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Adjectival passives and the structure of VP in Tagalog[☆]

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores a set of surprising contrasts between two major classes of adjectives in Tagalog. It is concerned, in particular, with the discovery that adjectival passives in Tagalog cannot occur as the main predicate of various types of impersonal clauses—i.e., clause types in which the adjectives sole argument cannot be promoted to subject. I argue that this fact follows ultimately from the claim that adjectival passives are unaccusative. This claim is compared with the observation that, in many other languages (e.g., Hebrew), adjectival passives apparently pattern as unergative. I explore the hypothesis that differences relating to the argument structure of adjectival passives can be related to larger architectural differences among languages, relating specifically to the structure of VP.

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1. Introduction

This paper has two aims. The first is to document and analyze several surprising, yet completely systematic, contrasts between the class of adjectival passives in Tagalog (e.g., *basag* ‘broken’, *punit* ‘torn’, etc.) and a second major class of adjectives in the language (“*ma*-adjectives”, which includes adjectives such as *maganda* ‘beautiful’, *masaya* ‘happy’, etc.). As we will see, the latter class of adjectives can occur as the main predicate of a clause regardless of whether or not their sole DP argument is a subject, while adjectival passives by contrast can occur as the main predicate of a clause only when their sole DP argument is a subject. I will develop an account of this contrast in which it follows from a difference in the argument structure of the two classes of adjectives. Namely, adjectival passives are unaccusative, while *ma*-adjectives are unergative. Given this distinction, I will argue that the generalization follows from basic Case-theoretic principles.

The claim that adjectival passives in Tagalog are unaccusative predicates may seem rather mundane. After all, it is generally accepted to be the case the sole DP argument of an adjectival passive is semantically related to the direct object of a related transitive verb, and, thus, one generally expects there to be a configurationally identical underlying syntactic relationship between this argument (i.e., the *THEME* argument) and its predicate (verb or adjective) on the basis of hypotheses like Baker’s (1988) Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH) (see also, Perlmutter and Postal’s 1984 Uniform Alignment Hypothesis (UAH), and much related work). On the other hand, research on the argument structure of adjectival passives in other languages has revealed that adjectives on a whole pattern, surprisingly, as unergative rather than unaccusative (Pesetsky, 1982; Borer, 1984; Borer and Grodzinsky, 1986; Levin and Rappaport, 1986; Belletti and Rizzi, 1981; Burzio, 1986; Cinque, 1990).

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A second aim of this paper, therefore, is to attempt to reconcile the evidence relating to the unaccusative behavior of adjectival passives in Tagalog with the evidence relating to adjectival passives in other languages. With this goal in mind, I draw upon Baker's (2003) resolution to the problem posed for the UTAH by the unergative behavior of adjectival passives in certain languages. Baker demonstrates that the existence of unergative adjectival passives does not necessarily pose a problem for the UTAH (contra Borer, 2005:55–64) as long as one adopts an abstract structure for VP, in which the THEME argument of a verb is projected as an external argument of the verb—more specifically, as a specifier to a complex VP constituent embedded within a larger $\hat{O}VP$ -shell structure (see, e.g., Larson, 1988; Hale and Keyser, 2002; among many others). By adopting this type of structure for VP, Baker demonstrates that the THEME argument of a (transitive or unaccusative) verb, as well as the THEME argument of an unergative adjectival passive, are projected in a configurationally uniform way syntactically, in a manner which accords with the spirit of the UTAH. Reversing this logic, I will attempt to demonstrate that Tagalog does not countenance the type of VP structure that Baker motivates, and I will use this conclusion as the basis for explaining why adjectival passives must, in order to ensure configurational uniformity, have an unaccusative rather than an unergative argument structure.

Overall, this work raises and addresses a larger question. Namely, what kinds of differences do we find with respect to the argument structure properties of predicates (specifically, adjectives) cross-linguistically, and how might these differences, if they exist, be explained in a principled fashion such that a constrained theory of argument structure is still maintained? The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 offers general background relating to Tagalog clause structure and certain assumptions about Case. Section 3 introduces the two classes of adjectives that are the focus of this study. In Section 4, I demonstrate the contrasts named above with respect to the two classes of adjectives and provide my account of this generalization in terms of and unaccusative/unergative distinction between the two classes of adjectives. In Section 5, I consider but reject an alternative syntactic analysis based on the Stage-/Individual-level distinction. Finally, in Section 6, I address the larger architectural questions that arise from a comparison of the Tagalog data concerning adjectival passives with evidence from other languages. It is here that I draw upon Baker's (2003) recent ideas to show how variation relating to the argument structure of adjectival passives may be related to independent properties of languages, pertaining specifically to the structure of VP.

2. Tagalog basics

2.1. Clause structure

Tagalog is a predicate-initial language. In general, clauses have one argument that is singled out as the subject of the clause. In clauses where a transitive verb serves as the main predicate, the argument that functions as the subject may bear any one of a number of thematic relations to the verb. Consider the examples in (1).¹

- (1) a. *Pumunit si Maria ng kanya-ng damit nang siya 'y magalit.*
AGR(NOM).PERF.tear S Maria NS 3SG(OBL)-LK dress when 3SG(S) AY got.mad
 'Maria tore her dress when she got mad.'
- b. *I-binaon ng mga pirata sa isa-ng lugar na lihim ang kanila-ng mga dinambong.*
AGR(ACC).PERF-hide NS PL pirate LOC one-LK place LK secret S 3PL(OBL)-LK PL treasure
 'The pirates hid their treasures in a secret place.'
- c. *Bigyan mo ng kendi ang bawat isa.*
give-AGR(OBL) 2SG(NS) NS candy S each one
 'Give everyone some candy.'

Significantly, subjects are morphologically distinguished from primary argument non-subjects and obliques. The table in (2) summarizes the morphological cases that arguments inflect for depending on their grammatical function as subject, non-subject primary argument (namely, the external argument or the direct object), or oblique.

(2) *Morphological case*

	COMMON N	PROPER N
SUBJECT (S)	<i>ang</i>	<i>si</i>
NON-SUBJECT (NS)	<i>ng [nang]</i>	<i>ni</i>
OBLIQUE (OBL)	<i>sa</i>	<i>kay</i>

¹ If no other source is provided, example sentences for Tagalog are taken from my field notes (examples cited as LE are taken from Leo English's *Tagalog-English dictionary* (English, 1986, National Book Store).

The following abbreviations are used in glossing the examples:

S = Subject, NS = Non-subject, OBL = Oblique, LOC = Locative, NOM = Nominative, ACC = Accusative, PL = Plural, AGR = Agreement, ASP = Aspect, INF = Infinitive, PERF = Perfective, IMPERF = Imperfective, CONT = Contemplative, REC-PERF = Recent perfective, INV = Inversion marker (=ay), L = Linker, L(REL) = Linker occurring in a relative clause.

Thus, the subject is the AGENT argument of the transitive verb in (1a), the THEME argument of the transitive verb in (1b), and the GOAL argument of the transitive verb in (1c). Note that the agreement inflection on the verb varies depending on which argument, AGENT, THEME, or GOAL, is selected as the subject. I will say more about this agreement immediately below. For convenience, I follow Guilfoyle et al. (1992) and adopt a view of the clause structure of sentences like (1) in which the subject occupies Spec, TP. In order to derive predicate initial word order, I will also assume that Spec, TP occurs to the right rather than to the left as in subject-initial languages such as English (cf. Kroger, 1993; Richards, 1993; Rackowski, 2002; Aldridge, 2004). Word order for arguments following the predicate is flexible, a fact that I will put aside here as it is not material to the main discussion.

Alongside clauses of the type in (1), Tagalog also has a number of impersonal clause types in which no argument of the predicate advances to subject. For instance, clauses containing a verbal predicate inflected for recent perfective aspect, as in (3), are impersonal in this sense. Note in particular that the arguments of the predicates are inflected with the non-subject morphological case (*ng* or *ni*) in these sentences. Observe, furthermore, that the verb does not show inflection for agreement.

- (3) a. Kapagluluto lang ng babae ng turon.
 REC-PERF.cook just NS woman NS turon
 'The woman just cooked some turons.'
- b. Kauupo lang nina Ben at Joe.
 REC-PERF.sit just NS+PL Ben and Joe
 'Ben and Joe just sat down.'

Existential clauses are another type of impersonal clause. In existential clauses, the sole DP argument of the existential predicate is inflected for the non-subject morphological case rather than the subject morphological case, as shown in (4).

- (4) M-agkakaroon ng parada dito bukas.
 ASP-exist NS parade here tomorrow
 'There will be a parade here tomorrow.'

Regarding clauses of this type, I assume that they differ minimally from the personal clauses in (1) in that there is no overt subject projected in Spec, TP. Rather, all arguments of the predicate in impersonal clauses of this type remain in the underlying position where they are assigned a semantic role. The relevance of impersonal clauses will become clear shortly.²

All of the examples considered so far have contained a verb as their main predicate. Tagalog also allows adjectives to function as the main predicate of a clause (there is no copula). In general, the sole DP argument of the adjective functions as a subject. Observe that adjectival predicates, in contrast to verbs, do not inflect for tense-aspect or agreement.

- (5) a. Bastós ang tao kung tumitig sa kapwa-tao.
 rude s person if AGR(NOM).INF.stare OBL other-person
 'A person is rude if they stare at others.' (LE 166)
- b. Biglá' ang kanya-ng pagkamatay.
 sudden s 3SG(OBL)-LK death
 'His death was sudden.'

The remainder of this paper will focus entirely on adjectival predicates. First, I will complete this introductory section with a brief discussion concerning Case in Tagalog. (The reader may wish to skip this part for now and instead come back to it in Section 4.2, when it becomes more directly relevant.)

2.2. Case and A-movement

As noted above in connection with the examples in (1), verbal predicates agree with their subject. This agreement does not involve the familiar agreement features of the subject such as person, gender, or number, but something rather more abstract. Following Rackowski (2002) and Rackowski and Richards (2005), I take this agreement to be Case agreement.³ Concretely, the verbal predicate agrees with the abstract Case value (e.g., nominative or accusative) of the argument that occupies the subject position of the clause, Spec, TP. As for the source of an arguments Case, I shall assume (closely following the authors cited above) that Case is assigned to an argument internal to the predicate phrase (i.e., vP-internally) in the manner summarized in (6):

- (6) *Case assignment (Tagalog)*
- a. T assigns nominative to Spec, vP
- b. v assigns accusative to the complement of V.

² We can plausibly assume for now that the subject position of an existential construction is filled by a null expletive. I assume the presence of a null expletive in recent perfective clauses as well, though nothing crucial depends on this assumption.

³ See also Pearson (2005) and Rackowski and Richards (2005). See Chung (1982, 1998) and Georgopoulos (1991), who set the empirical and theoretical background for this idea within the larger setting of Western Austronesian languages.

Looking back at the examples in (1), then, the verb agrees with the nominative Case of the subject in (1a) (which is assigned to Spec, *vP* by (6i)), while it agrees with the accusative Case of the subject (which is assigned to *V*'s complement by (6ii)) in (1b). (I leave oblique arguments out of the discussion for now, as they are not pertinent to the discussion.)

The two most important consequences of these assumptions to bear in mind for what follows are: (i) That movement to the subject position is not Case-driven, and (ii) That abstract Case should be distinguished from morphological case. The first point is relevant to the analysis of examples like (1b) from above (repeated below as (7b)). Although examples like (7b), where the direct object is promoted to subject, have occasionally been analyzed as passive sentences, there is substantial evidence which argues against this analysis (see, e.g., Schachter, 1976:512; Kroger, 1993; Richards, 2000; Rackowski, 2002; Pearson, 2005; Rackowski and Richards, 2005). Rather, the evidence discussed by these authors (which, for reasons of space I will not review in detail here, but see above references) suggests that a sentence like (7b) is transitive and active just as its minimal-pair counterpart in (7a) is (i.e., these sentences do not differ in voice). In contrast to passive sentences in English, for instance, there is no syntactic sense in which the AGENT has been demoted in (7b), where the THEME is the subject. Sentence (7a) seems to differ from (7b) only in that the external argument (i.e., the AGENT) rather than the internal argument (i.e., the THEME) functions as the subject of the clause.

- (7) a. N-agbaon ang mga pirata ng mga dinambong sa isa-ng lugar na lihim.
AGR(NOM).PERF-hide S PL pirate NS PL treasure LOC one-PL place LK secret
'The pirates hid their treasure in a secret place.'
- b. I-binaon ng mga pirata sa isa-ng lugar na lihim ang kanila-ng mga dinambong.
AGR(ACC).PERF-hide NS PL pirate LOC one-LK place LK secret S 3PL(OBL)-LK PL treasure
'The pirates hid their treasures in a secret place.'

Since (7b) is not a passive of (7a), it is very unlikely that the promotion of the direct object in (7b) is amenable to the type of analysis usually proposed for passive sentences in other languages—namely, involving Case-driven movement of the object to the subject position as a result of the verbs inability to assign (accusative) Case (cf. Guilfoyle et al., 1992; Aldridge, 2004). The conclusion that promotion of the THEME to subject position in (7b) is not Case-driven forms part of a larger conclusion that Tagalog lacks Case-driven A-movement more generally, and that all instances of movement into subject position actually involve A-bar movement (see, in particular, Richards, 2000; Sells, 1998, 2000; Pearson, 2005; Hymes et al., 2006). (Again, for reasons of space, I will not review this evidence in detail here.)

