Proceedings of
AFLA 7

The Seventh Meeting of the Austronesian Formal
Linguistics Association

Edited by
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2000

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The Seventh Meeting of the
Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association

Held at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
May 11-13, 2000-07-06

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Preface

This volume consists of papers presented at the seventh meeting of AFLA (Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association), held at the Vrije Universiteit on May 11-13, 2000.

For the first time in the history of AFLA, this meeting was held outside the North-American continent, and contained contributions by speakers from eleven different countries: New Zealand, Australia, Indonesia, Brunei Darussalam, Taiwan, the USA including Hawaii, Canada, the UK, France, Germany, and The Netherlands.

Apart from the languages that are traditionally well-represented at Austronesian conferences, we were happy to see that the program also contained work on relatively small or lesser described languages, such as the minority languages of Taiwan, North-West Borneo, Eastern Indonesia, Papua and Oceania.

Special themes of this conference were Iconicity and Argument marking. The papers in this volume show that the program covered a broad range of subdisciplines -- from discourse grammar, phonology, morphology, syntax, to semantics -- and that the authors are working within various theoretical frameworks. But despite the obvious differences in expertise, interest and background, the atmosphere on the conference was typically AFLA: lively and constructive, with an average rate of attendance of about 80%. The papers in this volume deserve the same rate of attention.

This meeting has again furthered the unwritten mandate of AFLA to encourage the formal study of Austronesian languages, especially work by speaker linguists and junior scholars. Six scholars presented analyses of their native language, and more than half of the 45 participants subscribed as 'student'. This suggests that the future of Austronesian linguistics looks very bright indeed.

The eight edition of Afla will be held in the spring of 2001 at the Massachussetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in Boston, USA. The principal organiser will be Ileana Paul.

Marian Klamer, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

Proceedings of previous AFLA meetings:

A Selection of the papers of AFLA 2, in 1995 is published as:
Paul, Ileana, Vivianne Phillips, and Lisa Travis (eds.). 2000. *Formal Issues in Austronesian Linguistics*. Dordrecht, Kluwer.

The proceedings of AFLA 3 and AFLA 4 in 1996/1997 are published as:
Pearson, Mathew (ed.). 1998. *Recent papers in Austronesian Linguistics*. UCLA Working Papers in Linguistics 21.

The proceedings of AFLA 6 in 1999 are published as:
Smallwood, Carolyn and Catherine Kitto (eds.). 2000. *Proceedings of AFLA VI*. Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics.

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Clefts vs. pseudo-clefts in Austronesian[*]
Ileana Paul
MIT/UQAM

1 Introduction

The goal of this paper is two-fold. First, I argue that the cleft in many Austronesian languages is best analyzed as a (kind of) pseudo-cleft.[1] More precisely, clefts are copular constructions with a headless relative in subject position. Second, I show that the special focus interpretation associated with these clefts derives quite simply from the semantics of the headless relative (a definite description). (1) illustrates a typical example from Malagasy, a Western Austronesian language with VOS word order.[2]

(1)   [I Sahondra] [no nanapaka   ity hazo ity].
         Sahondra   NO PST.AT.cut   this tree this
        'It was Sahondra who cut this tree.'
        (lit.) 'The one who cut this tree was Sahondra.'

The focussed element, *i Sahondra*, is the matrix (copular) predicate. The clause-final subject is the headless relative *no nanapaka ity hazo ity* 'the one who cut this tree'.[3]

The connection between clefts and pseudo-clefts has a long history in generative linguistics, beginning with observations by Jespersen (1928). Much research in the 60's and 70's explored this connection (e.g. Akmajian (1970); Pinkham and Hankamer (1975)). More recently, Percus (1996) has proposed that cleft sentences in English are derived from a structure with a headless relative in subject position. Whether or not this analysis is correct for English, I will show that their arguments apply very elegantly to the Austronesian data. That clefts are in fact pseudo-clefts in Austronesian is not a new claim. Other researchers have come to the same conclusion about Chamorro (Chung (1998)), Madurese (Davies (2000)), Malay (Cole, Hermon and Aman (to appear) (henceforth CHA)), Maori (Bauer (1991)), Palauan (Georgopoulos (1991)) and

[1] I am using the term "pseudo-cleft" somewhat liberally here. Since Higgins (1973), pseudo-clefts in English are defined as having a free relative in subject position:
    (i) What Sahondra did was cut the tree.
In the languages discussed in this paper, the subject is either a headless relative or a free relative. I do not take this difference to be important for present purposes.
[2] Proper names in Malagasy are preceded with a determiner, either *i* or *Ra*. Abbreviations used in this paper:

1-first person	2-second person	3-third person	ACC-accusative
AGR-agreement	AT-Actor Topic	AV-Actor Voice	CT-Circumstantial Topic
DET-determiner	DO-direct object	EQ-equative	EXCL-exclamative particle
FOC-focus	FUT-future	GEN-genitive	L-locative
LNK-linker	NEG-negation	NOM-nominative	NPI-negative polarity item
P-preposition	PASS-passive	PERF-perfective	PL-plural
PST-past	Q-question marker	R-referential	REL-relative marker
SG-singular	T/A-tense/aspect	TOP-topic particle	TT- Theme Topic

Malagasy grapheme to phoneme correspondence is fairly transparent, with one notable (and in this paper, important) exception: *o* is pronounced [u].
[3] Although I argue that the correct analysis of Austronesian "clefts" involves a pseudo-cleft, I will generally translate with cleft sentences. I choose clefts as in English, they are more natural and they bring out the properties I wish to discuss more clearly.

