

Universal Grammar In West Sulawesi

Dan Brodtkin

University of California, Santa Cruz

Bina Nusantara University

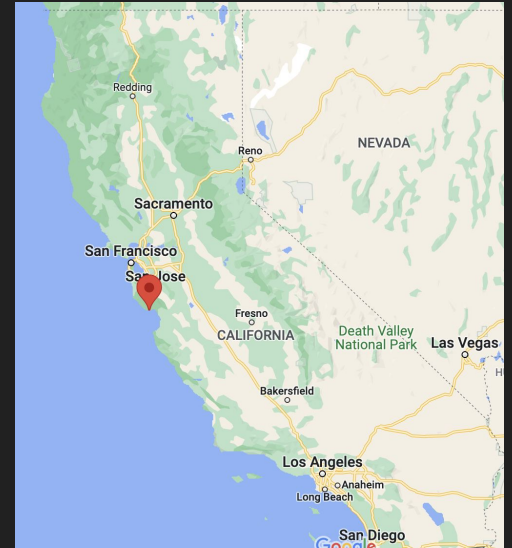
August 9, 2022

Background

- I am a Ph.D Student at the University of California, Santa Cruz.

Background

- I am a Ph.D Student at the [University of California, Santa Cruz](#).



Background

- I am a Ph.D Student at the University of California, Santa Cruz.
- My field is [formal linguistics](#).

Background

- I am a Ph.D Student at the University of California, Santa Cruz.
- My field is **formal linguistics**,
the study of sound systems, rhythmic structure, and syntactic structure.

Background

- I am a Ph.D Student at the University of California, Santa Cruz.
- My field is formal linguistics, the study of sound systems, rhythmic structure, and syntactic structure.
- Since 2016, I have been working on [languages of Indonesia](#).

Background

- I am a Ph.D Student at the University of California, Santa Cruz.
- My field is formal linguistics, the study of sound systems, rhythmic structure, and syntactic structure.
- Since 2016, I have been working on languages of Indonesia, and since 2018, [one language from West Sulawesi: Bahasa Mandar](#).

Background

- I am a Ph.D Student at the University of California, Santa Cruz.
- My field is formal linguistics, the study of sound systems, rhythmic structure, and syntactic structure.
- Since 2016, I have been working on languages of Indonesia, and since 2018, one language from West Sulawesi: Bahasa Mandar.
- This work has been done together with one speaker of Mandar: [Jupri Talib](#).

Background

- I am a Ph.D Student at the University of California, Santa Cruz.
- My field is formal linguistics, the study of sound systems, rhythmic structure, and syntactic structure.
- Since 2016, I have been working on languages of Indonesia, and since 2018, one language from West Sulawesi: Bahasa Mandar.
- This work has been done together with one speaker of Mandar: Jupri Talib.
- One important source of support: [the Fulbright Scholarship, via AMINEF.](#)

Background



- I am a Ph.D Student at the University of California, Santa Cruz.
- My field is formal linguistics, the study of sound systems, rhythmic structure, and syntactic structure.
- Since 2016, I have been working on languages of Indonesia, and since 2018, one language from West Sulawesi: Bahasa Mandar.
- This work has been done together with one speaker of Mandar: Jupri Talib.
- One important source of support: [the Fulbright Scholarship, via AMINEF.](#)

Part One:

The notion of Subject

The Notion of Subject

- In many languages, every sentence contains a “subject.”

The Notion of Subject

- In many languages, every sentence contains a “subject.”
- **Basic Definition:** “a noun that refers to the agent of a sentence.”

The Notion of Subject

- In many languages, every sentence contains a “subject.”
- **Basic Definition:** “a noun that refers to the agent of a sentence.”

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

The Notion of Subject

- Linguistic research **has always seen the notion of “subject” as important.**

The Notion of Subject

- Linguistic research has always seen the notion of “subject” as important.
 - First Discovered: **Classical Philosophy** (Aristotle, Plato)

The Notion of Subject

- Linguistic research has always seen the notion of “subject” as important.
 - First Discovered: Classical Philosophy (Aristotle, Plato)
 - Remains important: **Modern linguistics** (Chomsky 1965)

The Notion of Subject

- Subjecthood has also been a big topic in research on languages of Indonesia.

The Notion of Subject

- Subjecthood has also been a big topic in research on languages of Indonesia.
 - First appears in **early Dutch work** (van der Tuuk 1864, Adriani 1889)

The Notion of Subject

- Subjecthood has also been a big topic in research on languages of Indonesia.
 - First appears in early Dutch work (van der Tuuk 1864, Adriani 1889)
 - Later: becomes a **major focus of research** (Cole & Hermon 2005)

The Notion of Subject

- Subjecthood has also been a big topic in research on languages of Indonesia.
 - First appears in early Dutch work (van der Tuuk 1864, Adriani 1889)
 - Later: becomes a **major focus of research** (Cole & Hermon 2005)
- In this talk, we will build a theory of subjecthood.

What is a theory of Subjects?

- There is a school of formal linguistics that **makes a strong claim:**

What is a theory of Subjects?

- There is a school of formal linguistics that makes a strong claim:
 - Languages may seem different on the surface,

What is a theory of Subjects?

- There is a school of formal linguistics that makes a strong claim:
 - Languages may seem different on the surface,
 - But: they are built from a **single underlying abstract structure**.

What is a theory of Subjects?

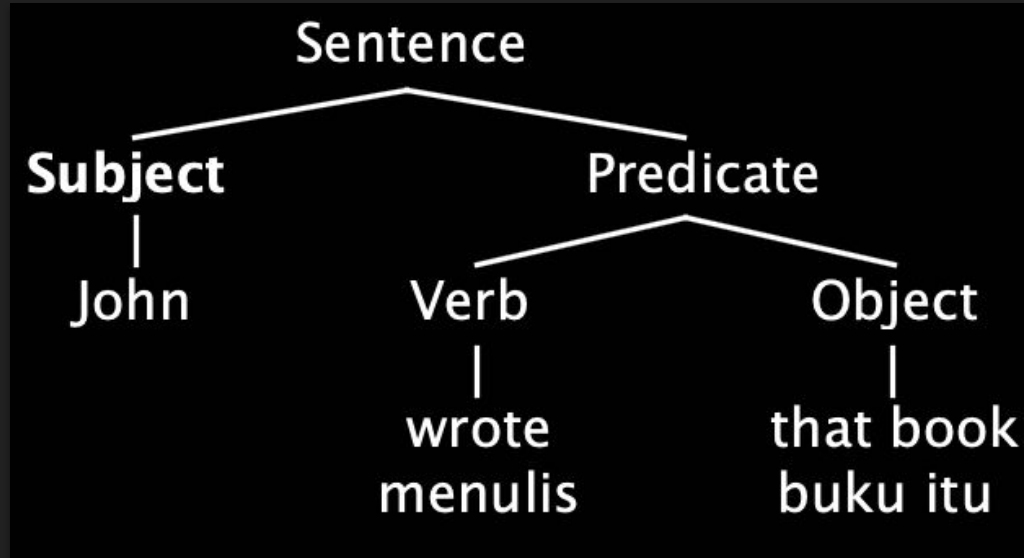
- There is a school of formal linguistics that makes a strong claim:
 - Languages may seem different on the surface,
 - But: they are built from a single underlying abstract structure.
- Chomsky 1965: “**The Theory of Universal Grammar**”

What is a theory of Subjects?

- One subpart of this theory: [the Universal Theory of Subjecthood](#)
(Chomsky 1965 et seq).

What is a theory of Subjects?

- One subpart of this theory: the Universal Theory of Subjecthood
 - Every sentence is built from two parts: **subject** + **predicate**



What is a theory of Subjects?

- One subpart of this theory: the Universal Theory of Subjecthood
 - Every sentence is built from two parts: subject + predicate
- This theory is useful, because it explains a number of things:

What is a theory of Subjects?

- One subpart of this theory: the Universal Theory of Subjecthood
 - Every sentence is built from two parts: subject + predicate
- This theory is useful, because it explains a number of things:
 - In many languages, **sentences always have a subject.**

What is a theory of Subjects?

- One subpart of this theory: the Universal Theory of Subjecthood
 - Every sentence is built from two parts: subject + predicate
- This theory is useful, because it explains a number of things:
 - In many languages, sentences always have a subject.
 - In many languages, **the subject always occurs before the predicate.**

What is a theory of Subjects?

- One subpart of this theory: the Universal Theory of Subjecthood
 - Every sentence is built from two parts: subject + predicate
- This theory is useful, because it explains a number of things:
 - In many languages, sentences always have a subject.
 - In many languages, the subject always occurs before the predicate.
- This suggests that **the universal theory is a good way to understand language.**

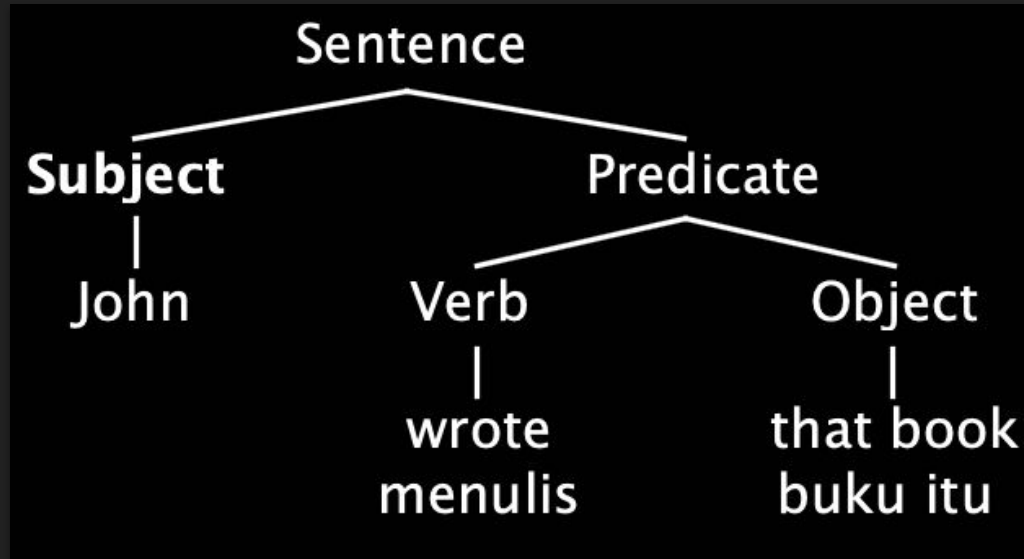
What is a theory of Subjects?

- But with every universal theory, we have to ask a question:

What is a theory of Subjects?

- But with every universal theory, we have to ask a question:

in every language, **do all sentences have this shape?**



What is a theory of Subjects?

- We can also ask a number of follow-up questions:

What is a theory of Subjects?

- We can also ask a number of follow-up questions:
 - Beyond the basic structure of “sentence = subject + predicate,”

What is a theory of Subjects?

- We can also ask a number of follow-up questions:
 - Beyond the basic structure of “sentence = subject + predicate,” ...
 - Does every language **have subjects**?

What is a theory of Subjects?

- We can also ask a number of follow-up questions:
 - Beyond the basic structure of “sentence = subject + predicate,” ...
 - Does every language have subjects?
 - Across different languages, **do subjects have the same properties?**

What is a theory of Subjects?

- We can also ask a number of follow-up questions:
 - Beyond the basic structure of “sentence = subject + predicate,” ...
 - Does every language have subjects?
 - Across different languages, do subjects have the same properties?
 - How can we understand **variation between languages in this domain?**

Today's Presentation

- The goal of today's talk:

Today's Presentation

- The goal of today's talk:

to see how an investigation of Indonesian languages
can help us to understand the notion of “subjecthood.”

