Morphology of Jakarta Dialect, Affixation and Reduplication

NUSA

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MORPHOLOGY OF JAKARTA DIALECT, AFFIXATION AND REDUPLICATION

by

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translated by

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1981
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

Chapter one

INTRODUCTION

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 Tanggerang (West Java).

Excluding Tambun, Cisalak and Tanggerang, 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 even 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 Bandarese. 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 Tanjungpriuk.

In the 19th century, the use of the Portuguese dialect gradually lessened; 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.

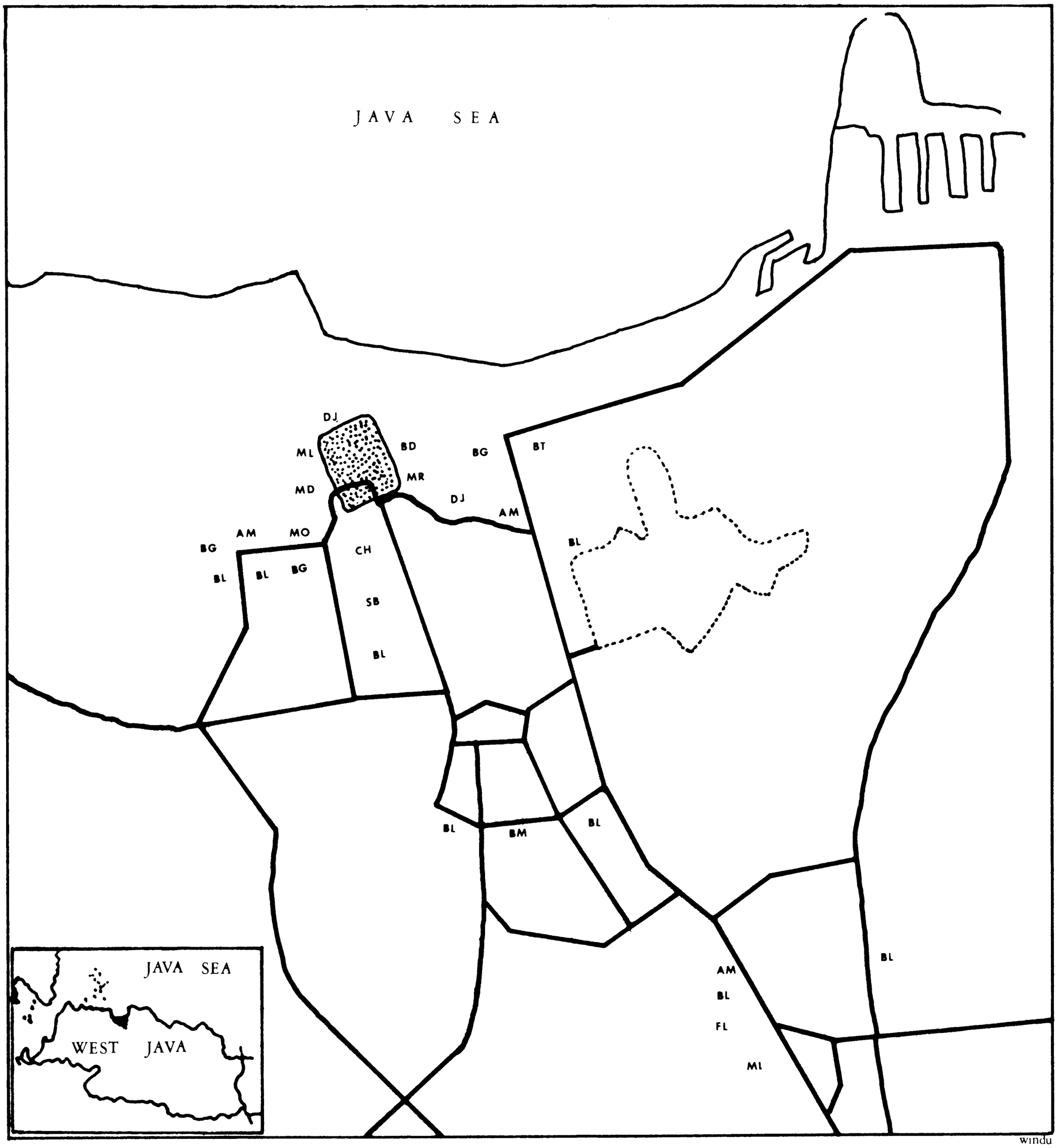
Table I

Population of Batavia and surrounding Suburbs[a)]

	1671	1815	1893
Europeans and part-Europeans	2.750	2.028	9.017
Chinese (including those of Chinese descent)	2.747	11.854	26.569
"Mardijkers"	5.362	-	-
Arabs	-	318	2.842
"Moors"	-	119	
Javanese (including Sundanese)	6.339[1)]	3.331	
South Sulawesi groups	-	4.139[2]	
Balinese	981	7.720	72.241[3)]
Sumbawans		232	
Ambonese and Bandanese		82	
Malays	611	3.155	
Slaves	13.278[4)]	14.249	
	32.068	47.217	110.669

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).
1815: T.S. Raffles, *History of Java* (edisi 2, London, 1830, Jilid II:27).
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 ɛ, as in *ayɛ* (Indonesian *saya*) 'I', *apɛ* (Indonesian *apa*) 'what', *maŋgɛ* (Indonesian *mangga*) 'mango', etc.

In the outskirts subdialect the same words are pronounced *sayah*, *apah*, and *maŋgah* or *saya?*, *apa?*, and *maŋga?* (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 ɛ in words which in Indonesian have *a*, and a subdialect which had the vowel ə in the same position. Thus *(s)ayɛ*, *apɛ* and *maŋgɛ* were pronounced *sayə*, *apə* and *maŋgə*. The latter subdialect was used around Tanah Abang, while the subdialect with ɛ 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, Kebon 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.

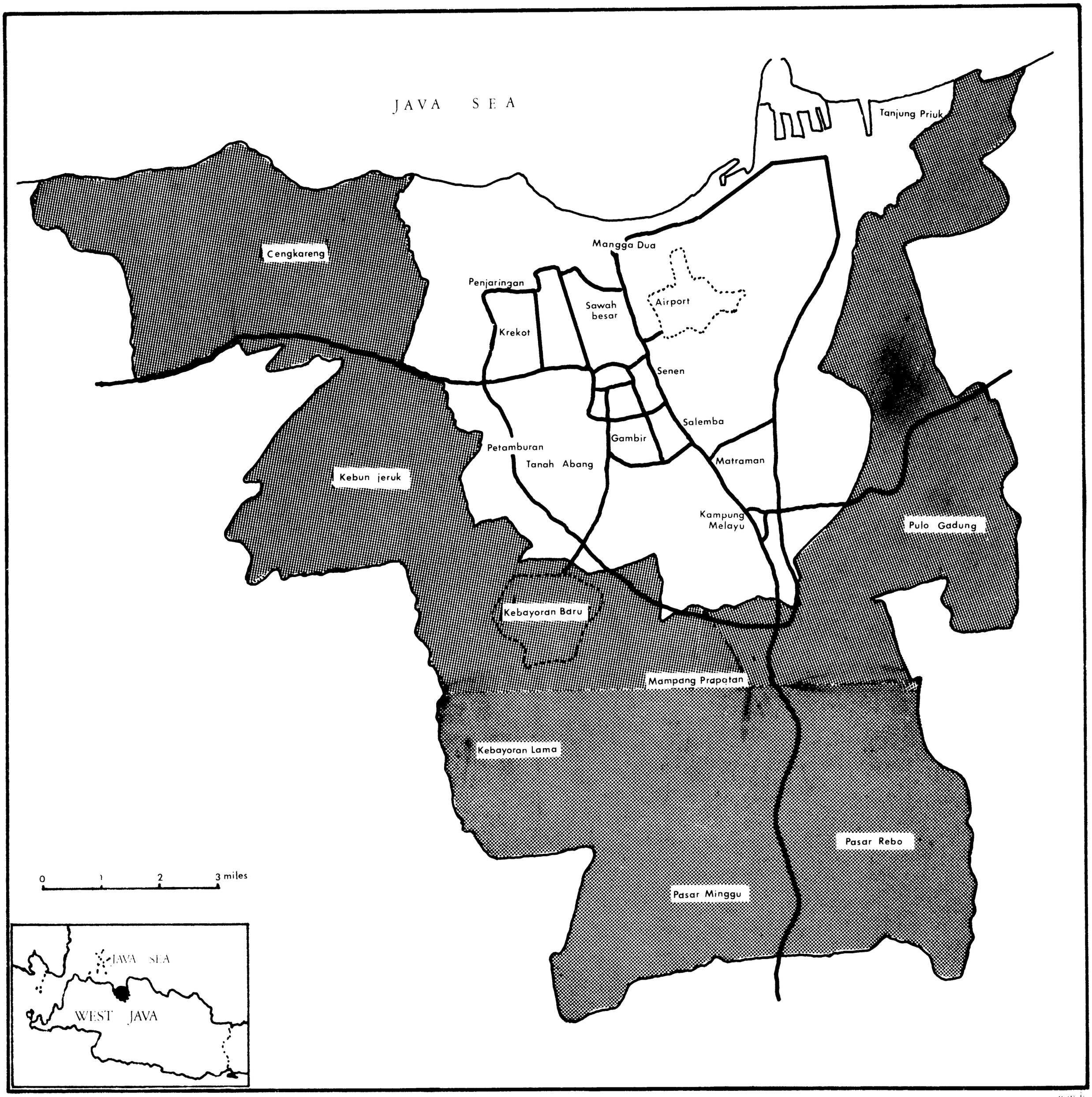
As described in section 1.4, geographical dialects are distinguished among other things by different pronunciations of the final vowel in words which in Indonesian are pronounced with final *a*. In the inner city subdialect such words are pronounced with final ɛ, while in the outskirts subdialect they are pronounced with final *ah* 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 ɛ.

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 ɛ 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 ɛ, that is, only in basic vocabulary, while in other vocabulary items there is *a* with glottalization in the place of final ɛ. 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 Jakartan 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 Jakartan 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 not only 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 "pojok" (humorous columns) and other informal sections (Anderson 1966). Radio Republic Indonesia also has a program called "Kang Gadogado 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 "lenong" (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, acrid onomatopeia 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 readily 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 Jakartan children (1897; 1901; 1908). Lie Kimhok (1884) and Kwee Kek 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 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. Lumintaintang (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 subdialect is found in an M.A. thesis by Patmadiwiria (1965) which deals with the relationship between Indonesian and Jakarta dialect in Tanggerang, and includes a description of the outskirts subdialect. 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 subdialect 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 Grijns 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, Jakartan 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. Grijns, 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 Adiwimarta (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 Saaman, is about 50 years of age, a Jakartan 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.

* * *

Chapter two

THEORETICAL PROBLEMS

2.1 Morpheme segmentation

From the point of view of phonological realization, there is not much difficulty in segmenting words into morf units, that is, the phonological forms of words (Lyons 1971:182). The affixal segments and reduplicational elements can be separated from base morphemes by considering their phonological environments.

Ignoring exceptions, for forms like *mbawa* 'bring' or *macul* 'hoe' for example, we can consider that each of these forms consists of two segments, the base form: respectively *bawa* and *pacul*, 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 *pukul* it comes before a voiceless stop.

There are often exceptions. The base form *udik* 'rural area of origin', for example, becomes *mudik* '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 {ŋ-}, as in *ŋambil* 'to get' *ŋikut* 'to accompany' and *ŋusir* 'to drive away', that is, {N-} with the base morphemes *ambil*, *ikut*, and *usir*, 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, /b/, /d/, /j/, or /g/. Some users realize it with the allomorphs /m-/, /n-/, /ň-/, and /ŋ/, as in *mbawa*, *ndoreŋ*, *ňjait*, and *ŋgaŋgu*. Another group realizes this prefix with the allomorph /ŋə/, so that the base forms are realized as *ŋəbawa*, *ŋədoreŋ*, *ŋəjait*, and *ŋəgaŋgu*. The second group often alternates between the form with {N-} and the form without {N-}.

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 alternates 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 *merahan* 'redder' expresses comparison, in *tiduran* 'lying down' expresses a durative aspect, in *baɛʔan* 'to be good to each other' has a reciprocal meaning, in *jəŋgotan* 'to be bearded' forms a denominal verb, in *makanan* '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 *jəŋgotan*; on the other hand it forms deverbal nouns like *makanan*.

Finding almost the same situation in modern Javanese, Uhlenbeck used the Javanese example to argue against the identification of different morphemes by Bloomfield's definition. 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 Bazel (1966b). Many linguists have done linguistic descriptions and differentiated phoneme 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 adjective paradigms (1952:346), for example (I quote only a part of Uhlenbeck's information):

1) *gampaŋ* 'easy': ceremonial term: *gampil*
2) *gampaŋ-gampaŋ* 'very easy'
3) *gampaŋ-gampaŋ* 'easy in several measures and degrees'
4) *kəgampaŋən* 'too easy' [...] [1]

Linguistic information with *glosses* 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 (Bloch 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 grammaticalness 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 morf {-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 *mɛraan* 'redder', because the root morpheme with which it is connected is an adjectival morpheme; while in *tiduran* 'lying down', {-an} expresses 'durative' aspect because the base form is a verbal root. But {-an} in *jɛŋgotan* 'to be bearded' gives a denominal 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 morphemes which serve 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 *makanan* forms a deverbal noun. The root morpheme is 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 *jɛŋgotan*, which forms a denominal verb, must be considered two homophonous morphemes. Similarly {-an} in *baɛʔan* 'to be good to each other' which forms a deadjectival reciprocal verb must be considered homophonous with {-an}

in *mɛraan* 'redder' which expresses the comparative "more", because with root morphemes of a single category {-an} gives different meanings.

Thus, by considering the category of the root morphemes which serve as base forms for the nonroot morphemes, the description of the nonroot morphemes can be more explicit. In addition, with this method we do not have to consider that every nonroot morpheme has diverse and multiple meanings.

2.3 Categorization of root morphemes

As demonstrated with the suffix {-an}, the same morphophonemic process can give different meanings, among other things due to different category memberships of the root morphemes which serve as base forms. This fact can be used as the basis of categorization of root morphemes. Different meanings for nonroot morphemes of the same form signal different categorical memberships for the root morphemes which serve as base forms.

To clarify, let us look again at the root morphemes *mɛra* 'red' and *makan* 'eat', which show different meanings when they take the suffix {-an}. With the root morpheme of *mɛraan*, {-an} forms the comparative meaning, 'more', while {-an} in *makanan* gives a deverbal noun. When this difference in meaning is not limited to this example only, but clearly appears in other examples, we may draw the conclusion that there is a difference of categorical membership in these examples.

If we continue to look at the possible morphemic processes which apply to these two examples, it is quickly apparent that the two root morphemes have different sets of morphemic processes. The differences are not limited to differences in meaning when they undergo morphemic processes of the same form, but it is also clear that each undergoes different morphemic processes with different nonroot morphemes, and these processes are not interchangeable.

The two root morphemes can both take the simulfix {sə-[ ]-ña} + reduplication to become *səmɛra-mɛraña* and *səmakan-makanña*. But the simulfix + reduplication has different meanings with these two roots: *səmɛra-mɛraña* means 'very red', while *səmakan-makanña* means 'eat anything', expressing "indefiniteness". In addition, *mɛra* can have the form *kəmɛraan* which means 'too red', while *makan* can have the form *dimakan* 'eaten' — neither of these two morphemic processes can apply to the other root morpheme.

Thus the categorization of root morphemes by morphemic characteristics is not based on single morphemic processes but on the sets of morphemic processes which can occur with root morphemes. Root morphemes which take one set of morphemic processes are classified as one class of root morphemes. But this does not mean that every morphemic process can be used as a tool for categorization: only morphemic processes which occur systematically are selected. Morphemic processes which may occur but cannot be predicted: nonproductive processes, are not considered.

The method of categorization can be described as follows. If for example, the morpheme root R_1 takes the morphemic processes *x* and *y* with meanings *a* and *b*, while morpheme root R_2 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:

	x	y	z
R_1	a	b	-
R_2	c	d	e

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 *doŋ*, *si* and *mah*, definite particles like *ni* '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.[3]

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 *o*, *ah*, *na* ('oh', 'ah', 'hum', etc.) which make up another class. Also frequently classed with interjections are frozen sentence fragments such as *dudɛ* (showing surprise) and *ndɛ̃ɛ* (when startled).

2.3.2 Particle morpheme classes

The category of particles can be subcate-

gorized based on syntactic functions as:

1) prepositions, that is all forms that can precede the nominal class, such as *di* 'at', *dari* 'from', *kə* 'to', *amɛ*$_1$ 'with', *amɛ*$_2$ 'to', *amɛ*$_3$ 'by' (In addition there is also a verbal form *amɛ* 'the same'.),
2) particles indicating aspect, that is, the class which usually shows the aspect of time, such as *bakal* 'will (future)', *lagi* (progressive), *udɛh* 'already (past)', *abis* 'already (past)',
3) emphatic particles, that is, the group of forms which emphasize the meanings of sentences, such as *dɛh* (emphatic particle), *doŋ* (emphasizes orders or requests), *mah* 'isn't it?', *pan* 'isn't it?', *si* 'isn't it?', *ini* (expresses a concessive),
4) definite particles, that is, particles which are usually preceded by nominals like *tu (oraŋ)* 'that (person)' (not another person), *ni (anaʔ)* 'this child' (not to be confused with *ni* and *tu* which are the abbreviated forms of the pronominals *ini*$_2$ 'this' and *itu* 'that'),
5) connecting particles, like *tapi* 'but', *amɛ* 'and', *lantaran* 'because', *lantas* 'then', *səmbari* 'while', *məntaŋ-məntaŋ* 'only because', *məndiŋ* 'let alone, much less', *lagi*$_2$ 'again', *juga* 'also',
6) indicators of degree, like *ləbi* 'more', *amat* 'very', *baŋət* 'very',
7) incicators of modality, like *kali* 'perhaps', *ŋgaʔ*, *kagaʔ* '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 {-ña} as a sign of a generative relationship, as in *anaʔña maman* 'Maman's child', *kəpalaña si gobaŋ* 'Gobang's head', etc. When {-ña} occurs with roots of the two other classes (verbals and adjectivals), it acts as a nominalizer. In addition, the nominal class can take {sə-} with the meaning 'one' as in *səoraŋ* 'one person', *səbataŋ* 'one thing', and so forth.

A root morpheme which belongs to the pronominal 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 morpheme category can take the morphemic processes which express the system, with {-an} expressing 'more', {kə-[ ]-an} expressing 'excessively, too' and {sə-[ ]-ña} + reduplication expressing 'the most'. The root morpheme *mɛra* can form *mɛraan* 'redder', *kəmɛraan* 'too red', and *səmɛra-mɛraña* '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 {kə-}. The verbal root *pukul* for example can form *mukul* 'to hit', *dipukul* 'to be hit' or *kəpukul* '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 *duduk* 'to sit', *tidur* 'to sleep', and *pərgi* 'to go'. There is also a group which appears with the prefix {bə(r)-}, including examples such as *bəbisik* 'to whisper', *bəbariŋ* 'to lie down', *bərənaŋ* 'to swim', and there are also some which appear with the prefix {N-} such as *naŋis* 'to cry', *nandak* 'to dance', and *ñolɛk* 'to touch'. There are even some which form intransitive verbs by reduplication, like *bisik-bisik* 'to whisper', and *goyaŋ-goyaŋ* '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 below.

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 *baŋun* for example is not clear. When it takes {N-}: *mbaŋun* 'to wake up' it is a transitive verb, but when it appears without an affix *baŋun* 'awake', it acts as an intransitive verb. Similarly, *lipət*, when it appears with the prefix {bə(r)-} is an intransitive verb, while when it appears with the prefix {N-} it is a transitive verb: *bəlipət* 'folded', *lipət* '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 *maləm* 'night', for example, can take the prefix {sə-} becoming *səmaləm* 'one night', or the suffix {-an} which expresses the comparative *maləman* 'later at night'. It can even take the verbal simulfix which expresses the nonvolative aspect *kəmaləman* 'overtaken by night' (For an example of this usage see note 32).

Moreover there is also a class of morphemes which take adjectival affixes, but which behave syntactically like transitive verbs. This is the category of *bənci* 'hate', *cəmburu* '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 Ikranagara'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 nonroot morphemes is only a matter of ranking of construction (1933). Inflectional or paradigmatic affixation processes occur 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 {-ña}, 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 {-ña}. This element in Jakarta Dialect does act as a nominalizer. However, in my opinion, {-ña} is not a suffix on the same level as a suffix like {-in} or {-an}. The element {-ña} 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 /ɛ/, the vowel changes to /a/: /mɛrɛ/ + {-an} becomes *mɛraan* 'more red'. But the element {-ña} does not cause morphophonemic changes. The root form *salɛ* when it takes {-ña} remains *salɛña*. It does not have to become *salaña*. This is evidence that {-ña} 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-}.

ñari ⟶ *dicari*

cari ⟸

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 *pukul* becomes *pukulan* 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

verb, into 1) transitive, 2) intransitive and 3) semi-transitive verbal sentences.

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(ubject) in the Ag(entive) role, P(redicate) in the Ac(tive) verbal role and O(bject) 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(efactive) 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
S: Ag P: Ac O: Loc

orchids.
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 In(strumental) role.

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

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

on the plants.[4]
C: Ob

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 *neighbor* 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 predicate 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 {bə(r)-} as in the following example:

(7) *lu* *bəabaŋ*
you address-as-older-brother

amɛ *diɛ*
(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 *amɛ* '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 {bə(r)-} or the simulfix {bə(r)-[ ]-an}, or are without affixes.

Reciprocal verbs which are formed by the process of reduplication with the prefix {məN-} or the suffix {-an}, such as *bantu-məmbantu* 'help each other', *tarik-tarikan* 'pull against each other', also fall into the category 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 transitivity does not capture all the subcategories of verbal predicates. The opposition transitive/intransitive which is based on the presence or absence of an object — or a complement for a semitransitive verb — must be completed with categorization based on the aspect of action. The transitive-intransitive dichotomy does not capture the category of verbal predicates such as:

(8) *Mamat* *jualan* *roko?*
(name) sell cigarette(s)

'Mamat sells cigarettes.'

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 cigarettes/ 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 aspect of action: sentence (8) has a stative aspect 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 *ñampe* '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 categorize 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; Lyons 1971:18).

3. Based on their origins of lexical meaning, Ikranagara calls some of these particles lexical particles. But this terminology is not necessarily in contradiction to the basis of the categorization. Ikranagara 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 Hans 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:

Vowel phonemes

Front	Central	Back	
i		u	High
e	ə	o	Mid
ɛ	a		Low

Consonants

Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal	
b	d	j	g	ʔ	Voiced } Stops
p	t	c	k		Voice-less } Stops
m	n	ñ	ŋ		Nasals
	l				Laterals
	r				Trill
	s			h	Fricatives, Spirants
w		j			Semivowels

3.2 Vowels

The seven vowels of Jakarta Dialect consist of three front vowels: /i/, /e/, and /ɛ/; two central vowels /a/ and /ə/; 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/: [ʔa.kal]. Similarly the vowels /i/ and /u/ in *bisik* 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 *apɛ* 'what', *mpoʔ* 'grandmother' and *urus* 'arrange' are pronounced [ʔapɛ], [ʔəmpoʔ], and [ʔurus], and similarly with other vowels.

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

/masi/	'still'	pronounced	[mãsi]
/tanəm/	'plant'		[tanə̃m]
/ñañi/	'sing'		[ñãñĩ]
/aŋin/	'wind'		[ʔaŋĩn]

But the reverse is not true: vowels followed by nasals are not nasalized, as in /asəm/ 'sour', and /makan/ 'to eat' pronounced [ʔasəm] and [mãkan].

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/:

/giliŋ/ 'turn, mill'	with	/gɛlɛŋ/ 'nod'
/irit/ 'thrifty'	with	/ɛrɛt/ 'deceive'

The vowel /i/ is pronounced [I] in closed syllables, as in /pait/ 'bitter', /tarik/ 'to pull', which are pronounced [paIt] and [tarIk]. But in other positions it is pronounced [i], higher than [I], as in [ʔisi], [bilaŋ] and [səri], for /isi/ 'contents', /bilaŋ/ 'speak' and /səri/ 'shine'.

But because of the influence of the vowel in the final closed syllable in words of the phonemic form C(onsonant) *i*C*i*C, both vowels in words like /itik/ 'duck', /didik/ 'teach' and /irit/ 'thrifty' are pronounced [I] — even though the first vowel is in an open syllable. Thus,

/itik/	is pronounced	[ʔItIk]
/didik/		[dIdIk]
/irit/		[ʔIrIt]

Or, both vowels /i/ may be pronounced [i], as in /brisik/ 'noisy', or /gigit/ 'bite' which may be pronounced either [brIsIk] and [gIgIt] or [brisik] and [gigit].

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	/sampɛ/ 'garbage'
/gule/ '(kind of soup)'	with	/gulɛ/ '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) *e*C*e*, as in:

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

Or in forms with the phonemic structure C*e*(C)*o* and C*o*(C)*e* as in:

/sero/	'fish trap'
/beo/	'myna bird'

Other nonfinal positions are always occupied by the vowel /ɛ/, as in /bɛsok/ 'tomorrow', /ɛkor/ 'tail', /dɛrɛt/ '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:

/ɛkor/	'tail'
/korɛk/	'scrape'
/darɛ/	'blood', and
/ɛrɛt/	'to deceive'.

But, as described in 3.2.3, the vowel /e/ never occurs in positions such as C*e*(C)*e*, C*e*(C)*o*, or C*o*(C)*e*.

It may also be added that there is always vowel harmony between /e/ and /ɛ/, and between /e/ and /o/. If the vowel /e/ occurs finally in a form, the vowel /e/ rather than /ɛ/ occurs in the penultimate position, as in /lele/ '(k.o. fish)' or /səpele/ 'worthless'. Thus also when /o/ occurs in final open position, the vowel /e/ rather than /ɛ/ occurs, as in /beo/ and /sero/.

Further it should be pointed out here, that although /ɛ/ in this dialect has phonemic status, the other back vowel, /ɔ/, does not have phonemic status. Teeuw wondered about this matter in his critique of Hans Kähler'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 /ɔ/, 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 morphophonemics, when the vowel /ɛ/ is followed by another morpheme it undergoes a phonemic change to become /a/. The form *apɛ* followed by {-an} becomes /apAan/,[7] and not */apɛan/. 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	/babɛ/ 'father'
/acar/ '(k.o. salad)'	with	/ɛcɛr/ 'retail'
/bawal/ '(k.o. fish)'	with	/bawɛl/ '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', *darɛ* 'blood', and *lamɛ* 'long (of time)' are pronounced [manɛ], [darɛ] and [lamɛ] 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 [bawaʔ] 'to bring' and [jugaʔ] 'also'.

3.2.6 The vowel /ə/

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

/əlus/ 'to stroke'	with	/alus/ 'fine, soft'
/baraŋ/ 'thing'	with	/barəŋ/ 'together'

The vowel /ə/ has two pronunciations: before the consonants /l/ and /r/ it is pronounced nonsyllabically, while in other positions it is pronounced syllabically: /bəlakaŋ/ 'back' and /pərintɛ/ 'order' are pronounced [bᵊlakaŋ] and [pᵊrintɛ]. But /bəkas/ 'print, trace' and /datəŋ/ 'to come' are pronounced [bəkas] and [datəŋ].

As mentioned above, the vowel /ə/ does not occur in final position in this dialect.[8]

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:

/uruk/ 'to bury'	/orok/ 'baby'
/buntut/ 'tail'	/bontot/ 'youngest'
/buntu/ 'blocked'	/bonto/ '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 [ʊ]:

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

but

/kaluŋ/ 'necklace'	is pronounced	[kalʊŋ]
/ikut/ 'to follow'		[ʔikʊt]

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 [ʊ]:

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

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 /to/.

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

but

/balok/ 'board'	pronounced	[balɔk]
/coba/ 'to try'		[cɔba]

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]
/bonto/ 'spoiled'		[bonto]

but

/bontot/ 'youngest'	is pronounced	[bɔntɔt]
/orok/ 'baby'		[ɔrɔk][9]

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*o*(C)*e* or C*e*(C)*o*, the two vowels /o/ and /e/ are pronounced [o] and [e], as in:

/bole/ 'may'	pronounced	[bole]
/beo/ /myna bird'		[beo]

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

/korek/ 'to scrape'	pronounced	[kɔrɛk]
/belok/ 'turn'		[bɛlɔk]

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]		[ɛ]
[u]		[ʊ]
[o]		[ɔ]
[o]		[e]
[ɔ]		[ɛ]

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 [kɔrɛk].[10]

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/, /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 /tikər/ 'mat' is pronounced [tʿikər], but in /tukər/ 'change' it is pronounced [t'ukər], 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.)[11]

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:

/baraŋ/	and	/paraŋ/
'thing'		'knife'
/kabur/		/kapur/
'escape'		'chalk'

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

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

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:

/atəp/ 'roof'	is pronounced	[ʔatəp]

but

/api/ 'fire'	is pronounced	[ʔapi]

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 /tutup/ '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'
/amɛ/		/apɛ/
'same, with'		'what'
/asəm/		/asəp/
'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/		/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 /pande/ is pronounced [pa̤nde], 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', /atəp/ 'roof' and /ikut/ 'to follow'.

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

3.3.7 The consonant /n/

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

/nɛnɛʔ/	with	/tɛtɛʔ/
'grandmother'		'breast'
/bənah/		/bətah/
'to arrange'		'to like, adjust to'
/turun/		/turut/
'to descend'		'to follow'

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

/pande/ 'smart, clever'	is pronounced	[pa̤nde]
but		
/pante/ 'shore'	is pronounced	[pante]
/nɛnɛʔ/ 'grandmother'		[nɛnɛʔ]

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:

/juraŋ/ 'ravine'	and	/curaŋ/ 'to cheat'
/ajar/ 'to teach'	and	/acar/ 'pickles '

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:

/ñañi/ 'to sing'	and	/caci/ 'to scorn'
/ñañɛ/ 'to fry without oil'	and	/cacɛ/ '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/ 'to dig'	/kali/ 'river'
/lagi/ 'to be in the process of'	/laki/ 'husband'

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

3.3.12 The consonant /ŋ/

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

/ŋɛoŋ/ 'cat'	and	/kɛoŋ/ 'snail'
/səŋat/ 'sting'	and	/səkat/ 'limit'
/kəraŋ/ 'shell'		/kərak/ '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/ 'buttonhole'	and	/totok/ 'pure (descent)'
/usaŋ/ 'worn-out'	and	/utaŋ/ 'debt'
/kəras/ 'hard'	and	/kərat/ 'piece'

3.3.14 The consonants /l/ and /r/

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

/lətak/ 'place'	and	/rətak/ 'crack'
/kalaŋ/ 'support, prop'		/karaŋ/ 'coral'
/susul/ 'to follow'		/susur/ 'edge, fringe'

But, if these two consonants occur together in a form, there is often free alternation between them. The forms /lurah/ 'village section head' and /lari/ 'to run' alternate with /rurah/ and /rari/ with the same meanings.

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/ 'Dutch'	pronounced	[blaṇ̣da]
	/brantakan/ 'in a mess'		[brantakan]
but	/lari/ 'to run'		[lari]
	/rətak/ 'crack'		[rətak]
	/kali/ 'river'		[kali]

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:

/bawaŋ/ 'onion'	and	/bayaŋ/ 'to imagine'
/waŋ/ 'money'		/yaŋ/ 'which'

It should be noted that /y/ in initial position often alternates with /ñ/. The words /yoʔ/ 'come on' and /yaŋ/ 'which' alternate with the forms /ñoʔ/ and /ñaŋ/.

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)'
/maʔ/ '(term of address for mother)'

Forms with /h/ in initial position sometimes alternate with forms without /h/. The forms /hargɛ/ 'price' and /hiro/ 'to pay attention to' alternate with the forms /argɛ/ and /iro/. In some other forms /h/ is obligatory, as in /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 /tahaŋ/ 'wooden watertank', /tahan/ 'to stand, last', /bohoŋ/ 'to lie', and /puhun/ 'tree'. In this position /h/ occurs rather frequently. In a few forms, medial /h/ alternates with glottal stop, as in /bohoŋ/ 'to lie', /puhun/ 'tree', which also have the forms /boʔoŋ/ and /puʔun/.

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,[12] such as /pili/ 'to choose', /səpulu/ 'ten' and /masi/ 'still', which occur in Indonesian, with the same meanings, as *pilih*, *səpuluh* and *masih*. As a result, words which in Indonesian end in /ah/, in Jakarta dialect end with the vowel /ɛ/. The Indonesian words *darah*, *merah*, *cacah* and *susah* in Jakarta dialect are /darɛ/, /mɛrɛ/, /cacɛ/ and /susɛ/.

Although /h/ generally does not occur in final position, this consonant often appears to end a contour, as in:

gih↑#
'Get out!' 'Let's go'
udah↑#
'That's enough!
(literally: 'already')
all right'
yɛ dɛh↑#
'Yes, O.K.'

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

gi lu kə sono
'Get over there'
guɛ udə makan
'I've already eaten'[13]

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 /ʔ/

The consonant /ʔ/ 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.[14]

In medial position, /ʔ/ often occurs as an alternate of /h/ as in /boʔoŋ/ which occurs in addition to /bohoŋ/ 'to lie'. (See 3.3.16.)

In initial position, /ʔ/ always appears with forms which begin with vowels, such as [ʔʊsIl] 'annoying, troublesome', [ʔapɛ] '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 /adɛʔ/ 'younger sibling', /əmpoʔ/ 'older sister', /soʔ/ 'stuck-up', /lagaʔ/ 'behavior'. In addition, words which end in final /a/, that is, /a/ as an alternate of /ɛ/, as in /juga/ 'also', /bawa/ 'bring' or /kota/ 'city' are often pronounced with a glottal stop as [jugaʔ], [bawaʔ], [kotaʔ], etc.[15]

FOOTNOTES:

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]: *maŋgɛ* 'mango' and *apɛ* 'what' are pronounced [maŋgə] and [ʔapə]. (See 1.4 above.)

9. Except for a single example I have found, that is the word *sono* 'there' which is always pronounced [sɔnɔ], although the final vowel *o* 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 - di* 'he came'; *gör - dü* 'he saw'; *kal - di* '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 [jugjag] '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 {apɛ} 'what' or {mɛrɛ} 'red' — that is, all morphemes with final /ɛ/ — have two allomorphs in complementary distribution: /apɛ/ ~ /apa/, and /mɛrɛ/ ~ /mɛra/. These two allomorphs alternate freely in morphophonemic form, but, in the environment of the suffices {-in} or {-an}, only the allomorphs /apa/ and /mɛra/ occur. Thus {apɛ} + {-in} becomes /apAin/, and {mɛrɛ} + {-in} becomes /mɛrAin/. The informants never said */apɛin/ or */mɛrɛin/.[16]

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 /rawamaŋun/, /rawabaŋke/, and /rawasari/. Jakartans never say */rawɛmaŋun/, */rawɛbaŋke/, or */rawɛsari/ (Muhadjir 1976b: 153).