Tagalog (Kroeger (1993); Richards (1998)).[4] What has not been previously noted is the connection between the syntactic structure and interpretation.

This paper does not make any claims about the universality of this analysis of clefts. In fact, both a movement analysis and a pseudo-cleft analysis may be possible (as is argued for English by Pinkham and Hankamer (1975) and for Chamorro by Chung (1998)). This paper, however, only motivates the pseudo-cleft analysis, based on structural and interpretive arguments. In other words, I leave open the possibility that some clefts may indeed be generated via movement.

2 Structure

Since the bulk of the data in the paper are from Malagasy, I give a brief introduction to Malagasy syntax. Malagasy is a Western Austronesian language spoken in Madagascar. The unmarked word order, which is fairly rigid, is VOS, illustrated in (2), where the subject is marked with a dotted underline.

(2) a. Nanapaka   ity hazo ity   tamin'ny   antsy i Sahondra.
          PST.AT.cut   this tree this PST.P.GEN.DET   knife Sahondra
          'Sahondra cut this tree with the knife.'

     b. Notapahin'i Sahondra   tamin'ny   antsy ity hazo ity.
          PST.TT.cut.GEN.Sahondra   PST.P.GEN.DET   knife this tree this
          'This tree was cut by Sahondra with the knife.'

     c. Nanapahan'i Sahondra   ity hazo ity   ny antsy.
          PST.CT.cut.GEN.Sahondra   this tree this   DET knife
          'The knife was used by Sahondra to cut the tree.'

(2) also illustrates the basic voice alternations: Actor Topic (AT), Theme Topic (TT) and Circumstantial Topic (CT). Simplifying somewhat, the different voices promote different elements to subject: agents, themes and obliques, respectively. Similar voice paradigms may be found in other Austronesian languages, with varying degrees of complexity.

The core data I will consider in this paper are clefts, as in (1), repeated in (3).

(3) I Sahondra no nanapaka   ity hazo ity.
     Sahondra NO PST.AT.cut   this tree this
     'It was Sahondra who cut this tree.'

On the surface, (3) involves the "fronting" of the subject, which is followed by a particle *no*. In Malagasy, as in most western Austronesian languages, only subjects and (certain) obliques may be focussed (Keenan (1972)). In order to focus an internal argument, passive is used. This restriction is shown by the contrast between the ungrammatical (4a) and the grammatical (4b).

(4) a. * Ity hazo ity   no nanapaka i Sahondra.
             this tree this   NO PST.AT.cut Sahondra
             'It was this tree that Sahondra cut.'

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[4] The pseudo-cleft analysis of Malagasy is suggested by Pearson (1996: fn17).

b.   Ity hazo ity   no notapahin'i Sahondra.
this tree this   NO PST.TT.cut.GEN.Sahondra
'It was this tree that was cut by Sahondra.'

Adjuncts, however, freely extract, whatever the voice on the verb, AT, TT, or CT.

(5)   a.   Tamin'ny antsy   no nanapaka   ity hazo ity i Sahondra.
PST.P.GEN.DET knife NO PST.AT.cut this tree this Sahondra
'It was with the knife that Sahondra cut this tree.'

b.   Tamin'ny antsy   no notapahin'i Sahondra   ity hazo ity.
PST.P.GEN.DET knife NO PST.TT.cut.GEN.Sahondra   this tree this
'It was with the knife that this tree was cut by Sahondra.'

c.   Tamin'ny antsy   no nanapahan'i Sahondra   ity hazo ity.
PST.P.GEN.DET knife NO PST.CT.cut.GEN.Sahondra   this tree this
'It was with the knife that Sahondra cut this tree.'

Note that in (5c), the adjunct is first promoted to subject and then clefted. I will not provide an explicit analysis of the extraction restriction (which applies to all instances of A-bar movement) in this paper (but see section 2.3 for some discussion). Instead, I focus on the structure and interpretation of clefts.

As already seen above, typical examples of clefts involve NPs and PPs. In certain cases, apparent VP clefts occur.

(6)   Mihinana akoho   no mitsangana Rasoa.
AT.eat   chicken   NO AT.stand Rasoa
'It's while eating chicken that Rasoa stands.'

In (6), the VP *mihinana akoho* 'eating chicken' acts like a adverbial modifier. The exact categorial status is therefore unclear.

Similar examples can be found in Chamorro, Madurese, Malay, Maori, Palauan and Tagalog:

(7)   a.   Pära si Jessie pära u-fina'gasi   i kareta   [Chamorro]
FUT   Jessie FUT AGR-PASS.wash   the car
'It will be Jessie by whom the car will be washed.' (Chung 1998)

b.   Siti se   entar daq Jakarta.   [Madurese]
Siti REL   go   to Jakarta
'It was Siti who went to Jakarta.'   (Davies 2000)

c.   Apa yang Ali beli?   [Malay]
what that Ali buy
'What did Ali buy?'   (CHA)

d.   Ko Hone i kite i te taahae.   [Maori]
EQ John see DO the thief
'It was John who saw the thief.'   (Bauer 1991)

c. Ng-Basilia a mcngaus cr tia cl tct.   [Palauan]
  AGR-Basilia R-weave P DEM L bag
  'It's Basilia who's weaving this bag.' (Georgopoulos 1991)

f. Si Bing ang gumawa ng sapatos na iyon [Tagalog]
  NOM Bing NOM AV.PERF.make GEN shoe LNK that
  'It was Bing who made those shoes.' (Kroeger 1993)

In all cases, the focussed element appears clause-initially.

