On the Definition of Subject: A perspective from Sulawesi

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Part One:

The notion of Subject

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(1)	John	wrote	that book
(2)	John	menulis	buku itu
	Subject	Verb	Object

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First Discovered: Classical Philosophy (Aristotle, Plato)

Modern linguistics: Important Concept (Chomsky 1965)

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First appears in early Dutch work (van der Tuuk 1864, Adriani 1889)

Modern times: major focus of research (Cole & Hermon 2005)

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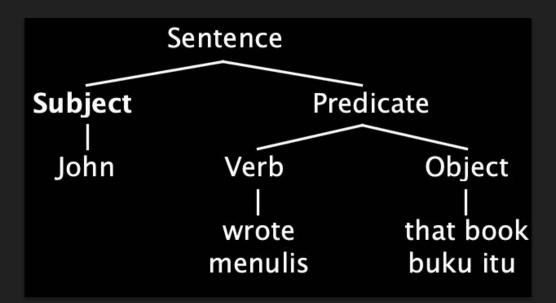
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- But: they share a single underlying abstract structure.

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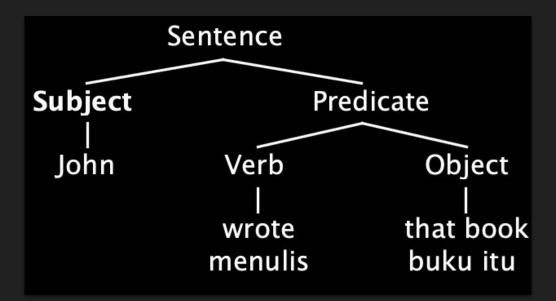
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Chomsky 1965: "The Theory of Universal Grammar"

- The Universal Theory of Subjecthood (Chomsky 1965 et seq).
 - Every sentence is built from two parts: subject + predicate



Question: in every language, do all sentences have this shape?



- Follow-up questions:
 - Does every language have subjects?
 - Across different languages, do subjects have the same properties?
 - How can we understand variation between languages in this domain?

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- 1. Research on Bahasa Indonesia
- 2. Research on the languages of Sulawesi

Part Two:

Subjects in an Indonesian Context

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(3) John wrote that book(4) John menulis buku itu

Subject

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(5) John writes books like that
 (6) John and Mary write books like that

Subject marking

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(3)	John	wrote	that book
(7)	That book	was written	by John
	Subject	passive verb	Agent

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(Chung 1976; Guilfoyle, Hung, & Travis 1992; Cole & Hermon 2005)

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- John that book (3)wrote (4) buku itu
 - menulis John

Subject

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(6)	John and Mary	write	books like that
(8)	Buku itu	ditulis	oleh John
(9)	Buku-buku itu	ditulis	oleh John

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(2) **That book** was written by John (8) **Buku itu** ditulis oleh John

Subject passive verb Agent

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- 1. Special marking: the subject **does not always** change the shape of the verb.
- 2. Passive: objects can become subjects even if the agent is not moved.
 - a. Passive \rightarrow agent at the end.
 - b. Pasif Semu → agent remains in place.

(10) Buku ini saya tulis

Subject Agent Pasif Semu

Summary

Although early research claimed that subjects have these three properties:

1. Special Position: the subject appears at the start of the sentence.

Special marking: the subject often determines the shape of the verb.

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 - The subject does not need to determine the shape of the verb.
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Part Three: Subjects in Sulawesi

- The island of Sulawesi contains about 115 languages
- These languages are very diverse, but they generally share one property:

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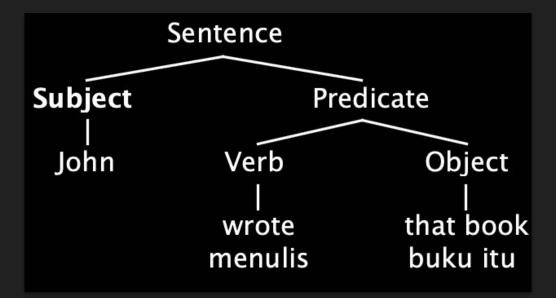
Example: Bahasa Makassar

(11) Naciniki i Ali i Udin Melihat si Ali si Udin (Jukes 2006)

Problem: verb-initial sentences do not fit with the original theory of subjects.

