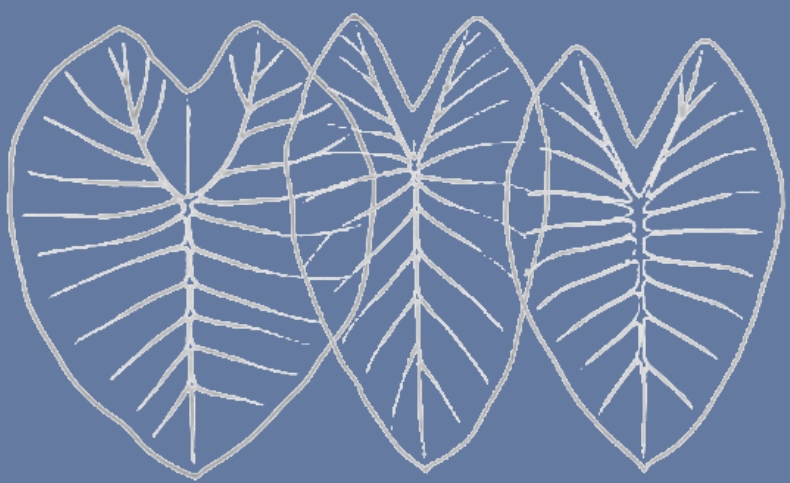
Proceedings of TripleAFLA

9th TripleA workshop for semantic fieldworkers
29th annual meeting of the Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association



Edited by Vera Hohaus, Jens Hopperdietzel & Siena Weingartz

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Edited by Vera Hohaus, Jens Hopperdietzel & Siena Weingartz
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"Taro Varieties in Hawaii", *Hawaii Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin* 84, Fig. 2, p. 15.
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Preface

The TripleAFLA conference was hosted by the Department of Linguistics and English Language at the University of Manchester between the 28th June and the 1st July 2022. The conference was a joint event combining the 9th TripleA workshop for semantic fieldworkers and the 29th annual meeting of the Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association (AFLA).

The programme included 22 talks selected by reviewed abstract, of which eight are featured as papers in this volume. Invited talks at the conference were from Sasha Calhoun (Victoria University of Wellington), Tingchun Chen, (National Tsing Hua University, Hsinchu), Joash Gambarage (University of British Columbia, Vancouver), Paloma Jeretič (Leibniz-Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprach-wissenschaft, Berlin), Manfred Krifka (Leibniz-Zentrum für Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin), and Luisa Martí (Queen Mary University of London).

We are grateful to the reviewers listed below for their time and feedback.

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The Organisers

Margit Bowler, Emily Hanink, Vera Hohaus,
Jens Hopperdietzel, and Siena Weingartz

Table of Contents

NON-PIVOT RELATIVISATION IN JAVANESE

Tsan Tsai Chan
Universität Leipzig
tc80gyda@studserv.uni-leipzig.de

This paper investigates a construction found in certain Javanese dialects that I term the generic focus construction (GFC). Like pseudo-clefts, the GFC consists of a focus-fronted ('relativised') element and a backgrounded clause, but appears at odds with the pivot-only restriction on extraction (cf. Keenan & Comrie 1977) in being able to relativise on non-pivot arguments and adjuncts. I ultimately argue that arguments and adjuncts focus-fronted in the GFC are not in fact relativised. They sidestep the pivot-only restriction by being base-generated externally to the backgrounded clause but take scope within that clause by being coreferential with elements there, most notably a hanging topic and for focus-fronted arguments a resumptive phrase as well. I conclude with an account of why not all Javanese dialects have the GFC and demonstrate the wider relevance of the Javanese findings.

1. Introduction

1.1. Overview

Taken against a larger backdrop of Western Austronesian voice systems, relativisation in Grobogan Javanese (JvG) appears aberrant in two respects. Firstly, aside from targeting pivot DPs (1a), relativisation using the particle *sing* can seemingly also apply to non-pivot DPs and adjuncts in sentences resembling pseudo-clefts (1b-d).[1,2,3] This contradicts the pivot-only restriction on extraction, a generalisation which, recast in terms relevant to this paper, states that only pivot arguments may be relativised (cf. Keenan & Comrie 1977, Erlewine 2018).[4]

(1) a. Agent pivot 'relativised' in actor voice
Kucing=mu sing ny-(c)okot Ali dhèk wingi[5]
cat=2.POSS SING AV-bite A. PST yesterday
'It was your cat that bit Ali yesterday.'

* This paper has benefited greatly from comments by Michael Erlewine, Gereon Müller and Sören Tebay. Two informants from Grobogan and two from Yogyakarta provided the data, with generic focus construction judgements confirmed by one additional speaker from Malang (East Java). I gratefully acknowledge the input of all these individuals, although none of them necessarily agrees with the analysis presented here. All errors are mine.

[1] The relativiser in low-level *ngoko* Javanese, which the data here represents, is *sing*. However, I will later argue that JvG *sing* in the environments illustrated in (1) is in fact a complementiser, not a relativiser.

[2] I use the Leipzig Glossing Rules, with the following exceptions: AV = actor voice, PST = past adverbial, RESUMP = resumptive phrase (found with hanging topics), UV = undergoer voice. I do not gloss *sing* (cf. footnote 1). Additional abbreviations are: FC = focus construction, GFC = generic focus construction, HTLD = hanging topic left dislocation, JvG = Grobogan Javanese, JvY = Yogyakarta Javanese. Fully grammatical sentences are unmarked, marginal ones indicated with question marks (?) with three denoting the most deviance, and uniformly ungrammatical sentences marked with an asterisk (*). A per cent sign (%) indicates variation in acceptability along dialectal lines.

[3] Like Jeoung (2018:24), I take pseudo-clefts to refer to clefted sentences without an overt expletive subject.