In addition, some root words have complete and abbreviated forms (4.0.2 and 4.0.3) like {masɛ} 'impossible' and {trimɛ} '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 /səbodo/ and /məkasi/, 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 nonroot 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 allomorphemic 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)({$\frac{l}{r}$})V(C)(C)({$\frac{l}{r}$})(V)(C). This formula summarizes the following root morpheme forms:

(1)	V	*e, o* '(exclamation)'
	CV	*di* 'at'
		kə 'to'
	VC	*ah* 'ah'
		ɛh '(vocative exclamation)'
	VV	*oi* '(vocative exclamation)'
	CVC	*so?* 'stuck-up, proud'
		mah '(emphatic particle)'
(2)	VVC	*ua?* 'older brother/ relative of father or mother'
		uap 'smoke'
	CVV	*beo* 'parrot'
		tua 'old'
	CVVC	*tuaŋ* 'to pour'
		baɛ? 'fine, good'
	CVCV	*kali* 'river'
		baru 'new'
	CV{N}CV[17]	*tandɛ* 'sign'
		buntu 'blocked'
	CV{N}CVC	*tandak* 'dance'
		tanduk 'animal horn'
		tumbuk 'to pound'
	CVCCVC[18]	*ciŋcoŋ* 'excuse, pretext'
		cɛkcok 'to quarrel'

	C{$\frac{l}{r}$}VCV(C)	*brani* 'brave'
		cliŋuk 'to look around'
	(C)v({N})C{$\frac{l}{r}$}VC	*cemplu*ŋ 'to plunge'
		amprok 'to meet'
(3)	CV({N})CVCV(C)	*sə̃mbara*ŋ 'no matter who, what, which'
		sə̃ŋsara 'grief'
		kə̃ndiri 'alone'
	C{$\frac{l}{r}$}V({N})CVCV(C)	*kranjiŋan* 'to be crazy about'
		glandaŋan 'drifter'

There are not many forms in groups (1) and (3). Forms in group (1) are largely exclamations or particles. Those in group (3) generally have the characteristic that the first or last syllable has the phonological shape of a suffix or prefix. Thus the only open class is group (2).

4.0.3 Abbreviated forms ({af})

Abbreviated forms are variant root morpheme forms which occur in informal conversation between participants who know each other.[19] The phonological rules which generally apply to abbreviated forms are shown below:

1) a full morpheme loses a first syllable which consists of a vowel, as in:

   {itu} + ({af}) ⟶ /tu/ 'that'
   {ayo} + ({af}) ⟶ /yo(ʔ)/ 'come on'

2) a complete form loses an initial consonant:

   {suda} + {af} ⟶ /udɛ/ 'already'
   {samɛ} + {af} ⟶ /amɛ/ 'same'

3) a complete form loses a first syllable of a consonant and a vowel:

   {tukaŋ (rokoʔ)} + {af} ⟶ /kaŋ(rokoʔ)/ 'cigarette peddler'
   {trima(kasi)} + {af} ⟶ /ma(kasi)/ 'thank you'

4) a form with two successive vowels loses the lower vowel:

   mau (apɛ) + {af} ⟶ /mu (apɛ)/ 'what do you want?'
   bau (apɛ) + {af} ⟶ /bu (apɛ)/ 'what does it smell of?'

5) a root form loses a final syllable with a semivowel /w/ or /y/:

   {sayɛ (apɛ)} + {af} ⟶ /kɛ (apɛ)/ 'like what?'
   {rawa (maŋun)} + {af} ⟶ /ra(maŋun)' '(place name)'

6) the first syllable of a root morpheme is replaced by a nasal consonant homorganic with the first consonant of the remaining syllable:

   {kagaʔ} + {af} ⟶ /ŋgaʔ/ 'no'
   {bə̃ntar} + {af} ⟶ /ntar/ 'a moment'
   {baraŋkali} + {af} ⟶ /mə̃ŋkali/ or /ŋkali/ 'maybe'

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-}, {mə(N)-}, {bə(r)-}, {pə(N)-}, {pə(r)-}, {di-}, {kə-}, {tə(r)-}, and {sə-};

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-/, /ñ-/, /ŋ-/, and /ŋə-/. These five allomorphs are in complementary distribution on the basis of phonological environment, except for /ŋə-/ which may appear in place of any of the other four allomorphs. (See 4.1 (2).)

The first four allomorphs: /m-/, /n-/, /ñ-/, and /ŋ-/, 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'
{dədəs}	/ndədəs/	'to examine'
{jogɛt}	/njogɛt/	/to dance'
{gaŋgu}	/ŋgaŋgu/	'to bother'
{rampok}	/ŋrampok/	'to steal'
{lawan}	/ŋlawan/	'to oppose'
{waliin}	/ŋwaliin/	'to act as guardian'

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

{pacul} + {N-} ⟶	/macul/	'to hoe'
{tandak}	/nandak/	'to dance'
{cari}	/ñari/	'to look for'
{sasar}	/ñasar/	'to loose one's way'
{kasi}	/ŋasi/	'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 /*n*-/; /{ñ-}/ for /ñ-/ and /*ñ*-/; and /{ŋ-}/ for /ŋ-/ and /ŋ-/.

The choice among the allomorphs /{m-}/, /{n-}/, /{ñ-}/ 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 /{ñ-}/ 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'
{pisɛ}	/misɛ/	'to separate oneself'
{dəsək}	/ndəsək/	'to be in a hurry'
{tukər}	/nukər/	'to exchange'
{jitak}	/ñjitak/	'to hit with the hand'
{curi}	/ñuri/	'to steal'
{gubris} + {N-} ⟶	/ŋgubris/	'to pay attention'
{kirɛ}	/ŋirɛ/	'to think, guess'
{laraŋ}	/ŋlaraŋ/	'to forbid'
{rusak}	/ŋrusak/	'to ruin'

The fifth allomorph, /ŋə-/, is used before (a) base forms beginning with the consonant /h/[20]; (b) base forms which consist of only one syllable.

Examples:

{hargain} + {N-} ⟶	/ŋəhargain/	'to appreciate'
{hormatin}	/ŋəhormatin/	'to respect'
{cɛt}	/ŋəcɛt/	'to paint'
{tɛr}	/ŋətɛr/	'to tar'

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

{warisin} + {N-} ⟶	/ŋ(ə)warisin/	'to bequeath'[21]
{rapiin}	/ŋ(ə)rapiin/	'to put in order'
{lawan}	/ŋ(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 /ŋə-/ in free alternation with the allomorphs /m-/, /n-/, /ñ-/, and /ŋ-/.[22] Thus base forms like *bawa* 'to bring', *dukun* 'healer', *jawab* 'to answer', and *garuk* 'to scratch' each have alternate forms:

{bawa} + {N-} ⟶	/mbawa/	∿ /ŋəbawa/
{dukun} + {N-} ⟶	/ndukun(in)/	∿ /ŋədukun(in)/
{jawab} + {N-} ⟶	/ñjawab/	∿ /ŋəjawab/
{garuk} + {N-} ⟶	/ŋgaruk/	∿ /ŋəgaruk/

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

{akur(in)} + {N-} ⟶	/ŋakurin/	'to agree'
{ɛntɛŋin}	/ŋɛntɛŋin/	'to lighten'
{əndon}	/ŋəndon/	'to stay over'
{utaŋ}	/ŋutaŋ/	'to owe'
{intip}	/ŋintip/	'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:

{tətaŋgɛ} + {N-} ⟶	/nəNaŋgɛ/ 'to visit neighbors'
{tətamu}	/nəNamu/ '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/, /ñ/, and /ŋ/, 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 *ñañi* 'to sing', *makan* 'to eat' and *ŋaji* '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 *ñañian*, *makanan* and *pəŋajian*.

4.2 The prefix {mə(N)-}

The morphophonemic rules for the prefix {mə(N)-} are basically the same as those for {N-}. This prefix has five allomorphs: /mə-/, /məm-/, /mən-/, /məñ-/ and /məŋ-/, which for simplicity we divide into two groups: the allomorph /mə-/; and /mə{N}-/, which represents the other four allomorphs.

The allomorph /mə-/ is used before all base forms which begin with the consonants /r/, /l/, /w/, /y/, or nasals, while /mə{N}-/ is used before other base forms. The choice of the nasal in the allomorph /mə{N}-/ depends upon this first phoneme of the base form. Before forms beginning with /b/ or /p/ the allomorph /məm-/ is used; before forms beginning with /d/ or /t/ the allomorph /mən-/ is used; before forms beginning with /j/, /c/, or /s/ the allomorph /məñ-/ is used; and before forms beginning with /g/, /k/, or vowels the allomorph /məŋ-/ is used.

Examples:

{lawat} + {mə(N)-} ⟶	/məlawat/ 'to visit'
{rampok}	/mərampok/ 'to steal'
{ñañi}	/məñañi/ 'to sing'
{bantu}	/məmbantu/ 'to help'
{pasaŋ}	/məmasaŋ/ 'to hang'
{dusin}	/məndusin/ 'to get up'
{tarik}	/mənarik/ 'to pull'
{jalar}	/mənjalar/ 'to crawl'
{cari}	/məñari/ 'to look for'
{gaŋgu}	/məŋgaŋgu/ 'to bother'
{kasi} + {mə(N)-} ⟶	/məŋasi/ 'to give'
{alamin}	/məŋalamin/ 'to experience'

and so forth.

As with the prefix {N-}, the nasal in the allomorph /mə{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 /k/, the nasal in the allomorph /mə{N}-/ replaces the first consonant of the base form, as shown in the examples.

4.3 The prefix {bə(r)-}

This prefix has six allomorphs. The six allomorphs can be divided into two groups: (1) the allomorphs /bə-/ and /b-/ and (2) the allomorphs /bər-/, /br-/, /bəʔ-/, and /bl-/. Except for the allomorph /bl-/, 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 /bl-/ is an exception as its occurrence cannot be predicted.

The allomorph /bə-/ is used before all consonants except /l/ and /r/, as in:

{bisik} + {bə(r)-} ⟶	/bəbisik/ 'to whisper'
{pacar}	/bəpacar(an)/ 'to be in love, make love'
{darɛ}	/bədarɛ/ 'to bleed'
{taro}	/bətaro/ 'to bet'
{jalan}	/bəjalan/ 'to walk'
{cəre}	/bəcəre/ 'to divorce'
{gadaŋ}	/bəgadaŋ/ 'to stay up all night'
{karat}	/bəkarat/ 'rusty'
{sodarɛ}	/bəsodarɛ/ 'related'
{hargɛ}	/bəhargɛ/ 'valued'

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

{laga?} + {bə(r)-} ⟶	/blaga?/ 'to behave'
{rasɛ}	/brasɛ/ 'to feel'

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

The allomorphs /bər-/ and /br-/ are in variation before base forms which begin with

vowels, as in:

{alaŋan} + {bə(r)-} ⟶	/b(ə)ralaŋan/	'prevented'
{untuŋ}	/b(ə)runtuŋ/	'lucky'
{əmpat}	/b(ə)rəmpat/	'to be four'

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

{arti} + {bə(r)-} ⟶	/bəʔarti/	'to mean'
{amprok}	/bəʔamprok/	'to meet'
{əmpoʔ}	/bəʔəmpoʔ/	'to have an older sister'

But there is also the possibility of free variation of the allomorphs /bə-/ and /bəʔ-/. The base form {abaŋ} 'older brother' may have either the form /bəʔabaŋ/ or /bəabaŋ/; on the other hand, the base form {untuŋ} only has the form /bəruntuŋ/ 'lucky'.

In this study the spelling /bə-/ will be used rather than /bəʔ-/.

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

{ajar} + {bə(r)-} ⟶	/blajar/	'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:

{bawa} + {di-} ⟶	/dibawa/	'taken'
{pukul}	/dipukul/	'hit'
{ŋajiin}	/diŋajiin/	'read to (from the Koran)'

and so forth.

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

{ikət} + {di-} ⟶	/diʔikət/	'tied'
{intip}	/diʔintip/	'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:

{ambil} + {di-} ⟶	/di(ʔ)ambil/	'taken'
{ukur}	/di(ʔ)ukur/	'measured'
{ɛlonin}	/di(ʔ)ɛlonin/	'confirmed, approved'

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

{əmpət} + {di-} ⟶	/dimpət/	'kept'
{əndonin}	/dindonin/	'have passengers, visitors'

4.5 The prefix {kə-}

This prefix has three allomorphs: /kə-/, /k/, and /kəʔ-/.

Before all consonants except /l/, /r/, and the semivowel /w/, the allomorph /kə-/ occurs:

{buru} + {kə-} ⟶	/kəburu/	'in a hurry'
{pikir}	/kəpikir/	'thought'
{doroŋ}	/kədoroŋ/	'pushed'

and so forth.

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

{laku} + {kə-} ⟶	/klaku(an)/	'behavior'
{rasɛ}	/krasɛ/	'felt'
{wajip}	/kwajiBan/	'duty'

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

{alaŋ} + {kə-} ⟶	/k(əʔ)alaŋ(an)/	'prevented'
{injək}	/k(əʔi)njək/	'stepped on'

But, the base form {añut} has only one form: /kañut/ 'washed away'.

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

{əndon} + {kə-} ⟶	/kəndonan/	'have passengers, visitors'

4.6 The prefix {pə(N)-}

The prefix {pə(N)-} has three allomorphs: /pə-/, /pə{N}-/, and /pə{N̲}-/.

The allomorph /pə-/ occurs before base forms beginning with the nasal consonants /m/, /n/, /ñ/ and /ŋ/, and before the consonants

/l/ and /r/:

{malu} + {pə(N)-} ⟶	/pəmalu/	'shy person'
{ñañi}	/pəñañi/	'singer'
{layan}	/pəlayan/	'waiter'
{rampok}	/pərampok/	'thief'

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

{bantu} + {pə(N)-} ⟶	/pəmbantu/	'servant, assistant'
{datəŋ}	/pəndatəŋ/	'newcomer'
{jahat}	/pəñjahat/	'evil person'
{garoŋ}	/pəŋgaroŋ/	'robber'

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

{alaŋ} + {pə(N)-} ⟶	/pəŋalaŋ/	'obstruction'
{ikət}	/pəŋikət/	'binding agent'
{ɛjɛk}	/pəŋɛjɛk/	'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/, /ñ/ and /ŋ/. The choice among them depends upon the point of articulation of the first consonant of the base form:

{pake} + {pə(N)-} ⟶	/pəmake/	'charm'
{tarik}	/pənarik/	'puller'
{coloŋ}	/pəñoloŋ/	'thief'
{kasi}	/pəŋasi/	'gift'
{sakit}	/pəñakit/	'illness'

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 that in this dialect the prefix {pə(r)-} never occurs without the suffix {-an}.

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

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

{lari} + {pə(r)-} ⟶	/pəlari(an)/	'fugitive'
{rasɛ}	/pərasaan/	'feeling'

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

{jalan} + {pə(r)-} ⟶	/pərjalanan/	'trip'
{taña}	/pərtañaan/	'question'
{minta}	/pərmintaan/	'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)-} ⟶	/p(ə)ranakan/	'womb'
{iŋət}	/p(ə)riŋətan/	'remembrance'

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

{ajar} + {pə(r)-} ⟶	/plajaran/	'lesson'

Thus this allomorph is exceptional.

4.8 The prefix {tə(r)-}

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

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

{ikət} + {tə(r)-} ⟶	/tərikət/	'binding agent'
{ancəm}	/tərancəm/	'threatened'
{usir}	/tərusir/	'driven out'

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

{hinɛ} + {tə(r)-} ⟶	/tərhinɛ/	'insulted'
{hormat}	/tərhormat/	'honored'

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

{buka} + {tə(r)-} ⟶	/təbuka/	'open'

{plɛsɛt} + {tə(r)-} ⟶ /təplɛsɛt/ 'slipped'
{ŋantuk} + {tə(r)-} ⟶ /təŋantuk-(ŋantuk)/ 'sleepy'
{konci} + {tə(r)-} ⟶ /təkonci/ 'locked'

4.9 The suffix {-in}

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

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

{tutup} + {-in} ⟶	/tutupin/	'to close'
{mɛsəm}	/mɛsəmin/	'to smile at'
{ikut}	/ikutin/	'to go along with'
{hɛran}	/hɛranin/	'to surprise'
{duduk}	/dudukin/	'to put, place'
{tɛtɛʔ}	/tɛtɛʔin/	'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}	/paruDin/	'to grate'
{gəbuk}	/gəbuGin/	'to hit'

It should be added that in this dialect there are no base forms ending with the palatal consonants /j/, /c/, or /ñ/, 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 /-ʔin/ occurs, as in:

{bəli} + {-in} ⟶	/bəliʔin/	'to buy for'
{isi}	/isiʔin/	'to fill'

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

{sampe} + {-in} ⟶	/sampe(ʔ)in/	'to take to'
{bawa}	/bawa(ʔ)in/	'to take away'[23]

After the back vowel /ɛ/, /-in/ causes a morphophonemic change in the base form. The vowel /ɛ/ becomes the vowel /a/, as in:

{ŋapɛ} + {-in} ⟶	/ŋapAin/	'what are you doing?, why?'
{marɛ}	/marAin/	'to get angry at'

It should be added that in this dialect the central mid vowel /ə/ 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 /-ʔan/.

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

{gəlap} + {-an} ⟶	/gəlapan/	'darker'
{kirim}	/kiriman/	's.t. sent'
{baɛʔ}	/baɛʔan/	'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'
{mulut}	/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:

{bəli} + {-an} ⟶	/bəlian/	's.t. bought'
{pake}	/pakean/	'clothes'
{buru}	/buruan/	'faster'
{taro}	/taroan/	'to bet'

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

{bawa} + {-an} ⟶	/bawaʔan/	'gift'
{suka}	/sukaʔan/	'banter, fondle'[24]

After the vowel /ɛ/, /-an/ causes a morphophonemic change: the vowel /ɛ/ in the base form becomes /a/, as in:

{mɛrɛ} + {-an}	⟶	/mɛrAan/ 'redder'
{marɛ}		/marAan/ 'angry at each other'

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

{kərjɛ} + {-an}	⟶	/kərjAʔan/ 'work'
{apɛ}		/apAʔan/ '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 $\{R_1\}$;
b) repetition of the base form with phonemic changes, symbolized as $\{R_2\}$;
c) repetition of the initial syllable of the base form, symbolized as $\{R_3\}$

$\{R_1\}$ here represents reduplication which is repetition of the complete base form, with no changes or omissions, as in:

{anaʔ} + $\{R_1\}$	⟶	/anaʔ-anaʔ/ 'children'
{bisik}		/bisik-bisik/ 'to whisper'
{ikut}		/ikut-ikut/ 'to always follow'

$\{R_2\}$ represents repetition of the base form but with changes of vowel phonemes $\{R_{2a}\}$, or consonant phonemes $\{R_{2b}\}$.

Reduplication $\{R_{2a}\}$ is repetition of the entire base form, but with changes of one or all vowels to other vowels, for example:

{priŋis} + $\{R_{2a}\}$	⟶	/priŋas-priŋis/ 'to grin'
{plotot}		/platat-plotot/ 'to stare angrily'
{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:

{gərak} + $\{R_{2a}\}$	⟶	/gərak-gərik/ 'movements'
{(kə)sana}		/kəsana-sono/ 'back and forth'

In reduplication which consists of three constituents, the first and second constituents also follow the pattern above:

{duk} + $\{R_{2a}\}$	⟶	/dak-dik-duk/ 'to beat'
{brak}		/brak-brik-bruk/ '(sound of things falling)'

Although there are not many examples, we may conclude that in reduplication with consonantal variation $\{R_{2b}\}$, 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:

{səluk} + $\{R_{2b}\}$	⟶	/səluk-bəluk/ 'complicated'
{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:

{saŋkut} + $\{R_{2b}\}$	⟶	/saŋkut-paut/ 'involved'

Reduplication of type $\{R_3\}$ is repetition of the first syllable of base form; while other syllables are not repeated, as in:

{laki} + $\{R_3\}$	⟶	/ləlaki/ 'man'
{kumur}		/kəkumur/ 'to gargle'
{bənɛ}		/bəbənɛ/ to put in order'
{sapu}		/səsapu/ 'broom'

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

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

are not repeated, for example:

(i) {bisik}+({bə(r)-}+{R}) ⟶
/bəbisik-bisik/
'to whisper'
{garuk}+({N-}+{R}) ⟶
/ŋəgaruk-garuk/
'to scratch'
{rumɛ} +({sə-}+{R}) ⟶
/səruma-ruma/
'the whole house'
{bawa} +({k-}+{R}) ⟶
/kəbawa-bawa/
'taken away'

(ii) {apɛ} +({R}+{-an} ⟶
/apA-apAan/
'what's this'
{siram}+({R}+{-in} ⟶
/siram-siramin/
'to spray'

(iii) {bənər}+({R}+{sə-[ ]-ña}) ⟶
/səbənər-bənərña/
'truly'
{pukul}+({R}+{N-[ ]-in}) ⟶
/mukul-mukulin/
'hit'
{pacar}+({R}+{bə(r)-[ ]-an}) ⟶
/bərpacar-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 /ŋə-/ 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:

{taña} + ({R}+{N-}) ⟶ /naña-naña/
'to ask'
{susɛ} + ({R}+{N-}) ⟶ /ñusA-ñusAin/
'to cause trouble'
{doroŋ} + ({R}+{N-}) ⟶ /ndoroŋ-ndoroŋ/
'to push'

But:

{doroŋ} + ({R}+{N-}) ⟶ /ŋədoroŋ-doroŋ/
'to push'
{garuk} + ({R}+{N-}) ⟶ /ŋəgaruk-garuk/
'to scratch'

It should be noted here that in the examples 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 reduplication occurs with the allomorph /ŋə-/ 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 following:

{apɛ} + ({R}+{N-[ ]-in}) ⟶ /ŋapA-ŋapAin/
'what are you doing?'
{apɛ} + ({R}+{-an}) ⟶ /apA-apAan/
'what is that'

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 reduplication in which the affixes are added to the first constituent. In this dialect there are also reduplicated forms which combine with the prefix {mə(N)-} where the prefix is added to the second constituent. In these cases the prefix is not repeated in the first constituent. The members of the base form do not agree phonologically:

{pukul} + {D} + {mə(N)-} + {D}[25] ⟶
/pukul-məmukul/
'to hit each other'
{səbəlɛ} + {D} + {mə(N)-} + {D} ⟶
/səbəlɛ-məñəbəlɛ/
'side by side/

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

* * *

FOOTNOTES:

16. In a way that is not clear to me, Kay Ikranagara shows examples like /apɛin/ and /mɛrɛin/ (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 *tɛŋtɛŋ* 'carry s.t. light in one's hand', *mɛkmɛk* 'touching', *juŋjuŋ* '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 /ŋ-/ is used. Thus the form {hargain} may occur in the form /ŋəhargain/ or /ŋargain/.

21. But the base form *wɛtan* 'east' apparently uses the allomorph /ŋ-/: *ŋɛtan* 'to go home to the east'. So the base form loses the semivowel /w/.

22. Abdul Chaer notes that /ŋə-/ 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.

Chapter five

PARADIGMATIC AFFIXATION

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 {kə-}, {tə(r)-}, and {kə-[ ]-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(ubject) precedes the V(erbal) predicate, and the O(bject) follows the verbal predicate:

(1a)	*mamat*	*ŋambil*	*makanan*
	S	V	O
	Mamat	take	food

'Mamat takes food.'

In sentence (1a) above, the verb *ŋambil* 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 *ŋambil* and *diambil* has no connection with the formation of new words, but is related to a syntactic process, the process of subjectivalization (Fillmore, 1970, *Subjectivalization processes*),[26] that 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(entive) 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(ubject):

(2a)	*imɛ*	*ŋliatin*	*guɛ*	[*ajɛ*]
	S:Ag	{N-}+Vt	O:Ob	
	Imah	look	I	only

'Imah just looks at me'

(2b)	[*kənapɛ*]	*guɛ*	*diliatin*	*imɛ*
		S:Ob	{di-}+Vt	Ad:Ag
	why	I	be-looked-at	
	[*ajɛ*]			
	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(entive) 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)	*babɛ*	*ŋəbəliin*	*mamat*	*baju*
	S:Ag	{N-}+Vt	O:Ben	C:Ob
	father	buy	Mamat	clothes
	[*baru*]			
	new			

'Father buys Mamat new clothes.'

(3b)	*mamat*	[*uda*]	*dibəliin*	*babɛ*
	S:Ben		{di-}+Vt	C:Ag
	Mamat	already	bought	father
	baju	[*baru*]		
	C:Ob			
	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(ubject)

in the Loc(ative) role:

(4a) *babɛ* *ñəbarin* *sawɛñɛ* *amɛ*
S:Ag {N-}+Vt O:Loc
father sow ricefield with

bibit *padi*
C:ob
seed rice

'Father sows the rice seed in the field.'

(4b) *sawɛñɛ* *disəbarin* *babɛ*
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 agentive role and one in the instrumental role:

(5a) *mamat* *mbəli* *baju* *baru*
S:Ag {N-}+Vt O:Ob
Mamat buy clothes new

[*amɛ*] *gajiña*
C:In
with wages

'Mamat buys new clothes with his wages.'

(5b) *gaji* *mamat* *dibəliin* *baju*
S:In {di-}+Vt C:Ob
wages Mamat spent clothes

baru

new

'Mamat's wages are spent on new clothes.'

As shown by example (5a), in this dialect — 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 coconstituent of the verbal predicate is not shown by a particular affix, subjectivalization with the prefix {di-} cannot be well understood without considering the role of the subject. With an {N-} form the role of the coconstituent 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 complement (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 coconstituent. 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 agentive actors are usually placed directly after the verb with the {di-} form. Following are several additional examples:

(6) *guɛ* [*ləbi* *suka*] *ditiŋgal* *ana?*
I more like left child

'I prefer to be left by the child.'

(7) *slampe* *guɛ* [*añut*] *dibawa*
handkerchief I drift taken

aɛr
water

'My handkerchief drifts away taken by the water.'

In examples (6) and (7) the agentive actor is not accompanied by the preposition which signals its role, *amɛ* 'by'. But in the following examples the agentive actor is accompanied by *amɛ*.

(8) *lu* [*pan*] *dipaŋgil* *amɛ*
you (particle) called by

ña?
mother

'Mother called you, didn't she?'

(9) *diɛ* *dipuŋut* *mantu* *amɛ*
he taken son-in-law by

oraŋ *kaya*
person rich

'He became the son-in-law of some rich people.'

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

(10) *diɛ* [*takut*] *biniña* *diambil*
he afraid wife taken

oraŋ
person

'He is afraid that his wife will be taken by someone.'

(11) *diɛ* [*doŋ*] *dipandaŋ* *oraŋ*
he (particle) respected person

'He is respected by the people.'

When the agentive role is filled by the third person pronoun *diɛ* 'he, she, it', *amɛ* is obligatory:

(12) [*ada* *apɛ* *si*] *guɛ*
is what (particle) I

dipandaŋ *amɛ* *diɛ*
looked-at by he

'Why is he looking at me?'

(13) [*ɛmaŋ*] *guɛ* *ditipu* *amɛ* *diɛ*
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 *diɛ* 'he, she, it', and not by *ñɛ* 'he, she, it; his, her, its', — as in Indonesian. Certainly *ñɛ* often occurs after verbs, including verbs in the {*di-*} form, but, in this dialect, *ñɛ* 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* *susɛ* *diajarñɛ*
child one difficult teaching

'Training an only child is difficult.'

(15) *ñañiñɛ* *ɛnak* *didəŋərñɛ*
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) *gunuŋ* *dikatɛ* *gədɛ*
mountain said big

[*gədɛan* *ati* *guɛ*]
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* *teñɛ*
drunk that tea

'Drink your tea.'

(18) *tu* *sayur* *jaŋan*
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* *ŋga?* *mau* *dikasitau*
you not want told

amɛ *guɛ* *si*
by I (particle)

'You don't want to be told by me.'

(20) *tu* *potlot* *jaŋan*
that pencil don't

digigit[*-gigit*] *amɛ* *lu*
bitten by you

'Don't bite that pencil.'

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

(21) [*pan*] *guɛ* *dikətawain* *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* *uda* *dipake*
money you already used

amɛ *mpo?*
by older-sister

'Your money was already used by her.'

(23) *liwət* *ñɛ* *uda* *diaduk*
rice the already stirred

amɛ *limɛ*
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) [*kəna*] *lu* *guɛ* *gəbuk*
hit, touched you I hit

'You were hit by me.'

(25) [*bəgitu* *kita* *gasir*] *radio*
as-soon-as we break-in radio

kita *buŋkus*
we wrap

'After we broke in, the radio was wrapped up by us.'

(26) *ni* *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) *ni* *duit* [*yaŋ*] *babɛ*
this money which father

ambil
taken

'This is the money which was taken by father.'

(28) [*kapan*] *baju* *ña?* [*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 subjectivalization:

di-	*ambil*	P(N)[29]
Pn. I, II, III + ø		(amɛ) Pn. I, II, III[30]
Respect Pn. ø		-
		-

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 agentive role, the nonvolative form does not have any paradigmatic variation connected with differences in the agentive 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 agentive role is more often unspecified than with the volative forms. When the agentive role is specified with a nonvolative form, usually the word in the agentive role is accompanied by *amɛ* 'by':

(29) *blanjaan* *guɛ* *kəbawa* *amɛ*
shopping, groceries I taken by

lu
you

'My groceries were taken by you.'

(30) *guɛ* *udɛ* *ŋga?* *kəpake*
I already not used

dɛh *amɛ* *diɛ*
(particle) by he

'I am not used by him any more.'

(31) *utaŋñɛ* *uda* *ŋga?* *kəpikiran*
debt-the already not thought

lagi *amɛ* *diɛ*
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 *amɛ*, as in: *kəsundul kəpalɛ* 'can be bumped by the head' (too short), *kəburu nafsu* '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* *kəmakan* *ŋga?* *nasi*
(by) you eaten not rice

səgitu
so-much

'Will you eat that much rice or not?'

(33) *guɛ* *ŋga?* *kəjinjiŋ* *ni*
(by) I not jingle this

baraŋ
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) *guɛ* *ŋga?* *kəpikiran* *lagi*
(by) I not thought again

dɛh *amɛ* *utaŋ* *lu*
(particle) about debt you[31]

'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 subjectivalization, {kə-} has other meanings as follows:

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

(35) [*guɛ* *bukanña* *mau* *jitak*]
I not want hit

kəjitak *diɛ*
hit he

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

(36) [*ada* *kəbakaran* *tu*] *ruma* *lu*
is fire that house you

kəbakar *ŋga?*
burned not

'There is a fire there. Is your house burning?'

(37) *lu* [*jaŋan* *bədiri* *di* *situ*]
you don't stand at there

kəsambit
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 *ŋga?* 'not', as in:

(38) *uda* *ŋga?* *kəbikin* *lagi*
already not made again

ni *kue*
this cake

'This cake can't be made.'

(39) *hargañɛ* *ŋga?* *kəbəli* *dɛh*
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 *ŋga?*:

(40) *Kalu* *pintuña* *kəpɛndɛkan*
if door-the too-low

kəbəntur *kəpala*
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 nonvolative aspect, with the connotation of nonintention, suddenness, or happening against the actor's will.

(41) [*guɛ* *ŋga?* *tau* *ada* *kali*]
I not know is river

e *guɛ* *kəjəbur*
(exclamation) I fall-in

'I didn't know there was a river. I fell in.'

(42) *diɛ* *bukan* *kəjəblos* [*ɛmaŋ*
he not fall-in indeed

ñəblosin *diri*]
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) *diɛ* *ñəblos* *səndiri*
he throw self

'He jumped in.'

(44) *ah* *diɛ* *ñəbur* *səndiri*
(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 *kətawa* 'laugh', *kəlanjur* 'excessive, gone too far', *kəcɛcɛr* 'spilled, left behind', *kəburu* 'in a hurry', and *kəlindəs* '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 *kəbuka* 'open', *kərasa* 'felt', *kəplɛsɛt* 'slip, stumble' we find the forms *təbuka*, *tərasa* and *təplɛsɛt* with the same meanings. In this case the prefix {tə(r)-} is a new alternant perhaps coming from Indonesian.

In addition, there are also {tə(r)-} forms which never alternate with forms with the prefix {kə-}. Forms such as *tərikət* 'tied', *təlambat* 'late', *tərpandaŋ* 'seen, esteemed', *tərsərah* 'as you will', or *tələntaŋ* '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 stative 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* *jəndɛla* [*ko?*] *təbuka*
that window (particle) open

[*siapa* *yaŋ* *bukain*]
who which open

'Why is that window open? Who opened it?'

(46) [*jaŋan* *sampe*] *laki* *lu*
not until man you

[*ni*] *tərikət* *amɛ* *polisi*
this 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* *təboŋkar*
secret we can disclose

səmua
all

'All our secrets can be disclosed.'

(48) [*ŋga?* *ada* *laki* *buat* *ndampiŋin*
not is man for accompany

diɛ *suda* *baraŋ* *təntu*]
she already thing certain

diɛ *ŋga?* *tərpandaŋ*
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 {kə-} forms: they can alternate with *kəbuka* and *kəboŋkar*. But the examples *tərikət* (46) and *tərpandaŋ* (48) can never occur in the {kə-} form.

5.2.7 {tə(r)-} + intransitive verbs

Like the prefix {kə-}, 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 nonvolative aspect. Following are examples:

(49) *kalo* *ujan* *guɛ* *bisa* *juga*
if rain I can also

təplɛsɛt
slip

'If it rains I could slip.'

(50) *lu* *guɛ* *tuŋgu* *ampɛ*
you I wait until

tətidur(-tidur)
fall-asleep

'I waited for you until I fell asleep.'

5.2.8 The circumfix {kə-[ ]-an}

This circumfix has two meanings, as a derivational circumfix and as a sign of nonvolative aspect. {Kə-[ ]-an} acts as a derivational circumfix in forming nouns (See 6.10). And as a sign of nonvolative aspect, this circumfix has two meanings: as a derivational circumfix and as a sign of paradigmatic variation.

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

(51a) *amat* *tidur* *di* *gardu*
Amat sleep at guardhouse

'Amat sleeps at the guardhouse.'

(51b) *amat* *kətiduran* *di* *gardu*
Amat fall-asleep at guardhouse

'Amat falls asleep at the guardhouse.'

(52a) *lu* *ŋədudukin* *slampɛ*
you sit-on handkerchief

guɛ
I

'You sit on my handkerchief.'

(52b) *slampɛ* *guɛ* *kədudukan*
handkerchief I sat-on

amɛ *lu*
by you

'My handkerchief is sat upon by you.'

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

Unlike forms with the prefix {kə-} which are paradigmatic variants of {N-} forms, forms with the circumfix {kə-[ ]-an} are primarily 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 {kə-[ ]-an} forms. (See 5.2.10.)

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

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

As explained in 5.2.8, {kə-[ ]-an} can vary paradigmatically with {N-[ ]-in} verbs which come from intransitive verbs, showing subjectivalization of the object, as in example (52). The meaning of {kə-[ ]-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) *slampɛ* *guɛ* *didudukin*
handkerchief I sat-on

amɛ *lu*
by you

'My handkerchief was sat upon by you.'

The difference is that the circumfix

{di-[ ]-in} expresses a dynamic activity while {kə-[ ]-an} is a sign of activity with a stative aspect.

In addition to this meaning, the circumfix {kə-[ ]-an} also has the following connotations:

a) The circumfix {kə-[ ]-an} expresses that something happens unintentionally, as in:

(53) *rapi-rapiin* *jaŋan* *sampe* *ada*
clean-up don't until is

yaŋ *kətiŋgalan*
which left

'Clean up, don't let anything be left behind.'

(54) *jaŋan* *bədiri* *di* *situ* *ntàr*
don't stand at there later

kəjatoan *klapɛ*
fallen-on coconut

'Don't stand there, you'll be hit by a coconut.'

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

(55) *mulutña* *uda* *ŋga?* *kətahanan*
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* *rumɛ* *bəgitu*
burn house like-that

kətauan *polisi* *ditaŋkəp* *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) *diɛ* *mau* *kə* *mari* *kalaŋan*
he want to here prevented

banjir
flood

'He wanted to come but was suddenly prevented by a flood.'

(58) *diɛ* *kətagian* *roko?* *tu*
he addicted cigarette that

ŋantuk
sleepy

'He is addicted to cigarettes, so he's sleepy.'

d) Parallel to meaning (c), verbal sentences with {kə-[ ]-an} forms often become phrases. Examples like *ana? kəsayaŋan babɛ* 'father's favorite child', *kəturunan 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 *kəsayaŋan babɛ* and *kəturunan arab* in a nominal phrase.

