



Austronesian Relativization A view from the field in eastern Indonesia

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Typological studies of relative clauses

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More recent works by Bernard Comrie

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Relativization

English allows relativization on any grammatical relation;
SU (subject), DO (direct object) IO (indirect object), etc.

SU	IO	DO
<u>The man</u>	gave	<u>the boy</u> <u>the book</u> .

Relativization on **subject (SU)**

The man [who [\emptyset gave the boy the book]] (was my father)

Relativization on **direct object (DO)**

The book [which [the man gave the boy \emptyset]] (was expensive)

Relativization on **indirect object (IO)**

%The boy [whom [the man gave \emptyset the book]] (was my son)

Relativization on **oblique object (OBL)**

The man spoke to the boy.

The boy [whom [the man spoke to \emptyset]] (was my son)

Relativization on **genitive (GEN)**

The man's book has just been published.

The man [whose [\emptyset book has just been published]] (is in town)

Relativization on **object of comparison (OCOMP)**

The man is taller than the woman.

The woman [whom [the man is taller than \emptyset]] (is his mother.)

In other languages possibilities are (far) more limited than English

Austronesian languages : Tagalog **Actor focus** construction

a. **Nag**-bigay **ang=lalaki** ng=bulaklak sa=babae. (AF)
AF:PRFV-give TOP=man GEN=flower DAT=woman
'The man gave a flower to the woman.'

a'. ang=lalaki=ng [nag-bigay \emptyset ng=bulaklak sa=babae]
TOP=man=LK AF:PRFV-give GEN=flower DAT=woman
'the man [who [\emptyset gave a flower to the woman]]'

a''. *ang=bulaklak na [nag-bigay ang=lalaki \emptyset sa=babae]
TOP=flower LK AF:PRFV-give TOP=man DAT=woman
'the flower [which [the man gave \emptyset to the woman]]'

a'''. *ang=babae=ng [nag-bigay ang=lalaki ng=bulaklak \emptyset]
TOP=woman=LK AF:PRFV-give TOP=man GEN=flower
'the woman [whom [the man gave the flower to \emptyset]]'

In order to relativize on what corresponds to the DO in English, you need to use another construction, the Patient focus (PF) or the Circumstantial focus (CF) construction

b. I-b<in>igay ng=lalaki **ang=bulaklak** sa=babae. (CF)
CF-give<PRFV> GEN=man TOP=flower DAT=woman
'The man gave the flower to the woman.'

b'. ang=bulaklak na [i-b<in>igay ng=lalaki \emptyset sa=babae]
TOP=flower LK CF-give<PRFV> GEN=man DAT=woman
'the flower which the man gave to the woman'

Similarly, if you want to relativize on what corresponds to the English IO, you need to use the following Locative focus construction:

c. B<in>igy-an ng=lalaki ng=bulaklak **ang=babae**. (LF)
give<PRFV>-LF GEN=Man GEN=flower TOP=woman
'The man gave the woman a flower.'

c'. ang=babae=ng [b<in>igy-an ng=lalaki ng=bulaklak \emptyset]
TOP=woman=LK give<PRFV>-LF GEN=man GEN=flower

Bahasa Indonesia/Melayu (Standard Indonesian/Malay)

a. **Saya mem**-beli rumah itu (AF)
I N-buy house that
'I bought the house.'

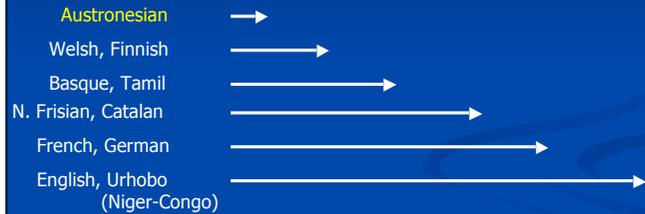
b. **Rumah itu** saya beli. (PF)
house that I \emptyset .buy
'I bought the house.'

a'. *Rumah [yang saya mem-beli]=itu baru (Relativization of P of AF)
house REL I N-buy=that new
'The house which I bought is new.'

b'. Rumah [yang saya beli]=itu baru (Relativization of P of PF)
house REL I \emptyset .buy=that new
'The house which I bought is new.'

Keenan and Comrie (1977) on relativization

Accessibility Hierarchy (66)
 SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP

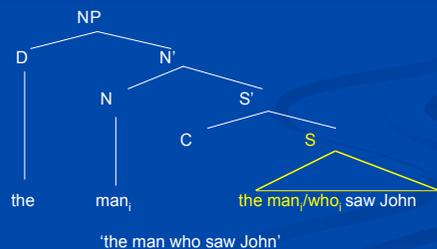


"in absolute terms Subjects are the most relativizable of NP's"
 (Comrie and Keenan 1979: 653)

Keenan and Comrie's (1977) assumptions about Austronesian languages and relativization

1. Austronesian Topics → Subjects
2. Austronesian PF, LF and CF Constructions → Passive
3. They instantiate those languages that only subjects can be relativized; the "subjects-only" constraint obtains in these languages

4. Relativization involves a full clause, whose NP coreferential with the head noun undergoes movement/extraction or deletion/gapping (with a possible pronominal copy left behind in certain positions of the accessibility hierarchy), or a full sentence with a pronominal anaphor/zero pronoun.



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Demise of the focus morphology in Austronesian languages

PAn focus morphology : <*um> Actor, *-ən Patient, *-an Location, *S- Referential

4-way contrast	3-way	2-way	∅
Formosan Philippine	Kavalan Thao Lun Dayeh (Sawarak)	Malay/Indonesian Javanese, Balinese Sasak Sumbawa	Rukai Sasak Sumbawa
AF, PF LF, RF	AF, PF /LF (-an) RF (Kavalan) AF, PF, LF (Thao) AF, PF, IF (Lun Dayeh; Clayre 2005)	AF (N-) PF (∅)	?

