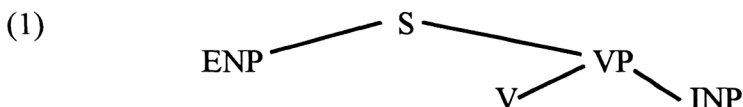


## Syntactic Roles in Balinese

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This paper is part of my master's thesis which looks at Balinese clauses in terms of their syntactic roles and flexible constituent orders. The central theme of my discussion is the syntactic roles of the NPs in transitive clause constructions in Balinese.

Syntactic roles in Balinese are better accounted for by the role relations of external noun phrase (ENP) and internal noun phrase (INP), than by traditional role relations of 'subject' and 'object'. The effectiveness of using the terms ENP and INP is that they can embrace simultaneously whether the ENP is an agent or a patient. The basic syntactic clause structure in Balinese can be formulated as in (1), in which the sentence node S dominates ENP and VP, and VP dominates V and INP.



This type of constituent hierarchy was first formulated by Schachter (1984) in his study of Toba Batak. The ENP and INP now become the center point for developing our discussion of constituency and variations of constituent order in various construction types.

The semantic roles of agent and patient can be expressed as either the ENP or the INP, depending on the nasalized vs. non-nasalized initial phoneme of the verb. In particular, a nasalized verb initial phoneme (+AT), as in (2), correlates with an agent as the ENP, whereas a non-nasalized verb initial phoneme (-AT), as in (3), correlates with a patient as the ENP.

- (2) *Jaran-e [ngaper cicing] ituni.*  
horse-DEF +AT-kick dog a.little.while.ago  
'The horse kicked a dog a little while ago.'

- (3) *Cicing-e*      [*kaper jaran*]      *ituni*.  
 dog-DEF      -AT-kick horse      a.little.while.ago  
 ‘The dog was kicked by a horse a little while ago.’

The INP forms a cohesive constituent with the preceding verb. This rules out the suspicion that the construction with a non-nasalized verb initial phoneme is structurally like a passive construction. For a similar situation in Toba Batak, Schachter states that it would be an unexpected phenomenon if the NP in question is indeed a passive agent. The agent *Si Torus* which immediately comes after the verb *diida* ‘be seen’ in his Toba Batak sentence construction of (2b) *Diida Si Torus Si Ria* ‘Si Torus saw Si Ria’ is undeletable, otherwise the reverse would occur if the INP is really a passive agent, given the cross-linguistic dispensibility of the agent in passive constructions. (p. 124) Similarly the agent INP *jaran* ‘horse’ in Balinese, as shown in (3), is undeletable, whereas the patient ENP *cicinge* ‘the dog’ is. Wouk (1984) in his study of Toba Batak, also rejects the active vs. passive voice distinction for the +AT vs. -AT distinction, respectively. He rejected it on account of the relative frequency of the two types of constructions that occur in the texts. He suggested that “whatever the function of passive is, I consider it unlikely that speakers of Toba Batak would need that function so much more often than speakers of English.” (p. 197) In a Balinese text study of main event line (MEL) (Sidhakarya 1995), I found that 81% of MEL clauses are expressed with verbs in -AT constructions. Certainly, the Balinese -AT clauses cannot be passives just because the agents come after the verbs. Again, I would like to show that the Balinese syntactic roles and constituency are analyzable in terms of INP vs. ENP. To test this claim about constituency, I evaluate the asymmetry in constituency and properties between the ENP vs. INP via several kinds of tests such as *interruptibility*, *ellipsis and coordination*, *flexible ordering of the ENP*, and *deletion under discourse control*.

## A. Interruptibility Test

The interruptibility test shows that nothing ever comes between the verb and the INP. For example: a quantifier *liu* ‘a lot’ may appear anywhere in the clause except between the verb and the INP, and still maintain the meaning of the clause *you picked up a lot of coconuts*, as shown in (4) and (5).

