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Focus constructions without focus morphology

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"Austronesian Voice Systems: An Eastern Indonesian Perspective"

Abstract

Contrary to the assumptions in the recent studies, Sasak and Sumbawa maintain the structural difference between Actor- and Patient-focus constructions despite their loss of the focus morphology. Evidence for this based on the well-known Austronesian constraint on relativization and related phenomena also suggests that the topic and the subject are two distinct grammatical relations in these languages with the former functioning as a pivot in relativization. These findings have significant implications to the syntactic status of the topic in Austronesian focus languages and to the universals of relativization posited by Keenan and Comrie (1977) in terms of subjects and objects.

Demise of the focus morphology in Austronesian languages

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

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

Structural contrast

Syntactic constraint

"in a PAN Relative clause the (deleted) noun phrase coreferential with its head noun had to be its pivot…" (Ross 1995:730)

Nasal/Oral two-way morphological/structural focus contrast in transitive structures in Indonesian languages

Standard Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia)
a. Saya mem-baca buku ini (N-AF; only A relativizable, Wh-questioned)
   I   N-read   book this
   'I read this book.'

b. Buku ini saya baca   (Ø-PF; only P relativizable, Wh-questioned)
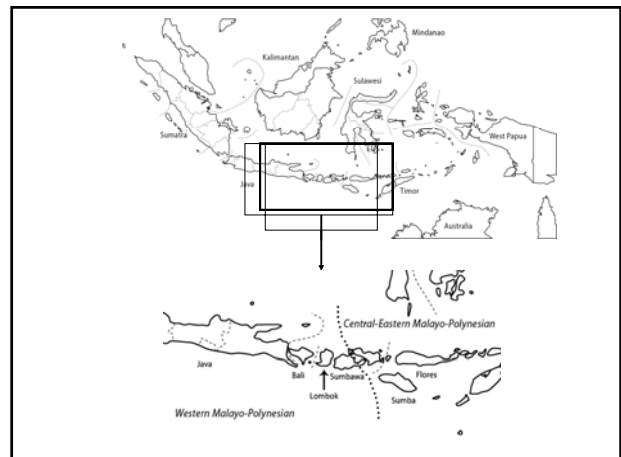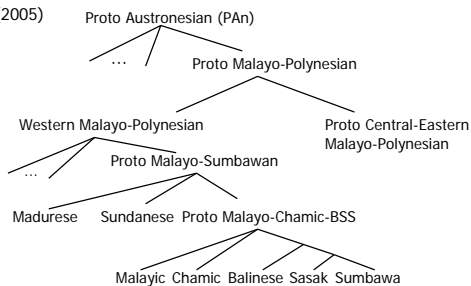   book this I   Ø.read
   'I read this book.'

Balinese
a. Tiang mamaca buku=ne   (N-AF; only A relativizable, Wh-questioned)
   I   N.read book=this
   'I am reading this book.'

b. Buku=ne baca tiang.   (Ø-PF; only P relativizable, Wh-questioned)
   book=this Ø.read I
   'I am reading this book.'

Sasak and Sumbawa

Two eastern-most Western Malayo-Polynesian languages

Adelaar (2005)

Sasak dialects — "traditional" view

Classified in term of 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
—see below

Nasal/oral two-way morphological/structural contrast preserved in:

Pancor ngeno-ngené Sasak
a. Oku kenyengka-ng=ku mbace buku in (N-AF; only A rel, Wh-qestion)
   I   PROG-LIN=1 N.read book this
   'I am reading this book.'
b. Buku ini   kenyengka-ng=ku bace (Ø-PF; only P rel, Wh-question)
   book this PROG-LIN=1   Ø.read
   'I am reading this book.'

Suralaga ngeto-ngeté
a. Aku mantok epe   (N-AF; only A rel, Wh-question)
   I   N.hit you
   'I hit you.'
b. Epe pantok=ku   (Ø-PF; only P rel, Wh-qeustion)
   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.'

