Structure of noun phrases in Ilocano

Kyosuke Yamamoto

Abstract: This study describes the structure of noun phrases in Ilocano. Ilocano noun phrases are divided into three subclasses: simple noun phrases, which consist of nouns plus modifying words such as articles, demonstratives, adjectives, or numerals; complex noun phrases, which involve complex modifiers such as genitive modifiers and relative clauses; noun phrases without head nouns. The findings reveal that noun phrases in Ilocano are exocentric constructions, that is, constructions in which there are no constituents having a special status as heads. This description of Ilocano noun phrases contributes to better understanding of cross-linguistic variation of noun phrases[*].

Keywords: Ilocano, Austronesian, noun phrases, headless constructions

1 Introduction

The aim of this paper is to describe the structure of noun phrases in Ilocano. In the current paper I distinguish three types of Ilocano noun phrases: (a) simple noun phrases, which consist of nouns plus articles, numerals, demonstratives, or adjectives modifying the nouns; (b) complex noun phrases, which contain nouns plus more complex modifiers like genitive modifiers and relative clauses; (c) noun phrases without head nouns.

In the traditional view, the noun is the head of the noun phrase. But Ilocano has noun phrases which contain no noun or pronoun, and the constituents of such noun phrases are only words that normally function as modifiers of nouns. This fact leads us to argue that noun phrases in Ilocano are exocentric constructions, constructions in which there are no constituents having a privileged status as heads.

Although I use the label 'noun phrases' in this study, it should not be taken as intending a special grammatical relationship between nouns and noun phrases. Following Dryer (2007), I use the term as just a descriptive label to refer to syntactic constructions that function in ways that are typical of English noun phrases such as arguments of verbs and objects of prepositions. The current study investigates how such constructions functionally corresponding to noun phrases in other languages are structured in Ilocano.

In this study, the conception of 'head' is defined on semantic grounds rather than syntactic ones. A constituent is the head of a construction iff the construction describes a kind of the thing encoded by the constituent (Zwicky 1985; 1993; Croft 2001). By using noun phrases without nouns, I intend noun phrases lacking a noun that expresses the kind of thing to which the referent encoded by the noun phrase belongs.

In the rest of the paper, I first provide some elements of Ilocano grammar. Then I describe noun phrase structures in Ilocano in the following three sections. Section 6 discusses the exocentricity of noun phrases. Section 7 concludes this study.

2 Background information

Ilocano is a Malayo-Polynesian language of the Austronesian family (Blust 2013) and is spoken by around nine million people in the northwest of Luzon Island in the Philippines (Rubino 2005). This language is considered a member of the Cordilleran language family of Northern Philippine languages, and to form its own branch within the language group (Reid 1989).

This language distinguishes fifteen consonants, /p, b, t, d, k, g, ʔ, s, m, n, ŋ, l, w, j/, and four vowels, /a, i, e, u/. /u/ is lowered into [o] in the final syllable. Stress assignment is sensitive to syllable weight. A stress falls on the penultimate syllable if it is heavy, but otherwise is on the final syllable. The domain of stress assignment is taken to indicate the boundaries of the word.

Ilocano, like other Philippine languages, is a VS/VAP agglutinative language. Core arguments appear in the ergative or absolutive case when they are pronominal. All of S, A, and P are marked in the same way when they are nominal.

Verbs are derived with affixes that indicate the category I termed 'focus', following Schachter and Otanes (1972). For the purposes of the current study, it suffices to say that the four focus categories — actor focus (AF), patient focus (PF), locative focus (LF), and conveyance focus (CF) — are distinguished morphosyntactically. Actor focus verbs take a

core argument (S) functioning as an actor, while non-actor focus verbs take two core arguments, an actor (A) and undergoer (P). Verbs inflect for view point aspect and three formal inflectional categories are identified: zero-marked, perfective, and imperfective. The perfective and imperfective verbs denote perfective and imperfective aspect, respectively. Zero-marked verbs, verbs that lack overt morphological marking, are interpreted either perfectively or imperfectively depending on the semantics of the verb root. Some simple examples are given in (1–2), which consist of an actor focus verb and a non-actor focus verb, respectively.

(1)   l<imm>awak   ti=desjerto.
        <PFV.AF>expand   ART.SG.C=desert
        'The desert expanded.'

(2)   ʔ<in>abak-Ø   ni=Randy   ni=Raymart.
        <PFV>defeat-PF   ART.SG.P.C=Randy   ART.SG.P.C=Raymart
        'Randy defeated Raymart.'

