

JAVANESE INDICATIVE AND IMPERATIVE PASSIVES

Ramelan

0. INTRODUCTION

It is a remarkable fact that there are numerous characteristics common to the rules of all the world's languages called linguistic universals, which include passivisation. This is indicated by a special verb form: in English by the discontinuous morpheme /be ...-en/, in Javanese by passive prefixes added to the verb stem.

Javanese passive verb forms distinguish subtle differences of meaning. In the indicative mood the passive prefix expresses the agent of the action /ta?-/ 'first person', /kə?-/ 'second person', and /di-/ third person'; so /ta?tules/ *written by me*, /kə?tules/ *written by you*, /ditules/ *written by him or her*.

Additional meanings may be added by using such suffixes as /-i/ or /-(?)ake/ to express frequentative and benefactive meanings respectively. So, /ta?tulisi/ means *written many times by me*, and /ta?tulesake/ *written by me for someone*.

In the imperative mood, passive is marked by the suffix /ən/, so /tulisen/ *be written*. Frequentative and benefactive meanings are expressed by the suffix /-ɔɔɔ/ and /-nɔɔ/ respectively: /tulisɔɔɔ/ *be written many times*, /tulesnɔɔ/ *be written for another person*.

When the suffix /-i/ or /-(?)ake/ is added to an intransitive verb such as /lungoh/, the meaning is respectively 'directive' and 'causative', and so the verb becomes transitive and can be passivised: /lungoh/ *to sit* (intransitive), but /ŋlunguhi/ *to sit on* (transitive), /dilunguhi/ *be sat on*, /ŋlungohake/ *to make someone sit*, /dilungohake/ *be made to sit*.

The passive prefix /kə/ indicates accidental action, so /kətules/ means *be written by accident*.

In literary style, the passive prefix /ka-/ or the passive infix /-in-/ may be used instead of the ordinary passive prefix /di-/ with similar meaning, so /katules/ = /tinules/ = /ditules/ *be written*.

Passive reciprocity is expressed in written language by reduplicating the verb stem and inserting the infix /-in-/ into the second verb: /tabɔ? - tinabɔ?/ *be reciprocally slapped*. However, the active form i.e. /tabɔ? - tabɔ?an/ *slap each other* is more common in conversation.

Amran Halim, Lois Carrington and S.A. Wurm, eds *Papers from the Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics*, vol.4: *Thematic variation*, 199-214. *Pacific Linguistics*, C-77, 1983.

© Ramelan

199

1. THE JAVANESE LANGUAGE

Javanese is spoken in Central Java and the greater part of East Java by about 45 million people. It is also spoken by Javanese families who live in the other parts of Indonesia, such as Jakarta and the new resettlement areas on the outer islands.

Indonesian is the official national language used in the administration and as a medium of instruction at school throughout the country, including Central and East Java, where Javanese is spoken as a native tongue. In these areas Javanese as a local language may be used as the medium of instruction in the kindergarten and the three lowest grades of the elementary school. From the fourth grade on, Indonesian is used as the medium of instruction, whereas Javanese is taught only as an ordinary subject twice a week in the higher classes of the elementary school and the Junior High School. In the Senior High School the language is not taught at all. Its status in the curriculum is thus superseded by Indonesian, and even by English in the High School since this foreign language is taught four to five times a week. This accounts for the deteriorating mastery by students of some aspects of the language, namely the Javanese writing system and the higher levels of speech of the language.

As the language is not intensively taught at school, the present generation of Javanese-speaking people do not read and write the Javanese characters any more. The language is taught by using the Roman alphabet for the convenience of the students. There are no publications printed in Javanese characters available for sale so that in the near foreseeable future Javanese people will become alienated from certain speech levels of the language, and their writing system.

Javanese consists of at least three levels of speech, the so-called Ngoko level of speech used to talk to one's equal, the Krama level of speech used with strangers or people the speaker wants to respect or to keep at a distance, and the Krama Inggil used with people the speaker highly respects. The three speech levels differ from each other especially in the vocabulary, whereas the order of arranging the morphemes and words is the same. The following is a comparison between the three levels of speech:

(1) Ngoko	:	deke	arep	mangan	sega [†]	}	<i>he will eat rice</i>		
		₁	₂	₃	₄				
(2) Krama	:	piyambakipun	bade	neda	sekul			₁	₂
(3) Krama Inggil:	:	panjenenganipun	bade	dahar	sekul	₁	₂	₃	₄

For the daily language of communication among friends the Ngoko is commonly used, and consequently it is this level of speech which is most widely used. On the other hand, the Krama is specially used by the older generation in society. There is reason to believe that with the language situation as it is now, some day the young generation will not speak the Krama any more, just like the Javanese speakers who live in Paramaribo, the former Dutch colony in Latin America.

[†] Examples are written here in Javanese orthography. When later letters are enclosed between slanting lines, they are phonetic symbols.

Like Indonesian or Malay, Javanese is a member of the Austronesian language family. It is not surprising, therefore, that there are many similarities between the two languages in terms of their vocabulary, phonology, morphology, and syntax. Because of these close similarities, Javanese-speaking people in general have no difficulty learning Indonesian. But those who have not attended school, especially in the country, do not understand Indonesian, and speak only Javanese for daily communication.