Coconstituents of {kə-[ ]-an} verbs which express the agentive 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 *amɛ* as in (52), or not, as in (54), (56), (57) and (58).

The meaning of {kə-[ ]-an} with intransitive verb base forms is only to express stative 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* *guɛ* *kəlupaan* *ŋga?* *kəiŋətan*
yes I forgotten not remember

'Yes, I forget, I don't remember.'

(60) *na* *səkaraŋ* *ni*
(exclamation) now this

kəjadian[33]
happened

'Now this happens.'

In addition there are many {kə-[ ]-an} forms whose base forms are difficult to explain, such as *kəsurupan* 'possessed (by a spirit)', *kəlanjuran* 'excessive, gone too far', *kəwalahan* 'at a loss what to do.' Such forms are grouped with precategorical forms.

5.2.10 {kə-[ ]-an} + transitive verbs

Unlike intransitive verb base forms, not all transitive verbs can become {kə-[ ]-an} base forms. Forms which we find are, among others, *kəbagian* 'get one's share', *kəliatan* 'seen', *kəpikiran* 'thought about', and *kəcampuran* 'mixed, involved'.

From this limited number of examples it may be pointed out that some of them are complementary to examples with the prefix {kə-}. As pointed out in 5.2.8, the circumfix {kə-[ ]-an} is generally added to transitive verbs which come from intransitive verbs with the circumfix {N-[ ]-in}, while for transitive verbs, generally, the prefix {kə-} 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 {kə-}, but rather the circumfix {kə-[ ]-an}. The verbs *ndəŋar* 'hear' and *ŋliat* 'see' for example never become **kədəŋər* or **kəliat* but always *kədəŋəran* and *kəliatan*.

On the other hand, there are some {kə-[ ]-an} forms from transitive verbs which also have {kə-} forms. As well as the form *kəcampur* 'mixed, involved' for example, we find the form *kəcampuran*, and as well as the form *kəcopet* 'pilfered', we find *kəcopɛtan*.

Therefore forms with the circumfix {kə-[ ]-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 {kə-}, and the group which also have {kə-} forms.

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

(61) *ya* (exclamation) *dompɛt* wallet *guɛ* I
kətiŋgalan left
'My wallet is left behind.'

(62) *nah* (exclamation) *kəna* hit, touched
tu that *kakiña* feet *kəjirətan* snared
'The feet are snared.'

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

(63) *ŋga?* not *kəliatan* seen, visible *dari* from *sini* here
'It is not visible from here.'

(64) *suaraña* voice *masi* still *kədəŋəran* heard, audible
juga also *dari* from *siñi* here
'His voice is still audible from here.'

2) In the second group, the {kə-[ ]-an} group which also has {kə-} forms, some pairs have the same meaning, such as *kəjirat* 'snared', and *kəjiratan* 'snared' but others have a different syntactic distribution. The forms *kəcopɛt* and *kəcopɛtan* 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* money *kiriman* sent *lu* you *kəcopɛt* pilfered
waktu time *guɛ* I *kəcopɛtan* robbed
'The money you sent was taken when I was robbed.'

The subject of *kəcopɛt*, that is *duit*, is in the objective role, while the subject of *kəcopɛtan*, that is, *guɛ* is in the benefactive role. Another example:

(66) [*ña?* mother *ŋəbagi* distribute *duit* money *amɛ* to
ana?-ana?] children *duit* money *guɛ* I *ikut* accompany
kəbagi distribute
'When mother distributed money to the children, my money was also distributed.'

Compare to:

(67) *Duduŋ* Dudung *kaga?* not *kəbagian* get share *duit* money
'Dudung doesn't get a share of the money.'

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

(68) * *duit guɛ ikut kəbagian*

or

(69) * *duduŋ kaga? kəbagi*

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

5.2.11 {kə-[ ]-an} + special base forms

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

(70) *diɛ* he *kəujanan* rained-on *tu* that *di* at *situ* there
'He got caught in the rain there.'

The subject of the sentence, *diɛ*, is in the objective role.

Since the meaning of the circumfix {kə-[ ]-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: **maləmin*, **magribin*, **manasin* and so forth.

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

5.3 Nominal paradigmatic variation

In this dialect there is an element {-ña} 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 {-ña}.

A noun like *kəpala* 'head' can have the form *kəpalaña* without any change in lexical meaning. The suffix {-ña} 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?* children, men *datəŋ* come *laporan* report
bawa bring *kəpalaña* head *si* (particle)

gondroŋ
long-hair (man)

'The men came to report bringing the head of the long-haired man.'

(72) *ni* *tadi* *ana?-[ana?]ña*
this just-then children, man

si *rombɛŋ*
(particle) Rombeng

'Those were Rombeng's men.'

(73) *ni* *kalo* *bəgini*
this if, then like-this

romboŋanña *baŋ* *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) *biasaña* *təmən-təmən* *abaŋ*
usually friends older-brother/he

suka *datəŋ*
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) *manɛ* *rumɛ* *ayɛ* *rombɛŋ*
where house I delapidated, run-down

'My house is run-down, too.'

(76) *məmaŋ* *pəŋharapan* *guɛ* *bəgitu*
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) *baŋ* *umar* *di* *paŋkɛŋ*
(title) Umar at room

mundar-mandir *mulutña*
back-and-forth mouth-his

komat-kamit
muttering

'Umar paces the room, muttering.'

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

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

(78) *abaŋ* *buru-buru*
older-brother, you quickly

bənər *kali* *ada*
very perhaps have

pacarña *lagi*
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 *abaŋ*.

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

(79) *ña?* *uda* *tau*
mother, you already know

tabɛatña *dia* *bəgitu*
character-his he like-that

'You know his character is like that.'

In (79), {-ña} refers to *dia* which is mentioned 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) *diɛ* *adatña* *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 anaphoric 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 subjectivalization, 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 subjectivalization by Fillmore. The process of object choice is derivational. (See the circumfix {N-[ ]-in} in 6.5.2.) The process of subjectivalization is paradigmatic. (Compare also Verhaar, 1975.)

27. *List of Pronouns of Jakarta Dialect*

(i) first person	(ii) second person	(iii) third person
guɛ	*(ə)lu*	*diɛ*
'I'	'you'	'he, she,
kitɛ	*ɛntɛ*	it'
'I, we'	'you'	'they'
anɛ	*disitu*	
'I'	'you'	
ayɛ	(respect)	
'I'		
saya		
'I'		
(respect)		

In this dialect there is no difference between singular and plural pronouns. The pronouns *kitɛ* and *diɛ* 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 jəmuran uda pada lu ambil* 'Did you get all the laundry?'. *tu diɛ 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: *əmpoʔ* 'older sister', *adɛʔ* 'younger sibling', *abaŋ* 'older brother', *babɛ* 'father', *əñaʔ* 'mother', *toke* 'employer', *waʔaji* '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 *babɛ*, *əñaʔ*, *əmpoʔ*, *abaŋ* which can be abbreviated to *bɛ*, *ñaʔ*, *poʔ* and *baŋ* can never occur as respect pronouns in their abbreviated forms. There are no forms like **duit lu uda baŋ ambil*, for example.

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

30. Pn. I, II, III stands for pronominals of the first, second, and third person.

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

32. No constructions of the form *taʔ* {tə(r)-} [...] (*taʔ* 'not') are found in the data.

33. Perhaps forms like *kəmaləman* 'overcome by night, too late at night', *kəmagriban* 'overcome by dusk' and *kəujanan* 'caught in the rain', can be considered to vary with **maləmin*, **magribin* and **ŋujanin*, although these forms never occur in the 'active' form.

Chapter six

DERIVATIONAL AFFIXATION

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, semitransitive 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-}, {mə(N)-}, {bə(r)-}, {bə(r)-[ ]-an}, and {N-[ ]-in}; then the adjectival derivational affix {-an}; and then nominal affixation: {pə(N)-}, {pə(N)-[ ]-an}, {pə(r)-[ ]-an}, {kə-[ ]-an}, {sə-}, and {sə-[ ]-ňa}.

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 paradigmatic 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 *pəgaŋan*$_1$ 'to hold on (continuously)' (a semitransitive stative verb), to *pəgaŋan*$_2$ 'place to hold on' (a deverbal noun). The form *pəgaŋan*$_1$ is directly related to the root morpheme base form *pəgaŋ*, while the form *pəgaŋan*$_2$ is related to the transitive verb *məgaŋ* 'to hold'. As another example we may compare the forms *bəpakean* and *bərhadəpan* 'to face'. *bəpakean* has a different order of derivation than *bərhadəpan*. The first form comes from the (secondary) base form *pakean* 'clothes' (from the root morpheme base form *pake* 'wear') with the prefix {*bə(r)*-}. The second form comes directly from the primary base form *hadəp*, with the circumfix {*bə(r)*-[ ]-*an*}.

6.1 The prefix {N-}[34]

6.1.0 Distribution

This prefix can combine with the following root morpheme base forms: (1) semitransitive verbals,[35] (2) intransitive verbals, (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.[36] 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 *pətik* in example (81) varies with (82):

(81) *kalo gue yaŋ* *mətik* *kəmbaŋ dimarəin*
if I which pick flower scolded
'If I pick flowers I get scolded.'

(82) *kalo gue yaŋ* *pətik* *kəmbaŋ dimarəin*
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 {-ña}, as in:

(83) *məndiŋ* *ñubitña* *ŋgaʔ* *kəncəŋ*
as-long-as pinching not hard
'As long as he doesn't pinch hard.'

(84) *kəbəratan* *tu* *ŋgɛndoŋña*
too-heavy that picking-up
'It is too heavy to pick up.'

(85) *tu* *rumɛ* *tau-tau* *uda*
that house unexpectedly already
jadi *kapan* *mbaŋunña*
done when building
'That house is already finished! When was it built?'

(86) *ŋəbakarña* *jaŋan* *matəŋ-matəŋ*
cooking don't overdone
'Don't cook it too long.'

The {N-} forms in these four examples can not vary with forms without {N-}: **cubitña*, **gɛndoŋña*, **baŋunña* and **bakarña* can not 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 *pakeña* 'wearing' or *cariña* '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 stative/dynamic aspect. Forms without {N-} have a stative 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 *ajar* and *tuntun*. These two roots when combined with the prefix {N-} give the transitive verb forms *ŋajar* 'to give a lesson' and *nuntun* 'to guide, lead', but when combined with the prefix {bə(r)-}, they give the stative semitransitive verbs *bəlajar* 'to learn' and *bətuntun* 'to guide, lead each other'. The following examples are provided to clarify the difference in meaning:

(87a) *poʔ* *minɛ* *lagi* *ŋajar*
(title) Minah presently give-a-
anaʔña
lesson child
'Minah is teaching her child a lesson.'

(87b) *anaʔ* *poʔ* *minɛ* *lagi*
child (title) Minah presently
blajar *ŋaji*
learn recite Koran
'Minah's child is learning to recite Koran.'

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

(88b) *na* *kalo* *bəjalan* *bətuntun*
(exclamation) when walk lead-
bəgitu *jadi* *ŋgaʔ* *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 *ŋlipət* 'to fold' with the form *bəlipət* 'multiple'; *ŋadəp* 'to face' with *bəradəp* '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 {bə(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.)[37]

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 {bə(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) *diɛ* *uda* *sampe* *kə* *mari* *kəmarɛn*
he already arrive to here yesterday
'He arrived here yesterday.'

(90) *taŋan* *guɛ* *ŋgaʔ* *ñampe* *kə* *sono*
hand I not reach to there
'My hand doesn't reach there.'

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

Such an opposition can also be seen in the following pairs: *ikut* 'accompany', and *ŋikut* 'follow' (intransitive); *omoŋ* 'talk' and *ŋomoŋ* 'discuss, talk'.

The dynamic-stative opposition is seen more clearly in an intransitive verb which has a form with the prefix {kə-} as well as a {N-} form, such as *añut* 'drift', which has the form *kañut* 'washed away' as well as the {N-} form *ŋañut* 'let oneself drift'. Compare

the following quotations:

(91) *slampe* *guɛ* *añut* *dibawa* *aɛr*
handkerchief I drift taken water

'My handkerchief drifted away taken by the water.'

(92) *apa* *diɛ* *añut* *sendiri*
(question marker) he drift himself

apa *diañutin*
or washed-away

'Did he drift away by himself or was he washed away?'

(93) *slampe* *guɛ* *kañut*
handkerchief I washed-away

kəmarɛn
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 *ɛgol* 'shake, rock' has the form *ɛgol-ɛgol* 'waver' as well as the form *ŋɛgol* 'shake, rock'. The {N-} form has a dynamic aspect, while the form *ɛgol-ɛgol* has a stative aspect. Compare the examples in the following quotations:

(94) *tu* *roda* *beca?* *lu* *uda*
that wheel trishaw you already

ŋɛgol
wobble

'Your trishaw wheel is wobbling.'

(95) *siapa* *tu* *naɛ?* *səpɛda* *ɛgol-ɛgol*
who that ride bicycle wobbly

bəgitu
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 *ŋañut* 'let oneself drift' (92). Other examples are the verbs *ñəbur* 'throw oneself in, plunge' and *mlɛsɛt* 'trip oneself'.

Following are examples in quotations:

(96) *ah* *diɛ* *ñəbur* *səndiri*
(particle) he plunge self

'He throws himself in.'

(97) *jaŋan* *mlɛsɛt-[mlɛsɛt]* *ajɛ*
don't repeatedly-trip-oneself only

ntar *jatu*
later fall

'Don't keep tripping yourself, you'll fall.'

The meaning is seen more clearly when {N-} forms are compared to {kə-} forms: *kəcəbur* 'to fall into water', *kəplɛsɛt* 'tripped'.

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

(98) *diɛ* *səkaraŋ* *udɛ* *misɛ*
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 *pacul* 'hoe' and *gərgaji* 'saw', the prefix {N-} gives transitive verbs like *macul* 'to hoe' and *ŋgərgaji* 'to saw'. But with some other names of things like *goŋ* 'gong' and *kuli* 'laborer', it gives intransitive verbs like *ŋəgoŋ* 'strike a gong' and *ŋuli* '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 *pacul* 'hoe', *piso* 'knife', *gərgaji* 'saw', *sərut* 'plane (carpenter's tool)'. These nominal base forms give the transitive verbs *macul* 'to hoe', *miso* 'to knife', *ŋgərgaji* 'to saw', and *ñərut* 'to plane', each meaning 'to use the tool which is the base form'. Following are examples in quotations:

(99) *babɛ* *ñuru* *mamat* *ŋəbor* *pintu*
father order Mamat bore door

'Father tells Mamat to bore the door.'

(100) *diɛ* *lagi* *ñərut* *papan* *bakal*
he presently plane board for

pintu
door

'He is planing a board for the door.'

(b) The nominal group with the component 'material to do something', with the prefix {ŋ—} also gives transitive verbs meaning to do something with the thing which is the base form as material. For example *kapur* 'whitewash', and *cɛt* 'paint' become the verbs *ŋapur* 'to whitewash' and *ŋəcɛt* 'to paint'. Following are examples in quotations:

(101) *siapɛ* *yaŋ* *ŋəcɛt* *pintu* *jəlɛk*
who which paint door ugly, bad

bənər
very

'Who painted the door? It's badly done.'

(102) *biar namaña sətaon səkali*
let it's-called one-year once

kita ŋapur ruma juga
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)'; *sambəl* '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)', *ñambəl* 'to make hot sauce', and *ñayur* 'to make a vegetable dish'. Following are examples in quotations:

(103) *ña? uda ñambəl 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) *mpo? numis*
older-sister/she make-(vegetable-

kaŋkuŋ 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 *səbəraŋ* 'across', *pojok* 'corner', *kampuŋ* 'village', and *piŋgir* 'edge' give *ñəbəraŋ* 'cross', *mojok* 'stay in a corner', *ŋampuŋ* 'pass a village' and *miŋgir* 'go to the edge'. Following are examples in quotations:

(105) *lu duduk kənapɛ mojok*
you sit why stay-in-corner

begitu
like-that

'Why are you sitting in the corner like that?'

(106) *jalanñɛ ŋampuŋ dəkətan*
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 *kuli* 'laborer', *sopir* 'driver', and *babu* 'maid' become *ŋuli* 'to work as a laborer', *ñopir* 'to work as a driver' and *ŋəbabu* 'to work as a maid'. Following are examples in quotations:

(107) *ni duit bole ŋuli*
this money may work-as-laborer

di priok
at Tanjungpriok

'I get this money working as a laborer at Tanjungpriok.'

(108) *ŋəbabu di mana lu səkaraŋ*
work-as-maid at where you now

'Where do you work as a maid now?'

(c) Nominal roots which name food or drink like *kupi* '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 *ŋupi* 'drink coffee', *ŋəte* 'drink tea', *ñate* 'eat/buy *sate*' (skewered meat). Note the examples in the following quotations:

(109) *ŋupi dulu dɛh kalo*
drink-coffee first(particle) if

uda cape
already tired

'Have coffee first if you are tired.'

(110) *ñate di mana lu kaga?*
eat-*sate* at where you not

ŋajak-ŋajak
invite

'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: *goŋ*, *kromoŋ*, *tɛ?yan* can become the verbs *ŋəgoŋ* 'to strike a gong', *ŋromoŋ* 'to strike the *kromoŋ*', and *nɛ?yan* 'to blow the *te?yan*'. The following quotations will make the meaning clearer:

(111) *prəmpuan juga bisa ŋəgoŋ*
woman also can strike-gong

'A woman can also strike the gong.'

(112) *ŋromoŋña bagus bənər tu*
strike-*kromong* good very that

oraŋ
person

'That person plays the *kromong* very well.'

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

(113) *ni taon gue ŋga? ñawɛ*
this year I not work-on-rice-

ŋga? ŋəbon
field not work-on-garden

'This year I didn't work on a rice-field or a garden.'

(f) Following are {N-} forms whose meanings can not fit into any group. The base form *kibul* 'buttocks' becomes *ŋibul* meaning 'to lie'; *ɛgol* (name of a movement) becomes *ŋɛgol* 'to sway'; *upil* 'nasal mucus' becomes *ŋupil* 'to pick one's nose'; *siŋsot* 'whistle' becomes *niŋsot* 'to whistle'.

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 categorical 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', *təraŋ* 'clear, not raining', and *panjaŋ* 'long' which can become *muti* 'fast by eating only white rice, no side dishes', *nəraŋ* 'hold a ceremony to prevent rain', and *manjaŋ* '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 *ŋalaŋ* 'to create an obstacle oneself, to meet an obstacle' from the form *alaŋ*; *ŋadat* 'to be hard to please, not want to do anything' from *adat*; *ŋaso* 'rest', and so forth.

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

6.2 The prefix {mə(N)-}

It is rather difficult to determine the status of the prefix {mə(N)-} in Jakarta Dialect. In most cases it appears as an alternate form of the prefix {N-}. For most cases, {mə(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 paragraph. Thus the forms *mənari* 'to dance', *məñañi* 'to sing', *məluda* 'to spit' can always be replaced by *nari*, *ñañi*, and *ŋluda*, with no difference in syntactic distribution.

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

Another place in which {mə(N)-} cannot be replaced by {N-}, is when {mə(N)-} occurs in a reduplicated form like *bantu-məmbantu* 'to help each other', *tuluŋ-mənuluŋ* 'to help each other', *tarik-mənarik* 'to pull each other'. (See 7.5.5.)

The remainder are words which are probably new borrowings from Indonesian, such as *məmbasmi* 'to wipe out', *mənəmpuh [ujian]* 'to take (an examination)', *məŋənai* 'concerning', and so forth. There are also archaic words which only occur in poems, songs, proverbs or sayings, such as: *məniŋgi* in the line of the *pantun* 'poem' *tidak bulan məniŋgi ari* 'the moon does not appear by day' or *məlayaŋ* 'to soar' in *buruŋ mərpati tərbaŋ məlayaŋ / turun kutilaŋ nɛmplok di dahan* 'the pigeon flies soaring / the thrush descends to perch on the branch'.

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

On the basis of the information in 6.2.0, we must differentiate between {mə(N)-} which is an alternate form of {N-}, and {mə(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 {mə(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 {mə(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 {mə(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 tradition.[38]

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 {mə(N)-} which do not alternate with {N-} forms - on the basis of limited data - only give intransitive verbs like *məlayaŋ* to soar', *məniŋgal* 'to die' and *məlompat* 'jump' with the meaning to do or to experience the activity of the verb form.

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

Finally a few {mə(N)-} forms from precategorical base forms should be mentioned such as *məlamun* 'to daydream', *məlawat* 'to visit, take a trip' and *məntɛrɛŋ* 'dressed up, luxurious, stuck-up'. With these forms the prefix {mə(N)-} also gives intransitive verbs.

6.3 The prefix {bə(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 morphemes.

6.3.1 {bə(r)-} + nominal base forms

Nominal base forms which take this prefix can be (a) monomorphemic nouns, like *kaos* 'T-shirt', and *jɛŋgot* 'beard', which become respectively *bəkaos* 'wearing a T-shirt' and *bəjɛŋgot* 'bearded'; (b) derivative nouns like *alaŋan* 'obstacle' and *kaɛnbatik* 'batik cloth' which become respectively *bəralaŋan* 'prevented' and *bəkaɛnbatik* 'wearing a batik cloth'.

For a particular group of words, these nominal base forms can also be nominal phrases, such as *jɛŋgot panjaŋ* 'long beard', *laga? bodo* 'act stupid', which become *bəjɛŋgot panjaŋ* 'to have a long beard' and *bəlaga? bodo* 'to act stupid'. This is a special affixational process which only takes place with derivative forms with the prefix {bə(r)-}.

6.3.2 The meaning of the prefix {bə(r)-}

The meanings of the prefix {bə(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 *ame*.

6.3.3 {bə(r)-} forming intransitive verbs

The meanings of {bə(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 *baju* 'clothes', *kaɛn* 'batik sarong', *səpatu* 'shoes', {bə(r)-} has the meaning 'to put on, to wear (the article of clothing which is the base form)':

(114) *tu ana? ŋga? tau* *bəbaju*
that child not know put-on-clothes

'That child does not know how to dress himself.'

(115) *pantəs lu* *bəkaɛnbatik*
appropriate you put-on-batik-sarong

'So that is why you put on a batik sarong.'

Also in this group are words like *konde* 'bun, knot of hair', *kumis* 'mustache', *jɛŋgot* 'beard'. One example in a quotation is:

(116) *tumbɛn* *bəkonde* *lu*
unusual wear-bun, knot of hair you

'How odd to see you with your hair in a bun.'

(b) With another group of nominals, such as *adɛ?* 'younger sibling', *duit* 'money', *laga?* 'attitude, behavior', and *tiŋke* 'behavior, action', {bə(r)-} means 'to have':

(117) *maman uda meninggal lu ŋga?* *bəradɛ?* *lagi*
mother already die you not have-younger-sibling anymore

'Your mother already died and you don't have any younger siblings.'

(118) *lu jaŋan* *bətiŋkɛ* *yɛ*
you don't have-(bad)-action (particle)

'Don't act up, will you.'

(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: *bəkəmbaŋ* 'to flower', *bəranak* 'to bear a child', *bəsuit* 'to whistle '.

Following are examples in quotations:

(119) *Tu taŋan lu* *bədarɛ* *kənapɛ*
that hand you bleed why

'Why is your hand bleeding?'

(120) *tu kəmpodak uda* *bəbuɛ* *ni*
that frangipanni already bear-fruit this, now

'That frangipanni (tree) is bearing fruit.'

Groups (a), (b) and (c) cannot be strictly deliniated. There are many examples which are difficult to classify, and on the other hand there are examples which can fit in more than one group. The form *bəranak* for example can have the meaning 'to have offspring' or 'to give birth'. Similarly {bər(-)-} in *bəlaga?* can mean 'to have (an attitude, behavior)' or 'to produce (an attitude, behavior)'.

As shown in the first part of this section, these groups have the characteristic of allowing phrases to serve as base forms. Examples like *bəbaju* 'to put on clothes' for example, can have phrases as base forms, such as *baju rombɛŋ*; *bəbaju rombɛŋ* means 'to put on rumpled clothes'; Similarly the example *bəlaga?* 'to behave', can become *bəlaga? pilon* 'to act as if stupid; pretend not to know'.

6.3.4. Forming semitransitive verbs

Other groups of meanings are formed by {bə(r)-} giving denonimal 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 *adɛ?* 'younger sibling', *abaŋ* 'older brother', *əmpo?* 'older sister', the prefix {bə(r)-} has the meaning 'to call someone (the name for a relative which serves as base form)', as in:

(121) *diɛ pantəs* *bəabaŋ* *ame lu*
he appropriate calls-older-brother (prep) you

'It is appropriate that he calls you older brother'/
'So that is why he calls you older brother.'

(122) *diɛ amɛ lu bəmpo?*
he with you older-sister

'He calls you older sister.'

(b) Base forms which are names like *sahabat* 'friend', *tətaŋgɛ* 'neighbor', and *təmən* 'friend', *sodarɛ* 'relative , friend' give meanings which are the same or similar to meaning (a):

(123) *lu jaŋan bətəmən amɛ diɛ*
you don't be-friend with him

'Don't be friendly with him.'

(124) *lu bətətaŋgɛ amɛ siapɛ*
you be-neighbor with who

'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 {bə(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) *lu mau bəguru amɛ*
you want have-as-teacher (prep.)
siapɛ lagi
who more

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

(126) *lu bərobat kə doktor*
you have-treatment to doctor
ajɛ dɛh
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.), (2) These words must be completed with a phrase with *amɛ*+ a noun, as a complement, as in *bəabaŋ amɛ lu* (121), *bətəmən amɛ diɛ* (122), *bərobat kə doktor* (126). Example (126) is unusual in using the preposition *kə* in place of *amɛ*. 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 *jam* 'hour', *ari* 'day', *miŋgu* 'week', *taon* 'year', {bə(r)-} gives the meaning 'a number of (periods of time)', as in:

(127) *bəjəm-[jəm] lu guɛ tuŋgu ŋga?*
for-hours you I wait not
datan-datan
come(durative)

'I waited for you for hours but you didn't come',

(128) *guɛ udɛ bətaon-[taon] kərjɛ*
I already for-years work
di sini
at here

'I have worked here for years.'

As in examples (127) and (128), these {bə(r)-} forms are always accompanied by reduplication. We do not find the forms **bəjəm* or **bətaon* (See 7.5.1.).

These {bə(r)-} forms are more like adverbs than intransitive verbs, that is, they always describe another verb as in the two examples shown: *bəjəm-jəm* modifies the verb *tuŋgu* (127) and *bətaon-taon* modifies the verb *kərjɛ* (128).

6.3.5. {bə(r)-} + numerals

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

(129) *lu bədua ajɛ datan*
you be-two-together only come

'Only you two came'.

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

The prefix *bər-* does not change the class of intransitive verbal base forms: it gives intransitive verbs, such as *bəlari* 'to run', *bətərɛak* 'to yell', and *bəkərja* 'to work' from the base form *lari*, *tərɛak* and *kərja*. We will also include in this group precategorical roots which only occur with {bə(r)-} and which form intransitive verbs. Words like *bərənaŋ* 'to swim', *'bəkaor'* 'to yell at', and *brənti* 'to stop' are intransitive verbs which only occur with {bə(r)-}.

The occurrence of the prefix {bə(r)-} is optional with intransitive verbal base forms. Without the {bə(r)-} prefix such verbal roots can have a distribution parallel to forms with the prefix, with no difference in meaning. Thus the forms *bəlari*, *bətərɛak*, and *bəkərja* have distributions parallel to the roots *lari*, *tərɛak* and *kərja*. Of course, with the precategorical forms, the occurrence of the prefix {bə(r)-} is obligatory.

Following are examples of {bə(r)-} forms which give intransitive verbs:

(130) *lu bəkaok-(kaok) kaya yaŋ puñu*
you yell like who have
mulut səndiri
mouth alone

'You yell as if you were the only one with a mouth.'

(131) *ɛmaŋ kita mau duduk ajɛ*
certainly we want sit only
bədiri di luar sono yu?
stand at out there come-on

'Are we just going to sit, come on, let's stand outside there'.

6.3.7. {bə(r)-} + semitransitive verbal roots

As with intransitive verbal roots, the prefix {bə(r)-} can combine with semitransitive verb roots and with precategorical roots which only appear with {bə(r)-}. The base forms of *bəcəre* 'divorce, separated' and *bədame* 'peaceful' are the semitransitive verbal roots *cəre* 'separate' and *dame* 'peace', but the base forms of *bərundiŋ* 'meet' and *bərantəm* 'fight' are precategorical roots. Following are examples in quotations:

(132) *diɛ* *uda* *bəcəre*
she already divorced, separated

amɛ *diɛ* *puña* *tuan*
(prep.) she own husband (master)

'She has already left her husband.'

(133) *tukaŋ* *daɡiŋ* *uda* *pada* *bədɛrɛt*
seller meat already all in a row, line

kaya *oraŋ* *antri* *miñak*
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 {bə(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 {bə(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 *amɛ*, as in example (132). But in context or because of another syntactic rule, the prepositional phrase with *amɛ* may not occur, as in:

(134) *sodara* *ajak* *saya*
friend, you invite I

bədame *supaya* *jaŋan* *kita*
be-peaceful so don't we

cɛkcok
quarrel

'(So) you ask me to make peace so we don't quarrel.'

6.3.8. {bə(r)-} + adjectival morphemes

There are only a few adjectival morphemes which can take the prefix {bə(r)-} in this dialect. In the data we have collected there are only two examples, *baɛ?* 'good' and *kuat* 'strong', which can take this prefix: *bəbaɛ?* and *bəkuat*. 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) *lu* *uda* *bəbaɛ?* *amɛ*
you already be-good (prep.)

adɛ? *lu*
younger-sibling you

'Are you already on good terms with your younger brother?'

(136) *abaŋ* *ŋga?* *bisa* *bəkuat*
older-brother not can be-strong

səndiri
alone

'He can not hold out by himself.'

6.3.9 {bə(r)-} + precategorical roots

A number of precategorical forms, such as *candɛ*, *rɛndɛŋ* and *rənaŋ* can only form verbs with the prefix {bə(r)-}, becoming *bəcandɛ* 'to joke', *bərɛndɛŋ* 'to go in turn', *bərənaŋ* '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 {bə(r)-} and {N-}. With {bə(r)-} this group of base forms gives stative semitransitive verbs. (See 2.5.5.) But dynamic transitive verbs are formed with the prefix {N-}. Forms like *tukər* 'change', *campur* 'mix' or *lipət* 'fold' can form *bətukər* 'exchange', *bəcampur* 'mixed, associated with', *bəlipət* 'folded multiple', and can also take the prefix {N-} to become *nukər* 'to change (money)', *ñampur* 'to mix', and *ŋlipət* 'to fold'.

Following are examples of forms with the prefix {bə(r)-} in quotations:

(137) *tiəp* *brani* *datəŋ* *brani* *bətukər*
every brave come brave exchange

jiwa
spirit

'Every time (you) dare to come (it means) (you) dare to fight (exchange spirits).'

(138) *pəŋabisanña* *bərəbut* *aŋkin* *amɛ*
end fight-over scarf with

tukaŋ *tuak*
seller palm-wine

'Finally (you) fight over a scarf with a palm-wine seller.'

And with {N-}, these precategorical roots form transitive verbs, which have the characteristic that they may vary paradigmatically with {di-} forms, becoming *ditukər*, *dicampur*, and *dilipət*. But the {bə(r)-} forms can not vary with {di-} forms.

6.4 The circumfix {bə(r)-[ ]-an}

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 {kə-[ ]-an} alternate with forms with the prefix {bə(r)-}; other alternate with {-an} forms.

As well as the forms *bəradəpan* 'to face' *bərɡaulan* 'to associate', *bəjubəlan* 'to crowd' we find the forms *bəradəp*, *bərɡaul* and *bəjubəl* with no difference in meaning or distribution.

And the forms *bəkənalan* 'to get to know one another' *bəpacaran* 'to be in love with e.o.' *bəsukaan* 'to be in love with e.o.' can alternate with the forms *kənalan*, *pacaran*, and *sukaan*; also, according to the date available, with no difference in meaning or syntactic distribution between the two groups of forms. But the form {bə(r)-[ ]-an} in examples like: *bədəkatan* 'to be near', *bəjauan* 'to be far apart', *bəlainan* 'to be different from e.o.', *bəlawanan* 'to be opposed to e.o.' never alternate, either with the prefix {bə(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 {bə(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 {bə(r)-[ ]-an} always gives reciprocal verbs with a stative meaning aspect. Following are examples in quotations:

(139) *rumɛ guɛ amɛ rumɛ diɛ*
house I (prep.) house he
bəradəpan
facing
'My house faces his house.'

(140) *Kalo lu bəkənalan ajɛ ŋga?*
if you know only not
ŋeret duit oraŋ ŋga? ɛnak
drag money person not pleasant
apɛ
what
'When you know someone you aren't happy until you put the squeeze on them, are you?'

(141) *lu mau bədəkatan amɛ guɛ*
you want close to I
ŋədəkətin ajɛ
approach only
'If you want to be close to me, just get closer'.

(142) *guɛ bəduaan ni amɛ təmən*
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 {bə(r)-[ ]-an} appears when such verbs are ({R} + {mə(N)-}) + base forms, such as: *bantu-məmbantu* 'help each other', *tarik-mənarik* '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 verbals

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) *guɛ kə səbəlɛ niat guɛ*
I to side; next-door intention I
mau mənəmu ə diɛ
want meet (exclamation) he
lagi ŋəgəbugin ana?ña
presently hit (repeatedly) child-his
'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 ŋjualin baju
(particle) you sell (repeatedly) clothes
'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) *kənapɛ si lu ŋliatin guɛ*
why (particle) you stare I
ajɛ
only
'Why are you just staring at me?'

(146) *guɛ tau yɛ [lu kawin*
I know (particle) you marry
amɛ diɛ] mau ŋɛretin baraŋña
(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:

(147) *ana?-ana?* *lagi* *pada* *ñambitin*
children presently all throw

jambu
guava

'The children are throwing guavas.'

In the following the object of the action is plural:

(148) *mpo?* *lagi* *maŋgilin*
older-sister/she presently call

ana?-ana?
children

'She is calling the children.'

6.5.3 {N-[ ]-in} giving grammatical meaning

The second meaning of the circumfix {N-[ ]-in} is as an object selector. With the circumfix {N-[ ]-in}, a transitive verb takes a new object, and changes the base form of the constituent which was the object into a complement. And the role of the new object selected by the transitive verb with the circumfix {N-[ ]-in} with some exceptions can also vary. Sometimes the new object selected is in the benefactive role, sometimes it is in the instrumental, or locative role.

With the circumfix {N-[ ]-in} a transitive verb can focus on an object in the benefactive role.[38] Compare the transitive verbs *bəli* 'to buy' and *mbəliin* 'to buy for' in the following:

(149) *Amat* *mau* *bəli* *baju* *baru*
Amat want buy clothes new

'Amat will buy new clothes.'

(150) *Amat* *mau* *mbəliin* *babɛ* *baju*
Amat want buy-for father clothes

baru
new

'Amat will buy his father some new clothes.'

The verb *beli* without the circumfix {N-[ ]-in} focuses on the object in the objective role, while *mbəliin*, with the circumfix {N-[ ]-in}, selects the new object *babɛ* 'father' in the benefactive role, and changes *baju baru* to a constituent which functions as a complement.

This is shown not only by the process of moving the constituent *baju baru*, which is separated from *mbəliin*, and by the position of the coconstituent *babɛ*, which is placed directly after the verb *mbəliin*, but also by the transformation to the form {di-[ ]-in}. When *mbəliin* occurs in the form *dibəliin* the object which is selected as the subject of {di-[ ]-in} form is the benefactive object, that is, *babɛ* rather than *baju baru:*

(151) *babɛ* *mau* *dibəliin* *Amat* *baju*
father want bought Amat clothes

baru
new

'Father will be bought new clothes by Amat.'

