

JAVANESE AND PROBLEMS IN THE ANALYSIS OF ADVERSATIVE PASSIVE¹

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Abstract

Adversative passive is one of the means that languages use to code that an event may have detrimental effect on someone. The adversative passive differs from the standard passive in that the speaker perceives an event as unpleasant or unfortunate. The adversity semantic effect is normally encoded with an adversative passive affix attached to the verb. Javanese has such coding with (1) prefix ke- and (2) the circumfix ke-l-an. However, Javanese adversative passive is not always associated with adversity. In fact, an event described by Javanese adversative passive may have neutral or pleasant consequences. This proves to be problematic for the current frameworks on adversative passives such as Kubo's (1992) and Pykkänen's (2002) because their frameworks assume that an adversative passive carries an adversative semantic property encoded in the malefactive head or with a passive morphology. Moreover, the subject of the 'adversative passive' in Javanese does not have to possess an object because the passive can have a reading in which the passive subject held an object belonging to someone else while experiencing a situation related to the object. This also poses a problem for Pykkänen's (2002) because she bases her adversative passive analysis on the possessor raising theory which requires a possessive relation between the theme and the affected argument. I argue that Javanese 'adversative passive' is best described as a combination of the prefix ke- and suffix -an (the circumfix ke-l-an) with the prefix ke- carrying the accidental semantics property and the suffix -an as an applicative suffix adding an affected argument to the construction.

Keywords: *adversative, accidental, Javanese, passive, applicative*

Abstrak

Pasif adversatif adalah perangkat yang dimiliki bahasa-bahasa di dunia untuk menandai bahwa sebuah peristiwa menimbulkan akibat negatif pada seseorang. Adversatif pasif berbeda dengan pasif biasa karena pembicara dalam konstruksi adversatif pasif menganggap sebuah peristiwa tidak menyenangkan atau menguntungkan. Makna adversatif biasanya disandikan dengan menggunakan imbuhan adversatif pasif pada verba. Bahasa Jawa memiliki imbuhan adversatif dengan kombinasi prefiks ke- dan sufiks -an. Walaupun demikian, konstruksi 'pasif adversatif' dalam bahasa Jawa tidak selalu mengandung makna adversatif dan bahkan dapat mempunyai akibat yang netral atau menyenangkan. Hal ini menyebabkan 'pasif adversatif' bahasa Jawa tidak mudah untuk dianalisis dengan menggunakan teori-teori mengenai pasif adversatif seperti yang diungkapkan oleh Kubo (1992) dan Pykkänen (2002) karena teori-teori tersebut berdasar pada asumsi bahwa pasif adversatif selalu mengandung makna yang diwujudkan dalam sebuah inti (head) malefactive atau pemarkah pasif. Lebih jauh, subjek adversatif pasif tidak harus selalu memiliki objek dalam sebuah konstruksi pasif adversatif karena subjek dapat saja sedang memegang objek milik orang lain saat

mengalami sebuah peristiwa yang berhubungan dengan objek tersebut. Hal ini menyulitkan pasif adversatif bahasa Jawa untuk dianalisis dengan menggunakan teori Pykkänen karena analisisnya mengenai pasif adversatif berlandaskan pada teori *possessor raising* yang mengharuskan adanya hubungan kepemilikan sehingga subjek pasif atau penderita yang terkena tindakan pada verba harus memiliki objek dalam konstruksi tersebut. Dalam makalah ini penulis mengusulkan bahwa pasif adversatif bahasa Jawa lebih baik dianalisis sebagai kombinasi prefiks *ke-* dan suffiks *-an* karena prefiks *ke-* menyandikan pasif aksidental dan suffiks *-an* berfungsi sebagai suffiks aplikatif yang menambahkan penderita yang terkena tindakan verba.

Kata kunci: adversatif, aksidental, bahasa Jawa, pasif, aplikatif

INTRODUCTION

In this paper, I show that current frameworks on adversative passive are problematic for Javanese due to their semantics of the adversative passive and their analysis of the ‘possessor raising’ construction. Malefactive or adversative is a linguistic coding of an event describing that something is done to the detriment of somebody (Kittila, 2010:203). Human beings can perceive an event as being fortunate or unfortunate and include their interpretation in an utterance (Radetzky and Smith, 2010:98). Languages have options to express this interpretation. First, they can lump both benefactive and malefactive meanings into one single construction, the affectedness construction. Second, they can encode fortunate events into benefactive construction in which the affected argument is called a benefactee, and unfortunate events into malefactive or adversative construction in which the affected argument is called the malefactee (Radetzky and Smith, 2010:98-99) .

Languages use different strategies to encode adversity or unfortunate events, among others with (i) case, (ii) serial verb construction, (iii) adposition, (iv) applicative affix, and (v) adversative passive (Kittila and Zuniga, 2010:7-10).

