ROLE STRUCTURE
IN
JAVANESE
EDITORIAL

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ROLE STRUCTURE
IN
JAVANESE

by

GLORIA RISER POEDJOSOEDARMO

1986

Badan Penyelenggara Seri NUSA
Universitas Katolik Indonesia Atma Jaya
Jakarta
DEDICATION

To Soepomo, without whose encouragement, assistance, and scolding I might not have even begun; to Ninik and Sigit, who taught me Javanese; and to Krisnadi, whose imminent birth prompted me to a more rapid completion than I might otherwise have accomplished.
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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

This monograph is essentially my doctoral dissertation, completed originally in early 1974. Changes have been largely organizational in nature, though I have also added, omitted and changed a few points on the basis of things I have since learned about the Javanese language. The description, however, is clearly couched in the theoretical framework and linguistic preoccupations which were in vogue in the late 1960's and early 1970's, since that is the time when I studied linguistics and conducted my research. Though fellow linguists have repeatedly pointed out to me that not even Fillmore is doing case grammar anymore, I have stubbornly refused to attempt to "update" the terminology or approach. I am by nature an eclectic. It is my opinion that no theoretical approach can shed light equally on all facets of a set of linguistic phenomena, but that any approach may elucidate facets which other approaches obscure. The monograph thus remains as it stands.
INTRODUCTION

0.0 INITIAL COMMENTS

Studies in semantics during the last decade and a half can be characterized as bi-directional in their inquiry about form-meaning relationships.1 In addition to asking "What does this word (or sentence) mean?" contemporary semanticists believe that one can begin with the formal characterization of meaning and derive from it phonetic strings in specific languages. Thus, rather than choosing a particular type of form in a particular language as the subject of linguistic description, an alternate descriptive strategy can be a description of how a particular set of meanings is conveyed in that language, or a combination of these two approaches may be used.

It is my purpose in this monograph to explain how role structure is conveyed in Javanese. By role structure I refer to the identification of semantic roles, including agent, patient and others to be described presently, grammatical roles, including what are usually called subject and direct object, discourse roles, including topic and information roles, and social roles of both those involved in the speech act and persons referred to. To a large extent these meaning categories are conveyed by morphological processes applied to the Javanese verb, or by the nature of the verbs themselves.

0.1 THE JAVANESE LANGUAGE

Javanese is a member of the Austronesian language family. It is spoken in central and east Java,2 as well as in other parts of Indonesia, Surinam, and New Aledonia to which Javanese speakers have migrated. According to a 1960 survey,3 it ranks sixteenth among the world's languages in regard to number of speakers, 45 million speakers. More recently ikeaud (1967) estimated that Javanese speakers number 50 million. Given the continued rate of population growth in Indonesia, there are, doubtless, even more Javanese speakers today.

Javanese literary tradition extends over the past millennium at least.4 Both old and contemporary Javanese have been objects of scholarly investigation in Europe for a century and a half.5

0.2 JAVANESE VERB MORPHOLOGY

Although the topic of this dissertation, as mentioned above, is a particular set of semantic categories, it happens that to a large extent these categories are expressed in Javanese by elements of verb morphology.

As Uhlenbeck has noted (1962 and 1963), Javanese morphology utilizes a small number of forms, many of which perform in various contexts several unrelated functions.6 A list of the morphological processes which can be applied to the Javanese verb follows:

1. the absence of affixation
2. the prefix an-
3. the infix um-
4. the prefix m(a)-
5. prenasalization without suffixation, indicated by the symbol N-
6. preposed pronouns tak-, kok-, dî-, without suffixation
7. the suffix akâ with a. prenasalization, indicated by N- akâ b. preposed pronouns
8. the suffix -i with a. prenasalization, indicated by N- i b. preposed pronouns
9. the prefix ke- without suffixation
10. the circumfix ke- - an
11. the prefix(es) kep(e)-
12. the suffix -an
13. doubling of the verb stem plus -an
14. doubling of root, of prenasalized base, of m- prefixed base, or of prenasalized base with suffix
15. reduplication of root or of prenasalized base
16. the circumfix ke- - an
17. reduplication plus -an

This is simply a list of forms. No analysis is attempted at this point.

0.3 PREVIOUS STUDIES

The most well-known Javanese grammars of the nineteenth century dealt with morphological processes either by labeling them,8 or by listing the "meanings" of
each,9 Labels were always misleading since, for one thing, as noted above, most processes in Javanese have numerous functions. Lists of meanings were therefore an improvement, but even they remain inadequate since they give no clue as to which meaning one can expect a form to have in any given circumstance.

In this century significant contributions to the study of Javanese have been made by E.M. Uhlenbeck. He has produced a classification of verb stems on the basis of form, and shown, at least partially, how the class to which a stem belongs determines what meaning a particular morphological process may be expected to have when applied to it. This approach can be carried further as I attempt to show in Chapter 2, where I give a more detailed classification of the verb stems, and in Chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6, where I describe the various morphological processes that can be applied to verb stems of the various classes.

Uhlenbeck's theoretical position differs from mine in several important respects. He appears to treat form-meaning relationships as unidirectional with form as the starting point. In addition, he appears to feel that meaning resides in words and morphemes alone and that larger linguistic forms have no meaning apart from that found in the elements of which they are composed. I deduce this from his treatment in Uhlenbeck (1972) of the ambiguity of John paints nude as residing in the polysemy of nude which he says may mean either 'nude persons' or 'paintings of nude persons'. If this is true then paints must also be polysemous, meaning in the first case 'applies paint to' and in the second 'creates'. I think a more revealing solution would treat paints as synonymous in the two sentences and explain their difference in meaning as residing in the role of the surface object, which would be goal in the first instance and referent in the second, using the role terminology of Chapter 2.

Finally, Uhlenbeck considers most Javanese morphological processes to have a "unity of categorical value" despite the occurrence of varying translations for a single form. Thus in Uhlenbeck (1956) he claims that the suffix -i in

\[ \text{Iwak-} \, \text{di-gorng-i.} \]
(fish-definite subject-patient-fry-patient-plural)
'The fish were fried.'10

and

\[ \text{Wajan-} \, \text{di-gorèng-i.} \]
(frying-pan-definite fry-goal-subject)
'The frying pan was fried in.'

are the same -i despite the fact that in the first sentence the gloss is 'plural patient' and in the second it is 'locative'. In fact, I do not totally disagree with him on this point. For the Javanese speak-

er, the suffix -i probably does form a single psychological unity. To borrow terms from Pike (1954), the problem lies in whether we wish to take an etic or emic point of view. The native speaker, of course, takes an emic point of view of his own language, but for certain practical purposes such as translation and language teaching, an etic point of view, which examines details of which the native speaker is unaware, is unavoidable.

I do not object to the majority of Uhlenbeck's descriptive statements about Javanese as such. I merely feel that a wider and perhaps more eclectic theoretical position which allows one to view the same data from a variety of perspectives is more productive.

Earlier in this century C. C. Berg produced a long monograph on the Javanese verb which was severely criticized by other Dutch scholars. Berg did not know Javanese well and his only source material was a dictionary. Consequently some of his conclusions are not valid for all verbs as they imply, but only for certain classes of verbs.11 He also ran into terminological difficulties in relating grammatical role to situational roles. He used the terms 'agent' and 'patient' more or less as the are now used in case grammar (see Chapter 2) to describe semantic roles, though he sometimes appears to extend the use of 'patient' to cover anything which is treated grammatically as complement of an acti verb or subject of a passive one. He uses the term 'subject' in its usual surface grammatical meaning, but he used the term 'first, second, and third object' to refer to what in reality are non-agentive role categories, though it is not very clear to me which of these corresponds to what role. Nevertheless, he seems to have had an intuitive understanding of role relationships such as are now treated under case grammar which is lacking in other existing studies of Javanese.

