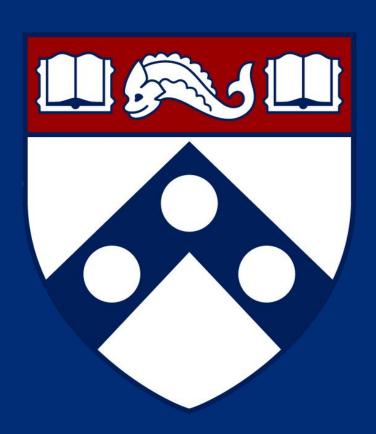


# Ki-passives in Budai Rukai

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#### Overview

- Most Formosan languages, Austronesian languages spoken in Taiwan, use a Philippine-type voice system (Aldridge 2004, Himmelmann 2005, Chen 2017).
- Rukai stands out unique as it uses nominative-accusative alignment with an active-passive voice distinction (Starosta 1995, Zeitoun 2000, 2008, 2023, Chen 2008).
- This study re-investigates the passive construction marked by *ki* in Budai Rukai (a Rukai variety) and argues that *ki*-passives are not true passives from the perspective of (non-)canonical passives (Legate 2021).
- Major claims:
- Themes in *ki*-passives pattern with grammatical subjects in AV.
- Themes in *ki*-passives are base-generated as thematic subjects.
- Agents in *ki*-passives are demoted to optional adjuncts.
- *Ki*-passives are non-canonical passives.

#### Themes as grammatical subjects

- $\triangleright$  Themes in ki-passives are grammatical subjects in A-positions.
- Themes serve as controlled PRO.
  - (1) a. Kay Lavurase, ma-lrase [PRO lrumay ki vavalake]. this Lavurase STAT.AV.REAL-hate [PRO hit OBL child] 'Lavurase hates hitting children.'
    - b. Kay Lavurase, ma-lrase [PRO ki-lrumay ki sinsi]. this Lavurase STAT.AV.REAL-hate [PRO PASS-hit OBL teacher] 'Lavurase hates being hit by the teacher.'
    - c. Ma-kiwc=aku [PRO kai ki-tukucingalre]. STAT.AV.REAL-afraid=1SG.NOM [PRO NEG PASS-value] 'I am afraid of not being taken seriously.'
- Themes bear nominative, like active subjects but not objects.
  - (2) a. Wa-lrumay ki tawpungu ka Lavurase.

    AV.REAL-hit OBL dog NOM Lavurase
    - 'Lavurase hit the dog.'

      b. Ki-a-lrumay ki Lavurase ka tawpungu.

      PASS-REAL-hit OBL Lavurase NOM dog

      'The dog was hit by Lavurase.'
- Themes license floating quantifiers, like active subjects but not objects.
  - (3) a. Wa-senay **makanaelre** ka la-sinsi (✓) i-gaku (✓). AV.REAL-sing **all** NOM PL-teacher (**all**) LOC-school (**all**) 'All the teachers sang at school.'
    - b. Kay sinsi, wa-lrumay **makanaelre** ki la-panudhu (🗸) i-gaku (🗡). this teacher AV.REAL-hit **all** OBL PL-student (**all**) LOC (\***all**) 'This teacher hit all the students at school.'
    - c. Ki-a-lrumay **makanaelre** ka la-panudhu ( ) i-gaku ( ). PASS-REAL-hit **all** NOM PL-student (**all**) LOC-school (**all**) 'All the students were hit at school.'

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- Themes can be topicalized, like active subjects but not objects.
  - (4) a. **Ka Lavurase**, wa-lrumay ki tawpungu. **NOM Lavurase** AV.REAL-hit OBL dog 'Lavurase hit the dog.'
    - b. \*Ki tawpungu, wa-lrumay ka Lavurase.

      OBL dog AV.REAL-hit NOM Lavurase

      'Lavurase hit the dog.'
    - c. **Ka tawpungu**, ki-a-lrumay ki Lavurase. **NOM dog** PASS-REAL-hit OBL Lavurase

      'The dog was hit by Lavurase.'

