Morphology of Jakarta Dialect, Affixation and Reduplication
NUSA

Linguistic Studies in Indonesian and Languages in Indonesia

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MORPHOLOGY OF JAKARTA DIALECT, AFFIXATION AND REDUPLICATION

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Badan Penyelenggara Seri NUSA
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SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

[]   (1) phonetic spelling
     (2) elements whose appearance depends on other elements in the environment

/ / phonemic spelling

{}   (1) a single morpheme
     (2) elements among which there is a choice

()   optional elements

..... elements following the arrow are the result of processes involving preceding the arrow

~ variations in usage

*.... examples which never occur

adj.  adjectival
adv.  adverbial
conj. conjunction
excl. exclamation

n    nominal
num.  numeral
part. particle
pc    precategorical
prep. preposition
pron. pronominal
st    semitransitive
vi    intransitive verbal
vt    transitive verbal
1.1 The geographical extent of the Jakarta dialect

The Jakarta Malay dialect, the Malay which is used in the area of the capital city of Indonesia, forms a "language island" in the midst of the Sundanese which is generally used in the region of West Java. To the south and west, the Jakarta dialect is bounded by Sundanese. Only in the coastal area on the eastern boundary is Jakarta dialect bounded by a local dialect of Javanese (Budhisantoso, 1976).

The geographical extent of the use of Jakarta dialect is greater than the administrative region of the Special Region of the Capital City, Jakarta. On the east, the dialect is used to the Tambun section of the district of Bekasi, in the south to Cisalak in the district of Bogor, and in the west to Tangerang (West Java).

Excluding Tambun, Cisalak and Tangerang, the geographical extent of Jakarta is 577 square kilometers (from latitude 68 south to 11°15' south, from longitude 94°45' east to 4°05' east) (Jakarta in Figures). The population is 4,546,492 (1971 Census).

1.2 The Jakarta dialect speech community

Unlike regional languages and other Malay dialects such as Medan, Riau and Palembang Malay, the Jakarta Malay dialect is not used by a homogenous ethnic group. Since the 17th century the population has always been made up of various ethnic groups, the result of immigration both from within Indonesia and from outside of Indonesia (Castles, 1967). The immigration has continued, and the immigrants have become more varied in social and cultural background.

When Jan Pieterszoon Coen occupied the city of Jakarta in 1619, part of the population escaped to Banten. Coen then closed the city of Jakarta to the native population on the grounds of security, driving out those who attempted to return to the farms they had left (Leirressa, 1973).

The city was then "empty" of native population. Several years later Coen allowed Chinese to settle, and then Bandarase. Japanese spice merchants were an important element in the population of Jakarta until 1636. Other free inhabitants of the city were Malay, Balinese, Buginese, Ambonese, and "Moors": South Indian Muslims (Castles, 1967:155). But the majority of the population until the 19th century were slaves brought from various areas. At first slaves were brought to Jakarta from the Coromandel coast, Malabar, Bengal, Luzon and East Indonesia: Flores, Sumbawa, Sumba, Timor, Nias and Kalimantan. But the continuous source of slaves was Bali and South Sulawesi.

(See Table I.)

Table I, showing the population in three different periods, shows that at the end of the 19th century this ethnic group of such various origins had been transformed into the native inhabitants of Jakarta known as the "Anak Betawi" ("Children/People of Batavia" = "Batavian") including 5 thousand inhabitants on the outskirts of Jakarta from Java and Sunda.

The free inhabitants of these various ethnic groups, in general, lived in separate kampung (sections). The names of these kampung still remain: kampung Jawa, kampung Bugis, kampung Ambon, etc. Map 1 shows the areas in which they lived in the 17th and 18th centuries. After slavery was abolished, Java was the source of immigration to Jakarta. According to the census of 1930 (Castles 1967:166) about 50% of the population was Batavian (778 953), and the other 50% was from outside of Jakarta mainly from Sunda (494,54) and Java (142,563). The total population excluding Chinese and Europeans was 1,443,517.

Since Indonesian independence, the flow of immigration to Jakarta has become ever greater. There are not only more immigrants, but they are more varied in origin and social status. The identification by ethnic group, of the population of Jakarta is not available but of 4,475,642 inhabitants (1971 Census), 1,435,723 were born in Jakarta, 708,117 in West Java, 472,263 in Central Java, 10,368 in East Java, and the rest were born in other places in Indonesia (Jakarta in Figures, 1974).

1.3 The language

Based on the available evidence (Castles 1967:158), the language which became the lingua franca of the inhabitants of Jakarta until the 18th century was a dialect of Portuguese brought by slaves from India, already a mixed group in their place of origin. The freed slaves were known as "mardijkers". The remaining descendants of this group now live in the kampung of Tugu, a village near Tanjung priuk.

In the 19th century, the use of the Portuguese dialect gradually læased; and a form of Jakarta Malay came to replace the Portuguese dialect.

H.N. van der Tuuk thought that the language used in Jakarta was a kind of low Balinese. This mistaken and onesided impression (Teeuw 1961:45) was not supported by the research of Hans Kähler (1966) which showed that in vocabulary, the language is a Malay dialect with elements from Balinese, Javanese, Sundanese, Chinese, Arabic, Portuguese, Dutch, and English.
Table I

Population of Batavia and surrounding Suburbs\(^a\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1671</th>
<th>1815</th>
<th>1893</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Europeans and part-Europeans</td>
<td>2.750</td>
<td>2.028</td>
<td>9.017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese (including those of Chinese descent)</td>
<td>2.747</td>
<td>11.854</td>
<td>26.569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Mardijkers&quot;</td>
<td>5.362</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabs</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>2.842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Moors&quot;</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>119</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Javanese (including Sundanese)</td>
<td>6.339(^1)</td>
<td>3.331</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Sulawesi groups</td>
<td>4.139(^2)</td>
<td>72.241(^3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balinese</td>
<td>981</td>
<td>7.720</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sumbawans</td>
<td>232</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambonese and Bandanese</td>
<td>82</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malays</td>
<td>611</td>
<td>3.155</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaves</td>
<td>13.278(^4)</td>
<td>14.249</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>32.068</td>
<td>47.217</td>
<td>110.669</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Including 5,000 Javanese and Sundanese outside the walls.
\(^2\) Including a small number of Timorese.
\(^3\) All indigenous.
\(^4\) Not including the garrison of 1,260 Dutch and 359 natives.

---

\(a\) From Castles (1967:157), based on:

(1) 1673: *Dagh-Register*, 1674 (Batavia, 1902:27—30).


1893: *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Indie* (Den Haag/Leiden, Jilid I:140).
Map 1

This map illustrates the sections of the city in the 17th and 18th centuries. Main roads and Kemayoran airport are drawn in to facilitate recognition of the locations of the sections.

The abbreviations on the map are:

- AM (Ambon)
- BL (Bali)
- MK (Makasar)
- MR ("Mardijkers")
- BD (Banda)
- BT (Buton)
- SB (Sumbawa)
- Dj (Jawa-Sunda)
- BG (Bugis)
- FL (Flores)
- CH (Cina)
- BM (Bima)
- MD (Madura)
- MO ("Moors")

(See also Castles, 1967:163).
1.4 Areal dialectical variation

As mentioned in section 1.1, the geographical extent of Jakarta Malay Dialect exceeds the administrative region of Greater Jakarta. Although linguistic communication among the inhabitants of this extensive area is easy, the dialect is actually divided into geographical subdialects. In general Jakarta dialect may be divided into two subdialects, which I will simply call the inner city subdialect and the outskirts subdialect.

The outskirts subdialect is often called "Betawi Ora" or "Melayu Ora". The name comes from the word ora 'no', which is from Javanese, and which is used in addition to its synonym kaga? 'no'. The name reflects the fact that in the outskirts subdialect many words from Javanese are used which are not used in the inner city subdialect.

As well as differences in the vocabulary of the subdialects, there is also a phonological difference. In the inner city subdialect most final vowels which are pronounced as a in Indonesian, are pronounced as e, as in age (Indonesian sayal 'I', aja (Indonesian apa) 'what', mangga (Indonesian mangga) 'mango', etc.

In the outskirts subdialect the same words are pronounced sayah, apa, and mangah or sayah, apa, and mangah? (Hans Kähler, 1966).

In addition, the consonants b, d, g, and h rarely appear in final position in the inner city subdialect; while in the outskirts subdialect these consonants do appear in final position (Muhajir 1972a; Laporan 1976).

The inner city subdialect was further divided in the past into two subdialects: a subdialect which had the final vowel e in words which in Indonesian have a, and a subdialect which had the vowel a in the same position. Thus islaye, apa and mangae were pronounced sayah, apa and mangah. The latter subdialect was used around Tanah Abang, while the subdialect with e was found in all areas of the inner city.

The existence of the subdialects is perhaps connected with the history of the groups which made up the population from 1673 to 1893. (See Table 1.) The boundaries of the inner city subdialect and the outskirts subdialect have not yet been investigated but Map 2 may approximate the boundaries. The regions of Cengkareng, Kebo Jeruk, Kebayoran, Pasar Rebo, and Pulogadung, were probably the areas of the outskirts subdialect.

Now, before investigation of the subdialects has been done, the boundaries between them have become increasingly unclear, as a result of increasing urbanization and wider use of Indonesian. It can be surmised that the boundaries of the subdialects have changed, because new immigrants, who later merge with the original inhabitants and long-time residents, use Jakarta dialect, to a certain extent, immediately in their interactions with neighbors in the marketplace and in their places of work. Of course this has influenced the Jakarta dialect to some degree and made the boundaries between subdialects more vague.

In addition, many of the original inhabitants have been forced to move by large-scale public and private construction projects. They have tended to move toward the outskirts of the city. For example the development of the area of Kebayoran Baru forced its inhabitants to areas nearer the edge of the city. Similarly housing developments in the Grogol area and the erection of the Senayan Sports Stadium in 1955 caused inhabitants to leave their agricultural land for areas nearer the outskirts of the city. Other cases were the housing developments in Cijantung, and the industrial estate in Pulogadung. All of these developments caused changes in areas which originally had subdialectal geographical boundaries.

In this language situation, I chose a native speaker of the inner city subdialect as my informant for morphological and phonological analysis in this dissertation.

1.5 Social dialects

As well as the geographical dialectal variation which divides Jakarta dialect into the inner city subdialect and the outskirts subdialect, within the inner city subdialect itself there is further language variation based upon differences in social class background of the speakers: there are different social subdialects.

As described in section 1.4, geographical dialects are distinguished among other things by different pronunciations of the final vowel in words which in Indonesian are pronounced with final a. In the inner city subdialect these words are pronounced with final e, while in the outskirts subdialect they are pronounced with final ak or a?. In addition, in the inner city subdialect final h rarely occurs - and thus words which in Indonesian have final h, in the inner city subdialect are pronounced with e.

The use of Indonesian as the language of instruction in the schools - also for native Betawi children -, the publication and spread of newspapers in Indonesian, the radio and television broadcasts, have built the social dialect map of Jakarta Malay. A student of language from Cornell University, Stephen Wallace, who did research in inner city areas of Jakarta several years ago based on the social backgrounds of groups of speakers, reported that on the basis of phonological variations, Jakarta dialect today has two variants: (1) Conventional Jakarta Dialect and (2) Modern Jakarta Dialect (1976; 1977).

The first variation has the following characteristics: (a) final e is used almost completely consistently in all words which have final a in Indonesian, and (b) the consonant h almost never appears in final position. The second subdialect is characterized by limited use of the vowel e, that is, only in basic vocabulary, while in other vocabulary items there is a with glottalization in the place of final e. In addition the consonant h rarely occurs in final position.

The first social dialect variation is used by older inhabitants of Jakarta who belong to the Jakartaan ethnic group. The second variation is generally used by the young.

This dissertation deals with conventional Jakarta dialect. The primarily informant is a woman over 50 years old, who belongs to the Jakartaan ethnic group.
Map 2

The map shows the administrative region of the Special Area of the Capital City of Jakarta and its subdivisions. The shaded areas became part of capital city in 1950.
1.6 The situation of Jakarta dialect today

In the past Jakarta dialect was probably not as important as it is today. Today Jakarta dialect is used as the language of interaction in the marketplace, among neighbors, and in places of work, as well as in traditional folk art, but also in the mass media. For the last decade some newspapers have used it in certain columns, in their "po-jok" (humorous columns) and other informal sections (Anderson 1966). Radio Republic Indonesia also has a program called "Kang Gado-gado dan Kang Sado" (Mr. Salad Seller and Mr. Horsecart Driver) which uses Jakarta dialect (Muhadjir 1971b).

As well as traditional folk arts such as folk plays in Jakarta dialect called "jenong" (Probonegoro 1974, 1975), mask plays (Muhadjir and Lukman Hakim, 1972a) and folk tales (Muhadjir 1971c), there are now several newspapers in the capital city which publish short stories in Jakarta dialect weekly. Indonesian film dialog often has a strong admixture of Jakarta dialect elements. Since most Indonesian films are made in the capital city (Muhadjir 1971c, Ikranagara 1975b).

Jakarta dialect today is becoming more important than it was in the past. It is coming to have a written literature, to be used in newspapers and on the radio. As Jakarta has become the center of government, trade, and education, the prestige of Jakarta dialect has risen. Young people from other regions who visit Jakarta use its dialect, or elements of it, proudly when they return to their homes, to show that they have been to Jakarta. In fact, according to the popular impression, in other cities, Jakarta dialect, or characteristic elements of it, is widely used by young people who have never been to Jakarta. The Jakarta dialect used outside of Jakarta is what Stephen Wallace called Modern Jakarta Dialect (Muhadjir 1976a).

Ben Anderson (1966:107) has depicted the role of Jakarta dialect in relation to Indonesian as similar to the role of ngoko (the lowest speech level) in Javanese:

"It [Jakarta dialect] expresses the danger, excitement, humour and coarseness of the new Jakarta as no other language can do. Its harsh, acidic onomatopoeia parallels the flavour of ngoko in Javanese, while Bahasa Indonesia grows more and more into a form of krama."

Used by the newspapers, film, radio and television, Jakarta dialect is more likely to spread and become known by the public than any other regional dialect of Malay. On this basis, it would not be rash to predict that Jakarta dialect will become the informal spoken form of Indonesian (Muhadjir, 1976a; Firman Muntaco, 1976).

In addition, the relationship between Indonesian and Jakarta dialect is now becoming closer. Indonesian newspapers and magazines, as well as using the dialect in certain columns, accept Jakarta words and phrases easily (Ben Anderson 1966:106-8). And because many Jakarta words are similar in pronunciation and/or meaning to words in regional languages, the use of words from Jakarta dialect is readi-

ly accepted by native speakers of regional languages with similar elements (Muhadjir, 1971a, 1971d). On the other hand, Jakarta dialect also accepts words or grammatical elements from Indonesian.

1.7 Research on Jakarta dialect

In spite of the increasing importance of Jakarta dialect, the state of research on it is not yet adequate.

During the pre-war period, Dutch scholars paid little attention to the dialect, so that the information we have from that period is scant, both for structure and vocabulary. On the basis of Homan's work (1867; 1868), van der Tuuk gave some information about the dialect in his Kawi-Bali-Dutch dictionary (1897-1912). H.A. von Dewall described games and songs of Jakarta children (1897; 1901; 1908). Lie Rimhok (1884) and Kwok Kee Beng (1923) wrote a kind of teaching grammar of Jakarta dialect, organized on the basis of Western grammatical concepts with Malay terms.

There were no dictionaries of Jakarta dialect written before the war. Writers of Malay dictionaries at that period simply noted in their dictionaries words which they considered to come from Jakarta dialect (see Teeuw, 1961:45-47).

There are as yet no works published, as far as I know, which are adequate considering the increasingly important position and function of the dialect (see section 1.5 above). As far as I know, the first description of the structure of the dialect was Muhadjir (1964), which attempted to describe briefly the phonology and morphology of the inner city subdialect. This sketch of the structure was followed by a more complete description by Kay Ikranagara as a University of Hawaii PhD dissertation (1975b).

Additional information on the phonemic system of Jakarta dialect is found in a brief article by Lukman Hakim on the phoneme /h/ (1969). In an answer to Hans Kähler's (1966) analysis and Teeuw's commentary (1966), Muhadjir wrote again on vocal phonemes (1972a).

Khalid Hussain also wrote a brief sketch of the structure of the dialect (1974). In the same year Farida Soemargono also wrote a brief analysis of the structure and vocabulary of Jakarta dialect, using as a corpus popular songs of a Jakarta-born singer, Bunyamin.

Muhadjir (1974) dealt with some aspects of structure in greater detail, among others, morphological structure in connection with verbal sentences. Muhadjir (1975) was a discussion of some problems of the reduplication process in the dialect.

Some sociolinguistic problems have also received attention. Stephen Wallace's dissertation for Cornell University was concerned with social and linguistic dimensions and their relationship to phonological variation (1976). A brief article based on the dissertation was entitled "Social Correlates of Phonological Differences in Malay (1977)". Yayah B. Lunitingsih (1976) also investigated the use of Jakarta dialect by high school students in Jakarta. Her investigation showed that Jakarta dialect was used as well as Indonesian in the schools.
Information concerning the outskirts sub-dialect is found in an M.A. thesis by Patmadi-wiria (1965) which deals with the relationship between Indonesian and Jakarta dialect in Tanggerang, and includes a description of the outskirts sub-dialect. A report of a dialectology research practicum for the Center for Language Development, which takes its data from the border area between Bogor and Jakarta, also includes a phonological analysis of the sub-dialect of that region (1967).

Lexical items of the outskirts area can be found in a report by a research team from the Center for Language Development and the University of Indonesia Faculty of Letters (1966). Vocabulary connected with village life on the outskirts of Jakarta may be found in this report.

In the field of dictionaries, we may note again here the brief Jakarta dialect-German dictionary mentioned above in section 1.3. This dictionary, written by a German scholar, Hans Kähler, is a word list together with information on the regional or foreign language considered to be the origin of each word (1966). A Jakarta dialect-Indonesian dictionary has also been compiled by a Jakarta-born scholar, Abdul Chaer (1976).

The dissertation of Grijs for the University of Leiden is soon to be published. It will describe Jakarta dialect together with its subdialects - so far an untouched field.

1.8 The subject of the investigation

This dissertation attempts to further investigate problems of morphemic processes in Jakarta dialect which have not been dealt with thoroughly in the studies discussed above in section 1.7. For this purpose, I have selected the inner city subdialect (See section 1.4), conventional social dialect variant (See section 1.5).

The data for the description of the morphology was collected by elicitation sessions which were recorded and transcribed from 30 cassettes each of 60 minutes duration. The data transcribed from this recorded elicitation consisted of 200 roots considered verbal roots, 200 adjectival roots, and 100 nominal roots (attached). Each root was elicited from the informant in sentences, in all the possible morphemic processes considered possible in this dialect. The examples of the morphemic processes used for this purpose were taken from 4 recordings of lenong, Jakarta folk stories, recorded at performances at Taman Ismail Marzuki between 1970 and 1971. The recordings of lenong and their transcriptions were made by C.D. Grijs, for the purpose of discussing lenong as a Jakarta folk art. In addition, I also used data from a collection of short stories in Jakarta dialect collected and translated into German by Sri Soekesi Adi-wimarta (1973).

The informant who gave examples and explanations was a woman who was born in Kemayoran, Central Jakarta, and who now lives in the area of Pejompongan (also in Central Jakarta). This informant, Mrs. Siti Samaan, is about 50 years of age, a Jakarta who has never left her native city. She is a well-known lenong actress and has received an arts prize from the Governor of Jakarta.

For purposes of comparison, I used a young man who was also born in Kemayoran, Lukman Hakim. He has an M.A. and is a writer of children's stories. Lukman Hakim provided me with clarification of doubtful morphemic forms given by the primary informant. In general the explanations of the two native speakers were not contradictory, except concerning the productivity of morphemic elements. There were morphemic elements which were nonproductive for the first informant, but which were used productively by the second informant.

The examples of forms of words and sentences or quotations used in this dissertation are examples given and recorded from the primary informant, except for a few quotations from lenong texts and the short story collection. The quotations from the lenong and short stories were used after getting the informant's agreement.

* * *

7
2.1 Morpheme segmentation

From the point of view of phonological realization, there is not much difficulty in segmenting words into morph units, that is, the phonological forms of words (Lyons 1971:182). The affixal segments and reduplication elements can be separated from base morphemes by considering their phonological environments. Ignoring exceptions, for forms like mbawa 'bring' or mawul 'hoe' for example, we can consider that each of these forms consists of two segments, the base form: respectively bawa and mawul, and the prefix: {N-}. In the first example, the prefix {N-} is realized as the allomorph /m-/ which attaches directly to the base form; in the second example, the allomorph /m-/ replaces the first consonant of the base form /p/. The difference in phonological realization is due to the fact that with the base form bawa, {N-} comes before a voiced stop; while with the base form mawul it comes before a voiceless stop.

There are often exceptions. The base form wulik 'rural area of origin', for example, becomes wulik 'to go home to the rural area of origin'. But according to the morphophonemic rule which applies to most base forms which begin with a vowel the prefix {N-} is realized as the allomorph {g-}, as in gambil 'to get', gikut 'to accompany' and guatr 'to drive away', that is, {N-} with the base morphemes ambil, ikut, and uatr, respectively.

Thus, as well as phonological realizations which can be predicted by the environment, we also find exceptions.

A problem which must be noted as well in this connection is dialectal variation, reflected in the phonological realization of some morphemes, which suggests the existence of social groups of users of the dialect. An example which is difficult to describe is the realization of the morpheme {N-} with base morphemes which begin with voiced stops, /h/, /d/, /j/, or /g/. Some users realize it with the allomorphs /m-/ı/, /n-/ı/, /h-/ı/, and /g-/ı, as in mbayā, midayā, nhayā, and gāya. Another group realizes this prefix with the allomorph /g/-ı, so that the base forms are realized as wulik, wulik, wulik, and gikut. The second group often alternates between the form with {N-}ı and the form without {N-}ı.

Synchronically, the two morphemic variants which do not carry a difference in meaning, can only be considered as in free variation. But sociologically, perhaps the two alternatives are connected with different social backgrounds. Perhaps the first group is the group of speakers with a Javanese ethnic background, while the second group has a Sundanese ethnic background.

2.2 Identification of morphemes

A difficulty which arises in connection with identification of morphemes is selection of a measure for a unit of meaning. The definition which comes from the Bloomfieldian school seems difficult to apply to morphemic analysis in Jakarta dialect. I refer to the definition given by Hockett (1970:123), stating that a morpheme is the smallest individual element which has meaning, and also the negative definition given by Bloomfield himself (1933:161) as follows:

"A linguistic form which bears no partial phonetic-semantic resemblance to any other form, is a simple form or morpheme."

This definition requires that each form which has a different meaning be considered a separate morpheme. This definition is difficult to apply, especially in the identification of affixes and reduplicative morphemes in Jakarta dialect. This dialect has only a few forms which act as affixes, but this small number, in combination with reduplication and combinations of reduplication and affixes, can productively, create a large number of words, with a great number and variety of lexical and grammatical meanings.

As a result of the small number of morf forms, discussion of the meaning of each individual morpheme, as required by the stated definition of the morpheme, raises many difficulties. One morf form can have many meanings which may seem to contradict each other. On the other hand, one meaning can be realized by more than one form. Therefore identification of morphemes based on the definition above is only possible if we accept a number of homophones for almost every morpheme.

The suffix {-an} - to take one complex example - in the form menyarn 'redder' expresses comparison, in tildar 'lying down' expresses a durative aspect, in beli 'to be good to each other' has a reciprocal meaning, in ājān 'to be bearded' forms a denominal verb, in râkare 'food' forms a deverbal noun. Thus the form {-an} looked at statistically has five meanings, some of which are conflicting: on one hand it forms denominal verbs like ājānān; on the other hand it forms deverbal nouns like râkanān.

Finding almost the same situation in modern Javanese, Uhlenbeck used the Javanese example to argue against the identification of different morphemes by Bloomfield's definitio. Using the example of the suffix {-an} in Javanese which has different meanings when combined with different categories of words, Uhlenbeck concluded that a morpheme (affix) does...
not have an independent meaning. The meaning of a morpheme depends on the word [root morpheme] which is its base form:

"In contra-distinction to the word, [a morpheme] is not a linguistic unit. It is merely a moment in a word". (Uhlenbeck, 1952:326).

From this opinion it can be concluded that, unlike the followers of Bloomfield, Uhlenbeck does not admit the morpheme as an autonomous linguistic unit of language (Kamil 1964:307). As a consequence of that opinion, the word is always the center of attention in Uhlenbeck's linguistic analyses, and linguistic information is expressed only in terms of the word as a whole.

Certainly word and paradigm grammar (Hockett 1968; Robins 1970b Word and Paradigm Grammar) which takes the word as the center of analysis, is more attractive from the point of view of identification of meaning. Information about meaning is more easily obtained from the word as a whole than from the morpheme segment as an individual unit (Robins, 1970b: 128). For the example of the suffix (-an) it is easier to determine the meaning of a whole word such as meraan 'redder' or tiduran 'lying down' than the meaning of (-an) itself as an individual unit.

But this model of linguistic analysis is not without its drawbacks. If we accept word and paradigm grammar in its entirety, we must ignore characteristics of the meaning of a morpheme which can clearly be seen in certain groups of morphemes -- such as {N-} which always indicates a dynamic active verb, or {bə(r)} -- which gives stative aspect, or {di-} which always indicates a "passive" meaning in Jakarta Dialect. Moreover, if the morpheme is not considered to have meaning, what can we use as the basis for segmenting words into morphemes? However difficult it is to identify the meaning of a morpheme in a morphemic description, it is not necessary to go so far as to come to the conclusion that "The morpheme is not a unit of meaning", as concluded by Bazzel (1966b). Many linguists have done linguistic descriptions and differentiated phenomena from morpheme based -- directly or indirectly -- on meaning, without becoming overly concerned about how they explain or identify them (Spence, 1971:128).

In addition the technique of word and paradigm grammar does not give explicit information for each morpheme in a list of paradigms, as with the information on meaning given by Uhlenbeck in his list of Javanese adjectival paradigms (1952:346), for example (1 quote only a part of Uhlenbeck's information):

1) gampaq 'easy': ceremonial term: gampl
2) gampaq-gampaq 'very easy'
3) gampaq-gampaq 'easy in several measures and degrees'
4) kagampaqw 'too easy' [...] 1

Linguistic information with suffixes of this sort is like giving lexical information, or a mixture of lexical and grammatical information. In fact the information we hope to obtain in a linguistic analysis is grammatical information (Bloch and Trager, 1942:48; Fowler, 1963:171). This does not mean that we ignore lexical meaning, but that lexical information is only a tool to discover grammatical meaning.

In connection with the identification of the meaning of morphemes, we must also discuss the categorization of morphemes. Usually morphemes are listed statistically as follows: 1) root morphemes (Nida, 1970:82) also called base morphemes (Bloom and Trager: 1942: 56), 2) inflectional morphemes or paradigmatic variants, and 3) derivational morphemes. 2 Setting aside the group of morphemes usually called function words (Fries 1940:109; Gleason 1970:165) the morphemes in the first category are lexical morphemes. Inflectional morphemes or paradigmatic variants -- for brevity I will henceforth call them paradigmatic morphemes -- are in the category of grammatical morphemes. And derivational morphemes forming word categories can also be categorized as grammatical morphemes, although the level of grammaticality is less than paradigmatic morphemes (Fowler, 1963). Nida listed more than 60 grammatical meanings (Nida, 1970) which can be expressed as morphemes.

By accepting the existence of grammatical morphemes, as well as lexical morphemes, information about the meaning of morphemes can be expressed more explicitly. If we return to the example of the morpheme (-an) in Jakarta Dialect which statistically has five meanings (see page 8), perhaps we can be more explicit when we consider both the aspect of the grammatical meaning of each morpheme (-an), and the category of the root morpheme which is its base form.

By considering the aspect of the root morpheme which forms a word together with a nonroot morpheme, it becomes clear that part of the difference in the five meanings of (-an) is due to the difference in the categories of the root morphemes which serve as base forms. The suffix (-an) gives the comparative meaning 'more' in meraan 'redder', because the root morpheme with which it is connected is an adjectival morpheme; while in tiduran 'lying down', (-an) expresses 'durate' aspect because the base form is a verbal root. But (-an) in jegolan 'to be bearded' gives a stative verb because the root form to which it is connected is a nominal morpheme. Thus, these three different (-an) suffixes are different in meaning because of the different categorical membership of the root morpheme which serves as base forms, and therefore we do not need to label them as homophonous nonroot morphemes.

The other meanings of (-an) are as follows: (-an) which occurs in makāw becomes a deverbal noun state root morpheme in the same category as the root morpheme of tiduran, that is, both are verbal root morphemes. In this case, since the root morphemes are in the same category, but have different meanings, they can be considered two homophonous (-an) morphemes. Thus also the (-an) suffix in sayuran 'vegetables', which forms a denominal collective noun, and the (-an) suffix in jegolan, which forms a denominal verb, must be considered two homophonous morphemes. Similarly (-an) in bēran 'to be good to each other' which forms a dejectival reciprocal verb must be considered homophonous with (-an).
pheme root R1 takes the morphemic processes \(x\) and \(y\) with meanings \(a\) and \(b\), while morpheme root R2 takes the same morphemic processes, but with meanings \(c\) and \(d\), and/or the morphemic process \(z\) with the meaning \(e\), then the existence of two R of different categories has been determined. Perhaps the following diagram of the situation will be helpful:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>x</th>
<th>y</th>
<th>z</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>R1</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R2</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, in accordance with the aim of description of morphemic processes, categorization is done at the level of the root morpheme, based on groups of morphemic processes which form systematic sets. Characteristics of syntactic behavior, usually used as the basis of categorization, are only used here at the level of the word. In connection with this, root morpheme classes will be called the nominal, verbal and adjectival morpheme classes, rather than the noun, verb, and adjective classes, as the latter terms will be used at the level of the word.

2.3.1 The class of root morphemes

On the basis of morphemic processes, firstly root morphemes can be divided into two categories: particle morphemes and lexical morphemes.

Particles are a set of root morphemes which never undergo morphemic processes. And from the point of view of meaning, particles do not have lexical meaning, but have certain grammatical functions, such as the emphatic particles *dog*, *nî* and *mâh*, definite particles like *mî* 'this' and *tu* 'that' and so forth. A characteristic of this category of words, in addition to not undergoing morphemic processes, is that it is closed. The number of members in this category is small, and never increases.

Lexical morphemes, on the other hand, make up a category of morphemes which have the potential to undergo morphemic processes such as affixation, reduplication, and combinations of processes. In connection with morpheme class categorization, we consider especially processes of affixation. As well as these morphemic process characteristics, this morpheme category is also signaled by lexical meaning. In accordance with their character, lexical morpheme classes are open. They have a large number of members and can always add new members.

As well as the two morpheme classes described above, we also find a class of forms which are called interjections, such as *nî*, *ah*, *nâ* ('oh', *ah*, 'hum', etc.) which make up another class. Also frequently classified with interjections are frozen sentence fragments such as *lûê* (showing surprise) and *mûê* (when startled).

2.3.2 Particle morpheme classes

The category of particles can be subcate-
organized based on syntactic functions as:

1) prepositions, that is all forms that can precede the nominal class, such as di 'at', dari 'from', ke 'to', ame 'with', ame' 'to', ame' 'by' (In addition there is also a verbal form ame 'the same'.)

2) particles indicating aspect, that is, the class which usually shows the aspect of time, such as bakal 'will (future)', lagi (progressive), udeh 'already (past)', abis 'already (past)'.

3) emphatic particles, that is, the group of forms which emphasize the meanings of sentences, such as dek (emphatic particle), doy (emphasizes orders or requests), mah 'isn't it?', pah 'isn't it?', al 'isn't it?', ini (expresses a concessive).

4) definite particles, that is, particles which are usually preceded by nominals like tu (orang)' 'that (person)' (not another person), ni 'this child' (not to be confused with ni and tu which are the abbreviations of the pronominals ini 'this' and itu 'that'),

5) connecting particles, like tapti 'but', ame 'and', lantarn 'because', lantung 'then', sambali 'while', monata-montak 'only because', monata 'let alone, much less', lagi 'again', juga 'also'.

6) indicators of degree, like lebit 'more', amat 'very', bagat 'very'.

7) incitators of modality, like kati 'perhaps', qaa, kaga 'no, not'.

2.3.3 Lexical morphemes

The class of lexical morphemes is made up of the nominal, verbal, and adjectival classes. Each member of these three classes has its own morphemic processes which show its class.

The nominal class is further divided into two classes, because this class has the possibility of taking -(ha) as a sign of a generative relationship, as in an'no manan 'mother', kapalaha ni gobaq 'Gobang's head', etc. When -(ha) occurs with roots of the other two classes (verbals and adjectivals), it acts as a nominalizer. In addition, the nominal class can take {so-} with the meaning 'one' as in soorag 'one person', sabataq 'one thing', and so forth.

A root morpheme which belongs to the nominal class is a member of the nominal category by virtue of its syntactic behavior. Similarly number names and time terms are considered members of the nominal category.

The adjectival class is differentiated from the nominal and verbal classes, because this morphemic category can take the morphemic processes which express the system, with {-an} expressing 'more', {ko-} [-an] expressing 'excessively', too' and {so-} [-ha] + reduplication expressing 'the most'. The root morpheme meri can form meran 'redder', kameren 'too red', and sorem-meran 'the reddest'. And the nominal and verbal classes do not take this set of morphemic processes.

The class of intransitive verbs is signaled by the presence of the subject choice system, shown by the paradigmatic variation of the affixes {N-} and {di-}, or {ko-}. The verbal root jatuk for example can form jatuk 'to hit', jatuk to be hit' or jatuk 'to be hit (accidentally)'. Adjectival roots do not undergo these morphemic processes. Intransitive verbs are signaled negatively, that is, the root class of intransitive verbs is the root class which belongs to the verbal category, but does not take the set of paradigmatic affixes, and also does not take the morphemic set of the comparative system. Members of this morpheme class do not undergo the same morphemic processes. Some of them stand by themselves as intransitive verbs without affixation, such as deduk 'to sit', tidur 'to sleep' and pergi 'to go'. There is also a group which appears with the prefix {bo-(r)-}, including examples such as bataq 'to whisper', batarq 'to lie down', benerq 'to swim', and there are also some which appear with the prefix {N-} such as nagis 'to cry', nandak 'to dance', and notek 'to touch'. There are even some which form intransitive verbs by reduplication, like bataq-bataq 'to whisper', and gorya-gorya 'to sway'.

The subclassification of transitive and intransitive verbal roots is related to the system of clause formation (Halliday, 1967a); therefore it will be further discussed in section 2.5.7.25.

In addition to these three classes, there are also root morphemes whose class identity is unclear, a category of lexical morphemes whose class is clear only when they have undergone morphemic processes. The class of the root morpheme banyun, for example, is not clear. When it takes {N-}: banyun 'to wake up' it is a transitive verb, but when it appears without an affix bagun 'awake', it acts as an intransitive verb. Similarly, lipat, when it appears with the prefix {bo-(r)-} is an intransitive verb, while when it appears with the prefix {N-} it is a transitive verb: balipl' 'folded', lipat 'to fold'. I call this category of root morphemes the precategorical morpheme class (Verhaar, 1975; 1977).

In addition we also find roots which can take both nominal and adjectival affixation. The root morpheme majam 'night', for example, can take the prefix {so-} becoming samalam 'one night', or the suffix {-an} which expresses the comparative malaman 'later at night'. It can even take the verbal simulfix which expresses the nonvolative aspect komanalam 'overtaken by night' (For an example of this usage see note 32).

Moreover there is also a class of morphemes which take adjectival affixation, which behave syntactically like intransitive verbs. This is the category of bant 'hate', samburu 'jealous', etc. (See section 2.5.4). Although categorization based on sets of morphemic processes can not exhaust all the members of the class of root morphemes, it is satisfactory as a basis for the analysis of morphemic processes.

2.4 Categorization of nonroot morphemes

It is not difficult to differentiate root morphemes from nonroot morphemes. But the categorization of nonroot morphemes as derived morphemes and paradigmatic morphemes has been problematic for investigators of Indonesian languages. Kay 'kranagera's study of Jakarta dialect (1976b) does not differentiate these
classes of nonroot morphemes. In Syahruddin Kaseng’s analysis of Bugis (1975), he doubts the importance of this morphemic difference. On the other hand, Robins differentiates these classes in his analysis of Sundanese (1970c), as do Verhaar (1975; 1977) and Tang Tjin Han (1960) in their analyses of Indonesian.

The basis for not differentiating between derivational and paradigmatic morphemes generally lies in the formal framework of the Bloomfieldian school. According to Bloomfield, the difference between the two groups of non-root morphemes is only a matter of ranking of construction (1933). Inflectional or paradigmatic affixation produces change after derivational processes (Nida 1970:99). Nida further divides these two types of morphemes into six types based on their formal attributes (Nida 1970:99-100).

In the grammar of Indonesian language, the problem of differentiating these two types of morphemes usually revolves about the problem of active passive voice. Kay Ikranagara discusses the prefixes (di-) and (n-) in Jakarta Dialect. These prefixes are paradigmatic variants, expressing respectively passive and active voice. Her study puts forth two reasons for considering these forms derivational rather than inflectional: 1) forms with these prefixes in Jakarta dialect can still take the nominalizer (-nā), and 2) the prefix (n-) is optional (1975:section 7.1.1).

Ikranagara’s first objection is based on postulates suggested by the followers of Bloomfield, while the second is based on a postulate suggested by Li (1973) which states that inflectional morphemes are obligatory (Ikranagara 1975:section 2.4).

The first objection depends on the definition of the element (-nā). This element in Jakarta Dialect does act as a nominalizer. However, in my opinion, (-nā) is not a suffix on the same level as a suffix like (-in) or (-an). The element (-nā) is a phonologically independent morpheme, although it is syntactically bound, thus, it falls into the class of clitics (Verhaar, 1977). A characteristic of an affix is that it is phonologically bound to its base form. For example, when the suffix (-in) meets a base form ending in the vowel /e/, the vowel changes to /a/: /mɛɾɛ/ + (-an) becomes mɛɾaɛ 'more red'. But the element (-nā) does not cause morphophonemic changes. The root form sälɛ when it takes (-nā) remains sälɛnā. It does not have to become sälɛnä. This is evidence that (-nā) is not an affix on the same level as (-an) or (-in), but on the level of a word.

Ikranagara’s second objection states that (n-) is optional. It would perhaps be preferable to say that (n-) has a parallel distribution to forms without (n-). And therefore (di-) as a passive form in paradigmatic variation with the form (n-), can also vary paradigmatically with forms without (n-).

The difference between derivational and paradigmatic morphemic categories can also be seen in meaning. From the point of view of meaning it is difficult to consider the suffixes (-an) or (-in) as of the same type as (di-). The suffix (-an) in pukulan functions to form a new word, that is a deverbal noun, from the base form pukul. On the other hand, prefixation with (n-) and (di-) in mukul and dipukul, as well as not changing classes, also does not change lexical meaning. These two forms are the same (lexical) word, with different forms because of different grammatical functions (Matthews 1974:48).

If the affixation process whereby pukulan becomes mukul has the function of creating new (lexical) words, affixation with (di-) has its function in sentence construction, showing a difference in the role of the subject of the sentence, which is different than with mukul. The form mukul appears because the role of the subject of the sentence is "agentive", while dipukul appears because the role of its subject is the "objective" role. Thus the opposition between them is nonlexical (Chafe, 1970:49).

To discuss paradigmatic affixation, therefore, we must use examples of sentence constructions in which paradigmatic affix forms appear.

2.5 Basic syntactic structure

To simplify the discussion of syntactic structures I will use examples from English [in the original: Indonesian].

In this analysis of syntactic structure, I take the position that each syntactic structure, each clause, consists of three syntactic components: 1) grammatical function, 2) the category of the form which fills the grammatical function, and 3) the role played by the form which fills the grammatical function. Traditionally, a declarative sentence consists of two basic constituents, subject and predicate, with or without basic external constituents: adverbial constituents or adjustments (Lyons, 1971:from page 334). These sentence constituents I call grammatical functions (Lyons 1971:from page 334), or functions (Verhaar, 1977:70).

These grammatical functions can be filled — to borrow a term from tagmemic grammar — with certain word classes or categories, such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, etc. Thus the sentence Mamat took a book from the library consists of: the grammatical functions of the subject: Mamat, the predicate: took a book and the adjunct: from the library. The subject is filled by a member of the category of nouns: Mamat, the grammatical function of the predicate is filled by a transitive verb and its co-constituent: took a book, and the adjunct function is filled by a prepositional phrase: from the library.

The roles which are played by each constituent of the sentence are: the subject of the sentence has an agentive role, the predicate has a transitive active role, and the adjunct has a locative role.