Today's Presentation

- The goal of today's talk:

to see how an investigation of Indonesian languages
can help us to understand the notion of “subjecthood.”

1. Reviewing prior research on [Bahasa Indonesia](#)

Today's Presentation

- The goal of today's talk:

to see how an investigation of Indonesian languages
can help us to understand the notion of “subjecthood.”

1. Reviewing prior research on Bahasa Indonesia
2. Laying out new research on [the languages of Sulawesi](#)

Part Two:

Subjects in an Indonesian Context

The Starting Point

- Subjects have similar properties in languages all over the world.

(Li & Thomson 1976)

The Starting Point

- Subjects have similar properties in languages all over the world.
 1. **Special Position:** the subject appears at the start of the sentence.

The Starting Point

- Subjects have similar properties in languages all over the world.
 1. **Special Position:** the subject appears at the start of the sentence.

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

Subject

The Starting Point

- Subjects have similar properties in languages all over the world.
 1. Special Position: the subject appears at the start of the sentence.
 2. **Special Marking**: the subject triggers agreement on the verb.

The Starting Point

- Subjects have similar properties in languages all over the world.
 1. Special Position: the subject appears at the start of the sentence.
 2. **Special Marking**: the subject triggers agreement on the verb.

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

Subject

marking

The Starting Point

- Subjects have similar properties in languages all over the world.
 1. Special Position: the subject appears at the start of the sentence.
 2. Special Marking: the subject triggers agreement on the verb.
 3. **Passive**: the object can become a subject if the agent is moved.

The Starting Point

- Subjects have similar properties in languages all over the world.
 1. Special Position: the subject appears at the start of the sentence.
 2. Special Marking: the subject triggers agreement on the verb.
 3. **Passive**: the object can become a subject if the agent is moved.

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

| | | | |
|-----|------------------|--------------|------------------|
| (7) | That book | was written | by John |
| (8) | Buku itu | ditulis | oleh John |
| | Subject | passive verb | Agent |

Indonesian: A Theoretical Update

- Research on Bahasa Indonesia has led to a revised theory of subjecthood.

Indonesian: A Theoretical Update

- Research on Bahasa Indonesia has led to a revised theory of subjecthood.
(Chung 1976; Guilfoyle, Hung, & Travis 1992; Cole & Hermon 2005)

Indonesian: A Theoretical Update

- Research on Bahasa Indonesia has led to a revised theory of subjecthood.
(Chung 1976; Guilfoyle, Hung, & Travis 1992; Cole & Hermon 2005)
1. **Special Position:** the subject does appear at the start of the sentence,

Indonesian: A Theoretical Update

- Research on Bahasa Indonesia has led to a revised theory of subjecthood.
(Chung 1976; Guilfoyle, Hung, & Travis 1992; Cole & Hermon 2005)
1. **Special Position:** we know there's a subject, because it appears at the front:

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

Subject

Indonesian: A Theoretical Update

- Research on Bahasa Indonesia has led to a revised theory of subjecthood.
(Chung 1976; Guilfoyle, Hung, & Travis 1992; Cole & Hermon 2005)
1. Special Position: we know there's a subject, because it appears at the front.
 2. **Special Marking:** the subject **does not** trigger agreement on the verb.

Indonesian: A Theoretical Update

- Research on Bahasa Indonesia has led to a revised theory of subjecthood.
(Chung 1976; Guilfoyle, Hung, & Travis 1992; Cole & Hermon 2005)
1. Special Position: we know there's a subject, because it appears at the front.
 2. **Special Marking:** the subject **does not** trigger agreement on the verb.

| | | | |
|-----|----------------------|-----------|-----------------|
| (5) | John | writes | books like that |
| (6) | John and Mary | write | books like that |
| (8) | Buku itu | ditulis__ | oleh John |
| (9) | Buku-buku itu | ditulis__ | oleh John |

Indonesian: A Theoretical Update

- Research on Bahasa Indonesia has led to a revised theory of subjecthood.
(Chung 1976; Guilfoyle, Hung, & Travis 1992; Cole & Hermon 2005)
1. Special Position: we know there's a subject, because it appears at the front.
 2. Special Marking: the subject does not trigger agreement on the verb.
 3. Special Passive: there is a passive, where the object becomes a subject ...

Indonesian: A Theoretical Update

- Research on Bahasa Indonesia has led to a revised theory of subjecthood.
(Chung 1976; Guilfoyle, Hung, & Travis 1992; Cole & Hermon 2005)
1. Special Position: we know there's a subject, because it appears at the front.
 2. Special Marking: the subject does not trigger agreement on the verb.
 3. Special Passive: there is a passive, where the object becomes a subject ...

Indonesian: A Theoretical Update

- Research on Bahasa Indonesia has led to a revised theory of subjecthood.
(Chung 1976; Guilfoyle, Hung, & Travis 1992; Cole & Hermon 2005)
1. Special Position: we know there's a subject, because it appears at the front.
 2. Special Marking: the subject does not trigger agreement on the verb.
 3. **Special Passive**: there is a passive, where the object becomes a subject ...
but **this does not require the agent to move to the end.**

Indonesian: A Theoretical Update

- Research on Bahasa Indonesia has led to a revised theory of subjecthood.
(Chung 1976; Guilfoyle, Hung, & Travis 1992; Cole & Hermon 2005)
1. Special Position: we know there's a subject, because it appears at the front.
 2. Special Marking: the subject does not trigger agreement on the verb.
 3. **Special Passive**: there is a passive, where the object becomes a subject ...
but **this does not require the agent to move to the end.**

Pasif Semu → **object** to the front, **agent** in place.

| | | | |
|------|-----------------|--------------|-------------------|
| (10) | Buku ini | saya | tulis |
| | Subject | Agent | Pasif Semu |

Indonesian: A Theoretical Update

- Research on Bahasa Indonesia has led to a revised theory of subjecthood.
(Chung 1976; Guilfoyle, Hung, & Travis 1992; Cole & Hermon 2005)
1. Special Position: we know there's a subject, because it appears at the front.
 2. Special Marking: the subject does not trigger agreement on the verb.
 3. **Special Passive**: there is a passive, where the object becomes a subject ...
but **this does not require the agent to move to the end.**

Compare the regular passive → **object** to the front, **agent** to the end.

(8) **Buku itu**
Subject

ditulis
Passive

oleh John
Agent

The Emerging Theory

- From research on Indonesian, then, we might say:

The Emerging Theory

- From research on Indonesian, then, we might say:
 1. Subjects do not need to trigger agreement

The Emerging Theory

- From research on Indonesian, then, we might say:
 1. Subjects do not need to trigger agreement,
 2. The object can be a subject even if the agent stays in place

The Emerging Theory

- From research on Indonesian, then, we might say:
 1. Subjects do not need to trigger agreement,
 2. The object can be a subject even if the agent stays in place, and
 3. The key factor is that subjects appear at the start of the sentence.

Part Three:
Subjects in Sulawesi

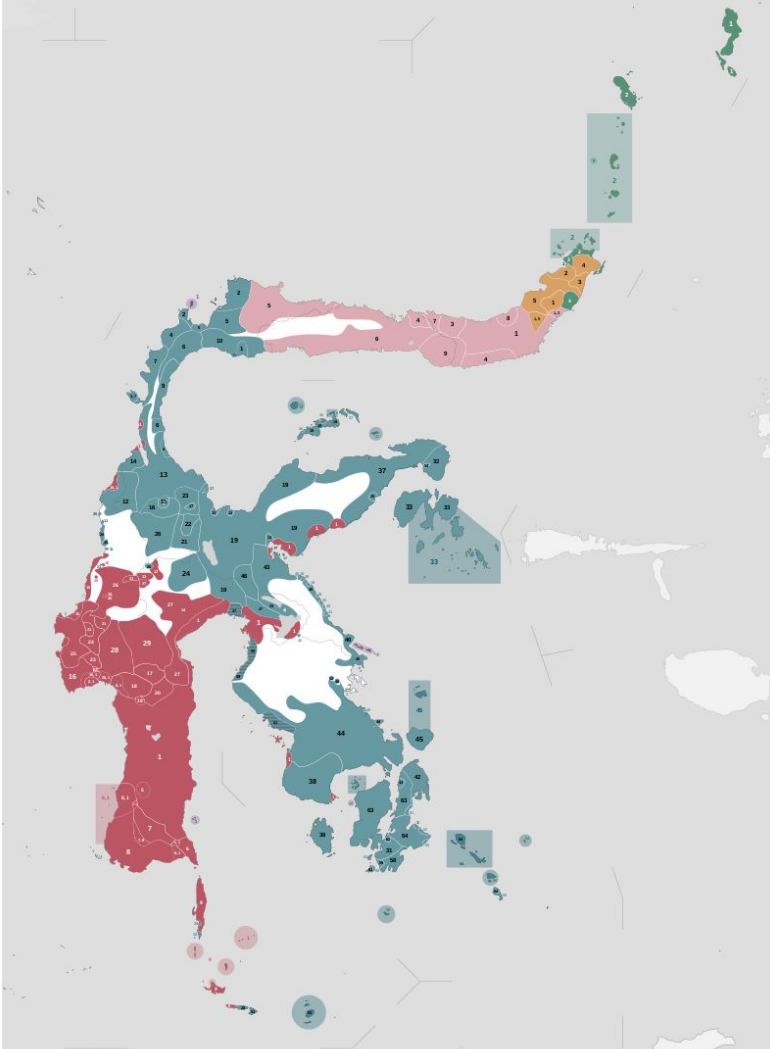
The Sulawesi Situation.

- We will have to refine this theory when we get to the island of Sulawesi.

The Quick Facts

- Things are different there.

