Voice and the variable position of auxiliaries in Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian

Keely New, MIT[1]

LSA 100, 4–7th January 2024

1 Introduction

In Standard Indonesian/Standard Malay (SI/SM), **one argument per clause** has a privileged status (i.e., the **pivot**):

- the pivot occupies the pre-auxiliary/sentence-initial position

- choice of pivot corresponds with verbal morphology

- the pivot is the only DP that may be $\overline{\text{A}}$-extracted (a common feature of Austronesian syntax)

(1) **Subject voice** (⟦pivot⟧=subject):

   ⟦Ali⟧ tidak akan **mem**-baca buku ini.
   Ali   NEG FUT *meN*-read book DEM

   'Ali won't read this book.'   (SI; based on Cole and Hermon 2005: 61)

(2) **Object voice** (⟦pivot⟧=object)

   ⟦Buku ini⟧ tidak akan kami **(*mem-)**baca.
   book DEM NEG FUT we Ø-read

   'We won't read this book.'   (SI; Cole and Hermon 2005: 62)

A long-standing puzzle in SI/SM syntax:

(3) **Object extraction with pre-auxiliary subject:**

   Apa=kah yang ⟦Ali⟧ telah **(*mem-)**baca?
   what=Q C   Ali   PERF ov-read

   'What has Ali read?'   (SM; Soh 1998: 297)

Abbreviations: FUT=future, PERF=perfective, REC.PERF=recent perfective, PROG=progressive.

The possibility of (3) has led scholars to conclude that the pivot-only restriction is not an absolute in SI/SM.

- The subject occupies the pre-auxiliary position, so (3) is taken to be **object extraction in subject voice**.

- i.e., non-pivot extraction is possible, as long as the verb is realised with appropriate morphology; previous analyses differ as to how "*meN*-deletion" is triggered by non-pivot object extraction.

<div align="right">(Soh 1998; Chung 1976; Cole and Hermon 2005; Sato 2012 a.o.)</div>

Today,

- ▶ I argue instead that in Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian[2], the equivalent of (3) indeed involves **object extraction** from an **object voice clause type**, maintaining the pivot-only restriction.

- Importantly, I propose the flexibility in the word order of the subject and auxiliaries in CJI teaches us that there are multiple adjoining positions for TAM particles in the language.

2   Voice and extraction in CJI

Subject Voice (SV): pivot =subject

- Optional assimilating nasal prefix *N-* on verb.

- Pivot precedes auxiliaries and negation

- Object (non-pivot) follows the verb, and may be definite or indefinite

(4)   **Subject as pivot in SV:**

Mia udah **(m-)**beli buku(=nya).
Mia   PERF sv-buy   book-DET

'Mia has bought a book/the book.'

---

[2]By Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian, I refer to the variety of colloquial Indonesian that originates in Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia. The variety reported in this work is the same variety as what Oetomo (1990) and Winarto (2021) refer to as "Jakarta dialect" and "Jakarta Indonesian" respectively. I call it Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian here following Sneddon (2006), as well as my language consultant's preference. All uncredited data come from original elicitation work on colloquial Jakartan Indonesian, collected since early 2023.

- Only the subject may be extracted in Subject Voice → pivot-only restriction

(5) **A̅-extraction restricted to subjects in SV:**

    a. Siapa yang $\boxed{t}$ <u>udah</u> **m**-beli buku?
        who   C   PERF sv-buy book

        'Who has bought the book?'

    b. *Apa   yang $\boxed{\text{Mia}}$ <u>udah</u> **m**-beli *t* ?
        what C   Mia   PERF sv-buy

        Intended: What has Mia bought?

Object Voice (OV): $\boxed{\text{pivot}}$=object

- Obligatory null verbal prefix i.e. nasal prefix not possible on the verb *(*m-)/Ø-*

- Pivot objects are sentence-initial and restricted to definite DPs.