- Themes can undergo *wh*-movement with finite verbs, like active subjects but not objects. If objects are moved, the object voice (OV) with a bare verb has to be used.
  - (5) a. Aneane ka wa-lrumay ki tawpungu? who NOM AV.REAL-hit OBL dog 'Who hit the dog?'
    - b. Manemane ka (\*wa-)lrumay ki Lavurase? what NOM (\*AV.REAL-)OV.hit GEN Lavurase 'What did Lavurase hit?'
    - c. Manemane ka **ki-a-lrumay** ki Lavurase? what NOM **PASS-REAL-hit** OBL Lavurase 'What was hit by Lavurase?'
- Themes can be relativized with finite verbs, like active subjects but not objects. If objects are relativized, the object voice (OV) with a bare verb has to be used.
  - (6) a. M-u<a>bere ka wa-lrumay ki tawpungu ka lasu. AV-<REAL>escape NOM AV.REAL-hit OBL dog REL male 'The man that hit the dog escaped.
    - b. M-u<a>bere ka (\*wa-)lrumay ki Lavurase ka tawpungu. AV-<REAL>escape NOM (\*AV.REAL-)OV.hit GEN Lavurase REL dog 'The dog that Lavurase hit escaped.'
    - c. M-u<a>bere ka **ki-a-lrumay** ki Lavurase ka tawpungu. AV-<REAL>escape NOM **PASS-REAL-hit** OBL Lavurase REL dog 'The dog that was hit by Lavurase escaped.'

### Themes as thematic subjects

- $\succ$  Themes in ki-passives are not raised from a thematic object position but base-generated in a thematic subject position.
- Themes are assigned an affectee theta-role; hence unaffected themes are disallowed.
  - (7) a. ??Ki-a-dreele ka taetale.
    PASS-REAL-see NOM chair
    'The chair was seen.'
    - b. \*Lu ikay Amilrika, ki-a-kawriva ka Amilrialrikane. when LOC America PASS-REAL-speak NOM English 'English is spoken in America.'
- Themes can be strengthened to agentive interpretations, allowing an agent-oriented adverb or a rational clause.
  - (8) a. Ki-a-pwalra **ranaw** ki kisace ka Lavurase. PASS-REAL-catch **intentionally** OBL police NOM Lavurase 'Lavurase intentionally got arrested by the police.'
    - b. Ki-a-pwalra ki kisace ka Lavurase [pakay ku a-mwa-ane ki tinse]. PASS-REAL-catch OBL police NOM Lavurase [for OBL FUT-go-NMLZ OBL TV] 'Lavurase got arrested by the police in order to show up on TV.'
- Themes are not restricted to patients/themes in actives, but can be goals with an affectee interpretation in unaccusative constructions.
  - (9) a. Wa-kela ki Lavurase ka Muni. AV.REAL-come OBL Lavurase NOM Muni 'Muni comes to Lavurase (uninvited).'
    - b. Ki-a-kela ki Muni ka Lavurase.

      PASS-REAL-come OBL Muni NOM Lavurase

      'Lavurase was affected by Muni's uninvited coming (to him).'

#### Selected references

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## Agents as oblique

- $\triangleright$  Agents in ki-passives are **demoted 'by-phrase' adjuncts**.
- Agents in *ki*-passives bear oblique case, different from genitive agents in OV.
- (10) a. Ka Muni, ki-a-ka-dalame **nakwane**. NOM Muni PASS-REAL-STAT-like **1SG.OBL** 'Muni is loved by me.'
  - b. Ka Muni, ka-dalame=li.

    NOM Muni STAT-OV.like=1SG.GEN

    'I love Muni.'
- Agents in *ki*-passives are optional, different from obligatory agents in OV.
- (11) a. Ki-a-ka-dalame (ki Lavurase) ka Muni. PASS-REAL-STAT-like (OBL Lavurase) NOM Muni 'Muni is loved (by Lavurase).'
  b. Ka-dalame \*(ki Lavurase) ka Muni. STAT-OV.like \*(GEN Lavurase) NOM Muni

'Lavurase loves Muni.'

