VOICE SELECTION IN BALINESE NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

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Except where it is otherwise acknowledged in the text, this thesis represents the original research of the author.

I WAYAN PASTIKA
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ABSTRACT

This thesis discusses voice in Balinese narrative discourse. The term ‘voice’ is used here to refer to the different ways of linking arguments to A, S and O. These linkings of arguments in Balinese are represented by three different constructions: two transitive voices (i.e. Nasal Transitive (NT) and Zero Transitive (ZT)) as well as a passive voice (i.e. the intransitive ka-passive). My study is based on a corpus which comprises eleven narrative texts.

Selection of the three voices in Balinese is associated with two major discourse factors: grounding information and topicality. Grounding information is divided into ‘foregrounded’ events (i.e. clauses which denote main event lines) and ‘backgrounded’ events (i.e. clauses which support main events). Topicality, on the other hand, is a measurement of core arguments (i.e. A, S, and O) of the three voices in terms of ‘Referential Distance’ (i.e. the degree of anaphoric accessibility) and ‘Topic Persistence’ (i.e. cataphoric accessibility).

Transitive voices tend to use Zero Transitive more commonly in foregrounded events than in backgrounded events. Nasal Transitive, on the other hand, is more likely to occur with backgrounded clauses than foregrounded clauses. However, grounding per se does not determine voice selection, instead, the most important factor in determining voice is the topicality of O. The combination of foregrounding and a highly topical O increases the probability of selecting Zero Transitive clauses. Foregrounded events appears to increase the tendency to employ Zero Transitive clauses with a highly topical
O because the topical Os of foregrounded clauses tend to get their topicality in a way which ensures that O will be the most suitable pivot.

The choice between the Zero Transitive voice and the \( \kappa \alpha \)- passive which both have a Patient as pivot, seems to be associated with some features of transitivity: volitionality, individuation of Patient, and affectedness of Patient. Zero Transitive is more likely to be associated with the features of high transitivity (e.g. volitional Agent, high individuation of Patient, and high affectedness of Patient) as well as foregrounded events, while the \( \kappa \alpha \)- passive voice is associated with low transitivity features (e.g. non-volitional Agent, low individuation of Patient, and less affectedness of Patient) as well as backgrounded events. These two voices share a high topicality for the Patient but differ in relation to the topicality of Agent: ZT voice tends to have a highly topical Agent while the \( \kappa \alpha \)- passive voice tends to occur with a non-topical Agent.
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ABBREVIATIONS

1/1st first person pronoun
3/3rd third person pronoun
A1 A of Nasal Transitive
A2 A of Zero Transitive
ADV adverbial
Agt Agent
AP appositive
APPL applicative
args. arguments
ART Article
BDW Bali Dutch War
BG Backgrounding/backgrounded
BLG Pan Belog
CAUS causative
CD Cedang
CK Cerucuk Kuning
Cl clause
CO coordinate clause
COMP complementizer
COMPL complement
COP copula
DEF definite
DEM demonstrative
Dpw Satua Dempuawang
eld. elder
EMPH emphasis
EXI existential verb
FG Foregrounding/foregrounded
FOC Focus
Freq. frequency
Full Com full complement clause
FUT future
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GBN</td>
<td><em>Gede Batun Nyuh</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDF</td>
<td>indefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IH</td>
<td>high intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IL</td>
<td>low intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTR</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JT</td>
<td><em>Nyoman Jater</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kin</td>
<td>kinship term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LD</td>
<td>left dislocation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lex./LEX.</td>
<td>lexical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIG</td>
<td>ligature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td><em>ma-</em> intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mn</td>
<td>main clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NI</td>
<td>Nasal Intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NLEX.</td>
<td>non-lexical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>Noun Phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>Nasal Transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTop</td>
<td>non-topicality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O1</td>
<td>O of Zero Transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O2</td>
<td>O of Nasal Transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ôc</td>
<td>compulsory zero anaphora (or controlled argument)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ôo</td>
<td>optional zero anaphora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ôu</td>
<td>unspecific zero anaphora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>participant/protagonist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAR</td>
<td>particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pat</td>
<td>Patient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PBT</td>
<td><em>Pan Balang Tamak</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PI</td>
<td>pivot initial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piv.</td>
<td>pivot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>proper noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poss</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS’R</td>
<td>possessor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PP</td>
<td>prepositional phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pred</td>
<td>predicate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.1 Voice in Balinese

Balinese is a Western Austronesian language which is currently spoken by around 3 million speakers. Out of this number, around 90% of the speakers live on the Indonesian island of Bali, while around 10% live on other Indonesian islands mainly Lombok, Sulawesi, Sumatra and Java (cf. Clynes 1995:1 and cf. Dalby 1998:50). Balinese has two main registers: *Basa Alus* ‘High Register’ and *Basa Kasar* ‘Low Register.’ These differ mostly in lexicon and less in morphology and syntax. Use of Low and High registers is determined by the Balinese Hindu caste system (i.e. high caste speakers and low caste speakers). Most of my examples are in Low Register but some are High Register.

This thesis is concerned with ‘voice’ in narrative discourse. The term ‘voice’ is used in here to refer to different ways of linking arguments to A, S and O. These linkings of arguments in Balinese are represented by three different constructions: two transitive voices (e.g. Nasal Transitive (NT) and Zero Transitive (ZT)) as well as a passive voice (e.g. the intransitive *ka*-passive). These three voices are illustrated in examples (1), (2) and (3):

(1) Nglaut ia ngojong dagang bebek (BLG 33)\(^1\)
then 3 NT-approach seller duck

*Then he (= Belog) approaches a duck seller.*

---

\(^1\) See Chapter 3 for an explanation of my notational conventions.
Artawa (1994), Roberts (1995) and Artawa and Blake (1997) show that these three voices differ in which argument is assigned to the ‘pivot’ role. A syntactic pivot of a construction is defined by Van Valin (1993:56) as a privileged syntagmatic function with respect to that construction. Balinese has clear syntactic pivots with respect to which NP can be raised, relativised, etc. For a summary, see Roberts (1995:204-208).

The Nasal Transitive is a transitive construction which is morphologically marked by a nasal prefix and has A as pivot, as in example (1). Zero Transitive, on the other hand, is a transitive construction which is morphologically unmarked and has O as pivot, as in example (2). The ka- passive has the prefix ka- to mark the passive construction, as in example (3). In the ka- passive, the pivot is S as it is the only core argument. My use of the term ‘pivot’ here is equivalent to Arka’s (1998:9-10) ‘grammatical function subject.’

I will use the terms A, O and S, which were introduced by Dixon (1972) to refer to the ‘universal syntactic-semantic primitives’. For Dixon (1972, 1979 and 1994), S=‘intransitive subject’, A=‘transitive subject’ and O=‘transitive object’. I will follow Andrews’ (1985) more formal definitions of these notions.

According to Andrews (1985), an NP is said to have the grammatical function A if ‘...it is serving as argument of a two-argument verb, and receiving the morphological
and syntactic treatment normally accorded to an Agent of a primary transitive verb (PTV) ..." (p.68). Andrews (1985:68) uses the term 'primary transitive verbs' (PTVs) for members of the class of two-argument verbs which take prototypical 'Agent' and 'Patient'. In English, the verbs which belong to this class are those like kill, eat, kick, smash and hit.

The grammatical function O is used for an NP "... if it is an argument of a verb with two or more arguments receiving the treatment normally accorded to the Patient of a PTV ..." An NP which corresponds to the single argument of a one-argument verb is said to have the grammatical function S (Andrews 1985:68).

Thus, a sentence which has A and O in its syntactic structure is called 'transitive', while a sentence which has only one core argument is called 'intransitive.' An intransitive sentence may have two or more arguments, but only one is a core argument, others are obliques. Obliques are not core arguments (Andrews 1985:68).

1.2 Review of Literature

My thesis is not a study of grammatical structure, but a study of 'voice selection' in narrative discourse. What I mean by voice selection here is that the choice of different constructions (e.g. Nasal Transitive, Zero Transitive and ka-passive) is determined by discourse factors, such as the factors 'grounding information' and 'topicality' considered in this thesis (see Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 for a complete discussion on these discourse factors respectively).

To my knowledge there has been one study related to 'Balinese grammar and discourse' which is conducted by Artawa et al. (manuscript, 1998). This builds on earlier
work by Artawa (1994) and Artawa and Blake (1997), but unlike these earlier works is based on texts: 30 pages of traditional stories and 250 pages of conversational materials. While their study does not seek to identify discourse factors such as main event lines/"foregrounding events" vs. non-main events/"backgrounding events" and "topicality," Artawa et al. (1998:29) argue that ground might play a role in the selection of "N-construction" (which I call Nasal Transitive, as shown in example (1) above) since they find some examples of Nasal Transitive which are selected when there is a main event/"foregrounding". However, no statistics are given for this claim. The manuscript does not mention the selection of "O-construction" (which I call Zero Transitive, as shown in example (2) above) and the ka-passive (see example (3) above for this construction) when there is a non-main event/"backgrounding" nor do the authors mention the role of foregrounding in selection of the three different voices. According to Artawa et al. (1998:29), the role of "identifiability" of O is more important than grounding. They argue that Nasal Transitive is chosen when O is "non-specific or generic or just indefinite," but Zero Transitive is selected when O is definite (Artawa et al. 1998:17-18). However, Artawa et al. provide no statistics to support their argument.

framework. Although a large number of studies of Balinese have already appeared in print, none of them have focused on discourse. This study is designed to fill that gap.

Similar studies on other West Austronesian languages which mainly investigate voice selection in discourse include: Hopper (1983) and Cumming (1991) on Malay; Urbach (1988), Wouk (1996) and Kaswanti Purwo (1995) on Bahasa Indonesia; and Quick (1994) on the Sulawesi of Pandau. Of these studies, only Cumming (1991) is based on an extensive data base. So far there has not been a detailed study on Balinese which describes voice selection based on discourse factors such as 'grounding' and 'topicality.' Thus, my study may be considered as the first study on voice selection in Balinese narratives discourse which uses a large data base based on these two discourse factors.

Artawa (1994) argues that Balinese is an 'analytic ergative' language because in a complex sentence S and O can be pivots when the verb is morphologically unmarked, but when A is pivot, the verb is marked. He states:

... it can be argued that Balinese is an analytic ergative language. This means that the patient argument (P) of the unmarked transitive verb is treated in the same way as the sole argument (S) of a one-place predicate in terms of word order. It is only P and S can be relativised [sic], questioned, or modified by an emphatic marker. Moreover, it is P and S that serve as the unmarked pivot for coreferential deletion in coordination and subordination. (p 228-229).

According to Artawa (1994:11-12), in example (4) below, S of the higher clause and O of the lower clause are pivots. The pivot role is shown by the control relation between S in a higher clause and O of ZT in the lower clause. On the other hand, if an S argument is in a control relation with an A argument in the lower clause, the transitive
verb must take a nasal prefix, as in example (5). Thus, he argues that the S/A pivot occurs only when the transitive verb is morphologically marked by the nasal prefix.

(4) Tiang edot Ø tangkep polisi (Artawa 1994:11)
I want ZT arrest police

I want the police to arrest me.

(5) Tiang edot Ø nangkep polisi (Artawa 1994:12)
I ZI want NT-arrest police

I want to arrest the police.

Artawa (1994) and Artawa & Blake (1997) treat the ZT construction (as in example (4) ) as ‘ergative’ since the O rather than the A is identified with the sole argument of the intransitive verb as the pivot. Thus, Balinese has two transitive constructions, i.e. the ZT (i.e. the morphologically unmarked transitive) and NT. Artawa & Blake (1997:499) also claim that the ZT is the unmarked choice if the O is definite, or at least specific, and so they consider Balinese to be an ‘ergative’ language.

Roberts (1995:203-204) argues against any categorization of Balinese as syntactically ergative or syntactically accusative. Neither does she agree with the claim that Balinese has one transitive construction which is more basic than the other. She states:

... I will argue that it is far from obvious that either transitive construction is more basic than the other. Balinese permits a choice as to which macrorole can be the pivot in a transitive construction, and so cannot be regarded as either syntactically ergative or syntactically accusative. (p 203)

Roberts (1995:204) treats the alternation of the NT and ZT as different mappings of semantic roles to macroroles Actor and Undergoer and argues that neither mapping is more basic. If the transitive verb is marked with the nasal prefix, then the A (which Roberts calls ‘Actor’) is pivot; if the transitive verb is unmarked, then the O (which she
calls ‘Undergoer’) is pivot. Although Balinese has S/O pivot when the transitive verb is unmarked, and S/A pivot when the transitive verb is marked, according to Roberts (1995:207), this language is not necessarily syntactically ergative or syntactically accusative. Roberts (1995: 207) comments:

... The fact that the verb is marked with a nasal prefix when the pivot is an Actor but unmarked when the pivot is an Undergoer does not seem sufficient grounds for maintaining that Balinese is syntactically ergative. One can easily imagine a language (let us call it language X) whose syntactic behaviour is precisely like that of Balinese, but where both transitive and intransitive verbs are marked with an affix when the pivot is an Undergoer and unmarked when the pivot is an Actor. In Artawa & Blake’s framework, such a language would have to be called syntactically accusative. Yet in terms of syntax, the behaviour of Balinese and language X is exactly the same. Indeed, one can also imagine a language (language Y) whose syntactic behaviour is exactly like that of Balinese and language X, but where the verb is marked with one affix when the pivot is an Actor, and another affix when the pivot is an Undergoer. One could not reasonably call language Y either syntactically accusative or syntactically ergative; I would argue that the same is true of Balinese and language X.

Arka (1998), on the other hand, argues that Balinese is an ‘active language’ since a prefix nasal marks the Actor of both transitive and intransitive verbs as pivot and Ø-marks Undergoer as pivot2. The two pivots (i.e. the Actor pivot and the Undergoer pivot) seem to show that Balinese has an ‘active/split S organisation’ (1998:256). Arka (1998:64-65) states:

I conclude that Balinese is an active language where N-(and ma-) mark Actor-GF-SUBJ (here called AV-marking, reflecting an accusative pattern) and Ø-marks Undergoer-GF-SUBJ (here called OV-marking, reflecting an ergative pattern). In short, the active organisation shown by Balinese can be symbolised as (89a) (where, again for simplicity borrowing Dixon’s terminology, the symbol O = U (i.e. a non-Actor core argument) and S = intransitive core argument), whereas a truly ergative system is that in (89b):

\[
(89) \quad a. S_A = A \neq S_U = O \quad \text{(Active language)}
\]

2 He uses the terms‘Actor-GF-SUBJ,’ which means that the grammatical function (GF) of Actor is a grammatical subject (SUBJ). Roberts (1995:203-204) also argues that Balinese has two sets of intransitive verbs. One set is the ‘unaccusative’ type which has an Undergoer as pivot and the verb is morphologically unmarked. The other set, on the other hand, is the ‘unergative’ type which has an Actor as pivot and the verb is morphologically marked with a nasal prefix.
Both Roberts (1995) and Arka (1998) argue that Balinese is neither syntactically ergative nor syntactically accusative, but they typologise Balinese as morphologically ‘Active’ or ‘Split-S.’ With this system, a verb in Balinese is morphologically marked by a nasal prefix when the Actor is a pivot, but when the Undergoer is a pivot, the verb is morphologically unmarked.

In my thesis I do not pursue the question of the syntactic typology of Balinese. What is important in my study is that Balinese has two transitive types, i.e. a transitive verb which is morphologically unmarked when the O is pivot and a transitive verb which takes a nasal prefix to mark the A as pivot. As with transitive verbs, intransitive constructions are distinguished into two types: an intransitive construction with ‘Actor’ S (which is marked with the nasal prefix, or sometimes occurs with verbs which are morphologically unmarked) and an intransitive construction with ‘Undergoer’ S (which can be marked with ma- Resultative, or which also occur with verbs which are morphologically unmarked). I will discuss these intransitive types later.

1.3 The Scope and Aims of the Study

This study is concerned with the discourse factors which determine voice selection in Balinese narrative. I will look at both 1) What determines whether the intransitive ka- passive or a transitive construction is selected when either would be a grammatical option and 2) if a transitive construction is used what determines whether the ZT or the NT will be used.
Two major discourse factors have been identified for voice selection in other languages—'topicality' and 'grounding.' Apart from these factors, I will also be looking at other features of narrative, most importantly how different types of arguments (A, S and O) tend to be expressed. Although the grounding type and the topicality of O substantially correlate with voice, I will argue that it is the nature of O that is decisive in determining voice selection in Balinese.


Givón's approach to topicality measures the accessibility of A, S and O participants in narratives. There are two types of measurement used to identify the degree of topicality: 'referential distance' (RD) and 'topic persistence' (TP). The RD technique measures the 'anaphoric accessibility' of a participant, how many clauses back a present participant was last mentioned in preceding clauses. The TP technique, on the other hand, measures the 'cataphoric accessibility' of a participant, how frequently a participant is mentioned in following clauses. Using these measurements of topicality, I will investigate the topicality of A, O, and S participants in the three voices. We will see that voice selection can be associated with topicality of these participants.

Another discourse factor which is associated with voice selection is grounding information. This information relates to events, which can be distinguished into main
events and non-main events. Clauses or sentences which are used to denote main events in discourse are called 'foregrounded' clauses (FG), while clauses or sentences which are used as supportive material (non-main events) are called 'backgrounded' clauses (BG). As with other languages, voice selection in Balinese may be associated with FG and BG clauses. Voice selection may also be associated with a combination of grounding and a 'degree of transitivity.' A clause which is 'high' in transitivity is likely to be associated with a FG event, while a clause which is 'low' in transitivity is likely to be associated with a BG event.

The general aim of this study is to find discourse factors which determine voice selection in Balinese narratives. This aim can be further specified: first, to discuss the nature of voice in Balinese narrative discourse; second, to describe discourse characteristics which are associated with voice selection; and third, to propose a general principle of voice selection in Balinese narratives.

1.4 The Organisation of the Thesis

This thesis comprises ten chapters. Chapter One has described voice in Balinese, the review of literature, the scope and aim of the study, and the organisation of the thesis.

Chapter Two deals with the basic structure of different clause constructions in Balinese. I focus on two transitive types, a passive construction and other intransitives. Other constructions such as applicative, causative and resultative constructions are also examined, but the first two are included in the discussion of transitive types, while the resultative construction is included in intransitives.
Chapter Three describes how texts were collected and selected for my corpus and how data is treated for analysis. This chapter also describes how texts are segmented into clauses.

Chapter Four presents the overall frequency of the three different voices which are used in main clauses and subordinate clauses. By ‘overall frequency’ here I mean the use of the voices throughout the texts without looking at factors which determine the choice.

Chapter Five studies the nature of subordinate clauses, which are mainly distinguished into complement and adverbial clauses. A complement clause or an adverbial clause can be either a reduced clause or a full one. In this chapter I also distinguish between situations in which voice selection is grammatically determined (i.e. in control constructions) and ones in which there is choice. I have excluded the grammatically determined examples from my statistics.

Chapter Six is concerned with different argument expressions which are employed in different grammatical roles. The aim of this chapter is to discover the discourse pattern of different expressions which are used as A, S and O. There are two main argument expressions discussed in this chapter: non-overt expressions (i.e. zero anaphora) and overt arguments (i.e. non-lexical expressions/pronouns and lexical expressions i.e. indefinite NPs and definite NPs). Word order types are easily identified when the arguments are overt, rather than non-overt. Word order is generally distinguished into Pivot Initial order (henceforth PI) and Verb Initial order (henceforth VI). Imperative and hortative clauses are also discussed here, but they are found to be irrelevant for voice selection and word order because they are not as free as declaratives.
Chapter Seven is a study of grounding which focuses on the two main grounding types which can be associated with voice: main event lines/‘foregrounded’ events and non-main events/‘backgrounded’ events.

Chapter Eight is concerned with the role of topicality in voice selection. The two major questions addressed are: to what extent does the degree of topicality of A, S and O participants determine voice selection, and what importance does topicality have in general to voice selection?

Chapter Nine describes the relation between voice and the combination of grounding and topicality of O. In this chapter, I investigate whether grounding or topicality is an independent factor which determines voice selection in discourse.

Chapter Ten summarises the most important findings of the study and points to some directions for future research.
2.1 Introduction

In chapter one, where the aims of this thesis were outlined, I introduced three important constructions which will be investigated, namely the NT, ZT and *ka*-constructions. Before we can begin investigating the questions outlined in Chapter One, however, it is necessary to discuss the syntactic properties of these constructions in some detail. In addition, I will be comparing these constructions with intransitive clauses which are not *ka*-passive, and so it is necessary to look briefly at the different types of intransitives which are found in the texts in my corpus.

Although many verbs in Balinese consist simply of a verbal root, there are prefixes and suffixes which create other verbs or change the transitivity of a verb, and so I will begin with a brief discussion of types of verbs in Balinese. I will then move on to a discussion of transitive constructions, followed by a discussion of passives. The final part of the chapter is devoted to the different intransitive constructions which are relevant to this thesis.

2.2 Verbs in Balinese

Verbs in Balinese can be bare stems but some are created from 'bound' verbs. A bare stem verb can be transitive, for example, *jemak* 'take,' *daar* 'eat,' *tulis* 'write,'
anem ‘bury,’ umbah `wash’. A bound verb, on the other hand, is a dependent verb which needs a verbal affix to function as a verb. For instance, the bound verb takon ‘ask’ must take the verbal prefix ma- to be the intransitive verb matakon ‘to ask,’ or the verbal suffix -ang/-in to be used as the ZT takonang/takonin ‘ask.’

The verbal suffix -ang/-in can have various functions in that it can be a causative or an applicative (see also discussion in Section 2.8.1), but it always changes the valency of a verb. For instance, the verbal suffix -ang/-in used with a stative type verb will create a causative construction in ZT type, as in (1) below.

(1)a. Tembok-e putih
    wall-DEF white
    The wall is white.

b. Tembok-e putih-ang/-in tiang
    wall-DEF ZT white-CAUS I
    I whitened the wall.

Arguments of a clause are often not expressed in Balinese when information is understood from a context. The omission commonly occurs with pivots arguments, as shown by NT in (2b) and (2c) or ZT in (3c) below.

(2)a. I dagang bebek ngon ia teken tingkah
    ART. seller duck ZI amazed 3 with attitude
    anak-e ma-blanja buka keto.
    person-DEF MAI-shopping like that

b. Ø tuara ja nakon-ang aji malu.
    not EMPHASIS NT-ask-APPL price first

1 -ang and -in arguably have different, although overlapping functions and are not simply allomorphs of the same morpheme. However, for my purpose these differences do not matter and I will treat them as the same thing.
Chapter 2: Clause Types

c. Ø jag suba maang pipis
   EMPHASIS already NT-give money

   The duck seller is amazed by the attitude of the person who is shopping like that. He (the person/Pan Belog) does not ask the price first. He (= the person/Pan Belog) suddenly already gives the money (to the duck seller). (BJG 45-47)

The A’s of NT nakonang ‘ask’ in (2b) and maang ‘give’ in (2c) are both not expressed. They are understood to refer to the NP anake mablanja ‘the person who is shopping’ rather than to the NP i dagang bebek ‘the duck seller’ because the common practice (in Bali) is that only a buyer is supposed to ask about the price, not the seller. And the buyer must pay in cash if s/he buys something from the seller.

The O of ZT in (3c) is not expressed but it can be understood that it refers to the proper noun Bawang rather than somebody else. This is possible because there are only two human protagonists in this episode, Bawang and the NP dadong-ne ‘her grandmother.’ The only one which is mentioned in (3c) is dadong-ne ‘her grandmother, while the unexpressed argument must be Bawang.

(3)a. Meh ratu laut tengkejut dadong-ne
   wow lord then ZI surprised grandmother-3 POSS’R

   nepukin ni Bawang
   NT-find ART. Bawang

b. Ø setset-peselanting.
   worn out

c. Ladne pidan Ø tepukin-a tekenin
   firstly past ZT find-3 Agt by

   dadong-ne dugas ia nu
   grandmother-3 POSS’R when 3 still

   di jumah meme-n-ne.
   at home mother-LIG-3 POSS’R
Chapter 2: Clause Types

Wow lord, her grand mother is surprised to see Bawang. She (= Bawang) wears worn out clothes. In the past her grandmother found her (very differently), at the time when she (= Bawang) was still in her mother’s home. (CK 347-351)

2.3 Transitive Constructions

There are two basic assignments of A to grammatical relations, giving the NT and ZT constructions. Transitive verbs can also be derived from intransitive verbs with the -ang/-in suffix but this will not be discussed in detail because the derived transitives will be treated in the same way as other transitives in this thesis: either as ZT or as NT. I will be presenting examples in what is usually treated as the canonical order for these constructions, but in Chapter 6 I will look at the variety of orders which are found in the texts.

2.3.1 Nasal Transitive (NT)

The verbal affix nasal (N-)² is used to assign the A to the pivot role, which is usually placed in the preverbal position, as shown in (4).

(4) Tiang/cai/ia naar nasi(-n-e)
    1st/2nd/3rd NT-eat rice-LIG-DEF

I/(you)/(s)he ate some rice (the rice).

The personal pronouns tjang ‘I,’ cai ‘you’ or ia ‘she/he’ in example (4) is the A, the pivot, while the NP nasi(-n-e) ‘some rice (the rice)’ is the O, the non-pivot in this construction.

² The Nasal prefix can be phonologically homorganic with an initial obstruent of a verb and is a velar nasal /ŋ/ when the verb begins with a vowel.
2.3.2 Zero Transitive (ZT)

The ZT has O as pivot, A as another core argument, and no nasal prefix. Evidence of the A as a core argument is discussed in Arka (1998:359-368) and Wechsler and Arka (1998:400-401). When the A is a third person, it must be indefinite if it is used in the ZT construction as illustrated in example (5).

(5)a. Adi-n-ne  gugut  cicing
    yngr. sibl.-LIG-DEF  ZT bite  dog
A dog bites the younger sibling.

*b.  Adi-n-e  gugut  cicing-e
    yngr. sibl.-LIG-DEF  ZT bite  dog-DEF
The dog bites the younger sibling.

With a 3rd person definite A, another construction must be used, in which the verb is marked with the clitic -a (6a) and can be doubled by a PP Agent (6b). Arka (1998:362) and Wechsler and Arka (1998:429) argue that the clitic -a will lose its syntactic status as a core argument to become a passive marker when it is used with the PP Agent. In this case, the verb which takes -a and the PP agent is passive, as in (6b)

(6)a.  adi-n-e  gugut-a
    younger sibling-LIG-DEF  ZT bite-3Agt
S/he bites the younger sibling.

b.  adi-n-e  gugut-a  teken  cicing-e
    younger sibling-LIG-DEF  ZT bite-3Agt  by  dog-DEF
The dog bites the younger sibling (The younger sibling is bitten by the dog).

2.3.2.1 The -a Construction as ZT

In this section I discuss the arguments that -a is not a passive marker, but is rather a third person clitic, so that sentences like example (6) can be regarded as
instances of ZT. Convincing evidence for treating examples such as the second clause of (6) as ZT rather than passive have been presented by Artawa (1994) and Artawa and Blake (1997). Artawa (1994:14-16) emphasises that the term 'passive' cannot be applied to the -a construction in examples like (6) because the a- which is a short form of the third person ia has an anaphoric function, and is thus not a passive marker. One piece of evidence for this is that if the -a were a passive marker, then it should be able to be accompanied by a PP Agent which refers to first or second person (as with the ka-passive). In fact, -a can only be used if there is a 3rd person Agent. The -a may or may not be mentioned overtly in a PP.

Artawa (1994) and Artawa and Blake (1997) consider that both types of the -a construction are ZT, as in example (7) and (8):

(7) Sedek dina anu Pan Belog
    when day something Pan Belog
    tunden-a ka peken teken kuren-n-ne
    ZT order-3 Agt to market by spouse-LIG-3POSS’R
    One day Pan Belog was ordered to go to the market by his wife. (BLG 1)

(8) Sedek dina anu Pan Belog
    when day something Pan Belog
    tunden-a ka peken...
    ZT order-3 Agt to market
    One day Pan Belog was ordered to go to the market... (BLG 1)

Arka (1998:363-368) and Arka and Wechsler (1998:403-407) give convincing evidence for treating the -a in (8) as a core argument of a ZT including: (a) the -a is a pronominal clitic because it has an anaphoric function (i.e. it can refer back to an antecedent in a text) and (b) syntactically the -a functions as a syntactic unit (i.e. as an argument of a verb). The evidence for the latter comes from binding, as illustrated by the
two examples in Arka (1998:364) given below as (9a) and (9b). These show that the third person (e.g. the free form ia in the example (9a) and the bound form -a in the example (9b) ) can both bind the reflexive:

(9)a. ia tusing ngurungu-ang awakne (NT)
   3   not NT-care-APPL self

b. Awakne tusing rungu-ang-a (ZT)
   self   not ZT care-APPL-3Agt
   *She/he did not care about himself/herself.*

The enclitic -a in example (9b) is just like the free pronoun ia in example (9a). Either the enclitic -a or the free pronoun ia is bound to the reflexive awakne ‘self.’ Arka also shows that the -a can take a quantifier just like a free pronoun.

Although the -a has an anaphoric function (can refer back in texts), the antecedent can be specific or non-specific. Here is an example of the -a with a non-specific antecedent.

(10) dadi beli lantes ningeh orta, ningeh informasi di Sulawesi Selatan orah-ang-a
    thus elder brother then NT-hear news, NT-hear information at Sulawesi south ZT say-APPL-3Agt

ada penempatan tran baru keto
exist placement transmigrants new like that

Thus, I (=elder brother) heard some news, I heard information that in South Sulawesi {people/person/information} say that there is a new location for transmigrants, like that. (CD 36-39)

The -a clitic which is attached to the verb orahang ‘say’ in example (10) does not refer to a specific participant in the previous clauses. This verb is understood to have a human (or human-like) Agent since only humans or the like can say something which is
meaningful, as this text is meant to. However, no person or people who ‘say that there is a new location for transmigrants’ has been mentioned in previous clauses. The -a clitic may refer to the NP orta ‘information’ in the preceding clause, which is treated as human-like, so that the meaning will be like ‘information says.’ To convey this meaning, however, a Balinese speaker would rather use the specific Agent construction and the preferred alternative would be orahang-a teken anak-e ‘people say...’

2.3.2.2 The -a Construction as a Passive

Arka (1998:380-389) and Arka and Wechsler (1998:429-434) argue that although -a without PP Agent is ZT with the -a as a core argument, the -a with PP Agent is a passive. In this second -a construction, they argue, -a is not an argument, but a passive marker. This evidence comes from binding. For example, compare examples (11) and (12). Example (11) is a ZT construction in which the reflexive can be bound by either -a or anak-e cenik ento ‘that child.’ However, in example (12), -a cannot bind the reflexive pronoun awakne. Since the PP is an oblique argument rather than a term, it cannot bind the reflexive either, and so the reflexive can only refer to (i.e. be bound by) anak-e cenik ento ‘that child.’

(11) anak-e cenik ento_i edeng-in-a_j awak-nei/ʃ
    person-DEF small that ZT show-APPL-3Agt self. 3POSS'R

    di kaca-n-e
    at mirror-LIG-DEF
He j showed the childi himselfi/ʃ in the mirror. (Arka, 1998: 381; Arka and Wechsler, 1998: 432)

(12) anak-e cenik ento_i edengin-a awak-nei/*ʃ
    person-DEF small that ZT-show-3Agt self. 3POSS'R
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2.4 The Passive

\[ \text{di kaca-n-e teken ia}_j \]
\[ \text{at mirror-LIG-DEF by 3} \]

*The child* \(_j\) \( was \) shown *himself* \(_j/*j\) *in the mirror by him* \(_j\). (Arka, 1998: 381; Arka and Wechsler, 1998: 432)

Arka and Wechsler also give evidence concerning quantifier binding which provides further support to the notion that there are two significantly different kinds of -\(a\) construction, but this will not be discussed here.

Arka (1998:389) suggests that examples of -\(a\) without a PP Agent are ambiguously ZT or passive, since it is possible for the PP Agent of the -\(a\) passive to be omitted. Preliminary investigations suggest that these two constructions (the -\(a\) with PP Agent and the -\(a\) without PP Agent) behave differently with respect to discourse factors such as topicality. The Agent of the -\(a\) construction without a PP tends to be more topical than the Agent of the -\(a\) construction with a PP. This happens because the first construction is used when the -\(a\) must refer back to a previous referent which means that the chance of being topical in terms of Referential Distance is high. In contrast, the second construction is used when the Agent needs to be specified and when it does not necessarily refer back in texts. In such cases, the tendency of the Agent to be topical in Referential Distance is low. The construction with PP may be used with a topical Agent if there is a need to emphasise the participant concerned, and this is usually achieved via a repetition or paraphrase. In Section 8.6.1 (in Chapter 8) I will show the frequency of Referential Distance and the frequency of Topic Persistence for these two different -\(a\) constructions.
2.4 The *ka-* Passive

The *ka-* construction is passive since it has a single core argument (except with the passives of ditransitives) and the verb is marked by the verbal prefix *ka-*.

The Agent optionally appears as a PP which is headed by the preposition *antuk* (for high register) or *teken/baan* (for low register). Arka (1998: 368-372) and Arka and Wechsler (1998:429-434) call the *ka-* passive the 'high passive', while they treat the -a verb followed by a PP by-phrase as 'low passive.' Arka (1998) states:

Since the low register has no passive, there is a need to fill in the gap for backgrounding the Agent, a need which is handled by the *ka-* passive in the high register. In the low register, -a followed by a PP Agent comes to the rescue and functions just like a passive construction. [...] Based on the register constraint, I will call the -a passive the *low passive*, in contrast to the *ka-* passive, which I will call the *high passive*. (This naming is for expository reason only; it does not imply that the distribution is mutually exclusive, as we shall see.) The register constraint on the two passives is associated with the perceived social status of the Agent (and/or the addressee). The general rule is that the high passive is used when the Agent (and/or the addressee) is assumed to be socially high or respected status...

The low passive is generally used when the Agent is socially low. The addressee is generally also low, or at least neutral with respect to social status... (p 369-370).

It is true that the 'high passive' is strongly preferred with high register, but it does not mean that the 'high passive' is always used to respect the Agent. The 'high passive' can also be used with an Agent which is low in social status (13).

(13) **Ento dadi cai matalang mulih,**
    that why you MAI-empty go home

    **dija ka-aba bebek-e?**
    where PSV-bring duck-DEF
Chapter 2: Clause Types

Why do you go home without anything? Where did you bring the ducks? (BLG 80-82)

In example (13) the ka- passive occurs with an Agent (the addressee) who is socially in a low status since the low form of the second person pronoun cai ‘you’ is used.

2.5 The ka- Passive and ‘the -a Passive’

If we use the ‘parameters of transitivity’ proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980), the parameter of volitionality may distinguish the use of the ka- passive and ‘the -a passive.’ The ka- passive tends to use when the activity is done accidentally, while the -a passive tends to be used when the activity is done deliberately.

Compare also the use of the ka- passive in example (14) with that of the -a passive in example (15):

(14) Ka-batek baan jengah-ne
PSV- attract by spirit-3 POSS’R

I Nyoman Jater laut ma-gibras ia mulih
ART. Nyoman Jater then MAI-courageous 3 go home
(Because) I Nyoman Jater is attracted by (accidental) actions of his spirit, he then courageously goes home. (JT 315-317)

(15) Batek-a baan jengah-ne
ZT attract-3Agt by spirit-3POSS’R

I Nyoman Jater laut ma-gibras ia mulih
ART. Nyoman Jater then MAI-courageous 3 go home
(Because) I Nyoman Jater is attracted by his spirit, he then courageously goes home.
The association between the \(-a\) passive and low status relates to the fact that the \(-a\) with a PP Agent can be considered to be the short form of the third person of the low register \(ia\) rather than the third person of the high register \(ipun\). In contemporary Balinese, however, the \(-a\) no longer indicates social status because the \(-a\) has become non-specific. If the \(-a\) Agent needs to be specified, then the PP Agent ‘by phrase’ should be mentioned, and this can be a high register utterance as in (16).

(16) Aji, titiang kaplegan nenten ma-duwe manah,
    father I startlegan not MAI-have intention

    ambil-a antuk kalitan titiang-e.
    ZT take-3Agt by relative I-DEF

Mangkin durung wenten manah titiang
    now not yet exist intention I

    jagi ngerereh kurenan.
    will NT-look for spouse

Father, I am startled and have no intention (to marry because) my relative (wants to) takes me (as his wife). I don’t have any intention yet to look for a husband. (TLASK)

The text in (16) shows that the so-called ‘low passive’ is used in the higher register. But the use of \(-a\) in this high register does not lower the social status of the PP Agent \(antuk kalitan titiange\) ‘by my relative.’ What seems to be happening here is that the \(-a\), which is historically a low register morpheme, has lost this low social status. In contemporary Balinese, social status is pretty much determined by independent words (e.g. the high register: \(antuk\) ‘by’ and \(titiang\) ‘I’) rather than a bound form like the \(-a\).

A systematic study of possible differences between the two \(-a\) constructions (and between the ‘\(-a\) passive’ and the \(ka\)-passive) must await further research. In this thesis I will be treating both \(-a\) constructions as ZT. It should be noted that the \(-a\) construction
Chapter 2: Clause Types

with PP Agent is much less common than the -a construction without PP Agent. Out of 256 examples of the -a constructions (in four texts: Cerucuk Kuning, Nyuh, Belog, and Jeter), 204 examples (or 80%) are the -a without the PP Agent, while only 52 examples (or 20%) are the -a with the PP Agent.

2.6 A Note on Reflexives

This thesis is not the place for a complete discussion of reflexives. An exhaustive discussion of reflexives in Balinese is found in Arka (1998). However, because reflexives have properties which make them intermediate between transitive and intransitive sentences, it is necessary to present some basic facts about Balinese reflexives.

There are four common reflexive forms: iba(-n-ne), dewek(-ne), awak-(ne), and paukudan(-ne). Arka (1998:345-358) suggests that the simple form can be a particular pronoun either as a non reflexive or a reflexive, but that the complex forms are only reflexive. However, in their simple forms only the first three can be used either as pronouns or as reflexives: iba ‘self, you’, dewek ‘self, I’, and awak ‘self, I or you.’ The simple form paukudan, on the other hand, is only used as a reflexive. The complex forms have what is historically the possessive marker -ne. Wechsler and Arka (1996:8-9; 1998:406-407), and Arka (1998:345-358) observe that ZT and NT are both possible with a reflexive.
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(17)a. Awakne tingalin-a
   self ZT-see-3Agt
   S/he saw her self/him self.

b. la ningalin awakne
   3 NT- see self
   S/he saw her self/him self.

c. la ningalin awak
   3 NT-see self
   S/he saw her self/him self.

Arka (1998:345-358) notes that only the complex form can be used in a ZT clause. Arka’s explanation for this fact is that the binding requirements are stricter for the simple form than for the complex form. All reflexives, whether simple or complex, must be _a-bound_, that is, the binder must be higher on the argument scale (e.g. an agent) than the bound pronoun (e.g. a theme). But the simple form _requires total prominence of the binder_—that is, the binder must not only be higher on the argument hierarchy but also higher on the syntactic hierarchy. Arka maintains that the argument in the pivot position is the syntactic subject in Balinese, so that means that in the NT construction A is higher than O on both hierarchies, and so the binding requirements for the simple form are met. In the ZT construction, however, A is not the subject, and so it fails to meet the requirement that the binder must be syntactically more prominent that the bound argument.

*(18)a. Awak tingalin-a
   self ZT see-3Agt
   S/he saw her self/him self.

*b. Raga cingakin-a (High Register)
   self ZT see-3Agt
   S/he saw her self/him self.
A possible explanation of why the simple reflexive should have a stricter requirement is that the default interpretation of the simple reflexive, which is ambiguously either reflexive or non-reflexive, will be non-reflexive when a potential binder has not yet been introduced. If we introduce the bound pronoun first, then ambiguity is avoided by the use of an unambiguously reflexive form. But if we have introduced the binder first, then the listener knows a good deal about what is being said already before the reflexive pronoun is introduced, and so it is less essential to reduce ambiguity.

2.7 Ditransitives

There are a number of basic ditransitive verbs and others which are made ditransitive by the application of the applicative -ang/-in to a transitive verb, and I will be treating both of these in the same way—as NT or ZT as appropriate. Verbs such as baang/maang ‘give,’ edengang/gedengang ‘show’ and orahin/ngorahin ‘tell’ are typical basic ditransitive verbs. Either the ‘gift’ or the ‘recipient’ can be treated as O and the other object-like argument is treated as a second object. Evidence of this can be seen from the fact that either ‘gift’ or ‘recipient’ can come directly after the verb (in NT) or in (preverbal) pivot position in ZT and that either ‘gift’ or ‘recipient’ can be S of the ka-passive.

(19)a. Meme maang ia pipis
mother NT-give 3 money

b. Meme maang pipis ia
mother NT-give money 3
Mother gives him/her some money.
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(20)a. la baang meme pipis
   3 ZT give mother money

b. Pipis baang meme ia
   money ZT give mother 3
   *Mother gave him/her some money.*

(21)a. la ka-baang pipis baan meme
   3 PSV- give money by mother

b. Pipis ka-baang ia baan meme
   money PSV give 3 by mother
   *She/he was given money by mother.*

A transitive construction which is made ditransitive by application of the applicative -ang/-in undergoes a dative movement, that is, a peripheral argument (the prepositional phrase) becomes a core argument (either O or the second object).

(22)a. Tiang nulis surat ken Nyoman
   I NT-write letter to Nyoman

b. Tiang nulis-ang/-in Nyoman surat
   I NT-write-APPL Nyoman letter

c. Tiang nulis-ang/-in surat Nyoman
   I NT-write-APPL letter Nyoman
   *I write a letter to Nyoman.*

(23)a. Surat tulis tiang ken Nyoman
   letter ZT write I to Nyoman

b. Surat tulis-ang/-in tiang Nyoman
   letter ZT write-APPL I Nyoman

c. Nyoman tulis-ang/-in tiang surat
   Nyoman ZT write-APPL I letter
   *I write a letter to Nyoman.*

Examples like (19) and (22) will be grouped with other NT, while examples like (20) and (23) will be grouped with other ZT.
2.8 Causatives

A causative construction can be created either from intransitive verbs or transitive verbs. There are two types of formal mechanisms for marking a Balinese causative construction: a morphological causative with the verbal affix -ang/-in and a periphrastic causative which usually comprises one of the following verbs: ngeranayang ‘cause,’ ngae ‘make,’ paka ‘force’ or tonden ‘order.’ I use the terms ‘morphological causative’ and ‘periphrastic causative,’ as discussed in Dixon (1991:293), Dixon (1994:139-141), Dixon (ms. 1997) and Dixon and Aikhenvald (ms. 1997:10-11). A causative construction which is created from a transitive verb can only use the periphrastic causative, while a causative construction which is derived from an intransitive verb can take either the morphological causative or the periphrastic causative. In this thesis, I will not be differentiating causative verbs from other NT and ZT verbs.

2.8.1 Morphological Causatives

A morphological causative can only be created from an intransitive verb by using the suffix -ang/-in. With a transitive verb, this suffix is an applicative which creates a ditransitive, as in examples (22b/c) and (23b/c) above. In example (24), the stative verb putih is made causative by the causative suffix -ang/in. The O is assigned a semantic role, the Causee, while the A is the Causer.

(24)a. Tembok-e putih
   wall-DEF white
   The wall is white.

b. Tiang mutih-ang/-in tembok-e
   I NT-white-CAUS wall-DEF (NT/Causative)
Chapter 2: Clause Types

I whitened the wall.

c. Tembok-e putih-ang/-in tiang (ZT/Causative)
   wall-DEF ZT white-CAUS I
   I whitened the wall.

2.8.2 Periphrastic Causatives

Balinese also has a periphrastic causative, which uses a causative verb which can only be NT, for example ngeranayang 'cause' and ngae 'make. With the causative verb ngae 'make', the lower clause must be introduced by the complementizer apang 'to, in order.' Both of these verbs would be treated as NT.

(25)a. Nyoman nulis surat
    Nyoman NT-write letter
    Nyoman writes a letter.

b. Tiang ngerana-ang Nyoman nulis surat
   I NT-cause-CAUS Nyoman NT-write letter

c. Tiang ngae Nyoman apang nulis surat
   I NT-cause Nyoman COMP NT-write letter
   I cause Nyoman to write a letter.

The causee (the O) Nyoman 'Nyoman' is in 'control' of the activity, but can be willing or unwilling to do the activity. The causer (the A) tiang 'I' acts indirectly and is not involved in the activity itself.

Sentences like examples (25b/c) are considered to be biclausal sentences with syntactic control of lower clause subjects by the objects of higher clauses.
2.9 Other Intransitive Constructions

Since I will be comparing the *ka*- passive with other intransitives, it is useful to look at other intransitives. Three types of other intransitives will be discussed here: zero intransitives, *ma*- intransitives and Nasal intransitives. The zero intransitive is an intransitive construction which is morphologically unmarked, while the other two intransitives are morphologically marked. Discussions on verbal affixes which are used to form intransitive verbs can be seen in Clynes (1995:247-272).

2.9.1 Zero Intransitive (ZI)

A zero intransitive is an intransitive stem which does not need any affix to function as a verb. Verbs of this type can be divided into two subgroups: a zero intransitive which has an actor or volitional S, and an intransitive which has an undergoer or non-volitional S. The zero intransitive with the volitional S is much more productive than the one with the non-volitional S. The first zero intransitive subgroup includes verbs like *mulih* 'go home,' *pesu* go out,' *teka* 'arrive,' *kema* 'go there,' *mai* 'come here,' *kayeh* 'bath,' *pules* 'sleep,' *bangun* 'get up,' and *kedat* 'open eyes,' etc. as in example (26); while the second zero intransitive group includes verbs like *ulung* 'fall,' *mati* 'die,' and *benyah* 'shattered,' *pragat* 'finished,' and *payu* 'get sold,' as in example (27).

(26) Beli  *mulih*  ke  Bali,  keto.
elder brother  ZI go home to  Bali  like that
*I (=Elder brother) went home to Bali, that was it.* (CD 242)

(27) Bapa-*n-ne*  *suba*  ma-tinggal  tusing
father-LIG-3POSS'R  already  MAI-pass away  not
The verbs *mulih* ‘go home’ in (26) and *mati* ‘die’ in (27) are morphologically unmarked intransitives. These verbs cannot be affixed by the intransitive prefix *ma-*-, as in examples (28a) and (29a), nor by the nasal prefix Nasal, as in examples (28b) and (29b).

(28)*a. Beli *ma-mulih* ke bali
elder brother MAI-go home to Bali

*b. Beli *nqa-mulih* ka bali
elder brother NT-go home to Bali
*I (=elder brother) went home to Bali.*

(29)*a. Sasubane *beli-n-ne* makadadua *ma-mati*
after elder brother-LIG-3POSS’R both MAI-die

*b. Sasubane *beli-n-ne* makadadua *nqa-matî*
after elder brother-LIG-3POSS’R both NT-die
*After both of her elder brothers die.*

### 2.9.2 Ma- Intransitive (MAI)

The *ma*-intransitive can be derived from a nominal base, a transitive free stem or an intransitive bound stem. The *ma*-intransitive which is created from noun bases can have one of two general meanings: ‘to do something as indicated by the base’ and ‘to have something as indicated by the base.’ The affix *ma-* which is used with noun bases such as tree parts (e.g. *buah* ‘fruit’, *don* ‘leaf’, *bunga* ‘flower’, etc.), kinship terms (e.g. *bapa* ‘father,’ *bli* ‘elder brother,’ *pekak* ‘grandfather,’ etc.) and clothes (e.g. *baju* ‘shirt’, *topong* ‘hat’, *bungkung* ‘ring,’ etc.) usually yield an intransitive verb with the meaning...
Chapter 2: Clause Types

‘to have something as indicated by the base,’ while the affix *ma-* which is used with a different type of noun base (e.g. *perang* ‘a war’, *banten* ‘an offering,’ *tajen* ‘a cock fighting,’ etc.) usually produces the meaning ‘to do something as indicated by the base.’

A. To have something as indicated by the base

(30) Punyan poh-e {ma-buah, ma-don}
     tree mango-DEF {MAI-fruit, MAI-leaf}

*The mango tree has {fruits, leaves}.*

B. To call someone as indicated by the base

(31) Tiang {ma-bli, ma-bapa, ma-pekak}
     I {MAI-elder brother, MAI-father, MAI-grand father}

*teken Pak Sudira*  
*with Mr. Sudira*  
*I call Mr Sudira {elder brother, father, grandfather}.*

C. To wear something as indicated by the base

(32) Nyoman {ma-baju, ma-topong, ma-bungkung}
     Nyoman {MAI-shirt, MAI-hat, MAI-ring}

*Nyoman is wearing {a shirt, a hat, a ring}.*

D. To do something as indicated by the base
(33). Nyoman {ma-perang, ma-banten, ma-tajen}
Nyoman {MAI-war, MAI-offering, MAI-cock fighting}
Nyoman is {fighting, making an offering, doing cock fighting}.

A transitive base can be detransitivised by the affix ma- or the combined affixes ma--ang. The derivational intransitive with the affix ma- generally encodes the intransitive with Undergoer-S, while the derivational intransitive with the combined affixes ma--ang encodes the intransitive with Actor-S. In the linguistics literature, this sort of system is usually called ‘split-S.’

(34) Bapa-n-ne ma-tegen ka uma
father-LIG-3POSS’R MAI-carry (on shoulder) to rice field
His/her father is carried (on a shoulder) to a rice field.

(35) Bapa-n-ne ma-tegenang ka uma
father-LIG-3POSS’R MAI-hold (on shoulder) to rice field
His/her father carries (something on the shoulder) to a rice field.

A fair number of ma-intransitives are created from an intransitive bound form which can be distinguished into volitional verbs and a few non-volitional verbs. The former include: ccelep/macelep ‘get in,’ takon/matakon ‘ask,’ kaad/makaad ‘leave,’ reren/mareren ‘stop,’ sugi/masugi ‘wash (face),’ kecuh/makecuh ‘spit at,’ and kelid/makelid ‘avoid’, as in example (36), while non-volitional include verbs: silur/masilur ‘swap (undeliberately),’ and serod/maserod ‘slide/slip (undeliberately),’ as in example (37).

(36) ia ma-takon
3 MAI-ask
She/he asks.

34
A small number of verbs which are created from noun bases and the prefix ma- can have an NP complement. This type of verb has the meaning ‘to possess Noun’ and it is treated as ma- intransitive. The NP complement of these verbs does not correspond to the Patient.

The NP complements pitulas tiban ‘seventeen years’ (38) and Wayan Mudita lan Made Murdana ‘Wayan Mudita and Made Murdana’ (39) are not affected since there is no transferring of action from the subject to the complement. The complement is quite restricted semantically. This type of construction could be termed ‘stative’, as in Sasse’s (1990) sense. Sasse describes events as consisting of an initial situation change followed by a certain situation, then followed by another situation change, when the situation finishes. According to Sasse (1990:35), ‘stative states of affairs are conceptualised as situation without reference to situation change …’ Therefore, examples like (38) and (39) are counted with the intransitives.
2.9.3 Ma- Resultative: agentless causative

Comrie (1981:112-113) has pointed out that a resultative construction refers to a state that implies the result of a previous event.3 His examples in Nivkh show that intransitive verbs can be turned into resultative verbs by adding the suffix -γəta.

(40)a Anaq yo-d' iron rust-DEF
The iron rusted. (Comrie, 1981:112)

b. Anaq yo -γəta -d' iron rust RESULTATIVE-DEF
The iron has rusted. (Comrie, 1981:112)

However, if a transitive verb is turned into a resultative verb, there are a number of changes in the non-resultative form, as shown in example (41).

(41)a. Umgu t'us θa-d' woman meat roast-DEF
The woman roasted the meat. (Comrie, 1981: 113)

b. T'us ra -γəta -d' meat roast RESULTATIVE-DEF
The meat has been roasted. (Comrie, 1981: 113)

As noted by Comrie (1981:11) a number of changes happens in example (41): (i) the A of the transitive verb is omitted in the resultative construction; and (ii) the O of the transitive verb is no longer O of the resultative construction. Thus, the resultative construction is now a derived intransitive since it has only a single argument. This

3 A different term which is proposed for resultative by Comrie (1985) is anticausative, which is similar in many ways to the passive. The direct object/P of a transitive verb appears as the S of a resultative or the S of an anticausative or the S of a passive, as for example: transitive Anton opened the door, anticausative/resultative, The door opened; and passive the door was opened (Comrie 1985:325; cf Comrie 1981:113).
argument behaves like the S of a non-resultative intransitive verb and like the O of a non-resultative transitive verb.

Balinese has a resultative construction which is marked by the combined affix \textit{ma-ang}. This affix is applied to a ZT which has previously been derived from an intransitive base (a bound form or a free form) or a non-verbal base (e.g. an adjective). The process is that the intransitive base or the non-verbal base must firstly be transitivised by the affix \textit{-ang/-in} to be a derived ZT. This ZT must then be detransitivised by the prefix \textit{ma-} to be the resultative construction. The process is shown in the following examples, which are derived from, (a) an intransitive bound base (b) and intransitive free base and (c) a non-verbal base.

(a) Resultative of intransitive bound form

\begin{itemize}
  \item[(42)*a] \textbf{Kedis-e} \quad \textbf{cellep}
  
  bird-DEF \hspace{1cm} \text{get in}

  
  \item[b.] \textbf{Kedis-e} \quad \textbf{cellep-ang/-in} \quad \textbf{tiang.}
  
  bird-DEF \hspace{1cm} ZT \hspace{0.5cm} \text{get in-APPL} \hspace{0.5cm} \text{I}

  \textit{I made the bird to get in.}

  
  \item[c.] \textbf{Kedis-e} \quad \textbf{ma-celep-ang/-in}
  
  bird-DEF \hspace{1cm} \text{RESULTATIVE-get in-APPL}

  \textit{The bird has been made to get in (to its cage).}
\end{itemize}

The NP \textit{kedise} ‘the bird’ in (42a) is the S of the non-resultative intransitive construction. It is also the S of the resultative-intransitive construction in (42c). The difference between the S of the non-resultative intransitive construction (42a) and the S of the resultative-intransitive construction (42c) is that the S in (42a) is an Actor S, while the S in (42c) is an Undergoer S. As an Undergoer S, there must be an animate
thing that makes the Undergoer S ‘move or get in’. In this intransitive resultative construction, the Actor is not important.

(b) Resultative of intransitive free form. The resultative verb matekaang ‘be made to come’ in (43c) has a transitive base tekaang ‘make to come’ (43b) and the intransitive stem teka ‘come’ (43a).

(43)a. Nyoman teka
N. ZI come
Nyoman is coming.

b. Nyoman teka-ang tiang
N. ZT come-CAUS. I
I made Nyoman come.

c. Nyoman ma-teka-ang
Nyoman MAI come-CAUS.
Nyoman has been made to come.

(c). Resultative of adjectival stem. The resultative maputihang ‘been whitened’ has a transitive base putihang ‘whiten’ (44b) and the adjectival stem putih ‘white’ (44a).