[4] I will use the terms "pivot", "pivot argument" and "pivot DP" interchangeably.

[5] The phonological changes brought about by the addition of the actor voice prefix often involve the deletion of consonantal onsets to verb stems. Deleted onsets are marked in brackets throughout.

b. Non-pivot theme 'relativised' in actor voice
Ali sing kucing=mu ny-(c)okot dhèk wingi
A. SING cat=2.POSS AV-bite PST yesterday
'Ali is the one whom your cat bit yesterday.'
c. Non-pivot agent 'relativised' in undergoer voice
Kucing=mu sing Ali di-cokot dhèk wingi
cat=2.POSS SING A. UV-bite PST yesterday
(=1a)
d. Temporal adjunct 'relativised' in actor voice
Dhèk wingi sing kucing=mu ny-(c)okot Ali
PST yesterday SING cat=2.POSS AV-bite A.
'It was yesterday that your cat bit Ali.'

Secondly, such structures in JvG can embed hanging topics, unlike pseudo-clefts in dialects like Yogyakarta Javanese (JvY) where non-pivot relativisation is impossible. Crucially, the embedded hanging topic may be coreferential with the apparently relativised element. This is shown in (2), where the pronominal hanging topic *wongé* and the DP *Ali* have the same referent:[6]

(2) Embedded hanging topics apparently allowed with relativisation in JvG but not in JvY
Ali sing (%yèn wongé) di-cokot kucing=mu dhèk wingi
A. SING TOP 3 UV-bite cat=2.POSS PST yesterday
Intended: 'Ali was the one who, in his case, he had been bitten by your cat yesterday.

Despite its deviant properties, however, JvG is not fully exempt from the pivot-only restriction. Notably, the relativisation of non-pivot DPs is generally ungrammatical where a monotransitive verb takes two human arguments (3), in contrast to contexts such as (1).

(3) a. Relativising theme pivot (undergoer voice) grammatical with two human arguments in JvG
Ali sing di-senè-ni pak guru
A. SING UV-piss-APPL sir teacher
b. Relativising non-pivot theme (actor voice) not allowed with two human arguments in JvG
**Ali sing pak guru ny-(s)enè-ni*
A. SING sir teacher AV-scold-APPL
'Ali is the one whom Teacher scolded.'

To distinguish them from pseudo-clefts as exemplified in (3), I will use the term "generic focus construction (GFC)" to describe sentences like those in (1). "Generic" refers to the fronted constituent in such sentences being categorially diverse, in contrast to pseudo-clefts, where only pivot DPs can be fronted. I ultimately argue that the GFC has a composite structure analogous to a pseudo-cleft with an embedded hanging topic.[7] As the GFC does not implicate relativisation, it does not violate the pivot-only restriction.

[6] I box up coreferential elements instead of marking them with indices where the binding data is ambiguous. I use "coreference" here in a general sense to describe nouns, pronouns and gaps sharing the same real-world referent.
[7] Here, "focus" refers exclusively to focus-fronting and elements affected by it. Pivot arguments are also sometimes known as "foci", but I do not adopt this usage here.

The rest of this section covers the basic facts relating to the Javanese voice system. Section 2 then discusses the properties of the GFC, showing that it bears similarities to both pseudo-clefts and hanging topic left dislocation (HTLD). Section 3 contains the theoretical proposal where I make two arguments, firstly, that the GFC contains an embedded hanging topic, which I use to explain its similarities to HTLD; and secondly, that the GFC and pseudo-clefts are closely related copular constructions that embed nominalised clauses of different sizes. Section 4 places the GFC in a wider typological context, after which section 5 concludes.

1.2. Background on Javanese

The two Central Javanese dialects this paper deals with, JvG and JvY, are respectively spoken in Grobogan Regency and the Special Region of Yogyakarta in Indonesia.[8] Both share the pseudo-cleft construction, while only JvG has the GFC, as shown above. They are otherwise very similar.

For both dialects, I distinguish the actor voice and undergoer voice.[9] The agent is pivot in the former and the theme pivot in the latter. The voices differ mainly in word order and the prefixes on the verb, as shown in (4). In monotransitive contexts, pivots generally precede the verb and are the only DPs that can undergo relativisation in pseudo-clefts, as already demonstrated in 1.1.

(4) a. Actor voice (word order: agent—verb—theme)
Kucing=mu ny-(c)okot Ali dhèk wingi
cat=2.POSS AV-bite A. PST yesterday
'Your cat bit Ali yesterday.'

b. Undergoer voice with third-person subject (word order: theme—verb—agent)
Ali di-cokot kucing=mu dhèk wingi
A. UV-bite cat=2.POSS PST yesterday
'Ali was bitten by your cat yesterday.'

2. The generic focus construction

This section first shows that, despite superficial similarities, the GFC is syntactically distinct from pseudo-clefts, and second, where the GFC differs from pseudo-clefts, it patterns with HTLD. The GFC's mixed properties motivate my analysis in 3.3 of it as a composite construction. As only JvG has the GFC, all GFC judgement data comes from this dialect. With pseudo-clefts, on the other hand, most judgements reflect JvY usage, because in JvG, pseudo-clefts are impossible to definitively tease apart from the GFC. HTLD judgements represent both dialects.

2.1. Structure

At its most basic, the GFC is made up of two components (5). The first is a focussed element, which I shall accordingly refer to as the focus. The second is what I term the *sing*-phrase, where the particle *sing* embeds a presuppositional clause that I shall call the background. [10] Immediately preceding *sing* is an optionally realised generic noun that is coreferential with the focus.

[8] 'JvG' and 'JvY' are labels of convenience that refer only to my informants' varieties, not to any well-defined dialect.
[9] For simplicity, I lump under "undergoer voice" what others term the "object voice" and the "passive voice". I do not consistently translate undergoer voice sentences with the English passive, as the two are not equivalent.
[10] I borrow the terms "focus" and "background" from Erlewine & Lim (2021), who apply them to pseudo-clefts.

