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OUT OF CONTROL IN ILOKANO

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1. **Control in Ilokano.** *

This paper deals with the syntactic expression of lack of control in Ilokano, an Austronesian language of the Philippines. The sentences below differ from each other in an interesting respect. The a and b sentences have the implication that the agent performed the action in an intentional or deliberate manner. The c sentences, on the other hand, imply that the agent performed the action unintentionally, accidentally, non-volitionally, or coincidentally. The verbs in the c sentences are prefixed with na- , a marker of uncontrolled action in Ilokano. (cf § 3)

This dichotomy of semantic implication will be referred to here with the notion of control. That is, the agents in the a and b sentences are performing controlled actions, while the agents in c are acting in situations which are out of their control.

1. a. Nag   -   panúnot ni Eva   iti aramíden   na.[1]
       pst act -   think   Det   O-Det doing   3G
       'Eva concentrated on what to do. '
   b. P - in - ∅ - anúnot ni Eva ti aramíden na.
           pst - pas - think Det   Det doing   3G
       'What to do was concentrated on by Eva.'
   c. Na   -   ∅ - panúnot ni Eva ti aramíden na.
       pst-unc - pas - think Det   Det doing   3G
       'Eva flashed on what to do. ' / 'What to do came to Eva. '

2. a. Nag   -   tippóg   ni Irwin   ka-dagiti botélya.
       pst act - knock over Det   O- Det   bottle
       'Irwin knocked over the bottles. ' [on purpose]
   b. T - in - ∅ - ippóg ni Irwin dagiti botélya.
           pst- pas- knock over Det   Det   bottle
       'The bottles were knocked over by Irwin. ' [on purpose]
   c. Na -   ∅ - tippóg   ni Irwin dagiti botélya.
       pst -unc - pas -knock over Det   Det   bottle
       'The bottles were knocked over by Irwin. ' [accidentally]

3. a. Nag   -   itéd ti ubíng iti kuárta ka-dagiti birkóg.
       pst act - give Det child O-Det money O-Det   thief
       'The child [deliberatedly] gave the money to the thieves. '

b. In - ted - án ti ubíng iti kuárta dagiti birkóg.
   pst - give - adv Det child O-Det money Det   thief
'The thieves were given the money by the child.'[deliberate]
c. Na - ited - án ti ubíng   iti   kuárta dagiti birkóg.
   pst-unc-give -adv Det child   O-Det money   Det   thief
'The child [unintentionally] gave the money to the thieves.'/
'The thieves were given the money by the child.'[unintentional]

Arguing within the theory of relational grammar,[2] I present the following analysis of the above sentences:
The a sentences, which will be referred to as ag- sentences, are active and can be represented in a monostratal relational network, such as the network for sentence 3a in 4:

4. ag- sentences [active]
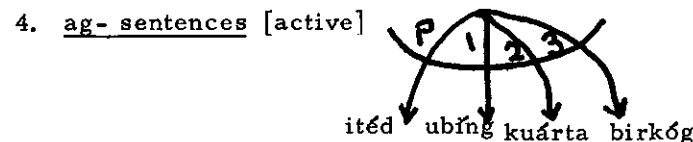
The b and c sentences in 1 and 2, referred to here as ∅ - sentences, are passive and can be represented in a bistratal relational network, such as the network for 2b in 5:

5. ∅ - sentences [passive]
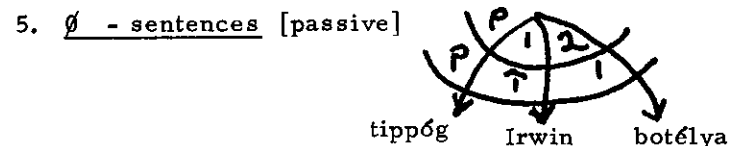
Passive sentences are characterized by an advancement of the direct object to subject placing the initial subject en chômage. The b and c sentences in 3, referred to as -an sentences, are clauses with indirect object advancement. Sentence 3b can be represented by a bistratal network as in 6, where the initial indirect object has advanced to subject, placing the initial subject en chômage.

