

Indefiniteness Constraints of (Monotransitive) Ov-Agents in Balinese

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Abstract

The study focuses on monotransitive objective-focus (OV) agents in Balinese. The evidence shown in this study supports the claim that monotransitive OV agents are subject to indefiniteness conditions. These conditions are motivated by the fact that monotransitive OV agents appear with verbs which are zero-marked. AV agents, on the other hand, appear with verbs which are inherently marked. They are not sensitive to the condition. Nor are ditransitive OV agents whose verbs get marked either via applicativization or causativization process. Looked at in this way, ditransitive OV agents behave like AV agents in general. OV agents contains syntactically independent NPs which may be reduced to a bare N or expanded into a more complex NP, confirming that they are not analyzable as an incorporated or cliticized material.

Key words: (in)definiteness condition, OV /AVagent, monotransitive/ditransitive, applicativization/ cusativization process

1. Introduction

Balinese possesses a symmetrical voice system in which a transitive construction can be expressed in two ways: either as an actor-focus (AV) clause, as in (1a), or as an objective-focus (OV) clause, as in (1b) (Arka 1998, 2003; Wechsler and Arka 1998).

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- (1) a. *Cang nyemak baju*
 1 AV.take shirt
 'I took a shirt'
- b. *Baju jemak cang*
 shirt OV.take 1

The agent of the AV clause in (1a) occurs pre-verbally and the verb marked with a homorganic nasal prefix (i.e. it has the same place articulation as the first consonant of the verb base that it replaces). The agent of the OV clause in (1b), on the other hand, appears post-verbally and the verb is unmarked. The two have the same conceptual meaning. I refer to an agent that appears in an AV clause as AV-agent whereas the one that appears in an OV clause as OV-agent.

The clauses in (1) are monotransitive. Monotransitive and ditransitive clauses in Balinese have different characterizations. A ditransitive clause is commonly derived from a morphosyntactic process such as applicativization in which an argument of a prepositional predicate which used to occupy an adjunct position in a monotransitive clause can be mapped into a core argument causing the resultant clause to have three arguments.

- (2) a. *Cai meli baju sig I Ketut*
 2M AV.buyshirt at ART Ketut
 'You bought a shirt from I Ketut'
- b. *Cai melin-in I Ketut baju*
 2M AV.buy-APPL ART Ketut shirt
 'You bought a shirt from I Ketut'
- c. *I Ketut belin-in cai baju*
 ART Ketut OV.buy-APPL 2M shirt

Here, the OV-verb *belinin* 'buy from' that appears in the applicativized construction in (2c) is marked with an applicative

marker (*-in*), unlike the OV-verb of a monotransitive clause in (1b) above.

A ditransitive clause can be derived from a causativization process whereby a monotransitive clause has one additional argument, an agent, as shown in (3b).

- (3) a. *Anak ento negen padi*
 person that AV.carry.on.shoulder rice
 'The man carried rice on his shoulder'
- b. *Anak ento negen-in ia padi*
 person that AV.carry.on.shoulder-CAUS 3 rice
 'The man helped him to carry rice on his shoulder'
- c. *Ia tegegin anak ento padi*
 3 OV.carry.on.shoulder-CAUS person that rice

The OV verb of the cusativized predicate *tegegin* 'help to carry something on one's shoulder' is marked (with causative marker *-in*). I show that ditransitive OV-agents are not subject to indefiniteness conditions.

The paper is structured as follows. The indefiniteness constraints of monotransitive OV agents are dealt with in Section 1.2. Testing for Indefiniteness is talked about in Section 1.3. Section 1.4 argues that a bare N agent of an OV clause is not a cliticized/incorporated item, and Section 1.5 is the conclusion.

In definiteness Constraints of (monotransitive) OV-Agents

That (monotransitive) OV-agents are sensitive to indefiniteness comes from the fact that it may be realized with a bare N, as illustrated in (4).

- (4) a. *Ni Sari gugut semut*
 ART Sari OV.bit ant
 'An ant bit Ni Sari'

- b. *I Ketut tobrok sepeda*
 ART Ketut OV.hit bicycle
 'A bicycle hit I Ketut'
- c. *Baju ento beli anak*
 shirt that OV.buy person
 'A person (someone) bought the shirt'

Each of the “bare” nouns in (4) indicates that indefiniteness and the number value commonly associated with it is an indefinite singular as shown in the translation. The indefinite singular can also be marked overtly with an article category which Lyons (1999) calls quasi-indefinite article. This article, according to Lyons, is observed to cross-linguistically derive from a numeral ‘one’ as indicated in (5a) and also derive from a classifier in Balinese, as shown in (5b-c).

- (5) a. *Ia tomploksepeda abesik*
 3 OV.hit bicycle one/a
 'A/one bicycle hit him/her'
- b. *Anak ento kaper jaran aukud*
 man that OV.kick horse one/a
 'A/one horse kicked the man.'
- c. *Ia lempag anak adiri*
 3 OV.hit person one/a
 'A/one person hit him/her'

Here, the base form *besik* ‘one’ is a numeral while the form *ukud* ‘tail’ and *diri* ‘body’ are classifiers. The classifier *ukud* is commonly used for non-human entities and *diri* for human entities. Indefiniteness is marked by the morpheme *-a*, (which is attached to each base form). The attachment of the bound morpheme to each base form results in an ambiguous interpretation. Thus, *aukud*, which literally means ‘a tail’ encodes a numeral meaning ‘a/one’, and *abesik* also means ‘a/

one'.² Since the number meaning 'one' encodes indefiniteness, this suggests that numerals in general are treated as being indefinite. One would expect that a noun modified by a numeral such as *dadua* 'two', *tetelu* 'three', etc. would be compatible with OV-agents. This expectation is borne out, as shown in the following examples.

- (6) a. *I Ketut gugut lelipi tetelu*
 ART Ketut OV.bite snake three
 'Three snakes bit I Ketut'
- b. *Anak ento kajet sampi dadua*
 person that OV.kick cow two
 'Two cows kicked the man'
- c. *Ia jimpit anak dadua*
 3 OV.pinch person two
 'Two persons pinched him/her'

It has to be noted that the indefinite articles such as *a-ukud* (which contain a classifier *ukud* 'tail'), as seen in (6b), can be said to be the privilege of numeral quantifiers meaning 'one' only because those other than 'one' do not have to appear with a classifier. Thus, while one can say *sampi dadua* 'two cows' instead of *sampi duang ukud* one cannot say **sampi besik* 'one cow' instead of *sampi aukud*.

While a numeral that denotes indefiniteness follows the noun it modifies as seen in (7), a numeral can precede the noun it modifies. The reversed position (between the noun and the numeral) triggers partitive reading which cross-linguistically signal definiteness (Lyons 1999, Enç 1991, Milwark 1977, among others). The NP in this position must be definite. This NP cannot appear with OV-agent as seen in (a) sentences below,

2 Interestingly, the attachment of morpheme *a-* to the numeral *besik* 'one' can cause *abesik* to be interpreted as a classifier as well, which is used to refer to things in general (see Kersten 1984 for the claim along this line).

and its contrast with AV- agents is shown in (b) sentences.

- (7) a. **I Ketut gugut lelipi-(n)-e tetelu*
 ART Ketut OV.bite snake-LK-DEF three
 ‘Three of the snakes bit I Ketut’
- b. *Tetelu lelipi-ne ngugut I Ketut*
 Three snake-DEF AV.bite ART Ketut
 ‘Three of the snakes bit I Ketut’
- (8) a. **Anak ento kajet sampi-(n)-e dadua*
 person that OV.kick cow-(LK)-DEF two
 ‘Two of the cows kicked the man’
- b. *Dadua sampi-(n)-e ngajet anak ento*
 two cow-(LK)-DEF OV.kick person that
 ‘Two of the cows kicked the man’

Turning to “bare” agents, as mentioned above, all the “bare” OV-agent nouns in (6a-c) have an indefinite singular reading. However, in a rich discourse context a bare agent noun can also be linked to an indefinite plural reading. Thus, the noun *buyung* ‘fly’ in (9a), for example, is ambiguous in that it can have either singular or plural meaning. This is not surprising because an entity that is plausibly plural in number is possibly expressible in a bare noun in Balinese. However, under certain circumstances singular/plural interpretation/distinction is attributable to the semantics of the associated verb. Compare (9) and (10):

- (9) a. *Jaja ento gugut buyung*
 cake that OV.bite fly
 ‘A fly/flies bit the cake’
- b. *Jaja ento gugut buyung aukud*
 cake that OV.bite fly one
 ‘A/one fly bit the cake’

- (10) a. *Jaja ento garang buyung*
 cake that OV.creep.along fly
 'A bunch of flies crept along the cake'
- b. **Jaja ento garang buyung aukud*
 cake that OV.flock.around fly one
 '*A fly crept along the cake in large numbers'

It is worth emphasizing that the verb *garang* which means 'creep along in large numbers' suggests that it signals plurality. The verb consequently requires a plural agent. However, the agent *buyung* in (10b) appears unmarked with number but when it is modified by a singular modifier *aukud*, the resulting sentence renders ungrammatical. The verb *gugut* 'bite', unlike *garang*, does not inherently mark plurality. Consequently, when the noun *buyung* is modified by the quantifier *aukud*, it does not affect the grammaticality of the resultant sentence but the modification only causes it to have no plural reading any longer.

Besides numeral quantifiers, Balinese also possesses non-numeral quantifiers which are divided into indefinite quantifiers such as *liu* 'many', (*a*)*bedik* 'few'; and definite quantifiers such as *sabilang* 'every', *onyang* 'all', *makejang* 'all', *soang-soang* 'each'. Let me deal with indefinite quantifiers first.

As suggested above, the occurrence of these indefinite quantifiers is possible in OV clauses. However, their syntactic distribution in OV clauses is restricted in that the associated quantifier must follow the noun it modifies and the noun must occur obligatorily. In its AV clause counterpart the quantifier either follows or precedes the noun it modifies. However, if the associated noun (head) is already understood it can occur optionally. Consider the contrast in the following examples:

- (11) a. *Ia jagur (*anak) liu*
 3 OV.hit person many

- ‘Many people hit him/her’
- b. (Anak) liu nyagur ia
 person many AV.hit 3
- ‘Many (people) hit him/her’
- (12) a. Ia tulungin (*anak) abedik
 3 OV.help person few
- ‘Few people helped him/her’
- b. (Anak) abedik nulungin ia
 few person AV.help 3
- ‘Few (people) helped him/her’

Like numerals, the order of the indefinite quantifier and the noun head can be reversed, giving rise to a partitive reading and eventually leading to a definite reading as shown in the contrast between OV and AV agents below.

- (13) a. *Ia jagur anak-e liu
 3 OV.hit person-DEF many
 ‘Many of the people hit him/her’
- b. Liu anak-e nyagur ia
 many person-DEF AV.hit 3
 ‘Many of the people hit him/her’
- (14) a. *Ia tulungin anak-e abedik
 3 OV.help-APPL person-DEF few
 ‘Few of the people helped him/her’
- b. Abedik anake nulungin ia
 few person-DEF AV.help-APPL 3
 ‘Few of the people helped him/her’

Definite quantifiers such as *sabilang* ‘every’, *makejang* ‘all’, *onyang* ‘all’, and *soang-soang* ‘each’, as the name suggests, are definite. We thus also expect that OV-agent NPs that contain these quantifiers are bad. However, as expected, the AV-agent NPs containing these quantifies are fine, as shown in the

following contrast.

- (15) a. **I Ketut gugut sabilang lelipi*
 ART Ketut OV.bite every snake
 'Every snake bit I Ketut'
- b. *Sabilang lelipi ngugut I Ketut*
 every snake AV.bite ART Ketut
- (16) a. **Anak ento kajet sabilang sampi*
 person that OV.kick every cow
 'Every cow kicked the man'
- b. *Sabilang sampi ngajet anak ento*
 every cow AV.kick person that

Definite quantifier *sabilang* 'every' behaves differently from that meaning 'all' (*onyang, makejang*) in that the quantifier *sabilang* must be followed by the noun that it modifies and the noun head must be obligatory. However, like NP containing indefinite quantifiers, the noun that appears with quantifier meaning 'all' can occur optionally in AV clauses and if the associated noun is already understood, it can be left out. Observe the following examples:

- (17) a. **Kedis ento tembakanak soang-soang*
 bird that OV.shoot person each
 'Each person shot the bird'
- b. (*Anak*) *soang-soang nembak kedis ento*
 person each AV.shoot bird that
 'Each person shot the bird'
- (18) a. **Ia demenin anak makejang*
 3 OV.like-APPL person all
 'All (people) liked him/her'
- b. (*Anak*) *makejang nemenin ia*
 person all AV.like.APPL 3
 'All (people) liked him/her'

OV-agents may contain an NP which is realized with (personal) pronouns and proper nouns. First, let us have a look at personal pronouns whose examples are given in (19).

- (19) a. *Buku ento jemak cang/cai/nyai*
book that OV.take 1/2M/2F
'I/you took the book'
- b. *Tulang caine lakar ilag wake, tur matan caine*
bone 2FPOSS FUT OV.chew 1 and eye-LK 2POSS
lakar jambal wake
FUT OV.eat 1
'I will chew your bone, and eat your eyes' (STK: 57)

Notice that in (19a) the basic personal pronouns *cang* '1', *cai* '2M', and *nyai* '2F' are acceptable and personal pronouns derived from the word meaning 'body' such as *wake* '1' are also possible as illustrated in (19b).

Now turning to proper nouns, proper nouns can be marked either with the article *I* for indicating male person or *Ni* for female persons, as (20) illustrates.³

- (20) *Surat ento baca I Karta/ Ni Sari*
letter that OV.read ART Karta ART Sari
'I Karta/ Ni Sari read the letter'

The article *I* can also be used for animals. In its usage, however, it is not made distinct between male and female animals.

- (21) a. *Ida madue asu asiki kawastanin I Blanguyung*
3 MV.have dog one PASS-call ART Blanguyung
'(S)he has one dog called I Blanguyung' (IK: 15).

³ The article *I* used for both male and female persons are also attested.

- b. *Ento makarana rajan burone I Sangmong*
 that MV.reson king-LINK animal-DEF ART Sangmong
mesuang sewamara
 AV.announce competition
 ‘That is why the king of the animals I Sangmong
 announced a competition’
 (IK: 17)
- c. *Nasi ento amah I Blanguyung*
 rice that OV.eat ART Blanguyung
 ‘I Blanguyung ate the rice’

The presence/absence of the article *I* in a proper noun is associated with a person value. This is clearly shown in nouns involving kinship terms. The nouns of this type that take the article *I* denote third persons as shown in (22a) while those that do not can be used to refer to either first or second person. This is illustrated in (22b).

- (22) a. *Baju beli I meme*
 shirt OV.buy ART mother’
 ‘Mother bought a shirt’
- b. *Baju beli meme*
 rice OV.buy mother
 (i) ‘I (mother) bought a shirt’
 (ii) ‘You (mother) bought a shirt’

One might wonder as to the status of proper nouns and personal pronouns. Commonly, these two NPs are classed as definite NPs (see the test with existential sentences below). However, we should note that these two NPs behave differently in Balinese where personal pronouns can naturally appear with demonstrative pronouns, as shown in (23).

- (23) a. **I Made lakar tekain cai ene*
ART Made FUT OV.come.APPL 2M this
'This you will visit I Made'
- b. *Cai ene lakar nekain I Made*
2M this FUT AV.come-APPL ART Made
'This you will visit I Made'

The same is true of a proper noun. It can be treated as a common noun which can combine with a demonstrative pronoun, as shown in the following contrast between OV and AV-agents.

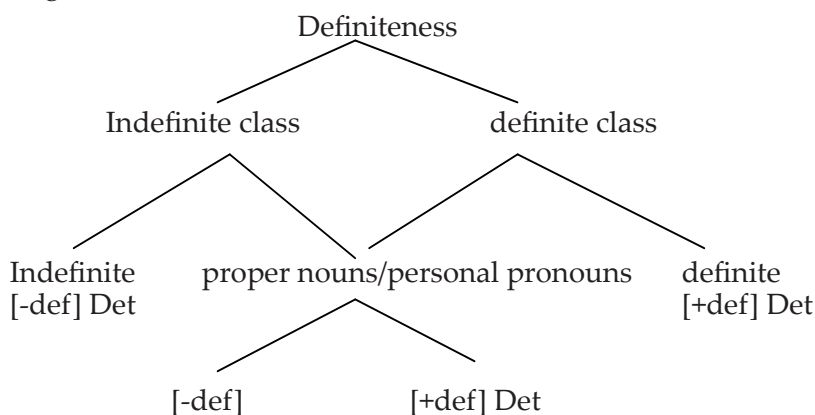
- (24) a. **Ia sing demenin I Made ento/ene*
3 NEG OV.happy-APPL ART Made that/this
'That/this I Made did not like him/her'
- b. *I Made ento/ene sing nemenin ia*
ART Made that/this NEG AV.happy-APPL 3
'That/this I Made did not like him/her'

Consider also the following contrast, where the proper noun can appear with a possessor:

- (25) a. **Ia jimpit I Ketut tiange*
3 OV.pinch ART Ketut 1POSS
'My I Ketut pinched him/her'
- b. *I Ketut tiange nyimpit ia*
ART Ketut 1POSS AV.pinch 3
'My I Ketut pinched him/her'

Crucially, the possibility for personal pronouns and proper nouns to combine with definiteness marker indicates that the class of indefinite NPs in Balinese must be broadened to include personal pronouns and proper nouns based purely on the basis of their syntactic distribution. That their characterization is amenable to this claim is captured by the following schema

(Fig. 1).

**Figure 1 Definiteness schema**

The schema says that proper nouns and proper names are on the borderline between two classes of definiteness. On the left are indefinite-class NPs while on the right are definite-class NPs. Since proper nouns and personal pronouns can appear with or without definite determiner, (monotransitive) OV-agents force them to align to the left. In other words, they are grouped together as an indefinite class.

So far, we have looked at the indefiniteness condition on agent object of OV clauses with two arguments. The same condition applies to OV clauses with three arguments. As shown above, verbs with three arguments in Balinese can be derived from a morphosyntactic process either via applicativization or cusativization. In the former case, an argument of a prepositional predicate which used to occupy an adjunct position in a monotransitive clause can be mapped into a core argument causing the resultant clause to have three core arguments. The verb *meli* 'buy' in (26) is a monotransitive verb containing an adjunct marked with a prepositional phrase *sig memenne* 'from his mother'. Note also that there is a distinct contrast between (26a) and (26b) in that an AV-agent allows a

definite NP whereas its corresponding OV-agent does not.

- (26) a. *Anak ento meli baju ento sig meme(n)ne*
Person that AV.buy shirt that from mother-LK-3POSS
'The man bought the dress from his mother'
b. **Baju ento beli anak ento sig meme(n)ne*
shirt that OV.buy person that from mother-LK-3POSS

However, in contrast with (26), the adjunct NP *memene* 'his mother' is now applied as a core argument in (27) and the verb is simultaneously marked with the applicative morphology – *in* forming the applicativized verb *melinin* 'buy from'. The obvious consequence of the applicativization process is that the agent of its OV-clause counterpart can suddenly shift to being definite, confirming that there is no contrast between the two clauses (27a-b) with respect to the (in)definiteness status of the OV-agents, as shown by the grammaticality of (27b).

- (27) a. *Anak ento melinin meme(n)-ne baju ento*
man that AV.buy-APPL mother(LK)-3POSS shirt that
'The man bought the shirt from his/her mother'
b. *Meme(n)-ne belinin anak ento*
mother-(LK)-3POSS OV.buy-APPL person that
baju ento
shirt that

The same is true of the causativiation process. Consider the following examples:

- (28) a. *Meme ento nyangkil anak cerik ento*
Mother that3 AV.carry.on.hip person small that
'That mother carried the child on her hip'
b. **Anak cerik ento sangkil meme ento*
person small that OV.carry.on.hp mother that

Example (28a) shows that monotransitive OV-agent is incompatible with a definite NP. However, in its ditransitive counterpart in which its verb is marked with the causative marker (*-in*), the OV-agent turns out to be compatible with a definite NP, as given in (29b).

- (29) a. *Meme ento nyangkil-in ia anak cerik ento*
 Mother that AV.carry.on.hip-CAUS 3 person small that
 ‘That mother helped her carry the child on her hip’
 b. *Ia sangkil-in meme ento anak cerik ento*
 3 OV.carry.on.hip-CAUS mother that person small that

Now we can finally conclude that the indefiniteness constraint of OV-agents only applies to the OV-agents of monotransitive clauses, those of ditransitive clauses are not subject to such a constraint since it is blocked by the applicative/causative marker. In other words, the OV-agents of ditransitive clauses are like AV-agents in that they both appear with morphologically-marked verbs which make them insensitive to the indefiniteness condition. (In)definiteness characterization of an OV agent NP and its relationship to the morphology of the verb which the agent NP appears with can be described as in the following Table.

Table 1 (In)definiteness conditions on OV/AV agent NPs

Agent NP	Verbal morphology	definiteness
OV monotransitive	unmarked	-
OV ditransitive	marked	+/-
AV monotransitive	marked	+/-
AV ditransitive	marked	+/-

Testing for (in)definiteness

After discussing the notion of (in)definiteness in agents of monotransitive OV-clauses, one might wonder as to how it can be characterized/tested. This notion can be shown by a test with constructions containing expletive *there* which are often referred to as existentials (Lyons 1999, Beaver et al. 2004). The idea is that existentials serve to introduce a new piece of information in a discourse in which an addressee/a hearer does not have any idea of the thing being talked about. Thus, the entities/nouns being described must be indefinite, meaning that quantifiers that encode indefiniteness are automatically compatible with existentials while those encoding definiteness are not. Now another question arises whether Balinese has existential constructions. This is the issue which I turn to below.

Beaver et al. (2004) point out that existential constructions deviate from canonical declarative sentences in that the former often have reversal ordering from the latter. They exemplify this phenomenon by facts in Russian which they claim to have the same syntactic behavior in many languages. Sentence (30a) is a declarative sentence containing a locative phrase. Sentence (30c) too contains a locative phrase. What distinguishes (30a) from (30c) is that the latter is an existential construction which is also marked with the occurrence of the copula *jest* while the former is a canonical declarative clause which does not contain a copula. (30a) and (30b) have the same pattern. Importantly, they are non-existential constructions as opposed to (30c).

Russian (Beaver et al. 2004:2)

- (30) a. *Kniga na stole*
Book on table
'The book is on the table'
- b. *Alfred kompositor*
Alfred composer
'Alfred is a composer'

- c. *Na stole jest kniga*
 on table COP book
 'There is a book on the table'

Turning to Balinese, like Russian, Balinese does not have a clear marking for existential constructions. However, word order phenomenon to distinguish existentials from non-existentials also holds in Balinese. Sentences (31a-b) both contain the word *ada* which also exhibits existence in both sentences. However, in an unmarked context (i.e. without any pragmatic interference),⁴ (31a) has an existential construction reading while (31b) does not, which is shown by the fact that (31a) cannot take a definite article, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (31c), while the latter can. (31b) has the same reading as (31d), both of which are canonical declarative clauses.

Balinese:

- (31) a. *Ada anak muani ane nongos ditu*
 Exist person male REL AV.live there
 'There was a man living there'
- b. *Anak muani ento ada ditu*
 person male that exist there
 'The man was there'
- c. **Ada anak muani ento ane nongos ditu*
- d. *Anak muani ento ditu*
 person male that there
 'The man was there'

Combining quantifiers and numerals with existential constructions allows us to identify the notions of (in)definiteness

4 *Ada* followed by an NP an interrogative sentence has a non-existential construction reading, as shown below.

- (i) *Ada Nyoman ditu?*
 Exist Nyoman there
 'Is Nyoman there?'

in Balinese. Thus, we can predict the indefiniteness status of the quantifiers/numerals that contain in (32). The NP containing a quantifier in (32a) and the one containing a definite article in (32b) are all incompatible with existential sentences, thus they are obviously definite. Quantifiers in (32c) and numerals in (32d) are, on the other hand, compatible with existential constructions, they are therefore indefinite. The NP with partitive reading is also definite, thus (32e) is ungrammatical. However, we have to note that personal pronouns and proper nouns are strictly judged as definite under this (existential construction) test, as shown in (32f-g). This should not present any problem because OV agents, as argued above, treat them as indefinite when they are not combined with a demonstrative pronoun.

- (32) a. **Ada sabilang/makejang/ soang-soang anak ditu*
 Exist every/ all/ each person that
 *‘There is everybody there’
 *‘There are all the people there’
 *‘There is each person there’
- b. **Ada anak ene/ ento di peken ento ibi*
 exist person this/ that in market that yesterday
 *‘There was this/that man in the market yesterday’
- c. *Ada jaran liu/bedik/ ditu*
 exist horse many/few there
 ‘There were many/few horses there’
- d. *Ada anak abesik/dadua di kamar ento*
 exist person one/ half/ two in room that
 ‘There was a man in the room’
 ‘There were two people in the room’
- e. **Ada liu anak-e ditu*
 exist many person-DEF there
 *‘There were many of the people there’

- f. *Ada *ia/*ia ento ditu*
 exist 3 there
 *‘There is him/her there’
- g. *Ada *I Nyoman/ *I Nyoman ento ditu*
 exist ART Nyoman/ART Nyoman that there
 *‘There is I Nyoman/that I Nyoman there’

It is worth emphasizing that when the ordering of the predicate *ada* ‘exist’ and the subject is reversed, the predicate has its copular interpretation, resulting in the fact that the associated NP is not sensitive to indefiniteness, as exemplified below.

- (33) a. *Ia ada ditu*
 3 exist there
 ‘(S)he was there’
- b. *Sabilang anak ada ditu*
 every person exist there
 ‘Every person was there’
- c. *Liu anake ada ditu*
 many person-DEF exist there
 ‘Many of the people were there’

To conclude, the establishment of indefiniteness conditions shows that OV-agents in Balinese are NPs which can appear either in full NPs or bare Ns.

With the (in)definiteness conditions being clear, what concerns us now is the idea whether a bare NP agent that appears in postverbal OV clauses is a clitic/incorporated element. This issue is taken up in the following section.

Is an indefinite (bare) agent N a clitic?

The syntactic element occurring in a postverbal OV clause is functionally an object NP (since Balinese has SVO basic word order). Our attention now is particularly paid to the idea as to

whether an OV-agent N is a clitic/an incorporated item. Clyne (1995) argues that this object NP agent (which can be realized with a bare N) is analyzed as an incorporated/cliticized item due to its indefiniteness or its generic interpretation. Consider the following examples taken from Clyne (1995: 298): (The original glossing is retained (the unmarked verb is not glossed as OV)).

- (34) a. *Batis-e* *cegut=legu* *ibi*
 leg-DEF bite=mosquito yesterday'
 'My leg was bitten by a mosquito yesterday'
- b. **Batis-e* *cegut* *ibi* *legu*
 leg-DEF bite yesterday mosquito
 'My leg was bitten by a mosquito yesterday'
- c. **Cegut* *batise* *ibi* *legu*

In sentence (34a), the actor of the clause is designated by the bare noun *legu* 'mosquito'. This noun is taken as an incorporated/cliticized item (marked with the sign =). According to Clyne, this incorporation analysis is brought about for one main reason. The syntactic sequence of the verb and the actor cannot be intervened or separated as shown by the ungrammaticality of (34b-c). Importantly, Clyne's claim about the OV-agents is this. 'If they are non-definite nouns, they cannot occur in a separate syntactic constituent (either an NP or PP), but must cliticize to the verb, as though incorporated into the verb' (Clyne 1995: 298).

Our rejection of this claim is in fact clearly proven by the notion of indefiniteness itself. I have shown that nouns in Balinese can also take a numeral such as *dadua* 'two', *tetelu* 'three', etc. but they retain their status as being indefinite (see also the (in)definiteness test via existential constructions above). Thus, the noun *legu* in sentence (34a) rewritten here as (35) can be modified by a quantifier such as *dadua/tetelu* 'two/three'

without changing its indefiniteness status as noted above.

- (35) *Batis-e cegut legu dadua/tetelu ibi*
 leg-DEF OV.bite mosquito two/three yesterday
 ‘Two/three mosquitoes bit the leg (my leg) yesterday’

Comparing sentence (34a) with that in (35) tells us that an indefinite entity can be expressed either as a bare noun or an NP (a noun plus its modifier(s)). Specifically it tells us that there is an expansion/elaboration of a lexical item. The formation of a clitic or cliticization does not often correlate with this phenomenon (a syntactic elaboration of a lexical item). Thus, while it is true that a noun that can get incorporated is commonly “bare”; it does not necessarily mean that all “bare” nouns (that appear in surface syntax) are analyzed as being incorporated/cliticized (Arka 2003: 87ff).⁵ Under this view, the noun *legu*, cannot be analyzed as being a clitic/incorporated material.

Arka (2003), in his rejection of this incorporation analysis, further argues that a bare noun being elaborated must be analyzed as forming an independent syntactic constituent (an NP) not as a unit being incorporated into or cliticized to the verb forming a verb complex. Thus more examples showing the elaboration of the noun *legu* as found in (34a) can be shown in (36).

- (36) a. *Batis-e cegut legu gede ibi*
 leg-DEF OV.bite mosquito big yesterday
 ‘My leg was bitten by a big mosquito yesterday’

5 Adjacency is not always a factor for specifying that a “bare” lexical item gets cliticized/incorporated in Balinese (cf. Arka 1998, 2003). Another case in point is the “bare” reflexive *awak* ‘self’. At first glance, the reflexive *awak* which appears adjacent to a high intransitive verb looks like a clitic. However, *awak* in high transitivity verbs can be extended into a complex reflexive through the modification by a possessive word or morpheme, which makes it fail to serve as a clitic.

- b. *Batis-e cegut [legu dadua ane gede] ibi*
leg-DEF OV.bite mosquito two REL big yesterday
'My leg was bitten by two big mosquitoes yesterday'

Note that in (36a) the noun *legu* can be modified by an adjective. In (36b) the noun *legu* can even form a more complex NP by taking a relative clause.

Arka (2003: 85ff) goes on to argue that an NP that undergoes incorporation commonly shows that the noun head cannot be coordinated. OV-agents, on the other hand, do not have such a constraint. The illustrative examples are in (37). (see Arka 2003 for more tests against the incorporation analysis).

- (37) a. *Batis-ne cegut [legu ajak lelipi] ibi*
leg-3POSS OV.bite mosquito and snake yesterday
'His/her leg was bitten by a mosquito and a snake yesterday'
- b. *Batis-ne cegut [legu abesik ajak lelipi gede dadua] ibi*
leg-3POSS OV.bite mosquito one and snake big
two yesterday
'His/her leg was bitten by a mosquito and two big snakes yesterday'

Again, our rejection of incorporation analysis with respect to OV clauses can be further supported by the fact that OV-agents in general are not invariably realized with a bare indefinite NP. OV-agents in ditransitive constructions as noted above; can be either realized with an indefinite or definite NP, as (38) illustrates.

- (38) *Anak ento belinin anak/ sabilang anak*
person that OV.buy-APPL person every person

baju ento
 shirt that
 'Somebody/everybody bought that shirt from the man'

Importantly, what (38) tells us is that while an incorporated noun can cross-linguistically have the ability of stranding its modifiers; it cannot commonly strand the definite article/quantifier that it combines with, indicating again that OV-agents are realized with syntactically independent NPs.

Conclusion

This study demonstrates that an agent NP that appears in a monotransitive OV clause is subject to indefiniteness conditions. These conditions are motivated due to the fact that the verb that appears in monotransitive OV clauses is not morphologically marked. In contrast with ditransitive OV-agents which are always marked either via an applicativization or causativization process are not sensitive to the condition. Indefiniteness conditions allow an OV-agent NP to be reduced to a bare N or to be extended into a more complex NP. However, I show that an OV agent which is just an N-head is not analyzable as a clitic/an incorporated item.

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Notes:

Glosses used in this paper: AV (Agent-focus), APPL (applicative), CAUS (causative), COP (copula), DEF (definite), LK (linker), OV (objective-focus), POSS (possessive), REL (relative pronoun), 2M (second person male), 3 (third

person pronoun).

Text materials

IK = I Klesih

STK = Sang Mong teken I Kidang

Dalu, I Buyut. 2009. I Kelesih. Denpasar: CV Kayumas Agung

Supatra, I NK. 2006. Sang Mong teken I Kidang. Denpasar: CV Kayumas Agung

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