The Subject GF in Western Austronesian

Charlotte Hemmings
University of Oxford
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Introduction

- The grammatical function of **subject** is often taken as fundamental in typological and syntactic work

- However, it remains controversial whether subjects exist in Western Austronesian on account of their unusual systems of **verbal morphology** and the fact that **typical subject properties are split** in non-actor voices.

- This has led some to claim that **subject** is not a relevant notion; and others to argue over whether subject is best equated with the **actor** or the privileged argument

Introduction

- In this paper, I address address the debate in relation to empirical data from Kelabit, a WAn language spoken in Northern Sarawak, Malaysia.

- Using cross linguistic tests, I show that there are good arguments for considering the <u>privileged argument</u> to be the **subject**, rather than a **topic** or **absolutive**.

- Moreover, there are arguments for treating the **actor** as an **object** (or core argument) in non-actor voice constructions.

Introduction

- Consequently, I argue that Kelabit does have a **subject** function, even if it is different from other subjects cross-linguistically.

- Therefore, we should be wary of using Western Austronesian as evidence against the universality of the subject function.

- And rather view it as an opportunity to refine the cross-linguistic **definition** (or criteria for identification) on the basis of a typologically diverse set of languages.

Roadmap

- GFs in LFG

- The subject debate in WAn

- Grammatical functions in Kelabit
  - ➢ Privileged argument as subject (and not topic)
  - ➢ Non-privileged actor as object (and not subject)

- Implications and conclusion

Data & Conventions

- The data in this talk is taken from fieldwork in Bario (2013-2017) and comprises grammaticality judgements and **elicited examples** as well as naturalistic texts.

- Important terminology:
  - **actor**
  - **undergoer**
  - privileged argument
  - *non-privileged actor/undergoer*

Grammatical Functions in LFG

Grammatical Functions

- LFG assumes a **universally available** set of grammatical functions (Dalrymple 2001):

$$\text{SUBJ} > \text{OBJ} > \text{OBJ}_\Theta > \text{COMP, XCOMP} > \text{OBL}_\Theta > \text{ADJ, XADJ}$$

- These are assumed to be **primitives** of the theory – i.e. they are not defined in terms of semantic role or position in a configurational structure.

Grammatical Functions

- Grammatical functions are typically identified via **morphosyntactic properties** that distinguish them from other arguments (Keenan 1976, Falk 2006)

Coding	Behaviour
Unmarked Case	Imperative Addressee
Agreement	Reflexive Binding
	Switch Reference Systems
	Co-ordination
	Controlled Argument (PRO)
	Raising
	Extraction
	Obligatory Element
	Wide Scope
	Discourse Topic

Subject Properties

Morphological Ergativity (Warlpiri)

- Mismatch between encoding & syntactic properties, e.g. in **morphological ergativity**, **quirky case** & **differential argument marking**.

(1a)   Ngarrka$_i$ (S)   ka   wirnpirli-mi,   [karli   jarnti-rninja-**karra**]

man   PRES   whistle-NONPAST   boomerang   trim-INF-**SUBJCOMP**

'The man (S) is whistling while trimming the boomerang'

(1b)   Ngarrka-ngku$_i$ (A) ka   purlapa (O)   yunpa-rni,   [karli   jarnti-rninja-**karra**-rlu]

man-ERG   PRES   corroboree   sing-NONPAST   boomerang   trim-INF-**SUBJCOMP**-ERG

'The man (A) is singing a corroboree (O) while trimming the boomerang'

Morphological Ergativity (Warlpiri)

(1c)   Kala-nkulu-jana   [rirrinyki-wapa-nja-**kurra**]   pu-ngu

USIT.2PLSUBJ.3PLOBJ   SCURRY-MOVE-INF-OBJCOMP   hit-PAST

'You killed them while they were out foraging' (Simpson 1991: 310-315)

- Hence, LFG assumes that that grammatical functions should be identified on the basis of **syntactic rather encoding properties** (Dalrymple 2001, Dalrymple and Nikolaeva 2011).

The WAn Challenge

- However, symmetrical voice languages present a different challenge...