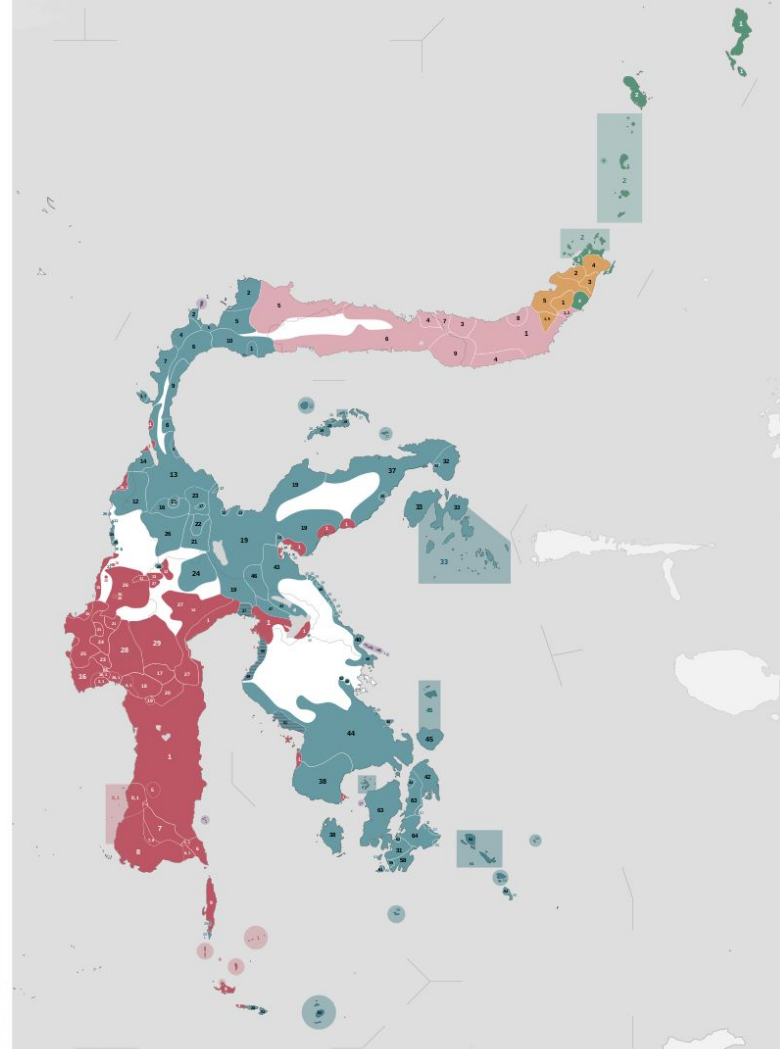
| | |
|-------------------------|---|
| SOUTH-SULAWESI | BUGIS 1. BUGINESE 2. CAMPALAGIAN |
| | TAMANG 3. EMBALOH 4. TAMAN |
| | MAKASSARESE 5. BENTONG 6. COSTAL KONJO 7. HIGHLAND KONJO 8. MAKASSARESE 9. SELAYAR |
| | SEKO 10. BUDONG-BUDONG 11. PANASIAN 12. SEKO PADANG 13. SEKO TENGAH |
| | 14. LEWOLANG |
| | NORTHERN 15. MAMLUJ 16. MANDAR |
| | MASSENREMPULU 17. DURI 18. ENREKANG 19. MALLIMPUNG 20. MAWA |
| | PITU ULUNIA SALLI 21. ARALLE-TABULAHAN 22. DAKKA 23. PANNE 24. BAMBAM 25. ULUMANDA' |
| | TORAJA 26. KALLUMPANG 27. TAE 28. MABASA 29. TORAJA-SADAN 30. TALONDO' |
| SANGIRESE | NORTH SANGIRESE 1. SALLAUD 2. SANGIR |
| | SOUTH SANGIRESE 3. BANTIK 4. RATAHAN |
| MOLUKKANESE | 1. TONSAWANG |
| | NORTH MOLUKKANESE 1. MONDOW 2. PONOSAKAN |
| | MONGONDOWIC 1. MONDOW 2. PONOSAKAN |
| | GORONTALO 1. BINTAUJA 2. BOLANGO 3. BULO 4. SORONTALO 5. KADIPANG 6. LOKAK 7. SUWAWA |
| GULU-TOLU INDONESIAN | 1. MANADO MALAY 2. INDONESIAN BAJAU |
| CELEBIC | TOMINI-TOLITOLI 1. SOANO 2. TOTOLI |
| | TOMINI 3. BALAESANG 4. DAMPELAS 5. SONGO 6. LAUIE 7. PENGAM 8. TABI 9. TALJO 10. TOMINI |
| | KAILI-PAMONA NORTHERN KAILI 11. BARAS 12. DALA KAILI 13. LEOLO KAILI 14. URAE KAILI 15. LINDU 16. MOMA 17. SEGOA 18. TOPOYO |
| | PAMONA 19. PAMONA 20. TOMBELALA |
| | SOUTHERN BARANG 21. BADA 22. BAWOA 23. NAPU 24. SAMPI 25. SARUDU 26. UWA |
| | WOTULU-WOLO 27. WOTU KALIA-KERULO 28. KALAO 29. LATOLO |
| | WOLIO-KAMARU 30. KAMARU 31. WOLIO |
| | EASTERN CELEBIC SALUAN-BANGGAI EASTERN 32. BALANTAK 33. BANGGAI |
| | SALUANIC 34. ANDIO 35. BATU 36. BOROINGO 37. SALUAN |
| | SOUTHEASTERN CELEBIC BUNGKU-TOLARI EASTERN 38. MORONENE EAST COAST 39. BAHONGSUAU 40. BUNGIN 41. KULUBUSU 42. MOW BAHAN 43. TALOKI 44. WAWONI |
| | WESTERN INTERIOR 45. MORI ATAS 46. PADJE 47. TOMADINO |
| | WEST COAST 48. KODEOHA 49. BAHAMBU 50. TOLAKI 51. TOLAKI 52. WAWU |
| | MUNA-BUTON TUKANG BESI-BONERATE 53. BONERATE 54. TUKANG BESI N. 55. TUKANG BESI S. |
| | NUCLEAR MUNA-BUTON BUTON 56. KUMBEMAWA 57. LASALUMU 58. CIA-CIA |
| | MUNA 59. BUSOA 60. KAMBULAWA 61. KODKO 62. LIABUKU 63. MUNA 64. PANCANA |



The Quick Facts

- Things are different there.
- About 115 languages.

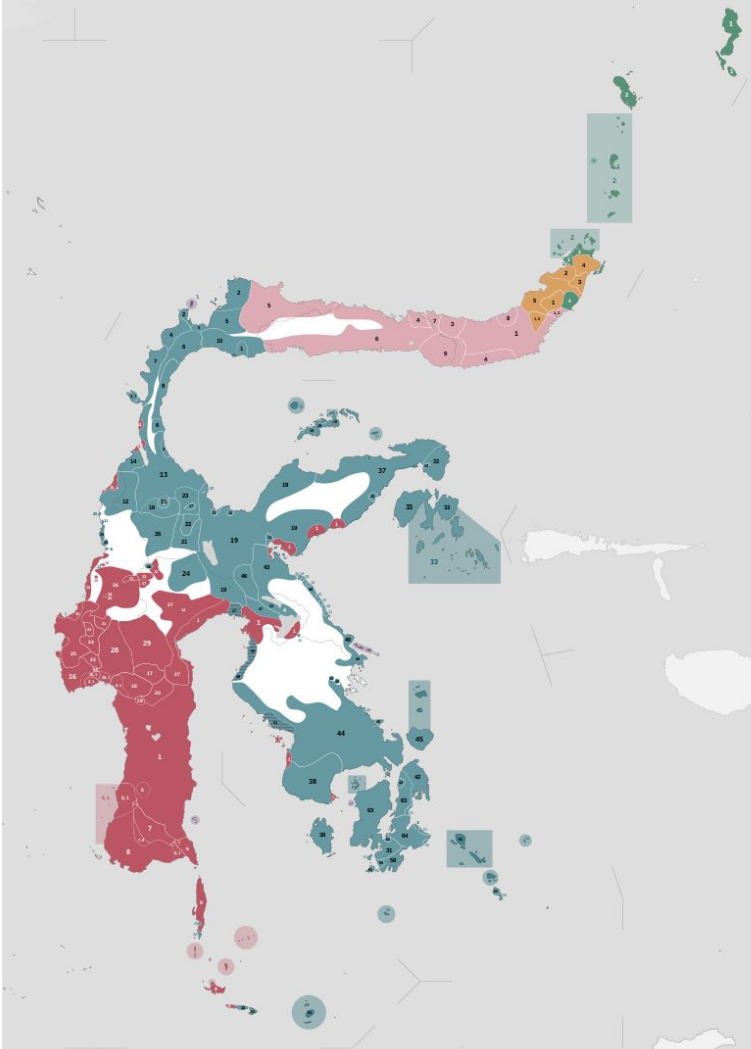
| | |
|-----------------|---|
| SOUTH SUMATRA | <p>BUGIS</p> <p>BUGINESE 1. BUGINESE 2. CAMPALAGIAN</p> <p>TAMANG 3. EMBALOH 4. TAMAN</p> <p>MAKASSARESE 5. BENTONG 6. COSTAL KONJO 7. HIGHLAND KONJO 8. MAKASSARESE 9. SELAYAR</p> <p>SEKO 10. BUDONG-BUDONG 11. PANASIAN 12. SEKO PADANG 13. SEKO TENGAH</p> <p>14. LEMOLANG</p> <p>NORTHERN 15. MAMLUJ 16. MANDAR</p> <p>MASSENREMPULU 17. DURE 18. ENREKANG 19. MALLIMPUNG 20. MAWA</p> <p>PITU ULUNIA SALLI 21. ARALLE-TABULAHAN 22. DAKKA 23. PANJE 24. BAMBAM 25. ULUMANDA'</p> <p>TORAJA 26. KALLUMPANG 27. TAE 28. MABASA 29. TORAJA-SADAN 30. TALONDO'</p> |
| SARAWAK | <p>NORTH SANGIRIC</p> <p>1. TALAUD 2. SANGIR</p> <p>SOUTH SANGIRIC</p> <p>3. BANTIK 4. RATAHAN</p> |
| MALAKKA | <p>1. TONSAWANG</p> |
| MOLUKA | <p>NORTH SINAHASAN</p> <p>1. MONDOW 2. PONOSAKAN</p> |
| GULU, HADIS | <p>GORONTALO</p> <p>1. BINTAUJA 2. BOLANGO 3. BULO 4. SORONTALO 5. KADIPANG 6. LOKAK 7. SUWAWA</p> |
| CELEBES | <p>1. MANADO MALAY</p> <p>1. INDONESIAN BAJAU</p> |
| TOMINI-TOLITOLI | <p>TOLITOLI</p> <p>1. BOANO 2. TOTOLI</p> <p>TOMINI</p> <p>3. BALAESANG 4. DAMPELAS 5. SONDO 6. LAUIE 7. PENGAM 8. TABI 9. TALJO 10. TOMINI</p> <p>KAILI-PAMONA</p> <p>NORTHERN</p> <p>KAILI</p> <p>11. BARASJ 12. DALA KAILI 13. LEPO KAILI 14. UNDE KAILI 15. LINDU 16. MOMA 17. SEGOA 18. TOPOIYO</p> <p>PAMONA</p> <p>19. PAMONA 20. TOMBELALALA</p> <p>SOUTHERN</p> <p>BANEG</p> <p>21. BADA 22. BOWA 23. NAPU 24. SAMPI 25. SARUDU 26. UWA</p> <p>WOTUL-WOLO</p> <p>27. WOTU</p> <p>KALIA-SERILO</p> <p>28. KALAO 29. LATOLO</p> <p>WOLU-KAMARU</p> <p>30. KAMARU 31. WOLO</p> <p>EASTERN CELEBIC</p> <p>SALUAN-BANGGAI</p> <p>EASTERN</p> <p>32. BALANTAK 33. BANGGAI</p> <p>SALUANIC</p> <p>34. ANDIO 35. BATU 36. BOROINGO 37. SALUAN</p> <p>SOUTHEASTERN CELEBIC</p> <p>BUNGKU-TOLARI</p> <p>EASTERN</p> <p>38. MORONENE</p> <p>EAST COAST</p> <p>39. BAHONGSUAI 40. SUNGUNI 41. KORONE 42. KULUBUSU 43. MOWI BAWAN 44. TALOKI 45. WAWONI</p> <p>WESTERN</p> <p>INTERIOR</p> <p>46. MORI ATAS 47. PADJE 48. TOMADINO</p> <p>WEST COAST</p> <p>49. KODEOHA 50. BAHAMBU 51. TOLAKI 52. WAWU</p> <p>MUNA-BUTON</p> <p>TUKANG BESI-RONERATE</p> <p>53. RONERATE 54. TUKANG BESI N. 55. TUKANG BESI S.</p> <p>NUCLEAR MUNA-BUTON</p> <p>BUTON</p> <p>56. KUMBEMAWA 57. LASALUMU 58. CIA-CIA</p> <p>MUNA</p> <p>59. BUSOJA</p> <p>60. KAMBULAWA 61. KODKO 62. LIABUKU 63. MUNA 64. PANCANA</p> |



The Quick Facts

- Things are different there.
- About 115 languages.
- Unlike Indonesian, these languages have...