It would be tempting to analyze these data as involving movement to the specifier position of a focus projection.

(8)
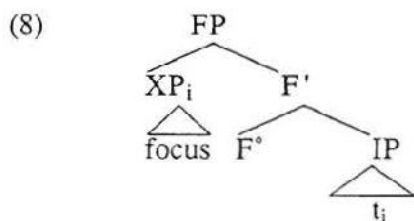
Such approaches have been proposed for focus movement in Hungarian (É. Kiss (1998)) and Italian (Rizzi (1997)). I argue, however, that in all the above languages the "cleft" in is in fact a pseudo-cleft. The basic structure is given in (9). The focussed element is an XP predicate and the presuppositional clause is a headless relative in subject position.[5]

(9) a. I Sahondra no nanapaka ity hazo ity.
   Sahondra NO PST.AT.cut this tree this
   (lit.) 'The one who cut this tree was Sahondra.'

  b.
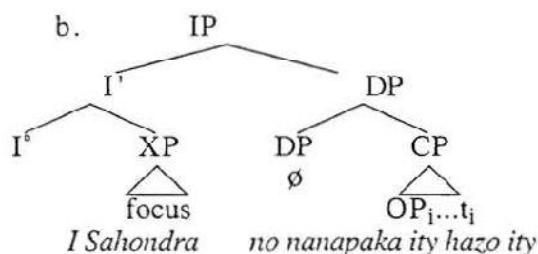
I first show that the focussed element patterns with predicates. I then turn to the presuppositional clause and provide arguments for a headless relative clause in subject position.

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[5] For the purposes of this paper, I assume the simple clause structure in (9), which is based on the analysis of V-initial word order in Guilfoyle, Hung and Travis (1992). Other analyses involve some kind of predicate fronting (e.g. V' or VP movement to a specifier position), but the differences are not crucial to the story presented here. Of the languages discussed, Madurese and Malay are not predicate-initial. Therefore, clefting does involve movement of the predicate to some clause-initial position. I discuss the difference between predicate-initial languages and the SVO languages in section 2.1.

2.1 Focus=predicate

In the above cited languages, the focussed XP does have predicate-like properties. As a first observation, most of these languages are verb-initial. The null hypothesis is therefore that the clause-initial focus is a predicate. There are also language-specific arguments that support this analysis. For example, in Chamorro, the focus can be immediately preceded by a tense/aspect/mood particle (see (7a)). The Palauan example in (7e) shows that the focus takes the subject agreement marker *ng*. Thus in these languages, verbal markers such as agreement and tense associate with the focussed element.

In Malay the interrogative focus particle *kah* provides evidence for the predicate status of focus (Kader (1976)). Simplifying somewhat, *kah* can appear on elements in the predicate, but not on the subject (boldface indicates focus).

(10) a.   Fatimah kata Siti membeli **buku itukah** semalam?
             Fatimah say Siti bought   book   that-Q yesterday
             'Did Fatimah say that Siti bought **that book** yesterday?'   (CHA (40))

(10) b. * Fatimah kata **Sitikah**   membeli   buku itu   semalam?
               Fatimah say   Siti-Q   bought   book that yesterday (CHA (41))

If the clefted element is indeed a predicate, we expect *kah* to be able to appear, as the data in (11) show to be the case. Crucially, (11b) is grammatical even though the *wh* word corresponds to the subject of the clause.

(11) a.   **Apakah** yang Ali beli?
            what-Q   that   Ali buy
            'What did Ali buy?'   (CHA (46))

(11) b.   **Siapakah** yang datang?
            who-Q   that   came
            'Who came?'   (CHA (47))

The grammaticality of *kah* on the clefted word is evidence that the focussed element originates in predicate position, rather than subject position.

Similar data can be found in Madurese (Davies (2000)). The emphatic particle *jhoh* can appear in the predicate, as shown by the examples below.

(12) a.   Ali a-barriq   **jhoh** buku jhuwa   daq Siti!
             Ali AV-give   EMPH book that   to   Siti
             'Ali gave the book to Siti!'

(12) b.   Ali a-barriq   buku jhuwa   daq Siti **jhoh**!
             Ali AV-give   book that   to   Siti EMPH
             'Ali gave the book to Siti!'

If the emphatic particle appears on the subject, however, the subject must be in the clefted position.

(13)   Ali **jhoh** *(se)   a-barriq   buku jhuwa   daq Siti!
        Ali EMPH REL   AV-give   book that   to   Siti
         'Ali is the one who gave the book to Siti!'

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Just as in Malay, the clefted element patterns with predicates.

Turning now to Malagasy, most pivots are DPs or PPs, which are also possible as matrix predicates.

(14) a. Any Antananarivo   no mipetraka i Ketaka.
          there Antananarivo   NO AT.live   Ketaka
          'It's in Antananarivo that Ketaka lives.'

      b. Any Antananarivo i Ketaka.
          there Antananarivo Ketaka
          'Ketaka is in Antananarivo.'

(14a) shows a clefted PP and (14b) a PP as a matrix predicate. Consider the parallel DP examples below.[6]

(15) a. Mpianatra no mamaky teny.
          student   NO AT.read word
          'It's students who are reading.'

      b. Mpianatra i Ketaka.
          student   Ketaka
          'Ketaka is a student.'

The data in (14) and (15) show that the elements that occur in the clefted position can function independently as predicates. Moreover, a clefted DP can be negated, unlike argument DPs and like predicates (verbal or other). Thus the pivot in (16a), *Rasoa*, can take negation (marked by *tsy*) and patterns with the nominal predicate in (16d), *mpianatra* 'student'. (16b,c) show that as arguments, DPs cannot be negated.

