Absolutive Case in Tagalog

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1. Tagalog Morphology and ANG Case

There is an ongoing debate concerning the relationship between verbal morphology and marking on nominal arguments in Tagalog. In the two examples in (1), when the verb takes the –in- inflection, ANG case appears on the direct object. When the verb takes – um- marking, ANG case appears on the subject.

   -?? Perf-buy NG woman ANG fish
   ‘The woman bought the fish.’

   b. B-um-ilang babae ng isda.
   -?? Perf-buy ANG woman NG fish
   ‘The woman bought a/*the fish.’

One important characteristic of ANG-marked nominals is this is the only DP which is able to undergo A’-movement\(^1\). For example, a relative clause can be formed on a direct object when the verb takes the –in- affix. In order to relativize on the subject, the verb must be affixed with –um-.

(2) a. Ano ang b-in-ilang babae?
   what ANG -Asp.??-buy NG woman
   ‘What did Maria buy?’

   b. *Sino ang b-in-ilang isda?
   who ANG -Asp.??-buy ANG book
   ‘Who bought a/the book?’

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\(^1\) This restriction applies only to DPs and not constituents of different categories. Aldridge (2002, 2004) presents a detailed account of this asymmetry, as well as differences in extraction restrictions between Tagalog and other Austronesian languages. This paper focuses only on DP extraction in Tagalog.
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c. Sino ang b-um-ilin ng isda?
   who ANG -Asp.-buy NG book
   ‘Who bought a/the book?’

Under an ergative approach to Tagalog syntax, this phenomenon comes as no surprise. –in- clauses are transitive, while –um- clauses are intransitive or antipassive. ANG marks structural absolutive case, while NG marks inherent case (either ergative or oblique). The restriction that only absolutives are eligible to undergo A’-extraction is common property of syntactically ergative languages (Payne 1982; England 1983; Dixon 1979, 1994; Bittner 1994; Manning 1996; Campana 1996; Aldridge 2004, 2005; among many others).

This paper proposes an ergative analysis of Tagalog verbal morphology and A’-extraction. However, I first consider and argue against an alternative view of Tagalog as an accusative language.

2. The Case Agreement Analysis
Rackowski (2002) and Rackowski and Richards (2005), which I refer to here as the case agreement analysis, propose that ANG and NG are not case markers, per se. Rather, nominative and accusative case are checked and valued by T and v, respectively, in the usual way. ANG marks the DP which undergoes an Agree relation with the verb and copying its case feature to the verb. This is realized morphologically as –in-, for the accusative case feature of a direct object, or as –um-, for the nominative case feature of a subject.

The examples in (3) and (4) show the case agreement process. In a finite clause with two DP arguments, T values nominative case on the external argument, while v values accusative case on the theme or patient argument. A VP-internal DP raises to the vP phase edge when it is specific. As the highest DP in the vP phase edge, it triggers case agreement on the verb and is marked by ANG.

In (3), the object tela ‘cloth’ raises to the outer specifier of v, where it receives a specific interpretation at LF. Agreement with its accusative case feature is registered as the –in- inflection on the verb.

(3) a. B-in-ilin ng bata ang tela.
   -Asp.Acc-buy CS child ANG cloth
   ‘The child bought the cloth.’
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In (4), the nonspecific object does not shift to the phase edge, leaving the external argument in the highest position in vP. This is now the highest DP in the vP phase edge and registers nominative case agreement on the verb in the form of –um-.

(4) B-um-ili ang bata ng tela.
-Asp.Nom-buy ANG child CS cloth
‘The child bought the cloth.’

As noted above, only ANG-marked DPs can be A’-extracted. From the standpoint of the case agreement analysis, this is the DP which undergoes case agreement with v. In structural terms, as just illustrated, this will always be the highest DP in the vP phase edge. Rackowski and Richards (2005) derive this generalization from their notion of locality specified by the following definition of ‘closest’ goal (p. 579).

(5) A goal α is the closest one to a given probe if there is no distinct goal β such that for some X (X a head or maximal projection), X c-commands α but does not c-command β.

From this definition, only the highest specifier in vP can undergo an Agree relation with a probe on C, as in (6a). In (6b), a higher specifier blocks movement of a lower one, since the higher specifier c-commands the lower one.

