The Basic Verb Construction in Balinese

Ketut ARTAWA
Udayana University

Analyzing the basic verb construction in Balinese from a voice-typological perspective, this paper has two goals. First, by focusing on the syntactic properties of this construction, it tries to show that it has a number of peculiar properties. It has passive-like properties in which the Patient is the subject, but the verb form is unmarked and the Agent is generally not an adjunct, which is unusual in passive constructions. Second, it describes a split of the third pronominal Agent in order to find its underlying principles. In Low Balinese, the third person pronominal Agent of the basic verb construction is represented as an enclitic –a on the verb. It is a kind of pronominal suffix which can be followed by an Agent adjunct represented by a prepositional phrase, showing that this construction is like a passive construction. The basic construction will also be compared to other Balinese verbal constructions in order to find out to what extent it is a passive one.

1. Introduction

Balinese is a member of the (West) Malayo-Polynesian language group. According to Adelaar (2005), it belongs to the Malayo-Sumbawan subgroup together with (among others) Malayic, Sasak and Sumbawa, the latter two forming the BSS subgroup together with Balinese.[1] Like many west Indonesian languages, Balinese shows remnants of the Austronesian voice system. While many Formosan and Philippine languages reflect the original four-way contrast, in west Indonesian languages including Balinese, this system has undergone a gradual attrition such that these languages only retain a two-way morphological opposition marked by the presence or absence of a nasal verbal prefix. This morphological contrast correlates with the structural opposition of the Patient-subject and the Agent-subject construction. In Balinese, one of these constructions involves a morphologically unmarked 'basic' verb form, and the other a 'nasal' verb (i.e. a verb bearing a nasal prefix). The basic word order of the first construction is Patient-Verb-Agent, while the order of the nasal verb construction is Agent-Verb-Patient.

(1) a. **Basic verb construction**
     Be-ne   godot   tiang.
     meat-DEF   cut   1SG
     'I cut the meat.'

     b. **Nasal verb construction**
     Tiang   ngodot   be
     1SG   cut   meat
     'I cut some meat.'

The focus of this paper is on the first transitive clause structure as in (1a), which I call 'basic verb construction'. Its uses in discourse are described on the basis of data found in a 144 page long novel called *Melancaran ke Sasak* (Srawana 1978). The language in

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[1] See also Blust (2010) for a different classification.

this text is generally Low Balinese. In order to identify the arguments of the basic verb construction, I use the notions of Patient and Agent as macroroles. Patient not only covers the affected patient of verbs like *hit* and *kick*, but also the neutral or unaffected entity found with verbs like *love* and *see*. Conversely, Agent not only covers the agent of *hit* and *kick*, but also the experiencer of *love* and the perceiver of *see*.
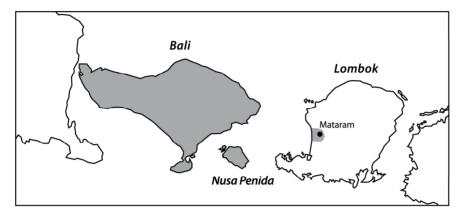

Figure 1. Map of Bali

2. Some basic grammatical and lexical features of Balinese

There are three grammatical and lexical features which I need to describe before discussing the nature of syntactic features and the use of the basic verb construction. The latter consists of a transitive verb with two or three arguments. The argument functions are realized by a pronominal form, a noun phrase or even a complement clause.

The first grammatical feature is concerned with the structure of a noun phrase and how it marks definiteness and indefiniteness. Definiteness of the noun phrase plays a significant role in the word order alternations of the basic verb construction. The second feature is about markedness in intransitive clauses. The third feature is concerned with basic properties of Balinese verbal lexicon.

2.1 Noun phrase structure

In Balinese, as in many other languages, a noun phrase (NP) consists of a noun (the noun head or nominal head), which can be followed by a modifier. Examples:

(2)   *cicing   gede*
      dog   big
      'big dog'

(3)   *jelema   lengeh*
      human   stupid
      'stupid person'

When a noun phrase is definite in a certain discourse context the noun head will be marked by *-e*. This definite marker is usually followed by a deictic word, *ento* 'that' or *ene* 'this'. If not, the structure is ambiguous when out of context, in that it can be a noun phrase or a non-verbal clause, as in (4). This ambiguity does not exist in (5), which – because it is ended with *ento* 'that' – must always be a noun phrase.

(4) *cicing-e   gede*
     dog-DEF   big
     'the big dog or the dog is big'

(5) *cicing-e   gede   ento*
     dog-DEF   big   that
     'The big dog'

In addition to these structures, a noun phrase in Balinese can also occur with the relativiser *ane/sane,* as in (6).

(6) *Cicing-e   ane   gede   ento*
     dog-DEF   REL   big   that
     'the big dog (literally: the dog which is big)

If the modifier expresses an inherent property of its referent, the definite marker is usually attached to it. For instance, Balinese rice can be categorized in different ways according to – among other things – its color or source. This is shown below.

(7) *baas   barak-e*
     rice   red-DEF
     'the red rice'

(8) *baas   Buleleng-e*
     rice   Buleleng-DEF
     'the rice from Buleleng

A noun head can also be modified by a clause, which is introduced by *ane/sane* and is sometimes marked by a deictic word.

(9) *Umah ane beli cai ento (luung)*
     house REL buy   you that (good)
     'The house that you bought (is good)'

Finally, a noun phrase can also be a possessive construction. In this construction, it is usually the possessor which is marked.

(10) *motor cai-ne/cang-e/ia-ne*
      car   2SG-POSS/1SG-POSS/3SG-POSS
      'Your/my/his car'

However, if the possessor is a third person noun, possession can be marked on the possessor or the possessee, as shown below.