From these conclusions it also follows that the form of the morphological case inflection of a DP does not reflect its abstract Case value—e.g., as nominative or accusative. Concretely, given an analysis of (7b) involving A-bar movement of the direct object and Case agreement, the direct object is assigned accusative Case in both (7a) and (7b), though the spell-out of Case differs in both of the examples. Concretely, it surfaces as *ng* ([*nang*]) in (7a), where it remains in situ, but as *ang* in (7b), when it has been promoted to the subject position (Spec, TP). The same point can be made with respect to the external argument. By hypothesis, the external argument has nominative Case in both (7a) and (7b), though the specific morphological spell-out of this Case differs depending on whether it is a subject (as in (7a), in which case it is spelled-out as *ang*) or whether it remains *vP*-internal (as in (7b), in which case it is spelled-out as *ng*).

Summarizing: Case (e.g., nominative and accusative) is assigned to an argument within the maximal projection of the predicate (*vP*). Movement to the subject position is not Case-driven A-movement, but rather is an instance of A-bar movement. The specific spell-out of Case (i.e., case) therefore does not reflect the abstract Case value assigned to a DP, though the agreement morphology on the verb does by hypothesis. With these assumptions in place, I now turn to my main discussion.

3. Tagalog adjectives

Consider first the class of adjectival passives. Some representative examples are listed in (8).

- (8) *Adjectival passives:*
baság 'broken', *punít* 'ripped', *sunóg* 'burnt', *batí* 'beaten', *gamít* 'used' *tapós*
'finished', *abalá* 'busy (occupied)', *kilalá* 'well-known', *hiló* 'dizzy'

Like adjectival passives in other languages, adjectival passives in Tagalog generally form part of a larger paradigm with transitive verbs. For instance, the adjective *baság* ('broken') is related to the transitive verb *n-agbasag* ('to break'). From a semantic point of view, one can say, in general, that the adjectival passive denotes the result state inherent in the meaning of the corresponding event denoted by the transitive verb.⁴

We can further elucidate the relationship between adjectival passives and transitive verbs by observing that the sole DP argument of an adjectival passive, which functions as a subject of the sentence in (9a), corresponds thematically to the internal argument (i.e., the direct object) of the related transitive verb in (9b). Using the familiar terminology of thematic

⁴ I refer to the adjectives in (8) (in the main text) as adjectival passives on the basis of the observation that they share many characteristics of adjectival passives in other languages (stativity, inability to co-occur with an agent, etc.). It is perhaps important to point out, however, that it is unclear at present whether or not there also exists a true verbal passive in Tagalog. It will therefore not be possible to compare the properties of adjectival passives to verbal passives.

roles, the subject of (9a) and the object in (9b) is the *THEME* argument of, respectively, the adjectival passive predicate and the transitive verb.

- (9) a. Baság ang bote.
broken s bottle
'The bottle is broken.'
- b. N-agbasag si Juan ng bote.
AGR(NOM).PERF-break s Juan NS bottle
'Juan broke the bottle.'

Given the correspondence in terms of the thematic role between the surface subject in (9a) and the internal argument of the transitive verb in (9b), we can note the prediction that the surface subject of the sentence in (9a) should correspond syntactically to the underlying direct object of the adjectival passive. This prediction is based on hypotheses such as Baker's (1988) Uniformity of Theta-Assignment Hypothesis (UTAH) (see also, Perlmutter and Postal, 1984) according to which identical thematic relations between related lexical items bear identical syntactic relations at a non-surface level of representation (e.g., deep-structure). In Section 4, we will consider evidence confirming this prediction.

Despite a paradigmatic relationship of adjectival passives with transitive verbs, adjectival passives are categorically distinct from verbs. To show this, it is instructive to compare adjectival passives to related "stative verb" forms.⁵ Stative verbs are closely related to adjectival passives in that both seem to emphasize the resulting state of an event rather than the event itself (see, in particular, Dell, 1983; Kroeger, 1990:117; Phillips, 2000; Travis, 2002). In certain environments, however, these stative verbs and adjectival passives can be categorically distinguished. For instance, adjectival passives may appear as the complement of the verb *maging* ('become'), as the examples in (10) illustrate.

- (10) a. Masyado ako-ng naging abalá sa pagtuturo.
too.much 1SG(S)-LK PERF.become busy OBL teaching
'I became too busy with teaching.'
- b. Medyo naging hiló ako kanina sa simbahan.
rather PERF.become dizzy 1SG(S) a.while.ago OBL church
'I became rather dizzy in church a while ago.'

Stative verbs, by contrast, cannot appear in this environment.

- (11) a. *Naging ma-abala sa pagtuturo.
PERF.become AGR(ACC).INF-busy OBL teaching
(I became busy with teaching.)
- b. *Naging ma-hilo ako kanina sa simbahan.
PERF.become AGR(ACC).PERF-dizzy 1SG(S) a.while.ago OBL church
(I became dizzy in church a while ago.)

This distinction seems comparable to the distinction observed in English and other languages between adjectival passives as in (12a) and verbal passives as in (12b). (The *by*-phrase in (12b) is used to disambiguate between the verbal passive and the adjectival passive.)

- (12) a. After a while, the solution became well-known.
- b. *After a while, the solution became well-known by syntacticians.

Plausibly, the ungrammaticality of the Tagalog examples in (11) and the English example in (12b) is due to a restriction imposed by *become* that it selects only non-verbal categories as its complement. Concretely, noun and adjective phrases may appear as complements to *become*, but verb phrases may not (see, e.g., Wasow, 1977; Levin and Rappaport, 1986).

Adjectival passives and stative verbs differ in a couple of other ways as well. For instance, a non-subject *AGENT* argument may co-occur with a stative verb when its *THEME* argument is the subject of the clause. This does not appear to be possible with an adjectival passive, however. The contrast in (13) illustrates.

⁵ I use the term "stative verb" following the authors mentioned in the text. The motivation for this term is, however, somewhat unclear. In particular, it is not clear in what sense these verbs are actually stative rather than eventive. They do differ from other eventive verbs, however, in that they are inherently telic—i.e., they entail rather than imply that the result of the action described by the verb has been achieved. Non-"stative verbs" by contrast, are atelic (see, in particular, Dell, 1983). A better term for these predicates might therefore be 'result predicate'. Stative verbs have gone by many other names as well—including: "abilitatives" and "potentives". To avoid introducing yet another coinage here to describe these verbs, I will simply stick with "stative verb", though this notion of the term should probably be kept separate from the notion of the term as applied to verbs such as *gusto* 'want', *marunong* 'know', etc.

- (13) a. Na-basag niya ang salamin. (Stative)
AGR(ACC).PERF-broke 3SG(NS) S mirror
'The mirror was broken by him/her.'
- b. *Baság niya ang salamin. (Adjectival passive)
broken 3SG(NS) S mirror
(The mirror is broken by him/her.)

Related to this difference, stative verbs may be modified by manner adverbs like *madali* ('easily') which seem to imply the presence of an AGENT argument even though no agent is overtly expressed in these examples (see, e.g., Kratzer, 2000). By contrast, adverbs such as this cannot co-occur with adjectival passives.

- (14) *Stative verb modification by 'easily':*
- a. Madali-ng ma-basag ang manipis na baso.
easily-LK AGR(ACC).INF-break S thin LK glass
'The thin glass was easily broken.'
- b. Madali-ng ma-punit ang puntas.
easily-LK AGR(ACC).INF-tear S lace
'The lace was easily torn.'

- (15) *Adjectival passive modification by 'easily':*
- a. *Madali-ng basag ang manipis na baso.
easily-LK broken S thin LK glass
(The thin glass is easily broken.)
- b. *Madali-ng punit ang puntas.
easily-LK torn S lace
(The lace is easily torn.)

The other major class of adjectives in Tagalog is the class of "*ma*-adjectives". Some representative examples are provided in (16).

- (16) *Ma-adjectives:*
(*ma*-)mahal 'expensive', *ma-saráp* 'delicious', *ma-dali* 'quick', *ma-ínit* 'hot',
ma-ganda 'beautiful', *ma-tahimik* 'quiet', *ma-búti* 'good', *ma-talino* 'intellegent'

Ma-adjectives have phonological and morphological characteristics that suggest that they form a separate class from the adjectival passives. Most obviously, *ma*-adjectives typically occur with the prefix *ma*-, while adjectival passives are always unaffixed or possibly affixed by a null morpheme. There are also phonological differences relating to the placement of stress: Stress on a *ma*-adjective may be either final or penultimate, whereas stress on an adjectival passive is always final. Along with these morphological and phonological differences, there also appears to be a semantic difference between the two classes of adjectives. In particular, at least a subset of *ma*-adjectives tend to denote more permanent or inherent states of the individual they are applied to, while adjectival passives denote resultant states which does not necessarily hold of an individual permanently or inherently. Roughly, this semantic difference seems reminiscent of the Stage-/Individual-level distinction (Carlson, 1977), with adjectival passives belonging to the Stage-level category, and *ma*-adjectives belonging to the Individual-level category. (I return to this semantic difference later to show that is not syntactically relevant.)

A final point concerning the difference between adjectival passives and *ma*-adjectives is that *ma*-adjectives are paradigmatically related to intransitive unergative verbs rather than to transitive verbs, in contrast to adjectival passives, which—as noted above—are paradigmatically related to transitive verbs (see (9) above). Thus, a *ma*- adjective like *ma-tahimik* ('quiet') is related to the intransitive (unergative) verb *tumahimik* ('to become quiet') used in example (17).⁶

⁶ One additional reason to believe that the verbs related to *ma*- adjectives are unergative comes from an observation relating to the formation of causatives. In particular, (Travis, 2002) notes that verbal roots that co-occur with a single internal THEME argument take part in 'lexical-causative formation'. Thus, an intransitive (unaccusative) base verbs such as *tumumba* ('to fall down') is related to a lexical causative form *m-agtumba* ('to knock something down'). The causative form of a base transitive verb such as *m-agsabog* ('to scatter s.t. '), on the other hand, is formed by a productive causative word formation rule which adds the causative morpheme *pa*-: *m-ag+pa+sabog* ('to cause s.o. to scatter s.t. '). Significantly, the causative of verbs such as *t umatahimik* ('be quiet') which are related to the *ma*-adjective (*ma*)*tahimik* ('quiet') are formed in the same way as the causative of base transitive verbs: *m-ag+pa+tahimik* ('to cause s.o. to be quiet'). The fact that unergative verbs pattern with transitive verbs with respect to causative formation is not atypical cross-linguistically.

- (17) Tumahimik na ang aso sa kakakahol.
 AGR(NOM).PERF.be.quiet PRT S dog OBL barking
 'The dog has become quiet after a lot of barking.'

Like adjectival passives, however, *ma*-adjectives clearly pattern as adjectives rather than verbs. For instance, *ma*-adjectives may occur as the complement of *maging* ('become'), as shown in (18). However, as the ungrammaticality of the examples in (19) show, an (unergative) verb that is related to a *ma*-adjective may not occur in this environment.

- (18) a. N-agbaha at naging ma-putik ang mga lansangan at bukid.
 AGR(NOM).PERF-flood and PERF.become muddy S PL street and farm
 'The streets and farms flooded and became muddy.'
- b. Nagiging masaya ako kapag n-akikita ka.
 IMPERF.become happy 1SG(NOM) when AGR(ACC).IMPERF-see 2SG(s).
 'I become happy whenever I see you.'
- (19) a. *Naging m-agputik ang mga lansangan at bukid.
 PERF.become AGR(NOM).INF-be.muddy S PL street and farm
 (The streets and farms became muddy.)
- b. *Nagiging m-agsaya ako kapag nakikita ka.
 PERF.become AGR(NOM).INF-be.happy 1SG(NOM) when AGR(ACC).IMPERF-see 2SG(s).
 (I become happy whenever I see you.)

3.1. Interim summary

Summarizing up to this point, Tagalog appears to have a lexical class of adjectives that is categorically distinct from verbs, including those to which the adjective is morphologically and semantically related to. Within this class of adjectives, there are two important sub-classes: Adjectival passives and *ma*-adjectives. The preliminary basis for this distinction centers on the observation that the two classes exhibit distinct morphological and phonological, as well as semantic properties. In the next section, I argue that the two types of adjectives are further distinguishable in terms of their argument structure. I will argue, in particular, that adjectival passives are unaccusative, whereas *ma*-adjectives are unergative.

4. The argument structure of adjectives

In all of the examples cited above where an adjective serves as the main predicate of a clause, its sole DP argument is also the subject of the clause. There are certain exceptions to this pattern, however, which are the focus of the present section. In particular, there are three contexts where an adjective's sole DP argument does not function as a subject. These are: (i) Impersonal clauses whose main predicate is an intensified adjective formed with the prefix *náþaka*- ('very'); (ii) Exclamative clauses, which are also impersonal; and (iii) Equative comparative clauses. The important and surprising generalization regarding these three types of clauses is that while *ma*-adjectives can occur as the main predicate of each of them, adjectival passives systematically cannot. I will provide an account of this generalization in which it follows from the claim the adjectival passives are unaccusative, while *ma*-adjectives are unergative.

4.1. Intensified adjectives

Adjectives in Tagalog may be intensified in one of two ways. First, any adjective may be intensified by full reduplication. Thus, a construction used to intensify the *ma*-adjective occurring in the sentence in (20a) is the one given in (20b). Additional examples of intensive reduplication with a *ma*-adjective are given in (21).

- (20) a. Matahimik na ang aso.
 quiet now S dog
 'The dog is quiet now.'
- b. Matahimik na matahimik na ang aso.
 quiet LK quiet now S dog
 'The dog is very quiet now.'

- (21)
- a. Mataba-ng mataba si Juan.
fat-LK fat s Juan
'Juan is very fat.'
 - b. Mahal na mahal ang presyo.
expensive LK expensive s price
'The price is very expensive.'
 - c. Maganda-ng maganda ang pelikula.
good-LK good s movie
'The movie was very good.'

