

Pseudoclefts in South Sulawesi
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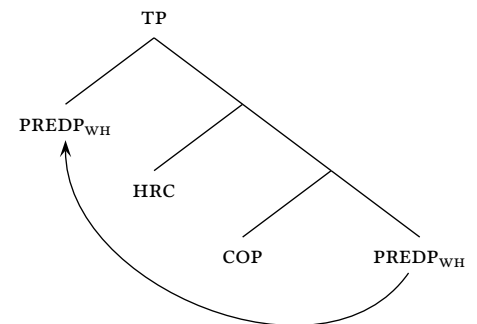
1 Argument Questions and Predicate Fronting

1.1 Argument Questions

- Definition: questions which target a nominal argument.
 - **cf:** adjunct questions (time, location, manner)
 - Two Key Strategies:
 1. **Direct Displacement:** WHs move from θ -positions.
 2. **WH-Pseudocleft:** WH predicated against free relatives.
- (1) *Argument vs. Adjunct Questions*
- a. **What** did you buy?
 - b. *When/where/how* will he sing?
- (2) *Argument Question Strategies*
- a. **What_i** did you buy t_i ?
 - b. **What** is what you bought?

1.2 Wh-Pseudoclefts

- Cross-linguistically common strategy to form WH-questions.
 - Widespread in v-initial languages (Oda 2005)
 1. Semitic: Cheng 1997, Ouhalla 1999, Abdel-Razaq 2015
 2. Austronesian: Dahl 1986; Aldridge 2002, Potsdam 2009
 3. Salishan: Davis, Gardener, & Matthewson 1993
 - Pattern: *WH-as-predicate*
 - WH-word occupies canonical predicate position
 - Post-WH constituent = headless relative clause (HRC)
 - HRC = subject: Higgins 1979; Bošković 1997
 - HRC and WH: linked by copula (Den Dikken 2006)
- (3) *Wh-Pseudocleft: Structure*
- a. WHAT is what you got?
PIVOT HEADLESS RELATIVE
 - b. *Surface Order: PRED-Fronting*



1.3 One Macroparametric Generalization

- **Proposed Link: PRED-fronting → no Direct Displacement.**
 - Some languages: v1 order derived by PRED-fronting.
 - Here: **no** WH-movement; **only** WH-pseudoclefts.
- **Oda 2005:** Parameterization of features on c^0
 - PRED-fronting: EPP_{PRED} feature on T^0 (Massam 2001).
 - Inheritance: EPP_{PRED} on T^0 from c^0 (Chomsky 2004)
 - **Claim:** EPP_{PRED} on $c^0 \rightarrow$ no EPP_{DP} on c^0 .
- **Travis 2006:** Parameterization of movement at large.
 - A-languages: x^0 -movement of V; XP movement of DP
 - B-languages: x^0 -movement of D; XP movement of VP
 - **Claim:** VP-movement \rightarrow no DP movement.
- PRED-fronting: background
 - Two paths to verb-initiality:
 1. Head Movement: Sproat 1985
 2. PRED-fronting: Massam 2001
 - Correlates:
 1. Nonverbal predicates (NP S)
 2. Position of the object (VOS)
- The distribution of PRED-fronting:
 - Austronesian: Massam 2001; Rackowski & Travis 2001
 - Otomanguean: Lee 2006; Adler et al. 2018; Eischens 2019

1.4 Today's Claim: No Parametric Link

- **No relationship** between PRED-fronting and Direct Displacement - as expected on a minimalist view of UG.

2 The Austronesian Pattern

- AN languages: original motivation for the link.
 - Major language family; Indonesia/Pacific
 - Often conform to the correlation above.
- Three common patterns:
 - v1 order derived by PRED-fronting
 - No WH-in-situ; no multiple WH-questions
 - Argument questions = pseudoclefts.
- Two standing questions:
 - How consistent is this pattern?
 - Why should this pattern hold?
- Prospectus: consistent pattern.
 - Potsdam 2009: few apparent exceptions.
 - Parallel patterns in distantly-related subgroups
 - Consistent across typologically-diverse regions

