

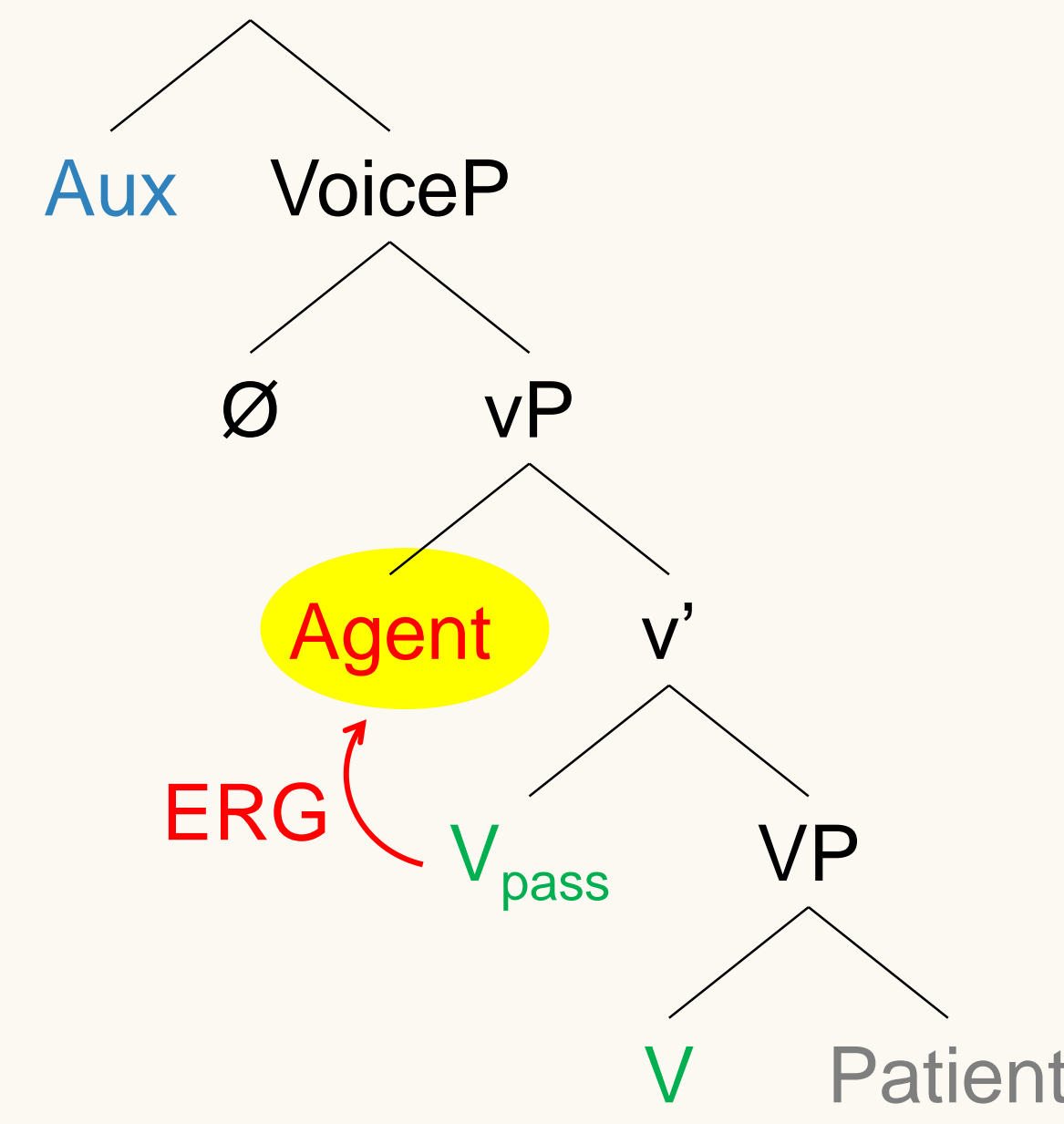
Variations in Austronesian Bare Passive Agents

