

Voice in Austronesian languages

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1. Voice – an overview

English

Active	A ₁ P ₂ Vtr	Passive	S ₂ Vi (OBL ₁)
	John interviewed Mary		Mary was interviewed (by John)

Dyirbal

Active	A ₁ P ₂ Vtr	Anti-passive	S ₁ Vi (OBL ₂)
	<i>yibi-nggu yara buran</i> woman-erg man.abs see.past		<i>yibi (yara-gu) bura-lnga-nyu</i> woman.abs man-dat see-a/p-past

In a syntactically nominative-accusative language passive is used to meet cross-clausal coreference requirements (pivot is A/S = nominative):

- (1) John went to Rome ____ to sleep
- (2) John went to Rome ____ to invite Mary
- (3) John went to Rome ____ to be interviewed (by Mary)
- (4) *John went to Rome for Mary to interview _____

In a syntactically ergative-absolutive language antipassive is used to meet cross-clausal coreference requirements (pivot is P/S = absolutive)

- (5) *yara bani-nyu ____ bungi-lgu*
man go-past sleep-purp
- (6) *yara bani-nyu yibi-nggu ____ bura-lgu*
woman go-past woman-erg see-purp
- (7) **yara bani-nyu ____ yibi bura-lgu*
woman go-past woman.abs see-purp
- (8) *yara bani-nyu ____ yibi-gu bura-lnga-ygu*
woman go-past woman-dat see-a/p-purp

The same principles hold in conjoined clauses and in relative clauses. In syntactically nominative-accusative languages the pivot is A/S and in syntactically ergative-absolutive languages the pivot is P/S. (Note that many morphologically ergative languages are syntactically nominative-accusative.)

2. Applicatives – an overview

Add an argument to predicate by promoting an oblique to become a direct argument of the verb:

S ₁ Vi	OBL ₂	A ₁ P ₂	[V-applic]tr
A ₁ P ₂ Vtr	OBL ₃	A ₁ P ₃ IO ₂	[V-applic]dirt

Compare English: John bought a present for Mary vs. John bought Mary a present

Dyirbal

(9) *yara-nggu* *yugu* *gunban* *barri-nggu*
 man-erg tree.abs cut.past axe-inst
 ‘The man cuts the tree with an axe’

(10) *yara-nggu* *barri* *gunba-ma-n* *yugu-gu*
 man-erg axe.abs cut-applic-past tree-dat
 ‘The man cuts the tree with an axe’ (or ‘The man cuts-with the axe the tree’)

Now the instrument can be a pivot:

(10) *yara-nggu* *barri* *budin* _____ *yugu-gu* *gunba-ma-lgu*
 man-erg axe.abs carry.past tree-dat cut-applic-purp
 ‘The man carried an axe to cut the tree with’

3. Voice in Austronesian

Austronesian languages of Taiwan and the Philippines (and northern Sulawesi, Indonesia) have 4-6 voices, but unlike Passive and Antipassive they do not change transitivity and the voices are thus symmetrical (the forms typically encode Voice+Aspect).

Tagalog (simplified)

	Infinitive	Contemplative	Progressive	Completed	Imperative
Patient pivot	-in	CV- ... -in	CinV-	-in-	-a (or verb root)
Actor pivot	-um-	CV-	CumV-	-um-	0 (verb root)
Locative pivot	-an	CV- ... -an	CinV- ... -an	-in- ... -an	
Benefactive pivot	i-	iCV-	iCinV-	i-in-	
Instrument pivot	ipaN-	ipaNcV-	ipinaNcV-	ipinaN-	
Reason pivot	ika-	ikaCV-	ikinaCV-	ikina-	

(1) *Binilí ng lalaki ang saging sa tindahan para sa unggóy*
 buy-UV NOM man T banana LOC store BEN ART monkey
 ‘The man bought *the banana* at the store for the monkey.’

(2) *Bumilí ng saging ang lalaki sa tindahan para sa unggóy*
 buy-AV NOM banana T man LOC store BEN ART monkey
 ‘*The man* bought bananas at the store for the monkey.’

(3) *Ibinilí ng lalaki ng saging ang unggóy*
 buy-BV NOM man NOM monkey T monkey
 ‘The man bought bananas *for the monkey*.’

(4) *Ipinambilí ng lalaki ng saging ang pera ng asawa niyá*
 buy-IV NOM man NOM banana T INST money money his
 ‘The man bought bananas *with his wife's money*.’

For symmetrical voice Austronesian languages the pivot has to be the NP which is encoded on the verb. So, to form a relative clause, the head noun must be coreferential with the pivot inside the relative clause, and the verb shows the role of the pivot in the relative clause:

the banana [that bought-UV the man ____ at the store for the monkey]
 the man [that bought-AV ____ bananas at the store for the monkey]
 the monkey [that bought-BV the man bananas at the store for ____]
 the money [that bought-IV the man bananas with ____]

Austronesian languages spoken in the western part of Indonesia only have two voice forms, one marked with a nasal prefix that encodes AV and an unmarked form that encodes UV. These languages have developed passive voice and applicatives.

