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**Reconsidering applicative constructions:  
Evidence for low and even 'higher' base-generated  
applicatives in Ilokano**

## Reconsidering applicative constructions

### Evidence for low and even ‘higher’ base-generated applicatives in Ilokano

1. The Ilokano suffix *-an* has traditionally been analyzed as the DIRECTIONAL or LOCATIVE voice marker. It has also been analyzed as part of the BENEFACTIVE voice circumfix (*i-* *-an*) and a ‘nominalizing’ suffix in other verbal environments (Rubino 1997, 2000). This paper offers a more unified analysis of the ‘multiple’ kinds of *-an* affixes on the basis of its syntactic and semantic behavior in verbal environments. I propose that the affix is an applicative morpheme that freely combines with verbs in a low or high position, increasing the verb’s valency.

2. **Voice in Ilokano** Like most Philippine-type languages, the Ilokano voice morphology system seems to correlate verbal affixes with the semantic role of a specific argument. Rubino 1997, 2000 proposed a number of major affixes in the system including the ACTOR *-um-* and *ag-* (2a, b in their perfective forms), PATIENT *-en* (1a), DIRECTIONAL (in Rubino 1997) or LOCATIVE (in Rubino 2000) *-an* (1a’, b’, c’, e’), THEME *i-* (1d), and BENEFACTIVE *i-* *-an* (1d’) voice affixes. On the surface, one may observe that the BENEFACTIVE *i-* *-an* circumfix is simply a morphological combination of the DIRECTIONAL/LOCATIVE suffix (*-an*) and the THEME prefix (*i-*). If we compare the perfective forms of the PATIENT voice ( $\emptyset$  in the context of the perfective infix *-in-*) and the DIRECTIONAL/LOCATIVE infix/suffix combination *-in-* *-an*, we can also push the claim that the ‘bare’ *-an* suffix is actually a morphological combination of the PATIENT voice with *-an* (either by fusion or deletion of *-en*). The fact that *-an* may also co-occur with the ACTOR voice markers finally leads us to propose that *-an* is never a voice affix by itself. Its behavior in verbal environments seems to pattern together with the actor voice markers, separate from its behavior in non-actor voice verbs. In this light, we will proceed to categorize the Ilokano voice affixes into two groups: the actor voice (AV) and non-actor voice (NAV). Following Rackowski’s (2005) analysis of Tagalog to some extent, I will assume that Voice introduces an external argument and the AV/NAV affixes are spell-outs of the Case checking mechanism. Under this system, NAV spells out when the Voice triggers object shift out of the  $\nu$ P shell to check Case. Otherwise, AV morphology spells out if T is sole Case checker of the closest base generated DP, such as the external argument in simple intransitive clauses.

3. **Non-actor voice with *-an*** A potential counterargument against our claim that the bare *-an* is not a NAV marker by itself can be found in 1a and 1a’. In these examples, the sentences are semantically similar where both *must* imply that the agent will run the entire location of Central Park, not just part of the park. The examples in 1b and 1b’, on the other hand, clearly show that the *-an* verb can host two internal arguments with an optional elliptical direct object while the bare *-en* verb cannot. One may then claim that there is an underlying direct object in 1a’ (i.e. a nominal *run* directly connected to the introduced object) while the argument in 1a (Central Park) is simply the direct object. The data in 1c’ and 1d’ are more examples that illustrate the role of *-an*, this time as an introducer of a benefactive object. In both examples, *-an* combines with either NAV (patient or theme) and introduces an applied object that yields to the same semantic role in both environments. Furthermore, we have examples such as in 1e’, which are the equivalent of ‘resultative’ constructions in languages such as English. Here we have the object introduced by *-an* as the ‘possessor’ of the nominal result *ti nalabbaga* ‘the red one’. Following Pylkkänen’s work on applicatives, we propose the analysis in (3), where *-an* functions as a ‘low applicative’ that introduces an applied object above the direct object, establishing a direct semantic relationship between the two. The applied object then becomes the closest candidate for object shift and subsequently spells out NAV morphology on the verb. Although the system gives us two *ti*-marked arguments, the system still correctly predicts that the constituent shifted to the edge of the phase can go through A-bar movement following the Phase Impenetrability Condition, as illustrated in 1d”.

4. **Actor voice with *-an*** We now turn our attention to the seemingly unusual combination of AV and NAV morphology on the same verb. This is actually not surprising under the applicative analysis since we do not consider the ‘bare’ *-an* as a NAV affix on its own. As we examine the data in (2), we have cases where the applied objects are interpreted either as unaffected locatives (2a’, 2b’) or reason constituents (2a”). The fact that these are neither directly related to the direct object nor affected by the event indicates that they are introduced in a high position outside the  $\nu$ P. These constituents are also the ‘core’ arguments of AV-marked verbs, which suggest that they must be base generated in a position *above* the external argument, unlike Rackowski’s ‘high applicatives’ in Tagalog. Rackowski posits that high applicatives in Tagalog are introduced below the external argument, while I claim that they are base generated above the external argument in Ilokano. We then propose the structure in (4) where the applied object introduced by *-an* is the closest argument that checks all the uninterpretable features of T. The system consequently spells out the AV marker as an indication that T has checked all its features with the closest base generated DP. The question now remains about how Case of the external argument if T has no features left to check. This leads me to suggest that the external argument must get its Case inherently licensed by Voice.