The similarities in grammar can be seen especially in the word order of the basic sentence structures. A sentence usually consists of two parts: a subject and a predicate. A noun or noun phrase commonly functions as subject, while for predicate we can have a noun (phrase), adjective (phrase), prepositional phrase, numeral (phrase), verb (phrase). The following are examples of Javanese and Indonesian sentences with English translation:

- (4) Sidin kancaku : Sidin teman saya *Sidin is my friend.*
- (5) Sidin lara : Sidin sakit *Sidin is ill.*
- (6) Sidin nang omah : Sidin di rumah *Sidin is at home.*
- (7a) Sidin lungguh : Sidin duduk *Sidin sits.*
- (7b) Sidin mbedil asu : Sidin menembak anjing *Sidin shoots a dog.*

When a verb in the predicate is transitive as in (7b) above the sentence can be passivised – as in English – by permuting the object and subject, passivising the verb form, and adding the preposition *dening* or *by* before the permuted noun to indicate the agent, though it is mostly deleted in conversation. In English, however, the preposition *by* indicating the doer of the action is obligatory and can never be left out. Again, Javanese and Indonesian show great similarities in passivisation, besides differences which are found in written style.

At a glance Javanese and English look similar in passivising a sentence as can be seen from the passivisation rule above and the following illustration:

- (8) A₁su dibedil₂ (dening₃) Sidin : A₁ dog is shot₂ by Sidin₃

However, Javanese passivisation expresses more subtle differences in meaning as will be explained below.

2. PASSIVE SENTENCES IN JAVANESE

2.1 Subtle meanings in Javanese passives

It is interesting to note that languages the world over share certain characteristics, which are usually called linguistic universals. For example, each language has what is called 'mood' by grammarians, that is the form assumed by a verb (either by inflection or with the help of auxiliaries) for indicating the mode or manner in which the action or state denoted by the verb is conceived by the mind (Nesfield 1947:57). Sentences which express statements of facts are said to be in the 'indicative mood', sentences to express orders or to ask people to do something in the 'imperative mood', and sentences to express suppositions or unrealities in the 'subjunctive mood'. In addition, each language has certain devices to express negation, to ask questions, or to indicate whether someone performs or undergoes an action, called active or passive sentences. There is probably some truth in what transformational

grammarians say, that languages are basically the same in their deep structures to express various meanings, while the differences are found only in the ways they are manifested in their surface structures.

Active-passive relationship, sometimes called 'voice', seems to be universal since it is found in many languages. The following examples are taken from languages belonging to two different language families, viz. the Indo-European and Austronesian language families.

	ACTIVE	PASSIVE
(9) English	: He closes the door.	The door is closed (by him).
(10) Dutch	: Hij sluit de deur.	De deur wordt (door hem) gesloten.
(11) Indonesian	: Ia menutup pintu.	Pintu ditutup (olehnya).
(12) Javanese	: Deke nutup lawang.	Lawang ditutup (deke).

In active sentences, the subject of the sentence i.e. the noun or noun-phrase: he in (9), hij in (10), ia in (11), deke in (12) performs the action indicated by the verb, while in passive sentences the subject of the sentence: the door in (9), de deur in (10), pintu in (11), or lawang in (12) undergoes the action. The passive meaning of the verb is signalled by a special form of the verb, in English, for instance, by the discontinuous passive morpheme /be ...-en/ or the auxiliary be and the past participle form of the verb (e.g. be closed), while in Javanese by the passive prefix /di-/ followed by the verb stem (ditutup). Passive sentences are used in English and Javanese, especially when there is no need to specify the performer of the action, and more attention is being paid to the result of the activity. That is why the agentive noun is not usually expressed in a passive sentence as can be seen from the examples cited above. In English and Javanese, active sentences are transformed into passive ones in a similar way as can be seen from sentences (9) and (12) above. The object of the active sentence is made the subject of the passive sentence, so the two nouns are permuted; passivisation of the verb form in English is done by adding the discontinuous passive morpheme /be ...-en/, while in Javanese by adding one of the passive affixes /taʔ-/ , /kʷʔ-/ , /di-/ , /ka-/ , /-in-/. To indicate the performer of the action, if this is deemed necessary, a function word is placed before the agentive noun: the preposition by in English, and dening in Javanese. Javanese differs from English or any other language of the Indo-European family in that passive verb forms also express other subtle differences of meaning such as the performer of action, frequency of activity, benefaction, accidentality and the mood of the sentence. Consequently, a description of Javanese passive sentences will include the following:

1. the mood of the passive: whether indicative or imperative
2. the agent of the action: whether the 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person
3. other meanings which can be labelled as frequentative, benefactive, accidentality, and reciprocity
4. the way of transitivising intransitive verbs to enable them to take an object, thus allowing passivisation.

2.2 Passive in the indicative mood

2.2.1 Passive prefixes indicating agents

Javanese passives are, in general, distinguished into indicative and imperative passives; in the former there is a distinction on the basis of the agent of the action, i.e. 1st person, 2nd person, and 3rd person. In the imperative mood there is of course, no passive verb form with 1st or 3rd person as agent, since a sentence in this mood is always addressed to the 2nd person, which automatically functions as the subject of the sentence.

