

### Clitic doubling and object shift in Ilokano: Evidence from ellipsis

**Introduction** This paper examines clitic doubling constructions in Ilokano, a Philippine-type ergative language with a default VSO word order. Clitic doubling is licensed in transitive clauses, where the verb is in some ‘non-actor voice’ form and *v* is able to check structural Case with the *v*P-internal object. In comparison to the typical transitive sentence such as (1a), the presence of the ergative enclitic on the verb in (1b) yields to two fundamental consequences: *i.* while (1a) shows VSO order (with the agent preceding the patient), (1b) must have the agent co-referent with the ergative clitic placed to the right of the patient, yielding to a VOS word order *ii.* the agent *ni Juan* in (1b) may not be focused and must not refer to new information, whereas *ni Juan* in (1a) may function as the answer to the question *who kissed Maria?* I propose that sentences of the type in (1b) are clitic doubling constructions, where the ergative clitic is the head of a functional category above the *v*P and triggers object shift of the structurally Case-marked argument, namely the absolutive object of a transitive clause, to its specifier.

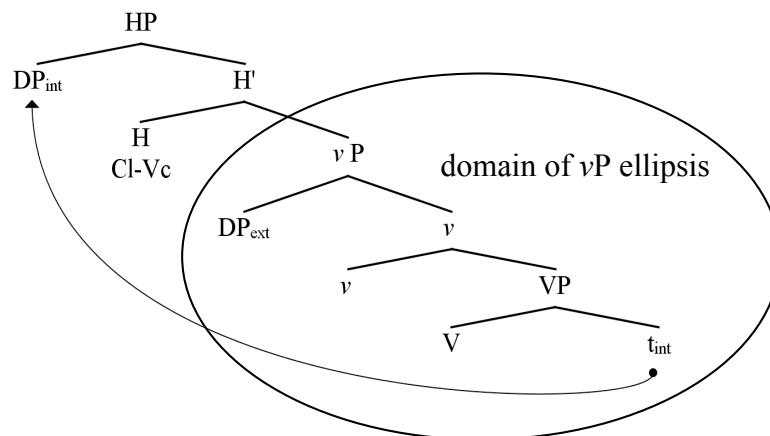
**Ergative clitics are not theta-role bearers** Rubino (1997) divides the Ilokano enclitic pronouns into two distinct forms: the enclitic absolutive and ergative forms. Sharpening this distinction, I propose that the absolutive forms are theta-role bearers while the ergatives are not. This paves way for an analysis of (1b) that treats the ergative clitics more like agreement markers (see Chung 1998 for Chamorro). In (1c), the absolutive pronoun cannot co-refer with the clause final DP suggesting that it itself is the theta-role bearer. The ergative clitic, on the other hand, happily co-refers with the overt DP, which is shown in (2a) to be clause internal and thus the theta-role bearer. The DP co-indexed with the ergative clitic in (2a) is in a position where the object *ti amin nga tao* can bind the possessive in *ti ina-da*. (2b) shows that the absolutive pronoun may refer to an overt DP only if this DP is *not* a theta-role bearer (clause external) as suggested by the impossibility of binding the possessive *da* and the obligatory prosodic break (i.e. right dislocation).

**On object shift** Rackowski (2005) has suggested that object shift happens in Tagalog in non-actor voice constructions. Object shift is apparently optional in Ilokano non-actor voice constructions as exemplified in (3a), where the object does not have to be necessarily specific as claimed in Tagalog. With the presence of the ergative enclitic on the verb in (3b), we lose the interpretation where the universal quantifier takes wide scope over the existential quantifier. This suggests that the presence of the ergative enclitic on the verb forces object shift, causing the object to be in a higher position than the agent.

**Evidence from ellipsis** Richards (2003) provides evidence for a *v*P-ellipsis in Tagalog, where the language elides a ‘verb-less’ *v*P after the verb has moved out to a higher position. I show that this is also the case in Ilokano. Considering example (4), it is impossible for a contrastive agent *ni Bill* in the second conjunct to co-refer with the ergative clitic. This sentence is only grammatical on a reading where *ni Bill* is the ‘paintee’ suggesting that the external argument (the agent), assuming it is generated in the specifier of *v*P, cannot escape ellipsis in the second conjunct. The object, on the other hand, readily escapes ellipsis.

