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Information Structure and Syntactic Choices in Kelabit

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Introduction



- In this paper, I explore the role of **information structure** in determining **syntactic choices** in Kelabit, a Western Austronesian language of Northern Sarawak:
 - Voice construction
 - Word Order
 - Case marking of pronouns
- The aim of this paper:

To illustrate how information structure interacts with syntactic choices
 To consider the implications for prominence in WAN

Outline



- 1. Features of Kelabit Grammar
- 2. Information Structure
- 3. Information Structure and Word Order in Kelabit
- 4. Information Structure and Case Marking in Kelabit
- 5. Information Structure and Voice in Kelabit
- 6. Conclusions





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Features of Kelabit Grammar

Background



- Kelabit is a Western Austronesian (WAn) language spoken mainly in the Fourth and Fifth divisions of Sarawak, Malaysia (Martin 1996).
- It is part of the Apad Uat subgroup of Northern Sarawak which also includes Lun Bawang/Lundayeh, and Sa'ban (Kroeger 1998).
- Data is based on **fieldwork** in **Bario** from 2013-2019 and consists of elicited grammaticality judgements and naturalistic corpus examples.



Symmetrical Voice



Western Austronesian languages are known to have symmetrical voice alternations
 Alternations in the mapping of arguments to functions without demotion/detransitivisation



Symmetrical Voice





Syntactic Choice 1



AV vs UV

Kelabit Word Order





The **subject** can appear pre-verbally, as well as following the *non-subject core argument*

(2d) **la'ih sineh* kinan bua' kaber

Kelabit Word Order





In AV, **VSO order** is also possible & attested

(3b) *Kinan bua' kaber la'ih sineh pfv.uv.eat pineapple man FOR: 'The man ate pineapple'

Kelabit Word Order



	SVO	VOS	VSO
AV	= AVU	= VUA	$\checkmark = \lor A \cup$
UV	= UVA	= VAU	

Default word order differs depending on the voice construction

All else being equal, there is a preference for actor before undergoer

Hanging Topic Construction



- It is also possible to have **hanging topics** in the left periphery (co-referenced by a pronoun).
- (4a) Paul kedieh, nekuman bua' ebpuk
 Paul ЕМРН.ЗSG AV.PFV.eat fruit passion
 'As for Paul, he ate passion fruit'



n=idih

PT=DEM

(4b) <u>Bua' ebpuk suk na'ah ih</u>, kinan *Paul* fruit passion REL afore UV.PFV.eat Paul
 'As for the passionfruit, Paul ate it.'

Focus Fronting



 It is possible for focus information to be fronted in an inversion construction using the particle teh (cf. ang-inversion in Tagalog)



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Syntactic Choice 2

SVO vs VOS vs VSO Hanging topic Focus fronting

Austronesian Case Marking



- In more conservative WAn languages, case-marking is used to indicate the **function** of an argument within the voice system.
- Typically, three case distinctions are assumed for **pronouns** (cf. Kroeger 1993)

- **NOM** subjects
- GEN non-subject actors
- OBL obliques and non-subject undergoers

	actor	undergoer
AV	NOM	OBL
UV	GEN	NOM

Kelabit Case Marking



• Kelabit does not have OBL case and NOM/GEN alternate as a means of marking nonsubject actors:



	actor	undergoer
AV	NOM	NOM
UV	GEN/NOM	NOM

differential actor marking

Syntactic Choice 3



NOM vs **GEN** for UV actors





- Kelabit has **symmetrical voice** alternations:
 - The first choice is AV vs UV
- These allow different arguments to be mapped to subject with flexible word order
 The second choice is SVO, VOS, VSO and marked constructions
- Pronouns are case-marked and the non-subject actor can be differentially marked
 > The third choice is GEN vs NOM
- Q: What is the role of **information structure** in these choices?





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Information Structure

Information Structure



- Information structure can be understood as a formal mechanism for facilitating effective information exchange and update (Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011, Erteschik-Shir 2007).
- Among the most important information structure roles are topic and focus:
 - Topic is an entity that the speaker identifies and about which a proposition is made (Krifka 2008)
 - Focus is the informative part of the proposition and indicates the presence of alternatives (Krifka 2008)

Information Structure



- These allow us to divide the information according to two major distinctions:
 - Topic vs Comment
 - Focus vs Background

CONTEXT: What did Peter do?



CONTEXT: What did Peter eat?







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Information Structure & Word Order in Kelabit

Word Order and Information Structure



- Word order can be used as a strategy to mark information structure in Kelabit by placing focus information before the background.
- We can see this by looking at **grammaticality judgements** in contexts where the focus is clearly identifiable

>e.g. question-answer pairs, negative contrast

- Typically, focus is placed in **initial position**
 - > For negative contrast, this involves teh inversion constructions

Narrow Focus



CONTEXT: Did Andy hit John yesterday?



