

Transparency is not less structure:
A look at Tagalog Restructuring

Raphael Mercado

In this paper, I examine Verb Raising and Restructuring in Tagalog. I present evidence that shows that Tagalog Restructuring embedded clauses contain a CP, a TP, a ν P and a PRO, contra Wurmbrand's (1998a/b, 2001) Bare-VP analysis for German Restructuring. Following Roberts' (1997) T^o-raising approach, I claim that Verb Raising creates transparency across clauses, thus rendering the matrix clause accessible to movement of elements from within the embedded clause. I propose that Verb Raising fulfills the requirement that all verbs in Tagalog be associated with a finite T^o.

1. Introduction

In this paper, I look at Verb Raising in Tagalog (Austronesian; Philippines). In this phenomenon, the embedded verb raises to C^o, and then pied-pipes the complementiser as it raises to the matrix clause. Once there, the complementiser – embedded verb complex incorporates into the matrix verb.¹

- (1) a. [Sinubukan] ni Maria [CP -ng² [TP kumain ng pansit]].
try.DAT.PERF. NOM Maria COMP eat.NOM.NF. ACC noodles
'Maria tried to eat some noodles.'
b. [Sinubukan [-ng [kumain]_V]_C] ni Maria [CP t_C [TP t_V ng pansit]].

¹ Unless otherwise indicated, the Tagalog data in this paper are mine—I am a native speaker—and have been checked with consultants. I use these abbreviations in the glosses: 1=first person, 3=third person, ACC=accusative case, COMP=complementiser, CONT=contemplated aspect, CL=clitic, DAT=dative case, DEC-COMP=declarative complementiser, IMPF=imperfective aspect, INT-COMP=interrogative complementiser, NF=non-finite, NOM=nominative case, OBL=oblique case, PERF=perfective aspect, PLT=Philippine linguistics topic, SG=singular.

² This complementiser—Tagalog has others, see section 3.1—has two forms: *na* and *-ng*. *Na* is the full form, while *-ng* is the allomorph that appears when the preceding word ends in a vowel or an /n/. There is a third allomorph, \emptyset , which optionally appears when the preceding word ends in a consonant that is not /n/. (This third allomorph is optional in that the full form can appear in the same context). (Richards 1999b, Schachter and Otnes 1972).

Compare (1a) on the previous page, where there is no Verb Raising, to (1b), where the embedded verb has raised to the matrix verb position. There is no change in meaning.

Verb Raising occurs only when the embedded verb is non-finite. So, while (2a) below is fine, the sentence with Verb Raising in (2b) is ungrammatical.

- (2) a. [Nagulat] si Isabel [CP na [TP kumakain
surprise.NOM.PERF. PLT Isabel COMP eat.NOM.IMPF.
si Lito ng pansit]].
PLT Lito ACC noodles
'Isabel is surprised that Lito is eating noodles.'
- b. * [Nagulat [na [kumakain]_v]C] si Isabel [CP t_C [TP t_V si Lito ng pansit]].

Note that the embedded verb in (2), *kumakain* 'is eating', is finite and is marked for the imperfective aspect, while the embedded verb in (1), *kumain* 'to eat', is in non-finite form.

Verb Raising is a necessary condition for Restructuring and is a trigger for four different phenomena which all occur across clausal boundaries. These phenomena are Clitic Climbing, Long Distance Focalisation, Long Distance Object Shift, and Interclausal Scrambling. None of these four phenomena can occur when the embedded verb is finite.

(3) Clitic Climbing.

Gusto siya_{CL} [-ng [pakainin]_v]C ni Maria [t_C [t_V t_{CL}]].
want 3SG.PLT.CL. COMP feed.ACC.NF. NOM Maria
'Maria wants to feed him.'

(4) Long Distance Focalisation.

[SA KUSINA]_F gusto [-ng [sumayaw]_v]C ni Juan
OBL kitchen want COMP dance.NOM.NF. NOM Juan
[t_C [t_V si Diego t_F]].
PLT Diego
'It is in the kitchen that Juan wants Diego to dance.'

(5) Long Distance Object Shift.³

Nagbalak [na [dalawin]_v]C ni Juan [t_C [t_V si Maria
plan.NOM.PERF. COMP visit.ACC.NF. NOM Juan PLT Maria
sa bahay]].
OBL house
'Juan planned on visiting Maria at home.'

³ Compare the sentence in (5) to the sentence below in (i), where Long Distance Object Shift and observable Verb Raising do not occur. Note that *Juan* bears a different case marker in each sentence. In (5), this case marker is *ni*, while in (i), it is *si*.

(i) Nagbalak si Juan [-ng [dalawin] si Maria sa bahay]].
plan.NOM.PERF. PLT Juan COMP visit.ACC.NF. PLT Maria OBL house
'Juan planned on visiting Maria at home.'

(6) Interclausal Scrambling.

- | | | | | | |
|----|---|-----------------------------|--------------|-----------|----------------|
| a. | Nag-atubili | [-ng magbigay] _i | si | Maria | t _i |
| | hesitate.NOM.PERF. | COMP | give.NOM.NF. | PLT | Maria |
| | ng | pera | sa | bata. | |
| | ACC | money | OBL | child | |
| | 'Maria hesitated to give money to the child.' | | | | |
| b. | | si Maria | sa bata | ng pera. | |
| c. | | ng pera | si Maria | sa bata. | |
| d. | Nag-atubiling magbigay | ng pera | sa bata | si Maria. | |
| e. | | sa bata | si Maria | ng pera. | |
| f. | | sa bata | ng pera | si Maria. | |

So, what is Restructuring? It is defined by Kroeger (1993:181), who works on Tagalog Restructuring in an LFG framework, as '[licensing] an alternation between biclausal structures and semantically equivalent monoclausal structures which contain two verbs in a kind of complex-predicate relationship.' According to Rizzi (1978:114), Restructuring is a rule that '[transforms] an underlying bisentential structure into a simple sentence, creating a unique verbal complex consisting of the main and the embedded verb.' Roberts (1997:423) considers Restructuring to be a phenomenon in which 'processes and dependencies that are normally limited to a single clause [can take] place across clause boundaries.' It is generally agreed that Restructuring sentences are seemingly biclausal sentences that behave monoclausally.