Observe that, apart from the reduplication of the adjective, clauses containing intensified adjectives of this type do not differ significantly from examples that contain simplex (i.e., non-intensive) adjectives. In the examples in (21), for instance, the adjectives sole DP argument is inflected with the subject morphological case (*ang/si*), just as it is in an example like (20a). Unsurprisingly, then, adjectival passives may also be intensified using the reduplication strategy. Consider the examples in (22).

- (22)
- a. Basag na basag ang salamin.
broken LK broken s mirror
'The mirror was very broken.'
 - b. Sira-ng sira ang buhok nila.
damaged-LK damaged s hair 3PL(NS)
'Their hair is very damaged.'
 - c. Bagot na bagot ang ina sa kanya-ng anak na babae.
fed.up LK fed.up s mother OBL 3SG(OBL)-LK child LK woman
'The mother is very fed up with her daughter.' (LE 155)
 - d. Abala-ng abala si G. Cruz ngayon.
busy-LK busy s G. Cruz now
'Mr. Cruz is very busy right now.' (LE 2)
 - e. Bati-ng batin ang punti' ng itlog.
beaten-LK beaten s white NS egg
'The egg whites are very well beaten.' (LE 172)

Intensive adjectives can also be formed using the prefix *nápaka-* (very). In contrast to clauses whose main predicate is an intensive adjective formed with reduplication, clauses containing an adjective intensified with *nápaka-* are impersonal. Consider the sentences in (23). Observe, in particular, that the adjectives sole DP argument is inflected with the non-subject morphological case (*ng/ni*) rather than the subject morphological case (*ang/si*). These examples thus clearly contrast with the examples above, in which the adjectives DP argument is plainly a subject and the clauses are personal rather than impersonal.

- (23)
- a. Nápaka-mahal ng presyo.
very-expensive NS price
'The price is very expensive.'
 - b. Nápaka-tahimik ng aso.
very-quiet NS dog
'The dog is very quiet.'
 - c. Nápaka-sarap ng pansit.
very-delicious NS noodle
'The noodles are very delicious.'
 - d. Nápaka-ganda ng bulaklak na ito.
very-beautiful NS flower LK this
'This flower is very beautiful.'

Significantly, adjectival passives cannot be intensified using *nápaka-*, a fact that is illustrated by the ungrammaticality of the examples in (24), which should be compared with the examples in (22) from above.

- (24)
- a. *Nápaka-basag ng salamin.
very-broken NS mirror
(The mirror is very broken.)
 - b. *Nápaka-sira' ng buhok nila.
very-damaged NS hair 3PL(NS)
(Their hair was very damaged.)
 - c. *Nápaka-bagot ng ina sa kanya-ng anak na babae.
very-fed.up NS mother OBL 3SG(OBL)-LK child LK woman
(The mother was very fed up with her daughter.)
 - d. *Nápaka-abala ni G. Cruz ngayon.
very-busy NS Mr. Cruz now
(Mr. Cruz is very busy now.)
 - e. *Nápaka-kilala ng artista-ng iyon.
very.known ns artist-LK that
(That artist is very well known.)

Now, we can dismiss the possibility right off that the ungrammaticality of the examples in (24) is somehow rooted in the semantics. In particular, given that adjectival passives can be intensified using reduplication (see the examples in (22) above), it is plain that there is no semantic incompatibility between adjectival passives and the meaning associated with intensification. Observe, furthermore, that adjectival passives can co-occur with a variety of other types of degree modifiers. These facts indicate more generally that adjectival passives are “gradable” predicates.

- (25)
- a. Punit-punit ang aki-ng mga damit.
ripped-ripped s 1SG(OBL)-LK PL dress
'My dress is *thoroughly* torn.'
 - b. Medyo kilala ang artista-ng iyon.
rather well.known s artist-LK that
'That artist is *rather* well known.'
 - c. Medyo sira' pa ang motor kaya hindi' pa ma-gamit.
rather damaged still s motor therefore not still ABIL.INF-USE
'The motor is still *rather* damaged, and so its still unable to be used.'

It seems reasonable to conjecture, therefore, that the ungrammaticality of the examples in (24) lies with the syntax rather than the semantics. In the next sub-section, I will provide a syntactic account of these contrasts in which they flow from the different argument structure properties of the two classes of adjectives.

4.2. A syntactic account

The basis for the syntactic account of the contrasts observed above—in particular, of the ungrammaticality of sentences like (24)—is the observation that clauses containing adjectival predicates intensified with *nápaka-* are impersonal. Constructions based on *nápaka-* therefore resemble other types of impersonal clauses, such as recent perfective and existential clauses introduced in Section 2.1. Recall that with respect to these types of clauses, it was claimed that no argument of the predicate occupies the subject position of the clause (Spec, TP). Rather, all of the predicate arguments in an impersonal clause reside within the predicate phrase, in the underlying position where they are initially merged and assigned a semantic role.

Suppose, then, that the adjective's argument in the impersonal sentences in (23)–(24) occupies its underlying syntactic position. Supposing this, we can now describe the contrast between the sentences in (23) and (24) in the following way. The DP argument of a *ma-*adjective can be syntactically licensed either in its underlying position (as in the examples in (23)) or as a subject in Spec, TP (as in the examples in (21)). The argument of an adjectival passive, by contrast, can only be licensed as a subject—i.e., by raising to Spec, TP, as in the examples in (22). The first step towards accounting for this difference, then, involves fleshing out the identity of the relevant licensing principle involved.

Within the Principles and Parameters/Minimalist framework, it is hypothesized that arguments (specifically, DP arguments) must be licensed in accordance with the Case-filter—the requirement that an overt DP must be assigned

(abstract) Case (Chomsky, 1981).⁷ As a syntactic licensing requirement, the Case-filter is needed to explain why DPs can occur in certain environments but not others. In English, for instance, a DP can occupy the subject position of a finite clause but not the subject position of an embedded infinitival clause selected by raising predicates like *seem*. Consider the contrasts in (26).

- (26) a. Maria seems [to be tired]. (Subject of finite clause)
 b. It seems that [Maria is tired]. (Subject of embedded finite clause)
 c. *It seems [Maria to be tired]. (Subject of embedded non-finite clause)

The Case-filter also aims to explain why nouns and adjectives in certain languages (e.g., as in English) cannot take internal arguments directly without the presence of a “dummy” preposition, as the examples in (27) below illustrate. The hypothesis here is that nouns and adjectives belong to the class of non-Case assigners in English, distinct from verbs and prepositions, which are Case-assigners.

- (27) a. Bill was afraid *(of) the storm.
 b. Bill's fear *(of) the storm.

Returning to the ungrammaticality of the examples in (24), I propose that the licensing principle that is involved is the Case-filter. Concretely, suppose that the sole DP argument of an adjectival passive is an internal argument of the adjective—i.e., that adjectival passives are unaccusative. Significantly, this proposal accords with the expectation noted in Section 3 based on the UTAH that the surface subject of an adjectival passive ought to be syntactically merged as an underlying internal argument, exactly as it is for a related verb. Given this, since clauses with adjectives intensified with *nápaka-* are impersonal, the internal argument of the adjectival passive does not raise to the subject position of the clause (Spec, TP). Rather, the adjectival passive's argument is forced to remain in its underlying position (as a complement of A). Adjectives are canonical non-Case assigners (both cross-linguistically, see (27a), as well as in Tagalog as discussed below). As such, the adjectival passive cannot assign Case to its DP complement. Given these two points, it follows that the adjectival passive's DP argument fails to be licensed in accordance with the Case-filter.⁸ The examples in (24) are therefore ruled out.⁹

4.2.1. Verbs, adjectives, and case

In contrast to adjectival passives, unaccusative verbs in Tagalog can occur in impersonal constructions. Two types of evidence establish this. First, certain intransitive verbs—namely, those that correspond to the iconic unaccusative predicates in other languages—can occur as the main predicate of an impersonal clause, such as when they are inflected in the recent-perfective aspect (see Section 2.1). Consider the following:

- (28) a. Kadarating lang ng bantay.
 REC-PERF.arrive just NS guard
 'A/The guard just arrived.'
 b. Kabababa' lang ng eroplano.
 REC-PERF.go.down just NS airplane
 A/The airplane just went down.

⁷ Within the general framework being assumed here (namely, that of Principles and Parameters/Minimalism), the theory of Case-licensing generally, and the Case-filter in particular, have undergone some formal changes (see Bobaljik and Wurfand, 2008; Pesetsky and Torrego, 2009; the collection of papers in Brander and Zinsmeister, 2003; and Section 2.2 of the present paper for overview and discussion of some of these changes). As far as I have been able to determine, however, the basic ideas remain intact, and none of these developments affect my overall characterization of the phenomena being discussed in Case-theoretic terms.

⁸ See Section 4.2.1 for discussion of why (nominative) Case cannot be 'exceptionally' assigned to the adjective's internal argument T.

⁹ As a reviewer points out, if this account is correct, then impersonal constructions in Tagalog diagnose the unaccusative/unergative status of adjectival predicates for reason different than impersonal constructions in certain German languages. In German, for instance, unergative verbs may occur in the impersonal passive constructions, while unaccusative verbs cannot (Perlmutter, 1978).

- (i) a. Er wordt hier door de jonge lui veel gedanst.
 there is here by the young people much danced
 'There was a lot of dancing (lit. there was a lot danced) by the young people.'
 b. *Er wordt in dit ziekenhuis door de patienten dikwijls gestorven.
 there is in the hospital by the patients often died
 (There was a lot of dying by the patients in the hospital.)

The contrast here is related to the conditions on passive—passive can apply in the absence of a direct object (as with unergative verbs), but cannot apply in the absence of an external argument (as with unaccusative verbs).

- c. Kapapangyari lang ng aksidente.
 REC-PERF.happen just NS accident
 'A/The accident just occurred.'

Second, the verbal existential predicate, *m-agkaroon* ('exist.there'), is an unaccusative predicate that occurs in an impersonal configuration (see Sabbagh, 2009 for details). Significantly, the existential predicates argument is inflected for the non-subject morphological case.

- (29) M-agkakaroon ng parada dito bukas.
 CONT-exist.there NS parade here tomorrow
 'There will be a parade here tomorrow.'

If the presence of the non-subject morphological case *ng* ([nang]) is dependent on abstract Case, these facts point to the conclusion that the internal argument of an unaccusative verb can be Case-licensed in its base position as an internal argument (i.e., direct object) of the verb. How is this possible?

One possibility, the one that I will argue to be correct, is that Case is assigned to an unaccusative verb's internal argument in the same way that Case is assigned to the internal argument of a transitive verb, which—following recent trends—I will assume involves accusative Case assigned to the internal argument by the light-verb, *v*, which dominates a verbal root, *V* (Chomsky, 1995).¹⁰ According to this view, the difference between the examples in (28) and (29) above and the ungrammatical examples in (24) can be related to a basic difference between the Case-licensing ability of verbs compared to adjectives. Concretely, assuming that adjectival and verbal roots are dominated by a projection of a functional head, *a* and *v*, respectively, we can conjecture that *v* can, but *a* cannot, assign Case to an internal argument within its complement domain. Putting this conjuncture together with the hypothesis that verbal predicates in (28) and (29) as well as the adjectival passives in (24) are unaccusative, the impersonal constructions in (28) and (29) are correctly accounted for as grammatical, while the ones in (24) are predictably ungrammatical, since the internal argument is Case-licensed only in the former set of cases (by *v*), but not the latter.

Attributing the difference in Case-licensing ability between verbs and adjectives to a categorical difference between verbs and adjectives is supported by a simple observation. As in English, certain adjectives in Tagalog may take an overt internal argument. This argument, however, is always an (oblique) PP and never a (*ng*-marked) DP. For instance, there is a class of psychological-adjectives that take both an external (EXPERIENCER) and an internal ("SUBJECT-MATTER") argument (Pesetsky, 1995:55–60). Consider:

- (30) a. [Takot sa kulog] si Juan.
 afraid OBL thunder s Juan
 'Juan is afraid of thunder.'
 b. [Galit sa akin] si Maria.
 angry OBL1SG(OBL) s Maria
 'Mary is angry at me.'

On the assumption that oblique phrases headed by *sa* are PPs, we can reasonably conjecture that the sentences in (30) are grammatical because PPs, in contrast to DPs, do not require Case to be licensed (see, e.g., Stowell, 1981). (As is clear from the form of the pronoun in (30b), furthermore, the preposition *sa* appears to govern oblique case on its complement.) The fact that adjectives may only ever take overt PP complements and (in contrast to verbs, which select for any type of complement) can be related to the general fact that adjectives are not Case-assigners in Tagalog.

As an alternative to the claim that the verb (*v*) assigns accusative Case to the internal argument in the examples in (28) and (29), one might suppose unaccusative verbs cannot assign Case and that (nominative) Case is assigned in these impersonal constructions by the functional head of the clause, T(ense). According to this view, Case is assigned to the internal argument in the manner that has been proposed for various types of impersonal constructions in English—e.g., *There (just) arrived a guard*. Concretely, Chomsky (2001) proposes that T and the internal argument of certain unaccusative verbs enter into an *Agree* relation, which checks the Case-feature of the internal argument in situ. While perhaps the correct analysis for impersonal constructions in some languages, this approach will not be able to explain the difference between the grammatical impersonal constructions with a verbal predicate in (28), and the ungrammatical ones with an adjectival passive predicate in (24). Concretely, if T could Case-license the internal argument of the unaccusative predicates in (28) and (29) via *Agree*, then nothing should prevent it from doing so in (24) and (31), when the predicate is adjectival (i.e., contained within an *aP*).

¹⁰ This claim may seem at odds with the received wisdom that unaccusatives do not assign Case in accordance with Burzio's Generalization (Burzio, 1986). While I do not wish to claim that unaccusatives in all languages are capable of assigning (accusative) Case, I do contend that this is possible in some languages. See Bhatt (2006) for a recent argument that unaccusatives in Hindi are also (accusative) Case-assigners.