But when *bəli* takes the {di-} form *dibəli*, the subject selected will be *baju baru*:

(152) [*tu*] *baju* *baru* *mau* *dibəli* *Amat*
that clothes new want bought Amat

'These new clothes will be bought by Amat.'

(See also 5.1.1.)

In addition, *mbəliin* can also select objects in another role, the instrumental role, as in the following example:

(153) *gaji* *mamah* *dibəliin* *baju* *baru*
wages mother spent-on clothes new

səmua
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-[ ]-in} form. In this dialect there is no form *mbəliin* with an object in the instrumental role:

(154) **mamah* *mbəliin* *səmua* *gajiña*
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* *mbəli* *baju* *baru* *amɛ*
mother buy clothes new with

səmua *gajiña*
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 *nanəm* 'to plant' in:

(156) *mpo?* *nanəm* *kəmbaŋ* *di*
older-sister/she plant flower at

pot
pot

'She plants flowers in pots.'

takes the circumfix {N-[ ]-in}, the objective object *kəmbaŋ* which is the object of *nanəm* changes its function to become a complement, and the {N-[ ]-in} form *nanəmin* takes a new object in the locative role:

(157) *mpo?* *nanəmin* *potña*
older-sister/she plant pot-her

amɛ *kəmbaŋ*
(prep.) flower

'She plants flowers in her pots.'

As with {N-[ ]-in} in (150) and (153), when *nanəmin* is replaced with the {di-[ ]-in} form, the object which is chosen as subject is in the locative role:

(158) *pot po? minɛ ditanəmin*
pot (title) Minah planted-with

kəmbaŋ
flower

'Minah's pots are planted with flowers.'

Compare this example with the form *nanəm*, which selects the object in the objective role, *kəmbaŋ*, as its subject, when it takes the {di-} form:

(159) *kəmbaŋ po? minɛ 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) *siapɛ yaŋ ŋalapin guɛ jambu*
who which pick I guava

'Who picked me a guava?'

guɛ 'I' as the benefactive object precedes the coconstituent *jambu*. The following example with the {N-} form is otherwise:

(161) *siapɛ yaŋ ŋalap jambu [buat guɛ]*
who which pick 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) *[kəpalaña təntu pusiŋ biasa*
head-his certaining dizzy usually

minum kopi] minumin tu
drink coffee give drink that

kopi tu anak[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 diminumin obat*
that child given-drink medicine

'The child has been 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 *bəli: mbəliin* 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 mbəliin baju ajɛ*
you buy clothes only
(repeatedly)

'You just keep buying clothes.'

The transformation to the {di-[ ]-in} form is:

(165) *baju ajɛ [yaŋ] lu bəliin*
clothes only which you buy
(repeatedly)

'You just keep buying clothes.'

But in the following example:

(166a) *babɛ mau mbəliin guɛ 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 *baju baru*, but instead chooses *guɛ*, in the benefactive as follows:

(166b) *guɛ mau dibəliin babɛ 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 *ñoba* 'to try' and *ñobain* 'to try' or *ŋajak* 'to invite' and *ŋajakin* 'to invite' have the same distributions.

(167a) *bu iti lagi ñoba baju*
(title) Siti presently try clothes

'Siti is trying on clothes.'

is the same as:

(167b) *bu iti lagi ñobain*
(title) Siti presently try

baju
clothes

'Siti is trying on clothes.'

Similarly with *ŋajak* and *ŋajakin*:

(168a) *kalo lu mau ŋajak diɛ bole*
if you want invite him allow

'If you want to invite him, you may.'

(168b) *kalo lu mau ŋajakin diɛ bolɛ*
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 verbals

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 *baŋun* 'wake up', {N-[ ]-in} forms causative verbs: *ŋakurin* 'to come to agree' and *mbaŋunin* 'to wake up (someone)'. But with another group of base forms, like *tambɛ* 'more' and *dataŋ* 'come', the circumfix {N-[ ]-in} gives the transitive verbs *nambain* 'to add (s.t.) to (s.t.)' and *ndatəŋin* '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) *anaʔ guɛ uda bisa duduk*
child I already can sit

'My child can already sit up.'

(170) *əŋkoŋ ndudukin anaʔ guɛ di*
grandmother sit child I at

atas mɛja
top table

'Grandmother seats my child on the table.'

The coconstituent of the verb: *anaʔ guɛ*, 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 anaʔ-anaʔ uda*
(exclamation) children already

pada akur siapa yaŋ akurin
all agree who which cause-agree

'The children are all agreed, who got them to agree?'

(172) *slampe guɛ añut koʔ*
handkerchief I sweep-away (particle)

siapɛ yaŋ ŋañutin
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 base form:

(173) *lu ndudukin slampe guɛ*
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 atas slampe guɛ*
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 interchangable.

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 *bənci amɛ* 'hate', *cəmburu amɛ* 'be jealous of', as in the following examples:

(175) *lu kənape si ñəmburuin*
you why (particle) jealous of

laki lu ajɛ
husband you only

'Why are you jealous of your husband?'

(176) *lu ŋgaʔ bole ndəmənin pacar*
you not allow love fiance

oraŋ
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 ŋgaʔ bole ndəmənin amɛ*
you not allow love (prep.)

pacar oraŋ
fiance person

Sentence (176) can only occur without the circumfix {N-[ ]-in}.

(178) *lu ŋgaʔ bole dəmən amɛ*
you not allow love (prep.)

pacar oraŋ
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', *layaŋ* 'soar', *aliŋ* 'block' and *ɛndah* 'pay attention' only occur as transitive verbs with the circumfix {N-[ ]-in}:

(179) *tu pot jaŋan ditaro di sana*
that pot don't put at there

ŋaliŋin pandaŋan
block view

'Don't put that pot there, it blocks the view.'

(180) *lu uda ŋga? ŋɛndain [siapa]*
you already not pay- who
attention

guɛ 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 their 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 *bandəl* 'to be naughty' in the form *ŋəbandəlin* means 'in the process of becoming naughty at a certain age':

(181) *o tu anak lagi ŋəbandəlin*
oh that child presently become-
naughty

'Oh that child is beginning to get naughty.'

As well as not taking an object, the form *ŋəbandəlin* also cannot take the prefix {di-}. This prefix is another sign of transitive verbs.[41]

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 udɛ ade yaŋ*
that corpse already have which

ŋajiin bəlon
pray-over not-yet

'Has anyone prayed over the body yet?'

(183) *tuluŋ ñalain lampu, gəlap*
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 *brabe*, its base form:

(185) *diri lu brabe*
self you busy, troubled

'You are busy.'

Similarly the following example:

(186) *ŋapain lu mbəsarin ana? oraŋ*
why you raise child person
(=make big)

'Why are you raising someone else's child?'

may be compared with:

(187) *tu ana? [uda] bəsar*
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) *[guɛ kəpiŋin] ruma guɛ ndəkətin*
I wish house I be-close

ruma lu
house you

'I wish my house were near your house.'

(189) *[kalo jalan] lu ŋəduluin guɛ ajɛ*
when walk you precede I only

'When we walk you go in front of me.

Thus *ruma lu* (186) and *guɛ* (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 jaŋan suka ŋəjəlɛkin*
you don't like have-bad-
attitude-toward

oraŋ laɛn ajɛ
person other only

'Don't you look down on other people.'

(191) *diɛ ŋəbagus(-bagusin) guɛ mau*
he have-good-attitude- I want
toward

minjəm 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 *ŋgədein* 'growing, becoming big', *nuain* 'growing old', *ŋəcilin* 'becoming small'. Following are examples in quotations:

(192) *ni* *ana?* *kurus* *bənər* *lagi*
this child thin very presently

ŋgədein *ŋkali*
grow perhaps

'The child is very thin, he must be growing.'

(193) *lupa* *mlulu* *diɛ* *mulain* *nuain*
forget only he begin grow-old

ŋkali
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 *ŋgədein* (192) can become a causative verb in the following example:

(194) *siapɛ* *ni* *yaŋ* *ŋgədein* *lampu*
who this which make-big lamp

kəgədean *ntar* *kəbakaran*
too-big later fire

'Who made this light bigger, it's too big, there will be a fire.'

Similarly, the form *ŋəcilin* 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 *ndukunin* '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, to hoe continuously' and *ŋəgoŋin* 'to play a gong for [...]', have as base forms *macul* 'to hoe' and *ŋəgoŋ* '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) *minɛ* *uda* *ndukunin* *ana?ñɛ*
Minah already take-to healer child-her

tapi *bəlon* *baɛ?* *juga*
but not-yet well also

'Minah already took her child to a healer, but (the child) is not well.'

(196) *coba* *kalo* *mpo?* *mau*
try if older-sister/you want

ndoktorin *ana?* *mpo?*
take-to-doctor child older-sister/you

ləkas *baɛ?*
quickly well

'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*] *diɛ* *bisa* *ŋəmpanin*
have wages he can provide-for

ana? *bini*
child wife

'With his wages can he provide for his wife and children?'

(198) *tuŋgu* *səbəntar* *guɛ* *lagi*
wait while I presently

ñəpatuin *ana?* *guɛ*
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 *ŋapurin* 'to whitewash' are formed from the transitive verbs *macul* 'to hoe' and *ŋapur* 'to whitewash'; but *ŋəgoŋin* 'to play a gong for [...]', and *ñupirin* 'to drive [a car]' are formed from the intransitive verbs *ŋəgoŋ* 'to strike a gong', and *ñupir* '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) *kəmarɛn* *ŋapur* *səkaraŋ*
yesterday whitewash now

ŋapur *lu* *ŋapurin* *ruma* *məlulu*
whitewash you whitewash (repeatedly) only

'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* *ŋga?* *ŋəcɛtin*
you want not paint (benefactive)

ruma *guɛ*
house I

'Do you want to paint my house (for me) or not?'

(b) The group of intransitive verb base forms which change class to become transitive verbs with the circumfix {N-[ ]-in}, such as:

(201) *tu* *gaməlan* *ŋga?* *adɛ* *yaŋ*
that Javanese-orchestra not have which

ŋəgoŋin
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) *diɛ* *lagi* *miŋgirin* *bɛcañɛ*
he presently cause-move-to-side pedicab-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 *səmua* 'all' take this circumfix they become *ñatuin* 'unite', *nduain* 'to take a second wife', *ñəmuain* '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* *ŋga?* *bole* *nduain*
you not allow take-second-wife

bini *lu*
wife you

'You may not take another wife.'

(204) *bəli* *gula* *lima* *pɛrak* [*tu* *duit*]
buy candy five rupiah that money

jaŋan *disəmuain*
don't be-use all

'Buy five rupiahs worth of candy, don't spend all that money.'

(b) The demonstrative pronouns *(bə)gitu* 'like that' and *(bə)gini* 'like this' can give *bəginiin* '(to do) like this' and *bəgituin* '(to do) like that'. Similarly the interrogative word root *apɛ* 'what' can take the circumfix {N-[ ]-in} to become *ŋapain* which means 'why', 'what for'. Following are examples in quotations:

(205) *tu* *baju* *jaŋan* *lu* *gituin*
that clothes don't you (do) like-that

sobɛk
tear

'Don't do that, the clothes will tear.'

(206) *ŋapain* *lu* *di* *situ* *ŋga?* *mau*
why you at there not want

pulaŋ
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 *ŋalamin* 'to experience', *ŋlayanin* 'to serve'. The base forms of these two verbs do not occur without {N-[ ]-in}.

6.6 The prefix {pə(N)-}

Although dozens of examples of forms with the prefix {pə(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 {pə(N)-[ ]-an}, or in compound words with {tukaŋ-}, this prefix forms a group of nouns.

Of the examples of the form {pə(N)-} in the data it appears that some are words which already have special meanings like *pəmbantu* 'servant', *pəmain* 'actor (in Jakarta folk drama)'. Some other forms are words which have ethnic meanings, such as *pəlaŋkɛ* 'gift from a younger sibling to an older sibling when the younger marries first', *pəŋikət* 'gift signifying engagement' *pəmakɛ* 'thing worn to make the wearer invulnerable'. And only in a limited way do we find the categorical meaning of {pə(N)-}, as in *pənakut* 'coward', *pəŋasi* 'gift'.

Based on the limited number of examples in the data, it may be said that {pə(N)-} can combine with intransitive and transitive verb base forms and with some adjectival base forms.

6.6.1 {pə(N)-} + transitive verbs

Transitive verbs which combine with the prefix {pə(N)-} can be verbs with the prefix {N-}, or verbs with the circumfix {N-[ ]-in}. Forms like *pəmake* 'something used' or *pəŋasi* 'gift' are from the forms *make* 'to use' and *ŋasi* 'to give'; but the forms *pəlayan* 'waiter' and *pəlaŋkɛ* 'undertaking' are from the forms *ŋlayanin* 'to wait on' and *ŋlaŋkain* 'to overstep' 42).

With transitive verb base forms, the prefix {pə(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* *pəŋalaŋ* *diɛ*
you want become block he

'You will be a block (protector) for him.'

(208) *bañak* *juga* *pənontonña*
many also spectator-the

'There are many spectators.'

In the group of {pə(N)-} forms which have the meaning 'instrument' or 'position' are *pəŋikət* 'engagement token', *pəlaŋkɛ* 'un-

dertaking, step', *pəlayan* 'waiter' and *pəmbantu* 'servant'. Following are examples in sentences:

(209) *pacarña* *uda* *dikasi*
Fiancee-his already given
pəŋikət
engagement-token
'He has already given his fiancee a token of their engagement'.

(210) *lu* *cari* *ajɛ* *pəmɛlɛt*
you look-for only charm, trick, trap
buat *pɛlɛt* *diɛ*
for enchant, lure him
'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 *pəŋasi* 'gift', *pənuluŋ* 'help'. Following are examples in quotations:

(211) *ni* *duit* *pəŋasi* *siapɛ*
this money gift who
'Whose gift is this money?'

(212) *guɛ* *ajɛ* *ŋəbantu* *diɛ* *diɛ* *kaga?*
I only help he he not
adɛ *pəmbantuñɛ* [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': *pəmain* 'actor', *pənari* 'dancer'. Following are examples in quotations:

(213) *lu* *jadi* *oraŋ* *jaŋan*
you become person don't
kəbaŋətan *pənakut*
too-much coward
'Don't be so much of a coward.'

(214) *cakəp* *bənər* *tu* *pəñañiña*
pretty very that singer-the
'That singer is very pretty.'

With this same meaning, the circumfix {pə(N)-[ ]-an} is more productive, as in *pəŋantukan* 'sleepyhead', *pəniduran* 'lazybones', *pəminuman* 'drunkard, alcoholic'. But the use of the constituent *tukaŋ-* is even more productive with this meaning. The same verbs can combine with *tukaŋ-* to become *tukaŋ ŋantuk*, *tukaŋ tidur* and *tukaŋ minum* with the same meanings.[44] Although less productively than with {pə(N)-[ ]-an} or *tukaŋ-*, the same meaning is given by the suffix {-an}, as in *cəmburuan* 'jealous person' and *sirikan* '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) *pəndiəm* *bənər* *diɛ*
quiet-person really he
'He is really a quiet person.'

(216) *kalo* *ada* *pənjahat* *di* *blakaŋ*
if have bad-person at back
brabe
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 verbals, (3) semitransitive verbals, (4) intransitive verbals, (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?* *guɛ* *laki-laki* *dua* *yaŋ*
child I male two which
gədean *pintəran*
bigger smarter
'I have two sons and the older one is smarter.'

(218) *liat* *tətaŋgɛ* *kitɛ* *pan*
see neighbor we (part.)
pəlitan *dari* *kitɛ*
stingier than we
'Look at our neighbors, aren't they stingier than we are?'

(219) *lampu* *lu* *təraŋan* *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) *rajinan* *doŋ* *jaŋan* *kaya*
more-industrious (part.) don't like

abaŋ *lu*
older-brother you

'Work harder, don't be like your older brother.'

(221) *kita* *jadi* *oraŋ* *biar* *pəlitan*
we become person let stingier

doŋ *dikit*
(part.) a-little

'We ought to be a little stingier.'

(222) *jaŋan* *panjaŋ-panjaŋ* *biar* *pɛndɛkan*
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 doŋ jaŋan kaya abaŋ lu*

(224) * *kita jadi oraŋ biar pəlit doŋ dikit*

However, adjectival roots can also be constituents of imperative sentences when reduplicated:

(225) *dəkət-dəkət* *sini* *dudukña*
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* *səkaraŋ* *baɛʔan*
(exclam.) now good-to-e.o

dɛh [*amɛ* *diɛ*] *jaŋan*
(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 *asin* 'sour, salty', and *manis* 'sweet' can form *asinan* '(kind of food made of vegetables with peanut sauce)' and *manisan* '(sweetened fruit candy)'. And the form *gədean* 'bigger' in the phrase *oraŋ gədean* means 'important (person)'. Following is a quotation:

(227) *bəgitu* *tu* *yaŋ* *disəbut*
like-that that which called

oraŋ *gədean*
person bigger, more important

'That's the way important people are.'45)

Similarly the base form *murɛ* 'cheap' becomes *muraan* with the meaning 'cheap (things)'.

6.7.2 {-an} + transitive verbals

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 affix: the circumfix {pə(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) *doroŋan* *lu* *biar* *kuatan* *doŋ*
pushing you let stronger (part.)

'Push harder.'

(229) *bəlianña* *kəmahalan*
buying-his too-expensive

'He spent too much money.'

(230) *jaitanña* *kuraŋ* *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 *lu ndoroŋ* 'you push' (228), *dia mbəli* 'he buys' (229) and *dia ŋjait* '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) *dasar* *tukaŋ minum* *ŋjaʔ* *bole*
basis alcoholic not allowed

liat *minuman*
see drink

'He is an alcoholic, he is not allowed to see drink.'

(232) *nanəmña* *yaŋ* *bənər* *supaya*
planting-the which right so

tu *tanəman* *bagus*
that plant good

'Plant them right so the plants will be good.'

(233) *pantəsan* *laga?* *lu* *kaya*
appropriate behavior you like

oraŋ *muda* *lu* *puña* *piaraan*
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 *sərutan* 'plane (carpenter's tool)', from *sərut* 'to plane'. Following are examples in quotations:

(234) *ni* *piso* *ko?* *ŋga?* *ada*
this knife (part.) not have

pəgaŋanña (from *pəgaŋ* 'hold')
handle-the

'Why doesn't this knife have a handle?'

(235) *manɛ* *gosokan* *bajuñɛ* (from *gosok*
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) *ni* *baraŋ* *murɛ* *bəgini*
this thing cheap like-this

baraŋ *coloŋan* *kali*
thing stolen-thing perhaps

'Things as cheap as this must be stolen goods.'

(237) *baraŋ* *bəkas* *buaŋan* *lu*
thing used discarded-thing you

puŋutin
pick-up

'You pick up discarded things.'

(238) *bənaŋ* *sambuŋan* *lu* *kasi*
thread connected-thing you give

amɛ *guɛ*
(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 *buaŋan* 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* *səkaraŋ* *jualan*
oh you now sell habitually

kaɛn
batik-sarong

'Oh, now you sell batik sarongs.'

(240) *lu* *pəgaŋan* *taŋan* *guɛ* *ajɛ* *biar*
you hold hand I only let

ŋga? *ilaŋ*
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: *njual* 'to sell' and *məgaŋ* '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 *dijual* and *dipəgaŋ*), 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 verbals

With the suffix {-an}, the group of semitransitive verbs which have complements consisting of noun phrases + *amɛ* (such as *kənal amɛ* 'know', *suka amɛ* 'like', or *cəmburu amɛ* 'jealous of') gives two meanings: (1) as reciprocal 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 *dəmən amɛ* 'to be in love with', *bənci amɛ* 'to hate', it gives reciprocal verbs, as shown by the following examples:

(241) *guɛ* *tau* *yaŋ* *lu* *lagi*
I know that, which you (prog. marker)

dəmənan *amɛ* *diɛ*
love (prep.) he

'I know you are in love with him.'

(242) *uda* *dɛh* *jaŋan* *maraan*
already (part.) don't be-angry

ajɛ *amɛ* *adɛ?* *lu*
only with younger-sibling you

'You shouldn't always be angry with your brother.'

(243) *ñai* *uda* *bəkənalan* *amɛ*
(term of address) already know (prep.)

ma? *buyuŋ*
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 *amɛ*, their complements have different roles. The role of the complement of a verb without {-an} is objective, while the role of the complement of an {-an} form is agentive, 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 guɛ dandan lu marɛ-marɛ*
if I dress-up you angry

ajɛ emaŋ ati lu
only certainly heart you

cəmburuan si
jealous (part.)

'You get angry when I dress up, you have a jealous character.'

(245) *apalagi tətaŋgɛ guɛ sirikan*
even more neighbor I malicious, jealous

bənər
very

'Our neighbor is even more jealous.'

There are several forms with {-an} with the same meaning, which come from precategorical roots, such as *aləman* 'spoiled (of a person)', *kolokan* 'spoiled (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 {pə(N)-[ ]-an} (see 6.8), with {pə(r)-[ ]-an} (6.9), and with {kə-[ ]-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) *bañolanña ŋgaʔ ɛnak*
joking-his not pleasant

'His joking is not pleasant.'

(247) *tərɛakan lu kəncəŋ bənər*
yelling you loud very

'Your yelling is very loud.'

As with nouns from transitive verbs, {-an} forms with this meaning are always followed by nominals or nominal phrases which are in the agentive role. The {-an} form in (246) is followed by *ña*, and the {-an} form in (247) is followed by *lu*.

(b) Nouns from intransitive verbs with the meaning 'place', such as:

(248) *kata mpoʔ minɛ tukaŋ krɛdok*
say older-sister Minah seller (k.o. salad)

di pɛŋkolan ujuŋ gaŋ
at intersection end alley

jiun (from *pɛŋkol* 'turn')
jiun

'Minah says the salad seller is at the intersection of Jiun alley.'

(249) *kitɛ brənti di paŋkalan bis*
we stop at depot bus

ajɛ (from *paŋkal* 'source, base')
only

'We'll get off at the bus station.'

In addition a group of deverbal noun {-an} forms formed from secondary base forms should be mentioned here, such as *kəmbalian* 'return' and *barəŋan* 'person accompanied'. Although phonologically they have the shape of the base forms *kəmbali* 'return' and *bareŋ* 'together', these two examples come from the verbs *ŋəbaliin* 'to return(s.t.)' and *mbarəŋin* 'to accompany'.

(2) The second meaning of the suffix {-an} is not to change the class of intransitive verb base forms but to give the meaning stative aspect, with a durative meaning. The intransitive verb *tidur* for example, when given the suffix {-an}, becomes an intransitive verb with a stative aspect, *tiduran* 'to sleep continuously, lie around'. Following are examples in quotations:

(250) *ada gambar oraŋ lagi*
have picture person (prog. marker)

rəbaan
lying (continuously)

'There is a picture of a person lying down.'

(251) *guɛ bukanña tidur lagi*
I not sleep (prog. marker)

tiduran
lie-down-continuously

'I'm not sleeping, just lying down.'

Several {-an} forms which have precategorical root base forms have this same meaning, such as *brototan* 'loose, too big (clothes)', *bliŋsatan* 'to move inappropriately'. Following are examples in quotations:

(252) *duduk yaŋ bənər jaŋan bliŋsatan*
sit which right don't move-inappropriately

'Sit correctly, don't move about.'

(253) *grəgətan* *dɛh* *guɛ* *ŋliat* *lu*
annoyed (part.) I see you

bliŋsatan *bəgitu*
move-inappropriately like-that

'It annoys me to see you move around like that.'

6.7.5 {-an} + nominal base forms

Three groups are formed by combining nominal base forms with the suffix {-an}: (1) denominal intransitive verbs, (2) adjectives, (3) nouns with new lexical meanings.

(1) The denominal verbs which are formed with the suffix {-an} have two meanings:

(a) The {-an} form with the group of nouns which mean kinds of illnesses, such as *bisul* 'abscess', *borok* 'boil' gives intransitive verbs with the meaning 'to suffer the illness'. Following are examples in sentences:

(254) *badan* *lu* *koʔ* *panoan*
body you (part.) skin-disease

'You have a skin disease.'

(255) *tu* *anaʔ* *lu* *korɛŋan*
that child you have-sores

'Your child has sores.'

(b) Some names of things produced by the body, such as *kriŋət* 'sweat' and *jeŋgot* 'beard' form intransitive verbs with the meaning 'to produce, grow', such as *kriŋətan* 'to sweat', *jɛŋgotan* 'to grow a beard'. Following are examples in quotations:

(256) *uda* *jɛŋgotan* *maɛn* *gundu*
already have-beard play marbles

'He already has a beard and he is playing marbles.'

(257) *lu* *masi* *iŋusan* *jaŋan*
you still have-runny-nose don't

ikut-ikut
interfere

'You are still a child, don't interfere.'

(c) The suffix {-an} with the group of nouns which mean direction or place, gives word forms with a distribution parallel to imperative verbs. Words like *pojok* 'corner', *dəpan* 'in front', or *piŋgir* 'edge', in the forms *pojokan* 'more towards the corner', *dəpanan* 'more to the front', and *piŋgiran* 'more to the edge' can be used in imperative sentences, such as:

(258) *dəpanan* *dikit* *dudukña*
to-the-front a-little sitting

'Sit a little more forward.'

(259) *naro* *baraŋ* *biar* *piŋgiran*
put thing let to-the-edge

'Put the things on the side.'

This meaning also occurs with a phrase consisting of verb + preposition *kə-* as base form, such as *kədəpanan* 'more to the front', *kəpojokan* 'more towards the corner', or *kəpiŋgiran* 'more to the edge'. Following are examples in sentences:

(260) *masaŋ* *pintuña* *kəblakaŋan*
hang door-the more-back

dikit *pantəs*
a-little appropriate

'It would be best to hang the door a little to the back.'

(261) *dudukña* *kətəŋaan* *sini*
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 *gədoŋ* 'building, house built of plaster', *kampuŋ* 'urban village, cluster of small bamboo houses' which become *gədoŋan* 'of the people who live in houses of plaster, well-off', *kampuŋan* 'like people who live in urban villages, rustic'. Following are examples in sentences:

(262) *o* *gitu* *yɛ* *makanan* *oraŋ*
oh like-that (part.) food person

gədoŋan
well-off

'Oh that is the kind of food well-off people have.'

(263) [*anaʔ*] *kampuŋan* *lu* *gitu* *ajɛ*
child rustic you like-that only

kagaʔ *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', *miŋgu* 'week', *taon* 'year' which can have the forms *arian*, *miŋguan*, and *taonan* meaning respectively 'daily' or 'for days'; 'weekly, by week', and 'yearly' or 'for years', as shown in the following examples:

(264) *ŋgaʔ* *ɛnak* *dɛh* *jadi*
not pleasant (part.) be

kuli *arian*
laborer daily

'It is not pleasant to be a day laborer.'

(265) *guɛ* *dapət* *bayaran* *miŋguan*
I get pay weekly

'I am paid weekly.'

With this meaning, such {-an} forms can also have distributions parallel to adverbials, as in:

(266) *biar* *sədikit* *dapətña* *ɛnakan*
let a-little getting more-pleasant

dibayar *arian*
paid daily

'Even though you just get a little it's better to get your pay daily.'

(3) With another category of nouns, {-an} does not change the category of the base form, but gives it a new lexical meaning, as with *sayur* 'vegetable', *pərabot* 'tool', which form *sayuran* 'all kinds of vegetables' and *pərabotan* 'equipment':

(267) *abaŋ* *suka* *kalo* *pərabotan*
older-brother like if equipment

guɛ *guɛ* *jual*
I I sell

'Would you like it if I sold my equipment?'

268) *ləbian* *juga* *bole* *buat* *bəli*
more also allowed for buy

sayuran
vegetable

'You may (give) more, to buy vegetables.'

6.7.6 {-an} + pronominals

The two demonstrative pronouns *gini* 'like this' and *gitu* 'like that' can take the suffix {-an} with the meaning 'like, in a particular way'.

(269) *oraŋ* *jɛlɛk* *kaya* *gituan* *juga*
person bad like that-way also

'Bad people (behave) that way.'

(270) *asal* *ada* *ginian* *juga*
providing, as-long-as have this-way also

cukup
enough

'As long as we have this it will be enough.'

6.7.7 {-an} + time adverbs

Adverbs and time terms like *tadi* 'a short time ago', *dulu* 'some time ago, before', *pagi* 'morning', or *siaŋ* 'afternoon, day' can take {-an} with the meaning 'more' as in:

(271) *kuraŋ* *tadian* *lu* *datəŋña*
lack earlier you coming-the

'You didn't come early enough.'

(272) *lu* *jalan* *duluan* *dɛh*
you walk, go before (part.)

guɛ *ñusul*
I follow

'You go first, I'll follow.'

6.7.8 {-an} + numerals

When numerals take the suffix {-an} they mean 'together in the number of the base form', as in:

(273) *duaan* *ajɛ* *lu* *datəŋ*
two-together only you come

'Only the two of you come.'

In addition numerals which are the amounts of bank notes mean one bill of that denomination, such as *səpɛrakan* 'one-rupiah bill', *səpulupɛrakan* 'ten-rupiah bill', *dua pulu lima pɛrakan* 'twenty-five rupiah bill'. But forms like this, with this meaning, are more often shortened to become *pɛrakan* 'one-rupiah bill', *limaan* 'five-rupiah 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 still some forms which are difficult to describe.

The interrogative pronoun *apɛ* 'what' with the suffix {-an} is used to express a feeling of dissatisfaction, or to insult.

(274) *apaan* *lu* *bəgitu* *ajɛ* *kaga?*
what you like-that only not

bəcus
can

'What kind (of child) are you, you can't even do that?'

(275) *bau* *apaan* *ni* *kamar* *ŋga?*
smell what this room dot

ɛnak *bənər*
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 *udɛ* 'already' in the form *udaan* 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 precategorical base forms appears to form nouns denoting instruments.

But the forms *sarapan* 'to eat breakfast' and *glondaŋan* '(imitation of a sound)' are not nouns but intransitive verbs.

6.8 The circumfix {pə(N)-[ ]-an}

This circumfix takes only three categories of base forms: (1) transitive verbals, (2) semitransitive verbals, and (3) intransitive verbals.

6.8.1 {pə(N)-[ ]-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 *ŋgorɛŋ* 'to fry' and *njirət* 'to tie', {pə(N)-[ ]-an} gives concrete nouns like *pəŋgorɛŋan* 'frying pan' and *pəñjirətan* '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) *guɛ* *sədiain* *pəŋgəbugan* *kalo*
I prepare hammer if

diɛ *pulaŋ* (from *gəbug*
he come-home 'to hit')

'I'll have a hammer ready if he comes home.'

(277) *ni* *ada* *papan*
this, here have board

pəŋgiləsan *kalo* *mau* *ñuci*
scrub if want wash

'Here is a scrubbing board if you want to wash.'
(from *giləs* 'crush, scrub')

And the following are nouns which describe places to do things:

(278) *di* *sini* *kaga?* *ada*
at here not have

pəmbuaŋan *sampɛ*
bin garbage

'There is no garbage bin here.'
(from *buaŋ* 'to throw away')

(279) *guɛ* *mau* *ŋgorɛŋ* *krupuk*
I want fry shrimp-chip

mana *pəŋgorɛŋanña*
where frying-pan-the

'I want to fry shrimp chips, where is the frying pan?'

Still in the category of concrete nouns are {pəN-[ ]-an} forms which describe results or 'something which is [...]ed', such as *pəŋalaman* 'something which is experienced', (from *ŋalamin* 'to experience s.t.'), *pəncarian* 'livelihood' (from *cari* 'to look for'), *pənjaitan* 'something to be sewn' (from *jait* 'to sew').

Following are examples in quotations:

(280) *pəmbaləsan* *lu* *apɛ* *amɛ*
answer you what (prep.)

oraŋ *tuɛ*
person old (parent)

'What is your answer to your parents?'
(from *baləs* 'to answer')

(281) *guɛ* *lagi* *bañak* *pənjaitan*
I presently much sewing

ni
this, now

'I have a lot of sewing now.'

b) With another group of base forms, {pə(N)-[ ]-an} forms nouns which describe a process or event of doing something as in *pəŋliatan* 'event of seeing' , *pəmbəlian* 'process of buying'.

(282) *pəŋliatan* *guɛ* *diɛ* *tu* *dulo*
seeing I he that Dulo

'According to what I saw, it is Dulah.'

(283) *ni* *baraŋ* *pəmbəlian* *siapa*
this thing buying who

'Who bought this thing?'

But such meanings are few and not productive. For this meaning the suffix {-an} is more often used, as may be seen in 6.6.2.

2) With the circumfix {pə(N)-[ ]-an}, some transitive verbal roots give forms which have an adjectival distribution, as in *pəŋgaroŋan* 'having the character of a thief' (from *ŋgaroŋ* 'to rob', *pəñoloŋan* 'often stealing' (from *ñoloŋ* 'to steal'), *pəŋgayaan* 'liking to beg' (from *ŋgaya* 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) *pəŋɛrɛtan* *bənər*
clever-at-winning-favor really

jadi *oraŋ*
become person

'She is very good at winning favor for personal benefit.'
(from *ŋɛrɛt* which means 'the behavior of a woman who will sell her love for money, is willing to marry for wealth')

(285) *susɛ* *anak* *mudɛ*
trouble, difficult child young

jadi *pəŋgayaan*
become begger

'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 {pə(N)-[ ]-an} + semitransitive verbals

The circumfix {pə(N)-[ ]-an} with semitransitive verbal roots gives a class of words with a distribution parallel to the class of adjectivals, 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 *bənci* 'to hate', *malu* 'to be shy, embarrassed', *bohoŋ* ' to lie', *dəŋki* 'to be jealous', which form respectively *pəmbəncian* 'having the character of one who easily hates', *pəmaluan* 'shy person', *pəmbohoŋan* 'liar', and *pəndəŋkian* 'jealous person'.

Following are two examples in quotations:

(286) *jaŋan* *pəŋirian* *lu* *jadi*
don't envious-person you become
oraŋ
person
'Don't be a jealous person.'
(from *iri* 'to be envious')

(287) *dasar* *pərəmpuan* *pəñirikan*
basis woman jealous-person
lu
you
'You are a jealous woman.'
(from *sirik* 'to be jealous')

This is the only meaning for semitransitive verbs with the circumfix {pə(N)-[ ]-an}. The same meaning occurs with {pə(N)-} (see 6.6.2), and with {-an} (see 6.7.3).

6.8.3 {pə(N)-[ ]-an} + intransitive verbal roots

The circumfix {pə(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 {pə(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) *di* *mana* *ada* *pəmbrəntian* *bis*
at where have stop bus
'Where is a bus stop?'

(289) *təmpat* *pəŋajianña* *di mana*
place recite-Koran-the at where
'Where is the place to recite the Koran?'

The examples *pəmbrəntian* dan *pəŋajian* are formed from the roots *brənti* 'to stop' and *ŋaji* 'to recite the Koran'.

ii) Examples of nouns which describe situations or events are *pəŋidupan* 'livelihood' and *plajaran* 'lesson', which are formed from the intransitive verbal roots *idup* 'to live' and *blajar* 'to learn'.

Following are examples in quotations:

(290) *diɛ* *ŋgaʔ* *ada* *pəŋidupan* *mau*
he not have livelihood want
apɛ
what
'He has no livelihood, what do you expect?'