There are two main points of inquiry dealt with in this paper. The first concerns the structure of the embedded clause of a Restructuring sentence. The second relates to how the transparency of the clause boundary comes about.

In the literature, most notably Wurmbrand (1998a/b, 2001), Restructuring embedded clauses are argued to be structurally reduced, lacking certain functional projections that would normally be found in an ordinary embedded clause. Wurmbrand, for instance, claims that, in languages like German, Restructuring embedded clauses are bare VPs selected for by a matrix Restructuring verb.⁴ Therefore, in her analysis, clausal boundaries are transparent in Restructuring contexts because they do not exist.

However, in section 3 of this paper, I present evidence that a Tagalog Restructuring embedded clause contains a CP, a TP, a vP and a PRO, and is not just a bare VP. Adopting Roberts' (1997) T°-raising approach, I propose in section 4 an analysis of Restructuring that takes into account the amount of structure in the embedded clause, but still allows for the transparency effects exemplified in (3) to (6). I provide in section 5 a motivation for the Verb Raising facts without positing the existence of a special [\pm Restructuring]

⁴ Working on Italian Restructuring, Cinque (to appear) also proposes a Bare-VP analysis. However, unlike Wurmbrand, he contends that so-called Restructuring verbs head functional projections in the extended projection of the infinitival (embedded) verb. According to him, the infinitival verb must be a bare VP because of the functional nature of Restructuring verbs.

I do not discuss the status of Restructuring verbs in this paper.

feature. Crucially, all verbs in Tagalog must associate with a finite T°. If the embedded verb is non-finite, it raises to the matrix clause to associate with the matrix finite T°. In the final section, I conclude. But, before I present my analysis, I show in the following section the basic assumptions that I make regarding Tagalog syntax.

2. Basic assumptions

Following Guilfoyle, Hung and Travis (1992), Kroeger (1993), Maclachlan (1996), Mercado (2002a/b/c), Rackowski (2002b), Richards (1999a), and Schachter and Otnes (1972), among others, I assume that Tagalog is a predicate-initial language.

To account for the language's well-known agreement system, I adopt Rackowski's (2002b) Configurational Case Hypothesis, which states that the verbal morphology (in **underlined bold** in the sentences in (7) below) indicates agreement with the case of the DP (in **bolded italics**) marked by the *ang/si* particle:

(7) a. Nominative.

<u>Binili</u>	<i>si</i>	<i>Diego</i>	ng	saging	sa	palengke
buy.NOM.PERF.	PLT	Diego	ACC	banana	OBL	market
	para	sa	bata.			
	for	OBL	child			

'Diego bought a banana at the market for the child.'

b. Accusative.

Binili- <u>Ø</u>	ni	Diego	<i>ang</i>	<i>saging</i>	sa	palengke
buy.ACC.PERF.	NOM	Diego	PLT	banana	OBL	market
	para	sa	bata.			
	for	OBL	child			

'The banana was bought at the market for the child by Diego.'

c. Dative.

Binil <u>han</u>	ni	Diego	ng	saging	<i>ang</i>	<i>palengke</i>
buy.DAT.PERF.	NOM	Diego	ACC	banana	PLT	market
	para	sa	bata.			
	for	OBL	child			

'The market was bought a banana at for the child by Diego.'

d. Oblique.

<u>Ibinili</u>	ni	Diego	ng	saging	sa	palengke
buy.OBL.PERF.	NOM	Diego	ACC	banana	OBL	market
	<i>ang</i>	<i>bata.</i>				
	PLT	child				

'The child was bought a banana for at the market by Diego.'

I refer to the *ang/si*-marked DP as the Philippine Linguistics Topic (PLT). It receives case at its merge position. I consider it to be the subject of the sentence, because it is the PLT, and not the nominative-marked DP, that

triggers agreement with the verb. The chart in (8) shows some of the different kinds of agreement morphemes.

(8) (adapted from Rackowski 2002b; her (39)).

	Type of Argument	Type of Case	Verbal Morpheme ⁵
a.	External Argument	Nominative	-um-
b.	Complement of Verb	Accusative	-in (-Ø some in contexts)
c.	Low Applicative	Dative	-an
d.	High Applicative	Oblique	i-
e.	Object of Preposition	Acc./Dat./Obl.	-in/-an/i-

According to the chart above, if the PLT is the external argument, it gets nominative case and the verb is marked with the infix *-um-*; see (7a) above. If the PLT is the complement of the verb, it gets accusative case and the verb is marked with the *-in* or *-Ø* suffix (depending on the presence or absence of aspect morphology); see (7b) above. And so on.

In order for a DP to become the PLT, it must be the structurally closest DP to T° in the clause. The external argument is the closest DP to T° by virtue of merging in Spec-*vP*. As for internal arguments, they become the closest DP to T° through Object Shift, as argued for in Rackowski (2002a).^{6,7}

According to Rackowski (2002b), the verb enters into two Agree relationships. The first relationship is established with the PLT, and is spelled out as the verbal morphology shown in (8). The second relationship is with the external argument, and it is for the purposes of nominative case assignment. If the external argument is the PLT, the verb agrees with such a DP twice.

Besides the Configurational Case Hypothesis, I also assume Massam and Smallwood's (1997) Predicative EPP, which is satisfied in two ways: (1) if the predicate is an X°, it moves to T° and checks the [EPP_{PRED}] feature via head-movement (in Tagalog, this occurs in non-copular constructions); and (2) if the predicate is an XP, it moves to Spec-TP and checks the [EPP_{PRED}] feature via Spec-Head agreement (in Tagalog, this occurs in copular constructions).

Spec-TP is thus left empty in non-copular constructions, since it is not necessary for some DP to raise to this position to fulfill EPP requirements. These are satisfied when a predicate raises to the TP domain.

Because it is empty, Spec-TP can be occupied by a focalised phrase that moves to that position for feature-checking purposes, as argued for in

⁵ This is not an exhaustive list of the verbal morphemes that may correspond to these cases.