To summarize, although the account of the ungrammaticality of the examples in (23) rests on the claim that adjectival passives are unaccusative, the actual failure of the adjectives internal argument to be Case-licensed when the adjective occurs in an impersonal configuration is due not to the inability of unaccusative predicates as a class to assign Case, but rather than to the inability of adjectives to assign Case to their complements.

4.2.2. Licensing the subject in Spec, TP

Having now accounted for the ungrammaticality of the examples in (24), we can move on to ask how sentences in which the adjectival passive's internal argument functions as the subject of a clause, as in (22), are licensed. Note that there is an analogue of this question in the paradigm of English impersonal constructions involving a set of unaccusative verbs. Concretely, the internal argument of intransitive unaccusative verbs like *break* (*sink*, *explode*, etc.) can be licensed as a subject, but can never be licensed in situ within an impersonal configuration (see [Alexiadou and Schäfer, 2008](#)).

- (31) a. *There broke a plate.
b. A plate broke.

One standard account of the contrast between these examples runs as follows: Since unaccusative verbs in English do not assign accusative Case, the unaccusative verb's internal argument cannot be licensed in situ (=31a), and must therefore raise to the subject position (Spec, TP) where nominative Case is assigned (=31b). Can this approach be generalized to the contrast in Tagalog between sentences like (24) and their grammatical personal counterparts in (22)? The answer seems to be, not exactly.

Recall from Section 2.1 that Tagalog lacks Case-driven A-movement. Rather, movement into subject position seems to involve A-bar movement. Note, furthermore, that this claim is now corroborated by the facts we have just observed relating to unaccusative verbs. Consider, for instance, a sentence like (32), where the unaccusative verb is not inflected for recent-perfective aspect (cf. the examples in (28a)) and its sole (internal) argument advances to subject.

- (32) Dumarating ang bantay.
AGR(NOM),PERF,ACTIVE s guard
'The guard arrived.'

Since the internal argument of an unaccusative can be Case-licensed in situ (by *v*), as argued with respect to the example like (28)–(29), it presumably follows that movement to subject position (Spec, TP) is not Case-driven in the case of (32). Returning to the examples in (22), then, the important conclusion seems to be that although the internal argument of an adjectival passive is observably licensed as a subject, it is evidently not so licensed because the subject position (Spec, TP) is a Case-position. The question that we must ask now, then, is this: Assuming a standard Case-filter, how is the internal argument of an adjectival passive licensed in Spec, TP if this position is not a Case-position?

Before answering this question, let's first take note of one other environment where a DP with no clause-internal source for Case is evidently licensed. In the examples in (33), for instance, we have a clause with a pre-verbal DP introducing a discourse-topic, but which is not an argument of the following clause. (Examples from [Nagaya, 2007](#); see also [Schachter and Otnes, 1972](#).)

- (33) a. [_{DP} Ang turo ni Hesus], [mahal-in mo ang kapwa mo].
s teaching NS Jesus IMP.love-AGR(ACC) 2SG(NS) s neighbor 2SG(NS)
'(According to) The teaching of Jesus, Love your neighbor.'
b. [_{DP} Ang nais ko], [malusog ang mama ko].
s wish 1SG(NS) healthy s mother 1SG(NS)
'(As for) My wish, my mother is healthy.'

Since the "hanging topics" in (33) are not related to an argument position of the clause they precede, they presumably could not have been assigned Case internal to the clause. They are nevertheless licensed.

What do these examples have in common with the examples we are interested in explaining? On the reasonable assumption that the hanging topics in (33) occupy an A-bar position, then they, along with subjects of personal clauses (in particular, as in (22)), both can be said to occupy an A-bar position. The possibility I would like to suggest, then, is that DPs in Tagalog that occupy an A-bar positions are syntactically licensed irrespective of whether they have also been assigned Case (see [Koopman, 1992](#) for a similar proposal for Bambara).

How plausible is this approach? If we make the traditional assumption that Case-licensing is the only route by which DPs can be syntactically licensed, then the answer is, of course, not very. It is plausible, however, for theories that separates Case-licensing from syntactic licensing in general (see, in particular, [Marantz, 1991](#); [Harley, 1995](#); [Shütze, 2001](#); [McFadden, 2004](#); among many others). [Shütze \(2001\)](#), for instance, identifies several idiosyncratic (i.e., language particular) environments in English and elsewhere where DPs appear to be syntactically licensed in the absence of an available Case-assigner (e.g., in

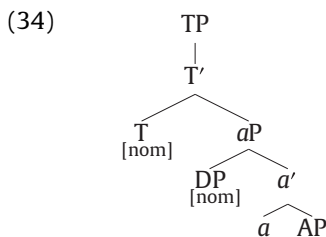
environments such as, *Me, I like beans*, or, *What, him wear a tuxedo?*). According to Schütze, such environments are not unexpected if syntactic licensing does not exclusively depend on the availability of Case.¹¹ This does not entail, however, that Case-assignment is irrelevant for all instances of DP-licensing (cf. *It is important *(for) him to be on time.*), but rather that there exist certain configurations in languages where a DP can be structurally licensed without being Case-licensed.¹²

4.2.3. Case licensing the external argument

Having now accounted for the contrast between (22) and (24), we now must account for the contrast between adjectival passives and *ma*-adjectives with respect to the ability of the later but not the former to licitly occur in impersonal clauses involving intensification with *nápaka*-.

When *nápaka*- combines with a *ma*-adjective to form an intensive adjective, the argument of the *ma*-adjective does not (and cannot) function as the grammatical subject of the clause containing the *nápaka*- adjective as its predicate (see the examples in (23) above, noting in particular the non-subject form of the morphological case preceding the adjective's argument). Presumably, then, the argument of the *ma*-adjective resides in its underlying position within the predicate phrase where it is assigned its semantic role. Plainly, we would not want to claim that the argument of a *ma*-adjective is an underlying internal argument (complement of A), since, if it were, we would expect that it would fail to be Case-licensed in exactly the same way that the argument of an adjectival passive fails to be Case-licensed according to the account given of the ungrammatical sentences in (24).

Let us suppose, on the other hand, that the argument of a *ma*-adjective is external argument merged in the specifier of *aP*. This proposal is parsimonious with the observation, made earlier in Section 3, that *ma*-adjectives are paradigmatically related to unergative verbs. Given the UTAH, in other words, we expect that if the sole DP argument of an unergative verb is an external argument (merged in Spec, *vP*), then the sole DP argument of a *ma*-adjective should likewise be merged as an external argument—i.e., in Spec, *aP*. Supposing this is so, Case-licensing of the external argument can be achieved straightforwardly from the claim previously introduced (Section 2.2) that the head of the clause, T, assigns nominative Case to the external argument merged into Spec, *vP*. Generalizing this proposal to clauses whose main predicate is an *aP*, Case can be assigned to the external argument of a *ma*-adjective in the manner depicted in (34).



Note that this approach likens the manner in which the (in situ) external argument is assigned Case to the manner in which subjects of embedded clauses are assigned Case in *Exceptional Case Marking* (ECM) constructions in languages like English (see, e.g., Chomsky, 1981).

Supposing this approach to the Case-licensing of the external argument to be reasonable, a concern that immediately arises is why T cannot also assign Case to the internal argument of an adjectival passive (or for that matter, to the sole complement of an unaccusative verb). Under the Principles and Parameters view of Case-assignment, this would be precluded on the basis of a strict locality condition that requires the Case assigner to Govern the DP to which it assigns Case. From the perspective of more recent work within Minimalism, however, Case-licensing is hypothesized to fall under the more general Agree operation, which requires only that the Case-assigner c-command its Case-assignee (Chomsky, 2001). Under this conception of things, a Case-assigner may still fail to Case-license a nominal that it c-commands (i.e., that it Agrees with) if a barrier of a particular sort intervenes. One potential barrier that could preclude T from assigning Case to an unaccusative adjective's complement is the Phase. Concretely, suppose that *aP* (as well as *vP*) are Phases in the sense of Chomsky (2001), and that only the material at the edge of a Phase (the head of the Phase and its specifier) are accessible to operations—e.g., Agree—triggered by elements that are external to the Phase, while the complement of the Phase head and elements contained therein are not. Adopting this view of Case assignment derives the result that is important for our

¹¹ Schütze does not offer an explicit proposal as to what these other licensing mechanisms are. It is also beyond the scope of this paper to provide such a proposal.

¹² According to Schütze, DPs that are syntactically licensing without being Case-licensed are spelled-out with default morphological case. Which morphological case is the default is a language particular matter. In Tagalog, it appears that the default morphological case is the subject case (*ang/si*). Further evidence of this comes Copy-raising constructions such as (i) (from Kroger, 1993). In this construction, the non-subject external argument has topicalized to a pre-verbal A-bar position, leaving a pronoun behind. Note that the pronoun in the origin site of extraction is in the non-subject morphological case form, while the left- dislocated phrase is in the default subject case form:

(i) Gusto ko si Charlie [na lutu-in niya ang suman].
 want 1SG(NS) s Charlie COMP INF.COOK-AGR(ACC) 3SG(NS) s rice.cake
 '(As for) Charlie, I want him to cook the rice cake.'

purposes—namely, that an adjectival passive's sole DP argument cannot be licensed in situ (as a complement to A) in impersonal clauses.

4.3. Exclamative clauses

With these Case-theoretic assumptions in place, my aim in this section and the next is to demonstrate that the contrast between adjectival passives and *ma*-adjectives observed with respect to intensification with *nápaka*- is not an isolated case, but—in fact—more general. Concretely, the contrast arises systematically in all contexts where an adjective's sole DP argument does not advance to subject. Let us consider, then, another impersonal clause type—exclamative clauses like those in (35)—where an adjective serves as the main predicate of a clause.

- (35) a. Ang ganda ni Rosa!
 s pretty NS Rosa
 'How pretty Rosa is!'
 b. Kay tahimik ng aso!
 OBL quiet NS dog
 'How quiet the dog is!'
 c. Kay la-laki ng patak ng ulan!
 OBL PL-big NS drop of rain
 'How big the rain drops are!'

Observe that each of the exclamative clauses in (35) are formed on the basis of a *ma*-adjective (*ma-ganda* 'pretty' in (35a), *ma-tahimik* 'quiet' in (35b), and *ma-laki* 'big' in (35c)). Furthermore, notice that the adjective's argument is inflected with the non-subject morphological case, a fact that provides the morpho-syntactic clue that we are dealing here with impersonal clauses. Given this, it should come as no surprise at this point that exclamatory clauses cannot be formed with adjectival passives, as the ungrammaticality of the examples in (36) attest.

- (36) a. *Kay basag ng pinggan!
 OBL broken NS plate
 (How broken the plate is!)
 b. *Ang punit ng damit niya!
 s torn NS dress 3SG(NS)
 (How torn her dress is!)
 c. *Kay hilo ng aso!
 OBL dizzy NS dog
 (How dizzy the dog is!)

The ungrammaticality of the examples in (36) follows from exactly the same reasons that were given to explain the ungrammaticality of the examples in (24) involving intensified adjectival passive forms. Concretely, since the adjectival passives argument is an internal argument that cannot raise to the subject position (*viz-à-viz* the impersonal structure of the sentences), it is forced to remain in its base position (complement to A) where no Case is assigned. As a result, the adjectival passive's internal argument fails to be Case-licensed.¹³ Exclamative clauses based on adjectival passives are therefore ruled out. By contrast, *ma*-adjectives are Case-licensed in exclamative clauses because they have a source for Case that adjectival passives do not. Namely, *ma*- adjectives project an external argument (in Spec, *aP*), and Case can be assigned (via the operation *Agree*) to the external argument by T.

Very significantly, then, the fact that there is another type of impersonal clause involving adjectival predication where adjectival passives and *ma*- adjectives are in complementary distribution shows that the contrast is not simply an idiosyncratic fact about either clauses involving intensification (with *nápaka*-) or exclamative clauses.

4.4. Comparative clauses

The focus of this section is equative comparatives and inequality comparatives in Tagalog. The observation of interest is that only *ma*-adjectives can licitly occur in equative comparatives, while both *ma*-adjectives and adjectival passives may

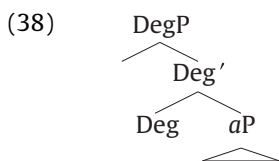
¹³ An interesting question is what occupies the subject position in exclamatives such that the adjectives internal argument cannot raise to this position. Drawing on Zanuttini and Portner (2003) analysis of exclamatives in English and Paduan, one possibility is that a null factitive operator occupies the subject position (Spec, TP).

occur in inequality comparatives. Once certain details of the syntax of comparative clauses are fleshed out, these contrasts are argued to follow from exactly the same account as was given for the contrasting behavior of the two adjective classes with respect to the two types of impersonal constructions documented above.

Equative comparatives are formed in Tagalog with the prefix *kasing-*. In addition to the presence of this prefix, the number of arguments compared to a clause containing a non-comparative adjective is increased by one. Consider the examples in (37).

- (37) a. Kasingtalino ni Elena si Maria.
 as.intelligent.as NS Elena s Maria
 'Maria is as intelligent as Elena.'
- b. Hindi pa kasingganda ng Maynila ang Mandaluyong.
 not still as.beautiful.as NS Manila s Mandaluyong
 'Mandaluyong is still not as beautiful as Manila.' (*Kabayan*, 8/31/2003)
- c. Hindi ito kasingtaas ng iba pa-ng kilala-ng bundok sa
 not this as.tall.as NS other still-LK well.known-LK mountain LOC
 Tsina na 1200 metro.
 China LK 1200 meter
 'This is not as tall as the other well known mountain in China which is
 1200 meters' (*China International Radio*, 6/2/2006)

For concreteness, suppose that the prefix *kasing-* belongs to the functional category, Deg(ree), which heads its own projection, DegP, which in turn dominates the projection of the adjective (see, e.g., Abney, 1987; Corver, 1997; among others). The basic syntax for the comparatives constructions in (37) that I assume is schematized in (38).



