

**Extraction Asymmetries and the Nature of Case**  
Edith Aldridge, University of Washington

**1. Introduction**

In many ergative languages, only the nominative/absolutive DP can undergo movement.

Tagalog ergative alignment

- (1) a. D<um>ating      *ang*      *babae*.      (Intransitive)  
      <INTR.PRIV>arrive NOM/ABS woman  
      ‘The woman arrived.’  
      b. B<in>ili      ng      *babae*      *ang*      *isda*.      (Transitive)  
      <TR.PRIV>buy GEN/ERG woman NOM/ABS fish  
      ‘The woman bought the fish.’

NOM/ABS extraction

- (2) a. *isda-ng*    b<in>ili      ng      *babae*      (Transitive object: OK)  
      fish-LK    <TR.PRIV>buy GEN woman  
      ‘fish that the woman bought’  
      b. \**babae-ng*    b<in>ili      ang      *isda*      (Transitive subject: \*)  
      woman-ng    <TR.PRIV>buy NOM fish  
      ‘woman who bought the fish’  
      c. *babae-ng*      d<um>ating      (Intransitive subject: OK)  
      woman-LK    <INTR.PRIV>-arrive  
      ‘woman who arrived’

**Proposal:** Correlate extraction with structural case licensing.<sup>1</sup>

- (3) Extraction Competition  
NOM valued by C. Only the NOM DP can occupy [Spec, CP].

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<sup>1</sup> This proposal builds on the widely held views that absolutive case is equivalent to nominative (Bok-Bennema 1991; Murasugi 1992; Campana 1992; Bittner 1994; Bittner & Hale 1996a, b; Manning 1996; Ura 2000) and that nominative case assignment is related to the extraction asymmetry in Austronesian and/or syntactically ergative languages (Schachter & Otnes 1972, Bell 1983, Campana 1992, Guilfoyle et al. 1992, Kroeger 1993, Coon et al. 2014 and others). See also Keenan & Comrie (1977) for the observation that only one grammatical function in a language can undergo relativization, it must be the subject. See also Deal (2016) for a different approach to tying extraction privilege to a particular type of case. In this analysis, probes on C are sensitive to the type of case valued on a DP, with “unmarked case” (in the sense of Marantz 1991, Bobaljik 2008) being the most accessible.

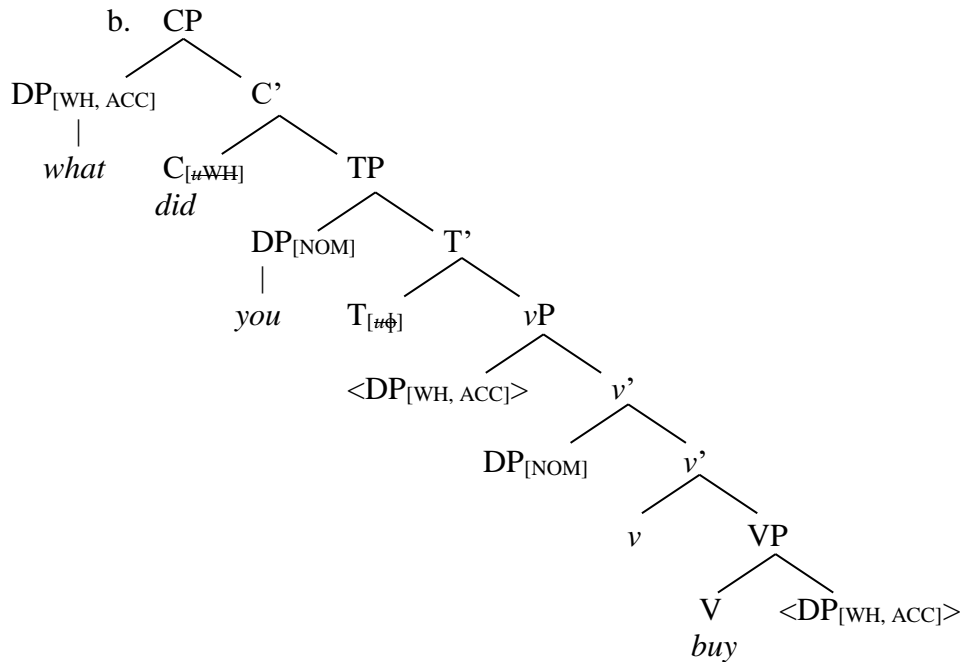
## 2. Extraction-Competition in Ergative Languages

### 2.1. Theoretical background

Chomsky (2008 and subsequent work) C-T Inheritance:

1. All uninterpretable features on T are inherited from C.
2. C passes  $[u\phi]$  to T.  $[u\phi]$  case licenses the subject and forces it to move to [Spec, TP].
3. C retains other features like  $[uWH]$  to allow *wh*-movement over the subject.

(4) a. What did you buy?



