

Extreme analyticity and complexity in argument realisations: evidence from the Austronesian languages of Nusa Tenggara Indonesia

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Outline of the talk

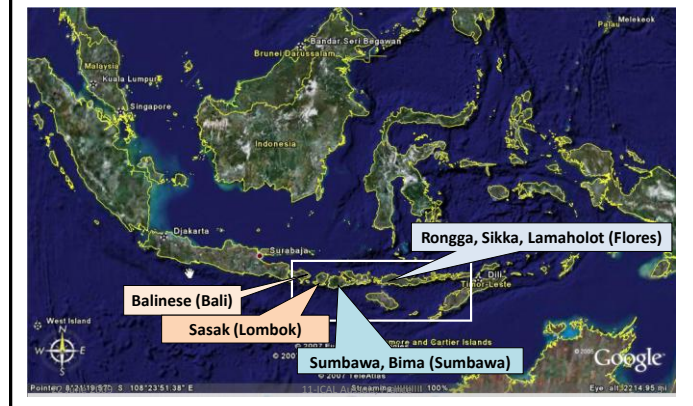
- Introduction
 - AN languages of Nusa Tenggara:
 - different degrees of morphological complexity
 - Extreme analyticity: loss of known AN morphology in the languages of central Flores
- Complexity in coding (i.e. more than one coding property) vs. Complexity in argument realisations (i.e. more than one possible grammatical realisation of argument):
 - No correlation:
 - E.g., Rongga is extremely analytic but, like Balinese, it shows relatively complex argument realisations
- Conclusions

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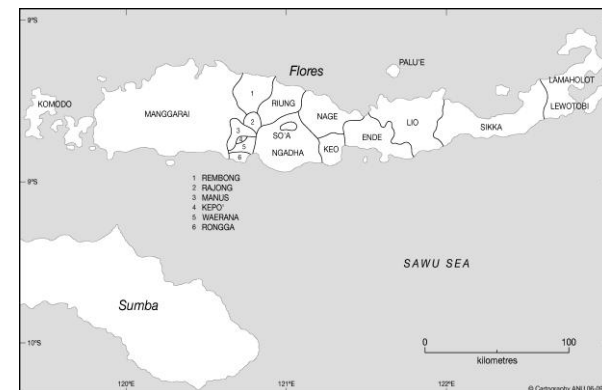
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Nusa Tenggara Indonesia



Flores Languages



Complexity ...

- Complexity (McWhorter 2001; Hawkins 2004; Givon 2009, among others): a property of organized entities/system ; 'fewer/more' w.r.t forms/structures/rules/constraints; absolute vs. relative; efficiency ...
 - coding properties involved
 - grammatically different realisations of arguments
 - related constraints
- Complexity in coding: surface coding expressions
 - morphosyntactic vs. analytic only
- Complexity in argument realizations:
 - more than one alternative GF (two or more) vs. no alternative GF
- Complexity in (related) constraints:
 - Presence of constraints vs. absence of constraints: Relativisation/cleft-structures

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Coding complexity: Verbal morphology (1)

- Balinese

Tiang ng-adeⁿ-in /*adeⁿin Nyoman sampi (APPL-in)
 1 AV-sell-APPL N cow
 'I sold (my) cow to Nyoman.'
- Sasak (Jelantik)

Dengan no mu=ⁿ paling / maling manuk (AV/bare)
 person that PST=3 steal / N.steal chicken
 'the person stole chickens'
- Sumbawa Jereweh (Shibatani, ex. 49)

Ali [adé ka=^{ya} pukel bedus] sakit
 Ali REL PERF=3 hit goat sick
 'Ali, who has hit a goat, is sick.'
- Bima

Nahu ku-tu'ba-ku nggomi
 1s 1s.IR-stab-EV 2
 'I will (certainly) stab you'. (i.e., a threat)

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Coding complexity: Verbal morphology (2)

- Manggarai

Aku cero latung=k
 1s fry corn=1s
 'I fry/am frying corn'
- Rongga

Ana ndau ka maki 'Iné ti'i 'imu jawa.
 child that eat rice mum give 3s corn
 'That child ate/eats rice' 'Mum gave her corn.'
- Nage Keo (Baird 2002:76)

