

Island-Like Phenomena

		<i>island-like in Riau Indonesian</i>	<i>island-like in English</i>
(1)	<p>Mana ayam makan? where chicken eat</p> <p>(a) 'Where is the <i>chicken</i> that is eating?' (b) 'Where is the chicken <i>eating</i>?'</p>	<p>no no</p>	<p>no no</p>
(2)	<p>Mana ayam dia? where chicken 3</p> <p>(a) 'Where is his <i>chicken</i>?' (b) * 'Where is <i>his</i> chicken?'</p>	<p>no YES</p>	<p>no YES</p>
(3)	<p>Mana dia nampak ayam makan? where 3 see chicken eat</p> <p>(a) 'Where did he <i>see</i> the chicken that is eating?' (b) * 'Where did he see the chicken that is <i>eating</i>?' (c) 'Where did he <i>see</i> that the chicken is eating?' (d) * 'Where did he see that the chicken is <i>eating</i>?'</p>	<p>no YES no YES</p>	<p>no YES no no</p>
(4)	<p>Mana ayam yang makan? where chicken REL eat</p> <p>(a) 'Where is the <i>chicken</i> that is eating?' (b) 'Where is the chicken is the one that is <i>eating</i>?'</p>	<p>no no</p>	<p>no ≠ YES</p>
(5)	<p><i>Examples (from naturalistic corpus) of structures parallel to (4b):</i></p>		
	<p>(a) <i>Teksi</i> aku yang <i>bayar</i> Taxi 1 REL pay [Group of people going out together, about to board a taxi] 'I'll pay for the taxi'</p>		
	<p>(b) <i>Sandal</i> David yang <i>belikan</i> itu sudah putus sandal David REL buy-APPL DEM:PROX PFCT cut.off [About a pair of sandals I had bought the speaker a couple of weeks earlier] 'The sandals you bought me have already come apart'</p>		

General Principles

(6) *Syntactic Categories:*

- (a) *open:* S *anak* 'child'; *guru* 'teacher'; *ayam* 'chicken'; *rumah* 'house';
merah 'red'; *lari* 'run'; *makan* 'eat'; *pukul* 'hit';
dia '3'; *ini* 'DEM:PROX'; *semua* 'all'; *sendiri* 'only'/'REFL';
apa 'what'; *kenapa* 'why'; *mana* 'where'/'which';
sama 'accompany'/'with'/'same'/'and'/'NON.ABS';
udah 'PFCT'; *tadi* 'PST:PROX' ...
- (b) *closed:* S/S
- (i) *preceding:* *yang* 'REIFIER'; *ke* 'to'; *tentang* 'about'; *pada* 'COMP';
tiap 'every'; *tapi* 'but'; *atau* 'or'; *si* 'PERS';
kalau 'if'/'TOPIC'; *dari* 'from'; *untuk* 'for'; *supaya* 'in.order';
dengan 'with'/'and'/'OBL'; *tukang* 'AGENT';
gara-gara 'because:ADVERS' ...
- (ii) *following:* *pula* 'also'/'CONTR'; *pun* 'even'; *diri* 'REFL' ...

(7) *Syntactic Structures:*

Syntactic structures are unordered labelled trees.
Each branch is of one of the following two kinds:

- (a) $[_S S^1 \dots S^n]$ ($n > 1$)
(b) $[_S S/S S]$

(8) *Polyadic Association Operator:*

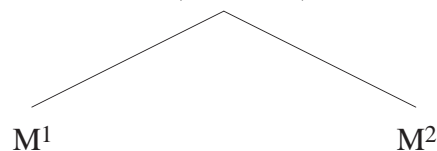
Given a set of meanings $\{ M^1 \dots M^n \}$, the Polyadic Association Operator assigns a meaning $A (M^1 \dots M^n)$, which is associated (in a way that is not further specified), with each of the constituent meanings $M^1 \dots M^n$.

(The Polyadic Association Operator is the n-ary generalization of the Monadic Association Operator, whose prototypical cross-linguistic expression is the genitive construction.)

(9) *Polyadic Association Rule: (obligatory)*

Given a syntactic structure $[_S S^1 \dots S^n]$ ($n > 1$) where $S^1 \dots S^n$ have interpretations $M^1 \dots M^n$ respectively, $[_S S^1 \dots S^n]$ is assigned the interpretation $A (M^1 \dots M^n)$.

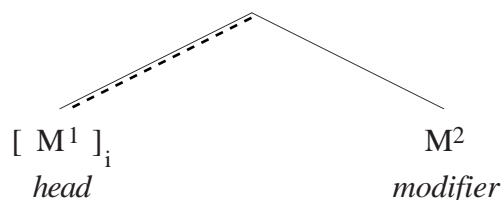
✱ for $n = 2$: $A (M^1, M^2)$ 'entity associated with M^1 and M^2 '



(10) *Headedness Rule: (optional)*

Given a syntactic structure $[_S S^1 \dots S^n]$ with interpretation $A (M^1 \dots M^n)$, one of its constituent substructures, M^j , may be coindexed with the entire semantic structure for coreferentiality: $[A (M^1 \dots [M^j]_i \dots M^n)]_i$.