(44)a. Tembok-e putih
wall-DEF white
The wall is white.

b. Tembok-e putih -ang tiang
wall-DEF ZT white-APPL I
I whitened the wall.

c. Tembok-e ma-putih-ang
wall-DEF MAI white-APPL
The wall has been whitened.
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Syntactically, all resultative constructions are treated as *ma-* intransitive in the counts in this thesis.

2.9.4 Nasal Intransitive (NI)

A Nasal Intransitive is derived from an intransitive bound form and a nasal prefix. This verbal affix is used to assign the semantic role of ‘Actor’ for the S, unlike the *ma-* Intransitive, which assigns the semantic role of ‘Undergoer.’

(45) Intransitive Bound Stems

- *o Yong ‘stay’
- *kidem ‘close (an eye)’
- *sebak ‘cry’
- *panjus ‘bath’

Derivational Intransitive (with Prefix Nasal)

- Ngoyong ‘stay’
- Ngidem ‘close (an eye)’
- Nyebak ‘cry’
- Manjus ‘bath’

(46) Bes mara kone i busan mbok-ne

just just now apparently a moment ago elder sister-3POSS’R

Suwud manjus ...

finish NI-bath

Apparently her elder sister is just finished bathing ... (CK -178)

Some nasal verbs can be treated as either a NI or a NT. A Nasal construction is treated as NI when it does not have O, while the Nasal construction is treated as NT when it has O. The O can be overtly or non-overtly expressed. In the later case the non-overt O must have an anaphoric function. Verbs which can be treated as NI or NT to include: *ngarit* ‘sickle (grasses),’ *ngigel* ‘dance,’ *nyakan* ‘cook (rice),’ *ngamah* ‘eat,’ *nulis* ‘write,’ *ngerujak* ‘make (fruit salad),’ *nebuk* ‘crush (rice in its husk),’ etc. See

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4 This verb is usually used for animals or as an impolite expression.
example (47), which is treated as intransitive and example (48), which is treated as transitive.

\[(47)\] Yadiapin keto ia tusing engsap ngarit (NI)
although like that 3 not forget NI-sickle
sambilang-a ngangon-ang sampi-n-ne
while-3Agt NT-look after-APPL cow-LIG-3POSS’R
ane sedeng ngelah godel cenik.
which on progress NT-have calf little
Although that is the case, he (= Nyoman Santosa) does not forget (his duty) to cut (grasses with sickle for his cow) while he is looking after his cow which is having a little calf (TLASK)

\[(48)\] Nyen ngarit padded-ej mara
who NT-sickle rice (in its husk)-LIG-DEF just now
di carik? (NT)
in rice field

Tiang ane ngarit Øj (NT)
I which NT-sickle
Who has cut the rice (in its husk) (with a sickle) in the rice field just now? It was me who cut it (with a sickle).

The Nasal construction \textit{ngarit} in (47) is NI since this verb does not need any O to have the meaning of ‘to cut (grasses with a sickle for a cow).’ In example (48), the verb \textit{ngarit}, which is used in both the first and the second clause, on the other hand, is NT. The O NP of the NT in the second clause is not overtly expressed, but it can be understood from the context that the non-overt O refers back to the NP \textit{padine} ‘the rice (in its husk)’ in the preceding clause.
2.10 Conclusion

Verbal constructions in Balinese can be created from verbal stems, either bare or dependent stems, or from non-verbal stems (e.g. nouns and adjectives). The bare stems may have added to them (e.g. Nasal prefix, ma- and ka-), verbal suffix (e.g. -ang or -in) or a combination of prefix and suffix (e.g. Nasal-stem-ang/-in, ma-stem-ang/-in, ka-stem-ang/-in). The dependent stems and the non-verbal stems, on the other hand, must combine with one of the affixes or a combination of affixes. The possible verbal derivations are summarised in Table 1.

Table 1. Verbal constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERBAL STEMS</th>
<th>NON-VERBAL STEMS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRANSITIVE</td>
<td>TRANSITIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRANSITIVE</td>
<td>stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-stem-ang</td>
<td>ka-stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-stem-ang</td>
<td>ma-stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRANSITIVE</td>
<td>stem-{-ang/-in}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*N-stem</td>
<td>N-stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-stem</td>
<td>N-stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(*a construction)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are two transitive types: Nasal Transitive and Zero Transitive. Both of these can take the verbal affix -ang/-in to form an applicative construction. The A of ZT must immediately follow the verb and nothing can intervene between them. Furthermore, the A can be expressed with any personal pronoun or indefinite NP in a ZT construction but the third person pronoun must be cliticised as -a to the verb.

There are two types of the -a construction, the -a construction with a PP Agent and the -a construction without a PP Agent. In this thesis, I treat the two -a
constructions as a ZT construction which has a third person clitic Agent -a. In Chapter Eight I will compare the topicality of the Agent of the two -a constructions.

The ka- passive is the real passive construction. This passive has some different characteristics from the -a constructions. The ka- passive tends to be used when the pivot is slightly affected by the activity or when the Agent acts non-volitionally, while the -a constructions are used when the pivot is highly affected or when the Agent acts volitionally.

Other intransitives are Nasal Intransitive and ma- Intransitive. The Nasal Intransitive is created from dependent intransitive stems and the Nasal prefix. The S (i.e. the Actor S) of this intransitive has the semantic role of Actor. The ma- intransitive, on the other hand, can be subdivided into a resultative construction or a non-resultative construction. Some resultatives are created from independent intransitive stems while others are created from dependent verb stems or non-verbal stems. All three are formed by the addition of the combined affixes ma--ang/-in. The S (i.e. the Undergoer S) of the resultative construction is affected by the activity and the verb is semantically Agentless causative. The non-resultative construction, on the other hand, is a normal intransitive which does not have a causative meaning. Since Balinese has Actor-S (which is usually marked by the nasal prefix) and Undergoer S (which is usually a resultative construction), I follow Roberts (1995) and Arka (1998) in saying that Balinese is a ‘split-S’ language.

Causative constructions are distinguished into a morphological causative and a periphrastic causative. The morphological causative is derived from an intransitive verb
and the suffix -ang/-in. The derived causative construction is a transitive which can be either ZT or NT type. The periphrastic causative, on the other hand, is created from a causative verb which is usually the NT ngeranayang ‘cause’ or ngae ‘make. A ZT verb cannot be used with a periphrastic causative. Thus, the periphrastic causative is treated as NT.
3.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with corpus structure and the way texts are treated as data. This chapter is divided into three sections: Corpus Structure, Clause Segmentation and Clause Boundary. In the corpus structure section I list the number of texts, the type of texts and the total number of clauses used in this study, while in the clause segmentation section I describe how a complex construction is identified as consisting of one or more clauses. In the clause boundary section I describe how to identify elements which fit into one clause and other elements which belong to another clause.

3.2 Corpus Structure

My corpus comprises eleven narrative texts, five spoken texts and six written texts, and contains a total of 5184 clauses. The number of spoken texts is one less than the number of written texts, but the length of the two text types is about the same, as can be seen from the number of clauses in each (Tables 1 and 2). The five spoken texts comprise Cerucuk Kuning ‘Cerucucuk Kuning’ (the name of a bird), Gde Batun Nyuh ‘Gde Batun Nyuh’ (the name of a person), Pura Selang ‘Temple of Selang’ (a temple name), Wayan Cedang ‘Wayan Cedang’ (a person’s name) and the History of the Balinese Dutch War. The six written texts comprise Pan Belog ‘Belog’s father’, Nyoman Jater ‘Nyoman Jater’ (a person’s name), Dempuawang ‘Dempuawang’ (a person’s name), Pan Balang Tamak ‘father of Balang Tamak’, I Pucung ‘Pucung’ (a
person’s name) and an extract from Tresnane Lebur Ajur Satonden Kembang ‘The Love is Shattered before it can Bloom.’

The eleven texts are examined in four related chapters (Chapter 4, Chapter 5, Chapter 6 and Chapter 7). These four chapters establish the main bases of the thesis before an integrated overview is presented in Chapter 8 and Chapter 9. Therefore, the complete corpus is investigated in the first four chapters, while the last two chapters only focus on four of the texts: two spoken texts (Cerucuk Kuning text and Nyuh text) and two written texts (Jater text and Belog text).

The following tables provide an overview of the corpus.

Table 1. Number of clauses in spoken texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spoken Texts</th>
<th>Number of Clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) Folk tales</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Pura Selang (‘The Temple of Selang’)</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Gede Batun Nyuh (‘Gede Batun Nyuh’)</td>
<td>526</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Cerucuk Kuning (‘The Cerucuk Kuning’)</td>
<td>725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Life Experience of Wayan Cedang</td>
<td>589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) History of the Balinese Dutch War</td>
<td>576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2592</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2. Number of clauses in written texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Written Texts</th>
<th>Number of Clauses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) Folktales</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a. Satua Pan Belog ('The story of Pan Belog')</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. Satua I Nyoman Jater ('The Story of I Nyoman Jater')</td>
<td>502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. Satua Dempuawang ('The Story of Dempuawang')</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. Satua Pan Balang Tamak ('The Story of Pan Balang Tamak')</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. Satua I Pucung ('The Story of I Pucung')</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Novel: Tresnane Lebur Ajur Satonden Kembang 'the love that is shattered before it can bloom' (only chapter 1 and a small part of chapter 2)</td>
<td>891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2592</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the narratives which are used in the corpus for this study were transcribed in standard orthography.

The criteria used in selecting the texts included speech styles, speech levels, spontaneity and speaker orientation. With respect to speech styles, some texts were chosen because they had formal style (or literary style) which can be recognised from the vocabulary and syntax. I chose others with medium or low speech levels because these registers are used more commonly than the high register in the daily life of Balinese speakers. I also selected spoken texts in which narrators produce spontaneous expressions in order to get natural data.

I complement the discourse data by constructing examples in order to illustrate some points, in particular to show what alternative constructions might have been available to a speaker or writer.

The following sections give a synopsis of each of the texts and information on the authors/narrators.
3.2.1 Oral Texts

The narratives were recorded with native speakers on location in Bali. In each case, a speaker was asked to provide any story which he or she knew. Balinese narrators usually tell folk tales to little children, but narrate a personal narrative or a history to adults. Three of the stories were recorded by me, and the other two were recorded by other researchers. During the recordings I made, the narrators were told that the only audience I expected them to have was me, but I asked them to treat me as if they had a real audience and not just a researcher. Other people were not allowed to listen to the stories during the recording. In this way, I could minimise audience interference.

As indicated in Table 1, I used three folk tales (i.e. *Pura Selang*, *Gede Batun Nyuh* and *Cerucuk Kuning*), one personal narrative (*The Life Experience of Wayan Cedang*) and one history (*The Balinese-Dutch War*). Two of the folktales, i.e. *Pura Selang* and *Gede Batun Nyuh*, were recorded by two researchers from the Balinese Department at the Udayana University in Bali. These two folktales were presented by narrators in accordance with Balinese custom, that is, the narrators told their stories to a real audience. The narrators never used a script in this kind of story telling. The two texts were recorded in May 1985 and were not intended for linguistic purposes but for literary analysis. I was permitted by the head of the Balinese Department to use them for my study.

Some folk tales are recognised only in particular villages while others are commonly recognised across Bali but may be known by different names. In my oral texts, only one folk tale is locally recognised; the other two can be found throughout Bali.
(i) *Pura Selang* (henceforth PS) (recognised in east Bali)

This oral folk tale is only recognised by a particular village since the story is about the village itself. The story of *Pura Selang* tells us something about the magic power of a temple in the village of Tanah Barak. In this story, when someone gets sick, he/she will easily recover after praying in the temple. This folk tale was narrated by a man whose name is I Gede Ledang. He was about 46 years old when the recording was conducted on 12th May 1985. He lives in the village of Seraya, Karangasem, east Bali.

(ii) *Gede Batun Nyuh* (henceforth GBN) (recognised across Bali)

In South Bali, this tale is called *Gede Batun Nyuh* but in other parts of Bali it is called *I Durma*. It tells us about seven angels from heaven who come to earth. One of the angels marries an ordinary man. The angel promises the man that she will leave him for heaven after they have two children. This story was narrated by a man whose name is A. A. Md. Kondra. He was about 60 years old when the story was recorded on 5th May 1985. He lives in the suburb of Pemecutan, Denpasar, south Bali.

(iii) *Cerucuk Kuning* (henceforth CK) (recognised across Bali)

In north Bali, this story is called *Cerucuk Kuning* but in other parts of Bali it is called *I Bawang teken I Kesuna*. The story is about a family with a mother, a father and two daughters. The two daughters are opposites of each other, one is very lazy and the other is very diligent. This story was narrated by a women whose name is Komang Sri Maheni. She was born in Singaraja, north Bali, and now lives in Denpasar, south Bali. She was about 28 years old when the story was recorded on 22nd January 1996.

(iv) *Life Experience of Wayan Cedang* (henceforth CD) (personal narrative)

This personal narrative was recorded from a man whose name is *I Wayan Cedang*. He tells us his personal experience as a participant in a transmigration program.
He and his family were sent by the Indonesian government in 1980 to join the transmigration program on Sulawesi island. He and his family worked as farmers by cultivating the new land which was provided by the government. However, after five years as farmers in Sulawesi, they returned home to Bali in 1985 and did not want to go back to Sulawesi due to family matters in Bali. *Wayan Cedang* and his family continue their life in their home village, i.e. the suburb of Mas, Ubud, Bali. The story is categorised as a 'first person' narrative since the narrator tells the story about himself and frequently uses the first person. When the story was recorded on 2nd February 1996, *I Wayan Cedang* was about 50 years old.

(v) The Balinese-Dutch War (henceforth BDW) (history)

The last oral story is a history about the war between the Balinese and the Dutch and the Japanese during the struggle for Indonesian independence between 1945 and 1956. The narrator himself joined the war alongside other Balinese. This story is categorised as a 'third person' narrative because he does not use the first person frequently. The narrator is not the main protagonist in the story. He tells us more about people other than himself who were involved in the war. The length of the recording by this narrator is about three hours but only the first 30 minutes is used as data. The narrator's name is Wayan Sangra and he was about 65 years old when the story was recorded on 28th January 1996. He lives in the suburb of Sukawati, Gianyar, south Bali.

3.2.2 Written Texts

As mentioned before, there are six written texts (five folk tales and one novel) used as the corpus in this study. The folk tales are used in their entirety in the data base while only chapter one and a small part of chapter two of the novel are used. As in the case of the oral texts, the folk tales in the written texts can be categorised as either folk
tales which are recognised across Bali or folk tales which are only locally recognised. The folk tales recognised throughout Bali which are used in the data base are Satua Pan Belog, Satua Pan Balang Tamak and Satua Dempuawang. The other two folk tales i.e. Satua Nyoman Jater and Satua I Pucung, on the other hand, are recognised only in north Bali. All of these five folk tales are taken from two books of Balinese stories compiled by Bagus (1976) and Bagus (1978).

Below, I give a brief synopsis for each written narrative which is used in this study. I will start first with the five folk tales and continue with the novel.

(i) Nyoman Jater (henceforth JT) (recognised only in north Bali)

This story tells us about a husband called Nyoman Jater who has a lazy wife. Although his wife is not a good cook and never helps him work in the rice field, he still loves her very much.

(ii) Satua I Pucung (henceforth SIP) (recognised only in north Bali)

Pucung is an ordinary man who becomes an adviser to a King. One day the princess gets sick and the King asks for advice from Pucung. Unfortunately Pucung tricks the King, telling him that he should make an offering and pray in a sacred temple. On the eve of his prayer, Pucung comes to the temple first and goes into a room which is regarded as one of the Gods' rooms. When the king is praying, suddenly there is a voice from the room which orders the King to give up the princess to Pucung to be Pucung's wife. The king believes that voice is the voice of God.

(iii) Pan Balang Tamak (henceforth PBT) (recognised across Bali)

This story is about a man called Pan Balang Tamak who plays lots of tricks in dealing with his community. He is frequently fined by his village chief because he always
avoids participating in community service. However, he never pays his fines since he is always able to find a way to refuse to pay them. Because this kind of thing happens so many times, the village chief reports the matter to the king. The king finally orders the village chief to punish the man by poisoning him and killing him.

(iv) Pan Belog (henceforth BLG) (recognised across Bali)

This story is about a husband called Pan Belog who is asked by his wife one day to buy two ducks from the market. On the way home from the market, he tests his ducks on the river water. He is disappointed because they float and swim on the water. In his mind, floating ducks do not contain enough meat and they are useless. He brings his ducks back to the duck seller and complains about them.

(v) Dempuawang (henceforth Dpw) (recognised across Bali)

This story is about a prince who goes undercover as an ordinary man with an ugly face. He comes to visit the Kingdom of Koripan to be a servant of the princess. His undercover name is Dempuawang. Because he is a good young man and knows lots of philosophy, he successfully attracts the princess's attention. When the princess falls in love with him, he tells her that he is prince Raden Mantri from the Kingdom of Daa.

(vi) Tresnane Lebur Ajur Satonden Kembang (henceforth TLASK) ‘The Love that is Shattered before it can Bloom’ (Novel)

This is a love story about a young girl from a high caste and a young boy from a low caste. They fall in love with each other and the parents from both sides do not object to this. A dispute arises when the girl is forced by the parents of one of her cousins to marry their son. She refuses to marry her cousin because she does not love him. Her decision is supported by her parents. Eventually, her cousin kidnaps her and forces her to marry him.
3.3 Notation of Examples

Most examples which are presented in this thesis are taken from the corpus. The remainder are provided by me to give alternative constructions which are not found in the corpus. Examples which are taken from the corpus are marked after the English translation with the name of the text, which is usually abbreviated as noted above, and the number of clause/s of the text in which the example is found. For example, (1) below is taken from clause 100 and 101 of the folk tale Gede Batun Nyuh (GBN):

(1) sawireh ipun lekad saking nyuh-e
because 3 ZI born from coconut-DEF
nika ipun ka-adan-in Gede Batun Nyuh
that 3 PSV-name-APPL Gede Batun Nyuh
because he was born from a coconut, (that’s why) he was named Gede Batun Nyuh. (GBN 100-101)

Examples which are constructed by me, on the other hand, are not given any notation, as in (2):

(2) Meme maang ia pipis
mother NT-give 3 money
Mother gives her money.

3.4 Clause Segmentation

For my operational use, a clause is defined as 'a unit of grammatical organisation smaller than a sentence, but larger than phrases, words or morphemes' (Crystal, 1997:62). In my coding, clauses are distinguished into main clauses and dependent clauses. The main clauses can occur independently and may be followed by other

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1 This example is also used in example (4).
2 This example is also used in example (17a), Chapter Two.
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clauses. The dependent clauses, on the other hand, cannot occur independently. They depend on the main clauses, and can be either ‘reduced’ type or a ‘full’ type. The reduced type is a subordinate clause which has a controlled pivot, while the full type is a subordinate clause which can have a non-controlled pivot. The full type always occurs with a subordinating particle (these two types of the subordinate clause will be discussed in Chapter 5).

The decision about what is a clause is not always straightforward matter to determine whether we are dealing with one clause or two, or where the boundary between a main and a subordinate clause is.

3.4.1 Main Clauses

A clause will be categorised as a main clause if it is an independent clause which is: (a) a conjunct of a coordinate clause, (b) the highest clause of a complex sentence, or (c) an independent clause which is neither (a) nor (b). Examples of these three types of main clauses are given below.

A. Two main clauses in a coordinate structure:

(3)a. Asing-asing [ane tagih-a]RC tuukin-a dogen
everything REL ZT ask-3Agti ZT fulfil-3Agtj always

b. tur apaja pesadun-pesadu-n-ne-
and whatever complain-complain-LIG-3 POSS’R

misunaang 3Sg ni bawang ART. Bawang
NT-slander

Their mother always fulfils Kesuna’s requests and she always sympathises with Kesun’s complaints to slander her sister, Bawang. (CK 8-9)
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B. Main clause is a superordinate clause (the main clause is underlined):

(4) Sawireh ipun lekad saking nyuh-e
because 3 ZI born from coconut-DEF

nika ipun kaadan-in Gede Batun Nyuh
that 3 PSV-name-APPL Gede Batun Nyuh

Because he was born from a coconut, (that’s why) he was named Gede Batun Nyuh. (GBN 100-101)

C. Single Main clause:

(5) Ditu ia lantas majalan ka peken.
there 3 then MAI-walk to market

There he walks to the market. (BLG 31)

3.4.2 Dependent Clauses

A dependent clause is a lower clause in a complex sentence, and fills a syntactic slot in the complex sentence (i.e. a core argument or an adjunct). The dependent clauses which are discussed in this chapter are adverbial clauses, complement clauses and relative clauses. All these types will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

3.4.2.1 Adverbial Clause

An adverbial clause is a subordinate clause which plays the role of adjunct, rather than complement. Adverbial clauses typically express relationships of purpose, circumstance, etc. The adverbial clause can occur as a full clause or as a reduced clause. The full clause takes a subordinating conjunction such as sesubane/disubane/suba ‘after, afterward,’ sawireh/rehne/kerana/mapan ‘because’ and sambilang ‘while’, as in example (6), while the reduced clause has a ‘controlled pivot’. This means that an unexpressed pivot is interpreted obligatorily as coreferential with an NP in the main clause, as in example (7). The adverbial clauses are underlined.
(6) **Nah, [sesubane ne jani ni Bawang ento ma-jalan**
so, after this now ART. Bawang that MAI-walk

**ia ka tukad-e]**,
3 to river-DEF

**lantas ni Kesuna-- meme ratu-- jeg ngenggalang**
then ART. Kesuna wow Lord just quickly

**ia nguap dewekne aji oot ketungan.**
3 NT-polish self with smooth husks store

So, at this time after Bawang goes to the river, Kesuna, oh my Lord, quickly she polishes her body with smooth husks (which are usually found in a store).
(CK 151-153)

(7) ... **dikenken-n-e bisa pang pindo beli**
sometime-LIG-DEF can for twice elder brother

**pesu [ngalih dagangan-ne to]**
go out NT-pick up selling thing-3POSS’R that
... *sometimes I (= elder brother) could go out twice to pick up wares for selling.* (CD 213-214)

Some reduced adverbial clauses can be changed into a full type by adding a subordinating conjunction such as *sambil* 'while' or *sedek* 'when,' without necessarily changing the semantics of the construction. If the full adverbial clause is used, then the pivot can be optionally overtly expressed. When the pivot is not overtly expressed, it is obligatorily controlled by an NP of the main clause. Compare the example of the reduced adverbial type (8a) and the full adverbial type (8b).

(8)a. ... **ngulangun manah ipun-e [Ø ma-mancing]**
NI-daydream feeling 3-DEF MAI-fishing
... *his feeling is daydreaming while fishing.* (GBN 16-17)

b. ... **ngulangun manah ipun-e [sambil (ipun)]**
NI-daydream feeling 3-DEF while 3

**me³-mancing]**
MAI-fishing
*His feeling is daydreaming while fishing.*

---

3 *me-* is in a free variation with *ma-*.
We can also find pronouns in the subordinate clause without the subordinating conjunction *sambil/sambilang*. If this is the case, then the second clause is no longer a subordinate clause, but a main clause. There will typically be a long pause (///) between the second pronoun and the first clause. Thus, we will get two main clauses (9).

(9) *Manah ipun-ne ngulangun // ipun ma-mancing.*
    feeling 3-DEF NI-daydream 3 MAI-fishing

*His feeling is daydreaming. He is fishing.*

Examples like (9) are therefore counted as two main clauses. This kind of structure is sometimes called ‘parataxis’ or ‘paratactic sequences of clauses.’

### 3.4.2.2 Complement Clause

Another type of subordinate clause is a complement clause, a lower clause which functions as an argument of the higher clause. As with the adverbial clause, the complement clause can be a full or a reduced type. The full type has the complementizer *apang*, as in example (10), while the reduced type has a controlled pivot (11).

(10) *To mawinan meme-n-ne ngorahin pianak-ne*
    that why mother-LIG-3POSS’R NT-tell child-3POSS’R

    *makadadua [apang ia nebuk padi].*
    both COMP 3 NT-crush rice (in its husk)

*That’s why her mother tells both of her children that they should crush the rice (in its husk).* (CK 38-39)

(11) *To mawinan meme-n-ne ngorahin pianak-ne*
    that why mother-LIG-3POSS’R NT-tell child-3POSS’R

    *makadadua [nebuk padi].*
    both NT-crush rice (in its husk)

*That’s why her mother tells both of her children to crush the rice (in its husk).*
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The full complement clause in example (10) can be reduced by omitting the complementizer *apang* and the pivot so that the pivot of the complement clause is controlled by the pivot of the higher clause as in (11). A controlled pivot is a compulsory ‘null anaphora’ which is governed by an argument of the matrix clause (see Chapter 5 for a definition of ‘control’). Only some full complement clauses can have the equivalent reduced types.

In the measurement of topicality (see Chapter 8), the controlled pivot of the reduced clause is not included as a topical or non-topical participant, but is counted as an antecedent of ‘Referential Distance’ and ‘Topic Persistence.’ The overt pivot of the full clause, on the other hand, is counted in topicality. It is important for the overt pivot of the full clause to be counted because in this situation the grammar allows either ZT or NT to be used. This will be discussed in Chapter 5.

Some verbs (intransitives or transitives) can take a clause as their complement and ‘raise’ the pivot of the complement to have a grammatical role in the higher clause. For example, intransitive verbs like *ngenah* ‘seem, appear,’ *keweh* ‘be difficult’ and *nyumuin* ‘begin’ take a complement clause and raise the pivot of the complement to the S of the higher clause. This type of raising is often called ‘subject to subject raising.’ Transitive verbs like *kaden* (ZT)/*ngaden* (NT) ‘assume’ and *tawang* (ZT)/*nawang* (NT) ‘know,’ on the other hand, take a complement clause and raise the pivot/‘subject’ of the complement to the O of the higher clause. This type of raising is often called ‘subject to object raising’ (see also Arka, 1998:22-26). Sentence (12) is an example of raising to S, while construction (13) is an example of raising to O in ZT, and construction (14) is an example of raising to O in NT.
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(12) *la ngenah [demen mamotoh]*

3 NI-seem like MAI-gambling

*She/he seems to like gambling.*

(13) *Lengen-ne kaden [misi gelang emas]*

arms-3POSS'R ZT assume-3 Agt MAI-contain bracelet gold

*She assumes her arms to have a bracelet.* (Adapted from CK 553)

(14) *ia ngaden lengen-ne [misi gelang emas]*

3 NT-assume arm-3POSS'R MAI-contain bracelet gold

*She assumes her arms to have a bracelet.*

The pivot *ia* ‘she/he’ of the intransitive verb *ngenah* ‘seems’ in example (12), and the O *lengenne* ‘her arms’ of the ZT *kaden* ‘assume’ (13) and the O of the NT *ngaden* ‘assume’ (14) are raised from the pivot of the complement clause. Here the S or the O of the raising predicate is not a semantic argument of the predicate. The raised S or the raised O has a grammatical role, but it does not have a semantic role.

I treat complement clauses which have raised pivots as reduced complements. For my purpose, all that matters is that they have a grammatical role in the upper clause and I count them as being part of the upper clause. Thus, the value of Referential Distance and the value of Topic Persistence are given to the raised argument.

3.4.2.3 Relative Clause

Relative clauses present some difficulties for analysis because they always contain some material which is shared between the relative clause (i.e. NP Relative) and the NP which the relative clause modifies, but new material may also be introduced in the relative. I have treated the arguments of relative clauses as follows. In the measurement of topicality, only the head (antecedent) NP is counted in the case of shared material, i.e. it is counted as part of the main clause. But the new material which is introduced in the
relative clause may be counted as Referential Distance or Topic Persistence. Relative clauses are not included in the counts of ZT, NT and the ka-passive (see the discussion on topicality in Chapter 8).

Example (15) is a complex sentence which has an NT verb in the higher clause and a relative clause marked by the relative pronoun ane modifying the pivot (i.e. the A) of the NT in the higher clause. The relative clause in example (16), on the other hand, does not use relative pronoun.

(15) 
\[ \text{... dadi ni } Bawang \ [\text{ane ka-tundung} \text{...} \text{ul} \text{... } \text{jumpah} \text{...} \text{nak sing nganggon apa-apa.} \text{...} \text{thus Bawang who was expelled from home did not wear anything. (CK 424)} \]

(16) 
\[ \text{... maberentengan ngaba pepantingan, \text{...}} \text{tur ia nyuwun jun [misi yeh.]} \text{... she heavily carries washed clothes and carries on her head a clay bucket which has water (in it). (CK 186-187)} \]

Neither the overt relative pronoun ane (15) nor its non-expression in (16) are counted for topicality, but the head NP Bawang (15) and jun ‘clay bucket’ (16), which belong to the higher clauses, are counted. The expressed NP O yeh ‘water’ of the relative clause (16) is and is only counted as an antecedent of any corresponding participant which occurs the in following clauses since the verb is not included in the counts of NT, ZT and the ka-passive.
A dependent clause which immediately follows the existential verb *ada* is treated as a relative clause, not as a complement clause, because the only particle which can be used is the relative pronoun *ane*, not the complementizer *apang* or any other particle.

(17) ... *tuara ada nak* [nulungin].  
    not exist person NI-help  
    ... there is no person who gives help (to her). (CK 649)

(18) ... *makejhang tuara ada* [ngelah payuk lantang].  
    all not exist NT-own clay pot long  
    ... there are no people (who) have a long clay pot. (JT 120)

The two dependent clauses above are best analysed as relative clauses without a relative pronoun. These two dependent clauses could also occur with the relative pronoun, as the constructed examples (17’) and (18’) show:

(17’) ... *tuara ada nak* [ane nulungin].  
    not exist person which NI-help  
    ... there is no person who gives help (to her).

(18’) ... *makejhang tuara ada* [ane ngelah payuk lantang].  
    all not exist which NT-own clay pot long  
    ... there are no people (who) have a long clay pot.

3.5 Clause Boundary

In this section, I describe how I have split constructions into clauses in some problematic cases and determined whether certain elements are to be assigned to one clause or the other. While the boundary between two clauses is usually clear enough, a constituent such as an appositive NPs, dislocation and raising cause some difficulties in determining clause boundaries.
3.5.1 Apposition, Dislocation and Extraposition

A sequence of units (e.g. NP, PP, etc.) can be constituents which have identical reference and the same syntactic function (e.g. A, S and O). In English, Quirk et al. (1972:620) describes apposition as follows.

Apposition resembles coordination in that typically the two or more units in apposition are constituents of the same level, and indeed the central coordinators and and or are occasionally used as explicit markers of apposition. But for units to be appositives, ie in apposition, they must normally be identical in reference or else the reference of one must be included in the reference of the other. (p. 620)

One of their examples is *Paul Jones, the distinguished art critic, died in his sleep last night*. The sequence of NPs *Paul Jones, the distinguished art critic* is in an appositive construction. These two NPs refer to the same person, that is, the NP *distinguished art critic* refers to the same person as the NP *Paul Jones*.

A sequence of PPs or NPs in Balinese texts can create a problem when it occurs in a complex sentence. One constituent of the sequence may belong to one clause, while another constituent belongs to a following clause. But if the sequence of PPs or NPs is an appositive form, the phrase must belong to only one clause. Let us look first at a sequence of PPs in a simple clause

(19) Ada perintah uli di pusat
exist order from at centre

uli di Ujung Pandang
from at Ujung Pandang
*There was an order from the centre, from Ujung Pandang.* (CD 33)
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The PP locative *uli di pusat* `from the centre' and the PP locative *uli di Ujung Pandang* `from Ujung Pandang’ refer to the same place, i.e. the centre of provincial government in *Ujung Pandang*.

The sequence of NPs in the complex sentence below is an appositive construction which has the same reference and the same syntactic function, i.e. the pivot of the higher clause.

(20) *Nyak sing ia, meme-n-ne // [∅ ngampak-in jelanan]*
    *agree not 3 mother-LIG-3POSS’R NT-open-APPL*
    
    *Her mother refuses to open the door.* (CK 306-307)

An appositive NP like *ia meme-n-ne* can clearly belong to a single clause in which it fulfils one syntactic function, as in (21). Thus there is no argument that the NP in (20) must belong to two clauses.

(21) *Nyak sing ia, memenei.*
    *admit not 3 mother-3POSS’R*
    *Her mother does not admit (her).* (CK 306)

Another problem in determining the clause boundary is dislocation, a technique to place an ‘external function NP’ at the beginning or at the end of a sentence. The external function NP may be accompanied by ‘additional material, and perhaps with certain changes within the sentence’ (Andrews 1985: 85). An external function NP like this requires its referent to have a semantic role in the clause. Andrews calls this a ‘bound’ external function. Thus, the *it*-cleft, *wh*-cleft, topicalization and left- and right dislocation in English are bound external functions (Andrews 1985:83).
Sentence (22) is an example of left dislocation, where the external NP *ni Kesuna* ‘Kesuna’ (a name) is placed at the beginning (i.e. at the left) of the sentence and receives its semantic role by virtue of being coreferential with the pronoun *ia* in the clause structure. I consider the NP *Ni Kesuna* ‘Ni Kesuna’ to be an example of a left dislocation because there is a medium pause (/) between this NP and the rest of the clause.

(22)  
\[ \text{Ni} \quad \text{Kesuna}_i \quad / \quad \text{ma-gedi} \quad \text{ia}_j \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{ebet-e.} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ART} & \quad \text{Kesuna} \\
\text{MAl} & \quad \text{leave} \\
3 & \quad \text{to} \\
\text{bush-DEF} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

*Kesuna leaves for the bush. (Kesuna, she leaves for the bush). (CK 60)*

A sentence like example (22) could be treated as two clauses if a long pause (//=) occurs between the verb *magedi* ‘leave’ and the 3rd person pronoun *ia*, as the constructed example (22’) shows:

(22’)  
\[ \text{Ni} \quad \text{Kesuna}_i \quad \text{ma-gedi} \quad // \quad \text{ia}_j \quad \text{ka} \quad \text{ebet-e.} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ART} & \quad \text{Kesuna} \\
\text{MAl} & \quad \text{leave} \\
3 & \quad \text{to} \\
\text{bush-DEF} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

*Kesuna leaves. She goes to the bush.*

Another example of a ‘bound external function’ is right dislocation, as in example (23). The external NP *meme bapanne* ‘her parents’ in this example is right dislocated, and acquires a semantic role because of its coreferentiality with the pronoun *ia*. Again, a medium pause occurs between the verb *makeneh* ‘to think’ and the left dislocated NP *meme bapanne* ‘her parents’.

(23).  
\[ \text{ia}_j \quad \text{mara} \quad \text{makeneh} \quad / \quad \text{meme-bapanne}_i \quad \text{n-ne}_j \]

\[
\begin{align*}
3 & \quad \text{just} \\
\text{MAl} & \quad \text{think} \\
\text{mother-father-LIG-3POSS’R} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

*Their parents have just realised. (CK 689)*

A problem sometimes arises in determining the clause boundary when we are facing a complex sentence like (24). The dislocated NP *meme bapanne* ‘their parents’ is
best analysed as an argument of the first clause rather than an argument of the second clause.

(24) [la\textsuperscript{j} mara ma-keneh meme-bapai\textsuperscript{n-nej} [\emptyset\textsuperscript{j} me-rasa]
\begin{tabular}{llll}
3 & just & MAI-think & mother-father-LIG-3POSS’R \\
& & & MAI-feel \\
\end{tabular}

\textit{tekening dewek pelih}. \\
with self wrong

That’s why, they just realise, they feel themselves to be guilty. (CK 689-690)

There are three reasons for claiming that the overt NP \textit{meme-bapai\textsuperscript{n-nej}} does not belong to the lower clause. Firstly, there is no long pause (//) between the verb \textit{makeneh} ‘to think’ and the NP \textit{meme-bapai\textsuperscript{n-nej}} ‘their parents.’ These elements occur in one intonational unit. In contrast, there can be a long pause between the NP \textit{meme-bapai\textsuperscript{n-nej}} and the second verb \textit{merasa} ‘feel’.

Secondly, the NP \textit{meme-bapai\textsuperscript{n-nej}} ‘their parents’ and the coreferential pronoun \textit{ia\textsuperscript{j}} are interchangeable, and the clausal unit is not changed if the order is reversed, as in example (25):

(25)a. la\textsuperscript{j} mara makeneh / meme-bapai\textsuperscript{n-nej}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
3 & just & MAI-think & mother-father-LIG-3POSS’R \\
\end{tabular}

b. Meme-bapai\textsuperscript{n-nej} / mara makeneh \textit{ia\textsuperscript{j}}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
mother-father-LIG-3POSS’R & just & MAI-think & 3 \\
\end{tabular}

Their parents have just realised.

Thirdly, the coreferential NP of the second clause (24) can be replaced by an overt argument \textit{ia} ‘she/he’ (26b). This clause is single clause. As (25) shows, the order can be reversed (This is true whether or not there is a subordinate clause). It seem best to treat these constructions as dislocation.
Another constituent which needs to be considered is extraposition. Radford (1981:227) describes extraposition in English as follows:

[...] English has transformation called EXTRAPosition (FROM NP) whereby a (certain type of) complement of a (generally indefinite) nominal can be detached from the NP containing it, and extraposed (= move to clause-final position).

One of the examples given by Radford is a sentence which has a Prepositional Phrase being moved into clausal-final position by application of extraposition:


b. A critical review___ has just appeared of his latest book.

I will show two examples from Balinese of the application of extraposition. The first example (28) is a coordinate NP in a simple sentence which has the second conjunct of the NP being extraposed. The second example (29) demonstrates the application of extraposition for a PP agent. Example (28a) is adapted from example (28b), which is taken from the corpus.

(28)a. Beli ajak mbok-e nu tetep ngoyong ditu
eld. brother and/with eld sister-DEF still always NI-stay there

b. Beli nu tetep ngoyong ditu ajak mbok-e
eld. brother still always NI-stay there and/with eld. sister-DEF
I(=elder brother) and elder sister were still staying there. (CD 548-549)
In example (28a) the NP *ajak mbok-e* ‘and/with elder sister’ is a conjunct of the coordinate NP which functions as a pivot. This coordinated NP is moved to clause final position in example (28b).

In example (29), a PP agent of the -a construction of the matrix clause does not occur next to the -a; instead, the PP agent *tekening i Kesuna* ‘by Kesuna’ is extraposed to the end of the complement clause.

(29) Disubane lengenî-ne ka-gotol baan i
after arm-3POSS’R PSV-stick by ART

Cerucuk Kuning, Œi kaden-ang-aj
Cerucuk Kuning ZT assume-APPL-3Agt

[Œi suba misi gelang kanda mas]
already MAI-contain bracelet form gold

teking i Kesunaj.
by ART Kesuna

After her armsj are pecked by Cerucuk Kuning, Kesuna assumes her armsj to have a bracelet. (CK 552, 553, 554)

The PP agent *tekening i Kesuna* ‘by Kesuna’ would be placed next to the clitic -a if the PP agent were not extraposed, as in example (30) below.

(30). Disubane lengen-ne ka-gotol baan i
after arms-3POSS’R PSV-stick by ART

Cerucuk Kuning, Œi kaden-ang-aj tekening
Cerucuk Kuning ZT assume-APPL-3Agt by

i Kesunaj [Œi suba misi gelang kanda mas]
ART Kesuna already MAI-contain bracelet form gold

After her armsj are pecked by Cerucuk Kuning, Kesuna assumes her armsj to have a bracelet.
Extraposition does not cause any significant problems in determining clause boundaries because it is clear enough from the semantics which clause the extraposed item belongs to.

3.6 Conclusion

Texts can generally be divided into complex sentences and single independent clauses. A complex sentence consists of two or more clauses. There must be a strategy used to divide the complex sentence into two or more clauses. This strategy is important because 1) I count clauses in topicality measurements and 2) I need to decide whether particular functions are expressed or not expressed. The topicality of a participant will be measured from its continuity in each single clause. A complex sentence needs to be identified into clause units such as a main clause and a subordinate clause. The subordinate clause also needs to be classified as a reduced subordinate clause or a full subordinate clause. The point about reduced clauses is that they are controlled, and I am not counting the controlled element. It is also necessary to distinguish between different sorts of unexpressed arguments—controlled argument (compulsory anaphora) vs. optional anaphora, etc.

When an element is clause initial or clause final or when there is extraposition, a decision must be made about which element belongs to one clause and which element belongs to another clause. This is where the expressed or unexpressed argument is involved. This kind of problem also appears in complex sentence which have apposition, dislocation or extraposition.

The next chapter will discuss the frequency of different voices in the eleven texts.
4.1 Introduction

This chapter will deal with the overall frequency of voice in the various clause types (main clauses, adverbial clauses and complement clauses). The complete corpus consisting of eleven texts (i.e. five spoken texts and six written texts) is counted in this chapter (see the list of the eleven texts in Chapter 3). I will specifically not discuss the factors which determine the frequency of voice, for instance why Nasal Transitive (NT) clauses are used more commonly than Zero Transitive (ZT) voice and the ka-passive choice. This will be discussed in chapters 7, 8 and 9.

4.2 Overall Frequency of Voices

Transitive voices are used much more commonly than the passive voice. The transitive voices, which are either Nasal Transitive (NT) or Zero Transitive (ZT), exhibit a big difference in frequency. The NT clause, which is traditionally called an 'active' voice is much more commonly used than ZT. The ZT is similar to the ka-passive in having the patient in pivot position, and has traditionally been considered a sort of passive. The ZT, however, is used more frequently than the ka-passive. The selection of voice is certainly determined by discourse factors, which will be discussed in later chapters.
Chapter 4: Overall Frequency of Voice Use in Discourse

The frequency of voice from the combined texts (i.e. the combination of the spoken texts and the written texts) is given in Table 1 below. This table contains the frequency of three voice types (NT, ZT and the ka- passive). There are 2015 clauses with these voices. The overall frequency of each voice is taken from the combined results of main clauses, adverbial clauses, complement clauses and interrogative clauses. Imperative clauses (and hortative clauses) are excluded from the counts since the verbs are always prefixless and so there is no choice between ZT, NT and the ka- passive. In Section 6.3 (Chapter Six) I explain why imperative clauses (and hortative clauses) are excluded.

Table 1. Frequency of voice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NT</th>
<th>ZT</th>
<th>Ka-</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1154 (57.27%)</td>
<td>697 (34.59%)</td>
<td>164 (8.14%)</td>
<td>2015 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Claims have been made by other scholars about the different frequency of use of voices in Balinese and other Western Austronesian languages. Artawa et al. (1998:32) for example, also find that in traditional narrative and contemporary conversation in Balinese, NT is more commonly used than ZT, and ka- passive is the least commonly selected. Out of 211 examples of the three different voices in Balinese traditional narratives, they state that 109 examples (or 51.66%) are of NT clauses, 90 examples (42.65%) are of ZT clauses, and only 12 examples (5.69%) are of ka- passive. Out of 218 examples of three different voices in Balinese contemporary conversation, 140 examples (64.22%) are of NT clauses, 69 examples (31.65%) are of ZT clauses, and 9 examples (4.13%) are of ka- passive clauses.

1 In fact, in my study, the constructions under consideration here are used less commonly than other constructions.
Beratha (1992:286-288) presents statistics which show that in Old Balinese the Undergoer Pivot (UP) form (i.e. my ZT and the ka- passive) is more common than the Actor Pivot (AP) form (i.e. my NT) in the text Dang Hyang Nirartha (HKS 4105, University of Sydney). She gives the following figures:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Undergoer Pivot</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actor Pivot</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here Undergoer Pivot consists of 'Ø-verb' 14 (or 5.86%) and the ka- passive 120 (or 50.21%).

This suggests that a change has taken place from Old to Modern Balinese. In Old Balinese, the ZT was far less commonly used than the ka- passive, while in Modern Balinese the frequency seems to be the other way around. However, Beratha does not give information about what factors determine voice selection, particularly why the ZT is far less commonly used than the ka- passive. In Modern Balinese, the selection of voice is very strongly determined by the topicality of referents, as will be shown in chapters 7, 8 and 9.

Hunter (1988:216-217), in his study of the passive, calls the ka- passive a 'non-volitional passive' and the Zero Transitive a 'event-salient' passive or 'agentive passive.' The ka- passive is 'used in all registers to indicate reference to Undergoer arguments where action is seen as non-volitional, involuntary, or accidental, as happening to an experiencer.' Here the agent of the ka- passive does not act deliberately. The Zero Transitive which he calls the 'agentive passive', on the other hand, indicates that the agent does deliberately influence the action. However, Hunter does not give any quantitative data of the use of the ka-passive versus the Zero Transitive.

which are inherently intransitive. Out of 5077 clauses found in my study, there are 2015 (or 40%) clauses of these three types and 3062 (or 60%) clauses which are intransitive.
Chapter 4: Overall Frequency of Voice Use in Discourse

Studies of Bahasa Indonesia, another Austronesian language, also show that the meN- form (the ‘active’ voice, which can be considered analogous to the Balinese NT construction) is used more commonly than other possibilities. Urbach (1988:463), for instance, reports that there is a different frequency of three different voices used in a narrative text: meN- (the active voice), as in (1), the di- passive, as in (2), and ‘zero-prefixied passive,’ as in (3):

(1) Tati sudah membeli buku (Urbach, 1988:455)

Tati already meN-buy book
Tati already bought a book.

The di- passive can have an optional overt agent which takes one of two forms: the third-pronoun clitic agent -nya, or the ‘by-phrase’ oleh NP. The preposition oleh is used optionally when the agent immediately follows the verb, as shown by the examples below:

(2)a. Buku itu di-beli-nya (Urbach, 1988:456)

book that di-buy-3Agt
That book was bought by him.

b. Buku itu di-beli (oleh) Tati (Urbach, 1988:456)

book that di-buy (by) Tati
That book was bought by Tati.

c. Buku itu sudah di-beli (Urbach, 1988:456)

book that already di-buy
That book was already bought.

The zero-prefixied passive usually uses a pronoun-proclitic agent, as in the example below:

(3) Buku itu sudah ku-beli (Urbach, 1988:457)

book that already I-buy
That book was already bought by me.

2 Urbach’s data is from the modern Indonesian novel Keberangkatan ‘Departure’ (by Nh. Dini).
Urbach (1988:463), in fact, distinguishes five two-argument verb types which include meN- (190 clauses or 63.1%), 'zero-prefixed passive' (45 clauses or 15%), the di- passive (52 clauses or 17.3%), zero stem sentences (10 clauses or 3.3%) and ter- verb (4 clauses or 1.3%). Only the first three forms are relevant to my study.

As with Balinese voices, the meN-verb in Bahasa Indonesia is overwhelmingly more common than the so-called zero-prefixed passive or the di- passive. Out of 288 examples of the three voices, Urbach found 190 instances (66%) of meN- verbs, 45 (16%) of 'zero passives', and 53 (18%) of the di- passive. According to Urbach, the distribution of the Indonesian voices is determined by discourse factors, particularly the relative topicality of the referents. In the Indonesian meN- form (in main clauses) the A is higher in topicality than O (p.464). In the di- passive both arguments are low in topicality (p.465). In the zero-prefixed passive the agent (the proclitic of the first person ku and the proclitic of the second person kau) is more topical than the patient (i.e. the S) (p.466). Although both the meN- and the zero-prefixed passive exhibit an agent which is more topical than the patient, it is the zero-prefixed passive rather than the meN- construction which has a higher frequency of 'agent more topical than patient (Agent >Patient). Urbach presents figures for Agent > Patient for both verb types. She found that of Agent > Patient, 96% are the zero-prefixed passive, while for Agent > Patient, only 59% are meN- verb (p.468). We will see that the Balinese ZT is quite different from the Indonesian 'zero passive' and the di- passive.

In terms of the frequency of voice, Cumming (1995:255) reports that within 198 clauses in a modern Indonesian novel,4 144 examples (72.72%) are meN- verbs (which

---

3 The notation Agent>Patient means that the Agent is more topical than the Patient, while Agent<Patient means that the Agent is less topical than the Patient.

4 Cumming uses the modern Indonesian novel Senja di Jakarta 'Twilight in Jakarta' (by Mochtar Lubis, 1970).
are associated with 'actor trigger') and 54 examples (27.28%) are \textit{di}-verbs (which are associated with 'patient trigger'). These figures also show that the \textit{meN}-verb is still the most common construction used.

4.3 Frequency of Voice in Written versus Spoken Narratives

The difference of frequency of voices in spoken versus written narratives is statistically significant (see Table 2 and the total chi-square below). We will see, however, in later chapters that this is not due to different principles governing the choice of voice in written and spoken narratives, but rather because of differences in factors such as the frequency of 'foregrounding' and 'backgrounding' in the two types of narratives.

In two-argument constructions, the NT is used much more commonly than the Zero Transitive, whether in spoken or written narratives. For patient-pivotal arguments, the ZT is far more commonly used than the \textit{ka}- passive. However, the difference between ZT and NT is more extreme in written narratives than in spoken narratives (see table 2), while the difference between ZT and the \textit{ka}- passive is less extreme in written narratives than in spoken narratives (see table 3).
Table 2. Frequency of transitive voice in spoken and written narratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NT</th>
<th>ZT</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spoken Narratives</td>
<td>518 (55.64%)</td>
<td>413 (45.36%)</td>
<td>931 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written Narratives</td>
<td>636 (69.13%)</td>
<td>284 (30.87%)</td>
<td>920 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1154 (62.34%)</td>
<td>697 (37.66%)</td>
<td>1851 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-square for transitive voices in spoken versus written narratives: 35.877; p=.0001

Table 3. Frequency of Zero Transitive and the ka- passive in spoken versus written narratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ZT⁵</th>
<th>Ka-</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spoken Narratives</td>
<td>413 (86.58%)</td>
<td>64 (13.42%)</td>
<td>477 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written Narratives</td>
<td>284 (73.96%)</td>
<td>100 (26.04%)</td>
<td>384 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>697 (80.95%)</td>
<td>164 (19.05%)</td>
<td>861 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-square: 21.989; p=.0001

It is important to distinguish clauses into main clauses and subordinate clauses since we will later look at the typical functions of those clauses in discourse. We need to see whether the overall spoken or written difference is due to a different frequency of clause types (main versus subordinate clauses) or if it is due to a different frequency of foregrounding in main clauses in spoken narratives versus written narratives. In chapter 7 I will show that the latter is more likely.

In main clauses (as shown in table 4 below), the frequency of NT versus ZT clauses of spoken narratives seems different from that of written narratives. In the main clauses of spoken narratives, the use of NT clauses is about equal in frequency to the frequency of ZT clauses (49.55% for the NT clauses and 50.45% for the ZT clauses). In the main clauses of written narratives, on the other hand, the use of the NT clauses is much more common than the use of the ZT clauses (65% for the NT clauses and 35%)

⁵ Imperative clauses are excluded because voice selection is very restricted.
for the ZT clauses). This difference is statistically significant, as demonstrated by the Chi-square result below.

### Table 4. Frequency of voice in main clauses in spoken versus written narratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NT</th>
<th>ZT</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spoken Narratives</td>
<td>330 (49.55%)</td>
<td>336 (50.45%)</td>
<td>666 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written Narratives</td>
<td>441 (65%)</td>
<td>240 (35%)</td>
<td>681 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>771 (57.24%)</td>
<td>576 (42.76%)</td>
<td>1347 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-square for transitive voices of main clauses in spoken versus written narratives: 31.817; p = .0001

Similarly, NT is significantly more common in adverbial clauses in written narratives:

### Table 5. Frequency of voice in adverbial clauses in spoken versus written narratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NT</th>
<th>ZT</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spoken Narratives</td>
<td>104 (64.20%)</td>
<td>58 (35.80%)</td>
<td>162 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written Narratives</td>
<td>116 (80%)</td>
<td>29 (20%)</td>
<td>145 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>220 (71.66%)</td>
<td>87 (28.34%)</td>
<td>307 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Chi-square for voice of adverbial clauses in spoken versus written narratives: 9.409; p = .0022

On the other hand, complement clauses are not significantly different in written and spoken narratives as far as the use of NT goes; NT is highly favoured both in speech and writing. Possible reasons for this fact will be discussed in Chapter 5.3.

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6 Interrogative clauses and imperative clauses are excluded from the analysis for this table. These two clause types are used with minor frequency in narratives.
Chapter 4: Overall Frequency of Voice Use in Discourse

Table 6. Frequency of voice in complement clauses in spoken versus written narratives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NT</th>
<th>ZT</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spoken Narratives</td>
<td>81 (93.10%)</td>
<td>6 (6.90%)</td>
<td>87 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written Narratives</td>
<td>70 (94.59%)</td>
<td>4 (5.41%)</td>
<td>74 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>151 (93.79%)</td>
<td>10 (6.21%)</td>
<td>161 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Chi-square for voice of complement clauses in spoken versus written narratives: .153; p = .696

4.4 Conclusion

The following conclusions can be drawn from the frequency of voice use in discourse in my corpus. The NT clause, which is traditionally called ‘active voice,’ is more commonly than the other two constructions and it is used much more frequently in subordinate clauses. The ZT and the ka- passive, which are similar in that the patient is in the pivot position (e.g. the O of ZT and the S of the ka- passive), are used with very different frequencies. The ZT is always chosen much more frequently than the ka-pasive in all clause types. The three voices are used with different frequencies in spoken and written narratives, but we will see that this is not due to a difference in the principle determining the selection of voice in the two types of narratives. Rather, it is due to the different frequency of situations which cause a particular voice to be used. The discourse factors which determine voice selection will be discussed in the following chapters.
CHAPTER FIVE

SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

5.1 Introduction

Two types of subordinate constructions will be explored in this chapter. They are complement clauses and adverbial clauses. These subordinate clauses can be distinguished into two types; namely, a reduced clause and a full clause. The reduced clause is a lower clause which fulfils at least two conditions. First, the pivot is a ‘controlled’ NP. By control I mean that the reference of the unexpressed pivot of the complement clause is governed by an NP of the matrix clause. In the formalist literature the argument in the main clause which controls the pivot of the complement clause is usually called ‘controller,’ while the controlled pivot is usually called ‘controllee’ (Sag and Pollard 1991:63). Second, the reduced clause does not occur with a subordinating conjunction (i.e. the complementizer *apang* for complement clauses or the adverbial conjunction *sambilang* ‘while, *sedek* ‘when’ and *kerana* ‘because’ for adverbial clauses). The full clause, on the other hand, can have a complementizer (for the complement clauses) or an adverbial conjunction (for the adverbial clause) and a non-controlled pivot. Although it is possible for a full subordinate clause to have a pivot that is not coreferential with an argument in the main clause, in practice this situation does not occur very often.

The examples which are used here are taken both from the corpus (the eleven texts) and examples which I created myself as a Balinese native speaker.
5.2 Frequency of Subordinate Clauses

Most complement clauses occur in a reduced form, while most adverbial clauses occur in a full form. Tables 1 and 2 present the overall frequency of voice for complement and adverbial clauses respectively. Out of 162 examples of complement clauses, almost 90% are reduced NT, while only a small number occur in ZT and the ka-passive, as shown by Table 1. In the adverbial clauses, on the other hand, out of 347 examples, 220 (or 63.40%) are of the full NT type, 86 examples (24.79%) are full ZT, while 37 examples (or 10.66%) are full ka-.