(11) *computer   Ketut-e*
      computer   Ketut-POSS
      'Ketut's computer'

(12) *komputer-ne   Ketut*
      computer-POSS   Ketut
      'Ketut's computer'

2.2 Markedness of intransitive clauses

Verbs in intransitive clauses can also be marked and unmarked. In clauses with unmarked verbs, the Subject is Patient-like, and in clauses where the verb is marked with *m(a)-*, it is more Agent-like:

(13) *Anak-e   cenik ento (P)   labuh*
      person-DEF   small that   fall
      'The child fell'

(14) *Anak-e   cenik ento (A)   ma-laib*
      person-DEF   small that   INTR-run
      'The child ran'

2.3 Properties of the Balinese verbal lexicon

One peculiar feature of the Balinese and Indonesian verbal lexicons is the existence of 'precategorial' roots (Artawa 1994). Take the form *uruk* 'learn/teach' as an example. As a root it does not occur by itself: in order for this to function syntactically, it must take the intransitive prefix *m(a)-* (see (14)), or one of the applicative suffixes *-in* or *-ang*, as shown below. In sentences (15) and (16), *uruk* and *ng-uruk* are ungrammatical, and neither zero marking nor nasal marking alone are sufficient to make it grammatical.

Basic verb construction

(15) **Basa   Inggeris uruk tiang ka anak-e   cenik ento*
      language English   learn 1SG   to person-DEF   small that
      'I am teaching English to the child'

Nasal verb construction

(16) **Tiang ng-uruk basa   Inggeris ka anak-e   cenik ento*
      1SG   N-teach language   English   to person-DEF   small that
      'I am teaching English to the child'

The bare form *uruk* only becomes acceptable with the intransitive prefix *m(a)-*, as in (17), or the applicative suffixes *–in* and *–ang*, as in (18):

Intransitive construction with *m-*:

(17) *Tiang   m-uruk   (basa Inggeris)*
      1SG   ITV-learn   (language English)
      'I am learning (English).'

The *-in* derived form in a basic verb construction:

(18) *Anak-e   cenik ento uruk-**in**   tiang basa   Inggeris*
      person-DEF   small that teach-appl   1SG   language   English
      'I am teaching the child English'

Compare the above with the pattern shown by the non-precategorial verb *adep* 'sell' below, where the basic form (19) and the nasal (20) form without a derivational suffix *in* or *-ang* are both grammatical.

Basic verb construction

(19) *Sampi-ne   adep tiang (ka   anak-e   ento)*
      cow-DEF   sell   1SG   (to   person-DEF   that)
      'I sold the cow (to that person)'

Nasal verb construction

(20) *Tiang   ngadep   sampi-ne   (ka   anak-e   ento)*
      1SG   sell   cow-DEF   (to   person-DEF   that)
      'I sold the cow (to that person)'

In basic verb constructions the verb can be transitive or ditransitive. A transitive verb can be a two-place verb or a three–place verb (having three arguments). Free base verbs and bound verbs can become three–place verbs through morphological processes (such as the suffixation of an applicative).

3. Syntactic features of the basic verb construction

In this section, two syntactic aspects of basic verb constructions are described: argument types and word order.

3.1 Arguments

The argument of the basic verb construction can be pronominal, nominal or clausal. Balinese pronouns reflect the several speech registers in this language, which are mostly expressed lexically. Authors vary as to the way they classify these registers. The most common classification is into 'low', 'middle' and 'high' register. On purely linguistic grounds, however, Balinese is more appropriately described as having only two registers, low and high, an analysis also adopted in this chapter.

Balinese does not differentiate number in its pronominal system. In order to have a plural form, the phrase *ajak makejang* (low register) or *sareng sami* (high register) 'with all' is added to a pronoun, e.g. *iraga ajak makejang* 'we' (*iraga* being a general 1st person pronoun). The table below shows Balinese personal pronouns. Note the dialectal variation in low register Balinese.

Category	Low	Middle	High
First person pronoun	*icang* *kai* *iraga*	*tiang* *yang*	*titiang*
Second person pronoun	*iba* *cai*	*ragane* *jerone*	*I ratu*
Third person pronoun	*ia* *-a*	*ipun*	*ida* *dane*

It is generally accepted that first and second person pronouns are given entities in a discourse context or they are uniquely identified, whereas the identification of the third person pronoun is based on the existence of an antecedent. The low register third person pronoun is *ia*. It has a bound form *–a*, which is enclitised to the verb. If there is no clear identifiable antecedent to help its interpretation, the 3rd person can be made explicit by adding a prepositional phrase indicating the referent of the *–a* form.

(Note that in this paper *-a* is conventionally labelled as '3SG'. However, as will be discussed in the following pages, it can also have a first or second person as its referent, to the extent that there are grounds for interpreting it as a passive suffix.)

Consider the following examples.

(21) *Kopi-ne   ulihang   yang*
      coffee-DEF   return   1SG
      'I returned the coffee' (Srawana:57)

(22)   *Apa   alih   cai   kema*
       what   look.for 2SG   go.there
       'What are you looking for there'

(23)   *Buku-n   ida-ne   dadua   sabatang   ida'*
       book-lig   3SG-POSS   two   throw   3SG
       'She threw two of her books' (Srawana:65)

The Agent (A) of the sentence in (21) is a first person pronoun; in (22) it is a second person pronoun, and in (23), a third person pronoun. The third person pronoun in (23) is *ida*, which is a free form. Its low register counterpart is *ia*, which has a bound form *–a*. This is shown in (24) and (25) below.