(12b) **Not John...**

[Paul]
focustehsukpinupu'nehPaulPTRELUV.PFV.hit3SG.GEN'It wasn't John, it was Paul that he (Andy) hit'

A focused **subject** appears pre-verbally with SVO order

Predicate Focus



CONTEXT: did Andy hit John yesterday?

(13c) Andy didn't <u>hit John</u> [nemepag Paul]_{focus} AV.PFV.slap Paul 'He slapped Paul'

t=ieh

pt=3sg

t=ieh

(13d) Andy didn't hit John...
[pipag uih]_{focus}
UV.PFV.slap 1sG.NOM
'I slapped John'

PT=3sg.nom

When the **predicate** is focused, we get VOS order

Narrow Focus on Adjunct





Alternative Orders



(15a) Andy didn't hit John...

#ieh[nemepagPaul]
focus3sg.NOMAV.PFV.slapPaulFOR: 'he slapped Paul'

(15b) Not yesterday...



Corpus Examples



(16a) Buro neh Guru' Paul mey Ba Kelalan away PT teacher Paul go Ba Kelalan 'Guru' Paul transferred to Ba Kelalan'

> Jadi epat **neh kelas ih**: Primary 1, Primary 2, Primary 3, Primary 4 but four PT class PT Primary 1, Primary 2, Primary 3, Primary 4 'But there were four classes: Primary 1, Primary 2, Primary 3, Primary 4'



Corpus Examples



Context: Pear story retelling – the man sees three boys wandering past eating pears and wonders if they have stolen his basket...

(16b)	[kuman	bua'	ih	tupu] _{focus}
	AV.eat	fruit	PT	only
	'They are just	t eatin	g fruit'	

t=ideh

pt=3pl.nom





Context	Word Order	Voice
Narrow Contrast on Actor	[A] teh VU	Actor Voice
Narrow Contrast on Undergoer	[U] teh VA	Undergoer Voice
Predicate Contrast on Verb+Undergoer	[VU] teh A	Actor Voice
Predicate Contrast on Verb+Actor	[V <mark>A</mark>] teh U	Undergoer Voice
Narrow Contrast on a Time Adverbial	[X] teh AVU	Actor Voice

Focus > Background

This is common in languages which follow the Principle of Newsworthiness (Mithun 1992)

Word Order and Information Structure



- However, there is no one-to-one link between position and information structure role:
 - Non-subject arguments can be focused in situ so long as the subject is clause final
 - SVO AV clauses are judged to be acceptable in most contexts

The same information structure context can prompt different word order choices.

Narrow Focus on in-situ non-subject



Context: did Andy hit John yesterday? NO...

(17a) Not John...
nemupu'
AV.PFV.hit
'He hit Paul'

[Paul]_{focus}
t=ieh
Paul
PT=3sG.NOM

(17b) Not Andy...
 pinupu' [Paul]_{focus} t=ieh
 UV.PFV.hit Paul PT=3SG.NOM
 'Paul hit him.'

Narrow Focus does not necessarily trigger SVO word order





(18) Focused Undergoer

Q. Kuman *enun* **t=ieh**? AV.eat what PT=3sG.NOM? 'What is he eating?'

A. neh ieh kuman
DEM 3SG.NOM AV.eat
'He is eating pineapple'







- (19) Focused Predicate
- Q. naru' *enun* **Peter**? Av.do what Peter? 'what is Peter doing?'

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





(20) Focused Sentence

Q. Kapeh tebey'? how actually 'What happened?'

A.

SVO in AV is not only associated with narrow focus on the actor

[nih	Peter	kuman	bua'	kaber	nedih] _{focus}
DEM	Peter	AV.eat	fruit	pineapple	3sg.poss
'Peter	is eating pinea	pple'			

Same IS context – Different Word Order



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

(23a) Ideh ngalo *labo puur*. Ideh ngalo *manuk* [...] ideh peh ngalo *labo l'ek* meto' (AV SVO)

(23b) Ngalo tideh *labo puur*. Ngalo tideh *manuk* [...] Ngalo tideh *labo l'ek* meto' (AV VSO)

(23c) Metanur *labo puur* nideh. Metanur *manuk* nideh [...] kineh tideh metanur *labo l'ek* (AV VOS)

(23d) Tu'en *deh* metanur teh labo puur. Tu'en *deh* metanur teh manuk [...] Tu'en *deh* metanur ayu' teh labo l'ek. (UV VOS)





- Fronting can be used as a strategy for marking information structure specifically indicating the status of information as focused.
- The **voice alternations** can facilitate this in mapping different arguments to different functions.
- However, there is no one-to-one link between position, function and information structure role
- Both subjects and non-subjects can be topic and focus and both pre-verbal and post-verbal positions can be associated with these roles.





