

Indonesian Topicalization as Instances of Scrambling

Ekarina Winarto – ew385@cornell.edu Cornell University

Object Preposing

- While Chung (1976) groups together all cases of Object preposing as instances of passivization, subsequent work (Arka et al. 1998) differentiates between two cases of object fronting:
- (i) bare passive; and
- (ii) topicalization.
- The difference between the two is marked by the position of the aspectual marker relative to the subject.
- In cases of bare passive, the aspectual marker is to the left of the subject (1). The external argument stays low in Spec, vP; it is not raised to Spec,TP the subject position above Aspect.
- In cases of Topicalization, the aspectual marker is to the right of the subject (2), the agentive subject does move to Spec,TP; followed by movement of the topicalized object to a position in the left periphery.
- This derives the different positioning of the aspectual markers.
- (1) Buku itu sudah John baca book that PERF John read 'The book has been read by John'
- (2) Buku itu John sudah baca. book that John PERF read 'That book, John has read'
- Saito (1989) argues that there are crucial differences between topicalization and scrambling: (i) Scrambling should be able to apply more than once within a single clause; (ii) Scrambling should be able to get "undone" in LF, (iii) Scrambling can induce ambiguity in quantifier scope, and (iv) It should also be sensitive to islands.
- Interestingly, Indonesian "Topicalization" shows these characteristics normally attributed to scrambling.

Multiple Application

- Sentence (3) shows a case of "Topicalization" for a ditransitive clause (Aspect marker following the subject).
- Sentence (4) shows that it is possible to front the PP 'to Rina' over the already fronted object in (3).
- (3) Buku –nya saya sudah berikan ke Rina book DEF I FUT give to Rina 'The book, I have given to Rina'
- (4) Ke Rina, buku –nya, saya sudah berikan to Rina book DEF I FUT give 'To Rina, the book, I have given'

Summary

- Chung (1976)'s seminal paper "On the Subject of two Passives in Indonesian," established that there are two passive constructions in Indonesian, the canonical passive with di- and the bare passive with unprefixed verbs.
- It is also generally accepted that bare passive can be clearly distinguished from Topicalization in Indonesian.
- Here, I argue that what has been called "Topicalization" actually has properties of scrambling in Indonesian by showing that: (i) it can apply more than once, (ii) can be "undone" in LF, (iii) can induce ambiguity in quantifier scope and (iv) is sensitive to islands.

Weak Crossover

- (5) ??? Anaknya sendiri; akan siapapun; cintai Child-his self FUT whoever love 'His own child will be loved by anyone'
- (6) ??? Anaknya sendiri_i akan siapa_i benci? Child-his self FUT who hate 'His own child will be loved by whom?'
- (7) Anake dewe pasti sapa wae tresno Child self surely who ever love 'Everyone loves a certain person's child'
- (8) ? Anaknya sendiri_i siapapun_i akan cintai Child-his self whoever FUT love 'His own child, whoever will love'
- (9) ? Anaknya sendiri_i siapa_i akan benci? child-his self who FUT hate 'His own child, who will love?'
- (10) Anake dewe sapa wae pasti tresno
 Child self who ever surely love
 'Everyone loves their own child'

Javanese

Javanese

- In the bare passive examples (5) and (6) we observe clear WCO effects, indicating that the DP containing the pronoun sendiri occupies an A position to the left of the quantifier.
- In contrast, the Topicalization examples in (8–9) trigger a weaker, or for some speakers, no WCO effect.
- The relative absence of a WCO effect suggests that Indonesian Topicalization may be comparable to Japanese Scrambling (Saito 1989), in that it can be "undone" at LF.
- In contrast bare passive in (5–6), as an instance of A-movement, cannot be undone to rescue the WCO violation.

Quantifier Scope

- Indonesian Topicalization can also induce quantifier ambiguity, like its Japanese scrambling counterpart (Kuroda 1992).
- (11) Dua orang murid sudah baca semua buku -nya two CL student PERF read all book DEF 'Two students read all the books'
- (12) Semua buku -nya dua orang murid sudah baca all book DEF two CL student PERF read 'All books have been read by two students'
- In sentence (11) the only possible reading is the one where only 2 students have read all the books.
- In sentence (12) there is an ambiguity; we get the reading that we have in (11) or the other reading where for every book, there are 2 students who have read it.

Sensitivity to Islands

- Scrambling is sensitive to islands, and (13) is ungrammatical because the complex NP constraint is violated.
- (13) * Buku itu, saya tidak kenal orang yang tulis.
 book that I NEG know person that write
 'I do not know the person who wrote that book.'
- In contrast, there is a resumptive pronoun in (14); the RC-internal verb can carry the "meN-" prefix, indicating that there is no movement of the internal object out of the RC-internal vP, so (14) is likely an instance of left dislocation.
- (14) Buku itu, saya tidak kenal orang yang **men-**ulis -nya book that I NEG know person that write it 'That book, I do not know the person who wrote it'
- Data on what has been traditionally called Indonesian Topicalization can be re-analyzed as instances of scrambling.
- Accounts that connect scrambling to SOV word order (Fukui 1993), lack of definite article (Bošković 2004) or rich morphological marking cannot account for this data in Indonesian because the language has an SVO word order and also a definite article (Winarto 2016).

References

Arka, I. W., Manning, C., et al. (1998). Voice and grammatical relations in Indonesian: A new perspective. Bošković, Ž. (2004). Topicalization, focalization, lexical insertion, and scrambling. Linguistic Inquiry. Chung, S. (1976). On the subject of two passives in indonesian. Subject and topic. Fukui, N. (1993). Parameters and optionality. Linguistic inquiry. Kuroda, S.-Y. (1992). Remarks on the notion of subject with reference to words like also, even, and only. Saito, M. (1989). Scrambling as semantically vacuous a'-movement. Winarto, E. (2016). The indonesian dp.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT: I would like to thank my advisor, John Whitman, for discussion and guidance.