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# The description of the *di-* passive construction in dialectal Javanese

NOOR MALIHAH

## ABSTRACT

This corpus of the non-standard Kudus dialect of Javanese (JDK) passive voice construction was compiled in the course of fieldwork in Kudus and was annotated to draw attention to several syntactic/semantic features. An investigation was undertaken of the *di-* affix in the JDK which encodes the passive function in contrast to the Standard Javanese in a quantitative descriptive analysis. The results indicate the existence of an “abbreviated agentive passive” which occurs more frequently than the “agentive passive”, but less frequently than the “agentless passive”. The results also show that the passives in JDK are in fact likely to have inanimate subjects and have only animate demoted agents. However, human demoted agents appear more frequently than animal agents. Also, there is a tendency for the passive without *di-* to be most likely to be used as an agentless passive. The results suggest that the less colloquial the genre, the less likely the passive without *di-* is to occur.

## KEYWORDS

Standard Javanese; Javanese dialect of Kudus; passive voice.

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INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

This paper presents a quantitative descriptive analysis of passive voice construction in Javanese, specifically the non-standard Kudus dialect. To the author's knowledge, this is the first ever corpus-based study on the Javanese dialect of Kudus (JDK). My initial aim is to discuss the distinctive features of the JDK passive. The canonical Javanese (Standard Javanese) *di-* passive occurs with the agent following the verb and preceded by a preposition which marks it as an oblique (Dardjowidjojo 1974; Chung 1976; Davies 1999; Cole et al. 2007).

There are differences between JDK, Standard Javanese, and other Javanese dialects including differences in lexicon, phonology, morphology, and syntax. Sudaryanto et al. (1991) argue that, although it is easy to observe the lexicon and phonology, the other two features prove more elusive. Nevertheless, Siewierska and Hollmann (2006: 22) have shown that it is still possible to investigate the morphology and syntax of a language. In this instance, the writer assumes that there might be differences or variants in passive voice construction between the JDK and Standard Javanese. To date no significant work has described and documented the passive constructions in JDK.

This study has been conducted on the basis of a corpus of data, the bulk of which was collected from forty-one native speakers in the Kudus Regency and resident in this area. The main data were collected during a five-month period of fieldwork in nine sub-districts classified as urban and rural areas in Kudus Regency. The urban areas are those sub-districts in which most administrative government activities are conducted and which border another regency. The rural areas are those which are not urbanized, have a low population density, and are farthest (about 10 km or more) from the central administrative area of Kudus. They are mostly devoted to agriculture (BPS Kabupaten Kudus 2010).

## STANDARD JAVANESE

Javanese is a member of the Malayo-Polynesian language family (Adelaar 2005: 9). The overwhelming majority of Javanese speakers live on the island of Java, Indonesia. They are concentrated in Central Java, Yogyakarta, East Java, and some areas of West Java. Based on 2011 census, the number of Javanese speakers throughout the world was around 95,200,000. As a language with a large number of speakers in Indonesia, unsurprisingly Javanese has a number of variants differentiated by regency, district, and village (Malihan 2014: 11). The Javanese which is spoken in Yogyakarta and Surakarta is considered to be Standard Javanese. These two cities have become hubs of Javanese culture because in the past they were the centres of great Javanese empires (Poedjosoedarmo 1968: 57), and as a consequence these two cities became the centres of power in Java (Ewings 1999: 4).

<sup>1</sup> This paper is based on an abstract entitled "The passive voice in dialectal and standard Javanese" for the Fifth International Symposium on the Languages of Java 6-7 June 2015, Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, Bandung, West Java (see <https://jakarta.shh.mpg.de/isloj5/abstracts/Malihah.pdf>)

Wedhawati et al. (2006: 2) state that diachronically Modern Javanese developed from Old Javanese via Middle Javanese. From the first to the sixth century, Old Javanese was used only in spoken form. The first known example of the written form is found in the Prasasti Sukabumi: the Sukabumi Inscription, dated 25 March 804. Old Javanese continued to develop until the founding of the Majapahit Empire between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century (Wedhawati et al. 2006: 2). Written Old Javanese is represented in some epigraphs, traditional poems called *kakawin*, and other works of literature written by Javanese authors (Wedhawati et al. 2006: 8). Furthermore, the spoken form of Old Javanese is preserved in the tradition of *macapatan* (Javanese singing), Javanese folklore, and puppet theatre. During the Majapahit Empire, Old Javanese underwent some changes which eventually ushered in the period of Middle Javanese. Middle Javanese is quite similar to New or Modern Javanese, the initial development of which is dated to the sixteenth century. Old and Middle Javanese are now extinct and are not used in Java, except in the restricted contexts noted above. However, they are still used in some traditional religious ceremonies in Bali. Nowadays, only Modern Javanese (henceforth just Javanese) is used productively.

#### THE JAVANESE DIALECT OF KUDUS (JDK)

JDK is a variety of Javanese spoken on Kudus, a non-metropolitan region in the north-eastern part of the province of Central Java in Indonesia (see Figure 1). Kudus lies close to the coast of the Java Sea and is located on the main transport route known as the North Coast Route (Jalur Pantai Utara/Pantura). The main section of this Jalur Pantura links the cities of Jakarta in the west and Surabaya in the east, and it is on this part of the route that Kudus lies. Kudus is about two-thirds of the way from Jakarta to Surabaya. It is 53 km east of Semarang, the capital city of the province of Central Java, which makes Kudus an interesting trading and tourism destination. Kudus is known for its industry and trade which are the primary sources of employment. Consequently, the people of Kudus or *wong Kudus* have earned the reputation of being hard workers whose motto is *jigang - ngaji dagang* (studying and trading). The most important industry in Kudus is making traditional cigarettes. There are some traditional Islamic boarding schools whose students are not only *wong Kudus* but also people from other regions of Indonesia plus a few from surrounding countries, like Malaysia, Singapore, and Brunei, and there are also two big universities in Kudus, Muria Kudus University and the State Institute for Islamic Studies of Kudus.

This description makes clear that Kudus lies in fairly a central location on the island of Java and consequently the urbanized social life in Kudus has undergone significant developments. Pertinently, these two conditions are the major reasons which might endanger the existence of JDK. In such a central setting, outside influences are more likely to encroach on the local language by stimulating code switches from JDK to other languages or dialects when the local residents meet people from other areas. JDK is most typically

used as their first language in non-formal daily communication among JDK speakers themselves. Of course, Standard Javanese is also used in Kudus in the following situations: (i) less intimate intercourses, for example, communication between strangers or communication between speakers of different ages; and (ii) more formal situations, for example, sermons, political speeches, administrative contexts, etcetera. Standard Javanese is taught to students in primary and junior high school as part of the regional curriculum. In senior high school, Standard Javanese is taught but only as an optional subject.