6. -an sentences   [3 →1]
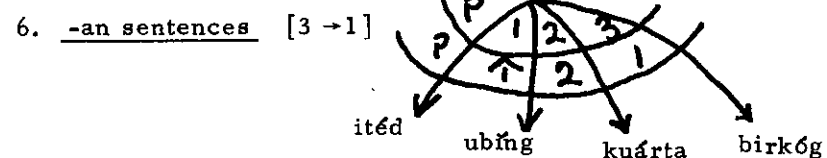
I will be referring to passive and indirect object advancement collectively as advancements.[3]

It is significant to note in the data above that, while clauses with controlled actions (the a and b sentences above) can be either active or advancement clauses, initially transitive clauses with uncontrolled actions (the c sentences above) cannot occur as active clauses.

7.

	controlled	uncontrolled (ma-)
active	a sentences	*
advancement	b sentences	c sentences

Thus, initially transitive clauses expressing uncontrolled actions in Ilokano have two features in common. First, their verbs are prefixed with ma- , a marker of uncontrolled action. Second, their initial subjects have been placed en chômage by the advancement of another NP to subject.[4]

2. Arguments for an advancement analysis .

In this section, I argue for an advancement analysis of the b and c sentences in section 1 on the basis of pronominal case, relative clause formation, and cleft constructions. Bell (to appear) has given analogous arguments in greater detail for an advancement analysis in Cebuano. She argues convincingly that an analysis within a theory of language which formulates rules in terms of grammatical relations captures significant generalizations, contrary to an assertion in the literature that a relation such as subject is not a viable construct in Philippine languages.[5]

To contrast a non-advancement analysis with an advancement analysis in Ilokano, I will formulate rules for the above phenomena in both analyses. In describing the data, I will use the following terminology: agent denotes the nominal which performs the action; patient denotes the nominal on which the action is performed; recipient denotes the nominal which receives the patient from the agent.[6]   In formulating rules, I will refer to the term relations posited for relational grammar: subject, object , and indirect object.

In a non-advancement analysis, only a single level of structure is posited for the ag- , ∅ , and -an sentences, as in 8.

8. Non-advancement analysis.
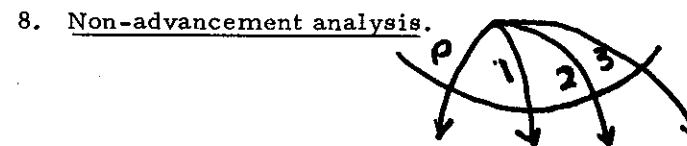
The nominals in 8 bear the same grammatical relations at both initial and final level. [The agent is both the initial and final subject. Likewise, the patient and recipient are object and indirect object respectively at both the initial and final level.] Therefore, rules in a non-advancement analysis will be written without regard to level.

In contrast, rules in an advancement analysis need to distinguish initial from final grammatical relations. In ag- sentences (cf 4), there are no advancements and the initial terms are the final terms. However, in ∅ - sentences (cf 5), the initial object (the patient) is the final subject and the initial subject (the agent) is a final subject chômeur in a passive construction. In -an sentences (cf 6), the initial indirect object (the recipient) is the final subject and the initial subject is en chômage due to indirect object advancement.

2.1 Pronominal case.

The first argument for an advancement analysis is based on the formulation of rules for case assignment for pronouns in Ilokano. There are three sets of non-emphatic pronouns in Ilokano; a partial list is given here.

9.

	Nominative	Genitive	Oblique
1s	ak	ko	kanyák
2s	ka	mo	kenká
3s	∅	na	kenkuána

If the third person nominal agents in the sentences above were replaced by 1st person pronominals as in 10 and 11, a consistent difference appears: the ag- sentences have nominative pronouns; the ∅ - sentences and the -an sentences have genitive pronouns.

10. a. Nag - panúnot ak   iti   aramíde - k.
       pst act- think   1N   O-Det doing   1G
       'I concentrated on what to do.'
    b. P - in - ∅ - anúnot ko ti aramíde - k.
        pst - pas - think   1G Det doing   1G
       'What to do was concentrated on by me.'
    c. Na - ∅ - panúnot ko   ti   aramíde - k.
       pst-unc -pas- think   1G   Det doing   1G
       'I flashed on what to do.'