Ilocano nouns are members of an open lexical class with referencing function (as encoding concrete things or abstract entities). Nouns are classified into personal and non-personal nouns on the basis of what articles they take (see Section 3.1)[1]. Ilocano pronouns encode case, person, and minimal-augmented number values (Thomas 1955). The term 'minimal' means the minimum amount of individuals necessary to satisfy each person value. For example, for the speaker-addressee person the minimal amount is two and for the other persons this is one. In contrast, the term 'augmented' means any amount of individuals more than the minimum (Bobaljik 2008; de Schepper 2012).

Independent pronouns are used predicatively, while ergative and absolutive pronouns are second position enclitics (see Table 1). Ergative pronouns are used to indicate a possessor as well as the actor of a transitive verb. Note that all of the enclitic pronouns have stress so that they are independent phonological words.

---

[1] A further classification of non-personal nouns is made depending on their plural formation. See Rubino (1997) for detailed discussions.

Table 1 Ilocano pronouns

Person	Number	Independent	Absolutive	Ergative[2]	Oblique
Speaker	Minimal	*sjak*	*=ak*	*=ko, =k*	*kanjak*
	Augmented	*dakami*	*=kami*	*=mi*	*kanjami, kadakami*
Speaker-Addressee	Minimal	*data*	*=ta*	*=ta*	*kanjata, kadata*
	Augmented	*datajo*	*=tajo*	*=tajo*	*kanjatajo, kadatajo*
Addressee	Minimal	*sika*	*=ka*	*=mo, =m*	*kanjam, kenka*
	Augmented	*dakajo*	*=kajo*	*=jo*	*kanjajo, kadakajo*
Other	Minimal	*ʔisuːna, ʔisu*	*Ø, ʔisuːna, ʔisu*	*=na*	*kanjana, kenkwana*
	Augmented	*ʔisuːda*	*=da*	*=da*	*kanjada, kenkwada*

3 Simple noun phrases

3.1 Articles

While Ilocano permits noun phrases consisting of just a noun when the noun is a pronoun or demonstrative, this is not allowed with only a common or proper noun. In these cases, articles are required to form noun phrases, unless they are preceded by demonstratives (see examples given in 13–16). Articles in Ilocano vary for number (singular and plural), for case (core and oblique), and for whether the noun they are connected to is a personal or non-personal noun.

Table 2 Non-personal articles[3]

	Core	Oblique
Singular	*ti, taj, djaj*	*(ʔi)ti, kentaj, kendjaj*
Plural	*dagiti, dagitaj, dagidjaj*	*kadagiti, kadagitaj, kadagidjaj*

---

[2] *=ko* and *=mo* appear as *=k* and *=m* after a vowel, respectively.
[3] It is unclear whether there are any differences in function and frequency among the three forms of each class. I leave the issue open for future research.

Table 3 Personal articles

	Core	Oblique
Singular	*ni*	*kenni*
Plural	*da*	*kada*

Articles precede the noun they combine with. Articles do not have stress and procliticize to the following word. The noun phrase in (3) contains a core argument personal article. In (4), *palda* 'skirt' and *baba:ʔi* 'woman' are marked by *ti* and *ʔiti*, respectively, forming noun phrases. In (5), the noun phrase contains an oblique article and serves as the object of a preposition, *para* 'for'.

(3)   na-siŋpet   [NP ni=Randy].
        ST-gentle   ART.SG.P.C=Randy
        'Randy is gentle.'

(4)   na-jlet   [NP ti=palda]   [NP ʔiti=baba:ʔi].
        ST-tight   ART.SG.C=skirt   ART.SG.OBL=woman
        'The skirt is tight for the woman.'

(5)   para   [NP kadagiti=babbla:saŋ].
        for   ART.PL.OBL=PL:young.lady
        'For the young ladies.'

Unlike other languages such as English, these articles in Ilocano do not encode the definiteness of nouns. For illustration, consider the following examples. In (6), the noun marked with *ʔiti* is indefinite while the noun marked with *ti* is definite. In (7), in contrast, the core argument is indefinite while the oblique referent is definite.

(6)   naŋan   [NP ti=ʔubiŋ]   [NP ʔiti=ʔempana:da].
        PFV.AF.eat   ART.SG.C=child   ART.SG.OBL=empanada
        'The child ate an empanada.'

(7)   na-disw-an   [NP ti=bato]   [NP ʔiti=ʔu:lo=na].
        PFV.POT-fall-LF   ART.SG.C=stone   ART.SG.OBL=head=3MINI.GEN
        'A stone fell onto his/her head.'

Although *djaj,* which is derived from the distal demonstrative *dajdjaj*, is considered as a definite article in Rubino (2005: 333), it can combine with indefinite nouns, as can be seen in (8). Example (8) is a description of the introduction of the wordless picture book '*Frog, where are you?*'. Consider the noun phrases consisting of *djaj*.

