

PERSON-CASE EFFECT IN TAGALOG AND THE NATURE OF LONG-DISTANCE EXTRACTION*

NORVIN RICHARDS
MIT
norvin@mit.edu

In this paper we see that some kinds of movement in Tagalog require the moved DP to be 3rd person. I show that we can account for such requirements if we follow Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) in associating Person-Case effects with multiple Agree operations by a single Probe, and Rackowski and Richards (to appear) in positing such multiple Agree relations in cases of cross-clausal movement.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper will investigate the intersection of two kinds of phenomena. One is so-called “wh-agreement” of the Austronesian type, here exemplified by Tagalog:

- (1) a. Sino ang nagbigay ng bulaklak sa kanya?
who ANG **NOM**-gave NG flower DAT 3
‘Who gave him/her the flower?’
- b. Sino ang binigyan mo ng bulaklak?
who ANG **DAT**-gave NG-you NG flower
‘Who did you give the flower to?’
- c. Ano ang ibinigay mo sa kanya?
what ANG **OBL**-gave NG-you DAT 3
‘What did you give him/her?’

Tagalog wh-extraction of DPs requires the verb to bear a kind of agreement (underlined and boldfaced in the above examples) with the extracted DP. Following Rackowski (2002), I take this agreement to be agreement for Case, generated on v when it triggers movement of the wh-phrase to the edge of the vP phase.

The other phenomenon which will be of interest here is a requirement that certain types of DPs be 3rd person. The constraint has gone by several names in the literature, including the *me-lui* constraint and the Person-Case constraint. Bonet (1991, 1994) discusses the effect in double object constructions, offering the generalization in (2), which holds in a variety of languages:

* Many thanks to Genara Banzon and Marivic Mapa for their help with the Tagalog facts; thanks, too, to Edith Aldridge, Elena Anagnostopoulou, Cedric Boeckx, Seth Cable, Sandy Chung, Sam Epstein, Steve Franks, Grant Goodall, Norbert Hornstein, Raph Mercado, Andrew Nevins, David Pesetsky, Milan Rezac, Lisa Travis, and audiences at MIT, AFLA 12, and Mayfest 2005 for much helpful discussion. Responsibility for any errors is entirely mine.

- (2) If there is a Dative argument, the Accusative argument must be 3rd person.

The examples in (3) demonstrate this effect for double object constructions in Basque:

- Basque*
- (3) a. Zuk niri liburua saldu d -i -da -zu
 you-ERG me-DAT book-ABS sold ABS.3 AUX DAT.1 ERG.2
 ‘You sold me the book’ [DAT 1, ACC 3]
- b. *Lapurrek Joni ni saldu n- -(a)i -o -te
 thieves-ERG Jon-DAT me-ABS sold ABS.1 AUX DAT.3 ERG.3pl
 ‘The thieves have sold me to Jon’ [DAT 3, ACC 1]
- c. *Lapurrek zuri ni saldu n- -(a)i -zu -te
 thieves-ERG you-DAT me-ABS sold ABS.1 AUX DAT.2 ERG.3pl
 ‘The thieves have sold me to you’ [DAT 2, ACC 1]

Example (3a) obeys Bonet’s condition in (2); the Accusative argument in (3a) is 3rd person.

Both the Tagalog *wh*-agreement phenomenon and the Person-Case effect have been dealt with in recent work by accounts positing single Probes that Agree with multiple Goals. Taken together, these accounts predict that certain instances of extraction ought to exhibit Person-Case effects. We will see that this prediction is borne out, and that the evidence for these independently developed accounts is thereby strengthened. In particular, we will see evidence that extraction which crosses a clause boundary sometimes involves a Probe in the matrix clause Agreeing first with the embedded clause and then with the extracted phrase.