0.4 SCOPE OF THIS STUDY

As I stated earlier, this monograph is an examination of the ways in which various kinds of roles are expressed in Javanese. I begin by summarizing the state of semantic theory and proposing some necessary innovations (Chapter 1). Then I give a semantic classification of Javanese verb stems (Chapter 2). Next I discuss morphological processes related to role phenomena (Chapter 3). I discuss intransitives (Chapter 4) and causatives (Chapter 5) separately, since they present some interesting problems, both theoretically and descriptively. I also discuss plurality separately (Chapter 6). I then discuss discourse roles and how the selection of grammatical roles is constrained by the structure of the discourse (Chapter 7...
0.5 METHODOLOGY

My procedure was (1) to collect verb stems, (2) to select from among these stems approximately 500 items which are of very high frequency, (3) to elicit from informants all possible inflected and derived forms for each stem, (4) to elicit from informants sentences in which each form of each verb stem was appropriate, (5) to collect discourses (stories, articles, recipes) on tape, and from books and magazines, (6) to transcribe those collected on tape, (7) to have informants edit the transcribed discourses.

The isolated sentences were used to determine how many and what kinds of noun phrases could occur with each form. This was used as a basis for classifying the verb stems semantically and determining what kinds of morphological processes the items of each semantic class could undergo.

The discourses were used to discover the selection of various surface verb stems discussed in Chapters 3, 4, and 5, as determined by the structure of the discourse in which they occur.

0.6 PHONOLOGY AND THE OFFICIAL SPELLING

Javanese contains the following vowels:

/i/ - a high front unrounded vowel
/ɛ/ - a mid front unrounded vowel
/e/ - a low front unrounded vowel
/ɛ/ - a high central unrounded vowel
/a/ - a low central unrounded vowel
/u/ - a high back rounded vowel
/o/ - a mid back rounded vowel
/ʊ/ - a low back rounded vowel

The morphophonemics of the language are rather complicated and the official spelling system does not reflect the phonology one to one fashion. However, since the topic of this monograph is not concerned with phonology or morphophonemics, cite all forms here using the official spelling. I offer the following rules as a guide to arriving at an approximate phonetic output for vowels and as a warning about irregularities:

1. (a) Word final a is pronounced [a] (low back round), except in the words ora 'no', mboya 'no' and in non-Javanese place names, where it is pronounced [a].
(b) Penultimate a in an open syllable or in a closed syllable ending in a nasal of a word with a final a is also pronounced [a], as in rasa 'feeling', rumangga 'feel'.
(c) If any suffix other than -a is added to a stem containing an a which is pronounced [a], the a is then pronounced [a].
(d) If a stem containing an a which is pronounced [a] is doubled and a suffix is added to the doubled form, some people pronounce the a's as [a] in both occurrences of the base, and others, especially old or conservative people, only in the second. Thus buta-buta-"the giants" (from buta 'giant') may be pronounced either [buta-buta-ně] or [butö-buta-ně].
(e) Elsewhere a is pronounced [a].

2. (a) In closed syllables ois pronounced [o], except in a non-final syllable ending in a nasal where it is pronounced [o] (mid back round).
(b) If o occurs in a closed final syllable and also in an open penultimate syllable ending in a nasal, both o's are pronounced [o], as in lóla 'to escape', pronounced [lóla-s].
(c) Elsewhere o is pronounced [o].

3. (a) In a closed final syllable, u is pronounced [u], except in some loanwords, nicknames, and adjectives indicating an intense degree of the quality which they denote, where u is pronounced [u] (high back round). If such loanwords, nicknames or adjectives occur here I make a note of their pronunciation.
(b) In a closed final syllable i is pronounced [i] (mid front unrounded), except in some loanwords, nicknames, and adjectives indicating an intense degree of the quality which they denote, where i is pronounced [i] (high front unrounded). Again I make a note of the pronunciation of any such words appearing here.
(c) If one of the suffixes -i, -e, -ana, -a, -an, -ing, or -en is added to a word ending in either u or i plus a consonant, the vowel is raised to [u] or [i] respectively. Thus manuk 'bird', pronounced [manoŋ], has the inflected form manuké 'the bird',
pronounced [manaːjé], and pitişˈi is pronounced [piˈtɛː], while pitişˈe 'the chicken' is pronounced [piˈtɪːjɛ]. If any of the other suffixes, -akɛ, -aken, -tipun, is added to a word ending in a high vowel plus a consonant, the vowel is not raised; njupukakɛ 'get something for someone' from njupuk 'get' is pronounced [njupuŋakɛ]. Ngrumiyonaken 'cause something to be done first (before other things)' from nrumiyon 'first (in time)' is pronounced [nrumiŋonaken].

(d) Elsewhere u is pronounced [u] and i is pronounced [i].

4. ɟ is pronounced [e].

5. ɛ is pronounced [e] (low front unrounded).

6. ɛ is pronounced [e] (high to mid central unrounded).

Javanese contains the following consonant phonemes: a series of voiceless unaspirated stops p, t, th, c, k, q; a series of voiced stops b, d, dh, j, g; a series of nasals m, n, ny, ng; lateral and trill l, r; glides w, y, h. The status of glottal stop (g) is somewhat questionable. One could treat it as a stem final allophone of /k/ and treat final /k/ (usually written g) as an allophone of /g/, which otherwise does not occur finally. The only objection to this analysis is that it would result in overlapping allophones. Since this monograph is not a phonological analysis, I leave the question open.

The status of /ɻ/ can occur in two exclamations, lha and lho, is also questionable. Phonetically it resembles the voiced stop series in having a breathy quality which extends into the following vowel. Although it seems to have escaped the attention of most observers, there are also a breathy w and a breathy y, /wh/ and /yh/, contrasting with /w/ and /y/ (S. Poedjosoedarmo 1970), as in /wheker/ 'alarm clock' as opposed to /wetan/ 'east' and /ybohɔ/ 'icyo' as opposed to /yyu/ 'crab'. Most words with /wh/ and /yh/ are borrowings from Arabic, Dutch, or Indonesian. There are a few native Javanese words, however, particularly exclamations or words often used in exclamations, such as /aleza/ 'only' and /iyeɔ/ 'yes, also', which have the breathy sounds. No differentiation between /w/ and /wh/, /y/ and /yh/ is normally made in the spelling. If the rare phonemes /wh/ and /yh/ occur here I make a note of their pronunciation. Since the functional loads of /ɻh/, /ɻh/, and /ɻh/ are all very low, they must be considered peripheral phonemes.

Since I am using traditional spelling, I offer the following rules for deriving from the spelling an approximate phonetic output for the consonants: 17

1. (a) Stem final k is pronounced [g] unless it follows e, in which case it is pronounced [k]. Stem final k is not affected by the addition of suffixes. For example, pitişˈe 'the chicken' from pitişˈi 'chicken' is pronounced [piˈtɪːjɛ].

(b) Elsewhere k is pronounced [k].

2. (a) Stem final g, d, and b are pronounced [k], [t], and [p] respectively, and are thus distinguishable from the voiceless stop in this position except for g after e.

(b) Some old people pronounce stem final g as [g], d as [d], and b as [b] before any suffix beginning with a vowel. Others retain the pronunciation [k], [t], [p] even with the addition of suffixes.

(c) Elsewhere g, d, and b are pronounced [g], [d], and [b] respectively.

NOTES

1. Lakoff (1971) has pointed out that some critics of generative semantics have accused the theory of being unidirectional, but that it was never intended to be so.

2. In most of west Java, Sundanese is spoken. Around Jakarta, the Jakarta dialect of Indonesian is spoken.

3. The survey was made by the Languages-of-the-World Archives, George Washington University, especially for the book The National Interest and Foreign Languages. According to the same survey, languages with more speakers are Mandarin Chinese with 460 million, English with 250 million, Hindustani with 160 million, Spanish with 240 million, Russian with 130 million, German with 100 million, Japanese with 95 million, Arabic with 80 million, Bengali with 75 million, Portuguese with 75 million, French with 65 million, Italian with 55 million, Wu Chinese with 50 million, Cantonese with 46 million, and Min or Fukien Chinese with 46 million.