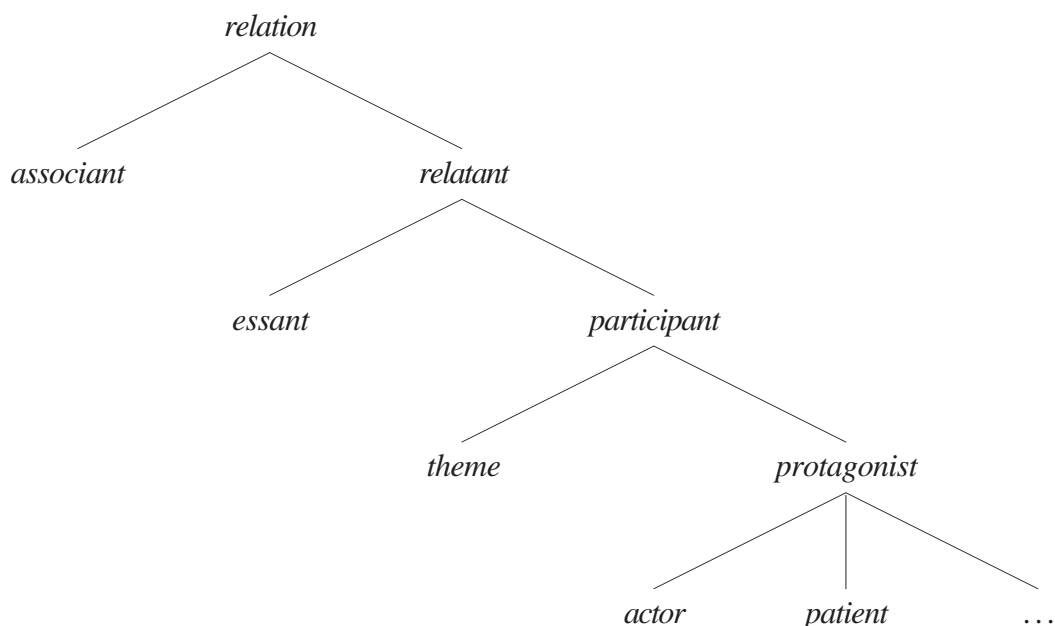
✳ for $n = 2$: $[A ([M^1]_i, M^2)]_i$ 'M¹ associated with M²'



(11) *Thematic Relations Rule: (optional)*

Given a syntactic structure $[_S S^1 \dots S^n]$ with interpretation $A (M^1 \dots M^n)$, one of its constituent substructures, M^j , may be designated as relator, and at least one of the other constituent substructures marked as standing in a thematic relation with respect to M^j .

Thematic relations form a hierarchically organized set. Following is a partial diagram:



As relators, different expressions may permit their sisters to be marked with different kinds of thematic relations. For example:

- ✳ all expressions may permit a sister to be marked as *essant*
- ✳ expressions denoting properties and activities may permit a sister to be marked as *theme*
- ✳ expressions denoting activities may permit a sister to be marked as *actor* or as *patient*.

(12) *'Yang' Interpretation Rule:*

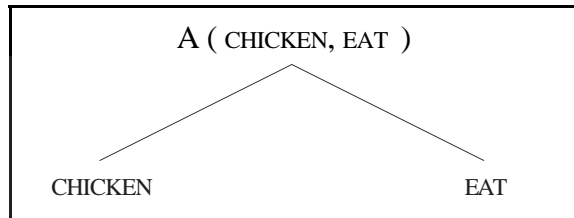
Given a syntactic structure $[_S \text{yang } S]$, where S is interpreted as M , the interpretation of $[_S \text{yang } S]$ is $R (M)$, where $R (M)$ denotes an entity standing in a thematic relation with respect to M .

(13) Ayam makan
 chicken eat

Syntactic Structure: [_S [_S ayam] [_S makan]]

Basic Semantic Structure:

'entity associated with chicken and with eating'

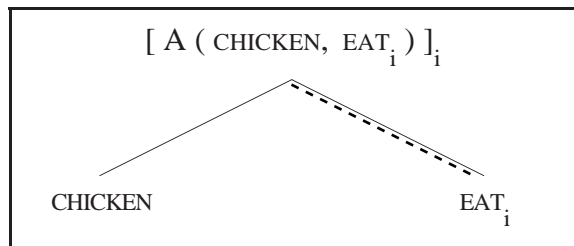


Enriched Semantic Structures:

(a) *Adding headedness:*

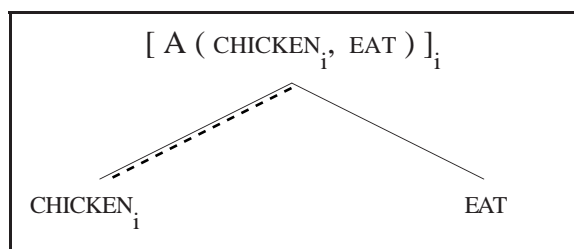
(i) 'eating associated with chicken'

'basic sentence'



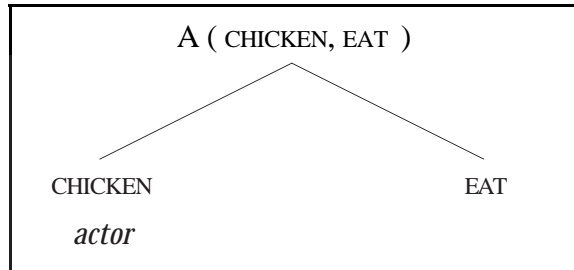
(ii) 'chicken associated with eating'

'relative clause'

