

JAVANESE PASSIVES, ERGATIVES AND ADVERSATIVES

Ahmad Sofwan¹
La Trobe University

1. Introduction

This paper describes Javanese passive, ergative and adversative constructions. Even though the passive in Javanese, as in other Austronesian languages, does not have the same pragmatic properties as the passive in English and other European languages, Javanese seems to have genuine syntactic passive constructions. Recently, Verhaar (1988) has claimed that some Indonesian passives are in fact ergative, and extends his claim to Javanese. However, Davies (1990) suggests that Eastern Javanese is best accounted for by the use of passive analysis, hence rejecting an ergative analysis of Javanese. He further uses the passive analysis to describe Javanese adversatives (Davies 1995). I argue here that apart from having a passive construction, Javanese has another construction which can be analysed as ergative on the basis of properties of its agent and markedness. Further, the passive analysis is argued to be insufficient to account for the different types of Javanese adversatives.

2. Javanese passives

Javanese is an SVO language. In a sentence with a two-place predicate the preverbal NP and the postverbal NP cannot be swapped without changing its meaning. In a very highly marked situation, the preverbal NP can be extraposed, marked by an intonation break. These patterns are shown in the following examples.

- (1) a. *Kucing iku ng-oyak tikus iku*
cat DEF N-chase mouse DEF
'The cat chased the mouse.'
- b. *Tikus iku ng-oyak kucing iku*
mouse DEF N-chase cat DEF
'The mouse chased the cat.'
- c. *Ng-oyak tikus iku // kucing iku*
N-chase mouse DEF cat DEF
'Chased the mouse // the cat.'

The following examples show the contrast between the active and passive constructions.

- (2) a. *Kucing iku ng-oyak tikus iku*
cat DEF N-chase mouse DEF
'The cat chased the mouse.'
- b. *Tikus iku di-oyak (dening) kucing iku*
mouse DEF DI-chase by cat DEF
'The mouse was chased by the cat.'
- (3) a. *Yono n-(t)ulis surat iku*
Yono N-write letter DEF
'Yono wrote the letter.'

¹ I would like to thank Barry Blake, Margaret Florey and Peter Austin for their valuable comments and suggestions regarding this paper.

- b. *Surat iku di-tulis (dening) Yono*
 letter DEF DI-write by Yono
 ‘The letter was written by Yono.’

Different terms have been used by different authors to refer to the construction with the nasal prefix, such as ‘actor focus’ (Naylor 1978), ‘actor trigger’ (Wouk 1986), and ‘active’ (Bintoro 1980, Ramelan 1983). Similarly, the construction with the *di*-prefix has been labelled as ‘non-actor’ or ‘object focus’ (Naylor 1978), ‘patient trigger’ (Wouk 1986), and ‘passive’ (Bintoro 1980, Ramelan 1983). It seems that these terms share the idea that the preverbal NP in nasal constructions is in control of the action indicated by the verb whereas the preverbal NP in *di*-constructions is not in control of the action indicated by the verb. However, the examples below with one-place predicates show that nasal constructions do not necessarily involve control of the action by the preverbal NP.

- (4) a. *Bom-e m-bledhos*
 bomb-DEF N-explode
 ‘The bomb exploded.’
- b. *Mesin-e wis m-(p)ati*
 machine-DEF already N-die
 ‘The machine has already stopped.’
- (5) a. *Dheweke dolanan banyu*
 3SG play.with water
 ‘She/he played with water.’
- b. *Aku lungguh ing kursi*
 1SG sit on chair
 ‘I sat on the chair.’

In (4) the nasal verbs *mblehdhos* ‘explode’ and *mati* ‘die’ cannot be interpreted as having preverbal NPs (*bome* ‘the bomb’ and *mesine* ‘the machine’) which are in control of the action. The preverbal NPs are semantically the patients of the verbs. On the other hand, in (5) the non-nasal verbs *dolanan* ‘play with’ and *lungguh* ‘sit’ cannot be interpreted as having preverbal NPs (*dheweke* ‘she/he’ and *aku* ‘I’) which are not in control of the action. The preverbal NPs are semantically the agents of the verbs. Further, Javanese imperatives may be expressed by a nasal prefix plus *-a* suffix, by *-en/nen* suffix and by the *di*-construction, as in (6).

- (6) a. *Ayo ny-(c)oba-a klambi iki*
 come on N-try on-A shirt this
 ‘Come on, try on this shirt!’
- b. *Ayo coba-nen klambi iki*
 come.on try on-NEN shirt this
 ‘Come on, try on this shirt!’
- c. *Ayo di-coba klambi iki*
 come.on DI-try on shirt this
 ‘Come on, try on this shirt!’

The agents of imperatives are assumed to be the second person. So are the agents of these different forms of Javanese imperatives. There are of course differences of how these forms are used, but here I show that there is a situation in which the nasal prefix and the *di*-prefix do not necessarily refer to the dichotomy of actor versus non-actor and agent versus patient.

Furthermore, before discussing passive, it is important to look at transitive verb suffixes in Javanese. Javanese transitive verbs may take one of the three forms: a zero suffix, an *-ake* suffix and an *-i* suffix. The verbs *ngoyak* ‘chase’ in (1a) and (2a) and *nulis* ‘write’ in (3a) illustrate verbs with zero suffixes. Examples (7) and (8) below illustrate the verb suffixed with *-ake* and *-i*.

- (7) a. *Guru iku n-(t)erang-ake bab iku*
 teacher DEF N-explain-AKE chapter DEF
 ‘The teacher explained the chapter.’
- b. *Ardi n-(t)uko-kake simbah-e hadiah*
 Ardi N-buy-AKE grandfather-3SG.POSS present
 ‘Ardi bought his grandfather a present.’
- c. *Kowe m-(p)ecah-ake gelas iku*
 2SG N-break-AKE glass DEF
 ‘You broke the glass.’
- (8) a. *Kowe ng-lungguh-i kursi rusak*
 2SG N-sit-I chair broken
 ‘You sat on the broken chair.’
- b. *Dheweke m-(p)aten-i lampu iku*
 3SG N-die-I lamp DEF
 ‘S/he turned off the lamp.’
- c. *Dheweke ng-ambung-i bojo-ne*
 3SG N-kiss-I spouse-3SG.POSS
 ‘S/he kissed her/his spouse repeatedly.’

In (7) *nerangake*, *nukokake* and *mecahake* are all suffixed with *-ake*. Note that with *nukokake* the suffix becomes *-kake* because *tuku* ends in a vowel. Combined with the nasal prefix, the suffix *-ake* can function as a verbal marker (*nerangake*), as a benefactive marker (*nukokake*), and as a causative marker (*mecahake*). In (8) *nglungguhi*, *mateni* and *ngambungi* are suffixed with *-i*. Note that with *mateni* the suffix *-i* becomes *-ni* because the verb base ends in a vowel. The suffix *-i* can function as a locative marker (*nglungguhi*), a causative marker (*mateni*), and a repetitive marker (*ngambungi*).

There are different types of Javanese passives on the basis of both their morphology and their usage. I label them as *di*-passive, *ka*-passive, *in*-passive, and *ke*-passive, based on their differences in affixation. Each of them will be discussed separately.

2.1 The *di*-passive

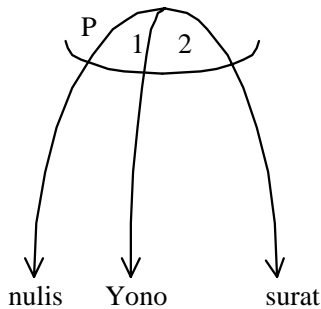
The *di*-passive, as the name indicates, is characterised by the prefix *di-* on the verb. Sentence (3b) is an example of *di*-passive, repeated here as (9b):

- (9) a. *Yono n-(t)ulis surat iku*
 Yono N-write letter DEF
 'Yono wrote the letter.'
- b. *Surat iku di-tulis (dening) Yono*
 letter DEF DI-write by Yono
 'That letter was written by Yono.'

