



NEW INSIGHTS INTO BALINESE PROVERBS: A SYNTACTIC PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

This study investigated two syntactic aspects of Balinese proverbs, namely sentence types and sentence functions. Descriptive qualitative method was applied in this study. The data were obtained from a Balinese proverbs book entitled Paribasa Bali by Ginarsa (2009), and analyzed based on Mac Coinnigh's framework (2015). The results revealed that a number of Balinese proverbs have simple sentence type, while few of which have complex, compound, and compound-complex sentence type. Additionally, not all Balinese proverbs can be considered as a sentence, since some of which appear in the form of incomplete sentence and dependent clause. Meanwhile, in terms of sentence functions, the most common form among Balinese proverbs is declarative/indicative function, followed by some interrogatives, imperatives, and few combinations of two sentence functions. These findings indicate that Balinese people are more likely to use simple sentence and declarative/indicative function when it comes to passing proverbs in everyday context. However, it is also implied that Balinese people have the tendency to employ various types and functions of proverbs for specific purposes, such as performance and religious purposes.

INTRODUCTION

Proverbs, short sayings which belong to the figures of speech, have been used for ages, even in modern society (Mirahayuni & Garnida, 2017). This is due to its effectiveness in carrying messages about human condition, as well as other things that happen in the world. In addition to that, Lai (2018) claimed that if proverbs are explored further, it can give profound understanding about moral and social values within a society, as well as philosophy and criticism of life. Moreover, studying proverbs can also promote clearer insight on how language is evolving over time, as they have existed since the ancient times (Liontas, 2018).

The study of proverbs, or widely known as paremiology, have been investigated in a great variety of languages and cultures (Mieder, 2004, p.125). Numerous researchers have shown their interest in conducting proverbs studies from various perspectives (Akanbi, 2015; Arnawa, 2016; Richardson et al., 2017; Mirahayuni & Garnida, 2017; Kouega, 2017; Budiarta & Kasni, 2017; Lai, 2018; Maneechukate, 2018; Perangin-Angin & Dewi, 2020). From the cultural perspective, for instance, Richardson et al. (2017) examined how Chinese and Malay proverbs reflect the work ethics within the two cultures. A study by Lai (2018), on the other hand, explored the metaphor in Hakka proverbs based from the viewpoint of culture and linguistics. In Indonesia, some previous works have contributed in conducting studies on proverbs. One of the recent instances is a study by Mirahayuni and Garnida (2017), which discussed the cultural values of some animal concepts used in Indonesian proverbs, and how those symbolisms depict positive and negative human attitudes according to Indonesian people. Similarly, Maneechukate (2018) investigated how Indonesian proverbs reflect the characteristics of Indonesian people, as well as the cultural and religious values which are ingrained in the society. These findings convey that culture is an undeniable influencing factor when it comes to analyzing proverbs.

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Besides carrying different cultural values, proverbs may also vary in terms of syntactic aspects. Though proverbs are commonly comprehended as relatively short, various purposes and situations may influence the structure of proverbs itself, thus proverbial expressions can no longer be considered as having a strict form (Mieder, 1993, p.8). As an emphasis for this point, Mac Coinnigh (2015, p.113) asserted that proverbs may be classified based on certain structural aspects, two of which are sentence types and sentence functions. Evidently, proverbs may appear as having one of these four sentence types of proverbs, namely simple, complex, compound, and compound-complex sentence types (Mac Coinnigh, 2015, p.113). Examples of each are listed as follows:

- | | |
|---|-----------------|
| (1) Silent waters run deep. | Affirmative (+) |
| (2) Comparison is no reason. | Negative (-) |
| (3) When the wine is drawn, one must drink it.
[Sub-clause] + [Clause] | |
| (4) Falseness lasts an hour and truth lasts till the end of time.
[Clause] + [coordinator – and] + [Clause] | |
| (5) When the oak is before the ash, then you will only get a splash; when the ash is before the oak, then you may expect an oak.
[Sub-clause] + [Clause] ; [Sub-clause] + [Clause] | |
- (Mac Coinnigh, 2015, pp.114-115)

As pointed out by Mac Coinnigh (2015, p.114), proverbs with simple sentence type may either appear in affirmative form (1) or negative form (2). Both of which are constituted by one subject and one predicate, hence classified as a simple sentence type. In addition to that, complex sentence type of proverbs is exemplified by (3), where there is a main clause ‘one must drink it’ that is followed by a sub-clause ‘when the wine is drawn’. This type of proverbs may also have more than one sub-clause, and it can either be adjectival, adverbial, or nominal Mac Coinnigh (2015, p.114). In (4), it shows that proverbs may be seen in the form of compound sentence, since there is a conjunction, i.e. *and*, which merges two independent clauses into one sentence. It needs to be emphasized that other conjunctions such as *but*, *or*, *so*, and *yet* may also be found in this type of proverbs. Last but not least, (5) portrays a compound-complex sentence type of proverbs. In other words, it is possible that a proverb contains two or more main clauses and at least one sub-clause (Mac Coinnigh, 2015, p.115).