C-T Inheritance is not universal (Ouali 2006; Gallego 2014; Legate 2014; Martinović 2015; van Urk 2015; Erlewine 2016; Aldridge 2017)

(5) Condition on C-T Inheritance  
Uninterpretable features are inherited.<sup>2</sup>

WH > SUBJECT order in English:

⇒  $[u\phi]$  must be inherited by T, leaving [Spec, CP] available for other movements.

<sup>2</sup> This proposal follows Richards (2007, 2012), but see also den Dikken (2014) for arguments against the need for uninterpretable features to be inherited. He (2014: 44) proposes instead that the EPP property of a phase head must be satisfied within the domain of that phase head. This is also very similar to what I propose if we understand an “EPP property” to be satisfied by movement to check a probe at the landing site, i.e. movement driven by a strong feature (in the sense of Chomsky 1995). For me, the difference between whether inheritance takes place is not in whether movement takes place but in whether movement is motivated by a probe on the phase head or takes place agnostically to value a feature on the moving constituent.

### Languages with extraction competition

No subject/verb agreement: Subject movement is not driven by [ $u\phi$ ] (Saito 2016).

- ⇒ C-T inheritance does not take place.
- ⇒ Nominative is valued by C, perhaps as interpretable tense or finiteness (Pesetsky and Torrego 2001, 2006).
- ⇒ DPs move agnostically to value case (Bošković 2007).

**Generally:** DPs surface in positions where they are licensed.

**Caveat:** DPs can surface in lower positions if they are overtly marked.

König's (2008) Generalization: "No Case Before the Verb"

- ⇒ Postverbal subjects in African languages are overtly marked.
- ⇒ Preverbal subjects are bare.

- (6) a. bume haŋae ŋakogine. (Chai; König 2008: 248)  
Bume.ACC chase.PRV.3PL.3SG.OBJ Ngakogine.ACC  
'The Bume chased Ngakogine.'
- b. ŋakogine haŋae bume-o.  
Ngakogine.ACC chase.PRV.3PL.3SG.OBJ Bume-NOM  
'The Bume chased Ngakogine.'

### 2.2. Analysis of Tagalog

#### (7) Tagalog case assignment

- [Spec,  $v_{Tr}$ ]: GEN<sup>3</sup>  
[Spec, C<sub>Fin</sub>]: NOM  
[Compl, V]: OBL (default, assigned as last resort)

NOM is bare when DP occupies [Spec, CP].

- ⇒ Bare DPs in Tagalog are non-referential, function as heads of relative clauses.

NOM is overtly marked when DP is spelled out in the clause.

- ⇒ NOM-marked DPs in Tagalog have presuppositional interpretations.

#### Transitive clause

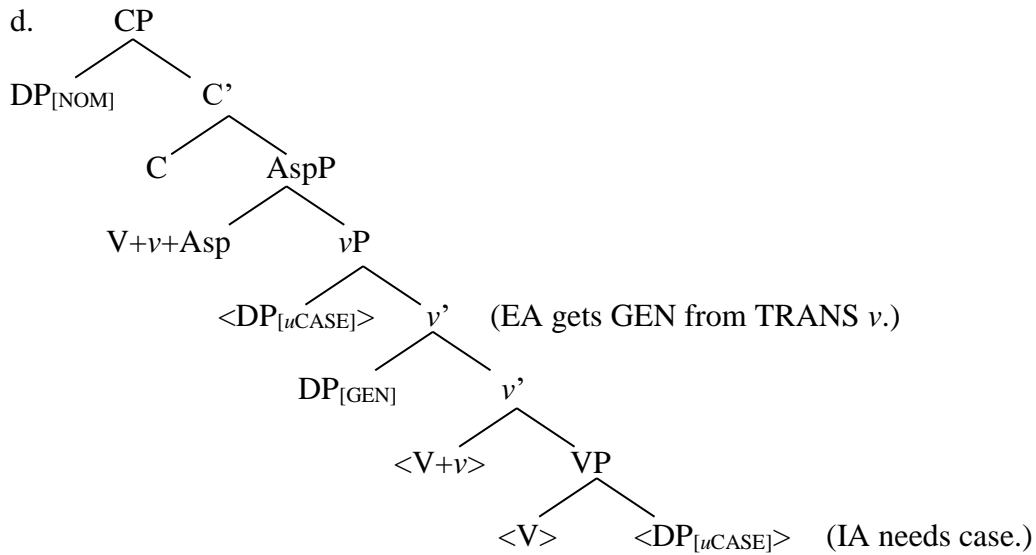
IA with NOM; IA can extract.

If EA tries to move, IA is not licensed.

- (8) a. B<in>ili ng babae ang isda. (Declarative)  
<TR.PRV>buy GEN woman NOM fish  
'The woman bought the fish.'
- b. isda-ng b<in>ili ng babae (NOM object extraction)  
fish-LK <TR.PRV>buy GEN woman  
'fish that the woman bought'

<sup>3</sup> See Mahajan (1989), and Woolford (1997, 2006), Legate (2002, 2008), for other proposals that ergative case is inherent case assigned to the external argument in [Spec,  $vP$ ]. Aldridge (2004, 2008) specifically limits the availability of ergative case to transitive  $v$ .