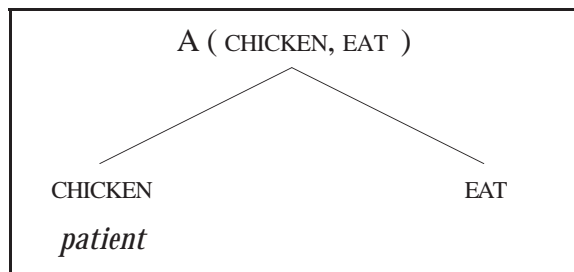


(b) *Adding thematic relations:*

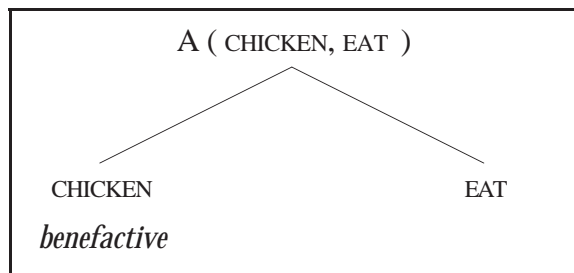
- (i) 'entity associated with chicken actor and with eating'
'the chicken is eating'
'the chicken that is eating'



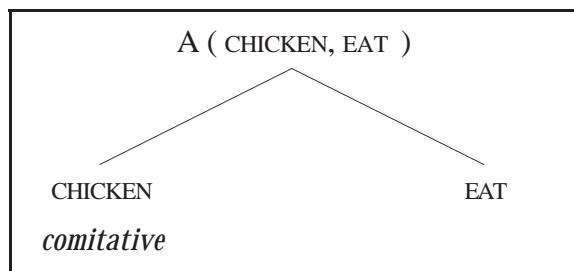
- (ii) 'entity associated with chicken patient and with eating'
'somebody is eating the chicken'
'the chicken that somebody is eating'



- (iii) 'entity associated with chicken benefactive and with eating'
'somebody is eating something for the chicken'
'the chicken that somebody is eating something for'

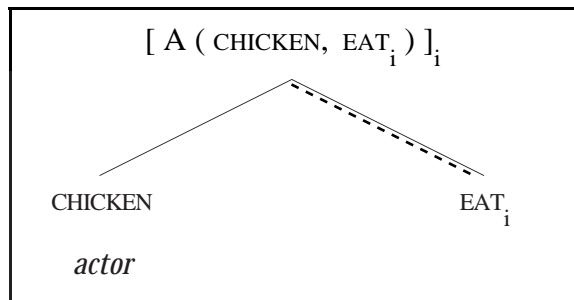


- (iv) 'entity associated with chicken comitative and with eating'
'somebody is eating something with the chicken'
'the chicken that somebody is eating something with'

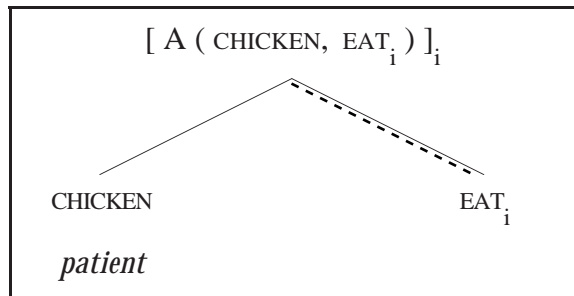


(c) *Adding headedness and thematic relations:*

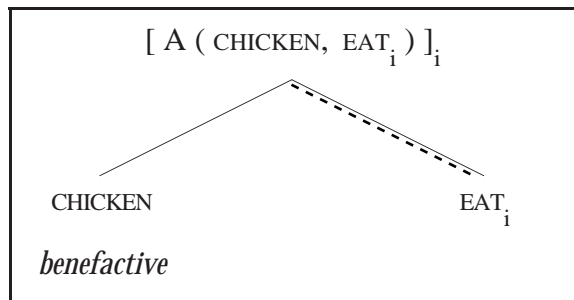
- (i) 'eating associated with chicken actor'
'the chicken is eating'



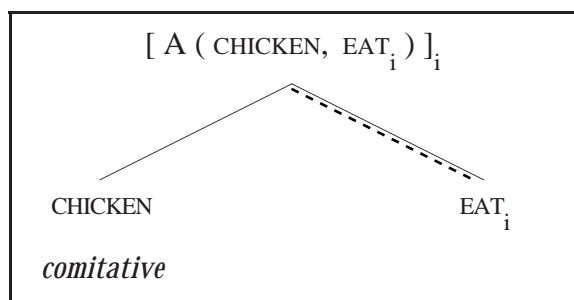
- (ii) 'eating associated with chicken patient'
'somebody is eating the chicken'



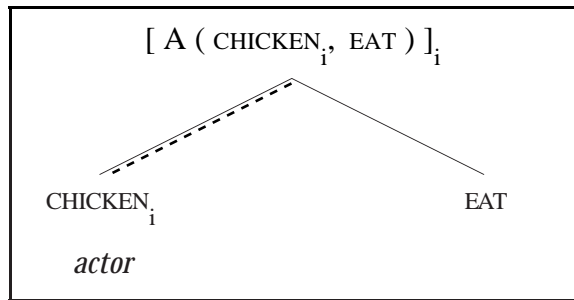
- (iii) 'eating associated with chicken benefactive'
'somebody is eating something for the chicken'



