

The development of the English-type passive in Balinese

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ABSTRACT

The morpheme *-a* in Balinese is ambiguous because it can serve as a third person enclitic pronoun or a passive voice marker. Various views exist about whether the morpheme can be a pronoun in the presence of a *teken* agentive phrase. This paper argues that it can and that the construction in which the pronoun *-a* and a *teken* phrase co-occur (the hybrid type) is an instance of clitic doubling. A hypothesis is proposed about how the third person pronoun became a passive marker and how various passive subtypes came into existence. It is claimed that the hybrid type played a key role in the change. The hybrid type supports the analysis of passives in general as a clitic doubling construction (Baker, Johnson, and Roberts 1989). A clitic doubling analysis of passives enables a new typology of passives whereby passives are classified according to how the clitic and its double in a passive clause are expressed.

KEYWORDS: Balinese; Classical Malay; voice; passives; clitic doubling.

1. INTRODUCTION

Balinese has clauses with the bound morpheme *-a*, as in (1). Example (1) is a transitive clause, where the agent follows the verb, and is expressed by the third person enclitic pronoun *-a*.

- (1) *Nasi-ne jemak-a.*
rice-DEF take-A
'S/he took the rice.' (Artawa 1998: 10)

An *a*-marked clause can be accompanied by an agentive PP, as in (2).

- (2) *Nasi-ne ajeng-a [teken anak-e ento].*
rice-DEF eat-A by person-DEF that
'That person ate the rice.' (Artawa 1998: 10)

Traditionally, both constructions have been described as passives (for example, Kersten 1984). However, various views exist in recent analyses. These analyses differ in whether (1) and (2) represent one single construction or two distinct constructions.

I Ketut Artawa regards (1) and (2) as a single construction, which he calls the “ \emptyset -construction” (Artawa 1998) and “bare verb construction” (Artawa 2013). Only one *-a* morpheme exists in the language, namely the third person enclitic pronoun *-a*. I Wayan

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Arka, on the other hand, argues that two distinct voice constructions are involved in (1) and (2) (Arka 2003, 2008). While (2) with an agentive PP is unambiguously passive, (1) without an agentive PP could be passive or what he calls the “object voice”. Arka recognizes two homophonous *-a* morphemes. The *-a* in a passive clause is a passive voice marker whereas the *-a* in an object voice clause is the third person enclitic pronoun.

In fact, Artawa (2013) is aware of the passive marker-like use of *-a*. He thus states that *-a* can “be interpreted as” or “shift to” a passive marker in the presence of an agentive phrase, as in (2). Since it is not obvious how to implement this idea technically, I take the statement as admitting that synchronically there exists another *-a* morpheme which is distinct from the third person enclitic *-a*, namely the passive voice marker *-a*.¹

I thus assume that contemporary Balinese possesses two *-a* morphemes, namely the third person enclitic pronoun *-a* and the passive voice marker *-a*. Both Artawa and Arka think that the former is historically older and the latter developed from it. Artawa’s use of the expression “shift to” implies he thinks that way. Arka (2008) explicitly writes that “the bound form [the third person enclitic *-a*] has changed to become a passive-like suffix” because the low register lacks the equivalent of the *ka-* passive available in the high register.

This paper offers a hypothesis about how the enclitic *-a* turned into a passive marker and why such a change was possible at all. I will show that a similar change has happened in Standard Malay (henceforth “Malay”). The changes that occurred in Malay and Balinese are important not only empirically but also theoretically because they support Baker, Johnson, and Roberts’s (1989) basic insight of comparing passives to clitic doubling. Relatedly, they also show that the so-called Philippine-type voice system, where non-active voice clauses are clearly transitive, is not special typologically, but it is in fact connected to the English-type voice system, where non-active clauses do not appear to be transitive. The Balinese and Malay facts reveal that the intransitive look is only apparent.

This paper is organized as follows. Since the term “passive” is used in various ways in the literature, I will first present my own definition of the term in section 2. Basic facts of the Balinese voice system are also presented in this section in comparison with that of Malay. In section 3, I claim that Artawa’s view that the morpheme *-a* can be the third person enclitic pronoun in the presence of a *teken* agentive phrase is supported by a similar fact in *di-* passives in Classical Malay. The hybrid type, where the two co-occur, is analysed as a clitic doubling construction in section 4. Section 5 proposes a hypothesis about the development of various passive types. Section 6 is the conclusion. The section discusses theoretical implications that the present study has for the analysis of passives in general and offers a new typology of passives, which does not exclude the object voice and the so-called Philippine-type symmetrical voice system as fundamentally different phenomena.

