

<特集「受動表現」>

Passive in Kambera カンベラ語の受動表現

B. Retang Wohangara¹⁾, Seunghun J. Lee²⁾
ヲハンガラ レタン, 李勝勳

¹⁾ Faculty of Language and Arts, Soegijapranata Catholic University
スギヤプラナタカトリック大学言語文学部

²⁾ College of Liberal Arts, International Christian University
国際基督教大学教養学部

要旨: 本稿は、語研論集 14 号 (2009) 所収の調査票にもとづいて収集したカンベラ語 (オーストロネシア語族; インドネシア) の受動表現に関する記述的資料を提供するものである。

Abstract: This article presents descriptive data on various passive constructions in Kambera, an Austronesian language spoken in Indonesia. The data was collected through the questionnaire “Passive expressions” designed in *Journal of the Institute of Language Research* 14, 2009.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.15026/0002001485>

キーワード: カンベラ語, 受動表現, オーストロネシア語族, インドネシア

Keywords: Kambera, Passive constructions, Austronesian languages, Indonesia

1. Introduction

Kambera language is spoken by about 240,000 speakers in 2009 (Ethnologue, Lewis et al. (eds.) 2015) in the eastern part of the Sumba island in Indonesia. This paper elicited Kambera expressions corresponding to passive sentences in the questionnaire developed in 2009. Kambera does not have a specific passive morphology, but it restricts constituent orders when expressing passive-like meanings. A grammar of Kambera is available as Klamer (1998).

2. Basic data

This section describes the passive constructions in Kambera. Examples in (1) are elicited to explore the constructions that are involved with the passive. In (1a), the passive-like expression is formed by positioning the subject *Bhara* in the rightmost position, and leaving a co-referenced pronoun *na*. The active sentence in (1b) shows that Kambera is a SVO language. The *-ya* suffix on the verb indicates who hit and who was hit. In the cleft construction in (1c), reduplicated form *pa-palu* of the verb *palu* ‘hit’ is suffixed by the *na*, which is co-referenced with the *subject i Bhara*. Note that changing the agent to 1st person singular in (1d) changes the suffix to *-nggu*. The absence of an agent is also possible as in (1e). The example (1f) shows that dropping the patient as in (1g) is not possible; the sentence requires to have the full pronoun *nyunna* ‘someone’.



本稿の著作権は著者が保持し、クリエイティブ・コモンズ 表示 4.0 国際ライセンス(CC-BY)下に提供します。
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/deed.ja>

(1) Basic passive (Ex 1-1)

- a. *Na paluya i Awang i Bhara.*
 na_i palu-ya i Awang i Bhara_i
 3SG_i hit-YA¹ PV Awang AV Bhara_i
 ‘Awang was hit by Bhara.’ (lit. ‘He hit Awang, Bhara did.’)
- b. *I Bhara na paluya i Awang.*
 i Bhara_i na_i palu-ya i Awang
 AV Bhara_i 3SG_i hit-YA PV Awang
 ‘Bhara hit Awang.’
- c. *I Awang na pa paluna i Bhara.*
 i Awang_i (nyu)na_i pa-palu-na_j i Bhara_j
 PV Awang_i 3SG_i RED-hit-3SG.OBJ_j AV Bhara_j
 ‘It is Awang who was hit by Bhara.’
- d. *I Awang na pa palungu.*
 i Awang_i na_i pa-palu-nggu
 PV Awang_i 3SG_i RED-hit-1SG
 ‘Awang was hit by me’ (lit. ‘I hit Awang’)
- e. *I Awang na pa paluna.*
 i Awang_i (nyu)na_i pa-palu-na_j
 PV Awang_i 3SG_i RED-hit-3SG.OBJ_j
 ‘It is Awang who was hit.’
- f. *Nyu’na na pa paluna i Bhara.*
 nyunna_i na pa-palu-na_j i Bhara_j
 someone_i 3SG_i RED-hit-3SG.OBJ_j AV Bhara_j
 ‘Someone was hit by Bhara.’
- g. **Na pa paluna i Bhara.*
 na pa-palu-na_j i Bhara_j
 3SG RED-hit-3SG.OBJ_j AV Bhara_j

In (2), the theme of the passive sentence is an inalienable noun *wihi* ‘foot’. In (2a), the verb is followed by the theme *na wihi-na i Awang* ‘Awang’s foot’, which is followed by the agent *i Bhara*; a VOS order. The theme can be in the leftmost position as in (2b), which shows an SVO word order. In (2c), the order is VSO, and in (2d), the order is OVS. These examples demonstrate that Kambera allows scrambling of the constituents.

