Person-Case Effects in Tagalog

and the Nature of Long-Distance Extraction[*]

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1. Introduction

This paper will investigate the intersection of two kinds of phenomena. One is so-called "wh-agreement" of the Austronesian type, here exemplified by Tagalog:

(1)   a. Sino ang   nagbigay   ng bulaklak sa   kanya?

          who ANG **NOM**-gave NG flower   DAT 3

          'Who gave him/her the flower?'

    b. Sino ang   binigyan   mo   ng bulaklak?

          who ANG **DAT**-gave   NG-you NG flower

          'Who did you give the flower to?'

    c. Ano ang   ibinigay   mo   sa   kanya?

          what ANG **OBL**-gave NG-you DAT 3

          'What did you give him/her?'

Tagalog wh-extraction of DPs requires the verb to bear a kind of agreement (underlined and boldfaced in the above examples) with the extracted DP. Following Rackowski (2002), I take this agreement to be agreement for Case, generated on *v* when it triggers movement of the wh-phrase to the edge of the *v*P phase.

The other phenomenon which will be of interest here is a requirement that certain types of DPs be 3rd person. The constraint has gone by several names in the literature, including the *me-lui* constraint and the Person-Case constraint. Bonet (1991, 1994) discusses the effect in double object constructions, offering the generalization in (2), which holds in a variety of languages:

(2)   If there is a Dative argument, the Accusative argument must be 3rd person.

The examples in (3-4) demonstrate this effect for double object constructions in Basque and Greek:

Basque

(3)   a.   Zuk   niri   liburua   saldu d   -i   -da   -zu

               you-ERG me-DAT book-ABS sold   ABS.3 AUX DAT.1 ERG.2

               'You sold me the book'   [**DAT** 1, **ACC** 3]

        b.   * Lapurrek   Joni   ni   saldu n-   -(a)i -o   -te

               thieves-ERG Jon-DAT me-ABS sold   ABS.1 AUX DAT.3 ERG.3pl

               'The thieves have sold me to Jon'   [**DAT** 3, **ACC** 1]

        c.   * Lapurrek   zuri   ni   saldu n-   -(a)i -zu   -te

               thieves-ERG you-DAT me-ABS sold   ABS.1 AUX DAT.2 ERG.3pl

               'The thieves have sold me to you'   [**DAT** 2, **ACC** 1]

Greek

(4) a.   Tha   su   ton   stilune

        FUT   you   him   send-3pl

        'They will send you him'   [**DAT** 2, **ACC** 3]

     b.   * Tha   tu   se   stilune

        FUT   him   you   send-3pl

        'They will send him you'   [**DAT** 3, **ACC** 2]

What the well-formed examples in (3-4) have in common is obedience to Bonet's

condition in (2); the Accusative argument in (3a) and (4a) is 3rd person.

Both the Tagalog wh-agreement phenomenon and the Person-Case effect have

been dealt with in recent work by accounts positing single Probes that Agree with

multiple Goals. Taken together, these accounts predict that certain instances of extraction

ought to exhibit Person-Case effects. We will see that this prediction is borne out, and

that the evidence for these independently developed accounts is thereby strengthened. In

particular, we will see evidence that extraction which crosses a clause boundary

sometimes involves a Probe in the matrix clause Agreeing first with the embedded clause

and then with the extracted phrase.

2. A phenomenon, and some theories

Tagalog has a type of movement which I will refer to here as *ay*-fronting, exemplified in

(5):

(5)   a.   Pilipino ang   guro   a'. <u>Ang guro</u>   **ay** Pilipino

             Filipino ANG teacher   ANG teacher AY Filipino

             'The teacher is Filipino'   'The teacher is Filipino'

    b.   Pilipino si   Juan   b'. <u>Si   Juan</u> **ay**   Pilipino

             Filipino ANG Juan   ANG Juan AY Filipino

             'Juan is Filipino'   'Juan is Filipino'

    c.   Pilipino ako   c'. <u>Ako</u>   **ay** Pilipino

             Filipino ANG-I   ANG-I AY Filipino

             'I'm Filipino'   'I'm Filipino'

(5a-c) demonstrate the ordinary predicate-initial word order of Tagalog. As we can see in

(5a'-c'), however, this order may be disrupted by an operation which moves a particular

DP to a pre-predicate position, where it is followed by a morpheme *ay*. Tagalog speakers

describe this operation as completely optional, with no obvious effect on the meaning of

the sentence.

      Ay-fronting may cross clause boundaries. In (6b), the *ay*-fronted phrase is the

subject of the embedded clause:

(6)   a.   Sinabi   ng mga pulis [na nagnakaw ang guro   ng   kotse]

             ACC-said NG PL police that **NOM**-stole ANG teacher NG   car

             'The police said that the teacher stole a car'

    b.   <u>Ang guro</u>   **ay** sinabi   ng   mga pulis [na nagnakaw _ ng kotse]

             ANG teacher AY **ACC**-said NG PL   police that **NOM**-stole   NG car

             '*The teacher*, the police said __ stole a car'

However, as (7) shows, *ay*-fronting across clause boundaries is subject, for many Tagalog speakers, to an interesting restriction; the fronted DP must be 3rd person:

(7) a. <u>Siya</u>   **ay** sinabi   ng mga pulis [na nagnakaw _ ng kotse]

ANG-he/she AY **ACC**-said NG PL   police that **NOM**-stole   NG car

'*He/she*, the police said __ stole a car'

b. * <u>Ako</u>   **ay** sinabi   ng mga pulis [na nagnakaw _ ng kotse]

ANG-I AY **ACC**-said NG PL   police that **NOM**-stole   NG car

'*I*, the police said __ stole a car'

The next sections will develop an account of this fact in Tagalog.