(5)

focus	*sing*-phrase				
	generic noun	SING	background		
Ali	*(wong)*	*sing*	*kucing=mu*	*ny-(c)okot*	*dhèk wingi*
A.	person	SING	cat=2.POSS	AV-bite	PST yesterday

'Ali is the one whom your cat bit yesterday.'

2.2 to 2.4 contrast the GFC against pseudo-clefts, which confusingly enough also have the basic structure shown in (5). Many of the examples to follow are amenable to both a GFC and a pseudo-cleft interpretation as a result. To disambiguate, I mark elements or sentences with a per cent sign (%) that are ungrammatical on a pseudo-cleft reading but grammatical on a GFC reading.

2.2. Focus

To start with the similarities, foci in both the GFC and pseudo-clefts are associated with an exhaustive reading (6a) and can comprise either wh- or non-wh-words ((6b, a)).

(6) a. Exhaustive reading associated with GFC/ pseudo-cleft focus
Ali sing di-cokot kucing=mu dhèk wingi
A. SING UV-bite cat=2.POSS PST yesterday
(??? *Tomo uga di-cokot kucing=mu dhèk wingi*)
T. also UV-bite cat=2.POSS PST yesterday
'Ali was the one who was bitten by your cat yesterday. (??? Tomo was also bitten …)'

b. Wh-word 'who' allowed as GFC/ pseudo-cleft focus
Sapa sing di-cokot kucing=mu dhèk wingi
who SING UV-bite cat=2.POSS PST yesterday
'Who was bitten by your cat yesterday?'

However, as mentioned above, pseudo-clefts are subject to the pivot-only restriction while the GFC is not. Therefore, the focus position of pseudo-clefts can only be occupied by pivot DPs, while non-pivot DPs and adjuncts are allowed as foci as well in the GFC (see (1b-d)).

2.3. Background

GFC backgrounds differ from pseudo-cleft backgrounds in several ways. First, hanging topics are permissible in the former but not the latter ((7a), cf. (2)), even though they are always allowed before the focus. The same goes for epistemic and evaluative adverbs (7b). Because these elements are all structurally high (cf. Cinque 1999), I take this to indicate that the GFC background is a full clause while that of a pseudo-cleft is smaller than a full clause. This interpretation is supported by how in JvG (but not in JvY), the relativiser *sing* also doubles as a complementiser (see (17)). Also, resumptive phrases are permissible with the GFC but not with pseudo-clefts (7c).

(7)a. Hanging topics not allowed in pseudo-cleft background but permitted in the GFC; allowed before the focus in both constructions
(Yèn dhèk wingi,) *Ali* *sing* *(%yèn dhèk wingi,)* *di-cokot* *kucing=mu*
TOP PST yesterday A. SING UV-bite cat=2.POSS
'Yesterday, Ali was the one who was bitten by your cat.'

b. Epistemic ('probably') and evaluative ('unfortunately') adverbs not allowed in pseudo-cleft background but permitted in the GFC; allowed before the focus in both constructions
(Kira-kira/ éman-éman) *Ali* *sing* *(%kira-kira/ éman-éman)* *di-cokot* *kucing=mu*
probably/ unfortunately A. SING UV-bite cat=2.POSS
'Ali was the one who probably/ unfortunately was bitten by your cat.'

c. Resumptives not allowed in pseudo-cleft background but permitted in the GFC
Ali *sing* *(%wongé)* *di-cokot* *kucing=mu*
A. SING RESUMP UV-bite cat=2.POSS
'Ali was the one where he was bitten by your cat.'

2.4. Movement diagnostics

GFC and pseudo-cleft foci behave rather differently with respect to extraction out of islands and reconstruction, both generally taken to be indicators of movement.

Where they are DPs, GFC foci are island-insensitive, i.e. they can correspond to a gap within an island. Pseudo-cleft foci, on the other hand, are susceptible to island violations. Accordingly, (8a-c), which involve the extraction of a DP focus out of an adjunct, relative clause and wh-island respectively, are unacceptable as pseudo-clefts but grammatical on a GFC reading.

(8) With DP arguments as foci, the GFC is not sensitive to islands but pseudo-clefts are

a. % *Tomo* *sing* *udan deres* *[island sadurungé* *(wongé)* *di-temo-ni* *Ali]*
who SING rain heavily before RESUMP UV-meet-APPL A.
'It had started to rain heavily before Tomo was found by Ali.'

b. % *Pak guru* *sing* *Tomo* *ora* *seneng* *murid* *[island* *sing* *di-senè-ni* *(wongé)]*
sir teacher SING T. NEG like student SING UV-piss-APPL RESUMP
'Tomo does not like the student who was scolded by Teacher.' [11]

c. % *Ali* *sing* *durung* *di-putus-i* *pak guru* *[island* *apa* *(wongé)* *kudu* *di-dhendha]*
A. SING not.yet UV-cut-APPL sir teacher Q RESUMP must UV-fine
'Teacher hasn't decided whether Ali should be fined.'

Reconstruction for Principles B and C is likewise not evident for the GFC, whereas it is present in pseudo-clefts. (9) illustrates this with a DP focus that has a pronoun (*wongé* 'third-person') and an R-expression (*Ali*) as its possessor. On a pseudo-cleft reading, these possessors reconstruct to a lower position bound by a proper noun (*Ali*), hence violating Principles B and C respectively and yielding ungrammaticality. By contrast, reconstruction to a lower position is absent on a GFC reading, and the sentence is acceptable. This would suggest that GFC foci, at least where DP foci are concerned, are not derived by movement, whereas pseudo-cleft foci are.

