

Specificity and Objecthood in Tagalog*

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Abstract

The relationship between the semantic function of noun phrases and the way in which they are realized morphosyntactically in a clause has been a topic of intensive research in the typological literature as well as for theories concerned with the syntax-semantics interface. Considering just noun phrases that function as direct objects, it has been shown for language after language that there is a systematic relationship between the semantic function of an object (e.g. whether it is pronominal, definite, indefinite, etc.) and its morphosyntax (e.g. whether it requires special case marking, whether it triggers agreement, whether it exhibits special distribution in terms of word order, etc.). This paper aims to contribute to the large body of evidence documenting these relationships between form and semantic function by providing a comprehensive survey of the morphosyntax of transitive constructions in Tagalog focussing, specifically, on the relationship between the semantic function of the theme argument 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 and expanding upon analyses in Rackowski (2002), 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 related work, that relational hierarchies of the type familiar from typological research—in particular, the definiteness hierarchy—are directly encoded in the phrase structure.

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1 Introduction

The relationship between the semantic function of noun phrases and the way in which they are realized morphosyntactically in a clause has been a topic of intensive research in the typological literature as well as for theories concerned with the syntax-semantics interface.¹ Considering just noun phrases that function as direct objects, it has been shown for language after language that there is a systematic relationship between the semantic function of an object (e.g. whether it is pronominal, definite, indefinite, etc.) and its morphosyntax (e.g. whether it requires special case marking, whether it triggers agreement, whether it exhibits special distribution in terms of word order, etc.). The relationship between the form and the semantic function of objects may be referred to, generally, as the phenomenon DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT CODING (DOC). The existence of DOC raises the difficult analytical question of how to formally account for the observed relationships between form and semantic function. One of the important theoretical questions in this domain is whether the actual *mechanisms* that underly processes like agreement, case marking, and the like are themselves differential or whether they are undifferential. If they are differential, then the relationship between form and semantic function would be direct—the mechanism underlying the agreement process, for instance, might be specifically constrained so as to apply only to certain types of noun phrases but not others. On the other hand, if the mechanisms underlying agreement and case assignment are undifferential, then any relationship between form and semantic function must be indirect.

With this context in mind, this paper has two goals. The first is to provide a detailed empirical survey of the morphosyntax of transitive constructions in Tagalog (a Western Austronesian language) focussing, in particular, on the morphosyntax of the theme argument. This paper therefore seeks to contribute to the already vast literature empirically documenting systematic relationships between the semantic function and the morphosyntax of direct objects. This study will also validate something that is already familiar from the Tagalog syntax literature—namely, that semantic function—in particular, 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 an 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).

¹See, among many others, the work and references in Bossong (1985), Diesing & Jelenik (1995), Aissen (1999, 2003), Jelinek & Carnie (2003), Lidz (2006), and López (2012).

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|---|--|
| <p>(1) <i>Bumili</i> ang babae ng isda.
 PERF.ACT.buy SUBJ woman GEN fish
 ‘The woman bought (a) fish/*the fish.’
 (Aldridge 2012:194)</p> | <p>(2) <i>Binili</i> ng babae ang isda.
 PERF.TH.buy GEN woman SUBJ fish
 ‘The woman bought the fish.’
 (Aldridge 2012:194)</p> |
|---|--|

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, those that may be characterized as definite, specific indefinite, or quantificational. 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 all other types of specific 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 upon 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, THEME-EXTERNALIZATION is a consequence of movement of the theme argument out of VP which targets the outermost specifier of *v*P (above the external argument) and which feeds into an Agree relationship (Chomsky 2000, 2001) with the inflectional head of the clause, T(ense). I will propose that movement of the theme out of the VP may alternatively feed a rule that assigns oblique case to the theme, which—if applied—blocks the Agree relationship with T that would result in THEME-EXTERNALIZATION. By itself, this analysis is unable to account for the the observed differential behavior of pronoun and proper name themes on the one hand, and all other types of specific themes on the other hand with respect to THEME-EXTERNALIZATION and oblique case marking. The solution that I will propose to handle this problem involves postulating a second syntactic position intermediate between *v*P 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 thereby obligatorily feeding either an Agree relation with T (=THEME-EXTERNALIZATION) or the rule of oblique Case assignment; while non-pronoun/proper name specific themes (minimally) raise to the lower, intermediate, position where they do not feed Agree or oblique case assignment.

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, following a proposal in Merchant (2006).

(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 analyses of the morphosyntactic coding of arguments (see e.g. Jelinek 1993, Aissen 1999, 2003, Jelinek & Carnie 2003, Carnie 2005, Carnie & Cash 2006, Merchant 2006). The proposal that I advance in this work is also one which—in response to the question raised in the introductory paragraph—views the mechanisms which underly agreement and case assignment as undifferential. Apparent sensitivity of these processes to the semantic function of noun phrases, I hope to show, flows from the assumption that the definiteness hierarchy in (3) governs the hierarchical distribution of objects of different semantic types and from the assumption that the mechanisms of agreement and case assignment are governed only by very general locality conditions.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. Section 2 presents a brief background on Tagalog and some preliminary remarks about specificity distinctions for noun phrases. Section 3 offers a detailed survey of the morphosyntax of theme arguments. Section 4 introduces Rackowski's (2002) analysis of Tagalog clause structure and suggests a modification in terms of an intermediate object position to account for the facts presented in Section 3. Section 5 discusses evidence from variable binding and scope to support the basic proposal outlined in Section 4. Finally, in Section 6, I offer a firmer grounding for my proposal by suggesting (following a proposal in Merchant 2006) that the definiteness hierarchy in (3) is formally integrated into the architecture of the clause.

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 like (1), the external argument (i.e. the agent/experiencer) is the subject of the clause. In a THEME-SUBJECT clause like (2), it is the verb's internal argument (i.e. the theme) that is the subject of the clause.²

Full noun phrases as well as proper names are marked by a case particle that precedes the

²My 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 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. See Schachter (1976, 1994) for a good overview of the issues.

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 a THEME-SUBJECT sentence, and possessors. The oblique case marks indirect objects in addition to certain types of direct objects (see Section 3.2). The subject case marks the subject of the clause.³ 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	<i>ng</i> [nang]	<i>sa</i>	<i>ang</i>	1SG	<i>ko</i>	<i>akin</i>	<i>ako</i>
	PROPER N	<i>ni</i>	<i>kay</i>	<i>si</i>	2SG	<i>mo</i>	<i>iyo</i>	<i>ka</i>
					3SG	<i>niya</i>	<i>kanya</i>	<i>siya</i>
				

There is no definite or indefinite article in Tagalog corresponding to English *the* or *a*. Modulo the presence of an obligatory case marker, noun phrases in Tagalog are therefore often bare nominals which are morphosyntactically underspecified as to whether they are specific or non-specific in their interpretation. Nevertheless, there is good reason to believe that bare nominals can function either specifically or non-specifically. Consider, for instance, sentence (6) compared to the sentences in (7). The direct object in (6) is the complement of an INTENTIONAL transitive verb. Characteristically, verbs of this type do not commit the speaker or the subject of the sentence to the existence of a referent for their object (Moltmann 1997, Hallman 2004), as is evidenced by the felicitousness of the possible continuation of the sentences which explicitly denies the existence of a referent for the object. In the sentences in (7), by contrast, the direct object is the complement of an EXTENTIONAL verb, which generally does commit the speaker to the existence of a referent for the object in most contexts. In these examples, a continuation of the sentence that explicitly denies the existence of a referent for the object is infelicitous.

(6) *Humahanap ng doktor si Emile sa bayan, (pero n-agdududa*
 IMPERF.ACT.look-for GEN doctor SUBJ Emile LOC town but doubts
siya-ng mayroon doon).
 3SG(SUNJ)-COMP exist there
 ‘Emile is looking for a doctor in town, (but he doubts that there is one)’

(7) a. *Yumakap siya ng Nuno, (#pero loko siya: alam ng lahat*
 ACT.PERF.hug 3SG(SUBJ) GEN Nuno but crazy 3SG(SUBJ) know GEN all

³These 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.

na walang Nuno).

COMP not.exist.LK Nuno

‘He hugged a Nuno, (#but he’s crazy: Everyone knows that there is no such thing as a Nuno).’

- b. N-agkita si Emile ng doktor sa bayan (#pero n-agdududa
PERF.ACT.meet SUBJ Emile GEN doctor LOC town but doubts
siya-ng mayroon doon).
3SG(SUNJ)-COMP exist there
‘Emile met a doctor in town, (#but he doubts that there is one).’

It is difficult to see how contrasts like this could be explained if bare noun phrase could only function either specifically with an intended referent in mind or non-specifically with no intended referent in mind.⁴ Following von Heusinger (2002, 2011a, 2011b), I will assume a general notion of specificity according to which a specific noun phrase is one that is referentially anchored to the speaker of the sentence or to some other referring expression in the sentence. This conception of specificity is similar to the characterization of specificity as ‘certainty of the speaker about the identity of the referent’, but it is also broader in that the specificity need not be linked to the speaker of the sentence but may instead be linked to other referents found in a sentence.⁵ It is also general in that it covers the three different types of specificity (EPISTEMIC, PARTITIVE, and SCOPAL) distinguished by Farkas (1994) (see von Heusinger *op. cit* for details).

Following much of the literature on specificity, I assume that noun phrases that are semantically definite are a subtype of specific noun phrases. Definite noun phrases, in addition to being referentially anchored to the speaker or other referring expression in the sentence must be familiar in the discourse (Karttunen 1976, Kamp 1981, Heim 1982, among others) and referentially unique (Roberts 2003, Abbot 2006, among others). A noun phrases can be indefinite but specific, as specificity does not require familiarity of a discourse referent to both Speaker and Addressee or even necessarily to the Speaker. Because Tagalog lacks a definite or indefinite article, it is unclear whether there is a grammatically based difference between definite noun phrases and a specific indefinite noun phrases as there is for English and other languages.⁶ If only for descriptive purposes,

⁴This is not to say that specific noun phrases necessarily presuppose existence (see Hallman 2004 for extensive arguments against this view), but if an existence presupposition is imposed on a noun phrase (e.g. by the nature of a governing predicate), the object must be specific.

⁵For instance, if sentence (6) is made the complement of the verb *sinabi* (‘say’), then the continuation that is infelicitous in (6) becomes felicitous. The reason for this is that the specificity of the object ‘a Nuno’ is anchored to the subject of the sentence but not the speaker of the sentence.

