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VOICE AND ALIGNMENT IN AMPENAN SASAK
DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS[1]

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This study presents the first systematic typological assessment and syntactic evaluation of the behavior of monotransitive and ditransitive arguments in a variety of Sasak, an Austronesian language spoken on the island of Lombok in Indonesia. It finds that three prototypical arguments—the monotransitive Patient (P) and the ditransitive Recipient (R) and Theme (T)—are syntactically equivalent and pattern together across voice constructions in word/argument order, passivization, and relativization. These findings are contrary to common typological expectations as well as formal theoretical assumptions that hold R and T to be asymmetrical syntactic objects.

1. INTRODUCTION. This study explores the syntactic behavior of monotransitive and ditransitive arguments in Ampenan Sasak (AS), an under-described variety of the Austronesian language Sasak (ISO 639-3 code sas) (e.g., Asikin-Garmager 2017). Through the typological lens of alignment, this study compares the properties of the monotransitive Patient (P) to those of the ditransitive Recipient (R) and Theme (T). All three arguments exhibit neutral alignment across three different syntactic constructions: argument order, passivization, and relativization. Each of these three arguments behaves identically across voice alternations. Sasak is a symmetrical voice language, where a transitive construction—either monotransitive or ditransitive—can occur in one of two syntactic voices, an Agentive Voice (AV) or Patientive Voice (PV) construction, and neither voice is putatively basic or derived from the other (cf. Himmelmann 2005). Furthermore, each of these arguments (i.e., P, T, and R) can serve as the pivot of the PV construction. In the study of Austronesian languages, the pivot is generally held to be the syntactically privileged argument in the clause (Foley and Van Valin 1984; Himmelmann 2005). Evidence in support of this comes from accessibility to several syntactic operations, such as relativization and/or wh-movement. These findings diverge from typological patterns of ditransitive constructions (Haspelmath 2015; Malchukov, et al. 2010) and present a challenge to previous claims about Sasak as well as longstanding theoretical assumptions about the different syntactic status of R and T (e.g., Harley 2002; Larson 1988; Pesetsky 1995).

2. DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS, TYPOLOGY, AND ALIGNMENT. This analysis draws on typological studies of ditransitive constructions that use the notions A, P, R, and T to represent the arguments of a clause (e.g., Haspelmath 2005, 2011, 2015; Malchukov et al. 2010).[2] Example (1) illustrates a prototypical monotransitive construction, where the most Agent-like argument (A) 'the child' acts upon the most Patient-like argument (P) 'the mango.'

(1)   *Kanak no kaken paoq no*[3]
        [kanak   no]   kaken   [paoq   no]
        [child   DEM]   eat   [mango DEM]
        A   V   P
        'The child ate the mango' (FM2-092)

A DITRANSITIVE construction consists of a verb with three core arguments: An A argument that physically or metaphorically transfers a Theme (or Theme-like) argument (T) to a Recipient (or Recipient-

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[2] The single argument of an intransitive clause, labeled S in such a framework, is not mentioned here, because this study only examines the alignment of the P, R, and T arguments in monotransitive and ditransitive constructions.

[3] All examples are in the following format: The first line contains the utterance in Sasak orthography; the second line represents the utterance with morpheme breaks, where arguments A, P, R, and T are each partitioned between

like) argument (R). In (2), A 'the child' transfers T 'the mango' to R 'the teacher.' The utterance in (2) represents what is known cross-linguistically as a double-object construction (abbreviated as DOC) (e.g., Harley 2002; Hudson 1992), because neither R nor T is flagged by a preposition, oblique marker, or any other element.

(2)   *Kanak no bèng guru no paoq no*
        [kanak   no]   bèng   [guru   no]   [paoq   no]
        [child   DEM]   give   [teacher   DEM]   [mango   DEM]
        A   V   R   T
        'The child gives the teacher the mango' (FM2-105)

A primary point of investigation in the typological study of ditransitive constructions is the encoding of arguments. This is especially true for ALIGNMENT, where the encoding of R and T is compared to that of P (Malchukov et al. 2010; Margetts and Austin 2007). For example, in (1) and (2), these three arguments are encoded in the same way: Each argument is in a post-verbal position, and each is accompanied only by a demonstrative determiner and not a case-marking or prepositional element. When P, R, and T are encoded in the same manner, this is known as NEUTRAL alignment (Haspelmath 2015; Malchukov et al. 2010).

