Information structure and syntactic choices in Kelabit

Charlotte Hemmings, University of Oxford
charlotte.hemmings@ling-phil.ox.ac.uk

1. Introduction

❖ This paper investigates the role of information structure in determining syntactic choices in Kelabit, a Western Austronesian language spoken in Northern Sarawak (Kroeger 1998).

❖ The syntactic choices explored are:
  ➢ voice construction
  ➢ word order
  ➢ case form of pronouns

❖ Like other Western Austronesian languages, Kelabit has SYMMETRICAL VOICE alternations:

(1)   *Kelabit*
  a. **Actor Voice**
     Nengelaak   *nuba'*   **tesineh nedih.**
     PFV.AV.cook   rice   mother 3SG.POSS
     'Her mother cooked rice.'

  b. **Undergoer Voice**
     Linaak   *tesineh nedih*   **nuba'**.
     PFV.UV.cook   mother 3SG.POSS   rice
     'Her mother cooked rice.' (elicitation, fieldnotes)

❖ These allow different mappings of arguments to functions without changes to the syntactic transitivity (Riesberg 2014):

Actor Voice: Actor = **Subject,** Undergoer = *Object*
Undergoer Voice: Undergoer = **Subject**, Actor = *Object*

❖ Kelabit also has flexible word order for the subject, which can occur either pre- or post-verbally. The object always follows the verb.
❖ In actor voice, VSO order is also possible but less frequent than the other word orders

(2)   *Kelabit Word Order in Actor Voice*
  a. **SVO**
     La'ih sineh ne-kuman   *bua'   kaber.*
     man   DEM   PFV-AV.eat   fruit   pineapple
     'The man ate pineapple.'

b. **VOS**

Ne-kuman	*bua'*	*kaber*	**la'ih**	**sineh**.
PFV-AV.eat	fruit	pineapple	man	DEM

'The man ate pineapple.'

c. **VSO**

Ne-kuman	**la'ih**	**sineh**	*bua'*	*kaber*.
PFV-AV.eat	man	DEM	fruit	pineapple

'The man ate pineapple.'

Kelabit Word Order in Undergoer Voice

d. **SVO**

Bua'	kaber	kinan	la'ih	sineh
Fruit	pineapple	UV.PFV.eat	man	DEM

'The man ate pineapple.'

e. **VOS**

kinan	la'ih	sineh	bua'	kaber	dih
UV.PFV.eat	man	DEM	fruit	pineapple	DEM

'The man ate the pineapple' (elicitation, fieldnotes)

❖ In general, UV tend to be verb-initial and AV clauses are generally SVO by default.
❖ Clause-final subjects are typically definite/given.
❖ There are two other word order constructions that allow information to be expressed in a pre-verbal position: hanging topic constructions & focus fronting:

(3) *Kelabit Hanging Topic Constructions*

a.

Paul	kedieh,	nekuman	*bua'*	*ebpuk*	**t=ieh**
Paul	EMPH.3SG	AV.PFV.eat	fruit	passion	PT=3SG.NOM

'As for Paul, he ate passion fruit'

b.

Bua'	ebpuk	suk	na'ah	ih,	kinan	*Paul*	**n=idih**
fruit	passion	REL	afore	PT	UV.PFV.eat	Paul	PT=DEM

'As for the passionfruit, Paul ate it.' (elicitation, fieldnotes)

(4) *Kelabit Focus Fronting*

a.

Peter	teh	suk	kuman	*bua'*	*kaber*
Peter	PT	REL	AV.eat	fruit	pineapple

'It was Peter who ate the pineapple'

b.

Bua'	**kaber**	teh	kinan	*Peter*
fruit	pineapple	PT	UV.PFV.eat	Peter

'It was pineapple that Peter ate' (elicitation, fieldnotes)

❖ Finally, Kelabit has DIFFERENTIAL ACTOR MARKING in the undergoer voice construction.
❖ The expected case-marking in Western Austronesian is summarised in Table 1:

Table 1. Case-Marking in Western Austronesian

	Actor	**Undergoer**
ACTOR VOICE	NOM	OBL
UNDERGOER VOICE	GEN	NOM

❖ Kelabit does not have OBL case for actor voice undergoers.
❖ Moreover, in Kelabit UV constructions both NOM and GEN alternate as a means of expressing UV actors:

(5)   *Kelabit Differential Actor Marking*
   a.   **Undergoer Voice (GEN actor)**
      Seni'er   *kuh*   **t=ieh**
      UV.see   1SG.GEN   PT=3SG.NOM
      'I saw him'

   b.   **Undergoer Voice (NOM actor)**
      Seni'er   *uih*   **t=ieh**
      UV.see   1SG.NOM   PT=3SG.NOM
      'I saw him'

❖ Consequently, speakers make syntactic choices in terms of VOICE, WORD ORDER, and CASE FORM when expressing transitive events.
❖ Since information structure is known to affect these choices in other languages, we can ask whether information structure plays a role in determining syntactic choices in Kelabit?

2. Information Structure
❖ Information structure can be understood as a formal mechanism for facilitating effective information exchange or update (Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011, Erteschik-Shir 2007)
❖ Information is essentially built up of propositions, structured according to what the hearer is presupposed to know, and what they are to learn as a result of communication.
❖ The most important and well-defined roles cross-linguistically are TOPIC and FOCUS (Krifka 2008, Lambrecht 1994: 127, 213):

      Information Structure Roles
   ➢ **Topic**
      An entity that the speaker identifies and about which a proposition is made.