- (i) *Sinabi ni Jon na yumakap siya ng Nuno, (pero loko siya: alam ng lahat na
say GEN Jon COMP ACT.PERF.hug 3SG(SUBJ) GEN Nuno but crazy 3SG(SUBJ) know GEN all COMP
walang Nuno).
not.exist.LK Nuno
‘John said that he hugged a Nuno, (but he’s crazy: Everyone knows that there is no such thing as a Nuno).’*

⁶One could imagine, of course, that Tagalog has two phonologically null determiners corresponding to English *the*

however, it is possible to draw this type of distinction by examining the function of a noun phrase in its discourse context. Consider, for instance, the sentences in (8) and (9). In both examples, the direct object occurs with a demonstrative *ito* ('this'), though the object in (8) is arguably definite while the object in (9) might better be described as indefinite but specific. Sentence (8) occurs in the context in which several women who have been nominated for a comedy actress award are being interviewed, and this sentence is a quote from one of these women. In this context, then, the referent of the direct object (*award na ito* 'this award') is plainly both familiar and unique (the award has been previously mentioned, and there is only one award to be given out) and therefore semantically definite. By contrast, there is no previous mention of the object *nitong dakilang pangitan* ('this great vision') in the context in which sentence (9) is uttered. This noun phrase is therefore unfamiliar (hence, not definite), but presumably still specific in that the speaker clearly has a (unique) referent in mind.⁷

- (8) 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)
- (9) ...at **naka-kita** **nitong** **dakilang pangitain**, at nawalan ako
 and PERF.ACT-see this(GEN).LK great.LK vision and PERF.ACT.loose 1SG(SUBJ)
 ng lakas.
 GEN strength
 '(When I was left alone) I saw this great vision and lost (my) strength.' (A3)

In what follows, I will use the term *specific* as a cover-term for noun phrases that can be characterized either as semantically definite or as indefinite but specific. Following Enç (1991:11), I will assume that at least a subset of quantified noun phrases may also be characterized as specific (see Section 3.1.5 for discussion). In terms of semantic types, I assume that non-specific noun phrases are property denoting non-referential expressions of type $\langle e, t \rangle$, while specific noun phrases that may be characterized as either definite or indefinite but specific are referring expressions of type $\langle e \rangle$. Following standard assumptions, I take quantified noun phrases to be type $\langle \langle e, t \rangle, t \rangle$.⁸

and *a*.

⁷The demonstrative here is therefore being used in a 'presentative' sense. See Prince (1981), Ionin (2006:187) von Heusinger (2011b) among others for discussion.

⁸Diesing (1992) and others analyze specific indefinites as 'strong' quantified noun phrases (type $\langle \langle e, t \rangle, t \rangle$). The primary reason for this analysis seems to be that specific indefinites are typically associated with wide scope. On the assumption that wide scope is achieved by Quantifier Raising (QR), it follows that specific indefinites are quantificational. I do not agree with this analysis in this paper for a couple of reasons: First, specific indefinites do not always have wide(st) scope (Farkas 1986, Hintikka 1986). Second, although it is clear that specific indefinites which function as objects in Tagalog can have wide scope (see section 3.1.4), other quantificational noun phrases (e.g. universal quantifiers) in Tagalog cannot (see Section 5). If specific indefinites are analyzed as quantificational, they would be the only type of quantificational noun phrase as far as I can tell which, as genitive marked objects, can take wide scope over other noun phrases in the sentence—namely, over the external argument. Though nothing particularly crucial hinges on this issue, I assume generally that the types of noun phrases in Tagalog that correspond to specific indefinites in languages like English are interpreted by means of choice functions, functions that take property denoting expressions of type $\langle e, t \rangle$

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 existing literature has not been terribly precise about what counts as ‘specific’, but given the assumptions laid out at the end of the previous section, we can suppose that what previous works have had in mind is something like the restriction stated in (10).

(10) SPECIFICITY RESTRICTION

The object of an ACTOR-SUBJECT sentence must be type $\langle e, t \rangle$.

The evidence that is cited for this 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 by the translations for 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. These previous studies, however, have not considered the type of contrast with bare nominals and intentional and extentional verbs documented above, nor have they gone much farther with the investigation to ask whether noun phrases that are explicitly marked to indicate specificity 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 indicator of specificity) cannot function as a direct object in an ACTOR-SUBJECT sentence.

The main goal of this section, then, will be 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 restriction in (10). On the other hand, we will see that the semantic function of the theme 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.⁹

and return individual denoting expressions of type $\langle e \rangle$ (Reinhart 1997, Winter 1997, Chung and Ladusaw 2005, López 2012 among others).

⁹The 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 example provided in the appendix. All examples were “vetted” by one or more native speaker who also provided help 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.

3.1 Specific (genitive) objects in ACTOR-SUBJECT sentences

3.1.1. DPs containing demonstratives

In the following examples, the theme argument is modified by 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.¹⁰

- (11) 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)
- (12) ako ay natulog, **kumain, nagbukas nitong kumpyuter,**
 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 television PERF.ACT.sleep again
 'I slept, ate, opened this computer, watched television, and then went back to sleep again.'
 (A2)
- (13) ...at **naka-kita nitong dakilang pangitain,** at nawalan ako
 and PERF.ACT-see this(GEN).LK great.LK vision and PERF.ACT.loose 1SG(SUBJ)
 ng lakas.
 GEN strength
 '(When I was left alone) I saw this great vision and lost (my) strength.' (A3)
- (14) 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)
- (15) 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)

Many if not most semantic analyses of demonstratives treat demonstrated noun phrases as semantically akin to definite descriptions (for recent discussion, see Elbourne 2008, Ko et. al. 2010, Roberts 2002, Wolter 2006, among others). This is consistent with the use of the demonstrative in example (11) (discussed earlier as example (8)) where the referent of the award is familiar and

¹⁰In 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 placed in bold.

unique in the context of the discourse. Demonstratives can also be used in an indefinite, ‘presentative’ way to introduce a referent that is unfamiliar to the Addressee but familiar to the Speaker (Prince 1981, Fodor & Sag 1982, Ionin 2006:187, von Heusinger 2011b). This use of a demonstrative is most likely the use that we see in examples like (12) and (13). In example (12), for instance, the referent for *dakilang pangitan* (‘great vision’) is presumably familiar (and unique) to the Speaker, even though it is novel in the discourse context and therefore unfamiliar to the Addressee. In either their definite use or their presentative use, noun phrases that occur with a demonstrative are plainly specific as the use of the demonstrative seems to be felicitous only if there is a referent for the noun phrases that is being demonstrated. To further illustrate this point, note that if a demonstrative is added to the direct object in sentence (6) from above (where the object is a complement of an intentional verb), then a continuation of the sentence denying the existence of the object is no longer felicitous.

- (16) Humahanap ng doktor na ito si Emile sa bayan, (#pero n-agdududa
 IMPERF.ACT.look-for GEN doctor LK this SUBJ Emile LOC town but doubts
 siya-ng mayroon doon).
 3SG(SUNJ)-COMP exist there
 ‘Emile is looking for this doctor in town, (#but he doubts that there is one)’

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 of these example is realized as a genitive marked direct object of an ACTOR-SUBJECT sentence.¹¹

- (17) Hindi ba kayo **nagkita ng asawa ni Col. Adante?**
 not Q you PERF.ACT.meet GEN spouse GEN Col. Adante
 ‘Have you not met Col. Adante’s wife?’ (A6)
- (18) 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)
- (19) 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 gumuhit sa larawang ito.
 painter LK friend GEN Allyssa LK the.one.LK PERF.ACT.drew OBL picture.LK this

¹¹Possessors in Tagalog typically occur post-nominally and are realized in the genitive case. Pronominal possessors may occur pre-nominally (as in (20) and (21)). Pre-nominal pronominal possessors are realized in the oblique case form.

‘Noel can’t remember where or when they met Allyssa’s painter friend who drew this picture.’ (A8)

- (20) 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)

- (21) 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)

Consider first example (17). Were the possessed DP *ng asawa ni Col. Adante* (‘Col. Adante’s wife’) to be understood in a non-specific way here, the question that is being asked by this sentence would presumably be something like ‘Does Col. Adante *have* a wife?’. Speakers whom I have consulted with generally reject this interpretation, insisting that Col. Adante does have wife with whom the Speaker has familiarity. The Speaker who utters (17) is simply inquiring whether the Addressee is also familiar with his wife.

The possessed DP in (18) is unfamiliar to the Addressee in the discourse context but familiar to the Speaker. The personal experience that the speaker is referring to is also presumably unique: If the speaker intended to share just any of his/her personal experiences (i.e. if the possessed DP were interpreted non-specifically), it is unclear how this would help those in pain which is what the personal experience according to the speaker is intended to do (i.e. not just *any* personal experience would be useful for this purpose).

The possessed DP in (19) is also decidedly specific. 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 usually translated when preceding a noun or relative clause as ‘the one’ and conveys a sense of uniqueness. It is commonly used, for instance, in specificational copular clauses like (22) where it conveys in the context in which such a sentence is uttered that Maria is the (one and) only doctor.

- (22) 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 (19) is therefore a particularly clear indication that the possessed noun is referring to a specific

individual.

I do not intend to claim here that all possessed DPs are necessarily specific in Tagalog. There are clearly indefinite and non-specific uses of possessed DPs in the language as in example (23) where the possessed DP functions as a predicate and therefore simply names a property that is ascribed to the speaker/subject of the sentence.

- (23) 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)

Possessed DPs in argument positions may also be non-specific, as in the following examples cited by Adams & Manaster-Ramer (1988:94).

- (24) 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)

Regarding examples like this, Adams & Manaster-Ramer (1988:95) suggest that "[t]hese Tagalog sentence describe actions affecting some entity without specifying the extent to which that entity is involved or whether that entity is uniquely identifiable". In other words, the object in (24a) or (24b), for example, may simply be denoting the *type* of thing that is being washed/packed rather than referring to a specific instantiation of the type. The crucial point for our purposes is that even though possessed DPs may be non-specific, a non-specific interpretation for the possessed DPs in (17)-(21) seems implausible based on the context in which these sentences are uttered and how they are perceived to be understood.

3.1.4. Specificity modifiers

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').

- (25) Maaari ka-ng **gumamit ng tiyak na mga site na ito** bilang bahagi
 can 2SG(GEN)-COMP INF.ACT.use GEN specific LK PL sites LK this as part
 ng inyong 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.’ (A12)
- (26) Parehong mga genes ay kasangkot sa pagpoproseso ng RNAs mensahero, na
 same.LK PL genes AY involved OBL processing GEN RNAs messenger 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 ge-
 netic code carries in order to make specific proteins.’ (A13)
- (27) 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.’ (A14)
- (28) 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, commer-
 cial documents, and insurance documents.’ (A15)
- (29) Pagkatapos mahawa-an ng HIV ang isang tao, ang kanyang katawan ay
 after INF.infect-TH GEN HIV SUBJ one.LK person SUBJ 3SG(OBL).LK body AY
lilikha ng tiyak na “antibody” (o mga selula sa dugo na
 FUT.ACT.create GEN specific LK antibody or PL cell 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).’ (A16)

Without one of these modifiers, some of the objects in the above examples may be ambiguous between a specific and a non-specific interpretation. It is generally accepted that the presence of these modifiers disambiguates the interpretation of an (indefinite) noun phrase in favor of a specific interpretation (Enç 1991, von Huessinger *op. cit.*).