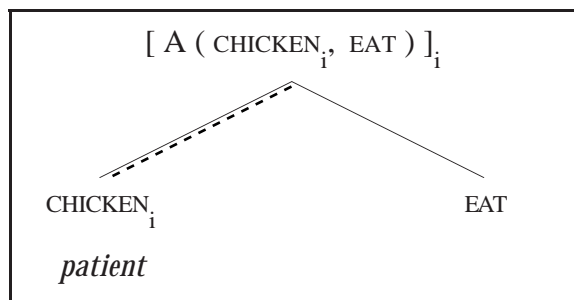
- (iv) 'eating associated with chicken comitative'
'somebody is eating something with the chicken'



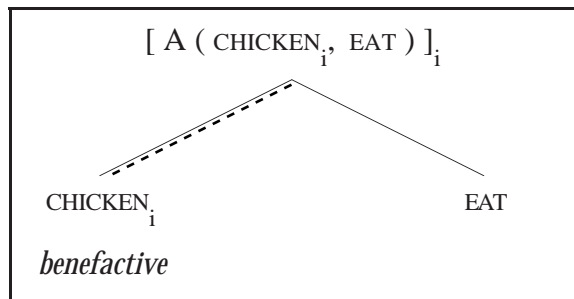
- (v) 'chicken actor associated with eating'
 'the chicken that is eating'



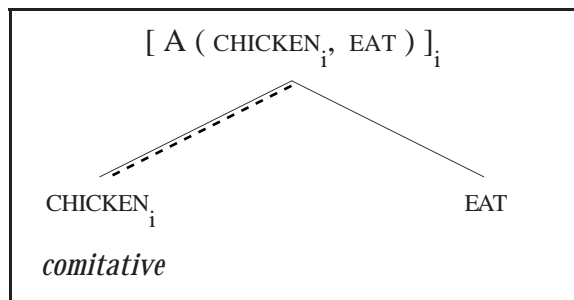
- (vi) 'chicken patient associated with eating'
 'the chicken that somebody is eating'



- (vii) 'chicken benefactive associated with eating'
 'the chicken that somebody is eating something for'



- (viii) 'chicken comitative associated with eating'
 'the chicken that somebody is eating something with'

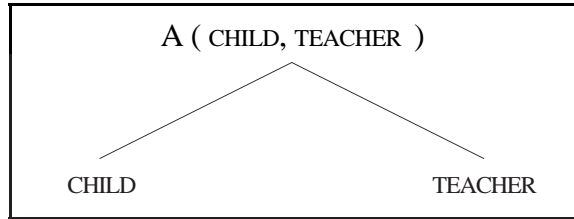


(14) Anak guru
 child teacher

Syntactic Structure: [_S [_S anak] [_S guru]]

Basic Semantic Structure:

'entity associated with child and with teacher'

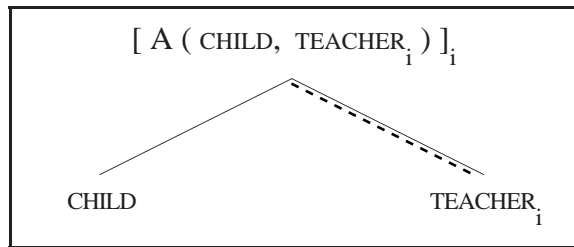


Enriched Semantic Structures:

(a) *Adding headedness:*

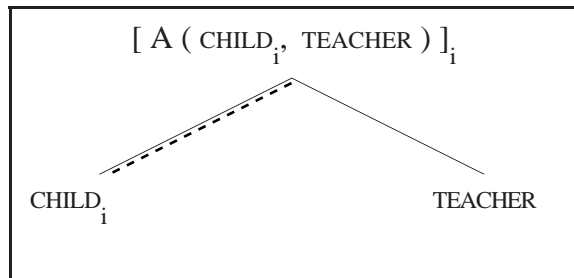
- * (i) 'teacher associated with child'
 'child's teacher'

'genitive'



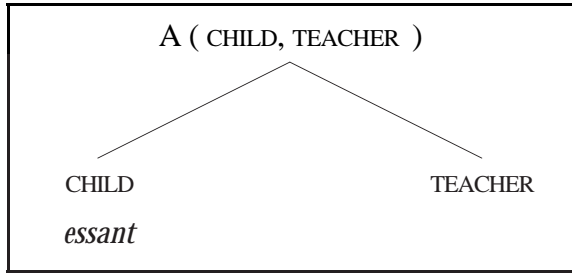
- (ii) 'child associated with teacher'
 'teacher's child'

'genitive'

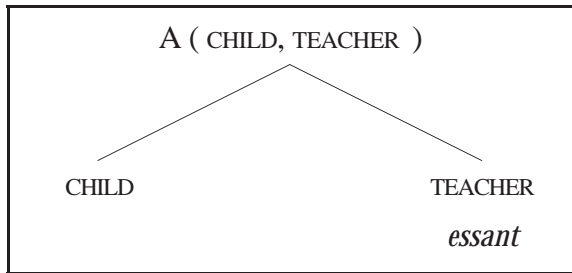


(b) *Adding thematic relations:*

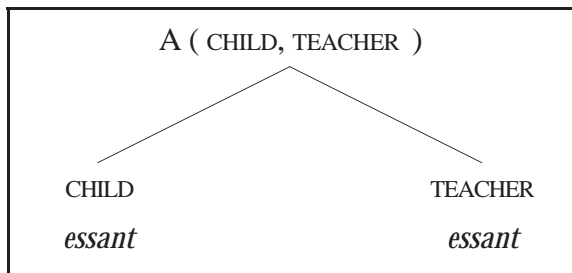
(i) 'entity associated with child essant and with teacher'



(ii) 'entity associated with child and with teacher essant'



