

Island-saving strategies and the suffix –ge in Tapus Minangkabau

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1

Some Background on Tapus

- Tapus is a variety of Minangkabau, a Malayic language spoken in West Sumatra province, Indonesia. It stands on the border between Minangkabau and Batak (Mandailing).
- Tapus has not been studied in any depth.

Sumatra

(adapted from Nothofer (1985) p.86)



3

Map of West Sumatra



Minangkabau Morphology

- Limited morphology (based on Moussay, 1998):
 - Nominalizing affixes: *-an, paN-*
 - Voice prefixes: *di-, maN-*
 - Limited applicative-type suffixes: *-i, -(k)an*
 - Productive reduplication with diverse functions: *padusi-padusi* ‘women’, *kudo-kudo* ‘horses’, *taba-taba* ‘very thick’, *jaleh-jaleh* ‘clearly’

Tapus

- Two main differences with Minangkabau
 - Pronominal object clitic

ana?	‘child’	> ana?ā	‘his/her child’
padi	‘unhusked rice’	> padii	‘his/her unhusked rice’
magrip	‘dusk’	> magripm	‘the dusk’
makan	‘eat’	> makan:	‘eat it; his/her eating’
 - A generalized applicative-like suffix *-ge*

Aims of the presentation

- Provide a basic description of the suffix *-ge*, comparing it to other applicative-type suffixes in Minangkabau and Indonesian
- Demonstrate that *-ge*, while superficially similar to Indonesian/Minangkabau applicative-like suffixes, exhibits unique functions/distributional properties.
- Develop an analysis that accounts for the unique properties of *-ge*.

Basic Semantic Properties of *-ge*

- *-ge* shows up in many of the same environments as Indonesian *-i* and *-kan*:
 - causative
 - benefactive
 - instrumental
 - applicative
 - locative object
 - except:** repetitive

Causative - Indonesian and Tapus *-ge*

Indonesian (Son and Cole, 2008:123)	Tapus
1. a. cangkirnya pecah. cup-3 broken 'The cup broke.'	2. a. cangkia-ã pocah cup-3 broken 'The cup broke.'
b. Janet memecah-kan cangkirnya. Janet meN-break-KAN cup-3 'Janet broke the cup.'	b. tono momocah-ge cangkia-ã Tono ACT.break-GE cup-3 'Tono broke the cup.'

Applicative- Indonesian and Tapus *-ge*

Indonesian (Son and Cole, 2008:124)	Tapus
3. a. Tika memanggang roti itu (untuk Eric). Tika meN-bake bread the for Eric 'Tika baked the bread (for Eric).'	4. a. ipo mongai? ro? untua? ana?-ã 3 ACT.sew skirt for child-3 'She sewed a skirt for her child.'
b. Tika memanggang-kan Eric roti itu. Tika meN-bake-KAN Eric bread the 'Tika baked the bread (for Eric).'	b. ipo mongai?-ge ana?-ã ro? 3 ACT.sew-GE child-3 skirt 'She sewed a skirt for her child.'

Instrumental- Indonesian and Tapus *-ge*

Indonesian (Sneddon, 1996:78)	Tapus
5. a. Dia memukul anjing dengan tongkat. 3 meN.hit dog with stick 'He hit the dog with a stick.'	6. a. ipo momoko? anjian zo tunjke? 3 ACT.hit dog with stick 'He hit the dog with a stick.'
b. Dia memukulkan tongkat pada anjing. 3 meN.hit-KAN stick to dog 'He used the stick to beat the dog with.'	b. ipo momoko?-ge tunjke? ko anjian 3 ACT.hit-GE stick to dog 'He hit the dog with a stick.'

Locative object – Indonesian and Tapus *-ge*

Indonesian (Sneddon, 1996:20)	Tapus
7. Mereka menanam kebun. they meN-plant-l garden 'They plant the garden.'	8. uraŋ-du monanam-ge kobun-du bataŋ coklat person-that ACT.plant-GE garden-that tree chocolate 'They plant chocolate trees in the garden.'

Object Marker Indonesian and Tapus *-ge*

Indonesian (Cole & Son, 2004:345)	Tapus
9. a. Ia merunding-kan rencana baru. 3SG meN-discuss-KAN plan new 'He discussed a new plan.'	10. a. uraŋ-du sodaŋ morundiaŋ person-that PROG ACT.discuss 'Those people were having a discussion.'
b. *Ia merunding rencana baru. 3SG meN.discuss plan new 'He discussed a new plan.'	b. uraŋ-du sodaŋ morundiaŋ-ge masalah du person-that PROG ACT.discuss-GE matter-that 'Those people were discussing that matter.'