2.1 Person-Case Effects

As we saw in section 1, requirements that certain DPs be 3rd person are familiar in the syntactic literature. Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) develops an account of Bonet's Person-Case effects which attribute these effects to the nature of multiple Agree operations by a single Probe (see also Béjar and Rezac 2003). Her idea is that the first Agree operation does something to the Person feature of the Probe; we might think, for example, that the first Agree operation irrevocably values the Person feature. As a result, the Probe is rendered unable to Agree with other DPs that have a Person feature, since this feature would contradict the Person feature already established on the Probe by the first Agree operation (see Anagnostopoulou 2005, in particular, for an account along these lines). Following much work in morphology (Bonet 1991, Noyer 1992),

Anagnostopoulou assumes that 3rd person DPs lack a Person feature. Consequently,

Agree operations after the first must be with 3rd person DPs[1].

In the particular case of double object constructions, the idea is that a single Probe

Agrees first with the Dative argument and then with the Accusative argument:

(8)
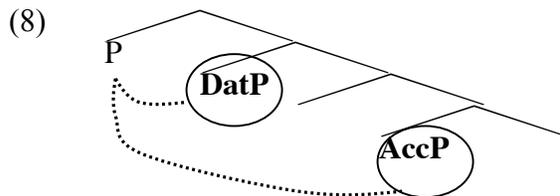
The first Agree operation, with the Dative argument, values the Person feature of the

Probe; as a consequence, the Accusative argument must be 3rd person for the Probe to be

able to Agree with it. As we saw in section 1, this is indeed the case; the Dative

argument may be of any person, but the Accusative argument must be 3rd person.

2.2 Tagalog extraction

Rackowski and Richards (to appear) develop a theory of wh-extraction which crucially

involves Probes Agreeing with multiple Goals. The theory is meant to deal with Tagalog

wh-agreement, and also with the CED.

The facts of Tagalog wh-agreement may be summarized as follows. As we saw

above, extraction of a DP requires the verb to Agree with that DP:

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[1] For this account to go forward, we must assume that if the Probe Agrees first with a 3rd person DP, this Agree operation is enough to irrevocably value the Person feature of the Probe (as "personless"); subsequent Agree operations still cannot contradict this value (that is, they must still be with personless DPs). In principle, the account developed here would allow a Probe to Agree with two 2nd person goals, for example, since the second Agree relation would not contradict the Person value given by the first Agree relation. In the particular cases we will be concerned with, I assume that binding theory will prevent this from happening; to be close enough together to participate in Agree relations with a single probe, the two 2nd person arguments would have to violate Condition B.

(9) a. Sino ang nagbigay ng bulaklak sa kanya?

who ANG **NOM**-gave NG flower DAT 3

'Who gave him/her the flower?'

b. Sino ang binigyan mo ng bulaklak?

who ANG **DAT**-gave NG-you NG flower

'Who did you give the flower to?'

c. Ano ang ibinigay mo sa kanya?

what ANG **OBL**-gave NG-you DAT 3

'What did you give him/her?'

In cases of wh-movement across clause boundaries, the verb of the clause with the extraction site must still Agree with the extracted phrase. Moreover, all higher verbs must Agree with the clause from which extraction is taking place:

(10) a. Sino ang sinabi ng magsasaka [na kumain ng bulaklak]?

what ANG **ACC**-said NG farmer that **NOM**-ate NG flower

'Who did the farmer say ate the flower?'

b. Ano ang sinabi ng magsasaka [na kinain ng kalabaw]?

what ANG **ACC**-said NG farmer that **ACC**-ate NG water-buffalo

'What did the farmer say the water-buffalo ate?'

c.* Ano ang sinabi ng magsasaka [na kumain ang kalabaw]?

what ANG **ACC**-said NG farmer that **NOM**-ate ANG water-buffalo

d.* Ano ang nagsabi ang magsasaka [na kinain ng kalabaw]?

what ANG **NOM**-said ANG farmer that **ACC**-ate NG water-buffalo

(10a-b) show extraction of an embedded subject and an embedded object, respectively. In both, the higher verb *sinabi* 'ACC-said' Agrees in case with the complement clause (and crucially not with the extracted wh-phrase)[2]. The embedded clause, on the other hand, has a verb which does Agree in case with the extracted phrase: *kumain* 'NOM-ate' for subject extraction, and *kinain* 'ACC-ate' for object extraction.