It is further elaborated that proverbs may as well be categorized based on the sentence functions (Mac Coinnigh, 2015, p.115), and the two main classifications are affirmative and communicative functions. The former one is further divided into declarative/indicative and interrogative functions, while the latter one is classified into imperative and exclamatory functions. Some of the examples are shown in (6), (7), (8), and (9).

- (6) Bad news travels fast.
 - (7) Does a chicken have lips?
 - (8) Look before you leap.
 - (9) What goes around comes around!
- (Mac Coinnigh, 2015, p.116)

In this case, the most common sentence function among proverbs around the world is declarative or indicative function, as exemplified by (6) (Mac Coinnigh, 2015, p.115). Further, Mac Coinnigh (2015, pp.115-116) pointed out that proverbs may also appear in the form of an interrogative sentence (7), namely WH-interrogatives or yes/no questions. It is also evident that some proverbs are expressed in the imperative form, as in (8). Last but not least, (9) reveals that proverbial expressions may have exclamatory function, and it is

prevalently indicated by the use of *what* or *how* at the beginning of the proverb (Mac Coinnigh, 2015, p.116). Consequently, there are at least four sentence types and four sentence functions that can be identified.

This is in accordance with the findings of previous studies on syntactic aspects of proverbs. First of all, Akanbi (2015) identified five classifications of Yorùbá proverbs based on the structure, namely negative, interrogative, focus construction, relative clause, and subjunctive clause construction type. Similarly, a study by Kouega (2017) carried out results that Cameroon Pidgin English proverbs may be divided into two sentence types, namely simple sentence, as well as complex sentence with either adverbial or relative clause. Likewise, Perangin-Angin and Dewi (2020) also recently discussed how Pagu proverbs can be further categorized into at least three sentence types (e.g. simple, complex, and compound sentence types) and five sentence functions (e.g. affirmative, negative, interrogative, imperative, and contrastive sentence functions).

On the other hand, Balinese proverbs have ten classifications of proverbs based on the usage, such as: a) *Wewangsalan*, b) *Peparikan*, c) *Sesonggan*, d) *Sesenggakan*, e) *Sesawangan*, f) *Bladbadan*, g) *Seloka*, h) *Sesapan*, i) *Raos Ngempelin*, and j) *Cecimpedan* (Ginarsa, 2009, pp.1-86). The first category, *Wewangsalan*, is generally used in traditional *Wayang* shows in Bali, while the second one, i.e. *Peparikan* proverbs are employed in Balinese Janger dance shows (Ginarsa, 2009, pp.1-24). Further, Ginarsa (2009, pp.27-39) asserted that the next two categories, namely *Sesonggan* and *Sesenggakan*, are employed in describing certain life situations as well as giving criticisms or praises for other people. Similarly, this also applies to *Sesawangan* and *Bladbadan* categories (Ginarsa, 2009, pp.45-52). In addition, Ginarsa (2009, pp.67-74) claimed that Balinese people pass proverbs from *Seloka* category in terms of giving advices, while *Sesapan* category is employed for religious purposes. Ginarsa (2009, pp.78-84) further added that *Raos Ngempelin* category is specifically used in comedy performances, and *Cecimpedan* category is described as Balinese children riddles.

Despite the fact that Balinese proverbs have a great variety of categories, Balinese people—especially the young generations, rarely use them in everyday communication (Ardiana & Suryawan, 2020). Furthermore, studies on Balinese proverbs are currently limited to the pragmatic aspects and the use of animal concepts from the semantic perspective (Arnawa, 2016; Budiarta & Kasni, 2017). In terms of the syntactic aspects, Budiarta and Kasni (2017) mentioned that some Balinese proverbs can be categorized into three types of structure, namely simple sentence, dependent clause, and complex sentence. Nonetheless, the findings only cover Balinese proverbs that carry the concept of animals, resulting in the lack of explanation of sentence types and sentence functions of Balinese proverbs in general. Moreover, since some previous researchers have shown that proverbs across languages vary in terms of sentence types and sentence functions, it is worth emphasizing that studies on structural aspects of proverbs need to be more widely discussed. Hence, the research questions of this present study are formulated as follows: 1) What are the sentence types of Balinese proverbs? 2) How can Balinese proverbs be identified based on the sentence functions?