Formal theoretical approaches to ditransitive constructions usually assert that R and T are different types of objects in syntax, and this analysis typically rests upon the contention that R and T occupy distinct positions in syntactic structure (e.g., Harley 2002; Hudson 1992; Larson 1988; Pesetsky 1995). In other words, R and T are considered to be syntactically ASYMMETRICAL arguments. This view is seemingly supported by typological evidence because most languages exhibit some kind of asymmetry between R and T, with one argument tending to align with P more strongly than the other (Haspelmath 2005, 2015; Malchukov et al. 2010). However, recent claims about the Kordofanian language Moro (Ackerman et al. 2017) contend that R and T are SYMMETRICAL arguments that are syntactically equal, based on factors such as object marking and accessibility to passivization. The present study argues that R and T are also symmetrical arguments in Ampenan Sasak, providing additional evidence against the claim that R and T are necessarily distinct syntactic objects.

Some of the most important and well-studied topics in diagnosing alignment are argument order, passivization, and relativization, and these are the grounds where syntactic differences between R and T are often tested and delineated (Haspelmath 2005, 2015; Malchukov et al. 2010). This study presents the first dedicated and systematic investigation of these three diagnostics together in any variety of Sasak.

3. AMPENAN SASAK. Sasak is an Austronesian language spoken by approximately 2.7 million speakers on the island of Lombok in Indonesia (Austin 2010). It is classified as a Malayo-Polynesian language, where it subgroups with Balinese and Sumbawa to form a group referred to as *Balinese-Sasak-Sumbawa* (Adelaar 2005a; Blust 2013). The language has been the focus of relatively little linguistic documentation and description outside the work of Asikin-Garmager (2016, 2017), Austin (1998, 2000), Shibatani (2008), and Wouk (1999, 2008). This body of work, however, has made it clear that different dialects of Sasak vary significantly in lexical, phonological, and morphosyntactic properties. This study focuses on Ampenan Sasak (henceforth AS), a variety spoken in the suburb of Ampenan on the western coast of Lombok, just outside the capital city of Mataram. Sasak is typically broken into five major dialect groups—*Ngenó-ngené*, *Ngetó-ngeté*, *Menó-mené*, *Meriaq-meriku*, and *Kutó-kuté* (Asikin-Garmager 2017; Jacq 1998). AS putatively belongs to the western portion of the *Ngenó-ngené* dialect (Jacq 1998), but the present study demonstrates that AS morphosyntax differs significantly from what has been described for *Ngenó-ngené*. No detailed description of AS exists, and data for this study come from elicitation and

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brackets; the third line presents a morpheme-by-morpheme glossing, following the Leipzig Glossing Rules, with arguments between brackets; the fourth line labels each verb and argument, to allow easier tracking by the reader; the fifth line contains a translation as well as a reference to the particular archived item (i.e., audio recording and/or text file) where the example can be found. These archived items are freely available through Kaipuleohone, the University of Hawai'i digital ethnographic archive: *https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10125/47556*

grammaticality judgments from one native speaker, with supplemental grammaticality judgments from a second native speaker.

4. VOICE IN AS. Many Austronesian languages are known for their voice systems (Himmelmann 2005). As Blust (2013) explains, in these systems one argument (i.e., the pivot) in a construction is marked to indicate its special relationship to the verb; other core arguments in the construction are considered to be non-pivot arguments. This distinction between pivot and non-pivot arguments is important for many reasons, one of which is that for many Austronesian languages only pivot arguments are accessible to certain syntactic operations like relativization and passivization (see, for instance, Chen 2017; Cole et al. 2008).

Indonesian-type voice systems typically involve a two-way opposition: AGENTIVE VOICE (AV) and PATIENTIVE VOICE (PV). In AV the A argument is the pivot, while in PV the P argument is the pivot (Adelaar 2005b; Himmelmann 2005). Some dialects of Sasak mark this distinction morphologically, where AV is signaled via a verbal prefix (often called a "nasal prefix"), and PV constructions have no such verbal prefix (Asikin-Garmager 2016, 2017; Austin 2013). Unlike *Ngenó-ngené* dialects on the eastern side of Lombok (Asikin-Garmager 2017), AS has no such obligatory voice-marking verbal morphology: In AV, the use of a verbal prefix is completely optional and not all that common. Instead, the distinction between AV and PV revolves around considerations of argument order and cliticization. The monotransitive constructions in (3–4) exemplify the following five characteristics of AV:[4]

1. The A argument in AV constructions (A_{AV}) is the pivot argument—equivalent to what McDonnell (2016) calls the PRIMARY argument and Shibatani (2008) and Asikin-Garmager (2017) call the TOPIC.
2. A_{AV} is a full, non-cliticized noun phrase.
3. The P argument in AV constructions (P_{AV}) is the non-pivot argument—McDonnell's (2016) SECONDARY argument, which Shibatani (2008) and Asikin-Garmager (2017) call either the SUBJECT or OBJECT, depending on the voice.
4. The verb takes no obligatory voice marking.
5. The AV construction has fixed A-V-P constituent order.