Structural contrast

Syntactic constraint

"in a PAN **Relative clause** the (deleted) noun phrase coreferential with its head noun had to be its **pivot[/Topic]**..." (Ross 1995:730)

Tagalog (4-way morphological focus contrast 4-way structural contrast)

- H<um>i-hiwa **ang=lalaki** ng=karne. (AF)
RED<AF>-cut TOP=man GEN=meat
'The **man** is cutting meat.'
- Hi-hiwa-in ng=lalaki **ang=karne.** (PF)
RED-cut-PF GEN=man TOP=meat
'The man is cutting **the meat**.'
- K<in>ain-an ng=lalaki **ang=restaurant.** (LF)
eat<PRFV>-LF GEN=man TOP=restaurant
'The man ate at **the restaurant**.'
- I-b<in>ili ng=lalaki ng=relo **ang=babae.** (CF)
CF-buy<PRFV> GEN=man GEN=watch TOP=woman
'The man bought **the woman** a watch.'

Kavalan (3-way morphological contrast,

4-way structural contrast; Li and Tsuchida 2006:26-27)

- q-<m>aRat **saku** 'nay 'tu mutun. (AF)
<AF>bite cat that OBL rat
'**That cat** bit a rat.'
- qaRat-an na saku mutun 'nay. (PF)
bite-PF GEN cat rat that
'**That rat** was bitten by a cat.'
- Ribaut-an-na ya iRuR a zau. (LF)
fish-LF-he.GEN NOM stream LIG this
'**This stream** is where he fishes.'
- ti-tabu na tina-ku tu baut ya biRi. (RF)
RF-wrap GEN mother-my OBL fish NOM leaf
'My mother wrapped fish with **the leaf**.'

In Thao and Lun Dayeh (Sawarak), RF/CF or LF has dropped out of the system; e.g., Instrumental or Location cannot be directly aligned with Topic in these languages.

Bahasa Melayu/Indonesia, Balinese (2-way nasal/∅ contrast)

- Saya mem-**beli rumah baru (Bahasa Melayu/Indonesia AF)
I N-buy house new
'I bought a new house.'
- Rumah baru itu** saya beli. (Bahasa Melayu/Indonesia PF)
house new that I ∅.buy
'I bought **the new house**.'
- Tiang meli** umah anyar (Balinese AF)
I N.buy house new
'I bought a new house.'
- Umah anyar=e ento** tiang beli (Balinese PF)
house new=DEF that I ∅.buy
'I bought **that house**.'

Sasak

Pancor ngeno-ngené Sasak

- a. Oku kenyengka-ng=ku **mbace** buku ini (N-AF)
 I PROG-LIN=1 N.read book this
 'I am reading this book.'
- b. Buku ini kenyengka-ng=ku **bace** (Ø-PF)
 book this PROG-LIN=1 Ø.read
 'I am reading **this book**.'

Puyung meno-mené Sasak

- a. Aku nyengke **bace** buku=ni (AF?)
 I PROG Ø.read/N.read book=this
 'I am reading this book.'
- b. Buku=ni nyengke=k **bace** (PF?)
 book=this PROG=1SG Ø.read/N.read
 'I am reading this book.'

Sumbawa (Sumbawa Besar)

- a. aku **baca** buku=ta (AF?)
 I read book=this
 'I read this book.'
- b. buku=ta ku=**baca** (PF?)
 book-this 1-read
 'I read this book.'

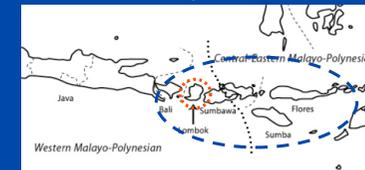
Sasak and Sumbawa

Two eastern-most Western Malayo-Polynesian languages

Adelaar (2005)

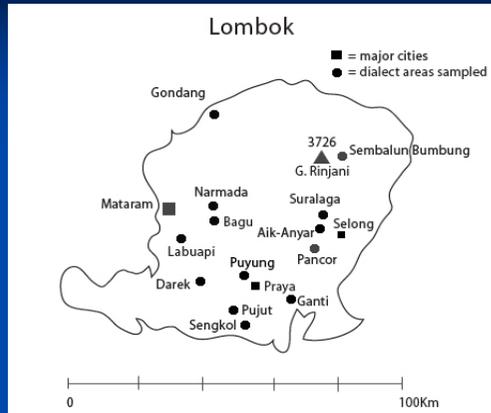


(Adelaar, Alexander. 2005. Malayo-Sumbawan. *Oceanic Linguistics* 22. 357-388.)



Nusa Tenggara

Sasak (and Balinese, Sumbawa; Bahasa Indonesia)



Sasak dialects — “popular/traditional” view

Named after the shibboleth for “like this-like that”

ngeno-ngené, ngeto-ngeté, meno-mené, meriaq-meriku, kuto-kuté, etc.

Actually, a great deal of variation seen within and across these traditional dialects

‘I am reading this book’ in some Sasak dialects

I	PROG-LIN=1	(N)read	book	this	
Eku	kenyengka-ng=ku	mbace	buku	ini	(Selong ngeno-ngené)
Aku	kenyengka	baca	buku	iné	(Sembalun Bumbung ngeno-ngené)
Aku	jengke-ng=ku	bace	buku=ni		(Narmada ngeno-ngené)
Aku	nyengke-ng=k	bace	buku=né		(Bagu meno-mené)
Aku	nyengke	bace	buku=ni		(Puyung meno-mené)
Aku	jengke	mbace	buku=né		(Ganti meno-mené)

I	PROG(-1)	read	book	this	
Aku	nyeke=k	bace’ah	buku	iaqkh	(Bonjurek meriaq-meriku)
Aku	nyeke=k	bace’a	buku	iaq	(Sengkol meriaq-meriku)
Aku	ke-ng=k	mbace	buku	siaq	(Pujut meriaq-meriku)
Eku	kak=k	mbace	buku	ini	(Darek meriaq-meriku)
Eku	kang=k	mbace	buku	sini	(Darek meriaq-mereto)
	Jankeng=k	bace	buku	nin	(Aik-Anyar menu-meni)
	Ckang=ku	mbaca	buku	iné	(Apitaik ino-iné)
Aku	kenjekaq	baca	buku	ené	(Gondang kuto-kuté)

Nasal/∅ morphological contrast in transitive constructions in Sasak dialects

This is consistently maintained in certain eastern dialects:

Pancor ngeno-ngené

a. Oku kenyengka-ng=ku **mbace** buku ini (N-AF)
 I PROG-LIN=1 N.read book this
 ‘I am reading this book.’

b. Buku ini kenyengka-ng=ku **bace** (∅-PF)
 book this PROG-LIN=1 ∅.read
 ‘I am reading **this book**.’