- (4a) *Liu cai [ng-alap nyuh].*  
 a.lot 2SG +AT-pick.up coconut
- (4b) *Cai liu [ngalap nyuh].*
- (4c) *\*Cai [ngalap liu nyuh].*
- (4d) *Cai [ngalap nyuh liu].*
- (5a) *Liu nyuh-e [0-alap cai].*
- (5b) *Nyuhe liu [alap cai].*
- (5c) *\*Nyuhe [alap liu cai].*
- (5d) *Nyuhe [alap cai] liu.*

## B. Ellipsis and Coordination Test

Further evidence for the cohesiveness of the INP with the preceding verb is coordination with the conjunction *tur* ‘and’, as in (6a-d). In the four cases the V+INP may be coordinated with another V+INP regardless of the verb form.

- (6a) *Padi-n-e [0-kehkeh siap] tur [0-jekjek jaran].*  
 rice-LK-DEF -AT-scratch chicken and -AT-stamp.onhorse  
 ‘The rice was scratched by a chicken and stamped on by a horse.’
- (6b) *I Ketut [naar jaja] tur [ng-inem yeh].*  
 PM/M Ketut +AT-eat cake and +AT-drink water  
 ‘I Ketut ate a cake and drank some water.’
- (6c) *Sampi-n-e [0-dandan cang] tur [ng-enjekin batis cang-e].*  
 cow-LK-DEF -AT-lead 1SG and +AT-stamp.on  
 foot 1SG-DEF  
 ‘I led the cow and [it] stamped on my foot.’

- (6d) *I Suparta [maca buku] tur [0-dingehang cang]*  
 PM/M Suparta +AT-read book and -AT-listen.to 1SG  
*melah-melah.*  
 good-DUP  
 'I Suparta read a book and I listened to [him] attentively.'

*Padine* in (6a), *I Ketut* in (6b), *sampine* in (6c), and *I Suparta* in (6d) are ENPs whose respective coordinated VPs may be any combination of the two verb types.

The grammaticality of (6a-d) is good evidence for the VP constituent postulated in (1) and for the claim that both the +AT verb and the -AT verb, together with the INP which follows each, form a VP constituent of the same type. Changing the coordinated verb phrases (6a-d) into coordinated clauses results in ungrammaticalities/oddities of the expressions, as shown in (7a-d).

- (7a) \**Padi-n-e [kehkeh siap] tur jaran [nyekjek (padi-n-e)].*  
 (7b) ? *I Ketut [naar jaja] tur yeh [inem(-a)].*  
 (7c) ? *Sampi-n-e [dandan cang] tur batis cang-e [jekjek(-a)].*  
 (7d) *I Suparta [maca buku] tur cang [ningehang (ia)] melah-melah.*

The expression in (7a) is ungrammatical because the transitive verb in the second clause requires an overt patient. The patient *padine* 'the rice' in the second clause, which is an INP, is the same as the ENP patient of the first clause.

The expressions in (7b) and (7c) might be acceptable if the pronominal *-a* INP were overtly mentioned. However, this rules out the possibility that an elliptical INP in the second coordinated clause may corefer to the ENP of the first clause. The only possible clause coordination which has some resemblance with verb phrase coordination is the expression in (7d). The third person pronominal *-a* INP in the second coordinated clause corefers to the ENP in the first clause, and it could be dropped. The difference between the expressions in (6d) and (7d) is that the semantic roles of the ENP agents in the first and second clauses of (7d) are being contrasted, whereas in (6d) no such contrast is implied since the ENP in the second clause is elliptical and the

semantic agents of the two clauses take different syntactic roles of ENP vs. INP. One might argue that the sentences in (6a-d) involve coordination of clauses but with ellipses of the ENP. But even so, what is left is a coherent of VP.

### C. Flexible Ordering of the ENP

The ENP is more flexible when the ENP is definite, as in (8) and (9), especially when the INP is being questioned, as in (10) and (11); the ENP is under relativization, as in (12) and (13).