- Unlike in SI/SM, **non-pivot subjects** and <u>auxiliaries</u> are not strictly ordered in CJI[3]

    – In SI/SM, auxiliaries have to precede the subject, i.e. "... Aux S V"

    – In CJI, "... S Aux V" order is also possible (as previously reported in Sneddon 2006 and Winarto 2021).

(6) **Object as $\boxed{\textbf{pivot}}$ in OV:**

    a. $\boxed{\text{Buku=nya}}$ <u>lagi</u>   **Mia** (*m)-beli.
        book=DET   PROG Mia ov-buy

        'Mia is buying the book.'

    b. $\boxed{\text{Buku=nya}}$ **Mia** <u>lagi</u>   (*m)-beli.
        book=DET   Mia PROG ov-buy

        'Mia is buying the book.'

---

[3]Another point of difference between CJI and SI: In SI, non-pivot subjects are limited to pronouns. In CJI, non-pivot subjects are not limited to this restriction and can be full DPs such as proper names and other definite DPs (see Nomoto 2021 for other Indonesian languages that behave like CJI in this respect.)

- Only the object may be extracted in Object Voice → pivot-only restriction

(7) $\overline{\text{A}}$**-extraction restricted to objects in OV:**

   a.   Apa   yang $\boxed{t}$ <u>lagi</u>   **Mia**   (*m)-beli?
       what   C   PROG   Mia   ov-buy

       'What is Mia buying?'

   b.   Apa   yang $\boxed{t}$ **Mia**   <u>lagi</u>   (*m)-beli?
       what   C   Mia   PROG   ov-buy

       'What will Mia buy?'

   c.   *Siapa   yang $\boxed{\text{buku=nya}}$ <u>lagi</u> t {Ø/m}-beli?
       who   C   book=DET   PROG   ov-beli

       Intended: Who is buying the book?

Notice that (7b) is precisely the puzzling configuration of non-pivot object extraction in SI/SM, as previewed in (3) above.

- The equivalent version of (7b) in SI/SM is often taken to be object extraction in subject voice: "S Aux V" word order is a defining trait of OV

- In contrast, I take the **defining traits of OV in CJI** to be (i) *(*N)* morphology on the verb and (ii) sentence-initial position + definiteness restriction on the pivot object.

Interim summary: Across subject voice and object voice, we've seen that pivots have three common properties in CJI:
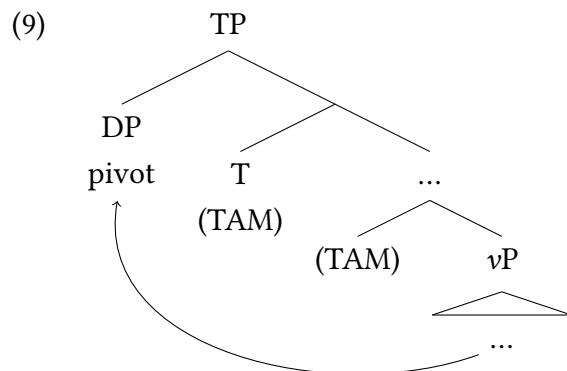
- Linear position: pivots are sentence-initial in declaratives

- Verbal morphology: Choice of pivot determines possibility of nasal prefix on the verb.

  - Notice that the bare stem form of the verb is compatible with both subject and object voice. Standard analyses do not account for this—I'll have something to say about this later in my own proposal.

- $\overline{\text{A}}$-extraction: The pivot is the only argument that may be $\overline{\text{A}}$-extracted

2.1 Standard analyses of Indonesian voice system

- Assume that subjects are introduced in Spec,vP and objects within VP.

(8)

```
          vP
         /  \
       DP    \
      agent  v   VP
               /  \
              V    DP
                  theme
```
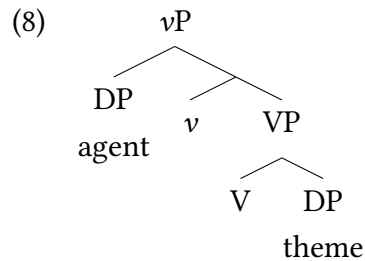
- The sentence-initial position of pivots in SI/SM is commonly analysed as the effect of **EPP on T** (requirement that Spec,TP be filled with one nominal DP) (Cole and Hermon (2005), Aldridge (2008) a.o.)

