Passive and Antipassive in Sasak

Nurul Azizah
Lombok, Indonesia
nurulazizah_filla@yahoo.com.

Abstract*

This paper deals with the constructions of passive and antipassive in Sasak Kuto-Kute dialect (SKD) related to valency decrease. The study involved 70 verbs proposed by Malchukov and Comrie (2010) and applying the theory of typology linguistics from Dixon (2012) for data analysis. The finding showed that passive in this dialect can appear in three forms: the use of morphological marking (confix ke- -n), syntactic marking (preposition siq 'by') and no markings at all. For the last form, the construction can only be detected through the movements of the arguments with the case being limited to A with singular pronouns (ku 'I', diq 'you' and ia 's/he'), and first plural pronoun (kami 'we'). The syntactic passive marker in SKD is very productive and more common compared to the morphological marker. As for antipassive, in this dialect the construction was found to be formed only through morphological markings, which involved the use of nasal prefixes such as meny- and me- and confix ng- -ang as the AP markers.

1. Introduction

Passive and antipassive are constructions that can be formed to reduce the valency of a verb (Dixon and Aikhenvald, 2000: 20). The term passive is used for a derivative structure from an underlying clause in accusative language, whereas antipassive refers to a derivative structure in an ergative language. If in passive construction, the decrease in valency or the reduction of core arguments is done through the deletion of the A argument, in antipassive construction, the deletion is not on A but P/O (Palmer, 1994 and Dixon 2012). For more details, the antipassive form can be seen in the example below:

(1a) *Gopnyan teungoh **geu-sampah** broh*
    He   PROG   3SG-sweep   garbage
    'He is **sweeping** the garbage'

(1b) *Gopnyan teungoh **geu-s-eum-ampah***
    He   PROG 3SG-AP-sweep

'He is **sweeping**'

Sentence (1) is an example of Acehnese antipassive construction taken from Hanafi (2006: 28). The underlying construction is the construction of a transitive sentence with two core arguments; *Gopnyan* 'he' as A and *broh* 'garbage' as O. When forming the antipassive construction, the A *Gopnyan* becomes S and the original O *broh* is deleted. Deleting the O argument resulting the verb *sampah* 'sweep' in getting the *-eum-* infix as an antipassive marker (AP) and reducing the valency of the verb to an intransitive verb with a single argument (S). The prefix *geu-* attached to the verb *sampah* is a third-person marker cross-referenced to the A/S (*Gopyan*).

Research related to passive and antipassive in Austronesian languages has been carried out by many language researchers in the world. In Sasak language itself, which is an Austronesian language, there are at least quite a number of published articles discussing passive construction including those conducted by Muhid (2014) and Johandi (2017). The research conducted by Muhid (2014) on Sasak language used in central Lombok shows that the passive construction of the dialect can be formed by using prefix *te-*, confix *te- -an/in, ke- -an* and *ken- -an*, which functions as a passive marker (PAS). This research also shows that passive construction can appear with unmarked verbs. All of these passive forms are complemented by the 'by phrase' with the preposition *isiq*, in which its presence can be removed (optional). Differ to Muhid, Johandi (2017) examined Sasak language used in the eastern part of Lombok. The result of his research shows that passive construction can be formed by adding prefixes *ke-*, confix *ke- -an* and no morphological markers. In passive with no morphological marker, the A is undeletable. This usually occurs when the A is a third person singular (3SG).

For antipassive construction, researches related to Sasak language so far has only been conducted by foreign researchers. One of them is Asikin-Garmager (2017) who discusses the Sasak antipassive construction in his dissertation entitled 'Sasak Voice'. His findings show that in Sasak language used in some parts of the central, eastern and northern Lombok the antipassive markers (AP) lay on the use of nasal prefixes (***m-**ace* 'read', ***nen-**alèt* 'plant', ***meny-**èran* 'hunt') attached to the transitive verbs. The addition of the nasal prefix causes the A to change its function into S and the O from the underlying construction is deleted.

By looking at the results of the previous researches on Sasak passive and antipassive construction, it would be very interesting to also see the formation of these constructions specifically in Sasak Kuto-Kute dialect (SKD). The purpose of this study is to look at the forms of passive and antipassive constructions in SKD in terms of valency decrease mechanism, which are limited to the list of 70 verbs from Andrej Malchukov and Bernard Comrie (2010).