2. A PHENOMENON, AND SOME THEORIES

Tagalog has a type of movement which I will refer to here as *ay*-fronting, exemplified in (4):

- | | |
|---|---|
| (4) a. Pilipino ang guro
Filipino ANG teacher
‘The teacher is Filipino’ | a’. <u>Ang guro</u> ay Pilipino
ANG teacher AY Filipino
‘The teacher is Filipino’ |
| b. Pilipino si Juan
Filipino ANG Juan
‘Juan is Filipino’ | b’. <u>Si Juan</u> ay Pilipino
ANG Juan AY Filipino
‘Juan is Filipino’ |
| c. Pilipino ako
Filipino ANG-I
‘I’m Filipino’ | c’. <u>Ako</u> ay Pilipino
ANG-I AY Filipino
‘I’m Filipino’ |

(4a-c) demonstrate the ordinary predicate-initial word order of Tagalog. As we can see in (4a’-c’), however, this order may be disrupted by an operation which moves a particular DP to a pre-predicate position, where it is followed by a morpheme *ay*. Tagalog speakers describe this operation as completely optional, with no obvious effect on the meaning of the sentence.

Ay-fronting may cross clause boundaries. In (5b), the *ay*-fronted phrase is the subject of the embedded clause:

- (5) a. Sinabi ng mga pulis [na nagnakaw ang guro ng kotse]
 ACC-said NG PL police that NOM-stole ANG teacher NG car
 ‘The police said that the teacher stole a car’
- b. Ang guro ay sinabi ng mga pulis [na nagnakaw _ ng kotse]
 ANG teacher AY ACC-said NG PL police that NOM-stole NG car
 ‘The teacher, the police said _ stole a car’

However, as (6) shows, *ay*-fronting across clause boundaries is subject, for many Tagalog speakers, to an interesting restriction; the fronted DP must be 3rd person:

- (6) a. Siya ay sinabi ng mga pulis [na nagnakaw _ ng kotse]
 ANG-he/she AY ACC-said NG PL police that NOM-stole NG car
 ‘He/she, the police said _ stole a car’
- b. *Ako ay sinabi ng mga pulis [na nagnakaw _ ng kotse]
 ANG-I AY ACC-said NG PL police that NOM-stole NG car
 ‘I, the police said _ stole a car’

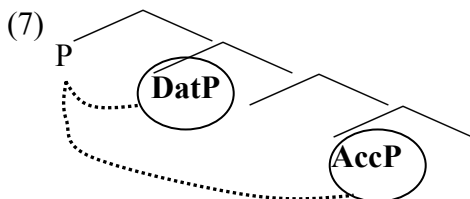
The next sections will develop an account of this fact in Tagalog.

2.1 Person-Case Effects

As we saw in section 1, requirements that certain DPs be 3rd person are familiar in the syntactic literature. Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) develops an account of Bonet’s Person-Case effects which attribute these effects to the nature of multiple Agree operations by a single Probe (see also Béjar and Rezac 2003). Her idea is that the first Agree operation does something to the Person feature of the Probe; we might think, for example, that the first Agree operation irrevocably values the Person feature. As a result, the Probe is rendered unable to Agree with other DPs that have a Person feature, since this feature would contradict the Person feature already established on the Probe by the first Agree operation (see Anagnostopoulou 2005, in particular, for an account along these lines). Following much work in morphology (Bonet 1991,

Noyer 1992), Anagnostopoulou assumes that 3rd person DPs lack a Person feature. Consequently, Agree operations after the first must be with 3rd person DPs¹.

In the particular case of double object constructions, the idea is that a single Probe Agrees first with the Dative argument and then with the Accusative argument:



The first Agree operation, with the Dative argument, values the Person feature of the Probe; as a consequence, the Accusative argument must be 3rd person for the Probe to be able to Agree with it. As we saw in section 1, this is indeed the case; the Dative argument may be of any person, but the Accusative argument must be 3rd person.

2.2 Tagalog Extraction

Rackowski and Richards (to appear) develop a theory of wh-extraction which crucially involves Probes Agreeing with multiple Goals. The theory is meant to deal with Tagalog wh-agreement, and also with the CED.

The facts of Tagalog wh-agreement may be summarized as follows. As we saw above, extraction of a DP requires the verb to Agree with that DP:

- (8) a. Sino ang nagbigay ng bulaklak sa kanya?
 who ANG **NOM**-gave NG flower DAT 3
 ‘Who gave him/her the flower?’
- b. Sino ang binigyan mo ng bulaklak?
 who ANG **DAT**-gave NG-you NG flower
 ‘Who did you give the flower to?’
- c. Ano ang ibinigay mo sa kanya?
 what ANG **OBL**-gave NG-you DAT 3
 ‘What did you give him/her?’