- Behavioural properties are **split** between the <u>privileged argument</u> (i.e. actor in AV, undergoer in UV etc.) and the actor semantic role (cf. Schachter 1976)

Coding	Behaviour
Unmarked Case	Imperative Addressee
Agreement	Reflexive Binding
	Switch Reference Systems
	Co-ordination
	Controlled Argument (PRO)
	Raising
	Extraction
	Obligatory Element
	Wide Scope
	Discourse Topic

The Subject Debate

WAn Verbal Morphology (Tagalog)

(3a)   **b\<um>ili**   ang lalaki   *ng isda*   sa tindahan   **Actor Voice**

\<AV>buy   NOM man   GEN fish   OBL store

'The man bought fish at the store'

(3b)   **b\<in>ili-∅**   *ng lalaki*   ang isda   sa tindahan   **Undergoer Voice**

\<PFV>buy-UV   GEN man   NOM fish   OBL store

'The man bought the fish at the store'

(3c)   **b\<in>ilih-an**   *ng lalaki*   *ng isda*   ang tindahan   **Locative Voice**

\<PFV>buy-LV   GEN man   GEN fish   NOM store

'The man bought fish at the store'

What does WAn Verbal Morphology do?

- WAn verbal morphology encodes **symmetrical voice**

Tagalog Relativisation
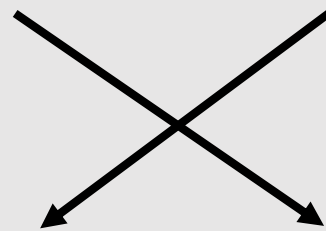
(4a)   **AV**   Matalino   ang lalaki[=ng   bumasa   *ng diyaryo*]
               Intelligent   NOM man=LNK   AV.read   GEN newspaper
               'The man who read a newspaper is intelligent'

(4b)   *Interesante   *ng diyaryo*[=ng   bumasa   ang lalaki]
               Interesting   GEN newspaper=LNK   AV.read   NOM man

(4c)   **UV**   Interesante   ang diyaryo[=ng   binasa   *ng lalaki*]
               Interesting   NOM newspaper=LNK   UV.read   GEN man
               'The newspaper that the man read is interesting'

(4d)   *Matalino   *ng lalaki*[=ng   binasa   ang diyaryo]
               Intelligent   GEN man=LNK   UV-read   NOM newspaper

Conclusion

Only the privileged argument can be relativized on

privileged argument = subject

Tagalog Reflexive Binding

(5a)   **Actor Voice** (actor = *ang*-marked)

Nag-aalala   ang lolo   *sa*   *kaniyang*   *sarili*

AV-worry   NOM grandfather   DAT   his   self

'Grandfather worries about himself'

(5b)   **Undergoer Voice** (actor ≠ *ang*-marked)

Inaalala   *ng lolo*   ang   kaniyang   sarili

UV.worry   GEN grandfather   NOM   his   self

'Granfather worries about himself' (Manning 1996: 13)

Conclusion

The actor controls reflexive binding regardless of whether it is privileged or not

actor = subject

Indonesian Relativisation

(6a) **AV**   [Hasan] [yang   membeli   *ikan*]
        Hasan   REL   AV.buy   fish
     'It was Hasan who bought fish'

(6b)   *_Ikan_   [yang   mem-beli   Hasan]
        fish   REL   AV-buy   Hasan

(6c) **UV**   [Ikan] [yang   di-beli   *Hasan*]
        fish   REL   UV-buy   Hasan
     'It was fish that Hasan bought'

(6d)   *_Hasan_   [yang   di-beli   ikan]
        Hasan   REL   UV-buy   fish   (adapted from Musgrave 2002: 59)

Indonesian Reflexive Binding

(7a) **Actor Voice**

saya	menyerah-kan	*diri*	*saya*		ke	polisi.
1SG	AV.surrender-APPL	self	1SG		to	police

'I surrendered myself to the police.'

(7b) **Undergoer Voice (pro=V)**

diri	saya	*saya*	serah-kan		ke	polisi.
self	1SG	1SG	UV.surrender-APPL		to	police

'I surrendered myself to the police.'

(7c) **Undergoer Voice (*di-V-nya*)**

diri-nya		di-serah-kan=*nya*		ke	polisi.
self-3SG		UV-surrender-APPL=3SG		to	police

'He/she surrendered himself to the police.' (Arka & Manning 1998)

Inuit Relativisation

(8a) Nanuq   [*Piita-p*   tuqu-ta-a]

polar.bear Peter-ERG   kill-TR.PART.3SG

'A polar bear that Peter killed.'