Suralaga ngeto-ngeté

a. Aku **mantok** epe (N-AF)
 I N.hit you
 ‘I hit you.’

b. Epe pantok=ku (∅-PF)
 you ∅.hit=1SG
 ‘I hit **you**.’

Ganti meno-mené

- a. Aku jeng=ke **mpace/bace** buku=ne (AF: *mpace* preferred)
 I PROG=1SG N.read/Ø.read book=this
 'I am reading **this** book.'
- b. Buku=ne jeng=ke **bace/*mbace** (PF)
 book=this PROG=1SG Ø.read/N.read
 'I am reading **this** book.'

Narmada ngeno-ngené

- a. Aku jengke-ng=ku **bace/mbace** buku=ni (AF?; *bace* preferred)
 I PROG-LIN=1SG Ø.read/N.read book=this
 'I am reading **this** book.'
- b. Buku=ni jengke-ng=ku **bace/mbace** (PF?; *bace* preferred)
 book=this PROG-LIN=1SG Ø.read/N.read
 'I am reading **this** book.'

Puyung meno-mené

- a. Aku nyengke **bace/*mbaca** buku=ni (AF?)
 I PROG Ø.read/N.read book=this (Only *bace* in her speech)
 'I am reading **this** book.'
- b. Buku=ni nyengke=k **bace/*mbace** (PF?)
 book=this PROG=1SG Ø.read/N.read
 'I am reading **this** book.'

Even in those dialects/constructions where the focus morphology is lost

Puyung meno-mené

- a. Inaq mu=n **kelor** sebie odaq (AF construction w/o focus morphology)
 mother PAST=3 eat chili green
 'Mother ate green chili.'
- a'. dengan nine [saq Ø **kelor** sebie odaq]=no inaq=k (Topic A relativized)
 person female REL eat chili green=that mother=1
 'The woman who ate green chili is my mother.'
- a''. *Sebie odaq [saq inaq mu=n **kelor** Ø] besar (Non-Topic P relativized)
 chili green REL mother PAST=3 eat big
 'The green chili which mother ate was big.'
- b. Mu=n **kelor** sebie odaq isiq inaq (PF construction w/o focus morphology)
 PAST=3 eat chili green by mother
 'Mother ate green chili.'
- b'. Sebie odaq [saq mu=n **kelor** Ø isiq inaq] besar (Topic P relativized)
 chili green REL PAST=3 eat by mother big
 'The green chili which mother ate was big.'
- b''. *dengan nine [saq mu=n **kelor** sebie odaq (isiq) Ø]=no inaq=ku
 person female REL PAST=3 eat chili green by =that mother=1
 'The woman who ate green chili is my mother.' (Non-Topic A relativized)

Relativization in Sasak dialects — the PAN constraint is maintained; only topic NPs can be relativized

Pancor ngeno-ngené

- a. dengan mame ino **mantok** loq Ali (AF)
 person male that N.hit ART Ali
 'That **man** hit Ali.'
- a'. dengan mame [si Ø **mantok** loq Ali] batur=meq (Topic A relativized)
 person male REL N.hit ART Ali friend=2SG
 'That man who hit Ali is your friend.'
- a''. *Loq Ali [si dengan mame ino **mantok** Ø] batur=meq (Non-Topic P relativized)
 ART Ali REL person male that hit friend=2SG
 'Ali, whom that man hit, is your friend.'
- b. Loq Ali **pantok**=na siq dengan mame ino (PF)
 ART Ali Ø.hit=3SG by person male that
 'That man hit **Ali**.'
- b'. loq Ali [si Ø **pantok**=na siq dengan mame ino] batur=meq (Topic P relativized)
 ART Ali REL hit=3SG by person male that friend=2SG
 'Ali, whom that man hit, is your friend.'
- b''. *dengan mame [si Ali **pantok**=na Ø] batur=meq (Non-Topic A relativized)
 person male REL Ali hit=3SG friend=2SG
 'The man who hit Ali is your friend.'

Interim conclusions-1

1. The PAN constraint on relativization that only Topic NPs can be relativized (Wh-questioned, and clefted) is maintained even in the Sasak dialects (and Sumbawan dialects) in which the Austronesian focus morphology has been lost— A case of focus constructions without focus morphology.
2. This conclusion is contrary to the recent studies on Sasak by Peter Austin and his students.

Austin, Peter K. (ed.).1998. *Sasak* (Working Papers in Sasak, vol. 1). Department of Linguistics and Applied Linguistics, University of Melbourne.

Austin, Peter K. (ed.). 2000. *Sasak* (Working Papers in Sasak, vol. 2). Department of Linguistics and Applied Linguistics, University of Melbourne.

Eades (1998: 128-129) on Puyung meno-mené relativization:

"[a]ll of the categories in Keenan and Comrie's accessibility hierarchy are accessible to relativization in Sasak, except for the object of comparison"

"[t]he process of relativization in Sasak is quite different from that in other Western-Austronesian languages, many of which can only relativize a syntactic subject, and require some other form of promotion of the non-subject to subject in order for it to be accessible to relativization."

Puyung meno-mené

a. Inaq mu=n kelor sebie odaq
mother PAST=3 eat chili green
'Mother ate green chili.'

a'. dengan nine [saq Ø kelor sebie odaq]=no inaq=k (Topic A relativized)
person female REL eat chili green=that mother=1
'The woman who ate green chili is my mother.'

a". *Sebie odaq [saq inaq mu=n kelor Ø] besar (Non-Topic P relativized)
chilli green REL mother PAST=3 eat big
'The green chili which mother ate was big.'