3.1.4. Scopal specificity

In the literature dealing with specific and non-specific readings of indefinite noun phrases in English, much attention has been given to what Farkas (1994) refers to as scopal specificity. It is generally acknowledged, for instance, that in an English sentence like (30) the indefinite noun phrases *a rich man* may be interpreted either specifically or non-specifically depending on whether the indefinite has scope below the modal verb *want* (=the non-specific interpretation) or over the modal verb (=the specific interpretation).

- (30) Mary wants to marry a rich man.
- a. He is a banker.
 - b. He must be a banker.
- (Karttunen 1968:21)

The specific interpretation of the indefinite noun phrase in (30) can be forced if the sentence is followed in the discourse by a sentence like (30a), where the anaphoric link between the pronoun *he* and the indefinite noun phrase serves to preclude the non-specific interpretation. As Karttunen (1968, 1976) points out, anaphoric linkage alone is not sufficient in examples like this to force a specific reading for the indefinite noun phrase. The sentence in (30) with a non-specific interpretation for the indefinite may also be continued by (30b). According to Karttunen, the anaphoric linkage created by (30b) does not force a specific interpretation because (30b) continues with another modal (*must*) which allows the discourse to continue ‘in the same mode’ that is consistent with the narrow scope (i.e. non-specific) interpretation for the indefinite. The continuation of (30a), by contrast, does not allow the discourse to continue under the same modality and is therefore inconsistent with a narrow-scope interpretation for the indefinite.

With this background in mind, consider the Tagalog examples (31) and (32). Both examples consist of two sentences and there is an anaphoric relation between a pronoun in the second clause and the DP object of a transitive verb in the first clause, which is itself embedded under a modal verb (*gusto* ‘want’ in (31), *kailangan* ‘must’ in (32)).

- (31) [**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.’ (A17)

- (32) Upang maka-kuha ng CIW Security Analyst sertipikasyon, [**kailangan** in.order INF.ACT.be.able.to-get GEN CIW Security Analyst certification must mo-ng [**kumuha** [**ng dalawang pagsusulit**]₁]]: **ang isa**₁ ay sapilitan 2SG(GEN)-COMP INF.ACT.take GEN two.LK exam: SUBJ one AY required Core pagsubok, ibig-sabihin CIW pundasyon ID0-510 at iba pang sertipikasyon Core exam namely CIW foundation ID0-510 and other PART.LK certification 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.' (A18)

Crucially, the second sentence in both examples (which introduces the pronoun that establishes an anaphoric link with the antecedent sentence) does not occur within the same modality as the first sentence. Given this together with Karttunen's observations, the anaphoric linkage between the pronoun and the object in the antecedent strongly indicates that the relevant (genitive marked) object in both examples is specific.

3.1.5. Quantified noun phrases

The preceding section has aimed to show that the specificity restriction repeated from above in (33) is contradicted by the presence of examples in which a specific noun phrase (i.e. a noun phrase of type <e>) serves as the direct object of an ACTOR-SUBJECT clause.

(33) SPECIFICITY RESTRICTION

The object of an ACTOR-SUBJECT sentence must be type <e,t>.

We will return in Section 4 to a more complete discussion of how a restriction like (33) might follow from more general principles of the syntax-semantics interface. For now, I wish to point out that this restriction also precludes quantified noun phrases, which—following standard assumptions—are semantically type <<e,t>,t>. As it happens, quantified noun phrases are also attested as direct objects in ACTOR-SUBJECT clauses.

Tagalog has a handful of quantifiers, which can be divided into the usual WEAK and STRONG categories.¹² The list in (34) gives some of these quantifiers.

- (34) a. WEAK:
marami 'many', *ilan* 'some', *isa* 'a, one'
- b. STRONG:
lahat 'all, every', *bawa't* 'each', *karamihan* 'most'

¹²Evidence 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 (Sabbagh 2009:703).

The following examples show that quantified noun phrases of both the weak and the strong variety are attested as direct objects.

- (35) 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.’ (A19)
- b. **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 heard some banging (noises) from inside his apartment, and (I) hoped that he was okay.’ (A20)
- 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?’ (A21)
- 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 newspapers.’ (A22)
- 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.’ (A23)

Although I assume that quantified noun phrases (at least those headed by a strong quantifier) are type $\langle\langle e,t \rangle, t \rangle$ rather than type $\langle e \rangle$ (the type assumed for the specific noun phrases we have encountered and discussed so far), I will follow Enç (1991:11) here who argues that quantified noun phrases are also a sub-type of specific noun phrase. As she notes, it is well known that quantifiers must in general quantify over contextually given sets. A sentence like (36), for instance, does not entail that Sally danced with every man on earth, only that she danced with every *contextually relevant* man.

- (36) Sally danced with every man.

In this sense, quantified noun phrases are specific and akin to definite noun phrases because the sets that quantifiers quantify over are ‘in the domain of discourse’ (i.e. familiar). Using von Stechow’s way of characterizing specificity introduced earlier, we might then say that the set quantified over by a quantifier must be referentially anchored to the Speaker or other referring

expression in a sentence.¹³ That at least strong quantified noun phrases have some connection to definite (and hence, specific) noun phrases is made quite clear by languages like St’át’imcets Salish (Matthewson 2001) and Basque (Etxeberria 2005, 2008, 2009) where strong quantified noun phrases contain an overt definite determiner (see Matthewson 2001, Giannakidou 2004, and Etxeberria and Giannakidou 2010 for extensive discussion of the semantics of this determiner).

Assuming that it is fair to characterize quantified noun phrases as specific for the reasons just cited, then it is clear that the examples in (35) present yet another empirical problem for the specificity restriction.¹⁴

3.2 Pronouns, Proper Names, and Oblique case marking

We have thus far presented evidence that the specificity restriction wrongly precludes specific noun phrases (of the definite or specific indefinite type, as well as at least certain types of quantified noun phrases) from functioning as the direct object of ACTOR-SUBJECT sentences. There is, however, an important residue of the specificity restriction. Namely, if the theme argument is a pronoun or a proper name, it can never be realized as a genitive marked direct object.

- (37) a. *Bakit ka **kumagat** **niya?**
 why 2SG(SUBJ) 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 sentence as in (38).

- (38) a. Bakit mo **kinagat** **siya?**
 why (2SGGEN) 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

¹³von Huesinger *op. cit.* does not explicitly discuss quantified noun phrases. It is unclear from the reference cited in the text whether the set that a quantifier quantifies over must be familiar to both the Speaker and Addressee or, minimally, just to the Speaker. I do not address this issue here either for reasons of space.

¹⁴It follows from the above discussion that *specificity* is independent of semantic type—i.e. a specific noun phrase may be either <e> or <<e,t>,t>. A major issue that I will have to leave open here is whether all quantified noun phrases in Tagalog are specific in the sense discussed above. At issue here, among possibly other issues, is whether or not weak quantifiers in Tagalog are quantifiers at all, or whether they are simply cardinality modifiers (see, e.g., Higginbotham 1987). If they are cardinality modifiers and not quantifiers, then the (basic) type of a noun phrase containing one of the determiners is <e,t> rather than <<e,t>t>, and—if so—they would therefore not necessarily be relevant to or problematic for the specificity restriction.

‘One by one we got up to kiss Mommy.’

A second option, one that has been less frequently recognized in the literature, is for a pronoun/ proper name theme to be realized as an oblique marked (rather than genitive marked) object of an ACTOR-SUBJECT clause. Some attested examples illustrating this pattern are given in (39) (for pronouns) and (40) (for proper names).

- (39) 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.’ (A24)
- b. *...saka hinawak-an ang batok niya, at muling humalik 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.’ (A25)
- (40) 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.’ (A26)
- 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.’ (A27)
- 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.’ (A28)
- d. *Tanging pumansin kay Elias si Maria Clara.*
only.LK PERF.ACT.notice OBL Elias SUBJ Maria Clara
‘Only Maria Clara noticed Elias.’ (A29)

- 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.’ (A30)

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.

- (41) 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.’ (A31)
(compare to (39a))
- (42) 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).’ (A32)
(compare to (39b))
- (43) **...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’ (A33)
(compare to (40a), (40e))

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 specific themes). This pattern is exemplified by the following examples.¹⁵

¹⁵According to the description of Adams & Manaster-Ramer (1988:82-38) and others, oblique marking for a theme (in an ACTOR-SUBJECT sentence) is possible only when the external argument has been relativized. Crucially, the examples in (39)-(40) and (44)-(45) do not involve any relativization.

- (44) a. ...ang mga estudyanteng nangangailangang *gumamit* 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
 can INF.ACT.use OBL PL web station LOC Administration and Records
 Office sa alinman lokasyon ng aming tatlong campus.
 office LOC any 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 Administration and Records office at any location on our three
 campuses.’ (A34)
- b. Lihim akong **nagmahal sa bestfriend ko.**
 secret 1SG(SUBJ).LK PERF.ACT.love OBL best-friend 1SG(GEN)
 “I secretly loved my best friend.”

As one would expect at this point, oblique marking exists as an option for quantified noun phrases as well.

- (45) a. **Maka-kahadlang** ang bakunang ito **sa karamihan ng mga kaso ng**
 FUT.ACT-prevent SUBJ vaccine.LK this OBL most GEN PL case GEN
cervical na cancer sa mga babae.
 cervical LK cancer OBL PL woman
 ‘This vaccine will prevent most cases of cervical cancer in woman.’ (A35)
- 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.’ (A36)

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 (46) illustrates this.

- (46) 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.¹⁶

- (47) 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?)

3.3 Interim Summary

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. Plainly, these options for expressing the theme argument go well beyond what the specificity restriction in (33) predicts. At this point, the most simple and obvious conclusion to draw would be that the specificity restriction is simply not in anyway part of the grammar of Tagalog. This conclusion would be somewhat unsatisfying, however, for at least two reasons: First, modulo the option of oblique case marking, the restriction does do work in explaining the categorical ban against pronouns and proper names functioning as (genitive marked) objects in ACTOR-SUBJECT clauses. Second, as will be elaborated below, certain proposals concerning the syntax-semantics interface have made the claim that a more general version of the specificity restriction, stated as in (48), may be a universal.

- (48) SPECIFICITY RESTRICTION, *Universal version*

The complement of V can only be occupied by noun phrases of the type <e,t>.