11. a. Nag - itéd   ak iti kuárta ka-dagiti birkóg.
       pst act-give 1N O-Det money O- Det   thief
       'I [deliberately] gave the money to the thieves.'

    b. In - ted - án ko   iti kuárta   dagiti birkóg.
       pst - give - adv 1G   O-Det money   Det   thief
       'The thieves were given the money by me.' [deliberate]
    c. Na - ited - án ko iti kuárta   dagiti birkóg.
       pst-unc- give - adv 1G O-Det money   Det   thief
       'The thieves were given the money by me.' [unintentional]

Furthermore, a 1st person patient in a ∅ - sentence is expressed by a nominative pronoun:

12.   T - in - ∅ - uáng n - ak   ni John.
           pst   pas push 3G   1N   Det
       'I was pushed by John.' [deliberate]

Similarly, a 1st person recipient in -an sentences is expressed by a nominative pronoun:

13.   In - ted - án n - ak ti ubíng iti   kuárta.
       pst - give - adv 3G 1N Det child O-Det money
       'I was given the money by the child.' [intentional]

To account for the pronominal morphology in 10-13, a non-advancement analysis would have to posit the following rules:

14. a. Pronominal subjects in ag- sentences, objects in ∅ - sentences, and indirect objects in -an sentences are nominative.
    b. Pronominal subjects in ∅ - sentences and -an sentences are genitive.

In an advancement analysis, a much simpler rule for pronominal case can be given:

15. a. Final subjects are nominative.
    b. Final subject chômeurs are genitive.

Thus, the data on pronominal morphology provides evidence for an analysis with passive and indirect object advancement.

2.2 Relative clause formation.

A second argument for an advancement analysis comes from relative clause formation. In an ag- sentence, such as 16a, the agent ('the child') can relativize, as in 16b. However, the patient ('the money') and the recipient ('the thieves') cannot relativize, as is seen in 16c and d.

16. a. (= 3a) Nag - itéd ti ubíng iti kuárta ka-dagiti birkóg.
                pst act- give Det child O-Det money O-Det   thief
                'The child gave the money to the thieves.'

b. ti ubíng   nga   nag-itéd iti kuárta ka-dagiti birkóg
    child   lnk   give   money   thief
'the child who gave the money to the thieves'

c. *iti kuárta nga nag-itéd ti ubíng ka-dagiti birkóg
    money lnk   give   child   thief
    *'the money that the child gave to the thieves' [7]

d. (*ka)dagiti birkóg nga nag - itéd ti ubíng iti kuárta
    thief lnk   give   child   money
    *'the thieves who the child gave the money to'
    'the thieves who gave the child money '

In 16d, 'the thieves' can only be interpreted as agent.

In $\emptyset$ - sentences, the facts are different. In 17b, it is the patient noun ('the money') that can relativize. As is seen in 17c and d, the agent and recipient nouns cannot relativize.

17. a. In - $\emptyset$ - téd ti ubíng ti kuárta ka-dagiti birkóg.
    pst-pas - give Det child Det money O- Det   thief
    'The money was given to the thieves by the child. '

   b. ti kuárta nga in-téd ti ubíng ka-dagiti birkóg
    money lnk   give   child   thief
    'the money that was given to the thieves by the child'

   c. !! ti ubíng nga in-téd ti kuárta ka-dagiti birkóg
    child lnk   give   money   thief
    !!'the child who was given to the thieves by the money'
    * 'the child who gave the money to the thieves'
    *'the child who the money was given to the thieves by'

   d. !! (ka)dagiti birkóg nga in-téd ti ubíng ti kuárta
    thief lnk   give   child   money
    !! 'the thieves who were given to the money by the child'
    * 'the thieves who the money was given to by the child'

In 17c, 'the child' can only be interpreted as patient.

Likewise, in $\emptyset$ - sentences with the prefix ma- , only the patient noun can relativize, as in 18.

18. a. Na - $\emptyset$ - itéd ti ubíng ti kuárta ka-dagiti birkóg.
    pst-unc-pas - give Det child Det money O-Det   thief
    'The money was given to the thieves by the child. '[uninten-
                      tional]

   b. ti kuárta nga na-itéd ti ubíng ka-dagiti birkóg
    money lnk   give   child   thief
    'the money that was given to the thieves by the child'

   c. *ti ubíng nga na-itéd ti kuárta ka-dagiti birkóg

   d. *(ka)dagiti birkóg nga na-itéd ti ubíng ti kuárta

On the other hand, in -an sentences, only the recipient can relativize, as is seen in 19.

