

DIATHESIS, GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS, AND CLITICS IN AMPENAN SASAK

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By

Khairunnisa

Dissertation Committee:

Bradley McDonnell, Chairperson
Andrea Berez-Kroeker
Gary Holton
William O’Grady
Barbara Andaya

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Abstract

This dissertation presents a morphosyntactic description of a variety of Sasak referred to as Ampenan Sasak (henceforth AS). AS has been traditionally grouped in previous studies on Sasak as part of *Ngeno-ngené* dialect. Sasak itself is an under-described Austronesian language spoken on the eastern Indonesian island of Lombok. Utilizing a corpus of conversational data and elicited data, this dissertation examines the structural properties of diathetical operations and pronominal clitics in AS in addition to describing major areas of morphology and syntax.

There are two primary objectives in this dissertation. It first aims to describe the diathesis found in AS followed by identifying the grammatical relations (GRs). Findings show that AS has a symmetrical alternation with no morphological marking on verbs, analogous to voice in other Austronesian languages of the region that are termed Agentive Diathesis (AD) and Patientive Diathesis (PD) in this dissertation. AD comprises two subconstructions namely non-clitic construction and a marked AV construction. These findings are supported by GRs which only target certain argument(s) depending on the construction. Based on seven diagnostic constructions (or argument selectors) that have been used to provide evidence for GRs in other Sasak dialects and related languages, the findings identify different types of GRs, including a pivot, subject, and core argument. Argument selectors, such as structural position, relativization, and raising provide evidence for pivot, while other argument selectors, such as variable binding and control provide evidence for subject. Additionally, coreferential arguments and quantifier float provide evidence for core argumenthood.

The second objective seeks to describe pronominal clitics in AS in terms of their variation, functions, and distribution in the clause based on naturally occurring discourse. The objective also includes locating pronominal clitics in AS within the typology of Western Austronesian languages. The findings suggest that pronominal clitics in AS are best categorized as simple and special clitics which attach to a wide range of hosts. Simple clitics comprise possessive and non-subject/pivot P clitics while special clitics include subjects, which express S and A arguments. In regard to the distribution, special clitics in AS occur in a wider range of positions compared to clitics in related languages of the region. That is, they can occur not only in the second positions but also in different positions in the clause. The latter case has not been observed in previous studies on Sasak.

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List of Abbreviations

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
AD	Agentive diathesis
AGT	Agent Marker
APPL	Applicative
AS	Ampenan Sasak
AUX	Auxiliary
AV	Agentive voice
BEN	Benefactive
CAUS	Causative
CLF	Classifier
DM	Discourse marker
EXCL	Exclamation
FEM	Feminine
FUT	Future
LOC	Locative
MASC	Masculine
MID	Middle voice
NEG	Negation
NMLZ	Nominalizer
PASS	Passive voice
PART	Particle
PD	Patientive diathesis
PFV	Perfective
PL	Plural
PN	Personal Name
POL	Polite
PV	Patientive voice
SG	Singular
TAM	Tense Aspect Mood
RDP	Reduplication
REL	Relative

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Sasak

The Sasak language is an Austronesian language spoken by 3.7 million people on the island of Lombok in eastern Indonesia (Badan Pusat Statistik 2021). This language falls within the subgroup of Balinese-Sasak-Sumbawan (BSS) (Mbetse 1990; Adelaar 2005; Shiohara & Arka to appear), a subgroup within Malayo-Polynesian that is in close proximity to the Bima-Sumba subgroup within Central Malayo-Polynesian whose line starts from the half east of Sumbawa. Given this subgrouping, to some extent, Sasak shares some similarities with the two other languages as well as differences. Sasak is also one of the only four Indonesian languages that apply speech styles (Blust 2013). The speech styles in Sasak are not as complex as those in Javanese but the Sasak community is still generally divided into two castes; *mènak* ‘nobles’ and *jamaq* ‘non-nobles’ or ‘commoners’ who speak their own speech style. The nobles speak the high prestige speech style known as *alus* ‘refined’, while the commoners speak the low speech style called *jamaq* in their daily encounters. Between these two varieties, *alus* is often regarded as the language to express politeness which is also due to the fact that the nobles are respected in the community. For instance, one is expected to speak *alus* to the nobles. Consequently, the use of *alus* has been extended into codeswitching with Indonesian in formal situations, or as pointed out by Syahdan (2000), such codeswitching is commonly found in office settings. On the other hand, even though *alus* is associated as a politeness standard in the Sasak community, I find that *jamaq* speakers also utilize their own politeness strategies in situations where using *alus* is not appropriate (e.g., when speaking with other non-nobles or younger interlocutors) namely through pronominal forms (Khairunnisa 2021). For instance, they use clitics to express politeness when referring to themselves, and first person plural and third person pronouns when referring to their interlocutors. The latter case is triggered by Face Threatening Acts (see Brown and Levinson, 1987).

In regard to vitality, given such a number of speakers, Sasak is not endangered but it may be experiencing language shift to Indonesian in some communities. While Sasak is still commonly spoken in rural parts of the island, many Sasak people in urban areas started to prefer

speaking Indonesian to their children. Moreover, as Indonesian is regarded as the language of prestige, there is a tendency to speak Indonesian once speakers have gained some level of education. Additionally, given the complex speech styles in Sasak, Indonesian is often taken as a safe way out for speakers who are not fully competent in speaking *alus* where the situation calls for polite register to be used. In other words, it is better to fully speak Indonesian rather than slip into using the lower register. Moreover, Sasak is still considered as a minority language with fewer than four million speakers compared with large local languages of Indonesia such as Javanese and Sundanese with tens of millions of speakers.

Sasak is traditionally grouped into five major dialects based on how speakers say ‘like this’ and ‘like that’ across different parts of the island. They are *Ngenó-ngené*, *Nggètò-nggètè*, *Menó-mené*, *Kutó-kuté*, and *Meriq-meriku* dialects with their general geographical distribution shown in Figure 1.1. However, given the complex varieties in the language, this dialectic grouping is questionable; some propose there are only four dialects but others think there are many more (Austin 2013; Jacq 1998; Mahyuni 2006).

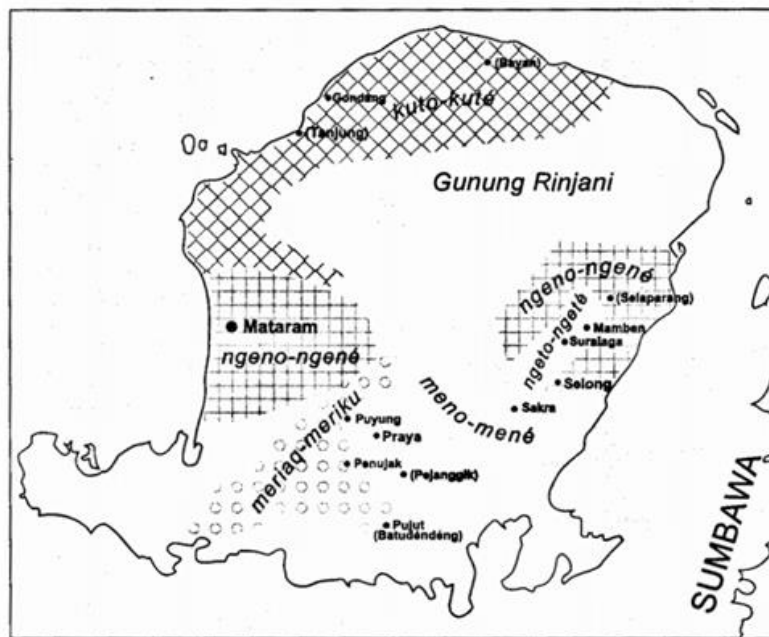


Figure 1.1 Traditional grouping of Sasak dialects from Jacq (1998).

The dialects vary in terms of their phonology, lexicon, morphology, and syntax. For instance, the lexical differences are also often accompanied by differences in their derivational morphology, as pointed out by Austin (2013).

Table 1.1 Lexical and derivational morphology across dialects from Austin (2013).

Noun			Verb		
Kutó-kuté	Menó-mené	English	Kutó-kuté	Menó-mené	English
<i>kelambi</i>	<i>kelambi</i>	‘shirt’	<i>ngelambi</i>	<i>be-kelambi</i>	‘to wear a shirt’
<i>sempéda</i>	<i>sepéde</i>	‘bicycle’	<i>nyempéda</i>	<i>be-sepede</i>	‘to ride a bicycle’
<i>celana</i>	<i>celane</i>	‘shorts’	<i>nyelana</i>	<i>be-celane</i>	‘to wear shorts’
<i>kèrèng</i>	<i>kèrèng</i>	‘sarong’	<i>mengkèrèng</i>	<i>be-kèrèng</i>	‘to wear a sarong’
<i>bòngòt</i>	<i>sapuq</i>	‘headband’	<i>membóngót</i>	<i>be-sapuq</i>	‘to wear a headband’
<i>daraq</i>	<i>daraq</i>	blood	<i>mendaraq</i>	<i>be-daraq</i>	‘to bleed’

Despite the fact that Sasak is rich in dialectical variation, efforts to describe the language have concentrated on more homogenous sociolinguistic situations in rural areas, leaving a gap in the descriptions of the varieties spoken in urban areas such as the capital city and its surrounding districts. This dissertation will look at a variety of Sasak which I refer to as Ampnenan Sasak and people in Ampnenan refer to as *base Sasak Ampnenan*. This speech community represents a more heterogeneous sociolinguistic situation than others on the island.

1.2 Ampnenan Sasak

Following the traditional dialect grouping, AS belongs to the *Ngenó-ngené* dialect, both geographically and in their use of the *ngenó* ‘like this’ and *ngené* ‘like that’. However, this variety displays notable distinctions from other descriptions of the *Ngenó-ngené* dialect, which is likely a result of long periods of contact among speakers of different Sasak dialects as well as languages other than Sasak. More precisely, AS is spoken in the city of Ampnenan, located on the west side of the capital city of Mataram. The city is also known as *Kota Tua* ‘old town’ because there are many old buildings from the Dutch colonial era. Moreover, Ampnenan historically played a crucial role in society, since the main port that connected the island to the outside world was located there. Consequently, Ampnenan had developed into an urban area early on in the history of Lombok, meaning it could be considered a hotspot of variation due to language contact. There are many different speech communities interacting from different ethnic groups

such as Javanese, Balinese, Chinese Indonesian, Arab Indonesian, Sumbawan and Bimanese. The Sasak community inhabiting the city is also diverse. They consist of a small number of ‘nobles’ and a large number of ‘non-nobles’, as well as a large number of fishermen who live side by side with non-fishermen in many Ampenan neighborhoods. Given such situations, the term Ampenan Sasak itself is used in this dissertation to point out that the variety differs from other descriptions of the *Ngenó-ngené* dialect.

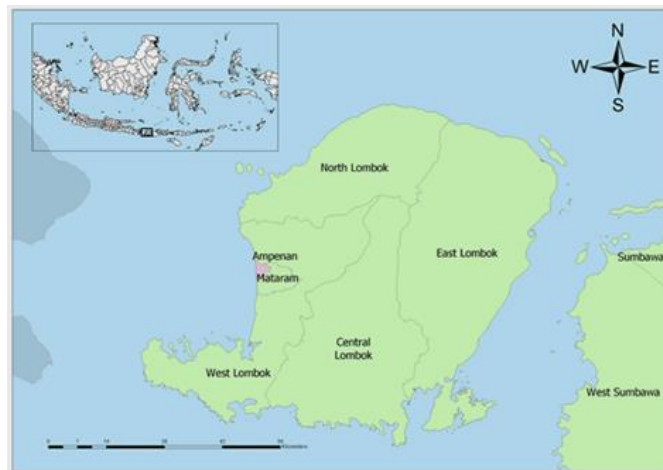


Figure 1.2 Location of Ampenan shown in pink on the island of Lombok, Indonesia.

1.3 Previous studies on Sasak

There is only limited work on the language, despite the fact that Sasak exhibits intriguing morphosyntactic properties. For example, the voice morphology has started to disappear, voice and voice related phenomena such as diathesis, applicatives and causatives are still productive in Sasak.

The Sasak language is under-described and there is no comprehensive grammar available. However, some published work on the language is available. A survey of dialects was conducted by Teeuw (1958) and many years later followed by two volumes edited by Peter Austin (1998, 2000) that cover some pivotal points of the language. The first volume is limited to the description of the *Meno-mené* dialect, which includes basic discussions of phonology, morphosyntax, and clause structure. The second volume is broader in terms of the dialectic coverage, as the data are from *Ngenó-ngené*, *Meriq-meriku*, and *Meno-mené*. The volume

covers some pivotal points such as voice and valency, the relationship between grounding and aspect, and speech styles. Additionally, the volume also includes discussions on some narrative texts of local folklore. Austin also authors work on verbs and voice alternations (2001), clitics (2004), and nasal verbs and voice (2013). Wouk (1999, 2008) discusses the voice system in discourse. There is also work on relativization by Shibatani (2008) that combines Sumbawan in his investigations. More recent studies have been done by Asikin-Garmager (2016) on the so-called antipassive as well as his dissertation on voice in Sasak (Asikin-Garmager 2017) in which the majority of his data are from the eastern variety of *Ngenó-ngené* and *Meno-mene*, supplemented by *Kutó-kuté*.

As mentioned above, AS is a variety of *Ngenó-ngené* which has not been well described. There are two working papers on AS, one is on voice and alignment in ditransitive constructions (Henke 2018) and the other one is on Subject and Pivot in the symmetrical voice system (Schuelke 2019). Both studies were produced in Field Methods class where I served as the language consultant for Sasak. Two more studies on AS come from Pappas (2021) on acoustic study of quasi-phonemic vowels, and my research, Khairunnisa (2021) on sociolinguistic variation of the clitics in relation to politeness.

In comparison with the previous studies on the other varieties of Sasak, I found that pronominal forms are similar, including those found in AS, but the distribution of clitics varies across dialects. Drawing from previous work, I also observe that there are significant differences in morphosyntax regarding voice constructions. For instance, while in *Ngenó-ngené* the AV is still frequently marked with *N-*, but the prefix is often results in unexpressed P arguments in *Meno-mené*, AS provides evidence that diathesis alternations both in AD and PD are executed by unmarked verbal predicates. Thus, the Pivot in AS can still be identified, unlike what is claimed by Wouk (2002). This dissertation provides a detailed description of morphosyntax of AS that specifically pays attention to diathesis and clitics.

Finally, there are also extensive historical studies on Lombok. Some of them include work on *Babad Lombok* ‘literary historical text of Lombok’ such as Habiburrahman (2019), Suparman (1994), Wacana (1979), and Wiranom (1814-1892). Austin (2010) also briefly discusses *Babad Lombok* in which he describes how the historical text was written in dried leaves of the lontar palm. The orthography used in it is called *hanacaraka*, which applies a syllabary system and originates from southern India. The script had been also adopted in

Javanese and Balinese. Hence, the language used in *Babad Lombok* is not purely Sasak, but a mixed with a form of middle Javanese written in Kawi script (Austin 2010).

1.4 History of Ampenan

Ampenan, known as *kota tua* ‘the old city’, is a subdistrict of Mataram, a municipality on Lombok. For visitors to Ampenan, the most noticeable features of Ampenan include the Dutch colonial architecture, religious buildings, such as Buddhist and Hindu temples, in addition to mosques. Such features denote a sociocultural situation that is unique to Ampenan which makes it different from other parts of the island. The city is inhabited by a multi-ethnic community, which makes Ampenan a hotspot of linguistic variation. However, there is a common misunderstanding, even among Sasak people, that Ampenan was built by the Dutch in the 19th century. The uniqueness of Ampenan in terms of diversity of ethnic communities especially the ones comprising Balinese, Chinese Indonesian, Arab Indonesian, and Bugisese, are the result of a long history dating back far beyond the 19th century. Misconceptions about Ampenan are likely due to a lack of accessible and reliable sources and the spread of unreliable information coming from various local websites. While this dissertation is concerned with the language of Ampenan, I feel it is important to provide some historical context to where this language is spoken. In this summary I have provided information primarily from Van der Kraan (1980), although Ampenan is discussed in other historical accounts of Lombok, including Cool (1934) and Hägerdal (2001).

According to Van der Kraan (1980), Ampenan was mentioned to exist in *Babad Lombok* in the 17th century. The old city of Ampenan was the ‘silent witness’ of the many historical events and incidents of the past. More importantly, Ampenan even marked the golden era of Lombok as the richest state in the east archipelago during the Mataram dynasty but this notable historical fact had been shunned by Indonesian scholars and historians (Van der Kraan 1997). After Balinese fully took over Lombok in the 18th century and underwent a split into some kingdoms (Van der Kraan 1980), there were four Balinese mini-states or small kingdoms on the island in the early 1830s (Van der Kraan 1997). They were Karangasem-Lombok or also called Cakranegara, Mataram, Pagesangan, and Pagutan Van der Kraan (1980; 1997). He further mentions that the strongest and wealthiest out of the four was Karangasem-Lombok which was led by a chief or *raja* named Ratu Ngurah Panji. Ampenan played a major role as the

indisputable source of such wealth and prosperity pertaining to the fact that the city was where the main port was located. This argument is confirmed by Van der Kraan (1997) who proposes that during this time, the port of Ampenan had accommodated external trade through the raja's Chinese bandars and trade farmers. His work also reported the British to enter the island and resided around Ampenan in 1834, where they could perform trading by paying an annual fee to the raja.

As in many other kingdoms which competed for power and wealth, understanding what Ampenan could possibly bring to the table, the kingdom of Mataram led by a raja named Gusti K'tut Karangasem, overthrew the principality of Karangasem-Lombok by first taking over Ampenan. Under Mataram's control, Ampenan even grew bigger. Van der Kraan (1997) points out that the raja of Mataram did not only use the port to be connected with Bali and continued the earlier trading activities, but he also performed trading with Singapore and the international trade centered in Singapore. In other words, at this point Ampenan had been the window for Lombok to the global world. Van der Kraan (1997) narrates that further, with some 'clever' political strategies, he gained support from some kingdoms in Bali island and a support from a British trader named George King who was removed from Lombok by the Karangasem-Lombok's raja and sought refuge in Bali. Consequently, from 1836-1838, the port of Ampenan transferred from only serving trade to facilitating military supplies arranged by George King. These included troops from Bali, food and war materials including traditional and modern weapons such rifles which were made obtainable as a result of connection with Singapore (Van der kraan 1997: 393). Being fully armed and supported by 7,000 - 8,000 troops from Bali, finally in 1838, Karangasem-Lombok was officially defeated by Mataram under the leadership of the new raja named Anak Agung G'de. The historical fact about the port of Ampenan used for military purposes is not widely known, what the port is more famously known as is only being the trade center.

The collapse of Karangasem-Lombok marked the beginning of the raising of the Mataram dynasty under the leadership of Anak Agung G'de who united the whole island in 1839 (Van der Kraan 1997). Ampenan continued to be a center of economy as well as a magnet for nationals including Balinese and Bugis, and international traders including the Dutch who were from 1838-1840 requesting for the establishment of the Dutch Trading Society (NHM) in Ampenan but was turned down by the raja (Van der Kraan 1997: 398). This piece of information,

again, clearly shows that the Dutch did not build Ampenan. Rather, the city had existed and the economy had been running, which attracted the Dutch to Ampenan because of its lucrative status. Van der Kraan also argues that Lombok was not isolated since Ampenan was open to foreign merchants. Thus, during this period, Arab, Chinese, and Europeans entered Lombok for trading, and some were allowed to reside on the island (Van der Kraan 1997: 398). He also mentions that Mataram also continued to arm itself by importing weapons and opiums as well as boosting their export of rice. Lombok was one of the biggest rice suppliers across the archipelago.

Van der Kraan (1997) proposes that the golden era of Lombok under the Mataram dynasty lasted for about 50 years until the rebellion from Muslim communities in East Lombok began in 1891. Note that the majority of Sasak people had become Muslim when Islam entered the island in between the 15th and 16th century, before the Balinese ruled the island (Van der Kraan 1980). The Dutch took advantage of the situation and landed their 4,400 officers, men, and convicts in Ampenan in July 1894 (Van der Kraan 1997: 403). He further proposes that while the raja gave up and agreed to all the Dutch's requests, his people did not. When the Dutch intervened in the pre-existing conflict by splitting the ethnic communities into two; the Balinese communities ruled by the new raja installed by the Dutch and muslim communities lead by muslim leaders, it ignited another war. Without the raja's decree but initiated by the princes and high officers, Balinese and Sasak troops from West Lombok attacked the Dutch with the most modern Winchester repeating rifles on August 25-26, 1894. The attack caused the Dutch to suffer the worst defeat in the history of the Netherlands Indies army (Van der Kraan 1997: 404). According to Van der Kraan (1997), the Dutch then retreated to Ampenan and again made the port function as a military passage through which they supplied rifles and heavy siege artillery along with transporting 7,000 men. The fact also implies that the Dutch made Ampenan as their base while preparing for the revenge attack. The attack then resulted in the fall of the Mataram dynasty in November 1894 when the raja surrendered but the other 400 Balinese decided to fight until their last drop (Van der Kraan 1997: 405). Thus, it was the Dutch who ended the ruling of Balinese kingdom on Lombok.

During the colonialism of the Dutch, Ampenan continued to progress since the export and import had increased sharply during the colonial period with more varieties of commodities both in the export and import. The Dutch even made Ampenan one out of the four separate districts

(Van der Kraan 1980). The Dutch colonial period ended when Japan took over the archipelago, including Bali and Lombok. Japan took over Lombok after their sea invasion in operation to capture Bali started on February 18, 1942 (Rommelink 2015). One source mentions that Japan landed at the port of Ampenan on May 18, 1942 (“‘Warisan’ Jepang di Jalur Hutan Pusuk” 2018). It is not clear what the exact situation was on Lombok after Japan took over. However, given the motivation of Japan to conquer the archipelago, which was not primarily economic because that happened during the WWII period, right after they succeeded in attacking Hawaii, the Japanese occupation was commonly regarded as the darkest era. They were well known for their cruelty such as *romusha* which refers to forcing people to do labor work until they succumb to death. To my knowledge, there is no physical trace of Japanese occupation in Ampenan, but it was found in different parts of the island such as a street in West Lombok which was made out of *romusha* (“‘Warisan’ Jepang di Jalur Hutan Pusuk” 2018).

After independence, Ampenan continued to grow as the most heterogeneous urban area on Lombok. In other words, the development of Ampenan into a multiethnic community during the 19th and 20th centuries is retained in the present day. This community comprising Arab Indonesians, Chinese Indonesians, Balinese, Bugisnese, Malay, and Banjarese still live side by side harmoniously with Sasak people as the majority group. Such diversity is linguistically manifested in a local colloquial Indonesian dialect referred to as *Bahasa Ampenan*, which contains elements of colloquial Indonesian, Malay, Arabic, Chinese, and Sasak. The ruins of the historical port which marks the beginning of the story of people coming from different places entering the city are still there. Now these multiethnic locals usually crowd the area to enjoy food while watching the sunset.

1.5 My positionality

In this part of the dissertation, I reflect on my positionality as the researcher which may have influenced the perspective behind this dissertation.

I am a scholar from the island of Lombok, Indonesia. I grew up in the 1980s in an extended working-class family in Pondok Perasi, Ampenan, where this research was conducted. My family is multi-ethnic in some ways. We have lived on Lombok for seven generations, my ancestors migrated to Indonesia from the Middle east, but inter-ethnic marriages with locals had taken place in the lower lines of the family tree. My father moved to Ampenan from the island of

Sumbawa when he first married my mother in the 1970s. My mother was born and grew up in Ampenan. I grew up speaking Sasak as my L1. I never had the privilege to access education in western regions of Indonesia, a far more developed part of the country. I went to elementary school in the neighborhood and almost all my school friends and playmates were from Pondok Perasi, mostly coming from fisherman families. I went to middle school in Ampenan, not far from my neighborhood, but my high school, college, and graduate school were located in Mataram, the state's municipality. I met my husband in college, and he is from Ganti, a village in the eastern part of Central Lombok. I never lived outside the island for 30 years of my life until I moved to Hawai'i in 2016.

Even though I have first-hand experience living a life as a member of a marginalized community, I was unaware of what globalization has cost indigenous communities in terms of language shift. I was like most people from minority groups who seek better lives through education and see English as the ticket to take part in a higher socioeconomic level. Hence, I took TESOL for my undergraduate study and taught English upon receiving my degree at elementary and college levels.

It was only when I was pursuing my Master's degree that I met the late Professor Dr. Abbas Ahmad Badib. He introduced me to the issue of endangered languages. I became interested in linguistics and language documentation, and at this point, I had my call to participate in the effort to preserve and study minority languages of Indonesia. As a native speaker of Sasak, I felt like I should start with working on my own variety of Sasak. I then entered the field as a PhD student at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa after winning a Fulbright Indonesia DIKTI Higher Ed. PhD Grant. My first two years as a PhD student were such a whole new experience because, in addition to delving further into linguistics, I also served as a language expert/language consultant at Field Methods class where I first worked with my advisor who taught the class, Dr. Bradley McDonnell. Over the course of those two years, I had the chance to go back home to Lombok every semester's break not only to visit my family but also to do fieldwork in Ampenan. The data were used both for my research and the class. Being a language consultant and fieldworker gave me the sense of what it felt to be on both sides, as a speaker and researcher. After my time as a language consultant ended, I continued working on Ampenan Sasak for my research. I was still able to return to Lombok for fieldwork every summer until 2019, a year before the pandemic.

This repeated fieldwork in my neighborhood has caused me to be identified not only as a member of the community but also a researcher. I acknowledge that I have some advantages of being an insider fieldworker. It was not difficult for me to find speakers without needing to build trust and connection with them prior to data collection. My thorough understanding of the culture helped me navigate how I conducted the research, which prevented me from accidentally causing social harm to the community. This included modulating between my identities as a woman and researcher when working with male speakers in a Muslim community. There were occasions where some male speakers saw me as a woman and thus eye contact was avoided, and communication must be mediated by my brother. The other advantage is when my native speaker skills allowed me to use Sasak to communicate with the others in the community, which aided their understanding, especially during elicitation. My knowledge of the language as a native speaker also eased me to understand the data deeply in terms of the social context, which was significantly helpful in analyzing conversational data. However, such advantages may not come without some drawbacks which may have affected this research.

As a member of the community, I feel a bigger responsibility to represent my community in global academia. Thus, I was careful with providing constructed syntactic examples to check with speakers. I have tried not to present examples that could leave negative impressions towards my community. I always considered the social interpretation of each constructed example shown in this dissertation. I notice that this is something that some outsider researchers working on languages of Indonesia do not take into account. Whenever I encounter such work, I think it portrays Indonesians from an outsider's point of view, which often does not adhere to the culture. Inasmuch as this is good, it may be considered biased since I attached myself a little too much beyond just what syntactic properties are there in the construction, even though all the constructions have been approved by the speakers. Hence, I am aware that there could be some linguistic areas that I might have not maximally explored due to such an overemphatic attitude.

In a nutshell, the context of this dissertation encompasses me as a researcher who is also a native speaker of AS, a member of multi-ethnic groups of Ampenan, a woman working with many male participants in a Muslim community, a wife to a speaker of a different variety of Sasak, and a scholar receiving linguistic training in the US. These all have shaped the perspective behind this dissertation that readers should keep in mind.

1.6 Data

This dissertation draws on mainly two types of data, namely conversational data and elicited data, supported by constructed examples based on my knowledge as a native speaker of AS. All the data were collected from the neighborhood of Pondok Perasi, Ampenan. The conversational data were collected from fieldwork conducted from winter 2016 to summer 2019. Because of the pandemic, the elicited data collection was done via Zoom in the intervals between March 2021 and December 2021. There are 24 speakers participating in this study; 15 males and 9 females who range in age from 24 to 56 years old. Their professions are mostly fishermen including three female speakers who process and sell the catch, but the others work as an officer, labor worker, social worker, owners of *warung* ‘kiosks’ at home, and housewives. In collecting data, I worked with my brother acting as a research assistant who helped me both in the fieldwork and zoom sessions. The data are archived in Kaipuleohone Language Archive in collection KN1. Examples from this collection are cited using the collection ID KN1 followed by the session number (e.g. 001, 002). When the example is taken from a conversation, the begin and end times are also provided along with the speaker’s name (e.g., KN1-008, 06:50-06:52, Speaker: Pas). Examples that are not cited were created by me.



Figure 1.3 The location of Pondok Perasi in the Ampenan district from Pappas (2021).

1.6.1 Conversational data

Two conversations are between female speakers, two are between a husband and wife, and the rest are between male speakers. Each conversation is 30 minutes long but only 10 minutes of each conversation are used as the data. Thus, the data comprise 90 minutes of spontaneous conversations. The nature of the conversation is completely spontaneous, they conversed about daily lives and whatever topics came up naturally. To ensure spontaneity, after I set up the equipment with help from my research assistant, we left them so that they did not feel watched. The conversations were then transcribed on ELAN by following a simplified version of the Santa Barbara Discourse Transcription system (Du Bois et al. 1993), including each new line represents an Intonation Unit. The data consist of 9 conversations in which 18 speakers converse in dyads (see Figures 1.4-1.7 for pictures of a subset of these recordings). accompanied by glossing and translation in English. The conversation data were also coded in separate spreadsheets to mainly to investigate clitics discussed in chapter 5.



Figure 1.4 Conversation between two fishermen.



Figure 1.5 Conversation between a non-fisherman and fisherman



Figure 1.6 Conversation between two related fishermen.



Figure 1.7 Conversation between a husband and wife.

1.6.2 Elicited data

The second source of data is from elicitation sessions conducted on Zoom while I was in Honolulu, Hawai'i and the speakers were in Pondok Perasi, Ampenan. The remote fieldwork was made possible because I worked with my brother who managed the logistics such as the internet, laptop, payment, and recruiting speakers. Because the time difference is a challenge in that Ampenan is 18 hours ahead of Honolulu, it was difficult to find the time so I maximized the length of each session. Each session lasted from 30 minutes to two hours. All sessions were planned ahead and contained various structures and additional follow up questions. I used Sasak as the language of communication but some written sentences were also in Standard Indonesian. I used Google docs and utilized the share screen option on Zoom so that the speakers could see what I wrote and verified them. All the sessions were also recorded including the consent.

There was one primary speaker, a 32-year-old woman who was born and raised in Pondok Perasi and had never left the island. Data obtained from this speaker were then cross-checked with two other speakers. There were also sessions where I used some images to elicit variable binding and worked with six speakers.

Table 1.2 Conversations in the corpus of AS.

Description	Identifier
<i>Semetòn jari</i> ‘Close people’ Conversation between two extended family members; Sari, a 36-year-old woman and Sipaq, a 28-year-old woman. The conversation was recorded at Sari’s house in the neighborhood of Pondok Perasi. They talk about their neighborhood, their kids, and they spend time together on some occasions such as a family picnic.	KN1-006
<i>Idupte</i> ‘Our life’ Conversation between a husband and wife at their house. The husband, Zaenudin, is 43-year-old and the wife, Pas, is 40-year-old. The conversation revolves around their life before and after marriage which they are grateful for.	KN1-008
<i>Keluarge nelayan</i> ‘Fisherman’s family’ Conversation between a husband and wife at their kiosk on the beach of Pondok Perasi. The husband, Sahar, is 45-year-old and the wife, Ros, is 43-year-old. They converse about the challenges their family is facing for being fishermen. Their conversation also revolves around the catch and fellow fishermen.	KN1-018
<i>Due jenis nelayan</i> ‘Two types of fishermen’ Conversation between two neighbors at Ipins’s place in the neighborhood of Pondok Prasi. Ipin is a 56-year-old man and Awal is a 41-year-old man. They describe their jobs as two different types of fishermen; Ipin catches crabs while Awal catches fish.	KN1-031
<i>Bulan puase</i> ‘The fasting month’ Conversation between two good fishing friends on the beach of Pondok Perasi. Budi is a 35-year-old man and Océq is a 24-year-old man. The conversation is mostly about <i>Ramadan</i> , the fasting month of muslims and how fishermen adjust their schedules and preparation for fishing. They also talk about their hopes for the government to help them.	KN1-033
<i>Ujang angin</i> ‘Monsoon’ Conversation between two brothers at Keròn’s house in the neighborhood of Pondok Perasi. Kejèng is the older brother, a 36-year-old fisherman and Oji, his younger brother, is a 31-year-old fisherman. The conversation revolves around the monsoon season and how that affects fishermen. They also talk about fishing techniques and boats.	KN1-040
<i>Pegawéan</i> ‘Job’ Conversation between two friends at Rusnan’s house in the neighborhood of Pondok Perasi. Riyan and Deni are both 25-year-old men. They talk about challenges for doing multiple part time jobs and their two different views of life.	KN1-043
<i>Dagang empag</i> ‘Fish seller’ Conversation between two female fishermen defined here as women who process and sell the catch to the market. Sairun is 56 years old and Saimah is 57 years old. The recording takes place at Keròn’s house in the neighborhood of Pondok Perasi. They talk about their job as female fishermen who process the fish their husbands catch as well as their experience of selling fish in the market.	KN1-051
<i>Sampan-mesin</i> ‘Boat and machine’ Conversation between two male fishermen who are also close neighbors and friends. Hasan in 42 years old and Wahyu is 35 years old. The recording takes place at Keròn’s house in the neighborhood of Pondok Perasi. The conversation mostly revolves around fisherman boat and certain types of machine they use for fishing.	KN1-037

1.7 Objectives of the dissertation

This study seeks to describe the morphosyntactic properties of Ampenan Sasak as a variety of Sasak which has not been described before. In addition to describing major areas of morphology and syntax, this dissertation provides a close examination of the structural properties of diathesis (as defined by Zuñiga & Kittilä 2019), which includes valency changing voice operations and symmetrical alternation between two transitive constructions; an A-oriented construction termed Agentive Diathesis (AD) and a P-oriented construction termed Patientive Diathesis (PD).¹ These transitive alternations are considered symmetrical, which often referred to as symmetrical voice (Himmelmann 2002, Riesberg 2014). This mean that these alternations are valency-neutral alternations that do not appear to differ in transitivity or basicness (Chen & McDonnell 2019). Within these diathetical operations, this study identifies two privileged syntactic arguments: *pivot* and *subject*. Pivot in this dissertation refers to the Noun Phrase that acts as the S argument of intransitive clauses (including passive voice), the A argument in AD, and the P argument in PD. Its privileged syntactic role is confirmed through being the only argument that can occur preverbally in a canonical word order as well as being the most mobile argument across constructions. On the other hand, subject refers to the clitic pronoun that acts as an S argument of intransitive clauses (including passive voice) and the A arguments in both AD and PD. Its privileged syntactic role is confirmed through being the only argument selected by variable binding and control construction argument selectors. Core arguments are evident through the absence of any demotion marking preceding the arguments.