(3) *Aku inem téh*
[aku]	inem	[téh]
[1SG]	drink	[tea]
A_{AV}	V	P_{AV}

'I drink tea' (FM2-054)

(4) *Kanak no inem ès*
[kanak no]	inem	[ès]
[child DEM]	drink	[ice]
A_{AV}	V	P_{AV}

'The child drinks ice (a slush drink)' (FM2-105)

In contrast, PV constructions in (5–6) exhibit the following four properties:

1. The P argument in PV (P_{PV}) is the pivot argument.
2. The A argument in PV (A_{PV}) is obligatorily reduced to a clitic on the first non-nominal element. This argument can also be co-referenced with a full nominal introduced with siq (translated here as 'by').
3. The verb takes no obligatory voice marking.

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[4] Following McDonnell 2016, this study employs subscripting with arguments to indicate the voice of a construction. For example, A_{AV} signals the A in Agentive Voice, and P_{PV} indicates the P in Patientive Voice.

4. Constituent order is more flexible: The enclitic A_PV can attach to the verb or some other pre-verbal element, and the full nominal P_PV can appear before or after the verb.

(5) *Siqku inem téh no*

[siq=ku]	inem	[téh	no]
[by=1SG]	drink	[tea	DEM]
A_PV	V	P_PV	

'I drink the tea' (FM2-104)

(6) *Paoq baune siq Nisa*

[paoq]	bau=[ne]$_i$	(siq	[Nisa]$_i$)
[mango]	pick=[3]$_i$	(by	[N.]$_i$)
P_PV	V=A_PV		A_PV

'She (Nisa) picks a mango' (FM2-124)

5. DITRANSITIVE ARGUMENTS: VOICE AND PIVOT STATUS. Previous studies on voice in Sasak (e.g., Asikin-Garmager 2017) tend to focus on the argument structure of monotransitives rather than ditransitive constructions. This means two important questions have remained unanswered:

1. How do P, R, and T align in respect to syntactic operations?
2. Which of these arguments can be the pivot in PV and passive constructions?

As mentioned in section 2, typological explorations are often concerned with the patterning of P, R, and T in argument order, passivization, and relativization. In Austronesian linguistics, these areas also relate to the question of pivot-hood and whether syntactic operations are accessible only to the pivot. For many Austronesian languages, only the pivot is accessible to fronting, passivization, or relativization (e.g., Chen 2017; Cole et al. 2008). In some Indonesian-type languages and dialects, this is also the case: In Balinese, Sarolangun Malay, Sumbawa, and Standard Indonesian, only pivots can be relativized or fronted as a full NP to the pre-verbal position (Arka 2000; Artawa, Artini, and Blake 2001; Cole et al. 2008; Shibatani 2008; Wechsler and Arka 1998). However, non-pivots can also participate in these kinds of operations in other Indonesian-type varieties such as Besemah, Melayu Balai Berkuak, Sarang Lan Malay, and Tanjung Raden Malay (Cole et al. 2008; McDonnell 2016).

Neither the patterning of P, R, and T nor the privileged syntactic position of pivots in Sasak has been fully delineated. Furthermore, opinions on the issue can equivocate. For example, Shibatani (2008) argues that only pivots (i.e., what he calls the "Topic") can be relativized in Sasak, and Asikin-Garmager (2017, 72–74) makes the same assertion. Austin (2001, 8) also offers this analysis, providing a *Ngenó-ngené* example demonstrating that A cannot be extracted from a PV relative clause. In this pivot-only line of argumentation, non-pivots A_PV and P_AV cannot be relativized. However, Asikin-Garmager (2016:4–5) also notes that the some Sasak varieties allow both A_AV (pivot) and P_AV (non-pivot) to be relativized. He clearly shows P extracting from a putative AV clause that has a nasal prefix on the verb (Asikin-Garmager 2016, 5). In a similar vein, Austin claims that *Ngenó-ngené* allows only pivots to be extracted (2013:35), while *Menó-Mené*, *Menu-meni*, and *Meriaq-Meriku* Sasak permit the extraction of A from both AV and PV (2013:42). These differences, evinced even by a single linguist in separate publications, are testaments to the variation within Sasak, and they highlight a need to more thoroughly and systematically document and describe the syntactic privilege of pivots across varieties in the language.

As for the second question posed above, some (e.g., Arka 2000; Wechsler and Arka 1998) have argued that Indonesian languages differ in how they treat R and T as eligible for pivot status in a canonical DOC. Languages such as Balinese, Madurese, and Sikka allow either argument to be the pivot, but other languages such as Bima, Javanese, and Lamaholot restrict eligibility for pivot status to just one argument. For example, in Standard Indonesian only the R can be the pivot in an unmarked DOC, where T is excluded from operations such as passivization and extraction (Arka 2000; Cole et al. 2008; Purwo 1995, 1997). In fact, T can be the pivot of only an indirect-object construction, which differs morphosyntactically from the DOC because the verb takes a different suffix, and R is removed from its adjacent position to the verb and

relegated to a prepositional phrase (Purwo 1995; Shiohara 2012; Sneddon 1996). In this indirect-object construction, T is the sole pivot.