4. The earliest stone inscriptions found in Java are in Sanskrit, located in West Java, and date from the fifth century or later. Javanese inscriptions date from the eighth century onward. The earliest preserved Javanese texts date from the end of the eighth century, for example the Ramayana epic in verse. The earliest Mahabrama text, in prose, dates from the end of the tenth century. (Uhlenbeck, 1964a)

5. The first Javanese grammar was written by a German missionary, Bruckner, completed in 1823 and published in 1830. The first important work on old Javanese was W. von Humboldt's Uber die Kaisistrophe auf der Insel Java (1836-1839), in which he proved, contrary
to the speculations of earlier scholars, that Javanese, although it had borrowed heavily from Sanskrit, was structurally an Indonesian language. (Uhlenbeck, 1964a)

6. This is, in fact, not such an uncommon phenomenon in language. If we consider English, for example, we find that the suffix -s marks (1) plurality and (2) the genitive case in nouns, and is (3) the third person singular ending for present tense verbs. Somewhat less striking, perhaps, is the German article der, which is not only the masculine singular nominative form, but also the genitive plural and feminine singular dative and genitive forms.

7. As the words are used in Austronesian linguistics, doubling involves repetition of an entire form, either a root or base; reduplication applies only to the first consonant and vowel of the root or base, and in Javanese the vowel in the reduplicated syllable is reduced to /e/. An example of doubling is bilas-bilas 'rinse repeatedly' from bilas 'rinse'. Reduplication of the same form results in bebilas 'rinse habitually', or with a negative, '(hasn't yet) rinsed at all'.

8. Roorda, for example, used the term 'simple' (eenzijdig) to refer to unsuffixed prenasalized forms and corresponding ones with proposed pronominals. Forms with the suffixes -aké and -i he called 'lengthened' (verlengde); those with -i he called 'transitive', and those with -aké he called 'causative'. In fact both -i and -aké have uses which could be called transitive and ones which could be called causative, while -i has uses that are definitely intransitive and -aké has a number of uses that are not causative. See Chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6.

9. Walbehn, for example, lists for -aké the meanings (1) forming a stronger connection with the object, (2) causative, (3) benefactive, as well as a number of idiomatic or unproductive meanings. For -i he lists the meanings (1) forming a stronger connection with the object, (2) dative, (3) plural subject, object, or frequentive action, as well as a number of idiomatic or unproductive meanings.

10. For word-for-word translations in parentheses, hyphens connect English words which are part of the definition of a single Javanese word. A space in the English translation corresponds to a space between words in the Javanese sentence. Double hyphens connect situational roles, described in Chapter 1, with grammatical roles and other features of meaning.

   For example, he states that all prenasalized forms take the agent as subject while forms with proposed pronominals take the patient as subject. As Gonda (1949) pointed out, however, there are numerous prenasalized forms, such as ng-gumun-i 'bo amazed at', for which the subject is logically the patient.

12. Winograd uses the terms 'semantic subject', 'first object', 'second object' to capture role ordering without determining role identity. I think, though, that this was not Berg's purpose. He seems to be referring to object, goal, and benefactive as I define them in Chapter 1. The use of numbers instead of names, however, poses problems for the reader.

13. Speech levels are styles of speech indicating (1) the degree of formality in the relationship between the speaker and addressee or in the occasion of the act of speech and (2) the presence or absence of respect as an element in the attitude of the speaker toward a referent who may or may not be the same as the addressee. The various levels are represented by various alternant sets of vocabulary, including three affixes. (S. Poedjosoedarmo 1968). The speech levels were first described exhaustively by Walbehn (1897). More recent accounts have been given by Gonda (1949), S. Poedjosoedarmo (1969), Uhlenbeck (1970), and the anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1960). A monograph by Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo (1982) includes Javanese, which occupies an increasingly more prominent place in Javanese daily life, as one of the linguistic codes.

14. These rules and those for consonants at the end of the Introduction, with a few minor changes, are taken from S. Poedjosoedarmo (1969).

15. Due to the influence of Indonesian and European languages final [ɔ] and penultimate [ɔ] before final [ɔ] are sometimes written o rather than a. This occurs frequently only in names, for example Soempom (with the Dutch spelling oe for u), which is pronounced [soÊmpom]. If any such names occur here I make a note of them.

16. There has been some disagreement as to what the distinguishing feature of the so-called voiced series really is. Catford (1961) has suggested that it is a vertical displacement of the larynx.

17. In addition it should be noted that /th/ and /dh/ are often not distinguished in the orthography from /t/ and /d/, respectively. I shall follow the practice, however, of using th and dh to represent the retroflex stops, t and d to represent the dentals.
CHAPTER 1
THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

1.0 INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

In this chapter, I state briefly some general principles of semantic theory accepted by many linguists at present (1.1). I make some specific proposals concerning roles which facilitate analysis of the Javanese material (1.2), describe specific suggestions that have been made regarding predicates (1.3), and discuss the way in which verbs in natural languages can represent one or more predicates of various kinds (1.4).

1.1 THE STATE OF SEMANTIC THEORY: GENERAL PRINCIPLES

During the decade between 1965-1975 semantics was a topic very much under discussion in linguistics. A number of linguists contributed to the development of a theory of semantics during that time. Some of the most important of these linguists are James McCawley, George and Robin Lakoff, John Ross, Charles Fillmore, Terence Langendoen, Wallace Chafe, and Joseph Grimes. There are a good many differences among their views, but certain points have had wide, although by no means universal acceptance. Some of these points are listed below. The points themselves are italicized. Definition of terms and explanation follow each point. These points are:

1. The function of a grammar is to connect semantic structure, which is probably universal, to forms which occur in specific languages.
2. Meaning can be expressed in terms of PROPOSITIONS in the logical sense. A proposition is more or less the semantic counterpart of a clause on the syntactic level, that is the meaning of a proposition is that something is true of something.
3. A proposition consists of a PREDICATE and one or more ARGUMENTS. Predicate as a semantic term is more or less the counterpart of SIMPLE PREDICATE as a grammatical term, that is it refers to the meaning that an event took place, or that a condition exists. ARGUMENT is more or less the semantic counterpart of a noun phrase slot in tagmemics, that is it refers to an individual or thing or abstraction which relates to a predicate in some way.
4. An argument may itself be a proposition.
5. The relationship of an argument to its predicate may be expressed as one of CASE or SEMANTIC ROLE. Case or semantic role refers to the way in which an argument relates to a predicate. For example, an agent is the instigator of an event or condition indicated by a predicate. The Lakoffs, Ross, and McCawley do not seem to think it necessary to describe the function of arguments in terms of case relationships, though they occasionally use the terms agent and patient.
6. A given role cannot be associated with more than one argument in a proposition though an argument may be plural, i.e. refer to more than one participant.
7. One argument may simultaneously fill two or more roles.
8. An important part of the meaning of any content word, as well as many connectives, in a natural language is a specification of its use as a predicate in terms of what kinds of arguments it takes. Grimes distinguishes lexical predicates, which have constraints on the role relationships of their arguments, from rhetorical predicates, to which the arguments are related in other ways.

1.2 THE INVENTORY OF SITUATIONAL ROLES

Every linguist who has listed the cases or roles necessary to semantic theory has given a different list, and several linguists have given different lists at different times. In keeping with the established tradition, I propose my own list, which has evolved along with my analysis of Javanese but seems to explain phenomena in other languages, such as those of the Philippines, as well.

First of all I consider it necessary to distinguish between semantic ROLES, which are part of an objective analysis of extralinguistic situations and ought thus to be universal, and CASE, which
refers to the formal means employed by specific languages for dealing with role information. In this section I discuss semantic role. In Chapters 3, 4, and 5 I describe linguistic phenomena in Javanese which convey role information (including verbal inflection, and some uses of prepositions).

