

## Focus constructions without focus morphology in the AN languages of Nusa Tenggara

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## "Austronesian Voice Systems: An Eastern Indonesian Perspective"

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### Sponsored by:

National Science Foundation Grant (BCS-0617198 ) 2007-2010

## Demise of the focus morphology in Austronesian languages

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

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

1. Structural contrast (i.e., Topic alignment pattern)
2. Syntactic constraints, e.g.,

"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)

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

- a. q-<m>aRat **saku** 'nay 'tu mutun. (AF)  
<AF>bite cat that OBL rat  
'That cat bit a rat.'
- b. qaRat-an na saku **mutun** 'nay. (PF)  
bite-PF GEN cat rat that  
'That rat was bitten by a cat.'
- b'. Ribaut-an-na ya iRuR a **zau.** (LF)  
fish-LF-he.GEN NOM stream LIG this  
'This stream is where he fishes.'
- c. 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.'

No morphological contrast; but structural contrast maintained.

In Thao and Lun Dayeh (Sawarak), RF 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)

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

Sasak (Lombok Island)

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 (∅-PF)  
book this PROG-LIN=1 ∅.read  
'I am reading this book.'

Puyung meno-mené Sasak

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

Morphological contrast has been lost in Puyung; is there still structural contrast? I.e. do the Puyung (a) and (b) forms above parallel Pancor AF (a) and PF (b) forms in respectively aligning Actor and Patient with a Topic?

Same question can be asked about other AN lgs of the region farther to the east.

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.'

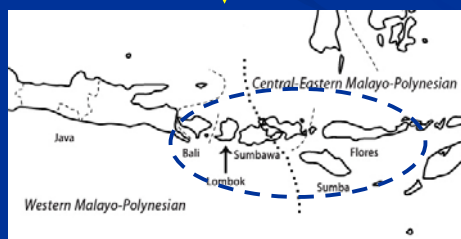
Sikka (eastern Flores Island—Central MP)

- a. Petrus **piru** Siti (AF?)  
'Petrus kisses Siti.'
- b. Siti Petrus **piru** (PF?)  
'Petrus kisses Siti.'

**Answer:** Yes, the (a) and (b) forms above are all AF and PF constructions, respectively, equivalent to the morphologically marked AF and PF constructions in other Austronesian languages. I.e., there are AF and PF constructions in Austronesian languages that do not involve focus morphology — a case of focus constructions without focus morphology. In fact, the AF/PF contrast is much more robust than the Active/Passive opposition seen in many AN languages in Indonesia.



Our field



"Nusa Tenggara"

## Sasak: its importance in Austronesian research

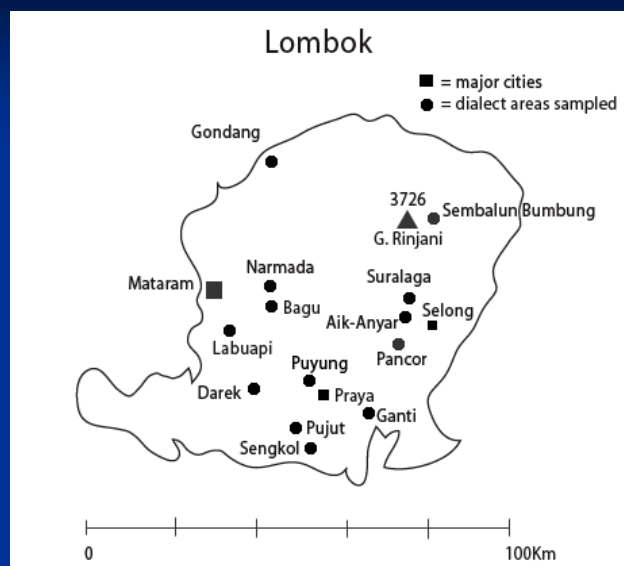
1. Robust focus constructions—AF and PF (w/ or w/o focus morphology)
2. Clear morphological and structural contrast between PF constructions and robust **Passive** constructions
3. Clear distinctions between two types of GRs—**Subject** and **Topic**
4. Argument alignment patterns

AF (Actor-focus) construction: <A=SUB=TOP; P=OBJ>

PF (Patient-focus) construction: <A=SUB; P=OBJ=TOP>

Passive: <A=OBL; P=SUB=TOP>

## Sasak dialects: Lombok Island



## Nasal/Ø morphological contrast in transitive constructions in Sasak dialects

This is generally (i.e. in a fairly large number of transitive verbs) 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** (Ø-PF)  
 book this PROG-LIN=1 Ø.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 (Ø-PF)  
 you Ø.hit=1SG  
 'I hit **you**.'