There is no comprehensive account of eligibility for pivothood in a Sasak DOC. Most treatments give some but not all of the necessary evidence. Eades (1998) addresses relativization in Sasak, but he does not discuss voice nor clarify the dialect(s) he is examining. Additionally, he shows only R relativizing from a DOC without providing evidence related to T. Austin (2004:11) shows R relativizing from a PV construction in *Menó-mené*, which is good evidence for the pivot status of R_{PV}. However, he does not show or discuss whether T_{PV} can relativize, too. Shibatani comes the closest to constructing a full account of the pivot eligibility of R and T. He offers Pancor *Ngenó-ngené* examples of R and T being passivized and of each argument occupying the pre-verbal position as full nominals in PV constructions (2008:876–77). Both of these phenomena represent syntactic operations commonly reserved for the pivot in Austronesian languages. Furthermore, he shows Puyung *Meno-Mené* examples (i.e., 18b, c from page 880) demonstrating that R_{AV} and T_{AV} cannot be extracted, which conforms to Shibatani's claim that only the pivot A_{AV} can be extracted. However, Shibatani leaves a critical question unanswered because his analysis provides no examples or discussion addressing whether R or T is eligible for relativization from a PV clause.

Given the range of claims and remaining open questions, the present study offers the first systematic account of the status of R and T in the Ampenan variety of Sasak. By examining argument order, passivization, and relativization, this treatment demonstrates that P, R, and T pattern together and that R and T are both eligible to be the pivot in a PV DOC construction.

6. ARGUMENT ORDER. In AS only the pivot can occur as a full nominal in the pre-verbal position. This is the case in other varieties of Sasak (Asikin-Garmager 2016) as well as other Indonesian languages, such as Balinese and Lamaholot (Arka 2000; Nagaya 2010; Nagaya et al. 2014).

In a monotransitive construction, only A can occur in the pre-verbal position in an AV clause, as in (7). The pre-verbal P_{AV} in (8) results in an unacceptable form of the declarative statement in (7).

(7) *Kanak bau paoq*

[kanak]	bau	[paoq]
[child]	pick	[mango]
A_{AV}	V	P_{AV}

'A child picked a mango' (FM2-124)

(8) *Paoq bau kanak*

[paoq]	bau	[kanak]
[mango]	pick	[child]
P_{AV}	V	A_{AV}

*'A child picked a mango' (FM2-124)

In contrast, A can never occur pre-verbally as a full nominal in PV. It is necessarily cliticized to the verb or pre-verbal element, as in (5). Along with this obligatory clitic form, A may be expressed as a full nominal within a by-phrase as in (6). Example (6) also demonstrates that only the P is free to occupy the pivot position as a full nominal in PV.

In a ditransitive construction, A is the only full nominal that can occur in the pre-verbal position in AV. Argument order is strictly A V R T, even when the R from (9) is cliticized in (10).

(9) *Aku wah bèng kamu kembang*

[aku]	wah	bèng	[kamu]	[kembang]
[1SG]	PST	give	[2]	[flower]
A_{AV}		V	R_{AV}	T_{AV}

'I gave you a flower' (FM2-109)

(10) *Aku bèngm kembang*

[aku]	bèng=[m]	[kembang]
[1SG]	give=[2]	[flower]
A_{AV}	V=R_{AV}	T_{AV}

'I give you a flower' (FM2-109)

No other ditransitive argument can occupy the pre-verbal position as a full nominal in AV. The initial R_{AV} in (11) and initial T_{AV} in (12) both yield unacceptable constructions.

(11)   *Kanak dagang no bèng kembang*
    [kanak]   [dagang   no]   bèng   [kembang]
    [child]   [seller   DEM]   give   [flower]
    R_{AV} A_{AV} V T_{AV}
    *'The seller gives a child a flower' (FM2-124)

(12)   Kèpèng kanak bèng dagang
    [kèpèng]   [kanak]   bèng   [*dagang*]
    [money]   [child]   give   [seller]
    T_{AV} A_{AV} V R_{AV}
    *'A child gives a seller money' (FM2-124)

Argument ordering in PV reveals the neutral alignment and equal syntactic status of P, R, and T. Examples (13–15) have the same translation, but the R_{PV} from (13) is fronted in (14) and the T_{PV} from (13) is fronted in (15).

