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:

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Purpose of the presentation

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 REL big
     'a big wooden house'

b. gadis kecil yang cantik
   unmarried.female small REL beautiful
   'a pretty little girl'

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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.
   REL 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)

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Purpose of the presentation

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

(5) a. apa yang di-bicara-kan di rapat?   (Sneddon, 1996, p. 316)
     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)

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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.
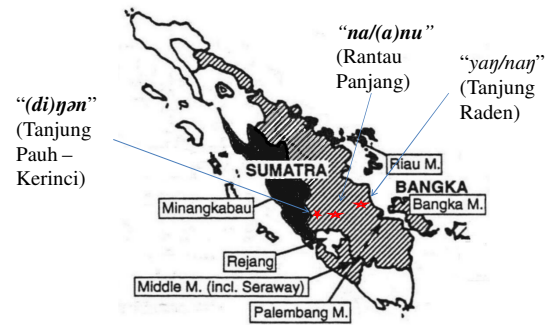
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Diversity in Traditional Malay

- 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.

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Diverse Forms of RC Markers
(adapted from Nothofer (1985) p.86)

"na/(a)nu" (Rantau Panjang)

"yaŋ/naŋ" (Tanjung Raden)

"(di)ŋən" (Tanjung Pauh – Kerinci)

SUMATRA BANGKA Riau M. Bangka M. Minangkabau Rejang Middle M. (incl. Seraway) Palembang M.

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Diverse Functions of RC Markers

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

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Diverse Functions of RC Markers

(di)ŋən → functions as a preposition 'with'

(6) la balʌeʔ srmpaʔ **(di)ŋən** tukəŋ kpa
PAST come.back. A together. N with doer.O ship.A
'(She) had already come back together with ship crews.'

(di)ŋən → functions as an RC marker

(7) ha tuwə tyɔoh **ŋən** padiʔ sritɔo tyɔoh
3.SG old.O that.N REL great.A story.O that. N
'She is the one who is great in telling the story.'

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Diverse Functions of RC Markers

anu → functions as a noun referring to something that the speaker is having trouble recalling the name of ('whatchamacallit')

(8) ɲo ko ko.... di siko ko skdar ɲahi
3.SG this.N this.N LOC.N here.N this.N just N-lookfor.A
anu bae
whatchamacallit.A just.N
'He only looks for whatchamacallit here.'

anu → functions as an RC marker

(9) **anu** gntin da wandi buko lah daʔʔ
REL change.A.N older.brother.A Wandi before.N PART.N NEG.N
'That's the one who substituted for Uda Wandi, right?'

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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)

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Map of Sumatra

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.

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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.

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Kerinci

- Most lexical items in Kerinci exhibit two or more morphologically distinct forms, these forms exhibit diverse morphosyntactic functions (Usman, 1988; McKinnon, 2011):

Absolute	Meaning		Oblique	Meaning
talae	'rope'	>	taliy	'his/her/the rope'
maka	'eat'	>	makən rutiy	'eat bread'
bati	'tree'	>	batʌŋ pina	'areca nut tree'
tidəo	'sleep'	>	tidiw	'to put to sleep'
mandae	'bathe'	>	mandiy	'to bathe someone'

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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.

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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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Overview of the RCs in Jambi and Kerinci

(10) **Headed RCs in Jambi**

a. dataŋ-tu nʊmᵇʊr
   come-DEM.DIST ACT-hit
   [NP **jarɪŋ** [RC yaŋ kito bntaŋ tadi-ko]]
   net REL 1 spread.over earlier-DEM.PROX
   '[It] comes and hits the net that we set before.'

b. [NP **bʊrʊŋ** [RC yaŋ di-cari-tu]] namo-e bʊrʊŋ roaʔroaʔ
   bird REL PASS-seek-DEM.DIST name-3 bird k.o.bird
   'The name of the birds that we're looking for is *roaqroaq*.'

c. baɲaʔ conto-e, [NP **gawe** [RC yaŋ daʔ ba-asɪl-tu]]
   a.lot example-3 work REL NEG INTR-product-DEM.DIST
   'There are many examples of jobs that are useless.'