Puyung meno-mené
a. Aku tulis/nulis   surat=ni   (*tulis* preferred)
   I   Ø.write/N.write letter=this
   'I write this letter.'
b. Surat=ni   mu=k   tulis/*nulis
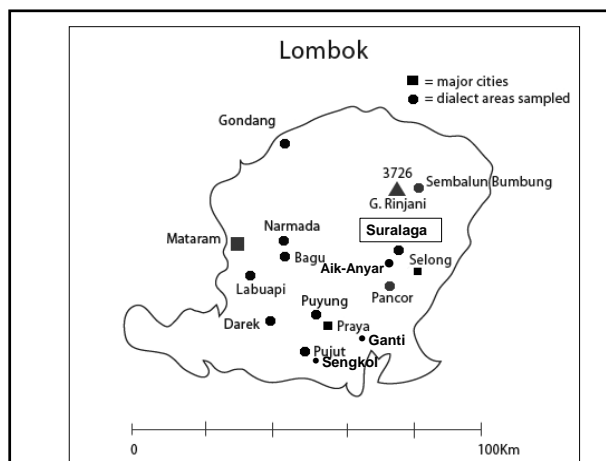   letter=this PAST=1SG Ø.write/N.write
   'I wrote this letter.'

General Puyung meno-mené Pattern:

Oral form in transitive structures
a. Helmi sapu   kamar=no
   Helmi Ø.sweep   room=the
   'Helmi sweeps the room.'
b. Kamaru=no wah=n   sapu   isiq Helmi
   room=the PERF=3SG Ø.sweep by   Helmi
   'Helmi swept the room.'

Nasal form in intransitive structures
c. Helmi nyapu/*sapu   léq kamar
   Helmi N.sweep/Ø.sweep in room
   'Helmi is sweeping in the room.'

Lombok

■ = major cities
● = dialect areas sampled

Gondang

3726 Sembalun Bumbung
G. Rinjani

Mataram Narmada   Suralaga

Bagu   Aik-Anyar   Selong
Labuapi   Pancor
Puyung
Darek   Praya   Ganti
         Pujut
         Sengkol

0   100Km

Sumbawan situation in two dialects

Sumbawa besar
a. Aku baca   buku=ta
   I   Ø.read book=this
   'I read this book.'
b. Buku=ta   ku=baca
   book=this 1SG=Ø.read
   'I read this book.'

Sumbawa Taliwang
a. Aku baca/maca   buku=sa   (*baca* preferred)
   I   Ø.read/N.read book=this
   'I read this book.'
b. Baca/maca=ku   buku=sa
   Ø.read/N.read=1SG book=this
   'I read this book.'

Intransitive: 'I am reading now.'   (*baca* preferred)

Sumbawa besar
Ta ntu ku=baca/maca
now 1SG=read

Sumbawa Taliwang
Sa' muntu ku=baca/maca

Recent studies on Sasak and Sumbawa

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.

Shiohara, Asako. 2000. Relativization in Sumbawan. In Austin (ed.)
2000. 85-98.

Shiohara, Asako. 2006. *Sunbawa-go no Bunpō* (A Grammar of Sumbawa).
Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Tokyo.

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."

Shiohara (2000, 2006) implies that S, A and P are all relativizable in Sumbawa.

Austin (2000)

Ngeno-ngené, in which nasal/oral morphological focus contrast is mostly preserved in transitive structures, "resembles 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 morphological opposition in transitive structures of many verbs] this restriction does not apply and any argument of a verb may be directly questioned" (16)

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

> These statements on meno-mené are not true in all meno-mené varieties I examined—four altogether, as below:

Puyung meno-mené

a. Inaq   wah=en   beli sebie=no   (Patientive Object cannot be
   mother PERF=3SG buy chili=the   relativized or Wh-questioned
   'Mother bought the chili.'   in this structure)

a'. *Kanak=no kaken sebie [saq inaq   wah=en   beli Ø]
    child=the eat   chili NMZ mother PERF=3SG buy
    'The child eats the chili that mother bought.'

a''. *Ape [inaq   wah=en   beli Ø]
     what mother PERF=3SG buy
     'What did mother buy?'

b. Wah=en   beli sebie=no (isiq) inaq (Alternate transitive construction)
   PERF=3SG buy chili=the   by   mother
   'Mother bought the chili.'

b'. Kanak=no kaken sebie [saq wah=en   beli Ø isiq inaq]
    child=the eat chili NMZ PERF=3SG buy   by mother
    'The child eats the chili that the mother bought.'

b''. Ape [wah=en beli Ø isiq inaq]
     what PERF=SG buy   by mother
     'What did mother buy?"

