

# Extreme locality in Balinese complex sentences

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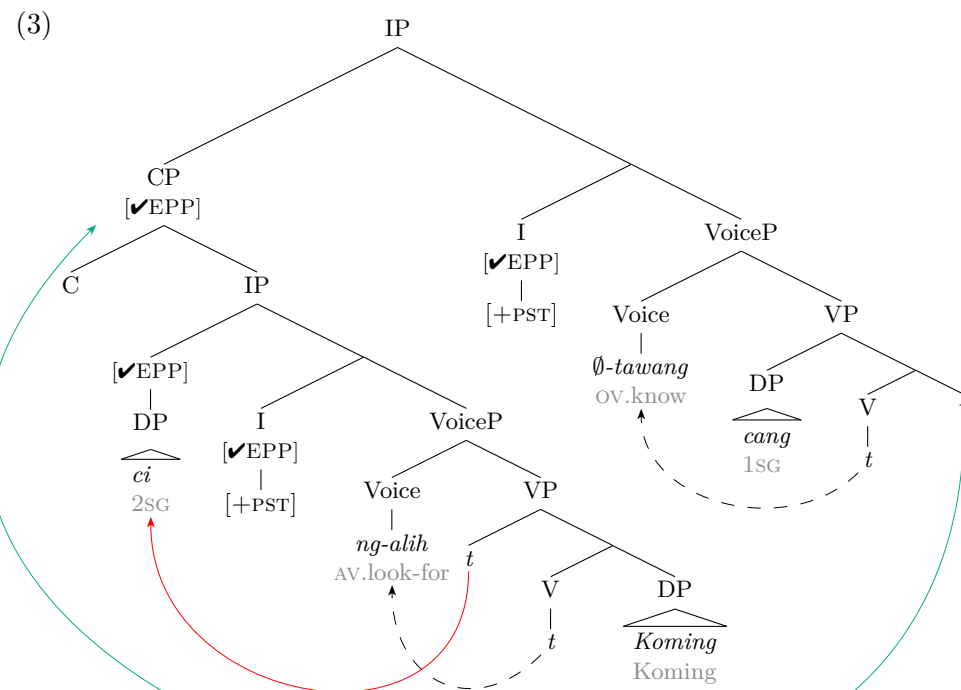
## Object Voice in Balinese

Balinese features both Active Voice and Object Voice, which correspond to surface S V O and O V S word orders, respectively.

- (1.a) *cang naar pohé*  
1SG AV.eat mango.DEF  
'I ate the mango'
- (1.b) *pohé daar cang*  
mango.DEF OV.eat 1SG  
'I ate the mango'

In addition to a DP, as in (1.b), the pre-verbal surface object of an Object Voice clause can be an entire embedded clause, as in (2).

- (2) [ *ci ngalih Koming* ] *tawang cang ti*  
2SG AV.look-for Koming OV.know 1SG  
'I know you looked for Koming'



- embedded clause moves to matrix Spec-IP to check [EPP]
- embedded subject moves to embedded Spec-IP to check [EPP]
- - - verbal Head movement

In addition, there is a variant where the matrix clause in the Object Voice takes a single DP argument from the embedded clause pre-verbally instead of taking the entire embedded clause.

- (4) [ *ci* ] *tawang cang ngalih Koming*  
2SG OV.know 1SG AV.look-for Koming  
'I know you looked for Koming'

What is the right analysis in (4)?