- (1) Lezgian dative case
Čna aṣq̃qwerag suna-di-z wūc-na q' wan?
 We.ERG that poor Suna-OBL-DAT do.what-AOR PTL
 ‘What did we do to that poor Suna?’
 (Haspelmath, 1993:88)
- (2) Fula malefactive marker GIVE
O ngma la zirii ko Ama oi yideme yele
 He cut a.m. lies GIVE Ama she housepeople matter
 ‘He lied to Ama about her family’
 (Fagerli, 2001:214)
- (3) Finnish adposition
Men-i-n kaupunki-in häne-n harmikse-en
 go-PASS-1Sg town-ILL 3sg-GEN to.the.detriment-3.PSR
 ‘I went to town to his/her detriment’
 (Kittila and Zuniga, 2010:8).

- (4) Applicative in Kunuz Nubian
Ay-gi ir:-g noddi-de:s-s-a
 1sg-ACC rope:ACC cut-BEN-PST-3PL
 ‘They cut the rope (to my detriment)’
 (Kittila and Zuniga, 2010:6).
- (5) Japanese adversative passive marker for verb
Kinoo ame-ni hur-are-ta
 yesterday rain-DAT fall-PASS-PAST
 ‘[We] got rained on yesterday’
 (Radetzky and Smith, 2010: 114)

In (1), Lezgian uses dative case with suffix *-z* to mark the malefactivee, *Suna*, while Fula uses malefactive marker *ko* in (2). On the contrary, Finnish applies adposition *harmikse* to mark adversity in (3) while Kunuz Nubian uses applicative suffix *de:s* to indicate that the action described by the verb is done to the detriment of somebody in (4). The last one is adversative passive as can be seen in (5) with passive suffix *-are* in Japanese.

Adversative passive differs from the standard passive because it has an adversative meaning in which the speaker perceives an event as unpleasant or unfortunate (Prasithrathsint, 2006:116). It is also a valency increasing construction rather than valency decreasing construction like the standard passive (Tsuboi, 2010).

- (6) **Japanese Adversative Passive**
Taro-wa Hanako-ni piano-o hik-are-ta
 Taro-TOP Hanako-DAT piano-ACC play-PASS-PAST
 ‘Lit. Taro was played piano by Hanako’
 ‘Taro was adversely affected by Hanako playing piano’
 (Tsuboi, 2010: 420).

In (6), the subject of the passive *Taro* was negatively affected by the agent *Hanako* playing piano nearby. In addition, the adversative passive increases the valency of the construction from two arguments (Hanako, piano) into three arguments (Taro, Hanako, piano).

In their previous framework, Kubo (1992) and Pylkkänen (2002) argue that the adversative passive is divided into two types, the regular adversative passive as in (7) and the ‘possessor raising’ as in (8).

- (7) **Japanese regular adversative passive**
- a. *Kinoo ame-ni hur-are-ta*
 yesterday rain-DAT fall-PASS-PST
 ‘[We] got rained on yesterday’
 (Radetzky and Smith, 2010: 114)
- b. *Taro-wa Hanako-ni piano-o hik-are-ta*
 Taro-TOP Hanako-DAT piano-ACC play-PASS-PST
 ‘Lit. Taro was played piano by Hanako’
 ‘Taro was adversely affected by Hanako playing piano’
 (Tsuboi, 2010:420)

- (8) **Kinyarwanda possessor raising**
- a. *Ingurube z-a-ri-iyé ibíryo by'ábáana.*
 pigs they-PST-eat-ASP food of children
 'The pigs ate the children's food'
- b. *Abáana ba-a-ri-ir-iw-e ibíryo n'ingurube.*
 Children they-PST-eat-APP-PASS-ASP food by pigs
 'The children were eaten (their) food by pigs'
 (Davies and Dubinsky, 2004:133-134)

The regular adversative has an implicit subject who suffers from the event described by the verb. In (7a), the regular adversative passive in Japanese is formed with the addition of the passive suffix *-are* to the verb *hur* 'to fall'. The implicit subject 'we' suffers from the event *rain* described by the verb. In (7b), the subject *Taro* suffers from the event of *Hanako* playing piano near him.

On the other hand, the 'possessor raising' has a construction in which the possessor of the object seemingly raises as the subject of the passive. In (8), the 'possessor raising' construction in Kinyarwanda is formed with the addition of suffix *-iw* to the verb. The possessors *Abáana* 'the children' seem to raise as the subject of the passive sentence away from the item *ibíryo* 'food' that they possessed.

I show in this paper that the adversative semantics and the possessor raising approach in the current frameworks of adversative passive are problematic for Javanese because (i) Javanese 'adversative passive' does not always carry adversative semantics and (ii) the subject of Javanese 'adversative passive' does not have to directly possess the object. For this purpose, I provide supporting evidence from the well-known Japanese adversative passive. Lastly, I posit that Javanese adversative passive is best analyzed as the result of the combination of passivization and applicativization. The passivization with specific accidental information is done with with prefix *-ke*, and the applicativization with special applicative suffix *-an*.

THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE ADVERSATIVE PASSIVE

In this section, I discuss the morphology of the Javanese 'adversative passive'. The adversative passive in Javanese is derived with (1) the prefix *ke-*, and (2) the circumfix *ke-l-an* added to the base verb. The construction with prefix *ke-* is compatible with transitive verb and serves to passivize the verb and to add an accidental information.

- (9) a. *Pardi nabrak Amir*
 Pardi ACCD-hit Amir
 'Pardi hit Amir'
- b. *Amir ke-tabrak Pardi*
 Amir ACCD-hit Pardi
 'Amir accidentally hit Pardi'

In (9b), with the addition of prefix *ke-*, the theme argument *Pardi* raises to be the subject of the passive and the sentence receives an accidental semantic reading.

On the other hand, the circumfix *ke-l-an* are compatible with both intransitive and transitive verbs. The addition of circumfix *ke-l-an* to an unergative verb adds an accidental reading but does not change the construction into passive as can be observed in (10a). On the

contrary, the circumfix *ke- an* attached to an unaccusative verb results in both accidental reading and a passive construction as seen in (10b). It can also be observed that the affixation increases the valency of the verb in (10b) with the addition of an affected argument.

- (10) a. *Pardi turu*
 Pardi sleep
 ‘Pardi slept’
Pardi ke-turu-an (keturon)
 Pardi ACCD-sleep-ACCD
 ‘Pardi accidentally fell asleep (he did not intend to sleep)’
- b. *Asu kuwi ng-uyuh*
 Dog that ACT-urinate
 ‘The dog urinated’
Tanduran kuwi k-uyuh-an asu kuwi
 Plant that ACCD-urinate-APPL dog that
 ‘The plant was urinated on by the dog’

It should be noted that unergative verbs resist the addition of a new argument or applicativization. It has been known that only certain languages are able to applicativize their unergative verbs. Pylkkänen (2002) points out that a double object construction with an applied argument for unergative verb is not possible in English. However, it is interesting to observe that although unergative verbs in Indonesia does not undergo applicativization, the construction still maintains the applicative suffix *-an* as seen in (10a). In this paper, I do not offer a further discussion on the matter. For the moment, I treat it as an irregularity or an anomaly.

The addition of circumfix *ke-an* to an unaccusative verb results in both accidental reading and a passive construction as seen in (11). In addition, the construction also displays an increase of valency in the form of an affected argument.

- (11) *Nangka tiba*
 Jackfruit fall
 ‘The jackfruit fell’
Pardi ke-tiba-nan nangka
 Pardi ACCD-fall-APPL jackfruit
 ‘Pardi was fallen on by a jackfruit’

The combination of the circumfix *ke-l-an* can also be applied to a transitive verb to add an affected argument to the construction.

- (12) *Pardi ke-colong-an duit*
 Pardi ACCD-steal-APPL money
 ‘Pardi suffered from his money stolen (by someone).’

It can be noted that the theme argument is not obligatory from the construction. Hence the theme argument *duit* ‘money’ can be omitted in example (12). Therefore, one might ask whether *-an* is a legit applicative suffix. However, the applicative suffix *-an* serves to add an affected argument, which is *Pardi* in (12). Therefore, an implied theme argument in a sentence would not hinder the ability of *-an* to applicativize a verb and add an affected argument.

THE SEMANTICS OF THE JAVANESE ACCIDENTAL PASSIVE

The term adversative passive originates from the perception that the subject of the sentence is adversely affected by the action described by the verb (Prasithrathsint, 2006) as shown in (6). However, this is not the case with Javanese since its ‘adversative passive’ can have neutral or even pleasant consequences (Nurhayani, 2013:178).

- (13) *Aku ke-temu Ani neng pasar*
 I ACCD-meet Ani at market
 ‘Lit. I was accidentally found by Pardi at the market’
 ‘I accidentally met Ani at the market’
- (14) *Aku ke-potret wartawan pas neng sekolahan*
 I ACCD-take a picture journalist when at school
 ‘Lit. I was accidentally taken a picture by a journalist when I was at school (the journalist intended to take a picture of an object but I was accidentally in the background of the picture)’
 ‘A journalist accidentally took a picture of me when I was at school’
- (15) *Amir ke-pilih dadi lurah*
 Amir ACCD-choose become head of district
 ‘Amir was unexpectedly chosen to be the head of the village’
- (16) *Pardi ke-terima dadi pegawai negeri*
 Pardi ACCD-accept become civil servant
 ‘Pardi was unexpectedly selected as a new civil servant’

In (13) the subject *aku* ‘I’ was neutrally affected by the action *temu* ‘to meet’ described by the verb. Hence the subject was neither negatively nor positively affected by the action. This is also the case with (14) in which the subject *aku* ‘I’ is neutrally affected by the action *potret* ‘take a picture’ described by the verb. On the other hand, in (15) and (16), the subjects of the passive are positively affected by the actions described by the verbs *pilih* ‘to choose’ and *terima* ‘to accept’. In (15), the adversative passive yields a pleasant consequence in which the subject *Amir* was unexpectedly chosen to be the head of the village, whereas in (16), the passive construction also results in a pleasant consequence in which the subject *Pardi* was unexpectedly selected as a new civil servant.

