Agents in Balinese Passive Construction

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Abstract--- This paper accounts for the agents in Balinese passive forms. It focuses on kinds of agent and their syntactic and semantic representation in Balinese passive constructions. This research used two novels, namely Dadi Ati written by Manda (2013) and Ki Baru Gajah by Sugianto (2015) as the data source. To support the data, this research also used informants. Aplying the RRG theory proposed by Van Valin and Randy (1999) and ideas from Balinese experts, it was found out that the agents of Balinese passive sentences varied in their forms and applied various constructions and semantic representation. Some constructions of passive sentences do not have an agent in their usage and some do have it. The ka- passive forms, for example, generally have no agents, but the ka- forms followed by suffix -ang or -in do need an agent. The first and second person agents directly follow the verb in the passive constructions. These two agents may be expressed by a noun. The pronoun in the third person as an agent can be expressed by suffix -a. Frequently the agents are expressed by a prepositional phrase.

Keywords---agent, balinese passive, passive, semantic analysis, syntactic.

Introduction

The morphology of the Balinese verb is indeed very simple; it has no tense, no infinitive, and no active participle. However, it has means of distinguishing between active and passive voice. In practice, Balinese people can use it without any ambiguity. Although the units of expression are simple, the use of the verb, in practice, is very complicated because its morphology involves the modification of initial part of the verb, by nasalization, or by prefix, and the post modification by

the attachment of -ang or -in to the end of the verb or leaving it unsuffixed (Arka, 1998; Dixon, 2005). This condition brings various meanings: e.g. tutur 'story', nutur 'to have a chat', tutur-ang 'be told to a person', nutur-ang '(someone) tell about (things, events)', nuturin '(someone) tells a person something'. There is also the addition of suffix -a that makes the expressions more complicated: tutur-ang-a 'be told by someone (third person), tutur-in-a ''someone be told by someone else'. Very often, the subject or objects may not be expressed, but the context makes the meaning clear (Indrawati, 2011; Kardana, 2011).

According to Kersten (1980), in Balinese passive sentences it is the patient that is being focused, while the Agent is not being thought. It was also stated that in Balinese there are four kinds or passive verb forms; passive with ka- forms, passive with suffix -a, passive using verb base, and passive with ma-forms. What make them different is that whether the Agent is needed or not and how important the agent is. It is true that some experts have discussed about Balinese passive constructions (Arka, 2002; Artawa, 2004). They talked about the verb forms of the passive sentences, but what makes question come to my mind is: do passive sentences always have agents? How are they constructed?

Although a number of scholars have discussed about Balinese passive forms, which involve derived verbs Hunter (1988), in his dissertation, for example, also touched on passive in Balinese Artawa (2013), in his research about The Basic Verb Construction in Balinese also talked basic verb in relation to passive in Balinese Sujaya (2019), in his research discussed about the Ka- passive forms in Balinese. However, none of them have specifically discussed about the agent in Balinese passive constructions. The focus of this study is about the syntactic and semantic analysis of agent in Balinese passive constructions. It deals with the forms of Agents in Balinese passive constructions and their semantic representation (Kardana, 2010; Pastika, 1999).

This research is organized in four sections. Section one talks about the introduction which covers the reasoning of choosing the topic, section two talks about theoretical framework, in three it is about the derivational morphology of Balinese verbs forms, the main discussion is in section four, and the last section is about the conclusion of this study (Quirk, 2010; Sedeng, 2010;Yu et al., 2008).

Theoretical Framework

Basically, this research applied the RRG theory proposed by Van Valin and Randy. Other theories of Balinese grammar from Barber & Charles (1978); Kersten (1984); Hunter (1988), are also adopted in this research. The RRG theory states that analyzing the communicative function of grammatical structures plays important role in grammatical description. RRG does not only concern with syntactic structure but also with semantic and pragmatic relations (Bastuji et al., 2002; Tonta & Darvish, 2010).

Since this reach is aimed at analyzing the syntactic and semantic representation of agents in Balinese passive constructions, which involves morphosyntax of verb forms, in this section it is necessary to discuss about verb forms realizing passive construction. The verb forms involve basic forms, verbs with suffix -*a, ka-* forms,

and *ma-* forms. These forms imply various syntactic structures and semantic representation. The discussion is as the following (Zupanc & Bosnić, 2017; Fedushko & Benova, 2019).

Basic form

According to Kersten (1980), Balinese basic verb construction can be used to express passive sentence. When the passive is in the basic form, the agent can be the first, second, or third person pronoun., Traditionally, passive constructions have patient subject and the general word-order of the basic form expressing passive is Patient + Vp (base) + Agent (Artawa, 2013).

