

RELATIVIZATION STRATEGIES OF APPLICATIVE ARGUMENTS RELATION IN BELITONG

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ABSTRACT

On the basis of a detailed study of the applicative phenomenon in the Belitong language done by Darmawan and Kaldina (2022), this paper suggests its symmetrical treatment specifically in terms of NP's relativization strategies. Through the descriptive-qualitative research method, this paper identifies and describes the most accessible relativization strategies in Belitong as derived from applicative constructions. The data were collected through elicitation, unstructured open-ended interviews, and document analysis of previous literature works on the Belitong language. The data analysis process proceeded by employing qualitative data techniques and a careful linguistic typological approach, RG. The results of this study showed that: (1) A gap strategy is employed in direct relativization, and it accommodates the revaluation of core arguments (S and O), (2) indirect relativization allows the application of the passivization strategy on object properties of applicative constructions. Interestingly, two types of passives are permissible to account for indirect relativization. In type 1, the advancement of an O as the head of RC causes the demotion of the initial S to *chômeur*, morphologically marked by the prefix *de-* preceding the verb. However, in the passive type 2, the base subject does not reside in *chômeur*, yet it becomes the subject of the main clause with no prefix appearing on the verb.

1. INTRODUCTION

Languages employ a variety of methods for allowing new argument additions. In linguistic typology, every language has systematic operations that describe the relationship between semantic roles and grammatical relations among valences in clauses. For example, in applicative construction, direct movement or valency raising explains the process of revaluation from the OBLIQUE role to PATIENT role or AGENT to PATIENT (see Payne 1997 and Peterson 2007 for a typological overview of applicative as one of the valency-changing morphology constructions).

A valence-raising or valence ascension, such as an applicative construction, is one of the morphosyntactic change phenomena in which the replenishment of the number of arguments is caused and marked by overt morphological affixation on verbal. This is probably included as an



internal factor (i.e., any given synchronic state of a language system), as related to the result of the make-up of the language strategies developed by the 'mind' of the speakers (Fischer, 2007). Additionally, affixation becomes one of the salient features that characterize the morphosyntactic treatment of object properties (Darmawan & Kaldina, 2022).

Concerning this notion, in the same way, the applicative constructions can undergo further operations to exhibit object properties. In other words, an applicative may be considered to have additional symmetrical treatment of their objects (i.e., the objects can display different relations simultaneously). The notion of "symmetrical treatments" is assigned to the phenomenon that is relevant to morphosyntactic and semantic characteristics like the roles of "patient" and "agent" in applicative constructions.

The notion of symmetrical treatment is closely aligned with the traditional idea of object property treatment, and this applies to any applicative construction in many languages. For example, in English, the sentences "*John bought a new car for his wife*" and "*His wife whom John bought a new car for*" exactly illustrate the promotion of an oblique relation *for his wife* to the subject in the latest relative clause (hereafter, RC).

A similar treatment (i.e., relativization strategy) applies to the Belitong Language, a traditional language of Belitong Island in Indonesia, which is branded as a nominative-accusative language. Even though the notions of relative clauses are the same, they may be presented with different morphosyntactic properties. Several scientific studies regarding the morphosyntactic phenomenon in Belitong have been conducted for years. Napsin *et al.* (1986), Arifin *et al.* (2002), Darmawan *et al.* (2021), and Darmawan & Kaldina (2022) are a few of them whose interests are in it. Unfortunately, they did not discuss the terms of symmetrical treatments, especially relativization, as an additional sense of morphosyntactic operations in the Belitong language.

The discussion explained above deals with the term "extraposition" within a simple sentence. Regarding this, Relational Grammar (henceforth, RG) is appointed as an essential approach for the investigation of a set of grammatical relations in which the results of valency-changing are determined through the processes of revaluation, promotion (i.e., valency advancement from the lower to the upper hierarchy), and demotion, which refers to valency reduction from the upper to the lower position.



