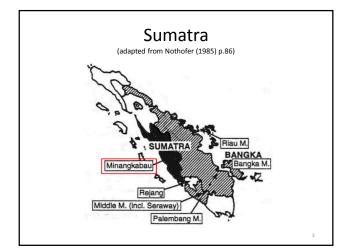
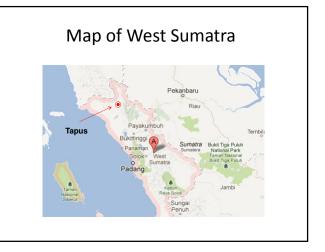


## Some Background on Tapus

- 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.





## 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', tabataba 'very thick', jaleh-jaleh 'clearly'

#### Tapus

#### • Two main differences with Minangkabau

– Pronominal object clitic 'child'

'dusk'

'eat'

ana?

padi

magrip

makan

- > ana?ã 'unhusked rice' > padiĩ > magripm > makan:
  - 'his/her child' 'his/her unhusked rice' 'the dusk' 'eat it; his/her eating'
- A generalized applicative-like suffix -ge

## Aims of the presentation

- Provide a basic description of the suffix -qe, 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.	2. a. cangkia-ā pocah	
cup-3 broken	cup-3 broken	
'The cup broke.'	"The cup broke."	
b. Janet memecah-kan cangkirnya.	b. tono momocah-ge caŋkia-ã	
Janet meN-break-KAN cup-3	Tono ACT:break-GE cup-3	
'Janet broke the cup.'	'Tono broke the cup.'	

Applicative- Indonesian and Tapus <i>-ge</i>		
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 mon3ai? 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 mon3ai?-ge ana?-ã ro? 3 ACT.sew-GE child-3 skirt 'She sewed a skirt for her child.'	

Instrumental- Indonesian and Tapus <i>-ge</i>		
Indonesian (Sneddon, 1996:78)	Tapus	
<ol> <li>a. Dia memukul anjing dengan tongkat.</li> <li>3 meN.hit dog with stick 'He hit the dog with a stick.'</li> </ol>	6. a. ipo momoko? anʒiaŋ ʒo tuŋke? 3 ACT.hit dog with stick 'He hit the dog with a stick.'	
<ul> <li>b. Dia memukulkan tongkat pada anjing.</li> <li>3 meN.hit-KAN stick to dog</li> <li>'He used the stick to beat the dog with.'</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>b. ipo momoko?-ge tuyke? ko an;ian</li> <li>3 ACT.hit-GE stick to dog</li> <li>'He hit the dog with a stick.'</li> </ul>	

# Locative object – Indonesian and Tapus -*ge*

 Indonesian (Sneddon, 1996:20)
 Tapus

 7. Mereka menanami kebun.
 8. ura

 they meN-plant-l garden
 per

 'They plant the garden.'
 'Th

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.'	
<ul> <li>b. *Ia merunding rencana baru.</li> <li>3SG meN.discuss plan new</li> <li>'He discussed a new plan.'</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>b. uraŋ-du sodaŋ morundiaŋ-ge masalah du person-that PROG ACT.discuss-GE matter-that 'Those people were discussing that matter.'</li> </ul>	

# 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	
<ol> <li>a. Ali putus asa.</li> <li>Ali broken hope</li> <li>'Ali is devastated.'</li> </ol>	<ol> <li>a. Ali putuyh aso</li> <li>Ali broken hope</li> <li>'Ali is devastated'</li> </ol>	
b. *Ali memutus-asa-kan adiknya. Ali ACT.break-hope-KAN sibling ('Ali devastated his sibling.')	b. Ali momutuyh-aso-ge adi <sup>a</sup> ?-ã Ali ACT.break-hope-GE sibling-3 'Ali devastated his younger sibling.'	