(16) a.   Tsy Rasoa no nanoroka   an-dRakoto.
           NEG Rasoa NO PST.AT.kiss   ACC-Rakoto
           'It's not Rasoa who kissed Rakoto.'

      b. * Nanoroka   tsy   an-dRakoto   Rasoa.
           PST.AT.kiss   NEG   ACC-Rakoto   Rasoa

      c. * Nanoroka   an-dRakoto   tsy   Rasoa.
           PST.AT.kiss   ACC-Rakoto   NEG   Rasoa

---

[6] With DPs, there arises a difference between simple predicates and clefts. Standard DP predicates cannot be definite, while definite DPs can clearly cleft. Hence the examples in (i) below contrast with (15).
  (i) a. Ny mpianatra no mamaky teny.
           det student NO AT.read word
           'It is the students who are reading.'
       b. * Ny mpianatra i Ketaka.
           DET student Ketaka
           'Ketaka is the student.'
This difference clearly requires some explanation. To do so, however, would involve a complete discussion of nominal predication in Malagasy, something I will not undertake in this paper.

d.　Tsy　　mpianatra　Rasoa.
　　　NEG　　student　　　Rasoa
　　　'Rasoa is not a student.'

Similarly, the pivot may be preceded by the verbal particle *toa* 'seems'. As shown in (17a), *toa* normally precedes the predicate.[7]

(17)　a.　Toa　　nanoroka　　　an-dRakoto　　Rasoa.
　　　　　seem　PST.AT.kiss　ACC-Rakoto　　Rasoa
　　　　　'Rasoa seems to have kissed Rakoto.'

　　　b.　Toa　　Rasoa no nanoroka　　　an-dRakoto.
　　　　　seem　Rasoa NO PST.AT.kiss　ACC-Rakoto
　　　　　'It seems to be Rasoa who kissed Rakoto.'

The above examples indicate that the pivot has a similar distribution to predicates.[8]

Summing up, a range of data show that the focussed element in a cleft patterns with predicates. I take this as evidence in favour of the structure in (9), where the focus appears in the matrix predicate position. Recall that treating the focus as a predicate is consistent with the predicate-initial word order of these languages. The only exceptions are the Javanic languages, such as Madurese and Malay, which are SVO. In order to account for the SVO languages, I must stipulate that in these cases, focus movement obtains. In other words, the focus element is generated in a predicate position and then moves to the specifier of a functional projection that dominates the subject position. An analysis along these lines is proposed in CHA.

(18)
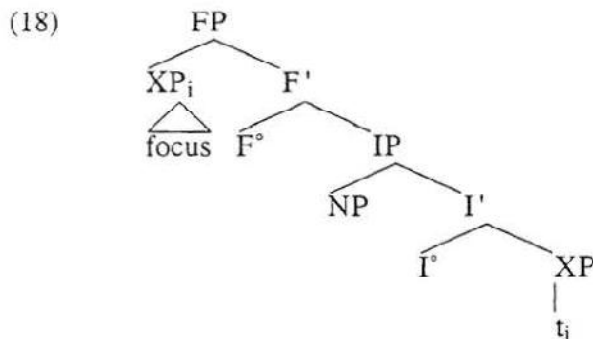
Note that this movement may be due to theme-rheme considerations and is clearly not required in the verb-initial languages.

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[7] Other adverbs that patterns with *toa* are *tena* 'really' and *tokony* 'should'.

[8] Note that in clefts, there are two potential positions for both *tsy* and *toa*: preceding the focussed element or preceding the embedded verb (with a clear difference in interpretation). Compare (ia) with (16a) and (ib) with (17b).

　(i)　a.　Rasoa no tsy nanoroka　　　an-dRakoto.
　　　　　Rasoa NO NEG PST.AT.kiss　ACC-Rakoto
　　　　　'It was Rasoa who didn't kiss Rakoto.'
　　　b.　Rasoa no toa　　nanoroka　　an-dRakoto.
　　　　　Rasoa NO seem　PST.AT.kiss ACC-Rakoto
　　　　　'It was Rasoa who seemed to kiss Rakoto.'
Hence it is not simply the case that *tsy* and *toa* are clause-initial particles.

2.2 Presuppositional clause=headless relative

Let us now examine the presuppositional clause in more detail. In (9), the presuppositional clause has the structure of a headless relative. The following subsections show that in a wide range of Austronesian languages, the cleft marker is a relative clause marker or another nominal marker.

2.2.1 Malay

The data below illustrate the identity between the relative marker and the cleft marker in Malay.

(19)   a.   Siapa **yang** kau nampak?
             who   that   you see
             'Who do you see?'   (CHA (36))

       b.   **Yang** kau nampak   Siti (-lah).
             that   you see   Siti (foc)
             'The one you see is Siti.'   (CHA (23))

       c.   [DP buku [CP **yang** John beli]]
             book   that   John bought
             'the book that John bought'   (CHA (33))

(19a) is a clefted question, marked by *yang* (glossed as 'that'). (19b) illustrates *yang* as a headless relative marker. That *yang* can be used for regular (headed) relative clauses is shown in (19c). Thus the *yang* in clefts marks the presence of a headless relative in subject position. Davies (2000) cites parallel data from Madurese, which uses the relative/focus marker *se* (see (7b)).

2.2.2 Palauan

In Palauan, the morpheme *a* is an all-purpose DP marker and precedes the presuppositional clause in a cleft. The data in (20) are from Georgopoulos (1991). (20a) illustrates the standard predicate-initial word order while (20b,c) are clefts. Note the presence of *a* in all examples.

