

Attrition of Actor Voice Morphology and Fronted Content Questions in the Austronesian languages of Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia

I Wayan Arka
Australian National University/
Udayana University
wayan.arka@anu.edu.au

11-ICAL, 23 June 2009

12-ICAL 23 June 2009

1

Fronted content questions defined

- ▶ = A question that can alternatively appear in sentence-initial position, left-periphery position, instead of its canonical in-situ position.
- ▶ Fronted questions are often claimed to be restricted to SUBJ in Balinese:
=> the "SUBJ-only" constraint: not always!

(1) Balinese:

(a) [Ketut ngalih Nyoman]
Ketut AV.search N
SUBJ OBJ
'Ketut looked for Nyoman'

Questions:

with *ane*: (b) Nyen ane [ngalih Nyoman]?
who REL SUBJ AV.search N
'who (is the one who) looked for Nyoman?'

Without *ane*: (c) Nyen Nyoman [ngalih _]?
Who N SUBJ AV.search
i) 'Who looked for Nyoman?'
ii) * 'Who did Nyoman look for?'

A fronted QW in Balinese cannot be associated with OBJ in (d); PASS must be used (e):

(d)* Apa Ketut meli _ ? e) Apa beli-a teken Ketut
what Ketut AV.buy what buy-PASS by K
'What did Ketut buy?' 'What was bought by Ketut?'

12-ICAL 23 June 2009

2

What is actually the constraint?

- ▶ Examples in (1)d-e (Balinese) appear show that verbal morphology is crucial: the AV morphology seems to block the fronted OBJ question. The same is observed with the nasal (AV) verb in Sasak (see example (4) later).

▶ Claims

- The AV morphology does not 'really' block the 'fronted' OBJ question
 - Against the analysis of 'morphological blocking'
- Information structure associated with SUBJ/OBJ is crucial
 - Contrastive FOC assignment to SUBJ.
 - PIVOT selection as part of (language-specific) grammatical constraints: SUBJ (or OBJ) is assigned salient discourse function (DF):

[salient.DF=SUBJ]_{PIVOT}

12-ICAL 23 June 2009

3

A fronted OBJ question is possible in Balinese!

- ▶ Condition: SUBJ is assigned contrastive FOCUS

(2) a. * Apa Ketut meli _ ? (1d)
what K AV.buy

- i) FOR 'What did Ketut buy?'
ii) OKAY for 'what bought Ketut'

b. * Apa ane Ketut meli _ ?
what REL Ketut AV.buy
FOR 'What did Ketut buy?'

Type 1 structure:
the 'tight str'

c. Apa ane Ketut dogen meli _ ?
what REL Ketut only AV.buy
'What is it that only Ketut bought?'

Type 2 structure:
the 'loose str'

d. Apa ane beli-a teken Ketut
what REL buy-PASS by Ketut
'What was bought by Ketut?'

12-ICAL 23 June 2009

4

Nasal & bare verbs: Balinese vs. Sasak

- ▶ The nasal prefix is diminishing
 - Balinese vs. Sasak vs. other languages in Nusa Tenggara
- ▶ Nasal and non-nasal contrast in the transitive verbs may be:
 - **functional**: Balinese
 - *maling* (-N-paling 'AV-steal') vs. *beli* 'UV.steal'
 - **not functional** in certain contexts: non-standard Indonesian, many dialects of Sasak
- ▶ Balinese:
 - a. Nyen ane [_ **maling** /* paling siap-e nto]?
Who FOC AV.steal / steal chicken-DEF that
'who stole the chicken?'
 - b. * Apa ane ci paling / **maling** _ ? (fronted QW=U=OBJ; *N-/*bare)
What FOC 2s UV.steal / AV.steal
FOR 'What did you steal?'
 - c. Apa ane [_ paling / *maling ci] ? (fronted QW=U=SUBJ; *N-)
What FOC 2s UV.steal AV.steal 2
FOR 'What did you steal?'
- ▶ Jelantik Sasak
 - a. *sai* (*sag*) *paling* / **maling** *manuk* *wiq?*
who FOC steal / N.steal chicken yesterday
'who stole a chicken yesterday?' Type 1 structure
 - b. *ape* *sag* *mu-m* **paling** /* *maling* _ *wiq?* (Fronted QW=OBJ; *N-)
what FOC PAST-2 steal N.steal yesterday
'what did you steal yesterday?'