[11] *Seneng* 'to like' does not take voice prefixes and is therefore not subject to the pivot-only restriction (cf. (9)).

(9) *Foto-né {% wongé$_i$/ % Ali$_i$}* *sing* *Ali$_i$* *seneng* ☐
cat-DEF 3 A. SING A. like
Intended: 'It is his$_i$ own photo that Ali$_i$ likes.' (lit. '{His$_i$/ Ali$_i$'s} photo is what Ali$_i$ likes.')

2.5. Comparison with hanging topic left dislocation

I will now show that the differences between the GFC and pseudo-clefts addressed above are largely due to the GFC sharing properties with HTLD. Judgements here reflect JvG and JvY usage.

First, much like the GFC, HTLD is not subject to the pivot-only restriction. Pivot and non-pivot arguments, alongside adjuncts, can all undergo HTLD ((10), cf. (1)).

(10)a. HTLD of agent pivot in actor voice
Yèn *kucing=mu*, *(kucing=mu)* *ny-(c)okot* *Ali* *dhèk* *wingi*
TOP cat=2.POSS RESUMP AV-bite A. PST yesterday
'In the case of your cat, it bit Ali yesterday.'

b. HTLD of non-pivot theme in actor voice
Yèn *Ali*, *kucing=mu* *ny-(c)okot* *(wongé)* *dhèk* *wingi*
TOP A. cat=2.POSS AV-bite RESUMP PST yesterday
'Where Ali is concerned, he got bitten by your cat yesterday.'

c. HTLD of non-pivot agent in undergoer voice
Yèn *kucing=mu*, *Ali* *di-(c)okot* *(kucing=mu)* *dhèk* *wingi*
TOP cat=2.POSS A. UV-bite RESUMP PST yesterday
'In the case of your cat, Ali was bitten by it yesterday.'

d. HTLD of temporal adjunct in actor voice
Yèn *dhèk* *wingi,* *kucing=mu* *ny-(c)okot* *Ali*
TOP PST yesterday cat=2.POSS AV-bite A.
'Yesterday, your cat bit Ali.'

The clausal complement of a hanging topic can also accommodate resumptive phrases (10a-c), and house other hanging topics and high adverbs (11), similarly to the GFC:

(11) *Yèn Ali,* *(yèn* *dhèk* *wingi,)* *(éman-éman)* *di-cokot* *kucing=mu*
TOP A. TOP PST yesterday unfortunately UV-bite cat=2.POSS
'Where Ali is concerned, yesterday, he unfortunately got bitten by your cat.'

In terms of movement diagnostics, there is an asymmetry between DP arguments and adjuncts that HTLD shares with the GFC. Like DP foci in the GFC but unlike pseudo-cleft foci, DPs subject to HTLD are not sensitive to adjunct, relative clause, or wh-islands ((12), cf. (8)). However, adjunct foci in the GFC and adjuncts subject to HTLD are sensitive to islands (13).

(12) DP arguments subject to HTLD are not sensitive to islands
a. *Yèn* *Tomo*, *udan deres* *[$_{island}$ sadurungé* *(wongé)* *di-temo-ni* *Ali]*
TOP T. rain heavily before RESUMP UV-meet-APPL A.
'In the case of Tomo, it started raining heavily before he was found by Ali.'

b. *Yèn pak guru, Tomo ora seneng murid [island sing di-senè-ni (wongé)]*
TOP sir teacher T. NEG like student SING UV-piss-APPL RESUMP
'In the case of Teacher, Tomo doesn't like the student who was scolded by him.'

c. *Yèn Ali, (wongé) durung di-putus-i pak guru*
TOP A. RESUMP not.yet UV-cut-APPL sir teacher
[island apa (wongé) kudu di-dhendha]
Q RESUMP must UV-fine
'In the case of Ali, Teacher hasn't decided whether he should be fined.'

(13)a. Baseline sentence with temporal adjunct in adjunct island
Ali n-(t)angis dhèk wingi
A. AV-cry PST yesterday
[island amarga bapak=é arep ng-adol montor-é dina iki]
because father=3.POSS want AV-sell car-DEF day PROX
'Ali cried yesterday because his father wanted to sell off the car today.'

b. HTLD cannot front temporal adjunct in adjunct island
**Yèn dina iki, Ali n-(t)angis dhèk wingi*
TOP day PROX A. AV-cry PST yesterday
[island amarga bapak=é arep ng-adol montor-é]
because father=3.POSS want AV-sell car-DEF
Intended: (=13a)

c. The GFC cannot front temporal adjunct in adjunct island
**Dina iki sing Ali n-(t)angis dhèk wingi*
day PROX COMP A. AV-cry PST yesterday
[island amarga bapak=é arep ng-adol montor-é]
because father=3.POSS want AV-sell car-DEF
Intended: (=13a)

Despite the commonalities between the GFC and HTLD, there are also two noteworthy differences. First, hanging topics do not receive an exhaustive reading, unlike GFC foci (14). Second, hanging topics cannot contain wh-words, unlike GFC foci (15):

(14) *Yèn kucing=mu, wis ny-(c)okot Ali. Kucing=ku wis ny-(c)okot wongé uga*
TOP cat=2.POSS PFV AV-bite A. cat=1.POSS PFV AV-bite 3 also
'In the case of your cat, it bit Ali. My cat bit him as well.' (cf. (6a))

(15) **Yèn sapa, kucing=mu ny-(c)okot (wongé) dhèk wingi*
TOP who, cat.2.POSS AV-bite RESUMP PST yesterday
Lit. 'As for whom, your cat bit them yesterday?' (cf. (6b, 10b))

2.6. Summary and desiderata

Table 1 sums up the foregoing, showing that the GFC simultaneously exhibits properties associated with pseudo-clefts and HTLD. In the light of this data, any account of the GFC would need to explain two facts: first, the GFC's hybrid properties, and second, why JvY on the one hand only has the pseudo-cleft construction while JvG, on the other, has both pseudo-clefts and the GFC.