In cases of wh-movement across clause boundaries, the verb of the clause with the extraction site must still Agree with the extracted phrase. Moreover, all higher verbs must Agree with the clause from which extraction is taking place:

¹ For this account to go forward, we must assume that if the Probe Agrees first with a 3rd person DP, this Agree operation is enough to irrevocably value the Person feature of the Probe (as “personless”); subsequent Agree operations still cannot contradict this value (that is, they must still be with personless DPs).

- (9) a. Sino ang sinabi ng magsasaka [na kumain ng bulaklak]?
 what ANG ACC-said NG farmer that NOM-ate NG flower
 ‘Who did the farmer say ate the flower?’
- b. Ano ang sinabi ng magsasaka [na kinain ng kalabaw]?
 what ANG ACC-said NG farmer that ACC-ate NG water-buffalo
 ‘What did the farmer say the water-buffalo ate?’
- c.*Ano ang sinabi ng magsasaka [na kumain ang kalabaw]?
 what ANG ACC-said NG farmer that NOM-ate ANG water-buffalo
- d.*Ano ang nagsabi ang magsasaka [na kinain ng kalabaw]?
 what ANG NOM-said ANG farmer that ACC-ate NG water-buffalo

(9a-b) show extraction of an embedded subject and an embedded object, respectively. In both, the higher verb *sinabi* ‘ACC-said’ Agrees in case with the complement clause (and crucially not with the extracted wh-phrase). The embedded clause, on the other hand, has a verb which does Agree in case with the extracted phrase: *kumain* ‘NOM-ate’ for subject extraction, and *kinain* ‘ACC-ate’ for object extraction.

In Rackowski and Richards (to appear) we account for this pattern of facts by positing a version of locality which guarantees that when a wh-phrase is embedded in a CP, the CP will be closer to Probes outside the CP than the wh-phrase will. Following Richards (1998) and Hiraiwa (2001, 2005), we also assume that once the Probe has Agreed with this closer potential Goal, it is free to Agree with Goals that are further away.

The upshot of this is that in order for the ν of the matrix clause to Agree with the wh-phrase, causing it to move out of the embedded clause, the matrix ν must first Agree with the embedded CP. This has two consequences. First, in Tagalog, the first Agree relation determines the morphological form of ν , correctly giving the result that extraction from an embedded clause will require ν to Agree with that clause. Second, we argue that the approach yields a version of the CED; only those clauses with which ν is in a position to Agree can be made transparent for extraction (namely, complement clauses, but not subject or adjunct clauses).

In short, Rackowski and Richards (to appear) claim that movement across a clause boundary involves two Agree relations by ν , one with the embedded clause, and a second one with the moving XP. Local extraction, by contrast, only involves a single Agree relation with ν in our system.

2.3. Multiple Goals and the Person-Case Effect in Tagalog

The previous sections have reviewed two theories which were developed on independent grounds. The first theory, that of Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005), predicts that when a Probe Agrees with multiple Goals, Goals after the first will be required to be 3rd person. The second theory, that of Rackowski and Richards (to appear), claims that extraction across a clause boundary requires that the ν of the higher clause Agree both with the embedded clause and with the extracted phrase.

Taken together, these two theories make a straightforward prediction: if a DP is extracted across a clause boundary, it should be required to be a 3rd person DP. As we have already seen, this is indeed the case in Tagalog:

- (10) a. Siya **ay** sinabi ng mga pulis [na nagnakaw _ ng kotse]
 ANG-he/she AY **ACC**-said NG PL police that **NOM**-stole NG car
 ‘He/she, the police said _ stole a car’
- b. *Ako **ay** sinabi ng mga pulis [na nagnakaw _ ng kotse]
 ANG-I AY **ACC**-said NG PL police that **NOM**-stole NG car
 ‘I, the police said _ stole a car’

The well-formed extraction in (10a) exhibits the properties of wh-agreement which by now are familiar; the higher verb *sinabi* ‘ACC-said’ Agrees with the complement clause, and the verb of the embedded clause, *nagnakaw* ‘NOM-stole’ Agrees with the extracted phrase. As we expect, such extraction may move 3rd person DPs, but not 1st person DPs. Recall that this is crucially a property of extraction across clause boundaries; local extraction may freely move DPs of any person:

- (11) a. Siya **ay** Pilipino
 ANG-he/she AY Filipino
 ‘He/she is Filipino’
- b. Ako **ay** Pilipino
 ANG-I AY Filipino
 ‘I’m Filipino’

Again, this is what we expect; when extraction does not cross clause boundaries, no Probes need Agree with more than one Goal.