Ganti meno-mené

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

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.'

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)

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 in which the Austronesian focus morphology has been lost.
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.

Cf. Shibatani, Masayoshi. 2008. Relativization in Sasak and Sumbawa, Eastern Indonesia. *Language and Linguistics* 9.4:865-916.

## Subject and Topic

There are several good reasons for **not** making the following assumptions made by Keenan and Comrie (and a few others):

Topic → Subject; PF, LF, RF → Passive

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

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

## Sasak Subject (distinct from Topic) —Pronominal clitics

Puyung meno-mené

### Intransitive subjects

- (Aku) mu=**k** lalo jok peken  
I PAST=1 go to market  
'I went to the market.'
- Mu=**m** lalo jok peken  
PAST=2 go to market  
'You went to the market.'
- 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

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

He hits us. (A)

Puyung meno-mené

### Passive subjects

- (Aku) wah=**k** te-empuk isiq Ali  
I PERF=1 PASS-hit by Ali  
'I have been hit by Ali.'
- Te-empuk=**m** isiq Ali  
PASS-hit=2 by Ali  
'You were hit by Ali.'
- 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 <sub>i</sub> wah= <b>en</b> <sub>i</sub> kirim-an aku surat<br>Ali PERF=3 send-APPL I letter<br>'Ali sent me a letter.'                 | (AF) |  |
| a'. Aku wah= <b>en</b> <sub>i</sub> kirim-an surat isiq Ali <sub>i</sub><br>I PERF=3 send-APPL letter by Ali<br>'Ali sent <b>me</b> a letter.' | (PF) | PF Topic does not cliticize unlike a passive subject |
| b. Aku <sub>i</sub> wah= <b>k</b> <sub>i</sub> kirim-an Ali surat<br>I PERF=1 send-APPL Ali letter<br>'I sent Ali a letter.'                   | (AF) |  |
| b'. Ali wah= <b>k</b> kirim-an surat<br>Ali PERF-1 send-APPL letter<br>'I sent <b>Ali</b> a letter.'   | (PF) | PF Topic does not cliticize unlike a passive subject |

## Basic argument alignment patterns in Sasak

Puyung meno-mené Sasak

### a. AF-construction

Ali bace buku=ni (A=SUB=TOP; P=OBJ)  
Ali read book=this  
'Ali read this book.'

### 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.'

### 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.'

## 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<sub>i</sub> tried to [ $\emptyset_i$  to kiss Mary]

I ordered Mary<sub>i</sub> [ $\emptyset_i$  to kiss John]

I<sub>i</sub> tried to [ $\emptyset_i$  to be kissed by Mary]

I ordered Mary<sub>i</sub> [ $\emptyset_i$  to be kissed by John]

## Selong ngeno-ngené

- a. Ali nyobaq [Ø ngiduk Siti] (Ø = A=**SUBJECT=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 [Ø te-iduk isiq le Siti] (Ø = P=**SUBJECT=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=ngéné

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

## Contrasting pair

- ☞ b. Ali nyobaq [Ø te-iduk isiq Siti] (Ø = P= **SUBJECT=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 [Ø na=iduk isiq Siti] (Ø = P= **OBJECT=TOPIC**)  
 Ali N.try 3=Ø.kiss by Siti  
 (lit.) 'Ali tried Siti to kiss (me).'
- c'. [Ali na=iduk isiq Siti] (PF) → Cannot be a passive  
 3=Ø.kiss by Siti  
 'Siti kisses Ali.'