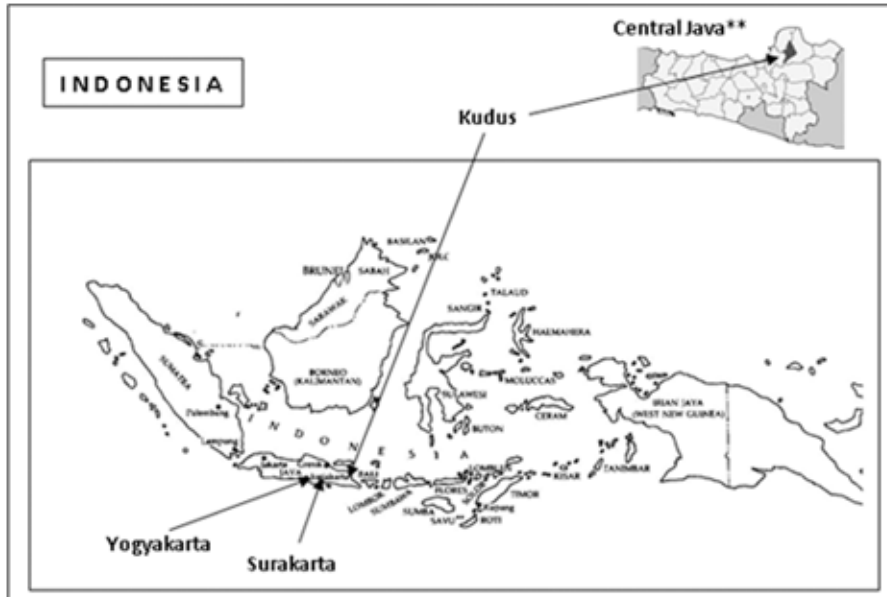


Figure 1. Map of Indonesia (<https://id.maps-indonesia.com/peta-indonesia-hitam-putih>) and \*\*map of Central Java ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kudus\\_Regency](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kudus_Regency)).

Since Indonesian is the official language of Indonesia, JDK speakers use Indonesian in formal or official contexts, for example, in an office, at a wedding party, in schools, in court, and so on. Indonesian is also used as a lingua franca when JDK speakers meet people from outside the Javanese-speaking area.

In Kudus, JDK is actively used by the older generation who nevertheless frequently code-switch to Indonesian as the national language of Indonesia. Younger people do use JDK, but also make wider use of Indonesian since the use of JDK is associated with village people, lower social status, and a lack of education. In this context, it is noteworthy that young people aged fifteen to nineteen are the largest population group in Kudus (BPS Kabupaten Kudus 2010: 63). Generally speaking, people living in towns use Indonesian as their preferred language. Conversely, the more remote a village is from the towns, the greater the fluency in JDK which can be observed.

These two introductory paragraphs make clear that JDK, Standard Javanese, and Indonesian each possesses a distinct social role in Kudus.

However, there is currently a shift in language preference among JDK speakers towards Indonesian and away from both JDK and Standard Javanese. This shift is endangering the existence of Javanese, particularly JDK. This is the reason which has encouraged me to work on JDK in an effort towards language preservation.

#### A SHORT DEFINITION OF ACTIVE AND PASSIVE

An informal definition of the passive construction is that it applies to a transitive clause, and turns the direct object into an intransitive subject, while turning the transitive subject into an oblique, which can be omitted. Hence, the valency of the predicate decreases from 2 in the active clause to 1 in the passive clause. Consider the examples of English passive constructions given by Perlmutter and Postal (1977: 394) and Keenan and Dryer (2007: 325) as shown in (1) and (2).

- (1) English (after Perlmutter and Postal 1977: 394)
  - a. Louise reviewed that book.
  - b. That book was reviewed (by Louise).
  
- (2) English (after Keenan and Dryer 2007: 325)
  - a. Mary slapped John.
  - b. John was slapped (by Mary).

Siewierska (2005: 432; see also Siewierska 1984) does not look at passive constructions as simply promotional or demotional phenomena as Perlmutter and Postal (1977, 1983) and Comrie (1977) have done. Instead, she looks at passive constructions in terms of their correspondence to active constructions, in which a morphological marker is usually added to the verb to mark the passive from the active. As does Shibatani (1985), she also points out that the subject of the active construction corresponds to an oblique, which can be covertly expressed, in the passive construction. Siewierska (2005: 432) codifies the following list of features which a construction must display to be classified as a passive.

- a. It contrasts with another construction, the active;
- b. The subject of the active corresponds to a non-obligatory oblique phrase in the passive; or is not overtly expressed;
- c. The subject of the passive, if there is one, corresponds to the direct object of the active;
- d. The construction is pragmatically restricted relative to the active;
- e. The construction displays special morphological marking of the verb.

In short, it is clear that passivization is a valency-decreasing phenomenon according to the definition proposed by Haspelmath and Bardey (2004).

Passivization affects the argument structure<sup>2</sup> of a clause because the subject status of the agent (active subject) changes and the patient (active direct object) becomes the new subject. In this study, I shall follow the definition of the passive construction given by Siewierska. I have made this choice because the five properties of a passive she has proposed are relevant to my analysis on the JDK passives.

#### A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF JAVANESE ACTIVE AND PASSIVE

Connors (2008: 58) reports about the great debate in the literature on the Austronesian languages which is centred on how best to characterize the basic opposition present in the verbal system. Some scholars use the term active-passive dichotomy, others prefer the terms actor-patient focus system, and yet others prefer the term topic-comment system to describe the oppositions in the verbal system. I shall use the terms active and passive in this paper.

Bintoro (1980), Sudaryanto et al. (1991), Ewing (1999), Cole et al. (2007), Oglobin (2005), and Connors (2008) report that in Javanese there is an alternation between two voices, namely: active and passive. These authors also agree that Javanese has the verbal morphology to mark both active and passive. Most active sentences in Javanese are overtly marked by the nasal prefix attached to the verb (the exceptions to this, unaccusative intransitives and certain exceptional transitives, which were discussed above). The nasal prefix appears in different forms, depending on the initial sound of the root, and it often merges with that segment.

Robson (2002, cited in Connors 2008: 170) mentions four types of passive construction in Standard Javanese. The first is when the verb is marked by *ka-*. The second uses the infix *-in-*. These first and second passives only appear with a third person agent. However, they are no longer productive. Verbs marked with these inflections developed in Old Javanese and today are found only in the high register and literary language of Javanese, but not in colloquial speech. The third type of passive is very productive in Standard Javanese. This passive is characterized by the prefix *ke-*. The *ke-* passive is used to show that the action performed is non-volitional, unintentional, or controlled by unexpected external forces, and an explicit agent is often optional. The last type of passive is the *di-* passive. Robson (2002) argues that this passive behaves differently in the first and second person than it does in the third person. Cole et al. (2007: 5) introduce the terms Passive type one (P1) for the *di-* passive whose agent (demoted subject) is the third person and Passive type two (P2) for the *di-* passive whose agent (demoted subject) is the first or second person. Connors (2008: 171) notes that neither P1 nor P2 distinguishes singular and plural; only person is relevant. Chung (1976, cited in Davies 1999: 152-154) calls P1 and P2 the canonical passive and the object-preposing passive.