Austin (2000)

The ngeno-ngené dialects which preserve the nasal/oral morphological focus contrast "resemble[s] Balinese...in picking out the Agent for a two- or three-place zero verb for special treatment. Topicalisation, question formation, relative clause formation, and purpose clause construction in Mataram and Selong Sasak are not possible when the pivot is a zero verb Agent." (14)

"[i]n the Menó-Mené varieties [which have lost the nasal/oral opposition in most transitive verbs] this restriction does not apply and **any argument of a verb may be directly questioned**" (16)

"[i]n Menó-Mené Sasak [relativizations] a contrast is made between *arguments* of verbs...and *non-arguments*..." (17).

Puyung meno-mené (courtesy of Dr. Herman Suheri, principal consultant for Austin and his students)

a. **Kamu** empuk Ali (AF)
you hit Ali
'You hit Ali.'

b. Sai empuk Ali?
who hit Ali
'Who hit Ali?'

c. *Sai kamu empuk?
who you hit
'Whom did you hit?'

c'. Sai mu=m empuk
who PERF=2 hit
'Whom did you hit?'

d. **Ali** mu=m empuk (PF)
Ali PERF=2 hit
'You hit Ali.'

Keenan-Comrie's three assumptions
about the Austronesian relativization

1. Topic → Subject
2. PF, LF, CF constructions → Passive
3. The "Subjects-only" constraint on in Austronesian relativization

There are several good reasons for **not** making the following assumptions made by Keenan and Comrie:

Topic → Subject; PF, LF, CF → Passive

1. There are subject and object relations apart from the Topic relation in Sasak

- a. Cliticization of subjects (and objects)
- b. Passive exists apart from PF — Patient of a passive clause behaves like a subject; Patient of PF does not.
- c. Control phenomena — Some are controlled by Topic, some by **Subject**=Topic
- d. Relativizer selection in Bagu meno-mené

2. Relativization pattern violates the following universal:

"All RC strategies must operate on a continuous segment of the AH."
(Comrie and Keenan 1979:661)

3. Relativization pattern is better accounted for in terms of the Topic relation; e.g., relativization of GEN.

Sasak Subjects—Pronominal clitics

Puyung meno-mené

Intransitive subjects

- a. (Aku) mu=**k** lalo jok peken
I PAST=1 go to market
'I went to the market.'
- b. Mu=**m** lalo jok peken
PAST=2 go to market
'You went to the market.'
- c. Inaq mu=**n** lalo jok peken
mother PAST=3 go to market
'Mother went to the market.'

Cf. English agreement

He walks. (S)

Transitive subjects

- d. Mu=**k** empuk Ali
PAST=1 hit Ali
'I hit Ali.'
- e. Inaq mu=**n** empuk Ali
mother PAST=3 hit Ali
'Mother hit Ali.'
- f. Mun=**n** empuk Ali.
PAST=3 hit Ali
'S/he hit Ali.'

He hits us. (A)

Puyung meno-mené

Passive subjects

- a. (Aku) wah=**k** te-empuk isiq Ali
I PERF=1 PASS-hit by Ali
'I have been hit by Ali.'
- b. Te-empuk=**m** isiq Ali
PASS-hit=2 by Ali
'You were hit by Ali.'
- c. Te-empuk=**n** isiq Ali
PASS-hit=3 by Ali
'S/he was hit by Ali.'

He **was** hit by John. (P of Passive)

Cf.

Puyung meno-mené

- a. **Ali**_i wah=**en**_i kirim-an aku surat (AF)
Ali PERF=3 send-APPL I letter
'Ali sent me a letter.'
- a'. **Aku** wah=**en**_i kirim-an surat isiq **Ali**_i (PF)
I PERF=3 send-APPL letter by Ali
'Ali sent **me** a letter.'
- b. **Aku**_i wah=**k**_i kirim-an Ali surat (AF)
I PERF=1 send-APPL Ali letter
'I sent Ali a letter.'
- b'. **Ali** wah=**k** kirim-an surat (PF)
Ali PERF=1 send-APPL letter
'I sent **Ali** a letter.'

PF Topic does not cliticize unlike a passive subject

PF Topic does not cliticize unlike a passive subject

Summary of the basic argument alignment patterns

Puyung meno-mené

- a. AF-construction
Ali bace buku=**ni** (A=SUB=TOP; P=OBJ)
Ali read book=this
'Ali read this book.'
(Cf. Japanese: Taroo=**wa** kono hon=o yondeiru. A=SUB=TOP=**wa**)
- b. PF-construction
Buku=**ni** mu=**n** bace siq Ali (A=SUB; P=OBJ=TOP)
book=this PERF-3 read by Ali
'Ali read this book.'
(Cf. Kono hon=**wa** Taroo=**ga** yondeiru. P=OBJ=TOP=**wa**; A=SUB=**ga**)
- c. Passive construction
Buku=**ni** te-bace siq Ali (A=OBL; P=SUB=TOP)
book=this pass-read by Ali
'This book is read by Ali.'
(Cf. Kono hon=**wa** Taroo=**ni** yotte yomareteiru. P=SUB=TOP=**wa**)

Control phenomena

1. "Want"-type :takes a non-controllable SOA complement

- I want [\emptyset to leave]
- I want [John to leave]
- I want [it to rain]
- I want [\emptyset to be tall]

Selong ngeno-ngené

- a. Mele-ng=ku [anta ngiduk Siti] (AF complement)
 want-LIN=1 you N.kiss Siti
 'I want you to kiss Siti.'
- b. Mele-ng=ku [Siti meq=iduk] (PF complement)
 want-LIN=1 Siti 2= \emptyset .kiss
 'I want you to kiss Siti.'