¹ Note that the presence of two *-a* morphemes is compatible with Artawa’s view that (1) and (2) belong to the same construction. It is not uncommon that a construction involves more than one morpheme characterizing it. For example, the actor voice construction in Tagalog has subconstructions with different actor voice markers such as *-um-*, *mag-*, *ma-* and *mang-*. Similarly, one can think of a passive voice construction involving subconstructions characterized by different passive voice markers.

2. VOICE CATEGORIES AND MARKERS

The term “passive” is a tricky one in linguistics. Different authors define it differently. Consequently, the same term, “passive”, can sometimes refer to totally different constructions. One common definition of the passive, which I do not adopt myself, makes reference to the external argument of a verb, which plays semantic roles such as agent, cause and experiencer. For instance, one can define a passive clause as a construction where the external argument is backgrounded. This functional definition captures the well-known fact that the referent denoted by the external argument is not completely absent in the semantics of a passive clause. At the same time, it will also include sentences that are not traditionally considered passive such as *They speak Singlish in Singapore*, in which the referent of *they*, namely Singaporeans, is said to be backgrounded (Givón 2001: 94).

My definition of the passive (see Nomoto 2015b: section 2 for details) does not make reference to the external argument but exclusively to the internal argument, which plays semantic roles such as theme and patient. A passive clause is defined as a construction where the internal argument is not licensed by the verb. Roughly speaking, an argument noun phrase introduced into a syntactic structure must be licensed by a particular licenser in order to stay in the structure. In the case of the internal argument, the default licenser is the verb, and it can remain in the original position if it is licensed by the verb. This is what happens in an active clause. If the internal argument fails to be licensed by the verb, it must be licensed by another licenser, in which case the relevant noun phrase occurs in a dislocated position or occurs in the original position but with special prosodic effects (see Tjung 2006 for a discussion of post-verbal internal arguments in Indonesian). This happens in a passive clause. How the external argument is licensed/encoded does not concern the active-passive distinction but classifies the passive voice into subtypes.

As an illustration of how this definition works, let us examine the Malay voice system of Malay first. Examples (3a) and (3b) are active sentences because the internal argument *dokumen itu* ‘the document’ is licensed in its initially merged object position. By contrast, (3c) and (3d) are passive sentences because the same noun phrase is displaced to the pre-auxiliary subject position. The English translation is given in both active and passive, as a natural choice of voice in one language does not always match with that in another. The external argument *mereka* ‘they’ in (3d) is obligatory. However, this does not mean that the sentence is not passive because in my definition, whether a clause is passive or not has nothing to do with whether and how the external argument is expressed.

- (3) a. *MeN-* active²
Mereka sudah meny-[s]emak dokumen itu.
they already ACT-check document that

² This paper uses the following abbreviations not available in the Leipzig Glossing Rules: ACT: active; FAM: familiar; LINK: linker; PART: particle.

- b. Bare active
Mereka sudah semak dokumen itu.
 they already check document that
- c. *Di-* passive
Dokumen itu sudah di-semak oleh mereka.
 document that already PASS-check by them
- d. Bare passive
*Dokumen itu sudah *(mereka) semak.*
 document that already they check
 'They have already checked the document./The document has already been checked by them.'

The names of the four constructions above are given based on the verbal morphology. The presence of bare active and passive indicates that the voice category, namely active or passive, is determined covertly. That is, a clause can be active without *meN-*. Similarly, a clause can be passive without *di-*. The verbal morphology signals what the covertly determined voice category is (see Nomoto and Kartini (2012) for more on covert voice alternation). This idea can be implemented in terms of selectional restriction. Assuming that bare voices involve a null voice marker (\emptyset), various voice markers' selectional restrictions can be summarized as follows: *meN-* selects an active clause, *di-* selects a passive clause and \emptyset has no selectional restriction with regard to voice categories.

Technically, I assume the schematic base structures in (4) for the four constructions in (3) above. EA and IA stand for external argument and internal argument, respectively. A passive clause is a projection of a *v* head that lacks accusative case assignment ability whereas the *v* projecting an active clause has that ability. I differentiate between the two flavours of *v* by marking the latter with *. Neither *v* nor *v** has phonological content (covert voice alternation). The Voice head hosts voice markers. Different voice markers have different selectional restrictions on their complements.