This paper reports on the relativization strategies of the Belitong language as one of the symmetrical treatments of applicative constructions, with the aim of identifying and describing the strategy pattern of NP relativization of applicative constructions. In detail, this study accounts for the expansion of morphosyntactic study in Belitong in terms of the construction of relative clauses derived from applicative constructions by Relational Grammar theory. This theory concerns grammatical relations and deals with argument selection and relational change inter-components. The Malay Belitong language was chosen because it has not been thoroughly studied, and language preservation efforts have been halted since research on this language was discontinued a long time ago. This language is widely spoken by the majority of Belitong people of different dialects, whether as a daily communication tool or a medium of instruction (Darmawan, 2020; Putra, 2014).

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

An applicative may be considered to have additional symmetrical treatment of their objects (i.e., the objects can display different relations simultaneously). Kemenade (1999) suggests that this case is particularly well known accounted for the sphere of morphosyntactic change as explained by the interaction of inflectional morphology that causes the alternation of word order. In line with this, Peterson (2007) argues that the term 'symmetrical treatment' refers to the salient features of applicative constructions, allowing them to bear different semantic roles towards the applicative object. In addition, Wal (2016; 2017) describes the flexibility in symmetry of language that can be attested through several tests in different combinations of thematic roles and syntactic operations, e.g., relativization, passivization, or object marking. Also, the notion of "symmetrical treatments" is assigned to the phenomenon that is relevant to morphosyntactic and semantic characteristics like the roles of "patient" and "agent" in applicative constructions.

For example, Peterson (2007) illustrates the presence of the relativization strategy as one of three symmetrical treatments of object properties in Bukusu, a Narrow Bantu language in Kenya. The example was taken from instrumental applicative constructions with a basic sentence like (1), as adopted from Peterson (2007: 10–12), for instance,



- [1] *wanjala a-a-fuum-il-a sii-tabu lu-karatasi*
 Wanjala 3sS-TENSE-cover-APP-FV CL7-book CL11-paper
 'Wanjala covered the book with the paper'

The object *siitabu* 'the book' that appears in the immediate postverbal position is only admitted as a patient, whereas the most peripheral object, *lukaratasi* 'the paper' may be interpreted as an instrumental oblique. Next, as seen in (2), the head of a relative clause must be promoted from the instrumental oblique, rather than from the indirect object or patient:

- [2] *lu-karatasi ni-lw-o wanjala a-a-fuum-il-a sii-tabu*
 CL11-paper REL-CL11-REL Wanjala 3sS-TENSE-cover-APP-FV CL7-book
 'the paper with which Wanjala covered the book'

The notion of symmetrical treatment is closely aligned with the traditional idea of object property treatment, and this applies to any applicative construction in many languages. For example, in English, the sentences "*John bought a new car for his wife*" and "*His wife whom John bought a new car for*" exactly illustrate the promotion of an oblique relation *for his wife* to the subject in the latest relative clause (hereafter, RC). Relative clauses (RCs) are essential for the investigation of argument or valency-raising, which influence the semantic role change in a sentence (Panikar, 2020). Comrie (1989) distinguishes two types of relative clauses: restricted and non-restricted relative clauses. Radford (1988) emphasizes that non-restricted types can also be categorized as appositive relative clauses. Phoocharoensil and Simargool (2010) state that in English, *who*, *whom*, *which*, and *that* are employed as relative clause markers. The two earlier are regarded as the RC head noun referring to a person, whereas the last two markers refer to animated and unanimated things (non-human).

Both restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses include the italicized clauses, respectively, in (3) and (4):

- [3] (a) I met the man *who lives next door* in town.
 (b) The book *that you lent me* was interesting.
- [4] (a) Yesterday I met your bank manager, *who was in a filthy mood*.
 (b) John, *who was at Cambridge with me*, is a good friend of mine.