(13)   *Siqku bèng kanak no mèong*
    siq=[ku]   bèng   [kanak no]   [mèong]
    by=[1SG]   give   [child DEM]   [cat]
    A_{PV} V R_{PV} T_{PV}
    'I give the child a cat' (FM2-111)

(14)   *Kanak no siqku bèng mèong*
    [kanak no]   siq=[ku]   bèng   [mèong]
    [child DEM]   by=[1SG]   give   [cat]
    R_{PV} A_{PV} V T_{PV}
    'I give the child a cat' (FM2-111)

(15)   *Mèong siqku bèng kanak no*
    [mèong]   siq=[ku]   bèng   [kanak no]
    [cat]   by=[1SG]   give   [child DEM]
    T_{PV} A_{PV} V R_{PV}
    'I give the child a cat' (FM2-111)

To summarize, arguments P, R, and T behave identically across voices in argument ordering. In AV, only A can occupy the pre-verbal position as the pivot. In PV, however, P, R, and T are each eligible for this pivot position. This patterning is represented in table 1. In typological terms, arguments P, R, and T exhibit neutral alignment in argument order.

TABLE 1. Argument ordering of A, P, R, T

	A_{AV}	P_{AV}	R_{AV}	T_{AV}	A_{PV}	P_{PV}	R_{PV}	T_{PV}
Can occupy pre-verbal pivot position?	✓	✗	✗	✗	✗	✓	✓	✓

7. PASSIVIZATION. Passivization is another syntactic operation providing insight into the status of R and T. Along with AV and PV, AS also has a passive construction. In the passive, the verb takes a prefix *te-*, and the A argument is either omitted or demoted to a by-phrase.

P can be straightforwardly passivized. Example (18) features the passivized P seen in AV and PV utterances in (16) and (17), respectively.

(16) *Dengan no gitaq dagang no*
    [dengan   no]   gitaq   [dagang   no]
    [man   DEM]   see   [seller   DEM]
    A_{AV} V P_{AV}
    'The man saw the seller' (FM2-123)

(17) *Siqne gitaq dagang no (siq dengan no)*
    siq=[ne]$_i$ gitaq   [dagang   no]$_j$ (siq   [dengan   no]$_i$)
    by=[3]$_i$ see   [seller   DEM]$_j$ (by   [man   DEM]$_i$)
      A_{PV} V P_{PV} A_{PV}
    'He (the man) saw the seller' (FM2-123)

(18) *Dagang no tegitaq (siq dengan no)*
    [dagang   no]   te-gitaq   (siq   [dengan   no])
    [seller   DEM]   pass-see   (by   [man   DEM])
    P   V   A
    'The seller was seen (by the man)' (FM2-123)

    R can also be passivized, as in (19–20).

(19) *Kanak no tetowoq buaq*
    [kanak   no]   te-towoq   [buaq]
    [child   DEM]   PASS-feed   [fruit]
    R   V   T
    'The child was fed fruit' (FM2-127)

(20) *Nisa tejanjiq kèpèng*
    [Nisa]   te-janjiq   [kèpèng]
    [N.]   PASS-promise   [money]
    R   V   T
    'Nisa was promised money' (FM2-123)

    The same can be said for T in (21–22).

(21) *Buaq tetowoq kanak no (siq Udin)*
    [buaq]   te-towoq   [kanak   no]   (siq   [Udin])
    [fruit]   PASS-feed   [child   DEM]   (by   [U.])
    T   V   R   A
    'Fruit was fed (to) the child (by Udin)' (FM2-127)

(22) *Kèpèng tejanjiq Nisa*
    [kèpèng]   te-janjiq   [Nisa]
    [money]   PASS-promise   [N.]
    T   V   R
    'Money was promised (to) Nisa' (FM2-123)

    As with argument order, passivization shows P, R, and T patterning together in passivization. This is represented in table 2 and again constitutes neutral alignment for the three arguments.

TABLE 2. Passivization of A, P, R, T

	A	**P**	**R**	**T**
Can be passivized?	✗	✓	✓	✓

8. RELATIVIZATION. Relativization constitutes a final syntactic operation relevant to both typology and pivot-hood in Austronesian languages. Like other dialects of Sasak (Asikin-Garmager 2017) as well as its closest relatives Balinese and Sumbawa (Shiohara 2000), AS uses a gap strategy in relativization. This means that a relativized argument is represented by a gap inside the relative clause and not by a clitic or resumptive pronoun. In the examples in this section, the head noun of a relative clause is in bold, and the bounds of each relative clause are represented by brackets.

8.1. RELATIVIZATION OF PASSIVIZED ARGUMENTS. Not only can P, R, and T be passivized, but each passivized argument can also be extracted from a relative clause. This is demonstrated for P in (23), R in (24), and T in (25). In AS, the ends of relative clauses are often marked by the demonstrative *no*.