- (4) a. *MeN-* active
 [_{VoiceP} *meN-* [_{v*P} EA *v** [_{VP} V IA]]]
- b. *Di-* passive
 [_{VoiceP} *di-* [_{vP} EA *v* [_{VP} V IA]]]
- c. Bare active
 [_{VoiceP} \emptyset [_{v*P} EA *v** [_{VP} V IA]]]
- d. Bare passive
 [_{VoiceP} \emptyset [_{vP} EA *v* [_{VP} V IA]]]

Since the passive internal argument is not licensed by the verb (more precisely the *v* head), it is instead licensed by the licenser that licenses the external argument in the active. Consequently, the passive external argument cannot occur in the structure unless some non-canonical licensing takes place. Various methods of external argument licensing are reflected

in the ways in which the external argument is encoded. In bare passives, the external argument must occur overtly pre-adjacent to the verb, as in (3d). In *di-* passives too, the external argument can occur adjacent to the verb, as in (5a), though it is post-adjacent but not pre-adjacent.³ The external argument can be implicit, as in (5b). I analyse this case as involving a null unspecified pronoun (*pro*) immediately after the verb. Verb-adjacent external arguments are relatively small in size.⁴ The type and size of possible verb-adjacent external arguments exhibit cross-linguistic variations. In Standard Indonesian, the external argument in bare passives is restricted to pronouns and pronoun substitutes such as kin terms (Sneddon et al. 2010: 258–259). This restriction does not exist in Malay and many other related languages (Nomoto 2018). The external argument in bare passives must be morphological clitics in Sama Bangingi’ (Gault 2002) whereas it may be phonologically null in certain contexts in Mualang (Tjia 2007). Lastly, the external argument can be expressed within an *oleh* ‘by’ preposition phrase, as in (5c). The *oleh* phrase is movable and does not have to be adjacent to the verb. Hence, it is an adjunct.

- (5) Subtypes of the *di-* passive
- a. DP type⁵
Surat itu sudah di-poskan kerani.
 letter that already PASS-post clerk
 - b. *Pro* type
Surat itu sudah di-poskan pro.
 letter that already PASS-post
 - c. *Oleh* type
Surat itu sudah di-poskan oleh kerani.
 letter that already PASS-post by clerk
 ‘The letter was already posted (by the clerk).’

The Balinese voice system is basically the same as that of Malay, except that Balinese lacks the bare active. The construction referred to as “ \emptyset -construction/object voice/bare verb construction” is bare passive in my terminology. The external argument of bare passives occurs post-adjacent to the verb and is restricted to pronouns and indefinites (Artawa 1998; Wechsler and Arka 1998).⁶

- (6) a. *N-* active
Tiang ny-[s]epak cicing-e.
 1SG ACT-kick dog-DEF
 ‘I kicked the dog.’

³ This word order can be explained by positing a verb movement to Voice

⁴ This is presumably because they are licensed by the mere adjacency. See Levin (2015: chapter 3) for the idea of licensing by adjacency.

⁵ DP stands for determiner phrase. The syntactic distinction between DPs and NPs (noun phrases) is thought to correspond to semantic differences. Specifically, DPs denote entities whereas NPs denote properties.

⁶ In Balinese passives, the verb moves to Voice by default. By contrast, in Malay passives, the movement occurs when Voice is occupied by *di-* (*di-* passives) but not when Voice is phonologically null (bare passives).

- b. -A passive
Nasi-ne ajeng-a teken anak-e ento. (= (2))
 rice-DEF eat-PASS by person-DEF that
 'That person ate the rice.'
- c. Bare passive
Cicing-e sepak tiang.
 dog-DEF kick 1SG
 'I kicked the dog.'
- (Artawa 1998: 9–10)

Balinese *-a* passives have the same subtypes that differ in the way in which the external argument is expressed as Malay *di-* passives have. The external argument can occur post-adjacent to the verb, as in (7a). It can be implicit, as in (7b). It can also occur as an adjunct in a *teken* 'by' preposition phrase, as in (7c).

(7) Subtypes of the *-a* passive

- a. DP type
Apa goreng-a I Narti di paon?
 what fry-PASS ART Narti in kitchen
 'What was fried by Narti in the kitchen?'
 (Artawa 2013: 22)
- b. *Pro* type
Mangkin ambilang-a pro ja surat Gusti Kompyang Sususra-ne.
 now take-PASS PART letter Gusti Kompyang Sususra-POSS
 'Now I am taking Gusti Kompyang Sususra's letter (for you).'⁷
 (Srawana: 36, cited in Artawa 2013: 17)
- c. *Teken* type
Nasi-ne ajeng-a teken anak-e ento. (= (2))
 rice-DEF eat-PASS by person-DEF that
 'That person ate the rice.'
- (Artawa 1998: 10)

Arka's analysis with two homophonous *-a* morphemes, namely one as the third person enclitic pronoun and the other as the passive suffix, can not only handle all available patterns but also enables an easy cross-linguistic comparison.