In addition sentences can be analyzed in terms of the constituents of their predicates. In terms of their predicates, firstly, sentences fall into two categories: verbal sentences and nonverbal sentences. And based on the constituents of their predicates, verbal sentences can be subcategorized in terms of the number of obligatory constituents of the
2.5.1 Transitive verbal sentences

The predicate *took a book* in example 2.5, consists of two constituents: the transitive verb *took*, and the noun which functions as its object, *[a] book*. But in the sentence *Mamat brought his father a book*, the predicate *brought* is accompanied by the co-constituents *[his] father* and *[a] book*. In this example, there is more than one obligatory co-constituent, and in addition, the role of the object is different than in the first sentence. The object *[his] father* does not play the objective role, but the benefactive role. The co-constituent *book* changes its function to that of complement, while maintaining its role, the objective role.

In these examples we see two subclasses of transitive verbal sentences, differentiated by the role of the object which is the co-constituent of the verb. The subclassification of transitive verbal sentence which follows will be based on the roles of the objects which serve as co-constituents.

2.5.2 Subclassification of verbal predicates

Let us look again at the examples used at the end of section 2.5.1. From these two examples we obtain two subclasses of verbal sentences:

(1) Mamat took a book.
   S: Ag  P: Ac  O: Ob
   that is, a verbal sentence with a S(subject) in the Ag(entive) role, P(predicate) in the Ac(tive) verbal role and O(object) in the Ob(jective) role. In the following verbal sentence type:

(2) Mamat brought father a book.
   S: Ag  P: Ac  O: Ben  C: Ob
   the object is in the Ben(factive) role, and there is also a complement (C), in the Ob(jective) role.

Verbal predicates may also have other roles, for example, the Loc(ative) role, as in the following:

(3) Mamat planted the garden with orchids.
    S: Ag  P: Ac  O: Loc
    C: In

In this type of verbal predicate the object is not in the objective role. The complement (C), which follows the object is also an obligatory co-constituent which is in the ln(strumental) role.

In addition, there is the following type of verbal predicate with an object in the ln(strumental) role:

(4) Mamat sprayed water
    S: Ag  P: Ac  O: In

2.5.3 Intransitive verbal sentences

In contrast to the four types of transitive verbal sentences exemplified in 2.5.2, the intransitive verbal sentence type is signaled by the lack of an obligatory constituent following the verbal predicate, as:

(5) Mamat is singing.
    S: Ag  P: Ac

Intransitive verbal predicates of this type make up a subcategory of verbal predicates in contrast to the four transitive verbal predicates (1) to (4) above.

2.5.4 Semitransitive verbal sentences

Verbal sentences of another type which we will call semitransitive verbal sentences make up a third category of verbal sentences. Semitransitive verbal sentences are sentences which have verbal predicates with nuclear co-constituents, but the co-constituents are not objects, as in the case of transitive verbal sentences.

(6) Mamat hates his neighbor.

Sentence (6) is completed with the co-constituent of the verb *hate* as an obligatory element which must accompany the verb *hate*. However, this constituent is not an object as in sentences (1) through (4), but a complement which is in the objective role. Unlike the co-constituent of a transitive verb, a complement cannot function as a subject (See section 5.1.1).

Thus a semitransitive verbal sentence is a verbal sentence whose predicate is completed with a nominal co-constituent, but the predic- cate does not have a paradigmatic variant which would allow the object to become the subject of the sentence, as in a transitive verb (See 5.1.1).

In Jakarta dialect, semitransitive verbal sentences can have verbal predicates which are verbs without affixes as in example (6), or can have verbs with the prefix (*ba(r)-*) as in the following example:

(7) lu baa[b]a
    you address-as-older-brother
    ame dit (prep.) (3rd pers. pron.)
    'You address him as older brother.'

All verbal sentences with reciprocal verbs fall into the category of semitransitive verbal sentences. Reciprocal verbs are categorized as semitransitive verbs because of the similarity of syntactic structure, that is, usually they have co-constituents consisting of nominal phrases formed with *ame* 'with, to'. In addition, the morphemic processes of reciprocal verbs are usually the same of those of semitransitive verbs, that is, they are verbs
with the prefix {ba(r)-} or the simulfix 
{bọ(r)[- ]-an}, or are without affixes.

Reciprocal verbs which are formed by the 
process of reduplication with the prefix
{maN-} or the suffix {-an}, such as bantu-
membantu 'help each other', tarik-tarikan 'pull
against each other', also fall into the cate-
gory of verbs which form semitransitive verbal
sentences (See 7.5.4 and 7.5.5).

In addition we must discuss semitransitive
verbs derived from transitive verbal roots and
formed with the suffix {-an}, such as jualan
'to sell (habitually)', and peganan 'to hold
on'.

2.5.5 The static/dynamic dichotomy

Subcategorization of verbs based on trans-
sitivity does not capture all the subcategories
of verbal predicates. The opposition trans-
itive/intransitive which is based on the pre-
sence or absence of an object — or a com-
plement for a semitransitive verb — must be com-
pleted with categorization based on the aspect
of action. The transitive-intransitive dichoto-
y does not capture the category of verbal
predicates such as:

(8) Mamat jualan roko?
    (name) sell cigarette(s)
    'Mamat sells cigarette(s)'

Although the verbal predicate in example
(8) is followed by the co-constituent roko?,
this co-constituent is not an object, as with
a transitive verb such as:

(9) Mamat njual roko?
    (name) sell cigarette(s)
    'Mamat is selling cigarette(s)/
    Mamat sold cigarettes/etc.'

The co-constituent roko? in (9) can become the
subject in:

(10) roko? [itu]
cigarette(s) (determiner)
dijual Mamat
    sell (name)
    'The cigarettes were sold by Mamat.'

In other words, sentence (8) is not the
opposite of sentence (10), that is, from the
point of view of the different roles of the
subject. Sentence (8) can be contrasted to
sentence (9) from the point of view of the as-
pect of action: sentence (8) has a stative as-
pect while sentence (9) has a dynamic aspect.

This dynamic-stative dichotomy does not
only appear in transitive verbal roots, like
njual and jualan (sentences (8) and (9)), but
also in semitransitive and transitive verbs.
The intransitive verb Rampe 'to arrive', for
example, has a dynamic aspect, while sampe
'to arrive', is stative.

To differentiate verbal predicates like
example (8) from examples like (9), we cate-
gorize them as semitransitive verbs with a
S(tative) role, while verbal predicates like
example (9) are called transitive verbs with a
D(ynamic) role.

FOOTNOTES:

1. I have changed the Javanese spelling from the
original.

2. In addition there is the division of morphemes
into free and bound morphemes. But this division only
holds on the morphophonemic level. (Hockett 1961:33;

3. Based on their origins of lexical meaning,
Ikranaçara calls some of these particles lexical parti-
cles. But this terminology is not necessarily in con-
tradiction to the basis of the categorization. Ikrana-
agara intends to describe the group of particles she
discusses from the point of view of lexical meaning
'before' becoming a class of particles (1975a).

4. Original example in Indonesian:

Mamat memukulkan tongkatnya ke
S: Ag P: Ac O: In
Mamat hit stick (his/the)
anjingnya.
C: Ob
dog (his/the)

'Mamat hits the dog with his stick.'
Chapter three

INVENTORY OF PHONEMES

3.0 Introduction

The following analysis is limited to segmental phonemes, as we consider that there are no suprasegmental phonemes in this dialect. The phonemic analysis of this chapter is not a detailed one, but an outline is presented of the number of phonemes in the dialect and the possibility that the phonetic pronunciations of some of them might fall together. The chapter is intended to enable the reader to understand the examples which form the basis of the morphological analysis, which is the main concern of this dissertation.

The phonological analysis represents conclusions drawn from previous analyses: Hans Kähler (1966), Lukman Hakim (1967), Munadi Patmadiwiria (1965), Ikranagara (1975b), and Muhadjir (1964; 1972); and in addition from new information obtained while collecting data for morphological analysis.

The analysis of Muhadjir (1964) which was the primary source for the phonological analysis was based on information from three informants from inner city subdialect areas: Kemayoran, Rawasari, and Jatinegara (1964:52). The new information collected in 1973-74 is from an informant from Pejompongan. (See 1.8 above.) Thus the new information also comes from the inner city subdialect.

3.1 Number of segmental phonemes

After studying again the phonological analysis in section 3.0, and checking again with a new informant, I still hold on my conclusion of 1964, that in this dialect there are only 26 segmental phonemes: 19 consonant phonemes and 7 vowel phonemes. Thus my conclusion differs from that of Han Kähler, who concluded that in this dialect there are 29 segmental phonemes, 19 consonant phonemes and 10 vowel phonemes (1966:v). 5

The 19 consonant phonemes and 7 vowel phonemes can be charted according to place of articulation as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2 Vowels

The seven vowels of Jakarta Dialect consist of three front vowels: /i/, /e/, and /e/; two central vowels /a/ and /o/; and two back vowels /o/ and /u/.

3.2.1 Pronunciation of vowels

All vowels in closed syllables are shorter than vowels in open syllables. Thus for example the /a/ in the first syllable is longer than the /a/ in the second syllable in /akal/ ['a.kal]. Similarly the vowels /i/ and /u/ in /bišik/ and /buruk/, pronounced as [bi.sik] and [bu.ruk].

But this difference in the vowels is allophonic rather than phonemic. There are no minimal pairs in the data with different meanings differentiated only by different vowel lengths. 6 And in this study, these differences in vowel length will not be shown in the phonetic spelling.

Furthermore every vowel in initial position is preceded by a glottal stop. Thus words such as a 'aep 'what', mpoe 'grandmother' and urue 'arrange' are pronounced [apẹ], [mpọ], and [urẹ], and similarly with other vowels.

Vowels preceded by the nasal consonants /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ and /ŋ/ are always nasalized, while in other positions they are not nasalized, as in:

/masi/ 'still' pronounced [māsi] 
/tanm/ 'plant' [tanm] 
/RaRi/ 'sing' [RāRi] 
/agaRin/ 'wind' [agaRin]
But the reverse is not true: vowels followed by nasals are not nasalized, as in /asm/ 'sour', and /makan/ 'to eat' pronounced [ʔas-m] and [măkan].

3.2.2 The vowel /i/

The front high vowel /i/ contrasts with the nearest vowel /e/ only in final position, as in:

/tapi/ 'but' with /tape/ 'fermented cassava'/səri/ 'shine' with /səre/ 'scatter'.

In other positions, /i/ contrasts in minimal pairs with the lower vowel, /ɛ/:

/giliɡ/ 'turn, mill' with /gɛlɡ/ 'nod'/irit/ 'thrift' with /ɛrɪt/ 'deceive'.

The vowel /i/ is pronounced [I] in closed syllables, as in /paɪt/ 'bitter', /taɾɪk/ 'to pull', which are pronounced [paɪt] and [taɾɪk]. But in other positions it is pronounced [ɪ], higher than [I], as in /ʔisi/, /bilaq/ and [səɾi], for /isi/ 'contents', /bilaq/ 'speak' and /səɾi/ 'shine'. But because of the influence of the vowel in the final closed syllable in words of the phonemic form C(onsonant) C(C)C, both vowels in words like /ɪtɪk/ 'duck', /didik/ 'teach' and /irɪt/ 'thriftly' are pronounced [I] — even though the first vowel is in an open syllable. Thus,

/ɪtɪk/ is pronounced [ʔɪtɪk]/didiɡ/ [dɪdɪɡ]/irɪt/ [ʔɪrɪt]

Or, both vowels /i/ may be pronounced [ɪ], as in /brisɪk/ 'noisy', or /gigɪt/ 'bite' which may be pronounced either [bɹɪsɪk] and [gɪgɪt] or [bɹɪsɪk] and [gɪgɪt].

Thus, here, harmonization of the vowel [i] to [I], and the reverse, occurs.

3.2.3 The vowel /e/

The phoneme /e/ in this dialect is in minimal contrast with the nearest vowel /ɛ/ only in final position, as in:

/sampe/ 'to arrive' with /sɑmpɛ/ 'garbage'/gule/ 'kind of soup' with /ɡulɛ/ 'sugar'.

In other positions the distribution of /e/ is very limited. In nonfinal position, the vowel /e/ occurs only in forms with the phonemic structure C(onsonant) Cɛ, as in:

/lele/ '(k.o. fish)' /tempe/ 'fermented soybean cake'

Or in forms with the phonemic structure Cɛ(C) 0 and C0(C)e as in:

/sɛrə/ 'fish trap'/bəo/ 'myna bird'

Other nonfinal positions are always occupied by the vowel /ɛ/, as in /bɛsok/ 'tomorrow', /ʃəkə/ 'tail', /dɛɾət/ 'row, line'.

3.2.4 The vowel phoneme /ɛ/

The third vowel /ɛ/ is also only in opposition to the nearest vowel /e/ in final position, as described in 3.2.3. But, unlike /e/, the vowel /ɛ/ can occur in all positions: initial, mid, and final, as in:

/kəɾ/ 'tail'/kɔɾɛ/ 'screpe'/dəɾɛ/ 'blood', and /ɛɾt/ 'to deceive'.

But, as described in 3.2.3, the vowel /e/ never occurs in positions such as C(C)C, C(0)C0, or C0(C)e. It may also be added that there is always vowel harmony between /e/ and /ɛ/, and between /ɛ/ and /o/. If the vowel /e/ occurs finally in a form, the vowel /ɛ/ rather than /ɛ/ occurs in the penultimate position, as in /lele/ '(k.o. fish)' or /sæpele/ 'worthless'. Thus also when /o/ occurs in final open position, the vowel /e/ rather than /ɛ/ occurs, as in /bəo/ and /sero/.

Further it should be pointed out here, that although /ɛ/ in this dialect has phonemic status, the other back vowel, /o/, does not have phonemic status. Teeuw wondered about this matter in his critique of Hans Kühler's analysis (Teeuw, 1966:480).

This fact is not in accord with the general tendency (Pike, 1961:59): there is no symmetry between /ɛ/, which has phonemic status, and /o/, which is only an allophone of the phoneme /o/. (See 3.2.8.)

It should also be stated here that there is additional proof of a phonemic difference between /e/ and /ɛ/. In the area of morpho-phonemics, when the vowel /ɛ/ is followed by another morpheme it undergoes a phonemic change to become /a/. The form /mɛ/ followed by [-an] becomes /mæ(an)/, and not */mɛ(an)/. But the vowel /e/ in this environment remains /e/, as in /sampe/, which with the circumfix /kə-[ ]-an/ becomes /kəsampean/, not */kəsamPAan/.

3.2.5 The vowel /a/

The central low vowel /a/ can be in minimal contrast with the nearest vowel /ɛ/ in all positions, as shown by the following examples:

/baba/ (term of address, "father", to Chinese men) with /baba/ "father"/
/ʃəɾə/ '(k.o. salad)' /bəwəɾ/ 'bawl, /bəwəɾ/ 'bawl, /bəwəɾ/ 'quarrelsome'
Although the vowels /a/ and /ɛ/ can be shown to be in contrast phonemically, speakers of this dialect show free alternation of the two vowels in final position. Words like manɛ 'where', dærɛ 'blood', and lɛmɛ 'long (of time)' are pronounced [manɛ], [dærɛ] and [lɛmɛ] or [mana], [dara] and [lama]. Due to such facts, Stephen Wallace, as mentioned in 1.5, became interested in studying the differences in social background of speakers choosing among these alternate forms.

Finally it should be mentioned that when the vowel /ɛ/ takes its alternate form /a/, it is usually followed by a glottal stop, as in [bawɔ] 'to bring' and [juga] 'also'.

3.2.6 The vowel /ɔ/

The central mid vowel /ɔ/ contrasts with /a/ only in initial and mid position, as this vowel never occurs in final position:

/alɔs/ 'to stroke'  with  /alus/ 'fine, soft'
/barəɔ/ 'thing'  with  /barəɔ/ 'together'

The vowel /ɔ/ has two pronunciations: before the consonants /l/ and /r/ it is pronounced nonsyllabically: /bolakaɔ/ 'back' and /porintɛ/ 'order' are pronounced [b'loːka] and [p'oːrint]. But /bokas/ 'print, trace' and /dɔʁəɔ/ 'to come' are pronounced [b'okas] and [dɔʁəɔ].

As mentioned above, the vowel /ɔ/ does not occur in final position in this dialect.

3.2.7 The vowel /u/

The high back vowel /u/ is in minimal contrast with the nearest vowel /o/ in all positions, as in:

/urɔk/ /orɔk/ 'to bury' 'baby'
/bunut/ /bontɔt/ 'tall' 'youngest'
/bunutu/ /bontɔ/ 'blocked' 'spoiled (fish)'

The back high vowel /u/ has two pronunciations which are in complementary distribution. In open syllables it is pronounced [u], while in closed syllables it is pronounced as a lower vowel [u]:

/baru/ 'now'  is pronounced [baru]
/ulaŋ/ 'repeat'  [ulaŋ]

but
/kalutu/ 'necklace'  is pronounced [kaluŋ]
/ikut/ 'to follow'  [i'kut]

As with other vowels, there is vowel harmony between the two allophones. When there are two successive vowels /u/ in the same form, both are pronounced either [u] or [u].

/buruŋ/ 'bird' may be pronounced [buruŋ] or [buruŋ]
/puntuŋ/ 'blunt' may be pronounced [puntuŋ] or [puntuŋ]

In final position, the vowel /u/ is often in alternation with the vowel /o/. The words /kalo/ 'if' and /tu/ 'that' each have two pronunciations /kalo/ and /tu/ or /kalu/ and /tɔ/.

3.2.8 The vowel /o/

The back mid vowel /o/, as shown by the minimal pairs in 3.2.7, contrasts with the vowel /u/ in all positions.

The vowel /o/ also has two pronunciations. In final open position it is pronounced [o], while in other positions it is pronounced [ɔ], that is a little lower than [o], as in:

/kalo/ pronounced [kalo]
/ɪf/ [pulo]  'island'

but
/balɔk/ pronounced [balɔk]
/'bɔrd' /ˈcoba/ 'to try'

There is also vowel harmony between the two allophones. If there are two successive vowels /o/ in a form, the two vowels may be pronounced [o] or [ɔ] depending on the final syllable:

/boto/ 'beautiful' is pronounced [boto]
/bontɔ/ 'spoiled'  [bontɔ]

but
/bontɔt/ pronounced [bɔntɔt]
/'orɔk/ 'youngest'  [ɔrɔk]
/'orɔk/ 'baby'

In addition there is also vowel harmony between the vowels /o/ and /e/, that is the mid back and mid front vowels. In forms having the phonemic structure C(C)C or C(C)C, the two vowels /o/ and /e/ are pronounced [o] and [e], as in:

/bolo/ pronounced [bole]
/'bɛɔ/' /beo/ 'may' /ˈmyna bird'

But in forms having the phonemic structure C(C)C or C(C)C, the two vowels /o/ and /e/ are pronounced [ɔ] and [ɛ]:

/kɔɾɛk/ pronounced [kɔɾɛk]
/'bɛlok/ 'to scrape'  [bɛlok]
/'tʊrn'
3.2.9 Vowel harmony

From this analysis of Jakarta dialect, I conclude that in this dialect, as well as phonological variation, there is also vowel harmony between the following vowels:

[i] and [I]
[e] and [e]
[u] and [u]
[o] and [o]
[a] and [a]

The vowel harmony is from right to left, that is, the determining factor is the vowel to the right. When the vowel to the right is pronounced as an upper high vowel, for example [i], then the vowel to the left is pronounced [i] also, and vice versa; when the vowel to the right is pronounced as a front lower high vowel, the vowel to the left is also pronounced as a front lower high vowel, and so forth. This even applies to the mid front vowel [e] and the mid back vowel [o]: if the vowel to the right is pronounced [e], then the vowel to the left is pronounced as the mid back vowel [o]. But if the vowel to the right is pronounced as the mid low [ɛ], then the vowel to the left is pronounced as the mid low back vowel [ɔ]. Thus the forms bole 'may' and korek 'to scrape' are pronounced respectively [bole] and [kɔreŋ].

3.3 Consonant phonemes

The consonant phonemes of this dialect are: the bilabial stops /b/ and /p/, the alveolar stops /d/ and /t/, the palatals /j/ and /c/, the velars /g/ and /k/, the homorganic nasals /m/ and /n/, /ñ/ and /ŋ/, the alveolar fricative /s/, the alveolar lateral /l/, the alveolar trill /r/, the laringal fricative /h/; the glottal stop /ʔ/; and the bilabial and palatal semivowels /w/ and /y/. (See the list of consonants in 3.1 above.)

3.3.1 Pronunciation of consonants

The consonants /d/, /t/, /j/, /c/, /g/, /k/, the nasals /n/, /ñ/ and /ŋ/, the fricative /s/, the trill /r/, and the lateral /l/ — are each pronounced slightly more to the front or back in the environment of a front or back vowel. Thus /t/ in /tikɔr/ 'mat' is pronounced [tʰikɔɾ], but in /tukɔr/ 'change' it is pronounced [ʔtʰukɔɾ], and similarly with the other consonants named. The different pronunciations of these consonants in complementary distribution will not be represented in the phonetic representations.

The palatal consonants /j/, /c/, and /ñ/, and the semivowels /w/ and /y/ never occur in syllable-final position. All other consonants occur in all positions in the syllable. The voiced stops /b/, /d/ and /g/ never occur in final position except in a few words where they occur in certain morphophonemic environments. (See 4.9 and 4.10.)

3.3.2 The consonant /b/

As noted in 3.3.1, the consonant /b/ only occurs in initial and medial position. Therefore we only find minimal pairs in those two positions, as in:

/barɔŋ/ and /parɔŋ/
'thing'
'knife'
/kabur/ and /kapur/
'escape'
'chalk'

It is unaspirated in all positions and does not have any variations:

/babi/ is pronounced [babi]
'pig'
'/abu/ is pronounced [ʔabu]
'grey'

3.3.3 The consonant /p/

The voiceless bilabial stop /p/ is also pronounced without variation in all positions, except for syllable-final /p/ which is unreleased:

/atɔp/ is pronounced [ʔatɔp]
'roof'

but

/ap/ is pronounced [ʔapi]
'fire'

Because the consonant /b/ never occurs in final position, /p/ never contrasts with that homorganic consonant in final position, although /p/ occurs in all positions, as in /pipi/ 'cheek', /api/ 'fire', and /putup/ 'close'.

3.3.4 The nasal /m/

The nasal which is homorganic with /b/ and /p/ shows minimal contrasts in all positions, as in:

/misan/ and /pisan/
'cousin'
'very'

/amaŋ/ and /apaŋ/
'same, with'
'what'

/asmɔŋ/ and /asɔŋ/
'sour'
'smoke'

The nasal /m/ is pronounced without variation in all positions.

3.3.5 The consonant /d/

The voiced alveolar stop /d/ occurs only in final and medial position. Therefore minimal contrasts with the closest consonant /b/ occur only in these two positions, as in:

/dari/ and /tari/
'from'
'dance'

/pande/ and /pante/
'smart, clever'
'shore'
An aspect of the pronunciation of the consonant /d/ should be noted here. This voiced stop is not homorganic with the closest consonant /t/. The consonant /d/ is pronounced more to the back than /t/, that is, its point of articulation is alveopalatal, while the point of articulation of /t/ is alveolar. Thus /pandé/ is pronounced [pandé], while /pante/ is pronounced [pante].

3.3.6 The consonant /t/

The voiceless alveolar stop /t/ only contrasts with the closest consonant /d/ in initial and medial position (see above 3.3.5), although it occurs in all positions, as in: /tarik/ 'to pull', /atap/ 'roof' and /ikut/ 'to follow'.

The consonant /t/ is pronounced unreleased in final position, and released in other positions. Thus /ikut/ is pronounced [ikut-], but /tarik/ 'to pull' and /atap/ 'roof' are pronounced [tarik-] and [atap-].

3.3.7 The consonant /n/

The nasal /n/ shows minimal contrasts in initial, medial and final position, as in:

/nencʔ/ with /tstʔ/
'grandmother' 'breast'
/банах/ /бтах/
'to arrange' 'to like, adjust to'
/турн/ /турт/
'to descend' 'to follow'

This nasal has two allophones. In the environment of a voiceless alveopalatal stop it is pronounced as an alveopalatal nasal [ŋ], while in other environments it is pronounced as an alveolar nasal, as in the following:

/pandé/ is pronounced [pandé]
'smart, clever'

but /pante/ is pronounced [pante]
'shore'

/nencʔ/ is pronounced [nencʔ]
'grandmother'

3.3.8 The consonants /j/ and /c/

As noted in 3.3.1, the palatal stops /j/ and /c/ never occur in final position. That these two consonants are separate phonemes appears from minimal contrasts between them as in the following:

/juraj/ and /curaj/
'rapine' 'to cheat'

/jərəj/ and /cərəj/
'教研' 'to teach'

3.3.9 The consonant /ñ/

The palatal nasal affricate /ñ/ never occurs in final position. Minimal contrasts in initial and medial position appear in the following examples:

/ñənə/ and /cəcə/
'to sing' 'to scorn'

/ñənəj/ and /cəcəj/
'to fry without oil' 'to slice thinly'

3.3.10 The consonant /g/

The voiced stop /g/ never occurs in final position. Therefore /g/ only contrasts with the homorganic consonant /k/ in initial and medial position, as in the following:

/gali/ /kali/
'to dig' 'river'

/lagi/ /lakəj/
'to be in the process of'

3.3.11 The consonant /k/

The voiceless velar stop /k/ contrasts with the homorganic consonant /g/ only in initial and medial position, as in 3.3.10. But /k/ also contrasts with the closest consonant, glottal stop, as in:

/pak/ and /paʔ/
'pack' '[respectful term of (of cigarettes)] address for males'

3.3.12 The consonant /q/

The velar nasal /q/ contrasts with the homorganic consonant /k/ in all positions, as in:

/qəqʔ/ and /kəqʔ/
'cat' 'snail'

/səqət/ and /səqət/
'stling' 'limit'

/qəraqʔ/ /kəraqʔ/
'shell' 'burned part of rice'

3.3.13 The consonant /s/

The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ contrasts with the alveolar stop /t/ in all positions, as in:

/sosok/ and /totok/
'buttonhole' 'pure (descent)'

/usəqʔ/ and /utəqʔ/
'worn-out' 'debt'

/kəras/ and /kəras/
'hard' 'piece'

3.3.14 The consonants /l/ and /r/

The alveolar lateral consonant /l/ and the alveolar trill /r/ contrast minimally:

/lətak/ and /rətak/
'place' 'crack'

/kalaqʔ/ /karaqʔ/
'support, prop' 'coral'

/susul/ /susur/
'to follow' 'edge, fringe'
But, if these two consonants occur together in a form, there is often free alternation between them. The forms /lorah/ 'village section head' and /lari/ 'to run' alternate with /rurah/ and /raji/ with the same meaning.

When these two consonants are in the environment of a voiced stop, they are usually pronounced with stronger voicing than in other environments, as:

/blanda/ pronounced [blaŋda] 'Dutch'
/brantakan/ 'in a mess'

but /lari/ [lari] 'to run'
rotak/ 'crack'
/kali/ 'river'

3.3.15 The semivowels /w/ and /y/

The bilabial semivowel /w/ and the palatal semivowel /y/ only occur and contrast in initial and medial position, as in:

/baweq/ and /bayaq/ 'onion' /wag/ 'to imagine' /yaq/ 'money' 'which'

It should be noted that /y/ in initial position often alternates with /h/. The words /yo?/ 'come on' and /yaq/ 'which' alternate with the forms /ho?/ and /haq/.

3.3.16 The consonant /h/.

The laringal fricative /h/ only contrasts with the closest consonant, glottal stop, in final position, as:

/mah/ 'emphatic particle'
/maq/ 'term of address for mother'

Forms with /h/ in initial position sometimes alternate with words without /h/. The forms /harg/ 'price' and /hiro/ 'to pay attention to' alternate with the forms /arg/ and /iro/. In some other forms /h/ is obligatory, e.g.: halal/ 'allowed' or /haram/ 'forbidden'.

Medially between unlike vowels /h/ rarely occurs. Only a few examples occur, such as sehat/ 'healthy' and /heho/ '(name of a Japanese army unit)'.

Medially between like vowels /h/ occurs in forms like tahao/ 'meanings', tahan/ 'to stand, last', /bohog/ 'to lie', and /puhun/ 'tree'. In this position /h/ occurs rather frequently. In a few forms, medial /h/ alternates with glottal stop, as in /bohog/ 'to lie', /puhun/ 'tree', which also have the forms /bo?og/ and /pu?un/.

In final position, generally, /h/ only occurs in exclamations and/or particles such as /ah/ 'exclamation', /oh/ 'exclamation', and /mah/ 'emphatic particle'. Final /h/ does not occur in words which have final /h/ in Indonesian, such as /pili/ 'to choose', /apor/ 'ten' and /masi/ 'still', which occur in Indonesian, with the same meanings, as pilih, sopulih and masih. As a result, words which in Jakarta dialect end in /ah/, in Jakarta dialect end with the vowel /e/. The Indonesian words darah, merah, caah and susah in Jakarta dialect are /dare/, /mee/, /[a]ce/ and /suse/. Although /h/ generally does not occur in final position, this consonant often appears to end a contour, as in:

/giht/ 'Get out!' 'Let's go'
udg/ 'That's enough!' (literally: 'already')
all right'
ye dehi? 'Yes, O.K.'

When not accompanied by a rising contour these exhortations do not end in /h/, as in:

gi lu ke soro 'Get over there'
gat ule makan 'I've already eaten'

Thus we must conclude that there are two kinds of /h/: as a phoneme, that is /h/ which occurs as part of a morpheme, where its occurrence is not influenced by the intonation of the sentence; and /h/ which occurs to emphasize intonation, that is, to accompany a rising contour.

3.3.17 The glottal consonant /?/.

The consonant /?/ contrasts with the closest consonant /h/ only in final position, as noted in 3.3.16. It also contrasts with the velar stop /k/ only in final position, as shown in 3.3.11.

In medial position, /?/ often occurs as an alternate of /h/ as in /bo?og/ which occurs in addition to /bohog/ 'to lie'. (See 3.3.16.)

In initial position, /?/ always appears with forms which begin with vowels, such as [usil] 'annoying, troublesome', ['ap] 'what'. (See 3.2.1.)

Finally it should be noted that in this dialect glottal stop occurs quite frequently in final position, as in forms like /ad?/ 'younger sibling', /omo?/ 'older sister', /so?/ 'stuck-up', /ihag/ 'behavior'. In addition, words which end in final /a/, that is, /a/ as an alternate of /e/, as in /juga/ 'also', /bawa/ 'bring' or /kota/ 'city' are often pronounced with a glottal stop as [juga?], [bawa?], [kota?], etc.
5. A more complete analysis of the different number of phonemes and the different conclusions may be found in Muhadjir (1972). For comparison see also Kay Ikranagara (1975b), where the number of vowels is considered to be only 6 instead of 7, by considering the difference between /a/ and /ɛ/ as a surface structure difference.

6. I emphasize this, because my conclusion differs from the conclusion of Hans Kähler, who considers the different quantities of the vowels /a/, /i/ and /o/ as phonemic (Kähler, 1966:V). For further discussion, see A. Teeuw (1966:480), and Muhadjir (1972:1-7). These two articles are critiques of Hans Kähler's conclusions.

7. I use capital letters in connection with morphophonemic processes to indicate morphophonemic changes and/or to represent archiphonemes. (See also 4.9 and 4.10.)

8. But there is one subdialect in which the vowel [ɛ] in final position is always pronounced as [ə]: măngɔ 'mango' and aŋɔ 'what' are pronounced [mangɔ] and [aŋɔ]. (See 1.4 above.)

9. Except for a single example I have found, that is the word sonɔ 'there' which is always pronounced [sonɔ], although the final vowel ɔ is in an open syllable.

10. This fact contradicts Lehman's (1972; 1973; 1974) theory. According to Lehman's typology, based on the order of verb (V) and object (O), languages can be divided into two groups: languages with OV order, and languages with VO order. And according to Lehman, in VO languages, vowel modification is from left to right. Turkish, a VO language, has vowel modification like the following: gel - dî 'he came'; gör - dû 'he saw'; kal - dî 'he left'; ol - du 'he became'. These examples show rounding of the final vowel due to the influence of the first. But, in Old German, an OV language, the opposite occurs: vowel modification occurs from right to left. In Jakarta dialect, a VO language (see section 5.1.1), vowel harmony — as explained above — goes from right to left, and not the reverse. It appears, on the basis of the limited data, that Lehman's theory and its connection with the problem of vowel modification, need further evidence.

11. The lack of these three consonants in final position is a characteristic which differentiates the central dialect from the outskirts dialect. In the outskirts dialect the three voiced consonants occur in final position, as in [krukub] 'covered over', [mayid] 'corpse', and [jukjag] 'one week later to the day'.

12. The limited occurrence of the consonant /h/ in final position constitutes a difference from another social subdialect: in the modern subdialect /h/ occurs fairly frequently, while in the conventional subdialect its occurrence is limited to certain forms. (See 1.5 above.)

13. It is a phonological characteristic of the outskirts subdialect that /h/ almost always accompanies a final contour. (See 1.4.)

14. As with /h/, /ʔ/ often accompanies a final vowel in the outskirts subdialect.

15. In the modern Jakarta dialect, in which final /ɛ/ occurs only in basic vocabulary, glottalization frequently occurs with final /a/. Thus final /a/ with glottalization is a characteristic of this social dialect.
Chapter four

MORPHOPHONEMICS

4.0 Introduction

Previous morphophonemic analyses by other authors have been primarily concerned with nonroot morphemes only. Root morphemes have not received equal attention. This might give the impression that the entire root morpheme class is made up of morphemes having a single form.

It is not possible to take such a point of view in a study of the morphophonemics of Jakarta dialect. In this dialect, neither all root morphemes nor all nonroot morphemes have single forms. Root morphemes like {ape} 'what' or {mɛɾ} 'red' — that is, all morphemes with final /ɛ/ — have two allomorphs in complementary distribution: /ape/ → /apa/, and /mɛɾ/ → /mɛɾa/. These two allomorphs alternate freely in morphophonemic form, but, in the environment of the suffixes {-in} or {-an}, only the allomorphs /apa/ and /mɛɾa/ occur. Thus {ape} + {-in} becomes /apɛin/, and {mɛɾ} + {-in} becomes /mɛɾɛin/. The informants never said */apɛin/ or */mɛɾɛin/.

Thus also when morphemes like {rawa} 'swamp' occur as constituents of compound words, frequently used as place names in Jakarta, they usually occur in the allomorph with /a/, as in /rawamaqun/, /rawabaqke/, and /rawasari/. Javanese never say */rawemaqun/, */rawaβabke/, or */rawasari/ (Muhadjir 1976b: 153).

In addition, some root words have complete and abbreviated forms (4.0.2 and 4.0.3) like {mase} 'impossible' and {trim} 'to receive'. When they occur as morphophonemic forms they always take their complete forms. But when they become components of compound words, they can occur in their abbreviated forms, as /sobodo/ and /mokasi/, as well as their complete forms /masabodo/ 'to be indifferent' and /trimakasi/ 'thank you'.

On the basis of these facts, in general, all morphemes — both root morphemes and non-root morphemes — may be considered as not yet having a single form on the morphophonemic level of analysis. Accordingly, members of both morpheme classes will be placed in curly brackets { }, symbolizing morpheme forms with more than one phonological realization.

4.0.1 Root morpheme structure

Although some root morphemes have more than one morph, most have only a single phonological form. Of those which have more than one morph, some of the allomorphs occur in connection with affixational processes, while others are allomorphic variants with complete and abbreviated forms.

4.0.2 Root morpheme structure of complete forms

The root morpheme structure of complete forms may be summarized as follows: (C)(erial)<(C)(C)(Ceral)<(V)<(C). This formula summarizes the following root morpheme forms:

(1)      V       e, o
          CV       ' (exclamation)'
          di       'at'
          ke       'to'
          ah       'ah'
          eh       ' (vocative exclamation)'
          VV       oι       ' (vocative exclamation)'
          CVC      sω       'stuck-up, proud'
                   mah       ' (emphatic particle)'
                   uas       'older brother/'
                   rel. of father or mother' uap       'smoke'
                   beo       'parrot'
                   tua       'old'
                   tuaq      'to pour'
                   bas       'fine, good'
                   CVCV      kali      'river'
                   baru      'new'
                   CVCV      tande      'sign'
                   hon     huntu      'blocked'
                   CV(N)CV      tandak      'dance'
                   CVCV      'animal horn'
                   CV(N)CV      tumbuk      'to pound'
                   CVCCVC      cicecog      'excuse, pretext'
                   CVCVC      askɔk       'to quarrel'
4.0.4 Nonroot morphemes

There are three morphemic processes in this dialect: affixation, reduplication, and compounding. Only the first two will be discussed in this study.

4.0.5 Affixes

Based on their positions, affixes may be divided into two groups: prefixes and suffixes:

1) The prefixes of this dialect are: {N-}, {mo(N)-}, {bs(r)-}, {pa(N)-}, {pa(r)-}, {di-}, {ka-}, {ta(r)-}, and {sa-};

2) There are only two suffixes in this dialect, {-in} and {-an}.

In addition there are morphemic processes whose nonroot morpheme elements are combinations of prefixes and suffixes, but because the morphophonemic forms of such circumfixes are the same as those of the affixes alone, they will not be discussed in this section.

4.1 The prefix {N-}

The prefix {N-} has five allomorphs, /m-/, /n-/, /R-/, /g-/, and /gã-. These five allomorphs are in complementary distribution on the basis of phonological environment, except for /gã-/, which may appear in place of any of the other four allomorphs. (See 4.1 (2).)

The first four allomorphs: /m-/, /n-/, /R-/, and /g-/, may each be realized phonologically in two different ways:
1) Before base forms which begin with a voiced consonant: /b/, /d/, /j/, /g/, /r/, /l/, a semivowel or a vowel; these allomorphs behave as prefixes which are added to base forms, as in:

{bakar} + {N-} → /mbakar/ 'to burn, roast'
{dadsa} → /ndsadsa/ 'to examine'
{jogot} → /njoget/ 'to dance'
{gaugu} → /ngauggu/ 'to bother'
{rampok} → /nrampok/ 'to steal'
{lawan} → /glawan/ 'to oppose'
{waliin} → /gwaliin/ 'to act as guardian'

2) In base forms which begin with a voiceless consonant /p/, /t/, /c/, /k/, or /s/, these four allomorphs replace the first consonants of the base forms. Thus different symbols are used to differentiate group (1) from group (2): /m-/, /n-/, /ŋ-/, and /ŋ-/. Examples:

{pacul} + {N-} → /macul/ 'to hoe'
{tandak} → /nandak/ 'to dance'
{cari} → /nari/ 'to look for'
{sasari} → /nasar/ 'to loose one's way'
{kasi} → /gası/ 'to give'

However for simplicity we will represent the two groups of allomorphs as follows, with

/{m-}/ for the two allomorphs /m-/, and /m-/, /
/{n-}/ for the allomorphs /n-/, and /ŋ-/;
/{ŋ-}/ for /ŋ-/, and /ŋ-/; and /
/{ŋ-}/ for /ŋ-/, and /ŋ-/. The choice among the allomorphs /m-/, /n-/, /ŋ-/, and /ŋ-/ is based on the base form. The allomorph /m-/> is used before the homorganic consonants /b/ and /p/; the allomorph /n-/> before the homorganic consonants /d/ and /t/; the allomorph /ŋ-/> is used before the homorganic consonants /j/, /c/ and /s/; and the allomorph /ŋ-/> appears before the homorganic consonants /g/ and /k/. In addition /ŋ-/> also appears before /r/ and /l/:

{bakar} + {N-} → /mbakar/ 'to burn, roast'
{pisce} → /mıcse/ 'to separate oneself'
{dəsək} → /ndsəsk/ 'to be in a hurry'
{tokor} → /ńukor/ 'to exchange'
{jitak} → /ńıtak/ 'to hit with the hand'
{curi} → /ńuri/ 'to steal'

{gubris} + {N-} → /gubbris/ 'to pay attention'
{kirc} → /qırc/ 'to think, guess'
{laraq} → /qlaraq/ 'to forbid'
{rusak} → /qrusak/ 'to ruin'

The fifth allomorph, /ŋ-/, is used before (a) base forms beginning with the consonant /h/; (b) base forms which consist of only one syllable.