   ➢ **Focus**
      The informative part of the proposition that makes an utterance into an assertion and indicates the presence of alternatives.

❖ We can partition clauses into a) topic vs comment and b) focus vs background.

❖ These are identified in Kelabit using the following methods:
  ➢ Information structure DIAGNOSTIC TESTS and grammaticality judgements (cf. Lambrecht 1994, Van der Wal 2016)
  ➢ Analysing examples in context in a NATURALISTIC TEXT CORPUS (Hemmings 2019)
  ➢ Using the 'unhappy rats' TRANSLATION TASK in which the same sentence is presented for translation in differing information structure contexts (Latrouite & Riester 2018).

3. Word Order & Information Structure

❖ Fronting can be used as a means of ordering focus before background (6):

(6)   *Kelabit*
     Context: 'Did Andy hit John yesterday?' No…

a.   [**Paul**]focus   teh   suk   nemupu'   *ieh*
     Paul   PT   REL   PFV.AV.hit   3SG.NOM
     'It was Paul who hit him (John)'   [narrow focus on actor]

b.   [**Paul**]focus   teh   suk   pinupu'   *neh*
     Paul   PT   REL   PFV.UV.hit   3SG.GEN
     'It was Paul that he (Andy) hit'   [narrow focus on undergoer]

c.   [nemepag   *Paul*]focus   **teh=ieh**
     AV.PFV.slap   Paul   PT=3SG.NOM
     'He (Andy) slapped Paul'   [predicate focus on verb+undergoer]

d.   [pipag   *uih*]focus   **teh=ieh**
     UV.PFV.slap   1SG.NOM   PT=3SG.NOM
     'I slapped him (John)'   [predicate focus on verb+actor]

e.   [edto   ma'un]focus   **teh=ieh**   nemupu'   *ieh*
     day   before   PT=3SG.NOM   AV.PFV.hit   3SG.NOM
     'It was the the day before yesterday that he hit him' [narrow focus on adjunct]
     (elicitation, fieldnotes)

❖ These orders place focus before background information as is common in languages that follow the PRINCIPLE OF NEWSWORTHINESS (Mithun 1992)
❖ However, there is no one-to-one link between position and information structure role, since it is not only initial subjects that can be focused.
❖ *In-situ* object can also have a narrow focus reading (7) and basic order AV clauses are ok in most contexts (8).

(7) *Kelabit*
     Context: Did Andy hit John yesterday? No…

a. **Focused Undergoer**
    nemupu'   [*Paul*]_{focus}   **t=ieh**
    AV.PFV.hit Paul   PT=3SG.NOM
    'He hit Paul'

b. **Focused Actor**
    pinupu'   [*Paul*]_{focus}   **t=ieh**
    UV.PFV.hit Paul   PT=3SG.NOM
    'Paul hit him.'

c. **Focused Adjunct**
    pinupu'   *neh*   [edto ma'un]_{focus}   **t=ieh**
    UV.PFV.hit 3SG.GEN   day   before   PT=3SG.NOM
    'It was the day before that he hit him' (elicitation, fieldnotes)

(8) *Kelabit*
a. **Narrow Focus on Undergoer**
Q. kuman *enun*   **t=ieh**?
    AV.eat what   PT=3SG.NOM?
    'What is he eating?'

A. neh   **ieh**   kuman   [*bua' kaber*   *neh*]_{focus}
    DEM   3SG.NOM   AV.eat   fruit   pineapple   DEM
    'He is eating the pineapple'

b. **Broad Focus on Verb+Undergoer**
Q. naru' *enun*   **Peter**?
    AV.do what   Peter?
    'What is Peter doing?'

(1) neh   **Peter**   [kuman   *bua'* *kaber*]_{focus}
    DEM   Peter   AV.eat   fruit   pineapple
    'Peter is eating pineapple'

c. **Sentence Focus**
Q. Kapeh tebey'?
    how   actually
    'What happened?'

A. [nih **Peter**   kuman   *bua' kaber*   *nedih*]_{focus}
    DEM   Peter   AV.eat   fruit   pineapple   3SG.POSS
    'Peter is eating pineapple' (elicitation, fieldnotes)

❖ Moreover, the same information structure context can prompt speakers to choose different word orders:

(9) *Kelabit Unhappy Rats*
Context: *Cats are so aggressive.* <u>*They chase squirrels. They chase birds*</u>*. Some even chase dogs. I heard that cats were seen chasing a small kangaroo in Australia.* <u>*They also chase rats*</u>*, of course. But that is good.*

   a.   **AV SVO**
Ideh ngalo labo puur. Ideh ngalo manuk […]
'They chase squirrels, they chase birds'

ideh	peh	ngalo	labo i'eyk	meto'
3PL.NOM	PT	AV.chase	rat	as.well

'They also chase rats'

   f.   **AV VSO**
Ngalo tideh labo puur. Ngalo tideh manuk […]
'They chase squirrels, they chase birds'

ngalo	t=ideh	labo i'eyk	meto'
AV.chase	PT=3PL.NOM	rat	as.well

'They also chase rats'

   g.   **AV VOS**
Metanur	labo puur	n=ideh.
AV.chase	squirrel	PT=3PL.NOM

'They chase squirrels'