(24)   *"I   Raka   ingetang-**a**   teken   I   Luh "*
       I   Raka   remember-3SG   by   I   Luh
       'I Luh remembered Raka' (Srawana:4)

In (24), the referent of the *–a* is not identifiable from the previous discourse context, and the referent of this third person Agent is made explicit by the prepositional phrase, *teken I Luh* 'by I Luh'. If the context is clear, this prepositional phrase is not needed, as shown in (25):

(25)   **Nyoman   Santosa** *bangun,   nuduk   padang-e*
       Nyoman   Santosa   stand.up collect grass-DEF

       *tur   penpen-**a**   ka   kranjang-ne*
       and   put.into-3SG   to   basket-3SGPOSS
       'Nyoman Santosa stood up collecting the grass and put it into his basket' (Santha 1981:1)

The enclitic *–a* in the second clause refers back to *Nyoman Santosa* in the first clause.

The following examples show that the Agent is an indefinite nominal phrase:

(26)   *Sreyokan-ne   melaib-laib   ampuhang   angin*
       sound-DEF   run   blow   wind
       'Wind blew away the sound' (Santha 1981:2)

(27)   *Nasi-ne   trejaksiap   ibi   nyanjaang (MT:26)*
       rice-DEF   step.on   chicken   yesterday.afternoon
       Chickens stepped on my rice yesterday' (until it fell down)

(28)   *Nasi-n   oke-ne   amah   bangkung (MT:26)*
       rice-LIG   1SG-POSS   eat   pig
       'A pig ate my rice'

If this nominal phrase is made definite the sentence becomes ungrammatical, as in (29):

(29)   * *Nasi-n   oke-ne   amah   bangkung-**e***
       rice-LIG   1SG-POSS   eat   pig
       'The pig ate my rice'

It is clear that a definite nominal phrase cannot be used as the Agent of the basic verb construction. In the following examples the Patient argument is a complement clause.

(30) *Suba orahang meme [cai sing dadi   punggawa apa]*
     ASP   say   mother [2SG NEG become district.head what]
     'I have said that you will never become a district head'' (Santha 1981:8)

(31) *"Man, tingalin meme [cai jag   osah   tuara neh   negak]"*
     Man   see   mother [2SG PART restless NEG   can   sit]
     'Man, I saw that you are restless and cannot sit calmly' (Santha 1981:8)

(32) *"Tu, manahang tiang [tukang.kebon-e   Bali"*
     Tu   think   1SG   [gardener-DEF   Balinese]
     'Tu, I think that the gardener is a Balinese' (Srawana:71)

3.2 Word order

Before describing word order alternation, an insertion test is applied to this construction. The aim of this test is to see which argument is syntactically bound to the verb or predicate. Adverbs or particles can be used in the insertion test. Please observe the following examples.

Adverb insertion

(33) a. *Ia   tepukin   tiang ibi*
         3SG   see   1SG   yesterday
         'I saw him yesterday'

     b. *Ibi   ia   tepukin   tiang*
         yesterday 3SG   see   1SG
         'Yesterday I saw him'

     c. *Ia   ibi   tepukin   tiang*
         3SG   yesterday   see   1SG
         'I saw him yesterday'

     d. **Ia   tepukin   ibi   tiang*
         3SG   see   yesterday   1SG
         'I saw him yesterday'

Particle insertion

(34) a. *Sampi-ne   suba   adep   tiang*
         cow-DEF   ASP   sell   1SG
         'I have sold the cow'

     b. **Sampi-ne   adep   suba   tiang*
         cow-DEF   sell   ASP   1SG
         'I have sold the cow'

The insertion of the adverb, *ibi* 'yesterday' between Verb and Agent is ungrammatical, as shown in (33d). So is inserting a particle, see (34b). So the verb and the Agent in the basic verb construction are syntactically bound. Based on this test, there are only two possible word order alternations: PVA and VAP.

(35)   a.   *Emeng-e   uber   cicing* [PVA]
            cat-DEF   chase   dog
            'A dog chased the cat'

       b.   *Uber cicing emenge* [V A P]
            'A dog chased the cat'

(36)   a.   *Kamus   beli   tiang   di   toko-ne   ento* [PVA]
            dictionary buy   1SG   at   shop-DEF   that
            'I bought a dictionary in that shop'

       b.   **Beli   tiang   kamus   di   toko-ne   ento* [VAP]
            buy   1SG   dictionary at   shop-DEF   that
            'I bought a dictionary in that shop'

The examples in (35) are both acceptable. In (35a) the order is PVA and in (35b) is VAP. Both of the examples in (36) show the same word order as in the examples in (35), but the word order in (36b) is not acceptable because the Patient is indefinite. An indefinite Patient cannot be in a final position in a basic verb construction with two argument functions.

So far we have been dealing with two-place verbs. With regard to three-place verbs, an important cross-linguistic study has been done by Dixon (1989), who distinguishes three alternative syntactic frames for coding semantic roles:

> a) there may be two or more lexemes, with almost identical semantic content but different semantic role/syntactic identification;

> b) there may be a syntactic process that alters the syntactic mapping of semantic roles, with a specific morpheme marking this;

> c) There may be alternative syntactic frames available involving exactly the same lexeme, without any derivational marking on the verb.

Based on his study on the verbs of 'giving', 'telling', and 'showing', from a number of languages, Dixon (1989) suggests that most languages treat the 'gift', 'news', or 'thing shown' as object, while putting the person to whom something is given, told or shown, in dative case, or expressing it with a preposition, or something similar. This applies to Thai, Burmese, Russian, Telugu, Abkhaz, to Australian languages such as Warlpiri, and also to the Austronesian languages Acehnese, Fijian, and Paamese (Dixon, 1989:110). In these languages there is only one syntactic frame available for verbs like 'give', 'tell', and 'show'. But he also points out that there is a fairly small number of languages (including English and Dyirbal) that have two syntactic frames for the verbs: 'give', 'tell', and 'show', allowing the non-A roles to be object. Balinese also has two syntactic frames for the three verbs mentioned above. The way the 'gift', 'news', or 'the thing shown' is mapped onto syntactic relations will depend on the morpheme that marks the alternation.