Bagu meno-mené (same pattern)

a. degnan mame=ne gitaq dengan nine=no
   person male=this see   person female=that
   'This man sees that woman.'

a'. *dengan nine [saq-siq dengan mame=ne gitaq Ø] inaq=k
    person female NMZ   person male=this see   mother=1SG
    'The woman whom the man saw is my mother.'

a''. *Sai [saq-siq dengan mame=ne gitaq Ø]?
     who NMZ   person male=this see
     'Whom did this man see?'

b. Dengan nine=no   aku gitaq
   person female=the I   see
   'I see the woman.'

b'. Dengan nine [saq-siq=k gitaq]=no inaq=k
    person female NOM=1SG see=the   mother=1SG
    'The woman whom I see is my mother.'

b''. Sai [saq-siq=k gitaq]?
     who NMZ=1SG see
     'Whom do I see?"

Ganti meno-mené (same pattern)

a. Inaq   wah-ng   beli/meli   sebie=nu
   mother PERF=3SG Ø.buy/N.buy chili=the
   'Mother bought the chili.'

a'. *Kanak=nu kaken sebie [saq inaq   wah=ng   beli Ø]
    child=the eat chili NMZ mother PERF=3SG buy
    'The child ate the chili mother bought.'

a''. *Ape [inaq   wah=ng beli Ø]
     what mother 3=SG   buy
     'What did mother buy?'

b. Wah=ng   beli/meli   sebie=nu isiq inaq
   PERF=3SG Ø.buy/N.buy chili=the by mother
   'Mother bought the chili.'

b'. Kanak=nu kaken sebie [saq wah=ng   beli Ø isiq inaq]
    child=the eat chili NMZ PERF=3SG buy   by mother

b''. Ape [wah=ng   beli Ø isiq inaq]
     what PERF=3SG buy   by mother
     'What did mother buy?'

Aik-Anyar menu-meni (same pattern)

a. Inaq   wah=n   beli/meli   sebie=nun
   mother PERF=3SG Øbuy/N.buy chili=the
   'Mother bought the chili.'

a'. *Kanak=nun kaken sebie [siq   inaq   beli Ø]=nun
    child=the eat   chili NMZ mother buy   =the
    'The child eats the chili that mother buys.'

a''. *Ape [siq   inaq   beli Ø]=nun
     what NMZ mother buy   =the
     'What does mother buy?

b. Sebie beli=n   siq inaq
   chili buy=3SG by mother

b'. Kanak=nun kaken sebie [siq   Ø beli=n   keq siq inaq]=nun
    child=the   eat   chili NMZ   buy=3SG ?   by mother=the
    'The child eats the chili that mother buys.'

b''. Ape [(siq) Ø beli=n   siq inaq]=nun
     what NMZ   buy=3SG by mother=the
     'What does mother buy?'

3

Sumbawa besar (same pattern)

a. Nya ka=beli   cabe=nan seperap
   she PAST=buy chili=the yesterday
   'She bought the chili yesterday.'

a'. *ma   ka=kakan cabe=nan [de nya ka=beli   Ø seperap]
    mother PAST=eat chili=the NMZ she PAST=buy   yesterday
    'Mother ate the chili she bought yesterday.'

b. Cabe=nan ka=beli   seperap léng nya
   chili=the PAST=buy yesterday by she
   'She bought the chili yesterday.'
b.' ma   ka=kakan cabe=nan [de Ø ka=beli   léng nya seperap]
    mother PAST=eat chili=the NMZ   PAST=buy by she yesterday
    'Mother ate the chili that she bought yesterday.'

Sumbawa Taliwang (same pattern)

a. Nya ka=beli   cabe=so' nerap
   she PAST=buy chili=the yesterday
   'She bought the chili yesterday.'
a'. *ma   ka=kaken cabe=so' [anu nya ka=beli   Ø nerap]
    mother PAST=eat chili=the NMZ she PAST=buy   yesterday
    'Mother ate the chili that she bought yesterday.'

b. Ka=beli   cabe=so' nerap   ning nya
   PAST=buy chili=the yesterday by   she
   'She bought the chili yesterday.'
b'. ma   ka=kaken cabe=so' [anu ka=beli Ø ning nya nerap]
    mother PAST=eat chili-the NMZ PAST=buy by she yesterday
    'Mother ate the chili that she bought yesterday.'