Radford (1988: 480)



Then, both restricted and non-restricted sentences must have a head as an actual referent of the overall sentence construction. In (3a), the NP ‘the book’ is the head of a restrictive relative, and the NP ‘your bank manager’ as in (4a) is accounted for as the head of a non-restrictive relative clause. However, in typological terms, the head of either a restrictive or a non-restrictive relative clause seems to be completely formed differently from the examples of English relative clauses in (3) and (4). Comrie (1989) suggests that the appearance suffix *-i* on the head of a Persian restrictive relative clause as in (6a) is necessary but does not apply to the non-restrictive (5b):

- [5] (a) *Mardhā-I [ke ketābhārā be ānhā dāde budid] raftand.*
 men that books to them you-had-given went
 ‘The men that you had given the books to went’
- (b) *Mo’allef [ke nevisandeye xubi -si] in sabkrā exteyār karde ast.*
 author that writer good is this style has-chosen
 ‘The author, who is a good writer, has chosen this style’

In restrictive relative clauses, the accessibility of NP positions to relative clause formation is essentially easier in the following forms of the accessibility hierarchy:

- [6] SU > DO > IO > OBL > GEN > O COMP

where ">" defines ease of accessibility to relative clause formation, i.e., it is easier to relativize subjects than any of the other positions, or easier to relativize direct objects than indirect objects or other possessors, (Comrie, 1989: 156).

Furthermore, Payne (1997) introduces a *gap strategy* that works for a language that has a fairly firm or strict constituent order (i.e., word order). This strategy is best described in Example (7):

- [7] (a) The alligator that saw me ate Alice
 (b) The alligator that I saw ate Alice

Payne (1997: 330)

Both relative clauses in (7a, b) can be considered to be derivations of the following deep structures:

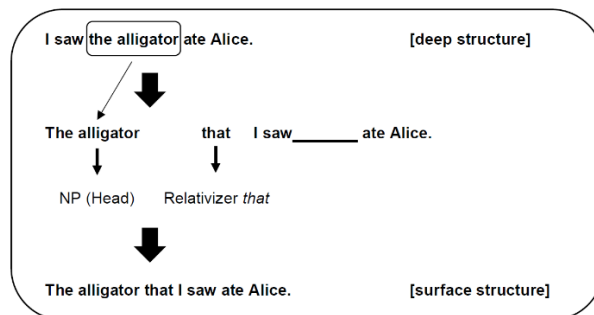
- [8] (a) The alligator that [the alligator saw me ate Alice]
 (b) The alligator that [I saw the alligator ate Alice]

Payne (1997: 330)



Within the bracketed clause, the underlined NP "the alligator" can be examined as the initial position before moving to the leftmost position as the head noun of the relative clauses (8a, b). Since the underlined NP is promoted to the subject position, it would be regarded as leaving a conspicuous "gap" in its initial position, as suggested in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Gap strategy for relative clauses



Furthermore, *pronoun retention* is accessible to express the grammatical relation of the NP_{rel} (i.e., relativized noun phrase). This strategy is employed by retaining the position or the form of the initial pronoun that references the grammatical relation of the NP_{rel}. A pronoun or pronominal retention is used in many types of relative clauses, for example, as shown in both Indonesian (9) and English (10) below.

- [9] *Gadis [yang ibu=nya membenci saya] cantik sekali*
 Girl REL mother.3SG.POSS ACT.hate.TENSE me beautiful indeed
 'The girl, whose mother hated me, is beautiful indeed'

Hanafi *et al.* (2020: 3)

- [10] That's the guy who [I can never remember *his* name]

Payne (1997: 331)

In clauses (9) and (10), the NP_{rels} are coded by the pronouns, respectively, *nya* and *his*. The bracketed clauses are the initial clauses retained within the relative clause in the position and form of direct objects.

All languages appear to allow NP relativizations, whether at subject, at subject and indirect object, or only direct objects, which is eventually how it deals with the verb agreement systems. With respect to relativization, some languages offer different precise strategies for forming it, which are either indexed by a pronominal prefix or independent words or phrases (Farrell, 2005).