Examples:

{hargain} + {N-} → /ŋaŋhargain/ 'to appreciate'
{hormatı} → /ŋaŋhormatı/ 'to respect'
{cır} → /qıır/ 'to paint'
{tır} → /qıırı/ 'to tar'

In addition this allomorph is used before base forms which begin with /l/ and /r/, and, as an alternate form, before the semi-vowels /w/ and /y/, as in:

{warisin} + {N-} → /q(ə)warisin/ 'to bequeath'
{rapiin} → /q(ə)rapiın/ 'to put in order'
{lawan} → /q(ə)lawan/ 'to oppose'

In addition, all base forms which begin with the voiced stops /b/, /d/, /j/ or /g/, can also take the allomorph /ŋ-/> in free alternation with the allomorphs /m-/, /n-/, /ŋ-/, and /ŋ-/. Thus base forms like bawa 'to bring', dukan 'healer', jəawab 'to answer', and garuk 'to scratch' each have alternate forms:

{bawa} + {N-} → /mbawa/ 'to agree'
{dukan} → {N-} → /ndağukın/ 'to stay over'
{jawab} + {N-} → /ńjawab/ 'to answer'
{garuk} + {N-} → /ńgaruk/ 'to scratch'

Further, all base forms which begin with a vowel use the allomorph /ŋ-/, as in:

{akur(in)} + {N-} → /ŋakürın/ 'to agree'
{enteqin} → /qenteqın/ 'to lighten'
{ədond} → /qəndon/ 'to stay over'
{utaq} → /qutaq/ 'to owe'
{intip} → /qıntıp/ 'to peek'

Finally, it should be noted that in base forms which begin with a consonant which is followed by the same consonant in the second
syllable, the second consonant is nasalized when the form takes the prefix (N-), as:

\[ \text{\{tag\}} + \text{(N-)} \rightarrow /n\text{Na}\text{g}/ \]
"to visit neighbors"
\[ /n\text{Nam}/ \]
"to visit"

It is not clear whether this rule is a general one or whether it applies only to these two examples, because only two such examples appear in the data.

Before base forms which begin with the nasal consonants /m/, /n/, / ก, and /ʔ/, the prefix (N-) never occurs. Whether a base form which begins with a nasal consonant has the prefix (N-) or not, can only be known from the meaning and distribution of the form. Forms like ʔаn 'to sing', ʔаkаn 'to eat' and ʔаjи 'to recite (the Koran)', appear to be forms with the prefix (N-), from their syntactic distributions, meanings, and sets of morphemic processes. As well as these forms with the prefix (N-), deverbal noun forms also occur, respectively ʔаnаn, ʔаkаnаn and пenаjиn.

4.2 The prefix (mэ(N-))

The morphophonemic rules for the prefix (mэ(N-)) are basically the same as those for (N-). This prefix has five allomorphs: /mэ/, /mэmэ/, /mэnэ/, /mэʔэ/ and /mэʔэ/, which for simplicity we divide into two groups: the allomorph /mэ-/, and /mэ(N-)/, which represents the other four allomorphs.

The allomorph /mэ-/ is used before all base forms which begin with the consonants /r/, /l/, /w/, /ʔ/, or nasals, while /mэ(N-)/ is used before other base forms. The choice of the nasal in the allomorph /mэ(N-)/ depends upon this first phoneme of the base form. Before forms beginning with /b/ or /p/ the allomorph /mэmэ/ is used; before forms beginning with /d/ or /t/ the allomorph /mэnэ/ is used; before forms beginning with /l/, /ʔ/, or /ʔ/ the allomorph /mэʔэ/ is used; and before forms beginning with /g/, /ʔg/, or vowels the allomorph /mэʔэ/ is used.

Examples:

\[ \text{\{lawat\}} + \text{(mэ(N-))} \rightarrow /mэlawat/ \]
"to visit"
\[ /mэrampok/ \]
"to steal"
\[ /mэʔаn/ \]
"to sing"
\[ /mэbantu/ \]
"to help"
\[ /mэmаsаq/ \]
"to hang"
\[ /mэdunу/ \]
"to get up"
\[ /mэrаnі/ \]
"to pull"
\[ /mэnаdаq/ \]
"to crawl"
\[ /mэgаq/ \]
"to look for"
\[ /mэbаgаq/ \]
"to bother"

and so forth.

As with the prefix (N-), the nasal in the allomorph /mэ(N-)/ is added to base forms beginning with voiced consonants, that is, /b/, /d/, /j/, /g/, and to base forms beginning with a vowel. But in base forms beginning with a voiceless stop /p/, /t/, /c/ or /ʔ/, the nasal in the allomorph /mэ(N-)/ replaces the first consonant of the base form, as shown in the examples.

4.3 The prefix (bэ(r-))

This prefix has six allomorphs. The six allomorphs can be divided into two groups: (1) the allomorphs /bэ-, /bэ/- and /bэ/ and (2) the allomorphs /bэr-, /bэр/-, /bэʔэ/-, and /bэʔэ/.

Except for the allomorph /bэ/-, the two groups are in complementary distribution. The first group is used before base forms beginning with a consonant: the second before forms beginning with a vowel. The allomorph /bэ/- is an exception as its occurrence cannot be predicted.

The allomorph /bэ/ is used before all consonants except /l/ and /ʔ/, as in:

\[ \text{\{bisik\}} + \text{(bэ(r-))} \rightarrow /bэbisik/ \]
"to whisper"
\[ /bэpacar/ \]
"to be in love, make love"
\[ /bэdar/ \]
"to bleed"
\[ /bэtаro/ \]
"to bet"
\[ /bэjаlаn/ \]
"to walk"
\[ /bэcэre/ \]
"to divorce"
\[ /bэgаdаq/ \]
"to stay up all night"
\[ /bэkаrаt/ \]
"rusty"
\[ /bэsодаrе/ \]
"related"
\[ /bэhаrе/ \]
"valued"

The allomorph /bэ- occurs before base forms which begin with the consonant /l/ or /ʔ/, as in:

\[ \text{\{laga?\}} + \text{(bэ(r-))} \rightarrow /bэlaga?/ \]
"to behave"
\[ /bэrаsе/ \]
"to feel"

But this allomorph can also alternate with the allomorph /bэ-/. The examples above can also have the forms /balaga?/ and /bэrаsе/ respectively. In this study the spelling /bэ-/ will be used for both forms.

The allomorphs /bэr-/ and /bэ/- are in variation before base forms which begin with
vowels, as in:

\[
\text{(alagan) } + \{ \text{bo}(r) \} \rightarrow /b(\text{e})\text{ralan} /\ \\
\text{(untuq)} \rightarrow /b(\text{e})\text{runuq} /\ 'lucky'/ \\
\text{(ampat)} \rightarrow /b(\text{e})\text{rampat} /\ 'to be four' \\
\]

The allomorph /bo?/- is mainly used before base forms which begin with a vowel in a closed syllable, as in:

\[
\text{(arti) } + \{ \text{bo}(r) \} \rightarrow /b\text{bo}?\text{arti} /\ 'to mean'/ \\
\text{(amprok)} \rightarrow /b\text{bo}?\text{amprok} /\ 'to meet'/ \\
\text{(empo?)} \rightarrow /b\text{bo}?\text{empo}?/ \ 'to have an older sister'
\]

But there is also the possibility of free variation of the allomorphs /bo?-/ and /bo?/-/. The base form /baq/ 'older brother' may have either the form /baq/ or /boq/; on the other hand, the base form /untuq/ only has the form /boquntuq/ 'lucky'.

In this study the spelling /bo/- will be used rather than /bo?/-.

The allomorph /bl/- appears in the data only with one base form /ajar/:

\[
\text{(ajar) } + \{ \text{bo}(r) \} \rightarrow /b\text{lajar} /\ 'to learn' \\
\]

Thus this allomorph is an exception as its occurrence cannot be predicted by phonological environment. In the same environment, for example with /akar/ 'root', the form */blakar/ does not occur, although the phonological environment is exactly the same as with /ajar/.

4.4 The prefix {di-}

We may say that this prefix has only one morphemic form, although there are some variations of pronunciation of forms with the prefix {di-}.

Before base forms beginning with consonants, {di-} is added without any variation:

\[
\text{(bawa) } + \{ \text{di} \} \rightarrow /dibawa/ \ 'taken' \\
\text{(pukul)} \rightarrow /dipukul/ 'hit' \\
\text{(qajjin)} \rightarrow /dijajjin/ \ 'read to (from the Koran)'
\]

and so forth.

Before base forms beginning with the vowel /l/, a glottal stop is added, as:

\[
\text{(ikot) } + \{ \text{di} \} \rightarrow /di?\text{ikot}/ 'tied' \\
\text{(intip) } \rightarrow /di?\text{intip}/ 'spied upon'
\]

Although phonologically this glottal stop always occurs, it will not be represented in the orthography of this study.

Before other vowels, the occurrence of the glottal stop is optional:

\[
\text{(ambil) } + \{ \text{di} \} \rightarrow /di?(\text{e})\text{ambil}/ 'taken'/ \\
\text{(ukur)} \rightarrow /di?(\text{e})\text{ukur}/ 'measured'/ \\
\text{(elonin)} \rightarrow /di?(\text{e})\text{elonin}/ 'confirmed, approved'/
\]

Base forms beginning with the vowel /o/ lose that vowel:

\[
\text{(empot) } + \{ \text{di} \} \rightarrow /dimpot/ 'kept' \\
\text{(endojin)} \rightarrow /dindojin/ 'have passengers, visitors'/
\]

4.5 The prefix {ko-}

This prefix has three allomorphs: /ko/-, /k/-, and /ko?-/. Before all consonants except /l/, /r/, and the semivowel /w/, the allomorph /ko?/- occurs:

\[
\text{(buru) } + \{ \text{ko} \} \rightarrow /ko\text{buru} / 'in a hurry'/ \\
\text{(nikir)} \rightarrow /ko\text{nikir} / 'thought' \\
\text{(jorq)} \rightarrow /ko\text{dorq} / 'pushed'
\]

and so forth.

Before /l/, /r/ and /w/ the allomorph /k/- occurs, as in:

\[
\text{(lakur) } + \{ \text{ko} \} \rightarrow /k\text{akur} (\text{an})/ 'behavior'/ \\
\text{(ras)} \rightarrow /k\text{ras} / 'felt' \\
\text{(wajip)} \rightarrow /k\text{wajip} / 'duty'
\]

Before base forms beginning with a vowel, the allomorphs /k/- and /ko?-/ are in free alternation:

\[
\text{(alag) } + \{ \text{ko} \} \rightarrow /k\text{alag} (\text{an})/ 'prevented'/ \\
\text{(injek)} \rightarrow /k\text{eji}k/ 'stepped on'
\]

But, the base form /ańut/ has only one form: /kâńut/ 'washed away'.

And base forms which begin with the vowel /o/ always use the allomorph /k/-:

\[
\text{(endojin) } + \{ \text{ko} \} \rightarrow /k\text{endojin} / 'have passengers, visitors'/
\]

4.6 The prefix {po (N)-}

The prefix {po (N)-} has three allomorphs: /po?-/, /po{N}/-/, and /po{N}?-/. The allomorph /po?/- occurs before base forms beginning with the nasal consonants /m/, /n/, /r/ and /ŋ/, and before the consonants
The allomorph /pə(N)-/ is added to base forms as a prefix. The symbol {N} stands for the four nasals /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ and /ŋ/. The choice of the nasal is based on the first consonant of the base form. The allomorph /pəŋ/- occurs before the homorganic consonants /b/ and /p/; the allomorph /pən/- occurs before the consonants /d/ and /t/; /pəŋ/- occurs before the palatal consonant /j/; /pəŋ/- occurs before base forms beginning with /g/:

{bantu} + {pə(N)-} → /pəmbantu/
'servant, assistant'
{datəq} → /pəndatəq/
'newcomer'
{jahat} → /pəŋjahat/
'evil person'
{garoq} → /pəŋgaroq/
'robber'

Base forms beginning with vowels always take the allomorph /pəŋ-/ as in:

{alaq} + {pə(N)-} → /pəgaləq/
'obstruction'
{ikət} → /pəgikət/
'binding agent'
{cək} → /pəgətək/
'waiter (at a party)'

The representation of the allomorph /pə(N)-/ symbolizes that the nasal prefix replaces the first consonant of the base form. {N} symbolizes the four nasals /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ and /ŋ/. The choice among them depends on the point of articulation of the first consonant of the base form:

{pake} + {pə(N)-} → /pəmakə/
'charm'
{tariq} → /pənarəq/
'puller'
{coloq} → /pənoloq/
'thief'
{kasi} → /pəqəsi/
'gift'
{sakit} → /pənakət/
'ilness'

Finally, it should be noted that in the data there are no base forms beginning with /y/ or /w/. Therefore, we do not predict which allomorph would occur with a base form beginning with a semivowel.

4.7 The prefix {pə(r)-}

First, it should be pointed out that in this dialect the prefix {pə(r)-} never occurs with-

out the suffix {-an}.

This prefix has four allomorphs, /pər/-, /pə-r/-, /pr/-, and /p/-.. The first three allomorphs are in complementary distribution, but the last allomorph is an exceptional form.

The allomorph /pər/- is used before base forms beginning with /l/ or /r/:

{lari} + {pə(r)-} → /pəlarəni/
'Fugitive'
{raste} → /pərəsaan/
'Feeling'

The allomorph /pr/- occurs before base forms beginning with a consonant, except for /l/ and /r/:

{jalan} + {pə(r)-} → /pərajalan/
'trip'
{təna} → /pərətaan/
'question'
{mintə} → /pərmintə/
'request'

The allomorph /pr/- occurs before base forms beginning with a vowel. This allomorph can also alternate with the allomorph /pər/- before a vowel:

{anak} + {pə(r)-} → /pəranakən/
'womb'
{igət} → /pəriqətən/
'remembrance'

The allomorph /pl/- occurs only in a single case, with the base form {ajar}:

{ajar} + {pə(r)-} → /pləjarən/
'lesson'

Thus this allomorph is exceptional.

4.8 The prefix {tə(r)-}

This prefix has two allomorphs in complementary distribution: the allomorphs /tər/- and /tər/-.

The allomorph /tər/- is used before base forms beginning with a vowel, as in:

{ikət} + {tə(r)-} → /tərikət/
'binding agent'
{anənəm} → /təranəm/
'threatened'
{usir} → /təsirən/
'driven out'

In addition, the allomorph /tər/- also occurs before base forms beginning with the consonant /h/-, as in:

{hinə} + {tə(r)-} → /tərhinə/
'insulted'
{hormət} → /tərhormət/
'honored'

The allomorph /tər/- is used before base forms beginning with a consonant, except for /h/-, as in:

{buka} + {tə(r)-} → /təbuka/
'open'
4.9 The suffix {-in}

This suffix has two allomorphs: /-in/ and /-?in/.

The allomorph /-in/ is used after base forms ending with consonants, as in:

{tutup} + {-in} ——> /tutupin/
'to close'

{meqom} /meqomin/
'to smile at'

{ikut} /ikutin/
'to go along with'

{heran} /heranin/
'to surprise'

{duduk} /dudukin/
'to put, place'

{tete?} /tete?in/
'to nurse'

In Jakarta dialect the voiced stop phonemes /b/, /d/, and /g/ never occur in final position according to the phonological rules. But some base forms ending with the consonants /p/, /t/, or /k/ undergo a morphophonemic change when they take the suffix /-in/: the final consonants become voiced stops, as in:

{jawap} + {-in} ——> /jawabin/
'to answer'

{parut} /parutin/
'to grate'

{gebuk} /gebukin/
'to hit'

It should be added that in this dialect there are no base forms ending with the palatal consonants /j/, /c/, or /?/ or the semivowels /w/ and /y/. Therefore there are no matters of morphophonemics in connection with such forms.

After the back vowels /u/ and /o/ the suffix {-in} is added without morphophonemic change:

{jau} + {-in} ——> /jauin/
'to move away'

{aso} /asoin/
'to allow to rest'

After base forms ending with /i/, the allomorph /?-in/ occurs, as in:

{beli} + {-in} ——> /beli?in/
'to buy for'

{isi} /isi?in/
'to fill'

After the back vowels /e/ and /a/, the glottal stop is optional:

{sampe} + {-in} ——> /sampe(?)in/
'to take to'

{bawa} /bawa(?)in/
'to take away'^23

After the back vowel /?/ and /in/ causes a morphophonemic change in the base form. The vowel /t/ becomes the vowel /a/, as in:

{gap?} + {-in} ——> /gap?in/
'what are you doing?, why?'

{mar?} /mar?in/
'to get angry at'

It should be added that in this dialect the central mid vowel /a/ does not occur in final position, and therefore there are no matters of morphophonemics in connection with such forms.

4.10 The suffix {-an}

Like {-in}, the suffix {-an} has two allomorphs. They are /-an/ and /-?an/.

The allomorph /-an/ is used after all consonants, except /b/, /d/ and /g/, as in:

{galap} + {-an} ——> /galapan/
'darker'

{kirim} /kiriman/
's.t. sent'

{bar?} /bar?an/
'better'

As with the suffix {-in}, some base forms ending with the consonants /p/, /t/ or /k/ undergo morphophonemic changes when they take the suffix {-an}: the final consonants become respectively /b/, /d/, and /g/, as in:

{krukup} + {-an} ——> /krukuban/
'covered with a blanket'

{munut} /muluDan/
'to celebrate the birth of Mohammed'

{uruk} /k(?)urugan/
'buried'

After the vowels /i/, /e/, /u/ and /o/, the allomorph /-an/ is also used, as in:

{beli} + {-an} ——> /belian/
's.t. bought'

{pake} /pakean/
'clothes'

{buru} /buraan/
'faster'

{taro} /taroan/
'to bet'

After the vowel /a/, the allomorph /?-an/ is used, as in:

{bawa} + {-an} ——> /bawa?an/
'gift'

{suka} /suka?an/
'banter, fondle'^24
After the vowel /ɛ/, /-an/ causes a morphophonemic change: the vowel /ɛ/ in the base form becomes /a/, as in:

\[ \text{mrɛ} \] + [-an] \[\rightarrow\] /mrAan/ 'redder'
\[\text{marɛ} \] /marAan/
'angry at each other'

But with the following base forms the allomorph /-?an/ always occurs:

\[ \text{korje} \] + [-an] \[\rightarrow\] /korjAan/ 'work'
\[\text{apε} \] /apAan/
'what'

4.11 Reduplication

On the basis of morphophonemic realizations, there are two types of reduplication: reduplication of base forms, and reduplication of base forms with affixes.

4.11.1 Reduplication of base forms

Phonologically, there are three types of reduplication of base forms:

a) repetition of the complete base form, which will be symbolized as \{R₁\};
b) repetition of the base form with phonemic changes, symbolized as \{R₂\};
c) repetition of the initial syllable of the base form, symbolized as \{R₃\}

\{R₁\} here represents reduplication which is repetition of the complete base form, with no changes or omissions, as in:

\[ \text{ana?} \] + \{R₁\} \[\rightarrow\] /ana?-anə/? 'children'
\[\text{bisik} \] /bisik-bisik/
'to whisper'
\[\text{ikut} \] /ikut-ikut/
'to always follow'

\{R₂\} represents repetition of the base form but with changes of vowel phonemes \{R₂a\}, or consonant phonemes \{R₂b\}.

Reduplication \{R₂a\} is repetition of the entire base form, but with changes of one or all vowels to other vowels, for example:

\[ \text{priqis} \] + \{R₂a\} \[\rightarrow\] /priqas-priqis/ 'to grin'
\[\text{plotot} \] /platat-plotot/
'to stare angrily'
\[\text{balik} \] /bolak-balik/
'back and forth'

As shown by the examples, the vowel variation is a change of vowel in the final syllable, or of all vowels, of the first constituent. Usually, the vowel change is a change of the vowel in the second syllable of the first constituent of the repeated form to the vowel /a/, while the vowel of the first syllable of the first constituent may be the vowel /a/ or another vowel.

The base form becomes the second constituent in the three examples of reduplication above. But when the base form already has the vowel /a/ in the second syllable, the base form becomes the first constituent, as shown in the following examples:

\[ \text{gorak} \] + \{R₂a\} \[\rightarrow\] /gorak-gorik/ 'movements'
\[\text{(ka) sana} \] /ka-sana-sono/
'back and forth'

4.11.2 \{R\} + affixes

When reduplication is combined with processes of affixation, whether with prefixes, suffixes, or circumfixes, it is generally only the base form which is repeated. The affixes

\[\text{duk} \] + \{R₂a\} \[\rightarrow\] /dak-dik-duk/ 'to beat'
\[\text{brak} \] /brak-brik-bruk/
'(sound of things falling)'

Although there are not many examples, we may conclude that in reduplication with consonantal variation \{R₂b\}, the first consonant of the second constituent is replaced by a bilabial consonant, /b/ or /p/, or another consonant with a point of articulation more to the front than the first consonant of the first constituent:

\[ \text{saluk} \] + \{R₂b\} \[\rightarrow\] /saluk-boluk/ 'complicated'
\[\text{ramah} \] /ramah-tamah/
'friendly'

Sometimes the phonemic change is accompanied by a shortening or abbreviation of the base form, so that it is difficult to recognize as a reduplicated form, as in:

\[ \text{saqkut} \] + \{R₂b\} \[\rightarrow\] /saqkut-paut/ 'involved'

Reduplication of type \{R₃\} is repetition of the first syllable of base form; while other syllables are not repeated, as in:

\[\text{laki} \] + \{R₃\} \[\rightarrow\] /lalaki/
'man'
\[\text{kumur} \] /kukumur/
'to gargle'
\[\text{bans} \] /bābans/
'to put in order'
\[\text{sapu} \] /ssasapu/
'broom'

As shown by the set of examples above, the vowel of the repeated syllable always changes to the vowel /a/ from whatever vowel occurs in the base form.

4.11.2 {R} + affixes
are not repeated, for example:

(i) {bisik}+{(bo(r)-)+[R]} → /babisik-bisik/
    'to whisper'

{garuk}+{(N-)+[R]} → /gogaruk-garuk/
    'to scratch'

{ruma}+{(sɔ-)+[R]} → /söruma-ruma/
    'the whole house'

{bawa}+{(k-)+[R]} → /kebawa-bawa/
    'taken away'

(ii) {apɛ}+{(R)+[-an]} → /apA-apAan/
    'what's this'

{sirəm}+{(R)+[-in]} → /siräm-siramin/
    'to spray'

(iii) {bɔnɔr}+{(sɔ-)+[N-]>[Ra]} → /sabɔnɔr-bɔnɔrña/
    'truly'

{pukul}+{(R)+[N-]>[in]} → /mukul-mukulin/
    'hit'

{pacar}+{(bo(r)-)+[an]} → /barpacar-pacaran/
    'be in love'

But this general rule does not apply to
reduplication of base forms with the prefix
{N-}. In this case, whether the prefix is
repeated or not depends upon which allomorph
occurs in the reduplicated form + {N-}. When
the allomorph /{n-}/ occurs, the prefix {N-}
is also repeated in the second constituent;
but when the allomorph /gɔ-/ occurs — in the
examples we have found — it is not repeated
in the second constituent. Thus here the
general morphophonemic rule applies, that only
the base form is repeated, while the allomorph
of the prefix {N-} is not repeated:

{taňa}+{(R)+[N-]} → /naňa-naňa/
    'to ask'

{susɛ}+{(R)+[N-]} → /huša-ňusAin/
    'to cause trouble'

{doroɡ}+{(R)+[N-]} → /ndoroɡ-ndoroɡ/
    'to push'

But:

{doroɡ}+{(R)+[N-]} → /gɔdoroɡ-doroɡ/
    'to push'

{garuk}+{(R)+[N-]} → /gogaruk-garuk/
    'to scratch'

It should be noted here that in the ex-
amples collected the form /{N-}/ rarely occurs in
combination with reduplication in base
forms beginning with voiced stop consonants,
/b/, /d/, /j/, or /g/ with the allomorph
/{n-}/. In the examples collected, such re-
duplication occurs with the allomorph /gɔ-/ or
without the prefix /{N-}/. As shown in 6.1.1,
transitive verbs occur both with the prefix
{N-} and without it. (See note 35.)

The morphophonemic rules state that base
forms which take the suffixes {-an} or {-in}
are subject to the following morphophonemic
process: when a base form ending with the
vowel /ɛ/ takes either of these suffixes, the
vowel /ɛ/ changes to the vowel /a/. (See 4.9
and 4.10.) When such a base form undergoes
the process of reduplication + {-an} or {-in},
this morphophonemic change also takes place
in the first constituent, the constituent
which does not take the suffix, as in the fol-
lowing:

{apɛ}+{(R)+{N-}>[in]} → /qapA-qaPa 될/
    'what are you doing?'

{apɛ}+{(R)+[-an]} → /apA-apAan/
    'what is
Thus here — as with the rule of vowel
harmony (see 3.2.9 above) — the direction of
influence of vowel change is from right to
left.

The examples above are examples of re-
duplication in which the affixes are added to
the first constituent. In this dialect there
are also reduplicated forms which combine with
the prefix /mɔ(N-)/ where the prefix is added
to the second constituent. In these cases
the prefix is not repeated in the first con-
stituent. The members of the base form
do not agree phonologically:

{pukul} + {D} + /mɔ(N-)+[D]25 →
    /pukul-mɔmukul/
    'to hit each other'

{səbọlɛ} + {D} + /mɔ(N-)+[D] →
    /səbọlɛ-mɔsəbọlɛ/
    'side by side'

Thus, unlike with the form /{N-}/, with
this latter form there is no phonological
agreement.

*   *   *

30
FOOTNOTES:

16. In a way that is not clear to me, Kray Ikrana-gara shows examples like /aprin/ and /mércin/ (1975), as well as /apain/, /marain/. But Abdul Chaer (1976) does not mention such examples.

17. [N] represents a nasal consonant homorganic with following consonant.

18. This pattern differs from the pattern CV(N)CV(C) in that the third element can be a nasal which is not homorganic with the following consonant, or it can be a nonnasal consonant. This pattern usually represents a form which is a repeated syllable, which is repeated in its entirety, such as ṭṛqṛg 'carry s.t. light in one's hand', ṭrḳṛq 'touching', ṭuqṭuq 'carry on the head'. In comparison with Indonesian, such forms are characteristic of Jakarta dialect, and they occur rather frequently.

19. That abbreviated forms are informal and full forms formal appears from the following: family relationship terms used as honorific pronouns always appear in full form (see list of honorific pronouns in note 27). But further research on their relationship to the use of Jakartanese is needed.

20. In this dialect /h/ rarely occurs in initial position. When there is a form beginning with /h/ it usually alternates with a form without /h/. When the form without /h/ occurs, the allomorph /q-/ is used. Thus the form {hargain} may occur in the form /qohargain/ or /qargain/.

21. But the base form wétan 'east' apparently uses the allomorph /q-/: qétan 'to go home to the east'. So the base form loses the semivowel /w/.

22. Abdul Chaer notes that /qo-/ also occurs with base forms which begin with the voiceless consonant /c/ (1976:XXVII).

23. This glottal consonant will not be represented in the orthography.

24. Glottal consonants will not be represented in the orthography.

25. The symbol {D} is used to replace the base form.
5.0 The class of paradigmatic affixes

In this dialect there are two classes of paradigmatic affixes: verbal paradigmatic affixes and nominal paradigmatic affixes.

5.1 Verbal paradigmatic affixes

Within the class of verbal paradigmatic affixes there are two classes of affixes: (1) volative passive, and (2) nonvolative. In class (1) is the prefix {di-}, and in class (2) are the affixes {ko-}, {te(r)-}, and {ko[-]-an}.

5.1.1 Volative passive

Jakarta Dialect is a SVO language. (See note 9: section 3.2.9.) In the construction of transitive verbal sentences, the S(subject) precedes the V(erbal) predicate, and the O(bject) follows the verbal predicate:

(1a) mamat gambil makanan
    S     V     O
Mamat take food
'Mamat takes food.'

In sentence (1a) above, the verb gambil has the {N-} form, which shows that the verb is an active transitive verb. Verbs which morphologically have the prefix {N-} have paradigmatic variants with the prefix {di-}.

(1b) makanan itu diambil mamat
    S     V     O
food that taken Mamat
'The food is taken by Mamat.'

The two forms of the verb, with the prefix {N-}, and with the prefix {di-}, are not two different (lexical) words, but two different variants of the same lexical unit. The construction of the sentence changes by the choice of the {di-} form of the {N-} form. The object coconstituent in sentence (1a) becomes the subject of sentence (1b)—without changing its role, the Ob(jective) role. The subject of sentence (1a) changes its position to after the verb, with a new function, Agentive Ad(verb).

In other words, the morphological variation between gambil and diambil has no connection with the formation of new words, but is related to a syntactic process, the process of subjectivization (Fillmore, 1970, Subjectivization processes). This is, the process of choice of a subject which brings about agreement in the morphological form of the verb. In a verbal sentence, the speaker can choose one of the roles of the coconstituents of the verb to function as subject. When the choice falls on a coconstituent in the Ag(ente) role, the verb must have the {N-} form, but if it falls on another role: either the Ob(jective), Ben(efactive), Loc(ative) or In(strumental) — the verb must have the prefix {di-}.

Following are examples of verbal sentences with variation in the role of the S(subject):

(2a) ime giliatn gué [ajt]
    S:Ag {N-}+Vt 0:Ob
Imah look I only
'Imah just looks at me'

(2b) [kəna]pôle gué diliatn ime
    S:Ob {di-}+Vt Ag:Ad
why I be-looked-at [ajt]
only
'Why am I just looked at by Imah?'

(Vt stands for transitive verb.)

As seen from example (2) the appearance of the prefix {di-} is caused by the difference in the role of the subject which is not the same as the role of the subject in the sentences with the prefix {N-}. The subject in (2a) has the Ag(ente) role, while the subject in (2b) has the Ob(jective) role.

Sentence (3b) following shows the subject in another role, the Ben(efactive) role, as a variation of sentence (3a):

(3a) babe gəbolin mamat baju
    S:Ag {N-}+Vt 0:Ben C:Ob
father buy Mamat clothes
[baru]
new
'Father buys Mamat new clothes.'

(3b) mamat [uda] dibolin bae
    S:Ben {di-}+Vt C:Ag
Mamat already bought father baju [baru]
clothes new
'Mamat was bought new clothes by father.'

Following is an example of a transitive verbal sentence with an object in the Loc(ative) role, and its variant with the S(subject)
in the Locative role:

(4a) bade  ArgumentNullException past ame
S:Ag  (N-)+Vt  0:Loc
father sow ricefield with
bibit padi
C:Ob
seed rice
'Father sows the rice seed in
the field.'

(4b) ArgumentNullException dite ArgumentNullException past bade
S:Loc  (di-)+Vt  C:Ag
ricefield sown father
bibit padi
C:Ob
seed rice
'The field is sown with rice seed
by father.'

The following example shows variation between a subject in the agentic role and
one in the instrumental role:

(5a) mamat mbili baju baru
S:Ag  (N-)+Vt  0:Ob
Mamat buy clothes new
[ame] gajina
C:In
with wages
'Mammat buys new clothes with
his wages.'

(5b) gajina mamat dibeliin baju
S:In  (di-)+Vt  C:Ob
wages Mamat spent clothes
baru
new
'Mammat's wages are spent on new
clothes.'

As shown by example (5a), in this dia-
l ect — according to the data available —
there are no objects in the instrumental role,
but there are subjects in that role, such as
example (5b) above.

Although morphologically the role of the
cocoonstituent of the verbal predicate is not
shown by a particular affix, subjectiviza-
tion with the prefix (di-) cannot be well un-
derstood without considering the role of the
subject. With an (N-) form the role of the
cocoonstituent of the verb is shown by its
function as object placed directly after the
verb, and with a (di-) form it is chosen as
subject, as in examples (2) through (5). The
last example (5) shows an exception in this
dialect, that is, a sentence in which a com-
plement (C) of an (N-) form becomes the
instrumental subject.

5.1.2 Variants of the (di-) form

The construction of transitive verbal
sentences with (di-) forms varies according to
the category of the word filling the role of
subject cocoonstituent. In the examples (1)
through (5) in 5.1.1 above, the words filling
the Ag(entive) role are nouns in the third
person. Such agentic actors are usually
placed directly after the verb with the (di-)
form. Following are several additional exam-
pl es:

(6) gue [lobi suka] ditigaal ana?
I more like left child
'I prefer to be left by the child.'

(7) slape gue [aRu] dibawa
handkerchief I drift taken
water
'My handkerchief drifts away
taken by the water.'

In examples (6) and (7) the agentic ac-
tor is not accompanied by the preposition
which signals its role, ame 'by'. But in the
following examples the agentic actor is ac-
companied by ame.

(8) lu [pan] dipanggil ame
you (particle) called by
ma?
mother
'Mother called you, didn't she?'

(9) dit dipuqut mantu ame
he taken son-in-law by
orag kaya
person rich
'He became the son-in-law of some
rich people.'

The use of ame 'by' in the examples above
is optional. However, when the agentic role
is filled by the word orag 'person', acting
as an indefinite third person pronoun, ame is
generally not used:

(10) dit [takut] biniha diambil
he afraid wife taken
orag person
'He is afraid that his wife will
be taken by someone.'

(11) dit [dog] dipandag orag
he (particle) respected person
'He is respected by the people.'

When the agentic role is filled by the
third person pronoun dit 'he, she, it', ame
is obligatory:

(12) [ada ame si] gue
is what (particle) I
dipandag ame dit
looked-at by he
'Why is he looking at me?'

(13) [eRa] gue ditimu ame dit
certainly I cheated by he
'Certainly I am cheated by him.'
It should be pointed out here that when the agentive role is filled by a third person pronoun, in general, it is always filled by the pronoun die 'he, she, it', and not by N ake 'he, she, it; his, her, its' — as in Indonesian. Certainly N ake often occurs after verbs, including verbs in the {di-} form, but, in this dialect, N ake after a verb does not act as a pronoun in the agentive role — as it does in Indonesian— but as a nominalizing suffix, as in:

(14) ana? satu sue
dijarne
child one difficult teaching
'Training an only child is difficult.'

(15) N ake enak didogerne
singing pleasant hearing
'His song is pleasant to hear.'

It should also be mentioned that in this dialect the agentive role is often not mentioned, as in:

(16) gunung dikate gode
mountain said big
[gadean ati gue]
bigger heart I
'A mountain is said to be big, but my heart is bigger.'

In addition, in this dialect, {di-} forms can also occur in imperative sentences.

(17) diminum tu tehe
drunk that tea
'Drink your tea.'

(18) tu sayur jagan
those vegetables don't
digadoin
eaten (without rice)
'Don't eat those vegetables (without rice).'

When the agentive role is filled by a first or second person pronoun, the construction of the sentence can alternate with the construction with a verb phrase in the {di-} form.27 Following are examples of sentence variants with the agentive role filled by first and second person pronouns, which have the same construction as with third person pronouns, that is, they use the {di-} form of the verb:

(19) lu nga
am dikegitau
you not want told
amg gue si
by I (particle)
'You don't want to be told by me.'

(20) tu potlot jagan
that pencil don't

\textit{digit}[-\textit{gigit}] ame lu
bitten by you
'Don't bite that pencil.'

In this construction, in general, the agentive role is signaled by ame 'by'. But occasionally we find such constructions without the preposition ame, as in:

(21) [pan]
gue diketawain lu
(particle) I laughed-at you
'I was laughed at by you.'

Respect pronouns can also occur in the agentive role in pronominal position.28

(22) duit lu uga dipake
money you already used
ame mpo?
by older-sister
'Your money was already used by her.'

(23) liwet N ake uga diaduk
rice the already stirred
ame lime
by Halimah
'The rice was already stirred by Halimah.'

In another construction, first and second person pronouns in the agentive role are placed before the base form of the verb in the place of the prefix {di-}, as in:

(24) [kana] lu gue gobuk
hit, you I hit
touched
'You were hit by me.'

(25) [begitu kita gaseir] radio
as-soon-as we break-in radio
kita bugkus
we wrap
'After we broke in, the radio was wrapped up by us.'

(26) N i baju bisa lu jait
these clothes can you sewn
'These clothes can be sewn by you.'

As in the first construction described above, first and second person pronouns in the agentive role can be replaced by respect pronouns:

(27) N i duit [gag] babe
this money which father
ambil taken
'This is the money which was taken by father.'
(28) [kapan] baju ḡa? [musti] when clothes mother must
imɛ ambil
Imah taken, picked up
'When must mother's clothes be picked up by Imah?'

5.1.3 Paradigm of (di-) forms

Finally we may show here a list of paradigms of (di-) forms and phrase forms to close our discussion of the system of subjectivization:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{di- } & \quad \text{ambil} \\
\{\text{Pn. I, II, III + }β\} & \quad \{\text{(ams) Pn. I, II, III + }β\} \\
\{\text{Respect Pn. } β\} & \quad \\
\end{align*}
\]

5.2 Nonvolative verb forms

In this dialect there are three affixes which signal nonvolative verbs: \{kə-, (tə/-r-)\} and \{kə-[-]-an\}. The first two vary paradigmatically with verbs with the (N-) prefix, while \{kə-[-]-an\} varies with verbs with the circumfix \{N-[-]-in\}.

Affixation with these three affixes is similar to affixation with \{di-\} in that it is related to subject choice; but it has a different semantic aspect, that is, it has the meaning 'stative', 'not intended' or 'not by wish of the actor'. In short, the volative form is 'dynamic', while the nonvolative form has a 'stative' meaning. Accordingly, because the nonvolative form does not stress the activity of the actor in the agentic role, the nonvolative form does not have any paradigmatic variation connected with differences in the agentic role. Sentences with nonvolative verbs may be contrasted to volative sentence constructions with the prefix \{di-\}, which have such variants, as shown in 5.1.3 above.

In addition, with nonvolative forms, the agentic role is more often unspecified than with the volative forms. When the agentic role is specified with a nonvolative form, usually the word in the agentic role is accompanied by ame 'by':

(29) blanjaan gue kəbawa ame shopping, I taken by groceries
lu
you
'My groceries were taken by you.'

(30) gue uĎe ḡa? kəpake I already not used
deh ame dîc (particle) by he
'I am not used by him any more.'

(31) ḡataŋe uĎa ḡa? kəpikiran debt-the already not thought
lagi ame dîc again by he
'The debt is never thought about by him any more.'

It should be noted here that several constructions in the nonvolative form are so frequently used that they have become common daily expressions. In such examples the agentive does not use the preposition ame, as in: ḡoseudul kəpake 'can be bumped by the head' (too short), ḡobu ḡase 'in a hurry because of desire' (not fully thought out), etc.

In addition there is also use of the nonvolative form with the construction Agent + Predicate + Object:

(32) lu kəmakən ḡa? nasi (by) you eaten not rice
səgitu so-much
'Will you eat that much rice or not?'

(33) gue ḡa? kəjinjŋ ni (by) I not jingle this
baray thing
'I'm not jingling this thing.'

In the two examples above the prefix \{kə-\} does not function as a sign that the subject is in the objective role. Its function is only to express the nonvolative meaning. Another example is:

(34) gue ḡa? kəpikiran lagi (by) I not thought again
deh ame ḡata lu (particle) about debt you3l
'I don't think about your debt any more. (Just forget it.)'

5.2.1 The nonvolative form \{kə-\}

The prefix \{kə-\} can combine with almost all transitive verbs to form nonvolative forms. Some intransitive verbs and precategorical roots can also take the nonvolative \{kə-\} prefix.

5.2.2 \{kə-\} + transitive verbs

As well as being a sign of object subjectivization, \{kə-\} has other meanings as follows:

a) Expressing suddenness, lack of intention, or happening against the actor's will, as in:

(35) [gue bukanθa mau jītak] I not want hit
kajitak die hit he

'I didn't want to hit, I was hit by him.'

(36) [ada kəbakarən tu] ruma lu is fire that house you
kəbakar qəja? burned not
'There is a fire there. Is your house burning?'

(37) lu [jaːgan bədiri di situ] you don't stand at there
kənəmbit thrown (by something)
'Don't stand there. You will be hit by something.'

b) Expressing that 'the activity of the base form is not carried out'. This meaning usually appears when preceded by the negative word qəja? 'not', as in:

(38) udu qəja? kəbəkin lagi already not made again
ni kue this cake
'This cake can't be made.'

(39) hərgənq qəja? kəbəli dəh cost not bought (particle)
'The cost was so high we didn't buy it.'

This meaning can also appear in sentences without the negative word qəja?:

(40) Kalu pintuŋa kəpəndıkan if door-the too-low
kəbəntur kepala hit head
'If the door is too low, you'll hit your head.'

5.2.3 (kə-) + intransitive verbs

Some intransitive verbs can take this prefix. In this case there is, of course, no active-passive opposition expressed. What is expressed in this form is the nonvolitative aspect, with the connotation of nonintention, suddenness, or happening against the actor's will.

(41) [gəə qəja? təu ada kələ] I not know is river
e 'gəə kəja dun fall-in
(exclamation) I fall-in
'I didn't know there was a river. I fell in.'

(42) diə bukan kəjaəbəloə [əmaq he not fall-in indeed
Nəbłoəsim dəiri] throw self

'He didn't fall in, he jumped in.'

In the examples (41) and (42) above, the meaning of nonintention is more clear than the realization of a paradigmatic variation of the (N-) form.

(43) diə nəbəlo nəndirə he throw self
He jumped in.'

(44) ah diə nəbər nəndirə (particle) he fall self
'He jumped in.'

Unlike {kə-} with transitive verbs, with intransitive verbs {kə-} does not give the meaning 'can be [...]'.

5.2.4 (kə-) + precategorical roots

Some precategorical roots can take the prefix {kə-}, such as kətəwa 'laugh', kəlaŋər 'excessive, gone too far', kəstər 'spilled, left behind', kəbuɾu 'in a hurry', and kəlimə 'knocked down, run over'. These generally have the meaning 'unintentional'. Naturally this group of forms does not vary paradigmatically with {N-} forms.