In analyzing Javanese I discovered that certain phenomena were more easily explained if I recognized several kinds of roles. If this is true for Javanese it may be true for other languages as well and should be included in general semantic theory.

There are two major categories of role. They are (1) ORIENTATION roles, which have to do with the position or direction of movement of participants in an event or situation in relation to each other, and (2) CAUSE-EFFECT roles, which have to do with the initiation (immediate or non-immediate, intentional or non-intentional) of an event or situation and the identification of the entity affected by it.

Orientation roles include:

1. Object (O) - the entity which moves or whose position is in question.
2. Source (S) - the place from which the object comes.
3. Goal (G) - the place to which the object goes or is headed.
4. Range (R) - the path over which the object moves.
5. Vehicle (V) - the entity which conveys the object.

The vehicle role may sometimes be realized in the same participant as the object, the source, or the goal. Source or goal or range or more than one of these may be irrelevant to some orientation predicates, but all predicates which have as part of their meaning that something moves or is located somewhere (implying that the entity either did or will or potentially can move) have an argument which includes the object role.

Cause-effect roles include:

1. Agent (Ag) - the responsible initiator of an action.
2. Force (F) - non-initiative cause.
3. Tool (T) - the instrument used by an agent to perform an action.
4. Patient (P) - the entity affected by an event or condition.

For Javanese and other Austronesian languages with which I have worked, I find it necessary to distinguish an unintentional agent from agent. This can probably be interpreted as force, but it is necessary then to specify whether force is animate or not. Since certain forms of some Javanese verbs would require an animal force role.

I have found it necessary to distinguish patient, the entity affected, from the orientation role of object, the entity that moves. Sometimes the patient and object roles are filled by the same participant but often patient corresponds to goal. This will become clearer at the end of this section and in Chapters 2 and 3.

While orientation roles are unmarked for animateness, some cause-effect roles are by definition either animate or inanimate: in Javanese and Indonesian agent must be animate; tool is usually inanimate, though it could refer to the body or part of the body of an animate being as though it were inanimate; patient may be either animate or inanimate.

A few verbs, such as ones indicating location, may involve only orientation roles, and a few verbs, particularly ones corresponding to abstract predicates like cause, may involve only cause-effect roles but generally both kinds of roles are involved in the meanings of verbs. Sometimes orientation roles dominate, as with action-process verbs.

Cause-effect roles may be superimposed on orientation roles in a number of ways. This will be discussed at the end of this section. While orientation roles are fairly objective, the assignment of cause-effect roles is somewhat subjective. By this I mean that a single event can have only one object, source, or goal, but in many situations there may be more than one participant outside of language that might be regarded as a patient. For example, English treats the object as patient for the verb throw as in Johnny threw a stone. It is possible to add a goal as in Johnny threw a stone at the dog, but the goal must always be preceded by a preposition. It is not the patient. In Javanese, however, the verb translated as 'throw' treats the goal as patient as in Wahyu m-balang-asu.

(Wahyu throw-agent=subject-patient=complement dog)
'Wahyu threw (something) at a dog.'

The object may be added, but it must be preceded by ngango 'with':

Wahyu m-balang-asu nganggo-watu.
(Wahyu throw-agent=subject-patient=complement do with stone)
'Wahyu threw a stone at a dog,' or
'Wahyu hit a dog with a stone.'

In order to say that someone threw something without naming the goal, a derived form of the verb must be used (described in Chapter 3):

Wahyu m-balang-aké-watu.
(Wahyu throw-conveyance-agent=subject-complement=stone)
'Wahyu threw a stone.'
Similarly, if there is more than one animate participant in an event, more than one of these may potentially be regarded as agent. This is most clearly illustrated by verbs which can describe either an act of acquisition or a corresponding act of conveyance, as in Sally rented the room from Mrs. Wilson, vs. Mrs. Wilson rented the room to Sally, where Sally is treated as agent in the first sentence and Mrs. Wilson is treated as agent in the second. In an act of speech in any natural language, however, as far as I know, only one participant may actually be treated as agent and only one as patient per clause. Assignment of agent and patient roles to participants, then, is at least partly an act of choice on the part of the speaker, and reflects the way he sees the structure of a situation.

There is one additional role, REFERENT (RF), which may contrast with either orientation roles or cause-effect roles. In contrast to the orientation roles it refers to something located outside the source-to-goal pattern, such as the thing which is paid for in a transaction or the thing which is talked about in speech. In contrast to the cause-effect roles, it refers to the thing with reference to which a patient is affected but which is itself not affected by the process. Examples of this are a thing which is heard, seen, smelled, or felt.

For the analysis of abstract and rhetorical predicates, FORMER (F) and LATTER (L) are also necessary. Former refers to the source or material for a process, latter to the goal or result.

Cause and benefactive are occasionally considered as possible roles, but though they no doubt must be treated as surface cases in a number of languages, I agree with Langendoen and others who consider the semantic structures that underlie them to be abstract predicates. Abstract predicates will be discussed in 1.3.

Some examples of the ways in which orientation and cause-effect roles combine follow:

1. For motion verbs such as come, go, walk, run, swim, fly, agent = object; the thing that moves is also the instigator.
2. For conveyance verbs such as give, sell, lend, put, agent = source; the initial position of the object conveyed is that of the instigator.
3. For acquisition verbs such as get, borrow, buy, agent = goal; the instigator is also the place where the object ends up.
4. For some cause-effect biased verbs in which agent = vehicle, such as stab, hit, the patient = goal, and the tool, if it occurs, is object. That is, the thing affected is the place where the action terminates, and the tool is the thing that moves.
5. For other cause-effect biased verbs in which agent = vehicle, such as soak, the patient = object, and the tool = goal. That is, the thing affected is the thing that moves, and the tool is the place to which the patient-object is conveyed.
6. For a set of verbs which might be called reflexive, such as bath (oneself), brush (one's teeth), comb (one's hair) the agent = patient = goal. That is the instigator is also the entity affected and the place where the action terminates.

1.3 Kinds of Predicates

Simple predicates represent single non-complex events or conditions, and usually correspond to simple verbs in languages. Complex predicates involve semantic embedding. A number of linguists have suggested that conjunctions are actually underlying predicates, the arguments of which are the conjoined clauses. McCawley (1971) proposes that tense is a predicate indicating a temporal relationship between two arguments, one of which may be the act of speech. These arguments are also, of course, propositions. Robin Lakoff (1971) suggests that conjunctive verbs are in fact predicates which take as an argument a proposition. Grimes (1975) has made a similar suggestion, namely that manner adverbs represent predicates which take as an argument a proposition. Nichols (1970) proposes that all discourses are dominated at their highest node by a performatific proposition, that is a proposition of the form 'I say to you X.' Performatives are usually deleted in the surface structure, though they have grammatical consequences.

Simple verbs in natural languages may represent complex predicates semantically in at least two ways: first, a simple verb may describe a series of events or two or more simultaneous events or conditions, and second, a simple verb may represent an abstract predicate which takes as an argument a proposition containing a concrete predicate. The first situation is described by Fillmore (1970), who reanalyses sentences like I broke the vase into multiple sentences:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{I} \begin{cases} \text{dropped} \\
& \text{hit} \\
& \text{etc.} \end{cases} \\
& \text{the vase.}
\end{align*}
\]

The vase broke.
Abstract predicates perhaps need further explanation. An abstract predicate is a predicate in the semantic structure which dominates another predicate. Usually such a structure is reflected by a single verb in language. For example, some linguists analyze *kill* as meaning *cause to die*, where *cause* is an abstract predicate dominating the concrete predicate *die*.