A crucial difference between Arka's and Artawa's analyses concerns the status of *-a* in the *teken* type. In Arka's analysis, when a *teken* agentive phrase is present, *-a* is the passive marker and never the third person enclitic pronoun. By contrast, Artawa's analysis allows for the possibility that *-a* can be the third person enclitic even in the presence of a *teken* phrase. Should such a possibility be allowed? The answer must be negative if one makes the following assumption: Two external argument expressions cannot be in a clause, where one is an argument (core) and the other is an adjunct (oblique). In the next section, I will argue that this assumption is not justified empirically and that the answer to the question is in fact positive. Allowing for two external argument expressions in a clause will enable us to better understand the historical development of the *-a* passive.

⁷ It is notable that the implicit agent in this example is first person. See section 5 for more on this point.

3. THE HYBRID TYPE

The two kinds of *-a* can be distinguished based on interpretation if a clause does not contain a *teken* agentive phrase. Thus, (1), repeated below as (8), is ambiguous. (i) When *-a* is the third person enclitic pronoun, the sentence is a bare passive construction, and the agent of the rice-taking event is a contextually salient third person individual. (ii) When *-a* is the passive marker, the sentence is an *-a* passive construction; although the agent exists, it is implicit and not salient in the discourse.

- (8) *Nasi-ne jemak-a.*
rice-DEF take-A
(i) 'S/he took the rice.' (bare passive)
(ii) 'The rice was taken.' (*-a* passive)

When a *teken* agentive phrase is present, as in (2), repeated below as (9), the ambiguity cannot be observed because a specific agent is indicated by the *teken* phrase. It is therefore impossible to distinguish between the two kinds of *-a*, and hence two kinds of passives, by means of interpretation.

- (9) *Nasi-ne ajeng-a [teken anak-e ento].*
rice-DEF eat-A by person-DEF that
'That person ate the rice./The rice was eaten by that person.'
(i) Passive marker = \emptyset ; Agent = *-a* and *anak-e ento* 'that person' (bare passive)
(ii) Passive marker = *-a*; Agent = *anak-e ento* 'that person' (*-a* passive)

Under the assumption that there cannot be more than one external argument expression in a clause, the bare passive analysis is ruled out by the theory. The morpheme *-a* in this example cannot be an agent expression but the passive marker.⁸ However, the same conclusion is not a necessary one if one does not adopt such an assumption. The morpheme *-a* can be the third person enclitic pronoun and denote the agent together with the *teken* agentive phrase. Such a passive type is a hybrid of the DP type and the *teken* type in the sense that the external argument is expressed by both a noun phrase post-adjacent to the verb and a *teken* preposition phrase.

It is impossible to ascertain the presence or absence of the hybrid type only by looking at Balinese data because the putative hybrid type occurs with the bare passive, where the passive marker is not phonologically overt. However, the presence of the hybrid type in other languages can justify its presence in Balinese. As far as I know, at least one language clearly possesses the hybrid type passive, namely Classical Malay. The presence of the hybrid type passive in Classical Malay was pointed out by Cumming (1991) and has been studied in some detail by Nomoto and Kartini (2016) and Nomoto (2016).

The passage in (10) below showcases all *di-* passive subtypes available in contemporary

⁸ A theory in which the adjunct/oblique status of the external argument is part of the definition of the passive would most likely lead to the same conclusion. This is because while the *teken* phrase is obviously an adjunct, the status of *-a* is difficult to identify either as an argument or an adjunct.

Malay, summarized in (5) above, and an additional subtype, namely the hybrid type. Type (a) is the DP type. The third person enclitic *-nya* refers to a referent in the preceding discourse, namely the regent. Type (b) is the hybrid type, in which the external argument is expressed by the third person enclitic pronoun *-nya* and an *oleh* agentive preposition phrase. Type (c) is the *oleh* ‘by’ type. Lastly, (d) is the *pro* type. No *oleh* phrase occurs in the clause. The agent of the letter-giving event is not mentioned.

- (10) *Setelah sudah surat itu* (a)*di-perbuat-nya*, [...], *maka lalu* (b)*di-baca-nya oleh*
 after already letter that PASS-make-3 and then PASS-read-3 by
baginda surat itu. Setelah sudah (c)*di-baca oleh baginda surat itu*, [...],
 him letter that after already PASS-read by him letter that
lalu (d)*di-berikan surat itu kepada* [...].
 then PASS-give letter that to

‘After (a)he [= the regent] made the letter, [...], and then the letter (b)was read by (him) the king. After the letter (c)was read by the king, [...], and then the letter (d)was given to [...].’
 (Hikayat Maharaja Marakarma 139b)⁹

Unlike *-a* in Balinese, *-nya* in Malay is clearly not a passive marker but a third person enclitic pronoun. The passive marker is the prefix *di-*. The presence of the hybrid type passive makes the “one external argument expression per clause” assumption empirically untenable.¹⁰ The hybrid type contains two external argument expressions, namely the third person enclitic pronoun *-nya* and an *oleh* agentive preposition phrase.