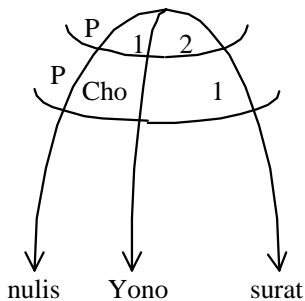
In the nasal construction (9a) the NP *Yono* 'Yono' is subject and *surat iku* 'the letter' is direct object. In the *di*-construction (9b) there is a change where the object *surat iku* 'the letter' has been advanced to subject and, as a result, the initial subject *Yono* 'Yono' was demoted to a *chômeur*, optionally marked by the preposition *dening* 'by'. Also, the nasal prefix in (9a) has been replaced by the prefix *di*-.

Relational Grammar defines a passive as the advancement of 2 to 1 in a transitive clause (Perlmutter 1983). In Relational Grammar, grammatical relations are indicated by the numerals 1, 2, and 3, indicating the relations of subject, direct object and indirect object respectively. The other relations are oblique, including benefactive, locative, instrumental, etc. The advancement of grammatical relations can be illustrated by a stratal network, so the sentences in (9a) and (9b) can be represented by (10a) and (10b) respectively.

- (10) a.



- b.



In (10b) *surat* which bears the initial 2 relation has been advanced to assume the final 1 relation, hence demoting the initial 1 *Yono* to a *chômeur* relation. The consequence of *Yono* bearing the *chômeur* relation is that *Yono* may appear in a prepositional phrase preceded by *dening* 'by', as in (9b) or may be deleted, as in (11).

- (11) *Surat iku wis di-tulis*
 letter DEF already DI-write
 'The letter was already written.'

The preposition *dening* ‘by’ is optional when the agent immediately follows the verb, as in (12a), but is obligatory when it is separated by other words, as in (12b).

- (12) a. *Ali di-antem (dening)wong iku*
 Ali DI-hit by man DEF
 ‘Ali was hit by the man.’
- b. *Ali di-antem nganggo watu *(dening) wong iku*
 Ali DI-hit with stone by man DEF
 ‘Ali was hit with a stone by the man.’

There is a case where the preposition *dening* remains optional although other words intervene. This occurs in a sentence with a three-place predicate, like *weneh* ‘give’ (Badib 1980: 365) as illustrated in (13).

- (13)a. *Bagus weneh dhuwit marang Tono*
 Bagus give money to Tono
 ‘Bagus gave money to Tono.’
- b. *Bagus m-(w)eneh-i Tono dhuwit*
 Bagus N-give-I Tono money
 ‘Bagus gave Tono money.’
- c. *Tono di-weneh-i dhuwit (dening) Bagus*
 Tono DI-give-I money by Bagus
 ‘Tono was given money by Bagus.’
- d. *Tono di-weneh-i dhuwit iku *(dening) Bagus*
 Tono DI-give-I money DEF by Bagus
 ‘Tono was given money by Bagus.’
- e. *Tono di-weneh-i dhuwit sing akeh iku *(dening) Bagus*
 Tono DI-give-I money REL much DEF by Bagus
 ‘Tono was given much money by Bagus.’

In (13a) *Bagus* ‘Bagus’ is initial 1, *dhuwit* ‘money’ is initial 2, and *Tono* ‘Tono’ is initial 3. In (13b) *Tono* has been advanced to 2, as a result, the initial 2 *dhuwit* is demoted to a chômeur. Passivisation can only take place when the new 2, *Tono*, is advanced to 1, again demoting the initial 1, *Bagus*, to a chômeur. The final 1 chômeur is optionally preceded by the preposition *dening*, although the chômeur 2 intervenes, as shown in (13c). However, when the chômeur 2 is made definite by adding the definite marker *iku* or modified by a relative clause, the preposition *dening* is no longer optional but obligatory, as in (13d) and (13e). In short, the preposition *dening* is optional only when no word or a very short NP intervenes between the predicate and the final 1 chômeur. When a heavy NP separates the predicate from the final 1 chômeur, the preposition *dening* is obligatory.

2.2 The *ka*-passive

Apart from the prefix *di-*, a Javanese passive may also be marked with the prefix *ka-* as exemplified in (14b).

- (14)a. *Prabu Basudewa n-(t)itip-ake putra-ne marang Antyagopa*
 King Basudewa N-leave-AKE son.3SG.POSS to Antyagopa
 ‘King Basudewa left his son to Antyagopa.’
- b. *Putra-ne ka-titip-ake marang Antyagopa dening*
 son-3SG.POSS KA-leave-AKE to Antyagopa by
Prabu Basudewa
 King Basudewa
 ‘His son was left to Antyagopa by King Basudewa.’

In many cases the prefixes *di-* and *ka-* are interchangeable. However, looking closely at these two types of passive, some differences can be discerned. As Bintoro (1980) has noted, the first difference between the *di*-passive and the *ka*-passive is that the *di*-passive occurs with both the suffix *-ake* and *-i/ni* whereas the *ka*-passive occurs only with the suffix *-ake*.

- (15)a. *Layang-e di-waca-ake Ali*
 letter-DEF DI-read-AKE Ali
 ‘The letter was read by Ali (for someone).’
- b. *Layang-e di-waca-ni Ali*
 letter-DEF DI-read-NI Ali
 ‘The letter was repeatedly read by Ali.’
- (16)a. *Layang-e ka-waca-ake Ali*
 letter-DEF KA-read-AKE Ali
 ‘The letter was read by Ali (for someone).’
- b. **Layang-e ka-waca-ni Ali*
 letter-DEF KA-read-NI Ali
 ‘The letter was repeatedly read by Ali.’

Uhlenbeck (1978) claims that the *ka*-passive can be used with *-i/ni*, but *-an/-nan* must be substituted for *-i/ni* as in (17b).

- (17)a. *Adipati Semarang di-timbal-i dening Ingkang Sinuhun*
 Regent Semarang DI-call-I by King
 ‘Regent of Semarang was called by the King.’
- b. *Adipati Semarang ka-timbal-an dening Ingkang Sinuhun*
 Regent Semarang KA-call-AN by King
 ‘Regent of Semarang was called by the King.’

However, Uhlenbeck’s generalisation cannot be true of all types of the suffix *-i*. It seems that only the suffix *-i* attached to a precatatorial - a rootword that cannot stand by itself without affixation - to form a transitive verb is replaced by the suffix *-an* in the *ka*-passives. So, in the case of the precatatorial *timbal* ‘call’ in (17), *-i* is suffixed to it to produce the transitive verb *timbali* ‘call’.

When the suffix *-i* is used to express other meanings, like repetitiveness, or used to indicate advancement to direct object, passives with *ka-* and *-an/nan* do not exist. Consider the following examples.

- (18)a. *Murid-murid-ku m-(w)aca-ni majalah iku*
 students-1SG.POSS N-read-I magazine DEF
 'My students repeatedly read the magazine.'
- b. *Majalah iku di-waca-ni (dening) murid-murid-ku*
 magazine DEF DI-read-I by students-1SG.POSS
 'The magazine was repeatedly read by my students.'
- c. **Majalah iku ka-waca-nan (dening) murid-murid-ku*
 magazine DEF KA-read-AN by students-1SG.POSS
 'The magazine was repeatedly read by my students.'
- (19)a. *Wong iku ny-(s)ilih majalah kanggo aku*
 person DEF N-lend magazine to 1SG
 'That person lent me a magazine.'
- b. *Wong iku ny-(s)ilih-i aku majalah*
 person DEF N-lend-I 1SG magazine
 'That person lent me a magazine.'
- c. *Aku di-silih-i majalah (dening) wong iku*
 1SG DI-lend-I magazine by person DEF
 'I was lent a magazine by that person.'
- d. **Aku ka-silih-an majalah (dening) wong iku*
 1SG KA-lend-AN magazine by person DEF
 'I was lent a magazine by that person.'