For example, Sasaknese (i.e., the traditional language on Lombok Island, Indonesia) clarifies a *passivization strategy* in NP relativization. Hanafi *et al.* (2020) explain that this strategy is ordinarily applied to account for indirect object relativization. To employ this strategy, an O has to be promoted to the S position in a passive construction. For example:

- [11] (a) *Juki mantoq acong* [initial/main clause]
Juki ACT.hit dog
'Juki hit a dog'
- (b) *Acong te-pantoq-ne isiq Juki* [passive clause]
Dog PASS-hit-3SG by Juki
'The dog was hit by Juki'
- (c) *Acong siq te-pantoq-ne isiq Juki* [passive-relative clause]
Dog REL PASS-hit-3SG by Juki
'The dog that was hit by Juki'

Hanafi *et al.* (2020: 17)

3. METHODOLOGY

This research is conducted as a qualitative descriptive study. It identifies and describes the morphosyntactic phenomenon in terms of the NP's relativization strategy of the Belitong language in the Sijuk area derived from applicative constructions. The data were collected through elicitation, unstructured open-ended interviews, and document analysis of previous literature works on the Belitong language. The interview subjects were selected intentionally using a purposeful sampling technique. The samples were selected intentionally due to their support, with each of the selected comments referring to the central phenomenon. Also, they are selected because they can facilitate the process of data collection within the theory (Creswell, 2012). To determine the validity of the data, both elicitation and an unstructured interview were conducted. The data analysis process proceeded by employing the qualitative data techniques proposed by Creswell (2009: 185).

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 1 presents the results of relativization strategies on NP relations in the Belitong Language in terms of restricted and non-restricted relative clauses that are derived from applicative



constructions. Both restricted and non-restricted relative clauses are strongly indicated through the promotion of the subject of the main clause and marked by *nok* as the relativizer (i.e., the morpheme that restricts a clause as a relative clause). The relativization strategies in Belitong Language are applicable to nuclear (subject; direct object; indirect object) and oblique relations. According to the data, there are two possible types of strategies that occur in relative constructions: (a) gap strategy is for the subject, object, and OBL of benefactive, destination, and instrumental, and (b) passivization strategy is for the object, and OBL of benefactive, destination, and instrumental.

4.1 Table 1. Relative Strategies of Belitong Language

No.	Types of Strategy	NPs Relativization	Relative Marker
1.	Gap	Subject Relativization	<i>nok</i>
		Object Relativization of Benefactive Applicative Construction	<i>nok</i>
		Object Relativization of Locative Applicative Construction	<i>nok</i>
		Object Relativization of Recipient Applicative Construction	<i>Nok</i>
		Object Relativization of Instrumental Applicative Construction	<i>nok</i>
2.	Passivization	Object Relativization of Benefactive Applicative Construction	<i>nok</i>
		Object Relativization of Locative Applicative Construction	<i>nok</i>
		Object Relativization of Recipient Applicative Construction	<i>nok</i>

Because the relative constructions of NP are based on applicative construction, the relative formation can be suggested as Subject and Object for gap strategy and only Object for passivization. These strategies are explained in the subsequent section.

Discussion

Gap Strategy

The following are some relative clauses using the gap strategy.

a. Subject Relativization

Subject relativization involves a missing subject, which is known as a GAP value, and it combines with the filler or relative clause marker in accordance with the Head-Filler Rule, i.e., a rule that the gap and the filler must be filled with a RELATIVE value (Kim & Michaelis, 2020; Kim & Sells, 2008). Clause [12a] is the main clause in the form of an

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applicative construction whose core arguments are *Mulut Samsul* ‘Samsul’s mouth’ as the subject (S), which is derived initially from the instrumental oblique *dari mulut Samsul* ‘from Samsul’s mouth’ and the object (O), *kate-kate kutor* ‘bad words’ connected by the main transitive verb *ngeluarkan* ‘produce’.” The verb is derived from the word *keluar*, “out,” with the addition of the circumfix *nge-...-kan*. The prefix “nge” represents an active voice, whereas the suffix “kan” denotes an applicative marker. It is possible to regard it as having a function, that of marking the object as the patient of the action. This case is similar to Indonesian transitive verbs with the circumfix *meN-...-kan*, as suggested by Sneddon et al. (2010).