- c. \*babae-ng      b<in>ili      ang      isda      (\*GEN subject extraction)  
 woman-ng      <TR.PRIV>buy      NOM      fish  
 ‘woman who bought the fish’

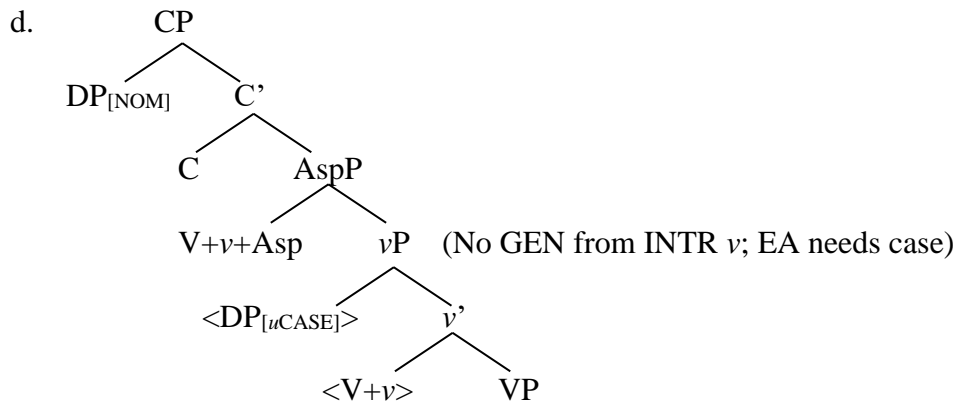


Intransitive clause

EA with NOM; EA can extract.

If IA tries to move, EA is not licensed.

- (9) a. B<um>ili      ang      babae      ng      isda.      (Declarative antipassive)  
 <INTR.PRIV>buy      NOM      woman      GEN      fish  
 ‘The woman bought a fish.’  
 b. babae-ng      b<um>ili      ng      isda      (Intransitive subject: OK)  
 woman-LK      <INTR.PRIV>buy      GEN      fish  
 ‘woman who bought a/the fish’  
 c. \*isda-ng      b<um>ili      ang      babae      (AP object: \*)  
 fish-LK      <INTR.PRIV>buy      NOM      woman  
 ‘fish that the woman bought’



**Extraction:** Only the DP with an unvalued case feature can move to [Spec, CP].  
=> This will be the NOM DP; only the NOM DP can undergo movement.

**Case:** Inherent GEN for transitive EA  
Bare NOM on DP in [Spec, CP]; Overt NOM on lower copy  
OBL as last resort for complement of V

### 3. Old Japanese (OJ; 8<sup>th</sup> C. CE)

Basic word order and alignment:

- (10) a. 烏梅能波奈 伊麻佐可利奈理 (MYS 820)  
[Ume=no pana] ima sakari-nar-i  
plum=GEN flower.NOM now open-be-SS  
'The plums are now in bloom.'
- b. 我期大王 國所知良之 (MYS 933)  
[Wa-ga opo-kimi] kuni sirasu ras-i.  
1SG-GEN great-lord.NOM country.OBL rule seem-SS  
'My great lord rules seems to rule the land.'

(11)	<u>Case</u>	<u>Form</u>	<u>Context</u>
	NOM	NULL	Subject in [Spec, CP]
	NOM	TOP	On lower subject copy
	ACC	<i>wo</i>	Specific object, dislocated
	GEN	<i>ga</i>	High animacy DP in nominalized [Spec, vP]
	GEN	<i>no</i>	Low animacy DP in nominalized [Spec, vP]
	OBL	NULL	Non-specific DP, sister to V

#### 3.1. Extraction restriction

NOM extracted:

- (12) 後心乎知人 (MYS 222)  
[noti=no kokoro=wo sir-u] pito  
after=GEN heart=ACC know-RT person  
'a person who knows how he will feel afterward'

GEN subject in object relative clause:

- (13) a. 隱口乃泊瀬越女我手二纏在玉 (MYS 424)  
[komoriku=no patuse wotomye=**ga** te=ni mak-ye-ru] tama  
secluded=GEN Patuse girl=GEN hand=DAT wind-PAST-RT bead  
'the beads that the maiden of the secluded Patuse wound around her wrist'

- b. 白雲乃 棚引山 (MYS 287)  
 [sira kumwo=**no** tanabik-u] yama  
 white cloud=GEN hang-RT<sup>4</sup> mountain  
 ‘the mountain that white clouds hang over’

### 3.2. NOM in [Spec, CP]

Focus Concord Constructions (*kakari-musubi* 係り結び):

- ⇒ Focused constituent with focus particle
- ⇒ Main verb with adnominal (RTadnominal 連体 or IZ 已然 realis inflection)
- ⇒ Subject often surfaces with GEN case.
- ⇒ Focused constituent moves out of vP.