Table 1. Frequency of voice in complement clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voice with Complement Clause</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reduced NT</td>
<td>145 (89.51%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full NT</td>
<td>6 (3.70%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduced ZT</td>
<td>9 (5.55%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full ZT</td>
<td>1 (0.62%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduced ka-</td>
<td>1 (0.62%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full ka-</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>162</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The higher frequency of NT in complement clause than in adverbial clause is quite striking and demands an explanation. Note that the frequency of NT in adverbial clauses is similar to the frequency of NT in main clauses in written texts and not much greater than the frequency of NT in main clauses overall (see Table 4 in Chapter Four). It is therefore the high frequency of NT in complement clauses which needs to be explained. An explanation can be found in the fact that complement clauses usually involve control, and control removes the option to choose between NT and ZT in the subordinate clauses. In main clauses, the decision to use the NT or the ZT construction
Chapter 5: Subordinate Clauses

will depend on discourse factors of the sorts identified in Chapters Seven, Eight, and Nine. But the voice of the lower clause is determined by syntactic factors. That is, the controllee must be in the pivot role. This means that if it is the Agent of the subordinate clause which is the controllee, there is no choice but to use the NT construction, because the Agent will have the grammatical function of A and the NT construction is the only one which puts A in the pivot role. If, on the other hand, it is the Patient which is controlled, either the ZT or the ka-passive could be used. In my texts, however, the fact is that the A is by far the more usual controllee in controlled clauses, resulting in a very high incidence of NT in controlled clauses. This explain in some part why we found in Chapter Four that the overall frequency of NT was greater in subordinate clauses than in main clauses.

Because it is grammatical, rather than discourse, factors which determine the use of the transitive voices in controlled clauses, I have excluded these clauses from the data presented in this thesis which is aimed at determining the role of discourse factors in voice selection.

In contrast to the controlled clauses, a main clause with two core arguments is free, as far as the grammar is concerned, to be ZT or NT. The semantics of the main clause verb determines whether A or O is the controller but does not determine whether the NT or the ZT construction is used. In Chapter Seven, Eight and Nine I will show that the choice between NT and ZT in main clauses and in full subordinate clauses is mainly determined by the topicality of O and will discuss the relationship between topicality and grounding.
Table 2. Frequency of voice in adverbial clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voice with Adverbial Clause</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reduced NT</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full NT</td>
<td>220 (63.40%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduced ZT</td>
<td>1 (0.29%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full ZT</td>
<td>86 (24.79%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduced ka-</td>
<td>3 (0.86%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full ka-</td>
<td>37 (10.66%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3 Complement Clauses

A complement clause is a clause which functions as an argument of a main clause. As mentioned in the introduction, the complement clause can be expressed in the form of a reduced construction, as in example (1a) below, or in the form of a full construction, as in example (1b).

(1)a. Nira nu nunden panyeroan-n-e [PRO\textsuperscript{1} ngae banten] offerings

\textit{I am still telling the servant to make the offerings.} (SIP 107-108)

b. Nira nu nunden panyeroan\textsubscript{i}-n-e

\text{[apang (ia\textsubscript{ij}) ngae banten]}

COMP 3 NT-make offering

\textit{I am still ordering the servant to make the offering.}

The reduced complement (1a) has a pivot which is controlled by the O of the higher clause. Here \textit{nunden} is an ‘order’ verb, which requires ‘object control’ (Sag and Pollard...
The full complement in example (1b), on the other hand, can have an overt pivot which can be coreferential or not coreferential with the O of the matrix clause when the complementizer *apang* is used. However, when the pivot is unexpressed, it must be controlled by the object of the higher clause.

There are semantic differences between the reduced clause and the full clause. In the full clause, (i) the action is done *obligatorily*, (ii) the expectation that the action be done is *high* and (iii) the activity is conducted *immediately*. In the reduced clause, on the other hand, (i) the action is done *optionally*, (ii) the expectation that the action be done is relatively *low* and (iii) the activity is not necessarily conducted *immediately*. For instance, the use of the complementizer *apang* 'in order to, that' and the overt-pivot *ia* '3rd person' in the full clause in example (1b) requires that the A in the main clause wanted the action to happen (obligatorily), but the O NP which is coreferent with the A in the lower clause could be unwilling to do it.

There is a high expectation from the higher A to the lower A that the action be done and that it be done immediately. In the reduced clause (1a), on the other hand, the situation is the other way around. There is no obligation for the omitted NP A in the lower clause to do the activity and the expectation is not as strong as in the full clause.

Example (2) below has a shared argument which is overtly expressed in the full complement clause, while it is dropped in the main clause.
A general statement that can be made about the omission of arguments is it more commonly occurs in subordinate clauses than in superordinate clauses.

5.3.1 Semantic Properties of Verbs in Main Clauses

The semantic type of the matrix verb tends to determine the kinds of verbs found in the complement clause. Sag and Pollard (1991:65-67) discuss three categories of main verb: (i) orientation type, (ii) influence type and (iii) commitment type. In this section I discuss each of these types of verbs in Balinese, along with a further kind which is here labelled the 'knowledge type.'

5.3.1.1 Orientation Type

‘Orientation’ relations refer to verbs which involve desire, expectation or a similar mental orientation. Verbs of this type usually take 'subject control' (Sag and Pollard, 1991:66). In Balinese, there are two subtypes of verbs in the 'orientation' type: (i) the desire type, as in *makeneh/makita* 'intend' and *edot* 'want,' and (ii) the joining type, as in *milu* 'participate, go along'. Such verbs in Balinese are usually intransitive, and so the controller

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2 Here the NP O of the superordinate clause occurs as a non-overt NP while the coreferent-NP pivot of the secondary clauses occurs as an overt NP. In this data, the object of the secondary clause also occurs as a non-overt NP. In the texts, it is very common to find an argument with a pronominal drop. The full sentence of this data would be:

(1) Orahin-aj [apang mbokj-nei] malu ngetep.

ZT tell-3Agt COMP eld. sister-3POSS'R first NT-cut

*She told her sister to cut (the rice (in its husk)) first.* (CK 69-70)

---
is S. For instance, the desire type slot ‘intend’ is always filled with the intransitive verbs *makeneh/makita* ‘intend’ and *edot* ‘want.’ The NT counterparts *ngenehang/ngiteang* and *ngedotang*, respectively, or the ZT counterparts *kenehang/kitaang* and *edotang*, respectively, are unacceptable. Thus, A control or O control is not acceptable.

The ‘want’ type of ‘orientation’ verb can have a complement clause which may be a reduced clause or a full clause. If the clause is reduced, then the pivot of the complement clause must be the controllee, as in (3a). On the other hand, if the complement is the full type, then the pivot is not controlled by an argument of the matrix clause, as in (3b).

(3)a. \(l_1\) \{ma-keneh/ma-kita/dot\} \([\emptyset_i/\emptyset_j\) nembak musuh-e\]

s/he \{MAI-want/MAI-intend/willing\} NT-shoot enemy-DEF

S/he {wanted, intended, was willing} to shoot the enemy.

b. \(l_1\) \{makeneh/makita/dot\}

\[apang (iai/j)\]

s/he \{MAI-want/MAI-intend/willing\} COMP (s/he)

\textbf{nembak musuh-e\]

NT-shoot enemy-DEF

S/he {wanted, intended, was willing} to shoot the enemy/that someone shoot the enemy.

The reduced clause in (3a) above shows that the controllee is in the Actor role, which is the A pivot and must occur with the NT construction. We can also have a controllee in the Patient role, as in example (4).

(4) \(l_1\) \{ma-keneh/ma-kita/dot\}

s/he \{MAI-want/MAI-intend/willing\}

\[\emptyset_i/\emptyset_j \text{[ka-tembak, tembak-a]}\]

\{PSV-shoot ZT shoot-3Agt\}
S/he {wanted, intended, was willing} to be shot. (S/he {wanted, intended, was willing} to get shot).

The ka- passive and the ZT of the complement clause can occur with a full type which can have a non-controlled pivot. The complementizer apang is used optionally, as in example (5).

(5)a. laj {makeneh/makita/dot} musuh-ej
s/he {MAI-want/MAI-intend/willing} enemy-DEF

{Øj ka-tembak, tembak-a}
{ PSV-shoot ZT shoot-3Agt}
S/he {wanted, intended, was willing} for the enemy to be shot.

b. laj {ma-keneh/makita/dot} apang
s/he {MAI-want/MAI-intend/willing} COMP
musuh-ej {ka-tembak, tembak-a}
enemy-DEF {PSV-shoot, ZT shoot-3Agt}
S/he {wanted, intended, was willing} that the enemy should be shot.

The semantic difference between the reduced clauses and the full clauses can be identified as follows. In the reduced clauses, there is a lack of certainty that the pivot will participate in the action. In the full subordinate clauses, on the other hand, the presence of overt pivots emphasises their role in the events.

Unlike the 'want' type, the 'join' type verb milu 'participate, go along' can only be followed by a reduced clause. A complement clause of the full type seems to be an ill-formed construction.

(6)a. Nyomanj milu [PRO nulungin meme-n-ne]
Nyoman participate NT-help mother-LIG-3POSS'R
Nyoman participated in helping his mother.
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*b. Nyoman\(\hat{i}\) milu [apang (lai/i)]
Nyoman join COMP 3

**nulungin meme-n-ne**
NT-help mother-LIG-3POSS'R

*Nyoman\(\hat{i}\) participated in \{his, her\}i/j helping mother.*

As in the 'want' type, the reduced clauses of the 'join' type can have controlled NPs not only in an actor role but also in a patient role. The example below shows that the pivot of the *ka-* passive and the ZT verb are controlled by the pivot of the superordinate clause.

(7) **Nyoman milu {PRO ka-tulungin, tulung-in-a}**
Nyoman join {PSV-help ZT help-3Agt}

**baan meme-ne**
by mother-3POSS'R

*Nyoman was also helped by his mother.*

5.3.1.2 Influence Type

Verbs of the 'influence' type involve 'state of affairs where a certain participant (the referent of the main clause O) is influenced by another participant (the referent of the pivot) to perform an action (characterised in terms of the state of affairs denoted by the VP complement)' (Sag and Pollard 1991:66). Verbs of this type take Patient control.

In Balinese, there are two sub-types of verb in the 'influence type: (i) the 'order' type, as in *munden/tunden 'order' and ngorahin/orahin 'tell', and (ii) the 'allow' type, as in *maang/baang 'allow' and nulungin/tulungin 'help'.

The 'order' type can be in the form of a NT verb (e.g. *munden 'order,' ngorahin 'tell,'), *ka-* passive (e.g. *katunden 'be ordered' and kaorahin 'be told') or a ZT verb (e.g. *tunden 'order' and orahin 'tell'). Verbs of this type may have complement clauses
which can be either reduced or full clauses. The ‘allow’ type can be NT maang ‘give’ or mulungin ‘help’, ZT baang ‘give’ or tulungin ‘give’, or the ka-passive kabaang ‘be given’ or katulungin ‘be helped’). On the other hand, it can only have a complement clause of the reduced type.

A reduced complement clause of an ‘order’ type matrix verb must have a pivot which is controlled by the Patient NP of the superordinate clause, as in (8). A full-complement clause, on the other hand, can have a non-coreferential pivot (9).

\[(8)a. \text{Pak guru nunden murid-}e\]
\[
\text{Mr teacher NT-order student-DEF}
\]
\[
[\text{PRO maca buku}]
\text{NT-read book}
\]
\text{The teacher orders the student to read a book.}

\[(8)b. \text{Murid-e \{tunden-a, ka-tunden\}}\]
\[
\text{student-DEF ZT order-3Agt PSV-order}
\]
\[
[\text{PRO maca buku baan Pak Guru}]
\text{NT-read book by Mr teacher}
\]
\text{The student was ordered to read a book by the teacher.}

\[(9)a. \text{Pak guru nunden murid-}e\]
\[
\text{Mr teacher NT-order student-DEF}
\]
\[
[\text{apang (iaj}j\text{) maca buku}]
\text{COMP (3j}j\text{) NT-read book}
\]
\text{The teacher orders the students to read a book.}

\[(9)b. \text{Murid-e \{tunden-a, ka-tunden\}}\]
\[
\text{student-DEF ZT order-3Agt PSV-order}
\]
\[
[\text{apang (iaj}j\text{) maca buku baan Pak Guru}]
\text{COMP 3 NT-read book by Mr teacher}
\]
\text{The student was ordered to read a book by the teacher.}
Examples (8) and (9) show NT verbs with A pivots in the subordinate clauses. The subordinate clauses in (8) are reduced complements which have a controlled pivot, while the subordinate clauses in (9) are full complements which can have an overt argument for the pivot.

'Order' verbs which take 'Patient control' can also have ka-passives or ZT verbs as complements. These also allow both the reduced type (10a) and the full type (10b) of subordinate clause.

(10)a. Pak guru nunden murid-ej
Mr teacher {NT-order student-DEF

[PRO {ka-pesu-ang, pesu-ang-a}] PSV-out-APPL, ZT out-APPL-3Agt
The teacher orders the students to be expelled.

b. Pak guru nunden murid-ej
Mr teacher {NT-order, NT-tell} student-DEF

[apang (iai) {ka-pesu-ang, pesu-ang-a}] COMP s/he PSV-out-APPL, ZT outt-APPL-3Agt
The teacher orders the students that they should be expelled.

A 'sentential complement' which has a pivot which is non-coreferential with the Patient of the 'order' type is also allowed, but the complement clause would yield a cleft reading. The complement clause in this situation can be of a reduced type (11a) or a full type (11b).

(11)a. Pak guru nunden murid-ej
Mr teacher NT-order student-DEF

buku {ka-baca, baca-n-a}
book {PSV-read, ZT read-LIG-3Agt}
The teacher orders the students that it is a book to be read.
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b. Pak guru nunden murid-ej
   Mr teacher NT-order student-DEF

   apang buku {ka-baca, baca-n-a}
   COMP book {PSV-read, ZT read-LIG-3Agt}

The teacher orders the students that it is a book which should be read.

As mentioned above, the 'allow' verbs, such as maang 'allow' and nulungin 'help'
are not like the 'order' verbs which allow both a reduced clause and a full clause. The
'allow' verbs only allow a reduced type of complement clause.

(12)a. la nulungin timpal-nei
     3 NT-help friend-POSS'R

     [PRO ngejuk siap]
     NT-catch chicken

S/he helps his/her friend to catch the chicken.

b. Timpal-nei {tulungin-a, ka-tulungin}
     friend-3POSS'R ZT help-3Agt PSV-help

     [PRO ngejuk siap]
     NT-catch chicken

His/her friend is helped to catch the chicken.

(13)*a. la nulungin timpali-ne
     3 NT-help friend-3POSS'R

     [apang (iai/j) ngejuk siap].
     COMP 3 NT-catch chicken

S/he helps his/her friend to catch a chicken.

*b. Timpali-ne {tulungin-a, ka-tulungin}
     friend-3POSS'R ZT help-3Agt PSV-help

     [apang (iai/j) ngejuk siap].
     COMP 3 NT-catch chicken

His/her friend is helped to catch the chicken.
5.3.1.3 Commitment Type

Following Sag and Pollard (1991), 'commitments involve a typically animate participant which we may identify as committor, and a state of affair-argument, in this case the action the committor commits to performing (or to not performing, in the case of verbs like refuse or decline)' (p. 66). Verbs of this semantic type are usually intransitive and take reduced complement clauses (i.e. a complement with a controlled pivot). In Balinese, intransitive stem verbs such as nyak/setuju 'agree', the ma-intransitive verb majanji or the NT nyanjiang 'promise' can all be categorised as 'commitment' type.

The intransitive stem verbs which are of the 'commitment' type can only have reduced-complement clauses. A full-complement clause sounds odd.

(14)a. laj {nyak, setuju} [Øi mantu
s/he {ZI agree, ZI agree} NT-help
timpal-ne]
friend-3 POSS'R
S/he agreed to help his/her friend.

*b. la {nyak, setuju} [apang iai/j]
s/he {ZI agree, ZI agree} COMP s/he
mantu timpal-ne]
NT-help friend-3 POSS'R

'Commitment' type main clause verbs can have a sentential complement which allows a non-coreferential pivot in a patient role, but this is rather odd in practice unless there is a special context to support it. The sentential complement in (15) below is a complement clause which has a non-coreferential pivot.
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(15)a. Tiang setuju [timpal-e {ka-bantu, bantu-n-a}]
I agree to help the friend.

b. Tiang setuju [ia mantu]
I agreed for him/her to help the friend.

The intransitive verb of commitment ‘promise’ can be the *ma* intransitive *majanji* or the NT *nyanjiang*. Both of these can only take a reduced complement clause. With the *ma* intransitive *majanji* in the matrix clause, the controller and the controllee are always the pivot, as in example (16a) and (16b). With the NT *nyanjiang*, the controller must be the A if the pivot of the complement clause is in the Actor role, as in example (17a). However, if the pivot of the complement clause is in the Patient role, the controllee must be O, rather than A, as in example (17b).

(16)a. l bapa ma-janji [PRO meli sepeda.] ART father MAI-promise NT-buy bike
Father promised to buy a bike.

b. l bapa ma-janji [PRO ka-beli-ang sepeda,
Art father MAI-promise PSV-buy-APPL bike
beli-ang-a sepeda]
ZT buy-APPL-3 Agt bike
Father promised that he will be bought a bike.

(17)a. i bapa nyanji-ang tiang [PRO meli sepeda]
ART father NT-promise-APPL I NT-buy bike

b. i bapa nyanji-ang tiang
ART father NT-promise-APPL I
5.3.1.4 Knowledge Type

Verbs which can be classified into the 'knowledge' type are *nyidaang* 'able' and *nawang* 'know'. These matrix verbs can only take reduced complement clauses, and not full complement clauses. Since the full complement is not allowed, the pivot of the complement must be controlled. Thus, the full complement clauses in examples (18b) and (18c) are unacceptable.

(18)a. Timpal-timpal-ejang konden nyidaang
friend-friend-DEF not yet NI-able

[Øi meli keto]  
NT-buy like that

*The friends were not able to buy (something like) that. (CD 329-330)*

*b. Timpal-timpal-ejjang konden nyidaang
friend-friend-DEF not yet NI-able

[apang iaj meli keto]
COMP 3 NT-buy that

*c. Timpal-timpal-ejang konden nyidaang
friend-friend-DEF not yet NI-able

[keto ka-beli, beli-n-ajj]
like PSV-buy ZT buy-LIG-3Agt

5.4 Adverbial Clauses

The Adverbial clause is defined as a clause which functions as an adjunct. As with the complement clause, the adverbial clause can be in the form of a reduced clause or a full clause. However, most adverbial clauses only allow the full clause type which cannot
have the equivalent reduced clause and when a reduced clause is possible, an equivalent full clause is almost always possible too.

The adverbial clause in example (19a) is an example of the full type which has a pivot that is not coreferential with any core argument of the higher clause. As a result it cannot have an equivalent-reduced clause, as shown by example (19b) below.

(19)a. Orain beli iaj nah ma-dagang
   ZT tell elder brother so MAI-trade
   [sawireh [liu nak]j nakon-ang to.]ADV
   because many person NT-ask-APPL that
   I (= elder brother) told her to trade because many people were asking about that. (CD185-187)

*b Orain beli iaj nah ma-dagang
   ZT tell elder brother s/he so MAI-trade
   [Øi nakonang to.]ADV
   NT-ask that
   I (= elder brother) told her to trade (because many people) were asking about that.

The full-adverbial clause in (19a) cannot have an equivalent reduced clause because the clause cannot involve control. Any attempt to omit the adverbial conjunction will yield an ungrammatical construction, as in example (19b). It is also impossible for the pivot to be dropped because it has no antecedent in a previous clause.

In contrast, a reduced adverbial clause can always be substituted by an equivalent of the full type. The use of the adverbial conjunction causes the pivot of the subordinate clause to no longer be controlled.

(20)a. Ngulangun manah ipun-ej [PROi me-mancing]
   daydream feeling s/he-DEF MAI-to fish
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He daydreamed while fishing. (GBN 16-17)

b. Ngu lan gu n manah ipun-ej
daydream feeling s/he-DEF
[sedek (ipunj/j) me-mancing]
when (s/he) MAI-to fish
{She, he} daydreamed when {she, he} was fishing.

5.4.1 Temporal Adverbial Clauses

A temporal adverbial clause is one which can be replaced by a temporal adverb such as 'yesterday', 'tomorrow', recently, etc.

A full-adverbial clause of 'time' is marked by the adverbial conjunction sedek/duges 'when' or sambil /sambilang 'while,' as in example (21a), while an equivalent reduced type is shown in (21b).

(21)a. Ngu lan gu n manah ipun-ej
daydream feeling s/he-DEF
{sedek/duges, sambil (ipunj/j)} nulis surat
{when, while} (s/he) NT-write letter
'S/he daydreamed {when, while} s/he was writing a letter.

b. Ngu lan gu n manah ipun-ej
daydream feeling s/he-DEF
[PROj nulis surat.]ADV
NT-write letter
He daydreamed while writing a letter.

The verb ngulangun 'daydream' can also occur with an adverbial clause containing a passive ka- or a ZT verb, either in the form of a full-adverbial clause (22a) or a reduced adverbial clause (22b).
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(22)a. Ngulangun manah ipunj-e
daydream feeling s/he-DEF

[{sedek/duges, sambil} surat-e
{when, while} letter

{ka-tulis, tulis-ai/j]}ADV
{PSV-write, ZT write-3Agt}
S/he daydreamed {when, while} the letter was written (by NP_i/j).

b. Ngulangun manah ipunj-e
daydream feeling s/he-DEF

{PRO ka-kalin, kalin-a} mati baan
PSV-leave, ZT leave-3 death by
meme-n-ne
mother-LIG-3POSS’R
She/he was daydreaming after she/he was left alone by her/his mother through death.

When the pivot of a subordinate clause is a third person pronoun and the adverbial conjunction sambilang precedes the third person, then the pronoun is usually cliticised to the conjunction to become sambilang-a when it is coreferential with the pivot of the upper clause. The 3rd person -a will not be used if the pivot of the adverbial clause is not represented by third person pronoun (25).

(23) Pan Balang Tamakî ma-jalan paling durina pesan
Pan Balang Tamak MAI-walk most behind very
sambilang-aj nyangkol cicing-e.
while-3Agt NT-carry dog-DEF
Pan Balang Tamak walks furthest behind while he is carrying the dog. (PBT 118-119)

(24) Adi-n-neî jumlah meten
yngr sibling-LIG-3POSS’R home north building

3 The same condition is also applied to the adverbial conjunction of purpose apang ‘in order that.’ See the section on the adverbial clause of ‘purpose.’
Chapter 5: Subordinate Clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gendang-gending</th>
<th>ma-cecangkeriman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sing</td>
<td>MAI-play</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**sambilang-aį** ma-lajah

while-3 Agt MAI-study

*Her sister is in the north building, singing and playing while she is studying.*

(TLASK)

(25) ... Øį tuwun uli di montor-e ento

get down from at motor vehicle-DEF that

**sambilang** beliį nah ngenyang pianak

while elder brother well NT-carry child

**ane ketutan, keto.**

REL fourth born like that

*I (= elder brother) got down from that motor vehicle (truck) while I (= elder brother) was carrying (my) fourth born child, just like that.* (CD 126-127)

The 3rd person -a which attaches to the adverbial conjunction *sambilang* can be doubled by the free form of the 3rd person *ia*, as in example (26) below.

(26) Laut ni Bawangį majalan ngebet

then ART. B. MAI-go NI-live in bushes

**sambilang-aį** iaj ngeling sengi-sengi

while-3Agt 3 NI-cry sobbingly

*Then Bawang went to live in the bushes while she was crying sobbingly.* (CK 237-238)

5.4.2 Adverbial Clause of Cause and Circumstance

In cause and circumstance sentences, an adverbial clause which expresses the cause of the main clause is found. A full-adverbial clause of cause and circumstance is marked by adverbial conjunctions such as *{karena/sawireh/reh, and dening}* 'because.'

In my corpus there are 349 adverbial clauses, but only four of them are of the reduced type, the rest are of the full type (see Table 2). The four reduced-adverbial
clauses are cause and circumstance types which occur with the passive *ka-* (three examples) and the ZT verb (one example), as listed below.

(27) [Damar templek-e]j moyagan kebar-kebir
light wall-lamp-DEF separated blink

[PRO ka-tempuh angin]
PSV-blow wind
The wall light was irregularly blinking, blown by the wind. (TLASK)

(28) ... telah benyah awak-nej
all broken body-3 POSS’R

[PRO ka-garang ban gumatat-gumitet-e ento].
PSV-seize by animal-RED-DEF that
... her body was torn apart, raided by many kinds of animals. (CK 661-662)

(29) ... nanging panes-e ngenter
but heat-DEF NI-extraordinary

[PRO ka-bebeng gulem uli kangin].
PSV-cover cloud from east
... but the heat was stinging, covered by the cloud from the east. (TLASK)

(30) Sreyokan-e malaib-laib
pour-DEF MAI-run

[PRO ampehang angin].
ZT blow wind
The water splashed all over because the flow was blown by the wind. (TLASK)

The equivalent-full clauses would be (27’), (28’), (29’) and (30’).

(27’) [Damar templek-e]j moyagan kebar-kebir
light wall-lamp-DEF separated blink

{karena/sawireh/veh, dening}
because

[(damar templek-e ento[i/j]) ka-tempuh angin]
light wall-lamp-DEF that PSV-blow wind
The [wall light] was irregularly blinking because it was blown by the wind.
Chapter 5: Subordinate Clauses

(28') ... telah benyah awak-ne\j
all broken body-3 POSS’R

\[\{karena/sawireh/reh, dening\} \ (ia\i) \ ka-garang\]
because s/he PSV-seize

ban gumatat-gumitet-e ento].
by animal-RED-DEF that
her body was torn apart because it was raided by many kinds of animals.

(29') ... nanging [panes-e]\i ngenter
but heat-DEF NI-sting

\[\{karena/sawireh/reh, dening\} \ (panes-e entoi)\]
because heat-DEF that

ka-bebeng gulem uli kangin].
PSV-cover cloud from east
... but the heat was stinging because it was covered by the cloud from the east.

(30') Sreyoka-n-ne\j malaib-laib
pour-LIG-DEF MAI-run

\[\{karane (sreyoka-n-ne entoi) ampehang angin\}.\]
because pouring-LIG-DEF that ZT blow wind

The pouring of water was running (separately) because it was blown by the wind.

The adverbial clauses of cause and circumstance can be in the initial position or the final position. The positioning is determined by the discourse orientation, such as the need to emphasise the 'cause' or the 'effect.' A fronted element usually gets more 'focus' than an equivalent clause following the main clause.

(31)a. [Sawireh beli ngelah pianak lelima
because elder brother NT-own child five

liu-n-e] dadi sabilang peteng
amount-LIG-DEF so that every night

4 I have supplied the O NP of the lower clause ZT verb for ease of understanding.
Chapter 5: Subordinate Clauses

5.5 Conclusion

Balinese subordinate clauses can be distinguished into complement clauses and adverbial clauses. Each of these types can occur in a reduced construction or a full construction. The reduced type involves grammatical control. Only the pivot of the subordinate clause can be controlled, while the controller can be any core argument of a superordinate clause, depending on the verb type. The full subordinate clause, on the other hand, is marked by a subordinate conjunction, and the pivot of the full subordinate clause is controlled.

There are some semantic differences between reduced subordinate and full subordinate clauses. In the former, the semantic characteristics are as follows: (a) the action is done obligatory; (b) the expectation to do the activity is relatively high and (c) the activity is conducted immediately. The semantic characteristics of the reduced clause include: (a) the action is done optionally; (b) the expectation to do the activity is relatively low and (c) the activity is not necessarily conducted immediately.
There are four semantic types of verbs which take a complement clause:

(i) The orientation type. This includes verbs such as *maken/makita* `intend,' *edot* `want' and *milu* `join.'

(ii) The influence type. This can be distinguished into two subtypes: (a) `order' (e.g. *munden/tonden* `order,' *ngorahin/orahin* `tell;' and (b) `give' type (e.g. *maang/baang* `give, allow' and *nulungin/tulungin* `help.'

(iii) The commitment type. This can only be followed by reduced complements. Commitment verbs include verbs such as the intransitive stem *nyak/setuju* `admit, agree,' the verb of `promise' in the *ma-* intransitive *majanji,* and the NT *nyanjiang.*

(iv) The knowledge type. This can only be followed by reduced subordinate clauses. Verbs in this type include *nyidaang* `able,' and *nawang* `know.'

The adverbial clause, on the other hand, is used as an adjunct in a complex clause. Most adverbial clauses can only be in the form of full subordinate clauses and cannot occur with the equivalent reduced clauses. The majority of reduced clauses which do occur can be substituted by the equivalent full clause. The adjunct function of the adverbial clause is distinguished into two types:

(i) The adverbial clause of time, which is usually marked by the conjunction *sedek/duges* `when' or *sambil/sambilang* `while.'

(ii) The adverbial cause and circumstance clause, which is usually marked by the conjunction *kerana/sawireh/reh/dening* `because.'
The frequency of the NT is overwhelmingly higher than the other two verbal types in both complement clauses and adverbial clauses. However, the frequency of NT is much higher in complement clauses than in adverbial clauses. We have seen that the reason is that complement clauses usually involve control.

6.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with types of argument expression in English. Five related topics will be discussed in the chapter: Subsection 6.1 discusses word order, which covers the position of post and the position of complement. Subsection 6.2 discusses the reasons for the exclusion of imperative and imperative elliptics from the discussion of word order. Section 6.3 discusses word order in extended arguments, while section 6.4 discusses preferred sentence arguments. Considerations are added in the last section.

The aim of this chapter is to find the types of arguments expressed which are used for the main arguments A, B, and C in the B of an infinitive structure, typically the logical argument, zero argument, etc. We will see that particular types of expression are associated with such things as whether an argument is in the pivot role, etc. I adopt the framework of ‘structural argument structure’ of Du Bois (1967). The entire corpus is considered in this chapter.

6.2 Word Order

The basic word order in English should be looked at from the point of view of

100
6.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with types of argument expressions used for core arguments. Five related topics will be discussed in this chapter. Section 6.2 discusses word order, which covers the position of pivot versus the position of non-pivot. Section 6.3 discusses the reasons for the exclusion of imperative and hortative clauses from the discussion of word order. Section 6.4 discusses overt versus non-overt arguments, while section 6.5 discusses preferred lexical arguments. Conclusions are drawn in the last section.

The aim of this chapter is to find the types of argument expressions which are used for the core arguments A, S, and O e.g. is the S of an intransitive construction typically a lexical argument, zero anaphora, etc. We will see that particular types of expression are associated with such things as whether an argument is in the pivot role, etc. I adopt the framework of ‘preferred argument structure’ of Du Bois (1987). The entire corpus is considered in this chapter.

6.2 Word Order

The basic word order in Balinese should be looked at from the point of view of voices and their frequency in discourse (see Tables 2a and 2b below). In transitive clauses, most NT clauses occur with AVO order, and the remainder can be OAV, VOA
or VAO. ZT clauses, on the other hand, can only occur either with VAO or OVA order. These orders have a rigid immediately post-verbal position for A. Although the frequency of VAO is slightly higher than OVA in ZT clauses, it is not significantly different. In intransitive clauses, the ka- passive and other intransitive clauses more commonly occur with SV order than VS order.

Contemporary and traditional Balinese narratives seem to share properties with Modern Indonesian (Cumming 1991), in particular, if we look at the frequency of clause types and word orders. Artawa et al. (1998:32) report that in Balinese traditional narratives the VAO order is the unmarked order for ZT. Out of 68 examples of ZT with two overt arguments, 56 (or around 82%) are VAO, while only 12 (or around 18%) are OVA. In conversational materials, the authors report that ZT clauses more commonly occur with OVA than VAO. My study shows that VAO is used slightly more commonly than OVA with two overt arguments in ZT, but the difference is not significant, as shown in Table 2b below. The unmarked order for NT with two overt arguments in my data, on the other hand, is AVO, as shown in Table 2a below. Again, a similar tendency is reported by Artawa et al. for Balinese traditional narratives (1998:32). They find that out of 43 examples of NT with two overt arguments, 37 (or 86.05%) are AVO, 2 examples (4.65%) are VOA, while 4 examples (9.30%) are VAO.

In the sections below, the word order of transitive clauses in my study is considered in terms of into the position of pivot A/O and the position of non-pivot A/O. But first, let us look at the characteristics of word order in two other Western Austronesian languages i.e. Classical Malay and Modern Indonesian, as reported by Cumming (1991).
Cumming (1991: 83, 85, 161) discusses the word orders of two transitive clause types and their frequency in narrative discourse in Classical Malay and Modern Indonesian. She identifies two different ‘Trigger’ types. In these clause types, Cumming uses the term ‘Trigger’ to refer to a syntactic role. The term A is used for the core argument of the transitive construction which correlates with the Agent, while the term P refers to the core argument of the transitive which correlates with the Patient (Cumming: 1991:30). Thus, the *meng*- verb (which is traditionally called ‘active’ construction) and the *di*-verb (which has been labelled the ‘passive’) are termed ‘Agent Trigger’ (AT) and ‘Patient Trigger’ (PT) respectively.

The transitive clauses of Malay/Indonesian can be divided into two types: ‘agent-trigger’ or AT and ‘patient trigger’ or PT. ‘Trigger’ is a syntactic role label: it is the participant which is a) obligatory, and b) functions as the shared argument or ‘pivot’ (in the sense of Heath 1975, Dixon 1979, and Foley & Van Valin 1984) under clause-combining (Cumming 1991:31)

The three examples below illustrate the structural differences between the ‘Agent Trigger’ and the ‘Patient Trigger.’

(ii) Agent-trigger transitive:

(1) 

\[
\text{dengan demikian sehar-hari ia memalu bende itu with thus daily 3 MENG-hit gong that thus, he beat the gong every day.} \quad (\text{MI 5508}) \quad (\text{Cumming 1991:29})
\]

(ii) Patient-trigger transitive/*di*-verb:

\[
\text{...}
\]
Chapter 6: Preferred Argument Expression

(2) Maka di-pegang perdana menteri tangan Indraputra  
then DI-hold prime minister hand Indraputra  
the prime minister held Indraputra’s hand. (Cumming 1991:29)

(iii) Patient-trigger transitive/'Pro-clitic Agent’

(3) Buah-buahan tidak mereka temukan  
fruit-fruit not 3PL find  
They didn’t find fruit (of any kind). (RONG) (Cumming 1991:48)

Table 1. Order and voice in Classical Malay and Modern Indonesian (Cumming 1991: 83, 85 and 161)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trigger Types</th>
<th>Order</th>
<th>Classical Malay</th>
<th>Modern Indonesian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agent Trigger (meng-verb)</td>
<td>Trigger Initial</td>
<td>31 (27%)</td>
<td>135 (71.43%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(<code>Agt meng-V Pat</code>)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patient Trigger (di-Verb and Proclitic-Verb)</td>
<td>Trigger Initial</td>
<td>16 (13.90%)</td>
<td>44 (23.28%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(`Pat VAgt’)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Verb Initial</td>
<td>68 (59.10%)</td>
<td>10 (5.29%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(`VAgt Pat’ and ‘VPat Agt’)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>115 (100%)</td>
<td>189 (100%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These data show that Classical Malay is ‘patient prominent’ and that the basic word order is verb initial. The frequency of PT is 73%, 84 out of 115 examples of the two transitive types. Verb initial is the basic order of PT since among the 84 PT clauses, 68 of them (81%) are verb initial. This is no longer the case in Modern Indonesian which shows that PT has been reduced dramatically. Among 189 transitive clauses in Modern Indonesian, only 54 (or 29%) are PT clauses, as compared to 73% in Classical Malay. Among the 54 PT clauses in Modern Indonesian, only 10 (or 18.50%) are verb initial, as compared to 81% in Classical Malay (Cumming, 1991:162). In Classical Malay, PT clauses with verb initial order are invariably chosen for foregrounded events. In Modern
Indonesian, too, although the number of PT clauses and verb initial orders have decreased dramatically, they are still associated with 'foregrounded' events. However, unlike Classical Malay, Modern Indonesian can have AT clauses as foregrounded events (Cumming 1991:161).

6.2.1 Position of Pivot

If statistical results are used to decide the basic order of the pivot position, then the order type which is more common should be considered the 'unmarked order,' while the type which less common should be considered the 'marked order.'

My data indicates that the pivot initial (PI) order is overwhelmingly more common than verb initial (VI) order in NT clauses. This preference occurs either with a single overt argument (i.e. only overt O) or both A and O are overtly expressed, as shown by Table 2a below. The overall figures show that out of 464 examples of NT measured for order types, 452 (or 97.84%)\(^2\) are PI (i.e. AV or AVO), while only 10 examples (or 2.16%) are VI orders (i.e. VA, VAO and VOA orders). Thus, these figures demonstrate that PI order is the unmarked order in NT, while the VI order is the marked one. The order type in ZT, on the other hand, has a different preference from NT. Overall figures show that PI is slightly more common than VI order, as presented in Table 2b. Out of 424 examples of ZT counted for order type, 224 (or 52.83%) are PI (i.e. OV or OVA), while 220 examples (or 47.17%) are VI (i.e. VO or VAO). The ZT which has one overt argument (i.e. the overt O) indicates that PI order (i.e. OV) is

\(^2\) There are 2 OAV orders in NT. These orders cannot be included in VI order or PI order, categorised as preverbal pivot.
significantly more common than VI order\(^3\) (i.e. VO), while ZT clauses which have two overt NPs show that the VI order (i.e. VAO) is slightly more common than PI (i.e. OVA).

Word order will be addressed again in Chapter Seven to explore any differences in preferences with respect to different grounding types. In this chapter, only clause types which have complete overt arguments (i.e. overt A and overt O for transitive types, and overt S for intransitives) are counted for word order type. In addition, clauses in direct speech are not used in order to avoid skewing the result of the grounding type because in my definition all direct speech materials are only possible with backgrounded information.

Table 2. Word order of pivot in transitive clause types

2a. Pivot A of NT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pivot A of NT</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pivot Initial</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Overt NP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(AV) 84 (96.55%)</td>
<td>87 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb Initial</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Overt NPs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(AVO) 368 (98.14%)</td>
<td>375 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2 VOA orders and 5 VAO orders)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>452 (97.84%)</td>
<td>462 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 (2.16%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^3\) The unexpressed A of ZT here is always a non-third person (i.e. a first or second person) which is used in direct speeches of my narrative texts. If A refers to a third person it must be expressed overtly (i.e. with the clitic -a, -a and a PP Agent, or a full NP.)
Chapter 6: Preferred Argument Expression

2b. Pivot O of ZT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pivot O of ZT</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pivot Initial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Overt NP</td>
<td>45 (75.58%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(OV)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Overt NPs</td>
<td>179 (49.44%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(OVA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>224 (52.83%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of 10 examples of NT clauses which have VI order, 7 have both expressed A and expressed O participants (i.e. 2 VOA orders and 5 VAO orders) and only 3 clauses have unexpressed O participants (i.e. the VA order). Since there are only two examples of an NT clause in VI with VOA order, no strong claim can be made here. However, these two clauses have an O participant which is non-specific or indefinite.

(4) ... mapan bek kone awak-ne misi wom pesak.  
because full apparently body-3POSS'R MAI-contain husks

nak suwud nebul padi ia ibusan,
EMPH finish NT-mill rice (in its husk) s/he just now
... because her body is covered with husks. She has finished milling rice (in its husk) just now. (CK 145-146)

(5) ... sai-sai jeg suba ada,
frequently EMPH already available

ngidih pis ia sing taen
NT-get money s/he not ever
... frequently everything is available, (in fact) she never asked for money.  (GBN 305-306)

The VA/VAO order in the remaining 8 NT clauses is usually used to denote a main event after backgrounding information is set up by preceding clauses, as shown by underlined clauses in the following examples:
Chapter 6: Preferred Argument Expression

(6) Nah dini beli ngae kelompok
so here elder brother NT-make group

ngae beli kelompok Gotong Royong
NT-make elder brother group G. R.
So, here I (= elder brother) made a group, I made a group of Gotong Royong.
(CD 434-435)

(7) Nah satuа-n-e ne ma-parang parindikan
so, story-LIG-DEF this MAI-name problem

anak makurenan.
person married

Ngelах kone ia pianak luh-luh duang diri.
NT-own apparently 3 child girl two QUANT
So, this story is about a family matter. They apparently have two daughters.
(CK 3-4)

(8) Nah makelo-kelo
so later on

nepuk-in kone ia kedis Cerucuk Kuning.
NT-see-APPL apparently s/he bird C K.
So later on she finds a bird, Cerucuk Kuning. (CK 245)

(9) Nah disubane ia ma-kaukan
so after she MAI-call

ngauk-in ia meme-n-ne,
NT-call-APPL s/he mother-LIG-3POSS’R
So afterwards she calls, she calls her mother. (CK 297-298)

(10) Buin kone ia ni Bawang ma-kaukan
again apparently she ART. B. MAI-call

ngauk-in kone ia bapa-n-ne.
NT-call-APPL apparently s/he father-LIG-3POSS’R
Again Bawang apparently calls, she calls for her mother. (CK 308-309)

(11) ... lantas ni Bawang ma-gedi, then ART. B. MAI-go

ngojoq ia umah dadong-ne.
NT-visit s/he house grandmother-3POSS’R
... then Bawang goes away, she approaches her grandmother’s house. (CK 327-328)
Chapter 6: Preferred Argument Expression

(12) ... dadi ngidih kone ia api
di umah dadong-ne.
thus NT-ask for apparently 3 light
dadi ngidih kone
thus she asks for apparently
is api
thus NT-ask for
3 light
di umah dadong-ne.
at house grandmother-3POSS'R
thus she asks for a light at her grandmother’s house. (CK 376)

(13) ... negak di ampik-e,
Ni-sit on terrace-DEF
nganggon ia sarwa mula emas-emasan.
NT-wear s/he various kind gold
she sits down on the terrace, she wears various kinds of golden accessories.
(CK 380-381)

As in NT clauses, the pivot of intransitives and the ka- passive are more often
pre-verbal than post-verbal. However, the frequency of pre-verbal pivots is lower.

Table 3. Frequency of S Initial and V Initial in intransitive clauses (of overt S)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pivot Initial (SV)</th>
<th>Verb Initial (VS)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive (no ka-)</td>
<td>1606 (67.62%)</td>
<td>769 (32.38%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka- Passive4</td>
<td>59 (74.68%)</td>
<td>20 (25.32%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1665 (67.85%)</td>
<td>789 (32.15%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2.2 Position of Non-pivot

The non-pivot participants of transitive clauses in Balinese consist of the A of the
ZT and the O of the NT. In the ZT, the A participant has a rigid position immediately
following the verb so that there is no possibility of moving the A to other positions. This
happens not only with the third person -a, but also occurs with free pronouns and full
NPs. This rigid position is shown by the frequency with which A occurs in the post-

---

4 The are 29 examples of the passive verb *ka-crita* 'be narrated' in the six texts. Those examples are excluded from
the table because the S is filled by a non-anaphoric referent. Therefore the exact word order of the passive verb
*kacerita* (ka-crita) 'be narrated', which has a non-anaphoric zero, S, cannot be decided. The SV order in the ka-
Chapter 6: Preferred Argument Expression

verbal position. There are 581 examples of ZT with an expressed A (either with one overt argument or two overt arguments) and all of them (100%) have the post-verbal A (i.e. the VA and the VAO orders), as presented in Table 4b.

In the NT clauses, on the other hand, although the O participant nearly always occurs post-verbally, there is some possibility of movement. Out of 831 examples of NT, 3 examples (or 0.36%) have pre-verbal O, while the vast majority (exactly 828 examples or 99.64%) occur with a post verbal O, as shown in Table 4a. These results show that the position of the non-pivot participants in the two transitive types is almost completely fixed in post-verbal position.

Table 4. Word Order of non-pivot in transitive clause types

4a. Non-pivot O of NT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-pivot O of NT</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-verbal O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-verbal O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Overt NP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(OV)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 (0.22%)</td>
<td>450 (99.88%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(VO)</td>
<td>451 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Overt NPs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(OAV)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 (0.53%)</td>
<td>375 (99.47%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(AVO = 368, VOA = 2) and VAO = 5</td>
<td>377 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 (0.36%)</td>
<td>825 (99.64%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>828 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

passive can be divided into SV with unexpressed Agent (47 clauses) and SV with Agent overtly expressed (12 clauses). All the narrative texts of the data bases are counted here, which include direct speech.
4b. Non-pivot A of ZT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-pivot A of ZT</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-verbal A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-verbal A</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One Overt NP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>219 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Overt NPs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>362 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(VAO = 183 and OVA = 179)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>581 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the three examples of pre-verbal non-pivot O participants in NT clauses, two occur with topicalization and the third can be explained by reference to ‘focus of contrast.’ These examples are discussed below.

The initial O NP pis ‘money and the initial O NP carik ‘rice field’ of the NT clauses in examples (14) and (15), respectively, are cases of ‘topicalization’. These initial NPs are given highest pitch and stress. They are used to switch topic and to represent new information.

(14) Yakti ja padi-n-e Gede Batun Nyuh true EMPH rice (in its husk)-LIG-DEF G. B. N.

tuwunang-a uling di jineng ZT put down-3Agt from at paddy warehouse

tebuk-tebuk-a ampun ZT crush-crush-3Agt then

men pis sing ngelah ...

because money not NT-own

It is true that GBN’s rice (in its husk) was brought downwards from the rice warehouse, (the rice (in its husk)) then were crushed, because money, she (= her wife) does not have ... (GBN 356-358)

(15) Keto pikir beli like that ZT think elder brother
carik  sing  ngelah.
rice field  not  NT-own
I(= elder brother) thought something like that, a rice field I do not have. (CD 12-13)

The fronted O of an NT can also be used for ‘focus of contrast’, which involves focussing on one candidate, ‘as opposed to other possible candidates the addressee might have had in mind’ (Chafe 1976:33). Chafe (1976:35) suggests that the ‘focus of contrast’ in English, for instance, can be tested with the phrase ‘rather than (instead of, not)...’ as in the clause Ronald made the hamburgers where the highest pitch and stress are put on the first syllable of Ronald. The involvement of those suprasegmental aspects for Ronald contradicts other possible candidates which can be proposed by the addressee. In this clause Ronald is the focus of contrast, which can have a reading as Ronald made the hamburgers, not somebody else or Ronald rather than Sally made the hamburgers.

The preposed O participant a sok ‘one bucket’ in example (16) below contradicts a set of candidates which can be proposed by the listener/audience.

(16) ... kanti a sok ia makat-ang
about one basket s/he NT-get-APPL
... about one bucket she gets (she gets about one bucket instead of other amounts). (JT 369)

This example is related to the other two (14) and (15) in that all of these have something to do with new information.

6.3 The Exclusion of Imperative and Hortative from WO

All imperatives and hortatives are excluded from my statistics of preferred word order (and voice selection) since, as will be discussed below, the use of voices in these
forms is not as free as in declaratives. There are a large number of syntactically based restrictions on the use of different voices with these expressions and some restriction on the person and number of the addressee/Agent, which mean that the discourse motives for their use cannot be readily discussed.

The following discussion of the imperative and hortative is divided into positive and negative forms. I adopt the terms 'negative' and 'hortative' as they are used by Sadock and Zwicky (1985:170-178). These scholars refer to the negative imperative and the hortative as subtypes of the imperative.

The HORTATIVE is in some languages simply a first or third person form of the imperative, but in most languages in our sample it is formally distinct from the imperative. (p.177)

The term 'positive' (for imperative and hortative) is used here to contrast with the term 'negative' (imperative and hortative). The subsections below will discuss possible voices involved in imperatives and hortatives in Balinese. Table 5 summarises the selection of voice in both the negative imperative and the negative hortative. The clauses involved are NT, ZT, passive ka- and verb stem.

**Table 5. The use of voice in imperative and hortative**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Hortative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NT</strong></td>
<td>yes*</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ZT</strong></td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Agent -a</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ka- passive</strong></td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verb Stem,</strong></td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>not ZT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* the O is indefinite

addressee/agent: 2nd person                  addressee/agent: 1st plural
6.3.1 Positive Imperative

Positive imperatives are excluded from the discussion of preferred-word orders for two reasons: the subject argument (which is never O and is always semantically agentive) is usually unexpressed and is always a second person, and the verb is always prefixless unless it is derived from a bound stem. Although the pivot (S/A) of the positive imperative can be overtly or non-overtly expressed, it is almost always non-overt.

A verb stem of a transitive-positive imperative cannot be categorised as ZT because ZT always has post-verbal A. And since a positive imperative is always in the ‘active’ voice, the ka-passive is not a possibility for a positive imperative. Therefore, I consider that there is no voice alternation for the positive-transitive imperative.

Although it is possible for an overt A argument to occur in a transitive-positive imperative, no instances of this were found in my texts. An overt A is usually used in an imperative in Balinese when there is a need to emphasise the A, which must then be placed preverbally, as demonstrated in example (17).

(17)a. Ne cai aba pipis-e!
      here you (male) bring money-DEF

b. Ne aba pipis-e!
   here bring money-DEF
   Here (you) bring the money!

*c. Ne aba cai pipis-e!
   here bring you (male) money-DEF

d. Ne aba pipis-e cai!
   here bring money-DEF you (male)

e. Ne pipis-e aba cai!
   here money-DEF bring you (male)
The O argument can also be placed preverbally as long as the A argument remains in the preverbal position or is unexpressed (see example 18 below). Which argument precedes the other is a matter of ‘focus of contrast’ (see the discussion of ‘focus of contrast’ under the Section 6.2.2).

(18)a. Ne cai pipis-e aba!
    here you (male) money-DEF bring

b. Ne pipis-e cai aba!
    here money-DEF you (male) bring

(19)a. Ne pipis aba!
    here money bring
    Here, bring (some) money! (BLG 17)

*b. Ne aba pipis!
    here bring money

The transitive positive imperative can occur with NT, but not with ZT. The NT imperative must have indefinite O NP. Unlike the positive imperative with the bare verb stem, a definite O NP is unacceptable, as shown in example (20c).

(20)a. ... Ø kema ja ka peken!
    go there EMPH to market

Ø meli bebek dadua!
    NT-buy duck two
(You, Pan Belog) go to the market (and you) buy two ducks! (BLG 12-13)
b. Ø kema ja ka peken!
go there EMPH to market

Ø meli bebek!
NT-buy duck
(You, Pan Belog) go to the market (and you) buy a duck!

c. Ø kema ja ka peken!
go there EMPH to market

*Ø meli bebek-e!
NT-buy duck-DEF
(You, Pan Belog) go to the market (and you) buy the duck!

No positive imperative can occur in ZT clauses. The imperative constructions in examples (18) and (19) above, for instance, cannot be treated as ZT since the transitive positive imperative can only have a second-person pre-verbal A, while the ZT occurs only with a post-verbal A (regardless of the number of the personal pronoun). The use of post-verbal A for the transitive-positive imperative yields an unacceptable construction, as exemplified in (17d) and (17e) above.

In the next section, I will show that it is possible for either NT or ZT clauses to occur with a negative imperative.

6.3.2 Negative Imperative

Unlike the positive imperative, a negative imperative which is marked by the particle da’eda ‘don’t’ can take any voice type (i.e. NT, the -a construction (without a PP Agent), the ka-passive and any form of intransitive verbs). As with the positive imperative the agent (S/A) of the negative imperative can only be filled by a second person. The agent -a is used in ZT to refer to the actor or the addressee.
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The use of the Agent -a in a negative imperative cannot be treated the same as that of ZT in declaratives. In the negative imperative, the Agent -a must be interpreted as the addressee rather than a 3rd person, and the Agent -a in the -a construction of the negative imperative cannot be doubled by a PP agent. This shows that it is different from the declarative -a construction in which -a can be doubled by a PP agent.

(21)a. Da pesan nira⁵ kalahin-a!
don’t very I leave-3Agt
do not leave me! *(Dpw 259)*

b. Da pesan nira kalahin-a
don’t very I ZT-leave-3Agt

{baan anak-e ento, baan cai}!
by person-DEF that, by you

Don’t you leave me; May that person not leave me.

The use of an NT clause and a ka- passive in the negative imperative is illustrated in examples (22a) and (22b):

(22)a. Da pesan (cai) ngalahin nira!
don’t very (you-male) NT-leave I

b. Da pesan nira ka-kalahin
don’t very I PSV-leave

Do not (you) leave me!

Negative imperatives occurring with the three different voice types ( ZT in (21a) and (21b), NT (22a), ka- passive (22b) ) are not only different from each other morphologically and syntactically but also pragmatically. The negative ZT imperative and the negative ka- passive imperative tend to be used to express a desire or to express a less strong command and are more polite than the NT imperative because attention is focused on the Patient participant. Therefore, these constructions are usually used in

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5 The first person pronoun nira is used by a noble person to a common person. This kind of personal pronoun is only common in classical or traditional literature, not in contemporary Balinese.
horizontal personal relationships rather than vertical-personal relationships. The NT, on the other hand, tends to be used to express a strong command because the attention is focused on the Actor. Therefore, this construction is usually found in vertical personal relationships. The ZT and the *ka-*passive which are used as imperative are both examples of 'negative' politeness strategies: The Agent need not be overtly mentioned in either of them. But the *ka-*passive is more strongly marked for politeness since an Agent can never be overtly expressed in this construction. Although the Agent need not be mentioned in NT clause, it can be, so it tends to be used when the addressee is of lesser status than the speaker.

6.3.3 Hortative

As with imperatives, the hortative can be divided into positive and negative. The term hortative is used to refer to a directive which expresses a desire, and the crucial distinction between this and an imperative is the difference in person of the addressee or the Agent. The hortative in Balinese must have Agent or addressee which is always a first person plural. In English the form *let's* in *let us pray* is the hortative form (Sadock and Zwicky 1985:177). The form *lan* 'let' is the mark of the hortative in Balinese. This form is probably derived from a complete verb form *jalan* 'go, walk' which is also used with the hortative.

6.3.3.1 Positive Hortative

As with the positive imperative, the transitive type of the positive-prefixless hortative can have an indefinite or a definite O. An indefinite O cannot be placed
postverbally. It is only possible preverbally, as with ZT in general. This occurs when the indefinite O is newly introduced and needs to be given the focus of attention.

(23)a. Lan ja sampi ubuh.
   let EMPH cow raise
   *Let us raise a cow.

(24)a. Lan ja ubuh jelma-n-e nenenan!
   let EMPH raise person-LIG-DEF this
   Let us raise this person.

b. Lan ja (iraga) ubuh jelma-n-e
   let EMPH 1st-PL raise person-LIG-DEF nenenan
   this

(25)a. Lan ja iraga ngubuh sampi-n-e nenenan
   let EMPH 1st PL NT-raise cow-LIG-DEF this
   Let us raise a person!
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(?)b. Lan ja ngubuh sampi-n-e nenenan
let EMPH NT-raise cow-LIG-DEF this

Let us raise this cow!

c. Lan ja (iraga) ngubuh sampi
let EMPH (1st PL) NT-raise cow

Let us raise a cow!