A sentence in the indicative mood expresses a statement about facts. Naturally not all sentences in the indicative mood can be passivised. Only those which meet certain requirements, i.e. those containing transitive verbs and taking an object, can be changed into passive sentences. The following, though representing the basic sentences in Javanese, cannot be changed into passive as they do not meet the requirements.

- (13) Deke guru
he a teacher
- (14) Deke sregep
he diligent
- (15) Deke nang omah
he at home
- (16) Bukune lima
his books five
- (17) Deke lunga
he goes

The following sentences, however, can be changed into passive, since the verb takes an object, thus it is transitive:

ACTIVE	PASSIVE
(18) Aku mbedil manuk <i>I shoot a bird</i>	Manuk takbedil <i>a bird is shot by me</i>
(19) Kowe mbedil manuk <i>you shoot a bird</i>	Manuk kokbedil <i>a bird is shot by you</i>
(20) Deke mbedil manuk <i>he/she shoots a bird</i>	Manuk dibedil <i>a bird is shot by him/her</i>

In the transformed sentence, the object of the active becomes the subject of the passive sentence. The passive verb form consists of a passive prefix and a verb stem. What passive prefix is used depends on the subject of the active sentence.

The passive prefix for

/aku/ I is /taʔ-/ or /daʔ-/, the former being more colloquial

/kowe/ you is /kɔʔ-/

/Dɛʔe/ he, she is /di-/ or /ka-/, the latter only used in literary style.

Passivising an active verb is done by isolating the verb stem, i.e. by taking away the nasal prefix,[†] thus /mbəDeɪ/ *to shoot* becomes /bəDeɪ/, and then the passive prefix is added to it, resulting in the construction /taʔbəDeɪ/, /kɔʔbəDeɪ/, and /dibəDeɪ/. This is the reason why mention is always made of the agent or doer of the action, although in passive sentences, attention is paid more to the undergoer and the action itself. This is especially characteristic of Javanese – and also Indonesian – but certainly not of English.

Identifying a verb stem is not always as easy as in the examples above, because sometimes it may undergo a loss of consonant. Basically the nasal prefix /N-/ is assimilated with the first consonant of the verb stem, but when the consonant is voiceless such as /p, t, ʈ, c, s, k/, this consonant is lost. Knowledge of the morphophonemic rules, as illustrated below, is accordingly prerequisite for the proper identification of a verb stem.

The point of articulation of /N-/ is conditioned by the first sound of the verb stem, which can be explained as follows:

1. /N-/ is assimilated with voiced stops

/N-/ + /balaŋ/ → /mbalaŋ/ *to throw*
 /N-/ + /damu/ → /ndamu/ *to blow*
 /N-/ + /DuDoʔ/ → /ŋDuDoʔ/ *to dig*
 /N-/ + /jupoʔ/ → /ñjupoʔ/ *to take*
 /N-/ + /garu/ → /ŋgaru/ *to plough*

2. /N-/ is assimilated with voiceless sounds, which are later lost

/N-/ + /piker/ → /miker/ *to think*
 /N-/ + /tules/ → /nules/ *to write*
 /N-/ + /TuToʔ/ → /nuToʔ/ *to hit*
 /N-/ + /cawaŋ/ → /ñawaŋ/ *to branch off*
 /N-/ + /sawaŋ/ → /ñawaŋ/ *to look at*
 /N-/ + /karaŋ/ → /ŋaraŋ/ *to compose*
 /N-/ + /wedaŋ/ → /medaŋ/ *to have hot drink*

3. /N-/ is represented by /ŋ/ anywhere else (before /r/, /l/, vowels)

/N-/ + /rampɔk/ → /ŋrampɔk/ *to rob*
 /N-/ + /linteŋ/ → /ŋlinter/ *to roll up*
 /N-/ + /isi/ → /ŋisi/ *to fill*
 /N-/ + /olah/ → /ŋolah/ *to process*

etc.

On the basis of the above rules, the verb stem can be identified from an active prenasalised verb. Care should be taken, however, in dealing with homophonous forms such as /ñawaŋ/, which may derive from two different verb stems /cawaŋ/ and /sawaŋ/. But such ambiguities can be solved from context e.g.

(21) aku₁ nyawang₂ kowe₃ : I₁ gaze₂ at you₃

(22) dalar-e₁ nyawang₂ : the₂ road₁ branches₃ off

[†]To indicate the activity of the subject – except for certain words – verbs in Javanese generally take a nasal prefix, which can be symbolised by the morphophoneme /N/.

Attention should also be paid to verbs beginning with the velar nasal prefix ng- /ŋ-/, because the verb stem may either begin with a voiceless velar stop or a vowel. For instance in seeing a prenasalised verb like /ŋaraŋ/ we wonder whether the stem is /karaŋ/ or /araŋ/. This cannot be decided on unless we know the meaning, which can be checked with an informant, or judged from context:

(23) deke₁ ngarang₂ buku₃ : he₁ composes₂ (writes)₃ a book₃

The hearer will judge that /ŋaraŋ/ must derive from the verb stem /karaŋ/ *compose*, since /araŋ/ meaning *scarce* is out of place here.