#### FOC > GEN subject

- (14) a. 由布佐礼婆 比具良之 伎奈久 伊故麻山 古延弓曾 安我 久流  
 Yupu sar-e-ba pigurasi ki-naku ikomayama (MYS 3589)  
 evening go-IZ-COND cicada come-cry Mt. Ikoma  
 kwoe-te=**so** a-**ga** ku-ru  
 cross-CONJ=SO I-GEN come-RT  
 ‘It is climbing over Mt. Ikoma, where the cicadas come to sing in the evening, that I come.’
- b. 何物 鴨 御狩 人之 折而 将挿頭  
 Nani=wo **ka**=mo mi-kari=no pito=**no** wori-te kazasa-mu?  
 what=ACC KA=FOC HON-hike=GEN person=GEN pick-CONJ wear.MOD.RT  
 ‘What should the hikers pick and wear (on their hair)?’ (MYS 1974)

Yanagida (2006), Yanagida and Whitman (2009), and Yanagida (2012):

- ⇒ GEN as inherent case assigned to the subject in [Spec, vP]<sup>5</sup>
- ⇒ WO-marked object moves to outer spec of vP.
- ⇒ FOC must be even higher.

- (15) a. 佐欲比賣能故何 比列布利斯 夜麻 (Manyoshu 868)  
 [<sub>vP</sub> Sayopimye=**no** kwo=**ga** [<sub>vP</sub> pire puri]]-si yama  
 Sayohime=GEN child=GEN scarf wave-PAST.RT hill  
 ‘the hill where the girl Sayohime waved her scarf’
- b. 蜻野叫 人之懸者 (Manyoshu 1405)  
 [<sub>vP</sub> Akidu nwo=**wo** [<sub>v</sub> pito=**no** [<sub>vP</sub> *tObj* kakure-ba]]]  
 Akizu field=ACC man=GEN speak.of-COND  
 ‘When a man speaks of the moorland of Akizu...’

<sup>4</sup> As is true for several OJ verb classes, the *rentai* adnominal and *shuushi* conclusive forms for this verb are syncretic. In the interest of clarity, I gloss these inflections according to their functions in the given examples.

<sup>5</sup> Specifically, this is for *ga* genitive case, while they allow *no* to be assigned/valued higher.

More evidence for movement: Locality (Whitman 2001, Yanagida 2005)

⇒ No island boundary between the particle and the verb showing concord with it.<sup>6</sup>

- (16) a. 福 何有人香 黒髪之  
 [DP [Sakipapi=no *ika* na-ru] pito]=**ka** kurwo kami=no  
 fortunate=GEN how be-RT person=KA black hair=GEN  
 白成左右 妻之音乎聞 (MYS 1411)  
 sirwo-ku na-ru made imwo=no kowe=wo kik-u?  
 white-ADV be-RT until wife=GEN voice=ACC hear-RT  
 ‘A man whose fortune is how (good) will hear his wife’s voice until his black hair has turned white?’
- b. 雁之 翅乃 覆羽之 何処 漏香  
 [CP [[Kari=no tubasa=no opopi-pa]=no *iduku* mori-te]]=**ka**  
 goose=GEN wing=GEN great-wing=GEN where leak-CONJ=KA  
 霜之 零異牟 (MYS 2238)  
 shimo=no furi-kye-mu.  
 frost=GEN fall-PAST-MOD.RT  
 ‘The frost has fallen, because what part of the great wings of the wild goose is leaking?’

Whitman (2001), Watanabe (2002, 2005), Kuroda (2007), Aldridge (2009):

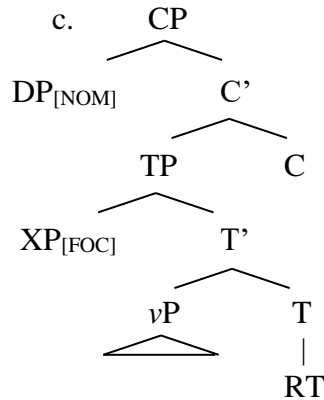
⇒ Focus (or *wh*-) movement to a position above *vP*

NOM > FOC

- ⇒ Focus feature inherited by T  
 ⇒ Subject moves to [Spec, CP] for licensing

- (17) a. 保等登藝須 奈尔加 伎奈可奴 (MYS 4053)  
*Pototogisu* nani=**ka** ki-naka-un?  
 cuckoo.NOM what=KA come-cry-NEG.RT  
 ‘Why does the cuckoo not come and sing?’
- b. 志藝 誰 田尔加 須牟 (MYS 4141)  
 ... *sigi* [ta-ga ta=ni]=**ka** sum-u?  
 snipe who-GEN field=DAT=KA live-RT  
 ‘In whose field lives the snipe who ... ?’