5.2.5 The prefix {tə(r)-}

The prefix {tə(r)-} occurs in some places in place of the prefix {kə-}. As well as the forms tabuəka 'open', tərəsa 'felt', təpləst 'slip, stumble' we find the forms təbūka, tərəsa and təpləst with the same meanings. In this case the prefix {tə(r)-} is a new alternate perhaps coming from Indonesian.

In addition, there are also {tə(r)-} forms which never alternate with forms with the prefix {kə-}. Forms such as tərılkət 'tied', tələmbət 'late', təpəndaq 'seen, esteemed', təserək 'as you will', or təlaŋən 'lie stretched out' never occur in the {kə-} form. However, their meaning and distribution are the same as {kə-} forms.

The only case in which {tə(r)-} may be said to be productive is when it is used with reduplication. (See also 7.5.6.) However in this case, some forms can alternate with {kə-} forms.

5.2.6 {tə(r)-} + transitive verbs

Like the prefix {kə-}, as well as showing that the subject of the sentence is in the objective role, the prefix {tə(r)-} also expresses static aspect, with the connotation: 'unintentional', 'suddenly', 'against the actor's will', or 'something which can be done'.

a) Example of {tə(r)-} expressing suddenness, nonintention or a situation against the actor's will:

(45) tu nəndələ [ko?] tabuəka that window (particle) open
[stiəpa yəq bukəin] who which open
'Why is that window open? Who opened it?'

(46) [jaqan sampe] laki lu
not until man you
[ni] tarikat ame polisi
tied by police
'Don't let your husband be involved by the police.'

b) Examples of {tə(r)-} forms expressing 'can be' [...]32

(47) rahasia kita bisa tabogkar
secret we can disclose
samua
all
'All our secrets can be disclosed.'

(48) [uga? ada laki buat ndampilgin
not is man for accompany
dit suka baraq tontu]
she already thing certain
dit uga? terpandag
she not esteemed
'Without a man to accompany her
of course she is not esteemed.'

It should be added that examples (45) and
(47) are also examples of {tə(r)-} forms which
can alternate with {ka-} forms: they can al-
ternate with kəbuka and kəbogkar. But the ex-
amples tarikat (46) and terpandag (48) can ne-
ever occur in the {ka-} form.

5.2.7 {tə(r)-} + intransitive verbs

Like the prefix {ka-}, the prefix
{tə(r)-} with intransitive verb base forms
does not have the meaning of showing that the
subject is in the objective role. Here
{tə(r)-} only expresses nonvolitive aspect.
Following are examples:

(49) kalo ujan gue bisa juga
if rain I can also
toplest
slip
'If it rains I could slip.'

(50) lu gue tuqgu ampe
you I wait until
totidur(-tidur)
fell-asleep
'I waited for you until I fell asleep.'

5.2.8 The circumfix {ka-[]-an}

This circumfix has two meanings, as a
derivational circumfix and as a sign of non-
volitive aspect. {ka-[]-an} acts as a deriv-
tional circumfix in forming nouns (See 6.10).
And as a sign of nonvolitive aspect, this cir-
cumfix has two meanings: as a derivational
circumfix and as a sign of paradigmatic varia-
tion.

When we compare the following two forms:
kətəduran 'to fall asleep' and kədudukan 'to sit
on (something) unintentionally', it is clear
that kətəduran is a word which comes
directly from the base tidur 'sleep', while
kədudukan forms a pair with gedudukan 'to sit
on'. This may be explained as follows: the
subject of kətəduran is the same as the sub-
ject of tidur, but the subject of kədudukan
is the object of gedudukan.

(51a) amat tidur di gardu
Amat sleep at guardhouse
'Amat sleeps at the guardhouse.'

(51b) amat kətəduran di gardu
Amat fall-asleep at guardhouse
'Amat falls asleep at the
guardhouse.'

(52a) lu gedudukan slampe
you sit-on handkerchief
gue
I
'You sit on my handkerchief.'

(52b) slampe gue kədudukan
handkerchief I sat-on
ame lu
by you
'My handkerchief is sat upon
by you.'

It seems clear that the {ka-[]-an} form
in example (52b) is a paradigmatic variant of
the form gedudukan.

Unlike forms with the prefix {ka-} which
are paradigmatic variants of {N-[]-} forms,
forms with the circumfix {ka-[]-an} are pri-
marily variants of {N-[]-in} verb forms which
come from intransitive verbs. Only a few
{N-[]-in} verbs which come from transitive
verbs can vary with {ka-[]-an} forms. (See
5.2.10.)

In addition, some {ka-[]-an} forms come
from special base forms. (See 5.2.11.)

5.2.9 {ka-[]-an} + intransitive verbs

As explained in 5.2.8, {ka-[]-an} can
vary paradigmatically with {N-[]-in} verbs
which come from intransitive verbs, showing
subjectivalization of the object, as in exam-
ple (52). The meaning of {ka-[]-an} as a
sign of the object becoming the subject is
the same as the circumfix {di-[]-in}, which
can occur with the same verbs, as in example
(52):

(52c) slampe gue didudukan
handkerchief I sat-on
ame lu
by you
'My handkerchief was sat upon
by you.'

The difference is that the circumfix
(di-[ ]-in) expresses a dynamic activity while (ko-[ ]-an) is a sign of activity with a static aspect.

In addition to this meaning, the circumfix (ko-[ ]-an) also has the following connotations:

a) The circumfix (ko-[ ]-an) expresses that something happens unintentionally, as in:

(53) rapi-rapiin jagan sampe ada clean-up don't until is yaq katagahan which left 'Clean up, don't let anything be left behind.'

(54) jagan bediri di situ ntar don't stand at there later kajataan klaps fallen-on coconut 'Don't stand there, you'll be hit by a coconut.'

b) With some other base forms, (ko-[ ]-an) expresses something which 'may happen', as in:

(55) mulutña uda qga? katagahan mouth already not held mau buru-buru kasi tahu want quickly let know biniña wife 'He can't keep quiet any longer, he wants to tell his wife.'

(56) bakar-bakar rumi bagitu burn house like-that katagahan polisi kitaqte lu known police caught you 'Setting houses on fire like that, if the police find out, you'll be caught.'

c) This circumfix also often has the meaning 'suddenly', as in:

(57) dic mau ko mari kalagah he want to here prevented banjir flood 'He wanted to come but was suddenly prevented by a flood.'

(58) dic katagahan roko? tu he addicted cigarette that gantuk sleepy 'He is addicted to cigarettes, so he's sleepy.'

d) Parallel to meaning (c), verbal sentences with (ko-[ ]-an) forms often become phrases. Examples like ana? kosayagan babe 'father's favorite child', kuturunan arab 'Arabic descent' are no longer on the level of the sentence examples of (a), (b) and (c)

above, but are on the level of phrases. The relation between the constituents is no longer between subject and predicate, but between the inner constituent ana? and its modifier kosayagan babe and kuturunan arab in a nominal phrase.

Coconstituents of (ko-[ ]-an) verbs which express the agentic role may occur after the verbs as in (52), (54), (56), (57) and (58), or not, as in (53) and (55). Such coconstituents may be accompanied by om or as in (52), or not, as in (54), (56), (57) and (58).

The meaning of (ko-[ ]-an) with intransitive verb base forms is only to express static aspect with the meaning 'unintentional', 'suddenly', 'may be [...]. Thus it only gives lexical meaning, and does not represent paradigmatic variation. Following are several examples:

(59) ya gne kulupaan qga? kaigatan yes I forgotten not remember 'Yes, I forget, I don't remember.'

(60) na uskaraq ni (exclamation) now this kajadian happened 'Now this happens.'

In addition there are many (ko-[ ]-an) forms whose base forms are difficult to explain, such as kauerunan 'possessed (by a spirit)', kalanjuran 'excessive, gone too far', kwalaikan 'at a loss what to do.' Such forms are grouped with precategorical forms.

5.2.10 (ko-[ ]-an) + transitive verbs

Unlike intransitive verb base forms, not all transitive verbs can become (ko-[ ]-an) base forms. Forms which we find are, among others, kobagian 'get one's share', koliatan 'seen', kopikiran 'thought about', and kawampuran 'mixed, involved'.

From this limited number of examples it may be pointed out that some of them are complementary to examples with the prefix (ko-). As pointed out in 5.2.8, the circumfix (ko-[ ]-an) is generally added to transitive verbs which come from intransitive verbs with the circumfix (N-[ ]-in), while for transitive verbs, generally, the prefix (ko-) is used with more or less the same meaning. However, there is a group of transitive verbs the (N-) prefix which never take the prefix (ko-), but rather the circumfix (ko-[ ]-an). The verbs ndogar 'hear' and gilat 'see' for example never become kDOGAR or koliAT but always kawampuran and kawalatan.

On the other hand, there are some (ko-[ ]-an) forms from transitive verbs which also have (ko-) forms. As well as the form kawampuran 'mixed, involved' for example, we find the form kawampuran, and as well as the form kawoepot 'pilfered', we find kawoepatan.

Therefore forms with the circumfix (ko-[ ]-an) from transitive verb bases can be divided into two groups based on the facts above. The two groups are: the group which are
complementary with forms having the prefix \{ka-\}, and the group which also have \{ke-\} forms.

1) Forms in the first group have the same meaning as forms with \{ka-\}, except for the object subjectivization. They also express 'nonintention', 'suddenness', as in:

(61) ya dompet gue
     (exclamation) wallet I
     kétigaalan
     left
     'My wallet is left behind.'

(62) nah kena
     (exclamation) hit, touched
     tu kakiña kejirat
     that feet snared
     'The feet are snared.'

They can also mean 'can be [...]', as in:

(63) qga? katiatan dari sini
     not seen, visible from here
     'It is not visible from here.'

(64) suaraña magi kadanalan
     voice still heard, audible
     juga dari sini
     also from here
     'His voice is still audible from here.'

2) In the second group, the \{ka-[]-an\} group which also has \{ka-\} forms, some pairs have the same meaning, such as kejirat 'snared', and kejiratan 'snared' but others have a different syntactic distribution. The forms keoepet and keoepetan have subjects in different roles: the first form has a subject in the objective role, while the second has a subject in the benefactive role. Compare the following examples:

(65) duit kiriman lu keoepet
     money sent you pilfered
     waktu gue keoepetan
     time I robbed
     'The money you sent was taken when I was robbed.'

The subject of keoepet, that is duit, is in the objective role, while the subject of keoepetan, that is, gue is in the benefactive role. Another example:

(66) [ña? gabagì duit ame
     mother distribute money to
     ana?-ana?] duit gue ikut
     children money I accompany
     kabagì
     distribute
     'When mother distributed money to the children, my money was also distributed.'

Compare to:

(67) Dudug kaga? kabagian duit
     Dudung not get share money
     'Dudung doesn't get a share of the money.'

The two forms cannot be exchanged. These sentences are ungrammatical:

(68) * duit gue ikut kabagian

or

(69) * dudug kaga? këbagì

Thus \{ka-[]-an\} and \{ka-\} forms each have their own place in the sentence.

5.2.11 \{ka-[]-an\} + special base forms

As mentioned in section 2.4, in this dialect there are a group of nominal roots like malam 'night', magrib 'sunset', or panas 'hot' and ujan 'rain', names of times and weather, which can take the circumfix \{ka-[]-an\}, komalaman 'overcome by nightfall; too late', kapanagan 'overcome by heat; too hot', and so forth. Following is an example in a quotation:

(70) die kewjatan tu di situ
     he landed-on that at there
     'He got caught in the rain there.'

The subject of the sentence, die, is in the objective role.

Since the meaning of the circumfix \{ka-[]-an\} in such forms is the same as its meaning as a sign of the subject in the objective role, these forms may be grouped as paradigmatic variants of nonexistent forms: *malamin, *magribin, *manasìn and so forth.

In this group are also forms like kematan 'bereaved by a death', kobocoran 'wet by water from a leak', and so forth.

5.3 Nominal paradigmatic variation

In this dialect there is an element \{=Ha\} which phonologically stands alone (See 2.4 above), but is syntactically bound. This form only occurs in relation to another word. One function of this element is to accompany nouns as a genitive sign. In other words a noun can vary paradigmatically with forms having the form \{=Ha\}.

A noun like kepala 'head' can have the form kepalañä without any change in lexical meaning. The suffix \{=Ha\} expresses a syntactic relationship: that a noun has a genitive relationship to another noun which follows it. Following are examples in quotations:

(71) ana?-ana? datong laporan
     children, men come report
     bawa kepalañä ei
     bring head (particle)
long-hair (man)
'The men came to report bringing
the head of the long-haired man.'

(72) ni tidal ana?-[ana?]ña
this just-then children, man
a1 rombeng
(particle) Rombeng
'Those were Rombeng's men.'

(73) ni kalo bagni
this if, then like-this
rombengña bagn pinci
group, gang (title) Pinci
'In that case, they were Pinci's
gang.'

However it should be pointed out that not
all genitive relationships use the {-ña} form.
For example:

(74) biusña taman-taman abaq
usually friends older-
brother/he
suka datog
like, often come
'Usually his friends come often.'

Usually when the second member in the
genitive relationship is pronominal, {-ña} is
not used, as in:

(75) mane rumu aye rombeng
where house I delapidated,
run-down
'My house is run-down, too.'

(76) monaq peqhimpan aye bogni
indeed hope I like-that
'Indeed that is my hope.'

It should be added that in this dialect
{-ña} acts as an anaphoric element, referring
to and at the same time replacing a word,
phrase, or even a sentence which precedes it, as in:

(77) big umar di pagkeq
(title) Umar at room

"Umar paces the room, muttering.'

In (77) {-ña} which refers to bag umar acts as
an anaphoric element. In this case the noun
malatñi also expresses a genitive relationship
with its antecedent bag umar. (Compare Krida-
laksana 1971.)

As an anaphoric element, {-ña} can also
refer to a first or second person, as in:

(78) abaq bura-bura
older-brother, you quickly
bepar kali ada
very perhaps have
pajiraña taji
girl-friend-your another
'You are in a great hurry, perhaps
you have another girl friend.'

The syntactic relationships in (78) show that
{-ña} refers to the second person, the second
person honorific pronoun abaq.

It should also be noted that {-ña} acts
as an anaphoric element with its 'antecedent'
following, as in:

(79) ña? ada tia
mother, you already know
tabatñi bogni
character-his he like-that
'You know his character is like
that.'

In (79), {-ña} refers to bogni which is mention-
ed afterwards. That {-ña} in (79) acts as an
element which refers to an element following
it, that is, acts like a cataphoric element,
is shown by the following example:

(80) diq adatñi galak
he character-his fierce
'He has a fierce character/His
character is fierce.'

Thus it may be concluded that {-ña} in
examples (77) through (80) acts as an anapho-
ric element, and at the same time as a sign
of a genitive relationship.

* * *
FOOTNOTES:

26. In his discussion of "case", Fillmore, in connection with the Maranao language which was discussed by McKaughan (1962), gave his interpretation that there is a process of subjectivization, or — the term he later used — primary topicalization. Primary topicalization is the process of selection of one constituent of the sentence as the topic or "focus", which he differentiates from the process of secondary topicalization or emphasis (1970:55–8). In the Summer Institute of Linguistics group the same concept is known as the focus system. (See Pike 1964; Foster, 1964; Kerr, 1965; or Clayre, 1973 for languages of Kalimantan and Indonesian.) In Jakarta dialect there are two processes: the process of verb focus on an object (Muhadjir, 1974), and the process called subjectivization by Fillmore. The process of object choice is derivational. (See the circumfix [N-{-}]-in in 6.5.2.) The process of subjectivization is paradigmatic. (Compare also Verhaar, 1975.)

27. List of Pronouns of Jakarta Dialect

(i) first person (ii) second person (iii) third person

gut 'I' (s)lu 'you' dit 'he, she, it'
kite 'I', we' 'you' disitu 'they'
an 'I' 'you' aye (respect)
'siya' "I" saya (respect)

In this dialect there is no difference between singular and plural pronouns. The pronouns kete and die can be used for either singular or plural. If it is necessary to emphasize the plural meaning, usually, it is done by adding pada before the verb; as in tu jamuran pada lu ambil 'Did you get all the laundry?'; tu die lagi pada makan 'They are all eating.'

28. Nouns which become respect pronouns, generally, are names of family relationships or names of positions, such as: ampo 'older sister', ade 'younger sibling', abag 'older brother', abde 'father', abha 'mother', toke 'employer', wa'aji 'uncle haji' (haji: one who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca), and so forth. These respect pronouns always occur in their complete forms. Words like babi, abha, ampo, abag which can be abbreviated to b, ḫa, po and baq can never occur as respect pronouns in their abbreviated forms. There are no forms like *duit lu  uda baq ambil, for example.

29. P(N) represents an element which is a nominal or a nominal phrase, such as amat (proper name), tu oraq 'that person', and so forth.


31. The preposition ame in this example is not a sign of the agentive role but of the objective role.

32. No constructions of the form ta? \{to\(r\)}- \{\ldots\} (ta? 'not') are found in the data.

33. Perhaps forms like komaloman 'overcome by night, too late at night', komagriban 'overcome by dusk' and koujawan 'caught in the rain', can be considered to vary with *malamin, *magribin and *gujanin, although these forms never occur in the 'active' form.
6.0 Introduction

Several matters should be discussed before the description of derivational affixation. First, the organization of the presentation; second, the distribution of affixes; and third, the meaning and order of derivation.

As pointed out in 2.2, this dialect has only a few affixes, so that almost every affix has more than one meaning and distribution. A difficulty which arises, as a result, is that there are often overlapping meanings and distributions among derivational affixes. To avoid this overlapping as much as possible, this analysis of derivational affixations is organized by taking the nonroot morpheme as the starting point of the discussion; and testing, with which root morpheme categories each affix can combine. Then the word classes and meanings which are formed by each derivational affixation process are discussed.

In section 2.3 root morphemes were categorized based on morphemic processes, as nominal, adjectival, verbal, or precategorical roots, or particles. Then the class of verbs was subcategorized into transitive, semi-transitive and intransitive verb classes, on the basis of syntactic distribution. (See 2.5.)

In connection with the organization of the presentation, nonroot morpheme distribution should also be discussed. Affixational morphemes do not have equally wide distributions. There are affixes which are productive in deriving verbs, but not productive in deriving nouns, or the reverse. Therefore the description of the base forms which can combine with each affix will be arranged according to level of productivity. The most productive base forms will be discussed first, followed by progressively less productive categories.

Although there is often overlapping, the affixes presented in this chapter will be discussed in the following order. We begin with affixes forming verbs: \( \{N\} \), \( \{\text{no}(N)\} \), \( \{\text{bo}(r)\} \), \( \{\text{bo}(r)^{-}\} \)-an, and \( \{N\}-\text{in} \); then the adjectival derivational affix \(-\text{an} \); and then nominal affixation: \( \{\text{po}(N)\} \), \( \{\text{po}(N)^{-}\} \)-an, \( \{\text{po}(r)\} \)-an, \( \{\text{ko}^{-}\} \)-an, \{\text{so}^{-}\}, and \{\text{so}^{-}\}\)-ha.

Derivational morphemes have two types of meaning: grammatical meaning, that is, their function in changing base forms from one category to another; and lexical meaning. The first type of meaning naturally includes the second, but not vice versa. In the presentation of the meaning of the morpheme, as well as showing the first type of meaning we also include the second as far as possible. Unlike with paradigmic affixation, with derivational affixation the order of derivation must be considered. Constituents directly forming words may be simple root morphemes, or they may be root morphemes which have already undergone morphemic processes. Both of these are called base forms. However they must be differentiated. The first may be called primary base forms, and the second, secondary base forms.

For example we may compare the derived form \( \text{pogagan} \) 'to hold on (continuously)' (a semitransitive stative verb), to \( \text{pogagan} \) 'place to hold on' (a deverbal noun). The form \( \text{pogagan} \) is directly related to the root morpheme base form \( \text{pogana} \), while the form \( \text{pogagan} \) is related to the transitive verb \( \text{megag} \) 'to hold'. As another example we may compare the forms \( \text{bopakean} \) and \( \text{bopakean} \) 'to face'. \( \text{bopakean} \) has a different order of derivation than \( \text{bopakean} \). The first form comes from the (secondary) base form \( \text{pakean} \) 'clothes' (from the root morpheme base form \( \text{pake} \) 'wear') with the prefix \( \{bo(r)^{-}\} \). The second form comes directly from the primary base form \( \text{hadeg} \), with the circumfix \( \{bo(r)^{-}\} \)-an.

6.1 The prefix \( \{N\} \)

6.1.0 Distribution

This prefix can combine with the following root morpheme base forms: (1) semitransitive verbs, (2) intransitive verbs, (3) nominals, (4) adjectivals, and (5) precategorical roots.

6.1.1 \( \{N\} \) + semitransitive verbal roots

Almost all semitransitive verbal root morphemes in the data available can take the prefix \( \{N\} \). I have found a very small number of exceptions. But it should be pointed out also here that these transitive verbs with the prefix \( \{N\} \) in many positions can be in parallel distribution - in certain contexts - with forms without the prefix \( \{N\} \). The verbal root \( \text{patik} \) in example (81) varies with (82):

\[
(81) \quad \text{kalo qe pag patik husing dirito} \quad \text{if I which pick flower scolded}
\]

'If I pick flowers I get scolded.'

\[
(82) \quad \text{kalo qe pag patik husing dirito} \quad \text{if I which pick flower scolded}
\]

'If I pick flowers I get scolded.'

And similarly with other examples.

The only position in which forms with the prefix \( \{N\} \) can not alternate with forms without the prefix is when a transitive verb
takes the nominalizing suffix -(ʔa), as in:

(83) *moniŋ*  ꔯūbīŋa  ngaʔ kawen
     as-long-as pinching not hard
     'As long as he doesn't pinch hard.'

(84) kobaratun tu  ꔯ speaking
     too-heavy that picking-up
     'It is too heavy to pick up.'

(85) lu  ruma  tautau  uda
     that house unexpectedly already
     jadi  kapan  mbayun
     done when building
     'That house is already finished!
     When was it built?'

(86)  ꔯbarkar  ꔯan  maten-maten
     cooking  don't overdone
     'Don't cook it too long.'

The {N-} forms in these four examples can not vary with forms without {N-}: *gūbīŋa, *gendoŋa, *bawun and *barkar cannot replace the {N-} forms in (83), (84), (85) and (86).

Although in some places a few such forms without the {N-} prefix appear, such as pakeŋa 'wearing' or qariŋa 'looking for', such examples are very few in comparison with forms with the prefix {N-} which cannot vary with forms without {N-}, such as the four examples above.

The difference between transitive verbs forms with the {N-} prefix and forms without the prefix, has to do with static/dynamic aspect. Forms without {N-} have a static aspect, while those with the prefix {N-} have a dynamic aspect. The first type of verb is considered to belong to the semitransitive verb category. (See 2.5.4.)

The prefix {N-} with semitransitive verbal base forms has two meanings: (1) as a derivational prefix forming transitive verbs and (2) as a paradigmatic variant.

In the first meaning, {N-} combines with base forms to give dynamic transitive verbs, that is, it emphasizes the activity of the base form. This derivational meaning is clear with precategorical base forms, such as the forms qajar and tuntun. These two roots when combined with the prefix {N-} give the transitive verb forms gajar 'to give a lesson' and tuntun 'to guide, lead', but when combined with the prefix {bə(r)-}, they give the stative semitransitive verbs belajar 'to learn' and botuntun 'to guide, lead each other'. The following examples are provided to clarify the difference in meaning:

(87a) poʔ  mime  lagi  gajar
     (title) Minah presently give-a-
     anaʔa
     lesson child
     'Minah is teaching her child a
     lesson.'

(87b) anaʔ  poʔ  mime  lagi
     child (title) Minah presently
     belajar  gari
     learn recite Koran

(88a) sāqpe  tu  yaŋ  lagi  nuntun
     who that which presently lead
     anaʔa
     child
     'Who is leading the child?'

(88b) na  kalo  bajarlan  botuntun
     (exclamation) when walk
     bēgiŋə  jadi  ʔaŋ  ilaŋ
     each-other like-that so not lost
     'When you are walking (in crowded place), lead each other like that so you aren't lost.'

Compare also the form Ḋlipot 'to fold' with the form belipat 'multiple'; Ḋapop 'to face' with Ḋaradap 'facing'. (See also 6.3.7.)

The difference between the dynamic aspect of the verb with {N-} prefix, and the stative aspect of the verb without the {N-} prefix, is clear from the fact that the verb with the prefix {N-} is in opposition to the form with {di-}. On the other hand, the stative verb, whether with the prefix {bo(r)-} or with no affix, is not in opposition with that form.

In its second meaning, the prefix {N-} with transitive verbal root morphemes acts as a sign that the subject of the sentence in which it appears is in the agentive role. Thus the {N-} form acts as the first member of a paradigm whose second member is a {di-} form, which has a subject in the objective role. (See 5.1.1 above.)

6.1.2 {N-} + intransitive verbal roots

Not all intransitive verbal roots can take the prefix {N-}. This is because, as well as intransitive verbs with the prefix {N-}, there are also intransitive verbs in the {bo(r)-} form (See 6.3.3.); in the {-an} form; in reduplicated form (7.4.12.1); and without affixes, single morphemes.

The meaning of the prefix {N-} with intransitive verb base forms is to express dynamic action. To understand this meaning, compare the following two examples:

(89) dīk  uda  sāmpa  ko  mār  ḵomār
     he already arrive to here yesterday
     'He arrived here yesterday.'

(90) tōjaŋ  guŋ  ʔaŋ  Ḍamp  ko  zono
     hand I not reach to there
     'My hand doesn't reach there.'

The verb sāmpa, without the {N-} prefix, in example (89) does not show a dynamic action.

Such an opposition can also be seen in the following pairs: kūi 'accompany', and qikut 'follow' (intransitive); omo 'talk' and qonqon 'discuss, talk'.

The dynamic-stative opposition is seen more clearly in an intransitive verb which has a form with the prefix {ko-} as well as a {N-} form, such as aŋut 'drift', which has the form kānhut 'washed away' as well as the {N-} form yaŋut 'let oneself drift'. Compare
the following quotations:

(91) slampa que aŋut dibawa aer
handkerchief I drift taken water
'My handkerchief drifted away taken by the water.'

(92) apa dite aŋut sendiri
(question marker) he drift himself
apa diankiti
or washed-away
'Did he drift away by himself or was he washed away?'

(93) slampa que kaŋut
handkerchief I washed-away
kemaren
yesterday
'My handkerchief was washed away yesterday.'

The stative-dynamic opposition is also clear in verb which have reduplicated forms as well as (N-) forms. The verb eŋol 'shake, rock' has the form eŋol-eŋol 'waver' as well as the form eŋol 'shake, rock'. The (N-) form has a dynamic aspect, while the form eŋol-eŋol has a stative aspect. Compare the examples in the following quotations:

(94) tu roda baco? tu udo
that wheel trishaw you already
eŋol
wobble
'Your trishaw wheel is wobbling.'

(95) aiapa tu nar? adpada eŋol-eŋol
who that ride bicycle wobbly
bəŋitu
like-that
'Who is riding that bicycle in such a wobbly way?'

As may be seen in the examples, as well as a dynamic meaning, the prefix (N-) also has other meanings:

(a) With some base forms, the prefix (N-) also has the meaning 'something done to oneself': thus it forms reflexive verbs, as in the example of aŋut 'let oneself drift' (92). Other examples are the verbs əŋur 'throw oneself in, plunge' and məset 'trip oneself'.

Following are examples in quotations:

(96) dite əŋur sendiri
(particle) he plunge self
'He throws himself in.'

(97) əŋur məset-[məset]
don't repeatedly-trip-one self only
ntə̊ datu
later fall
'Don't keep tripping yourself, you'll fall.'

The meaning is seen more clearly when (N-) forms are compared to (kə-) forms:

kəəəəbər 'to fall into water', kəpləset 'tripped'.

(b) Meaning (a) also includes the meaning 'on purpose', as seen in examples (96) and (97) above. Following is another example:

(98) die əŋa ra ūdë məset
he now already separate
'Now he has his own house (has separated himself).'

6.1.3 (N-) + nominal roots

With nominal base forms, the prefix (N-) has the meaning of changing the base form into (1) a transitive verb or (2) an intransitive verb. With nominal base forms like pəaul 'hoe' and əŋərəf ə 'saw', the prefix (N-) gives transitive verbs like maəul 'to hoe' and maŋərəf 'to saw'. But with some other names of things like əŋən 'gong' and əŋəl 'laborer', it gives intransitive verbs like əŋəŋən 'strike a gong' and əŋəl 'work as laborer'.

In the data available, no structural characteristics are found which can be used to differentiate nominal base forms which form intransitive verbs from those which form transitive verbs. The only way to determine which forms will give which kind of verb is by components of meaning, or semantic units (Chafe, 1970).

The nominal base forms which give transitive verbs are nominal groups with the following meaning components.

(a) The name of a thing which has the meaning component 'tool', such as pəaul 'hoe', əŋa 'knife', əŋərəf 'saw', əŋərəf 'plane (carpenter's tool)'. These nominal base forms give the transitive verbs maəul 'to hoe', məao 'to knife', məŋərəf 'to saw', and məŋərəf 'to plane', each meaning 'to use the tool which is the base form'. Following are examples in quotations:

(99) babə ñuru mamat əŋərəf əntu
father order Mamat əntu door
'Father tells Mamat to bore the door.'

(100) die əŋəl əŋərəf pəapə qaqal
he presently plane board for
əntu
door
'He is planing a board for the door.'

(b) The nominal group with the component 'material to do something', with the prefix (N-) also gives transitive verbs meaning to do something with the thing which is the base form as material. For example kapə ə 'white-wash', and əŋəq ə 'paint' become the verbs əŋa 'to whiteswash' and əŋəq 'to paint'. Following are examples in quotations:

(101) aiapa əŋəq əŋəq əntu jəeə
who which paint door ugly, bad
əntu
very
'Who painted the door? It's badly done.'
(102) hiar namaña sataon sokali
let its-called one-year once
kita sgarur ruma joga
we whitewash house too
'Even though just once a year, we
whitewash the house.'

(c) Things which have the meaning component 'side dish', such as tumis 'vegetable cooked with oil'; sambal 'hot sauce', sayur 'vegetable', when combined with the prefix N- give transitive verbs with the meaning 'to make the thing which is used as base form'. Thus the examples above give numis 'to make tumis (a vegetable dish)', sambal 'to make hot sauce', and sayur 'to make a vegetable dish'. Following are examples in quotations:

(103) ha? uia sambal lu
mother already make-hot-sauce you
kaga? mau makan
not want eat
'Mother made hot sauce and you
don't want to eat.'

(104) moa? numis
older-sister/she make-(vegetable-
ka'uyu mau makan kaga?
dish) spinach want eat not
'She made a spinach dish. Do you
want to eat or not?'

(2) Nominal roots which give denominal intransitive verbs when they combine with N-, can also be grouped according to meaning components of their base forms, as follows:
(a) The group of nominal roots which express direction or place, when combined with the prefix N-, give denominal intransitive verbs with the meaning 'to go toward' or 'to pass' the thing which becomes the base form. For example sabaray 'across', pojok 'corner', kampung 'village', and ptugir 'edge', give sabaray 'cross', mojok 'stay in a corner', kampung 'pass a village', and ptugir 'go to the edge'. Following are examples in quotations:

(105) lu duduk korap mojok
you sit why stay-in-corner
biquitu
like-that
'Why are you sitting in the corner
like that?'

(106) julan'ka nampuy dokatan
going pass-village closer
'Pass closer by the village.'

(b) Nominal roots which express the name for one who does a certain job, with the prefix N- become intransitive verbs with the meaning 'to work as a [job described by base form]'. For example kult 'laborer', agtip 'driver', and gabu 'maid' become gult 'to work as a laborer', agtip 'to work as a driver' and gabu 'to work as a maid'. Following are examples in quotations:

(107) ni duit bole gult
this money may work-as-laborer
di pricorn
at Tanjungpriok
'I get this money working as a
laborer at Tanjungpriok.'

(108) gaboru di mana lu saraq
work-as-maid at where you now
'Where do you work as a maid now?'

(c) Nominal roots which name food or drink like kapi 'coffee', te 'tea', sate 'barbecued meat on a skewer', with the prefix N- become intransitive verbs with the meaning 'to drink' or 'to eat' (the drink or food) which becomes the base form. The examples above give kapi 'drink coffee', te 'drink tea', sate 'eat/buy sate' (skewered meat). Note the examples in the following quotations:

(109) kapi
delu deh kalo
drink-coffee first (particle) if
uda cape
already tired
'Have coffee first if you are tired.'

(110) ha te di mana lu kaga?
invite
eat-sate at where you not
ga'aq-ga'aq
'Where do you eat sate? You don't
invite anyone.'

(d) The names of musical instruments can be given the prefix N- to give intransitive verbs, with the meaning 'to sound, play (the musical instrument which is the base form)'. Thus the names of traditional Jakartan instruments: gong, kromong, te'yan can become the verbs ngong 'to strike a gong', kromong 'to strike the kromong', and te'yan 'to blow the te'yan'. The following quotations will make the meaning clearer:

(111) prempu'ng jaua biha young
woman also can strike-gong
'A woman can also strike the gong.'

(112) kromongha' buqa honor tu
strike-kromong good very that
orang person
'That person plays the kromong
very well.'

(e) The name of places to do agricultural work such as bahan 'garden' and bawu 'rice field', with the prefix N- become intransitive verbs such as bahan 'to work on the garden' and bawu 'to work on the rice field', with the meaning 'to work (on a place)'. Following is an example in a sentence:

(113) ni tawon yu ana? bawu
this year I not work-on-rice-
6.1.4 \( \{N\} \) + adjectival roots

It can almost be said absolutely that members of the class of adjectival roots never become base forms with the prefix \( \{N\} \). The few examples which exist, besides being extremely limited, do not express any categorial meaning: the meaning of one has no relation to the meaning of another. They may even be said to be idiomatic.

The base forms which can be found are:

- puti 'white', tarag 'clear, not raining', and panjang 'long' which can become muti 'fast by eating only white rice, no side dishes',
- merti 'hold a ceremony to prevent rain', and
- manjang 'to extend the time (especially for repayment of money)'.

Only these three examples are found.

6.1.5 \( \{N\} \) + precategorical roots

The few precategorical base forms which can take the \( \{N\} \) prefix generally give intransitive verbs, such as qalalq 'to create an obstacle oneself, to meet an obstacle' from the form aleg, qadat 'to be hard to please, not want to do anything' from adat, and gao 'rest', and so forth.

No examples are found of precategorical forms which give transitive verbs with the \( \{N\} \) prefix.

6.2 The prefix \( \{m\}(N)- \)

It is rather difficult to determine the status of the prefix \( \{m\}(N)- \) in Jakarta Dialect. In most cases it appears as an alternate form of the prefix \( \{N\} \). For most cases, \( \{m\}(N)- \) forms can always be replaced by forms with the prefix \( \{N\} \), with the exception of a few forms to be described in the following paragraphs. Thus the forms monari 'to dance', monahi 'to sing', melida 'to spit' can always be replaced by marti, mahi, and rida, with no difference in syntactic distribution.

In addition there are a small number of \( \{m\}(N)- \) forms which can never be replaced by \( \{N\} \) forms. Forms like monlili 'to boil', malirwag 'to be in the way' and several others, never occur in the \( \{N\} \) form.

Another place in which \( \{m\}(N)- \) cannot be replaced by \( \{N\} \), is when \( \{m\}(N)- \) occurs in a reduplicated form like banu-membantu 'to help each other', tulis-kanalq 'to help each other', dan bantu 'to pull each other'. (See 7.5.5.)

6.2.1 The meaning of the prefix \( \{m\}(N)- \)

On the basis of the information in 6.2.0, we must differentiate between \( \{m\}(N)- \) which is an alternate form of \( \{N\} \), and \( \{m\}(N)- \) which is obligatory.

For the group of forms which have alternate \( \{N\} \) forms, naturally the meaning is the same as with \( \{N\} \) forms, as described in 6.1. The appearance of the form \( \{m\}(N)- \) in place of \( \{N\} \) is related to a matter external to language structure that is, stylistic variation, which is actually beyond the scope of this study, but which must be mentioned because the data shows alternation of the two forms. On the basis of impressions from limited data, it appears that the form \( \{m\}(N)- \) is chosen to replace the form \( \{N\} \) depending on the purpose of the conversation, the status of the speaker and/or the addressee, and the topic of the conversation. Thus \( \{m\}(N)- \) is used when one wishes to speak formally, or to speak to someone honored - either for age or position - or when the conversation is concerned with matters of religion or tradiation.

This conclusion is impressionistic and not the result of serious observation. The conclusion is mentioned here only to show that this form actually occurs in Jakarta Dialect speech.

Forms with the prefix \( \{m\}(N)- \) which do not alternate with \( \{N\} \) forms - on the basis of limited data - only give intransitive verbs like malayanq 'to soar', manjat 'to die' and malompot 'jump' with the meaning to do or to experience the activity of the verb form.

The \( \{m\}(N)- \) form as part of a reduplication process will not be discussed here, but in 7.5.5.

Finally a few \( \{m\}(N)- \) forms from precategorical base forms should be mentioned such as malamun 'to daydream', melapalq 'to visit, take a trip' and mantever 'dressed up, luxurious, stuck-up'. With these forms the prefix \( \{m\}(N)- \) also gives intransitive verbs.

6.3 The prefix \( \{b\}(r)- \)

This prefix can have the following kinds of base forms: (1) numerals, (2) number names, (3) intransitive verbal roots, (4) a few adjectival roots, and (5) precategorical mor-phemes.
6.3.1 \( \text{bo(r)-} \) + nominal base forms

Nominal base forms which take this prefix can be (a) monomorphic nouns, like \textit{kaoe} 'T-shirt', and \textit{jangot} 'beard', which become respectively \textit{kao} \textit{bo} 'wearing a T-shirt' and \textit{jangot bo} 'bearded'; (b) derivative nouns like \textit{alang} 'obstacle' and \textit{kabakmatik} 'batik cloth' which become respectively \textit{balaragan} 'prevented' and \textit{kabakmatik} 'wearing a batik cloth'.

For a particular group of words, these nominal base forms can also be nominal phrases, such as \textit{jangot panjang} 'long beard', \textit{laga' bako} 'act stupid', which become \textit{bajang} 'to have a long beard' and \textit{bala' bako} 'to act stupid'. This is a special affixational process which only takes place with derivitive forms with the prefix \( \text{bo(r)-} \).

6.3.2 The meaning of the prefix \( \text{bo(r)-} \)

The meanings of the prefix \( \text{bo(r)-} \) + nominal base forms can be divided into two large categories: (1) forming intransitive verbs, and (2) forming semitransitive verbs. The first meaning is characterized by the possibility of taking a phrase as base form, while the second is characterized by the presence of a complement consisting of a phrase of a noun with the preposition \textit{ame}.

6.3.3 \( \text{bo(r)-} \) forming intransitive verbs

The meanings of \( \text{bo(r)-} \) forming intransitive verbs can be classified into several groups as follows:

(a) With a group of nominal roots which are names of articles of clothing such as \textit{baju} 'clothes', \textit{kain} 'batik sarong', \textit{sepatu} 'shoes', \( \text{bo(r)-} \) has the meaning 'to put on, to wear (the article of clothing which is the base form)'.

\begin{align*}
(114) & \text{laga' ana' qaa' tao baju} \quad \text{that child not know put-on-clothes} \\
& \text{'That child does not know how to dress himself.'}
\end{align*}

(b) With another group of nominals, such as \textit{jangot} 'beard', \textit{koon} 'mustache', \textit{lohar} 'beard'. One example in a quotation is:

\begin{align*}
(115) & \text{laga' bako baju baju} \quad \text{appropriate you put-on-batik-sarong} \\
& \text{'So that is why you put on a batik sarong.'}
\end{align*}

Also in this group are words like \textit{konia} 'bun, knot of hair', \textit{konia} 'moustache', \textit{jangot} 'beard'. One example in a quotation is:

\begin{align*}
(116) & \text{bajo' bako baju} \quad \text{unusual wear-bun, you knot of hair} \\
& \text{'How odd to see you with your hair in a bun.'}
\end{align*}

(b) With another group of nominals, such as \textit{jangot} 'younger sibling', \textit{ilai} 'money', \textit{laga'} 'attitude, behavior', and \textit{jag} 'behavior, action', \( \text{bo(r)-} \) means 'to have':

\begin{align*}
(117) & \text{bajo' adu kangan laga' qaa} \quad \text{mother already die you not} \\
& \text{bajo' qaa lagu younger-sibling} \quad \text{you don't have any younger siblings.'}
\end{align*}

(c) And with another group of nominals it has the meaning 'to give off, to produce, to bear' the thing used as a base form, in \textit{bakambang} 'to flower', \textit{bajang} 'to bear a child', \textit{bajan} 'to whistle'.