I have just tried to show that a ban on cross-clausal extraction of 1st or 2nd person pronouns may be attributed to the same syntactic mechanism as the Person-Case effect. A survey of the literature seems to turn up a number of similar conditions on extraction in other languages, which I cannot fully review here for reasons of space. Passamaquoddy long-distance agreement is particularly interesting in this connection, partly because detecting the Person-Case effect is not straightforward in this case. Long-distance agreement may in principle be with DPs of any person (Bruening 2001):

- (12) a. N-wewitaham-a -**k** [mate nomiyawik **mawsuwinuwok** Kehlisk]
 1 remember DIR 3pl not I-saw-them people Calais-Loc
 ‘I remember that I didn’t see people in Calais’
- b. **K**-piluwitaham-ul [Mihku ketimacehat [‘sami sakhiphuk-**ihin**]
 2 suspect 1/2 M. would-leave because drive.up 2
 ‘I suspected (about **you**) [that Mihku would leave [when **you** drove up]]’

However, Bruening (2001) offers arguments that only examples like (12a), in which long-distance agreement is with a 3rd person DP, can be movement dependencies; long-distance agreement of the type in (12b) involves a base-generated dependency². If Bruening is right, then the account developed here would explain why (12b) cannot involve a movement operation. In turn, the Passamaquoddy facts suggest a possible approach to apparent counterexamples to the theory developed here; in Passamaquoddy, the apparent counterexamples have been independently argued to involve a base-generation strategy, and we might hope to associate other apparent counterexamples with a similar strategy.³

3. MORE PERSON-CASE EFFECTS IN TAGALOG; MULTIPLE-*ANG* SENTENCES

In this section we will consider another Person-Case effect in Tagalog. This case will be more like the ‘classic’ instances of Person-Case, in that multiple DPs will be involved, rather than extraction out of an embedded clause. The case in question has to do with a kind of sentence which seems to be acceptable only to a subset of Tagalog speakers; still, for these speakers, the relevant judgments are quite robust.

For most speakers, *ay*-fronting exhibits the same conditions on verbal morphology that we find in *wh*-extraction and relativization:

- (13) a. Kumain ang kalabaw ng bulaklak
NOM-ate ANG water.buffalo NG flower
 ‘The water buffalo ate a flower’
- b. Ang kalabaw ay kumain ng bulaklak
 ANG water.buffalo AY **NOM**-ate NG flower
- c. *Ng bulaklak ay kumain ang kalabaw
 NG flower AY **NOM**-ate ANG water.buffalo
- d. Ang bulaklak ay kinain ng kalabaw
 ANG flower AY **ACC**-ate NG water.buffalo

As the examples in (13) show, the verb agrees with the *ay*-fronted phrase (the subject, in (13b), and the object, in (13d)). The example in (13c) is ill-formed because, although the object has been fronted, the verb is agreeing with the subject.

² One of Bruening’s arguments has to do with the presence of the adjunct island in (12b); only Bruening’s non-movement-based dependencies can violate islands in this way.

³ For instance, there are Tagalog speakers who do not get the Person-Case effects reported in this paper, and one possibility is that they are exercising the same options that are open to Passamaquoddy speakers.

