

Ergative extraction in Sumbawa

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- 3 Kaufman's (2017) analysis
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Ergative extraction in Western Austronesian I

Ergative extraction is generally disallowed in Western Austronesian languages.

Tagalog (under an ergative analysis)

- (1) a. **Sú**~sulát-in **ni Jojo** ang libro.
IPFV~write-TR ERG Jojo ABS book
'Jojo will write the book.'
- b. ***Nino** ang sú~sulát-in ___ ang libro?
who.ERG ABS IPFV~write-TR ABS book
(For: 'Who will write the book?')
- (adapted from Kaufman 2017: (35))

Malay morphological passive (under 'passive as ergative' analysis; Nomoto 2021)

- (2)
- a. Surat ini perlu di-tandatangani **mereka**.
letter this need PASS-sign.on 3PL
'This letter needs to be signed by them.'
- b. ***Siapa** yang surat ini perlu di-tandatangani ___ ?
who REL letter this need PASS-sign.on
(For: 'By whom does this letter need to be signed?')

Ergative extraction in Western Austronesian III

Malay bare passive (under 'passive as ergative' analysis; Nomoto 2021)

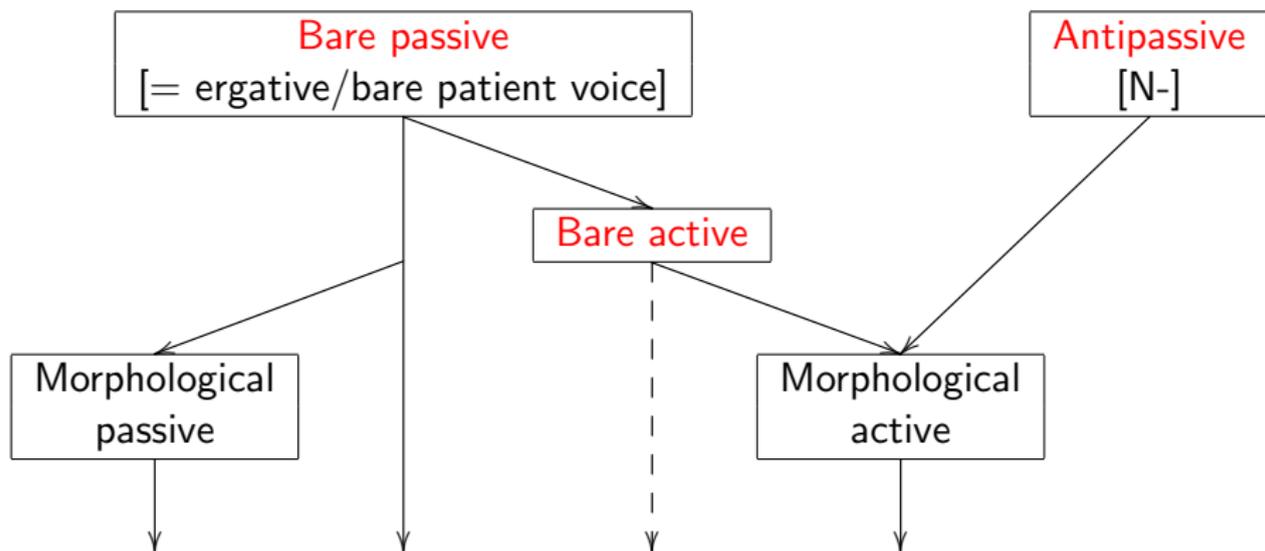
- (3) a. Surat ini perlu **mereka** tandatangani.
letter this need 3PL sign.on
'They need to sign this letter.'
- b. ***Siapa** yang surat ini perlu ___ tandatangani?
who REL letter this need sign.on
(For: 'By whom does this letter need to be signed?')

Kaufman (2017): Sumbawa is an exception

- Kaufman (2017) points out two exceptions to this widespread restriction on ergative extraction:
 - ① Sumbawa (Sumbawa Besar dialect; Indonesia)
 - ② Selayarese (Indonesia)
- This study shows that Sumbawa is in fact not an exception by providing an alternative analysis of his Sumbawa data.