In Rackowski and Richards (to appear) we account for this pattern of facts by positing a version of locality which guarantees that when a wh-phrase is embedded in a CP, the CP will be closer to Probes outside the CP than the wh-phrase will. Following Richards 1998 and Hiraiwa 2001, we also assume that once the Probe has Agreed with this closer potential Goal, it is free to Agree with Goals that are further away.

The upshot of this is that in order for the *v* of the matrix clause to Agree with the wh-phrase, causing it to move out of the embedded clause, the matrix *v* must first Agree with the embedded CP. This has two consequences. First, in Tagalog, the first Agree relation determines the morphological form of *v*, correctly giving the result that extraction from an embedded clause will require *v* to Agree with that clause. Second, we argue that the approach yields a version of the CED; only those clauses with which *v* is in

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[2] Ian Roberts (p.c.) points out that the same generalization could be made about French participle agreement. French participles can agree with wh-moved objects (Kayne 1989, Branigan 1992, and much other work):

(i)   la   lettre   que Josèphe a   écrite   hier
         the-**FEM** letter-**FEM** that Joseph has written-**FEM** yesterday
         'the letter that Joseph wrote yesterday'

However, when wh-movement crosses clause boundaries, participle agreement fails to appear on verbs of higher clauses:

(ii)   * la   lettre   qu'il a   dite   que Claire lui a   envoyée
           the-**FEM** letter-**FEM** that.he has said-**FEM** that Claire him has sent
           'the letter that he said that Claire sent him'

The account developed here of the Tagalog facts should generalize to French; the higher verb in (ii) is required to agree with the complement clause (and thus to surface in the default form) rather than with the moving wh-phrase.

a position to Agree can be made transparent for extraction (namely, complement clauses, but not subject or adjunct clauses).

In short, Rackowski and Richards (to appear) claim that movement across a clause boundary involves two Agree relations by *v*, one with the embedded clause, and a second one with the moving XP. Local extraction, by contrast, only involves a single Agree relation with *v* in our system.

2.3. Multiple Goals and the Person-Case Effect in Tagalog

The previous sections have reviewed two theories which were developed on independent grounds. The first theory, that of Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005), predicts that when a Probe Agrees with multiple Goals, Goals after the first will be required to be 3rd person[3]. The second theory, that of Rackowski and Richards (to appear), claims that extraction across a clause boundary requires that the *v* of the higher clause Agree both with the embedded clause and with the extracted phrase.

Taken together, these two theories make a straightforward prediction: if a DP is extracted across a clause boundary, it should be required to be a 3rd person DP. As we have already seen, this is indeed the case in Tagalog:

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[3] All of the cases discussed in this paper will be ones in which all of the Goals for the relevant Probes are plausibly ones with Person features (DPs and CPs). If there is a distinction between having an unspecified Person feature (that is, being 3rd person) and having no Person feature at all, then a Probe could conceivably Agree with a Goal that lacks a Person feature entirely, leaving the Goal's Person feature intact. I will not try to explore this option here.

(11) a. ┌───┐
    Siya   **ay** sinabi   ng mga pulis [na nagnakaw _ ng kotse]

    ANG-he/she AY **ACC**-said NG PL police that **NOM**-stole   NG car

    '*He/she*, the police said __ stole a car'

b. * ┌───┐
    Ako   **ay** sinabi   ng mga pulis [na nagnakaw _ ng kotse]

    ANG-I AY **ACC**-said NG PL police that **NOM**-stole   NG car

    '*I*, the police said __ stole a car'

The well-formed extraction in (11a) exhibits the properties of wh-agreement which by now are familiar; the higher verb *sinabi* 'ACC-said' Agrees with the complement clause, and the verb of the embedded clause, *nagnakaw* 'NOM-stole' Agrees with the extracted phrase. As we expect, such extraction may move 3rd person DPs, but not 1st person DPs. Recall that this is crucially a property of extraction across clause boundaries; local extraction may freely move DPs of any person:

(12) a.   Siya   **ay** Pilipino

        ANG-he/she AY Filipino

        'He/she is Filipino'

b.   Ako   **ay** Pilipino

        ANG-I AY Filipino

        'I'm Filipino'

Again, this is what we expect; when extraction does not cross clause boundaries, no Probes need Agree with more than one Goal.

3. Multiple Goals in other languages

The preceding sections presented a way of expanding an established theory to deal with new data; Person-Case effects ought to appear, not just when multiple DPs are Goals for a single Probe, but also when a DP is extracted from an embedded clause. As we will see in this section, this prediction is borne out not just in Tagalog, but in a number of other languages, and the approach outlined here ought to generalize straightforwardly to these cases. These will all be cases in which extraction from certain types of domains requires that the extracted phrase be 3rd person.

