Relative Clauses in Jambi Malay and Kerinci Malay

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Purpose of the presentation

• Relative clause formation is an especially important clause combining strategy in Malay/Indonesian due to its relatively frequent use in comparison to other clause combining strategies.

• There are several reasons explaining why relative clauses are so frequent:

  RCs are preferred over adjectives stacking (cf. Sneddon, 1996:147)

(1) a. rumah kayu besar  
   house wood big  
   ‘a big wooden house’

   b. gadis kecil cantik  
   unmarried female small beautiful  
   ‘a pretty little girl’

(2) a. rumah kayu yang besar  
   house wood really big  
   ‘a big wooden house’

   b. gadis kecil yang cantik  
   unmarried female really beautiful  
   ‘a pretty little girl’

Purpose of the presentation

RCs are used to express definiteness/specificity

(3) a. Tas itu tas mahal.  
   bag DET bag expensive  
   ‘That bag is expensive.’

   b. Yang itu tas mahal.  
   that DET bag expensive  
   ‘That one is an expensive bag.’

(4) Dia numbuhnya rada-rada menekan gigi yang di depan.  
   it grow-nya rather push tooth which in front  
   ‘It grew out rather pressing the tooth which was in front of it.’  
   (Sneddon, 2006: p.72)

Purpose of the presentation

Argument wh-questions can be formed using RCs  
(Sneddon, 1996; Cole, Hermen, & Aman, 1999, etc.)

(5) a. apa yang di-bicara-kann di rapat?  
   what REL PASS-discuss-APPL LOC meeting  
   ‘What was discussed at the meeting?’

   b. siapa yang kau nampak?  
   who that you see  
   ‘Who do you see? Who is the one that you see?’  
   (Cole, et al., 1999, p.12)

Purpose of the presentation

• Despite their importance, most of the work on RCs in Malay/Indonesian has focused on non-traditional Malayic varieties, i.e. Standard Indonesian and colloquial Malay/Indonesian (Dardjowidjojo, 1967; Sneddon, 1996; Cole, et al, 1999; Tjung, 2006; Sneddon, 2006)

• In reality standard languages have few or no native speakers, and are ‘constructed’ languages.

• Non-standard Malay varieties form a grammatically heterogeneous network of interrelated languages, many of which are entirely unintelligible to speakers of Standard Malay/Indonesian and other colloquial varieties.

• This paper focuses on traditional varieties of Malay (i.e. direct descendants of Proto-Malay (Adelaar, 1992)), and specifically Malay varieties spoken in Sumatra.
Diversity in Traditional Malay

- Traditional Malay varieties in Sumatra show remarkable diversity. Varieties separated by less than a hundred kilometers are often not mutually intelligible.
- The degree of diversity is illustrated by relative clause markers themselves.

Diverse Functions of RC Markers

- In addition to exhibiting diverse phonological forms, RC markers also show diverse functions in addition to marking RCs.

Diverse Functions of RC Markers

- Having seen the diversity in the forms and functions of RC markers, one wonders to what extent the structure of RCs themselves varies between varieties of traditional Malay.
- To answer this question, we look at two varieties of traditional Malay that are extremely different from one another: Tanjung Raden (Jambi) & Tanjung Pauh (Kerinci).
Tanjung Raden

- Spoken in the village of Tanjung Raden (literally means ‘Princes Cape’), a village separated from the city by the Batanghari river.
- Some grammatical properties, such as the voice system, have been simplified (Cole, Hermon, & Yanti, 2008; Yanti, 2010).
- The morphological system is similar to other known Malay/Indonesian varieties.

Kerinci

- Spoken in the mountains of Sumatra
- Retains the core grammatical properties of Malay, e.g. a ‘split’ voice system (McKinnon, Cole & Hermon, 2011; McKinnon, 2011)
- However, Kerinci exhibits a morphological system that is remarkably divergent from more familiar Malay languages.