Metanur manuk nideh […] kineh tideh metanur labo i'eyk
'they chase birds […] they also chase rats'

   h.   **UV VOS**
Tu'en deh metanur teh labo puur. Tu'en deh metanur teh manuk […]
'They chase squirrels, they chase birds'

Tu'en	deh	metanur	ayu'	teh	labo i'eyk.[1]
UV.IRR.DO	3PL.GEN	AV.chase	EMPH	PT	rat

'They really/also chase rats' (unhappy rats translation task)

❖ Hence, all the different word orders in AV, as well as UV constructions, can be used in a context where the actor is a continuing topic.
❖ Consequently, word order can be used as a strategy to mark information structure and in particular fronting can be used to indicate the focus of a sentence.

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[1] Nb. This is an alternative periphrastic strategy for expressing undergoer voice using the UV irrealis form of the verb 'to do' *tu'en* + actor + AV.verb + undergoer.

6

❖ But there is no one-to-one link between word order, grammatical function and information structure role.

4. Differential Marking

❖ As in other languages (Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011, Witzlack-Makarevich & Seržant 2018), differential marking in Kelabit appears to be triggered by information structure.

❖ GEN actors in UV are typically continuing topics (as would be expected of actors/pronouns (Witzlack-Makarevich & Seržant 2018: 11):

(10) *Kelabit*
Context: story about Dayang Beladan, a turtle who had her prized instrument stolen by a monkey. She now has her instrument back but has spotted the monkey again…

Nalap   [*neh*]_{topic}   **pupu'**
UV.PFV.fetch   3SG.GEN   hitting.implement
'She [Dayang Beladan] fetched something to hit with'

Nukab   [*neh*]_{topic}   **bubpu'**   **daan**
UV.PFV.open   3SG.GEN   door   hut
'Opened the door to the hut'

Nalap   [*neh*]_{topic}   **dteh**   **kayuh**
UV.PFV.fetch   3SG.GEN   one   stick
'Picked up a piece of wood'

Nulin   [*neh*]_{topic}   **kuyad**   **sineh**
UV.PFV.throw   3SG.GEN   monkey   DEM
'And threw it at the monkey' (folk story, PDA10112013CH_01)

❖ NOM actors in UV constructions mark a contrastively focused actor *and* an undergoer topic:[2]

(11) *Kelabit*
Context: discussing necklaces made by the speaker and the speaker's aunt. Pointing to a particular necklace on the table…

'I've known how to make necklaces since I was young, I used to string beads following a great aunt of mine […] She would make bead caps in the past, of orange beads. I'd watch her doing it. Then I'd make my own orange bead cap'

a. Kayu' inih,   senuuk   [*uih*]_{focus}   **neh**.
   Like   DEM   UV.PFV.string   1SG.NOM   DEM
   'Like this one, I strung that [pointing to the bead cap on the table].'

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[2] The use of NOM actors in UV constructions was infrequent in the narrative corpus I analysed, containing six pear story retellings, five traditional folk stories and 3 news reports. It may be more common in conversational data.

(12)   *Kelabit*
Setu'uh   neh,   nalap   [*ieh*]focus   **t=ieh**
actually   DEM   UV.PFV.take   3SG.NOM   PT=3SG
'But actually *he* took it'

❖ The link between NOM and contrastive focus, and GEN and topic status, is confirmed by looking at information structure diagnostic tests.
❖ In contexts where the actor is in focus (13), NOM is preferred. In contexts where the actor is a topic (14), GEN is preferred:

(13)   *Kelabit Actor = Focus*
  a.   **Context: who saw him?**
        Seni'er   [*uih*]focus   **t=ieh**
        UV.PFV.saw   1SG.NOM   PT=3SG.NOM
        'I saw him' (*kuh)

  b.   **Context: fight over who hit some third person first…**
        Pinupu'   [*uih*]focus   **t=ieh**   pu'un, am   dih   iko
        UV.PFV.hit   1SG.NOM   PT=3SG.NOM   first   NEG   DEM   2SG.NOM
        'I hit him first, not you' (i.e. you didn't hit him first) (*kuh)

(14)   *Kelabit Actor = Topic*
        Context: Once upon a time there were two people. One was called Peter. One was called Paul. Peter ate a pineapple…
        [Paul   kedieh]topic,   kinan   *neh*   **bua'   ebpuk**
        Paul   3SG.EMPH   UV.PFV.eat   3SG.GEN   fruit   passion
        'As for Paul, he ate the passion fruit' (*ieh)

❖ Consequently, the use of NOM actors in UV is licensed by contrastive focus.
❖ This conforms to a common pattern of DIFFERENTIAL ACTOR MARKING cross-linguistically (Fauconnier 2011, Fauconnier & Verstraete 2014, McGregor 2010, Witzlack-Makarevich & Seržant 2018)
❖ Nonetheless, not all topics in Kelabit are GEN marked since subject pronouns are in NOM case.
❖ Moreover, the use of NOM actors in UV is not the only means of marking a contrastively focused actor – they can also be fronted in an AV construction:

(15)   *Kelabit Contrasted Actor*
        Context: 'If I don't hold up the ceiling, it will fall in, he said.'