(4) *Pseudoclefts-Only:*

1. THE PHILIPPINES: Tagalog: Aldridge 2002; Ilocano: Rafal 2009; all languages in the region: Kaufman 2018
2. W.INDONESIA: Malay: Aman et al. 1999; Indonesian: Cole et al. 2005; Javanese: Cole et al. 2003; Madurese: Davies 2003; Sundanese: Davies & Kurniawan 2013; Toba Batak: Cole & Hermon 2008
3. MALAGASY: Paul 2000, 2001, Potsdam 2006a, 2006b, Law 2007
4. TAIWAN: Seediq: Aldridge 2002, 2004; Kavalan: Lin 2014; Tsou: Chang 2000
5. POLYNESIAN: Maori: Bauer 1991, 1993; Niuean: Seiter 1980; Tuvaluan: Besnier 2000; Tongan: Otsuka 2000, Curtis 2004; Fijian: Potsdam 2009; Polynesian at large: Potsdam & Polinsky 2011

3 Case Study: Indonesian

3.1 Indonesian: Background

- svo language; Indonesia/Malaysia
- Basic clause: **no** predicate fronting (Chung 2008)
- Nevertheless: **no** WH-movement.

(5) *Indonesian: SVO Word Order*

- a. **Aku** nyangkal adanya PM-WH.
I deny presence WH-MVT.
'I deny the presence of WH-MVT.'

3.2 Indonesian: Wh-Pseudoclefts

- WH-initial argument questions:
 - WH-word = predicate
 - The remainder: = **headless relative**.
- Argument focus: same pattern.
 - FOCUS = clause-initial predicate position.
 - Remainder = **headless relative**.

(6) *Indonesian: Argument Questions*

- a. **Apa yang** kamu sangkal?
what REL you deny
'What is what you denied?'
- b. **Itu yang** aku sangkal.
that REL i deny
'That is what I denied.'

3.3 Argument Wh: Predicate Position

- Focused predicates: clause-initial position (Chung 1978)
- WH-words: same clause-initial position.
- **Claim:** WH-initial order via PRED-fronting.

(7) *Indonesian: Focused Predicates Front*

- a. **Nyangkal** adanya PM-WH **dia**.
deny presence WH-MVT he
'He denied the presence of Wh-Mvt.'

3.4 Remainder = Headless Relative

- Headless relatives: require *yang*
 - *yang*-CP: can be an argument.
 - No *yang* → no headless relative.
- WH-Argument questions: require *yang*
- **Claim:** the post-WH remainder = free relative.

(8) Indonesian: Headless Relatives & Yang

- { **Yang** dia beli } cemilan.
REL he buy snacks
'What he bought were snacks.'
- Apa { **yang** dia beli }?
what REL he buy
'What is what he bought?'

3.5 Wh-Pseudocleft: Copular Syntax

- Copular clauses → *adalah* "BE"
- Argument question/focus: **copula ok**
- **Claim:** pseudocleft → copular syntax.

(9) Argument Questions → Copular Syntax

- Yang dibelinya **adalah** apa?
REL he.bought is what
'What is what he bought?'

3.6 Wh = Predicate: the Particle Test

- **PRED-Only Particles**
 - Follow the predicate; cannot appear on arguments.
 - Regular subject: **no particles**
- Argument question/focus: **particle ok**
- **Claim:** WH/FOC = predicate.
 - Key diagnostic across Austronesian.

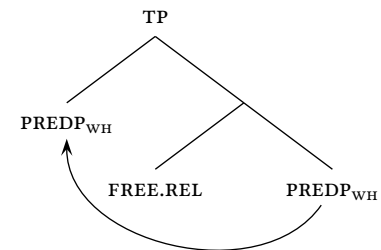
(10) Indonesian: PRED-Only Particles

- *Siti=**kah** datang?
NAME=Q come
IM: 'Did Siti come?'
 - Siapa=**kah yang** datang?
WHO=Q REL come
'Who is it that came?'
- cf: Malay; Cole et al. 1999

3.7 Argument WhQ = Pseudocleft

- Initial argument WHQ = copular clause.
 - Subject: *yang*-CP, headless relative
 - Predicate: null copula + argument WH-word.
- **No Direct Displacement**
 - WH1 order arises via PRED-fronting.
 - Argument WH-words do not move from θ -positions.

(11) Indonesian: Wh-Pseudocleft



3.8 Western Austronesian: General Pattern

- Argument WH-words/foci:
 - Occupy focused predicate position.
 - Host PRED-only particles.
- The post-WH/FOC constituent (remainder):
 - Resembles a free relative; behaves like a CP.
- Argument Question/Focus → Biclausal Structure.