- ② The Sumbawa language and the construction in question
- ③ Kaufman's (2017) analysis
- ④ Alternative analysis:
 - ▶ Ergative + case-agreement → Passive + clitic doubling
 - ▶ Topicalization of ergative → Bare active
- ⑤ Implications:
 - ▶ Support for clitic doubling analyses of passives (Baker et al. 1989; Nomoto 2016)
 - ▶ Another instance of covert active-passive alternation
 - ▶ A different view on the Sumbawa voice system, implying the diachronic change into the canonical Indonesian-type voice system

Conjecture: The development of the canonical Indonesian-type voice system



(Red: available in Sumbawa)

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The Sumbawa language

- Spoken in the western part of Sumbawa Island, Indonesia
- The Sumbawa Besar dialect as described by Asako Shiohara



(Map data © 2021 Google)

The construction in question

'Basic construction' (Shiohara 2013: 148)

- (4) ka=**ku**=inóm kawa=nan [**pp ling aku**].
PST=1SG=drink coffee=that by 1SG
'I drank the coffee.'

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Kaufman's (2017) analysis

Kaufman

(5) ka=**ku**-inóm kawa=nan [DP **ling** aku].
PST=**Agr. 1SG**-drink coffee=that **ERG** 1SG
'I drank the coffee.' (adapted from Kaufman 2017, citing Shiohara 2013)

- *ling* = ergative case marker
- *ku-* = agreement marker agreeing with the ergative DP

Putative ergative extraction

Assuming this analysis, Kaufman claims that the ergative argument is extracted in (6)–(7).

Relative clause

- (6) **sai** adè ka= \emptyset -tumpan' janggan=ta ____?
who REL PST=Agr.3SG-get fish=this
'Who caught the fish?'

(adapted from Kaufman 2017, citing Shiohara 2013)

Topicalization

- (7) **aku** (ku-)inóm kawa=nan ____.
1SG Agr.1SG-drink coffee=that

'I drink the coffee.' (adapted from Kaufman 2017, citing Shiohara 2013)

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Alternative analysis

I argue that Shiohara's (2013) original view is more plausible.

Shiohara/Nomoto analysis

(4) ka=**ku**=inóm kawa=nan [_{PP} **ling** aku].

PST=**1SG**=drink coffee=that **by** 1SG

'I drank the coffee.'

(Shiohara 2013: 148)

- Shiohara's analysis differs from Kaufman's in two respects:
 - ▶ *ku-* = ~~ergative agreement~~ the verb's argument clitic
 - ▶ *ling* = ~~ergative case marker~~ agentive preposition ('by')
- The *ling* phrase is not the verb's argument DP but an adjunct PP.
- I argue that clitic doubling is involved, i.e. *ling* PP doubles the pronominal clitic argument DP *ku=* on the verb.

Bare passive + clitic doubling

Shiohara's 'basic construction' is in fact bare passive.

Shiohara/Nomoto analysis

- (4) ka=**ku**=inóm kawa=**nan** [pp **ling aku**].
PST=**1SG**=drink coffee=**that** by 1SG
'I drank the coffee.'

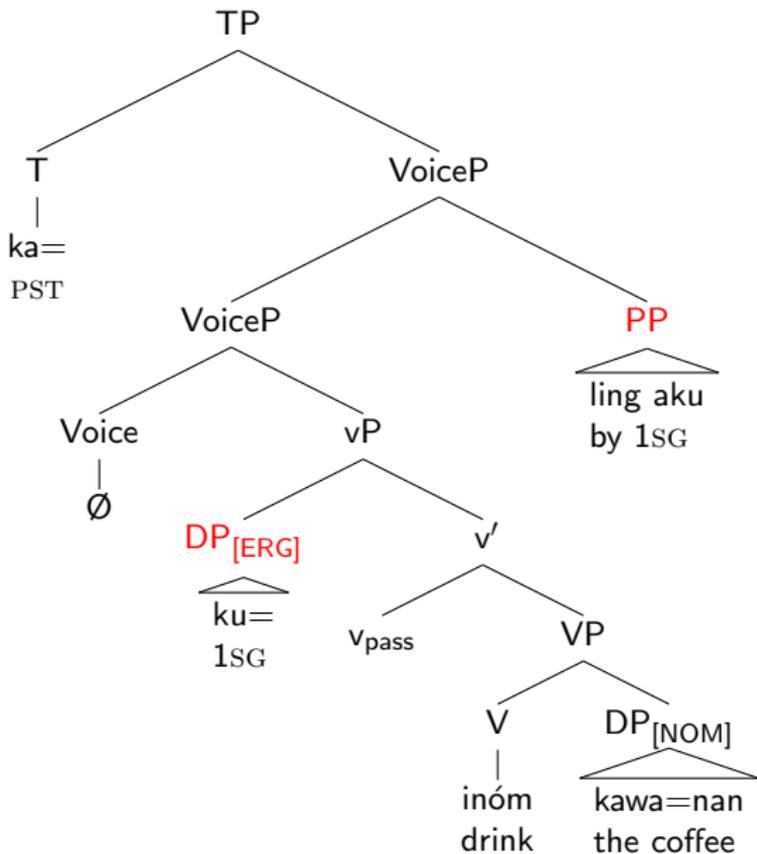
(Shiohara 2013: 148)