(20)   a.   [predicate Ng-mekelekolt] [subject **a** ralm].
                    AGR-cold   R-water
             'The water is cold.'

       b.   [predicate Ng-Basilia] [subject **a** mengaus er tia el tet].
                    AGR-Basilia   R-weave   P dem L bag
             'It's Basilia who's weaving this bag.'

       c.   [predicate Ng-te'a] [subject **a** kileld-ii a   sub]?
                    AGR-who   R-pf-heat-3s soup
             'Who heated up the soup?'

As described by Georgopoulos, *a* always occurs before a DP (but not before names, pronouns or demonstratives). She concludes that since the presuppositional clause in (20b,c) is marked with *a*, it is a nominal in the subject position.

2.2.3 Tagalog

Richards (1998) cites the following data in favour of a pseudo-cleft structure for Tagalog clefts. He points out that *ang* usually marks nominals in topic position, as in (21a), where *lalaki* 'man' has been topicalized. (Richards calls "topic" what I refer to as the subject position.) Clefts, on the other hand, obligatorily involve *ang* placed immediately before the verb, as illustrated in (21b).

(21) a.   Bumili   ang lalaki ng   tela.
              AT.buy   T   man   GEN cloth
              'The man bought cloth.'

       b.   Sino ang bumili   ng   tela.
              who T   AT.buy GEN cloth
              'Who bought cloth?'

The distribution of *ang* is explained if the string of words following the clefted element (*sino* 'who' in (21b)) is a headless relative in topic (subject) position.

2.2.4 Malagasy

The Malagasy "focus marker" *no* is somewhat mysterious by comparison with the above languages as it is not used elsewhere in the language.[9] Hence this type of headless relative does not surface except in clefts. Free relatives in argument positions use *izay*, as illustrated in (22a). Headed relative clauses such as in (22b) are also marked with *izay* (although it is often optional).

(22) a.   Hahazo   karama be   izay   miasa   mafy.
              FUT.AT.get   salary big REL   AT.work hard
              'Whoever works hard will make lots of money.'

       b.   ny vehivavy   (izay) miasa   mafy
              DET woman   (REL) AT.work hard
              'the woman who works hard'

Other headless relatives are marked with the determiner *ny*.

(23)   ny miasa   mafy
        DET AT.work hard
        'the ones who are working hard' or 'the event of working hard'

I simply stipulate that the headless relative marked by *no* is restricted to certain copular

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[9] Clearly unrelated is the past tense marker *no*. Another use of *no*, likely related to the focus construction is in the first clause of an *if...then* statement, when the second clause expresses a cause.

(i)   Izaho   no tsy tonga, nisy   raharaha nalehako.
         1SG.NOM NO NEG arrive PST.AT.exist business PST.a.gone.1SG.GEN
         'If I didn't come, it's because business called me elsewhere.'

Finally, *no* appears in certain SVO contexts, where the subject is an indefinite pronoun.

(ii) Na iza na iza   (no) tsy   mamafa   lalana   dia voasazy.
     or who or who (NO) NEG   AT.sweep road   TOP voa.punish
     'Whoever doesn't sweep the road will be punished.'

In (ii), *no* is optional and in fact some speakers prefer to omit it. In regular clefts, *no* is obligatorily present.

clauses.[10] Note that the headless relatives in other languages do not seem to have this restriction and may appear in any argument position.

Coordination in Malagasy points toward a DP structure for the presuppositional clause. More precisely, it is evidence against treating the cleft construction as fronting to a specifier position of a functional category in the CP structure (à la Rizzi (1997)). Under such an analysis, the focus constituent moves to the specifier position of [FocusP] and *no* is the head of FocusP or some other projection. The remainder of the clause is simply material in IP. This structure is shown in (24).

(24) [FocusP Rasoa_i [no [IP nijinja   vary t_i]].
      Rasoa   NO   PST.AT.harvest rice
      'It was Rasoa who was harvesting rice.'

Consider now coordination. Malagasy has two main types of coordinating conjunction: *ary* and *sy*. The former conjoins clauses (IP or CP), while the latter is for smaller constituents, for example VP or DP (or heads).

(25) a.   Miteny   ny mpampianatra ary mihaino   ny mpianatra.
            AT.speak DET teacher   and AT.listen DET student
            'The teacher speaks and the students listen.'

      b.   Misotro   sy miloka   izy.
            AT.drink and AT.play 3.NOM
            'He drinks and plays.'

Crucially, *sy* (and not *ary*) is used to coordinate presuppositional clauses.

(26) Rasoa [no nijinja   vary] sy/*ary [no nanapaka   bozaka].
      Rasoa NO PST.AT.harvest   rice   and   NO PST.AT.cut grass
      'It was Rasoa who harvested rice and cut grass.'

First, the datum in (26) indicates that the string of *no* and whatever follows (i.e. the presuppositional clause) is a constituent. Second, (26) shows that the presuppositional clause is not IP or CP since *ary* is ungrammatical. Thus we have evidence against the analysis briefly sketched in (24).

Due to the similarities between clefts and relative constructions, I will assume that *no* is a nominal marker. The two trees in (27) illustrate two possible structures for the headless relative in question. Under this analysis, *no* is either a determiner, as in (27a), or a complementizer, as in (27b).