(2) Inanimate inalienable theme (Ex 1-2)

- a. *Na dhili ya na wihi-na i Awang i Bhara.* [VOS]
 na dhili-ya na_j wihi-na i Awang_j i Bhara.
 3SG_i step.on-YA 3SG_j foot-of PV Awang_j AV Bhara_i
 ‘Awang’s foot was stepped on by Bhara.’ (lit. he stepped on Awang’s foot, Bhara did)

¹ Some morphemes do not have a direct translation. In such a case, phonological forms of a morpheme is used in the gloss (for example, YA).

- b. *Na wihi-na i Awang na dhili-ya i Bhara.* [OVS]
 na_j wihi-na i Awang_j na_i dhili-ya i Bhara_i.
 3SG_j foot-of PV Awang_j 3SG_i step.on-YA AV Bhara_i
 ‘Awang’s foot was stepped on by Bhara.’ (lit. the Awang’s foot, he stepped on it, Bhara did)
- c. *Na dhili-ya i Bhara na wihi-na i Awang.* [VSO]
 na_i dhili-ya i Bhara_i na_j wihi-na i Awang_j
 3SG_i step.on-YA AV Bhara_i 3SG_j foot-of PV Awang_j
 ‘Awang’s foot was stepped on by Bhara.’ (lit. the Awang’s foot, he stepped on it, Bhara did)
- d. *I Bhara na dhili-ya na wihi-na i Awang.* [SVO]
 i Bhara_i na_j dhili-ya na_j wihi-na i Awang_j
 AV Bhara_i 3SG_i step.on-YA 3SG_j foot-of PV Awang_j
 ‘Awang’s foot was stepped on by Bhara.’ (lit. Bhara stepped on Awang’s foot)

When the theme is alienable as in (3), three orders are possible: OVS, VSO, and VOS. The sentences in (3) focus on the object what is being stolen. In (3a), the subject is in the rightmost position, and in (3b) and (3c), the sentence shows a verb-initial construction. The agent may immediately follow the verb as in (3b), or it can appear as rightmost position as in (3c).

(3) Inanimate alienable theme (Ex 1-3)

- a. *Na kappuna i Awang na bhohuya i Bhara.* [OVS]
 na_i kappu-na i Awang_i na_j bhohu-ya i Bhara_j.
 3SG_i wallet of_i PV Awang_i 3SG_j steal-YA AV Bhara_j
 ‘Awang’s wallet was stolen by Bhara.’ (lit. the wallet of Awang, he stole it, Bhara did)
- b. *Na bhohu-ya i Bhara na kappu-na i Awang.* [VSO]
 na_j bhohu-ya i Bhara_j na_i kappu-na i Awang_i
 3SG_j steal-YA AV Bhara_j 3SG_i wallet-of_i PV Awang_i
 ‘It was stolen by Bhara, the wallet of Awang.’ (lit. he stole it, Bhara did, the wallet of Awang)
- c. *Na bhohu-ya na kappu-na i Awang i Bhara.* [VOS]
 na_j bhohu-ya na_i kappu-na i Awang_i i Bhara_j
 3SG_j steal-YA 3SG_i wallet-of_i PV Awang_i AV Bhara_j
 ‘It was stolen by Bhara, the wallet of Awang.’ (lit. he stole the wallet of Awang, Bhara did,)

When the focus of the sentence is the person, rather than the Awang’s possession, Kambera prefers the sentence structure in (4). The difference between (3a) and (4) is that the verb is preceded by the morpheme *pa* in (4).

- (4) *Na kappu-na i Awang na pa bhohu-na i Bhara.* [OVS]
 na kappu-na i Awang na pa bhohu-na i Bhara
 3SG wallet-of PV Awang 3SG PA steal-NA AV Bhara
 ‘It is Awang’s wallet stolen by Bhara.’
 (intended. ‘Awang had his wallet stolen by Bhara.’)

The crying event of a baby can be expressed using the passive morpheme in Japanese, but it cannot be expressed in a passive form as shown in (5), which is a canonical Kambera sentence.