In (18a), the suffix *-i*, realised as *-ni* because the verb *waca* 'read' ends in a vowel, expresses repetitiveness. The verb *diwacani* 'be repeatedly read' exists, as in (18b), but *kawacanan* does not, as in (18c). Similarly, in (19b) the suffix *-i* is used to indicate 3-2 advancement. As predicted, only the *di*-passive can be found, as in (19c), but *ka*-passive cannot, as in (19d).

The second difference is that modals, like *durung* 'not yet', *lagi/nembe* 'in the process of', *wis* 'already' are more commonly used with *di*-passive than with *ka*-passive. So, (20a) is used more commonly than (20b).

- (20)a. *Layang-e lagi di-waca*
 letter-DEF PROG DI-read
 'The letter is being read.'
- b. *Layang-e lagi ka-waca*
 letter-DEF PROG KA-read
 'The letter is being read.'

Finally, Bintoro (1980) points out that the use of *ka*-passive and *di*-passive is related to Javanese speech levels, *krama* 'high', *madya* 'middle' or *ngoko* 'low'. *Krama* is the formal and polite level. *Madya* is the semi-formal level. *Ngoko* is the level of unmarked social

attitude (Poedjosoedarmo 1986: 67). High level is used among the old aristocrats or by anyone at the highest levels of society who wants to give the appearance of elegance. Middle style is used by town-dwellers and village dwellers who are not close friends, or by peasants addressing superiors. Low level is the style all children learn first regardless of social class origin, and everyone uses it on some occasion, even close acquaintances of the highest class (Wardhaugh 1992: 277).

The *ka*-passive is used when people are using high speech level whereas *di*-passive is used by people using low speech level. In (21), both *asta* and *gawa* are translated as ‘take’, but the former is more likely to occur with *ka*- and the latter with *di*- due to their speech level difference in which *asta* is a high level word while *gawa* is its low level counterpart. Similarly, in (22) the verb *tuku* ‘buy’ is likely to occur with *di*- because it is a low level verb whereas *pundhut* ‘buy’ is likely to occur with *ka*- because it is a high level word.

(21)a. *Mobil-e ka-asta bapak*
 car-DEF KA-take father
 ‘The car was taken by father.’

b. *Mobil-e di-gawa bapak*
 car-DEF DI-take father
 ‘The car was taken by father.’

(22)a. *Dalem-e sampun ka-pundhut sederek-ipun*
 house-DEF already KA-take relative-3SG.POSS
 ‘The house has been bought by her/his relative.’

b. *Omah-e wis di-tuku sedulur-e*
 house-DEF already DI-buy relative-3SG.POSS
 ‘The house has been bought by her/his relative.’

2.3 The *in*-passive

A much more formal Javanese passive is illustrated in (23) in which the verb is infixed with *-in-*, as in *ginawe* ‘be made’ from *gawe* ‘make’, but when the root word begins with a vowel, the prefix *-in-* becomes the prefix *ing-*, as in *ingutus* ‘be sent’ from *utus* ‘send’. As with the *ka*-passive, when the active form is suffixed with *-i*, this suffix is changed to *-an/nan*, for example *timbangali* ‘call’ becomes *tinimbangan* ‘be called’. This type of passive is archaic and therefore used only in literary style, like poetry or traditional performance shows, such as *wayang kulit* ‘shadow puppet show’. It is very rare in daily conversation. Sentence (23b) illustrates its use.

(23)a. *Kang Mahaagung wus ng-garis-ake kabeh*
 God Almighty already N-determine-AKE all

kedadian mau
 happening DEF

‘God the Almighty has already determined all of the happenings.’

b. *Kabeh kedadian mau wus g-(in)-aris dening*
 all happening DEF already -IN-determine by

Kang Mahaagung
 God Almighty

‘All of the happenings have been determined by God the Almighty.’

2.4 The *ke*-passive

The last type of passive in Javanese is *ke*-passive, as exemplified in (24c).

- (24)a. *Montor-e* *n-(t)abrak* *sepedha*
car-3SG.POSS N-hit bike
'Her/his car hit a bike.'
- b. **Sepedha-ne* *di-tabrak* (*dening*) *montor-e*
bike-DEF DI-hit by car-3SG.POSS
'The bike was hit by her/his car.'
- c. *Sepedha-ne* *ke-tabrak* (*dening*) *montor-e*
bike-DEF KE-hit by car-3SG.POSS
'The bike was hit by her/his car.'

In (24a) *montore* cannot be the agent in the real sense. It has no control over the action of hitting. The use of *di*-passive for this sentence is unacceptable pragmatically, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (24b). The *ke*-passive, as in (24c), is used instead to show that the action performed is non-volitional, unintentional, or controlled by unspecified external forces. When the agent is in control of the action of the verb, both passive with *di*- and that with *ke*- may be formed, but they differ in intentionality, as exemplified in (25).

- (25)a. *Ali* *ng-antem* *aku*
Ali N-hit 1SG
'Ali hit me.'
- b. *Aku* *di-antem* *Ali*
1SG DI-hit Ali
'I was hit by Ali.'
- c. *Aku* *ke-antem* *Ali*
1SG KE-hit Ali
'I was accidentally hit by Ali.'

In (25) the agent *Ali* can clearly control the action of hitting the patient *aku* 'me'. The *di*-passive implies that the agent has an intention to perform the action, as shown in (25b), whereas the *ke*-passive does not, as in (25c). In other words, the action of the *ke*-passive is accidental or non-volitional. So, in (25c) the patient *aku* 'I' was accidentally hit by Ali. The explanation might be that *Ali* wanted to hit someone else, but he missed and accidentally hit the speaker. Other verbs that behave like *antem* allowing both a *di*-passive and a *ke*-passive are given in (26). These verbs are formed from transitive bases.

di-passive

antem 'hit'
cekel 'catch'
gawa 'take'
iris 'cut'
pangan 'eat'
tabrak 'hit'
pidak 'step on'

ke-passive

diantem 'be hit' *keantem* 'be accidentally hit'
dicekel 'be caught' *kecekel* 'be accidentally caught'
digawa 'be taken' *kegawa* 'be accidentally taken'
diiris 'be cut' *keiris* 'be accidentally cut'
dipangan 'be eaten' *kepangan* 'be acc'ly eaten'
ditabrak 'be hit' *ketabrak* 'be accidentally hit'
dipidak 'be stepped on' *kepidak* 'be acc'ly stepped on'

The *ke*-passive never occurs with the suffix *-ake*. The suffix *-ake* may be used as a causative marker when it is affixed to intransitive bases, or as a benefactive marker when affixed to transitive bases.

- (27) a. *Kanca-ku* *ng-gawa-ake* *aku* *buku* *iku*
friend-1SG.POSS N-bring-AKE 1SG book DEF
'My friend brought me the book.'
- b. *Aku* *di-gawa-ake* *buku* *iku* *dening* *kanca-ku*
1SG DI-bring-AKE book DEF by friend-1SG.POSS
'I was brought the book by my friend.'
- c. **Aku* *ke-gawa-ake* *buku* *iku* *dening* *kanca-ku*
1SG KE-bring-AKE book DEF by friend-1SG.POSS
'I was accidentally brought the book by my friend (for him).'
- (28) a. *Bocah* *iku* *m-bledhos-ake* *balon* *iku*
child DEF N-blow up-AKE balloon DEF
'The child blew up the balloon.'
- b. *Balon* *iku* *di-bledhos-ake* *bocah* *iku*
balloon DEF DI-blow up-AKE child DEF
'The balloon was blown up by the child.'
- c. **Balon* *iku* *ke-bledhos-ake* *bocah* *iku*
balloon DEF KE-blow up-AKE child DEF
'The balloon was accidentally blown up by the child.'