Following are examples in quotations:

\begin{align*}
(118) & \text{bajo' adu kangan laga' qaa} \quad \text{you don't have-(bad)- (particle) action} \\
& \text{'Don't act up, will you.'}
\end{align*}

6.3.4 Forming semitransitive verbs

Other groups of meanings are formed by \( \text{bo(r)-} \) giving denominal semitransitive verbs with the lexical meaning 'to call someone (something)' or 'to ask someone's help as (something)'.

(a) With words denoting relatives, such as \textit{bajo' younger sibling', ilai' older brother', \textit{mao} older sister', the prefix \( \text{bo(r)-} \) has the meaning 'to call someone (the name for a relative which serves as base form)', as in:

\begin{align*}
(119) & \text{bajo' adu kangan laga' qaa} \quad \text{you not} \\
& \text{bajo' qaa lagu younger-sibling} \quad \text{you don't have any younger siblings.'}
\end{align*}

(b) With another group of nominals, such as \textit{jangot} 'younger sibling', \textit{ilai} 'money', \textit{laga'} 'attitude, behavior', and \textit{jag} 'behavior, action', \( \text{bo(r)-} \) means 'to have':

\begin{align*}
(120) & \text{bajo' adu kangan laga' qaa} \quad \text{you not} \\
& \text{bajo' qaa lagu younger-sibling} \quad \text{you don't have any younger siblings.'}
\end{align*}
(122) *He calls you older-sister.'

(b) Base forms which are names like

'shabat 'friend', 'tataq 'neighbor', and
'tan 'friend', 'sadar 'relative', 'friend' give meanings which are the same or similar to meaning (a):

(123) *Don't be friendly with him.'

(124) *Who are your neighbors?'

But examples (123) and (124) differ from the examples in (a), because they mean 'to call each other (something)'

(c) With the prefix {ba(r)-} base forms

like obat 'medicine', dukun 'traditional healer', form semitransitive verbs with the meaning 'to ask help of', as in the following examples:

(125) *you want have-as-teacher (prep.)

'that more

'Who else are you going to have as your teacher?'

(126) *you have-treatment to doctor

'that only (particle)

'Just go to the doctor to be treated.'

These groups have the following syntactic characteristics: (1) Phrases can not serve as base forms (while phrases can serve as base forms in the groups described above in 6.3.3.3). (2) These words must be completed with a phrase with ame+ a noun, as a complement, as in bebaq ame lu (121), betawen ame díe (122), babobat ka doktor (126). Example (126) is unusual in using the preposition ka in place of ame. Thus, these groups are semitransitive verbs.

As well as the groups of meanings described above, with nominal base forms which are names of periods of time, such as jum 'hour', 'ari 'day', ming 'week', taon 'year', {ba(r)-} gives the meaning 'a number of (periods of time)', as in:

(127) *I waited for you for hours but you didn't come',

(128) *I already for-years work

'il sini at here

'I have worked here for years.'

As in examples (127) and (128), these {ba(r)-} forms are always accompanied by reduplication. We do not find the forms *bajam or *batoon (see 7.5.1).

These {ba(r)-} forms are more like adverbs than intransitive verbs, that is, they always describe another verb as in the two examples shown: bajam-jam modifies the verb jumgu (127) and batoon-taon modifies the verb kérjé (128).

6.3.5. {ba(r)-} + numerals

With base forms which are numerals, {ba(r)-} forms words with adverbial distributions, with the meaning 'to be together in the number of (the numeral serving as base form)', as in bād 'to be two together', bātiga 'to be three together', and so on. Following are examples in quotations:

(129) *Only you two came'.

6.3.6. {ba(r)-} + transitive verbal roots

The prefix ba(r)- does not change the class of intransitive verbal base forms; it gives intransitive verbs, such as bolari 'to run', bōtak 'to yell', and bōkérja 'to work' from the base form lari, tārak and kérja. We will also include in this group precategorical roots which only occur with {ba(r)-} and which form intransitive verbs. Words like baqor 'to swim', 'bākör 'to yell at', and bārnti 'to stop' are intransitive verbs which only occur with {ba(r)-}.

The occurrence of the prefix {ba(r)-} is optional with intransitive verbal base forms. Without the {ba(r)-} prefix such verbal roots can have a distribution parallel to forms with the prefix, with no difference in meaning. Thus the forms bolari, bōtak, and bōkérja have distributions parallel to the roots lari, tārak and kérja. Of course, with the precategorical forms, the occurrence of the prefix {ba(r)-} is obligatory.

Following are examples of {ba(r)-} forms which give intransitive verbs:

(130) *you yell like who have

'mouth alone

'You yell as if you were the only one with a mouth.'

(131) *certainly we want sit only

'stand at out there come-on

'Are we just going to sit, come on, let's stand outside there'.
6.3.7. \( \text{bo}(r)- \) + semitransitive verbal roots

As with intransitive verbal roots, the prefix \( \text{bo}(r)- \) can combine with semitransitive verb roots and with precategorical roots which only appear with \( \text{bo}(r)- \). The base forms of \( \text{boover} \) 'divorce, separated' and \( \text{bobale} \) 'peaceful' are the semitransitive verbal roots and \( \text{bora} \) 'separate' and \( \text{dama} \) 'peace', but the base forms of \( \text{bordin} \) 'meet' and \( \text{boboran} \) 'fight' are precategorical roots. Following are examples in quotations:

(132) \( \text{dite uda boover} \)
she already divorced, separated
\( \text{ante} \) \( \text{dite pu̱na tuan} \)
( prep.) she own husband (master)
'She has already left her husband.'

(133) \( \text{tukaq dayi uda \( \text{pre} \) \( \text{bodrest} \) seller meat already all in a row, line\)
\( \text{kaya oraq antri minak} \)
like person line oil
'The meat sellers are in a row as if lining up to buy oil.'

As with intransitive verbal roots, the prefix \( \text{bo}(r)- \) with semitransitive verbal base forms is optional, while with precategorical base forms it is obligatory.

As seen in examples (132) and (133), semitransitive verbs with \( \text{bo}(r)- \) belong to the class of reciprocal verbs: the actors are on two sides, subject and object (example (132)) or are more than one (example (133)). In addition, a reciprocal verb is usually completed with a prepositional phrase with \( \text{ante} \), as in example (132). But in context or because of another syntactic rule, the prepositional phrase with \( \text{ante} \) may not occur, as in:

(134) \( \text{asodara ajak saya friend, you invite I} \)
\( \text{bobale} \) \( \text{supaya jagan kita be-peaceful so don't we quarrel} \)
'(So) you ask me to make peace so we don't quarrel.'

6.3.8. \( \text{bo}(r)- \) + adjectival morphemes

There are only a few adjectival morphemes which can take the prefix \( \text{bo}(r)- \) in this dialect. In the data we have collected there are only two examples, \( \text{bacin} \) 'good' and \( \text{kuat} \) 'strong', which can take this prefix: \( \text{bobacin} \) and \( \text{bokuat} \). The first form means 'to be good to each other' and the second means 'to defend strongly (an opinion or demand)'. Following are examples in sentences:

(135) \( \text{lu uda babacin ante you already be-good (prep.) ade? lu younger-sibling you} \)

'Are you already on good terms with your younger brother?'

(136) \( \text{baba uga'ina bokuat older-brother not can be-strong} \)
\( \text{asandiri alone} \)
'He can not hold out by himself.'

6.3.9 \( \text{bo}(r)- \) + precategorical roots

A number of precategorical forms, such as \( \text{sande} \), \( \text{rendex} \) and \( \text{raaql} \) can only form verbs with the prefix \( \text{bo}(r)- \), becoming \( \text{bordin} \) 'to joke', \( \text{bordex} \) 'to go in turn', \( \text{raaql} \) 'to swim'. (See 6.3.3 and 6.3.4 above.) In addition there is a group of precategorical forms which can take two prefixes: the prefixes \( \text{bo}(r)- \) and \( \text{N-} \). With \( \text{bo}(r)- \) this group of base forms gives stative semitransitive verbs. (See 2.5.5.) But dynamic transitive verbs are formed with the prefix \( \text{N-} \). Forms like \( \text{tukar} \) 'change', \( \text{cumpur} \) 'mix' or \( \text{lipot} \) 'fold' can form \( \text{batukar} \) 'exchange', \( \text{boompur} \) 'mixed, associated with', \( \text{bolipot} \) 'folded multiple', and can also take the prefix \( \text{N-} \) to become \( \text{nukar} \) 'to change (money)', \( \text{bumpur} \) 'to mix', and \( \text{bikipot} \) 'to fold'. Following are examples of forms with the prefix \( \text{bo}(r)- \) in quotations:

(137) \( \text{tiaop brani dataa brani batukar every brave come brave exchange} \)
\( \text{fiwa spirit} \)
'Every time (you) dare to come (it means) (you) dare to fight (exchange spirits).' 

(138) \( \text{pakabisanga borabat ayak thira end fight-over scarf with} \)
\( \text{tukaq tuak seller palm-wine} \)
'Finally (you) fight over a scarf with a palm-wine seller.'

And with \( \text{N-} \), these precategorical roots form transitive verbs, which have the characteristic that they may vary paradigmatically with \( \text{di-} \) forms, becoming \( \text{diatukar} \), \( \text{diatumpur} \), and \( \text{dilipot} \). But the \( \text{bo}(r)- \) forms can not vary with \( \text{di-} \) forms.

6.4 The circumfix \( \text{bo}(r)-[^-] \)

This circumfix can take as base forms intransitive verbal roots, adjectival roots, numerals, and precategorical roots. But the number of examples in the data of each kind of base form is very limited. Of this limited number of examples, some words with the circumfix \( \text{bo}[^-] \) alternate with forms with the prefix \( \text{bo}(r)- \); other alternate with \( \text{-an} \) forms.

As well as the forms \( \text{borang} \) 'to face', \( \text{borschulan} \) 'to associate', \( \text{borindu} \) 'to crowd', we find the forms \( \text{borar} \), \( \text{bompu} \), and \( \text{bohob} \) with no difference in meaning or distribution.
And the forms bakonlan 'to get to know one another' bapuguran 'to be in love with e.o.' beseukan 'to be in love with e.o.' can alternate with the forms konalan, paguran, and sakaan; also, according to the date available, with no difference in meaning or syntactic distribution between the two groups of forms. But the form (bo(r)-[-]an) in examples like: bualatan 'to be near', baajuan 'to be far apart', balaian 'to be different from e.o.' balawan 'to be opposed to e.o.' never alternate, either with the prefix (bo(r)-) or the suffix (-an).

Because of the limited number of examples of each class of base forms, we can not give a detailed description of the meanings of the circumfix with each class of base forms. It may be pointed out that with the available examples of base forms of different classes, the circumfix (bo(r)-[-]an) gives the same meaning. Both with forms which can alternate with other forms, and those which cannot, in general it may be said that the circumfix (bo(r)-[-]an) always gives reciprocal verbs with a stative meaning aspect. Following are examples in quotations:

(139) rume gue ame rumu dice
house I (prep.) house he
basaikam facing
'My house faces his house.'

(140) Kalo lu bakonlan aje uga?
if you know only not
gete dut dray uga? nak
drag money person not pleasant
ape what
'When you know someone you aren't happy until you put the squeeze on them, are you?'

(141) lu mau basakatan ame gue
you want close to I
nokokatin aje approach only
'If you want to be close to me, just get closer'.

(142) gue baijuan ni ame tenon
I be-two this with friend
'I am with a friend.'

These four examples each represent different classes of base forms, the base form in example (139) is a precategorical root; in example (140) it is a semitransitive verbal root, in example (141) it is an adjectival root, and in example (142) it is a numeral. All four give reciprocal verbs with a stative meaning.

The stative aspect of verbs with the circumfix (bo(r)-[-]an) appears when such verbs are ((R) + (mo(N)-)) + base forms, such as: Jantu-mambantu 'help each other', tarik-menarik 'pull each other', which have dynamic aspect (7.5.5).

6.5 The circumfix (N[-]in)

The distribution of the circumfix (N[-]in) is very wide and it is very productive. This circumfix can be affixed to the following base forms: (1) transitive verbal roots, (2) intransitive verbal roots, (3) adjectival roots, (4) nominal roots, and (5) several other base forms which will be described below.

6.5.1 (N[-]in) + transitive verbal verbs

The circumfix (N[-]in) with transitive verbal base forms gives transitive verbs with these meanings: (1) lexical, that is, it forms iterative, multiple, continuous and other such meanings; (2) grammatical, that is as an object selector.

6.5.2 Lexical meaning

The circumfix (N[-]in) gives the meaning 'many times, repeatedly', with shades of meaning as follows:

(a) Something done repeatedly, as in:

(143) gue ko sakaiti ninti gue
I to side; intention I
next-door
mau menan e dic
want meet (exclamation) he
lagi mozogam anan?na
presently hit child-his
(repeatedly)
'I went next door to visit and he was spanking his child.'

(144) lagi-lagi jual baju buat apa
again sell clothes for what
si lu njualin baju
(partile) you sell
(clothes) clothes
(repeatedly)
'You are selling clothes again; why are you always selling clothes?'

From the total contexts it is clear that both examples of (N[-]in) forms above express repetition.

(b) To express 'many times', in the sense that an action is done repeatedly, continuously, or intensively.

(145) kona?e si lu gilatin gue
why (particle) you stare I
aje only
'Why are you just staring at me?'

(146) gue tau ye [lu kasin
I know (particle) you marry
ame dic] mau pasik harya?ka
(prep.) she want drag property
'I know you married her to get her property.'

(c) To express 'many times', in the sense that the object of the action is plural:
"Father will be bought new clothes by Amat.'

But when boli takes the (di-) form diboli, the subject selected will be baju baru:

(152) [tu] baju baru mau diboli Amat that clothes new want bought Amat

'These new clothes will be bought by Amat.'

(See also 5.1.1.)

In addition, mboliin can also select objects in another role, the instrumental role, as in the following example:

(153) gaji mamah mboliin baju baru wages mother spent-on clothes new

all

'Mother's wages are all spent on new clothes.'

But this choice of the instrumental role, according to the data, only occurs with the (di-) form. In this dialect there is no form mboliin with an object in the instrumental role:

(154) *mamah mboliin sewa gajiina mother spend all wages- her

baju baru clothes new

Rather than as an object, the word in the instrumental role appears as an adverbial form:

(155) mamah mboli baju baru ame mother buy clothes new with sewa gajiina all wages-her

'Mother buys new clothes with all her wages.'

The circumfix {N-[ ]-in} can also cause a transitive verb which is its base form to select an object in the role of the place which receives the action or the locative role. When the transitive verb nanom 'to plant' in:

(156) mpo? nanom kambag di

older-sister/she plant flower at

pot

'She plants flowers in pots.'

takes the circumfix {N-[ ]-in}, the objective object kambag which is the object of nanom changes its function to become a complement, and the {N-[ ]-in} form nanomin takes a new object in the locative role:

(157) mpo? nanomin potan older-sister/she plant pot-her

ame kambag (prep.) flower

'She plants flowers in her pots.'
As with \{N-[ ]-in\} in (150) and (153), when \textit{nanəm} is replaced with the \{di-[ ]-in\} form, the object which is chosen as subject in the locative role:

(158) pot po? mîne ditanəm
      pot (title) Minah planted-with
      kəmbag
      flower
      'Minah's pots are planted with flowers.'

Compare this example with the form \textit{nanəm}, which selects the object in the objective role, \textit{kəmbag}, as its subject, when it takes the \{di-\} form:

(159) kəmbag po? mîne ditanəm di pot
      flower (title) Minah planted at pot
      'Minah's flowers are planted in pots.'

\{N-[ ]-in\} forms which select more than one coconstituent: an object coconstituent and another coconstituent of the verb, raise the question of which constituent comes first. It is generally the object coconstituent which the verb focuses on which is in the first position. The following example which has two coconstituents puts the benefactive object after the verb, and the other object following:

(160) siapa yaŋ qalapin gue jambu
      who which pick I guava
      'Who picked me a guava?'

gue 'I' as the benefactive object precedes the coconstituent \textit{jambu}. The following example with the \{N-\} form is otherwise:

(161) siapa yaŋ qalap jambu [buat gue]
      who which pick a guava for me
      'Who picked a guava for me?'

But sometimes the opposite order can occur, with the coconstituent which does not receive focus placed first:

(162) [kəpalaŋa tøntu pustəq biasa
      head-his certaining dizzy usually
      minum kopi\}] minuməm tu
      drink coffee give drink that
      kopi tu anak\textsuperscript{40}
      coffee that child
      'Of course he is dizzy, he's used to drinking coffee. Give the child some coffee to drink.'

However, in the \{di-[ ]-in\} form, the object which is focused on will still be selected as subject:

(163) tu anak diminuməm obat
      that child given-drink medicine
      'The child has given his medicine to drink.'

The two meanings of \{N-[ ]-in\}, that is, the lexical and grammatical meanings, can both occur with the same base form. \{N-[ ]-in\} with the base form \textit{bol}: \textit{mbollin} can have both its lexical and grammatical meanings. In this case what determines the meaning, besides the context, is the transformation of the form \{N-[ ]-in\} to the form \{di-[ ]-in\}. In the following example:

(164) lu mbollin baju aje
      you buy clothes only
      (repeatedly)
      'You just keep buying clothes.'

The transformation to the \{di-[ ]-in\} form is:

(165) baju aje [yanəq] lu bolli
      clothes only which you buy
      (repeatedly)
      'You just keep buying clothes.'

But in the following example:

(166a) babe mau mbollin gue baju
      father want buy I clothes
      baru
      new
      'Father wants to buy me new clothes'

The transformation to the \{di-[ ]-in\} form does not choose as object \textit{baju baru}, but instead chooses \textit{gue}, in the benefactive as follows:

(166b) gue mau dibollin babe baju
      I want bought father clothes
      baru
      new
      'I will be bought new clothes by father.'

In addition to the meanings described in 6.5.2 and 6.5.3, there are a number of \{N-[ ]-in\} forms which show no difference in syntactic distribution from verbs without the \{N-[ ]-in\} circumfix. Verbs like \textit{noba\textsuperscript{2}} 'to try' and \textit{noba\textsuperscript{1}} 'to try' or \textit{najak} 'to invite' and \textit{najakin} 'to invite' have the same distributions.

(167a) bu iti lagi noba baju
      (title) Siti presently try clothes
      'Siti is trying on clothes.'

is the same as:

(167b) bu iti lagi noba\textsuperscript{1} baju
      (title) Siti presently try
      baju
      clothes
      'Siti is trying on clothes.'

Similarly with \textit{najak} and \textit{najakin}:

(168a) kalo lu mau najak die bole
      if you want invite him allow
      'If you want to invite him, you may.'
In this case the circumfix \{N-[ ]-in\} only emphasizes the focus on the object.

6.5.4 \{N-[ ]-in\} + intransitive verbal forms

With intransitive verbal root base forms, the circumfix \{N-[ ]-in\} gives two subclasses of verbs: (1) causative and transitive verbs, and (2) intransitive verbs with new lexical meanings.

(1) With the group of base forms like akur 'agree' and bagun 'wake up', \{N-[ ]-in\} forms causative verbs: gakurin 'to come to agree' and mbagunin 'to wake up (someone)'. But with another group of base forms, like també 'more' and dalaq 'come', the circumfix \{N-[ ]-in\} gives the transitive verbs nambahin 'to add (s.t.) to (s.t.)' and nadalaqinin 'to bring, to come to'.

The difference between causative and transitive verbs is shown by the difference in their objects. The object of a causative verb is the same as the subject of the sentence which has the base form as predicate. Compare the following quotations:

(169) ana? gue uda btsa duduk
child I already can sit
'My child can already sit up.'

(170) aŋgag ndudukin ana? gue di
grandmother sit child I at
atas mĳa
top table
'Grandmother seats my child on the table.'

The co-constituent of the verb: ana? gue, which functions as subject in (169), functions as object in (170). Thus, in this example, \{N-[ ]-in\} changes the class of the intransitive verbal duduk to a causative verb. Other examples are:

(171) e aŋa?-aŋa? uda
(exclamation) children already
pada akur oša yaq akurin
all agree who which cause-agree
'The children are all agreed, who got them to agree?'

(172) alampe gue aRut ko?
handkerchief I sweep- (particle) away
aŋa yaq nduquin
who which cause-sweep-away
'My handkerchief is washed away, who caused it to wash away?'

When the circumfix \{N-[ ]-in\} gives a transitive verb, its object is not the same as the object of its base form. The object of the verb ndudukin 'to sit on' in the following sentence is not the subject of its

(173) lu ndudukin alampe gue
you sit-on handkerchief I
'You are sitting on my handkerchief.'

In addition the object does not have a causative role, but rather a locative role. Without the circumfix \{N-[ ]-in\} a sentence with the same subject will be formed:

(174) lu duduk di atais alame gue
you sit at top handkerchief I
'You sit on my handkerchief.'

As shown by examples (170) and (173), the same base form can fall into both causative and transitive verb classes. The example also shows that the roles of causative and transitive objects are not the same, and are not interchangeable.

Included in the formation of transitive verbs are verbs with the circumfix \{N-[ ]-in\} which have as base forms semitransitive verbs with prepositional phrases as objects such as bọsi ame 'hate', wamburum ame 'be jealous of', as in the following examples:

(175) lu kawape si Namburum
you why (particle) jealous of
lakí lu aje
husband you only
'Why are you jealous of your husband?'

(176) lu nga bole ndamanin pacar
you not allow love fiance
oraq
person
'You may not love someone's fiance.'

With the circumfix \{N-[ ]-in\}, the object of the prepositional phrase can not occur with a preposition:

(177)* lu nga bole ndamanin ame
you not allow love (prep.)
pacar oraq
fiance person

Sentence (176) can only occur without the circumfix \{N-[ ]-in\}.

(178) lu nga bole daman ame
you not allow love (prep.)
pacar oraq
fiance person
'You may not love someone's fiance.'

In addition, in this dialect there are a number of precategorical base forms which become transitive verbs with the circumfix \{N-[ ]-in\}. Forms like alam 'experience', laŋaq 'soar', aliŋ 'block' and endah 'pay attention' only occur as transitive verbs with the circumfix \{N-[ ]-in\}:
(179) tu pot jagan ditaro di sana
that pot don't put at there
galgin pandagan
block view
'Don't put that pot there, it
blocks the view.'

(180) lu uda qga? gendain [siapa]
you already not pay-who attention
gue lagi
I again
'You don't pay any attention
to me anymore.'

(2) A group of intransitive verbs do not become transitive with the circumfix {N-[ ]-in}. This group of base forms keeps its identity as intransitive verbs. {N-[ ]-in} with these base forms gives inchoactive verbs; it expresses that the action of the verb begins to happen. The verb bandelin 'to be naughty' in the form gobandelin means 'in the process of becoming naughty at a certain age':

(181) o tu anak lagi gobandelin
oh that child presently become-naughty
'Oh that child is beginning
to get naughty.'

As well as not taking an object, the form gobandelin also cannot take the prefix {di-}. This prefix is another sign of transitive verbs. 44

As well as this meaning, this circumfix can also have the meaning 'action which is done for the benefit of another party'; taking an object in the benefactive role.

(182) tu mayit udi ade yaq
that corpse already have which
gojiin balon
pray-over not-yet
'Has anyone prayed over the body
yet?'

(183) tulug halain lampu, gelaq
help light lamp dark
'Please light the lamp, it's dark.'

As discussed in 6.5.3, transitive verbal base forms give this meaning productively.

6.5.5 {N-[ ]-in} + adjectival roots

With adjectival root base forms, the circumfix {N-[ ]-in} gives two groups of verbs: (1) causative and transitive verbs, and (2) intransitive verbs.

(1) For simplicity, verbs of group (1) will be divided again into two groups: (a) causative verbs, and (b) transitive verbs. The difference between the two as described in 6.5.4 is in the objects.

The group of causative verbs, group (a), is the group of verbs whose objects are the same as the subjects of their base forms. Compare the following two examples:

(184) lu mbrabein diri lu
you make-busy, self you
trouble
'You make yourself busy.'

The object of the verb mbrabein, which is diri lu, is also the subject of brrabe, its base form:

(185) diri lu brrabe
self you busy, troubled
'You are busy.'

Similarly the following example:

(186) qapain lu mbssarin ana? oraq
why you raise child person
(make big)
'Why are you raising someone
else's child?'

may be compared with:

(187) tu ana? [uda] bssar
that child already big
'The child is already grown.'

Verb group (b) is the group of transitive verbs with adjectival base forms, which have objects in the locative role:

(188) [gue kapiqin] ruma gue ndekatin
I wish house I be-close
ruma lu
house you
'I wish my house were near your
house.'

(190) [kalo jalan] lu godulun gue aje
when walk you precede I only
'When we walk you go in front of me.

Thus ruma lu (186) and gue (188) are not objects with a causative role, but are in the locative role.

The following verbs are also in this group of verbs:

(190) lu jagan suka gojaliqin
you don't like have-bad-attitude-toward
oraq laen aje
person other only
'Don't you look down on other
people.'

(191) diq qabague(-baguein) gue mau
he have-good-attitude- I want
toward
minjam duit tu
borrow money that
'He flatters me (because) he wants
to borrow money.'

In these two examples, {N-[ ]-in} means: to have a [ ... ] attitude toward the object.

(2) When the circumfix {N-[ ]-in} gives intransitive verbs with adjectival roots, it expresses that a process is beginning to
happen to the subject of the verb, as in ngadein 'growing, becoming big', nuain 'growing old', gocelin 'becoming small'. Following are examples in quotations:

(192) ni ana? kurus bener lagi
        this child thin very presently
        ngadein qkali
        grow perhaps
        'The child is very thin, he must be growing.'

(193) lupa mluu die mulain nuain
        forget only he begin grow-old
        qkali
        perhaps
        'He forgets, he must be getting old.'

As shown by the examples, these {N-[ ]-in} verbs are not transitive, but intransitive. As well as not having objects, these verbs also do not have (di-[ ]-in) forms, as with group (1).

But it must also be pointed out here that these same base forms with {N-[ ]-in} can also form causative, but intransitive, verbs. The verb ngadein (192) can become a causative verb in the following example:

(194) ciapo ni yaa ngadein lampu
        who this which make- lamp
        kqadean
        big
        qkali
        too-big later fire
        'Who made this light bigger, it's too big, there will be a fire.'

Similarly, the form gocelin can mean 'become small' or 'make small'.

6.5.6 (N-[ ]-in) + nominal roots

On the basis of derivational processes, (N-[ ]-in) forms with nominal roots fall into two groups: (1) the group formed directly from nominal roots, and (2) the group formed from secondary base forms, that is, the group formed from verbs with the prefix (N-).

The examples ndukumin 'to ask for treatment from a traditional healer' and mbajuin 'to put on clothes' are formed directly from the primary base forms dukun 'traditional healer' and baju 'clothes, shirt, dress'. But maculin 'to hoe', tohoe 'to hoe continuously' and gqogin 'to play a gong for [...]', have as base forms macul 'to hoe' and qgog 'to play a gong'.

With a nominal root of the first group, (N-[ ]-in) forms a denominal transitive verb with an object in the locative role: an object which is the place or target of the action. Following are examples in quotations:

(195) mine uda ndukumin ana?he
        Minah already take-to child-her healer
        tapi belon bae? jaga
        but not-yet well also
        'Minah already took her child to a healer, but (the child) is not well.'

(196) qoba kalo mpo? mau
        try if older-want
        ndoktorin ana? mpo?
        take-to- child older-doctor
        sister/you
        "If you take your child to a doctor, he will get well quickly.'

Thus, here the circumfix (N-[ ]-in) has the meaning 'to take to or to ask help of [...].'

In this group also is (N-[ ]-in) giving transitive verbs with objects which act as recipients of the action, as in:

(197) [puña gaji] die bisa qampanin
        have wages he can provide-for
        ana? bini
        child wife
        'With his wages can he provide for his wife and children?'

(198) tumu sabantar gue lagi
        wait while I presently
        ndopatun ana? gue
        put-on-shoes child I
        'Wait a moment, I'm putting on my child's shoes.'

(2) (N-[ ]-in) forms which take secondary base forms, which are (N-) forms with nominal roots, can also be divided into two groups based on the (N-) forms which are their base forms. There are (N-) forms which are transitive verbs, and others which are intransitive verbs. The examples maculin 'to hoe' and gqogin 'to whitenwash' are formed from the transitive verbs macul 'to hoe' and qgog 'to whitenwash'; but gqogin 'to play a gong for [...]', and nupin 'to drive [a car]' are formed from the intransitive verbs gqog 'to strike a gong', and nupin 'to be a driver'.

In accordance with the base forms, the following description of meanings will be divided into two parts:

(a) The group of transitive verbs which have the meaning 'repeatedly', as in:

(199) komaren gqog sekaras
        yesterday whitewash now
        gqog lu gqogin ruma mluu
        whitewash you whitewash only
        (repeatedly)

        'Whitewashing yesterday, whitewashing today, you just keep whitewashing.'

The group of transitive verb forms which mean 'to act for the benefit of another party':

(200) lu mau qoa? gqestin
        you want not paint
        (benefactive)
(201) tu gamaian qga? ade yag that Javanese- not have which orchestra
nepoqin play-gong
'There is no one to play the gong for that orchestra.'

With another group of base forms, (N-[ ]-in) gives causative meanings, as in:

(202) die lagi mingirin binahe he presently cause-move- pedicab-to-side his
'He is moving his pedicab to the side.'

6.5.7 (N-[ ]-in) + other base forms

Because of the limited number of some other base forms, they will be discussed individually:

(a) When the numerals satu 'one', dua 'two' and samaa 'all' take this circumfix they become natax 'unite', nduain 'to take a second wife', ramaa 'to use all'. In these examples the circumfix (N-[ ]-in) forms transitive verbs, with the meaning, 'to collect in the number of the base form'. Following are examples in quotations:

(203) lu qga? bole nduain you not allow take-second-wife
bini lu wife you
'You may not take another wife.'

(204) bati gula lima perak [tu duat] buy candy five rupiah that money
jagun dismauain don't be-use all
don't spend all that money.'

(b) The demonstrative pronouns (bo)gitu 'like that' and (bo)gini 'like this' can give bagatun '(to) do like this' and bagatun '(to do) like that'. Similarly the interrogative word root aq? 'what' can take the circumfix (N-[ ]-in) to become gapain which means 'why', 'what for'. Following are examples in quotations:

(205) tu baju jagan lu gituin that clothes don't you (do) like-that
sobek tear
'Don't do that, the clothes will tear.'

(206) gapain lu di situ qga? mau why you at there not want
puag go-home
'Why are you there, don't you want to go home?'

(c) Some precategorial base forms become transitive verbs with the circumfix (N-[ ]-in), such as qalamin 'to experience', qalayan 'to serve'. The base forms of these two verbs do not occur without (N-[ ]-in).

6.6 The prefix {pa(N)-}

Although dozens of examples of forms with the prefix {pa(N)-} can be found in this dialect, it may be concluded that it is not a productive prefix. But in combination with other morphemic processes, that is, with the suffix (-an), in the circumfix {pa(N)-[ ]-an}, or in compound words with {tuka-}, this prefix forms a group of nouns.

Of the examples of the form {pa(N)-} in the data it appears that some are words which already have special meanings like pambantu 'servant', pomain 'actor (in Jakarta folk drama)'. Some other forms are words which have ethnic meanings, such as polagak 'gift from a younger sibling to an older sibling when the younger marries first', poqikat 'gift signifying engagement' polagak 'thing worn to make the wearer invulnerable'. And only in a limited way do we find the categorical meaning of {pa(N)-}, as in polakut 'coward', poqae 'gift'.

Based on the limited number of examples in the data, it may be said that {pa(N)-} can combine with intransitive and transitive verb base forms and with some adjectival base forms.

6.6.1 {pa(N)-} + transitive verbs

Transitive verbs which combine with the prefix {pa(N)-} can be verbs with the prefix {N-}, or verbs with the circumfix (N-[ ]-in). Forms like pomaak 'something used' or poqae 'gift' are from the forms make '(to use)' and qae 'to give'; but the forms polayan 'waiter' and polagak 'undertaking' are from the forms qalayan 'to wait on' and qalayan 'to over-step' 42).

With transitive verb base forms, the prefix {pa(N)-} forms deverbal nouns with the meaning: (1) the performer of the action, or (2) the "result" of the action or 'that which is (....)'.

(207) lu mau jadi polakan die you want become block he
'You will be a block (protector) for him.'

(208) baRak jiga pamanonba many also spectator-the
'There are many spectators.'

In the group of {pa(N)-} forms which have the meaning 'instrument' or 'position' are poqikat 'engagement token', polagak 'un-
dertaking, step', *polayan* 'waiter' and *pomantu* 'servant'. Following are examples in sentences:

(209)  plunga  ada  dikas
Fiancee-his already given

*pegikat*

engagement-token

"He has already given his fiancee a token of their engagement'.

(210)  lu  curi  aje  *pomelet*
you look-for only charm, trick, trap

*buat pelint die*

for enchant, him lure

"Look for a charm to enchant him.'

(2) The prefix *(pə(N)−)* also forms nouns from transitive verbs giving the meaning thing or person which is [...]', such as *pogasi* 'gift', *pemulag* 'help'. Following are examples in quotations:

(211)  ni  duit  ponegi sapa
this money gift who

'Whose gift is this money?'

(212)  gue  aje  pemantu  die  dit kaga?
I only help he he not

*ade pemantu* 43

have help-the

'I am the only one who helps him, he doesn't have anyone's help.'

In this meaning, usually, the *(pə(N)−)* form is followed by a nominal or pronominal in the role of actor, as seen in (211) and (212). But when a *(pə(N)−)* form has the first meaning described above it does not need a nominal or pronominal to accompany it.

6.6.2 *(pə(N)−)* + intransitive verbs

With intransitive verbs, the prefix *(pə(N)−)* only gives one kind of deverbal noun with the meaning 'something/someone who performs the action': *pomain* 'actor', *ponari* 'dancer'. Following are examples in quotations:

(213)  lu  jadi  orag  jagan
you become person don't

*kabagatan* *pomakut*
too-much coward

'Don't be so much of a coward.'

(214)  cakop  benar  tu  ponegnina
pretty very that singer-the

"That singer is very pretty.'

With this same meaning, the circumfix *(pə(N)−[−]−an)* is more productive, as in *pomantukan* 'sleepyhead', *pemiduran* 'lazybones', *pominuman* 'drunkard, alcoholic'. But the use of the constituent *tukaq* is even more produc-

tive with this meaning. The same verbs can combine with *tukaq*- to become *tukaq gantuk*, *tukaq tidur* and *tukaq minum* with the same meanings.44 Although less productively than with *(pə(N)−[−]−an)* or *tukaq*, the same meaning is given by the suffix *(−an)*, as in *pomburuan* 'jealous person' and *strikan* 'malicious, jealous person'.

6.6.3 *(pə(N)−)* + adjectivals

There are only a few examples of the prefix *(pə(N)−)* with adjectival root base forms. And the meaning which results is 'person who has a certain characteristic', as in:

(215)  pandiam  bener  dit  quiet-person really he

quiet-person really he

'He is really a quiet person.'

(216)  kalo  ada  ponehakat  di  blakaq  if  have  bad-person at back

trouble

'If there is a bad person at the back, it means trouble.'

6.7 The suffix *(−an)*

The suffix *(−an)* can combine with the following base forms: (1) adjectival roots, (2) transitive verbal bases, (3) semitransitive verbal bases, (4) intransitive verbal bases, (5) nominal roots, (6) pronominal roots, (7) time terms, (8) numerals, (9) several other base forms to be discussed individually.

6.7.1 *(−an)* + adjectival roots

All adjectival roots can take the suffix *(−an)* with the comparative meaning 'more'. In fact the suffix *(−an)* with this meaning is a test of the adjectival class.

Following are examples of *(−an)* forms in quotations:

(217)  ana?  gue  laki-laki  dua  yaq  child I male two which

*gaedam* *pinteran*
bigger smarter

'I have two sons and the older one is smarter.'

(218)  liat  tetaagge  kite  pan  see  neighbor we (part.)

*pelitan* *dari* *kite*
stingler than we

'Look at our neighbors, aren't they stingier than we are?'

(219)  lampu  lu  lorayan  ko?
lamp you brighter (part.)

'Your lamp is brighter.'

As well as having the meaning 'more' in connection with the comparative system, an *(−an)* form with an adjectival base form can
also have the distribution of an imperative verb. The following examples are illustrative:

(220) 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rajin</th>
<th>dog</th>
<th>jagan</th>
<th>kaya</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>more-</td>
<td>(part.)</td>
<td>don't like</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| industrious |

| abaq | lu |
| older- | you |

| brother |

'Work harder, don't be like your older brother.'

(221) 
| kita | jadi | oraq | biar | politan |
| we become | person | let | stingier |

| dog | dikt |
| (part.) | a-little |

'We ought to be a little stingier.'

(222) 
| jagan | muq-muq panjq | biar | pendekan |
| don't | too-long | let | shorter |

'Don't make it too long, let it be shorter.'

(-an) forms in their distribution as imperative sentences can not be without the suffix. The following sentences do not occur:

(223) * rajin | dog | jagan | kaya | abaq | lu |

(224) * kita | jadi | oraq | biar | polit | dog | dikt |

However, adjectival roots can also be constituents of imperative sentences when reduplicated:

(225) 
| dokat-dokat | sini | duduknä |
| close | here | sitting |

"Sit close to here."

(See 7.4.33)

The suffix [-an] with adjectival base forms can also give reciprocal verbs, as in the following example:

(226) 
| na | aqkarag | baq-an |
| now | good-to-e.o |

| deh | jagan |
| (part.) | (prep.) | he | don't |

| pake | marean |
| use | angry-at-e.o |

'Now make up with him, don't be angry at each other.'

The suffix [-an] with a reciprocal meaning is more productive with semitransitive base forms. (See 6.7.3.0)

Finally some [-an] forms with adjectival roots which have special meanings should be mentioned. The base forms aq'ım 'sour, salty', and manis 'sweet' can form asin 'a kind of food made of vegetables with peanut sauce' and manis 'a kind of food made of vegetables with peanut sauce'. And the form godean 'bigger' in the phrase oraq godean means 'important (person)'. Following is a quotation:

(227) 
| hagitu | tu | yaq | disebut |
| like-that | that | which called |

Similarly the base form muq 'cheap' becomes muqan with the meaning 'cheap (things)'.

6.7.2 (-an) + transitive verbs

The suffix [-an] with transitive verb base forms has two meanings: (1) It forms deverbal nouns, and (2) It forms stative meaning.

(1) Forming deverbal nouns, the suffix [-an] is very productive. Almost all transitive verbs can form nouns with this suffix. Only a few verbs form nouns with another suffix: the circumfix (pa(N)[-] -an). (See 6.8.2.)

Deverbal nouns with this suffix have several meanings. Some can be categorized according to their meanings, other proliferate with still other meanings. And some have special meanings.

Following are some details of these meanings:

(a) The suffix [-an] forming nouns with the meaning 'way of doing the action of the base form':

(228) 
| dorog | lu | biar | kuatan | dog |
| pushing you | let | stronger | (part.) |

'Push harder.'

(229) 
| baq-an | ko-mahalan |
| buying-his | too-expensive |

'He spent too much money.'

(230) 
| jait-an | kurag | bagus |
| sewing-the | lack | good |

The sewing is badly done.'

When it has this meaning the [-an] form is characteristically accompanied by a nominal or a nominal phrase in the role of the performer of the action, as in the examples above. This fact indicates that noun formation with [-an] applies to phrases such as luh ni dorog 'you push' (228), diä maqül 'he buys' (229) and diä qjäit 'he sews' (230), not to verbs alone.

(b) The suffix [-an] forms deverbal nouns with the meaning 'result or thing which undergoes the action of the base form'.

Following are examples in quotations:

(231) 
| saar | tuqan | minum | qü?: bole |
| basis | alcoholic | not allowed |

| liat | minuman |
| see | drink |

'He is an alcoholic, he is not allowed to see drink.'

(232) 
| naqan | yaq | banar | suqaya |
| planting-the which right so |

| tu | naqman | bagus |
| that | plant | good |

'Plant them right so the plants will be good.'
appropriate behavior you like
orāq muda lu puha piaraq
person young you have mistress
ya (from piara 'care for, keep')
(part.)
'That's why you are acting like a young man, you have a mistress, don't you?'

In meaning group (b) are all the (-an) forms which mean 'instrument' or 'place' such as sorutan 'plane (carpenter's tool)', from sorut 'to plane'. Following are examples in quotations:

(234) nì piso ko? qga? ada
this knife (part.) not have
pagaqan (from pegaq 'hold')
handle-the
'Why doesn't this knife have a handle?'

(235) mane gooeak bajūne (from goook
where iron clothes 'stroke, press')
'Where is the iron?'

(c) In some examples, the (-an) form has
the meaning 'thing which is [...]'. With this
meaning, the (-an) form usually follows a noun
which it modifies:

(236) nì baraqu mure bagini
this thing cheap like-this
baraq golongan kali
thing stolen-thing perhaps
'Things as cheap as this must be stolen goods.'

(237) baraq bakas buaqaq lu
thing used discarded-you
thing
pugutin
pick-up
'You pick up discarded things.'