CAUSATIVE and BENEFACTIVE, as mentioned above, almost certainly involve abstract predicates. The abstract predicate *causative* involves an agent, actor, or force as one argument and latter (L), usually realized as a clause, as the other, as in *The sergeant marched the soldiers around the field*, which has the tree structure:

```
cause
  |[
  agent
    |
    sergeant
  |
  latter
    |
    march
      |
      agent
        |
        soldiers
  |
  range
    |
    field
```

The abstract predicate *benefactive* involves a patient as one argument. Where someone (A) does something consciously or the benefit of someone else (B), the structure is probably

```
benefactive
  |[
  patient-(goal)
    |
    B
  |
  agent-(source)
    |
    A
    |
    referent
      |
      ( )
```

interpret the benefactive abstract predicate fairly widely, however, to include the effect of any event or condition a peripheral participant, not necessarily to the benefit of that patient. For example, in the sentence *Eddy's bicycle was broken*, which in Javanese could be expressed by making *Eddy* the subject of the verb meaning 'be affected by (something) being broken' (*kali kerusakan pité*), I would call Eddy the patient of an abstract predicate benefactive, the other argument being a clause, *(his) bicycle was broken.*

The concept of the instrumental role is a problem. Langendoen (1969) treats it as an abstract predicate. As I suggested in 1.21, the role which I have called tool always cooccurs with an orientation role, either object or goal (whichever the patient is not). However, there should be some way to distinguish sentences like (1) *I stabbed her with my knife*, (2) *I stabbed my knife into her ribs*, (3) *I used my knife which my father gave me for Christmas to stab her*. Perhaps (3) can be represented by:

```
instrumental
  |[
  agent-vehicle
    |
    I
  |
  patient
    |
    knife
      |
      referent
        |
        stab
          |
          agent
            |
            I
              |
              patient-goal
                |
                her
```

using an abstract predicate *instrumental*, while (1) could be:

```
stab
  |[
  agent-vehicle
    |
    I
  |
  tool-object
    |
    knife
  |
  patient-goal
    |
    her
```

The structure of (2) is probably like that of (1) except that my knife instead of her is treated as secondary topic.
1.4 KINDS OF INFORMATION CONVEYED BY VERBS

Verbs in natural languages convey a number of kinds of information. Fillmore (1969a) has noted that every verb restricts the number and kinds of arguments that can occur with it. For example, *rise* may take one argument which either fills the object role, as in *The smoke rose* or simultaneously fills the object and agent roles as in *John rose.*

Fillmore and others have also noted that there are feature restrictions on some arguments for some verbs. For example, in dealing with a concrete object, the word *give* in English takes a goal which is [+animate], while *put* takes a goal which is [-animate].

In addition to participant role information, verbs also convey various sorts of information which I handle under the term aspectual. First of all every verb identifies one of two things, a condition or an event. Though there may be derived forms referring to the other, the basic form(s) can usually only be associated with one. Fillmore (1970) has noted in this connection that some verbs refer to events which can be continued indefinitely as in *She polished the table for three hours.* Other events are instantaneous but can be repeated indefinitely as long as the supply of patients holds out: *Some broke vases until 6 o'clock.* Some events result in a change of state of the patient (break). Others don't (hit).

As noted in the preceding section, simple verbs may represent complex predicates. Here I shall discuss simple verbs that represent two or more concrete predicates (1.4.1), the inclusion of manner in the meaning of a verb (1.4.2), and the inclusion of arguments in the meaning of a verb (1.4.3).

1.4.1 SIMPLE VERBS REPRESENTING TWO OR MORE CONCRETE PREDICATES

If a verb in a given language represents two or more concrete predicates, these predicates may be related to each other in several ways. They may represent two or more simultaneous or serial events or one concrete predicate may contain an argument which is itself a proposition containing another concrete predicate, or some combination of dominating and serial or simultaneous events or conditions may be involved. If the meaning of a verb includes two or more simultaneous or serial events, these arguments must be connected by a dominating rhetorical predicate.

For some events the source and goal may both have agentive roles. The English pairs of words *give/receive, lend/borrow, teach/learn* can be analyzed as representing two more or less simultaneous events: where the participants are persons A, B, and an object C, which may or may not be concrete, the events may be represented as:

1. \( S/(V)/Ag \) conveys \( C \) to \( B \)
2. \( B \) gets \( C \) from \( A \)

The difference between the meanings of the first member of each pair of words listed above and the second member is that the first focuses on the agentive role of the source or on event (1), and the second focuses on the agentive role of the goal or event (2). If two objects move in opposite directions and the source and goal both play agentive roles in each case, the situation is RECIPROCAL and there are four separate events. A reciprocal situation may be SYMMETRICAL as in the case represented by the English verb *exchange,* where the participants are persons A and B, and objects C and D, the events are

1.a. \( S/(V)/Ag \) conveys \( C \) to \( B \) and
1.b. \( B \) gets \( C \) from \( A \)

with either a following, preceding, or simultaneous pair of events:

2.a. \( S/(V)/Ag \) conveys \( D \) to \( A \) and
2.b. \( A \) gets \( D \) from \( B \)

Or the situation may be ASYMMETRICAL as is the case represented by the pairs of English words *buy/sell,* where two different kinds of objects are involved. The events are the same as those listed for *exchange* above except that one object is money and the other is something else.

There are reciprocal situations of the motion type also. In this case there are two simultaneous events, each involving two participants A and B. The events are either:

1. \( A \) approaches/reaches \( B \)
2. \( \frac{B}{O/(Ag)} \) approaches/reaches \( \frac{A}{G} \)

or

1. \( \frac{A}{O/(Ag)} \) departs from \( \frac{B}{S} \)

2. \( \frac{B}{O/(Ag)} \) departs from \( \frac{A}{S} \)

English verbs which may represent the first situation are *meet, touch, collide*. An English verb representing the second situation is *separate*.

For all the verbs discussed so far in this section the numbered events represent arguments which must be connected by a rhetorical predicate indicating simultaneity. A number of concepts which seem to be universal and are usually represented in languages by single verbs in fact represent a series of events. For example *tie up, chain up* involve two separate actions, where the participants are a person \( A \), a person or object \( B \), a chain or rope \( C \), a fixed object \( D \):

\[
\begin{align*}
1. \quad \frac{A}{Ag/V} & \text{ attaches } \left\{ \begin{array}{c}
\frac{B}{P/O} \text{ to } \frac{C}{G} \\
\frac{C}{O} \text{ to } \frac{B}{G/P}
\end{array} \right. \\
2. \quad \frac{A}{Ag/V} & \text{ attaches } \frac{C}{O} \text{ to } \frac{D}{G}
\end{align*}
\]

Havanese verbs describing such situations have certain morphological peculiarities described in Chapter 3. For all verbs indicating series of events each event must be an argument of a rhetorical predicate and *then*.

All action-process verbs in natural languages, as Fillmore (1971b) has suggested, indicate two consecutive events, where the participants are \( A \) and \( B \):

1. \( \frac{A}{Ag} \) does something to \( \frac{B}{P} \)

2. \( \frac{B}{P} \) changes

Here event (1) is the former argument and event (2) the latter argument of the rhetorical predicate *therefore*.

Every language probably contains verbs which mean *say*, where something about the nature of the message may occur

as the surface object. Some examples in English are *ask for, invite, order* (something). The meaning of *ask for* may be represented by the following tree diagram:

```
say
   \_agent-source\_ A
   \_goal\_ B
   \_object\_ C
   \_message=\_ give
   \_agent-source\_ B
   \_goal\_ A
   \_object\_ C
```

The general meaning of *invite* may be represented by the following tree diagram:

```
say
   \_agent-source\_ A
   \_goal\_ B
   \_object\_ A
   \_message=\_ invite
      \_agent-source\_ B
      \_goal\_ A
      \_object\_ C
```

The meaning of *order* may be represented by the following tree diagrams:
1.4.2 THE INCLUSION OF MANNER IN THE MEANING OF A VERB

Semantically, manner is an attribute, the argument of which is a proposition rather than a single entity. The manner element may be a single indivisible concept as in *Mary ran fast*, or it may itself be a proposition as in

*Mary learned how to cook by reading a book.*

An English verb which includes manner of the single semantic entity type in its meaning is *grab*, which means 'take by force'. An English verb which includes manner of the second sort in its meaning is *write* in sentences such as *I wrote to Jane*, which means 'I conveyed a message to Jane by first simultaneously converting the message to written form and conveying it to (a piece of paper or other flat transportable surface), using (pen and ink, pencil, a typewriter or whatever) a second, conveying (probably by means of separate vehicle) the piece of paper containing the message to Jane*.