(Diesing 1992, Carlson 2003, López 2013, among others)

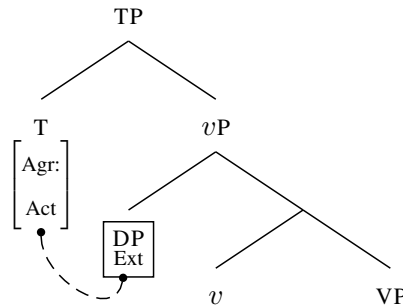
If (48) is indeed a universal, then an optimal analysis of the Tagalog facts would be one that is consistent with it. Note that (48) is not necessarily counter-exemplified by any of the facts we have observed so far concerning transitive ACTOR-SUBJECT sentences. The reason for this is that, in contrast to the Tagalog-specific specificity restriction we have been discussing, the universal version of the specificity restriction in (48) refers to a distinct syntactic configuration (=complement of V) rather than to the grammatical relation of object. What is entailed here is that a noun phrases which is not type <e,t> may still function as a (direct) object provided it does not reside as V's complement. This is the key idea that I will develop in the following section.

¹⁶A reviewer points out that (47a) is ill-formed with the oblique marked object in-situ. This most likely has to do with a dispreference for two oblique marked elements in the same clause. Example (47b) still makes the crucial point, however.

4 Objects and Object Positions in Tagalog

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 an inflectional head T(ENSE), which must *Agree* (in the sense of Chomsky 2000, 2001) 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 (*v*P) immediately dominated by TP is the closest DP c-commanded by T and therefore the DP that T Agrees with. This is represented in (49). (The dashed line indicates the Agree relationship.)

(49) Actor-subject sentence (e.g. (1)):

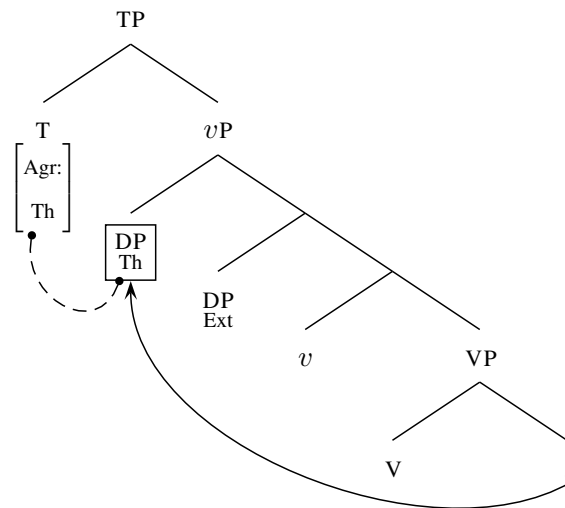


I will assume in what follows that Agree between T and a DP involves valuing a Case feature (e.g. NOMINATIVE) on the DP and concomitant valuation of Phi-features for T.¹⁷ This will be important shortly.

THEME-SUBJECT sentences for Rackowski are derived when the verb’s internal argument is moved out of the VP, as schematized in (50), 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 Agree. The result of this derivation is what we have been referring to as THEME-EXTERNALIZATION, whereby the theme argument is realized as the subject of a THEME-SUBJECT sentence.

¹⁷Morphologically, 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 (e.g. 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 particularly 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).

(50) 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* in ACTOR-SUBJECT sentences, and so object shift does not apply.^{18,19}

Of particular interest for our purposes, Rackowski also suggests that the often-cited specificity restriction also follows from the analyses sketched in (49)/(50) in conjunction with an assertion appearing in Chomsky (2001:33) that configurations resulting from displacement of the object from the VP (e.g. object shift) have particular semantic properties that correlate with (e.g.) specificity. Chomsky claims, in particular, 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 explicitly as such by either Chomsky or Rackowski, 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.²⁰

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 Heim (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

¹⁸The 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.

¹⁹Aldridge (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 2). While a full comparison of these two analyses is beyond the scope of this paper, most of the claims that will be made in what follows are largely compatible with either view and differ only in notation.

²⁰Aldridge *op. cit.* explicitly connects the specificity restriction to the Mapping Hypothesis. The discussion in the main text follows her work rather than Rackowski's 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—i.e. those which are type $\langle e,t \rangle$ —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 being of type $\langle e \rangle$, as well as quantified noun phrases being of type $\langle \langle e,t \rangle, t \rangle$ may not appear within the VP since the result of existential closure over a noun phrase of either type would be semantically ill-formed. Likewise, pronouns and proper names, which are also of type $\langle e \rangle$ may not appear within the VP. Diesing & Jelenik and Diesing hypothesize that DPs that are not type $\langle e,t \rangle$ must 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; see also Carlson 2003 and López 2012 for a more recent reimagining of the Mapping Hypothesis that derives the same basic result).²¹

It should now be clear that the Mapping Hypothesis, when wedded with Rackowski's analysis of Tagalog ACTOR and THEME-SUBJECT sentences ((49)/(50)) predicts only a single pattern relating to the morphosyntactic realization of the theme argument in Tagalog. Concretely, only a non-specific theme (themes of type $\langle e,t \rangle$) can function as the direct object of an ACTOR-SUBJECT sentence, while all other types of themes (pronouns, proper names, and all types of specifics) must be realized as the subject of a THEME-SUBJECT sentence. The former conclusion 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 Agree relationship with it (T therefore agrees with the external argument in this case). The former conclusion follows because specific themes obligatorily move out of the VP—outside of the domain of existential closure—to a position where they become the closer target for Agree with T.

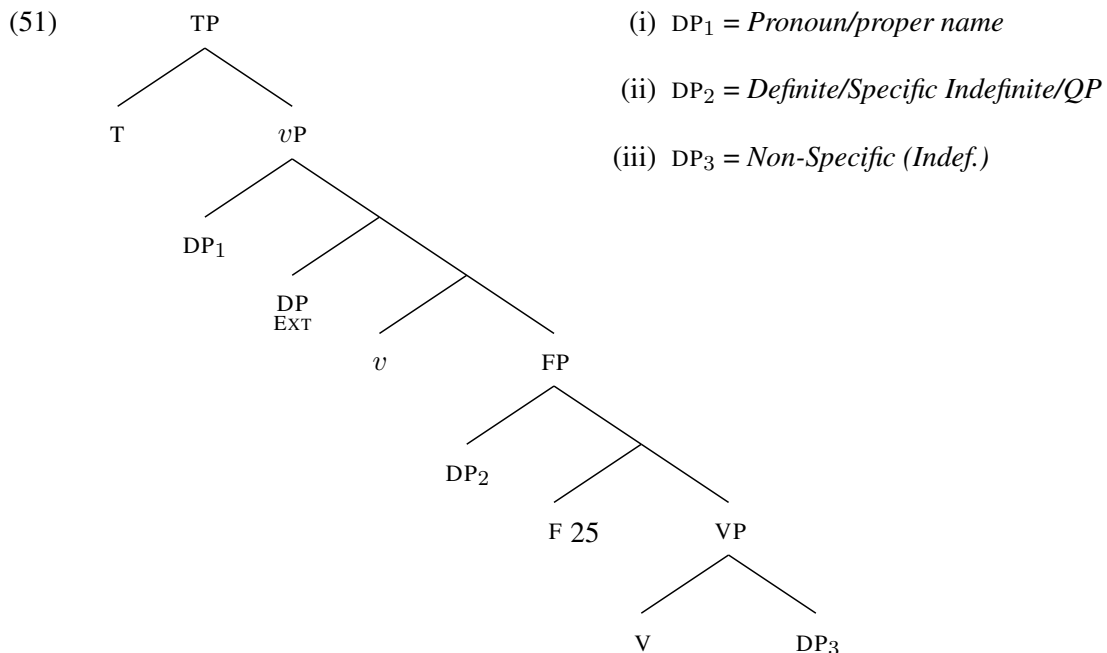
Given our observations from the preceding section, it is plain that this relatively simple picture does not account for the full range of facts. The analysis predicts the right pattern for pronoun and proper names as far as THEME-EXTERNALIZATION is concerned (i.e. the realization of the theme as the subject of a THEME-SUBJECT sentence, or—in Rackowski's terms—object shift followed by Agree between T and the theme), but incorrectly precludes all other specific 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

²¹Diesing and Diesing & Jelenik 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).

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 Section 3.2 of oblique case marking for specific themes in ACTOR-SUBJECT sentences.

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 into the Agree relation initiated by 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—all themes which are not $\langle e,t \rangle$ —do so overtly. As alluded to earlier, a way to do this and account for the difference between pronouns and proper names on the one hand and all other specific themes 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 & Thráissón (1996), Basilico (1998), Hornstein (1999), Hallman (2004), among many others, that there is an intermediate derived object position located above VP but below vP . 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 vP . 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 (51)) the contrast between the different types of themes begins to follow.



Given the proposal already in place that T Agrees with the closest 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 (DP_1 in (51)). The intermediate object position (DP_2), 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 Agree(ment) with T.

Supposing 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.)

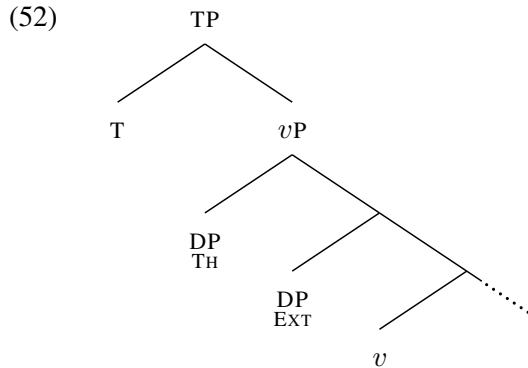
QUESTION 3: How is the option of expressing a specific theme as an oblique marked object (as opposed to THEME-EXTERNALIZATION) to be accounted for?

I will defer a complete answer to Questions 1 and 2 until Section 6. I will do for the moment with stipulating that pronoun and proper name themes obligatorily target the highest position within vP, while non-pronoun/proper name specific themes minimally raise to the intermediate object position DP_2 in the structure in (51), though they may also target the higher position DP_1 as well (in which case, they will be Agree with T and be realized as the subject of a THEME-SUBJECT clause). In Section 6, I offer a more formal and hopefully more illuminating proposal. I now turn directly to proposing an answer to Question 3 and offering some positive support for the key assumptions associated with the analysis surrounding object positions in (51).

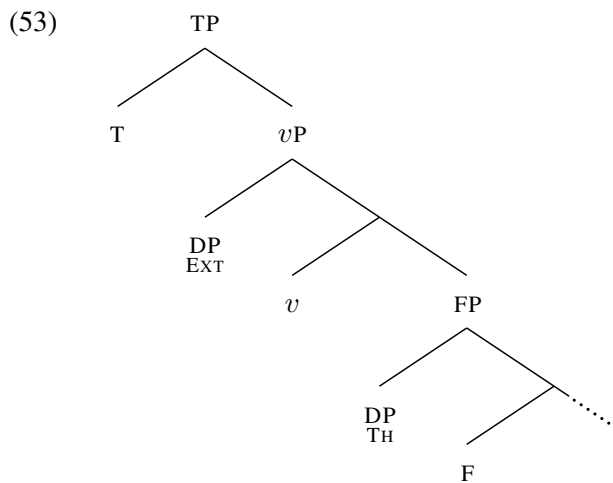
5 Oblique Marked Themes

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 (52) in which the theme has raised to a functional projection located above the projection wherein the external argument is located. (Evidence for this high position for oblique marked themes is reviewed below.)