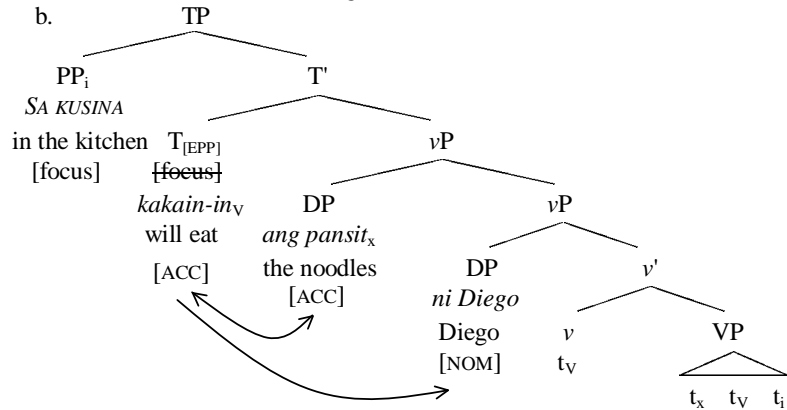
⁶ DPs undergo Object Shift in fulfillment of specificity requirements. If a DP is specific, it must raise out of its base position and move to the edge of Spec-*vP*, above the external argument. If a DP is not specific, it remains in-situ.

⁷ Rackowski (2002a/b) does not address the word-order issues of Tagalog. From the sentences in (7a-d) and (9), the PLT does not necessarily have to be directly to the right of the verb, with no intervening material, as implied by the Object Shift analysis. However, this does not seem to be a big problem in light of the Scrambling facts in the language. Without going into too much detail, all the arguments within a Tagalog clause can scramble with each other, while the verb remains at the left edge. See (6) above for an example of Scrambling in a Restructuring sentence.

Zubizarreta's (1998) Generalised TP Analysis, which I also adopt. According to the Generalised TP Analysis, a [focus] feature parasitically incorporates into T° , thus creating a syncretic projection. (See Alboiu 2000, 2002, and Mercado 2002a: both use this parasitic [focus] in their respective analyses of Romanian and Tagalog focus constructions).

Consider (9). In (9b), the complement of the verb, *ang pansit* 'the noodles', is specific. It raises to the edge of vP . At that position, it establishes an Agree relationship with the verb, *kakainin* 'will eat', which has raised to T° in order to satisfy the $[EPP_{\text{PRED}}]$ feature. This Agree relationship is spelled out as the *-in* suffix on the verb. The verb also enters an Agree relationship with the external argument, *ni Diego*, for nominative case assignment. T° bears a parasitic [focus] feature, which attracts the focus phrase, *sa kusina* 'in the kitchen', to Spec-TP, which is empty up until the point of movement of the focus phrase.

- (9) a. SA KUSINA kakainin ni Diego ang pansit.
 OBL kitchen eat.ACC.CONT. NOM Diego PLT noodles
 'It is in the kitchen that Diego will eat the noodles.'



3. Structure of the embedded clause of a Restructuring sentence

Having laid out my assumptions, I now present my arguments for the presence of full structure in the embedded clause of a Restructuring sentence.

Such an analysis is directly counter to Wurmbrand's (1998a/b, 2001) Bare-VP analysis. She argues that, in languages like German, a Restructuring embedded clause does not contain a CP, TP, vP or PRO. With the Bare-VP analysis, there is no need for stipulations that explain the inactivity of these projections, which Wurmbrand deems to be barriers to transparency effects. Such an analysis also obviates the need for a stipulative $[\pm\text{Restructuring}]$ feature. A Restructuring verb knows that it is a Restructuring verb in so much as it knows that it selects for a VP, instead of a CP, as its complement.

However, the Bare-VP analysis does not work for Tagalog. Evidence from

the language suggests that there indeed is a CP, a TP, a *v*P and a PRO in the embedded clause of a Tagalog Restructuring sentence.

3.1. Evidence for CP

In Tagalog, an overt complementiser marks the boundary between two clauses. Consider (10) and (11), where the complementiser is in *bolded italics*.

- (10) Nag-atubili si Maria ***-ng*** magbigay
 hesitate.NOM.PERF. PLT Maria COMP give.NOM.NF.
 ng pera sa bata.
 ACC money OBL child
 ‘Maria hesitated to give money to the child.’

- (11) Gusto ni Isabel ***na*** sumayaw si Pedro.
 want NOM Isabel COMP dance.NOM.NF. PLT Pedro
 ‘Isabel wants Pedro to dance.’

Verb Raising and all the Restructuring effects occur in the presence of an overt complementiser.

- (12) Nag-atubili [-***ng*** [magbigay]_v]_C si Maria [t_C [t_v
 hesitate.NOM.PERF. COMP give.NOM.NF. PLT Maria
 ng pera sa bata]].
 ACC money OBL child
 ‘Maria hesitated to give money to the child.’
- (13) Gusto siya_i ni Isabel ***na*** sumayaw t_i.
 want 3SG.PLT.CL. NOM Isabel COMP dance.NOM.NF.
 ‘Isabel wants him to dance.’

In (12), the embedded verb has raised to the matrix clause, pied-piping the overt complementiser with it. The sentence in (13) is an example of Clitic Climbing—note the lack of observable Verb Raising—and an overt complementiser is present.⁸

⁸ Following Zwart (2001), I consider in Mercado (2002c) all movement to be feature movement. There are two kinds of features. These are lexical features (LEX-features), and formal features (F-features). Zwart proposes that movement occurs more frequently than standardly assumed. F-features move all the time, but movement becomes observable only when both LEX- and F-features move. With respect to Verb Raising, the lower verb’s F-features always raise to the matrix clause. Verb Raising is only observable when the embedded verb’s LEX-features also raise.

Now, there seem to be two kinds of Tagalog Restructuring effects. Clitic Climbing and Long Distance Focalisation occur with or without observable Verb Raising, while Long Distance Object Shift and Interclausal Scrambling can only occur with observable Verb Raising. Interestingly, apart from the observable vs. unobservable Verb Raising, these two types of Restructuring effects bear other properties. Clitic Climbing and Long Distance Focalisation target the TP projection,

It is logically possible to analyse *na/-ng*, which, thus far, has been glossed as the complementiser, as some sort of verbal element like English infinitival *to*. After all, *na/-ng* seems to always be adjacent to the embedded verb. However, this would result in the wrong analysis. The *ay*-inversion facts from Tagalog show that it is possible to have material intervene between *na/-ng* and the embedded verb.

In the *ay*-inversion construction, an element in the sentence is raised to a position to the left of the predicate. The particle *ay* is found between this raised element and the predicate. The fronted element can be a PLT, an adverbial, a verb complement or an expression introduced by *ni* ‘not even’ or by *ni...ni* ‘neither...nor’ (Schachter and Otanes 1972). Below, in (14), is an example of *ay*-inversion contrasted to its counterpart without *ay*-inversion.