Furthermore, clause [12b] explains an S relative construction where the morpheme *nok* is registered as a relative marker. The gap strategy is identified since the initial non-relative clause (hereafter: NRC) of *S Mulut Samsul* is directly relativized.

- [12] a. *Mulut Samsul* *nge-luar-kan* *kate-kate kutor*
 Mouth.3SG ACT.produce.APPL bad words
 ‘Samsul’s mouth produced bad words’
- b. *Mulut Samsul* *nok* *nge-luar-kan* *kate-kate kutor*
 Mouth.3SG REL ACT-produce-APPL bad words
 ‘Samsul’s mouth that produced bad words’

Correspondingly, the pattern of RC can be accepted through object pronominalization associated with the alteration of the verb’s prefix, as underlined in [13].

- [13] *Mulut Samsul* *nok* *nge-luar-ek* *e*
 Mouth.3SG REL ACT-produce-APPL it
 ‘Samsul’s mouth that produced it’

In addition, an applicative object, which has been previously demoted from the initial S in a non-applicative clause, can undergo relativization to become an RC subject. In other words, the O may be relativized by using the normal or direct relativization strategy for direct object NP in the Belitong language, as suggested in [14] below.

- [14] *kate-kate kutor* *nok* *mulut Samsul* *keluar-kan*
 bad words REL mouth.3SG produce-APPL
 ‘Bad words that Samsul’s mouth produced’



The pattern in [14] is possible to claim as an RC, however, sometimes speakers are not happy or disagreeable with this sort of relative clause construction. This could be considered a situation in which the patient is treated preferentially as the object, with a lower status than the subject.

b. Object Relativization of Benefactive Applicative Construction

Many SVO languages can only relativize a syntactic subject and require some other forms to permit the promotion of the non-subject (either O or OBL) to S to make it available to be relativized. For example [15], Eades (1998), as stated in Shibatani (2008), introduces a case of DO relativization in Puyung Meno-Mené, one of the Sasaknese dialects, as follows:

- [15] a. *inaq mu=n beli sebie wiq* [main clause]
 mother PAST=3 buy chili yesterday
 ‘Mother bought chili yesterday’
 b. *inaq kelor sebie saq mu=n beli wiq*
 mother eat chili REL PAST=3 buy yesterday
 ‘Mother ate the chili that she bought yesterday.’

DO *sebie* ‘chili’ in [15 b] is not straightforwardly relativizable by using a gap strategy. Eades believes that the relativization of an O is acceptable if the promotion is followed by the initial S advancement out of the relative clause.

In the Belitong language, the O relativization is accessible, particularly in recipient applicative constructions. An O that is semantically categorized as a BENEFICIARY (abbreviated as BEN) or PATIENT (hereafter, PAT) may be relativized using a gap strategy in terms of normal or direct relativization, as seen in [16].

- [16] (a) *semek m-eli-kan rahamin rukuk* [main clause]
 semek ACT-buy-APPL rahamin.BEN cigarettes.PAT
 ‘Semek bought Rahamin the cigarettes’
 (b) *rahamin nok semek Ø-beli-kan rukuk*
 rahamin.BEN REL semek ACT-buy-APPL cigarettes
 ‘Rahamin whom Semek bought the cigarettes for.’