- In Spec,TP, pivots immediately precede auxiliaries, on the common assumption that TAM particles are hosted in T or found in some projection below TP and above vP.

- It is also in this position where the pivot DP is the highest DP in the clause, thus it is the only accessible DP for $\overline{A}$-extraction, assuming that $\overline{A}$-movement of DPs by C can only attract the closest/highest DP (Aldridge, 2004, 2008; Branan and Erlewine, 2022)

(9)

```
              TP
            /    \
         DP        \
        pivot  T      ...
              (TAM)   /  \
                  (TAM)   vP
                          /\
                          ...
```

- **In my own analysis,** I adopt the view that sentence-initial position is connected to EPP on T, but I argue that TAM particles are not only found above vP.

3 Proposal

3.1 Temporal adverbs and multiple attachment sites

▶ I suggest that TAM particles are actually **temporal adverbs** that adjoin to the structure, rather than heads that extend a projection in the clausal spine.

  – "Auxiliary" is a misnomer for TAM particles in CJI.

  – **In addition to a position above vP, these temporal adverbs may also adjoin to VP.** Crucially, this lower position is below the base-generated position of subjects.

(10)
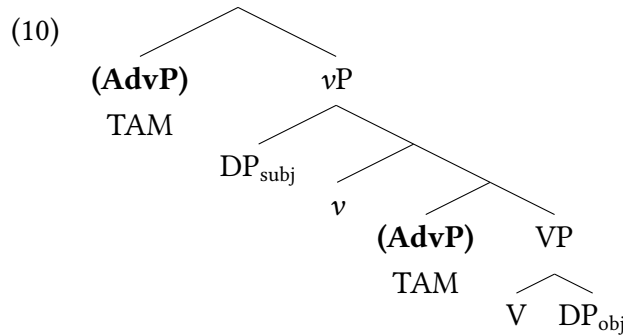
In fact, Winarto (2021) already considers the possibility that at least some TAM particles in CJI are adverbs (p. 17ff).

- TAM particles are generally able to co-occur and changing the ordering of temporal markers changes the meaning of the sentence.

- For Winarto, the flexibility in order of TAM particles and modals in CJI suggests that they can be adverbs at least some of the time.

(11) a. <u>Context:</u> Angga is just recently in a situation where he is eating some chicken.
Angga **baru** **lagi** makan ayam.
Angga REC.PERF PROG eat chicken

'Angga just started eating chicken.'

  b. <u>Context:</u> Angga is still in a situation where he just finished eating some chicken:
Angga **lagi** **baru** makan ayam.
Angga PROG REC.PERF eat chicken

'Angga just started eating chicken.' (CJI; Winarto 2021: 20)

Further suggestive evidence for TAM particles being adverbs comes from the fact that many TAM particles are felicitous as fragment answers to *when*-questions...

(12) Q: **Kapan** kamu datang?
       when   you   come

       'When did you get here?'

  A: **Baru**   aja.
       REC.PERF only

       Roughly: 'Only just.'

(13) Q: **Kapan** kelas=nya selesai?
       when   class=DET finish

       'When does the class end?'

  A: **Udah.**
       PERF

       Roughly, 'Already (finish).'

