

Agentless Passives in Tanjung Pauh Mudik Kerinci
 Timothy Mckinnon, Peter Cole, Gabriella Hermon
 University of Delaware

This talk will focus on the argument structure of passives in Tanjung Pauh Mudik (TPM), a dialect of Kerinci spoken in the western region of the Jambi province, Sumatra. TPM, much like the Sungai Penuh dialect described in Steinhauer & Usman (1978) and Prentice & Usman (1978), exhibits a rich system of word-final morphophonological alternations, with most non-functional roots taking two forms (termed Absolute/Oblique). Among other things, these alternations function to mark possession by a discourse salient 3rd person entity, definiteness, and changes in lexical class. This study focuses on the argument structure properties associated with this alternation, especially in agentless passive constructions.

From the traditional generative perspective, the derivation of passive structures results from A-movement motivated by the correlated inability of a passivized transitive root to license accusative case and its failure to license an external argument (Burzio's Generalization: Burzio, 1986). As in numerous other languages, the Standard Indonesian passive marked by the prefix *di-* optionally permits a "demoted" non-agent to appear overtly within a by-phrase, either preceded by *oleh* or in an immediately postverbal position.

The critical fact we would like to emphasize is that despite the non-agent status of the agent in these structures, agent-oriented adverbs like *dengan sengaja* 'deliberately' are permitted. Agent oriented adverbs are felicitous even when the agent is not overtly realized in a by-phrase:

- (1) Siti dipukul (oleh Tono) dengan sengaja.
 Siti PASS+hit (by Tono) with intention
 "Siti was hit (by Tono) on purpose."

Under a Burzio-type passive analysis, when the agent is not overtly present in (1), the agent is not represented syntactically in the structure of the sentence. How, then, is the agent-oriented adverb in (1) licensed if the agent phrase is not present? One hypothesis is that licensing of the adverb is semantic, not syntactic: namely, entailment of an agent in the verb's meaning is a sufficient condition for the presence of an agent oriented adverb.

TPM presents a problem for the semantic hypothesis. In TPM, *di-* passives appear with either the Absolute (A) or the Oblique (O) forms of transitive verbal roots. When the O-form appears in the passive, an agent may optionally appear. As in SI, the agent must be preceded by 'by' or it must directly follow the verb. Just as in SI, agent oriented adverbs are permitted with O-form passives regardless of whether or not the agent is overtly realized:

- (2) kurs+j ineh ditukɔn (wət Sit+j) diŋɔn səŋadʒu.
 chair this PASS+hit(obl.) by Siti with intention
 'This chair was hit (by Siti) intentionally.'

In contrast, in the A form of *di-* passives, no overt agent by-phrase is permitted:

- (3) kurs+j ineh ditukɔə (*wət Sit+j)
 chair this PASS+hit(Abs.) by Siti
 "This chair was hit."

Surprisingly, however, agent oriented adverbs cannot appear in agentless passives when the absolute form of the verb is employed:

- (4) *kurs+j ineh ditukɔə diŋɔn səŋadʒu.
 chair this PASS+hit(Abs.) with intention

If we adopt the hypothesis that agent-oriented adverbs are licensed as a result of the agentive **meaning** of the verb root, we are at a loss to explain the ungrammaticality of sentences like (4). This is because the meaning of the transitive root [tukɔə] 'hit' clearly entails an agent.

The contrast between O and A passives motivates the hypothesis that there exists a **syntactic** level of argument structure that is distinct from the semantic representation of the meaning of the verb. At this level O-form passives (and SI passives) project the agentive properties responsible for the licensing of the agent oriented adverb (whatever those might be). Such agentive properties are absent from form A structures.

In our presentation we shall explore the empirical and theoretical implications of this hypothesis.

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