Significance of two types of transitive structure in Sasak and Sumbawa

Puyung meno-mené (Kroon 1998:111)
a. Herman wa=n   ebéng inaq   klambi
   Herman PERF=3 give   mother shirt
   'Herman has given mother a shirt.'
b. Wa=n   ebéng inaq   klambi isiq Herman
   PERF=3 give   mother shirt   by   Herman
   'Herman has given mother a shirt.'

Sumbawa besar (Shiohara 2006: 142, 143)
a. Aku   ya=kakan'   tepóng=ta
   1SG.LOW   CONS=eat   cake=this
   'I will eat this cake.'
b. tepóng=ta ya=ku=kakan'   léng aku
   cake=this CONS=1SG.LOW=eat   by   1SG.LOW
   'I will eat this cake.'

!? 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."

Mataram [ngeno-ngené] (Austin 2000:6)
a. Aku mbeli balé
   I   N.buy house   (Nasal AF construction)
   'I buy a house.'
b. Balé beli isiq lóq Ali   (Oral PF construction)
   house Ø.buy by ART Ali
   'Ali bought a house.'

Puyung meno-mené (Musgrave 1998:92)
a. inaq   mu=n   kelor sebie odaq   (AF construction w/o
   mother PAST=3 eat   chili green   focus morphology)
   'Mother ate green chili.'
b. mu=n   kelor sebieodaq isiq   inaq   (PF construction w/o
   PAST=3 eat chili green   by   mother   focus morphology)
   'Mother ate green chili.'

Sumbawa besar
a. Nya ka=beli   cabe=nan seperap   (AF construction w/o
   she PAST=buy chili=the   yesterday   focus morphology)
   'She bought the chili yesterday.'
b. Cabe=nan ka=beli   seperap léng nya   (PF constructions w/o
   chili=the PAST=buy yesterday by she   focus morphology)
   'She boguht the chili yesterday.'

Interim conclusion 1

1. Transitive structures in Puyung meno-mené and other Sasak dialects
   and Sumbawa that have lost morphological focus contrast still maintain
   the structural AF/PF contrast—a case of focus constructions without
   focus morphology

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

2. This Austronesian syntactic constraint is still active even in those
   Sasak and Sumbawa structures without focus morphology

   Next question: What is "pivot"?

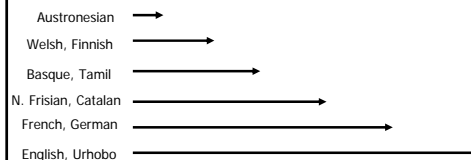   "[In PAn] the pivot was always definite" (Ross 1995:729)

   "Pivot" → "Topic"
                        (McKaughn 1962, Schachter and Otanes 1972, McFarland 1976)

Subject or Topic?

Keenan and Comrie   Topic → Subject; PF construction → Passive

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

Austronesian   ——→
Welsh, Finnish   ————————→
Basque, Tamil   ——————————————→
N. Frisian, Catalan   ——————————————————→
French, German   ————————————————————————→
English, Urhobo   ————————————————————————————————→

        "in absolute terms Subjects are the most relativizable of NP's"
                                         (Comrie and Keenan 1979: 653)
        "subjects are universally the most relativizable of NPs"
                                         (Keenan 1985:158)

There are several good reasons for not making the move:

Topic → Subject; PF → Passive

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

    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 (not discussed here):

    "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 (not discussed here)

Pronominal clitics in Sasak and Sumbawa

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.'

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.'

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.'

Pancor ngeno-ngené
a. Loq Ali_i wah=ne_i **ng**irim=ang oku surat (AF)
    ART Ali PERF=3 N.send-APPL I letter
    'Ali sent me a letter.'
a'. Oku wah=ne_i kirim-ang surat siq loq Ali_i (PF)
    I PERF=3 Ø.send-APPL letter by ART Ali
    'Ali sent me a letter.'

    | PF Topic does not cliticize unlike a passive subject |

b. Oku_i wah=ku_i **ng**irim-ang loq Ali surat (AF)
    I PERF=1 N.send-APPL ART Ali letter
    'I sent Ali a letter.'
b'. Loq Ali wah=ku kirim-ang surat (PF)
    ART Ali PERF-1 Ø.send-APPL letter
    'I sent Ali a letter.'

    | PF Topic does not cliticize unlike a passive subject |

Control phenomena

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

    I want [Ø to leave]

    I want [John to leave]

    I want [it to rain]

    I want [Ø to be tall]

Pancor ngeno-ngené
a. Meleng=ku [anta nginduk le Siti] (AF complement)
    want=1 you N.kiss ART Siti
    'I want you to kiss Siti.'

b. Meleng=ku [le Siti meq=iduk] (PF complement)
    want=1 ART Siti 2=Ø.kiss
    'I want you to kiss Siti.'