Furthermore, the rule that assigns oblique case to the theme should not apply in a configuration like (53), where the theme is located below the external argument in the lower derived object position that we have posited.



A rule that meets these needs is given in (54).²²

²²The oblique case assignment rule in (54) 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 the dependent case assignment rule for Dative case in Sakha (Turkic) in (i) which is the model upon which (54) is formulated.

(54) OBLIQUE CASE ASSIGNMENT RULE (*Tagalog specific*)

If there are two distinct argumental DPs (DP_1 and DP_2) within a domain, *Dom*, such that DP_1 c-commands DP_2 , assign [oblique] to DP_1 unless DP_1 has already been assigned Case.

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 domains to correspond 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 (52) 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 (53) because the external argument and the theme argument are within distinct Spell-out domains.

By hypothesis, the rule in (54) exists as an option alongside (but in complementary distribution with) the other route mentioned earlier by which a raised DP may get its Case feature valued—namely, through Agree(ment) with the functional head of the clause T. Concretely, if the rule in (54) does not apply then T will Agree with the raised theme with the concomitant effect of valuing the Case feature of the theme (e.g. as NOMINATIVE) and having its own Phi-features valued by the theme. (The result of this strategy for valuing the raised theme’s Case feature is a THEME-SUBJECT sentence.) On the other hand, if the rule in (54) does apply, then T will Agree with the external argument and the result will be an ACTOR-SUBJECT sentence. One additional analytical detail is needed here to see how this works—in particular, to explain why assignment of [oblique] to a raised theme blocks Agreement with T. Put in more concrete terms, what we need is to rule out a sentence like (55) where the verb (a THEME-SUBJECT form of the verb) appears to Agree with an oblique marked theme.

- (55) **Hinalik* ng babae sa bata.
PERF.TH.kiss GEN woman OBL child
(‘The woman kissed the child.’)

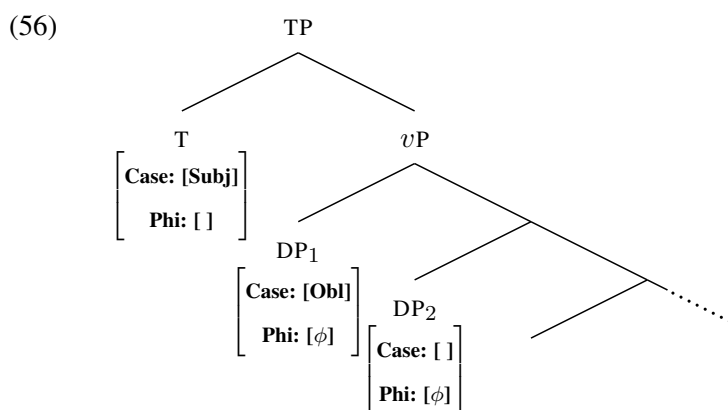
The ungrammaticality of (55) follows from specific assumptions about the mechanisms of Agree postulated by (Chomsky 2001). Concretely, Chomsky proposes that a head (a Probe, in his terms) can enter into an Agree relationship with another element (a Goal) if and only if the Goal has uninterpretable and unvalued features that need to be valued and checked. This condition is referred to as the ACTIVITY CONDITION. Consider, for instance, the Agree relationship discussed above

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- (i) 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.

An obvious question at this point is whether the rule in (54) 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 (54) accounts for the presence of oblique case in other grammatical contexts, I cannot offer a full defense of this view here.

involving T and the highest DP within the vP (either the external argument or the theme if the theme has moved to this position). As discussed above, I assume that Agree between T and this DP has two functions: Valuing the (uninterpretable) Case feature of the DP and valuing the (uninterpretable) Phi-features on T. Given the ACTIVITY CONDITION, these two functions are inextricably linked—if DP has its Case feature valued from a source other than T, then it will be inactive for purposes of Agree with T and will therefore be unable to supply the value for the Phi-features of T.

Given this, consider the situation schematized in (56) (cf. (52)), in which the theme argument has raised to the highest specifier of vP (just above the external argument) and has been assigned [oblique] by the rule in (54). Here, T has unvalued Phi-features that could in principle be supplied by either of the two DPs within its c-command domain—either DP_1 (=the theme), which is closest to T or DP_2 (=the agent/external argument).



By the ACTIVITY CONDITION, T can Agree only with the external argument in this configuration, since the Case feature of the theme has been valued (as [oblique]) by (54) leaving it with no uninterpretable/unvalued features that would make it active for Agree with T. T can therefore only Agree with the external argument since only the external argument has an unvalued Case feature making it active for Agree. In short, the ACTIVITY CONDITION derives for us the results that if a theme is assigned [oblique] by (54), then T cannot Agree with the theme (thus precluding (55)) but must instead Agree with the agent/external argument. Conversely, if a theme is not assigned [oblique] by (54), then the locality condition associated with the Agree operation (i.e. closest c-command) will require T to Agree with the theme.²³

²³In Rackowski's (2002) analysis of THEME-SUBJECT sentences, the theme argument is assigned [accusative] by v before it enters into an Agree relationship with T. My claim that the ACTIVITY CONDITION is responsible for blocking agreement by T with an [oblique] marked theme would appear therefore to be inconsistent with Rackowski's assumption that object shifted themes bear [accusative]. At issue here is the nature of the formal features that are registered and morphologically spelled-out by Agree between T and a DP. For Rackowski, the features are assumed to be Case features, though there is little independent evidence for this beyond analogy with Chung's (1994, 1998) analysis of "wh-agreement" in Chamorro (see also Pearson's (2005) analysis of voice morphology in Malagasy as Case agreement). Full resolution to these issues is beyond the scope of this article.

With the mechanism of oblique case assignment to raised themes now in place, let us turn to consider the most crucial claim associated with this analysis—namely, that oblique marked themes, as well as themes that function as subjects in THEME-SUBJECT clauses, are structurally higher than the external argument. This contrasts with genitive marked objects in ACTOR-SUBJECT clauses, which are located below the external argument (though external to the VP if specific by earlier hypothesis). There are two pieces of positive support for this claim. The first comes from variable binding. In an ACTOR-SUBJECT clause, a quantified noun phrase serving as the external argument and subject may bind a pronoun contained within a genitive marked direct object, yielding a bound-variable interpretation for the pronoun. Unsurprisingly, a genitive marked quantified noun phrase serving as the object cannot antecede a pronoun contained in the external argument/subject and license a bound variable interpretation for it. Assuming c-command as a requirement for bound variable anaphora, the contrast between (57a) and (57b) demonstrates that the external argument asymmetrically c-commands the (genitive marked) object in ACTOR-SUBJECT clauses.

- (57) a. Nagmamahal ang bawa't baba'e₁ ng kanyang₁ anak.
 IMPERF.ACT.love SUBJ every woman GEN 3SG(OBL).LK child
 'Every woman₁ loves her child₁.'
- b. Nagmamahal ng bawa't anak₁ ang kanyang₁ ina.
 IMPERF.ACT.love GEN every child GEN 3SG(OBL).LK mother
 'His/Her_{*1/2} mother loves every child₁.'

When the theme argument is realized as the subject of a THEME-SUBJECT clause, as in (58), it crucially may bind a pronoun contained in the external argument, as the following example from Richards (2000) demonstrates.²⁴

- (58) ?Minamahal ng kanyang₁ anak ang bawa't ama₁.
 IMPERF.TH.love GEN 3SG(OBL).LK child SUBJ every father
 'Every father₁ loves his/her₁ child.'

Crucially, an oblique marked theme in an ACTOR-SUBJECT clause may also bind a pronoun contained within the external argument.²⁵

²⁴The awkwardness of this example may be associated with a preference for the quantified noun phrase to precede the pronoun. The obvious way to test for this would be to switch the order of the two arguments in this example. Unfortunately, the result of the changing the word order also produces an awkward sentence, as there is a strong preference for the external argument to appear immediately post-verbal in THEME-SUBJECT sentences. Importantly, the awkwardness of this example does not seem to be related to the availability of the bound variable reading for the pronoun.

²⁵A native speaker consultant working with one of the anonymous reviewers did not accept the bound variable reading for (59). This consultant also evidently rejected sentence (60) and (61) below as ungrammatical. According to the anonymous review, this consultant seems to reject these sentences because he/she does not accept *bawa't* within a theme unless it is expressed as a subject in a THEME-SUBJECT sentence. Although I cannot be sure, it seems possible that this may be the factor that contributes to the unavailability of the bound variable reading for this speaker for sentence (59).

- (59) Nagmamahal sa bawa't anak₁ ang kanyang₁ ama.
 IMPERF.ACT.love OBL every child SUBJ 3SG(OBL).LK father
 'Every child₁ is loved by his/her₁ father.'

Example (59), compared to (57b), positively supports the claim that an oblique marked theme (in an ACTOR-SUBJECT clause), in contrast to a genitive marked theme, is structurally higher than the external argument. This fact also supports the claim that an oblique marked theme in an ACTOR-SUBJECT sentence is structurally at least as high as the SUBJECT marked theme in a THEME-SUBJECT sentence.

Additional evidence for this claim comes from scope. Consider first the sentence in (60), a ACTOR-SUBJECT clause with a genitive marked object.

- (60) Humuli ng bawa't 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 (60) is one in which there is a single police officer who has arrested every thief—i.e. the reading where the external argument/subject has wide-scope over the genitive marked object. In fact, this interpretation seems to be the only one available. 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 (60) does not seem very plausible because a single individual is unlikely to be able to carry out so many arrests all on their own. Consider next, then, the sentences in (61) and (62). Sentence (61) is an ACTOR-SUBJECT sentence with an oblique marked theme object, while sentence (62) is a THEME-SUBJECT sentence.²⁶

- (61) Humuli sa bawa't magnanakaw ang isang pulis.
 PERF.ACT.catch OBL each thief SUBJ one.LK police
 'A police officer caught each thief.' (A > EACH)
 'Each thief was caught by a police officer.' (EACH > A)

²⁶A "true" oblique, e.g. the goal argument of a ditransitive verb, appears to require narrow scope with respect to the external argument.

- (i) N-agbigay ng premyo sa bawa't estudyante ang isang guro.
 PERF.ACT-give GEN prize OBL each student SUBJ one.LK teacher
 'A teacher gave a prize to every student.' (A > EACH only)

True obliques, when quantificational, also do not appear to be able to bind a pronoun in the external argument.

- (ii) N-agbigay ng premyo sa bawa't estudyante₁ ang kanyang_{*1/2} guro.
 PERF.ACT-give GEN prize OBL each student SUBJ 3SG(OBL).LK teacher
 'His/her_{*1/2} teacher gave a prize to each student₁.'