(12) Same Pattern: Tagalog, Malagasy

- Ano ang** binili ni Dan?
what REL bought NAME
'What is what Dan bought?' Tag
- Iza no** nanasa lamba?
who REL wash clothes
'Who is who did the wash?' Mal

4 An Austronesian Exception

- **Mandar:** WH-questions not pseudoclefts.
 - No morphological evidence for pseudocleft structure.
 - WH-word does not behave like a predicate.
 - Syntactic evidence for monoclausal structure

4.1 Mandar Background

- v-initial word order (Friberg 1996)
- CLAIM: v1 via PRED-fronting (Brodkin 2020)
 - vos-vso alternations
 - Nonverbal predicates precede arguments
 - Parallel claim across the subfamily: Finer & Basri 2018

4.2 Wh-Questions: Background

- WH-words: *apa* ‘what,’ *innai* ‘who,’
- No WH-in-situ
- Argument questions: WH-initial

4.3 Pseudocleft or Not?

- **Question:** Mandar WH1 = **pseudocleft**?

1. COVERT PSEUDOCLEFT ANALYSIS

- Argument question → pseudocleft
- WH-word → predicate
- WH.PREDICATE → predicate position
- Post-WH constituent → free relative subject

2. DIRECT DISPLACEMENT ANALYSIS

- Argument question → direct displacement
- WH-word → argument
- WH.ARGUMENT → left-peripheral A'-position
- Post-WH constituent → TP

- **Claim:** PRED-fronting + WH-movement coexist.

4.4 Three Key Patterns

1. Post-WH constituent: not a CP.
2. Argument question: no copular structure
3. WH-word: not a predicate.

- Mandar Background:

- South Sulawesi Subfamily; Central Indonesia (Grimes & Grimes 1987)
- 500k speakers (2000 census)
- *Balanipa* Dialect; Polman Regency

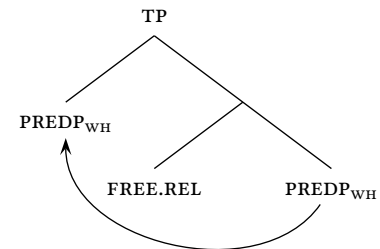
(13) Mandar: Verb-Initial Order

- a. Mappamula=i **bunga** iMurni
plant=3AGR flower NAME
‘Murni is planting flowers.’
- b. **Panguma**=i iMurni
gardener=3AGR NAME
‘Murni is a gardener’

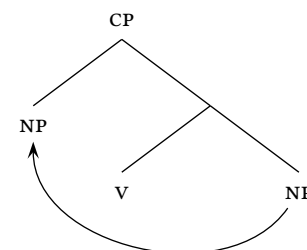
(14) Mandar: Argument Question

- a. **Apa** mupeang?
what you.fish
‘What are you fishing for?’

(15) Covert Pseudocleft



(16) Direct Displacement



- Sources of Data:

- Elicitation since 2018; 3 speakers
- My corpus: <https://kratylos.org>

5 Against Pseudoclefts: No Free Relative Subject

5.1 The Post-Wh Constituent: Predictions

1. The Direct Displacement Analysis:

- Regular TP; no CP layer.
- Not an argument; no copular syntax
- **Prediction:** no c; no copular syntax.

2. The Pseudocleft Analysis:

- Headless relative clause
- Subject of a copular clause
- **Prediction:** overt c; copular syntax.

(17) *Direct Displacement: No Free Relative*

- a. Apa mupeang apa ?
 what you.fish what
 NP V NP
 ‘What did you fish up?’

(18) *Pseudocleft: Free Relative*

- a. Apa Ø Ø mupeang?
 what COP REL you.fished
 PRED HRC
 ‘What is the thing you fished up?’

5.2 Morphological Evidence: No Relativizer

- Free relatives: *anu* ‘REL’
- Argument question: *anu* impossible.
 - South Sulawesi: consistent pattern (Jukes 2006)
 - Other AN languages: relativizer obligatory
- **Claim:** post-WH constituent not a CP.

(19) *Mandar: Relativizers*

- a. Mararas=i **anu** muparessuq!
 spicy=3AGR REL you.cook
 ‘What you cooked is spicy!’
- b. **Apa** ***anu** muparessuq?
 what REL you.cook
 IM: ‘What did you cook?’