(238) baraq sambuqaq lu kasi
thread connected-you give
thing
ame gut
(prep.) I
'You give me thread which has
been retied together.'

As mentioned above, besides these groups,
meanings often proliferate. One form may
have more than one meaning. The form buaqaq
can mean 'place to discard things' or 'thing
for discarding' or 'thing discarded'.
(2) Secondly, the suffix (-an) can give
a stative meaning. In this case it does not
change the class of the base form, but only
gives a stative aspect to the transitive verb
form which is its base form, with the meaning,
'continually'. Following are examples in
quotations:

(239) o lu sqor anaq fjuan
oh you now sell
habitually
kaen batik-sarong
'Oh, now you sell batik sarong.'

(240) lu pegaqan tanan gue aje biar
you hold hand I only let
qga? ilaq
not lost
'You hold on to my hand so you
don't get lost.'

The stative aspect of these two examples
can be shown by comparing them with their (N-)
forms: njaul 'to sell' and meqan 'to hold'.
With the (N-) form the activity or the act by
the actor on the object is stressed, while
with the (-an) form the process of carrying
out the act is emphasized. In addition, the
(N-) form is in opposition to a (di-) form (here difjaq and dipegaq), as a paradigmatic
variant; while the (-an) form is not. (See
above 2.5.5.)

It should also be added here that (-an)
with a stative meaning is not productive with
transitive verbs. This suffix with a stative
aspect frequently occurs with denominal verbs.
(See 6.7.5.)

6.7.3 (-an) + semitransitive verbs

With the suffix (-an), the group of semi-
transitive verbs which have complements con-
sisting of noun phrases + ame (such as kanal
ame 'know', suka ame 'like', or cumburu ame
'jealous of') gives two meanings: (1) as re-
ciprocals verbs, (2) as verbs with the meaning
'continuously' or 'repeatedly'.
(1) When the suffix (-an) combines with
the group of words which have the component
of meaning 'to be overcome by emotion' such
as damon ame 'to be in love with', benoi ame
'to hate', it gives reciprocal verbs, as shown
by the following examples:

(241) gue tuo yag lu lagi
I know that, you (prog. which
marker)
daman ame die
love (prep.) he
'I know you are in love with him.'

(242) uda dtk jagan maraq
already (part.) don't-be-angry
aje ame ade? lu
only with younger-you
sibling
'You shouldn't always be angry
with your brother.'

(243) nai uda bakonjar ame
(term of already know (prep.)
address)
ma? buyuq
mother Buyung
'Do you already know Ma Buyung?'
Although the syntactic structure of such a verb with (-an) is the same as one without (-an), in that both are followed by *ame*, their complements have different roles. The role of the complement of a verb without (-an) is object, while the role of the complement of an (-an) form is agitative, that is, the same as the role of the subject of the sentence.

(2) With the suffix (-an) another group of verbs changes class to become adjectives, with the meaning 'continuously have the attitudes of the base form, or behavior which has become habitual'. Following are examples in quotations:

(244) *kalo gue dandam lu mare-mare*
if I dress-up you angry
*aże emaq ati lu*
only certainly heart you
*comburuan si*
jealous (part.)
'You get angry when I dress up, you have a jealous character.'

(245) *apalagi tatañge gue sirikan*
even more neighbor I malicious, jealous
*bonar*
very
'Our neighbor is even more jealous.'

There are several forms with (-an) with the same meaning, which come from precategorical roots, such as *alōman* 'spaired (of a person)', *kolokan* 'spaired (of a person)'. These two (-an) forms never occur in their base form.

6.7.4 (-an) + intransitive verbal roots

The suffix (-an) with intransitive verbal roots has two groups of meanings also: (1) it forms nouns, and (2) it forms verbs with new lexical meanings.

(1) The suffix (-an) forms nouns with intransitive verbal base forms but it is not productive. This is because nouns are also formed from intransitive verbs with the circumfix *p>*-N{- -an} (see 6.8), with *p>*-r{- -an} (6.9), and with *k>*{- -an} (6.10).

As well as giving nouns from base forms, the suffix (-an) giving deverbal nouns from intransitive verbs has several meanings which parallel the meanings of (-an) with transitive verbs:

(a) Nouns from intransitive verbs with the meaning 'event or situation described by the base form', such as:

(246) *bāñolānā gga? enak*
joking-his not pleasant
'His joking is not pleasant.'

(247) *togsakan lu konoq bonar*
yelling you loud very
'Your yelling is very loud.'

As with nouns from transitive verbs,
'Sit correctly, don't move about.'

This meaning also occurs with a phrase consisting of verb + preposition ke- as base form, such as kedapalan 'more to the front', kepokalan 'more towards the corner', or kapingiran 'more to the edge'. Following are examples in sentences:

(260) masak pintuha kobalangan hang door-the more-back
dikit pantar a-little appropriate
'It would be best to hang the door a little to the back.'

(261) dudukha kotangan siti sitting more-middle here
'Sit more in the middle, here.'

(2) With a small group of nouns, {-an} forms words whose distributions are parallel to adjectives, such as the base forms gedongan 'building, house built of plaster', kampung 'urban village, cluster of small bamboo houses' which become gedongan 'of the people who live in houses of plaster, well-off', kampung 'like people who live in urban villages, rustic'. Following are examples in sentences:

(262) o gitu ye mukanan oraq oh like- (part.) food person that
gedongan well-off
'Oh that is the kind of food well-off people have.'

(263) [ana] kampungan lu gitu aje child rustic you like- only that
kaga? bisa not can
'You are a bumpkin, you can't even do that.'

But not many of these forms can be found.

In this group are words for periods of time such as ari 'day', minggu 'week', taon 'year' which can have the forms ari'an, minggu'an, and taon'an meaning respectively 'daily' or 'for days'; 'weekly, by week', and 'yearly' or 'for years', as shown in the following examples:

(264) gga? enak aje jadi not pleasant (part.) be
kuli ari'an laborer daily
'It is not pleasant to be a day laborer.'

(265) gue darat layaran mingguan I get pay weekly
'I am paid weekly.'

With this meaning, such {-an} forms can also have distributions parallel to adverbials, as in:
6.7.8 {-an} + numerals

When numerals take the suffix {-an} they mean 'together' in the number of the base form, as in:

(273) dua'an aje lu dateq
two- only you come
together
'Only the two of you come.'

In addition numerals which are the amounts of bank notes mean one bill of that denomination, such as sapiuran 'one-rupiah bill', sapuluperak 'ten-rupiah bill', dua pulu lima perak 'twenty-five rupiah bill'. But forms like this, with this meaning, are more often shortened to become perak 'one-rupiah bill', lima 'five-ruhipiah bill', ratusan 'hundred- rupiah bill', etc.

6.7.9 Some special meanings

Finally we must mention here some forms with the suffix {-an} which are difficult to describe. As shown by the discussion of the meanings of {-an} above, this suffix has a wide distribution and many meanings. Therefore, although the discussion of this suffix is quite long, there are some forms which are difficult to describe.

The interrogative pronoun aje 'what' with the suffix {-an} is used to express a feeling of dissatisfaction, or to insult.

(274) apa'an lu bégitu aje kaga?
what you like-that only not
bbeus can
'What kind (of child) are you, you can't even do that?'

(275) bau apa'an ni kamar qga?
smell what this room dot
enak bener pleasant really
'What does this room smell of, it's really unpleasant.'

Similarly in addition to the form lagi 'again, more', which can also mean 'moreover,' there is lagian. And the base form ude 'already' in the form uda'an means 'moreover, especially.' In these cases it seems that the base forms become conjunctions. But these forms occur sporadically.

In addition there are a number of {-an} forms whose base form can not be identified. These are forms like gandaran 'means of transportation', or koprakan 'kind of large knife sheath (made of wood, which therefore makes a sound 'koprack!' when it is worn while climbing a coconut tree). This group of precatgorical base forms appears to form nouns denoting instruments.

But the forms sarap 'to eat breakfast' and glondaran '(imitation of a sound)' are not nouns but intransitive verbs.
6.8 The circumfix \(\text{p}a(N)-[-] \text{an}\)

This circumfix takes only three categories of base forms: (1) transitive verbals, (2) semitransitive verbals, and (3) intransitive verbals.

6.8.1 \(\text{p}a(N)-[-] \text{an}\) + transitive verbals

With transitive verbal base forms, this circumfix gives two groups of meanings: 1) it gives base forms which become nouns, and 2) it gives words with a distribution parallel to adjectives.

1) The nouns which come from these transitive verb base forms can also be grouped into two categories: a) concrete nouns, and b) nouns which describe a situation or event.

a) With transitive verb base forms like \(\text{gg}o\text{ng }'\text{to fry}'\) and \(\text{njir}e \text{st }'\text{to tie}'\), \(\text{p}a(N)-[-] \text{an}\) gives concrete nouns like \(\text{p}\text{ng}\text{gor}\text{gan} \text{'frying pan'}\) and \(\text{p}\text{nh}i\text{ro} \text{tan} \text{'snare (for birds)'}\). And as shown by these examples, these nouns can mean 'place for doing something' or 'instrument for doing something'.

Following are examples in quotations:

(276) \text{gue sodai} \text{an} \text{pengobugan} \text{kalo}
I prepare hammer if
\text{lie pulaq} \quad \text{(from g}\text{bug he come-home 'to hit'}\text{)}
'I'll have a hammer ready if he comes home.'

(277) \text{n}i \text{ada papan}
this, here have board
\text{pengilis} \text{an} \text{kalo mau nucu}
scrub if want wash
'Here is a scrubbing board if you want to wash.'
\text{(from gilae 'crush, scrub')}

And the following are nouns which describe places to do things:

(278) \text{di sini kaga? ada}
at here not have
\text{pambu} \text{gan sampi}
garbage
'There is no garbage bin here.'
\text{(from ba} \text{na 'to throw away')}

(279) \text{gue mau g}o\text{ng} \text{krupuk}
I want fry shrimp-chip
\text{mana pengor} \text{gan\text{n}a}
where frying-pan-the
'I want to fry shrimp chips, where is the frying pan?'

Still in the category of concrete nouns are \(\text{p}a(N)-[-] \text{an}\) forms which describe results or 'something which is [...]ed', such as \(\text{p}\text{ngg}u\text{l}u\text{an} \text{'something which is experienced'}, \quad \text{(from g} \text{u} \text{lu'm to experience s.t.'}, \text{pengari-}
\text{an} \text{'livelihood (from garl 'to look for'), penga} \text{lu} \text{tan} \text{'something to be sewn'} \text{(from jatt 'to sew')}

Following are examples in quotations:

(280) \text{pambu} \text{gan lu a} \text{pi} \text{ame}
answer you what \text{(prep.)}
\text{ora} \text{ng tu} \text{r person old (parent)}
'What is your answer to your parents?'
\text{(from bai} \text{sa 'to answer')}

(281) \text{gue lagi ba} \text{n}a\text{k pengait} \text{an}
I presently much sewing
\text{ni this, now}
'I have a lot of sewing now.'

b) With another group of base forms, \(\text{p}a(N)-[-] \text{an}\) forms nouns which describe a process or event of doing something as in \(\text{p}\text{ng}l\text{iat} \text{an 'event of seeing'}, \text{p}\text{mb} \text{al} \text{ian 'process of buying'.}

(282) \text{p}\text{ng}l\text{iat} \text{an gue die tu dulo}
seeing I he that Dulo
'According to what I saw, it is Dulah.'

(283) \text{ni ba} \text{ra} \text{ng pamb} \text{al} \text{ian viapa}
this thing buying who
'Who bought this thing?'

But such meanings are few and not productive. For this meaning the suffix \([-\text{an}]\) is more often used, as may be seen in 6.6.2.

2) With the circumfix \(\text{p}a(N)-[-] \text{an}\), some transitive verbal roots give forms which have an adjectival distribution, as in \(\text{p}\text{gar} \text{gan} \text{'having the character of a thief'}, \text{(from g} \text{aro} \text{g }'\text{to rob'}, \text{p} \text{ha} \text{lo gan 'often stealing (from h} \text{a} \text{lo g 'to steal'), penggaya} \text{an 'liking to beg (from g} \text{aya which means 'to like to ask for things, to like to be treated and not to pay for oneself')}'

Following are examples in quotations:

(284) \text{p} \text{a} \text{ran} \text{tan b} \text{a} \text{mar}
clever-at-winning-favor really
\text{j} \text{a} \text{di} \text{a or} \text{g} \text{a}
become person
'She is very good at winning favor for personal benefit.'
\text{(from g} \text{eri which means 'the behavior of a woman who will sell her love for money, is willing to marry for wealth')}

(285) \text{gue} \text{anak mui}
trouble, difficult child young
\text{j} \text{a} \text{di} \text{a penggaya} \text{a}
beggar
'A child who likes to beg is troublesome.'
With transitive verb base forms this meaning is not at all productive. Only a limited number of examples are found in the data. On the other hand this meaning is frequently found with semitransitive verbs (see 6.8.2).

6.8.2 \( pa(N)\-[-{-}]-an \) + semitransitive verbals

The circumfix \( pa(N)\-[-{-}]-an \) with semitransitive verbal roots gives a class of words with a distribution parallel to the class of adjectival roots, with the meaning '[something/someone] who often performs the action of the base form'. The transitive verbals which give this meaning are generally those which describe feelings such as \( b\text{en\text} \)'to hate', \( m\text{al\text} \)'to be shy, embarrassed', \( b\text{ho\text} \)'to lie', \( d\text{g}\text{k\text} \)'to be jealous', which form respectively \( p\text{amb\text}n\text{t\text}an \)'having the character of one who easily hates', \( p\text{ama\text}l\text{uan \}'shy person', \( p\text{amb\text}n\text{to\text}h\text{g\text}an \)'liar', and \( p\text{and\text}ng\text{k\text}l\text{an \}'jealous person'.

Following are two examples in quotations:

(286) \[ j\text{a\text}g\text{a\text} \quad p\text{a\text}g\text{i\text}r\text{a\text}n \quad lu \quad j\text{a\text}d\text{i\text} \]
don't envious-person you become
\[ o\text{ra\text}g \quad p\text{e\text}r\text{a\text}n \quad p\text{a\text}g\text{i\text}r\text{a\text}n \quad lu \quad j\text{a\text}d\text{i} \]
person 'Don't be a jealous person.'
(\text{from } iri \)'to be envious')

(287) \[ d\text{a\text}s\text{a\text}r \quad p\text{e\text}r\text{a\text}m\text{p\text}\text{u\text}a\text{n \quad p\text{a\text}g\text{i\text}r\text{a\text}k\text{a\text}n \quad lu \quad j\text{a\text}d\text{i} \]
basis woman jealous-person you
\[ p\text{a\text}g\text{i\text}r\text{a\text}k\text{a\text}n \quad lu \quad j\text{a\text}d\text{i} \]
'You are a jealous woman.'
(\text{from } sirik \)'to be jealous')

This is the only meaning for semitransitive verbs with the circumfix \( pa(N)\-[-{-}]-an \). The same meaning occurs with \( pa(N)\-{-} \) (see 6.6.2), and with \(-an\) (see 6.7.3).

6.8.3 \( pa(N)\-[-{-}]-an \) + intransitive verbal roots

The circumfix \( pa(N)\-[-{-}]-an \) with intransitive verbal root base forms gives two classes of words: 1) nouns, and 2) words with an adjectival distribution.

1) The class of nouns which is formed by \( pa(N)\-[-{-}]-an \) with intransitive verbal base forms can also be divided into two groups: a) concrete nouns, and b) nouns which describe a process or event.

a) The concrete nouns which are formed by this circumfix can be divided into two groups:

i) nouns which describe the place where the action described by the base form takes place, as in:

(288) \[ d\text{i\text} m\text{a\text}n\text{a} \quad a\text{d\text}a \quad p\text{a\text}m\text{b\text}r\text{e\text}n\text{t\text}i\text{a\text}n \quad b\text{i\text}s \]
place recite Koran-the at where have stop bus
'Where is a bus stop?'

b) Examples of \( pa(N)\-[-{-}]-an \) with intransitive verbs giving words which express situations or events are \( p\text{a\text}m\text{a\text}e\text{n\text}n\text{a\text} \)'founding' (from \text{ma\text}n\text{e\text}n\text{a\text} \)'play, act') and \( p\text{a\text}m\text{a\text}i\text{n\text} \)'founding' (from \text{ma\text}n\text{e\text}n\text{a\text} \)'stand')

Following are examples in quotations:

(292) \[ p\text{a\text}m\text{a\text}e\text{n\text}n\text{a} \quad b\text{a\text}l\text{e} \quad j\text{a\text}g\text{a\text} \quad d\text{i\text}l\text{i\text}n\text{a\text} \quad a\text{d\text}a \quad d\text{i\text}i\text{k\text} \]
bole juga diliat acting-his may also be-seen
'His acting is worth watching.'

(293) \[ d\text{i\text} \quad q\text{a\text}d\text{a\text}i\text{m} \quad p\text{a\text}n\text{d\text}i\text{n\text}r\text{a\text}n \]
he, make founding
\[ p\text{a\text}n\text{d\text}i\text{n\text}r\text{a\text}n \quad lu \quad j\text{a\text}d\text{i} \]
recite Koran
'He is founding a place to recite the Koran.'

This meaning is not very common for the circumfix \( pa(N)\-[-{-}]-an \) with intransitive verbal base forms.

2) \( pa(N)\-[-{-}]-an \) with intransitive verbs giving words with a distribution parallel to the adjectival class is found in examples like \( p\text{a\text}l\text{a\text}j\text{a\text}r \)'learned', \( p\text{a\text}n\text{j}\text{u\text}t\text{a\text}n \)'gambler', \( p\text{a\text}n\text{g\text}a\text{n\text}t\text{u\text}k\text{a\text}n \)'sleepy person'.

Following are examples in quotations:

(294) \[ p\text{a\text}m\text{a\text}b\text{h\text}o\text{k\text}a\text{n} \quad b\text{a\text}n\text{a}\text{n} \quad d\text{i\text} \]
drunkard really he
\[ p\text{a\text}m\text{a\text}b\text{h\text}o\text{k\text}a\text{n} \quad b\text{a\text}n\text{a}\text{n} \quad d\text{i\text} \]
'He is really a drunkard.'
(\text{from } ma\text{\text}n\text{h\text}\text{a\text}k \)'to be drunk')
(295) kalo oraq pagikutun suse if person follower trouble 'A person who always follows others is troublesome.'
(from ikut 'to follow')

Such meanings are also formed, with some other intransitive verbs, with the compound word constituent tukas, as in tukas tidur 'person who sleeps a lot', tukas minum 'drunkard'.

6.9 The circumfix {po[r]-[ ]-an}

According to our data, this circumfix rarely occurs in this dialect. From a limited number of examples, it appears that this circumfix can occur with either intransitive, semitransitive or transitive verbal roots. But because of the limited number of examples, this circumfix cannot be discussed in terms of the classes of its base forms.

Whether with intransitive, semitransitive or transitive verbal roots, this circumfix always forms nouns. The nouns which are formed with this circumfix can be nouns which mean a place, an instrument, an actor or an event.

An example of a form with the circumfix {po[r]-[ ]-an} which describes a situation or event is perasaan 'feeling' (from gerasaan 'to feel'), an example which describes a place is pranakan 'womb' (from beranak 'to give birth'), an example which describes an instrument is perigatan 'remembrance' (from igat 'to remember') and an example which describes a result is perkataan 'what is said' (from qatain 'to say'). Following are examples in quotations:

a) Examples which describe situations, events:

(296) die puña parjalanan apa pagi he own journey what go ke sono to there 'What is the purpose of his journey there?'
(from jalan 'to walk, go')

(297) die ame gue memaq masi he with I certainly still pasodaraan relative 'He and I are relatives.'
(from basodare 'to be related')

b) Examples which describe places or instruments:

(298) ni gue kasi tanda mate buat this I give souvenir for perigatan remembrance 'I give you this souvenir for remembrance.'

(299) lu lagi dapat asil you presently get returns dari parjudian ya from gambling-place (part.) 'You are getting your returns from the gambling place, aren't you?'
(from maen judi 'to gamble')

c) Following is an example with the meaning 'performer of the action':

(300) die palagian dari ukuman he fugitive from jail 'He is a fugitive.'
(from lari 'to run')

6.10 The circumfix {ko-[ ]-an}_2

This circumfix can have adjectival or semitransitive, intransitive, or transitive verbals, as base forms.

6.10.1 {ko-[ ]-an}_2 + adjectival roots

A group of adjectival roots takes the circumfix {ko-[ ]-an}_2 to form nouns such as kauuntugan 'profit', kapandeak 'cleverness' and kakuatan 'strength' (from untuk 'lucky', pande 'clever' and kuat 'strong'). Following are examples in quotations:

(301) kalo buat kapeandeak saya if for cleverness I kalah ame abag beaten by older-brother 'In cleverness, you are superior.'

(302) lu mau adu kakuatan you want contest strength ame gue with me 'You want to test your strength against mine.'

It should be pointed out that not all adjectival roots can form nouns with this circumfix. Roots like tigi 'tall, high', gede 'big' and color names can only be nominalized with (-ha).

6.10.2 {ko-[ ]-an}_2 + verbal roots

Semitransitive verbal roots are the only verbal roots which are very productive with the circumfix {ko-[ ]-an}_2. Other verbal roots rarely occur with this nominalizing circumfix. Nouns formed with this circumfix usually have the meaning of an event or situation, as in the following quotations:
Semitransitive verbal roots which are nominalized with this circumfix belong to the class of verbs which describe various feelings, such as bencet 'to hate', sirik 'to be jealous', jahat 'to be evil', etc.

6.10.3. \{ko-[ ]\-\{an\}\, + intransitive verbal roots

A small number of intransitive verbal roots can be nominalized with this circumfix. Following is an example:

6.10.4. \{ko-[ ]\-\{an\}\, + transitive verbal roots

Only one example is found with a transitive verbal root: kaxakaran 'the event of a fire'. No other examples are found in the data.

6.11. The prefix \{sa-\}

The prefix \{sa-\} occurs with the following base forms: 1) nominals, 2) adjectivals and 3) intransitive verbals, and a few pre-categorical forms.

6.11.1. \{sa-\} + nominal base forms

With nominal base forms this prefix has the meaning 'one' as well as other related meanings such as 'all', 'the whole', and 'entire'.

Following are examples:

6.11.2. \{sa-\} + adjectival base forms

With adjectival base forms, \{sa-\} has the meaning 'the same' or 'similar'. Notice the following example:
(sə-) forms with adjectival roots are almost always followed by nominal roots. The (sə-) form in example (308) is followed by the pronominal itu. Other examples which may be given here are sago de jaga 'as tall as a stalk of corn'; soko diti adë'ma 'as small as his younger brother'. In these two examples jaga and adë'ma follow the forms sago de and soko diti.

6.11.3 (sə-) + verbal base forms

Some verbal base forms such as mau 'want' and soka 'want, like', can take (sə-) with the meaning 'in accordance with', as in the following examples:

(310) jagan səmava-(mau) lu nqa?
don't as-want you not
mampus suda bagus lu
dead already good you
'Don't just do whatever you want, you are lucky you aren't dead yet.'

As with adjectival base forms, (sə-) with verbal base forms is always followed by a nominal, as in səmava lu 'as you want', səsuka ați lu 'whatever your heart pleases', etc.

Only a few such examples can be found of the prefix (sə-) with verbal base forms.

6.11.4 Forming coordinating words

Some time names such as belon 'not yet', suda 'already' can form coordinating words with the prefix (sə-) such as səbelon 'before' and səsuda 'after', as in:

(311) səsuda ați jaga [dī] kilu
after this also he go-out
'After this, he will go out too.'

Similarly the preposition dari 'from' takes (sə-) with the meaning 'since', as in:

(312) bantat sə gəsə tədi
pillow which since then, recently
dia gəsə sə sətal
he hit-with-head throw-away
ta ko mana
know to where
'I don't know where he threw the pillow he was hitting with his head.'

Similarly the word abis 'finished' can take (sə-) to form the coordinating word səabis 'after'.

6.11.5 (sə-) + precategorical roots

Finally it should be mentioned here that some (sə-) forms can be categorized as words formed from precategorical roots, such as səmava 'all', sədikit 'a little', and perhaps also səbontar 'a little while'. The first two examples when reduplicated become səmava-mu 'all of them' and sədikit-dikitə 'at least'. But the reduplicated form of the last example is səbontar-səbontar and not *səbontar-səbontar.

6.12 (-ña) as a derivative suffix

In section 5.2, it was pointed out that (-ña) can act as a sign of a nominal paradigmatic variant. In addition, (-ña) also acts as an anaphoric sign. In this section (-ña) will be discussed as a derivational element. As a derivational element (-ña) can nominalize verbs and adjectivals, and form adverbials.

6.12.1 (-ña) + verbal base forms

All verbal base forms can be nominalized with the suffix (-ña), as in the following examples:

(313) dıpuas-puasin amat
satisfying, satisfactory very
idupña
life-his
'His life was very satisfactory.'
(from idup 'to live')

(314) bañak-bañak manjaqinña ntar
make-much elongation later
kəpəndəkən
too-short
'Make it much longer, it will be too short.'
(from manjaquin 'to elongate')

(315) ooba lihatlah gəbəgınə
try see(imp.) division
sayəg-sayəgən
sympathetically
'Look at the division in a symp-
thathetic way.'
(from gəbagi 'to divide')

Nominalization with (-ña) can apply to forms with the prefix (di-) and verb forms which have taken other paradigmatic affixes:

(316) kəla bədakətan diliŋə
if come-close being-seen
nqa? sənak
not pleasant
'From close up it isn't nice to
see.'
(from diliat 'to be seen')
The form kliatanña (317) has a distribution somewhat like an adverbial. Indeed, one of the functions of (-ña) is to form the adverbial class. (See 6.12.2)

In addition, verbal phrases can also be nominalized with (-ña), as in:

(318) masak aña yang mateq
cook water which cooked-well
'Boil the water (until) well-done.'

In example (318) the base form of the verbal phrase masak and its object aña are nominalized. Such examples also occur with adjectival phrases (see example 321).

6.12.2 (-ña) + adjectival base forms

As mentioned above, the adjectival class can also be nominalized with (-ña), as in:

(319) kalo aña maga du it mana
if not hold money where
enakña
pleasure
'If you don't have money, where is the enjoyment?'
(from enak 'pleasant')

(320) bandolña masa olo ni anak
naughtiness (excl.) this child
'The naughtiness of this child!' (from bandol 'naughty')

Adjectival phrases can also be nominalized with (-ña), like the phrase labi bae? 'better' (from labi 'more' and bae? 'good') in the following:

(321) pan ada labi bae?ña
(part.) be, have preference
'Wouldn't it be better (if I introduced myself to your friends),'

Adjectival base forms, and some nominal base forms, can take (-ña) to form adverbs, such as:

(322) pando?ña kalo aye ampe jadi
shortly if I until happen
am dië
with him
'In short, if I work it out with him ...'

In addition, some other base forms can give adverbs, such as bas?ña 'it would be best, preferably' (from bas? 'good'), nantiña 'later' (from nanti 'later') and pongabisanña finally' (from pongabisan 'ending').

With adjectival base forms, exclamatory sentences can also be found, such as:

(324) gedeña ni bulan tangal
how-big this moon date
borep ye
how-much (part.)
'How big the moon is, what date is it?'
(from gede 'big')

6.12.3 Some other uses

In addition to those mentioned in 6.12.1 and 6.12.2, some other uses may be mentioned here. With number names (-ña) may form indicators of degree, such as:

(325) satuña malu ame
firstly embarrassed (prep.)
tetangi duakèle aye kasian
neighbor secondly I sorry
ame ṃa? aye
(prep.) mother I
'Firstly I am embarrassed in front of the neighbors, secondly I am sorry for my mother.'
(from satu 'one' and du 'two')

Such indicators of degree can also be formed with the prefix (Ka-)2, as in:

(326) pertama ḥaq aakèle
first which pretty, handsome
ka du ḥaq maš kilat
second which shine
'First the pretty one, second the shiny one.'
(from du 'two')

The use of (-ña) in this dialect is very wide: conjunctions like maña 'thus', time terms like tadi 'recently' or komaren 'yesterday' often take ṃa to become maŋkaña, tadiña or komarēnña. The meaning of (-ña) in such examples is only anaphoric.
Adjectival base forms, time terms, and some verbal base forms, can take (so-[ ]-ña) to give a group of words with an adverbial distribution. Following are examples of adjectival base forms which become adverbial with this circumfix:

(327) sapantana memaq kalo ñai mau bargaul
it-would-be-best indeed if want live
(term of ref. or want live
address)
di kampuq
in village
'It would be best if you were to live in the village.'
(from pants 'appropriate')

(328) e lu sabanaña mari
(excl.) you actually come
sini gù ajak qomoq
here I invite talk
'Hey, you are serious, come here,
I want to talk to you.'
(from banar 'actual, right')

Following is an example from the group of time names which become members of the class of adverbials with (so-[ ]-ña):

(329) masa sslamaña ñai
how forever ñai
(term of ref. or
address)
mau idup sunaq
want live happy
'How could you expect to live happily forever.'
(from lama 'long (time)')

The following example of a member of the adverbial class with a verbal base form will complete this section:

(330) mau gqa? sskiraña diajak
want not if, in-case asked, in-
pindaq amq abaq
vited move (prep.) older-brother
'In case he asks you to move, will you want to or not?'

FOOTNOTES:

34. As explained in the section on morphophonemics (4.1) when the prefix {N-} is before a base form which begins with one of the voiced stop consonants b, d, j or g, it also has the allomorph /qa/. Thus the transitive verb has three alternate forms, with the /n/- form, the /qa/- form, and without a prefix. In addition, some can also have the (mo{N-}) form. (See 6.2.0.)

35. For consistency I call transitive verbal roots which do not yet have the {N-} prefix, semi-transitive verals.

36. On the basis of the data collected, verbal roots like bilaq 'to say' and dahar 'to eat' never take the prefix {N-}.

37. The names first member and second member, in this case, are only a convention.

38. The choice of this form, usually, is related to the choice of phonological variants. The occurrence of the {mo{N-}} form generally coincides with the choice of /a/ as final vowel rather than /e/. As described in 3.2.4, the vowel /e/ in final position can alternate freely with /a/. The word luda 'spit' can alternate with luda without any difference in meaning. When the prefix (mo{N-}) is chosen rather than (N-), the final vowel /a/ will occur giving maluda 'to spit' rather than moludt. But the reverse is not true. The choice of (N-) does not require the choice of the vowel /e/. Either gluda or gludt can occur.

39. On focus see above footnote 25.

40. Here there is a process of emphasizing, or secondary topicalization, which must be differentiated from object focusing. (See footnote 25.)

41. Verbs with the same shade of meaning also occur with adjectives as base forms. (See 6.5.5.)

42. In this dialect there are no verb forms *glayan or *glande. This is evidence that the forms polayan and polaqt come from glayanin and glagkanin.

43. The form {po{N-}} can give meaning (1) or (2) to the same base form. The form pambantu for example, can mean 'person who helps' and it can also mean 'help'.

44. The constituent tukaq- forming deverbal nouns is very productive in this dialect. Both transitive and intransitive verbs can take this constituent, as in: tukaq puluk 'person who can be hired to force someone to do something' (from puluk 'hit'), tukaq jahit 'seamstress', tukaq dayaq 'seller, tradesman'. Even nouns can take this constituent, as in: tukaq rokat 'cigarette seller', tukaq sayur 'vegetable seller'.

45. The same meaning occurs with nominal base forms, although also not very productively, as in gadoqan 'of people who live in plaster houses, well-off people', kampuqan 'rustic'. (See also 6.7.4.)
7.0 Introduction

As mentioned in the section on morphophonemics (4.10), there are two categories of reduplication in this dialect: 1) reduplication of root morphemes, and 2) reduplication of affixational processes and root morphemes together as one morphemic process. Before discussing the meaning of reduplication, the relationship between these two forms of reduplication should be described.

The first category, as stated in 4.10.1, has three forms or types, i.e.: complete reduplication or type \([R_1]\), complete reduplication with phoneme changes or type \([R_2]\), and partial reduplication or reduplication of the first syllable or type \([R_3]\). A problem that arises in connection with these three types is whether they are separate morphemes or only allomorphemic variants.

A problem which arises in connection with the second category of reduplication is the order of derivation: whether the morphemic processes are ordered or are a single process.

7.1 The relationship between the three types of reduplication

From the morphemic point of view, no phonological factors are found to differentiate the three types of reduplication. Nor are there any morphological differences of meaning or distribution among them. One group of forms has a different distribution from others (see (1) below), another has a different meaning (see (2a)). But for others, distribution and meanings proliferate (see (2b)).

The only information which can be offered here is a categorization. First, the three types of reduplication can be grouped into two categories: productive reduplication \([R_1]\); and nonproductive reduplication \([R_2]\) and \([R_3]\).

\([R_1]\) is a morphemic process which applies to all base forms which can undergo morphemic processes. But \([R_2, R_3]\) are not only nonproductive, but their meanings cannot be predicted either. Following is a description of the categories of \([R_2, R_3]\) reduplication, and their connections with type \([R_1]\).

1) \([R_2]\) and \([R_3]\) which apply to precategorical base forms such as gorak-gorik 'to confuse', mandar-mandir 'to wander', saluk-beluk 'complicated', and gagar 'to eat'.

2) The category of nonproductive types of reduplication which apply to precategorical roots which can also undergo productive reduplication.

Category 2) can be further divided into:

a) The category of \([R_2, R_3]\) which are different in meaning from type \([R_1]\). The base form gorak 'movement' in the form gorak-gorik 'movements' forms a noun, while in the form gorak-gorak it forms an intransitive verb 'to move repeatedly'. Similarly the base form ganti in the form gonta-ganti 'change back and forth' forms an intransitive verb, and in the form ganti-ganti 'change repeatedly' gives a transitive verb.

b) The group of base forms which take either \([R_1]\) or \([R_2, R_3]\) with — according to the data available — no difference in meaning. The base form bane can form bane-bane or bane-bane with no difference between them, that is, both are stative semitransitive verbs with the meaning 'to arrange something'.

3) The category of \([R_2, R_3]\), the nonproductive type, in combination with affixes, and in combinations which can only occur with \([R_2, R_3]\). Forms like babututan 'rumpled, disheveled', gagarukan 'to scratch', ssawylan 'sobbing' only occur in \([R_2, R_3]\) forms, never as babutututan, garuk-garukan or ssawuyanggukan.

4) The nonproductive type in which the relationship to the base form is not clear, such as tamu 'guest', ssapu 'broom', ootot 'bat'. These three examples come from the base forms tamu 'guest', sapu 'broom', and ootot 'bat'.

Finally it should be noted that on the basis of the data available, the largest number of nonproductive reduplicated forms seem to come from precategorical base forms.

Because no clear difference is found between \([R_1]\) and \([R_2, R_3]\) reduplication which might be used as a basis for determining the status of the two types of reduplication, in the following analysis of the meaning of reduplication the two types will not be separated. Thus since factors deciding their status as allomorphs or independent morphemes are not yet clear, the two types will be considered as simply alternate forms.

7.2 The order of \([R]\) derivation and affixation

The morphemic processes which involved reduplication and affixation already discussed in 4.10.2, were discussed as if based on morphophonemic rules which applied to all forms of reduplication and affixation; without taking into account typology based on order of derivation. From the point of view of order of derivation, processes of reduplication and affixation can be grouped into two subgroups:

First, reduplication which applies to root morphemes which have already undergone...
affixation; second, reduplication and affixation which apply simultaneously to a root morpheme. In other words, the first process of reduplication and affixation represents a secondary derivation; while the second represents a primary derivational process.

The first process, reduplication of base forms which already have affixes, may be exemplified by the forms makan-makan 'much food' and gorge-goregan 'many fried foods'. These two examples of reduplication are not formed directly from the base forms makan 'eat' and goreg 'fry'; but the base forms first take the suffix (-an) to form the nouns makanan 'food' and goreg-an 'fried food'. The process of reduplication applies to the derived noun forms to give the forms makan-makanan and gorge-goregan, as the morphophonemic rule only repeats the root morpheme (see 4.10.2 above).

The morphemic processes may be shown by an analysis of segments as follows:

```
  makan-makan\n  \n  makanan  \{(R)\}
  \n  makan  \{-an\}
```

This type of reduplication process also applies to other reduplicated forms as ngung-nungun 'wait for (a long time)', tesoar-tesoar 'have boy/girl friends', formed from the secondary base form ngungun 'wait for' and tesoar 'have a boy/girl friend'.

The second process applies as follows. Reduplication and affixation are not ordered, but apply at the same time to a root morpheme form. This process may be shown with the example of the reduplicated form deg-degan 'to beat repeatedly (heart)'. This reduplicated form comes from the primary base form deg 'to beat', by repeating the precategorical base form and giving it the suffix {-an} at the same time. The process may be shown in a tree diagram as follows:

```
  deg-degan\n  \n  deg  \{(R)\}  \{-an\}
```

Evidence for this process is that in this dialect the form deg has no form 'degan', unlike the form makan 'to eat' which can also have the form makanan 'food'.

Thus there are two morphemic processes: reduplication and affixation, which work together to give a new word, just like affixes and suffixes which work together as circumfixes.

Other examples of reduplication and affixation of this second type are the forms tagile-gile 'crazy' and cari-nari 'look for each other'. These two forms are also not found in the forms 'tagile' or 'nari'. Nor do we ever find in this dialect the reduplicated form 'cari-nari'.

However, not all combinations of reduplication and affixation can be strictly distinguished in terms of order of derivation. For forms like sorume-rume 'the whole house, whole family' or koburu-buru 'hurried' it is difficult to determine the order of derivation, because in addition to these forms, we also find forms like sorume 'a whole family' and koburu 'hurried'. But, in terms of meaning it is difficult to define the relationship between the forms sorume and sorume-rume or between koburu and koburu-buru (from rume 'house' and buru-buru 'hurried').

Nevertheless, the categorization of reduplication based on order of derivation is important to understand the meaning of the process of reduplication in general. We often find a pair of reduplicated forms with the same form and base form class, which do not have the same meaning or syntactic distribution. The reduplicated form makan-makanan 'much food' for example, has the same form and base form class as the reduplicated form minum-minuman, as in the following examples:

\[(331) \text{ bana\'k juga makan-makanan\text{"A\}} \text{ much food-the} \]
\[\text{ ya (part.)} \]
\[\text{ 'There is a lot of food, isn't there?'} \]

\[(332) \text{ du \text{"ri ana\' pada} (excl.) this child (pl.)} \]
\[\text{ mabok-mabokan pada drunk (pl.)} \]
\[\text{ minum-minuman dt drink at mana} \]
\[\text{ where} \]
\[\text{ 'These boys are drunk, where were they drinking?'} \]

However, the same form here does not give the same meaning. The first form makan-makanan means 'much food' (a noun), but the form minum-minuman means 'to drink much' (a verb). The difference in meaning between the two forms is due to the different order of derivation. The application of affixation and reduplication to the first form is ordered, but the processes apply simultaneously to the second form.

7.3 Categorization of meanings of reduplication

Generally, discussions of the meaning of the process of reduplication describe the meanings of the process statistically as 'many, much', and 'repeatedly' or 'iteratively' along with other meanings which derive from these two meanings. In the following I will categorize the varied meanings of reduplication in the Jakarta Dialect data.

In general the meanings of reduplication can be grouped into two categories: 1) reduplication giving lexical meaning, and 2) reduplication as a morphemic process changing base form class or category to another word class. Meaning 2) naturally includes meaning 1), but not vice-versa.
7.3.1 Reduplication giving lexical meaning

Meaning category 1) is the category of meaning of reduplication which only changes lexical meaning, without changing the syntactic distribution of the base form. These meanings include the meanings 'plurality' or 'iteration' and several other related meanings.

An example of meaning category 1 is the reduplication of the base form mære 'angry' as mære-mære 'very angry, often angry'. The lexical meanings of the two forms mære and mære-mære are indeed different, but the distribution of the two morphemic forms is the same. The form mære-mære in:

(333) lu mære-mære mlulu kẹnape
you often angry only why

'Why are you always angry?'

has a distribution parallel to that of mære:

(334) lu mære mlulu kẹnape
you angry only why

'Why are you always angry?'

Reduplication with change in lexical meaning is the largest category for this morphemic process. Therefore there are many varied shades of meaning in this category. The shade of meaning depends on the word class which becomes the base form, and the syntactic environment in which the reduplication takes place. A nominal base form like rume 'house', when reduplicated becomes rume-rume meaning 'many houses, different kinds of houses', while a verb like mukul 'to hit' in the form mukul-mukul means 'to hit repeatedly'. Reduplication of the verb dateq 'come' after the word ọga 'not' means 'never comes'.

The new lexical meanings given by the reduplication process in the examples in 7.3.1 have some connection semantically with the meaning of the base form. In some other examples, the new lexical meaning is so far from the lexical meaning of the base form, that it is difficult to find the relationship between the meaning of the base form and the meaning of the reduplication. The base form kuda 'horse' after reduplication means 'a position in "silat": traditional art of fighting'. The reduplication mata-mata 'spy' is rather removed from the meaning of its base form mata 'eye'. In such examples the lexical identity of the base form has been left behind, and reduplication gives entirely new words.