**Analysis** I propose the structure in (5) where the ergative clitic is analyzed as a functional head, parallel to Sportiche’s (1996) account of Romance clitics. According to Sportiche, a clitic must be in a spec-head relationship with a DP that contains some matching feature [+F]. The clitic head in Ilokano apparently must be in a spec-head relationship with the structurally marked DP: namely, the absolutive object. So Sportiche’s [+F] is the structural Case-feature checked by *v*. For nominative-accusative languages, this entails that the DP that raises to the specifier position of the clitic head is the accusative object (which is the associate of the object clitic in the clitic head position); for ergative languages like Ilokano, on the other hand, the DP raising to the specifier of the clitic head is the absolutive object (not the ergative associate of the clitic, which receives inherent Case in its base position).

- (1) a. Binisito [ni Juan]<sub>i</sub> [ni Maria]<sub>j</sub>  
 PRF.NAV-kiss PSN Juan PSN Maria<sup>1</sup>  
 ‘Juan kissed Maria.’
- b. Binisito-na<sub>i/\*j</sub> [ni Maria]<sub>j</sub> [ni Juan]<sub>i</sub>  
 PRF.NAV-kiss-3SG.ERG PSN Maria PSN Juan  
 ‘Juan kissed Maria.’
- c. Binisito-na<sub>i</sub> [isuna]<sub>j</sub> [ni Juan]<sub>i/\*j</sub>  
 PRF.NAV-kiss-3SG.ERG 3SG.ABS PSN Maria  
 ‘Juan kissed Maria.’
- (2) a. Nakita na<sub>j</sub> [ti amin nga tao]<sub>i</sub> [ti ina-da]<sub>j</sub>  
 PRF.NAV-see-3SG.ERG [DET every LIG person]<sub>i</sub> [DET mother-their]<sub>j</sub>  
 ‘Their<sub>i</sub> mother saw every person<sub>i</sub>.’
- b. Naka-kita isuna<sub>j</sub> [iti amin nga tao]<sub>i</sub> \*(, ) [ti ina-da\*<sub>i</sub>]<sub>j</sub>  
 PRF.AV-kissed-3SG.ABS OBL every LIG person<sub>i</sub> DET mother-their<sub>j</sub>  
 ‘She<sub>j</sub> saw every person<sub>i</sub>, [their\*<sub>i</sub> mother]<sub>j</sub>.’
- (3) a. Ayayaten [ti amin nga tao]<sub>i</sub> [ti maysa nga ubing]<sub>j</sub>  
 IMPF.NAV-love DET every LIG person DET one LIG child  
 ‘Every person loves a child’  $\forall > \exists, \exists > \forall$
- b. Ayayaten-da<sub>i/\*j</sub> [ti maysa nga ubing]<sub>j</sub> [ti amin nga tao]<sub>i</sub>  
 IMPF.AV-love-3PL.ERG DET every LIG child DET one LIG person  
 ‘Every person loves a child’  $*\forall > \exists, \exists > \forall$
- (4) #Ammok nga pinintaan-na<sub>i</sub> ti tugaw idi Sabado ni Juan<sub>i</sub>  
 NAV-know-1SG LIG PRF.NAV-paint-3SG.ERG DET chair PST Saturday PSN Juan  
 ngem diak ammo no pinintaan-na<sub>i/\*j</sub> met ni Bill<sub>j</sub>.  
 but NEG-1SG know if PRF.NAV-paint-3SG.ERG also PSN Bill  
 #‘I know that John painted the chair on Saturday, but I don’t know if Bill did too.’  
 ‘I know that John painted the chair on Saturday, but I don’t know if he did Bill too.’
- (5)



**References:** Chung, S. (1998) *The Design of Agreement* • Kallulli, D. (2000) ‘Direct object clitic doubling in Albanian and Greek.’ • Merchant, J. (2001) *The Syntax of Silence* • Rackowski, A. (2005) *The Structure of Tagalog*, • Richards, N. (2003) ‘Tagalog ellipsis’ • Rubino, C. (1997) *A Reference Grammar of Ilocano*. • Sportiche, D. (1996) ‘Clitic constructions.’

<sup>1</sup>ABS=absolutive case; AV=actor voice; DET=determiner; ERG=ergative case; IMPF=imperfective; LIG=ligature; NAV=non-actor voice; NEG=negative marker; OBL=oblique; PST=past marker; PSN=person (proper name) marker; PRF=perfective aspect; SG=singular