<sup>6</sup> See also Gair (1983, 1998), Kishimoto (1992, 2005), Cable (2010), Slade (2011), and others on the locality restriction in similar constructions in other languages, specifically Sinhala and Tlingit.



**But:** Focus can precede subject if subject not bare:  
 ⇒ Subject marked as topic

- (18) a. 三嶋江之 入江之 薦乎 苧尔社 吾乎 婆公者 念有来 (2766)  
 Misimae=no irie=no komo=wo kari=ni=**koso**  
 Misima=GEN estuary=GEN straw=ACC cut-CONJ=DAT=KOSO  
 ware=**wo**=ba kimi=**pa** omopi-tari-kyer-e.  
 me=ACC=TOP you=TOP think-PRV-PAST-IZ  
 ‘It was when you went to the Misima estuary to cut straw that you were you thinking of me.’
- b. 時自久曾 人者飲云 (MYS 3260)  
 Toki-ji-ku=**so** pito=**pa** nomu to ip-u.  
 time-NEG-CONJ=SO person=TOP drink C say-RT  
 ‘(They) say that people drink *at the wrong times.*’

### 3.3. More on extraction

One bare DP can be licensed in [Spec, CP].

Bare subjects can be preceded by adjuncts.

- (19) a. 情無 此渚埼未尔 多津鳴倍思哉  
 [Kokoro na-ku] [kono susakimi=ni] **tadu** nak-u bes-i ya?  
 feeling lack-ADV this sandbar=LOC crane cry-SS MOD-SS Q  
 ‘Should a crane be crying without feeling on the sandbar?’
- b. 我屋<戸>前乃 花橘尔 霍公鳥 今社鳴米 (MYS 1481)  
 [Wa-ga yadwo=no pana tatipana]=**ni**  
 1SG-GEN house=GEN flower orange=LOC  
**pototogisu** ima=koso ki-naka-me.  
 cuckoo now=KOSO come-cry-MOD.IZ  
 ‘The cuckoo will now come to sing at the flowering orange blossoms of my home.’

... or a scrambled object with accusative WO-marking:



- (20) a. 許乃久礼能 之氣伎乎乃倍乎 保等登藝須 奈伎弓 故由奈利  
 [Ko=no kure=no sige-ki wo=no pe]=wo  
 tree=GEN darkness=GEN dense-RT ridge=GEN over=ACC  
*pototogisu naki-te kwoy-u nar-i.*  
 cuckoo cry-CONJ cross-SS be-SS  
 ‘The cuckoo seems to cry as it passes over the ridge draped in the darkness of the trees.’
- b. ... 我振袖乎 妹見都良武香 (MYS 132)  
 [... wa-ga pur-u sode]=wo *imwo* mi-tu-ramu=ka?  
 1SG-GEN wave-RT sleeve-ACC wife see-PRV-MOD=Q  
 ‘Did my dear wife see the sleeve I waved?’

**But:** Bare objects can front only in the absence of NOM subject.

- (21) a. 梅柳 誰与共可 吾纒可牟 (MYS 4238)  
*Ume yanagi tare=to tomo=ni=ka wa-ga kaduraka-mu?*  
 plum willow who=with together=DAT=KA 1SG-GEN adorn.hair-MOD.RT  
 ‘With whom shall I adorn my hair with plums and willows?’
- b. ... 心 何所可将寄 (MYS 480)  
 ... *kokoro iduku=ka yos-e-mu?*  
 heart where=KA send-MZ-MOD.RT  
 ‘Where shall I send my heart?’

**Point:** An object can move over the subject if the subject is already licensed.

⇒ Just like ergative languages: ERG case on subject enables object extraction.

### 3.4. Oblique case

OBL = last resort case for DP complement of V

#### Non-specific direct object

- (22) 我期大王 國所知良之 (MYS 933)  
 [Wa-ga opo-kimi] kuni sirasu ras-i.  
 1SG-GEN great-lord.NOM country.OBL rule seem-SS  
 ‘My great lord rules seems to rule the land.’

#### Unaccusative subject in focus concord construction

- (23) a. 志藝 誰 田尔加 須牟 (MYS 4141)  
 ... *sigi [ta-ga ta=ni]=ka sum-u?* (Bare NOM in [Spec, CP])  
 snipe who-GEN field=DAT=KA live-RT  
 ‘In whose field lives the snipe who ... ?’
- b. 時自久曾 人者飲云 (MYS 3260)  
 Toki-ji-ku=so pito=pa nomu to ip-u. (TOP NOM lower copy)  
 time-NEG-CONJ=SO person=TOP drink C say-RT  
 ‘(They) say that people drink *at the wrong times.*’

- c. 木道尔社 妹山在云 (MYS 1098)  
 Ki-di=ni=**koso** imwo yama ari to ip-u (Bare IA subject in situ)  
 Ki-road=DAT=KOSO Imwo Mt. be C say-RT  
 ‘They say that there is a “Mt. Imwo” on the road to Ki.’