(23) *Inaqku beli buku saq tebace (siq Udin) no*

inaq=ku	beli	**buku$_i$**	[saq	___$_i$	te-bace	(siq	Udin)]	no
mother=1	buy	**book$_i$**	[REL	___$_i$	PASS-read	(by	U.)]	DEM
				P			(A)	

'My mother bought the book [that was read (by Udin)]' (FM2-127)

(24) *Aku gitaq kanak saq tetowoq buaq no*

aku	gitaq	**kanak$_i$**	[saq	___$_i$	te-towoq	buaq]	no
1SG	see	**child$_i$**	[REL	___$_i$	PASS-feed	fruit]	DEM
				R		T	

'I saw the child [who was fed fruit]' (FM2-127)

(25) *Aku beli paoq saq tetowoq kanak no*

aku	beli	**paoq$_i$**	[saq	___$_i$	te-towoq	kanak]	no
1SG	buy	**mango$_i$**	[REL	___$_i$	PASS-feed	child]	DEM
				T		R	

'I bought the mango [that was fed (to) a child]' (FM2-127)

8.2. RELATIVIZATION FROM AV. The pivot A$_{AV}$ can be relativized from monotransitive AV clauses, as in (26–27).

(26) *Ie kapong dengan saq beli buku no*

ie	kapong	**dengan$_i$**	[saq	___$_i$	beli	buku]	no
3	hug	**man$_i$**	[REL	___$_i$	buy	book]	DEM
				A$_{AV}$		P$_{AV}$	

'She hugged the man [who bought a book]' (FM2-126)

(27) *Kanak no gitaq acong saq kakéq aku no*

kanak	no	gitaq	**acong$_i$**	[saq	___$_i$	kakéq	aku]	no
child	DEM	see	**dog$_i$**	[REL	___$_i$	bite	1SG]	DEM
					A$_{AV}$		P$_{AV}$	

'The child saw the dog [that bit me]' (FM2-122)

However, the non-pivot P$_{AV}$ can also be relativized, as in (28–29).

(28) *Ie kapong buku saq dengan no beli no*

ie	kapong	**buku$_i$**	[saq	dengan	no	beli	___$_i$]	no
3	hug	**book$_i$**	[REL	man	DEM	buy	___$_i$]	DEM
				A$_{AV}$			P$_{AV}$	

'She hugged the book [that the guy bought]' (FM2-126)

(29) *Aku gitaq acong saq kanak no padek no*

aku	gitaq	**acong**$_i$	[saq	kanak	no	padek	__$_i$]	no
1SG	see	**dog**$_i$	[REL	child	DEM	hit	__$_i$]	DEM
		A$_{AV}$				P$_{AV}$		

'I saw the dog [that the child hit]' (FM2-121)

This accessibility to relativization for non-pivots in AV holds for ditransitive arguments as well. R$_{AV}$ is extracted in (30–31), and T$_{AV}$ is extracted in (32–33).

(30) *Kamu gitaq dagang saq aku bèng kèpèng no*

kamu	gitaq	**dagang**$_i$	[saq	aku	bèng	__$_i$	kèpèng]	no
2	see	**seller**$_i$	[REL	1SG	give	__$_i$	money]	DEM
		A$_{AV}$			R$_{AV}$	T$_{AV}$		

'You saw the seller [(to) whom I gave money]' (FM2-127)

(31) *Aku gitaq murid saq guru no bèng buku no*

aku	gitaq	**murid**$_i$	[saq	guru	no	bèng	__$_i$	buku]	no
1SG	see	**student**$_i$	[REL	teacher	DEM	give	__$_i$	book]	DEM
		A$_{AV}$				R$_{AV}$	T$_{AV}$		

'I saw the student [(to) whom the teacher gave a book]' (FM2-120)

(32) *Kamu gitaq kèpèng saq aku bèng dagang no*

kamu	gitaq	**kèpèng**$_i$	[saq	aku	bèng	dagang	__$_i$]	no
2	see	**money**$_i$	[REL	1SG	give	seller	__$_i$]	DEM
		A$_{AV}$			R$_{AV}$	T$_{AV}$		

'You saw the money [that I gave the seller]' (FM2-127)

(34) *Aku beli mèong saq inaqku peritoq kanak no*

aku	beli	**mèong**$_i$	[saq	inaq=ku	peritoq	kanak	__$_i$]	no
1SG	buy	**cat**$_i$	[REL	mother=1	show	child	__$_i$]	DEM
		A$_{AV}$			R$_{AV}$	T$_{AV}$		

'I bought the cat [that my mother showed a child]' (FM2-123)

P, R, and T pattern together in AV. Even though each is a non-pivot argument, it may be relativized. It should be noted, however, that this extraction is grammatical but does not appear to be the preferred option for speakers. Both language consultants for this paper report that it feels more natural to extract P, R, and T from PV clauses.