- (17) *Aku ke-tendhang adhi-ku*
 I ACCD-kick younger sibling-my
 ‘I was accidentally kicked by my younger sibling’
- (18) *Ani ke-tiba-nan nangka*
 I ACCD-fall-an jackfruit
 ‘Ani was knocked down by a jackfruit’

As seen in (17), the subject *aku* ‘I’ was accidentally kicked by *adhiku* ‘my younger sibling’. Though the agent *adhiku* performed the action described by the verb voluntarily, he did not intend to affect the subject *aku*. In contrast, the consequences suffered by the subject in (18) are unintentional, since the event of falling is accidental in nature and a jackfruit cannot have a volition. Hence, it is probably more appropriate to term the construction as accidental passive.

It should also be noticed that Javanese passive has no specific verbal marker for adversative semantics. While the regular passive is done with prefix *di-*, the accidental semantics is morphologically expressed by a verbal prefix *ke-*.

(19) *Aku di-wenehi Pardi duit*
 I PASS-hit Pardi money
 ‘I was given some money by Pardi’

(20) *Aku di-penthung Pardi*
 I PASS-hit Pardi
 ‘I was hit by Pardi’

(21) *Aku ke-penthung Pardi*
 I ACC-hit Pardi
 ‘I was accidentally hit by Pardi’

In (19) and (20), the regular passive is expressed with the prefix *di-* regardless of whether the sentence has a pleasant consequence in (19) or an unpleasant consequence in (20). On the other hand, the accidental passive semantics is expressed with the verbal prefix *ke-* in (21).

It immediately poses a question whether other languages also have similar adversative semantics. I argue that this is the case with Japanese. Unlike Javanese, Japanese adversative passive is encoded with the passive suffix *-are* instead of a prefix. However, similar to Javanese, Japanese adversative can be applied to both transitive and intransitive verbs.

(22) **Japanese adversative passive with intransitive verb**

Kinoo ame-ga fut-ta
 yesterday rain-DAT fall-PAST
 ‘The rain fell yesterday (It rained yesterday)’

Kinoo ame-ni hur-are-ta
 yesterday rain-DAT fall-PASS-PAST

‘[We] got rained on yesterday’

(Radetzky and Smith, 2010:114)

(23) **Japanese adversative passive with transitive verb base**

Mary-ni kodomo-o home-ta
 Mary-DAT child-ACC praise-PAST

‘Mary praised the child’

John-ga Mary-ni kodomo-o home-rare-ta
 John-NOM Mary-DAT child-ACC praise-PASS-PAST

‘John was affected by his child’s being praised by Mary’

(Lee, 2006:271)

In (22), the suffix *-are* adds an affected argument to the unaccusative verb *hur* ‘to fall’ by adding the implicit affected argument ‘we’ to the construction. In (23) the suffix *-are* behaves as an applicative suffix by adding the affected argument *John* to the construction.

Similar to Javanese, Japanese adversative passive can have either neutral or non-adversative reading. Under inclusive reading in which *John* is the child’s father, the passive results in a neutral or non-adversative reading. Only when the child is someone else’s like Mary’s, the sentence yields an adversative reading despite the positive connotation of the verb

to praise (Lee, 2006:271). Mary might be loud or inconsiderate when praising her own child and John who was nearby was disturbed by the act.

In addition, the adversative semantics in Japanese adversative passive also does not have any overt verbal marker since it is pragmatically induced as seen in (24-26). Hence the regular passive and the adversative passive are expressed with the same verbal suffix *-are*.

(24) *John-ga Mary-ni kami-o kir-are-ta*
 John-NOM Mary-DAT hair-ACC cut-PASS-PAST
 ‘John had his hair cut by Mary’
 (Lee, 2006:277)

(25) *Taroo-ga Hanako-ni nagur-are-ta*
 Taro-NOM Hanako-DAT hit-PASS-PAST
 ‘Taro was hit by Hanako’
 (Lee, 2006:270)

(26) *Keiko-ga Hanako-ni Taroo-o nagur-are-ta*
 Keiko-NOM Hanako-DAT Taro-ACC hit-PASS-PAST
 ‘Keiko was adversely affected by Hanako’s hitting Taro’
 (Lee, 2006:270)

In (24), the passive sentence *John’s hair is cut by Mary* is a regular passive with a neutral reading. However, the same suffix is also used for passive sentences with adversative readings in (25) and (26).

Javanese ‘adversative passive’ behaves instead like an accidental passive. The accidental semantics is encoded with prefix *-ke*. I start my discussion with a brief historical review of the prefix. Old Javanese has two passive affixes, the infix *-in* and the prefix *ka-*. The infix *-in* emphasizes the action described by the verb, while the prefix *ka-* focuses on the result of the action (Zoetmulder and Poedjawijatna, 1961:78). To be precise, the prefix *ka-* denotes involuntary or accidental actions, or resultative aspect (Oglobin, 2005:617).