Pancor ngeno-ngené

a. Meleng=ku [Ø nginduk le Siti] (Ø=A=SUBJECT=TOPIC)
    want=1 N.kiss ART Siti
    'I want to kiss Siti.'
a'. [oku nginduk le Siti] (AF)
    I N.kiss ART Siti
    'I kiss Siti.'

b. Meleng=ku [ne=iduk Ø isiq le Siti] (Ø=P=OBJECT=TOPIC)
    want=1 3=Ø.kiss by ART Siti
    'I want Siti to kiss (me).'
b'. [ne=iduk oku isiq le Siti] (PF)
    3=Ø.kiss I by ART Siti
    'Siti kisses me.'

c. Meleng=ku [Ø te=iduk isiq le Siti] (Ø=P=SUBJECT=TOPIC)
    want=1 PASS=kiss by ART Siti
    'I want to be kissed by Siti.'
c'. [oku te=iduk isiq le Siti]
    I PASS=kiss by ART Siti
    'I was kissed by Siti.'

Pancor ngeno-ngené

a. *Meleng=ku [le Siti iduk Ø] (Ø=A=SUBJECT=NON-TOPIC)
    want-1 ART Siti Ø.kiss
    'I want to kiss Siti.'
a'. [le Siti iduk oku] (PF)
    ART Siti Ø.kiss I
    'I kiss Siti.'
b. *Meleng=ku [le Siti nginduk Ø] (Ø=P=OBJECT=NON-TOPIC)
    want=1 ART Siti N.kiss
    'I want Siti to kiss (me).'
b'. [le Siti nginduk oku] (AF)
    ART 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 [Ø$_i$ to kiss Mary]

   I ordered Mary$_i$ [Ø$_i$ to kiss John]

   I$_i$ tried to [Ø$_i$ to be kissed by Mary]

   I ordered Mary$_i$ [Ø$_i$ to be kissed by John]

Pancor ngeno-ngené

a. Oku nyobaq [Ø ngiduk   le   Siti]   (Ø =A=SUBJECT=TOPIC)
   I   N.try   N.kiss   ART Siti
   'I tried to kiss Siti.'
a'.   [oku ngiduk   le   Siti] (AF)
                 I   N.kiss   ART   Siti
                 'I kiss Siti.'

b. Oku nyobaq [Ø te-iduk   isiq le Siti]   (Ø =P=SUBJECT=TOPIC)
   I   N.try   PASS-kiss by   ART Siti
   'I tried to be kissed by Siti.'
b'.   [oku te-iduk isiq le Siti] (Passive)
            I   PASS-kiss by   ART Siti
            'I was kissed by Siti.'

Pancor ngeno=ngené

a. *Oku nyobaq [le Siti iduk   Ø]   (Ø=A=SUBJECT=NON-TOPIC)
   I   N.try   ART Siti Ø.kiss
   'I tried to kiss Siti.'
a'.   [le   Siti iduk   oku] (PF)
              ART Siti Ø.kiss I
              'I kiss Siti.'

b. *Oku nyobaq [le Siti ngiduk   Ø]   (Ø=P=OBJECT=NON-TOPIC)
   I   N.try   ART Siti N.kiss
   (lit.) 'I tried Siti to kiss (me).'
b'.   [le   Siti   ngiduk   oku] (AF)
             ART Siti   N.kiss   I
             'Siti kisses me.'

c. *Oku nyobaq [Ø iduk   le   Siti]   (Ø=P=OBJECT=TOPIC)
   I   N.try   Ø.kiss ART Siti
   (lit.) 'I tried Siti to kiss (me).'
c'.   [oku iduk le   Siti] (PF)
                       Ø.kiss ART Siti
                  'Siti kisses me.'

Contrasting pair

☞ b. Oku nyobaq [Ø te-iduk   isiq le Siti]   (Ø =P= SUBJECT=TOPIC)
     I   N.try   PASS-kiss by   ART Siti
     'I tried to be kissed by Siti.'
   b'.   [oku te-iduk   isiq le Siti] (Passive)
                I   PASS-kiss by   ART Siti
                'I was kissed by Siti.'