Note that there are two DP arguments in an equative comparative. In terms of the surface syntax, one of these arguments is the subject (inflected with *ang/si*) of the clause while the other is a non-subject (inflected with *ng/ni*). Evidence from variable binding can be used to demonstrate that the argument of the comparative that is the grammatical subject c-commands the non-subject argument both on the surface and from its underlying position. Consider the contrast in (39). In (39a), the subject—a universally quantified noun phrase—licitly binds a pronoun contained within the non-subject argument. By contrast, a bound variable reading is impossible when the non-subject argument is a universal quantifier and the subject contains the pronoun as (39b) demonstrates.

- (39) a. Kasingtalino ng kanya₁-ng anak ang bawat ama₁.
 as.intelligent.as NS 3SG(OBL)-LK child s every father
 Every father is as intelligent as his child.
- b. Kasingtalino ng bawata₁ ama₁ ang kanya_{1,2}-ng anak.
 as.intelligent.as NS every father s 3SG(OBL)-LK child
 'His_{1,2} child is as intelligent as every father₁.'

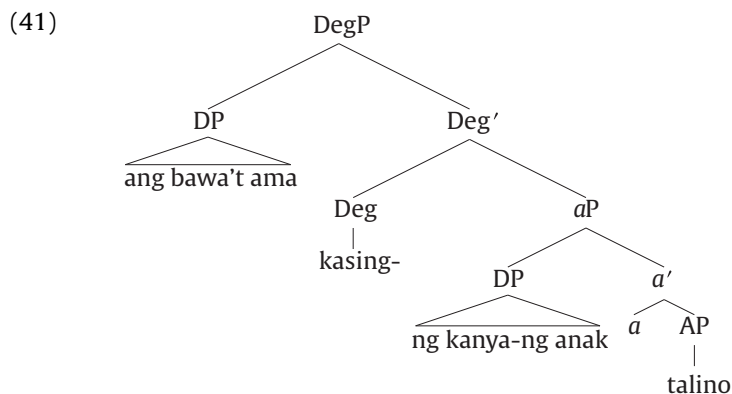
Importantly, the binding asymmetry in (39) shows not only that the subject c-commands the non-subject argument (as we expect, in any case, given the clause structure we have been assuming so far according to which the subject occupies Spec, TP), but also that the underlying position of the subject c-commands the non-subject argument. Concretely, Rackowski (2002) has shown that the internal argument of a transitive verb may contain a variable bound by the external argument when the former but not the latter is the grammatical subject of the clause. Consider (40) (from Rackowski, 2002).

- (40) Minamahal ng bawat ama₁ ang kanya₁-ng anak.
 IMPERF.love-AGR(ACC) NS every father s 3SG(OBL)-LK child
 'Every father₁ loves his₁ child.'

The fact in (40) is straightforwardly accounted for assuming reconstruction of the THEME subject to its underlying position (complement of V), a position that is crucially lower than, and therefore c-commanded by, the position of the external

argument. Significantly, the contrast between (40) on the one hand, and (39b) on the other, shows that the subject argument in (39b) does not originate in a position lower than the non-subject argument as does the subject in (40).

Returning, then, to the schematic structure in (38) above, we can account for the binding asymmetry observed in (39) by supposing that the subject of the equative comparative construction originates in Spec, DegP (i.e., before raising to Spec, TP), while the non-subject argument is contained within the projection of aP. Fleshing out the structure in (38) to indicate the underlying syntactic configurations of the two arguments gives us (41) (representing example (39a) above).



The important fact that these observations establish is that the adjective's argument in the equative comparative is a non-subject that is located in its underlying syntactic position, while another argument—in particular, the compared argument originating in Spec, DegP—occupies the subject position of the clause, Spec, TP. (I return shortly to the question of why it is that the only the argument introduced in Spec, DegP, rather than the adjectives argument, can raise to the subject position.)

Now, we have already seen two contexts where adjectival passives cannot licitly occur where their argument is not a subject—namely, impersonal constructions involving *nápaka-* ('very') and exclamatives. Recall that the failure of adjectival passives to occur in this environment was accounted for by claiming that the adjectival passive's argument is an in situ internal argument (i.e., that adjectival passives are unaccusative) and that, as a direct complement of the adjective, it cannot be Case-licensed. Based on this account, we now make the prediction that adjectival passives will also be unable to serve as the predicate of an equative comparative. Concretely, since in this context the adjective's argument does not advance to the subject position owing to the DP in Spec, DegP which already functions as subject, then—as an in situ internal argument—it should fail to be Case licensed. This prediction is born out. Adjectival passives cannot occur in equative comparatives as demonstrated by the ungrammaticality of the sentences in (42).

- (42)
- a. *Kasingbasag ng salamin ang bintana.
as.broken.as NS mirror s window
(The window is as broken as the mirror.)
 - b. *Kasingsira' ng aki-ng kotse ang kotse niya.
as.damaged.as NS 1SG(OBL)-LK car s car 3SG(NS)
(His car is as damaged as mine.)
 - c. *Kasingabala ni Juan si Al.
as.busy.as NS Juan s Al
(Al is as busy (occupied) as Juan.)
 - d. *Kasingkilala ko ni Al si Juan.
as.well-known.as 1SG(NS) NS Al s Juan
(Juan is as well known to me as Al.)

Significantly, there is a way to express a meaning that is quite similar to the sentences in (42), using the adverbial *pareho* ('same'). Consider the examples in (43).

- (43)
- a. Pareho-ng basag ang salamin at ang bintana.
same-LK broken s mirror and s window
'The mirror and the window are equally (lit. same) broken.' (cf. (42a))
 - b. Pareho-ng abala kami sa trabaho.
same-LK busy 1PL(S) OBL work
'We are equally (lit. same) busy (occupied) with work.' (cf. (42c))

In these examples, the equality relation is expressed with respect to a plural subject rather than as a relation between two singular DP arguments. These examples should make it clear, therefore, that the problem with the examples in (42) is syntactic rather than semantic in nature. The ungrammaticality of the examples in (42) follows straightforwardly from the claim that the argument of the adjectival passive is an internal argument of the adjective with no source for Case. Concretely, since the argument that originates in Spec, DegP is the DP that functions as the subject, the adjectival passives argument is forced to remain in situ. This in situ position (complement of A) is one where no Case is assigned and as a result the adjectival passive's internal argument therefore fails to be Case licensed.¹⁴

4.4.1. Inequality comparatives

A question left open by the account of equality comparatives is why the argument in Spec, DegP rather than the adjective's argument must advance to the subject position of the clause. The reason for this plausibly relates to locality conditions on movement to Spec, TP. Concretely, suppose that the inflectional head of the clause in Tagalog, T, has an EPP_D feature (D for DP) which must be checked by bringing some DP argument within its c-command domain into Spec, TP. Suppose, furthermore, that the only eligible DP which can raise to Spec, TP is the one that is closest to T, where "closest" can be defined, for present purposes, as in (44) (cf. Chomsky, 1995, 2001).

(44) *Closest*

Y is the closest element to X if there is no Z such that Z c-commands Y, and both Y and Z contain a feature matching X.

Given (44), the closest DP argument in the structure of an equative comparative (see (41)) that is within the c-command domain of T is the DP that occupies Spec, DegP. Raising the adjective's argument from within *aP* to Spec, TP would violate *Closest*.

Crucially, if the argument in Spec, DegP were occupied by a non-DP (e.g., by a PP), then we would expect that the argument of an adjective within *aP* rather than a higher element in Spec, DegP would be able to raise out of the *aP* to Spec, TP to become the subject of the clause. In other words, the element in Spec, DegP (if there is one) in such a construction would not intervene in such a way that would prevent the adjective's argument contained within *aP* from raising to Spec, TP. Crucially, furthermore, both *ma-* adjectives as well as adjectival passive would predictably occur in such constructions. A construction of this hypothetical sort, I claim, is attested by the inequality comparative construction in Tagalog.

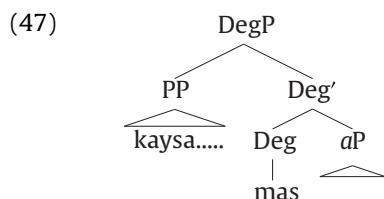
Alongside equative comparatives, Tagalog also has comparative construction of the sort that express inequality (equivalent to *more... than* comparatives in English). With respect to this type of comparative, *ma-* adjectives as well as adjectival passives are permitted. The examples in (45) are inequality comparatives formed on the basis of *ma-* adjectives. The examples in (46) are inequality comparatives formed on the basis of adjectival passives.

- (45) a. Mas matanda siya kaysa kay Juan.
 more old 3_{SG(S)} than OBL Juan
 'He is older than Juan.' (Schachter and Otones 1972:240)
- b. Totoo ba-ng mas matalino ang computer kaysa tao?
 really Q-LK more intellegent s computer than person
 'Is the computer really smarter than a person?'
- (46) a. Si Juan ay mas kilala ko kaysa kay Al.
 s Juan AY more well.known 1_{SG(NS)} than OBL Al
 'Juan is more well known to me than Al.'
- b. Naging mas abala na si Juan sa kanya-ng mga trabaho
 PERF.become more busy now s Juan OBL 3_{SG(OBL)-LK} PL work
 at sa kanya-ng relihiyon.
 and OBL 3_{SG(OBL)-LK} religion
 'Juan has become more busy with his work and his religion.'

¹⁴ Given my assumptions about nominative Case assignment in Section 4.2.3, something must be said here about how both the subject (which originates in Spec, DegP and the adjective's external argument (in Spec, *aP*) are licensed. One possibility is that nominative Case can be assigned to multiple DPs (e.g., by Multiple Agree, see, e.g., Hiraiwa, 2001) as long as the relevant locality constraints are obeyed—i.e., Case assignment does not pass through a Phase boundary. Alternatively, the two DPs may have separate sources for Case. Under either of these approaches, the complement position of the adjective in the examples in (42) will still be inaccessible to Case assignment.

- c. Pero kung ako ang inyo-ng i-boboto, aba
 but if 1SG(S) s 2PL(OBL)-LK AGR(ACC)-IMPERF.vote-for well
 'y mas sira ang ulo ninyo kaysa akin.
 AY more damaged s head 2PL(NS) than 1SG(OBL)
 'But if you vote for me, then you are crazier than I am.'
 (lit., 'your head is more damaged than mine') (*Philippine Post*, March 2001)

Like the equative comparative, there is one additional argument in an inequality comparative compared to a clause containing a non-compared adjective. The crucial observation to take note of here is that the additional argument that is introduced in the comparative constructions in (45)–(46) is a PP headed by the preposition *kaysa* ('than') (note that in (46b), this argument is not expressed). Significantly, this argument is not the subject of the clause (PPs never serve as subjects in Tagalog). Let us suppose that this PP argument is introduced as the argument of the degree element *mas* ('more'), so that the structure of the inequality is as shown in (47).

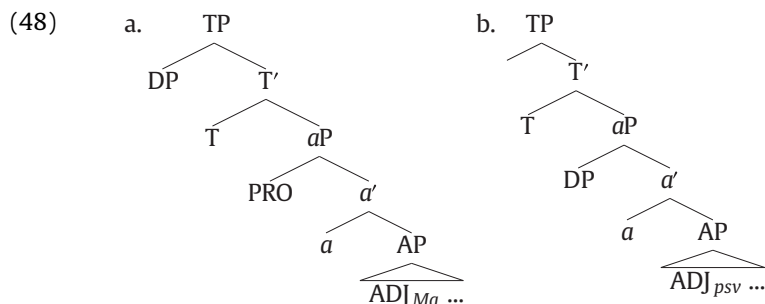


Crucially, the PP in Spec, DegP is not eligible to become the subject of the clause, on the hypothesis that the EPP_D feature of T can only be checked by having a DP, but not a PP, brought into its specifier. Given the definition of Closest in (44), it follows that a lower DP contained within *aP* may raise to the subject position to check the EPP_D feature on T. The important consequence of this relates to the licensing of adjectival passives in inequality comparatives. Concretely, the internal argument of an adjectival passive is eligible to raise from its underlying position (complement of A) to the subject position (Spec, TP). This situation contrasts with the equality comparative based on an adjectival passive (see the examples in (42)) where the adjectival passive's internal argument is forced to remain in its underlying position (where no Case can be assigned to it) because of the DP argument in Spec, DegP, which must raise to Spec, TP due to Closest. Crucially, since the internal argument of the adjectival passive is able to raise to Spec, TP in the inequality comparatives, and because Spec, TP is an A-bar position where syntactic licensing does not depend on Case, no Case-filter violation is incurred, and the examples are predictably grammatical.

5. An alternative syntactic account

At this point, one might want to consider an alternative way of deriving the contrast between *ma*-adjectives and adjectival passives in Tagalog that does not rely on the claim that adjectival passives are unaccusative. Such an alternative might be desirable from a cross-linguistic point of view, based on the observation (to be discussed in more detail shortly) that adjectival passives in many other languages apparently pattern as unergative rather than unaccusative. An alternative account that I will sketch here, but ultimately reject, involves the observation noted earlier that the two classes of adjectives contrast in a way that could reasonably be related to the Stage/Individual distinction of Carlson (1977) and others.

First, let us suppose that neither *ma*-adjectives nor adjectival passives accept internal arguments – i.e., that adjectives are uniformly “external predicators” following Baker (2003, 2008). Following the proposal of Diesing (1992), let us furthermore suppose that the argument of a Individual-level predicate is a controlled PRO external argument, bound to an overt DP which is base generated in the subject position of the clause. The argument of a Stage-level predicate, by contrast, is merged as a predicate internal external argument, which – depending on language particular factors – may raise to the subject position of the clause. Under this approach, *ma*-adjectives would have the I-level syntax shown in (48a). Adjectival passives, on the other hand, would have the S-level syntax shown in (48b).