4. HYBRID TYPE AS A CLITIC DOUBLING CONSTRUCTION

Nomoto (2016) argues that the hybrid type *di-* passive in Classical Malay is a clitic doubling construction involving the external argument. Clitic doubling is a phenomenon where a clitic pronoun and its full noun phrase double jointly refer to a single individual rather than two distinct ones. Previous discussions on clitic doubling are mostly concerned with those on internal arguments (direct and indirect objects), as in the Rioplatense Spanish example in (11) below. In this example, the clitic *lo* before the verb refers to the same individual as denoted by the full noun phrase *Juan*, namely Juan. A preceding *Juan* is a special marker occurring in clitic doubling.

⁹ Data obtained from the Malay Concordance Project of the Australian National University (Proudfoot 1991, <http://mcp.anu.edu.au>).

¹⁰ The hybrid type also poses a problem to a theory in which the adjunct/oblique status of the external argument is part of the definition of passives. If one is to assume that the *-nya* in the DP type and that in the hybrid type are identical, that is, they are both arguments, an inevitable conclusion would be that the hybrid type is not really passive but “semi-passive”. If one is to consider the hybrid type as genuinely passive, then s/he would have to say that the *-nya* in the hybrid type is “semi-argument/core” distinct from that in the DP type, which is a genuine argument/core.

- (11) *Lo vimos a Juan.*
 him we.saw A Juan
 'We saw Juan.'

(Jaeggli 1986: 32)

The hybrid type passive in Classical Malay and Balinese involve the external argument. The enclitics *-nya* (Malay) and *-a* (Balinese) are doubled by a full noun phrase preceded by the preposition meaning 'by' in respective languages. The enclitic and its full noun double jointly refer to the same individual (see Nomoto 2016 for a semantic mechanism of clitic doubling that realizes joint reference like this).

In fact, an analysis of passives as a clitic doubling construction dates back to Baker, Johnson, and Roberts (1989). One of the weaknesses of their proposal is that in their analysis of English passives, the suffix *-en* is analysed as a clitic, which is descriptively odd. They could have posited a null clitic instead, but that would have seemed *ad hoc* back then. However, now that the hybrid type passive in Classical Malay and Balinese turned out to instantiate the clitic overtly, the latter analysis has become more plausible.

Nomoto (2016) justifies his analysis of hybrid type *di-* passives in Classical Malay as a clitic doubling construction by showing that they exhibit the following four properties of clitic doubling reported in the literature (Anagnostopoulou 2017): (i) optionality of doubling, (ii) special marker, (iii) high referentiality of the referent, and (iv) clausemate condition on the clitic and its double. In what follows, I will consider these properties one by one for Balinese.

(i) *Optionality.* Clitic doubling is known to be optional. That is, a sentence is still grammatical if either the clitic or its double is omitted. To take the Spanish sentence in (11) as an example, it is grammatical without the clitic *lo*. It is also grammatical without the phrase *a Juan*, in which case the clitic alone refers to a contextually salient individual.

Optionality in this sense is found in Balinese bare passives. Assuming that *a Juan* is a full noun phrase (or an "extended" noun phrase, given the additional marker *a*), the counterpart without the clitic is illustrated by (6c), where the external argument is expressed by a full pronoun *tiang* 'I'. Another example is given in (12), where the external argument is a non-pronominal noun phrase.

- (12) *Ia cotot lelipi.*
 3SG bite snake
 'A snake bit her/him.'

(Artawa 1998:10)

The counterpart without the double is the bare passive parse (i) of (8), where the external argument is the third person enclitic pronoun *-a*. The enclitic *-a* used in a bare passive sentence refers to a contextually salient individual.

(ii) *Special marker.* In Romance clitic doubling, the double of a clitic is introduced by a special marker. The marker is often called a "special preposition". However, since what is crucial is not its exact syntactic category but the role it plays in the construction, I will not adopt this term here. The special marker in the Spanish example in (11) is *a*. Clitic doubling

is unavailable unless a language has such a special marker (Kayne’s Generalization). The preposition *teken* can be regarded as the Balinese equivalent of Spanish *a*. It is special in that other morphemes cannot replace *teken* when an external argument is introduced in hybrid type bare passives.

(iii) *High referentiality*. The direct object in clitic doubling is known to receive a highly referential interpretation. Nomoto (2016) reports that all but one of the 245 instances of the external argument of hybrid *di-* passives in Classical Malay that he examined are either definite (241 instances) or specific indefinite (3 instances), with the sole exception being possibly a case of specific indefinite.