In Basque, for instance, there is a form of raising out of tensed clauses which requires the raised DP to be 3rd person (Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina 2003, 654-655):

(13) a. Jon -ek   nekatuta dago -ela ematen   du

John ERG tired   **is**   that give-IMPF AUX

'John seems that [he] is tired'

b. * Nekatuta zaud -ela   ematen   duzu

tired   **are** that   give-IMPF AUX.2ERG

'You seem that [you] are tired'

Itelmen has a form of possessor raising out of subjects of intransitive verbs, which is again restricted to 3rd person possessors (Bobaljik and Wurmbrand to appear)[4]:

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[4] Unsettlingly, Jonathan Bobaljik (p.c.) tells me that Itelmen does not show Person-Case effects with its ditransitive verbs. Given that these verbs always agree with exactly one of the internal arguments, however, the possibility arises that there is no single Probe agreeing with both of these arguments. See Bobaljik and Wurmbrand (2002) for further discussion of Itelmen agreement.

(14) a. tχiin nʲenʲeke-čχ čača-z-in /   čača-s-kipiʔnin

         their   child-DIM   cry-PRES-3sg.SUBJ cry-PRES-**3pl.OBL**

         'Their child is crying'

   b. təzʷin nʲenʲeke-čχ čača-z-in /   * čača-s-sxin

         your-PL child-DIM   cry-PRES-3sg.SUBJ cry-PRES-**2pl**

         'Your (pl.) child is crying'

We can find a third instance of the same general pattern in English relativization. In relative clauses modifying 1st person pronouns, the relative operator may have 1st person features (detected by the type of agreement the operator triggers on the verb) just when it does not cross a clause boundary:

(15) a.   I, who **am** the best candidate…

   b.   * I, who **is** the best candidate…

   c.   *I, who nobody thinks **am** the best candidate…

   d.   I, who nobody thinks **is** the best candidate…

A similar constraint on relativization can be found in Spanish. Sentences like (16) are grammatical in Spanish (Esther Torrego, p.c.):

(16)   Hemos   venido los profesores

           have-1PL come   the professors

           'We, the professors, have come'

That is, the verb may bear 1st person plural agreement with a 3rd person subject, giving an interpretation in which the 3rd person DP is taken as a property of a pronominal subject (a phenomenon referred to as 'unagreement'; Jaeggli 1986, Rivero 2004, and references cited there). This option in Spanish makes it possible to test the main hypothesis of this

paper by considering relative clauses on ordinary DPs (rather than relative clauses on pronouns, as in the English example above). The facts turn out as we expect; the Spanish relative operator may have 1st person features just in case it does not need to cross a clause boundary:

(17) a.　los　profesores [que　estamos　trabajando　en　el　edificio]

　　　　　 the　professors　　that are-**1PL**　working　　 in　the　building

　　　　　 'we, the professors that are working in the building'

　　 b.*　los　profesores [que　nadia　　cree

　　　　　 the　professors　　that　nobody　believes

　　　　　　　　 [que　estamos　　trabajando　en　el　edificio]]

　　　　　　　　　 that　are-**1PL**　　working　　 in　the　building

　　　　　 'we, the professors that nobody believes are working in the building'

　　　 Finally, a relevant phenomenon may be found in Passamaquoddy long-distance agreement, though detecting the Person-Case effect is not as straightforward in this case. Long-distance agreement may in principle be with DPs of any person (Bruening 2001):

(20) a.　　N-wewitaham-a -**k** [mate nomiyawik **mawsuwinuwok** Kehlisk]

　　　　　 1 remember DIR 3pl　not　 I-saw-them people　　　　　　　 Calais-Loc

　　　　　 'I remember that I didn't see people in Calais'

　　 b.　　**K**-piluwitaham-ul [Mihku ketimacehat ['sami sakhiphuk-**ihin**]

　　　　　 2　suspect　　 1/2　M.　　would-leave　because drive.up　2

　　　　　 'I suspected (about **you**) [that Mihku would leave [when **you** drove up]]'

However, Bruening (2001) offers arguments that only examples like (20a), in which long-distance agreement is with a 3rd person DP, can be movement dependencies; long-

distance agreement of the type in (20b) involves a base-generated dependency[5]. If Bruening is right, then the account developed here would explain why (20b) cannot involve a movement operation. In turn, the Passamaquoddy facts suggest a possible approach to apparent counterexamples to the theory developed here; in Passamaquoddy, the apparent counterexamples have been independently argued to involve a base-generation strategy, and we might hope to associate other apparent counterexamples with a similar strategy.[6]

4. More Person-Case effects in Tagalog; multiple-*ang* sentences

In this section we will consider another Person-Case effect in Tagalog. This case will be more like the 'classic' instances of Person-Case, in that multiple DPs will be involved, rather than extraction out of an embedded clause. The case in question has to do with a kind of sentence which seems to be acceptable only to a subset of Tagalog speakers; still, for these speakers, the relevant judgments are quite robust.

For most speakers, *ay*-fronting exhibits the same conditions on verbal morphology that we find in wh-extraction:

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[5] One of Bruening's arguments has to do with the presence of the adjunct island in (20b); only Bruening's non-movement-based dependencies can violate islands in this way.
[6] For instance, there are Tagalog speakers who do not get the Person-Case effects reported in this paper, and one possibility is that they are exercising the same options that are open to Passamaquoddy speakers. I hope to do further research to help determine whether this is this case.

