

## The Indonesian Non-agentive Eventive Construction: an analysis of *ke-an* verbs

**Background:** In this paper, we present an analysis on the structures of Indonesian *ke-an* verbs in a Distributed Morphology framework. In accordance to their distribution and interpretations, we argue that *ke-an* verbs have the following features: (i) non-adversative, (ii) significant for locative interpretation, (iii) non-agentive, (iv) eventive, (v) the structure of one-argument *ke-an* verbs correspond to the unaccusative verbs, and (vi) the structure of two-argument *ke-an* verbs involves an applicative construction.

***Ke-an* verbs are non-adversative:** *Ke-an* verbs are actually non-adversative because not all of them are adversative (1). In fact, their adversative interpretation depends on their argument(s) (2) or in which context they appear (3).

***Ke-an* verbs are locative:** On the other hand, the two-argument *ke-an* verbs are actually significant for their locative interpretation, which is reflected in the directional interpretation between the subject DP and object DP, i.e. the object DP is either in the direction to the subject DP (4) or going away from the subject DP (5).

***Ke-an* verbs are non-agentive:** Unlike the active N-/φ verbs (7), the subject DP of *ke-an* verbs is never an agent or a causer (6). *Ke-an* verbs are different from the passive DI-verbs (8) because they cannot be followed by an optional agentive prepositional phrase. *Ke-an* verbs are also different from N-/φ verbs and DI-verbs because they cannot be modified by manner adverbial and instrumental phrase.

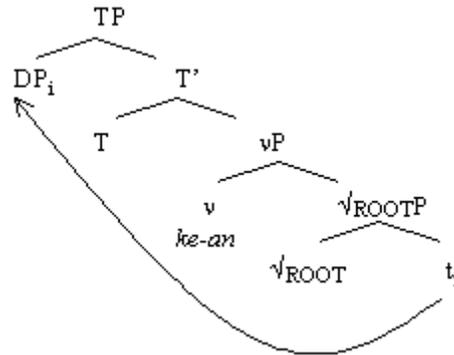
***Ke-an* verbs are eventive:** The eventivity of *ke-an* verbs is evidenced by the following tests: (i) In contrast to stative verbs (9), *ke-an* verbs generally have past orientation (10) (Katz (2003)), (ii) *ke-an* verbs can be modified by an adverb such as *in an hour* without losing a stative interpretation (11) (Katz (2003)), and (iii) when modified by an adverb such as *at three o'clock*, Indonesian speakers perceive the eventive interpretation, not the stative one (12).

**Analysis:** In the Distributed Morphology framework, it is assumed that words are inserted into the syntactic operations as category neutral components (ROOT). ROOTs are verbalized in a verbal environment Marantz (1997). It is also assumed that the head that projects the external argument is different from the one that projects the internal argument (Kratzer (1996), Marantz (1997)). Based on these two accounts, I assume that one-argument *ke-an* verbs are derived by inserting a root into a verbal environment. The *ke-an* circumfix is the overt representation of the v head that verbalize the root, and this v head does not project an external argument. The structure of one-argument *ke-an* verbs is represented in (13). However, the structure in (13) is not compatible for the two-argument *ke-an* verbs. That *ke-an* verbs can have more than one argument indicate the presence of an applicative construction in their structure. There are two types of applicative construction: high applicative and low applicative. The characteristics of a sentence containing a high applicative construction are: (i) there is no directionality between the applied and internal arguments and (ii) in passive, either the internal argument or the applied argument can be a subject. The characteristics of the low applicative ones are: (i) there is directionality between the applied and internal arguments and (ii) in passive, only the internal argument can be a subject. *Ke-an* verbs pattern with the low applicative construction because (i) the two-argument *ke-an* verbs have locative interpretation and (ii) only the locative argument can be in the subject position. The structure of one-argument *ke-an* verbs is represented in (14).