**(1) Non-actor voice (patient -en and theme i-) plus -an:**

- a. taray-en-k {> tarayek} to ti Central Park intono bigat  
run-NAV.PT-1S.ERG FUT DET Central Park FUT morning  
'I will run Central Park tomorrow' (where I would need to run the whole park)
- a'. taray-∅-an-k {> tinarayak} to ti Central Park intono bigat  
run-NAV.PT-an-1S.ERG FUT DET Central Park FUT morning  
'I will run Central Park tomorrow' (where I would need to run the whole park)
- b. s-in-urat-∅-ko {> sinurat} ti libro (\*ni Pedro)  
PRF-write-NAV.PT-1S.ERG DET book PSN Pedro  
'I wrote the book yesterday'
- b'. s-in-urat-∅-an-k {> sinuratak} ni Pedro (ti libro)  
PRF-write-NAV.PT-an-1S.ERG PSN Pedro DET book  
'I wrote a/the book for Pedro'
- c. l-in-uto-∅-k {> linutok} ti adobo para ken.ni Maria  
PRF-cook-NAV.PT-1S.ERG DET adobo for OBL.PSN Maria  
'I cooked the adobo for Maria'
- c'. l-in-utu-∅-an-k {> linutuak} ni Maria ti adobo.  
PRF-cook-NAV.PT-an-1S.ERG PSN Maria DET adobo  
'I cooked adobo for Maria'
- d. i-in-luto-k {> inlutok} ti karni iyan ti adobo.  
NAV.TH-PRF-cook-1S.ERG DET meat in DET adobo  
'I cooked the meat into the adobo.'
- d'. i-in-luto-an-k {> inlutuak} ni Maria ti adobo  
NAV.TH-PRF-cook-an-1S.ERG PSN Maria DET adobo  
'I cooked adobo for Maria'
- d''. ni Maria (\*ti adobo) ti i-in-luto-an-k {> inlutuak}  
PSN Maria DET adobo DET NAV.TH-PRF-cook-an-1S.ERG  
'Maria is who I cooked for'/\*'The adobo is what I cooked for Maria'
- e. p-in-inta-∅ {> pininta} ni Pedro ti balay-na (\*ti nalabbaga)  
PRF-paint-NAV.PT PSN Pedro DET house-3S.GEN (\*DET red)  
'Pedro painted the house red.'
- e'. p-in-inta-∅-an {> pinintaan} ni Pedro ti balay-na ti nalabbaga.  
PRF-paint-NAV.PT-an PSN Pedro DET house-3s.GEN DET red  
'Pedro painted his house red.'

**(2) Actor voice (-um- and -ag) plus -an:**

- a. nag-taray-ak {> nagtarayak} idiy/\*ti Central Park  
AV.PRF-run-1S.ABS DEM/DET Central Park  
'I ran in Central Park' (does not indicate that I ran the whole park)
- a'. nag-taray-an-k {> nagtarayak} idiy/ti Central Park  
AV.PRF-run-an-1S.ERG DEM/DET Central Park  
'I ran in Central Park' or 'Central Park was the place of my running'
- a''. alalya ti nag-taray-an-k {> nagtarayak} idiy/\*ti Central Park  
ghost DET AV.PRF-run-an-1S.ERG DEM/\*DET Central Park  
'(A) ghost was the reason why I ran in Central Park'
- b. g-imm-atang ni Juan iti ayayam idiy/\*ti tiendaan  
AV.PRF-buy PSN Juan OBL toy DEM/\*DET market  
'Juan bought a toy in the market'
- b'. idiy/ti tiendaan ti g-imm-atang-an ni Juan iti ayayam  
DEM/DET market DET AV.PRF-buy-an PSN Juan OBL toy  
'The Market is where Juan bought the toy.'<sup>1</sup>

**(3) Analysis of -an with the NON-ACTOR voice (Case checking through Object Shift)**

[<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>T</sub> [<sub>VoiceP</sub> DP<sub>IO</sub> [<sub>VoiceP</sub> DP<sub>EA</sub> [<sub>Voice<+EPP></sub> [<sub>vP</sub> ... [<sub>AppIP</sub> t<sub>IO</sub> [<sub>Appl=an</sub> [DP<sub>DO</sub>]]]]]]]]]]

**(4) Analysis of -an with the ACTOR voice (Case checking by T)**

[<sub>TP</sub> [<sub>T</sub> [<sub>AppIP</sub> DP [<sub>Appl=an</sub> [<sub>VoiceP</sub> DP<sub>EA</sub> [<sub>Voice<-EPP></sub> [<sub>vP</sub> ...]]]]]]]]

Chomsky 2001 'Derivation by Phase' • Pyllkkänen, L., (2002) *Introducing Arguments*. • Rackowski (2005) *The Structure of Tagalog*. • Rubino, C. (1997) *A Reference Grammar of Ilocano*. • \_\_\_\_\_. (2000) *Ilocano-English Dictionary*.

<sup>1</sup> ABS=absolute case; AV=actor voice; DET=determiner; DEM=demonstrative; ERG=ergative case; GEN=genitive; NAV=non-actor voice; OBL=oblique; PT=patient; PSN=person marker; PRF=perfective aspect; S=singular; TH=theme