(27) **Suffix *ka-* in Old Javanese**
Yan hana ka-teka-n danda de sang prabhu
 If exist ACCD-arrive-TR punishment by det king
 ‘If there is one who was given punishment by the king’
 (Zoetmulder and Poedjawijatna, 1961:81)

In Modern Javanese, the prefix *ke-* serves as accidental passive prefix (Uhlenbeck, 1978:71) denoting an involuntary transition into a state or the resultative state caused by the transition, or the state of being affected by an action described by the verb (Oglobin, 2005:612), and has the semantic value of the event or condition which is either unexpected, unintentional, or unavoidable, and the effect is adversative (Dardjowidjojo 1978, Uhlenbeck 1978, Subroto 1998). Nurhayani (2013) further specifies that Javanese adversative passive has a distinct semantic property in that the subject is not adversely affected by the action, but rather certain consequences or an action are not intended by the agent while performing the action described by the verb.

(28) *Aku ke-sikut Pardi*
 I ACCD-elbow Pardi
 ‘I was accidentally elbowed by Pardi (Pardi did not intend to elbow me).’

I posit in this paper that the accidental passive also carries a reading in which the affected argument perceives an action or an event as being unexpected or unintentional.

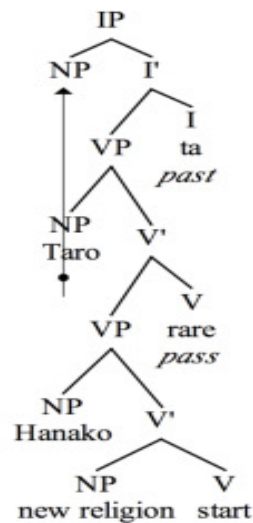
- (29) *Pardi ke-ambruk-an empring*
 Pardi ACCD-fall-APPL bamboo
 ‘Pardi was accidentally fallen on by a bamboo
 (Pardi did not expect the bamboo to fall on him)’

It can be concluded that Javanese ‘adversative passive’ is best termed as an accidental passive due to the accidental semantics property encoded by the prefix *ke-*. This semantics is problematic for Pylkkänen’s (2002) framework since it proposes that the passive morphology in the framework assigns a malefactive θ -role to the adversative construction. As a consequence, the construction cannot accommodate the accidental semantics of Javanese accidental passive.

THE POSSESSOR RAISING THEORY

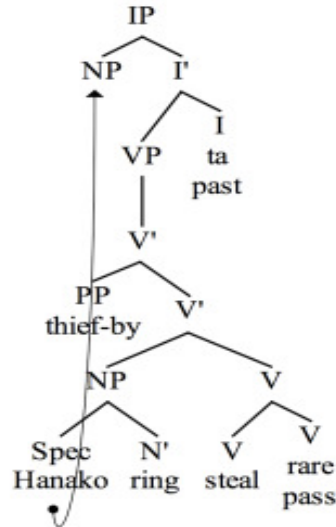
Next, I show that Kubo (1992) and Pylkkänen’s (2002) frameworks on possessor raising in adversative passive are problematic for Javanese. Kubo (1992) proposes two types of adversative passive; the first type is a regular adversative passive with a malefactive-affected argument, while the other is a possessor raising construction. The possessive reading is derived by a possessor raising to the subject position and the malefactive construction is derived by a passive morphology introducing an affected argument. In the malefactive construction, the passive morphology is claimed to assign an external malefactive θ -role. The examples below are in Japanese and taken from the original examples used by Kubo (1992) and Pylkkänen (2002) to explain their frameworks.

- (30) **Regular Japanese adversative passive with adversative/malefactive reading**
Taroo-ga Hanako-ni shinkoushukyoo-o hajime-rare-ta.
 Taroo-NOM Hanako-DAT new.religion-ACC begin-PASS-PAST
 ‘Taro was adversely affected by Hanako starting a new religion on him’



Kubo (1992), Pylkkänen (2000)

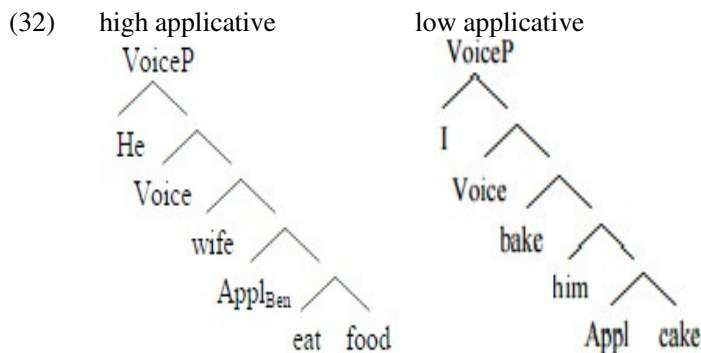
- (31) **Japanese possessive adversity passive (possessor raising)**
Hanako-ga dorobou-ni yubiwa-o to-rare-ta
 Hanako-NOM thief-DAT ring-ACC steal-PASS-PAST
 ‘Hanako was affected by the thief stealing her ring’



Kubo (1992), Pykkänen (2000)

In (30), the passive morphology *-rare* introduces a malefactive-affected argument, *Taro*, to the passive construction. The malefactive θ -role is assigned by the passive morphology. On the other hand, in (31), the possessor *Hanako* raises from the Spec of a lower NP in the VP to the Spec of IP.