1) *Biu-né ento ajeng tiang*
   Banana-DEF that eat1SG
   'The banana was eaten by me'

It can be seen that the basic verb form *ajeng* 'eat' in data (1) above is followed by the agent *tiang* 'I' and the argument subject *Biu-né* 'the banana' has patient role so that the basic verb form above is considered passive, rather than active.

Suffix -*a*

It is very common that in Balinese a passive sentence is expressed by derivational verb with suffix -*a.* The subject of verbs with -*a* may be any of the three persons. Though the context may not tell who the person is, suffix -*a* shows that the agent is in the third person. Thus, the meaning of the suffix is that an event occurs, originated by someone other than the subject. *Idih* 'ask for', for example, attached with -*a* becomes *idiha* meaning 'it was asked for' by someone. *Jemak* 'take' added with -*a* becomes *jemaka* 'it was taken by someone'. Theoretically, suffix -*a* refers to a definite, known agent (Putrayasa, 2017; Branigan et al., 2000). However, in many cases it does not mean that someone does something, rather it is an event that is being described. Suffix -*a* in this case is an ending indicating the passive form of the verb. In this form, if the agent is expressed the prepositional phrase with L *tekén* or *baan*, H *ring*, or *antuk* 'by' is used.

2) *Nasi né telah-ang-a baan I Madé*
   Rice-DEF finish-Appl-PASS by I Madé
   'The rise was eaten up by I Madé'

Ka- forms

The *ka-* passive constructions can be *ka- + base construction, ka-* + base + ang, or *ka-* + base + *-in.* and *ka-* + base + *-an.* Let us see the explanation below.

- *Ka- + base*

In the ka- base construction expressing passive, the prefix ka- can only be attached to a transitive verb. This means that the prefix ka- cannot be attached to other base forms like an adjective, adverb or intransitive verb except it is combined with suffix -an, -ang, or -in. Ka- attached to a transitive verb expresses

a non-volitional activity. This construction may also express the meaning of 'in the condition'. We can see that ka- attached to a transitive verb panggih 'meet' in the sentence Ipun suwé sampun tan kapanggih 'He was not found for a long time' may express that the activity of meeting is non-volitional.

- *Ka- +base + -ang*

The *ka-* base *-ang* construction expressing passive implies patient reference. In this construction the base can be an adjective, a noun, an adverb, an intransitive or a transitive verb (Kersten, 1980). This kind of construction may certainly bring semantic representation.
Examples:

3) *Témbok umah-é ka-tegeh-ang*
   Wall   house-DEF PASS-high-Appl
   'The wall of the house was made high'

4) *Tan ka-rasa-ang antuk ida*
   Not PASS-feel-Appl by   him
   'It was not felt by him'

5) *Pajalan-é ka-adéng-ang*
   Walk-POSS PASS-slow-Appl
   'My walk was made slow'

6) *Ka-pules-ang ia ditu*
   PASS-sleep-Appl child 1SG-POSS there
   'He was slept there'

7) Cucun tiang-é *ka-beli-ang tiang sumpel*
   Grandchild 1SG-POSS PASS-buy-Appl 1SG earring
   'My grand-daughter was bought earring by me'.

- *Ka- + base + -in*

In Balinese, it is very common to express passive forms by using prefix *ka-* combined with suffix *-in.* This combination, when attached to the base (adjective, noun, adverb, intransitive and transitive verbs) may imply some different meanings as the following.

Ka- -in Implying Goal Applicative
8) *Carik-é jagi ka-tandur-in padi*
    Field-DEF will PASS-plan-Appl rice
     'The field will be planted with rice'

Ka- -in Implying Recipient Applicative
9) *Penari-né ka-atur-in wédang*
   Dancer-DEF ka-give-APPL coffee
   The dancers were given coffee'.

Ka- -in Implying Instrument Applicative
10) *Botol lengis-é ka-sengseng-in tiang baan sambuk*
      Bottle oil-DEF PASS-clog-APPL 1SG with coconut fiber
      'The bottle will be clogged with coconut fiber'

- *Ka- base –an*

The *Ka-* base -*an* construction expresses two kinds of different meanings. First, it expresses an accidental passive like in example (11). Secondly, in (12) it expresses abstrumental passive.

The example of accidental a passive:
11) *I Putu ka-ilang-an pipis*
      I Putu PASS-lose-LF money
       'I Putu lost his money'

The example of abstrumental passive:
12) Carik-né ka-pegat-an   yéh
      Rice papaddy-POSS PASS-cut off-LF water
       'His rice field got its water cut off'

Ma- form

There is the *ma-* construction which is also considered passive in Balinese. It is considered stative passive. In this construction it is the patient that is being focused, rather than the agent. It means that it has no agent. This form is used when it is considered that the agent is not important (Hunter, 1988).
Examples:

13) a. *Punyan poh-é suba ma-tanem*
         Tree mango-DEF already PASS-plant
         'The mango tree has been planted'

     b. *Sepéda-né suba ma-dep*
        Bicycle-DEF already PASS-sell
        'The bicycle has been sold'

Result and Discussion

Agents in Balinese passive constructions vary in their forms and semantic representation. The use of the unmarked noun or pronoun as agent also varies (Friederici, 2004; Felleisen & Hieb, 1992). The forms of agent have their own syntactic and semantic representations. In general, as an addition, the *ma-* forms cannot have an agent, while other forms like basic forms, *ka-* form, and verbs with suffix -*a* may have an agent, and when they have it, it is expressed with *tekén/ring/olih/antuk* 'by'. These are clearly explained in the following discussion (Levy, 2008; Darlina, 2016).

