

Standard Indonesian *ter-* as a stativisation marker

Summary. This paper proposes new insight on the verbal prefix *ter-* by comparing its behaviour to the one of canonical passive *di-* in spoken (near-)Standard Indonesian. Based on novel fieldwork data with speakers from Java, I propose a unified analysis of *ter-* as a stativisation/anti-eventive marker, whose various further readings (abilitative, accidental passive) are derived pragmatically and semantically.

Data. a) Background. Sneddon (2010) reports 3 different uses for *ter-*: the “stative”, the “accidental passive” often contrasted with passive *di-*, and the “abilitative” which occurs under negation, cf. (1-3).

- (1) Surat itu **ter-tulis** dalam bahasa Inggris. Stative use
 letter that TER-write in language English
 ‘That letter **is written** in English.’
- (2) Tas-nya **{di-tinggal-kan / ter-tinggal}**di perpustakaan. Accidental use
 bag-3SG PASS-leave-APPL TER-leave in library
 with *di-*: ‘The bag **was left (deliberately)** in the library.’
 with *ter-*: ‘The bag **was left (accidentally)** in the library.’
- (3) Mobil semahal itu **tidak ter-beli** oleh saya. Abilitative use
 car expensive that NEG TER-buy by 1SG
 ‘I **can’t afford to buy** a car as expensive as that.’

b) Fieldwork data shows that *ter-* and *di-*prefixed verbs differ in five regards. First, *di-*prefixed verbs preserve the agent as an argument, while *ter-*prefixed ones do not, as illustrated by the availability of goal-PPs (Bruening 2013) with the first ones, not the second, cf. (4). Further, $\frac{2}{3}$ speakers found agent sluicing with *ter-*verbs weird, cf. (5a), and spontaneously suggested to replace it by *knapa* ‘why’ (cause sluicing, cf. (5b)), showing that agents are not preserved as latent issues with *ter-* (AnderBois 2010).

- (4) Rumah **{✓di-bakar / #terbakar}** untuk men-dapat-kan uang asuransi.
 House di-burn / ter-burn for men-obtain-APP money insurance
 ‘The house was burnt **in order to receive the insurance money**.’
- (5) a. Ali **{✓di-sakiti / ??ter-sakiti}**,tetapi saya tidak tahu oleh siapa.
 Ali di-hurt / ter-hurt but 1SG NEG know by who
 ‘Ali **was hurt/beaten**, but I don’t know **by whom**.’
 b. Ali **ter-sakiti**, tetapi saya tidak tahu **knapa**.
 Ali ter-hurt but 1SG NEG know why
 ‘Ali **was hurt**, but I don’t know **why**.’

Second, *di-* and *ter-* are almost in complementary distribution, as *di-*prefixed verbs only accept animate agents, cf. (6a), while *ter-*prefixed ones only accept inanimate causers, cf. (6b). The only case where a *ter-*prefixed verb can take an animate causer is with KIND-readings, not with specific entities, cf. (7).

- (6) a. Rumah **{✓di-bakar / #ter-bakar}** oleh penjahat.
 House di-burn / ter-burn by criminal
 ‘The house **was burnt by a criminal**.’
 b. Rumah **{#di-bakar / ✓ter-bakar}**oleh api besar.
 house di-burn / ter-burn by fire big
 ‘The house **was burnt by a big fire**.’
- (7) Siti Nurbaya **ter-baca oleh anak (#itu)**.
 Siti Burbaya ter-read by child DEM
 ✓ ‘Siti Nurbaya is (commonly) **read by children**.’
 # ‘Siti Nurbaya is **read by the child** [we were talking about].’

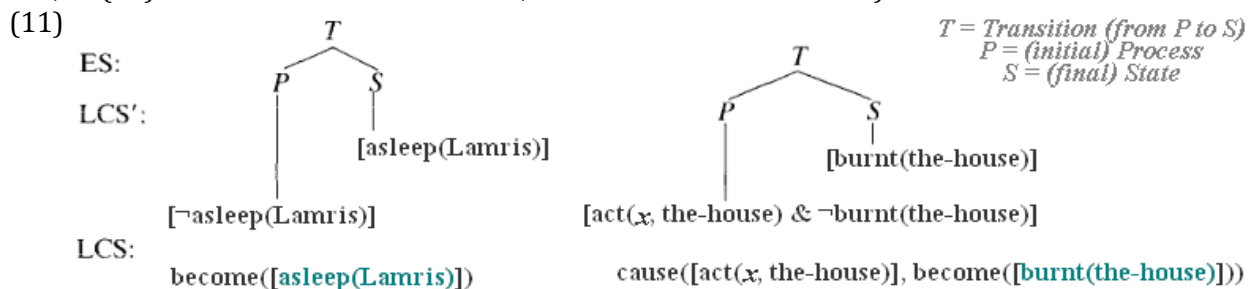
Third, only *ter-* can attach to intransitive verbs, cf. (8). Fourth, *ter-*prefixed verbs behave like statives, cf. their incompatibility with adverbial *perlahan-lahan* ‘slowly’ (Yusof 2005), contrary to *di-*verbs, cf. (9).

- (8) Lamris **{*di-tidur / ✓ter-tidur}**.
 Lamris di-sleep / ter-fall.asleep
 ‘Lamris **is sleeping / has fallen asleep** (by accident).’
- (9) Buku itu **{✓di-baca / #ter-baca}** perlahan-lahan.
 book DEM di-read / ter-read slowly
 ‘This book is read slowly.’