(8b) *angut   [aallaat   tigu-sima-sa-a]

man   gun   take-PERF.REL.TR.3SG

'The man who took the gun.' (Manning 1996)

Inuit Reflexive Binding

(9a)   Ataata-ni | Juuna-p | tatig(i-v)aa
        father-REFL.POSS | Juuna-ERG | trust-IND.TR.3SG.3SG
        'Juuna trusts his father'

(9b)   *Anaana-mi   Piita   nagligi-jaŋa
        mother-REFL.POSS.ERG   Piita   love-3SG.3SG
        FOR: 'His mother loves Pitta' (Manning 1996)

Systematic Split (Falk 2006)

Type 1 Properties	Type 2 Properties
Agent argument in active voice	Shared argument in co-ordinated clauses
Most likely covert argument	Raising
The addressee of an imperative	Extraction
Anaphoric prominence	Obligatory element
Switch reference systems	"External" structural position
Controlled argument (PRO) for some languages	Controlled argument (PRO) for some languages
Discourse topic	Definiteness/wide scope

Actor Semantic Role

Privileged Argument

What does this mean for subjects?

- There have been three main approaches to the **split:**

  (1) Western Austronesian languages do not have subjects (Schachter 1976)   X
     ➤ There is no subject - the privileged argument is a **topic**

  (2) Only Type 1 properties identify subjects (Aldridge 2004)   X
     ➤ The **actor is subject** – the privileged argument is a **topic/absolutive**

  (3) Only Type 2 properties identify subjects (Manning 1996, Manning & Sag 1998)
     ➤ The privileged argument is **subject -** binding controlled by **actor**   ✓
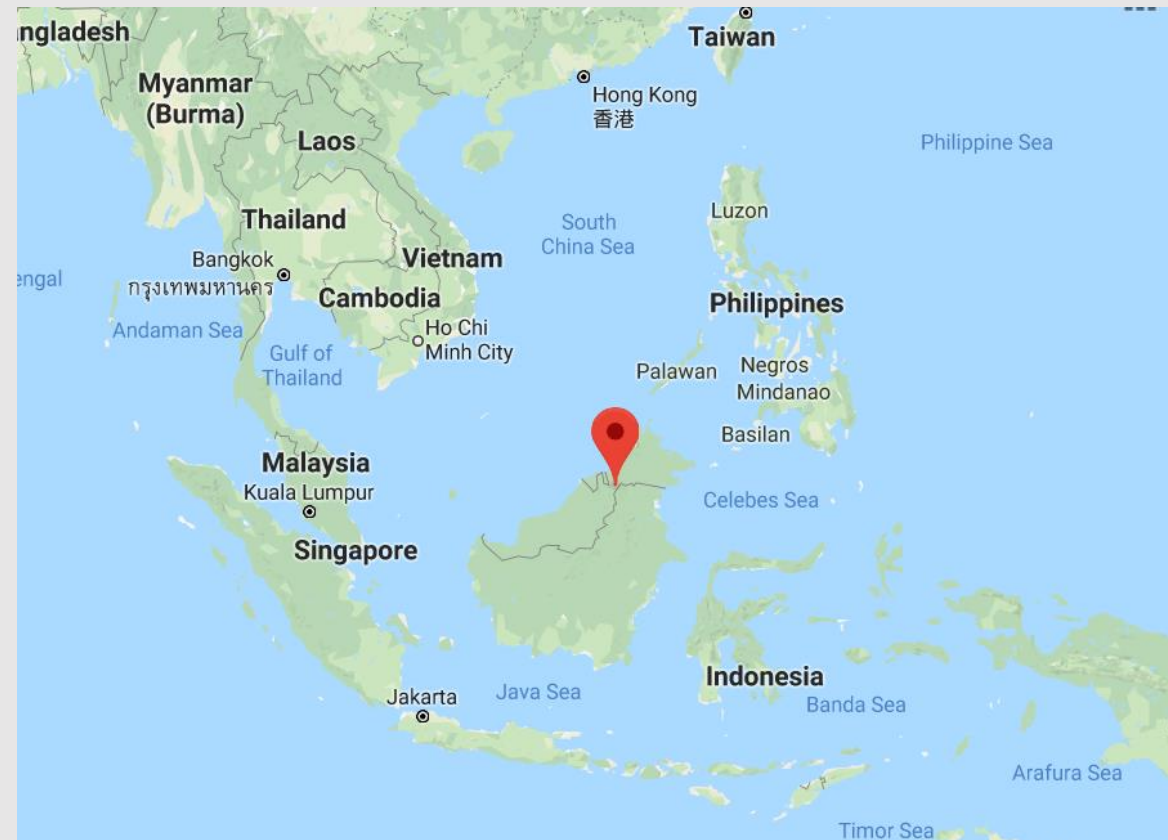
Grammatical Functions in Kelabit

Kelabit

- **Kelabit** is a WAn languages spoken in Northern Sarawak, Malaysia. It belongs to the Apad Uat subgroup.