5.3 Syntactic Evidence: No Copular Syntax

5.3.1 Copular Clauses: Overt Agreement

- Predicate > subject
- Predicate hosts agreement.
 - Targets the subject; follows predicate.
 - Predicate WH: hosts agreement.
- **Claim:** agreement → copular syntax.

(20) *Copular Clauses: Agreement*

- a. **Apa=o** i qo?
 what=2AGR you
 ‘What are you?’
- b. **Dottor=aq** yau.
 doctor=1AGR I
 ‘I’m a doctor.’

5.3.2 Free Relative Subjects: Agreement

- Free relatives can be subjects of copular clauses.
- Free relative subject → AGR.
 - Mandar: CP arguments generally trigger agreement.

(21) *Free Relative Subject → Agreement*

- a. Tojawa=i **to** pole.
 Javanese=3AGR REL come
 ‘The one who came is Javanese.’

5.3.3 Argument Questions: No Agreement

- **Prediction:** pseudocleft → same type of agreement.
- **Pattern:** argument questions *ban* agreement.
- **Conclusion:** no copular syntax in argument questions.
- **Result:** argument question **not** a pseudocleft.

(22) *Argument Questions: No Agreement*

- a. Apa=(***i**) mupeang?
 what=3AGR you.fish
 IM: ‘What did you fish up?’

6 Against Pseudoclefts: Monoclausality

6.1 Biclausal Structure: Predictions

1. The Direct Displacement Analysis:
 - Monoclausal structure; direct movement of WH
 - **Prediction:** post-WH constituent → matrix clause.
2. The Pseudocleft Analysis:
 - Biclausal structure; no direct displacement
 - **Prediction:** post-WH constituent → embedded clause.

(23) *Direct Displacement: Monoclausal*

- a. [_{CP} Apa mupeang apa]?
 what you.fish what
 ‘What did you fish up?’

(24) *Pseudocleft: Biclausal*

- a. [_{CP} Apa [_{CP} Ø mupeang]]?
 what REL you.fished
 ‘What is the thing you fished up?’

6.2 Imperatives: Monoclausal Structure

6.2.1 Imperative Morphology: Matrix Clauses Only

- Imperative morphology: bare verb stem.
- Distribution: matrix clauses only.
 - Embedded contexts: impossible
 - Ex: prohibitive negation → no imperative form
- Imperative morphology → diagnostic for embedding

(25) *Imperatives: Matrix Clause Only*

- a. **Ala** diqe!
 take.IMP this
 ‘Take this!’
- b. **Daqa mu-ala** / ***ala!**
 DON’T! you-take / take.IMP
 ‘Don’t take it!’

6.2.2 Argument Focus: Imperatives Ok

- Argument focus = Argument WH-question.
 - Clause-initial focus; no relativizer; no agreement
- Imperative morphology → argument focus = monoclausal.
- **Claim:** argument questions monoclausal as well.

(26) *Imperatives: ok with F1*

- a. Boyang=doloq **papia!**
 house=first make.IMP
 ‘Build a house first!’
 Sikki et al. 1987: 564

6.3 Clitic Climbing: Monoclausal Structure

6.3.1 Clitic Climbing: Clausebound

- Mandar: 2P clitics stay within the clause.
 - 2P-IN-TP; never follow C or cross CP boundaries.
 - Parallel pattern: all Philippine languages (Kaufman 2010)
- **Claim:** clitic placement reflects clause boundaries

(27) *Clitic Climbing: not across C*

- a. Pau=i **muaq**
 say.IMP=3AGR that
 musajang=**rua=pa=aq!**
 you.love=still=yet=1AGR
 ‘Say that you still love me!’

6.3.2 Argument Question: Clitic Climbing ok

- 2P elements follow argument WH/FOC.
 - All South Sulawesi languages: same (Friberg 1996)
 - Pseudoclefting AN languages: impossible (Aldridge 2002)
- **Claim:** clitic placement → argument questions monoclausal.

(28) *Wh1/F1: Clitic Climbing*

- a. Innai=**boi=kapang** maqellong?
 who=again=maybe sing
 ‘Who might sing again?’

7 Against Pseudoclefts: No PRED-Only Particles

7.1 The Wh-Word: Predictions

- The Direct Displacement Analysis:
 - WH-word = argument; not predicate.
 - Prediction:** no PRED-only particles.
- The Pseudocleft Analysis:
 - WH-word = predicate; not an argument
 - Prediction:** PRED-only particles ok.