(21) a.   Kumain   ang kalabaw   ng bulaklak

              NOM-ate ANG water.buffalo NG flower

              'The water buffalo ate a flower'

      b.   <u>Ang kalabaw</u>   **ay**   kumain   ng bulaklak

              ANG water.buffalo AY **NOM**-ate NG flower

      c.   *<u>Ng bulaklak</u> **ay**   kumain   ang   kalabaw

              NG flower   AY **NOM**-ate ANG water.buffalo

      d.   <u>Ang bulaklak</u> **ay** kinain   ng kalabaw

              ANG flower AY **ACC**-ate NG water.buffalo

As the examples in (21) show, the verb agrees with the *ay*-fronted phrase (the subject, in

(21b), and the object, in (21d)). The example in (21c) is ill-formed because, although the

object has been fronted, the verb is agreeing with the subject.

    Tagalog does have verbs which do not agree with any arguments. When such

verbs are used, none of the DPs in the clause receive the marker *ang*, which typically

occurs on the DP controlling agreement (instead, both DPs receive the default case-

marker *ng*, pronounced /naŋ/):

(22)   Kabibili   lang ng lalaki ng   tela

               Rec.Perf.-bought just NG man   NG cloth

               'The man just bought the cloth'

With a verb of this type, either DP may be *ay*-fronted, and it is then marked with *ang*:

(23)   a.   <u>Ang lalaki</u> **ay** kabibili   lang ng tela

            ANG man AY Rec.Perf.-bought just NG cloth

       b.   <u>Ang tela</u> **ay** kabibili   lang ng lalaki

            ANG cloth AY Rec.Perf.-bought just NG man

For some Tagalog speakers, this option is also extended to subjects of verbs which Agree

with their objects; these subjects may also be *ay*-fronted and marked with *ang*, yielding

what I will refer to as a multiple-ANG sentence:

(24)   <u>Ang kalabaw</u>   **ay** kinain   ang   bulaklak

            ANG water.buffalo AY **ACC**-ate ANG flower

            'The water buffalo ate the flower'

Here both the subject and the object are marked with *ang*, and the verb agrees

morphologically with the object. Objects cannot be fronted in multiple-ANG sentences:

(25)   * <u>Ang bulaklak</u> **ay** kinain/   kumain   ang   kalabaw

            ANG flower AY **ACC**-ate/**NOM**-ate ANG water.buffalo

Interestingly, for those Tagalog speakers who do allow multiple-ANG sentences, the

subject must be 3rd person in such sentences:

(26)   a.   <u>**Siya**</u>   ay   binili   ang   tela

            ANG.he/she AY **ACC**-bought ANG cloth

            'He/she bought the cloth'

       b.   * <u>**Ako**</u>   ay   binili   ang   tela

            ANG.I AY **ACC**-bought ANG cloth

            'I bought the cloth'

This effect is specifically on the subject of multiple-ANG sentences, and not on the object, which may be of any person:

(27) a.   Ang babae   ay sinuntok ang mandurukot.

              ANG woman AY **ACC**-hit ANG pickpocket

              'The woman hit the pickpocket'

      b.   * **Ako**   ay sinuntok ang   mandurukot.

              ANG-I AY **ACC**-hit ANG pickpocket

              'I hit the pickpocket'

      c.   Ang mandurukot ay sinuntok **ako**

              ANG pickpocket AY **ACC**-hit ANG-I

              'The pickpocket hit me'

        We can fruitfully compare this Person-Case effect in Tagalog with a similar effect in Icelandic, also involving an interaction between subjects and objects, discussed by Boeckx (2000) and Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) in their work on the Person-Case effect. This effect appears when the subject is Dative, the object Nominative, and the verb agrees with the Nominative object. In such clauses, the Nominative object must be 3rd person:

(28) a.   Henni   leiddust   **þeir**

              she-DAT found.boring-3pl them-NOM

              'She found them boring'

      b.   * Henni   leiddust   **við**

              she-DAT found.boring-3pl us-NOM

              'She found us boring'

The Tagalog and Icelandic situations are similar in that both involve a Person-Case effect in transitive sentences. They differ in the location of the effect; the Tagalog effect appears on the subject, while in Icelandic the effect is on the Nominative object.

Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) deals with the Icelandic effect in her terms by positing multiple Agreement relations involving the Probe T. In her account, T Agrees first with the closest DP, namely the Dative subject, raising it to the external subject position. Because the subject is quirkily Dative-marked, this first Agree relation does not fully value the features of the Probe. It subsequently Agrees with the object, and because this instance of Agree is the second Agree operation involving the T probe, the Nominative object must be 3rd Person.

We can give a similar account of the Tagalog facts, if we continue to assume that the Probe involved in Tagalog verbal agreement (and marking of DPs with *ang*) is *v* rather than T. Let us also assume, following Rezac (2003), that Probes Agree before they Merge; that is, that a Probe like *v* with a base-generated specifier will first Agree with any Goals in its complement domain before Agreeing with its specifier[7].

The derivations for the relevant Icelandic and Tagalog examples are represented by the trees below (here I have represented the Agree relations as taking place after TP has been constructed, simply for ease of comparison):

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[7] In fact, Rezac (2003) is discussing cases in which the Probe Agrees with only one Goal; the Probes in these cases Agree with their specifiers only when there is no suitable Goal in the c-command domain of the Probe. As a result, his cases have no Person-Case effect; the Person-Case effect crucially involves multiple Agree operations. Thanks to Milan Rezac for valuable discussion of this.