(8)   [_{NP} djaj=majsa=ŋa   rabiʔi],   ʔadda   naka-garapon=ŋa   palaka.

         ART.SG.C=one=LIG   night   EXST   POT.PFV-jar=LIG   frog

         'One night, there was a frog caught in a jar.'

         tatta,   mat~ma-tuːrog   [_{NP} djaj=ʔubiŋ]   kentaj=ʔaːso.

         and   IMPF~AF-sleep   ART.SG.C=child   ART.SG.OBL=dog

         'And a child was sleeping with a dog.'

Instead, noun phrases with articles have to do with referentiality. That is, they are expressions used to refer to a particular object or a particular set of objects in the external world (cf. Huang 2014). Compare the pair of the sentences in (9). In (9a), *ni Maria*, which functions predicatively, refers to an individual person named Maria. On the other hand, in (9b), the nominal predicate without an article is nonreferential and does not refer to any object in the external world.

(9)   a.   ni=Maria   djaj=babaːʔi.

         ART.SG.P.C=Maria   ART.SG.C=woman

         'That woman is Maria.'

    b.   Maria   djaj=nagan=na.

         Maria   ART.SG.C=name=3MINI.GEN

         'Her name is Maria.'

Similarly, the nominal predicate with the article *ti* in (10a) is referential, while the nominal predicate without an article in (10b) is an expression denoting a property, rather than an entity.

(10)   a.   ti=maestro   ni=Randy.

         ART.SG.C=teacher   ART.SG.P.C=Randy

         'Randy is the teacher.'

b. maestro ni=Randy.

  teacher ART.SG.P.C=Randy

  'Randy is a teacher.'

Noun phrases with articles can also be used to make a generic reference, that is, reference to a class of objects rather than to a specific or non-specific object of that class. *ti kaldiŋ* in (11) and *ti bi:ko* in (12) have a generic reference.

(11) na-jmas [NP ti=kaldiŋ].

  ST-delicious ART.SG.C=goat

  'Goats are delicious.'

(12) na-samʔit [NP ti=bi:ko].

  ST-sweet ART.SG.C=rice.cake

  'Rice cakes are sweet.'

3.2 Demonstratives

Ilocano has nominal demonstratives with a three-term system opposing so-called proximal, medial, and distal, as can be seen in Table 4. Like the pronouns and articles, nominal demonstratives also code case and plurality. These demonstratives are used either to point things out in terms of the deictic center, or to track referents previously introduced in discourse.

Table 4 Nominal demonstratives

Case	Number	Proximal	Medial	Distal
Core	Singular	*dajtoj*	*dajta*	*dajdjaj*
	Plural	*dagitoj*	*dagita*	*dagidjaj*
Oblique	Singular	*kadajtoj*	*kadajta*	*kadajdjaj*
	Plural	*kadagitoj*	*kadagita*	*kadagidjaj*

Nominal demonstratives may occur by themselves as noun phrases, as in (13) and (14).

(13)   ʔasi:no   [NP dajtoy]?
        who   PROX.C
        'Who is this?'

(14)   g<in>ataŋ-Ø=na   [NP dajdjaj].
        <PFV>buy-PF=3MINI.GEN   DIS.C
        'S/he bought that.'

They also can function as demonstrative modifiers of nouns in the same form, simultaneously serving as case markers, as shown in (15) and (16). They usually precede the noun they modify and the ligature =ŋa/=ʔa[4], which is an invariant morpheme procliticizing to the following word, may or may not intervene between them.

(15)   ʔammo=m   [NP dajdjaj=ʔa   ta:ʔo]?
        know=2MINI.GEN   DIS.C=LIG   person
        'Do you know that man?'

(16)   ʔi-ja:wid=mo   [NP dajta=pinakbet].
        CF-take.home=2MINI.GEN   MED.C=vegetable.dish
        'Take home that pinakbet.'

3.3 Adjectives

Adjectives in Ilocano are words characterised by a number of formal properties. They, for instance, can occur with the moderative adverb *medjo*, and do not inflect for aspect nor voice (see also Rubino 1997). Ilocano adjectives are underived words and may take comparative, superlative, and admirative affixation (e.g. *dak~dakkel* COM~big 'bigger', *ka-dakkel-an* SUP-big-SUP 'biggest'). Adjectives can appear as predicates without copulas.