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Overview of the RCs in Jambi and Kerinci

(11) **Headed RCs in Kerinci**

a. kito nɛh tuhik la kito pɛndapat cə
   1.PL this.N follow.N just. N 1.PL opinion 1.PL
   lə͡eh **hwa** ŋən ilmiw lyʌʔ
   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 **hwa** ŋən di-ba͡oo ɲə g͡ʌe k-in͡ɔoʔ tah
   exist.A person.A REL PASS-bring.N 3.PL go.A to-there. N DET
   'Someone was taken to that place by them.'

c. **hwəŋ** ŋən naŋkek blibʸeuh ahiʔ tah
   person.O REL N.catch.O wild.duck.N forest.N DET
   sarahəuw spup ʷəuw kah
   family.O cousin.N 1.SG
   'The man who caught the wild duck in the forest is my cousin.'

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Overview of the RCs in Jambi and Kerinci

(12) **Headless RCs in Jambi**

a. [Ø [yaŋ nraŋ-i umo]] nraŋ-i umo,
   REL ACT.bright-APPL paddy ACT.bright-APPL paddy
   [Ø [yaŋ ndar-kan]] ndar-kan
   REL ACT.young.rice-APPL ACT.young.rice-APPL
   'The one who cleans the paddy does the cleaning and the one who plants the rice does the planting.'

b. kalu [Ø [naŋ di kampʊŋ-ko]] jlataŋ niru
   if REL LOC village-DEM.PROX k.o.plant k.o.basket
   'The ones in this village are *jelatang niru*.'

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Overview of the RCs in Jambi and Kerinci

(13) **Headless RCs in Kerinci**

a. [Ø [ŋən di-kji]] jiwʔ dapiʔ
   REL PASS-chase.A NEG get.N
   'What is sought has gone.' [Lit. 'what was chased was not gotten']

b. wəŋ tʸə͡oh [Ø [ŋən di-rʷə͡oh]]
   money.O that.N REL PASS-administer.N
   'It was that money that was taken care by him.'

c. heri nukʌn [Ø [ŋən tibu tadiy tah]]
   Heri N.hit.O REL arrive.A before.N DET
   'Heri hit the one that just arrived.'

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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.

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Relativization Strategies

• Gap Strategy
• Resumptive Pronoun Strategy
• 'Place' strategy
• 'Time' strategy

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Relativization Strategies

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

(14) a. Jambi

dataŋ-tu   nʊmᵇʊr

come-DEM.DIST ACT.hit

[NP [jarɪŋ]ᵢ [RC **yaŋ** kito bntaŋ ____ᵢ tadi-ko]]

net   REL 1.PL spread.over earlier-DEM.PROX

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

b. Kerinci

[NP hʷən]ᵢ [RC **ŋən** ____ᵢ naŋkək blibʸih ahiʔ]]

human.O REL   N.catch.O wild.duck.N forest.N

tah sarahiw sppupʷɨw kah

DET family.O cousin.N 1.SG

'The man who caught the wild duck in the forest is my cousin.'

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Relativization Strategies

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

(15) a. maʔ naŋo tntaŋ ɪtɪʔᵢ [CP **yaŋ** [TP kau la naŋkap-eᵢ]]

mother ACT.ask about duck REL   2.SG PFCT ACT.catch-3

'Mother asked about the ducks you had caught them.'

b. bukuᵢ [CP **yaŋ** [TP aku neŋoʔ-ɲoᵢ]] puŋo abaŋ   aku

book   REL   1.SG ACT.look-3 have older.brother 1.SG

'The book that I saw it belongs to my brother.'