Properties of bare passives:

- 1 Patient = subject
- 2 Bare V
- 3 Agent adjacent to V:
Tense=Agent=V but *Agent=Tense=V

Notes:

- 1 Bare passives are transitive. (In fact, all passives are.)
- 2 No assumption that passives can only exist together with a (basic) active construction.



(head movement and object shift omitted)

Rioplattense Spanish (Anagnostopoulou 2017, citing Jaeggli 1986: 32)

- (8) **Lo=vimos a Juan.**
3SG=saw.1PL A Juan
'We saw Juan.'

- Clitic doubling in Romance involves internal arguments.
- Clitic doubling in passives involves external arguments.

Properties of clitic doubling

According to Anagnostopoulou (2017), clitic doubling

- is optional → (9)–(11);
- involves a special marker → *ling*;
- requires high referentiality of the referent → *future work*;
- has a clausemate condition on the clitic and its double → *future work*.

Clitic doubling

- (9) ka=**ya**=inóm kawa=nan **ling nya Amin.**
PST=3SG=drink coffee=that by Mr. Amin
'Amin drank the coffee.'

(Shiohara 2016: 259)

Optionality of clitic doubling in Sumbawa

No clitic

- (10) ka=~~Ø~~=bèang lamóng=nan lakó tódé=ta ling ina'.
PST=~~Ø~~=give clothes=that to child=this by mother
'The mother gave this child the clothes.'

(adapted from Shiohara 2013: 153)

No double

- (11) ka mò suda ku=tuja' padé=ta.
PST MOD finish 1SG=polish rice=this
'I have pounded the rice.'

(Shiohara 2013: 150)

Bare passive + clitic doubling in other Indonesian languages

Besemah (Malayic, southwestern Sumatera)

- (12) Telepun-i=**nye** [PP **li Bubi**].
telephone-APPL=3 by Bubi
'Bubi called (the hospital in Lahat),' (McDonnell 2016: 79)

Balinese (Nomoto 2018)

- (13) Nasi-ne ajeng=**a** [PP **teken anak-e ento**].
rice-DEF eat=3SG by person-DEF that
'That person ate the rice.' (adapted from Artawa 1998: 10)

Putative ergative extraction revisited

Under the proposed analysis, the constructions discussed by Kaufman do not involve ergative extraction.

Relative clause

- (6) **sai** adè ka=Ø-tumpan' janggan=ta?
who REL PST=Agr.3SG-get fish=this
'Who caught the fish?' (adapted from Kaufman 2017, citing Shiohara 2013)

Topicalization

- (7) **aku** (ku-)inóm kawa=nan.
1SG Agr.1SG-drink coffee=that
'I drink the coffee.' (adapted from Kaufman 2017, citing Shiohara 2013)

Problems of the case-agreement analysis (1)

Kaufman (2017: n. 38)

Shiohara (2013) in fact glosses *leng* [= *ling*] as 'by' but because *leng* seems obligatory on external arguments of transitive verbs, I re-gloss *leng* as ERG.

However,

- 1 P in passive agentive PPs is also obligatory (e.g. *by*, *oleh*).
- 2 If the person marking on V is agreement, the putative ergative agreement is optional. . .