8.3. RELATIVIZATION FROM PV. The A argument cannot be relativized from a PV clause, as (35) shows. This extraction appears to violate the gap strategy, because PV requires a cliticized A on the first non-nominal element in the clause.

(35) **Ie kapong dengan saqne beli buku no (siq dengan) no*

ie	kapong	**dengan**$_i$	[saq=ne$_i$	beli	buku	no	(siq	dengan$_i$)]	no
3	hug	**man**$_i$	[REL=3$_i$	buy	book	DEM	(by	man$_i$)]	DEM
		A$_{PV}$						A$_{PV}$	

'She hugged the man [who bought the book]' (FM2-126)

On the other hand, examples (36–37) show that the pivot argument P$_{PV}$ can easily be extracted from a relative clause.

(36) *Ie kapong buku saq siqne beli (siq dengan) no*

ie$_k$	kapong	**buku$_i$**	[saq	siq=ne$_j$	beli	__$_i$	(siq	dengan$_j$)]	no
3$_k$	hug	**book$_i$**	[REL	by=3$_j$	buy	__$_i$	(by	man$_j$)]	DEM
				A$_{PV}$		P$_{PV}$		A$_{PV}$	

'She hugged the book [that he (the man) bought]' (FM2-126)

(37) *Kamu kaken paoq saq siqku beli no*

kamu	kaken	**paoq$_i$**	[saq	siq=ku	beli	__$_i$]	no
2	eat	**mango$_i$**	[REL	by=1	buy	__$_i$]	DEM
				A$_{PV}$		P$_{PV}$	

'You ate the mango [that I bought]' (FM2-126)

R$_{PV}$ can also be relativized, as in (38–39).

(38) *Aku gitaq dagang saq siqku janjiq kèpèng no*

aku	gitaq	**dagang$_i$**	[saq	siq=ku	janjiq	__$_i$	kèpèng]	no
1SG	see	**seller$_i$**	[REL	by=1	promise	__$_i$	money]	DEM
				A$_{PV}$		R$_{PV}$	T$_{PV}$	

'I see the seller [(to) whom I promised money]' (FM2-123)

(39) *Aku gitaq dagang saqne janjiq kèpèng (siq Udin) no*

aku	gitaq	**dagang$_j$**	[saq=ne$_i$	janjiq	__$_j$	kèpèng	(siq	Udin$_i$)]	no
1SG	see	**seller$_j$**	[REL=3$_i$	promise	__$_j$	money	(by	U.$_i$)]	DEM
			A$_{PV}$		R$_{PV}$	T$_{PV}$		A$_{PV}$	

'I saw the seller [(to) whom Udin promised the money]' (FM2-123)

Finally, (40–41) demonstrate that T$_{PV}$ can be relativized as well.

(40) *Kamu gitaq kèpèng saq siqku bèng dagang no*

kamu	gitaq	**kèpèng$_i$**	[saq	siq=ku	bèng	dagang	__$_i$]	no
2	see	**money$_i$**	[REL	by=1	give	seller	__$_i$]	DEM
				A$_{PV}$		R$_{PV}$	T$_{PV}$	

'You saw the money [that I gave a seller]' (FM2-127)

(41) *Aku beli mèong saq siqne peritoq kanak no*

aku	beli	**mèong$_i$**	[saq	siq=ne$_j$	peritoq	kanak$_k$	__$_i$]	no
1SG	buy	**cat$_i$**	[REL	by=3$_j$	show	child$_k$	__$_i$]	DEM
				A$_{PV}$		R$_{PV}$	T$_{PV}$	

'I bought the cat [that she showed a child]' (FM2-123)

To summarize, the arguments P, R, and T pattern together because each can be relativized from passive, AV, and PV relative clauses. Table 3 represents this neutral alignment, where all three arguments behave the same across three different types of constructions.

TABLE 3. Relativization of A, P, R, T

Can be relativized from a …	**A**	**P**	**R**	**T**
Passive clause?	✗	✓	✓	✓
AV clause?	✓	✓	✓	✓
PV clause?	✗	✓	✓	✓

9. CONCLUSIONS. This analysis has examined the alignment of arguments P, R, and T across three major areas of typological and syntactic interest: argument order, passivization, and relativization. These three arguments pattern together in each area across both voices in AS:

1. P, R, and T each occur post-verbally in AV but can be fronted to the pre-verbal position as a full nominal in PV. Argument A behaves in the opposite manner.
2. P, R, and T can each be passivized. A cannot.
3. P, R, and T can each be relativized from a passive, AV, and PV clause. A can only be relativized from AV.