Example (27a) shows that the suffix *-ake* is used as a benefactive marker. While passivisation with *di-* is possible (27b), passivisation with *ke-* is ungrammatical (27c). Similarly, in (28a) the suffix *-ake* is used to causativise the intransitive verb *mbledhos* 'blow up'. Example (28b) illustrates that passivisation with *di-* is possible whereas example (28c) shows that passivisation with *ke-* is ungrammatical.

2.5 Summary

Javanese passives can be expressed with one of the following morphological markers: *di-*, *ka-*, *-in-*, and *ke-*. Passive with *di-* is the most productive construction in the language, as compared to passive with *ka-* and *-in-*, because the latter are used mostly in more formal situations or in certain registers, such as poetry and other forms of literary language. In terms of intentionality, passives with *di-*, *ka-*, and *-in-* contrast with those with *ke-* in that the former normally refer to intentionality whereas the latter certainly refers to the unintentionality. When passives with *di-*, *ka-*, and *-in-* are to be used to express unintentionality, this must be expressed lexically.

3. Javanese ergatives

Ergativity is a term used to refer to a system where the subject of an intransitive predicate (S) is treated in the same way as the patient of the transitive counterpart in a language (P) or Object (O) in Dixon's term (1994), and where the agent of the transitive (A) is treated differently. Ergativity can be found in case marking or agreement (morphological ergativity) and in syntax (syntactic ergativity) (Comrie 1978, Dixon 1994).

There is no case system or agreement in Javanese, so it seems difficult to explore morphological ergativity in Javanese. Verhaar (1988) suggests that there is some syntactic ergativity in contemporary Indonesian and extends the claim to other languages, like Javanese, Acehnese, and Tagalog. This claim is proven to be true for Javanese as described in the following.

Consider the following sentences.

(29)a. *Bapak m-(w)aca buku iku*
father N-read book DEF
'Father read the book.'

b. *Buku iku di-waca (dening) Bapak*
book DEF DI-read by Father
'The book was read by Father.'

(30)a. *Aku m-(w)aca buku iku*
1SG N-read book DEF
'I read the book.'

b. *Buku iku dak-waca*
book DEF 1SG-read
'I read the book.' (lit. The book I read)

(31)a. *Kowe m-(w)aca buku iku*
2SG N-read book DEF
'You read the book.'

b. *Buku iku kok-waca*
book DEF 2SG-read
'You read the book.' (lit. The book you read)

The (a) examples are active sentences, characterised by the presence of a nasal prefix on the verb *waca* 'read', with *Bapak* 'father', *aku* 'I' and *kowe* 'you' as the agents of (29a), (30a) and (31a) respectively. The (b) examples are traditionally called passives (Bintoro 1980, Badib 1980). The *di*-passive (also called *di*-construction) is used with the third person agent and with a full NP whereas the construction with the proclitics *dak* 'I' and *kok* 'you' in (30b) and (31b), which I call the zero construction (i.e. there is no prefix on the verb as opposed to nasal and *di*-), is used with the first person and second person agent respectively. However, the view that the zero construction is passive can no longer be held. There are great

differences between the *di*-construction and the zero construction which will be examined below.

3.1 The difference between the *di*-construction and the zero construction

The zero construction differs from the *di*-construction in a number of ways. Here, three pieces of evidence against the view are proposed: their clause structure, markedness, and the properties of their agent.

3.1.1 Clause structure

In terms of clause-structure, the patient, verb, and agent of the *di*-construction constitute separate constituents although the verb and the agent fall within the verb phrase. On the other hand, in the zero construction the patient forms one constituent while the agent and verb together form another one. Two pieces of evidence for this, word order and aspectual marker, are given.

3.1.1.1 Word order

In the zero construction the normal order is PAV, where P stands for patient, A for agent and V for verb. P may be moved only to clause-final position, as in (32b). It may not be moved to other position, hence the ungrammaticality of (32c), in which P is placed between V and A, or (32d), in which P is placed between A and V.

- (32)a. *Mobil-e tak-cuci* (PAV)
 car-DEF 1SG-wash
 ‘I washed the car.’
- b. *Tak-cuci mobil-e* (AVP)
 c. **Cuci mobil tak* (VPA)
 d. **Tak mobil cuci* (APV)

In the *di*-construction, the normal order is PVA. However, P, V, and A may be swapped into any other positions as long as it is indicated by an intonation break, as shown in (33b), (33c), and (33d).

- (33)a. *Mobil-e di-tuku (dening) wong iku* (PVA)
 car-DEF DI-buy by person DEF
 ‘The car was bought by the person.’
- b. *Dituku (dening) wong iku // mobil* (VAP)
 c. *Dening wong iku // mobil // dituku* (APV)
 d. *Dituku // mobil // dening wong iku* (VPA)

3.1.1.2 Aspectual Marker

In the zero construction, an aspectual marker, such as *wis* ‘already’, *lagi* ‘in progress’, *arep* ‘will’ is placed before the agent, as in (34a). (34b) is ungrammatical because *arep* ‘will’ precedes V.

- (34)a. *Kreteg-e arep kok-bakar*
 bridge-DEF will 2SG-burn
 ‘You will burn the bridge.’
- b. **Kreteg-e kok arep bakar*
 bridge-DEF 2SG burn will
 ‘The bridge you will burn.’

In the *di*-construction, however, the aspectual marker is placed before the verb. In (35) *lagi*, a progressive marker, precedes the passive verb *dibangun* ‘be built’.

- (35) *Kreteg-e lagi di-bangun (dening) pemerintah*
 bridge-DEF PROG DI-build by government
 ‘The bridge is being built by the government.’

3.1.2 Markedness

One of the criteria by which a syntactic derivation should be recognised as passive is its explicit formal marking as a passive construction, for instance *be-en* for English (Dixon 1994). While it is clear that the Javanese passive as described in the previous section is marked with such prefixes as *di-*, *ka-*, *-in-*, or *ke-* on the verb, there is no such marker used in the zero construction. As shown by (34a) above, for instance, the verb *bakar* ‘burn’ is unmarked and affixless. The agent is always either a pronoun *dak/tak* ‘I’ as in (32a) and *mbok/kok* ‘you’, as in (34a).

3.1.3 The properties of the agent in zero and passive constructions

While a third person and a full NP may appear as the agent of the *di*-construction, as in (36a), only first and second person proclitic, kinship terms or an NP used as a term of address may function as the agent of a zero construction, as exemplified in (36b) and (36c).

- (36)a. *Buku iku di-waca (dening) dheweke/Ali/mahasiswa*
 book DEF DI-read by 3SG/Ali/student
 ‘The book was read by her/him/Ali/the student.’
- b. *Buku iku lagi dak-/Bapak-waca*
 book DEF PROG 1SG-/father-read
 ‘The book I am reading/the book Father (I) am reading.’
- c. *Buku iku lagi kok-/Ibu-waca*
 book DEF PROG 2SG-/mother-read
 ‘The book you are reading/the book Mother (you) are reading.’

An attempt to make a full NP as the agent of the zero construction results in an ill-formed sentence, as demonstrated in (37).

- (37)a. **Buku iku lagi ibu-ne waca*
 book DEF PROG mother-3SG.POSS read
 ‘The book, his/her mother is reading.’
- b. **Buku iku lagi murid-murid-ku waca*
 book DEF PROG students-1SG.POSS read
 ‘The book, my students are reading.’

In addition, according to Relational Grammar passive is defined as the 2-1 advancement. Therefore, in the passive the agent is demoted into a *chômeur* relation, and in Javanese it is

normally postverbal and expressed by a prepositional phrase, as in (38a) and can be removed from the argument structure altogether, as in (38b).

- (38)a. *Mobil-e wis di-dandan-i (dening) paman-ku*
 car-DEF already DI-fix-I by uncle-1SG.POSS
 ‘The car was already fixed by my uncle.’
- b. *Mobil-e wis di-dandan-i*
 car-DEF already DI-fix-I
 ‘The car was already fixed.’