The external argument in the hybrid type bare passive in Balinese seems to be sensitive to referentiality. Artawa (1998: 10) presents the hybrid type as a construction that is used when the external argument is a definite/specific non-pronominal noun phrase because the DP type is ungrammatical when the external argument is a definite non-pronominal noun phrase, as illustrated by the contrast between (13a) and (13b).

- (13) a. *Nasi-n oke-ne amah bangkung.*
 rice-LINK 1SG-POSS eat pig
 ‘A pig ate my rice.’
- b. **Nasi-n oke-ne amah bangkung-e.*
 rice-LINK 1SG-POSS eat pig-DEF
 For: ‘The pig ate my rice.’ (Artawa 2013:10)

Note that it is impossible to ascertain that the external argument of the hybrid type bare passive is restricted to definite/specific noun phrases because hybrid type bare passives are indistinguishable on the surface from *teken* type *-a* passives, which have no restriction on the external argument.

(iv) *Clausemate condition*. The clitic and its double must occur in the same clause in clitic doubling and cannot be long-distance, crossing a clause boundary. As far as the hybrid type bare passive examples in the studies that I consulted (Artawa 1998; Arka 2003, 2008; Artawa 2013), *-a* and the *teken* agentive phrase always occur in the same clause.

These four facts indicate that the surface string “V-*a tekan* DP”, as in (2), involves clitic doubling. This in turn means that Artawa’s (1998; 2013) view that *-a* is the third person enclitic pronoun even in the presence of a *teken* agentive phrase is correct. Furthermore, it becomes possible to recognize two subtypes for bare passives, namely the DP type, in which the external argument is expressed only by a full noun phrase post-adjacent to the verb, and the hybrid type, in which the external argument is expressed by the third person enclitic pronoun *-a* and a *teken* agentive phrase simultaneously.

5. A HYPOTHESIS ABOUT THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF PASSIVES

The presence of the hybrid type bare passive makes it possible to see how the third person

enclitic pronoun *-a* developed into a passive voice marker in a step-by-step fashion rather than in one fell swoop. Multiple factors are thought to have conspired to give rise to the change. First, the passive voice marker is phonologically null in the bare passive. Second, the base positions for the voice marker and the external argument are next to each other. For example, Collins (2005) proposes the underlying structure in (14).

$$(14) \quad [\text{VoiceP Voice marker } [_{\text{VP}} \text{EA } [_{\text{v}'} \text{v VP}]]]$$

Third, the language has an English-type passive, namely the *ka*-passive in the high register, as pointed out by Arka (2008). Moreover, the *oleh* type *di*-passive in Indonesian also reinforces the change, especially if the change is a recent one. These two other passive constructions provide an element with which to fill the position that was previously occupied by the third person enclitic pronoun *-a*, namely the null unspecified pronoun *pro*.

Figure 1 shows my hypothesis about how the *-a* passive and its various subtypes developed from the bare passive. Originally, the *-a* passive did not exist in Balinese, with the bare passive being the only passive in the language. Stage 1 is at that stage. At Stage 2, the preposition *teken* started to be used in the bare passive construction. At stage 3, it was reanalysed as a passive voice marker, and the external argument position that became open due to the reanalysis was filled by the null unspecified pronoun *pro*. Once the unspecified pronoun *pro* is introduced into the language, the hybrid type becomes redundant, as the denotation of *pro* subsumes that of the third person enclitic pronoun. This functional redundancy explains why the hybrid type *di*-passive in Classical Malay is no longer available in Modern Malay. Since the *teken* phrase is an adjunct, it can be left out, resulting in Stage 4. The unspecified nature of *pro* gives rise to a reading that only asserts the existence of an external argument but not its specific properties.¹¹ This aspect of the passive is often emphasized in functional approaches to passives. However, in the current approach, it is not the property of the passive *per se* but of the null unspecified pronoun *pro* involved in just one of many passive subtypes.¹² At Stage 5, the material that can occupy the external argument position was extended to a full range of noun phrases.

¹¹ An unspecific external argument cannot be referred back to by a specific pronoun such as *ia/dia* 's/he'. Collins (2005) proposes the same idea, though he employs PRO_{Arb} instead of *pro*.

¹² The null unspecified pronoun *pro* is also used in constructions other than the passive. See Nomoto (2015a) for the role of *pro* in Malay anaphoric expressions.