Table 1: Properties of pseudo-clefts, HTLD and the GFC compared

		Pseudo-cleft	**HTLD**	**GFC**
Focus	*Fronted phrase*	pivot DP	pivot/ non-pivot DP, adjunct	pivot/ non-pivot DP, adjunct
	Wh-word as fronted phrase	✓	✗	✓
	Exhaustivity	✓	✗	✓
Background	*Resumptive pronouns*	✗	✓	✓
	Size of complement	not full clause	full clause	full clause
Movement diagnostics	*Island-sensitivity (DP foci)*	✓	✗	✗
	Island-sensitivity (adjunct foci)	N/A	✓	✓
	Reconstruction effects	✓	✗	✗

3. Proposal

This section starts with 3.1 establishing that pivot DPs are housed in spec-TP and 3.2 detailing the structure of the split CP assumed in my analysis. I then propose a structural account of the GFC in 3.3, followed by one for pseudo-clefts in 3.4. In the process, I address why the GFC shares properties with both pseudo-clefts and HTLD. Section 4 will then demonstrate that my account is able to explain why both constructions co-exist in JvG but not in JvY.

3.1. Pivot DP as derived subject in spec-TP

To begin with, I adopt an updated version of Guilfoyle et al. (1992) and hypothesise that the pivot DP is raised from its original vP-internal position to spec-TP, a derived subject position. Non-pivot DPs, by contrast, stay within vP and cannot be targeted by operations in the CP-phase. For this to work, I assume a brand of Phase Impenetrability where only the outermost specifier of a phase head is accessible to the next highest phase and that vP and CP are phases. The precise mechanism by which the pivot DP raises to spec-TP and non-pivot DPs are prevented from doing so need not concern us here.[12] The upshot of this set of assumptions is that within TP, the pivot argument is the highest DP and the only argument amenable to further movement.

3.2. Structure of the left periphery

For Javanese, I adopt a split CP largely in the sense of Rizzi (1997) but with certain modifications that I will address below. (16) lists the various projections in this extended left periphery in descending order of structural height and characterises their functions:

(16) *CP > TopP* > ForceP > TopP* > FocP > FinP (> TP ...)*

a. CP: The C-head houses complementisers, which in Javanese are namely *sing*, *menawa*, *nèk* and *yèn*. *Sing* can function as a complementiser in JvG but not in JvY. (see (17))

[12] Approaches making use of case assignment (e.g. Aldridge 2008) and/ or wh-agreement (e.g. Rackowski & Richards 2005, Jeoung 2018) to explain why only pivot DPs can be raised, unlike non-pivot DPs and adjuncts, are all compatible with the present account. I refer the interested reader to the works cited.

b. TopP: Hanging topics are externally base-generated in spec-TopP. The asterisk indicates that this projection can be iterated.
c. ForceP: The Force-head hosts elements that have to do with illocutionary force, such as the polar question marker *apa*.
d. FocP: Spec-FocP is associated with relativised elements. I will explain the details in 3.4. Because they can appear before but not after relativised elements, I postulate that high (i.e. epistemic and evaluative) adverbs adjoin higher than FocP. (see 2.3)
e. FinP: This projection does not play a role in my analysis.

Empirical evidence for the projections, which I shall not repeat here, can be found in Rizzi (1997). The sole exception is CP, which is not part of the original account. Allocating this very high position to Javanese complementisers is justified by data such as (17a), which shows them embedding the polar question particle *apa* that I associate with ForceP, the topmost projection in Rizzi's original proposal. Situating them in ForceP is implausible because they do not encode force, as evinced by their ability to embed both interrogatives (17a) and declaratives (17b):

(17) a. *Tomo takon {menawa/ nèk/ %sing/ yèn} apa Ali di-cokot kucing=mu*
T. ask COMP Q A. UV-bite cat=2.POSS
'Tomo asked whether Ali had been bitten by your cat.' (Lit. 'Tomo asked that whether…')
b. *Tomo ng-(k)andha-ni {menawa/ nèk/ %sing/ yèn} Ali di-cokot kucing=mu*
T. AV-say-APPL COMP A. UV-bite cat=2.POSS
'Tomo said that Ali had been bitten by your cat.'

Further, I do away with Rizzi's lower TopP. His original proposal sites this projection between FocP and FinP, counterfactually implying that pseudo-cleft foci ought to be possible before hanging topics (see (7a)). Replacing this is a TopP directly above ForceP, motivated by the grammaticality of hanging topics before the polar question particle *apa*, which as mentioned in (16) I place in ForceP. I do not show the relevant data due to space constraints.

3.3. The generic focus construction

In this subsection, I provide a structural account of the GFC. I first discuss DP foci before moving on to adjunct foci towards the end. I base my analysis of the GFC with DP foci on (18), a modified version of (1b) with a non-pivot theme as focus. (18) is a GFC sentence realised with a generic noun preceding *sing*, as well as a hanging topic and resumptive in the background, which we have seen is grammatical in sections 1.1 and 2. The generic noun, hanging topic and resumptive are all coreferential with the DP focus and can surface in any combination, or all be null:

(18)

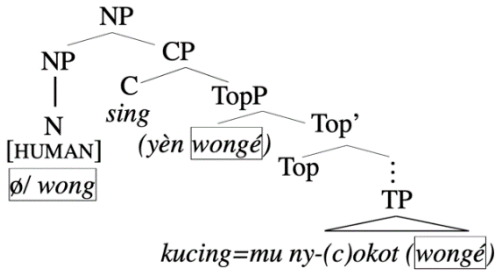
focus	*sing*-phrase					
	generic noun	*sing*	background			
			hanging topic	…		resumptive
Ali	*{ø/wong}*	*sing*	*{ø/yèn wongé}*	*kucing=mu*	*ny-(c)okot*	*{ø/wongé}*
A.	person	SING	TOP 3	cat=2.POSS	AV-bite	RESUMP

'Ali is the one/ person your cat bit.'
(Lit.: 'Ali is the one/ person who, in his case, your cat bit him.')