Focusing in on RCs

- We provide a general overview of RCs in Jambi Malay and Kerinci Malay. We have chosen two different varieties: Tanjung Raden and Tanjung Pauh, respectively.
- We describe the following basic properties of RCs in both varieties:
  → Relativization strategies, e.g. whether head of RC corresponds to a gap, a pronoun...
  → Positions from which relativization is possible.

Overview of the RCs in Jambi and Kerinci

- RC always appears to the right of overt head noun.
- With respect to whether or not the head noun is present, RCs in Jambi and Kerinci can be distinguished into two types:
  → headed RC
  → headless RC

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<td>talu</td>
<td>'rope'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'his/her/the rope'</td>
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<tr>
<td>maka</td>
<td>'eat'</td>
<td>maka</td>
<td>'eat bread'</td>
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<tr>
<td>bati</td>
<td>'tree'</td>
<td>batu</td>
<td>'areca nut tree'</td>
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<tr>
<td>tidu</td>
<td>'sleep'</td>
<td>tidur</td>
<td>'to put to sleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mandu</td>
<td>'bathe'</td>
<td>mandy</td>
<td>'to bathe someone'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Overview of the RCs in Jambi and Kerinci

(10) **Headed RCs in Jambi**

a. dataŋ-tu nəm'ær
   come-DEM.DIST ACT-hit
   [sr jany [m jato bntaŋ tadi-kɔ]]
   net REL 1 spread-over earlier-DEM.PROX
   ‘[It] comes and hits the net that we set before.’

b. [sr bɔren [m jato d-i-cari-tu]]
   namo-e bɔren ʁoaŋʁoaŋ bird 1 PASS-seek-DEM.DIST name-3 bird
   ‘The name of the birds that we’re looking for is roaŋʁoaŋ.’

c. bapaŋ konto-e, [sr gawe [m jato d-i-baŋ b-a-asol-tu]]
   a.lot example-3 work REL NEG INTR-product-DEM.DIST
   ‘There are many examples of jobs that are useless.’

(11) **Headed RCs in Kerinci**

a. kitɔ nəy tubiŋ la kitɔ pəndapak ca
   lseh ʁwaŋ ‘n ləm ʁiŋ ʁi
   see.O person.A REL.N knowledge.N good.A
   ‘We follow the opinion of somebody, who we see, who has good
   knowledge.’

b. adu ʁwaŋ ‘n di-bəŋ ropa kəs-kəsʁ tah
   N DET
   ‘Someone was taken to that place by them.’

c. ʁwaŋ ‘n nəŋkək bih’εh əhiʁ tah
   sarahniuŋ səp ’səw kəh
   family.O cousin.N 1.SG
   ‘The man who caught the wild duck in the forest is my cousin.’

Overview of the RCs in Jambi and Kerinci

(12) **Headless RCs in Jambi**

a. [ŋ [m jato nəŋ-i umɔ]] nəŋ-i umɔ,
   REL ACT.bright.APL paddy ACT.bright.APL paddy
   [ŋ [m jato ndar-kəŋ]]
   ndar-kəŋ
   REL ACT.young.rice.APL ACT.young.rice.APL
   ‘The one who cleans the paddy does the cleaning and the one
   who plants the rice does the planting.’

b. kəlu [ŋ [m jato kəmpəŋ-kəŋ]] jətəŋ nərų
   if REL LOC village-DEM.PROX k.o.plant k.o.basket
   ‘The ones in this village are jelatang nərų.’

Overview of the RCs in Jambi and Kerinci

(13) **Headless RCs in Kerinci**

a. [ŋ [m jato d-i-kəŋ]]
   jowʁ dapiʁ
   REL PASS-chase.A NEG get.N
   ‘What is sought has gone.’ [Lit. ‘what was chased was not gotten’]

b. wəŋ təək [ŋ [m jato d-i-ʃək]]
   mənəŋ thət.N REL PASS-administer.N
   ‘It was that money that was taken care by him.’

c. heri nukəŋ [ŋ [m jato təbə tədə təh]]
   ‘Heri hit the one that just arrived.’