METHOD

Descriptive qualitative method was applied in this study. The source of the data was a Balinese proverbs book entitled *Paribasa Bali* by Ginarsa (2009). This book was chosen as the data source because it has been acknowledged since 1969—the year it was included in *Majalah Bahasa dan Kesusastraan* in Jakarta. In addition to that, this book received a wider recognition after it was officially published in 1970. The latest edition of the book, namely the Sixth Edition, was chosen as the data source, since the language has been adapted to the

language of today. The book consists of ten chapters, each of which discusses about different category of Balinese proverbs. However, in collecting the data, two categories, i.e. *Wewangsalan* and *Peparikan*, were not included since the framework could not be applied in analyzing proverbs from both categories. As a result, the data were obtained from eight categories of Balinese proverbs, such as: a) *Sesonggan*, b) *Sesenggakan*, c) *Sesawangan*, d) *Bladbadan*, e) *Seloka*, f) *Sesapan*, g) *Raos Ngempelin*, and h) *Cecimpedan* (Ginarsa, 2009, pp.27-86).

In terms of data analysis, the proverbs were examined based on Mac Coinnigh's model (2015) of two syntactic aspects of proverbs, which are sentence types and sentence functions. To begin with, the first syntactic aspect, i.e. sentence types of Balinese proverbs was identified. Then, some proverbs that could represent each category were chosen and re-classified based on the sentence types. After identifying the first syntactic aspect, the proverbs were examined and re-categorized according to the second syntactic aspect, namely sentence functions. It needs to be highlighted that a Balinese-Indonesian-English synonym dictionary, entitled *Kamus Sinonim Bahasa Bali* by Sutjaja (2003) was used as the research instrument in this study. This is due to checking the correct English word equivalence for the Balinese proverbs in presenting the findings. Hence, the findings were able to be complemented with the gloss and English translations of the Balinese proverbs. Last but not least, the conclusion was drawn based on the findings.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

1. Sentence Types of Balinese Proverbs

The findings show that Balinese proverbs vary based on the sentence types, such as simple sentence type, complex sentence type, compound sentence type, and compound-complex sentence type. Nevertheless, it is also evident that not all Balinese proverbs can be considered as a complete sentence, as there are proverbs which have incomplete sentence type and dependent clause type found in the data.

1.1 Simple Sentence Type

First of all, Balinese proverbs with simple sentence type can be found in six out of eight categories, namely *Sesonggan*, *Sesenggakan*, *Sesawangan*, *Seloka*, *Bladbadan*, and *Raos Ngempelin*. In other words, each of these proverbs consists of a subject and a predicate (Mac Coinnigh, 2015, p.114). Furthermore, it is essential to highlight that this sentence type of Balinese proverbs appears either as an affirmative or a negative form.

1.1.1 Affirmative Simple Sentence Type

Some proverbs from four categories, which are *Sesonggan*, *Sesenggakan*, *Sesawangan*, and *Seloka* have affirmative simple sentence type. Data (10), (11), (12), and (13) exemplify proverbs from these four categories respectively.

- | | |
|--|-----------------|
| (10) <i>Lelipi ng-alih gegitik</i>
snake ACT-get stick
'A snake is looking for a stick' | Affirmative (+) |
| (11) <i>Genit-e bakat gesges-a</i>
itch-DEF get scratch-PASS
'The itch gets scratched' | Affirmative (+) |
| (12) <i>Seledet-ne kadi tatit</i>
glance-DEF like lightning
'The glance is like the lightning' | Affirmative (+) |
| (13) <i>Yeh- e kija laku-nang-a membah</i> | Affirmative (+) |

water-DEF where go-APPL.PASS flow
 ‘The water always flows down’

In (10), the subject is *lelipi* ‘snake’ and it is followed by a predicate *ngalih gegitik* ‘is looking for a stick’, making it clear that this *Sesonggan* proverb has simple sentence type with affirmative form. Correspondingly, (11) depicts a proverb that contains a subject and a predicate as well, despite the fact that it comes from a different category, which is *Sesenggakan*. In this case, the subject is *genite* ‘the itch’ and the predicate is *bakat gesgesa* ‘gets scratched’. Hence, it meets the requirements of affirmative simple sentence type. The similar thing applies to (12) that shows *seledetne* ‘one’s glance’ as a subject and ‘*kadi tatit*’ ‘is like the lightning’ as a predicate. Interestingly, this proverb represents another category, which is *Sesawangan*. Moreover, Balinese proverbs with affirmative simple sentence type can also be found in the category of *Seloka*, as shown by (13), where *yehe* ‘the water’ is the subject and *kija lakunanga membah* ‘always flows down’ is the predicate. These four instances initially convey that Balinese proverbs from different categories may share the same type of sentence, despite having dissimilar usages.