Selong ngeno-ngené

- a. Mele-ng=ku [\emptyset ngiduk Siti] (\emptyset =A=SUBJECT=TOPIC)
 want-LIN=1 N.kiss Siti
 'I want to kiss Siti.'
- a'. [eku ngiduk Siti] (AF)
 I N.kiss Siti
 'I kiss Siti.'
- b. Meleng=ku [ne=iduk \emptyset isiq Siti] (\emptyset =P=OBJECT=TOPIC)
 want-LI=1 3= \emptyset .kiss by Siti
 'I want Siti to kiss (me).'
- b'. [ne=iduk eku isiq Siti] (PF)
 3= \emptyset .kiss I by Siti
 'Siti kisses me.'
- c. Meleng=ku [\emptyset te=iduk isiq Siti] (\emptyset =P=SUBJECT=TOPIC)
 want-LIN=1 PASS=kiss by Siti
 'I want to be kissed by Siti.'
- c'. [eku te=iduk isiq Siti] (Passive)
 I PASS=kiss by Siti
 'I was kissed by Siti.'

Selong ngeno-ngené

- a. *Mele-ng=ku [Siti iduk \emptyset] (\emptyset =A=SUBJECT=NON-TOPIC)
 want-LIN=1 Siti \emptyset .kiss
 'I want to kiss Siti.'
- a'. [Siti iduk eku] (PF)
 Siti \emptyset .kiss I
 'I kiss Siti.'
- b. *Mele-ng=ku [Siti ngiduk \emptyset] (\emptyset =P=OBJECT=NON-TOPIC)
 want-LIN=1 Siti N.kiss
 'I want Siti to kiss (me).'
- b'. [Siti ngiduk eku] (AF)
 Siti N.kiss I
 'Siti kisses me.'

2. "Try"/"Order"-type : requires a controllable SOA complement with a "like-subject" coreferential with either the matrix subject or the matrix object

- *?I tried [to be tall] (cf. I tried to be kind.)
- *I ordered Mary [to be tall] (cf. I ordered Mary to be kind.)
- *I tried [for John to kiss Mary]
- *I ordered Mary [for John to kiss her]
- I_i tried to [\emptyset , to kiss Mary]
- I ordered Mary_i [\emptyset , to kiss John]
- I_i tried to [\emptyset , to be kissed by Mary]
- I ordered Mary_i [\emptyset , to be kissed by John]

Selong ngeno-ngené

- a. Ali nyobaq [\emptyset ngiduk Siti] ($\emptyset = A = \text{SUBJECT} = \text{TOPIC}$)
 I N.try N.kiss Siti
 'Ali tried to kiss Siti.'
- a'. [Ali ngiduk Siti] (AF)
 Ali N.kiss Siti
 'Ali kisses Siti.'
- b. Ali nyobaq [\emptyset te-iduk isiq le Siti] ($\emptyset = P = \text{SUBJECT} = \text{TOPIC}$)
 Ali N.try PASS-kiss by ART Siti
 'Ali tried to be kissed by Siti.'
- b'. [Ali te-iduk isiq Siti] (Passive)
 Ali PASS-kiss by Siti
 'Ali was kissed by Siti.'

Selong ngeno=ngené

- a. *Ali nyobaq [na-iduk Siti \emptyset] ($\emptyset = A = \text{SUB} = \text{NON-TOP}$)
 Ali N.try 3= \emptyset .kiss Siti \emptyset .kiss
 'Ali tried to kiss Siti.'
- a'. [na-iduk Siti siq Ali] (PF)
 3= \emptyset .kiss Siti by Ali
 'Ali kisses Siti.'
- b. *Ali nyobaq [Siti ngiduk \emptyset] ($\emptyset = P = \text{OBJ} = \text{NON-TOP}$)
 Ali N.try Siti N.kiss
 (lit.) 'Ali tried Siti to kiss (him).'
- b'. [Siti ngiduk Ali] (AF)
 Siti N.kiss Ali
 'Siti kisses Ali.'
- c. *Ali nyobaq [\emptyset na-iduk isiq Siti] ($\emptyset = P = \text{OBJ} = \text{TOP}$)
 I N.try 3= \emptyset .kissby Siti
 (lit.) 'Ali tried Siti to kiss (him).'
- c'. [Ali na-iduk isiq Siti] (PF)
 Ali 3= \emptyset .kiss by Siti
 'Siti kisses Ali.'

Contrasting pair

- b. Ali nyobaq [\emptyset te-iduk isiq Siti] ($\emptyset = P = \text{SUBJECT} \neq \text{TOPIC}$)
 Ali N.try PASS-kiss by Siti
 'Ali tried to be kissed by Siti.'
- b'. [Ali te-iduk isiq Siti] (Passive)
 Ali PASS-kiss by Siti
 'Ali was kissed by Siti.'
- c. *Ali nyobaq [\emptyset na=iduk isiq Siti] ($\emptyset = P = \text{OBJ} \neq \text{TOPIC}$)
 Ali N.try 3= \emptyset .kiss by Siti
 (lit.) 'Ali tried Siti to kiss (me).'
- c'. [Ali na=iduk isiq Siti] (PF) → Cannot be a passive
 3= \emptyset .kiss by Siti
 'Siti kisses Ali.'

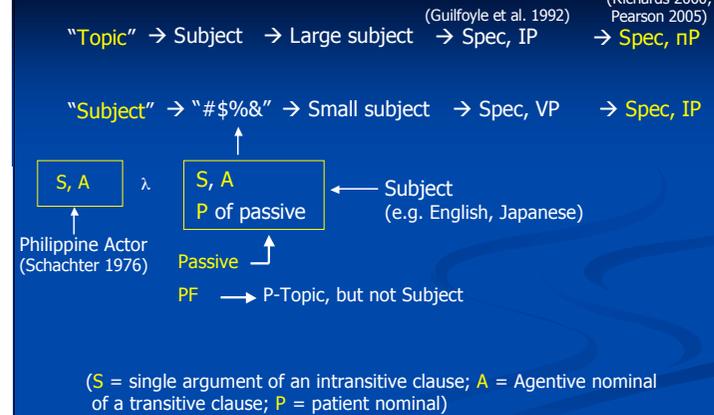
Bagu meno-mené relativizer selection

- $\emptyset = A = \text{SUBJECT} = \text{TOPIC}$
- a. Dengan mame [saq \emptyset gitaq dengan mine]=no amaq=k (AF)
 person male REL see person female=that father=1
 'That man who sees the woman is my father.'
- $\emptyset = \text{PATIENT} = \text{SUBJECT} \neq \text{TOPIC}$
- b. Dengan mine [saq \emptyset te-gitaq siq dengan mame]=ne inaq=k (Passive)
 person female REL PASS-see by person male=this mother=1
 'This woman who is seen by the man is my mother.'
- $\emptyset = \text{PATIENT} = \text{OBJECT} \neq \text{TOPIC}$
- c. Dengan mine [saq-siq=n gitaq \emptyset siq dengan mine]=ne inaq=k (PF)
 person female REL=3 see by person male=this mother=1
 'This woman whom the man sees is my mother.'

