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Some implications for the applicative construction from
Cebuano verb morphology

Pylkkänen (2000) proposes two separate phrase markers for applicative constructions dependant upon whether the applicative relates two objects in a possessor relationship as a complement to a verb, or whether the applicative takes an event and introduces an individual who is thematically

related to that event. The first type of applicative she calls 'low' and the second type she calls 'high' in reference to the applicative's position in relation to the verb. As support for this proposal, Pylkkänen notes that high applicatives can occur with unergative verbs, implicit objects, and do not seem to be required to respect transitivity. Low applicatives on the other hand relate two objects in a possession relationship and must therefore respect transitivity. Thus, they cannot occur with unergative verbs or implicit objects. Under these conditions, Pylkkänen claims that instrument applied objects occur in high applicative structures and that benefactive applied objects occur in low applicative constructions.

The goal of this paper is two-fold: first, to introduce data from Cebuano presenting additional semantic groups that appear to be mediated by an applicative head and second, to place them within the 'high/low' distinction argued for by Pylkkänen. Before proceeding, a division must be drawn between benefactives associated with events and those associated with the direct object of the verb. The first category involves an action that is performed in behalf of another, such as going to work in place of another, while the second involves an object being provided someone, such as buying food for another, i.e., buying food that is to be given to another. Event benefactives are high while possession benefactives are necessarily low. This distinction plays an important role in the analysis as Cebuano employs two distinct applicative morphemes for benefactives, *i-*, which appears to signal a high applicative and, *-an*, which signals a low applicative. This is shown in example (1).

- (1) a. **I-hiwa** nako sa pan ang kutsilyo. *Instrument; High*
 AP.IT-slice GEN.1S OBL bread TOP knife.
 'I will slice the bread with the knife'
- b. **I-sulat** nako ikaw kang Jose. *Event Benefactive; High*
 AP.BT-write GEN.1S TOP.2S OBL Jose.
 'I will write Joe for you' (Trosdal 1992)
- c. **Hatag-an** nako ang bata og kwarta. *Possession Benefactive; Low*
 give-AP.BT GEN.1S TOP child ACC money.
 'I will give the child some money'

Although Pylkkänen (2000) does not analyze locatives as applied objects, Rackowski (2002) addresses them in her analysis of Tagalog. She claims that locative applied objects are mediated by high applicatives because they can occur with unergative verbs and show no possession relationship with the direct object of the verb. In addition to locatives, this paper analyzes partitives and objects of verbs denoting cleaning, e.g., wash, dust, and the like. Each of these groups is mediated by the applicative, *-an*, in Cebuano. Examples of these constructions are given in (2).

- (2) a. **Lingkur-an** niya ang linkuranan. *Locative*
 sit-AP.LT GEN.3S TOP chair
 'He will sit in the chair'
- b. **Kuha-an** sa bata ang kan-on. *Partitive*
 take-AP GEN child TOP rice
 'The child will take (some) of the rice'
- c. **Hugas-an** sa nanay ang pinggan. *Cleaning*
 wash-AP GEN mother TOP plate
 'The mother will wash the plate'

As each of these applied objects occur without oblique marking and morphologically contrast with objects that are treated as direct objects of the verb, I conclude that they are mediated or introduced by an applicative analogous to the examples given in 1. The most interesting feature of these constructions is that they all occur with *-an*. This observation raises a number of questions regarding Pylkkänen and Rackowski's analyses of applicatives. The foremost of which are whether locatives are indeed high, and what defines a possession relationship. Lastly, in this paper I offer a

few observations and suggestions on how these questions play out in furthering the analysis of applicatives.

Pylkkänen, Liina. 2000. What Applicative Heads Apply To. *U. Penn Working Papers in Linguistics*. Volume 7.1, 197-210.

Rackowski, Andrea. 2002. *The Structure of Tagalog: Specificity, Voice, and the Distribution of Arguments*. Ph.D. dissertation, MIT.