After getting familiar with the morphophonemic rules above, it will not be difficult to passivise active verbs with nasal prefix, i.e. identify the verb stem by taking away the nasal prefix /N-/, and then add any of the passive prefixes /taʔ-, kɔʔ-, di-/, whichever is appropriate. In written style the passive prefix /di-/ may sometimes be replaced by the passive prefix /ka-/ or the passive infix /-in-/. So these forms have the same meaning /ditules/ = /katules/ = /tinules/ *to be written*, with the difference that the first is colloquial, while the last two forms are literary.

2.2.2 Passives with frequentative and benefactive meanings

The passive verb forms explained above such as /diʔisi/ *to be filled* or /taʔtules/ *to be written by me* may be called 'simple passive', because the verb form consists of only a passive prefix and a verb stem. Sometimes, however, additional meanings may be added by using the suffixes:

(1) /-i/, which alternates with /-ni/ after vowels, and expresses the meaning of 'high frequency', thus called 'frequentative', e.g.

/diʔiseni/ *to be filled many times*
/taʔtulisni/ *to be written by me many times*

(2) /-ake/ which alternates with /-ʔake/ after vowels and expresses the meaning of benefaction for/by other people, thus called 'benefactive', e.g.

/diʔiseʔake/ *to be filled for/by someone*
/taʔtulesake/ *to be written by me for someone*

The verb stems to which the frequentative and benefactive suffixes are attached undergo the following morphophonemic changes:

(1) when the verb stem ends in a close or half-close, and half-open vowel: /i, e/, /u, o/, /ɔ/, it is lowered to /ɛ/, /ɔ/, and /a/ respectively, e.g.

/diʔisi/ + /-i/ → /diʔiseni/ *to be filled many times*
/diʔisi/ + /-ʔke/ → /diʔiseʔke/ *to be filled for someone*
/dibaDe/ + /-i/ → /dibaDeniʔ/ *to be guessed many times*
/dibaDe/ + /-ʔke/ → /dibaDeʔke/ *to be guessed for someone*
/dituku/ + /-i/ → /ditukoni/ *to be bought many times*
/dituku/ + /-ʔke/ → /ditukoʔke/ *to be bought for someone*
/diparo/ + /-i/ → /diparɔni/ *to be halved many times*
/diparo/ + /-ʔke/ → /diparɔʔke/ *to be halved for someone*
/dipersɔ/ + /-i/ → /dipersani/ *to be looked at many times*
/dipersɔ/ + /-ʔke/ → /dipersaʔke/ *to be looked for by someone*

(2) when the verb stem contains the vowel /ɔ/ in both the penultimate and ultimate syllables provided that the latter is an open syllable, both vowels are replaced by /a/ before the frequentative or benefactive suffix:

/dikɔɔ/ + /-i/ → /dikalani/ *to be often looped*
 /dikɔɔ/ + /-ʔke/ → /dikalaʔake/ *to be looped for/by someone*

If the last syllable is closed /ʔɔʔɔʔ/ *hit on the head*, there is no morpho-phonemic change.

(3) when the verb ends in a closed syllable with a half-close vowel /e, o/, the vowel is raised to /i, u/ before the frequentative suffix /-i/ only:

/diʔires/ + /-i/ → /diʔirisi/ *to be cut many times*
 /dikəruʔ/ + /-i/ → /dikəruʔi/ *to be dredged many times*

but:

/diʔires/ + /-ke/ → /diʔireske/ *to be cut for/by someone*

When the verb ends in /h/ e.g. /sugoh/ *offer food/drink to a guest* the consonant /h/ is dropped

/disugoh/ + /i/ → /disugui/

(4) Otherwise, the normal form as found in isolation is used, e.g.

/dipeneʔ/ + /-i/ → /dipeneʔi/ *to be climbed many times*
 /dikaraŋ/ + /-ke/ → /dikaraŋke/ *to be composed for/by someone*

In order to indicate much higher frequency in the action the verb stem is reduplicated: /ditules/ *be written*, but /ditules-tules/ or sometimes /ditules-tulisi/ *be continuously written*. When a feeling of 'dislike' is implied, the verb stem is reduplicated and there is vowel change in the first verb stem i.e. the vowel in the ultimate syllable of the first verb stem is changed into /a/, while the vowel in the penultimate syllable, if any, is raised to /o/ when it is an open vowel /a/ or a half-open back vowel /ɔ/; but the second verb stem is unchanged e.g.