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Relativization Strategies

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

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Relativization Strategies

(16) a. Jambi

ruma **tmpat** aku neŋoʔ ija puŋo budi

house place 1.SG ACT.look Ija have Budi

'The house where I saw Ija belongs to Budi.'

b. Kerinci

pasa **tmpə͡eʔ** ha   kawə tʸə͡oh tah

market.A place.O human.A friend.N DET DET

ŋjɨw   tukə malan liwaʔ ramɨy

N.chase.O doer.O steal.A really.N crowded.O

'The market where the people chased the thief was very crowded.'

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Relativization Strategies

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

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Relativization Strategies

(17) a. Jambi

malam [CP waktu/pas [TP dioʔ dataŋ]] aku daʔdo di ruma

night   time /exact 3   come 1.SG NEG.exist LOC home

'The night when he came I wasn't at home.'

b. Kerinci

malam waktɨw ɲo tibu   dʸɨwʔ ka mʷih

night.A time.O 3.SG come.A NEG 1.SG house.LOC

'The night when he came I wasn't at home.'

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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.

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Positions for Relativization

- Subject
- Direct Object
- Indirect Object
- Locative Prepositional Phrase
- Time Adjunct

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Positions for Relativization - Subject

- 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.

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Positions for Relativization - Subject

(18) Subject relativization → active transitive sentence
  a. [oraŋ$_i$ [$_{RC}$**yaŋ** [$_{TP}$ ____$_i$ la   mᵇaɪʔ-i   tipi-ko]]]
     person   REL   PFCT ACT.good-APPL television-DEM.PROX
     'the man who has fixed this television'

  b. [$_{NP}$ hwəŋ$_i$ [$_{RC}$ **ŋən** ____$_i$ naŋkək   blibʸeuh   ahiʔ]]
     human.O   REL   N.catch.O wild.duck.N forest.N
     'the man who caught the wild duck in the forest'

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Positions for Relativization - Subject

(19) Subject relativization → passive sentence
  a. [tipi$_i$ [$_{CP}$ **yaŋ** [$_{TP}$ ____$_i$ la   di-baɪʔ-i   oraŋ-tu]]]
     television   REL   PFCT PASS-good-APPL person-DEM.DIST
     'the television that has been fixed by that man'

  b. [$_{NP}$ kʷiw$_i$[$_{RC}$ **ŋən** ____$_i$ la   di-baciw   ha   nə͡eʔ   tah]]
     book.N   REL   PAST PASS-read human.O small.O DET
     'the book which has been read by that boy'

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Positions for Relativization - Subject

(20)   *Subject relativization via resumptive pronoun strategy
  a. *[$_{NP}$ oraŋ$_i$ [yaŋ [$_{TP}$ -ɲo/-e$_i$ la   mᵇaɪʔ-i   tipi-ko]]]
      person   REL   3   PFCT ACT.good-APPL television-DEM.PROX
     la   pgi
     PFCT go
     'The man who has fixed this television has left.'

  b. *[$_{NP}$ hwəŋ$_i$ [$_{RC}$ ŋən ɲo$_i$ naŋkək   blibʸeuh   ahiʔ]]
      human.O   REL 3.SG   N.catch.O wild.duck.N forest.N
     tah sarahɨw   spupʷiw kah
     DET family.O cousin.O 1.SG
     'The man who caught the wild duck in the forest is my cousin.'

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Positions for Relativization - Subject

(21) *Subject relativization via 'place' strategy or 'time' strategy
  a. *[NP hʷəŋi [RC **tmpəeʔi** naŋkək blibʸeuh ahiʔ]]
       human.O   place.N N.catch.O wild.duck.N forest.N
       tah sarahiw spupuʷiw kah
       DET family.O cousin.N 1.SG
       'The man who caught the wild duck in the forest is my cousin.'

  b. *[oraŋi [yaŋ [TP **pasi** la mᵇaɪʔ-i tipi-ko]]]
       person REL exact PFCT ACT.good-APPL television-DEM.PROX
       la pgi
       PFCT 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'.