Taking inspiration from Jeoung's (2018) analysis of Indonesian pseudo-clefts, I presume that the GFC is fundamentally a biclausal copular construction in which a null copula heads a PredP. In comp-PredP is the *sing*-phrase and in spec-PredP the DP focus.[13] Importantly, the DP focus is externally base-generated but coreferential with a semantically matching hanging topic and resumptive within the *sing*-phrase, hence taking scope there.

Recall from Table 1 that GFC foci and HTLD are both exempt from the pivot-only restriction, only partially sensitive to islands, and can accommodate resumptive phrases in their backgrounds. Before seeking to explain these similarities, I will give a structural account of the *sing*-phrase. I assume that it is a nominalised clause, or more specifically an N-head taking a CP—as defined in (16)—as its complement.[14] This N-head is the generic noun illustrated in (18) that immediately precedes *sing*. While usually silent, it can be realised as a noun such as *wong* 'person' depending on what semantic features it carries, in this case presumably [HUMAN]. I simplistically represent this nominalised CP as follows, again boxing up coreferential elements:

(19)



With reference to (19), I suggest that the three items coreferential to the DP focus in the GFC—the generic noun, hanging topic and resumptive phrase—are always present in the underlying structure whether or not they are realised phonologically. The hanging topic is base-generated in spec-TopP—not raised to that position out of the embedded TP—and therefore not sensitive to islands. Regardless, DP hanging topics are able to take scope within the embedded TP by virtue of being compulsorily coreferential with a resumptive phrase there. As it does not require movement out of TP, HTLD is not subject to the pivot-only restriction.

The hanging topic is, by way of coreference with the clause-external generic noun, also coreferential with the focus. This coreference enables the hanging topic to impart its island and pivot-insensitivity to the focus, thus elegantly explaining the syntactic affinity between GFC foci and HTLD. (20) is a simplified representation of all four coreferential elements in the GFC:

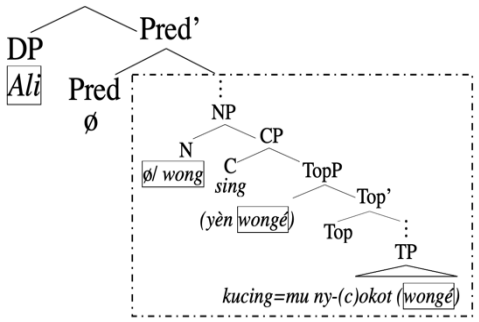
(20) [$_{PredP}$ [focus] [$_{Pred}$ ø] [$_{DP}$ [$_{NP}$ [N generic noun] [$_{CP}$ … hanging topic [$_{TP}$ … resumptive]]]]]

(21a) portrays the Pred-head in the GFC, which, as mentioned above, takes a DP focus as its specifier and a *sing*-phrase as its complement. As seen in (21b), the focus subsequently raises to spec-TP, which I presume must be filled by a DP subject in Javanese, and the Pred-head raises to v. This derives the structure of (18). Again, coreferential elements are boxed up:

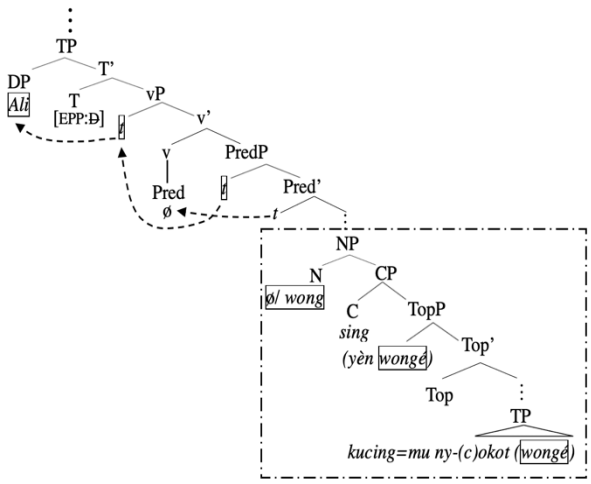
[13] For ease of exposition, I do not follow Jeoung (2018) in placing the *sing*-phrase (Jeoung's headless relative) in spec-PredP and the focus in comp-PredP because this does not directly derive the surface order of sentences such as (18), where the focus precedes the *sing*-phrase.

[14] The NP headed by this N is later merged as the complement of a DP, after which we could postulate phrasal movement of the NP to spec-DP to derive the noun-determiner order found in Javanese (not shown here).

(21) a.



b.



I now turn to adjunct foci in sentences like (1c), here repeated as (22):

(22) *Dhèk wingi sing kucing=mu ny-(c)okot Ali*
PST yesterday SING cat=2.POSS AV-bite A.
'It was yesterday that your cat bit Ali.'

I assume that the underlying structure of (22) is as in (21), except that spec-PredP is occupied by an adjunct, not a DP. The adjunct in (22) being a temporal phrase, it corresponds to a semantically compatible generic temporal noun on the N-head of the *sing*-phrase. This noun can be realised as *dina* 'day', and it in turn corresponds to an embedded hanging topic housing another semantically matching generic nominal, e.g. *yèn dina kuwi* 'on that day'.[15]

However, recall that unlike DP foci, adjunct foci in the GFC are island-sensitive. I propose that this is because adjuncts cannot correspond to resumptive phrases within the background. Indeed, my JvG informants find (23), containing a resumptive temporal adjunct, much less acceptable than (18) with a resumptive argument. The lack of resumptives in these environments prevents adjunct foci from taking scope within islands, which is manifested as island-sensitivity.