- Data is taken from fieldwork in Bario (2013-17)

- Like Tagalog, it has a system of **WAn verbal morphology** that could be analysed as symmetrical voice

Kelabit

(1a) **Actor Voice**
La'ih   sineh   **ne-nekul**   *nuba'*   *nedih*   ngen   seduk
man   DEM   PFV-AV.spoon   rice   3SG.POSS   with   spoon
'That man spooned up his rice with a spoon'

(1b) **Undergoer Voice**
sikul   *lai'h*   *sineh*   **nuba'**   **nedih**   ngen   seduk
<UV.PFV>spoon   man   DEM   rice   3SG.POSS   with   spoon
'That man spooned up his rice with a spoon'

(1c) **Instrumental Voice**
seduk   **penekul**   *la'ih*   *sineh*   *nuba'*   *nedih*
spoon   IV-spoon   man   DEM   rice   3SG.POSS
'That man used a spoon to spoon up his rice'

Differences with Tagalog:

➢ Number of voices
➢ Semantic properties
➢ Word order
➢ Case marking

Kelabit Relativisation

(3a) **AV**   Seni'er   kuh   **la'ih**   [suk ___ ne-nekul   *nuba'*   ngen seduk]

UV.PFV.see   1SG   man   REL   PFV-AV.spoon   rice   with spoon

'I saw the man who spooned up rice with a spoon'

(3b)   *Seni'er   kuh   *nuba'*   [suk   nekul   ___   **la'ih**   **sineh**]

UV.PFV.see   1SG   rice   REL   AV.spoon   man   DEM

(3c) **UV**   Seni'er   kuh   **nuba'**   [suk ___ sikul   *la'ih sineh*   ngen seduk]

UV.PFV.see   1SG   rice   REL   UV.PFV.spoon   man DEM   with spoon

'I saw the rice that the man spooned up with a spoon'

(3d)   *Seni'er   kuh   *la'ih*   [suk   sikul   ___   **nuba'**]

UV.PFV.see   1SG   man   REL   UV.PFV.spoon   rice

Kelabit Reflexive Binding

(5a) **Actor Voice**

Uih	ne-mada'	*burur kudih*	ngedeh
1SG	PFV-AV.show	body 1SG.POSS	to.3PL

'I surrendered myself to them.'

Split subject properties correlates with **WAn verbal morphology** regardless of other morphosyntactic properties…

(5c) **Undergoer Voice**

Binada'	*kuh*	**burur kudih**	ngedeh
UV.PFV.show	1SG	body 1SG.POSS	to.3PL

'I surrendered myself to them.'

Privileged Argument as Subject

Privileged Argument as Subject?

- In addition to extraction (relativisation, cleft constructions) there are a number of **subject properties** unique to privileged arguments

	Kelabit
Particles	✓
Relativisation	✓
Pre-verbal position	✓
Fronted questions	✓
Raising	✓
Control	✓
Co-ordination	? not limited to subjects

Particles

(13a) **AV**   Kuman | **teh** | Peter | *bua' kaber nedih*   keneh
       AV.eat | PT | Peter | pineapple 3SG.POSS   he.said
       'Peter does eat his pineapple he said'

(13b)   *Kuman   Peter   **teh**   *bua' kaber nedih*   keneh
             AV.eat   Peter   PT   pineapple 3SG.POSS   he.said

(13c) **UV**   Kenen   *Peter*   **teh** | bua' kaber nedih | keneh
       UV.eat   Peter   PT | pineapple 3SG.POSS | he.said
       'Peter will eat his pineapple he said'

(13d)   *Kenen **teh**   *Peter*   bua' kaber nedih   keneh
             UV.eat   PT   Peter   pineapple 3SG.POSS   he.said

Only privileged arguments have prenominal particles

Pre-verbal Position

(15a) **Actor Voice**

<u>**La'ih   sineh**</u>   nenekul   *nuba'*   ngen   tekul   ngimalem

man   DEM   AV.PFV.spoon   rice   with   spoon   yesterday

'The man spooned up rice with a spoon yesterday'

> Only privileged arguments appear pre-verbally

(15b)   **nuba'*   nenekul   <u>**la'ih   sineh**</u>   ngen   tekul   ngimalem

(15c) **Undergoer Voice**

<u>**Nuba'**</u>   sikul   *la'ih   sineh*   ngen   tekul   ngimalem

rice   UV.PFV.spoon   man   DEM   with   spoon   yesterday

'The man spooned up the rice with a spoon yesterday.'

