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Title: The passive voice in dialectal and standard Javanese

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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 of the Javanese dialect of Kudus. The corpus was constructed in the course of fieldwork in Kudus, sampling three genres: spontaneous conversation, elicited spoken narratives, and newspaper articles. This corpus was then exhaustively annotated for several syntactic/semantic features, including transitivity, voice and verb argument animacy/humanness and semantic role. Using this annotated corpus, an extensive investigation was undertaken into the *di-* affix in the Kudus dialect which encodes the passive function as compared to the Standard Javanese.

The results indicate the existence 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. On this point, this finding fits the pattern that Siewierska (1984) has argued for, in which the agentless passive is the most common variant of the passive.

This paper also demonstrates the semantic features of the two main noun phrases in the passive i.e. the subject (promoted patient) and the oblique (demoted agent), looking at their animacy and humanness. On this point, the results do not fit what Croft's (2003: 174) argument that animate noun phrases are used more frequently in the subject position of the passive. The passives of Kudus dialect are in fact likely to have inanimate subjects. This part of analysis also shows that all the passives in this study have only animate demoted agent. However, human demoted agents appear more frequently than animal agents.

Finally, a somewhat unusual point regarding to the passive of Kudus dialect is that the *unmarked passive*, 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. The results also show that there is a tendency that the unmarked passive is most likely to be used as an agentless passive. The results suggest that the less colloquial the genre, the less likely the unmarked passive is to occur.

Data

Table 1. The distribution of the Kudus dialect passive types in each corpus

Type of passive	FS		SS		WR	
	N of tokens	% (out of 533)	N of tokens	% (out of 149)	N of tokens	% (out of 77)
PASS1 (Agentive)	88	16.5	4	2.7	7	7.2
PASS2 (Abbreviated)	113	21.2	16	10.7	13	13.4
PASS3 (Agentless)	332	62.3	129	86.6	77	79.4
Total	533	100.0	149	100.0	97	100.0

Example (1a) is a passive clause from the spontaneous speech corpus. The patient *aku* ‘1S’ is a subject and the agent *dokter* ‘doctor’ is an oblique. (1b) is the active clause corresponding to the passive in (1a). In (2b), 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* 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.

(1) a. SS:02:F:A:C: 235 (Spontaneous speech)

Aku ndung di-pesen dokter

1S then PASS-order doctor

‘Then, I was asked by the doctor (to do something).

b. Active (manipulated)

ndung dokter mesen aku

then doctor ACT.order 1S

‘Then, the doctor asked me (to do something).’

Table 2. The distribution of subject animacy across different JDK passive types

Passive type	Subject animacy			
	Animate		Inanimate	
	N of tokens	% of tokens	N of tokens	% of tokens
PASS1 (Agentive)	52	52.5	47	47.5
PASS2 (Abbreviated)	78	54.5	65	45.5
PASS3 (Agentless)	290	54.0	247	46.0
All passives	420	53.9	359	46.1
Baseline	3,392	78.3	940	21.7

Table 3 The distribution of demoted agent humanness across different JDK passive types.

Passive type	Demoted agent humanness			
	Human		Non-human	
	N of tokens	% of tokens	N of tokens	% of tokens
PASS1 (Agentive)	40	40.8	58	59.2
PASS2 (Abbreviated)	63	44.4	79	55.6
PASS3 (Agentless)	471	87.4	68	12.6
All passives	574	73.7	205	26.3

(2) a. FS:08:M:A:C: 007 (example of PASS1)

Asu-ne kan terus di-cokot karo bulus-e

Dog-DEM EMPH then PASS-bite by turtle-DEM

‘The dog was then bitten by the turtle.’

Table 4. The distribution of the *di-* passive and the unmarked passive across the three passive types

The presence of the <i>di-</i> marker in the <i>di-</i> passive	PASS1 (Agentive)		PASS2 (Abbreviated)		PASS3 (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> (unmarked passive)	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

(3) 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.’

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