What's special about *-ge*?

- We have seen that *-ge* can show up in environments similar to Indonesian *-i* and *-kan*, and Minangkabau *-i* and *-(k)an*.
- However, a closer look at *-ge* reveals that it differs from these other suffixes in interesting ways.
 - Optionality of *-ge* in particular environments (we do not discuss this in detail)
 - *Broader distribution: appears on complex predicates*
 - *Variable function (illustrated later by island constructions)*

Complex predicates

Indonesian	Tapus
11. a. Ali putus asa. Ali broken hope 'Ali is devastated.'	12. a. Ali putuyh aso Ali broken hope 'Ali is devastated'
b. *Ali memutus-asa-kan adiknya. Ali ACT.break-hope-KAN sibling 'Ali devastated his sibling.'	b. Ali momutuyh-aso-ge adi*?-ā Ali ACT.break-hope-GE sibling-3 'Ali devastated his younger sibling.'

Complex predicates

Indonesian	Tapus	
kerja keras *mengerjakeraskan	korejo koreh mojorejokoreh-ge	'work hard' 'make (someone) work hard'
pulang kampung *memulangkampungkan	pulang kampung momulangampung-ge	'return home to village' 'send (someone) to (their) home village'
angkat tangan *mengangkattangkankan	angke? tajan moŋanke?tajan-ge	'lift hands' (lit.) 'give up' (idiomatic) 'to make (someone) raise (their) hands' (no idiomatic meaning)
lepas tangan *melepastangkankan	lopeh tajan molopehtajan-ge	'release (one's) hand' (lit.) 'surrender responsibility' 'to surrender responsibility for (someone)'
sakit hati *menyakithatkan	saki? ati moŋaki?ati-ge	'feel insulted' 'make (someone) feel insulted'

Extraction Structures

- ge exhibits different functions based on the syntactic environment where it appears.
e.g. consider the function of -ge in the following words:
beraŋ 'angry' > beraŋ-ge 'scold'
putuyh aso 'devastated' > putuyhaso-ge 'to devastate someone'
sonaŋ 'happy/glad' > sonaŋ-ge 'to be pleasant'
- ...BUT, now we will see that, with the very same verbs, in certain complex structures involving extraction, -ge does NOT exhibit the 'causative/applicative' meaning.

Extraction structures:

- Some background:
 - Adjunct islands are not violated in Tapus
- 13. a. diyā putuyh aso de? iŋo monoko? adia? diyā
2SG broken hope because 3 ACT.hit younger.sibling 2SG
'You were devastated because she hit your younger sibling.'
- (Subject Extraction)
- b. *siapo_i jaŋ diyā putuyh aso de? ____i monoko? adia? diyā?
who REL 2SG broken hope because ACT-hit younger.sibling 2SG
'Who_i is it that you were devastated because (she_i) hit your younger sibling?'

Extraction structures:

- Some background:
 - Adjunct islands are not violated in Tapus
- 14. a. uma? beraŋ ko fadlul de? iŋo moŋojar ajam-du
mother angry to Fadlul because 3 ACT.chase chicken-that
'Mother was angry at Fadlul because he chased that chicken.'
- (Object Extraction)
- b. *apo_i jaŋ uma? beraŋ ko fadlul de? iŋo moŋojar ____i?
what REL mother angry to Fadlul because 3 ACT.chase?
'What is mother angry at Fadlul because he chased?'

Saving island with -ge:

- The insertion of -ge "saves" the previous island structure.
- 15. a. *siapo_i jaŋ diyā putuyh aso de? ____i monoko? adia? diyā?
who REL 2SG broken hope because ACT.hit younger.sibling 2SG
'Who_i is it that you were devastated because (she_i) hit your younger sibling?'
- b. siapo_i jaŋ diyā putuyh aso-ge de? ____i monoko? adia? diyā?
who REL 2SG broken hope-GE because ACT.hit younger.sibling 2SG
'Who_i is it that you were devastated because (she_i) hit your younger sibling?'