(15d)   **la'ih   sineh*   sikul   <u>**nuba'**</u>   ngen   tekul   ngimalem

Raising

(18a) **Actor Voice**

Uih	ngelinuh	[	**ieh**	]	nekuman	*nuba'*	ngimalem
1SG	AV.think		3SG		AV.PFV.eat	rice	yesterday

'I thought him to have eaten his rice yesterday'

(18c) *Uih ngelinuh *nuba'* nekuman **ieh** ngimalem

(18d) **Undergoer Voice**

Uih	ngelinuh	[	**nuba'**	kinan	*neh*	ngimalem	]
1SG	AV.PFV.think		rice	UV.PFV.eat	3SG	yesterday	

'I thought the rice to have been eaten by him yesterday'

(18f) *Uih ngelinuh *ieh* kinan **nuba'** ngimalem

Raising

(18a)   **Actor Voice**

Uih	ngelinuh	**ieh**	**tu'uh-tu'uh**	[nekuman	*nuba'*	ngimalem]
1SG	AV.think	3SG	real-REDUP	AV.PFV.eat	rice	yesterday

'I thought him truly to have eaten his rice yesterday'

(18d)   **Undergoer Voice**

Uih	ngelinuh	**nuba'**	**tu'uh-tu'uh**	[kinan	*neh*	ngimalem]
1SG	AV.PFV.think	rice	real-REDUP	UV.PFV.eat	3SG	yesterday

'I thought the rice truly to have been eaten by him yesterday'

*ieh   **tu'uh-tu'uh**   nekuman   *nuba'*   ngimalem

Raising

(18b)
Ieh	leninuh	kuh	tu'uh-tu'uh	[___	nekuman	*nuba'* dih]
3SG	UV.PFV.think	1SG	real-REDUP		AV.PFV.eat	rice DEM

'I truly thought him to have eaten the rice'

(18e)
Nuba'	leninuh	kuh	tu'uh-tu'uh	[___	kinan	*la'ih* *sineh*]
rice	UV.PFV.think	1SG	real-REDUP		UV.PFV.eat	man DEM

'I truly thought rice to have been eaten by him'

Only privileged arguments can be raised

Control

(19a) Mesurung [ieh] **tu'uh-tu'uh** neh kamih [__ ngabi *nuba' nedih*]
Persuade 3SG real-REDUP PT 1PL.EXCL AV.finish rice 3SG.POSS
'We really persuaded her to finish her rice.'

(13b) Mesurung [ieh] **tu'uh-tu'uh** neh kamih [___ siren *dutur*]
persuade 3SG real-REDUP PT 1PL.EXCL UV.see doctor
'We really persuaded her to be seen by the doctor.'

Control

(20a) AV   La'ih sineh   nemerey   dedtur sidih   **ngimalem** [__ nibu   *padey*]
man DEM   AV.PFV.give   woman DEM   yesterday   AV.plant rice
'The man allowed the woman yesterday to plant rice'

(20c) UV   La'ih sineh   nemerey   padey **ngimalem** [___ sebuwen   *dedtur sidih*]
man DEM   AV.PFV.give   rice   yesterday   UV.IRR.plant women DEM
'The man gave some rice yesterday for the woman to plant'

*La'ih sineh   nemerey **ngimalem**   padey [___ sebuwen   *dedtur sidih*]

Only privileged arguments can be the controllee

Summary

The privileged argument has the Type 2 properties expected of subjects

Binding

- The main challenge against treating the privileged argument as subject is the binding data.

- However, this would be expected if – following Manning (1996) and Manning and Sag (1998) – we assume that Type 1 properties actually identify the **highest semantic role** at the level of argument structure with core status

- Moreover, studies of binding within LFG have revealed that there is variation cross-linguistically in terms of the **nature of the binding domain** and constraints on **potential antecedents** (Bresnan et al. 2016, Dalrymple 2001)

Binding

- There are languages for which it is necessary to refer to the **thematic hierarchy** in order to correctly state the binding conditions
  - ➤ Albanian (Sells 1988)
  - ➤ Norwegian (Hellan 1988, Dalrymple & Zaenan 1991)
  - ➤ Balinese (Arka & Wechsler 1996)

- Moreover, the binding data in Kelabit gets more complex when we look at quantificational objects like 'every child'…

Binding

- In AV, there is a **binding asymmetry**:

(23a) <u>Kenep-kenep   tesineh</u>   nu'uh   *anak   nedih*

every   mother   AV.look.after   child   3SG.POSS

'Every mother$_i$ looks after her$_i$ child' (actor binds undergoer)

(23b) <u>Tesineh nedih</u>   nu'uh   *kenep-kenep   anak*

mother 3SG.POSS   AV.look.after   every   child

'Her$_{*i/k}$ mother looks after every child$_i$' (undergoer cannot bind actor)

Binding

- In UV, there is NO **binding asymmetry**:

(24a) | Kenep-kenep   anak | terenuwen | *tesineh nedih* |

every   child   UV.look.after   mother 3SG.POSS

'Every child$_i$ is looked after by her$_i$ mother' (undergoer binds actor)

(24b) Anak   nedih   terenuwen   *kenep-kenep   tesineh*

child   3SG.POSS   UV.look.after   every   mother

'Her$_i$ child is looked after by every mother$_i$' (actor binds undergoer)

Binding

- Judgements need to be further corroborated...

- Moreover, the binding asymmetry appears to disappear when both arguments are post-verbal

- However, it is clear that **binding is rather complex** and a full account may require reference to the thematic hierarchy, functional hierarchy and linear precedence.

- Consequently, the binding data doesn't necessarily argue against the **privileged argument = subject** account in the way that e.g. Schachter assumed!

Privileged Argument as Topic

Privileged Argument as Topic?

- The main alternative to treating the privileged argument as subject is to treat it as a **topic**.

- Topics have been defined in the literature in a number of different ways. Two particularly prominent notions are:
  - Discourse Topics – central referents with high topic continuity (Cooreman, Fox and Givon 1984)
  - Information Structure Topics – identifiable/aboutness (Lambrecht 1994)

- The **UV undergoer** does not (necessarily) fit either of these definitions!

Kelabit UV in Discourse

(25)

Nalap	*neh*	**pupu'**
UV.PFV.fetch	3SG	hitting.implement

'She fetched something to hit with'

Nukab	*neh*	**bubpu'**	**daan**
UV.PFV.open	3SG	door	hut

'Opened the door to the hut'

Nalap	*neh*	**edteh**	**kayuh**
UV.PFV.fetch	3SG	one	stick

'Picked up a piece of wood'

Cooreman, Fox & Givón (1984) suggest that a discourse topic has **high topic continuity** in the sense that it has low referential distance (=is easy to identify in context) and high topical persistence (=remains important).

In this (fairly typical) stretch of discourse it is the actor that has high topic continuity (and not the undergoer)

Quantitative Measures

- In UV clauses in folk stories, actors have higher measures for referential distance and topical persistence than undergoers (see Hemmings 2017):

	Actor		Undergoer		Total No.
	High	Low	High	Low	
Referential Distance	49 **92%**	5 8%	36 **68%**	17 32%	53
Topical Persistence	41 **77%**	12 23%	23 43%	30 **57%**	53

Summary

The privileged undergoer does not appear to be the discourse topic

Is it the **information structure topic**?

Information Structure Topics

- The information structure topic is defined in terms of identifiablity and aboutness (Lambrecht 1994).

- Often the privileged argument is the **topic** in this sense (which is expected given the cross-linguistic link between subjects & topics)

- However, this need not be the case...
  - ➤ Non-privileged actors can also be the information structure topic
  - ➤ Privileged roles can also convey focus information

Non-Privileged Actor as Topic

- The **aboutness test** (creating an overt hanging topic) suggests that the non-privileged UV actor can be the information structure topic:

(26a) Paul   kedieh,   kinan   *neh*   bua'   ebpuk

Paul   3SG.EMPH   UV.PFV.eat   3SG.GEN   passionfruit

'As for Paul, he ate the passion fruit'

Privileged Argument as Focus

- **Question-answer** pairs show that the privileged argument can have the role of **focus**:

(27a) **Undergoer Voice**

Q. **Enun**   seni'er   *muh*?
what   UV.PFV.see   2SG
'What did you see?'

A. **Edteh   wayang**   sen'ier   *kuh*   na'ah
one   video   UV.PFV.see   1SG   before
'I just saw a video...'

(27b) **Actor Voice**

Q. **Iih**   suk kuman *bua'   kaber   sineh*?
who   REL   AV.eat   fruit   pineapple   DEM
'Who is eating that pineapple?'

A. **Peter**   suk kuman *bua' kaber   sineh*
Peter   REL   AV.eat   fruit   pineapple   DEM
'Peter is eating that pineapple.'