- (62) *Hinuli ng isang pulis ang bawa't 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 (60), 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 (61) with the oblique marked theme has both an interpretation where the theme has wider scope than the external argument as well as one (like (60)) where the external argument has wider scope than the theme. By contrast, the theme of the THEME-SUBJECT sentence in (62) seems to only have the interpretation where the theme has wider scope than the external argument.

The difference between (61) and (62) 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 outside of vP in Spec, TP (see Sabbagh 2014:64-67 for arguments). If this is correct, then for the structure of a sentence like (61) the external argument occupies at least two distinct positions in the course of the derivation. 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.

- (63) $[_{TP} (DP)_{Ext} T^0 [_{vP} DP_{Th} [_{v'} (DP)_{Ext} [_{v'} v^0 \dots]]]]$ (Scope: TH > EXT, or EXT > TH)

Given this, we can now conjecture that the availability of the two interpretations for (61) 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 (62), 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 (64), 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.²⁷

- (64) $[_{TP} (DP)_{Th} T^0 [_{vP} (DP)_{Th} [_{v'} DP_{Ext} [_{v'} v^0 \dots]]]]$ (Scope: TH > EXT only)

²⁷A 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. One possibility to consider here is that reconstruction for purposes of scope is Phase bound, thus preventing a phrase that has raised from one Phase to a higher Phase from reconstructing into the lower Phase. I leave it for further investigation to determine the viability of this possibility.

The same scope facts hold for a slightly more complex example involving the interaction between quantified noun phrases headed by the (Tagalog equivalents of) *many* and *most*.²⁸ First, it will be important to note that 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 (65), for instance, can be understood either as an assertion that among Filipinos, many are living in debt (=the linear reading) or as an assertion that among those living in debt, many are Filipino (=the reverse reading).

- (65) Nabubuhay sa utang ang maraming Pinoy.
 IMPERF.ACT.live OBL debt SUBJ many.LK Filipino
 'Many Filipino are living in debt.'
 = Many individuals who are Filipino are living in debt (=linear), or
 =Many individuals who are living in debt are Filipino (=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 minimal pair of sentences in (66) and (67) and the two scenarios described below the examples. Note that the difference between (66) and (67) resides solely in the case marking associated with the object—it is marked genitive in (66) and oblique marked in (67).

- (66) 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.'
- (67) 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.

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 (66) was perceived to be true given the first scenario above, but false under the second scenario. By contrast, sentence (67) 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

²⁸This discussion owes much to the discussion of similar English facts in Hallman 2004:737-741.

only when it is oblique marked (as it is in (67)) but not when it is genitive marked (as it is in (66)). Concretely, the second scenario is one that is only true on the interpretation paraphrased in (68b) 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 (68a), could only be true of the first scenario.

- (68) 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 binding and 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, themes that are either marked oblique or realized as the subject of a THEME-SUBJECT clause are syntactically more prominent than the external argument, while genitive marked themes (of ACTOR-SUBJECT sentences) appear to be structurally 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 sketched in the first part of this section is on the right track.

6 The Definiteness Hierarchy and the Architecture of the Clause

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, these differences relate 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 (though 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 (69) from Aissen 2003 (cf. Comrie 1979, 1989; and Croft 1991).

- (69) DEFINITENESS HIERARCHY (Aissen 2003:437)
Pro > proper name > Definite NP > Indefinite Specific NP > Non-Specific

The empirical basis for (69) according to Aissen is established by cross-linguistic patterns of DIFFERENTIAL OBJECT MARKING—the phenomenon whereby certain types of objects, but not

others, may receive special types of case marking (Bossong 1985). Concretely, Aissen demonstrates that the different patterns of DOM summarized in (70) flows from the definiteness hierarchy which is taken to express the implication that if a language has DOM at a certain point on the scale, then it will have DOM for all points higher ranked on the scale.

- (70) ATTESTED PATTERNS OF DOM (Aissen 2003:450)
- a. (Written) Japanese: All objects case marked.
 - b. Turkish: All objects case marked except for non-specifics.
 - c. Hebrew: Pronouns, proper names, and definite objects case marked.
 - d. Pitjantjatjara: Only pronouns and proper names case marked.
 - e. Catalan: Only pronouns case marked.
 - f. Kalkatungu: No objects case marked.

Note that if we consider the partially ordered definiteness hierarchy in (71), the hierarchy also provides a useful basis for stating the generalizations concerning the Tagalog patterns we have encountered so far, relating—in particular—to the different morphosyntactic strategies for expressing a theme argument. Concretely, a theme argument that is higher than the point on the hierarchy labeled ‘Non-Specific’ may be realized either as the subject of a THEME-SUBJECT clause or as an oblique marked object of a ACTOR-SUBJECT CLAUSE. Pronouns and proper names form a natural class in that they must be realized in one of these two ways, while noun phrases that may be characterized as either definite and indefinite specific form a natural class in that they need not be realized in either of these ways, but may instead be realized as a genitive marked object in an ACTOR-SUBJECT sentence.

- (71) DEFINITENESS HIERARCHY, *Partially ordered*
 {Pro, proper name} > {Definite NP, Indefinite Specific NP} > Non-Specific

Viewed from this perspective, the morphosyntactic strategies available for expressing a theme argument in Tagalog comes close to following the pattern of DOM in Romanian, where, as described by Farkas (1978), pronoun and proper name objects must be marked (by the preposition *pe*), but marking is optional for definite objects and impossible for non-specific objects.

In addition to the empirical motivation for this hierarchy involving its relevance to DOM, Farkas (2000) argues that the general rankings that the hierarchy stipulates can be deduced from a notion of DETERMINED REFERENCE. Summarizing Farkas’ view informally: DPs whose restrictive conditions narrow down their referent to a single individual have determined reference. Farkas refers to DPs with determined reference as *no-choice* DPs. Working with the partially ordered definiteness hierarchy in (71), Farkas argues that pronouns and proper names form a natural classes because they are inherently no-choice DPs. Definite and indefinite DPs for Farkas are descriptions which

can function as no-choice DPs just in case the set identified by their descriptive content (i.e. the NP) is a singleton. The function of the definite article (for languages which have one) according to Farkas is to mark a DP as a no-choice DP, while a specific indefinite is a no-choice DP because the Speaker “has a particular value in mind for the variable associated with the DP”, even though “the context and descriptive content are not sufficient to narrow down the choice as far as the Addressee is concerned” (Farkas 2000:17). Indefinite specifics therefore differ from definites in that they have determined reference only relative to the Speaker rather than to both the Speaker and the Addressee. Finally, non-specific indefinites impose no restriction on the the value of the variable they introduce beyond their descriptive content, meaning that they do not have determined reference.²⁹

For Aissen (2003), the definiteness hierarchy is part of Universal Grammar. Operating within the framework of Optimality Theory, she makes use of this hierarchy as a crucial ingredient in the formulation of a family of constraints which have the effect of requiring certain types of objects (e.g. definite objects) to be realized with case marking. I will not review the details of Aissen’s analysis here, principally because it is concerned only with deriving surface morphosyntactic patterns. As was argued in Section 4, the morphosyntactic patterns associated with the realization of theme arguments in Tagalog systematically correlate with certain types of structural prominence. It is the interconnectedness of the morphosyntax and the structural prominence relations that I wish to account for, and so the question that is now opened up is what role the definiteness hierarchy might play in such an account.

A particularly straightforward answer to this questions emerges from recent work which explores the hypothesis that markedness hierarchies including, but not necessarily limited to, the definiteness hierarchy in (69) might be expressed in the geometry of clause structure (see, in particular, Jelinek 1993, Jelinek & Carnie 2003, Carnie & Cash 2006, Merchant 2006). Broadly speaking, this hypothesis amounts to the claim that the markedness relations among individual points on 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 be implemented to offer an answer to the question posed at the beginning of this section relating to the syntactic positions available to the theme argument.

According to (69)/(71), 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.

²⁹The reader is referred to Farkas’ discussion for a more formal exposition. My point in mentioning Farakas’ work here is mainly to point out that the specific points and rankings among these points which are stipulated by the definiteness hierarchy can be motivated on semantic/pragmatic as well as morphosyntactic grounds.

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 at least two phrase structure positions above the VP that a theme argument may occupy (as proposed in Section 4)—that the phrase structure position occupied by pronoun/proper name themes will be higher than (i.e. c-command) the position occupied by definite or specific indefinite theme arguments. If this is correct, then the distribution of object positions stipulated earlier for (51) (Section 4) now follows.

Given this much, we can now turn to the question of how the correspondence between the definiteness hierarchy and the phrase structure is formally achieved. A very clear answer to this question is provided by Merchant (2006), who argues that the relationship between the definiteness hierarchy in (69) and the clause structure is direct. Concretely, Merchant proposes that the functional architecture of the clause includes a set of functional heads, as in (72), whose purpose is to host in their specifier phrases (DPs) with the particular prominence properties described in the hierarchy.

(72) [_{FP} Pro [_{GP} PN [_{HP} Def [_{JP} Spec (Indefinite) [_{KP} Non-Specific (Indefinite)]]]]]

One of the goals for Merchant’s proposal is to provide a reanalysis of Aissen’s account of DOM. His proposal involves two key claims: First, all noun phrases must move (overtly) to the appropriate functional projection for their type (i.e. a pronoun moves to FP’s specifier, etc.).³⁰ 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.