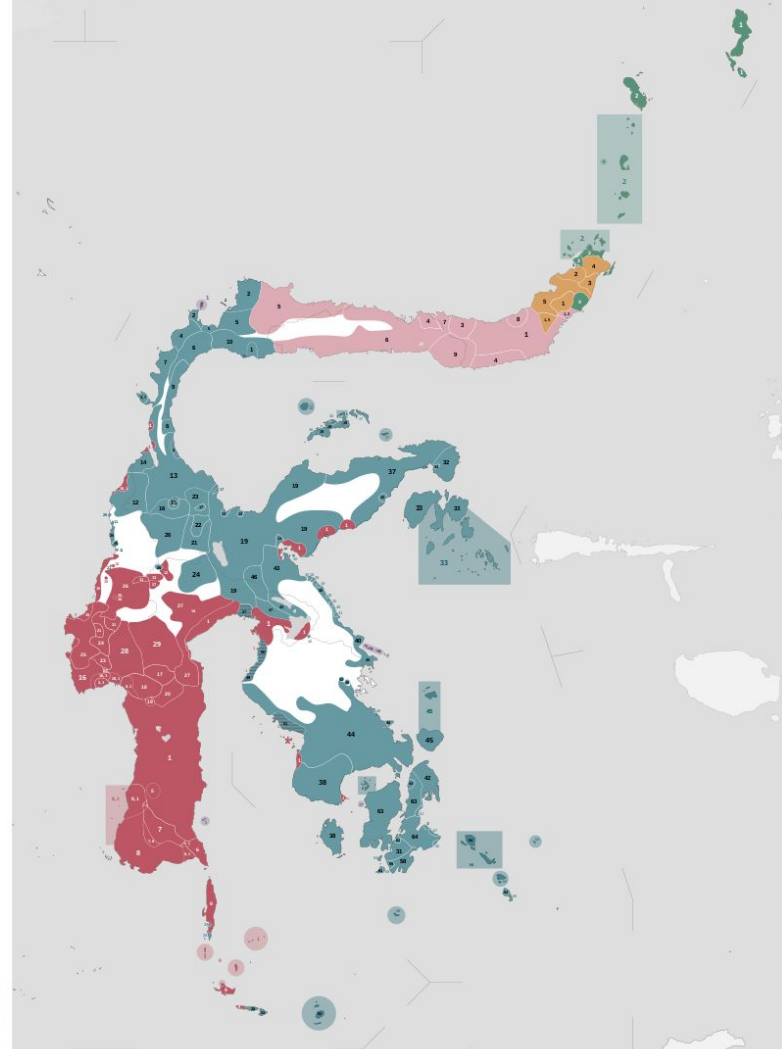
| | |
|---------------|---|
| SOUTH SUMATRA | BUGIS 1. BUGINESE 2. CAMPALAGIAN |
| | TAMANG 3. EMBALOH 4. TAMAN |
| | MAKASSAR 5. BENTONG 6. COSTAL KONJO 7. HIGHLAND KONJO 8. MAKASSARESE 9. SELAYAR |
| | SEKO 10. BUDONG-BUDONG 11. PANASIAN 12. SEKO PADANG 13. SEKO TENGAH |
| | 14. LEWOLANG |
| | NORTHERN 15. MAMLUJ 16. MANDAR |
| | MASSENREMPULU 17. DURE 18. ENREKANG 19. MALLIMPUNG 20. MAWA |
| | PITU ULUNIA SALLI 21. ARALLE-TABULAHAN 22. DAKKA 23. PANJE 24. BAMBAM 25. ULUMANDA' |
| | TORAJA 26. KALLUMPANG 27. TAE 28. MABASA 29. TORAJA-SADAN 30. TALONDO' |
| SARAWAK | NORTH SANGIRIC 1. TALAUD 2. SANGIR |
| | SOUTH SANGIRIC 3. BANTIK 4. RATAHAN |
| | 1. TONSAWANG |
| MALAKKA | NORTH MINAHASAN 1. BINTAUJA 2. TOMBULU 3. TONGANO 4. TONSEA 5. TONLEBBOAN |
| SOUTH SUMATRA | MONGONDOWIC 1. MONGONDOW 2. PONOSAKAN |
| | GORONTALO 3. BINTAUJA 4. BOLANGO 5. BULO 6. SORONTALO 7. KADIPANG 8. LOKAL 9. SUWAWA |
| | 1. MANADO MALAY |
| | 1. INDONESIAN BAJAU |
| CELEBES | TOLITOLI 1. SOANO 2. TOTOLI |
| | TOMINI 3. BALAESANG 4. DAMPELAS 5. SONDO 6. LAUJE 7. PENGAM 8. TABI 9. TALJO 10. TOMINI |
| | KAILI-PAMONA NORTHERN KAILI 11. BARAS 12. DALA KAILI 13. LEPO KAILI 14. UDE KAILI 15. LINDU 16. MOMA 17. SEGOA 18. TOPOYO |
| | PAMONA 19. PAMONA 20. TOMBELALA |
| | SOUTHERN BARRANG 21. BADA 22. BAWA 23. NAPU 24. SAMPI 25. SARUDU 26. UWA |
| | WOTUL-WOLO 27. WOTU |
| | KALIA-SERILO 28. KALAO 29. LATOLO |
| | WOLU-KAMARU 30. KAMARU 31. WOLO |
| | EASTERN CELEBIC SALUAN-BANGGAI EASTERN 32. BALANTAK 33. BANGGAI |
| | SALUANIC 34. ANDIO 35. BATU 36. BOROINGO 37. SALUAN |
| | SOUTHEASTERN CELEBIC BUNGKU-TOLARI EASTERN 38. MORONENE |
| | EAST COAST 39. BAHONGSUI 40. BUNGI 41. KORDI 42. KULUBUSU 43. MOW BAHAN 44. TALOKI 45. WAWONI |
| | WESTERN INTERIOR 46. MORI ATAS 47. PADJE 48. TOMADINO |
| | WEST COAST 49. KODEOHA 50. BAHAMBU 51. TOLAKI 52. WAWU |
| | MUNA-BUTON TUKANG BESI-BONERATE 53. BONERATE 54. TUKANG BESI N. 55. TUKANG BESI S. |
| | NUCLEAR MUNA-BUTON BUTON 56. KUMBEMWAHA 57. LASALUMU 58. CIA-CIA |
| | MUNA 59. BUSOA 60. KAMBULAWA 61. KODKO 62. LIABUKU 63. MUNA 64. PANCANA |



The Quick Facts

- Things are different there.
- About 115 languages.
- Unlike Indonesian, these languages have...
 - A system of agreement

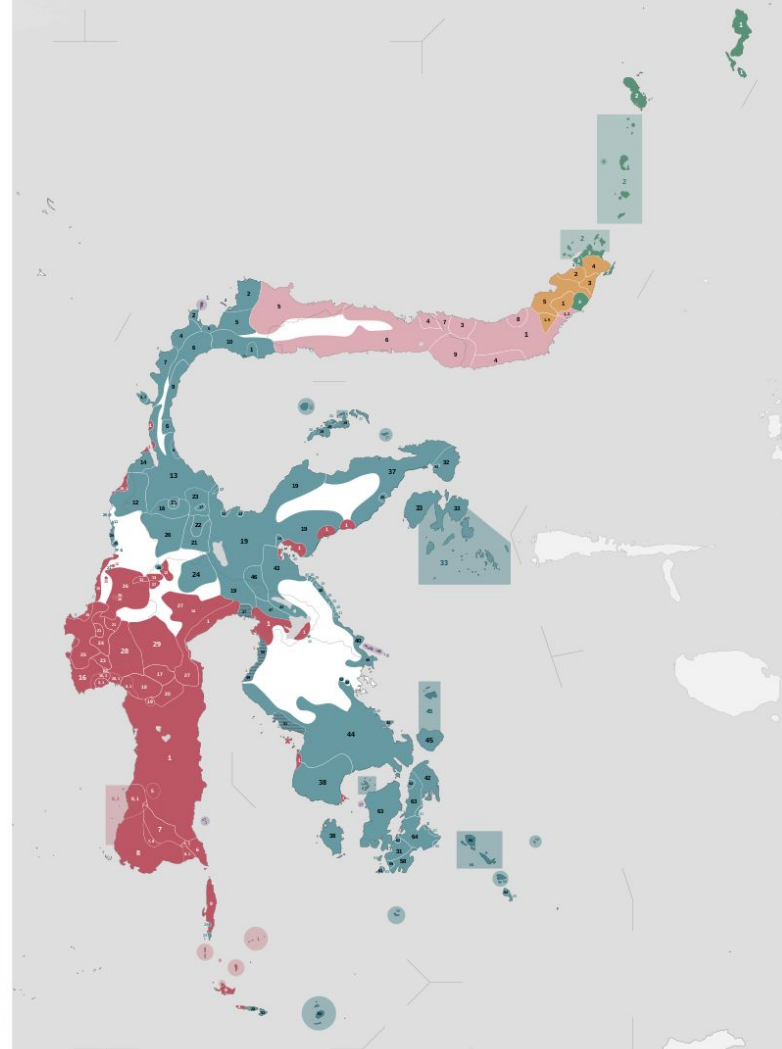
| | | |
|----------------------|---|--|
| SOUTH SUMATRA | BUGIS | BUGINESE 1. BUGINESE 2. CAMPALAGIAN |
| | TAMANG | 3. EMBALOH 4. TAMAN |
| | MAKASSARESE | 5. BENTONG 6. COSTAL KONJO 7. HIGHLAND KONJO 8. MAKASSARESE 9. SELAYAR |
| | SEKO | 10. BUDONG-BUDONG 11. PANASIAN 12. SEKO PADANG 13. SEKO TENGAH |
| | 14. LEMOLANG | |
| | NORTHERN | 15. MAMLUJ 16. MANDAR |
| | MASSENREMPULU | 17. DURE 18. ENREKANG 19. MALIMPUNG 20. MAWA |
| | PITU ULUNRA SALLI | 21. ARALLE-TABULAHAN 22. DAKKA 23. PANJE 24. BAMBAM 25. ULUMANDA' |
| | TORAJA | 26. KALUMPANG 27. TAE 28. MABASA 29. TORAJA-SADAN 30. TALONDO' |
| | SARIBURI | NORTH SANGIRIC |
| SOUTH SANGIRIC | | 3. BANTIK 4. RATAHAN |
| MOLUKKAS | 1. TONSAWANG | |
| | NORTH MINAHASAN | 2. TOMBULU 3. TONGANO 4. TONSEA 5. TONLEBBOAN |
| | MONGONDOWIC | 1. MONGONDOW 2. PONOSAKAN |
| | GORONTALO | 3. BINTAUJA 4. BOLANGO 5. BUCU 6. SORONTALO 7. KADIPANG 8. LOKAL 9. SUWAWA |
| SOUTH SUMATRA | 1. MANADO MALAY | |
| | 1. INDONESIAN BAJAU | |
| CELEBES | TOLITOLI | 1. SOANO 2. TOTOLI |
| | TOMINI | 3. BALAESANG 4. DAMPELAS 5. SONDO 6. LAUJE 7. PENGAI 8. TABI 9. TALJO 10. TOMINI |
| | KAILI-PAMONA | |
| | NORTHERN | KAILI 11. BARAS 12. DALA KAILI 13. LEPO KAILI 14. URAE KAILI 15. LINDU 16. MOMA 17. SEGOA 18. TOPOYO |
| | PAMONA | 19. PAMONA 20. TOMBELALA |
| | SOUTHERN | BARANG 21. BADA 22. BEWOA 23. NAPU 24. SAMPI 25. SARUDU 26. UWA |
| | WOTULU-WOLO | 27. WOTU |
| | KALIA-KERULO | 28. KALAO 29. LATOLO |
| | WOLU-KAMARU | 30. KAMARU 31. WOLO |
| | EASTERN CELEBIC | SALUAN-BANGGAI EASTERN 32. BALANTAK 33. BANGGAI |
| SALUANIC | 34. ANDIO 35. BATU 36. BOROINGO 37. SALUAN | |
| SOUTHEASTERN CELEBIC | BUNGKU-TOLARI EASTERN 38. MORONENE | |
| WESTERN | EAST COAST 39. BAHONGDUAI 40. BUNGI 41. KORDI 42. KULUBUSU 43. MOW BAHAN 44. TALOKI 45. WAWONI | |
| INTERIOR | 46. MORI ATAS 47. PADJE 48. TOMADINO | |
| WEST COAST | 49. KODEOHA 50. BAHAMBU 51. TOLAKI 52. WAWU | |
| MUNA-BUTON | TUKANG BESI-BONERATE 53. BONERATE 54. TUKANG BESI N. 55. TUKANG BESI S. | |
| NUCLEAR MUNA-BUTON | BUTON 56. KUMBEMWAHA 57. LASALUMU 58. CIA-CIA | |
| MUNA | 59. BUSOJA 60. KAMBULAWA 61. KODKO 62. LIABUKU 63. MUNA 64. PANCANA | |