In P1, the patient corresponding to the object of the active clause is

<sup>2</sup> The argument structure of a verb represents the core participants in the event which that verb designates; it contains information about the number of arguments a verb has and the semantic role of each argument (Bresnan 1996: 1).

promoted to subject position, the verb is marked by the prefix *di-*, and the agent follows the verb, preceded by a preposition such as *dening*, *karo*, or *mbek*. Consider the example of P1 given by Cole et al. (2007) shown in (3).

- (3) Cole et al. (2007)
- |             |                  |             |             |
|-------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>Siti</i> | <i>di-ambung</i> | <i>mbek</i> | <i>Tono</i> |
| Siti        | PASS-kiss        | by          | Tono        |
- 'Siti was kissed by Tono.'

In P2, the patient corresponding to the object of the active clause is promoted to subject position, but the demoted agent is not realized as a prepositional phrase. Rather, the verb is marked by a prefix indicating the person of the agent (first or second), and not by *di-*. The manipulated corresponding active for (3) is shown in (4) below.

- (4) Corresponding active for (3) (manipulated)
- |             |                  |             |
|-------------|------------------|-------------|
| <i>Tono</i> | <i>ng-ambung</i> | <i>Siti</i> |
| Tono        | ACT-kiss         | Siti        |
- 'Tono kissed Siti.'

In contrast to the verbs in (3) the verbs in (4) are overtly marked as active by the nasal prefix.

#### THE CORPUS OF JDK PASSIVES

This corpus was collected in the course of fieldwork in Kudus, during which examples were taken from three genres: spontaneous conversation, elicited spoken narratives, and newspaper articles. A frog story was chosen as the prompt because the contents would be uniform. In addition, the complicated actions undertaken by the characters in the story are ideal for eliciting a narrative. This frog story is entitled *A boy, a dog, a frog, and a friend* (Mayer 1969). In this frog story, the boy goes fishing in a small lake with the dog and the frog. While they are fishing, the fishhook is eaten by a turtle. As it happens, the turtle is a well-known animal in Kudus. There is a small lake in Kudus called *Bulusan* 'imaginary turtles'. This tradition is held seven days after the Eid ul-Fitr celebration to commemorate that there were two people cursed into turtles during Ramadhan. Until now, it is popularly believed that there are still many turtles in the lake and that these animals help visitors to find spouses and blessings (Indrahti 2012: 60-66). Aware of this local familiarity, I expected that this frog story would make it easier for my informants to imagine the events they were expected to retell; the story is not out of kilter with the cultural norms of Kudus.

This corpus was then exhaustively annotated to feature various syntactic/semantic features. Using this annotated corpus, an extensive investigation was undertaken into the *di-* affix in the Kudus dialect which encodes the passive function in comparison to the way it is used in Standard Javanese.



## JDK PASSIVES ACROSS GENRES

The Javanese passive discussed in this paper is the canonical *di-* passives with a third person agent (demoted subject). Across 779 examples of passive constructions shown in Table 1, the JDK passives occur with approximately equal frequency in each corpus, relative to the overall number of verbs. A chi-square test of passive versus non-passive across genre demonstrates that the difference is not significant ( $p=0.83$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $\chi^2=0.357$ ).

Corpus <sup>3</sup>	Total number of passives	Total number of verbs	Percentage (%)
FS	533	2,307	23.1
SS	149	657	22.7
WR	97	400	24.3
Total	779	3,364	23.2

Table 1. The frequency of the JDK passives in each corpus.

Also, in the corpus of JDK passives, there are three types of passive: agentive passive (a passive with an oblique agent), abbreviated passive (an agentive passive in which the oblique is not marked by a preposition), and agentless passive (a passive which occurs without an oblique). The distribution of all types of passive across genre is shown in Table 2.

Type of passive	FS		SS		WR	
	N of tokens	% (out of 533)	N of tokens	% (out of 149)	N of tokens	% (out of 97)
Agentive	88	16.5	4	2.7	7	7.2
Abbreviated	113	21.2	16	10.7	13	13.4
Agentless	332	62.3	129	86.6	77	79.4
Total	533	100.0	149	100.0	97	100.0

Table 2. The distribution of the JDK passive types in each corpus.

Table 2. shows that, across genres, the frequencies of the agentive passive, the abbreviated agentive passive, and the agentless passive are ranked consistently. The agentive passive is the least frequent, the abbreviated passive is more frequent, and the agentless passive occurs most frequently of all, approximately three times more often than the agentive or abbreviated agentive passives. The overall picture is that the JDK speakers use the agentive passive, which is the canonical form of the passive (see above), infrequently; they prefer the agentless passive. Although the form with an agent is considered canonical, it is entirely to be expected that the agentless

<sup>3</sup> The writer uses the following abbreviations for the three types of corpus data: FS = narrative data elicited using the frog story method; SS = spontaneous speech; WR = written data.

passive should be more common in usage. In almost every language, the use of the agentless passive is more frequent than the agentive passive (Siewierska 1984: 34; Keenan and Dryer 2007: 332). Therefore, this finding does not fit with Siewierska's argument that the agentless passive is the most common type of the JDK passives.

The use of overt agents in passives are, for example, reportedly rarer in spoken English than in the written form of the language (Siewierska and Bakker 2012: 162). This does indeed concur with what has been found about JDK passives. A chi-square test based on Table 2 demonstrates that the difference across genres in how often speakers use the agentive passive or the abbreviated agentive passive or the agentless passive is significant<sup>4</sup> ( $p=4 \times 10^{-8}$ ,  $df=4$ ,  $\chi^2=40.2$ ). Examples of each type of passive are shown in (5), (6), and (7).

- (5) a. FS:03:M:A:C: 143  
 Wong mau yo di-cedak-i karo asu-ku  
 Person that yes PASS-approach-APPL by dog-1POSS  
 iku mau  
 that that  
 'Yes, that person was approached by my dog.'
- b. Active clause (manipulated)  
 Asu-ku iku mau nyedak-i wong mau  
 Dog-1POSS that that ACT.approach-APPL person that  
 'My dog approached that person.'

Example (5a) is an example of the agentive passive in which *di-* is attached to the verb *cedaki* 'approach'. The equivalent active clause is shown in (5b); the verb is marked with the nasal prefix. The agent *asuku iku mau* 'my dog' is the subject of the clause, and the patient *wong mau* 'that person' is the object of the clause. When passivized, the nasal prefix is replaced by *di-*. At the same time, the active subject is demoted to an oblique agent by the addition of the preposition *karo* 'by'. The original object of the active clause is promoted to a subject in the passive. This exemplifies how passivization reduces the number of arguments in a clause by demoting the subject to an oblique agent.