Balinese

- (1) *Putu tepukin tiang ditu.*
 Putu see 1sg there
 ‘I saw Putu there.’
- (2) *Tiang nepukin Putu ditu.*
 1sg N-see Putu there
 ‘I saw Putu there.’
- (3) *Cai ngedengang gambaran-e ka guru=ne.*
 2SG N-show picture-DEF to teacher-DEF
 ‘You showed the picture to the teacher.’
- (4) *Gumi=ne ka-prentah (antuk/teken bangsa gelah)*
 country-DEF PASS-govern by people own
 ‘The country is governed (by our own people)’
- (5) *Emeng-e [ane gugut cicing] gelem*
 cat-DEF [REL bite dog] sick
 ‘The cat [which the dog bit] is sick.’
- (6) *Emeng-e [ane ngugut cicing-e] galak*
 cat-DEF REL N-bite dog-DEF fierce
 ‘The cat [which bit the dog] is fierce.’
- (7) *Ia demen tunden cai mai.*
 3 like ask 2SG here
 ‘S/he likes to be asked to come here by you.’
- (8) *Ia demen nunden cai mai.*
 3 like N-ask 2SG here
 ‘S/he likes to ask you to come here.’

Sasak

Unmarked		N ¹ -	N ² -	N ³ -
<i>péte</i>	‘search, look for’	<i>méte</i>	<i>npéte</i>	<i>meméte</i>
<i>talet</i>	‘plant’	<i>nalet</i>	<i>ntalet</i>	<i>nenalet</i>
<i>kuih</i>	‘call out to’	<i>nguih</i>	<i>ngkuih</i>	<i>ngenguih</i>
<i>cóbaq</i>	‘try’	<i>nyóbaq</i>	<i>nycóbaq</i>	<i>nyenyóbaq</i>
<i>sebóq</i>	‘hide’	<i>nyebóq</i>	<i>nysebóq</i>	<i>nyenyebóq</i>
<i>beli</i>	‘buy’	<i>mbeli</i>	<i>mbeli</i>	<i>mbembeli</i>
<i>dengar</i>	‘hear’	<i>ndengar</i>	<i>ndengar</i>	<i>ndendengar</i>
<i>gitaq</i>	‘see’	<i>nggitaq</i>	<i>nggitaq</i>	<i>nggenggitaq</i>
<i>liwat</i>	‘pass by’	<i>ngeliwat</i>	<i>ngeliwat</i>	<i>ngengeliwat</i>

Northern varieties of Sasak

- (1) *Balé* *beli* *lóg* *Ali*
house buy art Ali
‘Ali buys a house’ [Ng. Selong]
- (2) *Lóg* *Ali* *m-beli* *balé*
art Ali N¹-buy house
‘Ali buys a house’ [Ng. Selong]
- (3) *Balé* *beli=ne* *isiq* *lóg* *Ali*
house buy=3 by art Ali
‘Ali bought a house’ [Ng. Selong]
- (4) *Balé* *ne=beli* *isiq* *lóg* *Ali*
house 3=buy by art Ali
‘Ali will/may buy a house’ [Ng. Selong]
- (5) *Kanak* [*siq* ____ *berari*] *inó*
child rel run that
‘That child who is running’ [Ng. Selong]
- (6) *Buku* [*siq* ____ *mèq=beli*] *inó*
book rel 2=buy that
‘That book which you intend to buy’ [Ng. Selong]
- (7) *Dengan* [*siq* ____ *m-beli* *buku*] *inó*
man rel N¹-buy book that
‘That man who bought a book’ [Ng. Selong]
- (8) **Dengan* [*siq* *buku* *beli* ____] *inó*
man rel book buy that
‘That man who bought a book’ [Ng. Selong]

- (9) *Ape beli=mèq*
 what buy=2
 ‘What did you buy?’ [Ng. Selong]
- (10) *Sai m-beli buku inó*
 who N¹-buy book that
 ‘Who bought that book?’ [Ng. Selong]
- (11) *Aku te-pantòk isiq lóq Ali*
 1sg pass-hit by art Ali
 ‘I was hit by Ali’ [Ng. Selong]
- (12) *Gen=ku te-pantòk isiq lóq Ali*
 fut=1sg pass-hit by art Ali
 ‘I will be hit by Ali’ [Ng. Selong]
- (13) *Ali m-pantòk tèmòk*
 Ali N²-hit wall
 ‘Ali hit the wall (he didn’t kick it)’ [Ng. Selong]
- (14) *Payu=ku bale-n=da n-séwa*
 result=1sg house-link=3 N²-rent
 ‘In the end I rented his house’ [Nt. Sembalun, Thoir et al. 1985/86:198, entry *payu*
 “Saya jadikan rumahnya disewa”]
- (15) *Araq, gitaq=ne sópóq batu, nu batu nó taòq=ne pade nyenyebóq*
 exist see=3 one stone that stone that place=3 pl N³.hide
 ‘Then, he saw a single rock, “that is the rock where they are all hiding” (he said)’ [Frog
 story, Ng. Gerong, sas-t109]
- (16) *Lóq Ancòng meméte léq dalem jenggel aran=ne*
 art Ancong N³.search loc inside thing name-3

léq dalem sepatu but, sementare lóq Blèky meméte
 loc inside shoe boot while art Blacky N³.search

léq dalem pelès taòq=ne tindóq lóq Kecòk nó.
 loc inside glass.jar place=3 sleep art Kecok that
 ‘Ancong (the boy) searched in the things, what’s it, inside the boots, while Blacky (the
 dog) searched inside the glass jar where Kecok (the frog) slept’ [Frog story, Ng.
 Tanjung Lotim, sas-t105]
- (17) *Aku nóang ida girang memaling*
 I N¹-know 3 like N³.steal
 ‘I know that he likes stealing’ [Nt. Thoir et al 1985/86:350 Saya mengetahui bahwa dia
 suka mencuri]