(8a) *I Gunar [0-kaper jaran].*  
 PM/M Gunar -AT-kick horse  
 'I Gunar was kicked by a horse.'

(8b) *[Kaper jaran] I Gunar.*

(9a) *Meong-e [ng-amah gerang].*  
 cat-DEF +AT-eat dried.fish  
 'The cat ate dried fish.'

(9b) *[ngamah gerang] meong-e.*

(10a) *Beli-n cai-n-e [nyemak apa] ditu?*  
 older.brother 2SG-LK-DEF +AT-pick.up what over.there  
 'What did your older brother take over there?'

(10b) *[Nyemak apa] belin caine ditu?*

(11a) *Beli-n cai-n-e [0-gacel apa] ituni?*  
 older.brother 2SG-LK-DEF -AT-sting what a.little.while.ago  
 'What stung your older brother a little while ago?'

(11b) *[0-gacel apa] belin caine ituni?*

A relative clause construction which is marked with the word *ane* 'REL' is used to indicate contrastive focus on the ENP, as in (12a) and (13a). It is, however, not possible for the INP to be relativized in a simple construction because it would mean

moving the INP to the initial clause position, which is not permissible by the virtue of its bonding to the verb; thus, the ungrammaticality of (12b) and (13b).

(12a) *Ni Nyoman ane [ng-alap biu-n-e].*  
 PM/M Nyoman REL +AT-pick.up banana-LK-DEF  
 ‘It was Ni Nyoman who picked up the bananas?’

(12b) \**Biune ane Ni Nyoman ngalap*

(13a) *Siap-e ane [0-uber meong].*  
 chicken-DEF REL -AT-chase cat  
 ‘It was the chicken that was chased by a cat.’

(13b) \**Meong ane siape uber.*

This relativizer *ane* makes it possible for an indefinite ENP, as in (14a) and (15a) to be moved to the final clause position, as in (14b) and (15b), which is otherwise almost impossible, as shown by the awkwardness of the question expression in (14c) and (15c). But, the initial clause positions of a question word *nyen* ‘who’, as in (14d) and (15d), are perfectly grammatical because these are the natural order of the Balinese clause constructions.

(14a) *Nyen ane [ng-alap biu-n-e]?*

(14b) *Ane ngalap biune nyen?*

(14c) *?Ngalap biune nyen?*

(14d) *Nyen ngalap biune?*

(15a) *Nyen ane [0-kaukin cai]?*

(15b) *Ane [kaukin cai] nyen?*

(15c) *?[kaukin cai] nyen?*

(15d) *Nyen [kaukin cai]?*

#### D. Deletion under discourse control

The last kind of evidence that I would like to present here for the versatility of the ENP in Balinese is that the ENP may be

deleted under discourse control in answer to either a yes-no question, as in (16) and (17), or an informative question, as in (18) and (19). The yes-no question word is optional because the question can be understood through the intonation.

- (16a) *(Apa) I Made [nampah siap]?*  
 what PM/M Made +AT-butcher chicken  
 ‘Did I Made butcher a chicken?’
- (16b) *Aa, nampah siap.*
- (16c) *\*Aa, I Made (nampah).*
- (17a) *(Apa) siap-e suba [0-tampah-a] teken*  
 what chicken-DEF already -AT-butcher-3SG OBL  
*I Made?*  
 PM/M Made  
 ‘Has the chicken been butchered by I Made?’
- (17b) *Aa, suba tampaha.*
- (17c) *\*Aa, siape (tampah).*
- (18a) *[Nyemak apa] I Made ditu?*  
 +AT-take what I Made over.there  
 ‘What did I Made take over there?’
- (18b) *Nyemak jaja.*
- (19a) *[0-Gacel apa] siap-e ento?*  
 -AT-sting what chicken-DEF that  
 ‘What stung that chicken?’
- (19b) *[0-Gacel tabuan].*  
 -AT-sting wasp.  
 ‘Stung by a wasp.’