Example (6a) is a passive clause from the spontaneous speech corpus. The patient *aku* '1S' is a subject and the agent *dokter* 'doctor' is an oblique. Example (6b) is the active clause corresponding to the passive in (6a). In (6b), the agent *dokter* is the subject and the recipient *aku* is the indirect object. This example is ditransitive with an unstated patient. The *recipient* is the object – the only object, because the other object, the patient, is not present. This active clause contains the nasal prefixed verb *mesen* 'order'. *mesen* corresponds to *dipesen*

<sup>4</sup> Since one of the expected frequencies is lower than 5, a Fisher's exact test has been used as a double check, and the result was the same. The difference is significant with  $p=5.09 \times 10^{-9}$ .

in the passive. The subject of the active clause is demoted to an oblique in the passive. However, the oblique is not marked by a preposition. Therefore, this is an example of the abbreviated agentive passive.

- (6) a. SS:02:F:A:C: 235  
*Aku ndung di-pesen dokter*  
 1S then PASS-order doctor  
 'Then, I was asked by the doctor (to do something).
- b. Active clause (manipulated)  
*ndung dokter mesen aku*  
 then doctor ACT.order 1S  
 'Then, the doctor asked me (to do something).'

Example (7a) is a passive clause with *di-* attached to the verb *klumpuk* 'collect', which is also causativized. The equivalent (7b) is an active clause with the nasal prefix attached to the verb, also with causative *-na*. Active *nglumpukna* corresponds to passive *diklumpukna*. The subject *Punggawa Negara Kudus* is not demoted, but is instead entirely omitted from the clause; and the patient *para pengarepe RT lan RW iku* is promoted to subject. The absence of an agent in the clause characterizes the agentless passive.

- (7) a. WR:01: 003  
*para pengarepe RT lan RW iku*  
 Many officials RT and RW that  
*di-klumpuk-na ndok kecamatane dewe-dewe.*  
 PASS-collect-CAUS in sub-district self-self  
 'Many RT and RW officials were gathered in their own sub-districts.'<sup>5</sup>
- b. Active clause (manipulated)  
*Dheweke ng-lumpuk-na para pengarepe RT lan*  
 3PL ACT-collect-CAUS many officials RT and  
*RW ndok kecamatane dewe-dewe.*  
 RW in sub-district self-self  
 'They gathered many RT and RW officials in their own sub-districts.'

#### THE ANIMACY OF THE SUBJECT (PROMOTED PATIENT)

Every *di-* passive has a subject whose semantic features are likely to be interesting, because the promoted patient is the thing which the passive has

<sup>5</sup> RT stands for *Rukun Tetangga*. This is the smallest unit of governmental jurisdiction in Indonesia. RW stands for *Rukun Warga*. An RW consists of several RTs spread across a geographical area determined by the government.

moved. The humanness and animacy of the passive subject are worth taking a good look at (Siewierska and Bakker 2012: 168). Siewierska and Bakker argue that the pattern of passive subject humanness across languages is not consistent. Some languages prefer human subjects to non-human subjects in the passive construction. One example is English “get”-passives, which usually have human subjects. Other languages prefer non-human subjects to human subjects with the passive construction, such as Cubeo. In Cubeo, inanimate entities are favoured as passive subjects more highly than are animates.

Animate and inanimate subjects are roughly equivalent in terms of the relative frequency with which they co-occur with different passive types. A chi-square test based on Table 3 demonstrates that there is no significant difference between animate and inanimate subjects in terms of co-occurrence with types of passive ( $p=0.95$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $\chi^2=0.102$ ).

Subject animacy	Agentive		Abbreviated		Agentless	
	N of tokens	% of tokens	N of tokens	% of tokens	N of token	% of tokens
Animate	52	12.4	78	18.6	290	69.0
Inanimate	47	13.1	65	18.1	247	68.8
All subject	99	12.7	143	18.4	537	68.9

Table 3. The distribution of the three types of the JDK passive co-occurring with animate or inanimate subject.

Considering the animacy of the subject from a different perspective, the three types of JDK passive differ very little in terms of how often they occur with animate and inanimate subjects. All do show a slight preference for animate subjects to inanimate subjects. However, the baseline shows a high preference for animate subjects to inanimate subjects. Therefore the passive prefers animate subjects much less strongly than non-passive clauses. Therefore, the passive in the JDK is associated with inanimate subjects. But, this is not what the data suggest (see Table 4).

Passive type	Subject animacy			
	Animate		Inanimate	
	N of tokens	% of tokens	N of tokens	% of tokens
Agentive	52	52.5	47	47.5
Abbreviated	78	54.5	65	45.5
Agentless	290	54.0	247	46.0
All passives	420	53.9	359	46.1
Baseline	3,392	78.3	940	21.7

Table 4. The distribution of subject animacy across different JDK passive types.

In general, cross-linguistically, the use of a passive construction is normally favoured when the thing which is being promoted (the subject of a passive) is inanimate. However, the preferences for subject animacy can vary depending on the type of passive (Fredriksson 2016: 54-55).

Although Table 4 shows the tendency of the JDK passive to be associated with an inanimate subject when the passive data is compared to the baseline, Table 3 shows the relative frequency with which animate and inanimate subjects co-occur with different passive types. These tables clearly demonstrate that subject animacy does not influence the choice of JDK passive type. Therefore, this finding does not support Fredriksson's argument.

Examples of each passive type with an animate subject are demonstrated in (8) and an inanimate subject in (9).

- (8) a. FS:08:M:A:C: 007 (Agentive passive)
- |               |            |              |                 |             |                |
|---------------|------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------|----------------|
| <i>Asu-ne</i> | <i>kan</i> | <i>terus</i> | <i>di-cokot</i> | <i>karo</i> | <i>bulus-e</i> |
| Dog-DEM       | EMPH       | then         | PASS-bite       | by          | turtle-DEM     |
- 'The dog was then bitten by the turtle.'
- b. FS:14:F:A:C: 133 (Abbreviated agentive passive)
- |               |                |                |             |
|---------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|
| <i>Banjur</i> | <i>bulus-e</i> | <i>di-gowo</i> | <i>Anto</i> |
| Then          | turtle-DEM     | PASS-bring     | Anto.       |
- 'Then, the turtle was brought by Anto.'
- c. SS:07:M:A:C: 009 (Agentless passive)
- |             |           |           |            |                   |
|-------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-------------------|
| <i>Mbae</i> | <i>ku</i> | <i>ra</i> | <i>iso</i> | <i>di-tinggal</i> |
| Grandmother | EMPH      | NEG       | MOD        | PASS-leave        |
- 'Grandmother, indeed, could not be left alone.'

In examples (8a-c), *asune* 'the dog', *buluse* 'the turtle' and *mbae* 'grandmother' are animate subjects of passive clauses. Meanwhile, examples (9a-c) show inanimate subjects *pancinge* 'the fishing rod', *pancingku* 'my fishing rod', and *perkara elek utowo ora kasil* 'a bad or unsuccessful result.'