Optionality of the person marking on V

- (14) a. ka=**ya**-inóm kawa=nan **ling nya Amin.**
PST=Agr.3SG-drink coffee=that ERG Mr. Amin
'Amin drank the coffee.' (adapted from Shiohara 2016: 259)
- b. ka=**Ø**-bèang lamóng=nan lakó tódé=ta **ling ina'**.
PST=Agr.3SG-give clothes=that to child=this ERG mother
'The mother gave this child the clothes.'
(adapted from Shiohara 2013: 153)

- Kaufman: Optionality of case-agreement
- Shiohara/Nomoto: Optionality of clitic doubling

Problems of the case-agreement analysis (2)

When the agent occurs preverbally, the putative ergative case marker *ling* is disallowed.

- (15) a. (***ling**) **aku** (ku-)inóm kawa=nan. [= (7)]
ERG 1SG Agr.1SG-drink coffee=that
'I drink the coffee.' (adapted from Kaufman 2017, citing Shiohara 2013)
- b. (***ling**) **sai** adè ka=Ø-tumpan' janggan=ta? [= (6)]
ERG who REL PST=Agr.3SG-get fish=this
'Who caught the fish?' (adapted from Kaufman 2017, citing Shiohara 2013)

This is a perplexing puzzle in Kaufman's analysis.

Loss of *ling* 'by' due to topicalization?¹

Agent topicalization

(7) (***ling**) **aku** (ku=)inóm kawa=nan ____.

by 1SG 1SG=drink coffee=that

'I drink the coffee.'

Shiohara (adapted from 2013: 153)

Theme topicalization

(16) **kawa=nan** ku=inom ____ **ling** aku.

coffee=that 1SG=drink by 1SG

'As for the coffee, I drink it.'

(Shiohara 2013: 153)

Does topicalization cause the loss of the preposition *ling*?

¹I thank Asako Shiohara for pointing out this possibility.

Does topicalization cause the loss of *ling*?

No. Agentive P and topicalization are compatible.

Japanese

- (17) dansei **niyotte=wa**, sukunakutomo 75 ka koku, 4 tairiku de
male by=TOP at.least 75 CLF country 4 continent at
[...] okonaw-are-teiru kyoogi
do-PASS-IPFV sport
'sports that are played by males at least in 75 countries in 4
continents and [...]' (BCCWJ)

I claim that

- the fronted *ling* PP = clitic left dislocation;
- Sumbawa does not have clitic left dislocation.

Clitic doubling and clitic left dislocation I

Some languages have both clitic doubling and clitic left dislocation while others only have the latter (Anagnostopoulou 2017).

Rioplátense Spanish (Anagnostopoulou 2017, citing Jaeggli 1986: 32)

- (18) a. **Lo=vimos a Juan.**
3SG=saw.1PL A Juan
- b. **A Juan, lo=vimos ayer.**
A Juan 3SG=saw.1PL yesterday
'We saw Juan yesterday.'

Italian (Anagnostopoulou 2017, citing Cinque 1990: 71)

- (19) a. ***Lo=vedrò** domani **Gianni**.
3SG=will.see.1SG tomorrow Gianni
- b. **Gianni, lo=vedrò** domani.
Gianni 3SG=will.see.1SG tomorrow
'I will see Gianni tomorrow.'

Sumbawa has clitic doubling, but lacks clitic left dislocation

Clitic doubling

- (4) ka=**ku**=inóm kawa=nan **ling aku**.
PST=1SG=drink coffee=that by 1SG
'I drank the coffee.'

(Shiohara 2013: 148)

Clitic left dislocation

- (20) ***ling aku** ku=inóm kawa=nan.
by 1SG 1SG=drink coffee=that
'I drink the coffee.'

(Shiohara 2013)

What is the grammatical counterpart without *ling* in (20)?

Sentences with a preverbal agent DP

- Sumbawa has developed an English-type active voice construction with an SVO order.
 - ▶ Preverbal agent = DP with an unmarked case
(No *ling* deletion or silent P!)
 - ▶ Person marking on V = subject agreement (emerging or disappearing):
1SG: *ku=* → *ku-~∅*; 2SG: *sia=* → *sia-~∅*; 3SG: *ya=* → *∅*

Bare active

- (21) **aku (ku-)**inóm kawa=nan.
1SG Agr.1SG-drink coffee=that
'I drink the coffee.' (adapted from Shiohara 2013)
- (23) **nya Amin (*ya-)**inóm kawa=nan.
Mr. Amin Agr.3SG-drink coffee=that
'Amin drinks the coffee.' (adapted from Shiohara 2013: 149)

Bare active in Sumbawa and Malay/Indonesian

Shibatani (2008) reports that Sumbawa bare active disallows object extraction.