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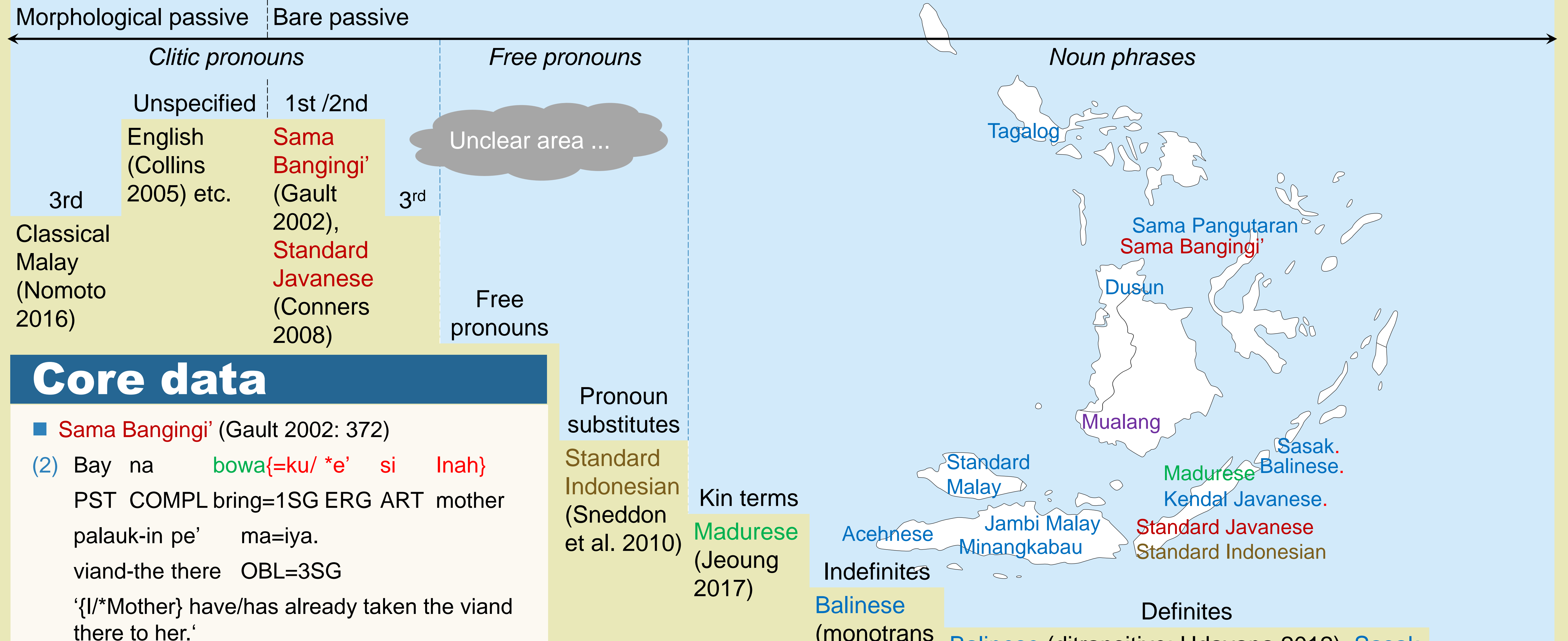


The issues & claims

- Empirical
 - How do Austronesian languages vary regarding possible bare passive agents?
 - Implicational hierarchy
- Theoretical
 - How is the non-active voice agent licensed?
 - Similar to nominative case-licensing in split ergativity (Silverstein 1976)