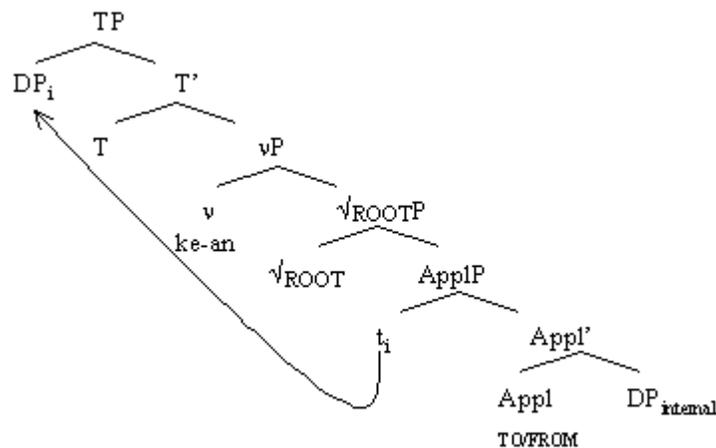
1. Rumah itu **kebakaran**  
House that KE-burn-AN  
'The house caught fire.' → non-adversative (Sneddon, 1996)
2. Rumahnya **kebakaran**  
House-3sg KE-burn-AN  
'His house caught fire.' → indirectly adversative (Sneddon, 1996)
3. Joni<sub>i</sub> sangat senang waktu rumahnya<sub>i</sub> kebakaran, karena artinya dia<sub>i</sub> akan dapat uang asuransi.  
'Joni<sub>i</sub> was very happy when his<sub>i</sub> house caught fire as he<sub>i</sub> would get some money from the insurance.'
4. Joni kejatuhan (ama) mangga.  
Joni KE-fall-AN by/with mango  
'Joni was fallen on by a mango.' → Directional as the mango ended at Joni's body.
5. Joni kecopetan dompet.  
Joni KE-steal-AN wallet  
'Joni's wallet was stolen.' → Directional as when the wallet was stolen, it was with Joni.
6. Wati \*(buru-buru) kecopetan dompet \*((ama) Bobi) \*(pake sihir)  
Wati RED-hurry KE-steal-AN wallet by/with Bobi use magic  
*Wati's wallet was \*(immediately) stolen \*(by Bobi) \*(with magic).*  
Cf. \* *Wati stole a wallet.*
7. Bobi (buru-buru) nyopet dompet Wati (pake sihir).  
Bobi RED-hurry N-steal wallet Wati use magic  
*Bobi (immediately) stole Wati's wallet (with magic).*
8. Dompet Wati (buru-buru) dicopet ((ama) Bobi) (pake sihir)  
Wallet Wati RED-hurry DI-steal by/with Bobi with magic  
*Wati's wallet was (immediately) stolen (by Bobi) (with magic).*
9. Aku yakin Joni suka Wati.  
*I'm sure that Joni likes Wati.* → *tahu* 'to know' is present in respect to *yakin* 'sure'.
10. Aku yakin Joni kejatuhan mangga.  
*I'm sure that Joni was fallen on by a mango.* → *kejatuhan* 'to be fallen on by' is past in respect to *yakin* 'sure'.
11. Joni sebagian makanan dalam waktu semenit.  
Joni KE-share-AN eat-AN in time one.minute  
'Joni got shared food in a minute.'

12. Joni kejatuhan mangga pada jam tiga  
 Joni KE-fall-AN mango at hour/watch three  
 Eventive interpretation: 'At three o'clock, the mango fell on Joni.'  
 Stative interpretation: \*'At three o'clock, Joni is in the state of having a mango on him because the mango fell.'

13.



14.



**Selected references:**

Folli, Raffaella and Harley, Heidi (2003) Consuming results in Italian & English: Flavours of v. ms., University of Oxford and University of Arizona.

Marantz, A. (1997). No escape from syntax: Don't try morphological analysis in the privacy of your own lexicon. In A. Dimitriadis, & L. Siegel, (Eds.), *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics*, 4.2 (pp. 201-225). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics.

McGinnis, Martha. 2001. Variation in the Phase Structure of Applicatives. In J. Rooryck, P.Pica, Eds., *Linguistic Variations Yearbook*, John Benjamins.

Pylkkänen, Liina. 2002. Introducing arguments. Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Mass.

Sneddon, James Neil. 1996. *Indonesian: a Comprehensive Grammar*. London and New York: Routledge.