(c) <i>rukuk</i>	<i>nok</i>	<i>semek</i>	ϕ - <i>beli-kan</i>	<i>idang</i>	<i>rahamin</i>
cigarettes	REL	semek	ACT-buy-APPL		for rahamin.BEN
'the cigarettes that Semek bought for Rahamin'					

Examples [16b] and [c] reveal that both objects have equal access to being relativized. However, superficially applicative-relative constructions in both [16b] and [16c] may have different treatments of objects depending on the semantic role of each applicative object, therefore, both objects are displayed differently simultaneously. The recipient object *Rahamin* is treated as the subject of an RC in [16b], whereas the initial subject *Semek* retains a *chômeur* position as an indirect passive subject. Meanwhile, the initial DO tends to resist. In [16c], for instance, the promotion of DO *rukuk* 'cigarettes' to the leftmost position causes the initial subject *Semek* and IO *Rahamin* demotes to *chômeur*, as presented by the preposition marker *idang*. The base verb experiences inflection, indicated by the nasal prefix "m-" elimination, for both surface structures.

c. Object Relativization of Locative Applicative Construction

The relativization strategy in locative applicative construction is much less consistently distributed. Beginning from a basic sentence like [18], for example,

[17] a. *busu kamek* *rajin* *ng-ikat-Ø* *ujong seluar* *makai karet*
 little brother.1PL always ACT-tie-APPL trouser hem by using a rubber strap
 'Our little brother always ties his trouser hem by using a rubber strap'

Example [17a] consists of the phrase *makai karet* 'using a rubber strap' as an instrumental OBL, as preceded by the preposition *makai* 'using' right after the DO *ujong seluar* 'trouser hem.' The relativization of example [17a] is introduced by a nominal relative pronoun (i.e., suggested by the recipient *ujong seluar* at the leftmost position) that functions as a modifier in the relative clause, as presented in [17b].

[17] b. *ujong seluar* *nok* *rajin* *busu kamek* *ikat-Ø* *makai karet*
 trouser hem REL always little brother.1PL tie-APPL using a rubber strap
 'The trouser hem that our little brother ties on by using a rubber strap'

In addition, example [17b] is now regarded as a relative clause that consists of both a patient and an instrument. For the OBL to be relativized, a non-applicative verb must be



employed to make it acceptable for expressing the instrument as the modifier or head of a relative clause. The instrumental OBL *makai karet* "using a rubber strap" is possible to be advanced to RC's S, but with a note that must be helped by the additional non-applicative verb, whereas the former applicative verb is alternated to be the complement of the clause (underlined in [17c]). However, this condition is banned since the phrase *makai karet* is not an OBL, it is a *chômeur*. Even if the phrase is not ill-formed for the speakers, it is not permitted to be advanced, corresponding to the existence of a *chômeur* advancement ban (Perlmutter and Postal, 1983, cited in Blake, 2005). This is exhibited in [17c] with an asterisk (*).

- [17] c. **karet nok busu kamek rajin pakai idang ngikat ujung seluar*
 rubber strap REL little brother.1PL always use to tie the hem of the trouser
 'The rubber strap that our little brother always uses to tie the hem of trousers'

d. Object Relativization of Recipient Applicative Construction

Clause [18a] consists of a recipient object, *si Manis*, on the postverbal position and is followed by a *chômeur*, *aik*, "water." In relativization, the head of a relative clause must be interpreted as the receiver rather than as the patient. In the following example, the advancement of the initial IO to S is followed by the alternation of verb form from *ngencarikan* to *carikan*, "to look for":

- [18] a. *toq pancor tenga ngen-cari-kan si manis aik* [main clause]
 toq pancor PROG.ACT-look for-APPL the sweetie water
 'Toq Pancor was looking for water for si Sweetie'
- b. *si manis nok toq pancor tenga Ø-cari-kan aik*
 si sweetie REL toq pancor PROG.ACT-look for-REL.APPL water
 'The Sweetie whom Toq Pancor was looking for the water'