(iii) 'entity associated with child essant and with teacher essant' 'equative'
'the child is the teacher'



Thematic Role Indeterminacy

- (15) *Aku Cina tak makan la*
 1:SG China NEG eat CONTR
 [Going out to eat, approaching a Chinese looking place]
 (a) 'I'm not eating Chinese food' *patient*
 (b) 'I'm not going to eat in a Chinese place' *locative*
- (16) *Ini bisa juga*
 DEM:PROX can CONJ.OP
 [Playing laptop game, speaker discovers that another key also works]
 (a) 'This one can too' *theme*
 (b) 'With this one you can too' *instrument*
 (c) 'This one makes you able to do it too' *cause*

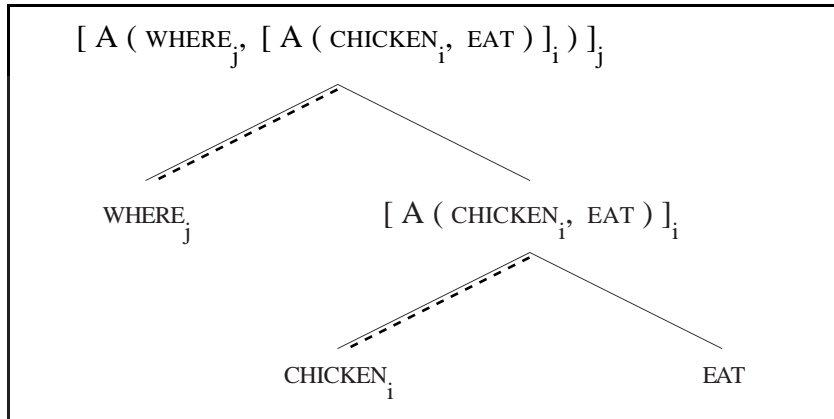
Headedness Indeterminacy

- (17) *Cewek cantik*
 woman beautiful
 [Watching Indian movie on TV, a woman appears]
 (a) '(That's) a beautiful woman' *left-headed*
 (b) 'That woman is beautiful' *right-headed*
- (18) *Mobil rusak*
 car break.down
 [Standing on balcony looking down at street, speaker sees some men pushing a car]
 (a) '(There's) a broken down car' *left-headed*
 (b) 'That car's broken down' *right-headed*
- (19) *Gemuk orang, Vid*
 fat person TRUNC-David
 [About a transvestite who had just called him on his pager and is showing a suspicious interest in him]
 (a) 'The man's fat, David' *left-headed*
 (b) '(It's) a fat man, David' *right-headed*
- (20) *Cantik gol*
 beautiful goal
 [Watching replay of football goal on TV]
 (a) 'That goal was beautiful' *left-headed*
 (b) '(That was) a beautiful goal' *right-headed*

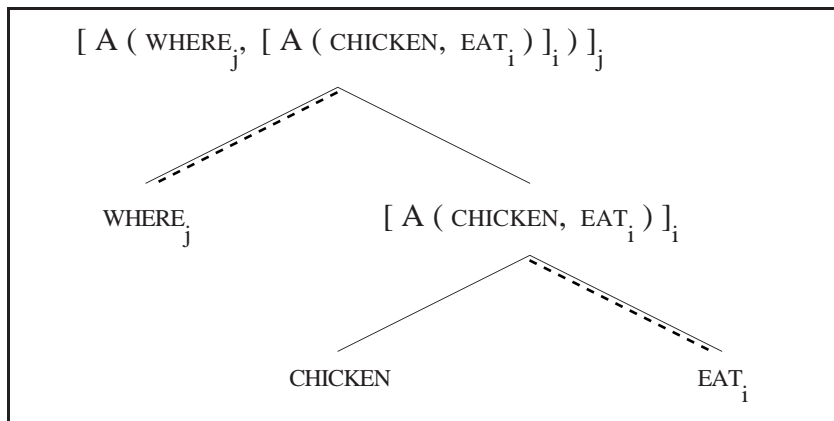
(22) Mana ayam makan?
 where chicken eat

= (1)

(a) 'Where is the chicken that is eating?'



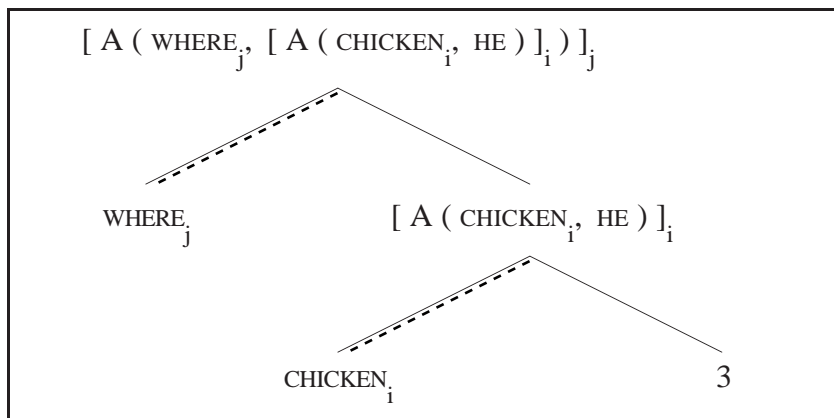
(b) 'Where is the chicken eating?'