19. a. (=3b) In - ted- án ti ubíng iti kuárta dagiti birkóg
    pst - give-adv Det child O-Det money Det thief
    'the thieves were given the money by the child. '

   b. dagiti birkóg nga intedán ti ubíng iti kuárta
    thief   lnk   give   child   money
    'the thieves who were given the money by the child'

   c. ti ubíng nga intedán iti kuárta dagiti birkóg
    child   lnk   give   money   thief
    'the child who was given the money by the thieves'
    *'the child who the thieves were given the money by'

   d. *iti kuárta nga intedán ti ubíng dagiti birkóg
    money lnk   give   child   thief
    *'the money that was given the thieves by the child'

Likewise, only the recipient can relativize in -an sentences prefixed with ma- :

20. a. (=3c) Na- ited - án ti ubíng iti kuárta dagiti birkóg.
    pst-unc   -give - adv Det child O-Det money Det thief
    'The thieves were given the money by the child. '[uninten-
                      tional]

   b. dagiti birkóg nga naitedán ti ubíng iti kuárta
    ' the thieves who were given the money by the child'

   c. *ti ubíng nga naitedán iti kuárta dagiti birkóg

   d. * iti kuárta nga naitedán ti ubíng dagiti birkóg

A non-advancement analysis would find it necessary to posit the following rule to account for the relativization data:

21. a. In ag- sentences, only subjects relativize.
   b. In $\emptyset$ - sentences, only objects relativize.
   c. In -an sentences, only indirect objects relativize.

An advancement analysis, however, can capture the relevant generalization by means of a single rule:

22.   Only final subjects relativize.

Furthermore, as Bell (to appear) has pointed out for Cebuano, a rule such as 22 is compatible with the predictions made by Keenan and Comrie (1977) concerning the accessibility of nominals to relativization. Specifically, the Accessibility Hierarchy would predict that if only one nominal of a clause can relativize, that nominal must be the subject. While that prediction would be borne out in an analysis with advancement and rule 22, a statement like that found in 21 would violate this claim.

2.3 Cleft Constructions .

Data involving cleft constructions give a third argument for an advancement analysis in Ilokano. Cleft constructions, which contrast or emphasizd an NP, are formed by placing a nominal before the verb and following it with the determiner ti , as in 23, the clefted form of 3a.

23. Ti_ubíng ti_ nag - itéd   iti kuárta ka-dagiti birkóg.
    Det child Det pst act-give   O-Det money O- Det   thief
    'The child was the one who gave the money to the thieves.'

As we see in 23, agents can be clefted in ag- sentences. However, patients and recipients cannot be.

24. a. *Iti kuárta ti_ nag - itéd ti ubíng ka- dagiti birkóg.
       Det money Det pst act-give Det child O- Det   thief
       'the money was what the child gave to the thieves.'
    b. *ka-dagiti birkóg ti_ nag - itéd ti ubíng   iti kuárta.
        O- Det   thief Det pst act-give Det child O-Det money
        'The thieves were the ones whom the child gave the
        money to.'

In ∅ - sentences, patients can be clefted while agents and recipients cannot be:

25. a. (cf 17a) Ti kuárta ti_ in - ∅ - téd ti ubíng ka-dagiti birkóg.
                Det money Det pst-pas-give Det child O-Det thief
                'The money was what was given to the child by the
                thieves.'
    b. !! Ti ubíng ti_ in- ∅ - téd ti kuárta ka-dagiti birkóg.
       Det child Det pst-pas-giveDet money O-Det thief
       !! 'The child was the one that was given to the thieves by
          the money.'
       *'The child was the one that the money was given to the
          thieves by.'
    c. *Ka-dagiti birkóg ti_ in- ∅ - téd ti ubíng ti kuárta.
        O- Det   thief Det pst-pas-give Det child Det money
        *'The thieves were the ones that the money was given to
         by the child.'

The same generalization holds for ∅ - sentences prefixed with ma- :

26. a. (cf 18a) Ti kuárta ti_ na- ∅ - itéd ti ubíng ka-dagiti birkóg.
                Det money Det pst-unc-pas-give Det child O-Det   thief
                'The money was what was given to the thieves by the child.'
                [unintentional]

   b. !! Ti ubíng ti_ na - ∅ - itéd ti kuárta ka-dagiti birkóg.
      Det child Det pst-unc-pas-give Det money O-Det thief
      !! 'The child was the one that was given to the thieves by
         the money.' [unintentional]
      *'The child was the one that the money was given to the
         theives by.' [unintentional]
   c. *Ka-dagiti birkóg ti_ na - ∅ - itéd ti ubíng ti kuárta.
       O- Det   thief Det pst-unc-pas-give Det child Det money
      *'The thieves were the ones who were given the money
       by the child.' [unintentional]

In contrast, only the recipient can be clefted in -an sentences and in -an sentences with ma- .