- (14) (adapted from Schachter and Otanes 1972:486).
- a. PLT with *ay*-inversion.
Ang sulat *ay* tinanggap ko kahapon.
 PLT letter AY receive.ACC.PERF. 1SG.NOM.CL. yesterday
 ‘I received the letter yesterday.’
- b. PLT without *ay*-inversion.
 Tinanggap ko ang sulat kahapon.
 receive.ACC.PERF. 1SG.NOM.CL. PLT letter yesterday
 ‘I received the letter yesterday.’

So, what does *ay*-inversion do? What is the fronted element? According to Maclachlan (1996), these *ay*-inversion sentences are some kind of topicalisation construction. Kroeger (1993) says that *ay*-inversion constructions can be instances of topicalisation or of focalisation, depending on the fronted element; fronted PLTs are topics (in the general sense), while fronted non-PLTs are foci.

But, regardless of what this construction does, it is important to note that the embedded clause can undergo *ay*-inversion. Consider the following sentence (note the Long Distance Focalisation):

- (15) [SA KUSINA]_F gusto ni Isabel
 OBL kitchen want NOM Isabel
 [na si Pedro ay *sumayaw* t_F].
 COMP PLT Pedro AY dance.NOM.NF.
 ‘It is in the kitchen that Isabel wants Pedro to dance.’

In the sentence in (15), the complementiser, *na*, and the embedded verb, *sumayaw* ‘to dance’, are separated by the PLT, *si Pedro*, and the particle, *ay*.

while Long Distance Object Shift and Interclausal Scrambling take place at or below vP.

A. Cardinaletti (p.c.) and G. Giusti (p.c.) suggest that these two different kinds of Restructuring effects are two different sets of phenomena altogether. However, I am not ready to make this claim because both sets of effects occur in the same context (i.e. when the embedded verb is non-finite), and also because each set of effects targets different domains.

People have been known to split infinitives, at least in English, but not with topics or foci. This, therefore, demonstrates that *na/-ng* is not some sort of verbal element.

Further evidence regarding the status of *na* comes from its distributional facts. Rizzi (1997, 2002) proposes an expanded CP domain.

(16) (taken from Rizzi 2002; his (57)).

Force° Top° Int° Top° Focus° Top° Mod° Top° Fin° T°

According to him, the CP does two things: look up into the matrix clause and look down into the embedded clause. The element that looks up is Force°. It expresses the sentence type of the embedded clause (declarative, interrogative, exclamative, etc.) and can be selected by something higher.⁹ This is exactly what *na/-ng* does.

Tagalog has more than one kind of complementiser (Richards 1999b, Schachter and Otnes 1972). *Kung*, for example, is an interrogative complementiser. The use of *na/-ng*, which is a declarative complementiser, and of *kung* is determined by the matrix verb.

Consider (17) and (18).

(17) Sinubukan siya_i ni Isabel **na** / * **kung**
 try.DAT.PERF. 3SG.PLT.CL. NOM Isabel DEC-COMP/ INT-COMP
 pakainin t_i ng lugaw.
 feed.ACC.NF. ACC congee
 ‘Isabel tried to feed him some congee.’

(18) Itinanong ni Alejandro **kung** / * **na**
 ask.OBL.PERF. NOM Alejandro INT-COMP / DEC-COMP
 dadating si Diego.
 arrive.NOM.CONT. PLT Diego
 ‘Alejandro asked if Diego was going to come.’

The data indicate that the complementisers are selected by the matrix verb; the wrong complementiser with the wrong verb results in ungrammatical sentences. Note the Clitic Climbing in (17).

Therefore, *na* fits Rizzi’s description of a complementiser in Force°. As shown in the schema in (16), Force° is too far above T° for *na* to be a verbal element; if Kroeger (1993) is correct regarding the functions of *ay*-inversion, within a Rizzian approach, it would be assumed that *ay* merges as the head of either FocusP or one of the TopPs.

I do not adopt Rizzi’s Expanded CP, and, for the purposes of this paper, I refer to the Force° position as C°.

Based on the *ay*-inversion facts and the facts regarding the distribution of *na*, I conclude that *na* is a complementiser in C°.

⁹ I do not discuss the element that looks down, which, according to Rizzi (1997, 2002), is Fin°.

3.2. Evidence for TP

Earlier, I discussed the agreement morphology on the verb. According to Rackowski (2002b), the PLT sits at the edge of vP and enters into an Agree relationship with T° from this position. This Agree relationship is spelled out as the verbal morphology.

This kind of agreement between the verb and the PLT is also found in non-finite contexts:

- (19) a. Gusto ni Juan_x [-ng kainin PRO_x ang pansit].
 want NOM Juan COMP eat.ACC.NF. PLT noodles
 ‘Juan wants to eat the noodles.’
 b. Gusto [-ng [kainin]_v]_C ni Juan_x [t_C t_v PRO_x ang pansit].

In (19a), the suffix *-in* on the verb, *kainin* ‘to eat’, agrees with *ang pansit* ‘the noodles’. Verb Raising can occur even in the presence of such verbal morphology, and, by extension, TP, as seen in (19b). Again, there is no change in meaning. When the morphology changes on the verb, as in (20), the case marker on *pansit* ‘noodles’ changes too.¹⁰ In (19), the case marker on *pansit* is *ang*, while in (20), it is *ng*.

- (20) Gusto [-ng [kumain]_v]_C ni Juan_x [t_C [t_v PRO_x ng pansit]].
 want COMP eat.NOM.NF. NOM Juan ACC noodles
 ‘Juan wants to eat some noodles.’

Thus, assuming that verb-case agreement in non-finite contexts arises in the same way as in finite contexts, the agreement morphology on the non-finite, embedded verb is proof that a TP exists in Restructuring complement clauses.

Other evidence for the existence of TP in Restructuring embedded clauses comes from the focus facts in Tagalog. As mentioned earlier, I assume Massam and Smallwood’s (1997) Predicative EPP as the reason why Spec-TP is not necessarily generated in Tagalog sentences. In this approach, the Predicative EPP is satisfied in two ways. If the predicate is an X°, it will move to T° and check the [EPP_{PRED}] via head-movement. If, on the other hand, the predicate is an XP, it will move to Spec-TP and check the [EPP_{PRED}] via a Spec-Head relationship.