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Cebuano Verbal Morphology and the Structure of Applicatives

1. Introduction

- 1 a. Ni-luto si Juan og bibingka para kang Maria
Pst-cook NOM John ACC cake for OBL Mary
'John baked a cake for Mary'
- b. Gi-luto-an ni Juan si Maria og bibingka
Pst-cook-AP.BT GEN John NOM Mary ACC cake
'John baked Mary a cake'

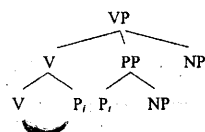
1.1 Applicative Analyses

Baker (1988)

2 Main Assumptions

- head-to-head movement
- preposition incorporation

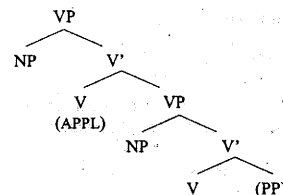
3 a. Incorporation Phrase Marker



Marantz (1993)

- structurally (stacked VP)
- mapping principles & event structure

b. Stacked VP Phrase Marker



can have NO
in either no
affectedness

1.2 Pykkänen (2000)

Two structural positions for applicative elements / High & Low
Both structures (options) made available by UG, though not employed by all languages
Applicatives take complements that are either a) events or b) complex objects

- Accounts for some object asymmetries found cross-linguistically

4 a. Chaga

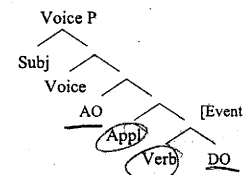
N-ä-ä-ly-i-f-ä m-ka k-é-lyá
FOC-1s-PR-eat-APPL-FV 1-wife 7-food
'He is eating food for his wife' (Bresnan and Moshi 1993)

no oblique

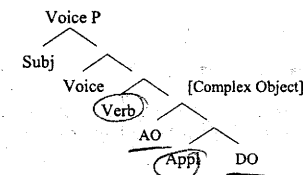
b. English

- *He is eating wife food
- cf. John is baking Mary a cake

5 a. High Applicative Phrase Marker



b. Low Applicative Phrase Marker



App
unergative
argument

2. Properties of High and Low Applicatives

2.1 High Applicatives

Combine an individual and an event
Employ no direct relationship between the direct object and the applied object
→ Thus can occur with unergative verbs (6a) and verbs with implicit objects (6b)

6 a. Tagalog

I-pinang-lakad ng lalaki ang (tungkod)
AP-asp.inst-walk GEN man NOM stick
'The man walked with a stick' (adapted from Rackowski 2002)

applied object introduced
by high Appl

b. Chichewa

Mlengi a-ku-lémb-ér-á nthenga
1-hunter 1s-PRES-write-AP-FV 9feather
'The hunter is writing an essay with a feather' (Alsina and Mchombo 1993)

2.2 Low Applicatives

Combine two objects into a single complex object
Place the two objects in a possession relationship
The direct object is "modified" by the applicative head
→ Low applicatives must respect transitivity – disallowing implicit objects (7b)

7 English

- I baked a cake
- *I baked him.
- I ran.
- *I ran him. (i.e. I ran for him)

VD0
VD0

cf. Chaga

- 8 a. N-~~z~~-i-zric-i-à mbùya
FOC-1s-PR-TUN-APPL-FV 9-friend
'He is running for a friend' (Bresnan and Moshi 1993)

3. Types of Applied objects

3.1 High Applicative Objects

Applied instruments occur in high applicative structures
Applied benefactives are split between high and low structures - Pylkkänen (2000)

- 9 a. Chaga
N-à-i-ly-i-i-à ma-woko k-élya
FOC-1s-PR-eat-APPL-FV 1-hand 7-food
'She is eating food with her hands' (Bresnan and Moshi 1993)
b. N-à-i-ly-i-i-à m-kà k-élya
FOC-1s-PR-eat-APPL-FV 1-wife 7-food
'He is eating food for his wife' (Bresnan and Moshi 1993)

Instrument

Benefactive

high

Applied locatives (in Tagalog) occur in high applicative structures - Rackowski (2002)

→ According to the negative test

- 10 a. Tagalog
Pagpa-pahingah-an ni Armand ang upuan
Asp.rest-AP GEN Armand NOM chair
'Armand will rest in the chair' (adapted from Rackowski 2002)

Locative

3.2 Low Applicative Objects

- 11 a. John baked Mary a cake

Benefactive

- b. Finnish
Liisa kirjoitti Matti-~~lle~~ kirje-~~n~~
Liisa.NOM wrote Matti-ALL letter-ACC
'Liisa wrote Matti a letter' (Pylkkänen 2000)

'TO-THE-POSSESSION OF' (Goal)