(29) **FIRST AGREE:**

    a.   *Icelandic*   b.   *Tagalog*

```
        TP                          TP
      /    \                      /    \
    (T)     vP                   T      vP
          /    \                      /    \
      (SUBJ)    v'               SUBJ      v'
        △     /   \               △      /   \
             v     VP                   (v)    VP
                  /  \                        /   \
                 V    OBJ                    V    (OBJ)
                      △                           △
```

SECOND AGREE:

    a'.   *Icelandic*   b'.   *Tagalog*

```
        TP                          TP
      /    \                      /    \
    (T)     vP                   T      vP
          /    \                      /    \
       SUBJ     v'              (SUBJ)     v'
        △     /   \               △   (v) /   \
             v     VP                    v     VP
                  /  \                        /   \
                 V   (OBJ)                    V    OBJ
                      △                            △
```
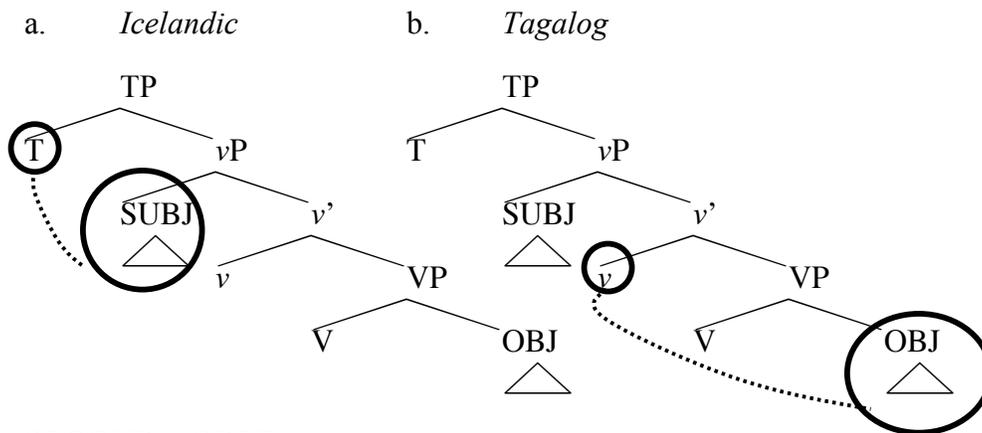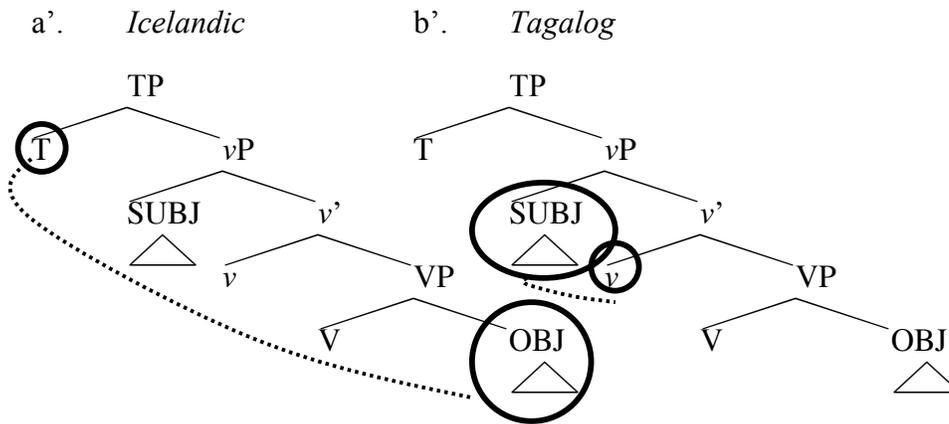
These derivations get us the results we want; in particular, the restriction to 3rd person appears on the DP which is the second Goal of the relevant Probe (thus, on the Tagalog subject and the Icelandic object).

4. Consequences

In this paper we have considered the distribution of Person-Case effects in Tagalog. We have seen that these effects offer support for a particular approach to extraction put forward in Rackowski and Richards (to appear), which claims that extraction from embedded clauses crucially involves multiple Agreement relations by a probe in the matrix clause, the first of which is with the embedded clause itself, and the second with the moving phrase. This approach to extraction, paired with Anagnostopoulou's (2003,

2005) approach to Person-Case effects, predicts that such effects will arise when extraction crosses a clause boundary. We have seen that this is indeed the case in Tagalog, and possibly in some other languages as well. In this final section, we will consider some possible extensions and consequences of the approach developed here.