(291) *plajaran* *ŋaji* *lu* *sampe*
lesson recite-Koran you until
di *manɛ*
at where
'How far have your lessons in reciting the Koran gone?'

b) Examples of {pə(N)-[ ]-an} with intransitive verbs giving words which express situations or processes are *pəmaɛnan* 'game, acting' (from *maɛn* 'to play, act') and *pəndirian* 'founding' (from *diri* 'to stand') Following are examples in quotations:

(292) *pəmaɛnanña* *bole* *juga* *diliat*
acting-his may also be-seen
'His acting is worth watching.'

(293) *diɛ* *ŋadain* *pəndirian*
he have, make founding
ŋaji
recite-Koran
'He is founding a place to recite the Koran.'

This meaning is not very common for the circumfix {pə(N)-[ ]-an} with intransitive verbal base forms.

2) {pə(N)-[ ]-an} with intransitive verbs giving words with a distribution parallel to the adjectival class is found in examples like *plajaran* 'learned', *pənjudian* 'gambler', *pəŋantukan* 'sleepy person'.

Following are examples in quotations:

(294) *pəmabokan* *bənər* *diɛ*
drunkard really he
'He is really a drunkard.'
(from *mabok* 'to be drunk')

(295) *kalo* *oraŋ* *pəŋikutan* *susɛ*
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 *tukaŋ*, as in *tukaŋ tidur* 'person who sleeps a lot', *tukaŋ minum* 'drunkard'.

6.9 The circumfix {pə(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 {pə(r)-[ ]-an} which describes a situation or event is *pərasaan* 'feeling' (from *ŋərasain* 'to feel'), an example which describes a place is *pranakan* 'womb' (from *bəranak* 'to give birth'), an example which describes an instrument is *pəriŋatan* 'remembrance' (from *iŋət* 'to remember') and an example which describes a result is *pərkataan* 'what is said' (from *ŋatain* 'to say'). Following are examples in quotations:

a) Examples which describe situations, events:

(296) *diɛ* *puña* *pərjalanan* *apa* *pəgi*
he own journey what go

kə *sono*
to there

'What is the purpose of his journey there?'

(from *jalan* 'to walk, go')

(297) *diɛ* *amɛ* *guɛ* *mɛmaŋ* *masi*
he with I certainly still

pəsodaraan
relative

'He and I are relatives.'

(from *bəsodare* 'to be related')

b) Examples which describe places or instruments:

(298) *ni* *guɛ* *kasi* *tanda matɛ* *buat*
this I give souvenir for

pəriŋətan
remembrance

'I give you this souvenir for remembrance.'

(299) *lu* *lagi* *dapat* *asil*
you presently get returns

dari *pərjudian* *ya*
from gambling-place (part.)

'You are getting your returns from the gambling place, aren't you?'

(from *maɛn judi* 'to gamble')

c) Following is an example with the meaning 'performer of the action':

(300) *diɛ* *pəlarian* *dari* *ukuman*
he fugative from jail

'He is a fugitive.'

(from *lari* 'to run')

6.10 The circumfix {kə-[ ]-an}$_2$

This circumfix can have adjectivals or semitransitive, intransitive, or transitive verbals, as base forms.

6.10.1 {kə-[ ]-an}$_2$ + adjectival roots

A group of adjectival roots takes the circumfix {kə-[ ]-an}$_2$ to form nouns such as *kəuntuŋan* 'profit', *kəpandean* 'cleverness' and *kəkuatan* 'strength' (from *untuŋ* 'lucky', *pande* 'clever' and *kuat* 'strong'). Following are examples in quotations:

(301) *kalo* *buat* *kəpandean* *saya*
if for cleverness I

kalah *amɛ* *abaŋ*
beaten by older-brother

'In cleverness, you are superior.'

(302) *lu* *mau* *adu* *kəkuatan*
you want contest strength

amɛ *guɛ*
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 *tiŋgi* 'tall, high', *gəde* 'big' and color names can only be nominalized with {-ña}.

6.10.2 {kə-[ ]-an}$_2$ + verbal roots

Semitransitive verbal roots are the only verbal roots which are very productive with the circumfix {kə-[ ]-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:

(303) *apa* *ŋgaʔ* *bisa* *diroba*
(ques.part.) not can change

kəjailan *lu*
jealousy you

'Can't you change your jealous nature?'

(from *jail* 'to be jealous')

(304) *o* *kəpəlitan* *dia* *bəlon*
oh stinginess he not-yet

səbərapa, *ada* *lagi*
much have more, again

yaŋ *ləbi* *pəlit*
which more stingy

'Oh, his stinginess isn't that bad, there are others more miserly.'

(from *pəlit* 'to be miserly, stingy')

Semitransitive verbal roots which are nominalized with this circumfix belong to the class of verbals which describe various feelings, such as *bənci* 'to hate', *sirik* 'to be jealous', *jahat* 'to be evil', etc.

6.10.3. {kə-[ ]-an}$_2$ + intransitive verbal roots

A small number of intransitive verbal roots can be nominalized with this circumfix. Following is an example:

(305) *yaŋ* *udɛ* *biar* *uda*
which already let already

dɛh *yaŋ* *bəlon* *jaŋan*
(part.) wich not-yet don't

kita *bikin* *kəributan* *ajɛ*
we make disturbance only

'Let go what is already past, don't raise a disturbance about what hasn't happened yet.'

(from *ribut* 'to get excited')

6.10.4 {kə-[ ]-an} + transitive verbal roots

Only one example is found with a transitive verbal root: *kəbakaran* 'the event of a fire'. No other examples are found in the data.

6.11 The prefix {sə-}

The prefix {sə-} occurs with the following base forms: 1) nominals, 2) adjectivals and 3) intransitive verbals, and a few precategorical forms.

6.11.1 {sə-} + 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:

(306) *ala kadar* *səpɛrak* *dua*
if-only one-rupiah two

pɛrak *si* *bakal* *bəli* *siri*
rupiah(part.) for buy betel

si *uda* *jaŋan* *ditaña*
(part.) already don't asked

lagi
again

'If only one or two rupiahs to buy betel, don't ask again.'
(from *pɛrak* 'rupiah')

(307) *kita* *səkali* *səmiŋgu* *səkali*
we once one-week once

dibəsuk
visited

'We are visited once a week.'

(from *kali* 'time' and *miŋgu* 'week')

The prefix {sə-} with the meaning 'one' is very productive with nominal base forms which name a unit of time such as *miŋgu* 'week', *ari* 'day', *taon* 'year', etc. As well as the meaning 'one', it can also have the meaning 'the whole':

(308) *səari* *lu* *cuman* *dapət*
the-whole-day you only get

uaŋ *səgini*
money this-much

'You only get this much money the whole day.'

With the meaning 'the whole' {sə-} can be used in combination with the suffix {-an}, forming *sarian* 'the whole day', *səmaləman* 'the whole night' from *ari* 'day' and *maləm* 'night'. But in our data this {sə-} form is not used with other units of time. In this dialect there is also {sə-[ ]-an} with nominal base forms naming units of money like *səpɛrakan* 'one rupiah in cost', but these are formed by ordered suffixation: the base form *pɛrak* 'rupiah' first takes the prefix {sə-}, then the suffix {-an}. The evidence for this is that there are no forms *duapɛrakan* 'two rupiah in cost' or *tigapɛrakan* 'three rupiah in cost'.

6.11.2 {sə-} + adjectival base forms

With adjectival base forms, {sə-} has the meaning 'the same' or 'similar'. Notice the following example:

(309) *siapa* *bisa* *taŋkəp* *prəmpuan*
who can catch woman

səcantik *itu* *səlaɛn* *dari* *si*
as-pretty that other than

ronda
Ronda

'Who but Ronda could catch a woman as pretty as that?'

(from *cantik* 'pretty')

{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 *səgəde jaguŋ* 'as tall as a stalk of corn', *səkəcil adɛʔña* 'as small as his younger brother'. In these two examples *jaguŋ* and *adɛʔña* follow the forms *səgəde* and *səkəcil*.

6.11.3 {sə-} + verbal base forms

Some verbal base forms such as *mau* 'want' and *suka* 'want , like', can take {sə-} with the meaning 'in accordance with', as in the following examples:

(310) *jaŋan* *<u>səmau</u>-(mau)* *lu* *ŋgaʔ*
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 *səmau lu* 'as you want', *səsuka ati 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 *bəlon* 'not yet', *suda* 'already' can form coordinating words with the prefix {sə-} such as *səbəlon* 'before' and *səsuda* 'after', as in:

(311) *<u>səudɛ</u>* *ini* *juga* [*diɛ*] *kluar*
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) *bantal* *yaŋ* *<u>sədari</u>* *tadi*
pillow which since then, recently
dia *gusəl-gusəl* *məntal*
he hit-with-head throw-away
tau *kə* *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 *səmua* 'all', *sədikit* 'a little', and perhaps also *səbəntar* 'a little while'. The first two examples when reduplicated become *səmua-mua* 'all of them' and *sədikit-dikitña* 'at least'. But the reduplicated form of the last example is *səbəntar-səbəntar* and not **səbəntar-bəntar*.

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 verbals 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) *dipuas-puasin* *amat*
satisfying, satisfactory very
<u>idupña</u>
life-his
'His life was very satisfactory.'
(from *idup* 'to live')

(314) *bañak-bañak* *<u>manjaŋinña</u>* *ntar*
make-much elongation later
kəpɛndɛkan
too-short
'Make it much longer, it will be too short.'
(from *manjaŋin* 'to elongate')

(315) *coba* *lihatlah* *<u>ŋəbagiña</u>*
try see(imp.) division
sayaŋ-sayaŋan
sympathetically
'Look at the division in a sympathetic way.'
(from *ŋəbagi* 'to divide')

Nominalization with {-ña} can apply to forms with the prefix {di-} and verb forms which have taken other paradigmatic affixes:

(316) *kalo* *bədəkətan* *<u>diliatña</u>*
if come-close being-seen
ŋgaʔ *ɛnak*
not pleasant
'From close up it isn't nice to see.'
(from *diliat* 'to be seen')

(317) *ŋomoŋ-ŋomoŋ* *kliatanña* *ləməs*
excuse-me appearance weak

bənər
very

'Excuse me, you seem very weak.'

(from *kliatan* 'to appear')

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* *aɛrña* *yaŋ* *matəŋ*
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 *aɛr* 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* *ŋga?* *məgaŋ* *duit* *mana*
if not hold money where

ɛnakña
pleasure

'If you don't have money, where is the enjoyment?'

(from *ɛnak* 'pleasant')

(320) *bandəlña* *masa olo* *ni* *anak*
naughtiness (excl.) this child

'The naughtiness of this child!'

(from *bandəl* 'naughty')

Adjectival phrases can also be nominalized with {-ña}, like the phrase *ləbi baɛ?* 'better' (from *ləbi* 'more' and *baɛ?* 'good') in the following:

(321) *pan* *ada* *ləbi baɛ?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) *pəndə?ña* *kalo* *ayɛ* *ampe* *jadi*
shortly if I until happen

amɛ *diɛ*
with him

'In short, if I work it out with him ...'

(323) *untuŋ* *bagusña* *ada* *oraŋ*
lucky by-chance be,have person

yaŋ *kasian* *ama* *saya*
who sorry (prep.) I

'Luckily by chance there is someone who feels sorry for me.'

(from *bagus* 'good')

In addition, some other base forms can give adverbs, such as *baɛ?ña* 'it would be best, preferably' (from *baɛ?* 'good'), *nantiña* 'later' (from *nanti* 'later') and *pəŋabisanña* finally' (from *pəŋabisan* 'ending').

With adjectival base forms, exclamatory sentences can also be found, such as:

(324) *gədeña* *ni* *bulan* *taŋgal*
how-big this moon date

bərapɛ *yɛ*
how-much (part.)

'How big the moon is, what date is it?'

(from *gəde* '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* *amɛ*
firstly embarrassed (prep.)

tətaŋgɛ *duañɛ* *ayɛ* *kasian*
neighbor secondly I sorry

amɛ *ña?* *ayɛ*
(prep.) mother I

'Firstly I am embarrassed in front of the neighbors, secondly I am sorry for my mother.'

(from *satu* 'one' and *duɛ* 'two')

Such indicators of degree can also be formed with the prefix {kə-}$_2$, as in:

(326) *pərtama* *ñaŋ* *cakəp*
first which pretty,handsome

kədua *ñaŋ* *məŋkilat*
second which shine

'First the pretty one, second the shiny one.'

(from *dua* 'two')

The use of {-ña} in this dialect is very wide: conjunctions like *maŋka* 'thus', time terms like *tadi* 'recently' or *kəmarɛn* 'yesterday' often take *ña* to become *maŋkaña*, *tadiña* or *kəmarɛnña*. The meaning of {-ña} in such examples is only anaphoric.

6.13 The circumfix {sə-[ ]-ña}

Adjectival base forms, time terms, and some verbal base forms, can take {sə-[ ]-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) *sə<u>pantəsña</u>* *mɛmaŋ* *kalo*
it-would-be-best indeed if
ñai *mau* *bərgaul*
(term of ref. or address) want live
di *kampuŋ*
in village
'It would be best if you were to live in the village.'
(from *pantəs* 'appropriate')

(328) *e* *lu* *<u>səbənərña</u>* *mari*
(excl.) you actually come
sini *guɛ* *ajak* *ŋomoŋ*
here I invite talk
'Hey, you are serious, come here, I want to talk to you.'
(from *bənər* 'actual, right')

Following is an example from the group of time names which become members of the class of adverbials with {sə-[ ]-ña}:

(329) *masa* *<u>səlamaña</u>* *ñai*
how forever (term of ref. or address)
mau *idup* *sənaŋ*
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* *ŋga?* *<u>səkiraña</u>* *diajak*
want not if,in-case asked,in-
pindah *amɛ* *abaŋ*
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/ŋə/. Thus the transitive verb has three alternate forms, with the /{n}-/ form, the /ŋə-/ form, and without a prefix. In addition, some can also have the {mə(N)-} form. (See 6.2.0.)

35. For consistency I call transitive verbal roots which do not yet have the {N-} prefix, semi-transitive verbals.

36. On the basis of the data collected, verbal roots like *bilaŋ* '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 {mə(N)-} form generally coincides with the choice of /a/ as final vowel rather than /ɛ/. As described in 3.2.4, the vowel /ɛ/ in final position can alternate freely with /a/. The word *ludɛ* 'spit' can alternate with *luda* without any difference in meaning. When the prefix {mə(N)-} is chosen rather than {N-}, the final vowel /a/ will occur giving *məluda* 'to spit' rather than *məludɛ*. But the reverse is not true. The choice of {N-} does not require the choice of the vowel /ɛ/. Either *ŋluda* or *ŋludɛ* 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 **ŋlayan* or **ŋlankɛ*. This is evidence that the forms *pəlayan* and *pəlaŋkɛ* come from *ŋlayanin* and *ŋlaŋkain*.

43. The form {pə(N)-} can give meaning (1) or (2) to the same base form. The form *pəmbantu* for example, can mean 'person who helps' and it can also mean 'help'.

44. The constituent *tukaŋ-* forming deverbal nouns is very productive in this dialect. Both transitive and intransitive verbs can take this constituent, as in: *tukaŋ pukul* 'person who can be hired to force someone to do something' (from *pukul* 'hit'), *tukaŋ jahit* 'seamstress', *tukaŋ dagaŋ* 'seller, tradesman'. Even nouns can take this constituent, as in: *tukaŋ roko?* 'cigarette seller', *tukaŋ sayur* 'vegetable seller'.

45. The same meaning occurs with nominal base forms, although also not very productively, as in *gədoŋan* 'of people who live in plaster houses, well-off people', *kampuŋan* 'rustic'. (See also 6.7.4.)

Chapter seven

REDUPLICATION

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 {R1}, complete reduplication with phoneme changes or type {R2}, and partial reduplication or reduplication of the first syllable or type {R3}. 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 {R1}; and nonproductive reduplication ({R2} and {R3}).

{R1} is a morphemic process which applies to all base forms which can undergo morphemic processes. But {R2,3} are not only nonproductive, but their meanings cannot be predicted either. Following is a description of the categories of {R2, R3} reduplication, and their connections with type {R1}.

1) {R2} and {R3} which apply to precategorical base forms such as *orak-arik* 'to confuse', *mondar-mandir* 'to wander', *səluk-bəluk* 'complicated', and *gəgarəs* '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 {R2,3} which are different in meaning from type {R1}. The base form *gərak* 'movement' in the form *gərak-gərik* 'movements' forms a noun, while in the form *gərak-gərak* 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 {R1} or {R2,3} with — according to the data available — no difference in meaning. The base form *bənɛ* can form *bənɛ-bənɛ* or *bəbənɛ* with no difference between them, that is, both are stative semitransitive verbs with the meaning 'to arrange something'.

3) The category of {R2,3}, the nonproductive type, in combination with affixes, and in combinations which can only occur with {R2,3}. Forms like *bəbututan* 'rumpled, disheveled', *gəgarukan* 'to scratch', *səsəŋgukan* 'sobbing' only occur in {R2,3} forms, never as **butut-bututan*, **garuk-garukan* or **səŋuk-səŋukan*.

4) The nonproductive type in which the relationship to the base form is not clear, such as *tətamu* 'guest', *səsapu* 'broom', *cəcodot* 'bat'. These three examples come from the base forms *tamu* 'guest', *sapu* 'broom', and *codot* '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 {R1} and {R2,3} reduplication which might be used as a basis for determining the status of the two types of reduplication, in the following analysis of the meanings 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

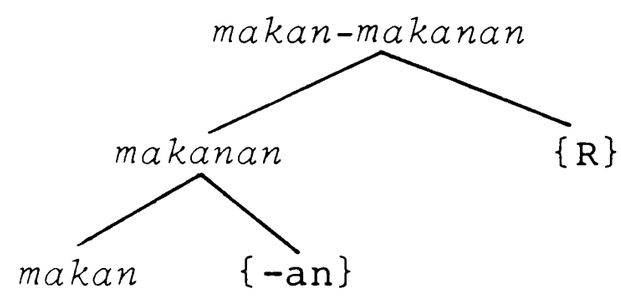
The morphemic processes which involved reduplication and affixation already discussed in 4.10.2, were discussed as if based on morphophonemic rules which applied to all forms of reduplication and affixation; without taking into account typology based on order of derivation. From the point of view of 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.

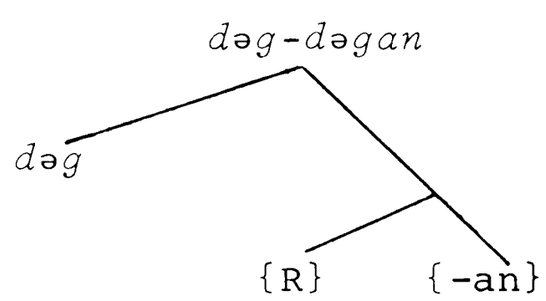
The first process, reduplication of base forms which already have affixes, may be exemplified by the forms *makan-makanan* 'much food' and *goreŋ-goreŋan* 'many fried foods'. These two examples of reduplication are not formed directly from the base forms *makan* 'eat' and *goreŋ* 'fry'; but the base forms first take the suffix {-an} to form the nouns *makanan* 'food' and *goreŋan* 'fried food'. The process of reduplication applies to the derived noun forms to give the forms *makan-makanan* and *goreŋ-goreŋan*, 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:



This type of reduplication process also applies to other reduplicated forms as *nuŋgu-nuŋguin* 'wait for (a long time)', *bəpacar-pacaran* 'have boy/girl friends', formed from the secondary base form *nuŋguin* 'wait for' and *bəpacaran* '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 *dəg-dəgan* 'to beat repeatedly (heart)'. This reduplicated form comes from the primary base form *dəg* '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:



Evidence for this process is that in this dialect the form *dəg* has no form **dəgan*, 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 *təgilɛ-gilɛ* 'crazy' and *cari-məñari* 'look for each other'. These two forms are also not found in the forms **təgilɛ* or **məñari*. Nor do we ever find in this dialect the reduplicated form **cari-ñari*.[46]

However, not all combinations of reduplication and affixation can be strictly distinguished in terms of order of derivation. For forms like *sərumɛ-rumɛ* 'the whole house, whole family' or *kəburu-buru* 'hurried' it is difficult to determine the order of derivation, because in addition to these forms, we also find forms like *sərumɛ* ' a whole family' and *kəburu* 'hurried'. But, in terms of meaning it is difficult to define the relationship between the forms *sərumɛ* and *sərumɛ-rumɛ* or between *kəburu* and *kəburu-buru* (from *rumɛ* '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) *bañak* *juga* *makan-makananña*
much also food-the

ya
(part.)

'There is a lot of food, isn't there?'

(332) *du* *ni* *ana?* *pada*
(excl.) this child (pl.)

mabok-mabokan *pada*
drunk (pl.)

minum-minuman *di*
drink at

mana
where

'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 *marɛ* 'angry' as *marɛ-marɛ* 'very angry, often angry'. The lexical meanings of the two forms *marɛ* and *marɛ-marɛ* are indeed different, but the distribution of the two morphemic forms is the same. The form *marɛ-marɛ* in:

(333) *lu* *marɛ-marɛ* *mlulu* *kənapɛ*
you often-angry only why
'Why are you always angry?'

has a distribution parallel to that of *marɛ*:

(334) *lu* *marɛ* *mlulu* *kənapɛ*
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 *rumɛ* 'house', when reduplicated becomes *rumɛ-rumɛ* 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 *datəŋ* 'come' after the word *ŋga?* '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 '. And 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 *baɛ?* 'good' with reduplication change class to become adverbials such as *baɛ?-baɛ?* 'well'. After the change of category, the base form and the reduplicated form no longer have parallel distributions:

(335) *un* *lu* *urus* *baɛ?-baɛ?*
Un you arrange well
idup *lu*
life you
'Un, put your life in order.'

The form *baɛ?-baɛ?* in sentence (335) cannot be replaced by the base form *baɛ?*:

(336) **un* *lu* *urus* *idup* *lu*
Un you arrange life you
baɛ?
good

Similarly the reduplicated form of the base form *bɛrɛs* 'arranged, neat' is the verb *bəbɛrɛs* 'arrange, clean up'.

(337) *diɛ* *ŋga?* *ikut* *kə* *mari*
he not go-along to here
lagi *bəbɛrɛs* *di* *ruma*
again clean-up in house
'He isn't coming along, he's cleaning up at home.'

The reduplicated form *bəbɛrɛs* in this sentence cannot be replaced with the base form *bɛrɛs*.

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 *bisik* becomes an intransitive verb when reduplicated: *bisik-bisik* 'to whisper, gossip'. Similarly the base form *wanti* becomes a member of the adverbial class in the form *wanti-wanti* '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 unreduplicated forms is no longer clear. The adjective *rame* 'crowded, busy' as an adverbial in the form *rame-rame* means 'together'. Similarly the noun *tempo* 'time' has an adverbial distribution in the form *tempo-tempo* 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 *ŋomoŋ* 'to talk' becomes *ŋomoŋ-ŋomoŋ* which has two lexical meanings and two different categories. The form in:

(338) *ŋomoŋ-ŋomoŋ* *ayɛ* *ŋga?* *lamɛ*
excuse-me I not long
yɛ
(part.)
'Excuse me, I'm not staying long.'

is a reduplication of the form *ŋomoŋ* 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 *ŋomoŋ-ŋomoŋ* in the fol-

lowing sentence:

(339) *e* (excl.) *guɛ* I *mau* want *masak* heat, cook
aɛr water *ŋomoŋ-ŋomoŋ* talk *dɛh* (part.)
ya (part.)
'I want to heat some water, you talk, O.K.?'

In this example the form *ŋomoŋ-ŋomoŋ* is still in the category of verbs like its base form *ŋomoŋ*, 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: *guna-guna* '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 {di-}, or {kə-} and {kə-[]-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 *koŋko* 'to chat' when repeated becomes *koŋko-koŋko* 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 *maŋgut* 'to nod' is *ŋaŋguk-ŋaŋguk* meaning 'to nod (repeatedly)'. The reduplication of the base form *ŋəndon* 'to stay' is the form *ŋəndon-ŋəndon* 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) *guɛ* I *liat* see *diɛ* he *lagi* (prog.)
duduk-duduk sit *ajɛ* only *di* at *dəpan* front
'I see him sitting around in front.'

(341) *lu* you *suka* like *ŋəndon-ŋəndon* stay *kə* to
mana-mana everywhere
'You stay just anywhere now.'

(342) *jaŋan* don't *cəmbərut-cəmbərut* sullen *jaŋan* don't
marɛ-marɛ angry *malu* embarrassed *nti* later
abaŋ older-brother
'Don't be sullen and angry, you'll be embarrassed later.'

b) When reduplication is preceded by the negative words *jaŋan* 'don't', *ŋga?* '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?* mother *jaŋan* don't *biŋuŋ-biŋuŋ* confused
ma? mother *pɛŋin* want *apɛ* what *tunjuk* show
'Mother, don't be confused, tell us what you want.'

(344) *uda* already *bərapɛ* how-many *ari* day
baŋ older-brother *gondroŋ* Gondrong *ŋga?* not

datəŋ-datəŋ
come

'Gondrong hasn't come at all for several days.'

c) When reduplication of meaning group (a) is placed at the beginning of the sentence, or the form precedes a predicate or another sentence, the meaning of the reduplication expresses "contradiction" with the predicate or sentence following, or expresses something which should not have happened: expresses a concessive as in:

(345) datəŋ-datəŋ ŋomɛlin guɛ
come scold I

'As soon as (you) arrive, (you) scold me.'

(346) kərjɛ-kərjɛ juga
work also

dimarain-dimarain juga
scolded also

'Although you work, you're still scolded.'[48]

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 gədəbar-gədəbur 'to beat (of heart)', mondar-mandir 'to wander', cəŋar-cəŋir 'to smile'.

Following are examples in sentences:

(347) johan uriŋ-uriŋan mataña
Johan hide eye-his

riəp-riəp mənahan
squeezed shut hold, stand

ŋilu
pain

'John is hiding, his eyes squeezed shut because of the pain.'

(348) apaan si grata-grutu
what-is-it (part.) complain

mlulu ŋga? tau oraŋ
only not know person

lagi grak-grik-gruk
(prog.) unwell

'Why are you complaining, don't you know I am not feeling well.'

(349) na ampɛ brak-brik-bruk
(excl.) until noise

bəgitu ada apɛ lagi
like-that have what again, more

'How noisy you are, what is it now.'

(350) uda kəñaŋ gəgarəs di
already full eat at

jalanan bilaŋ di rumɛ
street say at home

ŋga? ɛna? 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? kasi ntar saya datəŋ
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.

7.4.1.2.2 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 awasin gərak-gərik
you must watch movement

diɛ
he

'You must watch his movements.'

(353) bagusña saya dəŋər ribut-ribut
luckily I hear noise

'Luckily I heard the noise.'

(354) mɛmaŋ bətul kata-kata
indeed true words

ma?
mother

'What mother says is very true.'

The base forms gərak '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 aŋən-aŋən 'ideals' from the base forms cita and aŋən.

7.4.1.2.3 Adverb formation

Some intransitive verbal base forms form adverbial connectors when reduplicated, such as ŋomoŋ-ŋomoŋ '(connector introducing a new sentence, when one wishes to stop an ongoing conversation and talk about something new)', tau-tau 'unexpectedly, without prior notice', buru-buru 'hurriedly'. Following are examples

in quotations:

(355) *kalo* *bəgitu* *kita* *məsti*
if like-that we must

buru-buru *kawinin* *ponɛ*
quickly marry-off Ponah

'In that case we must have Ponah married quickly.'

(356) *tu* *rumɛ* *tau-tau*
that house unexpectedly

uda *jadi* *kapan* *mbaŋunña*
already done when building-its

'That house is already finished, when was it built?'

In the examples of *tau-tau* and *ŋomoŋ-ŋomoŋ* 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 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) *jaŋan* *cari-cari* *hayati*
don't look-for Hayati

ya
(part.)

'Don't keep looking for Hayati, o.k.?'

(358) *ɛmaŋ* *uda* *lama*
certainly already long

si *rombɛŋ* *bəlon*
(part.) Rombeng not-yet

ŋisəp-ŋisəp *əmbun-əmbun*
suck top-of-head

'It's been a long time since I've sucked anyone's brains (=beaten anyone).'

b) The action has a plural object, as in:

(359) *bakar-bakar* *bəgitu* *ketauan*
burn like-that known

polisi *ditaŋkəp* *lu* *yɛ*
police caught you (part.)

'If you burn (things) like that it will become known to the police, you will be caught.'

(360) *jaŋan* *pasaŋ-pasaŋ* *aja*
don't place-(bet) only

dulu *baŋ*
first older-brother

'Don't place bets yet.'

c) Following are examples which express continuity:

(361) *coba* *pikir-pikir* *dulu*
try think first

'Think about it first.'

(362) *itu* *dia* *guɛ* *lagi*
that he, it I (prog.)

nuŋgu-nuŋgu
wait

'That is the problem, I'm waiting.'

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) *bərapa* *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* *yaŋ* *dari* *tadi*
pillow which from recently

diɛ *gusəl-gusəl* *səkaraŋ*
he bump-with-head now

məntal *tau* *kə* *mana*
throw know to where

'I don't know where he has thrown the pillow he was bumping with his head.'

(365) *ada* *yaŋ* *mau* *orak-arik*
have which want cut

tali *pərsodaraan*
string, bond friendship, brotherhood

'There is someone who wants to cut the bonds of brotherhood.'

(366) *musti* *nih* *ada* *yaŋ*
must this have which

kutik-kutik
tinker

'Someone must have tinkered with this.'

The root morphemes *gusəl*, *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* *oraŋ* *yaŋ*
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* *yaŋ* *puti-puti* *ŋga?*
that which white not
bole *kəliatan*
allow seen
'Those white things should not show.'

b) The reduplicated form of the adjectival root when preceded by the prohibitive word *jaŋan* 'don't' or the negative *ŋga?* or *kaga?* 'no, not', means 'too', or strengthens the prohibition or negation.

(369) *ayu* *jaŋan* *pake* *lama-lama*
Ayuh don't use long
antərin
escort
'Ayuh, don't take too long taking (them) there.'

(370) *ayɛ* *ŋga?* *bisa* *lamɛ-lamɛ*
I not can long
di *sini*
at here
'I can't be too long here.'

(371) *jaŋan* *kəncəŋ-kəncəŋ* *ntar*
don't loud later
diɛ *dəŋər*
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) *guɛ* *jəlɛk-jəlɛk* *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* *dəpan* *baɛ?-baɛ?*
you guard at front well
yɛ
(part.)
'Guard well in front.'

The reduplicated form *baɛ?-baɛ?* no longer has a distribution parallel to its base form *baɛ?* 'good'. The syntactic distribution of the reduplicated form does not allow replacement by the base form:

(375) **lu jaga di dəpan baɛ?*

Following are additional examples:

(376) *uah* *ini* *ŋga?* *bole*
(excl.) this not allow
jalan *antəŋ-antəŋ*
walk quietly, calmly
bisa *oraŋ* *curiga*
can person suspicious
'We shouldn't walk quietly, people might be suspicious.'

(377) *guɛ* *ɛmaŋ* *masi*
I really still
apal *bətul-bətul*
memorize, remember correctly
pəmaɛnanña
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.

(378) *ayu* *kita* *nonton* *rame-rame*
come-on we watch together

'Come on, let's watch together.'

The base form *rame* 'crowded' changes its meaning to include the meaning 'together'.

In addition we also find examples of precategorical forms which become adverbs by reduplication, such as *suŋgu-suŋgu* 'really' and *suŋut-suŋut* '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* *guɛ* *lagi* *gərah*
far you I (prog.) hot

'Move away, I'm hot.'

(380) *nah* *itu* *barəs-barəs*
(excl.) that generous

jadi *oraŋ*
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) *jaŋan* *gəlap-gəlap* *kalo*
don't dark if

jalan
go, walk

'Don't go out too late.'

(382) *jaŋan* *kəncəŋ-kəncəŋ* *jalanña*
don't fast walking

'Don't walk too fast.'

Here the reduplicated forms can not be replaced by unreduplicated 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) *ampunilah* *dosa-dosaku*
forgive sins-I

'Forgive my sins.'

(384) *surat-surat* *guɛ* *yaŋ*
letters, papers I which

pəgaŋ
hold

'I have the papers.'

(385) *təntu* *ada* *səbab-səbabña*
certainly have cause-the

atau *sala-salaña*
or wrong-the

'Certainly there are causes or wrongs.'

b) Expressing 'indefinitely many', as in:

(386) *o* *jadi* *lu* *səlidikin*
oh thus, so you investigate

dari *oraŋ-oraŋ*
from people

'Oh, so you investigate (it) through people.'

(387) *lima* *ratus* *ñumbaŋ*
five hundred contribute

kawan-kawan *yaŋ* *kərja*
friends which work

'Five hundred to contribute to the friends (people) who work.'

c) Expressing a group of kinds of things or certain people:

(388) *kalu* *kaga?* *duit* *ajɛ*
if not money only

muka *suka* *cəmbərut* *kaya*
face like sullen similar-to

cəcurut
rat

'If he doesn't have money, he looks sullen as a rat.'

(389) *kəsip-kəsip* *kaya*
wink similar-to

kura-kura *sədaŋ*
turtle (prog.)

ŋərəm
sitting-on-eggs

'Winking like a turtle sitting on its eggs.'

Perhaps reduplicated forms like *tətaŋga* 'neighbor', *tətamu* 'guest', *məmədi* '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 *tətamu* 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* 'spy' (from *mata* 'eye'), *laŋit-laŋit* 'ceiling' (from *laŋit* 'sky'), and *kuda-kuda* 'horse stance (position in traditional fighting)' from *kuda* '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 (kə)* '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 *ŋga?* 'no, not' and followed by *acan*, expresses 'not at all', as in:

(391) [...] *makan* *ama* *sambəl*
eat (prep.) hot-sauce
doaŋ *ŋga?* *ikan-ikan* *acan*
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 *nɛnɛ?-nɛnɛ?* 'old (like a grandmother)', *kakɛ?-kakɛ?* 'old (like a grandfather)', *anak-anak* 'young (like a child)'. Following are examples in sentences.

(392) *kliwatan* *diɛ* *ŋga?* *liat*
too-far he not seen
kitɛ *udɛ* *nɛnɛ?-nɛnɛ?*
we, I already old (like a grandmother)
'It's too much, he doesn't see that I'm already old.'

(393) *jadi* *pərjaka* *tua*
become youth, bachelor old
ampe *kakɛ?-kakɛ?*
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-apa* means 'anything' (from *apa* 'what'), *siapa-siapa* means 'anyone' (from *siapa* 'who'). Following are examples in sentences:

(394) *poko?ña* *ada*
the-point-is, in-sum have
apa-apa *lu* *kasi* *kode*
anything you give sign
'So, if anything happens, give a sign.'

(395) *biasɛ* *bənər* *kalo* *laki*
usual very if husband
dari *mana-mana* *pulaŋ*
from anywhere come-home
ŋomɛl *pulaŋ* *ŋomɛl*
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) *yaŋ* *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) *bərapa* *bañak* *lu* *puña*
how-many many you have
kawan *datəŋ* *atu-atu* *gua*
friend come one-by-one I
bəla-bəlain
defend
'However many friends you have, let them come one by one, I'll defend myself.'

All the measuring words formed with the prefix {sə-}, such as *sətəŋa* 'half', *sədikit* 'a little' and *səpɛrak* 'one rupiah' (see 6.11.1) fall into this category.

(399) *ŋasi* *duit* *səpɛrak-səpɛrak*
give money one-rupiah-by-one-rupiah
mana *cukup*
where enough
'How can it be enough, giving money rupiah by rupiah.'

(400) *sədikit-sədikit* *saja* *ŋasiña*
little-by-little only giving

'He gives it little by little.'

But when preceded by the word *ŋgaʔ* and followed by *acan*, such reduplication expresses 'absolutely not'.