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Differential Marking

Case and Information Structure



- As in other languages (Witzlack-Makarevich & Seržant 2018), the choice of case marking in Kelabit is triggered by information structure:
 - GEN pronouns are used in naturalistic discourse when the actor is a continuing topic.
 - > NOM pronouns represent focus/contrastive actors.

GEN as continuing topic



(24)Nalap pupu' neh UV.PFV.fetch **3**SG.GEN hitting.implement The GEN actor is a 'She [Dayang Beladan] fetched something to hit with' continuing topic bubpu' Nukab daan nen **3**SG.GEM door hut UV.PFV.open NB: the undergoer 'Opened the door to the hut' is not necessarily given/topical Nalap dteh kayuh neh UV.PFV.fetch stick 3SG.GEN one 'Picked up a piece of wood'

NOM as focus/contrastive





Topic Test



- If you establish the actor as a **hanging topic**, then GEN is preferred:
- (26a)Paulkedieh,kinannehbua'ebpukPaul3sg.EMPHUV.PFV.eat3sg.GENfruitpassion'As for Paul, he ate the passion fruit'
- (26b)#Paul kedieh, kinaniehbua' ebpukNOM = XPaul EMPH.3SGUV.PFV.eat3SG.NOMfruitpassionFOR: 'As for Paul, he ate passion fruit'

Focus Test



• If you make the actor the **answer to a wh-word**, NOM is preferred:

Context: who saw him?

- (27a) seni'er uih t=ieh UV.PFV.see 1sg.NOM PT=3sg.NOM 'I saw him'
- (27b) *seni'er kuh t=ieh UV.PRF.see 1sg.gen PT=3sg.NOM 'I saw him'



NOM = 🗸

Contrast Test



- If actor is **contrasted**, NOM is preferred:
- Pinupu' t=ieh pu'un, am dih (28a)uih iko NOM = 🗸 UV.PFV.hit 1sg.nom PT=3SG .NOM first 3SG.NOM NEG DEM 'I hit him first, not you' (i.e. you didn't hit him first))
- pu'un, am (28b)#Pinupu' kuh t=ieh dih iko GEN = XUV.PFV.hit 1sg.gen PT=3SG .NOM first 3sg.nom NEG DEM 'I hit him first, not you' (i.e. you didn't hit him first))

Summary



	Expectedness	Information Structure
GEN ACTOR	expected	A = continuing topic
NOM ACTOR	unexpected	A = focus/contrastive

This is common in languages with **differential actor marking**

(Fauconnier 2011, Fauconnier & Verstraete 2014, McGregor 2010, Witzlack-Makarevich & Seržant 2018)

Case and Information Structure



- However, **NOM** marked actors in UV are not the only way of expressing contrastive focus.
 - (19) 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).'
- Similarly, not all continuing topics are GEN marked since subjects can also be topics and are in NOM case





- 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.
- This construction may be relatively rare because it depends on a context where the actor is contrastively focused and the undergoer is a topic – both of these are unexpected mappings (Lambrecht 1994)





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Voice Construction



- A long-standing question is what determines **voice choice** and whether this is linked to **information structure** (see e.g. Chen & McDonnell 2019)
- We have already seen that voice can interact with information structure in facilitating different word orders or case-marking options.
- However, there is again no one-to-one link between **grammatical function** and information structure role
- That is, the choice of voice construction is not determined purely by the status of the subject as either topic or focus



- Nonetheless, the use of AV vs UV may be preferred in certain information structure contexts.
- To explore this, I used the **unhappy rats translation task** in which there are several short paragraphs for speakers to translate.
 - Each paragraph contains a test sentence ("cats chase rats" or "my sister kicked my dog")
 - ➤The context differs to establish different semantic arguments as topic, focus, background etc.



• 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



- In their study of Tagalog, they found the following:
 - > If only the undergoer has a non-default mapping (topic), UV is preferred
 - > If only the 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.

Unhappy Rats – 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	0
6. A = topic, U = contrasted, V = given	5	1
	26/35	9/35

Unhappy Rats – 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
6. A+U = topic, V = new	0	6
	20/35	15/35

- In contexts 1 & 2, both actor & undergoer have non-default mappings → AV
- In all focus contexts the actor has a non-default mapping \rightarrow AV \checkmark
- In contexts where the undergoer has a non-default mapping of topic \rightarrow UV
- In contexts where both arguments have default mappings voice choice is determined by different criteria → AV for generic undergoers, UV for definite undergoers









- Voice choice in Kelabit may be triggered by non-default mappings between semantic roles and information structure just as in Tagalog
- However, the study reaffirms that the **information status** of the privileged argument itself does not determine voice choice alone
- 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.
- Consequently, it is the information status of the clause as a whole that is important





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Conclusion





- In this paper, I explored the interaction between **word order, case marking, voice** and **information structure** in Kelabit.
- I showed that 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 status 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.
- But one that can interact with information structure as an important source of prominence





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Many Thanks!