The Quick Facts

- Things are different there.
- About 115 languages.
- Unlike Indonesian, these languages have...
 - A system of agreement, &
 - A different word order.

| | | |
|----------------------|---|--|
| SOUTH SUMATRA | BUGIS BUGINESE 1. BUGINESE 2. CAMPALAGIAN TAMANG 3. EMBALOH 4. TAMAN MAKASSARESE 5. BENTONG 6. COSTAL KONJO 7. HIGHLAND KONJO 8. MAKASSARESE 9. SELAYAR SEKO 10. BUDONG-BUDONG 11. PANASIAN 12. SEKO PADANG 13. SEKO TENGAH 14. LEWOLANG NORTHERN 15. MAMLUJ 16. MANDAR MASSENREMPULU 17. DURE 18. ENREKANG 19. MALIMPUNG 20. MAWA PITU ULUNRA SALLI 21. ARALLE-TABULAHAN 22. DAKKA 23. PANNE 24. BAMBAM 25. ULUMANDA' TORAJA 26. KALUMPANG 27. TAE 28. MABASA 29. TORAJA-SADAN 30. TALONDO' | CELEBES TOLITOLI 1. SOANO 2. TOTOLI TOMINI 3. BALAESANG 4. DAMPELAS 5. SONDO 6. LAUJE 7. PENGAI 8. TABI 9. TALJO 10. TOMINI KAILI-PAMONA NORTHERN KAILI 11. BARAS 12. DAJA KAILI 13. LEPO KAILI 14. URAE KAILI 15. LINDU 16. MOMA 17. SEGOA 18. TOPOYO PAMONA 19. PAMONA 20. TOMBELALA SOUTHERN BARIKAC 21. BADA 22. BEWOA 23. NAPI 24. SAMPI 25. SARUDU 26. UWA WOTUL-WOLO 27. WOTU KALIA-SERILO 28. KALAO 29. LATOLO WOLIO-KAMARU 30. KAMARU 31. WOLIO EASTERN CELEBIC SALUAN-BANGGAI EASTERN 32. BALANTAK 33. BANGGAI SALUANIC 34. ANDIO 35. BATU 36. BOROINGO 37. SALUAN SOUTHEASTERN CELEBIC BUNGKU-TOLARI EASTERN 38. MORONENE EAST COAST 39. BAHONGUAI 40. BUNGI 41. KORDI 42. KULUBU 43. MOKI BAHAN 44. TALOKI 45. WAWONI WESTERN INTERIOR 46. MORI ATAS 47. PADJE 48. TOMADINO WEST COAST 49. KODEOHA 50. BAHAMBU 51. TOLAKI 52. WARI MUNA-BUTON TUKANG BESI-BONERATE 53. BONERATE 54. TUKANG BESI N. 55. TUKANG BESI S. NUCLEAR MUNA-BUTON BUTON 56. KUMBEMAWA 57. LASALUMU 58. CIA-CIA MUNA 59. BUSOA 60. KAMBULAWA 61. KODI 62. LIABUKU 63. MUNA 64. PANCANA |
|----------------------|---|--|



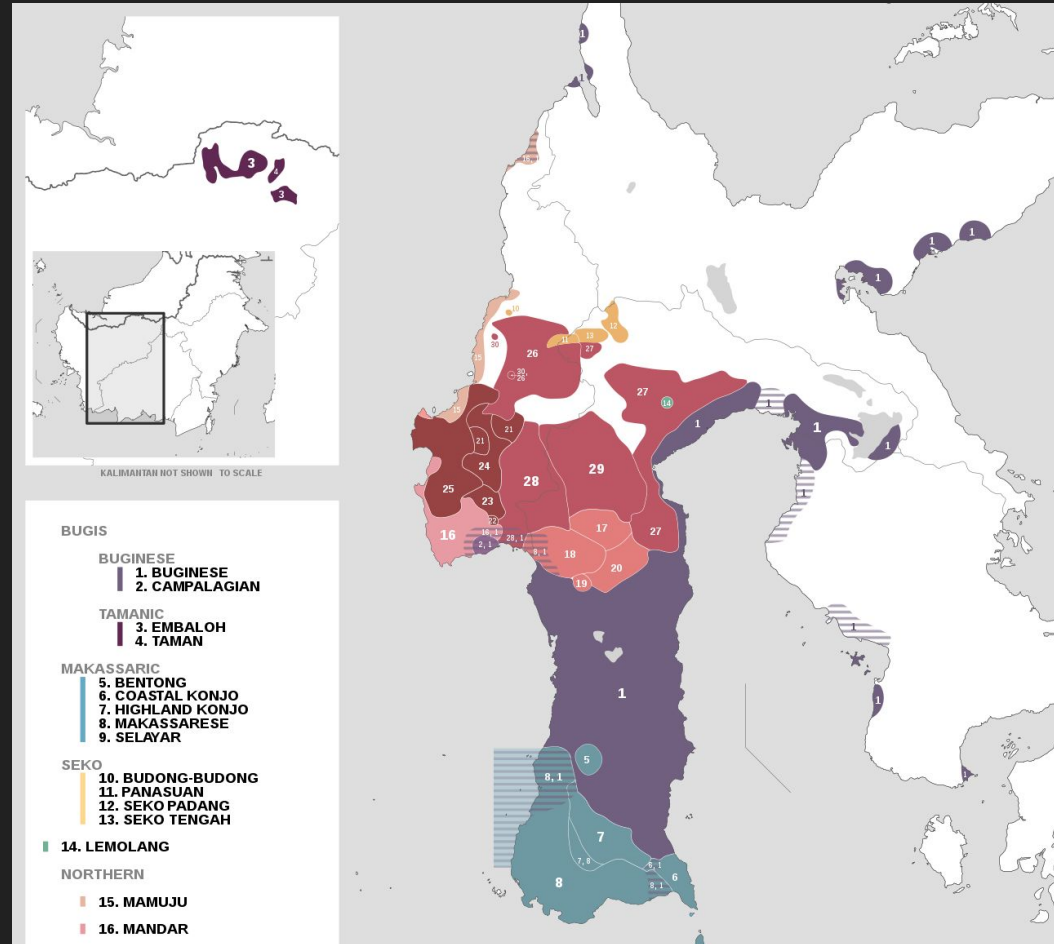
The Quick Facts

- Things are different there.
- About 115 languages.
- Unlike Indonesian, these languages have...
 - A system of agreement, &
 - A different word order.
- This raises a puzzle.



Case Study: Mandar

- Our focus is on **Mandar**.
 - A regional language of West Sulawesi Province
 - South Sulawesi Subfamily
 - Northern Subgroup
 - This map → number 16



Case Study: Mandar

- Consider this sentence:

Case Study: Mandar

- Consider this sentence:

(11) U-tarima-i yau sura'
 Ku-terima-ia aku surat
 “Aku menerima suratnya”

Case Study: Mandar

- Consider this sentence:

(11) U-tarima-i yau sura'
 Ku-terima-ia aku surat
 “Aku menerima suratnya”

- There are **two important properties**:

Case Study: Mandar

- Consider this sentence:

(11) U-tarima-i yau sura'
 Ku-terima-ia aku surat
 “Aku menerima suratnya”

- There are two important properties:
 - The first word in the sentence is the **verb**,

Case Study: Mandar

- Consider this sentence:

(11) U-tarima-i yau sura'
 Ku-terima-ia aku surat
 “Aku menerima suratnya”

- There are two important properties:
 - The first word in the sentence is the verb, and
 - The verb shows agreement with both the agent and the object.

Case Study: Mandar

- Consider this sentence:

(11) U-tarima-i yau sura'
 Ku-terima-ia aku surat
 “Aku menerima suratnya”

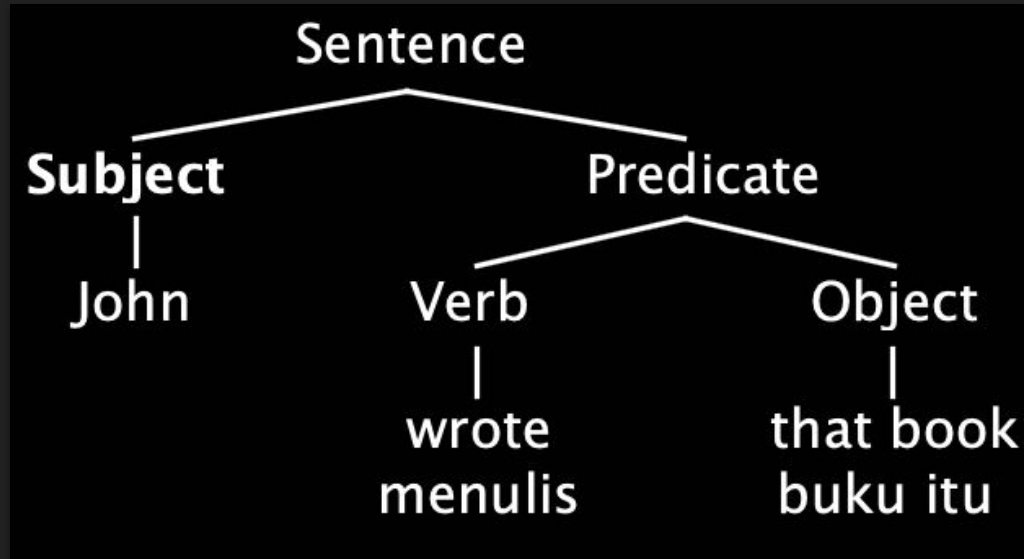
- There are two important properties:
 - The first word in the sentence is the verb, and
 - The verb shows agreement with both the agent and the object.
- What will happen to our theory?

The First Problem

- Verb-initial sentences do not fit with the original theory of subjects.

The First Problem

- Verb-initial sentences do not fit with the original theory of subjects.
 - Chomsky 1965: **sentence = subject + predicate**



The First Problem

- Verb-initial sentences do not fit with the original theory of subjects.
 - Chomsky 1965: sentence = subject + predicate
 - Puzzle: where are the subject and predicate here?

