

Voice and Extraction in Tanjung Pauh Mudik Kerinci

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This paper will describe the voice system of Tanjung Pauh Mudik (TPM), a Malayic dialect spoken in the Kerinci valley in Jambi Province, Sumatra, Indonesia. The highly divergent Malayic dialects of Kerinci have only been described in a handful of publications mostly focusing on the Sungai Penuh dialect (Isman, 1958; Van Reijn, E.O., 1976/1990; Steinhauer & Usman, 1978; Joesnidar et.al., 1984; etc...). It is only now becoming clear how much variation is found in the dialects of this area.

Along with other Kerinci dialects, TPM is unique among Malayic languages because many lexical items in the language have two forms which differ in the pronunciation of their root-final syllable rime (e.g. timba? ~ timbã? 'shoot'). These alternate forms are termed "Absolute" and "Oblique" following Steinhauer & Usman (1978), who describe the alternation as it is manifested in the Sungai Penuh dialect. In this paper, we demonstrate that TPM manifests verbal morphology typical of a "symmetrical" or "Philippine-type" voice system. With few exceptions, in Philippine-type voice systems "gap" relativization is restricted to subjects. Furthermore, this restriction is predicted to be a necessary aspect of Philippine-type voice systems in a number of frameworks, among them Rackowski and Richards' (2005) and Cole Hermon and Yanti (2008). We find in TPM that non-subject nominal constituent extraction is allowed. In our paper we provide a detailed report on the voice and extraction facts, and examine the question of whether the correct synchronic analysis of the Absolute/Oblique distinction might provide an explanation for the unexpected possibility of non-subject "gap" extraction. Based on the distributions found, we argue that at least in verbs the Absolute/Oblique distinction constitutes agreement morphology. The apparent "gaps" found in non-subject relative clauses are in fact phonologically null pronouns, whose presence is licensed by the agreement morphology. Thus, according to our analysis it is the existence of the Absolute/Oblique distinction that makes apparent non-subject "gap" relativization.

The claim that the apparent "gaps" are really phonologically null pronouns makes predictions about other aspects of TPM grammar. In particular, it predicts that relativization into Ross islands should be possible. In sharp contrast to other varieties of Malayic that do not manifest the Absolute/Oblique distinction, this prediction is confirmed.

References:

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Appendix: Supporting Data

(1) Examples Illustrating the Absolute/Oblique Distinction in Verbs

Sample TMP Kerinci verbs and their alternating forms:

English	Standard Indonesian	TPM	
		Absolute Form	Oblique form
'to eat'	makan	maka	makən
'to pinch'	cubit	sibət	sibit
'to help'	tolong	tulə	tuləŋ

Sample sentences with the Absolute/Oblique verb forms:

Absolute Form: (without direct object)

ka ndəoʔ **maka** minən lah.
 1sg.N FUT **eat.A** now.N just.N
 'I am going to eat right now.'

Oblique form: (with/without direct object)

ka ndəoʔ **makən** nasə minən lah
 1sg.N FUT.N **eat.O** rice.A now.N just.N
 "I am going to eat rice right now."

*ka ndəoʔ **maka** nasə minən lah
 1sg.N FUT.N **eat.O** rice.A now.N just.N

(2) Non-subject "gap" extraction in TPM

sapo (ŋən) Heri nimbəoʔ.
 who.N (REL.N)Heri N-shoot.O
 'Who did Heri shoot?'

badut ŋən Heri nimbəoʔ tah tiŋgə.
 clown.N REL.N Heri N-shoot.O DEM.N tall.A.
 'That clown that Heri shot is tall.'

(3) Data Illustrating Relativization into Ross Islands in TPM:

Relative clause island:

ha yantən ŋən ka suwo ha tinəo tah nimbəoʔ mata.
 Class.N male.O REL 1sg.N meet.N Class female.O DEM.N N-shoot.O die.A
 'The man that I met the woman who shot (him) died.'

Adjunct island:

t^wəo ŋən Tim naŋəh karnəo Mila ŋət dijuwən piw? jəh.
 car.N REL.N Tim.N cry.A cause.N Mila.N N-paint.O DI-sell.N father.O 3.N
 'The car that Tim cried because Mila painted (it) was sold by her father.'

Glossing:

N- = Nasal "agent voice" prefix
 N = Non-alternating root
 DI- = passive prefix
 .O = Oblique form
 .A = Absolute form