- (9) a. FS:06:F:C:C: 007 (Agentive passive)
- |                 |                  |            |                 |             |              |
|-----------------|------------------|------------|-----------------|-------------|--------------|
| <i>jebulane</i> | <i>pancing-e</i> | <i>mau</i> | <i>di-tarik</i> | <i>karo</i> | <i>penyu</i> |
| apparently      | fishing.rod-DEM  | that       | PASS-pull       | by          | turtle       |
- 'Apparently that fishing rod was pulled by the turtle.'
- b. FS:03:M:A:C: 012 (Abbreviated agentive passive)
- |            |                  |            |                   |            |                  |
|------------|------------------|------------|-------------------|------------|------------------|
| <i>Lha</i> | <i>ujug-ujug</i> | <i>kok</i> | <i>pancing-ku</i> | <i>kok</i> | <i>di-pangan</i> |
| Uh         | suddenly         | EMPH       | fishing.rod-1POSS | EMPH       | PASS-eat         |

*iwak iki*  
fish this

'Uh, suddenly, my fishing rod was eaten (by) this fish.'

c. WR:01: 036 (Agentless passive)

*perkara elek utawa ora kasil di-kandhak-na*  
problem bad or NEG successful PASS-tell-APPL  
*karo wong mberah*  
to person many

'A bad or unsuccessful result is told to many people.'

On this point, the features which exist in the JDK passives do not fit Croft's (2003: 174) argument that animate noun phrases are used more frequently in the subject position of the passive. In the passives in the Kudus dialect, their place is in fact likely to have been taken by inanimate subjects. This part of analysis also shows that all the passives in this study have only an animate demoted agent. However, human demoted agents appear more frequently than animal agents.

#### THE HUMANNESS OF THE SUBJECT (PROMOTED PATIENT)

Some studies have suggested that the preference for passive subjects to be human varies across languages. Some languages prefer human subjects to non-human subjects in the passive construction. The JDK passives demonstrate that human and non-human subjects co-occur with the abbreviated agentive passive with approximately equal frequencies (See Table 5). However, human subjects co-occur somewhat less frequently with the agentless passive, and roughly twice as often with the agentive passive, as do non-human subjects (the difference in each case being around 15 to 16 percentage points).

Subject humanness	Agentive		Abbreviated		Agentless	
	N of tokens	% of tokens	N of tokens	% of tokens	N of token	% of tokens
Human	35	25.4	27	19.5	76	55.1
Non-human	64	10.0	116	18.1	461	71.9
All subject	99	12.7	143	18.4	537	68.9

Table 5. The distribution of the three types of the JDK passive co-occurring with human or non-human subject.

Looking at the preference for human subject or non-human subjects across different passive types, the JDK passives show that all types of passive strongly disprefer human subjects to non-human subjects (see Table 6). The greatest difference between human and non-human subjects occurs with the agentless

passive, and the least with the abbreviated agentive passive. By contrast, in the baseline there is only a slight preference for non-human subjects to human subjects. This means that the preference for passive clauses with non-human subjects is much more marked than in non-passive clauses. A chi-square test of the frequencies for passive versus non-passive clauses yields  $p=0.0$  ( $df=1$ ,  $\chi^2=301.6$ ) suggesting that the difference is significant.

A chi-square test based on Table 6 shows that subject humanness significantly affects the speakers' choice of passive type ( $p=5.29 \times 10^{-6}$ ,  $df=2$ ,  $\chi^2=24.298$ ). In the previous section we have seen that the proportion of animate subjects is roughly the same for all types of passives. Therefore, the differences in subject humanness must be the result of differences in the frequencies of human versus animal subjects. Considering the data from this perspective indicates that the agentive passive tends not to occur with animal subjects and that it has a greater tendency towards human subjects; by contrast the abbreviated agentive passive and the agentless passive occur relatively more often with animal subjects. Why do we see a difference here between the agentive passive and abbreviated agentive passive? One speculative possibility is that there is scope for ambiguity between the subject and the passive agent when an abbreviated passive is used. This arises because of the absence of the preposition in the oblique agent combined with the potential of Javanese to allow flexibility in word order. However, typically human beings are more likely to be agents than animals. Therefore, in the abbreviated agentive passive, even if syntactic ambiguity does arise, semantics would still make an interpretation possible, namely: that the animal noun is the subject and the human noun is the agent. This might explain why the abbreviated passive has a stronger tendency to be used with animal subjects than the full agentive passive, although to assert this with confidence would require much more research.

Passive type	Subject humanness			
	Human		Non-human	
	N of tokens	% of tokens	N of tokens	% of tokens
Agentive	34	34.7	64	65.3
Abbreviated	27	18.9	116	81.1
Agentless	76	14.2	461	85.8
All passives	137	17.6	641	82.4
Baseline	1,980	45.7	2,352	54.3

Table 6. The distribution of subject humanness across different JDK passive types.

A discussion of subject humanness in the passive with several concrete examples are illustrated in (10) for human subjects and (11) for non-human subjects.

- (10) a. FS:03:M:A:C: 143 (Agentive passive)  
*Wong mau yo di-cedak-i karo asu-ku*  
 Person that EMPH PASS-close-APPL by dog-1POSS  
*iku mau*  
 that that  
 ‘That person was approached by my dog.’
- b. SS:02:F:A:C: 235 (Abbreviated agentive passive)  
*Aku ndung di-pesen dokter*  
 1S then PASS-order  
 ‘Then, I was asked by the doctor (to do something).’
- c. SS:02:F:A:C: 242 (Agentless passive)  
*Ha wingi ku aku di-kon istirahat*  
 Huh yesterday EMPH 1S PASS-ask  
*ku*  
 EMPH  
 ‘Huh, yesterday I was asked to take rest.’

The subjects in (10) are human *wong mau* ‘that person’ and *aku* ‘1S’ (twice). In example (11), the subjects are non-human: *waunge* ‘the dog’, *sikile kirik* ‘the dog’s leg’ and *kurange dhit iku mau* ‘lack of funds’.

- (11) a. FS:08:F:A:C: 019 (Agentive passive)  
*Waung-e di-gendong karo Andi*  
 Dog-3POSS PASS-carry by Andi  
 ‘The dog was carried by Andi.’
- b. FS:15:F:C:R: 009 (Abbreviated agentive passive)  
*Naming sikil-e kirik di-cokot bulus*  
 But leg-3POSS dog PASS-bite turtle  
 ‘But the dog’s leg was bitten by the turtle.’
- c. WR:05: 029 (Agentless passive)  
*isa-isa kurang-e dhit iku mau*  
 can be lack-DEM money that that  
*di-jupuk-na utang teka bank*  
 PASS-take-APPL loan from bank  
 ‘Possibly, the funds which are lacking can be taken as a bank loan.’