Privileged Argument as Focus

- The **contrast test** also suggests that privileged arguments can be in **focus**:

Context: Did Andy hit John? No…

(28a)

Paul	teh	suk	nemupu'	*ieh*
Paul	PT	REL	PFV.AV.hit	3SG.NOM

'It was Paul who hit him (John)'

(29b)

Paul	teh	suk	pinupu'	*neh*
Paul	PT	REL	UV.PFV.hit	3SG.GEN

'It was Paul that he (Andy) hit'

Adjunct Focus

- Moreover, if you focus an **adjunct**, voice choice doesn't seem to matter:

Context: Did Andy hit John yesterday? No…

(A) Edto   ma'un   t=ieh   pinupu'   *neh*
     day   before   PT=3SG.NOM   UV.pfv.hit   3SG.GEN

(B) Edto   ma'un   t=ieh   nemupu'   *ieh*
     day   before   PT=3SG.NOM   AV.pfv.hit   3SG.NOM

Summary

The privileged appears to be underspecified for its information structure role voice interacts with word order, case-marking (prosody?) to express this!

Hence, there are good arguments for treating it as a **subject** and against treating it as a **topic**

Non-privileged Actor as Object

Actor as Object?

- The final piece of the puzzle is showing that the **ᴜᴠ actor** is an object (or non-subject core argument) rather than a subject

- This argues against the **actor as subject** approach.

- The same arguments also support identifying the **ᴀᴠ undergoer** as a core argument

- Hence, they argue against an ergative analysis in which ᴀᴠ is an **intransitive antipassive** construction.

AV Undergoer and UV Actor Core Properties

- The AV Undergoer and UV Actor share the following properties which distinguish them both from **subjects** and **obliques**

	Kelabit
NP rather than PP	✓
Post-verbal position	✓
No subject properties	✓
No fronting	✓

NP rather than PP

(32a) **Actor Voice**

La'ih	sineh		nemerey	*nuba'*	[ngen	anak	nedih]_{PP}

La'ih   sineh   nemerey   *nuba'*   [ngen   anak   nedih]_{PP}

man   DEM   PFV.AV.give   rice   to   child   3SG.POSS

'The man gave rice to his child'

(32b) **Undergoer Voice**

Birey   *la'ih   sineh*   nuba'   [ngen   anak   nedih]_{PP}

PFV.UV.give   man   DEM   rice   to   child   3SG.POSS

'The man gave rice to his child'

AV undergoers and UV actors
are not coded like obliques

Post-verbal Position

(33a') **Actor Voice**

<u>**La'ih   sineh**</u> | ne-kuman   *bua'   kaber* | **ngimalem**

man   DEM | PFV-AV.eat   fruit   pineapple | yesterday

'I ate pineapple yesterday'

(33b') **Undergoer Voice**

Kinan   *la'ih   sineh* | <u>**bua' kaber**</u>   **ngimalem**

UV.PFV.eat   man   DEM | fruit pineapple

'The man ate that pineapple yesterday.'

Post-verbal Position

(33a)   **Actor Voice**

*<u>**La'ih   sineh**</u>   ne-kuman   **ngimalem** | *bua'   kaber* |

man   DEM   PFV-AV.eat   yesterday | fruit   pineapple |

'I ate pineapple yesterday'

(33b)   **Undergoer Voice**

*Kinan   **ngimalem** | *la'ih   sineh* | <u>**bua' kaber**</u>

UV.PFV.eat   yesterday | man   DEM | fruit pineapple

'The man ate that pineapple yesterday.'

Post-verbal Position

(33c) **Actor Voice**

La'ih   sineh | nenekul   *nuba'* | **ngimalem**   ngen   tekul

man   DEM | AV.PFV.spoon   rice | yesterday   with   spoon

'The man spooned up rice yesterday with a spoon'

Hence, neither the AV undergoer nor UV actor patterns like an oblique

(33d) **Undergoer Voice**

Nuba' | sikul   *la'ih   sineh* | **ngimalem**   ngen   tekul

rice | UV.PFV.spoon   man   DEM | yesterday   with   spoon

'The man spooned up the rice yesterday with a spoon'

Post-verbal Position

(34b) *La'ih sineh   nemerey   ngen   anak   nedih   │ *nuba'* │

man   DEM   AV.PFV.give   to   child   3SG.POSS   │ rice   │

For: 'The man gave rice to his child'

(34e) *Nuba'   birey   ngen   anak   nedih   │ *la'ih   sineh* │

rice   UV.PFV.give   to   child   3SG.POSS   │ man   DEM   │

For: 'The man gave RICE to his child'