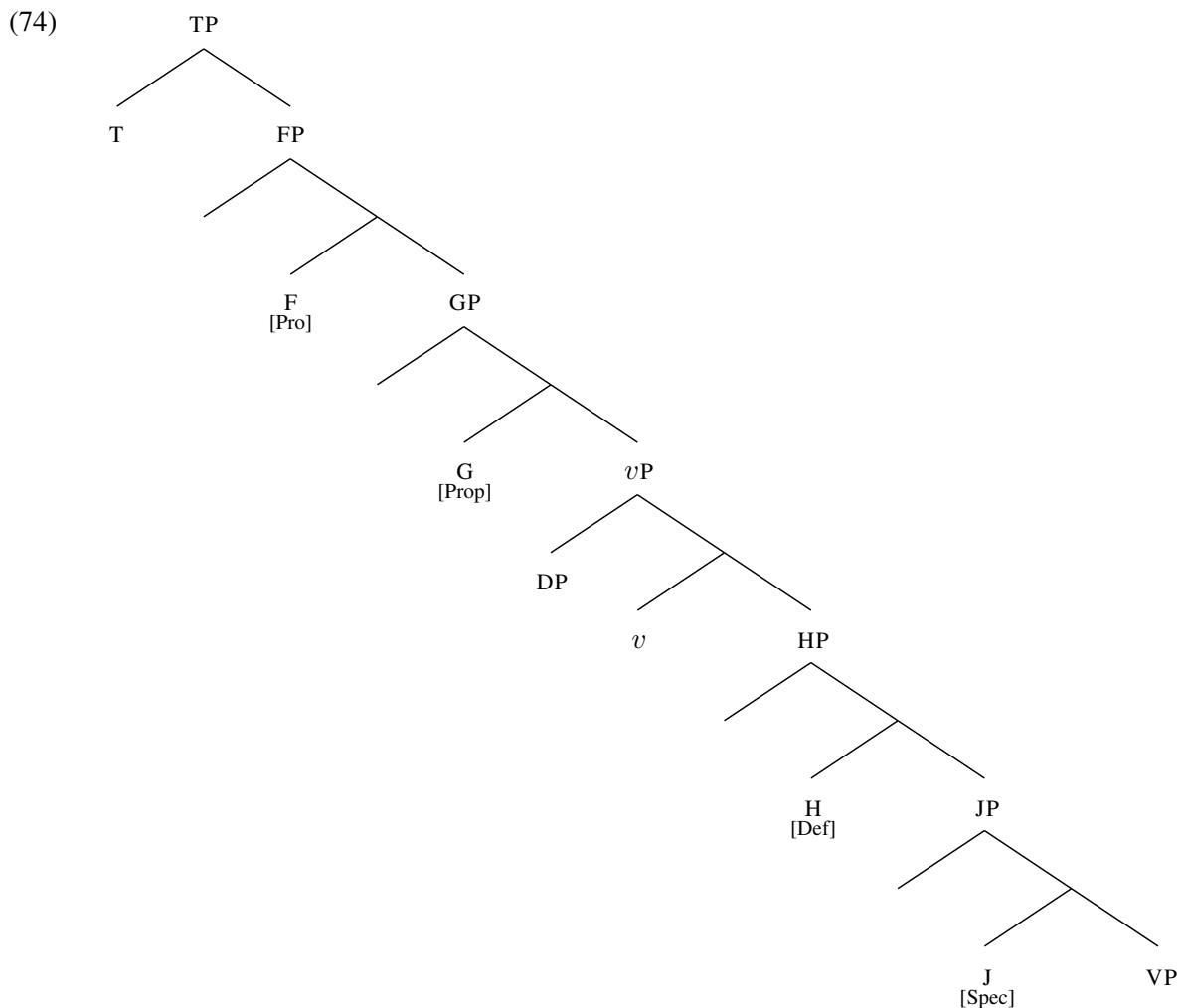
To illustrate with a concrete example, consider the case of DOM in Hebrew. In Hebrew, pronoun, proper name, and definite objects are marked by the preposition ‘*et*’, while specific indefinite and non-specific indefinite objects are not marked (Givón 1978). Merchant’s proposal accounts for this pattern 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, respectively, specific indefinite and non-specific indefinite noun phrases as in (73).

(73) [_{FP} Pro [_{GP} PN [_{HP} Def [*v* [_{JP} Spec (Indefinite) [_{KP} Non-Specific (Indefinite)]]]]]]

³⁰Although Merchant does not explicitly discuss the motivation for movement into one of these specifier position, it seems reasonable to assume, following much current Minimalist syntax, that movement is driven by ‘strong’ [EPP] features associated with the functional heads that serve as the Probes for the Agree process. More concretely, suppose that each of the functional heads associated with a point on the hierarchy is endowed with an uninterpretable feature ([*uF*]) that must be matched by a Goal with an identical feature (e.g. F[Pro] bears a [*uPro*] feature, G[Prop] bears [*uProp*] feature, and so on). Since these features are ‘strong’ (by hypothesis), if they find a matching Goal that Goal must raise to the specifier of the relevant functional head to ‘check’ the uninterpretable feature. This system will inevitably leave some features unchecked—if there is no pronominal object, for instance, then the [*uPro*] feature cannot find a matching Goal to ‘check’ its feature. This is unproblematic, however, as long as one adopts the approach to Agree explicated by Preminger (2011, 2014) according to which Agree is obligatory—a Probe with an uninterpretable feature must seek out a matching Goal—but failure to find a matching Goal does not cause a derivation to crash.

Cross-linguistic 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 also to provide us with an account of the differential behavior of themes in Tagalog vis-à-vis THEME-EXTERNALIZATION or oblique assignment. 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 *v*P), 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 (74).³¹

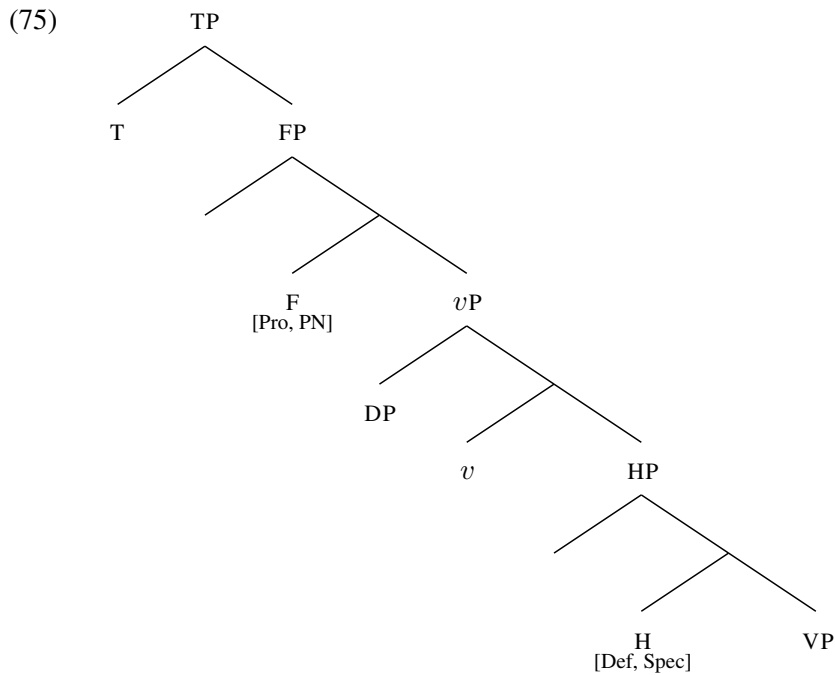


³¹A potential problem for this analysis concerns the absence of quantified noun phrases as point on the definiteness hierarchy, a point that has been raised by other authors as well (see, e.g. Farkas 2000). Based on the discussion from Section 3.1.5, we might reasonably (but tentatively) assume that quantified noun phrases (at least those of the strong variety) are a sub-type of indefinite specific, as suggested in Enç (1991).

Note that the outcome of this is exactly the same as the analysis sketched earlier in Section 4 (in particular, (51))—pronoun and proper name themes move to a position above the external argument where they may either be the target for Agree with T (=THEME-EXTERNALIZATION) or assignment of oblique case by the rule in (54). By contrast, all other specific themes (definite and specific indefinite themes, as well as quantified noun phrase themes (see fn. 30)) move to the functional projections located below the external argument where they will not be able to Agree with T or be assigned oblique case by (54), yet—by hypothesis—they will still be outside of the VP and therefore outside of the domain of existential closure. Although the outcome is the same as the proposal initially sketched out in Section 4, the advantage of the current proposal is that the differential behavior of themes follows as a consequence of the clausal architecture rather than needing to be stipulated. This is a welcome result.

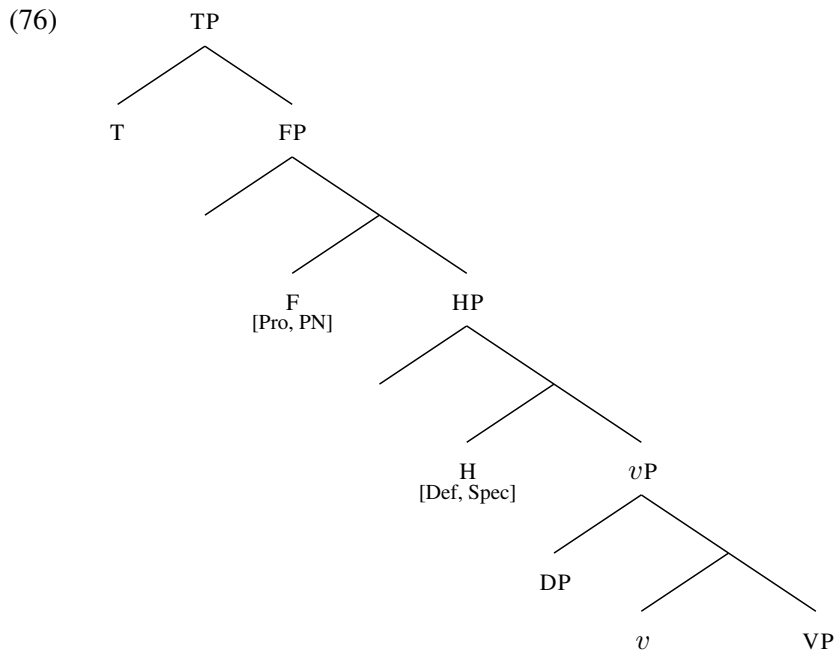
One might at this point reasonably worry about the number of functional projections that are introduced by this proposal. More specifically, one might worry that although the analysis captures the fact that pronouns and proper names pattern as a natural class (by virtue of the claim that the functional projections associated with both noun phrase types occur above ν), 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 ν 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 (74) might therefore be reduced to the relatively less complex structure in (75).³²

³²Merchant also (2006) suggests in passing that fusion of functional heads of the definiteness hierarchy might be the way to handle the interaction between different relational hierarchies. Concretely, assuming that prominence relations described by other hierarchies such as the person hierarchy (1 > 2 > 3) or the animacy hierarchy (Humans > Animates > Inanimate) also correspond to c-command relations in the syntax associated with designated functional structure, it is possible that the functional heads associated with one hierarchy might be fused with the functional heads of another. For instance, in Spanish where DOM applies only animate objects, the functional heads associated with the definiteness hierarchy, which may themselves be fused to cover the different types of objects that must be marked, may fused with the with functional head designating the [Animate] point on the animacy hierarchy.



Accepting this much, we can now also say more about the optionality of THEME-EXTERNALIZATION or oblique case assignment 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 DOM. Concretely, the optionality of THEME-EXTERNALIZATION or oblique case assignment 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 corresponding to the definiteness hierarchy. For instance, suppose that in addition to the structure in (72), vP may be merged as in (73) below the functional projection that hosts definite and specific (indefinite) noun phrases.³³

³³A reviewer raises the important question of whether there are any constraints associating with the “folding in” of the vP with the definiteness hierarchy. Besides keeping the integrity of the hierarchy (“folding in” should never change the c-command relations established by the hierarchy), there do not seem to be any significant constraints. On the other hand, it is important to bear in mind that (modulo instances of optionality) the position where the vP is “folded in” for a particular language will be fixed during the acquisition process. For Tagalog, as we have observed, pronoun and proper name objects must raise above the external argument (to become oblique marked or Agree with T and become the subject of THEME-SUBJECT clause). Thus the vP for Tagalog should never be merged above the functional projection associated with pronouns and proper names. This does not preclude other languages from merging the vP this high. By hypothesis, a language with no special marking requirements for objects of any type would be a language where the vP is merged above all stations of the definiteness hierarchy. In short, where the vP is folded in is free in general, but something that must be learned on a language particular basis.