Stative verbs, a distinct subclass of verbs, also denote meanings corresponding to words called adjectives in English. They share a number of grammatical properties with adjectives, and a number of grammatical properties of other verbs. Like adjectives, stative verbs may undergo comparative and superlative affixation, but unlike adjectives, stative verbs are derived

---

[4] *ʔa* may occur before consonants other than the glottal stop while *ŋa* can occur in all environments.

words. Stative verbs are derived with affixes such as *na-* (e.g., *na-ʔimbag* 'good', *na-ʔaːsi* 'compassionate', *na-baknaŋ* 'rich'), *ma-* (e.g., *ma-sakit* 'sick'), and *ag-* (e.g., *ʔag-pada* 'same'). Since stative verbs are semantically not so different from adjectives, I use 'adjectives' to refer to words of both classes in the following discussion.

Adjectives functioning attributively may precede or follow the noun they modify, although adjective-noun order is dominant (Rubino 2005). The ligature necessarily intervenes between attributive adjectives and the modified items, as can be seen in (17–19).

(17) a. ti=baːro=ʔa   baːdo   b. ti=baːdo=ʔa   baːro
          ART.SG.C=new=LIG   dress   ART.SG.C=dress=LIG   new
          'a/the new dress'   'a/the new dress'

(18) a. ti=bassit=ŋa   ʔuːleg   b. ti=ʔuːleg=ŋa   bassit
          ART.SG.C=small=LIG   snake   ART.SG.C=snake=LIG   small
          'a/the small snake'   'a/the small snake'

(19) a. ti=na-laʔiŋ=ŋa   puːsa   b. ti=puːsa=ŋa   na-laʔiŋ
          ART.SG.C=ST-intelligent=LIG   cat   ART.SG.C=cat=LIG   ST-intelligent
          'a/the intelligent cat'   'a/the intelligent cat'

3.4 Numerals

Numerals in Ilocano can be treated as a distinct class on semantic and morphological grounds. Cardinal numerals fall into two subclasses, basic numerals (from 1 to 9) and derivational numerals (from ten onwards). The basic cardinal numerals are as follows:

majsa	'one'	*ʔinnem*	'six'
dwa	'two'	*pito*	'seven'
tallo	'three'	*walo*	'eight'
ʔuppat	'four'	*sjam*	'nine'

The radix is ten in this numeral system, so that numbers over nine are expressed by combinations of the basic numerals above with the following base ten groups: *puːlo* 'group of ten', *gasot* 'group of one hundred', *riːbo* 'group of one thousand', *laksa* 'group of ten

thousand', *riwriw* 'group of one million' (e.g. *dwa+puːlo* 'twenty', *tallo+puːlo* 'thirty').

Ordinal numerals are derived from cardinal numerals by adding the prefix *maika-*, e.g. *maika-dwa* 'second', *maika-lima* 'fifth', *maika-walo* 'eighth'[5]. Only 'first' is represented by the word *ʔumuːna*.

Numerals modifying a noun may precede or follow the noun, separated by the ligature, as in (20–22). Cardinal numerals serve to indicate the amount of referents the noun phrase denotes.

(20)   ʔin-ted=da   kanjak   [NP dagiti=ʔuppat=ʔa   pjek].
         PFV.CF-give=3AUG.ERG   1MINI.OBL   ART.PL.C=four=LIG   chick
         'They gave four chicks to me.'

(21)   b<imm>isiːta [NP ti=barkaːda=mi=ʔa   majsa] kendjaj=lakaj.
         <PFV.AF>visit   ART.SG.C =friend=1AUG.GEN=LIG one   ART.SG.OBL=old.man
         'A friend of ours visited the old man.'

In contrast, ordinal numerals serve to specify a referent with respect to the order relative to other referents within the same domain.

(22)   na-puːdaw   [NP ti=maika-dwa=ŋa   ʔanak=ko].
         ST-light.complexioned   ART.SG.C=ORD-two=LIG   child=1MINI.GEN
         'My second son is light-complexioned.'

Numerals may occur between a modifying adjective and the noun modified, as in (23).

(23)   [NP ti=ʔubiŋ=ŋa   majsa=ŋa   babaːʔi]   na-pan
             ART.SG.C=child=LIG   one=LIG   woman   PFV.AF-go
         nag-luːgan   ʔiti=bisikleːta.
         PFV:AF-ride   ART.SG.OBL=bicycle
         'A girl (*lit*. one female child) went to ride a bicycle.'

Although both orders of noun and numeral occur, numeral-noun order is dominant in the

---

[5] Numerals have other morphological properties of their own. For instance, they express distributive numbers by the addition of the prefix *sag-* with reduplication of the initial CV of the stem, e.g. *sag-du~dwa* 'two each', *sag-li~lima* 'five each'.

language. In cases where there is no pragmatic contrast between the numeral and noun, numeral-noun order is about ten times as frequent as noun-numeral order in my corpus (twenty-nine tokens versus three tokens).