(23) Mana ayam dia?
 where chicken 3

= (2)

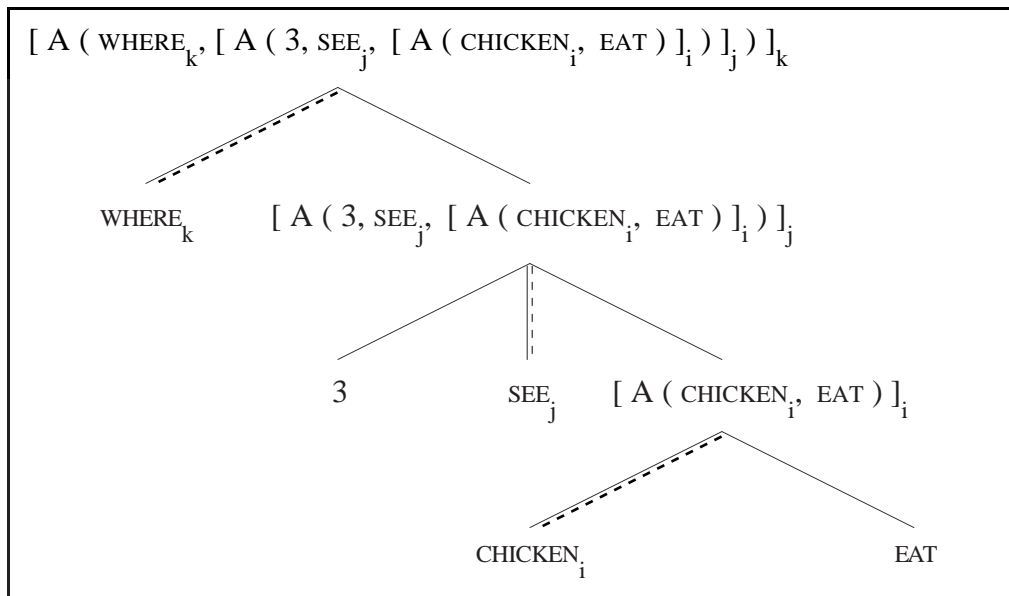
(a) 'Where is his chicken?'



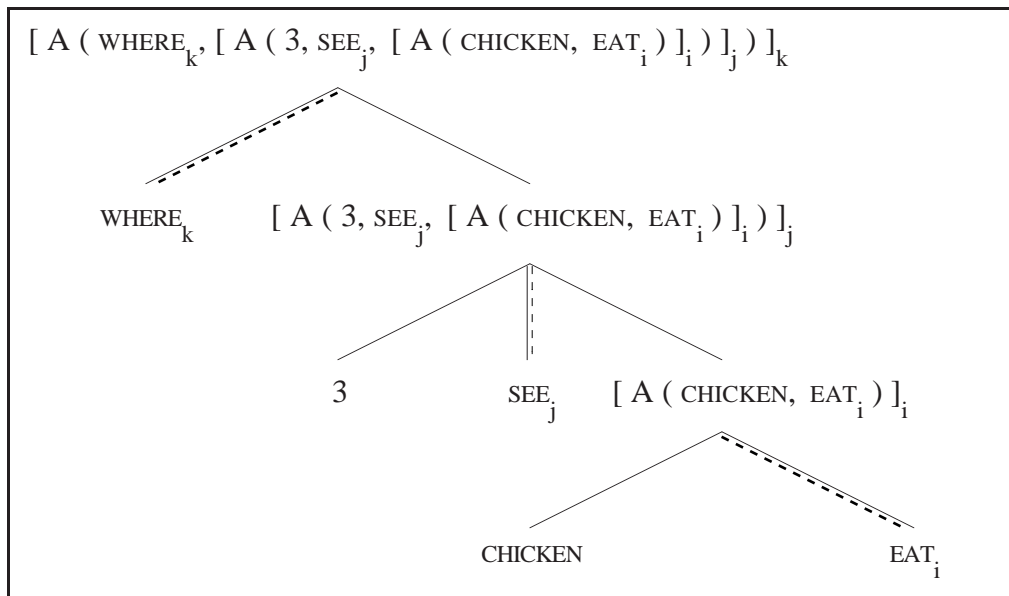
(b) * 'Where is his chicken?'

island-like modifier: 3

- (24) Mana dia nampak ayam makan? = (3)
 where 3 see chicken eat
 (a) 'Where did he see the chicken that is eating?'



- (b) * 'Where did he see the chicken that is eating?'
island-like modifiers: (i) EAT (ii) $[A(CHICKEN_i, EAT)]_i$
 (c) 'Where did he see that the chicken is eating?'



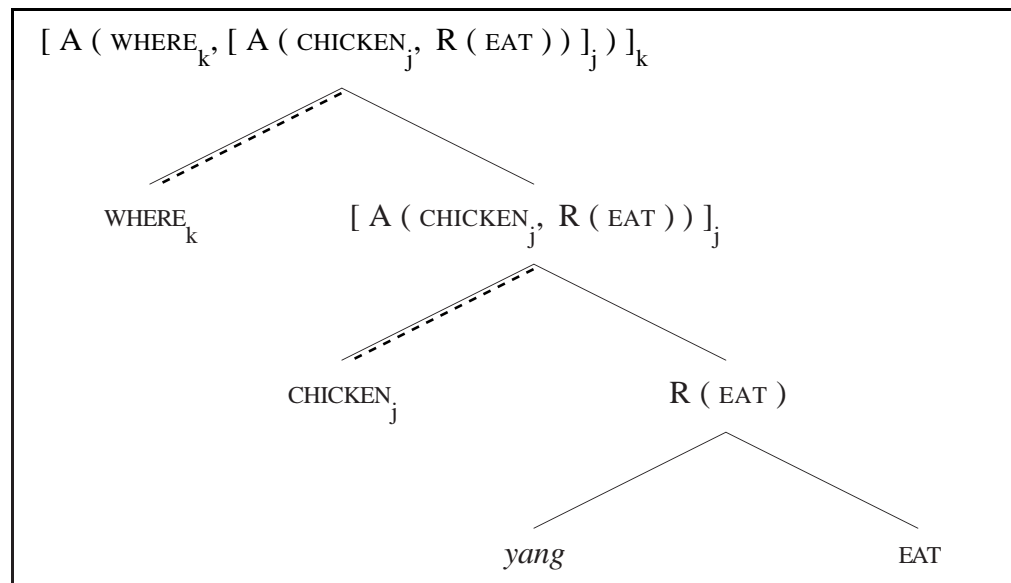
- (d) * 'Where did he see that the chicken is eating?'
island-like modifier: $[A(CHICKEN, EAT_i)]_i$