Overview of the RCs in Jambi and Kerinci

• The external syntax of headless and that of
  headed RCs in both varieties are the same, i.e.
  the same distribution as for NPs in general.

Relativization Strategies

• Gap Strategy
• Resumptive Pronoun Strategy
• ‘Place’ strategy
• ‘Time’ strategy
Relativization Strategies

**Gap Strategy** → when the relativized element is encoded as a gap in the relative clause.

(14) a. Jambi

\[ \text{datan-} \text{tu} \text{ nnn} \text{tu} \]
\[ \text{come-DEM.BE} \text{ ACT-hit} \]
\[ \{\text{se} [\text{yanya} \text{ kita btsan} \text{ tari-ko}]\} \]
\[ \text{set REL 1PL spread over earlier-DEM.PROX} \]

[It] comes and hits the net that we set before.

b. Kerinci

\[ \text{buku} \text{-} \text{tu} \text{ na} \text{ o} \text{-} \text{tu} \text{ nnn} \text{tu} \]
\[ \text{book-} \text{come-} \text{DEM.} \text{ PROX} \]

The book that I saw belongs to my brother.

**Resumptive pronoun strategy** → the relativized NP is encoded using a pronominal copy of the head noun, i.e. a resumptive pronoun.

(15) a. ma\[\text{yanya} \text{ kau lu} \text{ ngkap-a} \]

Mother ACT.ask about duck REL 2SG PSTACT.catch-3

‘Mother asked about the ducks you had caught them.’

b. buku\[\text{yanya} \text{ kau lu} \text{ ngkap-a} \]

The book that I saw belongs to my brother.

**Place** strategy → when the lexical item ‘place’ is used to formulate a relative clause.

(16) a. Jambi

\[ \text{numa tmapat aku nero} \text{ ija pugo} \text{ budi} \]
\[ \text{house place 1SG ACT.look Ija have Budi} \]

‘The house where I saw Ija belongs to Budi.’

b. Kerinci

\[ \text{pasa tmapat ha kawa} \text{ teweh} \text{ tah} \]
\[ \text{market.A place.O human.A friend.N DET DET} \]
\[ \text{njiw tuku malan lwa} \text{ ramiy} \]

‘The market where the people chased the thief was very crowded.’

**Time** strategy → when the lexical item ‘time’ is used to formulate a relative clause.

(17) a. Jambi

\[ \text{malam [y waktugis [y diya} \text{ datan]} \text{ aku da} \text{do di numa} \]
\[ \text{night time.exact 3 come 1SG NEG.exist LOC home} \]

‘The night when he came I wasn’t at home.’

b. Kerinci

\[ \text{wakti na tubu dina} \text{ ka m} \text{al} \]
\[ \text{night.A time.O 3SG come.A NEG 1SG house.LOC} \]

‘The night when he came I wasn’t at home.’
Positions for Relativization

- In Standard Indonesian:
  1. Surface subjects can only be relativized using gap strategy and not resumptive pronoun strategy.
  2. Surface direct objects can only be relativized via resumptive pronoun strategy and not gap strategy.

Subject:

In both Jambi and Kerinci the subject can only be relativized using the gap strategy. Resumptive pronoun, ‘place’ strategy or ‘time’ strategy are not used to relativize subjects in either variety.

Active Transitive Sentence

- Subject relativization → active transitive sentence
  a. [orajuŋ. [sy.ŋ [tu ___ la m’a’ai-ŋ tipi-ko]]]
     person REL  PFCT.ACT.good-APPL television-DEM.PROX
     ‘the man who has fixed this television’
  b. [sy hweŋ. [ar. qaŋ ___ naktok bhib’eh u ah’i]]
     ‘the man who caught the wild duck in the forest’

Passive Sentence

- Subject relativization → passive sentence
  a. [tipi. [sy.ŋ [tu ___ la m’ais-i tipi-ko]]]
     television REL  PFCT PASS-good-APPL person-DEM.DIST
     ‘the television that has been fixed by that man’
  b. [sy k’iw. [ac qaŋ ___ la di-bacw ha no? tah]]
     ‘the book which has been read by that boy’

Subject relativization via resumptive pronoun strategy

- Subject relativization via resumptive pronoun strategy
  a. [sy orajuŋ. [ar. qaŋ [tu-gooi-ŋ la m’a’ai-ŋ tipi-ko]]]
     person REL  3 PFCT.ACT.good-APPL television-DEM.PROX
     la ppt
     PFCT go
     ‘The man who has fixed this television has left.’
  b. [sy hweŋ. [ar. qaŋ ___ naktok bhib’eh u ah’i]]
     tah sarahw spu’iw kah
     DET family.O cousin.O 1.5G
     ‘The man who caught the wild duck in the forest is my cousin.’
Positions for Relativization - Subject

(21)  *Subject relativization via ‘place’ strategy or ‘time’ strategy

a. *\( \text{human.}_\text{O} \text{ place.}_\text{N} \text{ catch.}_\text{O} \text{ wild.duck.}_\text{N} \) ‘The man who caught the wild duck in the forest is my cousin.’

b. *\( \text{person}_\text{REL} \text{ exact}_\text{PFCT} \text{ ACT}.\text{good-APPL} \text{ television-DEN}\text{DEM}.\text{PROX} \text{ go} \) ‘The man who has fixed this television has left.’

The absence of ‘time’ and ‘place’ strategies would simply follow from the fact that these words mean ‘time’ and ‘place’.

Positions for Relativization – Direct Object

Direct objects in Jambi can be relativized using:
- gap strategy with active word order, theme → REL → [agent → aux → verb]
- gap strategy with passive type 2 (P2) word order, theme → REL → [aux → agent → verb]
- resumptive pronoun strategy.

Note on Passives in Malay/Indonesian

Many varieties of Malay/Indonesian exhibit two types of passive-like constructions:

(1) a passive marked by the prefix \( \text{di-} \) which patterns like English and some other European passives → passive type 1

| theme → (aux) → \( \text{di-} \)verb →((by) → agent)

(2) a symmetrical ‘object voice’ which is similar to the object voice in other Western Malayo-Polynesian languages, but is marked by zero prefix → passive type 2

| theme → aux → agent → verb

Positions for Relativization – Direct Object

Gap strategy with active word order: verb must be in bare form

(22) a. Gap strategy with active word order: verb in bare form \( \text{mal.}_\text{O} \text{ [w.buda-tu} \text{ lag.} \text{ kid.-DEM.DIST} \text{ PROG} \text{ chase} \) ‘the thief that the boy is chasing’

b. Gap strategy with active word order: verb in nasal from \( *\text{mal.}_\text{O} \text{ [w.buda-tu} \text{ lag.} \text{ kid.-DEM.DIST} \text{ PROG} \text{ ACT.chase} \) ‘the thief that the boy is chasing’
Positions for Relativization – Direct Object

Gap strategy with P2 word order: verb must be in bare form

(23) a. Gap strategy with P2 word order: verb in bare form
   ‘the thief that was shot by me’

b. Gap strategy with P2 word order: verb in nasal form
   ‘the thief that has been chased by me’

Positions for Relativization – Direct Object

Direct objects in TPM can be relativized using:

• Gap strategy with active word order
  DO → REL → [agent → aux → verb]

• Gap strategy with P2 word order
  DO → REL → [aux → agent → verb]

Positions for Relativization – Direct Object

Gap strategy with active word order: verb must be nasal prefixed and in oblique form.

(25) a. *[tuko melan], [gum] [ha kawa t'oho ngiw tab la] N chase.O DET
   ‘the thief that the people chased’

b. *[tuko melan], [gum] [ha kawa t'oho ngiw tab la] N chase.O DET
   ‘the thief that the people chased’

c. *[tuko melan], [gum] [ha kawa t'oho ngiw tab la] N chase.O DET
   ‘the thief that the people chased’

d. *[tuko melan], [gum] [ha kawa t'oho ngiw tab la] N chase.O DET
   ‘the thief that the people chased’

Positions for Relativization – Direct Object

Gap strategy with P2 word order: verb in bare form and in absolute form.

(26) a tuko melan tab gum la ka t'oho * ngiw. n chase.O DET
   ‘the thief that has been chased by me.’

b. tuko melan tab gum la ka kwik. * njiau. * ngiw
   ‘the thief has chased by me.’

Positions for Relativization – Direct Object

Resumptive pronoun strategy: not possible

(27) a. *[tuko melan], [gum] [ha kawo t'oho ngiw-pa, friend.N det N chase-O-3.SG]

b. *[tuko melan], [gum] [ha kawo t'oho ngiw-pa, friend.N det N chase-O-3.SG]
   ‘the thief that the people chased at the market’

Positions for Relativization – Direct Object

Resumptive pronoun strategy: verbs must be in nasal form

(24) a. Resumptive pronoun strategy: verb in nasal form
   [malin] [cy yan] [bu da-ju tu lag] t'oho njiau]]
   ‘the thief that the boy is chasing’

b. Resumptive pronoun strategy: verb in bare form
   *[malin] [cy yan] [bu da-ju tu lag] t'oho njiau]]
   ‘the thief that the boy is chasing’
Positions for Relativization – Direct Object

*a Place Strategy or *Time Strategy: not allowed*

(28) a. ‘Place’ Strategy
*tuk\ se\ malan\ /uni0259\ ha\ kaw\ t\’eoh\ njiw\ barah\ /uni0268\ kna\ doer.\ se\ place.\ human.\ friend.\ N\ DET\ N\ chase.\ O\ run.\ A\ fast.\ A
‘The thief whom the people chased run quickly.

b. ‘Time’ Strategy
*tuk\ se\ malan\ wakt\ /uni0268\ ha\ kaw\ t\’eoh\ njiw\ barah\ /uni0268\ kna\ doer.\ se\ time.\ human.\ friend.\ N\ DET\ N\ chase.\ O\ run.\ A\ fast.\ A
‘The thief whom the people chased run quickly.

Positions for Relativization – Direct Object

• In Kerinci only the gap strategy can be used to relativize a direct object. There are two types of gap strategy for relativizing an underlying object:
  with nasal prefix → oblique verb form
  without nasal prefix → absolute form (P2)

Positions for Relativization – Direct Object

• We have seen that the direct object in Jambi can be relativized using three strategies: gap strategy with active word order, gap strategy with P2 word order, and resumptive pronoun strategy. The object gap strategy (both with active word order and P2 word order) can only be used when the verb appears in its bare form. In contrast, the resumptive pronoun strategy can only be used if the verb appears with active nasal prefix.
**Positions for Relativization – Indirect Object**

Two types of indirect object are observed in Jambi: (i) NP indirect object and (ii) PP indirect object. The NP indirect object can be relativized using the gap strategy regardless the verb form used and using the resumptive pronoun strategy, but only with nasal verb form. The PP indirect object can only be relativized using the gap strategy.

**(29)** a. \[buda\]|uni0294\ i\[CP|yaŋ\[TP|Siti la bawa\|uni0294\ i\ t\ ku|uni026A\ -tu\]\] lagi makan kid REL Siti PFCT bring-APPL cake-DEM DIST PROG eat

'The kid that Siti has brought the cake for is eating.'

b. \[buda\]|uni0294\ i\[CP|yaŋ\[TP|siti la m\bawa\|uni0294\ -i\ t\ ku|uni026A\ -tu\]\] lagi makan kid REL Siti ACT. bring-APPL cake-DEM.

'The kid that Siti has brought the cake for is eating.'

**Gap Strategy to relativize NP IO:** verb can be in bare or nasal form

**Resumptive Pronoun Strategy to relativize NP IO:** verb must be in nasal form

**(30)** a. \[buda\]|uni0294\ i\[CP|yaŋ\[TP|aku am\b|uni026A/uni0294\ -i\ -e\ i\ buku\]\]

kid REL. take-APPL -3 book clever

'The kid for whom I took a book is clever.'

b. \*[buda\]|uni0294\ i\[CP|yaŋ\[TP|aku am\b|uni026A/uni0294\ -i\ -e\ i\ buku\]\]

kid REL. take-APPL -3 book clever

'The kid for whom I took a book is clever.'

**Gap Strategy to relativize PP IO**

**(31)** a. \[batino\|uni0268\ yh\ i\[CP|ŋ\[TP|al\|uni0268\ y\ goeh\|uni0259/uni0361\ eh\ t\ i\ tah\]\]


'sus w n/tah girl.friend. O 3.SG DET. give. N tea. O DET.

'The girl whom Ali gave a cup of tea is his girlfriend.'

b. \*[batino\|uni0268\ yh\ i\[CP|ŋ\[TP|ha\ tin\ y\|uni0259\ o\ tah\ d\ w\|uni0268\ h\ iha\|uni0259\]


'The boy who the lady has sent the money to lives in another city.'

In Kerinci, the indirect object is almost always expressed with a prepositional phrase. The PP indirect object can be relativized using the gap strategy.
Positions for Relativization – Indirect Object

- While indirect objects can be realized with either a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase in Jambi, indirect objects can only be realized as a prepositional phrase in Kerinci.
- In both Jambi and Kerinci, PP indirect objects can be relativized using the gap strategy.
- In Jambi, NP indirect objects can be relativized using the gap strategy and the resumptive pronoun strategy.

Positions for Relativization – Locative Prepositional Phrase

In both Jambi and Kerinci, locative prepositional phrases can be relativized using the gap strategy and the ‘place’ strategy.

Positions for Relativization - Locative Prepositional Phrase

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<td>Jambi</td>
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<td>Kerinci</td>
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<td>N/A</td>
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(33)  a. kursi na tangi d uni028A d uni028A uni0294 ti basa

‘The chair that I sat on is wet.’

b. kursi. n i uni0259 n ka duddo uni0259 uni0361 uni0294 ti bas

‘The chair that I sat on is wet.’

(34)  a. aku ne o/uni0294 o/uni0294 ija di ruma-tu

‘I saw Ija at home.’

b. [ruma, tmp] aku ne o/uni0294 ija] papa budi

‘The house where I saw Ija belongs to Budi.’

(35)  a. ha kawo n’jeh giw tuk o malan suh’a


ku pasa loc market.A

‘Those people chased a thief at the market.’

b. pasa tmp/uni0259/uni0361e/uni0294 ha kawo tyu’i nh tah


giw tuk o malan liwa? ramyi


‘The market where the people chased the thief was very crowded.’
Positions for Relativization - Locative Prepositional Phrase

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<th>Gap strategy</th>
<th>‘Place’ Strategy</th>
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<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kerinci</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
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Positions for Relativization – Time Adjunct

In Jambi adverb of time, can be relativized using the gap strategy and the ‘time’ strategy.

Positions for Relativization – Time Adjunct

Unlike in Jambi, the sentences we elicited in Kerinci show that Kerinci only allows adverb relativization via the ‘time’ strategy, not gap strategy.

(36) a. Gap strategy

\[
[\text{malam}, \text{yang } \text{dio? datan } t_i] \] \text{aku da’do di ruma night REL 3 come 1.SG NEG LOC house}

‘The night when he came I wasn’t at home.’

b. ‘time’ strategy

\[
\text{malam } [\text{waktu/pas } \text{dio? datan}] \] \text{aku da’do di ruma night time/exact 3 come 1.SG NEG.exist LOC house}

‘The night when he came I wasn’t at home.’

Positions for Relativization – Time Adjunct

Conclusion

• Diversity in the lexical items used to mark RCs suggests that there may be diversity in the syntactic behavior of RCs.

• The varieties we discussed show clear similarities to more widely describe Malay/Indonesian in terms of how relative clauses are formed; however, we have shown that RC formation strategies in these varieties differ from well described Malay/Indonesian as well as one another in important ways.

• Variation in strategies for RC formation appears to be closely related to the particular morphological properties of verbs in a given dialect.
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References