Like the positive imperative, the positive hortative cannot occur with ZT, the -a construction, or with the ka- passive, as shown by examples (26) and (27) respectively.

(26)*a. Lan ja i iraga sampi-n-e nenenan
let EMPH ART. 1st cow-LIG-DEF this

ubuh-a
raise-3Agt

Let this cow be raised by us.

*b. Lan ja sampi-n-e nenenan ubuh
let EMPH cow-LIG-DEF this raise

i raga
ART. 1st

(27)*a. lan ja sampi-n-e nenenan ka-ubuh
let EMPH cow-LIG-DEF this PSV-raise

*b. lan ja sampi-n-e nenenan
let EMPH cow-LIG-DEF this

ka-ubuh baan i raga
PSV-raise by ART. 1st

6.3.3.2 Negative Hortative

As with the negative imperative, the negative hortative can occur with two voice types: NT, as in examples (28), and the -a construction (where the Agent -a is interpreted as the Agent/addresssee, as in (29). The ka- seems to be unacceptable, as in example (30).
(i) NT negative hortative:

(28) b. Lan ja da ngubuh sampi let EMPH don’t NT-raise cow

b. Lan ja da ngubuh sampi-n-e nenenan let EMPH don’t NT-raise cow-LIG-DEF this

Let us not raise a cow (this cow).

(ii) the -a construction of negative hortative:

(29)a. Lan ja da sampi ubuh-a let EMPH don’t cow raise-3Agt

Let us not raise a cow!

*b. Lan ja da sampi ubuh i raga let EMPH don’t cow raise ART. 1st

Let us not raise this cow!

(iii) the ka- passive

(30)*a. Lan ja da sampi ka-ubuh let EMPH don’t cow PSV-raise

*b. Lan ja da sampi ka-ubuh baan i raga let EMPH don’t cow PSV-raise by ART. 1st

Let us not raise a cow!

Some conclusions can be drawn with regard to the imperative and the hortative.

Neither the positive imperative nor the positive hortative can have O as pivot; the pivot must be Agent. Therefore, only NT or verb stems are acceptable in the positive imperative or hortative since these two clauses have A pivot rather than O pivot. Both the negative imperative and the negative hortative, on the other hand, can have either O or A pivots, and therefore, both the NT and the -a construction can be used. However, the a- construction has restrictions on it which are not found with an ordinary ZT. The ka- passive and stem verbs are unacceptable for negative hortatives. Thus, all of these
clause types have quite strong syntactic restrictions on their occurrences, so they will not be included in any of my counts for word order or for clause selection associated with grounding.

6.4 Overt versus Non-overt Arguments

In this section, the encoding of arguments is divided into lexical expressions, non-lexical expressions, and non-overt expressions. These three expression types will be measured statistically and I will seek to explain the different encoding with respect to: (i) the kinds of discourse patterns which emerge from expressed A and O and unexpressed A and O (e.g. ‘focus of contrast,’ emphasis by repetition, etc.); and (ii) the status of information as ‘new’ or ‘given’ in terms of Chafe’s (1976) notions.

In texts, participants expressed by zero anaphora, pronouns and definite NPs generally represent given information because of their anaphoric function. The lexical expression of indefinite NPs, on the other hand, generally represents new information. A proper name (i.e. an instance of lexical argument) can be new information or given information. It depends on whether it is newly mentioned or has been previously introduced. The term ‘new information’ and ‘given information’ are adopted from Chafe (1976).

Given (or old) information is that knowledge which the speaker assumes to be in the consciousness of the addressee at the time of the utterance. So-called new information is what the speaker assumes he is introducing into addressee’s consciousness by what he says. (p. 30)

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6 The data for the spoken and written texts have been combined in sections 6.4.1 - 6.4.5 because I have found no significant difference in the two types with respect to the frequency of overt and covert arguments. See section 6.4.6 for discussion of the spoken versus texts with respect to lexical arguments. A non-overt argument of a controlled clause is not counted here, in which no overt argument would be possible. A non-overt argument of a full subordinate clause, on the other hand, is counted because the non-overt argument is not controlled.
Overt arguments can be divided into lexical expressions and non-lexical expressions.\textsuperscript{7} \textit{Lexical expressions} involve full NPs (such as indefinite NPs, definite NPs, and proper nouns), possessive constructions, relative clauses, dislocated constructions (left/right dislocation), question words, quantifiers,\textsuperscript{8} and PP agents. \textit{Non lexical expressions} include free pronouns, the bound pronominal -\textit{a} (which is not doubled by an oblique agent), reflexive pronouns, and demonstrative pronouns. The non-overt arguments here involve zero anaphora and unspecified zero (i.e. a null argument which has no antecedent in the text).

The occurrence of overt and non-overt arguments in transitive clauses is differentiated into three types: (i) transitive clauses with unexpressed A and O; (ii) transitive clauses with one expressed A/O participant and one unexpressed A/O participant; and (iii) transitive clauses with expressed A and O. Intransitive clauses, on the other hand, are clauses which have only one core argument. Intransitive clauses are of only two types, those with the expressed S participants and those with unexpressed S participants. The position of the unexpressed participant cannot be identified, but that of the expressed participant will be noted.

\textbf{6.4.1 Overt and Covert Arguments in Transitive Clauses}

In my corpus, the two core arguments of transitive clauses can be either (i) both unexpressed, (ii) one overtly expressed and the other unexpressed, or (iii) both overtly expressed. Among these three types of argument realisation, transitive clauses which

\footnote{The terms 'lexical' expression/mention and 'non-lexical' expression/mention are adapted from Du Bois (1987:814, 819). In his discussion of Sacapultec he defines a 'lexical mention' as an overt full NP which has a cross-referencing affix. A 'non-lexical mention' includes: (i) a free pronoun which involves its cross-referencing affix, and (ii) an affixal mention which consists of a cross-referencing affix alone without an overt free form.}

\footnote{Unlike quantifiers, question words have no antecedents. In the texts, question words are coded as participants without tracking.}
have unexpressed A and O are the least frequent (7.52%). Transitive clauses which have both A and O expressed, on the other hand, are slightly less common (43.96%) than transitive clauses which have only one expressed NP (48.51%).

However, if we compare the frequency of NT clauses and ZT clauses, it appears that NT clauses which have one expressed argument are considerably more common (54.84%) than NT clauses which have two expressed arguments (38.74%). The ZT clauses, on the other hand, show the opposite tendency: two expressed arguments are more common (51.20%) than one expressed argument (39.75%). One reason for this is that non-expression of A in ZT is not possible if A is a third person.

Table 6. Frequency of overt and covert core arguments in transitive clause types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overt and Covert Arguments</th>
<th>Transitive Clause Types</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A and O</td>
<td>NT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>both Øs</td>
<td>63 (6.42%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Ø, 1 overt NP9</td>
<td>538 (54.84%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>both overt NPs</td>
<td>380 (38.74%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>981 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ZT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>64 (9.05%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>281 (39.75%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>362 (51.20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>707 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total NT &amp; ZT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>127 (7.52%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>819 (48.51%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>742 (43.96%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1688 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.4.2 Transitive Verbs with Two Covert Arguments

As mentioned above, NT clauses and ZT clauses can both have A and O participants which are not overtly expressed. However, two covert arguments will be impossible for ZT if A is a third person. Non-overt participants (or zero anaphora) are from non-overt participants which are not overtly expressed. However, two covert arguments will be impossible for ZT if A is a third person. Non-overt participants (or zero anaphora) are non-overt participants which are not overtly expressed. However, two covert arguments will be impossible for ZT if A is a third person. Non-overt participants (or zero anaphora) are

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9 Split frequency of expressed A/O and unexpressed A/O is given in Table 7 below.
occur in a clause which is used as a repetition (see discussions on ‘topicality’ in Chapter Eight).

First, let us look at how zero anaphora is used in the texts. In example (31b) below, the referent for the non-overt A beli ‘elder brother’ and the non-overt O which refers to asil beli-ne ‘elder brother’s income’ of the ZT verb anggon ‘use’ can be easily traced in the text since there is interdependency between clauses.

(31)a. ... dadi [asil beli-n-e]\_j
time-def

thus

ent\_o

sing cukup

ka-rasa-ang

beli\_i

that not enough PSV-feel-APPL elder brother

duges-e
time-def

b. lakar Ø\_j anggon Ø\_j

will ZT-use

c. [Ø\_j nyamin pianak-pianak\_k beli-n-e

NT-finance child-child elder brother-LIG-DEF

makejang]

all

d. apabuin Ø\_j miayain Ø\_k [Ø\_k ma-sekolah]

let alone NT-finance MAI-to school

... thus at that time I (= elder brother) felt my income was not enough to raise all my children, let alone to finance my children going to school. (CD 26-30)

The antecedent of the unexpressed O of the ZT anggon ‘use’ in example (31b) must be the NP asil beli-ne ‘my (elder brother’s) income’, while the antecedent of the unexpressed A must be beli ‘I, elder brother’, both of which are mentioned overtly in the preceding clause. The NT verb miayain ‘to finance’ in example (31d) also has a non-overt A and a non-overt O which both have antecedents in the immediately preceding clauses. Here the unexpressed A refers to the NP beli ‘I, elder brother’ while the unexpressed O
refers to the NP *pianak-pianak beline* 'my children, elder brother's children' which are mentioned in the immediately preceding clauses.

Example (32) illustrates a non-overt A and a non overt O which occur with clauses where the verb is repeated. In example (32b), the repeating clause has unexpressed A and O which are coreferential with the overt arguments of the same verb *ngaba* 'bring' in the preceding clause.

(32)a. ... apang nyak ia\(j\) ngaba [padi\(-\)n\(-\)e
COMP agree s/he NTbring rice (in its husk)-LIG-DEF
\(\text{ane suba dadi baas ento}\))

b. \(\emptyset \text{ ngaba kone } \emptyset \text{ [}\emptyset \text{ mulihan...}
\text{NTbring apparently ZI go home}
...in order that she should bring the unhusked rice which has been already processed into rice, apparently to bring it home ... (CK 127-130)

The overt A *ia* 's/he' and the overt O *padi-ne ane suba dadi baas ento* 'the rice (in its husk) which has been processed into unhusked rice' in clause (32a) re-occur as zero arguments of the repetitive verb *ngaba* 'to bring' in (32b). This repeating clause with the non-overt arguments is used to emphasise event and to provide further information about it, i.e. the place to which she brought the rice home. The two clauses in example (32) show that the repeating clause has unexpressed participants, while the preceding clause occurs with expressed participants.
6.4.3 Transitive Verbs with One Overt Argument and One Covert Argument

Pivots\textsuperscript{10}, whether A or O, strongly tend to be non-overtly rather than overtly expressed. Non-pivotal arguments, on the other hand, strongly tend to be overtly expressed. This kind of preferred argument pattern is illustrated in Table 7 below. This table shows that the frequency of NT clauses which have a non-overt A participant (the pivotal argument) and an overt O participant (the non-pivotal argument) is much higher (83.83\%) than that of NT clauses which have an overt A participant and a non-overt O participant (16.17\%). ZT clauses, on the other hand, show the opposite pattern. ZT clauses which occur with a non-overt A participant (the non-pivotal argument) and an overt O participant (the pivotal argument) are much less common (22.06\%) than ZT clauses which occur with an overt A participant and a non-overt O participant (77.94\%). These figures show that non-pivot arguments (i.e. the O of NT and the A of ZT) are strongly associated with overt arguments, while pivot arguments (i.e. the A of NT and the O of ZT) are strongly associated non-overt arguments.

Table 7. Frequency of one overt core argument in transitive clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overt and Optional Zero</th>
<th>Transitive Clause Types</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NT</td>
<td>ZT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. A=0 O=NP</td>
<td>451 (83.83%)</td>
<td>62 (22.06%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. A=NP O=0</td>
<td>87 (16.17%)</td>
<td>219 (77.94%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>538 (100%)</td>
<td>281 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{10} The ability of pivot to be a controller or controlee does not change even if the word order is marked as VAO for an NT verb or a ZT verb where both arguments occur postverbally.
6.4.3.1 NT Clauses with Non-overt A and Overt O (non-overt pivot, overt non-pivot)

Let me start with the NT verbs which have a non-overt A and an overt O. This pattern is found in several different contexts.

First, if the A participant is identifiable from the immediately preceding clause and the O participant is newly introduced or has not been mentioned recently in a previous clause, then A is usually unexpressed but the O is an overt argument. This pattern can be seen in example (33):

(33) I dagang bebek ngon ia teken tingkah
    ART. seller duck amused s/he by behaviour
    [anak-ei ma-blanja] buka keto,
    person-DEF MAI-to shop like that
    tuara ja Øi nakonang aji malu,
    not EMPH NT-ask price first
    jag suba Øi maang pipis
    suddenly already NT-give money

The duck seller, he is amused by the behaviour of the person who is shopping like that, he (the person) does not ask the price first, and suddenly he has already given some money (to the duck seller) (BLG 45-47)

The NT verb nakonang 'ask' of the second clause of sentence (33) occurs with a non-overt A and the overt O aji 'price'. The same pattern also occurs with the verb maang 'give' of the next clause: the A is unexpressed overtly and the single O is expressed by the overt NP pipis 'money'. Both of these non-overt arguments are identifiable from the immediately preceding clause. The expressed O participants, on the other hand, are newly introduced.
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The second context for this construction is in instances of repetition, as exemplified in (34) below.

(34) Tentaraŋ ngelawan kelaskaranj...
soldier NT-fight guerilla
_Soldiers fought guerillas... (BDW 396)_

Øį ngelawan kelaskaran-ej...
NT-fight guerilla-DEF
_(The soldiers) fought the guerillas... (BDW 401)_

Example (34) above has two nearly identical clauses. Their difference is that the first transitive clause has an expressed argument for both A and O while the repetitive clause only has an expressed argument for O. The differing definiteness of the expressed O indicates a different status of information in the two clauses. The indefinite O _kelaskaran_ 'guerillas' in the first clause is 'new' information while the definite O _kelaskaranne_ 'the guerrilla' in the repetitive clause is 'old' information (having just been introduced in the previous clause) and is overtly expressed because the action is being emphasised.

Third, if the A participant is identifiable and the O participant is reintroduced, then one finds examples where the A is not overtly expressed and O is overtly expressed, as in (35) and (36) below.

In example (35), the NP _arah-arah-e ane teka teken tiang_ 'the announcement which comes to me' (PBT 74) appears for the first time as S of the stative verb _kenton_ 'like that'. This full NP is referred to again, using the same NP, 8 clauses later. It is now used as O of the NT verb _mutang_ 'to follow' (PBT 82).
Chapter 6: Preferred Argument Expression

(35) Dening kenten [arah-arah-e because like that announcement-announcement-DEF ane teka teken titiang]i...

Because that is the announcement coming to me... (PBT 74)

Irika raris tiyangi ma-margi, (PBT 81)
there then I MAI-walk
Øj nuutang sakadi
NT-follow precisely

[arah-arah-e announcement-announcement-DEF ane teka to me](PBT 82)
teken tiang]i.
There then I walk to follow precisely the announcement which comes to me.
(PBT 74, 81-82)

Fourth, if the A participant is continuous and the O participant is emphasised,
then the A is not expressed overtly while the O is overtly expressed, as shown by
example (36) below.

The NT verb ngelah 'to own' in the last clause of example (36) has a non-overt A
and an overt O, while the same verb in the first clause has an overt A and an overt O.
The NP keneh 'mind (the process)' in the first clause contrasts with the different form
pakenehan 'mind (the result)' in the next clause as O.

(36) Tulen kone ia ngelah keneh
pure apparently s/he NT-own thought
cara beburon, tusing Ø ngelah pakenehan
like animal not NT-own thought
cara jelma.
like human being
She purely has an attitude like animal, she does not have a thought like a
human being. (CK 196-197)
6.4.3.2 NT Clause with Overt A and Nonovert O (overt pivot; non-overt non-pivot)

Now we move to the NT clauses which have an overt A participant and a non-overt O participant. There are three possible situations for which this pattern is found in an NT clause.

The first situation arises when the clause is a repetition of an immediately previous clause. It repeats the A participant and the verb. The O participant, on the other hand, is not expressed overtly, as shown by example (37b):

(37)a. ... krana iaŋ ngantiang [tuun] siap-e
because s/he NT-wait go down chicken-DEF

uli bengbeng-ne]j.
from nest-3POSS’R

b. Makelo iaŋ nganti-ang Øj.
long time s/he NT-wait-APPL
... because he waits for the chickens to get down from their nest. He waits for it for a long time. (PBT 40-41)

In example (37a), the verb ngantiang 'to wait' of the first clause has both A and O overtly expressed. This verb is used again in clause (37b), but it has only the A participant overtly expressed. This kind of repetition is different from the one in example (34). The difference seems to be that a piece of new information (i.e. the adverb makelo ‘long time’) is introduced. Also, as noted above, the emphasis is on A rather than O.

The second situation when A of an NT clause can be overtly expressed while O is not, arises when the participant A is a prominent protagonist which can be identifiable or unidentifiable from the immediately preceding clause. The unexpressed O, on the other hand, is non-specific.
Both of her wrists have been pecked. They certainly get gold. Wow, unexpectedly they get a scorpion on each of them. The scorpion is not noticed by Kesuna. Well, again Kesuna asks for golden accessories from Cerucuk Kuning. She begs Cerucuk Kuning to peck her fingers in order to give her fingers golden rings. (CK 564-571)

In the underlined part of example (38) above, the NT verb ngidih ‘ask for’ has the overt A ia ‘she (Kesuna)’, and non-specific-zero of O participant. The participant Kesuna is the main protagonist and is highly topical. The unspecific-zero of the O participant can refer to any gold accessories (such as a gold necklace, a gold earring, or a gold ring) because Kesuna asks for them from Cerucuk Kuning.\(^\text{11}\) The clauses which precede the verb ngidih ‘ask for’ tell us a story about Kesuna who has been given a gold bracelet by Cerucuk Kuning. In fact, Kesuna does not only ask for the golden bracelet but also needs a gold necklace, gold ring and gold earring. Later, in the final clause of

---

\(^{11}\) Kesuna thinks that she will gets the same things as Bawang gets from the bird Cerucuk Kuning.
example (38), we see that the non-specific-zero of O participant of ngidih 'ask for' actually refers to the NP bungkung emas 'gold rings.'

The third situation can arise where two coordinate clauses have the same A participant and the O participant. In such cases, the first conjunct often occurs with an overt A and a non-overt O while the second occurs the other way around: the A participant is not overtly expressed but the O participant is. In example (39) below, the verb nitig 'to slap (on legs)' of the first underlined clause has an overt A ia '3rd (the father)' and a non-overt O participant which refers to the proper name Pucung. The second underlined clause, which is a coordinate clause, occurs with the same participant, but only the O participant is expressed overtly. In this situation the A and O participants are usually both highly topical, as demonstrated by the referent 'father' (which is indexed with [j] and the referent 'Pucung' (which is indexed with [j]) in example (39).

(39) Ping kuda-kuda kaden suba bapa-n-ne
time how many guess already father-LIG-3POSS’R
nglemek-in Øj apanga ia nyak nulung-in Øj
NT-advice-APPL COMP 3 agree NT-help-APPL
ka carik, nanging masih ia tusing nyak.
to rice field but still 3 not ZI intend

Dening keto gedeg kone bapa-n-ne,
because of like that cranky apparently father-LIG-3POSS’R

nanging ia tusing bani niqtig Øj
but 3 not brave NT-slap (on the legs)

wiadin ngwelin I Pucung,
and NT-scold ART. Pucung
His father has advised him many times that he should agree to help his father to work in a rice field. However, Pucung still does not intend to. Because of that, his father is cranky but his father does not dare to slap him (on the legs) and (he does not dare) to scold Pucung because Pucung has already grown up. His father then leaves him alone and just watches Pucung. Later on Pucung apparently is interested in a girl. (SIP 23-33)

6.4.3.3 ZT Clause with Nonovert A and Overt O (non-overt non-pivot; overt pivot)

Now I will turn to ZT clauses which have only one overt argument expressed, first considering those which have a non-overt A participant and an overt O participant. Non overt A is only possible in ZT clauses when A is not a third person. Since non-overt A’s must be either 1st or 2nd person, they are always ‘given.’

There are three different factors which favour ZT clause of this type. First, the O participant may be expressed overtly because it needs to be reactivated or expanded, while the use of a nonovert A participant has to do with ‘given’ information and degree of topicality.

(40)a. ditu beli, ngoyong ketelun
   there elder brother NI-stay three days

b. diba Ø teked ditu
   after ZI arrive there

c. tepuk beli, timpal-timpal Bali uli Bali
   ZT meet elder brother friend-friend Bali from Bali
Chapter 6: Preferred Argument Expression

uli di daerah-daerah dija ya
from at location-location everywhere EMPH

d. nah beli, me-rasa demen
so elder brother MAI-feel happy

e. Ø₁ ma-rasa bangga di keneh-e
MAI-feel proud in mind-DEF

f. tepuk Ø₁ timpal-timpal-e₁ liu ditu
ZT meet friend-friend-DEF many there
I (= elder brother) stayed there for three days. After I (= elder brother) arrived there, I met Balinese friends from many locations in Bali. So, I felt happy. I felt proud (of my fellow Balinese). I met many friends there. (CD 102-107)

In clause (40f) above, the ZT verb tepuk 'meet, find' has a non-overt A participant (which refers to the kinship term beli 'elder brother') and an overt O timpal-timpal-e liu 'many friends'. The clause tepuk Ø₁ timpal-timpal₁ -e liu ditu 'I meet many friends there' (40f) is reactivated and expanded from the clause in (40c) tepuk beli₁ timpal-timpal Bali uli Bali. The A participant in the repeating clause (40f) is unexpressed because it is highly topical. The overt O participant, on the other hand, is used because it contains new information i.e. timpal-timpal-e liu 'many friends.'

The second situation can happen when an overt O participant is used as a focus of contrast where the A participant is unexpressed. Here there is a real difference between the overt and non-overt argument. In example (41) below the NT clause (the first sentence) has an overt A (i.e. raga '1st person') and an overt O (i.e. padi 'rice (in its husk)'). These two participants are coreferential with A and O participants respectively of the following ZT clause (the underlined clause). However, only the O participant (padi 'rice (in its husk)') is expressed overtly because it is used to contrast with other things which we might expect (to cultivate). The participant A, on the other hand, is non-
expressed because it is non-specific. The non-specific information is about a first person which can refer to the speaker, the listener and people in general.

(41) Yening raga₁ mula padi₂

sinah suba padi₂ bakal alap Ø₁.

If we plant rice (in its husk), we will certainly cultivate the rice (in its husk) (This, philosophically means that if we do the right thing, we will cultivate the right thing, too). (CK 712-713)

The third situation occurs when the O participant is reintroduced after a gap of one clause or more, while the A participant is unexpressed because it is unspecific. In example (42d) the overt O participant carik ne ‘this rice field’ is reintroduced, while the non-overt A participant cannot be identified specifically because it can refer to the narrator as an individual (i.e. the NP beli ‘elder brother’) or it can refer to the group of people the narrator was a part of (i.e. the NP kelompok gotong royong ‘team group.’) Both of these referents which might in an idiomatic English translation be rendered as ‘I’ and ‘we’ respectively, are mentioned overtly in a preceding clause (42a).

(42)a. Ngae beli₂ kelompok gotong-royong

b. Ø₁ mersihang lahan sawah-e to carik-ej to

c. selegenti megilir in shifts MAI-turn

d. jani nah carikj ne jemak Ø

I (= elder brother) made a group of team work. I (=Elder brother/the team group) (usually) cleaned up the rice fields. Elder brother/the team group worked in shifts. Once I (=elder brother/the team took someone’s rice field (to work on). (CD 435-438)
6.4.3.4 ZT Clauses with Overt A and Nonovert O (overt non-pivot, non-overt pivot)

The overt A participant of these clauses are distinguished into four types:

(i) the -α clitic without a PP agent,
(ii) the -α clitic with a PP agent,
(iii) free pronouns,
and (iv) full NPs (non-pronouns).

Overall, -α Agents (i.e. -α clitic with or without a PP Agent) make up 90.155 % of expressed A participants for ZT clauses which have only an expressed A. Overall figures for how A is expressed in these clauses are presented in Table 8.

Table 8. Types of expressed A in ZT clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-α with no PP agent</th>
<th>-α with PP agent</th>
<th>Pron (1st/2nd)</th>
<th>Full NP</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>204 (71.84%)</td>
<td>52 (18.31%)</td>
<td>25 (8.80%)</td>
<td>3 (1.05%)</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The -α agent which is not doubled by a prepositional phrase is the most common overtly expressed A participant in ZT clauses. The -α (without a PP agent) can be used to refer to either a specific referent (43) or a non-specific referent (44), but my corpus contains only a few examples of the latter type.

(43) Nah gotol-α kone masih [baong-ne]j
so ZT peck-3Agt apparently also neck-3POSS‘R

(44) teken i [Cerucuk Kuning]j
by ART C. K.
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Disubane $Øj$ gotol-aj ...
after ZT peck-3Agt

So, apparently her neck is also pecked by Cerucuk Kuning. After her neck was pecked (by Cerucuk Kuning)... (CK 532-533)

(44) Yen $Ø$ terima-n-a di SGB ...
if ZT accept-LIG-3Agt at school of teaching
If (they) accept me at the teaching school ... (TLASK)

The -a in the last clause of example (43) is coreferential with the NP Cerucuk Kuning in the immediately preceding clause. The referent of the -a in (44), on the hand, cannot be determined specifically since the specific referent has never been mentioned in the text. It is not clear whether the acceptance of Nyoman Santosa in the School of Teaching is decided by the School of Teaching itself or by a superior institution.

The -a with a PP Agent is less common than without a PP Agent, but it is still more common than ZT clauses with full NPs and pronouns. The -a with a PP agent is usually involved in one of two different contexts: (i) the Agent is just being introduced, and (ii) the Agent needs to be re-mentioned in order to re-activate something already mentioned, usually quite a while before.

(45) Sedek dina anu Pan Belog
when day something P. B

tunden-a ka peken teken kurenan-ne
ZT order-3Agt to market by spouse-3POSS’R
One day his wife orders Pan Belog (to go) to a market. (BLG 1)

(46) Beh ni Kesuna mula sayang-ang-a
well ART K always ZT favour-APPL-3Agt

pesan teken meme bapa-n-ne...
very much by mother father-LIG-3POSS’R

Meme-ratu $Ø$ jeg gugun-a
mother-Lord just ZT believe-3Agt

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In example (45), the -a occurs with the PP agent teken kurenanne 'by his wife'. This participant is newly mentioned, appearing here in the first clause of the Belog text. In example (46), on the other hand, the PP agent teken meme bapanne 'by her parents' is re-mentioned after 3 clauses. It is used to re-emphasise or to activate the referent which was mentioned previously.

While around 90% of ZT clauses with overt A and non-overt O occur with -a clitic, there is a small residue of these clause types which do not involve -a clitization. In example (47), the A of a ZT clause occurs as a first person beli 'elder brother, I' which refers to the narrator.12 This example comes from a text which tells a personal narrative. This text often uses a first person to refer to the narrator, and this is usually a first person overtly expressed.

(47) ... beli nu ngelah [pipis limang tali]j
elder brother still NT-owned money five thousand
ges totoa
time that

Limang tali rupiah ked di lokasi
five thousand Rupiah arrive at location
to puter beli.
that ZT-turn elder brother

Øj anqqon beli modal keto
ZT use elder brother capital like that

12 In Balinese, a kinship term is usually used by an older speaker as a first person pronoun for politeness and familiarity.
... I (= elder brother) still had five thousand Rupiahs (money) at that time. With that five thousand Rupiahs I arrived in the location. I invested that money. I used it as capital. That's it. (CD 200-203)

6.4.4 Transitive Clauses with Two Overt Arguments

As mentioned above, transitive clauses which have two overt arguments are much more frequent than transitive clauses with two covert arguments, although they are lower in frequency than transitive clauses which have only one overt argument (see Table 6). With two overt arguments, NT and ZT clauses occur with fairly similar frequencies: out of 742 examples of transitive types which have two overt argument, 362 examples (or 49%) are ZT, while 380 examples (or 51%) are NT, as shown by Table 9 below.

Table 9. Frequency of Overt A and O in Transitive Clause Types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overt A and O</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>380 (51%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>362 (49%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>742</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the overall frequency of ZT and NT clauses with two overt arguments are roughly similar, the reasons for using each type appear to differ. Transitive clauses with two overt arguments are of two types. The first occurs to introduce or conclude a paragraph topic as in (48a). ZT clauses are preferred for concluding a paragraph and NT for introducing topics. The topic of the episode reported in clauses (48a-48i) is a family which has two daughters. However, one child is favoured more than the other, as is concluded by using the ZT clause in (48i). The clause in (48j), on the other hand, is the beginning of a new paragraph topic.
There is a story called Cerucuk Kuning. This story is about a family. The family has two daughters. The elder is named Bawang and the younger is named Kesuna. However, Kesuna, she likes to be jealous and is annoying. Wow, her bad behaviour is unbelievable. Her parents always take Kesuna's side. One day, her mother, she is about to go to a market. (CK 3-6, CK 29-33)
The NT clause in example (48c) has the expressed A *ia* '3rd person' (which refers to 'their parents') and the expressed O *pianak luh-luh duang diri* 'two daughters' which is used to introduce a topic. This O participant has not been mentioned in the preceding clauses. The ZT clause in example (48i) also has two overt NPs, the O participant *ia* '3rd person' (which refers the preferred daughter), and the A participant -*a* which is doubled by the PP agent *tekenin meme bapa-n-ne* 'by their parents'. This ZT clause is used to conclude the paragraph topic.

A second type of transitive clause with two overt arguments can be used in repetition. Such repetition gives emphasis to an event which has been mentioned a short time before. Sometimes the adverbial *buin* 'again' or new information is added to a repeating clause. This type of repetition can be found in both NT and ZT clauses, as exemplified in (49) and (50), respectively.

In example (49), there are three NT clauses which are very similar. These clauses are taken from one episode, and all of them have the same verb and same overt participants. The first one (49a) is used to introduce a new episode involving *Bawang*, in a new activity. The second one (49b) and the third one (49c) are repetitive clauses, both of which are used to emphasise the activity mentioned previously. The use of the adverbial *buin* 'again' in the repetitive clauses marks that the action needs to be done again. The second repetitive clause (which occurs after six clauses) is added with the amplification *ni Kesuna* (49c) as an appositive to the NP *adi-n-ne* 'her younger sister.'

(49)a. *Nah, ne jani ni Bawang ngaukin lantas*

well, this now ART Bawang NT-call then

*adi-n-ne* ni Kesuna bakal...

yngr. sibling-LIG-3POSS'R ART. Kesuna will
nyemak padi,
NT-take rice (in its husk)

b. laut ni Bawang buin kone
then ART B. again apparently
ngaukin adi-n-ne ...
NT-call younger sibling-LIG-3POSS’R

c. buin kone ni Bawang ngaukin
again apparently ART B. NT-call
adi-n-ne ni Kesuna.
younger sibling-LIG-3POSS’R ART Kesuna
So, now Bawang then calls for her younger sister, Kesuna to pick up rice paddy... Then again apparently Bawang calls her younger sister... Again apparently Bawang calls her younger sister, Kesuna. (CK 47, CK 66, CK 73)

In example in (50), there are two ZT clauses which are taken from one episode and have the same verbs and the same overt participants. The first ZT clause (50b) is used to introduce the role of the O participant, gumi-n-ne ‘the country,’ which is governed by the Dutch. The second ZT clause (50c), on the other hand, is a repetition of the immediately preceding clause. This repetitive clause is an adverbial clause which is marked by the adverbial conjunction duges ‘when,’ and is also used to emphasise the state of affairs reported in the immediately preceding clause.

(50)a. Alit-alit-e ajak makejang,
child-child-DEF with all
dane malu satoden gumi-n-e merdeka,
which first before country-LIG-DEF independent

b. sainget tiang gumi-n-e gelang Belanda,
remembrance my country-LIG-DEF ZT own Dutch
c. Duges gumi-n-e gelang Belanda,
when country-LIG-DEF ZT own Dutch
d. gumi-n-e kerah,
country-LIG-DEF economically suffering
e. sayah pesan.
   economically difficult very
All children (=you all), in the past when the country was not independent, in my remembrance, the country was governed by the Dutch. When the country was owned by the Dutch, the country was economically suffering. It was very difficult economically. (BDW 1-5)

6.4.5 Overt and Covert Arguments in Intransitive Clauses

Intransitive clauses have only one core argument, either overt or non-overt. In my Balinese data, intransitive clauses seem to occur more commonly with an overt S participant than a non-overt S participant, as shown in Table 10 below.

Table 10. Overt and covert arguments in intransitive clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Overt S argument</th>
<th>2078 (68.33%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nonovert S argument</td>
<td>963 (31.67%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3041 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As with the overt participants of transitive clauses, overt S participants of intransitive clauses are usually involved in three situations: (i) the overt S participant is newly introduced (51); (ii) the overt S participant needs to be reactivated (52), and (iii) an overt participant is used to avoid ambiguity (53).

The underlined intransitive clauses in example (51) occur with overt S participants. These intransitive clauses must have overt S participants because the participants are newly introduced. Each underlined clause is followed by another clause which has a coreferential S participant. However, only the clause which follows an underlined clause can have a zero anaphora. All clauses in example (51) here are taken from the first paragraph of the TLASK text.
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(51) **Nyoman** Santosa negak di abing-e
Nyoman Santosa NI-sit on cliff-DEF

sambilang-a, ng-etis.
while-3Agt NI-have a shade

Surya-n-e suba lingsir,
sun-LIG-DEF already old

Øj suba minggek kauh,
already MAI-go down west

nanging panesk-e ngenter
but heat-DEF NI-shake

Øk ka-bebeng gulem uli kangin.
PSV-cover cloud from east

Anqin-e milu buduh.
wind-DEF come along crazy

Øi saget dedeh,
suddenly quite

Øi saget baret griang-griung.
suddenly fast noisy

* Nyoman Santosa sits down on the cliff while he is taking the shade. The Sun is already old. It already goes down to the west. The heat, however, is shimmering. It is covered by clouds from the east. The wind is also crazy. It is suddenly quiet and is suddenly fast with noise. (TLASK 1-9)

The underlined intransitive clause *padine ento magetepin* 'the rice (in its husk) has been cut off' in example (52) has the overt S participant *padine ento* 'the rice (in its husk)'. After a gap of one clause, this participant needs to be re-introduced for emphasis.

(52) **Orahin-a** apang mbok-ne malu ngetep.
ZT tell-3Agt COMP elder sister-3POSS'R first NI-cut off

Nyak kone masih ni Bawang ngetep-in
agree apparently also ART. Bawang NI-cut off APPL

padi-n-e ento.
rice (in its husk)-LIG-DEF that
Nah disubane ne jani
so after this now

padi-n-e ento ma-getep-in ...
rice-LIG-DEF that MAI-cut-APPL

She (Kesuna) tells her elder sister (Bawang) to cut off (the rice (in its husk)) first. Apparently Bawang agrees to do that (to cut off that rice (in its husk)). So, after that rice (in its husk) is cut off, ...(CK 70-72)

In example (53), two underlined intransitive clauses gumine gerubug ‘the country had an epidemic’ and liu anak-e mati ‘there were many people dead’ occur with overt participants. The overt S participants gumi-n-e ‘the country’ and liu anak-e ‘many people’ are necessary to avoid ambiguity. If the S participant is nonoverly expressed, then it could just as easily refer to e.g. ‘a villager’ rather than ‘the country,’ or ‘a few people’ rather than ‘many people’, etc.

(53) Dadi liu anak-e seger
thus many person-DEF recovered

ulian naar yeh ane ka-siram-ang teken
from NT-drink water which PSV-pour-APPL to

taulan-e derika
statue-DEF there

Buina yen sampun gumi-n-e gerubug
also if already country-LIG-DEF epidemic

liu anak-e mati.
many person-DEF dead

Thus there were many people who got cured because of water which is poured onto the statue there. If the country had an epidemic, then there would be many people dead. (PS 43-46)

6.4.6 Lexical Arguments

The definition of lexical argument used in this study is repeated here for convenience. Lexical arguments consist of full NPs, possessive constructions, relative clauses, and the bound pronoun -a which is doubled by an oblique agent. Non-lexical
arguments, on the other hand, consist of free pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, question words, quantifiers, and the clitic Agent -a.

Du Bois (1987) first discussed the frequency of lexical versus non-lexical NPs. In his investigation of what he calls 'Preferred Arguments Structure' (PAS) in Sacapultec (a language of the Mayan family spoken in highland Guatemala), he found that clauses (transitive clauses and intransitive clauses) with one lexical argument are the most common; clauses which have only zero arguments are common; and clauses with two lexical arguments are rare (see Chart 1 and Table 11 below). In Balinese texts transitive and intransitive clauses work in the same way as Sacapultec up to a point (see Chart 2 and Chart 4 below). For transitive clauses, Balinese narrative texts produce a slightly different result. The frequency of clauses with one lexical argument in Balinese is also highest, but the frequency of clauses with zero arguments is slightly less common than the frequency of clauses with two lexical arguments (see Chart 3 below).

For Sacapultec narrative discourse, Du Bois produced two hypotheses about so-called PAS: (i) 'avoid more than one lexical argument per clause' (p 819), and (ii) 'avoid lexical A's (p 820). Lexical arguments in Sacapultec tend very strongly to occur as S or O. Non-lexical arguments are preferred for A. So, the unity of 'discourse preference' for \{S, O\} which is distinct from A leads him to categorise this discourse distribution as an 'ergative-absolutive' pattern (p.823).

The charts below compare the percentages of lexical arguments in clauses by number, clause type, and syntactic category for Sacapultec and Balinese. For Balinese, a table which distinguishes spoken and written data is also added (see Table 13).
In Sacapultec, the percentage of clauses with zero or one lexical arguments for intransitive clauses and transitive clauses are almost the same as the frequency of the combination of these two clause types. Compare Chart 1 above with Table 11 below. In other words, transitive clauses and intransitive clauses have much the same tendency for using lexical arguments.

**Table 11. Frequency of clauses with zero, one, and two lexical arguments in Sacapultec (for intransitive clauses versus transitive clauses)** (Du Bois 1987:820)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Types</th>
<th>Lexical Arguments</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zero Args.</td>
<td>One Arg.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>127 (48.10%)</td>
<td>137 (51.90%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>84 (46.90%)</td>
<td>90 (50.30%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The overall frequency of lexical vs. non-lexical arguments do not appear to differ significantly in these two types of Balinese discourse.
As in Sacapultec, both A & O arguments can be filled by lexical arguments in Balinese. We have already discussed the contexts in which two lexical arguments are likely to be found. Table 12 below demonstrates that written and spoken narratives do not differ significantly in their frequency of lexical arguments used as A, S, and O.

Table 12. Frequency of clauses with zero, one, and two lexical arguments for spoken texts versus written texts in Balinese (transitive and intransitive clauses combined)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Lexical Arguments in Transitive and Intransitive Clauses</th>
<th>Spoken</th>
<th>Written</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 Lexical</td>
<td>508 (33.62%)</td>
<td>582 (33.96%)</td>
<td>1090 (33.80%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Lexical</td>
<td>920 (60.89%)</td>
<td>1031 (60.15%)</td>
<td>1951 (60.50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Lexical</td>
<td>83 (5.49%)</td>
<td>101 (5.89%)</td>
<td>184 (5.70%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1511 (100%)</td>
<td>1714 (100%)</td>
<td>3225 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart 4 excludes intransitives and shows the use of lexical argument in transitives.
Chapter 6: Preferred Argument Expression

Chart 3. Frequency of transitive clauses with zero, one, and two lexical arguments in Balinese

Chart 4, on the other hand, excludes transitives and shows the use of lexical argument in intransitives.

Chart 4. Frequency of intransitive clauses with zero, one, and two lexical arguments in Balinese

Du Bois has shown that in Sacapultec there is a pattern of preference of lexical distribution for different grammatical roles. Lexical arguments seem to be favoured more
with the category \{S, O\} than with A. With this lexical distribution, he argues that this language seems to have a discourse pattern of ergative vs. absolutive.

It will be readily observed that Preferred Argument Structure partitions the arguments along the same lines as the grammatical opposition of ergative vs. absolutive. From the perspective of the discourse distribution of grammatical types, S and O thus constitute a class which is set off as distinct from A. There is a natural unity in discourse to the absolutive syntactic category \{S, O\}: it is where full NP’s may readily appear. The surface syntactic structure which is consistently preferred in discourse is a verb accompanied by a single (or no) lexical argument in the S or O role. This (maximal) preferred surface structure for the clause core can be represented schematically:

\[ V \quad \mathcal{N}\{S, O\} \]

Thus we can say that, for Sacapultec, discourse has ergative syntax. (Du Bois 1987:823).

This is also true for Balinese if we look at the distribution of lexical arguments for S and O on the one hand, and A on the other hand. The use of lexical argument is associated with information status and topic continuity. Sacapultec and Balinese have more lexical arguments which are S or O participants than A participants, since a lexical argument contains 'new' information and has a low degree of topic continuity. A participants, on the other hand, are more commonly expressed as non-lexical arguments (such as zero anaphora, pronominal participants and proper names) and have a high degree of topic continuity. (See the discussion on the topicality in Chapter 8).
In Balinese, the frequency of lexical arguments in A/S/O in spoken texts does not show a significant difference from that in written texts (Table 13). Combined totals are presented in Chart 6. For both spoken and written texts the most common lexical argument is an intransitive S participant. It is slightly less common for a lexical argument to represent O. Lexical arguments are the least likely to be A.

---

13 It is important to ascertain here that the written and spoken texts are not significantly different, since Du Bois work is based solely on spoken texts.
Table 13. Frequency of lexical arguments according to syntactic category (in Balinese combined texts)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEXICAL ARGUMENT</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>O</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spoken</td>
<td>149 (11.26%)</td>
<td>655 (49.52%)</td>
<td>519 (39.22%)</td>
<td>1323 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Written</td>
<td>151 (10.38%)</td>
<td>718 (49.35%)</td>
<td>586 (40.27%)</td>
<td>1455 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>300 (10.79%)</td>
<td>1373 (49.42%)</td>
<td>1105 (39.78%)</td>
<td>2778 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Acehnese (Durie 1988:10), an Austronesian language which is spoken in North Sumatra, Indonesia, the distribution of lexical arguments occurs according to a ‘Split - S’ system. Most non-lexical arguments occur as ‘Actor’ (e.g. transitive A and intransitive S), while lexical arguments mostly occur as ‘Undergoer’ (e.g. transitive O and intransitive S). Acehnese has a split intransitive S in respect to discourse: S_A tends to have about the same proportion of non-lexical expression as the transitive A, while the S_O has about the same proportion of lexical expressions as the transitive O.

---

14 Durie (1988:10, 11) seems to use the terms 'full NP' and 'zero anaphora' instead of Du Bois's terms 'lexical' and 'non-lexical' respectively. Durie's NP seems to include a free pronoun, a proper name, and a noun/noun phrase. Zero anaphora here includes null argument or a clitic pronoun without a free form. Durie says 'Zero anaphora occurs when there is no non-clitic realization of the argument' (p11), as in his examples (1a) and (1b) below. In example (1a) below the S participant as an unexpressed participant, while in example (1b) the S participant occurs with the third person clitic di-. Both of these types of participant are categorised by Durie as zero anaphora.

(1a) h'an teulet
    not move
    '(It: Undergoer) wouldn't move.'

(1b) di-tamöng
    3familiar -enter
    '(He:actor) entered.'
Table 14. Acehnese: percentage of non-lexical arguments for Actors and Undergoers (Durie, 1988:11)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Text 1</th>
<th></th>
<th>Text 2</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trans. Actor</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intran. Actor</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trans. Undergoer</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intran. Undergoer</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Durie considers the frequency above to be evidence to classify Acehnese as an 'Active' language or 'Split-S' language, not as an 'ergative' language. In Acehnese, core arguments are marked either as 'actors' (e.g. transitive A and intransitive S) or 'undergoers' (e.g. transitive O and intransitive S). The Actor is a core argument which is cross referenced by a pronominal clitic on the verb, as in (54a) and (54b), where gopnyan 's/he' is the Actor NP in both examples:

(54)a. gopnyan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gopnyan</th>
<th>geu-mat</th>
<th>lôn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(s)hepolite = A</td>
<td>3polite-hold</td>
<td>1polite = U</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(S)he holds me.</td>
<td>(Durie, 1987: 369)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. geu-jak

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>geu-jak</th>
<th>gopnyan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3polite-go</td>
<td>(s)hepolite = A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(S)he goes.</td>
<td>(Durie, 1987: 369)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Undergoer is a core argument which may be cross referenced by a pronominal clitic on the verb, as illustrated in (55a) and (55b), where gopnyan 's/he' is the Undergoer NP in both examples:

(55)a. gopnyan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gopnyan</th>
<th>ka</th>
<th>lôn-angieng-(geuh)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(s)hepolite = U</td>
<td>INCHOATIVE</td>
<td>1polite-see-(3polite)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I saw him/her.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Durie, 1987: 369)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
b. *gopnyan* (s)he polite =U 
(rhët-(geuh) fall (3polite) 

(3)he falls. 

(Durie, 1987: 369)

Balinese appears to be similar to Sacapultec rather than to Acehnese in that the grammatical functions S and O seem to be more important than the semantic functions played by S when it comes to determining whether an argument is overtly expressed.

Aside from the frequency of lexical arguments in S/A/O, we also need to present the frequency of lexical arguments as combined pivots (e.g. the A of NT and the O of ZT) and combined non-pivots (e.g. the O of NT and the A of ZT). In Balinese, lexical arguments are much less common as pivots than as non-pivots. This pattern is associated with the status of information and topic continuity. The pivots tend to be OLD and topical, and non-pivots tend to be NEW and non-topical.

Chart 7. Frequency of lex. args. in combined pivots and non-pivots in Balinese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% of lex. args.</th>
<th>pivots (A and O)</th>
<th>non-pivots (A and O)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>63.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

pivot=515 (36.40%), non-pivot=900(63.60%), n=1415
6.5 Conclusion

The two transitive types in Balinese, NT and ZT, exhibit different tendencies for word order. Pivot and non-pivot arguments in NT clauses can be pre-verbal or post-verbal, but in ZT clauses, only the pivot can be placed in either the pre-verbal or post-verbal position of a clause. The non-pivot argument (i.e. the A) must immediately follow the verb and its position is rigid (see Table 2 and Table 4). Overall figures show that the frequency of pivot initial (PI) order in NT clauses is much higher than in ZT clauses, as presented in Table 2a and Table 2b. However, a decision about which order is marked or unmarked should be made by looking at clauses with two overt arguments rather than just one overt argument, as presented in Table 2a and 2b. When two overt arguments occur in NT clauses, PI order is still much more commonly used than VI order. Thus, I conclude that PI order is the unmarked order while VI order is very marked order in NT. Within two overt arguments in ZT clauses, on the other hand, the frequency of VI order is slightly higher than PI order. Since the difference in frequency of these two orders very small, markedness of order cannot be determined very clearly.

The two transitive voices have a common tendency for types of expression (i.e. overt versus non-overt arguments): the overt expressions tend to be used more commonly with non-pivot arguments (i.e. the O of NT and the A of ZT), while non-overt arguments tend to be used more commonly with pivot arguments (i.e. the A of NT and the O of ZT). These tendencies suggest that ‘given’ information tends to be assigned to the pivot role, while ‘new’ information tends to be assigned to the non-pivot role.

As with Sacapultec, Balinese seems to have a pattern of lexical distribution which depends on grammatical role. There is a strong tendency for lexical arguments to be S or
Chapter 6: Preferred Argument Expression

O, but a weak tendency for them to be A. This lexical distribution shows a pattern of ergative vs. absolutive. Thus, if a single lexical argument is used in a transitive clause, it is more likely to occur as O rather than as A. There are three possible functions of a lexical argument in Balinese discourse: (i) it introduces a new participant; (ii) it re-introduces a participant after a gap of one clause or more; and (iii) it is used in a repetitive clause which functions to give stronger emphasise to O.

The next chapter is concerned with the role of ‘grounding information’ in voice selection.

7.2 Definition of Grounding Information

The definition of ‘grounding’ is adapted from Hopper’s (1987) framework. According to Hopper, narrative texts can be divided into two major components i.e. the long-arc of the actual story line and the language of supportive details which support and frame the main story (p. 213). The arguments from Hopper stress that the distinction between clause combining with events which forms ‘foregrounded’ events and clauses in non-strict events (which are defined as ‘backgrounded’ events) is significant in determining the use of nominalisers which are used with foregrounded events and auxiliary verbs as well as in distinguishing the role of information in speech acts which are used with backgrounded events.
CHAPTER SEVEN

GROUNDING INFORMATION

7.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the role of grounding in determining voice selection. Following Hopper (1979, 1983), I will divide texts into clauses or sentences which advance main events (foregrounded events) and those which describe non-main event (backgrounded events). With this distinction, voice may be associated with one of the two grounding types. I will also look at grounding and its relation to word order and 'degree of transitivity' (Hopper and Thompson 1980). The entire corpus (the five spoken texts and the six written texts) is investigated in this chapter (see corpus list in Chapter 3).

7.2 Definition of Grounding Information

The definition of 'grounding' is adopted from Hopper's (1979) framework. According to Hopper, narrative texts can be divided into two major components i.e. 'the language of the actual story line and the language of supportive material which does not itself narrate the main events'. (p 213). His examples from Swahili show that the difference between clauses conveying main events (which he terms 'foregrounded' events') and clauses in non-main events (which he terms 'backgrounded' events') has something to do with sequentiality: the main events mostly occur sequentially (i.e. one event succeeds another in an episode) while the non-main events are not in sequence with the main events but amplify them (p 214). His Swahili examples illustrate this distinction. In Swahili, the verbs which are used with foregrounded clauses are usually
marked by the aspect marker *ka-* which tends to denote a completed event, while the verbs which are chosen for backgrounded events are commonly marked by the aspect marker *ki-* which is more likely to indicate an incomplete event. Examples below are from Swahili (Hopper 1979:214).

(1) Tu-ka-endan kambi-ni,
    we-went       camp-to
    hata usiku tu-ka-toroka,
    and night we-ran off
    tu-ka-safiri siku kadha,
    we-travelled days several
    tu-ki-pitia miji fulani,
    we-passed villages several
    na humo mwote hamma mahongo
    and them all was-not tribute

We went back to the camp and ran away during the night, and we travelled for several days, we passed through several villages, and in all of them we did not have to pay tribute.

The Swahili passage above consists of three main events which succeed one another and two non-main events. The first main event is *went back to the camp*. This is followed by two sequential events, *ran away* and *journeyed several days*. The two last clauses *We passed through a few villages* and *and in all of them there was not tribute to pay*, on the other hand, are used to comment on the last main event. These clauses are used to describe and to give some more information on how the journey is conducted. As Hopper (1979) notes, it is significant that the first backgrounded clause in this sequence could be rendered in English with the non-finite verb form *passing*, as in *We journeyed for several days, passing through a few villages*.

Malay, one of the West Austronesian languages, also distinguishes foregrounding and backgrounding via a morphological means and/or discourse contexts. In *early
modern' Malay, according to Hopper (1983:71) the grammatical difference between passive and ergative is derived from 'discourse context'. Passive and ergative constructions share 'the morphology of ergative': di-verb. He distinguishes the passive from the ergative in two ways, as in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Clause types and grounding in Malay (Hopper 1983:71-80)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Backgrounding</th>
<th>Foregrounding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Passive: di-verb (*-lah 'a discourse particle of event-making')²</td>
<td>- Ergative di-verb (-lah 'a discourse particle of event-making')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Pat Agt V order</td>
<td>- VAgt Pat order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- habitual actions, resultant state, indefinite agent and descriptions</td>
<td>- individual actions, visible kind and sequential events</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* = the particle -lah is not used in BG

The following are examples taken from Hopper (1983:71) which illustrate the two types of di-Verb which are mostly associated with foregrounded and backgrounded clauses in Malay.

(i) Passive: di-VERB-(*-lah) in BG

In Malay, the discourse particle -lah is usually not used with the di-Verb which conveys BG information. The examples below show the di-Verb in different types of BG clauses.

a. habitual actions:

(2) kama demikian-lah di-perbuat oleh orang tua-tua
because thus-LAH PSV-do by person old-old
for this is the way the old people do it.

b. resultant state:

---

1 The corpus is taken from the autobiography of Abdullah Munshi which is known as the Hikayat Abdullah. The language of this text is characterized as 'early modern' Malay which affiliates with both modern Standaard Malay and Classical Malay (Hopper, 1983: 69).

2 Patient (Pat) and Agent (Agt) refer to semantic roles.
(3) ada pun sekalian baristu di-atur-nya tiga-tiga lapis
happenPUN every rank the PSV-draw-up-they three-three fold
It happened that they had drawn up all the ranks in three rows.

c. Indefinite agent
(4) dan tiada pula engkau di-hinakan orang
and not also you PSV-scorn person
Moreover, people will not scorn you.

d. descriptions
(5) ada pun apit China itu di-perbuat
it-is PUN press Chinese the PSV-make
daripada rotan sega...
out of rattan fine
Now the Chinese press was made out of the finest rattan ...

(ii) Ergative: di-Verb(-lah) in FG

In the ergative di-VERB(-lah), the common order is VAgtpat (see example (6)
below. However, the verb can be preceded by the Patient, especially when the Patient is
followed by pun ‘also’ or when the NP Patient is modified by the quantifier semuanya
‘all of them’ (see example (7)). According to Hopper, the quantifier semuanya and the
particle pun give an affect to verb position i.e. they ‘isolate the revived topic from the
verb, so that the clause is effectively verb initial’ (Hopper, 1983: 84).

(6) ... maka di-makan-nya -lah kapal itu
then PSV-consume-3Agtpat-LAH ship the
...then the ship was burned up. (Hopper 1983:71)

(7) Maka segala pengana itu pun di-bahagikan-lah
then all cakes the PUN PSV-distribute-LAH
terhadap segala budak-budak,
to all boy-PL

... dan bunga chandana semuanya di-bahagikan
and flower sandalwood all-of them PSV-distribute
Then all cakes were passed around to all boys, ... and the sandalwood
blossoms were all passed around. (Hopper 1983: 72)
In analysing the discourse function of passive and ergative above Hopper says that the two clause types relate to discourse function, which is associated with 'transitivity parameters.' (Hopper 1983:84). See discussion on this in Section 7.6.1.

Now we are going to be looking at some important features of grounding in Balinese. The combined affects of grounding and topicality will be left until Chapter 9.

All clause types which occur as non-main clauses (such as complement clauses, adverbial clauses, imperative clauses, interrogative clauses and clauses in direct speech materials) are treated as components of non-main event lines (the BG events) because they are parts of supportive material which are off the actual story line. Main clauses, on the other hand, can be either FG or BG. We consider a main clause to be FG if the clause develops the main story line, BG if not. In my investigation I found that one particular clause type is more likely to convey foregrounded events while other clause types convey backgrounded events.

7.3 Recognising FG and BG in Balinese

Main clauses may use adverbial particles to exhibit either FG events or BG events. This will be discussed in Section 7.3.1 and Section 7.3.2 below.