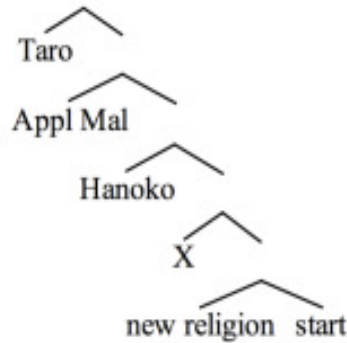
Pykkänen (2002) argues that there are two types of adversative applicative, the high adversative applicative and the low adversative applicative. She bases her arguments on her applicative theory which proposes two different types of applicative heads: high applicatives, which denote a relation between an event and an individual and low applicatives, which denote a relation between two individuals (Pykkänen, 2002:3).



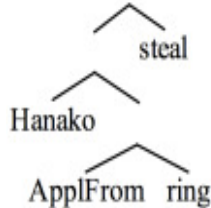
In the low applicative, the affected argument bears a possession relation while that is not the case for the high applicative. Hence the low applicative can be interpreted as directional possessive relations: [him[TO-THE-POSSESSION OF[*cake*]]] (Pykkänen, 2002:3). Therefore, Pykkänen (2002) argues that the possessor raising adversative resembles to the low applicative

by having a possessive relation between the affected and the theme argument. On the other hand, the regular adversative resembles the high applicative because of the absence of possessive relation between the affected argument and the theme argument.

(33) **Japanese regular adversative**



(34) **Japanese possessive adversity passive**



I now apply Kubo's (1992) and Pylkkänen's (2002) analyses to Javanese and they seem to be problematic for Javanese accidental passive. First, Javanese accidental passive does not require an obligatory theme argument. Since there is no theme argument, it is difficult to set up a possessive relation between the affected and the theme argument

(35) **No obligatory theme argument**

- a. *Parto ke-copet-an duit*
Parto ACC-steal-APPL money
'Parto suffered from his money being stolen'
- b. *Parto ke-copet-an.*
Parto ACC-steal-APPL
'Parto suffered [from something] being stolen from him'

- (36) a. *Ani ke-colong-an tas*
Ani ACC-steal-APPL bag
'Ani suffered from her bag being stolen'
- b. *Ani ke-colong-an*
Ani ACC-steal-APPL
'Ani suffered [from something] being stolen from her'

Second, the affected argument does not have to possess the theme argument.

(37) **No direct possession between the affected and the theme argument**

- a. *Parto ke-copet-an kalung-e Ani*
Parto ACCD-steal-APPL necklace-POSS Ani
'Parto suffered from Ani's necklace stolen from him (when he was carrying it)'

- b. *Ani ke-colong-an tas-e Amir*
 Ani ACCD-steal-APPL bag-POSS Amir
 ‘Ani suffered because Amir’s bag was stolen while she was holding it’

Example (37a) shows that the affected argument need not have a possessive relation with the theme argument. In fact, it can be argued that the possessive relation results from the pragmatic assumptions that under normal circumstances, the affected subject would most likely possess the theme argument. Hence, it is natural to infer that *Parto* is the possessor of the money if it was stolen when he was holding it in (37a). However, this assumption can be reversed in appropriate circumstances.

Applying Kubo’s (1992) and Pylkkänen’s (2002) frameworks to Javanese, it can be assumed that the possessor *Ani* raises as the subject of the sentence and leaves the possessed item *tas* ‘bag’ behind in (37b). However, it can be seen in (37b) that *Ani* does not have to be the possessor of the bag. In fact, the bag can be of *Amir’s*. Hence, example (37b) can result in a reading in which *Amir’s bag* was stolen when *Ani* was holding it. It might be assumed that because *Ani* was in fact holding the bag when the theft happened, she was somehow in the ‘possession of the bag’ at that moment. However, it would be nonetheless difficult to generate the derivation for both the possessor and the person holding it with Pylkkänen’s (2002) framework.

Therefore, it is best to analyze the possessor raising construction as an applicative construction in which an indirect affected subject is added to a transitive sentence. This is in line with Tsuboi’s (2010) claims that adversative passive is valency increasing rather than valency decreasing like other types of passive.

There is another problem with Kubo’s (1992) and Pylkkänen’s (2000) frameworks. They cannot explain why the possessor raising construction in their framework does not necessarily entail malefactive semantics. In Kubo’s (1992) framework, the affected argument in possessor raising is not introduced by the same passive morphology assigning external Malefactive θ -role in the regular adversative passive. In Pylkkänen’s (2000) framework, only the regular adversative passive that carries the malefactive head but not the possessor raising. If Kubo’s (1992) and Pylkkänen’s (2000) frameworks of possessor raising are applied to Javanese, it would be difficult to account for the accidental semantics since the frameworks do not entail additional semantic property such as malefactive or accidental information.