The zero construction cannot be passive because the agent of the zero construction *dak* ‘I’ or *kok* ‘you’ remains a core argument, not a chômeur. As in the active sentence, the agent of the zero construction is normally preverbal, cliticised, and undeletable. If the agent is omitted, the sentence will be ungrammatical, as shown in (39b). The agent is never expressed in the prepositional phrase, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (39c).

- (39)a. *Buku-ne wis kok-tuku*
 book-DEF already 2SG-buy
 ‘The book has been bought by you.’
- b. **Buku-ne wis tuku*
 book-DEF already buy
 ‘The book has been bought.’
- c. **Buku-ne wis dening kok-tuku*
 book-DEF already by 2SG-buy
 ‘The book has been bought by you.’

The fact the agent of the zero construction remains a core argument is also supported by its ability to be a controller of a reflexive. In the passive because the agent is a chômeur, it cannot control a reflexive. In Javanese the reflexive is *awak* ‘self’ with possessive marking.

- (40)a. *Awak-ku_i arep tak_i-aso-ake dhisik.*
 Self-1SG.POSS FUT 1SG-rest-AKE first
 ‘I will rest myself first.’
- b. *Awak-mu_i ojo kok_i-salah-ake*
 self-2SG.POSS not 2SG-blame-AKE
 ‘You must not blame yourself.’
- c. **Awak-e_i arep di-priksa dokter_i*
 self-3SG.POSS FUT DI-examine doctor
 ‘The doctor will examine himself/herself.’

In the zero construction, as shown in (40a), the agent *tak* ‘I’ controls the reflexive *awak-ku* ‘myself’ and in (40b) the agent *kok* ‘you’ controls the reflexive *awak-mu* ‘yourself’. However, in the passive construction, as shown in (40c), the underlying agent *dokter* ‘doctor’ cannot control the reflexive *awa-ke* ‘himself/herself’.

3.2 The zero construction as ergative

After showing that the zero construction is not passive, I propose that it is ergative. If ergativity is defined as the alignment of the patient of the transitive verb with the sole argument of the intransitive predicate, then the zero construction is ergative. Here I will demonstrate that the patient of the zero construction is aligned with the sole argument of the intransitive predicate. Typically an ergative system is manifested in case marking or bound

pronouns. In an ergative system A is marked whereas S and P are unmarked (Basque, Eskimo). With bound pronouns there is one set for S and P only (Northeast Caucasian) or one set for S and P and another for A (South Sulawesi languages).

3.2.1 Word order

In terms of word order both the patient of the transitive and the subject of the intransitive are in sentence-initial position. In (41a) the patient *sepedane* ‘the bike’ is sentence-initial, so is the sole argument of the intransitive in (41b) *sepedane* ‘the bike’.

(41)a. *Sepeda-ne* *kok-rusak*
 bike-DEF 2SG-break
 ‘You broke the bike.’

b. *Sepeda-ne* *rusak*
 bike-DEF break
 ‘The bike broke.’

3.2.2 The integration of the agent into clause structure

The fact that the agent of the zero construction remains a core argument shows that the zero construction is basic. Furthermore, as previously described, the agent cannot be deleted, showing the greater integration of the agent into the clause syntax. This integration tends to be a characteristic of ergative rather than passive constructions (Comrie, 1988). In an ergative construction the agent is part of the core whereas in a passive it is on the periphery.

3.2.3 Coreferentiality of a deleted NP in a subordinate clause and in a complement clause

It is the patient, not the agent, of the zero construction which becomes the target of deletion in a co-ordinated sentence, as demonstrated in (42).

(42)a. *Dheweke_i* *teka* *saka* *kantor,* *terus* \emptyset_i *туру*
 3SG come from office then sleep
 ‘S/he_i came from the office, then \emptyset_i slept.’

b. *Dheweke_i* *tak_j-oyak* *terus* $\emptyset_{i/*j}$ *tiba*
 3SG 1SG-run.after then \emptyset fall.down
 ‘I_j ran after him_i, then \emptyset_i fell down.’

In (42a) both clauses are intransitive. The deleted NP in the second clause is interpreted as coreferential with the sole argument of the first clause, *dheweke* ‘she/he’. In (42b) the deleted NP is interpreted as coreferential with the patient *dheweke* ‘she/he’ and not the agent *tak* ‘I’ of the transitive clause.

As in a co-ordinated clause, a similar pattern of deletion can be found in a complement clause. The verb *kepingin* ‘want’, for example, takes a clausal complement. Observe the following examples.

- (43)a. *Dheweke_i kepingin Ø_i lunga saka kene*
 3SG want Ø go from here
 ‘S/he_i wants Ø_i to go from here.’
- b. *Dheweke_i kepingin Ø_i kok-ambung*
 3SG want Ø 2SG-kiss
 ‘S/he_i wants you to kiss Ø_i (her/him).’

In (43) we have an intransitive verb *lunga* ‘go’ in the complement clause. The sole argument of this verb is controlled by the argument of *kepingin* ‘want’. In (43b) the clausal complement contains a transitive verb *ambung* ‘kiss’. The deleted NP is the patient of the zero construction, hence controlled by the argument of *kepingin* ‘want’. In other words, the patient of the zero construction shares the same property as the sole argument of the intransitive clause.

In short, the referentiality of common NPs in co-ordinated clauses and in complement clauses demonstrates that the patient of the transitive clause is aligned syntactically with the subject of the intransitive clause.

3.2.4 Imperatives

Additional evidence that the zero construction is ergative comes from Javanese imperative. Javanese imperatives may be nasalised, unprefixes, or prefixed with *di-*. Note that the suffixes *-a*, *-en*, *-kna*, and *-ana* also have to be added to form the imperative. The suffixes *-a*, *-en* are used with simple imperatives whereas *-kna* and *-ana* are used to express imperatives with benefactive and repetitive or locative meaning.

Consider the following examples:

- (44)a. *Ng-ade_g-a ing kiwa-ku*
 N-stand-A in left-1SG.POSS
 ‘Stand on my left.’
- b. *Teka-a mre_ne cepet-cep_et*
 come-A here quickly
 ‘Come here quickly.’
- (45)a. *N-(t)ulis-a surat kanggo ibu-mu*
 N-write-A letter for mother-2SG.POSS
 ‘Write a letter for your mother.’
- b. *Ketik layang iki*
 Type letter this
 ‘Type this letter.’
- c. *Ketik-en layang iki*
 Type-EN letter this
 ‘Type this letter (with emphasis).’
- (46)a. **N-jupuk-na tas-ku*
 N-bring-NA bag-1SG.POSS
 ‘Bring my bag for me.’
- b. *Jupuk-na tas-ku*
 bring-NA bag-1SG.POSS
 ‘Bring my bag for me.’

(47)a. **Ng-resik-ana jogan iki*
N-clean-ANA floor this
'Clean this floor repeatedly.'

b. *Resik-ana jogan iki*
clean-ANA floor this
'Clean this floor repeatedly.'

Both nasalised and unprefixated imperatives are found in intransitive predicates (44) and in transitive predicates (45a). However, there is a difference between the nasal and unprefixated verbs in the intransitive imperatives and in transitive imperatives. The nasal in the intransitive imperative is related to the lexical nature of the verb. A nasalised intransitive retains its nasal prefix in an imperative construction. The verb *ngadeg* 'stand' in (44a) is a nasalised intransitive. The addition of the suffix *-a* turns it into the imperative *ngadega*. Similarly, the unprefixated intransitive remains unprefixated in the imperative. The intransitive verb *teka* 'come' in (42b) is an unprefixated intransitive, and is turned to an imperative by the addition of the suffix *-a* to become *tekaa*.