1.4.3 THE INCLUSION OF ARGUMENTS IN THE MEANING OF A VERB

English verbs including arguments in their meaning are the meteorological verbs *rain* and *snow* which mean 'drops of water fall from cloud(s)' and 'collections of small ice crystals fall from cloud(s)' respectively.

In many languages nouns referring to tools are also verb roots meaning to perform an action using the tool in question. Thus in English *rake* (*the lawn*) means 'move (dead leaves) (from the lawn) with a rake', *mop* (*the floor*) means 'wash (the floor) with a mop'. Sometimes such a verb is not phonologically related to the name of the tool involved, but the semantic relationship is still the same. Thus in English *sweep* (*the floor*) means 'remove (dirt) (from the floor) with a broom'.

NOTES

1. This term is Grimes' suggestion.

2. Grimes (1975) makes a distinction between participants and props depending on whether an entity plays an active or passive role in a discourse. This distinction is significant for discourse analysis, but I shall use the term *participant* to cover both in relation to individual propositions.

3. I am not using the term *object* to cover the entity which changes state or whose existence is in question. These are different matters. See below.

4. This distinction is not so well developed in Javanese as it is in the Philippine languages where a speaker has a choice of describing virtually any event or condition as though the instigator did his instigating unconsciously or unintentionally. The distinction is important enough in Javanese, however, that when Javanese speakers learn English they are bothered by sentences like *I cut myself*, where the *I* sounds agentic.

5. It has been suggested by Hollenbach, Simmons and others (discussed in Grimes, 1975, Chapter 8), that in the absence of an animate agent, a tool may be treated as agent. This is no doubt true for English and perhaps for a number of other languages, since we can say *this screwdriver fixed the engine or even
the locomotive cleared the track with a snowplow (examples from Grimes, op. cit.). I think, however, that it cannot be part of general semantic theory since Indonesian and Javanese both must keep the tool and agent roles distinct even when only tool is mentioned. Recently this rule has been violated particularly in radio and television advertising where slogans are translated more or less directly from English and other European languages. One striking example is (Indonesian) Rinso mencuci lebih putih, 'Rinso washes whiter.' Although the slogan is frequently heard, most Indonesians find it amusing, because obviously, they say, Rinso doesn’t wash, people wash with Rinso.

6. These terms were suggested by Franz (1972). He intended that they should apply to source and goal in the orientation sense as well. However, I prefer to keep these categories distinct.

7. He has also suggested that manner may be a case because of its relation to the nonagentive derivation.

8. Grimes (1975) refers to these as rhetorical predicates. Since they always correspond to connective words like therefore, however, because, and since this study is concerned primarily with verbs, I will not discuss them directly.

9. 'Eddy's bicycle was broken' can also be translated as Pit-é ëdi rusak (bicycle-definite Eddy broken), in which the subject is the patient. Javanese differs from English in that it can make either ëdi, the benefactive, or the bicycle, the patient subject, while English has no choice.

10. There is actually an important semantic difference between single entity manner concepts and embedded proposition manner concepts. Though both answer the question how?, only the second can be paraphrased as because (manner phrase), (dominated proposition) was possible, e.g. a possible answer to How did Mary run? is Fast, and a possible answer to How did Mary learn to cook? is By reading a book, but though one can say Because Mary read a book, she was able to learn to cook, it does not make sense to say (?) Because she was fast, Mary was able to run. This suggests that two totally different semantic structures are actually involved and that we probably should not call them by the same name (manner). Schank et. al. (1972) treat the embedded proposition sort as instrumental, which they think is always equivalent to a proposition (or a conceptualization in their terms) regardless of its surface structure. This does not have any consequences, however, for my remarks in the text concerning manner, as these remarks apply to both sorts of structures.
CHAPTER 2

VERB STEM CLASSES

2.0 PRELIMINARY REMARKS

In this chapter, I give classifica-
tions of Javanese verb stems based on sev-
eral criteria, and show how they relate
to each other. I give special attention to
a group of inherently reciprocal bases
and bases involving two potential agents.

2.1 THE CLASSIFICATION OF JAVANESE VERB
STEMS

I recognize a binary division of Java-
inese content words into nominals and non-
nominals. Non-nominals cannot function as
subjects of sentences without undergoing
some form of nominalization. Non-nominals
include both the traditional classes of
'adjectives' and 'verbs'. Although there
are many Javanese words which by both se-
mantic and syntactic criteria are clearly
adjectives and there are also many Java-
nese words which by both semantic and syn-
tactic criteria are clearly verbs, there
is a fairly large group in the middle con-
sisting of words which appear to fulfill
the criteria of either group. In this
chapter, I will attempt to classify the
entire class of non-nominals or predicate
words in Javanese.

It is possible to classify Javanese
verb stems according to a number of dif-
f erent criteria, some formal, some semi-
tic. The following criteria for classifi-
cation have occurred to me, the first
three of which have been used in the ex-
isting literature, and the last three of
which are based on more recent general se-
matic studies:

1. According to the part of speech
   of the root:
   a. noun only, e.g. jungkat
      'comb', sapu 'broom'
   b. noun or verb, e.g. étung
      'calculation; count'
   c. verb only, e.g. bilas
      'rinse', bali 'return'
   d. never occurs unaffixed, e.g.
      -bakar 'roast'

2. According to the phonological
   shape of the root:
   a. one syllable
   b. two syllables beginning in
      a vowel
   c. two syllables beginning in
      a consonant
   d. three or more syllables

3. According to which of the fol-
   lowing verb forms occur:
   a. root alone
   b. -am or -am
   c. N-
   d. ē- and ch-
   e. N- -i, ē- -i, ŕN- -aké

4. According to the role structure
   of the basic or underived form
   a. no agent, one participant
   b. no agent, two participants
   c. agent (or actor) only
   d. agent, patient
   e. agent as source or vehicle,
      object, goal

5. According to aspectual consid-
eration:
   a. whether it denotes a condi-
tion or event or a combina-
tion of events, conditions,
or one or more of each

6. According to whether the verb is
   nuclear or peripheral in terms of
   vocabulary structure

As is probably apparent, criteria (2) and
(3) are purely formal, (4), (5), and (6)
purely semantic, while (1) is a combinati-
on of the two. As for (1), only some roots
of type (a), that is, which are nouns onl
seem to have verbal form-meaning rela-
tionships which are dependent on the fact that
the root is a noun. For example, jungkat
'comb' forms a simple verb by adding -an,
that is jungkatan 'comb (one's hair)'.
Wadhan 'container' forms a verb meaning
'put into a container' by adding N- -i: mađhak. More will be said about verbs
from noun bases in 2.4. Otherwise this
classification can be disregarded. The
formal criteria listed in (3), it turns
out, reflect the semantic criteria listed
in (4) and (5) rather closely. I discuss
these in 2.12 and 2.13 respectively.

With reference to (6), nuclear verbs
in general denote single, simple events
or conditions (5a), without any unusual feature restrictions on the agent or patient, and without any presuppositions in regard to manner. Javanese is rich in peripheral verbs which have such feature restrictions and involve such presuppositions in addition to having the meaning of the corresponding nuclear verb. An example of a nuclear verb is nggawat 'carry'. The following are just a few examples of many peripheral verbs which describe the same action much more specifically, either in terms of manner, or feature restrictions on the agent or patient or both or a combination of these:

nggéndhong - carry in a sléndhang
   / (traditional woman's shawl)
nggondhol - carry in the mouth
mikul - carry suspended from the two ends of a stick which is balanced on the body.
ngempit - carry by clapping with upper arm and elbow against the side of the body.