1.1.2. Negative Simple Sentence Type

Another interesting point found in the data is that Balinese proverbs not only have affirmative simple sentence type, but also negative simple sentence type—which is in line with Mac Coinnigh’s claim (2015, p.114) that simple sentence type of proverbs may appear as an affirmative or a negative form. Data (14), (15), and (16) display the examples of Balinese proverbs with this type of sentence.

- | | |
|--|--------------|
| (14) <i>Kuluk ngongkong tuara nyegut</i>
dog ACT-bark NEG ACT-bite
‘Barking dogs do not bite’ | Negative (-) |
| (15) <i>Tiang tusing ngelah pangaukan meng</i>
1SG NEG ACT-have summon cat
‘I do not have a cat’s summoning sound’ | Negative (-) |
| (16) <i>Tiang ko tusing taen ngapesang pipis</i>
1SG also NEG ever trouble-APPL money
‘I also do not ever worry about money’ | Negative (-) |

Proverb (14) belongs to the same category as (10), namely *Sesonggan*. This indicates that a category of Balinese proverbs has the possibility of having more than one sentence type. However, in this case, the subject is *kuluk ngongkong* ‘barking dogs’ and the predicate contains a negation *tuara* ‘not’, as in *tuara nyegut* ‘do not bite’. Thus, it is clear that this instance comes in a form of negative simple sentence type. It is also evident that (15), which belongs to the category of *Bladbadan*, is constituted by a subject, i.e. *tiang* ‘I’ and a predicate, which is *tusing ngelah pangaukan meng* ‘do not have a cat’s summoning sound’. Nonetheless, the negation in this proverb is marked by the word *tusing* ‘not’, which is not the same as the previous one. Similarly, in (16) *tiang* ‘I’ becomes the subject, and *tusing* ‘not’ marks the negation in the predicate *ko tusing taen ngapesang pipis* ‘also never worry about money’. Despite sharing a similarity of negation with (15), this example comes from a different category, namely *Raos Ngempelin*. It also needs to be addressed that although (14), (15), and (16) exemplify negative simple sentence type of Balinese proverbs, this type appears not as frequent as the affirmative ones.

1.2 Complex Sentence Type

The second type of sentence found in Balinese proverbs is complex sentence. As pointed out by Mac Coinnigh (2015, p.114), one clause and at least one sub-clause make a

proverb be considered as having complex sentence type. The following data were obtained from two different categories of Balinese proverbs. Proverb (17) falls under the category of *Raos Ngempelin*, while (18) belongs to *Sesapan* category.

- (17) *Dugas arja-n tiang-e ma-igel-an, enggang-enggep*
 when arja-POSS 1SG.POSS ACT-dance speechless
 ‘When I was performing Arja dance,
 [Sub-clause]
anak-e me-balih
 person-DEF ACT-watch
 ...the audience watched speechlessly’
 + [Clause]
- (18) *Yen ilang saka-ne ne, wastu iba tusing ilang*
 if lost pole-DEF this hopefully 2SG NEG lost
 ‘If this pole is lost, hopefully you will not be lost’
 [Sub-clause] + [Clause]

As can be seen from (17), the main clause *enggang-enggep anake mebalih* ‘the audience watched speechlessly’ is preceded by a WH-sub-clause, i.e. *dugas arjan tiange maigelan* ‘when I was performing Arja dance’. Thus, it is noticeable that (17) has complex sentence type. Earlier on, this category of *Raos Ngempelin* has been mentioned as having negative simple sentence type in (16), making the case similar to *Sesonggan* category that has more than one type of sentence. Meanwhile, in (18), the proverb begins with a sub-clause *yen ilang sakane ne* ‘if the pole is lost’, and followed by a clause *wastu iba tusing ilang* ‘hopefully you will not be lost’. The fact that this proverb comes from a different category, namely *Sesapan*, emphasizes the point that two or more categories of Balinese proverbs may share the same sentence type.