(Note: Shibatani's Sumbawa Besar dialect is slightly different from Shiohara's.)

Object extraction (Shibatani 2008: 881)

- (22) a. tau=lokaq beri tòdé=nan
person=old love child=that
'The parents love the child.'
- b. *tòdè [adé tau=lokaq beri ____]
child REL person=old love
'the child whom the parents love'

Hence, it is more like *meN-* active in Malay/Indonesian rather than its bare active. The former but not the latter disallows object extraction.

Problems of the case-agreement analysis (3)

The putative 3SG ergative agreement is ungrammatical

- 1 when the agent occurs preverbally;
- 2 in intransitive clauses

Perverbal agent

- (23) **nya Amin (*ya-)**inóm kawa=nan.
Mr. Amin Agr.3SG-drink coffee=that
'Amin drinks the coffee.' (adapted from Shiohara 2013: 149)

Intransitive

- (24) **tódé=nan ka=(*ya-)teri**'. / ka=(*ya-)teri' **tódé=nan**.
child=that PST=Agr.3SG-fall PST=Agr.3SG-fall child=that
'That child fell.' (adapted from Shiohara 2016: 259)

These facts also remain puzzling in Kaufman's analysis, but fall out naturally in our analysis.

Subject agreement in other voices (1)

1SG *ku=* → *ku-~∅*

2SG *sia=* → *sia-~∅*

3SG *ya=* → *∅*

Intransitive

(25) *ka=ku-tunóng* **aku.**
PST=Agr.1SG-sleep 1SG
'I slept.'

(adapted from Shiohara 2013: 148)

Subject agreement in other voices (2)

1SG *ku=* → *ku-~∅*

2SG *sia=* → *sia-~∅*

3SG *ya=* → *∅*

Antipassive

- (26) a. *ka=ku-ng-inóm* **aku.**
PST=Agr.1SG-ANTIPASS-drink 1SG
'I drank (something).' (adapted from Shiohara 2013: 148)
- b. **ka=ya-ng-inóm* **nya=Amén.**
PST=Agr.3SG-ANTIPASS-drink TITLE=Amin
- c. *ka=∅-ng-inóm* **nya=Amén.**
PST=Agr.3SG-ANTIPASS-drink TITLE=Amin
'Amin drank (something).' (adapted from Shiohara 2013: 149)

Subject agreement in other voices (3)

1SG *ku=* → *ku-~∅*

2SG *sia=* → *sia-~∅*

3SG *ya=* → *∅*

Indefinite theme incorporation

(27) *ka=ku-inóm=kawa* **aku.**

PST=Agr.1SG-drink=coffee 1SG

'I drank coffee.'

(adapted from Shiohara 2013: 152)

- **ling aku.*
- Nominative Case otherwise assigned to theme is assigned to agent.

Active as a strategy to make agent a subject

Unlike indefinite theme, definite theme cannot be incorporated.
(Object shift takes place instead.)

Definite theme incorporation

(28) *ka=ku-inóm=kawa=nan aku.
 PST=Agr.1SG-drink=coffee=that 1SG
 (For: 'I drank the coffee.') (adapted from Shiohara 2006: 156)

- Hence, agent cannot be a subject when the theme is definite.
- Active voice is thought to have emerged to fill this gap.

Conclusion: Not ergative but subject extraction

- What Kaufman regards as ergative extraction is subject extraction from bare active clauses.
- No ergative extraction in Sumbawa. [ergative = bare passive agent]

Relative clause

(6) **sai** adè ___ ka=Ø-tumpan' jangan=ta?
who REL PST=Agr.3SG-get fish=this
'Who caught the fish?'