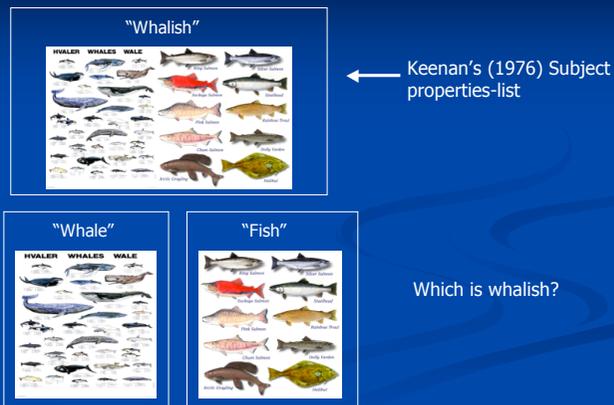
Interim conclusions-2

1. There exist both **Topic** and **Subject**/Object grammatical relations in Sasak (and Sumbawa)
2. **Subjects**: involved in
 - (a) cliticization (also by Object)
 - (b) Bagu meno-mené REL selection
 - (c) Reflexive binding (not discussed today)
3. **Objects**: involved in
 - (a) P focusing (not discussed today)
 - (b) Passivization (not discussed today)
4. "Try"/"order"-type predicates control a **Subject=Topic** gap in complements
5. **Topics**: involved in
 - (a) the "want"-type control phenomenon
 - (b) Relativization (and related phenomena **attributable to nominalization**)
 - (c) Raising (discussed below)
 - (d) Coordinate deletion, etc. (not discussed today)

Reinterpreting Topic as Subject?



Schachter, Paul. 1976. The subject in Philippine languages: Topic, Actor, Actor-Topic or none of the above. In C. N. Li (ed.) *Subject and Topic*. New York: Academic Press. 491-518.



Other references:

- Guilfoyle, Eithne, Henrietta Hung and Lisa Travis. 1992. SPEC of IP and SPEC of VP: two subjects in Austronesian languages. *Natural Languages and Linguistic Theory*. 10:375-414.
- Pearson, Matthew. 2005. The Malagasy Subject/topic as an A'-element. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*. 23: 381-457.
- Richards, Norvin. 2000. Another look at Tagalog Subjects. In I. Paul, V. Philips, and L. Travis (eds.) *Formal Issues in Austronesian Linguistics*. Dordrecht: Kluwer. 105-116.

Counterexample to the following universals:

"All RC strategies must operate on a continuous segment of the AH."
(Comrie and Keenan 1979: 661)

"If a given language presents NPrel [a relativized NP] as a pronoun for any position in the Hierarchy then it presents NPrel as a pronoun for all lower positions on the Hierarchy." (Keenan 1985:148)

Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan and Comrie 1977:66)
SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > OCOMP

Positions where pronouns can be retained in Sasak (and Sumbawa)
SU > DO > (IO >) OBL > **GEN** > **OCOMP**

Pronoun-retention RC strategy in Sasak

Pancor ngeno-ngené

OCOMP relativized

- a. Ganggasan ante isiq **dengan nine ino**
tall you than person female that
'You are taller than that woman.'
- b. Dengan nine ino [si ganggasan ante isiq **iye**] ina-ng=ku
person female that REL tall you than her mother-LINK=1
'That woman whom you are taller than is my mother.'

Bagu meno-mené

GEN relativized

- a. Otak **dengan mame=no** beleq
head person male=that big
'That man's head is big.'
- b. Dengan mame=no [saq otak=**n** beleq] batur amaq=k
person male=that REL head=3 big friend father=1
'That man whose head is big is my father's friend.'

OBLs and OBJs cannot be retained as pronouns

Pancor ngeno-ngené

OBL relativized

- a. Oku ngirim surat timpaq **batur=ku/iye**
I sent letter to my friend/him
'I sent a letter to my friend/him.'
- b. *Batur [si ngirim=ku surat timpaq **iye**] pintar
friend REL N.send=1 letter to him smart
'The friend to whom I sent a letter is smart.'

Bagu meno-mené

OBJ relativized

- a. Beng=k dengan **mame=no anak=k**
give=1 person male=that child=1
'I gave the man my child.'
- b. *Dengan mame [saq-siq beng=k **iye** anak=k] batur=k
person male REL give=1 him child=1 friend=1
'The man whom I gave my child is my friend.'
- c. *Anak=k [saq-siq beng=k dengan mame=no **iye**] nyengke=n bace buku
child=1 REL give=1 person male=that him PROG=3 read book
'My child whom I gave to that man is reading a book.'

But SUs can be retained as pronouns:

Bagu meno-mené

Dengan mame [saq mele=**n** gitaq kamu]=no amaq=m
person male REL want=3 see you =that father=2
'The man who wants to see you is your father.'

Darek meriaq-mereto

Kemu [saq mele=**m** gitaq keku] iku batur keku.
you REL want=2 see me that friend my
'You, who want to see me, is my friend.'

Pujut meriaq-meriku

Kanak siaq [ke=**n** bace buku=n] anak=k
child this PROG-3 read book-3 child=1
'This boy who is reading his book is my son.'