...akin to how English *when*-questions may be answered by true adverbs and not tense particles:
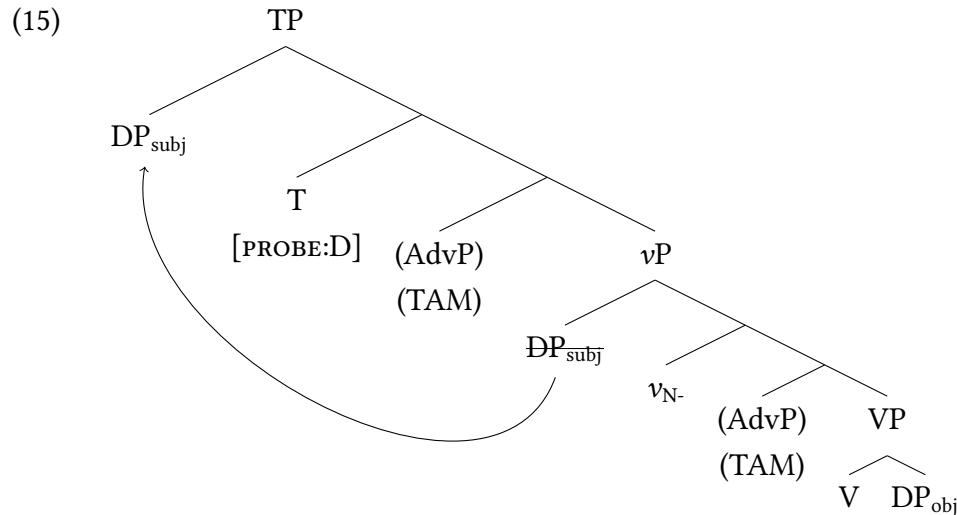
(14) Q: When is the carnival?
      A: ✓In the future/soon/tomorrow
      A': *will.

3.2   Optionality of nasal prefix

- Following Aldridge (2008), I assume that *N*- and Ø- morphemes on the verb correspond to two variants of the head *v*, varying in the presence of a movement-triggering probe.

- Contra Aldridge (2008), I propose that $v_\emptyset$ in CJI has an $\overline{\text{A}}$-probe, instead of a D-probe (see Keine and Zeijlstra (forthcoming) for a similar proposal for SI).

  - $v_{\text{N-}}$ has no movement-inducing probe: no re-arrangement of DPs in *v*P.
  - $v_{\emptyset\text{-}}$: contains a movement-inducing probe [PROBE:$\overline{\text{A}}$]

- Additionally, the $\overline{\text{A}}$-probe on $v_\emptyset$ need not necessarily find its goal. We will see how this explains the optionality of the nasal prefix in CJI.

Subject Voice derivation

- N- variant of *v* has no movement-inducing features: subject remains in Spec,*v*P and object as complement to V.

- Subject is the highest DP in the clause, so it is the only argument that is accessible by an $\overline{\text{A}}$-probe, following the standard view that $\overline{\text{A}}$-probing by C can only attract the highest DP (Aldridge, 2004, 2008; Branan and Erlewine, 2022).

(15)

```
                    TP
           ┌─────────┴──────────┐
      DP_subj                   │
                    ┌───────────┼──────────┐
                    T                       │
                [PROBE:D]   (AdvP)         vP
                            (TAM)    ┌──────┴──────┐
                                   DP̶_s̶u̶b̶j̶        │
                                          ┌────────┼────────┐
                                         v_N-               │
                                              (AdvP)       VP
                                              (TAM)      ┌──┴──┐
                                                        V    DP_obj
```

Recall: When the verb bears the nasal prefix, only the subject may be *wh*-extracted.

(16) Siapa yang (*t*) udah (*t*) m-beli buku? =**(5a)**
      who   C   PERF   sv-buy book

     'Who has bought a book? '

(17) a. *Apa yang Mia <u>udah</u> m-beli *t*? =**(5b,7b)**
          what C   Mia PERF   sv-buy

    b. *Apa yang <u>udah</u> Mia m-beli *t*? =**(7a)**
   what C   PERF   Mia sv-buy

      Intended: 'What has Mia bought?'

Under my analysis,

- (16) is ambiguous between a high-AdvP configuration and a low-AdvP configuration.

- Orders in (17) are ill-formed because object extraction is always incompatible with the nasal prefix that does not trigger object movement.

Object voice derivation

- $v_\emptyset$ probes for the closest DP bearing $[\overline{\text{A}}]$ in its domain, and moves it to outer Spec,vP.

- The object DP is therefore the structurally highest DP in a transitive clause.