This dissertation also looks at the differing roles of clitics and their distributions in various diathetical operations. It also examines grammatical relations by utilizing various diagnostics (i.e., argument selectors) ultimately identifying subject, pivot, and core arguments in AS. Finally, based on the morphosyntactic properties of AS, the dissertation aims to provide evidence that AS should be treated as a variety of its own right, locating AS within the typology of western Austronesian languages. Finally, this study also offers an alternative approach to the description of Sasak namely through the combining of data from naturally occurring discourse in

¹ S, A, and P arguments are respectively defined as the single argument of an intransitive verb, the most agent-like and the most patient-like arguments of transitive verbs. More details on the macro-roles are discussed in the next chapter.

conversation and traditional elicitation, which yields a more rigorous discovery of grammatical patterns.

1.8 Overview of the study

This study of morphosyntactic properties of Ampenan Sasak is divided into 6 chapters. **Chapter 1** has presented some basic information covering the typology of Sasak, introduction to Ampenan Sasak, previous studies on Sasak, the history of Ampenan, the specifics of data used in the dissertation, and the objectives of the dissertation. This current section concludes chapter 1 by providing an overview of what the remaining chapters are about. **Chapter 2** presents the sketch grammar of AS which includes the basic phonology and orthography. Additionally, chapter 2 also covers morphology, including affixes and their major function as well as clitics. The chapter also describes the syntax of AS which covers word classes, basic clause structure, and causative/applicatives. **Chapter 3** investigates diathesis of AS which covers Agentive Diathesis, Agentive Voice, and Patientive Diathesis, ambiguous cases, and Passive Voice. Chapter 3 also incorporates discourse into analysis since the data used in the chapter are mostly from the corpus. **Chapter 4** looks at the nature of grammatical relations within the clause by investigating structural position, coreferential argument, and utilizing various argument selectors including relativization, raising, control, variable binding, and quantifier float. **Chapter 5** presents comprehensive descriptions of clitics in AS which include their forms, positions, and their roles in diathesis. The chapter bases its analysis on the results of coding and natural language use. It also examines the host position in regard to the typology of clitics as to whether clitics in AS fall within the category of simple, special, or second position clitics. Finally, **Chapter 6** concludes the dissertation by summarizing the analyses of chapter 3, 4, and 5 and tie them into the objectives of the study.

Chapter 2. Sketch Grammar

Ampenan Sasak (AS) is in many ways similar to previously described dialects of Sasak (see Wouk 1999; Austin 1998; Austin 2000; Shibatani 2008; Austin 2013; Asikin-Garmager 2017 among others). It is relatively isolating with no tense/aspect/mood affixes and a small number of verbal affixes. As an Austronesian language spoken in Indonesia, Sasak is genetically most closely related to Balinese and Sumbawa known as Balinese-Sasak-Sumbawa (BSS) subgroup (Mbate 1990; Adelaar 2005; Shiohara & Arka forthcoming). Phonologically, AS is similar to other Sasak dialects and to Balinese and Sumbawan. The vowel systems differ slightly. While Balinese has six clear vowel phonemes and Sumbawan eight clear vowel phonemes, AS appears to have an emerging system that has recently been analyzed as a six vowel system with an additional two quasi-phonemic lower mid vowels (Pappas 2021). The inventory of affixes in AS is similar to other Sasak dialects and to Balinese and Sumbawan (see Shiohara & Arka to appear). However, Balinese lacks the second position clitics found in both AS and other varieties of Sasak as well as Sumbawan. At the level of syntax, Sasak shows commonalities in many respects especially with Balinese and other Indonesian-type languages (Chen & McDonnell 2019), as AS exhibits symmetrical alternation in transitive constructions which is often referred to as a symmetrical voice system. However, Sasak varieties are notorious for their rich morphosyntactic variation (see Asikin-Garmager 2017). One area that is highlighted in this dissertation is the different morphosyntactic properties of these symmetrical alternations. As a variety of the *Ngeno-ngené* dialect of Sasak, AS appears to exhibit a system that has lost verbal morphology, including in the symmetrical alternation.

This chapter presents the first sketch grammar of AS. The first section outlines the basic phonology and orthography. The second section on basic morphology covers both nominal and verbal morphology as well as a brief overview of clitics. The next section on syntax presents word classes, basic clause structure, and applicatives.

2.1 Basic phonemes of consonants and vowels and orthography

This section presents the basic consonant and vowel phonemes and the orthographic conventions used throughout the dissertation. This description is primarily based on the analyses developed during two years of Field Methods (2016-2018) at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. It follows closely the descriptions of AS in Pappas (2021), a project that I also participated in.

2.1.1 Consonants

The phoneme inventory of AS consists of 16 consonants, all of which are also found in Standard Indonesian. Table 2.1 below shows AS consonant inventory.

Table 2.1 Consonant inventory of AS.

	Labial	Dental/Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops					
Voiceless	p	t	tʃ <c>	k	ʔ <q>
Voiced	b	d	dʒ <j>	g	
Nasals	m	n	ɲ <ny>	ŋ <ng>	
Fricatives		s			h
Liquids		l,r			
Glides	w		j <y>		

The consonant inventory of AS shown in Table 2.1 above shows a typical consonant inventory for many of the languages of the region (Blust 2013: 188 -190). Borrowed words from Arabic and English which consist of the phoneme /f/ in Indonesian are most commonly realized as [p] in AS. For instance, the word *maaf* [maʔaf] ‘sorry’ in Indonesian is realized as [maʔap] in AS and *pasif* [pasif] ‘passive’ in Indonesian is [pasip] in AS. AS distinguishes voiced and voiceless stops in onset positions, only voiceless stops occur in coda positions. There are no words in AS that end with voiced stops. There is no contrast between vowel and glottal stop in word-initial positions. Glottal stop occurs in coda positions and between two like vowels acting as a way to resolve vowel hiatus as in the word *maaf* [maʔap]. Note that glottal stop does not appear between two identical vowels in the orthography. Moreover, voiceless velar stop /k/ undergoes backing resulting in voiceless uvular stop [q] when it is preceded by mid-low lax vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ] in root-final position. These are observed in words like /balek/ [baleq] ‘puberty for boys’ and /kedok/ [kədɔq] ‘deaf’.

The alveolar trill /r/ is realized either as a trill or a tap word-initially or word-finally and most commonly as a tap word-medially. The lateral /l/ can also occur in onset and coda positions, but it cannot occur in non-final codas. As for fricatives in AS, the alveolar fricative /s/ occurs in onset and coda positions, while the glottal fricative /h/ typically occurs in coda positions. However, in some instances it alternates with /s/ in onset positions. This is one area of phonological variation that is common among speakers of AS. It is evident from how speakers vary in using some words with either /s/ or /h/ initial. For instance, speakers vary in the pronunciation of *sai* or *hai* ‘who’ and some discourse markers such as *soq* or *hoq* and *siq* or *hiq*. All nasal phonemes can occur in onset and coda positions except for the palatal nasal [ɲ] which can only occur in onset positions. Finally, the other phonemes to occur only in onset positions are the affricates, /tʃ/ and /dʒ/.

2.1.2 Vowels

Figure 2.1 presents the six vowel phonemes in AS and the allophones of non-low vowels.

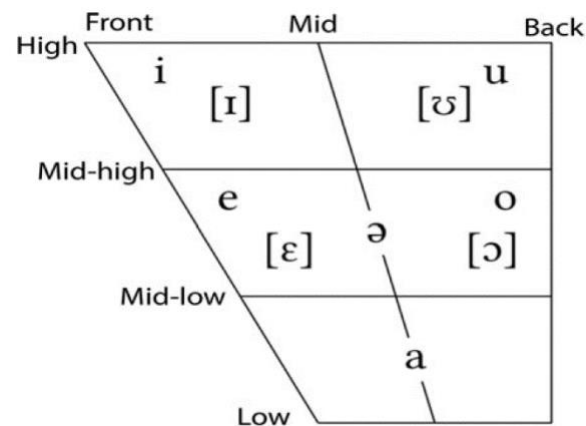


Figure 2.1 Ampenan Sasak vowel inventory.

Allophonic variation is also found where there exists vowel laxing (or lowering). Pappas (2021) proposes that the tense vowels occur in open syllables or syllables with a glottal stop coda. These vowels lax in closed final syllables. As shown in the above figure, /i/ lowers to [ɪ] (e.g. [sədi] ‘edge’ vs. [sədiq] ‘get rid of’), /u/ lowers to [ʊ] (e.g. [butʃu] ‘corner’ vs. [bʊŋkʊl] ‘bunch’), /e/ lowers to [ɛ] (e.g. [mate] ‘die’ vs. [pantək] ‘hit with a tail’), and /o/ lowers to [ɔ] (e.g. [pətoʔ] ‘disattach’ vs. [pantək] ‘hit’). However, there are also some exceptions where low-mid vowels contrast with mid vowels in open syllables. Pappas (2021) analyzes these as having a quasi-

phonemic status, especially because they often occur in borrowed words. However, it is generally the case that the mid vowels in AS are predictable (Pappas 2021).

Final /a/ mutation that is observed as a common historical change throughout western Indonesia is also found in AS (Tadmor 2003). There are no morphemes in AS that end in [a] because they have undergone raising to [ə] in words like [limə] ‘five’, [matə] ‘eye’, and [desə] ‘village’. The phoneme /a/ does not undergo raising elsewhere in the word.

AS also has vowel sequences with combinations of different heights which result in the emergence of predictable glides in the sequence to resolve vowel hiatus. The palatal glide [j] intervenes after the non-low front vowel /i/ or /e/ when followed by a low vowel /a/, as in the word *siaq* [sijaʔ] ‘to add salt’ or a back vowel in word like *tiup* [tijup] ‘blow’ and *siyoq* [sijoʔ] ‘shoo’. Meanwhile the labiovelar glide [w] must intervene between the back vowel /u/ or /o/ and the low vowel /a/ such as in the word *buaq* [buwaʔ] ‘fruit’ or a front vowel like *suit* [suwit] ‘flick’ or *suwé* ‘long time’. In words that have a low vowel followed by a non-low vowel, a palatal glide is inserted after the low vowel and before the non-low front vowels (e.g., *sai* [saji] ‘who’ and *gaèt* [gajet] ‘hook’), while a labiovelar glide is inserted between a low vowel and a non-low back vowel in words like *bau* [bawu] ‘catch’ and *baòk* [bawək] ‘beard’. As for mid low vowels [ɛ,ɔ], they can also form sequences with the low vowel /a/ in words like *bèaq* [bejaʔ] ‘red’ and *òat* [ɔwat] ‘medicine’. They can also sequence with each other as observed in the words *pèak* [pejək] ‘whistle’ and *ròwék* [rəwək] ‘torn’.

2.1.3 Phonotactic and stress

Syllables in AS consist of V, CV, and maximally CVC. Disyllabic roots are most common, although there are some roots with three syllables and a few with more than three as well as some single syllable words. Single syllable content words have CVC shape. Words in AS typically comprise CV as the first syllable followed by CVC in the second syllable and for onsetless syllable. Onsetless syllables typically serve as the first syllable of the word followed by CVC. Below are some examples of syllables in AS.

(1)	AS examples of syllables		
	[bak]	‘bucket’	CVC
	[a.tʃəŋ]	‘dog’	V.CVC
	[bə.leʔ]	‘big’	CV.CVC

Some consonants are disallowed in coda positions. They include voiced stops /b, d, g/ and affricates /tʃ, dʒ/ regardless of their position in the word. While the rest of the consonants can occur in coda positions, only some of them are allowed in non-final codas. They are nasal stops /n, m, ŋ/, the trill /r/ and the alveolar fricative /s/. The non-final coda syllables can be found in words like /pindaŋ/ ‘cooked fish’, /sambər/ ‘grab’, and /baŋket/ ‘rice field’. The nasal stops /n, m/ in such non-final coda positions must be followed by homorganic stops as observed in the examples above, or a palatal nasal as in the word /tuŋtʃəp/ ‘to stick’. Meanwhile, /ŋ/ can also be followed by a heterorganic alveolar fricative /s/, as in the word /laŋsot/ ‘out of hand’. As for /r/, an example is found in the word /tərpəl/ ‘tent’ and it is also commonly used in proper names such as /marni/, /mirna/, and /murni/. Finally, the non-final codas with /s/ are typically found in loan words such as /plastik/ ‘plastic’ and /tustəl/ ‘camera’ as well as proper names like /musni/ and /masni/.

Stress in AS predictably falls on the penultimate syllable of the word, unless the penult is a /ə/ in which case it falls on the final (Pappas 2021). This is different from Chahal (1998) and Archangeli et al. (2018) who based on *Meno-mené* dialect state that stress falls on the final syllable of the word. Thus, in AS, words with two syllables have stress on the first syllable but words with three syllables have stress on the second. Three syllable words are observed in the words like /pələm'bak/ ‘a place name in Ampenan’, /təm'pələk/ ‘slap’, and /bə'siaʔ/ ‘to fight’. The prepenultimate syllable is typically a schwa.

2.1.4 Orthography

Speakers of AS and Sasak in general adopt an orthography similar to Indonesian without the use of the acute diacritic to distinguish schwa from the mid-front vowel /e/, both of which are written with <e>. I have observed this in how speakers write on social media or through text. Speakers of AS, and most likely Sasak in general, seem to be able to figure out the pronunciations and meanings of words without distinguishing vowels with diacritics. For non-native speakers and the purposes of analysis, such an orthography creates a problem, especially in pronouncing words that have the same spelling with the words in Standard Indonesian. I have noticed wrong

pronunciations found in some situations, such as when Lombok appears in national news and the reporters are not from Lombok. They report place names such as *Lembar* [ləmbar] but pronounce it [ləmbar] which means ‘page’ in Standard Indonesian. Therefore, in this dissertation, I use diacritics to mark different vowels in addition to <q> and <k> to differentiate between glottal stop from voiceless velar stop. Previous work claims that /ɔ/ and /o/ have a quasi-phonemic status (see Pappas 2021), but such a proposal is not accompanied by any suggestion for the orthography. Hence, I maximally distinguish vowels with the use of multiple diacritics for <e>.

(2) AS orthographic conventions

[ə]: e (no diacritic)	[o]: o	[ʔ]: q
[e]: é	[ɔ]: ò	[k]: k
[ɛ]: è		

The table below shows the difference in spelling use by AS speakers and spelling used in this dissertation.

Table 2.2 Spelling used by AS speakers vs. spelling used in the dissertation.

Spelling by AS speakers	Spelling used in the dissertation
<i>mate</i> ‘eye’	<i>mate</i> ‘eye’
<i>mate</i> ‘die’	<i>maté</i> ‘die’
<i>kepeng</i> ‘money’	<i>kèpèng</i> ‘money’
<i>kapong</i> ‘hug’	<i>kapòng</i> ‘hug’
<i>lalo</i> ‘go’	<i>lalo</i> ‘go’
<i>badak</i> ‘tell’	<i>badaq</i> ‘tell’
<i>lanjak</i> ‘kick’	<i>lanjak</i> ‘kick’

2.2 Morphology

In general, the morphology of AS consists of nominal and verbal morphology. The nominal affixes outnumber the verbal ones but compared to other languages of Indonesia, such as Madurese, Balinese, or Javanese, the total number of affixes is quite small. This section elaborates on the handful of affixes that are still productive beginning with verbal affixes and then moving onto nominal affixes. The next section will demonstrate how morphologically derived words are used in the clause.

2.2.1 Verbal affixes

AS has four verbal affixes: the Agentive Voice (AV) prefix *N-*, the passive prefix *te-*, the middle voice prefix *be-*, the reciprocal circumfix *be- -an*, and the causative/applicative suffix *-an*. This subsection of morphology only presents the instances of each of these verbal affixes at the word level while the clause level examples are provided in section 2.3.3.

2.2.1.1 Agentive Voice prefix *N-*

The nasal prefix, represented abstractly as *N-*, is a verbal prefix that can attach to nominal and verbal roots. When applied, *N-* acts as a homorganic nasal that assimilates to the first consonant of the root and in some cases replaces this consonant with a nasal. The behavior of *N-* are listed as follows:

1. Homorganic nasals apply to roots which start with voiced stops (e.g., *N-* + *beli* → *mbeli* ‘buy’). Roots with voiceless stop initial consonants /p, t, k/ undergo homorganic nasal substitutions (e.g., *N-* + *pantòk* → *mantòk* ‘hit’, *N-* + *tunuq* → *nunuq* ‘roast’, *N-* + *kadu* → *ngadu* ‘use’), but the roots with voiced stop initial consonants /b, d, g/ typically do not. A corresponding nasal is added to the root without any dropping. However, some variations are also found in the corpus where the /b/ is substituted by /m/ (e.g., *meli* ‘buy’).
2. The homorganic nasal substitution also applies to roots with /s/ initial, but unexpectedly surfaces as a palatal nasal /ɲ/ (e.g., *N-* + *sidoq* → *nyidoq* ‘kiss’)
3. The velar nasal /ŋ/ ‘ng’ is added to roots with a vowel initial (e.g., *N-* + *òmèh* → *ngòmèh* ‘rant’)
4. The velar nasal /ŋ/ requires a schwa epenthesis, thus it becomes *nge-* when the roots begin with the consonants /l, r/ (e.g., *nge-laiq* ‘attend’, *nge-raðs* ‘speak’).

Austin (2013) proposes that when *N-* is hosted by nominal roots, it typically derives intransitive verbs whose meaning refers to the action of doing something related to the nominal root.

However, while the same is true for the meaning of the derived verbs in AS, the transitivity of the verbs seems different. That is, *N-* can result in transitive verbs even if the roots are nouns.

Examples below show *N-* derived from nouns:

(3) Examples of *N-* derived transitives and intransitive verbs from noun

Noun	Verb	Transitivity
<i>kupi</i> ‘coffee’	<i>ngupi</i> ‘to drink coffee’	intransitive/transitive
<i>gunting</i> ‘scissor’	<i>nggunting</i> ‘to cut with scissors’	transitive
<i>impi</i> ‘dream’	<i>ngimpi</i> ‘to dream’	intransitive
<i>sendok</i> ‘rice spoon’	<i>nyendok</i> ‘to take rice with the spoon’	intransitive/transitive
<i>amplas</i> ‘sandpaper’	<i>ngamplas</i> ‘to sand’	transitive
<i>peken</i> ‘market’	<i>meken</i> ‘to go shopping at a market’	intransitive
<i>anak</i> ‘child’	<i>nganak</i> ‘to give birth’	intransitive
<i>raòs</i> ‘talk’	<i>ngeraòs</i> ‘to talk about something’	intransitive

When *N-* is attached to verbs, it derives both intransitives and transitives. The verbal roots tend to be transitives so the resulting affixed forms are also transitives. Another type of verbal root is also found in the corpus namely bound roots, which refer to the roots that require additional morphology to fully function. This later type always results in intransitives when *N-* applied. Moreover, these roots in some cases require the applicative *-an* suffix for the *N-* to be prefixed.

(4) Examples of *N-* derived from transitive and bound roots

Root	Root category	Verb	Transitivity
<i>periap</i>	transitive	<i>meriap</i> ‘to cook’	transitive
<i>sumbang</i>	transitive	<i>nyumbang</i> ‘to donate’	transitive
<i>langgar</i>	transitive	<i>ngelanggar</i> ‘to crash’	transitive
<i>beli</i>	transitive	<i>mbeli/meli</i> ‘to buy’	transitive
<i>anjeng</i>	bound	<i>nganjeng</i> ‘to stand’	intransitive
<i>selem</i>	bound	<i>nyelem</i> ‘to dive’	intransitive
<i>òmpal</i>	bound	<i>ngòmpal</i> ‘to float’	intransitive
<i>ònòng</i>	bound	<i>ngònòng</i> ‘to swim’	intransitive
<i>cèlèng</i>	bound	<i>nyèlèng-an</i> ‘to save money in a piggy bank’	intransitive

The verb *ngònòng* ‘to swim’ along with some other verbs such as *nangis* ‘to cry’, *ngigel* ‘to dance’, and *ngemòs* ‘to smile’, are argued by Austin (2013: 32) as having no (underived) non-nasal forms in all varieties of Sasak. I argue that this is not true for AS. Instead, those words either have the corresponding bare forms or the roots are bound. The word *ngemòs* ‘to smile’ and *nangis* ‘to cry’ have the corresponding bare forms *kemòs* and *tangis* which are commonly used interchangeably with *N-* in AS. Meanwhile the words like *ngònòng* ‘to swim’ have the corresponding bound root *ònòng*. The status of the bound root is confirmed by the fact that another affix can apply to the root the causative/applicative suffix *-an* can attach to the root

òndòng and derives the transitive verb *òndòngan* ‘to make something or someone swim’. The same is true for other bound roots claimed as having no bare forms, the suffix *-an* can apply to them. Hence, I argue that all verbs with *N-* have their corresponding non-nasal forms in AS.

2.2.1.2 The middle voice prefix *be-*

The verbal prefix *be-* in AS functions as a marker of middle voice. When it attaches to vowel initial roots, it results in consonant epenthesis where the consonant /r/ is inserted before the vowel initial of the root.

- (5) Epenthetic [r] in prefixes *be-* and *pe-*
 $\emptyset \rightarrow [r] / \{be-, pe-\}_V$
- | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------|--------|----------|-----------|--------------------|
| be- | aiq ‘water’ | [arʔ] | ber-aiq | [berarʔ] | ‘to contain water’ |
| be- | upaq ‘payment’ | [upaʔ] | ber-upaq | [berupaʔ] | ‘to pay someone’ |

In some cases, speakers sometimes add a glottal stop instead of [r].

Middle voice is referred to as an intermediate voice which falls between active (or different types of transitive constructions) and passive voice (Zuñiga & Kittila 2019). Zuñiga & Kittila argue this is because the verbs cause the subject of the middle voice to resemble the subject of active voice in that it performs the action, but at the same time, it also resembles the subject of passive voice as it is affected by the action. The verbs of middle voice are typically accompanied by middle markers which are language specific (Kemmer 1993). As a middle marker, the prefix *be-* attaches to particular verbs which prototypically describe situational styles of middle voice according to Kemmer (1993). The given categories found in AS with the prefix *be-* are as follows:

- (6) Categories for middle voice prefix *be-*
- a. Grooming or body care

<i>sisir</i> ‘comb’	<i>be-sisir</i> ‘to comb’
<i>gincu</i> ‘lipstick’	<i>be-gincu</i> ‘to wear lipstick’
<i>kèrèng</i> ‘sarong’	<i>be-kèrèng</i> ‘to wear a sarong’
<i>kelambi</i> ‘cloth’	<i>be-kelambi</i> ‘to get dressed’
<i>salin</i> ‘change’	<i>be-salin</i> ‘to change clothes’
 - b. Nontranslational motion

<i>selekep</i> ‘crossed hands’	<i>be-selekep</i> ‘to cross hands’
<i>dòngaq</i> ‘look up’	<i>be-dòngaq</i> ‘to look up’
<i>telekèng</i> ‘waist’	<i>be-telekèng</i> ‘to put hands on the waist’
<i>onték</i> ‘move legs’	<i>beonték-onték</i> ‘to swing legs while sitting down’

- c. To change in body posture
gèlaq ‘lie down’ *be-gèlaq* ‘to lie down’
telojo ‘stretch out legs’ *be-telojo* ‘to stretch out legs’
- d. Indirect middle
regaq ‘bargain’ *be-regaq* ‘to bargain’
poto ‘photograph’ *be-poto* ‘to take a photograph’
- e. Naturally reciprocal events
siaq ‘fight’ *be-siaq* ‘to fight’
dait ‘meet’ *be-dait* ‘to meet’
salam ‘greeting’ *be-salam* ‘to shake hands’
garang ‘cat fight’ *be-garang* ‘to fight (of or like animals)’
- f. Translational motion
tabéq ‘excuse’ *be-tabéq* ‘to excuse oneself by bowing to the exit’
- g. Emotional middle
sadu ‘complaint’ *be-sadu* ‘to complain’
angen ‘feeling’ *ber-angen* ‘to desire something’

The prefix *be-* also has other functions that do not appear to be typical of middle voice but are common in the languages of western Indonesia. These include marking predicative possession (7a), activities associated with the roots (7b) and instrumental (7c).

- (7) Other functions of prefix *be-*
 - a. Predicative possession
bale ‘house’ *be-balé* ‘to own a house’
tanggéq ‘horn’ *be-tanggéq* ‘to have a horn’
aiq ‘water’ *ber-aiq* ‘to contain water’
 - b. Activities associated with roots
sampan ‘boat’ *be-sampan* ‘to ride a boat’
mòntòr ‘vehicle’ *be-mòntòr* ‘to drive a vehicle’
 - c. Instrumental
jaring ‘net’ *be-jaring* ‘to use a net to fish’

2.2.1.3 The reciprocal circumfix *be- -an*

There also exists the circumfix *be- -an* which forms reciprocal and distributive meanings in AS. The reciprocal meaning is more common than the distributive meaning.

- (8) Circumfix *be- -an*
 - a. Reciprocal
kapòng ‘hug’ *be-kapòng-an* ‘to hug’
rèkèng ‘to count’ *be-rèkèng-an* ‘to do counting with a business partner’
pagah ‘stubborn’ *be-pagah-an* ‘to argue/debate’
serogo ‘to scramble’ *be-serogo-an* ‘to scramble for s.t. against each other’

- b. Distributive
lancar ‘smooth’ *be-lancar-an* ‘to go around with a boat’
gòncèng ‘to take a lift’ *be-gòncèng-an* ‘to ride a bike with two people’

2.2.1.4 The passive prefix *te-*

The prefix *te-* is the morphological marker for a passive voice in AS as well as the other varieties of Sasak. The prefix attaches to transitive roots resulting in a decrease in valency. The resulting construction is intransitive as observed in (9) below.

- (9) a. *Dengan*_i *no* *beli=ne* *sampan*
 person that buy=3 boat
 ‘The person bought a boat’
 b. *Sampan*_i *no* *te-beli=ne*_i *siq* *dengan* *no*
 boat that PASS-buy AGT person that
 ‘The boat was bought by the person’

A transitive construction is observed in example (9) above where the NP-A argument precedes the verb, and is coreferential with the subject pronominal clitic on the verb. The verb is then followed by the NP-P argument *sampan* ‘boat’. In contrast, a change in the mapping of the semantic role onto the syntactic argument is evident after the prefix *te-* attached to the verb in example (9). The NP-P argument *sampan* ‘boat’ now occurs at the beginning of the clause and the subject pronominal clitic *=ne* that attaches to the verb is now coreferential with the NP-P argument, not the NP-A argument anymore. In fact, the NP-A argument *dengan no* is demoted to an oblique position marked by the preposition *siq* AGT. This oblique PP may also be omitted.

2.2.1.5 Applicative *-an*

Verbal affixes in AS also include the suffix *-an* which functions as a causative/applicative. The suffix is extremely polyfunctional in AS more than is found in other languages of Indonesia. The suffix *-an* in AS yields not only causative and applicative functions but various others that can be difficult to pin down. This includes category-changing functions that derive transitive verbs from nouns and other word classes as well as other valency increasing functions that add a P argument. Some of these functions are commonly found in Western Austronesian languages but some are rarer. Clause and discourse level examples are discussed in section 2.3.4 below. It is sufficient for this current section to just provide some examples as follows.

- | | | |
|--|--|-------------------|
| (10) Causative/applicative functions of <i>-an</i> | | |
| a. <i>kèlèp</i> ‘fly’ | <i>kèlèp-an</i> ‘to make s.t. fly’ | CAUS |
| b. <i>atas</i> ‘top’ | <i>atas-an</i> ‘to elevate’ | CAUS |
| c. <i>bait</i> ‘take’ | <i>bait-an</i> ‘take s.t. for s.o.’ | BEN/APPL |
| d. <i>talet</i> ‘to plant’ | <i>talet-an</i> ‘to plant plants or trees on a land’ | LOC/APPL |
| e. <i>minyak</i> ‘oil’ | <i>minyak-an</i> ‘to add oil on something’ | Category-changing |

2.2.2 Nominal affixes

Nominal affixes change various roots into nouns. Nominal affixes in AS include a general nominalizing suffix *-an*, a circumfix involving reduplicative prefix and suffix *-an*, the agent nominalizing prefix *pe-* or *peN-*, locative nominalizing *pe-* *-an* and abstract nominalizing circumfix of *peN-* *-an*, in addition to a numeral prefix *se-* and the intensifier prefix *ke-*.

2.2.2.1 Nominalizer suffix *-an*

The nominal suffix *-an* is not as productive compared to its homophonous counterpart, the verbal causative/applicative *-an*. The suffix *-an* NMLZ basically derives nouns from some roots such as verbs, adjectives, and numerals. Surprisingly, it also attaches to nouns with various semantic effects. When *-an* NMLZ attaches to verbal roots, it derives nouns that denote the resulting actions of the root or the P argument of the root as shown in the examples (11a-c). It can also attach to adjectives or stative verbs in which the nouns denote the quality of the state or features of the root as in (11d). The suffix *-an* also designates units when attached to numeral classifiers, as in (11e-f). When suffixed to numerals, the meaning denotes prices or how much the given nouns worth as in (11g). Interestingly, the suffix *-an* can also attach to nouns and in this regard, *-an* NMLZ retains the word category as a noun but it results in changes in meaning as shown in the examples (11h-i). This includes when the suffix attaches to a lexicalized root *cèlèng*, a borrowing from Balinese to mean ‘pig’, which results in a completely different meaning.

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (11) Nominalizer suffix <i>-an</i> | |
| a. <i>kaken</i> ‘eat’ | <i>kaken-an</i> ‘food’ |
| b. <i>inem</i> ‘drink’ | <i>inem-an</i> ‘beverage’ |
| c. <i>taròq</i> ‘to bet’ | <i>taròq-an</i> ‘bet’ |
| d. <i>manis</i> ‘sweet’ | <i>manis-an</i> ‘candy’ |
| e. <i>tundun</i> ‘bunch’ | <i>tundun-an</i> ‘in a bunch’ |
| f. <i>buntut</i> ‘tie’ | <i>buntut-an</i> ‘in a bundle’ |
| g. <i>selaé</i> ‘twenty-five’ | <i>selaé-an</i> ‘worth twenty-five’ |
| h. <i>bulan</i> ‘month’ | <i>bulan-an</i> ‘monthly’ |
| i. <i>cèlèng</i> ‘pig’ | <i>cèlèng-an</i> ‘piggy bank’ |

2.2.2.2 Reduplication + *-an* NMLZ

The circumfix RDP + *-an* attaches to roots of various classes such as nouns and verbs, including stative verbs. RDP + *-an* NMLZ results in abstract nouns which have meanings as entities that resemble the roots being reduplicated. Some of the examples are presented in (12) below.

(12) RDP + *-an* NMLZ

- | | | |
|----|-------------------------|---|
| a. | <i>anak</i> ‘child’ | <i>anak-anak-an</i> ‘relative members related to one’s child’ |
| b. | <i>pagah</i> ‘stubborn’ | <i>pagah-pagah-an</i> ‘a rather stubborn person’ |
| c. | <i>angin</i> ‘wind’ | <i>angin-angin-an</i> ‘something that comes and goes’ |
| d. | <i>anjar</i> ‘age’ | <i>anjar-anjar-an</i> ‘about the same age’ |
| e. | <i>aget</i> ‘lucky’ | <i>aget-aget-an</i> ‘something that depends on luck’ |
| f. | <i>inaq</i> ‘mother’ | <i>inaq-inaq-an</i> ‘a mother role play played by children’ |

2.2.2.3 The agent/instrumental nominalizing prefix *pe-* or *peN-*

The abstract nasal in the prefix *peN-* operates somewhat differently than the AV prefix *N-*. When *peN-* attaches to a root beginning with a tap or liquid, it is deleted (e.g., *rampok* ‘rob’ becomes *perampok* ‘robber’). In all other cases, the abstract nasal behaves in the same manner described above. The prefix *peN-* conveys agentive meaning whereby the designated agent refers to a person who does the action of the root as their profession as shown in (13a-d). The examples (13e-f) refer to the instrument that performs the action of the root.

(13) The agent/instrumental nominalizing prefix *pe-* or *peN-*

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|---|
| a. | <i>pancing</i> ‘fishing rod’ | <i>pem-(p)ancing</i> ‘fisherman’ |
| b. | <i>pindang</i> ‘cooked fish’ | <i>pem-(p)indang</i> ‘female fisherman’ |
| c. | <i>tendak</i> ‘to buy in retail’ | <i>pen-(t)endak</i> ‘retailer’ |
| d. | <i>rampok</i> ‘to rob’ | <i>pe-rampok</i> ‘robber’ |
| e. | <i>pantòk</i> ‘to hit’ | <i>pem-(p)antòk</i> ‘tool for hitting’ |
| f. | <i>kait</i> ‘to hook’ | <i>peng-(k)ait</i> ‘hook’ |

2.2.2.4 The nominalizer *per-*

There is also an unproductive nominalizing prefix *per-*. In the examples in (14), the prefix *per-* denotes an agentive role associated with the root (i.e., a female animal which produces most offerings and a male animal which mates with most females).

(14) An unproductive nominalizing prefix *per-*

- | | | |
|----|----------------------|--|
| a. | <i>inaq</i> ‘mother’ | <i>per-inaq</i> ‘the dominant female animal’ |
| b. | <i>amaq</i> ‘father’ | <i>per-amaq</i> ‘the dominant male animal’ |

2.2.2.5 The various nominalizing circumfix *pe-* *-an/peN-* *-an*

The prefixal element in the *peN-* *-an* circumfix has the same morphophonemic alternation with roots that begin with a liquid or a tap. The circumfix attaches to verbs and nouns and yields various functions. The first function is to produce words with a locative meaning as in examples (15a-b). In this case, the circumfix denotes the place where the action of the root takes place. The circumfix can also form instrumental meanings in which the derived form denotes the instrument used to perform the action of the root as shown in example (15c-d). Additionally, the circumfix derives abstract nouns from verbs as exemplified in (15e). Moreover, the circumfix also results in nouns with agentive meanings with negative connotations in which the designated agent has a habit to perform an action implied in the root. See example (15f-g) for a better understanding, note that the root *tindoq* ‘sleep’ has two different forms with different meanings. Compare (15a) and (15g).