(6) a. [CP C[+wh] [TP ... [vP whP [v' XP [v' ... ]]]]]
   b. *[CP C[+wh] [TP ... [vP XP [v' whP [v' ... ]]]]]

Extraction facts in Tagalog fall out naturally from this proposal. As the highest DP in vP, only the agreeing DP can be attracted by a probe on C. In (7a), the accusative argument undergoes object shift to the highest specifier of vP. This DP can then be attracted by the probe on C.

(7) a. Ano ang b-in-ili ng babae?
   what ANG -Asp.Acc-buy NG woman
   ‘What did Maria buy?’
In this paper, I argue against the case agreement analysis of the facts given above and present an alternative account based on the view that –um- and –in- are markers of transitivity. I first show that the case agreement approach incorrectly predicts the distribution of agreement and structural case in the language. Two key assumptions of the case agreement analysis are: 1) the verb always undergoes an Agree relation with the ANG-marked DP; and 2) structural case is always available for a direct object. However, I show in section 3 that there is compelling evidence that verbs do not always agree with the ANG-marked DP, but rather agreement takes place only in –um- (intransitive) clauses. I additionally show that it is only in transitive (–in-) clauses that v can value structural case on an internal argument.

My account of the extraction facts also differs from the case agreement analysis in some crucial respects. Movement of the ANG DP to the vP phase edge is not contingent on the information status of the nominal but is forced by an EPP feature which is merged as part of the feature bundle of transitive v (accompanying –in- verbal morphology).

3. Distribution of Case and Agreement
This section shows that the case agreement analysis incorrectly predicts the distribution of case and agreement in Tagalog. I first show that verbs agree with plural ANG DPs, but this agreement takes place only in –um- clauses and not with every ANG DP. I next show that v in a semantically transitive clause is not always able to assign structural case.

3.1. Plural Agreement
In this subsection, I show that the distribution of $\phi$-feature agreement in Tagalog does not correlate with the case agreement proposal that verbs undergo agreement with ANG DPs in every clause in Tagalog. In Tagalog, a verb can agree with a plural ANG-marked DP. But this only takes place in ‘nominative agreement’ contexts and not with every ANG DP$^2$. (8a) shows agreement on the verb with a plural ANG-marked subject. (8b) shows that this agreement does not take place with a NG-marked object.

(8) a. Nag$^3$-si-basa ang mga bata ng liham.
   Nom.Asp-Pl-read ANG Pl child CS letter
   ‘The children read a letter.’

$^2$ See Schachter and Otanes (1972), Schachter (1976), and Schachter (1996) for additional examples and discussion.

$^3$ Mag- and nag- are variants of –um- ‘nominative agreement’ markers. These appear on unergative intransitive or agentive antipassive verbs. Nag- is the perfective form of mag-. Mag- itself is derived from the combination of a causative prefix pag- and the –um- infix.
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b. Nag-(*si-)basa ang bata ng mga liham.
Nom.Aspr-Pl-read ANG child CS Pl letter
‘The child read some letters.’ (Schachter & Otanes 1972)

(9) shows the verb *basa ‘read’ with ‘accusative agreement’. Both (9a) and (9b) are grammatical, with a plural nominative DP and plural accusative DP, respectively. Plural agreement is not registered on the verb.

(9) a. B-in-asa ng mga bata ang liham.
-Acc.Aspr-read CS Pl child ANG letter
‘The children read the letter.’

b. B-in-asa ng bata ang mga liham.
-Acc.Aspr-read CS child ANG Pl letter
‘The child read the letters.’

Crucially, number agreement is not possible with either the nominative or ANG-marked DP. This shows that number agreement cannot be correlated with nominative case assignment or with case agreement.

(10) a. *Si-ni-basa ng mga bata ang liham.
Pl-Aspr-read CS Pl child ANG letter
‘The children read the letter.’

b. *Si-ni-basa ng bata ang mga liham.
Pl-Aspr-read CS child ANG Pl letter
‘The child read the letters.’

3.2. Case in ECM Contexts
As illustrated in section 2, from the standpoint of the case agreement analysis, the two verbal markers –*um- and –*in- are merely morphological reflexes of agreement with the case feature of the ANG-marked DP. Therefore, under this approach, these markers should not reflect a change in the availability of structural case on v. In this subsection, however, I show that there is such a difference. Specifically, I show that structural case is not available on v when the verb takes –*um- marking.

An embedded nonfinite clause in Tagalog can have a direct object and sometimes a subject. Under the case agreement approach, the source of case for an object, as in (11a) is embedded v. Note that the embedded verb additionally registers accusative agreement with this DP. In (11b), the subject ANG-DP registers nominative agreement on the embedded verb.

(11) a. Bina-balakni Maria,-ng
Acc.Aspr-plan CS Maria-Lk
The question which arises at this point is the source of the case feature of the embedded subject in (11b). For the case agreement analysis to work, the case in question would have to be nominative, most likely assigned by embedded T. However, this is unlikely, given that the embedded clause is nonfinite. Additional data show this indeed to be the case. The pair of examples in (12) is parallel to the pair in (11), except that the matrix verb shows ‘accusative’ agreement in (11) and ‘nominative’ agreement in (12). In (12), case agreement is with the matrix subject. What is important for the present argument is that there cannot be an overt subject in the embedded clause in (12b).

If case assignment and agreement in the embedded clause were independent of the matrix clause, then there should be no difference between (11b) and (12b). Therefore, we must conclude that the embedded subject is case-dependent on the matrix clause, specifically matrix v, for exceptional case marking. However, there is still a problem for the case agreement analysis. Given that ECM is possible in (11b), it should also be available in (12b), under that assumption that not just the accusative agreeing –in/-in verbs but also the nominative agreeing –um- and mag- verbs are capable of assigning accusative case.

The discussion above actually brings to light two problems with the case agreement approach. First, it is clear that only v with –in- marking can supply case for an embedded
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subject, contradicting the inherent assumption of the case agreement analysis that availability of accusative case cannot itself be dependent upon the appearance of the accusative agreement marker. The second problem is that, when the subject of an embedded nonfinite clause does get case-licensed, since the source of this case is matrix $v$ and accordingly the case should be accusative, then the case agreement analysis has no way to account for the appearance of ‘nominative’ agreement on the embedded verb in (11b).

4. Ergative Analysis

In the preceding section, I presented evidence that a verb agrees in number features with the ANG-marked DP only in clauses with –um- or mag- inflection on the verb. I also showed that matrix $v$ can assign case to an embedded subject only when it has –in- or –in inflection. In this section, I present an analysis of Tagalog case and agreement, in which the difference between –um-/mag- and -in-/–in$^4$ is not one of case agreement but rather of case assignment. I propose that these markers are merged in $v$ and are associated with transitivity, -in-/–in being transitive and –um-/mag- intransitive. Transitive $v$ carries a structural case feature, while intransitive $v$ does not. Transitive $v$ additionally carries an EPP feature. This forces movement of the ANG DP to the $vP$ phase edge, where it receives a presuppositional interpretation and is eligible to undergo further movement to [Spec, CP].

(13) $v_{Tr}$: [uCase:Abs] feature to value with a DP in its c-command domain.
     Inherent ergative case to assign to the external argument.
     [EPP] feature to draw the absolutive DP to the $vP$ phase edge.

$v_{Intr}$: No case feature.
     No [EPP] feature.

$T_{Fin}$: [uCase:Abs] feature in intransitive clauses.
     [uNum: ] feature for agreement with a DP $T$ assigns case to.

It is ensured that $T$ has an absolutive case feature exactly when $v$ is intransitive, via selection between finite $T$ and $v$. Finite $T$ with an absolutive case feature selects intransitive $v$. It cannot select transitive $v^5$.

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$^4$ -in- and –in both appear on transitive verbs. The infix is used in the perfective and progressive aspects, while the suffix is used in future and nonfinite contexts.

$^5$ The proposal that absolutive case assignment is divided between the subject and object case-checking functional heads is not new. Aldridge (2004) proposes that this is one of two types of syntactic ergativity found cross-linguistically. The proposal in this paper is based on Aldridge (2004), which is itself an updated version Aldridge’s (1998) original analysis of Tagalog. See Legate (2003) for a similar analysis of Warlpiri.
I begin illustrating the analysis in (13) with the intransitive example in (14). As seen in section 3.1, intransitive verbs take either –um- or mag-. Mag- generally attaches to unergative verbs, while –um- can attach to either unaccusative or unergative verbs. (14) shows an unaccusative. Since v is intransitive, T has an absolutive case to check an value with the subject. I assume with Chomsky (2001) that unaccusative vP is a weak phase, allowing T to probe down into VP without violating the Phase Impenetrability Condition.

(14) a. D-um-ating ang babae.
   -Intr.Perf-arrive Abs woman
   ‘The woman arrived.’

   b. TP
       T'
       um-T[Abs]
       vP
       v
       VP
       V
       DP[Abs]

   In a transitive clause, v values absolutive case on the object. The absolutive object then raises to the vP phase edge by EPP feature on v.

   -Tr.Perf-buy Erg woman Abs fish
   ‘The woman bought the fish.’

   b. TP
       V+v+T
       vP
       DP[Abs]
       v'
       DP[Erg]
       v'
       VP
       tV[Abs, EPP]
       tDP[Abs]

   This yields a wide scope, presuppositional interpretation for the absolutive, as per
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Diesing’s (1992) proposal that material external to the VP at LF is mapped to the restrictive clause, while VP-internal material is mapped to the nuclear scope. The absolutive object is also eligible to undergo further movement.

Comparing (14) and (15), a clear ergative pattern⁶ can be observed in terms of case-marking: the intransitive subject has the same ANG marking as the transitive object. ANG-marked DPs also exhibit the syntactic behavior of absolutives: only these DPs can undergo A’-extraction.

A semantically transitive clause with \textit{mag-/-um-} marking on the verb is an antipassive. Since \textit{v} is intransitive, T values absolutive case on the external argument. The object receives inherent oblique case from the verb. This intransitive \textit{v} also has no EPP feature, so the object remains in its base position in VP.

\begin{align*}
\text{(16) a.} & \quad \text{B-}\text{um-li} \quad \text{ang} \quad \text{babae} \quad \text{ng} \quad \text{isda}. \\
& \quad \text{Intr.Perf-buy} \quad \text{Abs} \quad \text{woman} \quad \text{Obl} \quad \text{fish} \\
& \quad \text{‘The woman bought a fish.’}
\end{align*}

This analysis accounts for the classic antipassive characteristics of this clause type. As shown by Kalmar (1979), Cooreman (1994), Bittner (1994), Basilico (2003), and numerous others, the direct object in an antipassive receives an indefinite, nonspecific, narrow scope interpretation, and absolutive case appears on the external argument instead of the object. The external argument is also the DP which is eligible for A’-extraction.

In this way, limiting the appearance of an EPP feature to transitive \textit{v} automatically establishes the correlation between \textit{–in-} and \textit{–um-} verbal marking and the information status of the direct object. The interpretation is read off the structure, in the spirit of Diesing (1992), and there is no need to assume that semantic notions like specificity are responsible for driving syntactic operations like case agreement, as Rackowski and Richards propose. In fact, the correlation between specificity of the object and case agreement breaks down in applicative constructions. (17) shows three examples with a benefactive argument. The benefactive argument is packaged as a PP in the transitive

\footnote{Sever ergative analyses has been put forth for Tagalog or other Philippine languages, including Payne (1982), Gerdts (1988), de Guzman (1988), Aldridge (2004), and Liao (2004).}
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clause in (17a) and the antipassive in (17b). (17c) is an applicative construction, in which the benefactive argument is the ANG-marked nominal. Rackowski (2002) and Rackowski and Richards (2005) assume (following Pylkkanen 2002) that applicative heads assign oblique case to their arguments. The applicative affix i- for the case agreement analysis, then, is the reflex of agreement with this oblique case.

   -Tr.Perf-buy=1s.Erg Abs book for Dat woman
   ‘I bought the book for the woman.’

   b. B-um-ili=ako ng libro para sa babae.
   -Intr.Perf-buy =1s.Abs Obl book for Dat woman
   ‘I bought a book for the woman.’

   c. I-b-in-ili=ko [AppIP ang babae [VP tv ng libro]]
   App-Tr.Perf-buy=1s.Erg Abs woman Obl book
   ‘I bought the woman a book.’

The question at this point is the ungrammaticality of the examples in (21). Since, by the assumptions of the case agreement analysis, the applied argument is case-licensed by the applicative head, it should be able to appear as a DP, even when it does not trigger agreement on the verb. However, this is not the case. When an applied argument is packaged as a DP, it must be the ANG-marked argument. Under the case agreement approach, this means that applied objects must always undergo ‘specificity’ shift, regardless of their information status.

   -Tr.Perf-buy=1s.Erg Abs book Obl woman
   ‘I bought the book for a woman.’

   b. *B-um-ili=ako ng libro ng babae.
   -Intr.Perf-buy =1s.Abs Obl book Obl woman
   ‘I bought a book for a woman.’

Rackowski and Richards note that this is a potential problem for their analysis, but they do not offer a serious treatment of it. They merely concede that applied objects are required to undergo object shift and agree with the verb. This stipulation, however, not only contradicts their claim that object specificity is the mechanism which feeds case agreement.

Under the ergative approach, the contrast between (17a, b) and (18a, b) is accounted for straightforwardly. Although I adopt the structural aspect of Pylkkanen’s proposal that applicatives are functional heads which select the applied object and project an AppIP,
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there is no reason to assume that the Appl head assigns case to this object\(^7\). Under the proposal put forth in this section, the applied object checks absolutive case with transitive \(v\). It is also attracted to the \(vP\) phase edge by the EPP feature on this \(v\). This accounts for the ungrammatical examples in (18). In (18a), the applied object is merged higher than the theme, so the applied object will be the one to be case-marked by transitive \(v\), while the theme receives inherent case from the lexical verb. Intransitive \(v\) in (18b) has no case feature, so the applied object is not case-licensed.

The distribution of case and agreement in Tagalog observed in section 3 is accounted for in the following way. The number feature on \(T\) copies the agreement features of a plural subject. The number and case features on \(T\) are bundled together so that agreement takes place only with a DP that \(T\) assigns case to, i.e. in –\(um/-mag\) intransitive clauses but not –\(in\)-transitive clauses.

Concerning the ECM facts, the feature bundle on \(v\) includes a case feature only when it is transitive. This accounts for ANG-marking on internal argument DPs in –\(in\)-clauses (ANG marks the structural absolutive case assigned by transitive \(v\)). In intransitive clauses, the ANG case is supplied by \(T\). By standard assumptions, nonfinite \(T\) is defective and does not have a case feature. Therefore, an embedded subject must rely on matrix \(v\) for exceptional case marking. This is only possible when matrix \(v\) is transitive, as in (11b), but not when it is intransitive, as in (12b).

5. Structural Versus Inherent Case

This section presents additional evidence against the case agreement analysis and in favor of the proposal in section 4. Specifically, I show that structural case is available for an object only in transitive –\(in/-in\) clauses, while objects in –\(um/-mag\)-clauses are dependent on inherent case from the lexical verb.

(19) shows the verb gamit ‘use’ with –\(in\)-marking and with –\(um\)-marking. For the case agreement analysis, –\(in\) in (19a) marks accusative agreement with the object lalaki ‘man’; –\(um\) in (19b) is nominative agreement with the subject siya ‘he/she’. Both clauses are assumed to be transitive, with nominative case assigned by \(T\) to the subject and accusative provided by \(v\) to the object. Under the transitivity analysis, lalaki receives absolutive case from transitive \(v\) in (19a), while the object is given inherent oblique case in (19b).

\[(19)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
a. & \text{Gina-gamit=niya} & \text{ang} & \text{lalaki.} \\
& \text{Tr.Prog-use=3s.Erg} & \text{Abs} & \text{man} \\
& \text{‘He/she uses the man.’} \\
b. & \text{Guma-gamit=siya} & \text{ng} & \text{lalaki.} \\
& \text{Intr.Prog-use=3s.Abs} & \text{Obl} & \text{man} \\
& \text{‘He/she uses a man.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^7\) Pylkkanen (2002) also does not offer strong argumentation that Appl assigns case.
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I next show that *–in*, but not *–um*, verbs are possible when the complement of *gamit* is not a DP but a small clause. The verbs in (20) take *–in* perfective marking. Under the current proposal, these verbs are transitive: *v* assigns case to the small clause subject, which is marked by ANG. Under the case agreement analysis, *v* assigns accusative case to the small clause subject in each example and then agrees with this same case feature.

(20) a. Gina-gamit=niya [ang lalaki-ng alipin].
    Tr.Prog-use=3s.Erg Abs man-Lk slave
    ‘He/she uses the man as a slave.’

b. Tina-tawag=niya [ako-ng rebelde].
   Tr.Prog-call=3s.Erg 1s.Abs-Lk rebel
   ‘He/she calls me a rebel.’

In contrast to this, a small clause is not possible as complement of an *–um* verb. Under the case agreement analysis, there should be no substantive difference between (20) and (21): structural case would be available from *v* for the ANG or NG-marked DP. Only the agreement is different.

The current proposal, however, accounts for the asymmetry straightforwardly. *–um* shows that the verbs in (21) are intransitive. *v* therefore has no structural case feature to assign to the small clause subject. The question at this point is whether inherent case is available from the lexical verb in (21), as it is in (19). Under Hoekstra’s (1988, 1992) analysis of small clauses, in which the embedded subject is a constituent of the small clause and not selected by the lexical verb, inherent case is not available. The ungrammaticality of the examples in (21) is accounted for by the Case Filter.

(21) a. *Guma-gamit=siya [ng lalaki-ng alipin].
    Intr.Prog-use=3s.Abs Obl man-Lk slave
    ‘He/she uses the man as a slave.’

b. *Tuma-tawag=siya [sa akin-g rebelde].
    Intr.Prog-call=3s.Abs Obl 1s-Lk rebel
    ‘He/she calls me a rebel.’

Whether Hoekstra’s structural analysis is accepted or not, the contrast between (19) and (21) clearly show that *–in* and *–um* verbs do not have equal ability to license VP-internal DPs.

A similar situation is revealed by causative constructions. When *–in* transitive marking appears on the verb, structural case is available for the causee, as in (22a). However, when intransitive *m* appears on the verb, the causee can only take dative marking, as in (22b). NG-marking is not possible, as shown in (22c). This is accounted for straightforwardly under the ergative analysis, since *v* in (22b) and (22c) is
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intransitive, and structural case is not available for the causee. Furthermore, NG would only be available for a theme or patient selected by a lexical verb. As an external argument merged in a specifier of \(v\), a causee can only be given a prepositional case, like dative, if structural case is not available\(^8\).

\begin{align*}
(22) & \quad \text{a. Pag-da-dalh-in=ko} \quad [vP \text{ ang katulong ng pagkain}] \\
& \quad \text{Caus-Fut-bring-Tr=1s.Erg Abs maid Obl food} \\
& \quad \text{‘I will have the maid bring some food.’} \\
\text{b. Mag-pa-pa-dala=ako} \quad [vP \text{ sa katulong ng pagkain}] \\
& \quad \text{Intr-Fut-Caus-bring=1s.Abs Dat maid Obl food} \\
& \quad \text{‘I will have the maid bring some food.’} \\
\text{c. *Mag-pa-pa-dala=ako} \quad [vP \text{ ng katulong ng pagkain}] \\
& \quad \text{Intr-Fut-Caus-bring=1s.Abs Obl maid Obl food} \\
& \quad \text{‘I will have the maid bring some food.’}
\end{align*}

There are two problems posed by (22) for the case agreement analysis. One is the fact that NG-marking is not possible on the causee, since the same structural case should be available in both (22a) and (22c), with the sole difference being the case agreement. The other problem is the fact that it is dative case which is assigned to the causee when it is not the ANG DP. This leads us to believe that when a causee does agree with the verb, then the applicative –\(an\) (which Rackowski and Richards claim is the reflex of dative case agreement) should appear on the verb. Instead, it is –\(in\)-accusative agreement, for which there is no basis in the case agreement analysis.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I have argued against the case agreement analysis of Tagalog ANG-marking and extraction based on case agreement. I have presented an alternative analysis which treats verbal markers –\(in\)- and –\(um\)- as markers of transitivity. The transitivity analysis provides a straightforward account of the distribution of structural case and \(\phi\)-feature agreement in Tagalog. The dichotomy between transitive and intransitive \(v\) also accounts for the extraction asymmetry, by limiting the appearance of an EPP feature to transitive (but not intransitive) \(v\).

The analysis of Tagalog syntax which I have presented yields an ergative view of this language, which is a welcome result, both empirically as well as theoretically. I have noted in section 4 the parallel behavior between Tagalog and well-known ergative languages in terms of case-marking, the absolutive extraction restriction, and the

\(^8\) This fact fits precisely with Woolford’s (2006) division of inherent case into two types. Case assigned by a lexical verb to its complement theme or patient is called ‘lexical’ case. In Tagalog this is NG-marking on a direct object. Woolford distinguishes lexical case from inherent case assigned to a specifier of \(v\). The latter includes the case of ergative subjects and dative goals. The contrast between (22b) and (22c) also supports the analysis in which dative inherent case is assigned to a specifier of \(v\).
characteristics of antipassive constructions. I have also pointed out that the theoretical mechanisms which I propose therein place Tagalog within a broader Generative analysis of ergativity currently being developed for Australian, Eskimo, and other Austronesian languages.

References
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