1.3 Compound Sentence Type

Besides complex sentence type, it turns out that proverbs from *Sesapan* category may also appear in the form of compound sentence. It is worth noting that compound sentence structure is identified by the use of coordinating conjunctions, such as *and, but, or, so*, and so on (Mac Coinnigh, 2015, p.114). Proverb (19) exemplifies compound sentence type of Balinese proverbs from the category of *Sesapan*.

- (19) *Ratu Bhatara Brahma, titiang nunas pasikepan mangda*
 Lord Brahma 1SG ACT-ask amulet so.that
 ‘Lord Brahma, I am asking for amulets, so that...
 [Clause] + [coordinator – so]
rahayu rare-n tiyang-e ring margi
 well child-POSS 1SG.POSS at way
 ...my child will be safe on (his/her) way’
 + [Clause]

Proverb (19) belongs to the category of *Sesapan*, which is generally intended for religious purposes (Ginarsa, 2009, p.74). Consequently, it begins with a greeting to *Ratu Bhatara Brahma* ‘Lord Brahma’, and then followed by two independent clauses, i.e. *titiang nunas pasikepan* ‘I am asking for amulets’ and *rahayu raren titiange ring margi* ‘my child will be safe during the journey’. In this case, the two clauses are merged by a coordinating conjunction *mangda* ‘so that’. However, it needs to be addressed that compound sentence type of Balinese proverbs is only present on this category, unlike the previous types, which are simple sentence type and complex sentence type.

1.4 Compound-Complex Sentence Type

Speaking of compound and complex sentences, the combination of both sentence types may also be found in one category of Balinese proverbs, which is *Seloka*, as shown in (20). This category is associated with the act of giving advices (Ginarsa, 2009, p.67)

- (20) *Yan nongos di pedesaan, sesida-sidaan baan apang bisa cara baluan*
 if ACT-place at village get.used.to by so.that able like chameleon
 ‘If you live in the village, adjust yourself so you can be like a chameleon,
 [Sub-clause] + [Clause] + [coordinator – so] + [Clause]
apang setata goba-ne ng-adung-in ane tongos-in
 so.that always appearance-DEF ACT-suitable-APPL REL place-APPL
 so you can adapt to your surroundings’
 [coordinator – so] + [Clause]

It is evident that (20) contains one dependent clause and three independent clauses. This meets the requirements of a compound-complex sentence type of proverbs, since this type of proverbs may consist of two or more independent clauses and at least one sub-clause (Mac Coinnigh, 2015, p.115). On top of that, the coordinating conjunction *apang* ‘so that’ is used twice in (20). Moreover, another proverb from this category is previously displayed in (13), as having simple sentence type. The fact that *Seloka* proverbs have simple and compound-complex sentence type further confirms that it is likely for a category of Balinese proverbs to have more than one sentence type.

1.5 Incomplete Sentence Type

Notwithstanding with the fact that some Balinese proverbs have different sentence types as classified by Mac Coinnigh (2015, p.113), there are some Balinese proverbs that could not be considered as a sentence. This is due to the lack of subject in each of these proverbs, which leads to not meeting the underlying requirement of a complete sentence. Data (21), (22), (23), and (24) were taken from different categories, such as *Sesonggan*, *Sesenggakan*, *Sesawangan*, and *Seloka*.

- (21) *Ng-entung-ang uyah ka pasih*
 ACT-throw-APPL salt to sea
 ‘Throwing salt to the sea’
 (22) *Nuturang tuak labuh*
 ACT-speak-APPL palm.wine fall
 ‘Speaking about spilled palm wine’
 (23) *Ma-baong cangak*
 ACT-neck stork
 ‘Having a stork’s neck’
 (24) *Nundunin macan medem*
 ACT-wake-APPL tiger ACT-sleep
 ‘Waking a sleeping tiger’

It is noticeable that each of these proverbs only consists of a predicate, resulting in the form of an incomplete sentence. For instance, in (21), the proverb *goes ngentungang uyah ka pasih* ‘throwing salt to the sea’, without being preceded by a particular subject. The same thing applies to (22), (23), and (24). Previously, some proverbs from these four categories have been previously mentioned as possessing simple sentence type of proverbs, as in (10), (11), (12), and (13). These findings show that Balinese proverbs not always appear in the form of a complete sentence.

1.6 Dependent Clause Type

Another non-sentence type of Balinese proverbs is dependent clause type. This type of proverbs is found in two categories of Balinese proverbs, which are *Sesonggan* and *Sesenggakan*, as exemplified by (25) and (26) respectively.