- (15) The various nominalizing circumfix *pe-* *-an/peN-* *-an*
- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| a. <i>tindoq</i> ‘sleep’ | <i>pe-tindoq-an</i> ‘bed’ |
| b. <i>pandiq</i> ‘take a bath’ | <i>pem-(p)andiq-an</i> ‘bathing place’ |
| c. <i>tòkòl</i> ‘sit’ | <i>pen-(t)òkòl-an</i> ‘something to sit on’ |
| d. <i>giles</i> ‘grind’ | <i>peng-giles-an</i> ‘grinder’ |
| e. <i>gitaq</i> ‘to see’ | <i>peng-gitaq-an</i> ‘mystical view’ |
| f. <i>ambul</i> ‘sulk’ | <i>peng-ambul-an</i> ‘sulky person’ |
| g. <i>tindoq</i> ‘sleep’ | <i>pen-(t)indoq-an</i> ‘someone who sleeps a lot or lazy’ |

2.2.2.6 The intensifier prefix *ke-*

The prefix *ke-* attaches to stative verbs and adds intensity to the meaning of the root. In the corpus, the derived forms are typically followed by a subject pronominal clitic attached to them as exemplified in (16).

- (16) The intensifier prefix *ke-*
- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. <i>kenceng</i> ‘fast’ | <i>ke-kenceng</i> ‘so fast’ |
| b. <i>aget</i> ‘lucky’ | <i>ke-aget</i> ‘so lucky’ |
| c. <i>sepi</i> ‘empty’ | <i>ke-sepi</i> ‘so empty’ |
| d. <i>pelit</i> ‘stingy’ | <i>ke-pelit</i> ‘so stingy’ |
| e. <i>lengé</i> ‘ugly’ | <i>ke-lengé</i> ‘so ugly’ |

2.2.2.7 The adversative circumfix *ke-* *-an*

Moreover, there is an adversative circumfix *ke-* *-an* that creates nouns with meanings that have negative connotations, such as excessiveness, as shown in (17).

(17) Adversative *ke-* *-an*

- a. *kenceng* ‘fast’ *ke-kenceng-an* ‘too fast’
- b. *aget* ‘lucky’ *ke-aget-an* ‘too lucky (sarcasm)’
- c. *sepi* ‘empty’ *ke-sepi-an* ‘lonely’

2.2.2.8 The numeral prefix *se-*

The prefix *se-* means ‘one’ when attached to numeral quantifiers or nominal roots. Depending on the context, *se-* in this case can also mean ‘same NOUN’. So, the examples (18) below can either mean ‘one’ or ‘same NOUN’. Additionally, the prefix *se-* also has a meaning to denote a maximum state of the given root as shown in the examples in (19). This latter function is usually accompanied by a pronominal clitic attached to the prefixed roots. The roots themselves are typically verbs.

(18) The numeral prefix *se-*

- a. *balé* ‘house’ *se-balé* ‘one house’ ‘(in) the same house’
- b. *sampan* ‘boat’ *se-sampan* ‘one boat’ ‘(in) the same boat’
- c. *gubòk* ‘village’ *se-gubòk* ‘one village’ ‘(of) the same village’

2.2.2.9 The superlative *se-* =*ne*

Note that a prefix with the same form *se-* attaches to verbs and can also express a superlative meaning when combined with a third person possessive enclitic =*ne*.

(19) The superlative *se-* =*ne*

- a. *mauq* ‘get’ *se-mauq=ne* ‘as much as one can get’
- b. *kuat* ‘strong’ *se-kuat=ne* ‘as strong as possible’

2.2.3 *Clitics*

Clitics are very productive in AS partly because of their role in the diathesis system. Clear cases of clitics in AS are found in the pronominal system as well in demonstratives, although other function words such as aspectual markers may also be considered clitics. Here, I only describe demonstrative and pronominal clitics. They consist of what Zwicky (1985) terms as simple and special clitics. According to Zwicky (1985), simple clitics are the reduced forms which occur in the same positions as corresponding full forms. This is different from special clitics which he defines as clitics which do not share the distribution of corresponding full forms.

In AS, demonstrative determiners, possessive pronouns, and pronominal P clitic arguments are considered simple clitics because they always occur at the same positions with the corresponding full forms. Consider the examples in (20), (21), and (22) below.

- (20) a. Dengan eno
 person this
 ‘That person’
 b. Dengan no
 person that
 ‘That person’
- (21) a. Balé side
 house 2SG.POL
 ‘Your house’
 b. Balé=de
 house=2SG.POL
 ‘Your house’
- (22) a. Aton wah telpon aku.
 A. PFV telephone 1SG
 ‘Aton called me.’
 b. Aton_i wah=ne_i telpon=ku
 A. PFV=3 telephone=1SG
 ‘Aton called me.’

Examples (20)–(22) above show the corresponding full forms in (a) and the clitics in (b) where it is evident that the clitics occur in the same position with their corresponding full forms for demonstrative determiner, possessive, and P clitics respectively.

In contrast, subject clitics are special clitics. Their distributions are remarkably varied in that they can occur as in the second position, although it is not always clear what “counts” as second position. A detailed description of clitic patterns in AS is the subject of chapter 5 of this dissertation. Table 2.3 below shows the list of clitics and their corresponding full pronouns in AS.

Table 2.3 Full pronouns and clitics in Ampenan Sasak.

	Free pronoun		Clitic	
	Basic	Polite	Basic	Polite
1SG	<i>aku</i>	<i>ite</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>te</i>
1PL	<i>ite</i>	-	<i>te</i>	-
2SG masculine	<i>ante</i>	<i>side</i>	<i>mèq</i>	<i>de</i>
2SG feminine	<i>kamu</i>	<i>side</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>de</i>
3	<i>ie</i>	-	<i>ne, =n</i>	-

Table 2.3 above shows variation of pronouns in AS through which the social system is also manifested. The table shows that first and second person pronouns have two different variants; basic and polite forms, which are affected by social factors such as age and face threatening acts (see Khairunnisa 2021 for more details). Additionally, all clitics can occur either as proclitics or enclitics except for the third person clitic *=n* which can only occur as an enclitic. The corpus indicates that clitics in AS attach to various roots such as verbs, nouns, negators, quantifiers, adjectives, the agentive preposition *siq*, auxiliary verbs among others. Enclitics are more productive compared to proclitics and they are more flexible in terms of hosts. Proclitics on the other hand, seem to only attach to verbs.

2.3 Syntax

This section describes basic clausal syntax in AS, including word classes, basic clause structure, causative/applicative constructions, and TAM marking.

2.3.1 Word classes

AS distinguishes content from function words. There are only three classes of content words in AS namely noun, verb, and adverb. It appears that AS does not have clear boundaries between adjectives and verbs, which also happens to be a common phenomenon in other Austronesian languages (e.g., in Indonesian, see Ewing 2005a). Function words belong to a closed class and typically signal grammatical and discourse elements in the clause. There exist several function words in AS which include prepositions *léq* LOC and *siq* AGT, pronouns and clitic pronouns (see Table 2.3 above), conjunctions such as *dait* ‘and’, *laguq* ‘but’, *kance* ‘with’ and *jari* ‘so’,

demonstratives such as *no* ‘that’ and *né* ‘this’, and discourse markers *wah* ‘that’s it’, *aro* ‘uh’, and *jaq*. The first part of this subsection elaborates on the content words followed by the function words.

2.3.1.1 Nouns

Nouns in AS can be assessed through their distributional and structural properties (see Payne 1997). In terms of distributional properties, nouns in AS are evident from their ability to function as heads of noun phrases (NPs). In this regard, AS is generally head-initial and thus nouns are followed by modifiers as in (23). However, numeral quantifiers in AS can occur before or after the head as exemplified in (24) below. Further, nouns show their structural properties by taking possessive pronouns as observed in (25). Note that in AS, possessives are often marked by pronominal enclitics that attach to nouns. Finally, nouns are identified from demonstrative determiners that modify them as found in (26) below.

(23) Nouns with descriptive modifiers

Araq empaq beléq wah.
 exist fish big DM
 ‘True, there were big fish.’

(KN1-031, 0:03:11-0:03:12, Speaker: Ipin)

(24) Nouns with numerals

a. Pasah tetep mauq jelow-an no due bak.
 P. always get day-NMLZ that two bucket
 ‘Pasah always got (a catch), the other day two buckets.’

(KN1-018, 0:00:42-0:00:44, Speaker: Ros)

b. Bibiq Cenok dagang empaq telu bijiq no.
 Aunty C. sell fish three CLF that
 ‘Aunty Cenok sold the three pieces of fish.’

(25) Nouns with possessive pronouns

Sampan=ku léq tonò dðang jaq=n karem.
 boat=1SG LOC there DM FUT=3sink
 ‘Even my boat there would sink’

(KN1-043, 0:04:48-0:04:51, Speaker: Deni)

(26) Nouns with demonstrative determiners

Ndéq=ku taðq èndah kayuq no bagus dait endéq=ne.
 NEG=1SG know also wood that good or NEG=3
 ‘I also do not know whether the woods are good or not’

(KN1-037, 0:05:34-0:05:37, Speaker: Wahyu)

Nouns are always the heads and modifiers typically follow the heads except for numerals and numeral quantifiers in which the modifiers can precede the heads as shown in (24a). In this example, the numeral modifier *due* ‘two’ precedes the head noun *bak* ‘bucket’ which may also act as a classifier. In contrast, the constructed example in (24b) demonstrates the numeral *telu* ‘three’ and classifier *bijiq* ‘piece’ follow the head noun *empaq* ‘fish’. As for descriptive modifiers, they always follow the heads as exemplified in (23) where the head noun *empaq* is followed by the descriptive modifier *beléq* ‘big’. In (25), the possessed noun is *sampan* ‘boat’ and followed by the pronominal clitic =*ku* 1SG which acts as the possessor. Finally, a modifier also appears to follow the head noun in (26) where the demonstrative determiner *no* follows the head noun *kayuq* ‘wood’.

2.3.1.2 Verbs

Verbs in AS function as predicates either in intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive constructions. A large number of intransitive verbs occur without any additional morphology. Some words that fall within this category include *lalo* ‘go’, *pelai* ‘run’ and *taèk* ‘climb’, *belaq* ‘broken’, *pait* ‘bitter’, *maté* ‘dead’ among others. Examples in (27) below show dynamic (27a) and stative (27b) intransitive verbs where it is also observed that as predicates in these categories, the verbs occur without any morphology. As mentioned above, words that are expressed as a separate word class of adjectives behave in the same manner as the stative intransitive verbs, as in (27c). Verbal predicates of transitive clauses are mostly free from morphology as observed in agentive diathesis in (28) and patientive diathesis in (29). Meanwhile, marked constructions include AV in (30), middle voice in (31), passive voice in (32).

(27) Intransitive verb without any additional morphology

- a. *tuan no ie lalo age.*
 Mr. that 3 go maybe
 ‘Maybe the man went.’

(KN1-018, 0:07:32-0:07:34, Speaker: Ros)

- b. *muq# wah=n taq pòl kan léq sedi no.*
 AUX PFV=3 will full right LOC edge that
 ‘The edge would already be full right.’

(KN1-031, 0:03:09-0:03:11, Speaker: Awal)

- c. *laguq né anak=te wah beléq-beléq.*
 but this child=1PL PFV big-RED
 ‘But our children have been big (grown up).’

(KN1-008, 0:01:4-0:01:49, Speaker: Zainudin)

- (28) Transitive verb in Agentive diathesis
 Èsah békéq ie.
 E. take 3
 ‘Èsah took her with.’
 (KN1-006, 0:03:44-0:03:45, Speaker: Sari)
- (29) Transitive verb in Patientive diathesis
 ie, baé=ne, gitaq.
 3 just=3 see
 ‘They should just see it.’
 (KN1-033, 0:05:29-0:05:31, Speaker: Océq)
- (30) Verb with agentive voice prefix *N-* AV
 ie mancing kancangan,
 3 AV.fish garfish
 ‘He catches garfish,’
 (KN1-018, 0:06:19-0:06:21, Speaker: Sahar)
- (31) Verb with middle voice prefix *be-*
 kan ndéq=ne be-bidak amun kadu biber.
 right NEG=3 MID-sail if use machine
 ‘It does not have a sail if using a machine, right.’
 (KN1-051, 0:09:10-0:09:13, Speaker: Saimah)
- (32) Verb with passive voice prefix *te-*
 anuq Budi èndah te-langgar.
 whatchamacallit B. also PASS-crash
 ‘Budi’s whatchamacallit was also crashed.’
 (KN1-031, 0:07:18-0:07:20, Speaker: Awal)

Tense, aspect and mood can also be used to identify verbs in AS in that they can generally only modify verbs and not other word classes. These TAM elements are often realized as different auxiliaries that precede verbal predicates in clauses (see Austin 2012). The example in (33) below shows the aspect marker *wah* ‘already’ modifying the verb in the clause. In (34), the tense marker *jaq* ‘will’ precedes the verb as well.

- (33) Verb with the perfective aspect marker *wah*
 Laguq ie wah uléq,
 but 3 PFV go.home
 ‘but her returned home,’
 (KN1-008, 0:05:25-0:05:25, Speaker: Zainuddin)

- (34) Verb with the tense marker *jaq*
 jaq=ku jemput kamu.
 FUT=1SG pick.up 2SG
 ‘I will pick you up.’
 (KN1-006, 0:07:15-0:07:17, Speaker: Sari)

Another way to identify verbs in AS is through the use of negation. Verbal predicates are negated by the particle *ndéq* NEG only as observed in (35). In contrast, to negate nouns the negation *ndéq* NEG must be accompanied by the third person pronoun *ie* 3SG such as in *ndeq ie balé* ‘not a house’, *ndeq ie kedit* ‘not a bird’.

- (35) Verb with the negative particle *ndéq*
 wah ndéq=n taòq taòq toloq kèpèng=ne.
 PFV NEG=3 know place put money=3
 ‘They did not know where to put their money.’
 (KN1-033, 0:07:13-0:07:14, Speaker: Océq)

2.3.1.3 Adverbs

According to Payne (1997), adverbs are words that cannot be categorized as either verbs or nouns but they can be categorized based on their distribution in clauses. That is, adverbs can occur in the beginning of a clause as in (36), the end of a clause or elsewhere as in (37). Note that the clause in (37) contains three adverbs; *sang* ‘maybe’, *laun* ‘later’, *malik* ‘again’ which are distributed in different positions. Moreover, they also include words that express manner as in (38), time as in (39), frequency as in (40), and epistemic modality as in (41).

- (36) Adverb at the beginning of a clause
 maséh=n pade parap siq angin né.
 still=3 all afraid AGT wind this
 ‘They are still afraid of the wind.’
 (KN1-051, 0:03:57, 0:03:59, Speaker: Saimah)

- (37) Adverb at the end and elsewhere in the clause
 sang ape laun=te jaq te-lalo-an malik.
 maybe what later=1SG.POL FUT PASS-go-APPL again
 ‘Maybe (they) would go for us again later.’
 (KN1-051, 0:02:24-0:02:27, Speaker: Sairun)

- (38) Manner adverb *gupoh* ‘hurriedly’
 ite gupoh-gupoh meriri no èndah.
 1PL hurry-RDP AV-clean.up that also
 ‘Also because we cleaned up hurriedly.’
 (KN1-040, 0:00:40-0:00:42, Speaker: Kejèng)
- (39) Time adverb *rubin* ‘yesterday’
 Ajis mauq=n empat pulu rubin.
 A. get=3 four tens yesterday
 ‘Ajis got forty yesterday.’
 (KN1-037, 0:04:33-0:04:34, Speaker: Wahyu)
- (40) Frequency adverb *langah* ‘seldom’
 langah dengan mauq empaq.
 seldom person catch fish
 ‘People seldom catch any fish.’
- (41) Epistemic adverb *age* ‘probably’
 ie age bantu jemaq bantu ite.
 3 probably help tomorrow help 1PL
 ‘He probably will help us in the future.’
 (KN1-033, 0:06:31-0:06:34, Speaker: Océq)

2.3.2 Basic clause structure

The basic clause structure in AS must contain at least one predicate. Depending on the type of the predicate, the clause can have one, two, or three core arguments. It is also possible for a clause in AS not to contain any argument at all. This is commonly found in weather predicates such as *ujan* ‘rain’ or *gulem* ‘cloudy’. The properties of the core arguments are categorized based on their macro-roles. That is, I employ Comrie (1978), Bickel (2010), and Haspelmath (2007) to label the core arguments as S for the single argument of an intransitive verb, A for the most agent-like of a transitive verb, and P for the most patient-like of a transitive verb. However, in conversational data, there is a tendency that not all arguments are expressed. The clause can still be identified based on their predicates. Predicates in AS are similar with those in colloquial Indonesian in that they consist of verbal and non-verbal predicates. Following Ewing (2019), while verbal predicates can be intransitive and transitive, non-verbal predicates are always intransitive, see below for more discussion of this point. Moreover, following Shibatani (2008) and Asikin-Garmager (2017) I argue in Chapter 4 that clause structure in AS distinguishes between a pivot and subject. The pivot always occurs as a full NP or independent pronoun while

the subject occurs as a pronominal clitic. The first part of this section presents a brief description of intransitive clauses followed by transitive clauses.

2.3.2.1 Intransitive clauses

As mentioned above, intransitive clauses utilize verbal and non-verbal predicates. The verbal predicates of intransitive clauses typically occur without any voice morphology except for the passive voice *te-*, middle voice *be-*, and AV intransitives marked by *N-* which are addressed in the next subsection. Hence, prototypical intransitive clauses in AS consist of only an S pivot argument which is coreferential with a subject pronominal clitic, and a predicate. They also sometimes occur with an oblique or adjunct. The predicate usually follows the S argument but it can also precede it. Consider the following examples.

(42) Intransitive clause with verbal predicate

- a. Pèndi tetep=*ne* lalo.
 P. always=3 go
 ‘Pèndi always goes.’
 (KN1-018, 0:07:14-0:07:16, Speaker: Ros)
- b. lalo=*ku* terakhér.
 go=1SG last
 ‘I went last.’
 (KN-043, 0:05:20-0:05:21, Speaker: Deni)

(43) Intransitive clause with verbal predicate

- untong kelèmbang (ie) kakaq nò.
 lucky wake.up.late 3 older.sibling that
 ‘Luckily the older brother woke up late.’
 (KN1-033, 0:00:58-0:00:59, Speaker: Océq)

The examples above show the use of verbal predicates in intransitive clauses. Speakers tend to employ a subject pronominal clitic, though this is not strictly necessary (see Chapter 4 on Grammatical Relations). The examples in (42) use the same verbal predicate *lalo* ‘go’, but in (42a) the S proper name argument *Pèndi* occurs at the beginning of the clause and is identified as the pivot. The pivot argument proper name *Pèndi* is coreferential with the pronominal clitic *=ne*, identified as the subject hosted by the adverb *tetep* ‘always’. Detailed discussion on subjecthood is discussed in chapter 4 of the dissertation. The example in (42b) demonstrates the use of the verbal predicate *lalo* ‘go’ at the beginning of the clause where the S argument only occurs with the pronominal clitic *=ne* attached to the verb. This later case is common in conversation,

especially with first and second person referents. The verbal predicate can also be followed by the S argument which even causes the S argument to occur at the end of the clause as shown in (43) above. The verbal predicate *kelèmbang* ‘to wake up late’ occurs following the adverb and the third person pronoun *ie* follows it which is adjacent with the noun phrase NP-S argument *kakaq no* ‘older sibling’. In this construction, the status of the pronoun is optional but speakers seem to prefer to include a pronoun in cases where a pronominal clitic is absent even in elicitation.

There are three more types of intransitive clauses that involve verbal predicates in AS. The first one is where the verbal predicate is marked with a nasal prefix (*N-*). Typically, the *N-* attaches to noun roots in which the derivation results in a meaning that stipulates the action associated with the root. Consider the following example.

- (44) Intransitive clause with *N-* prefixes to noun roots
 a ndéq=te lelah m.(p)eken.
 yeah NEG=1PL tired N.market
 ‘Yeah we would not necessarily go to the market.’
 (KN1-033, 0:05:09-0:05:11, Speaker: Océq)

The above example shows the S argument is the pronominal clitic =*te* which attaches to the negator and the *N-* prefixes to the noun root *peken* ‘market’. The meaning implies an action of going to the market for shopping.

Additionally, the constructions with *N-* attached to verbal predicates also demonstrate arguments with different semantics one with volitional semantic agent as shown in (45) and the other one with non-volitional semantic patient as shown with the predicate *ngòmpal* ‘to float’ in line 2 of (46) below.

- (45) Intransitive clause with *N-* prefixes to verbal root with semantic agent
 ie kance=ku girang ngeraòs.
 3 with=1SG often N.talk
 ‘I often talk to him.’
 (KN1-040, 0:08:02-0:08:03, Speaker: Oji)

- (46) Intransitive clause with *N-* prefixes to verbal root with semantic patient
 1 amun kayuq jaq ndéq=n taq bau ngumbé-ngumbé kayuq.
 If wood DM NEG=3 will can how-RED wood
 ‘As for woods, they cannot do anything.’

- 2 ngòmpal=ne,
N-float=3
'They float,'
(KN1-051, 0:08:51-0:08:54, Speaker: Saimah)

The next type of intransitive clauses is the middle voice prefix *be-* MID which is quite productive in the corpus. In addition to occurring as middle voice which shows various functions as discussed earlier, the prefix *be-* also bears some meanings such as possessive as in (47), instrumental as in (48), showing action as implied based on the nominal root as in (49).

- (47) Possessive *be-* MID
Pòkòq ndaq=te be(r)-utang,
point don't=1PL MID-debt
'As long as we do not have debt,'
(KN1-033, 0:04:43-0:04:44, Speaker: Budi)

- (48) Instrumental *be-* MID
Ndéq dengan be-biber.
NEG person MID-machine
'People do not use machines.'
(KN1-051, 0:08:24-0:08:26, Speaker: Saimah)

- (49) Typical action of the root *be-* MID
amun endèq=ne man be-cerita wah ngikik.
if NEG=3 already MID-story already laugh
'She has laughed first before telling a story.'
(KN1-006, 0:03:53-0:03:55, Speaker: Sipaq)

Furthermore, in some cases the intransitive *be-* MID constructions demonstrate that the S argument bears a semantic patient which is analogous with the semantic patient in passive voice. Consider the example in (50) below.

- (50) Semantic patient in middle voice *be-*
be-ròmbòq tengaq=ne se-jengkak.
MID-add middle=3 one-inch
'The middle expanded one inch.'
(KN1-037, 0:06:38-0:06:39, Speaker: Hasan)

The last intransitive construction in AS is passive voice. The verbal predicates in passive voice are marked with the prefix *te-*. When the prefix *te-* attaches to the transitive verbal stems, it

results in a decrease in valency. That is, the A argument in the corresponding transitive construction is demoted into an oblique position, and the P argument is promoted into the subject position. Thus, the P argument in passive voice is the single core argument or the S argument of the clause.

(51) Passive voice *te-*

saq serét kodéq no harus te-gitaq siq dengan-dengan.
REL fishnet small that must PASS-see AGT person-RED

‘The small fishnet must be seen by people.’

(KN1-033, 0:05:53-0:05:6, Speaker: Ocèq)

The example in (51) above shows a passive construction where the S argument is identified as the NP *serét kodéq* ‘small fishnet’ that occurs pre-verbally. The verb is marked with the prefix *te-* and the A argument *dengan-dengan* ‘people’ is marked with the agentive preposition *siq* confirming its non-core status.

Another type of intransitive clause is non-verbal predicates. The function of predicates in AS appears to be similar non-verbal predicates in colloquial Indonesian (see Ewing 2019) in that they can be identified based on the combination of discourse and structural features. Because AS does not have any copula, non-verbal predicate clauses involve the juxtaposition of the S argument and an NP as in (52), PP as in (53), and adverbial as in line 3 of the example (54). One piece of evidence that demonstrates the status of these non-verbal predicates is their ability to be marked with the negation *ndéq* as shown in line 2 of example (55).

(52) Nominal phrase predicate

Perabòt mudi no kan perabòt julu-an.
Equipment behind that right equipment front-NMLZ

‘The equipment on the back is the old equipment.’

(KN1-043, 0:08:44 -0:08:46, Speaker: Riyan)

(53) Prepositional phrase predicate

jaq=ku jòk Malasia dòang jage né.
FUT=1SG to Malaysia only maybe this

‘It seems that I will just go to Malaysia.’

(KN1-033, 01:01:06 - 0:01:07, Speaker: Océq)

(54) Adverbial predicate

1 Kejèng: ape naraq te-gawéq mòmòt dònang jari=ne.
 What nothing PASS-work stay only so=3
 ‘What, there is nothing to do so just stay (home).’

2 Oji: o wah,
 oh PART
 ‘Oh really,’

3 Kejèng: mule iye wah.
 indeed yes PART
 ‘It is true indeed.’

(KN1-040, 0:02:01-0:02:08, Speakers: Kejèng, Oji)

(55) Nominal phrase with negation

1 Budi: te-bèng anak mèòng.
 PASS-give child cat
 ‘A kitty will be given.’

2 Ocèq: ndèq yaq anak sampi anak mèòng kéq=ne.
 NEG will child cow child cat PART=3
 ‘If not (given) a calf at least a kitty.’

(KN1-033, 0:06:34-0:06:40, Speakers: Budi, Ocèq)

2.3.2.2 Transitive clauses

Transitive clauses comprise some diathetical operations in AS. Comprehensive discussions on diathesis are presented in chapter 3 of the dissertation. Transitive clauses in AS take predicates which are typically not morphologically marked, but in some instances may be marked with the AV nasal prefix (*N-*) that attaches to the verbal predicate. Based on these properties, I propose two prototypical transitive clauses which I refer to as Agentive Diathesis (AD) and Patientive Diathesis (PD). Both of these diathetical operations exhibit symmetrical alternations where the predicates take two core arguments: A and P. The prototypical AD construction employs a subject pronominal clitic and as mentioned above, the verb is not marked by any morphology.

(56) Agentive Diathesis (AD)

Opéq_i wah=ne_i lanjak lawang no.
O. PFV=3 kick=3 door that
‘Opéq kicked the door.’

In example (56) above, the proper name *Opéq* is the A argument which also acts as the pivot because it is the only argument that can occur pre-verbally. This pivot is coreferential with the pronominal clitic =*ne* attached to the auxiliary *wah*. The NP *lawang no* ‘the door’ is the P argument which is also the non-pivot of the clause. The example also demonstrates a canonical

word order where A typically occurs pre-verbally and P follows the unmarked verb. Compare the above AD construction with the PD construction in (57) below.

(57) Patientive Diathesis (PD)

Lawang	no	wah =ne,	lanjak,	siq	Opéq.
door	that	PFV=3	kick=3	AGT	O.

‘Opéq kicked the door.’

The example in (57) above shows the same subject clitic, but now P is the pivot and A is a non-pivot argument. The P argument occurs preverbally and the verb is also not marked by any morphology. The A argument occurs as the subject pronominal clitic attached to the auxiliary which is co-referential with an oblique marked agent phrase *siq Opéq*. More detailed and in-depth descriptions of the diathesis and voice are provided in chapter 3, detailed discussions of grammatical relations is provided in Chapter 4 of this dissertation.

AD can be described as comprising two sub-constructions. The first is a non-clitic AD construction where the subject pronominal clitic is absent as shown in (58) and Agentive Voice (AV) construction where the verb is marked by the nasal prefix *N-* in (59). Both constructions are proposed as sub-constructions of AD because they show some similar properties (e.g., the pivot is A and P is a non-pivot core argument. More detailed descriptions are discussed in chapter 3 of this dissertation.

(58) Non-clitic AD

ite	dagang	beras,
1SG.polite	sell	rice

‘I sell rice’

(KN1-008, 0:02:02 -0:02:03, Speaker: Pas)

(59) Agentive Voice

julu-julu	bale	né	taòq=te	nge-lepas	jaring	araq	saq
front-RED	house	this	place=1PL	AV-put down	net	exist	REL
lain-an	anuq=ne,						
else-NMLZ	whatchamacallit=3						

‘We set the net here in front of (our) house, there is another one whatchamacallit’

(KN1-031, 0:08:12-0:08:16, Speaker: Ipin)

In non-clitic AD constructions, word order is less flexible than other AD constructions. In AV constructions, the P argument is somewhat restricted (see Chapter 3 for detailed discussion).

2.3.2.3 Causative, Applicative, and other functions of the verbal suffix *-an*

There is a verbal suffix *-an* in AS, which is homophonous with the nominal suffix *-an*. As a verbal suffix, *-an* exhibits various applicative functions. In fact, it is the only verbal morphology in AS to perform applicatives. This is intriguing because other languages of western Indonesia or even other varieties of Sasak utilize at least two suffixes for applicatives (see Austin 2001).

There are at least six distinct functions of the suffix *-an*, which is discussed in brief below. More elaborated descriptions of each function is presented in chapter 3 of this dissertation.

1. *Benefactive applicative function.* The benefactive function of *-an* occurs on transitive roots, resulting in a ditransitive construction where the benefactor has a core position. Compare the examples with (60b) and without (60a) *-an* attached to the root *beli* ‘buy’ below.

- (60) a. Inaq beli kelambi umaq anak=ne.
 mother buy cloth for child=3
 ‘Mother bought a cloth for her child.’
 b. Inaq beli-**an** anak=ne kelambi.
 mother buy-BEN child=3 cloth
 ‘Mother bought her child a cloth.’

In 60b, *-an* results in a ditransitive construction where now the NP *anak=ne* ‘her child’ is no longer marked by the preposition *umaq* ‘for’. Rather, it occurs following the suffixed verb while the theme *kelambi* ‘clothes’ occurs after the benefactor.

2. *Causative function.* The suffix *-an* typically attaches to intransitive roots and derives monotransitive constructions as shown in the following example of (61).

- (61) a. Empaq no turun.
 fish that come.down
 ‘The fish came down.’
 b. Nelayan no turun-**an** empaq no.
 fisherman that come.down-CAUS fish that
 ‘The fisherman dismounted the fish.’

(61a) shows an intransitive clause with *empaq* ‘fish’ as the S argument. In (61b), the suffix *-an* is attached to the intransitive root *turun* ‘come down’ and a new A argument *nelayan* is added to the clause. At the same time, the old S argument *empaq* now is placed in the P position. This

validates (61b) as a causative construction where the clause now means the fisherman causes the fish to move down, which is different from (61a) where the fish is the S.

3. *Category-changing function.* The category-changing function of the suffix *-an* is found in cases where *-an* derives transitive verbs from nouns. Examples from the corpus show that the category changing *-an* expresses various meanings. The first meaning is ‘to give something based on the derived noun’ such as with the roots *owat* ‘medicine’ that becomes *owatan* ‘to give medicine to someone’, and *jatah* ‘portion’ that becomes *jatahan* ‘to portion out’. Another meaning that arises is ‘to do something’ associated with the root such as with the root *usehe* ‘business/effort’, the *-an* verb *usehean* means ‘to try’, with the root *kalkulasi* ‘calculation’, the *-an* verb *kalkulasian* means ‘to calculate’, and with the root *pelamir* ‘base coat’, it becomes *pelamiran* that means ‘to add a base coat (before painting)’.

Compare examples with the root *òwat* ‘medicine’ below where in (62a) *òwat* ‘medicine’ is identified as a noun but in (62b) as a transitive verb.

- (62) a. *Òwat* *no* *ie* *mandi.*
 medicine that 3 good
 ‘The medicine is good.’
- b. *Dokter* *òwat-an* *dengan* *nò.*
 doctor medicine=APPL person that
 ‘The doctor heals the person.’

4. *Patient promoting (P-promoting).* P-promoting refers to ‘an applicative construction whereby the base form is typically an intransitive root that contains a prepositional phrase or oblique argument, and the applicative form has an additional P’ (McDonnell 2016). In other words, *-an* attaches to the intransitive root and a new P argument is added to the applied construction which is promoted from an oblique position. Consider examples below.

- (63) a. *Side* *turut* *léq* *angen=ne.*
 2SG.POL follow LOC feeling=3
 ‘You follow his desire.’
- b. *Side* *turut-an* *angen=ne.*
 2SG.POL follow-APPL feeling=3
 ‘You followed his desire.’

In (63a), *angen* ‘feeling’ is preceded by the locative *léq* so it is clear that it is not a core argument but an oblique. However, when *-an* is applied, the oblique argument is promoted to a core position as a P argument, as in (63b). This example shows that *-an* functioning as a patient promoting applicative.

5. *Detransitivizing function.* The detransitivizing function marks the polyfunctionality of *-an* also because this is not a common applicative function. The suffix *-an* attaches to ditransitive and transitive roots resulting in the reduction of the transitivity. In this regard, the applied construction contains a preposition after the verb is suffixed with *-an* as illustrated below.

- (64) a. Amplòp ketuan=*ne* aku.
 envelop ask=3 1SG
 ‘He asked me about the envelop.’
 b. Amplòp ketuan-**an**=*ne* léq aku.
 envelop ask=APPL=3 LOC 1SG
 ‘He asked me about the envelop.’

Construction in (64a) is ditransitive, the verb *ketuan* is not suffixed which also serves as the host for the clitic A argument *=ne* 3SG and is followed by the recipient argument *aku* 1SG. In short, all three arguments are core, including the theme argument *amplop* ‘envelope’, which occurs clause-initially. The transitivity of the given construction seems to be reduced after *-an* is attached to the verb. In (64b), the recipient argument *aku* 1SG can no longer appear directly following the verb, it must be preceded by the preposition *léq*. This indicates that the recipient argument is no longer a core argument.

6. *Goal/locative.* The suffix *-an* can surprisingly also exhibit goal/locative function. The locative/goal applicative function of *-an* derives ditransitives from transitive constructions where all the roots are transitives, resulting in all three arguments being core arguments.

- (65) a. Bibiq Ida talet puntiq léq kebòn=*ne*.
 aunt I. plant banana LOC garden=3
 ‘Aunt Ida planted a banana tree in her garden.’
 b. Bibiq Ida talet-**an** kebòn=*ne* puntiq.
 aunt I. plant-APPL garden=3 banana
 ‘Aunt Ida planted her garden with a banana tree.’

The construction in (65a) is transitive where the verb is *talet* ‘to pant’ is not suffixed, and the oblique NP *kebòn=ne* is marked by the preposition *léq*. Meanwhile (65b) is ditransitive. The verb *talet* ‘plant’ is now affixed by the suffix *-an*, and it results in promoting the NP argument *kebòn=ne* into a core argument position following the verb and the construction no longer takes a preposition. The theme argument *puntiq* ‘banana’ follows the location. This illustrates a locative function of *-an* which derives a ditransitive from a transitive clause.

7. *Other unclassifiable functions.* There are other functions which cannot be determined due to the suffix either acting idiosyncratically or the relationship of the base and resulting constructions are not clear. They are found with the root *kenòq* ‘tell’, *kunjung* ‘visit’, *còbaq* ‘try’ *cerite* ‘story’, *taòq* ‘know’, *terus* ‘then’, *tetep* ‘always’, and *tipaq* ‘to’. More on this is elaborated later in chapter 3 since it requires a deeper understanding of discourse.