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Positions for Relativization - Subject

	Gap Strategy	Resumptive Pronoun Strategy	'Place Strategy'	'Time' Strategy
Jambi	√	*	*	*
Kerinci	√	*	*	*

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Positions for Relativization – Direct Object

Wait!!!

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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 *di-* which patterns like English and some other European passives → passive type 1
  theme →(aux) → *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

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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.

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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
  [malɪŋi [**yaŋ** [TP budaʔ-tu lagi **kjar** ti]]]
  thief REL kid-DEM.DIST PROG chase
  'the thief that the boy is chasing'

  b.Gap strategy with active word order: verb in nasal from
  *[malɪŋi [**yaŋ** [TP budaʔ-tu lagi **ŋjar** ti]]]
  thief REL kid-DEM.DIST PROG ACT.chase
  'the thief that the boy is chasing'

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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
[tipi$_i$ [$_{CP}$ **yaŋ** [$_{TP}$ ___$_i$· la   dioʔ baıʔ-i t$_i$]]]
television   REL   PFCT 3   good-APPL
'the television that has been fixed by him'

b. Gap strategy with P2 word order: verb in nasal form
*[tipi$_i$ [$_{CP}$ **yaŋ** [$_{TP}$ ___$_i$· la   dioʔ mᵇaıʔ-i t$_i$]]]
television   REL   PFCT 3   ACT.good-APPL
'the television that has been fixed by him'

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Positions for Relativization – Direct Object

Resumptive pronoun strategy: verbs must be in nasal form

(24)   a. Resumptive pronoun strategy: verb in nasal form
[malıŋ$_i$ [$_{CP}$ **yaŋ** [$_{TP}$ budaʔ-tu   lagi   ŋjar-e$_i$]]]
thief   REL   kid-DEM.DIST PROG ACT.chase-3
'the thief that the boy is chasing'

b. Resumptie pronoun strategy: verb in bare from
*[malıŋ$_i$ [$_{CP}$ **yaŋ** [$_{TP}$ budaʔ-tu   lagi   kjar-e$_i$]]]
thief   REL   kid-DEM.DIST PROG chase-3
'the thief that the boy is chasing'

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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]

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Positions for Relativization – Direct Object

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

(25) a. [[tukə   malan]$_i$ [**ŋən** [ha   kawə   t'ə͡ɔh njiw   tah t$_i$]]]
doer.O steal.A   REL human.A friend.N DET **N.chase.O** DET
'the thief that the people chased'

b. *[[tukə   malan]$_i$ [**ŋən** [ha   kawə   t'ə͡ɔh njɔu   tah t$_i$]]]
doer.O steal.A   REL human.A friend.N DET **N.chase.A** DET
'the thief that the people chased'

c. *[[tukə   malan]$_i$ [**ŋən** [ha   kawə   t'ə͡ɔh kjiw   tah t$_i$]]]
doer.O steal.A   REL human.A friend.N DET **chase.O** DET
'the thief that the people chased'

d. *[[tukə   malan]$_i$ [**ŋən** [ha   kawə   t'ə͡ɔh kjəw   tah t$_i$]]]
doer.O steal.A   REL human.A friend.N DET **chase.A** DET
'the thief that the people chased'

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Positions for Relativization – Direct Object

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

(26) a. tukə   malan tah **ŋən** la   ka timbaʔ/* timbə͡oʔ/* nimbaʔ /* nimbə͡oʔ
doer.A steal.A DETREL PAST 1.SG shoot.A shoot.O   N.shoot.A N.shoot.O
'The thief has been shot by me.'

b. tukə   malan tah **ŋən** la   ka kjəu/ * kjiw/   * ŋjəu/   * njiw
doer.A steal.A DETREL PAST 1.SG chase.A chase.O N.chase.A N.chase.O
'The thief has been chased by me.'