Unaccusative subject in relative clause

- (24) a. 隱口乃泊瀬越女我手二纏在玉 (MYS 424)  
 [komoriku=no patuse wotomye=**ga** te=ni mak-ye-ru] tama  
 secluded=GEN Patuse girl=GEN hand=DAT wind-PAST-RT bead  
 ‘the beads that the maiden of the secluded Patuse wound around her wrist’
- b. 白雲乃棚弓山 (MYS 287)  
 [sira kumwo=**no** tanabik-u] yama  
 white cloud=GEN hang-RT<sup>7</sup> mountain  
 ‘the mountain that white clouds hang over’
- c. 奥波来依荒磯乎 (MYS 222)  
 oki-tu nami kiyor-u ar-iso=wo  
 offing-GEN wave approach-RT desolate-shore=ACC  
 ‘the desolate shore washed by the sea’s waves’

3.5. OJ summary

**Extraction:** One bare DP can be licensed in [Spec, CP].

⇒ This is usually the subject. But a lower DP can move if higher DPs have inherent case.

**Case:** Bare NOM on DP in [Spec, CP]; Overt NOM on lower copy

Inherent GEN from nominalized *v*

Bare OBL as last resort to V complement

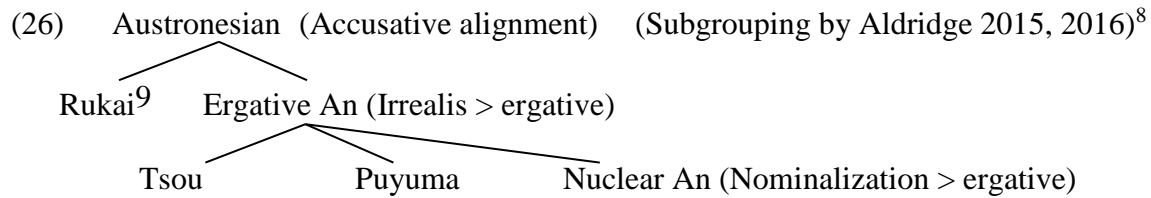
4. Rukai

- |      |                            |                                  |
|------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (25) | <u>Tagalog</u>             | <u>Old Japanese</u>              |
|      | NOM extraction restriction | NOM extraction restriction       |
|      | GEN to transitive subject  | GEN to subject in nominalization |
|      | ⇒ Allows OBJ movement      | ⇒ Allows OBJ movement            |

Why should ergative Tagalog be so similar to accusative OJ?

⇒ Austronesian ergativity is the result of the reanalysis of embedded nominalizations in an accusative language with Extraction Competition.

<sup>7</sup> As is true for several OJ verb classes, the *rentai* adnominal and *shuushi* conclusive forms for this verb are syncretic. In the interest of clarity, I gloss these inflections according to their functions in the given examples.



Rukai alignment: Accusative

- (27) Tanan Rukai
- a. sina-sinay    **ka**            Lulay  
 RED-sing        NOM.CN    child  
 ‘The child is singing.’
- b. kuḏaa    daru’u    sa            aru’un **ka**            tama-tama  
 yesterday    make        OBL.CN    chair    NOM.CN    man  
 ‘The man made a chair yesterday.’

#### 4.1. Extraction restriction

Past and future tense markers in finite clauses:

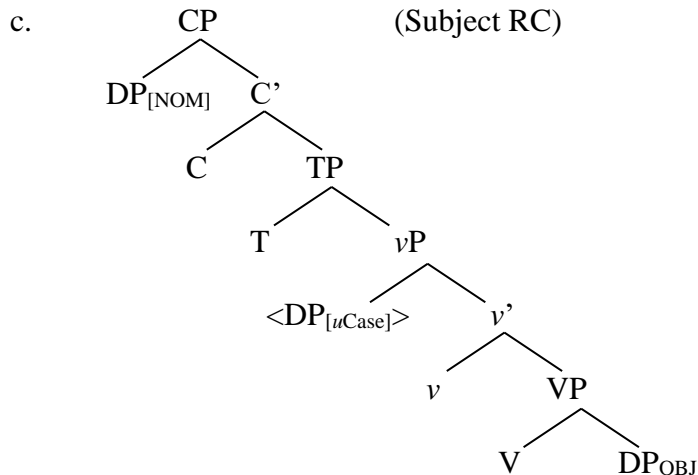
- (28) Tanan Rukai verbal tense
- a. **aw**-kila        nakua        kuDa    Lulay  
 PAST-come    1SG.OBL    that    child  
 ‘That child came to me.’
- b. luḏaa        **ay**-kila        ku            tina=li  
 tomorrow    FUT-come    NOM.PN    mother=1.SG.GEN  
 ‘My mom will come tomorrow.’

Subject relatives can contain tense morphemes.