## THE ANIMACY OF THE DEMOTED AGENT

Agents of passives have been broadly discussed by a number of scholars as one property of a canonical passive (Siewierska 1984, 2005; Shibatani 1985; Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000; Siewierska and Bakker 2012); like the promoted subject, the demoted agent has undergone a change in grammatical relationship and it is therefore as worthwhile to make an analysis of the features of the agent as those of the subject.

In the three types of JDK passives, all the demoted agents are animate. Prototypically, agents are animate (Luján 2010: 164) so this is not wholly surprising. To be an agent, an entity needs to have a mind, since an agent controls and performs an action intentionally. Luján also points out that it is possible for inanimate entities to have control of an action; necessarily, these kinds of agents perform the action unintentionally. As a native speaker of JDK, the writer’s intuition suggests that it is possible for the demoted agent of a passive to be inanimate. While the writer uses the term “demoted agent” by convention, in fact the passive will regularly demote the transitive subject regardless of its semantic role - be it an agent, experiencer, theme, recipient, instrument, force, or whatever. Therefore, the demoted agent does not need to be animate because it does not necessarily have to be an agent in the semantic sense. However, what the writer has seen in practice in his data is that the demoted agent is animate; this suggests that the intuitively acceptable use of an inanimate demoted agent must be, at least, very rare. Examples of animate and inanimate demoted agents are illustrated in (12) and (13).

## (12) a. JDKQ:02:M:A:025 (Active clause)

<i>Angin</i>	<i>kenceng</i>	<i>iku</i>	<i>wis</i>	<i>ng-rontok-ke</i>	<i>godhong-godhong</i>
Wind	strong	that	PERF	ACT-fall-CAUS	leaf-leaf
<i>garing</i>					
dry					
‘The strong wind has made those dried leaves fall.’					

## b. Passive clause (manipulated)

<i>Godhong-godhong</i>	<i>garing</i>	<i>di-rontok-ke</i>	<i>dening</i>	<i>angin</i>
Leaf-leaf	dry	PASS-fall-CAUS	by	wind
<i>kenceng</i>	<i>iku</i>			
strong	that			
‘Those dried leaves were made to fall by the strong wind.’				

## c. Active intransitive (Grammaticality judgment from the JDK native speaker 1)

<i>Godhong-godhong</i>	<i>garing</i>	<i>rontok<sup>6</sup></i>	<i>amarga</i>	<i>angin</i>
Leaf-leaf	dry	fall	because	wind

*kenceng*                      *iku*  
 strong                      that  
 ‘Those dried leaves fell down because of the strong wind.’

- (13) a. JDKQ:11:M:A:027 (Active clause)

*Lindu*              *iku*    *wis*    *ng-roboh-ke*              *omah-omah*  
 Earthquake      that    PERF    ACT-collapse-CAUS    house-house  
 ‘The earthquake has made those houses collapse.’

- b. Passive clause (manipulated)

*Omah-omah*    *kae*              *di-roboh-ke*              *dening*    *lindu*  
 House-house    that              PASS-collapse-CAUS    by              earthquake  
*iku*  
 that  
 ‘Those houses were made to collapse by the earthquake.’

- c. Active intransitive (Grammaticality judgment from the JDK native speaker 1)

*Omah-omah*    *kae*              *roboh*    *amarga*    *lindu*              *iku*  
 House-house    that              collapse    because    earthquake    that  
 ‘Those houses collapsed because of the earthquake.’

Examples (12a) and (13a) are active clauses with inanimate agents:<sup>7</sup> *angin kenceng iku* ‘that strong wind’ and *lindu iku* ‘the earthquake’. The passive counterparts of (12a) and (13a) are shown in examples (12b) and (13b), with the inanimate agents demoted to obliques. These two manipulated examples show that it is indeed possible to have inanimate agents in the JDK passive. However, given that my corpus contains no such examples at all, clearly this kind of demoted agent is rare.

Apart from the judgement of grammaticality by the writer as a native speaker of JDK (as mentioned earlier in the previous paragraph), two other JDK native speakers were invited to ensure whether Examples (12b) and (13b) are grammatically acceptable or not. The result shows that the JDK native speaker 1 argued that examples (12b) and (13b) were incorrect. He corrected the two manipulated examples using active intransitive clauses as shown in (12c) and (13c). In contradistinction, the JDK native speaker 2 argued that it was acceptable to have (12b) and (13b).

<sup>6</sup> Javanese intransitive verbs have morphological splits (Davies, 1995: 21). Some are used as unaffixed root words, while some other are always used in forms which add an affix to the root form (Oakes 2009: 823).

<sup>7</sup> In terms of semantic role, these could be called forces rather than agents.

## THE HUMANNESSESS OF THE DEMOTED AGENT

In fact, languages with non-human passive agents do exist, including Welsh, Lithuanian, Coptic, and Older Egyptian impersonal passives, although Siewierska (1984: 199) reports that the vast majority of the impersonal passives do occur with human agents. She illustrates examples of impersonal passives with non-human agents as shown in (14a-b).

- (14) a. Lithuanian (After Siewierska 1984: 199)

*Atžālyno*            *šiurenta*  
 Sapling.GEN        rustle.P.PART.NEUT.S  
 ‘Sapling must have rustled here’.

- b. Welsh (After Siewierska 1984: 200)

*Fe’i*            *lladdwyd*            (*ef*)            *gan*    *ddraig*  
 3POSS        kill-AUX.P.PART        (3POSS)        by        dragon  
 ‘He was killed by a dragon’.

The JDK passives demonstrate that the spread of passive types with a human demoted agent differs from the spread with a non-human demoted agent (see Table 7). The agentive passive occurs approximately one-third as frequently with a human demoted agent as it does with a non-human demoted agent. Likewise, the abbreviated agentive passive occurs almost one-third as frequently with human demoted agents as with non-human demoted agents. In contrast, the agentless passive occurs much more frequently with human demoted agents. The overall picture is that, when the agent is human, there is a strong tendency for the agent to be omitted. When the agent is a non-human animate, for instance, an animal, there is a strong tendency for the agent not to be left out.

Demoted agent humanness	Agentive		Abbreviated		Agentless	
	N of tokens	% of tokens	N of tokens	% of tokens	N of tokens	% of tokens
Human	40	7.0	63	11.0	471	82.0
Non-human	58	28.3	79	38.5	68	33.2
All demoted agents	98	12.6	142	18.2	539	69.2

Table 7. The distribution of the co-occurrence of passives in JDK with human and non-human demoted agents.

From a different perspective, it can be asked if indeed the three passives really do differ from each other in terms of the humanness of the demoted agent. The distribution is shown in Table 8. The JDK passives show that the agentive passive and the abbreviated agentive passive have human agents slightly

less frequently than non-human animate agents. The agentless passive, by contrast, shows a very strong preference for human agents for non-human agents. Because the agentless passives are the most common, the figures for all passives taken together show roughly the same profile as the agentless passives.