7.3.2 Changing base form category

Reduplication of meaning group (2) is reduplication which gives a different word class from the class or category of the base form. Base forms of the adjectival category such as ọba 'good' with reduplication change class to become adverbs such as ọba-ọba 'well'. After the change of category, the base form and the reduplicated form no longer have parallel distributions:

(335) un lu urue ọba-ọba?
Un you arrange well

The form ọba-ọba? in sentence (335) cannot be replaced by the base form ọba:

(336) un lu urue idup lu
Un you arrange life you

bae?
good

Similarly the reduplicated form of the base form bere 'arranged, neat' is the verb ọbere 'arrange, clean up'.

(337) dike ọga? ikut ka mari
he not go-along to here
lagi ọbere di rumo
again clean-up in house

'He isn't coming along, he's cleaning up at home.'

The reduplicated form ọbere in this sentence cannot be replaced with the base form bere.

Included in meaning group (2) is a rather large group of precategorical root base forms, which when reduplicated form members of various categories. The precategorical form ọbisik becomes an intransitive verb when reduplicated: ọbisik-ọbisik 'to whisper, gossip'. Similarly the base form ọwanti becomes a member of the adverbial class in the form ọwanti-ọwanti 'repeatedly, strongly (request)'.

As noted in 7.3, a change of category always means a change in lexical identity. The change of lexical meaning in the examples given above still leaves a semantic connection with the base form. The following examples show, as well as change of category, change in lexical meaning giving forms whose semantic connection with the unduplicated forms is no longer clear. The adjective rame 'crowded, busy' as an adverbial in the form rame-rame means 'together'. Similarly the noun ọtem 'time' has an adverbial distribution in the form ọtem-ọtem with an entirely new meaning: 'sometimes'.

The grouping of the meanings of reduplication based on whether or not the identity of the base form category is changed or not, helps to explain forms which are the same but with different meanings. The verb ọmọq 'to talk' becomes ọmọq-ọmọq which has two lexical meanings and two different categories. The form in:

(338) ọmọq-ọmọq yeq ọga? lame
excuse-me I not long

yeq
(part.)

'Excuse me, I'm not staying long.'

is a reduplication of the form ọmọq which changes the base form into a particle introducing a new sentence when one wishes to interrupt an on-going discussion with a new topic of discussion.

It differs from ọmọq-ọmọq in the fol-
(339) ə ɡut məu məsək
(excl.) I want heat, cook
əər ɡoməɡ-goməɡ dəh
water talk (part.)
ɣa (part.)
'I want to heat some water, you talk, O.K.?'

In this example the form ɡoməɡ-goməɡ is still in the category of verbs like its base form ɡoməɡ, and the meaning of reduplication is 'indefinitely much/many'.

7.3.3 Other forms of reduplication

In addition to forms which fall into these two meaning groups, there are many examples of reduplicated forms whose categories and base form meanings are not clear. The meanings and categories of the base forms of reduplications like ɡuna-ɡuna 'black magic', pura-pura 'to pretend', bale-bale (type of bench), gara-gara 'because (in a negative sense)', are not clear. In this description, I group such reduplication with the morphemic process which applies to precategorical base forms and changes the base form to various categories.47

7.4 Specification of the meanings of reduplication

As noted in 7.0, reduplication can be a morphemic process which stands alone, and can also work together with processes of affixation. The specification of the meanings of reduplication which follows will be organized on the basis of these processes, that is, it will begin with reduplication which stands alone, followed by reduplication with affixes.

In the discussion of the second group of meanings of reduplication, that is, reduplication which works together with affixes, not all combinations will be discussed. In this group only processes of affixation and reduplication which form new lexical meanings will be discussed. For affixes showing paradigmatic variation, such as {N-} and {dɨ-}, or {kə-} and {kə-[ə]-an} only one form will be chosen: the prefix {N-}.

Because the meaning of the reduplication process depends upon 1) the category of the base form, and 2) whether the reduplicated form has an affix or not, the organization of the following explication will be based on the category of the base form and the group of the reduplicated form.

7.4.1 {R} + intransitive verbs

As noted in 7.3 the meanings of reduplication in general can be divided into two groups: changing lexical meaning, and changing base form category. These two meaning groups occur with intransitive verbs.

7.4.1.1 {R} changing lexical meaning

Under change of lexical meaning there are different types of change of meaning. There is the type of reduplication of intransitive verbs which expresses an action done repeatedly, intensively, continuously, or indefinitely. The base form kəɡko 'to chat' when repeated becomes kəɡko-kəɡko meaning 'to chat a lot or for a long time', while the base form duduk 'to sit' has the reduplicated form duduk-duduk meaning 'to sit with no definite purpose'. The reduplication of the base form magət 'to nod' is qəgət-qəgət meaning 'to nod (repeatedly)'. The reduplication of the base form gəndon 'to stay' is the form gəndon-gəndon meaning 'to stay in one place and another'.

The shade of meaning given by such reduplication only becomes clear when the form is in context. Following are examples in sentences.

a) Reduplication meaning 'for a long time' or 'often'.

(340) ɡue liat də laqti
I see he (prog.)
duduk-duduk aje di dopan
sit only at front
'I see him sitting around in front.'

(341) lu suka gəndon-gəndon ka
you like stay to
to mana-mana everywhere
'You stay just anywhere now.'

(342) jagan cəmborut-cəmborut jagan
don't sullen
e don't
mare-mare malu nti
angry embarrassed later
abag
older-brother
'Don't be sullen and angry, you'll be embarrassed later.'

b) When reduplication is preceded by the negative words jagan 'don't', yga 'no, not' or kaga 'no, not', another meaning appears, that is, reduplication strengthening a prohibition or negative: expressing that something may absolutely not be done, or is completely negative.

Following are examples in quotations:

(343) ma? jagan bigəu-bigəug
mother don't confused
ma? pəgin ape tunjuk
mother want what show
'Mother, don't be confused, tell us what you want.'

(344) uga bora pe ər
already how-many day
bag gəndon uga
older-brother Gondrong not
(350) **uda** ke'naq gagaras di
already full eat at
jalaman bilaq di rumi
street say at home
\[ gga\quad ena? \quad makan \]
not pleasant, nice eat
\[ 'You eat till you are full on \the street then you say at home \you don't feel like eating.' \]

(351) **saya** bisik-bisik kalo toke
I whisper if master
\[ kaga? \quad kasi ntar saya datang \not give later I come \]
' I whispered that if the master didn't allow it, I'd come later.'

As shown by the examples, precategorical forms forming intransitive verbs may be either of the productive or the non-productive type of reduplication.

7.4.1.2 Change of base form category

7.4.1.2.1 Intransitive verb formation

A group of precategorical base forms take the process of reduplication to form intransitive verbs. These base forms are generally roots which express imitations of sounds, movements or behavior, such as geder-geder 'to beat (of heart)', mondar-mondar 'to wander', ogak-ogak 'to smile'.

Following are examples in sentences:

(347) *johan urig-urig* mataka
Johan hide eye-his
\[ riap-riap monahan \]
squeezed shut hold, stand
\[ gilu \]
pain
'John is hiding, his eyes squeezed shut because of the pain.'

(348) *apaan si grata-gratu*
what-is-it (part.) complain
\[ mu* luq gga? tau oraq \]
only not know person
\[ lagi grak-grik-gruk \]
(prog.) unwell
'Why are you complaining, don't you know I am not feeling well.'

(349) *ma ampe brak-brik-bruk*
(excl.) until noise
\[ bogitu ada ampe lagi \]
like-that have what again, more
'How noisy you are, what is it now.'

7.4.1.2.2 Noun formation

Although there are not many examples to be found, there are some intransitive verbal base forms which give deverbal nouns when reduplicated, as in the following examples in quotations:

(352) **lu musti awa* in gork-gork* \[ dit \]
you must watch movement he
\[ 'You must watch his movements.' \]

(353) *bagus* saya dage* ribu-ribu* \[ he \]
luckily I hear noise
\[ 'Luckily I heard the noise.' \]

(354) *m* ran betul kata-kata \[ ma? \]
indeed true words mother
\[ 'What mother says is very true.' \]

The base forms gorak 'to move', ribut 'to make noise', and kata 'to speak' are all intransitive verbs.

Included under the formation of nouns are several forms from precategorical roots, such as cita-cita 'hopes, desires' and agen-agen 'ideals' from the base forms cita and agen.

7.4.1.2.3 Adverb formation

Some intransitive verbal base forms form adverbial connectors when reduplicated, such as gomog-gomog '(connector introducing a new sentence, when one wishes to stop an ongoing conversation and talk about something new)', tau-tau 'unexpectedly, without prior notice', bura-bura 'hurriedly'. Following are examples
7.4.2 Reduplication + transitive verbs

The result of reduplication of transitive verbs is usually change in lexical meaning. There are very few cases in which there is change in base form category.

7.4.2.1 Change of lexical meaning

Although there are many lexical meanings given by reduplication of transitive verbs, they may be summarized as follows:

a) Expressing 'indefinitely many'. This meaning can express 'done many times', 'often done', or 'continuously done', as in:

(357) jagan cari-cari hayati don't look-for Hayati
ya (part.)
'Don't keep looking for Hayati, o.k.?'

b) The action has a plural object, as in:

(359) bakar-bakar begitu ketaunan burn like-that known
polisi ditagkep lu ye police caught you (part.)
'If you burn (things) like that
it will become known to the police, you will be caught.'

(360) jagan pasag-pasag aja don't place (bet) only
dulu baq first older-brother
'First older-brother, don't place bets yet.'

In the examples of tau-tau and gomoq-gomoq which act as connecting adverbs (and therefore are always at the beginning of a sentence), the process of changing the category of the base form to a new word class appears parallel to the process of forming lexical meanings which express a concessive meaning, as discussed in 7.4.1.1, examples (345) and (346).

7.4.2.1.1 Adverb formation

There is only one example of reduplication changing the word class of a transitive verb to an adverb. The base form kira 'to think, guess' when reduplicated changes category to become the adverb kira-kira 'approximately'.

(363) bgorap ti kira-kira
how much Ti approximately
hargaña price the
'About how much does it cost, Ti?'

7.4.2.1.2 Transitive verb formation

Some precategorical base forms become transitive verbs with reduplication, as in:

(364) bantal yaq dari tadi
pillow which from recently
dis gus-gusul sekaraq
he bump with head now
mental tau ke mana
throw know to where
'I don't know where he has thrown the pillow he was bumping with his head.'

(365) ada yaq mau orak-arak
have which want cut
string bond friendship, brotherhood
'there is someone who wants to cut the bonds of brotherhood.'

(366) musti nih ada yaq
must this have which
kutik-kutik tinker
'Someone must have tinkered with this.'

The root morphemes *guset, arik* and *kutik* never stand alone as words. These forms only appear in reduplicated forms.

### 7.4.3 (R) + adjectival base forms

There are many adjectival root reduplications, both changing lexical meanings, and shifting categories.

#### 7.4.3.1 Change of lexical meaning

a) To express 'many'. In this case what is actually specified as many is the noun modified by the adjective.

Following are examples in sentences:

(367) *nandain oraq yaq*
    recognize person which

    *kaya-kaya bigimana ni*
    rich how (part.)

    'How do you recognize rich people?'

In this meaning the noun is often not stated. The fact that there are many of the thing denoted by the noun is shown by the reduplicated form of the adjective. Thus the reduplication is anaphoric, as in:

(368) *itu yaq puti-puti qga?*
    that which white not

    *bole kalian*
    allow seen

    'Those white things should not show.'

b) The reduplicated form of the adjectival root when preceded by the prohibitive word *jagan* 'don't' or the negative *qga?* or *kaga?* 'no, not', means 'too', or strengthens the prohibition or negation.

(369) *ayu jagan pake lama-lama*
    Ayuh don't use long

    *antarin*
    escort

    'Ayuh, don't take too long taking (them) there.'

(370) *aye qga? bisa lama-lama*
    I not can long

    *di aini*
    at here

    'I can't be too long here.'

(371) *jagan konong-konong ntar*
    don't loud later

    *die degor*
    he hear

    'Don't be too loud, he'll hear.'

c) At the beginning of a sentence or preceding the predicate, reduplication of adjectival base forms expresses a concessive, as shown in the following examples:

(372) *lu dikit-dikit bunu*
    you little kill

    *dikit-dikit bunu*
    little kill

    'Although (it is just for a little (reason), you kill, (for a little (reason), you kill.'

(373) *gue jalek-jalek laki lu*
    I bad, ugly husband you

    'Although I'm bad, I'm your husband.'

This concessive meaning also occurs with base forms of the intransitive verbal class.

#### 7.4.3.2 Adverb formation

The most productive meaning of reduplication changing the base form class of adjectival base forms in the formation of adverbs, as in:

(374) *lu jaga di despan bae?-bae?*
    you guard at front well

    *yee*
    (part.)

    'Guard well in front.'

The reduplicated form *bae?-bae?* no longer has a distribution parallel to its base form *bae?* 'good'. The syntactic distribution of the reduplicated form does not allow replacement by the base form:

(375) *lu jaga di despan bae?*

Following are additional examples:

(376) *uah ini qga? bole*
    (excl.) this not allow

    *jalan antae-antae*
    walk quietly, calmly

    *bisa oraq auriga*
    can person suspicious

    'We shouldn't walk quietly, people might be suspicious.'

(377) *gue emaq masi*
    I really still

    *apal bsetul-bsetul*
    memorize, remember correctly

    *pomaanma*
    playing

    'I still remember his playing exactly.'

Following is an example in which the process of reduplication changes the lexical meaning as well as changes the base form to an adverb.
The base form *rame* 'crowded' changes its meaning to include the meaning 'together'.

In addition we also find examples of pre-categorical forms which become adverbs by reduplication, such as *sugu-sugu* 'really' and *sugut-sugut* 'discontentedly'.

### 7.4.3.3 Imperative verb formation

When reduplicated, adjectival roots can have the distribution of imperative verbs, as in:

(379) *jau-jau lu gu lagî gorah*  
far you I (prog.) hot  
'Move away, I'm hot.'

(380) *nah itu baree-baree*  
(excl.) that generous

*jadi orag*  
become person

'Like that, be a generous person.'

Such forms cannot be replaced by their morphemic base forms. In prohibitions they are also always in reduplicated form:

(381) *jagan gelap-gelap kalo*  
don't dark if  
jalan  
go, walk  
'Don't go out too late.'

(382) *jagan kenea-kenea jalanika*  
don't fast walking

'Don't walk too fast.'

Here the reduplicated forms can not be replaced by unrepeated forms.

### 7.4.4 {R} + nominal base forms

Reduplication of nominal morphemes gives two meaning groups: it changes lexical meanings, or it changes base form category.

#### 7.4.4.1 Change of lexical meaning

Changes in lexical meanings of nouns by reduplication can be grouped as follows:

a) Expressing 'many':

(383) *amuniah dosa-dosaku*  
forgive sins-I

'Forgive my sins.'

(384) *surat-surat gue yag*  
letters, papers I which  
*pojag*  
hold

'I have the papers.'

b) Expressing 'indeinitely many', as in:

(385) *tëntu ada sëbab-sëbabâ*  
certainly have cause-the  
atau *sala-sala*  
or wrong-the

'Certainly there are causes or wrongs.'

(386) *o jadi lu seledikkin*  
oh thus, so you investigate  
dari *orang-orang*  
from people

'Oh, so you investigate (it) through people.'

(387) *lima ratu ñumbag*  
five hundred contribute  
kawan-kawan yag kënja  
friends which work

'Five hundred to contribute to the friends (people) who work.'

Expressing a group of kinds of things or certain people:

(388) *kalu kaga? duit aje*  
if not money only  
muka suka cómborut kaya  
face like sullen similar-to  
*çoëburut*  
rat

'If he doesn't have money, he looks sullen as a rat.'

(389) *kësip-kësip kaya*  
wink similar-to  
kura-kura *sada*  
turtle (prog.)  
*goran*  
sitting-on-eggs

'Winking like a turtle sitting on its eggs.'

Perhaps reduplicated forms like *tota* ña 'neighbor', *tata* ña 'guest', *momad* ña 'kind of ghost', *guna-guna* 'black magic' can also be grouped as referring to kinds of things or other creatures as names of groups. These names of things can refer to one thing or to one group. Thus forms like *tata* ña for example can refer to one person or to more than one person.

d) In addition there is a small group of names of things or people formed by reduplication, which express something similar to the names of the things which are their base forms, such as *mata-mata* ña 'spy' (from *mata* 'eye'), *laqit-laqit* ña 'ceiling' (from *laqit* 'sky'), and *kuda-kuda* ña 'horse stance (position in traditional fighting)' from *kuda* ña 'horse'. With these reduplicated forms the connection with the base form is usually no longer clear. They are new names of things.

e) The group of reduplicated forms pre-
ceded by the word **sampe** (ka) 'so that', as in:

(390) **sampe** ruma-ruma mau
so-that house want

dijual mah
sold even

'They even want to sell the house.'

It seems to express extremity.

Another example, the reduplication of a noun preceded by the word **qga** 'no, not' and followed by **aoan**, expresses 'not at all', as in:

(391) [...] makan ama sambel
eat (prep.) hot-sauce
doaq qga? ikak-ikan aoan
only no fish- meat at-all

' [...] eat with hot sauce alone, there is no meat at all.'

7.4.4.2 Adjective formation

Some names of family relationships are repeated giving adjectives meaning 'similar to', such as **nene?-nene** 'old (like a grandmother)', **kake?-kake** 'old (like a grandfather)', **onak-anak** 'young (like a child)'. Following are examples in sentences.

(392) kliwatan die qga? liat
too-far he not seen
kite ude nene?-nene?
we, I already old (like a grandmother)

'It's too much, he doesn't see that I'm already old.'

(393) jadi perrjaka tua
become youth, bachelor old
ampe kake?-kake?
until old (like a grandfather)

'He'll be a bachelor until he's an old man.'

7.4.5 Reduplication + pronominal base forms

A group of pronominals for people, places, or things change their lexical meanings when reduplicated to refer to indefinite people, places, or things: **apa-apā** means 'anything' (from **apa** 'what'), **siapa-siapa** means 'anyone' (from **siapa** 'who'). Following are examples in sentences:

(394) poko?ha ada
the-point-is, in-sum have
apa-apā lu kasti kode
anything you give sign

'So, if anything happens, give a sign.'

(395) biasa benar kalo laki
usual very if husband

dari mana-mana pulaq
from anywhere come-home
nomel pulaq nomel
complain come-home complain

'It's usual, when a husband comes home from anywhere, he complains, when he comes home, he complains.'

Some pronouns are repeated to express 'only (pronoun) and no one else', as in the following examples:

(396) bukanña diganti dia-dia juga
not replaced he also

'He hasn't been replaced, he is still the one.'

(397) yaq malu kan
which embarrassed (part.)
kita-kita juga
we also

'We are the ones who are embarrassed, aren't we.'

There are no examples in the data of pronominal reduplication changing base from category.

7.4.6 {R} + number names

All number names can undergo the process of reduplication.

First, there is the reduplication of number names meaning 'group (in the number of the base form) by group'. The number name **satu** 'one' for example in the form **satu-satu** means 'one by one'. Similarly with other numbers such as **dua-dua, tiga-tiga**, etc. meaning 'two by two', 'three by three', etc.

(398) borapa bañak lu püna
how-many many you have
kawan datang atu-atu gua
friend come one-by-one I
bala-balain
defend

'However many friends you have, let them come one by one, I'll defend myself.'

All the measuring words formed with the prefix **{sa-}**, such as **sastepa** 'half', **sadikit** 'a little' and **soperak** 'one rupiah' (see 6.11.1) fall into this category.

(399) qasi duit soperak-soperak
give money one-rupeiah-by-
one-rupeiah
mana okup
where enough

'How can it be enough, giving money rupiah by rupiah.'

(400) sadikit-sadikit saja qasiña
little-by-little only giving
'He gives it little by little.'

But when preceded by the word nga and followed by aam, such reduplication expresses 'absolutely not'.

(401) **nga? satu-satu aam**
not one at-all

'Not even one.'

And at the beginning of a sentence followed by the word juga, such reduplication expresses a concessive.

(402) **sadikit-sadikit ngas juga**
a-little give also

'Even though it's only a little, he gives some.'

7.4.7 Formation of adverbs

Some adverbs are always in reduplicated form, and are never found in their morphemic forms without reduplication, such as masi-masi 'respectively', tiup-tiup 'every', trong-wanti 'truly, really', monaq-monaq. In this dialect these words never appear as root morphemes. Following are examples in sentences:

(403) **do(giri) yee wanti-wanti**
listen (part.) well

lu taq nga? lama you know not long

lagi asangim again, more Asian-games
mulain rame begin lively

'Listen carefully, you know, it won't be much longer before the Asian Games will begin to make things lively.'

(404) abaq pura-pura
older-brother pretend

aja baq only older-brother
diajakin maen juga taken-along play also

'You are just pretending, take me along to play too.'

A number of time names when reduplicated change category to become adverbs, such as pagi-pagi 'early in the morning', siag-siag 'in the afternoon', subu-subu 'at sunrise'. Examples:

(405) **iye itu yang pagi-pagi**
yes that in-the-morning

abaq marik older-brother takes, rides

ana?nna child-the

'Yes, the one whose child he takes in the morning.'

(406) iye dari subu-subu aye
yes from sunrise I

udah datang ko mari already come to here

'Yes, I've been here since sunrise.'

Some other time adverbs are repeated to express 'indefinitely many' such as:

(407) konape tadi pulaq
why just-not go-home

nya? bilaq-bilaq not say

besok-besok tomorrow (in the future)

japan gitu ah don't like-that (part.)

'Why did you go home without saying anything, don't do that next time.'

(408) pendapatan gue yaq
opinion I which

uda-uda yaq jalanin already which do

kajahatan gue kaga? jalanin wrong deed I not do

yaq bagitu lagi which like-that again

'in my opinion, what I already did, what I did wrong, I will not do again.'

(409) dulu-dulu gue ogah
before I not-want

'Before I didn't want to.'

An adverb which is repeated preceding the sentence or predicate expresses a "concessive".

(410) nah tadi-tadi doq
(excl.) just-now (part.)

kalo nha? setuju if mother agree

'You should have said so if you agreed.'

7.5 Reduplication + affixes

As noted in 7.0 in terms of order of derivation, in this dialect there are two types of reduplication with affixation: 1) ordered reduplication + affixation, and 2) simultaneous reduplication + affixation. In this section only the second type of reduplication + affixation will be discussed as the meaning of the first type was discussed in 7.4.

7.5.1 **([R] + (bo(r)-)) + root morphemes**

Generally the reduplication process
((R) + {ba(r)-}) + root morpheme belongs to type (i). Forms like bolari-lari 'to run', boluja7-laja7 'to act proud' and similar examples, belong to the first type which will not be discussed here. In this dialect there are only a small number of reduplications of the type ((R) + {ba(r)-}) + root morpheme, such as boruma-ruma 'to have a family (household), be married', bəgəde [hət]i 'to be proud'
(from ruma 'house' and gəde 'big' + hət 'heart').

The meaning of the reduplication process ((R) + {ba(r)-}) + root morpheme is to form intransitive verbs, with a 'durative' meaning, as in the two examples. Following are examples of use of the two forms in quotations:

(411) ada sodara atu
have brother, relative one
yəq bole bakal
which may for
bəgəde-gəde ati
proud heart
'There is one brother who may make you proud.'

(412) suda lama dia boruma-ruma
already long he have-family, be-married
'He has been married for a long time.'

Such examples are rare. Most examples of ((R) + {ba(r)-}) + root morpheme are those which take morphemes which are names of measurements such as bəjəm-jəm 'for hours', bəpulə-pulə 'in tens', bəməqgu-məqgu 'for weeks', etc. (from jam 'hour', pulə 'ten', məqgu 'week'). These reduplicated forms give adverbs. Thus they are of the type of reduplication which changes base form category. Following are examples in quotations:

(413) ude bəpulə-pulə ayə
already tens I
tankəp
catch
'I caught tens of them.'

(414) səbab ayə bilaq
because I say
bəkəli-kəli soal diri ayə
repeatedly problem self I
'Because I tell about myself repeatedly.'

(415) bəjəm-jəm que təqgu qə?
for-hours I wait not
datəq
come
'I waited for hours but he didn't come.'

7.5.3 ((R) + {-an}) + root morphemes

These forms can be divided into two groups: those with verbs as base forms, and those with morphemes of other classes as base forms.

7.5.3.1 ((R) + {-an}) + verbal roots

There are no notable differences between transitive and intransitive verbal base forms. Therefore they may be discussed together.

7.5.3.1.1 Change of lexical meaning

With a small group of words, this form of reduplication expresses 'many', 'continuously', or 'repeatedly', as in:

(416) snak bənər
pleasant, enjoyable really
yəq əgərəqən
which scratch
'The one who is scratching looks very happy.'

(417) lu toqutikutan tərəq
you follow continuously
nə fəm amə oraq
this, here (prep.) person
'You always follow others.'

(418) tuqən ruməh məŋut-məŋutən
master house nod
'The master of the house nods.'

7.5.3.1.2 Formation of reciprocal verbs

The largest group of words are derived as reciprocal verbs from transitive or intransitive verbs, with no difference in meaning between them: takis-takisan 'to cry for each other', cərə-cərən 'to look for each other', suka-suakən 'to love each other'. Following are examples in sentences:

(419) si romli komeq lagi
(part.) Romli Komeng (prog.)
partip-partipən alias
in-love alias
basuka anə rəkan
in-love (prep.) friend
skərəkən
same-work
'Romli Komeng has fallen for, that is, is in love with, someone where he works.'

(420) nək tu lagi
(excl.) that, there (prog.)

7.5.2 ((R) + {ba(r)-[}-an]) + root morphemes

There are many examples of this form in this dialect, such as bəpəqaq-pəqaaran 'to be in love', bəskət-dəskətan 'to get close',

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7.5.3.1.3 Formation of intransitive verbs

Some other examples show base forms becoming intransitive verbs, with a durative meaning:

(421) niki ni barag
(excl.) this thing

 acab-acab
bagini
scattered, disordered like this

'These things are in a mess like this.'

(422) tu pintina abla-abloka
that door open

'That door is open.'

7.5.3.1.4 Noun formation

A small group of reduplications of this form change verbal base forms to deverbal nouns, as in:

(423) gus mau
I want, will
nay-nay-a
move-up, promotion

kalas
class, grade

'I am going to be promoted to the next class.'

(424) soba pikir orag tua uda
try think parents already

kiga? tingal are-a-ra\-pa\-n
not remain hope

sodara arak nauin yag
relative must tell which

kiga boner
not right

'Just think he has no parents, a relative is his only hope, to tell what isn't right.'

7.5.3.2 ((\(R\) + \{-an\})) + non verbal roots

Several groups of nominals can undergo reduplication, both reduplication changing lexical meaning and reduplication changing base forms to other categories.

7.5.3.2.1 Forming lexical meaning

a) Expressing 'indefinitely many, various'. This meaning group usually has nouns as base forms, as in: barokan 'many trees, various kinds of trees', buk-bukun 'many or various kinds of fruits', yag-yag 'many kinds of vegetables'. Following are some ex-

amples in sentences:

(425) tu list
that, there see

jour-jurdi bari
trees-the many

ni this, here

'Look at all the trees.'

(426) enak-enak si inii
now (part.) many

tatakan
vehicles

'Now there are many vehicles.'

b) Expressing something 'which resembles' something, as in: orag-oragan 'something which resembles a person', anak-anakan 'something which resembles a child'. Following are examples in sentences:

(427) [...] soba asik
(prog.) enjoy, involved

maen bari-bari
play resembling-cat

'He likes to act like a cat (feinting, acting shy).' 

(428) jagan la pake takut-takutin
don't you use frighten

jagan pake momadi-momadian
don't use resembling-ghost

'Don't be frightening, don't act like a ghost.'

7.5.3.2.2 Change of base form category

With adjectival base forms, (\(R\) + \{-an\}) gives adverbials, with the meaning 'very', as in pade-pade 'very largely', tari-tari 'very clearly', seng-seng 'very reluctantly'. Following are examples in quotations:

(429) soba tu lihun
try that, there Lihun

sobagina sayag-sayag
divide-them very-sympathetically

'Lihun please try to divide them very sympathetically.'

(430) abaq enak-enak
older-brother very-pleasantly

tidur
sleep

'He is sleeping very pleasantly.'

(431) konapa si landan la
why (part.) dress you

babuwan
very-messily

'Why are you dressed so messily?'
In addition there is one example of an adjectival base form which with reduplication and the suffix {-an} gives a reciprocal verb:

(432) \[\text{bore} \quad \text{mati} \quad \text{got}\]
\[\text{separate, divorce dead remember}\]
\[\text{bun}\] \[\text{bore} \quad \text{goodness separate, divorce}\]
\[\text{idu} \quad \text{pana} - \text{panga} \quad \text{alive compete-with-each-other}\]

'Separated by death, you remember the good things, separated while still alive you compete with each other.'
(from pana 'hot')

7.5.4 \([\text{R}] + \{-an\}\) + precategorical forms

A number of precategorical base forms which are generally imitations of sounds or movements, can take this form of reduplication to give intransitive verbs.

The imitation of the sound of breathing ampis, and the movement of the nose in breathing ampoa, for example, give words with the distribution of intransitive verbal, as seen in the following examples:

(433) \[\text{joh} \quad \text{ampis-ampisan}\]
\[\text{Johan breathe, pant}\]
\[\text{tamu} \quad \text{turi} \quad \text{atasi}\]
\[\text{lying-face-up at top}\]
\[\text{tanah}\]
\[\text{earth, ground}\]

'Johan panted, lying face up on the ground.'

(434) \[\text{liyag} \quad \text{ay} \quad \text{pangka-tomat}\]
\[\text{nose-his which as-big tomato}\]
\[\text{ampos-amposan kaga ayam}\]
\[\text{opened-and-closed like chicken}\]
\[\text{abis berak}\]
\[\text{after defecate}\]

'His nose which was as big as a tomato opened and closed its nostrils like a chicken after defacating.'

Similarly the imitation of the beat of the heart jaj, and the movement of an angry person urug, become intransitive verbs with this form of reduplication: jaj-jajgan 'to beat', and urug-urugan 'to move angrily'. Following are examples in quotations:

(435) \[\text{jaj-jajgan jaga gua manu}\]
\[\text{beat also I want}\]
\[\text{datok ko sosu}\]
\[\text{come to there}\]

'My heart beats (fast) if I go there.'

(436) \[\text{kondeh ni die}\]
\[\text{why (part.) he}\]
\[\text{saowian urug-urugan milu}\]
\[\text{whole-day move-angrily only}\]

7.5.5 \([\text{R}] + \{\text{mo (N)}\} + \text{root morpheme}\)

As noted in 6.2.0, in this dialect \{\text{mo (N)}\} is usually an alternate form of the prefix \{N\}-, but in a few cases it does not alternate with \{N\}. In the morphemic process \{\text{mo (N)}\} + reduplication, the prefix \{\text{mo (N)}\} cannot be replaced by \{N\}.

The morphemic process of reduplication + \{\text{mo (N)}\}- repeats the base form and adds the prefix \{\text{mo (N)}\}- to the second constituent. The base forms bantu 'help', tarik 'pull', and tulang 'help', for example become bantu-mambantu 'to help each other', tarik-manarik 'to pull each other', and tuliang-maunulang 'to help each other'.

This type of reduplication can be productive with transitive verbal root base forms, with one meaning, that is, forming reciprocal verbs:

(437) \[\text{kalo sampe tarjadi}\]
\[\text{if until happen}\]
\[\text{bunu-mambunu bagemana}\]
\[\text{kill-each-other how}\]

'What if it comes to killing?'

(438) \[\text{ana-ana? lagi pada}\]
\[\text{children (prog.) (pl.)}\]
\[\text{tarik-manarik tambuk}\]
\[\text{pull-each-other rope}\]

'The children are playing tug-of-war with a rope.'

Although not productively, a few semi-transitive verb base forms also take this form, as in tau-mana to know about each other', konah-mahawan to be acquainted. In addition one nonverbal base form, sobola 'beside' can become sobola-ma sobola 'to accompany'.

7.5.6 \([\text{R}] + \{\text{to (r)}\} + \text{root morpheme}\)

It must first be pointed out that in terms of order of derivation, there are two groups of \{\text{R}\} + \{\text{to (r)}\}- forms: the group whose formation is ordered, and the group whose formation is simultaneous.

The derivation of forms like tabalik-balik 'overturned' and tabuka-buka 'open' is ordered. The base forms balik 'turn' and buka 'open' first take the prefix \{to (r)\}-, and only then take reduplication, while forms like takana-kana 'to urinate (repeatedly, unintentionally)' and tagilil-gilil 'to be crazy about' are formed simultaneously with \{R\} and \{to (r)\}-. The proof of this is that in this dialect there are no forms *takana or *tagilil. On the other hand, we do find the forms tabalik and tabuka.

The first group can always alternate with forms with the prefix \{ko\} + \{R\}, while the second group cannot. In this dialect, there is no *takana-kana or *tagilil-gilil. In the following, only forms derived simul-
taneously will be discussed.
These reduplicated forms can take two word classes as base forms: intransitive verbs and precategorical forms.

7.5.6.1 \( \{\text{R} \} + \{\text{t}-\} \) + transitive verbal roots

The meaning of reduplication with these forms is an act done suddenly or unintentionally and continuously or repeatedly. The form *tajato-jato* means 'to fall repeatedly', *otolot-tlinger* 'to keep falling asleep', *tige-tilte* 'to be crazy (about s.o.)'. Following are examples in quotations:

(439) *lu kaga? iot guet you not remember I
jali okerla lu lu
become dancer - you you
*tige-tilte ame guet crazy (prep.) I
'Don't you remember, when I was the dancer you were crazy about me.'

(440) *nuqgu lu ampe tetidur-tidur wait you until fall-asleep
nga? juge datog
not also come
'I wait for you till I fall asleep and you still don't come.'

(441) *dile kataba-tawa ampe
he laugh until
*takeni-takeni urinate
'He laughed so hard he began to urinate.'

7.5.6.2 \( \{\text{R} \} + \{\text{t}-\} \) + precategorical roots

A group of precategorical forms like *goşa, logoa* and *buru* take this type of reduplication to give words which have a distribution parallel to adverbials: *tagega-goşa 'hurriedly', talogoa-logoa 'surprised', taburu-buru 'hurriedly'. Following are examples in quotations:

(442) *mamit talogoa-logoa liat Mamit surprised see
pomoonan tungk goulap
play magician
'Mamit amazed watched the magician's work.'

(443) *glistit ava temokoo-nokoo see-it until open-mouthed
'He watched it open-mouthed.'

7.5.7 \( \{\text{R} \} + \{\text{s}-\} \) + root morpheme

There are two groups of \{R\} forms with the prefix \{s\}: the group formed by ordered derivation and the group formed by simultaneous derivation. Forms like *noro-lole* 'as big as' or *samo-mu (Lu) 'as (you) want', are formed from the base forms *solder* 'as big as' and *sama (Lu) 'as (you) want'. But the forms *solo-ola* 'as if' and *sokun-akan* 'as if' are formed directly from *ola* and *akan*. This is shown by the fact that in this dialect there are no forms *sokun or *solo*.

The form \{R\} + \{s\} can take nouns and precategorical forms as base forms.

With nouns as base forms, reduplication with the prefix \{s\} express the meanings 'all', 'the whole', or 'every', as in: *sargum-ruma* 'the whole house (family)', *sargum-umur* 'one's whole life' (from *ruma* 'house', and *umur* 'age').

(444) *aede di kampuŋ have at (urban)-village, section
yaŋ dapaat sakti saruma-ruma which get sick whole-house
'There is a family in that neighborhood in which everyone is sick.'

(445) *kalay uye homot tu tolor if I take that egg
biur budukan let skin-disease
sargum-umur whole-life
'If I took those eggs, may I get a skin disease for the rest of my life.'

With the noun *ari* 'day' as base form, reduplication with the prefix \{s\} gives a new lexical meaning: 'usually; every day'.

(446) *sari-ari memaq juga every-day certainly also
saya ko mari I to there
'I usually do go there.'

(447) *nga? sari-ari(ka) dile not every-day he
datek ko mari come to here
'It is unusual for him to come here.'

With the precategorical base forms *ola* and *akan,* \( \{\text{R} \} + \{\text{s}\} \) forms the adverbs *solo-ola* 'as if' and *sokun-akan* 'as if'.

(448) *die balaga solo-ola he pretend as-if
*kat tali bokoli join just-now fight
'He pretends he took part in the fight we had just now.'

But only two precategorical forms which take \{R\} + \{s\} are found in the data.
7.5.8 \((R) + \{so-\}^-\) ña\) + root morpheme

Apparently most of these reduplicated forms result from simultaneous morphemic processes. Forms like ñaabùja^-jañña 'the farthest', ñabûjan-jañña 'go anywhere' and ñabûbil-ambilña 'to take anything' come directly from ñabù 'far', jañ 'go' and ambil 'take'. As there are no forms *ñabùja, *ñabûjan, or *ñabûbil in this dialect. But a small number of examples are found which come from ordered morphemic processes. These are forms like ñokkra-kirña 'if, in case', which is found along with ñokkraña 'if, in case'. This group is very limited.

The first type of reduplication, with simultaneous derivation, is rather productive. This form can take adjectival and intransitive and transitive verbal base forms, and occasionally other base forms.

7.5.8.1 \((R) + \{so-\}^-\) ña\) + verbal roots

With either a transitive or intransitive verbal base form this morphemic process changes the base form to an adverbial with the meaning of doing something without thinking or doing it any way. The base form jañ 'go, walk' in the form ñabûjan-jañña means 'go anywhere'. The base form ambil 'to take' in the form ñabûbil-ambilña means 'to take anything or take (s.t.) any way'. Following are examples in quotations:

(449) ñmsak aja ñmsak-masakña cook only cook-any-way
'Just cook anything.'

(450) ñmbilín piriñ ñmbil-ambilña take plate take-any-way
'Just take any plate.'

7.5.8.2 \(R) + \{so-\}^-\) ña\) + adjectival roots

With an adjectival base form this type of reduplication changes the base form to an adverbial with an 'elative' meaning. The adjective ñadîkit 'a little' in the form ñadîkit-ðikitña means 'as little as possible'. Similarly the base form ñkonñ 'fast' in the form ñkonñ-ñkonñña means 'as fast as possible'. Following are examples in quotations:

(451) ñdie lori ñkonññ-ñkonñña he run as-fast-as-possible
ñkùñ roñ ñkùññin tanñña to house meet guest-his
'He runs as fast as he can to the house to meet his guest.'

(452) tîhp ari juga gue ñuñ datñg
every day also I come
ko marî ñadîkit-ðikitña
to here as-little-as-possible
at least
jat nam ñuñ ñampe
hour six already arrive

'I come here everyday, at least by six o'clock.'

When this type of reduplication is placed at the beginning of a sentence, it expresses a concessive:

(453) tapi ñabûbar-ñabûbarña kota
but as-wide-as city
jatkar.ta marî bañak juga ña
Jakarta still many also which
doyan tañgapan
like performance

'But as big as Jakarta is, there are still many who like performances.'

This type of reduplication with this meaning is also found without -ña, as in example (453).

A group of semitransitive verb base forms with a distribution parallel to the distribution of the adjectival class, give the same meaning. Examples are ñbîñ 'to hate' and ñuka 'to like'. Following is an example in a quotation:

(454) ñbîññ-ðoñña ñdie ada
as-jalose-as he have
lañî ñañ ñbîñ ñoññî
more-again which more jealous
'As jealous as he is, there are others who are more jealous.'

In addition there are a few base forms of other types which can undergo this reduplication process, such as the negative word ñkaga? 'no, not' and ari 'day', which form respectively ñkaga^-ñkagaña 'at least', and ñari-ñariña 'every day, usually'.

* * *

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FOOTNOTES:

46. cari-mañari is a reduplicated form whose constituents both take the prefix {ma(N)-}. The choice of {ma(N)-} as the form of {N-} here is obligatory; while in many other places the two prefixes are in free alternation.

47. Uhlenbeck in his analysis of reduplication in New Javanese considers forms like ali-ali to be monomorphemic, because neither the meaning of the base form nor the morphemic process are clear (1953: 53). Similarly, Kamil considers words like mengenai 'concerning' and terhadap 'toward' in Indonesian as monomorphemic (Kamil 1964:307). In my opinion these analyses are too semantic.

48. According to my knowledge, reduplication is a morphemic process. But a group of linguists have begun to consider a type of reduplication as having syntactic meaning. Teeuw gives the term 'ulangan' (repetition) for syntactic reduplication, differentiating it from 'pergandaan' (doubling) which he uses for reduplication as a morphemic process (Teeuw, 1963).