The following are examples of a basic verb construction which has three argument functions. These three argument functions are obtained through advancement in terms of Relational Grammar (Blake, 1990). In this case a non-core argument is advanced to become a core argument, which is a syntactic process known as applicativization. It needs to be noted here that the order in (37d) and (38d) is acceptable if it is pronounced with a pause after the constituent *biyu* in (37d), and after *pipis* in (38d). The attachment

of the suffix *-in* to the verb requires that the locative constituent must be close to the verb.

(37) a. *Biyu   pula   tiang   di   teba-ne*
          banana   plant   1SG   in   backyard-DEF
          'I planted bananas in the backyard'

      b. *Teba-ne   pula-in   tiang   biyu*
          backyard-DEF   plant-APPL   1SG   banana
          'I planted bananas in the backyard'

      c. *Pula-in   tiang   teba-ne   biyu*
          plant-APPL   1SG   backyard-DEF   banana
          'I planted bananas in the backyard'

      d. *?Pula-in   tiang   biyu-ne   /teba-ne*
          plant-APPL   1SG   banana- DEF   /backyard-DEF
          'I planted bananas in the backyard'

(38) a. *Pipis   silih   cai   teken   bapan-ne*
          money   borrow   2SG   with   father-3SGPOSS
          'You borrowed money from her/his father'

      b. *Bapan-ne   silih-in   cai   pipis*
          father-3SG.POSS   borrow-APPL   2SG   money
          'You borrowed money from her/his father'

      c. *Silih-in   cai   bapan-ne   pipis*
          borrow   2SG   father-3SGPOSS   money
          'You borrowed money from her/his father'

      d. *?Silih-in   cai pipis   bapan-ne*
          borrow   2SG   money   father-3SG.POSS
          'You borrowed money from her/his father'

The word order for the basic verb construction is PVA (patient-verb-agent). The alternative order VAP is only allowed when the Patient is definite. In (39), the matrix clause is a basic verb construction with the word order VAP, and P is a complement clause.

(39) *Tingalin tiang [ia   suba   tenangan   abedik]*
      see   1SG   [3SG   ASP   calm   a.little]
      'I saw she was calming down a little' (Bali Post, Nov. 14, 2008)

In (39), the complement clause has a P function and is the final constituent in the sentence. The default word order for a basic verb construction is PVA. Since PVA order is more basic, it is then possible to place the complement clause in (39) in initial position.

(40)   *[Ia   suba   tenangan   abedik]   tingalin   tiang*
        [3SG   ASP   calm   a.little]   see   1SG
        'I saw her becoming a little bit calm' (Bali Post, Nov. 14, 2008)

So, the sentences in (40) have PVA word order, and they have a complement clause in initial position, which is allowed in Balinese. However, this word order is less common compared to VAP word order shown in (39). This is perhaps due to a universal constraint against long constituents in left position.

The other common word order in Srawana's novel is shown in (41) below, in which only the subject of the complement clause is raised to subject position in the matrix clause. The complement clause in (41) is an intransitive clause, and its sole argument S is raised to become the subject of the matrix clause. Thus the word order in (41a) is obtained by raising the S (*yehne* 'the water') from its complement clause in (41b).

(41) a. **Yeh-ne**   *tusing   taen   tepukin   tiang [nglencok   anang   abedi*
          water-3POSS   NEG   ASP   see   1SG   [move   even   little]
          'I never saw the water 'move at all' (Bali Post, Sept. 21,2008)

      b. *Tusing   taen   tepukin   tiang [**yeh-e**   nglenco anang   abedik]*
          NEG   ASP   see   1SG [water-3.POSS   move   even   little]
          I never saw the water 'move at all'

Another complement type in Balinese is the 'if' complement clause, which is marked by the particle *yen* 'if'. This complement clause behaves in a different way from the basic complement clause described above. Its subject cannot be raised to subject position in the matrix clause as in (42b). But, as expected from word order alternation, when the complement clause is placed in initial position, the sentence is still acceptable, as shown in (42c).

(42) a. *Dingeh   tiang [yen   Ketut   tusing   nyak   teka   mai]*
          hear   1SG   [if   Ketut   NEG   want   come   here]
          'I heard that Ketut did not want to come here'

      b. **Ketut   dingeh   tiang [yen   tusing   nyak   teka   mai]*
          Ketut   hear   1SG   [if   NEG   want   come   here]
          'I heard that Ketut did not want to come here'

      c. *[Yen   Ketut   tusing   nyak   teka   mai]   dingeh   tiang*
          [if   Ketut   NEG   want   come   here]   hear   1SG
          'I heard that Ketut did not want to come here'

4. The basic verb construction in a discourse context

In this section three points are described: the clause types of basic verb constructions, the split nature of the basic verb construction based on the Agent, and the basic verb in imperative clauses.

4.1 Clause types of the basic verb construction

There are 164 basic verb constructions in Srawana's novel. Of these, 103 are declarative clauses, 43 are imperative clauses, and 18 are interrogative clauses.

The Agent in these constructions are first, second or third person pronouns. They can also be indefinite noun phrases.

The basic verb construction in declarative clauses can be further classified into four types based on its Agent.

a. There are thirty basic verb constructions with first person Agent, seven with second person Agent and there are nine with third person Agent.

Types	Undeleted	Deleted
First person	22	8
Second person	2	5
Third person	9	–

b. The verbs that have enclitic -*a* attached are classified separately because here, the Agent, which is normally expected to be a third person, can also be a first person and second person.