4   Complex noun phrases

4.1 Genitive constructions

Genitive constructions are constructions in which a noun is modified by a different noun phrase expressing a possessor. The range of meanings covered with genitive constructions includes not only possession or ownership (e.g. *his shirt*) but also kinship relations (e.g. *Benjamin's mother*), and part-whole relations (e.g. *Mary's hands, the inside of the box*). Thus, the term 'possessor' is used in a broader sense in order to refer to the modifying noun phrase in the genitive construction.

The possessor rather than the possessum is marked in the genitive construction. The possessor is marked with a core argument article when it is nominal, as in (24).

(24) a. ti=balaj   [$_{NP}$ ni=Randy]
          ART.SG.C=house   ART.SG.P.C =Randy
          'Randy's house'

      b. ti=ʔaːso   [$_{NP}$ ti=baket]
          ART.SG.C=dog   ART.SG.C=old.woman
          'an/the old woman's dog'

The possessor occurs in the ergative case when it is pronominal, as in (25).

(25) a. ti=kawbasan   [$_{NP}$ =da]
          ART.SG.C=vineyard=3AUG.GEN
          'their vineyard'

      b. ti=siŋsiŋ [$_{NP}$ =ko]
          ART.SG.C=ring=1MINI.GEN
          'my ring'

In addition to alienable possession, genitive constructions are used to express inalienable

possession. Inalienable possession involves inherent relations such as kinship relations and part-whole relations. (26) illustrates kinship relations and (27) part-whole relations.

(26) a. ti=ʔuliteg   [NP ni=Mannel]
          ART.SG.C=uncle   ART.SG.P.C=Mannel
          'Mannel's uncle'

     b. ti=maːnaŋ [NP =mi]
          ART.SG.C=older.sister=1AUG.GEN
          'our elder sister'

(27) a. ti=piŋpiŋ [NP =mo]
          ART.SG.C=cheek=2MINI.GEN
          'your cheek'

     b. ti=teŋŋed   [NP ti=kaldiŋ]
          ART.SG.C=neck   ART.SG.C=goat
          'a/the goat's neck'

     c. ti=ʔiːgid   [NP ti=daːlan]
          ART.SG.C=edge   ART.SG.C=street
          'the edge of the/a street'

Genitive constructions also serve to encode various abstract relations. For example, (28) expresses an action and its participant and (29) the national language of the Philippines.

(28)   ti=isasaŋpet [NP =tajo]
          ART.SG.C=arrival=1/2AUG.GEN
          'our arrival'

(29)   ti=pagsasaʔo   [NP ti =pilipiːnas]
          ART.SG.C=language   ART.SG.C=Philippines
          'the language of the Philippines'

4.2 Relative clauses

A relative clause is a clause delimiting the potential reference of a noun phrase (Andrews

2007: 206; Comrie 1989: 142–144). In Ilocano, relative clauses follow their head noun and are separated from the head by the ligature, which is an invariant word and does not have pronominal functions. The relative clause takes the same form as a main clause, except that there is a gap in the clause, as can be seen in (30).

(30)   na-tajag   [_{NP} djaj=lala:ki=ŋa   [na-ki:ta-Ø=k   Ɂitaj]].

        ST-tall   ART.SG.C=man=LIG   POT.PFV-see-PF=1MINI.ERG   a.while.ago

        'The man I saw a while ago is tall.'

Other modifying elements must precede relative clauses, as in (31).

(31)   [_{NP} ti=maika-dwa=ŋa   bassit=ŋa Ɂubiŋ=ŋa [Ɂag-tawen   Ɂiti=tallo]]

           ART.SG.C=ORD-two=LIG small=LIG child=LIG ZERO.AF-year ART.SG.OBL=three

        'the second young three-year old child'

      Relativized elements must be the S or P argument of the predicate in the relative clause. Specifically, when the predicate in the relative clause is an actor-focus verb, only the S argument of the relative clause can be relativized; and when the predicate in the relative clause is a non-actor focus verb, only the P argument of the relative clause can be relativized. This is illustrated with the following examples. (32b) is considered ungrammatical since the relativized element is the oblique referent but not the S argument. Similarly, what is relativized in (33b) is not the S argument of the verb in actor focus, resulting in an ungrammatical sentence.