## Bagu meno-mené (also for some Ganti speakers)

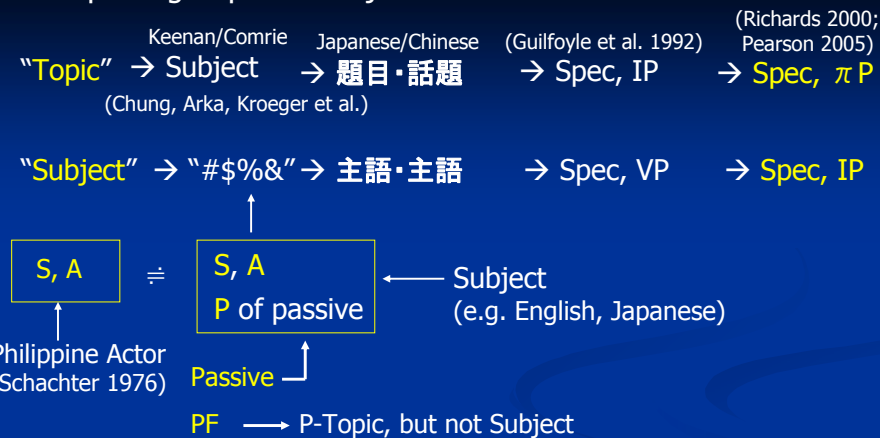
relativizer selection

- Ø = A = **SUBJECT** = TOPIC
- a. Dengan mame [saq Ø gitaq dengan nine]=no amaq=k (AF)  
 person male REL see person female=that father=1  
 'That man who sees the woman is my father.'
- Ø = PATIENT = **SUBJECT** = TOPIC
- b. Dengan nine [saq Ø 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.'
- Ø = PATIENT = **OBJECT** = TOPIC
- c. Dengan nine [saq-siq=n gitaq Ø 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

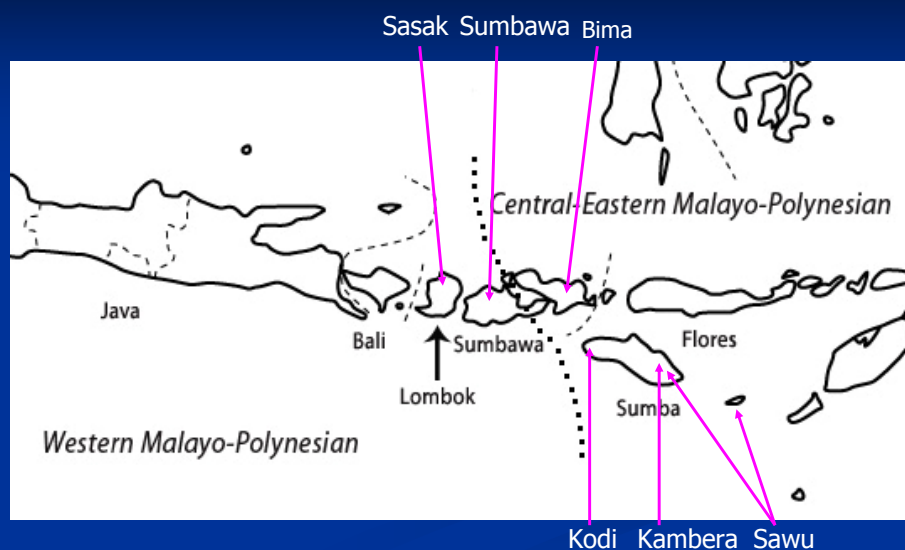
1. There exist both **Topic** and **Subject**/Object grammatical relations in Sasak (and Sumbawa)
2. **Subjects**: involved in
  - (a) cliticization
  - (b) Bagu meno-mené REL selection
  - (c) Reflexive binding (not discussed today)
3. Objects: involved in
  - (a) Object cliticization (in some dialects)
  - (b) P focusing (not discussed today)
  - (c) 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 (Not discussed today)
  - (d) Coordinate deletion, etc. (not discussed today)

## Reinterpreting Topic as Subject?



On how the Japanese and the Austronesian Topic are similar and different, see Shibatani 1991. Grammaticization of topic into subject. *Approaches to Grammaticalization*. E. Traugott & B. Heine (eds.), Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 93-133.

## AF, PF and Passive in the languages farther east



### 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 (Passive)  
book=this PERF-PASS-read by Ali  
'This book was read by Ali.'