In the transitive clauses, there are two options - to use the nasalised imperative or the unprefixated imperative. However, while the nasalised imperative is perfectly grammatical with a simple transitive, as in (45a), it is ungrammatical with a benefactive transitive, as in (46a), or a repetitive transitive, as in (47a). The unprefixated transitive imperative may take two forms, with or without the suffix *-en*, as in (45b) and (45c) respectively. So, we see unprefixated imperative has a wider distribution than the nasal prefixed one and it is more frequent. Both facts strongly suggest the zero construction is transitive, not a derived structure.

I take the zero construction to be an ergative construction, i.e. a transitive construction in which the patient, rather than the agent, is identified with the sole argument of a one-place predicate as the subject. However, as in Balinese, the fact that the zero construction is ergative does not necessarily mean that the language should be typed as ergative (Artawa & Blake 1997). The nasal construction should also be taken into consideration. In the previous section, the nasal construction and the *di-* construction with the third person agent have been described as active and passive respectively. If this is so, the nasal construction with the first person and second person agent should also be considered to be active, which leads to the expectation that the zero construction is passive. However, as I have demonstrated, the zero construction is not passive but ergative.

3.3 Summary

The zero construction, with the first and second proclitic agents, seems to exhibit the properties of being ergative, in which the patient, rather than the agent, is aligned syntactically with the sole argument of an transitive clause. This can be seen from the patient's clause-initial position and its pivot role in a co-ordinated clause and a complement clause. In addition, the agent of the zero construction is integrated into the clause structure.

Finally, the high frequency of unprefixing imperative seems to indicate that the zero construction is more basic than the nasal construction.

4. Javanese adversatives

Javanese adversatives are formed by the prefix *ke-* and the suffix *-an/nan*. Generally, adversatives refer to the situation where the preverbal NP is adversely affected by the action of the verb. Consider the following examples.

- (48)a. *Bocah iku ke-tiba-(a)n klapa*
 child DEF KE-fall-AN coconut
 ‘The child was (adversely) hit by a coconut.’
- b. *Kowe ke-(i)lang-an dhuwit*
 2SG KE-lost-AN money
 ‘You lost your money.’ (Lit. You got lost your money)
- c. *Dheweke ke-copet-an dhompot*
 3SG KE-steal-AN wallet
 ‘S/he had her/his wallet stolen.’
- d. *Aku k(e)-odan-an*
 1SG KE-rain-AN
 ‘I was caught in the rain.’

As observed from these above examples, the verbs are prefixed with *ke-* and suffixed with *-an*. Except for (48d), a postverbal NP is present in each of the sentences. The postverbal NP in fact does not have the same grammatical relation in each sentence, demonstrating that these sentences do not come from the same derivation. In addition, the absence of the postverbal NP in (48d) also indicates its different derivation from other examples. Each of these different adversatives will be discussed in turn.

4.1 Adversative Type 1

The first type of Javanese adversative derives from an intransitive clause in which the locative NP has been advanced to a 2 relation. As shown in (49a), the verb *tiba* ‘fall’ is intransitive, followed by a locative preposition phrase *ing bocah iku* ‘on the child’. In (49b) locative to 2 advancement has taken place indicated by the nasal prefix and the suffix *-i*. As a result, passivisation of the advanced locative is made possible. Because the NP *klapa iku* ‘the coconut’ has no control over the action, the accidental passive prefix *ke-* is used. The locative suffix *-i* is then replaced by *-an*, as in (47c).

- (49)a. *Klapa iku tiba ing bocah iku*
 coconut DEF fall on child DEF
 ‘The coconut fell on the child.’
- b. *Klapa iku n-(t)iba-ni bocah iku*
 coconut DEF N-fall-I child DEF
 ‘The coconut fell on the child.’
- c. *Bocah iku ke-tiba-(a)n klapa iku*
 child DEF KE-fall-AN coconut DEF
 ‘The child was adversely hit by the coconut.’

The verbs in (50) participate in this locative advancement and accidental passivisation.

(50)	Intransitive	Active	Passive Adversative
	<i>teka ing</i>	<i>nekani</i>	<i>katekanaan</i>
	‘come to’	‘visit’	‘be accidentally visited’
	<i>tiba ing</i>	<i>nibani</i>	<i>ketibanaan</i>
	‘fall on’	‘fall on’	‘got fallen on by’
	<i>mlebu ing</i>	<i>ngleboni</i>	<i>kelebon</i>
	‘go into’	‘enter’	‘got entered’
	<i>ambruk ing</i>	<i>ngambruki</i>	<i>kambrukan</i>
	‘fall over’	‘fall over’	‘got fallen over on’

The adversatives deriving from locative advancement are then similar to accidental passives. As correctly observed by Davies (1995), this type of adversative shares with accidental passives their accidental or non-volitional situation as well as the formal marker of the verb, *ke-*. However, Davies failed to identify other verb bases of Javanese adversatives. In fact, a closer observation of the verbs that participate in Javanese adversatives reveals that not all adversatives are accidental passives. Only those involving locative advancement match the accidental passive derivation.

In addition, only unaccusative verbs with locative NPs may participate in locative advancement. Intransitive verbs may be distinguished into two types: unaccusative and unergative (Perlmutter 1978, 1984). Unergative verbs are those in which the argument of the intransitives aligns semantically with the transitive subject whereas unaccusative verbs are those in which the argument of the intransitive aligns semantically with the transitive direct object. This distinction is also reflected in Javanese intransitives. Kana (1986) uses Intransitive-Transitive Causative Pair to distinguish unaccusatives from unergatives in Indonesian. Kana’s examples are given below. (The glosses of these examples are mine).

(51)a. *Orang itu meng-(k)erja-kan tugas-nya*
 person DEF MENG-work-KAN duty-3SG.POSS
 ‘That person did his job.’

b. *Orang itu bekerja*
 person DEF work
 ‘That person worked.’

(52)a. *Ibu men-(t)idur-kan anak itu*
 mother MENG-sleep-KAN child DEF
 ‘Mother put the child to sleep.’

b. *Anak itu tidur*
 child DEF sleep
 ‘The child slept.’

In (51) the verb *mengerjakan* ‘do’ is transitive, with the NPs *orang itu* ‘that person’ and *tugasnya* ‘his job’ bearing the 1 and 2 relation respectively. Similarly, in (52a) the verb

menidurkan ‘put to sleep’ is transitive, with the NPs *ibu* ‘mother’ and *anak itu* ‘the child’ bearing the 1 and 2 relation respectively. With the intransitive verb *bekerja* ‘work’ in (51b), the only NP *orang itu* ‘that person’ aligns semantically with the 1 of the transitive *mengerjakan* ‘do’. On the other hand, with the intransitive verb *tidur* ‘sleep’ in (52b), the only NP *anak itu* ‘the child’ aligns semantically with the 2 of the transitive *menidurkan* ‘put to sleep’. In Relational Grammar an argument like *orang itu* ‘that person’ in (51b) is taken to be an initial 1, but an argument like *anak itu* ‘that child’ in (52b) is taken to be an initial 2. Intransitive verbs like *bekerja* are unergatives whereas those like *tidur* are unaccusatives.

Javanese unaccusatives can be distinguished by means of this causativisation test. Consider the following examples.

(53)a. *Dheweke ng-(k)andha-ake bab iku*
 3SG N-talk-AKE matter DEF
 ‘S/he discussed the matter.’

b. *Dheweke kandha marang aku*
 3SG talk to 1SG
 ‘S/he talked to me.’

(54)a. *Bocah iku m-(p)ecah-ake gelas*
 child DEF N-break-AKE glass
 ‘The child broke a glass.’

b. *Gelas-e pecah*
 glass.DEF break
 ‘The glass broke.’