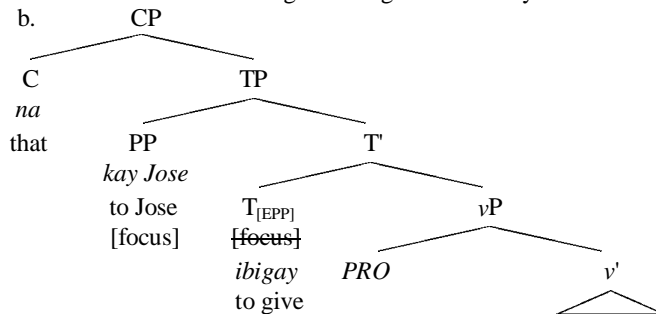
The first situation, where the predicate is an X°, leaves Spec-TP free to be occupied by expressions that are non-subjects. Assuming Zubizarreta’s (1998) Generalised TP Analysis, I have argued in Mercado (2002a) that a [focus] feature can parasitically incorporate into T° and that Spec-TP can act as a

¹⁰ Because I assume Rackowski (2002a/b), I am forced to say that it is the nominative case assigned to PRO that the embedded verb agrees with in (20). However, see Harley (2000), who argues that PRO gets nominative case in finite and in infinitival clauses in Irish. Further research is required to understand the implications of Harley’s analysis of PRO for Tagalog.

landing-site for focus expressions, which check this parasitic feature.

Just as with an *ay*-insertion construction, a focus construction can be embedded underneath the main clause of a sentence. Consider (21) below:

- (21) a. Sinubukan ni Bing_x na [**KAY JOSE**]_i **ibigay**
 try.DAT.PERF.NOM Bing COMP OBL Jose give.OBL.NF.
 PRO_x ang pera t_i.
 PLT money
 ‘It was to Jose that Bing tried to give the money.’



The tree in (21b) shows the structure of the **bolded** elements in the sentence in (21a). *Kay Jose* ‘to Jose’ is the focalised phrase, and, as shown in the tree, sits in Spec-TP, where it has checked the parasitic [focus] feature that has incorporated into T°.

An embedded focus construction can also occur with Clitic Climbing. In (22), the clitic, *siya* ‘him’, has climbed from the lower clause, which is also a focus construction. *Sa Davao* ‘to Davao’ is the focalised phrase in (22).

- (22) Gusto siya_i ni Isabel na SA **DAVAO** t_i pumunta.
 want 3SG.PLT.CL. NOM Isabel COMP OBL Davao go.NOM.NF.
 ‘It was to Davao that Isabel wanted him to go.’

Given the presence of agreement morphology on the verb in Restructuring (non-finite) contexts and the possibility for Restructuring phenomena, like Clitic Climbing, to occur when the embedded clause is a focus construction, TP must be present in Restructuring contexts.

3.3. Evidence for vP

Using the Long Passive facts in German, Wurmbrand (1998a/b, 2001) argues that there is no vP in the embedded clause of a Restructuring sentence:

- (23) (adapted from Wurmbrand 1998a; her (27b)).
 weil die Autos zu reparieren versucht wurden/ * wurde
 since the cars.NOM to repair tried were/ * was
 Lit: 'since the cars were tried to repair'

The Long Passive is an odd construction, since it is the matrix subject that is demoted and the embedded accusative case that is suppressed.

Wurmbrand assumes that vP assigns accusative case. So, given Burzio's Generalisation (Burzio 1986), the facts in (23) suggest that, in non-passive Restructuring contexts, the embedded object gets its accusative case from the matrix vP.

In recent analyses of Tagalog phrase structure (Rackowski 2002b, Richards 1999a), Tagalog does not have a passive construction. Within Rackowski's approach, the agreement relationship between the verb and the PLT involves case, but not in the same way that agreement between the verb and the subject involves case in English. In English, as is well known, subject agreement is case-driven; the argument that agrees with the verb needs case. In Tagalog, on the other hand, there is no movement for case. According to Rackowski (2002a), verb-case agreement in Tagalog is really more like a by-product of the independently motivated Object Shift.¹¹

Now, Tagalog has a construction that resembles the German Long Passive. In this construction, the matrix agent is demoted (i.e. no longer the PLT) and the verb does not agree with it. However, the embedded object unexpectedly does not become the PLT. Compare (24) and (25) below:

- (24) a. **Sumubok** *si Manuel* [na [kumain
 try.NOM.PERF. PLT Manuel COMP eat.NOM.NF.
 ng pansit]].
 ACC noodles
 'Manuel tried to eat noodles.'
 b. [**Sumubok** [na [kumain]_v]_c] *si Manuel* [t_c [t_v ng pansit]].
- (25) a. **Sinubukan** ni Manuel [na [kumain ng pansit]].
 try.DAT.PERF. NOM Manuel COMP eat.NOM.NF. ACC noodles
 'Manuel tried to eat noodles.'
 b. [**Sinubukan** [-ng [kumain]_v]_c] ni Manuel [t_c [t_v ng pansit]].

Note the change in the verbal morphology and in the case marking of the matrix argument, *Manuel*, in the (a) sentences. In (25a), *ni Manuel*, has been demoted and no longer triggers agreement on the verb; it is not the PLT. Instead, the matrix verb in (25) agrees with its clausal complement. *Ng pansit* 'some noodles' is the embedded object and is marked with accusative in both (24a) and (25a). With the demotion of the matrix argument in (25a), *ng pansit* 'some noodles' should be marked with PLT but it is not. Therefore, accusative case must have come from the lower v^o, and there is no Long Passive in

¹¹ See footnote 6 for discussion.

Tagalog.

Verb Raising is fine for both sentences, as seen in the (b) examples.

Given the presence of an embedded vP , verb-case agreement with the direct object is not surprising. Recall that agreement with the direct object (complement of the verb) is spelled out as the *-in* suffix on the verb, as in (26). For this Agree relationship to take place, the direct object must undergo Object Shift, which puts the specific direct object at the edge of vP . Note that Verb Raising is fine in (26b).