No further discussion of this classification will be given in this chapter. However, it should be mentioned that in the formation of the speech levels (discussed in Chapter 8), it is generally only the nuclear vocabulary which has krama or polite counterparts.

Classification (2) remains to be dealt with. I discuss this in 2.1.1.

2.1.1 PHONOLOGICALLY CONDITIONED RESTRICTIONS ON VERB FORMATIONS

The phonological shape of a verb root does not in any way reflect its semantic makeup. However, many root forms limit the ability of the verb to undergo various morphological processes or require substitute processes to indicate a particular meaning, and for this reason we must pay some attention to the form of the root. Below I discuss root shapes which have a limiting effect on the morphological processes which the verb can undergo:

(a) Peculiarities of one syllable roots:
1. One syllable roots cannot stand alone. They take a meaningless prefix a- to produce a form comparable to the unaffixed forms of verbs with two (or more) syllable roots. For example, adol 'sell' comes from the root dol; akon 'order' comes from the root kon. These compare with tuku 'buy', which is an unaffixed root.
2. As a rule one syllable roots cannot undergo the productive process of doubling. The form with the prefix a- is doubled instead, for example adol-adol.
3. One syllable roots cannot undergo reduplication as an inflectional process.
4. One syllable roots cannot take -an. Instead for some verbs, the root is doubled before -an is added. Consequently the meanings which for verbs of two or more syllables are conveyed by (root)-an and (root-root)-an are both conveyed by the same form, (root-root)-an, for verbs with one syllable roots. An example of doubling plus -an being used to convey a meaning that would be conveyed by -an only with roots of two or more syllables is bal-bal 'play ball' from bal 'ball'. In other cases -an is added to the base with a-, for example aburan '(for) flying' from bur 'fly'.
5. One syllable roots cannot take -um-. Instead m- is prefixed to the base with a-, for example mabur 'fly' from bur.

(b) Peculiarities of roots beginning in a vowel:
Roots beginning in a vowel cannot be reduplicated. As in the case of one syllable roots, doubling occurs instead. This produces a form which is identical to the form also indicated by doubling in roots beginning with a consonant. Reduplication of the prenasalized form of a root beginning in a vowel is replaced by doubling of the root, and prenasalization of the resulting doubled form. This contrasts with doubling of the prenasalized form, as in for example ng-angkat-angkat 'keep lifting (habitually or repeatedly)', as opposed to ngangkat-ngangkat 'try to lift', both from angkat 'lift'. Other examples of a doubled root which is then prenasalized replacing reduplication of a prenasalized base include ng-urip-urip 'try to make live' from urip 'alive', ng-obah-obah 'move(something)' from obah 'move', ng-isin-isin 'shame (someone)' from isin 'ashamed'.

(c) Peculiarities of two syllable roots beginning with a consonant:
These are by far the most common. The various phonotactic possibilities and their relative frequency have been described at length by Uhlenbeck (1949). The addition of suffixes may result in a change in quality of root vowels.
exact nature of the morphophonemics has been described in detail in existing grammars and need not be repeated here. The only matter of significance to this study for two syllable roots beginning with a consonant is that for the handful of roots beginning in a nasal the unaffixed roots and presnasalized forms are indistinguishable.

(d) Compound bases:
These are interesting in that sometimes doubling applies only to the first item of the compound, for example nyambut-nyambut-gawé from nyambut-gawé 'work'. There are many more compounds in Krama, the polite vocabulary, than in Ngoko. (See Chapter 8 for a description of the speech levels).

2.1.2 SEMANTIC CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO ROLE STRUCTURE

Now I will return to the semantic classification (4) given at the beginning of this chapter, and its relation to the form classification (3). First, however, it will be necessary to establish a terminology for referring to the five semantic classes under consideration.

There are two verb classes which are NONAGENTIVE, that is, their basic forms describe situations which do not involve an agent. The first of these involves one participant and the other involves two. Many things which are true of one of these classes are true of both. For this reason it is convenient to have a term which includes both classes. When it is necessary to specify one of the two classes they will be referred to as ONE PLACE NONAGENTIVE verbs and TWO PLACE NONAGENTIVE verbs. All words which would traditionally have been classified as adjectives fall into the nonagentive category. However, not all nonagentives would necessarily have been considered adjectives by all observers. An example of a one place nonagentive is gedé 'large' which involves one participant, a patient, the thing which is large. An example of a two place nonagentive is adoh 'far' which involves an object, the thing which is far, and a source, the thing which it is far from. The other three classes all involve an agent (or ACTOR, that is animate force). The first of these involves only an agent (or actor). This class is called INTRANSITIVE. An example of an intransitive verb is m-laku 'fall' involving an agent, the person who walks. The remaining two classes are both TRANSITIVE. One involves two participants, agent and patient. The other involves three, agent as source and/or vehicle, and object and goal. The first of these are TWO PLACE TRANSITIVE verbs, the second THREE PLACE TRANSITIVE verbs. An example of a two place transitive is ng-goréng 'fry' involving a patient, the thing fried, and an agent, the person who does the frying. An example of a three place transitive is ménèht, ménèhaké 'give' involving an agent, the one who gives, an object, the thing given, and a goal, the person to whom it is given.

A comparison of this semantic classification with the form classification (3) given at the beginning of this chapter shows the following partial correspondence:

1. Nearly all nonagentive verbs occur in unaffixed form, for example panas 'hot', rusaak 'broken', gedé 'large'. The reverse of this, that most unaffixed roots are nonagentive, however, is not true. For example tuku 'buy' is a specialized form of a two place transitive.

2. All m- prefixed forms, such as m-layu 'run', and most n- prefixed forms without corresponding d- forms, such as ng-alith 'move', are intransitive. There are also some unaffixed forms which are intransitive, however, such as adus 'bathe' (oneself)'.

3. All verbs having a presnasalized form and a corresponding d- form such as m-bakar, dí-bakar 'roast', are two place transitive. Some of these verbs have an unaffixed form as well, such as tuku 'buy', mentioned above.

4. Finally, there are a small number of verbs with the forms n- -i, dí- -í, n- -aké, and dí- -aké as basic. They are all three place transitive. An example is ménèht, dí-wénséh-í, ménèhaké, dí-wénséh-aké 'give'.

Of the five semantic classes described above the first four all have subdivisions. One place nonagentives can be divided into those for which the participant is a patient, and those for which it fills an orientation role. Those for which the participant is a patient can be further subdivided into those for which the condition in question may have always been in effect and which may involve a benefactive (that is, a secondary participant affected by the fact that the patient is in the condition in question), such as panas 'hot (temperature)', psdheš 'highly seasoned'; those for which the condition in question may have always been in effect and where there is not likely to be a benefactive involved, such as abang 'red', gedé 'big'; those for which the condition in question must have been brought about at some time in the past by an event, such as rusaak 'broken', lara 'sick'. One place nonagentives involving orientation roles include those for which the participant is an object, such as tibá 'fall', sopot 'come unattached, come off'; those for which the participant is source, such as nyrorot (from -sorot) 'shine'; those for which the participant is goal, such as peteng
'dark' and ēyup 'shady'. These six sub-
classes of one place nonagentives have no
formal distinctions in their basic forms.
The subclassification is significant be-
cause of the variation which each can
undergo. These will be discussed in
Chapters 3 and 5.