/ditules/ → /ditulas-tules/ *be written continuously*
 /diʔires/ → /diʔiras-ʔires/ *be cut continuously*
 /dicet/ → /dicat-cet/ *be painted continuously*
 /diwɔɔ/ → /diwoca-wɔɔ/ *be read continuously*
 /diʔambu/ → /diʔomba-ʔambu/ *be smelled continuously*

The verb stem used with the 1st person passive prefix /taʔ-/ is an important passive marker. When the nasal active prefix /N-/ is added to the verb stem, for instance /taʔ-/ + /N-/ + /tules/ → /taʔnules/, the meaning is, of course, active indicating 'determination' or 'volition'. Consider the following:

(24) /taʔtules/
is written by me

(25) /taʔnules/
I'm going to write

There is another passive verb form consisting of the 1st person passive prefix /taʔ-/ and the suffix /-e/, indicating the meaning of 'determination':

/taʔjupuʔe buku iku/ }
 or } *I am determined to take that book*
 /buku iku taʔjupuʔe/ }

The three passive verb forms are as follows:

- (a) simple passive /-e/ :/taʔjupuʔe/
- (b) benefactive passive /-ne/ :/taʔjupoʔne/
- (c) frequentative passive /-an/+e/ :/taʔjupuʔane/

When the verb ends in a vowel (open syllable) another suffix /-an/ is added before the suffix /e/ for (c) above

/daʔ + tɔmpɔ + an + an + e/ → /daʔtampanane/ *I am determined to receive it oftentimes.*

Not all verbs in Javanese take the nasal prefix /N-/ to indicate active voice. There are verbs which maintain their stem or base forms in their active voice such as:

- /wəroh/ *see* /kruŋu/ *hear*
- /tuku/ *buy* /jajan/ *buy refreshments*
- /sənəŋ/ *like* /lali/ *forget*
- /səŋet/ *hate* /entoʔ/ *get*

The following is an example for such a verb used in a sentence:

- | ACTIVE | PASSIVE |
|---|---|
| (26) /aku tuku buku/
<i>I buy book</i> | /buku taʔtuku/
<i>book is bought by me</i> |

With verbs of perception or emotion, the active form is more common, while the passive form is seldom used. Thus the passive counterparts of the following active sentences are anomalous and never used:

- | ACTIVE | PASSIVE |
|---|---|
| (27) /Dɛʔe wəroh sapi/
<i>he sees cow</i> | */sapi diwəroh/
<i>cow is seen by him</i> |
| (28) /ʔaku kruŋu kabar/
<i>I hear news</i> | */kabar taʔkruŋu/
<i>news is heard by me</i> |

Instead, the passive of an emotive verb is formed by adding the suffix /-i/, which is normally used with intransitive verbs to make them transitive such as in /lungoh/ *to sit*, but /dilunguhi/ *to be sat on*, so:

- | ACTIVE | PASSIVE |
|--|--|
| (29) /aku sənəŋ kacang/
<i>I like peanuts</i> | /kacang taʔsənəŋi/
<i>peanuts are liked by me</i> |

When the object has the semantic feature /+human/, the preposition /karo/ *with* is used before it in the active, or the active prefix /N-/ is used together with the suffix /-i/ mentioned above

- | | |
|---|--|
| (30) /aku sənəŋ karo Siti/
<i>I like with Siti</i> | - no passive |
| (31) /aku nənəŋi Siti/
<i>I like Siti</i> | - /Siti taʔsənəŋi/
<i>Siti is liked by me</i> |

It is probably for this reason that the suffix /-i/ is said to have a directive function i.e. to cause the meaning of a verb, especially an intransitive verb, to be directed towards an object, in other words, to transitivise intransitive verbs.

2.2.3 Passive with intransitive verbs

Basically an intransitive verb cannot be changed into passive because it does not take any object to be made the subject of the passive sentence. But as has been pointed out in the previous section, an intransitive verb can be made transitive with the help of the suffix */-i/*, called 'directive', or also the suffix */-(?)ake/*, which may be called 'causative' for the reason explained below. These morphemes are homonymous with the frequentative and benefactive suffixes, which are added to transitive verbs presented before.

Consider the uses of the directive and causative suffixes */-i/* and */-(?)ake/* with intransitive verbs as used in active and passive sentences below:

ACTIVE	PASSIVE
(32) /aku lungoh/ <i>I sit</i>	-
(33) /aku ŋlunguhi kursi/ <i>I sit on chair</i>	/kursi ta?lunguhi/ <i>chair is sat on by me</i>
(34) /kowe ŋlungohke bayi/ <i>you cause to sit baby</i>	/bayi kə?lungohke/ <i>baby is made to sit by you</i>

Other examples of intransitive verbs which can be thus conjugated are, for instance, as follows:

VERB STEM	VERB STEM
/turu/ <i>sleep, lie</i>	/lungo/ <i>go</i>
/tibo/ <i>fall</i>	/tanes/ <i>weep</i>
/loro/ <i>be ill</i>	/wije?/ <i>wash hands/feet</i>

NOTE: There are exceptions to the morphophonemic rules of the active prefix */N-/* as mentioned in (2.2.1) above, since the allomorph */m/* is also found before vowels in the active voice. But with directive and causative suffixes */-i/*, */-(?)ake/*, the form */ŋ/* is used. Consider the following examples:

VERB STEM	ACTIVE	PASSIVE
/?ungah/	/mungah/ <i>go up (intr)</i>	-
	/ŋungahi/ <i>climb (trans)</i>	-/di?ungahi/
	/ŋungahke/ <i>cause to rise (trans)</i>	-/di?ungahke/

