

## The development of the passive in Balinese

Balinese has clauses with the bound morpheme *-a*, as in (1a). This construction is known by names such as ‘Ø-construction’ (Artawa 1994) and ‘object voice’ (Arka 2003). It is a transitive clause with its agent expressed by the third person enclitic *-a*. The (apparently) same construction can be accompanied by an agentive PP, as in (1b). Based on the adjunct/oblique status of the agentive PP, Arka regards the construction as passive and posits two homophonous *-a* morphemes: enclitic pronoun *-a* and passive suffix *-a*. By contrast, Artawa maintains that *-a* is never a passive marker regardless of the presence of an agentive PP. Recently, Artawa (2013) suggested the possibility that *-a* has become a true passive marker. This paper compares this change in Balinese with a similar change that took place in Malay, and offers a hypothesis about how the enclitic *-a* became a passive marker and why such a change is possible at all.

- (1) a. Nasi-ne jemak-a  
 rice-DEF take-3SG/PASS  
 ‘S/he took the rice.’
- b. Nasi-ne ajeng-a teken anak-e ento  
 rice-DEF eat-3SG/PASS by person-DEF that  
 ‘That person ate the rice.’ (Artawa 1994: 10)

*Di-* passive agents in Classical Malay were indicated by a post-adjacent DP including the third person enclitic *-nya* (2a) or an agentive PP (2c, e), or else implicitly (2f). In addition, passive agents could also be encoded by *-nya* and an agentive PP simultaneously (2b, d). This last pattern is no longer available in Modern Malay.

- (2) Setelah sudah surat itu <sup>(a)</sup> *di-perbuat-nya*, ..., maka lalu <sup>(b)</sup> *di-baca-nya oleh* baginda surat itu. Setelah sudah <sup>(c)</sup> *di-baca oleh* baginda surat itu, lalu <sup>(d)</sup> *di-meterai-nya* dan <sup>(e)</sup> *di-tutup oleh* baginda surat itu, lalu <sup>(f)</sup> *di-berikan* surat itu kepada ...  
 ‘After <sup>(a)</sup> **he** [= the regent] made the letter, ..., and then the letter <sup>(b)</sup> was read **by (him)** the king. After the letter <sup>(c)</sup> was read by the king, the letter <sup>(d)</sup> was sealed (by **him**) and <sup>(e)</sup> closed **by** the king, and then the letter <sup>(f)</sup> was given to ...’  
 (Hikayat Maharaja Marakarma 139b, Malay Concordance Project)

The ‘*-nya oleh* DP’ pattern is comparable to Balinese ‘*-a teken* DP’ pattern. Unlike *-a* in Balinese, *-nya* in Malay is clearly not a passive marker but a third person enclitic, because the passive voice is consistently marked by the prefix *di-*. This corroborates Artawa’s analysis of *-a* as a third person enclitic even in the presence of an agentive PP. In Malay, *-nya* was replaced by the null unspecified pronoun *pro*. In Balinese, *-a* was not only replaced by *pro*, but it was also reanalyzed as a passive marker. The latter change took place arguably because the object voice marker is phonologically null, and syntactically the voice marker and agent DP positions are next to each other: [VoiceP Ø-V-V [VP *-a* ...]] → [VoiceP V-V-*a* [VP *pro* ...]].

Malay ‘*-nya oleh* DP’ and Balinese ‘*-a teken* DP’ patterns show that passives can have two agent expressions in a single clause: a pronoun (argument/core) and an agentive PP (adjunct/oblique). As Artawa claims, the agentive PP specifies the agent. The referent of a pronoun can be restricted/fixed by linguistic and extra-linguistic context (e.g. *he who controls the past*). Aside from passive agents, such a “plastic” use of pronouns is also found in anaphoric expressions in Malay such as *diri pro/-nya sendiri* ‘oneself/himself’ (Nomoto 2014). “Plastic” pronouns function similarly to restrictive  $\phi$ -features of Legate (2010, 2012, 2014).