A chi-square test yields a  $p$ -value of 0.0 ( $df=2$ ,  $\chi^2=169.71$ ), suggesting that there is a significant difference between human and non-human demoted agents in terms of how frequently they occur in the three different passive types.

Passive type	Demoted agent humanness			
	Human		Non-human	
	N of tokens	% of tokens	N of tokens	% of tokens
Agentive	40	40.8	58	59.2
Abbreviated	63	44.4	79	55.6
Agentless	471	87.4	68	12.6
All passives	574	73.7	205	26.3

Table 8. The distribution of demoted agent humanness across different JDK passivetypes.

The use of human demoted agents is shown in examples (15-16); non-human demoted agents are shown in (17-18).

- (15) a. FS:08:F:A:C: 019  
*Waung-e di-gendong karo Andi*  
 Dog-3POSS PASS-carry by Andi  
 'The dog was carried by Andi.'
- b. Active clause (manipulated)  
*Andi ng-gendong waung-e*  
 Andi ACT-carry dog-3POSS  
 'Andi carried his dog.'

Example (15a) is a passive clause with a human oblique *Andi*; the verb is marked by *di-*. In the active counterpart shown in (15b), *Andi* functions as subject and the active is marked by the nasal prefix.

Example (16a) shows the use of human oblique *adine wedhok sing pol cilik iku* 'her youngest sister' with passive marker *di-* attached to the verb *tewa* 'offer'. Example (16b) is the corresponding active clause which shows that *adine wedhok sing pol cilik iku* is a subject in the clause, and the verb is marked by the nasal prefix.

- (16) a. WR:02: 009
- |               |             |                  |                |                      |
|---------------|-------------|------------------|----------------|----------------------|
| <i>Ucap-e</i> | <i>Wak</i>  | <i>Paing</i>     | <i>sakwise</i> | <i>di-tewa-ni</i>    |
| say-3POSS     | Wak         | Paing            | after          | PASS-offer-APPL      |
| <i>kopi</i>   | <i>ndok</i> | <i>jagasatru</i> | <i>karo</i>    | <i>adi-ne</i>        |
| coffee        | in          | world            | by             | younger.sister-3POSS |
| <i>wedhok</i> | <i>sing</i> | <i>pol</i>       | <i>cilik</i>   | <i>iku</i>           |
| female        | REL         | leas             | small          | that                 |
- ‘...’ said Wak Paing after she was offered coffee in that place by her youngest sister.’
- b. Non-passive (manipulated)
- |                |             |              |                  |                      |
|----------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|----------------------|
| <i>Ucap-e</i>  | <i>Wak</i>  | <i>Paing</i> | <i>sakwise</i>   | <i>adi-ne</i>        |
| say-3POSS      | Wak         | Paing        | after            | younger.sister-3POSS |
| <i>wedhok</i>  | <i>sing</i> | <i>pol</i>   | <i>cilik</i>     | <i>iku</i>           |
| female         | REL         | leas         | small            | that                 |
| <i>newa-ni</i> | <i>kopi</i> | <i>ndok</i>  | <i>jagasatru</i> |                      |
| ACT.offer-APPL | coffee      | in           | world            |                      |
- ‘...’ said Wak Paing after her youngest sister offered her coffee in that place.’

Example (17a) is a passive clause with non-human oblique *penyu* ‘turtle’. Its active counterpart is shown in example (17b), in which *penyu* functions as the subject of an active clause.

- (17) a. FS:06:F:C:C: 007
- |                 |                  |            |                 |             |
|-----------------|------------------|------------|-----------------|-------------|
| <i>jebulane</i> | <i>pancing-e</i> | <i>mau</i> | <i>di-tarik</i> | <i>karo</i> |
| apparently      | fishing.rod-DEM  | that       | PASS-pull       | dening      |
| <i>penyu</i>    |                  |            |                 |             |
| turtle          |                  |            |                 |             |
- ‘Apparently, that fishing rod was pulled by the turtle.’
- b. Active clause (manipulated)
- |                 |              |              |                  |            |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|------------------|------------|
| <i>Jebulane</i> | <i>penyu</i> | <i>narik</i> | <i>pancing-e</i> | <i>mau</i> |
| apparently      | turtle       | ACT.pull     | fishing.rod-DEM  | that       |
- ‘Apparently, the turtle pulled that fishing rod.’

- (18) a. FS:19:M:C:R: 025
- |                 |            |             |                 |             |
|-----------------|------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|
| <i>Buntut-e</i> | <i>asu</i> | <i>ijeh</i> | <i>di-incer</i> | <i>karo</i> |
| tail-3POSS      | dog        | still       | PASS-target     | by          |

*kuro-kuro*

turtle

'The dog's tail was still targeted by the turtle.'

b. Active clause (manipulated)

*kuro-kuro ijek ngincer buntut-e asu*

turtle still ACT.target tail-3POSS dog

'The turtle still targeted the dog's tail.'

### JDK PASSIVES WITHOUT *DI-* MARKER

Finally, a somewhat unusual point regarding the passive in the Kudus dialect is that the passive without *di-* marker, a variant of the *di-* passive construction in which the *di-* is dropped. The absence of the active marker in this construction marks the verb as passive. It is unusual for passive clauses not to have passive morphology. However, Arka and Kosmas (2005) have shown that, the passive in Manggarai, another Malayo-Polynesian language, is marked on the agent rather than the verb. Therefore, there is no passive morphology attached to the verb but this construction is still syntactically referred to as passive even though there is no passive morphology on the verb.

Interestingly, the passives without the *di-* marker occur more frequently in spontaneous speech (see Table 9). Moreover, it seems that the more formal the genre, the less likely the passive without *di-* marker will occur. There are almost no cases of the passives without *di-* marker in the written corpus. The results suggest that the less colloquial the genre, the less likely the passives without *di-* marker is to occur. In relative terms, in spontaneous speech the passive without *di-* marker is four times more frequent than in the elicited narrative data. This is a significant difference; a chi-square test of the *di-* passive versus the passives without *di-* marker across genres yields a *p*-value of 0.0 ( $df=2, \chi^2=40.331$ ).

Type of genre	passives without di- marker		All passives
	N of tokens	% of tokens	N of tokens
FS	24	4.5	533
SS	27	18.1	149
WR	1	1.0	97
All passives	52	6.7	779

Table 9. The distribution of the JDK passives without the *di-* marker as a percentage of passives across genre.

<sup>8</sup> *Kuro-kuro* and *penyu* in Example (14) and elsewhere are alternative words to refer to a turtle.

The JDK passives also show that there is a tendency that the passive without *di-* marker is most likely to be used as an agentless passive (see Table 10). In this construction, the passive without the *di-* marker is either an agentive or an abbreviated agentive slightly less often than is the *di-* passive, while the *di-* passive shows a slightly smaller tendency to be agentless than does the passive without *di-* marker. However, a chi-square test of the *di-* passives and the passive without *di-* marker across all passive types shows that the difference is not significant;  $p=0.62$  ( $df=2$ ,  $\chi^2=0.951$ ).