The same rules apply to the following:

/?uDon/ <i>go down</i>	/?eren/ <i>be in slanting position</i>
/?ambu/ <i>smell</i>	/?elen/ <i>be conscious</i>

2.2.4 Accidental passives

When someone or something undergoes an action by accident, that is the performer does not do the action on purpose, Javanese makes use of the so-called 'accidental passive', which is signalled by the accidental passive prefix */kə-/*. The agent implied is always the third person, as can be seen from the following examples:

ACTIVE	PASSIVE
(35) /wəŋ mbəDel mano?/ <i>someone shoots bird</i>	/mano? dibəDel/ <i>bird is shot</i>
(36) /wəŋ mbəDel mano?/ <i>someone shoots bird</i>	/mano? kabəDel/ <i>bird is shot by accident</i>

The accidental passive prefix /kə-/ undergoes a loss of the vowel /ə-/ when added to verb stems beginning with a vowel:

/kə + ires/ → /kires/; kə + antəm/ → kantəm
 /kə + untal/ → /kuntal/ *be accidentally swallowed*

It has been pointed out earlier that in literary Javanese the passive prefix /di-/ may be replaced by the passive prefix /ka-/ without altering the meaning, so /dibəDel/ *to be shot* has the same meaning as the passive form /kabəDel/ *to be shot*. But if the prefix /kə-/ is used instead of /ka-/ as in /kəbəDel/, the meaning of accidentality is expressed i.e. the action is done by accident. The prefix /ka-/ is limited to literary usage, whereas /kə-/ i.e. the accidental passive is used both in literary as well as in colloquial language.

When the verb is intransitive and later transitivised by the directive suffix /-i/, the accidental prefix /kə/ must be used with the suffix /-an/ thus /kə...-an/ here may be called a confix, forming a discontinuous morpheme, for example:

ACTIVE	PASSIVE
(37) /Dɛʔe ɲlunguhi buku/	/bukune kəlunguhan/
<i>he sits on book</i>	<i>the book is sat on accidentally</i>
	not */kəlunguhi/

2.2.5 Reciprocal passive

Reciprocal action is expressed in Javanese by the reduplication of the verb stem and certain affixes depending on the voice of the verb. The reciprocal passive verb is signalled by reduplicating the verb stem and inserting the infix /-in-/, which alternates with /-iŋ-/ before vowels, into the second verb stem as in the following examples:

/tabɔʔ/ <i>to slap</i>	/tabɔʔ-tinabɔʔ/ <i>be reciprocally slapped</i>
/ʔantəm/ <i>punch</i>	/ʔantəm-ʔiŋantəm/ <i>be reciprocally punched</i>
/balaŋ/ <i>throw</i>	/balaŋ-binalaŋ/ <i>be reciprocally thrown</i>

The reciprocal passive verb form is especially used in written form, while the reciprocal active verb form is used in both spoken and written language. The active reciprocity is signalled by reduplicating the verb stem and adding the suffix /-an/ to the last verb stem. The reciprocal passive examples above can be changed into reciprocal active verb forms as follows:

/tabɔʔ-tabɔʔan/	<i>to slap each other</i>
/ʔantəm-ʔantəman/	<i>to punch each other</i>
/balaŋ-balaŋan/	<i>to throw (something) at each other</i>

2.3 Passive in the imperative mood

2.3.1 Active vs passive sentences in indicative and imperative

Although passivity is universally found in most languages in which the grammatical subject undergoes the action as expressed by the verb, imperative passive is uniquely found in Javanese. The imperative passive form might be found in English, but it is probably not commonly used in speech. A form like *be hanged* is also a 'passive imperative', but it is hardly ever used in everyday speech (unless as an expletive!).

In Javanese, however, passive imperative verb forms are normally used in everyday speech. Before examining the formal features of imperative passive verb forms, let us compare sentences in the indicative mood and imperative mood to see how they differ from each other in their forms. As we know, indicative sentences are statements about facts, while imperative sentences express orders or requests. If the indicative passive is marked by the passive prefixes /daʔ-, taʔ-, kɔʔ-, di-, ka-, kə-/ + verb stem, the imperative passive, on the other hand, is signalled by a verb stem + any of the imperative passive suffixes /-ən, -nɔ, -ɔnɔ/. The following is a comparison between indicative active (IND A) and imperative active (IMP A).

(38) IND A: /kowe njupoʔ buku/
you take book

(39) IMP A: /(kowe) njupuʔɔ buku/
(you) take book!

An imperative active verb in Javanese is signalled by the suffix /-ɔ/, together with the activating nasal prefix /N-/ when required. Like in any other language, including English, the 2nd person subject is deleted or understood. Brusque commands are expressed by using the verb stem only e.g. /jupoʔ/, but it sounds too commanding or peremptory.