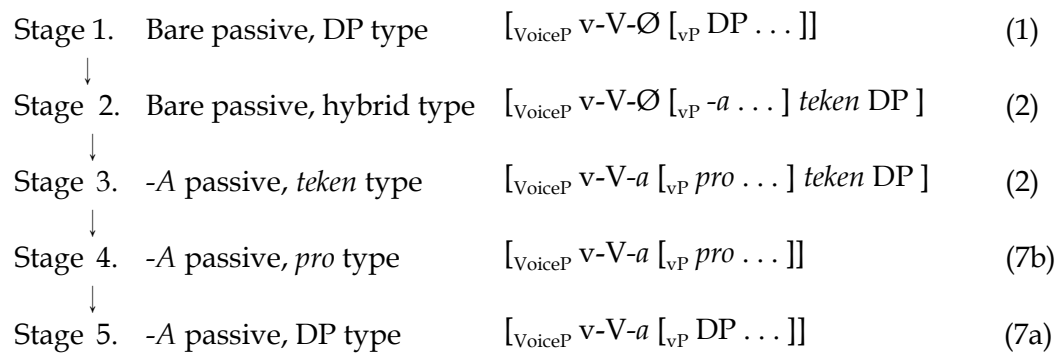


Figure 1. A hypothetical path of the development of various passive subtypes.

Not all speakers/dialects have reached Stage 5. Thus, Arka (2008) reports a sentence that could be parsed as a DP type *-a* passive sentence as ungrammatical.

- (15) **Nyoman tusing tingalin-a ia/Wayan.*
 Nyoman not see-PASS 3 Wayan
 For: '(S)he/Wayan did not see Nyoman.' (Arka 2008: 78)

Furthermore, some speakers/dialects may not have reached Stage 4. For those speakers/dialects, the third person requirement should be very strong because the *teken* type is the only possible subtype available in the *-a* passive, and it is identical in form to the hybrid type bare passive, which definitely has the third person requirement. Therefore, Arka (2008) states that *-a* passives are restricted to third person referents. He presents a sentence like (16), in which the external argument is the first person pronoun *tiang*, as ungrammatical.

- (16) **Bli Man nyidaang masih tepuk-a teken tiang.*
 brother Man can still see-PASS by 1
 For: 'Brother Man can still be seen by me.' (Arka 2008: 81)

However, Artawa (2013) explicitly denies the presence of such a person restriction. He examined the *V-a* clauses in a novel (Srawana 1978) and found that the external argument could be first and second person, which actually corroborates Arka's view that the passive voice marker *-a* exists on top of the third person enclitic *-a*. The results of Artawa's survey are summarized in Table 1. Example (7b) is one of the examples of an implicit first person external argument.

| Person | Overt | Implicit |
|--------|-------|----------|
| First | 6 | 2 |
| Second | | 1 |
| Third | 32 | |

Table 1. External arguments of the *V-a* clauses in Srawana (1978) (Artawa 2013:15).

This fact is not compatible with a recent analysis of *-a* by Legate (2014). She analyses the passive marker *-a* as carrying third person “restrictive φ -features”, extending her analysis of Acehnese and Chamorro passives to Balinese. Restrictive φ -features modify the external argument position in terms of φ -features (= person, gender, number) but do not saturate it (Legate 2010, 2012, 2014). In Acehnese, neither active nor passive is overtly marked, as shown in (17). The verbal prefix *di-* is not a voice marker because it occurs in active and passive sentences. Rather, it restricts the possible external argument to noun phrases denoting referents that are third person and of lower rank than the speaker. Thus, the verb phrases before the subject is merged have the meanings given in (18).

- (17) a. Active
Uleue nyan di-kap lôn.
 snake that 3FAM-bite 1SG
 ‘The snake bit me.’
- b. Passive: *pro* type¹³
Lôn di-kap.
 1SG 3FAM-bite
 ‘I was bitten.’
- c. Passive: *lé* ‘by’ type
Lôn di-kap lé uleue nyan.
 1SG 3FAM-bite by snake that
 ‘I was bitten by the snake.’ (Legate 2014: 39–40)
- (18) a. *di-kap lôn* in (17a) \rightsquigarrow
 $\lambda x \lambda e. \text{Agent}(e, x) \wedge 3\text{FAM}(x) \wedge \text{Biting}(e) \wedge \text{Theme}(e, \text{me})$
 (In a biting event, the subject denoting a third person familiar individual is the agent, and the speaker is the theme.)
- b. *di-kap* in (17b) and (17c) \rightsquigarrow
 $\lambda x \lambda e \lambda y. \text{Agent}(e, x) \wedge 3\text{FAM}(x) \wedge \text{Biting}(e) \wedge \text{Theme}(e, y)$
 (In a biting event, a third person familiar individual is the agent, and the subject is the theme.)

While a restrictive φ -features analysis captures Acehnese data elegantly, it is not adequate for Balinese. A restrictive φ -features analysis forces a third person interpretation to the external argument. However, as pointed out above, *-a* imposes no restriction on the external argument in terms of person, at least in the variety discussed by Artawa (2013).