- (26) a. [Sinubukan] ni Juan [-ng [kainin ang pansit]].
 try.DAT.PERF. NOM Juan COMP eat.ACC.NF. PLT noodles
 ‘Manuel tried to eat the noodles.’
 b. [Sinubukan [-ng [kainin] v]c] ni Juan [t_C [t_V ang pansit]].

The presence of an overt agentive DP in the embedded clause is further evidence for the existence of an embedded vP . In (27), this overt DP is *si Juan*. Verb Raising is fine in the (b) sentence.

- (27) a. [Gusto] ni Isabel [na [kumain si Juan
 want NOM Isabel COMP eat.NOM.NF. PLT Juan
 ng lugaw]].
 ACC congee
 ‘Isabel wants Juan to eat some congee.’
 b. [Gusto [-ng [kumain] v]c] ni Isabel [t_C [t_V si Juan ng lugaw]].

Given standard assumptions regarding θ -theory, the overt embedded agentive DP in (27) merges at Spec- vP .

The absence of the Long Passive construction, the existence of verb-case agreement and the possible presence of an overt agentive DP in the embedded clause points to the presence of an embedded vP in Restructuring contexts.

3.4. Evidence for PRO

As mentioned earlier, the verb bears morphology that agrees with the PLT even in non-finite contexts. In (28), the verbal morphology changes just as the PLT-marked DP changes. In other words, the embedded non-finite verb agrees with the embedded PLT.

- (28) Gusto ni Rosa -ng ...
 want NOM Rosa COMP
 ‘Rosa wants...’
 a. ... [bumili si Maria ng saging sa palengke].
 buy.NOM.NF. PLT Maria ACC banana OBL market
 ‘...Maria to buy a banana from the market.’
 b. ... [bilin ni Maria ang saging sa palengke].

buy.ACC.NF. NOM Maria PLT banana OBL market
 ‘...the banana to be bought by Maria from the market.’

In sentences where it is clear that there is a PRO, PRO triggers agreement. Consider the *tough*-movement¹² examples in (29) and (30).

- (29) a. Madali -ng lutuin [*ang adobo*]_i PRO t_i.
 easy COMP cook.ACC.NF. PLT adobo
 ‘It is easy to cook adobo.’
 b. Madali [*ang adobo*]_i -ng lutuin t_i PRO t_i.
- (30) a. Madali -ng magluto *PRO* ng adobo.
 easy COMP cook.NOM.NF. ACC adobo
 ‘It is easy to cook adobo.’
 b. * Madali [*ng adobo*]_i -ng magluto PRO t_i.

In (29a), *ang adobo* ‘the adobo’ is specific, undergoes Object Shift—thus raising over PRO to sit at the edge of vP—, and triggers agreement with the verb, *lutuin* ‘to cook’. It can then undergo *tough*-movement, as in (29b). On the other hand, *ng adobo* ‘some adobo’ in (30a) is not specific, and therefore cannot undergo Object Shift and raise over PRO. The embedded verb must agree with PRO and this is spelled out as the prefix *mag*-. *Tough*-movement is blocked in (30b) because *ng adobo* ‘some adobo’ cannot raise over PRO. This can be explained by appealing to some sort of account of Shortest Move.

PRO also triggers verb-case agreement in control constructions. The same kind of facts shown in (28) can be seen in (31). Again, the embedded non-finite verb agrees with the embedded PLT, even if that PLT is PRO. Verb Raising is fine for the sentences in (31); I derive (32) below from (31a).

- (31) Sinubukan ni Juan_i -ng ...
 try.DAT.PERF. NOM Juan COMP
 ‘Juan tried...’
 a. ... [bumili *PRO*_i ng saging sa palengke].
 buy.NOM.NF. ACC banana OBL market
 ‘...to buy a banana from the market.’
 b. ... [bilhin *PRO*_i *ang saging* sa palengke].
 buy.ACC.NF. PLT banana OBL market
 ‘...to buy the banana from the market.’
- (32) Sinubukan [-ng [bumili]_v]_C ni Juan_i [t_C [t_v *PRO*_i
 try.DAT.PERF. COMP buy.NOM.NF. NOM Juan
 ng saging sa palengke]].
 ACC banana OBL market
 ‘Juan tried to buy a banana from the market.’

¹² *Tough*-movement refers to the Raising alternation exemplified in the following sentences:

- (i) It is easy to cook adobo. (ii) Adobo_i is easy to cook t_i.

And finally, the presence of PRO in the embedded clause should also not be surprising since, as mentioned in the previous section, an overt agentive DP can appear in the embedded clause (see (27) and (28)).

Because of the agreement morphology on the embedded verb and also because of the possibility for overt embedded agentive DPs, I conclude that PRO is present in Restructuring embedded clauses.

3.5. Summary

The presence of an overt complementiser in Restructuring sentences in Tagalog points to the existence of a CP in these sentences. The agreement morphology on non-finite verb forms and the embedded focus construction facts suggest the presence of an embedded TP. The accusative case marking on the embedded object (i.e. no Long Passive construction), the verb-case agreement facts on the embedded verb and the presence of an overt agentive DP in the embedded clause are evidence that there is an embedded vP within a Restructuring sentence. And finally, the fact that PRO triggers agreement on the embedded non-finite verb in a control construction and the possibility of embedded overt agentive DPs are proof that there is an embedded PRO.

4. Transparency is not less structure: Roberts (1997)

Thus far, I have argued that Tagalog Restructuring embedded clauses contain the same amount of structure as non-Restructuring embedded clauses. All that structure shows that transparency does not obtain due to less structure in the syntax, as Wurmbrand (1998a/b, 2001) proposes, at least, not in Tagalog. So, in this section, I briefly outline Roberts' (1997) T° -raising approach, which I adopt to account for the transparency effects in Tagalog Restructuring.¹³

According to Roberts, T° -raising has the effect of combining the embedded and matrix clauses in the same extended projection, which he defines as the domain in which the morphosyntactic features of a lexical category L are projected. T° -raising is constrained by the following:

- (33) (adapted from Roberts 1997; his (6)).
- a. Head movement is copying.
 - b. $*[_{X^{\circ}} W_1 W_2]$, where W_n are morphological words.
 - c. A head is spelled out in the highest L-related position of its chain, subject to (33b).

¹³ I necessarily reject Chung's (2003) Subject Lowering analysis of Chamorro Restructuring. It is unclear how the transparency across clauses would obtain if the subject (i.e. PLT) were to lower to some position in the embedded clause of a Tagalog Restructuring sentence.