(adapted from Kaufman 2017, citing Shiohara 2013)

Topicalization

(7) **aku** ___ (ku-)inóm kawa=nan.
1SG Agr.1SG-drink coffee=that

'I drink the coffee.' (adapted from Kaufman 2017, citing Shiohara 2013)

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Clitic doubling analyses of passives (Baker et al. 1989; Nomoto 2016)

My analysis of the basic construction (4) as passive + clitic doubling lends further support to clitic doubling analyses of passives (Baker et al. 1989; Nomoto 2016).

'Basic construction' (Shiohara 2013: 148)

- (4) ka=**ku**=inóm kawa=nan [PP ling aku].
PST=1SG=drink coffee=that by 1SG
'I drank the coffee.'

Other languages with passive + clitic doubling (with overt clitics):

- Balinese (Nomoto 2018)
- Besemah (McDonnell 2016)
- Classical Malay (Nomoto 2016)

Covert active-passive alternation

Basic construction = Bare passive (VS; Voice = \emptyset)

- (4) [TP ka= [VoiceP \emptyset [vP ku=inóm kawa=nan] [PP ling aku]]].
PST= 1SG=drink coffee=that by 1SG
'I drank the coffee.' (adapted from Shiohara 2013: 148)

Agent topicalization = Bare active (SVO; Voice = \emptyset)

- (21) [TP aku [VoiceP \emptyset [vP (ku-)inóm kawa=nan]]].
1SG Agr.1SG-drink coffee=that
'I drink the coffee.' (adapted from Shiohara 2013)

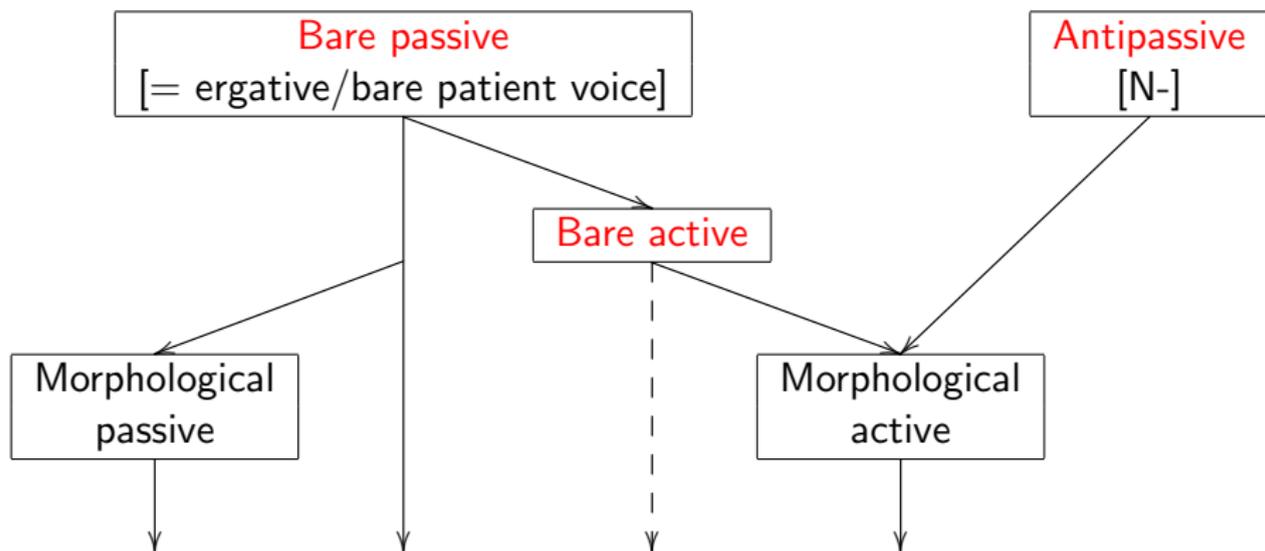
Both active and passive are morphologically unmarked.

→ Another example of covert active-passive voice alternation, which has also been reported in related languages (e.g. Arka and Kosmas 2005; Legate 2012; Nomoto and Kartini 2012).

Sumbawa voice system

Pattern	Shiohara (2013)	This study
pro-V Th <i>ling</i> Ag	sole transitive construction pro = clitic	bare passive pro = clitic
Ag pro-V Th	topicalization pro = clitic	bare active pro = agreement
pro-N-V Ag	antipassive pro = clitic	antipassive pro = agreement

Conjecture: The development of the canonical Indonesian-type voice system



(Red: available in Sumbawa)

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