7.3.1 The Use of Linkers in FG Clauses

The following linkers are commonly used in Balinese to pragmatically mark sequential events or to emphasise the sequential nature of events.

`lantas (or lantesang/antase/laut/nglaut/laris)` ‘then’

`buin/biin` ‘again’

---

3 The 'transitivity parameters' are discussed in more detail in 7.6.
Chapter 7: Grounding Information

*balampun/suba* ‘afterward’

*dadi* ‘thus’

Some of these linkers may be used clause-initially, some clause-finally, and others within clauses. Clauses which occur with those linkers can be preceded by either a BG clause or a FG clause. Here are some examples of their usage (which represent each group of the linkers) in FG events.

(i) The linker *lantas* (or *lantesang/antasel/laut/nglaut/laris*) ‘then.’ This linker is used to connect two natural actions in sequential order, as shown by examples in (8c), (9c) and (9f). In (8c), *lantas* is clause initial, while in (9c) and (9f) it is clause internal.

(8)a. Kanti ping telu kone
until QUANT. three apparently

meme-n-ne makaukan,
mother-LIG 3POSS'R MAL-call

b. masih sing kone saut-in-a,
still not apparently ZT answer-APPL-3Agt

c. lantas tinjak-a kone jlanan-e.
then ZT kick-3Agt apparently door-DEF
For three times apparently his mother calls, he (Pucung) still does not answer (her call), and then she kicks the door. (SIP 365-367)

(9)a. Ni Bawang ngajak ni Kesuna ne jani
Article. Bawang and Article Kesuna this now

makere ia ngingkening paukudan
about to 3 NT-prepare self

b. ngisinin buka pabesen meme-n-ne.
NT-fulfil as message mother-LIG-3POSS'R

c. Nah, ne jani ni Bawang ngaukin lantas
so, this now ART. B NT-call then

adi-n-ne ni Kesuna
younger sibling-LIG-3POSS'R ART. Kesuna

d bakal nyemak padi,
to NT-take rice (in its husk)
Chapter 7: Grounding Information

e. **nuun-ang** nude **kone** apparently **padi** rice (in its husk) **uling** from
di **gelebeg-e**, **FG**
at paddy shed-DEF

f. **nah, kaukin-a lantas adi-n-ne**
so, **ZT call-Agt** then younger sibling-LIG-DEF

I **ni Kesuna**
FG

Bawang and Kesuna now are about to prepare themselves to do a task (which is asked by their mother). Well, now Bawang calls for her younger sister, Kesuna to get the rice (in its husk). Bawang apparently brings the rice (in its husk) down then from the paddy shed, so Bawang calls then for her younger sister, Kesuna. (CK 45-50)

The linker *lantas* in the examples above is most likely used to emphasise a sequence of main events. These events could occur in consecutive order, as in (9e) and (9f).

(ii) The linker *buin* (or *biin*) ‘again.’ This linker, which can occur in various positions, signals that the same action is repeated, as in (10b). The repetitive action may be preceded by a BG clause (e.g. a clause which is used to comment or to give a description), as in (11a), which precedes a clause on the main event line which has the linker *buin* to show a repetitive action (11c).

(10)a. **Jani suba ia ka-kutang bebek-e ento**
now after 3Sg PSV-leave duck-DEF that
di **tukad-e**, **BG**
in river-DEF

b. **buin ma-takon kurenan-ne**
again MAI-ask spouse-3POSS’R
**FG**

Now, after that duck was left at the river, again her wife asks. (BLG 89-90)

(11)a. **Nah, ne jani disubane**
so, this now after MAI-say **madan**

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Chapter 7: Grounding Information

padi-n-e ento suba me-lesung, BG
rice (in its husk)-LIG-DEF that already MAI-mill

b. suba ia dadi jijih, BG
after 3 become grain

c. tunden-a kone buin adi-n-ne FG
ZT ask -3Agt apparently again younger sibling-LIG-3POSS’R

d. nuduk padi-n-e ane suba dadi
NT-pick rice (in its husk)-LIG-DEF which already become
jijih ento BG
grain that

e. ngelesung apang nyak ia dadi baas. BG
NT-mill COMP ZI become 3 become unhusked rice
So, now, after that rice (in its husk) has been milled, they become grains. She apparently asks her younger sister again to pick up the grain and mill them into unhusked rice. (CK 114-121)

(iii) The linker ba (or suba) ‘afterward’. This linker is used to mark a natural action which is conducted after a particular event. In (12e), the linker ba is used postverbally, while in (13b) the linker is used preverbally.

(12)a. l pidan nak l Bawang titig-a BG
Article past Particle Article Bawang ZT slap-3Agt

b. nyalnyal-a kanti ma-cuab-cuab pesu getih
ZT punch-3Agt until MAI-overflow produce blood


tekening meme-n-ne, BG
by mother-LIG-3POSS’R

c. tundung-a ia ma-gedi. BG
ZT expel-3Agt 3 MAI-go away

d. Ne jani adi-n-ne
this now younger sibling-LIG-3POSS’R

ni Kesuna bareng
ART. Kesuna together

apang keto-ang-a tekening meme-n-ne. BG
COMP ZT like that-APPL-3Agt by mother-LIG-3POSS’R
e. Nyemak ba meme-n-ne saang kandikan. FG
NT-take afterward mother-LIG-DEF fire wood chop
In the past, it was Bawang who got slapped and was punched by her mother and was expelled (from home). Now her younger sister, Kesuna wants her mother to treat her the same. Afterward her mother takes chopped firewood. (CK 472-481)

(13)a. Sawatara ada jam telu-e
about exist clock three-DEF
Stuka kapal terbang-e,
arrive ship fly-DEF

b. Nika be tembak-a
that afterward ZT shoot-3Agt
Payung-e uli duur ken kapal terbang Belanda-e,
hat-DEF from above by ship fly Dutch-DEF
It was about three o'clock the jet fighter arrived. (Looking at many hats on the ground, the pilot of the jet fighter assumed that they must be the hats which were being worn by the rebel troop). After that, the pilot shot the hats (which were used as camouflages by the rebel troop) (BDW 540-542)

(iv ) The linker dadi ‘thus.’ A clause which occurs with this linker is usually used to convey a main event, particularly to show that an action is conducted to respond to previous actions, as in (14e).

(14)a. Ba lantas keto beli ber-pikir FG
after then like that elder brother BER-think
b. wireh di lokasi dagang sing ada BG
because at place (food) stall not exist
c. apa sing ada . BG
what not exist
d. Cumak raga-ragae gen ajak makejang BG
only 1st EMPH with all
e. dadi ora-in beli lantas
thus ZT tell-APPL elder brother then
cara mbok Wayan-e FG
as elder sister Wayan-DEF

4 The phrase saang kandikan can be translated as firewood which is chopped with an axe.
5 dadi also occurs as a verb meaning ‘to become.’
Chapter 7: Grounding Information

After that I (= elder brother) made up my mind. Because there was no stall; there was nothing; and there were only us around, thus, I (= elder brother) told Wayan’s sister (to open a food stall). (CD 181-184)

The appearance of these linkers is a sufficient but not a necessary criterion for classifying a given clause as FG. The linker can be omitted and the clause can still convey FG, but the linker makes it clear that the clause is FG. For instance, if we omit the linker dadi ‘thus, then’ in the ZT clause in (14e) above, then the clause is still a FG clause but less emphasis is given to the causal relationship between the previous events and those reported in the final clause. These linkers are thus optional markers of FG.

7.3.2 The Use of Particles in BG Clauses

The particles which are involved in BG clauses are subordinators, discourse particles, complementisers, negators, and future particles.

A. Subordinators. The subordinators which are usually used are sambil/sambilang ‘while’, suba/disubane/sampun ‘after’, mara ‘when’, kewala/sakewala/nanging ‘but’, yen ‘if’ and sawireh/reh/wireh/kerana ‘because’ or apabuin ‘let alone, because’.

(i) The subordinator sambil/sambilang ‘while’. This subordinator is used to show that there are two or more activities involved simultaneously. The particle sambil/sambilang usually occurs between two clauses, the preceding clause is usually FG, while the second clause is an adverbial backgrounded clause, as in (15b).

(15)a. Mimih, jeg tuding-a kone
wow, Particle ZT point-3Agt apparently

teken meme-n-ne
by mother-LIG-3POSS’R FG

b. sambilang-a meme-n-ne nguel.
while-3Agt mother-LIG-3POSS’R NI-grumble BG
Wow, her mother points a finger to her while her mother grumbles. (CK 187-189)

(ii) The subordinator *mara* ‘when’. This subordinator is used as an adverbial particle which is placed at the beginning of an adverbial backgrounded clause, as in (16a)

(16)a. *Mara* ia ningeh pamunyin
when 3rd NT-hear voice

panak-ne buka keto, BG
child-3POSS’R as like that

b. *dadi* ampak-in-a *dogen* ia jelanan FG
thus ZT open-up-APPL-3Agt just 3rd door

When she heard the voice of her child like that, thus she opened up the door for him. (SIP 339-340)

(iii) The subordinator *disubane/sesubane* ‘after’. This subordinator is usually used in an adverbial clause to show that one activity occurs after another. The adverbial clause is a BG clause because it is used to add information, as in (17a).

(17)a. *Nah,* *disubane* ni *Bawang* ngorah-in
so after ART. Bawang NT-tell-APPL

adi-n-ne buka keto, BG
younger sibling-LIG-3POSS’R as like that

b. *I* ni *Kesuna* buin kone
ART. ART Kesuna again apparently

tuara nyak. BG
not want

So, after Bawang tells her younger sister like that, Kesuna apparently again does not want (to work). (CK 76-77)

(iv) The subordinator *sawireh* ‘because’ or *apabuin* ‘let alone, because.’ These subordinators are typical particles of subordinate clauses which are used to give a reason, as in (18b) and (19b). A clause which takes these particles is always a BG clause.

(18)a. To *awinan* sing tepuk-in-a *pemuda*
that why not ZT find-3Agt youth
Chapter 7: Grounding Information

pejuang-e tekenin kapal terbang-e  BG
fighter-DEF by ship fly-DEF

b. sawireh kapal terbang-e
because ship fly-DEF

ilidin-a teken sayong-e,
ZT-hide-3Agt by fog-DEF

teken ambu-n-e, kenten. BG
by cloud-LIG-DEF like that
That's why the youth fighter was not found by the jet fighter because the jet fighter was covered by the fog, by the cloud. That was it. (BDW 549-550)

(19)a. Terpaksa mbok Wayan-n-e orin $^6$
resorted elder sister Wayan-LIG-DEF ZT-tell-APPL

orin ma-dagang antasa FG
ZT tell -APPL MAI-trade later

b. apabuin gas dugase ento
because at at that

pemborong-pemborong nu ma-gae ia ditu BG
contractor-contractor still MAI-work 3rd there
Later on I resorted to telling Wayan's elder sister to trade (to open a stall) because at that time the contractors were still working there. (CD 189-191)

B. Discourse Particles. Discourse particles include: nu/enu 'still/on progress', masih 'also' and mawinan/awanin/mawanani/awanani 'that's why.'

(i) The discourse particle nu/enu 'still'. This particle refers to an event which has no natural end point or an activity which is still in progress. A clause which occurs with this particle is a BG clause because it is used to give an explanation, as in (19b) above which is repeated here as in (19b$'$).

(19)$'$a. Terpaksa mbok Wayan-n-ne orin
resorted elder sister Wayan-LIG-DEF ZT tell-APPL.

$^6$ orin is derived from the verb orah 'tell' and the applicative suffix -in.
b'. apabuin gas dugase ento pemborong-pemborong  
because at at that contractor-contractor

nu ma-gae ia ditu  
still MAI-work 3rd there

Later on I resorted to telling Wayan’s elder sister to trade (to open a stall) because at that time the contractors were still working there. (CD 189-191)

(ii) The discourse particle mawinan ‘therefore.’ This particle is usually placed clause initially and is used as an explanatory or BG clause, as in (20d)

(20)a. Dini kone meme-n-ne ma-besen.  
here apparently mother-LIG-3POSS’R MAI-message

b. reh meme-n-e bakal ka peken,  
because mother-LIG-DEF will to market

c. apabuin baas ane bakal jakan-a  
because unhusked rice which will ZT cook-3Agt

buin mani to nak to tuara ada.  
again tomorrow that EMPH that not exist

d. To mawinan meme-n-e ngorah-in pianak-ne  
that why mother-LIG-DEF NT-tell-APPL child-3POSS’R

makadadua apang ia nebuk padi.  
both COMP. 3 NT-crush rice (in its husk)

Here apparently their mother delivers a message. (She does that) because their mother will be going to the market, (and) because rice which will be cooked on the next day is not available. Therefore, their mother tells both her children that they (have to) crush the rice (in its husk). (CK 35-39)

C. The complementiser pang/apang ‘in order, to.’ This complementiser is usually used to mark a non-controlled complement clause. This type of clause is always BG, as in (21c)

(21)a. Lantas gong wiadin balian-balian-e  
then gong and Balinese performance-DEF
There was Balinese music performance. The dance called Sumbu was performed there in the temple of Selang. They asked for blessing so that the people of Seraya and the people of Tanah Barak who were performing the ceremony in the temple would be granted peace. (PS 148-151)

D. Negators: sing/tusing/ten/nenten ‘not’ and tonden/konden ‘not yet.’

(i) The negation tusing/sing/ten/nenten. These are usually used preverbally to convey a natural activity which is expressed as an irrealis assertion, as in (22c).

Pan Madu ma-daar ukuran limang sopan
Pan Madu MAI-eat about five drop

daarang-a uyahtabia teken bawang ane
ZT eat-3Agt salt chilli with onion which

tepukin-a di ceraken-e.
ZT find-3Agt at drawer-DEF

Tusing pesan ia taen nakon-ang be
not at all 3 ever NT-ask for-APPL side dish

Pan Madu eats about five servings. He eats with salt, chilli and onion which he finds in the drawer. He never asks for a side dish. (TLASK)
(ii) The negation tonden/konden ‘not yet’. As with tusing/sing/ten/nenten ‘not’, the negation tonden/konden ‘not yet’ also marks a clause as irrealis, as in (23c)

(23)a. Jani sawatar-ang beli jani
     now ZT predict-APPL elder brother now

     beli ngoyong di Bali ne ba kutus tiban.
     elder brother NI-stay in Bali this already eight tiban.

b. Beli ngoyong jumah keto
     elder brother NI-stay house like that

c. satekan beli-n-e uli Sulawesi
     arrival elder brother-LIG-DEF from Sulawesi

     ne beli tonden ngelah umah
     this elder brother not yet NT-own house

Now I (= elder brother) predicts, I (= elder brother) have already been staying for eight years. I (=elder brother) have been staying at home, that’s it. On my arrival from Sulawesi, I (=elder brother) did not have a house yet. (CD 573-575)

E. Future Particle lakar/kar/lakara/bakal ‘will.’ This particle is placed preverbally to mark a future tense, as in (24b).

(24)a. Yen terima-n-a di SGB,
     if ZT accept-LIG-3Agt in SGB

b. sampi-n-e lakar pakadas7-ang-a
     cow-LIG-DEF will ZT-breed-APPL-3Agt

     malu teken penyakap-e
     first with somebody who raises somebody’s cattle-DEF

c. gumantos nyandang adep
     until ready ZT-sell

If he is accepted in SGB (Teaching School), he will have somebody to raise the cow until it is ready to sell. (TLASK)

7 pa-kadas ‘breed someone’s cattle’
Chapter 7: Grounding Information

7.4 Clause Types with Grounding

In this section we discuss how different clause types tend to be used more frequently or less frequently depending on whether they report FG or BG events. Before discussing the Balinese data in 7.4.2, we first review some of the literature on voice and FG/BG in other western Austronesian languages.

7.4.1 Other Western Austronesian Languages

Other Western Austronesian languages such as Malay and Indonesian use different voices for different discourse functions. Austronesianists such as Hopper (1983:70-84), Cumming (1995b:252-255; 1995a:53-61), and Kaswanti Purwo (1988:230-231) have pointed out that the meng- verb (which is termed 'active' by Hopper and 'Actor Trigger' by Cumming) and the di-verb (which is termed 'ergative' by Hopper when the patient NP follows the verb, and 'Patient Trigger' by Cumming) exhibit different discourse functions. A meng-verb is used more commonly for non-event lines/BG while a di-verb is preferred for event lines/FG. According to Hopper (1983: 83-83) the meng- verb in early modern Malay tends to be used more commonly for events which are irrealis, imperfective, habitual or backgrounded. With these events, the meng- verb tends to denote descriptions and states. Because of its BG function, the meng-verb is frequently found in complements, subordinate clauses, and other dependent clauses. In terms of definiteness, the meng-verb is preferred with BG since it tends to have a 'nonindivuated' /indefinite O. The di-VERB, on the other hand, is used for events, which are realis, perfective, punctual and foregrounded.

Modern Indonesian is not as strong as Classical Malay in terms of how backgrounded events and foregrounded events are marked with the meng-verbs and the di-verb, respectively. Although statistically meng-verbs ('Actor Trigger') in Modern
Indonesian are mainly found with BG, it is possible for the *meng*-verb to be used with FG. The *di*-verb can only be used with high transitivity which is reflected by agency, temporal sequence and realis mode, so the *meng*-verb is used for low transitivity, even in FG. (Cumming 1991: 161, 199-200).

The examples below from Kaswanti Purwo (1988:225) illustrate how the Indonesian *di*-verb (25b-25d) is used for main events which are punctual, realis and foregrounded while the Indonesian *meng*-verb (26) is used for non-main events which are habitual and backgrounded.

Johnny came up with his fried rice.

b. Diletakkannya kursi yang dibawa-nya ke dekat Siska.
He placed the chair (which he had been carrying) close to Siska.

c. Dianangkan adiknya dari lantai
He raised Siska's plate from the floor

d. dan diberikannya pada-nya
and gave it to her

Johnny came up with his fried rice. He placed the chair (which he had been carrying) close to Siska. He raised Siska's plate from the floor and gave it to her. (Marga T text, 1976:40)

(26)a. Penghasilan nenek ialah menjual sayur-sayuran.
Earning grandma COP *meng*-sell vegetables

b. Pagi-pagi ia bangun dan mencegat petani-petani yang membawa sayur-mayur
Morning she get up and *meng*-stop farmers who *meng*-carry vegetables

c. la membeli dagangannya dari mereka
She *meng*-buy wares-their from them

d. dan mengedarkan-nya ke rumah para priyayi
and *meng*-send around-it to house DET officials
Chapter 7: Grounding Information

Grandmother's livelihood was selling vegetables. She got up very early in the morning and waylaid farmers carrying vegetables... She bought wares from them and then hawked (them) from door to door at the house's of the officials. (Pramudya, 1963:45)

Wouk (1996:376), using a limited sample, gives statistical evidence for the distribution of verb morphology in relation to discourse grounding in Spoken Jakarta Indonesian (SJI). Both voices can be used in either FG events or BG events. However, in FG events, the 'Patient Trigger' is much more commonly used than the 'Actor trigger', while in BG events, the 'Actor Trigger' is much more frequently selected than the 'Patient Trigger.'

Table 2. Grounding and trigger choice in Spoken Jakarta Indonesian (Wouk 1996:376)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voice</th>
<th>Foregrounding</th>
<th>Backgrounding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Actor Trigger'</td>
<td>22 (34%)</td>
<td>66 (59%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Patient Trigger'</td>
<td>42 (66%)</td>
<td>46 (41%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>64 (100%)</td>
<td>112 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In terms of main event lines, Balinese and SJI seem to go in the same direction, where the Patient Trigger in SJI and ZT in Balinese are favoured with FG, while the Actor Trigger in SJI and NT in Balinese are favoured with BG, as will be demonstrated.

7.4.2 Balinese

Three clause types will be discussed with respect to FG and BG events in Balinese in this section. They are NT clauses, ZT clauses and the ka- passive clauses. These clause types seem to exhibit different uses insofar as grounding is concerned. FG events tend to be ZT clauses more commonly than NT clauses. BG events, on the other hand, tend to occur more frequently with the NT clause than the ZT clause. The ka-passive is not used very commonly in any kind of clause, but it is used much more
frequently for BG than for FG. See Table 3 below.

Table 3 shows that 61% of ZT are used with FG, which shows that ZT is a reasonably good predictor for FG, while 75% of NT are used with BG, which shows that NT is a very good predictor for BG. The ka-passive, on the other hand, is an excellent predictor of BG because 90% of the ka-passive are BG. The data in Table 3 relates to the three different voices with both overt and non-overt arguments.

Table 3. Frequency of grounding with different voices (with overt and non-overt arguments)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Voices</th>
<th>non-controlled clauses (excluding direct speech)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FG</td>
<td>BG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>129 (25%)</td>
<td>396 (75%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>326 (61%)</td>
<td>210 (39%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>12 (10%)</td>
<td>105 (90%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.5 Word Order and Grounding

In this section I discuss how verb initial and pivot initial clauses are used to report events of different grounding types. In 7.5.1 I review some of the literature on this topic in relation to a number of different languages. In 7.5.2 I discuss the Balinese data.

7.5.1 Grounding and Verb Position in Other Languages

Languages which have both verb initial order and pivot initial order use these orders for different discourse functions, particularly in relation to foregrounded events versus backgrounded events. Non-Austronesian languages such as Tzotzil (Myhill 1992:266), Spanish (Myhill 1992:266) and Old English (Hopper 1979:220-221) are

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8 The frequency of clause types which are used in Table 3 thus differs from the frequency of the ones which are used in Section 7.5 (i.e. Grounding and Verb Position), where only overt arguments are counted.
among languages which have been claimed to have that distinction. The same is true of Austronesian languages such as Agutaynen, a Philippine language of Palawan province (Quakenbush 1992: 295); Malay and Indonesian (Cumming 1991 and 1995; Hopper 1983), and Balinese.

In Classical Malay, one of the West Austronesian languages, word order and voice are used to signal different discourse functions, according to Cumming (1991:123;1995:51-83). The *meng-* verb, for instance, which she calls Agent Trigger, exhibits a fixed AVO order while the *di-*verb, which she calls Patient Trigger, has a free word order. In both transitive and intransitive clauses, Verb initial constructions correlate with FG. Cumming (1995a:60) states:

In intransitive clauses, where the transitive verb prefixes are not available to mark aspect, eventiveness is coded primarily by VS constituent order (usually in conjunction with the particle -lah marking the predicate). In the transitive clause this correlation occurs as well: the more eventive *di-*clause is the only one which allows verb initial orders.

In relation to the statements above, Cumming (1991:84-85) gives some summary statistics on a sample of 273 clauses from Classical Malay. Overall (from the Stative types and Patient Trigger), the Verb Initial order (e.g. VAO, VOA and VS)\(^9\) is slightly dominant (51.28%). Within this Verb Initial order, the Patient-Trigger transitive is in the majority. The Actor Trigger occurs only with Pivot Initial (AVO).

In terms of the basic order, Cumming (1991:154) strongly argues that Classical Malay is basically Verb Initial, while she regards Modern Indonesian (and Modern Malay) as pivot\(^{10}\) Initial.

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9 VAO and VOA here are not used in the 'Agent Trigger' (i.e. *meng-* verb).
10 Cumming (1991) uses the term 'trigger' (or 'T') for pivot: V>T means 'predicate before trigger' which is equal to Verb Initial, and T>V means 'trigger before predicate' which is equal to pivot (i.e. Intransitive S and Transitive A) Initial.
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Myhill (1992:266) gives data for the non-Austronesian languages such as the Mayan language of Tzotzil and Chorti that indicate that Verb Initial order tends to be used for FG events. In Tzotzil narrative, out of 244 clauses which are used in FG,11 92% have Verb Initial order. A similar tendency is seen in Chorti, where of 32 clauses which are used in foregrounded events, 72% show Verb Initial order.

Now I will look at Balinese, but first I have to define and classify all possible word orders and their correlation with grounding overall.

7.5.2 Grounding and Verb Position in Balinese

In this section I will look at verb position in all clause types and its correlation with grounding. Two major different word order pattern are discussed: Verb Initial (VI) order (i.e. VAO, VOA and VS depending on voice and transitivity) and Pivot Initial (PI) order (i.e. AVO, OVA and SV also depending on voice and transitivity).12 In transitive types, the ZT clause has a very rigid VA order where we can only have either VAO for VI and OVA for PI. The orders VOA, AVO, OAV and AOV, are not grammatical for ZT (see Section 6.2.1). The NT clause, on the other hand, shows more variation than the ZT clause, since in the NT clause we can have AVO order for PI, and VAO and VOA for VI (see Section 6.2.1). I hypothesise that one particular type of order tends to be strongly associated with one grounding type, while another type of order is strongly associated with another grounding type.

In PI and VI orders, I consider only clauses which have overt expressions of A and O in transitive clauses and S in intransitive clauses. Overt expressions may include

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11 Myhill (1992) uses the term temporally sequenced instead of foregrounded events and temporally unsequenced instead of backgrounded events.

12 Only clauses with overt arguments (i.e. transitive clauses with two overt arguments and intransitive clauses with a single argument) are counted here. Subordinate clauses and clauses which are used in direct speech are excluded from counting because they skew the results for grounding.
both lexical expressions and non-lexical expressions (see a complete definition of these two terms in Chapter 6, Section 6.4.1). Clauses which have non-overt expressions are not counted because the position of the expressions cannot be exactly determined. Therefore, the frequency of clause types which are associated with verb position in this section is lower than the frequency of clauses types which has been discussed in other sections.

The clause constructions covered in Table 4 comprise NT, ZT, ka-, ma-Intransitive, ma-Resultative, N-Intransitive and Zero-Intransitive. Direct speech, controlled constructions, imperatives and interrogatives are excluded. The ka- passive kacrita 'be narrated' is excluded because it is always in verb initial (VS) order. This table does not indicate which voice is most or least predominantly used in pivot initial order or verb initial order. The combination of voice and verb position with grounding will be shown in Table 6, Table 7, Table 8 and Table 9.

Table 4. Frequency of word orders in different clauses types according to grounding in Balinese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WO</th>
<th>FG</th>
<th>BG</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pivot Initial</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>419</td>
<td>728</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb Initial</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>1040</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 shows that, overall, Pivot Initial order was more common than Verb Initial order in both FG and BG clauses in my corpus. PI was more often associated with BG, but the difference between BG and FG was not great. With VI order, however, there is a big difference between FG and BG events with VI order, being strongly
favoured with FG. Therefore, VI order seems to be a good predictor of FG. PI order, on the other hand, is a weak predictor of BG because the order is also quite common in FG.

7.5.2.1 Grounding and Verb Initial Order

We saw in 7.5.1 that there is cross-linguistic evidence for a correlation between foregrounding and verb-initial position, and in this section we will see whether such a correlation holds for Balinese.

We first observe that there is a correlation in transitive clauses between Verb Initial order and foregrounding: the majority of clauses which have Verb Initial order are FG, as shown by Chart 1 and Table 5.

![Grounding with VI in TR](chart.png)

**Chart 1. Grounding with Verb Initial order in transitive clause types**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grounding Types</th>
<th>NT</th>
<th>ZT</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FG</td>
<td>5 (71.43%)</td>
<td>131 (86.75%)</td>
<td>136 (86.06%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BG</td>
<td>2 (28.57%)</td>
<td>20 (13.25%)</td>
<td>22 (13.94%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7 (100%)</td>
<td>151 (100%)</td>
<td>158 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although VI order is a fairly good predictor of FG in the two transitive types, this does not mean that FG necessarily favours VI. To find out whether it does, we need
to see what the frequency of VI is with FG. We find an interesting difference here between ZT and NT clauses, as shown respectively in Table 6 and Table 7 below.

Table 6. Combination between grounding and verb position in ZT clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grounding Types</th>
<th>Verb Initial</th>
<th>Pivot Initial</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FG</td>
<td>131 (66.84%)</td>
<td>65 (33.16%)</td>
<td>196 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BG</td>
<td>20 (41.67%)</td>
<td>28 (55.33%)</td>
<td>48 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>151 (61.88%)</td>
<td>93 (38.12%)</td>
<td>244 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7. Combination between grounding and verb position in NT clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grounding Types</th>
<th>Verb Initial</th>
<th>Pivot Initial</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FG</td>
<td>5 (4.90%)</td>
<td>97 (95.10%)</td>
<td>102 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BG</td>
<td>2 (1.50%)</td>
<td>131 (98.50%)</td>
<td>133 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7 (2.98%)</td>
<td>228 (97.02%)</td>
<td>235 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These tables show that with ZT, grounding really makes a big difference to the position of the verb: VI is significantly more frequent with FG events than PI is. But with NT, VI order is unusual even when the clause is FG. There is a small percentage difference which suggests that FG might slightly favour VI order in NT clauses, but the figures are too small for the percentage difference to be statistically significant. The fact that VI order is so unusual with NT suggests that an important function of NT is to put A first in the sentence.

If we look at the overall frequency of verb position with the two transitives, as shown by Table 6 and Table 7, we see clearly that with ZT, VI is the unmarked order if we do not take grounding into account, while PI is the marked order if we disregard grounding. With NT, on the other hand, VI is the marked order, while PI is the unmarked order. The marked order is the one which is lower in frequency than the unmarked order.
However, in ZT, the 20 BG examples with VI order in Table 6 are unusual, and all involve one of 4 types of BG particles: (i) subordinators: disubane ‘afterward’ and mara ‘when,’ (ii) the future particle kel/lakar ‘will, going to,’ (iii) the negator sing ‘not’ and (iv) the complementizer apang ‘to, in order to, so that.’ Examples of these 4 types of BG particles with VI are given below.

(27)a. **Disubanne** tunden-a adi-n-ne
    after ZT order-3 Agt younger sibling-LIG-3POSS’R
    ni Kesuna mempen padi-n-e ento
    Article Kesuna NT-put in rice (in its husk)-LIG-DEF that
    ane suba ma-dan tuh ka Ketungan-n-e
    which already MAI-call dried to rice store-LIG-DEF

b. sing kone masih adi-n-ne
    not apparently still younger sibling-LIG-3POSS’R
    ni Kesuna nyak
    Article Kesuna ZI admit
    After Bawang orders Kesuna to put the dried rice store, Kesuna still refuses (to work). (CK 84-86)

(28)a. ... **mara** ungkab-in-a sok-ne,
    after ZT open up-APPL-3Agt bamboo bucket-3POSS’R

b. lantas bengong I pasaren
    then day dreaming Article temple girl
    ... after they open up the bamboo bucket, the temple girls are day dreaming.
    (JT 297-298)

(29)a. **Ditu** lantas Ida Raden Galuh nangkil
    there then Ida Raden Galuh NT-come over
    teken aji-n-ne muah raka-n-ne
    by father-LIG-3POSS’R and elder brother-LIG-3POSS’R

b. ngaturin ida
    NT-tell 3

c. mangda numbas-ang bojog-e ane ubuh-a
    so that NT-buy-APPL monkey-DEF which ZT raise-3Agt
    teken wang prau
    by person boat
d. tur lakar anggen ida plalian
and will ZT use 3 toy

e. lantas ida sang prabu ngandika,
then 3 Article king NI-say
There IRG comes to her father and her elder brother to tell them to buy the monkey which is raised by the boat man. And IRG will treat the monkey as pet.
Then, the king speaks. (Dpw 271-275)

(30) Sing taun-ang-a lantas to
not ZT know-APPL-3Agt then that
misi-misi lelintah tendas-ne.
MAI-contain-MAI-contain leech head-3POSS’R
She does not know that her head has leeches. (CK 509-510)

(31)a. Uyag-ang-a payung-e nika
ZT spread-APPL-3Agt hat-DEF that
b. anggon-a samaran
ZT use-3Agt camouflages
c. pang 13 kaden-a pamuda pejuang-e
COMP ZT guess-3Agt youth fighter-DEF

malinggep tiarap
MAI-lie down crawl
They spread those hats, they use them as camouflages so that they (= the Dutch) thinks that the youth fighters lie down and crawl on the ground. (BDW 533-536)

In NT, although Verb Initial order is too low in frequency to draw any firm conclusions about grounding, we find two order types: VAO and VOA. The 5 FG examples with VI from Table 7 are all VAO, while the 2 BG examples with VI are VOA. The VAO examples are listed below.

(32)a. Dadi ibuk pesan keneh-ne I Pucung
thus worried very feeling-3POSS’R ART. Pucung
NT-propose-APPL Ida Raden Galuh

13 The form pang or apang is in a free variation.
b. Mabudi ng-alih ka puri, tusing bani.
   want NT-look for to palace not dare

Thus, Pucung is very worried about proposing to IRG. If he wants to look for her in the palace, he will not dare (do that). Now apparently he makes up a trick. (SIP 40-44)

(33)a. Dening makejang tusing ada nyak ngampak-in,
   because all not exist admit NT-open up-APPL

b. lantas ni Bawang magedi,
   then Article Bawang MAI-go away

c. ngojoq ia umah dadong-ne.
   NT-approach 3 house grandmother-3POSS’R
   Because nobody wants to open up (the door), Bawang goes away. She approaches her grandmother’s house. (CK 325-328)

(34)a. Ne jani adi-ne ni Kesuna bareng
   this now younger sibling-3POSS’R Article Kesuna join

   apang ketu-ang-a tekening meme-n-ne.
   COMP ZT like that-APPL-3Agt by mother-LIG-3POSS’R

b. Nyemak ba meme-n-ne saanq kandikan.
   NT-take then mother-LIG-3POSS’R fire wood chop

c. Bih saja-ang-a ba nitig
   Wow ZT serious-APPL-3Agt then NT-slap

   ni Kesuna,
   Article Kesuna
   Now her younger sibling also wants to be beaten up by her mother. Her Mother takes a piece of fire wood. She seriously beats Kesuna up. (CK 477-481)

(35)a. Ida Raden Mantri lantas ida malayar
   Ida Raden Mantri then 3 MAI-sail

b. nuut pasisi.
   NT-follow beach

c. Rauh di pasisi Pajarakan-n-e,
   ZI arrive at beach Pajarakan-LIG-DEF
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d. **manggihin kone ida anak ma-mancing,**
   NT-find apparently 3 person MAI-fishing

_Then Ida Raden Mantri sails. She follows the beach. When she arrives on the beach of Pajarakan, she finds a person who is fishing._ (Dpw 204-207)

(36)a. **Asing-asing ane tepuk-in-a**
   whatever which ZT find-APPL-3Agt

b. **tunden-a ia nge-mati-ang dewekne.**
   ZT order-3Agt 3 NT-dead-APPL. self

c. **Nah, makelo-kelo nepukin kone ia kedis cerucuk kuning.**
   so later on NT-find apparently 3 bird

_Cerucuk Kuning_ Whatever she finds, she asks it to kill her. So, later on she finds a bird Cerucuk Kuning. (CK 243-245)

Some instances of VAO order above occur with the linker _kone_ 'apparently' (see examples (35d) and (36c)) or _ba_ 'then,' (see example (34c)) which is placed between V and A, but the ‘inverted’ A which is close to V is more likely to determine FG than the linker itself. This order seems to be used to emphasise the sequentiality of an event. For example, in (32c) if we take VAO in (32c), the meaning would be like ‘Now he makes a trick.’ Here the VAO very strongly emphasises the sequentiality of events. In this situation, it is important to put V in initial position, where it is close to A. The use of this order is quite distinct from the use of VOA, which is associated with BG in both the examples with this order in my texts, as in (37c) and (38c) below.

(37)a. **Dija ia bakat-ang-a**
   where 3 ZT get-APPL-3Agt

b. **sai-sai jeg suba ada**
   often EMPH already exist

c. **ngidih pis ia sing taen**
   NT-ask money 3 not ever

d. **wak sing bisa nekang pis**
   person not able NT-produce money
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(We don’t know) where she gets it. Frequently everything is just available. She never asks for money. She does not earn money. (GBN 304-307)

| (38)a. Nah keneh iane bakal nyuang yeh | sambilang-a masih manjus | (38)b. mapan bek kone awak-ne | misi oot pesak. |
| so thought will NT-take water | while-3Agt also NI-bath | because full apparently body-3POSS’R |
| c. Nak suwud nebuk padi ia i busan. | FOC finish NT-crush rice (in its husk) just now |
| She wants to take water while bathing. (Because) her body is full of husks. (Because) she just finishes crushing the rice (in its husk). (CK 143-146) |

The association of VOA and BG in NT cannot be demonstrated from the texts since there are only two relevant examples. However, this generalization about VOA order accords with my native speaker intuition. My intuition is that VOA with NT can never be used with FG unless a FG linker is involved with that order. The use of VOA with NT in BG seems to be limited to clauses expressing reason. For instance, if we take VOA in (37c) and (37d), the meaning is very much like ‘since she never asks for money and does not earn money.’

The position of the verb seems to be irrelevant insofar as grounding with the ka-passive is concerned because, in this voice, PI is favoured for both grounding types. This is similar to NT, but with a less strong preference for PI. The ka-passive voice shows an unusual tendency compared with other voices: VI is used slightly more in BG than in FG. However, the number of occurrences is too small to make any strong generalisation.
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Table 8. Grounding and verb position with ka- passive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grounding Types</th>
<th>Verb Initial</th>
<th>Pivot Initial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FG</td>
<td>3 (27%)</td>
<td>10 (36%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BG</td>
<td>8 (73%)</td>
<td>18 (64%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9. Grounding and verb position with intransitives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grounding Types</th>
<th>Verb Initial</th>
<th>Pivot Initial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FG</td>
<td>102 (71%)</td>
<td>137 (36%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BG</td>
<td>41 (29%)</td>
<td>242 (64%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>379</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In intransitive clauses, VI is a good indicator of FG — 71% of VI are FG. PI can be considered the unmarked order for intransitives, and is usually used unless the clause is FG. Even in FG, however, PI is more common than VI.

The examples above and below show the use of VI order in four different clause types with FG. The four clause types are NT (32c) above, ZT (39c), the passive ka-(40c) and the ma- Intransitive (41b).

(39)a. Liu pada anak-e nyagjag-in ia
       many each person-DEF NT-approach-APPL 3

b. tur makejang pada ngaba sikep.
   while all each NT-carry weapon

c. Ditu mati-ang-a lantas macan totonan.
   there ZT dead-APPL-3Agt then tiger that
   Many people approach it (the tiger) while each of them carries a weapon. There they killed that tiger. (SIP 375 377)

(40)a. Bih ratu kanti telah ia ma-tatu
       oh lord until complete 3 MAI-wound

b. macuab-cuab pesu getih ne Bawang.
   continuously produce blood ART. Bawang
Oh Lord, she was completely wounded. Bawang (her body) continuously produces blood, and she was expelled (from home by her mother). (CK 218-220)

Some main points can be summarised in this section. The two transitive clauses show a big difference in relation to the frequency of VI orders: ZT clauses are slightly more common with VI than PI, while NT clauses are much more common with PI than VI. VI order is a good predictor of FG in ZT clauses since VI orders is very strongly associated with FG clauses. But with NT, VI order is unusual, even when the clause is FG, although it does appear that FG may have a slight tendency to favour VI in NT clauses.

7.5.2.2 Grounding with Pivot Initial Order

Unlike VI order, which is strongly associated with foregrounding overall and especially in ZT clauses, PI order alone does not seem to be very strongly associated with grounding. The overall frequency of the two grounding types with PI order is presented in Table 10.
Table 10. Grounding and PI in transitive clause types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Clause Types</th>
<th>FG</th>
<th>BG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>97 (60%)</td>
<td>131 (82%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>65 (40%)</td>
<td>28 (18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>162 (100%)</td>
<td>159 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although PI order is not a good predictor overall of grounding, with ZT clauses both VI and PI are good predictors of FG. This must mean that there is a strong correlation between ZT and FG, and this is confirmed by Table 11. We have already seen that this is true when all ZT clauses are considered (Table 3). Table 11 shows that the correlation between ZT and FG is even stronger when both arguments are overtly expressed.

Table 11. Overall frequency of grounding with PI and VI orders combined in transitive clause types (with overt expression of both arguments only)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Clause Types</th>
<th>FG</th>
<th>BG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>102 (43.40%)</td>
<td>133 (56.60%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>196 (80.33%)</td>
<td>48 (19.67%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>298 (62.21%)</td>
<td>181 (37.79%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to see whether a particular grounding type favours PI, we must look again at the tables in the previous Section (Tables 6, 7, 8 and 9). From Table 7, we see that PI is heavily favoured with NT, regardless of grounding types. This is similar to what happens with intransitive clauses, but much stronger. With the ka- passive, PI is also favoured in both grounding types, but the tendency to use PI seems to be stronger for FG than BG. It is with ZT that PI has the strongest correlation with a grounding type— out of 48 ZT clauses which occur with BG, 28 or 58% are PI, while out of 196
ZT clauses which occur with FG, only 65 or 33% are PI (see Table 6). However, even where PI order is most strongly associated with a particular grounding type, the association is not very strong.

The ZT clause and the ka-passive are two clause types with an undergoer pivot, and so it is useful to compare the two. The statistical data show that ZT clauses correlate with FG, while the ka-passive correlates with BG events. The ka-passive, for both PI and VI orders, is commonly used to report BG events. As discussed above, both FG and BG can be PI.

**Table 12. Grounding with ZT and ka-passive in PI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FG</th>
<th>BG</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>65 (70%)</td>
<td>28 (30%)</td>
<td>93 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>10 (36%)</td>
<td>18 (64%)</td>
<td>28 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>75 (62%)</td>
<td>46 (38%)</td>
<td>121 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although PI clauses are more commonly BG than FG in both the ka-passive and intransitive clauses (Table 12 and Table 13), ZT clauses are usually FG even when they are PI (Table 9).

**Table 13. Grounding with intransitive verbs in PI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FG</th>
<th>BG</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>137 (36%)</td>
<td>242 (64%)</td>
<td>379 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following examples illustrate PI orders in BG clauses. In these examples, the NT clause (42b) is used to report additional information, the ZT clause (43b) reports something the narrator believes will happen in the future and the ka-passive (44a) is used as a description.
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(42)a. Nah, disubane keto, buin kone ne jani
so, after that again apparently this now

ni Bawang ma-pangidihan tekenin
Article Bawang MAI-ask to

I kedis Cerucuk Kuning
Article bird Cerucuk Kuning

b. apanga I kedis Cerucuk Kuning ngotol
COMP Article bird Cerucuk Kuning NT-peck

pagelangan lima-n-e.
wrist hand-LIG-DEF
So, after that, now again Bawang asks Cerucuk Kuning to peck her wrist. (CK 270-271)

(43)a. Beneh ngkusus jeg ngkusus ja biasa
right NT-steam just NT-steam EMPH usual

b. binjahanq bulu-n siap jemak-a katih
later on feather-LIG chicken ZT take-3Agt QUANT
(She) is seriously cooking, she is just cooking as usual, later on she grabs a chicken feather. (GBN 314-317)

(44)a. ... mapan awak-ne ba telah ka-rejeng
because body-3POSS'R already complete PSV-attack

baan gumatat-gumitet-e ento
by animals-DEF that

b. laut lengeh ba ia ni Kesuna
then drunk Particle 3 Article Kesuna

c. telah benyah awak-ne
complete shattered body-3POSS'R
...because her body is completely attacked by many kinds of animals, Kesuna is drunk. Her body is completely shattered. (CK)

7.5.3 Conclusions about Grounding and Word Order

Overall, VI order is a very good predictor of FG since clauses with this order are much more commonly FG than BG. On the other hand, PI clauses are overall more likely to be BG than FG, but the overall predictive value of PI is weak. See Table 4.
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It is in ZT that grounding correlates most strongly with word order. If ZT is used for an FG clause, there is a fairly strong tendency to use VI order. If a ZT clause is used to report a BG event, there is a tendency, but not a very strong one, to use PI order. With NT, intransitives, and ka- passive, the preference is for PI order regardless of the grounding type, although the strength of this preference varies among these three types.

In ZT clauses VI order is used more commonly than PI order. Of these two orders we can conclude that VI is the unmarked choice, while PI is the marked choice as far as my texts go. A similar finding with respect to the different frequency of VI order and PI order is also reported by Artawa, et al. (1998:32). VI order has a rigid position for A, and can be used for either FG or BG events, but in my texts this order is much more favoured for FG rather than BG events.

In NT clauses PI is the unmarked choice, while VI order is marked as far as my narrative texts go. There is an enormous difference of frequency between PI and VI, where VI order in NT only occur in around 3% of the recorded examples. Although the number of examples with this order in my texts is too small to make strong generalizations, in fact it has two distinctive orders: VAO and VOA, which are selectively used with different grounding types. All examples of VAO are found in FG clauses, while all examples of VOA order are found in BG clauses.

We also need to note that VI order is a good predictor of FG for all clause types except the ka- passive, but PI order is not a good predictor of grounding in any clause types.

7.6 Degree of Transitivity and Grounding

Hopper and Thompson (1980) propose ten parameters which measure 'degree of
transitivity.’ The ten parameters are used to show ‘that each component of transitivity involves a different facet of the affectedness or intensity with which the action is transferred from one participant to another’ (p. 252). The ten parameters and their definitions are presented below.

(A) Participants: No transfer at all takes place unless at least two participants are involved. (B) Kinesis: Actions can be transferred from one participant to another: states cannot. Thus something happens to Sally in I hugged Sally, but not in I like Sally. (C) Aspect: An action viewed from its endpoint, i.e. a telic action, is more affectively transferred to a patient than one not provided with such an endpoint. In the telic sentence I ate it up, the activity is viewed as completed, and the transferral is carried out in its entity; but in the atelic I am eating it, the transferral is only partially carried out. (D) Punctuality: Actions carried out with no obvious transitional phase between inceptics and completion have a more marked effect on their patients than actions which are inherently on going; contrast kick (punctual) with carry (non-punctual). (E) Volitionality: The effect on the patient is typically more apparent when the A is presented as acting purposefully; contrast I wrote your name (volitional) with I forgot your name (non-volitional). (F) Affirmation: This is the affirmative/negative parameter. (G) Mode: This refers to the distinction between ‘realis’ and ‘irrealis’ encoding of events. An action which either did not occur, or which is presented as occurring in a non-real world, is obviously less affective than one whose occurrence is actually asserted as corresponding directly with a real event. (H) Agency: It is obvious that participants high in Agency can effect a transfer of an action in a way that those low in Agency cannot. Thus the normal interpretatics of George startled me is that of a perceptible event with perceptible consequences; but that of The picture startled me could be completely a matter of an internal state. (I) Affectedness of O and (J) Individuation of O: The degree to which an action is transferred to a patient is a function of how completely that patient is affected; it is done more affectively in, say, I drank up the milk than in I drank some of the milk. The component of Individuation, however, refers both to the distinctness of the patient from the A and to its distinctness from its own background. (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 252-253)

In this section we first review some of the literature on ‘degree of transitivity’ and grounding in other languages before turning our attention to Balinese.
7.6.1 Degree of Transitivity in Other Languages

In their investigation of three English narrative texts,14 Hopper and Thompson found that verbs which have a high level of transitivity tend to be used more commonly for FG events than for BG events. A high level of discourse transitivity involves clauses which have the features (a) participant: 2 or more participants; (b) kinesis: action; (c) aspect: telic; (d) punctuality: punctual; (e) volitionality: volitional; (f) affirmation: affirmative; (g) mode: realis; (h) agency: A high in potency; (i) Affectedness of Patient: Patient totally affected and (j) individuation of Patient: Patient highly individuated. These features are applied quantitatively and correlated with grounding types. Their results show that the three texts tend to use verbs with a high degree of discourse transitivity more commonly in FG events than in BG events. An average of 78% of the features of high transitivity are used in foregrounded events, while an average of only 39% of them are employed in backgrounded events. A summary of their results is presented in Table 14.

Table 14. The average percentage of features of high transitivity in grounding in three English texts (Hopper and Thompson 1980:288)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High Transitivity</th>
<th>Foregrounding</th>
<th>Backgrounding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) 2 participants or more</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) action</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) telic</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) punctual</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) volitional</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) affirmative</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) realis</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) A high in potency</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) total affectedness of P</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j) P highly individuated</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average for all features</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In early Modern Malay, a language which is closely related to Indonesian and

Balinese, Hopper (1983) finds a correlation between grounding and degree of transitivity, particularly in three clause types: 'ergative', 'passive' and 'active' voice:

(i) The ergative. He finds this clause type shows a higher score on all the transitivity parameters especially for the parameters which correlate with events: telicity, agency, kinesis and punctuality.

(ii) The Passive. Passive clauses have a low score on all the parameters involving agency (e.g. number of participants, agent potency, and volitionality). However, passive clauses also score high on patient individuation. This is because the passive construction gives more focus to patients than agents.

(iii) The Active. Active clauses show agent focus. Therefore, scores for parameters involving agents are always high but low on the patient parameters (e.g. patient affectedness, patient individuation, and number of participants).

In three related parameters of discourse transitivity (i.e. realis/irrealis, punctuality and referentiality) in Spoken Jakarta Indonesian (SJI), Wouk (1996: 373-374) finds that the features of high transitivity (i.e. realis, punctual and referential) are found mainly in Patient Trigger clauses, while features of low transitivity (i.e. irrealis, durative and not referential) are mainly found in Agent Trigger clauses, as shown in Table 15.

Table 15. Correlation between degree of discourse transitivity and verb types in Spoken Jakarta Indonesian (Wouk 1996: 373-374)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Types</th>
<th>High Transitivity</th>
<th>Low Transitivity</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>realis</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AT</td>
<td>52 (60%)</td>
<td>36 (40%)</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT</td>
<td>70 (80%)</td>
<td>18 (20%)</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>punctual</td>
<td>durative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AT</td>
<td>27 (31%)</td>
<td>61 (69%)</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT</td>
<td>59 (67%)</td>
<td>29 (33%)</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>referential</td>
<td>not referential</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AT</td>
<td>46 (52%)</td>
<td>42 (48%)</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT</td>
<td>86 (98%)</td>
<td>2 (2%)</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Wouk (1996:376) does not find the strong correlation between degree of transitivity and grounding in SJI that Hopper and Thompson (1980:288) found in English texts. In SJI, it is true that there is a strong correlation between verb morphology and discourse transitivity, as shown in Table 15, but this does not mean that the degree of transitivity determines the selection of Patient Trigger rather than Agent Trigger morphology.

7.6.2 Degree of Transitivity and Grounding in Balinese

We have seen that in Balinese, foregrounding mainly occurs with ZT clauses, while backgrounding mainly employs NT. In our discussion of degree of transitivity, we will look at the correlation between clause types and degree of transitivity, and the correlation between degree of transitivity and grounding with voice selection. There are 5 related parameters of degree of transitivity which will be discussed. The five parameters are punctuality, volitionality, affectedness of O, individuation of O, and mode (realis vs. irrealis). These features of high degree of discourse transitivity will be measured against both clause types and grounding. Clause type counts, as before, will be made only of main clauses/non-controlled constructions. These are the clauses which are not BG by definition.
Table 16. Degree of transitivity and transitive clause types in Balinese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Types</th>
<th>Clause</th>
<th>High Transitivity</th>
<th>Low Transitivity</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>punctual</td>
<td>non-punctual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>volitional</td>
<td>non-volitional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>affected O</td>
<td>non-affected O</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>highly individuated O</td>
<td>non-individuated O</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>realis</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>437</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>536</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16 shows that both voices seem to be commonly used for clauses with high transitivity. However, ZT seems to be a stronger predictor of high transitivity. ZT clauses rate high on all five transitivity features. NT clauses rate high on four of the five features, but never as high as ZT, and only 45% of the NT examples are punctual. Examples which illustrate the five features of transitivity for ZT and NT are presented below.

A. high transitivity

The NT clause in (45c) and the ZT clause in (46b) both have the five features of high transitivity:

(i) **Punctual**: we consider both the NT clause in (45c) and the ZT clause in (46b) to be punctual because there is no temporal duration of the action concerned.

(ii) **Volitional**: the action of the NT verb *ngenjuhin* 'to hand, to give something to someone by using a hand' and the action of the ZT *jemak* 'take' are both volitional
because they are conducted purposefully.

(iii) **Affectedness of O**: the object-like argument of the NT clause in (45c) and the O of the ZT clause are all highly affected by the action. We consider the two Os of the NT clause to be fully affected because of the use of the suffix -in. If this suffix is not used, the benefactive will be in a prepositional phrase and in this situation the benefactive is only slightly affected. The O *nyuh-e punika* ‘that coconut’ of the ZT clause in (46b) is highly affected and the verb *jemak* ‘take’ does not need any affixation to show this affectedness.

(iv) **Highly individuated O**: the A and the O participants in both the NT clause and the ZT clause are lexically expressed with high definiteness.

(v) **Realis**: the action occurs in a real event in both examples.

**Examples**

(45)a. "Ih jero dagang bebek, niki jinah
   Hi, you seller duck, this money

b. icen tiang bebek kekalih!
   give I duck two

c. Ditu Pan Belog ngenju-in I dagang
   there Pan Belog NT-to hand-APPL Article seller

   bebek ringgit aketeng,
   duck Ringgit one/Quantifier

d. nanging ke Pan Belog tusing nawang
   but Particle Pan Belog not NT-know

   yanen to madan ringgit.
   if that MAI-call Ringgit

   ‘Hi, you, the duck seller, here is the money.’ "Give me two ducks." (After Pan Belog says that) Pan Belog hands the duck seller one Ringgit, but Pan Belog does not know that is a Ringgit. (BLG 40-43)

(46)a. Dados bes sesai pancing ipun aduk-a
   thus too frequent fishing rod 3 ZT disturb-3Agt

b. dados jemak-a nyuh-e punika
   then ZT take-3Agt coconut-DEF that
ken jatma-e nika, kenten
by person-DEF that, that’s it
Thus because the coconut frequently disturbs his fishing rod, then that person (= Batun Nyuh) grabs that coconut. That is it. (GBN 26-27)

B. low transitivity

The NT and the ZT examples below have some features of low transitivity. The NT clause in (47a) has three features of low transitivity: (i) non-punctuality, (ii) non-affectedness of O and (iii) irrealis. The ZT clause in (48b) also has three features of low transitivity: non-punctuality, non-affectedness of O and an indefinite referent for O.

(47)a. Nah keneh ia-n-e bakal nyuang yeh
so mind 3-LIG-DEF FUT NT-get water

b. sambilang-a masih manjus
while-3Agt also MAI-bath
So, her mind (says that she) will go to get some water while bathing.15 (CK 143-144)

(48)a. Sai-sai I Belenjo luas ka uma
frequently Article Belenjo go to rice field
ngabaang nasi, ebe-n-ne ebe eko-eko
NT-bring rice side dish-LIG-DEF fish NAME
teken jukut reramon.
with vegetables mix

b. Sai-sai kone keto dogenan
frequently apparently thing like that only
daar-anq-a nasi-n-e,
ZT eat-APPL-3 Agt rice-LIG-DEF

c. kanti bulanan tusing taen masalin-salin,
until months not ever MAI-change
Frequently Belenjo goes to a rice field to carry rice with side dishes of “Eko-Eko” fish (for Jater = Belenjo’s husband). He (= Jater) frequently eats rice with a thing (like that). It never changes for months. (JT 22-26)

15 In this story, she (= Kesuma) brings a clay bucket to a pond, which she will fill with water.
The features of low transitivity for the NT clause in (47a) and the ZT clause in (48b) are listed and discussed as follows.