4.1   Morphology and syntax

The Tagalog facts offer additional support for one conclusion which has already been drawn on the basis of evidence from Icelandic: namely, that the Person-Case effect is a syntactic effect, not a morphological one. Determining this for Icelandic is not completely straightforward. In Icelandic, when the Nominative and Dative arguments are not clausemates, the Person-Case effect discussed above need not appear. In such cases, agreement on the matrix verb with the Nominative argument is optional, and when this agreement does not appear, the Person-Case effect also vanishes:

(30)   a.   Mér   *hafði*   / *höfðu* fundist [**þær**   vera gáfaðar]

I-DAT had-default / had-3pl found   they-NOM be   intelligent

'I had found them intelligent'

b.   þeim   *hefur/ *höfum* alltaf fundist [**við**   vinna vel]

they-DAT has-default / has-1pl always found   we-NOM work well

'They have always thought that we work well'

(30b) is the interesting case; here the Person-Case effect is found only when the matrix verb agrees with the nominative argument of the embedded clause. In principle, we could imagine at least two ways of dealing with this distribution of facts.

Bonet (1994), for example, develops a theory of Person-Case effects which attributes the relevant constraints to a post-syntactic morphological component. In this

view, the facts in (30) indicate a constraint on the behavior of agreement morphology. We might be particularly attracted to this view if we were committed to thinking that Nominative case must necessarily be licensed by the tensed T of the matrix clause; syntactically, we might want to claim, T always Agrees with the Nominative object, but this syntactic operation need not be reflected in the morphology (and the Person-Case effect is one morphological condition which sometimes forces it not to be).

Alternatively, we might follow Boeckx (2000), Anagnostopoulou (2003), Béjar and Rezac (2003), among many others, in taking Person-Case effects to be the result of conditions on syntactic operations. For instance, the facts in (30) might indicate a constraint on the syntactic operation Agree, which has certain morphological consequences. On this view, the agreeing and non-agreeing versions of (30a) are syntactically distinct; the appearance of verbal morphology on the Icelandic tensed verb is a reliable guide to whether the syntactic Agree operation has been performed or not.

Boeckx 2003, Hiraiwa 2005, and Bobaljik 2005 (among others) discuss evidence from within Icelandic supporting the latter approach. This comes from the appearance of Person-Case effects within infinitival clauses (Bobaljik 2005, citing Höskuldur Thráinsson, p.c.):

(31)   Við   vonumst til [að leiðast   hún   /* þið   ekki]
       we-NOM hope-PL for to find.boring-INF she-NOM you.PL-NOM not
       'We hope not to be bored with her/*you'

The infinitival verb of the embedded clause in (31) bears no agreement with the Nominative argument—that is, any morphological condition banning agreement in certain contexts would have to be satisfied here—yet the Person-Case effect appears.

Presumably, then, the syntactic operations which trigger the Person-Case effect are in play in this example; the T of the embedded clause is Agreeing twice, first with embedded PRO and second with the Nominative object. These Agree operations are not reflected in the morphology, but the Person-Case effect still appears.

The Tagalog facts discussed here are of a similar nature. The presence of Person-Case effects in Tagalog is particularly striking, given that the Person features involved in these Agree operations are never morphologically reflected on any of the heads involved; Tagalog verbs agree morphologically for Case (if Rackowski 2002 is right), but never for Person:

(32)　　　Umuwi　　　　ako / ka / siya / 　ang　mga lalaki

　　　　　NOM-went.home　ANG.I　ANG.you　ANG.he/she　ANG　PL　man

　　　　　'I/you/he/she/the men went home'

Just as in Icelandic infinitivals, then, we can see in Tagalog that Person-Case effects are a matter of the syntax, not of the morphology[8].

4.2 Features and their properties

The main focus of this paper has been a syntactic distinction between instances of movement. We have seen that for some kinds of movement, movement which crosses a clause boundary is constrained in ways in which movement within a clause is not; in particular, crossing a clause boundary robs movement of its ability to move phrases with Person features.

Of course, much of the syntax literature is devoted to detecting and understanding differences between types of movement. The classic A/A-bar distinction, for example,

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[8] See Jeong 2004 for a similar point, based on observations about Person-Case effects in Korean.

involves a number of distinctions of this kind, including the ability to create new binders for Condition A, the ability to cross tensed clause boundaries, etc.

For the most part, however, our theories of these distinctions are not very explanatory; we have discovered a number of properties which seem to cluster together, but the reasons for this clustering are not spelled out at any depth. If we were to discover tomorrow that it is in fact A-bar movement which creates new binders for anaphors, and not A-movement as we previously thought, very little of existing theory would be damaged; we would simply associate this property with a different kind of movement.

The account developed here, by contrast, would be difficult to tell in reverse. Local movement, on this account, can move phrases with Person features, because the Probes responsible for triggering such movement do not need to Agree first with clauses in order to make the movement possible, and the Person features of these Probes are therefore intact and capable of interacting with Person features on their Goals. The account depends on the assumption that Probes must value their Person features as quickly as possible, and that once valued, a Person feature on a Probe cannot be contradicted; I have also assumed, following much work in the morphological literature, that 3rd person DPs lack a Person feature. Crucially, then, if I were to discover that it is in fact long-distance movement that can move DPs with Person, and that local movement cannot, the account developed here would be in disarray; I would not simply be able to reassign properties to different types of movement. This seems to me to be progress. Rather than simply invoking different features to drive different types of movement, and associating those different features by fiat with different properties of movement, the properties of the different types of movement are made to follow from general principles.