Interim Conclusions-3

Subject Relative Universal

- a. "All languages can relativize Subjects." (Comrie and Keenan 1979:652)
- b. "...in absolute terms Subjects are the most relativizable of NP's." (Comrie and Keenan 1979: 653)
- c. "Subjects are universally the most relativizable of NPs." (Keenan 1985:158)

"if there turn out to be languages for which the traditional notions of Subject etc. are inapplicable, then our generalizations make no claim about how relativization should pattern in those languages. The generalizations are not of course falsified thereby, but their domain of applicability is restricted." Comrie and Keenan (1979:659)

In Sasak "the traditional notions of Subject etc." obtain; yet Subjects are not the most relativizable NPs of the language.

Importance of looking at the neighboring (genetically related) languages

On Sasak PF constructions:

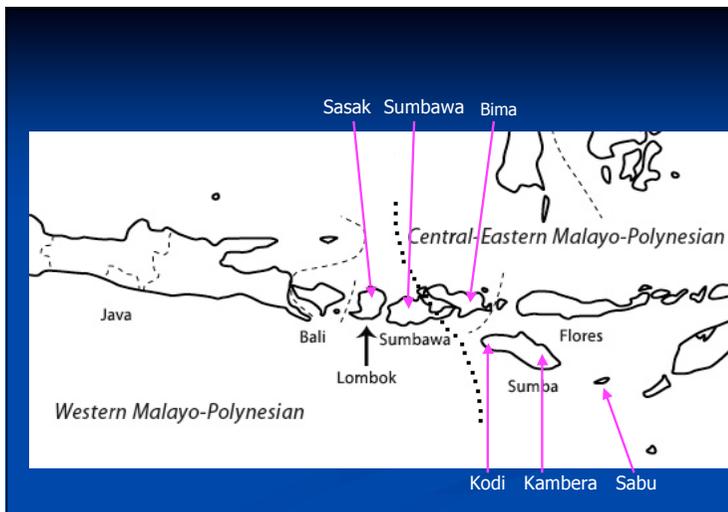
→ Buku=ni mu=n bace siq Ali (Puyung meno-mené PF)
 book=this PERF-3 read by Ali
 'Ali read this book.'

Kroon (1998) "the *isiq* construction"
 Musgrave (2000) "postposed agent constructions"

Kroon (1998:105):
 "a peculiar pattern that distinguishes the Sasak language from all other Western Malayo-Polynesian languages."

Sumbawa (Sumbawa Besar)

- a. Ali ka=baca buku=ta (AF)
 Ali PERF=read book=this
 'Ali has read this book.'
- b. Buku=ta ka=baca leng Ali (PF)
 book-this PERF=read by Ali
 'Ali has read this book.'
- c. Buku=ta ka=ya-baca leng Ali
 book=this PERF=PASS-read by Ali
 'This book was read by Ali.'



Bima (Sila dialect; Eastern Sumbawa)

- a. Nggomi ra tu'ba=mu nahu (AF)
 you PERF hit=2 I
 'You have hit me.'
- b. Nahu ra tu'ba 'ba nggomi (PF)
 I PERF hit by you
 'You have hit me.'
- c. Nahu 'di tu'ba 'ba nggomi (Passive)
 I PASS hit by you
 'I will be hit by you.'

AF/PF in RCs

- d. Nahu ku=bade ana dou mone [ma nduku ana dou siwe aka]
 I 1-know child person male (A.)NMZ hit child person female that
 'I know the boy who hit that girl.'
- e. Nahu ku=bade ana dou siwe [ra nduku 'ba ana dou mone aka]
 I 1=knoe child person female P.NMZ hit by child person male that
 'I know the girl whom that boy hit.'

Sumba Island

Kodi (Western Sumba)

a. A=toyo [na=ndaruku=ghu] bapa=na Tjangu
 ART=person 3=stab=you(OBJ) father=3 Tjangu
 'The person who stabbed you is Tjangu's father.'

b. A=toyo [pa=ndakuru=mu] bapa=na Tjangu
 ART=person P.NMZ=stab=2GEN father-3 Tjangu (yoyyo=2TOP)
 'The person whom you stabbed is Tjangu's father.'

Kamera (Eastern Sumba)

a. Domu tau na=tau nina [na=hunju=ka nyungga]
 Domu know ART=person male 3=stab=1 1
 'Domu knows the man who stabbed me.'

b. Domu tau na=tau nina [pa=hunju=nggu]
 Domu know ART=person male P.NMZ=stab=1GEN
 'Domu knows the man whom I stabbed.'

Sabu (Sawu) Island

Sabu

a. Kale tabbo ya. (AF)
 Kale stab I
 'Kale stabs me.'

b. Ya tabbo ri Kale (PF)
 I stab by Kale
 'Kale stabs me.'

Flores language map



Western Flores

Menngarai (Ruteng)

a. Siti omo aku (AF)
 Siti kiss I
 'Siti kisses me.'

b. Aku omo le=Siti (PF/Passive?)
 I kiss by=Siti
 'Siti kisses me.'

Manus

a. Aku zurok ghau (AF)
 I stab you
 'I stab you.'

b. Ghau zurok l=aku (PF)
 you stab by=I
 'I stab you.'

Rongga (Kosmas 2008)

a. Embu pamba lima pasu ja'o (AF)
 grandfather slap hand cheek I
 'Grandfather slapped my cheek.'

b. Pasu ja'o pamba lima ne embu (PF)
 cheek I slap hand by grandfather
 'Grandfather slapped my cheek.'

Riung

a. Ali ndwa aku (AF)
 Ali stab I
 'Ali stabs me.'

b. Aku ndwa le=Ali (PF)
 I stab by=Ali
 'Ali stabs me.'

Central Flores

Ngadha

- a. kau da bhore ja'o
you PART stab I
'You stabbed me.'
b. ja'o kau da bhore
I you PART stab
'You stabbed me.'

Kéo (Baird 2002)

- a. Nus bhobha Arno.
Nus hit Arno
'Nus hit Arno.'
b. Arno Nus bhobha.
Arno Nus hit
'Nus hit Arno.'