### Sumbawa (Taliwang)

- a. Ali ka-baca/maca buku=sa (AF)  
Ali PERF-read book=this  
'Ali read this book.'
- b. Buku=sa ka-baca/maca ning Ali (PF)  
book=this PERF-read by Ali  
'Ali read this book.'
- c. Buku=sa ka-i-baca ning Ali (Passive)  
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; only in the irrealis mood)  
 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=know child person female P.NMZ hit by child person male that  
 'I know the girl whom that boy hit.'

## Sumba Island (No passive; Morph. AF/PF contrast only in the relativization context)

### Kodi (Western Sumba)

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

### Kambera (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.'

## Sawu (Sabu): No PASS; AF/PF structural contrast maintained in main clauses as well

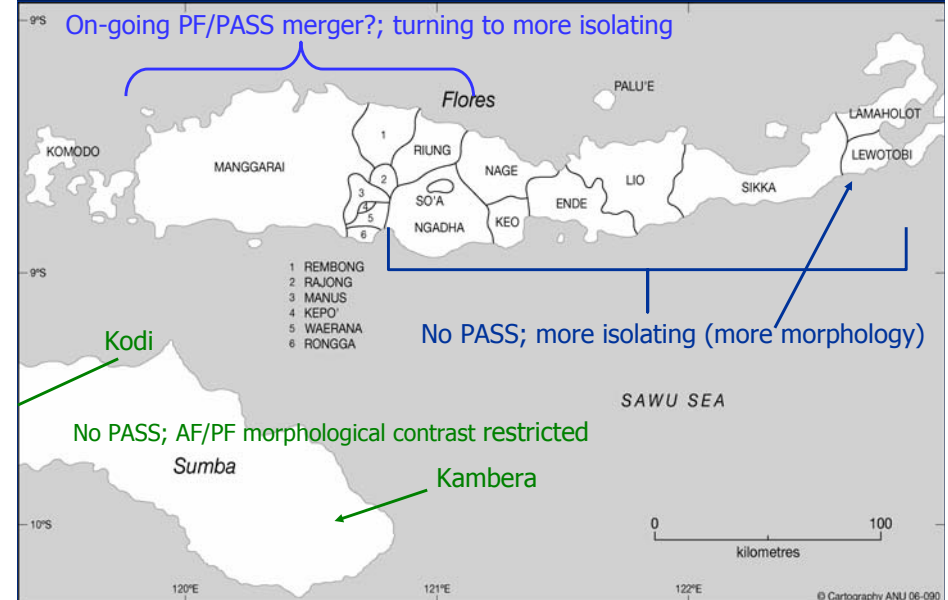
### Sawu

- a. Kale tabbo ya. (AF)  
 Kale stab I  
 'Kale stabs me.'
- b. Ya tabbo ri Kale (PF)  
 I stab by Kale  
 'Kale stabs me.'

How do we know that (b) is a PF, and not a passive?

A passive Subject=Topic gap can be controlled by the main clause subject in the try-type control construction; A PF Object=Topic gap cannot—see earlier discussion on this and also below.

## Sumba/Flores languages



## Western Flores

Riung (at least in some dialect/speaker; PF/PASS distinction likely to be inconsistent)

'Ali stabbed me.'

- a. Ali ndwa(=i) aku. (AF)
- b. Aku le=Ali ndwa=i (PF)
- c. Aku ndwa=k le=Ali (Passive)

Mangarai (Ruteng)

- a. Siti omo aku (AF)  
Siti kiss I  
'Siti kisses me.'
- b. Aku le=Siti omo. (PF/?Passive?)  
I by=Siti kiss  
'Siti kisses me.'
- c. Aku omo le=Siti (Passive/?PF)  
I kiss by=Siti  
'Siti kisses me.'

## Western Flores

Manus

- a. Aku zurok ghau (AF)  
I stab you  
'I stab you.'
- b. Ghau zurok l=aku (PF/?Pass)  
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/?Pass)  
cheek I slap hand by grandfather  
'Grandfather slapped my cheek.'

## Central Flores (Not even an agent marker is seen)

Ngadha (Fay Wouk)

- 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.'

Lio (Fay Wouk)

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

Kéo (Baird 2002)

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

## What are these PAV 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. (AVP: Active)  
3SG shoot pig that  
'He shot that pig.'
- b. Vavi va?a ia cube. (PAV: Passive)  
pig that 3SG shoot  
'That pig, he shot (it).'