The clause [18a] contains both a patient and a receiver. Peterson (2007) explains that a non-applicative verb must be added if the patient needs to be relativized. However, that notion does not apply to Belitong's relative construction. To promote the patient to the head of a relative clause, the former RC head in [18b] *si manis* becomes a *chômeur* position as a complement with the plain preposition *idang*, as suggested in [18c]:



- [18] c. aik nok toq pancor tenga Ø-cari-kan idang si manis
 water REL toq pancor PROG.ACT-look for-REL.APPL for the sweetie
 ‘the water that Toq Pancor was looking for the Sweetie’.

e. Object Relativization of Instrumental Applicative Construction

The characteristics of relative-applicative construction in Belitong are distributed and organized similarly to the previous object relativizations. An instrumental OBL in a transitive clause behaves as an object after being promoted. Although the verb *ngelimpar* in [19a] and [19b] does not possess an applicative marker overtly, the clauses are arguably understood as a form of quasi-applicative, as Dixon (2012) explains.

- [19] a. biak-biak kecil-tu nge-limpar-Ø batu ke mutor burok-tu
 kid.PL-DET ACT-throw-APPL stone at trashy bike-DET
 ‘Those kids threw the stones at the trashy bike’

Darmawan (2020: 56)

The head of an instrumental object relative clause (i.e., a noun phrase) appears as an antecedent NP that is embedded within the relative clauses. Panikar (2020) explains that the embedded RC within the head functions as the postnominal modifier. Clause [19b] explains that the RC *nok biak-biak kecil tu limpar ke mutor burok tu* ‘that those kids threw to the trashy bike’ appears as a postnominal modifier and is understood as a full-fledged sentence that is generated from the deep structure in [19a].

- [19] b. batu nok biak-biak kecil-tu limpar-Ø ke mutor burok-tu
 stone REL kid.PL-DET throw-REL.APPL at trashy bike-DET
 ‘The stones that those kids threw to the trashy bike’

Passivization Strategy

In addition to direct relativization, another way in which nuclear and OBL relations in Belitong applicative constructions may be considered to have their RC version is that it is possible for them to be represented in indirect ways, namely passivization. This version is distinguished by the addition of the morphological element prefix *de-* to the verb inflection. The subject of the RCs is understood as the result of O or OBL advancement associated with the passivized applicative verbs. Some Belitong RCs acquired through a passivization strategy are described subsequently.



a. Object Relativization of Benefactive Applicative Constructions

The promotion of a benefactive object to the head of RC in [20] is grammatically followed by the attachment of the prefix *de-...* preceding the passive main verb. The preverbal NP *Umak* "mother" descends into a *chômeur* position and acts as an agentive adjunct [20b] in the form of passive. Clause [20c] represents O relativization through the passivization strategy.

- [20] a. *umak tenga ngen-cari-kan bapak semer [main clause]*
 mother PROG.ACT-look for-APPL father shoe polish
 'Mom is looking for the shoe polish for dad'
- b. *bapak tenga de-cari-kan semer dari umak*
 father PROG.PASS-look for-APPL shoe polish by mother
 'Dad is looked for the shoe polish by mom'
- c. *bapak nok tenga de-cari-kan semer dari umak*
 father REL PROG.PASS-look for-APPL shoe polish by mother
 'Dad who is looked for the shoe polish by mom'

The structure illustrated in [20c] corresponds to Indonesian passive type 1, i.e., a type of passive where the actor is in the third person. Interestingly, Belitong RCs can be further expressed through the second type of passive. Similar to Indonesian passive type 2, the agent or doer precedes the verb, not coming after the verb as in type 1, and the verb does not have a prefix (Sneddon et al., 2010). As derived from the deep structure in [20a], examples [21a] and [b] explain passive type 2 and the RC, respectively.

- [21] a. *bapak tenga umak cari-kan semer*
 father PROG mother look for-APPL shoe polish
 'Dad is looked for the shoe polish by mom'
- b. *bapak nok tenga umak cari-kan semer*
 father REL PROG mother look for-APPL shoe polish
 'Dad who is looked for the shoe polish by mom'



b. Object Relativization of Recipient Applicative Constructions

An O relativization of the recipient applicative construction is identical to the benefactive. In the same way, either recipient object in [22a] may appear as the subject of a passive version signaled by the prefix *de-* preceding the applicative verb, as [22b] presents.