2. Research Method

The research method used in this study is a qualitative descriptive method due to the purpose of this method is in accordance to the purpose of the study that wants to describe the language data naturally. The data is collected based on the language phenomena that are indeed used by the speakers of SKD while still taking into account that the collected data is grammatically and semantically acceptable. In its implementation, there were three stages conducted: (1) the initial stage; the qualitative researcher see everything that is still in place in general, (2) the second stage; the stage of reduction or focus by selecting which data is important, useful, and new to be grouped into various categories that are determined as the focus of the research, and (3) the third stage or selection stage; the researcher describes the focus into more detail and conduct in-depth analysis of the data and the obtained information. The data were collected using the list of 70 verbs proposed by Andrej Malchukov and Bernard Comrie (2010) and analyzed using the theory of linguistic typology proposed by Dixon (2012). The data

collection was carried out in 7 villages within the Tanjung district, namely the villages of Sigar Penjalin, Sokong, Medana, Tanjung, Teniga, Jenggala and Tegal Maja.

3. Discussion

Passive and antipassive are two constructions among several that can be used to reduce the valency of a verb. Generally, both constructions derived from transitive clauses forming intransitive clauses. Both constructions have several similarities and differences. To know the characteristics of these two constructions, Dixon (2010: 206 - 208) distinguishes the two as follows. The criteria for canonical passive derivative forms that can be applied to transitive clauses include:
(a) apply to the underlying transitive clause and forms a derivative intransitive clause;
(b) the NP of the original object (O) becomes the subject (S) of the intransitive clause;
(c) the NP of the original agent (A) enters the peripheral function, marked by a non-core case, preposition, and so on; this NP can be deleted with an option of including it; and
(d) there are some explicit formal markers in passive construction, such as the morphological process (affixation) on the verb or periphrastic verbal construction as found in English.
The criteria for canonical antipassive derivative forms include:
(a) apply to the underlying transitive clause and forms a derivative intransitive clause;
(b) the NP of the original agent (A) becomes the subject (S) of the intransitive clause;
(c) the NP of the original object (O) enters the peripheral function, marked by a non-core case, preposition, and so on; this NP can be deleted with an option of including it; and
(d) there are some explicit formal markers of antipassive construction (probably similar to those as in passive construction).

Based on the mentioned criteria, it is known that the differences between passive and antipassive constructions lay in points (b) and (c) where the main focus is on deriving the S and O functions. In the passive construction, the S function in the intransitive clause is filled by O from the transitive clause and the original A becomes the peripheral argument, whereas the antipassive construction applies vice versa: the S function is filled by A from the transitive clause and O becomes the peripheral argument. To figure out the forms of passive and antipassive constructions in SKD, the next discussion will explain some examples of sentences found in the data.

3.1 Passive

Passive construction in SKD can appear in several forms. One of them is through the marking on the verb or called the morphological marker. An example of this construction is found in sentence (2):

(2) *Ku   ke-lelè-n-nya*
    1SG PASS-laugh-*n*-3SG
    'I **was laughed (at)** (by him)'

Sentence (2) has a morphologically passive marker on the verb. The marker is the confix *ke- -n* (an allomorph of *ke- -an*), which is marked PAS (passive) and attached to the verb *lelèq* (laugh). Example (2) is the derivation of the transitive active sentence *Ia ngelelèn ku* 'He laughed at me'. In the passive construction, the A (*Ia* 'He') of the active sentence moves to the position after the verb and the O (*ku* 'I') occupies the grammatical S position. The movement of A into the peripheral position, in this case, is not marked by the use of the 'by' preposition or in SKD is known as the *siq* preposition, therefore the A argument can appear as a post-clitic attached to the

verb. However, the post-clitic is optional because it is a peripheral argument, which can be seen clearly through its complete construction *Ku kelelèn siq ia* 'I was laughed (at) by him'. It should be noted that in SKD if the A is a 3SG its appearance in the passive construction can be in the form of post-clitic.