Types	Undeleted	Deleted
First person	6	2
Second person		1
Third person	32	

c. There are seven basic verb constructions with nominal Agents that are used for first person, and there are eleven constructions with such agents that are used for second person. These nominals are kinship terms.

d. There are five basic constructions that occur with indefinite NPs.

For the imperative clause type, there are forty three basic verb constructions. There are 36 'positive' imperative clauses and seven 'negative' imperative clauses. Note that the verb in positive imperative clauses is a basic verb form, but in negative imperative clauses it is suffixed with **–a**.

For the interrogative clause type, there are eighteen basic verb constructions.

The occurrence of basic verb constructions in a discourse can be summarized as follows:

    a. The Agent can be a pronoun or a noun.

    b. The third person agent has a high – and low register variant.

    c. The low register third person Agent is enclitized to the verb. There is no Agent free form.

4.2 Split characteristics of the basic verb construction based on the Agent

The basic verb construction with a third person pronominal Agent has split characteristics. The Agent pronoun can be free or bound. A bound form is only available for low register. For high register, there are the free pronouns *ipun* and *ida*, as demonstrated in (43) and (44) respectively.

(43) a. *Kaplakin ipun pahan I   Made-ne*
              hit   3SG   thigh ART Made-POSS
              'She hit Made's thigh' (Srawana:46)

      b. *Sampun tamba-ne   inem ipun*
              already   medicine-DEF drink 3SG
              'She has drunk the medicine' (Srawana:46)

(44)   a.   *Dayu   ngambil   cangkir   raris   kecorin   Ida   kopi*
            Dayu   take   cup   then   pour   3SG   coffee
            'Dayu took a cup and then she poured it with coffee' (Srawana:51)

       b.   *Galeng   guling-e   jangkutin   ida,   tur   ngepes   nangis*
            bolster   bolster-DEF   embrace   3SG   then   cry   cry
            'She embraced the bolster and then cried' (Srawana:59)

The Agent in (45) below is also a third person. It is a low register pronoun used as the
Agent in a basic verb construction. Only a bound form –*a* can be used here (no free
form). The use of this form also allows the referent of the Agent to be expressed in the
form of prepositional phrase, as shown in (46).

(45)   a.   *yan   sing   makancing   jelanan-e,   me   celepin-a   kamar-e*
            if   not   lock   door-DEF   certain   enter-3SG   room-DEF
            'If the room hadn't been not locked, he would certainly have entered it'
            (Srawana:28)

       b.   *Apa-ne   yang   tuturin-a*
            what-DEF   1SG   tell-3SG
            'She told me everything' (Srawana:36)

(46)   a.   *I   Raka   ingetang-a   teken   I   luh*
            ART   Raka   remember-3SG   by   ART Luh
            ('Raka was remembered by I Luh' -->) 'I Luh remembered Raka'
            (Srawana:4)

       b.   *Tiang   ceeng-ceeng-a   teken   tamiu-ne*
            1SG   look.at-3SG   by   guest- DEF
            ('I was looked at by the guest' -->) 'The guest looked at me' (Srawana:75)

Comparing *ipun*, *ida* and *-a*, we have the following constructions:

(47)   a.   *Jinah-e   ambil   ida*
            money-DEF   take   3SG
            'She took the money'

       b.   *Jinah-e   ambil   ipun*
            money-DEF   take   3SG
            'She took the money'

       c.   *Pipis-e   jemak-a*
            money-DE   take-3SG
            'She took the money'

The examples in (47) have in common that the Agent is a third person pronoun, but
(47c) differs from (47a) and (47b) in that a prepositional phrase specifying the Agent
can be added to it. It is just like a passive sentence. This is not possible in high register
sentences using *ida* and *ipun*. Compare the following examples:

(48)   a.   **Jinah-e   ambil   ida   antuk   Anake   Agung*
            money-DEF   take   3SG   by   Anak   Agung
            'The money was taken by Anake Agung'

b. *Jinah-e   ambil   ipun   antuk   I   Bagus   Diarsa*
money-DEF   take   3SG   by   ART   Bagus   Diarsa
'The money was taken by I Bagus Diarsa'

c. *Pipis-e   jemak-a   teken   Karta*
money-DEF   take-3SG   by   Karta
'Their money was taken by Karta'

In general, when the bound pronoun –*a* is attached to the verb, the expected referent of this form is a third person. However, in the following examples the (understood) Agent is a first person.

(49) a. *Mangkin   ambilang-a   ja   surat   Gusti*
now   take-3SG   PART   letter   Gusti

Kompyang   Sususra-ne
Kompyang   Sususra-POSS
'Now I am taking Gusti Kompyang Sususra's letter (for you)' (Srawana:36)

b. *Nah   dong masare, saputin-a   ja*
OK   PART sleep   put.blanket.on-3SG   PART
'Please sleep, I will cover [you] with a blanket' (Srawana:48)

The examples in (50) show that the –*a* suffix attached to the verb refers to a first person Agent, which is explicitly expressed. The Agent in (50b), *meme* 'mother', is a kinship term used as a first person.

(50) a. *Inggih, titian   aturin-a   sane   nyanan*
yes   1SG   tell-3SG   REL   latter
'Yes I will tell (you) later' (Srawana:36)

b. *Mendep   cening,   meme   maan   baas,*
silent   child   mother   get   rice

jani   meme   jakanang-a   men   jani
now   mother   cook- 3SG   PART   now
'Be quiet, my child, I've got some rice and will cook it for you' (Hooykaas 1949:26)

4.3 The basic verb and nasal verb construction in imperative clauses

If we look at the verb forms, Balinese has two different imperative constructions. One occurs with a morphologically unmarked verb, and the other with a nasalized verb.