Fifth, *ter-*prefixed verbs can denote states without preceding event, contrary to *di-*verbs, cf. (10).

- (10) Context: you are visiting a newly-built house. You are Pintu **{✓ter-tutup / #di-tutup}**.
 the first one to enter it. You come across a door which was door ter-close di-close
 built closed (it was never open and nobody ever closed it). ‘The door **is closed**.’

Analysis. All five properties presented above show that *di-* behaves like a canonical passive which can only take true agents (namely, animate entities); by contrast, *ter-* prefixed verbs do not seem to have any agent in their structure, and they come with a stative aspect. **a) A stative meaning.** I propose that *ter-* is primarily a stativisation/anti-eventive marker attaching to voiceless projection of verbs (without external argument), which denote $[become(x)]$ for unaccusatives and $[cause(become(x))]$ for transitive verbs. I follow Levin & Rappaport-Hovav (1995) in positing that they denote multiple eventualities, a process/causing event preceding a central state, cf. e.g. (11). *ter-* acts as a valency-reducing operator akin to anticausative, except that it does not strip off any external-argument, as there isn't any in voiceless structures: instead, it simply deletes all eventualities except for the central state. I illustrate the derivation for *bakar rumah* 'burn the house' and *tidur* 'fall asleep' in (12), based on the LCS' (Lexical Conceptual Structure-like) of the two predicates, following the representations of Jackendoff (1983), Pustejovski (1991). (I take *tidur* to denote 'fall asleep', based on its reading in PERF-marked clauses, cf. (13): since it contains a final state, it allows *ter-* to select for it.)



- (12) a. $[[\text{ter-}]](R_{\langle e, vt \rangle}) = \exists R_{\langle e, st \rangle}$
 b. $[[\text{ter-}]](\text{tidur}_{intr}) = [[\text{ter-}]](\text{P-to-S}[\text{asleep(Lamris)}]) = \exists s[\text{asleep(Lamris)}]$
 c. $[[\text{ter-}]](\text{bakar}_{tr}) = [[\text{ter-}]](\text{P-to-S}[\text{burnt(the-house)}]) = \exists s[\text{burnt(the-house)}]$

- (13) Anak-anak **sudah tidur.** (Grangé 2006:(294))
 children-RED PERF fall.asleep

'The children **have fallen asleep** (= they are sleeping).' *not*: 'They have slept (= and are awake)'

My proposal makes two predictions. First, *ter-* should only select predicates that contain $[become(x)]$ in their LCS: verbs denoting single processes/states should not allow for *ter-*, as is borne out in (14). Second, *ter-* should be able to express states without preceding event, which I already showed in (10).

- (14) a. *lari* 'run' $[\text{run}(x)] \Rightarrow *ter\text{-}lari$
 b. *(ber-)napas* 'breathe' $[\text{breathe}(x)] \Rightarrow *ter\text{-}napas$
 c. *ber-tari/men-[t]ari* 'dance' $[\text{dance}(x)] \Rightarrow *ter\text{-}tari$
 d. *rusak* '(be) broken' $[\text{broken}(x)] \Rightarrow *ter\text{-}[r]usak$

b) Deriving the accidental use of *ter-*. I propose that the "accidental passive" use of *ter-* is derived from two pragmatic effects. First, *ter-* is in competition with *di-* taking events caused by a true agent. Thus, events/states caused voluntarily should be expressed with *di-*, not *ter-* (*Maximise Presupposition!*, Heim 1991), creating the implication that *ter-* marked verbs denote accidents. Second, *ter-* denotes a state without a causing event, thus, even though a causing event is theoretically possible (see (5b), (6b)), intransitive *ter-* prefixed verbs are also in competition with their bare counterpart containing $[become(x)]$ in their structure, where the causing event might be voluntary. As a result, (8) gives rise to the implicature that Lamris fell asleep by accident. **c) Deriving the abilitative use of *ter-*.** The "abilitative" use is not a special use arising with special verbs, as negated predicates are all ambiguous between abilitative and stative readings (*Mobil semalah itu tidak ter-beli*, cf (3) = also 'this car is not sold'). I propose that the abilitative reading of *ter-* is derived semantically via a modalisation effect similar to the one arising with imperfectives, cf. (Dowty 1977, Portner 1998). I summarise the gist of the idea in (15), where *terbeli* denotes that there is a sold-state in all possible worlds where the circumstances allow for it. Note that the abilitative use here arises with NEG *tidak*, where it is negated that such circumstances hold for *w*, thus leading to the negated state as a consequence.

- (15) $[[\text{ter-beli}]]$, cf. (3) = $[[\text{ter-}]](\text{buy, P})$ is true at a world *w* iff for all worlds *w'* in $\text{BEST}(\text{Circ, FS, e, P})$ there is a final state *s* deriving from *e* such that $P(w')(s)$ is true.

with *Circ* = the set of circumstances relevant to reaching *s*

FS = the set of propositions which assert that the final state is reached

Thus, all uses of *ter-* as well as its contrasts with passive *di-* can be accounted for by analysing it as a stativisation marker expressing only the central state of predicates lexical conceptual structures.

Selected references. *Grangé (2006). *Temps et Aspect en Indonésien*. *Jackendoff (1983). *Semantics and Cognition*. *Portner (1998). *The Progressive in Modal Semantics*. *Pustejovski (1991). *The syntax of event structure*. *Sneddon (1996). *Indonesian: A comprehensive grammar*.