THE COMBINATION OF PASSIVIZATION AND APPLICATIVIZATION

I argue in this section that Javanese adversative passive with the circumfix *ke-l-an* is best analyzed as a combination of passivization and applicativization. I have also demonstrated that Javanese ‘adversative passive’ can be encoded with (1) prefix *ke-* and (2) the circumfix *ke-l-an*. The prefix *ke-* is compatible with a transitive verb base while the circumfix *ke-l-an* can be attached to both intransitive and transitive verbs to add an affected argument.

We have seen that suffix *ke-* conveys the accidental semantics of the Javanese adversative passive and the intuition is that the suffix *-an* adds another component meaning to the passive. It is commonly assumed that the adversative passive is based on the regular passive. Horne (1961), Poedjosoedarmo (1986), and Davies (1995) claim that the suffix *-an* in Javanese adversative passive is the counterpart of the goal suffix *-i* in the regular passive. Davies (1995) bases his observation on the fact that similar verbs can take both suffixes and that they have parallel word order as seen in (38).

- (38) **Similar Verbs with Suffix –i and –an**
- a. *Siti di-ciprat-i* Bambang banyu panas
Siti PASS-splash-LOC Bambang water hot
'Siti was splashed with hot water by Bambang'
- b. *Siti ke-ciprat-an* Bambang banyu panas
Siti ACCD-splash-APPL Bambang water hot
'Siti was splashed with hot water by Bambang'

However, not all verbs in the regular passive with suffix –i can be converted into adversative passive with suffix –an.

- (39) **Verb with –i but incompatible with adversative passive**
- a. *Ani n-dolan-i bayi kuwi*
Ani ACT-play-LOC baby that
'Lit: Ani played in front of that baby for that baby's amusement'
'Ani entertained the baby'
- b. *Bayi kuwi di-dolan-i Ani*
Baby that PASS-play-LOC Ani
'That baby was entertained by Ani'
- c. **Bayi kuwi ke-dolan-an Ani*
Baby that ACCD-play-APPL Ani
'That baby was accidentally entertained by Ani'

It can be seen that the verb *dolan* 'to play' takes the suffix –i but resists the suffix –an. It appears that volitionality and unintended consequences for the affected subject play part in the resistance. The verb *dolan* involves a higher degree of volition since it is normally impossible for an agent to play accidentally. Moreover, the action to play described in (39) is intended to affect a subject.

Further observation proves that certain unergative verbs are compatible with suffix –i but not with suffix –an. If suffix –an is the adversative passive variant of suffix –i, then all verbs with suffix –i should be able to convert into adversative passive with –an. However, this is not the case.

Table 1. Unergative Verbs with Suffix –i and Adversative Passive

Unergative	Suffixation with –i	Adversative Passive
<i>Ati ndolan</i> Ati play 'Ati played'	<i>Ati n-dolan-i anak-e</i> Ati ACT-LOC child-POSS 'Ati played in front of her child to entertain the child.'	* <i>Ati ke-dolan-an Ani</i> Ati ACCD-play-APPL Ani 'Ati suffered from Ani accidentally played in front of her.'
<i>Ati njoged</i> Ati dance 'Ati danced'	<i>Ati n-joged-i anak-e</i> Ati ACT-dance-LOC child-POSS 'Ati danced in front of her child to entertain her.'	* <i>Anak kuwi ke-joged-an Ati</i> Child that ACCD-dance-APPL Ati 'The child suffered because Ati accidentally danced in front of her.'
<i>Ati ndonga</i> Ati act-pray 'Ati prayed'	<i>Ati n-donga-ni Marni</i> Ati ACT-pray-LOC Marni 'Ati prayed for Marni.'	* <i>Marni ke-donga-nan Ati</i> Marni ACCD-pray-APPL Ati 'Marni suffered because Ati accidentally prayed in front of her.'
<i>Adi mlayu</i> Adi run 'Adi ran'	<i>Adi mlayu-ni Marni</i> Adi run-LOC Marni 'Adi ran toward Marni.'	* <i>Marni ke-playu-an Adi</i> Marni ACCD-run-APPL Adi 'Marni was accidentally run on by Adi.'

Hence, the claim that suffix *-an* is an adversative counterpart of the suffix *-i* is problematic. I propose instead that suffix *-an* is an applicative suffix for accidental passive in Javanese. This accords with the idea that adversative passive increases valence (Tsuboi, 2010). As evidence, the suffix is obligatory for intransitive verbs as seen in (40) and (41).

