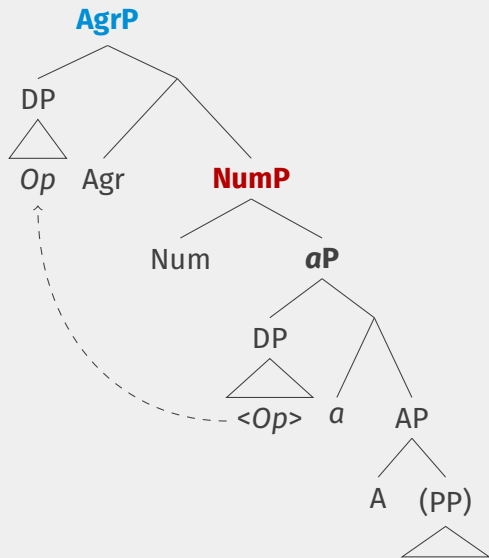
(25) a. Ang **ta~**talino ng mga mag-aarál!
ang PL~smart GEN PL student
 ‘The students are so smart!’

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

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

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

(27)



- Following Sabbagh's (2005) structure for adjectives
 - ▶ A° = Adjectival root
 - ▶ Adjectival subject in Spec,*aP*
- **Napaka-** and **kay**: structure up to ***aP***
 - ▶ No inflectional structure
 - ▶ In-situ *Op* accessible to A' -probe
- **Ang**: structure up to **NumP**
 - ▶ Inflectional layer renders *aP* opaque to extraction
 - ▶ No feeding movements
 - ▶ *Op* is trapped
- **Plain positive adj**: up to **AgrP**
 - ▶ *aP* is opaque to extraction
 - ▶ *Op* escapes via pivot movement
 - ▶ A' -extraction can proceed

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Main Claim

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

1. DPs must escape this domain to be accessible to A'-extraction
2. This domain becomes transparent in the absence of inflectional structure

■ In the verbal domain

- ▶ Fully inflected forms require pivot movement; no extraction of in-situ DPs
- ▶ Recent Perfective form lacks inflection; allows free DP extraction

■ In the adjectival domain

- ▶ Exclamative adjective forms lack feeding movement (e.g., pivot movement)
- ▶ *Napaka-* and *kay* exclamatives lack inflection; in-situ DP argument is accessible
- ▶ *Ang* exclamatives exhibit inflection; in-situ DP argument is trapped

■ Nature of opacity

- ▶ Why does the presence of the inflectional layer render vP and aP transparent?
- ▶ Under a phase-based approach: Timing of spell-out?

■ DP vs Non-DP extraction

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

■ Structure of adjectives in Tagalog

- ▶ Broader range of adjectival constructions necessary to ascertain full structure

THANK YOU!
SALAMAT PO!

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