

Balinese Adverbial Verbs

Ketut Widya Purnawati* and Ketut Artawa

Abstract--- *The focus of this paper is on adverbial verbs in Balinese. The result of the analysis showed that Balinese adverbial verbs can be classified into manner adverbial verbs, temporal adverbial verbs, frequency adverbial verbs, and directional adverbial verbs. The base forms of the manner adverbial verb are adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, and classifiers. The time adverbial verbs can be formed from time units indicating parts of the day. The base forms of the frequency adverbials can be the time units like day, week, month, and year for a quantifying frequency, whereas a complex base that indicates once, twice, three times in English are the base forms for a cardinal frequency. Proportional frequencies that can be distinguished into high, middle, and low frequency are formed from words indicating frequency such as *sai* 'always, *kapah* 'rarely', etc. Syntactically, the adverbial verb form in Balinese can undergo morphological changes in accordance with the voice of the main verb that the adverbial verb modifies. Thus the adverbial verb can be in objective and agentive voice.*

Keywords--- *Adjectives, Balinese, Classifier, Demonstrative, Numeral.*

I. INTRODUCTION

The form-function distinction plays an important role in describing clause structures of every language. For instance, in a descriptive grammar of English, five elements of clause structure are used to describe the constituency of a clause (Quirk et al., 1985; Arka, 1998; Kersten, 1984). The elements are subject (S), object (O), verb (V), complement (C), and Adverbial (A). The verb element is the most central element and the most peripheral element is the adverbial. The adverbial element can occur initially, medially, or finally in a clause structure. Syntactically, adverbials are both mobile and optional. The adverbial function covers notions such as place, time and manner and can be realized by different categories of word, phrase or clause. In English, for instance, time can be expressed by an adverb (She went home afterwards), a prepositional phrase (She went home after the meeting) or a clause (She went home after the meeting concluded).

Balinese is unusual in that the adverbial function in the clause can be filled by verbs that modify the lexical verb. These adverbial verbs in Balinese have not been specifically discussed in previous grammatical descriptions of the language. The morphology, syntax and semantics of these adverbials are the focus of this article. Basically, there are two types of data used in this study: (i) data from written texts and (ii) data elicited from native speakers. As both writers of this article are native speakers of Balinese, intuitive-introspective data are also used. This is a descriptive typological study relevant to and significant for the understanding of the typology of adverbial verbs in Balinese as well as similar phenomena in some other Austronesian languages. The paper is organized as follows. Section (2) presents the clause structure in Balinese showing that this language has the opposition of the unmarked and marked clause structure. Section (3) describes affixation processes in Balinese focusing on the function of the *-ang* and *-in* suffixes. Section (4) discusses the issue of the morphological, syntactic and semantic aspects of Balinese adverbial

Ketut Widya Purnawati, Udayana University, Denpasar, Indonesia. E-mail: tuti@unud.ac.id*
Ketut Artawa, Udayana University, Denpasar, Indonesia.

verbs. Section (5) deals with the discussion and interpretation of the meaning and syntax of the adverbial verbs, and section (6) provides the conclusion.

II. BALINESE CLAUSE STRUCTURE

Balinese is an agglutinative language in which prefixes and suffixes serve to mark derivation and to mark voice on verbs. There are three voices: objective voice, agentive voice, and passive voice. Each of these types is shown in the following examples.

- **Objective voice**

- (1) *Nasi goreng beli cang.*
rice fry buy 1SG
'Fried rice I bought/ I bought fried rice'

- **Agentive voice**

- (2) *Cang meli nasi goreng.* [N-beli]
1SG buy rice fry
'I bought fried rice'

The objective voice is morphologically unmarked and the default option. The agentive voice is marked by a nasal prefix, which in this case results in the initial b- of *beli* being replaced by a homorganic m. With intransitive predicates, the subject precedes the predicate as in (3) so in terms of order the initial noun phrases in (1) and (2) can be identified as subject.

- (3) *Nyoman teka mai.*
Nyoman come here
'Nyoman came here'

Where the subject in the unmarked construction is third person, the third person enclitic *-(n)a* is used.

- (4) a. *Montor-e beli-(n)a.*
car-DEF buy-3SG
He/she bought the car' or 'The car was bought'
b. *Montor-e beli-(n)a taken Made.*
car-DEF buy-3SG with Made
'Made bought the car' or 'The car was bought by Made'

Example (4b) illustrates the fact that while the enclitic is obligatory, a prepositional phrase specifying the agent is an option. There is also a passive construction with the verb prefixed by *-ka*. Here the agent is optional.

- (5) *Nasi goreng ka-beli (cang)*
rice fry PASS-buy 1SG
'Fried rice was bought (by me).

• **Verbal Affixation in Balinese**

In addition to the nasal prefix used in the previous examples, Balinese also has two verbal suffixes that can be used to derive a verb from different word classes. These suffixes are *-ang* and *-in*. A large number of roots in Balinese are 'precatatorial', that is, a root or base typically which cannot fulfill a syntactic function before undergoing processes of lexical derivation (see Shibatani & Artawa 2015; Adelaar, 2005). The base form in (a) below is an adjective, while the base form in (b) is a precatatorial. By adding the verbal suffixes, the adjective and the precatatorial base are changed into verb forms.

- (a) *pedih* 'angry' (an adjective)
pedih-ang 'to make someone angry'
pedih-in 'to get angry with someone'
- (b) *eling* (a precatatorial base)
eling-ang 'to make someone cry'
eling-in 'to cry for someone'

The suffix *-ang*. This suffix can be attached to an adjective, or a precatatorial or to a verb.

Table 1: The *-ang* Suffixations

Base form			Derived form (Verbs)	
adjectives	<i>cenik</i>	'small'	<i>cenikang</i>	'to make something small'
	<i>putih</i>	'white'	<i>putihang</i>	'to make something white'
precatatorials	<i>tegak</i>	-	<i>tegakang</i>	'to make someone sit'
	<i>celep</i>	-	<i>celepang</i>	'to put something in'
verbs	<i>ulung</i>	'fall'	<i>ulungang</i>	'to make something fall'
	<i>mulih</i>	'go home'	<i>mulihang</i>	'to send someone home'

The following are some illustrative examples. These examples are adopted from Artawa (1994). In example (6), the suffix *-ang* is attached to the adjective, *putih* 'white', to produce the verb, *putihang* 'to cause/make white'. In this case, the suffix *-ang* has a causative meaning.

- (6) a. *Tembok-e* ***putih***
 wall-DEF white
 'The wall is white'
- b. *Tembok-e* ***putihang*** *tiang*
 wall-DEF white-ang 1SG
 'I made the wall white'
- c. *Tiang* ***mutihang*** *tembok-e*.
 1SG N- white-ang wall-DEF
 'I made the wall white'

The basic sentence in the following examples is a verbal clause. The predicate is an intransitive verb.

- (7) a. *Nuraga* *ulung*
 Nuraga fall
 'Nuraga fell'

- b. *Nuraga ulungang tiang*
 Nuraga fall-ang 1SG
 'I made Nuraga fall'
- c. *Tiang ngulungang Nuraga [N-ulung]*
 1SG N- fall-ang Nuraga
 'I made Nuraga fall'

The suffix *-ang* can be used together with the prefix *pa-* to form the *pa-ang* confix. This confix is used to derive a causative verb from a transitive verb as shown in the example (8)

- (8) a. *Tanah-ne tandu tiang*
 land-3SGPOSS cultivate 1SG
 'I cultivated her/his land'
- b. *Tanah-ne pa-tandu-ang-a [teken tiang]*
 land-3SGPOSS cultivate-ang-3SG [with 1SG]
 'S/he had/let me cultivate her/his land'
- c. *Ia ma-tandu-ang tanah-ne [teken tiang]*
 3SG N- cultivate-ang soil-3SGDEF [with 1SG]
 'S/he had/let me cultivate her/his land'

The suffix *-in*. The suffix *-in* can also be used to derive causative verbs.

- (9) a. *Jalan-e linggah*
 street-DEF wide
 'The street is wide'
- b. *Jalan-e linggah-in-a*
 street-DEF wide-in-3SG
 'He widened the street'
- c. *Ia nglinggahin jalan-e [N-linggah]*
 3SG N- wide-in street-DEF
 'He widened the street'

The suffix *-in* can also be combined with the prefix *pa-*. This confix also create a causative verb as shown in the following example.

- (10) a. *Jalan-e linggah*
 street-DEF wide
 'The street is wide'
- b. *Jalan-e palinggahin tiang*
 street-DEF pa-makewider-in 1SG
 'I made the street wider'
- c. *Tiang malinggahin jalan-e [N-palinggahin]*

1SG N- make wider-in street-DEF
 'I made the street wider'

These suffixes can also be used to derive an applicative verb from a transitive verb. But this is not relevant for the discussion of adverbial verbs. Some intransitive verbs take a nasal prefix, either an invariable *ma-* as in *ma-laib* 'run' or the same form as transitive verbs in the agentive voice (Artawa & Blake, 1977; Indrawati, 2014; Luna, 2004). This prefix undergoes a number of morphophonemic changes. It is *ng-* before vowels, semivowels and liquids.

Table 2: Nasal Prefixations

Base form		Derived form	
<i>lempag</i>	'to hit'	<i>nglempag</i>	'to hit'
<i>lambet</i>	'to hit'	<i>nglambet</i>	'to hit'
<i>racun</i>	'to poison'	<i>ngracun</i>	'to poison'
<i>racik</i>	'to prepare'	<i>ngracik</i>	'to prepare'
<i>orahin</i>	'to tell'	<i>ngorahin</i>	'to tell'
<i>omongin</i>	'to talk'	<i>ngomongin</i>	'to talk'
<i>yehin</i>	'to water'	<i>ngyehin</i>	'to water'
<i>waliang</i>	'to return'	<i>ngwaliang</i>	'to return'

With initial obstruents a homorganic nasal replaces the obstruent, with *ny* replacing *s* as well as *c* and *j*.

Table 3: Nasal Prefixations with Initial Obstruents

Base form		Derived form	
<i> baca</i>	'to read'	<i> maca</i>	'to read'
<i>borbor</i>	'to burn'	<i>morbora</i>	'to burn'
<i>pacok</i>	'to stab'	<i>macok</i>	'to stab'
<i>pacek</i>	'to nail'	<i>macek</i>	'to nail'
<i>dakep</i>	'to catch'	<i>nakep</i>	'to catch'
<i>daar</i>	'to eat'	<i>naar</i>	'to eat'
<i>tamplak</i>	'to smash'	<i>namplak</i>	'to smash'
<i>tumbak</i>	'to spear'	<i>numbak</i>	'to spear'
<i>cacah</i>	'to cut'	<i>nyacah</i>	'to cut'
<i>colek</i>	'to touch'	<i>nyolek</i>	'to touch'
<i>jagur</i>	'to punch'	<i>nyagur</i>	'to punch'
<i>jemak</i>	'to take'	<i>nyemak</i>	'to take'
<i>sereg</i>	'to lock'	<i>nyereg</i>	'to lock'
<i>sangih</i>	'to sharpen'	<i>nyangih</i>	'to sharpen'

• **Semantic Classifications of Adverbial Verbs**

It seems that there are different ways of classifying adverbials across languages. Before classifying Balinese adverbial verbs in Balinese, the semantic classifications of adverbial in English are introduced because the English adverbials have been intensively studied. Quirk et al. (1985) in their comprehensive grammar of English language distinguished seven main categories of semantic classifications for the adverbials in English. Those semantic classifications are space, time, process, respect, contingency, modality and degree. Each of these types is further sub-classified. Only the relevant semantic classifications are briefly described here. Those are the space, time and process semantic classifications. The following are examples adopted from Quirk et al. 1985; Vowel et al. 2017; Brandberg & Amzel, 2017; Chemmel & Phillippe, 2018.

- **Space**

- (11) a. He lay *on his bed* (position)
 b. They drove *westwards* (direction)
 c. He walked (down the hill) *to the shop* (goal)

- **Time**

- (12) a. He was there last week (position)
 b. I will be staying here till next week (duration)
 c. Well, I like to go frequently.... (frequency)

- **Process**

- (13) a. The student was *politely* assessed by the teacher (manner)
 b. The student was carefully treated *by the nurse* (agent) *medically* (means) *with a well-tried drug* (instrument)

Balinese adverbial verbs are classified into (1) manner adverbial verbs (as one of process types), (2) time adverbial verbs (as one of time types), (3) frequency adverbial verbs (as one of time types), and (4) directional adverbial verbs (as one of the space types).

III. MANNER ADVERBIAL VERBS

In many languages, manner adverbs are derivable from adjectives by means of a fairly productive process of derivational morphology. For instance, in English, adverbs of manner can be formed from adjectives by using the derivational suffix *-ly*: *cold/coldly*, *loud/loudly*.

- (14) a. She spoke to him *coldly*.
 b. They began arguing *loudly*.

The base of the manner adverbial verb in Balinese can be an adjective, a demonstrative, a numeral, or a classifier.

- **Adjective Base**

Manner adverbials in Balinese can take two different forms. They can be in adverb form or verb form. The manner adverbial which is realized by a verb is called a manner adverbial verb. With the adjective base, two morphological processes can be applied. Those processes are reduplication and verbalization.

Table 4: Reduplication Process

Adjective		Adverb	
<i>enggal</i>	'quick'	<i>enggal-enggal</i>	'quickly' (low)
<i>adeng</i>	'slow'	<i>adeng-adeng</i>	'slowly' (low)
<i>gelis</i>	'quick'	<i>gelis-gelis</i>	'quickly' (high)
<i>alon</i>	'slow'	<i>alon-alon</i>	'slowly' (high)

Table 5: Verbalization Process

Adjectives		Verbs	
<i>enggal</i>	'quick'	<i>enggal-ang/-in</i>	'quickly' (low)
<i>adeng</i>	'slow'	<i>adeng- ang/-in</i>	'slowly' (low)
<i>gelis</i>	'quick'	<i>gelis- ang/-in</i>	'quickly' (high)
<i>alon</i>	'slow'	<i>alon- ang/-in</i>	'slowly' (high)

The derived verb can function as a manner adverbial. This verb is then called a man-ner adverbial verb. The reduplicated form can also be verbalized.

Table 6: The Verbalization of Reduplicated Form

Adjectives		Verbs	
<i>enggal-enggal</i>	'quick'	<i>enggal-enggal-ang/-in</i>	'quickly' (low)
<i>adeng-adeng</i>	'slow'	<i>adeng-adeng- ang/-in</i>	'slowly' (low)
<i>gelis-gelis</i>	'quick'	<i>gelis-gelis- ang/-in</i>	'quickly' (high)
<i>alon-alon</i>	'slow'	<i>alon-alon- ang/-in</i>	'slowly' (high)

It is clear that manner adverbial verbs can be derived from adjectives. Can all types of adjective be the bases of the manner adverbial verbs in Balinese? Dixon (2010) grouped adjectives into three different sets of semantic types depending on the possible number of the member of each set. Balinese adjectives that can be verbalized to form adverbial verbs are the following types:

Table 7: The Verbalization of Balinese Adjective

Adjectives			Verbs	
a. Dimension	<i>gede</i>	'big'	<i>gede-(n)-ang</i>	'make big'
			<i>gede-(n)-in</i>	'make big'
	<i>cenik</i>	'small'	<i>cenik-ang</i>	'make small'
			<i>cenik-in</i>	'make small'
	<i>dawa</i>	'long'	<i>dawa-(n)-ang</i>	'make long'
			<i>dawa-(n)-in</i>	'make long'
	<i>linggah</i>	'wide'	<i>linggah-ang</i>	'make wide'
			<i>linggah-in</i>	'make wide'
	<i>dalem</i>	'deep'	<i>dalem-ang</i>	'make deep'
			<i>dalem-in</i>	'make deep'
b. Value	<i>luung</i>	'good'	<i>luung-ang</i>	'make good'
			<i>luung-in</i>	'make good'
	<i>jelék</i>	'small'	<i>jelék-ang</i>	'make bad'
			<i>jelék-in</i>	'make bad'
c. Speed	<i>énggal</i>	'quick'	<i>énggal -ang</i>	'make quick'
			<i>énggal -in</i>	'make fast'
	<i>adéng</i>	'slow'	<i>adéng-ang</i>	'make slow'
			<i>adéng-in</i>	'make slow'

Before describing the adverbial verb, the manner adverbial realized by reduplicated adverb form is illustrated below.

- (15) *Dék Joni énggal-énggal malaib uli ba duuran.*
 Dék Joni quick-quick run from above
 'Dék Joni runs quickly from the above direction'

(Ngurug Pasih: Kode Alam, 2014:36)

- (16) *Tiang* *ajak* *dadua* ***énggal-énggal*** *nyujuh* *kamar* *tongos*
1SG with two quick-quick reach room place
beli *Adi-né* *ngamar.*
brother Adi-DEF hospitalize

‘Both of us quickly reach the room where Adi was hospitalized.’

(Belog: Belog: Galah Siduri, 2014, 2014: 9)

In example (15), the manner adverbial, *énggal-énggal* ‘quickly’ occurs in a middle position, that is, between the subject and the predicate. The verb in this example is an intransitive verb, *malaib* ‘run’. In example (16), the manner adverbial, *énggal-énggal* also occurs between the subject and the predicate. The verb in this example is a transitive verb, *nyujuh*, ‘reach’. In the following examples, the manner adverbials are all in initial position.

- (17) ***Énggal-énggal*** *ia* *nyemak* *tiuk* *laut* *malaib* *ka*
quick-quick 3SG take knife and then run to
teba.
backyard

‘He/She takes the knife quickly and then runs to the backyard.’

(Belog, 2014: 3)

- (18) ***Énggal-énggal*** *tiang* *ngojog* *ka* *umah-ne.*
quick-quick 1SG come to house-POS
‘I come quickly to her/his house.’

(Belog: Galah Siduri, 2014: 8)

- (19) ***Énggal-énggal*** *ajaka* *telu* *menék* *ka* *montor-é.*
Quick-quick with three get on to motorbike-DEF
‘The three of them get on the motorbike quickly.’

(Belog: Mulih, 2014:24)

- (20) ***Adéng-adéng*** *ia* *nyluksuk* *di* *betén* *tukad-é.*
slow-slow 3SG infiltrate at under river-DEF
‘She/he infiltrates slowly under the river.’

(Ngurug Pasih: Kode Alam, 2014:36)

- (21) ***Adéng-adéng*** *bapan-né* *ngraos.*
Slow-slow father -POSS talk
‘His/Her father talks slowly.’

(Bungklang Bungklung: Palentin Dé, 2008:110)

The manner adverbial function represented by a reduplicated form is not found in the final position. But intuitively, it can be placed in the final position (this will be further discussed in section 5). The following is the description of manner adverbial verbs. This manner adverbial verb can occur in an intransitive and transitive clause. The clause can be declarative or imperative. In our corpus of texts, there are no examples of interrogative clauses

with manner adverbial verbs. The following are some examples, first intransitive examples.

- (22) *Ngénggalang* *Bapak* *guru-né* *pesu* *ka* *sisi.*
N-quick-ang father teacher-DEF come out to out
'The teacher came out quickly'
(Ngurug Pasih: Kado, 2014:31)
- (23) *Ngénggalang* *ia* *magedi* *pesu.*
N-quick-ang 3SG leave go out
'She left quickly'
(Ngurug Pasih: Museum, 2014:20)
- (24) *Ngénggalang* *Bapak* *Putu* *Dharma* *ngraos.*
N-quick-ang father Putu Dharmaspeak
'Mr. Putu Dharma spoke quickly'
(Ngurug Pasih: Kado, 2014:33)
- (25) *Ngénggalang* *polisi-né* *pesu.*
N-quick-ang police-DEF go out
'The police went out quickly'
(Ngurug Pasih: Kado, 2014:34)

The manner adverbial verbs in the examples (22-25) are in initial position. They are derived from the adjective *enggal* 'quick' using the suffix *-ang*. They are the marked verb forms. The verb marked by a nasal prefix (N-) is an Agentive Voice verb form. Thus the marked adverbial verb indicates not only how the activity denoted by the main verb is carried out but it also relates to the argument agent of the clause. The following are examples of manner adverbials that occur in transitive clauses.

- (26) *Ngénggalang* *ia* *ngusapin* *yéh* *paningalan-é.*
N-quick-ang 3SG N-wipe water eyes -DEF
'She quickly wiped her tears away.'
(Ngurug Pasih: Kado, 2014:33)
- (27) *Ngénggalang* *ia* *nugtugin* *Bapa-né* *uli* *duri.*
N-quick-ang 3SG N-follow father-DEF from behind
'He quickly followed his father from behind.'
(Ngurug Pasih: Kode Alam, 2014:36)
- (28) *Ngénggalang* *I* *Pekak* *nyemak* *hélm.*
N-quick-ang ART grandfather N-take helmet
'Grand father quickly took the helmet.'
(Ngurug Pasih: Pekak Kaung, 2014:55)
- (29) *Ngénggalang* *ia* *ngisi* *lima-n* *pekak-né.*
N-quick-ang 3SG N-hold hand-POSS grandfather-POSS

‘He quickly hold his grandfather’s hand while hiding.’

(Ngurug Pasih: Car Free Night, 2014:77)

The transitive clauses in the examples (26-29) are Agentive Voice constructions. The verbs in these clauses are marked by the presence of the nasal prefix (N-). The manner adverbial verbs are also the marked verbs forms. These examples showed that both the main verb and the adverbial verb are morphologically compatible. The following are some examples showing the middle position of the adverbial verbs.

- (30) *Bli Putu nekekang ngisi lima-nné Dék Gung.*
Brother Putu N-tight-ang N-hold hand-POSS Dek Gung
‘Putu tightly held Dek Gung’s hand.’

(Ngurug Pasih: Engkebang Bulan, 2014:22)

- (31) *Luh Sarmini ngénggalang milu makecos ka sisin*
Luh Sarmini N-quick-ang follow jump to outside-POS
gelogor-é.
pigpen-DEF
‘Luh Sarmini also quickly jumped to the outside of the pigpen.’

(Ngurug Pasih: Pekak Kaung, 2014:59)

- (32) *Tiang ngénggalang nyelepin tongos paméran-né.*
1SG N-quick-ang N-enter place exhibition -DEF
‘I quickly entered the exhibition venue.’

(Ngurug Pasih: Museum, 2014:18)

- (33) *I Pekak ngénggalang nyambatang apang cucuné*
ART grandfather N-quick-ang N-tell so that grandson-POSS
nawang.
know
‘Grandfather quickly said (something) so that his grandson knew (something).’

(Ngurug Pasih: Car Free Night, 2014:72)

The following are examples of imperative clauses. In imperative clauses the adverbial verb form is always unmarked, but the main verb can be an unmarked or a marked form.

- *Suffix –in*

- (34) *Lamun ada ané serem-serem, énggalin alih bapak lan*
if exist REL spooky-spooky quick-in look for father and
ibu guru-né.
mother teacher –DEF
‘If there are something spooky, please quickly look for the teachers.’

(Ngurug Pasih: Museum, 2014:15)

- (35) *Lamun ada anak teka énggalin baang cang kode.*

If exist person come quick-in give 1SG code
'If there is someone coming, please give me a sign quickly'

(Ngurug Pasih: Kode Alam, 2014:37)

(36) *Dék énggalin meli nasi goreng*
Dék quick-in N-buy rice fry
'Dek, please buy fried rice quickly'

In example (34), both verb forms are unmarked, *enggalin* 'quicken' and *alih* 'look for'. The same is true with the verb form in (35), *enggalin* and *bang* 'give'. But the example (36) showed that the main verb is the marked form. So for the imperative clause, the adverbial verb is always unmarked, whereas the main verb can be unmarked or marked. In the following examples, the main verb is a marked form.

• *Suffix -ang*

(37) *Enggalang jani Madé nelépon ambulans...*
Quick-ang now Made N-call ambulance..
'Made, quickly call the ambulance now...'

(Belog: Galah Siduri, 2014: 6)

(38) *Dabdabang minehin apang pajalanné rahayu.*
slow-ang N-think so that way-POSS safe
'Please think slowly so that your way will be safe.'

(Ngurug Pasih: Ajeg Gengsi, 2014: 6)

The following are examples from different adjective semantic types, the semantic types of adjective base described so far are of speed types.

(39) *Bli Putu, tekekang gisi liman titiang-é.*
Brother Putu, tight-ang hold hand-POS 1SG-DEF
'Bli Putu, please hold my hand tightly.'

(Ngurug Pasih: Engkebang Bulan, 2014:22)

(40) *Nyangetang dadi pengeng ajak dadua.*
N-hard-ang become headache with two
'Our headache got worse or two of us got worse headache'

(Bungklang Bungking: Bangkung Téngésan, 2008:21)

(41) *Nyangetang kedék krama-né.*
N-hard-ang laugh member-DEF
'The members' laughing gets louder.'

(Bungklang Bungking: Mamitra, 2008:64)

(42) *Nyaruang ia nyemak yéh wadahina émbér.*
N-unclear-ang 3SG take water put in bucket
'He/She pretended to take the water and put it into the bucket.'

(Ngurug Pasih: Pekak Kaung, 2014:59)

- (43) *Cai bedikin matakon.*
2SG little-in ask
'You don't ask too much.'

(Ngurug Pasih: Kode Alam, 2014:36)

- (44) *Tolih melah-melahang apang iraga ajak makejang.....*
look N-good-good-ang so that 1SG with all
'Please see carefully so that we are all....'

(Ngurug Pasih: Museum, 2014:18)

- (45) *Jani selegang Iluh mlajah apang ...*
Now diligent-ang Iluh learn so that
'Now, Iluh, study dilligently, so that ...'

(Ngurug Pasih: Kekupu, 2014:9)

- (46) *Lamun cening dot maan juara selegang mlajah.*
If you kid want get winner dillegent-ang study
'If you want to be the winner, please study dilligently.'

(Ngurug Pasih: Kekupu, 2014:9)

In addition to the manner adverbial described so far, Balinese also has the confix ma-an that can be used to form an adverbial verb. The base form can be an adjective or a noun. With the adjective base, this confix is productive, whereas for a noun base, this confix has a very limited application.

Table 8: The Verbalization with Confix ma-an

Base forms		Verbs		
a. Adjective	<i>enggal</i>	'quick'	<i>maenggal-enggalan</i>	'quickly'
	<i>Alon</i>	'slow'	<i>ma-alon-alon-an</i>	'slowly'
	<i>Seleg</i>	'diligent'	<i>ma-seleg-seleg-an</i>	'diligently'
	<i>Luung</i>	'good'	<i>ma-luung-luung-an</i>	'well'
b. Noun	<i>Jaran</i>	'horse'	<i>ma-jaran-an</i>	'ride a horse'
	<i>sepeda</i>	'bike'	<i>ma-sepeda-an</i>	'ride a bike'
	<i>Kapal</i>	'ship'	<i>ma-kapal-an</i>	'travel by a ship'
	<i>jukung</i>	'canoe'	<i>ma-jukung-an</i>	'travel using canoe'

Let us consider the following examples.

- (47) *Maenggal enggalan ia magae*
Ma-quick-quick-an 3SG work
'She/he works quickly'

- (48) *Mamontoran cang luas ka Badung*
Ma-car-an 1SG go to Badung
'I went to Badung by car'

In the example (47) the manner adverbial from the adjective base is used. In (48) the manner adverbial verb used is from the noun base. Note that this formation is limited to a noun that can be used as a means of transport.

• **Demonstrative Base**

Dixon, 2010; Putrayasa *et al.* 2018; Cormier *et al.* 2013 classified demonstratives into three main types.

- (a) Nominal demonstratives
- (b) Locative adverbial demonstratives
- (c) Verbal demonstratives

Nominal and locative adverbials are common. They can be found in every language, whereas the verbal demonstratives are relatively rare. Balinese has the following forms of demonstrative.

ené 'this' *ento* 'that' (low)
niki 'this' *nika* 'that' (high)

Derived forms of the demonstrative express the meaning 'like this' or 'like that' in English,

Table 9: The Derived Forms of Demonstrative

Base forms		Derived forms	
<i>ené</i>	'this'	<i>kene</i>	'like this' (low)
<i>ento</i>	'that'	<i>keto</i>	'like that' (low)
<i>niki</i>	'this'	<i>sapuniki</i>	'like this' (high)
<i>nike</i>	'that'	<i>sapunika</i>	'like that' (high)

The use of derived nominal demonstratives, which can be glossed 'like this/like that' usually occurs with nouns.

(49) *cicing* *kéné*
 dog like this
 'dog like this'

(50) *eméng* *keto*
 cat like that
 'cat like that'

Balinese demonstrative can be changed into a morphologically complex form.

ené 'this' *nénénan* 'this'
ento 'that' *totonan* 'that'

Syntactically the simple and complex form can be used in the same way. When the complex form is used, it usually indicates a negative attitude on the part of the speaker.

(51) *Jelema* *nénénan*
 Person this
 'this person'

(52) *Guru* *totonan*
 Teacher that
 'that teacher'

The derived nominal demonstratives can be morphologically changed to express a negative emotive meaning.

kéné *kekéné* 'like this'

kéto *kekéto* ‘like that’

The relevant features of Balinese demonstratives here is that the nominal demonstra-tive can be verbalized using the suffix –ang. This derivation gives a more specific meaning which can be glossed in English as the meaning ‘do like this or ‘to do like that’.

Table 10: The Verbalization of Nominal Demonstrative

Base forms		Derived forms	
kene	‘like this’	<i>kéné-ang</i>	‘to do like this’
keto	‘like that’	<i>kéto-ang</i>	‘to do like that’
sapuniki	‘like this’	<i>sapuniki-ang</i>	‘to do like this’
sapunika	‘like that’	<i>sapunika-ang</i>	‘to do like that’

The following are examples of manner adverbial demonstrative verbs.

(53) ***Keneang*** *mungkus* *nasi-ne!*
 do like this N-wrap rice-DEF
 ‘Wrap the rice like this.’

(54) ***Sapunikiang*** *ngodot* *be!*
 do like this N-cut meat
 ‘Cut the meat like this’

The examples in (53) and (54) are imperative types. The manner adverbial verb in these examples is the initial position. It is in its basic form. The following example is an interrogative sentence.

(55) *Nguda* ***ketoang*** *cai* *melaksana?*
 why do like that 2SG behave
 ‘Why did you behave like that.’

One particular feature of the manner adverbial verb from a demonstrative base is that this verb is always in the unmarked form. When it is changed into a marked form, it can only be a main verb as shown in the following example.

(56) *Ia* ***ngeneang*** *cang*
 3SG N-do like this 1SG
 ‘She/he did this to me’

• **Numeral Base**

Numerals can be verbalized in Balinese. In order to verbalize nu- merals the suffix –ang or –in can be used.

Table 11: The Verbalization of Numerals

Numerals		Verbs	
<i>besik</i>	‘one’	<i>besik-ang/-in</i>	‘to make into one’
<i>dadua</i>	‘two’	<i>dadua-ang/-in</i>	‘to make into two’
<i>telu</i>	‘three’	<i>telu-ang/-in</i>	‘to make into four’

The base from can be reduplicated and then the suffix –ang or –in is added.

Table 12: The Reduplication and Verbalization Numerals

Base forms	Derived forms	
<i>besik-besik</i>	<i>besik-besik-ang/-in</i>	'to make into one'
<i>dadua-dadua</i>	<i>dadua-daduang-ang/in</i>	'to make into two'
<i>telu-telu</i>	<i>telu-telu-ang/-in</i>	'to make into three'

This numeral can be combined with the prefix *saka-* to form the following expressions.

Table 13: The Verbalized Numerals with Prefix *saka-*

Base forms		Derived forms	
<i>besik</i>	'one'	<i>saka-besik-ang</i>	'to make into one'
<i>dadua</i>	'two'	<i>saka-dadua-ang</i>	'to make into two'
<i>telu</i>	'three'	<i>saka-telu-ang</i>	'to make into three'

The following are some examples.

- (57) ***Besikang*** *ngaba* *pamineh*
 one-ang bring thought
 'Unite your thought'
- (58) ***Naduanin*** *ia* *nyemak* *gae*
 N-two-in 3SG take work
 'She/he has two jobs'
- (59) ***Dasa-dasain*** *ngadep* *nyuh-e!*
 ten-ten-in sell coconut-DEF
 'Sell the coconuts ten by ten'

The numeral adverbial verb can be used in its unmarked form as in (57) and (59). The example in (58) showed that the numeral adverbial verb in the marked form. The following example is the addition of the prefix *saka* 'every' to the numeral adverbial verb. This complex form cannot be nasalized. The following is one example.

- (60) ***Sakadasaang*** *ngaba* *nyuh-e* *mai!*
 every ten-ang bring coconut-DEF here
 'Bring the coconuts here ten by ten'

In addition to numerals, Balinese classifiers can be verbalized as in the following examples. The prefix *saka* and the suffix *-ang/-in* are used. There are a number of words in Balinese which can be called classifiers, for examples:

- katih* is used for counting long thin object like bamboo, hair, etc.
- bungkul* is used for counting round object like coconut, egg, etc.
- ukud* is used for counting animal like chicken, fish, etc.
- tebih* is used for counting each piece of a rice field, etc.

In order to form an adverbial verb, this classifier must be combined with the prefix *saka* and the suffix *-ang* or *-in*. Let us look at the following examples.

- (61) ***Sakaukudang*** *tampah* *siap-e!*
 make one-ang slaughter chicken-DEF
 'Slaughter the chicken one by one'

The example in (61) is an imperative clause, both the main verb and the adverbial verb are unmarked forms. This particular type of adverbial verb cannot occur in a marked form. So the following example is not acceptable.

- (62) **Nyakaukudang* *cang* *nampah* *siap-e*
N-one-ang 1SG N-slaughter chicken-DEF
'I slaughter the chicken one by one'

• *Time Adverbial Verbs*

It is useful to differentiate time expressions in Bali-nese that express present, past, and future time reference, before describing the time adverbial verbs. Past time is expressed by a time expression that has a past time reference, such as *ibi* 'yesterday' and *tuni* 'this morning'. The following sentence is the objective voice.

- (63) a. *Baju-ne* *ene* *beli* *cang* *ibi*.
shirt-DEF this buy 1SG yesterday
'I bought this shirt yesterday.'

The position of the adverb in (63a) can be varied, as shown below:

- b. *Ibi bajune ene beli cang*
c. *Bajune ene ibi beli cang*
d. **Bajune ene beli ibi cang*

With a basic verb construction, the position of the adverb can be initial, or final, or the adverb can be inserted between the subject and the verb. However, this adverb can-not be inserted between the verb and the agent complement, as in (63d); this sentence is not acceptable. The example below is an agentive voice (a nasal verb) construction:

- (64) a. *Ia* *meli* *kamus* *ibi*
3SG buy dictionary yesterday
'S/he bought a dictionary yesterday.'

The position of the time adverb in this construction can be in initial position or final position, but it cannot be placed between the verb and the object, as shown in the following example:

- b. **Ia meli ibi kamus*

The form *ibi* belongs to the low style of Balinese word. This form is replaced by *dibi* in the high style. As an adverb, this form is often preceded by the form *ane/sane*, depending on the style of the language. *Ane*, the reduced form of *sane*, is used in the low style, whereas *sane* is used in the high style. Thus, the example (64) can be rewritten as (65) below,

- (65) *Ia* *meli* *kamus* \emptyset *ane* *ibi*.
3SG buy dictionary REL yesterday
'S/he bought a dictionary yesterday.'

The expression *ane ibi* has the same function as the adverb *ibi*. They both function as an adverbial. This form can be regarded as a "reduced" noun phrase in which the head noun *dina* 'day' is unexpressed. Thus, the example

(64) can be expressed as follows:

(66) *Ia meli kamus dina ane ibi.*

In (62), the head noun *dina* is overtly expressed. It occurs without a definite marker. If it is marked, it may have different pragmatic interpretation, as in (67) below:

(67) *Ia meli kamus dina-ne ane ibi.*
 3SG buy dictionary day-DEF REL yesterday
 ‘S/he bought a dictionary yesterday.’

Example (67) shows that the head noun *dina* is definitized by the addition of the suf-fix *-e*, which has an allomorph *-ne* if the word it attaches to ends with a vowel. The example (67) can be interpreted as follows: the speaker who utters this sentence wants to tell the addressee that the agent (the subject of the sentence) has done a series (a number) of activities. One of them is buying a dictionary. This pragmatic interpretation is absent in (66). It only denotes a particular time. In addition to time expressions that clearly express past time, in Balinese, a past time reference can be formed by combining the time expressions that indicate duration of time with the *i* particle as shown in the following examples:

Table 14: Past Time Expressed by *i* Particle

Base forms		Derived forms	
<i>puan</i>	‘two days’	<i>i puan</i>	‘two days ago’
<i>telun</i>	‘three days’	<i>i telun</i>	‘three days ago’
<i>petang dina</i>	‘four days’	<i>i petang dina</i>	‘four days ago’
<i>limang dina</i>	‘five days’	<i>i limang dina</i>	‘five days ago’

The *i* form can be combined with the particle *suba/sampun* ‘already’, so the following combinations are common:

suba i puan ‘two days ago’
suba i telun ‘three days ago’
suba i petang dina ‘four days ago’
suba i limang dina ‘five days ago’

(68) *Karta luas ke Bandung suba i telun*
 Karta go to Bandung already PART three days
 ‘Karta went to Bandung three days ago.’

To express a future time reference, the word *buin* or *malih* is used together with a noun indicating time. For example:

(69) *buin mani*
 next tomorrow
 ‘tomorrow’

(70) *buin telun*
 next the day after tomorrow
 ‘the day after tomorrow’

Consider the following examples:

- (71) a. *Ia luas ka kota buin mani.*
3SG go to city next tomorrow
'S/he goes to the city tomorrow.'
- b. *Buin mani ia lakar luas ka kota*
- c. *Ia buin mani lakar luas ka kota*

Present time reference is expressed by the form *jani* or *mangkin*. Consider the following examples:

- (72) *Ia mabalih filem jani.*
3SG watch film now
'S/he is watching a film now.'
- (73) *Ipun lunga ka kota mangkin.*
3SG go to city now
'She is going to the city now.'

The possessive marker *-ne* in Balinese can be used in expressions corresponding to in the morning, in the afternoon, etc., in English. One can see an analogy with English expressions such as "of a morning" and "of an afternoon" or "nights," as in "He works nights," where the *-s*, historically a genitive marker, is now reinterpreted as a plural marker. Consider the following expressions:

<i>peteng-ne</i>	'at night'
<i>lemah-ne</i>	'at the day time'
<i>semeng-ne</i>	'in the morning'
<i>sanjan-ne</i>	'in the evening'
<i>tengain-ne</i>	'in the afternoon'

Consider the examples below:

- (74) *Ia teka mai peteng-ne.*
3SG come here night-POSS
'S/he comes here at night.'
- (75) *Ia teka mai peteng-peteng-ne.*
3SG come here night-POSS
'S/he comes here every night.'

The noun *peteng* in (75) is reduplicated. The meaning difference between the non-reduplicated and the reduplicated adverb is indicated in the English translation. Morphologically, parts of the day can be verbalized by adding the *-ang* or *-in* suffix. The derived verb can be used as a time manner adverbial verb.

The verbs derived from parts of the day can be in the unmarked or the marked form. Parts of the day can also be verbalized using the prefix *pa-* and the suffix *-in*. Note that in this formation, the suffix *-ang* cannot be combined with the prefix *pa-*.

Table 15: The Verbalization of Day Part Noun with –ang/-in

Day part noun		Verb
<i>semeng</i>	‘morning’	<i>semeng-ang</i>
		<i>semeng-in</i>
<i>tengai</i>	‘noon’	<i>tengai-ang</i>
		<i>tengai-(n)-in</i>
<i>sanja</i>	‘evening’	<i>sanja-ang</i>
		<i>sanja-(n)-in</i>
<i>sore</i>	‘evening’	<i>sore-ang</i>
		<i>sore-(n)-in</i>
<i>peteng</i>	‘night’	<i>peteng-ang</i>
		<i>peteng-in</i>

Table 16: The Verbalization of Day Part Noun with pa-in

Day part noun		Verb
<i>semeng</i>	‘morning’	<i>pa-semeng-in</i>
<i>tengai</i>	‘noon’	<i>pa-tengai-(n)-in</i>
<i>sanja</i>	‘evening’	<i>pa-sanja-(n)-in</i>
<i>sore</i>	‘evening’	<i>pa-sore-in</i>
<i>peteng</i>	‘night’	<i>pa-peteng-in</i>

This confix indicates a comparative meaning as in *pa-semeng-in* ‘earlier than the usual time’. The base form of parts of the day that are verbalized using the *pa-in* confix can be a reduplicated form.

Table 17: The Verbalization of Reduplicated Day Part Noun

Reduplicated day part noun	Verb form
<i>Semeng-semeng</i>	<i>pa-semeng-semeng-in</i>
<i>Sanja-sanja</i>	<i>pa-sanja-sanja-in</i>

The example below is with the time manner adverbial which is derived from parts of the using the –ang suffix.

- (76) a. **Metengang** *Putu* *alih* *tiang*
 N-night-ang Putu look for 1SG
 ‘I look for Putu later at night.’
 b. *Putu metengang alih tiang.*

It is difficult to find the accurate translation of the adverbial verb *metengang* in (76). An illustration that can explain the use of this time adverbial verb is as follows. For instance, looking for Putu is usually done at ten, and then the time is changed into at 11, in this context the time adverbial verb, *metengang*, can be used.

- (77) a. **Metengang** *tiang* *ngalih* *Putu*
 N-night-ang 1SG N-look for Putu
 ‘I look for Putu later at night.’
 b. *Tiang metengang ngalih Putu.*
- (78) *Sampun* *nyansan* **ngwengiang** *ipun* *rauh.*
 already getting N-night-ang 3SG come
 ‘He has come later at the night.’

(IKD: Nyruti, Bali Orti 22 Novémbér 2015, hal 17)

- (79) *Nglemahang ia majalan ka carik*
 N-daytime-ang 3SG walk to rice field
 ‘He walked to the rice field later at the day time’

The following are examples of time adverbial verb formed by the *pa-in* confix.

- (80) *Pasemengin luas magae!*
 Pa-morning-in go work
 ‘Go to work earlier in the morning!’
- (81) *Pesanjain cang maang celeng-e ngamah*
 Pa-evening-in 1SG give pig-DEF eat
 ‘I feed the pig later in the evening’

IV. FREQUENCY ADVERBIAL VERBS

Before discussing frequency adverbial verbs, it is necessary to describe a number of ways available in Balinese to mark frequency in order to find out which of these frequency markers can be verbalized to form adverbial verbs. Pan (2010) proposed that the notion of frequency can be divided into three classifications. Those are a quantifying frequency, a cardinal frequency, and a proportional frequency. The proportional frequency can be classified into high frequency, medial frequency, and low frequency. Each of these classifications will be explained below.

- *Quantifying Frequency*

Following Pan (2010), the quantifying frequency function refers to temporal notions which quantify over distinguished time spans on the time axis. This semantic function in English usually marked by words such as every, most, and some. The quantifying frequency function in Balinese has been discussed in our previous study (Purnawati & Artawa, 2018; Papafragou et al., 2006; Polinsky & Potsdam, 2008). This function in Balinese is marked by words *sabilang* ‘every’ (low register) or *sanunggil/satunggil* ‘every’ (high register). The examples can be seen in (82) (Purnawati & Artawa, 2018).

- (82) *Sabilang semeng tiang ngepél, mersih-in tain kuwir.*
 Every morning 1SG N-wipe clean-APL crap duck
 ‘I wipes and cleans up the duck’s crap every morning.’

(Umah, Bali Orti, June 30, 2013: 17)

Table 18: The Verbalization of Time Unit

Base forms		Derived forms	
<i>wai</i>	‘day’	<i>ngawai</i>	‘every day’ (low style)
<i>lemeng</i>	‘day’	<i>nglemeng</i>	‘every day’
<i>raina</i>	‘day’	<i>ngraina</i>	‘every day’ (high style)
<i>duang wai</i>	‘two days’	<i>ngeduang wai/ngapuan</i>	‘every two days’
<i>telung wai</i>	‘three days’	<i>ngetelung wai/ngatelun</i>	‘every three days’
<i>sasih</i>	‘month’	<i>ngasasih</i>	‘every month’
<i>bulan</i>	‘month’	<i>ngabulan</i>	‘every month’
<i>tahun</i>	‘year’	<i>ngataun</i>	‘every year’

In this subsection the focus is on the possibility of verbalizing the quantifying frequency functions. The quantifying frequency words cannot be changed into adverbial verbs using the suffixes -ang or -in suffix. The only prefix that can be used is the N- prefix (nasal prefix). The time units that can be verbalized in this way are limited.

The following are some examples.

- (83) *Ngraina luuné jagi tumbuh.*
 N-day garbage will grow
 ‘Everyday the garbage will become more and more’
 (IKD: Geginané Buka Nyampat, Bali Orti 29 November 2015, hal 17)

- (84) *Jatma ngraina mapineh nagingin isin basang kémanten.*
 Person N-day think fill content stomach only
 ‘A person only thinks how to fill his stomach everyday.’
 (IKD: Nyruti, Bali Orti 22 November 2015, hal 17)

- (85) *Kadén Gek Yani ané suba ngaminggu mulih.*
 QUEST Gek Yani REL already N-week go home
 ‘Gek Yani goes home every week, doesn’t she?’
 (SSM12, Bali Orti 9 Juni 2013, hal 7)

• **Cardinal Frequency**

In English, the cardinal frequency function can be expressed by words once, twice, ten times. Pan (2010) defined the function of cardinal frequency is to denote absolute quantities of an instance of a particular event, activity, process, or state that occur or happen in distinguished time spans on the time axis. In Balinese This function is marked by word ping/pang ‘times’. An example of this semantic function in Balinese has been provided in the previous study of temporal adverbial (Purnawati & Artawa, 2018; Wouk, 2000; Brown & Ogilvie, 2010).

- (86) *Timpal-timpal-é ba ngiterin lapangan ping pat*
 friend-PL-DEF already N-go around field times four
 ‘My friends have already gone around the field for four times’
 (Bungklang Bungklung: Cangak Maketu, 2008:22)

The compound expressions that show a cardinal frequency can be verbalized to form frequency time adverbial verbs.

Table 19: The Verbalization of Cardinal Frequency

Base forms		Verb	
<i>ping telu</i>	‘three times’	<i>ping telu-ang/-in</i>	‘to make three times’
<i>ping pat</i>	‘four times’	<i>ping-pat-ang</i>	‘to make four times’
<i>ping dasa</i>	‘ten time’	<i>ping dasa-ang</i>	‘to make ten times’

This is shown in the following examples.

- (87) a. *Suba ping pendo-ang cang ngango tali-ne*
 Already twice-ang 1SG N-use rope-DEF

‘I have used the rope twice’

b. * <i>Suba</i>	<i>ming pendo-ang</i>	<i>cang</i>	<i>ngango</i>	<i>tali-ne</i>
Already	N-twice-ang	1SG	N-use	rope-DEF

‘I have used the rope twice’

All compound words indicating a cardinal frequency can be verbalized, but the resulted adverbial verb cannot be nasalized to get an agentive voice form as in (87b).

• **Proportional Frequency (High, Medial, Low)**

The proportional frequency is the last classification of frequency. Pan proposed that this frequency is used to refer to a quantitative temporal marking, which is relative to a particular time span. This function has three levels: high, medial, and low (Pan, 2010). In Balinese, the high proportional frequency is marked by words *setata* ‘always’ or *pragat* ‘always’; the medial proportional frequency is marked by words *sesai* ‘often’ or *busan-busan* ‘frequently’; and the low proportional frequency is marked by word *kapah* ‘rarely’. The marking strategies for these semantic function can be seen in the following examples respectively, taken from Purnawati & Artawa (2018); Hinkel (2003); Thráinsson (2010).

(88) *Sajak-sajak-né setata ngaé anak ngeling sigsigan.*
 poem-PL-POS always make person cry sobbing
 ‘His/Her poems always made people cry.’

(Bungklang Bungklung: Cangak Maketu, 2008: 23)

(89) *Cucuné sesai ngambul.*
 Grandson-POSS often get cranky
 ‘His grandson often becomes cranky.’

(Ngurug Pasih: Car Free Night, 2014:71)

(90) *Busan-busan ngajak anak muani ené, buin kesep-né* frequently
 N-with person male this, again while-POS
ngajak anak muani ento.
 N-with person male that
 ‘She was with this boy frequently, but after that she was with another boy.’

(Belog: Suba Misi, 2014:15)

(91) *Dék Agus kapah nepukin anak rame.*
 Dek Agus rarely see people crowded
 ‘Dek Agus rarely sees crowded people’

(Ngurug Pasih: Car Free Night, 2014:70)

The frequency adverbs can be verbalized as shown below.

Table 20: The Verbalization of Frequency Adverb

Basic form	suffixed by <i>-ang/-in</i>	confixed by <i>pa-in</i>
<i>sai</i>	<i>sai(y)-ang/in</i>	<i>pa-sai(n)in</i>
<i>pepes</i>	<i>pepes-ang/in</i>	<i>pa-pepes-in</i>
<i>kapah</i>	<i>kapah-ang/-in</i>	<i>pa-kapah-in</i>
<i>biasa</i>	<i>biasa-ang/-in</i>	<i>pa-biasa-in</i>

Let us take the adverb *kapah* as an illustration:

- (92) a. *Ia kapah teka mai*
 3SG rarely come here
 ‘S/he rarely comes here.’
- b. ***Kapahang teka mai!***
 Rare-ang come here
 ‘Come here rarely’
- c. *Ia ngapahang teka mai*
 3SG N-rare-ang come here
 ‘S/he rarely comes here.’
 (lit. S/he ‘become rare’ comes here’)
- (93) a. ***Pakapahin teka mai!***
 Pa-rare-in come here
 ‘Come here more rarely’
- b. *Ia makapahin teka mai*
 3SG pa-rare-in come here
 ‘S/he more rarely comes here’

In (92a), the word *kapah* ‘rarely’ is used. This word is verbalized in (92b) by adding the suffix *-ang* and this form is in the agentive voice, whereas in (93a) the confix *pa-in* is used to verbalize the word *kapah*. All words that belong to this category can be verbalized in the same way.

V. DIRECTIONAL ADVERBIAL VERBS

First we need to describe how locative notions are expressed.

- (94) *Ia idup di desa.*
 3SG live in village
 ‘S/he lives in the village.’
- (95) *Ipun malingih ring kota* (high style)
 3SG live in city
 ‘S/he lives in the city.’

Both prepositions *di* and *ring* are used to indicate a location. The preposition *di* is used in the low style, while *ring* is used in the high style. To indicate a movement towards a certain place, the preposition *ka* is used. For example:

- (96) *Ia majalan ka peken*
 3SG walk to market
 ‘S/he walks to the market.’

The adverbs of place *dini/deriki* or *ditu/derika* are also used in similar way as the adverbs here and there in English. For example:

- (97) *Cang pules dini*
 1SG sleep here
 ‘I sleep here.’

Note that the form *dini* and *ditu* are used in the low style, whereas the forms *deriki* and *derika* are used in the high style. In addition to the use of prepositional phrases, the words *kaja* ‘north’, *kangin* ‘east’, *kelod* ‘south’, *kauh* ‘west’, and their possible combinations, can be used as the bases of adverbs of place. These forms can be combined with the particle *ba-*, as in the following examples:

- ba-daja* ‘in the north’
ba-dauh ‘in the west’
ba-delod ‘in the south’
ba-dangin ‘in the east’
- (98) *I Bapa negak ba-dauh*
 Father sit in-west
 ‘Father is sitting in the west.’

Words of direction can be verbalized in order to form a directional adverbial verb. The directional adverbial verb can be formed by adding the suffix *-ang* or *-in* to the base, which indicates distance, position, or direction: *kangin* ‘east’, *kauh* ‘west’.

Table 21: The Verbalization of Direction Words

Base	Unmarked form	Marked form
<i>joh</i> ‘far’	<i>joh-ang/-in</i>	<i>ngejohang</i> ‘going farther’
<i>paek</i> ‘close’	<i>paek-ang/-in</i>	<i>maekang</i> ‘going closee’
<i>kaja</i> ‘north’	<i>kajan-ang/-in</i>	<i>ngajanang</i> ‘going north’
<i>kangin</i> ‘east’	<i>kangin-ang/-in</i>	<i>nganginang</i> ‘going east’
<i>kelod</i> ‘south’	<i>kelod-ang/-in</i>	<i>ngelodang</i> ‘going south’
<i>kauh</i> ‘west’	<i>kauh-ang/-in</i>	<i>ngauhang</i> ‘going west’
<i>kaja-kangin</i> ‘north-east’	<i>kajakangin-ang/-in</i>	<i>ngajakanginang</i> ‘going north-east’
<i>kelod-kangin</i> ‘south-east’	<i>kelod-kangin-ang/-in</i>	<i>ngelodkanginang</i> ‘going south east’
<i>kelod-kauh</i> ‘south-west’	<i>kelodkauh-ang/-in</i>	<i>ngelodkauhang</i> ‘going south west’
<i>tengah</i> ‘center’	<i>tengah-ang/-in</i>	<i>ngatengahang</i> ‘going to the centre’
<i>samping</i> ‘side’	<i>samping-ang/-in</i>	<i>nyampingang</i> ‘make aside’
<i>penek</i> ‘up’	<i>penek-ang/-in</i>	<i>menekang</i> ‘make up’

The confix *pa-in* can also be used to derive directional adverbial verbs. When this confix is used, it indicates a comparative meaning. This verbalized direction can be used with intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive verbs. This verbalized adverb is clearly modifying the head predicate. Consider the following sentence.

- (99) *Murid-muride ngajanang majalan*

student-PL-DEF northwards walk

‘The students walk northwards.’

In this particular example, the motion verb *majalan* is combined with the verbalized direction adverb, *ngajanang*. This clause may be expressed in two different ways in Balinese.

(100) *Murid-murid-e ngajanang*

student-Pl-DEF northwards

‘The students are going north.’

(101) *Murid-murid-e menang kaja*

student-PL-DEF towards north

‘The students are going north.’

However, the word *menang* can only be combined with a basic direction: *kaja*, *kelod*, *kangin*, and *kauh*; it never occurs with *kaja-kagin* ‘north east’, so the expression *menang kaja kangin* is not common.

(102) *Ia ngelodang negakin sepeda*

3SG southwards N-sit on bike

‘She went southwards riding a bike.’

In addition to the use of the –ang suffix, the –in suffix can be used in a similar way.

VI. DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION

A recent discussion of the use of the suffix –ang and –in in relation to Balinese valency classes can be found in Shibatani & Artawa (2015), Klamer (2012); Van Gijn (2005). When these suffixes are added to a base form, which can be a ‘precatatorial’ base, adjective base, noun base or a verb base, they can produce a causative construction or an applicative construction. The meaning and the syntactic aspects of the adverbial verb are further discussed in this section.

As briefly described in section 3, the suffix –ang and –in can be used to express a causative meaning. Standard descriptions of causatives are based on formal distinctions such as how the meaning component of ‘causing’ and semantic distinctions are indicated. Thus, we can have an analytic causative (or periphrastic causative), morphological causative and a lexical causative. Based on these formal types, Balinese has a morphological causative. One basic element of a causative construction is the involvement of an agent or a causer in the causative construction (Miner, 1969; Klamer, 2002; Yang, 1999; Cinque, 2004). How can the adverbial verbs that involve the use of –ang and –in be interpreted? The answer is that the adverbial verb in Balinese is an agent oriented adverbial. Thus, syntactically, its position is close to the subject of the declarative sentence and it is also clear that when the sentence is an imperative sentence, this adverbial verb relates to the addressee, which is basically the entity that does the activity indicated by the main verb.

(103) *Ngénggalang ia meli nasi.*

N-quick-ang she leave rice

‘She bought rice quickly’

- (104) *Enggalang jani Madé nelépon ambulans...*
 quick-ang now Made call ambulance..
 ‘Made, quickly call the ambulance now...’
- (105) *Dék énggalin bangun suba semengan.*
 Dék quick-in get up already morning
 ‘Dek, please get up quickly, it is already morning’

As noted earlier, voice in Balinese in this study is classified into: an objective voice, agentive voice, and passive voice.

Liman-ne gisi cang (objective voice)

hand-POSS hold 1SG
 ‘I hold his/her hand’

- (106) *Cang ngisi liman-ne* (agentive voice)

1SG N-hold hand-POSS
 ‘I hold his/her hand’

- (107) *Liman-ne ka-gisi cang* (passive voice)

hand-POSS PASS-hold 1SG
 ‘His/her hand is held by me’

In order to see the syntactic behavior of the interaction between the main verb and adverbial verb, let us use the adverbial verb *tekekang* ‘tightly’ for illustration. The base form of this adverbial verb is the adjective *tekek* ‘tight’.

- (108) *??Tekekang liman-ne gisi cang*

tight-ang hand-POSS hold 1SG
 ‘I hold his/her hand’

- (109) *Tekekang cang ngisi liman-ne*

tight-ang 1SG N-hold hand-POSS
 ‘I hold his/her hand tightly’

- (110) *??Tekekang liman-ne ka-gisi cang*

tight-ang hand-POSS PASS-hold 1SG
 ‘His/her hand is held by me’

The use of the adverbial verb *tekekang* in the above examples show that only the example in (110) is acceptable. This suggests that the adverbial verb is compatible with the agentive voice and the adverbial verb can occur in an objective voice form (a non-nasalized form) because the main verb is in the agentive voice form. Both verbs can be in an agentive voice form as in (112) below.

- (111) *Nekekang cang ngisi liman-ne*

N-tight-ang 1SG N-hold hand-POSS
 ‘I hold his/her hand tightly’

The agentive voice form of the adverbial verb, *nekekang*, cannot be used with an objective or passive voice. For the imperative sentence, we can have the following possibilities.

(112) *Tekekang* *gisi* *liman-ne*
tight-ang hold hand-POSS
'Hold his/her hand tightly'

(113) *Tekekang* *ngisi* *liman-ne*
tight-ang hold hand-POSS
'Hold his/her hand tightly'

In (113) the main verb is an objective voice form, while the verb in (114) is in an agentive voice form. The adverbial verb for an imperative sentence is always in an objective voice. Syntactically, the basic position of the verbal adverbial is between the subject and predicate. This adverbial verb can be fronted as in (115b). The double slashes (/ /) is used to indicate a pause when the adverbial verb is fronted or in a final position. The final position is rare as it is a marked position.

(114) a. *Nyoman* *ngenggalang* *meli* *jaja*
Nyoman N-quick-ang buy cake
'Nyoman bought cake quickly'
b. *Ngenggalang* // *Nyoman meli jaja*
c. *Nyoman meli jaja* // *ngenggalang*

VII. CONCLUSION

Balinese shows productive ways of forming adverbial verbs using the *-ang* and *-in* suffixes from different word classes. The adverbial verbs found in Balinese are manner, time, frequency and directional adverbial verb. The manner adverbial verbs can be derived from an adjective base, demonstrative base, numeral base or classifier base. For the time adverbial verb, the base form can be the time unit such as day, week, month, or year. This kind of adverbial verb only occurs in an agentive voice verb form. For the frequency adverbial verb, the compound expressions that show cardinal frequency can be verbalized to form a frequency time adverbial verb. An adverb that indicates frequency like the word *often* in English can also be verbalized. Words that indicate direction can be verbalized in Balinese to form a directional adverbial verb. The unmarked position of the adverbial verb is between the subject and the predicate (the main verb). The fronted and the final positions are marked positions. The adverbial verb can be in an objective verb form as well as in an agentive verb form.

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