The following figure is a chart showing the general syntactic characteristics of the ENP vs. the INP, expressed in plus

(+) and (-) features to indicate what is possible and what is not possible under certain conditions.

(20) General characteristics of ENP vs. INP in Balinese

| Condition  | ! | ENP | ! | INP |
|--|---|-----|---|-----|
| Separation from verb (i.e. with floating quantifier) | ! | +   | ! | -   |
| Ellipsis   | ! | +   | ! | -   |
| Flexible ordering                                    | ! | +   | ! | -   |
| Deletion under discourse control                     | ! | +   | ! | -   |

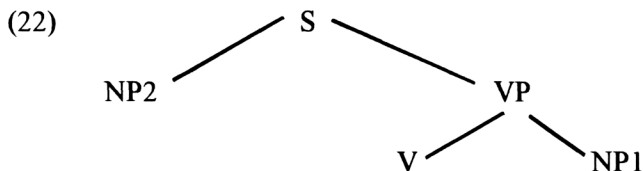
In general, the ENP and INP in Balinese have well-defined syntactic characteristics, similar to those of the Toba Batak language. The INP is closely attached to the verb, while the ENP is more flexible and independent. This is evidenced by the fact that a floating quantifier may interrupt the ENP and the verb, but not the verb and the INP; the verb and the INP in +AT and -AT constructions may be coordinated, leaving the ENP in the second coordinated clause elliptical; the ENP constituent order is flexible, but not that of the INP; and, the ENP may be deleted under discourse control, but not the INP.

There are, however, phenomena in which syntactic operations depend on the semantic roles of the nominals and not on whether the nominal is an ENP vs. INP. The first phenomenon is *reflexivization*. In a clause construction, the reflexive patient is always controlled by the agent, rather than by the syntactic role of the ENP. As observed by Schachter (1984) for Toba Batak, the Balinese reflexive seems also to be against the “proposed universal account of distribution of reflexives” made by Chomsky (1981) within the framework of Government-Binding Theory, as formulated in (21) [Schachter’s (19)].



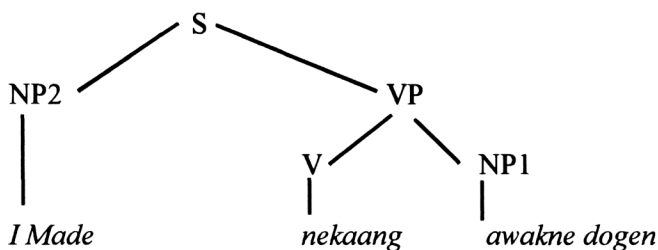
(21) An anaphor is bound in its governing category.

The interpretation of (21) is that “an element is bound if it is coreferential with a c-commanding element, where c-command is a relation between two nodes A and B such that the first branching node that dominates A also dominates B” (p. 131). Thus, in a configuration like (22), NP1 could be an anaphor, but NP2 could not:

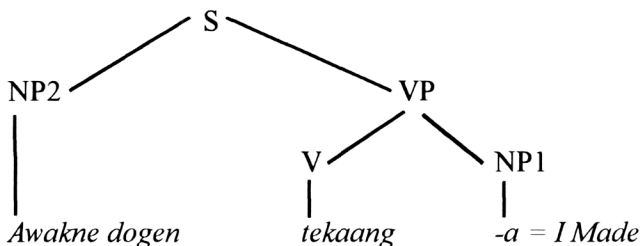


The configuration in (22) matches one type of Balinese basic transitive clause structure, illustrated in (23a), in which the reflexive *awak* ‘self’ corefers to the agent NP2; but it does not match with the structure in (23b), where the agent corefers to the agent NP1.

(23a) *I Made* [*neka-ang awak-ne dogen*].  
 PM/M Made +AT-come-TR self-3POS only  
 ‘I Made made come (brought) only himself.’