- Agents in *ki*-passives are freely ordered with themes, different from agents in OV.
- (12) a. Ki-a-ka-dalame [ki Lavurase] [ka Muni] (✓).

  PASS-REAL-STAT-like [OBL Lavurase] [NOM Muni] (Lavurase)

  'Muni is loved by Lavurase.'
  - b. Ka-dalame [ki Lavurase] [ka Muni] (\*\*).

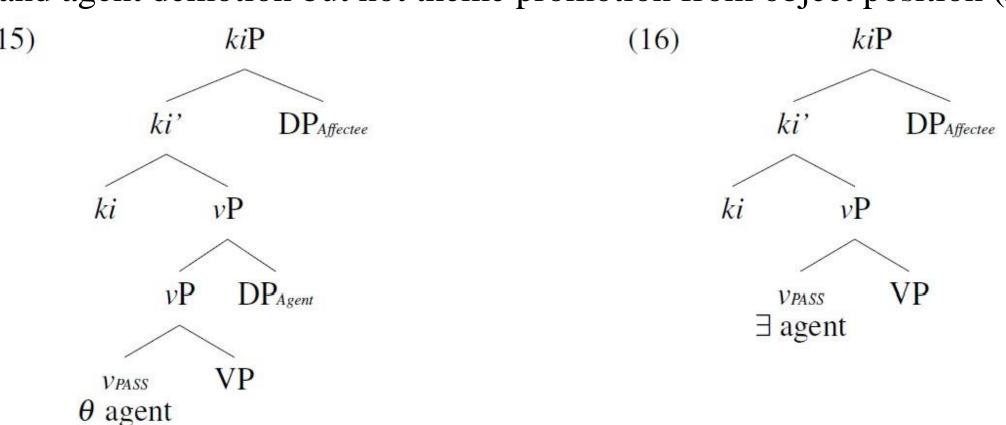
    STAT-OV.like [GEN Lavurase] [NOM Muni] (\*\*Lavurase)

    'Lavurase loves Muni.'
- Covert agents in *ki*-passives are interpreted existentially not pronominally, as they can be questioned and do not introduce discourse referents.
- (13) a. Ki-a-lrumay ka tawpungu, ay kai=naku wa-thingale lu ka aneane.

  PASS-REAL-hit NOM dog but NEG=1SG.NOM AV.REAL-know COMP KA who 'The dog was hit, but I don't know by whom.'
  - b. Dreel-a ki Lavurase<sub>i</sub>! Ki-a-lrumay #(iniane<sub>i</sub>) ka tawpungu. see-IMP OBL Lavurase PASS-REAL-hit 3SG.OBL NOM dog 'Look at Lavurase! The dog was hit #(by him).'
- Agents cannot be extracted via *wh*-movement or relativization, either with a finite verb expected of subjects or with a bare verb expected of objects.
  - (14) a. \*Aneane ka {ki-a-lrumay / ki-lrumay } {ka / ki } tawpungu? who NOM {PASS-REAL-hit / PASS-hit } {NOM / GEN } dog 'By whom was the dog hit?'
    - b. \*M-u<a>bere ka {ki-a-lrumay / ki-lrumay} {ka / ki} tawpungu ka lasu. AV-<REAL>escape NOM {PASS-REAL-hit / PASS-hit} {NOM / GEN} dog REL male 'The man by whom the dog was hit escaped.'

# Analysis

- The morpheme ki- is a syntactic head selecting a base-generated argument with an affectee theta-role as its specifier and a passive vP as its complement.
- *Ki*-passives in Budai Rukai thus partially pattern with Vietnamese *bi*-passives (Bruening and Tran 2015) and Mandarin *bei*-passives (Huang 1999).
- *Ki*-passives in Budai Rukai are non-canonical passives, with only morphological marking and agent demotion but not theme promotion from object position (Legate 2021).



# Acknowledgements