Roberts points out that (33a) and (33c) are standardly assumed. His innovation is (33b), which is a condition on Spell-Out. So, under (33b), two morphological words cannot be spelled out in the same head X° . However, Roberts leaves this condition open to parametrisation; for a given language, (33b) can be active or inactive.

Roberts distinguishes between two different kinds of head positions: those that are L-related and those that are not. L-relatedness is a kind of morphological association with a lexical head.

With respect to Verb Raising, which really is a kind of T° -raising, it is possible to assume Roberts' (1997) analysis with the added condition that (33b) is inactive in Tagalog. The inactivity of (33b) accounts for the V-C-V (matrix verb – complementiser – embedded verb) complex in Restructuring sentences, which, I assume, arises through head movement.¹⁴

Roberts claims that, since it combines the embedded and matrix clauses in the same extended projection, T° -raising renders accessible all the relevant positions in the matrix clause to movement of elements from within the embedded clause. So, for Clitic Climbing in Tagalog, T° -raising allows the embedded clitic to 'see' the matrix second position. In Long Distance Focalisation, the embedded focus phrase 'sees' the matrix Spec-TP, just as the embedded specific object 'sees' the matrix Spec-vP in Long Distance Object Shift. As for Interclausal Scrambling, the various embedded arguments 'see' the relevant positions in the matrix clause.

5. A motivation for Tagalog Verb Raising

In previous sections, I have described what Verb Raising looks like and what its effects are. In this section, I provide a motivation for this phenomenon.

As mentioned earlier, Verb Raising only occurs when the embedded verb is non-finite. When Verb Raising takes place in a sentence whose embedded verb is finite, as in (2b), repeated as (34b), the result is ungrammatical.

- (34) a. [Nagulat] si Isabel [na [kumakain
surprise.NOM.PERF. PLT Isabel COMP eat.NOM.IMPF.
si Lito ng pansit]].
PLT Lito ACC noodles
'Isabel is surprised that Lito is eating noodles.'
- b. * [Nagulat [na [kumakain]_v]_c] si Isabel [_{t_C} [_{t_v} si Lito ng pansit]].

¹⁴ It is standardly assumed that, when a head X° raises to another head Y° , X° adjoins to the left of Y° . I, however, have assumed without any argumentation throughout this paper that X° adjoins to the right of Y° . I have done so to account for the word order of the matrix verb – complementiser – embedded verb constituent without complicating my assumptions on Tagalog phrase structure. Were I to adopt standard assumptions of head-to-head adjunction, I would get the opposite word order (embedded verb – complementiser – matrix verb) and would have to find other ways of getting the correct order.

It is safe to assume, therefore, that finite embedded verbs do not raise to a position outside their clause.

So, why do non-finite verbs raise out of their clause?

Non-finite verb forms in Tagalog do not bear morphology that mark non-finiteness, unlike English infinitives with infinitival *to* or Spanish infinitives with the *-Vr* suffix. The chart in (35) on the following page shows a list of the finiteness morphology in Tagalog. (For a more detailed discussion on finiteness morphology in Tagalog, see Schachter and Otones 1972:361-375).

(35) Finiteness morphology on the verb *halikan* ‘to be kissed’.

root:	hali:k	kiss	
non-finite:	halik-a:n	kiss.DAT.NF.	‘to be kissed’
perfective:	h- <u>in</u> -alik-a:n	kiss.DAT.PERF.	‘was kissed’
imperfective:	<u>hina</u> :-halik-a:n	kiss.DAT.IMPF.	‘is being kissed’
contemplated:	<u>ha</u> :-halik-a:n	kiss.DAT.CONT.	‘will be kissed’

As the chart shows, non-finiteness is marked by the absence of finiteness morphology on the Tagalog verb. Verb Raising can thus be interpreted as the non-finite embedded verb ‘wanting’ to associate with a finite T° , the closest of which is in the matrix clause. I propose the following generalisation:

(36) A verb must associate with a finite T° .^{15,16}

This generalisation is not implausible since association with a finite T° occurs throughout the language. Finite verbs do this all the time, except that the movement they undergo is clause-bounded.

The generalisation in (36) precludes the need for a special [\pm Restructuring] feature in Tagalog. A matrix verb ‘knows’ that it is a Restructuring verb in so much as it knows that its clausal complement must be non-finite.

6. Conclusion

In this paper, I have demonstrated that Restructuring transparency in Tagalog is not at all correlated with less structure in the embedded clause. Tagalog Restructuring embedded clauses have a CP, TP, v P and a PRO. Despite the presence of full structure in the embedded clause, transparency still obtains.

Adopting Roberts’ (1997) T° -raising approach, I have argued that Verb

¹⁵ With the generalisation in (36), I discard the possibility that a null morpheme marks non-finiteness in Tagalog. I have included ‘NF’ in the glosses of non-finite verbs for the sake of clarity.

¹⁶ As discussed in footnote 8, a non-finite embedded verb’s F-features always raise to the matrix clause. This accounts for sentences like (28a/b) and (31a/b), in which Verb Raising is not observable (i.e. no LEX-movement), even though the lower verb is non-finite. Thus, it must be assumed that F-movement is enough to establish an association between a verb and a finite T° .

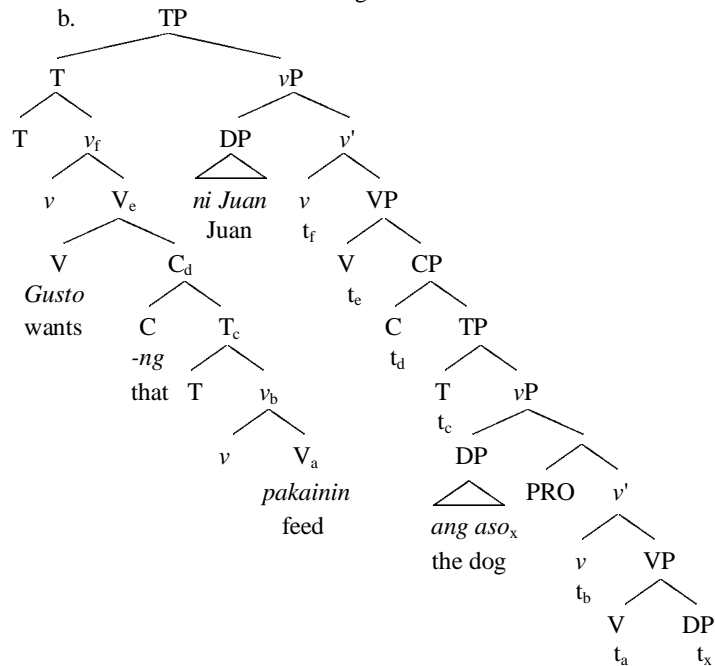
The conditions governing the optionality of LEX-movement in Tagalog Verb Raising require further examination; I leave this for future research.