12-ICAL 23 June 2009

5

Flores languages (1): Manggarai

- ▶ When the AV morphology is all gone, focussed OBJ is not always freely fronted: Manggarai & Rongga

(5) Manggarai

- Hi Mundus tako manuk meseng?* (S-V-O)
ART name steal chicken yesterday
'Mundus stole chickens yesterday?'
- Ceing (ata) tako manuk meseng?*
Who REL steal chicken yesterday
'who stole chickens yesterday?'
- * *Apa ata hi Mundus tako _ meseng?*
what REL ART name stea OBJ yesterday
'What did Mundus steal yesterday?'
- Apa ata _ tako le Mundus meseng?* (S-V-OBL)
what REL SUBJ steal by name yesterday
'What was stolen by Mundus yesterday?'

12-ICAL 23 June 2009

6

Flores languages (2): Rongga

Rongga

- a. *Sei naka manu nembumai?* (S-V-O)
Who steal chicken yesterday
'who stole the chicken?'
 - b. *Ami naka apa nembumai?*
A steal what yesterday?
'What did Amir steal yesterday?'
 - c. * *Apa (ata) Ami naka _ nembubai?*
What REL Ami steal _ yesterday
'What did Amir steal yesterday?'
 - d. *Apa (ata) naka ne Ami nembubai?*
What REL steal by Ami yesterday
'What was stolen by Amir yesterday?'
- a. *apa ata ghetu ne kau [_ (ata) naka ne Ami]*
what REL think by 2 REL steal by Ami
'what was thought (by you) to have been stolen by A'
 - * *apa ata ghetu ne kau [(ata) Ami naka _]*

12-ICAL 23 June 2009

7

The attrition of the AN voice coding & the related (SUBJ-only) constraint in some AN languages of Nusa Tenggara

(8)

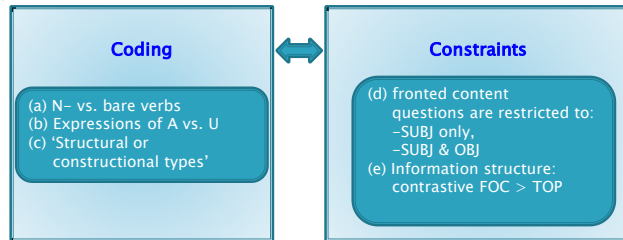
		FORM		
		Verbal morphology: N-		
		[+ present]	[+/-present]	[-present]
'SUBJ-only' CONSTRAINT in fronted content questions	[+present]	← Balinese →		
	[+/- present]	← Manggarai Rongga →		
	[-present]	← Selong-Sasak Puyung-sasak Jelantik-Sasak Palu'e Bima Sumbawa →		
				← ?Keo ?Ende →

12-ICAL 23 June 2009

8

multi-dimensional!

- ▶ Attrition of AN Actor Voice : multi-dimensional (9)



12-ICAL 23 June 2009

9

Proposed Analysis

- ▶ The 'SUBJ-only' constraint in certain constructions is in fact 'derived' from other independent principles: PIVOT selection.
- ▶ PIVOT=ARG targeted in complex structure formation; not overtly expressed.
- ▶ PIVOT= an overlay pragmatic-syntactic function composed of
 - Discourse Functions (DFs) of TOPIC and FOCUS
 - Grammatical Functions (GFs) of SUBJECT and OBJECT
- ▶ Voice morphology: marking of the selection ARG-role (A/U) as [DF=SUBJ]_{PIV}
- ▶ Generalisation:
 - Fronted content questions must be PIVOT: [Salient.DF=GF]

(10)

PIVOT⇒ ↓	SUBJ	OBJ
TOP	(a) [TOP=SUBJ] _{PIV}	(c) [TOP=OBJ] _{PIV}
FOC	(b) [FOC=SUBJ] _{PIV}	(d) [FOC=OBJ] _{PIV}

12-ICAL 23 June 2009

Voice & 'focus'

- ▶ Voice and voice types
 - A selection of A or U argument as SUBJ-PIV: [[FOC|TOP]=SUBJ]PIV
 - Voice alternations → Grammatical function alternations
 - AV → PASS
- ▶ FOCUS
 - The (intension of a) constituent (e.g., argument) of S which the speaker intends to direct the attention of his/her hearer to, by uttering S (cf. Erteschick-Shir 2007:38)
- ▶ Voice regulates PIV selection, but PIV selection is also determined by a larger structure/construction
 - A mismatch is expected: the verb is in AV but the U is focussed!
 - Complex interaction between FOCUS and TOPIC

12-ICAL 23 June 2009

11

Fronted Content Questions & AV morphology

- ▶ FORM of the AV prefix
 - Form: *N-* (Balinese, Sasak, Colloquial Indonesian)
- ▶ CONSTRAINT of the AV morphology: the selection of Actor as SUBJ-PIVOT

(11) [DF=SUBJ]_{PIV} PRED <A, U>

(12) [FOC=SUBJ]_{PIV} PRED <A, U>

Balinese:

Nyen *Nyoman* [-]
Who Nyoman
[FOC = SUBJ]_{PIV} *ng-alih* PRED <A, U> OBJ
AV-search

- i) 'Who looked for Nyoman'
ii) * 'Who did Nyoman look for?'

