

### Person-Case Effects in Tagalog

In this paper I will show evidence from Tagalog for an independently posited condition on multiple Agree relations with a single head. The claim will be that Agree relations after the first one are ruled out when the DP being Agreed with is 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person.

**Person-Case (*me-lui*) Constraint:** The Person-Case constraint, or PCC (Bonet 1991, 1994, Boeckx 2000, Anagnostopoulou 2003) is a widely attested condition which bans 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person direct objects in ditransitive clauses (under certain conditions, especially when both objects are clitics or agreement morphemes). It is exemplified for Greek in (1).

**Multiple Agreement and Person:** Boeckx (2000) and Anagnostopoulou (2003) offer accounts of the PCC based on the behavior of multiple Agree relations involving a single head. Once a head has Agreed with one DP, on this account, its Person feature is rendered incapable of Agreeing with other DPs. This prevents subsequent Agree relations between the Probe and DPs with a Person feature. Following much work in morphology (cf. Noyer 1992), 3<sup>rd</sup> person DPs are taken to lack a Person feature; thus, all Agree relations after the first must be with 3<sup>rd</sup> person DPs. Boeckx and Anagnostopoulou apply this condition on multiple Agree relations to a Probe which Agrees with both objects of a ditransitive; they also generalize the account to the requirement that Icelandic nominative objects be 3<sup>rd</sup> person (2), on the assumption that T here Agrees with both the Dative DP and, subsequently, the Nominative DP.

**PCC in Tagalog:** PCC effects appear in two types of examples in Tagalog, both of which can be analyzed as instances of multiple Agreement.

**(1) Long-distance movement:** Rackowski and Richards (2004) argue that movement across a clause boundary involves a single Probe ( $\nu$ ) with two Goals; the Probe  $\nu$  Agrees first with the clause from which extraction takes place, and then with the moving XP (3). The first Agree relation is reflected in the agreement morphology on the higher verb (which is why long-distance extraction requires this agreement morphology to be with the embedded clause: (4)). Pairing their account of long-distance extraction with the above accounts of the PCC, we expect long-distance extraction in Tagalog to be limited to 3<sup>rd</sup> person DPs, since long-distance extraction involves a second Agree relation between a Probe and the moving XP. This appears to be correct; the local fronting examples in (5) may be of any person, but the long-distance fronting in (6) must be 3<sup>rd</sup> person.

**(2) Multiple-ANG sentences:** Some Tagalog speakers will allow both the subject and a nonsubject to be marked with *ang* (which typically is only on the DP that controls agreement on the verb; the ‘topic’, ‘pivot’, etc. in the literature), just in case the subject is fronted to pre-predicate position, as in (7). Verbal agreement is controlled by the non-subject, in such cases (*isda* ‘fish’ in (7)). Following Rackowski (2002), Rackowski and Richards (2004), I assume that the agreement morphology indicates the first Agree relation of the  $\nu$  Probe; the fronted subject is marked with *ang* by a second Agree relation. As we expect, the fronted subject, marked ANG by second Agree, is required to be 3<sup>rd</sup> person; (8) is ill-formed. Tagalog (7), in which the subject is constrained by the PCC, contrasts with Icelandic (2), in which the PCC applies to the object. The Tagalog-Icelandic difference follows if we assume with Boeckx and Anagnostopoulou that the relevant Probe in Icelandic is T, and with Rackowski (2002) that the relevant Probe in Tagalog is  $\nu$ , and if we also assume with Rezac (2003) that a Probe may Agree with its specifier only after it has exhausted all possibilities for Agreeing with Goals it c-commands. Rezac’s approach will guarantee that the Tagalog  $\nu$  Probe will Agree first with the object and then with the subject; Shortest Agree will require the Icelandic T Probe to Agree first with the subject and then with the object. The distribution of PCC effects follows.

- (1) a. Tha su **ton** stilune  
FUT you him send-3PL  
'They will send you him'  
b. \*Tha tu **se** stilune [DO must be 3<sup>rd</sup> person]  
FUT him you send-3PL  
'They will send him you'
- (2) a. Henni leiddust **þeir**  
She-DAT found.boring-3PL them-NOM  
'She found them boring'  
b. \*Henni leiddust **við** [NomObj must be 3<sup>rd</sup> person]  
she-DAT found.boring-3PL us-NOM  
'She found us boring'
- (3) a. John (v) said [CP that Bing bought **what**]  
b. John (v) said [CP that Bing bought (**what**)]
- (4) a. Ano ang **sinabi** ni Juan [na binili ni Bing]?  
what ANG ACC-said NG Juan that Agr.O-bought NG Bing  
'What did Juan say that Bing bought \_\_?'  
b. \*Ano ang **nagsabi** si Juan [na binili ni Bing]?  
what ANG NOM-said ANG Juan that Agr.O-bought NG Bing
- (5) Siya/ ako ay nakita kahapon ni Juan  
ANG-he/ANG-me AY ACC-saw yesterday NG Juan  
'Him/me, Juan saw \_\_ yesterday'
- (6) Siya / \*ako ay sinabi ni Juan [na nakita kahapon ni Maria]  
ANG-he ANG-me AY ACC-said NG Juan that ACC-saw yesterday NG Maria  
'Him/\*me, Juan said that Maria saw \_\_ yesterday'
- (7) Ang lalaki ay binili ang isda  
ANG man AY ACC-bought ANG fish  
'The man bought the fish'
- (8) \*Ako ay binili ang isda  
ANG-I AY ACC-bought ANG fish  
'I bought the fish'
- (9) a. **T** [SUBJECT v OBJECT] [Icelandic]  
b. **T** [SUBJECT v OBJECT] [Tagalog]

### **Selected References**

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