And Fokker includes the type of reduplication in the example kacil-kecil cabe rawit ('although small, a pepper') as a process of extending the sentence which expresses a concessive (Fokker 1951:123). An example of reduplication in New Javanese: ratu-ratu wong ratu Dayak ('although a queen, but of the Dayaks') is used by Uhlenbeck as one basis for his conclusion that word formation is not determined by morphological rules alone, but also by syntactic rules (syntactical figures:1953:335). In my opinion the concessive meaning is not determined only by the reduplicated form but also by its placement at the beginning of the sentence or preceding the predicate.

49. The fact that in this dialect there are no forms *beruma or *bagade shows that these two examples are in group (2).

50. In this dialect the form akan never appears by itself. It only appears in the morphemic forms above. Therefore it is considered a precategorical form.
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Muhadjir dan Lukman Hakim
# List of Derivative and Paradigmatic Affixation

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<td>umpi</td>
<td>'great-grandparent'</td>
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<td>Walli</td>
<td>'Moslem scholar, guardian'</td>
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JAKARTA DIALECT WORD LIST

abaq (n) 'older brother', be-- (vi) 'to have an older brother'
abis1 (vi) 'gone', (vi) 'finished'
abis2 (conj.) 'because'
ablak (pc) N-- (vi) 'open', --2an (vi) 'open'.
acak (pc), N-- (vi) 'confuse', --2an (vi) 'confused'
acan [part.] 'at all [not]'.
acar (n) 'k.o. salad or pickle'
ada (vi) 'have', N--in (vt) 'have, arrange'
adalat (pc), N-- (vi) 'to stall (of a child) because angry'
ad? (n) 'younger sibling', ber-- 'to have a younger sibling'
adap (pc), N-- (vt) 'to face', be--an (vi) 'facing'
adu (pc), adu kekuatan 'to have a contest of strength, fight'
aduk (pc) N-- (vt) 'to mix'
aer (n) 'water'
ah [excl.]
ajar aje saja (part.) 'only'
ajak (pc), N-- (vt) 'invite', N--in (vt) 'invite'
ajarah (pc), N-- 'to hit', be-- 'to learn',
pel-- (adj.) 'educated', pel--an (n) 'lesson'
aji (pc) N-- (vi) 'to recite the Koran', N--in 'to recite the Koran for [...]'
akan1 (adv.) 'will'
akan2 (pc), se--2 (adv.) 'as if'
akur (vi), N--in (vt) 'reconcile'
alak (pc), N--in (vt) 'to experience',
poe--an (n) 'experience'
alak (pc) N--in 'to prevent', ke--an 'prevented', poe-- 'obstacle'
alak (pc), N-- 'to pick [fruit]', N--in 'to pick'
alas (adv.) 'alias'
aliq (pc), N--in 'to block'
alus (adj.) 'fine'
amat (adv.) 'very'
ambil (vt) 'to take', N-- 'to take', se--2ra
'to take [anything]'
amel sama sama (vi) 'to be the same'
amat sama sama (prep.) 'by'
amat sama sama (conj.) 'with'
ampel 'to arrive'
ampel sampe (vi) 'to arrive'
ampel sampe (conj.) 'so that'
ampel (excl.) 'mercy!'
ampun2 (pc), N--in 'to forgive'
amprok (vt) 'to meet', N-- (vi) 'to meet',
be--an (vi) 'to meet [suddenly]'
ana? (n), per--an 'womb, offspring', ber-- 'to give birth'
ancan (pc), N-- (vt) 'to threaten'
anv ana (pron.) 'I'
agan (pc) --2 'ideal'
agin (n) 'wind'
angin (n) 'woman's waistband'
antom (pc) ber-- (vi) 'to fight'
antame (adj.) 'calm, --2 (adv.) 'calmly'
antet (vt) 'accompany', N--in 'accompany'
anti (vi), N-- (vi) 'to line up'
auat (pc), N-- (vi) 'to drift away (on purpose)', ke-- 'drifted away', N--in 'cause to drift away'
arab (n) 'Arab'
arep (pc), N--in 'to hope', --2an (n) 'hope'
arga hargaarga 'price'
ari (n) 'day'
arak (pc) orak-- 'to confuse'
arus warus (adv.) 'to have to'
apal hapa (vi) hapa, N--in (vt) 'to memorize'
apa apa (pron.), N--in 'why', --an (pron.)
'what', --2an 'what could it be [insulting something]'
apit (n) 'fire'
asa1 (n) 'origin'
asa2 (adv.) 'as long as'
asap (n) 'smoke'
asa (adj.) 'sour', (n) 'tamarind'
asa (n) 'Asian Games'
asa (adj.) 'engrossed'
asa (adj.), --an 'kind of vegetable dish',
'salad'
aso (pc) N-- 'to rest', N--in 'to put to rest'
atas (n) 'above'
atawa (conj.) 'or'
atape (n) 'roof'
ayam (n) 'chicken'
aye saya (pron.) 'I'
ayo (excl.) 'come on'
ayu (adj.) 'pretty'
baba (n) 'term of address for Chinese man'
babi (n) 'father'
babi (n) 'pig'
babu (n) 'maid', qe-- (vi) 'to be a maid, servant'
badan (n) 'body'
bak (adj.) 'good', ba-- (-an) (vi) 'to be good to each other', N-- in (vt) 'to improve'
bagi (vt), N-- (vt) 'to give', N-- in (vt) 'to divide'
bagehil (adj.) 'beautiful', N-- in (vt) 'praise'
bagehit (adv.) 'lucky'
baju (n) 'clothes', bo-- (vi)
bakal (n) 'candidate'
bakal (prep.) 'for'
bakar (vt), N-- (vt) 'to burn', ke-- an (vt), 'burned', (n) 'fire'
bale (pc) --2 (n) 'bench'
balse (N-- (vt) 'to answer', pa-- an (n) 'answer'
balik, N-- (vt) 'to turn around', ke--2 'to turn around and around'
balok (n) 'beam'
bandel (vi) 'naughty', N-- in (w) 'to become naughty'
bayi (n) 'older brother'
bayet (adv.) 'very', ke-- an (adv.) 'too'
bayuul (vi) 'to wake up'
bayuul (N-- (vt) 'to wake up'
bayak (adj.) 'many'
bañol (pc), N-- (vi) 'to clown', -- an (n) 'clown show'
banjir (n) 'flood', ke-- an (vi) 'to be flooded'
bantutu (vt), N-- (vt) 'to help', -- an (st) 'to help each other', pa-- (n) 'help, servant'
baran (n) 'thing'
baran (pc), -- tentu (adv.) 'certainly', -- kali (adv.) 'maybe'
bara (vi) 'to be together', -- an (st) 'together', N-- in (vt) 'to accompany'
baru (adj.) 'new'
baawi (vt), m-- (vt) 'to wipe out'
bataq (n), se-- (kbb) 'a branch; one (long, round thing)'
batik (n), kaen-- (n) 'batik cloth'
bau (n) 'smell'
bawa (vt), N-- (vt) 'to bring', N-- in (vt) 'to bring for', -- an (n)
bawal (n) 'k.o. fish'
bawal (vt) 'to nag, fuss'
bayang (pc), N-- in (vt) 'to imagine', -- an (n)
bayar (vt), N-- (vt) 'to pay', N-- in (vt) 'to pay for'
bayi (n) 'father'
bayet (n) 'trishaw'
bayeshi (vi) 'can, to be able'
bayit (adv.) 'very'
bayini (pron.) 'like this', N-- in (vt) 'to do this way'
bayitu (pron.) 'like that', N-- in (vt) 'to do that way'
bakas (n) 'print, trace'
bali (vt), N-- (vt) 'to buy', N-- in (vt) 'to buy for, to buy (repeatedly)', pa-- an (n)
bal, N-- (vt) 'to halve', N-- in (vt) 'to cut in pieces', se-- (prep.) 'one half', se-- m-- (st) 'to be beside'
ban (st) 'to hate'
balaq (n) 'back'
belon (belum) (adv.) 'not yet'
benaq (n) 'thread'
bene (pc), bo-- (vi) 'to arrange'
bene (adv.) 'very', se--2 na (adv.) 'truly, really'
bentar (adv.) 'later'
bentur (pc), N-- (vt) 'to collide', ke-- (vt) 'collided'
beo (n) 'parrot'
bak (vi) 'to defacate'
berat (adj.) 'heavy', ke-- an (vt) 'too heavy'
bare (pc), --2 (adj.) 'generous'
basar (adj.) 'big'
basq (adv.) 'tomorrow'
batah (vi) 'to like'
batul (adj.), --2 (adv.) 'really'
bart (adv.) 'let'
bias (vi) 'usual' -- na (adv.) 'usually'
bibit (n) 'seed'
bigimana (bagemana) (ques.) 'how'
bikin (vt), N-- (vt) 'to make'
bilaq (vi) 'to say'
bihuq (vi) 'confused'
bini (n) 'wife', ana?-- 'family'
bis (n) 'bus'
bis (vi) 'can'
bisik (pc), bo-- (vi) 'to whisper', --2 (vi) 'to whisper'
bisul (n) 'a boil', -- an 'to have a boil'
blanda (n) 'Dutchman', N--2 in (vt) 'to treat as a Dutchman'
blanja (vt), N-- (vt) 'to shop' -- an (n) 'shopping'
blisbat (pc) --an (vi) 'to move about'
biowon (adj.) 'stupid'
boor (vi) 'to leak', kə--an (vt) 'to be leaked on'
bodo (adj.) 'stupid'
bohoh (vi) 'to lie', pe--an (adj.) 'lier'
bole (n) 'ball'
bole (adv.) 'may'
boqar, N-- (vt) 'to take apart'
bonto (adj.) 'spoiled (fish)'
bontot (n) 'youngest'
boqoq (vi) 'to lie'
bor (n) 'bore', N-- (vt) 'to bore'
borok (n) 'ulcer, boil', --an 'to have an ulcer, boil'
boto (adj.) 'pretty'
brabe (adj.) 'troublesome', N--in (vt) 'to trouble'
brani (adj.) 'brave'
brantak (pc), --an (vi) 'messy'
brənti (vi) 'to stop'
briæik (vi) 'to whisper'
brorot (pc), --an (vi) 'to have messy clothes'
bruik (pc), bruik-bruk-bruk (vi) 'sound (of something breaking)'

bu1 bu (n) 'mother'
bua2 bau (n) 'smell'
buaq, N-- (vt) 'to throw away', --an (n) 'garbage container', pe--an (n) 'garbage container'
buat, N-- (vt) 'to make', --an (n) 'made'
buat (prep.) 'for'
buduk (n) 'rough skin', --an (vi) 'to have rough skin'
but bu (n) 'fruit', bo-- (vi) 'to have fruit', --2an 'fruits'
buka, N-- (vt) 'to open', N--in (vt) 'to open for, to open repeatedly'
bukan (adv.) 'not', --na (adv.) 'not'
bulan (n) 'moon'
bugkus, N-- (vt) 'to wrap'
buntu (adv.) 'blocked, dead end'
buntut (n) 'tail'
butu bu (vt) 'to kill', --ma-- (st) 'to kill each other'
buru (pc), --2 (adv.) 'quickly', kə-- (vt)
buruk (adj.) 'bad'
burun (n) 'bird'
butut (adj.) 'wrinkled', butut butut (adv.) 'to have wrinkled clothes', butut (n) 'wrinkled clothes'

C

caac cacacacac (vt) 'to slice thinly'
caci (vt) 'to insult'
cakop (adj.) 'pretty, handsome'
campur (pc), N-- (vt) 'to mix', bo-- (vi) 'mixed'
cand (pc), bo-- 'to joke'
capt (adj.) 'tired'
cari, N-- (vt) 'to look for', N-- 'to look for someone, to look for repeatedly', --an (st) 'to look for each other', --ma-- (st) 'to look for each other', pe--an (n) 'livelihood'
cebur (pc), N-- (vi) 'to plunge oneself in', N--in (vt) 'to plunge in'
cecer (pc), kə-- (vi) 'spilled'
cekook (vi) 'to quarrel'
celaka (adj.) 'unfortunate'
celentak (vi) 'to lie on one's back'
cemberut (vi) 'to be angry', cemberut (vi) 'to be angry'
cemberu (st) 'jealous', ma--i (vt) 'to be jealous of', --an (adj.) 'jealous person'
cempedak (n) [k.o. fruit]
cempluk (pc), N--in (vt) 'to plunge in', kə-- (vt) 'to be plunged in'
core, bo-- (st) 'to separate, divorce'
cet (n) 'paint', N-- (vt) 'to paint'
cigacig (vi) 'to quarrel'
cita (pc), --2 (n) 'ideals, hopes'
cigak (pc), cigak-- (vi) 'to look at, visit'
soa, N-- (vt) 'to try', N--in (vt) 'to try'
codot (pc), ce-- (n) 'bat'
coqog, N-- (vt) 'to steal', pe--an (adj.) 'to steal (habitually)
comot, N-- (vt) 'to take'
copet (n) 'pickpocket', N-- (vt) 'to pickpocket', kə-- (vt) 'to be pickpocketed (thing)', ke--an (vt) 'to be pickpocketed of something (person)'
cubit, N-- (vt) 'to pinch', N--in (vt) 'to pinch (repeatedly)'
cuci, N-- (vt) 'to wash'
cukup (adj.) 'enough'
curaq (adj.) 'to cheat'
curi, N-- (vt) 'to steal'
curiga (st) 'suspicious'
i'n (demonstrative) 'this'
i'get (vi) 'to remember', N--in (vt) 'to remind',
ko--an (vt) 'to remember, be reminded',
por--an (n) 'reminder'
i'gus (n) 'nasal mucus', --an (vi) 'to have a runny nose'
i'njak, N-- (vt) 'to step on'
i'ntip, N-- (vi) 'to peek'
i'ri, N-- (vi) 'to be jealous'
i'rit (adj.) 'thrift', N-- (vi) 'to be thrifty'
i'ro'hiro (pc), N--in (vt) 'to pay attention'
iso (vi) 'to waste time', --2 (adv.) '[for] killing time'
isp, N-- (vt) 'to suck'
isi (n) 'contents', ba-- (vi) 'to have contents', N--in (vt) 'to fill'
itik (n) 'duck'

J
jadi (vi) 'to become', N--in (vt) 'to cause',
ko--an (vt) 'to happen'
jaga, ba-- (vi) 'to stay awake'
jahat (adj.) 'evil', pa-- (n) 'evil person'
jail (adj.) 'envious', ko--an (n) 'envy'
jait, N-- (vt) 'to sew', N--in (vt) 'to sew',
--an (n) 's.t. sewn', pa--an (n) 's.t. sewn'
jalau (n) 'road', (vi) 'to walk, go', ba--
(vi) 'to walk, go', --an (n) 'road',
por--an (n) 'journey', so--2na (adv.)
'to go without purpose, destination'
jambu (n) 'guava'
ja' nhu (adj.) 'far', N--in (vt) 'to move away',
ba--an (st) 'to move away from each other'
jagaan (adv.) 'don't'
ja'to'jatu'jatoh (vi) 'to fall', N--in (vt)
'to drop', ko--an 'to have s.t. fall on one',
--an (n) 'something fallen'
jawab, N-- (vt) 'to answer', N--in (vt) 'to answer'
jeblos (pc), N-- (vi) 'to fall in', N--in
(vt) 'to throw in', ko-- (vt) 'to be stuck in, fallen in'
jebur (pc), N-- 'to plunge oneself in',
N--in (vt) 'to plunge in', ko-- (vi)
'to be plunged in'
jolek (adj.) 'bad, ugly', N--in (vt) 'to tarnish, make ugly'
jom (n) 'hour, watch', ba--2 (adv.) 'for hours'
jomur, N-- (vt) 'to dry', --an (n) 's.t.
dried or being dried'
jondela (n) 'window'
je'got (n) 'beard', --an (vi) 'to have a
beard', ba-- (vi) 'to have a beard'
jinh, N-- (vt) 'to carry s.t. light in
one's hand'
jiret, N-- (vt) 'to catch a bird in a trap',
pa--an (n) 'a trap for birds'
jitak, N-- (vt) 'to slap'
jiwa (n) 'soul'
joget, N--, ba-- (vi) 'to dance'
jual, N-- (vt) 'to sell', N--in (vt) 'to
sell for, sell often', --an (n)
's.t. sold', pa--an (m) 'selling'
jubel (pc), ba-- (vi) 'to crowd', ba--an
(vi) 'to crowd, joust e.o.'
judi, ba--an (vi) 'to gamble', pa--an (adj.)
'gambling', pa--an (n) 'place for
gambling'
juga (conj.) 'also'
jug'jag (vi) 'to come and go, be on the move'
jug'jung, N-- (vt) 'to carry on the head'
juraq (n) 'cliff'

K
kabur (vi) 'to run away, disappear'
kadar (pc), ala-- (adv.) 'what is
available'
kaen (n) 'cloth'
kaga? (adv.) 'no'
ka' te (n) 'grandfather', --2 (adv.) 'like
a grandfather'
ka'ki (n) 'feet'
kalang (vi) 'to be defeated'
ka'li (n) 'river'
ka'li2 (n) 'a time', ba--2 (adv.) 'many
times', bara'ang-- (adv.) 'perhaps'
kalo (conj.) 'if'
ka'lu (adj.) 'if'
ka'lu'g (n) 'necklace'
kamar (n) 'room'
kamar (n) 'room'
kampur (n) 'village, quarter', N-- (vt) 'to
pass through a village, quarter', --an
(adj.) 'like a villager'
ka'guk (n) 'k.o. vegetable'
kantuk (pc), N-- (vi) 'to be sleepy',
pa--an (adj.) 'sleepy person'
kaos (pc), ba-- 'to yell, scream', --an (n)
'a scream'
ka'os (n) 'T-shirt', ba-- (vi) 'to wear a
T-shirt'
kapan (question) 'when'
kapur (n) 'chalk, whitewash', N-- (vt) 'to
whitewash', N--in (vt) 'to cover with
whitewash'
karaq (n) 'coral'
karat (n) 'rust', ba-- (vi) 'to be rusty'
ka'isi, N-- (vt) 'to give', pa-- (n) 'giver'
kata (vi) 'to say', --2 (n) 'words',
pa--an (n) 'words'
kawan (n) 'friend'
kawin (vi) 'marry', N--in 'to marry off, to marry s.o.'
kang (adj.) 'rich'
kayak (prop) 'like'
ka (prop) 'to'
kepe (adj) 'like what, how'
kebond (n) 'garden, plantation', N--in (vi) 'to have a garden, a plantation'
kecbi (adj) 'small', N--in (vi) 'to become small', (vt) 'to make small'
ke? (prop)
kalai (pc) b?-- (vi) 'to fight'
kamara (adv) 'yesterday'
kombali (vi) 'to return', N--in (vt) 'to return s.t.', --an (n) 'change (money)' ,
kombag (n) 'flower', b?-- (n) 'to flower'
kona (vi) 'to undergo, suffer' (passive prefix) kona puku 'to be hit'
konal (st) 'to know, be acquainted with', --an (st) 'to get to know e.o.'; b?--an (st) 'to get to know e.o.'; --an (n) 'acquaintance'
kono (adj) 'quick, loud'
kondo, N-- (vi) 'to urinate', t--2 (vi) 'to urinate involuntarily'
kora (adj) 'to be full (after eating)'
kerja (vi) 'to work'
ko (n) 'snail'
kapela (n) 'head'
kora (n) 'burnt rice'
korat (n) 'shelf'
koras (adj) 'hard'
kora (n) 'slice, part'
kop (pc) , --2 (vi) 'wink, blink'
kowalokan (adv) 'unacceptably'
kibul (n), N-- (vi) 'to lie, to fool', N--in (vt) 'to lie to, to fool'
kire (vi) 'to think, guess'
kirim (n) 'send', --an (n) 'thing sent'
kita (pron) 'we, I'
klap (n) 'coconut'
klas (n) 'class'
ko? (excl) [excl. of surprise]
kode (n) 'code'
kotam (n) 'pool'
kolok (pc), --an (adj) 'spoiled (behavior)'
komat (pc), --kamit (vi) 'mumbling'
konde (n) 'key', N-- (vt) 'to lock'
konde (n) '(hair) bun, knot of hair', b?-- (vi) 'to wear one's hair in a bun, a knot'
koko, --2 (vi) 'to talk'
koprek (pc), --an (n) 'sheath of large knife'
korek, -- (vt) 'to scrape'
kore (n) 'k.o. skin disease', --an (vi) 'to have a k.o. skin disease'
kota (n) 'city'
kranjangan (vi) 'drink'
kredok (n) [k.o. food]
kromq (n) [k.o. musical instrument], N-- (vi) 'to play the "kromq"
krub (n) 'blanket', --an (vi) 'covered with a blanket', N--in (vi) 'to cover with a blanket'
kuat (adj) 'strong', b?-- (vi) 'to hold to one's opinion'
kuait (n) 'cat', --2 (n) 'to hold to one's opinion'
kuja (n) 'horse', --2 (n) 'a position in traditional fighting'
kue (n) 'cake'
kuku (n) 'fingernail'
kuli (n) 'coolie', N-- (vi) 'to act as a coolie'
kumis (n) 'mustache', b?-- (vi) 'to have a mustache'
kumpul, b?-- (vi) 'gathered together'
kumur (pc), --2 (vi) 'to rinse the mouth'
kupi (n), N-- (vi) 'to drink coffee'
kura (pc), --2 (n) 'turtle'
kuraq (adj) 'insufficient'
kudug (n) [k.o. of skin disease], --an 'to have a k.o. skin disease'
kurus (adj) 'thin'
kutulan (n) [k.o. bird]
laŋkə wynkə (n) 'step', po-- (n) 'ceremony performed when younger sibling marries before older sibling'

lantaran (conj.) 'because'
lapar (adj.) 'hungry'
lari, bo-- (vi) 'to run', po-- (n) 'escape'

lawan (n) 'opposite', N-- (vt) 'to resist', bo-- (st) 'opposite'

lawat (pc), mo-- (vt) 'to pay a visit, take a trip'

layan (pc), N--in (vt) 'to serve', po-- (n) 'servant'

layag (pc), mo-- (vi) 'to fly, float in the air'

lebar (adj.) 'wide'

lobi (adj.) 'more'

lokaw (adj.) 'fast'

lele (n) [kind of fish]

lontaq (pc), tω-- (vi) 'to lie on one's back'

lotak (n) 'place', N--in (vt) 'to place'
l'at, N-- (vt) 'to see', N--in (vt) 'to see', po-- (n) 'sight'

lihu (n) [proper name]

lime (n) [proper name]

lima (n) [proper name]

lintaq (pc), mo-- (vi) 'to lie across, be in the way'

lipot (pc), N-- (vt) 'to fold', bo-- (st) 'folded'

lisat (vi) 'to pass', ke-- (adv.) 'too much, too far'

liwet (pc), N-- (vi) 'to cook rice'

lompat (pc), mo-- (vi) 'to jump'

logo (pc) tω-- (adv.) 'open-mouthed, amazed, yawning'

lu (pron.) 'you'

luar (n) 'outside'

lude (n) 'spit', N-- (vi) 'to spit'

lupa (vi) 'forget', N--in (vt) 'to forget s.t.', ke-- (n) 'forgotten'

lurah (n) 'urban village head'

M

mabok (vi) 'drunk', po-- (adj.) 'drunken', --an (st) 'to drink, to the point of drunkenness'

maen (vi) 'to play', po-- (n) 'player', po-- (n) 'game'

magrib (n) 'dusk', ke-- (vi) 'almost dusk'

mah (part.) [emphasis]

mahal (adj.) 'expensive', ke-- (adj.) 'too expensive'

ma? (n) 'mother'

makan (vt) 'to eat', --an (n) 'food', --ño (adv.) 'to eat anything'

malom (n) 'night', ke-- (vi) 'to be overcome by nightfall'

maiu (vi) 'embarrassed', po-- (adj.) 'shy person'

maman (n) [proper name]

mamat (n) [proper name]

mamit (n) [proper name]

maña (n) (question) 'where', -- (pron.) 'anywhere'

mango (n) 'mango'

mangut (vi) 'to nod', --an (vi) 'to be nodding'

manu (pc), to-- (vi) 'to be confused'

manie (adj.) 'sweet'

mantu (n) 'son- or daughter-in-law'

maña (n) 'angry', --an (st) 'angry at e.o.'

mari (excl.) 'come on!'

mari (pc), ke-- (pron.) 'here'

masak (vt) 'to cook'

masi (adv.) 'still'

masi (adv.) 'still'

mati (vi) 'to die', ke-- (vi) 'to lose, to experience the death of someone'

mau (vi) 'to want'

mayi (n) 'corpse'

modi (pc), mo-- (n) 'ghost', --an (n) 'representation of a ghost'

meja (n) 'table'

mesa (n) 'trina kasi (excl.) 'thank you'

mekmek (vi) 'to keep touching'

mo (conj.) 'yes if'

mekati (adv.) 'perhaps'

mec (vi) 'red'

mepati (n) 'dove'

mesem (vi) 'to smile', N--in (vt) 'to smile at'

ming (n) 'Sunday', --an (adv.) 'every week', -- (adv.) 'weekly'

minta (vt) 'to ask', po-- (adv.) 'request'

minum (vt) 'to drink', N--in, 'to give a drink'

mi (n) 'oil', tuka-- (n) 'oil seller'

misah (n) 'cousin'

mulu (adv.) 'only'

mobil (n) 'car'

mondar (pc), --mandir (vi) 'to go back and forth'

mohok (adj.) 'protruding (teeth)'

mau (vi) 'to want'
malew (adj.) 'young'
mah (n.) 'face'
mula (pc) -- in (vi) 'to begin'
mual (n.) 'anniversary of Mohammad's birth', -- an (vi) 'to celebrate Maulud'
mulut (n.) 'mouth'
murah (adj.) 'cheap'
musti (adv.) 'must'

N

nae? (vi) 'to get on, go up', -- an (n.) '(grade) promotion'
na? n?l (n.) 'mother'
nafou (n.) 'desire'
n?wah (part.)
nakal (adv.) 'naughty'
nama (n.) 'name'
nanti (adv.) 'later'
nasi (n.) 'rice'
nomi n?nom (num.) 'six'
nene? (n.) 'grandmother', -- (adj.) 'like a grandmother, old'
gaji (vi) 'to read the Koran', -- in (vt) 'to read the Koran for', -- an (n) 'place to read the Koran'
gantuk (vi), -- an (adj.) 'sleepy', -- (vi) 'to be sleepy'
gaq (n.) 'cat'
gga? (adv.) 'not'
qili (adj.) 'pain (in bone or teeth)'
ni? eini1 (demonstrative) 'this'
ni? eini2 (part.) [concessive]
niat (n.) 'purpose'
n?r1 sebentar (adv.) 'later'
nai (n.) [polite term of address for woman]
na? (vi) 'to be on (light)', -- in (vt) 'to turn on, to light'
naq wyaq (conj.) 'which'
nahe n?na (vt) 'to boil'
naqi (vi) 'to sing', wa-- (vi) 'to sing', -- an (n) 'song'
ni nai (n.) [polite term for woman]
nai yor (excl.) 'come on!'  

O

obat (n.) 'medicine', ba-- (vi) 'to take medicine', -- in (vt) 'to treat'
oi (excl.) 'hey!'  
ola (pc), -- (adv.) 'as if'
omel (pc), -- (vi) 'angry'
omoh, -- (vt) 'to say', -- (conj.) 'by the way'
orq (n.) 'person', se-- 'one person', -- tua 'parents'
orok (n.) 'baby'

P

paqar (n.) 'boyfriend, girlfriend', be-- an (st) 'be in love'
parul (n.) 'hose', -- (vt) 'to hose', -- in 'to hose s.t.'
pada (part.) [accompanying a verb to express plurality]
padi (n.) 'rice plant'
pag (n.) 'morning'
pait (adj.) 'bitter'
pai? bapa? (n.) 'father'
pak (n.) 'package'


pace (adv.) [with a verbal predicate to express with], pace marah-marah 'with anger'
pan (part.) 'isn't it?'
pang (adj.) 'hot'
pandaq, -- (vt) 'to look at', -- in (vt) 'to look at', -- an (n) 'view'
pande (adj.) 'smart, clever', ka-- an (n) 'cleverness'
panggil, -- (vt) 'to call', -- in (vt) 'to call s.o.'
paqkal (n.) 'origin', -- (vi) 'to leave at place of origin station', -- an (n) 'station [pedicab, bus, etc.]'
paqket (n.) 'room'
panggai (adj.) 'long', -- (vi) 'to last'
panso (n.) 'k.o. skin fungus', -- an (vi) 'to have a k.o. skin fungus'
pante (n.) 'shore'
pantos (adj.) 'appropriate'
papar (n.) 'board'
paraq (n.) 'short sword or knife'
aparud (n.) 'grater', -- (vt) 'to grate', -- in (vt) 'to grate'
patasq, -- (vt) 'to hang', -- in (vt) 'to hang on'
paut (pc) sangkut-- (n) 'connection, involvement'
pebangq, -- (vt) 'to hold', -- an (st) 'to stick to', 'to hold on to'
peqi (vi) 'to go'
pelit, -- (vt) 'to lure with magic formula', -- (n) 'magic formulas'
pelii (adj.) 'stingy'
pendok (adj.) 'short'
pesin (vi) 'to want, desire'
pêkôl (pc), N-- (vi) 'to turn', --ân (n) 'turn'
pêntal (pc), N-- (vi) 'to be flung away'
pêrabot (n) 'furniture', --an (n) 'various kinds of equipment'
pêrak1 (n) 'silver'
pêrak2 (pc) [unit of money]
pêrcaye (st) 'to trust, believe in'
pêrente (n) 'government', N-- (vt) 'to govern'
pêrjaka (n) 'young man'
pêrkara (n) 'matter, case'
pêrlip (vi) 'to love', --2an (st) 'to be in love with e.o.'
pêstik, N-- (vt) 'to pick'
pêra~piare (vt) 'to take care of'
pêkir (pc), N-- (vt) 'to think', N--in (vt) 'to think about', êa--an (vt) 'to be reminded of'
pêlip~pêlik (vt) 'to choose'
pêno (n) [proper name]
pêgir (n) 'edge', N-- (vi) 'to approach an edge'
pênjam, N-- (vt) 'to borrow'
pêntér (adj.) 'smart, clever'
pêntu (n) 'door'
pêpi (n) 'cheek'
pêsan (part.) [emphasis]
pêsê~pêsah (vi) 'to separate', êa-- (vi) 'to separate', N-- (vi) 'to separate oneself'
pêso (n) 'knife', N-- (vt) 'to cut with a knife'
pêseet (pc), N-- (vi) 'to stumble, trip', to-- (vi) 'to stumble, trip', êa-- (vi) 'to stumble, trip'
pêlotot (pc), N-- (vi) 'to stare'
pêhun~pêhun (n) 'tree', po--2an (n) 'trees'
pêjok (n) 'corner', N-- (vi) 'to go, stay in a corner', êa--an (adj.) 'more towards the corner'
pêömëpëömë (n) 'older sister'
pêkok (n) 'subject', --ãa (adv.) 'mainly'
pêlesi (n) 'police'
pêona (n) [proper name]
pêot (n) 'pot'
pêlot (n) 'pencil'
pênormuan (n) 'woman, girl'
pêgísi (pc), pêgiæ-- (vi) 'to grin'
pêrik (n) [proper name: Tanjungprak]\npêkül, N-- (vt) 'to hit', N--in (vt) 'to hit s.o. or s.t.', --an (n) 'hit'
pêlaq (vi) 'to go home'
pêlu~pêluh (pc) [a unit in counting] 'ten'
pêngut (pc), N-- (vt) 'to harvest, pick up', N--in (vt) 'to harvest, to pick up'
pêntuq (n) 'blunt'
pêña (vi) 'to own'
pêrâ (pc), --2 (adv.) 'pretending'
pêsiq (adj.) 'dizzy'
pêti~pêtih (adj.) 'white', N-- (vi) 'to eat only white rice'

R

radio (n) 'radio'
rahasia~rasia (adj.) 'secret'
râjin (adj.) 'diligent'
râmah (pc), --tamah (adj.) 'friendly'
râmaqun~rawâmaqun (n) [place name]
râm (adj.) 'crowded', --2 (adv.) 'together'
rampok, N-- (vt) 'to steal', po-- (n) 'thief'
rât (adj.) 'neat', N--2in (vi) 'to clean'
râri~lari (vi) 'to run'
râsê~râsa (n) 'feeling', N-- (vi) 'to feel', ëo-- (vi) 'to be felt', po-- (n) 'feeling'
râtus (pc) [unit in counting] 'hundred'
râwâmaqun~rawâmaqun (n) [place name]
râba (vi) 'to lie down', --an (vi) 'to lie down'
râbut (pc), ëo-- (vi) 'to fight for', N-- (vt) 'to fight for, to take'
râkan (n) 'friend'
rânq (pc), ëo-- (vi) 'to swim'
râtak (adj.) 'cracked'
râtut (adj.) 'noisy', N--in (vt) 'to make noise', êa--an (n) 'noise', --2 (n) 'noise'.
rârp (pc), --2 (adv.) 'flickering'
râba~râbah (vi) 'to change', ëo-- (vi) 'to change', N-- (vt) 'to change s.t.'
râda~râda (n) 'wheel'
rko? (n) 'cigarette'
rómberg (adj.) 'tattered, torn'
rêmbalq (pc), --an (n) 'group'
rêmlî (n) [proper name]
rûmâ~rûmâ~rûmah (n) 'house', ëo--tangga (vi) 'to have a family', sa-- (adv.) 'a whole family'
rûndq (pc), ëo-- (n) 'to meet'
rûrah~lûrah (n) 'head of village or urban quarter'

S

sahabat (n) 'friend'
seja~aja~aje (adv.) 'only'
sakít (adj.) 'sick', po-- (n) 'sickness'
sâle~sala~salah (adj.) 'wrong'
sâma~same~sâmâ (vi) 'same'
susa (adj.) 'difficult', N--in (vt) 'to cause difficulty to'
susul, N-- (vt) 'to follow', N--in (vt) 'to follow'
susur (n) 'quid of tobacco'

tabateat (n) 'character, behavior'
tabrak, N-- (vt) 'to collide, have an accident', --an (n) 'accident, collision', (st) 'to run into each other, collide'
tadi (adv.) 'just now', --an (adj.) 'before'
tagih, N-- (vt) 'to dun, press for payment', kew--an (vi) 'addiction'
tahon, N-- (vt) 'to stand, last', mo-- (vt) 'to stand', kew--an (vt) 'to last'
taik (pc), taw--an (n) 'vehicle'
takut (st) 'afraid', N--in (vt) 'to frighten'
tambaq (n) 'rope'
tambc (vi) 'to add', N--in (vt) 'to add to'
tamu to-- (n) 'guest'
tana to tanah (n) 'land'
tanda tandi (n) 'sign'
tandak (pc), N-- (vi) 'to dance'
tanda tandi (n) 'sign'
tanom, N-- (vt) 'to plant'
tag (n) 'hand'
tagap, N-- (vt) 'to consider', --an (n) 'opinion'
tagis (pc), N-- (vi) 'to cry', --an (st) 'to cry over e.o.'
tagkop, N-- (vt) 'to catch'
taeha (pc), N-- (vt) 'to ask', po--an (n) 'question'
taan (n) 'year', bo-- (adv.) 'for years'
tape (n) 'fermented tapioca'
tapi (conj.) 'but'
taplak (n) 'tablecloth'
tari (pc), N-- (vi) 'to dance'
tarik, N-- (vt) 'to pull', --an (st) 'to pull e.o.', --an (n) 'a pull'
taro, N-- (st) 'to put', --an (st) 'to bet'
tau (st) 'to know', kasi-- (vt) 'to tell', kw--an (vt) 'to be known', --2 (conj.) 'unexpectedly'
tawa (pc), k-- (vi) 'to laugh'
to (n) 'tea'
telanjur (adv.) 'gone too far', kw--an (adv.) 'gone too far'
telor (n) 'egg'
temon (n) 'friend', bo-- (vi) 'to be friends'
tempo (n) 'fermented soy bean cake'
templak (pc), N-- (vi) 'to stick to'
tempo (n) 'time', --2 (adv.) 'sometimes'
tamu (pc), kw-- (vi) 'to meet', N--in (vt) 'to find'
tempah (pc), mo-- (vt)
teta--teg--tengh (n) 'middle', s-- (n) 'half', --2 (n) 'in the middle'
tetqetq, N-- (vt) 'to carry s.t. light in one's hand'
tantu (adv.) 'already'
ter (n) 'tar', N-- (vt) 'to tar'
terq (adj.) 'clear', N-- (vi) 'to hold a rain ceremony'
terqaq (vi) 'to fly'
terak, bo-- (vi) 'to yell'
terkr (pc), mon-- (vi) 'to be fancy'
terqel (conj.) 'then'
terqel, N--in (vt) 'to go on'
tetqeto tetmu (n) 'guest', N-- (vi) 'to be a guest'
tetqel (n) 'neighbor', bo-- (vi) 'to be neighbors', N-- (vi) 'to go to a neighbor'
tite? (n), N--in (vt) 'to nurse, breastfeed'
tutup, N-- (vt) 'to close', N--in (vt) 'to cover'
ti (n) [nickname for proper name: Siti]
tidur (vi) 'to sleep', --an (vi) 'to lie about', kwe--an (vi) 'to fall asleep', po--an (adj.) 'sleeper'
tiop (conj.) 'each time', --2 (conj.) 'every time'
tiga (n) [numeral] 'three', bo-- (adv.) 'to be three', --2 (adv.) 'three by three', --2 (num.) 'the three'
tikor (n) 'mat'
tingal (vi) 'to live', mo-- (vi) 'to die', kw--an (vi) 'to be left', po--an (n) 'inheritance'
tingi (adj.), mo-- (vi) 'to get taller'
tinga to tingkah (n) 'action', bo-- (vi) 'to act'
tipu, N-- (vt) 'to fool'
toku (demonstrative)
toke (n) 'employer'
tomat (n) 'tomato'
tonton (pc), N-- (vt) 'to watch', po-- (n) 'audience'
totok (adj.) 'pure (descent blood)'
trimakasiti trima kasti (excl.) 'thank you'
trobos, N-- (vt) 'to break through'
tu to vitu (demonstrative) 'that'
tua (adj.) 'old'
tuak (n) 'palm wine', tukan-- 'palm wine seller'
tuan (n) 'master'
tuq, N-- (vt) 'to pour'
tubruk~taibrak, N-- (vt) 'to collide'
tukar (n) 'skilled worker'
tukar [part of compound], tukar roko? 'cigarette vendor', tukar sayur 'vegetable vendor'
tukar~tukar (pc), ba-- (st) 'exchange', N-- (vt) 'to exchange'
tuluy, N-- (vt) 'to help', --ma-- (st) 'to help each other'
tumis (n) [k.o. food], N-- (vt) 'to make tumis'
tunggu, N-- (vt) 'to wait', N--in (vt) 'to wait'
tunjuk, N-- 'to show', N--in (vt) 'to point to'
tuntun (pc), N-- (vt) 'to guide, lead', ba-- (st) 'to guide each other'
turun (vi) 'to descend', ka--an (n) 'descendants'
tutup, N-- (vt) 'to close'
tutur (vi) 'to follow'

U

uah (excl.)
ua? (n) 'parent's older sibling'
uap1 (n) 'steam'
uap2, ma-- (vi) 'to steam'
uda~adq~udah~sudah (adv.) 'already', --2 (adv.) 'already past'
udik (n) 'outskirts', N-- (vi) 'to go to the outskirts, to the village'
ujan~hujan (n) 'rain', ka--an (vi) 'to be rained on, to be caught in the rain'
ukum (pc), N-- (vt) 'to sentence', --an (n) 'sentenced'
ukur, N-- (vt) 'to measure'

ulah, N-- (vi) 'to repeat'
umar (n) 'age', --2 (adv.) 'entire life'
um (n) [nickname for: Samiun]
unut (adj.) 'lucky', be-- (vi) 'get a profit', ka--an (n) 'profit'
upil (n) 'nasal mucus', N-- (vi) 'to pick one's nose'
urik (pc), --2an (adv.) 'angrily'
uruk, N-- (vt) 'to put in the ground'
urus, N-- (vt) 'to arrange'
usat (adj.) 'used'
usat, N-- (vt) 'to drive away'
usat~hutas (n) 'debt', N-- (vi) 'to owe'

W

wajib (adj.) 'obligatory', ka--an (n) 'duty'
waktu1 (oon.) 'when'
waktu2 (n) 'time'
wali (n) 'guardian', N--in (vt) 'to be a guardian to'
waq (n) 'money'
watir (pc), --2 (adv.) 'repeatedly requested'
waris (n) 'inheritance', N--in (vt) 'to will to'
wayaq (n) 'shadow puppet'
westan (n) 'east', N-- (vi) 'to go east'

Y

ya (excl.)
ya~haq (conj.) 'which'
yet1~ya (excl.)
yet2~ya (part.) [emphasis]
yo?~yo? (excl.) 'come on'
yu?~yo? (excl.) 'come on'

* * *
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