

THE SYNTACTIC BEHAVIOUR OF THE SECOND VERB (V2) IN BALINESE SERIAL VERBS

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Abstract

This paper aims at investigating the types of verbs composing the Balinese serial verbs and analyzing the syntactic behavior of the V2. The theory applied in identifying the Balinese serial verbs is the theory of typology by Van Staden and Ger Reesink (Senft, ed., 2008), while the theory of complement and adjunct by Kroeger (2005) is used in analyzing the syntactic behavior of the V2. This research is classified as a descriptive-qualitative study. The data supporting the analysis was collected from written Balinese texts in the Balinese short stories. This study also used spoken language by native speakers of Balinese drawn through the application of direct observation techniques, and intuitive data obtained from the linguistic intuition of the researchers through introspective techniques. The result of the analysis showed that the Balinese serial verbs were formed by V1 stative – V2 intransitive, V1 intransitive – V2 stative, V1 intransitive – V2 transitive active, V1 active transitive – V2 active-transitive, or stative or intransitive, passive-active-transitive, active transitive-passive, passive-passive. Syntactically the V2 could be either a complement or an adjunct of the V1.

Keywords: *adjunct, complement, serial verbs, syntactic behavior*

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menyelidiki jenis verba pembentuk verba beruntun bahasa Bali dan menganalisis perilaku sintaksis dari V2. Teori yang digunakan untuk mengidentifikasi verba beruntun bahasa Bali adalah teori tipologi oleh Van Staden dan Ger Reesink (Senft, ed., 2008), sedangkan teori komplemen dan Adjunct oleh Kroeger (2005) digunakan untuk menganalisis perilaku sintaksis dari V2. Penelitian ini tergolong penelitian deskriptif-kualitatif. Data yang mendukung analisis dikumpulkan dari teks tertulis dalam cerita pendek bahasa Bali. Penelitian ini juga menggunakan bahasa lisan penutur asli yang diambil dengan menggunakan teknik observasi langsung dan data intuisi linguistik peneliti melalui teknik introspeksi. Hasil analisis menunjukkan bahwa verba beruntun bahasa Bali dibentuk oleh V1 statif – V2 intransitif, V1 intransitif – V2 statif, V1 intransitif – V2 transitif aktif, V1 transitif aktif – V2 transitif aktif, atau statif atau intransitif, pasif-aktif-transitif, aktif transitif-pasif, pasif-pasif. Secara sintaksis V2 dapat berupa komplemen atau adjunct dari V1.

Kata kunci: *adjunk, komplemen, perilaku sintaksis, verba beruntun*

1. INTRODUCTION

Verbs as the core components of clauses or sentences can appear successively in one clause. More than one verb occurring in series in a clause is referred to as serial verbs or Serial Verb Construction (SVC). A serial verb contains more than one verb which successively appears in one clause without any subordinator or coordinator. Stewart (2001) exposed that attention to the serial verb phenomenon was initiated by Christaller in 1875 (see Senft, 2008:2), who noticed that a

sentence can have two or more verbs; they have the same subject and are not connected by a conjunction.

Christaller depicted the Twi grammar used by Asantes and Fantes in western Africa, therefore he suggested that the serial verb phenomenon was sited in West African languages and especially in the Kwa groups (Westerman, 1930 in Stewart, 2001). These researchers were not concerned with the grammatical theory issues such as why a clause or a sentence can have more than one verb. Their main point is the writing of pedagogical grammar that can assist communication between native speakers and strangers. However, similar structures inferred to as serial verb constructions were also discovered in East Asia, Oceania, and many other world languages. They do not signify one type of a structural pattern, particularly in terms of correlations between verbs which may be different.

It has been claimed that serial verb construction (SVC) is a common phenomenon in isolation languages that lacks morphological markers for the syntactic process. However, Indrawati (2012) argued that in Balinese, which is classified as a language that is rich in morphological markers, the occurrence of more than one verb in a clause is a common phenomenon. Here are some examples.

1. Tiyang **baang-a** **ng-idih** buku. (NP V V NP)
 1sing give-pass trans-ask for book
 'I was given a book.'
2. Ia **m-beli** bungkung **baang-a** adi-ne. (NP V NP V NP)
 3sing trans-buy ring give-pass younger sibling-3sing-poss
 'She bought a ring for her younger.'

Balinese is a language which belongs to the Malay-Polynesian group, a sub-group of Austronesian languages (See Blust, 1999; Artawa, 2004). It is considered as a major regional language in Indonesia because it has a writing system and is spoken by approximately three million speakers. Balinese has two variations, namely low-level and high-level of which the difference lies in the lexicon and also in the morphology and syntax (Artawa, 2004: 2).

The study on the Balinese syntax has been done by previous researchers. Artawa (1998) in his thesis entitled "Ergativity and Balinese Syntax" examined the Balinese basic structure, valency-changing mechanisms involving causativisation; the causative *-ang*, *-in*, and *pa-in*; applicativisation including locative, instrumental, benefactive, source, and recipient; resultatives, intransitive verb formations; and other *ma-* constructions. It has been proved that Balinese can causativise stative intransitive verbs and some transitive verbs. It was also shown that Balinese has many pre-categorials or roots in which the word class membership cannot be assigned without adding an affix. He also claimed that Balinese is considered as unergative/unaccusative distinction.

Arka (1998) also explored the Balinese syntax by applying the *Lexical-Functional Grammar* (LFG) theory. It has also been proved that Balinese had inflection projections and determinator. Related to the lexical category, he claimed that Balinese belongs to the head-initial language. There are a number of important points recorded, namely (i) the AV/OV diathesis in Balinese has parallels with the universal mapping of accusative and ergative languages, (ii) Balinese is a symmetrical language because one of two arguments non-subjects can function as grammatical subjects in clauses with OV diathesis, (iii) syntactically complex arguments can be

core arguments, (iv) raising and control of complex arguments are motivated by lexical meaning and considerations of pragmatic advantages such as topicalization, and (v) Balinese active clause structure can be understood through a clear parallel structure.

Sedeng (2007) studied the morphosyntax of Balinese Sembiran dialect. He also discussed complex predicates which also involved serial verbs by applying Role and Reference Grammar. The discussion on complex predicate covers two aspects, namely juncture and nexus. It was found that complex predicate could be in three layers; they are core, nucleus, and periphery. This paper attempts to identify the types of verbs composing the Balinese serial verbs and analyzing the syntactic behavior of the V2.

2. METHOD

This descriptive-qualitative research applied the introspective and analytic methods. Since the researchers are native speakers of Balinese, the researchers also used the language spoken in the community as data for accuracy. Kibrik (1979) asserted that a language can be well described if the researcher can converse in the language well, and also functions as an informant in his own research. The use of introspective and analytic methods is considered most suitable for this study. The data of this research were clauses containing more than one verb without a coordinator or subordinator taken from the Balinese short stories. When the data needed on the analysis was not found in the short stories, we used the spoken data in the daily conversations among the native speakers of Balinese and these data were obtained by applying direct observation techniques. The intuitive data were obtained from the researchers' speech through introspective techniques since the researchers are also the native speakers of Balinese. The intuitive data are presented without number in the analysis.

3. ANALYSIS

Prior to the discussion of the Balinese serial verbs, it is essential to give a short description of the Balinese simple clauses or mono-verbal clauses.

3.1 The Structure of the Balinese Simple Clauses

Simple clauses are clauses in which verbs have an internal structure containing one verbal morpheme or word, and hence constitute one structural unit. The importance of discussing simple clauses is also to show morphosyntactic markers or the full inflections of the verbs in these clauses. The construction of mono-verbal clauses can be classified into two groups, i.e., clauses consisting of monovalent verbs and clauses with two- or three-valence verbs. The first types are called intransitive clauses and the second types are called transitive clauses.

Morphologically, the Balinese intransitive verbs can be differentiated into (i) the unmarked forms, also denoted as the base forms or zero intransitives, and (ii) the marked forms or derivational forms, which are preceded with *ma-* and *N-* (see Granoka, 1994; Sedeng, 2007:99). Observe the following examples.

- 1a. *I* *Wayan* *luas* *ke* *peken.*
 ART PN INTR.go PREP market
 'Wayan went to the market.'

- 1b. *Punyan nyuh-e sampun ma-buah.*
 tree coconut-DEF ASP INTR-fruit
 'The coconut tree has got fruit.'
- 1c. *I Ketut N-tegak di kursi-ne.*
 ART PN INTR-sit PREP chair-DEF
 'Ketut is sitting on the chair.'

The clauses in examples (1a) to (1c) have intransitive verbs. Example (1a) shows that the verb is in the base form, while (1b) shows that the verb is derived from a noun base, *buah* 'fruit', with derivational prefix *ma-*. Data (1c) displays that the intransitive verb *negak* 'sit' is derived from the precategorial verb *tegak* 'sit', in which the initial phoneme is dropped when the prefix *N-* is attached.

The transitive verbs, on the other hand, can be morphologically classified into three classes, namely (i) unmarked forms, i.e., the base form or zero-transitive; (ii) marked forms with *-a* and *ka-*, which are denoted as passive voice, and (iii) marked forms with *N-*, which are also considered as active voice. Transitive verbs in (i) and (ii) are grouped into passive voice by Kersten (1984), while Arka (2003) refers to it as (i) Object Voice (OV) or recently Undergoer Voice (UV), (ii) Passive Voice (PV), and (iii) Agentive Voice (AV). Each of these types is illustrated below.

- 2a. *I Nyoman tangkep polisi.*
 ART PN UV.catch police
 'Nyoman was caught by the police.'
- 2b. *I meme N-lempag meong.*
 ART mother AV-hit cat
 'Mother hit the cat.'
- 2c. *Meong-e lempag-a taken I meme.*
 cat-DEF UV.hit-PV PREP ART mother
 'The cat was hit by mother.'

The verb *tangkep* 'catch' in (2a) is morphologically unmarked or in the base form. The NPs *I Nyoman* is the patient argument that precedes the verb as the subject of the clause. The NP *polisi* 'police' is the agent argument that follows the verb. Both the NP argument preceding the verb and following the verb are core arguments.

The verb *nglempag* 'hit' in example (2b) is morphologically marked with the prefix *N-*. The NP argument, *I meme* 'mother' is the agent argument which precedes the verb as functional subject, and *meong* 'cat' is the patient argument following the verb as the object. All NPs are core arguments. This supports Artawa's (2004) and Arka's (2003) arguments that in the zero construction (i.e., Objective Voice), it is the patient which behaves as a grammatical subject, not the agent. While in the *N-* construction, it is the agent that behaves as a grammatical subject. The verb *lempaga* is morphologically marked with the suffix *-a*, which is considered a passive affix. The NP *meonge* 'cat' is the patient argument preceding the verb, while *I meme* is the agentive argument following the verb, preceded by the preposition *baan*.

Causativisation in Balinese can be morphologically conveyed through affixes *-ang*, *-in*, *pa--ang*, and *pa--in* (Artawa, 2004:58). The base of the causative verb marked by such affixes can be a verb, an adjective, or a bound root. This is illustrated in the following examples.

- 3a. *Ia N-ulung-ang piring-e ento.*
 3SING AV-fall-CAUS plate-DEF DEM.that
 'He made that plate fall.'
- 3b. *I Karta N-usak-ang sepedan tiang-e.*
 ART PN AV-break-CAUS bicycle 1SING-POSS
 'Karta made my bicycle break.'

Applicative verbs can be originated from bound roots, intransitive, and transitive verbs with suffixes *-ang* and *-in*. This can be seen in the following examples.

- 4a. *I Sara N-tegak-in meja-ne.*
 ART PN AV-sit-APL table-DEF
 'Sara sat on the table.'
- 4b. *I Kardi N-jemak-ang tiang buku di rak-e.*
 ART PN AV-take-APL 1SING book PREP shelf-DEF
 'Kardi took the book in that shelf for me.'

3.2 The Characteristics of the Balinese SVCs

Research on the Balinese serial verb constructions by Indrawati (2012) found that the characteristics of the Balinese SVC are as follows:

- (1) Their occurrence in a clause is without being interrupted by any subordinator or coordinator markers.
- (2) Verbs in SVCs cannot always stand alone in a simple clause and have the same morphological markers as morphological markers when the verbs appear alone in clauses.
- (3) The Balinese SVCs are proved to express one single event.
- (4) Phonologically the Balinese SVC has a single intonation like intonation in a single sentence and is not separated by pauses, or there is no pause in between the two verbs in the SVC.
- (5) Morphosyntactically, it can be an independent type in which the verbs in the construction are inflected as when they occur in single clauses, and part of it can be classified into co-dependent types which shares an object element that is the object of the V1 is the subject of V2, therefore their occurrence will be separated by an NP element.

Semantically, the Balinese SVC can be used to express movement, direction, manner, purpose, permission, instrument, commutative, aspect, mode, causative, commitment, and influence.

Morphosyntactic types	V1	V2	Examples
Independent	State	Intransitive: Zero intransitive	<i>demen teka</i> ‘happy to come’ <i>wanen luas</i> ‘go bravely’
		Intransitive {N-}	<i>dueg ngigel</i> ‘smart dancing’ <i>meled ngerestiti</i> ‘pray diligently’
		Intransitive {ma-}	<i>jemet megae</i> ‘work diligently’ <i>demen ngubuh</i> ‘happy to look after sth./s.one.’
		Transitive active	<i>jemet nulungin</i> ‘help diligently’
		Transitive passive	<i>sebet opaka</i> ‘sad being blamed’ <i>demen jemaka</i> ‘happy to be carried’
Independent	Intransitive	State	
	Zero intransitive	State	<i>ulung pingsan</i> ‘fell and collapsed’ <i>pesu sebet</i> ‘exit sadly’
	Transitive {N-}		<i>ngae uug</i> ‘cause damaged’ <i>ngae inguh</i> ‘cause confused’
	Intransitive {ma-}		<i>majejer rapi</i> ‘stand in a row neatly’ <i>maplalian rame</i> ‘play noisily’
	Intransitive zero	Intransitive {N-}	<i>teka ngeling</i> ‘come crying’
	Intransitive {N-}	Intransitive {ma-}	<i>ngungsi mulih</i> ‘flee home’
	Intransitive {ma-}	Intransitive {ma-}	<i>matulak mulih</i> ‘return home’
	Intransitive {ma-}	Intransitive zero	<i>melali pesu</i> ‘leave to relax’
	Intransitive	Active Transitive	
	Intransitive {N-}	Transitive {N-}	<i>nyagjag mlekur</i> ‘hug hurriedly’
	Intransitive {ma-}		<i>majalan nyemak</i> ‘walk to pick’
	Active transitive	Intransitive zero	<i>nagih pesu</i> ‘want to leave’ <i>maan teka</i> ‘have come’
		Intransitive {N-}	<i>mutusang nginep</i> ‘decide spending the night’
		Intransitive {ma-}	<i>ngorahang majalan</i> ‘take a leave’ <i>nagih magending</i> ‘want to sing’
		Statif	<i>ngalahin mati</i> ‘leave (s.o.) because of death’ <i>ngae buduh</i> ‘cause crazy’
		Active transitive	<i>maang ngidih</i> ‘give’
Independent	Passive	Active transitive	<i>orahina ngalih</i> ‘was asked to find’ <i>kanikaang ngantiang</i> ‘was asked to wait’
Codependent + Independent	Active transitive	Passive	<i>ngipiang</i> (s.o.) <i>plaibanga</i> ‘dreamt (s.o.) being eloped’ <i>nyait</i> (sth.) <i>anggon</i> ‘sawed (sth.) to be worn’
	Passive	Passive	<i>kontrakanga anggon</i> ‘was rented for’ <i>katanding kaaturang</i> ‘prepared to be offered’

3.3 Syntactic Behaviors of the V2 in the Balinese Serial Verbs

Syntactically the V2 of the Balinese serial verbs can behave as a complement or as an adjunct depending on the type of verb that precedes it. Kroeger (2005) argued that in distinguishing adjuncts from complements, the syntactic and semantic criteria should be considered, i.e., syntactically an adjunct is an optional element while a complement is an obligatory one. Semantically an adjunct modifies the meaning of its head, whereas a complement completes the meaning of its head. The syntactic behavior of the V2 in the Balinese serial verbs can be illustrated as follows.

3.3.1 V2 as a Complement

3.3.1.1 Independent SVC with V1, Active Transitive

Independent SVC is an SVC of which both verbs in the construction have affixations which are similar to the affixations they have when they occur in a mono-clausal clause, and they are not separated by an object. The Balinese independent SVC with active-transitive verb as V1 requires a V2 as its complement. This can be shown in the following data.

- 5a. *Tiang demen pesan ma-baan ma-cepuk taken timpal.* (703)
 1SING ADJ.happy very AV-get AV-meet PREP.with friend
 'I was happy to have met my friend.'
- 5b. *Anak-e eluh ento N-aku beling duang bulan.* (65)
 person-DEF female DEM.that AV-admit INTR.pregnant two month
 'That girl admitted that she was in two months pregnancy.'

Data 5 (a-b) showed that the V1s of the sentences are active-transitive verbs which require obligatory arguments as complements syntactically to complete the meanings of the clauses.

3.3.1.2 Co-dependent SVC with V1, Active Transitive

Co-dependent SVC is an SVC which shares an object element, i.e., the object of the V1 is the subject of V2 thus their occurrence will be separated by an NP element. The V2 of this type of SVC in Balinese also behaves as a complement, since the V1 of the SVC is always active transitive. This will be illustrated in the following data.

- 6a. *Putu Sudirga N-ajak-in Nyoman Sanjaya N-orta.*
 PN AV-accompany-APL PN INTR-talk
 'Putu Sudirga accompanied Nyoman Sanjaya talking.'
- 6b. *Bli Ngurah N-orah-in tiang N-sewa montor ane* (41)
 PN AV-tell-APL 1SING AV-rent motorcycle REL.PRON
 'Bli Ngurah told me to rent the motorcycle which'

The V1 in data 6 (a-b), *ngajakin* 'ask', *ngorahin* 'tell' are all active voices, which require an NP element as their objects that is: *Nyoman Sanjaya* in (6a) and *tiang* in (6b) and without the occurrence of V2s as complements the meanings of the sentences are not complete.

3.3.2 V2 as Adjuncts

3.3.2.1 Independent SVC with Intransitive Verb as V1

The V2 of the Balinese independent SVC with intransitive or state verb as V1 syntactically behaves as an adjunct, since the V2 is an optional element in the clause and without the occurrence of the V2 the meaning of the clause has been complete. This can be shown in the following data.

- 7a. *I Putu Sandi teka N-ajak timpal.* (635)
 ART PN INTR.come AV-ask friend
 ‘Putu Sandi came with a friend.’
- 7b. *Jero Luh ulung pingsan di kamar tamu.* (47)
 PN INTR.fall INTR.collapsed PREP room guest
 ‘Jero Luh fell and collapsed in the living room.’

The V1s in data 7 (a-b), *teka* ‘come’, *ulung* ‘fall’ are intransitive verbs. They do not require any elements to complete the meanings of the clauses. Therefore, the occurrence of the V2 is syntactically optional.

3.3.3.2 Independent SVC with State Verb as V1

The V2 of independent SVC with state verb as V1 syntactically behaves as an adjunct, since its occurrence is not obligatory. This can be shown in the following data.

- 8a. *Eda lengit ma-te-tulung.* (223)
 NEG.IMP lazy INTR-RDP-help
 ‘Don’t be lazy to help each other.’
- 8b. *Panak-ne jemet N-tulung-in bapa-ne.* (586)
 child-DEF ADJ.diligent AV-help-APL father-POSS
 ‘The child is diligent in helping his father.’

Data 8(a-b) show that the V1, *lengit* ‘lazy’ and *jemet* ‘diligent’ belong to state verbs. The occurrences of V2 *matetulung* ‘help each other’ and *nulungin* ‘help’ are not obligatory since without V2 the meanings of the clauses have been complete.

CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion above, it can be concluded that the Balinese serial verbs were formed by V1 stative – V2 intransitive, V1 intransitive – V2 stative, V1 intransitive – V2 transitive active, V1 active-transitive – V2 active-transitive, or stative or intransitive, passive-active-transitive, active transitive-passive, passive-passive. Syntactically, the V2 could be either a complement or an adjunct of the V1. The independent and co-dependent type of the Balinese serial verbs with active transitive verb as V1, the V2 behaves syntactically as a complement while the independent type with intransitive or state verb as V1, the V2 acts as an adjunct.

NOTES

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List of Abbreviations

AV	= Active Voice
ADJ	= Adjective
APL	= Applicative
ART	= Article
ASP	= Aspect
AV	= Agentive Voice
DEF	= Definite
IMP	= Imperative
INTR	= Intransitive
NEG	= Negative
N	= Noun
OV	= Object Voice
PASS	= Passive
PN	= Proper Noun
PV	= Passive Voice
POSS	= Possessive

PREP = Preposition
PRON = Pronoun
RDP = Reduplication
REL = Relative
SING = Singular
UV = Undergoer Voice