Implicational hierarchy



Core data

- Sama Bangingi'** (Gault 2002: 372)
 - Bay na **bowa**{=ku/ *e' si Inah} PST COMPL bring=1SG ERG ART mother palauk-in pe' ma=iya. viand-the there OBL=3SG 'I/*Mother} have/has already taken the viand there to her.'
- Standard Indonesian (Sneddon et al. 2010: 259)
 - Surat ini harus **bapak tandatangan-i**. letter this must father sign-APPL_{Loc} 'You/*Father} must sign this letter.'
- Madurese (polite register; Jeoung 2017: 21, 24–25)
 - Potra-epon ampon {**ramah** /*Pak Tono / *paserah} **tembhal-ih**. son-DEF PERF father Mr. Tono who call-APPL 'Father/*Mr. Tono/*Who} called his son.'
- Balinese (Artawa 2013: 10; Udayana 2012: 108–109)
 - Nasi-n oke-ne **amah bangkung**(*-e). rice-LINK 1SG-POSS eat pig-DEF 'A/*The} pig ate my rice.'
- Anak ento **beli-nin sabilang anak** baju ento. person that buy-APPL every person shirt that 'Everybody bought that shirt from the man.'
- Mualang (Tjia 2007: 177) [lacks bare active]
 - Manuk ___ **pakay** p-amis da pian. chicken eat CAUS-finished LOC bathing.place 'The chickens were eaten up (by rite attenders) at the bathing place.'

Austronesian voice systems

- Malay-centric view (Nomoto 2015, under review)

Marker	Active	Passive
Overt	Morphological active [Actor voice/focus] Absent in English	Morphological passive [Passive type 1, Canonical passive] Absent in Philippine-type
Null (reduced)	Bare active [stem sentences] Absent in many Austronesian languages	Bare passive [Passive type 2, <i>Pasif semu</i> , Object(ive) voice, Undergoer voice/focus, Patient voice/focus] Absent in English

+ Applicative constructions [Benefactive, Instrument, Locative, etc.]

- Standard Malay

- Bare active: Agent Aux V**
Siapa-kah yang **saya** boleh **hubung-i**? (Object extraction)
who-Q REL 1SG can contact-APPL_{Loc}
 - Bare passive: Aux Agent V** [Agent adjacent to bare V stem]
Siapa-kah yang boleh **saya** **hubung-i**? (Subject extraction)
who-Q REL can 1SG contact-APPL_{Loc}
 - Morphological passive: Aux PASS-V (Agent)**
Siapa-kah yang boleh **di-hubung-i**? (Subject extraction)
who-Q REL can PASS-contact-APPL_{Loc}
'Who is the person that I can contact/can be contacted?'

Analysis

- The hierarchy resembles Silverstein's (1976) hierarchy: In split ergativity: nominals higher in the hierarchy are more likely to be realized as NOM as opposed to ERG.
- ERG in syntax + post-syntactic morphology (Legate 2014)
- v_{pass} assigns ERG to its Spec, but not ACC (= v_{ERG} of Aldridge 2008).
- Adjacency follows from "Voice-Agent-v" configuration?

References ♦ Aldridge, E. 2014. Phase-based account of extraction in Indonesian. *Lingua*. ♦ Artawa, I K. 1998. *Ergativity and Balinese Syntax*. ♦ Gault, J. 2002. Some aspects of 'focus' in Sama Bangingi'. ♦ Jeoung, H. 2017. On the number of voices in Madurese. *JSEALS*. ♦ Legate, J. 2014. Split ergativity based on nominal type. *Lingua*. ♦ Nomoto, H. under review. The development of the English-type passive in Balinese. ♦ Silverstein, M. 1976. Hierarchy of features and ergativity. ♦ Sneddon, J., Adelaar, A. Djenar, D. and Ewing, M. 2010. *Indonesian: A Comprehensive Grammar*. ♦ Tjia, J. 2007. *A Grammar of Mualang: An Ibanic Language of Western Kalimantan*. ♦ Udayana, I N. 2012. Indefiniteness constraints of (monotransitive) OV-agents in Balinese. *Jurnal Kajian Bali*.