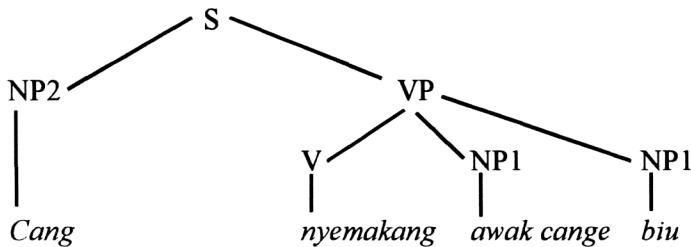
- (23b) *I Made, awak-ne dogen [0-teka-ang-a].*  
 PM/M Made self-3POS only -AT-come-TR-3SG  
 'I Made made come (brought) only himself.'



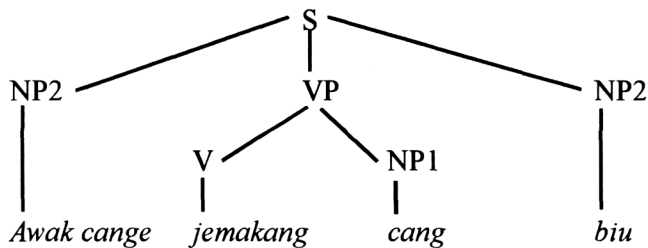
- (23c) \**awakne dogen nekaang I Made.*  
 (23d) \**I Made tekaang awakne dogen*  
 (23e) ?*Awakne dogen tekaang-a teken I Made.*

The reflexive in (23) is followed immediately by a modifier *dogen* 'just' which brings up an emphatic contrast to the supposed situation, where the agent is supposed to come with someone else. In the -AT construction in (23b), the full NP agent is left-dislocated, providing the antecedent for the pronominal agent *-a*. The dislocated phrase is not syntactically required. The comma which follows the full NP agent represents a pause before the ensuing clause starts. Therefore, the reflexive *awakne* 'himself' is actually controlled by the pronominal agent *-a*. The construction in (23c) and (23d) is ungrammatical because the meaning it conveys is that the reflexive makes the nominal agent 'come'. This situation is not permitted because a reflexive cannot control its nominal referent. The presence of a full NP with an oblique preposition in (23e) is rather odd because it implies a separation between the reflexive and the agent. The facts are parallel for (24a) and (24b) with the benefactive/dative. In (24a), the reflexive *awak cange* 'myself' corefers to the ENP while, in (24b), the benefactive reflexive corefers to the INP.

- (24a) *Cang* [*nyemak-ang awak cang-e biu*].  
 1SG +AT-take-BEN self 1SG-DEF biu  
 'I took bananas for myself.'



- (24b) *Awak cang-e* [*0-jemak-ang cang*] *biu*.  
 self 1SG-DEF -AT-take-BEN 1SG biu  
 'It was myself that I took bananas for.'



In (23a) and (24a) the anaphors are bound in their governing categories, thus fulfilling the prediction expressed in (21); (23b) and (24b), however, disqualify the claim made in (21) because the anaphors are not bound in their governing categories. Thus, Balinese adds to the evidence that (21) cannot be stipulated as a universal formulation.

The second phenomenon is concerned with *control of equi-NP deletion*. A construction with equi-NP deletion consists of a main clause and a complement clause. The complement clause has an understood argument, the reference of which is controlled by an overt argument of the main clause. The controller of the deleted ENP of a particular complement clause cannot always be explained in terms of syntactic roles of ENP vs. INP, but must be explained in terms of the semantic role of agent, patient, or dative.

In English constructions such as (25) and (26), the controllee is the subject of the infinitival complement clauses *to buy a chicken* and *to lift a stone*. The controller is the matrix-clause object/patient in (25) and the matrix-clause subject/agent in (26).

(25) I asked you *to buy a chicken*.

(26) I tried *to lift the stone*.

In Balinese, however, it is not possible to make generalizations about the controller in terms of syntactic roles of ENP vs. INP. In a construction with a complement clause, as in (27a) and (27b), the controllee is the missing agent ENP of the complement clause. However, the status of the controller cannot be equally expressed in syntactic terms of ENP vs. INP. The controller in (27a) is the INP of the main clause; the opposite is true in (27b), where the controller is the ENP of the main clause. However, in both cases the controller may be expressed in terms of the semantic role of dative of the matrix verb.