(5) (Ex 1-4) [not in a passive form]

Kamodhu, na hii na anakiada. Ka wuapa ndakku mahurru-a.

kamodhu, na_i hii na_i anakiada_i Ka-wuapa ndak-ku mahurru-a
last.night 3SG_i cry 3SG_i baby_i at.all not-1SG sleep-EMP

‘Last night, the baby cried. I did not sleep at all.’

In (6), the elicitation was done for ‘A new house was built by Awang’. In Kambera, the sentence can only be expressed in an active construction as in (6a). An existential construction is shown in (6b). The sentence in (6c) does not have the agent voice; this construction is only acceptable when the speaker knows who built the house. In the event when the agent is unknown, the sentence in (6b) is preferred.

(6) (Ex1-5)

a. *Na pahadang bhidi umma-na i Awang.*

na_i pahadang bhidi umma-na_i i Awang_i
3SG_i build new house-3SG_i AV Awang_i

‘He built a new house, Awang did.’

b. *Ningu bhidi umma pa pahadang.*

ningu bhidi umma pa pahadang
exist new house PA build

‘there is a new house built.’

c. *Na pahadang bhidi umma-na.*

na_i pahadang bhidi umma-na_i
3SG_i build new house-3SG_i

‘He built a new house.’ (only when the speaker knows who built the new house)

The example (7) intended to elicit ‘Kambera is being spoken in Sumba’. In Kambera, this construction is only possible in the active form and the agent must be *dha* ‘3pl’. The speaker may or may not speak Kambera in this case.

(7) (Ex1-6)

Dha pahillungu Kambera la Humba.

dha pahillungu Kambera la Humba.

3PL speak Kambera in Sumba

‘They speak Kambera in Sumba.’ (intended: ‘Kambera is being spoken in Sumba.’)

The two passive sentences in (8) can be expressed with the subject in the rightmost position as in (8a) or the agent in the initial position (8b). The context for the second example is as follows. The speaker saw Awang stealing Bhara’s wallet. When Bhara demands to know where his wallet is, the speaker would respond with the sentence in (8b).

(8) (Ex1-7)

- a. *Na bhohu-ya na kappu i Awang.*
 na_i bhohu-ya na_i kappu i Awang_i
 3SG_i steal-YA 3SG_i wallet AV Awang_i
 ‘he stole the wallet, Awang did.’ (intended ‘The wallet was stolen by Awang.’)
- b. *I Awang na bhohu-ya na kappu.*
 i Awang_i na_i bhohu-ya na_i kappu
 AV Awang_i 3SG_i steal-YA 3SG_i wallet
 ‘Awang stole the wallet.’ (intended ‘The wallet was stolen by Awang.’)

The verb ‘to hang’ requires the suffix *-nya* when it describes that the picture was hung by someone; compare (9a) with (9b). When an overt agent is present, the agent appears in rightmost position as in (9c).

(9) (Ex 1-8)

- a. *Na tiwal-nya na gambar la dinding.*
 na tiwal-nya na gambar la dinding
 3SG hung-NYA it picture on wall
 ‘Somone hung the picture on the wall.’
- b. **Na tiwal na gambar la dinding.*
 na tiwal na gambar la dinding
 3SG hung it picture on wall
- c. *Na tiwal-nya na gambar la dinding i Awang.*
 na_i tiwal-nya na gambar la dinding i Awang_i
 3SG_i hung-NYA it picture on wall AV Awang
 ‘He hung the picture on the wall, Awang did.’

The sentence in (10) shows that the agent is in the rightmost position after the theme of the sentence.

(10) (Ex 1-9)

- Na namu-ya i Awang i Bhara.*
 na_i namu-ya i Awang i Bhara_i
 3SG_i love-YA PV Awang AV Bhara_i
 ‘he loves Awang, Bhara does.’

In (11a), *-nya* is used to show that it was Awang that was told by Bhara. The direct quotation can also appear at the end of the sentence as in (11b). Including the *na* morpheme is not possible as shown in (11c).