Incidentally, a restrictive φ -features analysis does not work for *di-* passives in Standard Malay and Standard Indonesian either for the same reason. Nomoto and Kartini (2014) show that first and second person external arguments are possible in *di-* passives in Malay. They claim that the external argument of *di-* passives is normally third person for information structural reasons and that the *di-* passive itself has no syntactic restriction on

¹³ Legate does not posit *pro*. I use this label here for ease of cross-linguistic comparison.

the external argument. As for Indonesian, Alwi et al. (1998: 346) and Sneddon et al. (2010: 259) note that first and second person external arguments are not totally unacceptable. It is only in the prescriptive/standardized grammars of these languages that the person restriction exists as a strict syntactic rule. Descriptively, it is no more than a strong tendency based on information structure.

I suspect that what Arka describes as a syntactic fact (see (16)) is actually governed by the same information structural factors involved in Malay/Indonesian. If so, a restrictive φ -features analysis is not suitable for Balinese in general. That is likely because the voice system of Balinese is more similar to that of Malay/Indonesian than to that of Acehnese.

6. CONCLUSION

This paper has shown that the morpheme *-a* in Balinese can be analysed as a third person enclitic pronoun even in the presence of a *teken* 'by' agentive phrase. The "*di-V-nya oleh DP*" pattern in Classical Malay supports such an analysis. This hybrid type external argument expression is one of the stages in the development of the English-type passive with an implicit external argument from the bare passive construction (see Figure 1).

The hybrid type in Balinese and Classical Malay has important theoretical implications. In the hybrid type passive, the external argument can be encoded by argument and adjunct simultaneously. This means that the argument status of an external argument does not warrant the non-passive status of a construction.

The development path in Figure 1 shows that various passive types in Balinese form a continuum. The same is also the case with Malay (Nomoto and Kartini 2014, 2016). Hence, the tradition of referring to all these constructions as "passive", as I do in this paper, is not problematic. Terms that are introduced to make the voice system of Balinese, Malay/Indonesian and other related languages a three-way opposition of active-passive-X such as "object voice" should be used with care, so as not to miss this continuity.

The hybrid type, in which the non-prepositional external argument is expressed by an overt pronoun, makes it plausible to think that passives in general contain a pronoun as the external argument (Collins 2005); some languages allow overt ones (Balinese, Malay) while others do not (English). The passive construction then is a transitive clause and can be analysed as a clitic doubling construction involving an external argument (Baker, Johnson, and Roberts 1989).

In this connection, the voice system of Western Austronesian languages is often said to be symmetrical and distinct from the asymmetrical system in languages such as English (Foley 1998, 2008; Ross 2002). This study adds a new perspective to the distinction. In a symmetrical voice system, all voices are equally transitive and are marked overtly. As Riesberg (2014: 11) notes, the concept is a gradient. For example, Tagalog has a prototypical symmetrical system while Balinese and Malay do not, possessing voices that are not marked overtly. To the extent that passives in general are transitive, no substantial difference exists between the two systems with regard to transitivity. The sole remaining reason to distinguish between the two systems has to do with the active voice morphology. Symmetrical voice languages have at least one overt active voice marker whereas

asymmetrical voice languages do not. Other things form a continuum.

A typology of various types of passive(-like) constructions can be constructed according to the following two parameters: (i) whether the external argument can be expressed overtly as a syntactic argument and (ii) whether clitic doubling (and hence an adjunct agentive phrase) occurs. Table 2 shows how these parameters classify various passive constructions in Balinese, Classical and Modern Malay, Tagalog and English. The undergoer voice in Tagalog has sub-types differing in particular voice markers as is the case with the DP type in Balinese and Malay. This information is omitted in the table. The hybrid type in Balinese and Classical Malay plays an important role in this typology, as it fills the slot for the options that are not available in more well-studied languages. It connects the two subtypes that could otherwise be treated as separate phenomena, namely the DP type and undergoer voice (object voice, Philippine-type) on one hand and the *pro* and ‘by’ types (canonical passive, English-type) on the other.

| Argument DP | Doubling ('by' phrase) | Balinese | Classical Malay | Modern Malay | Tagalog | English |
|-------------|------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| overt | no | DP type (bare & -a) | DP type (bare & di-) | DP type (bare & di-) | undergoer voice | — |
| overt | yes | hybrid type (bare) | hybrid type (di-) | — | — | — |
| covert | no | <i>pro</i> type (-a) | <i>pro</i> type (di-) | <i>pro</i> type (di-) | — | short passive |
| covert | yes | <i>teken</i> type (-a) | <i>oleh</i> type (di-) | <i>oleh</i> type (di-) | — | long passive |

Table 2: A new typology of passives under a clitic doubling analysis of passives

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