(29) *Direct Displacement: WH = Argument*

- a. [_{CP} Apa mupeang apa]?
 what you.fish what
 ‘What did you fish up?’

(30) *Pseudocleft: WH = Predicate*

- a. [_{CP} Apa [_{CP} Ø mupeang]]?
 what REL you.fished
 ‘What is the thing you fished up?’

7.2 Constructions without Agreement

- Argument question/focus → no agreement
- Existential construction: same pattern
 - Existential predicate: *diang* ‘THERE.IS’
 - Following material: NP or TP

(31) *Existential Construction: No Agreement*

- a. Diang posa di laiq.
 THERE.IS cat outside
- b. *Diang=**i** posa di laiq.
 THERE.IS=3AGR cat outside

7.3 Expletive Agreement: *mi*

- Possible where regular agreement cannot appear.
 - Existential constructions
 - Expletive contexts (weather predicates...)
 - Inverse specificational copular clauses...
- Claim:** true ‘PRED-only particle.’

(32) *Expletive Agreement in Existentials*

- a. Diang=**mi** posa di laiq!
 THERE.IS=EXPL cat outside
 ‘There are cats outside!’
- b. Diang=**mi** bemme diong!
 THERE.IS=EXPL fall there
 ‘There’s something that fell there!’

7.4 Argument Question/Focus: No Expletive Agreement

- Argument Question/Focus: **no mi**.
 - Note:** contrast with existentials.
- Claim:** argument WH/FOC → NOT a predicate.

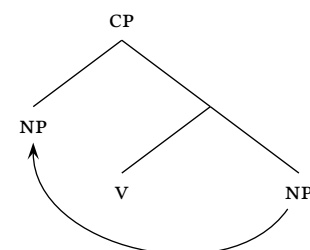
(33) *Argument Question/Focus: *mi*

- a. *Apa=**mi** bemme?
 what=EXPL fell?
- b. *Hapenna=**mi** bemme.
 his.phone=EXPL fell
 ‘What fell?’/ His phone fell.’

8 Death of the Generalization

- Mandar:** PRED-fronting + Direct Displacement
- Argument questions = **not** pseudoclefts.
 - Post-WH constituent → **not** a CP (no relativizer)
 - Argument Q/FOC → **not** biclausal (imperatives; clitics)
 - Argument WH/focus → **not** a predicate (no *mi*).
- Result:** No Parametric Link.

(34) *Argument Question: Displacement*



9 The Local Prospectus

9.1 Direct Displacement in Sulawesi

- Sulawesi: major island in Central Indonesia
 - Nine subfamilies of Austronesian: 115 languages
 - Consistent v1 word order; likely PRED-fronting.
 - No in-depth work on WH-questions.

- Key Subgroups on Sulawesi:
 1. South Sulawesi (Mandar...)
 2. Pomona-Kaili; Wotu-Wolio
 3. Bungku-Tolaki; Muna-Buton

9.2 South Sulawesi: Parallels to Mandar

- South Sulawesi languages: similar system.
 - Argument question: WH-initial; no relativizer.
 - Copular clauses → overt agreement.
 - Argument question/focus → **no** agreement.
- **Claim:** Mandar not alone in this subgroup.
- Argument Question/Focus → Direct Displacement.

(35) *South Sulawesi: Direct Displacement*

- a. Apa=i?
what=3AGR
'What is it?'
 - b. **Apa** nukanremo ri bariqbasa?
what you.eat in breakfast
'What did you eat for breakfast?'
- Makassar; Jukes 2006:351-352

9.3 Other Subgroups: Same Situation

- Other subgroups show three properties:
 - v1 order; plausibly via PRED-fronting
 - Morphological evidence **against** pseudoclefts.
- Example: **Muna** (Muna-Buton; SE Sulawesi):
 - Distinct morphology in subordinate clauses.
 - Argument question → does not appear.

(36) *Muna: No Covert Pseudoclefts*

- a. Sura [**ne**-pakata-**ku**]
letter REL-send-i
'The letter that I sent.'
 - b. **Ohae ome**-gholi t?
what you-buy
'What did you buy?'
- Muna; van der Berg 1989:226-235

10 Conclusion: No Parametric Link

10.1 Predicate Fronting + Direct Displacement Coexist in Mandar

- Content questions → no relativizer; no pseudocleft.
- No copular syntax; no covert biclausal structure.
- WH-words/foci: displace from θ -positions.