2.3.3 TAM markers

Tense is typically expressed by the use of adverbs as well as the future tense marker *jaq* or its variant *yaq*, both of which occur before the verb. Aspect and mood are carried out by auxiliary particles which typically occur immediately preceding the verbal predicate. The example in (66) below illustrates the use of the adverb *rubin* ‘tomorrow’ to show tense and the example in (67) utilizes the future tense marker *jaq*. In (66), the tense adverb occurs at the end of the clause but may occur in various positions, while (67) shows that *jaq* must precede the verb

(66) Adverb to show tense in AS

Ajis mauq=n empat pulu rubin,
 A. get=3 four ten yesterday
 ‘Ajis got forty (fish) yesterday,’

(KN1-037, 0:04:33-0:04:34, Speaker: Wahyu)

(67) Future tense marker *jaq*

Supar jaq lalo rue=ne beruq.
 S. FUT go seem=ne just now
 ‘Supar would go it seems just now.’

(KN1-006, 0:05:57- 0:05:54, Speaker: Sari)

Aspect in AS consists of perfective and continuous aspects. The perfective aspect marker is the particle *wah* or *uwah* as shown in (68) and negative persistive *ndéq man* ‘not yet’ as in (69). The word *man* itself is bound since it cannot occur by itself, it must phrase together with the

negator *ndéq* ‘no’ or *ndaq* ‘don’t’. The continuous aspect markers include *nyengke* or its variant *jengke* as in (70).

(68) Perfective aspect *wah*

amun=te wah be-dowé sampan mesin,
if=1PL PRF MIDD-own boat machine

‘If we have owned a boat and machine,’

(KN1-033, 0:01:16-0:01:18, Speaker: Océq)

(69) Imperfective aspect *ndéq man*

angkaqndéq man tutuq haq due karong no siq=ku antuq,
DM NEG yet finish REL two sack that AGT=1SG pull

‘I have not finished pulling the two sacks,’

(KN1-043, 0:07:04 -0:07:09, Speaker: Deni)

(70) Continuous aspect *nyengke*

nyengke ngecas jage dengan.
PROG N-charge maybe person

‘Maybe the person is charging (his phone).’

(KN1-018, 0:03:47-0:03:49, Speaker: Sahar)

Mood markers in AS include deontic modals *harus* ‘must’ as in (71), and *perlu* ‘need, necessary’ as in (72).

(71) Deontic modal *harus*

saq serét kodéq no harus te-gitaq siq dengan-dengan.
REL fishnet small that must PASS-see AGT person-RED

‘The small fishnet must be seen by people.’

(KN1-033, 0:05:53-0:05:6, Speaker: Ocèq)

(72) Deontic modal *perlu*

Perlu=ku badaq kamu.
need=1SG tell 2SG.FEM

‘I need to tell you.’

Mood markers also include epistemic modals *tao* ‘can’ as in (73) and *bau* ‘can’ as in (74).

(73) Epistemic modal *tao*

endéq tao ngonong ite jaq.
NEG can N-swim 1SG.POL DM

‘As for me, I cannot swim.’

(KN1-018, 0:00:11-0:00:13, Speaker: Ros)

(74) Epistemic modal *bau*

rubin	kene=ku	yaq	ndéq=te	yaq	bau	liwat.
yesterday	think=1SG	FUT	NEG=1PL	FUT	can	pass

‘I thought we would not be able to pass yesterday.’

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the sketch grammar of AS showing that AS lacks some morphology compared with other languages of the region as well as other varieties of Sasak. For instance, compared to Standard Indonesian whose AV and PV must be marked with the prefix *meN-* and *di-* respectively and Balinese whose AV must be marked with an *N-*, AS exhibits a lesser extent of verbal morphology. This is due to a symmetrical alternation in AS that does not necessarily need to be marked by verbal morphology. The phonology demonstrates typical consonants found in languages in Indonesia and its vowel inventories seem to have developed compared with Balinese and Sumbawan, marked by quasi phonemic vowels. AS also demonstrates variations either in phonology and lexicon including in pronominals. Morphologically, affixes in AS are similar with that of other varieties of Sasak with bare forms and *N-*. While it also exhibits typical nominal and verbal affixes, AS is distinct when it comes to causative/applicatives. AS is the only variety of language in Western Indonesia which utilizes the single suffix *-an* to perform various causative/applicative functions. Syntactically, AS is evident to utilize *N-* to a lesser extent compared with the *Ngeno-ngené* dialect which results in significant differences in the properties of the diathesis/voice system.

Chapter 3. Diathesis

In this chapter, I examine diathesis in Ampenan Sasak (AS). While alternations involving a privileged syntactic argument (i.e., subject or pivot) are typically described as voice, I use the term diathesis following Zuñiga & Kittilä (2019). They define diathesis as a broader term to cover any semantic mapping between semantic roles and grammatical relations. This definition allows us to include any constructions where such a mapping applies regardless of whether the mapping is accompanied by any morphological marking such as what is commonly observed in prototypical voice constructions. For this reason, I adopt their definition of voice as a diathesis that is formally marked on verbs. These definitions best fit the case of AS because it has lost much of its verbal morphology, but diathetical operations can still be identified.

This chapter presents all types of diathesis (including voice) found in AS which is followed by descriptions of grammatical relations within each diathesis construction in Chapter 4. Following Shibatani (2008) and Asikin-Garmager (2017), I propose here that AS has both a subject and a pivot, which they refer to as “topic”. The subject is always realized as a pronominal clitic and the pivot as a free pronoun or NP. Arguments of the verb are optionally realized with the exception of the subject, which is obligatory in particular diathesis. In Chapter 4, I provide evidence for both subject and pivots.

The data used in this chapter are derived from a combination of naturally occurring conversational data and elicitation. The discussions on diathesis mostly rely on examples from conversation, but I do use constructed examples to make a particular point. These examples were typically constructed by me, a native speaker of AS who also grew up in the Pondok Perasi neighborhood. I then discussed each one of these examples with another AS speaker from Pondok Perasi. After these discussions I checked all constructed examples with a second native speaker of AS. For details on elicitation, see Section 1.5.2.

As mentioned in Section 2.3.2, I refer to the single argument of an intransitive predicate as S, and the arguments of transitive predicates as A for the most Agent-like argument and P for the Patient-like argument. For ditransitive predicates, I use A, T, and R for the most Agent-like,

Theme-like, and Recipient/Beneficiary/Goal-like argument, respectively (Comrie 1978; Bickel 2010; Haspelmath 2007).

The findings in this chapter based on data from both conversation and elicitation reveal that AS employs several distinct diathetical operations. The first type is symmetrical (non-demoting) constructions that I refer to as Agentive Diathesis (henceforth AD) and Patientive Diathesis (henceforth PD). The alternation between AD and PD are generally symmetrical because the pivot and a non-pivot argument hold a core argument status. That is, the A argument is the pivot in AD, and the P argument is the pivot in PD. Moreover, the prototypical AD constructions are not marked by any morphology on verbs and the same is true for PD. However, while PD can be characterized as a single construction with different word orders, AD consists of two sub-constructions, one of which is marked with a prefix and can thus be referred to as Agentive Voice (henceforth AV). Recall voice has been defined earlier in this section as diathesis involving morphological marking on verbs. Thus, I consider AV in AS to be a sub-construction of AD. It differs from AD not only because of the prefix on the verb but the behavior of non-pivot arguments also differs. AV is also categorized as a sub-construction because it only occurs in certain contexts in discourse which highlights its different status from AV in the *Ngeno-ngené* dialect of Sasak. Asikin-Garmager (2017) posits that a nasal prefix on verbs in *Ngeno-ngené* is a defining property of AV while the zero marking on AD is rarely found. The second sub-construction is non-clitic AD which consists of a bare construction like AD, but does not employ any pronominal clitic coreferential with the A argument. The following figure shows the schematic tree of AD and its subconstructions while differences across these constructions are discussed in sections 3.1 - 3.2 below.

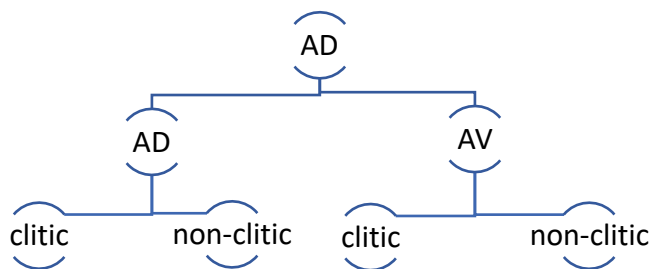


Figure 3.1 AD and its subconstructions

Other types of diathesis that are formally marked on verbs are passive voice and causative/applicative construction *-an*. The former alternation is different from PD because passivization results in the demotion of the A argument into the oblique position. The causative/applicative constructions are considered complementary to other diathesis constructions because they can co-occur in AD (including AV), PD, and passive constructions. Section 3.4 covered the primary functions of causative/applicative *-an* and will not be discussed further in this chapter. In addition to these alternations, there are constructions which I refer to as ambiguous cases, because they cannot be classified as AD or PD based on their syntactic behavior.

This chapter provides evidence that challenges the common assumption regarding the loss of morphologically-marked voice which is equated with the loss of the diathetical alternations (e.g. Gil 2002; Wouk 2002) because this is not the case in AS. In AS, in cases where the morphological marker is lost, the diathesis is not.

3.1 Agentive Diathesis

AD in AS comprises transitive constructions that select an A argument as the pivot without demoting the P argument from its core argument status. As mentioned above, the term diathesis is used in this dissertation because the mapping of the semantic roles on grammatical relations in AS are not always marked morphologically. In AS, I discuss three AD constructions. The first I consider to be the canonical one, and the other two I consider sub-constructions. A defining property of the canonical AD construction is that the unmarked A pivot is coreferential with the subject pronominal clitic. Consider the example of AD below.

- (75) Herjan_i wah=*ne*_i sòròng sampan.
 H. PFV=3 push boat
 ‘Herjan pushed a boat.’(AD)

The example in (75) shows the NP-A pivot proper noun Herjan precedes the verb and is coreferential with the subject pronominal clitic *=ne* while the P non-pivot argument follows the verb without any overt marking. Such an absence of marking means there is no apparent demotion taking place, and both arguments are considered core. When a clause lacks a TAM

marker, negator, or other potential host, the subject clitic attaches to the verb as illustrated in (76) below.

- (76) Dengan_i no empok=_{ne} aku.
Person that hit=3 1SG
'The person hit me.'(AD)

In the corpus, such a property of AD where the A pivot argument is coreferential with a subject pronominal clitic is also observed in the following example.

- (77) Kan ie_i hoq taòq=_{ne} ite.
right 3 of.course know=3 1PL
'Of course she knows our condition (lit. us), right.' (AD)
(KN1-008, 08:45-08: 45, Speaker: Zainudin)

In this excerpt from a conversation, the speaker talks about me as both being the fieldworker recording the conversation and their neighbor. He assumes that I would fully understand that the conversation is natural because they speak based on their daily speech style and about their real life circumstances. In (77), I am realized as the referent of *ie* 3SG, and I consider this argument to be the pivot not only because it occurs pre-verbally but also because in AD it is coreferential with a subject pronominal clitic =*ne*. In contrast, the non-pivot P argument occurs post-verbally but is not accompanied by any preposition signifying a demotion. Thus, the P argument is still core in example (77) above.

Other properties of AD confirming that it is the A argument which is the pivot, note the P argument will become clearer in the discussion on grammatical relations in Chapter 4. For instance, only A arguments can be relativized in AD.

3.1.1 *Non-clitic AD constructions*

All transitive clauses that do not have a pronominal subject clitic are considered in this dissertation as a sub-construction of AD, which holds some different properties. These non-clitic clauses have the same canonical word order as AD, namely the A argument occurs canonically preverbally. The difference lies in the absence of the coreferential subject pronominal clitic in the non-clitic AD constructions. Compare the examples in (78) and (79) below from the corpus with (75)–(77) above.

- (78) Aoq aku jaq bait sampan loq Ajis.
 yes 1SG will take boat PN A.
 ‘Yes, I will take Ajis’ boat.’ (non-clitic AD)
 (KN1-037, 06:59-07:01, Speaker: Wahyu)
- (79) Èsah békéq ie.
 E. take 3
 ‘Èsah took her with.’ (non-clitic AD)
 (KN1-006, 03:44-03:45, Speaker: Sari)

Both examples (78) and (79) show the A argument occurring preverbally in a canonical position while P arguments occur post-verbally. This is similar to AD constructions as observed in examples (75)–(77) above. The only difference is the absence of the coreferential subject pronominal clitics. Thus, we also can refer to the constructions in (78) and (79) as non-clitic AD constructions because the verb is neither marked nor cliticized. We will see below that there are other differences between AD and these non-clitic clauses. That is, the pivot in non-clitic clauses behaves somewhat differently from those in AD in terms of structural position and relativization (see Section 4.1 and 4.3 respectively). Instead, the A argument in these constructions shares properties with both subjects in variable binding constructions (see Section 4.6) and pivots in raising constructions (see Section 4.4).

3.1.2 Agentive Voice

Nasal constructions refer to constructions which apply the so-called homorganic nasal prefix *N-* to transitive verbs. While Shibatani (2008), Austin (2013), and Asikin-Garmager (2017) have claimed that the nasal prefix *N-* is optional and marks Actor Voice, in AS this optionality is not necessarily the case. For example, if the AV nasal prefix is added to the AD example in (80a), it is not acceptable in (80b) because definite P arguments in these AV constructions are dispreferred. Conversely, if the P arguments are indefinite, the AV constructions are acceptable as exemplified in (80c) below.

- (80) a. Dengan_i no sòròng =ne_i aku.
 person that push=3 1SG
 ‘The person pushed me.’ (AV)
- b. *Dengan_i no ny-(s)òròng =ne_i aku.
 person that AV-push=3 1SG
 ‘The person pushed me.’

- c. Dengan no ny-(s)òròng =ne sampan.
 person that AV-push=3 boat
 ‘The person pushed a boat.’ (AV)

However, AV is similar to AD in that the pivot is occupied by the A argument while the P argument is not demoted into an oblique position. Moreover, AV also has a canonical word order. I therefore propose that AV is a subconstruction of AD because it shows similar properties but some differences such as the verb that is marked with *N-*. One interesting point about AV arises from differences between elicited examples and those that occur in natural discourse. Speakers of AS almost always produce constructions with no nasal prefix on verbs during elicitations when the pivot is an A argument, which differs from what has been reported in other varieties of Sasak in which speakers produce the AV form where the verb is marked with *N-* (Asikin-Garamager 2017: 23). AV constructions in AS have at least four properties. First, the prefix *N-* in AV can be distinguished from the prefix *N-* in intransitives described in section 2.2.1.1. Compare an intransitive construction in (81) and AV in (82) below.

- (81) To jemaq amun=ku m-(p)eken,
 there tomorrow if=1SG N-market
 ‘If I go to the market tomorrow,’ (intransitive *N-*)
 (KN1-008, 06:27-06:29, Speaker: Pas)
- (82) Sementare aku mélé=ku m-beli kayuq aku angen=ku.
 meanwhile 1SG want=1SG AV-buy wood 1SG feeling=1SG
 ‘Meanwhile I wanted to buy woods, that is my desire.’ (AV)
 (KN1-043, 09:40-09:43, Speaker: Deni)

The root *peken* ‘market’ in (81) undergoes homorganic nasal substitution when prefixed with *N-*, deriving an intransitive verb from a noun. It is not possible for an additional core argument to occur in this clause. In contrast, *N-* directly attaches to the transitive root *mbeli* ‘buy’ in (82), and in this example, it takes the noun *kayuq* ‘wood’ as the P argument. Based on the discourse, however, the speaker is not talking about a specific type of wood, which leads us to the second property of AV constructions. That is, AV occurs with indefinite P arguments. The corpus shows that AV never occurs with a P argument followed by a demonstrative determiner *no* ‘that’ or *né* ‘this’. In the following example, *N-* attaches to a transitive verb *lepas* ‘let go’ which occurs as a predicate at the beginning of the clause. It is then followed by a P argument which refers to a

fishnet, and the absence of a demonstrative determiner indicates that the referent is not a specific fishnet.

- (83) Nge-lepas jaring juluq-an bapak=bi.
AV-let.go fishnet first-NMZR father=2SG.FEM
'Your father was the first to let go a fishnet (in the water).' (AV)
(KN1-006, 07:39-07: 42, Speaker: Sari)

Third, even though *N-* is said to also occur on intransitive predicates, the transitivity of the clause can also change because *N-* may also combine with the applicative suffix *-an*, resulting in transitive predicates. Consider example (84) below.

- (84) Endéq=te ng-utaq-an daraq,
NEG=1PL AV-vomit-APPL blood
'We do not throw up blood,' (AV)
(KN1-033, 05:15-05: 16, Speaker: Océq)

In (84) with the applicative suffix *-an* on the verb, the AV construction is transitive because it takes a P argument *daraq* 'blood'. However, it is also common for *N-* to be prefixed to this predicate when it is intransitive as in (85).

- (85) Edi ng-utaq léq mobil.
E. N-vomit PREP car
'Edi threw up in a car.'(intransitive *N-*)

Finally, in discourse, P arguments in AV are often unrealized. In some cases, the P arguments are prototypical of the verb and thus clear to both the speaker and interlocutor. Noonan (1992: 125) refers to predicates like these as 'activity naming'. Some of the predicates include *ngujur* 'to help carry a boat from the water in exchange for fish', *neribang* 'to fish at night', *mancing* 'to fish'. These three predicates take the same prototypical P argument namely *empa*q 'fish', so it tends to be realized as zero. Hence, if the P argument refers to a certain type of fish or other sea creatures, the P argument would typically be expressed especially if it is the first time introduced in the discourse. There is also one case in the discourse where the word *mancing* occurs with a P argument which in this case, not only is the referent a certain type of fish, but the meaning differs

compared to the counterpart verb *pancing* because it expresses a habitual action. Compare (86) and (87) from the corpus below.

- (86) Sebab=ne mancing léq atas no,
 cause=3 N-fish PREP top DET
 ‘The cause they fish on the top,’ (AV)
 (KN1-031, 09:32-09:34, Speaker: Awal)
- (87) a. [ie mancing kacanga:n],
 3 N-fish garfish
 ‘He fishes for garfish,’ (AV)
 (KN1-018, 06:19-06:21, speaker: Sahar)
- b. Ie pancing kancangan rubin.
 3 fish garfish yesterday
 ‘He fished garfish yesterday.’ (AV)

In other cases, the P argument is clear from the context, not because of the meaning of the verb per se as shown in example (14) below. In this example, Sahar replies to his wife’s suggestion to park his boat in a narrow space between other boats on the beach. He says that if he does that, their boat will scratch other boats. So, even though the P argument is unrealized in the construction in (88), it has become clear based on the context.

- (88) Sampan=te mèsaq nggerus.
 boat=3 only N-scratch
 ‘Only our boat scratches (other boats).’ (AV)
 (KN1-018, 08:21-08:22, speaker: Sahar)

Finally, based on examples shown in discourse as presented in (81)–(88) above, it is observed that AV can occur with or without the subject pronominal clitic. Thus, I propose that there are two constructions, a clitic AV construction and a non-clitic AV construction, just as I proposed for AD. Even though its P argument is often unrealized, in situations where it is realized, it occurs post-verbally. The A argument is frequently realized and in most cases, it occurs preverbally. In section 4.2.3, I provide evidence from relativization showing that only the pivot A argument can be relativized.

In summary, in canonical AD constructions, the A argument is the pivot, which is co-referential with the subject pronominal clitic. AV constructions are a sub-type of AD but are

prefixed with *N-*. In non-clitic constructions, the subject clitic is not realized, and non-clitic constructions occur in both AD and AV.

3.2 Patientive Diathesis

The second symmetrical alternation is PD which comprises transitive constructions where the P argument is the pivot and the A argument is the subject. A coreferential A argument may also be realized as an oblique marked PP. Such a diathetical operation makes PD different from passive voice whereby in passive, the patient argument is realized as the subject and/or pivot while the agent optionally occurs in an oblique PP.

As in AD, verbs in PD constructions are also not marked by any affixes which also serves as a preliminary account for their symmetry; neither of the constructions is more basic than the other. Compare the following example in (89) with example (80a) above.

- (89) Aku wah=*ne*_i empok siq dengan_i no.
 1SG AUX=3 hit AGT person that
 ‘The person hit me.’ (PD)

The PD construction in (89) shows the P argument occurs canonically in the preverbal position, while the A argument is marked by the agent marker *siq*, which in other constructions can be translated as ‘with’ or ‘by’. In fact, alongside the preverbal P pivot, this marker is a defining property of PD. Another property that makes PD a transitive construction pertains to the fact that it contains a pronominal clitic in a core position identified as the subject which is coreferential with an agent-marked A argument. The coreference of the subject clitic with the A argument underlines the main difference between PD and passive voice. In passive voice, the A argument is also in an oblique position, but it does not corefer with the pronominal clitic whose status is as a core argument. If there exists a pronominal clitic, it is coreferential with the patient S argument. Thus, it is also evident that PD shows a different diathetical operation from AD where now the pivot is the P argument leaving the A argument as a non-pivot argument. The NP-A or A argument in PD in a construction like (89) above is often dropped which denotes its non-pivot status. In this case, the construction is not ambiguous due to the P argument’s preverbal position.

As a defining property of PD, the agentive marker *siq*, which precedes the A argument in an oblique position does not seem to behave like other oblique markers. That is, *siq* must occur

together with the A argument and thus the phrase can be referred to as an agent phrase. However, this agent phrase cannot occur in another position in the clause which makes it different from other oblique phrases. Prepositional phrases, for instance, can occur in different positions in the clause without resulting in any change in intonation. In contrast, if the A argument in PD is to occur in a different position, it must be at the beginning of a clause but some constraints also apply. First, the oblique marker *siq* cannot accompany it and the A argument must occur by itself. Second, such a position requires a pause or special intonation marked by a comma which indicates that the resulting construction is topicalization (see Sections 4.2.1.2 and 4.2.4 for more details).

In the corpus, the properties of PD often do not surface altogether. The *siq*-marked A argument is often unrealized in the construction but its conferential (subject) pronominal clitic is always present. In fact, there is no example in the corpus where *siq* A arguments at the end of a clause are present without the subject pronominal clitic. Thus, the presence of a subject pronominal clitic is a defining property of PD. Moreover, *siq* itself can be the host for subject pronominal clitics which provides support for the status of *siq* as another defining property of PD. That is, once *siq* is used in the clause where its coreferential clitic is also available, we can rest assured that the construction must be PD as in (90).

- (90) Aku *siq=ne* empok *siq* dengan. no.
 1SG AGT=3 hit AGT person that
 ‘The person hit me.’ (PD)

More importantly, it is not possible for *siq* to occur in AD. Another property of PD is the position of the P argument, which occurs pre-verbally. Consider examples from the corpus below.

- (91) Mie kelaq=*ku* juluq lèngan bale.
 Noodle cook=1SG first from house
 ‘I first cooked noodles from home.’ (PD)
 (KN1-033, 07:59-08:01, Speaker: Budi)
- (92) Empaq bebongkòt kan *siq=ne* bau.
 fish b. right AGT=3 catch
 ‘He caught *bebongkòt* fish, right.’ (PD)
 (KN1-037, 00:38-00:40, Speaker: Hasan)

- (93) *Siq*=de *bèng* *aku* *angsul*=ne.
 AGT=2SG.POL give 1SG change=3
 ‘You gave me the change.’ (PD)
 (KN1-008, 06:50-06:52, Speaker: Pas)

The three examples from the corpus above display properties of PD, and they also show that *siq* A arguments are not expressed but the subject clitic arguments are realized in all the three constructions. If *siq* A arguments were realized, they would occur at the end of the clauses as in example (91) above. The first property of PD shown in (91) is that the pivot argument occurs preverbally as the NP-P argument *mie* ‘noodle’. This construction lacks a TAM marker, negator, or other possible hosts which means the subject pronominal clitic attaches to the verb *kelaq* ‘to cook’. Example (91) also confirms the notion that even when *siq* is completely absent from the clause, the given construction can be counted as PD. Next, example (92) even demonstrates more properties of PD in that it contains both a preverbal P pivot and *siq* as the host of the subject pronominal clitic. The last example in (93) shows a slightly different situation. In this ditransitive construction, *siq* occurs at the beginning of the clause that also functions as the host of the pronominal clitic. Meanwhile, neither the T nor the R arguments are marked by any preposition whatsoever, and it is possible for either argument to be the pivot. The same findings are also proposed by Henke (2018) on ditransitive constructions of AS.

These properties of PD will become clearer in the subsection of grammatical relations where we will see that the pivot is treated differently, and both pivot and subject arguments are occupied by two different arguments which mark a substantial difference between AD and PD.

3.3 A note on ambiguous cases in use

At this point, I have discussed the properties of AD and PD including examples for each diathesis from the corpus where the pivot arguments are realized. In such cases, it is possible to identify that the diathesis is PD under the following conditions: (i) *siq* is present in the preverbal position hosting the subject clitic, (ii) *siq* is present in the post-verbal position preceding a coreferential A and/or (iii) the pivot P is realized preverbally. It is possible to identify AD if the A pivot argument is not marked by *siq*. However, given the nature of conversational data, it is likely for arguments to be unrealized. As a consequence of the absence of a pivot and/or *siq* A argument, it is impossible for the analyst to determine whether a given construction is AD or PD

because the relevant syntactic properties are not present. For this reason, I refer to these instances as ambiguous cases. Consider the example in (94) below.

- (94) Mélé=ne totok baé loq Oplok onkat=ne.
 want=3 knock only PN O. word=3
 ‘She just wanted to hit Oplok, she said.’ (ambiguous)
 (KN1-006, 0:05:31-0:05:34, Speaker: Sipaq)

The example in (94) shows an ambiguous construction for two reasons: (i) it lacks an A argument that is coreferential with the subject pronominal clitic *ne*, and (ii) it lacks a *siq* A argument as a defining property of PD. In this case, the subject clitic attaches to the auxiliary verb and the P argument is realized post-verbally. Thus, in this case, there is no evidence for its AD or PD status. For elicited data this is not an issue because it is possible to ask the speaker to include an A argument preverbally, in which case it would be the pivot and the construction would be AD as in (95a), or post-verbally and marked with *siq*, in which case it would be PD as in (95b). However, due to their absence, there is no syntactic evidence to determine the diathesis of the given construction.

- (95) a. Ie mélé=ne totok baé loq Oplok.
 3 want=3 hit only PN O.
 ‘She wanted to hit Oplok.’ (AD)
 b. Mélé=ne totok baé loq Oplok siq ie.
 want=3 knock only PN O. AGT 3
 ‘She wanted to hit Oplok.’ (PD)

Despite such a difficulty from the point of view of syntactic analysis, in naturally occurring discourse speakers can likely identify diathesis based on properties of topic continuity as well as information flow (Ewing 2005b; McDonnell 2016). In other words, topic continuity and information flow can give clues of whether the ambiguous cases are more likely to be AD or PD because pivots are typically highly topical and tracked by participants. In the following examples, I analyze the topic continuity involving a clear case of an AD construction and compare it with the topic continuity in an ambiguous case, which appears to be treated as AD by speakers.

- (96) 1 Oji: Lapuq=*ne* kadu serèt Kampung Bugis no.
all=3 use fishnet K. B. DET
‘All (people of) Kampung Bugis use the fishnet.’ (AD)
- 2 Kejèng: Saq ng-(k)adu aji Ukin dòang ng-(k)adu.
REL N-use hajj U. DM N-use
‘Only hajj Ukin who uses (it).’
- 3 Oji: Kan loq Lòlèt pepe ni ndéq=*n* be-dowé?
right PN L. also this NEG=3 MID-own
‘Including Lelet also does not own any, right?’
- 4 mule selapuq=*ne* kan pade be-dowé.
initially all=3 right all MID-own
‘Initially, all of them owned (a fishnet).’
(KN1-040, 0:09:52-0:10:00, Speaker: Oji and Kejèng)

This excerpt discusses how fishermen in a neighborhood called *Kampung Bugis* can have a big catch because they use a special type of fishnet. The speakers are debating whether all fishermen in that neighborhood use the fishnet or only some of them. The first IU shows an AD construction where the pivot is identified as an NP-A argument referring to the fishermen of *Kampung Bugis*, which is coreferential with the pronominal subject clitic =*ne* attaching to the quantifier. Further, we see in the next three IUs that the A and S arguments (i.e., fisherman who use the net and own a fishnet) are the salient discourse topic. In line 2, the speaker *Kejèng* mentions the proper name *Ukin* as a fisherman from *Kampung Bugis* who uses the fishnet. In this clause, the proper name A argument *Ukin* is the pivot, while the non-pivot NP-P argument ‘fishnet’ is now unrealized. Likewise, in line 3, the speaker *Oji* finally agrees that not all fishermen of *Kampung Bugis* use the fishnet by mentioning another person *Lòlèt* who is identified as a fisherman from that neighborhood who does not own a fishnet. In other words, *Lòlèt* is the S pivot argument in line 3. The same is true for the last line wherein the subject clitic =*ne* is realized and retains its discourse topic status as being about people who own or use the fishnet. In short, the topic continuity in this excerpt of conversation aligns with the NP-A pivot argument in the first line because the remaining IUs revolve around who uses or owns the fishnet. In contrast, the non-pivot P argument ‘fishnet’ is not realized even once after the first mention in the first line.

did something embarrassing. He offered her to a *haji* man who was looking for a wife. We see in line 1 that the construction is intransitive where the S pivot argument is identified as *ie* 3SG, which also refers to *Uni*. Line 2 implies a sort of agency where the referent of the S argument in line 1 is realized as the A argument because the construction is still about *Uni*. Finally, the last IU is recognized as PD but again, the pivot is not *Oplok* but *Uni*. Thus, we see that there is a topic continuity happening in regard to the argument referring to the proper name *Uni* which if present would have in all likelihood acted as the pivot A argument in line 2 because it is more highly topical compared to the proper noun argument *Oplok*.

With respect to information flow, although there is a sort of reduction observed in line 2 where the referent is realized as a clitic while it previously has been established as a full pronoun in line 1, the speaker utilizes a pathway to make the referent identifiable in line 3. That is, the proper name *Uni* is mentioned for the first time but is still trackable as the referent for the pronouns in line 1 and 2. On the contrary, the non-pivot argument proper name *Oploq* who is first established in line 2, does not receive the same treatment. Rather, this argument is expressed in line 3 once it has been identifiable in the previous line. In other words, even though it is not possible to know which diathesis is being used for the construction in line 2 of the excerpt of conversation (97), discourse does provide some cues about which is likely to be used by the means of topic continuity and information flow. In this respect, the topic continuity and information flow for (97) appears to behave like the one observed in AD within the excerpt in (96).

The same is true for PD, where I can show cases of ambiguous constructions whose topic continuity resembles PD. The following example is an excerpt of conversation where PD is identified.

- (98) 1 Hasan: gitaq no Partòq no,
 see that P. that
 ‘See Partoq,’
- 2 pencaran unjar=ne,
 garfish chase=3
 ‘He hunted for garfish,’ (PD)
- 3 bilang jelo.
 every day
 ‘Everyday.’
- 4 Wahyu: aòq ie sòq,
 yes 3 DM
 ‘Yes, true,’
- 5 Ku=m-beli rubin laiq,
 1SG=AV-buy yesterday night
 ‘I bought (it) last night,’
- 6 telu ribu,
 three thousand
 ‘For three thousand (rupiah),’
- 7 jari ie wah jari janggan.
 so 3 alreadybecome meal
 ‘So it became the meal.’
 (KN1-037, 01:21-01:30, Speaker: Hasan & Wahyu)

The two speakers in the above excerpt of conversation talk about another fisherman named *Partòq* who caught garfish. The second IU produced by speaker *Hasan* appears to be a PD construction identified from the pivot NP-P *pencaran* ‘garfish’ which occurs preverbally. Further down, in line 5 produced by speaker *Wahyu*, garfish seems to continually be the discourse topic. This is evident from how *Wahyu* talks about buying the garfish which *Partòq* caught for his meal of the day in line 7. The excerpt in (98) consists of two identifiable referents in lines 1-3 namely the proper noun *Partòq* and NP *pencaran*. The rest of the lines show only one referent is still identifiable which is *pencaran*. In this case, even though this referent is not expressed in lines 5 and 6, it is still identifiable while we do not observe any cues that make the other referent *Partòq* identifiable because it has been completely removed from the discourse. Moreover, the last line also shows a way to make *pencaran* more trackable which is through re-establishing the referent by means of the pronoun *ie*. The same pattern of topic continuity and information flow are also observed in the following ambiguous construction.

- (99) 1 Sahar: mun araq muq araq rue=n mobile=ne.
 If exist DM exist look=3 car=3
 ‘If (he) was there then his car would be seen.’
- 2 Ros: laguq anuq,
 but whatchamacallit
 ‘but whatchamacallit,’
- 3 anuq montor kodéq,
 whatchamacallit vehicle small
 ‘Whatchamacallit vehicle,’
- 4 kadu=ne.
 use=3
 ‘He used a motorbike.’
- 5 endéq=n kadu montor,
 NEG=3 use vehicle
 ‘He did not use a big car’
- 6 belé:q.
 big
 ‘big.’
- 7 Sahar: segerah jaq kadu mòbil-mòbil diriq.
 DM will use car-RED only
 ‘How come he would only use a car.’
- (KN1-018, 0:09:58-0:10:11, Speaker: Sahar and Ros)

The speakers *Sahar* and *Ros* talk about a *hajj* man’s vehicle, which he used to attend a party’s preparation where all people were gathering at. Lines 5 and 6 produced by speaker *Ros*, appears to be an ambiguous case since it lacks a full pronoun *A* and *siq A* argument. This creates ambiguity as found in the example (94) above. Based on the discourse observation, however, the topic continuity seems to behave like the one in PD. Line 1 mentions his car then lines 3 and 4 form a PD construction where the NP-P ‘motorbike’ occurs preverbally and thus is the pivot. Next, the ambiguous case also contains a phrase referring to a vehicle translated as a car identified in lines 5 and 6. Finally, line 7 produced by speaker *Sahar* still retains the topic where he uses the word *mobil* which means a car.

Information flows also suggest the use of anchoring which is defined as a way a referent is made identifiable by the use of another NP linked to the nominal expression in question (Prince 1981). As mentioned, the referent which is foregrounded in the excerpt of conversation refers to a type of vehicle, leaving another referent in the discourse realized as the pronominal clitic *=ne* backgrounded. This observation is evident from how anchoring appears to be the pathway deployed by both speakers to make only vehicle identifiable, not the clitic *ne*.

Anchoring is identified through different NPs linked to this referent including *mobil*, *montor kodéq*, and *montor beléq*.