- (25) *Buka yeh-e di don candung-e.*
 like water-DEF on leaf Taro-DEF
 ‘Like water on Taro leaves’
- (26) *Buka pitik-e ilang inan-a.*
 like chick-DEF lost mother-DEF
 ‘Like a chick losing its mother’

Besides having the same type, another similarity between (26) and (27) is the fact that these proverbs begin with *buka* ‘like’. This is comprehensible since these two categories—*Sesonggan* and *Sesenggakan*, are generally meant for describing things or people by using comparisons (Ginarsa, 2009, pp.27-39). Moreover, the comparison in (26) contains an animal concept that acts as the subject, i.e. *pitike* ‘the chick’, while the subject in (27) is *yehe* ‘the water’. These findings are somewhat in agreement with Budiarta and Kasni’s research results (2017) that some Balinese proverbs that use animal concepts may appear as a dependent clause. However, in this case, the findings are not limited to Balinese proverbs that carry the concept of animals. More importantly, these two categories have previously been mentioned as having affirmative simple sentence type, as in (10) and (11), as well as incomplete sentence type in (21) and (22).

These findings indicate that Balinese proverbs are quite complex in terms of sentence types. This is due to the fact that two or more categories may share the same structure, yet at the same time, one category may also possess more than one sentence type. In spite of that, this supports Mieder’s claim (1993, p.8) that proverbs can no longer be considered as having a fixed form. Furthermore, these results strengthen the argument of previous studies that discussed how proverbs from a particular language or culture may have multiple types of structure (Akanbi, 2015; Kouega, 2017; Perangin-Angin & Dewi, 2020). While there are five different types of Yorùbá proverbs (Akanbi, 2015), simple and complex sentence types of Cameroon Pidgin English proverbs (Kouega, 2017), and three sentence types of Pagu proverbs (Perangin-Angin & Dewi, 2020), this present study shows how Balinese proverbs can be further classified into at least six different types on the basis of structure.

2. Sentence Functions of Balinese Proverbs

From the viewpoint of sentence functions, it is revealed that Balinese proverbs vary from declarative/indicative function, interrogative function, and imperative function, and combination of two sentence functions.

2.1 Declarative/Indicative Function

The most prevalent sentence function of proverbs across the globe, i.e. declarative/indicative function (Mac Coinnigh, 2015, p.115), also happens to be the most common one among Balinese proverbs, since it is found on six out of eight categories. These categories are *Sesonggan*, *Sesenggakan*, *Sesawangan*, *Bladbadan*, *Seloka*, and *Raos Ngempelin*. First of all, data (27), (28) and (29) are the instances of proverbs with declarative/indicative function from the category of *Sesonggan*, *Sesenggakan*, and *Sesawangan* respectively.

- (27) *Yeh ngetel nyidayang nge-song-in batu*
 water ACT-dense ACT-able ACT-hole-APPL stone
 ‘Dripping water can hollow out stone’
- (28) *Lindung-e kena sungga*

- eel-DEF hit booby.trap
 ‘The eel is booby trapped’
 (29) *Untu-ne putih kadi danta*
 Teeth-DEF white like ivory
 ‘The teeth are as white as ivory’

Aside from having the same sentence function, proverbs from these categories are generally used in such contexts where people intend to describe things or situations that happen in their surroundings (Ginarsa, 2009, pp.27-45). In this case, (27), (28), and (29) describes something about *yeh ngetel* ‘dripping water’, *lindungge* ‘the eel’ and *untune* ‘one’s teeth’. Even though each of which essentially carries a different subject, these three proverbs share the same purpose, i.e. describing things. Similarly, the results pointed out that some declarative/indicative functions can be found in three other categories, namely *Bladbadan*, *Seloka*, and *Raos Ngempelin*, as exemplified by (30), (31), and (32).

- (30) *Sing ma-guna pajalan tiang-e kema, mablauk ng-indang, ng-apung*
 NEG ACT-use walk 1SG.POSS there dragonfly ACT-fly ACT-float
 ‘Going there was a waste of time, flying dragonflies, useless’
 (31) *Tong nugi semal-e ulung kongkong cicing*
 NEG possible squirrel-DEF fall bark dog
 ‘It is impossible for squirrels to fall because of a dog’s bark’
 (32) *Dalang-e ento joh-joh pesan ka-upah-an*
 puppeteer-DEF that far-far very PASS-respond-APPL
 ‘That puppeteer is rarely recognized by people’

It is essential to mention that *Bladbadan* category consists of proverbs that have elaborations (Ginarsa, 2009, p.52), as in (30), *mablauk ngindang, ngapung* ‘flying dragonflies, useless’. In spite of that, this exaggeration does not necessarily affect the declarative/indicative function of this proverb. Proverb (31) comes from the category of *Seloka*, and proverbs that belong to this category are passed by Balinese people when it comes to giving advice (Ginarsa, 2009, p.67). As a result, it is comprehensible that (31) has declarative/indicative function, since advices are usually uttered in declarative/indicative function. Likewise, proverb (32) also shows declarative/indicative function of Balinese proverbs, however, it comes from a different category, which is *Raos Ngempelin*. Proverbs that belong to this category are meant to be used in traditional comedy performances (Ginarsa, 2009, p.78), which explains the reason that (32) declares something about a certain puppeteer.