        Actor Voice
  a.   Uih   teh   ne-ngimet   inih   keneh
        1SG.NOM   PT   PFV-AV.hold   DEM   he.said
        'I am the one holding this [the ceiling] up, he said (and not anyone else).'
        (folk story, BAR17082014CH_06)

❖ Thus there is no one-to-one link between form and information structure but a marked construction (NOM actor in UV) can be used as a strategy to convey a marked information structure reading.

5. Voice Construction
   ❖ A long-standing question among Austronesianists is what determines voice choice and whether this is linked to information structure (see Chen & McDonnell 2019 for an overview)
   ❖ In Kelabit, voice interacts with word order and differential marking since only subjects can appear pre-verbally and DAM is restricted to UV. Thus, information structure may determine voice choice if speakers wish to use marked constructions.
   ❖ However, it is not the case that voice (i.e. the mapping of arguments to functions) is determined by information structure or the role of the 'subject' as topic or focus.
   ❖ This is evident from the previous two sections, which showed that:
      ➢ Different word orders within AV or UV can be associated with different focus-background partitions (see section 3)
      ➢ Different case-forms within UV can be associated with different information structure roles for the non-privileged argument (see section 4).
   ❖ Nonetheless, it may be that the use of AV/UV is preferred in certain information structure contexts, as has been argued for other Western Austronesian languages (Latrouite & Riester 2018)
   ❖ To explore this, I used the unhappy rats translation task in which there are several short paragraphs for speakers to translate.
      ➢ The first 6 paragraphs repeat the sentence 'cats chase rats' in different information structure contexts. In this case, actor and undergoer are both indefinite and generic.
      ➢ The second 6 paragraphs repeat the sentence 'my sister kicked my dog' in different information structure contexts. In this case, the actor and undergoer are definite.

   ❖ Latrouite & Riester (2018) argue that information structural prominence is a key factor in voice choice in Tagalog. They define prominence as having a non-default mapping whereby the default for actors = topic, and the default for undergoers = focus. This leads to the following hypotheses:
      ➢ If the undergoer has a non-default mapping (topic), UV is preferred
      ➢ If actor has a non-default mapping (focus), AV is preferred
      ➢ If both actor & undergoer have default mappings, voice choice is determined by other parameters (e.g. the definiteness of the undergoer)
      ➢ If both actor & undergoer have non-default mappings, the focality of the actor appears to be more prominent and AV is preferred.
      ➢ Non-default mappings may also be expressed using word order/ marked constructions rather than through voice choice alone.

   ❖ A similar case could be made for Kelabit…

Table 2. Unhappy Rats Results (Generic Undergoer)

Context	AV	UV
1. U = topic, V+A = new	5	1
2. U = topic, V = given, A = contrasted	2	4
3. A = topic, V+U = new	4	2
4. A+U = contrasted, V = given	5	1
5. All focus	5[3]	0
6. A = topic, U = contrasted, V = given	5	1
	26/35	**9/35**

Table 3. Unhappy Rats Results (Definite Undergoer)

Context	AV	UV
1. U = topic, A+V = new	6	0
2. U = topic, A = contrasted	6	0
3. A = topic, V+U = new	1	5
4. All focus	6	0
5. A = topic, U = contrasted, V = given	1[4]	4
6. A+U = topic, V = new	0	6
	20/35	**15/35**

❖ In contexts 1 & 2, both actor & undergoer have non-default mappings. The hypothesis from Tagalog was that this would prompt AV and this generally applies in Kelabit too:

   (16)   **Actor Voice**

Kineh	teh	kinanak	dedtur	kudih	nemetey'	ieh
Like.that	PT	sibling	girl	1SG.POSS	PFV.AV.kick	3SG.NOM

      'My sister also kicked him'

❖ The exception is context 2 with the generic undergoer where a number of consultants chose UV constructions. However, in almost all of these, the contrasted actor is expressed as a hanging topic. This may represent the givenness of the undergoer and the contrasted status of the actor:

   (17)   **Undergoer Voice + Actor Hanging Topic**

Useyng	peh,	debpen	deh	teh	labo	i'eyk
cat	PT	UV.IRR.catch	3PL.GEN	PT	rat	

      'Cats, they also catch rats'

❖ In all focus contexts, e.g. 5 for generic undergoers and 4 for definite undergoers, where the actor has a non-default status, only AV constructions were used:

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[3] One speaker forgot to translate this sentence in the paragraph

[4] One clause expressed using a non-voice marked verb.