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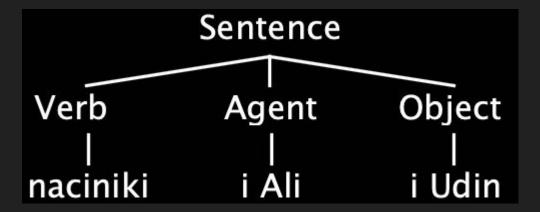
Chomsky 1965: sentence = subject + predicate

Ouestion: what is the predicate?

(11) Naciniki i Ali i Udin Melihat si Ali si Udin (Jukes 2006) ? ? ?

The Old Theory: "verb-initial sentences have a different structure."

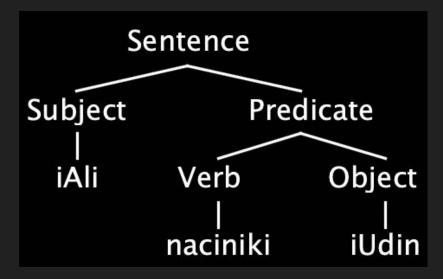
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Chung 1983

New Proposal: verb-initial sentences do have the "universal" structure.

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There are many patterns which show that this view is correct:

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In the languages of Sulawesi, verb-initial clauses have subjects.

(outside of Sulawesi: Guilfoyle, Hung, & Travis 1992; Pearson 2005)

(in Sulawesi: Brodkin 2020, 2021...)

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(11)	Na-ciniki	i Ali	i Udin
	Dia-melihat	si Ali	si Udin
(12)	Ku-ciniki	inakke	i Udin
	Ku-melihat	aku	si Udin

Many patterns show that verb-initial clauses have subjects.

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2. **Definiteness**: the subject has to be definite; the object does not. (Adams & Manaster-Ramer 1988)

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Special marking: the subject does change the shape of the verb.

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(13) Ang-nganre i Ali ruku.

Makan si Ali rumput

`Ali ate grass.'

(12) *Ni-kanre ruku di tedong
Di-makan rumput oleh kerbau
(Impossible): "Grass was eaten by the buffalo"

Many patterns show that verb-initial clauses have subjects.

1. Special marking: the subject **does** change the shape of the verb.

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3. Coreference: the subject can refer to things that the object cannot. (Reinhart 1983; Chomsky 1986)

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4. Variable binding: the subject has privilege for "semantic scope"

5. **Extraction restrictions**: the subject can be repositioned; the object cannot. (Guilfoyle, Hung, & Travis 1992)

Part Four:

Conclusion

- Although early research claimed that subjects have these three properties:
 - 1. Special Position: the subject appears at the start of the sentence.
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- Research on Indonesian languages has helped us build a better theory.
 - The subject does not need to determine the shape of the verb.
 - The subject can be an object even if the agent is not moved.
 - The subject does not have to be at the start of the sentence.

- This work suggests that the notion of "subjecthood" must be decomposed:
 - Subjects do not have the same properties in every language.
 - But: every language does have subjects,
 - And: when a language does not show ONE property for subjecthood,
 it shows other subject properties from the universal set.

• Furthermore: Indonesian languages play a key role in linguistic research.

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 - The bloody debate over subjecthood has been fought over Indonesian languages.

(Keenan 1976; Durie 1987; Guilfoyle, Hung, & Travis 1992, Pearson 2005)

Modern theoretical work suggests that this line of thought is on the right track.

(Hsieh 2020; Brodkin 2021)

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