3s/1pe/2s/2p buy umbrella
 'they/we/you bought an umbrella.'
- Sikka

a. A'u/ita/rimu woter payung.
 1s/1pi/3p buy umbrella
 'I/we/they bought an umbrella.'

b. nimu/ami/au/miu woter payung
 3s/1pe/2s/2p buy umbrella
 'they/we/you bought an umbrella.'
- Lewotobi Lamaholot

a. Go sorō na/Kewa muko
 1s give 3s/name pisang
 'I gave him/Kewa (a) banana'

b. go k-enu wai 'I drank water'
 mo m-enu wai 'you (sg) drank water.'
 na n-enu wai '(s)he drank water'
 tite t-enu wai 'we (inc.) drank water.'
 me m-enu wai 'we (exc) drank water'
 mio m-enu wai 'you (pl.) drank water'
 ra r-enu wai 'they drank water.'

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Complexity on the (verbal) morphology

	Degrees of analyticity								
	Non-isolating						isolating		
	Bal.	Sas.	Sum.	Bim.	Lam.	Sik./Palu'e	Mang.	Rong.	Keo/End
AV morph: N-	+	+/-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other morphology (e.g. APPL, CAUS)	+	+	+	+	+	-/+	-	-	-
bound pron	-/+	+	+	+	-/+	-/+	-/+	-	-
Voice alternation?	+	+	+	+	?	?	+	+	-

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Active - Passive alternations

Balinese: Actor can appear as SUBJ and OBL

- 10) a. **Ketut** ng-uber Nyoman Active
 name AV.chase name
 'Ketut chased Nyoman.'
- a'. * **Ketut** uber Nyoman
 (OK for: Nyoman chased Ketut)
- b. **Nyoman** ka-uber antuk **Ketut** Passive
 name PASS.chase by name
 'Nyoman was chased by Ketut'
- b'. * **Nyoman** uber antuk **Ketut**

Rongga: Actor can appear as SUBJ and OBL

- 11) a. **Ardi** pongga ana ndau Active
 A hit child that
 'Ardi hit the child'
- b. **Ana** ndau pongga ne **Ardi** Passive
 child that hit by name
 'The child was hit by Ardi'

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Passives & zero pronominals

(12) Rongga

- a) ...e kami sadho ko api mbiwa lai e ...
 part 1PL.exc arrive part fire not take.fire part
 '(When) we arrive home, fire is often not yet lit.'
- b) *putu ne api, ala ko keru ndia.*
 lit with fire take PART long.grass this
lumbu-lumbu lumbu keru ndau, mbiwa mutu
 cover-REDUP cover long.grass that no burn
 '(They) burnt (him) with fire, (they) took dry grasses.
 (they) covered (his body) with grass (and set
 the fire), (he) couldn't be burnt.'

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Causatives

Rongga:

- 13) a. *Mako ndau bheka*
 Plate that broken
 'The plate is broken.'
- b. *Ana ndau [tau bheka] mako ndau*
 child that make broken plate that
 'the child broke the plate.'
- 14) a. *Jarajata kazhi zhi'a.*
 bike 3s good
 'His/her bike is good.'
- b. *Ja'o [tau zhi'a] jarajata kazhi.*
 1s make good bike 3s
 'I repaired his/her bike.'
- 15) Balinese
- a. *Sepeda-ne suba beneh* b. *la meneh-ang sepeda-ne*
 bike-DEF PERF correct 3s AV.correct-CAUS bike-DEF
 'the bike is already good' 'S/he repaired the bike.'

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(Anti)causative

16) Rongga : multi-subcategorisation frames, construction-based

- a. *Watu ndau nggoli* b. *Ja'o nggoli*
 stone that roll 1s roll
 'The stone rolled (or was rolled)' 'I rolled (myself)'
- c. *Ja'o nggoli watu ndau*
 1s roll stone that
 'I rolled the stone or I made the stone roll'
- 17) Balinese: morpholexically & morphosyntactically determined
- a. *Batu-ne ngliling.* b. *cang ngliling-ang awak*
 stone-DEF AV.roll 1s AV.roll-CAUS self
 'the stone rolled.' 'I rolled myself.'
- c. *Cang ngliling* d. *cang ngliling-ang batu-ne*
 1s AV.roll 1s AV.roll-CAUS stone-DEF
 'I rolled (uncontrollably).' 'I rolled the stone.'