Adjunct Fronting

(35a) *_nuba'_,   la'ih   sineh   nenekul   ngen   tekul

rice   man   DEM   AV.PFV.spoon   with   spoon

For: 'Rice, the man spooned up with a spoon'

(35c) *_la'ih sineh_,   nuba'   sikul   ngen   tekul

man   DEM   rice   UV.PFV.spoon   with   spoon

For: 'By the man, rice was spooned up with a spoon'

Adjunct Fronting

(35b) Ngen tekul, la'ih sineh nenekul nuba'

with spoon man DEM AV.PFV.spoon rice

'With a spoon, the man spooned up rice'

The AV undergoer and UV actor both differ from obliques

(35d) Ngen tekul, nuba' sikul la'ih sineh

with spoon rice UV.PFV.spoon man DEM

'With a spoon, the rice was spooned up by the man'

Summary

The UV actor looks more like an object (non-subject core argument) than a subject! (against actor = subject)

The AV undergoer looks like an object rather than an oblique (against the ergative analysis)

Summary

- Hence, we have motivated the following analysis of **argument to function mappings** in the different voice constructions (verbal forms):
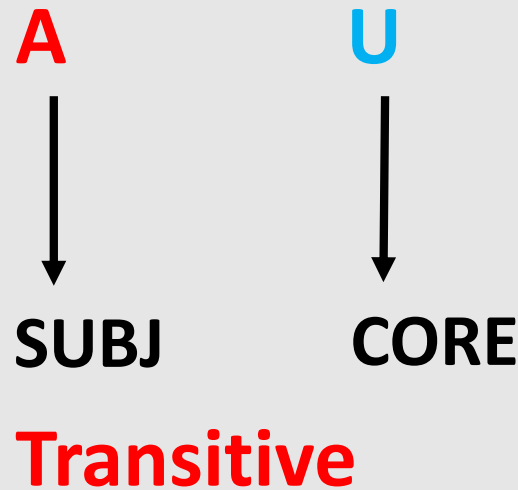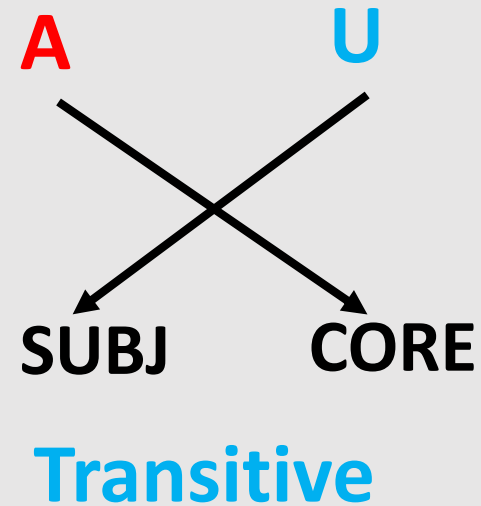
Implications & Conclusion

Conclusion

- In this paper, I have presented three main arguments for treating the <u>privileged argument</u> as **subject** in Kelabit:

1. It has a range of cross-linguistic **subject properties** that distinguish it from other arguments in the clause

2. It does not appear to have the cross-linguistic properties expected of **discourse or information structure topics**

3. The non-privileged actor behaves like an *object* than <u>subject</u>.

Conclusion

- This has several **important implications**

- It supports the idea that verbal morphology encodes an alternation in the mapping of arguments to functions and results in multiple transitive clauses.

- Hence, it suggests that the best analysis of the data is **symmetrical voice**

- It also demonstrates the importance of identifying grammatical functions in Western Austronesian languages as a necessary precursor to understanding the true nature of the verbal morphology

Conclusion

- As for the question of subjects, it suggests that a **subject** can be identified in Kelabit and that the split may be linked to the mapping of actor to object.

- It further suggests that Western Austronesian languages and the split in subject properties need not refute the notion of subject being a **universal grammatical function**.

- Rather, it implies the need to **refine the definition** (and criteria for idenfitication) on the basis of a more typologically varied set of languages (following the Manning/Kroeger approach).

Conclusion

- Finally, it suggests that **actors can be mapped to objects** which has implications for theoretical approaches to linking.

- Importantly, it suggests that default linking of actors to non-object function, does not necessarily apply for all languages and cannot be assumed to be universal

- Hence, this work makes an important contribution to our understanding of grammatical functions and Austronesian voice systems and highlights the importance of developing theoretical models that can account for the **typological facts**.

Many Thanks!