- c. Finnish
Liisa myi Matti-~~lta~~ talo-~~n~~
Liisa.NOM sold Matti-ABL house-ACC
'Liisa sold a house from Matti' (Pylkkänen 2000)

'FROM-THE-POSSESSION OF' (Source)

Recall that low applicatives place two objects in a possession relationship

→ No real difference between (11a) and (11b)

not checking the morph agreement but helps to see parallel

both possessive relationship

3.3 Harley (1995)

Locative and possession structures are headed by semantic primitives

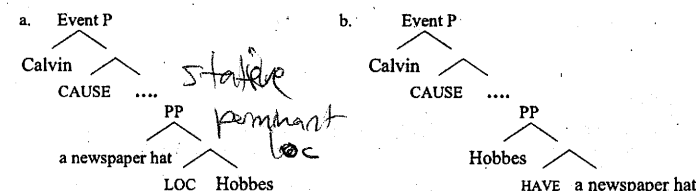
- Preposition relations HAVE and LOC

HAVE as a semantic primitive would account for many of the properties of low applicatives

- Negating the HAVE primitive supplies the 'FROM-THE-POSSESSION OF' relation (11c)

- 12 a. Calvin gave a newspaper hat to Hobbes.
b. Calvin gave Hobbes a newspaper hat. (Harley 1995)

13 Phrase Markers for LOC & HAVE



4. Applicatives in Cebuano

4.1 Cebuano Verbal Morphology

Applicatives are only employed in sentences marking something other than agent topic/focus
Most clearly identified in the future verbal paradigm.

4.1.1 The Applicatives *i-* and *-an*

High applicatives are indicated by the presence of *i-* on the verb

- 14 a. I-hiwa nako sa pan ang kutsilyu
AP.IT-slice GEN.1s ACC bread NOM knife
'I will slice the bread with the knife' (adapted from Trosdal 1992)

Instrument

- b. I-sulat nako ikaw kang Jose.
AP.BT-write GEN.1s NOM.2s DAT Jose.
'I will write Joe for you' (adapted from Trosdal 1992)

Benefactive

Low applicatives are indicated by the presence of *-an* on the verb

- 15 a. Luto-an nako ang bata og isda.
Cook-AP GEN.1s NOM child ACC fish.
'I will cook the child some fish' (adapted from Trosdal 1992)

Goal

- b. Putl-an niya ang kahoy og sanga. Source
Cut-AP GEN.3s NOM tree ACC branch.
'He will cut a branch from the tree' (adapted from Trosdal 1992)

The verbal morphology signaling applicatives in Cebuano appears rather transparent
→ Serves as a nice tool for testing the requirements on low applicatives

Interim Summary

High applicatives take events as arguments and aren't required to respect transitivity
Low applicatives take two objects as arguments and combine them in a possession relationship
→ Cannot occur with unergative verbs or tolerate implicit objects
Low applicatives act as Harley's semantic primitive HAVE and are subject to negation

- 16 a. Palit-an nako ang bata og isda. Goal/Source
Buy-AP GEN.1s NOM child ACC fish
'I will buy the child some fish' for from

Cebuano verbal morphology displays this high/low distinction transparently... *i-* vs. *-an*

4.1.2 Theme Topic (future): *-on* and *i-*

Cebuano verbal morphology is just as transparent in marking direct objects
→ Further clarifies what constitutes an applicative construction in the language

- 17 a. Himo-on nako ang balay
Build-TT GEN.1s NOM house
'I will build the house'
- b. Kan-on nako ang isda
Eat-TT GEN.1s NOM fish
'I will eat the fish'
- 18 a. Itudlo nako ang Ingles (sa bata)
Teach-TT GEN.1s NOM English DAT child
'I will teach English (to the child)'

4.2 Additional Applied Objects in Cebuano

Other applied objects signaled by *-an* include 'cleaning' verbs,¹ partitives, and locatives

¹ I call them this for lack of a better title. Ramos (1974) refers to them as verbs not wholly affecting the object.

4.2.1 Rackowski (2002, 2003)

Recall that Rackowski (2002) analyzes locatives in Tagalog as 'high' by the unergative test

- 19 a. Pinamamangka-an mo ba ang ilog?
Asp.boat-AP GEN.2s ? TOP river
'Do you go boating on the river?'