Given (76), a non-pronoun/proper name specific theme will obligatorily raise to the specifier of HP, where it will either be assigned oblique case by the rule in (54) or become the closest target for Agree 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 represented as part of the clausal architecture.

At this point, one may wonder whether the suite of functional projections corresponding to the definiteness hierarchy are projected specifically for the theme argument or whether there may also be a set of functional projections that are somehow specifically related to the external argument as well. In other words, does this suite of functional projections appear in the clause only once or twice? As far as I can tell, there seems to be no reason to posit a separate hierarchy for the external argument in Tagalog. The primary reason for this is based on the evidence discussed in Section 5, that oblique marked themes or themes realized as subjects of THEME-SUBJECT clauses are structurally more prominent than the external argument. In order to account for this fact on the assumption that there are two separate sequences of functional projections associated with the definiteness hierarchy (one theme-related, the other external argument-related), it would have to be the case that all external argument-related functional projections are located below the theme-related functional projections that appear above *v*P in (75)/(76). If these external argument-related projections occur this low in the structure, however, we would not expect to see any particular effect or evidence of them with respect to, for example, Agree with T or oblique Case assignment.

Evidence for a separate hierarchy of functional projections related to the external argument would be supplied, on the other hand, by morphosyntactic evidence (related to Agreement or Case

assignment) that indicated that the external argument-related projections occurred *above* the theme-related projections. Suppose, for instance, that there is a separate external argument-related set of functional projections. Suppose furthermore that the functional head associated with pronouns and proper names for the external-argument related hierarchy (FP-EXT in (77)) occurs *above* the position identified in (75)/(76) of the functional head associated with pronouns and proper names for the theme-related hierarchy (FP-THEME in (77)), but below T. Combining these assumptions would give us the schematic structure in (77).

(77) T ... [_{FP-EXT} Pro/Name ... [_{FP-THEME} Pro/Name [_{vP} ...

Given this structure, we would predict one of two outcomes. Supposing a clause with pronominal external argument and theme, the oblique Case assignment rule in (54) could assign oblique Case to the external argument and T could Agree with the theme. This would yield a sentence like (78) which is hopelessly ungrammatical. Alternatively, T could Agree with the external argument and the theme could be realized in the genitive case (the conditions for oblique Case assignment to assign oblique to the theme are not met in this configuration). This derivation would result in (79), which is also impossible as we have already observed (see example (37a) from Section 3.2).

(78) **Hinalik* siya sa akin.
 PERF.TH.kiss 3SG(SUBJ) OBL 1SG(OBL)
 ('I kissed him.')

(79) **Humalik* ako niya.
 PERF.ACT.kiss 1SG(SUBJ) 3SG(GEN)
 ('I kissed him.')

Overall, then, there does not seem to be much in the way of positive support for positing a separate suite of functional projections associated with the definiteness hierarchy and specifically related to the external argument. All of the facts that we have encountered support just one hierarchy in the architecture of the clause. I will leave it here as an open question whether there is evidence from other any other language to support multiple instances of the same functional hierarchy in a single clause. Here, we have looked at the type of evidence that would support this for Tagalog, which may serve as a basis for locating the right types of evidence for other languages.

7 Conclusion

This paper has offered a detailed survey of the morphosyntactic strategies associated with the realization of the theme argument (i.e. objects), primarily focussed on ACTOR-SUBJECT clauses. As we have observed, the morphosyntactic expression of the theme argument in Tagalog is intimately related to the semantic function of the noun phrase carrying the theme role (i.e. whether it is specific

or non-specific, whether it is a pronoun or a proper name, etc.). Descriptively, then, Tagalog is seen here as a language with a rich system of Differential Object Coding, along the lines of many other languages that similarly make use of various grammatical processes like agreement or case marking differentially to mark certain types of objects but not others. The relationship between form and function has been observed for Tagalog before (see references cited in the introduction), but—as has been amply demonstrated here—the actual facts suggest a more complicated picture than these previous studies had observed or been able to provide a satisfactory account for.

On the theoretical side, I have offered an analysis of differential realizations of the theme argument that crucially assumes that the mechanisms associated with morphosyntax of agreement of case assignment are themselves not differential. In other words, the process associated with THEME-EXTERNALIZATION (Agree) and the rule associated with the assignment of oblique case are indifferent to the semantic function of the noun phrase they operate on. The Agree relation initiated by T, for instance, does not ‘care’ if its target is a pronoun or a non-specific noun phrase. Instead, Agree and the oblique case rule are undifferential and constrained only by locality, and the apparent differential nature of these processes is a consequence of the architecture of the clause, which gives certain types of noun phrases structural prominence over others. I have suggested that the particular prominence relations associated with different noun phrase types follows from the hypothesis (initiated in Merchant 2006) that the definiteness hierarchy is represented in the architecture of the clause. The analysis I have proposed contrasts in at least two important ways with the type of analysis proposed by Aissen (2003) for Differential Object Marking (DOM), which views the case assignment mechanism associated with DOM to be differential, and which views the definiteness hierarchy to be part of the Grammar but not as part of the make up of the clausal architecture. The advantage of the analysis in this paper, I believe, is that it provides a coherent account of surface morphosyntactic patterns, but also for the observation that these morphosyntactic patterns systematic correlate with specific prominence relations as documented in Section 4.

At this point, an important question remains: What sense can be made of the evidence cited by previous work for the (undifferentiated) specificity restriction in Tagalog? Recall that this evidence was interpretive in nature—the finding was that unmarked themes in ACTOR-SUBJECT clauses are interpreted as non-specific rather than specific. This fact is arguably not particularly surprising in light of the analyses proposed in this paper. As noted much earlier (in Section 2), an unmarked nominal is ambiguous between a specific and a non-specific interpretation. According to the definiteness hierarchy, non-specific noun phrases are the least marked type of object. In terms of the analyses presented in Sections 4-6, “least marked” is equated syntactically with an object that has not undergone movement—or, if it has undergone movement, a very short movement compared to the movement associated with specific objects. Assuming economy conditions of syntax (shorter movements are preferred to longer ones, no movement is preferred to any movement), it is no surprise that an ambiguous sentence would be interpreted in a way that is parsimonious with the most

economical sentence parse. More specifically, if the direct object of an ACTOR-SUBJECT clause can be interpreted as non-specific, entailing no syntactic displacement, this is the most likely interpretation that will be elicited.

Having established that specific direct objects are attested in Tagalog, there is an additional implication of interest that can be pointed out here in closing. There is a long-standing debate in the Tagalog syntax literature (as well as in the scant literature dealing with other Philippine languages) concerning the question of the type of voice system that underlies the language—namely, whether it is a nominative-accusative, ergative-absolutive, or “symmetric voice” language (i.e. neither nominative-accusative nor ergative-absolutive). One repeatedly made arguments for the ergative-absolutive view is based on the (alleged) specificity restriction. Aldridge (*op. cit.*), in particular, draws attention to the fact that ergative-absolutive languages robustly exhibit some type of specificity restriction associated with the object of anti-passive clauses. The (putative) specificity restriction associated with the object of an ACTOR-SUBJECT clause in Tagalog therefore leads Aldridge and others to conclude that ACTOR-SUBJECT clauses are antipassive clauses, and hence—more generally—that Tagalog is an ergative-absolutive language.

Given the results of the present work, there are a couple of possible implications for the “ergativity debate”. One possibility is that the language is in change from an ergative-absolutive language to a language with some other type of voice alignment system, and evidence for this change is observed in the change in the wider-range of types of permissible objects in ACTOR-SUBJECT clauses. This is a tantalizing possibility, but one that is hard to be confident about in the absence of evidence documenting similar effects on the interpretation of objects for other languages that have undergone changes in alignment. Another possibility, of course, is that the specificity restriction associated with objects cannot necessarily be used as an intrinsic property that can be used to “diagnose” ergativity. If so, then other types evidence would need to be marshaled to support an ergative-absolutive analysis for Tagalog or any other language for that matter. I leave this topic open for further debate.

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://www.wikiknow.info/index.php?lang=tl&id=2187>
- A13 www.news-medical.net/news/20110902/182/Filipino.aspx
- A14 http://www.ebiblefellowship.com/tl/may21_tl.html
- A15 <http://tl.reingex.com/Dokumento-I-export-Import.shtml>
- A16 <http://www.info.gov.hk/aids/rrc/res/pa018.pdf>
- A17 <http://forums.ansaar.nl/huwelijk-islam/20061-hoe-haal-ik-mijn-ouders-over.html?language=tl>
- A18 <http://www.ucertify.com/l/tl/ciw-security-analyst.html>
- A19 http://divinerevelations.info/Documents/8_year_old_girl/Tagalog_Visions_of_the_Rapture.pdf
- A20 <http://www.wattpad.com/5336369-my-thesis-adviser-on-hold-my-thesis-adviser-second?p=3>
- A21 <http://www.pinoyexchange.com/forums/showthread.php?t=55543&page=148>
- A22 <http://www.learn-math.info/filipino/historyDetail.htm?id=Dinghas>
- A23 <http://www.engrmoks.com/2011/06/pilipinas-got-talent-2-grand-winner.html#axzz28dAsdbTx>
- A24 <http://www.computerflux.org/index.php?lang=tl&id=6149>
- A25 <http://www.oh-philippines.com/au2/bookstore/view.php?id=774&cat=love>
- A26 <http://atesienna.pansitan.net/archives/2004/04/index.html>
- A27 <http://forum.bilyar.net/viewtopic.php?t=3298&sid=30f78c5c815ece5f38cc3ebbd3766bb>
- A28 <http://www.bibleforchildren.org/PDFs/tagalog/David%20the%20Shepherd%20Boy%20Tagalog%20CB.pdf>
- A29 <http://monmen.multiply.com/journal/item/24>
- A30 <http://tuklasinnatin.wordpress.com/page/40/>

- A31 <http://www.ichs.com/Image/Health%20Line%20Aut09&Win10%20lo-res.pdf>
- A32 <http://www.pinoyexchange.com/forums/printthread.php?t=391188&pp=20&page=65>
- A33 <http://philippinelaw.info/jurisprudence/gr123464-people-v-arabaca.html>
- A34 http://www.chaffey.edu/registration_steps/tagalog.pdf
- A35 http://www.immunize.org/vis/tagalog_hpv_gardasil.pdf
- A36 <http://dongchoco14.wordpress.com/2012/08/31/hindi-perpekto-ang-buhay/>

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