

Must the external argument be a topic? Answers from answers in Javanese
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- (5) Q: **Kudu** toh Gayus m-bayar dendo? A: **Kudu**.
 ROOT.NEC FOC Gayus AV-pay fine ROOT.NEC
 ‘MUST Gayus pay a fine?’ ‘Yes.’

II. Testing for topicalhood. Having established that a TAM marker (*kudu*) has raised to Focus⁰, we are now in a position to test the nature of the two positions available for EAs in (3A/A’). Using quantifiers such as ‘at most’, ‘less than’, or ‘few’ which cannot be topicalized (Endriss 2009), such quantifiers are predicted to be unacceptable in topic positions, but acceptable in subject positions. In answer to (6Q), the quantified EA in (6A) located above the focused TAM (*kudu*) is ungrammatical, showing that this position is necessarily a topic position. In contrast, the quantified EA in (6A’) in Spec,TP (located below the modifier *ketoke*) is grammatical, showing that Spec,TP is a grammatical subject position.

- (6) Q: *Do at most 10 students have to bring a computer?*
 A: *_[TopP] Paling akeh 10 mahasiswa₂ [_{FocP} **kudu**₁ [**ketoke** [_{TP} *t*₂ [_{AuxP} *t*₁ ng-gowo]]]]]
 -EST many10 univ.student ROOT.NEC DIR.EVID AV-bring
 A’: ✓_[FocP] **Kudu**₁ [**ketoke** [_{TP} paling akeh 10 mahasiswa [_{AuxP} *t*₁ ng-gowo]]]]]
 ROOT.NEC DIR.EVID -EST many10 univ.student AV-bring
 ‘Yes, at most 10 students must, it seems, bring [one].’

III. Additional tests for topic vs. subject. Intervention. Object relative clauses are possible in Javanese, (7). If the EA (*muride* ‘the student’ in (7)) were a topic in an A’ position, it would act as an intervener, blocking movement of the object (cf. Pearson 2005 for Malagasy).

- (7) ✓ Buku [sing murid-e ape woco] iku uw-apik.
 book REL student-DEF PROSP read DEM <INT>good
 ‘The book that the student is going to read is good.’

Plural agreement. The plural marker *podho* optionally agrees with the EA, (8). Agreement occurs with subjects, but not with topics (Li & Thompson 1976). These data support that EAs can—but need not—be topics in Javanese (parallel to Indonesian, Chung 2008).

- (8) **Bocah** oleh **podho** dolan-an nok omah-e Mida.
 child may PL visit-VBLZ at house-DEF Mida
 ‘The children may play at Mida's house.’

Consequences: First, given that a strict parallelism between the pragmatics and syntax of EAs (such that SpecTP/EA=topic) cannot be upheld, *why are wh-subjects in-situ ungrammatical* (cf. (1a))? Non-subject *wh*-questions can be in situ in Javanese. The typology of focus marking is known to have subject vs. non-subject asymmetries, where only focused subjects tend to be grammatically marked (Zimmermann & Onéa 2011). In this case, it seems likely that subject questions in Modern Javanese have maintained the cleft strategy from Old Javanese, which as a V1 language observes Oda’s generalization (Oda 2002, 2005; Potsdam 2009): if a language uses VP-raising to derive V1 order, then it will have a cleft strategy available to form *wh*-questions. Second, *why can’t subjects be indefinite* (cf. (2a))? It seems that there is a real ban on indefinites (both specific and non-specific) as an EA in Javanese, even in the SpecTP position in answers. Thus a bare nominal like *mahasiswa* ‘a university student’ would be ungrammatical in (6A’). In this respect, Javanese acts like a topic-prominent language in that all EAs are required to be definite (Li & Thompson 1976), yet the quantifier data in (6) shows that not all EAs are necessarily topics. In cases like (6A’), then, there must be an independent semantic requirement on definiteness.

Selected References Chung, S. 2008. Indonesian clause structure from an Austronesian perspective. | Cole, P., Hermon, G., Inoha, K., & Tjung, Y. 2002. A constraint on *wh* in-situ in Javanese. | Endriss, C. 2009. *Quantificational Topics*. | Holmberg, A. 2015. *The syntax of yes and no*. | Jacobs, J. 2001. The dimensions of topic-comment. | Oda, K. 2005. V1 and *wh*-questions: A typology. | Pearson, M. 2005. The Malagasy subject/topic as an A’ element. | Vander Klok, J. 2012. TAM in Paciran Javanese.