(18)   **Actor Voice**
Mey   teh kinanak dedtur kudih   nemetey'   uku' kudih   kail-kail
and   PT sibling girl   1SG.POSS   PFV.AV.kick dog 1SG.POSS hard-REDUP
'And my sister kicked my dog very badly'

❖ Similarly, in context 4 for generic undergoers where both actor & undergoer are new/contrasted and the verb is given, AV is the majority choice:

(19)   **Actor Voice**
Useyng   peh   ngalo   mey   ngenep   labo i'eyk
cat   PT   AV.chase   and   AV.catch   rat
'Cats also chase and catch rats'

❖ In context 6 for definite undergoers, where the undergoer has a non-default mapping of topic, UV is used:

(20)   **Undergoer Voice**
Kerepen   neh   teh   ieh   temidteh ih.
UV.IRR.bite   3SG.GEN   PT   3SG.NOM   sometimes
'He sometimes bites her'

❖ Finally, in contexts where both actor & undergoer have default mappings (e.g. contexts 3 & 6 for generic undergoers, and contexts 3 & 5 for definite undergoers) the choice of voice appears to depend to a certain extent on the definiteness of the undergoer.
❖ For generic undergoers, AV is the majority choice:

(21)   **Actor Voice**
Useyng meto'   ngalo   mey   ngenep labo nuk   merar
cat   as.well   AV.chase   and   AV.catch rat REL   big
'Cats also chase and catch big rats'

❖ For definite undergoers, UV is the majority choice:

(22)   **Undergoer Voice**
Tu'en neh   metey'   teh   uku'   kudih
UV.do 3SG.GEN   AV.kick   PT   dog   1SG.POSS
'She kicks my dog'

❖ Consequently, voice choice in Kelabit can be seen to follow similar patterns to Tagalog in that non-default mappings between semantic roles and information structure roles may prompt the selection of AV over UV.
❖ However, the study reaffirms that the information status of the privileged argument itself does not determine voice choice – in fact, much as in naturalistic corpora, UV constructions appear most frequently in the unhappy rats translation task in contexts where the actor is a topic, regardless of the status of the undergoer.

6. Conclusion

- ❖ Information structure can play a role in unexpected syntactic choices, e.g. verb-initial word order in AV, differential use of NOM in UV
- ❖ This shows that symmetrical voice languages can be affected by the same information structure considerations as ergative and accusative languages.
- ❖ However, there is no one-to-one correlation between word-order, case form, voice and information structure. Instead they combine and interact to express information in context.
- ❖ This supports treating symmetrical voice as a syntactic alternation in the mapping of arguments to functions, rather than an information-structurally driven alternation in the encoding of topic/focus.

Acknowledgements

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Appendix
Generic Undergoer

Context 1. Undergoer = Topic, Actor & Verb = New
Rats live stressful and dangerous lives. The noise of the traffic makes them nervous and sick. Dogs chase them. And <u>also cats catch and kill rats</u>, when they get the chance.

1. Useyng ih   peh,   ngenep   idih   ngatey teh=ideh   labo i'eyk
   cat   DEF   PT   AV.catch   and   AV.kill PT=3PL.NOM   rat
   'Cats, they also catch and kill rats' = **AV, VSO**

2. Beruh teh   useyng   ngenep   mey   ngatey labo   nih
   also PT   cat   AV.catch   and   AV.kill rat   DEM
   'Cats also catch and kill rats' = **AV, SVO**

3. Kineh   teh   useyng   dih   ngenep   mey   kuman ideh
   Like.that   PT   cat   DEM   AV.catch   and   AV.eat 3PL.NOM
   'Cats also catch and kill them' = **AV, SVO**

4. Useyng   ngenep   labo i'eyk   mey   ngatey   deh
   cat   AV.catch   rat   and   AV.kill   3PL.GEN
   'Cats also catch and kill rats' = **AV, SVO**

5. Useyng   peh   ngatey   labo i'eyk
   cat   PT   AV.kill   rat
   'Cats also kill rats' = **AV, SVO**

6. Debpen   mey   petayen   useyng   teh   labo
   UV.IRR.catch and   UV.IRR.kill cat   PT   rat
   'Cats also catch and kill rats' = **UV, VOS**

Context 2. Undergoer = Topic, Actor = contrastively focused, Verb = Given
It is not only wolves and foxes that threaten rats and catch them. <u>Cats also catch rats</u> and eat them afterwards.

1. Useyng   peh   ngenep   labo i'eyk
   cat   PT   AV.catch   rat
   'Cats also catch rats' = **AV, SVO**

2. Useyng   peh   kereb ngenep   labo i'eyk   nih
   cat   PT   can   AV.catch   rat   DEM
   'Cats also catch rats' = **AV, SVO**

3. Useyng   peh,   tu'en deh   ngenep   teh   labo i'eyk
   cat   PT   UV.do 3PL.GEN   AV.catch   PT   rat
   'Cats, they also catch rats' = **UV, VOS**

4. Useng peh,   tu'en neh   ngenep   labo i'eyk   dih
   cat   PT   UV.do 3SG.GEN   AV.catch   rat   DEM
   'Cats, they also catch rats' = **UV, VOS**

5. Useyng   peh,   debpen   deh   teh   labo   i'eyk
   cat   PT   UV.IRR.catch 3PL.GEN   PT   rat
   'Cats, they also catch rats' = **UV, VOS**

6. Debpen   useng teh   labo
   UV.IRR.catch cat   PT   rat
   'Cats also catch rats' = **UV, VOS**

Context 3. Actor = Topic, Verb & Undergoer = New/focused

Cats are silly creatures with nothing but nonsense on their minds. They climb up on curtains, they bring home mice. Cats also chase and catch big rats, when they are in the mood. Who wants to have a big rat in their house?