This section has shown that there are many cases in naturally occurring discourse where the diathesis is ambiguous. While it is not possible for the analyst to conclude that one of these ambiguous cases is AD or PD, it does appear that AS speakers are able to disambiguate these constructions through topic continuity and information flow.

3.4 Passive voice

AS has a passive voice in which the verb is marked by the prefix *te-*. When *te-* is attached to a transitive verbal root, the voice operation is also evident where there is a valency decrease observed in a given construction compared with the corresponding transitive construction where it is derived from. In these constructions, the agent is either unrealized or marked by the preposition *siq*. Furthermore, the S argument, which corresponds to the P argument in transitive constructions, is the pivot and coreferential with the subject. Example (100) from conversation below illustrates a typical passive voice diathesis in AS with a subject clitic and an unrealized agent argument.

- (100) o ndéq=n te-peririq saq kodéq no.
 EXCL NEG=3 PASS-repair REL small that
 ‘Oh the small one is not being repaired.’ (Passive)
 (KN1-040, 08:35-08:37, Speaker: Kejèng)

In (101), the agent clitic is realized but the subject clitic is unrealized.

- (101) Nila te-télpon-télpon diriq siq inaq=ne né.
 N. PASS-telephone-REDonly AGT mother=3 this
 ‘Nila is being called continuously by her mother.’ (Passive)
 (KN1-006, 0:07:08-0:07:11, Speaker: Sari)

The examples above are clear cases of passive voice which meet the characteristics of the prototypical passive voice (Shibatani 1985).

The characteristics of a passive are evident when the corresponding construction in AD is presented as follows:

(102) Inaq=ne. telpon-telpon Nila. diriq né.
 mother=3 telephone-RED N. only this
 ‘Her mother keeps calling Nila.’ (AD)

Example (102) is a monotransitive construction consisting of the A argument *inaqne* ‘her mother’ is followed by the reduplicated unmarked verb ‘call’ that takes the P proper name argument *Nila* whose status is as a core argument. The valency then changes once passivization takes place: the A argument is demoted into an oblique position marked by the preposition *siq*, while the P argument is promoted to the pivot position at the beginning of the clause. By default, such a mapping results in an intransitive construction.

When compared to PD, the passive derivation is less clear. Consider the example in (103).

(103) Nila telpon-telpon=ne diriq né siq inaq=ne.
 mother=3 telephone-RED only this AGT mother=3
 ‘Her mother keeps calling Nila.’ (Passive)

In (103), the P argument is the pivot, and the A argument is marked by *siq*, just like it is in the passive construction. The crucial difference between passive and PD is the passive prefix *te-* and the fact that the subject argument is co-referential with the patient S argument in the passive and *not* the A argument as is the case in PD.

The valency decreasing operation is also observed in the passivization of ditransitive constructions in the discourse through the transitive verb *bèng* ‘give’ which occurs fourteen times in the corpus as shown in (104).

(104) Aget wah te-bèng=te anuq kelebihan=te wah.
 lucky DM PASS-give=1PL whatchamacallit spare=1PL DM
 ‘Luckily we were given our overabundance.’ (Passive)
 (KN1-033, 0:04:36-0:04:40, Speaker: Océq)

In this excerpt of conversation, the speaker is expressing his gratitude for some extra sustenance he is blessed with even though he did not receive any donation like his other folks in the neighborhood. In the above construction thus it is identified that the clitic *=te* 1PL which attaches to the ditransitive verb ‘give’ is the R and T is identified as *kelebihante* ‘our overabundance’

meanwhile the A argument is not expressed. However, the A argument can be understood from the context as the giver of the blessing which is God. Hence, a corresponding ditransitive construction can be proposed as (105) below.

(105) Nènèq bèng=te kelebihan=te.
 God give=1PL spare=1PL
 ‘God gave us our overabundance.’ (ditransitive AD)

Comparing (104) and (105), the diathesis also shows a valency decrease from a ditransitive to transitive which only takes two core arguments. In the applied construction of (105), the A argument, if it were to be expressed, would occur to be accompanied by the preposition *siq* marking its oblique position.

3.5 Summary

This chapter demonstrates how AS can be described as having both diathesis and voice. The most prominent diathetical operation is evident from the symmetrical alternations in transitives which are intriguingly not marked on verbs. The chapter identifies them as AD and PD which exhibits no demotion of their core arguments, but the A and P arguments have different syntactic statuses in both diathesis. This chapter proposes that the A argument is the pivot in AD while the P argument is the pivot in PD. The subject is identified as the pronominal clitic which is coreferential with the A argument in both prototypical AD and PD constructions. In other words, this chapter leads to the proposal that pivot and subject are occupied by two different arguments in AS.

This chapter also reveals that AS still has verbal morphology as observed in AV, passive voice and the complementary constructions; causatives/applicatives which have been elaborated in the previous chapter. AV is treated as a subconstruction of AD and is marked with a nasal prefix on verbs. Passive voice in AS is marked with the prefix *te-* on verbs. In passive, the S patient argument is the pivot and when a subject pronominal clitic occurs in the construction, it is coreferential with the S patient argument. It cannot be coreferential with the A argument as it is in AD and PD.

Chapter 4. Grammatical Relations

The modern view of Grammatical Relations (GRs) as language- and construction-specific is more inclusive in its approach to determine the syntactic relations between the predicate and its argument (Dryer 1997, Van Valin & LaPolla 1997, Croft 2001, LaPolla 2006, Bickel 2010). Drawing on these recent studies of GRs, I describe subject and pivot in terms of *argument selectors*, which is defined by Witzlack-Makarevich & Bickel (2019: 12) as ‘any morphosyntactic structure, process, rule, constraint or construction that selects a subset of arguments (and non-arguments) and treats them differently from other arguments (or non-arguments) of the clause’. More specifically, I follow Bickel (2010: 2), who defines a GR as ‘a set of arguments that is selected by a construction for a particular syntactic purpose’. Thus, an argument can bear more than one grammatical relation based on a given syntactic context which may vary across constructions.

In studies on Western Austronesian languages, there are many proposed argument selectors, such as relativization, control, raising, reflexive binding, quantifier float, among others (Kroeger 1993; Wechsler & Arka 1998; Musgrave 2001; Gil 2002; Arka 2003; 2019; Arka & Manning, 2008; McDonnell 2016). Some studies find only a few argument selectors such as McDonnell (2016) who finds that quantifier float (or what he refers to as quantifiability) is an argument selector in Besemah. Meanwhile, others find more argument selectors such as Arka (2019) who proposes that Balinese utilizes control, raising, relativization, and quantifier float. There is also some disagreement among linguists regarding argument selectors in certain languages. For example, Arka & Manning (2008) argue that reflexive binding is an argument selector for the A argument in *=nya* construction of Standard Indonesian. However, Kroeger (2014) rejects their proposal by arguing that the possibility of *=nya* to bind a reflexive does not involve any syntactic constraint, it is rather triggered by pragmatics (see Chen & McDonnell 2019 for more details).

A limited set of argument selectors has been applied to dialects of Sasak. Shibatani (2008) uses relativization and Asikin-Garmarger (2017) utilizes coreferential argument, raising,

and relativization. Asikin-Garmager (2017) finds coreferential argument as a fitting argument selector for subject in that the pronominal clitic acting as a subject is associated with the A argument in AV and PV but in passive, it is coreferential with the patient S argument. Further, he proposes that raising and relativization are fitting argument selectors where both tests only target the A argument in AV and the P argument in both PV and passive. His findings on relativization supports Shibatani (2008) who also proposes that relativization in various dialects of Sasak targets the pivot and not subject.

This part of the dissertation looks at to what extent these common argument selectors are useful to examine GRs in AS. In the case when any of these argument selectors fail to show a syntactic relation between one argument vis-à-vis its predicate, it does not necessarily mean that the given construction does not bear any GR at all. Rather, it may only mean that that argument selector is not an appropriate diagnostic. Asikin-Garmager (2017) and Shibatani (2008) use the term Subject to refer to a structural clause position and (grammatical) Topic to refer to the structural position that differs from syntactic Subject. In analyzing subjecthood in AS, I use the term Subject and Pivot respectively.

In the following sections, I investigate argument selectors in AS, including Structural position in Section 4.1, Co-referential argument in Section 4.2, Relativization in Section 4.3, Raising in Section 4.4, Control in Section 4.5, Variable Binding in Section 4.6, and Quantifier float in Section 4.7. Ultimately, I demonstrate that structural position, relativization, and raising argument selectors provide evidence for a grammatical relation of pivot, while variable binding and control provide evidence for a grammatical relation of subject. Additionally, coreferential arguments and quantifier float provide evidence for core argument status. It is important to note while subject and pivot are consistently separate categories in PD, they are sometimes conflated in AD. Recall from Chapter 3 that the subject clitic in PD is obligatory, but in AD and AV it is optional in the non-clitic constructions. Furthermore, in AD constructions that have a subject clitic, the apparent A pivot is coreferential with the subject, which means that it is difficult to find any evidence that would tease apart the two.

4.1 Structural Position

Structural position (sometimes referred to as word order) has been commonly used to identify grammatical relations (e.g., Arka 2019; Bickel 2010). While in some western Indonesian languages structural position appears to be a strong indicator for a GR due to their relatively rigid word order of languages such as Standard Indonesian (Arka & Manning 2008) and Balinese (Arka 2019), structural position in AS requires a more rigorous examination due to its relatively looser word order. Nevertheless, in this subsection I argue that structural position provides evidence for a GR of pivot in AS. More specifically, pivots in AS have more flexibility in terms of their positions in a clause than other arguments. I provide evidence for pivot-hood in structural positions of intransitive and transitive constructions. The latter comprises AD constructions including non-clitic AD and AV constructions as well as PD. I also discuss passive voice. Structural position shows evidence that the pivot arguments behave the same across different constructions in that while they are not the only arguments that can occur clause initially, they are more mobile compared to the non-pivot core arguments.

The first observation made here is on intransitive clauses where the S argument may be expressed as a subject clitic and/or a pivot NP. The most commonly given constructions by speakers have the S subject pronominal clitic on the verb, auxiliary, negator, among other elements. It is also common for speakers to include a corefential pivot S argument. However, both the subject clitic and pivot S argument are optional and neither, both, or one of them may occur in an intransitive construction. The verbs themselves are commonly in bare forms but sometimes occur with a small set of prefixes that occur on verbs in intransitive constructions (e.g., middle prefix *be-*; see Section 2.2.1). There are, however, no differences in structural position between bare and affixed intransitive verbs.

In intransitive clauses, structural position shows that the pivot S argument occurs at the beginning of the clause as shown in (106) and in different positions as illustrated in (107) below. It is also possible for the S-NP argument *dengan no* ‘the person’ to occur between the auxiliary and verbal predicate, but this construction is rare for intransitive verbs.

(106) Dengan_i no wah=ne_i lalo.
 person that PFV=3 go
 ‘The person left.’ (intransitive)

(107) Wah=*ne*, lalo dengan. no.
 PFV=3 go person that
 ‘The person left.’ (intransitive)

(106) shows that as the sole argument, the NP-S pivot occurs pre-verbally which results in a canonical word order. Further, it also exhibits pivot behavior in that it can be mobile by occurring in postverbal positions, as in (107). In these two constructions, we also observe that the co-referential pronominal subject clitic =*ne* has a role in the ability for the pivot argument to occur in different positions in the clause. As mentioned, the most common intransitive clauses utilize pronominal subject clitics but the pronominal clitics are not obligatory meaning that there exist intransitive constructions where the pronominal clitics are absent. Hence, the pronominal clitic =*ne* in examples (106) and (107) above can be unrealized. In other words, intransitives do not significantly depend on clitics because their absence results in no apparent syntactic effect on the constructions in terms of meaning or grammatical relations.

Moving on to transitive clauses, such a behavior is also observed in AD constructions where the subject pronominal clitic is typically realized as well. However, unlike intransitives, transitives depend more on clitics since they bring effects when they are absent. Later on in this subsection, we will see evidence of why non-clitic transitive clauses should be considered as a sub-construction of AD. The focus of this part of the subsection is to show how the pivot in AD can be denoted by means of structural position.

In this diathesis, a subject pronominal clitic occurs and is coreferential with the pivot NP-A argument resulting in the NP-A argument to have more mobility. It may occur in a number of positions, including **A AUX=subj VP** as in (108), **AUX=subj AVP** as in (109), **AUX=subj VPA** as in (110).

(108) Kanak, no wah=*ne*, kaken jaje.
 child that PFV=3 eat cake
 ‘The child ate a cake.’ (AD)

(109) Wah=*ne*, kanak, no kaken jaje.
 PFV=3 child that eat cake
 ‘The child ate a cake.’ (AD)

(110) Wah=*ne*, kaken jaje kanak, no.
 PFV=3 eat cake child that
 ‘The child ate a cake.’ (AD)

(108) clearly shows that the pivot NP-A argument *kanak no* ‘the child’ occurs in a pre-verbal position preceding the auxiliary, which typically expresses TAM (see Section 2.3.6), and *predicate complex*, which I define as a phrase consisting of both verbal predicate and the P argument (see McDonnell forthcoming). Next in (109), the pivot argument still occurs pre-verbally as well as before the predicate complex, but this time it follows the auxiliary. Finally in (110), the pivot occurs post-verbally instead and follows the predicate complex.

While the A pivot argument can have more than one position in the clause, that is not the case with the P argument *jaje* ‘cake’ in AD constructions. Its non-pivot core argument status is evident from its lack of marking and constrained structural position. That is, a P argument must directly follow the verb, thus in examples (108)–(110) above, the P argument *jaje* ‘cake’ occurs after the verb *kaken* ‘to eat’. If the position is changed, the construction will be ill-formed as is evident in (111) or the construction will require some sort of emphatic contrast, which is marked by a prosodic boundary, as illustrated with the comma in (112) below (see Section 4.2.1.2 below). Thus, the P argument canonically occurs within the predicate complex.

- (111) *Kanak_i no wah=ne_i jaje kaken.
 child that PFV=3 cake eat
 ‘The child ate a cake.’ (AD)
- (112) Jaje, kanak_i no wah=ne_i kaken.
 cake child that PFV=3 eat
 ‘The child, a cake he/she ate.’ (AD)

Inasmuch as structural position can show pivothood in AD, it can also signify pivothood in PD. As described in the earlier subsection on diathesis, PD is characterized by the feature of its A argument that must be minimally expressed as a subject pronominal clitic. With respect to structural position, I argue that in AS, a subject is treated differently from a pivot in PD where the P argument is the pivot, while the A argument is realized in a phrase marked by agent marker *siq* and is coreferential with the subject pronominal clitic (evidence for a subject grammatical relation is provided in Sections 4.2.5 and 4.2.6 below via different argument selectors). The first convincing property for a P argument as the pivot is the fact that it can occur preverbally. This shows that the P pivot in PD behaves the same with the A pivot in AD. The following example illustrates the canonical position of PD as P AUX=subj V (*siq* A).

- (113) Jaje wah=ne kaken siq kanak no.
 cake PFV=3 eat AGT child that
 ‘The child ate a cake.’ (PD)

As is the case of the A pivot in AD, the P pivot in PD shows the ability to occur in other positions while the non-pivot A argument fails to do so. In this case, the pivot P argument can also occur post-verbally as shown in (114) below, in which the structural position is AUX=subj VP siq A. The auxiliary in this position can also be replaced by the agentive preposition *siq* ‘by’ as exemplified in (115). In both cases, however, the pivot can only occur preceding the A argument which is marked with *siq*. On the other hand, the non-pivot NP-A argument is preceded by the aspect marker *wah* and together they must occur before the verbal predicate.

- (114) Kaken=ne jaje siq kanak no.
 eat=3 cake AGT child that
 ‘The child ate a cake.’ (PD)
- (115) Wah=ne sòròng sampan no siq Herjan.
 PFV=3 push boat that AGT H.
 ‘The person hit me.’ (PD)

However, there appears to be a preference for the pivot argument to precede the *siq*-marked A argument. Speakers acknowledge that the construction like (116) with the word order AUX=subj V siq A P is “okay”, but they still prefer the non-pivot NP-A argument to follow the pivot as shown in (115) as the “best version”.

- (116) ?Wah=ne kaken siq kanak no jaje.
 PFV=3 eat AGT child that cake
 ‘The child ate a cake.’ (PD)

Structural position further confirms that the subject, which attaches to an auxiliary, cannot occur in a preverbal position if followed by the pivot argument with the word order AUX=subj PV (*siq* A) as shown in (117) below. At the same time, this also provides evidence for a constraint applied to a subject in structural position in that the subject must be adjacent to the verb by either attaching to an auxiliary or agentive preposition *siq* or by directly attaching to the verb.

- (117) *Wah=ne, jaje kaken siq kanak no.
 PFV=3 cake eat AGT child that
 ‘The child ate a cake.’ (PD)

At this point, I have shown that when all arguments are expressed in both AD and PD, structural position is proven to denote a pivot in that in both diathetical operations, it is the pivot that can occur in different positions in the clause. Additionally, structural position also provides evidence that AD and PD are slightly asymmetrical in regard to their pivots’ positions. In AD, the pivot A argument can occur between an auxiliary and a verb whereas in PD, the pivot P argument cannot occur between the auxiliary and the verb.

In passive voice, structural position is similar to pivots in intransitive clauses. That is, the pivot can appear in a number of positions in the clause. Consider examples below for a clearer view.

- (118) Jaje no te-kaken siq kanak no.
 Cake that PASS-eat AGT child that
 ‘The cake was eaten by the child.’ (Passive)
- (119) Te-kaken jaje no siq kanak no.
 PASS-eat cake that AGT child that
 ‘The cake was eaten by the child.’ (Passive)
- (120) Te-kaken siq kanak no jaje no.
 PASS-eat AGT child that cake that
 ‘The cake was eaten by the child.’ (Passive)

The pivot is rather straightforward in passive voice in that P is the pivot as the only argument. Structural position in this case, provides more evidence as observed in example (118) where the NP-P argument *jaje no* ‘the cake’ occurs preverbally at the beginning of the clause and in fact is the only argument possible for that position. The next two examples show that the NP-P pivot can also occur post-verbally either adjacent to the verb as in (119) or after the agent phrase as in (120). Meanwhile, the oblique NP-A argument must occur postverbally. Moreover, if a pronominal subject clitic is added to the construction, it can only corefer with the NP-P argument as shown in (121), not with the NP-A argument as illustrated in (122).

- (121) Jaje_i no te-kaken=ne_i siq kanak no.
 cake that PASS-eat=3 AGT child that
 ‘The cake was eaten by the child.’ (Passive)

- (122) *Jaje_i no te-kaken=ne_i siq kanak_i no.
 cake that PASS-eat=3 AGT child that
 ‘The cake was eaten by the child.’ (Passive)

We have observed that clitics operate in all types of constructions discussed thus far. I have even argued that clitics mark the most common constructions in any of the transitive diathesis because transitive constructions which have subject clitics are more common than those without one (see Chapter 5). The role of clitics is highly significant with respect to structural position because the presence of a subject facilitates a freer word order for the pivot. In fact, the absence of clitics results in restrictions on word order. For this reason, I posit non-clitic clauses should be treated as a type of AD. On the one hand, in both AD, the A argument acts as a pivot, but on the other hand, they exhibit a distinct structural position as well as different patterns of relativization (see below).

In cases without a subject clitic, the word order is more rigid: the A argument must occur preverbally and the word order is A AUX VP. Thus, the pivot occurs in a canonical position as shown in (123) below. More importantly, the pivot cannot move to a different position without a subject clitic in transitive constructions. Compare examples (124) and (125) below to examples (109) and (110) above respectively. These examples show the absence of a subject clitic does not allow the pivot to occur in different positions, resulting in only one possible word order shown in (123).

- (123) Kanak no wah kaken jaje.
 child that PFV eat cake
 ‘The child ate a cake.’ (AD)
 (124) *Wah kanak no kaken jaje.
 PFV child that eat cake
 ‘The child are a cake.’ (AD)
 (125) *Wah kaken jaje kanak no.
 PFV eat cake child that
 ‘The child ate a cake.’ (AD)

In non-clitic AD constructions, the A argument could be analyzed as possessing both subject and pivot properties. This is based on evidence from Variable Binding (see Section 4.6) and Raising (see Section 4.4).

In summary, the structural position of the pivot is relatively free compared to non-pivot arguments. That is, the pivot can occupy a number of positions in the clause such as pre-verbal, post-auxiliary, and post-verbal positions. In contrast, non-pivot arguments typically can only occupy one position in the clause which is immediately adjacent to the verb.

Interestingly, there is also one construction where the role of the pronominal clitic is not clear as to being a clitic A or P argument which results in an ambiguous construction of (126) below. However, structural position still can locate the pivot regardless of what the diathesis is as to either AD or PD. In this case, the NP occurring in the clause initial position is the pivot.

(126) Dengan no empòk=_{ku,AP}
 person that hit=1SG
 ‘I hit the person’ or ‘The person hit me.’ (PD/AD)

In the above example the semantic role of the pronominal clitic =*ku* can function either as a clitic P argument in AD or A argument in PD. All speakers also confirmed such double interpretations during the elicitation sessions. The loose word order in AS permits this interpretation as well as the absence of the agentive prepositional phrase *siq* NP-A that marks PD. Regardless of this ambiguity however, the pivot still retains its status through its initial position in the clause. Thus, the canonical word order if the construction is interpreted as AD is AVP with A as the pivot, and PVA with P as the pivot if interpreted as PD. The diathesis for such a construction can only be determined by the discourse.

4.1.1 A note on pragmatically marked word order

The previous subsection has described possible word orders in intransitives, AD including its non-clitic sub-construction as well as in PD and passives. I have shown evidence for the use of structural position as an argument selector that treats pivots differently from the other arguments. I have also shown that pivots are the only arguments that can occur preverbally both in AD and PD in addition to being the arguments which have more mobility in a clause when a subject clitic is present. In contrast, non-pivot core arguments have more restrictions in terms of their positions in a clause. In both AD and PD, they cannot occur pre-verbally and they have their own designated position in each of the diathesis. In AD, the non-pivot P argument is located immediately following the predicate within the predicate complex as illustrated in examples (108)–(110) above. In PD, the non-pivot A argument invariably occurs together with the agent

marker *siq* AGT following the verb. In other words, the structural position argument selector test confirms that non-pivot arguments both in AD and PD cannot precede the pivots.

However, in some situations, there are pragmatically-marked word orders that violate these principles. In these constructions the non-pivot argument is marked with a special intonation. For instance, it is possible for a non-pivot argument to occur at the beginning of a clause in topicalization constructions.

AS also exhibits topicalization in PD where the non-pivot A argument occurs initially and is adjacent with the pivot P argument. Compare non-topicalized PD constructions in (127)–(128) with the topicalized PD construction in (129) below.

- (127) Jaje no siq=*ne* kaken siq Wati.
 cake that AGT=3 eat AGT W.
 ‘Wati ate the cake.’ (PD)
- (128) Siq=*ne* kaken jaje no siq Wati.
 AGT=3 eat cake that AGT W.
 ‘Wati ate the cake.’ (PD)
- (129) Wati, jaje no siq=*ne* kaken.
 W. cake that AGT=3 eat
 ‘Wati, she ate cake.’ (PD)

Example (127) shows the pivot NP-P argument *jaje no* ‘the cake’ occurs preverbally while it occurs post-verbally in (128). In both cases, the non-pivot proper noun A argument *Wati* occurs at the end of the clause marked with agentive marker *siq* AGT. Note that this NP-A argument is coreferential with the subject clitic *=ne* which attaches to another agent maker *siq* AGT that occurs preverbally both in (127) and (128). When uttered, examples (127) and (128) fall within a single intonation contour and do not use any pause or special intonation, providing support that there is no marked pragmatic status in these clauses. Both examples also show that the constituent order follows the discussion above. On the other hand, it is evident in (129) that the word order is irregular whereby the non-pivot NP-A argument *Wati* now occurs at the beginning of the clause. The initial NP in left-dislocation is typically intervened by a pause (Payne 1997: 275). Therefore, I argue that the construction in (129) is PD which undergoes topicalization. What is interesting is that *siq* cannot occur clause initially if not serving as a host for the pronominal clitic as shown in (128), only the NP-A argument *Wati* that is realized in the topicalized construction in (129).

The fact that the agent phrase *siq Wati* cannot occur at the beginning of a clause indicates that the agent phrase is not an adjunct even though it is marked with an apparent preposition. If it were, it would behave like other oblique phrases that can occur in different positions in the clause. The effort to place the agent phrase *siq Wati* at the beginning of the clause requires a pause even in passive as in (130) below. When the proper name *Wati* is not accompanied by the preposition however, *Wati* cannot be interpreted as the agent as shown in (131). Asikin-Garmager (2017: 64) also does not consider the agent phrase in PD in Sasak as an adjunct. Thus, it is better to account for the agent phrase in Sasak as something else than simply an adjunct.

- (130) *siq Wati, jaje no te-kaken.*
 AGT W. cake that PASS-eat
 ‘By Wati, the cake was eaten.’ (Passive)
- (131) *Wati, jaje no te-kaken.*
 W. cake that PASS-eat
 ‘*The cake was eaten by Wati.’
 ‘Wati, the cake was eaten (by someone).’ (Passive)

4.2 Coreferential arguments

This subsection looks at the coreference between the subject pronominal clitic and one of two arguments in transitive clauses. This argument selector selects core arguments. In other words, with regard to AS, we would expect that the coreferential arguments test could differentiate between a pivot and subject in AD, PD, and passive voice. Nevertheless, it appears that determining the co-referentiality is not an easy task in AS.² Speakers are divided into two opposite views and as a native speaker of AS, I cannot disagree with them either. Such an opacity is observed in the following examples.

- (132) a. *Ewin_i wah=ne_i gitaq-an Usén_j sampan=ne_{ij}.*
 E. PFV=3 see-APPL U. boat=3
 ‘Ewin showed Usén his boat.’ (AD)
- b. *Sampan=ne_{ij} siq=ne_i gitaq-an Usén_j siq Ewin_i.*
 boat=3 AGT=3 see-APPL U. by E.
 ‘Ewin showed Usén his boat.’ (PD)

² The coreferential arguments task applied may be challenging for AS speakers because it directly asks them to identify the referent of a third singular person pronoun with two possible referents that are grammatically acceptable. Future research could simplify the delivery by first using first singular person pronoun to make sure speakers understand the construction well before moving on to use the third person pronoun.

- c. Usen_i te-gitaq-an=*ne*_i sampan=*ne*_i siq Ewin_i
 U. PASS-see-APPL=3 boat=3 AGT E.
 ‘Usen was shown his boat by Ewin.’ (Passive)

The AD construction in (132a) shows the proper name A argument *Ewin* is the pivot and *=ne* is the subject as described in the previous section. As for the coreference of the possessive clitic, however, both interpretations are available according to all speakers. The clitic *=ne* can refer to the proper name A argument *Ewin* or proper name P argument *Usén*. Each speaker favors different arguments to be more salient; A vs. P argument. In other words, the meaning could be *Ewin*’s boat or *Usén*’s boat. Next, the PD construction in (132b) shows the pivot and subject are occupied by two different arguments. The NP-P pivot occurs in a clause initial position meanwhile the subject is realized through the clitic A argument that is coreferential with the oblique proper name A argument *Ewin*. Ambiguous reading is still found in this diathesis when it comes to the co-referentiality of the possessive clitic argument. Unlike reading on AD however, each speaker points out only one reading possible but also each has their own version. One reading reports that the possessive pronominal clitic is coreferential with the NP-A argument (i.e., *Ewin*’s boat) but the other reading reports that it is coreferential with the NP-P argument (i.e., *Usén*’s boat). This suggests that coreferential argument is not a good subject-hood test for AD and PD in AS because it has no constraint of which argument can only be referential with the possessive pronominal clitic. On the contrary, all speakers confirm the same reading for the example (132c). That is, in the passive, the pronominal clitic argument is coreferential with the subject/pivot NP-P argument instead of with the proper name A oblique argument (i.e. *Usén*’s boat).

In conclusion, co-referentiality of possessive pronominal clitics are problematic in AS when both possible NP arguments are in core positions. Thus, the only way to determine the co-referentiality is by means of discourse. Conversely, no such ambiguity arises in the case where only one of the possible arguments is in a core position such as observed in a passive voice.

4.3 Relativization

This subsection examines how relativization provides support for pivothood in AS. However, relativization behaves somewhat differently when in AV constructions and AD constructions occurring without a subject pronominal clitic (i.e., non-clitic AD constructions; see Section

3.2.1.1. above). That is, relativization can only extract the pivot in intransitive, PD, and AD constructions with a subject pronominal clitic and/or AV morphology. However, when a subject pronominal clitic is absent, either the pivot or non-pivot argument may be extracted. Therefore, I postulate that non-clitic AD constructions should be treated differently from AD. This analysis is supported by the evidence from structural position in the previous subsection. I first show examples from intransitive (133) and PD (134)–(135). These examples show that only the pivot can be ‘extracted’ from the relative clause.

- (133) Né kanak [saq teriq no].
 This child REL fall that
 ‘This is the child who fell.’ (intransitive)
- (134) Manòk [saq wah=ne, paléq siq dengan. no] mate.
 chicken REL PFV=3 chase AGT person that die
 ‘The chicken which the man chased died.’ (PD)
- (135) *Ie siliq dengan [saq manòk paléq=ne no].
 3 scold person REL chicken chase=3 that
 ‘She scolded the person who chased a chicken.’ (PD)

In (133), the S argument is extracted from the embedded relative clause. (134) shows a PD construction where the NP-P argument can be relativized while relativizing NP-A in PD is judged unacceptable as shown by (135). This demonstrates that only the NP-P pivot argument can be relativized in PD. Similarly, relativization also appears to treat a pivot argument differently from a non-pivot argument in AD. This argument selector shows that only the pivot NP-A argument can be extracted from the embedded clause while extracting the non-pivot NP-P argument is judged to be ungrammatical by speakers. Compare examples from AD constructions with a subject pronominal clitic in (136) and (137) below.

- (136) Dengan [saq wah=ne, paléq manòk no] mate.
 person REL PFV=3 chase chicken that die
 ‘The man who chased the chicken died.’ (AD)
- (137) *Manòk [saq dengan, no wah=ne, paléq] mate.
 Chicken REL person that PFV=3 chase die
 ‘The chicken which the man chased died.’ (AD)

In (136), the NP-A argument *dengan* ‘person’ is extracted from the embedded clause, while extracting the NP-P argument yields an ill-formed construction as shown in (137) above. This result confirms that only the pivot argument is accessible for relativization in AD with a subject

pronominal clitic. By the same token, the observation also confirms that relativization is a fitting argument selector for pivothood in AD and PD in AS. The same results are also found in AV where only the pivot A argument can be relativized. Recall that in section 3.2.1.2. I report that speakers tend not to produce AV constructions. During the elicitation for this section, a speaker also stated that relativized constructions with AV are not common even though they are grammatically acceptable in cases where the pivot argument is relativized. Consider examples below.

- (138) a. Dengan [saq maléq manòk no] be-kelambi bideng.
 person REL AV-chase chicken that MID-cloth black
 ‘The person who chase the chicken was wearing a black shirt.’ (AV)
- b. Dengan_i [saq wah=ne_i maléq manòk no]
 person REL PFV=3 AV-chase chicken that
 be-kelambi bideng.
 MID-cloth black
 ‘The person who chase the chicken was wearing a black shirt.’ (AV)
- (139) a. *Aku gitaq kanak [saq dengan no méte].
 1SG see child REL person that AV-search
 ‘I saw the child whom the the person was looking for.’ (AV)
- b. *Aku gitaq kanak [saq dengan_i no wah=ne_i méte].
 1SG see child REL person that PFV=3 AV-search
 ‘I saw the child whom the the person was looking for.’ (AV)

The examples in (138a) show the pivot A argument *dengan* ‘person’ is relativized in which it is also observed that the verb in the embedded clause is prefixed with *N-* confirming the diathesis of the clause as AV. Both of the AV constructions either with no pronominal clitic in (138a) or with a pronominal clitic in (138b) supports evidence that a pivot argument can be relativized in AV. In contrast, relativizing the non-pivot P argument is considered ungrammatical regardless of the presence of a pronominal clitic in the embedded clause as illustrated in (139a) and (139b) above. In both examples, the P argument *aku* 1SG is relativized and the pivot A argument *dengan* ‘person’ stays within the embedded clause where the prefixed verb occurs which yields ill-formed constructions.

Interestingly, however, relativization demonstrates a different result from constructions without a subject pronominal clitic. In this case, the relativization test does not show any apparent evidence as that in AD. Whereas the NP-A argument can be extracted as shown in

(140) and (141), speakers also confirmed that relativizing NP-P argument is also possible even though the construction is not as commonly used as the one with extracted NP-A. This is exemplified in (142).

- (140) Né dengan [saq paléq mandòk no].
 this person REL chase chicken that
 ‘This is the person who chased the chicken.’ (non-clitic AD)
- (141) Dengan [saq paléq mandòk no] be-kelambi bideng.
 Person REL chase chicken that MID-cloth black
 ‘The person who chase the chicken was wearing a black shirt.’ (non-clitic AD)
- (142) Aku gitaq kanak [saq dengan no pété].
 1SG see child REL person that search
 ‘I saw the child whom the the person was looking for.’ (non-clitic AD)

(140)–(142) reveal that both NP-A and NP-P can be relativized which also means relativization does not distinguish the pivot and non-pivot core argument in non-clitic AD clauses.

4.4 Raising

This section demonstrates how so-called ‘raising’ constructions provide evidence for pivot-hood. However, I show that typical raising verbs such as ‘seem’ are not in fact raising verbs but act as adverbials. The only true raising verbs in AS appear to be verbs that typically take complement clauses, including *taòq* ‘know’, *paran* ‘think, and *saduq* ‘believe’.

Raising has been found in Balinese (see Arka 2019; Wechsler & Arka 1998) as well as in other varieties of Sasak (Asikin-Garmager 2017). In both languages, the studies propose that raising is considered a good test for pivot-hood because only the pivot can ‘raise’ from the embedded clause to the matrix clause. Raising constructions change the status of the given argument from only bearing a semantic role in the embedded clause into holding a syntactic role in the matrix clause but the scope of its semantic role is still within the embedded clause (see Witzlack-Makarevich 2019; Riesberg 2014). Concerning Sasak, I argue that like other varieties of Sasak, raising is a fitting argument selector for pivot-hood in AS. However, as mentioned, the typical raising predicates are different.

There are some common verbs used as predicates in raising across languages, I utilize a few of them here. In his work on Sasak, Asikin-Garmager (2017) utilizes the reduplicated word *rue-ruene* ‘seem’ to demonstrate raising. In AS, this predicate is commonly not reduplicated and is realized as *ruene* ‘seem’. Note that the clitic =*ne* that attaches to the word *rue* has two types of

referent depending on the meaning of *rue*. In the first type of referent, =*ne* typically refers to a concrete entity when *rue* means ‘physical appearance’ and *ruene* means ‘his/her/their appearance’. The second type of referent of =*ne* is more abstract and *ruene* is best glossed with an adverbial meaning ‘apparently’, which could also be translated as ‘it seems’. In this case, the referent is indeterminate since it is difficult to pin down (see Gil 2002; Ewing 2019 for discussion of similar forms in Indonesian). In fact, =*ne* cannot be replaced with other pronominal clitics when taking the adverbial meaning. Instead, the meaning of *rue* will invariably mean ‘physical appearance’ and not ‘seem’ if clitic is anything other than =*ne*. Consider the following constructions whose apparent embedded clause is in AD in (143) and PD in (144). In these constructions raising has not occurred. These examples are analogous to raising constructions in Asikin-Garmager (2017: 68-69).

- (143) a. Rue=*ne* [Wati_i empòk=*ne* adiq=*ne*].
 seem=NE W. hit younger.sibling=3
 ‘It seems Wati pushed her younger sibling.’ (AD)
- b. Rue=*ne* [Wati_i empòk adiq=*ne*].
 seem=NE W. hit younger.sibling=3
 ‘It seems Wati pushed her younger sibling.’ (non-clitic AD)
- (144) Rue=*ne* [adiq=*ne* empòk=*ne* siq Wati_i].
 seem=NE younger.sibling hit=3 AGT W.
 ‘It seems Wati hit her younger sibling.’ (PD)

Utilizing raising as the argument selector means that it is restricted to either one of the core arguments in embedded clauses to be able to be raised to the matrix clauses in each diathesis above. Thus, the raised counterparts of (143) are observed in the examples in (145) and (146) as follows:

- (145) a. Wati_i rue=*ne* [wah=*ne* empòk adiq=*ne*].
 W. seem=NE PFV =3SG.SUBJ hit younger.sibling=3
 ‘Wati seems to have hit her younger sibling.’ (AD)
- b. ?*Adiq=*ne* rune=*ne* [Wati_i wah=*ne* empòk].
 younger.sibling=3 seem=NE W. PFV=3 hit
 ‘Wati seems to have hit her younger sibling.’ (AD)

- (146) a. Wati rue=ne [empok adiq=ne].
 W. seem=3 hit younger.sibling=3
 ‘Wati seems to have hit her younger sibling.’ (non-clitic AD)
- b. *Adiq=ne_i rune=ne [Wati_i empòk].
 younger.sibling=3 seem=NE W. hit
 ‘Wati seems to have hit her younger sibling.’ (non-clitic AD)

In (145a) above, the pivot is ‘raised’ from the AD embedded clause, which appears at the beginning of the clause while raising the non-pivot NP-P argument in (145b) is rejected by the speakers. This confirms that only the pivot argument or in the case of AD, the NP-A argument is accessible for raising. Likewise, examples in (146) also show that only the pivot NP-A argument can be raised in non-clitic AD.

Moreover, the structural position within the embedded clause is rigid in AD meaning that the pivot must occur in the beginning of the embedded clause as well. Similar to the other varieties of Sasak, another NP occupying the pivot position results in the ‘blocking of raising’ (see Asikin-Garmager 2017: 70). The following example illustrates such a failure.

- (147) *Wati rue=ne [adiq=ne empòk].
 W. seem=NE younger.sibling=3 hit
 ‘Wati seems to have hit her younger sibling.’ (AD)

Raising in PD exhibits the same result but also shows a different pattern. In this case, raising again only selects the pivot to be raised to the matrix clause. (148) below shows the raised version of (144) above.

- (148) Adiq=ne_i rue=ne [siq=ne_i empòk siq Wati].
 younger.sibling=3 seem=NE AGT=3 hit by W.
 ‘Wati seems to have hit her younger sibling.’ (PD)

Despite the apparent raising constructions above, there is a problem with the raising verb itself. In this case, the word *rue=ne* ‘seem’ does not appear to behave like a predicate. That is, it is an adverbial rather than a predicate. To assess this assumption, I refer to Wechsler and Arka (1998) who address doubts about similar raising predicates they utilize in their diagnosis of grammatical relations in Balinese. According to them, unlike adverbs, predicates can only be distributed in

three positions: sentence-initial, sentence-final, and immediately following the pivot which also means they occur in raising configurations (Wechsler & Arka 1998: 393). Based on these criteria, the word *rue=ne* not only occurs in those three positions but also elsewhere in PD of AS as illustrated below.

- (149) a. Rue=ne [Seri siq=ne, beli-an kalong siq Adi].
 seem=NE S. AGT=3 buy-APPL necklace by A.
 ‘It seems Adi to have bought Seri a necklace.’ (PD)
- b. [Seri siq=ne, beli-an kalong siq Adi] rue=ne.
 S. AGT=3 buy-APPL necklace by A. seem=NE
 ‘Adi bought Seri a necklace, it seems.’ (PD)
- c. Seri rue=ne siq=ne, beli-an kalong siq Adi.
 S. seem=NE AGT=3 buy-APPL necklace by A.
 ‘Adi seems to have bought Seri a necklace.’ (PD)
- d. Siq=ne, beli-an rue=ne Seri kalong siq Adi.
 AGT=3 buy-APPL seem=3 S. necklace AGT A.
 ‘Adi seems to have bought Seri a necklace.’ (PD)

The example (149a) shows that *rue=ne* occurs at the beginning of a sentence, while in (149b) it occurs at the end. Meanwhile, (149c) exhibits an example in which the pivot NP-P argument is ‘raised’ to the matrix clause (recall that in PD, the non-pivot NP-A argument can also be raised). The example (149d) is of interest because it shows a construction where *rue=ne* occurs elsewhere in the clause. This last piece of evidence shows that *ruene* is not a predicate in this construction and is better analyzed as an adverbial. Further evidence comes from the fact that it is grammatical in each of these examples to use other adverbials such as *biase=ne* ‘usually’ in exactly the same positions. The examples in (150) below where the adverb *biase=ne* is used are analogous to the examples in (149) above.

- (150) a. Biase=ne [Seri siq=ne, beli-an kalong siq Adi].
 seem=NE S. AGT=3 buy-APPL necklace AGT A.
 ‘It seems Adi to have bought Seri a necklace.’ (PD)
- b. [Seri siq=ne, beli-an kalong siq Adi] biase=ne.
 S. AGT=3 buy-APPL necklace AGT A. seem=NE
 ‘Adi bought Seri a necklace, it seems.’ (PD)
- c. Seri biase=ne siq=ne, beli-an kalong siq Adi.
 S. seem=NE AGT=3 buy-APPL necklace AGT A.
 ‘Adi seems to have bought Seri a necklace.’ (PD)

- d. Siq=ne. beli-an biase=ne Seri kalong siq Adi.
 AGT=3 buy-APPL seem=3 S. necklace AGT A.
 ‘Adi seems to have bought Seri a necklace.’ (PD)

Arka (2019) mentions several other ‘raising’ predicates for Balinese, a close relative of Sasak. The predicates differ from the more typical raising predicates ‘seem’ or ‘is likely’. Potential raising predicates following Arka (2019) in AS include *taðq* ‘know’, *paran* ‘think’, and *saduq* ‘believe’. The verbs *taðq* ‘know’ and *paran* ‘think’ are transitive verbs that only can take complement clauses. Thus, they differ from other transitive verbs that can take arguments as their complements. However, like other transitive verbs, the verbs *taðq* ‘know’ and *paran* ‘think’ also can be passivized but they cannot take AV morphology. Meanwhile the transitive verb *saduq* ‘believe’ is different from the other two in that it can take an argument and AV morphology. The three verbs are used in the following examples of raising constructions where the matrix clause is in PD so we end up having pivot-to-pivot raising. Examples in (151) below show raising the pivot in AD and its subconstructions with the use of the raising predicate *taðq* ‘know’.

- (151) a. siq=ku taðq Budi wah=ne kerisaq mesin
 AGT=1SG know B. PFV=3 repair machine
 no. (non-raised)
 that
 b. Budi siq=ku taðq [wah=ne kerisaq mesin no].
 B. AGT=1SG know PFV=3 repair machine that
 c. Budi siq=ku taðq [wah kerisaq mesin no].
 B. AGT=1SG know PFV repair machine that
 d. Budi siq=ku taðq [wah=ne ngerisaq mesin no].
 B. AGT=1SG know PFV=3 AV.repair machine that
 e. Budi siq=ku taðq [ngerisaq mesin no].
 B. AGT=1SG know AV.repair machine that
 ‘I know Budi repaired the machine.’ (raising A in AD)

All examples in (151) show the pivot NP-A argument *Budi* raises to the matrix clause from AD and its sub-constructions observed in each example. The example in (151a) shows the non-raised construction in which it is clear the proper noun argument *Budi* is the pivot of the embedded clause that occurs in the beginning of the clause. Hence, the construction should be analyzed as AD. Then, the example in (151b) illustrates the NP-Pivot *Budi* is raised to the matrix clause

which is in a PD construction. Such a raising operation yields a grammatical construction where both the matrix and embedded clauses are judged acceptable. Thus, the NP-pivot Budi, in addition to being the pivot in the matrix clause, is still interpreted as the pivot in the embedded clause. This is proven by its coreferentiality with the subject pronominal clitic argument =*ne* that attaches to the auxiliary in the embedded clause. The same is true for the non-clitic AD construction where the argument *Budi* is raised to the matrix clause from embedded clause in (151c). Meanwhile, raising the pivot argument in AV constructions is observed in (151d) and (151e). On the contrary, raising P in AD and its subconstruction with the predicate *taðq* ‘know’ are judged ungrammatical by speakers as shown in (152) below.

- (152) a. *Mesin no siq=ku taðq [Budi wah=ne kerisaq].
 machine that AGT=1SG know B. PFV=3 repair
 b. *Mesin no siq=ku taðq [Budi kerisaq].
 machine that AGT=1SG know B. repair
 c. *Mesin no siq=ku taðq [Budi wah=ne ngerisaq].
 machine that AGT=1SG know B. PFV=3 AV.repair
 d. *Mesin no siq=ku taðq [Budi ngerisaq].
 machine that AGT=1SG know B. AV. Repair
 ‘I know Budi repaired the machine.’ (raising P in AD and AV)

The non-pivot NP-P argument *mesin no* ‘the machine’ in the AD construction of the embedded clauses cannot raise to the matrix clause either in AD (152a), non-clitic AD (152b), or AV (152c-d). Meanwhile, raising P and A arguments in PD by utilizing the predicate *taoq* ‘know’ seems to also yield interesting results. That is, while the pivot NP-P argument can raise to the matrix clause, the non-pivot NP-A argument can occur at the beginning of the clause but cannot be counted as raising. Because it takes an intonation break marked by a comma which seems more like topicalization rather than raising. Hence, it is safe to say that only the pivot argument can be raised in PD.

- (153) Mesin no siq=ku taðq [siq=ne kerisaq siq Budi].
 machine that AGT=1SG know AGT repair AGT B.
 ‘I know Budi repaired the machine.’ (PD)

- (154) a. Budi, siq=ku taðq [mesin no siq=ne kerisaq].
 B. AGT=1SG know machine that AGT=3 repair
 b. Budi, mesin no siq=ku taðq [siq=ne kerisaq].
 B. machine that AGT=1SG know AGT=3 repair
 ‘I know Budi repaired the machine.’ (PD)

The example (153) demonstrates that the pivot NP-P argument in PD can be raised to the matrix clause. The case is different with raising the non-pivot NP-A argument even though the argument occurs clause-initially as in (154a) and (154b) above. The two constructions demonstrate topicalization instead of raising. Examples in (155) show raising A arguments in AD and its subconstructions with the predicate *paran* ‘think’ where the matrix clause is also in PD. These all examples demonstrate that the pivot NP-A argument *polisi* can be raised to the matrix clause.

- (155) a. Polisi siq=ku paran [wah=ne bau penjahat no].
 police AGT=1SG think PFV=3 catch villain that
 b. Polisi siq=ku paran [bau penjahat no].
 police AGT=1SG think catch villain that
 c. Polisi siq=ku paran [wah=ne ngebau penjahat no].
 police AGT=1SG think PFV=3 AV.catch villain that
 d. Polisi siq=ku paran [ngebau penjahat no].
 police AGT=1SG think AV.catch villain that
 ‘I thought the police arrested the villain.’ (raising A in AD and AV)

Meanwhile examples in (156) below show raising non-pivot NP-P arguments in AD and its subconstructions are judged ungrammatical.

- (156) a. *Penjahat siq=ku paran [polisi wah=ne bau].
 villain AGT=1SG think police PFV=3 catch
 b. *Penjahat siq=ku paran [polisi bau].
 villain AGT=1SG think police catch
 c. *Penjahat siq=ku paran [polisi wah=ne ngebau].
 villain AGT=1SG think police PFV=3 AV.catch
 d. *Penjahat siq=ku paran [polisi ngebau].
 villain AGT=1SG think police AV.catch
 ‘I thought the police arrested the villain.’ (raising P in AD and AV)

As expected, the pivot NP-P argument can be raised in PD as shown in (157) but raising the non-pivot A argument is judged ungrammatical as illustrated in (158) unless a pause is used.

(157) Penjahat no siq=ku paran [siq=ne bau siq polisi].
 villain that AGT=1SG think AGT=3 catch AGT police
 ‘I thought the police arrested the villain.’ (PD)

(158) Polisi, siq=ku paran [penjahat siq=ne bau].
 Police AGT=1SG think villain AGT=3 catch
 ‘I thought the police arrested the villain.’ (PD)

Likewise, examples in (159) show raising the pivot NP-A argument in AD and its subconstructions with the raising predicate *sadug* ‘believe’ are judged grammatical.

(159) a. Murid no siq=ne sadug wah=ne bace buku no.
 student that AGT=3 believe PFV=3 read book that
 b. Murid no siq=ne sadug bace buku no.
 student that AGT=3 believe read book that
 c. Murid no siq=ne sadug wah=ne mace buku no.
 student that AGT=3 believe PFV=3 AV.read book that
 d. Murid no siq=ne sadug mace buku no.
 student that AGT=3 believe AV.read book that
 ‘She believed that the student read the book.’ (raising A in AD and AV)

Meanwhile, raising the non-pivot P argument in AD is ungrammatical as shown in examples in (160) below.

(160) a. *siq=ne sadug buku no [murid no wah=ne bace].
 AGT=3 believe book that student that PFV=3 read
 b. *siq=ne sadug buku no [murid no wah bace].
 AGT=3 believe book that student that PFV read
 c. *siq=ne sadug buku no [murid no wah=ne mace].
 AGT=3 believe book that student that PFV=3 AV.read
 d. *siq=ne sadug buku no [murid no mace].
 AGT=3 believe book that student that AV.read
 ‘She believed the student read the book.’ (raising P in AD and AV)

On the contrary, only the pivot NP-P argument can be raised in PD as exemplified in (161) while raising the non-pivot A argument is judged ungrammatical as shown in (162) below unless a pause is used after the NP-A argument.

- (161) Buku no siq=ne saduq [siq=ne bace siq murid no].
 book that AGT=3 believe AGT=3 read AGT student that
 ‘She believed the student read the book.’ (PD)
- (162) Murid no, siq=ne saduq [buku no siq=ne bace].
 student that AGT=3 believe book that AGT=3 read
 ‘She believed the student read the book.’ (PD)

All examples of raising by the use of the three predicates ‘know’, ‘think’, and ‘believe’ support the evidence that raising is a fitting argument selector for pivot-hood in AS. That is, only the pivot can be raised to the matrix clause.

4.5 Control

Control constructions are similar to raising constructions in that both describe a phenomenon where the unrealized argument in the embedded clause is coreferential with the argument in the matrix clause. The difference lies in the semantic status of the argument in the matrix clause. If it is also the semantic argument of the matrix clause, the construction is referred to as a control construction. If not, it is raising (see Bickel 2010: 19). In control constructions, typically the unrealized argument of the embedded clause is the subject of the matrix clause (Riesberg 2014). However, because GRs are construction and language specific, control can also target the pivot. In AS, control provides evidence for a subject argument selector, and not a pivot. Thus, this subsection examines control constructions to see whether this argument selector treats the subject differently from other core arguments. The results show that in AS, only a subject can be controlled. In this case, when a subject clitic occurs, it must attach to the control verb and the interpretation is the A argument always holds the same semantic role both in the matrix and embedded clause. Because the controller is the subject clitic and not the pivot, AS differs from other closely related languages such as Balinese whose pivot and subject are occupied by the same argument. When a subject clitic does not occur as in the non-clitic AD constructions, there is not a separate pivot and subject. One way to analyze this is that they are occupied by the same argument which is then targeted by control as the argument selector. When both a pivot and subject pronominal clitic occur together but they do not co-refer, the subject is always the controller.

This can be observed by utilizing the control verb *melèt* ‘want’. (163) below shows the subjects of intransitive constructions acting as the controllers.

- (163) a. *Aku melèt=ku [be-jogèt].*
 1SG want=1SG MID-dance
 ‘I wanted to dance.’ (intransitive)
- b. *Ndéq=ku melèt [teriq].*
 NEG=1SG want fall
 ‘I did not want to fall.’ (intransitive)

In (163a), the S argument *aku* 1SG is the sole argument in the clause which is coreferential with the subject pronominal clitic =*ku*. The subject pronominal clitic is then targeted and acts as controller. The interpretation of the clause is straightforward because there is only one core argument the subject pronominal clitic coreferential with. Hence, the referent who danced in (163a) is understood as the first person singular. Likewise, the subject pronominal clitic =*ku* 1SG acts as the controller and results in the meaning as the referent who did not want to fall in (163b).

The same is true for transitive clauses as to which argument can be controlled. Cross-linguistically, there are two types of control in transitive constructions namely subject-control and object-control. The former is identified from the status of the controllee as also the subject of the matrix clause. Conversely, the latter is confirmed by the status of the controllee as the object of the matrix clause. The following examples illustrate subject-control constructions in AD and PD. Consider the AD construction in (164a) and PD in (164b).

- (164) a. *Polisi melèt=ne, [bau penjahat no].*
 police want=3 arrest villain that
 ‘Officers wanted to arrest the villain.’ (AD)
- b. *Penjahat no melèt=ne, [bau siq polisi].*
 villain that want=3 arrest AGT police
 ‘Officers wanted to arrest the villain.’ (PD)

The example in (164a) shows that the embedded clause is AD, identified from the absence of the agentive preposition *siq*. The embedded clause also demonstrates canonical word order where the A pivot argument occurs clause initially, the predicate is suffixed by the pronominal subject clitic and the P argument occurs post-verbally. Given the nature of the subject pronominal clitic as a special clitic which is mobile in its distribution, when it acts as the controller, the only possible position for it to occur is to be attached to the control predicate *melèt*. When the pivot

also occurs on the matrix clause, it creates an interpretation that the ‘wanter’ and the pivot are the same referent. Hence, even when the ‘wanter’ is not the pivot as shown in (164b) where the embedded clause is PD, the meaning remains the same. In the construction, the pivot is identified as *penjahat no* ‘the villain’ and the A argument is identified as *polisi* ‘police’ which is coreferential with the subject pronominal clitic =*ne*. Thus, when the subject pronominal clitic acts as the controller, the meaning remains ‘the officer wanted to arrest the villain’ not ‘the villain wanted to arrest the officer’. This shows that control treats the subject differently from the other arguments including the pivot. Another piece of evidence for the subject to be the controller is if the subject pronominal clitic remains in the embedded clause meaning that only the pivot argument is moved to the matrix clause, the resulting construction is deemed ungrammatical as shown in (165) below.

(165) *Penjahat no melèt [_____ bau=*ne*, siq polisi].
villain that want arrest=3 AGT police
‘Officers wanted to arrest the villain.’ (PD)

Therefore, there cannot also be a mismatch of the coreference between the subject pronominal clitic and the non-pivot A argument. If such a mismatch occurs where the subject pronominal clitic is coreferential with the P argument in transitive constructions, the constructions are considered ill-formed as shown in (166) below.

(166) Penjahat no melèt=*ne* [polisi bau ____].
villain that want=3 police arrest
*‘The villain wanted to arrest the police.’
‘The police wanted to arrest the villain.’ (PD)

A piece of evidence for the pronominal clitic being the subject, not simply an A argument comes from passive voice. Passive voice shows a different coreference pattern between the subject and semantic role of its coreference. That is, unlike AD and PD, the subject pronominal clitic is coreferential with the P argument. Consequently, the control construction results in the ‘wanter’ being the P argument, not the A argument anymore. This is observed in the following example.

(167) Penjahat melèt=*ne*, [te-bau siq Polisi].
villain want=3 PASS-catch AGT police
‘The villain wanted to be arrested by the police.’ (Passive)

In non-clitic AD constructions where the subject pronominal clitic is absent, the A argument in the embedded clause is the controller. I analyze this A argument as the combined subject/pivot argument. I demonstrate this in (168)–(169).

- (168) a. Penjahat no melèt [_____ bau polisi].
 villain that want _____ arrest police
 ‘The villain wanted to arrest the police.’ (non-clitic AD)
- b. *?Penjahat no melèt [polisi bau _____].
 villain that want police arrest _____
 *‘The police wanted to arrest the villain.’
 ‘I want to arrest the villain.’ (PD)

- (169) Polisi no melèt [_____ bau penjahat].
 Police that want _____ arrest villain
 ‘The police wanted to arrest the villain.’ (non-clitic AD)

(168a) above shows the embedded clause is in non-clitic AD and there is a gap for the subject/pivot argument. The omitted argument is the controller which is identified as the subject/pivot of the matrix clause: *penjahat no* ‘the villain’. Even though the meaning of this construction is pragmatically ‘funny’, there is no other interpretation available because the agent completely depends on the controller. On the other hand, example (168b) shows a construction where the NP argument *penjahat no* also occurs at the beginning of the clause and the construction does not have any clitic as well. However, unlike (168a), the construction is ungrammatical because of the missing pronominal subject clitic that should be coreferential with the A argument *polisi* ‘police’. This shows that control only selects the subject pronominal clitic in the constructions where A argument and the subject do not merge. When they merge as also seen in (169), where the omitted argument from the embedded clause of the non-clitic AD is interpreted as the ‘wanter’ in the matrix clause, namely NP-A argument *polisi no* ‘police no’. This construction has a more acceptable meaning pragmatically because the controller is *the police*. Thus, control constructions in non-clitic AD present different results compared to constructions where the subject pronominal clitic is present such as in AD and PD. In this regard, when a subject pronominal clitic occurs, the meaning of the given construction is not determined by whether the A argument of the matrix clause is the pivot or non-pivot argument of the

embedded clause. Rather, since the argument selector targets the subject, it will depend on the agent as the coreference of the subject pronominal clitic.

4.6 Variable Binding

While variable binding has not been a common argument selector for grammatical relations in Austronesian languages, several studies have utilized it for various diagnostics (see quantificational binding in Legate 2012, 2014 and Chen 2017). As an argument selector, variable binding treats subjects as the only arguments of transitives which have a wider scope over the bound pronoun whose antecedent is modified by a universal quantifier (UQ). Thus, in a transitive construction, one core argument is associated with a UQ and the other one is associated with the pronoun. Only the argument associated with a UQ could be the subject as it is expected to provide a distributed reading. Conversely, the pronoun cannot be interpreted as having a distributed reading. By default, the non-subject arguments are expected not to be associated with the UQ.

This section presents an analysis of variable binding as a subjecthood test in AS. The test has also been utilized by Schuelke (2019) in AS, with me as a single speaker. He finds that variable binding selects subject arguments evident from the readings of both being distributed and non-distributed. Following this, I argue that A arguments are subjects in AS, but such a conclusion is not straightforward. Some intricacies occur in some constructions. The elicitations were done in two ways with a total of six speakers (see Section 1.5.2 for details). Traditional elicitations were first conducted with two speakers, but the results were still obscure because it was difficult to pin down distributed versus non-distributed readings. Then, in a second round of elicitations, I used the images below to help five speakers, one of which I conducted elicitations with in the first round, understand the context better and easier for them to decide. Below are the images used.



Figure 4.1 Distributed (one to one reading).



Figure 4.2 Non-distributed (all to one reading).



Figure 4.3 Non-distributed (one to all reading).

The sentences used to describe the images were interpreted as ‘Every mother protects her child’ from which distributed and non-distributed reading were obtained and ‘Her mother protects every child’ from which only non-distributed reading was obtained. The two interpretations were elicited in the forms of various transitive constructions which include AD and its sub-constructions, PD, and passive constructions. The following examples show variable binding in AD and its subconstructions.

(170) Variable binding in AD

a. AD: UQ with A argument

Setiep inaq wah=*ne* jagaq anak=*ne*.

Every mother PFV=3 protect child=3

‘Every mother protected her child.’ (AD)

READINGS: distributed (one to one) and non-distributed (all to one).

b. AD: UQ with P argument

Inaq=*ne* jagaq=*ne* setiep anak.

mother=3 protect every child

‘Her mother protects every child.’ (AD)

READINGS: non-distributed (one to all).

The example (170a) demonstrates that when the UQ is associated with the A argument *inaq* ‘mother’ and the genitive pronoun *=ne* is associated with the P argument *anak* ‘child’ both distributed and non-distributed readings are available. In contrast, when the UQ is associated

with the P argument and the genitive pronoun is associated with the A argument, the only available reading is non-distributed as shown in Figure 4.3 above. While one speaker thought only distributed reading is possible, the remaining four speakers have the same interpretation for (170a) which is distributed and non-distributed reading. As for (170b), three speakers considered the only suitable image is Figure 4.3, but one of them considered Figure 4.1 is also possible as well and one speaker thought only a distributed reading is possible (Figure 4.1). Overall, the more convincing interpretation for (170b) is the non-distributed reading as the majority of speakers chose it. The next examples show variable binding in non-clitic AD constructions.

(171) Variable binding in non-clitic AD

a. Non-clitic AD: UQ with A

Setiep inaq jagaq anak=ne.

Every mother protect child=3

‘Every mother protects her child.’ (non-clitic AD)

READINGS: distributed (one to one) and non-distributed (all to one).

b. Non-clitic AD: UQ with P

Inaq=ne jagaq setiep anak.

mother=3 protect every child

‘Her mother protects every child.’ (non-clitic AD)

READINGS: non-distributed (one to all)

Variable binding in non-clitic AD shows the same results with that of in prototypical AD constructions. When UQ is associated with the A argument as shown in (171a), four speakers chose Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2, interpreted as distributed and non-distributed respectively, only one provided distributed reading (Figure 4.1) Meanwhile, overall speakers gave a non-distributed reading for (171b) except for one speaker who considered both distributed and non-distributed readings are possible. This is the same speaker who also gave both readings for (170b). While as a sub-construction of AD, non-clitic AD is aligned with AD in terms of variable binding which gives prominence to the A argument, the case is not simply equal with AV for several reasons.

First, all five speakers claim that the transitive constructions with a nasal prefix or in this case, AV, do not belong to AS. They report that AS does not employ such a verbal morphology. This claim is interesting in two ways. First, it supports my proposal for the prototypical AD constructions where the verbal morphology is absent. Second, it also proves that speakers do not realize that they sometimes still use the verbal morphology when conversing as indicated by the

coding results in the corpus (see Chapter 5). Consequently, only three speakers were willing to do elicitation on this part.

(172) Variable binding in AV

a. AV: UQ with A

Setiep inaq n-jagaq anak=ne.

Every mother AV-protect child=3

‘Every mother protects her child.’ (AV)

READINGS: distributed (one to one) and non-distributed (all to one).

b. AV: UQ with P

Inaq=ne n-jagaq setiep anak

mother=3 AV-protect every child

‘Her mother protect very child.’ (AV)

READINGS: non-distributed (one to all).

The AV construction in (172a) yields distributed and non-distributed readings when UQ is associated with the A argument. In this case, all the three speakers gave such an interpretation. As predicted, the result for UQ associated with the P argument is also the same with AD and non-clitic AD in that only non-distributed reading is available which is confirmed by two speakers. Other intricacies occur with variable binding in PD as shown in the examples below.

(173) Variable binding in PD

a. UQ with A

Siq=ne jagaq anak=ne siq setiep inaq.

AGT=3 protect child=3 AGT every mother

‘Every mother protects her child.’ (PD)

READINGS: Distributed (one to one) and non-distributed (all to one).

b. UQ with P

Siq=ne jagaq setiep anak siq inaq=ne.

AGT=3 protect every child AGT child=3

‘Her mother protects every child.’ (PD)

READINGS: non-distributed (one to all).

As for the example (173a), all five speakers agreed that both readings are possible. The PD construction can be interpreted as distributed and non-distributed when the UQ is associated with the A argument realized as *inaq* ‘mother’ which is coreferential with the third person pronominal clitic =*ne*, functioning as the subject. The case is more problematic with the example (173b) where the UQ is associated with the P argument. It seemed that speakers were a little confused in

deciding except for one speaker who was confident in giving only a non-distributed reading (Figure 4.3). My own intuition as a native speaker of AS agrees that only non-distributed reading is possible. This means that in PD, variable binding only selects the A argument whose status according to its coreferential pronominal clitic is not as the pivot but the subject. The tendency for variable binding to only select the subject is also evident from Passive voice whereby the subject is not occupied by an agent but a patient, as shown in the following examples.

(174) Variable binding in Passive voice

a. UQ with A

Anak=ne te-jagaq siq setiep inaq.
 child=3 PASS-protect AGT every child
 ‘Her child is protected by every mother.’ (Passive)
 READINGS: non-distributed (all to one).

b. UQ with P

Setiep anak te-jagaq siq inaq=ne.
 every child PASS-protect AGT mother=3
 ‘Every child is protected by her mother.’ (Passive)
 READINGS: distributed (one to one) and non-distributed (one to all)

Unlike variable binding in AD and PD which selects the A arguments as having a wider scope, variable binding in Passive voice shows that it is the patient which has distributed and non-distributed readings. Example (174a) demonstrates that when UQ is associated with the A argument, two out of four speakers confirmed that the only possible reading is non-distributed. On the contrary, when UQ is associated with the P argument, the same two speakers proposed that both distributed and undistributed are possible.

To summarize, variable binding appears to treat the subject differently from the pivot in AS. Based on the asymmetrical scope, the A argument is the prominent argument of both AD and PD while the patient is the prominent argument of passive voice. In PD, the oblique-marked A argument serves as the antecedent of the subject but in the passive, the oblique-marked A argument does not have any coreferential clitic. The only clitic in passive if used as a core argument would be coreferential with the patient which demonstrates the status of the patient argument as the subject. However, even with the images, this task is not straightforward, especially when elicitations take place virtually. More research is needed to validate these

findings.³ The following table summarizes the variable binding’s results across transitive constructions of AS.

Table 4.1 Variable binding in AS.

	UQ-A	UQ-P
AD	both (4/5)	non-dist (3/5)/both (1/5)/dist (1/5)
Non-clitic AD	both (4/5), dist (1/5)	non-dist (4/5), both (1/5)
AV	both (3/3)	non-dist (2/3), both (1/3)
PD	both (5/5)	non-dist(1/5)/both(3/4)/dist (1/5), both (3/5), dist (1/5)
Passive	non-dist (3/5), both (2/5)	both(3/5), dist (2/5)

4.7 Quantifier Float

Quantifier float is typically used as an argument selector to demonstrate GRs by observing how a language operates quantifiers as to whether they can occur outside the noun phrase and still quantify the head noun. In cases where such an operation is possible, GRs would show what types of arguments can be targeted by the floated quantifier, the common term for the quantifier that occurs outside the noun phrase. Quantifier float has been shown to work as an argument selector in many languages including in Western Austronesian languages such as Standard Indonesian (Musgrave 2001; Riesberg 2014), Besemah (McDonnell 2016), and Balinese (Arka 2019). In those languages, quantifier float treats core arguments differently from non-core arguments. Inasmuch as quantifier float works effectively in those languages, I argue that quantifier float is a fitting argument selector in AS because it selects core arguments and treats them differently from non-core arguments. However, there seems to be a restriction towards the preposition *kance* ‘with’ which is analogous with the preposition *dengan* used by Musgrave (2001) in Standard Indonesian. In AS, the given preposition allows the following oblique argument to be quantified while other prepositions do not. This may partly because the

³ The variable binding task is probably too cognitively demanding because speakers need to match multiple pictures with the correct constructions. Future research should simplify the design of this task, so that speakers are asked if the picture matches the construction or not.

preposition *kance* ‘with’ can also mean ‘friend’ which may indicate that this preposition could be considered new compared to other prepositions. The following discussion presents examples with the preposition *kance* ‘with’.

The ‘floated’ universal quantifier in AS is the word *selapuq* ‘all’ which can occur in a number of positions. The universal quantifier *selapuq* ‘all’ can float following a core argument, oblique, auxiliary and predicate in a clause. Moreover, it appears that the universal quantifier *selapuq* ‘all’ does not have any particular preference in quantifying an argument in the clause when the clause contains the preposition *kance* ‘with’. In this case, it seems that *selapuq* ‘all’ quantifies any argument which precedes it or the closest argument to it in the clause regardless of their status as to whether they are a core or non-argument. The first examination is provided for intransitive clauses as shown in the examples below.

(175) Universal quantifier *selapuq* ‘all’ within noun phrase in intransitive

- a. [Selapuq guru] dateng kance murid.
all teacher come with student
‘All teachers came with students.’ (intransitive)
- b. Guru dateng kance [selapuq murid].
teacher come with all student
‘Teachers came with all the students.’ (intransitive)

(176) Quantifier float *selapuq* ‘all’ in intransitive

- a. Guru selapuq=ne dateng kance murid.
teacher all=3 come with student
‘All the teachers came with students.’ (intransitive)
- b. Guru dateng selapuq=ne kance murid.
teacher come all=3 with student
‘All the teachers came with students.’ (intransitive)
- c. Guru dateng kance murid selapuq=ne.
teacher come with student all=3
‘Teachers came with all the students.’ (intransitive)

The examples in (175) show the universal quantifier *selapuq* ‘all’ occurs inside the noun phrases. It precedes the head *guru* ‘teacher’ in (175a) and *murid* ‘student’ in (175b). On the other hand, *selapuq* ‘all’ is a floated quantifier in the examples in (176). It first quantifies the S argument *guru* ‘teacher’ by occurring immediately after this core argument in (176a). Further in (176b), the floated quantifier follows the predicate *dateng* ‘come’ and it still quantifies the S argument *guru* ‘teacher’. A more intriguing case is observed in example (176c) where the quantifier

selapug ‘all’ floats away from the noun phrase to the end of the clause. In this example, the floated quantifier no longer quantifies the S argument but it quantifies the oblique argument *murid* ‘student’ which occurs immediately before it. Thus, quantifier float does not distinguish between the core and non-core argument in intransitives in AS.