Complex predicates				
Indonesian	Tapus			
kerja keras *mengerjakeraskan	korejo koreh moŋorejokoreh-ge	'work hard' 'make (someone) work hard'		
pulang kampung *memulangkampungkan	pulang kampuang momulaŋkapuaŋ-ge	'return home to village' 'send (someone) to (their) home village'		
angkat tangan *mengangkattangankan	angke? taŋan moŋaŋke?taŋan-ge	'lift hands' (lit.) 'give up' (idomatic) 'to make (someone) raise (their) hands' (no idomatic meaning)		
lepas tangan *melepastangankan	lopeh taŋan molopehtaŋan-ge	'release (one's) hand' (lit.) 'surrender responsibility' 'to surrender responsibility for (someone)'		
sakit hati *menyakithatikan	saki? ati monaki?ati-ge	'feel insulted' 'make (someone) feel insulted'		
*menyakithatikan	mojiaki?ati-ge	'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:
 bɛraŋ 'angry' > bɛraŋ-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? ino 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; jaŋ diyã putuyh aso de? \_\_i monoko? adia? diyã? who REL 2SG broken hope because ACT-hit younger.sibling 2SG 'Who<sub>i</sub> is it that you were devastated because (she<sub>i</sub>) hit your younger sibling?'

## Extraction structures:

- Some background:
  - Adjunct islands are not violated in Tapus

14. a. uma? bɛraŋ 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<sub>i</sub> jaŋ uma? beraŋ ko fadlul de? ino 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. \*siapoi jaŋ diyã putuyh aso de? \_\_\_\_i monoko? adia? diyã? who REL 2SG broken hope because ACT.hit younger.sibling 2SG 'Whoi is it that you were devastated because (shei) hit your younger sibling?' b. siapo\_i jaŋ diyã putuyh aso-ge de? \_\_\_\_i monoko? adia? diyã? who REL 2SG broken hope-GE because ACT.hit younger.sibling 2SG 'Whoi is it that you were devastated because (shei) hit your younger sibling? Note: putuyhaso-ge does not have a causative meaning



#### 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

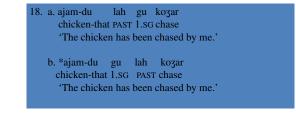
- What type of analysis could account for the distribution of -ge?
- We have seen that with normal predicates and complex predicates, the addition of *-ge* coincides with an additional object.

#### 17. a. tono momocah-ge caŋkia-ã Tono ACT.break-GE cup-3

- 'Tono broke the cup.'
- b. Ali momtuyh-aso-ge adi<sup>a</sup>?-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.



# 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 hav	e chas	ed chicken.'
b. *lah	agu	moŋoʒar ajam-du
PAST	1.SG	ACT.chase chicken-that
'I hav	e chas	ed 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<sub>i</sub> jaŋ ali lah putuyh aso-ge de? \_\_\_\_i monoko? adia?-ā? who RELAli PAST broken hope-GE because ACT.hit younger.sibling-3 'Who<sub>i</sub> is it that Ali was devastated because (she<sub>i</sub>) hit her younger sibling?'

- The verb must appear in its bare form

b. \*siapo<sub>i</sub> jaŋ lah diyā momutuyh aso-ge de? \_\_\_\_i monoko? adia? diyā? who REL PAST 2.SG ACT.broken hope-GE because ACT.hit younger.sibling 2.SG 'Who<sub>i</sub> is it that you were devastated because (she<sub>i</sub>) 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.

# Special Thanks

 Fitri, Fitria, Ade Putra, Santi Kurniati, Bradley Taylor, William Davies, David Gil, Uri Tadmor, Bernard Comrie, John Bowden, Doli Syahmandra, Heri Mudra, and other staff at MPI EVA Jakarta and Padang field stations.

## References

- Davies, W. (2005). Madurese prolepsis and its implications for a typology of raising. *Language 81 (3)*, pp. 645-665
- Moussay, G. (1998). *Tata Bahasa Minangkabau*. Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia.
- Sneddon, J.N. (1996). *Indonesian reference grammar*. New South Wales: Allen and Unwin.
- Son, M and Cole, P. (2008). An event-based Account of-kan construction in Standard Indonesian. *Language 84(1)*, pp. 120-160.