(23) *Dhèk wingi sing (yèn dina kuwi), kucing=mu ny-(c)okot Ali (??dina kuwi)*
PST yesterday SING TOP day DIST cat=2.POSS AV-bite A. RESUMP
Lit. 'It is yesterday where on that day, your cat had bitten Ali (*on that day).

3.4. Pseudo-clefts

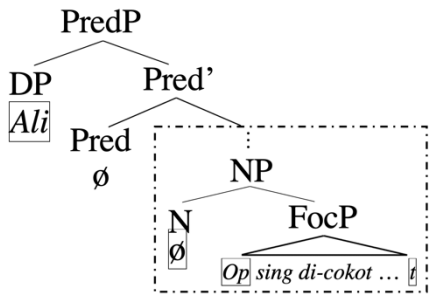
Having accounted for the HTLD-like properties of the GFC, I now attempt to capture the GFC's similarities to pseudo-clefts by proposing that the constructions are structurally very close. Both are formed by a PredP headed by a null copula, which takes the focussed element as specifier and as complement a nominalised clause embedded by an N-head. Having pseudo-cleft and GFC foci both merged in spec-PredP neatly explains why both share a tendency towards exhaustivity and permit wh-words as foci.

[15] For locative foci, the generic noun could be *nggon* 'place' and the hanging topic *yèn nggon iku* 'at such a place'.

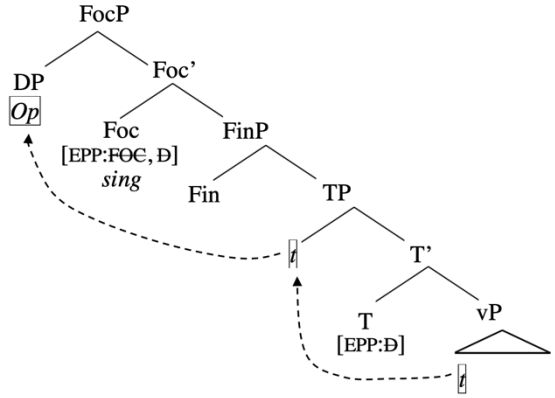
The main difference between the two constructions lies in the size of the clause merged as the complement of this N-head, CP in the GFC and FocP in pseudo-clefts (24a). Because FocP is below TopP, the projection housing hanging topics (3.2), pseudo-clefts cannot embed hanging topics in contrast to the GFC (3.3). The absence of embedded hanging topics means that pseudo-clefts are not exempt from the pivot-only restriction.

Instead, the Foc-head in comp-PredP of a pseudo-cleft bears a composite probe, [EPP:FOC, D], and is realised as the relativiser *sing*. The pivot DP is represented by an empty Operator bearing both a [FOC] and a [D] feature. Searching downwards, the probe causes this Operator to raise to spec-FocP to agree with the Foc-head (24b).

(24) a.



b.



It is invariably this Operator that raises to spec-FocP because it represents the pivot DP, which is the only DP accessible to movement operations in the CP-phase (cf. 3.1). Non-pivot DPs cannot raise to agree with the probe. I additionally assume that the Operator cannot be externally base-generated in spec-FocP, and that the Foc-probe's [D] feature rules out adjuncts being focussed.

As for why the N-head embedding the FocP can only be coreferential with the Operator as opposed to non-pivot DPs, I note that this Operator is structurally the highest free variable in the FocP. I hypothesise that for interpretational reasons, coreference cannot obtain between the N-head and a clause-internal element where a free variable such as this structurally intervenes between the two. Given that coreference with the focus is contingent on coreference with the N-head and the Operator always intervenes between the N-head and non-pivot DPs, this precludes non-pivot foci in Javanese pseudo-clefts.

Because HTLD does not involve such free variables, hanging topics can be coreferential with elements in the clause lower than the pivot. (25) confirms that embedded hanging topics, which are not available in pseudo-clefts, enable GFC foci to sidestep the pivot-only restriction. I mentioned in 1.1 that where monotransitive predicates take two human arguments, JvG can usually only focus arguments using the pseudo-cleft construction, whence focussing non-pivots in these contexts is ungrammatical. Crucially, however, adding an overt hanging topic into the background of the ungrammatical pseudo-cleft in (3b) turns it into a perfectly acceptable GFC sentence:

(25) *Ali* *sing* **(yèn* *wongé,)* *pak guru* *ny-(s)enèni* *(wongé)*
A. SING TOP 3 sir teacher AV-scold RESUMP
'Ali is the one where in his case, Teacher scolded him.'

4. Discussion

4.1. Potential issues

Two points in the account above are in need of clarification. The first concerns resumptives in the GFC and HTLD in Javanese. I postulated above that both overt and covert resumptive phrases allow fronted arguments in the two constructions to circumvent islands. This is not uncontentious because in the literature, island violations are usually assumed to be remedied by *overt* resumptives. However, null resumptives are in fact attested in Kerinci Malay, a closely related Austronesian language (McKinnon et al. 2011), and in certain Bantu languages (e.g. Kinande, see Schneider-Zioga 2007). Although in these languages null resumptives bring about phonological or morphological changes to the verb—which they do not in Javanese—their being cross-linguistically attested justifies my account of the GFC above.

