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

I Wayan Arka
The Australian National University
Universitas Udayana
11-ICAL, France
June 2009

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

Nusa Tenggara Indonesia

Flores Languages
Complexity ...

- Complexity: a property of organized entities/system; 'fewer/more' w.r.t forms/rules/structures; absolute vs. relative; efficiency...
  - coding properties involved
  - grammatically different realisations of arguments
- 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

Coding complexity: Verbal morphology (1)

1) Balinese
   Tiang ng-adepin /*adepin Nyoman sampi (APPL–in)
   1 AV-sell-APPL N cow
   'I sold (my) cow to Nyoman.'

2) Sasak (Jelantik)
   Dengan no muen paling / maling manuk (AV/bare)
   person that PST=3 steal / N.steal chicken
   'the person stole chickens'

3) Sumbawa Jereweh (Shibatani, ex. 49)
   Ali [adé ka=ya pukel bedus]
   REL PERF=3 hit goat sick
   'All, who has hit a goat, is sick'.

4) Bima
   Nahu ku-tu’bo-ku nggomi
   1s 1s.JR-stab-EV 2
   'I will (certainly) stab you'. (i.e., a threat)

Coding complexity: Verbal morphology (2)

5) Manggarai 6) Rongga 7) Nage Keo (Baird 2002:76)
   Aku cero latung=k Ana ndau ka maki 'né t'i' 'imu jawa.
   1s fry corn=1s child that eat rice mum give 3s corn
   'I fry/am frying corn 'That child ate/eats rice' 'Mum gave her corn.'

8) Sikka
   a. Aku/ita/rimu water payung.
   b. nimu/am/au/miu buter payung
   1s/1p/3p buy umbrella 3s/1p/2s/2p buy umbrella
   'I/we/they bought an umbrella.' 'they/we/you bought an umbrella.'

9) Lewotobi Lamaholot
   a. Go xorì na/kewa muko
   1s give 3s/name pisang
   'I gave him/Kewa (a) banana'
   b. go m-enu wai 'I drank water'
   mo m-enu wai 'you (sg) drank water'
   na n-enu wai 'she drank water'
   tîte l-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.'

Complexity on the (verbal) morphology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-isolating</th>
<th>Degrees of analyticity</th>
<th>isolating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bal.</td>
<td>Sas.</td>
<td>Sum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AV morph: N-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other morphology (e.g. APPL, CAUS)</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bound pron</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voice alternation?</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Active - Passive alternations
Balinese: Actor can appear as SUBJ and OBL
10) a. Ketut ng-uber Nyoman
   name AV.chase name
   ‘Ketut chased Nyoman.’
   b. * Ketut uber Nyoman
      (OK for: Nyoman chased Ketut)
   a’. * Ketut uber Nyoman
      name PASS.chase by name
      ‘Nyoman was chased by Ketut’
   b’. * Nyoman uber antuk Ketut

Passives & zero pronouns
(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 keri ndia.
   lit with fire take PART long.grass this
   lumbu-lumbu lumbu keri 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.’

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 zh'i'a.
    bike 3s good
    ‘His/her bike is good’
   b. Ja'o [tau zh'i'a] jarajata kazhi.
      1s make good bike 3s
      ‘I repaired his/her bike.’
15) Balinese
   a. Sepeda-ne suba beneh
      bike-DEF PERF correct 3s AV.correct-CAUS bike-DEF
      ‘the bike is already good’  ‘S/he repaired the bike.’

(Anti)causative
16) Rongga : multi-subcategorisation frames, construction-based
a. Watu ndau nggoli
    stone that roll 1s roll
    ‘The stone rolled (or was rolled)’  ‘I rolled (myself)’
   b. Jo'o nggoli watu ndau
      1s roll stone that
      ‘I rolled the stone or I made the stone roll’
   c. Jo'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 nggiling.
    stone-DEF AV.roll 1s AV.roll-CAUS self
    ‘the stone rolled.’  ‘I rolled myself.’
   b. Cang nggiling-ang awak
      1s AV.roll-CAUS stone-DEF
      ‘I rolled (uncontrollably).’  ‘I rolled the stone.’
Three-place predicates: dative shift vs. applicativisation

18) Rongga
a. Ardi indi ndoi pe ndia (ne ja’o) name bring money to here with 1s ‘Ardi brought money here for/to me’
b. Ardi indi ja’o (ko) ndoi name bring 1s ko money ‘Ardi brought me money’
c. * Ardi indi (ko) ndoi ja’o

19) Balinese:
a. Ketut ngaba pipis (baang- 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 brought you money.’
c. * Ketut ngabaang pipis cai

Serialisation vs. Applicativisation (1)

20) Rongga
a) Domi roku 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 name sew give 1s shirt new ‘Domi sew a new shirt for me’
c) * Domi [raku ti’i] lambu muzhi ja’o name sew give shirt new 1s
d) * Domi roku pembumai 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

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 one 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.’

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 same ne kami.
so during this grandfather not with with 1.exc so, so far you grandpa didn't stay with us
c. ... semua bhte ko woe kami
all all of friend 1PL.exc ‘...all of our friends’
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

- Rongga shows analytically complex argument realisations: ‘phrasal’ lexemes, analytic, SVCs.

References