(401) *ŋgaʔ* *satu-satu* *acan*
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) *sədikit-sədikit* *ŋasi* *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 *masiŋ-masiŋ* 'respectively', *tiəp-tiəp* 'every', *wanti-wanti* 'truly, really', *məntaŋ-məntaŋ*. In this dialect these words never appear as root morphemes. Following are examples in sentences:

(403) *dəŋərin* *yɛ* *wanti-wanti*
listen (part.) well

lu *tau* *ŋgaʔ* *lama*
you know not long

lagi *asəngim*
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) *abaŋ* *pura-pura*
older-brother pretend

aja *baŋ*
only older-brother

diajakin *maɛn* *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', *siaŋ-siaŋ* 'in the afternoon', *subu-subu* 'at sunrise'. Examples:

(405) *iyɛ* *itu* *yaŋ* *pagi-pagi*
yes that which in-the-morning

abaŋ *narik*
older-brother takes, rides

anaʔña
child-the

'Yes, the one whose child he takes in the morning.'

(406) *iyɛ* *dari* *subu-subu* *ayɛ*
yes from sunrise I

udah *datəŋ* *kə* *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) *kənapɛ* *tadi* *pulaŋ*
why just-not go-home

ŋgaʔ *bilaŋ-bilaŋ*
not say

bɛsok-bɛsok
tomorrow (in the future)

jaŋan *gitu* *ah*
don't like-that (part.)

'Why did you go home without saying anything, don't do that next time.'

(408) *pəndapatan* *guɛ* *yaŋ*
opinion I which

uda-uda *yaŋ* *jalanin*
already which do

kəjahatan *gua* *kagaʔ* *jalanin*
wrong deed I not do

yaŋ *bəgitu* *lagi*
which like-that again

'In my opinion, what I already did, what I did wrong, I will not do again.'

(409) *dulu-dulu* *guɛ* *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* *doŋ*
(excl.) just-now (part.)

kalo *ñaʔ* *sətuju*
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} + {bə(r)-}) + root morphemes

Generally the reduplication process

({R} + {bə(r)-}) + root morpheme belongs to type (1). Forms like *bəlari-lari* 'to run', *bəlaga?-laga?* '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} + {bə(r)-}) + root morpheme, such as *bəruma-ruma* 'to have a family (household), be married', *bəgəde* [*hati*] 'to be proud'[49] (from *ruma* 'house' and *gəde* 'big' + *hati* 'heart').

The meaning of the reduplication process ({R} + {bə(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

yaŋ *bole* *bakal*
which may for

bəgəde-gəde *ati*
proud heart

'There is one brother who may make you proud.'

(412) *suda* *lama* *dia* *bəruma-ruma*
already long he have-family, be-married

'He has been married for a long time.'

Such examples are rare. Most examples of ({R} + {bə(r)-}) + root morpheme are those which take morphemes which are names of measurements such as *bəjam-jam* 'for hours', *bəpulu-pulu* 'in tens', *bəmiŋgu-miŋgu* 'for weeks', etc. (from *jam* 'hour', *pulu* 'ten', *miŋgu* '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) *udɛ* *bəpulu-pulu* *ayɛ*
already tens I

taŋkəp
catch

'I caught tens of them.'

(414) *səbab* *ayɛ* *bilaŋ*
because I say

bəkali-kali *soal* *diri* *ayɛ*
repeatedly problem self I

'Because I tell about myself repeatedly.'

(415) *bəjəm-jəm* *guɛ* *tuŋgu* *ŋga?*
for-hours I wait not

datəŋ
come

'I waited for hours but he didn't come.'

7.5.2 ({R} + {bə(r)-[ ]-an}) + root morphemes

There are many examples of this form in this dialect, such as *bəpacar-pacaran* 'to be in love', *bədəkət-dəkətan* 'to get close', *bəradəp-adəpan* 'to face'. But all the examples in the data are of the first type of reduplication and affixation. Therefore they need not be described further.

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) *ɛnak* *bənər*
pleasant, enjoyable really

yaŋ *gəgarukan*
which scratch

'The one who is scratching looks very happy.'

(417) *lu* *ikut-ikutan* *tərus*
you follow continuously

ni *amɛ* *oraŋ*
this, here (prep.) person

'You always follow others.'

(418) *tuan* *rumah* *maŋgut-maŋgutan*
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: *taŋis-taŋisan* 'to cry for each other', *cari-carian* 'to look for each other', *suka-sukaan* 'to love each other'. Following are examples in sentences:

(419) *si* *romli* *komɛŋ* *lagi*
(part.) Romli Komeng (prog.)

pərlip-pərlipan *alias*
in-love alias

bəsukaan *amɛ* *rəkan*
in-love (prep.) friend

səkərjaña
same-work

'Romli Komeng has fallen for, that is, is in love with, someone where he works.'

(420) *nah* *tu* *lagi*
(excl.) that, there (prog.)

cari-cariɲan *bədua*
look-for-each-other together

'There, those two are looking for each other.'

7.5.3.1.3 Formation of intransitive verbs

Some other examples show base forms becoming intransitive verbs, with a durative meaning:

(421) *nah* *ni* *baraŋ*
(excl.) this thing

acak-acakan *bəgini*
scattered, disordered like-this

'These things are in a mess like this.'

(422) *tu* *pintuña* *ablak-ablakan*
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) *guɛ* *mau* *naɛʔ-naɛʔan*
I want, will move-up, promotion

kəlas
class, grade

'I am going to be promoted to the next class.'

(424) *coba* *pikir* *oraŋ tua* *uda*
try think parents already

kaga? *tiŋgal* *arəp-arəpan*
not remain hope

sodara *arus* *nauin* *yaŋ*
relative must tell which

kaga *bənər*
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: *pəpohonan* 'many trees, various kinds of trees', *buah-buahan* 'many or various kinds of fruits', *sayur-sayuran* 'many kinds of vegetables'. Following are some examples in sentences:

(425) *tu* *liat*
that, there see

puun-puunña *bañak*
trees-the many

ni
this, here

'Look at all the trees.'

(426) *səkaraŋ* *si* *bañak*
now (part.) many

tətaikan
vehicles

'Now there are many vehicles.'

b) Expressing something 'which resembles' something, as in: *oraŋ-oraŋan* '(thing) which resembles a person', *anak-anakan* '(thing) which resembles a child'. Following are examples in sentences:

(427) [...] *sədəŋ* *asik*
(prog.) enjoy, involved

maɛn *kuciŋ-kuciŋan*
play resembling-cat

'He likes to act like a cat (feinting, acting shy)'.

(428) *jaŋan* *lu* *pake* *takut-takutin*
don't you use frighten

jaŋan *pake* *məmədi-məmədian*
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 *gədɛ-gədɛan* 'very largely', *təraŋ-təraŋan* 'very clearly', *səgən-səgənan* 'very reluctantly'. Following are examples in quotations:

(429) *coba* *tu* *lihun*
try that, there Lihun

ŋəbagiña *sayaŋ-sayaŋan*
divide-them very-sympathetically

'Lihun please try to divide them very sympathetically.'

(430) *abaŋ* *ɛnak-ɛnakan*
older-brother very-pleasantly

tidur
sleep

'He is sleeping very pleasantly.'

(431) *kənapa* *si* *dandanan* *lu*
why (part.) dress you

bəbututan
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) *bəcəre* *mati* *iŋət*
separate, divorce dead remember

baɛʔña *bəcəre*
goodness separate, divorce

idup *panas-panasan*
alive compete-with-each-other

'Separated by death, you remember the good things, separated while still alive you compete with each other.'
(from *panas* 'hot')

7.5.4 ({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 *əmpis*, and the movement of the nose in breathing *əmpos*, for example, give words with the distribution of intransitive verbals, as seen in the following examples:

(433) *johan* *əmpis-əmpisan*
Johan breathe, pant

cələntaŋ *di* *atas*
lying-face-up at top

tanah
earth, ground

'Johan panted, lying face up on the ground.'

(434) *iduŋña* *yaŋ* *səgəde* *tomat*
nose-his which as-big tomato

əmpos-əmposan *kaya* *ayam*
opened-and-closed like chicken

abis *bɛrak*
after defacate

'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 *dəg*, and the movement of an angry person *uriŋ*, become intransitive verbs with this form of reduplication: *dəg-dəgan* 'to beat', and *uriŋ-uriŋan* 'to move angrily'. Following are examples in quotations:

(435) *dəg-dəgan* *juga* *guɛ* *mau*
beat also I want

datəŋ *kə* *sono*
come to there

'My heart beats (fast) if I go there.'

(436) *kənapɛ* *si* *diɛ*
why (part.) he

səarian *uriŋ-uriŋan* *mlulu*
whole-day move-angrily only

'Why does he just act angry all day?'

7.5.5 ({R} + {mə(N)} + root morpheme

As noted in 6.2.0, in this dialect {mə(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 {mə(N)-} + reduplication, the prefix {mə(N)-} cannot be replaced by {N-}.

The morphemic process of reduplication + {mə(N)-} repeats the base form and adds the prefix {mə(N)-} to the second constituent. The base forms *bantu* 'help', *tarik* 'pull', and *tuluŋ* 'help', for example become *bantu-məmbantu* 'to help each other', *tarik-mənarik* 'to pull each other', and *tuluŋ-mənuluŋ* '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) *kalo* *sampe* *tərjadi*
if until happen

bunu-məmbunu *bagemana*
kill-each-other how

'What if it comes to killing?'

(438) *anaʔ-anaʔ* *lagi* *pada*
children (prog.) (pl.)

tarik-mənarik *tambaŋ*
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-mənau* 'to know about each other', *kənal-məŋənal* 'to be acquainted'. In addition one nonverbal base form, *səbəla* 'beside' can become *səbəla-məñəbəla* 'to accompany'.

7.5.6 ({R} + {tə(r)-}) + root morpheme

It must first be pointed out that in terms of order of derivation, there are two groups of {R} + {tə(r)-} forms: the group whose formation is ordered, and the group whose formation is simultaneous.

The derivation of forms like *təbalik-balik* 'overturned' and *təbuka-buka* 'open' is ordered. The base forms *balik* 'turn' and *buka* 'open' first take the prefix {tə(r)-}, and only then take reduplication, while forms like *təkəncin-kəncin* 'to urinate (repeatedly, unintentionally)' and *təgilɛ-gilɛ* 'to be crazy about' are formed simultaneously with {R} and {tə(r)-}. The proof of this is that in this dialect there are no forms **təkəncin* or **təgilɛ*. On the other hand, we do find the forms *təbalik* and *təbuka*.

The first group can always alternate with forms with the prefix {kə-} + {R}, while the second group cannot. In this dialect there is no **kəkəncin-kəncin* or **kəgilɛ-gilɛ*. 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 ({R} + {tə(r)-}) + transitive verbal roots

The meaning of reduplication with these forms is an act done suddenly or unintentionally and continuously or repeatedly. The form *təjato-jato* means 'to fall repeatedly', *tətidur-tidur* 'to keep falling asleep', *təgilɛ-gilɛ* 'to be crazy (about s.o.)'. Following are examples in quotations:

(439) *lu* *kaga?* *iŋət* *guɛ*
you not remember I

jadi *cokɛkña* *lu* *lu*
become dancer · you you

təgilɛ-gilɛ *amɛ* *guɛ*
crazy (prep.) I

'Don't you remember, when I was the dancer you were crazy about me.'

(440) *nuŋgu* *lu* *ampe* *tətidur-tidur*
wait you until fall-asleep

ŋga? *juga* *datəŋ*
not also come

'I wait for you till I fall asleep and you still don't come.'

(441) *diɛ* *kətawa-tawa* *ampɛ*
he laugh until

təkəncin-kəncin
urinate

'He laughed so hard he began to urinate.'

7.5.6.2 ({R} + {tə(r)-}) + precategorical roots

A group of precategorical forms like *gəsa*, *loŋoŋ* and *buru* take this type of reduplication to give words which have a distribution parallel to adverbials: *təgəsa-gəsa* 'hurriedly', *təloŋoŋ-loŋoŋ* 'surprised', *təburu-buru* 'hurriedly'. Following are examples in quotations:

(442) *mamit* *təloŋoŋ-loŋoŋ* *liat*
Mamit surprised see

pəmaenan *tukaŋ* *sulap*
play magician

'Mamit amazed watched the magician's work.'

(443) *ŋliatña* *ampe* *təmoñoŋ-moñoŋ*
see-it until open-mouthed

'He watched it open-mouthed.'

7.5.7 ({R} + {sə-}) + root morpheme

There are two groups of {R} forms with the prefix {sə}: the group formed by ordered derivation and the group formed by simultaneous derivation. Forms like *səgəde-gəde* 'as big as' or *səmau-mau (lu)* 'as (you) want', are formed from the base forms *səgəde* 'as big as' and *səmau (lu)* 'as (you) want'. But the forms *səola-ola* 'as if' and *səakan-akan* 'as if' are formed directly from *ola* and *akan*. This is shown by the fact that in this dialect there are no forms **səakan* or **səola*.

The form {R} + {sə-} can take nouns and precategorical forms as base forms.

With nouns as base forms, reduplication with the prefix {sə-} express the meanings 'all', 'the whole', or 'every', as in: *səruma-ruma* 'the whole house (family)', *səumur-umur* 'one's whole life' (from *ruma* 'house', and *umur* 'age').

(444) *adɛ* *di* *kampuŋ*
have at (urban)-village, section

yaŋ *dapat* *sakit* *səruma-ruma*
which get sick whole-house

'There is a family in that neighborhood in which everyone is sick.'

(445) *kalo* *ayɛ* *ñomot* *tu* *tələr*
if I take that egg

biar *budukan*
let skin-disease

səumur-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 {sə-} gives a new lexical meaning: 'usually; every day'.

(446) *sari-sari* *mɛmaŋ* *juga*
every-day certainly also

saya *kə* *mari*
I to there

'I usually do go there.'

(447) *ŋga?* *sari-sari(ña)* *diɛ*
not every-day he

datəŋ *kə* *mari*
come to here

'It is unusual for him to come here.'

With the precategorical base forms *ola* and *akan*,50 {R} + {sə-} forms the adverbs *səola-ola* 'as if' and *səakan-akan* 'as if'.

(448) *diɛ* *bəlaga?* *səola-ola*
he pretend as-if

ikut *tadi* *bəŋkəlai*
join just-now fight

'He pretends he took part in the fight we had just now.'

But only two precategorical forms which take {R} + {sə-} are found in the data.

7.5.8 ({R} + {sə-[ ]-ña}) + root morpheme

Apparently most of these reduplicated forms result from simultaneous morphemic processes. Forms like *səjau-jauña* 'the farthest', *səjalan-jalanña* 'to go anywhere' and *səambil-ambilña* 'to take anything' come directly from *jau* 'far', *jalan* 'go' and *ambil* 'take', as there are no forms **səjau*, **səjalan*, or **səambil* in this dialect. But a small number of examples are found which come from ordered morphemic processes. These are forms like *səkira-kiraña* 'if, in case', which is found along with *səkiraña* '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} + {sə-[ ]-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 *jalan* 'to go, walk' in the form *səjalan-jalanña* means 'to go anywhere'. The base form *ambil* 'to take' in the form *səambil-ambilña* means 'to take anything or take (s.t.) any way'. Following are examples in quotations:

(449) *masak* *aja* *səmasak-masakña*
cook only cook-any-way

'Just cook anything.'

(450) *ambilin* *piriŋ* *səambil-ambilña*
take plate take-any-way

'Just take any plate.'

7.5.8.2 {R} + {sə-[ ]-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 *sədikit* 'a little' in the form *səsədikit-dikitña* means 'as little as possible'. Similarly the base form *kəncəŋ* 'fast' in the form *səkəncəŋ-kəncəŋña* means 'as fast as possible'. Following are examples in quotations:

(451) *diɛ* *lari* *səkəncəŋ-kəncəŋña*
he run as-fast-as-possible

kə *rumɛ* *nəmuin* *tamuña*
to house meet guest-his

'He runs as fast as he can to the house to meet his guest.'

(452) *tiəp* *ari* *juga* *guɛ* *datəŋ*
every day also I come

kə *mari* *səsədikit-dikitña*
to here as-little-as-possible at least

jam *nəm* *uda* *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* *səlɛbar-lɛbar(ña)* *kota*
but as-wide-as city

jakarta *masi* *bañak* *juga* *ñaŋ*
Jakarta still many also which

doyan *taŋgapan*
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 *bənci* 'to hate' and *suka* 'to like'. Following is an example in a quotation:

(454) *sədəŋki-dəŋkiña* *diɛ* *ada*
as-jealous-as he have

lagi *yaŋ* *ləbi* *dəŋki*
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 *kaga?* 'no, not' and *ari* 'day' which form respectively *səkaga?-kaga?ña* 'at least', and *sari-sariña* 'every day, usually'.

* * *

FOOTNOTES:

46. *cari-məñari* is a reduplicated form whose constituents both take the prefix {mə(N)-}. The choice of {mə(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 *kəcil-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 **bəgəde* 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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* * *

LIST OF DERIVATIVE AND PARADIGMATIC AFFIXATION

	Verbal													Adjectival				Nominal				
Affix / Root / Verbal trans.	Base	Reduplication	*-an* 1	*bə(r)-*	*bə(r)- -an*	*N-*	*N- -in* 1	*N- -in* 2	*di-*	*di- -in* 1	*di- -in* 2	*ke-*	*kə- -an* 1	*-an* 2	*kə- -an* 2	*sə- R -ña*	*pə(N)- -an* 1	*-an* 3	*kə- -an* 3	*pə(N)-*	*pə(N)- -an* 2	*pə(r)- -an*
ablag 'open'						✓	✓			✓												
acak 'confuse'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
añam 'weave'	✓					✓	✓		✓	✓								✓				
ajak 'invite'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓								✓				
alap 'take'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓								✓				
ambil 'take'	✓					✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
aŋi 'fan'						✓	✓		✓	✓												
aŋon 'herd'	✓					✓	✓		✓	✓								✓				
asah 'sharpen'	✓					✓	✓		✓	✓								✓				
baca 'read'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
bagi 'give, divide'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓					✓				
bakar 'burn'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓					✓				
baləs 'answer'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓			✓	
balik 'return'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓	✓			
bantu 'help'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓								✓		✓		
bawa 'bring'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓			✓	
bəli 'buy'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓								✓			✓	
bikin 'make'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
bilaŋ 'speak'	✓	✓					✓		✓	✓		✓										
buka 'open'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓			✓	
cari 'look for'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓									✓	
coba 'try'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				✓
coloŋ 'steal'	✓					✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓				✓	✓				
copɛt 'pick-pocket'						✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓				✓					
cubit 'pinch'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				

Root / Verbal trans.	Affix	Verbal													Adjectival				Nominal				
		Base	Reduplication	*-an* 1	*bə(r)-*	*bə(r)- -an*	*N-*	*N- -in* 1	*N- -in* 2	*di-*	*di- -in* 1	*di- -in* 2	*kə-*	*kə- -an* 2	*-an* 2	*kə- -an* 2	*sə- R -ña*	*pə(N)- -an* 1	*-an* 3	*kə- -an* 3	*pə(N)-*	*pə(N)- -an* 2	*pə(r)- -an*
cuci	'wash'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
duga	'guess'									✓									✓				
dukuŋ	'support'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
ɛjɛk	'make fun of'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓								✓				
ɛrɛt	'deceive'	✓					✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
gaɛt	'steal'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
gali	'dig'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
gaŋgu	'bother'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓		✓		
garoŋ	'rob'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓				✓	✓				
garuk	'scratch'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓		✓		
gəbug	'hit'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓		✓	✓	
gɛndoŋ	'carry'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓		✓	✓	
gigit	'bite'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
giləs	'crush'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓			✓	
godɛ	'tempt'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓		✓		
goŋsɛŋ	'fry'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
gorɛŋ	'fry'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓			✓	
gosok	'scrub'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
ikət	'tie'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓		✓		
jait	'sew'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓			✓	
jirət	'snare'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓					✓			✓	
jitak	'hit'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
jual	'sell'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓			✓	
jumput	'pick up'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
juŋjuŋ	'carry on head'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				

Affix		Verbal													Adjectival				Nominal				
Root Verbal trans.		Base	Reduplication	*-an* 1	*bə(r)-*	*bə(r)- -an*	*N-*	*N- -in* 1	*N- -in* 2	*di-*	*di- -in* 1	*di- -in* 2	*kə-*	*kə- -an* 1	*-an* 2	*kə- -an* 2	*sə- R -ña*	*pə(N)- -an* 1	*-an* 3	*kə- -an* 3	*pə(N)-*	*pə(N)- -an* 2	*pə(r)- -an*
kasi	'give'	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓		✓	✓										✓		
katɛ	'say'	✓						✓			✓								✓				
kilit	'pick fruit with a pole'						✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
kirɛ	'guess'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓								✓				
kirim	'send'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓		✓		
lawan	'oppose'	✓					✓			✓			✓										
lɛmpar	'throw'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
liat	'see'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓			✓								✓	
makan	'eat'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
masak	'cook'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
minum	'drink'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓					✓	✓				
minta	'request'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓												✓
omoŋ	'speak'	✓	✓				✓	✓			✓								✓				
pakɔ	'use'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓		✓		
pandaŋ	'look'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
paŋgaŋ	'roast'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
paŋgil	'call'	✓	✓				✓															✓	
paŋgul	'carry on hip'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
pɛlɛt	'lure'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
pətik	'pick'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
pikul	'carry on shoulders'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
plintir	'twine'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
puji	'praise'	✓	✓				✓						✓						✓				
pukul	'hit'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
puŋut	'pick up'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				

Root / Verbal trans. \ Affix	Verbal													Adjectival				Nominal				
	Base	Reduplication	*-an* 1	*bə(r)-*	*bə(r)- -an*	*N-*	*N- -in* 1	*N- -in* 2	*di-*	*di- -in* 1	*di- -in* 2	*kə-*	*kə- -an* 1	*-an* 2	*kə- -an* 2	*sə- R -ña*	*pə(N)- -an* 1	*-an* 3	*kə- -an* 3	*pə(N)-*	*pə(N)- -an* 2	*pə(r)- -an*
rampok 'rob'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓					✓		✓		
sambuŋ 'continue'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
sampər 'meet'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓										
səmbur 'spray'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
suru 'order'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓								✓				
tagih 'press (for payment)'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓			✓					✓				
tambəl 'patch'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
tanəm 'plant'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
tanggap 'catch s.t. falling'						✓	✓			✓		✓						✓				
taŋkəp 'catch'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
taňa 'ask'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓												✓
tarik 'pull'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓		✓		
taro 'put'	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
tɛkɛ? 'hit'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
tɛŋtɛŋ 'carry in hand'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
tonton 'watch'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓								✓				
timpɛ 'steal'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
tubruk 'collide'	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓		✓	✓		✓										
tulis 'write'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
tuluŋ 'help'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓			✓							✓		✓
tumpuk 'pile'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
tunjuk 'show'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓								✓		
tuntun 'lead'	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓		✓	✓												
turut 'follow'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓			✓									
tutup 'close'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓		✓		

Affix / Root Verbal Intransitive		Verbal													Adjectival				Nominal				
		Base	Reduplication	*-an* 1	*bə(r)-*	*bə(r)-* *-an*	*N-*	*N-* *-in* 1	*N-* *-in* 2	*di-*	*di-* *-in* 1	*di-* *-in* 2	*kə-*	*kə-* *-an* 1	*-an* 2	*kə-* *-an* 2	*sə-* *R* *-ña*	*pə(N)-* *-an* 1	*-an* 3	*kə-* *-an* 3	*pə(N)-*	*pə(N)-* *-an* 2	*pə(r)-* *-an*
adat	'fuss and cry'						✓											✓					
adəp	'face'				✓	✓	✓	✓			✓												
ajar	'teach'				✓		✓	✓		✓	✓							✓	✓			✓	✓
akur	'agree'	✓						✓			✓												
aləm	'praise'						✓	✓		✓	✓												
alaŋ	'prevent'						✓	✓			✓			✓					✓		✓		
amprok	'meet'	✓		✓		✓																	
antri	'line up'	✓					✓												✓				
añut	'drift'	✓					✓	✓			✓		✓										
baŋun	'wake up'	✓	✓																				
baňol	'funny'						✓												✓				
barəŋ	'together'	✓	✓			✓		✓			✓								✓				
baris	'line up'	✓	✓		✓			✓			✓								✓				
bənɛ	'arrange'		✓		✓			✓			✓												
bənci	'hate'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓												
bəŋal	'be naughty'	✓							✓														
kəlai	'fight'				✓																		
biŋbaŋ	'lead'	✓	✓					✓			✓												
bisik	'whisper'		✓		✓			✓			✓								✓				
bohoŋ	'lie'	✓	✓		✓			✓	✓		✓												
brani	'dare'	✓	✓												✓	✓				✓			
brənti	'stop'	✓	✓								✓										✓		
candɛ	'joke'				✓			✓			✓												
cəmpluŋ	'plunge'						✓	✓			✓		✓	✓									
cəre	'separate'	✓			✓			✓		✓	✓												

Affix	Verbal													Adjectival				Nominal				
Root Verbal Intransitive	Base	Reduplication	*-an* 1	*bə(r)-*	*bə(r)-* *-an*	*N-*	*N-* *-in* 1	*N-* *-in* 2	*di-*	*di-* *-in* 1	*di-* *-in* 2	*kə-*	*kə-* *-an* 1	*-an* 2	*kə-* *-an* 2	*sə-* *R* *-na*	*pə(N)-* *-an* 1	*-an* 3	*kə-* *-an* 3	*pə(N)-*	*pə(N)-* *-an* 2	*pə(r)-* *-an*
dandan 'dress up'	✓	✓		✓			✓			✓								✓				
dapət 'be able'	✓	✓					✓		✓	✓			✓			✓				✓		
dəmən 'love'	✓		✓		✓		✓			✓								✓	✓			
dəndəm 'revenge'	✓	✓					✓			✓										✓		
datəŋ 'come'	✓	✓					✓			✓			✓							✓		
dəŋki 'be jealous'	✓	✓					✓			✓							✓					
diri 'stand'				✓			✓			✓										✓		
doyan 'like'	✓	✓																	✓			
duduk 'sit'	✓	✓					✓			✓			✓					✓		✓		
duməl 'grumble'						✓	✓			✓							✓					
əndon 'stay'						✓	✓			✓			✓							✓		
gaya 'ask, beg'							✓			✓							✓					✓
grəgət 'be angry'			✓				✓			✓												
hɛran 'surprised'	✓						✓			✓			✓									
hiro 'pay attention'	✓						✓			✓												
hormat 'respect'	✓					✓	✓		✓	✓												
idup 'live'	✓	✓					✓			✓										✓		
ibiŋ 'dance'						✓												✓				
ikut 'accompany'	✓	✓				✓	✓			✓								✓				
ina 'insult'	✓					✓	✓		✓	✓											✓	
iŋət 'remember'	✓	✓				✓	✓		✓	✓					✓			✓				✓
jatu 'fall'	✓	✓			✓		✓			✓			✓					✓				
jəblos 'fall into hole'							✓			✓		✓										
judi 'gamble'	✓			✓													✓					
kaok 'scream'		✓		✓			✓			✓								✓				

Root Verbal Intransitive \ Affix	Verbal													Adjectival				Nominal				
	Base	Reduplication	*-an* 1	*bə(r)-*	*bə(r)- -an*	*N-*	*N- -in* 1	*N- -in* 2	*di-*	*di- -in* 1	*di- -in* 2	*kə-*	*kə- -an* 1	*-an* 2	*kə- -an* 2	*sə- R -ñə*	*pə(N)- -an* 1	*-an* 3	*kə- -an* 3	*pə(N)-*	*pə(N)- -an* 2	*pə(r)- -an*
kawin 'marry'	✓	✓					✓		✓	✓												✓
kərjɛ 'work'	✓	✓		✓			✓			✓								✓				
kluar 'go out'	✓	✓					✓			✓												
kuatir 'worry'	✓	✓					✓			✓												
lancoŋ 'sightsee'						✓																
layan 'serve'							✓			✓										✓		
lewat 'pass'	✓	✓					✓			✓			✓									
luka 'wounded'	✓	✓					✓			✓												
mabok 'be drunk'	✓	✓					✓										✓					
maɛn 'play'	✓	✓					✓			✓											✓	
malu 'shy'	✓	✓					✓			✓			✓							✓		
mandi 'bathe'	✓	✓					✓			✓												
marɛ 'angry'	✓	✓					✓			✓							✓					
mau 'want'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓		✓			✓			
didi 'boil'						✓	✓			✓												
mɛsəm 'smile'	✓	✓				✓	✓			✓												
brəŋut 'look sullen'						✓	✓			✓												
musti 'must'	✓						✓			✓												
naɛk 'ride'	✓	✓				✓	✓			✓									✓			
ŋaji 'read Koran'	✓	✓				✓	✓			✓											✓	
ŋantuk 'be sleepy'	✓	✓					✓										✓					
ñañi 'sing'	✓	✓				✓	✓			✓								✓		✓		
omɛl 'scold'						✓	✓			✓							✓					
opɛn 'be attentive, careful'	✓						✓			✓												
pəgi 'go'	✓	✓			✓					✓												

Root Verbal Intransitive	Verbal													Adjectival				Nominal				
Affix	Base	Reduplication	-an 1	bə(r)-	bə(r)- -an	N-	N- -in 1	N- -in 2	di-	di- -in 1	di- -in 2	kə-	kə- -an 1	-an 2	kə- -an 2	sə- R -ña	pə(N)- -an 1	-an 3	kə- -an 3	pə(N)-	pə(N)- -an 2	pə(r)- -an
pərdayɛ 'deceive, fool'						✓	✓			✓												
pərlu 'need'	✓						✓			✓						✓			✓			
pətop 'gamble'						✓											✓					
prəŋut 'be sullen'						✓	✓			✓												
pulaŋ 'go home'	✓	✓					✓			✓												
puləs 'fast asleep'	✓													✓	✓	✓						
ragu 'confused'	✓	✓					✓			✓												
rari 'run'	✓	✓					✓			✓												✓
rənaŋ 'swim'				✓																		
rɛndɛŋ 'line up'				✓	✓	✓	✓			✓												
ribut 'make noise'	✓	✓					✓			✓									✓			
rugi 'loose'	✓	✓				✓	✓			✓									✓			
sampe 'arrive'	✓	✓				✓				✓			✓									
sanduŋ 'stumble'						✓					✓											
sədiɛ 'ready'	✓	✓					✓			✓												
səliŋ 'alternate'	✓	✓				✓	✓			✓								✓				
səsəl 'regret'						✓	✓			✓								✓			✓	
sirik 'be jealous'	✓									✓				✓			✓					
sombonŋ 'be proud'	✓	✓				✓	✓			✓									✓			
sowɛk 'rip'	✓	✓					✓			✓								✓				
suit 'whistle'				✓			✓			✓								✓				
sukɛ 'like'	✓	✓			✓		✓			✓								✓	✓			
sunat 'circumcise'	✓	✓					✓			✓								✓				
takut 'be afraid'	✓	✓					✓			✓			✓							✓		
tandak 'dance'						✓												✓				

Root Adjectival \ Affix	Verbal													Adjectival			Nominal				
	Base	Reduplication	*-an* 1	*bə(r)-*	*bə(r)- -an*	*N-*	*N- -in* 1	*N- -in* 2	*di-*	*di- -in* 1	*di- -in* 2	*kə-*	*kə- -an* 1	*-an* 2	*kə- -an* 2	*sə- R -ña*	*pə(N)- -an* 1	*-an* 3	*kə- -an* 3	*pə(N)-*	*pə(r)- -an* 2
alus 'fine'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓					
asik 'busy, absorbed'	✓	✓					✓							✓	✓	✓					
asin 'salty'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓					
ayal 'slow'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓		✓			
baɛ? 'good'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓		✓			
bagus 'beautiful'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓		✓			
bandəl 'naughty'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓					
bañak 'many'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓					
barɛs 'generous'	✓																				
bənər 'right'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓					
bəniŋ 'clear'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓					
bərat 'heavy'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓					
bətul 'true'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓					
bodo 'stupid'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓					
bokɛ? 'poor'	✓	✓												✓		✓					
bonto 'spoiled'	✓	✓												✓	✓	✓					
boto 'pretty'	✓	✓												✓	✓	✓					
brabe 'trouble'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓					
brani 'brave'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓					
bulət 'round'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓					
butək 'muddy'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓					
buntu 'end'	✓	✓					✓			✓											
cakəp 'handsome'	✓	✓												✓	✓	✓					
cape 'tired'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓					
cəpət 'fast'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓					

	Verbal													Adjectival				Nominal				
Root Adjectival / Affix	Base	Reduplication	*-an* 1	*bə(r)-*	*bə(r)- -an*	*N-*	*N- -in* 1	*N- -in* 2	*di-*	*di- -in* 1	*di- -in* 2	*kə-*	*kə- -an* 1	*-an* 2	*kə- -an* 2	*sə- R -ña*	*pə(N)- -an* 1	*-an* 3	*kə- -an* 3	*pə(N)-*	*pə(N)- -an* 2	*pə(r)- -an*
cukup 'enough'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
curaŋ 'cheat'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
dəkət 'close'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
dikit 'a little'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
diŋin 'cold'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
dulu 'before'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
ɛntɛŋ 'light'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
ɛncɛr 'liquid'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
gədɛ 'big'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
gəlap 'dark'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
gərah 'hot'	✓	✓												✓	✓	✓						
ijo 'green'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
itəm 'black'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
jahat 'evil'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓			✓			
jail 'ignorant'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓			✓			
jau 'far'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
jəlɛk 'ugly'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓			✓			
kəcil 'small'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
kəncəŋ 'fast'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
kəňaŋ 'full'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
kəriŋ 'dry'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
kuniŋ 'yellow'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
kuraŋ 'lacking'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓			✓			
kusut 'tangled'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
ləbi 'more'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓			✓			

Root Adjectival \ Affix	Verbal													Adjectival				Nominal				
	Base	Reduplication	*-an* 1	*bə(r)-*	*bə(r)- -an*	*N-*	*N- -in* 1	*N- -in* 2	*di-*	*di- -in* 1	*di- -in* 2	*kə-*	*kə- -an* 1	*-an* 2	*kə- -an* 2	*sə- R -ña*	*pə(N)- -an* 1	*-an* 3	*kə- -an* 3	*pə(N)-*	*pə(N)- -an* 2	*pə(r)- -an*
luntur 'faded'	✓	✓					✓			✓			✓	✓								
macət 'jammed'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓					✓			
mahal 'expensive'	✓	✓								✓				✓	✓	✓						
maləs 'lazy'	✓	✓												✓	✓	✓			✓			
manis 'sweet'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
manjur 'effective'	✓	✓												✓	✓	✓						
mədit 'stingy'	✓	✓												✓	✓	✓						
mɛncɛŋ 'crooked'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
mɛrɛ 'red'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
miriŋ 'crooked'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
murɛ 'cheap'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
nakal 'naughty'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓			✓			
opɛn 'attentive, careful'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
padət 'dense'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
panas 'hot'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
panjaŋ 'long'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
pəlan 'slow'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
pəlit 'stingy'	✓	✓												✓	✓	✓			✓			
pendek 'short'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
polos 'plain'	✓	✓												✓	✓	✓						
puas 'satisfied'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓			✓			
pucət 'pale'	✓	✓								✓				✓	✓	✓						
puti 'white'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
rajin 'diligent'	✓	✓								✓				✓	✓	✓			✓			
rapi 'neat'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						