Tagalog does have verbs which do not agree with any arguments. When such verbs are used, none of the DPs in the clause receive the marker *ang*, which typically occurs on the DP controlling agreement (instead, both DPs receive the default case-marker *ng*, pronounced /naŋ/):

- (14) Kabibili lang ng lalaki ng tela
 Rec.Perf.-bought just NG man NG cloth
 ‘The man just bought the cloth’

With a verb of this type, either DP may be *ay*-fronted, and it is then marked with *ang*:

- (15) a. Ang lalaki ay kabibili lang ng tela
 ANG man AY Rec.Perf.-bought just NG cloth
 b. Ang tela ay kabibili lang ng lalaki
 ANG cloth AY Rec.Perf.-bought just NG man

For some Tagalog speakers, this option is also extended to subjects of verbs which Agree with their objects; these subjects may also be *ay*-fronted and marked with *ang*, yielding what I will refer to as a multiple-ANG sentence:

- (16) Ang kalabaw ay kinain ang bulaklak
 ANG water.buffalo AY **ACC**-ate ANG flower
 ‘The water buffalo ate the flower’

Here both the subject and the object are marked with *ang*, and the verb agrees morphologically with the object. Objects cannot be fronted in multiple-ANG sentences:

- (17) *Ang bulaklak ay kinain/ kumain ang kalabaw
 ANG flower AY **ACC**-ate/**NOM**-ate ANG water.buffalo

Interestingly, for those Tagalog speakers who do allow multiple-ANG sentences, the subject must be 3rd person in such sentences:

- (18) a. Siya ay binili ang tela
 ANG.he/she AY **ACC**-bought ANG cloth
 ‘He/she bought the cloth’
 b. *Ako ay binili ang tela
 ANG.I AY **ACC**-bought ANG cloth
 ‘I bought the cloth’

This effect is specifically on the subject of multiple-ANG sentences, and not on the object, which may be of any person:

- (19) a. Ang babae ay sinuntok ang mandurukot.

- ANG woman AY ACC-hit ANG pickpocket
 ‘The woman hit the pickpocket’
- b. *Ako ay sinuntok ang mandurukot.
 ANG-I AY ACC-hit ANG pickpocket
 ‘I hit the pickpocket’
- c. Ang mandurukot ay sinuntok ako
 ANG pickpocket AY ACC-hit ANG-I
 ‘The pickpocket hit me’

We can fruitfully compare this Person-Case effect in Tagalog with a similar effect in Icelandic, also involving an interaction between subjects and objects, discussed by Boeckx (2000) and Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) in their work on the Person-Case effect. This effect appears when the subject is Dative, the object Nominative, and the verb agrees with the Nominative object. In such clauses, the Nominative object must be 3rd person:

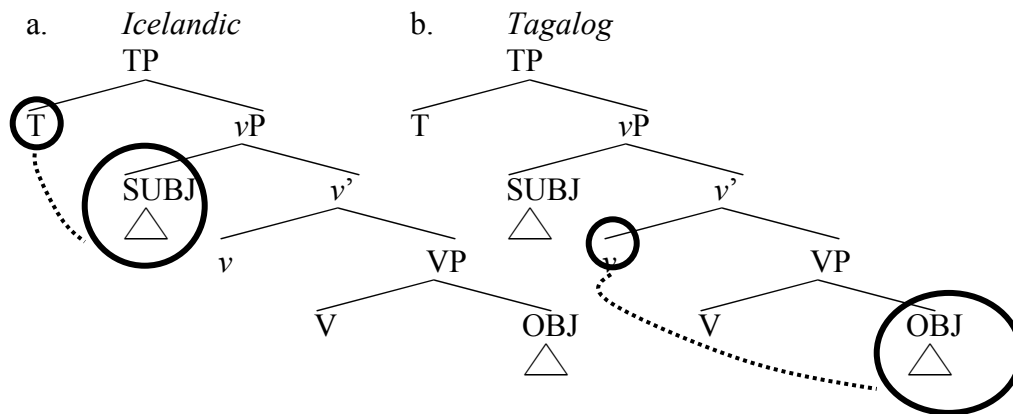
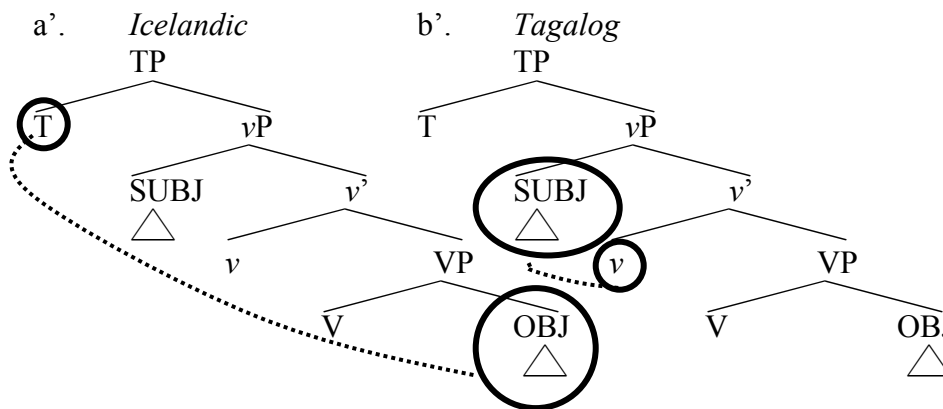
- (20) a. Henni leiddust þeir
 she-DAT found.boring-3pl them-NOM
 ‘She found them boring’
- b. *Henni leiddust við
 she-DAT found.boring-3pl us-NOM
 ‘She found us boring’