A pronoun of the first or second person as agent

This kind of agent may be expressed by a pronoun or a noun, or not expressed at all. In its implementation, this kind of agent must follow the verb immediately. This can be seen in the following data.

14) a. *Tiang bakal maang nanging barang apang bakat*
         1SG will give but goods   should get
         gisi tiang (Manda, 2013)
         hold 1SG
         'I will give it to you but the goods should be hold by me'

     b. *Carita punika raris surat titiang dados features*
        Story that then write 1SG   become features
        masambung (Sugianto, 2015)
        continue
        'The story then was written by me to become related features'

When the verb has *-ang* or *-in*, and the agent is a pronoun in the first or second person, though expressed with a noun, the construction is identical with that of base verb.

15) a. *Santukan ring novel punika sampun imbuh-in titiang*
         Because in novel that already add-Appl 1SG
         antuk wangun utawi tokoh-tokoh anyar (Sugianto, 2015)
         with form or characters new
         'Because the novel has already been added (by me) with new forms
         or characters'

     b. *Suba seken tepuk-in tiang, bli ngenjuh-ang*
        Already true see-Appl 1SG, brother give-Appl
        lima tengawan (Sugianto, 2015)
        hand right
        'It was really true that you were seen by me giving your right
        hand'

     c. *Ipun sampun karyan-ang mémé kopi*
        3SG already make-Appl mother coffee
        'He has been made coffee by me'

It is very common to use a noun or a title as the pronoun of the first or second person as agent. This can be seen in the following examples.

16) a. *Ngelemeng duka-in guru tiang, tuah ja tiang mula belog*
         Every day   angry-Appl teacher 1SG, indeed 1SG really stupid
         'I was blamed by you every day, indeed I was really stupid'

     b. *Wayan Tantra orah-ang mémé mlaib-ang*
        Wayan Tantra say-Appl mother run-Appl

pianak mémé-né? (Manda, 2013)
child   mother-POSS
'Was Wayan Tantra said by me to take my daughter away?'

In Balinese, the pronominal agent is expressed only to avoid ambiguity; when the reference is clear the pronouns are omitted

17)   a. *Bungkung-é ané mémé baang cai, dadi adep.*
      Ring-DEF that mother give   you, can sell
      'The ring I gave to you may be sold (by you)'

   b. *Lamun tusing ada ngaku-in pipis-é né, lakar duduk koné*
      If not exist agree-Appl money-DEF this will take said
       'If no one admits having this money, it will be taken (by me)'

adep 'sell' in data (17) a above, if fully translated, is 'be sold for you', while the word *duduk* 'take' may be translated into 'be taken by me'. This can be done so since the reference is clear, that is the speaker. In the literary language, it is possible to put the first personal pronoun (or a noun substituted for a pronoun) as agent at the beginning of the sentence for the emphases. This can be seen in the following data.

18)   a. *Tatakang limané, bapa bang-a cening keris anggo pasikepan.*
      Turn your palm, father give-PASS child keris use magic
      'Turn your palm, you will be given by me keris for your magic power'

   b. *Titiang karyanang-a jeroné pelinggih di sanggah titian-é*
      1SG make-PASS you pelinggih at temple 1SG-POSS
      'You will be made *pelinggih* at your temple by me'

The agent is a pronoun in the third person

In Balinese, the agent of the third person pronoun can be expressed by the suffix -*a*, even though he may be being addressed. The language in this case is Low. –*a* is considered equivalent to *iya* 'him' or 'her'. However, this construction is not used in High Balinese. In High sentences *iya* is replaced with *ipun, dané* or *ida* 'him' or 'her', however the passive verb is in the *ka*-form.

19)   a. *Tiang tambak-a tekén jlema buduh ténénan* (Manda, 2013)
         1SG   block-3SG by person crazy this
         'I was blocked by this crazy man'

   b. *Kala Bebau, inget tekén baang-a cakepan*
      Kala Bebau, remember by give-3SG knowledge
      tekén Bhatara Indra (Sugianto, 2015)
      by Bhatara Indra
      'By chance Kala Bebau remembered he was given knowledge by Bhatara Indra'
   c. *Piteket punika kadagingin ida gagonjakan*
     Advice that PASS-add-Appl him joke

'The advice was added with jokes'

In data (19) a and b above, -*a* represents the agent of third person pronoun although it is being addressed with *jlema buduh ténénan* 'this crazy man' in (19) a, and *Bhatara Indra* in (19) b. In (19) c, the third person pronoun Agent is represented by *Ida* H 'him'.