Barber (1977:258) points out that the basic verb (which he calls the 'simple form') is used when the patient argument (Barber's 'object') is expressed and definite. Consider (51) and (52), in which the imperative is formed with a basic verb and the Patient argument is expressed by a definite NP.

(51) *Tiuk-e   jemak!*
knife-DEF   take
'Take the knife!'

(52) *Tali-ne   getep!*
     rope-DEF   cut
     'Cut the rope'

Imperatives cross-linguistically have the addressee as the understood agent NP whom the speaker wants to perform an action. In Balinese the addressee is not overtly expressed. The word order of the imperative sentences in (51) and (52) is Patient-verb, but this order can be reversed as follows.

(53) a. *Jemak tiuke!*

     b. *Getep taline!*

Imperatives on the basis of a nasal verb indicate that the Patient is indefinite; nasal verbs do not combine with *tiuk-e*, which is a definite patient. This is illustrated in (54):

(54) *Nyemak   tiuk (/*tiuk-e)   kema!*
     take   knife knife-DEF   there

     'Take a knife there!'

The Patient must immediately follow the verb; the Agent is only mentioned optionally:

(55) *Meli nasi nah!*
     buy   rice please
     'Please buy rice there!'

In both intransitive and transitive imperatives the Agent can be optionally mentioned, as in (56) and (57). When the Patient is definite, the basic verb construction is commonly used, as already shown in (51), (52) and (53):

(56) *luas (cai) jani!*
     go   2SG   now
     'Please, (you) go now'

(57) *(cai) ngaba   sampat   nah!*
     2SG   bring   broom   please
     'Please, bring a broom'

The use of an indefinite Patient implies contrastive focus: in (58) 'tea' is being contrasted, for instance, with 'coffee'.

(58) *The gae nah!*
     tea   make please
     'Please make tea'

The assignment of two different ways of coding imperatives in Balinese is part of the evidence that Balinese has a split system for coding transitive propositions, that is, it either uses a basic verb construction (with definite Patients) or a nasal verb construction (with indefinite Patients).

The imperative sentences given so far are all 'positive' imperatives. In negative nasal imperatives, the negative marker *eda/da* is used in low register, and *sampunang* in high register.

(59) a. *Da   meli   nasi   nah!*   (low register)
        Don't buy   rice   OK
        'Please don't buy rice there!'

b. *Sampunang   numbas   ajengan   nggih!* (high register)
   don't   buy   rice   OK
   'Please don't buy rice there!'

The negative imperatives in (60a) and (60b) have no nasal verbs and are not grammatical. This shows that the addition of *da* or *sampunang* alone is not sufficient for making the negative basic verb imperative acceptable: the verb should also be prenasalized.

(60) a. **Da   jemak   buku-ne   ento!* (low register)
         Don't take   book-DEF that
         'Don't take that book'

      b. **Sampunang   ambil   buku-ne   punika!* (high register)
         don't   take   book-DEF that
         'Don't take that book'

Semantically the Agent in the imperative is second person. The negative imperative for a basic verb can be expressed by attaching *-a* to the verb. The following are some examples.

(61) a. *Nah,   da   suba   latangang-a!*
         OK   don't already   lengthen-3SG
         'Don't talk too much!' (Srawana:9)

      b. *Da   tidong-tidong   rawosang-a!*
         don't nonsense-triviality   talk-3SG
         'Don't talk about unnecessary things!' (Srawana:48)

      c. *Da   baang-a…   nah..   tunden   ia   mai!*
         don't give-3SG   OK,   ask   3SG   come.here
         'Don't give (him), OK, ask him to come here' (Srawana:90)

It is noteworthy that in the negative imperative the verb is marked with –*a*. This suffix usually refers to a third person Agent, but in the negative imperative, it refers to a second person. Furthermore, as seen in (49) and (50), it can also have a first person as its referent. Does this indicate that –*a* has become a passive marker? Furthermore, to use a passive marker in imperatives would be reminiscent of Indonesian, where the passive is commonly used to form to express a more polite imperative, as in the following examples:

(62) a. *Tolong   di-kerjakan   dengan   cepat!*
         help   PASS-do   with   quick
         'Please do (it) quickly'

      b. *Jangan   di-tinggalkan   di   situ!*
         Don't   PASS-leave   at   there
         'Don't leave (it) there!'

For the sake of completeness, Balinese has also another expression for negative imperative. It is introduced by *sing dadi* (low register)/ *ten dados* (high register) 'not allow/cannot':

(63) a. *Sing   dadi   buku-ne   ene   silih!*   (low register)
         not   can   book-DEF   this   borrow
         'Don't borrow this book'

    b. *Ten   dados   buku-ne   niki   selang!*   (high register)
         not   can   book-DEF   this   borrow
         'Don't borrow this book'

5. Other constructions

To complete the picture, Balinese has two more constructions in which a basically transitive verb can appear. In these, the verb appears with a Patient subject and is marked with *ka-* or *ma-*. Both are known as passive constructions in Balinese (Kersten, 1984). The *ka-* passive may have been borrowed from Javanese. Javanese has four types of passive constructions based on *di-*, *ka-*, the *<in>*, and *ke-* (Sofwan, 2001); *ka-* is used in high Javanese, whereas *di-* is used in low register. In contrast, the modern Balinese *ka-*passive occurs in both high and low register. It has the following characteristics:

1. The verb is marked by the *ka-*prefix.
2. The Agent is frequently first and second pronoun.
3. When the Agent is a third person pronoun, the enclitic –(n)a cannot be used.
4. When the Agent is a third person, the Agent is expressed as an adjunct marked by a preposition.

The following examples are used to compare the basic construction, the nasal construction, and the *ka-*construction.