(11) U-tarima-i yau sura'
 Ku-terima-ia aku surat
 “Aku menerima suratnya”

The First Problem

- In response to this kind of problem, some research makes a big claim:

The First Problem

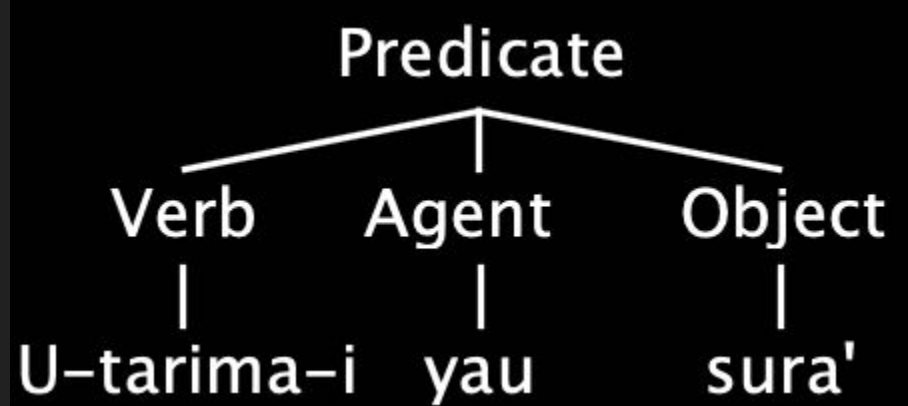
- In response to this kind of problem, some research makes a big claim:

“verb-initial sentences do not contain a subject.”

The First Problem

- In response to this kind of problem, some research makes a big claim:

“verb-initial sentences do not contain a subject.”



Cf. Chung 1983

The First Problem

- In response to this kind of problem, some research makes a big claim:

“verb-initial sentences do not contain a subject.”

- If this is correct, then it means we have to give up the theory of subjecthood.

The First Problem

- In response to this kind of problem, some research makes a big claim:

“verb-initial sentences do not contain a subject.”

- If this is correct, then it means we have to give up the theory of subjecthood.
- Question: do Mandar sentences contain a subject?

The Second Problem

- There is a similar puzzle that comes from [the pattern of agreement](#).

The Second Problem

- There is a similar puzzle that comes from the pattern of agreement.
- In Mandar, the verb agrees with both **the agent** and **the object**.

The Second Problem

- There is a similar puzzle that comes from the pattern of agreement.
- In Mandar, the verb agrees with both **the agent** and **the object**.

(11) U-tarima-i yau sura'
 Ku-terima-ia aku surat

The Second Problem

- There is a similar puzzle that comes from the pattern of agreement.
- In Mandar, the verb agrees with both **the agent** and **the object**.

(11) U-tarima-i yau sura'
 Ku-terima-ia aku surat

(12) Mu-tarima-i i'o sura'
 Kau-terima-ia kau surat

The Second Problem

- There is a similar puzzle that comes from the pattern of agreement.
- In Mandar, the verb agrees with both **the agent** and **the object**.

(11) U-tarima-i yau sura'
Ku-terima-ia aku surat

(12) Mu-tarima-i i'o sura'
Kau-terima-ia kau surat

(13) Na-tarima-o iAli i'o
Dia-terima-mu si Ali kau

The Second Problem

- There is a similar puzzle that comes from the pattern of agreement.
- In Mandar, the verb agrees with both **the agent** and **the object**.

(11) U-tarima-i yau sura'
 Ku-terima-ia aku surat

- This is different from English,

The Second Problem

- There is a similar puzzle that comes from the pattern of agreement.
- In Mandar, the verb agrees with both **the agent** and **the object**.

(11) U-tarima-i yau sura'
 Ku-terima-ia aku surat

- This is different from English, where the verb only agrees with the subject.

The Second Problem

- There is a similar puzzle that comes from the pattern of agreement.
- In Mandar, the verb agrees with both **the agent** and **the object**.

(11) U-tarima-i yau sura'
 Ku-terima-ia aku surat

- This is different from English, where the verb only agrees with the subject.

(5) John write-s books

The Second Problem

- There is a similar puzzle that comes from the pattern of agreement.
- In Mandar, the verb agrees with both **the agent** and **the object**.

(11) U-tarima-i yau sura'
 Ku-terima-ia aku surat

- This is different from English, where the verb only agrees with the subject,
- **And different from Indonesian**, where the verb agrees with nothing.

The Second Problem

- There is a similar puzzle that comes from the pattern of agreement.
- In Mandar, the verb agrees with both **the agent** and **the object**.

(11) U-tarima-i yau sura'
 Ku-terima-ia aku surat

- This is different from English, where the verb only agrees with the subject,
- And different from Indonesian, **where the verb agrees with nothing**.

The Second Problem

- There is a similar puzzle that comes from the pattern of agreement.
- In Mandar, the verb agrees with both **the agent** and **the object**.

(11) U-tarima-i yau sura'
 Ku-terima-ia aku surat

- This is different from English, where the verb only agrees with the subject,
- And different from Indonesian, where the verb agrees with nothing.

(7) *John menulises buku-buku

The Puzzle

- These patterns raise two questions for the universal theory of subjecthood:

The Puzzle

- These patterns raise two questions for the universal theory of subjecthood:
 - There's **no noun at the start of the sentence**,

The Puzzle

- These patterns raise two questions for the universal theory of subjecthood:
 - There's no noun at the start of the sentence, so:

Does Mandar have subjects?

The Puzzle

- These patterns raise two questions for the universal theory of subjecthood:
 - There's no noun at the start of the sentence, so:
Does Mandar have subjects?
 - Both the agent and the object trigger agreement,

The Puzzle

- These patterns raise two questions for the universal theory of subjecthood:
 - There's no noun at the start of the sentence, so:

Does Mandar have subjects?

- Both the agent and the object trigger agreement, so:

If there is a subject, which one is it?

The Proposal

- Today I want to make two arguments:

The Proposal

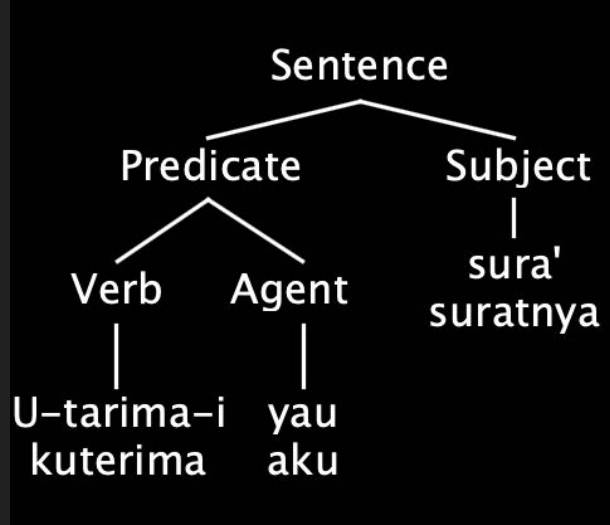
- Today I want to make two arguments:
 1. All Mandar sentences have subjects,

The Proposal

- Today I want to make two arguments:
 1. All Mandar sentences have subjects, and
 2. They show the structure “predicate + subject”

The Proposal

- Today I want to make two arguments:
 1. All Mandar sentences have subjects, and
 2. They show the structure “predicate + subject”



The Arguments

- There are several syntactic differences between **the agent** and **the object**.

The Arguments

- There are several syntactic differences between **the agent** and **the object**.
1. **Extraction:** the object can be moved; the agent cannot be moved.
(Guilfoyle, Hung, & Travis 1992)

The Arguments

- There are several syntactic differences between **the agent** and **the object**.

1. **Extraction:** the object can be moved; the agent cannot be moved.

(12) **Mu**-tarima-i i'o **sura'**
 Kau-terima-ia kamu suratnya

The Arguments

- There are several syntactic differences between **the agent** and **the object**.

1. **Extraction:** the object can be moved; the agent cannot be moved.

(12) **Mu**-tarima-i i'o sura'
 Kau-terima-ia kamu suratnya

(17) **Apa** **mu**-tarima ?
 Apa kau-terima?

The Arguments

- There are several syntactic differences between **the agent** and **the object**.

1. **Extraction:** the object can be moved; the agent cannot be moved.

(12) **Mu**-tarima-i i'o sura'
Kau-terima-ia kamu suratnya

(17) **Apa** mu-tarima ?
Apa kau-terima?

(18) ***Innai** na-tarima-i sura'
Siapa dia-terima-ia suratnya?

The Arguments

- There are several syntactic differences between **the agent** and **the object**.
1. **Extraction:** the object can be moved; the agent cannot be moved.

Compare: the Pasif Semu in Bahasa Indonesia

The Arguments

- There are several syntactic differences between **the agent** and **the object**.

1. **Extraction:** the object can be moved; the agent cannot be moved.

Compare: the Pasif Semu in Bahasa Indonesia

(19) Surat itu sudah **saya** terima.

The Arguments

- There are several syntactic differences between **the agent** and **the object**.

1. **Extraction:** the object can be moved; the agent cannot be moved.

Compare: the Pasif Semu in Bahasa Indonesia

(19) Surat itu sudah **saya** terima.

(20) **Apa** yang sudah **kau** terima?

The Arguments

- There are several syntactic differences between **the agent** and **the object**.

1. **Extraction:** the object can be moved; the agent cannot be moved.

Compare: the Pasif Semu in Bahasa Indonesia

(19) Surat itu sudah **saya** terima.

(20) **Apa** yang sudah **kau** terima?

(21) ***Siapa** yang surat itu sudah terima?

The Arguments

- There are several syntactic differences between **the agent** and **the object**.
 1. Extraction: the object can be moved; the agent cannot be moved.
 2. **Definiteness**: the object must be definite; the agent can be indefinite.

(Adams & Manaster-Ramer 1988)

The Arguments

- There are several syntactic differences between **the agent** and **the object**.
1. Extraction: the object can be moved; the agent cannot be moved.
 2. **Definiteness**: the object must be definite; the agent can be indefinite.

(11) U-tarima-i yau sura'
Ku-terima-ia aku suratnya

The Arguments

- There are several syntactic differences between **the agent** and **the object**.
1. Extraction: the object can be moved; the agent cannot be moved.
 2. **Definiteness**: the object must be definite; the agent can be indefinite.

(11) U-tarima-i yau sura'
Ku-terima-ia aku suratnya

(14) *U-tarima-i yau mesa sura'
Ku-terima-ia aku satu surat

The Arguments

- There are several syntactic differences between **the agent** and **the object**.
1. Extraction: the object can be moved; the agent cannot be moved.
 2. **Definiteness**: the object must be definite; the agent can be indefinite.

(11) U-tarima-i yau sura'
Ku-terima-ia aku suratnya

(14) *U-tarima-i yau mesa sura'
Ku-terima-ia aku satu surat

(15) Na-ita-a' mesa tau yau.
Dia-lihat-ku seseorang aku

The Arguments

- There are several syntactic differences between **the agent** and **the object**.
 1. Extraction: the object can be moved; the agent cannot be moved.
 2. Definiteness: the object must be definite; the agent can be indefinite.
 3. **Coreference**: the distribution of pronouns shows another asymmetry.

The Arguments

- There are several syntactic differences between **the agent** and **the object**.
 1. Extraction: the object can be moved; the agent cannot be moved.
 2. Definiteness: the object must be definite; the agent can be indefinite.
 3. Coreference: the distribution of pronouns shows another asymmetry.
 4. **Variable Binding**: the distribution of the word “all” shows the same thing.
(Reinhart 1983; Chomsky 1986)

The Arguments

- There are several syntactic differences between **the agent** and **the object**.
 1. Extraction: the object can be moved; the agent cannot be moved.
 2. Definiteness: the object must be definite; the agent can be indefinite.
 3. Coreference: the distribution of pronouns shows another asymmetry.
 4. Variable Binding: the distribution of the word “all” shows the same thing.
 5. **Finiteness**: there’s an asymmetry in the system of agreement.