Adopting these structures for the moment, we can develop an account of at least the contrast between *ma*-adjectives and adjectival passives with respect to the impersonal constructions discussed in Section 4.1. Consider again the contrast between *ma*-adjectives and adjectival passives with respect to intensification involving *nápaka*-, as illustrated by the examples in (49) (repeated from earlier).

- (49) a. Nápaka-mahal ng presyo.
 very-expensive NS price
 'The price is very expensive.'
 b. *Nápaka-basag ng salamin.
 very-broken NS mirror
 (The mirror is very broken.)

The alternative account of this contrast based on the structural distinctions given in (48) runs as follows: As proposed in Section 4, let's assume that an overt DP argument contained within the projection of the predicate (i.e., not in Spec, TP) must be licensed in accordance with the Case-filter. For a *ma*-adjective, given the structure in (48a), the only argument within the *aP* projection is PRO. According to classic assumptions about the distribution of PRO (Chomsky, 1981), PRO is limited to positions where Case is not assigned. Thus, the argument PRO in Spec, *aP* in (48a) is licensed by virtue of the absence of Case. As a consequence of this, it must be further assumed – in contrast to the assumptions made earlier – that T does not assign Case to the Spec, *aP* position. The overt DP that binds the *aP*-internal PRO in (48a) occupies Spec, TP. By our earlier hypothesis (Section 4.2.2), which we can carry over to the alternative account under consideration here, a DP in Spec, TP does not require Case by virtue of occupying an A-bar position. Thus, the DP in Spec, TP in (48a) is licensed irrespective of whether it has been assigned Case clause-internally or not. Overall, then, sentences like (49a) are correctly accounted for as grammatical.

By contrast, the argument in Spec, *aP* in the structure in (48b) is a DP that requires Case according to the Case-filter. Since Case is not assigned to this position for the reason just mentioned, however, the DP is not Case-licensed and the structure is ruled out. For this account to go through, we must further assume that the *aP*-internal DP cannot raise to Spec, TP where it would be able to 'evade' the Case-filter by the current assumptions. In order to preclude such a derivation, we might hypothesize the presence of a covert EVENT argument (see, e.g., Kratzer, 1995, which occupies the subject position (Spec, TP) and whose presence prevents any other argument from occupying this position. Given this final assumption, the structure in (48b) is ruled out and the ungrammaticality of sentences like (49b) is therefore correctly accounted for.

Fleshed out in this way, the alternative analysis is like the one proposed in Section 4 in that it explains the contrast exemplified by such minimal pairs as (49) in Case-theoretic terms together with a hypothesized difference relating to the structural relationship between a *ma*-adjective and its argument on the one hand, and an adjectival passive and its argument on the other. However, while it seems to provide a coherent analysis of the contrast between the impersonal constructions in (49), it does not fare as well in dealing with the contrast we observed among comparative constructions. Consider the minimal pair in (50) (repeated from Section 4.4).

- (50) a. Kasingtalino ni Elena si Maria.
 as.intellegent.as NS Elena s Maria
 'Maria is as intellegent as Elena.'
 b. *Kasingsira' ng aki-ng kotse ang kotse niya.
 as.damaged.as NS 1SG(OBL)-LK car s car 3SG(NS)
 (His car is as damaged as mine.)

The problem for the alternative account based on the structures in (48) is this: Recall from Section 4.4 that it was argued that the subject of an equality comparative occupies Spec, TP, while the non-subject argument is predicate-internal. This means that in a sentence like (50a), the non-subject argument, *ni Elena*, must occur internal to the *aP* projection of the adjective. On the conjecture that adjectives are external predicators (i.e., that they only license an external argument), the only predicate internal position for the adjectives argument would be Spec, *aP*. This is dubious, however, given the current proposal that Spec, *aP* for a *ma*-adjective is filled by PRO. Even if we give up this assumption just for the case of examples like (50), it is still crucial for the alternative that Spec, *aP* is not a Case position, since it is this assumption that provided the basis for ruling out the structure in (48b) and hence, the ungrammatical (49b). In other words, if we abandon either of these two features of the analysis to account for the grammaticality of (50a), we lose the account that it provides for the grammaticality contrast in (49), and—furthermore—the account it would need to provide for the contrast in (50).

Overall, then, the proposal based on the structures in (48) does not make exactly the right structural distinctions that are needed in order to account for the contrast between *ma*-adjectives and adjectival passives. The original proposal from Section 4, however, does make the right distinctions assuming an unergative/unaccusative dichotomy. Concretely, this approach recognized an external position (Spec, *aP*) for *ma*-adjectives, where Case is assigned by T, and an internal position for adjectival passives (complement to A) where no Case is assigned. The availability of a Case licensing position for *ma*-adjectives entails that an argument can remain there without needing to raise out of *aP* to the subject position of the clause.

Hence, impersonal constructions like (49a) and equative comparative clauses like (50a) are grammatical. In contrast, the unavailability of a Case licensing position for adjectival passives entails that an argument originating there cannot remain there, but must raise to Spec, TP when possible. This accounted for the ungrammaticality of impersonal constructions like (49b) and equality comparatives like (50b), as raising to Spec, TP is blocked in both of these contexts.

In sum, an alternative approach based on the structures in (48) which capitalizes on an Stage/Individual-level distinction among adjectives does not account for the full paradigm of contrasts between *ma*-adjectives and adjectival passives that our earlier account in terms of the unergative/unaccusative distinction allowed us to account for. We can conclude, therefore, that the unergative/unaccusative account is superior.

6. Broader theoretical implications

Up to this point, the discussion has centered on motivating an unaccusative analysis of adjectival passives in Tagalog. It was noted earlier on that from the point of view of a hypothesis like the UTAH, the result that adjectival passives are unaccusative is rather unsurprising. Concretely, the semantic role of the sole DP argument of many adjectival passive corresponds to the semantic role of the internal argument of a related transitive verb. For instance, the subject of the sentence in (51a) seems to bear the same semantic role – namely, *THEME* – as the object of the sentence in (51b).

- (51) a. Baság ang bote.
broken s bottle
'The bottle broke.'
- b. N-agbasag si Juan ng bote.
AGR(NOM).PERF-break s Juan NS bottle
'Juan broke the bottle.'

If the UTAH is correct, then, the expectation as far as the syntax is concerned is that the subject of the sentence in (51a) originates as an underlying internal argument (i.e., as a deep-structure direct object) of the adjectival passive predicate. From the point of view of the evidence presented in Section 4, we now have reason to believe that this expectation is born out.

This picture becomes more interesting and surprising, though, when we place the Tagalog facts alongside the facts that have been reported about adjectival passives other languages. Concretely, when tests for unaccusativity from other languages are applied to adjectival passives in those languages, adjectival passives appear to pattern as unergative predicates rather than unaccusative ones. Perhaps the most extensively documented, and—to my knowledge—unchallenged, case illustrating this claim comes from Hebrew (Borer and Grodzinsky, 1986; Horvath and Siloni, 2008; Borer, 2005).

In Hebrew, the ability of an argument to be construed in a possessive relation with a dative argument diagnoses unaccusativity. Concretely, an internal argument (e.g., a direct object) but not an external argument may stand in a possessor-possessee relation with a dative argument, as illustrated with the example in (52) (all Hebrew examples below are from Borer, 2005: 40, 62).

- (52) ha-yeladimi xatxu le-Rani._{1/2} 'et ha-gader.₂
the-children cut to-Rani ACC the-fence
'The children cut Rani's fence.' (not, Rani's children cut the fence.)

The dative-possessive relation is not a simple matter of the surface subject/object distinction. As (53) shows, the surface subject of an unaccusative verb—e.g., a verbal passive—may also stand in a possessed relation to the dative, establishing that the surface subject of an unaccusative is underlyingly an internal argument.

- (53) ha-'uga₁ hunxa l-i₁ 'al Sulxan.
the-cake placed(V.PASS) to-me on table
'My cake was placed on a table.'

Significantly, the surface subject of an adjectival passive cannot have a possessed interpretation in relation to a dative argument, as (54) shows, which strongly suggests that the adjectival passives' surface subject is an external argument rather than an underlying internal argument.

- (54) *ha-'uga₁ munaxat l-i₁ 'al Sulxan.
the-cake placed(A.PASS) to-me on table
(My cake was placed on a table.)

The patterning of adjectival passives as unergative rather than unaccusative has been reported on the basis of other languages as well. The list of languages include, at least, Italian (Burzio, 1986; Cinque, 1990); Russian (Pesetsky, 1982); and

English (Levin and Rappaport, 1986). The evidence regarding adjectival passives in these languages has been taken as support for the general claim that adjectives (fundamentally) differ from verbs in that they are unexceptionally external predicators – that is, for the claim that adjectives never take internal arguments (see, in particular, Borer, 1984; Levin and Rappaport, 1986; Baker, 2003, 2008).¹⁵ From what we have argued so far on the basis of Tagalog, we now know that adjectives cannot universally be external predicators. The question that we face, then, is whether or not we can explain, in a principled way, why adjectival passives in Tagalog pattern in the way they do—i.e., as unaccusative—rather than in the way that adjectival passives in other languages pattern (as unergative). Below, I suggest that there is a way to explain this variation.

6.1. The UTAH problem

Before we answer the cross-linguistic puzzle posed above, let us first consider a different angle on the problem posed by adjectival passives, relating – in particular – to the UTAH. Concretely, the fact that adjectival passives pattern as unergative in many languages is problematic for the UTAH, which predicts adjectival passives to be unaccusative. In particular, given that adjectival passives are related to transitive and passive verbs whose theme argument is realized underlyingly as an internal argument, then it ought to follow that the theme argument of an adjectival passive is an (underlying) internal argument as well. As discussed above, however, this expectation is not born out in all languages. I now outline two approaches to this problem.

6.1.1. Abandoning the UTAH

Borer (2005) argues that the unergative behavior of adjectival passives in languages like Hebrew presents strong evidence against the UTAH. She thus rejects a theory of argument structure that assumes the UTAH—so called “endo-skeletal” approaches to argument structure, and develops instead an alternative “exo-skeletal” approach to argument structure in which the projection of arguments depends principally on aspectual matters, but is independent of any lexical information.

According to Borer, unaccusative verbs (including passive verbs) and transitive change-of-state verbs are telic events (see also, Hoekstra, 1984; Van Valen, 1990; Dowty, 1991; Tenny, 1992; among others). Telicity, she proposes, arises in the syntax as a consequence of a specifier-head relationship between a DP (a THEME argument) and a functional head, Asp(ect)_Q (Q for quantity). The projection of Asp_Q is necessary for a telic event interpretation, and the Spec, Asp_Q position is associated with all the properties associated with internal arguments. Adjectival passives, on the other hand, are atelic and stative. Thus, according to Borer's assumptions, Asp_QP is not projected in the syntactic representation of a clause containing an adjectival passive. As such, there is no syntactic position associated with internal argument properties for the argument of an adjectival passive, and hence, the argument that is co-present in a clause containing an adjectival passive predicate (which, according to Borer, is generated directly in Spec, TP), exhibits prototypical external argument properties. The fact that adjectival passives and, say, verbal passives differ in their argument structure properties (the former being unergative, the latter unaccusative) thus arises as a consequence of their different aspectual properties.

Within Borer's system, it seems that there is only one way in which adjectival passives could differ from one language to another in terms of their argument structure. Concretely, adjectival passives might pattern as unaccusative rather than unergative in a given language if their aspectual properties pattern with unaccusative or transitive change-of-state verbs—i.e., if they were telic and eventive predicates rather than stative. Such an interpretation would be the result of a DP occupying Spec, Asp_Q, which is associated with internal argument properties (i.e., unaccusativity). This does not seem to be the right approach to the characterization of adjectival passives in Tagalog, however, as I will now attempt to show.

Adjectival passives describe a result state but not the activity by which the result state is achieved. Thus, it does not make much sense to classify them as telic predicates, as this term applies only to eventive predicates but not to stative ones. We can illustrate the claim that adjectival passives are stative rather than eventive by observing that eventive predicates in Tagalog, of the sort that describe an activity with an endpoint, may be modified by a phrase indicating the duration of the activity before the endpoint was reached (e.g., modifiers of the sort, in English, *in an hour*).

- (55) Sa loob ng isa-ng linggo matapos ang miting.
 LOC head NS one-LK week AGR(ACC).INF.finish S meeting
 ‘The meeting finished within a week.’ (=It took a week for the meeting to finish.)

As in English and other languages, stative predicates in Tagalog cannot co-occur with a modifier of this sort, as shown by the anomaly of (56) where the stative verb *marunong* (‘know’) co-occurs with the modifier *sa loob ng isa-ng linggo* (‘in a week’).

- (56) #Sa loob ng isa-ng linggo marunong ako ng Tagalog.
 LOC head NS a-LK week know 1SG(S) NS Tagalog
 (I know/knew Tagalog in a week.)

Significantly, adjectival passives also cannot comfortably co-occur with such a modifier, as the awkwardness of (57) demonstrates (compare to (55)).

¹⁵ Cf. Cinque (1990) and Coon (2010) for claims to the contrary—namely, that (certain types of) adjectives do have an unaccusative argument structure.

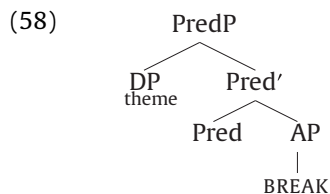
- (57) #Sa loob ng isa-ng linggo tapos ang miting.
 LOC head NS a-LK week finished s meeting
 (The meeting is/was finished within a week.)