(27a) *Cang [maang ia] [nyilih arit].*  
 1SG +AT-let.have 3SG +AT-borrow sickle  
 'I let him/her borrow a sickle.'

(27b) *Ia [0-baang cang] [nyilih arit].*  
 3SG -AT-let.have 1SG +AT-borrow sickle  
 'I let him/her borrow a sickle.'

Similarly, in examples (28a) and (28b), the controller is the agent, regardless of its syntactic roles of either ENP (28a) or INP (28b).

(28a) *Cang negarang ningting batu-n-e ento.*  
 1SG +AT-try +AT-lift.up stone-LK-DEF that  
 'I tried to lift up that stone.'

(28b) *[0-tegarang cang] ningting batu-n-e ento.*  
 -AT-try 1SG +AT-lift.up stone-LK-DEF that  
 'I tried to lift up that stone.'

From the examples in (27) and (28), it is obvious that control of equi-NP deletion cannot be expressed purely in syntactic-role-based terms. Rather, it can be expressed in semantic terms of dative, patient, or agent.

Lastly, there is a phenomenon of *dative shift*. Dative shift commonly refers to a rule which has something to do with how the patient and dative arguments interchange some morpho-syntactic status. In English, a dative argument is normally marked by an oblique, and it comes second after the patient. But it may shift place so as to occupy a position immediately after the verb, and then followed by the patient. In the following English examples, sentence (29) is supposed to be more basic than sentence (30).

(29) *John give a dog to Mary.*

(30) *John gave Mary a dog.* (Schachter 1984)

In Balinese, however, the dative argument, which comes immediately after the verb, cannot always be described as being shifted. Rather, it is generally brought into the core of the clause by the *-in* or *-ang* suffixes. In a simple clause construction like (31),

(31) *I Ketut negen biu.*  
 PM/M Ketut +AT-carry.on.the.shoulder banana  
 'I Ketut carried bananas.'

the suffixation of the verb with *-in*, will automatically bring with it a dative argument, as in (32), or a benefactive argument if the *-ang* suffix is added, as in (33).

(32a) *I Ketut [negen-in adi-ne biu].*  
 PM/M Ketut +AT-carry.o.t.s-DAT younger.sibling-3POS  
 bananas  
 'I Ketut made his younger sibling carry bananas.'

- (32b) *[Negen-in                      adi-ne                      biu]*  
 +AT-carry.o.t.s-DAT    younger.sibling-3POS    banana  
*I           Ketut.*  
 PM/M Ketut  
 'I Ketut made his younger sibling carry bananas.'
- (33) *I           Ketut [negen-ang                      adi-ne*  
 PM/M Ketut +AT-carry.o.t.s-BEN    younger.sibling-3POS  
*biu]*  
 banana  
 'I Ketut carried the banana for his younger sibling.'

In the +AT constructions, (32a) and (32b), the dative never changes position. Both dative and patient are INPs, with the patient necessarily coming after the dative. In the following -AT constructions, (34a-d), both the dative and the patient are ENPs, and they exchange places freely.

- (34a) *I           Ketut [0-tegen-in                      cang]    biu.*  
 PM/M Ketut -AT-carry.o.t.s. ISG    banana  
 'I made I Ketut carry bananas.'
- (34b) *Biu [tegenin cang] I Ketut.*
- (34c) *[Tegenin cang] I Ketut biu.*
- (34d) *[Tegenin cang] biu I Ketut.*

There is no general account of dative shift that can be formulated in terms of syntactic roles. Syntactic rule can only be explained in terms of semantic roles. Thus, in general, in spite of the well-defined syntactic characteristics of the ENP and the INP in Balinese, there are cases where the semantic roles of the nominals play crucial roles whether or not the nominal is the ENP vs. the INP.

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