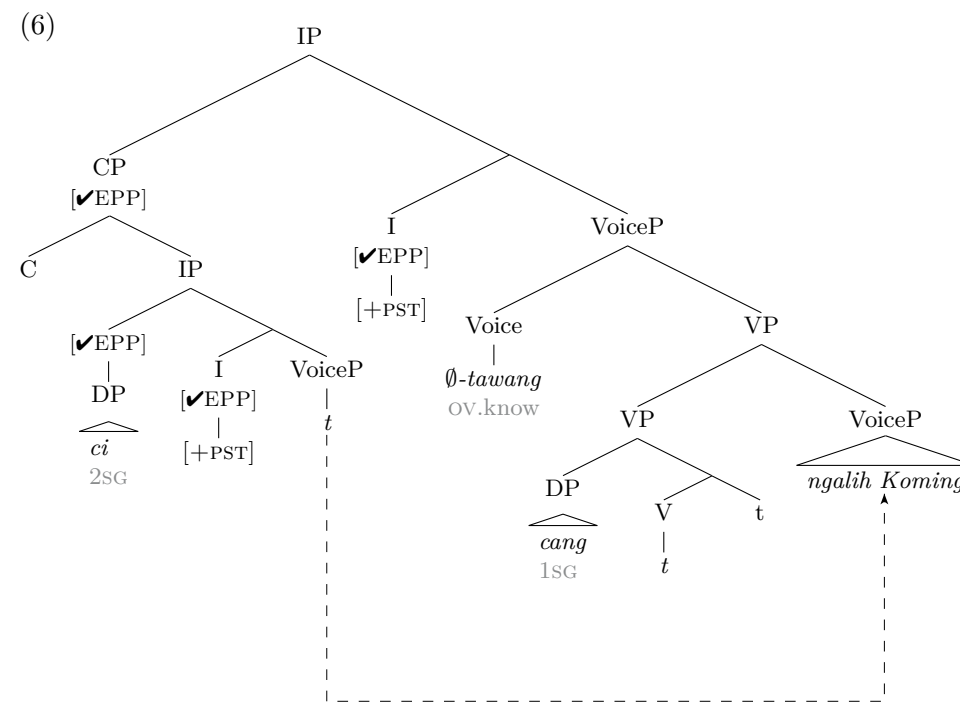
## A simple case of raising

Arka (2003) analyzes sentences like (4) as a **two-step process of raising**. First, the embedded clause subject raises to the embedded Spec-IP position. Then, it raises out of the embedded clause to **matrix** Spec-IP.

- (5) [ *ci* ] *tawang cang* [ *t ngalih t Koming* ]  
2SG OV.know 1SG AV.look-for Koming  
'I know you looked for Koming'

## Clausal remnant movement

The alternative is that **the bracketed constituent in (4) is itself a clause** – albeit one from which VoiceP has already moved out of.



Under this analysis, the derivation of (6) is nearly identical to (3), **except that the embedded VoiceP moves out of the embedded clause**.

## Adverb facts

Why endorse a more complicated analysis? Support comes from **adverb scope facts**. Adverbs can occur **clause-initially** and **clause-finally**:

- (7) [ ❶ *ci ngalih Koming* ❷ ]  
2SG AV.look-for Koming  
→ where ❶ or ❷ = *dibi* 'yesterday'

In an embedded sentence, it is possible for an adverb to have embedded scope in positions ❶ and ❷. In other words, the adverb modifies the 'looking for' and not the 'knowing'.

- (8.a) *cang nawang* [ ❶ *ci ngalih Koming* ❷ ]  
1SG AV.know 2SG AV.look-for Koming
- (8.b) [ ❶ *ci ngalih Koming* ❷ ] *tawang cang*  
2SG AV.look-for Koming OV.know 1SG

Crucially, **the same interpretation is available** for adverbs preceding and following *ci* '1SG' in (9).

- (9) [ ❶ *ci* ❷ ] *tawang cang ngalih Koming*  
2SG OV.know 1SG AV.look-for Koming

The adverb scope facts in (9) are difficult to explain under the simple raising analysis. Under a clausal remnant movement analysis, however, the facts fall out naturally: *ci* '1SG' only looks like a DP on the surface, but it is actually an entire clause!

## Extreme locality in Madurese

Davies (2003) analyzes closely-related Madurese as being subject to 'extreme locality'. What looks like long-distance movement is actually a **proleptic construction**; movement out of a clause is illicit.

- (10) *sapa<sub>i</sub> [CP Op<sub>i</sub> se [IP t<sub>i</sub> e-kera Ali t<sub>i</sub> [CP PRO<sub>i</sub> melle motor ] ]*  
who REL OV.think Ali AV.buy car  
'who did Ali think bought a car?'  
(or 'about who does Ali think that they bought a car?')

In verbs that can take benefactive morphology, the benefactive suffix is required for questions (11.b) just like in overt prolepsis (11.a).

- (11.a) *Bambang e-bala-agi Ali [ ja ma-becce sapedha motor ]*  
Bambang OV.say.BENE Ali C AV.fix motorcycle  
'Ali said about Bambang that he fixed the motorcycle'
- (11.b) *sapa se e-bala-agi Ali [ ja ma-becce sapedha motor ]*  
who REL OV.say.BENE Ali C AV.fix motorcycle  
'about who did Ali say that they fixed the motorcycle?'

This leads Davies to speculate that "there is a general ban on any kind of interclausal movement [in Austronesian languages]". The analysis presented here for Balinese is consistent with this notion.

- Arka, I. Wayan. (2003). *Balinese morphosyntax : a lexical-functional approach*. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.
- Davies, William. (2003). "Extreme locality in Madurese Wh-questions", in *Syntax*. 6: 237-259.