(32) a. ti=pansit=ŋa   Ɂin-ja:wid   ti=kabsat=ko

         ART.SG.C=noodle=LIG   PFV.CF-bring.home   ART.SG.C=sibling=1MINI.GEN

         'the noodles that my brother brought home'

     b. *ti=pansit=ŋa   naŋi-ja:wid   ti=kabsat=ko

          ART.SG.C=noodle=LIG   PFV.AF-bring.home   ART.SG.C=sibling=1MINI.GEN

         Intended: 'the noodles that my brother brought home'

(33) a. ti=lu:gan=ŋa   g<in>ataŋ-Ø   ni=Maricon

         ART.SG.C=car=LIG   <PFV.AF>buy-CF   ART.SG.P.C =Maricon

         'a/the car that Maricon bought'

b. *ti=luːgan=ŋa   g<imm>ataŋ   ni=Maricon

   ART.SG.C=car=LIG   <PFV.AF>buy   ART.SG.P.C=Maricon

   Intended: 'a/the car that Maricon bought'

It is worth noting that in Ilocano, there are cases where it is difficult to identify relative clauses. Examples in (34) and (35) are structurally ambiguous as to whether the modifying element is just a word or a clause consisting of a predicate but lacking the argument (indicated by an underline).

(34)   doktoːra   [$_{NP}$ djaj=babaːʔi=ŋa   [na-laʔiŋ   (___)]].

       doctor   ART.SG.C=woman=LIG   ST-intelligent

       'The intelligent woman is a doctor.'/

       'The woman who is intelligent is a doctor.'

(35)   na-kiːta-Ø=na   [$_{NP}$ ti=birkog=ʔa   [naka-baːroŋ   (___)]].

       POT.PFV-see-PF=3MINI.ERG   ART.SG.C=thief=LIG   POT.PFV.AF-dress.shirt

       'S/he saw the/a thief wearing a dress shirt.'/

       'S/he saw the/a thief who was wearing a dress shirt.'

5   Noun phrases without nouns

This section describes noun phrases without nouns. In the traditional view, the noun is the head of the noun phrase so that all noun phrases are assumed to consist of nouns. But Ilocano, like other Philippine languages, allows noun phrases comprising only words that normally function as modifiers of nouns[6]. In (36) and (37), for example, the P argument consists of an article plus an adjective but no noun.

(36)   kajat=ko   [$_{NP}$ dagiti=dakkel].

       want=1MINI.ERG   ART.PL.C=big

       'I want the big ones.'

---

[6] Similar characteristics have also been described in other Philippine languages such as Tagalog (Himmelmann 2005; 2008; Gil 1993) and Cebuano (Dryer 2004).

(37) ʔin-rwar=na   [_{NP} ti=daːʔan].

      PFV.CF-outside=3MINI.ERG   ART.SG.C=old

      'S/he put out the old one.'

Similarly, the following examples contain a noun phrase with a numeral, but no noun[7].

(38) ʔi-jaːwid=mo   [_{NP} ti=majsa].

      ZERO.CF-take.home=2MINI.ERG   ART.SG.C=one

      'Take one of them home'

(39) ʔag-taŋep   ti=sipŋet   ʔidi   maka-riːʔiŋ   [_{NP} ti=dwa].

      ZERO.AF-close ART.SG.C=dusk when   ZERO.POT.AF-awake   ART.SG.C=two

      'The darkness cast over them when the two persons awoke.'

    Ilocano even allows headless relative clauses, which do not modify overt nouns or pronouns. Headless relative clauses in Ilocano have the same form as headed relative clauses, and they are noun phrases involving an article followed by a clause but lacking a head noun and the ligature, as can be seen in (40). The actor focus verb in (40b) indicates that the referent of the entire noun phrase is an actor of the crying event.

(40) a. [_{NP} ti=ʔubiŋ=ŋa   nag-saːŋit ʔiti=saːŋo   ti=balaj]

        ART.SG.C=child=LIG   PFV:AF-cry ART.SG.OBL=front ART.SG.C=house

     'the child who cried in front of the house'

    b. [_{NP} ti=nag-saːŋit   ʔiti=saːŋo   ti=balaj]

        ART.SG.C=PFV:AF-cry   ART.SG.OBL=front   ART.SG.C=house

    'the one who cried in front of the house'

Similarly, the predicate in the relative clause is a non-actor focus verb when the referent of the entire noun phrase is a patient, as in (41) and (42). The fact that headless relative clauses are subject to the same grammatical constraint as headed relative clauses such as (40a) justifies

---

[7] Note that in (39) the expression at issue contains the singular article *ti* but not the plural counterpart, although its referents are plural. It is not uncommon to find such an apparent mismatch between the number marking of articles and the number of their referent. But it is unclear whether this means the optionality of number agreement and further examination is needed.

the treatment of headless relative clauses as a subtype of relative clauses.

(41) [_NP_ ti=t<in>alaw-an   ni=Randy   ʔiti=kalsa:da]
         ART.SG.C=<PFV>abandon-LF ART.SG.P.C=Randy ART.SG.OBL=street
      'the person/thing that Randy abandoned on the street'

(42) na-pintas   la   unaj   [_NP_ ti=ʔaj~ʔajat-e=m].
      ST-beautiful   just   very   ART.SG.C=IMPF~love-PF=2MINI.ERG
      'The one who you love is very beautiful.'