(i) **non-punctuality or habitualness**: the NT verb *nyuang* in (47a) and the ZT verb *daar-ang* `eat (something with something)’ in (48b) both have a temporal duration and the action can be conducted iteratively. We can also consider the ZT clause in (48b) as expressing habitualness because of the adverb *sai-sai* `frequently.

(ii) **Non-affectedness of O**: both O of the NT and O of the ZT are incompletely affected by the action. In the NT clause, the verb *nyuang* `get’ is not specific enough to transfer the action and the A *keneh ia-ne* ‘her mind’ is an inanimate which metaphorically does an action. With this type of action and animacy, the O can be incompletely affected. In the ZT clause, the verb *daar-ang* `eat (something with something)’ is low in transitivity because of the applicative suffix -*ang* which decreases affectedness of the Patient. If we omit the applicative suffix -*ang*, the Patient (the pre-verbal O) will be highly affected by the action so that the degree of transitivity is increased, as in example (49)

(49) Nasi-n-e daa-a *ajak keto* dogenan
    rice-LIG-DEF ZT eat-3 Agt with thing like that only
    She/he eats the rice with thing like that.

(iii) **Non-individuated O**: the ZT clause in (48b) has the non-definite O *keto* `(a thing) like that’. We can trace the referent of the determiner *keto* because it is used in the text, but it will be non-specific if it is used without a discourse context.

(iv) **Irrealis**: the NT clause in (47a) is an irrealis clause because of the future particle *bakal* ‘will.’ The ZT clause in (48b), on the other hand, does not have the
feature of irrealis. An example of irrealis mode for a ZT clause is given in (50c) below.

In this example, there is no real action conducted by the Agent -a ‘3rd (= the older man)’ in ‘not taking that coconut.’

(50)a. “nyuh ajum” kenten pajar ipun-e
   coconut proud like that say 3-DEF

b. nika nak wong tua-n-ang
   that Focus person old-LIG-COMPARATIVE

c. mawinang nyuh nika ten durus ambil-a
   that’s why coconut that not straight ZT take-3Agt
   “a proud coconut”, that is his words. He is an older man, that is why, he does not immediately take that coconut. (GBN 75-78)

There is no feature of non-volitionality for either the NT clause in (47a) or the ZT clause in (48b). Examples of a non-volitional action for an NT clause and a ZT clause are given below.

(51) Sakit ati sajanan ia,
sick heart very 3

nguda ia nepuk-in paundukan buka keto.
why 3 NT-find-APPL problem as that
She (= Kesuna) is very upset about why she ends up with a problem like that. (CK 626-627)

(52) Akhir-n-e bilang ked jumah ba
final-LIG-DEF every arrive home already

dapet-ang-a teken | Gede Batun Nyuh
ZT find-APPL-3Agt by I Gde Batun Nyuh

wenten nasi kuskus be gerangasem
available rice steam side dish curry
Lastly every time he arrives home, Batun Nyuh already finds steamed rice, available with curry side dish. (GBN 295-296)

The NT verb *nepukin* ‘see, find, end up’ in (50) is non-volitional because the

---

16 Clauses in (50c) are high register.
action is not conducted deliberately. The A participant *ia* ‘3rd (= Kesuna)’ never expects “to end up with (or to find) a problem like that”, but she accidentally and unfortunately gets it. The ZT verb *dapetang*\(^{17}\) ‘find’ in (51) is also non-volitional. In this clause, the A NP *I Gede Batun Nyuh* finds the “steamed rice with curry side dishes” (are provided by his wife) without deliberately seeking them. He does not look for the steamed rice and the curry, but he frequently finds them in his home in any case, and he is curious about the availability of these things.

The correlation between degree of transitivity and grounding with voice selection are presented in Tables 17 and 18. These tables show that the overall frequency of high transitivity features is much higher than that of low transitivity features for both FG and BG. This is unsurprising, since both ZT and NT are transitive constructions. However, within the highly transitive features, the frequency is always higher in FG than in BG.

### Table 17. Correlation between degree of transitivity and transitive clause types with FG in Balinese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Clause Types</th>
<th>FG, High Transitivity</th>
<th>FG, Low Transitivity</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>punctual</td>
<td>non-punctual</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>volitional</td>
<td>non-volitional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>97%</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>306</td>
<td>94%</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>affected O</td>
<td>non-affected O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>85%</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>highly individuated O</td>
<td>non-individuated O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>realis</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^{17}\) The verb *dapetang* ‘find’ is derived from the bound stem *dapet* ‘get, find’ and the applicative suffix -ang.
Table 17 seems to show that FG is likely to be highly transitive for both NT and ZT clauses. However, there is an interesting difference between NT and ZT clauses in two features: punctuality and affectedness of O. 80% of ZT in FG and 75% of NT in FG are punctual, while 85% of ZT in FG and 79% of NT in FG are used with affected O. Although the higher frequency of ZT in clauses with these two features of transitivity in FG clauses is not great enough that it could not be due to chance, the difference is nevertheless suggestive and may be related to the use of ZT in sequential events with VI order.

Table 18. Correlation between degree of transitivity and transitive clause types with BG in Balinese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Clause Types</th>
<th>BG, High Transitivity</th>
<th>BG, Low Transitivity</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>punctual</td>
<td>non-punctual</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>volitional</td>
<td>non-volitional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>affected O</td>
<td>non-affected O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>highly individuated O</td>
<td>non-individuated O</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>realis</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18 gives some clues about the nature of ZT and NT clauses. A ZT is not often used for BG, but when it is used, O is usually either affected and/or highly individuated. This is shown by the higher frequency of ZT with these two features; 76% of ZT in BG clauses have an affected O compared to 60% of NT,\(^{18}\) and 71% of ZT in

\(^{18}\)P = 0001 (chi-square = 14.562)
BG clauses have a highly individuated O compared to 62% of NT.19

The two features: affectedness of O and individuation of O, on the one hand, and grounding on the other seem to prominently influence the choice of transitive types in Balinese. There is a slightly stronger tendency to use ZT in FG when the O is affected. This tendency is shown by the frequency of transitive constructions with an affected O in the different grounding types—out of 378 transitive clauses which have an affected O in FG, 73% are ZT. With a non-affected O, on the other hand, out of 77 transitive clauses having this feature, only 65% are ZT. This means that although a FG clause in general is likely to be ZT, the probability is even stronger when O is affected.

**Table 19. Correlation between Affectedness of O in FG and Voice**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Types</th>
<th>FG, Affected O</th>
<th>FG, Non-affected O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>102 (27%)</td>
<td>27 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>276 (73%)</td>
<td>50 (65%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>378</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If we look at the correlation between the affectedness of O and BG, we see that the tendency to use NT in BG is much stronger when the O is not affected. Out of 396 transitive clauses which have an affected O in BG, 60% are NT. However, out of 210 transitive clauses which have a non affected O in BG, 76% are NT. These percentages therefore suggest that having an affected O slightly increases the tendency to use ZT where it is most common on the basis of grounding. A non-affected O, on the other hand, very significantly increases the tendency to use NT in the grounding type where NT is usual. See Table 20.

19 $P = 0.0322$ (chi-square = 4.587)
Table 20. Correlation between affectedness of O in BG and voice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Clause Types</th>
<th>BG, Affected O</th>
<th>BG, Non-affected O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>237 (60%)</td>
<td>159 (76%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>159 (40%)</td>
<td>51 (24%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>396</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall there is a slightly stronger tendency to use ZT clauses when the O is affected but to use NT clauses when the O is not affected, disregarding grounding types. Out of 774 transitive clauses with an affected O, 56% are ZT, while out of 287 transitive clauses with a non-affected O, 65% are NT. See Table 21.

Table 21. Overall frequency of grounding types according to affectedness of O

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Clause Types</th>
<th>Affected O</th>
<th>Non-affected O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>339 (44%)</td>
<td>186 (65%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>435 (56%)</td>
<td>101 (35%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>774</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In FG clauses, use of ZT and NT does not seem to depend on whether or not there is an individuated O. Out of 399 transitive clauses which have an individuated O in FG, 72% are ZT. Out of 56 transitive clauses which have a non-individuated O in FG, 70% are ZT. See Table 22.

Table 22. Correlation between individuation of O and FG

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Clause Types</th>
<th>FG, Individuated O</th>
<th>FG, Non-individuated O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>112 (28%)</td>
<td>17 (30%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>287 (72%)</td>
<td>39 (70%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>399</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
If we look at the correlation between the individuation of O in BG clauses, we see that there is a stronger tendency to use NT when the O is not individuated. Out of 394 transitive clauses which have an individuated O in BG, 62% are NT. But, out of 212 transitive clauses which have a non-individuated O in BG, 71% are NT. Thus, an individuated O slightly increases the tendency to use ZT in the grounding type in which NT is most common, while a non-individuated O significantly decreases the tendency to use ZT in the grounding type where NT is most common. See Table 23.

Table 23. Correlation between individuation of O and BG

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Clause Types</th>
<th>BG, Individuated O</th>
<th>BG, Non-individuated O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>245 (62%)</td>
<td>151 (71%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>149 (38%)</td>
<td>61 (29%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>394</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If we look at the overall rate of transitive clauses which have individuation of O disregarding grounding, we find that there is a slight tendency to use ZT when the O is individuated. On the other hand, there is a considerably stronger tendency to use NT when the O is not individuated. These tendencies are shown by the total number of occurrence of individuation of O. Out of 793 transitive clauses which have an individuated O, 55% are ZT, while out of 268 clauses which have a non-individuated O, 63% are NT. See Table 24.

Table 24. The Overall frequency of grounding types according to individuation of O

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Clause Types</th>
<th>Individuated O</th>
<th>Non-individuated O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>357 (45%)</td>
<td>168 (63%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>436 (55%)</td>
<td>100 (37%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>793</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The facts presented above show that the apparent affects of grounding type on
choice of NT and ZT cannot be reduced merely to transitivity, since a given transitive type occurs more frequently in a particular grounding type than we would expect on the basis of features such as affectedness of O and individuation.

7.7 Conclusion

The following conclusions can be drawn from the discussion above. Verb positions in Balinese tend to be associated with grounding. The strongest association is between Verb Initial order and FG events. Pivot Initial order, on the other hand, is associated with BG events. This association is not very strong though, since the frequency of this order in BG events is only slightly higher than in FG events.

PI order is the most common order overall, but the overall preference for PI order is greatly reduced in FG. Since VI is favoured in ZT, the preference for VI is heavily increased in FG. This shows that VI overall is a good predictor of FG, while PI is a weak predictor of BG. Here ZT clauses go against the overall tendency. VI is used more commonly in ZT clauses than PI, so we consider that VI is the unmarked order for ZT clauses, while PI is the marked order.

In NT clauses, the frequency of VI order is too small to make a firm generalisation concerning grounding, since PI is heavily used for both FG and BG. This leads us to conclude that PI is the unmarked order for NT, while VI is a highly marked order. But with this voice, PI orders are slightly more commonly used with BG than FG. This means that PI orders in the NT associate with BG, but not very strongly.

A FG linker may be used to make it clear that the clause is FG, while a BG particle is used to make it clear that the clause is BG. Although the appearance of the linker and the discourse particle is a sufficient criterion for classifying a given clause as
FG or BG, it is not a necessary one.

The degree of transitivity overall plays an important role in dividing transitive clauses into FG and BG. The high transitivity features are very strongly associated with FG, while the low transitivity features are fairly strongly associated with BG. Although the high transitivity features all have a high frequency in both FG and BG, the frequency of these features in FG is higher than that in BG. Therefore, we consider that high transitivity is associated with FG. The low transitivity features, on the other hand, usually have a low frequency in both FG and BG (except for the punctual feature in BG). However, the frequency of these features is greater with BG clauses than FG ones. Therefore, we consider that low transitivity is associated with BG.

Two features of degree of transitivity: affectedness of O and individuation of O correlate highly with the use of NT and ZT clauses. The tendency to use ZT in FG is somewhat stronger when the O is affected or individuated, while the tendency to use NT in BG is significantly stronger when the O is not affected or not individuated. The overall rate of these two features, disregarding grounding in transitive types, also shows that the tendency to use ZT is stronger when the O is affected or individuated. The tendency to use NT is stronger when the O is not affected or not individuated.

There is another correlation which needs to be looked at in order to complete our picture of the nature of clause choice. The correlation between grounding and topicality is another factor which remains to be explored. This correlation will be discussed in Chapter Nine, after we have discussed topicality on its own in Chapter Eight.
8.1 Introduction

The major question of this chapter is the role of topicality in voice selection. Topicality here is defined as the continuity of a referent in a discourse. In relation to these matters, this chapter will discuss (i) the definition of topicality, (ii) the measurement of topicality (including ‘Referential Distance’ and ‘Topic Persistence’), (iii) topicality in the three voices (including topicality of A and O in transitive clauses and topicality of S in the ka-passive), (iv) relative topicality of A and O in transitive clauses, (v) counter-examples concerning topicality, and (vi) the scale of topicality in a number of expression types.

Out of the eleven texts in the corpus, only four are measured for topicality. The four texts include two spoken texts and two written texts. The spoken texts are Cerucuk Kuning (with 717 clauses) and Gede Batum Nyuh (with 524 clauses), while the written texts are Nyoman Jater (with 499 clauses) and Satua Pan Belog (with 97 clauses). These four texts are also used in Chapter 9.

8.2 The Definition of Topicality

According to Givón (1994:9), topicality of nominal referents has two components which are both ‘cognitively significant’ and ‘methodologically measurable’:
(a) "Anaphoric accessibility: Whether the current referent has prior text antecedence, and if so how far back and how cognitively accessible that antecedence is."

(b) "Cataphoric persistence: Whether the current referent recurs in the following text, and if so how frequently, and thus presumably how thematically important or attentionally activated it is."

To measure topicality Givón (1979, 1983, 1984) proposes three types of quantitative measurements. Those types are (i) referential distance ('look back'), (ii) potential interference ('ambiguity') and (iii) persistence ('decay'). In my study, only 'referential distance' and 'persistence' are applied because these two methods 'are based on an assumption that more topical (thematically important) referents tend to be both more anaphorically accessible ('continuous') and more cataphorically persistent ('recurrent') (Givón 1994:10). These are also easier to measure than 'potential interference.'

(a) Referential Distance (RD). This method measures the referential distance of the 'coreferent antecedent' or its 'anaphoric gap.' The continuity is assigned a quantitative value depending on the number of clauses intervening between the first mention of the referent and the last occurrence. Givón (1994:10) gives values of referential distance as follows: the value 1 is given when a coreferent participant occurs in the immediately preceding clause, the value 2 or 3 is given when the coreferent participant occurs in the second or third clause, respectively, preceding the present occurrence. The value 20 is given to a discontinuous participant or a participant which does not have an antecedent after three preceding clauses.

(b) Topic Persistence (TP). This method measures the persistence of the referent in the following clauses. The minimum value is 0 for a discontinuous topic and there is
no limit for the maximum value of persistence. The upper value depends on how many times the same referent is found in the following clauses (Givón 1994:10). A numerical value for TP which indicates how many times the referent is mentioned in the following clauses is assigned to the argument.

Dryer (1994:65-99) in his work on Kutenai, a language isolate of British Columbia, modifies Givón’s methods of the RD and TP measurements. I use the measurements developed by Dryer, with some modifications which will be explained below.

For RD, Dryer (1994:74-75) distinguishes three degrees of distance: (i) the value of 1 is given when a referent is mentioned in the immediately preceding clause; (ii) the value of 2 or 3 is given to the present referent when there are 2 or 3 clauses respectively intervening between the present referent and the coreferent antecedent; and (iii) the value of >3 is given when there is no mention in the preceding 3 clauses, or when there is no previous mention. By using this kind of measurement we assume that a referent which is mentioned in the immediately preceding clause is more topical than a referent which is mentioned in a non-immediately preceding clause. Therefore, the value of 1 denotes the most topical participant; the value of 2/3 a less topical participant; and the value of >3 the non-topical participant.

For TP, Dryer (1994:78-79) reduces Givón’s (1983) methods into two cases: (i) a referent which persists 0 to 2 clauses; and (ii) a referent which persists three or more clauses. Persistence of 0 to 2 clauses means that we measure a referent which occurs in two or fewer clauses within the next ten clauses. Persistence of three or more clauses, on the other hand, measures a referent which occurs in three or more clauses in the next ten
clauses. In my measurement of TP, I do not put a referent which persists $\emptyset$ to 2 clauses into one group. Instead I split them into two groups: the referent which persists $\emptyset$ and the referent which persists 1 to 2 clauses. This is applied to get a clear difference between the referent which is the least persistent (or which does not persist at all), more persistent, and the most persistent. Thus, I will use three levels of measurement for TP: (i) the referent with no persistence, (ii) the referent which persists 1 to 2 clauses, and (iii) the referent which persists 3 or more clauses. By using these three methods we can assume that the referent which persists three or more clauses is the most topical referent. The referents which persists one to two clauses, on the other hand, are less topical, while the referent which does not persist at all is not topical at all.

8.3 Referential Distance

Examples are presented below to illustrate how participants of clauses are measured in terms of referential distance. The examples consist of 15 clauses. These clauses comprise (i) two participants which are mentioned once: P4 and P7, (ii) two participants which are non-referential (PX), and (iii) three continuous referents which are rementioned at least once after they first occur: P1, P2, and P3). The capital P here refers to ‘referent/participant’ which functions as a clause argument in texts. I have assigned the participant numbers and have used PX for non-referential arguments.

(1)a. Sedek dina anu Pan Belog (P1) tunden-a
    at  day something Pan Belog ZT ask-3Agt
ka peken teken kurena-n-ne (P2)
to market by spouse-LIG-3POSS’R

b. Øc (P1) meli bebek (P3) dadua,
NT-buy duck two

c. Øo (P3) lakar tampah-a (PX)
will ZT slaughter-3Agt

d. Øo (P3) anggon-a (PX) banten (P4),
ZT use-3Agt offering

e. krana matua-n-ne (matua=P5) buinmani-n-e
because parent-in-law-LIG-3POSS’R tomorrow-LIG-DEF
tutuga bulan pitung dina (P6).
ceremony month seven day

f. Kene munyi-n-e (munyi = P7) teken Pan Belog (P1):
like this voice-LIG-DEF to Pan Belog

g. "lh, bapa-n-ne (P1), kene cai suba nawang,
hi, father-LIG-3POSS’R here you already NT-know

h. [buin mani i bapa (P5) tutug abulan
next tomorrow ART. father ceremony month

pitung dina] (P6),
seven day

i. buina icang (P2) repot pesan megarapan,
also I busy very MAI-work

j. tusing icang (P2) maan
not I ZI-able

k. Øc (P2) magedi kija-kija”.
MAI-go away anywhere

l. Kema Ø (P1) ja ka peken
go there EMPH to market

m. meli Ø (P1) bebek (P3) dadua.
NT-buy duck two

n. Ø (P1) Pilih-ang men
choose-APPL EMPH
Chapter 8: Topicality

o. Ø (P1) meli bebek (P3).

NT-buy duck

One day Pan Belog is asked by his wife to buy two ducks which are going to be slaughtered, to be sacrificed as offerings. His father-in-law is going to have the ceremony of “One Month and 7 days” celebration. Here are her words to Pan Belog: “Hi, you Pan Belog, as you have already knew, tomorrow our father will be having the ceremony. As for me, I will be very busy working, so (that), I won’t be able to go anywhere. (BLG 1-11)

In the episode above, there are two NPs which are mentioned once. Those participants which are only mentioned once are the indefinite NP banten ‘offering’ (P4), which functions as an object complement of the ZT clause in (1d); and the definite NP munyi-ne ‘the voice’ which functions as intransitive S (P7 in 1f). Non-referential participants are the third person Agent -a (PX in 1c) and the third person Agent -a (PX in 1d). I consider both of the latter to be non-referential because they do not refer to a specific participant in the text. The continuous referents, on the other hand, consist of three participants: the first pronoun icang ‘I, the spouse’ which functions as an intransitive S (P2 in 1j), the referent, Pan Belog ‘father’ (P1 which is expressed as the definite NP hapa-n-ne in 1g and as zero anaphora in 1m, 1n and 1o), and the referent ‘duck’ (P3 in 1b) which is expressed as zero anaphora in 1c and 1d). Some of the referents are topical at one point in this selection but not topical at other points (e.g. P1 in 1a vs. P1 in 1l) while others are never topical in the selection (e.g. P4 in 1d). For example, P1 is not topical in (1a), since it is in this clause that it is first introduced as a referent, but it is highly topical in (1l) by which point it has been referred to many times.

There is no value given to a referent which functions as a controlled subject/ a compulsory-Ø anaphora or a relative pronoun, since it is treated as a pseudo-participant (e.g. P1 in 1b). The value is only given to a controller subject or the head NP of the relative clause. Neither is a value given to any other core object participant of the
controlled construction or relative clause, since we expect to get a balanced measurement of the referents of the controlled construction (e.g. P3 in 1b) or the relative clause. The participant of the controlled construction or the relative clause is not given an RD (or TP) value but it is counted as an antecedent.

The participants which are used in the episode above are listed according to their positions in the clauses. The list of participants and clauses below will show exactly the value of their RD's.

Table 1. Measurement of Referential Distance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Numbers</th>
<th>Participants (P)</th>
<th>Value of RD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>P1, P2</td>
<td>&gt;3, &gt;3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>Oc/P1, P3</td>
<td>- , -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>Oc/P3, -a/PX</td>
<td>1, &gt;3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1d</td>
<td>Oc/P3, -a/PX, P4</td>
<td>1, &gt;3, &gt;3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1e</td>
<td>P5, P6</td>
<td>&gt;3, &gt;3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1f</td>
<td>P7, P1</td>
<td>&gt;3, &gt;3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1g</td>
<td>P1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1h</td>
<td>P5, P6</td>
<td>3, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1i</td>
<td>P2</td>
<td>&gt;3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1j</td>
<td>P2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1k</td>
<td>Oc/P2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1l</td>
<td>P1</td>
<td>&gt;3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1m</td>
<td>P1, P3</td>
<td>1, &gt;3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1n</td>
<td>P1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1o</td>
<td>P1, P3</td>
<td>1, 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.4 Topic Persistence

As with RD, I will illustrate how TP is measured in a real text, using the same text which was used in the measurement of RD. In the measurement of RD we count the RD to preceding clauses, while in the measurement of TP we count the persistence to following clauses.
Chapter 8: Topicality

A persistence value from 0 to 3+ is given to a referent, depending on how often it occurs within the following 10 clauses. In the episode above there are 15 clauses. Only the participants which have ten following clauses are eligible to be given a persistence value; therefore participants which occur within the clauses from 1g to 1o are not given any persistence value because they do not have ten clauses following them. However, a referent might reach a persistence value of 3+ before ten following clauses are reached (as for instance the referent ‘Pan Belog’ in 1f).

In the episode above, participants which have ten following clauses include the proper name Pan Belog (P1 in 1a), the possessive NP kurenan-ne ‘his spouse’ which functions as the A of the ZT clause (P2 in 1a), the referent ‘duck’ (P3) which is expressed as zero anaphora and functions as O of the ZT clause in 1c and 1d, the indefinite NP banten ‘offering’ (P4 in 1d) which functions as an object complement of the ZT clause, the possessive NP matua-n-ne ‘his parent-in-law’ (P5 in 1e) which functions as an intransitive S, the indefinite NP tutug abulan pitung dina ‘42 days-ceremony’ (P6 in 1e) which functions as a stative predicate, and the non-specific referent of the third person Agent -a (PX in 1c and 1d). In these instances, the highest value of persistence is 3 which is given to the referent ‘Pan Belog’ (P1 in 1a) and the referent ‘spouse’ (P2 also in 1a). The referent ‘Pan Belog’ in this clause cataphorically reoccurs three times within the next ten clauses, 1b, 1f and 1g, while the referent ‘spouse’ is cataphorically used three times within the next ten clauses, in clauses (1i), (1j) and (1k). The persistence value of 2 is given to the referent ‘duck’ in (1c) since it recurs twice within the next ten clauses; in clauses (1d) and (1m). The persistence value of 1 is given to the second instance of the same referent (P3 in 1d) since it is used once more, in clause of (1m). The persistence of 1 is also given to the NP matua-ne ‘parent in law’ (P5) in (1e) since it is rementioned in (1h) as the NP i bapa ‘father’. The same
persistence is also applied to the NP *tutug abulan pitung dina* ‘the ceremony of ‘One month and 7 days’ in (1e) since it is rementioned as the same NP in (1h). The value of 0, on the other hand, is given to the single mentioned participant ‘offering’ (P4 in 1d) and to the non-specific referents (PX in 1c and 1d).

As for RD, and for the same reasons given above, both the compulsory zero anaphora which functions as a controlled subject and the object of the controlled construction are not given any value for TP. This, for instance, is shown by the controlled construction in (1b), where the referent ‘Pan Belog’ (P1 in 1b) and the referent ‘duck’ (P3 in 1b) are not given any values because both of them are employed as arguments of a controlled clause. However, they count in determining the persistence of the referent.

### Table 2. Measurement of Topic Persistence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Numbers</th>
<th>Participants (P)</th>
<th>Value of TP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>P1, P2</td>
<td>3, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1b</td>
<td>Øc/P1, P3</td>
<td>- , -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>Ø0/P3, -a/PX</td>
<td>2, 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1d</td>
<td>Ø0/P3, -a/PX, P4</td>
<td>1, 0, 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1e</td>
<td>P5, P6</td>
<td>1, 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1f</td>
<td>P7, P1</td>
<td>-1, 3+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1g</td>
<td>P1</td>
<td>less than 10 clauses following</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1h</td>
<td>P5, P6</td>
<td>less than 10 clauses following</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1i</td>
<td>P2</td>
<td>less than 10 clauses following</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1j</td>
<td>P2</td>
<td>less than 10 clauses following</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1k</td>
<td>Øc/P2</td>
<td>less than 10 clauses following</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1l</td>
<td>P1</td>
<td>less than 10 clauses following</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1m</td>
<td>P1, P3</td>
<td>less than 10 clauses following</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1n</td>
<td>P1</td>
<td>less than 10 clauses following</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1o</td>
<td>P1, P3</td>
<td>less than 10 clauses following</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

1 Here the possessive NP *munyine* ‘her voice’ (P7) is not given any value because it does not have ten following clauses, while the proper name *Pan Belog* (P1) is given a value because that participant has reached the persistence value of 3+ before reaching the following ten clauses.
Chapter 8: Topicality

Once we have measured referential distance and topic persistence, we need to look at the grammatical functions of the participants concerned (in terms of A/O/S argument). Each participant in these functions will be assigned a value of topicality (which is based on the RD value and TP value) in order to determine which grammatical functions typically encode more or less topical arguments. These issues will be discussed in the following sections.

8.5 Overall Topicality in the three Voices

My hypothesis is that a highly topical core argument of a particular type (A, S, and O) will cause the choice of a particular voice. This means that a particular clause type will be more commonly chosen than other clause types when one core argument is more topical than the others. I expect the NP in pivot role to usually be the most topical argument.

In the measurement of RD and TP, I will focus on the frequency of the RD of 1 and the TP of 3/3+. These measurements are given special attention since they indicate the most topical referents. The quantitative facts are presented in charts and tables below.

8.5.1 Overall Topicality in Transitive Clause Types

Since the frequency of the NT clause is higher than the frequency of other voices, and since A is the pivot in this voice, my hypothesis predicts that A will be more topical overall, and this is confirmed. However, the topicality of A does not seem to be the strongest factor in determining the choice between an NT clause and an ZT clause
because the ZT clause also exhibits a high frequency of topical A, as shown by the statistics for RD and TP.

Table 3. Frequency of RD for core arguments in transitive clause types (in combined texts)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referential Distance</th>
<th>NT</th>
<th>ZT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RD of 1</td>
<td>256 (71.71%)</td>
<td>43 (12.00%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RD of 2/3</td>
<td>63 (17.65%)</td>
<td>42 (11.76%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RD of &gt;3</td>
<td>38 (10.64%)</td>
<td>272 (76%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>357 (100%)</td>
<td>357 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart 1. Frequency of topicality with RD of 1 for core arguments in transitive clause types
Table 4. Frequency of TP for core arguments in the transitive clause types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic Persistence</th>
<th>NT</th>
<th>ZT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A (100%)</td>
<td>A (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP of 3 and more</td>
<td>283 (79.27%)</td>
<td>261 (76.09%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP of 1 - 2</td>
<td>43 (17.64%)</td>
<td>48 (13.99%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP of ø</td>
<td>31 (8.68%)</td>
<td>34 (9.91%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>357 (100%)</td>
<td>343 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The topicality of O seems to be the most important factor in determining the choice of transitive clause type. The statistical data above (Chart 1 and 2 and Tables 3 and 4) show that the frequency of RD of 1 or the frequency of TP of 3/3+ is much higher in the O of the ZT clause (with 61.80% of the RD of 1 or 72.89% of TP 3/3+) than in the O of the NT clause (with 12% of RD of 1 or 17.64% of TP 3/3+). The statistics tell us that the ZT clause is usually chosen when O is highly topical, while the NT clause is usually employed when O is not topical.
If we compare the RD of A and O participants in the transitive clause types, they seem to show that the A of NT is the most likely participant to be highly topical since it has the highest frequency of RD of 1 (71.71%). The A of ZT is also typically topical but is slightly less likely to be highly topical than that of NT. An interesting fact is that both A and O of ZT are about equally topical. The frequency of RD of 1 for A for ZT clauses is 63.85%, while that of O for the same clause type is 61.80%. The O of NT, on the other hand, is not topical because it has the lowest frequency RD of 1 (12.00%). From RD, we can conclude that the choice between NT and ZT has to do with the topicality of O. A highly topical O usually takes ZT, while a non-topical O usually employs NT. In NT the highly topical A is strikingly more frequent than highly topical O, while in ZT the highly topical A is not much more frequent.

The TP of A/O of the transitive types seems to follow the same trend as the RD of A/O, i.e. the pivot roles are usually highly topical, the non-pivot A is highly topical, while the non-pivot O is usually not topical. The A of the NT persists much more strongly than the O participant.

### 8.5.2 Overall Topicality in the ZT Clause and the ka- Passive

In this section I will compare the topicality of the patient in ZT and the Ka-passive. These two constructions are compared because both have a pivot patient which is usually topical, as confirmed by the measurement of RD/TP below. The frequency of RD of 1 and the frequency of TP of 3/3+ for the pivot of the two clause types is high. For O of ZT clauses, 212 (61.80%) out of 343 have a RD value of 1, while 250 (72.89) out of 343 have a TP value of 3/3+. For S of the ka-passive, 38 (71.70%) out of 53 have an RD value of 1, while 38 (71.70%) out of 53 have an TP value of 3/3+. Thus,
with these two clause types, there is a similar tendency for the Patient pivot to be highly topical, showing that the choice between ZT and the *ka*-passive is not determined by the topicality of the Patient.

If the topicality of the pivot is compared with the topicality of the non-pivot (the A of the ZT clause and the Agent of the *ka*-passive), on the other hand, then we find that in ZT clauses the A is slightly more likely to be high in topicality than the O, while in the *ka*-passive the Agent is much less likely to be high in topicality than the S.

**Table 5. Frequency of RD for participants in ZT clause vs. the *Ka*-passive**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Referential Distance</th>
<th>ZT</th>
<th>ka-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RD of 1</td>
<td>219 (63.85%)</td>
<td>212 (61.80%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RD of 2/3</td>
<td>55 (16.03%)</td>
<td>45 (13.12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RD of &gt;3</td>
<td>69 (20.12%)</td>
<td>76 (22.76%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>343 (100%)</td>
<td>343 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 6. Frequency of TP for participants in ZT clause vs. the *Ka*-passive**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic Persistence</th>
<th>ZT</th>
<th>ka-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP of 3 and more</td>
<td>261 (76.09%)</td>
<td>250 (72.89%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP of 1 - 2</td>
<td>48 (13.99%)</td>
<td>58 (16.91%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP of 0</td>
<td>34 (9.91%)</td>
<td>35 (10.20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>343 (100%)</td>
<td>343 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fact that S is the argument which predominantly has RD of 1 and TP of 3/3+ in the *ka*-passive is hardly surprising because a function of the passive is to background
the agent, and the agent which is especially likely to be backgrounded is one which is not highly topical. Here topicality seems to be a clear predictor of voice selection, namely, the passive *ka-* is more likely to be chosen when only the Patient is high in topicality, while the ZT clause is more likely to be employed when both Agent and Patient are high in topicality.

8.6 Topical Participants in both Measurements

Having determined which arguments from clauses of each type are most likely to be highly topical, we now approach topicality from a different perspective. In this section we take highly topical arguments as our starting point with the aim of determining what kinds of clauses topical participants are most likely to occur in. We begin by looking at A in transitive clauses (Section 8.6.1) and then discuss O in transitive clauses (Section 8.6.2).

8.6.1 Topical A Participants of Transitive Clause Types

If we review all of the highly topical A arguments found in each clause type i.e. those with RD of 1 and TP of 3/3+, as in table 7 below, we see that a highly topical A participant is slightly more likely to be used in NT than ZT. This difference is not statistically significant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RD and TP</th>
<th>NT</th>
<th>ZT</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RD of 1</td>
<td>256 (54.00%)</td>
<td>219 (46.00%)</td>
<td>475 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP of 3/3+</td>
<td>283 (52%)</td>
<td>261 (48%)</td>
<td>544 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 8: Topicality

A topicality comparison between the Agent of the two -a constructions (the -a construction with a PP 'by phrase' and the -a construction without a PP 'by phrase') shows that the Agent of both construction types can be topical, but the Agent of the construction without a PP is much more topical than the Agent of the construction with one. This can be seen from the frequency of RD (Table 8)\(^2\) and the frequency of TP (Table 9).\(^3\)

Table 8. Frequency of Referential Distance of Agent in the -a with PP Agent and the -a without PP Agent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of RD</th>
<th>Agent, -a+PP</th>
<th>Agent, -a+Ø</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High Top (RD 1)</td>
<td>19 (51%)</td>
<td>152 (86%)</td>
<td>171 (80%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Top (RD &gt;3)</td>
<td>18 (49%)</td>
<td>25 (14%)</td>
<td>43 (20%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Agent of the -a construction without the PP 'by phrase' is much more highly topical than the Agent of the -a construction with the PP 'by phrase' since in texts the former is always used anaphorically, while the latter is only used when there is a need to specify or to emphasise the Agent. In some of these latter cases, the clause may be repeated or rephrased, and in these cases the Agent is topical as far as RD is concerned.

As far as Topic Persistence is concerned (Table 9), however, the chance of the Agent of the -a construction with the PP 'by phrase' being persistent is higher than the chance of it being topical as far as RD is concerned. This happens because the Agent participant in this type of clause may have just been introduced or re-introduced after several clause gaps and then continuously mentioned in following clauses so that the

---

\(^2\) \(^{P=0.0001 \text{ (chi-square = 20.619).}} \)

\(^3\) \(^{P=0.0585 \text{ (chi-square = 3.581).}} \)
Agent becomes highly persistent. However, comparing the two constructions shows that the Agent of the -a construction without a PP 'by phrase' is more persistent than the Agent with a PP 'by phrase'. This means that an Agent which is represented by the -a with PP 'by phrase' is less commonly mentioned than the -a without a PP 'by phrase.'

Table 9. Frequency of Topic Persistence of Agent in the -a with PP Agent and the -a without PP Agent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of TP</th>
<th>Agent, -a+PP</th>
<th>Agent, -a+0</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High Top</td>
<td>(TP 3/3+)</td>
<td>36 (80%)</td>
<td>159 (92%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Top</td>
<td>(TP 0)</td>
<td>9 (20%)</td>
<td>14 (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>45</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.6.2 Topical O Participants of Transitive Clause Types

The topicality of the O participant is a better predictor for voice selection than the topicality of A participants. In Table 7 above, both ZT and NT are associated with highly topical A arguments. Highly topical A arguments are just slightly more often found in NT clauses than in ZT. Thus, the topicality of A seems not to be a strong factor in determining voice selection. Topicality of O, on the other hand, is likely to be a better predictor than the topicality of A if we look at the frequency of highly topical O, as in Table 10 below. This table shows that ZT clauses are very strongly associated with a highly topical O, while NT clauses are very strongly associated with a non-topical O.
Table 10. Frequency of RD of 1 and TP of 3/3+ for the O of transitive clause types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RD and TP</th>
<th>NT</th>
<th>ZT</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RD of 1</td>
<td>43 (17%)</td>
<td>212 (83%)</td>
<td>255 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP of 3/3+</td>
<td>43 (15%)</td>
<td>250 (85%)</td>
<td>293 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both RD of 1 and TP of 3/3+ measurements show that the frequency of highly topical O participants within ZT clauses is much higher than that within NT clauses. These results indicate that the highly topical O participant is a really solid predictor of transitive clause types.

8.7 Symmetrical and Asymmetrical Topicality

In this section, I will focus on topical participants in two combined measurements, namely the combination of RD of 1 and TP of 3/3+ and the combination of RD of 1 and TP 0-2. The first is symmetrical topicality and the second is asymmetrical topicality. With these two measurements, the frequency of symmetrical topicality is higher than the frequency of a symmetrical topicality, as shown in Table 11.

Table 11. Topicality in two dimensional measurements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symmetrical Topicality (RD of 1 + TP of 3/3+)</th>
<th>Asymmetrical Topicality (RD of 1 + TP of 0-2)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>629 (81%)</td>
<td>144 (19%)</td>
<td>773 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A participant which is symmetrical topical is usually used as the topic of an episode which can be a main protagonist or a non-main protagonist in texts. Because the participant is the topic of the episode, its referential density becomes high, both in
referential distance and topic persistence. The example in (2) shows that the participant *adinne* 'the younger sibling' is highly topical in both RD and TP.

(2)a. **Laut ni Bawang buin kone**
    then ART. Bawang again apparently

    **ngaukin adi-n-ne**
    NT-call younger sibling-LIG-3POSS'R

b. **apanga adi-n-ne ane ngetepin**
    COMP younger sibling-LIG-3POSS'R which NT-cut

    **padi-n-ne ane atenah totonan.**
    rice (in its husk)-LIG-DEF which 2 big bunches that

c. **Sing kone adi-n-ne nyak.**
    not apparently younger sibling-LIG-3POSS'R ZI accept

      **Orahin-a apang mbok-ne malu ngetep.**
      ZT tell-3Agt COMP elder sister-3POSS'R first NT-cut off

e. **Nyak kone masih ni Bawang**
    ZI admit apparently still ART. Bawang

      **ngetepin padi-n-ne ento.**
      NT-cut off rice (in its husk)-LIG-3 POSS'R that

  **g. Nah, disubane ne jani padi-n-e ento**
  so, after this now rice (in its husk)-LIG-DEF that

      **ma-getepin,**
      MAI-cut off

h. **buin kone ni Bawang ngauk-in**
    again apparently ART. Bawang NT-call-APPL

      **adi-n-ne ni Kesuna.**
      younger sibling-LIG-3POSS'R ART. Kesuna

  **i. Nah, apanga padi-n-e ane suba**
  so, COMP rice (in its husk)-LIG-DEF which already

      **magetepin ento ka-jemuh ka-ali-ang ai.**
      MAI-cut off that PSV-dry out PSV-look for-APPL sun

  **j. Nah, disubane ni Bawang ngorah-in**
  so, after ART. Bawang NT-tell-APPL
On the other hand, a participant which is highly topical as far as referential distance is concerned but not with respect to topic persistence usually involves one of three situations: (i) an important protagonist, but not the only one in the narration; (ii) not a main protagonist; and (iii) an episode boundary (i.e. less than 10 clauses following in which to measure TP). Out of the 144 participants with this asymmetrical topicality, 126 examples (or 87.50%) occur with the first situation, 11 examples (or 7.64%) happen with the second, while only 7 participants (or 4.86%) occur with the third.

The main protagonists which are topical in referential distance and less topical in topic persistence usually occur in situations where there is competition between two main protagonists to be the major topic of a paragraph. In example (3), the participant bli ‘elder brother (which refers to the speaker)’ is an important protagonist which is topical in terms of both RD and TP.

(3)a. “Peh bli’da sanget nyena
wow elder brother don’t very much worry

b. keto yuh jani bli
like that noisy now elder brother

c. ba Ø ngelah rerama
alreadyNT-own parent

* bli and beli are free variation.*
A non-main protagonist, on the other hand, which is topical in referential distance but not topical in terms of topic persistence usually occurs in the situation where the non-main protagonist is rementioned after being introduced in a preceding clause, as the NP bajune ‘the dress’ in the example (4b).

(4)a. ... dados kasuen-suen panggih-a baju-n-ne

Elder brother (= you), don’t you worry very much. You are just noisy. You have your parents. Ask them to look after (the child). I will leave you.” That is the words of angel Sang Sungpraba. Then she cut off the rice husks, she put them beside the rice store. She burns the husks. After the husks are burnt, the smoke that ... that... she puts on her dress, then she follows the smoke up. (GBN 414-426)
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b. panggih-a. **baju-n-ne**  
   ZT find-3Agt dress-3POSS'R

c. nengil masih ipun  
   NI-stay still 3

d. apan padin ipu-n-e kari akeh  
   because rice (in its husk)-LIG 3-LIG-DEF still plenty

e. ampun kenten ngelah antas ipun kenten  
   after that NT-have then 3 like that

f. bling antes ipun  
   pregnant then 3

g. kenten uling nika ipun mlihara beling-e  
   like that from that 3 NT-maintain pregnant-DEF

   nika nganti gede  
   that until big

h. ipun mabesen  
   3 MAI-massage

l. **"bli bli Gede Batun Nyuh anak-e**  
   elder brother elder brother Gede Batun Nyuh person-DEF

   buka tiyang jani nyatua tekenin bli  
   like that I now NI-say by elder brother

j. jani yen lekad panak tiyang ne muani  
   now if born person I this male

k. **sing dadi lenan adan-ang ..."**  
   not become else name-APPL

   ... thus, later on she finds her dress. She finds her dress. She keeps quiet since she still has lots of rice. After that, she gets pregnant. She looks after her pregnancy until it is big. She tells her husband "elder brother, Gede Batun Nyuh, I want to talk to you. If my newborn is to be a boy, please name him ..."  
   (GBN 364-375)

At an episode boundary, a participant can be topical until the final clauses of a episode but then become less topical in topic persistence because new participants and action take important roles in the new episode. In the examples below, for instance, the
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NP ento ‘that (the bee)’ is highly persistent until clause (5c). This NP is no longer topical in the following clauses because the topic and the activity have changed.

(5)a. Tabuan sirah misi to koping-ne makadadua, bee sirah MAI-contain that ear-3POSS’R both

b. buina tabuan sirah ane gede-gede ento apa. again bee sirah which big-big that what

c. Ento ngelantingin jani koping-ne that NT-hang now ear-3POSS’R

makaduang aneh. both QUANT.

d. Peh, aeng ba kendel ia-n-e wow extraordinary then glad 3POSS’R-LIG-DEF

ni Kesuna. ART. Kesuna

e. Mapan merasa baat ne jani koping-ne, because MAI-feel heavy this now ear-3POSS’R

f. kaden-a ba sajan ento anting-anting ZT think-3Agt then truly that earring-earring

mas masoca. gold MAI-jewel

g. Buin kone ia ngidih tekening again apparently 3 NI-ask to

l. Cerucuk Kuning ART. Cerucuk Kuning

h. apanga nyak l Cerucuk Kuning COMP admit ART. Cerucuk Kuning

i. ngotol kone baong ia-n-e NT-peck apparently neck 3POSS’R-LIG-DEF

j. apanga nyak misi kalung mas. COMP become MAI-contain necklace gold

k. Nah, gotol-a kone masih baong-ne so, ZT peck-3Agt apparently also neck-3POSS’R
8.8 Relative Topicality of Participants

In this section we will look at the relative topicality of A and O participants in transitive clauses and the agent and the patient of the *ka-* passive. I will discuss three types of measurements:

(i) relative topicality according to the combination of RD and TP,

(ii) relative topicality according to RD,

and (iii) relative topicality according to TP.

In my counts of relative topicality, the degree of topicality is distinguished into highly topical (Top) and non-topical (NTop). A participant which is high in topicality for the combined count must have a combined value of RD of 1 and TP of 3/3+.

The discussion will cover four types of relative topicality of participants in the three voices:

(i) topical A/topical Agent — topical O/topical Patient,

(ii) topical A/topical Agent — non-topical O/non-topical Patient,

(iii) non-topical A/non-topical Agent — topical O/topical Patient,

and (iv) non-topical A/non-topical Agent — non-topical O/ non-topical Patient.
These four types of relative topicality are looked at from (a) the combination of RD and TP measurements, (b) RD measurement alone, and (c) TP measurement alone.

8.8.1 Relative Topicality in Transitive Clause Types

There will be fewer clauses with a combined measurement of RD and TP than with RD or TP alone. For instance, a given transitive clause which has a topical A and a non-topical O must have a value of RD of 1 and TP of 3/3+ for the topical A and at the same time this clause must also have the value of RD >3 and TP of 0 for the non-topical O to be included in this count. If we are only interested in counting RD or TP separately more clauses will qualify for the count.

We will first look at relative topicality of participants in transitive clause types. Table 12 shows that the ZT clause is much more commonly used when we have both A and O which are high in topicality, while NT is more likely to be chosen when A is high in topicality and O is not.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relative Topicality (RD and TP)</th>
<th>NT</th>
<th>ZT</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Top A + NTop O</td>
<td>96 (89%)</td>
<td>12 (11%)</td>
<td>108 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top A + Top O</td>
<td>14 (23%)</td>
<td>47 (77%)</td>
<td>61 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTop A + Top O</td>
<td>2 (33%)</td>
<td>4 (67%)</td>
<td>6 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTop A + NTop O</td>
<td>3 (100%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The topicality of O is the most important indicator for determining the clause choice, as was already indicated by the statistics based on independent topicality. The ZT clause is used more commonly than NT when O is highly topical, even when A is equally topical, while the NT clause is more likely to be employed when O is low in topicality.
In Table 13 below we look at the relative topicality of participants in transitive clause types. We have already seen from the independent measurement of RD that a highly topical O favours the ZT clause, while a non-topical O favours NT. The relative topicality of these two participants also shows that the NT clause commonly occurs with a highly topical A and a non-topical O, while the ZT clause tends to be selected when O is high in topicality regardless of A’s topicality. But note that ZT is even more likely to be selected when A is non-topical on the dimension of RD. So, the topicality of A is not actually irrelevant. The difference in the use of ZT and NT in the combination of topical A and topical O versus non-topical A and topical O is not significant.

Table 13. Frequency of relative topicality of participants in transitive clause types (in RD measurement)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relative Topicality (in RD)</th>
<th>NT</th>
<th>ZT</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Top A + NTOP O</td>
<td>173 (77%)</td>
<td>52 (23%)</td>
<td>225 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top A + Top O</td>
<td>31 (18%)</td>
<td>138 (82%)</td>
<td>169 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTOP A + Top O</td>
<td>6 (12%)</td>
<td>45 (88%)</td>
<td>51 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTOP A + NTOP O</td>
<td>23 (66%)</td>
<td>12 (34%)</td>
<td>35 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14 shows that NT clause is more commonly used than ZT clause when A is topical and O is not topical.

Table 14. Frequency of relative topicality of participants in the transitive types (in TP measurement)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relative Topicality (in TP)</th>
<th>NT</th>
<th>ZT</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Top A + NTOP O</td>
<td>151 (89%)</td>
<td>19 (11%)</td>
<td>170 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top A + Top O</td>
<td>25 (16%)</td>
<td>135 (84%)</td>
<td>160 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTOP A + Top O</td>
<td>7 (21%)</td>
<td>27 (79%)</td>
<td>34 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTOP A + NTOP O</td>
<td>25 (81%)</td>
<td>6 (19%)</td>
<td>31 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The general principal which is shown by Table 14 here is that if O is highly persistent, then the ZT clause is more likely to be chosen, while if O is low in persistence, then the NT clause is likely to be selected.

8.8.2 The Zero Transitive vs. *ka* - Passive

The ZT clause and the *ka*- passive are compared here because both of them have a Patient as pivot and an Agent as a non-pivot. We need to know the characteristic of topicality for these semantic roles. The pivots of these constructions are Patients, whether A of the transitive or S of the passive. The terms A and O are avoided here because they are only applicable to the ZT but are not acceptable with the *ka*- passive where the argument concerned is S.

Unlike the NT clause, the frequency of the *ka*- passive in the texts is very low. The *ka*- passive which has a highly topical Patient and non-topical Agent is more common than the *ka*- passive with other types of relative topicality. This is shown in the following three tables (Tables 15, 16 and 17).

Table 15. Frequency of topicality relations of participants in ZT and the *ka*-passive (in combined RD+TP)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rel. Topicality (in RD and TP)</th>
<th><em>Ka</em></th>
<th>ZT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Top Agent + NTop Patient</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>12 (19%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top Agent + Top Patient</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>47 (75%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTop Agent + Top Patient</td>
<td>2 (67%)</td>
<td>4 (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTop Agent + NTop Patient</td>
<td>1 (33%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3 (100%)</td>
<td>63 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since there is a very limited number of examples for the *ka*- passive, no strong claim can be made concerning this clause type. If we compare the *ka*- passive and the ZT
clause, we see that while the combination of a topical Patient and a non-topical Agent is the only pattern which is found more than once with the *ka-* passive, it is the combination of a highly topical Patient and a highly topical Agent that is most common with ZT. In the *ka-* passive, the combination of a topical Patient and a non-topical Agent is more common than other topicality relations, while in the ZT clause, the combination of a topical Agent and a topical Patient is the most common.

Similar results are found with single dimensions in measurements. Table 16 below shows the relative topicality for participants with respect to RD alone, while Table 17 presents the relative topicality for participants in TP measurement. In ZT, the two tables show that the tendency to have a highly topical Patient and a highly topical Agent is much stronger than any combination including a non-topical Agent. In the *ka-* passive, on the other hand, with a small number of examples, both tables show that the tendency to have the combination of a non-topical Agent and a highly topical Patient is stronger than other types of topicality relations.

**Table 16. Frequency of relative topicality for participants in ZT vs. the *ka-* passive (in RD measurement)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rel. Topicality (in RD)</th>
<th><em>ka-</em></th>
<th>ZT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Top Agent + NTop Patient</td>
<td>2 (33%)</td>
<td>45 (18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top Agent + Top Patient</td>
<td>1 (17%)</td>
<td>138 (56%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTop Agent + Top Patient</td>
<td>3 (50%)</td>
<td>52 (21%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTop Agent + NTop Patient</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6 (100%)</td>
<td>247 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Table 17. Frequency of relative topicality of participants in ZT vs. the ka-passive (in TP measurement)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rel. Topicality (in TP)</th>
<th>ka-</th>
<th>ZT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Top Agent + NTop Patient</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19 (10.16%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top Agent + Top Patient</td>
<td>1 (16.67%)</td>
<td>135 (72.19%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTop Agent + Top Patient</td>
<td>4 (66.66%)</td>
<td>27 (14.44%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTop Agent + NTop Patient</td>
<td>1 (16.67%)</td>
<td>6 (3.21%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6 (100%)</td>
<td>187 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A conclusion which can be drawn from topicality relations in both the ZT clause and the passive ka- is the following. A highly topical Patient employs either the ZT clause or the passive ka-. However, if the highly topical Patient is combined with a highly topical Agent, then the ZT clause is usually employed, whereas if the highly topical Patient is combined with a non-topical Agent, then the ka-passive is more likely to be selected, but the overall number of ZT is still much higher.

8.9 Exceptions to General Tendencies

Although we found strong tendencies concerning the topicality of core arguments in the different voices, there are non-negligible instances which are counter to the usual pattern.

8.9.1 The O of the NT Clause

Although the O of the NT clause is typically low in topicality, a small number of examples run counter to the common pattern. Such cases usually involve one of three situations: (i) most commonly the O participant of the NT clause is used in a repeating clause /rephrase; (ii) the O participant of the NT clause is used as a reflexive pronoun;
and (iii) the O participant of the NT clause is used in an introductory paragraph (with high topicality in TP only) (see also a discussion on the use of a highly topical O in foregrounded and foregrounded information in Chapter 9).

The highly topical O in NT can be determined by using the two dimensional measurement (i.e. the combined RD and TP) or a single measurement (i.e. the RD measurement or the TP measurement), as shown in Table 18. An O which is highly topical in two dimensions or topical in RD only commonly occurs in a repetitive clause or a reflexive, while an O which is highly topical in TP only occurs in a repetitive clause or an introductory clause.

**Table 18. Frequency of highly topical O in the NT clause**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of measurement</th>
<th>Topicality of O in NT</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>repeating clauses or clause extension</td>
<td>reflexive construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>highly topical in both RD and TP</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>highly topical in RD only</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>highly topical in TP only</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fact that O participants which are highly topical in terms of RD occur in cases of repetition/rephrase is not really surprising because the repetitive clause contains the same participants in the immediately preceding clause.

In example (6) a highly topical O of the NT clause is used in a rephrasing clause. The use of the NT verb nyemak ‘take’ in (6b) is too general and needs to be specified by
the more specific NT verb *nuunang* ‘put down’ and an Oblique *uling di gelebege* ‘from the store.’ Both of these verbs use the same O *padi* ‘rice (in its husk).’ This referent in (6c) is highly topical according to both the RD and the TP measurements.

(6a) Nah, ne jani, ni Bawangi ngauk-in lantas so, this now ART. Bawang NT-call-APPL then

*adi-n-ne,* ni Kesunaj

younger sibling-LIG-3POSS’R ART. Kesuna

b. Øcj bakal nyemak *padi,* will NT-take rice (in its husk)

c. Øoï *nuunang* kone *padi* uling di gelebeg-e,

NT-put down apparently rice (in its husk) from at store-DEF

d. nah, kaukin-a lantas adi-n-ne so ZT call-3Agt then younger sibling-LIG-3POSS’R

I ni Kesuna

ART. ART. Kesuna

e. apang ia ma-rengin

COMP 3 MAI-help

f. *nuwun-ang* *padi* uling di gelebeg-e.

NT-bring downward-APPL rice (in its husk) from at store-DEF

g. Peh, adi-n-ne tuara nyak.

well yngr. sbl.-LIG-3POSS’R not admit

h. Ni Kesuna ngorah-in

ART. Kesuna NT-tell-APPL

j. apang embok-ne *nuwun-ang* malu.