Altogether the patterning together of P, R, and T constitutes the neutral alignment of arguments represented in figure 1 from Malchukov et al. 2010:5.

FIGURE 1. Alignment of P, R, T
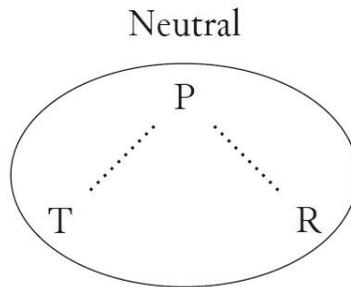
These findings also provide answers to the two questions posed in Section 5. First is the alignment of P, R, and T along with the question of which syntactic operations are restricted to the pivot in AS. This paper provides the first systematic account demonstrating the neutral alignment of P, R, and T across symmetrical voices and three argument-encoding patterns of typological interest. Furthermore, it sheds light on the syntactic accessibility of pivots and non-pivots. In many Austronesian languages, for example, only the pivot can be relativized. This is the case for Sasak's subgroup neighbors Balinese and Sumbawa (Artawa et al. 2001; Shibatani 2008; Wechsler and Arka 1998). In AS the argument A_{AV} is clearly the pivot, as it is the only argument that can occur as a full nominal in pre-verbal position and be relativized. However, the syntactic operation of relativization is not necessarily restricted to the pivot, because P_{AV}, R_{AV}, and T_{AV} can each be relativized as well. This puts AS in the company of Indonesian-type varieties such as Besemah, Melayu Balai Berkuak, Sarang Lan Malay, and Tanjung Raden Malay—but not with the *Ngenó-ngené* dialect group to which AS putatively belongs. This also provides counterevidence to previous claims that only pivots can be relativized in Sasak (e.g., Asikin-Garmager 2017; Shibatani 2008).

Second comes the question of which argument is eligible to be the pivot in a PV construction. Both R and T are clearly non-pivot in AV, because they cannot occupy the pre-verbal position. However, R and T can each be the pivot in PV: Each argument can occupy the pre-verbal position as a full nominal, and each can be relativized. By common measures of pivot status, both R and T are thus eligible to be the pivot in AS. This puts AS alongside its subgroup neighbor Balinese and languages like Madurese and Sikka. In this respect, AS differs from other nearby languages Bima, Javanese, Lamaholot, and formal Standard Indonesian, where R and T are asymmetrical. It is unclear whether AS patterns with other varieties of Sasak and Sumbawa, because more systematic and comprehensive research is needed into the eligibility of R and T for pivot status in these languages.

In the end, AS evinces typologically uncommon behavior, as there is no clear syntactic asymmetry between P, R, and T in major types of argument-encoding patterns. These three arguments maintain neutral alignment across voices regarding argument order, passivization, and relativization, and each argument is equally available to function as the pivot in a PV construction. This means that arguments P, R, and T are symmetrical objects, the likes of which have recently been observed in the Kordofanian language Moro

(Ackerman et al. 2017). This raises potential counterevidence to long-standing and pervasive formal theoretical assumptions that R and T are syntactically unequal objects that necessarily occupy distinct structures in a formal hierarchy (e.g., Harley 2002; Larson 1988; Pesetsky 1995).

Several avenues present themselves for future investigation. First, exploration is required to include more syntactic phenomena, such as reflexive binding, to more thoroughly determine the syntactic symmetry among P, R, and T in AS. Furthermore, more work is needed to discern if this symmetry among P, R, and T is a unique feature of AS or a characteristic shared by other varieties of the language (and possibly other languages around Lombok in Indonesia). The present study has relied entirely upon elicited examples, due to the paucity of ditransitive constructions with three overt arguments in natural discourse. Therefore, more in-depth corpus collection and description must be undertaken in order to examine the discourse-related properties of P, R, and T in natural speech. These properties have been treated in a sizable body of literature on English, which has demonstrated that argument ordering in ditransitive constructions is impacted by factors such as prominence, animacy, definiteness, and argument weight (e.g., Bresnan and Ford 2010). A discourse-oriented approach incorporating such factors has been used to explore topics in Sasak such as argument ellipsis and voice selection (Wouk 1999, 2008; Asikin-Garmager 2017), but the ditransitives in discourse are essentially unexamined. Such avenues of inquiry, and further expansion into arenas such as experimental methods, can shed additional light on the ostensible syntactic symmetry of P, R, and T in AS.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	first-person	2	second-person	3	third-person
A	agent	AS	Ampenan Sasak	AV	agentive voice
DEM	demonstrative	N.	name	P	patient
PASS	passivizer	PL	plural	PV	patientive voice
R	recipient	REL	relativizer	SG	singular
T	theme	V	verb		

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