    Rubino (1997) describes noun phrases of this sort as phrases consisting of nominalized verbs (1997: 314–316). But his approach confuses lexical category with syntactic function. As shown above, Ilocano also allows noun phrases with adjectives or numerals but no nouns. In other words, the phenomenon is productive for members of various lexical categories. This fact suggests that this syntactic behaviour has nothing to do with a certain lexical category, so that there is little motivation for positing nominalization in the language.

    One might attempt to analyse noun phrases without nouns as involving ellipsis of head nouns. Such an approach argues that a noun phrase with no noun has a noun which is not overtly expressed but which is recoverable to the hearer. However, a noun phrase without an overt noun can be used in situations where the speaker cannot provide an appropriate noun.

(43) ʔag-pa-ki:ta=da   kanjak
      ZERO.AF-CAUS-show=3AUG.ABS   1MINI.OBL
      [_NP_ ʔiti=ʔ<in>ala-Ø=da]   ʔinton   madamdama.
         ART.SG.OBL=<PFV>get-PF=3AUG.ERG   when   later
      'They will show me later what they got.'

(44) ʔadda   [_NP_ ti=ma-ki:ta-Ø=k=ŋa
      EXST   ART.SG.C=POT.ZERO-see-PF=1MINI.ERG=LIG
      na-ŋi:sit   ken   na-bukel].
      ST-black   and   ST-round
      'I see something black and round.'

Since a noun phrase with no noun can be used in situations in which a specific noun cannot be recoverable, an ellipsis analysis is not plausible. One might still claim that nouns with general

meanings such as 'thing' or 'person' are ellipted in constructions such as those in (43) and (44) above. However, such an ellipsis analysis could not distinguish cases where ellipsis is involved from cases where ellipsis is not involved. Under this analysis, for example, a simple noun phrase consisting of just a noun *baba:ʔi* 'woman' may be analysed as an elliptical version of (45b), because a construction where *baba:ʔi* functions as a modifier is also grammatical. There seems to be no argument for and against this analysis and thus I conclude that there is little motivation for assuming ellipsis of head nouns in Ilocano.

(45) a. ti=baba:ʔi
          ART.SG.C=woman
          'a/the woman'

      b. ti=ta:ʔo=ŋa   baba:ʔi
          ART.SG.C=person=LIG   woman
          'a/the female person'

One other potential analysis of noun phrases without nouns in Ilocano is that it is articles that are the heads of noun phrases (cf. Van Langendonck 1994; Hudson 2004). While this view solves the problem of such noun phrases, it gives rise to another problem. In Ilocano, it is not always the case that noun phrases contain articles. For example, noun phrases lack an article when they begin with demonstratives, as in (46–47).

(46)   kukwa=na   [NP dajta=(ʔa)   lu:gan].
        own=3MINI.ERG   MED.C=LIG   car
        'S/he owns that car.'

(47)   [NP dajdjaj=(ʔa) ʔisto:rja]   p<in>erdi-Ø   djaj=paʔa:la.
             DIS.C=LIG   issue   <PFV>break-PF   ART.SG.C=party
        'That issue split the party.'

One might argue that demonstratives are also included in the article class. But they behave differently from other articles syntactically: articles like *ti* and *djaj* precede a noun while demonstratives may follow a noun, cooccurring with such articles, as can be seen in (48). Thus, there is little motivation for positing a category covering articles and demonstratives, and the view of article as head does not seem to be a good solution to headless noun phrases in

Ilocano.

(48) [NP ti=lakaj=ʔa   dajtoj]
          ART.SG.C=old.man=LIG   PROX.C

      'this old man'

6 Discussion

I have shown that noun phrases in Ilocano do not necessarily consist of nouns. Does the fact mean that noun phrases with nouns are headed but those without nouns are headless, or all noun phrases are headless? However, the idea that some noun phrases are headed but the others are not headed is problematic under certain theories assuming that the head is the only obligatory component and can build a phrase on its own (Dixon 2010: 229). And there seems no motivation for positing that nouns are heads if they are optional. Thus, I do not consider nouns as heads even though noun phrases include nouns.

7 Conclusion

This study has examined the structure of noun phrases in Ilocano. Ilocano noun phrases are divided into three subclasses: simple noun phrases, which consist of nouns plus modifying words such as articles, demonstratives, adjectives, or numerals; complex noun phrases, which involve complex modifiers with complex modifiers like genitive modifiers and relative clauses; noun phrases without head nouns.