☞ c. *Oku nyobaq [Ø iduk   le   Siti]   (Ø=P= OBJECT=TOPIC)
     I   N.try   Ø.kiss ART Siti
     (lit.) 'I tried Siti to kiss (me).'
   c'.   [oku iduk   le   Siti] (PF) ⟶ Cannot be a passive
                         Ø.kiss ART Siti
                    'Siti kisses me.'

"Order"-type control

Pancor ngeno=ngené

a. ku=nyuruq le Siti [Ø   ngiduk   loq   Ali] (Ø =A=SUBJECT=TOPIC)
   1=N.order ART Siti   N.kiss   ART   Ali
        'I ordered Siti to kiss Ali.'
a'.   [Le Siti ngiduk   loq Ali] (AF)
                     ART Siti N.kiss   ART Ali
                     'Siti kissed Ali.'

b. Ku=nyuruq le Siti [Ø te-iduq   isiq loq   Ali] (Ø =P=SUBJECT=TOPIC)
   1=n.order ART Siti   PASS=kiss by ART   Ali
   'I ordered Siti to be kissed by Ali.'
b'.   [Le Siti te-iduq   isiq loq Ali] (Passive)
                  ART Siti PASS.kiss by ART Ali
                  'Siti was kissed by Ali.'

Pancor ngeno-ngené

a. *Ku=nyuruq le   Siti [loq Ali iduq Ø] (Ø =A=SUBJECT=NON-TOPIC)
   1=N.order ART Siti ART Ali Ø.kiss
   'I ordered Siti to kiss Ali.'
a'.   [loq Ali iduq le   Siti] (PF)
                     ART Ali Ø.kiss ART Siti
                     'Siti kisses Ali.'

b. *ku=nyuruq le Siti [Ø iduq isiq loq Ali] (Ø =P=OBJECT=TOPIC)
   1=N.order   ART Siti   Ø.kiss by   ART Ali
   (lit.) 'I ordered Siti (that) Ali kisses (her).'
b'.   [Le Siti   iduq   isiq loq Ali] (PF)
                    ART Siti   Ø.kiss by ART Ali
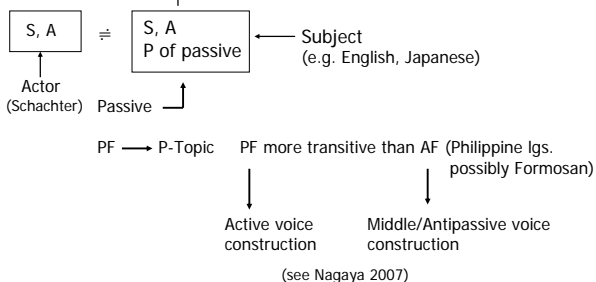   'Ali kisses Siti.'

Bagu meno-mené 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 conclusion 2

1. There exist both Topic and Subject/Object grammatical relations in Sasak and Sumbawa

2. Subject and Object control (a) cliticization

(b) Bagu meno-mené REL selection

3. Objects involved in (a) P focusing
(b) Passivization

4. "Try"/"order"-type predicates control a Subject=Topic gap in complements

5. Topic is involved in (a) the "want"-type control phenomenon

(b) Relativization (and related phenomena attributable to nominalization)

(Guilfoyle et al. 1992)   (Richards 1999)
"Topic" → Subject → Large subject → Spec, IP → Spec, πP

"Subject" → "#$%&" → Small subject → Spec, VP → Spec, IP

| S, A | ≒ | S, A, P of passive | ← Subject (e.g. English, Japanese) |

Actor (Schachter)   Passive

PF ⟶ P-Topic   PF more transitive than AF (Philippine lgs. possibly Formosan)

Active voice construction   Middle/Antipassive voice construction

(see Nagaya 2007)

Conclusion

Austronesian typological feature:
two distinct grammatical relations Topic and Subject exist

In English and other European languages these relations converge on Subject

Austronesian system of grammatical relations is similar to Japanese and Korean, in which a fully grammaticalized Topic relation exists along with the Subject relation

The Austronesian system differs from the Japanese/Korean systems in that the Topic relation is fully integrated in the basic sentence pattern; in the former major sentence types all include a Topic relation; in the latter Topicless sentences are not limited to specific constructions such as,

Existential, Recent perfect, Exclamatory sentences—these do not have a Topic in Philippine languages

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