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[10] Many other Austronesian languages have a relative marker similar in form to the Malagasy *no* (either *nu* or *anu*). For example, in Sundanese, an Indonesian language, the relative clause marker is *nu* (Hardjadibrata (1985)). It is therefore likely that the Malagasy *no* is a historical remnant. Malzac (1960) mentions that certain Malagasy grammarians believe *no* to be diachronically related to the determiner *ny*. He does not provide any references, however.

(27) a.

      b.
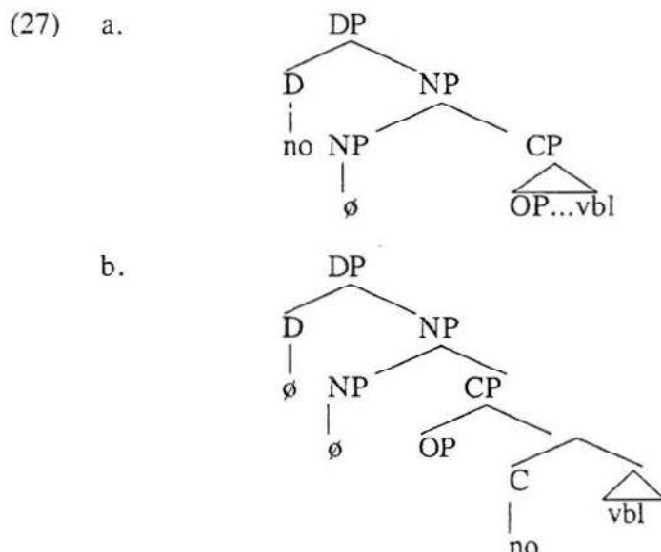
Since the precise position of *no* is not crucial to my analysis, I will not attempt to distinguish between these two possibilities (see footnote 10 for some speculation on the category of *no*).

2.3 Headless relatives

In this section, I address certain aspects of the interpretation of the headless relative clause in the proposed structure of the cleft. In a cleft where the pivot corresponds to the subject, the headless relative means something like 'the one/thing who/that...'.

(28) a.   I Bakoly no manapaka   bozaka.
              Bakoly NO AT.cut   grass
              (lit.) 'The one who is cutting grass is Bakoly.'

      b.   Bozaka   no tapahin'i Bakoly.
             grass   NO TT.cut.GEN.Bakoly
             (lit.) 'The thing that Bakoly is cutting is grass.'

      c.   Ny   antsy no anapahin'i Bakoly   bozaka.
             DET   knife NO CT.cut.GEN.Bakoly grass
             (lit.) 'The thing that Bakoly is cutting grass with is the knife.'

The voice on the verb will determine which argument is interpreted as the external argument. An agent with AT, as in (28a), a theme with TT, as in (28b), or some oblique with CT, as in (28c).

Recall the restrictions on clefting mentioned in section 2. The absence of object clefts is a direct consequence of the headless relative structure proposed. It is not possible to relativize an object, hence the corresponding object cleft is impossible. In other words, the ungrammaticality of the cleft (29a) is related to the ungrammaticality of the relative clause in (29b).

(29) a. * Bozaka no manapaka i Bakoly.
              grass   NO AT.cut   Bakoly
              'It's grass that Bakoly is cutting.'

b. * ny zavatra   izay manapaka i Bakoly
    DET thing   REL AT.cut   Bakoly
    'the thing that Bakoly is cutting'

c.   ny zavatra   izay tapahin'i Bakoly
    DET thing   REL TT.cut GEN.Bakoly
    'the thing that Bakoly is cutting'

For an object to be relativized, the verb must have TT morphology, as shown in (29c). The same is true for object clefts, as can be seen by the contrast between (28b) and (29a). Thus the restriction on clefting reduces to the restriction on relativization.

Recall, however, that adjuncts can be clefted without being promoted to subject. This is illustrated in (30a), which has a PP pivot and an AT verb. (30b), on the other hand, shows that adjuncts cannot be relativized with AT morphology.

(30) a.   Amin'ny   antsy no manapaka bozaka i Bakoly.
       P.GEN.DET knife NO AT.cut   grass   Bakoly
       'It is with a knife that Bakoly is cutting grass.'

b. * ny antony izay manapaka bozaka i Bakoly
     DET reason REL AT.cut   grass   Bakoly
     'the reason why Bakoly is cutting grass'

Clearly we cannot simply relate the availabilty of clefts to the grammaticality of relatives. Moreover, in (30a) the headless relative cannot mean 'the one who is cutting grass' for two reasons. First, the agent of cutting (*Bakoly*) is expressed within the relative. Second, if clefts have an equative structure, it is somewhat odd to equate a PP with a nominal referring to an individual.

Before providing an analysis of (30a), I note that these types of adjunct clefts are not common in the Austronesian languages discussed in this paper. CHA explicitly discuss this point with reference to Malay. They point out that the lack of adjunct clefts correlates with certain gaps in the interpretation of headless relatives.

(31) a. ?? Ke mana yang kau pergi?
      to where that you go
      'Where are you going?'

b. ?? Yang aku pergi (ialah) ke Kuala Lumpur.
      that   I   go   is   to Kuala Lumpur
      'Where I am going is to Kuala Lumpur.'

The impossibility of the adjunct cleft in (31a) is related to the impossible meaning for the headless relative in (31b). On the other hand, in the closely related language Madurese, adjunct clefts are grammatical and headless relatives may have the interpretation disallowed in Malay.

To account for the grammaticality of adjunct clefts, I suggest that the headless relative is interpreted as an event nominal (like a gerund). In other words, (30a) means 'The event of Bakoly cutting grass was with a knife'. Invoking the event reading allows a range of obliques to appear in an AT cleft, as is in fact the case. I therefore conclude that these constructions are not strictly equative, but rather copular in a looser sense.