The second concerns focussed wh-words. If we assume that GFC foci are co-referential to embedded hanging topics, it would be reasonable to expect both to be subject to the same restrictions. Since wh-words cannot be subject to HTLD (see (15)), by this logic wh-words ought to be barred from the GFC focus position, too. However, as shown in (6b) and (26), this is not the case. To deal with this, I observe that the focus is demonstrably not identical to the three items coreferential with it, i.e. the generic noun, hanging topic and clause-internal resumptive. The latter are never wh-words themselves, not even in situations where the focus is a wh-word:

(26) *Sapa (wong/ *sapa) sing (yèn wongé/ *sapa), kucing=mu ny-(c)okot (wongé/ *sapa)*
who person COMP TOP 3 cat=2.POSS AV-bite RESUMP
Lit.: 'Who is {the person/ *who} where in {his/ *whose} case, your cat had bitten {him/ *whom}?

4.2. Grobogan vs Yogyakarta Javanese

A question I posed in 2.6 was why JvY on the one hand has the pseudo-cleft construction but not the GFC, and on the other hand, JvG has both. The dialects being very closely related, any syntactic variation is likely modest and the facts imply that the GFC being available in a dialect does not rule out pseudo-clefts also being available, but not vice versa. Hence, I suggest attributing this variation to differences in the size of the clausal complements that NPs can take in each dialect.

Recall my proposal in section 3 that the nominalised clause in a pseudo-cleft is FocP-sized and that in the GFC is CP-sized. Therefore, I theorise that in JvG, N-heads can be merged with clausal complements up to the size of CP, i.e. comp-NP can be filled by a CP or smaller projections.[16] This allows for both the GFC and pseudo-clefts in JvG. N-heads in JvY, however, are only allowed to take clausal complements up to the size of FocP. This rules in pseudo-clefts and rules out the GFC, as the latter involves a clausal complement bigger than FocP.

Independent support for this approach comes from how the particle *olèh*, which nominalises clauses, takes larger clausal complements in JvG than in JvY. As shown in (27), the clausal complement of *olèh* in JvG is able to accommodate high adverbs and hanging topics whereas that in JvY cannot. I argued in 3.2 that these high elements are situated above FocP. Taking *olèh* to represent an N-head, this implies that *olèh* has a complement larger than FocP in JvG but not in JvY, squaring very well with the analysis I offered above.

[16] Although I cannot provide a detailed implementation of such a proposal, it is based on the cross-linguistically supported idea that nominalising heads can take complements of different sizes (e.g. Harley 2009, Nthelitheos 2012).

(27) Clauses nominalised using olèh can contain high adverbs in JvG but not in JvY
Olèh-é *[clause kucing=mu* *(% éman-éman)* *ny-(c)okot* *Ali]*
OLÈH-DEF cat=2.POSS unfortunately AV-bite A.
amarga *kucing=mu* *nesu*
because cat=2.POSS angry
'Your cat (unfortunately) bit Ali because it was angry.'
(Lit. 'Your cat's act of (unfortunately) biting Ali was because …')

4.3. Broader relevance

Structures that bear an uncanny resemblance to the GFC are found elsewhere in the Austronesian family as well. One example is a focus construction (FC) in Kerinci Malay, mentioned in 3.3, which is able to front both pivot and non-pivot DPs in the presence of resumptive pronouns. Just like the GFC in JvG, this is not HTLD, as wh-words can be fronted (28). It would be interesting to see if an overt complementiser could surface in this construction, and to what extent the diagnostics for the GFC as summarised in Table 1 might apply to such sentences:

(28) Fronting of theme in actor voice grammatical with resumptive pronoun in Kerinci Malay
sapo *budɨy* *nimbəʊ̃ʔ* *?*
who B. AV.shoot.RESUMP
'Who did Budi shoot?' (adapted from McKinnon et al. 2011:736, (62))

A second pertinent example is the bodyguard construction in Madurese, where adjuncts are a potential target for relativisation. However, unlike Javanese, these adjuncts must always be relativised together with the pivot DP (Davies 2010:349).

More generally, the exposition above validates work showing that FCs exist in Austronesian that are formed using morphemes distinct from relativisers. An example is the particle *no* in Malagasy, which is used in an FC independent of the relativiser *izay*. Much like the GFC in Javanese, the former, but not the latter, is able to focus-front adjuncts as well as arguments (see Paul 2008, Pearson 2009). Although the *no*-FC differs in many respects from the GFC in Javanese, Law (2007) adduces evidence that like the Javanese GFC, that construction is distinct from pseudo-clefts and other structures implicating true relativisation.

Lastly, assuming my analysis is correct and the fronting of non-pivot DPs in JvG is not in fact true relativisation, we can safely conclude that Javanese does not pattern with other Indonesian-type Austronesian languages such as Balinese (Levin 2015) or Philippine-type languages such as Tagalog (Hsieh 2020) and Bikol (Erlewine & Lim 2021) in allowing non-pivot arguments to be relativised. It is therefore a distinct possibility that non-pivot relativisation within the Austronesian family is an epiphenomenon with diverse structural causes.

5. Conclusion

In the foregoing, I have investigated a construction present in certain dialects of Javanese which I labelled the generic focus construction (GFC). This construction is of theoretical interest because it appears to permit the relativisation of non-pivot arguments and adjuncts, where in most other better-described Austronesian languages only pivot arguments are amenable to being A'-moved.

I have demonstrated that although the GFC resembles a pseudo-cleft, it does not implicate true relativisation, instead having some properties in common with hanging topic left-dislocation (HTLD). To explain its mixed characteristics, I proposed that the GFC is structurally a biclausal pseudo-cleft roughly approximating Jeoung (2018), except that it embeds a nominalised clause that is big enough to house hanging topics. I argued that it is the presence of these hanging topics that allows elements other than pivot DPs to be fronted in the GFC. I then showed that hypothesising differences in the size of clausal complements taken by nominal heads neatly accounts for why the GFC is only available in certain dialects of Javanese. Finally, I briefly reviewed constructions in other Austronesian languages that may be related to the GFC.

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