Note: putuyhaso-ge does not have a causative meaning

Saving islands with *-ge*:

16. a. *uma? beranj ko fadlul de? santi makan kue-du*
 mother angry to Fadlul because Santi eat cookies-that
 'Mother was angry at Fadlul because Santi ate those cookies.'
- b. **apo_i jan_i uma? beranj ko fadlul de? santi makan__₁ (du)?*
 what REL mother angry to Fadlul because Santi eat- (that)?
 'What was it that mother got angry at Fadlul because Santi ate (it)?'
- c. *apo_i jan_i uma? beranj-ge ko fadlul de? Santi makan__₁ (du)?*
 what REL mother angry-GE to Fadlul because Santi eat (that)?
 'What_i was it that mother got angry at Fadlul because Santi ate (it_i)?'

Note: *beranj-ge*
 does not mean
 'scold'

Tentative summary

- *-ge* appears to function like *-kan/-i* in Indonesian, but on further investigation it differs in several respects:
 - *-ge* can apply to complex predicates which do not take *-kan/-i* in Indonesian
 - *-ge* exhibits distinct functions that are conditioned by the syntactic environments in which it occurs
 - *-ge* can 'save' island structures

Extraction and the function of *-ge*

- What type of analysis could account for the distribution of *-ge*?
- We have seen that with normal predicates and complex predicates, the addition of *-ge* coincides with an additional object.

17. a. *tono momocah-ge caŋkia-ã*
 Tono ACT.break-GE cup-3
 'Tono broke the cup.'
- b. *Ali momutuyh-aso-ge adi*ʔ-ã*
 Ali ACT.break-hope-GE sibling-3
 'Ali devastated his younger sibling.'

- Now, let us look closer at 'saved' island constructions, where we find evidence that the addition of *-ge* also coincides with the generation of an object.

Discussion – Some background on Tapus Voice System

- In Tapus, in object voice constructions, the auxiliary must precede the subject.

18. a. *ajam-du lah gu kozar*
 chicken-that PAST 1.SG chase
 'The chicken has been chased by me.'
- b. **ajam-du gu lah kozar*
 chicken-that 1.SG PAST chase
 'The chicken has been chased by me.'

Discussion Some background on Tapus Voice System

- In active transitive and intransitive clauses the auxiliary must occur in the position between subject and verb.

19. a. agu lah moŋoʒar ajam-du
 1.SG PAST ACT.chase chicken-that
 'I have chased chicken.'
 b. *lah agu moŋoʒar ajam-du
 PAST 1.SG ACT.chase chicken-that
 'I have chased chicken.'

Discussion Some background on Tapus Voice System

- Moreover, in object voice clauses, the verb cannot exhibit the active ('nasal') prefix *mong-*

20. *ajam-du lah gu moŋoʒar
 chicken-that PAST 1.SG ACT.chase
 'That chicken has been chased by me.'

Discussion

- Notice that, in structures where *-ge* 'saves' an island, the matrix clause behaves like an object voice clause.

– The auxiliary must precede the subject

21. a. *siapo, jan ali lah putuyh aso-ge de? ____, monoko? adia?-ã?
 who REL Ali PAST broken hope-GE because ACT.hit younger.sibling-3
 'Who, is it that Ali was devastated because (she,) hit her younger sibling?'

– The verb must appear in its bare form

b. *siapo, jan lah diyā momutuyh aso-ge de? ____, monoko? adia? diyā?
 who REL PAST 2.SG ACT.broken hope-GE because ACT.hit younger.sibling 2.SG
 'Who, is it that you were devastated because (she,) hit your younger sibling?'

Discussion

- The fact that the matrix clause exhibits the properties of an object voice construction constitutes strong evidence that an object is generated in the matrix clause.
- We can explain the "saving" of the island in two ways: i.e. proleptic object construction (Davies, 2005) or subject-to-object-raising

Discussion

- So, we have seen that in all environments where we encounter *-ge* it is associated with the presence of a syntactic object.
- We adopt Son and Cole's (2008) analysis whereby the function of *-ge* is to license the presence of an additional syntactic argument, i.e. the semantic function of the suffix is determined by syntactic context.

Discussion

- However, we have seen that *-ge* appears in broader environments than Indonesian *-kan*, i.e. complex predicates and island 'saving' structures.
- Son and Cole (2008) claim that the semantic functions of *-kan* are predictable based on the clause internal syntactic argument structure.
- We propose that the semantic functions of Tapus *-ge* are also predictable based on the syntactic environment where the suffix occurs; however, *-ge* can occur on a wider variety of predicates (it is less lexically restricted than *-kan*), one consequence of its broader distribution is that *-ge* makes a strategy of 'bridging' island dependencies possible through the licensing of an object in matrix clauses.

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