(25) Mana ayam yang makan?

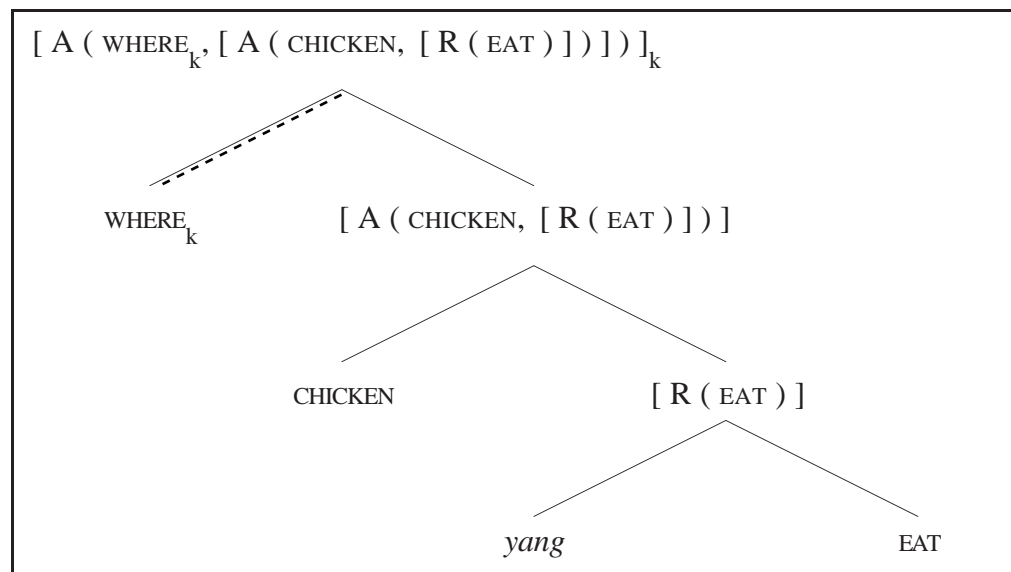
= (4)

where chicken REL eat

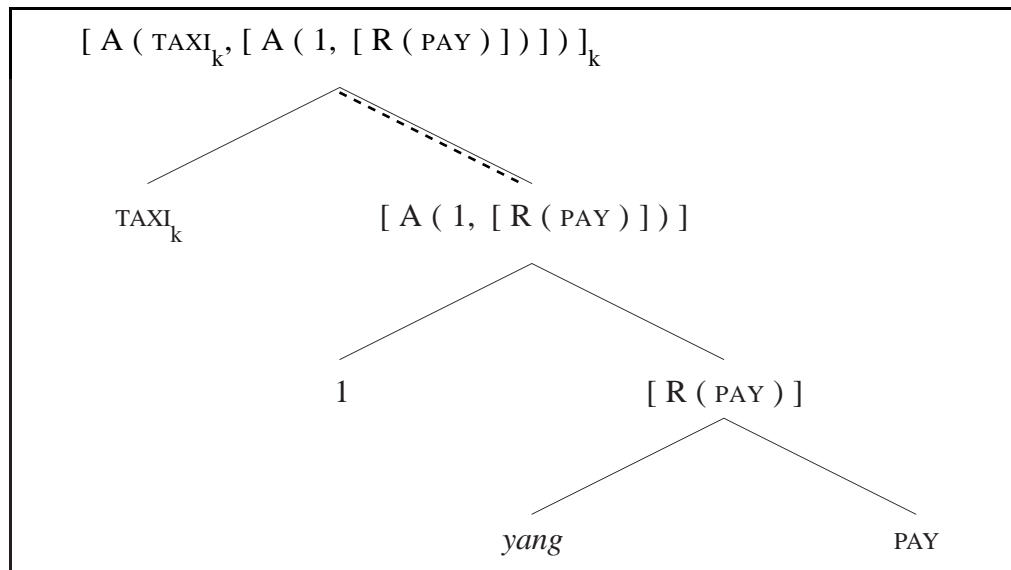
(a) 'Where is the chicken that is eating?'