The basic construction

(64) *Pipis-e   lakar idih   cang* (low register)
     Money-DEF   will   take   1SG
     'I will take the money'

(65) *Jinah-e   jagi   tunas   titian* (high register)
     Money-DEF   will   take   1SG
     'I will take the money'

The nasal construction

(66) *Cang lakar ngidih pipis-e*   (low register)
     1SG   will   take   money-DEF
     'I will take the money'

(67) Titiang   jagi   nunas   jinah-e   (high lregister)
     1SG   will   take   money-DEF
     'I will take the money'

The *ka-*construction

(68) *Pipis-e   lakar ka-idih   cang* (low register)
     Money-DEF   will   take   1SG
     'The money will be taken by me'

(69) *Jinah-e   jagi   **ka**-tunas   titian*   (high register)
      money-e   will   ka-take   1SG
      'The money will be taken by me'

Note that the agent of the *ka*-construction can be a first person (68-69), second person (70), or third person (71).

(70) *Jinah-e   jagi   **ka**-tunas   Jerone ?*   (high level)
      money-e   will   ka-take   2SG
      'Will the money be taken by you'

(71) *Jinah-e   jagi   **ka**-tunas   ipun* (high level)
      money-e   will   ka-take   3SG
      'The money will be taken by him/her'

The *ka*-construction with pronominal Agent as shown in (68), (70), and (71), does not normally allow a preposition to mark the Agent. However, the pronominal Agent of these examples can be deleted, in which case a nominal Agent may appear in a prepositional phrase, as in the following example:

(72) *Kuwaca puniki jagi   ka-tumbas   antuk I   Biang*
      Shirt   this   will   ka-buy   by   ART   mother
      'This shirt will be bought by my mother'

The *ma-* construction can express a number of different meanings. The meaning described here is the resultative meaning. The term 'resultative' is generally applied to those verb forms that express a state implying a previous event. A resultative construction is different from a stative construction. Note that the sentences in (a) below are normal transitive constructions, while the sentences in (b) are corresponding resultatives.

(73) a. *Kayu-ne   ebah   cang*
          tree-DEF   cut   1SG
          'I cut the tree'

      b. *Kayu-ne   ma-ebah*
          tree-DEF   RES-cut
          'The tree was cut'

      c. **Kayu-ne   ma-ebah   enggal-enggal*
          tree-DEF   RES-cut   quickly
          'The tree was cut quickly'

(74) a. *Umah-e   adep   cang*
          house-DEF   sell   1SG
          'I sold the house'

      b. *Umah-e   ma-adep*
          house-DEF   RES-sell
          'The house was sold'

Ma- formations are very productive, and virtually all transitive verbs can be turned into resultatives. Note that example (73c) is not grammatical because the *ma*-construction cannot take an agent oriented adverbial (*enggal-enggal*), showing that resultative

constructions are stative in nature. As noted above, a stative construction expresses the state of a thing without any implication of its origin. It denotes natural, primary states which do not result from any previous event. On the other hand, a resultative expresses both a state and the preceding action it has resulted from. M*a*-constructions are traditionally classified as passive. They have the following properties:

1. *ma-* cannot be attached to a ditransitive verb.
2. It presupposes a previous action.
3. It implies a completed event.
4. The agent cannot be expressed.

So the example in (75b) is not grammatical because the Agent is mentioned (*teken Karta*):

(75) a. *Umah-e   ma-adep*
          house-DEF   RES-sell
          'The house was sold'

      b. **Umahe ma-adep teken Karta*

A ditransitive verb loses its ditransitive valency when *ma-* is prefixed, as shown in (76):

(76) a. *Ia   ma-beliang   cang   buku*
          3SG   RES-buy-   1SG   book
          'S/he bought a book for me'

      b. **Cang   ma-beli-ang   buku*
          1SG   RES-buy   book

      c. **Buku   ma-beli-ang   cang*
          book   RES-buy   1SG

6. Is the basic verb construction passive?

It has been shown (§3.2) that the Agent of the basic verb construction in Balinese is syntactically bound to the verb. With third person pronominal Agents, this construction shows that a low register Agent behaves differently from a high register one.

The anaphoric function of low register *–a* seems to shift to that of a passive marker. It is sometimes further specified by a prepositional phrase taking *teken* or *baan* 'by' plus Agent, as in (77). In (78), it appears that the Agent does not even need to be introduced by *teken* or *baan*.

(77) *Ia   orahin-a kema   teken   meme-ne*
      3SG   tell-a   go.there by   mother-POSS
      'She was told to go there by her mother'

(78) a. *Apa   goreng-a I   Narti   di paon*
          What   fry-PASS ART Narti   in kitchen
          'What was fried by Narti in the kitchen?'

      b. *Krupuk   goreng-a I   Narti   di paon*
          cracker   fry-PASS ART   Narti   in kitchen
          'Some crackers were fried by Narti in the kitchen'

Other uses of –*a* also require an explanation.

What is the role of -*a* in negative imperatives? Is it a passive marker? If so, it seems that Balinese developed a special imperative from a passive verb.

Another problem is the use of the -*a* with a three place verb, which occurs either with a recipient or benefactive participant. This is shown in the following example:

(79) *Tiang   tumbas-ang-a   ragane   ajengan*
      1SG   buy-BEN-3SG   2SG   food
      'I will buy you food'

In this example the constituent *ragane*, is a beneficiary argument, the Agent is *tiang*, and the Patient is *ajengan*. This kind of construction expresses a future aspect in which the speaker promises to do something for someone else. Is this a passive construction? Syntactically it does not show any signs of being a passive construction because the Agent is neither marked by a preposition, nor is there any agreement between the agent and the –*a* form on the verb. If it is not a passive construction, it is a special kind of construction in Balinese for expressing a promise: the speaker projects himself as a third person in order to express indirectness.