(Bittner & Hale 1996; Legate 2006)

The Arguments

- There are several syntactic differences between **the agent** and **the object**.
 1. Extraction: the object can be moved; the agent cannot be moved.
 2. Definiteness: the object must be definite; the agent can be indefinite.
 3. Coreference: the distribution of pronouns shows another asymmetry.
 4. Variable Binding: the distribution of the word “all” shows the same thing.
 5. Finiteness: there’s an asymmetry in the system of agreement.
 6. **Linear Position**: the finer facts of word order show another asymmetry.

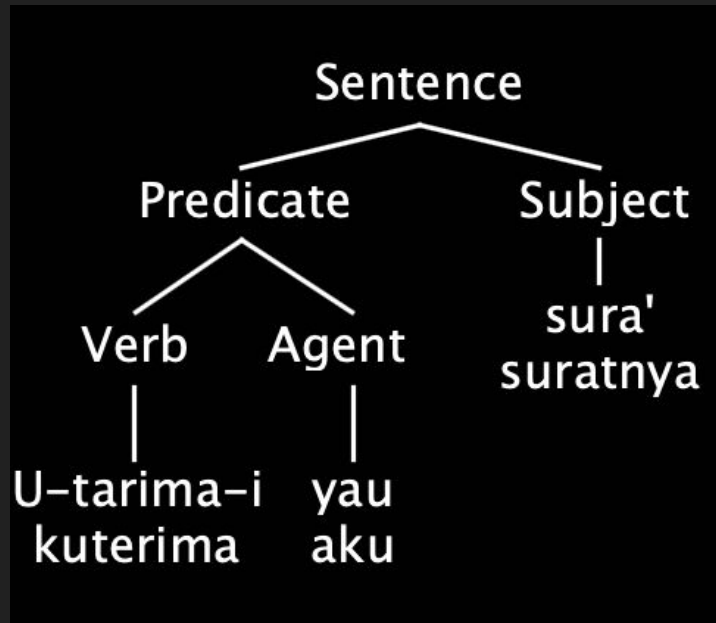
(Kayne 1994, Pearson 2005)

The Analysis

- There are several syntactic differences between **the agent** and **the object**.
- These patterns suggest that **the object sits above the agent in the syntax**.

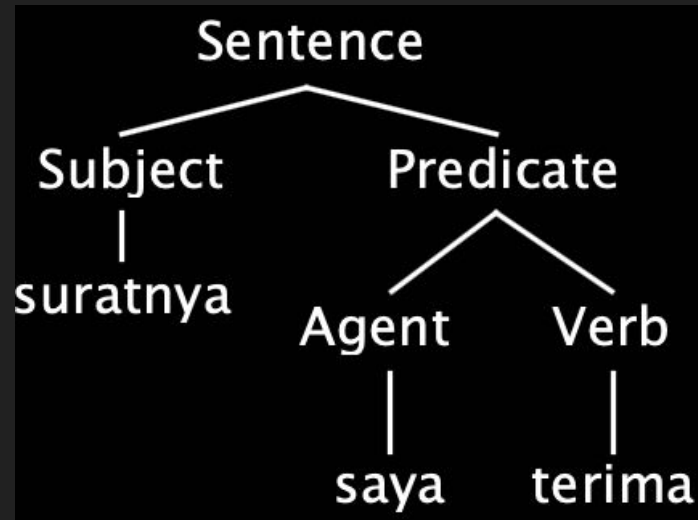
The Analysis

- There are several syntactic differences between **the agent** and **the object**.
- These patterns suggest that **the object sits above the agent in the syntax**.



The Analysis

- There are several syntactic differences between **the agent** and **the object**.
- These patterns suggest that the object sits above the agent in the syntax.
- The normal Mandar sentence is very similar to the Pasif Semu:



Some Syntax

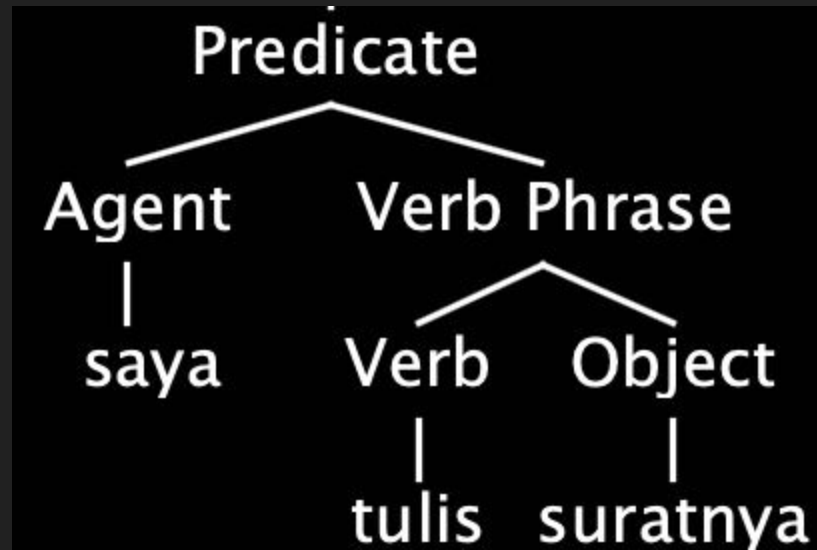
- The deeper analysis: **the object moves to a subject position.**
(Guilfoyle, Hung, & Travis 1992; Bittner & Hale 1996)

Some Syntax

- The deeper analysis: the object moves to a subject position.
- Starting with Indonesian,

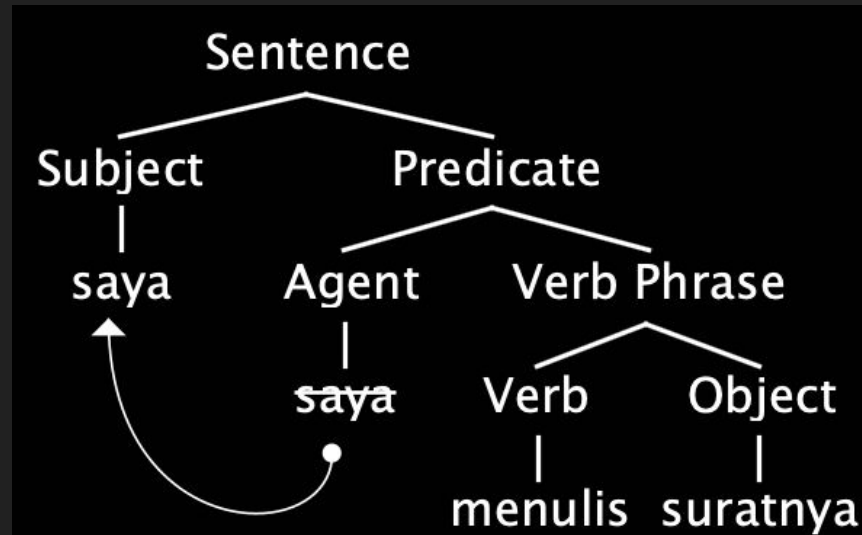
Some Syntax

- The deeper analysis: the object moves to a subject position.
- Starting with Indonesian,
 - The predicate contains three elements: the agent, verb, and object.



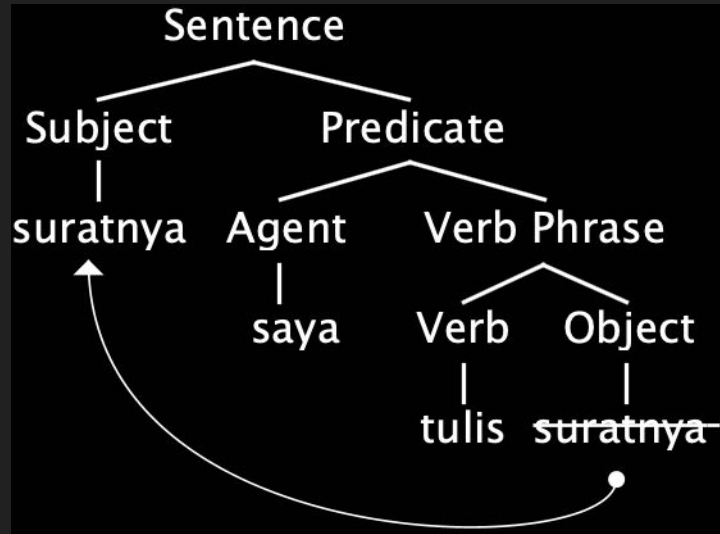
Some Syntax

- The deeper analysis: the object moves to a subject position.
- Starting with Indonesian,
 - In active sentences, the agent moves to the subject position.



Some Syntax

- The deeper analysis: the object moves to a subject position.
- Starting with Indonesian,
 - In the pasif semu, **the object moves to the subject position.**

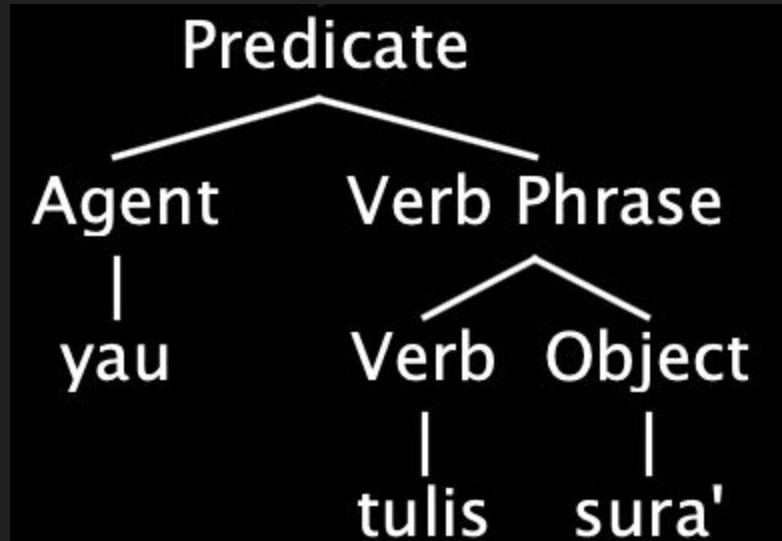


Some Syntax

- The deeper analysis: the object moves to a subject position.
- Turning now to **Mandar**,

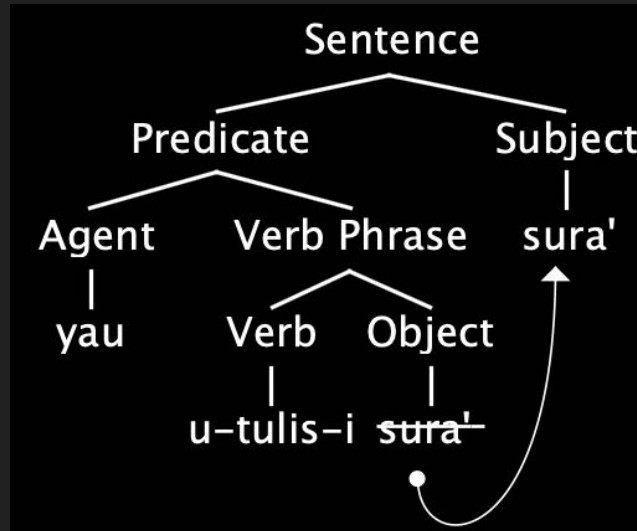
Some Syntax

- The deeper analysis: the object moves to a subject position.
- Turning now to Mandar,
 - The predicate contains the same elements: the agent, verb, and object.



Some Syntax

- The deeper analysis: the object moves to a subject position.
- Turning now to Mandar,
 - Just like the pasif semu: the object moves to a subject position.