A distinction is also made between the indicative passive (IND P) verb form and an imperative passive (IMP P) verb form as indicated by the following comparison:

(40) IND P: /buku iku kɔʔjupoʔ/
book that is taken by you

(41) IMP P: /buku iku jupuʔən/
book that be taken (by you)

Since the order of subject and predicate in Javanese is rather flexible, it is also possible to say:

(42) /jupuʔən buku iku/
be taken book that

2.3.2 Markers of imperative simple passive

An indicative passive verb form is marked, as explained earlier, by any of the passive prefixes + verb stem:

IND PASSIVE PREFIX	VERB STEM	MEANING
daʔ- or taʔ-	jupoʔ	<i>take</i>
kɔʔ-	tules	<i>write</i>
di-	bukaʔ	<i>open</i>
ka-	cɔlɔŋ	<i>steal</i>
kə-	ʔires	<i>cut</i>

On the other hand, the imperative passive verb form is marked by a verb stem + the suffix /-ən/:

VERB STEM	IMPERATIVE PASSIVE SUFFIX	MEANING
jupo? tules buka?	-ən	<i>be taken</i> <i>be written</i> <i>be opened</i>
palu isi toto	-nən	<i>be hammered</i> <i>be filled</i> <i>be arranged</i>

So the imperative passive suffix has two allomorphs:

/-ən/ after verb stems ending in consonants

/-nən/ after verb stems ending in vowels

as can be seen from the above examples.

The verb stems before the imperative passive suffix undergo an internal modification of the last open vowel as follows:

half-close vowel /e, o/ in ultimate closed syllables are changed into close vowels /i, u/ respectively:

/jupo?/ *take* /jupu? -ən/
/tules/ *write* /tulis -ən/

half-open back vowel /ɔ/ in penultimate and/or ultimate open syllables is changed into mid open vowel /a/ e.g.

/gowɔ/ *bring* → /gawa/ }
/kɔɔ/ *catch with a loop* → /kala/ } -nən
/pɔɔ/ *divide* → /para/ }
/sudɔ/ *reduce* → /suda/ }

Since passivisation has to do with the transformation of an active sentence into a passive one by making the object of the active sentence the subject of the passive counterpart, the implication is that the verb must be of the transitive type. Consequently, intransitive verbs cannot take the imperative passive suffix /-ən/. An intransitive verb like: /luŋɔ/ *to go* cannot be changed into */luŋənən/, but it can take the active imperative suffix /-ɔ/, thus /luŋɔɔ/ *go!* or the imperative causative passive /luŋa?nɔ/ *make someone go*.

2.3.3 Frequentative and benefactive passive in the imperative

It has been stated before that besides the active nasal prefix /N-/ or the passive prefixes /da?-, ta?-, kɔ?-, di-, kə-, ka-/ , which can be added to verb stems, at the same time the frequentative or continuative suffix /-i/ and the benefactive suffix /-(?)ake/ can also be added, for example

ACTIVE VERB	PASSIVE VERB
/mbalaŋ/ <i>to throw</i>	/dibalaŋ/ <i>to be thrown</i>
/mbalaŋi/ <i>to throw frequently</i>	/dibalaŋi/ <i>to be frequently thrown</i>
/mbalaŋke/ <i>to throw for someone</i>	/dibalaŋke/ <i>to be thrown for someone</i>

The frequentative and benefactive meanings of verbs are also found with imperative active verbs as well as imperative passive verbs as can be seen from the following examples:

IMPERATIVE ACTIVE	IMPERATIVE PASSIVE
(43) /(<i>kowe</i>) njupu ^ʔ ɔ̄ paku iku/ (<i>you</i>) take nail that	(a) /paku iku jupu ^ʔ ən/ nail that be taken (b) /jupu ^ʔ ən paku iku/ be taken nail that
(44) /(<i>kowe</i>) njupo ^ʔ ɔ̄ paku iku/ (<i>you</i>) take (for someone) nail that	(a) /paku iku jupo ^ʔ ɔ̄/ nail that be taken (for someone) (b) /jupo ^ʔ ɔ̄ paku iku/ be taken (for someone) nail that
(45) /(<i>kowe</i>) njupu ^ʔ ɔ̄ɔ̄ paku iku/ (<i>you</i>) take (many times) nails those	(a) /paku iku jupu ^ʔ ɔ̄ɔ̄/ nail that be taken (many times) (b) /jupu ^ʔ ɔ̄ɔ̄ paku iku/ be taken (many times) nail that

So the imperative passive, like the indicative passive, can be divided into three types:

- (1) the simple imperative passive : /jupu^ʔən/
- (2) the benefactive imperative passive : /jupo^ʔɔ̄/
- (3) the frequentative imperative passive : /jupu^ʔɔ̄ɔ̄/

The simple imperative passive suffix morpheme /-ən/ has two allomorphs:

- (1) /-ən/ after verb stems ending in consonants:

/tules + ən/ → /tulis + ən/ *be written*
 /jupo^ʔ + ən/ → /jupu^ʔ + ən/ *be taken*
 /untal + ən/ → /untal + ən/ *be swallowed*

- (2) /-nən/ after verb stems ending in vowels:

/paku + ən/ → /paku + nən/ *be nailed*
 /isi + ən/ → /isi + nən/ *be filled*
 /tɔ̄tɔ̄ + ən/ → /tata + nən/ *be arranged*