(11) (Ex 1-10)

- a. *“Ngangu padhangu” wanna-nya i Awang i Bhara.*
 ngangu padhangu wanna-nya i Awang i Bhara.
 eat a.lot say-NYA PV Awang AV Bhara
 ‘Awang is told “Eat a lot!” by Bhara.’ (lit. “Eat a lot!”, he told Awang, Bhara did)

- b. *I Bhara wanna-nya i Awang, “ngangu padhangu.”*
 i Bhara wanna-nya i Awang, ngangu padhangu.
 AV Bhara say-NYA PV Awang eat a.lot
 ‘Bhara told Awang, Bhara “Eat a lot”’
- c. **Ngangu padhangu na wanna-nya i Awang i Bhara.*
 ngangu padhangu na wanna-nya i Awang i Bhara
 eat a.lot 3SG say-NYA PV Awang AV Bhara

The sentences in (12) and (13) are bi-clausal. In (12a), the theme det Awang is omitted in the subordinate clause. Adding the pronominal element *na* makes the sentence unacceptable as in (12b). However, the verb can be followed by the *-ka* morpheme as in (12c). The first author judges (12c) to be better than (12a).

(12) (Ex 1-10a)

- a. *Na paau-nya i Awang i Bhara, ka nu ninya la kurung-na i Bhara.*
 na_i paau-nya i Awang i Bhara_i ka nu ni-nya la kurung-na i Bhara
 3SG_i call-NYA PV Awang AV Bhara_i so now exist-NYA in room-3SG PV Bhara
 ‘He called Awang, Bhara did, so now (Awang) is present in Bhara’s room.’
- b. **Na paau-nya i Awang i Bhara, ka nu na ninya la kurung-na i Bhara.*
 na_i paau-nya i Awang i Bhara_i ka nu na ni-nya la kurung-na i Bhara.
 3SG_i call-NYA PV Awang AV Bhara_i so now 3SG exist-NYA in room-3SG PV Bhara
- c. *Na paau-nya i Awang i Bhara, ka nu ninya-ka la kurung-na i Bhara.*
 na_i paau-nya i Awang i Bhara_i ka nu ni-nya-ka la kurung-na i Bhara.
 3SG_i call-NYA PV Awang AV Bhara_i so now exist-NYA-KA in room-3SG PV Bhara.
 ‘he called Awang, Bhara did, so now (Awang) is present in Bhara’s room’

In (13), the object of the matrix clause is identical to the agent of the subordinate clause. The verb of the subordinate clause is followed by *-ka* as in (13a), which is required as shown by the unacceptability of (13b).

(13) (Ex1-10b)

- a. *I Bhara na paau-nya i Awang, ka nu ninya-ka i Awang la kurung-na i Bhara.*
 i Bhara_i na_i paau-nya i Awang, ka nu ni-nya-ka i Awang la kurung-na
 AV Bhara_i 3SG_i call-NYA PV Awang, so now exist-NYA-KA AV Awang in room-3SG
 i Bhara.
 PV Bhara
 ‘Bhara called Awang and Awang is in Bhara’s room now.’
- b. **I Bhara na paau-nya i Awang, ka nu ninya i Awang la kurung-na i Bhara.*
 i Bhara_i na_i paau-nya i Awang ka nu ni-nya i Awang la kurung-na
 AV Bhara_i 3SG_i call-NYA PV Awang so now exist-NYA AV Awang in room-3SG
 i Bhara.
 PV Bhara

3. Conclusion

This short paper has presented how the Kambera language expresses passive-like meaning. Although no specific passive morpheme is present, verbal suffixes and the order of constituents are utilized to emphasize the agent or the patient.

Abbreviations

1sg, 2pl, ...:	Person and Number	OBJ:	Object
AV:	Agent Voice	RED:	Reduplicant
EMPH:	Emphasis	S:	Subject
O:	Object	V:	Verb

References

- Klamer, Marian. 1998. *A Grammar of Kambera*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fennig (eds.). 2015. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Eighteenth edition. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com>.

Acknowledgement

This work was mainly supported by JSPS KAKENHI Promotion of Joint International Research (Fostering Joint International Research (B)) 21KK0005. This study was also supported by JSPS KAKENHI (B) 23K25319, JSPS KAKENHI (A) 25H00465 and the ILCAA joint research projects ‘Phonetic typology from cross-linguistic perspectives: Phase 2 (jrp000294)’ and ‘Diachronic Perspectives on Language Description and Typology in Bantu (jrp000292)’.

執筆者連絡先 : retang@unika.ac.id, seunghun@icu.ac.jp

原稿受理 : 2026 年 1 月 25 日

刊行年月日 : 2026 年 3 月 31 日