It seems reasonable to wonder, then, whether other distinctions between types of movement could be captured in a similar way. The standard way of distinguishing between Probes in current theory is by putting different features on them; interrogative C, for example, is said to have a [+wh] feature, and tensed T has φ-features, and these features simply trigger different types of movement. To the extent that the account developed here has been successful, we might try to avoid this kind of solution, ascribing differences between different Probes to their derivational histories rather than to the featural makeup of their lexical entries.

A logically extreme version of this approach would give the same features to all Probes. Apparent differences between Probes, on this kind of account, would follow from the nature of the material structurally intervening between them and their Goals; wh-movement, for example, would have the properties that it did because of the material intervening between C and the wh-phrase, not because of the features with which C enters the derivation.

To put the same point another way: as things stand, we generally stipulate both the structural position and the featural makeup of Probes. If the featural makeup of a Probe at any given point in the derivation could be determined by its derivational history, then we might hope to build a theory in which only the positions of Probes needs to be stipulated, and their featural makeup is uniform. I am very far from being able to offer an account of this kind, but it seems like a worthwhile goal.

One question about the nature of features which I have not attempted to address here is the status of features other than Person. Number, for example, seems not to exhibit Person-Case effects in any of the contexts considered here; even when DPs are

required to be 3rd person, they may be of any number. This is a fairly peculiar state of affairs; it looks as though Probes must necessarily Agree in Person, but can fail to Agree in Number, with their first Goal (e.g., the Dative experiencer), while subsequent Goals must be Agreed with for both Person and Number.

We may be able to sharpen our understanding of this mystery slightly, however. Holmberg and Hróarsdóttir (2003) discuss data that might be taken to represent a "Number-Case" effect:

(33)　　a. ?það　finnast　mörgum　stúdentum　　tölvurnar　　　　ljótar

　　　　　　there　find-PL　many　　students-DAT　the.computers-NOM　ugly

　　　　　　'Many students find the computers ugly'

　　　　b.* það　finnast　einhverjum　stúdentum　　tölvurnar　　　　ljótar

　　　　　　there　find-PL　some　　　student-DAT　the.computers-NOM　ugly

　　　　　　'Some student finds the computers ugly'

　　　　c.* það　finnast　mörgum　stúdentum　　tölvan　　　　　ljót

　　　　　　there　find-PL　many　　student-DAT　the.computer-NOM　ugly

　　　　　　'Many students find the computer ugly'

Judgments about the data in (33) apparently vary[9], but for some speakers, at least, plural agreement in T is possible only if both the Dative experiencer and the Nominative argument are plural, as in (33a); if either the Dative or the Nominative is singular, T cannot be plural. Here, then, is another case in which the Nominative argument can only control agreement on T if it does not contradict the features of the Dative argument—but in this case, the relevant feature is Number, not Person.

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[9] In particular, some speakers apparently find (33b) well-formed.

What is the relevant difference between the data in (33) and those in (34), which show only a Person-Case effect and no Number-Case effect?

(34) a. Mér   höfðu fundist [þær   vera   gáfaðar]

        me-DAT had   found   they-NOM   be   intelligent

        'I had found them to be intelligent'

      b.* Þeim   höfum alltaf   fundist [við   vinna vel]

        them-DAT have   always found   we-NOM   work well

        'They have always thought that we work well'

It is possible that the relevant difference between (33) and (34) has to do with the presence of expletives in (33). That is, T in (33) Agrees with both the Dative and the Nominative, but neither moves; in (34), T Agrees with the Dative and causes it to move to Spec TP, and then Agrees with the Nominative. We might describe the situation, then, as in (35):

(35) a. A Probe that Agrees with an unmoving Goal must Agree with all of the

            features on the Probe.

      b. A Probe that Agrees with a Goal that moves may Agree for Person only.

      c. Agree operations must be with Goals whose features do not contradict the

          features on the Probe.

The contrast in (35a-b) would yield the distinction between moving Goals (which participate only in Person-Case effects) and non-moving Goals (which participate in Number-Case effects as well). Why unmoving Goals and moving Goals would differ in this way is a question I must leave to future research (though see Bobaljik and

Wurmbrand (to appear) for another instance of a distinction between moving and unmoving Goals).

5. Conclusion

This paper has been a discussion of Person-Case effects, mainly in Tagalog. We have seen that on independently proposed theories of the nature of Agree operations in Tagalog, Person-Case effects arise when a single Probe participates in multiple Agree operations. In particular, the distribution of Person-Case effects seems to lend support to the idea, defended in Rackowski and Richards (to appear), that movement across a clause boundary requires a Probe to Agree first with the clause and then with the moving phrase. This proposal is now supported by three types of evidence: it accounts for the pattern of wh-agreement in Tagalog (higher verbs must agree with clauses out of which extraction has taken place), for CED effects (only clauses which v is in a position to Agree with—namely, complement clauses, but not subject or adjunct clauses—are transparent for extraction), and finally for Person-Case effects (which show that the moving phrase is the second phrase with which v Agrees).

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