Transitive clauses demonstrate that quantifier float can quantify core arguments, which is observed in both AD and PD. I argue that both the pivot and non-pivot core arguments can launch a floated quantifier in AD and PD which signify that quantifier float is not a test for pivot or subject. The following examples show how quantifier float works in AD.

(177) Universal quantifier *selapug* ‘all’ in AD

[Selapug	kanak]	wah=ne	kaken	jaje.
All	child	PFV=3	eat	cakes

‘All children ate a cake.’ (AD)

(178) Floated quantifier *selapug* ‘all’ in AD

- a. Kanak selapug wah=ne kaken jaje.
child all PFV=3 eat cake
‘All the children ate cakes.’ (AD)
- b. Kanak wah=ne selapug kaken jaje.
child PFV=3 all ate cake
‘All the children ate cakes.’ (AD)
- c. Kanak wah=ne kaken jaje selapug=ne.
child PFV=3 eat cake all=3
‘Children ate all the cakes.’ (AD)
‘All the children ate the cakes.’ (AD)
- d. Kanak wah=ne kaken jaje léq masjid selapug=ne.
child PFV=3 eat cake LOC mosque all=3
‘Children ate all the cakes at the mosque.’ (AD)
‘All the children ate cakes at the mosque.’ (AD)
*‘Children ate cakes at all the mosques.’ (AD)

(177) above shows the universal quantifier occurs within the noun phrase where *selapug* ‘all’ precedes the head noun A argument *kanak* ‘child’. The noun phrase is then followed by an auxiliary, a predicate, and a non-pivot P argument confirming that the given construction is AD. The examples in (178) show the positions where the quantifier can float to in AD. First in (178a), *selapug* ‘all’ occurs following the A argument and it still qualifies it. Next in (178b), *selapug* ‘all’ occurs following the auxiliary and it also quantifies the A argument. Unlike the two other examples, (178c) shows that the floated quantifier targets the P argument *jaje* ‘cake’ by

occurring immediately after it at the end of the clause. However, a different pattern is observed in (178d) where a different preposition is added. The locative preposition *léq* is added to the AD construction where now *selapuq* ‘all’ follows the oblique argument *mesjid* ‘mosque’. There are only two possible interpretations pointing out that both pivot A argument and non-pivot P argument can launch the floated quantifier. Interestingly, unlike what is observed in (176), *selapuq* ‘all’ cannot quantify the oblique argument when a preposition other than *kance* ‘with’ is used.

The same is true for PD in that both the pivot and non-pivot argument can be quantified by the floated quantifier, but the oblique argument cannot when it occurs with the preposition *léq*. Consider the following examples of PD.

(179) Universal quantifier *selapuq* ‘all’ in PD

- a. Jaje wah=ne kaken siq [selapuq kanak no].
 cake PFV=3 eat AGT all child that
 ‘All the children ate a cake.’ (PD)
- b. [Selapuq jaje] wah=ne kaken siq kanak no.
 all cake PFV=3 eat AGT child that
 ‘Children ate all the cakes.’ (PD)

The two examples above show that the universal quantifier occurs within the noun phrase in PD constructions whereby in (179a), *selapuq* ‘all’ quantifies the NP-A argument *kanak no* ‘the child’ and the P argument *jaje* ‘cake’ in (179b). When the quantifier floats, it still can quantify both of the core arguments as exemplified in (180a-e) below. However, the universal quantifier again fails to quantify the oblique argument which occurs with the locative preposition *léq* as shown in (180f).

(180) Floated quantifier in PD

- a. Wah=ne kaken jaje siq kanak no selapuq=ne.
 PFV=3 eat cake AGT child that all=3
 ‘The child ate all the cakes.’ (PD)
 ‘All the children ate cakes.’ (PD)
- b. jaje siq=ne selapuq kaken siq kanak no.
 cake AGT=3 all eat AGT child that
 ‘The child ate all the cake.’ (PD)
- c. Siq=ne kaken jaje no selapuq=ne siq kanak no.
 AGT=3 eat cake that all=3 AGT child that
 ‘The child ate all the cakes.’ (PD)

- d. Jaje selapuuq=ne siq=ne kaken siq kanak no.
 cake all=3 AGT=3 eat AGT child that
 ‘The child ate all the cakes.’ (PD)
- e. Siq=ne kaken jaje siq kanak no selapuuq=ne.
 AGT=3 eat cake AGT child that all=3
 ‘All the children ate cakes.’ (PD)
- f. Siq=ne kaken jaje siq kanak no léq masjid
 AGT=3 eat cake AGT child that LOC mosque
 selapuuq=ne.
 all=3
 ‘The child ate all the cakes at the mosque.’ (PD)
 ‘All the children ate the cakes at the mosque.’ (PD)
 *‘Children ate cakes at all mosques.’ (PD)

In the example in (180a), the floated quantifier occurs at the end of the clause and it still quantifies the P argument *jaje* ‘cake’ but it can also be interpreted as quantifying the NP-A argument *kanak no* ‘the child’. (180b) illustrates the floated quantifier to occur following the pronominal clitic subject argument *=ne* and it quantifies the NP-A argument. Another position of the floated quantifier is shown in (180c) where it occurs immediately after the NP-P argument *jaje no* and it quantifies that given argument. This is also observed in (180d). Finally, the floated quantifier no longer quantifies the P argument in (180e). Rather, it quantifies the NP-A argument as another core argument. Conversely, the example in (180f) shows that the oblique argument *léq masjid* cannot launch the floated quantifier. It can only quantify the NP-A and P core arguments. The oblique argument in this construction also occurs with the preposition *léq*.

To further examine the tendency of quantifier float to quantify only core arguments except in the case where the preposition *kance* ‘with’ occurs with the oblique argument, in what follows I present some more examples where oblique arguments occur in an intransitive (181) and transitives (182)–(183) with different prepositions followed by the universal quantifier *selapuuq* ‘all’.

- (181) Bidan dateng jòk bale selapuuq=ne.
 midwife come to house all=3
 ‘All midwives came to the house.’ (intransitive)
 *‘Midwives came to all the houses.’
- (182) Dokter òwat-an dengan léq rumah sakit selapuuq=ne.
 doctor medicine-APPL person LOC house sick all=3
 ‘Doctors cured all people at the hospital.’ (non-clitic AD)
 ‘All doctors cured people at the hospital.’
 *‘Doctors cured people at all the hospitals.’

- (183) Nelayan bau empaq siq jaring selapuaq=ne.
 fisherman catch fish INSTR fishnet all=3
 ‘All fishermen caught fish with fishnet.’ (non-clitic AD)
 ‘Fishermen caught all the fish with fishnet’ (non-clitic AD)
 *‘Fishermen caught fish with all the fishnets’

The above examples provide evidence that quantifier float exclude oblique arguments. In (181), the universal quantifier *selapuaq* ‘all’ floats to the end of the clause following the oblique argument *balé* ‘house’ which occurs with the preposition *jòk* ‘to’. However, such positioning does not allow the quantifier to quantify the oblique argument, it can only quantify the S argument *bidan* ‘midwife’. The same is true for (182) where the floated quantifier quantifies the A argument ‘doctor’ and P argument ‘person’ whose status are as core arguments. It fails to quantify the oblique argument ‘hospital’ which occurs with the preposition *léq*. Likewise, (183) also exhibits evidence that the oblique argument ‘fishnet’ which occurs with the instrumental preposition *siq* cannot be quantified because the floated quantifier only quantifies the core arguments namely the A argument ‘fisherman’ and P argument ‘fish’.

In sum, quantifier float in AS demonstrates alignment contributing to GRs. That is, the argument selector only targets core arguments. Floated quantifier in AS does not quantify oblique arguments but there seems to be a restriction which only applies to the preposition *kance* ‘with’. When this preposition occurs, the floated quantifier is able to quantify the oblique argument but in cases where other prepositions are used, quantifier float only selects the core arguments.

4.8 Summary

This chapter demonstrates evidence that the S, A in AD/AV, and P in PD exhibit a pivot grammatical relation leaving the other core arguments in the constructions as bearing a non-pivot core argument grammatical relation. This chapter also shows that when a pronominal clitic coreferential with the A argument occurs in AD and PD, pivot and subject must be treated differently. That is, some argument selectors utilized in this chapter only target the pivot and others only target the subject. Additionally, the rest of the argument selectors exhibit alignment for core argumenthood.

Chapter 5. Pronominal Clitics

This chapter describes the properties and pattern of clitics in AS which include their forms, positions, and functions in the clause in relation to diathesis. More specifically, this chapter only focuses on pronominal clitics, leaving out other types of clitics (see Section 2.2.3 on other types of clitics). This is due to the fact that pronominal clitics are the most relevant type of clitic for diathesis and grammatical relations. The first section (5.1) provides a brief introduction to clitics including a brief typological overview of clitics in languages of Western Indonesia. The next section (5.2) presents the clitic inventory in AS. I point out where it is different from previous studies on other varieties of Sasak. The chapter then describes the clitic distribution in a clause (5.3) followed by a discussion on the use of clitics in conversation (5.4). Looking closely at the corpus, section 5.4 presents a comprehensive description of pronominal subject clitics which include the clitic inventory based on natural language use which reveals more variation than previous descriptions. It also presents the clitic hosts along with their frequency of occurrences, and the host positions in the clause as to whether clitics in AS can be categorized as second position clitics or their positions are more complex.

5.1 Brief introduction to clitics

The term clitic refers to a morpheme which does not possess the properties of an independent (phonological) word but instead creates ‘a phonological unit with the word that precedes it or follows it’ (Aikhenvald 2002: 42). Since clitics do not carry phonological stress and need a host to attach to, it may be confused with affixes, but they are different. Himmelmann (2005) posits that clitics are different from affixes in three respects: 1) clitics do not cause any morphological alternations of the hosts, 2) clitics do not have a preferable category of hosts like affixes do, and 3) clitics vary in regard to where they occur compared to affixes. Clitics are also often confused with independent words such as particles. Zwicky (1985) shows convincingly that particles are not clitics in English. Phonologically, particles are also able to carry stress which is not the case with clitics.

Aikhenvald (2002) proposes 15 typological characteristics of clitics, some of which are mentioned here in relation to the research questions on clitics. The first characteristic is *direction*, a parameter to see whether clitics occur as proclitics or enclitics. Aikhenvald proposes that enclitics are more frequent than proclitics since there are more languages that have suffixes than prefixes. Thus, if a language only has suffixes, it will most likely only have enclitics. Further, she posits a clitic may have unclear boundaries in terms of being enclitic or proclitic because a clitic may be enclitic in one construction but a proclitic in another (Aikhenvald 2002). As we will see below, clitics with ambiguous directionality turns out to be important for AS. The next parameter is *selectivity*, referring to whether clitics can attach to any word class or they tend to be selective in regard to the grammatical class of their host. Further, clitics can be assessed based on their position in the clause. For instance, they attach to the first word in a clause (i.e., Wackernackel or second position clitics), the last word in an NP, or whether their position depends on other phonological or grammatical constraints. Another property of clitics is their correlation with function words. Typically, clitics constitute function words such as pronouns, auxiliaries, question words, etc. Each of these characteristics are relevant for describing pronominal clitics in AS.

Clitics appear to be found across languages including in all Western Austronesian languages, and Himmelmann (2005) proposes that clitics even mark the typology of these languages. That is, western Austronesian can be categorized into two types of clitics which distinguish some languages from the others. The first one is *peripheral clitics*, which occur immediately before or after the host and are found in all Western Austronesian languages. The second one is referred to as *second position clitics* which occur following the first constituent of the phrasal unit host and is more commonly found in Philippine-type languages and a few non-Philippine type languages. Himmelmann's categories are analogous to Zwicky's (1985) notion of simple and special clitics. According to Zwicky (1985), simple clitics are the reduced forms which occur in the same positions as corresponding full forms. Himmelmann's peripheral clitics appear to also show properties of simple clitics. These differ from special clitics which he defines as clitics which do not share the distribution of corresponding full forms. In general, this category corresponds to Himmelmann's second position even though they are definitionally different.

Typologically, many languages in western and eastern Indonesia show some contrasting patterns in terms of voice and clitics. Voice affixes are retained to different degrees in Indonesian languages spoken in areas north and west of Lombok, including among others the languages of Sulawesi, Borneo, Java, and Sumatra. Regarding Indonesian languages east of Lombok, most of these Austronesian languages do not have voice affixes or they are very limited (Klamer 2002; Arka 2003). Pronominal clitic arguments in the language of western Indonesia typically only attach to verbs. In Standard Indonesian, for instance, the PV construction marked by the prefix *di-* tends to take a third person clitic *=nya*, instead of a full pronoun A argument *dia*, and all pronominal enclitics can occur with *meN-* in transitives and functions as P argument. Meanwhile in Balinese, as an Indonesian-type language geographically closest to Sasak, also seems similar with Standard Indonesian, a third person enclitic found attached to verbs and identified as A argument also in PD constructions.

Based on these typological features of languages, clitics in Sasak are strikingly different from Indonesian-type languages, even closely related languages like Balinese, because they have a freer distribution. For instance, the subject clitic argument can occur in many different places and in all sorts of clause types (e.g., intransitive, AD, PD, passive), unlike Standard Indonesian and Balinese. In these languages, the A clitic argument must occur directly next to the verb in PV constructions. The subject clitic in Sasak is more mobile; it can attach directly to the verbs as a proclitic (depending on the dialect) or enclitic, also to auxiliaries, the negator, prepositions, and various types of adverbs. Moreover, clitics in Sasak have an important role in syntax as they can denote subjecthood in diathesis. Despite the importance of clitics in Sasak, they have received relatively little attention in the literature, especially in regard to their use in naturally occurring discourse. The following sections provide an overview of the types and distributions of pronominal clitics in AS based on both elicited and conversational data. In section 5.2, I outline the basic description of clitics in AS which includes the forms and the types. This section also looks at the distribution of clitics in the clause basing my analysis on conversational data. In section 5.3, I explore the use of clitics in conversation by presenting findings from the coding in which include more in-depth discussions on clitic distributions, the hosts, and host positions.

5.2 Clitics in AS

Pronominal clitics in AS consist of proclitics and enclitics, which have corresponding free forms. In terms of their distribution, speakers tend to use more enclitics compared to proclitics (see section 5.3). Pronominal clitics in AS fall into two categories: simple (or peripheral) clitics and special clitics. Following the definitions by Zwicky (1985) mentioned above, simple clitics in AS include possessive pronominal clitics and clitic P arguments in AD constructions because the clitics always occur in the same position with the corresponding free pronouns in the clause. In contrast, the subject clitics have more flexibility, which do not correspond to full forms, and hence fall within the category of special clitics. While there is a strong tendency for clitics to be second position clitics, there are enough exceptions to call such an analysis into question.

Pronouns in AS display speech levels in first and second singular person pronouns. By default, clitics for these referents consist of basic and polite forms as well. Unlike the *Ngenon-gené* dialect described in Wouk (1999) and Asikin-Garmager (2017), AS does not have the third person P argument enclitic =é. Rather, it has the third person enclitic =*n* which is also found in *Meno-mené* and *Meriq-meriku* dialects (see Austin 2004). In my previous work on pronominal forms of AS (Khairunnisa 2021), I propose the following prescribed forms of pronouns in AS as shown in Table 5.1 below. In terms of their distribution in discourse, however, other clitics not presented in the table are also used, which include =*ke* 1SG and =*m* 2SG (see Khairunnisa 2021 for more details). Note that I do not indicate the directionality of the clitic form since it can be either a proclitic or an enclitic.

Table 5.1 Pronouns in jamaq ‘low speech style’ by non-noble speakers

	Free pronoun		Clitic	
	Basic	Polite	Basic	Polite
1SG	<i>aku</i>	<i>ite</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>te</i>
1PL	<i>ite</i>	-	<i>te</i>	-
2SG masculine	<i>ante</i>	<i>side</i>	<i>mèq</i>	<i>de</i>
2SG feminine	<i>kamu</i>	<i>side</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>de</i>
3	<i>ie</i>	-	<i>ne, n</i>	-

Possessive clitics are simple clitics that alternate with full forms and behave as the possessors of the host nouns. The forms of possessive clitics are the same with the pronominal clitics but their distributions are different. In this case, possessive clitics only can occur as enclitics and given the restriction mentioned, they can only occur with nouns, which makes them different from their non-possessive clitic counterparts. Together with the host, they form noun phrases. Below are some examples of full pronouns and NP possessor alternating with possessive clitics.

(184) Possessive with NP and clitics

<i>otak</i>	‘head’	<i>sampan</i>	‘boat’
<i>otak aku</i>	‘my head’	<i>sampan dengan no</i>	‘the person’s boat’
<i>otak=ku</i>	‘my head’	<i>sampan-ne</i>	‘his boat’

5.3 Clitics in the clause

The syntactic distribution of clitics in Sasak has been examined by Austin (2004). He proposes that dialects in Sasak apply simple and special clitics. While Austin argues that simple clitics only include demonstrative clitics, Shioahara and Arka (to appear) propose that P clitics are simple clitics, and I claim the same is true for AS as well. Austin (2004) also claims that special clitics identified as A enclitics in *Meno-mené* dialect of Sasak are Wackernackel or second position clitics because they attach to the first non-NP constituent of the clause. The non-NP hosts include conjunction, adverb, preposition, intransitive verbs, among some others. However, if there are more than one possible hosts in the clause, Austin argues that the clitics attach to the first host in the sequence. For the most part, the characterizations of clitics proposed by Austin (2004) also apply to AS, but there are some important differences which include proclitics and other possible host positions of enclitics.

As discussed in the last two chapters of this dissertation, subject clitics in AS play a crucial role in diathesis and GRs. In some constructions, they even denote the subject or non-core argument status of different elements in the clause based on their coreference. This section describes clitics with respect to word order in the clause based on elicitation data.

The primary difference between proclitics and enclitics in AS is that while enclitics can attach to many different hosts, proclitics can only attach to verbal predicates. Consider examples below.

- (185) Ne=*kaken* *jaje* *siq* *kanak*, *no*.
 3=*eat* *cake* *AGT* *child* *that*
 ‘The child ate a cake.’ (PD)
- (186) *Jaje* *ne=*kaken** *siq* *kanak*, *no*.
 cake 3=*eat* *AGT* *child* *that*
 ‘The child ate a cake.’ (PD)
- (187) *Ne=*wah* *kaken* *jaje* *siq* *kanak*, *no*.
 3=*AUX* *eat* *cake* *AGT* *child* *that*
 ‘The child ate a cake.’ (PD)
- (188) *Ne=*ndéq* *kaken* *jaje* *siq* *kanak*, *no*.
 3=*NEG* *eat* *cake* *AGT* *child* *that*
 ‘The child did not eat a cake.’ (PD)

The PD examples in (185) and (186) show the proclitic *ne=* which is coreferential with the NP-A argument *kanak no* occurs on the verb *kaken* ‘eat’ and both constructions are judged acceptable. In (185) the proclitic attaches to the verb at the clause initial position. In (186), the proclitic is still attached to the verb, but it follows the P argument that occurs clause initially. Efforts to attach the proclitic to different hosts do not succeed as exemplified by examples (187) and (188). In (187), the proclitic attaches to the auxiliary while in (188) it attaches to the negation. Even though both examples show the proclitic’s position as being clause-initial, what really accounts for such ill-formed constructions is not the initial position but the fact that the proclitic attaches to non-verbal hosts. Thus, if the constituent order of the above examples is changed whereby the proclitic is moved following an argument in the clause, it would still be judged as not acceptable as shown in (189) and (190) below.

- (189) **Jaje* *ne=*wah** *kaken* *siq* *kanak* *no*.
 cake 3=*AUX* *eat* *AGT* *child* *that*
 ‘The child ate a cake.’ (PD)
- (190) **Jaje* *ne=*ndéq** *kaken* *siq* *kanak*, *no*.
 cake 3=*NEG* *eat* *AGT* *child* *that*
 ‘The child did not eat a cake.’ (PD)

The semantic roles of clitics in AS also contribute to their mobility in the clause. A clitic arguments, what I have referred to as subject clitics, have a freer distribution in the clause compared to P clitic arguments. Moreover, while A clitic arguments can be realized as proclitics and enclitics, P clitic arguments can only be realized as enclitics. I have argued in the previous chapter that clitics in AD constructions allow for a less rigid word order. What I intend to describe further is that A and P clitics in AD behave differently. A clitics can occur preverbally and post-verbally, but they must occur pre-verbally when attached to auxiliaries. On the other hand, P clitics only have one position which is attached to verbs as enclitics with (A)VP word order. Consider the following examples of A clitics.

- (191) Dengan_i no empok=*ne*_i aku.
 person that hit=3 1SG
 ‘The person hit me.’ (AD)
- (192) Dengan_i no wah=*ne*_i empok aku.
 person that PFV=3 hit 1SG
 ‘The person hit me.’ (AD)
- (193) Wah=*ne*_i dengan_i no empok aku.
 PFV=3 person that hit 1SG
 ‘The person hit me.’ (AD)

All three examples above are identified as AD constructions where the clitic argument =*ne* is an A subject clitic, which takes various hosts. The example in (191) shows the A clitic attaches directly to the verb as an enclitic. In the examples in (192) and (193), the A clitic attaches to the auxiliary with two different positions, but both still occur preverbally. If the P argument were to be realized as a clitic, the only possible position is as an enclitic on the verb as illustrated below.

- (194) Dengan_i no wah=*ne*_i empok=*ku*.
 person that PFV=3 hit=1SG
 ‘The person hit me.’ (AD)

The same is true for A and P clitics in PD. The A clitic argument has a particularly significant role in PD in that it serves as the core argument. That being said, the A clitic argument which I have argued to be the subject of PD must be realized in the clause. The fact that A is not the pivot of PD causes the subject clitic to only be able to occur preverbally. However, it can still

occur in two positions: (i) directly attaches to the verb as in (195), (ii) attaches to *siq* as in (196) and (197).

- (195) Aku empok=ne, siq dengan, no.
 1SG hit=3 AGT person that
 ‘The person hit me.’ (PD)
- (196) Aku siq=ne, empok siq dengan, no.
 1SG AGT=3 hit AGT person that
 ‘The person hit me.’ (PD)
- (197) Siq=ne, empok aku siq dengan, no.
 AGT=3 hit 1SG AGT person that
 ‘The person hit me.’ (PD)

Furthermore, since *siq* is also a defining property of PD, the pivot P argument does not have to be realized as a free pronoun. As long as *siq* together with the A clitic are present, the P argument can be realized as a clitic. In this case, it is restricted to being an enclitic attached to the verb as illustrated in (198). Moving the P clitic to a different position in the clause is judged ungrammatical as illustrated in (199) below. In other words, even though the P argument is the pivot in PD, it becomes less mobile in the clause once it is realized as a clitic.

- (198) Siq=ne, empok=ku siq dengan, no.
 AGT=3 hit=3 AGT person that
 ‘The person hit me.’ (PD)
- (199) *siq=ne, ku=empok siq dengan, no.
 AGT=3 1SG=hit AGT person that
 ‘The person hit me.’ (PD)

In addition to P clitics being less mobile in the clause, more constraints apply to third person P clitics. I argue that this third person P clitic cannot occur in transitive constructions in AS. Other diathetical operations do not permit the use of the third person P clitic even if the A argument is also a third person or equal in terms of a person hierarchy $1 > 2 > 3$. The following examples illustrate the inability of the third person P clitic to occur in constructions other than passive voice.

- (200) *Wah=*ne*_A sòròng=*ne*_P.
 PFV=3 push=3
 ‘He pushed her.’ (AD)
- (201) *Wah=*ku* sòròng=*ne*.
 PFV=1SG push=3
 ‘I pushed her.’ (AD)
- (202) *Aku* sòròng=*ne*.
 1SG push=3
 *‘I pushed her.’ (AD)
 ‘She pushed me.’ (PD)
- (203) *Sìq=*mèq* sòròng=*ne*.
 AGT=2SG.MASC push=3
 ‘You pushed her.’ (PD)
- (204) *Sìq*=*mèq* sòròng=*ku*.
 AGT=2SG.MASC push=1SG
 ‘You pushed me.’ (PD)

The constructions as in (200) and (201) have been referred to as ambiguous cases in the previous chapter. While first and second person P clitics can be applied in such cases, the third person P clitic cannot be used. The example in (200) shows two third person clitics, one as the A clitic and the other one as the P argument. Such a construction is deemed ungrammatical but the reason is not solely because the constraint does not allow two equal pronominal clitics in the clause. Rather, the restriction lies on the third person P clitic as indicated by the next examples. In (201), the first clitic in the constituent order is the A clitic =*ku* ‘1SG’ and the P clitic is still occupied by the third person. This construction is also considered ungrammatical. By the same token, the construction in (202) cannot be interpreted as AD because the third person clitic =*ne* cannot function as a P argument resulting in the construction to be interpreted as PD. If =*ne* is replaced by a second person clitic, the clitic can be the P argument. Finally, example (203) demonstrates another ungrammatical construction with the third person P clitic which occurs in PD. This PD construction would be grammatically acceptable if a first person clitic is used as illustrated in (204).

As observed in the above examples, AS allows multiple clitics to occur in the clause. More importantly, AS also allows clitic stacking where two clitics are adjacent to each other. A and P clitics can stack when attached to verbs either as one A proclitic and one P enclitic or both as enclitics. When both occur as enclitics, the closest clitic to the verb is A clitic.

- (205) Sorong=ne,=ku siq Herjan.
 push=3=1SG AGT H.
 ‘Herjan pushed me.’ (PD)
- (206) Ku=badaq=bi né.
 1SG=tell=2SG.FEM this
 ‘Here I told you.’ (PD)

Two enclitics are identified in (205) to be adjacent with each other in PD. The only possible interpretation is that the closest clitic to the verbal host is the A clitic argument, leaving the second clitic as the P argument. Meanwhile, if the clause consists of a proclitic and enclitic attached to the verb as in (206), the proclitic is the A argument. However, the same constraint dealing with the third person clitic is also found. In terms of clitic stacking, the third person P argument cannot be realized as a clitic. Consider the following examples.

- (207) Empok=ne,=ku siq Adi.
 hit=3=1SG AGT A.
 ‘Adi hit me.’ (PD)
- (208) *Empok=ku,=ne siq aku.
 hit=1SG=3 AGT 1SG
 ‘I hit him.’ (PD)

The example in (208) above clearly show that the third person P argument cannot occur as a clitic, it can only occur as an A clitic as in (207) which supports my previous claim for third person clitic as occur as the A clitic pertaining to the fact that P clitics must be simple clitics. Moreover, another constraint is observed in ditransitives where it is not possible to stack three pronominal clitics in ditransitive verbs.

5.4 Clitic distributions in conversation

This subsection examines clitic distributions in the corpus based on the coding results. Ten minutes of each of the nine conversations comprising 3,112 Intonation Units (IUs) in total were coded for the forms of clitics, whether they were proclitic or enclitic along with their frequencies of occurrences, their hosts and their positions in the clause. The coding also includes the generalized roles of clitics as to whether they are realized as S, A, P/T, or R arguments. There was only one case where a clitic occurs in an oblique prepositional phrase. Possessive clitics

make up a sizable portion of clitics in the corpus. The results show that enclitics far outweigh proclitics. Out of 895 pronominal clitics in total, 819 tokens are realized as enclitics leaving only 76 tokens realized as proclitics. Of these 819 enclitics, 167 were possessive enclitics. This still leaves 652 instances of enclitics compared to just 76 proclitics. This discrepancy confirms that speakers are much more likely to use enclitics which also indicates their more salient role in diathesis. The following table shows clitic forms found in the corpus which is slightly different from Table 5.1 above. The following table consists of some forms that are missing in the above table namely the enclitics =*k* and =*m* as well as =*t* even though two of them are acknowledged to occur in discourse (Khairunnisa 2021).

Table 5.2 Clitics of AS found in the corpus.

	Basic	Polite
1SG	= <i>ku</i> , <i>ku</i> =, = <i>k</i>	= <i>te</i> , <i>te</i> =
1PL	= <i>te</i> , <i>te</i> =, = <i>t</i>	NA
2SG	= <i>m</i>	= <i>de</i> , <i>de</i> =
2SG feminine	= <i>bi</i> , <i>bi</i> =	= <i>de</i> , <i>de</i> =
2SG masculine	= <i>mèq</i> , <i>mèq</i> =	= <i>de</i> , <i>de</i> =
3	= <i>ne</i> , <i>ne</i> =, = <i>n</i>	NA

This inventory also provides further evidence that the linguistic situation in Ampenan as a hotspot of variation in that some clitics associated with other dialects are apparent in the corpus. In elicitation, I did not find speakers who use the enclitics =*m* 2SG, =*n* 3SG, =*t* 1PL, or =*k* 1SG because these even more reduced forms are perceived as belonging to *Meno-mené* and *Meriahq-meriku* dialects (see Austin 2004). That is, these forms have lost their final vowel due to the process of decay as a result of language use. Typically the vowel is retained in AS but has been lost in other dialects. However, when conversing, it is evident that speakers utilize these three clitics as well. With the exception of =*n*, the occurrences of the four clitics, however, are rare. There are 78 instances of the =*n* clitic found in the corpus, but this is still small compared to its counterpart =*ne* with 331 occurrences. The examples below show how the clitics *mèq*

2SG.MASC and *-m* 2SG appear in the corpus where the same speaker uses them interchangeably.

- (209) te-gitaq=mèq laguq wah te-sangklap.
 PASS-see=2SG.MASC but PFV PASS-catch
 ‘You were seen but (it) had been been caught.’ (Passive)
 (KN1-033, 0:06:03-0:06:05, Speaker: Budi)
- (210) méléq=m saq dòhòr be-buke,
 want=2SG REL afternoon.prayer MID-open
 ‘You want to break the fasting in the afternoon prayer,’ (Middle voice)
 (KN1-033,0:07:37-0:07:39, Speaker: Budi)

Also consider the examples for the clitic *ku* (211) and *=k* (212), *ne* (213) and *=n* (214), as well as *te* (215) and *=t* (216) below. All of these examples demonstrate variation found in AS where intra and interspeaker variation have been found.

- (211) ampoq=ku koloq-an ie malik saq beléq-beléq no léq atas.
 then=1SG put-APPL 3 again REL big-RED that PREP top
 ‘Then I put her the big ones on the top.’ (ditransitive)
 (KN1-051, 0:06:08-0:06:11, Speaker: Sairun)
- (212) endéq=k kawé be-dodoq-dodoq,
 NEG=1SG want MID-wake.one.up-RED
 ‘I did not want to wake (people) up,’ (Middle voice)
 (KN1-018, 0:08:11-0:08:12, Speaker: Sahar)
- (213) Hawaii laiq=ne ni.
 Hawaii go=3 this
 ‘It goes to Hawaii.’ (PD)
 (KN1-008, 0:09:16-0:09:17, Speaker: Zainudin)
- (214) Amerika laiq=n cobraq no.
 America go=3 DM that
 ‘See, she goes to America.’ (PD)
 (KN1-008, 0:03:41-0:03:42, Speaker: Zainudin)
- (215) lelah=te isiq iyak beléq-beléq.
 tired=1PL AGT wave big-RED
 ‘We were tired because of the big waves.’ (intransitive)
 (KN1-043, 0:04:52-0:04:54, Speaker: Riyan)
- (216) ampoq=t haq bareng meno,
 so that=1PL that together like.that
 ‘So that we are together like that,’ (intransitive)
 (KN1-008, 0:01:25-0:01:26, Speaker: Pas)

5.4.1 Host

Pronominal clitics in AS not only attach to a wide variety of open and closed word classes, but they also attach to various function words. Such a wide range of hosts mark one of the properties of clitics in AS as being different from affixes. In the corpus, clitics most frequently attach to verbs followed by nouns and negation. A significant number of clitics are also hosted by adverbs. The other hosts comprise the agentive preposition *siq*, auxiliary verbs, conjunctions, demonstratives, discourse markers, modals, numerals, quantifiers, question words, reflexive, and the filler word *anuq* ‘whatchamacallit’.

Clitics hosted by nouns are largely possessive enclitics with two exceptions, which are discussed below. Clitics hosted by verbs are primarily special subject clitics; only 24 of the 381 clitics hosted by verbs are simple clitics. They consist of 19 P argument clitics and 5 R argument clitics. The table below summarizes the hosts for the remaining special/subject clitics in the corpus. The table also provides evidence for clitics in AS to be different from clitics in other western Indonesian languages in that they have freer distribution.

Table 5.3 Special/subject clitics' hosts in the corpus

Host	#proclitic	#enclitic	Total
Verb	70	287 (138 A, 149 S)	357
adverb	0	47 (24 A, 23 S)	47
noun	2	0	2
negation	0	94 (27 A, 67 S)	94
siq/hiq	0	37 (27 A, 10 S)	37
auxiliary	0	44 (25 A, 20 S)	45
conjunction	0	75 (35 A, 40 S)	75
demonstrative	0	1 (1 S)	1
discourse particle	0	9 (4 A, 5 S)	9
modal	0	18 (3 A, 14 S)	17
numeral	0	1 (1 S)	1
quantifier	0	5 (3 A, 2 S)	5
question word	0	8 (2 A, 6 S)	8
<i>anuq</i>	4 (3 A clitics, 1 S clitic)	1 (1 S)	5
Reflexive	0	1 (1 S)	1
Total	76	628	704

The frequencies of clitic distributions shown in the table above first provide a detailed view of proclitics and enclitics in terms of the category of their hosts. While enclitics can attach to a wide range of hosts, proclitics are evident to be more selective. I mention earlier in this chapter that proclitics can only attach to verbs and this seems to contradict what the above table shows. The table shows there are two occurrences of clitics to be hosted by nouns and five occurrences with the dummy word *anuq* ‘whatchamacallit’ but in both cases however, the hosts serve as predicates of the clauses. In other words, we see patterns where proclitics tend to attach to only verbs while enclitics can attach to a wider variety of hosts. These findings also add to our understanding about the nature of simple and special clitics in AS. Simple clitics are only attached to nouns in adnominal possessive constructions, but any non-NP constituents can be possible hosts for enclitics. The table also shows that proclitics behave similarly with simple clitics in terms

of choosing their hosts. They only attach to verbs and in the case mentioned above where they do not, the given non-verbal hosts act as predicates.

Non-verbal predicates have been discussed in chapter 2. In other words, proclitics can only attach to non-verbal hosts only if they behave like verbs. In fact, there is only one nominal root to which proclitics attach to in the corpus namely the noun *taðq* ‘place’. As for the dummy word *anuq* ‘whatchamacallit’, it is used as a filler word and can typically function as either a noun or verb in the clause. In the corpus, *anuq* as a host is understood as a verbal predicate. The following examples shows proclitics attaching to the noun and the word *anuq* respectively. In (217), the second person polite clitic *de=* attaches to the host *taðq* ‘place’ which is a noun but in this construction it acts as a nominal predicate. The same phenomenon has been observed by Ewing (2019) for non-verbal predicates in colloquial Indonesian. In (218), the first person plural proclitic *te=* attaches to the host *anuq* which acts as a verbal predicate in the construction.