The constituent order of basic verb constructions can be altered such that both arguments become indefinite. The resulting order is fixed and occurs as a complement of the existential verb *ada*. It is generally known as the existential construction:

(80) *Ada   siap (P)   amah   lelipi (A)*
      Exist chicken   eat   snake
      'There is a snake eating a chicken'

Thus the constructions that Balinese has can be summarised as follows: there are four constructions that have a Patient subject (*ka*-construction, *ma*-construction, -*a* construction and basic verb construction) and there is one construction with an Agent subject (the nasal verb construction). Traditionally the Patient subject constructions are considered passive, and the Agent subject construction active. This is the way Kersten (1984) describes these verbal constructions. He treats the basic verb construction as one type of passive, in which the Agent can be first, second, third person pronoun (Kersten 1984:93-95).

Kersten also considers the basic verb construction in which –*a* is attached to the verb as passive. However, this needs to be qualified. Basic verb constructions involving -*a* can be considered passive if the Agent is a low register third person. However, if it is a high register first, second or third person, a kinship nominal or an indefinite NP, it is difficult to apply the notion of passive voice to the construction in question.

The presence of the basic and nasal construction in Balinese raises interesting questions about what syntactic type this language represents. Is it typologically unusual in having two transitive constructions? If we take the basic construction to be transitive, and consider the fact that its Patient is the subject, we have an ergative construction. It does not immediately follow that the language is ergative. For that to be true the nasal construction has to be an antipassive construction. Is the nasal construction an active or antipassive construction? The active construction is considered as a basic construction in an accusative language, whereas the antipassive is a derived construction in an ergative language. It is usually taken to be the analogue of a passive construction. In a passive construction it is the agent of a transitive verb which is expressed as an adjunct, and it can be omitted. In an antipassive construction it is the patient of a transitive

construction which is an adjunct and can be omitted from the clause. It seems that the nasal construction is neither active nor antipassive. It is not active because it is a marked construction compared to the basic construction. It is also not antipassive because the Patient is still an argument, as discussed in Arka (1988:405).

7. Concluding remarks

The literature on Austronesian voice systems clearly shows that these systems are typologically diverse. This diversity is exacerbated by the fact that particular construction types are often labeled differently. Those who classify Austronesian languages as accusative-type languages will consider a construction 'active' if its agent is the subject, and 'passive' if a non-Agent is subject. On the other hand, those who analyse these languages as ergative ones will label the agent-subject construction as antipassive, and the patient-subject construction as ergative. This has become a longstanding controversy in debates about Austronesian syntax.

With regard to Balinese voice, my conclusion is that there are two transitive constructions and that the language is neither ergative nor accusative. However, the high frequency of the basic construction with its Patient subject and obligatory Agent give the language a decidedly ergative character. It is significant that the Patient-subject construction is unmarked. The language would be ergative under an amended definition of ergative languages along the lines of 'an ergative language is one in which the Patient of the unmarked transitive construction is aligned with the sole argument of an intransitive verb'. I have argued that the P in the basic construction and the A in the Nasal construction are subjects because they are identified with S and share a number of properties that are frequently associated with subjects (Artawa, 1994).

The presence of two transitive constructions makes it impossible to take the subject to be simply based on whatever is united with S. Many linguists take the term 'subject' to refer to any conjunction of S plus A in a particular morpho-syntactic system, others use the term 'absolutive' for a conjunction of P and S. However in Balinese, the basic construction is formally unmarked and does appear to be the default construction. The nasal construction is mainly used to make A accessible to further grammatical processes. While both constructions are transitive, the entity that I call subject embraces P in the former, and A in the latter. The Agent of the basic verb construction is not accessible to further grammatical processes.

There is, however, more than a simple opposition of two transitive constructions. We need to take into account unmarked constructions with third person prepositional Agents, which appear to be passive, and we need to take into account the *ka*-constructions, which are usually passive. There is also the *ma*-construction with a basically transitive verb, which provides a stative passive. Balinese is ergative-like in that the Patient is chosen as subject in the unmarked construction and there is a form, namely the enclitic *=(n)a*, which is peculiar to A. It is very like Dyirbal, the celebrated example of a language with ergative syntax (Dixon 1972), in that the nasal construction is chosen to make A the pivot. In Dyirbal a de-transitivised construction, the antipassive, is used to show that A is co-referent with the underlying absolutive (S+P) of a higher clause.

In Balinese, however, the nasal construction does not appear to be intransitive, at least not when the Patient is definite. The subject is not like in European and many other languages in which it typically expresses given information and topic as opposed to comment, at least not in the basic construction (Artawa 1994). Balinese also shows

characteristics of an active language in which it aligns Agents of intransitive verbs with Agents of transitive verbs, and Patients of intransitive predicates with the Patients of transitive verbs (Arka 1998).

Recognizing Balinese as an active language is not without its problems. Not all intransitive verbs which take Agent subject are marked by a nasal prefix. In my understanding of language types, which is based on the 'traditional' definition, there must be one transitive clause. Consequently, labels like ergative type, accusative type, or active type are difficult to apply to Balinese.

The alternation between unmarked constructions with a Patient subject and nasal constructions with an Agent subject is not confined to Balinese but is also found in other western Indonesian languages (Wouk and Ross 2002). My previous study of Balinese (Artawa, et al, 2001) showed that the nasal construction is the more frequent transitive construction, but not by a huge margin.

Abbreviations

1SG/2SG/3SG	first/second/third person singular	A	agent argument of a transitive verb
ART	article	ASP	aspect marker
BEN	benefactive	DEF	definite
NEG	negative	P	patient argument of a transitive verb
PART	particle	PASS	passive
POSS	possessor	RES	resultative
S	sole argument of an intransitive verb		

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