2.2 Interrogative Function

Some Balinese proverbs may also appear as having interrogative function, as in (33), (34), and (35). In addition to that, these interrogative Balinese proverbs can be classified as WH-interrogatives. This is in line with Mac Coinnigh’s claim that WH-interrogative is one of the most common type of interrogative found in proverbs (2015, p.115-116).

- (33) *Ngudiang cai uli tuni ma-satak kuang selahe,*
 why 2SG from just.now ACT-two.hundred less twenty-five
 ‘Why are you “two hundred minus twenty five”,
nyebak dogen
 ACT-cry only
 ...crying all day?’
 (34) *Kenken-ang nekepin andus-e*
 how-APPL ACT-cover-APPL smoke-DEF
 ‘How to cover up the smoke?’

- (35) *Apa anak ganggas gondong ma-ideh?*
 what person tall mump ACT-circle
 ‘What is a tall man with lots of mumps?’

An interesting thing about these findings is that not all of these proverbs contain a question mark. Nevertheless, each of which contains a function word that marks the interrogative function, i.e. *ngudiang* ‘why’ (33), *kenkenang* ‘how’ (34), and *apa* ‘what’ (35). It is also worth noting that (33) and (34) belong to two previously-mentioned categories in declarative/indicative function, namely *Bladbadan* and *Seloka*. This indicates that a category of Balinese proverbs may contain more than one sentence function, which is similar to the findings of the sentence types. As for (35), it comes from the category of *Cecimpedan*, i.e. Balinese children riddles (Ginarsa, 2009, p.84). Due to the fact that riddles naturally appear in the form of questions, it makes clear sense that interrogative is the only function found in this category, as exemplified by (35).

2.3 Imperative Function

Balinese proverbs with affirmative functions such as declarative/indicative and interrogative functions have been pointed out by above instances. In terms of communicative functions, Balinese proverbs can hardly be categorized as having such functions, since few of which carry imperative functions, and none of which has exclamatory functions.

- (36) *Ah, da ja cai ma-jempong bebek*
 huh do-NEG PART 2SG ACT-plumage duck
 ‘Huh, don’t be sulky’

Proverb (36) is an example of *Bladbadan* proverbs which comes in an imperative sentence, as indicated by the auxiliary word *da* ‘don’t’ at the beginning of the sentence. In context of proverbs, this sentence function may not be as prevalent as the declarative/indicative and interrogative ones. However, this category of *Bladbadan* possesses certain uniqueness, as it has been addressed in the two previous sentence functions, namely declarative/indicative and interrogative functions. In other words, this category has three different sentence functions that can be identified.

2.4 Combination of Two Sentence Functions

The findings show another remarkable thing, as few Balinese proverbs may also appear as having a combination of two sentence functions. This case can be found in three different categories of Balinese proverbs, namely *Seloka*, *Sesapan*, and *Raos Ngempelin*. An instance of each is presented by (37), (38) and (39).

- (37) *Lengis ulung dadi tultul aji gamet, man yan munyi kadung suba lubuh,*
 oil fall able spot by cotton then if talk overdo PRF fall
 ‘Spilled oil can be mopped by cottons, but if words have been spoken,
kenken-ang nuduk?
 how-APPL ACT-fetch
 ...how can we take them back?’