The presence of the <i>di-</i> marker in the <i>di-</i> passive	Agentive		Abbreviated		Agentless		All passives	
	N of tokens	% of tokens	N of tokens	% of tokens	N of tokens	% of tokens	N of tokens	% of tokens
with <i>di-</i>	94	13.0	134	18.4	499	68.6	727	100.0
without <i>di-</i>	5	9.6	8	15.4	39	75.0	52	100.0
All passives	99	12.7	142	18.2	538	69.1	779	100.0

Table 10. The distribution of the *di-* passive and the passive without the *di-* marker across the three passive types.

The overall picture is that the *di-* passives appear with the actual passive morpheme dropped (passive without *di-* marker) most frequently in spontaneous speech, and almost always with an omitted agent. Let us consider the following examples.

- (19) a. FS:19:M:C:R: 052  
*Sikil sing kengen cokot kuro-kuro*  
 Leg that right bite turtle  
 'The right leg was bitten by a turtle.'
- b. Active clause (manipulated)  
*Kuro-kuro nyokot sikil sing kengen*  
 turtle ACT.bite leg that right  
 'A turtle bit the right leg.'

In Example 19a, the *di-* marker is not present. However, I can identify this sentence as passive by contrasting (19a) to the corresponding active construction in (19b). The object (patient) of the active construction in (19b) is the subject of the passive construction in (19a). Note that the verb forms in (19) are different. If the verbs were the same, it could be argued that the difference between (19a) and (19b) is a matter of word order only, but it is not. Example 19a is understood as passive even though there is no prefix *di-*. This is because, if it were active, the verb would be *nyokot*. The nasal prefix marks the active voice in Javanese. Therefore, in sentences such as (19a) it can be argued that the absence of the nasal prefix is sufficient to mark the passive

voice. Although the nasal prefix is also used to derive a verb from an adjective or a noun, in a passive without *di-* marker, such a derivationally motivated use of the nasal prefix is omitted as shown in (20).

- (20) a. FS:14:M:A:R: 017
- |             |                |             |              |              |            |
|-------------|----------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|------------|
| <i>ning</i> | <i>ndarat</i>  | <i>iku,</i> | <i>terus</i> | <i>bulus</i> | <i>iku</i> |
| in          | land           | that,       | then         | turtle       | that       |
| <i>mau</i>  | <i>cedak-i</i> | <i>asu</i>  |              |              |            |
| that        | close-APPL     | dog         |              |              |            |
- ‘In that land, then the turtle was approached by the dog.’
- b. Active clause (manipulated)
- |            |                 |              |              |            |
|------------|-----------------|--------------|--------------|------------|
| <i>Asu</i> | <i>nyedak-i</i> | <i>bulus</i> | <i>bulus</i> | <i>mau</i> |
| dog        | ACT.close-APPL  | turtle       | turtle       | that       |
- ‘The turtle is approaching towards the turtle.’

Example 20a shows a passive without the *di-* marker with the verb *cedaki* ‘approach’. This verb is derived from an adjective *cedak* ‘close’. Normally, the derived verb form would be *nyedak*, as seen in (20b). The canonical passive form of this verb would be *dicedaki*. But in this passive without the *di-* marker (19a), we see just *cedaki*. The traditional view, as the writer has reported above, is that the nasal prefix is used to derive verbs from adjectives. However, it seems that, in JDK at least, the adjectival form can actually be used as a verb base (here applicativized) on its own. It might be better to think of the nasal prefix as simply marking the active, and not the derivation.

To capture the cross-constructional semantic differences, the writer has drawn a semantic map to visualize the explanation above in Figure 2. Semantic maps represent the relationship between a particular linguistic form and various grammatical functions. Semantic maps use two different types of line. The solid lines enclose any function of a particular construction which is *frequent*, while the dashed lines enclose any function which is *rare* in my corpus. The overall picture of the semantic map in Figure 2 is that both the *di-* passives and the passive without the *di-* marker occur most frequently with the agentless passives, and rarely occur with either passivization with agent expressed (agentive passive) or passivization with agent expressed and abbreviated (abbreviated agentive passive).



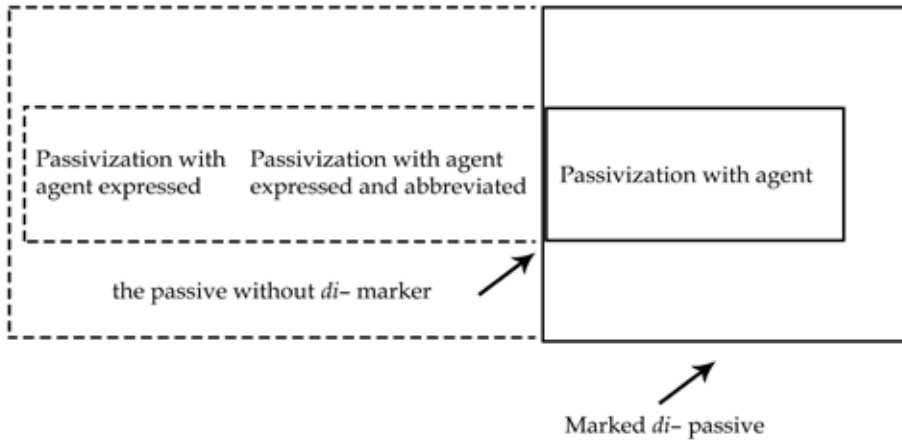


Figure 2. The distribution of the *di*- passive and the passive without the *di*- marker across three different passive types.

## CONCLUSION

This paper reveals that innovative findings about the passive have been obtained. In particular, the findings of this study demonstrate the use of an abbreviated agentive passive - an agentive passive in which the oblique is not marked by a preposition. This abbreviated agentive passive occurs more frequently than the agentive passive but less frequently than the agentless passive; it prefers not to co-occur with the causative. No scholar has previously described this abbreviated agentive passive. The discovery of passives without a *di*- marker, a variant of the *di*- passive construction in which the *di*- is dropped, also makes a solid contribution to Javanese dialect grammar. The absence of the active marker in this construction marks the verb as passive; it is most likely to be used as an agentless passive. This passive without the *di*- marker has not previously been described in the literature.

## ABBREVIATION

1	First person
3	Third person
A	Agent
ACT	Active
APPL	Applicative
AUX	Auxiliary
C	Child
CAUS	Causative
DEM	Demonstrative
EMPH	Emphatic
F	Female

FS	Frog story
GEN	Genitive noun
JDK	Javanese dialect of Kudus
RM	Male
MOD	Modal
N	Number
NEG	Negation
NEUT	Neutral
NG	Noun Genitive
P	Patient
PART	Participle
PASS	Passive
PERF	Perfective
POSS	Possessive
REL	Relative pronoun/clause
s	Singular
SS	Spontaneous speech
WR	Written data

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