COMP elder sister-3POSS’R NT-bring downward-APPL first

k. la ngorah-ang “nah buin kejepan icang

3 NT-tell-APPL well again later I

nyen bakal ngetep-in,”

if will NT-cut off-APPL

l. keto dadi pesaut-ne I Kesuna.

like that then answer-3POSS’R ART. Kesuna
So, now, Bawang then calls her sister, Kesuna, to take the rice (in its husk). Bawang takes the rice (in its husk) down from the store. So, then she calls her younger sister, Kesuna to help her to carry the rice (in its husk) down from the store. Wow, her younger sister refuses. Kesuna (in fact) asks for Bawang (instead of Kesuna) to bring it first. Kesuna says "In a moment I will cut the rice (in its husk) off". She says (like that). (CK 47-58)

In example (7) below, the clause (7b) is repeated as (7c). Both of these clauses use the same verb ngotol ‘peck’, the same A participant Cerucuk Kuning ‘Cerucuk Kuning’ and the same O participant kupingne ‘her ears.’ If we look at the repetition in (7c), both participants are topical by the RD measurement but the A participant is more persistent than the O participant. The high topicality of O in the repetition (7c) is caused simply by the repetition of the previous clause. In terms of clause types, the repeated clause is a complement clause (7b) while the repeating clause (7c) is a main clause. That complement clause has to be NT because of the control relationship (see the discussion on complement clauses in Chapter Five). Additional information from the adverbial phrase buin kone ‘apparently again’ is used with the repeating clause to show that the activity is on the part of the main event line.

(7)a. orahin-a kone [i] Cerucuk Kuning
    ZT tell-3Agt apparently ART. Cerucuk Kuning

b. Øcι ngotol kuping-ne.
    NT-peck ear-3POSS’R

c. Buin kone i Cerucuk Kuning
    again apparently ART. Cerucuk Kuning

gotol kuping ia-n-e.
    NT-peck ear 3 POSS’R -LIG-DEF

d. Laut disubane gotol-a kuping-ne teken
    then after ZT peck-3Agt ear-3POSS’R by

ni Cerucuk Kuning,
    ART. Cerucuk Kuning

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e. misi kone kalung emas di MAI-contain apparently necklace gold at

kuping-ne ento.
ear-3POSS’R that

f. Beh, buin kone ia jani ni Bawang ngorahin
well again apparently 3 now ART. Bawang NT-tell

I Cerucuk Kuning
ART. Cerucuk Kuning

I Cerucuk Kuning

AP Cerucuk Kuning

Nah, disubane keto, buin kone ne
so after like that again apparently this

j. Disubane gotol-a laut tekenin
after ZT peck-3Agt then by

l. mapangidihan tekenin I kedis Cerucuk Kuning
MAI-ask for to ART. bird Cerucuk Kuning

Cerucuk Kuning is told to peck her ear. Again Cerucuk Kuning pecks her ear.
After her ear is apparently pecked by Cerucuk Kuning, she gets an earring on her ear.
Again Bawang asks for Cerucuk Kuning to peck her wrist. Cerucuk Kuning apparently agrees to do that.
After her wrist is pecked by Cerucuk Kuning, then she gets bracelets on her wrists. After that, again Bawang asks for the bird, Cerucuk Kuning. (CK 259-270)
The conclusion which can be drawn about the function of clause repetition is the following. A clausal repetition which is used to emphasise or to rephrase a previous activity does not just have consequences for topicality but also have value for extending the story and maintaining the coherence of a text. In this kind of situation, Quick (1993:291) notes that 'any time repetition is used there is a degree of cohesion that strengthens the coherence of a text.'

The second type of NT clause with a topical O which is used in the four texts involves reflexive constructions. In the case of the reflexive pronominal O, the high topicality in RD is really determined by the high topicality of A. Since the A participant is highly topical in RD, the reflexive pronominal O is also highly topical because it is coreferential. Here the O reflexive is bound to A, and so its topicality is illusory because the O reflexive does not have an independent referent. The referent of the O reflexive links to A. Out of the 8 reflexive pronominal O’s in the texts, 5 are highly topical by both RD and TP measurements, while 3 are highly topical in RD only.5

In Chapter 9, Section 9.3.2 (in item (iii) ) I will discuss the relation between the reflexives and grounding and topicality. Only reflexive O’s which are highly topical in both measurements are exemplified here. In example (8c) below, the reflexive pronominal O paukudan ‘self’ of the NT clause is highly topical according to both RD and TP parameters.

(8)a  Nah, disubane iaj ma-seselan buka keto, ...
So, after 3 MAI-regret like that

b. Øj tuara beneh tekening nyama,
not right to sibling

5 Out of 10 reflexive examples in the two transitive clauses, 8 examples are NT clauses and 2 examples are ZT clause.
c. Jani ia mara nyelsel paukudan.
   now 3 just NT-regret RFL

d. taen Ø ngae tuara patut tekening nyama, ever NT-make not right to sibling

e. Ø tuara beneh tekening nyama.
   not right to sibling

f. Jani ia mara nyelsel paukudan,
   now 3 just now NT-regret self

g. disubane ia nepuk-ang jele
   after 3 NT-find-APPL bad

h. mapan awak-ne ba telah
   because body-3POSS'R already finish

ka-rejeng baan gumatat-gumitet-e ento
   PSV-attack by animals-DEF that

i. laut lengeh ba ia ni Kesuna
   then drunk then 3 ART. Kesuna

j. telah benyah awak-ne
   finish scattered body-3POSS'R

k. ka-garang ban gumatat-gumitet-e ento.
   PSV-attack by animals-DEF that

l. Kasuen-suen mapan sing ia ada
   later on because not 3 exist

   anak nulung-in,
   person NT-help-APPL

m. naha, lantas ni Kesuna mati ia di tengah bet-e.
   well, then ART. Kesuna dead 3 at middle bush-DEF

So, after she feels bad like that..., (since) she does not feel good about her sibling, now, she feels sorry for herself. She did something bad to her sibling, she is not nice to her sibling. Now, she feels sorry for herself after she gets bad luck. Because her body is attacked by those varieties of animals, Ni Kesuna is unconscious. Her body is scattered completely because it is attacked by those varieties of animals. Later on since there has been nobody helping her, Ni Kesuna is dead in the middle of the bush. (CK 653-664)
The third use of NT with topical O is in introductory clauses. A participant which has just been introduced cannot be topical in terms of RD because there is no preceding clause. However, the participant can become topical according to TP when the story is developed. NT clauses, rather than ZT, tend to be used in introductory clauses because new O’s are usually introduced in NT clauses, while ZT clauses are commonly used to develop new mentions.

In example (9) below, which contains a new participant, the NT verb *ngelah* ‘own’ occurs in the second clause. The O participant *kuren\-\-an* ‘spouse’ of the NT verb *ngelah* ‘own’ in the second clause is not topical at all by the RD measurement since the O participant has just been introduced and has no anaphoric referent in the preceding clause. The O participant, on the other hand, is highly topical in terms of persistence since the story about this participant develops in subsequent clauses.

(9)a. Ada *kone* tutur-tuturan satua,  
exist apparently story story

b. I *Nyoman* Jater *ngelah* *kone* *kuren\-\-an*  
Article Nyoman Jater NT-own apparently spouse

c. *madan* I _Belanjo_ ...  
MAI-name Article Belenjo  
*There is apparently a story, I Nyoman Jater has a wife, named I Belenjo ... (JT 1-12)*

*I Belanjo* is an argument of the following 9 clauses but is only overtly mentioned in two of them; in 7 clauses it is represented by a zero anaphora.

8.9.2 The O of the Zero Transitive

The usual pattern of topicality for the ZT clause has been discussed in the previous sections. We have found that the A and the O participants in these clauses are
almost equally topical according to both RD and TP measurements. A comparison of topicality between this clause type and the NT clause has also been established. The comparison shows that topicality of the O participant (regardless of how topical A is) is a strong predictor of clause selection. A highly topical O is more likely to occur in a ZT clause than an NT clause, while a non-topical O very strongly favors an NT clause rather than a ZT clause.

Since the topicality of O is the most important predictor of clause selection, in this section we will only focus on counter examples to the usual pattern of highly topical O. Here, I am looking only at examples of O in ZT clauses that are not highly topical on either dimension. Examples of non-topical O in ZT clauses can be separated into those which are (i) non-topical in terms of RD but have some topicality in TP; (ii) non-topical in terms of TP but have some topicality in RD; and (iii) non-topical on both dimensions. ‘Some topicality’ here refers to a participant which is not highly topical but which is not completely non-topical on a given dimension.

There are five possible situations where non-topical O occurs in ZT clauses:

(i) the O participant is a non-specific referent,

(ii) the O participant is the non-specific head of a relative clause,

(iii) the O participant is a focus of contrast,

(iv) the O participant is a reintroduction,

and (v) the O participant is an associative anaphoric referent (i.e. a participant which does not specifically refer to an antecedent) but which is associated with something which has been mentioned earlier.
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These five situations will be discussed in more detail in Section 9.3.1 of the next chapter because they are related to grounding type.

Table 19 presents the number of non-topical O in ZT clauses according to measurement type. And the five factors associated with the non-topical O of ZT.

Table 19. The use and frequency of a nontopical O in two dimensional and single measurements of topicality

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>measurement</th>
<th>the use of the non-topical O of the ZT</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>non-specific referent</td>
<td>the non-specific head of a relative clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-topical in both RD and TP</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-topical in RD with some/ topicality in TP</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-topical in TP with some topicality in RD</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The O participant which is non-topical according to both RD and TP measurements seems to be less common (18 examples) than the O participant which is non-topical in terms of RD but with some topicality in terms of TP (58 examples). In other words, the majority of O’s in ZT have some topicality in TP.
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The occurrence of nontopical O in ZT clauses can be summarised as follows. The commonest situation in which such a non-topical O occurs is when the O participant is a re-introduction. A non-specific NP is used when there is an unexpected topic, and it is usually unpredictable from previous clauses. A re-introduced participant, on the other hand, usually occurs after a gap of a few clauses and is likely to have a non-topical RD with some/non-topicality in TP. An associative anaphoric referent is an NP which does not have any specific antecedent but it can be associated with information in a text. This kind of participant is treated as a non-topical participant. An O which bears a focus of contrast is usually new information which is used to contrast with old information. New information here is always indefinite and not topical. The non-specific head of a relative clause is usually marked by particle asing-asing ‘any thing’ or apa (ja) ‘whatever’ which usually represents a single mention (These five situations relate to grounding. The discussion and examples are presented in Section 9.3.1 and 9.4.2 of the next chapter).

8.9.3 The S of Ka- passive

As mentioned before, in terms of both RD and TP, topical S in the ka- passive is more common than non-topical S. Out of 53 examples of the ka- passive, 6 examples (or 11.32%) have an S which is not topical in either RD or TP. This non-topicality happens because the S participant does not have a specific referent either anaphorically or cataphorically.

Example (10) shows that the quantifier makejang ‘all/everyone’ is an S in the ka-passive. The referent of this quantifier in the text cannot be specified, but it could refer to a group of people which are mentioned in the preceding or following clauses.
(10)a. Ulun-ulun ia kone madan ngeling,
    loudly 3rd apparently MAI-say NI-cry

b. makejang ka-kaukin
   all PSV-call

c. ngami ngami meme
   NT-call NT-call mother

d. ngami ngami bapa
   NT-call NT-call father

*She cries loudly and she calls everyone. She calls for mother. She calls for her father.* (CK 613-627)

The quantifier *makejang* ‘all’ in example (10) can be understood to refer to people who are expected to give help to *Kesuna*, who is in trouble. These sorts of people can be all of her own family members (her sister, her parents and her grandmother) who have been mentioned previously somewhere in the text. In this kind of situation, the quantifier *makejang* ‘all’ can be said to have an entity in the text. These sorts of people may also refer only to her parents who are mentioned in three following clauses: (10c), (10d) and (10g). It is possible to substitute a ZT verb for the *ka-* passive here. However, there is a different degree of Patient affectedness in each clause type. The ZT is chosen when an action is strongly transferred from the Agent to the Patient, while the *ka-* passive is used because the Patient is slightly affected by the action. Since the Patient of the ZT verb is highly affected, it usually has a specific referent. In this case, if the quantifier *makejang* ‘all’ is used with the ZT verb *kaukin-a* ‘be called/she calls’ instead of the passive verb *ka-kaukin* ‘be called’, then the quantifier *makejang* ‘all’ is more likely to refer to a specific referent in the text.

In the four texts which were investigated, I found 19 examples of the passive verb *ka-cerita* (or *ka-critka-atur*) which is never used with an overt S NP. This type of
ka-passive is always followed by a clause, as in example (11). I omit these 19 examples from RD/TP measurement because this is a fixed expression.

(11) **Ka-crita** buin di Pura Desa
     PSV-story again at temple Desa
     jani kone mangunggah-ang sekar, ...
     now apparently NT-put up-APPL flower

*Now here is again a story that people who arrange flowers (in the temple of Pura Desa), ....*(JT 346-348)

The S participant of the passive verb *ka-crita* 'be narrated' in example (11) is a non-anaphoric zero which does not refer to any specific referent in the text. Although the story which is going to be told by the narrator is about the people in the temple, we cannot add any overt NP, say *warga-ne* 'the people' as the S of the passive verb *ka-crita*, as shown in example (12). The *ka-* passive *kacrita* 'be narrated' must be followed by a clause, as in example (13).

(12)*a **Warga-n-e** ka-crita
     villager-LIG-DEF PSV-story

*b. **Ka-crita** warga-n-e
     PSV-story villager-LIG-DEF
     *(Here is a story about) the villagers going to be narrated*

(13) **Ka-crita** warga-n-e mangunggah-ang sekar.
     PSV-story villager-LIG-DEF NT-raise-APPL flower
     *(Here is) the story about the villagers who are praying (by raising) flowers (above their head).*

The constructions in (12a) and (12b) are unacceptable. If the overt NP is used, it must be put postverbally and it should be considered as the subject of the next clause, as in example (13). Since the verb *ka-cerita* (*ka-crita*) cannot occur with an overt S, we treat this verb as a verb with a null S.
Conclusions which can be drawn from this section are the following. The passive *ka*- with a non-unspecific referential Patient is chosen because the Agent does not effect any influence on the Patient. If the Agent has any determining influence on the Patient, then any kind of transitive clause can be used. The non-specific referent can relate to an entity in the text but it cannot be topical because it does not refer to a definite referent. The specific referent, on the other hand, is always measurable in terms of both RD and TP so that the specific referent can be topical or not topical, depending on the story.

8.10 The Scale of Topicality in Expression Types

We have been looking so far at the topicality of arguments in the three voices. However, it is also interesting to look at the typical topicality of different types of expressions which are used in different voices. In this section, I look at how Givón’s (1983) findings on scales of topicality hold up for Balinese.

There is a scale of topicality for expression types such as a zero anaphora, a pronoun, a full NP, etc. The topicality of the expression types can be ranked from the most to the least continuous participant, as reported crosslinguistically by Givón (1983:18):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Most topical (accessible) Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• zero anaphora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• bound pronouns/grammatical agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• independent pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• full NP’s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Least topical (inaccessible) participants |
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The NP types in my study are categorised into three groups; namely, lexical expressions (Lex), non-lexical expressions (NLex), and zero anaphora (zero). These expressions have been discussed previously in chapter 6. The lexical expressions comprise indefinite NPs, definite NPs, and proper nouns, relative clauses, question words and quantifiers. The non lexical expressions include free pronouns, the bound pronominal -a (when it is not doubled by a PP agent), reflexive pronouns, and demonstrative pronouns. Zero anaphora refers to a null argument which has an antecedent in the text.

Only the values of RD of 1 and TP of 3/3+ are counted here. By these measurements, an expression type which is high on the scale of topicality must have RD measurement of 1 or a TP measurement of 3/3+.

8.10.1 Zero Anaphora as the Most Topical Participant

Zero anaphora is used for the most topical participant in the hierarchy, while non-lexical expressions are less topical than zero anaphora but more topical than lexical expressions.

More Topical

- Zero anaphora
- Non-lexical
- Lexical

Less Topical

This scale of topicality can be shown statistically according to the frequency of RD (of 1) and the frequency of TP (of 3/3+), as in Table 20.
Table 20. The frequency of RD of 1 and TP of 3/3+ in the three expression types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RD and TP</th>
<th>Zero</th>
<th>Nlex</th>
<th>Lex</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RD of 1</td>
<td>348 (45%)</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>144 (18%)</td>
<td>780 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TP 3/3+</td>
<td>342 (39%)</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>213 (24%)</td>
<td>885 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>690 (41%)</td>
<td>618</td>
<td>357 (22%)</td>
<td>1665 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Zero anaphora is only used here for an optional non-overt expression which functions as a core argument in a clause. Zero anaphora is usually very common in a text where there is a 'topic chain.' The topic chain describes a situation where topic is installed in the first clause in an overt form and serves as the referent for the anaphoric zero in the clauses which follow. The topic chain is also commonly found in Chinese discourse, as reported by Li and Thompson (1979:313).

An example of the topic chain in Balinese is given below. In this example, a full NP is established as a referent in the first clause. The referent then enlists coreferential participants in the following clauses, which mostly occur either as zero anaphora or bound pronouns.

(14)a. Nah, ne jani ni Bawang| ngauk-in
so this now ART. Bawang NT-call-APPL.

lantas adi-n-ne ni Kesuna
then yngr sbl-LIG-3POSS'R ART. Kesuna

b. Ø| bakal nyemak padi,
will NT-take rice (in its husk)

c. Ø| nuun-ang NT-bring downward-APPL kone padi uling
apparently rice (in its husk) from
di gelebeg-e,
at store-DEF
The topic chain of the participant Bawang 'Bawang' in the example above is illustrated in the following list.
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(14)a. A of NT = Full NP ni Bawang
(14)b. A of NT = $\emptyset_o$
(14)c. A of NT = $\emptyset_o$
(14)d. A of ZT = -$a_i$
(14)e. O of NT = $\emptyset_o$, $\emptyset_c$
(14)f. Possessor -ne$_i$
(14)g. O of NT = $\emptyset_o$, Possessor -ne$_i$
(14)h. -
(14)i. -
(14)j. S of NI = Full NP ni Bawang
(14)k. S of ka- passive = 3rd pronoun ia$_i$.

The introductory clause of the episode above begins with an NT clause which has the full NP (FNP) *ni Bawang* ‘Bawang’ as the A (14a). This overt NP is omitted (as $\emptyset_o$) in the next two NT clauses (14b) and (14c), which function as the A of the NT clause. Zero anaphora in these two clauses is used optionally because it could be replaced by an overt NP. The use of zero anaphora here results from the fact that these two clauses and the introductory clause occur with a sequence of actions. In this sequential action, the zero anaphora is an expected topic which is predictable from the previous clause.

Similar to the high topicality of zero anaphora which is used as the A or the O of the NT clause as shown by example (14) above, in example (15) I will show that unexpressed O in ZT clauses are highly topical.

(15)a. Suba keto lantas jemak-a bano-ne$_i$
     after that then ZT take-3Agt bano-fish-3POSS’R
b. $\emptyset_i$ pulang-a ka payuk-e.
     ZT put in-3Agt to clay pot-DEF
In example (15), the Full NP (FNP) bano-ne ‘Bano fish’ in the first clause serves as a referent in a topic chain. The FNP serves as the referent of the anaphoric zero which functions as the O of the ZT clause in the next two clauses (15b) and (15c). All the first three clauses which demonstrate sequential events, here occur with the same clause type; namely, the ZT clause. The fourth (15d) and the fifth clause (15e), on the other hand, take the FNP referent bano-ne back as the overt referent. The use of the FNP referent
here is not compulsory because it can be replaced with the anaphoric zero or a free pronoun. The topic chain of the referent bano-ne ‘Bano seafish’ is listed below.

Cl (15)a. O of ZT = Full NP bano-nei `the Bano fish'
Cl (15)b. O of ZT = 0o₁
Cl (15)c. O of ZT = 0o₁
Cl (15)d. S of NI = Full NP bano-nei `the Bano fish'
Cl (15)e. O of ZT = Full NP bano-nei `the Bano fish.'
Cl (15)f. S of ZI = 0o₁
Cl (15)g. -
Cl (15)h. O of ZT = 0o₁
Cl (15)i. S of Stative INTR. = Full NP bano-nei `the Bano fish.'
Cl (15)j. -
Cl (15)k. O of NT in COMPL CL = Full NP banoı ‘Bano fish’

A conclusion which can be drawn here is that zero anaphora seems to occur quite freely after a topic is established with an overt NP. In other words, as long as there is a clause chain in a text, zero anaphora is likely to be used. A full NP, on the other hand, may be used after the topic is established, but the full NP in this situation is usually employed to emphasise the importance of a participant in a text.

8.11 Comparison of Relative Topicality in Balinese with some other Austronesian Languages

Relative topicality seems to play a role in voice selection in Balinese in a similar way to that found in other Austronesian languages such as Chamorro, Indonesian, and the Philippine languages of Cebuano and Karao.
Chapter 8: Topicality

If we compare the topicality of Patients⁶ in three different voices of Balinese and Chamorro, we can see some similarities (see Cooreman, et al. 1984; Cooreman 1987; cf. Givón 1994:8 for discussions of Chamorro). The NT clause in Balinese and the so-called ‘antipassive’⁷ in Chamorro both have a Patient participant which is highly topical. Both of these languages also have a passive construction with a Patient participant which is highly topical. There is a substantial difference between ZT in Balinese and the so-called ‘ergative’ construction in Chamorro. In Balinese, a Patient in the ZT clause is highly topical, while the ergative in Chamorro has a Patient which is low in topicality.

Table 21. Relative topicality of Patient in Balinese and Chamorro

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topicality of Patient in Balinese</th>
<th>Topicality of Patient in Chamorro</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>Not Topical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>High Topicality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka- Passive</td>
<td>High Topicality</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, voice selection in Chamorro seems to be determined by the relative topicality of Agent and Patient rather than the topicality of Patient on its own as we have seen is the case in Balinese. In Chamorro, an antipassive construction is likely to be selected when the Agent is much more topical than the Patient, while an ergative construction is chosen when the Agent is only slightly more topical than the Patient. A passive construction is employed when the Patient is much more topical than the Agent (Cooreman, et al. 1984; Cooreman 1987; cf. Givón 1994:8).

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⁶ The terms ‘Patient’ (and also ‘Agent’) here refer to semantic roles.
⁷ According to Cooreman (1982:351) the syntactic structure of an antipassive construction in Chamorro is that if the pivot (i.e. the semantic Agent) is plural, then the verb takes the prefix man- or fan- to mark the O (i.e. the semantic Patient) as Oblique, but if a pivot is singular, then the verb is morphologically unmarked.
Other Austronesian languages also show similar results in terms of relative topicality. This can be found in the Philippine languages Cebuano (Payne 1994: 318-364) and Karao (Brainard 1994: 365-402), and Indonesian (Urbach 1988). In both Balinese and the Philippine languages, the ‘active’ voice has an Agent which is much more topical than the Patient, while the passive voice has an Agent which is not topical and a Patient which is highly topical.

Urbach (1988: 455-473) investigates five possible constructions in Indonesian which encode two participants in one clause. Out of the five constructions, only three constructions seem similar enough to Balinese constructions to form the basis for a comparison of relative topicality. The three constructions involve the active voice (the meN\(^8\)-Transitive as in example (16), the passive di- (as in example 17) and the Proclitic-Agent verb which she calls ‘Ø-prefixed passive’ or ‘Passive II’ (p. 457), as in example 18. The three examples are taken from Uhrbach (1988:455-457).

(16) **Tati sudah mem-beli buku**

Tati already meN-buy book

*Tati already bought a book.*

(17) **Buku itu di-beli oleh Tati**

book that di-buy by Tati

*That book was bought by Tati.*

(18) **Buku itu sudah ku-beli**

book that already I-buy

*That book was already bought by me.*

Chung (1976: 42-53) has distinguished the three clause types (in examples 16 to 18 above) respectively as transitive, canonical passive and ‘object preposing’ or

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\(^8\) The meN- can be symbolised as me\(ŋ\)-, if the /ŋ/ is treated as the underlying phonem.
Chapter 8: Topicality

'passive'. Chung offers evidence to show that the preposed Patient NP behaves like a subject, rather than an object and so considers this construction to be a passive.

Table 22. Frequency of topicality relations of participants in Indonesian (Urbach 1988:462, 468)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>MeN-Transitive (Agent V Patient)</th>
<th>Proclitic-Agent verb (Patient Agent V)</th>
<th>Psv di- (Patient VAgent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agent &gt; Patient</td>
<td>112 (59%)</td>
<td>43 (96%)</td>
<td>7 (13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent = Patient</td>
<td>41 (22%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5 (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agent &lt; Patient</td>
<td>37 (19%)</td>
<td>2 (4%)</td>
<td>41 (79%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>190 (100%)</td>
<td>45 (100%)</td>
<td>52 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A common tendency of both Indonesian voice and Balinese voice is that a participant which is in the pre-verbal position is usually high in relative topicality. In Table 22 above, the MeN-Transitive in Indonesian, which is similar to the NT clause in Balinese, has an Agent which is more topical than Patient. This type of relative topicality is more common than other topicality relations. Both the Indonesian passive di- and the Balinese ka-passive have a Patient which is usually more topical than the Agent, as shown by a comparison of Table 22 with tables 16 and 17.

The characteristics of relative topicality in the Indonesian Proclitic-Agent verb and the Balinese ZT seems to be different. In the Indonesian Proclitic-Agent verb, Urbach does not find Agent and Patient participants which are equally topical. In the Balinese ZT, on the other hand, this kind of topicality relation is found to be the most common. In the Indonesian Proclitic-Agent verb, the most frequent topicality relation by far is for the Agent to be more topical than the Patient, while in the Balinese ZT, this kind of topicality relation is significantly low. Urbach (1988:466) suggests that the
clitisized pronominal Agent in front of the verb in Indonesian signals 'agent-focus' in the sense that the Agent is higher on the scale of topicality than the corresponding Patient. It seems to me that the term 'focus' which is used by Urbach here is confusing. In my understanding of 'object fronting' which has a proclitic Agent, it is the Patient which is in focus because this argument gets more emphasis than the Agent. Therefore, the Patient is fronted.

8.12 Conclusion

Topicality is an important factor in determining voice in Balinese. The NT construction tends to be chosen when the O participant is not topical, while the ZT construction is likely to be selected when the O participant is highly topical. Both the ZT clause and the ka-passive are likely to have a highly topical Patient (the O of ZT and the S of the ka-passive). However, the major difference between these two voices is that the ZT clause also usually has a highly topical A, while the ka-passive is usually associated with a non-topical Agent.

There are a small number of examples which go counter to the common pattern of topicality is mentioned above. The few examples include NT clauses which have a highly topical O, and ZT and ka-passive which both have a non-topical patient. An NT clause can occur with a topical O in one of three situations: (i) the NT clause is used in a repeating clause/rephrase; (ii) the O participant occurs with a reflexive pronoun (where the topicality of O is caused by the topicality of A); and (iii) the NT clause is used in an introductory paragraph.
A ZT clause which has a non-topical O, on the other hand, is usually involved in one of five situations: (i) the O participant is a non-specific referent, (ii) the O participant is the non-specific head of a relative clause, (iii) the O participant is a focus of contrast, (iv) the O participant is re-introduced or (v) the O participant is an associative anaphoric referent (i.e. a participant which does not have a specific referent).

The ka-passive which runs counter to the common pattern of topicality occurs when S is not topical because the referent is non-specific, and so there is no referent which can be measured for RD and TP. An NT clause is not used instead, because the Agent of the ka-passive is also not highly topical.

The topic chain plays an important role in making zero anaphora the most topical expression type in Balinese texts. I find that a referent which is established in the topic chain as a full NP in the first clause of text is then typically referred to by zero anaphora or by pronouns.

While topicality is important in determining voice, it is not necessarily everything. In Chapter Seven we also saw that grounding correlated with voice selection. In Chapter Nine I will look at the combined effect of ‘Grounding and Topicality of O’ and will investigate the question of how grounding and topicality interact in determining voice selection.
CHAPTER NINE

TOPICALITY OF O AND GROUNDING

9.1 Introduction

In Chapter 7 and Chapter 8, I established factors which correlate with voice selection. In Chapter 7, I have found that the ZT clause is more commonly used for foregrounded information than the NT clause, while with backgrounded information, the NT clause is more frequently employed than the ZT clause. In Chapter 8, on the other hand, I have established that topicality of O is a major factor in determining the choice between the NT clause and the ZT clause.

9.2 Topicality of O and Grounding

In this chapter, I will discuss how the topicality of O relates to grounded information (see also Hopper 1979; Myhill 1992:59-80; Cumming 1991: 175186). There are three questions which need to be asked here. First, does a highly topical O correlate with FG information, while a non topical one correlates with BG information? Second, if it does, then why should there be such a correlation? Third, is grounding an independent factor which influences voice selection or is any correlation between grounding and voice selection a consequence of the typical characteristics of the arguments found in FG and BG?

In this chapter, I will investigate the four texts used in Chapter 8. Because this chapter is about the relationship between the topicality of O and grounding information, I will only focus on two degrees of topicality of O and their correlations with grounding information. The two degrees of topicality of O comprise a highly topical O (i.e. RD of 1
Chapter 9: Topicality of O and Grounding.

and/or TP of 3/3+ and a non-topical O (i.e. RD of >3 and TP of 0). These two characteristics are measured in three ways: two dimensions (RD + TP), RD dimension and TP dimension.1

The relevant data are presented in section 9.2, where the most common patterns are established. Section 9.3 focuses on two important types which involve less usual combinations of grounding and topicality and so help to establish whether grounding has a role to play independent from topicality. We will see that most of the examples in which voice cannot be predicted solely on the basis of the topicality of O fall into clearly definable types. The residue of examples which fall outside the more common patterns are discussed in section 9.4, and our conclusions are summarised in 9.5.

9.2 Topicality of O and Grounding

In this section, I present data concerning the correlation between grounding and topicality and the interaction of grounding, topicality and voice. Since I have already established that there is a correlation between ZT and FG and that there is also a correlation between ZT and a highly topical O, I would expect to find a correlation between a highly topical O and FG as well. That such a correlation exists is proven by the statistics presented in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topicality</th>
<th>FG</th>
<th>BG</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Topical O</td>
<td>273 (64%)</td>
<td>152 (33%)</td>
<td>425 (48%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-topical O</td>
<td>154 (36%)</td>
<td>302 (67%)</td>
<td>456 (52%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>427 (100%)</td>
<td>454 (100%)</td>
<td>881 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 See chapter 8 for discussion of low RD and TP.
Table 2 shows that a topical O usually occurs with FG, while a non-topical O usually occurs with BG. Hopper (1979: 215-227) has observed that FG clauses typically have a few, usually highly topical, participants (see also Myhill, 1992:59). In BG, on the other hand, there is a greater likelihood of having non-topical participants because new mentions are introduced and described in BG clauses. O participants in FG are usually topical because FG clauses usually maintain the same participants for a while before new participants are introduced in BG clauses. On the other hand, BG clauses carry descriptions, amplifications, expansions and collateral information, and are therefore likely to contain a good deal of new information. This means that BG clauses are more likely to get non-topical participants. From the data I have seen so far, it would appear that A must still usually be topical in BG clauses while O is more likely to be non-topical, since I have found (see Table 3 and Table 4 below) that A is generally much more likely to be topical than O.

Now that I have established the correlation between grounding and the topicality of O, I can turn to the question of the interaction of grounding, topicality and voice. Specifically, is the high frequency of ZT with FG simply an automatic consequence of the fact that O is usually topical in FG? Or is FG an independent factor, enhancing the already strong tendency of ZT to be used when O is highly topical and perhaps reducing the tendency of BG being used when O is not highly topical? Some relevant statistics are given in Table 2.
Table 2. Overall frequency of topicality of O, grounding and voice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Clause Types</th>
<th>Topical O</th>
<th>Non-topical O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FG</td>
<td>BG</td>
<td>FG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZT</td>
<td>255 (93%)</td>
<td>99 (65%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NT</td>
<td>18 (7%)</td>
<td>53 (35%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>273 (100%)</td>
<td>152 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear from Table 2 that if grounding does play a role in voice selection, it is much less important than the topicality of O. Rather than grounding, topicality is the more important factor in determining voice selection because there is strong statistical evidence that ZT is usually chosen if O is highly topical, whether in FG or BG. NT is normally selected if O is not topical in either in FG or BG.

However, Table 2 also shows clearly that the combination of topicality and grounding is a strong predictor of voice selection. In particular, the combination of FG with a highly topical O almost guarantees ZT while the combination of BG with an O having low topicality is a very good predictor of NT.

The figures of Table 2 are broken down in more detail in Tables 3 and 4. In these tables, three types of ‘topical’ O are distinguished (1) O which is topical in both dimensions (2) O which is topical in RD but not topical in TP and (3) O which is topical in TP but non-topical in RD. Similarly, three types of ‘non-topical’ O are distinguished (1) O which is very low in topicality on both dimensions, (2) O which is very low in topicality on RD but has some topicality in TP, and (3) O which has very low topicality in TP with some topicality in RD. In those two tables we can see that in the three measurement types, the frequency of ZT is always higher with a highly topical O than

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with a non-topical O either in FG or BG, while the frequency of NT is always higher
with a non-topical O than with a highly topical O, again either in FG or BG.

Table 3. The Correlation of topicality of O and foregrounding with voice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topicality of O</th>
<th>FG</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NT</td>
<td>ZT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Top. O</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• two dimensions</td>
<td>3  (4%)</td>
<td>74 (96%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• RD of 1 with</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low²/non-topicality</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
<td>85 (99%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in TP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• TP 3/3+ with</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low/non-topicality</td>
<td>14 (13%)</td>
<td>96 (87%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in RD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total highly topical O</td>
<td>18 (7%)</td>
<td>255 (93%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Top. O</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• two dimensions</td>
<td>36 (82%)</td>
<td>8 (18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• RD of &gt;3 with</td>
<td>26 (40%)</td>
<td>39 (60%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low topicality in TP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• TP of Ø with low</td>
<td>35 (78%)</td>
<td>10 (22%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>topicality in RD  (RD = 2 or 3)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total non-top O</td>
<td>97 (63%)</td>
<td>57 (37%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 A low topicality in RD means that it has a value of 2 or 3, while a low topicality in TP means that it has a value between 1 and 2.
Table 4. The Correlation of topicality of O and backgrounding with voice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topicality of O</th>
<th>BG</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NT</td>
<td>ZT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High Top. O:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• two dimensions</td>
<td>26 (43%)</td>
<td>34 (57%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• RD of 1 with</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low/non-topicality</td>
<td>13 (41%)</td>
<td>19 (59%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in TP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• TP of 3/3+ with</td>
<td>14 (23%)</td>
<td>46 (77%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low/non-topicality</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in RD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total highly topical O</td>
<td>53 (35%)</td>
<td>99 (65%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Top O:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• two dimensions</td>
<td>108 (92%)</td>
<td>10 (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• RD of &gt;3 with</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low topicality in TP</td>
<td>102 (84%)</td>
<td>19 (16%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• TP of Ø with low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>topicality in RD</td>
<td>56 (89%)</td>
<td>7 (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total non-topical O</td>
<td>266 (88%)</td>
<td>36 (12%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The combination of a highly topical O with FG strongly prefers ZT, as shown by the two dimensional measurement, RD measurement, and TP measurement. By the two dimensional measurement, of 77 transitive clause types which have the combination of a highly topical O and FG, 74 examples (96%) occur in ZT clauses, while only 3 examples (4%) occur in NT clauses. By RD measurement, of 86 transitive clauses which have the combination of topical O and FG, 85 (99%) examples are ZT, while only 1 example (1%) is NT. Thus, the combination of FG and highly topical O in RD is the best predictor of voice. Out of 110 transitive clause types which are used in the combination of TP and FG, 96 examples (87%) are ZT clauses, while 14 examples (13%) are NT.

Example (1) below shows how the ZT clauses in (b), (c) and (d) are used to convey foregrounded events. Only the ZT clause in (c) has a highly topical O in two dimensions, while the ZT clause in (b) has a highly topical O in terms of TP, but not RD.
The ZT clause in (d) has a highly topical O in RD. (The NP *padi* ‘rice (in its husk)’ is mentioned before in the fourth preceding clause but the NP *pepetan* ‘husks’ is firstly mentioned in (b) below).

(1)a. Kenten satuan I Dedari Sang Sungpraba
    that story ART. angel Sang Sungpraba

b. raris kenten *pepetan padi-n-e*
    then that husks *rice (in its husk)*-LIG-DEF

    *nika kaat-a*
    that ZT cut off-3Agt

c. *Ø jang-a samping jineng-e*
    (husks) ZT put-3Agt side paddy’s store-DEF

d. *nika tunjel-a *pepetan-n-e nika*
    that ZT burn-3Agt husks-LIG-DEF that

e. sampun *ia ma-tunjel*
    after 3 MAI-burn

f. *andus-ne nika nika kenten saluk-a*
    smoke-3POSS’R that that like that ZT put on-3Agt

    *baju-n ipun-e*
    dress-LIG 3-DEF

g. *lantas ipun nutut-ang andus menek*
    then 3 NT-follow-APPL smoke upward
    (The referent ‘paddy husks’ is not mentioned in any of the ten clauses following in (g))

    *That is the word of the Angel Sang Sungpraba. Then, ... She cuts off those rice husks. She puts (them) next to the paddy’s store. She burns those husks. She puts on her dress after the husks are burnt. Then, she follows the smoke upward.*
    (GBN 425-432)

In (1b), the O participant, the full NP *pepetan padi-n-e nika* is highly topical in terms of TP. In (1c), the O participant, Zero Anaphora ‘rice husks’ is highly topical in both dimensions (RD and TP), and in (1d), the O participant, the reintroduced full NP *pepetan-n-e nika* ‘that paddy’s husks’ is highly topical in respect of RD with some topicality in TP. The use of ZT in (1f) relates to an associative anaphoric referent and
sequential events. In this clause, the referent ‘her dress’ is associated with ‘the smoke of the husks.’ Here the story is that the Angel can only fly to heaven, if she wears her own dress while being covered by the smoke of rice husks which is rising to the sky. Both the dress and the husks smoke function as tools to fly and a Balinese audience would be expected to know this. The non-topicality of O in ZT here goes against the usual pattern. This will be discussed later.

The definite full NP andus-ne nika ‘that smoke’, the NP in (1f) is not part of the ZT clause here. Neither it is part of an independent clause. The definite full NP andus-ne nika ‘that smoke’ is mentioned by accident by the narrator and he corrects it with the ZT clause ... saluk-a bajun ipune ‘She puts on her dress.’ Since the NP andus-ne nika ‘that smoke’ in (1f) is an accidental expression which is not part of the clause or not an independent clause, it can only be considered as an associative anaphoric referent of the indefinite NP andus ‘smoke’ in (1g). Here the O of NT is treated as non-topical because no value of RD or value of TP is given to the NP. So, the non-topicality of O follows the expected pattern.

BG clauses with non-topical O’s seem to strongly select NT clauses rather than ZT clauses. Out of 302 non-topical O’s used in BG, 266 (88%) examples occur in NT clauses, and only 36 (12%) examples are in ZT clauses. Examples (2b) and (2c) show O participants of NT which are not topical in either dimension.

(2)a. Sajan laut buin akejepne sajan teka
true then again moment true arrive
lantas ni Bawang
then ART. Bawang

b. Ø ngancul-ancul maberentengan ngaba pepantingan
stalkingly fully NT-carry washed clothes
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c.  Ø tur ia nyuwun jun misi yeh.

and 3 NT carry (on head) clay pot contain water

(In the complete episode of my text, the referents 'washed clothes' and 'clay pot' are single mentions)

_In a moment, Bawang really comes. (While she comes), she brings lots of washed clothes and she carries (on the head) a clay pot which contains water._ (CK 184-190)

The NT clauses in (2b) and (2c) above are BG and both have a non-topical O’s. Those NT clauses are backgrounded because they provide extra information about the foregrounded clause ‘Bawang comes’ in (2a). The NT clause _ngancul-ancul maberentengan ngaba pepantingan_ ‘she (comes while) ... bringing washed clothes’ in (2b) and the NT clause _tur ia nyuwun jun misi yeh_ ‘(and she comes) while she is carrying (on the head) a clay pot which contains water’ (2c) are used to amplify or comment on the main-event line in (2a). Neither the O participant _pepantingan_ ‘washed clothes’ of the NT clause in (2b) nor the O participant _jun_ ‘a clay pot’ in (2c) is topical since both are only mentioned once.

The NT clauses in (2b) and (2c) are used to demonstrate that the O participants are new mentions which are not topical and they amplify a main event line which is in the immediately preceding clause. If these NT clauses were replaced with the corresponding ZT clauses, then the O participant becomes a focus of contrast or in other words, is an unexpected topic. However, the corresponding ZT clauses would still denote a backgrounded rather than of a foregrounded event. This is because what is expressed in (2b) and (2c) explains or amplifies the main event in (2a) (cf. Hopper 1979:223; Cooreman 1994: 69). It is therefore clear that it is the nature of the O rather than backgrounding _per se_ that determines voice in this example (2).
In the next section, I look in more detail at the possible role of grounding in voice selection.

9.3 Factoring out Topicality

In this section I separate the two factors: topicality and grounding. Since FG clauses usually go with a highly topical O, and BG clauses go with a non-topical O, the majority of clauses do not tell us whether FG or BG plays a role in voice selection, independent of topicality. What I need to do is to look at sentence types which cannot be explained by a reference to topicality on its own. These sentences fall into two major types: (i) FG, non topical O and (ii) BG, topical O.

9.3.1 FG, Non-topical O

At first, it looks like FG may be an independent factor favouring ZT since there generally seems to be a higher incidence of ZT with FG than we would expect simply on the basis of the topicality of O. As shown by Table 2, of 154 transitive clause types which are FG and have a non-topical O, 97 examples (63%) are NT clauses, and 57 examples (37%) are ZT clauses.

However, if we examine ZT clauses in FG with a non-topical O in more detail, we find these do not occur with just any type of a non-topical O, but that non-topical O is restricted to one of 2 types: (i) associative anaphoric referent and (ii) reintroduced O. Out of the 57 ZT clauses under consideration in this section, 19 examples (33%) are ZT with an O which has an associative anaphoric referent, and 38 examples (67%) are ZT with O which is reintroduced. Although these arguments are not topical in terms of RD and TP as I have measured it so far, they are not really non-topical in the sense that they
do not correspond to any entity in the text. In fact, the referent either with the associative anaphoric referent or the re-introduced O is always accessible in some way.

(i) associative anaphoric referent

By saying that an NP has an associative anaphoric referent, I mean that an NP does not refer to any specific referent in a text, but that the NP can be associated with information in a text somehow. Although an NP of this type is a single mention, it is not completely new information because the referent is accessible from associative information. The ZT which occurs with the associative anaphoric referent can be found in sequential events or in a single main-event among non-main events.

(3a) ... lantas alih-ang-a carang dlima
then ZT look-for-APPL-3Agt branch pomegranate
ane tuh,
which dried

b. dui-n-ne lantas pacekpacek-in-a
thorn-LIG-3POSS'R then ZT prick-prick-APPL-3Agt
bunga-n-e me-warna-warna,
flower-LIG-DEF MAI-colour
(The referent ‘thorn’ is a single mention with associative anaphoric referent)
... then he looks for a dried branch of pomegranate. Then he sticks the colourful flower on the thorn. (JT 369-372)

Although the NP dui-n-ne ‘thorn’ in (3b) is only mentioned once, it is anaphorically associated with the NP dlima ‘pomegranate’ in the immediately preceding clause. In terms of accessibility, the NP dui-n-ne ‘the thorn’ in (3b) is apparently topical since the associative referent has an RD value of 1. It seems clear enough that an O does not have to be topical in terms of RD or TP as these were defined in Chapter 8 to be
found in ZT. It can be enough for its referent to be accessible. However, it looks like ZT will only occur here if there is no particular reason to focus on A, in which case NT will be used, as in (4c).

(4a) Seantukan dadi kasuen ipun memancing irika
because then long time 3 MAI-fishing there

ring beji di tukad-e
at bathing place at river-DEF

b. dados wenten kelapa anyud sakeng kaler
then exist coconut float from north

c. nika ngambuk-ngambuk pancing ipun-e.
that NT-disturb-NT-disturb fishing rod 3-DEF
(In the complete episode of my text, the referent ‘fishing rod’ is mentioned once in next ten clauses)

Because he has been fishing there, on the bathing place, on the river, for a long time, apparently there is a coconut floating from north. That (repeatedly) disturbs his fishing rod. (GBN 19-29)

In (4c), the NP pancing ipun-e ‘his fishing rod’ which functions as O of NT is only mentioned once but the referent can be associated with the NT memancing ‘to fish’ in (4a). A NT clause is used in (4c) instead of ZT because focus is given to the A NP kelapa ‘coconut’ rather than to the O. In this case the A is an expected topic from the immediately preceding clause. In (3b) there is a choice between ZT and NT, because there is the possibility of focussing on either A or O, while in (4c) there is no real choice.

There seem to be two possible reasons for the relatively large number of ZT clauses in FG which have a non-topical O which has an associative anaphoric referent (or a re-introduced non-topical O). First, it is possible that there is simply a high frequency of O’s with associative anaphoric referents or with a re-introduction in FG sentences (this could be due to the nature of FG, in which the scene has already been set and so a new introduction or a re-introduction is likely to be accessible because of the
situation that has been set up). Second, it could be that FG simply favours ZT if O is at all topical (where ‘topical’ includes simply ‘accessible’), but this is a fairly weak tendency which can be overridden if there is a desire to emphasise A. We leave the question open here.

(ii) re-introduced O

In this type, an O participant of ZT is re-introduced but is no longer highly topical. The O participant needs to be recalled for a short episode but is no longer highly topical because it has not been mentioned in the immediately preceding clauses and because the topic for the following clauses changes. The recalled participant is usually a full NP instead of a non-overt participant or a pronoun because the full NP is required to remind the reader/listener about the existence of a previous participant, as shown in (5d).

(5)a. Disubane nyen jerijin lima-n-ne ka-gotol
   after EMPHASIS finger hand-LIG-3POSS’R PSV-peck
   baan I Cerucuk Kuning,
   by ART. Cerucuk Kuning
   b. misi kone ia bungkung emas
   MAI-contain apparently 3 ring gold
   c. tur masoca mirah muah inten di jerijin
   and MAI-jewel diamond and diamond at fingers
   lima-n-ne makejang ento.
   hand-LIG-3POSS’R all that
   d. Nah, panyuwud ne jani tunden-a kone ia
   so finally this now ZT order-3Agt apparently 3
   I Cerucuk Kuning
   ART. Cerucuk Kuning
   e. buin ngotol pagelangan batis-ne
   again NT-peck wrist leg-3POSS’R
makaduang aneh.
both QUANT.

f. laut misi kone gelang slaka.
then MAI-contain apparently bracelet silver
After her fingers are pecked by Cerucuk Kuning, they are adorned with rings and the rings are be jeweled of diamonds. So, finally she asks Cerucuk Kuning to peck both of her ankles, and silver anklets appear on them. (CK 278-283)

In (5d) the O of ZT is the full NP *ia i Cerucuk Kuning* 'it, Ėrucuk Kuning’ which is re-introduced after two clauses. These two clauses are used to describe a situation before another main event is introduced in (5d).

Since all 57 ZT clauses with non-topical O in FG fall into one of these two types, namely, the associative anaphoric referent and the re-introduction, I conclude that the mere fact that a clause is on the main event line does not allow it to occur as ZT. It must have the right type of O to occur as ZT.

### 9.3.2 BG, Topical O

With transitive clauses which are in BG and which have a highly topical O, we would expect that if topicality were the only determinant, the clauses would all be ZT one. However, although most such clauses are indeed ZT, we find 35% examples of NT clauses with a topical O and BG (see Table 2). This is a higher percentage of NT than we would expect in the basis of topicality of O alone since only 7% of the topical O’s in FG clauses occur as NT. In this section, I examine these clauses in more detail to see if I can find any reason which might explain their occurrence.

It is striking that although an O which is highly topical in terms of both RD and TP is almost certain to be treated as the pivot in FG (i.e. a ZT clause will be used), it
only weakly correlates with ZT in BG clauses. In this combination, ZT clauses are used only 34 out of 60 cases (57%—see Table 4). On the other hand, ZT clauses are used much more often when O is a highly topical in terms of TP alone.

The 53 NT clauses which were found with a combination of highly topical O and BG fall into three types: clause expansion, non-controlled subordinate clauses, and reflexives.

(i) clause expansion

A clause expansion usually extends a clause so that a clause which first occurs with a single argument is followed by a clause expressing a similar idea, but with two arguments. There are 35 examples (66% of the 53 NT clauses shown in Table 4) of this type. An expanded clause with two arguments usually retains the information which has been mentioned and adds to it, as in (6a) and (6b).

(6)a. **Nah, disubane ia ma-kaukan**

so, after 3 MAI-call

b. **ngaukiin ia meme-n-ne**, 

NT-call 3 mother-LIG-3POSS’R
c. **peh, meme-n-ne masaut.**

wow mother-LIG-3POSS’R MAI-reply

(The referent ‘mother’ is not topical in terms of RD but highly persistent in the following clauses)

So, *she calls- she calls (for) her mother, wow, her mother replies.* (CK 297-299)

The NT in (6b) is an expansional clause which extends the intransitive clause in (6a). As an expansional clause, it always functions as BG because it just amplifies a previously referred to event. In (6b), the full NP *meme-ne ‘her mother’ is additional
information which is used as O. This NP becomes highly topical in terms of TP because the passage is mostly about this re-introduced NP. The verb of the expansional clause is preposed in initial position so that it is close to the expanded upon verb. This is done because the event needs to be emphasised. A ZT could be used to replace the NT, but the ZT would require that O was already topical in terms of RD, and in this case it is A which has been mentioned in the previous clause.

(ii) full subordinate clauses

Out of the 53 NT clauses which fall into BG and have highly topical O, 10 (19%) are used in full subordinate clauses. Let us review the characteristics of these subordinate clauses, which were discussed in detail in Chapter 5. These subordinate clauses are introduced by a complementizer and may have either an overt or a non-overt pivot. When the pivot is not overt, the normal interpretation is that it is coreferential with something in the superordinate clause. However, this coreference is not grammatical control, but is pragmatically determined, since under some circumstances it is possible to interpret the null pivot as referring to something which is not mentioned in the superordinate clause (see examples (10) and (11)).

In these full subordinate clauses, it is more common to have NT than ZT (see Table 1 in Chapter 5). This is true even when O is topical, as in these 10 examples. The main reason for this appears to be that although O is topical in TP, it is not so topical in RD. Rather, it is A which is typically coreferential with something in the superordinate clause and is therefore put in the pivot role and often unexpressed. Even if the pivot is expressed as in example (8) below, this pivot is commonly coreferential with a
superordinate clause element. Thus, NT will typically be chosen over ZT when it is A which is coreferential, even though in other situations, a topical O would result in ZT.

All the 10 examples of subordinate clauses have an O which is topical only in TP. For example, the subordinate clauses in (7b) and (8b) below occur as NT with an O which is highly topical in terms of TP. The O participants lengen-ne ‘her arms’ in (7b) and pianak ‘child’ in (8b) are a new mention and a re-introduced participant respectively. Both are continuously mentioned in the following three clauses.

(7)a. Orahin-a kone ne jani l Cerucuk Kuning
       ZT tell-3Agt apparently this now ART. Cerucuk Kuning

b. apang ngotol(lengthen-ne).
   COMP NT-peck arms-3POSS’R

c. Nah, gotol-a laut lengen-ne tekening
   So, ZT peck-3Agt then arms-3POSS’R by

   I Cerucuk Kuning.
   ART. Cerucuk Kuning

d. Disubane lengen-ne ka-gotol baan
   after arm-3POSS’R PSV-peck by

   I Cerucuk Kuning
   ART. Cerucuk Kuning

e. Ø kaden-ang-a suba misi gelang
   ZT guess-APPL-3Agt already MAI-contain armband

   kanda mas tekening I Kesuna.
   with gold by ART. Kesuna

   Now she apparently tells Cerucuk Kuning to peck her arm. So, Cerucuk Kuning pecks her arm. After her arm is pecked by Cerucuk Kuning, Kesuna thinks that it is a gold armband. (CK 549-554)

(8)a. Mara ia inget
   just 3 ZI remember

b. rehning bes keliwat ia nyayang-ang pianak,
   because too excessive 3 NT-love-APPL child
In the examples above, it would be possible to replace the NT in the subordinate clause with a corresponding ZT if the O were emphasised and newly mentioned. In this case, O would have to be expressed overtly, as in example (9b), which could replace example (7b).

(9)a. **Orahin-a kone ne jani**
    ZT tell-3Agt apparently this now

    I Cerucuk Kuning
    ART. Cerucuk Kuning

b. **apang lengen-ne gotoi-a.**
    COMP arms-3POSS’R ZT peck-Agt
    Now she tells Cerucuk Kuning to peck her arms.

However, the O of ZT in a subordination does not have to be overtly expressed if the referent is understood from the context. In (10) below it is understood that *bapanne*
'her father' is the agent of *dakep-a* 'he catches' because we know that people catch snakes and snakes do not catch people.

(10) a. *Bawangi nepuk-ang lilipîj di carik.*  
    Bawang NT-find-APPL snake on rice field

b. *Ditu orah-in-aî bapa-n-neîji*  
    there ZT tell-3Agt father-LIG-3POSS'R

    *apang Ø_k/*j dakep-aï*  
    COMP ZT catch-3Agt

*Bawang finds a snake on a rice field. There she tells her father to catch it.*

Without a discourse context the construction like (10b) above would be ambiguous, as shown by example (11). It is ambiguous as to whether or not *bapanne* ‘her father’ should be interpreted as A or O of the embedded clause.

(11) *Ditu alih-aî bapa-n-neîj apang Øj/*k dakep-ai_k/*j*  
    there ZT tell-3Agt father-LIG-3 COMP ZT catch-3Agt

    (i) She looks for her/his father to (ask him to) catch it. (ii) She looks for her/his father/something/someone to be caught (by somebody else, by him/her).

To summarise, ZT is not impossible in subordinate clauses, and the O of such a ZT does not have to be coreferential with anything in the main clause, although its referent must be recoverable from context. However, NT is more commonly used in these clauses because the pivot, A, is typically coreferential with something in the superordinate clause.

(iii) reflexive

Eight (15%) of the 53 examples which have NT with a highly topical O and occur in BG involve reflexives. As noted in Chapter 8, although a reflexive O could be
treated as highly topical, this topicality is illusory because O has no independent reference. It only looks topical because it is bound to A, which is highly topical in its own right. Therefore, NT in reflexive sentences does not really run counter to the normal tendency for ZT to be used when O is highly topical, since in these cases, the topicality of coreferential A leads to the choice of NT.

My corpus shows a strong preference for NT in sentences with reflexives, although ZT and NT are both grammatical as long as the unambiguous complex form of the reflexive is used. Out of 10 transitive clauses which are reflexives, eight of them are NT—three with the complex form and five with the simple form. (To review the distinction between the complex reflexive and the simple reflexive, see Chapter 2). The following are the three examples which occur with the complex form:

(14) Dìtu lantas ia ngeling,
there then 3 NI-cry

mangen-ang dewekne
NT-regret3-APPL self

ngelah somah kliwat belog ludin lacur.
NT-own spouse too stupid and poor

There she cries and feels sorry for herself. She has a stupid and poor husband. (BLG 103-104)

(15) Lantas ni Kesuna-- meme ratu-- jeg ngenggalang
then ART. Kesuna mother lord just quickly

ia nquap dewekne aji oot ketungan.
3 NT-polish self with bran

Then Kesuna, my lord, she quickly polishes herself with bran. (CK 153)

3 The verb 'regret' in Balinese is a transitive verb, not an intransitive verb as in English.
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(16) Memeh ratu, nyerit ba ia ni Kesuna
mother lord NI-scream then 3 ART. Kesuna

teken jejeh keneh-ne
with fear feeling-3POSS’R

ningal-in paukudan-ne misi lalipi,
NT-see-APPL self-POSS’R MAI-contain snake

lalintah, tabuan.
leech bee
My lord, Kesuna screams because of her fear when she sees herself who gets snakes, leeches and bees. (CK 612-613)

It would not be possible to replace the five NT clauses having the simple reflexive with corresponding ZT clauses unless we first substituted complex reflexive for the simple ones found.