The Tagalog and Icelandic situations are similar in that both involve a Person-Case effect in transitive sentences. They differ in the location of the effect; the Tagalog effect appears on the subject, while in Icelandic the effect is on the Nominative object.

Anagnostopoulou (2003, 2005) deals with the Icelandic effect in her terms by positing multiple Agreement relations involving the Probe T. In her account, T Agrees first with the closest DP, namely the Dative subject, raising it to the external subject position. Because the subject is quirkily Dative-marked, this first Agree relation does not fully value the features of the Probe. It subsequently Agrees with the object, and because this instance of Agree is the second Agree operation involving the T probe, the Nominative object must be 3rd Person.

We can give a similar account of the Tagalog facts, if we continue to assume, following Rackowski (2002), that the Probe involved in Tagalog verbal agreement (and marking of DPs with *ang*) is *v* rather than T. Let us also assume, following Rezac (2003), that Probes Agree before they Merge; that is, that a Probe like *v* with a base-generated specifier will first Agree with any Goals in its complement domain before Agreeing with its specifier.

The derivations for the relevant Icelandic and Tagalog examples are represented by the trees below (here I have represented the Agree relations as taking place after TP has been constructed, simply for ease of comparison):

(21) **FIRST AGREE:****SECOND AGREE:**

These derivations get us the results we want; in particular, the restriction to 3rd person appears on the DP which is the second Goal of the relevant Probe (thus, on the Tagalog subject and the Icelandic object).

4. CONSEQUENCES

In this paper we have considered the distribution of Person-Case effects in Tagalog. We have seen that these effects offer support for a particular approach to extraction put forward in Rackowski and Richards (to appear), which claims that extraction from embedded clauses crucially involves multiple Agreement relations by a probe in the matrix clause, the first of which is with the embedded clause itself, and the second with the moving phrase. This approach to extraction, paired with Anagnostopoulou's (2003, 2005) approach to Person-Case effects, correctly predicts that such effects will arise when extraction crosses a clause boundary.

The Tagalog facts offer additional support for one conclusion which has already been drawn on the basis of evidence from Icelandic: namely, that the Person-Case effect is a syntactic effect, not

a morphological one. The presence of Person-Case effects in Tagalog is particularly striking, given that the Person features involved in these Agree operations are never morphologically reflected on any of the heads involved; Tagalog verbs agree morphologically for Case (if Rackowski 2002 is right), but never for Person. We can see in Tagalog, then, that Person-Case effects are a result of conditions on syntactic operations, and not of conditions on the morphological expression of those relations.

The main focus of this paper has been a syntactic distinction between instances of movement. We have seen that for some kinds of movement, movement which crosses a clause boundary is constrained in ways in which movement within a clause is not; in particular, crossing a clause boundary robs movement of its ability to move phrases with Person features. Of course, much of the syntax literature is devoted to detecting and understanding differences between types of movement. The classic A/A-bar distinction, for example, involves a number of distinctions of this kind, including the ability to create new binders for Condition A, the ability to cross tensed clause boundaries, etc. For the most part, however, our theories of these distinctions are not very explanatory; we have discovered a number of properties which seem to cluster together, but the reasons for this clustering are not well understood. If we were to discover tomorrow that it is in fact A-bar movement which creates new binders for anaphors, and not A-movement as we previously thought, we would simply associate this property with a different kind of movement.