The description presented here shows Ilocano allows noun phrases without nouns, and nouns have no privileged status within noun phrases. I have argued that noun phrases in Ilocano are exocentric constructions since there is little motivation for positing ellipsis of nouns.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations and symbols are used in the paper: ABS-absolute, AF-actor focus, ART-article, AUG-augmented, C-core argument, CAUS-causative, CF-conveyance focus, COM-comparative, DIS-distal, ERG-ergative, EXST-existential, GEN-genitive, IMPF-imperfective, LF-locative focus, LIG-ligature, MED-medial, MINI-minimal, OBL-oblique, ORD-ordinal, P-proper noun, PF-patient focus, PFV-perfective, PL-plural,

POT-potentive, PROX-proximal, SG-singular, ST-stative, SUP-superlative, ZERO-zero marked, 1-speaker, 2-addressee, 3-other, 1/2-speaker and addressee, '~'-reduplicant

References

Andrews, Avery D. (2007) Relative clauses. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Complex Constructions, Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Vol. 2*, 206-236. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blust, Robert (2013) *The Austronesian Languages*. Revised edition. Canberra: Asia-Pacific Linguistics.

Bobaljik, Jonathan D. (2008) Missing persons: A case study in morphological universals. *The Linguistic Review* 25, 203–230.

Croft, William (2001) *Radical Construction Grammar.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Comrie, Bernard (1989) *Language Universals and Linguistic Typology*. Second edition. Oxford: Blackwell.

de Schepper, Kees (2012) Against a minimal-augmented analysis of number. In Marion Elenbaas and Suzanne Aalberse (eds.), *Linguistics in the Netherlands* 2012, 134–146. Amsterdam: Benjamins

Dixon, R. M. W. (2010) *Basic Linguistic Theory, Vol. 1, Methodology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dryer, Matthew (2004) Noun phrases without nouns. *Functional Linguistics* 11, 43–76.

Dryer, Matthew (2007) Noun phrase structure. In Timothy Shopen (ed.), *Complex Constructions, Language Typology and Syntactic Description, Vol. 2*, 151–205. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gil, David (1993) Tagalog semantics. *Proceedings of the Nineteenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 390-403.

Himmelmann, Nikolaus P. (2005) Tagalog. In Alexander Adelaar & Nikolaus P. Himmelmann (eds.), *The Austronesian Languages of Asia and Madagascar*, 350–376. London; New York: Routledge.

Himmelmann, Nikolaus P. (2008) Lexical categories and voice in Tagalog. In Peter K. Austin and Simon Musgrave (eds.), *Voice and Grammatical Relations in Austronesian Languages*, 247–293. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Huang, Yan (2014) *Pragmatics*. Second edition Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hudson, Richard (2004) Are determiners heads? *Functions of Language* 11, 7–42.

Reid, Lawrence A. (1989) Arta, another Philippine Negrito language. *Oceanic Linguistics* 28(1), 47–74.

Rubino, Carl (1997) A Reference Grammar of Ilocano. Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara.

Rubino, Carl (2005) *Iloko*. In Alexander Adelaar & Nikolaus P. Himmelmann (eds.), *The Austronesian Languages of Asia and Madagascar*, 326–349. London; New York: Routledge.

Schachter, Paul and Fe T. Otanes (1972) *Tagalog Reference Grammar*. University of California Press.

Thomas, David D. (1955) Three analyses of the Ilocano pronoun system. *Word* 11, 204-208.

Van Langendonck, Willy (1994) Determiners as heads. *Cognitive Linguistics* 5, 243–259.

Zwicky, Arnold M. (1985) Heads. *Journal of Linguistics* 21, 1–29.

Zwicky, Arnold M. (1993) Heads, bases and functions. In Greville G. Corbett, Norman M. Fraser and Scott McGlashan (eds.), *Heads in Grammatical Theory,* 292–315. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

イロカノ語の名詞句の構造

山本　恭裕

要旨

本研究はイロカノ語の名詞句の構造を記述することを目的とする。本稿では次の三つのサブタイプを区別する。一つ目は単純な名詞句であり、この名詞句は名詞と冠詞、指示詞、形容詞あるいは数詞などの単純な修飾要素から構成される。二つ目は属格名詞句や関係節といった複雑な修飾要素を含む名詞句である。そして三つ目は、主要部名詞を欠く名詞句を指す。本研究の主な発見は、イロカノ語の名詞句は必須の要素を持たない構文であるという点である。従って、イロカノ語の名詞句は主要部を持たない外心構造であると結論づける。本研究におけるイロカノ語名詞句の記述は、項や付加詞として機能する構造の通言語的バリエーションの理解に貢献する。