(17) Pepesan ia misi munyi ane jele-jele gati.
frequently 3 MAI-contain voice which bad-bad very

nah japi tuwi ja keto,
so but right EMPH that

I Bawang nu dogen ia nyulsul-ang dewek
ART. Bawang still just 3 NT-put forward-APPL self
teken meme
to mother
She (= Bawang) is frequently given very bad words (by her mother), so, Bawang still puts herself forward to her mother. (CK 17-18)

(18) Ni Bawang ngajak ni Kesuna ne jani makere
ART. Bawang and ART. Kesuna this now about

ia ngingken-ing paukudan.
3 NT-prepare-APPL self
Bawang and Kesuna now are about to prepare themselves. (CK 45)

(19) Nah ni Bawang nutur-ang ia lantas
well ART. Bawang NT-tell-APPL 3 then
unduk dewekne,
case self
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Bawang tells a story about herself, (it starts from where) she neglects herself (by going) to the jungle. (CK 389-390)

(20) Tuara beneh tekening nyama. not good to sibling

Jani ia mara nyelsel paukudan, now 3 just NT-regret self

disuban ia nepuk-ang jele... after 3 NT-find-APPL bad luck

(She) is not good to siblings. Now she feels regret about herself after she meets bad luck ... (CK 657-658)

(21) Sakewala tusing pesan ia nyak but not very much 3 want

ngaku dewek belog NT-admit self stupid

But she very much does not want to admit herself to be fool. (JT 4-7)

There are only two reflexive clauses in the corpus which use ZT form of the verb, and these are used in FG, not BG clauses. On the basis of only two examples, it is not possible to draw any very firm conclusions about when ZT will be used. However, it is worth noting that these two examples are different from all the NT examples. They are different in that the ZT verb occurs in the initial position and O is in the final position. This kind of Verb Initial ZT is usually used to show the sequentiality of main event lines (= FG) (see also Section 7.1 in Chapter 7). It is possible to replace the ZT with a corresponding NT, but if NT is used, then it will not be as strong as the Verb Initial ZT in denoting the sequentiality of main event lines. Here are the Verb Initial ZT clauses.

(22)a. Dening I Nyoman Jater anak because ART.Nyoman Jater person

mula darma, mendep kone ia. truly calm MAI-quiet apparently 3
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b. Jani *patuyuh-in-a* ibane nungguh-ang
   now ZT busy-APPL-3Agt self NT-put on-APPL

payuk
clay pot
Because Nyoman Jater is a calm man, he just keeps quiet. Now he stirs himself to put the clay pot on (a wood fire). (JT 137-140)

(23)a. Nah *daya-n-e* tidong-tidong ba edeng-ang-a
   so trick-LIG-DEF unbelievable ba ZT show-APPL-3Agt

   ken dane dija mengkeb
   by 3 where MAI-hide

b. *esil-ang-a* ibane ma-silem
   ZT hide-APPL-3Agt self MAI-dive

   So he shows unbelievable tricks about where he is hiding. *He hides himself (by) diving* (GBN 131-134)

The ZT clauses in (22b) and (23b) are FG clauses which are in sequence with the immediately preceding main event. In (22), the ZT *jani patuyuh-in-a iba-ne nungguh-ang payuk* ‘he makes himself busy to put the clay pot on’ is a main event line which immediately follows the main event line of the intransitive clause *mendep kone ia* ‘he keeps quiet.’ Here the situation could be interpreted like this: first he stays quiet, then he does something. A similar sequentiality is applied to the example in (23) which have two main events on the line. The first main event, he (= Batun Nyuh) shows how he can hide, then the next main event line, he hides himself by diving.

A conclusion which can be drawn here is that although both NT and ZT are grammatical with some reflexives, there seems to be a preference for NT. However, the number of examples in this corpus is too small to make very definite statements. The use of NT with an apparently topical O in these examples does not run counter to the usual tendency for a highly topical O to trigger ZT because the ‘topicality’ of O is derived from its coreference with A which is also highly topical. Although it is possible to have
NT in reflexive clauses in FG, reflexives are usually used in BG in my corpus. This slightly increases the number of BG clauses with NT, and is a small part of the reason why there is a correlation between BG and NT. However, it appears that the use of NT in these sentences is due to the nature of the reflexive construction itself rather than the fact that these sentences are backgrounded. On the other hand, it does appear that there is a connection between FG and ZT with reflexives, since the Verb Initial ZT construction seems to be used for FG with a reflexive.

9.4 The Residue

There are quite a number of exceptions which run counter to the general tendencies which have been established in the previous sections of this chapter. The general tendencies which are recalled here: a ZT clause is more likely to be chosen when there is a combination of FG with a highly topical O, while a NT clause is selected when there is a combination of BG with a non-topical O. Exceptions which go counter to this general tendency are distinguished into two types: (i) FG, highly topical O and NT, and (ii) BG, non-topical O and ZT. We do not expect FG with a highly topical O and NT, since FG favours ZT with a topical or accessible O. We do not expect BG with a non-topical O and ZT, since BG favours NT with a non-topical O.

9.4.1 FG, Highly Topical O and NT

Out of 273 transitive clause types which have the combination of a highly topical O and FG which were presented in Table 3, only 18 (7%) are NT, while 255 (93%) are ZT. Of the 18 NT clauses, 3 have an O which is highly topical in two dimensions, 14 examples have an O which is topical in TP alone, and 1 has an O which is topical in RD
only. Most A’s are overtly expressed in these NT clauses in order to focus on the actions of the Agent.

The typical use of the NT in the above combination is to signal ‘here are the actions of the Agent.’ The NT in this case is usually used at the beginning of the event sequence. The examples below illustrate how the narrator would want to give A more prominence, while O is still topical in this situation.

(24)a. “Ih jero dagang bebek, niki jinah,”
   hi you seller duck this money

b. “Ø icen tiang bebek kekalihi!”
   ZT give I duck two

c. Ditu Pan Belog ngenju-in i dagang bebek
   there Pan Belog NT-give-APPL. ART. seller duck

ringgit a keteng
   ringgit one Quantifier.

d. nanging ke Pan Belog tusing nawang
   but EMPH Pan Belog not NI-know

yan ento madan ringgit.
   if that MAI-call ringgit

e. I dagang bebek ngon ia teken
   ART. seller duck amazed 3 with

tingkah anak-e ma-blanja buka keto,
   act person-DEF MAI-buy like that

(The referent ‘duck seller’ is highly persistent in the following clauses)

“Hi, you, duck seller, this is the money. Give me two ducks.” There, Pan Belog gives the duck seller one Ringgit. However, Pan Belog does not know that is called Ringgit. The duck seller is amazed by the act of the person who is shopping like that. (BLG 40-46)

(25)a. Nanging mara tawang-a teken I dagang
   but just ZT know-3Agt by DEF seller

   bebek Pan Belog jelma deeng,
   duck Pan Belog person rude
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b. ditu kenyir
   there smile

c. tur encol lantas ia maang Pan Belog;
   and hurry then 3 NT-give Pan Belog

   bebek ane; mokoh-mokoh tur baat-baat dadua.
   duck which fat-fat and heavy-heavy two

d. Pan Belog; nyemak-in bebek-e ento
   Pan Belog NT-take-APPL duck-DEF that

e. tur lantas ia j ma-lipetan mulih
   and then 3 MAI-come back go home

f. tusing buin ia j nagih-in l dagangj
   not again 3 NT-ask for-APPL ART. seller

penyusuk ringgit-ne.
change Ringgit-3POSS’R

g. Ka-crita pajalan Pan Belogej ngamulihang
   PSV-story way name NI-go home

h. ngentas-in tukad linggah.
   NT-work through-APPL river wide

i. Sawatara mara ia j neked di tengah tukad-e,
   about just 3 NI-arrive at middle river-DEF

j. laut ngeleb bebek-ne; makadadua
   then NI-drawn duck-3POSS’R both

k. tur lantas ngelangi.
   and then NI-swim

l. Pan Belog bengong ia
   Pan Belog daydreaming 3

m. ngenot tingkah bebek-e buka keto,
   NT-see attitude duck-DEF like that

But when the duck seller knows that Pan Belog is a mad person, the Duck Seller
smiles and he quickly gives Pan Belog fat and heavy ducks. Pan Belog grabs
those ducks and he goes home. He does not ask for the change of his
Ringgit from the duck seller. Now Pan Belog goes home. He crosses a wide
river. When he is in the middle of the river, he submerges his two ducks but the
ducks are floating. Pan Belog is surprised to see the behaviour of the ducks
which is like that. (BLG 53-66)
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(26)a. Peh, \textit{adi-ne} tuara nyak\textsubscript{2} well. younger-3POSS'R not ZI intend

b. Ni \textit{Kesuna} ngorah-in \textbullet\text{e}
   ART. Kesuna NT-tell-APPL

c. \textit{apang} \textit{embok-ne} nuwun-ang malu.
   COMP older sister-3POSS'R NT-bring downward-APPL first

d. \textit{ia} ngorah-ang "nah buin kejepan}
   3 NT-tell-APPL well in a moment later on
   icang nyen bakal ngetep-in"
   1 EMPHASIS will NT-cut off-APPL

e. keto dadi pesaut-ne \textit{l} Kesuna.
   like that thus answer-3POSS'R ART. Kesuna

f. \textit{Nah ni} \textit{Bawang} setata ia ma-dan ngalah,
   so ART. Bawang always 3 MAI-name NI-give up

g. nyak kone \textit{ia} ka-belog-belog.
   NI-agree apparently 3 PSV-fool-fool

h. Laut pedidin-a kone menek \textit{ka glebeg-e,}
   then alone-3Agt apparently NI-climb to store-DEF
   Wow, \textit{her} younger sibling refuses (it). Kesuna tells \textit{her} \textit{elder sister} to bring \textit{(the rice)} down first. Kesuna replies "in a moment \textit{I} will cut off \textit{(the rice)}." \textit{That is}\ Kesuna's answer. \textit{So, Bawang} always gives up. \textit{She (= Bawang)} does not \textit{mind} to be fooled. \textit{Then, she (= Bawang)} is alone to climb up \textit{(the rice)} store. (CK 53-63)

The NT verbs \textit{ngenjuin} ‘give’ in (24c), \textit{nyemakin} ‘take’ in (25d) and \textit{ngorahin} ‘tell’ in (26b) denote foregrounded events. Here, an NT is selected instead of a ZT because the clause is about the action of A. But the O participants, namely the full NP \textit{i dagang bebek} ‘the duck seller’ in (24c), the full NP \textit{bebek-e ento} ‘those ducks’ in (25d) and the zero anaphora/\textbullet\text{e} ‘Bawang’ in (26b) are also topical because they are part of a small number of participants that are major protagonists in the story as a whole and in this episode in particular. A similar situation also occurs with NT in (25c) and (25d). In these examples, the NT could be replaced by the corresponding ZT, if the
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Focus/emphasis were on O rather than on A. The major generalization that can be drawn about these examples is that although O is highly topical, A is even more topical in ways which are not captured by our simple measurement. It is arguable that A has more prominence in the speaker's mind in these examples, making NT a possibility.

It is less usual for the combination of topical O, NT and FG not to have an overt A. There are only 3 examples of this type.

(27) Ka-crita jani I Belenjo
PSV-tell now ART. Belenjo

nresded bangun uli di pedeman-e,
hurry ZI get up from at bed-DEF

laut Ø ngintip Ø uli di bolongan sombah-e,
then NT-peep at (Jater) from at hole wall hole-DEF

lantas ajinang-a pratingkahan-ne
then ZT teach-3Agt character-3POSSR

I Nyoman Jater
ART. Nyoman Jater
(In the complete text of my corpus, the referent 'Jater' is highly persistent, but not high in RD)

(Here I tell you the story) that Belenjo gets up quickly from her bed. She peeps (at Jater) from the wall hole. Jater shows off his ability (because he knows that he is being peeped at). (JT 148-151)

(28) I Belenjo inceg jani ngalih don
ART. Belenjo busy now NT-look for leaf

telujiangan pitung papah,
lotus seven quantifier

laut nyakckak bawang jae muwah kunyit
then NT-crush onion ginger and turmeric

ulihan a paso,
about QUANT clay container

lantas nyemak nyuh abungkul,
then NT-take coconut quantifier
Belenjo is in a hurry now looking for seven lotus leaves. She then crushes onions, gingers and turmeric in one clay container. She then takes an intact coconut and she covers it with the spices. Then she covers it with the lotus leaves. (JT 265-269)

(29) Nah, ne jani ni Bawang ngauk-in
so this now ART. Bawang NT-call-APPL

lantas adi-n-ne ni Kesuna
then younger sibling-LIG-3POSS’R ART. Kesuna

bakal nyemak padi
will NT-take rice (in its husk)

nuun-ang kone padi uling
NT-bring downward-APPL apparently rice (in its husk) from
di gelebeg-e,
at rice store-DEF

nah, kaukin-a lantas adi-n-ne
well ZT call-3Agt then younger sibling-LIG-3POSS’R

ni Kesuna
ART. Kesuna

So, Bawang calls for her younger sister, Kesuna to take rice (in its husk). She (=Bawang) apparently brings down the rice (in its husk) from the rice (in its husk) store. So, Bawang calls for younger sibling, Kesuna. (CK 47-50)

The reason why A is not expressed overtly in (28) and (29) might be that O is inanimate hence there is no real confusion about who is doing what. Of course, there are two humans in (27), but the second participant (Jater) has not been mentioned in the clause immediately preceding the NT clause in question, and so the reader has no difficulty expecting that the agent will be the same as the agent in the preceding clause.
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A larger number of examples would be necessary to draw firm conclusions about when A will not be expressed overtly, however.

Nearly all the examples of NT clauses in FG with highly topical O involve an O which is topical in terms of TP. This fits with the idea that the typical use of NT in FG is at the beginning of an episode. In this situation, O is not topical in RD because the episode is a new one and so it has not yet been introduced, although it becomes topical once it is introduced. In all these examples, although O is topical, A is often more topical.

9.4.2 BG, Non-topical O and ZT

Table 4 showed that there are 36 ZT clauses (12%) out of 302 transitive clause types which have a non topical O and occur in backgrounding. Non-topical O participants of ZT clause which are backgrounded are usually three sorts: a non-specific O, an O which is a focus of contrast, or an O which occurs in the non-specific head of relative clause. These ZT clauses are usually used to comment on events which have been mentioned in a previous episode. They can be placed in the middle of an episode or in a concluding paragraph.

Table 5. Factors involved in BG, non topical O and ZT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BG, non-topical O and ZT</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. non-specific O</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. focus of contrast</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. the non-specific head of a relative clause</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Total                  | 36  | 100%
(i) non-specific O

The quantifier *makejang/onya* ‘all, everything’ and the question word or the indefinite pronoun *apa* ‘what, anything’ do not usually refer to any specific referents in the texts. These non-specific NPs are usually used in clauses which describe habitual situations.

We will look first at the use of the quantifier *makejang*. A quantifier is usually used to modify the head of its NP, but the quantifier itself can also occur independently without any modified NP. When it occurs like this it functions as a core argument of a sentence.

In Balinese, if these quantifiers are used as a modified NP, they can be floated far away from the modified NP. Arka (1998:69-79) notes that the quantifier can appear in different positions: sentence-initially, next to on either side of the head noun or sentence-finally. The quantifier *makejang* in (30a) below (which is taken from my corpus) precedes the head noun. The quantifier could also either directly follow the head noun (30b) or be in sentence final position (30c). It can also occur in sentence initial position, far away from the NP (30d).

(30)a. ... *makejang* payuk-ne balihin-a
   all clay pot-3Agt ZT scrutiny-3Agt

b. payuk-ne *makejang* balihin-a
   clay pot-3POSS'R all ZT scrutiny-3Agt

c. payuk-ne balihin-a *makejang*
   clay pot-3POSS'R ZT-scrutiny-3Agt all

d. *makejang* balihin-a payuk-ne
   all ZT scrutiny-3Agt clay-3POSS'R
   ... she (= Belenjo) scrutinises all her clay pots. (JT 94)
The quantifier makejang ‘all’ in example (30) is used as a modifier of the head of its NP payuk-ne ‘her clay pot.’ Here the quantifier floats to different positions. This quantifier can also be used independently, without any other head noun.

In (31b), the quantifier makejang ‘all, everything’ functions independently as O of a ZT clause. This quantifier does not refer to a specific referent but relates to the negative characteristics of Kesuna which have been mentioned somewhere earlier. Thus, the clause here is used to describe Kesuna’s characteristics, and for this reason it is a BG clause.

(31)a. ... demen tekening pagelan anak
glad with possession person

b. Peh makejang suba aban-a tekening
wow all Particle ZT bring-3Agt by

ni Kesuna.
ART. Kesuna

c. Nah mapan keto ya laksanan-ne
so because like that EMPHASIS conduct-3POSS'R

d. pamuput mati tepukin-a,
finally death ZT find-3Agt

... she (= Kesuna) likes other person’s possession. Wow, she brings all (bad) things. Because her conduct is just like that, finally she finds death. (CK 693-694)

The NP apa ‘what, anything’ in (32c) functions as a questioned O in ZT. This NP does not refer to a specific referent in the text. The apa in (32c) seems to be a question word which refers to the O of a ZT. Because questions are a focus construction, ZT is always used if O is questioned.

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4 It is not completely clear from the text whether this example should be treated as a question or as an indefinite pronoun. However, it appears from the context that the narrator is asking himself a question which would occur to the husband, Gde Batun Nyuh.
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(32)a. Ngidih pis is sing taen
     NT-ask for money 3 not ever

b. wak sing bisa nekang pis
     person not can NT-produce money

c. apa ya belanja-ang-a
     what EMPH ZT spend-APPL-3Agt

d. akhirne jeg dengeng-ang-a
     finally EMPH ZT look at-APPL-3Agt
     She (= Sang Sungpraba) never asks for money, she does not make money. What does she spend. Finally, he looks at (her). (GBN 306-309)

It is possible for the construction in (31b) or (32c) to be replaced by NT but this clause would signal a shift in action. In this kind of situation, I did not find any occurrence of the non-specific O makejang or apa with NT in my corpus.

(ii) contrastive topic

The second type of ZT which is used in combination of BG with a non-topical O is a ZT with a contrastive topic. Chafe (1976:34) suggests three factors which are involved in a ‘focus of contrast’: ‘awareness’ (the consciousness which is shared by the speaker and the addressee), ‘the set of possible candidates’ (in one or more possible candidates, the speaker ‘contradicts a belief of the addressee’) and ‘assertion of which candidate is the correct one’.

A contrastive topic in Balinese is usually marked by the particle (a)nak or nget or jeg which precedes the pivot (i.e. O in ZT, or A in NT). A contrastive topic can also be used in a sentence without any of the particles. In this case the sentence simply contrasts the proposition of the preceding sentence, as in (34b) and (35b). ZT is used in these examples even though O is not topical because O is emphasised as contrastive. If
NT is used here, on the other hand, then A is given more focus than O. The contrastive topic in BG is usually used to comment on a preceding event.

(33)a. Awake nagih meli bebek maisi⁵,
I NI-want NT-buy duck MAI-contain
b. nget bulu dogen awake adep-in-a.
EMPH feathers just I ZT sell-APPL-3Agt
(In the complete episode of my text, the referent ‘feathers’ is a single mention)
I request (to buy) a solid duck, (but it is only) feathers which I was sold. (BLG 69-71)

(34)a. Ada sing nak nanem kesela,
exist not EMPH NT-bury sweet potato
b. apa, kacang bakal bet,
what peanut FUT harvest
c. sing ada unduk buka keto.
not exist case like that
There is no person who plants sweet potatoes will harvest peanuts. There is no such thing. (CK 716-718)

(35)a. Pipis ilang
money lost
b. bebek tuara bakat.
duck not ZT get
(Clause (35b) is the final clause of the text)
Money is lost, (but) duck (he) does not get. (BLG 104-108)

In (33), the contrast between the two sentences is that a person requests a duck, but he gets feathers. As a contrastive topic, the writer uses the NP bulu ‘feathers’ as the centre of communicative interest. Here the writer contradicts a listener’s belief which, might have predicted that the protagonist would receive a duck rather than the feathers s/he ended up with. In (34), if a person plants potatoes, then he/she should harvest potatoes (rather than peanuts); in (35) Belog and his wife are supposed to gain a duck by

⁵ maisi ‘contain’ is a legitimate variant of misi.
spending their money, instead after having dispensed with their money, they also lose the duck.

(iii) the non-specific head of a RC

A non-specific head of RC usually uses the non-specific NPs asing-asing ‘whatever’ or apa ‘what, whatever’ as its head as in examples (36b) and (37f). Such relative clauses can have the role of O, as in (36b) and (37f).

(36)a. Beh, ni Kesuna mula sayang-ang-a pesan teken meme bapa-n-ne.
wow ART. Kesuna truly ZT love-APPL-3Agt very much by mother father-LIG-3POSS’R

b. [Asing-asing ane taqih-a] tuukin-a dogen
whatever which ZT request-3Agt ZT fulfil-3Agt always

c. tur apa ja pesadun-pesadu-n-ne
and whatever EMPH complain-LIG-3POSS’R

misuna-ang ia ni Bawang.
NT-slander-APPL she ART. Bawang
Wow, (her parents) always fulfil whatever she requests. Whatever she requests, (her parents) always fulfil it. And, whatever her complaint (which she uses) to slander her, Bawang. (CK 7-9)

(37)c. Ipun ten nyak ngaku
3 not want NI-admit

d. ken barang tiyang ilang kenten
with thing I lost like that

e. akhirne mawinan tiyang jeg perlu
finally that’s why I EMPH need

f. [apa je tagih-a ] kal baang tiyang
whatever EMPH ZT ask for-3Agt will ZT give I

g. jeg ten ba ada tagih-a
EMPH not Particle exist ZT ask for-3Agt
He does not admit that. He steals my thing. I need my thing. Whatever he asks
for, I will fulfil it. Nothing does he ask for. (GBN 249-254)

The relative clause *ane tagih-a* ‘which she requests’ in (36b) and the relative clause (without a relative pronoun) *je tagih-a* ‘which he requests’ in (37f) have respectively the non-specific heads *asing-asing* ‘whatever’ and *apa* ‘whatever, anything’. These non-specific NP’s do not refer to a specific referent. The whole ZT clause in (36b) refers to a habitual activity which is used to comment on Kesuna’s characteristics, while the one in (37f) is an irrealis proposition which is shown by the use of the future particle *kal* ‘will.’ Although NT would be grammatical, it seems not to be favoured because the context expects a clause with the focus on O. The two NT examples below replace the first ZT clause in (36b) and the ZT clause in (37f), respectively:

(38) la nnuuk-in dogen [asing-asing] ane tagih-a]
    ZT ask for-3 Agt
    They (= parents) always fulfil whatever she asks for.

(39) Tiyang kal maang [apa je tagih-a ]
    I will NT-give what EMPH ZT ask-3Agt
    I will give (him) whatever he asks for.

In all three of these types, O arguably has a sort of topicality which is not captured by a simple measurement of RD and TP but which makes a preposed position for the O desirable.
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9.5 Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the relationship between grounding type, voice, and topicality. In Chapter 8, I found that there is a correlation between voice and the topicality of O: a highly topical O usually appears in a ZT clause, while a non-topical O is most likely to be found in an NT clause. In Chapter 7, I furthermore found a correlation between grounding type and voice: a foregrounded (FG) clause is likely to use ZT while a backgrounded (BG) clause is likely to use NT. This suggested that there is also likely to be a correlation between FG and highly topical O. That such a correlation does exist was demonstrated in section 9.2, where it was shown that 64% of FG clauses involve a topical O, while only 33% of BG clauses have a topical O. We suggested, following Hopper (1979), that this was because one of the typical features of FG was the involvement of a small number of highly topical participants.

The fact that most ZT sentences involve both FG and a highly topical O and the majority of NT sentences involve both BG and a non-topical O means that in the majority of sentences it is impossible to determine whether grounding is playing a role in the selection of voice. However, this can be done by factoring out topicality as a factor which would favour either ZT or NT; that is, by looking at the examples where I do not have the more common coincidence of FG and a topical O on the one hand or BG and a non-topical O on the other. Looking at sentences which combine FG with a non-topical O and ones which combine BG with a topical O, I find many more instances of ZT and FG than I would expect on the basis of topicality of O alone: the frequency of ZT with a non-topical O is significantly higher in FG clauses than in BG clauses. Furthermore, the frequency of ZT in BG clauses when O is highly topical is strikingly lower (with only 65%) than the frequency of ZT with a topical O and FG, where ZT comes close to
100%. These facts suggest that grounding is playing some sort of a role. Looking at the data, it is immediately clear that any role that grounding plays must be inferior to the role of topicality, since topical O's are still more likely to be found in ZT than NT clauses even when the clause is BG. But Tables 3 and 4 suggest that grounding does play some sort of role. Table 4 suggests that BG may enhance the tendency of a non-topical O to select NT, while Table 3 suggests even more strongly that FG enhances the tendency of a highly topical O to select ZT. The combination of FG with a highly topical O is an extremely good predictor of voice, since 93% of such examples have ZT.

Although the combination of topicality of O and the grounding type is a better predictor of voice than is the topicality of O on its own, a closer examination of the examples which run counter to the normal tendencies suggests that the nature of O is important in voice selection in a way which goes beyond topicality as measured by RD and TP. For example, I found that the 'non-topical' O's which occur in BG clauses with ZT fall into a small number of discernible types. It appears that it is the nature of O which is the most important determinant of when ZT will be used, and that topicality as measured by RD and TP, although a very good predictor of voice selection, does not take into account all the characteristics of O which are involved in the decision to use ZT.

We also found that the 'unexpected' NT clauses which have a combination of highly topical O and FG fall into a small number of clearly identifiable types. Again, the nature of O is important; I found that reflexive O's favour NT, presumably because the topicality of O is outranked by the topicality of its coreferential A. In the case of NT, it is not always the nature of O, but the wish to emphasise A that is decisive. NT is likely to be used at the beginning of an event sequence to focus on the actions of A, even
though O may be topical because it is persistent through the episode. A may be even more topical than O.

It appears, then, that FG and BG *per se* do not play a significant role in voice selection, if we mean by this that ZT will be favoured when the clause advances the story line and NT will be favoured when it does not. However, FG and BG tend to correlate with other factors; for example, we have seen that there is a correlation between topical O and FG. If certain types of O’s which are not topical according to the parameters used here to measure topicality (RD and TP) but which can be considered topical in some other sense are more characteristic of FG clauses than of BG, this will increase the number of FG clauses which have ZT and so create the impression that FG favours ZT. Similarly, certain types of highly topical O’s happen to be found more frequently in BG clauses than in FG ones (e.g. reflexive O’s), and this increases the frequency of NT in BG clauses. Hence, we end up with a correlation between clause type and grounding. Finally, in the majority of FG sentences with topical O, the topicality of O is not in conflict with any other factor which would go against the usual tendency to use ZT when O is topical (such as the existence of an A which needs to be emphasised particularly for some reason). In this way the combination of FG and topicality of O becomes a very strong predictor of voice.
10.1 Voice Selection: Transitive Clauses

Voice selection in transitive clauses in Balinese is very strongly associated with the topicality of O. Zero Transitive clauses are used when O is highly topical; Nasal Transitive clauses are chosen when O is not topical. Voice cannot be predicted on the basis of topicality of A: Zero Transitive and Nasal Transitive clauses have topical A arguments. In other words, A is normally topical in transitive constructions.

Grounding per se does not determine voice selection: Zero Transitive clauses are not more likely to occur simply because they advance the story line. Rather, it is the nature of O which is the most important factor in determining voice. The combination of foregrounding with a highly topical O further enhances the probability of selection of Zero Transitive clauses. The reason why foregrounded clauses correlate with Zero Transitive clauses with a highly topical O is that the topical O’s of foregrounded clauses tend to get their topicality in a way which ensures that O will be the most suitable pivot. The criteria of Referential Distance and Topic Persistence are rather crude measures of ‘topicality.’ For example, reflexive O’s are counted as highly topical with respect to RD because not only are they coreferential with A of the reflexive clause they themselves appear in, but A itself is usually highly topical in terms of Referential Distance. Thus, the Referential Distance measurements adopted obscure the fact some Os are ‘topical’ only by virtue of their coreference with a highly topical A. It is therefore not surprising to find that these reflexive O’s do not pattern with more genuinely topical O’s in triggering Zero
Transitive. Since reflexives are mostly used in backgrounded clauses rather than foregrounded clauses, the result is that the more genuinely topical O's form a higher proportion of the topical O's of foregrounded clauses than they do of topical O's in all clauses. Thus, it appears that foregrounding enhances the tendency for Zero Transitive to be used when O is topical. To recapitulate, topicality of O is the major determinant of voice selection in Balinese: highly topical O's tend to occur in Zero Transitive clauses; O's which are low in topicality tend to occur in Nasal Transitive clauses.

Grounding is also associated with 'degree of transitivity.' Out of the ten parameters for measuring transitivity proposed by Hopper and Thompson (1980), only five are relevant to my study. These are (i) punctuality, (ii) volitionality, (iii) affectedness of O, (iv) individuation of O and (v) mode (i.e. realis vs. irrealis). With these five parameters, the high transitive features are punctuality, volitionality, affectedness of O, individuation of O and realis mode. Low transitivity features, on the other hand, are non-punctuality, non-volitionality, non-affectedness of O, non-individuation of O and irrealis mode. Both Nasal Transitive and Zero Transitive clauses tend to be highly transitive when they are used in foregrounded clauses, but tend to be lower in transitivity when they are used for backgrounding. This kind of association is shown by the frequency of transitive features. Although there is some degree of transitivity in both foregrounded clauses and backgrounded clauses with both Nasal Transitive and Zero Transitive clauses since they are transitive voices, transitivity is much higher in foregrounded events than backgrounded events. The frequency of low transitivity features, on the other hand, is low for both foregrounded clauses and backgrounded clauses, again since both Zero Transitive and Nasal Transitive are transitive voices. Moreover, low transitivity features are more frequent in backgrounding than foregrounding. Therefore, I conclude that there
is an association between high transitivity and foregrounding on the one hand, and between low transitivity and backgrounding on the other.

Out of the five parameters for transitivity, two (i.e. affectedness of O and individuation of O) show a real difference in the choice between Nasal Transitive clauses and Zero Transitive clauses. In backgrounded clauses, when the O is affected or individuated, the tendency to use Zero Transitive clauses is stronger than the tendency to use Nasal Transitive, but when O is not affected or not individuated, the tendency to use Nasal Transitive is significantly stronger.

Although grounding is not, at present, an independent factor which helps to determine voice selection, it is conceivable that it might become such a factor in future, just as it was in Classical Malay narratives. In Classical Malay, according to Hopper (1979:230), the ‘passive’ contrasts with the ‘active’ as to foregrounding to backgrounding. The so-called ‘passive’ in Classical Malay takes the prefix *di-* to mark the Patient as pivot and has a third person clitic Agent *-nya*. Hopper argues that this type of passive construction is used for events which are perfective, foregrounded, and realis (p.228). The so-called ‘active’ construction, on the other hand, takes the prefix *meng-* to mark the Agent as pivot and the constructions with *meng-* are usually used in backgrounded events. Since most Zero Transitive clauses in Balinese are in fact foregrounded, it is possible that at some future time Balinese speakers will come to interpret foregrounding, rather than topicality of O, as the major determinant of voice selection. On the other hand, it would be useful to have another look at Classical Malay texts to compare the role of foregrounding to that of topicality—the present study shows that in Balinese at least the correlation between foregrounding and voice seems to stem mainly from the topicality of O in FG clauses.
10.2 Voice Selection: Transitive vs. Passive

If we look at the semantic and pragmatic characteristics of clauses, there are some similarities between Zero Transitive clauses and the *ka*-passive. For example, both can have a prepositional phrase Agent and both have Patient as pivot. Both the Patient of Zero Transitive and the Patient of the *ka*-passive are affected by the action, but the Patient of Zero Transitive tends to be highly affected, while the pivot of the *ka*-passive often tends to be only slightly affected. The most frequent position of the prepositional phrase Agent of Zero Transitive and the *ka*-passive is post-verbal, and it can be extraposed to the right/final position or the left/initial position.

The overall frequency of Zero Transitive clauses in discourse is much higher than the overall frequency of the *ka*-passive. Out of 2015 examples of the three voices, around 35% are Zero Transitive clauses and around 8% are *ka*-passive. The choice between Zero Transitive and *ka*-passive voice is statistically associated with grounding. The measurements presented in Chapter Seven show that Zero Transitive is associated with foregrounded events, while the *ka*-passive is associated with backgrounded events.

In terms of topicality, both constructions usually have a pivot which is highly topical. In terms of the topicality of the Agent, Zero Transitive tends to have a highly topical Agent, while the *ka*-passive tends to have a non-topical Agent.

Since Agents are normally topical, it is not surprising to find that *ka*-passive is used much less frequently than the Zero Transitive. Since the number of *ka*-passives in the corpus is so small, it is difficult to make firm conclusion about what determines when it will be used.
10.3 Voice and Word Order

The two transitive clause types have different basic word orders. The Nasal Transitive clause does not have a rigid position for either A or O, but A must always be immediately post-verbal in Zero Transitive clauses. In clauses with overt core arguments, the unmarked order for NT is AVO/Pivot initial. OAV, VOA, and VAO are highly marked orders which can also occur. The Zero Transitive clause, on the other hand, can be either VAO or OVA. VAO/Verb initial order is slightly more common than OVA/Pivot initial order. The ka- passive and other intransitives use SV as unmarked order and VS as marked order.

Verb Initial order is very strongly favoured for foregrounded Zero Transitive clauses. It can be concluded that Verb initial order is a good predictor of foregrounding. Pivot Initial order, on the other hand, is the most common order overall, but its preference is heavily reduced in foregrounding.

10.4 Balinese and other Languages

It is interesting to compare Balinese with other languages which have been studied with regard to the characteristics investigated here. Balinese narrative shows an interesting similarity with Sacapultec (a language of the Mayan language family) in the distribution of lexical arguments. Du Bois (1987:823) found that lexical arguments are usually used in Sacapultec to introduce a newly mentioned participant, to emphasise a participant which has been mentioned before or to re-activate a participant after a gap of several clauses. Du Bois argued that the discourse distribution of lexical arguments in Sacapultec is the basis for morphological and syntactic ergativity. Balinese also shows
this pattern of discourse in which 'absolutive' \{(S,O)\} differs from A. The difference between the lexical distribution of S and O is very small, while the difference between S and O on the one hand, and A on the other is very large.

When compared with two other Western Austronesian languages, namely Indonesian and Classical Malay, Balinese shows both similarities and differences. A comparison of the Nasal Transitive in Balinese and the *meng-* Transitive of two Western Austronesian languages (i.e. Indonesian and classical Malay) shows that these two constructions are very similar. This similarity is not only syntactic, but also in terms of discourse factors (e.g. the grounding type and topicality) and word order. The A pivot in both constructions is morphologically marked and normally put in the preverbal position; and morphologically marked constructions are more commonly used than other voices. They are commonly used in backgrounded clauses, the A of both constructions is usually more topical than the O, and usually is placed preverbally (cf. Hopper, 1983: 70-84; Cumming 1995a:53-61; 1995b: 252-255; Urbach 1988:462, 468). However, an interesting difference emerges when we look at Zero Transitive. Although Zero Transitive voice in Balinese and the 'Patient Trigger' voice in Classical Malay and Indonesian have a similarity in terms of grounding (e.g. Verb Initial orders in these three languages are associated with foregrounded events), these voices have no real syntactical equivalents because the 'Patient Trigger' in Classical Malay is either morphologically marked (e.g. with *di-*) or attached by a proclitic Agent.

10.5 Direction for Future Research

There has been very little study on voice in other discourse types in Balinese. Artawa et al. (1998) investigate contemporary conversations and traditional narratives
but provide very little information about the characteristics of voices in discourse, although it is a good study, yielding useful information. There have been quite a number of studies on voice in conversational discourse in other languages. Some of them are Rafferty (1982) on Indonesian, Fox (1987) on English, and Tao (1996) on Mandarin. For future research, we need to investigate this sort of topic in Balinese conversational discourse in more detail in order to find out the differences and the similarities with Balinese narrative discourse. It is also possible to investigate voice in other discourse types. If we follow the notional types of discourse classified by Longacre (1983:3), then there are three more discourse types which remain to be investigated for future work. The other three discourse types comprise 'procedural' discourse (e.g. texts which contain descriptions on how to do something or how something is done), 'behavioural' discourse (e.g. 'hortatory,' 'promissory,' and 'eulogy') and 'expository' (e.g. a futuristic essay or a scientific paper). We need to compare the characteristics of voice in all types of discourse to discover its general principles.

We also need to investigate intransitive clause types and factors which determine their choice. Such a study would look at the characteristics of both the intransitive with Actor pivot and the intransitive with Undergoer pivot. Are discourse factors like grounding information or/and topicality still relevant to the choice of these intransitive clause types?

Voice selection in Old Balinese texts is also needed for future research to act as a comparison with contemporary Balinese texts. So far there has been very little investigation of this matter in old Balinese texts. There is no information about factors which determine voice in this kind of text, although Beratha (1992: 286-288), with limited old Balinese texts, has reported that 'Undergoer Pivot' voices (i.e. my Zero
Transitive and the *ka*-passive) are used more commonly than the so-called ‘Actor Pivot’ voice (i.e. my Nasal Transitive). An interesting finding from her study is that the *ka*-passive voice is the most common choice, the Nasal Transitive is very frequent, while the Zero Transitive voice is the least common. If this finding is correct, then the findings of the present investigation suggest that there has been a change from Old Balinese to contemporary Balinese. However, it is important to investigate whether the difference is a diachronic difference or a difference which is due to different genres.

Studies establishing the factors crucial to voice selection in Old Balinese texts are a necessary preliminary to an understanding of exactly what changes have taken place from Old to Modern Balinese. Such studies would make a substantial contribution to the emerging field of historical pragmatics.
APPENDIX

The purpose of this appendix is to give some ideas about how constituents are coded and categorised. The text which is presented here is segmented into clauses, both main clauses and subordinate clauses. Each clause is coded with categories such as reference (\ref) which refers to the title of the narrative, text (\txt) which refers to the clause, verb type (\vt) which refers to the verb type which is used in the clause, word order (\wo) which refer to the constituent order of the verb and its core arguments in a clause, and degree of transitivity (\td). Where word order is not certain because one or more arguments is unexpressed, this is indicated with -. Additional information like the verb type of a relative clause (\vtrc) is also coded where relevant.

I used a linguistics database program called ‘Shoebox’ version 3.0 (SIL, 1997) to code my texts and to count any information in the codings. The codings of the text are illustrated by the example below, which is taken from Cerucuk Kuning 004:

\ref cerucuk kuning 004
\txt Ngelah kone ia pianak luh-luh
duang diri.
two QUANT
Apparently they have two daughters.

\vt NT/Mn
\wo VAO
\td TL
\top p3 A1_NLEX./Pron/old
\top p4 O2_LEX./IDF/new

All codings which are used in this appendix are listed in the ‘list of abbreviations.’
The first coding (\ref cerucuk kuning 004) means that the title of the narrative is 'Cerucuk Kuning' and the clause number is 004. The second coding is the clause/text (\txt). The third coding is the verb type of the clause which is Nasal Transitive in this example, and the type of clause, main clause (\vt NT/Mn). The fourth coding is the word order (\wo) of the clause, which in this text is VAO. The fifth coding is the degree of transitivity (\td) of the clause, which in this clause is 'low transitivity' (TL). The last two codings relates to topicality. The coding \top p3 A1_NLEX./Pron/old means that the Participant is counted as the participant/protagonist number 3 (p3), which functions as A of the Nasal Transitive (A1). This core argument occurs with a non-lexical argument/pronoun (NLEX.) and is 'old' information. The coding \top p4 O2_LEX./IDF/new, on the other hand, means that the participant/protagonist number 4 (p4) in the text functions as O of Nasal Transitive (O2). The O participant occurs with a lexical argument (LEX.) which is indefinite (IDF) and is 'new' information (new).

The text which is used in this appendix below is taken from the spoken folktale Cerucuk Kuning. Out of the 733 clauses analysed in this folktale, only the first 52 are illustrated below. This folktale was narrated by Komang Sri Maheni (January 1996) in Denpasar, Bali.

\textit{Cerucuk Kuning}

\ref cerucuk kuning 001
\txt Nah, kacerita-yang ne jani.
\txt So PSV-story-APPL this now
So, something is going to be told now.
There is a spoken story “Cerucuk Kuning.”

So, this story tells about family matters.

Apparently they have two daughters.

So child-3POSS’R which older that MA-name
Appendix

ni Bawang,
  ART. Bawang
So, the older one is Bawang,

\vt MAI/Mn
\wo SVpred
\td IH
\top p5 S_LEX./DEF/Poss/RC
\top p5 pred_LEX./PN/old
\top p3 Poss,r-ne/old
\vtrc STV

\ref cerucuk kuning 006
\txt muwah ane cerikan to ma-dan ni Kesuna.
and which younger that MA-name ART Kesuna

\vt MAI/Co
\wo SVpred
\td IH
\top p6 S_LEX./RC
\top p6 pred_LEX./PN/old
\vtrc STV

\ref cerucuk kuning 007
\txt Beh, ni Kesunamula sayang-ang-a pesan
wow, ART. Kesunatruly ZT love-APPL-3Agt very much
teken meme bapa-n-ne.
by mother father-LIG-3POSS’R
Wow, Kesuna is usually very much loved by her parents.

\vt ZT-a/Mn
\wo OVA
\td TH
\top p6 O1_LEX./PN/old
\top p7 A2_LEX./-a+PP/new

\ref cerucuk kuning 008
\txt Asing-asing ane tagih-a tuuk-in-a dogen
everything which ZT demand-3Agt ZT fulfill-LIG-3Agt always
Everything which she asked is always fulfilled

\vt ZT-a/Mn
\wo OVA
\td TH
and whatever her complaints to slander Bawang.

Wow, Lord, her parents always believe Kesuna’s complaints.

Her parents apparently are very much unequal.
Appendix

\ref cerucuk kuning 012
\txt ma-pianak.
MA-child
to treat (their) children.

\vt MAI/COMPL
\two SV~
\td IH
\top p7 S_Oc/old

\ref cerucuk kuning 013
\txt Meh yen i Bawang ma-idih-idihan
wow, when ART. Bawang MA-ask for
tekening mem-n-ne,
from mother-LIG-3POSS’R
Wow, when i Bawang asks for something from her mother,

\vt MAI/Adv
\two SVPP
\td IH
\top p5 S_LEX./PN/old
\top p11 PP_PP/DEF/Kin

\ref cerucuk kuning 014
\txt keto masih tekening bapa-n-ne,
like that too from father-LIG-3POSS’R
and also from her father,
\vt STV/Mn
\two SVPP--
\td IH
\top p5 S_Oo/old
\top p49 PP_PP/Kin/Poss
\top p6 Poss,r._-ne/old

\ref cerucuk kuning 015
\txt nak pepesan ia tuara maan.
FOC frequently 3 not get
she often does not get (it).
\vt ZI/Mn
\two SV
\td TL
\top p5 S_NLEX./Pron/3rd/old
\ref cerucuk kuning 016
\txt Nah, maran-maran-n-e ia maan,
so at first-LIG-DEF 3 get
So she recently gets (it),

\(\text{vt ZI/Mn}\\ \text{wo SV}\\ \text{td IH}\\ \text{top p5 S_NLEX}/Pron/3rd/old\\ \text{ref cerucuk kuning 017}\\ \text{txt} \ \text{pepesan} \ \text{ia} \ \text{misi} \ \text{munyi} \ \text{ane} \ \text{jele-jele} \ \text{gati.}\\ \text{she often gets bad words.}\\ \text{vt MAI/Mn}\\ \text{wo SVpred}\\ \text{td TH}\\ \text{top p5 S_NLEX}/Pron/3rd/old\\ \text{top p9 pred_LEX}/IDF/RC/new\\ \text{vtrc STV}\\ \text{ref cerucuk kuning 018}\\ \text{txt} \ \text{Nah} \ \text{japituwi} \ \text{ja} \ \text{keto,} \ \text{I} \ \text{Bawang} \ \text{nu}\\ \text{so although EMPH like that,} \ \text{ART} \ \text{Bawang still}\\ \text{dogen} \ \text{ia} \ \text{nyulsul-ang} \ \text{dewek} \ \text{teken} \ \text{meme,}\\ \text{always} \ \text{3} \ \text{NT-push-APPL} \ \text{self} \ \text{to mother}\\ \text{Although the thing is just like that, Bawang still sympatizes with her mother.}\\ \text{vt NT/Mn}\\ \text{wo AVOPP}\\ \text{td TH}\\ \text{top p5 A1_LEX}/LD/PN/old\\ \text{top p5 O2_LEX}/IDF/RFL/new\\ \text{top p7 PP_PP/DEF/Kin/Poss/old}\\ \text{top p5 Poss,r_-ne/old}\\ \text{ref cerucuk kuning 019}\\ \text{txt} \ \text{Nu} \ \text{dogen} \ \text{masih} \ \text{ia} \ \text{ma-keneh} \ \text{melah.}\\ \text{She still thinks right.}\\ \text{vt MAI/Mn}\\ \text{wo SV~}\\ \text{td IH}\\ \text{top p5 S_NLEX}/Pron/3rd/old}
Appendix

\ref cerucuk kuning 020
\txt Dening ia inget, because 3 remember because she remembers,
\vt ZI/Adv \wo SV \td IH \top p5 S_NLEX./Pron/3rd/old

\ref cerucuk kuning 021
\txt rehne ia manyama buka sepit-e, because 3 MA-sibling like tongs-DEF because they are siblings which are just like tongs.
\vt MAI/Adv \wo SV \td IH \top p5 S_NLEX./Pron/3rd/old

\ref cerucuk kuning 022
\txt Keto nyen keneh-ne ia-n-e, like that apparently mind-3POSS’R 3-LIG-DEF Bawang. Bawang Her mind apparently is just like that.
\vt STV/Mn \wo VS \td IH \top pX S_LEX./DEF/Poss/new \top p5 Poss’r_LEX./DEF/Pron/3rd ... PN/AP/old

\ref cerucuk kuning 023
\txt Demen sing nyen ia ni Bawang like not apparently 3 ART. Bawang Bawang, she does not like
\vt STV/Mn \wo VS \td IH \top p5 S_NLEX./Pron/3rd ... PN/AP/old
Appendix

(Bawang does not like) to be jealous of her sibling,

\begin{verbatim}
\newpage
\ref cerucuk kuning 024
\txt ngiri ati tekenin nyama,
   NI-jealous heart to sibling
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
\newpage
\ref cerucuk kuning 025
\txt nak sing demen ia
   person not like 3
she does not like
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
\newpage
\ref cerucuk kuning 026
\txt madan ngae musuh.
   MAI-name NT-make enemy
to make the so-called enemy.
\end{verbatim}

\begin{verbatim}
\newpage
\ref cerucuk kuning 027
\txt Peh nak luwung pesan ia keneh-ne
   wow person good very 3 mind-3POSS'R
   ni Bawang.
   ART. Bawang
Wow, Bawang has a very good attitude.
\end{verbatim}
Appendix

\ref cerucuk kuning 028

\text{Sakewala, yen ni Kesuna, atuh demen-ne}
\text{but as for ART. Kesuna, wow glad-3POSS'R}
\text{ia iri ati.}
\text{3 jeolus heart}

But, Kesuna, she likes to be jealous.

\ref cerucuk kuning 029

\text{Nyen ngodag-ngodagin.}
\text{EMPH troublemaker}

(She) is a troublemaker.

\ref cerucuk kuning 030

\text{Ah jele keneh-ne nak sing-kodag.}
\text{wow bad mind-3POSS'R FOC unbelievabla}

Her behaviour is unbelievabla.

\ref cerucuk kuning 031

\text{Sakewala nak setata nyen ia ilon-in-a}
\text{but FOC always EMPH 3 ZT protect-LIG-3Agt}
\text{tekenin meme bapa-n-ne.}
\text{by mother father-LIG-3POSS'R}

But their mother is always on Kesuna’s side.
Nah, laut sedek dina anu meme-n-ne
So, then when day something mother-LIG-3 POSS'R
makere ia luas ka peken.
about to 3 go to market
So, one day their mother is about to go to the market.

So, their mother calls her two children.

Here their mother delivers a massage,

because their mother is going to the market,
Appendix

\[td\ IH\n\top p1\ S\_LEX./DEF/Kin/Poss/old\n\top p4\ Poss,r\_ne/old\n\ref cerucuk\ kining\ 036\n\txt\ apabuin\ \baas\ \ane\ \bakal\ \jakan\ \buin\because\ \unhusked\ \rice\ \which\ \will\ \Z T\ \cook-3\Agt\ \again\man\ \to\ \nak\ \to\ tuara\ \ada.\because\ \unhusked\ \rice\ \which\ \is\ \going\ \to\ \be\ \cooked\ \tomorrow\ \is\ \not\ \available.\n\vt\ EXI/Mn\n\two\ SV\n\td\ IH\n\top p12\ S\_LEX./IDF/RC/old\n\vrete\ ZT\-a\n\ref cerucuk\ kining\ 037\n\txt\ To\ \mawinan\ \meme\-n\-ne\ \ngorah\-in\that\ \why\ \mother\-LIG\-3POSS\`R\ \NT\-tell\-APPL\pianak\-ne\ \makadadua\ \child\-3POSS\`R\ \both\That\`s\ \why,\ \her\ \mother\ \tells\ \both\ \of\ \her\ \children\n\vt\ NT/Mn\n\two\ AVO\n\td\ TH\n\top p11\ A1\_LEX./DEF/Kin/Poss/old\n\top p4\ O2\_LEX./DEF/old\n\top p6\ Poss,r\_ne/old\n\ref cerucuk\ kining\ 038\n\txt\ apang\ \ia\ \nebuk\ \padi.\COMP\ 3\ \NT\-crush\ \rice\ (in\ its\ husk)\nto\ \crush\ \the\ \rice\ (in\ its\ husk).\n\vt\ NT/Full\ \Com\n\two\ AVO\n\td\ TH\n\top p4\ A1\_NLEX./Pron/3rd/old\n\top p13\ O2\_LEX./IDF/new
So, after her mother is finished delivering a message like that to both of her children,

Then mother then takes a walk to the market.

So, now here is a story about her mother.

Appendix

\ref cerucuk kuning 039
\txt Nah, disubane nyen meme-n-ne suwud
So after EMPH mother-LIG-3 POSS’R finished

\ref cerucuk kuning 040
\txt ma-besen keto tekening panak-ne makadua, MAI-massage like that to child-3 POSS’R both
delevering a message like that to both of her children,

\ref cerucuk kuning 041
\txt laut meme-n-ne majalan ka peken.
then mother-LIG-3 POSS’R MAI-walk to market

\ref cerucuk kuning 042
\txt Nah, ne jani ka-cerita-yang lantas meme-n-ne.
So this now PSV-story-APPL then mother-LIG-3 POSS’R
So, now here is a story about her mother.

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Ref cerucuk kuning 043
\text{suba ma-jalan ka peken.}
who has already gone to the market.

\text{after MA-walk to market}

Ref cerucuk kuning 044
\text{Ni Bawang ngajak ni Kesunane jani ART. Bawang and ART. Kesunathis now makere ia ngingkening paukudan about 3 NT-prepare self'
Bawang and Kesuna are now about to prepare themselves

Ref cerucuk kuning 045
\text{Ngisin-in buka pabesen meme-n-ne.}
to fulfill-APPL sort message mother-LIG-3POSS’R

Ref cerucuk kuning 046
\text{Nah, ne jani ni Bawang ngauk-in lantas}
So, this now ART Bawang NT-call-APPL then

\text{adi-n-ne younger sibling-LIG-3POSS’R ni Kesuna, ART. Kesuna}
So, now Bawang calls for her younger sibling, Kesuna,


Appendix

\text{Ref cerucuk kuning 047}
\text{txt} bakal nyemak padi.
\text{will} NT-take \text{rice (in its husk)}
\text{(to ask her) to take the rice (in its husk).}

\text{Ref cerucuk kuning 048}
\text{txt} Nuun-ang kone padi uling
\text{NT-bring downward-APPL apparently \text{rice (in its husk) from}}
di gelebeg-e.
at store-DEF
\text{Bawang apparently brings the rice (in its husk) down from the store.}

\text{Ref cerucuk kuning 049}
\text{txt} Nah, kauk-in-a lantas adi-n-ne
\text{well, ZT call-APPL-3Agt then younger sibl.-LIG-DEF}
i ni Kesuna
\text{So (again) Bawang calls her younger sister, Kesuna}

\text{Ref cerucuk kuning 050}
\text{txt} apang ia mareng-in
\text{COMP 3 NT-help-APPL}
to help her (= Bawang)
So, something is going to be told now. There is a spoken story "Cerucuk Kuning." So, this story tells us about family matters. Apparently the family have two daughters. So, the older one is Bawang and the younger one is Kesuna. Wow, Kesuna is usually very much loved by her parents. Everything which she asks is always fulfilled (by her parents), and whatever her complaints slandering Bawang, oh, Lord, their parents always believe Kesuna’s complaints. Her parents are unequal in the treatment of their children. Wow, when Bawang asks for something from her mother or from her father, well, often Bawang does not get it (from her parents). Well Bawang recently gets it but she often (also) gets bad words. Although the thing is just like that, Bawang still sympathizes with her mother. Bawang still thinks rightly because she remembers that they are siblings which are just like tongs. Her mind apparently is just like that. Bawang, she does not like to be jealous of her sibling, Bawang does not like to be jealous of her sibling. She does not like to make a so-called enemy. Wow, Bawang has a very good attitude, while Kesuna, she likes to be jealous. (Kesuna) is a troublemaker. Kesun’s behaviour is unbelievable but her mother is always on Kesuna side. So, the mother calls her two children. This time their mother delivers a massage because their mother is going to the market. Because the unhusked rice which is going to be cooked tomorrow is not available, her mother tells her children to crush the rice (in its husk). So, after her mother is finished delivering a message like that to both of
her children, their mother then takes a walk to the market. So, now here is the story about her mother who already goes to the market. Bawang and Kesuna now are about to prepare themselves to fulfill their mother messages. So, now Bawang calls for her younger sibling, Kesuna (to ask her) to take the rice (in its husk). Bawang apparently brings the rice (in its husk) down from the store. So (again) Bawang calls her younger sister, Kesuna, to help her (— Bawang) bring the rice (in its husk) down from the store. (However), her younger sister refuses.


Bibliography