The verb stem to which the suffix /-ən/ is added undergoes some morphophonemic changes, especially in the last vowel, in the same way as has been stated in the preceding section. The benefactive imperative passive suffix /-ɔ̄/ alternates with /-^ʔɔ̄/, the former being used after verb stems ending in consonants, and the latter being used after verb stems ending in vowels, while the preceding verb stem which ends in a vowel undergoes some morphophonemic changes as can be seen from the following examples:

verb stems ending in consonants do not undergo any changes:

/tules + ɔ̄/ → /tulesɔ̄/ *be written for someone*
 /jupo^ʔ + ɔ̄/ → /jupo^ʔɔ̄/ *be taken for someone*
 /untal + ɔ̄/ → /untalɔ̄/ *be swallowed for someone*

verb stems ending in vowels undergo the following vowel changes:

the close and half-close back vowels /u, o/ are changed into the half-open back vowel /ɔ̄/

/u, o/ → /ɔ̄/ e.g. /paku + ^ʔɔ̄/ → /pakɔ̄^ʔɔ̄/ *be nailed for someone*
 /paro + ^ʔɔ̄/ → /parɔ̄^ʔɔ̄/ *be halved for someone*

the close and half-close front vowels /i, e/ are changed into the half-open front vowel /ɛ/

/i, e/ → /ɛ/ e.g. /isi + ʔnɔ/ → /isɛʔnɔ/ *be filled for someone*
 /rene + ʔnɔ/ → /rɛnɛʔnɔ/ *be taken here for someone*

the half-open back vowel /ɔ/ is changed into the central open vowel /a/

/ɔ/ → /a/ e.g. /tɔtɔ + ʔnɔ/ → /tataʔnɔ/ *be arranged for someone*

The frequentative imperative passive suffix /-ɔnɔ/ – like the simple imperative suffix /-ən/ – has two allomorphs:

(1) /-ɔnɔ/ after verb stems ending in consonants: e.g.

/tules + ɔnɔ/ → /tulisɔnɔ/ *be written many times*
 /jupoʔ + ɔnɔ/ → /jupuʔɔnɔ/ *be taken many times*
 /untal + ɔnɔ/ → /untalɔnɔ/ *be swallowed many times*

(2) /-nɔnɔ/ after verb stems ending in vowels: e.g.

/paku + ɔnɔ → /pakɔnɔnɔ/ *be nailed many times*
 /isi + ɔnɔ → /isɛnɔnɔ/ *be filled many times*
 /tɔtɔ + ɔnɔ → /tatanɔnɔ/ *be arranged many times*

The verb stems undergo morphophonemic alternation with regard to the ultimate and penultimate vowels in closed and open syllables in the same way as explained on page 205:

half-close vowels /e, o/ in ultimate closed syllables become close vowels /i, u/: e.g.

/jupoʔ + ɔnɔ/ → /jupuʔɔnɔ/
 /tules + ɔnɔ/ → /tulisɔnɔ/

half-open vowel /ɔ/ in penultimate and/or ultimate open syllables become /a/ e.g.

/tɔtɔ + ɔnɔ/ → /tatanɔnɔ/

close vowels /i, u/ in ultimate open syllable become half-open vowels /ɛ, ɔ/ respectively. e.g.

/isi + ɔnɔ/ → /isɛnɔnɔ/ *to be filled many times*
 /tuku + ɔnɔ/ → /tukɔnɔnɔ/ *to be bought many times*

3. CONCLUSION

In conclusion it can be summarised that passivisation is most probably a universal feature found in all languages the world over. Passivisation is usually marked by the conjugation of the verb, to which affixes are added: in English, passivity is marked by the discontinuous morpheme /be ...-en/, consisting of the auxiliary be plus past participle inflection, suffixed to the verb stem. In Javanese, it is signalled by one of the passive prefixes /taʔ-, kɔʔ-, di-, ka-, kə-/ or the infix /-in-/ added to the verb stem.

However, besides the simple passive, Javanese also expresses various meanings such as the doer of action, frequentative or directive meaning, benefactive or causative meaning, accidentality, and reciprocity. As a consequence, those meanings have to be described in the grammar of the language.

Since Javanese is a member of the Austronesian language family, those different meanings might be expressed in the other members of the language

family as well. At least in Indonesian, some of those meanings, though not all of them, are signalled by the use of different prefixes.

This paper is not claimed to be an exhaustive treatment of the Javanese passive since some exceptions may have escaped the attention of the writer. He will therefore, be happy to receive questions and criticisms from the readers for the improvement of the analysis.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

LYONS, John

1970 *Chomsky*. London: Collins.

NESFIELD, J.C.

1947 *Modern English grammar*. London: Macmillan.

PADMOSUKOCO

1956 *Pathine paramasastra*. Jakarta: Noordhof and Kolf.

RAMELAN

1979 *English phonetics*. Semarang: IKIP Semarang Press.

SAMSURI

1978 *Analisa Bahasa: memahami bahasa secara ilmiah*. Jakarta: Penerbit Erlangga.

VERHAAR, J.W.M.

1978 *Pengantar linguistik*. Yogyakarta: Gajah Mada University Press.

ZANDVOORT, R.W.

1958 *A handbook of English grammar*. London: Longmans, Green.