

Clitic doubling in Sumbawa bare passives and its relevance to Balinese

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Balinese -a passive

Balinese -a passive (1) is thought to have developed from its bare passive (2).

[bare passive = 'Ø-construction' (Artawa 1998), 'bare verb construction' (Artawa 2013), 'object voice' (Arka 2003, 2008)]

-A passive

- (1) Nasi-ne ajeng-a taken anak-e ento.
rice-DEF eat-PASS by person-DEF that
'That person ate the rice.'

(Artawa 1998: 10)

Bare passive

- (2) Cicing-e sepak tiang.
dog-DEF kick 1SG
'I kicked the dog.'

(Artawa 1998: 9–10)

Nomoto's (2018) hypothesis about the developmental path

Stage 1.	Bare passive	v-V- \emptyset [DP _{Agent} ...]	Voice \emptyset
	↓		
	clitic doubling		
	↓		
Stage 2.	Bare passive	v-V- \emptyset [=a ...] <i>teken</i> DP (=a: 3SG; <i>teken</i> 'by')	\emptyset
	↓		
	- introduction of <i>pro</i> - reanalysis of =a as Voice		
	↓		
Stage 3.	-A passive	v-V-a [<i>pro</i> ...] <i>teken</i> DP	-a

Support from Classical Malay

Di- passives in Malay also underwent a clitic doubling stage in the past.

Di- passive, no doubling

- (3) Serta di-lihat=**nya** nakhoda itu
and PASS-look=3 captain that
'And he [= my father] looked at the captain' (Abd.H 43:13)

Di- passive + clitic doubling — lost in Modern Malay

- (4) oleh ibu bapa=**ku** di-jemputkan=**nya**=lah segala adik kakak
by mother father=1SG PASS-invite=3=PART all sibling
dalam Melaka
in Malacca
'my parents invited all their siblings in Malacca' (Abd.H 32:4)

This study

- Provides further support for Nomoto's hypothesis from Sumbawa (the Sumbawa Besar dialect), a close relative of Balinese.
- Clitic doubling is also observed with bare passives in Sumbawa.

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

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

(Shiohara 2013: 148)

- Called 'basic construction' by Shiohara (2013).
- Properties of bare passives:
 - 1 Patient = subject
 - 2 Bare V
 - 3 Agent (clitic) 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.

Relation between the agent clitic and the *ling* PP

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

(Shiohara 2013: 148)

- Shiohara does not explicitly state what the relation is.
- I argue that clitic doubling is involved.

Cross-linguistic parallel

Besides Classical Malay, Sumbawa bare passives also instantiate a developmental stage hypothesized for Balinese by Nomoto (2018).

Sumbawa (attested)

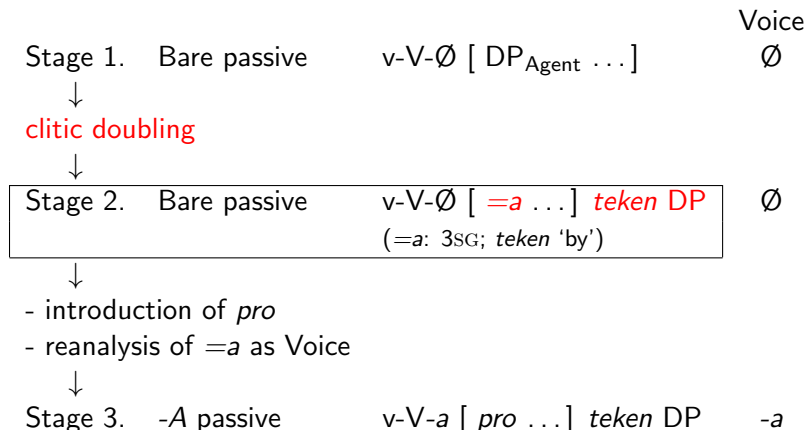
- (5) ka=**ku**=inóm kawa=**nan** [**PP ling aku**].
PST=1SG=drink coffee=that by 1SG
'I drank the coffee.'

(Shiohara 2013: 148)

Balinese (hypothetical)

- (6) Nasi-ne ajeng=**a** [**PP taken anak-e ento**].
rice-DEF eat=3SG by person-DEF that
'That person ate the rice.'

Nomoto's (2018) hypothesis about the developmental path



This is not the end of the story...

Kaufman's (2017) alternative analysis

Kaufman

- (7) 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

Nomoto/Shiohara

- (5) ka=**ku**=inóm kawa=nan [PP **ling** aku].
PST=**1SG**=drink coffee=that **by** 1SG
'I drank the coffee.' (Shiohara 2013: 148)

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

- (8) 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=**∅**-bèang lamóng=**nan** lakó tódé=**ta** **ling ina**'.
PST=**∅**-give clothes=**that** to child=**this** **ERG** mother
'The mother gave this child the clothes.' (adapted from Shiohara 2013: 153)

Problems of the case-agreement analysis (2)

When the agent occurs preverbally,

- ③ the putative ergative case marker *ling* is disallowed (9);
- ④ the putative the 3SG ergative agreement is ungrammatical (10).

- (9) **(*ling) aku** (ku-)inóm kawa=nan.
ERG 1SG Agr.1SG-drink coffee=that
'I drink the coffee.' (adapted from Kaufman 2017, citing Shiohara 2013)
- (10) **nya Amin (*ya-)**inóm kawa=nan.
Mr. Amin Agr.3SG-drink coffee=that
'Amin drinks the coffee.' (adapted from Shiohara 2013: 149)

My analysis: Optionality

According to Anagnostopoulou (2017), clitic doubling

- is optional → (11)–(13);
- 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

(11) 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

- (12) 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

- (13) ka mò suda **ku=tuja**’ padé=ta.
PST MOD finish 1SG=polish rice=this
‘I have pounded the rice.’ (Shiohara 2013: 150)

Clitic doubling and clitic left dislocation I

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

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

- (14) 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)

- (15) 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

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

(Shiohara 2013: 148)

Clitic left dislocation

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

(Shiohara 2013)

Alternative account for **ling* 'by': Topicalization¹

Theme topicalization

- (17) **kawa=nan** ku=inom ___ *ling* aku
coffee=that 1SG=drink by 1SG
'As for the coffee, I drink it.'

(Shiohara 2013: 153)

Agent topicalization

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

Shiohara (adapted from 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

- (18) 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)

My analysis: 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

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

Subject agreement in other voices (1)

1SG: *ku=* → *ku-~∅*; 2SG: *sia=* → *sia-~∅*; 3SG: *ya=* → *∅*

Intransitive

(20) *ka=ku-tunóng* ***aku.***

PST=Agr.1SG-sleep 1SG

'I slept.'

(adapted from Shiohara 2013: 148)

Subject agreement in other voices (2)

1SG: $ku= \rightarrow ku\sim\emptyset$; 2SG: $sia= \rightarrow sia\sim\emptyset$; 3SG: $ya= \rightarrow \emptyset$

Antipassive

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

Subject agreement in other voices (3)

1SG: $ku= \rightarrow ku-\sim\emptyset$; 2SG: $sia= \rightarrow sia-\sim\emptyset$; 3SG: $ya= \rightarrow \emptyset$

Indefinite theme incorporation

(22) ka=**ku**-inóm=kawa **aku.**

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

'I drank coffee.'

(adapted from Shiohara 2013: 152)

- **ling aku.*
- 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

- (23) *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

- Sumbawa provides further support for Nomoto's (2018) hypothesis about the development of the English-type *-a* passive in Balinese.

Balinese (hypothetical) $V-\emptyset=a \dots \textit{teken}$ DP

Sumbawa $ku/sia/ya=V-\emptyset \dots \textit{ling}$ DP

Classical Malay $di-V=nya \dots \textit{oleh}$ DP

- McDonnell (2016: 79) reports similar facts in Besemah.

Besemah (Malayic, southwestern Sumatera)

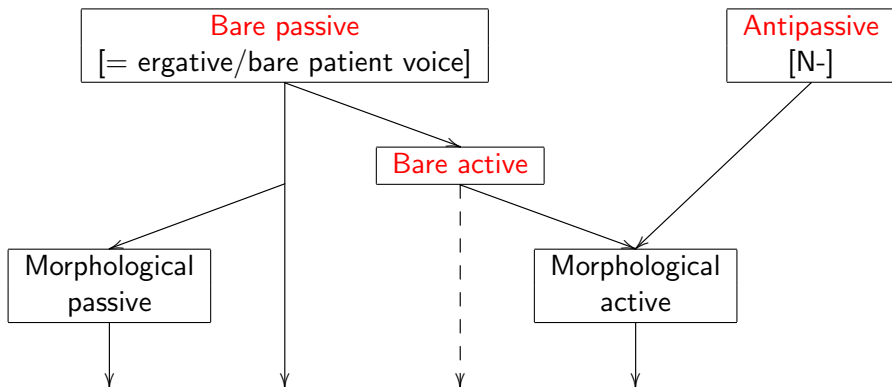
- (24) a. **Telepun-i=nye li Bubi.**
telephone-APPL=3 by Bubi
'Bubi called (the hospital in Lahat),'
- b. **Aku masih di-batak-i=nye li enduk.**
1SG still PASS-bring-APPL=3 by mother
'I was still brought by mother.'
- (McDonnell 2016: 79)

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

- Bare active in Sumbawa resembles *meN-* active in Malay/Indonesian rather than its bare active (Shibatani 2008).
- 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).

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



(Red: available in Sumbawa)

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