27. a. (cf 19a) Dagiti birkóg ti_ in- ted - án ti ubíng iti kuárta.
                Det thief   Det pst-give-adv Det child O-Det money
                'The thieves were the ones who were given the money by the
                child.'
    b. *Ti ubíng ti_ in-ted-án iti kuárta   dagiti birkóg.
       Det child Det pst-give-adv O-Det money Det   thief
       *'The child was the one who the thieves were given the
        money to by.'
    c. * Iti kuárta ti_ in - ted - án ti ubíng dagiti   birkóg.
       O-Det money Det pst-give-adv Det child Det   thief
       *'The money was what the thieves were given by the child.'
28. a. (cf 20a) Dagiti birkóg ti_ na - ited - án ti ubíng iti kuárta.
                Det   thief Det   give- adv Det child O-Det money
                'The thieves were the ones who were given the money by the
                child.' [unintentional]
    b. *Ti ubíng ti_ na - ited -án   iti kuárta dagiti birkóg.
       Det child Det pst-unc- give-adv O-Det money Det   thief
       *'The child was the one who the thieves were given the
        money to by.' [unintentional]
    c. * Iti kuárta ti_ na - ited - án   ti ubíng dagiti birkóg.
       O-Det money Det pst-unc -give-adv Det child Det   thief
       *'The money was what the thieves were given by the child.'
       [unintentional

To account for this data, a non-advancement analysis would posit the following rules:

29. a. Only subjects can be clefted in ag- sentences.
    b. Only objects can be clefted in ∅ - sentences.
    c. Only indirect objects can be clefted in -an sentences.

However, an advancement analysis can state the following generalization:

30. Only final subjects can be clefted.

The data on cleft constructions, then, provides evidence for an advancement analysis.

3. ma- as an out-of-control marker.

In the previous section, I have argued on the basis of pronominal case, relative clause formation, and cleft constructions that the b and c sentences in section 1 are best handled by an advancement analysis. As noted in section 1, the b and c sentences differ from each other in an interesting respect: 1-3c are prefixed with ma- and have the implication that the action was performed without control; 1-3b lack this prefix and have control implications. This difference leads to the supposition that ma- is a morphological marking for uncontrolled actions.

The sentences with verbs prefixed with ma- given above have all been examples of initially transitive clauses. In addition, ma- may be prefixed to verbs in initially intransitive clauses. Certain intransitive verbs whose subjects lack control over their actions are prefixed with ma- , as in 31.

31. a. Ma-tennág ti danúm.   'The water falls'
    b. Na-regré g ni John iti kayó.   'John fell from the tree.'
    c. Na-turóg ak.   'I fell asleep.'

In Ilokano, there are relatively few intransitive verbs of this type, and most of these verbs allow other affixes which contrast in meaning to ma- , as in 32. [8]

32. a. ag-tennág   'fall [intentionally]'
      [like a stunt man]
    b. ag-regrég   'drop'
    c. Nag-turóg ak.   'I went to sleep.'

A major class of intransitives which prefix ma- are the stative verbs, as in 33.

33. a. Na-sakít ak.   'I was sick.'
    b. Na-ládao ak.   'I was late.'
    c. Na-bannóg ak.   'I am tired.'

Subjects of stative verbs, I claim, are also characterized by lack of control over the state they are in.

The unifying characteristic of all the examples of clauses with ma- is that the subjects of those clauses lack control over their actions. On this basis, I propose that ma- is a morphological

marking for actions which are out of control. [9]

4. Conclusion.

In Ilokano, there is a means for indicating that the initial subject of a clause is performing an action that is out of control. Ma- , a morphological marker for uncontrolled actions, is prefixed to the verbs of such clauses. Thus, there is a morphological categorization of clauses into those with uncontrolled actions, with verbs prefixed with ma-, and those with controlled actions, lacking a ma- prefix.