Root Adjectival \ Affix	Verbal													Adjectival				Nominal				
	Base	Reduplication	*-an* 1	*bə(r)-*	*bə(r)- -an*	*N-*	*N- -in* 1	*N- -in* 2	*di-*	*di- -in* 1	*di- -in* 2	*kə-*	*kə- -an* 1	*-an* 2	*kə- -an* 2	*sə- R -ña*	*pə(N)- -an* 1	*-an* 3	*kə- -an* 3	*pə(N)-*	*pə(N)- -an* 2	*pə(r)- -an*
rapi 'neat'																						
sakit 'sick'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓	✓					
salɛ 'wrong'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
sədəŋ 'average'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓								
sedi 'sad'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
səmpit 'narrow'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
səŋsara 'miserable'	✓						✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
sərət 'stuck'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
sumpək 'stuffy'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
susɛ 'difficult'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓			✓			
sulit 'difficult'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓			✓			
tandəs 'cleaned out'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
tawar 'bargain'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
təbəl 'thick'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓				✓		
təkəbur 'arrogant'	✓															✓						
təgəs 'precise'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓			✓	✓		
tiŋgi 'high'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
tipis 'thin'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
toma? 'greedy'	✓															✓			✓			
tolol 'stupid'	✓	✓					✓			✓				✓	✓	✓			✓			
totok 'full-blooded'	✓													✓		✓						
tua 'old'	✓	✓					✓	✓		✓				✓	✓	✓						
tulɛn 'original'	✓	✓												✓	✓	✓						
untuŋ 'lucky'	✓	✓		✓			✓			✓				✓	✓	✓			✓			✓
usil 'troublesome'	✓	✓												✓	✓	✓						

Root Nominal	Affix	Verbal													Adjectival				Nominal				
		Base	Reduplication	*-an* 1	*bə(r)-*	*bə(r)- -an*	*N-*	*N- -in* 1	*N- -in* 2	*di-*	*di- -in* 1	*di- -in* 2	*kə-*	*kə- -an* 1	*-an* 2	*kə- -an* 2	*sə- R -ña*	*pə(N)- -an* 1	*-an* 3	*kə- -an* 3	*pə(N)-*	*pə(N)- -an* 2	*pə(r)- -an*
abaŋ	'older brother'	✓			✓																		
adɛʔ	'younger sibling'	✓			✓																		
anaʔ	'child'	✓			✓																		✓
aŋkin	'waistband'	✓			✓			✓			✓												
asil	'result'	✓			✓			✓			✓						✓					✓	
baju	'clothes'	✓			✓			✓			✓												
bakal	'applicant'	✓																	✓				
bakul	'basket'	✓																					
bisul	'boil'	✓		✓																			
blakaŋ	'back'	✓						✓			✓				✓	✓	✓						
bor	'torch'	✓					✓	✓		✓	✓		✓										
buɛ	'fruit'	✓			✓																		
budak	'slave'	✓						✓			✓							✓					
buduk	'k.o. skin disease'	✓		✓																			
bulu	'hair, feathers'	✓		✓	✓			✓			✓												
cabaŋ	'branch'	✓			✓																		
cɛt	'paint'	✓					✓	✓			✓								✓				
cəlanɛ	'pants'	✓			✓			✓			✓												
cəlkin	'instruction to the dead or dying'	✓						✓			✓												
cəritɛ	'story'	✓	✓					✓			✓												
coŋɛk	'[ear disease]'	✓		✓																			
dəpan	'front'	✓						✓			✓				✓	✓							
doa	'prayer'	✓			✓			✓			✓												
doktor	'doctor'	✓						✓			✓												
dua	'two'	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓			✓												

		Verbal													Adjectival				Nominal				
Root Nominal	Affix	Base	Reduplication	*-an* 1	*bə(r)-*	*bə(r)- -an*	*N-*	*N- -in* 1	*N- -in* 2	*di-*	*di- -in* 1	*di- -in* 2	*kə-*	*kə- -an* 1	*-an* 2	*kə- -an* 2	*sə- R -ña*	*pə(N)- -an* 1	*-an* 3	*kə- -an* 3	*pə(N)-*	*pə(N)- -an* 2	*pə(r)- -an*
dukun	'traditional healer'	✓			✓			✓			✓												
əmpo?	'older sister'	✓			✓																		
əncin	'aunt/uncle'	✓			✓																		
gambaŋ	'xylophonelike instrument'	✓					✓	✓			✓								✓				
gəndaŋ	'drum'	✓					✓	✓			✓								✓				
garəm	'salt'	✓						✓			✓					✓							
garu	'plow'	✓					✓	✓		✓	✓												
gergaji	'saw'	✓					✓	✓		✓	✓								✓				
goŋ	'cymbal'	✓					✓	✓			✓								✓				
guru	'teacher'	✓			✓			✓			✓												✓
hargɛ	'price'	✓						✓			✓												
ilir	'lower course, downstream'	✓					✓	✓			✓												
isi	'contents'	✓			✓			✓			✓								✓				
jalan	'road'	✓			✓			✓			✓								✓				
jantuk	'prominent forehead'	✓					✓	✓			✓				✓								
jɛŋgot	'beard'	✓		✓	✓																		
kabar	'news'	✓						✓			✓												
kadas	'rash'	✓		✓																			
kaɛn	'cloth'	✓			✓			✓			✓												
kampuŋ	'village quarter'	✓					✓																
kaos	'undershirt'	✓			✓																		
kapur	'chalk'	✓					✓	✓			✓								✓				
kasur	'mattress'	✓			✓			✓			✓												
kəmbaŋ	'flower'	✓		✓	✓																		
kəmbən	'breastcloth'	✓	✓	✓																			

Root Nominal		Verbal													Adjectival				Nominal				
	Affix	Base	Reduplication	*-an* 1	*bə(r)-*	*bə(r)- -an*	*N-*	*N- -in* 1	*N- -in* 2	*di-*	*di- -in* 1	*di- -in* 2	*kə-*	*kə- -an* 1	*-an* 2	*kə- -an* 2	*sə- R -ña*	*pə(N)- -an* 1	*-an* 3	*kə- -an* 3	*pə(N)-*	*pə(N)- -an* 2	*pə(r)- -an*
kəmpul	'k.o. musical instrument'	✓					✓	✓			✓												
kəncin	'urine'	✓						✓			✓												
kibul	'buttocks'	✓					✓	✓			✓												
konde	'hair knot, bun'	✓			✓			✓			✓												
korɛŋ	'sore'	✓		✓																			
kromoŋ	'k.o.musical instrument'	✓					✓	✓			✓												
kumis	'mustache'	✓		✓	✓			✓			✓												
kupi	'coffee'	✓					✓	✓			✓												
kutaŋ	'bra'	✓		✓				✓			✓												
lawan	'opposite'	✓					✓			✓			✓										
lipensetip	'lipstick'	✓		✓							✓												
luku	'plow'	✓					✓												✓				
obat	'medicine'	✓			✓			✓			✓			✓									
pagər	'fence'	✓					✓	✓		✓	✓		✓										
pantɛk	'pole'	✓					✓	✓			✓		✓						✓				
pantun	'poem'	✓					✓	✓			✓								✓				
parut	'file'	✓					✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
patɛk	'yaws'	✓		✓																			
pɛci	'national hat of black velvet'	✓			✓																		
pɛsta	'party'	✓						✓			✓												
pojok	'corner'	✓					✓	✓			✓												
rasɛ	'feeling'	✓			✓		✓	✓		✓	✓		✓										✓
roko?	'cigarette'	✓					✓	✓			✓												
rumɛ	'house'	✓			✓																		
sahabat	'friend'	✓			✓																		

Root Nominal		Verbal													Adjectival				Nominal				
Affix		Base	Reduplication	-an 1	bə(r)-	bə(r)- -an	N-	N- -in 1	N- -in 2	di-	di- -in 1	di- -in 2	kə-	kə- -an 1	-an 2	kə- -an 2	sə- R -ña	pə(N)- -an 1	-an 3	kə- -an 3	pə(N)-	pə(N)- -an 2	pə(r)- -an
saruŋ	'sarong'	✓		✓				✓			✓												
satu	'one'	✓						✓			✓												
sayur	'vegetable'	✓					✓	✓		✓	✓								✓				
sawɛ	'rice field'	✓					✓	✓			✓												
səbəlɛ	'side'	✓			✓	✓																	
səbraŋ	'across'	✓					✓	✓			✓												
səndal	'sandal'	✓																					
sɛndok	'spoon'	✓					✓	✓		✓	✓								✓				
səpatu	'shoe'	✓						✓			✓												
sərut	'plane (tool)'	✓					✓	✓		✓	✓								✓				
sətagɛn	'waistband'	✓		✓				✓			✓												
sikat	'brush'	✓					✓	✓		✓	✓								✓				
sikut	'elbow'	✓					✓			✓									✓				
sodarɛ	'relative'	✓			✓																		
sorot	'ray'	✓					✓	✓		✓	✓		✓						✓				
suliŋ	'flute'	✓					✓	✓		✓									✓				
tɛʔyan	'k.o. musical instrument	✓					✓	✓			✓								✓				
tɛr	'tar'	✓					✓	✓		✓	✓								✓				
tətaŋgɛ	'neighbor'	✓					✓																
tigɛ	'three'	✓		✓	✓			✓			✓												
tiŋkɛ	'behavior'	✓			✓																		
tiŋkat	'level'	✓						✓			✓												
udik	'upland'	✓					✓	✓			✓												
umpi	'great-grandparent'	✓			✓																		
wali	'Moslem scholar, guardian'	✓						✓			✓												

JAKARTA DIALECT WORD LIST

abaŋ (n) 'older brother', *bə--* (vi) 'to have an older brother'

abis$_1$ (vi) 'gone', (vi) 'finished'

abis$_2$ (conj.) 'because'

ablag (pc) *N--* (vi) 'open', *--*^{2}*an* (vi) 'open'.

acak (pc), *N--* (vi) 'confuse', *--*^{2}*an* (vi) 'confused'

acan [part.] 'at all [not]'.

acar (n) 'k.o. salad or pickle'

ada (vi) 'have', *N--in* (vt) 'have, arrange'

adat (pc), *N--* (vi) 'to stall (of a child) because angry'

adɛ? (n) 'younger sibling', *bər--* 'to have a younger sibling'

adəp (pc), *N--* (vt) 'to face', *bə--an* (vi) 'facing'

adu (pc), *adu kəkuatan* 'to have a contest of strength, fight'

aduk (pc) *N--* (vt) 'to mix'

aɛr (n) 'water'

ah [excl.]

aja ∿ *aje* ∿ *saja* (part.) 'only'

ajak (pc), *N--* (vt) 'invite', *N--in* (vt) 'invite'

ajar (pc), *N--* 'to hit', *bəl--* 'to learn', *pəl--* (adj.) 'educated', *pəl--(n)* 'lesson'

aji (pc) *N--* (vi) 'to recite the Koran', *N--in* 'to recite the Koran for [...]

akan$_1$ (adv.) 'will'

akan$_2$ (pc), *sə--*^{2} (adv.) 'as if'

akur (vi), *N--in* (vt) 'reconcile'

-alam (pc), *N--in* (vt) 'to experience', *pəŋ--an* (n) 'experience'

alaŋ (pc) *N--in* 'to prevent', *kə--an* 'prevented', *pəŋ--* 'obstacle'

alap (pc), *N--* 'to pick [fruit]', *N--in* 'to pick'

alias (adv.) 'alias'

aliŋ (pc), *N--in* 'to block'

alus (adj.) 'fine'

amat (adv.) 'very'

ambil (vt) 'to take', *N--* 'to take', *sə--*^{2}*ña* 'to take [anything]'

amɛ$_1$ ∿ *samɛ* ∿ *ama* ∿ *sama* (vi) 'to be the same'

amɛ$_2$ ∿ *samɛ* ∿ *ama* ∿ *sama* (prep.) 'by'

amɛ$_3$ ∿ *samɛ* ∿ *ama* ∿ *sama* (conj.) 'with'

ampe$_1$ ∿ *sampe* (vi) 'to arrive'

ampe$_2$ ∿ *sampe* (conj.) 'so that'

ampun$_1$ (excl.) 'mercy!'

ampun$_2$ (pc), *N--in* 'to forgive'

amprok (vt) 'to meet', *N--* (vi) 'to meet', *bə--an* (vi) 'to meet [suddenly]'

ana? (n), *per--an* 'womb, offspring', *bər--* 'to give birth'

ancəm (pc), *N--* (vt) 'to threaten'

anɛ ∿ *ana* (pron.) 'I'

aŋən (pc) *--*^{2} 'ideal'

aŋin (n) 'wind'

aŋkin (n) 'woman's waistband'

antəm (pc) *bər--* (vi) 'to fight'

antəŋ (adj.) 'calm, *--*^{2} (adv.) 'calmly'

antər (vt) 'accompany', *N--in* 'accompany'

antri (vi), *N--* (vi) 'to line up'

añut (pc), *N--* (vi) 'to drift away (on purpose)', *kə--* 'drifted away', *N--in* 'cause to drift away'

arab (n) 'Arab'

arəp (pc), *N--in* 'to hope', *--*^{2}*an* (n) 'hope'

argɛ ∿ *harga* ∿ *arga* ∿ *harga* 'price'

ari (n) 'day'

arik (pc) *orak--* 'to confuse'

arus ∿ *harus* (adv.) 'to have to'

apal ∿ *hapal* (vi) *hafal*, *N--in* (vt) 'to memorize'

apɛ ∿ *apa* (pron.), *N--in* 'why', *--an* (pron.) 'what', *--*^{2}*an* 'what could it be [insulting something]'

api (n) 'fire'

asal$_1$ (n) 'origin'

asal$_2$ (adv.) 'as long as'

asəp (n) 'smoke'

asəm (adj.) 'sour', (n) 'tamarind'

asəmgim (n) 'Asian Games'

asik (adj.) 'engrossed'

asin (adj.), *--an* 'kind of vegetable dish', 'salad'

aso (pc) *N--* 'to rest', *N--in* 'to put to rest'

atas (n) 'above'

atawa (conj.) 'or'

atəp (n) 'roof'

ayam (n) 'chicken'

ayɛ ∿ *saya* (pron.) 'I'

ayo (excl.) 'come on'

ayu (adj.) 'pretty'

B

baba (n) 'term of address for Chinese man'

ḃabɛ ∿ *bɛ* (n), 'father'

babi (n) 'pig'

babu (n) 'maidservant', *ŋe--* (vi) 'to be a maid, servant'

badan (n) 'body'

baɛ? (adj.) 'good', *bə--(-an)* (vi) 'to be good to each other', *N--in* (vt) 'to improve'

bagi (vt), *N--* (vt) 'to give', *N--in* (vt) 'to divide'

bagus$_1$ (adj.) 'beautiful', *N--in* (vt) 'praise'

bagus$_2$ (adv.) 'lucky'

baju (n) 'clothes', *bə--* (vi)

bakal$_1$ (n) 'candidate'

bakal$_2$ (prep.) 'for'

bakar (vt), *N--* 'to burn', *ke--an* (vt), 'burned', (n) 'fire'

bale (pc) --^{2} (n) 'bench'

balɘs *N--* (vt) 'to answer', *pə--an* (n) 'answer'

balik, *N--* (vt) 'to turn around', *kə--*^{2} 'to turn around and around'

balok (n) 'beam'

bandəl (vi) 'naughty', *N--in* (w) 'to become naughty'

baŋ ∿ *abaŋ* (n) 'older brother'

baŋət (adv.) 'very', *kə--an* (adv.) 'too'

baŋun$_1$ (vi) 'to wake up'

baŋun$_2$ *N--* (vt) 'to wake up'

bañak (adj.) 'many'

bañol (pc), *N--* (vi) 'to clown', *--an* (n) 'clown show'

banjir (n) 'flood', *ke--an* (vi) 'to be flooded'

bantu (vt), *N--* (vt) 'to help', *--məN--* (st) 'to help each other', *pə--* (n) 'help, servant'

baraŋ$_1$ (n) 'thing'

baraŋ$_2$ (pc), *--tentu* (adv.) 'certainly', *--kali* (adv.) 'maybe'

barəŋ (vi) 'to be together', *--an* (st) 'together', *N--in* (vt) 'to accompany'

baru (adj.) 'new'

basmi (vt), *mə--* (vt) 'to wipe out'

bataŋ (n), *sə--* (kbb) 'a branch; one (long, round thing)'

batik (n), *kaɛn--* (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'

bawɛl (vt) 'to nag, fuss'

bayaŋ (pc), *N--in* (vt) 'to imagine', *--an* (n)

bayar (vt), *N--* (vt) 'to pay', *N--in* (vt) 'to pay for'

bɛ ∿ *babɛ* (n) 'father'

bɛca? (n) 'trishaw'

bəcus ∿ *pecus* (vi) 'can, to be able'

bɛ?ɛŋ (adv.) 'very'

bəgini ∿ *gini* (pron.) 'like this', *N--in* (vt) 'to do this way'

bəgitu ∿ *gitu* (pron.) 'like that', *N--in* (vt) 'to do that way'

bəkas (n) 'print, trace'

bəli (vt), *N--* (vt) 'to buy', *N--in* (vt) 'to buy for, to buy (repeatedly)', *pə--an* (n)

bəla, *N--* (vt) 'to halve', *N--in* (vt) 'to cut in pieces', *sə--* (prep.) 'one half', *sə-- mə--* (st) 'to be beside'

bənci (st) 'to hate'

bəlakaŋ (n) 'back'

bəlon ∿ *bəlum* (adv.) 'not yet'

bənaŋ (n) 'thread'

bənɛ (pc), *bə--* (vi) 'to arrange'

bənər (adv.) 'very', *sə--*^{2}*ña* (adv.) 'truly, really'

bəntar ∿ *ntar* (adv.) 'later'

bəntur (pc), *N--* (vt) 'to collide', *kə--* (vt) 'collided'

beo (n) 'parrot'

bɛrak (vi) 'to defacate'

bərat (adj.) 'heavy', *kə--an* (vt) 'too heavy'

barɛs (pc), --^{2} (adj.) 'generous'

bəsar (adj.) 'big'

bɛsok (adv.) 'tomorrow'

bətah (vi) 'to like'

bətul (adj.), --^{2} (adv.) 'really'

biar (adv.) 'let'

biasɛ ∿ *biasa* (vi) 'usual' *--ña* (adv.) 'usually'

bibit (n) 'seed'

bigimana ∿ *bagɛmana* (ques.) 'how'

bikin (vt), *N--* (vt) 'to make'

bilaŋ (vi) 'to say'

biŋuŋ (vi) 'confused'

bini (n) 'wife', *ana?--* 'family'

bis (n) 'bus'

bisa (vi) 'can'

bisik (pc), *bə--* (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'

bliŋsat (pc) --*an* (vi) 'to move about'

bloʔon (adj.) 'stupid'

bɔ̀cor (vi) 'to leak', *kə*--*an* (vt) 'to be leaked on'

bodo (adj.) 'stupid'

bohoŋ (vi) 'to lie', *pe*--*an* (adj.) 'lier'

bolɛ ∿ *bola* (n) 'ball'

bole (adv.) 'may'

boŋkar, *N*-- (vt) 'to take apart'

bonto (adj.) 'spoiled (fish)'

bontot (n) 'youngest'

boʔoŋ ∿ *bohoŋ* (vi) 'to lie'

bor (n) 'bor', *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'

brisik (vi) 'to whisper'

brorot (pc), --*an* (vi) 'to have messy clothes'

bruk (pc), *brak-brik-bruk* (vi) 'sound (of something breaking)'

bu$_1$ ∿ *ibu* 'mother'

bu$_2$ ∿ *bau* (n) 'smell'

buaŋ, *N*-- (vt) 'to throw away', --*an* (n) 'garbage container', *pe*--*an* (n) 'garbage container'

buat, *N*-- (vt) 'to make', --*an* (n) 'made'

buat$_2$ (prep.) 'for'

buduk (n) 'rough skin', --*an* (vi) 'to have rough skin'

buɛ ∿ *bua* (n) 'fruit', *bə*-- (vi) 'to have fruit', --^{2}*an* 'fruits'

buka, *N*-- (vt) 'to open', *N*--*in* 'to open for, to open repeatedly'

bukan (adv.) 'not', --*ña* (adv.) 'not'

bulan (n) 'moon'

buŋkus, *N*-- (vt) 'to wrap'

buntu (adj.) 'blocked, dead end'

buntut (n) 'tail'

bunu ∿ *bunuh* (vt) 'to kill', --*mə*-- (st) 'to kill each other'

buru (pc), --^{2} (adv.) 'quickly', *kə*-- (vt)

buruk (adj.) 'bad'

buruŋ (n) 'bird'

butut (adj.) 'wrinkled', *bəbututan* ∿ *butut* ∿ *bututan* (adv.) 'to have wrinkled clothes', (n) 'wrinkled clothes'

C

cacɛ ∿ *caca* ∿ *cacah* (vt) 'to slice thinly'

caci (vt) 'to insult'

cakəp (adj.) 'pretty, handsome'

campur (pc), *N*-- (vt) 'to mix', *bə*-- (vi) 'mixed'

candɛ (pc), *bə*-- 'to joke'

capɛ (adj.) 'tired'

cari, *N*-- (vt) 'to look for', *N*-- 'to look for someone, to look for repeatedly', --^{2}*an* (st) 'to look for each other', --*mə*-- (st) 'to look for each other', *pe*--*an* (n) 'livelihood'

cəbur (pc), *N*-- (vi) 'to plunge oneself in', *N*--*in* (vt) 'to plunge in'

cɛcɛr (pc), *kə*-- (vi) 'spilled'

cɛkcok (vi) 'to quarrel'

cəlaka (adj.) 'unfortunate'

cələntaŋ (vi) 'to lie on one's back'

cəmbərut (vi) 'to be angry', *cəmbərat* *cəmbərut* (vi) 'to be angry'

cəmburu (st) 'jealous', *mə*--*i* (vt) 'to be jealous of', --*an* (adj.) 'jealous person'

cəmpədak (n) [k.o. fruit]

cəmpluŋ (pc), *N*--*in* (vt) 'to plunge in', *kə*-- (vt) 'to be plunged in'

cəre, *bə*-- (st) 'to separate, divorce'

cɛt (n) 'paint', *N*-- (vt) 'to paint'

ciŋcoŋ (vi) 'to quarrel'

cita (pc), --^{2} (n) 'ideals, hopes'

cliŋuk (pc), *cliŋak*-- (vi) 'to look at, visit'

coba, *N*-- (vt) 'to try', *N*--*in* (vt) 'to try'

codot (pc), *cə*-- (n) 'bat'

coloŋ, *N*-- (vt) 'to steal', *pə*--*an* (adj.) 'to steal (habitually)'

comot, *N*-- (vt) 'to take '

copɛt (n) 'pickpocket', *N*-- (vt) 'to pickpocket', *kə*-- (vt) 'to be pickpocketed (thing)', *kə*--*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'

curaŋ (adj.) 'to cheat'

curi, *N*-- (vt) 'to steal'

curiga (st) 'suspicious'

D

dagaŋ (vi) 'to sell', *tukaŋ*-- (n) 'seller, tradesman, businessman'

dahan (n) 'tree branch'

dame ∿ *dami* (st), *bə*-- (st) 'to make peace'

dampiŋ (pc), *bə*--*an* (st) 'to be beside s.o.'

dampiŋ (pc), *N*--*in* (vt) 'to accompany'

dandan (vi) 'to dress up', --*an* (n) 'dress, array'

dapət (vi) 'can', *pəN*--*an* (n) 'income'

darɛ ∿ *dara* ∿ *darah* (n) 'blood', *bə*-- (vi) 'to bleed'

dari$_1$ (prep.) 'from'

dari$_2$ (adv.) 'since'

datəŋ (vi) 'to come', *pən*-- (n) 'newcomer'

dədəs, *N*-- (vi) 'to examine'

dɛh ∿ *dah* (part.) [emphasis]

dəkət (adj.) 'close', *N*--*in* (vt) 'to approach', *bə*--*an* (st) 'to be close to each other'

dəmən (st) 'to like, love', *N*--*in* (vt) 'to love', *bə*--^{2}*an* (st) 'to be in love with each other'

dəŋər (vi) 'to hear', *N*--*in* (vt) 'to listen'

dəŋki (vi) 'to be envious', *pə*--*an* (adj.) 'envious'

dəpan (n) 'front'

dəsək (pc), *N*-- (vt) 'to be in a hurry'

dɛrɛt (pc), *bə*-- (st) 'to line up'

didi (pc), *mə*-- (vi) 'to boil'

didik, *N*-- (vt) 'to teach'

diɛ ∿ *dia* (pron.) 'he'

diəm (adj.) 'quiet', *pə*-- (adj.) 'quiet person'

dikit ∿ *sədikit* (adj.) 'a little'

diŋin (adj.) 'cold'

diri (pc), *bə*-- (vi) 'to stand', *pə*--*an* (n) 'place to build, building, founding', *sə*-- (adv.) 'alone'

doaŋ (adv.) 'only'

doktor (n) 'doctor', *N*--*in* (vt) 'to be treated by a doctor'

dompɛt (n) 'wallet'

doŋ [part.] (emphatic particle)

doroŋ, *N*-- (vt) 'to push', --*an* (n) 'push'

doyan (vi) 'to like'

du ∿ *duh* (excl.)

dua (num.) 'two', *bə*-- (adv.) 'to be two', *bə*--*an* (adv.) 'to be two'

duduk (vi) 'to sit', *N*--*in* (vt) 'to seat, to sit on', *kə*--*an* (n) 'seat, position'

duduŋ (n) [name]

duit (n) 'money', *bə*-- (vi) 'to be wealthy'

duk (pc), *dak-dik*-- (vt) 'to beat'

dukun (n) 'practitioner of traditional medicine', *bə*-- 'to be healed by a practitioner of traditional medicine'

dukuŋ, *N*-- (vt) 'to support'

dulo (n) [name]

dulu (adv.) 'before'

dusin (pc) *mə*-- 'to wake up at night'

E

e [excl.]

ɛgol (pc), *N*-- (vi) 'to sway', *ɛgal*-- (vi) 'to be winding, curving'

ɛh [excl.]

ɛjɛk$_1$ (pc), *N*-- (vt) 'to make fun of'

ɛjɛk$_2$ (pc), *pə*-- 'waiter'

ɛkor (n) 'tail'

ɛlon (pc), *N*--*in* 'to support, defend'

əlu ∿ *lu* (pron.) 'you'

əlus (vt) 'to stroke'

ɛmang ∿ *mɛmang* (adv.) 'certainly'

əmbun (pc), --^{2}*an* (n) 'crown (of the head), fontanel'

əmpan (n) 'food', *N*--*in* 'to give food'

əmpat (num.) 'four', *bər*-- (adv.) 'to be four', *pər*--*an* (n) 'crossroad'

əmpət, *N*-- (vi) 'to withstand desires'

əmpis (pc), --^{2}*an* 'in a hurry'

əmpoʔ (n) 'older sister', *bə*-- (vi) 'to have an older sister'

əmpos (pc) --^{2}*an* (adv.) 'to be out of breath'

ɛnak (adj.) 'pleasant', --^{2}*an* (adj.) 'as you wish'

ɛndah (pc) *N*--*in* (vt) 'to beautify'

əndon (pc), *N*-- (vi) 'to stay at someone's house'

əngkoŋ (n) 'grandfather'

əntar ∿ *səbəntar* (adv.) 'later'

ɛntɛ (pron.) 'you'

ɛntɛŋ (adj.) 'light', *N*--*in* (vt) 'to lighten'

ənti ∿ *nanti* (adv.) 'later'

əña ∿ *ñaʔ* (n) 'mother'

ərat (adj.) 'tight'

ɛrɛt (pc) *N*-- (vi) 'to persuade, trick' *N*--*in* (vt) 'to trick'

ɛrte (n) [neighbourhood head]

G

gadaŋ (pc) *bə*-- (vi) 'to stay up all night'

gado (pc) *N*--*in* (vt) 'to eat meat/vegetables without rice', --^{2} (n) 'vegetable salad'

gaji (n), 'wages'

galak (adj.) 'fierce, angry'

gali, *N*-- (vt) 'to dig', *N--in* (vt) 'to dig for, to dig repeatedly', --*an* (n) 's.t. dig out', *pə--an* (n) 'shovel'

gambar (n) 'picture'

gamə̃lan (n) 'traditional type of orchestra'

gandar (pc), --*an* (n) 'vehicle, transportation'

gaŋ (n) 'alley'

ganggu, *N*-- (vt) 'to bother', *N--in* (vt) 'to bother continually', --*an* (n) 'a bother', *pə--* (n) 'one who bothers, thing which bothers'

ganti (pc), *N*-- (vt) 'to replace, exchange', *bə--* (vi) 'to change', --[2] (vt) 'to change repeatedly', *gonta--* (vi) 'to change back and forth'

gara (pc), --[2] (n) 'clamour' (conj.) 'because'

gardu (n) 'guard'

garəs (pc), *gə--* (vi) 'to eat'

garoŋ, *N*-- (vt) 'to rob', *pə--* (n) 'robber', *pə--N* (adj.) 'like a robber'

garuk, *N*-- (vt) 'to scratch', *N--in* (vt) 'to scratch', *gə--an* (st) 'to be scratching oneself'

gasir, *N*-- (vt) 'to rob'

gaul (pc), *bə--* (vi) 'to socialize, mix with people', *bə--an* (vi) 'to socialize'

gaya, *N--in* (vt) 'to ask to be treated to s.t. *pə--an*, 'person who always asks to be treated to s.t.'

gəbug, *N*-- (vt) 'to hit with s.t.', *N--in* (vt) 'to hit repeatedly', *pə--an* (n) 'one who hits or thing which hits'

gəde (adj.) 'big', *N--in* (vt) 'to enlarge s.t.' (vi) 'to become big', *bə--*[2] (vi) 'to be encouraging'

gədəbar (pc), --*gədəbur* (vi), 'to make a splashing sound'

gədoŋ (n) 'building', --*an* (adj.) 'people who live in buildings, well-off people'

gəlap (adj.) 'dark'

gɛlɛŋ (pc), --[2] (vi)

gɛndoŋ, *N* -- (vt) 'to carry in one's arms', --*an* (n) 'what is carried in one's arms', *pə--an* (n) 'thing for carrying burdens on one's back or in one's arms'

gərak (n) 'to move', --[2] (vi) 'to move around', --*an* (n) 'movement', --*gerik* (n) 'movement'

gergaje∿*gərgaji* (n), *N*-- (vt) 'to saw'

gəsa (pc), *tə--*[2] (adv.) 'in a hurry'

gətok, *N*-- (vt) 'to hit'

gi (excl.) 'come on!'

gigit, *N*-- (vt) 'to bite'

gih∿*gi* (excl.) 'come on!'

gilɛ (adj.) 'crazy', *tə--*[2] (adv.) 'crazy about'

giləs, *N*-- (vt) 'to crush', *pə--an* (n) 'crusher'

giliŋ, *N*-- (vt) 'to grind'

gini∿*bə--* (pron.) 'like this', *N--in* (vt) 'to do like this', --*an* (adj.) 'in this way'

gitu∿*bəgitu* (pron.) 'like that', *N--in* (vt) 'to do like that', --*an* (adj.) 's.t. like that'

glandaŋ (pc), --*an* (n) 'homeless person'

glondaŋ (pc), --*an* 'to clang of'

gobaŋ (n) [proper name]; 'two and a half cents'

gondroŋ (n) [proper name]; 'long hair (of male)'

goŋ∿*əgong* (n) 'gong', *N--in* (vt) 'to play a gong', *N--in* (vt) 'to play a gong [for]'

gorɛŋ, *N*-- (vt), 'to fry', --*an* (n) 's.t. fried', *pə--an* (n) 'frying pan'

gosok, *N*-- (vt) 'to iron', --*an* (n) 'iron'

goyang, *bə--* (vi) 'to sway', --[2] (vi) 'to sway repeatedly'

grak (pc), --*grik-gruk* (vi) 'to sound like one has a cough or a cold'

grəgət (pc), --*an* (vi) 'angry'

grutu (pc) *grata--* (vi) 'to complain continuously'

gubris, *N*-- (vt) 'to pay attention to'

guɛ∿*gua* (pron.) 'I'

gulɛ∿*gula* (n) 'sugar'

gule (n) 'k.o. soup'

guna (pc), --[2] (n) 'magic formulas'

gundu (n) 'marble'

gunuŋ 'mountain'

guru (n) 'teacher', *be--* (vi) ' to study with a teacher'

gusəl (pc), --[2] (vt) 'to hide [one's face] in [a pillow]

H

haram (adj.) 'forbidden'

heho (n) [name of Japanese army unit]

hormat (vt), *N--in* (vt) 'to honor, respect'

I

idup∿*hidup* (vi) 'to live'

ijo∿*hijo* (adj.) 'green'

ikan (n) 'fish'

ikət, *N*-- (vt) 'to tie', *pə--* (n) 'thing which ties', *tər-* (vt) 'tied'

ikut, *N*-- (vi) 'to follow, go along', *N--in* (vt) 'to follow', --[2] (vi) 'to follow without reason', --[2]*an* (vi) 'to follow without reason', *pə--an* (adj.) 'acting as a follower'

ilang∿*hilang* (vi) 'to be lost', *N--in* (vt) 'to lose', *kə--an* (vt) 'to have lost s.t.'

imɛ∿*imah* (n) [name]

ini (demonstrative) 'this'

iŋɛt (vi) 'to remember', *N--in* (vt) 'to remind', *kə--an* (vt) 'to remember, be reminded', *pər--an* (n) 'reminder'

iŋus (n) 'nasal mucus', *--an* (vi) 'to have a runny nose'

injak, *N--* (vt) 'to step on'

intip, *N--* (vi) 'to peek'

iri, *N--* (vi) 'to be jealous'

irit (adj.) 'thrifty', *N--* (vi) 'to be thrifty'

iro∿hiro (pc), *N--in* (vt) 'to pay attention'

isəŋ (vi) 'to waste time', $--^2$ (adv.) '[for] killing time'

isəp, *N--* (vt) 'to suck'

isi (n) 'contents', *bə--* (vi) 'to have contents', *N--in* (vt) 'to fill'

itik (n) 'duck'

J

jadi (vi) 'to become', *N--in* (vt) 'to cause', *kə--an* (vt) 'to happen'

jaga, *bə--* (vi) 'to stay awake'

jahat (adj.) 'evil', *pə--* (n) 'evil person'

jail (adj.) 'envious', *kə--an* (n) 'envy'

jait, *N--* (vt) 'to sew', *N--in* (vt) 'to sew', *--an* (n) 's.t. sewn', *pə--an* (n) 's.t. sewn'

jalan (n) 'road', (vi) 'to walk, go', *bə--* (vi) 'to walk, go, *--an* (n) 'road', *pər--an* (n) 'journey', *se--*^{2}*ña* (adv.) 'to go without purpose, destination'

jambu (n) 'guava'

jau∿jauh (adj.) 'far', *N--in* (vt) 'to move away', *bə--an* (st) 'to move away from each other'

jaŋan (adv.) 'don't'

jato∿jatu∿jatoh (vi) 'to fall', *N--in* (vt) 'to drop', *kə--an* 'to have s.t. fall on one', *--an* (n) 'something fallen'

jawab, *N--* (vt) 'to answer', *N--in* (vt) 'to answer'

jəblos (pc), *N--* (vi) 'to fall in', *N--in* (vt) 'to throw in', *kə--* (vt) 'to be stuck in, fallen in'

jəbur (pc), *N--* 'to plunge oneself in', *N--in* (vt) 'to plunge in', *kə--* (vi) 'to be plunged in'

jəlɛk (adj.) 'bad, ugly', *N--in* (vt) 'to tarnish, make ugly'

jəm (n) 'hour, watch', *bə--*^{2} (adv.) 'for hours'

jəmur, *N--* (vt) 'to dry', *--an* (n) 's.t. dried or being dried'

jəndɛla (n) 'window'

jɛŋgot (n) 'beard', *--an* (vi) 'to have a beard', *bə--* (vi) 'to have a beard'

jinjiŋ, *N--* (vt) 'to carry s.t. light in one's hand'

jirət, *N--* (vt) 'to catch a bird in a trap', *pə--an* (n) 'a trap for birds'

jitak, *N--* (vt) 'to slap'

jiwa (n) 'soul'

jogɛt, *N--*, *bə--* (vi) 'to dance'

jual, *N--* (vt) 'to sell', *N--in* (vt) 'to sell for, to sell often', *--an* (n) 's.t. sold', *pə--an* (n) 'selling'

jubəl (pc), *bə--* (vi) 'to crowd', *bə--an* (vi) 'to crowd, joustle e.o.'