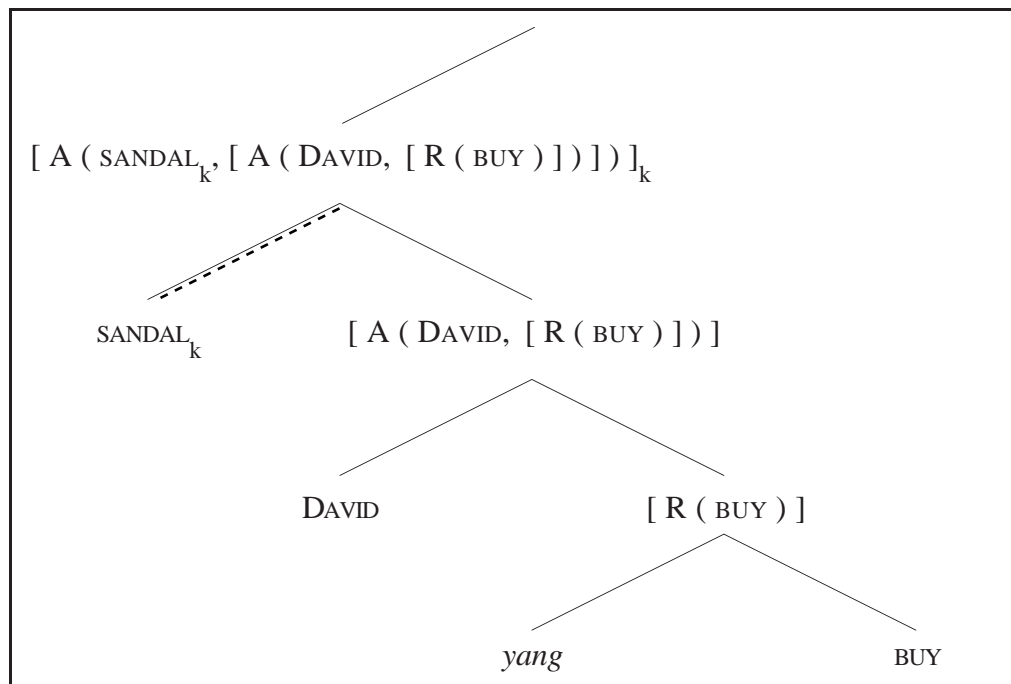
(b) 'Where is the chicken is the one that is eating?'



- (26) *Taksi* aku yang bayar = (5a)
 Taxi 1 REL pay
 [Group of people going out together, about to board a taxi]
 'I'll pay for the taxi'



- (27) *Sandal* David yang belikan itu sudah putus = (5b)
 sandal David REL buy-APPL DEM:PROX PFCT cut.off
 [About a pair of sandals I had bought the speaker a couple of weeks earlier]
 'The sandals you bought me have already come apart'



Other Languages

* Questions for field linguists:

- * Can expressions referring to things stand by themselves as complete non-elliptical utterances?
(“Is there a pro-drop option for the subjects of predicate nominal constructions?”)
- * Can an expression which refers to an event and whose function is to modify an expression referring to a thing stand on its own? And if it can, what are the constraints on its interpretation?
(“Are relative clauses endocentric? Do they have gaps?”)
- * Can sentence-initial interrogative pronouns ask about material in a non-initial embedded clause?
(“Is there movement out of complement clauses?”)
- * Can sentence-initial interrogative pronouns ask about material in a cleft construction?
(“Is there movement out of relative clauses?”)

* Question for general linguists:

To what extent can traditional syntactic analyses of island effects in English and other languages in terms of various long-distance relationships be reformulated within the kind of approach suggested above?

References

- Gil, David (1994) "The Structure of Riau Indonesian", *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 17:179-200.
- Gil, David (1999) "Riau Indonesian as a Pivotless Language", in E.V. Raxilina and Y.G. Testelec eds., *Tipologija i Teorija Jazyka, Ot Opisanija k Objasneniju, K 60-Letiju Aleksandra Evgen'evicha Kibrika (Typology and Linguistic Theory, From Description to Explanation, For the 60th Birthday of Aleksandr E. Kibrik)*, Jazyki Russkoj Kul'tury, Moscow, 187-211.
- Gil, David (1999) "Syntactic Categories, Cross-Linguistic Variation and Universal Grammar", in P. Vogel and B. Comrie eds., *Approaches to the Typology of Word Classes*, Empirical Approaches to Language Typology, Mouton, Berlin and New York, 173-216.
- Gil, David (2001) "Creoles, Complexity and Riau Indonesian", *Linguistic Typology* 5:325-371.
- Gil, David (2001) "Escaping Eurocentrism: Fieldwork as a Process of Unlearning", in P. Newman and M. Ratliff eds., *Linguistic Fieldwork*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 102-132.
- Gil, David (2002) "The Prefixes *di-* and *N-* in Malay / Indonesian Dialects", in F. Wouk and M. Ross eds., *The History and Typology of Western Austronesian Voice Systems*, Pacific Linguistics, Canberra, 241-283.
- Gil, David (2003) "Intonation Does Not Differentiate Thematic Roles in Riau Indonesian", in A. Riehl and T. Savella eds., *Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association (AFLA9)*, *Cornell Working Papers in Linguistics* 19:64-78.
- Gil, David (to appear) "From Repetition to Reduplication in Riau Indonesian", in B. Hurch ed. *Studies in Reduplication*, Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.
- Gil, David (to appear) "Intonation and Thematic Roles in Riau Indonesian", in M. Gordon, D. Büring and C.M. Lee eds., *Topic, Focus and Intonation* [tentative title], Kluwer, Deventer.
- Gil, David (to appear) "Word Order Without Syntactic Categories: How Riau Indonesian Does It", in A. Carnie, S. D. Collberg and H. Harley eds., *Verb First: Papers on the Syntax of Verb Initial Languages*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam.