

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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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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1. The Muna language in Indonesia



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Muna in Southeast Sulawesi



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The Muna language

- **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)

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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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'Functional passive'

- (O)V and (O)VS used as a translation of English or Indonesian passives:

(3) *No-rako-e polisi.*
 3SG.REAL-catch-3SG.OBJ police
 'The police caught him;
 he was caught by the police.'

- Especially with 3rd person plural subjects (*do-*).
 But structurally **not** passive.

(3b) *Do-rako-e.*
 3PL.REAL-catch-3SG.OBJ.
 'They caught him; he was caught.' (Indonesian: *Dia di-tangkap*)

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3. Agentless passive *ti-*

Five tentative meaning categories (all related):

- Accidental
- Non-volitional
- Suppressed agent
- Stative-resultative
- 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 'bump, hit (accidentally)
no-ti-bhantapu 'get (accidentally) caught in a rope/string/roots'
no-ti-ghati 'get (accidentally) pinched or stuck'
no-ti-puru 'get peeled off'

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Accidental *ti-*

(12) *Fotu-ku no-ti-bhangku ne karondomi*
 head-1SG.POSS 3SG.SU.REAL-PASS-bump LOC wall
 'I hit my head against the wall.' (Lit. 'My head was bumped at the wall.')



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b. Non-volitional *ti-*

- Not accidental or adversative, but a spontaneous event due to some unknown external or internal force.

no-ti-lengka 'open (by itself)
no-ti-hobha 'spill out (by itself)'

(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

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c. Suppressed agent *ti-*

- Volitional and non-accidental, adversative

<i>a-ti-amara-ki</i>	'I am scolded'
<i>a-ti-bhandingi</i>	'I am despised'
<i>a-ti-futaa-hi</i>	'I am laughed at'
<i>a-ti-torongku</i>	'I 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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d. Stative-resultative *ti-*

- Not accidental, not adversative, but stative, result of some previous event.

<i>no-ti-buri</i>	'it is written'
<i>no-ti-febuni</i>	'it is hidden'
<i>no-ti-gau</i>	'it is cooked'
<i>no-ti-kumba</i>	'it is blocked'
<i>no-ti-lengka</i>	'it is open'



- (15) *A-wora kalonga-no no-ti-lengka.*
 1SG.SU.REAL-see window-3SG.POSS 3SG.SU.REAL-PASS-open
 'I saw that the window was open.'

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e. Abilitative *ti-*

Subject has the ability to perform the action;
 often with negator: **inability**

<i>no-ti-basa</i>	'it can be read, readable'	<i>basa</i>	'read'
<i>no-ti-feapi</i>	'it can be counted'	<i>feapi</i>	'count'
<i>no-ti-perapi</i>	'it can be enjoyed'	<i>perapi</i>	'enjoy'
<i>no-ti-sangke</i>	'it can be lifted up'	<i>sangke</i>	'lift up'
<i>no-ti-wora</i>	'it can be seen, visible'	<i>wora</i>	'see'

- (16) *No-bhari siaghe, miina na-ti-feapi.*
 3SG.SU.REAL-many too NEG 3SG.SU.IRR-PASS-count
 'There are too many; they cannot be counted.'

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Ambiguity

no-ti-pake 'it is used, it can be used':
 suppressed agent or abilitative?

- (17) *Ane no-kae oe,*
 if 3SG.SU.REAL-not.enough water

oe-no kalei no-ti-pake dua.
 water-POSS banana 3SG.SU.REAL-PASS-use also

'If there is not enough (rain) water,
 one can also use water from banana trees.'
 (Lit. ... 'banana water is also used.')

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3. Passive participles only in relative clauses

- Main clause:

- (4) *Ina-ku no-tofa bheta-no.*
 mother-1SG.POSS 3SG.SU.REAL-wash sarong-3SG.POSS
 'My mother is washing her sarong(s).'



- Relative clause:

- (5) *Bheta [ne-tofa-no rangkowine] no-neu-mo.*
 sarong PASS.PART-wash-3SG.POSS morning 3SG.SU.REAL-dry-PERF
 'The sarong [that was washed by her this morning] is now dry.'

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The Muna passive participle - 1

- (6) *Bhiritu [ne-fetingke-ku indewi]....*
 news PASS.PART-hear-1SG.POSS yesterday
 'The news that I heard yesterday...'

- Marked by a **prefix *ne-*** (or variant *ni-*) on **transitive verbs**
- Not marked for **subject** or **realis-irrealis** status (non-finite verb form)
- Agent optionally marked by a **possessor** suffix
- Normally **follows** a head noun (antecedent)
- Occurs in **object relative clauses** in which the NP[rel] is the semantic patient

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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>epa-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 - 3

- can also be **headless** in a **cleft** construction

(9) *Ome-gholi hae?*
2SG.REAL-buy what
'What did you buy?'



(10) *O hae ne-gholi-mu?*
ART what PASS.PART-buy-2SG.POSS
'What is it that you bought?'

(11) *Ne-gholi-ku o kalei bhe kenta.*
PASS.PART-buy-1SG.POSS ART banana with fish
'What I bought was bananas and fish.'



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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'
ka-mate-ha 'the time/place/reason of death'
rato 'arrive'
ka-rato-ha 'the time/place/reason of arrival'
- Clausal subject expressed as a possessor suffix:
ka-mate-ha-no 'the time/place/reason of his/her death'
ka-rato-ha-ku '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-mu 'the reason you are followed'
ka-ti-ghome-ha-no 'the means with which it is washed'
ka-ti-tobhe-ha-no 'the time it is harvested'
ka-ti-fumaa-ha-ndo 'the time/place/reason they are eaten'

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

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Nominalized passives: Clausal examples with agents

(18) *ka-ti-sai-ha-no ne gurudha nagma...*
NMLZ-PASS-grab-NMLZ-3SG.POSS LOC monster.bird that
'the reason she was grabbed by the monster bird...'

(19) *ka-ti-masi-ghao-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.'

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6. Diachrony



Napabhale Lagoon



Cave drawings at
Liangkobhori

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6. Diachrony

- Muna shows a **non-typical** Western Austronesian voice system
- Essentially, the voice system is retained **ONLY** in **relative clauses**
- Muna **ne-** < **ni-** < Proto-Malayo-Polynesian ***-in-** ~ ***ni-** (realis patient voice)
< Proto-Austronesian ***-in-** 'perfective; nominalizer'
- Muna **ti-** < Proto-Austronesian ***ta-** / ***taR-** 'sudden, unexpected or accidental action' (Blust 2012)

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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:
 - ke-ter-batas-an** 'limitation'
 - ke-ter-awét-an** 'durability, preservability'
- nominalized passives are **understudied** in Austronesian (and elsewhere?)
More data needed.

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The end

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