(40) **Intransitive Verb Base: Suffix -an**

Unergative

- a. *Tanduran-e* *Pardi* *k-uyuh-an* *asu kuwi*
 Plant-poss Pardi ACCD-urinate-Appl dog that
 ‘Pardi’s plant was urinated on by the dog’
- b. **Tanduran-e* *Pardi* *k-uyuh* *asu* *kuwi*
 Plant-poss Pardi ACCD-urinate dog that
 ‘Pardi’s plant was urinated on by the dog’

(41) Unaccusative

- c. *Pardi* *ke-ambruk-an* *empring*
 Pardi ACCD-fall-APPL bamboo
 ‘Pardi was fallen over by a bamboo’
- d. **Pardi* *ke-ambruk* *empring*
 Pardi ACCD-fall bamboo
 ‘Pardi was fallen over by a bamboo’

However, the suffix is not applicable for transitive verbs as seen in (42).

(42) **Transitive verb base: no suffix -an**

- a. *Pardi* *ke-pidak* *kanca-ne*
 Pardi ACCD-step-on friend-POSS
 ‘Pardi was accidentally stepped on by his friend’
- b. **Pardi* *ke-pidhak-an* *Ani*
 Pardi ACCD-step on-APPL Ani
 ‘Pardi was accidentally stepped on by Ani’
- c. *Pardi* *ke-tuthuk* *kanca-ne*
 Pardi ACCD-hit friend-POSS
 ‘Pardi was accidentally hit by his friend’
- d. **Pardi* *ke-tuthuk-an* *kanca-ne*
 Pardi ACCD-hit-APPL friend-POSS
 ‘Pardi was accidentally hit by his friend’

This proves that the suffix *-an* adds violence to the verb, as an applicative morpheme should do. In an adversative passive construction, the applicative suffix introduces an affected argument as seen in (43).

(43) **The Introduction of an Affected Argument with suffix -an**

- a. *Parto* *ke-copet-an* *dompot*
 Parto ACCD-steal-APPL wallet
 ‘Parto suffered from a wallet being stolen when he was holding it’
- b. **Parto* *ke-copet* *dompot*
 Parto ACCD-steal wallet
 ‘Parto suffered from a wallet being stolen when he was holding it’

In (43a), the suffix *-an* is obligatory because of the presence of the indirect affected argument, *Parto*. In fact, a construction without *-an* is ungrammatical as seen in (43b).

To sum up, the prefix *ke-* adds an accidental passive semantics to a verb and, therefore, it is best to call Javanese ‘adversative passive’ as Javanese ‘accidental passive’. The accidental reading denotes that an unintended or unexpected result by the agent or the subject of the passive. On the other hand, the suffix *-an* serves as an applicative suffix to add an argument to an intransitive or transitive verb.

CONCLUSION

It can be concluded that the previous frameworks on adversative passive, notably by Kubo (1992) and Pykkänen (2002), cannot offer a satisfying analysis for the Javanese ‘adversative passive’. Firstly, instead of adversative semantics, Javanese ‘adversative passive’ carries an accidental semantics which perceives that the action or the event is unexpected or unintentional. Hence the agents of the passive do not intend to affect the affected argument with his or her action while the affected argument also does not expect to be affected by the event or the action described by the verb. Moreover, the accidental semantics is encoded with the prefix *ke-* which serves as a specific accidental passive prefix. The prefix works for transitive or intransitive verbs, except for unergative verbs which are only compatible with the circumfix *ke-l-an*.

Second, the possessor raising/low applicative framework proposed by Pykkänen (2002) is also problematic for Javanese accidental passive because the passive shows the following traits: (1) the theme arguments are not obligatory and (2) the subject of the passive (the affected argument) does not have to possess the theme argument. This poses a problem for Pykkänen’s (2002) framework since it requires a direct possessive relation between the affected and the theme arguments.

I argue that Javanese accidental passive is best analyzed as a combination of prefix *ke-* and suffix *-an*. The prefix *ke-* serves to passivize the construction and assign accidental semantics. On the contrary, the suffix *-an* serves as an applicative suffix to add an affected argument to an unaccusative verb or a transitive verb. The combination of prefix *ke-* and suffix *-an* is not compatible with unergative verbs which are only compatible with the circumfix *ke-l-an*. An overview of Javanese accidental passive can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2. An Overview of Javanese Accidental Passive

Types of Verbs	Affix	Passivization	Accidental Semantics	Applicativization
Unaccusative	Circumfix <i>ke-l-an</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes
Unergative	Circumfix <i>ke-l-an</i>	No	Yes	No
Transitive	Prefix <i>ke-</i>	Yes	Yes	No
Transitive	Circumfix <i>ke-l-an</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes

Lastly, I am aware that the examples used in this research are limited to only several verbs and I understand that more examples are needed in future studies to further confirm the conclusion I came to in this paper. I see my work as a preliminary research toward a unified account of the Javanese accidental passive.

NOTES

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¹ List of Abbreviations: ACT: Active, ACC: Accusative, ACCD: Accidental, ADV: Adversative, AOR: Aorist, APPL: Applicative, BEN: Benefactive, DAT: Dative, ERG: Ergative, ILL: Illative, OBL: Oblique, PASS: Passive, PL: Plural, POSS: Possesive, TR: Transitive.

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