- (29) TananRukai tense in subject RC
- a. [kuDa **w**-aga]    ka            sakaciḱili-li  
 DEM    PAST-cook    NOM.CN    spouse-1.SG.GEN  
 ‘The one who cooked is my spouse.’
- b. [kuaDa **ay**-suwasuwaw]    ka            mukabarubarua  
 DEM        FUT-clean        NOM.CN    girl  
 ‘The one who will clean is the girl.’

<sup>8</sup> This is a revision of Ross’s (2009, 2012) subgrouping proposal in which he reconstructs PAn with ergative alignment. See Aldridge (2015, 2016) for arguments that PAn should be reconstructed as accusative.

<sup>9</sup> This proposal is in agreement with Starosta’s (1995, 2001) claims that Rukai is a primary subgroup of PAn, though there are significant differences between the bases for the two claims.



But object relatives are nominalized: contain aspect, but not tense

- TananRukai
- (30) a. [kayvay **kani-kani**=nay kay kaang] ka ma'alili  
 this RED-eat=1.PL.EXCL this fish NOM.CN bitter  
 'The fish we are eating is bitter.'
- b. w-aga=su sa aga  
 PAST-cook=2.SG OBL.CN food  
 sa [a-**kani-ani**=ta ki maum]  
 OBL.CN IMPRV-eat-NMLZ=1.PL.INC P night  
 'Did you cook dinner (the food that we will eat tonight)?'
- c. [kuani **tueru-ani**-su kuða] ka manima  
 that cook-NMLZ-2.SG yesterday NOM.CN what  
 'What is it that you cooked yesterday?'

Subject in object relatives must be genitive:

- TananRukai
- (31) a. kuani langay-**li** kuani sidusia ka maDaw  
 this buy-1SG.GEN this car NOM.CN big  
 'This car that I bought is big.'
- b. kuani a-bath-ani-**li** kuani ki?iŋi ka sawalai  
 this IMPRV-give-NMLZ-1SG.GEN this clothes NOM.CM male  
 'These clothes that I am giving are men's (clothes).'

Contrast with nominative subject in finite clause:

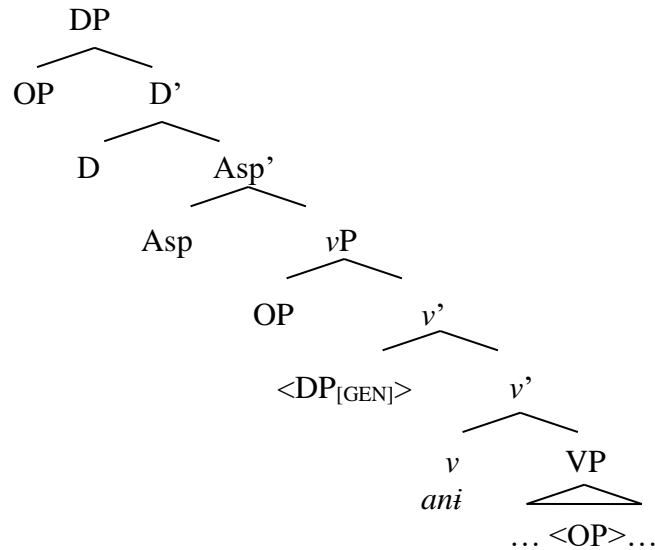
- Tanan Rukai
- (32) a. uduri=**aku** sa bilbil  
 plant=1SG.NOM INDEF banana  
 'I plant bananas.'

- b. labuwal=**aku** kila  
 walk=1SG.NOM come  
 'I come walking.'

Object extraction:

- ⇒ *-ani* heads the nominalized relative clause *nP*
- ⇒ GEN assigned to subject; object can move over it

(33)



Starosta et al. (1982), Ross (2009, 2012): Transitive ergative clauses in Nuclear Austronesian languages were reanalyzed from nominalizations in cleft constructions.

#### 4.2. High NOM position

Extraction Competition is accounted for if NOM is located on C and not on T. But what other evidence can be found in verb-initial languages like Rukai and Tagalog?

#### Wh-questions:

Rukai: Subject as cleft predicate; non-subject can be in-situ

- (34) a. Tanan Rukai  
**ania** kuaDa aw-bay sa valu na Lulay  
 who NOM.DEM PAST-give ACC.INDEF treat ACC.DEF child  
 'Who is the one who give the child a treat?'
- b. kuani taLagi-su ka bay **sa manima** inia Lulay?  
 DEM friend-2SG.GEN NOM give ACC.INDEF what DEM child  
 What did your friend give the child?
- c. kuani taLagi-ini ka bay sa valu **ki ania**?  
 DEM friend-3SG.GEN NOM give ACC.INDEF treat DAT who  
 'Who did his friend give a treat to?'