The contrast between (55) and (57) suggests that adjectival passives in Tagalog are indeed stative rather than eventive. Thus, according to Borer's syntactic characterization of unaccusativity, adjectival passives are incorrectly predicted to be unergative predicates. Since this is not the result we are interested in, we can move on to consider an alternative approach.

6.1.2. Baker's solution

Baker (2003) offers a different approach to the UTAH problem, which attempts to resolve the problem while still maintaining the correctness of UTAH. His solution involves adopting a view of thematic roles in which thematic roles like AGENT and THEME are always associated with specific syntactic configurations.¹⁶

First, Baker starts with claim that all adjectives are systematically incapable of combining with arguments on their own. This amounts to saying that adjectives are non-predicative, or—in the more concrete terms of semantic types—that they are type e rather than type $\langle e,t \rangle$.¹⁷ In order for an adjective to acquire the ability to combine with an argument (e.g., a THEME DP), the adjective (or, rather, a projection thereof) must first merge with a functional head—Pred(icate) (following Bowers, 1993). Pred, according to Baker, is a syntactic head that is defined as having the function of Chierchia, 1984 Chierchia's (1984) “up operator”. Its semantic function is to raise the type of a non-predicate of type e into a predicate of type $\langle e,t \rangle$. Given these assumptions, the partial structure associated with an adjectival passive like *broken* would be as shown in (58).



¹⁶ This approach to the structure of simple transitives is similar to the approach presented in the work of Hale and Keyser (2002) (and see McCawley, 1968) for precedent), though it differs in that thematic roles, while associated with specific syntactic configurations, are not defined with respect to these configurations. Other considerations lead to positing this type of structure as well. In particular, if one assumes Larson (1988) shell-structure view of triadic verbs such as *give*. Concretely, Larson (1988) (and many others following) propose that the dative argument of verbs in the *give*-class is the innermost argument of the verb (as in (i)) rather than an outermost argument (as in (ii)):

- (i) a. [_{VP} v [_{VP} the toy [_V give [_{PP} to the child]]]]
 b. [_{VP} v [_{VP} [_V give the toy] [_{PP} to the child]]]

Since the dative (=GOAL) argument in (i) is the innermost complement of V, this leaves only the specifier position of VP as a location for the verbs *theme* argument. If this is the correct structure for triadic predicates like *give*, then according to the UTAH, the theme argument of even a simple dyadic verb such as *break* must also be realized as the Spec, VP.

I will argue in the following section (Section 6.4) against a VP-structure for Tagalog in which the THEME argument of the verb is projected as a specifier of VP. If these arguments are sound, the conclusion would seem to preclude a shell-structure analysis of triadic predicates in Tagalog. In general, the available evidence on triadic verbs in Tagalog is consistent with either Larsonian shell-structure analysis or an analysis along the lines in (ii). On the other hand, there is a significant distinction between an oblique argument that happens to be directly selected by a verb, and the oblique argument that occurs with triadic predicates. Concretely, the latter type of oblique (along with various PP adverbials), but not the former, may be wh-extracted in apparent violation of the “Subject-only” restriction that characterizes many “Philippine-type” languages. This is shown by the contrast in (iii)–(iv), from de Guzman (1986:65):

- (ii) a. *Sa akin nila i-binigay ang laruan.*
 OBL 1SG(OBL) 3PL(NS) AGR(ACC)-PERF.give s toy
 To me, they gave the toy.
 b. **Sa bata' ako n-agbantay.*
 OBL child 1SG(S) AGR(NOM).PERF-guard
 The child, I guarded.

The contrast here might be explained, at least partially, in terms of a structural difference in the relation between the verb and the oblique argument. In particular, if we suppose that the extraction restriction in Tagalog prohibits any argument directly governed by the verb from being extracted, then the possibility of extraction in (iii) might follow from the fact that the oblique (=the GOAL argument) is not directly governed by the verb, as the Larsonian analysis of triadic verbs would have it.

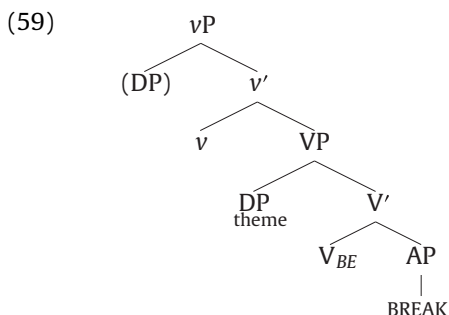
¹⁷ There are adjectives (e.g., *afraid*, *upset*, etc.) that have oblique argument complements. Baker's claim pertains specifically to the ability of an adjective to take an internal DP argument that bears a THEME theta-role. Things are complicated for Baker, then, in the light of de-verbal adjectives formed with *-ive*. Consider the following:

- (i) a. Marjorie is supportive of my proposal.
 b. Evil examples are destructive to/of the morals of youth.
 c. It is also critical and corrective of the inadequacies, omissions, and distortions of mainstream American education leading into the 21st century.

Regarding examples of this sort, Baker is forced to claim that the thematic role of the adjective's argument is distinct from the thematic role of the corresponding verb's direct object (cf. *Evil examples destroy the morals of youth.*) No independent evidence is offered to support this claim, however.

On the one hand, Baker's proposal simply represents one way of formalizing the claim that adjectives are, in Levin and Rappaports (1986) terms, external predicators. Plainly, the theme argument in (58) is an external argument in the strict sense that it is not an argument that is selected for directly by the adjective.

Assuming (58), Baker proposes to solve the UTAH problem posed by adjectival passives by adopting a more complex structure of VP than that which is traditionally assumed. Concretely, he adopts a structure for VP in which the THEME argument of a verb is not the internal argument of a verb in the traditional sense (i.e., a direct complement of a verb), but rather in which it “severed” from the verb. The version of this proposal that Baker adopts places the theme argument of a verb like *break* in the specifier of a predicate forming element, V_{BE} , which has an AP (denoting the result state inherent in the meaning of the verb) as its complement. This is shown in (59).¹⁸

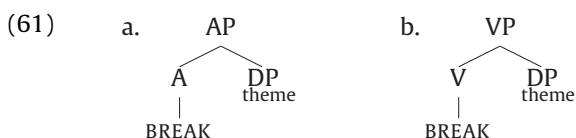
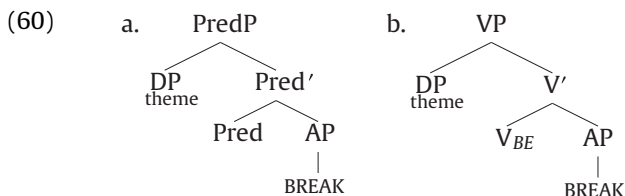


What is crucial for Baker in adopting (59) is that the THEME argument is projected in a configurationally uniform way with the theme argument in the structure in (58). Concretely, the THEME argument of an adjective as well as the theme argument of a verb is projected in the specifier of a predicate forming head (Pred/ V_{BE}), which takes an AP complement. In this way, Baker claims that the UTAH is able to be maintained.

6.2. Interim summary

Baker's solution to the UTAH problem is particularly interesting because it opens up a way for explaining cross-linguistic variation in the domain of the argument structure of adjectival passives. Concretely, Baker's solution to the UTAH problem crucially depends on the independent availability of the VP-structure in (59) within the grammar of a language. If the VP-structure in (59) is not countenanced by the grammar of a particular language, on the other hand, then there would be no way to solve the UTAH problem posed by adjectival passives that pattern as unergative rather than unaccusative (i.e., where adjectival passives project a structure like (58)). On the other hand, The UTAH would still be respected in a language where the VP-structure in (59) is not countenanced if adjectival passives pattern as unaccusative rather than unergative. Of course, for this reasoning to be sound, we must assume that the UTAH (or whatever principles derive the UTAH) does not require the mapping of arguments onto syntactic structure to be uniform across-languages – rather, it simply requires the mapping to be uniformly consistent *within a language*. Suppose this is so.

Fleshing out these suggestions in more detail, let us suppose that UG makes two options available regarding the syntactic configuration in which a THEME argument associated with a predicate is projected. The THEME argument of verbs and adjectives may be uniformly projected as the specifier of a Pred/ V_{BE} head, which takes an AP complement, as in (60), following Baker (2003). Alternatively, the THEME argument for verbs and adjectives may be uniformly projected as the complement of V/A, as in (61). (For illustration, I use the predicate *BREAK* in small-cap to abstract away from particular surface inflected forms.)



¹⁸ This structure is not particularly novel to Baker's work. In particular, it is related to the proposals of Dowty (1979); Parsons (1990), among others) in which event predicates (e.g., *break*) are semantically decomposed into an activity sub-event and a result/state sub-event. What is unique to Baker's proposal is the proposal that this semantic decomposition is also represented syntactically (see also, Hale and Keyser, 2002), something which these other authors do not explicitly assume.

Theoretically speaking, there does not seem to be an issue of simplicity in the “choice” of (60) over (61). The option spelled out in (60) involves positing a more abstract syntax, but arguably involves simpler lexical representations because lexical items like *BREAK* do not need to be listed in the lexicon with information about the argument that they syntactically select as their complement. On the other hand, the option spelled out in (61) involves a simpler syntax, but more complex lexical representations since lexical items like *BREAK*, as both an adjective and as a verb, must have the fact that it selects a DP complement stipulated as part of its lexical entry.

Assuming the correctness of the UTAH, (60) and (61) are the only options. In other words, there can be no language where the *THEME* argument of an adjective occurs in the configuration in (60a) while the *THEME* argument of a verb occurs in the configuration in (61b). Likewise, there can be no language in which the *THEME* of an adjective occurs in the configuration in (61a) while the *THEME* of a verb occurs in the configuration in (60b), and so on. This assumption has the important consequence that if, for example, the VP-structure in (60b) is not countenanced by the grammar of a given language, then the structure in (60a) will also be precluded. In such a language, the only option with respect to the syntactic configuration in which the *THEME* argument is projected will be the one represented by the structures in (61). In such a language, in other words, adjectival passives will be predicted to be unaccusative.

Bringing the discussion back to Tagalog, we have now seen the evidence that adjectival passives are unaccusative and thus, have the argument structure representation of (61a). If the suggestion sketched in the immediately preceding paragraphs is correct, we should now be able to explain why adjectival passives would have this structure and not the one in (60a) (i.e., why they are not unergative) if we can also demonstrate that the VP-structure in (60b) is not an available structure in the grammar of Tagalog. We now turn to this task.

6.3. VP-structure in Tagalog

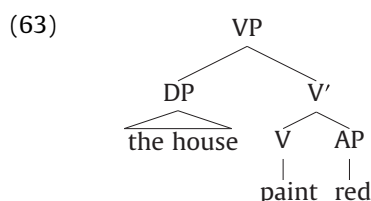
The difference between the structure in (60b) and (61b) is subtle enough that it is difficult to provide direct evidence that can decide which of these structures a language makes use of. However, there is suggestive evidence showing that Tagalog does not countenance the more complex VP-structure in (60b).

6.3.1. Resultative constructions

Structures analogous to (60b) have been proposed in the analysis of various types of “complex predicate” constructions. Notably, such a structure has been proposed as the structure that underlies resultative constructions in languages like English, as exemplified by sentences like (62).

- (62) a. John painted the house red. (Complex predicate = *paint+red*)
 b. John pounded the metal flat. (Complex predicate = *pound+flat*)

“Complex predicate” here refers to the particular analysis of these constructions, in which it is supposed that a main verb (e.g., *paint*, *pound*) combines with an AP complement denoting the result state that is achieved by the activity denoted by the main verb, as schematized in (63) (see, e.g., Hale and Keyser, 2002; Embick, 2004; Larson, 1988).¹⁹



What is unique about such constructions in English is that a bare adjective (phrase) which serves as the result or depictive seem to combine with a verb via direct complementation rather than by adverbial modification. Observe, for instance, that the adjectives in (62) do not have the same type of distributional flexibility available to adverbs such as, e.g., *deliberately*.

- (64) a. John (*red) painted the house (red).
 b. John (*flat) pounded the metal (flat).
 c. John (deliberately) painted the house (deliberately).

Significantly, Tagalog contrasts with English in that AP's that function semantically as resultatives are VP adverbs rather than complements to a V-head. This is evidenced first by the fact, seen in (65), that they exhibit positional freedom (occurring either to the left or to the right of the verb) with respect to the verb, which true complements never do. Further evidence for

¹⁹ With respect to Baker's VP-structure in (60), he proposes that the resultative predicate is head-adjoined to the lexical A projection that is the most deeply embedded projection with the verb phrase, as shown in (i):

(i) [_{VP} John [_v V (Cause) [_{VP} the house [_v V(BE) [_{AP} [[_A paint][_A red]]]]]]]]

their adverbial status comes from the fact that they can only be integrated into the clause by means of the linker element *na* (allomorph, *-ng*), which is generally responsible for joining adverbs to phrases but which does not, in general, play a role in introducing complements.

- (65) a. Pula-*ng* pininturah-an ni Juan ang bahay.
 red-LK PERF.paint-AGR(ACC) NS Juan S house
 'Juan painted the house red.'
- b. Pininturah-an na pula ni Juan ang bahay.
 PERF.paint-AGR(ACC) LK red NS Juan S house
 'Juan painted the house red.'

What this observation suggests is that Tagalog does not countenance structures of the type in (63), in which a lexical verb selects a bare lexical AP complement. But observe now that this is essentially the same type of configuration posited by the articulated VP-structure in (60b). To the extent that structures like (63) are ruled out, therefore, it stands to reason that structures like (60b) should also be ruled out.