This account may at first appear stipulative. In fact, however, zero nominals in Malagasy freely have either an event or an individual interpretation. Both readings are illustrated in (32).

(32) a.   Faly ny   manapaka bozaka.
              happy DET   AT.cut   grass
              'The ones who are cutting grass are happy.'

      b.   Sarotra   ny manapaka bozaka.
              difficult   DET AT.cut   grass
              'Cutting grass is difficult.'

      c.   Mihira   ny   tiana.
              AT.sing   DET   TT.love
              'The loved ones are singing.'

      d.   Mahafinaritra ny   tiana.
              AT.happy   DET   TT.love
              'Being loved is pleasant.'

In (32a), the zero nominal clearly receives an individual reading. (32b), on the other hand, is a gerund-like zero nominal. (32c,d) shows that the individual and the gerund readings are possible for passive nominals as well as active ones. It is therefore not unreasonable to suggest the event and the individual readings are also available for the headless relatives in cleft constructions.

Another possible analysis of adjunct clefts involves movement. For examples such as (30a), the adjunct moves to a clausal focus position, rather than being generated as a predicate. The structure is shown in (33).

(33)   [[Amin'ny antsy]$_i$ no [manapaka bozaka t$_i$ i Bakoly].
           P.GEN.DET knife NO AT.cut   grass   Bakoly
    'It is with a knife that Bakoly is cutting grass.'

A similar dual analysis of clefts is suggested by Pinkham and Hankamer (1975) for English and by Chung (1998) for Chamorro. By invoking movement for adjunct clefts, we can maintain a strictly equative analysis for subject clefts. In other words, by complicating the syntax (two alternate derivations), we simplify the semantics. This solution, however, does not provide any explanation for why clefting of adjuncts is ruled out in certain languages (such as Malay) and not in others (like Madurese). More importantly, a purely syntactic explanation does not capture the correlation between the interpretation of headless relatives and the possibility of adjunct clefts.

2.4 Summary

In this section, I have provided syntactic arguments for analyzing the cleft in a range of Austronesian languages as a copular construction. The focus is in fact the matrix predicate and the presuppositional clause is a headless relative clause in the subject position. The final two sections of this paper investigate the interpretation of clefts and how this interpretation relates to the proposed structure.

3 Interpretation

Turning to the semantics of cleft constructions, it has long been noted that they are associated

with a certain interpretation: existential presupposition and exhaustivity (Halvorsen (1978)).[11] This interpretation is also apparent in Malagasy.

3.1 Existence

First, a cleft (it is x that P) presupposes that there is some individual x that has the property P ($\exists$x s.t. Px is true). Hence the presupposition of the cleft in (34b) is that someone painted houses. This clearly contradicts (34a), which asserts that no one painted houses.

(34) a. Tsy misy olona   nandoko   trano...
          NEG exist person PST.AT.paint house
          'No one painted houses...'

     b. # ... noho   izany dia tsy i Koto no nandoko   trano.
              because   that   TOP NEG Koto NO PST.AT.paint   house
          '... therefore it wasn't Koto who painted houses.'

A similar conflict arises in (35), which presupposes that someone is painting houses while simultaneously asserting that no one is.

(35) * Tsy na iza na iza   no mandoko trano.
         NEG or who or who NO AT.paint house
     * 'It's no one who is painting houses.'

Just as in English, Malagasy clefts carry existential presuppositions.

3.2 Exhaustivity

Second, a cleft expresses exhaustive identification. É. Kiss (1998) provides tests for the exhaustive reading. Consider first question-answer pairs. The answers in (36b,c) to the question in (36a) have different meanings.

(36) a. Nandeha taiza   ianao?
          PST.AT.go PST.where 2SG.NOM
          'Where did you go?'

     b. Nandeha   tany   Ambositra aho.
          PST.AT.go PST.there Ambositra 1SG.NOM
          'I went to Ambositra.'

     c. Tany   Ambositra no nandeha   aho.
          PST.there Ambositra NO PST.AT.go 1SG.NOM
          'It was to Ambositra that I went.'

(36b) does not exclude the possibility that I went to other places as well as Ambositra. The cleft construction in (36c), however, is an exhaustive answer; Ambositra is the only destination.

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[11] For this section, I rely mainly on data from Malagasy. Data from Madurese cited in example (40) at the end of this section suggest that the interpretive effects that I identify are common to clefts in other languages.

Similarly, consider the following pairs.[12]

(37) a.   Novidin'i Bakoly   ny satroka sy   ny kiraro.
              PST.TT.buy.GEN.Bakoly DET hat   and DET shoe
              'Bakoly bought a hat and shoes.'

      b.   Novidin'i Bakoly   ny satroka.
              PST.TT.buy.GEN.Bakoly DET hat
              'Bakoly bought a hat.'

(38) a.   Ny satroka sy ny kiraro no novidin'i Bakoly.
              DET hat   and DET shoe NO PST.TT.buy.GEN.Bakoly
              'It's a hat and shoes that Bakoly bought.'

      b.   Ny satroka no novidin'i Bakoly.
              DET hat   NO PST.AT.buy.GEN.Bakoly
              'It's a hat that Bakoly bought.'

As in the English equivalents, the sentence in (37b) is a logical consequence of the one in (37a). On the other hand, (38b) is not a logical consequence of (38a). In fact, (38b) contradicts (38a). Hence, the cleft construction in (38) passes the test of exhaustivity.

