The Uniqueness of Imperative Construction in the Balinese Language

Made Sri Satyawati*
Linguistics Programme, Faculty of Humanities, Udayana University, Denpasar, Indonesia

I Nyoman Kardana
Linguistics Programme, Faculty of Letters, Warmadewa University, Bali, Indonesia

Ketut Widya Purnawati
Japanese Literature Study Program, Faculty of Humanities, Udayana University, Denpasar, Indonesia

I Ketut Trika Adi Ana
English Language Education Study Program, Faculty of Language and Art, Singaraja, Indonesia

Abstract—This study describes the morphosyntax of imperative sentences in the Balinese language. From the morphological approach, the uniqueness of the imperative in Balinese can be seen when compared to some other languages. This study aims to clarify the typology of this matter. Imperative sentences show similarities and distinctions between certain languages. In many languages, imperative sentences commonly use base verbs or bare verbs with or without a second-person subject. However, imperative sentences in Balinese use verbs with different affixes depending on the category. This study discusses the morphological form of the imperative verb, the structure of the imperative, and examples of sentences that can be used in the imperative. We believe that this morphosyntax approach can best explain the uniqueness of the imperative found in Balinese. This study is unlike any previous studies done on the same topic, and it aims to give a comprehensive and conclusive view of the imperative construction in Balinese.

Index Terms—affixes, imperative, morphosyntax

I. INTRODUCTION

Every language has a grammatical construction used to tell someone what to do -a (positive) imperative– and a means for telling what not to do -a negative imperative or prohibitive (Dixon, 2010). The notion of imperative sentences defined by Dixon is based on Indo-European languages (Langacker, 1972; Napoli, 1993; Quirk et al., 1985; Soames & Permutter, 1979). Kroeger (2005) defines that the main meaning of imperative sentences is that the hearer (or addressee) is being told to do something. Langacker (1972) describes that imperative sentences can only be formed with few of the many different declarative characteristics. Although languages differ somewhat in details, imperatives tend to be restricted sentences with an (underlying) second-person subject and active verbs that describe action over which a person has some voluntary control. This is supported by Quirk (1985), who states that imperatives refer to a situation in the immediate or more remote future and are therefore incompatible with time adverbials that refer to a period in the past or that have habitual reference: *come yesterday*, *usually drive your car*. Napoli (1993) describes that imperative construction refers to sentences that consist only of the verb string, so if every sentence must have a subject, we should call the verb string the subject. Many studies in Linguistics investigate imperative construction (Aloni, 2007; Beukema & Coopmans, 1989; Clark, 1993; Downes, 1977; Fortuin & Boogaart, 2009; Giegerich & Kurtz, 1995; Hay & Rosamond, 2011; Millward, 1971; Natalja, 1997; Prideaux, 1968). The linguists have various terms for imperative construction, such as command (imperative sentence) (Kroeger, 2005a); imperative sentence (Langacker, 1972; Napoli, 1993; Quirk et al., 1985; Soames & Permutter, 1979), and to make it easier in analysis and description, this study uses the term imperative construction.

With imperative constructions, English, as one of the Indo-European languages, generally uses base verbs (Quirk et al., 1985) and can also contain agreements. Imperative constructions mostly do not have grammatical subjects, and Langacker (1972) states that imperative constructions that contain subjects are very limited. It is supported by Kroeger (2005a), who states that imperative sentences frequently lack a subject NP, and instead, there is an overt subject NP that will always be a second-person pronoun. It is also stated that there are two types of imperative constructions, namely positive and negative imperative constructions (Quirk et al., 1985). Negative imperative constructions in English are marked by *don't* or *do not* constituents before the verb or the grammatical subject (if a subject is present). As a language that uses tense, the imperative construction in English is not related to tense and never uses modal auxiliaries.

---

* Corresponding Author.

They are also restricted in tense (Langacker, 1972). Moreover, English has an imperative passive construction, but its use is rare (Quirk et al., 1985). For example:

(1) *Be guided by what I say*!
(2) *Be reassured by me*!

Imperative passive often uses the verb *get* (*get-passive*) as follows.

(3) *Get washed*!
(4) *Get transferred*!

The languages existing in Indonesia belong to the Malayo-Polynesian language group, which is mostly of the agglutinative type. The imperative construction model in these languages is similar to the Indo-European languages. For example, the imperative construction in Indonesian can be formed with base verbs, but also by verbs with the prefix {*ber-*} and verbs with the prefix {*me-*} (Sneddon, 1996, pp. 324-325). The types of verbs that can be used are intransitive and transitive verbs. Following are examples of Indonesian imperative construction:

(5) *Datang ke   sini!*
     come   PREP here
     'Come here!'
(6) *Ber- angkat sekarang!*
     PREF-lift   now
     'Leave now!'
(7) *Meng-inap   -lah   di   sini!*
     PREF-stay one night-PTCP PREP here
     'Please stay one night here!'

In the above construction, it is known that the intransitive imperative verb *datang* 'to come' at (5) is the base verb. The verb *berangkat* 'depart' at (6) is the imperative verb with the prefix *ber-* with the base verb *angkat* 'to lift,' and the imperative verb *menginap* 'to stay a night' in (7) is a verb with a prefix *me-* with a pre-categorical base. Furthermore, the construction of imperative transitive is commonly built by base verbs and sometimes by verbs with the prefix *me-*. Examples of imperative transitive construction are as follows:

(8) *Tutup pintu-nya!*
     close door- DEF
     'Close the door!'
(9) *Lihat foto   ini!*
     look picture this
     'Look at this picture!'
(10) *Mem-baca sekarang!*
     PREF-read now
     'Read now!'
(11) *Membuat kopi dulu!*
     ACT-make coffee first
     'Make coffee first!'

Negative imperative in Indonesian uses the words *jangan* and *dilarang* before imperative verbs for all imperative constructions (Sneddon, 1996). Some examples are as follows:

(12) *Jangan buka pintu!*
     don't   open door
     '*Don't open the door*!'
(13) *Jangan me- nangis*
     don't   ACT- cry
     '*Don't cry*!'
(14) *Jangan di-   buka segel-nya!*
     don't   PASS- open seal-DEF
     '*Don't open the seal*!'
(15) *Di- larang   masuk ruang-an!*
     PASS- prohibited enter   room-NMLZ
     'Do not enter the room!'

Adelar (2005) has stated that the Balinese language belongs to the (West) Malayo-Polynesian language group. Balinese is said to be in the same group as Malayic, Sasak, and Sumbawa languages, and they all belong to the Malayo-Sumbawan subgroup. As Malayo-Polynesian language, Balinese belongs to the agglutinative language group and generally has the same features as the agglutinative languages. However, in the imperative construction of Balinese, verbs that appear not only in the form of base verbs can also be in the form of affixed verbs. This often becomes a long debate in scientific meetings because the Balinese imperative construction differs from the general concepts, which state that base verbs construct the imperative sentence. Studying the Balinese imperative sentence in more detail is necessary to clarify this issue.

Studies on the syntax of Balinese have been done by Barber (1977), Artawa (1994, 1997, 2001, 2013), Arka (1998, 2005), and Kroeger (2007). These studies also reviewed the imperative construction of Balinese, in particular, the forms of verbs that construct the imperative sentence and the definiteness of imperative construction. Artawa (2013) states that imperative constructions are built by base and nasal verbs. The study of these verb forms is incomplete because it is probable that imperative construction is not only built on base verbs and nasal verbs. All the studies mentioned above are somewhat incomplete in explaining the positive and negative imperative constructions. This study aims to differ from and complement the previous studies by examining several issues that need to be explained more thoroughly and in detail. First, not all forms or types of imperative constructions in Balinese have been disclosed. It is suspected that the negative imperative constructions in Balinese are built differently. Secondly, imperative constructions are mainly built in many languages using base verbs (Kroeger, 2005a) and a few with affixed verbs (Langacker, 1972). Still, it is assumed that the number of imperative constructions with affixed verbs is unlimited in Balinese. There are uniquenesses of Balinese imperative that have not been discussed yet up to now, and they become the discovery of this study, such as:

a) Balinese has a passive imperative, but it is only for negative passive imperative and not found in the positive passive imperative.
b) An adjective may be used to make a negative imperative, and if it is forced to make a positive imperative, the adjectives must be verbalized with the suffix -ang or-in.
c) A prepositional phrase may also make either a positive or negative imperative.

This study highlights the Balinese language imperative regarding the issues by giving a comprehensive picture of verbs' imperative construction, form, and morphology. Solving some developing issues regarding sentence construction in Balinese is important, and later studies can then delve deeper into the subject. This study describes the classification of imperative constructions, how imperative constructions are built in Balinese, and the uniqueness of imperative found in the language. Thus, this study can also contribute to the studies into imperative constructions in Malayo-Polynesian languages in general.

II. METHOD

This study is a descriptive-analytic study that reviews empirical data according to natural data. The data examined in this study were both in oral and written form. The oral data was collected from several speakers living in the city of Denpasar by data eliciting, and the written data was collected from some texts written in the Balinese language. The analysis results are presented first by describing the verb construction along with the affixes that Balinese has and then proceeding with a discussion of the forms of verbs in Balinese imperative constructions. The next section will discuss passive imperative construction and related topics.

III. FINDING AND DISCUSSION

A. General Description of the Balinese Verb Construction

(a). Basic Verb and Derived Verb

Based on their form, verbs are grouped into (1) base and affixed (derived) verbs. Base verbs do not undergo morphological processes or verbs without affixes that can appear alone in syntactic contexts, whereas derived verbs are verbs that result from certain morphological processes. As we know, verbs can undergo several types of morphological processes. Katamba (1993, p. 55) and Mc. Manis et al. (1998, pp. 129-135) group morphological processes into affixation, reduplication, internal morpheme change, supplementation, clipping, compounding, blending, and acronyms.

The imperative construction in Balinese is very closely related to the verbs derived from the affixation process. Thus, this study does not discuss verbs derived from other morphological processes. When viewed closely, the basic form of affixed verbs can be divided into a free (categorical) base verb called *root* (Dixon, 2010) and a (pre-categorical) base verb. A categorical base verb is a verb that already has lexical categories and meanings, whereas pre-categorical base verbs have a base meaning and could be categorized after being affixed (Alwi et al., 1993, pp. 104-105).

The data shows that in every vocabulary, both categorical base verbs and pre-categorical base verbs have the basic meaning described in that vocabulary. Affix does not affect the basic meaning in the vocabulary. Affixes attached to the functional base form make the pre-categorical base verbs become categorical base verbs and function as grammatical markers producing grammatical meaning that syntactically marks diathesis. Thus, the basic meaning in a certain vocabulary originates from the vocabulary's lexical meaning and not from the affixes attached to it, as seen in the verb *matakon* "to ask." When attaching the prefix {*ma-*}, the original meaning/base verb does not change. Still, the pre-categorical base verb will have a category (verb) and contain the grammatical meaning 'do something. In other words, the prefix {*ma-*} functions as a grammatical marker that turns pre-categorical base verbs into intransitive verbs. It is the same case with the prefix {*N-*} that turns pre-categorical base verbs with *ACTOR* into pivots (pivot terminology is taken from Dixon (2005). For clarity, examples of some free categorical base verbs and pre-categorical tied base verbs can be found in the following Tables 1 and 2:

TABLE 1
FREE (CATEGORICAL) BASE VERBS

Form	Meaning
Alih	look for
Duduk	pick up
Jang	put
Jemuh	dry
Tunas	ask for
Jemak	take
Ateh	deliver
Getep	cut

In Balinese, categorical base verbs can be used to build sentences without going through affixation. In addition to already having a category as a verb, the verbs *jemuh* 'to dry in the sun' and *jang* 'to put' are transitive verbs that already have a lexical meaning. Two arguments are required for a transitive verb like those mentioned above to become the core of the sentence; one before and one after the verb. It means that the argument to be added before the verb has the *ACTOR* role, and the one to be added after the verb has the role of *UNDERGOER*. By doing this, the verb can directly become the predicate of a sentence, as shown in examples (16) and (17).

(16) *Pantinga-ne suba jemuh tiang*
     laundry-DEF already dry in the sun 1T
     'I have dried the laundry.'

(17) *Susuk-e   jang tiang duur meja-ne*
     Money-back -DEF put 1T   on   table-DEF
     'I put the change money on the table.'

Pre-categorical base verbs are illustrated in Table 2, such as *uyag, punduh*, *idu*, *takon*, *tegak*, *inyah*. Each verb can undergo the affixation process to become either (1) an intransitive affixed verb, such as *ngidu, mapunduh, nginyah,* and *negak*; or (2) a resultative passive verb such as *nginyah*, *mauyag*, and *mapunduh*.

TABLE 2
PRE-CATEGORICAL BASE VERBS

Form	Meaning
uyag	'to scatter'
punduh	'to collect'
Idu	'to warm the body'
takon	'to ask'
tegak	'to sit'
inyah	'to warm the body in the sun.'

(18) *a. *Jijih -ne uyag di   natah-ne*
       rice- DEF scatter PREP home yard-DEF
    *b. *Anak- e   ento punduh saang*
      people-DEF   that collect firewood
    *c. *Ia idu   di   paon.*
      She warm the body PREP kitchen
    *d. *Tiang sing juari takon unduk- e ento*
       I   NEG shy ask problem-DEF that

The construction of sentences (as shown in the examples in 18) is an ungrammatical construction containing pre-categorical base verbs without going through the affixation process: *uyag, unduh, idu, and takon*. Even though these verbs have basic meanings, they cannot be used alone to construct a syntactic sentence. This means these forms can be used in syntactic construction only if the pre-categorical forms have undergone an affixation process. For example, if the prefix {*ma-*} is added to the pre-categorical base verb *uyag*, it will produce an intransitive verb *mauyag* 'to scatter,' if the affixes {*N- ... -ang*} are added to the pre-categorical *unduh*, it will produce a transitive *munduhang* 'to collect' if the affixes {*N- ... - ang*}is added to the pre-categorical *takon*, it will produce a transitive *nakonang* 'to ask,' and if the prefix {*N-*} is added to the pre-categorical *idu*, it will produce an intransitive *ngidu* 'to warm the body in front of the fireplace.' The suffix {*-ang*} is a verb-forming affix that states a cause. Affixed verbs produced from the pre-categorical bases can be used in building sentences, as shown in the following examples.

(19) *Jijih-ne   ma-   uyag di natah   -ne*
     grain-3POSS INTR-scatter PREP yard home-3POSS
     'Grain scattered in his yard.'

(20) *Anak-e   ento ma-unduh-ang   saang*
     person-DEF that   TR-collect-KAUS firewood
     "That person collected firewood.'

(21) *Ia ng-idu di paon*
     3T INTR-warm in kitchen

'‘He warms his body in the kitchen.’

(22) *Tiang sing juari nakonang unduke ento*
1T   not brave TN-ask-KAUS problem-DEF that
‘I am ashamed to ask about that problem.'

Meanwhile, affixed verbs produced from categorical base verb forms are divided into verbs with noun base, such as *mabatu* 'to be stoned'; verbs with a base verb, such as *mategul* 'to be tied'; and verbs with adjective bases, such as *mamutih* 'to become white.' Table 3 provides examples of the Balinese language affixes and how they change.

TABLE 3
VERB-FORMING AFFIXES IN THE BALINESE LANGUAGE

Affix	allomorph	Balinese verb
{*ma-*}	{*ma-*}	*takon* → *matakon* ‘
{*-ang*}	{*-ang*}	*takon* → *takonang*
{*N-*}	{*ng-*} + vowel + velar	*adep* → *ngadep*
	{*m-*} + consonant bilabial	*putih* → *mutih*
	{*ny-*} + consonant palatal	*cokcok* → *nyokcok*
	{*n-*} + consonant alveolar	*tumbeg* → *numbeg*

(b). Construction of Intransitive Verbs in General

The Balinese imperative verbs can also be intransitive, transitive, and passive. In Balinese, intransitive verb construction can be divided into three types: zero intransitive, intransitive with prefix {*ma-*}, and intransitive with prefix {*N-*}. As is known, in intransitive verb construction, only one argument has a functional status as a grammatical subject that plays the role of ACTOR and/or UNDERGOER. The basic word order of intransitive verbs is S-V/P-(Comp)-(Adv). In describing the following data, the term predicate (P) (Jr et al., 1997) is used instead of the term verb (V) because most Austronesian languages also allow nouns and adjectives to occupy the predicate function. Due to that, it is not appropriate to use the term verb in the following part of this study. For example, the sentence *Dia sakit* 'He/she is sick' is a sentence in which a predicate adjective *sakit* ‘sick’ is used.

1. Construction of Zero Intransitive Verb

It is possible to use the Balinese language's zero intransitive verb construction model. As is known, this kind of verb is morphologically non-affixed. In other words, the basic form is a verb with an intransitive meaning and can be the predicate of a sentence without affixes. Pastika (1999, p. 28) has done one study of zero intransitive verbs (Pastika, 1999). The results of his study stated that verbs of this type, based on the role of the subject, can be divided into two groups, namely zero intransitive with ACTOR subject and zero intransitive with UNDERGOER subject. A categorical base verb can take the position of zero intransitive (see Table 2.1). The examples can be seen below.

(23) Ia   luas ke   peken dibi   sanja
3SG. go PREP market yesterday night
‘She went to the market last night.’

(24) I   Kaki   ulung   ke tukad-e
DEF grandfather fall down to river- DEF
'The grandfather fell down to the river.'

Illustrations (23) and (24) describe zero intransitive verbs with one argument. The one argument in both sentence constructions has a different subject role. The role of the subject in construction (23) is ACTOR, and the role of the subject in construction (24) is UNDERGOER. ACTOR, which fills the subject role in (22), is animate so that the subject is 'he'/'she' does something expressed by the zero intransitive verb luas 'to go.' In (23), I Kaki 'the grandfather' acts as the UNDERGOER subject because he has an animate experience expressed by the zero intransitive verb ulung 'fell down.'

2. Construction of Intransitive Verb With Prefix {N-}

Morphologically, intransitive verbs can exist as nasal intransitive in the shape of a noun, adjective, or pre-categorical base. The rules of assimilation that occur with the addition of the prefix {N-} according to their allomorphs are the same as those that occur in the process of reducing transitive verbs. Some examples can be seen in the following sentence constructions.

(25) *Satonden manjus, inget-anga N-   sampat (nyampat) di natahe*
before   taking a bath, remember- PAS INTR-sweep at yard
'Before taking a bath, he always remembers to sweep the home yard.'

(26) *Ia N-   joh (ngejoh) dugas tepuk-in   tiang di wantilan-e*
3T INTR- far   when see-SUF 1T at wantilan-DEF
‘He stayed away when I saw him in the public hall.'

(27) *I   Bapa N-idu (ngidu) semeng-semeng*
DEF father IN-warmed   in the morning
‘Father warmed himself in front of the fire stove in the morning.'

The intransitive verb *nyampat* 'to sweep' in (25) is derived from the noun *sampat* 'broom,' the intransitive verb *ngejoh* 'to get away' in (26) is derived from the adjective *joh* 'far' and the intransitive verb *ngidu* 'to warm body in front of the fire stove' in (27) is derived from the pre-categorical base *idu* 'to warm.'

3. Construction of Intransitive Verb With Prefix {Ma-}

The prefix (*ma-*) is very useful for reducing intransitive verbs. Their structure indicates that intransitive verbs with{*ma-*} can be derived from a verb, noun, adjective, and pre-categorical bases. This can be seen in the following examples.

(28) *Jijih- e   ma-   jemuh di natah-e*
grain-DEF INTR-dried at the home yard-DEF
'The grain was dried in the sun in the home yard.'

(29) *Pondoke ento madinding klangsah*
cottage-DEF that INTR-wall woven palm leaves
'The cottage is walled with woven palm leaves.'

(30) *Tiang mapaekan ajak memenne*
I PREF-close with mother-POSS-3SG
'I am still a relative of his mother.''

(31) *Punyan tomat-e   ane durin umah-e   sube   mentik*
Tree tomato- DEF REL back house-DEF already grow up
'The tomato tree behind the house has grown up.'

The intransitive verb {ma-} *majemuh* 'to sunbathe' in (28) is derived from the verb *jemuh* 'to dry in the sun,' *madinding* in (29) is derived from the noun *dinding* 'wall,' *mapaekan* in (30) is derived from the adjective *paek* 'near, 'and *mentik* in (31) is derived from the pre-categorical *entik* 'to grow up. '

(c). Construction of Transitive Verbs in General

Transitive propositions in the Balinese language can be expressed with two types of structure; First, with unmarked transitive verbs or base verbs, and second, by transitive verbs with nasal {*N-*}.

1. Construction of Zero Transitive Verb

The construction of zero transitive in Balinese involves two core elements: ACTOR and UNDERGOER. The pattern of the order of elements of zero transitive construction is different from marked transitive constructions. The zero transitive is known to have a sequence pattern in which the UNDERGOER element comes before the verb, and the ACTOR element comes directly after the verb. In example (32), the verb *adep* 'to sell' has two core elements, *siape* 'the chicken' and *cai* 'you (male).'

(32) *Di   peken siap-e   adep cai*
PREP pasar ayam-DEF jual   2SG
'In the market, you sold the chicken.'

Example (32) shows the prominence of the *UNDERGOER* so that in the transitive construction, *UNDERGOER* is a pivot. However, suppose the *ACTOR* is a third person or a third object. In that case, the *ACTOR* must be in the indefinite form (Pastika, 1999, p. 15). Considering this, it seems that out of the following, examples (34 *) and (36 *) are not acceptable.

(33) Anake ento juk polisi
man-DEF that TZ-catch police
'The police caught the man.'

(34) * *Anake ento juk polisi-ne*

(35) *Adinne gugut cicing*
Younger brother/sister- POSS TZ-bite dog
'A dog bit his younger brother.'

(36) *Adinne gugut cicing-e*

In constructions (34 *) and (36 *), the *ACTOR* element includes a definite marker {*-e/ -ne*}. Definite marking on the *ACTOR* means that these constructions cannot be considered the correct Balinese language. However, both constructions will be acceptable if a demonstrative article *ento* 'that' or *ene* 'this' is added, as in examples (37) and (38) below.

(37) *Anak-e ento juk polisi-ne <u>ento</u>*
man-DEF that TZ-catch police-DEF that
'The police caught the man.'

(38) *Adin-ne gugut cicing-e ene*
Younger brother/sister-POSS bite dog-DEF this
'This dog bit his younger brother.'

2. Construction With Nasal Transitive N-

In nasal transitive constructions, the nasal prefix {N-} functions as marking the *ACTOR* as a pivot, whereas in zero transitive constructions, the *UNDERGOER* acts as a pivot. Another difference is that the ACTOR comes after the verb in the zero transitive constructions, and the *UNDERGOER* comes before the verb. In contrast, in nasal transitive constructions, the *ACTOR* core element comes before the verb and the *UNDERGOER* comes after the verb. Nasal transitive constructions can be derived from various base classes, such as verbs, adjectives, nouns, and pre-categoricals. The examples are given below.

(39) *I   meme N-jemuh jijih   di natah-e*
PTCP mother TN- dry in the sun grain in-home yard-DEF
'Mother dried the grain in the home yard.'

(40) *Krama desa-ne niki   N-linggah-ang   jalan-e*.
Member village-DEF this TN-wide-KAUS road-DEF
'The village members who widened the road.'

(41) *Ia N-arit padang gajah di tegal-ne*
3T TN-sickle grass elephant in filed-POSS
'He was mowing elephant grass in his field.'

(42) *I   pekak gelar-gelur N-kauk-in cucun-ne*
PTCP grandfather scream TN-prak-APPL grandson/daughter-POSS
'Grandfather screamed for his grandson.'

The above transitive verbs are derived respectively from the verb *jemuh* 'to dry in the sun' in (39), the adjective *linggah* 'wide' in (40), the noun *arit* 'sickle' in (41), and the pre-categorical *kauk* 'to call' in (42). The noun element that comes directly after the derivation verb is an *UNDERGOER* object. The {*N-*} prefix has five allomorphic forms, namely {*m-*}, {*n-*}, {*ny-*}, {*ng-*}, and {*nga-*}. Some of these allomorphic forms can delete the initial consonant phonemes of the base similarly (Sulaga et al., 1996).

B. Imperative Constructions in the Balinese Language

An imperative is a sentence in the same way as declarative, interrogative, and exclamative (Quirk et al., 1985). Kroeger (2005a) states that the defining property of a command is that the hearer (or addressee) is being told to do something. He also argues that imperative verbs always have a second-person actor, which (in most languages) is the subject. For this reason, any overt reference to the subject, whether as an NP or by verbal agreement, is likely to be redundant. Imperative verbs are frequently unmarked regarding a person, even in languages requiring the verb to agree with the subject, and imperative sentences frequently lack a subject NP. Where there is an overt subject NP, it will always be a second-person pronoun.

The grammatical subjects can or cannot be present in the sentences in imperative Balinese sentences. Examples of imperative sentences where the subject is present in the construction are as follows.

(43) *Cai malajah malu, mare dadi maplayanan hp!*
You may study first, then become play game mobile phone
'You study first, and then you may play games on your mobile phone!'

(44) *Kayeh malu mang, sube tengai!*
Tak a shower first mang, already late at noon
'Take a shower mang it is already late at noon'

(45) *Rah entungang luune!*
Rah, throw rubbish-DEF
'Throw the rubbish!'

From the data earlier in this study, it is known that the grammatical subjects can precede and follow the verbs. This is what distinguishes Balinese from English, where the subject (if it is present in the sentence) always precedes the verb. The following examples are imperative without a subject.

(46) *Madaar malu!*
Eat   first
'Have meals first!'

(47) *Baca bukune!*
Read book-DEF
'Read the book!'

(48) *Pragatang gaene mani!*
Finish-ang work-DEF tomorrow
'Finish the work tomorrow!'

(49) *Tulung sep pragatang gaene mani!*
Finish-ang work-DEF tomorrow
'Finish the work tomorrow!

When giving orders to someone, we will give them based on social status, our position, and family relations. In Balinese, grammatical subjects often appear in imperative construction for various purposes, such as to show intimacy, politeness, and social status. In English, the expression to show politeness can be done by adding the word Please,

whereas in Indonesian, by adding the word tolong or silahkan. In Balinese, besides presenting grammatical subjects such as construction examples (44), (45), and (46), polite imperative can also use the word tulung sep 'help a moment' as in construction example (49).

(a). Imperative Construction With Basic Verbs

Most languages build imperative constructions using base verbs. The same goes for Balinese, where the base verbs are most common in the data constructions. The verbs used are the basic intransitive and transitive verbs, so in this study, we use terms of intransitive imperative and transitive imperative. The difference between the two types of imperatives can be seen from the word order. Transitive imperative presents objects, whereas objects are not present in intransitive imperative constructions. The word order model of imperative construction with basic verbs is Predicate-Object (transitive imperative) and predicate-(Adv) (intransitive imperative). See the following examples.

(50)   a. *Pules malu, sube peteng!*
      Sleep first, already night
      'Sleep now, it gets late.'
     b. ***Cai*** *pules malu, sube peteng!*
      Sleep first, already night
      'Sleep now, it gets late.'
     c. *Pules malu,* ***Cai,*** *sube peteng!*
      Sleep first, already night
      'Sleep now, it gets late.'
     *Pules malu, sube peteng ***Cai****!*
      Sleep first, already night
      'Sleep now, it gets late.'

(51) *Bli*   *teka mani nah!*
    Older brother come tomorrow okay
    'Brother, please come here tomorrow!'

(52) *Bangun De, sube tengai!*
    Get up De, already day
    'Get up De. It is already day!'

(53)   a. *Jemak honor̲e̲!*
      Take salary-DEF
      'Take your salary!'
     b. ***Gung*** *Jemak honor̲e̲!*
      Gung take salary-DEF
      'Take your salary!'
     c. *Jemak honor-e̲,* ***Gung****!*
      take salary-DEF, Gung
      'Take your salary!'

(54)   a. *Gek, goreng taku̲ne̲!*
      Gek, fry tofu-DEF
      'Gek, fry the tofu!'
     b. *Goreng Gek, taku̲ne̲!*
      Fry   Gek, tofu-DEF
      'Fry Gek, the tofu!'
     c. *Goreng, taku̲ne̲, Gek!*
      Gek, fry tofu-DEF
      'Gek, fry the tofu!'

(55) *Jemput tiang jam dasa nah bli!*
    pick up me time ten okay brother
    'Brother, pick me up at ten!'

(56)   a. *Ateh meme ke dokter mani nah!*
      Take mother to the doctor tomorrow okay
      'Take mother to the doctor tomorrow!'
     b. *Man, ateh meme ke dokter mani nah!*
      Man take mother to the doctor tomorrow okay
      'Nyoman, Take mother to the doctor tomorrow!'
     c. *Ateh meme ke dokter mani nah, Man!*
      Take mother to doctor tomorrow okay
      'Take mother to the doctor tomorrow!'

(57) *Lablab jagung̲e̲ ane beli meme dibi!*
    Boil corn-DEF that buy mother yesterday

'Boil the corn that mother bought yesterday!'

In Balinese, the construction of intransitive imperative as in examples (50), (51), (52)) and transitive imperative as in examples (53), (54, (55), (56, and (57)) is built by using base verbs. Both such kinds of constructions can present a subject *bli* 'older brother' as in examples (51) and (55) or not present the subject as in examples (50) and (53). The sequence patterns can be seen in Table 4.

TABLE 4
THE POSSIBLE WORD ORDERS IN IMPERATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE BALINESE LANGUAGE

Intransitive Imperative Construction	Transitive Imperative Construction
P + (ADV) + (ADV) INTRIC → (S)+P+(ADV)+(PTCP)+(S) P+(ADV)+ADV+(S) P+ (S)+(ADV)	P+O(DEF) TRIC→ (S)+P+O(DEF) P+O+(ADV)+(PTCP)+S

Sequence patterns of intransitive and transitive imperative constructions show that the subject can be present at the beginning, middle, and end. The subject's presence in the middle position is permitted after the object and/or adverb. The subject appears after the object in a transitive imperative that does not contain an adverb. Still, if the transitive imperative contains an adverb, the subject has to appear after the first adverb (if there is a second adverb). The condition of the subject's appearance after an adverb also applies to intransitive imperative construction. For construction that contains an adverb that shows the same reference as *Pules malu man, sube peteng* 'Go to bed now, it is night,' the subject can not be present at the end of the sentence because both *malu* 'first' and *sube peteng* 'already night' are adverbs. If forced, the construction would become ungrammatical such as **Pules malu, sube peteng man*. If the word *malu* is not present in the construction, the subject can appear at the end like *Pules, sube peteng man*. The sequence pattern described by the table above shows that it is impossible to eliminate the subject in an imperative construction. Subjects can be placed at the beginning, middle, or end, except in examples (50) and (52). Adverbs of time like *sube tengai*, *sube peteng* are constituents that do not allow the subject to be present at the end of a sentence. Transitive verbs are often used in imperative sentences. In Balinese, many transitive verb imperatives can be found. From the example constructions, it can be seen that the transitive imperative with a base verb indicates that the object that follows the base verb must be a definite noun. If the noun acting as the object is a common noun, then a definite marker is required, such as the definite marker *-e* in (54) and the definite marker *-ne* in (55). Whereas, if the noun acting as the object is a proper noun, such as *meme* 'mother' in (57) or a personal pronoun, such as *tiang* 'I' in (56), then definite markers are no longer needed because the nouns indicate definition in a pragmatic context. Suppose there is a relative pronoun in the sentence, such as *ane* 'which' in (58), the definite article in the noun acting as the object is optional.

(b). Imperative Construction With the Suffix–Ang/-In

Suffixes *-ang* and *-in* are very common in Balinese. The two suffixes function: (1) to increase the syntax valence of the transitive base verb, (2) to turn the adjective into a transitive imperative verb, and (3) to turn the intransitive verb into a transitive verb. The following examples are related to the first function: increasing the valence of verbs from transitive to ditransitive.

(58)　*Jang embere dini!*
　　　Put bucket here
　　　'Put the bucket here!'
(59)　*Jangin embere yeh*
　　　Put-SUF bucket water
　　　'Pour the bucket water!'
(60)　*Takonin bapan caine paundukane adin caine!*
　　　Ask-SUF father you-POSS problem younger sister/brother you-DEF
　　　'Ask your father about your younger brother/sister's problem!'
(61)　*Takonang paundukane I Bapa teken I meme!*
　　　Ask-SUF problem DEF father to DEF mother
　　　'Ask your mother about your father's problem!'
(62)　*Enjuhin I dadong pis!*
　　　Give-SUF DEF grandmother money
　　　'Give grandmother money!'
(63)　*Enjuhang sambele De!*
　　　Give-SUF chili souce-DEF De
　　　'Give me the chili sauce De!'
(64)　*Aritang sampine padang Yan!*
　　　Sickle-SUF cow-DEF grass Yan
　　　'Sickle grass for the cow Yan!'
(65)　*Aritin tegale uling alang-alang!*
　　　Sickle-SUF land so that clean-SUF a little

'Sickle the land to make it clean!'.

(66) *Adepang bapa sampi mani nah!*
Sell-SUF father cow tomorrow okay
'Sell father's cow tomorrow!'

(67) *Adepin tiang kopi jero!*
Sell me coffee madam
'Sell me coffee, madam!'

(68) *Beliang I dadong base nah!*
Buy DEF grandmother betel okay
'Buy grandmother betel!'

(69) *Belinin anake tua ento jaje!*
Buy person-DEF old that cake
'Buy the old woman's cake!'

From the examples above, it can be seen that the suffix *–ang's* function is to increase the syntactic valence of verbs for verbs that are formed from the base verb, but it can not increase the syntactic valence of verbs with a pre-categorical base. In such a case, it can only function to turn pre-categorical verbs into imperative verbs. If the syntactic valence of pre-categorical base verbs should be increased, then the suffix *-in* can be used.

Evidence that the suffixes *-ang* and *-in* function to increase the valence of verbs can be seen in examples (59) and (60). In (59), the verb only requires one object, while the verb in (60) requires two objects. This also applies to other verbs with suffixes *-ang/-in*. If we refer to Kroeger (2005b), the suffixes *-ang* and *-in*, as seen in the above examples, can be referred to as applicative affixes, i.e., affixes that increase the syntactic valence of verbs by introducing a new object. Typologically, applicatives promote oblique arguments to be the main object.

Verbs with the suffixes *-ang* and *-in* have the same behavior as the transitive base verbs in imperative sentences, which require an object with a definite marker. A definite marker is no longer needed if the noun acting as the object is a proper noun or a personal pronoun.

Examples for the second function, that is to turn adjectives into transitive imperative verbs, can be seen below.

(70) *Tegehang lampune!*
High-SUF lamp-DE
'Make the position of the lamp higher!'

(71) *Manisang kopine!*
Sweet-SUF coffee-DEF
'Make the coffee sweet!'

(72) *Atepang kursine ane paling duri!*
Narrow-SUF chair-DEF that most back
'Put the chairs in the back close to each other!'

(73) *Johin kuluke ento, anak galak sajan!*
Far-SUF dog-DEF that, it fierce very
'Get away from the dog, it is very fierce!'

(74) *Paekin meme ada orahange kone!*
Close-SUF mother there is tell so
'Get closer to mother, she wants to tell you something!'

The imperative sentences above include verbs with suffixes *-ang* and *-in* the adjective base form. From previous data in this study, it is known that another function of the suffixes *-ang* and *-in* is to turn the adjective into an imperative transitive verb. When it comes to constructions, there is a difference between these two suffixes; In constructions using the verb *–ang*, objects are subjected to actions stated by a verb or an object and turn into a verb based on that (often referred to as causative verbs) (Saeed, 1997, p. 70). This can be seen in example (70): *tegehang lampune* 'to raise the position of the lamp' means that the second person acts so that the position of the object lamp becomes higher. The same applies to example (71): *manisang kopine* 'to make the coffee sweeter' means that the second person does the action so that the coffee (object) becomes sweeter. The third example is (72): *atepang kursine* means the second person makes the chairs close to each other. However, in constructions using the verb *-in*, the object is not subjected to action, but the subject (the second person) performs the action, and the object does not change. The syntactic behavior of the two affixes is not the one of an applicative affix, as in the examples described in earlier chapters.

The third function of the suffixes *-ang* and *-in* is to turn intransitive verbs into transitive verbs. A few examples are provided below.

(75) *Pulesang panake malu Tut!*
Sleep-SUF chil-DEF first tut
'Make the baby sleep first Tut!'

(76) *Tegakang awake ditu!*
Sit-SUF self there
'Sit down over there!'

(77) *Bangunang I Bapa Bli*
    Wake up-SUF DEF father brother
    'Wake up father brother!'

The transitive verb *pulesang* is built from the intransitive *pules* 'to sleep' with the suffix *-ang*, the transitive verb *tegakang* is built from the intransitive verb *tegak* 'to sit down' with the suffix *-ang*, and the transitive verb *bangunang* is built from the basic intransitive verb *bangun* 'to wake up' with the suffix *-ang*. Transitive verbs with *–ang*, such as in the examples above, can be used in imperative sentences in Balinese.

(c). Imperative Construction With the Prefix Ma-

As described earlier in this study, Prefix ma- is also a very common highly affix in Balinese, especially for producing intransitive and passive resultative verbs. Verbs with the prefix *-ma* are also found in Balinese imperative sentences. Below, few examples are provided.

(78) *Madaar malu setonden luas masuk*
    PREF-eat first before go school
    'Eat breakfast first before going to school!'
(79) *Matanding nyanan peteng nyak Dek!*
    PREF-make offering this evening okay de
    'Let us make offering tonight Dek!'
(80) *Malajah ning, sube paek ujiane!*
    PREF-study child, already close exam-DEF
    'Study child, you are going to have an exam!'
(81) *Mu majemuh ke pasih Ngah, apang ilang gatele!*
    Please PREF-dry in the sun to beach ngah, so lost itchy
    'Plese sunbathe on the beach to heal your itch!'

All the examples above use the imperative verb *ma-* with the transitive base *daar* 'to eat' in (78), *tanding* 'to arrange' in (79), *ajah* 'to study' in (80), and *jemuh* 'to dry in the sun' in (82). Prefix *ma-* functions in Balinese to turn transitive base verbs into intransitive verbs. Thus, all *ma-* verbs in Balinese are intransitive and can also be used as imperative constructions. Based on the collected data, imperative sentences using the verb *ma-* with a noun base can also be found. The following examples prove this.

(82) *Maturan di sanggah De, rahinan jani!*
    PREF-offering at holly place de, holly day now
    'Offer the offering at the holy place De, today is a holy day!'
(83) *Maubad malu me!*
    PREF-medicine first mam
    'Get treatment first Mom!'
(84) *Makenyem nake yen ada anak nyapatin!*
    PREF- smile if there is people greet
    'Please smile if someone greets you!'
(85) *Masaut Bli, De mendep dogen!*
    PREF-answer brother, do not silent only
    'Answer brother, do not just stay silent!'

The imperative verbs in the examples above are intransitive verbs built from the prefix *ma-* with a noun base *aturan* 'offering' in (82), *ubad* 'medicine' in (83), *kenyem* 'smile' in (84), and *saut* 'answer' in (85).

1. The Prefix Ma- in Resultative Adjective Construction

It is important to note that the prefix *ma-* combined with the suffix *–an* can also produce resultative adjectives (see Saeed, 1997, p. 72). The followings are the examples.

(86) *Pagarne mategehan*
    *G*ate-POSS PREF-high-SUF
    'The gate is getting higher.'
(87) *Temboke maputihan*
    Wall-DEF PREF-white-SUF
    'The wall is getting white now.'

The constructions above have been modified from the constructions below by using the prefix *-ma*.

(88) *Ia negehang pagarne*
    He PREF-high-SUF gate-DEF
    'He has the gate been higher.'
(89) *Ia mutihang tembokne*
    Wall-DEF PREF-white-SUF
    'The wall is getting white now.'

The examples show that the affix combination *ma-/-in* can turn transitive verbs, such as *negehang* 'to make something high' with the adjective base *tegeh* 'high' into *mategehan* 'something becomes higher' in (86) and *mutihang* 'to make something white' with the adjective base *putih* 'white' into an intransitive verb *maputihan* 'something becomes white' in (87). Thus, such verbs are called resultative adjective verbs.

Rule:

N1 + Adjective + N-/-ang + N2 → N2 + ma-/-an + adjective (resultative adjective)

2. The Prefix Ma- in Transitive Resultative Constructions

In addition to producing resultative adjectives, the prefix *ma-* can also produce transitive resultative. In this case, the resultative is created from an action or circumstance stated by the N-nasal transitive verb with a transitive base. The following examples show how:

(90) *Jijihe majemuh*
Rice-DEF PREF-dry in the sun'
'The rice was dried in the sun.'

(91) *Taluhe malalab*
Eggs-DEF PREF-boil
'The eggs were boiled.'

The examples show that the prefix *ma-* can turn transitive verbs, such as *nyemuh* 'to dry in the sun' with the transitive base verb *jemuh* 'to dry in the sun' in (92) into *majemuh* 'dried in the sun' in (90) and *ngelalab* 'to boil' with the transitive base verb *lalab* 'to boil' in (93) into *malalab* 'boiled' in (91).

(92) *Ia nyemuh jijihe*
He PREF-dry in the sun rice-DEF
'He dried the rice in the sun.'

(93) *I meme ngelalab taluh*
DEF mother PREF-boil eggs
'Mother boiled the eggs'

Thus, the rule is:

N1 + transitive verb + N- +N2 → N2 + ma- + transitive verb (transitive resultative)

(d). Imperative Construction With the Prefix N-

Prefix {*N-*} is largely used in Balinese. The prefix *N-* has the variants *m-, ng-, and ny-*. Many Balinese imperative sentences with the prefix {*N-*} can also be found. This is a topic of interest and something to be studied more deeply, considering that verbs with the prefix {N-} are commonly used in declarative sentences. Declarative sentences that use transitive verbs with N- can be paraphrased into passive sentences. Based on the data obtained, imperative sentences with the verb N- can be classified into intransitive and transitive verbs.

1. Intransitive Imperative With N- Verbs

As clarified earlier in this study, in Balinese, intransitive verbs can also be constructed using the prefix *N-* in combination with intransitive and transitive base verbs. A few imperative sentences that use the intransitive *N-* verb can be seen below:

(94) *Negak malu!*
Pref-sit first
'Please sit down first!'

(95) *Nyongkok ditu!*
PREF-squat there
'Please squat there!'

(96) *Ngarit malu!*
PREF-sickle first
'Go to sickle grass first!'

(97) *Ngamah malu mare lanjutang magae!*
PREF-eat first just continue work
'Eat first and then continue your work!'

In the imperative sentences above, intransitive *N-* verbs, namely *negak* 'to sit down' in (94) and *nyongkok* 'to squat' in (95), are used. The two verbs only have one subject element, so they are called intransitive. However, the verb *ngarit* 'to sickle' in (96) and the verb *ngamah* 'to eat' in (97) can syntactically have one or two valences, but semantically the verbs have two valences, namely the subject and object elements. Thus, imperative sentences (96) and (97) can also be in the form of transitive imperatives like (98) and (99).

(98) *Ngarit padang malu!*
PREF-sickle grass first
'Go to sickle grass first!'

(99) *Ngamah nasi malu!*

PREF-eat first just continue work
'Eat first and then continue your work!'

Based on the analysis above, verbs *ngarit* and *ngamah* can occupy two categories: intransitive and transitive. When they are intransitive, the noun object can already be known semantically, whereas when they function as transitive, the object's presence serves only as a confirmation.

2. Transitive Imperative With N- Verbs

In general, verbs with the prefix *N-* are mostly used in declarative sentences. However, imperative sentences using the *N-* verb can also be found. A few imperative sentences that use the transitive *N-* verb can be seen below.

(100) *Ngambar kedis jani!*
　　　 PREF-draw bird now
　　　 'Draw bird now!'

(101) *Maca buku malu!*
　　　 PREF-read book first
　　　 'Read the book first!'

(102) *Gek ngae jukut mu/malu!*
　　　 Gek PREF-make vegetables please
　　　 'Please make vegetables!'

(103) *Meli ember malu!*
　　　 PREF-buy bucket first
　　　 'Please buy two buckets!'

Transitive verbs with the prefix *N-* can also be combined with the suffixes *-ang* and *-in* when the function is to increase the valence of the verb. The following examples show how.

(104) *Meliang meme ember malu!*
　　　 PREF-buy-SUF mother bucket first
　　　 'Please buy bucket for mother!'

(105) *Ngambarin bukune kedis jadi!*
　　　 PREF-draw book-DEF bird now
　　　 'Draw the bird book now!'

Interestingly, the construction with prefix *N-*, combined with the suffix *–ang/-in*, can create declarative and/or imperative sentences depending on the contextual situation. It means that it refers to declarative or imperative based on the context of the expression. The important thing to pay attention to is that an object following the base verb with the suffix *-ang/-in* must be in the definite form marked by the suffix *-e/-ne*. If the object is a personal pronoun, it does not require definite markers as it already is a definite noun. However, objects that follow the N- verb combined with the suffix *-ang/-in* do not require definite markers and personal pronouns are also possible as objects. On an important note, the word *malu* 'first' in the imperative construction with the prefix *N-* is mandatory because if the word *malau* 'first' is eliminated, the construction would be a declarative sentence and not an imperative sentence.

(e). Imperative With a Prepositional Phrase

In Balinese, some imperative sentences do not contain a verb. However, in such constructions, the presence of a prepositional phrase is very important. The following examples prove it.

(106) *Ke peken mani nah mbok!*
　　　 To market tomorrow okay sister
　　　 'Go to the market tomorrow sister!'

(107) *Di jumah nyai nah!*
　　　 At home you (female) okay
　　　 'You stay at home!'

(108) *De ke ma nyanan Bli!*
　　　 Do not to there next time brother
　　　 'Don't go there next time Brother!'

(109) *De di ni dogen cai, kisidang awake!*
　　　 Do not here just you (male), move yourself
　　　 'Don't just stay here, move over there!'

No verbs can be found in the imperative constructions above. The constructions use prepositional phrases as the predicate of the sentences, such as *ke peken* 'to the market' in (106), *di jumah* 'at home in (107), *ke ma* 'to there' in (108), and *di ni* 'in here' in (109). The sentences prove that prepositional phrases may be used to make either positive imperative as in (106) and (107) or negative imperative as in (108) and (109).

(f). Negative Imperative

Like other agglutinative languages, Balinese also has a negative imperative construction. The negative imperative has particular markers. The following examples include these markers:

(110) *De sebet cai*
    Don't sad you
    'You don't be sad!'
(111) *De wanen-wanen teken rerama!*
    Don't brave with parents
    'Don't be brave with parents!'
(112) *De ajum nyai!*
    Don't proud you (female)
    'You don't be proud.'
(113) *Sing dadi takut ajak guru!*
    Not can afraid of teacher
    'You are prohibited to be afraid of the teacher!'
(114) *De pules kali jani!*
    Don't sleep this time
    'Don't go to bed at this time!'
(115) *De luas padidi*
    Don't go alone
    Don't go out alone!
(116) *Sing dadi mulih padidi!*
    Not can go home alone
    Don't go home alone!'
(117) *Sing dadi mulih sakonden pragat gaene!*
    Not can go home before finish work-DEF
    'You are not allowed to go home before you finish the work!'

The data above proves that negative markers *de* 'don't' and *sing dadi* 'not allowed' are used to reach the negative imperative construction in sentences. By delving deeper, an interesting conclusion can be reached. Adjectives such as *sebet* 'sad (110)', *wanen-wanen* 'brave' (111), *ajum* 'arrogant' (112), *takut* 'scare' (113), and intransitive base verbs like *pules* 'sleep' (114), *luas* 'go' (115), *mulih* 'go home' (116), *pragat* 'finish' (116) can be used to create negative imperative sentences, the same way as in English and Indonesian. However, in Balinese, most adjectives cannot be used to create positive imperative sentences. Thus, when the negative imperative marker *de* 'don't and *sing dadi* 'you may not' in the examples (110-113) are not present, the sentences become declarative (informative) instead of positive imperative, as follows.

(118) *Sebet cai!*
    Sad you (male)
    'You are sad'
(119) *Wanen-wanen teken rerama!*
    Brave with parents
    'You are brave with parents'
(120) *Ajum nyai!*
    Proud you (female)
    'You are proud'
(121) *Takut ajak guru cai!*
    Afraid of teacher you (male)
    'You are afraid of the teacher.'

However, when it is forced to make the positive imperative with an adjective, the adjectives have to be verbalized with the suffix -ang/-in, and the object must be in reflexive pronoun. Thus, construction (118-121) becomes the following constructions.

(118a) *Sebetang awake!*
    Sad-SUF you (male)
    'You have to be sad'
(119b) *Wanen-wanenang teken rerama!*
    Brave-SUF with parents
    'You have to be brave with parents'
(120a) *Ajumang awake!*
    Proud -SUFyou (female)
    'You have to be proud'
(121a) *Takutang-SUF awake ajak guru!.*
    Afraid of teacher you (male)
    'You have to be afraid of the teacher.'

(g). Passive Imperative

To this day, passive construction in Balinese is still under discussion. Some published studies declare that passive in Balinese is marked by verbs with the suffixes *ka-* and *-a*. The use of the prefix *ka-* as a passive marker has been proven by a vast amount of data and arguments and is now generally accepted, but there are still differences of opinion regarding the use of the suffix *-a* as a passive marker. On the one hand, some previous studies declare that *–a* can be used as a passive marker when the agent appears in the construction, as in *Kuluke tampela teken I Kaki* "the dog was kicked by grandfather," where the suffix *-a* in *tampela* is used as a passive marker. However, if the agent is not present in the construction, suffix *-a* is not a passive marker but a third-person agent, such as *Kuluke tampela* 'he kicked the dog.' On the other hand, several linguists do not accept the use of the suffix *–a* as a passive marker whether it is used in a sentence with agents or without agents.

The issue with the use of passive markers in Balinese can be resolved based on passive imperative analysis in this study. The marker or suffix *-a* in Balinese is ascertained as a passive marker associated with the imperative construction. This can be proven in imperative passive negative sentences found in Balinese. However, only negative passive imperative constructions can be found in Balinese, but no positive passive imperative constructions. For example, in English, both negative and positive passive imperative constructions can be found, as mentioned previously. The followings are some examples of negative passive imperative sentences.

(122) *De juanga siape!*
Don't take-SUF cock -DEF
'Don't take the cock!'

(123) *De adepa motore!*
Don't sell-SUF motor cycle-DEF
'Don't sell the motorcycle.'

(124) *De orahina I Bapa masalah caine!*
Don't tell-SUF-SUF DEF father problem you-DEF
'Don't tell father about your problem!'

(125) *De tongosina umah bline!*
Don't live-SUF-SUF house brother-DEF
'Don't live in my house!'

(126) *De kisidanga motore!*
Don't move-SUF-SUF motor-DEF
'Don't move the motorcycle!'

(127) *De tegehanga panyengkere*!
Don't high-SUF-SUF gate-DEF
'Don't make the gate high!'

(128) *De pedihina kurenanne*!
Don't angry-SUF-SUF wife-POSS
'Don't get angry with your wife!'

All of the above imperative negative sentences use verbs with the suffix *–a* where it functions as a passive marker. This proves that *–a* in Balinese is a passive suffix with or without the presence of an agent. With the discovery of data such as above, the discussion about the suffix *–a* as a passive marker can be concluded to be finished and the issue solved. It means that suffix *-a* can function as a passive marker proven by the imperatives above and can function as the third personal agent when the agent is not present in the construction, as mentioned in the previous studies. Furthermore, all the phrases where nouns act as the object in the above imperative sentences are marked by the definite marker *-e*. This can be concluded to ascertain that a noun phrase is signified by a definite marker in passive imperative sentences. Another finding that proves the use of the suffix *-a* can be as a passive marker when the agent of the verb is not present in the construction, and it is not always as the third person pronoun agent as stated in some previous studies, is the evidence of the use of the suffix *-a* in the imperative sentences above. The suffix *-a* in imperative sentences, such as the ones above, is highly unlikely to refer to the third person pronoun agent because the subject is the second person, whether it appears in the construction syntactically or not. The other interesting observation that can be made of the examples above is that if the negative markers in the imperative construction are removed, then the constructions become declarative constructions instead of imperative. Thus, it can be concluded that there are no positive passive imperative constructions in Balinese. The other conclusion is that the imperative sentences with a base transitive verb as in (122-123), verbs with suffix *-in* with transitive verb base as in (124-125), verbs with suffix *-ang* with the transitive base as in (126), verbs with suffix *-ang/in* with adjective base as in (127-128) must be in the form of negative passive imperative. They cannot be in the form of positive passive imperative since if they change into positive, the constructions become positive declarative.

IV. CONCLUSION

Balinese language, as an agglutinative language, has many affixes that are commonly used in producing new words. Morphologically, Balinese has many imperative sentence patterns: imperatives with intransitive and transitive base verbs, imperative base verbs with suffixes *-ang/-in*, intransitive verbs with *ma-* and intransitive, and transitive verbs

with *N-* Syntactically, Balinese also has imperative negative sentences constructed using both verbs and adjectives. Passive imperatives are also found in Balinese, although no data can be found on the use of positive passive imperatives, only negative passive imperatives. The passive imperatives found in Balinese can also be used to align the concept of the use of passive of Balinese, which has until now been under discussion. Some Balinese imperative sentences do not need the use of a verb as a predicate. But instead, prepositional phrases can also be used as a predicate. The last finding was that imperative sentences, where base verbs are used, cannot be made into passive negative imperative sentences, at least not without adding a definite marker - the suffix *-a* - to the base verb.

REFERENCES

[1]   Adelaar, A. (2005). Malayo-Sumbawan. *Oceanic Linguistics*, *22*, 357–388.
[2]   Aloni, M. (2007). Free Choice, Modals, and Imperative. *Natural Language Semantics*, *15*, 65–94.
[3]   Alwi, H., & dkk. (1993). *Tata Bahasa Baku Bahasa Indonesia*. Perum Balai Pustaka.
[4]   Arka, W. (1998). *From morphosyntax to pragmatics in Balinese*. University of Sydney.
[5]   Arka, W., & Ross, M. (2005). *The Many Many Faces of Austronesian Voice Systems*. Pacific Linguistics.
[6]   Artawa, K. (1994). *Ergativity and Balinese syntax*. La Trobe University.
[7]   Artawa, K. (2013). The Basic Verb Construction in Balinese. *Nusa*, *54*, 15–27.
[8]   Artawa, K., Artini, P., & Blake, B. (2001). Balinese Grammar and Discourse. *La Trobe Working Paper in Linguistics*, *11*, 11–46.
[9]   Artawa, K., & Blake, B. (1997). Patient primacy in Balinese. *Studies in Language*, *21*(3), 483–508.
[10]   Barber, C. C. (1977). *A grammar of the Balinese language*. Aberdeen University.
[11]   Beukema, F., & Coopmans, P. (1989). A Government-Binding Perspective on The Imperative in English. *Journal of Linguistics*, *25*, 36–417.
[12]   Clark, B. (1993). Relevan and Pseudo and Imperative. *Linguistics and Philosphopy*, *16*, 79–121.
[13]   Dixon, R. M. W. (2005). *A Semantic Approach to English Grammar*. Oxford University Press.
[14]   Dixon, R. M. W. (2010). *Basic Linguistic Theory*. Oxford University Press.
[15]   Downes, W. (1977). The Imperative and Pragmatics. *Journal of Linguistics*, *13*, 77–97.
[16]   Fortuin, E., & Boogaart, R. (2009). Imperative as conditional: Form Constructional to compositional semantics. *Cognitive Linguitics*, *20*(4), 641–673.
[17]   Giegerich, R., & Kurtz, S. (1995). A Comparison of Imperative and Purely Functional Suffix Tree Construction. *Science of Computer Programming*, *25*(2), 187–218.
[18]   Hay, C., & Rosamond, B. (2011). Globalization, European Integration and The discursive Construction of Economics Imperatives. *Journal of European Public Policy*, *19*(2), 147–167.
[19]   Jr, V. V., D, R., & LaPolla, R. J. (1997). *Syntax: Structure, mening and function*. Cambridge University Press.
[20]   Katamba, F. (1993). *Modern Linguistics: Morphology*. Macmilan Press.
[21]   Kroeger, P. (2007). Balinese morphosyntax: A lexical-functional approach (review). *Oceanic Linguistics*, *45*(1), 306–313.
[22]   Kroeger, P. R. (2005a). *Analyzing Grammar: An Introduction*. Cambridge University Press.
[23]   Kroeger, P. R. (2005b). *Analyzing grammar*. Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511801679
[24]   Langacker, R. W. (1972). *Fundamentals of Linguistics Analysis*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Inc.
[25]   McManis, C. et.al. (1998). *Language Files*. Advocate Publishing Group.
[26]   Millward, C. M. (1971). *Imperative Construction in Old English*. Mounton.
[27]   Napoli, D. J. (1993). *Syntax Theory and Problems*. Oxford University Press.
[28]   Natalja, M. S. (1997). Imperative Construction in Cambodian. *Mon Khemer Studies*, *27*, 119–127.
[29]   Pastika, I. W. (1999). *Voice Selection in Balinese Narrative Discourse*. The Australian National University.
[30]   Prideaux, G. D. (1968). Japanese Imperative Constructions. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics*, *13*(2), 110–121.
[31]   Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G., & Svartvik, J. (1985). *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. Longman Group Ltd.
[32]   Saeed, J. I. (1997). *Semantics*. Blackwell Publishers Inc.
[33]   Sneddon, J. N. (1996). *Indonesian Reference Grammar*. South Wind Production.
[34]   Soames, S., & Permutter, D. (1979). *Syntactic Argumentation and the Structure of English*. University of California Press.
[35]   Sulaga, I. N., Teguh, I. W., Partami, N. L., & Granoka, I. W. O. (1996). *Tata bahasa baku bahasa Bali*. Balai Penelitian Bahasa Provinsi Bali.

Made Sri Satyawati is a lecturer at the Indonesian Department, Faculty of Humanities, Udayana University, Bali, Indonesia. She obtained her Master's Degree in Linguistics from Padjadjaran University, Bandung, Indonesia, in 1999 and her Doctorate Degree in Linguistics from Udayana University in 2010. Her research interest is linguistics, and she has conducted some research on syntax, typology, and semantics. Her publications involve the study of the Indonesian language and some local languages in Eastern Indonesia. She has supervised many bachelor papers, theses, and doctorate dissertations. She has also participated as a guest and invited speaker in several national and international seminars.

I Nyoman Kardana is a professor in Linguistics at the Faculty of Letters Warmadewa University, Bali, Indonesia. He received his Master's Degree in Linguistics from Padjadjaran University, Bandung, Indonesia, in 1998. He obtained his Doctorate Degree in Linguistics from Udayana University, Bali, Indonesia, in 2004. He has been doing some research related to the topics of morphosyntax, semantics, and eco-linguistics. He has supervised many papers, theses, and doctorate dissertations. He has also written many articles published in national and international journals. He has participated in many national and international seminars as well.

Ketut Widya Purnawati is an associate professor of linguistics at the Faculty of Humanities, Udayana University in Bali, Indonesia. She completed her bachelor's degree in 2000 from Padjadjaran University. She got her master's degree in 2009 and her doctorate in 2018 from Udayana University. In 2018, she completed his Ph.D. in Linguistics from Udayana University. She joined the Long Term Training Program for Foreign Teachers of the Japanese Language organized by The Japan Foundation, Japanese Language Institute, Urawa, Japan from 2005 to 2006. In 2015 she received a research grant from Hyogo Japan and conducted joint research at Kobe Women's University, Japan. She was the Head of the Japanese Department at Udayana University. Since 2022, she has been the head of the Linguistics Masters Study Program. Her research interests are syntax, semantics, language typology, and linguistic landscape. She has published several articles with her research group in international journals. Some of the articles are *Lexical Time Words in Balinese and Japanese Language, A Typological Approach* (2018), *Temporal Expressions in Balinese, Focused on The Semantic Functions of Temporal Adverbials* (2018), *Temporal Adverbial Clause Markings In Balinese* (2018), *Balinese Adverbial Verbs* (2020), *Alignments of Coreferential Grammatical Function in Bahasa Indonesia* (2020).

I Ketut Trika Adi Ana teaches at Ganesha University of Education and STAH Negeri Mpu Kuturan. He got his bachelor's and master's degree in English language education from the Ganesha University of Education. His research interest is in English language education and linguistics, and he has published some articles in national and international accredited journals. He has presented his research articles at international conferences in English language education and linguistics in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Cambodia, the Philippines, and Hong Kong.