Raising creates transparency across clauses: with Verb Raising, the matrix clause becomes accessible to elements within the embedded clause.

Finally, I have proposed that Verb Raising is a result of the requirement that all verbs in Tagalog be associated with a finite T° . The only difference between finite and non-finite verbs in this regard is the distance they move before reaching a finite T° . Matrix and embedded finite verbs raise to the finite T° within their own clauses, whereas non-finite embedded verbs must raise to the finite T° in the matrix clause. With this analysis, a [\pm Restructuring] feature on Tagalog verbs is unnecessary.

An example of a tree for a Verb Raising sentence appears in (37) below.

- (37) a. Gusto [-ng [pakainin]_v]_C ni Juan [t_C [t_V ang aso]].
 want COMP feed.ACC.NF. NOM Juan PLT dog
 ‘Juan wants to feed the dog.’



Acknowledgements

I am extremely grateful to Jun and Eden Mercado, my parents and primary consultants, for all their help and support in getting me to ConSOLE XI, and for their judgements on the Tagalog data. I am indebted to Diane Massam, my MA Advisor, and to Gabriela Alboiu, my Second Reader, for all their invaluable insights and detailed comments on my work. I would like to thank the following for their helpful remarks and suggestions on the latest version of this paper: Anna Cardinaletti, Guglielmo Cinque, Federico Damonte, Giuliana Giusti, Kenji Oda, Naoko Tomioka, and the audience at ConSOLE XI. I would

especially like to thank Alex Galani, Magda Goledzinowska and Joost Kremers for proofreading and commenting on this paper. Any errors remain my own. The research presented in this paper has been funded in part by Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada grant #410-2001-1415 to Diane Massam.

References

- Alboiu, G. (2000). The features of movement in Romanian. PhD Diss., University of Manitoba.
- Alboiu, G. (2002). Operator asymmetries in Romanian: Syntax and/or phonology?. Paper presented at the 32nd Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages, Toronto, April.
- Burzio, L. (1986). *Italian syntax: A Government-Binding approach*. Reidel, Dordrecht.
- Chung, S. (2003). Restructuring in a V-initial language. Paper presented at the Workshop on the Syntax of Verb Initial Languages, Tucson, February.
- Cinque, G. (to appear). 'Restructuring' and functional structure. A. Belletti (ed.), *Structure and Beyond*. OUP, Oxford.
- Guilfoyle, E., H. Hung & L. Travis (1992). Spec of IP and Spec of VP: Two subjects in Austronesian languages. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 10, pp. 375-414.
- Harley, H. (2000). Irish, the EPP and PRO. Ms., University of Arizona.
- Kroeger, P. (1993). *Phrase structure and grammatical relations in Tagalog*. CSLI, Stanford, CA.
- Maclachlan, A.E. (1996). Aspects of ergativity in Tagalog. PhD Diss., McGill University.
- Massam, D. & C. Smallwood (1997). Essential features of predication in English and Niuean. *Proceedings of the North East Linguistic Society* 27, Montréal, 1996. Graduate Linguistics Students' Association, Amherst, MA., pp. 263-272.
- Mercado, R. (2002a). Tagalog focus constructions. Paper presented at the University of Toronto Syntax Project, Toronto, July.
- Mercado, R. (2002b). Tagalog Restructuring: Evidence for more structure. Paper presented at the 2002 annual meeting of the Canadian Linguistic Association, Toronto, May.
- Mercado, R. (2002c). Verb Raising and Restructuring in Tagalog. Forum paper, University of Toronto.
- Rackowski, A. (2002a). Subject and specificity: The case of Tagalog. *Proceedings of the North East Linguistic Society* 32, New York City, 2001. Graduate Linguistics Students' Association, Amherst, MA., pp. 471-486.
- Rackowski, A. (2002b). Voice and Configurational Case in Tagalog. Paper presented at the 9th meeting of the Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association, Ithaca, NY, April.
- Richards, N. (1999a). Another look at Tagalog subjects. I. Paul, V. Phillips & L. Travis (eds.), *Formal Issues in Austronesian Linguistics*. Kluwer, Dordrecht, pp. 105-116.
- Richards, N. (1999b). Complementizer cliticization in Tagalog and English. *Proceedings of the 6th meeting of the Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association*, Toronto, 1999. Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics, Toronto, pp. 297-311.
- Rizzi, L. (1978). A restructuring rule in Italian syntax. S.J. Keyser (ed.), *Recent transformational studies in European languages*. Linguistic Inquiry Monograph 3. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA., pp. 113-158.
- Rizzi, L. (1997). The fine structure of the left periphery. L. Haegeman (ed.), *Elements of grammar: Handbook in generative syntax*. Kluwer, Dordrecht, pp. 281-337.
- Rizzi, L. (2002). Cartography, locality and asymmetries. Paper presented at the 32nd Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages, Toronto, April.
- Roberts, I. (1997). Restructuring, head movement and locality. *Linguistic Inquiry* 28, pp. 423-460.
- Schachter, P. & F.T. Otnes (1972). *Tagalog Reference Grammar*. University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles & London.
- Wurmbrand, S. (1998a). Downsizing infinitives. U. Sauerland & O. Percus (eds.), *The interpretive tract*. MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 25. MITWPL, Cambridge, MA., pp.

141-175.

Wurmbrand, S. (1998b). *Infinitives*. PhD Diss., MIT.

Wurmbrand, S. (2001). *Infinitives: Restructuring and clause structure*. Studies in Generative Grammar 55. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin & New York.

Zubizarreta, M. (1998). *Prosody, focus and word order*. MIT Press, Cambridge, MA.

Zwart, C.J.-W. (2001). Syntactic and phonological verb movement. *Syntax* 4:1, pp. 34-62.