## PAV constructions—three possibilities

1. Topicalization à la English-style topic
2. Passive
3. PF constructions

Donohue considers only the first two possibilities and concludes that the PAV construction in Palu'e is passive for the reason that P in the PAV construction exhibits some "subject" properties, unlike the fronted Objects in English; cf.

**Those guys Bill hates.**

Ignoring the third possibility is a curious omission in view of the following possible word order patterns of PF constructions in other Indonesian languages; e.g.,

Bahasa Indonesia (/Melayu)

- a. **Saya mem-**beli rumah baru (AVP: AF)  
I N-buy house new  
'I bought a new house.'
- b. **Rumah baru itu** saya beli. (PAV: PF)  
house new that I Ø.buy  
'I bought **the new house.**'

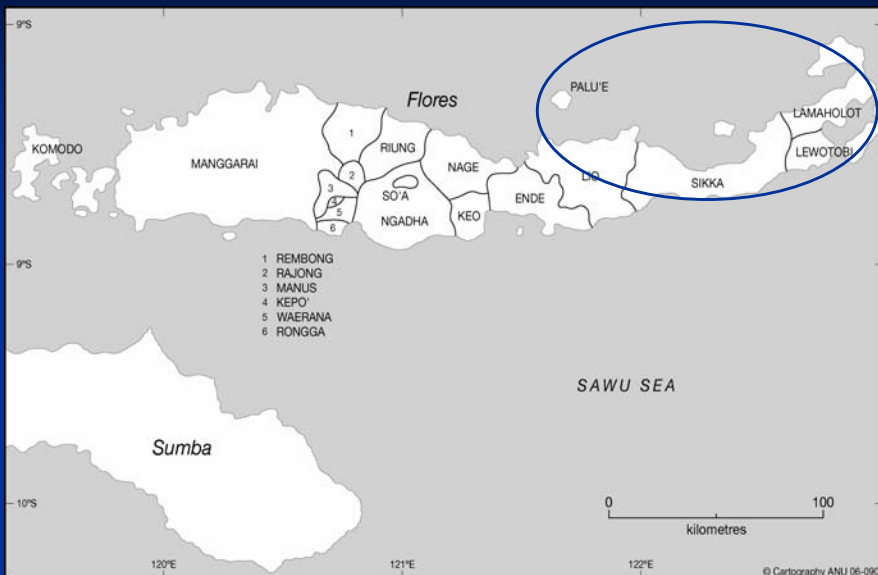
Balinese

- a. **Tiang meli** umah anyar (AVP: AF)  
I N.buy house new  
'I bought a new house.'
- b. **Umah anyar=e ento** beli tiang (PVA: PF)  
house new=DEF that Ø.buy I  
'I bought **the new house.**'

Pancor ngeno- ngeno-ngené Sasak

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

## Importance of looking at the neighboring languages



## Remnant of Subject cliticization in 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 (*rimu*) = **teri** 'sit'  
**tola** 'hit'  
etc.

**Nimu** deri d'i kadéra.  
he sit on chair  
'He sits on the chair.'

you (SG *'au*/PL *miu*),  
we (EXCL *ami*), he/she (*nimu*), = **deri** 'sit'  
**dola** 'hit'  
etc.

'I hit that man.'

- a. **A'u** tola la'i ia  
I hit man that
- b. La'i ia **a'u** tola.  
man that I hit

(AF: A=SUB controls inflection/cliticization)

(PF: A=SUB controls inflection:  
**cannot be passive**)

'He hits me.'

- a. **Nimu** dola a'u  
he hit me
- b. A'u **nimu** dola  
I he hit

(AF: A=SUB controls inflection)

(PF: A=SUB controls inflection;  
**cannot be passive**)

## Lamaholot (Nurabelen dialect; Naonori Nagaya)

- 1 a. **go** k-oi teʔě. (AF)  
 1SG 1SG-know this  
 'I know this.'
- b. teʔě **go** k-oi. (PF; cannot be Passive)  
 this 1SG 1SG-know  
 'This, I know.'
- 2 a. **Ra** r-enu tua? (AF)  
 3PL 3PL-drink tuak  
 'They drink tuak.'
- b. Tua? **ra** r-enu (PF; cannot be Passive)  
 tuak 3PL 3PL-drink  
 'Tuak, they drink.'