Differ to sentence (2), sentences (3) - (8) are passive constructions that are syntactically marked. See the following examples:

(3) *Terijen nu   **ng-isin   siq**   Dimas*
    Jerry can DEF N-fill   PREP Dimas
    'The jerry can **is filled** by Dimas'

(4) *Kupi **m-bait**   siq Andi*
    Coffee N-take PREP Andi
    'The coffee **was taken** by Andi'

(5) *Sampi nu **taliq-ang** siq   Rudi kon lolon kayuq*
    Cow DEF tie-*ang* PREP Rudi on tree
    'The cow **was tied** by Rudi on the tree'

(6) *Jejojaq baronya   **demen-ang** siq   beaq mama nu*
    Toy new-POSS like-*ang*   PREP child boy   DEF
    'The new toy **was liked** by the boy'

(7) *Beaq berik nu   **ng-aran-in** siq   tau   lokaq nu*
    Child little DEF N-name-*in* PREP man old   DEF
    'The child **was given a name/named** by the old man'

(8) *Gabahnya   **ng-goro-in** siq   amaq*
    Grain-POSS N-dry-*in* PREP father
    'His grain **was dried** by father'

The six sentences use different forms of verbs in their passive construction. Data (3) and (4) take the nasal form, data (5) and (6) use verbs with suffix *-ang*, while data (7) and (8) use verbs with confix *N- -in*. However, there are similarities among the six sentences, namely the use of *siq* preposition as the passive marker. These sentences derive from active transitive constructions with two core arguments: A and O. When forming a passive construction, the valency of the verbs decreases to intransitive verbs with a core argument functioning as grammatical S and a peripheral argument marked by the preposition *siq* 'by' positioned before the NP. O is promoted into grammatical S, while A is demoted into a peripheral argument with preposition *siq*. In this case, the *siq* preposition is the only syntactic marker that states the six sentences as passive constructions.

In contrast to Dixon (2012: 206) who stated that there are explicit formal markers on passive constructions, in SKD it was found that there are passive constructions with no morphological or syntactic markers. Here are a few examples:

(9) *Ku **takut-in-nya**   kon rorong*
    1SG scare-in-3SG on   road
    'I **was scared/frightened** (by him) on the road'

Sentence (9) shows that the form of a passive sentence in SKD does not necessarily have to be marked by a morphological or syntactic marker. The above construction is known as a passive construction because it is a derivation of the active construction *Ia nakutin ku kon rorong* 'He scares me on the road', where A falls into the position of a non-core argument and O occupies the grammatical S position. The use of *siq* preposition in the above sentence can be placed before the non-core argument (*ia* 'he'), however, in general, this form is rarely used. Based on the observation, if the A of the active sentence is a singular pronoun, either first (*ku* 'me'), second (*diq* 'you') and third (*ia* 'he'), as well as first plural pronoun (*kami* 'us'), then the *siq* preposition can be removed. However, if the *siq* preposition is deleted, only the third singular pronoun (*ia*) can turn into a post-clitic (*-nya*) attached to the verb as seen in example (9). As for other pronouns (*ku, diq* and *kami*), the forms remain the same and they cannot be changed into post-clitics. The following examples illustrate this:

(10) *Cangkir nu   taoq diq   kon bon meja*
    Cup DEF put 2SG on   top table
    'The cup **was placed** (by you) on top of the table'

(11) *Bale   nu   pengaq   kami*
    House DEF built   1PL
    'The house **was built** by us'

(12) *Meong nu pelewas ku*
    Cat DEF throw 2PL
    'The cat **was thrown** (by me)'

3.2 Antipassive

Antipassive construction was also found in the data of SKD. Antipassive is a construction that can be used to reduce the verb's valence by making the A in the transitive clause into S in the intransitive clause, which is then followed by changing the function of the O to a non-core/peripheral argument or omitting/deleting the O argument. The examples of antipassive sentences in SKD are as follow:

(13a) *Amangku **meny-èran** baq gawah*
    Father-POSS AP-hunt on rice field
    'My father **hunt** on the rice field'

(13b) *Amangku **ny-èran** terata baq gawah*
    Father-POSS ACT-hunt chicken forest on rice field
    'My father **hunt** forest chicken on the rice field'

(14a) *Tau mama nu **ng-enang-ang***
    Person man DEF N-go-AP
    'The man has **left/died**'