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Positions for Relativization – Direct Object

Resumptive pronoun strategy: not possible

(27) a.*[[tukə malan]$_i$ [**ŋən** [ha   kawə   t'ə͡ɔh njiw-ɲə$_i$
doer.O steal.A   REL human.A friend.N DET   N.chase.O-3.SG

ku   pasa   tah]]]
LOC market.N DET
'the thief that the people chased at the market'

b. *[[tukə malan]$_i$ [**ŋən** [ha   kawə   t'ə͡ɔh nji-ɲə$_i$
doer.O steal.A   REL human.A friend.N DET   N.chase.A-3.SG

ku   pasa   tah]]]
LOC market.N DET
'the thief that the people chased at the market'

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Positions for Relativization – Direct Object

'Place Strategy or 'Time Strategy: not allowed

(28) a. 'Place' Strategy
*tukə malan tmpɔeʔ ha kawə tʸeoh ŋjiw barahʌe knča
doer.O steal.A place.O human.A friend.N DET N.chase.O run.A fast.A
'The thief whom the people chased run quickly.

   b. 'Time' Strategy
*tukə malan waktiw ha kawə tʸeoh ŋjiw barahʌe knča
doer.O steal.A time.O human.A friend.N DET N.chase.O run.A fast.A
'The thief whom the people chased run quickly.

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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.

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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)

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Positions for Relativization – Direct Object

	Gap strategy with Active Word order	Gap strategy with P2 word order	Resumptive Pronoun Strategy
Jambi	Bare verb	Bare verb	Nasal verb
Kerinci	Nasal verb.O	Bare verb.A	N/A

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Positions for Relativization – Direct Object

- It has been argued that Kerinci's unique morphological properties make the object gap strategy possible on verbs marked with the nasal prefix. In particular McKinnon, Cole, & Hermon, 2011 argue that the oblique form is a form of agreement which licenses a null resumptive pronoun in object position.
- So, under this analysis, the active object gap structures in Kerinci are analogous to active sentences which contain a resumptive pronoun in Jambi.

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Positions for Relativization – Direct Object

	Gap strategy with Active Word order	Gap strategy with P2 word order	Resumptive Pronoun Strategy
Jambi	Bare verb	Bare verb	Nasal verb
Kerinci	N/A	Bare verb.A	Nasal verb.O

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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

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Positions for Relativization – Indirect Object

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

(29) a. [buda?ᵢ [CP yaŋ [TP Siti la bawa?-i tᵢ kuɪ-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?ᵢ [CP yaŋ [TP siti la mᵇawa?-i tᵢ kuɪ-tu]]] lagi makan
kid REL Siti PFCT ACT.bring-APPL cake-DEM.DIST PROG eat
'The kid that Siti has brought the cake for is eating.'

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Positions for Relativization – Indirect Object

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

(30) a. [buda?ᵢ [CP yaŋ [TP aku ŋamᵇɪ?-i-eᵢ buku]]] pade?
kid REL 1.SG ACT.take-APPL-3 book clever
'The kid for whom I took a book is clever.'

b. *[buda?ᵢ [CP yaŋ [TP aku amᵇɪ?-i-eᵢ buku]]] pade?
kid REL 1.SG take-APPL-3 book clever
'The kid for whom I took a book is clever.'

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Positions for Relativization – Indirect Object

Gap Strategy to relativize PP IO

(31) a. [batinoᵢ [CP yaŋ [TP ʊpɪ? bagɪ duɪt tᵢ]]] snaŋ
female REL Upik give money glad
'The girl to whom Upik gave money is happy.'

b. [datʊ?ᵢ [CP yaŋ [TP siti ŋamᵇɪ?-i roko? tᵢ]]]
grandfather REL Siti ACT.take-APPL cigarette
'the old man for whom Siti took the cigarette'

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Positions for Relativization – Indirect Object

In Kerinci, the indirect object is almost always expressed with a prepositional phrase. The PP indirect object can be relativized using the gap strategy.