## Try-type control construction

Many speakers of Indonesian languages clearly distinguish between PF and Passive constructions in Bahasa Indonesian of the following type:

- a. Mata men-cium saya (AF)  
 Mata AF-kiss I  
 'Mata kisses me.'
- b. Saya Mata cium (PF)  
 I Mata kiss  
 'Mata kisses me.'
- c. Saya di-cium oleh Mata (Passive)  
 I PASS-kiss by Mata  
 'I am kissed by Mata.'

While a passive can be embedded under "try" with the expected reading,

- d. Saya (men-)coba [Ø di-cium oleh Mata] (based on Passive c)  
 I AF-try PASS-kiss by Mata  
 'I tried to be kissed by Mata.'

A PF construction cannot be easily embedded under "try":

- e. Saya (men-)coba [Ø Mata cium] (based on PF b)  
 I AF-try Mata kiss

This form is either **outright rejected** or is given the unintended "crossed" reading of 'Mata tries to be kissed by me.' (Cf. Polinsky and Potsdam 2007 on the "crossed" reading.)

## Sikka

- a. Mata piru a'u.  
 Mata kiss I  
 'Mata kisses me.'
- b. A'u Mata piru. (PF, not Passive)  
 I Mata kiss  
 'Mata kisses me.'
- c. \*A'u soba [Ø Mata piru] (If Passive, this would have been accepted)  
 I try Mata kiss  
 'I try to be kissed by Mata.'

The same speaker accepts the BI form,

Bahasa Indonesia

- a. Saya coba [Ø di-cium oleh Mata] (Based on **Passive**; Saya di-cium oleh Mata)  
 I try PASS-kiss by Mata  
 'I try to be kissed by Mata.'

But he rejects:

- b. \*Saya coba [Ø Mata cium] (based on **PF**; Saya Mata cium)  
 I try Mata kiss

## Donohue's (2005:77) Palu'e argument properties list

	AVP construction			PAV construction			S V	
	A	P	OBL	A	P	OBL	S	OBL
Floated quantifiers: I	✓	✓				✓		✓
Floated quantifiers: II		✓	✓	✓		✓		
Conjunction reduction	✓				✓			✓
Purposive clauses	✓				✓			✓
(Relativization)	✓				✓			✓
Reflexives: antecedent? (Cliticization/inflection)	✓	✓		✓				✓

Argument alignment patterns:

SV/AF: <S=SUB=TOP>

AVP/AF: <A=SUB=TOP; P=OBJ>

PAV/PF: <A=SUB; P=OBJ=TOP>

Floated Q I: TOP and OBJ

Floated Q II: Non-TOP

Conjunction reduction: TOP

Purposive clauses: TOP

Relativization: TOP

Clitics/Reflexives: SUB

## Conclusions:

1. Structural contrast between Actor-focus and Patient-focus constructions obtains throughout the Nusa Tenggara region despite the loss of the Austronesian focus morphology in the languages to the east of region.
2. Nature of the Austronesian focus system: How does it differ from the familiar voice mechanisms?

Active/Passive, Active/Antipassive, applicatives, etc. involve **change in, or realignment of, the clause-level grammatical relations** of Subject, Object, Ergative, Absolutive, and Oblique: Linking bet. (mac) thematic roles & syntactic relations

Active (A=SUB; P=OBJ)  
PASS (A=OBL; P=SUB)

Puyung meno-mené Sasak

- a. Active: Ali bace buku=ni (A=SUB; P=OBJ)  
Ali read book=this  
'Ali read this book.'
- b. Passive: Buku=ni te-bace isiq Ali (A=OBL; P=SUB)  
book=this PASS=read by Ali  
'This book was read by Ali.'

The focus system **does not change** the clause-level grammatical relations; **it links the clause-level grammatical relations (& peripheral roles) to the sentence-level grammatical relation** of Topic: AF (SUB=TOP); PF (OBJ=TOP)

- a. Active/AF : Ali bace buku=ni { (A=SUB=TOP; P=OBJ)
- b. Active/PF : Buku=ni bace isiq Ali { (A=SUB; P=OBJ=TOP)
- c. Passive/AF : Buku=ni te-bace isiq Ali { (A=OBL; P=SUB=TOP)