(18)
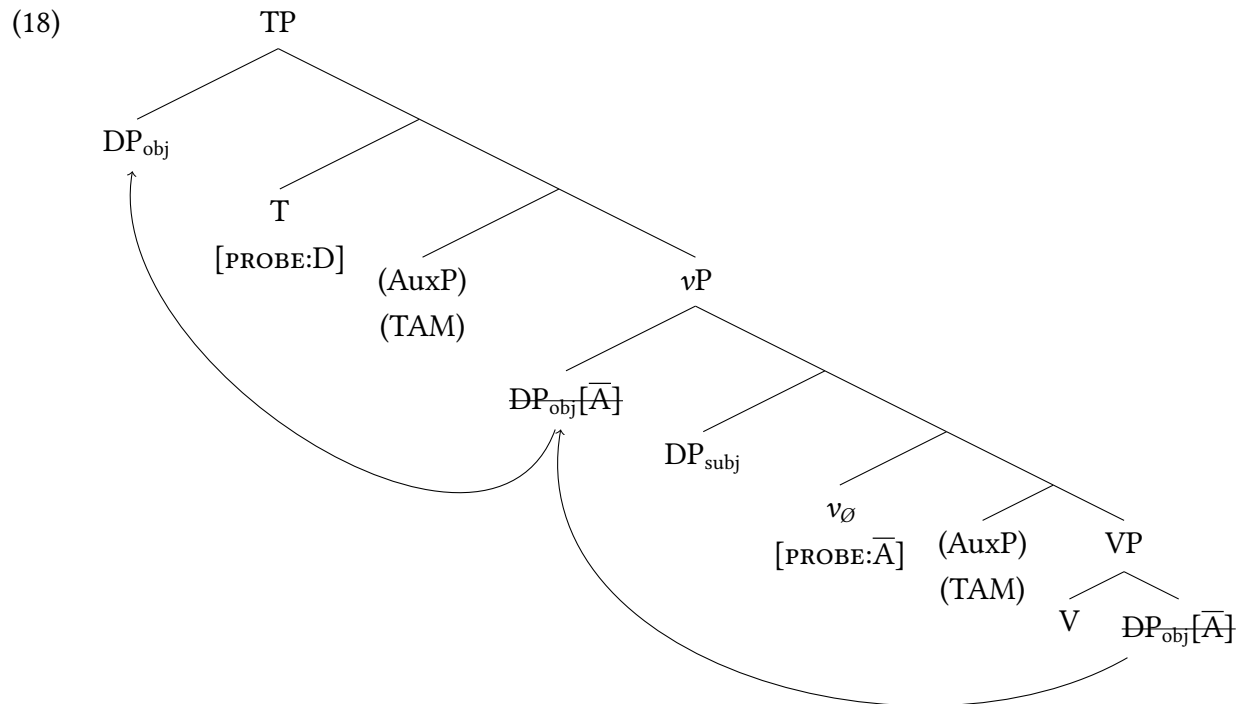
Recall: When the verb is in the bare stem, the object can always be extracted, regardless of the relative order of the subject and TAM.

(19) a. Apa   yang <u>lagi</u>   [$_{vP}$ t **Mia** beli]? =(7a)
           what C   PROG   Mia buy

  b. Apa   yang [$_{vP}$ t **Mia** <u>lagi</u>   beli]? =(7b)
      what C   Mia PROG buy

  'What is Mia buying?'

Under my analysis,

- (19a) corresponds to a high-AdvP structure.

- The crucial example (19b)/(7b) corresponds to a low-AdvP structure, where TAM is lower than the base-generated position of the subject (inner Spec,vP).

Note that subject extraction is always incompatible with object-fronting triggered by $v_\emptyset$:

(20) *Siapa yang $\boxed{\text{buku=nya}}$ <u>lagi</u> beli? =(7c)

   who   C   book=DET   PROG   beli

   Intended: Who is buying book?

Sometimes, the $\overline{\text{A}}$-probe on $v_\emptyset$ does not find its goal...

- This happens when the object DP does not bear an $\overline{\text{A}}$-feature. In this situation, the $\overline{\text{A}}$-probe does not find a goal and the derivation does *not* crash as a result (Preminger, 2014).