(37) *Null Relativizers in South Sulawesi*

- a. Marasa=i snek [mualli]
tasty=3AGR snack you.got
'The snack you got was good.'
 - b. Tappereq [kuempoi] a.
mat i.sit.on DEF
'The mat I'm sitting on.'
- Makassar; Jukes 2006; 297

10.2 No Parametric Explanation

- AN languages vary in word order, voice systems...
- Two ways to distinguish Mandar:
 - Some undiscovered (or abstract) quality, or:
 - The lexical presence of a null relativizer.
- **Ultimately:** no macroparametric explanation.
- Variation linked simply to lexical items (Borer 1984)

(38) *The Path to Reanalysis*

- a. Apa \emptyset [_{CP} \emptyset mualli]?
what COP REL you.got
'What did you buy?'
- b. [_{CP} Apa_i mualli t_i]
what you.buy
'What did you buy?' (synchronic)

11 Appendix: PRED-Only Particles and Embedding

11.1 PRED-Only Particles in Austronesian

- Many AN languages: common pattern.
 - Argument question → no overt relativizer.
 - Result: no surface evidence for pseudoclefts.
 - **However:**
 - * The language has ‘PRED-only particles,’ and
 - * These can follow argument WH-words/foci.
- Frequent Claim: particles → covert pseudocleft.
 - Argument WH-word/focus → predicate.
 - Result: the whole structure is a pseudocleft.

- (39) *Covert Pseudoclefts: Fijian*
- O cei e a recuga na koli?
who kissed the dog
‘Who kissed the dog?’
 - O cei **dina** e a recuga na koli?
who indeed kissed the dog
‘Who indeed kissed the dog?’
Fijian; Potsdam 2009:763
 - O cei [e a recuga na koli] ?
PRED HEADLESS RELATIVE
‘Who is who kissed the dog?’

11.2 PRED-Only Particles Embed

- Mandar has *one* PRED-only particle: *ai* ‘MAYBE’
 - Etymology: Proto-Austronesian irrealis (Ross 2002)
- Follows the predicate; shifts stress; NOT a 2P clitic.
- Attaches strictly to the predicate; not to arguments.
- Parallel behavior across South Sulawesi (Jukes 2006)

- (40) *The PRED-Only Particle ai*
- Manarang=**ai** dio dipassikolanna
smart=MAYBE in his.school
‘Maybe he’s good in school.’
Sikki et al. 1987:158
 - *Manarang Dan=**ai**
INT: ‘Dan might be smart.’

11.2.1 Argument Focus: PRED-Only Particle Ok

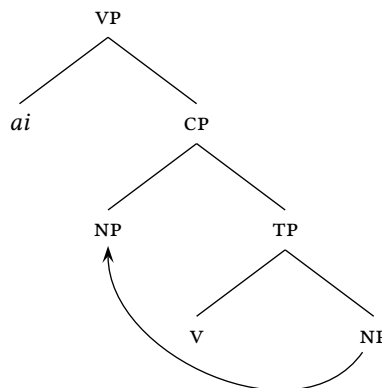
- Argument focus: hosts the particle *ai*.
 - Pseudoclefting AN languages: same pattern.
- **Problem:** argument focus → predicate?

- (41) *Argument Focus Hosts Ai*
- Bekkeq=**ai** nagereq=kapang.
goat=MAYBE he.slays=maybe
‘A goat might be what he slays.’

11.3 PRED-Only Particles = Embedding Predicate

- **Proposal:** *ai* is an embedding predicate.
 - *ai* = v; selects CP complement.
 - *ai* lowers to follow the first eligible host.
- **Context:** serious departure from other work on AN.
- **Result:** no covert pseudoclefts in Mandar.

- (42) *Ai: Embedding Predicate*



11.4 Other PRED-Only Elements

- Other *PRED-only* elements provide evidence.
 - *sanggaq* ‘only’; *tania* ‘NEG’
- These differ from *ai* in two ways:
 - They’re prosodically independent, and
 - They demonstrably embed what follows.’
- **Claim:** their behavior generalizes to *ai*.
- **Result:** no covert pseudoclefts.

11.5 PRED-Only Elements Embed

- *Tania* ‘IS.NOT’: two roles
 1. Matrix predicate: x is not y
 2. Embedding predicate: it is not the case that z
- Different agreement frames.
 - Matrix *tania*: x → agreement
 - Embedding *tania*: no agreement.