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Positions for Relativization – Indirect Object

(32) a. [ha dadiyhᵢ [CP ŋən [TP aliy goeh tãₑh tᵢ tah]]]
human.A girl.O REL ali.N N.give.N tea.O DET
susʷən ɲə tah
girl.friend.O 3.SG DET
'The girl whom Ali gave a cup of tea is his girlfriend.'

b. [nəo? yantonᵢ [CP ŋən [TP ha tinʸə̃ɔ tah dʷih ɲihaŋ
child.O man.O REL human.A girl.O DET PAST N.deliver.N
wəŋ tᵢ]]] yəu ku kota lahan
money.O live.N LOC city.N another.N
'The boy who the lady has sent the money to lives in another city.

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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.

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Positions for Relativization – Indirect Object

	NP IO		PP IO
	Gap Strategy	Resumptive Pronoun Strategy	Gap Strategy
Jambi	Bare verb Nasal verb	Nasal verb	
Kerinci	N/A	N/A	Nasal verb (most ditransitives are not alternating in syntax)

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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.

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Positions for Relativization –Locative Prepositional Phrase

(33) a. kursi$_i$ **naŋ** aku dʊdʊʔ t$_i$ basa
     chair REL 1.SG sit wet
     'The chair that I sat on is wet.'

    b. kursiy$_i$ **ŋən** ka dudʷɔ͡oʔ t$_i$ basih
     chair.N REL 1.SG sit.A wet.O
     'The chair that I sat on is wet.'

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Positions for Relativization –Locative Prepositional Phrase

(34) a. aku neŋoʔ ija di ruma-tu
     1.SG ACT.look Ija LOC house-DEM.DIST
     'I saw Ija at home.'

    b. [ruma$_i$ [$_{CP}$ tmpat [$_{TP}$ aku neŋoʔ ija]] puɲo budi
     house place 1.SG ACT.look Ija have Budi
     'The house where I saw Ija belongs to Budi.'

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Positions for Relativization - Locative Prepositional Phrase

(35) a. ha kawə n^{y}ɔ͡eh ŋjiw tukə malan suhʷa
     human.A friend.N DET N.chase.O doer.O steal.A SE-human
     ku pasa
     LOC market.A
     'Those people chased a thief at the market.'

    b. pasa tmpɔ͡eʔ ha kawe ty ɔ͡oh tah
     market.A place.O human.A friend.N DET DET
     ŋjiw tukə malan liwaʔ ramiy
     N.chase.O doer.O steal.A really.N crowded.O
     'Tha market where the people chased the thief was very crowded.'

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Positions for Relativization - Locative Prepositional Phrase

	Gap strategy	'Place' Strategy
Jambi	√	√
Kerinci	√	√

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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.

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Positions for Relativization – Time Adjunct

(36) a. Gap strategy

[malam₍ᵢ₎ [CP **yaŋ** [TP dioʔ dataŋ t₍ᵢ₎]]] aku daʔdo di ruma
night   REL   3   come   1.SG NEG   LOC house
'The night when he came I wasn't at home.'

b. 'time' strategy

malam [CP **waktu/pas** [TP dioʔ dataŋ]] aku daʔdo   di   ruma
night   time /exact   3   come   1.SG NEG.exist LOC home
' The night when he came I wasn't at home.'

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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.

(37) a. mala   waktiw   ɲo   tibu   dyiʔ   ka   mwih
night.A   time.O   3.SG   come.A   NEG   1.SG   house.LOC
'The night when he came I wasn't at home.'

b. *mala₍ᵢ₎   ŋən   ɲo   tibu   t₍ᵢ₎   dyiʔ   ka   mwih
night.A   REL   3.SG   come.A   NEG   1.SG   house.LOC
'The night when he came I wasn't at home.'

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Positions for Relativization – Time Adjunct

	'Time' strategy	Gap strategy
Jambi	√	√
Kerinci	√	*

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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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☺

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