1. Useyng   peh   ngalo   mey   ngenep   labo ruma'   nuk
   cat   PT   AV.chase   and   AV.catch   rat   REL

   merar   ih
   big   DEF
   'Cats also chase and catch big rats' = **AV, SVO**

2. Useyng   meto'   ngalo   mey   ngenep labo nuk   merar
   cat   as.well   AV.chase   and   AV.catch rat REL   big
   'Cats also chase and catch big rats'

3. Kineh   t=ideh   metanur   mey   ngenep   labo i'eyk
   Like.that PT=3PL.NOM AV.chase   and   AV.catch   rat

   nuk   merar dih
   REL   big   DEM
   'Cats also chase and catch big rats' = **AV, SVO**

4. Useyng   peh,   tu'en deh   metanur   teh   labo i'eyk   nuk merar
   cat   PT   UV.do 3PL.GEN AV.chase   PT   rat   REL big
   'Cats also chase and catch big rats' = **UV, VOS**

5. Kereb   teh   ideh   ngenep   labo i'eyk   nuk   merar
    can   PT   3PL.NOM   AV.catch   rat   REL   big
    'They can catch big rats' = **AV, SVO**

6. Tu'en   useyng ngalo   mey debpen   neh   teh   labo   nuk merar
    UV.do   cat   AV.chase and   UV.IRR.catch   3SG.GEN PT   rat   REL   big
    'Cats also chase and catch big rats' **UV, VOS**

Context 4. Actor & Undergoer = contrasted, Verb = given

Life in the wilderness is pretty cruel. Lions chase and catch antelopes, sharks catch tunafish and happen to get caught and killed by humans themselves. Even here in the city these cruel laws of nature can be observed. (Our domestic) <u>cats also chase and catch rats</u>, and some also bring them home to continue playing with the bleeding creature.

1. Useyng   peh   ngalo   mey   ngenep   labo i'eyk
    cat   PT   AV.chase   and   AV.catch   rat
    'Cats also chase and catch rats' **AV, SVO**

2. Useyng   nuk   aya'   tauh   nih,   ideh   ngenep   labo i'eyk
    cat   REL   pet   1PL.INCL DEM   3PL.NOM   AV.catch   rat
    'Our domestic cats also catch rats', **AV, SVO**

3. Useyng   ineh   metanur   mey   ngenep   labo i'eyk
    cat   DEM   AV.chase   and   AV.catch   rat
    'cats also chase and catch rats', **AV, SVO**

4. Useyng   metanur   labo i'eyk
    cat   AV.chase   rat
    'Cats chase rats' **AV, SVO**

5. Useyng   peh   metanur   labo i'ek
    cat   PT   AV.chase   rat
    'cats also chase rats' **AV, SVO**

6. Tu'en useyng   ngalo   mey   debpen   neh   labo
    UV.do cat   AV.chase   and   UV.IRR.catch   3SG.GEN   rat
    'cats chase and catch rats', **UV, VOS**

Context 5. All focus

When I look out of the window, I see only unhappiness and violence. Dogs chase hens and make them lose their feathers. Old bitter women scream at children and make them cry. And also (our domestic) <u>cats catch and kill innocent rats</u>, when no one is looking

1. useyng   ngenep   mey   ngatey labo i'eyk   nuk   doo'   udeng
    cat   AV.catch   and   AV.kill rat   REL   good   stay
    'cats catch and kill innocent rats' **AV, SVO**

2.
Kineh	teh	useyng	ngenep	medting	ngatey labo i'eyk
Like.that	PT	cat	AV.catch	until	AV.kill rat

nuk	na'am	kudeh-kudeh	nih
REL	NEG	how-REDUP	DEM

'Cats also catch and kill innocent rats', **AV, SVO**

3.
Kineh	teh	useyng	ngenep	mey	ngatey labo i'eyk
Like.that	PT	cat	AV.catch	and	AV.kill rat

nuk	na'am	inan	sala'	ineh
REL	NEG	EXIST	wrong	DEM

'cats also catch and kill innocent rats' **AV, SVO**

4.
Useyng	peh	ngenep	idih	ngatey labo i'eyk	nuk	doo' udeng
cat	PT	AV.catch	and	AV.kill rat	REL	good stay

'Cats also catch and kill innocent rats' **SV, SVO**

5.
Meto'	ieh	ngenep	mey	ngatey labo i'eyk	nuk	doo' udeng
Also	3sg.nom	av.catch	and	av.kill rat	rel	good stay

'He/she also catchs and kills innocent rats' **AV, SVO**

Context 6. Actor = topic, Undergoer = contrasted, Verb = given
Cats are so aggressive. They chase squirrels. They chase birds. Some even chase dogs. I also heard that cats were seen chasing a small kangaroo in Australia. <u>They also chase rats</u>, of course. But that is good.

1.
Ideh	peh	ngalo	labo i'eyk	meto'
3PL.NOM	PT	AV.chase	rat	also

'They also chase rats' **AV, SVO**

2.
Ngalo	t=ideh	labo i'eyk	meto'
AV.chase	PT=3PL.NOM	rat	as.well

'They also chase rats'**, AV, VSO**

3.
Kineh	t=ideh	metanur	labo i'eyk
Like.that	PT=3PL.NOM	AV.chase	rat

'They also chase rats' **AV, SVO**

4.
Doo'	meto'	ngalo	deh	labo i'eyk
good	as.well	AV.chase	3PL.GEN	rat

'They also chase rats' **AV, VSO**

5.
Tu'en	deh	metanur	ayu'	teh	labo i'eyk
UV.do	3PL.GEN	AV.chase	EMPH	PT	rat

'They also chase rats' **UV, VOS**

6.
Ngalo	teh	ideh	labo	meto'
AV.chase	PT	3PL.NOM	rat	as.well

'They also chase rats' **AV, VSO**

Definite Undergoer
Context 1. Undergoer = topic, Verb & Actor = new
My dog is the poorest dog in the world. He got abandoned as a puppy and almost starved. He got into an accident and lost a leg. Once an eagle attacked him. That is why there is a scar between his eyes. <u>Also my sister kicked him so hard</u>, when she was young, that he lost all trust in human beings.