- No re-arrangement of DPs in vP, just like what happens with $v_{N\text{-}}$

(21)
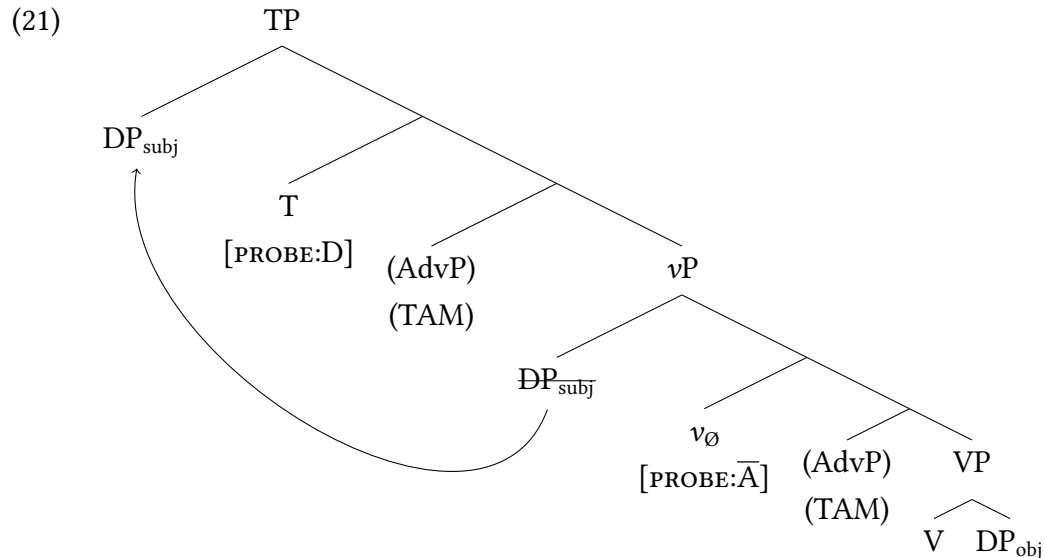
This explains the optionality of the nasal prefix in subject voice:

- Even in the absence of the nasal prefix, the subject may be the pivot and can undergo $\overline{\text{A}}$-extraction, **as long as the object is not fronted**, c.f. (20) which differs contrasts minimally in the position of the object.

(22)   **Subject extraction with Ø:**

   Siapa yang <u>lagi</u>   beli buku=nya? =(5a)

   who   C   PROG buy book=DET

   'Who will bring a book? '

In fact, this also explains why in CJI, either object in a double-object construction may be the pivot in OV, in contrast to SI where only the DO may be the pivot (Chung 1976).

(23) a. ⌈Buku=nya⌉ bakal Budi {*ng/✓k}asih murid=nya *t*
      book=DET FUT Budi (*N-)give student=DET

   b. ⌈Murid=nya⌉ bakal Budi {*ng/✓k}asih *t* buku.
      student=DET FUT Budi (*N-)give book

   'Budi will give the book to the student.'

(24) *Polisi itu saya serahkan sendjata saya *t*
   police that I surrender weapon my

   Intended: 'I surrendered my weapon to the police.'   (SI; Chung 1976: 48)

3.3   Evidence from scopal interactions between TAM and subject

Observation: Objects are able to reconstruct under *belom*, 'not yet'. Subjects unable to reconstruct under *belom*.

(25) *Context: Budi was tasked to transport all of his band's instruments to a performance venue. Budi's car is small, so he needs to make at least 3 trips. After the first trip, Budi hasn't transported all the instruments.* (Target scope: NEG>*all*-object)

   a. ✓S <u>Aux</u> V ***all*-O**
     Budi <u>belom</u> pindahin **semua alat musik=nya**.
     Budi NEG.PERF move all equipment music=DET

   b. ✓***all*-O** <u>Aux</u> S V
     Semua alat musik=nya <u>belom</u> Budi pindahin.
     all equipment music=DET NEG.PERF Budi move

   c. ✓***all*-O** S <u>Aux</u> V
     Semua alat musik=nya Budi <u>belom</u> pindahin.
     all equipment music=DET Budi NEG.PERF move