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Three-place predicates: dative shift vs. applicativisation

18) Rongga

- a. *Ardi indi ndoi* pe ndia (*ne ia'o*)
name bring money to here with 1s
'Ardi brought money here for/to me'
- b. *Ardi indi iao* (ko) *ndoi*
name bring 1s ko money
'Ardi brought me money'
- c.* *Ardi indi (ko) ndoi iao*

19) Balinese:

- a. *Ketut ngaba pipis* (*baang-a cai*)
Ketut AV.bring money UV.give-3 2
'Ketut brought money for you.'
- b. *Ketut ngaba-ang cai pipis*.
K AV.bring-APPL 2 money
'Ketut brough you money.'
- c.* *Ketut ngabaang pipis cai*

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Serialisation vs. Applicativisation (1)

20) Rongga

- a) *Domi raku lambu muzhi maki ja'o* S V O1:th_i
name sew shirt new for 1s
'Domi sew a shirt for me'
- b) *Domi [raku ti'i] ja'o lambu muzhi* S [VW] O1 O2:th_i
name sew give 1s shirt new
'Domi sew a new shirt for me'
- c) **Domi [raku ti'i] lambu muzhi ja'o* S [VW] O1:th O2
name sew give shirt new 1s
- d) **Domi raku nembumai ti'i ja'o lambu muzhi*
name sew yesterday give 1s shirt new
'Domi sew a new shirt for me yesterday'
- e). *Lambu ndau ata [raku ti'i] ja'o ne Domi*
shirt that REL sew give 1s by name
'It's that shirt that was sewn by Domi and given for me.'
- f). ?* *Lambu ndau ata Domi [raku ti'i] ja'o*.
shirt that REL Domi sew give 1s

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Serialisation vs. Applicativisation (2)

21) Balinese

- a. *Ketut nyait klambi baan-a cang*
Name AV.sew shirt give-3 1
'ketut sewed a short for me.'
- b. *Ketut nyait-ang cang klambi*
Ketut AV.sew-APPL 1s shirt
'Ketut sewed a short for me.'
- c. *Cang jaitang-a klambi teken Ketur*
1 UV-sew-3 shirt by ketut
'For me the shirt was sewn by Ketut.'
- c. *Klambi-ne nto ane jait-ang-a cang teken Ketut*
shirt-DEF that REL sew-APPL-PASS 1 by Ketut
'It is that shirt which was sewn by Ketut for me.'

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Non compositionality & expressive redundancy with parallelism

Rongga:

- (22) a) *...sogho kepo lima bhuku wa'i*
because clench hands fold legs
'because (he) passed away (Lit. clenched his
hands and folded his legs.)
- (23)
a *... dhadhi ne mesa, tei ana tau zhua*
born and hatch see child make two
'...gave birth to two children.
- b. *jadhi selama ndia embu mbiwa sama ne kami.*
so during this grandfather not with with 1.exc
so, so far you grandpa didn't stay with us
- c. *... semua bhate ko woe kami*
all all of friend 1PL.exc
'...all of our friends'

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Nyaheun (Bahnaric, Austroasiatic, Laos) (Sidwel and Nyotkhampeuy 2009):

- highly analytical
- strict template for phrase and clause
- expressive, redundant (reduplicated) morphemes to achieve desired speech rhythm.

(24)

aa bbaoc aa ræ hmææ teen
 I already I go so say
 'I'm already going, so (he) said'

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Conclusions

- Rongga & Balinese show different degrees of complexity in morphological coding but equally complex argument realisations.
 - Rongga morphologically shows a maximally simple coding strategy, nevertheless it shows a complex alternating system of arguments
 - Passivisation, causativisation, dative/applicativisation.
- Richness in morphological coding may relate to certain complexity that cannot be coded analytically:
 - Voice morphology that carries social meaning
 - PASS may have social meaning in Balinese: ka- 'high register PASS' vs. -a 'low register PASS'
 - Complex affix and suffix combination with different argument realisations and certain subtle meanings
 - Balinese: *adol* 'sell' -> *adol* 'UV.sell', *ng-adol* 'AV.sell', *ng-adol-in*, *ng-adol-ang*, *ka-adol-in*, *ka-adol-ang*, *ma-adol*, *ma-adol-an*
- Rongga shows analytically complex argument realisations: 'phrasal' lexemes, analytic, SVCs.

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