Rackowski (2003), in providing a case-agreement analysis of Tagalog verbal (voice) affixes

Associates *i-* with high applicatives and *-an* with low applicatives
Identifies two groups of objects that get 'quirky' case through incorporation and reanalysis Rackowski
→ partitives and not wholly affected objects marked by *-an*

Important Questions:

How can locatives be associated with high applicative structures but occur with *-an*?
Can partitives and cleaning verbs fit into the current structural applicative analysis?

4.2.2 Cleaning, Partitives, & Locatives

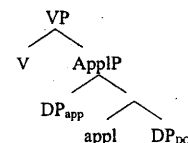
- 20 a. Hugas-an sa nanay ang pinggan. Cleaning
Wash-AP GEN mother NOM plate
'The mother will wash the plate'

- b. Kuha-an nako ang imong bugas. Partitive
Take-AP GEN.1s NOM GEN.2s rice
'I will get/take some of your rice' (adapted from Trosdal 1992)

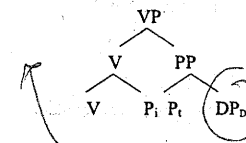
21 Basic Assumptions for a Case Analysis of (20) – Rackowski (2003)

- a. the aspectual property of incompleteness may underlie both types of verbs
b. *-an* is the spell-out of dative case agreement between tense and the highest DP
c. dative rather than accusative case is assigned due to an incorporated null preposition Rackowski

22 a. Low Applicative



b. Preposition Incorporation



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an 1 more argument

TT
there
topic

just DO
IPD need I
for argument
agent not

23 A structural applicative analysis of 20

- treating the applied objects as sources (see 24 (reproduced from 15b & 17b))
→ negation of the semantic primitive HAVE
- abandoning the assumption that the applicative head modifies the DO
- allow a limited set of implicit objects to occur with low applicatives
→ still must respect transitivity (see 25)

24 a. Putl-an niya ang kahoy og sanga.

Cut-AP GEN.3s NOM tree ACC branch.

'He will cut a branch from the tree' (adapted from Trosdal 1992)

cf.

b. Kan-on nako ang isda

Eat-TT GEN.1s TOP fish

'I will eat the fish'

Source

Direct Object

25 Transitivity and Implicit Objects

- *Hatag-an ka nako
Give-AP NOM.2s GEN.1s
'I will give you (x)'

- Tudlo-an ka nako
Teach-AP NOM.2s GEN.1s
'I will teach you (x)'

Can partitives and cleaning verbs fit into the current structural applicative analysis?

→ It would appear so

How can locatives be associated with high applicative structures but occur with -an?

→ It seems quite possible that they don't occur with high applicatives

26 a. Lingkur-an sa bata ang siya

Sit-AP LT GEN child NOM chair

'The child will sit in the chair' (adapted from Trosdal 1992)

b. Luto-an niya ang lata sa isda.

Cook-AP LT GEN.3s NOM can ACC fish.

'He will cook the fish in the can' (adapted from Wolff 1966)

Locative

Locative

Sentences such as (26a) may be ambiguous between goals and locations

→ imply transfer and subsequent possession, i.e., the chair HAVE pro (co-indexed with agent)

Sentences such as (26b) also appear to HAVE or at least contain the DO

27 Tagalog

- Pinamamangka-an mo ba ang ilog?
Asp.boat-AP GEN.2s ? NOM river
'Do you go boating on the river?'

Seems to answer the question 'what do you boat on?' not 'where do you boat?'

→ Not all locatives can occur with -an (see 28)

28 Cebuano

- *Luto-an nimo ang kusina og isda.

Cook-AP LT GEN.2s NOM kitchen ACC fish.

'He will cook the fish in the kitchen'

- Luto-an nimo ang lata

Cook-AP LT GEN.2s NOM can

'He will cook in the can'

Clearly not all locatives are seen as equal in the eyes of applicatives

→ Most attractive case for a preposition incorporation analysis

5. Conclusion

Low applicatives should respect transitivity

→ Not the case that all implicit objects are disallowed

Possession can be better analyzed as HAVE

→ The semantic primitive can be negated

→ Does not imply human possessors

Not all languages employ the full spectrum of possible applied objects

→ Low applicative languages like English may not encode partitives or locatives as such

Not immediately clear whether some locatives are better explained by preposition incorporation

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Betu Lerhe

creation & transformation

So poss ges
86/71