Tagalog (Law 2006)<sup>10</sup>

Nominative must be cleft predicate:

- Tagalog
- (35) a. Sino ang [CP OP b<um>ili *top* ng tela sa Maynila]?  
 who NOM <INTR.PRV>buy GEN cloth in Manila  
 ‘Who bought (some) cloth in Manila?’
- b. Ano ang [CP OP b<in>ili=mo *top* sa Maynila]?  
 what NOM <TR.PRV>buy=2SG.GEN in Manila  
 ‘What did you buy in Manila?’
- c. \*B<in>ili=mo ang ano sa Maynila?  
 <TR.PRV>buy=2SG.GEN NOM what in Manila  
 ‘What did you buy in Manila?’

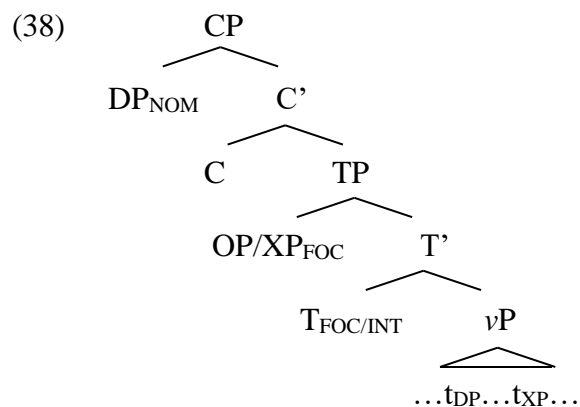
In-situ OK for non-nominative:

- Tagalog
- (36) a. B<um>ili=ka ng ano ]?  
 <INTR.PRV>buy=2.SG.NOM GEN what  
 ‘What did you buy?’
- b. B<in>ili nino ang libro-ng ito]?  
 <TR.PRV>buy who.GEN NOM book-LK this  
 ‘Who bought this book?’

### Analysis:

- (37) Condition on C-T Inheritance  
 Uninterpretable features are inherited.

- ⇒ Focus position (or position for unselective binder) is lower than C.
- ⇒ NOM DP must move higher, out of the scope of OP.



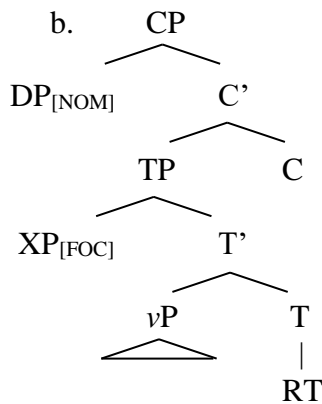
<sup>10</sup> See also Chang (1997) on Seediq and Cole et al. (2005) on Standard Indonesian. Law (2006) also discusses Malagasy and Tsou.

Non-DPs can undergo focus fronting in Tagalog but not DPs.

- Tagalog
- (39) a. I-b<in>igay                    ng    babae        ang    kendi **sa bata**.  
 APPL-<TR.PRV>give    GEN    woman    NOM    candy to child  
 ‘The woman gave the candy to the child.’
- b. **Sa bata** i-b<in>igay                    ng    babae        ang    kendi.  
 to child APPL-<TR.PRV>give    GEN    woman    NOM    candy  
 ‘To the child, the woman gave the candy.’
- c. **Kanino** i-b<in>igay                    ng    babae        ang    kendi.  
 to.whom APPL-<TR.PRV>give    GEN    woman    NOM    candy  
 ‘Who did the woman gave the candy to?’

Old Japanese bare subjects precede focused constituents:

- (40) a. 保等登藝須 奈尔加 伎奈可奴                    (MYS 4053)  
*Pototogisu nani=ka ki-naka-nu?*  
 cuckoo.NOM what=KA come-cry-NEG.RT  
 ‘Why does the cuckoo not come and sing?’



Bare objects precede focused subjects.

⇒ Subject is licensed by the focus particle, so object can move over it to [Spec, CP].<sup>11</sup>

- (41) a. 烏梅能波奈 多礼可有可倍志                    (MYS 840)  
 [Ume=no pana]                    tare=**ka** ukabe-si?  
 plum=GEN flower.NOM    who=KA float-PAST.RT  
 ‘Who floated the plum blossom?’
- b. ... 秋去衣 孰取見                    (MYS 2034)  
 ... akisari koromo                    tare=**ka** tori-mi-mu?  
 autumn kimono.NOM    who=KA take-see-MOD.RT  
 ‘Who will pick up and look at the autumn kimono that ...?’

<sup>11</sup> It has been claimed that this type of KM construction derives historically from a cleft (Quinn 1997, Whitman 1997, Shinzato 1998, Serafim & Shinzato 2005), and the focus particle might have been a copula.

## 5. Conclusion

Empirical generalization:

- ⇒ Extraction Competition occurs in languages where nominative case is valued in [Spec, CP].

Proposals:

1. Uninterpretable features are inherited.
2. There is no probe at C valuing NOM in languages with Extraction Competition.

### Consequences

- ⇒ C-T inheritance does not take place; nominative is valued by C.
- ⇒ Only the nominative DP undergoes extraction.

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