A noun as an agent can be used as first, second, or third person. Look at the contrast in the sentences below. *Guru* in (20) a represents for the first person pronoun, in b for second person pronoun, and in c for third person pronoun.

20) a. *Tepuk guru ia N-celep-ang pis ke kantong-né*
    See 1SG him Trans.-enter-Appl money into pocket-POSS
    'He was seen by me putting money in his pocket'

   b. *Ngalemeng tiang duka-in guru*
    Every day 1 SG angry-Appl teacher
    'I was always scolded by him'

   c. *Ngalemeng tiang dukain-a tekén I guru*
    Every day 1 SG angry-3SG by the teacher
    'I was always complained by him'

The agent is unknown or indefinite

In Balinese passive sentences it is very common to have unknown agent. In this case the agent is expressed with a general word, the agent is an indefinite person or persons. In this case the construction is Subject + Base Verb + Agent. The prepositional phrase is never used here.
Examples:

21) a. *Siap jemak anak.*
    Chicken take person
    'Chicken was taken by people'

   b. *Anak cenik cegut kuluk*
    Child small bite dog
    'A child beaten by dogs'

No agent in the *ka-* forms

The *ka-* form verbs can be *ka-* + base (no suffix) in the base form. Normally no Agent is thought of in the case of the form *ka-* + base (no suffix) and *ka-* + base + -an.

22) *Siap tiang-é sampun ka-adol*
   Cock 1SG-POSS already PASS-sell
   'My cock has already been sold'

23) *Ipun ka-timpa-(a) n rejeki*
   3SG PASS-fall-GF fortune

'He was given a fortune'

Ka-forms with suffix -*ang* or -*in* quite frequently have an agent. Normally it is expressed with the prepositional phrases with the words L *tekén, olih, ajak* 'by'.

24) a. *Piteket Ida Prabu Rama kantos mangkin ka-teleb-ang*
Advice Ida Prabu Rama until now PASS-follow-Appl
olih para Rajan-é di Bali (Sugianto, 2015)
by plural King-DEF
'The advice of the Majesty Rama up till now was followed by all the kings'.

b. *Raksasa Kala Bebau kakasorang olih Bhatara Indra*
Giants Kala Bebau PASS-lose-Appl by Bhatara Indra
dugas ngusak asik marcapada (Sugianto, 2015)
when break world
'Raksasa Kala Bebau was defeated by Bhatara Indra when was attacking the world'.

Sometimes, the agent of the *ka-* passive form is not in the form of prepositional phrase, but a noun. Occasionally, the *ka-* forms need an unmarked noun like in the following data.

25) a. *Gusti Ngurah Celuk raris mapamit ka-iring panjak*
Gusti Ngurah Celuk then excuse   PASS-follow follower
Samas diri (Sugianto, 2015)
four hundreds person
'Gusti Ngurah Celuk then left followed by four hundreds followers'

b. *Kasepékang Désa.*
PASS-refuse-Appl village
'Be refused by village'

 c. *Ida karauhin olih sang resi*
Majesty PASS-come-Appl by the priest
The majesty was visited by priest'

Referring a definite unknown agent

Though in a theory suffix -*a* refers to a definite, known agent, in many instances it is used as an indication that someone did something, in such cases the -*a* is used to express the passive form of the verb.

26) a. *Nah da ja lantang-ang-a* (Manda, 2013)
Yes don't please long-Appl-PASS
'Please not be extended' or 'Please don't extend'

b. *Yén suba anggon-a depang suba jejek-a* (Manda, 2013)
If already wear-PASS let already trample-PASS
If it was already worn, let it be trampled'

Conclusion

It has been shown that agents in Balinese passive sentences vary in terms of forms and semantic representations. It is also shown that the agents in Balinese passive constructions have syntactic and semantic representations. The agents of Balinese passive constructions may be in the form of first person, second person or third person pronoun or it may be an unmarked noun representing the first or second person pronouns. These forms of agent bring syntactic and semantic representations. Their uses are also different. It is quite depended upon whether:

- The agent of the first or second person which can be expressed by a pronoun or a noun, or not at all.
- The agent of the third person pronoun.
- The noun agent denoting a definite individual or the noun of the kind that can be used in lieu of a personal pronoun in the first or second person.
- The noun agent denoting a general, indefinite idea.

It has been shown also that ma- forms cannot have an Agent. To know more about the behavior of agents in Balinese passive sentences, more research about sentences considered passive, especially those involving derivational verb forms, are needed.

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