1. Kineh   meto' suk   kinanak kudih   nemetey' ieh   kail-kail
   Like.that as.well REL   sibling 1SG.POSS PFV.AV.kick 3SG.NOM hard-REDUP
   'My sister also kicked him really hard' **AV, SVO**

2. Kineh   teh   kinanak   dedtur kudih   nemetey'   ieh
   Like.that PT   sibling   girl   1SG.POSS   PFV.AV.kick 3SG.NOM
   'My sister also kicked him' **AV, SVO**

3. Kineh   teh kinanak   dedtur kudih   nemetey'   ieh   ma'it-ma'it
   Like.that PT sibling   girl   1SG.POSS PFV.AV.kick 3SG.NOM hurt-REDUP
   'My sister also kicked him badly' **AV, SVO**

4. Ieh   nemetey'   uku' nih   kail-kail
   3SG.NOM   PFV.AV.kick dog   DEM   hard-REDUP
   'She kicked the dog hard' **AV, SVO**

5. Meto'   kinanak dedtur kudih   nemetey'   ieh   kail-kail
   as.well   sibling girl 1SG.POSS PFV.AV.kick 3SG.NOM   hard-REDUP
   'My sister kicked him hard' **AV, SVO**

6. kinanak   kudih   suk   dedtur nemetey'   ieh   ma'it-ma'it
   sibling   1SG.POSS   REL   girl   PFV.AV.kick 3SG.NOM hurt-REDUP
   'My sister kicked him badly' **AV, SVO**

Context 2. Undergoer = topic, Actor = contrasted, Verb = given
No-one likes my dog. The neighbor is afraid of him. My siblings think he is too ugly to be caressed and kick him regularly. To be honest, <u>my best friend has also kicked my dog more than once</u>. He also abhors this cute little dog

1. ruyud kudih   suc   leng-leng   muneng   ngekuh   pengeh
   friend 1SG.POSS   REL   very-REDUP   close   to.me   already

   nemetey'   uku'   kudih   murih let   ngen edteh ruka
   PFV.AV.kick dog   1SG.POSS   often from with one   time
   'My best friend has also kicked my dog more than once' **AV, SVO**

2. lun ruyung   kudih   peh   murih ruka teh   nemetey'   ieh
   friend   1SG.POSS   PT   often time PT   PFV.AV.kick 3SG.NOM
   'My friend also kicked him many times' **AV, SVO**

3.
rurum	kudih	suk	eleng	muneng	ngekuh	peh	nemetey'	ieh
friend	1SG.POSS	REL	very	close	to.me	PT	PFV.AV.kick	3SG.NOM

mintuda'	ruka
several	time

'My best friend also kicked him several times' **AV, SVO**

4.
Kawan	kudih	suk	leng	doo'	peh	tuda'	ruka	meto'	ieh
friend	1SG.POSS	REL	very	good	PT	several	time	as.well	3SG.NOM

nemetey'	uku'	kudih
PFV.AV.kick	dog	1SG.POSS

'My best friend also kicked my dog several times' **AV, SVO**

5.
Ruyud	kudih	suk	leng-leng	doo'	ngekuh	peh
friend	1SG.POSS	REL	very-REDUP	good	to.me	PT

nemetey'	uku'	kudih	tuda'	ruka
PFV.AV.kick	dog	1SG.POSS	several	time

'My best friend also kicked my dog several times' **AV, SVO**

6.
edteh	lun ruyung	kuh	eleng-eleng	maley	ngekuh,
one	friend	1SG.GEN	very-REDUP	used	to.me

pengeh	teh	ieh	nemetey'	uku'	kudih	lem	tuda'	ruka
already	PT	3SG.NOM	PFV.AV.kick	dog	1SG.POSS	in	several	time

'a best friend of mine, he already kicked my dog many times' **AV, SVO**

Context 3. Actor = topic, Verb & Undergoer = new

My sister is so mean. She must be the meanest person in the world. She tricks people whenever she can. She steals money. She even stole my sister's money once. <u>She also kicks my dog</u>, whenever she feels like it.