In (53a) the verb *ngandhakake* ‘discuss’ is transitive, with the NPs *dheweke* ‘she/he’ and *bab iku* ‘the matter’ bearing the 1 and 2 relation respectively. Similarly, in (54a) the verb *mecahake* ‘break’ is transitive, with the NPs *bocah iku* ‘the child’ and *gelas* ‘a glass’ bearing the 1 and 2 relation respectively. With the intransitive verb *kandha* ‘talk’ in (53b), the only NP *dheweke* ‘she/he’ aligns semantically with the 1 of the transitive *ngandhakake* ‘discuss’. On the other hand, with the intransitive verb *pecah* ‘break’ in (54b), the only NP *bocah iku* ‘the child’ aligns semantically with the object of the transitive *mecahake* ‘break’. Therefore, the intransitive verb *kandha* is unergative whereas *pecah* is unaccusative. The intransitive verbs in (55a) are unergatives because they have the same pattern as *kandha* whilst those in (55b) are unaccusatives because they have the same pattern as *pecah*.

(55) **Transitive**

a. *m-(p)ikir-ake* ‘think of’
m-banja-ake ‘spend’
n-janje(i)-ake ‘promise’

b. *n-(t)eka-ake* ‘cause to come’
ng-ambruk-ake ‘cause to fall over’
n-(t)iba-ake ‘cause to fall down’
ng-(k)undur-ake ‘cause to reverse’

Intransitive

mikir ‘think’
blanja ‘buy’
janji ‘promise’

teka ‘come’
ambruk ‘fall over’
tiba ‘fall down’
mundur ‘reverse’

The intransitive verbs which become the base of the locative advancement type of adversatives are unaccusative verbs, as shown by the possibility of forming adversatives from (57) and impossibility of forming adversatives from (56).

(56)	Unergatives <i>mikir</i> 'think' <i>blanja</i> 'go shopping' <i>janji</i> 'promise'	Transitives <i>*mikiri</i> <i>*mblanjani</i> <i>njanjeni</i>	Adversatives <i>*ke-pikir-an</i> <i>*ke-blanja-an</i> <i>*ke-janji-an</i>
(57)	Unaccusatives <i>teka</i> 'arrive' <i>tiba</i> 'fall' <i>mlebu</i> 'enter' <i>ambruk</i> 'fall'	Transitives <i>n-(t)ekan-i</i> <i>n-(t)iban-i</i> <i>ng-lebon-i</i> <i>ng-ambruk-i</i>	Adversatives <i>ke-teka-(a)n</i> <i>ke-tiba-(a)n</i> <i>keleb(u)o-(a)n</i> <i>ka-(a)mbruk-an</i>

In short, the unaccusative verbs *teka*, *tiba*, *mlebu*, and *ambruk* participate in locative advancement, and accidental passivisation, as in (57), whereas the unergative verbs do not participate in locative advancement and accidental passivisation.

4.2 Adversative Type 2

The second type of adversative is illustrated below.

- (58)a. *Kantor ke-(i) lang-an dhuwit*
office ke-get lost-an money
'The office lost some money.'
- b. *Sawah-e k(e)-akeh-an banyu*
ricefield-DEF KE-much-AN water
'The rice field was affected by too much water.'
- c. *Aku k(e)-entek-an dhuwit*
1SG KE-all gone-AN money
'I was all out of money.'
- d. *Desa kuwi ke-kurang-an pangan*
village that KE-lack-AN food
'That village lacked food.'

Unlike the first type, these adversatives do not derive from intransitive verbs that have undergone transitivisation via locative advancement and subsequent passivisation. Instead, they derive directly from intransitive verbs. In (58) the preverbal NP derives from a locative NP which advances and pushes the initial subject into chômage, where it is realised as a postverbal NP. However, this type of adversative shares with the first type the requirement of an unaccusative base verb. The sentences in (58a-d) may be interpreted to derive from intransitive clauses in (59a-d) respectively.

- (59)a. *Dhuwit ilang ing kantor*
money get lost in office
'The money was lost in the office.'

- b. *Banyu-ne akeh ing sawah*
 water-DEF much in rice field
 ‘The water was much in the rice field.’
- c. *Dhuwit entek ing aku*
 money run out in 1SG
 ‘I was running out of money.’ (lit. Money was all gone on me)
- d. *Pangan kurang ing desa kuwi*
 food lack in village that
 ‘Food was lacking in that village.’

On the surface, the sentences in (59) are similar to the type 1 adversative in (49a), in that the locative NP follows their verbs, here no locative advancement to direct object is possible, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (60b) for the adversative *kelangan* ‘get lost of something’ in the following example.

- (60)a. *Dhuwit-e ilang ing kantor*
 money-DEF get lost in office
 ‘The money got lost in the office.’
- b. **Dhuwit-e ng-ilang-i kantor*
 money-3SG.POSS N-get lost-I office
 ‘His money got lost in the office.’
- c. *Kantor ke-(i)lang-an dhuwit*
 office KE-get lost-AN money
 ‘The office lost some money.’

In addition, while the postverbal NP in the first type of adversative is agent-like and can be preceded by the preposition *dening/karo* ‘by’, as in (61a), the postverbal NP in the second type of adversative cannot be agent-like. For example, *dening/karo* ‘by’ cannot be used before the postverbal NP *dhuwit* ‘money’, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (61b).

- (61)a. *Bocah iku ke-tiba-(a)n karo klapa*
 child DEF KE-fall-AN by coconut
 ‘The child got fallen on by a coconut (on him).’
- b. **Kantor ke-(i)lang-an karo dhuwit*
 office KE-get lost-AN by money
 ‘The office lost some money.’

Sentence (62) gives a further illustration of the second type of adversative.

- (62) *Wong lanang iku ke-pat(i)e-nan anak-e wedok*
 person male DEF KE-die-AN child-3SG.POSS female
 ‘The man had his daughter die on him.’

4.3 Adversative Type 3

The third type of adversative derives from transitive bases, as in (48c) repeated here as (63).

- (63) *Dheweke ke-copet-an dhompot*
 3SG KE-steal-AN wallet
 ‘S/he had her/his wallet stolen.’

At a glance, the sentence in (63) looks similar to the second type of adversative in (48b), but there is significant differences between them. Both the postverbal and the preverbal argument of the first two types of adversative undergo different derivation from the third type of adversative. Compare the examples below.

(64)a. *Desa kuwi ke-kurang-an pangan*
 village that KE-lack-AN food
 ‘That village was lacking food.’

b. *Pangan kurang ing desa kuwi*
 food lack in village that
 ‘Food was lacking in that village.’

(65)a. *Dheweke ke-copet-an dhompet*
 3SG KE-steal-AN wallet
 ‘S/he had her/his wallet stolen.’

b. *[Unspecified] ny-(c)opet dhompet saka dheweke*
 [Unspecified] N-pickpocket wallet from 3SG
 ‘[Unspecified] stole a wallet from her/him.’

First, observe the postverbal argument of the examples in (64a) and (65a). Whilst the postverbal NP in the first and second type of adversative derives from an argument of intransitive verb, the postverbal NP in the third type of adversative derives from the direct object of the transitive verb. In (64b), the postverbal NP *pangan* ‘food’ derives from the argument of the intransitive verb *kurang* ‘lack’ whereas in (65b) the postverbal NP *dhompet* ‘wallet’ derives from the direct object of the transitive verb *nyopet* ‘steal’.

Secondly, compare the derivation of the preverbal NP in (64) and (65). In (64a) the preverbal argument *desa kuwi* ‘that village’ is derived from the prepositional phrase *ing desa kuwi* ‘in that village’ in (64b), functioning as a locative, whereas the preverbal *dheweke* ‘she/he’ in (65a) derives from the prepositional phrase *saka dheweke* ‘from her/him’ in (65b), functioning not as a locative but as a source.

This derivation rules out the claim that all adversatives in Javanese can be analysed as accidental passives as suggested by Davies (1995). It is true for the first type of adversative, but not true for the second and third type of adversative. Passivisation of (64b) will result in (66a) for *di*-passive, and in (66b) for *ke*-passive.