- (38) *Ratu Bhatara Indra, sampunang saba-na tiang, tiang sampun*
 Lord Indra do-NEG struck-APPL 1SG 1SG already
 ‘Lord Indra, please do not struck me, I have
nunas panugraha ring Palinggih Bhatara
 ACT-ask blessing at shrine God
 ‘asked for Your blessing at the shrine’

- (39) *Ih, ma-sugi malu, ento cunghu cai-ne misi gendola*
 ew ACT-wash first that nose 2SG.POSS ACT-contain gendola.fruit

‘Ew, wash your face first, your nose looks like *gendola* (fruit)’

Proverb (37) has an indicative function which is followed by an interrogative function. This instance comes from the category of *Seloka*, which has been mentioned in both sections of declarative/indicative and interrogative functions. Thus, it is understandable that this category also has a combination of both functions, which may as well indicate that advice can be given in various ways (e.g. declarative/indicative, interrogative, or both forms in one). On the other hand, (38) and (39) have both declarative/indicative and imperative functions. Proverb (38) belongs to a category of Balinese proverbs which is intended for religious purposes, i.e. *Sesapan* (Ginarsa, 2009, p.74). When it comes to sending prayers, it is not a rare event for people in general to beg for something. In this case, the begging part comes in imperative form, as shown by *sampunang* ‘please don’t’, and later followed by an indicative function. Similarly, in (38), the imperativeness is indicated by *masugi malu* ‘wash your face first’, right before the indicative function of the expletive sentence. Proverb (38) is a part of *Raos Ngempelin* category, and it is normally employed among the comedians when performing on stage (Ginarsa, 2009, p.78). Due to the fact that comedians have to be as expressive as possible, various types of sentence should be employed. This explains why *Raos Ngempelin* category possesses declarative/indicative, interrogative, as well as the combination of declarative/indicative and imperative functions.

It is essential to emphasize that studies on structural aspects of proverbs have not been widely conducted (Akanbi, 2015; Kouega, 2017; Perangin-Angin & Dewi, 2020). This study can enrich the existing literature of proverbs from the perspective of syntax, as the results revealed that a number of Balinese proverbs can be further classified into at least two syntactic aspects, i.e. sentence types and sentence functions. Some of the findings are in line with Mac Coinnigh's claim (2015, p.113) that simple sentence is the most prevalent type of proverbs, since it can be found in six different categories of Balinese proverbs, both in affirmative and negative forms. One of the things that can be implied from these findings is that Balinese people tend to use simple sentences to communicate with others in everyday contexts. In contrast, when it comes to using proverbs for other purposes, more sophisticated types of sentence (e.g. compound, complex, and compound-complex) are employed. In spite of that, there are some Balinese proverbs that cannot be considered as a sentence (e.g. incomplete sentence, dependent clause), supporting Budiarta and Kasni's findings (2017) that some Balinese proverbs may appear in form of dependent clause. This is also in accordance with Akanbi's study (2015) which revealed that proverbs may have certain uniqueness in terms of syntactic aspects, such as not meeting requirements of a complete sentence.

When it comes to the sentence functions, it turned out that most of Balinese proverbs have declarative/indicative function, while some others have interrogative, imperative, or combination of two functions, and none of which has exclamatory functions. These findings are notably similar to the findings of Perangin-Angin and Dewi's study (2020) that Pagu proverbs mostly possess declarative/indicative function, and only few of which have other sentence functions. Kouega (2017) also mentioned that proverbs can hardly be found in forms other than statements (e.g. interrogatives, imperatives), which puts a stronger emphasis to this point. However, interestingly, there are some Balinese proverbs which are constituted by the combination of at least two functions, and these proverbs are usually employed for other purposes such as advice-giving acts, religious purposes, and performance purposes. It is comprehensible since Mieder (1993, p.8) asserted that situations and purposes may influence the structuralism of the proverbs itself. It is worth emphasizing that this study is currently limited to two syntactic aspects of Balinese proverbs from eight categories, such as sentence types and sentence functions. As a result, the research discussion does not cover other syntactic aspects along with the details. Furthermore, there are two categories that could not

be analyzed using the framework of sentence types and sentence functions, meaning that it needs further research to explain the syntax of all Balinese proverbs.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it is revealed that Balinese proverbs can further be classified based on the sentence types and sentence functions. From the perspective of sentence types, many of Balinese proverbs are found in simple sentence structure, while only few of which have complex, compound, and compound-complex type of sentence. However, it turns out that not all Balinese proverbs could fit into these four categories of sentence types, since two additional types of Balinese proverbs were found in the data, namely incomplete sentence type and dependent clause type. Meanwhile, in terms of sentence functions, most of Balinese proverbs have declarative/indicative function, and some of which appear as having interrogative, imperative, and combination of two sentence functions. The findings may as well indicate that Balinese people use simple sentence type of proverbs in everyday context, yet they also have tendency in employing various types and functions of proverbs for other purposes, i.e. giving advices, religious purposes, and performance purposes. Due to the fact that this study is limited to two syntactic aspects of Balinese proverbs, and syntax of proverbs in general have not been widely discussed, it is suggested for future researchers to delve more into the syntactic aspects of proverbs across languages and cultures.

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