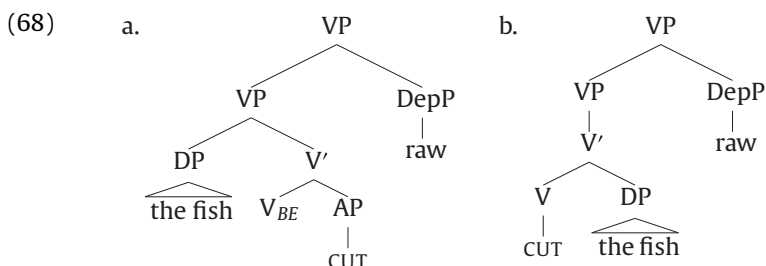
6.3.2. *Depictives*

A related piece of suggestive evidence comes from depictive modification. While Tagalog allows subjects and non-subject external arguments to serve as controllers for depictive modifiers, true object depictives in which a non-subject direct object is predicated of the depictive modifier are apparently not possible (Kroger, 1993; Nagaya, 2004). The facts are exemplified by the paradigm in (66)–(67) (from Nagaya, 2004). (67) shows that an external argument (whether it is the subject as in (66a) or a non-subject as in (66b)) may be predicated of the depictive. As (67) shows, however, a non-subject direct object may not be predicated of a depictive ((67a)) unless, as in (67b), it has been promoted to subject.

- (66) *Ext. Arg/Subject (=66a); Ext. Arg/Non-subject (=66b)*
- a. Lasing na tumakbo ang lalaki sa dagat.
 drunk LK AGR(NOM).PERF.run S man LOC beach
 'The man ran to the beach drunk.'
- b. Nakahubad na kina-in ni Juan ang hapunan.
 naked LK PERF.eat-AGR(ACC) NS Juan S supper
 'Juan ate the supper naked.'

- (67) *Object/Non-subject (=67a); Object/Subject (=67b)*
- a. *Hilaw na humiwa ang lalaki ng isda.
 raw LK AGR(NOM).PERF.cut S man NS fish
 (The man cut some fish raw.)
- b. Hilaw na hiniwa ng lalaki ang isda.
 raw LK PERF.cut-AGR(ACC) NS man S fish
 'The man cut the fish raw.'

To understand this pattern, let us first assume the minimal condition on depictive predication that the argument predicated of the depictive must c-command the depictive (Williams, 1980:204; Hale and Keyser, 2002:164–168). Now consider the two structures in (68), based on the sentence in (67a). The structure in (68a) is based on the articulated VP-structure in (60b), in which the verb's internal argument is the argument of a complex predicate consisting of V_{BE} plus a bare AP complement. The structure in (68b) is based on the more traditional VP structure in which the verb's internal argument is the direct complement of the verb.



Comparing these two structures, we can see that in (68a) the verb's THEME argument c-commands the depictive – or rather, that the THEME argument and the depictive mutually c-command one another given a segment theory of adjunction (Chomsky, 1986). By contrast, the THEME argument does not c-command the depictive in (68b). Of these two structures, then, only the one in (68b) correctly precludes the depictive from being predicated of the object. The structure in (68a), on the other hand, incorrectly predicts object depictive modification to be possible, contrary to the fact.²⁰

6.3.3. Snyder's complex predicate constraint

We are now in a position to ask what type of constraint would rule out complex predicate structure like (63)/(68a), and – by extension – (60b)? As it happens, the absence of these structures in Tagalog is predicted on the basis of the claims and proposal reported in Snyder (2001). Based on comparative findings as well as evidence from language acquisition, Snyder observes a significant correlation between the availability of complex predicate constructions, e.g., English style resultative constructions, and the availability of (endocentric) root compounds of the (cross-linguistically rare) type that do not require any overt morphological or syntactic connective. Thus, while English clearly allows such compound forms (e.g., *emergency-exit*), many other languages require a morphological or syntactic connective to combine items such as two nouns (e.g., in French, *sortie de secours*, exit of emergency). Significantly, Tagalog does not permit endocentric compounds of the English sort. When combining two nouns to form an endocentric compound, for instance, a linker is required. Consider the forms in (69).

- (69)
- a. mesa-ng sulatan
table-LK writing
'writing table'
 - b. awiti-ng bayan
song-L nation
'folk-song'
 - c. mata-ng lawin
eye-LK hawk
'hawk-eyes'

By Snyder's observed correlation, therefore, Tagalog is predicted not to countenance complex predicate structure like the English resultative construction. As we saw with respect to the examples in (65) above, this prediction is born out. We can now also suggest that this constraint is what ultimately lies behind the absence of true objective depictives, as observed with respect to the examples in (66)–(67).

Snyder formalizes the correlation between endocentric compounding and complex predicate structure as an LF constraint, which he refers to as the Complex Predicate Constraint. Broadly speaking, he proposes that complex predicate structures, e.g. of the sort in (60b)/(63), can only be interpreted if the head of the complement (AP) combines with (in surface structure or at LF) the V head that selects it (e.g., by head-movement of A-to-V), essentially forming an endocentric root compound (see, e.g., Von Stechow, 1996). Given this assumption, Snyder reasons that complex predicate structures will only be possible in a language that independently allows for the formation of root compounds in this manner, as evidenced by whether they allow root compounds to be formed (as in English) without a morphological or syntactic connective. For our purposes, the important point is that the absence in Tagalog of complex predicate structures of the English resultative type in (62) is consistent with, and evidently predicted by, Snyder's correlation. Now, the VP-structure in (60b) is another a type of complex predicate structure. By parity of reasoning, therefore, Snyder's correlation also predicts that Tagalog should not countenance this structure.

Overall, then, the absence of complex predicate structures like (63) and – crucially – (60b) is predicted, and explained as following from a deeper source (see Beck and Snyder, 2001; Beck, 2005 for more in-depth discussion of the Complex Predicate Constraint and the type of structures it covers).²¹

6.4. Summary

There is, then, reason to believe that Tagalog does not countenance the kind of VP- structure proposed in (59)/(60b). The available evidence suggests that VP-structure in Tagalog is, in fact, more minimal. Concretely, the theme argument of a verb

²⁰ In principle, a language could have only the structure in (68b) and still allow genuine object depictives. For instance, if the condition on depictive predication for some languages requires m-command rather than c-command, then object depictives would be well formed on the basis of (68b). As a reviewer points out, the proposal Section 6.3.3 seems to predict that Italian, which does not allow root compounding, would also not allow the structure in (68a). This, however, would seem to incorrectly predict that Italian also does not have object depictives. If the condition on object depictives refers to m-command rather than c-command, this fact can be accounted for.

²¹ See also Son (2007); Son and Svenonius (2008), and Trias (2010) for more recent discussion of the Complex Predicate Constraint. An anonymous reviewer asks whether Snyder's Complex Predicate Constraint will also rule out the structures in which the external argument of a predicate is introduced by a light-predicate selecting a lexical complement. Concretely, recall from Section 4.2.3 that I assume that the external argument of a *ma*-adjectives is licensed by the light-predicate head, *a*, which selects a lexical AP complement. This structure is analogous to the structure I have been assuming for the verb phrase, in which the external argument is introduced by the light verb, *v*, which takes a VP complement. Assuming that elements like *a* and *v* are functional elements rather than lexical elements, they are unproblematic for Snyder's constraint.

apparently bears the structural relation to the verb that traditional approaches to VP-structure posit – namely, that of being a direct complement. To the extent that Tagalog argument structure conforms in an expected way under the UTAH, it follows that the theme argument of an adjectival passive, like that of a verb, must also be licensed as a direct complement – i.e., that adjectival passives must be unaccusative. If adjectival passives instead had an unergative argument structure (i.e., a structure like the one in (60a)), then the argument structure of adjectives and verbs would not accord with the UTAH. Put in other terms, having adjectival passives with an unaccusative argument structure is the only way for the UTAH to be respected, once it is recognized that the VP-structure in (60b) is independently unavailable – namely because, as suggested above, it is ruled out Snyder's Complex Predicate Constraint).

6.4.1. Cross-linguistic predictions

Before moving on to the conclusion, I would like to address some of the comparative issues that arise from the above discussion. The hypothesis under consideration is that if a language's adjectival passives pattern as unergative, then – given the take on the UTAH discussed above – the language also ought to show positive evidence for a complex VP-structure. Complex VP-structure involves a kind of complex predicate structure. Thus, drawing on Snyder's Complex Predicate Constraint, a language with complex predicate structures must also be a language that allows root compounding. The minimal prediction, therefore, is that if a language's adjectival passives (and perhaps all of its adjectives) pattern as unergative, then the language also ought to permit root compounding – i.e., as evidence that it could support a complex VP-structure.

Now, we have already seen that adjectival passives in Hebrew pattern as unergative, so, according to the prediction just stated, it should also allow root compounding. This is correct, given the existence of root compounds such as *gan-yeladim* 'kindergarten (lit. garden-children)', *beyt-xolim* 'hospital (lit. house-sick)' (Borer, 1984, 2008). If adjectival passives in English also pattern as unergative, as Levin and Rappaport (1986) claim, then this would also be consistent with the predictions made above given that root compounding and complex predicate structures (e.g., resultatives) are attested for English. As an aside, it is perhaps surprising that Hebrew is evidently like Tagalog (and unlike English) in that it does not have resultative constructions of the English type in (62). This is not necessarily a problem, however. As Snyder is careful to point out, the Complex Predicate Constraint does not predict that if a language has root compounding that it will also have all of the types of complex predicate structures (e.g., resultatives) that other language might possess. In other words, the Complex Predicate Constraint is a one-way implication, such that if a language has one or more types of complex predicate structures, then it must also have root compounding.

A more difficult case for a comparison with Tagalog comes from Romance—in particular, Italian. Like most Romance languages, Italian does not have root compounding (nor does it have English-style resultatives, but this is of lesser relevance given the above remarks). It is apparently problematic, then, that the celebrated *ne*-cliticization diagnostic used to distinguish unaccusatives from unergatives reveals that adjectival passives in Italian pattern as unergative rather than unaccusative. Possibly complicating matters further is the fact that there is also a class of adjectives in Italian (including, *noto* ('well-known'), *chiar(o)* ('clear'), *cert(o)* ('certain'), *sicur(o)* ('sure'), among others), which Cinque (1990) has convincingly showed to pattern as unaccusative.

However, while *ne*-cliticization is a widely used diagnostic for unaccusativity in Italian, problems have been noted in the literature that cast some doubt on the connection between argument structure (unaccusativity) and *ne*-cliticization. Lonzi (1986:112) observes, for instance, that a number of 'have'-selecting (hence, unergative) intransitives permit *ne*-cliticization.

- (70) Ne cammina tanta, di gente, su quei marciapiedi.
 NE walk-3SG much of people on those pavements
 'Of them walk a lot (of people), on those pavements.'

Additionally, Bentley (2004:224–225) has observed that some adjectives (including adjectival passives), which do not permit *ne*-cliticization in the present tense, do evidently license *ne*-cliticization in the perfective and punctual past as shown by the examples in (71a) and (71b). (According to Bentley's description, the predicate is interpreted in these contexts as a contingent state (Stage-level) rather than an inherent state (Individual-level).)

- (71) a. Ne sono stati spezzati molti.
 NE be-3PL been-M.PL broken-M.PL many-M.PL
 '(Of them) many have been broken.'
 b. Ne furono spezzati molti.
 NE be-3PL.PAST broken-M.PL many-M.PL
 '(Of them) many were broken.'

Bentley observes that *ne*-cliticization with predicates like these (i.e., those which, in other contexts, might not allow *ne*-cliticization) is only possible when the sentence is interpreted with sentence or presentational-focus, whereas *ne*-cliticization with unaccusative verbs like *arrivano* ('arrive') is compatible either with sentence or narrow-focus

(e.g., predicate-focus). Overall, then, observations like this one suggest one of two things: (i) That some predicates (e.g., adjectival passives) that were thought to be unergative are actually unaccusative, and that unaccusativity is a necessary but not sufficient condition for licensing *ne*-cliticization; or (ii) That unaccusativity is a sufficient but not necessary condition for *ne*-cliticization (see Van Valen, 1990; Levin and Rappaport Hovav, 1995; Borer, 2005 for additional discussion of this viewpoint). If the latter view turns out to be correct, then the argument structure properties of adjectival passives cannot straightforwardly be determined on the basis of *ne*-cliticization alone.

This is not meant to dismiss Italian as a possible counterexample altogether, but rather to make clear that any clear counterexample must come from a language with an uncontroversial diagnostic for determining unaccusative/unergative argument structure (i.e., one that it not also confounded by non-syntactic factors). Italian does not seem to be straightforwardly such a case.²²

7. Conclusion

The evidence from Tagalog presented here broadens the cross-linguistic profile of adjectives by demonstrating that unergative argument structure is not a universal property of adjectival passives. I have proposed that the variation in argument structure behavior that is found (e.g., by contrasting Tagalog with Hebrew, for instance) can be tied to another property of languages – namely, the structure of VP, and – more specifically – to the particulars of how the THEME argument of a predicate is syntactically projected within VP in a given language. If the proposal is on the right track, then it would appear that the argument structure representations of predicates can vary to some extent from language to language. I suggested that in the face of such variation, a constrained theory of argument structure can still be maintained if principles like the UTAH are taken to enforce configurational uniformity of argument structure representations within a language, though not necessarily across languages.

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²² One other language mentioned in the text that would seem to be problematic for my proposal is Russian: Russian does not allow root compounding, and I therefore predict that its adjectival passives would pattern as unaccusative rather than unergative. It would appear problematic, then, that according to the widely cited “Genitive of Negation” diagnostic for unaccusativity (Perlmutter, 1978; Pesetsky, 1982), adjectival passives in Russian appear to pattern as unergative (Pesetsky, 1982). Like Italian *ne*-cliticization, however, “Genitive of Negation” has been argued not to be a straightforward unaccusativity diagnostic. Babby (1980, 2000), for instance, argues that unaccusativity is neither necessary nor sufficient for Genitive of Negation.

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