The account developed here, by contrast, would be difficult to tell in reverse. Local movement, on this account, can move phrases with Person features, because the Probes responsible for triggering such movement do not need to Agree first with clauses in order to make the movement possible, and the Person features of these Probes are therefore intact and capable of interacting with Person features on their Goals. The account depends on the assumption that Probes must value their Person features as quickly as possible, and that once valued, a Person feature on a Probe cannot be contradicted; I have also assumed, following much work in the morphological literature, that 3rd person DPs lack a Person feature. Crucially, then, if I were to discover that it is in fact long-distance movement that can move DPs with Person, and that local movement cannot, the account developed here would be in disarray; I would not simply be able to reassign properties to different types of movement. This seems to me to be progress. Rather than simply invoking different features to drive different types of movement, and associating those different features by fiat with different properties of movement, the properties of the different types of movement are made to follow from general principles. To the extent that the account developed here has been successful, we might try to generalize it, ascribing differences between different Probes to their derivational histories rather than to the featural makeup of their lexical entries. A logically extreme version of this approach would assign the same features to all Probes.

5. CONCLUSION

This paper has been a discussion of Person-Case effects, mainly in Tagalog. We have seen that on independently proposed theories of the nature of Agree operations in Tagalog, Person-Case effects arise when a single Probe participates in multiple Agree operations. In particular, the distribution of Person-Case effects seems to lend support to the idea, defended in Rackowski and

Richards (to appear), that movement across a clause boundary requires a Probe to Agree first with the clause and then with the moving phrase. This proposal is now supported by three types of evidence: it accounts for the pattern of wh-agreement in Tagalog (higher verbs must agree with clauses out of which extraction has taken place), for CED effects (only clauses which *v* is in a position to Agree with—namely, complement clauses, but not subject or adjunct clauses—are transparent for extraction), and finally for Person-Case effects (which show that the moving phrase is the second phrase with which *v* Agrees).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ANAGNOSTOPOULOU, ELENA. 2003. *The syntax of ditransitives: evidence from clitics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- . 2005. Strong and weak person restrictions: a feature checking analysis. In Lorie Heggie and Francisco Ordonez (eds.). *Clitics and affix combinations*, pp. 199-235. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- BÉJAR, SUSANA, and MILAN REZAC. 2003. Person licensing and the derivation of PCC effects. ms., University of Toronto.
- BOECKX, CEDRIC. 2000. Quirky agreement. *Studia Linguistica* 54, 354-380.
- BONET, EULÀLIA. 1991. *Morphology after Syntax*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- . 1994. The Person-Case constraint: a morphological approach. In Heidi Harley and Colin Phillips (eds.). *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 22: the morphology-syntax connection*, pp. 33-52. Cambridge, MA: MITWPL.
- BRUENING, BENJAMIN. 2001. Raising to Object and proper movement. ms., University of Delaware.
- CHOMSKY, NOAM. 2001. Derivation by phase. In Michael Kenstowicz (ed.). *Ken Hale: a life in language*, pp. 1-52. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- HIRAIWA, KEN. 2001. Multiple Agree and the Defective Intervention Constraint in Japanese. In Ora Matushansky et al (eds.). *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics 40; Proceedings of the HUMIT 2000*, pp. 67-80. Cambridge, MA: MITWPL.
- . 2005. *Dimensions of symmetry in syntax: agreement and clausal architecture*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- NOYER, ROLF. 1992. *Features, positions, and affixes in autonomous morphological structure*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- RACKOWSKI, ANDREA. 2002. *The structure of Tagalog: specificity, voice, and the distribution of arguments*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- , and NORVIN RICHARDS. To appear. Phase edge and extraction: a Tagalog case study. *Linguistic Inquiry*.
- REZAC, MILAN. 2003. The fine structure of cyclic Agree. *Syntax* 6, 156-182.
- RICHARDS, NORVIN. 1998. The Principle of Minimal Compliance. *Linguistic Inquiry* 29, 599-629.