11.5.1 Tania + Overt Pseudocleft: Monoclausal

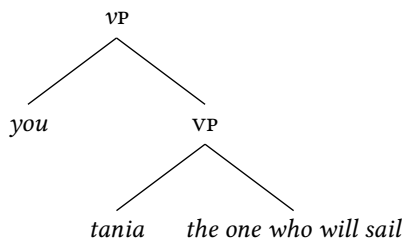
- Structure: *tania* + “x is the one who is y”
- 1. y: hosts overt relativizer.
- 2. **Result:** copular syntax; x **triggers agreement**

11.5.2 Tania + Argument Focus: Biclausal

- Structure: *tania* + NP + TP
- 1. y: does NOT host an overt relativizer.
- 2. **Result:** no copular syntax; no agreement.

11.5.3 Claim: Separate Structures

(47) *Pseudocleft: Monoclausal* (45)



(43) *Other PRED-Only Elements*

- a. **Sanggaq** salili=m=aq mating.
only miss=PFV=1AGR to.you
‘I always miss you.’
Muthalib & Sangi 1991:164
- b. **Sanggaq** lopi-u narua kalakala.
only boat-my affect waves
‘The waves only hit my boat.’
Muthalib & Sangi 1991:337

(44) *Tania: Two Agreement Schemes*

- a. **Tania=aq** dottor.
NEG=1AGR doctor
‘I’m not a doctor.’
- b. **Tania [dottor=aq,]** ...
NEG doctor=1AGR
‘It’s not the case that I’m a doctor,...’

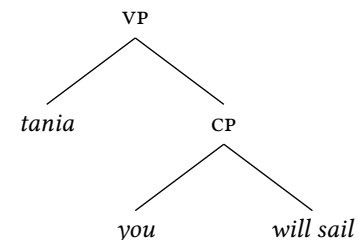
(45) *Tania + Pseudocleft: Monoclausal*

- a. **Tania=o** iqo to nasumobal
NEG=2AGR you REL will.sail
‘You’re not the one who will sail.’

(46) *Tania + Argument Focus: Biclausal*

- a. **Tania** iqo nasumobal
NEG you will.sail
‘It is not the case that you will sail.’

(48) *Argument Focus: Biclausal* (46)



12 Appendix Two: No Link Beyond Austronesian

- Mesoamerican languages tend to show v1 order.
 1. Mayan: England 1991; Aissen 1992
 2. Zapotec: Black 1995; Lillehaugen 2016
 3. Mixtec: Macaulay 1996; Ostrove 2018
 - These languages show evidence for PRED-fronting.
 1. vso-vos alternations: Coon 2010; Clemens & Coon 2018
 2. Pied-piping of the object: Lee 2006; Adler et al. 2018
 3. Initial nominal predicates: Coon 2010; Adler et al. 2018
 - Moreover: no evidence for WH-pseudoclefts.
 1. Regional pattern: apparent WH-movement.
 - WH-word appears in clause-initial position.
 - No surface evidence of pseudocleft structure.
 2. Further evidence: pied-piping with inversion.
 - Pseudoclefts typically resist pied-piping.
 - * Heggie 1988; Polinsky & Potsdam 2011
 - Regional pattern: pied-piping with inversion
 - * Mayan: Aissen 1996; Broadwell 2005; Coon 2008
 - * Zapotec: Broadwell 2001; Koopman 2011
 - * Mixtec: Eberhardt 1999; Hedding 2020
 - * Triqui: Broadwell & Key 2004
- (49) *Santiago Laxopa Zapotec: VSO/VOS*
- a. Dzut nu'ulenh bene' xyagenh
Hitting the woman the man
'The woman is hitting the man'
Adler et al. 2018:32.1
 - b. Dzun shchaj Pedronh
Making noise Pedro
'Pedro is making noise.'
Adler et al. 2018:44.fn3
- (50) *Wh-Movement and Pied-Piping*
- a. Bi benhu neje ?
what you.did yesterday
'What did you do yesterday?'
SLZ; Zapotec Language Project
 - b. Xhii cun udiiny Juaany behcw?
what with hit John dog
'What did John hit the dog with?'
SDZ; Broadwell 2001:56
 - c. Xi [zha yag t] guri Marie?
which under tree sat Marie
'Marie sat under which tree?'
TdvZ; Kalivoda 2016:12

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