(66)a. *Dhompet iku di-copet saka dheweke*
 wallet DEF DI-steal from 3SG
 ‘That wallet was stolen from her/him.’

b. *Dhompet iku ke-copet saka dheweke*
 wallet DEF KE-steal from 3SG
 ‘That wallet was accidentally stolen from her/him.’

In both (66a) and (66b) the NP *dhompét iku* ‘the wallet’ has been advanced from its original role as the direct object of the verb *copet* ‘steal’. As demonstrated in example (65a), it is the NP *dheweke* ‘she/he’ which bears the subject relation of the adversative. It is clear, then, that adversative with transitive bases does not derive from accidental passivisation. Other examples of adversative of the third type are given below.

(67)a. *Murid iku ke-colong-an potlot-e*
 student DEF KE-steal-AN pencil-3SG.POSS
 ‘The student had his pencil stolen.’

b. *Paman-mu ke-maling-an radio*
 uncle-2SG.POSS KE-thief-AN radio
 ‘Your uncle had his radio stolen.’

4.4 Adversative Type 4

The last type of adversative is illustrated in (48d), repeated here as (68).

(68) *Aku k(e)-udan-an*
 1SG KE-rain-AN
 ‘I was caught in the rain.’

Example (68) is different from the first three adversatives. There is only one argument, the preverbal argument. This type of adversative involves intransitive verbs describing weather, like *adhem* ‘be cold’, and *panas* ‘be hot’, and parts of the day like *siang* ‘be afternoon’, and *wengi* ‘be night’ as the bases of the adversatives, as in (69).

(69) *adhem* ‘cold’ *k(e)-adhem-(a)en* ‘to be affected by the coldness’
panas ‘hot’ *ke-panas-an* ‘to be affected by the heat’
siang ‘afternoon’ *ke-siang-an* ‘to be caught by the day’
wengi ‘night’ *ke-weng(i)e-(a)n* ‘to be caught by the night’

Kana (1986) suggests that for Indonesian the only argument of this adversative is also the argument of the verb in its corresponding unaccusative clauses, as in (70).

(70)a. *Saya ke-dingin-an waktu selesai berenang*
 1SG KE-cold-AN when finish swim
 ‘I was (overcome with) cold when I had finished swimming.’
 b. *Saya dingin*
 1SG cold
 ‘I am cold.’

While this analysis is true for the adversative verbs *kedinginan*, *kepanasan* in Indonesian and their corresponding Javanese forms *kadhemen*, *kepanasan*, it does not apply to other adversatives in this category. For the adversative *kudanan*, *kewengen* and *kesiangan*, the single argument cannot become the argument of their unaccusative clauses, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (71b), (72b) and (73b).

(71)a. *Aku k(e)-udan-an*
 1SG KE-rain-AN
 ‘I was caught in the rain.’

b. **Aku udan*
 1SG rain

(72)a. *Aku ke-weng(i)e-(a)n ning dalam merga ora oleh bis*
 1SG KE-night-AN in street because not get bus
 ‘I was caught by the night because I missed the bus.’

b. **Aku wengi*
 1SG night

(73)a. *Adik-ku ke-siang-an merga mau bengi nonton*
 brother-1SG.POSS KE-day-AN because last night watch
wayang ngebyar
 puppet-show dawn

‘My brother was late getting up because last night he watched a puppet show until morning.’

b. **Adik-ku siang*
 brother-1SG.POSS day

I propose that the fourth type of adversative derives from the aivalent predicate which has no argument, like *udan* ‘rain’ and *panas* ‘hot’.

4.5 Summary

Based on their derivation there are four types of adversative in Javanese. First, some adversatives are derived in the same way as accidental passives of active sentences with locative advancement. Second, some other adversatives are derived from unaccusative bases but have no active counterparts. Third, some adversatives are derived from transitive bases. Finally, there are adversatives without postverbal arguments which are used specifically with verbs describing weather or parts of the day.

5. Overall conclusion

Javanese uses different morphological markers to express the notion of passive: *di-*, *ka-*, *-in-*, and *ke-*, depending on the degree of formality, register, and intentionality. Passive with *di-*, the most productive construction in the language, is used in less formal situations than the ones with *ka-* and *-in-*, which are used mostly in more formal situations or in certain registers like poetry and other forms of literary language. In addition, passives with *di-*, *ka-* and *-in-* are likely used to convey the idea of intentionality whereas those with *ke-* express unintentionality or nonvolitionality.

Javanese constructions with the first and second proclitic agents seem to have ergative characteristics, in which the patient of a transitive clause is aligned syntactically with the sole argument of an transitive clause. Both the patient of the transitive and the argument of the intransitive are sentence-initial and may be deleted in a co-ordinated clause and a complement clause. The agent of the zero construction is integrated into the clause structure. It is a core argument, not an optional element in the periphery as the Agent of the passive is.

The accidental passive analysis proved to be insufficient to account for the different derivation of adversatives in Javanese. Among the four types of adversative, only those deriving from active sentences undergoing locative advancement can be analysed as accidental passives. The other three types of adversatives should be treated differently because the bases for them are different, the postverbal arguments do not reflect the same grammatical relation.

REFERENCES

- Artawa, K. & Blake, B.J. 1997. Patient Primacy in Balinese. *Studies in Language* 21: 483-508.
- Badib, A.A. 1980. *Some major constructions in Javanese*. PhD dissertation. Monash University, Melbourne.
- Bintoro. 1980. *Javanese transitive verbs: a tagmemic analysis*. NUSA, Linguistics Studies in Indonesian and Other Languages in Indonesia 8. Jakarta: NUSA.
- Comrie, B. 1978. Ergativity. In Lehmann, W.P. *Syntactic typology: studies in the phenomenology of language*, 329-394. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Comrie, B. 1988. Passive and voice. In Shibatani, M. (ed.) *Passive and voice*, 9-23. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Davies, W.D. 1990. *Against an ergative analysis of Eastern Javanese*. ESCOL 1990, 79-89.
- Davies, W.D. 1995. Javanese adversatives, passives and Mapping Theory. *Journal of Linguistics* 31, 15-31.
- Dixon, R.M.W. 1994. *Ergativity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kana, M. A. 1986. *Grammatical relations in Bahasa Indonesia*. PhD dissertation, Cornell University.
- Naylor, P.B. 1978. Towards focus in Austronesian. In Wurm, S.A. & Carrington, L.(eds) *Second International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics: proceedings*, 395-442. PL, C-61.
- Perlmutter, D.M. 1978. Impersonal passives and the Unaccusative Hypothesis. *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society, February*, 18-20. California: Berkeley Linguistics Society.
- Perlmutter, D.M. 1983. Towards a universal characterisation of passivisation. In Perlmutter, D. (ed.) *Studies in Relational Grammar* 1, 3-29. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Perlmutter, D.M. 1984. The 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law. In Perlmutter, D. & Rosen, C. G. (eds) *Studies in Relational Grammar* 2, 81-125. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Poedjosoedarmo, G. R. 1986. *Role structure in Javanese*. Jakarta: Badan Penerbit NUSA, Universitas Katolik Indonesia Atmajaya.
- Ramelan. 1983. Javanese indicative and imperative passives. In Halim, A., Carrington, L. & Wurm, S.A. (eds) *Papers from the Third International Conference on Austronesian Languages*, 199-214. Canberra: Australian National University.
- Uhlenbeck, E.M. 1978. *Studies in Javanese morphology*. The Hague: Martinus Nihoff.
- Verhaar, J.W.M. 1988. Syntactic ergativity in contemporary Indonesian. In McGinn, R.(ed.) *Studies in Austronesian linguistics*, 347-383. Athens: University of Ohio Press.
- Wardhaugh, R. 1992. *An introduction to linguistics*. Second edition. Oxford: Blackwell.

Wouk, F. 1986. Transitivity in proto-malayo-Polynesian and proto-Austronesian. In Geraghty, P., Carrington, L. & Wurm, S.A. (eds) *FOCAL: papers from the Fourth International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*. 133-158. Canberra: Australian National University.