Most harmonic alignment:
FOC > TOP
|
SUBJ > OBJ
|
A > U

12-ICAL 23 June 2009

12

Fronted Content Questions: Balinese

- The nasal AV verb in Balinese may show the blocking of a fronted OBJ question

(13) a. Ci 2s [TOP=SUB]=A]PIV ng-adep AV-sell apa? what FOC=OBJ
 'what did you sell?'

b. # Apa (ane) ci ng-adep AV-sell ? * [FOC='what'=SUB]='2' & # [FOC='what'=SUB] & [TOP=OBJ]=ci
 What REL 2 SUB]=A]PIV
 [FOC=X] [FOC=OBJ]

i) * FOR: 'What did you sell?' (where ci '2' is FOC=SUBJ)
 Apa 'what': [FOC=SUB]=A] ci '2': [TOP=OBJ]=U]:

ii) # FOR: 'What sold you?' (where ci '2' is TOP=OBJ) (cf. ex. (12))

c. Apa (ane) ci dogen ngadep _ ? [FOC:contrastive=SUBJ]:'2' & [TOP:focussed=OBJ]='what'
 what REL 2 only AV-sell
 FOC [TOP=OBJ] [FOC=SUBJ]

'What is the thing that only you sold?'

Harmonic prominence alignment: FOC (contrastive) > TOP > SUBJ > OBJ

Fronted Content Questions: Sasak

- The AV *N-* prefix in Sasak has the same constraint as the AV prefix in Balinese: [salient.DF=SUB]=A]PIV
- Fronted Content Questions: same as in Balinese
 - The fronted QW bears FOC, and when it comes with the nasal AV verb, the constraint of [FOC=SUB]=A]PIV is imposed.
- DIFFERENT:
 - Balinese: bare verbs are SPECIFIED: UV verbs; i.e., [DF=SUB]=U]PIV
 - Sasak: bare verbs are UNSPECIFIED for PIVOT

(14) a. * Ape saq mu-m maling wiq?
 what FOC PAST-2 N.steal OBJ
 [FOC] [FOC] = SUB]=A]PIV

b. Ape saq mu-m paling wiq?
 what FOC PAST-2 steal OBJ
 [FOC=OBJ]=U]PIV [SUB]=A]

'what did you steal yesterday?'

Fronted Content Questions in Analytic Voice

Rongga

(15) a. NP VERB NP (Non-question)
 [TOP=SUBJ]PIV OBJ

b. QW (ata) - VERB {NP|PP} (Question)
 [FOC = SUBJ]PIV OBJ OBL

c. * QW (ata) NP VERB -
 [FOC = SUBJ]PIV OBJ

(16) a. Ami naka apa nembuai?
 Ami steal what yesterday?
 [TOP=SUBJ]PIV
 'What did Amir steal yesterday?'

b. * Apa (ata) Ami naka nembuai? (cf. the acceptable
 What FOC Ami steal yesterday PASS sentence in (5d)
 [FOC = SUB]PIV OBJ
 'What did Amir steal yesterday?'

Conclusions

- Differences in the coding of PIVOT selection (i.e., alignment/linking of {{FOC|TOP} = SUBJ} = {A|U})
 - Morphological
 - Analytic
- The constraint of fronting OBJ questions with the AV verb is explainable in terms of independent principles:
 - Harmonic alignment between GF assignment and DF assignment (as part of PIV selection);
 - Voice morphology marks role-specific SUBJ-PIV selection, but a particular PIV selection is not necessarily marked by voice morphology
 - Expected:
 - the 'subject-only' constraint shows up in (certain) AV constructions in Balinese & Sasak when there is a clash as a result of [Salient.DF=SUBJ]PIVOT assignment
 - the 'subject-only' constraint shows up in an isolating language like Rongga where PIV selection is not morphologically marked
- The data suggests:
 - that AV voice morphology (*N-*) is related to SUBJ-PIV assignment
 - that the voice morphology and the PIV-related constraints are independent with each other
 - that total disappearance of the AN AV morphology as seen Rongga in does not mean the disappearance of certain PIV-related constraint.

Further data from Sasak

(17) Sasak Jelantik

- a. Ape kamu doang saq tao maling /paling_ ?
 what 2 only REL can AV.steal
 'what is the thing which only YOU could steal?'
- b. Ape saq **kamu doang** tao **maling** /paling_ ?
 what REL 2 only can AV.steal
 'what is the thing which only YOU could steal?'
- c. Ape saq eak-m paling /*maling_ ?
 What REL FUT-2 steal AV.steal
 'What would you steal ?'

Type
2 str