1.
Tu'en	neh	metey'	teh	uku'	kudih
UV.do	3SG.GEN	AV.kick	PT	dog	1SG.POSS

'She kicks my dog' **UV, VOS**

2.
Tu'en	neh	metey'	teh	uku'	kudih
UV.do	3SG.GEN	AV.kick	PT	dog	1SG.POSS

'She kicks my dog' **UV, VOS**

3.
Tu'en	neh	metey'	teh	uku'	kudih
UV.do	3SG.GEN	AV.kick	PT	dog	1SG.POSS

'She kicks my dog' **UV, VOS**

4. Tu'en   metey'   teh   uku' kudih
   UV.do   AV.kick   PT   dog   1SG.POSS
   'She kicks my dog' **UV, VOS**

5. Tu'en neh   metey'   teh   uku' kudih   kidih-kidih
   UV.do 3SG.GEN   AV.kick   PT   dog   1SG.POSS   always
   'She always kicks my dog' **UV, VOS**

6. Murih teh   ieh   metey'   uku' kudih.
   often PT   3SG.NOM   AV.kick   dog   1SG.POSS
   'She often kicks my dog' **AV, SVO**

Context 4. All focus
People are so aggressive these days. Take yesterday, someone drilled a hole into a car to steal gasoline. Then someone pushed away the neighbour's kid so that he almost fell in front of a car. Also my sister kicked my dog very badly. The poor little guy cannot walk properly anymore.

1. Kinanak detur kudih   nemetey'   uku' kudih   ngen padan kereb.
   Sibling   girl 1SG.POSS   PFV.AV.kick   dog 1SG.POSS with   strength
   'My sister kicked my dog very badly' **AV, SVO**

2. Mey   teh kinanak dedtur kudih   nemetey' uku' kudih   kail-kail
   And   PT sibling girl   1SG.POSS PFV.AV.kick dog 1SG.POSS hard-REDUP
   'And my sister kicked my dog very badly' **AV, SVO**

3. Kineh   teh kinanak dedtur kudih   nemetey'   uku' kudih   bura'–bura'
   Like.that PT sibling girl   1SG.POSS   PFV.AV.kick dog 1SG.POSS wound-REDUP
   'And my sister kicked my dog very badly' **AV, SVO**

4. Kineh   teh kinanak dedtur kudih   metey' uku' kudih   pereg-pereg
   Like.that PT   sibling girl   1SG.POSS AV.kick dog 1SG.POSS   bad-REDUP
   'And my sister kicked my dog very badly' **AV, SVO**

5. Meto' kinanak dedtur kudih   nemetey'   uku' kudih   kail-kail
   as.well sibling   girl   1SG.POSS   PFV.AV.kick   dog 1SG.POSS   hard-REDUP
   'And my sister kicked my dog very badly' **AV, SVO**

6. Pengeh   teh kinanak kudih   nemetey'   uku' kudih   kail-kail.
   Already PT sibling 1SG.POSS   PFV.AV.kick   dog 1SG.POSS hard-REDUP
   'My sister already kicked my dog very badly' **AV, SVO**

Context 5. Actor = topic, Undergoer = contrasted, Verb = given
It is not only birds and cats that my sister hates and kicks when she gets a chance. She also kicks my dog.

1. Tu'en neh metey' meto' uku' kudih
   UV.do 3SG.GEN AV.kick as.well dog 1SG.POSS
   'She also kicks my dog' **UV, VOS**

2. Tu'en neh metey' teh uku' kudih meto'
   UV.do 3SG.GEN AV.kick PT dog 1SG.POSS as.well
   'She also kicks my dog' **UV, VOS**

3. Murih t=ieh metey' uku' kudih meto'
   often PT=3SG.NOM AV.kick dog 1SG.POSS as.well
   'She often kicks my dog as well' **AV, SVO**

4. Tu'en neh metey' teh uku' kudih beruh.
   UV.do 3SG.GEN AV.kick PT dog 1SG.POSS also
   'She also kicks my dog' **UV, VOS**

5. Kineh teh taru' neh uku' kudih.
   Like.that PT do.root 3SG.GEN dog 1SG.POSS
   'She does the same to my dog' **no voice**

6. Tu'en neh metey' teh duih uku' dih meto'
   UV.do 3SG.GEN AV.kick PT 1SG.POSS dog DEM as.well
   'She also kicks my dog' **UV, VOS**

Context 6. Actor & Undergoer = topic, Verb = new
My sister and my dog do not really get along. My dog barks at my sister. He also bites her sometimes.

1. Kerepen neh teh ieh temidteh ih.
   UV.IRR.bite 3SG.GEN PT 3SG.NOM sometimes
   'He sometimes bites her' **UV, VOS**

2. Temidteh dih tu'en neh ngerep teh ieh meto'
   sometimes DEM UV.do 3SG.GEN AV.bite PT 3SG.NOM as.well
   'Sometimes he also bites her' **UV, VOS**

3. Temidteh dih tu'en neh ngerep t=ieh.
   sometimes DEM UV.do 3SG.GEN AV.bite PT=3SG.NOM
   'Sometimes he bites her' **UV, VOS**

4. Tu'en neh ngetep t=ieh temidteh ih.
   UV.do 3SG.GEN AV.bite PT=3SG.NOM sometimes
   'He bites her sometimes' **UV, VOS**

5. Temidteh dih tu'en neh ngerep teh kinanak kudih
   sometimes DEM UV.do 3SG.GEN AV.bite PT sibling 1SG.POSS
   'Sometimes he bites my sister' **UV, VOS**

6. Temidteh   dih   ketebpen   uku' kudih   teh suk kinanak dedtur kudih.
   sometimes   DEM   UV.IRR.bite dog 1SG.POSS   PT REL sibling girl   1SG.POSS
   'Sometimes my dog bites my sister' **UV, VOS**