(217) makad to baé lèngan lauq no de=taðq.
 why that just way north that 2SG.POL=place
 ‘Why, you should have been on the north side.’ (intransitive)
 (KN1-006, 0:07:34-0:07:36, Speaker: Sari)

(218) Ros: terus nengke ape,
 then now what
 te=anuq nengke né?
 1PL=whatchamacallit now this
 ‘Then now what do we do?’

Another notable finding presented in the table is verbal roots as the most dominant host in the corpus. This also demonstrates the significant relationship between clitics and diathesis.

Pronominal clitics found in the corpus are coreferential with the S and A argument which are only sometimes realized in natural conversation. Consider examples of proclitics and enclitics with verbal roots below.

(219) aku dðang kéq lèkan jam lime ku=uléq.
 1SG DM DM from hour five 1SG=go.home
 ‘Even I was going home at 5 o’clock.’ (intransitive)
 (KN1-040, 0:04:27-0:04:30, Speaker: Oji)

(220) ceket=ne_i Bedol_i ndèh?
 smart=3 B. right
 ‘Bedol is smart, right?’ (intransitive)
 (KN1-043, 0:07:55-0:07:56, Speaker: Deni)

(221) embé kéq bau pemerintah_i luar negeri

where DM can government outside country
 lèman Amerika
 from America
 ne=gitaq aran=te saq due né.
 3=see name=1PL REL two this
 ‘The overseas government from America from wherever possible should see our two
 names.’ (AD)

(KN1-033, 0:03:06-0:03:12, Speaker: Océq)

(222) ji: Niah ndéq=ne baníq pelecòngan sai age taðq=ne
 Hajj N. NEG=3 dare loss who maybe place=3
 jual terus.
 sell then

‘Mrs. Niah is afraid of the loss, to whom maybe she then sold it.’ (AD)

(KN1-051, 0:07:46-0:07:50, Speaker: Sairun)

5.4.1.1 Host position

This section explores the syntactic distribution of clitics based on naturally occurring discourse. While proclitics and enclitics primarily differ from each other in terms of their semantic roles in that proclitics only occur as A clitics, their syntactic distribution is also different. The first part of this subsection explores the host position of proclitics in AS followed by the position of the enclitics.

5.4.1.2 Host position of proclitics

Relatively little is understood about proclitics in Sasak because they have been overlooked in the previous work (e.g., Austin 2004; Asikin-Garmager 2017; Wouk 1999). Thus, this part of the dissertation also sheds light on where proclitics are used in the clause. Since proclitics only attach to verbs, their distribution in the clause is no longer relevant to host positioning. Proclitics do not choose the host based on the position in the clause as to whether the hosts are the first sequence or whatever sequence they are in the clause, as long as they are verbs, they will by default host proclitics. The corpus shows some patterns where proclitics occur in conversation. First of all, it appears that proclitics tend to occur in certain moods such as imperatives and reported speech. Typically a subject is not expressed in an imperative, but when it is, it occurs as a proclitic in a clause initial position as shown in (223) below. Likewise, speakers seem to prefer using a proclitic in reported speech regardless of the transitivity as shown in (224) below.

(223) méq=nge-raòs yòq,
 2SG.MASC=N-say DM
 ‘Hey you speak up,’
 (KN1-037, 0:01:45-0:01:47, Speaker: Hasan)

(224) uni=ne ku=setor juluq,
 word=3 1SG=deposit first
 ‘She said “I deposit (it) first,’
 (KN1-008, 0:05:24-0:05:25, Speaker: Zainudin)

In the clause, proclitics also exhibit some patterns of distribution. The most apparent tendency is that proclitics occur following adverbs. This means the subject clitic does not occur at the beginning of the clause. In some cases, the coreferential pivot argument is realized and occurs clause initially but in most cases they are not expressed at all. In regard to transitivity of the hosts where adverbs precede them, the verbal host is either transitive or intransitive. Consider the following examples for a better understanding.

- (225) a. aku bejulu ku=uléq beruq.
 1SG earlier 1SG=go.home just.now
 ‘I went home first just now.’ (intransitive)
 (KN1-031, 0:01:58-0:02:01, Speaker: Awal)
- b. malik ku=kelaq ie.
 again 1SG=cook 3
 ‘I cooked it again.’ (ambiguous)
 (KN1-037, 0:06:14-0:06:16, Speaker: Hasan)

Example (225a) is an intransitive clause where the pivot S argument *aku* 1SG occurs clause initially. The adverb *bejulu* ‘first’ or ‘earlier’ precedes the predicate *uléq* ‘go home’ and because of this positioning, the only possible clitic to be hosted by the verb is a proclitic. In other words, if the adverb *bejulu* follows the verb then an enclitic will likely be used. By the same token, because the adverb *malik* ‘again’ occurs before the verb, the proclitic *ku=* 1SG is used in (225b). The following constructed examples show changes in the position of the adverbs resulting in the use of enclitics for the above examples.

- (226) a. aku uléq=ku be-julu beruq.
 1SG go.home=1SG MID-front just.now
 ‘I went home first just now.’ (intransitive)
- b. kelaq=ku ie malik.
 cook=1SG 3 again
 ‘I cooked it again.’ (ambiguous)

One notable difference between proclitics and enclitics in AS in terms of host is the fact that proclitics cannot attach to auxiliaries, while enclitics can, and in fact, this is common for enclitics. However, this does not necessarily mean that if a clause contains an auxiliary and a verb, an enclitic must be used. Rather, a proclitic can be used in the clause if there is something intervening between the auxiliary and verb such as a discourse marker. This results in a proclitic attaching to the verb as shown in the example as follows where the discourse marker *kan* ‘right’ occurs between the auxiliary and the verb.

- (227) amun saq beléq-beléq jaq wah kan ku=kelin-an dòang
 if REL big-RED DM PFV right 1SG=set.aside-BEN DM
 side amun haq beléq-beléq òngkat=ku badaq.
 2SG.POL if REL big-RED say=1SG tell
 ‘As for the big ones, I have set (them) aside for you right as for the big ones, I told (her).’
 (PD)
 (KN1-051, 0:06:26-0:06:21, Speaker: Sairun)

The next pattern observed in the corpus is proclitics to occur both clause- and IU-initially on verbs. There are 28 such occurrences in the corpus. The verbal hosts include intransitive, ditransitive, transitive, and even AV marked verbs with *N-* as shown in the following examples.

- (228) ne=lalo ie kadu kayuq,
 3=go 3 use wood
 ‘He went using woods,’ (intransitive)
 (KN1-051, 0:09:21-0:09:23)
- (229) te=piyaq jaring bélo-bélo siq=te piyaq jaring jemaq.
 1PL=make net long-RED AGT=1PL make net tomorrow
 ‘We make fishnet, we make long fishnet tomorrow.’ (PD)
 (KN1-033, 0:05:03 - 0:05:06, Speaker: Océq)
- (230) ne=sumba:ng=te mane-mane sampa:n ape.
 3=donate=1PL at.least-RED boat what
 ‘He donate us at least a boat.’ (ambiguous)
 (KN1-033, 0:03:12-0:03:14, Speaker: Océq)

(231) *te=ng-èndèng tulong te=ny(s)òròng-an.*
 1PL=N-ask help 1PL=N-push-APPL
 ‘We ask for help we push (a boat)’ (AV)
 (KN1-018, 0:0812-0:08:13, Speaker: Sahar)

All the above examples show proclitics occurring clause initially but with different types of verbal host. Example (228) shows that the proclitic *ne=* attaches to the intransitive host *lalo* ‘go’. In contrast, example (229) which consists of two clauses shows the proclitic *te=* is hosted by the transitive verb *piyaq* ‘make’ followed by the P argument *jaring* ‘net’. Likewise, example (230) also shows that it is possible for proclitics to occur clause initially when attached to a ditransitive host. This example also demonstrates a case where the verb hosts two clitics; the proclitic *ne=* and enclitic *=te*. In this case, the only possible interpretation is the proclitic to be the subject A argument and the enclitic to be the R argument. Finally, the last example shows the proclitic *te=* attaching to an AV verb prefixed with *N-*.

There are also few occurrences of proclitics in the corpus where they follow the pivot P argument in PD constructions, and as mentioned earlier the use of enclitics in PD constructions far outweighs the proclitics. The example in (232) below shows the pivot P argument *ie* occurs preverbally and the verbal predicate hosts the proclitic subject argument *te=*. In this excerpt of conversation, the pivot refers to cattle he expects to receive from the government.

(232) *kan ie te=arat.*
 right 3 1PL=herd
 ‘We herd them, right.’ (PD)
 (KN1-033, 0:06:46-0:06:47, Speaker: Océq)

Finally, the host position of the proclitics may also occur in other positions in the clause. For instance, proclitics are found to follow conjunctions and the phrase *mun bau* ‘if possible’ as in (233) which, in fact, only a proclitic is possible when the given phrase occurs in the clause.

Proclitics can also follow conjunctions as in (234) below.

(233) *mun bau ne=gitaq cobraq,*
 if possible 3=see try
 ‘If possible he should try to see,’ (ambiguous)
 (KN1-033, 0:02:58-0:02:59, Speaker: Océq)

- (234) laguq mèq=adòk anuq-an Bali né ya Allah,
 but 2SG.MASC=compete whatchamacallit-NMLZR Bali this EXCL god.
 ‘but (if) you compete with the Bali’s whatchamacallit oh God.’ (ambiguous)
 (KN1-043, 0:10:02-0:10:05, Speaker: Deni)

5.4.1.3 Host position of enclitics

Austin (2004) describes second position clitics in the *Meno-mené* dialect of Sasak. His proposal is also subscribed to by Shiohara and Arka (to appear). This part of the dissertation examines syntactic distribution of enclitics in AS and also observes to which extent the typology of clitics and Austin’s proposal apply to AS as a variety of Sasak which has not been studied before.

As mentioned earlier, enclitics in AS can occur as simple clitics in possessive and P arguments in AD constructions. A possessor argument in AS follows the possessed noun and hence the enclitic occurs in the same position as free nominal possessor. Possessive clitics have been discussed in section 2.2.3 in the previous chapter. P enclitics in AS syntactically occur in the same position with the corresponding full forms. These simple clitics are not so productive in the corpus compared with special subject clitics. This may be due to the tendency for speakers to use full forms or NPs as P arguments. Moreover, simple clitics have some constraints. That is, only first and second person enclitics can function as simple clitics while third person enclitics in AS cannot be simple clitics, as discussed in Section 5.3. What follows shows examples of simple clitics with first, second and third person enclitics in which the last one results in an ungrammatical construction.

- (235) a. siq=n prit-pritan=ku lèkan daye.
 AGT=3 whistle.sound-RED=1SG PREP north
 ‘He blew me the whistle from the north.’ (PD)
 (KN1-006, 0:09-48-0:09:50, Speaker: Sipaq)
- b. untong saq araq dengantènaq=te jari buroh baé.
 lucky REL exist person ask=1SG.POL become labor DM
 ‘Luckily there was someone asking me to be a labor.’ (non-clitic AD)
 (KN1-051, 0:10:09-0:10:12, Speaker: Saimah)
- (236) a. kelelah=kupéte=bi,
 tire=1SG search=2SG.FEM
 ‘I was tired looking for you,’ (ambiguous)
 (KN1-006, 0:00:21-0:00:23, Speaker: Sari)
- b. tènaq=mèq nyerèt ndéq=mèq mélé.
 ask=2SG.MASC AV-fish NEG=2SG.MASC want
 ‘(I) invited you to fish, you did not want to.’ (AV)
 (KN1-037, 0:01:13-0:01:15, Speaker: Hasan)

The examples in (235) show simple clitics in two forms of first person referent. In (235a) the P enclitic argument *=ku* 1SG attaches to the verb where the corresponding full form can substitute it in the same position. Likewise, a simple clitic is identified in (235b) as the P enclitic argument *=te* 1SG.POL that attaches to the verb while the NP-A argument occurs preverbal. The examples in (236) demonstrate simple clitics realized as second person referent clitics. Example (236a) consists of two enclitics: the A clitic *=ku* 1SG and P clitic *=bi* 2SG. FEM. The simple clitic is identified as the P clitic because its corresponding full form would occur in the same post-verbal position. Two enclitics are also observed in (236b) which occur in the same form namely *=mèq* 2SG.MASC and one of them is a simple clitic. The A argument is not realized in the IU which actually consists of two clauses. It should have occurred preverbally which leaves only one option for the P argument's position, which is postverbal. Thus, the clitic *=mèq* hosted by the verb *tènaq* is a simple clitic. Conversely, the clitic *=mèq*, attached to the negator *ndéq*, cannot be considered a simple clitic since its function is as the S argument whose corresponding full form may occur preceding the negator. Finally, no third person clitic occurs in the corpus as a P clitic which confirms that third person clitic argument cannot be a simple clitic, discussed at length in Section 5.3 above.

The second category of enclitics in AS is special clitics which, based on the definition offered by Zwicky (1985) mentioned earlier, refers only to S/A subject clitics. Moreover, subject clitics are of interest in relation to Austin's (2004) proposal that these clitics are indeed second position clitics in Sasak. Some of the findings from the coding agree with Austin (2004) in that AS subject clitics appear in the second position. However, there are other cases which demonstrate that the syntactic distribution of special clitics in AS is more complex than has been described for other dialects of Sasak. These include cases where special clitics do not attach to the first potential host. As a result, special clitics in AS do not only occur in the second position but also in the third and fourth positions in the clause. The variation becomes more apparent because it is also evident that special clitics indiscriminately choose their hosts in terms of word classes. That is, in several constructions they attach to some non-NP constituents such as question words, adverbs, auxiliaries, conjunctions, and quantifiers but in several other constructions they bypass such hosts. Each of the distribution patterns is discussed below.

Second position clitics in AS generally follow the characterization found in Austin (2004): they encode A and S arguments and in general they attach to the first non-NP constituent

in the clause. Such instances of second position clitics are productive in the corpus with 463 out of 704 occurrences of S/A subject clitics. They have a wide variety of hosts comprising adverb, negator, verb, agentive preposition *siq*, auxiliary, conjunction, discourse marker, modal, quantifier, and question words. Examples below illustrate second position clitics with various hosts.

- (237) *periksaq=ku sòròng=ne laguq.*
 check=1SG container=3 but
 ‘I checked the container though.’ (ambiguous)
 (KN1-037, 0:05:39-0:05:41, Speaker: Wahyu)
- (238) *ie jaq=te kadu irit-irit-an.*
 3 FUT=1PL use economical-RED-NMLZ
 ‘We will use it (because it is) more economical.’ (PD)
 (KN1-037, 0:10:07-0:10:09)
- (239) *amun=te wah be-dowé sampan mesin,*
 if=1SG.POL PFV MID-own boat machine
 ‘If I have owned a boat and machine,’ (Middle voice)
 (KN1-033, 0:01:16-0:01:18, Speaker: Océq)
- (240) *lilin-lilin endéq=te wah mauq.*
 candle-RED NEG=1PL PFV get
 ‘We never got candles.’ (PD)
 (KN1-033, 0:04:11-0:04:13, Speaker: Budi)

All the above examples show special clitics to attach in the first non-NP constituent in the clause. The construction in (237) shows the A enclitic argument =*ku* 1SG attaching to the verbal host *periksaq* ‘check’ since it is the first non-NP constituent. (238) contains the P argument *ie* that occurs clause initially followed by the future auxiliary *jaq* which hosts the special clitic A argument =*te* 1PL. It is clear that the enclitic occurs in the second position by attaching to the first non-NP constituent in the sequence. The example in (239) illustrates a special clitic to be hosted by a conjunction. In this case, the conjunction *amun* ‘if’ occurs at the beginning of the clause as the first non-NP constituent which attracts the special clitic =*te* 1SG.POL to attach to it. The last example in (240) shows the construction is initiated by the reduplicated NP-P *lilin-lilin* ‘candles’ which makes it impossible to be the host for the special clitic. The NP is then followed by the negator which makes it a suitable host for the special clitic since it is the first non-NP constituent in the clause.

It is also common for a construction to have more than one non-NP constituent. In this case, special clitics strengthen their status as second position clitics by only attaching to the first possible host in the sequence. Such a tendency supports Austin (2004: 10) as shown in the examples (238) and (239) above. In (238) another possible host is the verb *kadu* ‘use’ but the special clitic attaches to the auxiliary *wah* which is the first non-NP host candidate in the sequence. By the same token, the special clitic attaches to the conjunction in (239), while there are two other possible hosts namely the auxiliary *wah* and the affixed verb *bedowé* ‘own’. Other examples of second position clitics to attach to the first non-NP constituent, not to the other possible hosts in the clause are shown in (241) and (242) below.

(241) *mélé=ku aq lalo laguq é: wah.*
 want=1SG FUT go but DM DM
 ‘I wanted to go but ugh.’ (intransitive)
 (KN1-018, 0:07:56-0:07:58, Speaker: Sahar)

(242) *yaq=te jari satpam wah ijazah wah*
 FUT=1SG.POL become security PFV diploma PFV
ndéq araq.
 NEG exist
 ‘We would become a security guard, there is no diploma.’ (intransitive)
 (KN1-043, 0:03:51-0:03:54, Speaker: Riyan)

Intriguingly, special clitics in AS do not only occur as second position clitics but also they appear to have more complex patterns of distributions. Results from the coding reveal that special clitics do not always attach to the first non-NP constituent. This is because in some cases, they skip some constituents that cannot be counted as NPs. The word categories of such constituents comprise question words, adverbs, auxiliaries, a compound negator, conjunctions, quantifiers, verbs, discourse markers, demonstratives, numerals and relative pronouns. Consider examples below with potential non-NP hosts that are skipped by special clitics. In all of these cases, it is grammatical for clitic to attach to the first word in the clause.

(243) *ape kadu=te be-buke puase?*
 What use=1PL MID-open fasting
 ‘What do we use to break fasting?’
 (KN1-033, 0:00:13-0:00:15, Speaker: Océq)

(244) *baruq wah=ku badaq ie,*
 just.now PFV=1SG tell 3
 ‘I have just told him just now,’ (ambiguous)
 (KN1-008, 0:04:47-0:04:48, Speaker: Zainuddin)

- (245) wah ndéq=n taòq taòq toloq kèpèng=ne.
 PFV NEG=3 know place put money=3
 ‘They have not known where to put their money.’ (ambiguous)
 (KN1-033, 0:07:13- 0:07: 14, Speaker: Océq)
- (246) amun jaq=ne payu mule jaq=ku regaq-an.
 if PFV=3 deal initially PFV=1SG bargain-BEN
 ‘If he would make the deal I initially would bargain for him.’ (ditransitive)
 (KN1-037, 0:07:49-0:07:52, Speaker: Wahyu)

The question word *ape* ‘what’ is observed in the beginning of the interrogative clause in (243) and even though it is the first non-NP constituent in the clause, the special clitic =*te* 1PL does not attach to it. Rather, the special clitic is hosted by the verb *kadu* ‘use’ which results in the special clitic to occur in the third position. Likewise, the construction in (244) is also initiated by a non-NP constituent namely the adverb *baruq* ‘just now’ but this constituent is skipped by the special clitic. In this transitive construction, the special clitic =*ku* 1SG attaches to the auxiliary *wah*. While the auxiliary *wah* hosts the special clitic in (244), this auxiliary surprisingly does not host the special clitic =*n* in (245) even when it occurs clause initially. The special clitic attaches to the negator *ndéq* which precedes the verbal predicate. Finally, the example (246) illustrates a case where a special clitic does not attach to a conjunction. In this case, the conjunction *amun* ‘if’ which occurs as the first non-NP constituent in the sequence does not host the special clitic =*ne*. This is interesting because the conjunction *amun* which also occurs clause initially in (239), hosts a special clitic. In other words, the special clitic in (246) also behaves differently since it attaches to the auxiliary *jaq* which follows the conjunction.

Among the hosts, the negator needs to be given special attention in relation to the special clitic distributions. When the negator *ndéq* occurs by itself meaning that it does not combine with the verb *araq* ‘exist’ or shortened as the negator *ndaraq* ‘not, not exist’, *ndéq* always hosts special clitics regardless of its position in the clause as to whether being the first non-NP constituent or not. Additionally, the negator *ndéq* can also combine with the bound root *man* ‘yet’, but this combination does not stop special clitics to intervene between them by attaching to the negator. In other words, special clitics always attach to *ndéq* wherever it occurs in the clause which adds to the loose pattern of special clitic distribution in AS. Consider the following examples for more details.

- (247) *segerah* kéq ndéq=*n* mélé.
 how come DM NEG=3 want
 ‘How come he does not want to, really’
 (KN1-018, 0:08:28-0:08:29, Speaker: Ros)
- (248) *amun* endèq=*ne* man be-cerita wah ngikik.
 if NEG=3 yet MID-story PFV N-laugh
 ‘She has laughed before if she has not yet told a story.’
 (KN1-006, 0:03:53-0:03:55, Speaker: Sipaq)

Example (247) above shows the special clitic =*n* attaches to the negator *ndéq* which is not the first non-NP constituent in the given construction. The first non-NP constituent is identified as the adverb *segerah* ‘how come, really’ at the beginning of the clause and followed by the second possible host, namely the discourse marker *kéq*. By the same token, the special clitic =*ne* also prefers to attach to the negator and skipped the conjunction *amun* in (248). The later example also shows that the clitic intervenes between the negator *ndéq* and the bound word *man*. That is, *man* must occur with the negator *ndeq*.

Special clitics in AS also seem not to be consistent in selecting and skipping the potential hosts. While in some cases they skip some non-NP constituents as shown in (244)–(247) above, in other cases they still attach to those hosts. This creates competing hosts as mentioned earlier in this section above. For instance, special clitics can attach to questions words as in (249) and adverbs as in (250) below.

- (249) *makad*=*n* tedoq dōang no kan?
 why=3 mute DM that right
 ‘Why does it keep muting, right?’
 (KN1-008, 0:04:56-0:04:57, Speaker: Zainudin)
- (250) *maséh*=*n* pade parap siq angin né.
 still=3 all afraid AGT wind this
 ‘They are all still afraid of this wind.’ (intransitive)
 (KN1-040, 0:02:36-0:02:38, Speaker: Kejèng)

Finally, the extreme mobility of special clitics in AS result in not only second position or even third position clitics as shown in examples (244)–(247) above, but also in the fourth position. The following examples show special clitics skipping an auxiliary and verb in (251) and question word and adverbs as in (252).

(251) side wah penòq mauq=de nyèlèng-an.
 2SG.POL PFV much get=2SG.POL A.save-APPL
 ‘You have got much saving.’

(KN1-033, 0:02:36-0:02:38, Speaker: Océq)

(252) mbé jage jemaq selong-selong=ku haq ketoq te=gitaq penyu.
 Where maybe tomorrow suddenly-RED=1SG REL there 1PL=see turtle
 ‘Maybe one day in the future I (will) suddenly come there, we see turtles.’

(KN1-031, 0:06:11-0:06: 14, Speaker: Ipin)

5.5 Summary

This chapter describes pronominal clitics in AS in terms of their forms, functions and distribution, based on coded data. The results confirm that pronominal clitics in AS can occur as either proclitic or enclitics except for the third person enclitic =*n* which does not frequently occur in the corpus. The coding reveals that enclitics are considerably more frequent than proclitics. Pronominal clitics in AS are also categorized as simple and special clitics. Simple clitics comprise possessive clitics and P clitics which occur in the same position as their corresponding full forms. In contrast, special clitics which include subject clitics occur in different positions than their full form counterparts.

This chapter also examines the types of hosts and their position in the clause. Enclitics categorized as special clitics demonstrate the most diverse types of hosts such as verbs, negation, conjunctions, etc. but the enclitics categorized as simple clitics can only attach to verbs. In regards to the host position, special clitics in AS are evident as second position clitics because they occur after the first non-NP constituent. The notable mobility of clitics in AS also results in the other positioning. That is, special clitics also distribute to the third and four positions in the clause.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

The present study has described several aspects of the morphosyntax of Ampenan Sasak, a variety of Sasak which traditionally was grouped into the *Ngeno-ngené* dialect. The descriptions in this dissertation have shown that AS should be treated as a variety of Sasak in its own right, based on diathesis, grammatical relations, and properties of pronominal clitics which exhibits notable distinctions from other varieties of Sasak. Using a combination of data from a corpus of conversation and elicited examples, supplemented by my knowledge as a native speaker of AS, this dissertation has presented the first morphosyntactic description of AS. The methods that I have employed in this dissertation, which combine analysis of naturally-occurring discourse and traditional elicitation have revealed distinct grammatical patterns which were overlooked in previous studies on Sasak. The absence of verbal morphology in diathesis as well as looser word order provide evidence that AS is distinct from previous descriptions of the *Ngeno-ngené* dialect. For instance, what has been proposed as a patientive voice construction where the P pivot occurs preverbally and the verb is unmarked in *Ngeno-ngené* (Asikin-Garmager 2017) is observed as an agentive diathesis in AS because the given pivot is interpreted as an A argument when it occurs preverbally. Such a distinction is due to the fact that the verb is typically unmarked in AS. Therefore, the absence of a nasal prefix which marks an A-oriented construction does not necessarily mean the construction is a patientive voice or diathesis. I began this dissertation by first introducing the variety in chapter 1. The chapter has compiled not only the sociolinguistic situations in Ampenan but also the history of the old city, both of which contribute to the status of Ampenan as a hotspot of variation which by default, shapes AS. Chapter 2 has presented the sketch grammar of AS which details the phonology, morphology, and syntax. The chapter has shown that AS exhibits similarities with other dialects of Sasak in that it is relatively isolating in terms of morphology. The apparent loss of morphology in AS, however, is more prevalent but the diathetical operations can be identified.

This dissertation concludes its journey by briefly summarizing the analyses of diathesis, GRs, and clitics of AS as the syntactic properties that this dissertation highlights. I then propose future directions of research.

6.1 Summary of the syntax of diathetical operations in AS

Chapter 3 presents a proposal that is unique to AS in terms of diathesis which exhibits symmetrical alternations. That is, while the chapter confirms that symmetrical transitive alternations are found in AS as is also the case in other Western Austronesian languages, the operations should not straightforwardly be labeled as voice because the prototypical constructions are not morphologically marked on verbs. Therefore, I use the term Agentive Diathesis (AD) and Patientive Diathesis (PD) to refer to the two symmetrical transitive constructions. AD is identified from the status of the A argument as the pivot while in PD the P argument acts as the pivot. Both AD and PD do not appear to demote their non-pivot core arguments. The basis of this proposal comes from data collected in elicitation in that speakers always provide the two prototypical constructions without verbal morphology, unlike what has been reported in other varieties of Sasak where verbs are marked with a nasal prefix in AV. Moreover, AD and PD are also observed in the corpus. Thus, AS can be considered different from other Western Austronesian languages including the closest languages to Sasak such as Balinese and Standard Indonesian. In Balinese, the AV is marked with a nasal prefix *N-* and PV is unmarked but the pivot always occurs canonically in both AV and PV. Standard Indonesian utilizes the verbal prefix *meN-* in AV and PV is marked with the prefix *di-*. In other words, the absence of voice marking in AS does not equate with the absence of diathetical symmetrical operations, unlike what is claimed by Gil (2002) for some dialects of Malay. Moreover, this phenomenon could signal how verbal morphology starts to disappear in languages of eastern Indonesia. Given the location of Lombok being in the middle between western and eastern part of the archipelago, we observe evidence of diminishing verbal morphology that has become more prevalent in the eastern part of Indonesia (Ross 2002a,b).

The verbal morphology in AS is not completely lost because AV and passive voice still exist. Passive voice is marked with the prefix *te-* and is highly productive. On the other hand, AV is not productive and is only found in the corpus. As reported earlier in the dissertation, speakers tend to reject the idea that AS uses a nasal prefix to mark AV, but they still spontaneously use it in conversation. This dissertation then proposes that since in AV the pivot is the A argument, it should be treated as a subconstruction of AD. The existence of AV thus confirms that AS still shares commonalities with other varieties of Sasak as well with Western Austronesian languages such as Balinese and Standard Indonesian.

Both AD and PD utilize a pronominal clitic which is coreferential with the A argument and identified as the subject. The coreference of the clitic marks the difference between AD and PD with passive voice whereby in passive voice, the pronominal clitic is coreferential with the patient S argument. More importantly, the occurrence of the subject pronominal clitic provides evidence for the subject as a different entity from a pivot. That is, this dissertation supports the proposal from previous work on Sasak by Asikin-Garmager (2017) and Shibatani (2008) who claim that Sasak applies subject and pivot (they use the term Topic or grammatical Topic) because they are occupied by two different core arguments. This makes AS and Sasak in general different from other Western Indonesian languages where the subject and pivot are not so easily separated. In Balinese and Standard Indonesian for instance, the subject is also the pivot. However, this is not the sole syntactic phenomenon in AS because there are also cases where clitics are absent in a canonical transitive construction. In such a construction, the A argument occurs preverbally and P argument occurs following the unmarked verb. Because of this word order, the construction is regarded as another subconstruction of AD referred to as non-clitic AD constructions, which have been discussed in chapter 3. The absence of the pronominal subject clitic in non-clitic AD constructions results in an apparent conflation between the subject and pivot. The absence of the subject clitic is only possible in AD subconstructions but not in PD because the subject clitic is a defining property of PD in addition to the agent marker *siq*.

The evidence for subjecthood in AS comes from seven argument selectors that have been used (chapter 4). Of the seven argument selectors, three argument selectors provide evidence for pivot; structural position (Section 4.1), relativization (Section 4.3), and raising (Section 4.4). These three constructions show that S, A in AD and its subconstructions, P in PD have a pivot grammatical relation as opposed to the corresponding P and A arguments which hold a non-pivot core argument grammatical relation. Structural position is of interest since AS exhibits a relatively loose word order compared to other surrounding languages. A pivot in AS is not solely determined by its canonical position. Rather, it is the nature of the pivot as the most mobile argument that determines its status. This is due to the fact that all diathetical operations in AS which include intransitives, AD, and PD have more than one word order. In other words, only the pivot argument in these constructions can occur preverbally at the beginning of a clause as well as in other positions. I have also shown that the effort to place a non-pivot core argument in AD or PD results in topicalization.

The evidence for subject is derived from variable binding and control constructions since both constructions treat the subject differently from the other arguments in AD and PD. Variable binding as mentioned in chapter 4, is not a common argument selector and it may be because of its intricacies to determine the alignment. In addition to traditional elicitation, I also used pictures to help speakers read the alignment but the results are not straightforward. While speakers vary in their interpretation, I use my native speaker's intuition combined with the previous study done in AS (Schuelke 2019) and arrived at the conclusion that variable binding only selects the subject argument. Control in AS shows alignment between the subject and the controlling predicate. This is observed in prototypical AD constructions, PD, and passive voice where the subject pronominal clitics occur. Control constructions also foreground the difference between AS and Balinese and Standard Indonesian. In Balinese and Standard Indonesian, control shows that the subject and pivot are occupied by the same argument. Hence in both languages, the matrix clause in AV must present the A argument as the omitted argument from the embedded clause and in PV, the P argument surfaces in the matrix clause. AS however, shows a different pattern when the subject pronominal clitic occurs. That is, the A argument that occurs in the matrix clause does not need to be the pivot of the embedded clause. The controller in AS is solely determined by the subject pronominal clitic which is coreferential with the A argument in AD and PD. Control in AS only behaves like that of in Balinese and Standard Indonesian, only when the coreferential pronominal clitic is absent. In this case, the controller targets the subject which is also the pivot in non-clitic AD and AV constructions.

Finally, the last two argument selectors namely coreferential argument and quantifier float show evidence for core argument. In these two constructions, both subject, pivot, and the non-pivot argument are treated the same, but oblique arguments are treated differently. Coreferential argument constructions in AS supports the fact that GRs are construction specific because while it targets core arguments in AS, it targets the subject in *Ngeno-ngené* and *Meno-mené* dialect (Asikin-Garmager 2017).

Chapter 5 of the dissertation explores the pronominal clitics in AS. Given the importance of clitics in diathesis and GRs in AS, the chapter has provided a comprehensive examination of clitics which include the forms, functions, and distribution in the clause as well as in conversation. Equally important, the chapter has also located the clitics of AS within the typology of Western Austronesian languages. One defining characteristic of clitics in AS is their

high mobility in the clause in that they can occur in different positions and attach to many different hosts. Following Zwicky (1985), clitics in AS can be categorized as simple clitics and special clitics. Simple clitics comprise possessive pronominal clitics and P clitics in AD. Note that Austin (2004) categorizes possessive pronominal clitics as special clitics because they do not fully resemble the phonology of their corresponding free forms. My assessment for simple clitics refers to the definition proposed by Zwicky (1985) in which he categorizes a clitic as a simple clitic when it syntactically occurs in the same position with the corresponding free forms. Special clitics are of interest in the dissertation because they are the subject clitics and thus play a major role in diathesis and GRs. While the subject clitics can occur as proclitics or enclitics, data from the corpus confirm that enclitics are more productive. In regards to typology, one important question that the chapter has answered is the second position clitics. Based on the coding of data from the corpus, chapter 5 has revealed that AS applies second position clitics but not only that. AS also shows clitic distribution in the third and fourth position. Such a high mobility of clitics indicates that in terms of clitics, AS shares more commonalities with languages of eastern Indonesian rather than those of western Indonesia whose clitics tend to be more selective.

6.2 Future directions

This dissertation is the first morphosyntactic description of Ampenan Sasak, as a new variety proposed to be distinct from the *Ngeno-ngené* dialect of Sasak. Despite the thorough examination, there is still room for improvement for future research.

For instance, the elicited data were collected remotely because of the pandemic and only with two primary speakers. The other four speakers were not fully involved in most of the elicitations. Hence, future research may include more speakers and data collection should be conducted directly from the field. Such methods may yield more accurate results and the researcher can have more control over the fieldwork. The conversational data on the other hand, while derived from nine conversations, only the first ten minutes of each conversation were analyzed. Thus, some expected tokens may not surface and remain unanalyzed. For example, the discussion on applicatives could be more elaborated if longer conversations were analyzed. In the discussion presented in chapter 2, I mostly relied on my unpublished paper whose data were derived from six conversations, 30 minutes each, in detailing the applicative functions of the suffix *-an*.

This dissertation is based on data collected from one neighborhood in Ampenan. As a native speaker of AS and someone who grew up in the neighborhood I am confident that the data in many ways have reflected the features of Sasak spoken in Ampenan. I also believe however, there are linguistic features that may not be contained in one neighborhood. Thus, it is worth expanding the data collection sources to other neighborhoods in Ampenan.

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