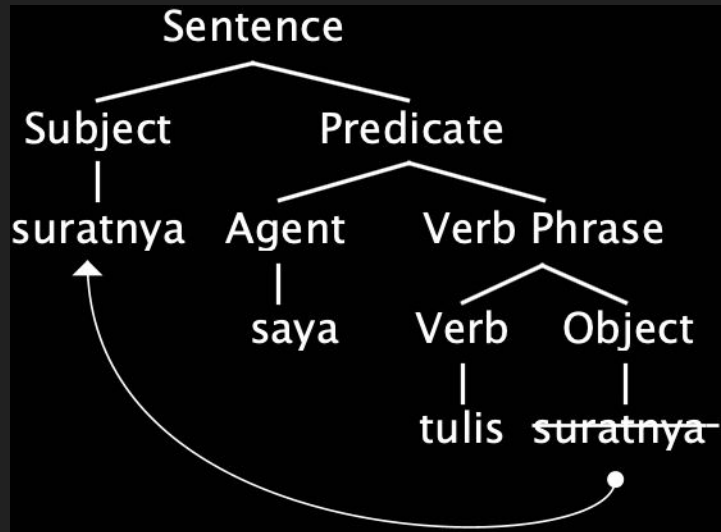
Some Syntax

- The deeper analysis: the object moves to a subject position.
- The difference between Indonesian and Mandar: **which side the subject is on.**

Some Syntax

- The deeper analysis: the object moves to a subject position.
- The difference between Indonesian and Mandar: which side the subject is on.

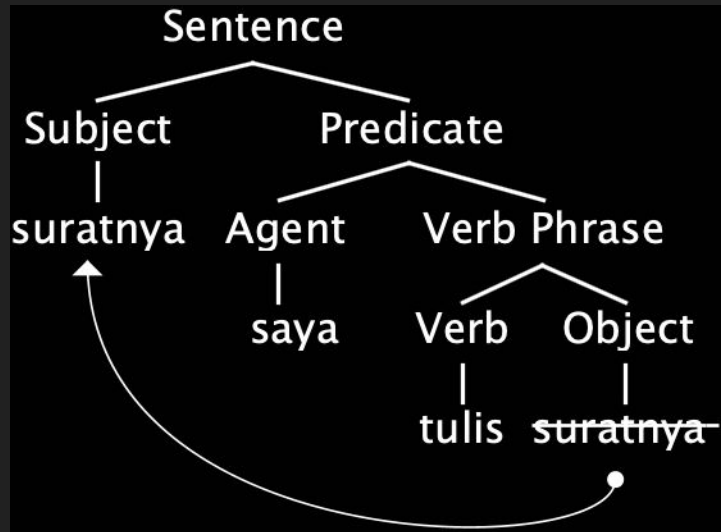
Indonesian



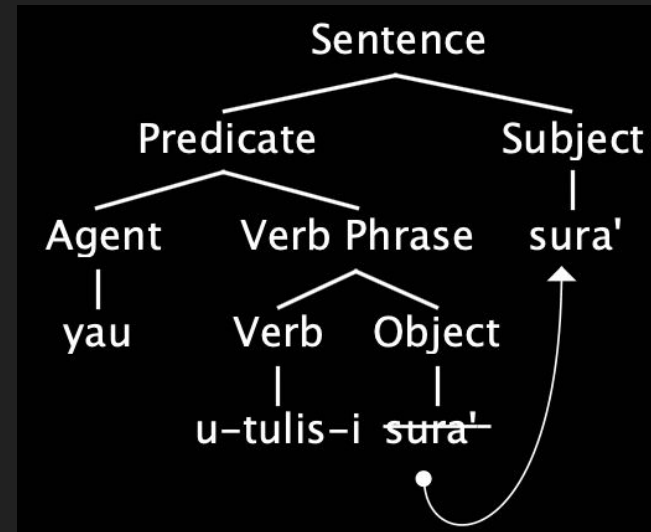
Some Syntax

- The deeper analysis: the object moves to a subject position.
- The difference between Indonesian and Mandar: which side the subject is on.

Indonesian



Mandar



The Theoretical Result

- This analysis means that **we have to make a major change to our theory.**

The Theoretical Result

- This analysis means that we have to make a major change to our theory:

The subject does not need to be the first noun in the clause.

The Theoretical Result

- This analysis means that we have to make a major change to our theory:

The subject does not need to be the first noun in the clause.

- The result: we are giving up an old component of the universal theory:

The Theoretical Result

- This analysis means that we have to make a major change to our theory:

The subject does not need to be the first noun in the clause.

- The result: we are giving up an old component of the universal theory:
 - The old universal analysis: “sentence = subject + predicate”

The Theoretical Result

- This analysis means that we have to make a major change to our theory:

The subject does not need to be the first noun in the clause.

- The result: we are giving up an old component of the universal theory:
 - The old universal analysis: “sentence = subject + predicate”
 - The new analysis: “every sentence contains a subject,

The Theoretical Result

- This analysis means that we have to make a major change to our theory:

The subject does not need to be the first noun in the clause.

- The result: we are giving up an old component of the universal theory:
 - The old universal analysis: “sentence = subject + predicate”
 - The new analysis: “every sentence contains a subject, but
the subject need not precede the predicate.”

Part Four:

Conclusion

Standing Questions

- This conclusion raises a set of questions that will remain unanswered for now.

Standing Questions

- This conclusion raises a set of questions that will remain unanswered for now.
 1. Why doesn't the subject come before the predicate in Mandar?

Standing Questions

- This conclusion raises a set of questions that will remain unanswered for now.
 1. Why doesn't the subject come before the predicate in Mandar?
 2. If subjects don't need to come before the predicate in general,

Standing Questions

- This conclusion raises a set of questions that will remain unanswered for now.
 1. Why doesn't the subject come before the predicate in Mandar?
 2. If subjects don't need to come before the predicate in general,
then why do they come before the predicate in so many languages?

Standing Questions

- This conclusion raises a set of questions that will remain unanswered for now.
 1. Why doesn't the subject come before the predicate in Mandar?
 2. If subjects don't need to come before the predicate in general,
then why do they come before the predicate in so many languages?
 3. Why can the object move above the agent in the pasif semu and Mandar,

Standing Questions

- This conclusion raises a set of questions that will remain unanswered for now.
 1. Why doesn't the subject come before the predicate in Mandar?
 2. If subjects don't need to come before the predicate in general,
then why do they come before the predicate in so many languages?
 3. Why can the object move above the agent in the pasif semu and Mandar,

When it can't do that in English?

Standing Questions

- This conclusion raises a set of questions that will remain unanswered for now.
- To answer these questions, we would need another talk (or probably more).

Standing Questions

- This conclusion raises a set of questions that will remain unanswered for now.
- To answer these questions, we would need another talk (or probably more).
- For now, I'd like to focus on the positive conclusions:

The Improved Theory of Subjecthood

- Today we have seen that subjects **behave differently in different languages:**

The Improved Theory of Subjecthood

- Today we have seen that subjects behave differently in different languages:
 - a. Sometimes, they appear at the start of the sentence,

The Improved Theory of Subjecthood

- Today we have seen that subjects behave differently in different languages:
 - a. Sometimes, they appear at the start of the sentence,
 - b. Sometimes, they trigger agreement,

The Improved Theory of Subjecthood

- Today we have seen that subjects behave differently in different languages:
 - a. Sometimes, they appear at the start of the sentence,
 - b. Sometimes, they trigger agreement, and
 - c. Sometimes, the object can be a subject when the agent is not moved.

The Improved Theory of Subjecthood

- Today we have seen that subjects behave differently in different languages:
 - a. Sometimes, they appear at the start of the sentence,
 - b. Sometimes, they trigger agreement, and
 - c. Sometimes, the object can be a subject when the agent is not moved.
- This shows that **the universal theory of subjecthood must be relaxed.**

The Improved Theory of Subjecthood

- Today we have seen that subjects behave differently in different languages:
 - a. Sometimes, they appear at the start of the sentence,
 - b. Sometimes, they trigger agreement, and
 - c. Sometimes, the object can be a subject when the agent is not moved.
- This shows that the universal theory of subjecthood must be relaxed:

There is no universal analysis of “sentence = subject + predicate”

The Improved Theory of Subjecthood

- However: this does not mean that the universal theory is wrong.

The Improved Theory of Subjecthood

- However: this does not mean that the universal theory is wrong.
- The important lesson from today is this:

The Improved Theory of Subjecthood

- However: this does not mean that the universal theory is wrong.
- The important lesson from today is this:
 - a. Mandar might seem to be a counterexample to the original theory,

The Improved Theory of Subjecthood

- However: this does not mean that the universal theory is wrong.
- The important lesson from today is this:
 - a. Mandar might seem to be a counterexample to the original theory, because the sentence does not look like “subject + predicate.”

The Improved Theory of Subjecthood

- However: this does not mean that the universal theory is wrong.
- The important lesson from today is this:
 - a. Mandar might seem to be a counterexample to the original theory, because the sentence does not look like “subject + predicate.”
 - b. But **when we dig into the structure of the language,**

The Improved Theory of Subjecthood

- However: this does not mean that the universal theory is wrong.
- The important lesson from today is this:
 - a. Mandar might seem to be a counterexample to the original theory, because the sentence does not look like “subject + predicate.”
 - b. But when we dig into the structure of the language,
We find that it shows robust evidence that there is a subject.

The Improved Theory of Subjecthood

- However: this does not mean that the universal theory is wrong.
- The important lesson from today is this:
 - a. Mandar might seem to be a counterexample to the original theory, because the sentence does not look like “subject + predicate.”
 - b. But when we dig into the structure of the language, We find that it shows robust evidence that there is a subject.
- This suggests that **there really is something universal to subjecthood after all.**

References

- Adriani, N. (1893). *Sangireesche spraakkunst*. Leiden: Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap.
- Adams, K. L., & Manaster-Ramer, A. (1988). Some questions of topic/focus choice in Tagalog. *Oceanic Linguistics*, 27(1/2), 79-101.
- Brodkin, D. (2021). 04. Object Shift and Agent Extraction in Mandar
- Chomsky, N. (2014). *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (Vol. 11). MIT press.
- Chomsky, N. (1986). *Barriers* (Vol. 13). MIT Press (MA).
- Chung, S. (1976). On the subject of two passives in Indonesian. *Subject and topic*, 57, 99.
- Chung, S. (1983). The ECP and government in Chamorro. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, 1(2), 207-244.
- Cole, Peter, & Gabriella Hermon. "Subject and non-subject relativization in Indonesian." *Journal of East Asian Linguistics* 14.1 (2005): 59-88.
- Cole, P., & Hermon, G. (2008). Voice in Malay/Indonesian. *Lingua*, 118(10), 1500-1553.
- Durie, M. (1987). Grammatical relations in Acehnese. *Studies in Language. International Journal sponsored by the Foundation "Foundations of Language"*, 11(2), 365-399.
- Guilfoyle, E., Hung, H., & Travis, L. (1992). Spec of IP and Spec of VP: Two subjects in Austronesian languages. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, 10(3), 375-414.
- Hsieh, H. (2020). *Beyond Nominative: a broader view of A'-dependencies in Tagalog*. McGill University (Canada).
- Jukes, A. (2006). *Makassarese (basa Mangkasara') A description of an Austronesian language of South Sulawesi* (Doctoral dissertation, The University of Melbourne).
- Keenan, E. L. (1976). Towards a Universal Definition of Subject. In Li & Thompson 1976, Eds. *Subject and Topic*.
- Thompson, S. A. (1976). *Subject and topic* (p. 457). C. N. Li (Ed.). New York: Academic Press.
- Pearson, M. (2005). The Malagasy subject/topic as an A'-element. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, 23(2), 381-457
- Reinhart, T. (1983). Coreference and bound anaphora: A restatement of the anaphora questions. *Linguistics and Philosophy*, 47-88.
- van der Tuuk, H. N. N. (1864). *Tobasche spraakkunst*. Muller.