Central and Southern Varieties of Sasak

- (18) *Kanak=nó pancing mpaq/lé pang/léndóng*
 child=that catch fish/frog/eel
 ‘The child is catching the fish/frogs/eels.’ (Mn, Puyung)

- (19) *Aku èndèng bagéq=ò se-nggem*
 1sg request tamarind=2 one-handful
 ‘I ask for a handful of your tamarind.’ (Mu, Ganti)

	Menó-mené, Praya		Menó-mené, Gontoran		Menu-meni, Ganti	
	Agent	Patient	Agent	Patient	Agent	Patient
1sg	= <i>k</i>	= <i>k</i>	= <i>k</i>	= <i>k</i>	= <i>kò</i>	= <i>kò</i>
1pl	= <i>t</i>	= <i>t</i>	= <i>t</i>	= <i>t</i>	= <i>te</i>	= <i>te</i>
2	= <i>m</i>	= <i>m</i>	= <i>è</i>	= <i>n</i>	= <i>ò</i>	= <i>kem</i>
3	= <i>n</i>	= <i>n</i>	= <i>n</i>	= <i>è</i>	= <i>ng</i>	= <i>è</i>

- (20) *Mu=n téóp kelambi=nó isiq angin*
 aux=3 blow shirt=that by wind
 ‘The wind blew the shirt away.’ (Mn, Puyung)

- (21) *Iaq=n gitaq kanak-kanak=nó isiq Herman*
 fut=3 see reduplicated-child=that by Herman
 ‘Herman will see the children.’ (Mn, Puyung)

- (22) *Iaq=k gitaq=m lèmaq*
 fut=1sg see=2 later
 ‘I will see you later.’ (Mn, Puyung)

- (24) *Kanak=nó jangke=n mancing mpaq/lé pang/léndóng*
 child=that cont=3 N¹.catch fish/frog/eel
 ‘The child is catching (some) fish/frogs/eels.’ (Mn, Puyung)

- (25) *Kanak=nó jangke=n mancing*
 child=that cont=3 N¹.catch
 ‘The child is catching (fish), The child is fishing.’ (Mn, Puyung)

- (26) *Ie mace*
 3 N¹.read
 ‘He is reading (a book).’ (Mn, Puyung)

- (27) *Sangkaq=n jangke laló nyedi lèpang ni liq dalem pelès*
 therefore=3 cont go N¹.separate frog this loc inside glass.jar
 ‘That’s why the frog ran away from inside the glass jar’ (Mn, Praya, Frog Story)

- (28) *Basóng=n milu m-bójaq nidòk kun jendéle, maséh*
 dog=3 accompany N¹-search N¹.peek loc window still
èdaq dait=n, aran lèpang=n
 not.exist find=3 name frog=3
 ‘His dog accompanied (him) searching, peeking at the window, but still he didn’t find it, his frog’ [Mr. Danek, Praya, Frog Story, sas-t110]
- (29) *Basóng [saq _____ kókóq=k uiq]=nó berelòng putéq*
 dog rel bite=1sg yesterday=dem tail white
 ‘The dog that bit me yesterday has a white tail’ (Mn, Puyung)
- (30) *Kale=ng siq sakit=ng sai baé tólóng=è*
 at.time=3 rel sick=3 who only help=3p
 ‘At the time he was sick who helped him?’ (Mu, Ganti)
- (31) *Mu=k te-gitaq isiq Ali*
 perf=1sg pass-see by Ali
 ‘I was seen by Ali’ (Mn, Puyung)
- (33) *Aku ng-utang kèpèng léq saiq=kò siq bayah tangkòng*
 1sg N¹-owe money loc aunt =1sg in.order.to pay shirt
 ‘I owe some money to my aunt to pay for the shirt’ (Mu, Tebao, Sutarman 2010)
- (34) *Amaq=kò ng-upaq-ang ntan tambah bangket=ng*
 father=1sg N¹-pay-appl way hoe rice field=3
 ‘My father pays someone to hoe his rice field’ (Mu, Tebao, Sutarman 2010)
- (35) *Pacu pade m-iléq, Sigar Penyalin piléq Sasih,*
 true plural N-select Sigar Penyalin select Sasih
Kambi Muter piléq Ketir
 Kambi Muter select Ketir
 ‘They chose, Sigar Penyalin chose Sasih, Kambi Muter chose Ketir’ (MU, Ganti, sas-t077s555]

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