(14b) *Tau mama nu **ng-enang** balen amanya*
    Person man DEF ACT-go house-POSS father-POSS
    'The man **left** his father's house'

(15a) *Ia girang* **me-lakoq-lakoq** *kon jalan*
 3SG like AP-ask-ask on road
 'He likes **to beg** on the road'

(15b) *Ia girang* **lakoq** *kepeng kon jalan*
 3SG like Øask money on road
 'He likes **begging** for money on the road'

  Sentences (13a) - (15a) are antipassive constructions, while sentences (13b) - (15b) are the underlying active transitive constructions. From the four examples, it can be seen that in the antipassive constructions there are formal markers attached to the verb. The antipassive (AP) markers are the nasal prefix *meny-* and *me-* attached to the base word *seran* 'hunt', *saluk* 'wear' and *lakoq* 'ask', and the confix *ng- -ang* attached to the word *enang* 'go'. All the S in the antipassive constructions are the A from transitive active constructions. In these sentences, it can be seen that the two core arguments, which were in the position before the verb (S and A) are both actors. The use of these affixes has reduced the valency of verbs that initially required two core arguments to verbs with only one core argument.

4. Novelties

  Referring to Dixon's statement (2012: 206) that passive constructions have explicit markings either on the verbs directly or as a periphrastic verbal construction, it was found that in this dialect some passive sentences have no markings at all. The examples are on sentences (10) – (12). The case was found to apply only to sentences where the A of the underlying transitive clauses are singular pronouns (*ku* 'I', *diq* 'you' and *ia* 's/he') or the plural pronoun *kami* 'we'.

5. Conclusion

  From the above analysis, it can be concluded that the passive construction in SKD can appear in 3 forms, namely the use of morphological markers on the verb through confix *ke- -n*, the use of syntactic markers *siq* 'by' preposition, and the passive construction, which can only be detected from the movements of the arguments (no markers). For the third form, this construction can only appear if the A in the active sentence is a singular pronoun, either first (*I* 'me'), second (*diq* 'you') and third (*ia* 'he'), and first plural pronoun (*kami* 'we'). The syntactic passive marker in SKD is very productive and more common compared to the morphological marker. As for the antipassive construction, in this dialect, it was found that the construction is only formed through morphological marking. The AP markers found in the data are nasal prefixes of *meny-* and *me-*, and confix *ng- -ang*.

6. Acknowledgements

Abbreviation

A	agent	ACT	active	AP	antipassive
DEF	definite	O	object	P	patient
PASS	passive	PL	plural	POSS	possessive
PREP	preposition	PROG	progressive	S	subject
SG	singular	SKD	Sasak Kuto-Kute Dialect		

References

Artawa, I Ketut dan Jufrizal. 2018. *Tipologi Linguistik: Konsep Dasar dan Aplikasinya*. Denpasar: Pustaka Larasan.

Dixon, R. M. W. and Alexandra Aikhenvald. 2000. *Changing Valency: Case Studies in Transitivity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dixon, R. M. W. 2012. *Basic Linguistic Theory. Volume 3: Further Grammatical Topics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hanafi, Nurachman. 2006. *Problema Bahasa Indonesia*. Mataram: Mataram University Press.

Johandi, Lalu Mohamad. 2017. An Analysis of Sasak Syntactic Structure on the Forms of Passivization as Used in Ngeno-Ngene Dialect at Rarang Village of East Lombok. *The Indonesia Journal of Language and Language Teaching (IJOLT)*. Vol 2, No. 2. pp. 60 – 61.

Malchukov, Andrej and Bernard Comrie. 2010. *The Leipzig Valency Classes Project's Database Questionnaire Manual*. http://valpal.info/public/valencydbquestionnaire manual.pdf (accessed 26/5/2018).

Muhid, Abdul. 2014. Passive Construction in Sasak. *Humanitatis (Journal on Language and Literature)*. Vol 1, No.1. pp. 29 – 38.

Palmer, F.R. 1994. *Grammatical Roles and Relations*. Cambridge: CUP.

Biography of Author

Nurul Azizah is currently a doctoral student studying at Udayana University, Bali, Indonesia. She accomplished her undergraduate degree in 2005 from Mataram University and a Master's Degree in 2009 from UHAMKA, Jakarta. Both majoring in English. Her interest is in morpho-syntax.