- [22] a. *die ngem-berik-Ø aku beras*
 he ACT-give-APPL me rice
 ‘He gave me the rice’
- b. *aku de-berik-Ø beras (dari die)*
 I PASS-give-APPL rice (by him)
 ‘I was given the rice by him’

The leftmost first-person singular *aku* conveys the semantic role information of a recipient of the event the verb describes. Recipient object relativization occurs in two types of passives. First, the base subject *die* appears as an adjunct on the peripheral state, morphologically marked by the prefix *de-*, which precedes the passive verb. Second, the initial O *die* is advanced to the head of RC, yet the initial S does not undergo demotion to *chômeur* but instead appears as the main clause subject. In this case, the passive verb does not take a prefix. In the interest of convenience, these two conditions are explained in [23 a] and [23 b] correspondingly.

- [23] a. *aku nok de-berik-Ø beras (dari die)*
 me REL PASS-give-APPL rice (by him)
 ‘me who was given the rice by him’
- b. *aku nok die berik-Ø beras*
 me REL he give-APPL rice
 ‘me that he gave the rice’

c. Object Relativization of Locative Applicative Constructions

Beginning from a basic applicative sentence like [24a] with the *-kan* suffix following the verb, which reveals the semantic role of *ruma* "the house" as the location of the event described by the verb. Note that NP *ruma* was initially claimed as a locative OBL, which advanced to the O position with the assistance of an applicative operation. The immediate



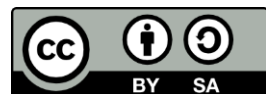
post-verbal object can occupy the subject position of both passive and relative clauses, as in [24b] and [c]. Example [24d] exhibits the second type of passive relativization.

- [24] a. *umak agik-nge-berse-kan ruma [main clause]*
 mother PROG.ACT-clean-APPL house
 'Mother is cleaning the house'
- b. *ruma agik-de-berse-kan dari umak [passive clause]*
 house PROG.PASS-clean-APPL by mother
 'The house is being cleaned by mother'
- c. *ruma nok agik-de-berse-kan dari umak [RC-passive type 1]*
 house REL PROG.PASS-clean-APPL by mother
 'The house that is being cleaned by mother'
- d. *ruma nok agik umak berse-kan [RC-passive type 2]*
 house REL PROG mother clean-APPL
 'The house that mother is cleaning'

The term *relative-applicative construction* refers to the supplementary way of treating the applicative constructions to exhibit further object properties through a symmetrical treatment, relativization. The most relative-applicative clauses can demonstrate advanced object relations as a result of gap and passivization strategies. Both gap and passivization strategies allow the raising of applicative objects to appear as RCs' subjects. However, the use of the gap strategy dominates the RC's construction compared to the latter one. It corresponds to the applicative objects raised as suggested in Table 1.

5. CONCLUSION

The main objective of this study is to identify and describe the strategy pattern of NP relativization of applicative constructions in the Belitong language. According to the findings, two relativization strategies were discovered: gap and passivization. A gap strategy is employed in direct relativization, and it accommodates the revaluation of core arguments (S and O). On the other side, indirect relativization allows the application of the passivization strategy on NPs. Both strategies are admissible for NPs' relativization of beneficial (BEN), recipient (REC), locative (LOC), and instrumental (INST) applicative constructions. Interestingly, two types of passives are permissible



to account for indirect relativization. In type 1, the advancement of an O as the head of RC causes the demotion of the initial S to *chômeur*, morphologically marked by the prefix *de-* preceding the verb. However, in the passive type 2, the base subject does not reside in *chômeur*, yet it becomes the subject of the main clause with no prefix appearing on the verb.

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