judi, *bə--an* (vi) 'to gamble', *pə--an* (adj.) 'gambling', *pər--an* (n) 'place for gambling'

juga (conj.) 'also'

jugjag (vi) 'to come and go, be on the move'

juŋjuŋ, *N--* (vt) 'to carry on the head'

juraŋ (n) 'cliff'

K

kabur (vi) 'to run away, disappear'

kadar (pc), *ala--* (adv.) 'what is available'

kaɛn (n) 'cloth'

kaga? (adv.) 'no'

kakɛ? (n) 'grandfather', $--^2$ (adj.) 'like a grandfather'

kaki (n) 'feet'

kalah (vi) 'to be defeated'

kali$_1$ (n) 'river'

kali$_2$ (n) 'a time', *bə--*^{2} (adv.) 'many times', *barang--* (adv.) 'perhaps'

kalo (conj.) 'if'

kalu∿kalo (conj.) 'if'

kaluŋ (n) 'necklace'

kamar (n) 'room'

kampuŋ (n) 'village, quarter', *N--* (vt) 'to pass through a village, quarter', *--an* (adj.) 'like a villager'

kaŋkuŋ (n) 'k.o. vegetable'

kantuk (pc), *N--* (vi) 'to be sleepy', *pə--an* (adj.) 'sleepy person'

kaok (pc), *bə--* 'to yell, scream', *--an* (n) 'a scream'

kaor (pc) *bə--* (vi) 'to scream'

kaos (n) 'T-shirt', *bə--* (vi) 'to wear a T-shirt'

kapan (question) 'when'

kapur (n) 'chalk, whitewash', *N--* (vt) 'to whitewash', *N--in* (vt) 'to cover with whitewash'

karaŋ (n) 'coral'

karat (n) 'rust', *bə--* (vi) 'to be rusty'

kasi, *N--* (vt) 'to give', *pə--* (n) 'giver'

katɛ (vi) 'to say', $--^2$ (n) 'words', *pər--an* (n) 'words'

kawan (n) 'friend'

kawin (vi) 'marry', *N--in* 'to marry off, to marry s.o.'

kaya$_1$ ∿ *kayɛ* (adj.) 'rich'

kaya$_2$ ∿ *kayɛ* ∿*kɛ* (prep.) 'like'

kə (prep.) 'to'

kɛapɛ ∿ *kayɛ apɛ* (question) 'like what, how'

kəbon (n) 'garden, plantation', *N--* (vi) 'to have a garden, plantation'

kəcil (adj.) 'small', *N--in* (vi) 'to become small', (vt) 'to make small'

kɛ? (part.)

kəlai (pc) *bəŋ--* (vi) 'to fight'

kəmarɛn (adv.) 'yesterday'

kəmbali (vi) 'to return', *N--in* (vt) 'to return s.t.', *--an* (n) 'change (money)'

kəmbaŋ (n) 'flower', *bə--* (n) 'to flower'

kəna (vi) 'to undergo, suffer' (passive prefix) *kəna pukul* 'to be hit'

kənal (st) 'to know, be acquainted with', *--an* (st) 'to get to know e.o.'; *bə--an* (st) 'to get to know e.o.'; *--an* (n) 'acquaintance'

kəncəŋ (adj.) 'quick, loud'

kəncin, *N--* (vi) 'to urinate', *tə--*^{2} (vi) 'to urinate involuntarily'

kəñaŋ (adj.) 'to be full (after eating)'

kɛrja ∿ *kerjɛ*, *bə--* (vi) 'to work'

kɛoŋ (n) 'snail'

kəpalɛ ∿ *kəpala* (n) 'head'

kərak (n) 'burnt rice'

kəraŋ (n) 'shelf'

kəras (adj.) 'hard'

kərat (n) 'slice, part'

kəsip (pc), *--*^{2} (vi) 'wink, blink'

kəwalahan (adv.) 'unacceptably'

kibul (n), *N--* (vi) 'to lie, to fool', *N--in* (vt) 'to lie to, to fool'

kirɛ ∿ *kira*, *N--* (vt) 'to think, guess'

kirim, *N--* (vi) 'to send', *--an* (n) 'thing sent'

kita ∿ *kitɛ* (pron.) 'we, I'

klapɛ ∿ *klapa* (n) 'coconut'

klas (n) 'class'

ko? (excl.) [excl. of surprise]

kodə (n) 'code'

kolam (n) 'pool'

kolok (pc), *--an* (adj.) 'spoiled (behavior)'

komat (pc), *--kamit* (vi) 'mumbling'

konci (n) 'key', *N--* (vt) 'to lock'

konde (n) '(hair) bun, knot of hair', *bə--* (vi) 'to wear one's hair in a bun, a knot'

koŋko, *--*^{2} (vi) 'to talk'

koprak (pc), *--an* (n) 'sheath of large knife'

korɛk, *N--* (vt) 'to scrape'

korɛŋ (n) 'k.o. skin disease', *--an* (vi) 'to have a k.o. skin disease'

kota (n) 'city'

kranjiŋan (vi) 'drink'

krɛdok (n) [k.o. food]

kromoŋ (n) [k.o. musical instrument], *N--* (vi) 'to play the "kromong"'

krukub (n) 'blanket', *--an* (vi) 'covered with a blanket', *N--in* (vi) 'to cover with a blanket'

kuat (adj.) 'strong', *bə--* (vi) 'to hold to one's opinion'

kuciŋ (n) 'cat', *--*^{2}*an* (st) 'to hide from e.o.'

kuda (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', *bə--* (vi) 'to have a mustache'

kumpul, *bə--* (vi) 'gathered together'

kumur (pc), *--*^{2} (vi) 'to rinse the mouth'

kupi (n), *N--* (vi) 'to drink coffee'

kura (pc), *--*^{2} (n) 'turtle'

kuraŋ (adj.) 'insufficient'

kuduk (n) [k.o. of skin disease], *--an* 'to have a k.o. skin disease'

kurus (adj.) 'thin'

kutilan (n) [k.o. bird]

L

laga? (n) 'behavior', *bə--* (vi) 'to act up'

lah ∿ *lɛh* (part.) [emphasis]

lagi (conj.) 'then', *--*^{2} (conj.) 'while'

laɛn (adv.) 'other', *bə--an* (st) 'different'

laki (n) 'husband', *laki--* ∿ *lə--* (adj.) 'male'

laku$_1$ (pc), *kə--an* (n) 'behavior'

laku$_2$ (adj.) 'selling well'

lama ∿ *lamɛ* (adj.) 'long', *--*^{2} (adv.) 'eventually'

lambat (pc), *tə--* (adv.) 'late'

lamɛ ∿ *lama* (adj.) 'long', *--*^{2} (adv.) 'eventually'

lampu (n) 'lamp'

lamun (pc), *mə--* (vi) 'to daydream'

laŋit (n) 'sky', *--*^{2} (n) 'ceiling'

laŋkɛ ∿ laŋkah (n) 'step', *pə--* (n) 'ceremony performed when younger sibling marries before older sibling'

lantaran (conj.) 'because'

lapar (adj.) 'hungry'

lari, *bə--* (vi) 'to run', *pə--an* (n) 'escape'

lawan (n) 'opposite', *N--* (vt) 'to resist', *bə--an* (st) 'opposite'

lawat (pc), *mə--* (vt) 'to pay a visit, take a trip'

layan (pc), *N--in* (vt) 'to serve', *pə--* (n) 'servant'

layaŋ (pc), *mə--* (vi) 'to fly, float in the air'

lɛbar (adj.) 'wide'

ləbi (adj.) 'more'

ləkas (adj.) 'fast'

lele (n) [kind of fish]

ləntaŋ (pc), *tə--* (vi) 'to lie on one's back'

lətak (n) 'place', *N--in* (vt) 'to place'

liat, *N--* (vt) 'to see', *N--in* (vt) 'to see', *pə--an* (n) 'sight'

lihun (n) [proper name]

limɛ ∿ halimah (n) [proper name]

lintaŋ (pc), *mə--* (vi) 'to lie across, be in the way'

lipət (pc), *N--* (vt) 'to fold', *bə--* (st) 'folded'

liwat (vi) 'to pass', *kə--an* (adv.) 'too much, too far'

liwət (pc), *N--* (vi) 'to cook rice'

lompat (pc), *mə--* (vi) 'to jump'

loŋoŋ (pc) *tə--*[2] (adv.) 'open-mouthed, amazed, yawning'

lu ∿ əlu (pron.) 'you'

luar (n) 'outside'

ludɛ ∿ luda (n) 'spit', *N--* (vi) 'to spit'

lupa (vi) 'forget', *N--in* (vt) 'to forget s.t.', *kə--an* (vi) 'forgotten'

lurah ∿ rurah (n) 'urban village head'

M

mabok (vi) 'drunk', *pə--an* (adj.) 'drunken', *--*[2]*an* (st) 'to drink, to the point of drunkenness'

maɛn (vi) 'to play', *pə--* (n) 'player', *pə--an* (n) 'game'

magrib (n) 'dusk', *kə--an* (vi) 'almost dusk'

mah (part.) [emphasis]

mahal (adj.) 'expensive', *kə--an* (adj.) 'too expensive'

maʔ ∿ əmaʔ (n) 'mother'

makan (vt) 'to eat', *--an* (n) 'food', *kə--*[2]*ña* (adv.) 'to eat anything'

maləm (n) 'night', *kə--an* (vi) 'to be overcome by nightfall'

malu (vi) 'embarrassed', *pə--* (adj.) 'shy person'

maman (n) [proper name]

mamat (n) [proper name]

mamit (n) [proper name]

mana ∿ manɛ (question) 'where', *--*[2] (pron.) 'anywhere'

maŋgɛ ∿ maŋga (n) 'mango '

maŋgut (vi) 'to nod', *--an* (vi) 'to be nodding'

maŋu (pc), *tə--*[2] (vi) 'to be confused'

manis (adj.) 'sweet'

mantu (n) 'son- or daughter-in-law'

mara ∿ marɛ (vi) 'angry', *--an* (st) 'angry at e.o.'

mari$_1$ (excl.) 'come on!'

mari$_2$ (pc), *kə--* (pron.) 'here'

masak (vt) 'to cook'

masi ∿ masih (adv.) 'still'

masiŋ ∿ masih (adv.) 'still'

mata ∿ matɛ (n) 'eye'

mati (vi) 'to die', *kə--an* (vi) 'to lose, to experience the death of someone'

mau (vi) 'to want'

mayit (n) 'corpse'

mədi (pc), *mə--* (n) 'ghost', *mə--*[2]*an* (n) 'representation of a ghost'

mɛja ∿ mɛjɛ (n) 'table'

məkasi ∿ trima kasi (excl.) 'thank you'

mɛkmɛk (vi) 'to keep touching'

məndiŋ (conj.) 'yes if'

məŋkali ∿ ŋkali (adv.) 'perhaps'

mɛrɛ ∿ mɛra (vi) 'red'

mərpati (n) 'dove'

mɛsəm (vi) 'to smile', *N--in* (vt) 'to smile at'

miŋgu (n) 'Sunday', *--an* (adv.) 'every week', *bə--*[2] (adv.) 'weekly'

minta (vt) 'to ask', *pər--an* 'request'

minum (vt) 'to drink', *N--in*, 'to give a drink'

miñak (n) 'oil', *tukaŋ--* (n) 'oil seller'

misan (n) 'cousin'

mlulu (adv.) 'only'

mobil (n) 'car'

mondar (pc), *--mandir* (vi) 'to go back and forth'

moñoŋ (adj.) 'protruding (teeth)'

mu ∿ mau (vi) 'to want'

mudɛ ∿ *muda* (adj.) 'young'

muka ∿ *mukɛ* (n) 'face'

mula (pc) --*in* (vi) 'to begin'

mulud ∿ *maulud* (n) 'anniversary of Mohammad's birth', --*an* (vi) 'to celebrate Maulud'

mulut (n) 'mouth'

mura ∿ *murah* ∿ *murɛ* (adj.) 'cheap'

musti (adv.) 'must'

N

*naɛ*ʔ (vi) 'to get on, go up', --^{2}*an* (n) '(grade) promotion'

*ña*ʔ ∿ *əña*ʔ (n) 'mother'

nafsu (n) 'desire'

na ∿ *nah* (part.)

nakal (adj.) 'naughty'

nama (n) 'name'

nanti (adv.) 'later'

nasi (n) 'rice'

nəm ∿ *ənəm* (num.) 'six'

*nɛnɛ*ʔ (n) 'grandmother', --^{2} (adj.) 'like a grandmother, old'

ŋaji (vi) 'to read the Koran', *N--in* (vt) 'to read the Koran for', *pə--an* (n) 'place to read the Koran'

ŋantuk (vi), *pə--an* (adj.) 'sleepy', *tə--* (vi) 'to be sleepy'

ŋɛoŋ (n) 'cat'

*ŋga*ʔ (adv.) 'not'

ŋilu (adj.) 'pain (in bone or teeth)'

ni ∿ *ini*$_1$ (demonstrative) 'this'

ni ∿ *ini*$_2$ (part.) [concessive]

niat (n) 'purpose'

ntar$_1$ ∿ *səbəntar* (adv.) 'later'

ñai (n) [polite term of address for woman]

ñala (vi) 'to be on (light)', *N--in* (vt) 'to turn on, to light'

ñaŋ ∿ *yaŋ* (conj.) 'which'

ñañɛ ∿ *ñaña* (vt) 'to boil'

ñañi (vi) 'to sing', *mə--* (vi) 'to sing', *pə--* (n) 'singer', --*an* (n) 'song'

ñi ∿ *ñai* (n) [polite term for woman]

*ño*ʔ ∿ *yo*ʔ (excl.) 'come on!'

O

obat (n) 'medicine', *bə--* (vi) 'to take medicine', *N--in* (vt) 'to treat'

oi (excl.) 'hey!'

ola (pc), *sə--*^{2} (adv.) 'as if'

omɛl (pc), *N--* (vi) 'angry'

omoŋ, *N--* (vt) 'to say', *N--*^{2} (conj.) 'by the way'

oraŋ (n) 'person', *sə--* 'one person', --*tua* 'parents'

orok (n) 'baby'

P

pacar (n) 'boyfriend, girlfriend', *bə--an* (st) 'be in love'

pacul (n) 'hoe', *N--* (vt) 'to hoe', *N--in* 'to hoe s.t.'

pada (part.) [accompanies a verb to express plurality]

padi (n) 'rice plant'

pagi (n) 'morning'

pait (adj.) 'bitter'

*pa*ʔ ∿ *bapa*ʔ (n) 'father'

pak (n) 'package'

pake$_1$, *N--* (vt) 'to use', *pə--* (n) [something to make the user invulnerable], --*an* (n) 'use'

pake$_2$ (adv.) [with a verbal predicate to express with], *pake marah-marah* 'with anger'

pan (part.) 'isn't it?'

panas (adj.) 'hot'

pandaŋ, *N--* (vt) 'to look at', *N--in* (vt) 'to look at', --*an* (n) 'view'

pande (adj.) 'smart, clever', *kə--an* (n) 'cleverness'

panggil, *N--* (vt) 'to call', *N--in* (vt) 'to call s.o.'

paŋkal (n) 'origin', *N--* (vi) 'to leave at place of origin station', --*an* (n) 'station [pedicab, bus, etc.]'

paŋkɛŋ (n) 'room'

panjaŋ (adj.) 'long', *N--* (vi) 'to last'

pano (n) 'k.o. skin fungus', --*an* (vi) 'to have a k.o. skin fungus'

pante (n) 'shore'

pantəs (adj.) 'appropriate'

papan (n) 'board'

paraŋ (n) 'short sword or knife'

parud (n) 'grater', *N--* (vt) 'to grate', *N--in* (vt) 'to grate'

pasaŋ, *N--* (vt) 'to hang', *N--in* (vt) 'to hang on'

paut (pc) *sangkut--* (n) 'connection, involvement'

pegang, *N--* (vt) 'to hold', --*an* (st) 'to stick to , to hold on to'

pəgi (vi) 'to go'

pɛlɛt, *N--* (vt) 'to lure with magic formula', *pə--* (n) 'magic formulas'

pəlit (adj.) 'stingy'

pɛndɛk (adj.) 'short'

pɛŋin (vi) 'to want, desire'

pɛŋkol (pc), *N--* (vi) 'to turn', *--an* (n) 'turn'

pəntal (pc), *N--* (vi) 'to be flung away'

pərabot (n) 'furniture', *--an* (n) 'various kinds of equipment'

pɛrak$_1$ (n) 'silver'

pɛrak$_2$ (pc) [unit of money]

pərcayɛ (st) 'to trust, believe in'

pərɛntɛ (n) 'government', *N--* (vt) 'to govern'

pərjaka (n) 'young man'

pərkara (n) 'matter, case'

pərlip (vi) 'to love', *--*^{2}*an* (st) 'to be in love with e.o.'

pətik, *N--* (vt) 'to pick'

piara ∿ *piarɛ* (vt) 'to take care of'

pikir (pc), *N--* (vt) 'to think', *N--in* (vt) 'to think about', *kə--an* (vt) 'to be reminded of'

pili ∿ *pilih* (vt) 'to choose'

pinci (n) [proper name]

piŋgir (n) 'edge', *N--* 'to approach an edge'

pinjəm, *N--* (vt) 'to borrow'

pintər (adj.) 'smart, clever'

pintu (n) 'door'

pipi (n) 'cheek'

pisan (part.) [emphasis]

pisɛ ∿ *pisa* ∿ *pisah* (vi) 'to separate', *bə--* (vi) 'to separate', *N--* (vi) 'to separate oneself'

piso (n) 'knife', *N--* (vt) 'to cut with a knife'

plɛsɛt (pc), *N--* (vi) 'to stumble, trip', *tə--* (vi) 'to stumble, trip', *kə--* (vi) 'to stumble, trip'

plotot (pc), *N--* (vi) 'to stare'

puhun ∿ *pu'un* (n) 'tree', *pə--*^{2}*an* (n) 'trees'

pojok (n) 'corner', *N--* (vi) 'to go, stay in a corner', *kə--an* (adj.) 'more towards the corner'

*po*ʔ ∿ *mpo*ʔ ∿ *əmpo*ʔ (n) 'older sister'

*poko*ʔ (n) 'subject', *--ňa* (adv.) 'mainly'

polisi (n) 'police'

pona (n) [proper name]

pot (n) 'pot'

potlot (n) 'pencil'

prəmpuan (n) 'woman, girl'

priŋis (pc), *priŋas--* (vi) 'to grin'

priok (n) [proper name: Tanjungpriok]

pukul, *N--* (vt) 'to hit', *N--in* (vt) 'to hit s.o. or s.t.', *--an* (n) 'hit'

pulaŋ (vi) 'to go home'

pulu ∿ *puluh* (pc) [a unit in counting] 'ten'

pungut (pc), *N--* (vt) 'to harvest, pick up', *N--in* (vt) 'to harvest, to pick up'

puntuŋ (n) 'blunt'

puña (vi) 'to own'

pura (pc), *--*^{2} (adv.) 'pretending'

pusiŋ (adj.) 'dizzy'

puti ∿ *putih* (adj.) 'white', *N--* (vi) 'to eat only white rice'

R

radio (n) 'radio'

rahasia ∿ *rasia* (adj.) 'secret'

rajin (adj.) 'diligent'

ramah (pc), *--tamah* (adj.) 'friendly'

ramaŋun ∿ *rawamaŋun* (n) [place name]

rame (adj.) 'crowded', *--*^{2} (adv.) 'together'

rampok, *N--* (vt) 'to steal', *pə--* (n) 'thief'

rapi (adj.) 'neat', *N--*^{2}*in* (vi) 'to clean'

rari ∿ *lari* (vi) 'to run'

rasɛ ∿ *rasa* (n) 'feeling', *N--* (vi) 'to feel', *bə--* (vi) 'to be felt', *pə--an* (n) 'feeling'

ratus (pc) [unit in counting] 'hundred'

rawamaŋun ∿ *ramaŋun* (n) [place name]

rəba (vi) 'to lie down', *--an* (vi) 'to lie down'

rəbut (pc), *bə--* (vi) 'to fight for', *N--* (vt) 'to fight for, to take'

rəkan (n) 'friend'

rənaŋ (pc), *bə--* (vi) 'to swim'

rətak (adj.) 'cracked'

ribut (adj.) 'noisy', *N--in* (vt) 'to make noise', *kə--an* (n) 'noise', *--*^{2} (n) 'noise'.

riəp (pc), *--*^{2} (adv.) 'flickering'

roba ∿ *robah* (vi) 'to change', *bə--* (vi) 'to change', *N--* (vt) 'to change s.t.'

roda ∿ *rodɛ* (n) 'wheel'

*roko*ʔ (n) 'cigarette'

rombɛŋ (adj.) 'tattered, torn'

*rombo*ŋ (pc), *--an* (n) 'group'

romli (n) [proper name]

ruma ∿ *rumɛ* ∿ *rumah* (n) 'house', *bə--tangga* (vi) 'to have a family', *sə--* (adv.) 'a whole family'

rundiŋ (pc), *bə--* (n) 'to meet'

rurah ∿ *lurah* (n) 'head of village or urban quarter'

S

sahabat (n) 'friend'

saja ∿ *aja* ∿ *ajɛ* (adv.) 'only'

sakit (adj.) 'sick', *pə--* (n) 'sickness'

salɛ ∿ *sala* ∿ *salah* (adj.) 'wrong'

sama ∿ *samɛ* ∿ *ama* ∿ *amɛ* (vi) 'same'

sambəl (n) 'hot sauce', *N--* (vt) 'to make hot sauce'

sambit, *N--* (vt) 'to throw s.t. to s.o.', *N--in* (vt) 'to throw to'

sambung, *N--* (vt) 'to join s.t.'

sampɛ, *N--* (vi) 'arrive, reach', *N--in* (vt) 'to cause to arrive'

sampɛ ∿ *sampa* ∿ *sampah* (n) 'garbage'

sana (dem.) 'over there'

sangkut (pc), *--paut* (n) 'connection, involvement'

sapu ∿ *sə--* (n) 'broom'

sarap (pc), *--an* (vi) 'breakfast'

sasar (pc), *N--* (vi) 'to get lost'

sate (n) 'sated meat on skewers', *N--* (vi) 'to eat sate'

satu ∿ *atu* (num.) 'one'

sawɛ ∿ *sawa* ∿ *sawah* (n) 'rice field', *N--* (vi) 'to work in a rice field'

saya ∿ *ayɛ* (pron.) 'I'

sayaŋ (st) 'to love', *N--in* (vt) 'to love', *kə--an* (n) 'love', $--^2$*an* (adv.) 'with love'

sayur (n) 'vegetables', *N--* (vt) 'to cook vegetables', *tukaŋ* --(n) 'vegetable vendor'

səbab_1 (n) 'because'

səbab_2 (conj.) 'because'

səbar, *N--* (vt) 'to spread, *N--in* (vt) 'to spread to, on'

səbəlɛ ∿ *səbəla* (n) 'side', *--bə--* (st) side by side, opposite'

səbəntar ∿ *bəntar* ∿ *ntar* (adv.) 'a while'

səbraŋ (n) 'across', *N--* (vi) 'to cross'

səd*ə*ŋ (adj.) 'while'

sədia (vi) 'ready', *N--in* (vt) 'to prepare'

sə$dikit$ ∿ *dikit* (adj.) 'a little', $--^2$ (adv.) 'little by little'

sə$gən$ (adj.) 'reluctant', $--^2$*an* (adv.) 'reluctantly'

sə$kara$ŋ (adv.) 'now'

səkat (n) 'partition'

sə$lidik$ (pc), *N--in* (vt) 'to investigate'

səluk (pc), *--beluk* (n) 'complicated, connected'

sə$mbarang$ (adv.) 'any', *--an* (adv.) 'any'

sə$mbari$ (conj.) 'while'

səmua ∿ *semuɛ* (adj.) 'all', *N--in* (vt) 'to use up'

sə$ndiri$ ∿ *kə*$ndiri$ (adv.) 'alone'

*sə*ŋat (n) 'wasp's sting', *N--* (vt) 'to sting'

*sə*ŋguk (pc), *sə--an* (vi) 'to sob'

*sə*ŋ$sara$ (adj.) 'grieving'

sə$patu$ (n) 'shoe', *N--in* (vt) 'to put on shoes'

sə$pɛda$ ∿ *sə*$pɛdɛ$ (n) 'bicycle'

sə$pulu$ (num.) 'ten'

səre (n) 'citronella'

səri (vi) 'to shine'

sero (n) [apparatus for catching fish]

sərut (n) 'small plane (carpenters tool)', *N--* (vt) 'to plane', *N--in* (vt) 'to plane'

sə$tuju$ (vi) 'to agree'

si_1 (part.)

si_2 (conj.) [concessive]

*sia*ŋ (n) 'afternoon'

siapa ∿ *siapɛ* (question) 'who', $--^2$ (pron.) 'anyone'

sihat (adj.) 'healthy'

sini (demonstrative) 'here'

*si*ŋ*sot* (pc), *N--* (vi) 'to whistle'

siram, *N--* (vt) 'to spray', *N--in* (vt) 'to spray s.t. on s.t.'

siri (n) 'betel'

sirik (st) 'angry at', *pə--an* (adj.) 'angry', *--an* (adj.) 'angry'

situ (demonstrative) 'there'

slampe (n) 'handkerchief'

soal (n) 'problem'

sobɛk ∿ *sowek* (adj.) 'torn'

sodarɛ ∿ *sodara* ∿ *sudarɛ* (n) 'brother, sister, friend, cousin', *bə--* (vi) 'to be friends, relatives', *pər--an* (n) 'relationship, friendship'

*so*ʔ (adj.) 'proud, haughty'

sono (demonstrative) 'there [very far]'

sopir (n) 'driver', *N--* (vi) 'to work as a driver'

sore (n) 'evening'

sosok (n) 'button hole, eyes, noose'

suara ∿ *suarɛ* (n) 'voice'

subu ∿ *subuh* (n) 'dawn'

sudɛ ∿ *udɛ* ∿ *sudah* (adv.) 'already'

suit (pc), *bə--* (vi) 'to whistle'

suka$_1$ ∿ *sukɛ* (st) 'to like', *bə--an* (st) 'to be in love'

suka$_2$ ∿ *sukɛ* (adv.) 'often'

sulap (n) 'magic tricks', *tukaŋ--* (n) 'magician'

sumbaŋ, *N--* (vt) 'contribute'

sundul (pc), *N--* (vi) 'butt with the head', *kə--* (vi) 'collided with'

suŋut (pc), $--^2$ 'to feel embarrassed'

supaya (conj.) 'so that'

surat (n) 'letter'

suru, *N--* (vt) 'to order'

surup (pc), *kə--an* (vt) 'possessed, in a trance'

susa ∿ *susɛ* ∿ *susah* (adj.) 'difficult', *N--in* (vt) 'to cause difficulty to'

susul, *N--* (vt) 'to follow', *N--in* (vt) 'to follow'

susur (n) 'quid of tobacco'

T

tabɛat (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', *kə--an* (vi) 'addiction'

tahan, *N--* (vt) 'to stand, last', *mə--* (vt) 'to stand', *kə--an* (vt) 'to last'

taik (pc), *tə--an* (n) 'vehicle'

takut (st) 'afraid', *N--in* (vt) 'to frighten'

tambaŋ (n) 'rope'

tambɛ (vi) 'to add', *N--in* (vt) 'to add to'

tamu ∿ *tə--* (n) 'guest'

tana ∿ *tanɛ* ∿ *tanah* (n) 'land'

tanda ∿ *tandɛ* (n) 'sign'

tandak (pc), *N--* (vi) 'to dance'

tandɛ ∿ *tanda* (n) 'sign'

tanəm, *N--* (vt) 'to plant'

taŋan (n) 'hand'

taŋgap, *N--* (vt) 'to consider', *--an* (n) 'opinion'

taŋis (pc), *N--* (vi) 'to cry', *--*[2]*an* (st) 'to cry over e.o.'

taŋkəp, *N--* (vt) 'to catch'

taña ∿ *tañɛ* (pc), *N--* (vt) 'to ask', *pər--an* (n) 'question'

taon (n) 'year', *bə--*[2] (adv.) 'for years'

tape (n) 'fermented tapioca'

tapi (conj.) 'but'

taplak (n) 'tablecloth'

tari (pc), *N--* *mə--* (vi) 'to dance'

tarik, *N--* (vt) 'to pull', *--mə--* (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', *kə--an* (vt) 'to be known', *--*[2] (conj.) 'unexpectedly'

tawa (pc), *kə--* (vi) 'to laugh'

tə (n) 'tea'

tə̀lanjur (adv.) 'gone too far', *kə--an* (adv.) 'gone too far'

tə̀lor (n) 'egg'

təmən (n) 'friend', *bə--* (vi) 'to be friends'

tempe (n) 'fermented soy bean cake'

tɛmplok (pc), *N--* (vi) 'to stick to'

tɛmpo (n) 'time', *--*[2] (adv.) 'sometimes'

təmu (pc), *kə--* (vi) 'to meet', *N--in* (vt) 'to find'

təmpuh (pc), *mə--* (vt)

təŋa ∿ *teŋɛ* ∿ *tengah* (n) 'middle', *sə--* (n) 'half', *--*[2] (n) 'in the middle'

tɛŋtɛŋ, *N--* (vt) 'to carry s.t. light in one's hand'

təntu (adv.) 'already'

tɛr (n) 'tar', *N--* (vt) 'to tar'

tə́raŋ (adj.) 'clear', *N--* (vi) 'to hold a rain ceremony'

tərbaŋ (vi) 'to fly'

tərɛak, *bə--* (vi) 'to yell'

tɛrɛŋ (pc), *mən--* (vi) 'to be fancy'

tərus$_1$ (conj.) 'then'

tərus$_2$, *N--in* (vt) 'to go on'

tətamu ∿ *tamu* (n) 'guest', *N--* (vi) 'to be a guest'

tətaŋge (n) 'neighbor', *bə--* (vi) 'to be neighbors', *N--* (vi) 'to go to a neighbor'

tɛtɛ? (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', *kə--an* (vi) 'to fall asleep', *pə--an* (adj.) 'sleeper'

tiəp (conj.) 'each time', *--*[2] (conj.) 'every time'

tiga (n) [numeral] 'three', *bə--* (adv.) 'to be three', *--*[2] (adv.) 'three by three', *--*[2]*ňa* (num.) 'the three'

tikər (n) 'mat'

tiŋgal (vi) 'to live', *mə--* (vi) 'to die', *kə--an* (vi) 'to be left', *pə--an* (n) 'inheritance'

tiŋgi (adj.), *mə--* (vi) 'to get taller'

tiŋkɛ ∿ *tingkah* (n) 'action', *bə--* (vi) 'to act'

tipu, *N--* (vt) 'to fool'

to ∿ *tu* (demonstrative)

toke (n) 'employer'

tomat (n) 'tomato'

tonton (pc), *N--* (vt) 'to watch', *pə--* (n) 'audience'

totok (adj.) 'pure (descent blood)'

trimakasi ∿ *trima kasi* (excl.) 'thank you'

trobos, *N--* (vt) 'to break through'

tu ∿ *to* ∿ *itu* (demonstrative) 'that'

tua ∿ *tua* (adj.) 'old'

tuak (n) 'palm wine', *tukaŋ--* 'palm wine seller'

tuan (n) 'master'

tuaŋ, *N*-- (vt) 'to pour'

tubruk ∿ *tabrak*, *N*-- (vt) 'to collide'

tukaŋ (n) 'skilled worker'

tukaŋ [part of compound], *tukaŋ roko?* 'cigarette vendor', *tukaŋ sayur* 'vegetable vendor'

tukar ∿ *tukər* (pc), *bə*-- (st) 'exchange', *N*-- (vt) 'to exchange'

tuluŋ, *N*-- (vt) 'to help', --*mə*-- (st) 'to help each other'

tumis (n) [k.o. food], *N*-- (vt) 'to make *tumis*'

tuŋgu, *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', *bə*-- (st) 'to guide each other'

turun (vi) 'to descend', *kə*--*an* (n) 'descendants'

tutup, *N*-- (vt) 'to close'

turut (vi) 'to follow'

U

uah (excl.)

ua? (n) 'parent's older sibling'

uap$_1$ (n) 'steam'

uap$_2$, *mə*-- (vi) 'to steam'

uda ∿ *ada* ∿ *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', *kə*--*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'

ulaŋ, *N*-- (vi) 'to repeat'

umur (n) 'age', --^{2} (adv.) 'entire life'

un (n) [nickname for: Samiun]

untuŋ (adj.) 'lucky', *bə*-- (vi) 'get a profit', *kə*--*an* (n) 'profit'

upil (n) 'nasal mucus', *N*-- (vi) 'to pick one's nose'

uriŋ (pc), --^{2}*an* (adv.) 'angrily'

uruk, *N*-- (vt) 'to put in the ground'

urus, *N*-- (vt) 'to arrange'

usaŋ (adj.) 'used'

usir, *N*-- (vt) 'to drive away'

utaŋ ∿ *hutaŋ* (n) 'debt', *N*-- (vi) 'to owe'

W

wajib (adj.) 'obligatory', *kə*--*an* (n) 'duty'

waktu$_1$ (con.) 'when'

waktu$_2$ (n) 'time'

wali (n) 'guardian', *N*--*in* (vt) 'to be a guardian to'

waŋ (n) 'money'

wanti (pc), --^{2} (adv.) 'repeatedly requested'

waris (n) 'inheritance', *N*--*in* (vt) 'to will to'

wayaŋ (n) 'shadow puppet'

wetan (n) 'east', *N*-- (vi) 'to go east'

Y

ya (excl.)

yaŋ ∿ *ñaŋ* (conj.) 'which'

yɛ$_1$ ∿ *ya* (excl.)

yɛ$_2$ ∿ *ya* (part.) [emphasis]

yo? ∿ *ño?* (excl.) 'come on'

yu? ∿ *yo?* (excl.) 'come on'

* * *

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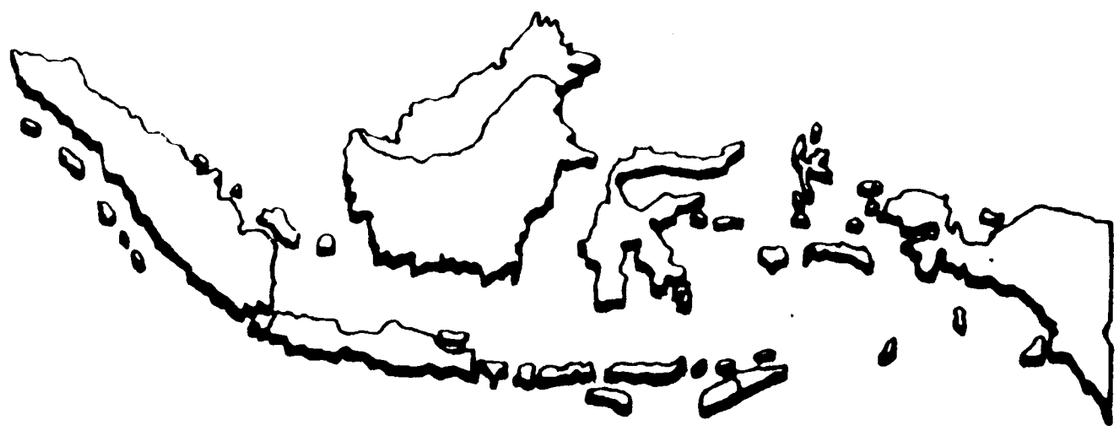

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