   'Budi hasn't moved all of the instruments'

(26) *Context: At a festival, it is customary for the elders to eat before other people eat the Tumpeng (an Indonesian rice dish). The feast started at noon. It is now 2pm, but we (the young people) still can't eat because not all of the elders have eaten.* (Target scope: NEG>*all*-subject)

    a. ✓***all*-S** <u>Aux</u> V O

        Semua orang tua <u>belom</u>   makan tumpeng=nya.

        all   people old NEG.PERF eat   tumpeng=DET

    b. ✓O <u>Aux</u> ***all*-S** V

        Tumpeng=nya <u>belom</u>   **semua orang tua** makan.

        Tumpeng=DET NEG.PERF all   people old eat

    c. # O ***all*-S** <u>Aux</u> V

        #Tumpeng=nya **semua orang tua** <u>belom</u>   makan.

        rice=DET   all   people old NEG.PERF eat

        Intended: "Not all of the elders have eaten the Tumpeng."

The contrast between (25) and (26) falls out from my proposal:

- Crucially, (26c) suggests that there is indeed a **low position for TAM particles below the lowest copy of the subject**, such that the subject may not scopally reconstruct under *belom.*

- In all of the other word orders in (25-26), there are available positions in the structure below *belom* for reconstruction of the subject or object.

4 Concluding remarks

- I claimed that in CJI, TAM particles are temporal adverbs that adjoin to *v*P or VP. In doing so, I maintained the view that object extraction is only possible in object voice, and there is no violation of the pivot-only restriction in CJI.

- I also proposed that the optionality of the nasal prefix in subject voice word orders is explained by the Ø-variant of *v* having an optionally satisfied $\overline{\text{A}}$-probe.

- Flexible word order between subject and TAM particles in CJI offer a different perspective on the long-stranding "*meN*-deletion" puzzle in Malayic languages.

Terima Kasih!

References available in the online handout: `tinyurl.com/new-lsa24`

References

Aldridge, Edith Catherine. 2004. Ergativity and word order in Austronesian languages. Doctoral Dissertation, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY.

Aldridge, Edith Catherine. 2008. Phase-based account of extraction in Indonesian. *Lingua* 118:1440–69.

Branan, Kenyon, and Michael Yoshitaka Erlewine. 2022. Ā-Probing for the Closest DP. *Linguistic Inquiry* .

Chung, Sandra. 1976. On the subject of two passives in Indonesian. In *Subject and topic*, ed. Charles Li, 57–98. New York: Academic Press.

Cole, Peter, and Gabriella Hermon. 2005. Subject and Non-subject Relativization in Indonesian. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 14:59–88.

Keine, Stefan, and Hedde Zeijlstra. forthcoming. Clause-internal successive cyclicity: phasality or DP intervention? *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* .

Nomoto, Hiroki. 2021. Bare Passive Agent Hierarchy. In *Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh Meeting of the Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association (AFLA)*, ed. Henrison Hsieh and Keely New, 57–70. University of Western Ontario.

Oetomo, Dede. 1990. The Bahasa Indonesia of the middle class. *Prisma* 50:69–79.

Preminger, Omer. 2014. *Agreement and its failures*, volume 68. Linguistic Inquiry Monographs.

Sato, Yosuke. 2012. Successive cyclicity at the syntax-morphology interface: Evidence from Standard Indonesian and Kendal Javanese. *Studia Linguistica* 66:32–57.

Sneddon, James Neil. 2006. *Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian.* Pacific Linguistics.

Soh, Hooi Ling. 1998. Certain restrictions on A-bar movement in Malay. In *Proceedings of the 3rd Conference of Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association (AFLA)*, ed. Matthew Pearson, 295–308. Department of LInguistics, UCLA.

Winarto, Ekarina. 2021. Word order: Case study of scrambling and object shift in indonesian. Doctoral Dissertation, Cornell University.