Exhaustivity is further illustrated with the following test. Due to the assertion of exhaustivity, there are certain distributional restrictions on the elements that can appear in the focus position.

(39) a. * Bakoly koa no   nandeha   tany   Ambositra.
             Bakoly also NO   PST.AT.go PST.there Ambositra
        * 'It was also Bakoly who went to Ambositra.'

      b. * Na ny   mpianatra votsavotsa aza   no nahazo   isa   tsara.
             or DET   student   weak   even   NO PST.AT.get number good
        * 'It was even the weak students who got good grades.'

      c. * Na iza na iza   no mahavita izany.
             or who or who NO AT.done that
        * 'It's anyone who can do that.'

These elements appear to have some semantic clash with exhaustive identification. For example, the import of *koa* 'also' in (39a) is to assert that going to Ambositra is true of some other individual as well as Bakoly. Hence the meaning of this adverb conflicts with the assertion of exhaustivity, which leads to the ungrammaticality of (39a). Since DPs with these semantic features are not permitted in a cleft, we see that the cleft position is associated with a particular interpretation, in this case exhaustivity.

Although most of the information I have on other Austronesian clefts does not discuss these interpretational facts, Davies (2000) provides similar data from Madurese. He shows that the clefted position is incompatible with the adverb *ghia* 'too, also'.

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[12] É. Kiss attributes this test to Szabolcsi (1981). The judgements in (37) do not change if the verb is in AT. I use TT in (37) to provide minimal pairs with (38), where TT is necessary to allow clefting of the logical object.

(40) a.   Marlena nge-cet   roma-na   ghia.
             Marlena AV-paint house-DEF too
             'Marlena painted the house too.'

      b.   Marlena ghia   nge-cet   roma-na.
             Marlena too   AV-paint   house-DEF
             'Marlena also painted the house.'

      c. *   Marlena ghia   se   nge-cet   roma-na.
             Marlena too   REL   AV-paint   house-DEF
             'Marlena also is the one who painted the house.'

The data in the section have shown that Malagasy clefts are associated with a certain interpretation, parallel to English clefts. Clefts carry two presuppositions: existence and exhaustivity. I now explain why these two presuppositions are present, drawing on the structure of clefts proposed in section 2. In other words, I link the interpretation to the underlying presence of a definite description.

4 Solution

I account for the particular focus interpretation of clefts by invoking the headless relative structure. Recall the structure proposed for clefts in Austronesian.

(41) a.   I Sahondra no nanapaka   ity hazo ity.
            Sahondra NO PST.AT.cut   this tree this
            (lit.) 'The one who cut this tree was Sahondra.'
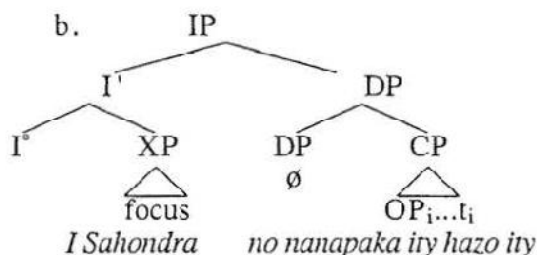
Crucially, the subject DP is a headless relative ('the one who...'). Headless relatives are definite descriptions and therefore have the same presuppositions as definite descriptions. These are precisely the same presuppositions as those exhibited by clefts.

It is well known that definite descriptions presuppose the existence of the individual described. Moreover, definite descriptions presuppose (or entail) that there is exactly one referent as described (Strawson (1950)). In other words, the pattern identified in the previous section is paralleled by (42)-(43) below, which contain overt definite descriptions. Compare the ungrammaticality of (35) (repeated as (42a)) with (42b). In (42b), the definite description 'the one who is painting houses' presupposes the existence of someone painting houses. If this description is predicated of 'no one', ungrammaticality results.

(42) a. * Tsy na iza na iza   no mandoko trano.
          NEG or who or who NO AT.paint house
      *   'It's no one who is painting houses.'

b. * Tsy na iza na iza   ny (olona)   mandoko   trano.
     NEG or who or who   DET (person)   AT.paint   house
     *   'The one who is painting houses is no one.'

Similarly, compare (43a) with (43b). The adverb *koa* 'also' is incompatible with the uniqueness reading that arises in a definite description in (43b) and with the exhaustivity of the cleft in (43a).

(43)   a.   *   Rasoa koa no   mandoko   trano
             Rasoa also NO   AT.paint   house
        *   'It's also Rasoa who is painting houses.'

       b.   *   Rasoa koa ny   (olona)   mandoko   trano.
             Rasoa also DET (person)   AT.paint   house
        *   'The one who is painting houses is also Rasoa.'

If we analyze clefts as containing a definite description, these parallels in interpretation are accounted for in a simple manner.

5   Conclusion

In this paper, I have proposed a structure for clefts where the focussed element is the matrix predicate and the presuppositional clause corresponds to a headless relative in subject position. I have argued that this analysis of Austronesian clefts accounts both for their structural properties and their interpretation. The focussed element patterns with predicates and the presuppositional clause patterns with complex DP subjects. It is the headless relative, a definite description, that induces the focus interpretation associated with clefts. Note that the headless relative structure proposed is quite common in the languages discussed. In other words, the Austronesian languages under consideration allow productive zero nominal formation, consisting of the simple addition of a determiner or other nominal marker to a predicate. Thus the present analysis of clefts meshes with the syntactic structure of Austronesian languages and is not dependent on special focus features in the syntax or movement to particular focus projections. Instead, the focus reading arises independently and with minimal additional assumptions.

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