

# Tagalog *tough* movement is easy\*

Susi Wurmbrand  
University of Vienna

## SUMMARY

In *Three ways to get tough* Lisa Travis (and co-authors) propose a very interesting typology of tough-movement, comparing Spanish, Japanese and Tagalog. The main conclusion about Tagalog is that it involves A'-movement of the embedded object to the matrix clause. In this squib, I compare object movement in *tough*-constructions with movement from raising and control infinitives and show that the former is less restricted than the latter. Building on the Travis-style movement analysis, I propose a direction for deriving the differences.

## RÉSUMÉ

Dans *Three ways to get tough*, Lisa Travis (et ses coauteurs) proposent une typologie très intéressante du mouvement *tough*, comparant l'espagnol, le japonais et le tagalog. La conclusion principale concernant le tagalog est qu'il implique le mouvement A' de l'objet subordonné vers la proposition matricielle. Dans cet article, je compare le mouvement d'objet dans les constructions *tough* avec le mouvement des infinitifs à montée et à contrôle et montre que ce premier est moins restreint que ce dernier. Élaborant l'analyse de mouvement de style Travis, je propose une direction pour obtenir les différences.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

In *Three ways to get tough* Lisa Travis (and co-authors) compare *tough*-constructions in Spanish, Japanese, and Tagalog. They suggest that while in Spanish (and English), the DP occurring in the matrix clause (*Juan* in (1a)) is inserted in the matrix subject position, it is not a subject in Tagalog and Japanese. Instead it is argued that *this book* in (1b) is inserted in a matrix focus position in Japanese and it is A'-moved to a topic position in Tagalog in (1c).<sup>1</sup>

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\* Thanks to Lisa Travis for her exciting research on Germanic and Austronesian and for being a role-model linguist who has influenced my linguistic life in more ways than can be said here.

<sup>1</sup> In general in this squib, the notion 'subject' refers to the thematic subject, i.e., the agent argument, or the subject position Spec,TP (I do not refer to the privileged argument, see below, as a subject).

- (1) a. **Juan** es fácil de convencer. Spanish  
 Juan is easy DE convince  
 ‘Juan is easy to convince.’ [Montalbetti et al. 1982: 2, (3)]
- b. **kono hon-ga** (John-ni (totte)) yomi-yasu-i. Japanese  
 this book-NOM (John-for (for)) read-easy-PRES  
 ‘The book is easy (for John) to read.’ [Montalbetti et al. 1982: 12, (44b)]
- c. madali **ang libro** para sa batan ng basahin. Tagalog  
 easy TOP book for OBL child LNK read.OV  
 ‘The book is easy for the child to read.’ [Montalbetti et al. 1982: 9, (32)]

In this squib I will concentrate on Tagalog and present a puzzle for the movement analysis. I then suggest a direction for how the puzzle can be solved by maintaining the insights of a Travis-style movement analysis.

## 2 MOVEMENT IN RAISING AND CONTROL

### RAISING

The configurations in (2) involve matrix predicates that do not assign a subject theta-role (thematic subjects, i.e., agent arguments, are set in bold-face throughout the squib). Instead the DPs in the matrix clause have been assumed to originate in the embedded clause from which they are (optionally) raised to the matrix clause. I thus refer to these configurations as raising infinitives (for the notation see below and fn. 1).

- (2) a. Dapat **si Miguel** na magbasa ng diyario.  
 should **PRIV Miguel** C/L read.AV NON.PRIV newspaper  
 ‘Miguel should read a/the newspaper.’ [Kroeger 1993: 174, (16a)]
- b. Nagmumukha **ang bata** ng kumain ng mangga.  
 appear.AV **PRIV child** C/L eat.AV NON.PRIV mango  
 ‘The child appeared to eat a mango.’ [Nakamura 2000: 392, (2b)]

Evidence for movement comes, among others, from a well-known restriction on movement in Tagalog: only the “privileged” argument can undergo movement. Like in other Austronesian languages, the verb agrees with one of its arguments, and this agreement is indicated by a particular affix on the verb, as well as a special form on the privileged argument, which I will notate as PRIV here. In (3a), for instance, the privileged argument is the agent argument, and this special relation is indicated in two ways: the infix *-um-* on the verb, and the nominal marker *ang* (or *si* in case of proper names) on the privileged argument (non-privileged arguments appear with *ng* or *ni*). The terminology used in the literature regarding this phenomenon is diverse, and so are the grammatical functions associated with this marking. The privileged argument has been considered a grammatical subject, topic, pivot, or focus, and I will not take any position on its

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Abbreviations: ASP(ect), A(ctor) V(oice), C/L — complementizer or linker (status unclear), D(ative) V(oice), LNK — linker, NON.PRIV(ileged), O(bjective) V(oice), PRIV(ileged), SCR(ambling). All other abbreviations follow the Leibniz Glossing Rules.

status in this squib. The marking on the verb is given here in the traditional voice terminology: actor voice [AV] (PRIV is the agent argument), object(ive) voice [OV] (PRIV is the theme argument), dative/locative voice [DV] (PRIV is the goal argument), and benefactive voice [BV] (PRIV is a benefactive or oblique argument).

- (3) a. B<um>ili **ang bata** ng tela sa palengke para sa nanay  
 <AV.ASP>buy **PRIV child** NON.PRIV cloth OBL market for OBL Mother  
 ‘The child bought cloth at the market for Mother.’  
 [Rackowski and Richards 2005:566, (1)]
- b. B<in>ili-Ø **ng bata** ang tela sa palengke para sa nanay  
 <ASP>buy-OV **NON.PRIV child** PRIV cloth OBL market for OBL Mother  
 ‘The child bought the cloth at the market for Mother.’
- c. B<in>ilh-an **ng bata** ng tela ang palengke para sa nanay  
 <ASP>buy-DV **NON.PRIV child** NON.PRIV cloth PRIV market for OBL Mother  
 ‘The child bought (the) cloth at the market for Mother.’
- d. I-b<in>ili **ng bata** ng tela sa palengke ang nanay  
 BV-<ASP>buy **NON.PRIV child** NON.PRIV cloth OBL market PRIV Mother  
 ‘The child bought (the) cloth at the market for Mother.’

The movement restriction is illustrated in (4). In Tagalog, (argument) questions occur in the form of pseudo-clefts where the questioned item is predicated of a headless relative clause, which itself functions as the privileged argument of the cleft (see Kroeger 1993, Richards 1996, among many others). Only the privileged argument can undergo extraction (the PRIV marker related to the question pseudo-cleft is glossed as ANG to keep the two PRIV functions separate). In (4a), the dative argument is the privileged argument, and extraction of the dative is possible. If the verb shows oblique or nominative marking, on the other hand, extraction of the dative is impossible (only the theme could be extracted in (4b), and the agent in (4c)).

- (4) a. Sino ang b<in>igy-an **ng lalaki** ng bulaklak?  
 who ANG <ASP>give-DV **NON.PRIV man** NON.PRIV flower  
 ‘Who did the man give the flower to?’ [Rackowski and Richards 2005:566]
- b. \*Sino ang i-b<in>igay **ng lalaki** ang bulaklak?  
 who ANG BV-<ASP>give **NON.PRIV man** PRIV flower
- c. \*Sino ang n-agbigay **ang lalaki** ng bulaklak?  
 who ANG AV.ASP-give **PRIV man** NON.PRIV flower

Returning to subject raising constructions, we find here too that the subject must be the privileged argument in the embedded clause in order to be accessible for raising (but see below for a difference). As shown in (5), if the embedded verb is marked to privilege the embedded object rather than the subject, movement of the (now NON.PRIV) subject is excluded—NON.PRIV arguments cannot move and there can only be one PRIV-marked argument per clause.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> There seems to be some variation regarding the occurrence of NON.PRIV arguments in the matrix clause (see Miller 1988). I assume that for constructions/speakers where this is possible, the sentences do not involve a raising but a

- (5) a. \*Dapat **si/ni Miguel** na basahin ang diyario.  
 should **PRIV/NON.PRIV Miguel** C/L read.OV PRIV newspaper  
 ‘Miguel should read the newspaper.’ [Kroeger 1993: 171, (7)]
- b. ??Puwede/??Maaari **si Miguel** na basahin ang diyario.  
 can/can **PRIV Miguel** C/L read.OV PRIV newspaper  
 ‘Miguel can read the newspaper.’ [Kroeger 1993: 171, (7)]

Tagalog also allows subjects to remain in the embedded clause, as shown in (6), in which case the subject can but does not have to be the privileged argument.

- (6) a. Dapat na babasahin **ni Pedro** iyong liham.  
 should C/L FUT.read.OV **NON.PRIV Pedro** that.PRIV letter  
 ‘Pedro should read that letter.’ [Kroeger 1993: 169, (2a)]
- b. Nagmumukha ng kumain **ang bata** ng mangga.  
 appear.AV C/L eat.AV **PRIV child** NON.PRIV mango  
 ‘The child appeared to eat a mango.’ [Nakamura 2000: 392, (2a)]

Importantly, when the subject does not raise to the matrix clause, movement of a full DP object, even if privileged, is restricted (see Kroeger 1993 for speaker and context variation).<sup>3</sup> As shown in (7), the embedded verb privileges the object, yet movement of the PRIV-marked object is impossible from a raising infinitive. Movement of both the object and subject is excluded as well, however, this would be expected since only one argument can be privileged.

- (7) a. \*Dapat/\*Maaari/\*Puwede ang diyario na basahin **ni Miguel**.  
 should/can/can PRIV newspaper C/L read.ov **NON.PRIV Miguel**  
 ‘The newspaper should/can be read by Miguel.’ [Kroeger 1993: 174, (16a-c)]
- b. \*Dapat/?Maaari si Manuel na dakpin **ng polis**.  
 ought/can PRIV Manuel C/L arrest.OV **NON.PRIV police**  
 ‘Manuel should/can be arrested by the police.’ [Kroeger 1993: 177, (22a-b)]

Comparing the structure of *tough*-constructions with the structure of raising constructions with a low subject, we can now see the puzzle, schematized in (8): while movement of a (privileged) object out of an infinitive with an embedded subject (PRO in case of *tough* infinitives) is possible in the *tough*-configuration, it is not possible in the raising configuration.

- (8) a. [ ... V.TOUGH OBJ.PRIV [INF V.EMBEDDED t.OBJ SUBJECT (PRO) ] ]  
 b. \*[ ... V.RAISING OBJ.PRIV [INF V.EMBEDDED t.OBJ SUBJECT (DP) ] ]

In the next section, we will look at control contexts and see that these configurations also display a difference from *tough*-constructions.

control configuration (see section 0).

<sup>3</sup> The situation is different for clitics (see Kroeger 1993). I have to set this difference aside here (see Wurmbrand 2013).

**CONTROL**

Configurations in which the matrix predicate assigns a theta-role to the subject, which is co-referent with the embedded subject, are referred to here as control configurations, independently of whether the thematic dependency is derived via control (e.g., of an embedded PRO subject) or by different means. Like raising infinitives, control constructions also come in two forms in Tagalog—a high subject construction as in (9a), parallel to English control infinitives, and a low subject construction as in (9b).

- (9) a. Kaya **ni Manuel** na bumili ng bagong kotse.  
 able **NON.PRIV Manuel** C/L buy.AV NON.PRIV new car  
 ‘Manuel is able to buy a new car.’ [Kroeger 1993: 182, (29a)]
- b. Kaya ng bumili **si Manuel** ng bagong kotse.  
 able C/L buy.AV **PRIV Manuel** NON.PRIV new car  
 ‘Manuel is able to buy a new car.’ [Kroeger 1993: 182, (29b)]

As shown in (9a), the configuration differs from the raising structure given above in that the matrix argument does not have to be the privileged argument, and it may even be possible if the embedded verb marks the embedded object as the privileged argument as in (10). This makes movement of the subject unlikely in these cases, and instead suggests a true control configuration where the subject is base-generated in the matrix clause and associated with an embedded PRO/*pro*. This is further supported by the possibility of an overt pronoun as in (10b).

- (10) a. Hindi kaya **ni Pedro** na utusan siya.  
 not able **DET Pedro** C/L order.DV 3.SG.PRIV  
 ‘Pedro cannot order her around.’ [T. Silao, p.c.]
- b. Pinilit **ni Juan** ng kinain *pro*/niya ang dalawang mangga.  
 try **NON.PRIV Juan** C/L eat.OV *pro*/3.SG.NON.PRIV PRIV two mango  
 ‘Juan tried to eat the two mangoes.’ [Miller 1988: 233, (16)]

Interestingly, both control configurations disallow movement of the embedded (privileged) object as shown in (11).

- (11) a. \*Kaya **ni Maria** ang kotse ko ng bilhin.  
 able **NON.PRIV Maria** PRIV car my C/L buy.ov  
 ‘Maria is able to buy my car.’ [Kroeger 1993: 183, (33b)]
- b. \*Hindi kaya si Maria ng utusan **ni Pedro**.  
 not able PRIV Maria C/L order.DV **NON.PRIV Pedro**  
 ‘Pedro cannot order Maria around.’ [Kroeger 1993: 184, (34)]

This leads us to the summary in (12) and the following question: why is movement of an object possible in the *tough*-construction, (12a), but not in the raising and control constructions, (12b-d)? The assumption in Montalbetti et al. (1982) that the *tough*-construction involves A'-movement explains why movement across an embedded PRO subject is possible, which is a desired consequence. However, something else then needs to be said about why the same A'-movement

is not possible in control and raising constructions.

- (12) a. [ ... V.TOUGH OBJ.PRIV [INF V t.OBJ PRO<sub>ARB/pro</sub> ] ]  
 b. \*[ ... V.RAISING OBJ.PRIV [INF V t.OBJ DP.SBJ ] ]  
 c. \*[ ... V.CONTROL OBJ.PRIV [INF V t.OBJ DP.SBJ ] ]  
 d. \*[ ... V.CONTROL DP.SBJ OBJ.PRIV [INF V t.OBJ PRO/t.SBJ ] ]

### 3 TOWARDS AN ACCOUNT

In Wurmbrand (2013), I propose a technically rather complex account of the distribution of control and raising infinitives. While the details of that analysis may not be anything to write home about, the basic idea can be extended to a Travis-style movement analysis of *tough*-constructions and derive the difference in (12). There are three main ingredients of the former analysis: a dependency between embedded subjects (whether controlled PRO or full DPs) and (some element in) the matrix predicate, a phase approach to infinitives, and a competition effect at the edge of the infinitive. I will continue to assume the first two ingredients but replace the third ingredient (including accompanying assumptions) with a featural approach to the A/A'-distinction. The first assumption is that embedded subjects in an infinitive need to enter an A-dependency with the matrix subject (control) or a functional head in the matrix clause (raising) as in (13).

- (13) a. [ ... V DP.SBJ [INF V PRO ] ]  
 b. [ ... V T [INF V DP.SBJ ] ]
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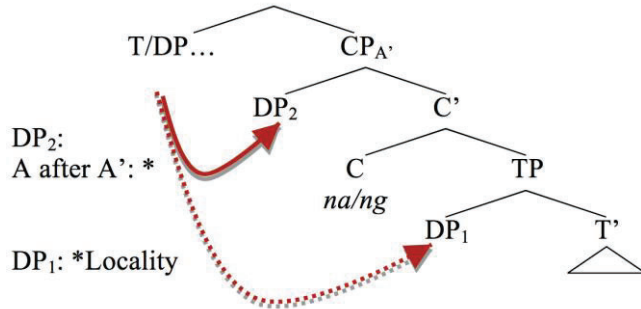
This dependency is subject to locality: it cannot be established across phase boundaries, except with the edge of the phase as in (14a,b). Furthermore, the dependency is an A-dependency, involving thematic properties, Case, and/or agreement. Thus, it cannot be established with a DP in an A'-position as in (14c), but is only possible when the top projection of the infinitive qualifies as an A-position, (14d).

- (14) a. [ ... V T/DP.SBJ [INF=PHASE [XP V PRO/DP.SBJ ] ] ]  
 b. [ ... V T/DP.SBJ [INF=PHASE PRO/DP.SBJ [XP V t.SBJ ] ] ]  
 c. [ ... V T/DP.SBJ [A'-DOMAIN PRO/DP.SBJ [XP V t.SBJ ] ] ]  
 d. [ ... V T/DP.SBJ [A-DOMAIN PRO/DP.SBJ [XP V t.SBJ ] ] ]

At this point we need to be more specific about the top domain of infinitives. Following Mercado (2003), I assume that it is a CP and that CPs are phases. This immediately raises the question of how A-relations can be established across an infinitive, given that CPs are typically A'-domains. As illustrated in (15a), if the subject remains inside the TP (DP<sub>1</sub>), locality prevents a dependency

with elements in the matrix clause. If, on the other hand, the subject moves to Spec,CP, DP<sub>2</sub>, further A-dependencies are excluded by the *Improper A-after-A'* condition in (15b), if Spec,CP is an A'-position.

(15) a.



b. *Improper A-after-A'*: If an element enters into both A and A'-relations (movement, Agree), the A-relation has to precede the A'-relation.

The status of CP as uniquely an A'-domain has, however, recently been questioned. Based on the distribution of A- and A'-movement in Dinka, van Urk (2015) suggests a featural view of the A/A'-distinction according to which A/A' differences derive from the features involved in the dependencies—operator features lead to A'-positions, whereas  $\phi$ -features lead to A-positions. Importantly, this approach predicts that there are also mixed positions. If a head has both operator and  $\phi$ -features, an element attracted by both of these features ends up in a mixed A/A'-position (or movement has both A- and A'-properties). In Wurmbrand (2017), this view is extended to languages allowing ECM, raising, or agreement across finite clause boundaries. Specifically, it is suggested that in these configurations (but not in plain topic movement), the DP in Spec,CP and C enter into an A-dependency as in (16), and cross-clausal A-phenomena are thus not hindered by CPs, exactly because Spec,CP qualifies as an A-position in these constructions.

(16) [ ... V T/DP.SBJ [CP PRO/DP.SBJ C:  $\phi$  [TP V ... ]]]  
└─── A ───┘  
└─── A ───┘

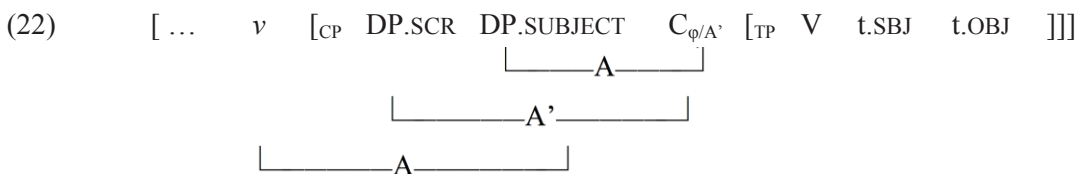
Equipped with these assumptions, let us now turn to the basic control and raising derivations. In the low-subject raising context in (6a), repeated in (17), the embedded subject moves covertly to the embedded Spec,CP where it enters an A-relation with C, turning Spec,CP into an A-position. The embedded subject can then Agree with the matrix T (or undergo further covert A-movement). I follow Mercado (2003) who argues that (certain) infinitival Ts are underspecified and hence not strong enough to license a subject which must therefore look to the matrix clause for a licenser. Since in the low subject construction the subject does not have to be the privileged argument, covert movement to Spec,CP must be exempt from the restriction that only PRIV-marked elements can undergo movement.



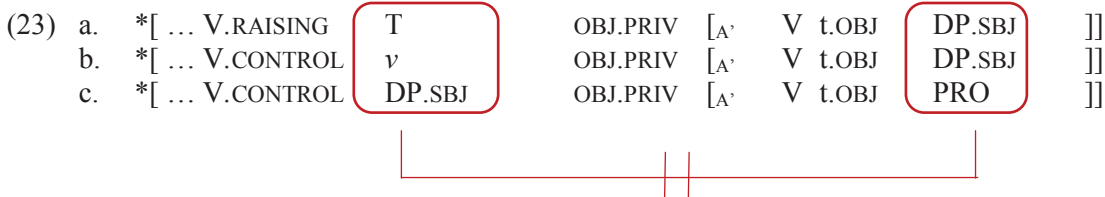




This is exactly as expected under the adaptation of van Urk (2015)'s approach I have made here. As shown in (22), first the subject undergoes A-movement to Spec,CP entering a  $\phi$ -Agree relation with C. The position of the subject hence qualifies as an A-position. The next step is scrambling which is a pure A'-dependency with finite C, and the landing site of scrambling is hence an A'-position. Since the *Improper A-after-A'* restriction, like van Urk's definition of A/A'-positions, is not deterministic for projections or positions but relative to syntactic operations, the subject in Spec,CP can enter further A-dependencies, despite having an A'-position on top of it. The scrambled XP, on the other hand, can only undergo further A'-phenomena, exactly as required for (20b).



Returning to Tagalog, the problem with the illicit cases in (12b-d), updated in (23), is thus not movement of the object, which following Montalbetti et al. (1982) is A'-movement and hence can cross both A and A'-CPs. The problem is that this movement leaves no room for further A-relations between elements in the matrix clause and the embedded subject. If the embedded subjects do not move to Spec,CP, they are too far away from the matrix clause to be licensed. Movement to Spec,CP, on the other hand, which would bring the subject close enough to the matrix clause, cannot be A-movement due to the *Improper A-after-A'* restriction. Thus on either derivation, the embedded subjects end up unlicensed.



This leaves us with one final question—how is the embedded subject licensed in the *tough* construction? As indicated in (24), *tough* complements do not involve a control relation, but the subject is either an arbitrary PRO or *pro* which receives its reference contextually and does not require a dependency with a matrix argument. Since in contrast to raising and control, no A-relation is required between the embedded subject and the matrix clause, A'-movement of the object which creates an embedded A'-CP is not a problem.



#### 4 CONCLUSION

In this squib, I have provided further support for an A'-movement analysis in Tagalog *tough*-constructions. While objects can undergo A'-movement out of *tough*-infinitives, this appears to be impossible in raising and control contexts. I have shown, however, that the problem is not movement of the object but the licensing of embedded subjects, which cannot be achieved when

the embedded clause is an A'-domain due to prior topic movement. Many questions remain and I hope that Lisa will pick up some of them in her further work.

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