Morphosyntax of Balinese Reciprocal Constructions

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Received: May 17, 2014  Accepted: May 27, 2014  Published: June 21, 2014
doi:10.5296/ijl.v6i3.5640  URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.5296/ijl.v6i3.5640

Abstract
This study aims at analyzing the types and morphological forms of verbs used in Balinese reciprocal constructions. Data was obtained from Balinese speaking informants living in the island of Bali through observation method. The collected data was analyzed by deductive and inductive approaches so that clear description about reciprocal phenomenon of Balinese could be achieved. The result shows that reciprocal construction in Balinese can be divided into lexical, morphological, and syntactic reciprocal. Balinese has some verbs that lexically mean reciprocal so that constructions using such the verbs are called lexical reciprocal. Morphological reciprocal is a construction that means reciprocal when the verbs have particular morphological process (affixation and or reduplication). Affixes usually attached to the base to result reciprocal meaning are affix (ma-) and (ma/-an). Meanwhile, syntactic reciprocal is a construction that may mean reciprocal if it has a syntactic element saling. Verb used in syntactic reciprocal may be base and derived verbs and the constructions will not mean reciprocal if the element saling is omitted from the constructions. Seen from the argument, Balinese reciprocal may be distinguished between reciprocal that has core and noncore arguments and reciprocal that has only core arguments.

Keywords: Reciprocal, lexical, Morphological, Syntactic, Affixation, Argument, Verb
1. Introduction

The island of Bali is well-known in the world because of its tourism development. Many people from many countries call it with many names, such as the island of paradise, the island with thousand temples, the island with thousands uniqueness, and many others. As a part of Indonesia, the island has attracted people from other islands in Indonesia and from many other countries in the world to come and visit the island. That is why nowadays people living in Bali are not only native Balinese, but a few number of them are expatriates and urban from other cities in Indonesia. In daily communication native Balinese use at least two languages, Balinese and Indonesian (Indonesia national language). And even some of them also often use English because of tourism effect. Indonesian is used when they communicate with other ethnic groups both in formal and in informal situation. English is used when they get in touch with foreigners. However, Balinese is used in wider fields, such as for religious, custom, and cultural field. Balinese is commonly used in their daily communication both in family or larger social environment.

As other languages, Balinese has uniqueness to be analyzed completely. The uniqueness deals with the structure of the language and relationship between language and other fields of life. Dealing with the structure of Balinese there are many phenomenon to be analyzed and described morphologically and syntactically, for instance, Balinese reciprocal. Morphologically, verb of reciprocal can be viewed from its form if it is base or derived, and what kind of word formation is applied to result in the derived verbs. Syntactically, reciprocal construction can be analyzed in accordance to relationship of verb and its arguments and also about what particular element is needed to make it reciprocal. Based on description above, this study tries to analyze the types of reciprocal and the status of argument needed by verbs of Balinese reciprocal construction.

2. Methodology

Descriptive method is chosen to apply in this study in order to make a systematic and accurate description on the data, characteristics, and phenomenon relationship of the observed data (Djajasudarma, 1993:8). Data of this research was collected from Balinese speaking informants living in the island of Bali. Dealing with the characteristics of the observed language, research method chosen in this study is descriptive method. There are some criteria applied to determine informants of this study, they are: (1) adult native speaker of Balinese, (2) not too much influenced by other languages, (3) be smart and have competence to speak Balinese well, (4) have enough time, (5) be ready to be good informant, and (6) have normal/good articulation tools (Samarin, 1988:65--70; Bawa, 1992:7).

Data was obtained through observation and interview method completed by their techniques. The use of both method aims at obtaining complete data to achieve satisfaction result (Sudaryanto, 1993:133). The spoken data collected through both methods was also supported by written data taken from some articles written in Balinese found in a national newspaper published in Bali. The author as the native speaker of Balinese has great chance to create data and the created data will be re-checked to the informants to obtain the appropriate data (Kardana, 2010:126). The collected data was classified and analyzed in accordance with the
3. Discussion

3.1 Reciprocal

Kardana (2009:271) states that reciprocal construction is a sentence that belongs to middle diathesis. To know more about middle diathesis (Kemmer, 1994 called middle voice) it is important to compare middle diathesis with active diathesis. Active sentence of which subject is semantically not affected by the action or situation stated by the verb is commonly called active diathesis, but active sentence of which subject is affected by the action or situation expressed by verb is called middle diathesis (Arenales, 1994:1 and E.Loos, 1999). For instance, Manuel drank the coffee (active diathesis), Manuel got dressed (active and middle diathesis), and Manuel was fed by his mother (passive diathesis). Furthermore, Arenales (1994:2) states that middle diathesis is more influenced by morphological verb rather than morphological noun or word order change.

Shibatani (2002:4--5) classifies middle into lexical middle, morphological middle, and syntactic middle. Then, Kemmer (1994:182—198) devises middle into several types and one of them is reciprocal. Margono (1991) states that verbs used in reciprocal construction shows reciprocal relationship among arguments following the verbs. Thus, agent of reciprocal (double/plural) do an action and the result may affect the agents themselves. Reciprocal verbs in Balinese can be at least described into two criteria, namely criteria of saling and criteria of permutation (Margono, 1991:2) as discussed below.

3.1.1 Criteria of saling

Criteria of saling is a criteria that uses word saling to determine reciprocal verb. Based on this criteria, it can be stated that if a verb of a sentence can be paraphrased by using word saling, the verb belongs to reciprocal verb. For instance, verb ulung ‘fall down’ can not be paraphrased into saling ulung, so that verb ulung (based on criteria of saling) does not belong to reciprocal verb in Balinese. Meanwhile, verb gelut ‘hug’ and tanjung ‘kick’ belong to reciprocal verb because the verbs may be paraphrased with word saling into saling gelut ‘hug each other’, saling tanjung ‘kick each other’.

3.1.2 Criteria of permutation

This criteria shows that the plural arguments (plural agents) can be permuted as in the following examples.

(a) A ajak B madiman

   A conj B PREF-kiss

   ‘A and B kissed each other’

(b) B ajak A madiman

(c) A madiman ajak B
A PREF-kiss conj B

‘A and B kissed each other’

(d) B madiman ajak A

From data above it is known that structure of Balinese reciprocal sentence can be divided into two types, they are: type 1, where all arguments (plural agents) function as subject, as in (a) and (b), type 2 where the plural agents are splitted, one as subject and another as complement as in (c) and (d). Then, reciprocal is analyzed based on morphological and syntactical approaches. It means reciprocal construction may be analyzed based on the verb form and syntactic element that is present in the construction to make it reciprocal.

3.1.3 Types of Argument

Argument of verbs in reciprocal construction can be distinguished between core argument and non core argument. Arguments of which referents are in reciprocal relationship are called core argument; meanwhile other arguments are called non core argument (Margono, 1991:4). Look at the following examples.

(a) A ajak B makedeng-kedengan bok
   A conj B PREF-pull-RED-SUF hair
   ‘A and B pulled their hair each other’

(b) A saling silihin buku ajak B
   A REC borrow-SUF book conj B
   ‘A and B borrowed their book each other’

A and B in the sentence above are core argument, but bok ‘hair’ and buku ‘book’ belong to non core argument.

3.1.4 Time of Reciprocal

Analysis of time here talks about time of event or action stated by verbs in reciprocal construction. Time of event is determined by the form of verb used in the reciprocal construction, as below.

(a) A ajak B matabrakan
   A conj B PREF-hit-SUF
   ‘A and B hit each other’

(b) A ajak B saling tolih
   A conj B REC see
   ‘A and B saw each other’

(c) A ajak B saling tulungin
   A conj B REC help-SUF
   ‘A and B helped each other’

(d) A ajak B mademenan
A conj B PREF-love-SUF
‘A and B loved each other’

In reciprocal construction (a), A hit B at the same time as B hit A so that the event/accident is said to happen simultaneously. The same thing happened in (b), the action of A saw B and B saw A happened at the same time. But, it is different from example (c) and (d). In (c), activity stated by verb phrase saling tulungin ‘help each other’ shows relatively longer time and even in (d) time stated by verb mademenan ‘love each other’ takes much more longer.

3.2 Types of Reciprocal Construction in Balinese

Shibatani (2002:4--5) classifies middle voice into lexical middle, morphological middle, and syntactic middle. Based on the form of verb and syntactic approached applied in this study, type of reciprocal in Balinese, in accordance with Shibatani classification, is divided into lexical reciprocal, morphological reciprocal, and syntactic reciprocal. They will be detail discussed in the following discussion.

3.2.1 Lexical Reciprocal

Lexical reciprocal meant here is a reciprocal construction that uses a base verb that has already meant reciprocal. It means that the base verb itself (without being attached by affix(es)) has shown reciprocal meaning. The examples are as below.

(1) I meme anak puik ajak I mengah.
DEF mother man diam conj DEF aunt nengah.
‘Mother and Aun Nengah are in a bad mood so that they never want to talk to each other’

The construction (1) above uses base verb puik ‘one is in a bad mood so that one never wants to talk to another’. The verb needs two animate nouns (human) that function as subject and complement. The base verb puik has lexically contained reciprocal meaning so that the construction is called lexical reciprocal. Verb puik in Balinese always needs plural agents so that the construction (2) below becomes unaccepted and ungrammatical as it has only one noun (single argument).

(2) *I meme puik
DEF mother bad mood
‘My mother is in a bad mood’

The plural animate nouns needed by base verb puik can be also as the subject of the verb and it does not change the reciprocal meaning of the verb. It could be seen in example (3) below.

(3) I meme ajak I Mengah puik
DEF mother conj DEF mengah bad mood
‘Mother and aunt Nengah are in bad mood that they never talk to each other’

Another example of this kind of reciprocal is as follow.

(4) Ia nak musuh ajak ipahne
3SP person enemy conj brother/sister in law
‘He and his brother in law are hostile’

Example (4) above contains a base verb *musuh* ‘enemy’ that has lexically meant reciprocal as well. This expression is only used by speakers particularly living in the southern area of Bali. However, expression (1) is acceptable for all speakers in all parts of this island.

3.2.2 Morphological Reciprocal

Morphological reciprocals here are reciprocal of which verbs are in the form of derived verb. The base verbs in fact do not have reciprocal meaning and they will become reciprocal when affix(es) are attached to the bases. It means that morphological processes applied to result in reciprocal meaning are affixation and reduplication. Morphological reciprocal verbs belong to intransitive verb so that morphological reciprocals in Balinese are in the form of intransitive sentence. Furthermore, intransitive reciprocal in Balinese can be distinguished based on kinds of affixes attached to bases to result in reciprocal meaning. This can be described in the following discussion.

3.2.2.1 Morphological Reciprocal with Affix {*ma-*}

There are several productive affixes in Bali. Some are for transitive and others are for intransitive verbs. One of the intransitive affixes is prefix (*ma-*). This prefix is very productive to result in intransitive verbs with several different meaning (Granoka, et al, 1996:135). The following examples are intransitive morphological reciprocal with affix (*ma-*). In the examples, the plural agents can function as subject as in (1-4) or one as subject and another as complement as in (5-8). In those constructions, the plural agents do the action one to another reciprocally.

(1) *Cenik-cenike magulet di endute*
   Child-child-DEF PREF-wrestle in mud-DEF
   ‘The children wrestled each other in the mud’

(2) *Ia tepukina sedek madiman di kamare*
   He/she find-SUF-SUF CONT PREF-kiss in room-DEF
   ‘They were found to be being kissing each other in the room’

(3) *Siape mapalu di guungane*
   Cock-DEF PREF-fight in cage-DEF
   ‘The cocks were fighting in the cage’

(4) *Cicinge sedek makerah di paon*
   Dog-DEF CONT PREF-fight in kitchen
   ‘The dogs were fighting the kitchen’

(5) *Kurenan iane mamitra ajak timpal kantorne*
husband-SUF 3SP-POSS PREF-partner conj friend office-POSS
‘Her husband was dishonest with his office mate’

(6) Sabilang matemu, I Made setata macureng dogen ajak ipahne
Anytime PREF-meet, DEF made always PREF-look at only conj brother in law
‘Any time they met, Made and his brother in law always looked at each other’

(7) Cenik-cenike masogsag ngalih duman jaja
Child-RED-DEF PRE-grab look for cake
‘The children grabbed each other to look for cakes’

(8) Ia marebut ajak nyaman-nyamane
He PREF-grab conj brother-RED-DEF
‘He and his brothers grabbed each other’

The derived verb in examples above are formed by affixation of (ma-) to base gulet ‘wrestle’ in (1), diman ‘kiss’ in (2), palu ‘fight’ in (3), kerah ‘fight’ in (4), mitra ‘partner’ in (5), cureng ‘look at’ in (6), sogsag ‘grab’ in (7), and rebut ‘grab’ in (8). Subject of sentences (1-5) must be plural agent and it not possible to use single agent as in (9). Meanwhile, plural agent in sentences (5-8) are as subject and complement with conjunction ajak ‘and/with’. In fact, base of all derived verbs above do not have reciprocal meaning and they may mean reciprocal when affix (ma-) is attached to them. Thus, construction (10) is also ungrammatical and unacceptable in Balinese.

(9) * Tiang magulet di endute
(10) *Cenik-cenike gulet di endute.

Affix (ma-) attached to base gulet results in derived verb magulet and it has reciprocal meaning so that it needs plural agent (as subject or as subject and complement). Thus, verb magulet with singular agent as in (9) makes ungrammatical and unaccepted sentence. And, base gulet does not contain reciprocal meaning so that sentence (10) is never found in Balinese.

3.2.2.2 Morphological Reciprocal with Affix (ma-/an)

Balinese has affix combination (ma-/an) commonly used to derive intransitive verbs with reciprocal meaning (Kardana, 2009:271). Constructions with verb (ma-/an) which have reciprocal meaning in Balinese are as below.

(1) Depang ia ditu ajak dadua, anak ia sedeng mademenan
Let 3SP there with two, man 3SP CONT PREF-like-SUF
‘Let them stay there, they are making a date’
(2) *Alit-alite derika sedek maplayanan
  Child-RED-DEF there CONT  PREF-precategorial-SUF
  ‘The children are playing there’

(3) Ia *suba mapitungan ajak nyamane unduk rencanane bin abulan.
  3PS already PREF-precategorial-SUF with brother-POSS about plan-DEF again one-month
  ‘He has discussed about the next month plan with his brother’

Base demen ‘like’ in (1), pre-categorial playan in (2) and pitung in (3) may have reciprocal meaning when combination affixes (ma-/an) is attached to them. It means, if the construction use the base verbs the constructions will not become reciprocal. Plural agent in (1-2) function as subject but in (3) they function as subject and complement. In Balinese pronoun ia beside refers to 3 singular person it may also refer to 3 plural person as in (1) above depends on the context.

3.2.2.3 Morphological Reciprocal with reduplication and with affix combination (ma-/an)

Morphological reciprocal in Balinese may also result in by double morphological process, it is reduplication and affixation. Based on the collected data, some intransitive reciprocal verbs in Balinese result from reduplication to the base and followed by affixation (ma-/an). Look at the following data.

(1) Tiang nepukin ia sedek matimpah-timpahan di kursine ajak tunangane
  1SP  PREF-find-SUF 3SP CONT  PREF- RED-overlp on chair-DEF
  I saw him and his girl friend being overlapping each other on the chair’

(2) Ia madengsek-dengsekan mabalih joged
  3PS  PREF-RED-shove-SUF PREF-watch joged
  ‘He (and others) shoved each other to watch Balines dance’

Based on data above, reduplication has important role to make the verbs reciprocal. It means that if the verbs above do not have reduplication process they will not have reciprocal meaning as in (3) and (4) below.

(3) *Tiang nepukin ia sedek matimpah di kursine ajak tunangane
  1SP  PREF-find-SUF 3SP CONT  PREF- overlpl on chair-DEF
  I saw him and his girl friend being overlapping each other on the chair’

(4) Ia madengsek mabalih joged
  3SP  PREF-shove PREF-watch joged
‘He was shoved when he watched joged (Balines dance)’

Reduplication is sometimes very important to make the verb reciprocal, like verb *matimpah-timpahan*. It means that if the verb in example (1) is not reduplicated, the verb will not mean reduplication and even the construction become ungrammatical as in (3). The same phenomenon happens with derived verb *madengsek*. The verb will have reciprocal if it is repeated like in (2), but if it is not reduplicated the verb will result in resultative passive as in (4).

In construction (1) the agents function as subject and complement. In (2) only one argument is present in the sentence and another agent is syntactically omitted. Semantically verb *madengsek-dengsekan* needs plural agents both as subject (2a) and as subject and complement (2b). But syntactically only one agent might be present in the sentence. Thus, the real semantic construction of (2) is as (2a) and (2b). However, in construction (3), the agent subject is singular because the verb does not need plural agent and the sentence refers to resultative passive and the subject is not agent but patient.

(2a) *Ia ajak timpal-timpalne madengsek-dengsekan mabalih joged*

(2b) *Ia madengsek-dengsekan mabalih joged ajak timpal-timpalne.*

3.2.3 Syntactic Reciprocal

Beside lexical and morphological reciprocal as described above, syntactic reciprocal is also found in Balinese. In this type of reciprocal a syntactic element *saling* is needed to be present in a sentence to make the sentence reciprocal. The element *saling* usually comes before verb of the sentence. Based on the kinds of argument of verb, syntactic reciprocal is divided into syntactic reciprocal that needs only core argument and syntactic reciprocal that needs core and non core arguments. This will be in detail discussed in the following discussion.

3.2.3.1 Syntactic reciprocal only with core argument

The following is the analysis of syntactic reciprocal of which verbs are only with core argument. Verbs used in this type of reciprocal can be base or derived verbs.

(1) *Ia saling ejek ajak timpalne.*

3SP REC ridicule conj friend-POSS

‘He/she and his/her friend(s) ridiculed each other’

(2) *Cerik-cerike saling jimpit*

Children REC pinch

‘The children pinched each other’

(3) *Ia saling jagur ajak nyamane*

3SP REC hit conj brother-POSS

‘He and his brother hit each other’
(4) *Sube tawang* ia saling ajumang ajak ipahne

Already know 3SP REC praise-SUF conj brother in law-POSS

‘It was known that he and his bother in law praised each other’

(5) *Biasa cenik-cenike maplayanan saling tuludang*

Usually children-SUF play-SUF REC push-SUF

‘The children usually pushed each other when they were playing’

(6) *Men Dana ajak Men Agus saling kecuhin dibi dini*

Mother dana conj mother agus REC spat-SUF yesterday here

‘Madam Dana and Madam Agus spated each other yesterday here’

(7) *Ia saling sopin ajak tunangane*

3SP REC feed conj fiance-POSS

‘He and his fiance feed each other’

All constructions above have reciprocal meaning because of the presence of element *saling* directly before verbs. It means, if the element *saling* is omitted the constructions will be ungrammatical or unaccepted. Thus, function of *saling* in those constructions becomes very important to make the constructions grammatical and have reciprocal meaning.

Sentence (1-3) use base *ejek* ‘ridicule’, *jimpit* ‘pinch’, and *jagur* ‘hit’. The base verbs do not have reciprocal meaning lexically, and the constructions will become reciprocal when element *saling* is present before the base. In construction (4-5), the verb *ajumang* and *tuludang* derive from affix (suffix) –*ang* to the base *ajum* ‘praise’ and *tulud* ‘push’. In (6-7), the verbs *kecuhin* and *sopin* derive from suffix –*in* attached to base *kecuh* ‘spat’ and *sop* ‘feed’. The verbs do not mean reciprocal and they will mean reciprocal if element *saling* comes before the verbs.

The important thing to be our attention for the construction above is that construction (3-7) is obligatory to use derived verb with suffix –*ang* or –*in*. If the constructions use base verb they will become ungrammatical and unaccepted. Thus, the important conclusion is that: (1) not all base verbs are possible to be used to result in reciprocal meaning although element *saling* precedes the base verbs; (2) only derived verb with suffix –*ang* and –*in* are possible to result in reciprocal meaning with the presence of element *saling*. Then, from argument point of view, all the constructions above only need core argument functioning as subject or as subject and complement. Some examples above also have personal pronoun clitic (*-ne*) as third possessive marker. This marker has the same behavior as clitic (*-nyai*) in Indonesian language (Kardana, 2013:121–122)

3.2.3.2 Syntactic reciprocal with core and non core argument.

Discussion about this type of reciprocal will be described and supported by some data
presented below.

(1) *I Komang ajak I Jimmy saling beliang daaran*

DEF komang conj DEF jimy REC buy-SUF food

‘Komang and Jimy bought food to each other’

(2) *I Gede anak biasa saling gaenang kopi ajak kurenane*

DEF gede person usually REC make-SUF coffee conj wife-POSS

‘Gede and his wife usually makes coffee to each other’

(3) *Murid-murid tiange saling silihin buku*

Student-student 1SP-DEF REC borrow-SUF book

‘My students borrowed book to each other’

(4) *Ia biasa saling bayahin roko ajak timpalne*

3SP usually REC pay-SUF cigarette conj friend(s)-POSS

‘He and his friend(s) usually pay cigarette to each other’

Constructions above also need *saling* to make the sentences reciprocal. Different from the type above, this syntactic reciprocal may not use base verbs and only derived verbs are possible tu use. Derived verbs used in this type of reciprocal also verb with suffix –*ang* as in (1-2) and with suffix –*in* as in (3-4). The derived verbs need two kinds of argument, they are core and non core argument. Core argument is argument of which referent is in reciprocal relationship, as *I Komang* and *I Jimy* in (1), *I Gede* and *kurenane* in (2), *cenik-cenike* (plural) in (3) and *ia* and *ipahne* in (4). Meanwhile, non core argument in the constructions above are argument of which referent exclude of reciprocal relationship, as *daaran* ‘food’, *kopi* ‘coffee’, *buku* ‘book’, and *roko* ‘cigarettes’.

Verb with reduplication is also possible to be used in this type of reciprocal. Some examples are as follow.

(5) *Ia saling kirim-kiriman surat ajak timpalne*

3SP REC send-RED-SUF letter conj friend-DEF

‘He and his friend send letters to each other’

(6) *Cenik-cenike saling entung-entungin batu*

Children-RED-DEF REC throw-RED-SUF stone

‘The children throw stone to each other’

In constructions (5) and (6), the verbs have double process, first is reduplication and second is affixation with suffix (–*an*) in (5) and (–*in*) in (6). The bases of the verbs in those examples are *kirim* ‘send’ and *entung* ‘throw’. One important thing to be analyzed in those two
sentences is that in (5) element saling is not too important in the sentence like in other sentences presented previously. Without the element saling the sentence has already meant reciprocal. It means that the verb by reduplication and affixation *kirim-kiriman* ‘send each other’ has already got reciprocal meaning. However, it is different from construction (6). In this sentence reciprocal marker saling is obligatory. Without saling the sentence is not reciprocal but it will become imperative.

4. Conclusion

From discussion above it can be concluded that reciprocal construction in Balinese can be distinguished between reciprocal with core argument and reciprocal with core and non core argument. Based on the form of verbs, reciprocal construction can be divided into (1) lexical reciprocal, (2) morphological reciprocal, and (3) syntactic reciprocal.

Lexical reciprocal is a reciprocal in which the base words have already contained reciprocal meaning lexically. Data found to support this type of reciprocal is very limited. Bases or lexemes having reciprocal meaning automatically need plural agents functioning as subject or as subject and complement. Morphological reciprocal is a reciprocal that uses derived verbs and reciprocal meaning appears when particular affixes, such as (*ma-*) and (*ma-/-an*) are attached to the base. Lastly, syntactic reciprocal is a reciprocal that may use bases and derived verbs. The verbs (base and derived) do not contain reciprocal meaning lexically, and the constructions will become reciprocal when syntactic element saling is precedes the verbs. Otherwise, when element saling is omitted the constructions will become ungrammatical or unacceptable.

**Abbreviation**

conj→ conjunction  
CONT→ Continuos tense  
DEF→ Definite article  
PREF→ Prefix  
POSS→Possessive marker  
REC→ Reciprocal marker/element  
RED→ Reduplication  
SUF→ Suffix  
3SP→ Third singular pronoun  
1SP→ First singular pronoun

**References**


