Passive participles and nominalised passives in Muna (Sulawesi, Indonesia)

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Outline

- 1. The Muna language in Indonesia
- 2. No prototypical agented passive
- 3. Agentless passive ti-
- 4. Passive participle ne-
- 5. Nominalised passives
- 6. Diachrony
- 7. Conclusion

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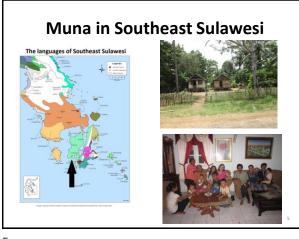
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Aim

To expand the typological database and to increase our understanding of passive structures by taking a detailed look at one Austronesian language from Indonesia.



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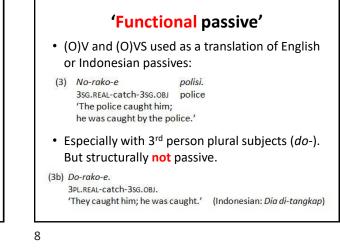
- Affiliation: Austronesian / Western-Malayo-Polynesian / Celebic / Muna-Buton
- **Population**: 300,000 (?)
- EGIDS ranking: 6b (threatened, by Indonesian)
- Typological profile:
 - rich inflectional morphology
 - three morphological verb classes
 - rich derivational morphology
- word order: VS (intransitive), SVO (transitive)

2. No prototypical agented passive

- (1) O polisi ne-rako kasibu. ART police 3sg.REAL-catch thief 'The police caught a thief.'
- (2) O polisi no-rako-e. ART police 3sG.REAL-catch-3sG.OBJ 'The police caught him.'
- (3) No-rako-e polisi. 3sg.REAL-catch-3sg.OBJ police 'He was caught by the police.'



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3. Agentless passive ti-

Five tentative meaning categories (all related):

- a) Accidental
- b) Non-volitional
- c) Suppressed agent
- d) Stative-resultative
- e) Abilitative

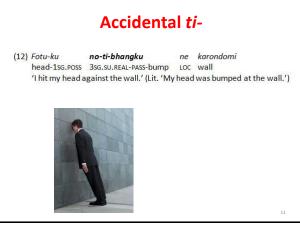
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a. Accidental ti-

 Sudden event, happened by chance, no clear cause, adverse effects (often a body part as subject)

no-ti-bhangku no-ti-bhantapu no-ti-ghati no-ti-puru 'bump, hit (accidentally)' 'get (accidentally) caught in a rope/string/roots' 'get (accidentally) pinched or stuck' 'get peeled off'

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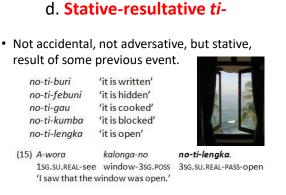
(13) Ne-kansuru no-ti-lengka kabhara-no 3sg.su.REAL-immediately 3sg.su.REAL-PASS-open stable-3sg.Poss

o harimau. ART tiger

'Immediately the cage of the tiger opened up.' (lit. was opened) $_{2}$

C. Suppressed agent ti-• Volitional and non-accidental, adversative a-ti-amara-ki (1 am scolded' a-ti-bhandingi (1 am despised' a-ti-futaa-hi (1 am laughed at' a-ti-torongku (1 am imprisoned) (14) O-pindalo o-ti-futaa-hi? 2SG.SU.REAL-wish 2SG.SU.REAL-PASS-laugh-TR 'Do you want to be laughed at?'

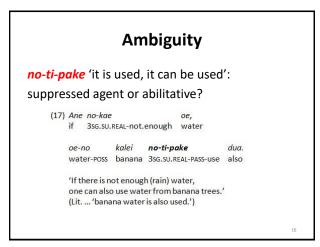
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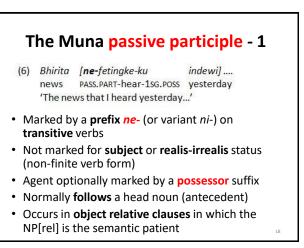


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The Muna passive participle - 2

- Contrasts with active participle
- marked by the circumfix -um-...-no (for one of the three verb classes)
 - (7) O mie s<um>ena-no... ART person <act.part>kick-act.part 'the person who kicks...'
 - (8) O mie ne-sepa... ART person PASS.PART-kick 'the person who is kicked ...'



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The Muna passive participle summary

Mixture of nominal and verbal features:

Possessor suffixes (like nouns)

lambu-**ku** 'my house ne-gholi-**ku** 'what is/was bought by me, what I buy/bought'

- Modifies a noun / NP in a relative clause
- · Can also occur without head noun
- No adverbial function (unlike passive participles in various IE languages, e.g. Greek, Latin, Russian)

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5. Nominalized passives

Muna has a **nominalizing circumfix ka-...-ha** on verbs, marking time / place / instrument / reason

mate	'die, dead'
	,
<mark>ka</mark> -mate- <mark>ha</mark>	'the time/place/reason of death'
rato	'arrive'
<mark>ka</mark> -rato- <mark>ha</mark>	'the time/place/reason of arrival'
Clausal subject expressed as a possessor suffix:	
<mark>ka</mark> -mate- <mark>ha</mark> - <u>no</u>	'the time/place/reason of his/her death
<mark>ka</mark> -rato- ha - <u>ku</u>	'the time/place/reason of my arrival'

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Nominalized passives • Passive participles in ne- cannot be nominalized • ti-passives can be nominalized, with clausal subjects as possessors (underlined) ka-ti-**kona**-ha-no 'the reason it is called' ka-ti-**angkafi**-ha-<u>mu</u> 'the reason you are followed'

ka-ti-**ghome**-ha-<u>no</u> ka-ti-**tobhe**-ha-<u>no</u> ka-ti-**fumaa**-ha-<u>ndo</u> 'the means with which it is washed' 'the time it is harvested' 'the time/place/reason they are eaten'

 Surprisingly, nominalized ti-passives can have an agent, introduced by the preposition ne.



- NMLZ-PASS-grab-NMLZ-3SG.POSS LOC monster.bird that 'the reason she was grabbed by the monster bird...'
- (19) ka-ti-masi-ghoo-ha-no ne mie-hi-no liwu NMLZ-PASS-love-APPL-NMLZ-3SG.POSS LOC person-PLUR-3SG.POSS village 'the reason he was loved by the village people'
- (20) Ka-ti-feka-mate-ha-ndo-mo. NMLZ-PASS-CAUS-die-NMLZ-3PL.POSS-PRED 'And that was the reason they got killed.'





7. Passives in Muna: Conclusion 1

- Muna has two non-canonical passives
 - 1) agentless *ti*-passive with distinct semantics
 - 2) passive participle in *ne*-limited to relative clauses
- Also: nominalized ka-ti-V-ha passive – rich in meaning:
 - place/time/instrument/means/reason
 - agent phrase can be present!

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Passives in Muna: Conclusion 2

From a typological perspective

- accidental / non-volitional passives are very common in SE Asia (but exact semantics vary)
- voice limited to relative clauses (active and passive participles) is rare
- nominalized passives are unusual, but also occur in Indonesian:

'limitation'

ke-ter-<u>batas</u>-an ke-ter-<u>awét</u>-an

'durability, preservability'

 nominalized passives are understudied in Austronesian (and elsewhere?)
More data needed.

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