A second phenomenon, which I suggest is unrelated, is the advancement of another NP to subject in initially transitive clauses where the initial subject lacks control. I propose that this reflects a constraint in Ilokano stating that transitive agents which lack control can never surface as final subject.

Thus, two features, the prefix ma- and the advancement of another NP to subject, characterize initially transitive clauses whose initial subjects are out of control in Ilokano.

Footnotes.

The following abbreviations are used in this paper:

pst	completed action	Det	Determiner
act	active marker	N	Nominative
pas	passive marker	G	Genitive
adv	advancement marker	O	Oblique
unc	uncontrolled action marker		

1. The data become more transparent if you keep the following phonological processes in mind:

a. -in- the completive marker is affixed before the first vowel of the stem. When -in- is affixed in certain prefixes, the first syllable of the resulting form is lost:

in - ag → nag
pst   act

m - in - a → na
    pst   unc

b. 1st and 2nd person genitive pronouns (ko and mo) lose their

vowel when encliticized to a vowel final stem.

    c. A stem final <u>n</u> is deleted before the 1st person genitive
pronoun: aramiden   ko   →   aramidek
              'doing'   1G   'my doing'

    d. Vowel drop deletes root-initial <u>i</u> when it follows a consonant:
        in - itéd   →   intéd
        pst   'give'

2. For definitions of the terms and for explanation of the
networks used in the relational grammar framework, cf Perlmutter
and Postal (1977) and Bell (to appear).

3. As in Cebuano (cf Bell), there are advancements of various
obliques to subject in Ilokano. The generalizations I make con-
cerning advancements hold for these constructions as well, but
for lack of space I will not argue for this here.

4. cf f. n. 9

5. E. g., Schachter (1976).

6. I am using 'agent', 'patient', and 'recipient' as an expedient
means for introducing the data in a way that is not biased towards
my solution. I make no claims as to the usefulness or definability of
such notions.

7. I am starring English clauses that are not acceptable
glosses for the Ilokano clause.

8. In fact, <u>ma-</u> as a stative marker is reconstructable for
Proto-Philippine and probably for Proto-Austronesian. It is easy
to see how a marker of stativity could come to be used as a marker
of lack of control. In a system that distinguishes stative from
active, a clause such as 'John accidentally fell from the tree.'
would not clearly fit into either category. I claim that in Ilokano,
such out-of-control actions were categorized with stative verbs
rather than active verbs.

9. In this discussion of <u>ma-</u> I am ignoring two other occur-
rences of that prefix in Ilokano.

First, <u>ma-</u> , which is the passive form of <u>maka-</u>, marks
potential action or ability. This prefix is also used to indicate
that the initial subject 'succeeded' or 'managed to' perform an
action, notions which perhaps should be categorized as the 'limited
control' of the subject. At this point, I prefer to analyze this as a
distinct morpheme from <u>ma-</u>, the marker of uncontrolled action.

Second, initially transitive clauses with unspecified agents
advance another NP to subject and prefix the verb with <u>ma-</u> as
in i. below. As is seen in ii, clauses with advancements but
without <u>ma-</u> cannot have initially unspecified agents.

---

i. Na   - ∅ - tippóg dagiti botélya.
    pst   - pas- knock over Det bottle
    'The bottles were knocked over.'
ii. *T - in - ∅ - ippóg dagiti botélya.
        pst pas

I propose that this use of <u>ma-</u> developed as an extension of the
use of <u>ma-</u> as a stative marker (cf f. n. 8). I argue that stative
sentences such as iii. were optionally reanalyzed as passive
sentences with unspecified agents as in iv.

iii.   Na   - dagás   ak.   'I am already picked up.'
        pst-unc-pick up 1N
iv.   Na - ∅ - dagás ak.   'I was already picked up
        pst   - pas -pick up 1N   [by someone].'

This reanalysis was possible for several reasons. First, the
morphological marking for passive is ∅. Second, pronominal
case is determined by final termhood (cf 15). In addition, the
passive without <u>ma-</u> does not allow initially unspecified subjects
(as in ii.).

Thus, <u>ma-</u> indicates an unspecified initial subject in sen-
tences like i. and iv. rather than lack of control. In any given
case, it is clear whether the initial subject is unspecified or
out of control; an unspecified subject never surfaces but an
out-of-control subject always surfaces as a chômeur.

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