Lio

- a. kau saka aku
you stab I
'You stab me.'
b. aku kau saka
I you stab
'You stab me.'

What are these P-initial (b) forms in these isolating Flores languages?

Donohue, Mark. 2005. The Palu'e **passive**: from pragmatic construction to grammatical device. In I. W. Arka & M. Ross (eds.) *The many Faces of Austronesian Voice Systems: Some New Empirical Studies*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, Australian National University. 59-85.

Palu'e (Donohue 2005:60)

- a. Ia cube vavi va?a. (Active)
3SG shoot pig that
'He shot that pig.'
b. Vavi va?a ia cube. (Passive)
pig that 3SG shoot
'That pig, he shot (it).' OR 'That pig was shot by him.'

Flores language map



Eastern Flores

Sikka (Krowe dialect)

A'u **teri** e'i kadéra
I sit on chair
'I sit on the chair.'

I (*a'u*), We (INCL *ite*), they (*nimu*) = **teri**
you (SG *'au/PL miu*),
we (EXCL *ami*), He/she (*nimu*) = **deri**

- a. Mera **a'u** tola la'i ia (AF)
yesterday I hit man that
'Yesterday I hit that man.'
b. Mera la'i ia **a'u** tola. (PF)
yesterday man that I hit
a. **Nimu** dola wawi ia (AF)
he hit pig that
'He hit the pig.'
b. Wawi ia **nimu** dola (PF)
pig that he hit

Lamaholot (Nurabelen dialect)

- a. go k-oi teʔe□. (AF)
1SG 1SG-know this
'I know this.'
- b. teʔe□ go k-oi. (PF)
this 1SG 1SG-know
'This, I know.'

Nature of these PF constructions in (isolating) AN languages:
Innovation, continuation, or recurrence?

Bahasa Indonesia

- a. Saya mem-beli buku ini (AF)
I AF-buy book this
'I bought this book.'
- b. Buku ini saya beli. (PF)
book this I ∅.buy

Recent works on AN languages of Indonesia

Arka, I Wayan. 2003. *Balinese Morphosyntax: A Lexical-Functional Approach*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, Australian National University.

Donohue, Mark. 1999. *A Grammar of Tukang Besi*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Durie, Mark. 1985. *A Grammar of Acehese on the Basis of a Dialect of North Aceh*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.

Klamer, Marian. 1998. *A Grammar of Kambera*. Berlin. Mouton de Gruyter.

Mark Durie on Acehese (northern Sumatra)

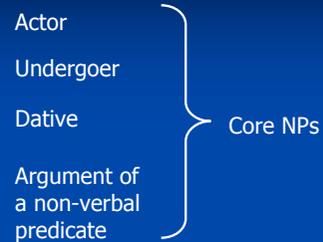
Durie, Mark. 1985. *A Grammar of Acehese on the Basis of a Dialect of North Aceh*. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.

Durie, Mark. 1987. Grammatical relations in Acehese. *Studies in Language* 11-2:365-399.

Durie, Mark. 1998. The so-called passive of Acehese. *Language* 64-1: 104-113.



Durie's grammatical relations for Acehnese



Acehnese (Northern Sumatra; Durie 1987)

- a. **gopnyan** geu-bloe moto nyan AF
(s)he=A 3-buy car that=U
'(S)he bought that car.'
- Iye** wah=n beli motor=no Puyung Meno-mené Sasak AF
(s)he PERF=3 buy car=that
- b. ka=**lô**=poh **ureueng nyan** lè **lôn** PF
IN=1=hit person that=U by 1=A
'I hit that person.'
- Wah=**k** empok **dengan=no** siq **aku** Puyung Meno-mené PF
PERF-1 hit person=that by I
- a'. **moto nyan** geu-bloe PF
car that=U 3-buy
'(S)he bought that car.'
- motor=no** wah=n beli Puyung Meno-mené PF
car=that PERF=3 buy

Core relativization

- a. Gopnyan geu-bloe moto nyan
(s)he 3-buy car that
'(S)he bought that car.' ← AF RC
- b. lôn-ngieng ureueng [nyang-**Ø**-bloe moto nyan] ← AF RC
1-see person REL- \emptyset -buy car that
'I saw the person who bought that car.'
- c. * lôn-ngieng ureueng [nyang-**moto nyan** (geu)-bloe \emptyset] ← PF RC
1-see person REL-car that 3-buy
'I saw the person who bought that car.'
- d. lôn-ngieng moto [nyang-**Ø**-geu-bloe lé ureueng nyan] ← PF RC
1-see car REL- \emptyset 3-buy by person that
'I see the car that was bought by that person.'
- e. * lôn-ngieng moto [nyang-**ureueng nyan** geu-bloe \emptyset] ← AF RC
1-see car REL-person that 3-buy
'I saw the car that was bought by that person.'

"The distinctive characteristic of Core relativization is that the **preverbal position**...is empty; it cannot be occupied by a Core NP." (Durie 382)

Raising

- a. **Gopnyan** teuntèe [\emptyset gue-beuet hikayat prang sabi] ← AF SC
(s)he certain 3-recite epic Prang Sabi
'He is certain to recite the Prang Sabi epic.'
- b. **hikayat prang sabi** teuntèe [\emptyset geu-beuet] ← PF SC
epic Prang Sabi certain 3-recite
'The Prang Sabi epic is certain to be recited by him.'
- c. ***hikayat prang sabi** teuntèe [Ali geu-beuet \emptyset] (constructed by MS) ← AF SC
epic Prang Sabi certain 3-recite
'(lit) The Prang Sabi epic is certain for Ali to recite.'

"When raising occurs, the **preverbal position in the lower clause is left empty**,..." (Durie 1987:381)

True generalization: Only Topic nominals can be relativized or raised

Prospect: Keenan & Comrie's 4th assumption

4. **Relativization involves a full clause**, whose NP coreferential with the head noun undergoes movement/extraction or deletion/gapping (with a possible pronominal copy left behind in certain positions of the accessibility hierarchy), or **a full sentence with a pronominal anaphor/zero pronoun**.