Two place nonagentives have two sub-
classes. The first may be called EXPERI-
ENTIAL. It involves an animate patient
which experiences a particular sensation
or emotion with respect to a referent, for
example nesu 'angry', yerver 'see',
semeng 'like'. The second subclass may
be called LOCATIONAL. It involves an ob-
ject which is in a particular position
with respect to a referent or goal. The
second subclass is nearly always recipro-
cal (reciprocal verbs are discussed in
2.2). Some examples are adoh 'far', ao-
dhak 'near', jëfër 'next to', gandheng
'attached'.

Intransitive verbs have three sub-
classes. They may be EXPULSION, MOTION,
and REFLEXIVE. EXPULSION verbs may in-
volve an actor rather than an agent; in
other words they may be active or vol-
itive.11 Example: cf some which are
always volitive are sîai 'blow the nose',
tîu 'spit'. One which may be volitive or
involitive is watuk 'cough'. Ones which
are nearly always involitive are waching
'sneeze' and kringat(etc.) 'perspire'. The
actor or agent is the source of some
body product, the semantic object,
which is included in the meaning of
the verb. MOTION verbs may involve directed
or moveable motion, as in m-laku 'walk',
m-lau 'run', m-abur 'fly', ng-langi
'swim', or arrangement of the body in a
position, as in sîla 'sit cross-legged',
jëmhëng 'kneel'. In all cases the agent
is also the object. REFLEXIVE verbs are
ones which describe behavior directed
toward one's own body, as in adue 'take
a bath', bilas 'rinse oneself', dandan
'get dressed'. The agent is both goal
and patient. The three subclasses of
intransitive verbs are not distin-
guished by morphological features in
their basic forms, although whether the basic
form can be m- prefixed or N- prefixed
rather than unaffixed is limited in some
of the subclasses. Possible basic forms
for each of the three subclasses are de-
scribed in 3.1. The significant reason
for making this subclassification, how-
ever, is that the subclasses differ as to
which derivational processes they can un-
dergo and what the meanings of those der-
ivational processes are. Derivations are
discussed mainly in Chapters 3, 4, 5, and
6.1. A few are also mentioned in Chapter
7.

Two place transitives have four sub-
classes: verbs for which the agent is
source or vehicle and the patient is ob-
ject, which may be called SEPARATION
verbs, such as m-buang 'throw away' for
those for which the agent is source, vehicle
or object and the patient is goal, which
may be called APPROACH verbs, such as nabok
'slap', nyuduk 'stab', ng-rabì 'marry';

those for which the agent does not neces-
sarily have an orientation role and the
entity which is treated grammatically as
patient, i.e. is COMPLEMENT of the N-
form, is in fact the semantic referent,
which may be called ACQUISITION verbs, such as nyolong
'steal', nuku 'buy'.

For the approach subclass it is rel-
vent to see what derivations are possible (Chapter 3) whether the object is a tool (nyuduk) or not (nabok). For
acquisition verbs, which derivations are
allowed may be affected by whether the
source, if animate, might also play an
agentive role (nuku) or not (nyolong).

It is also relevant to this subclass for
determining possible derivations, whether
the act of acquisition is likely to be
followed by conveyance of the object to
a secondary goal, such as n-jimpit 'pick up
a pinch of something', where the pinch may
then be conveyed to something else, such
as a cup of coffee. With two place transi-
itives as well as other verb classes, the
various subclasses are not distinguished by
morphological features in their basic
forms. All two place transitives have
the basic forms n- and di-. The subclass-
ification is significant because of dif-
ferences in derivations which verbs of the
various subclasses can undergo.

The semantic classification of Java-
nese verb stems based on the number
and kinds of participants indicated can be
summarized by Chart 1 on the following
page.

Most two place transitive verbs also
have forms N- -i, di- -i, N- -2, di- -2, N- -2-í, di- -2-í,12 which convey the
same role information as the N- and di-
forms, but differ as to specifying contin-
uation, repetition, plurality, or combina-
tions of these for one or more of the par-
ticipants. These forms will be discussed
in Chapter 7.

There are a few odd verbs with N- -i
and di- -i forms only. They have no N-
or di- forms and no N- -aké forms with
conveyance meaning. The meaning of these
verbs is like that of two place transi-
itives of the approach variety. The pa-

tient is goal, and usually human as in
ngapust 'cheat', moyoki 'call names'.
These verbs are further like two place
transitives in that they take N- -aké and
di- -aké forms with benefactive meaning
(see Chapter 3).

2.1.3 ASPECTUAL CLASSIFICATION OF VERB
STEMS

With reference to the aspectual
classification (i) given at the beginning
of this chapter, in general, nonagentive
Verbs refer to conditions and agentive verbs to events. However, experiential verbs appear to refer to either events or conditions; for example mesu may mean either 'get angry' or 'be angry'. However, for some one place nonagentives involving orientation roles which one would expect to refer to an event, the verb may also refer to the state or position resulting from the event. For example, tiba is usually translated 'fall' but in fact it means 'fallen', in many cases, re-

**CHART I: VERB STEM CLASSES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>NONAGENTIVE</th>
<th>One place nonagentive</th>
<th>Two place nonagentive</th>
<th>Three place nonagentive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>NONAGENTIVE</td>
<td>participant = patient</td>
<td>participant = orientation role</td>
<td>(agent = source)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>AGENTIVE</td>
<td>condition may be</td>
<td>condition broughton by event (pecah 'broken')</td>
<td>(agent = object)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>AGENTIVE</td>
<td>permanent,</td>
<td>source (nyorot 'shine')</td>
<td>Reflexive (agent = goal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>AGENTIVE</td>
<td>derivation no</td>
<td>object (tiba 'fall')</td>
<td>(adus 'take a bath')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>AGENTIVE</td>
<td>benefactive</td>
<td>goal (peteng 'dark')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>AGENTIVE</td>
<td>(pedhes 'hot')</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>AGENTIVE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Two place nonagentive**

- Experiential (patient and referent) (weruz 'see')
- Locational (object and referent or goal) (adoh 'far')

**Intransitive**

- Expulsion (agent = source) (watum 'cough')
- Motion (agent = object) (lungguh 'sit')

**Two place transitive**

- Separation (agent = source or vehicle, patient = object) (abuung, dibuung 'throw away')
- Approach (agent = source, vehicle or object, patient = goal) (nabok, ditabok 'slap')
- Referential (agent = source, patient = referent) (abayar, dibayar 'pay for')
- Acquisition (agent = goal, patient = object) (nyupuk, diyuupuk 'get, pick up')

**Three place transitive**

(aagent = source or vehicle, object and goal present) (nyekèki, dikèki, nyekèkakè, dikèkakè 'give, put')

One place nonagentive verbs, particularly those indicating that a patient is in a state that must have resulted from an event, have two aspectual subclasses. These are determined by whether the condition is likely to have been brought about by an event involving an agent, such as pecah 'broken', or not as in lara 'sick'. These aspectual subclasses de-
termine how the derivations are made which describe the event bringing the condition about (Chapter 6).

For two place transitives whether or not it is possible to repeat or continue the action on the same patient determines whether the patient must be plural in forms reflected for continuation or repetition (Chapter 6).

2.2 INHERENTLY RECIPROCAL VERB BASES

The basic forms of some verbs indicate either a reciprocal relationship between two participants or two simultaneous and identical events involving two participants each of which is object and perhaps agent of one event and source or goal of the other. Verbs of these types may be called INHERENTLY RECIPROCAL. Most transitive verbs and intransitive verbs which indicate directed motion have derived reciprocal forms. These will be discussed in 6.2. Verbs which are inherently reciprocal may make this overt by treating both participants as subject:

Yogy a Sala lwih adoh tinimbang
Yogy a Wono sari.
(name-of-city name-of-city more far compared name-of-city name-of-town)
'Yogy a and Sala are farther away from each other than Yogy a and Wono sari.'

Gedhangê ganthêt.
(Banana-definite attached)
'The bananas are attached to each other.'

Or they may focus on the role of one participant by making it the subject. In this case if the non-topicalized participant is source, it is usually preceded by saka 'from':

Omah-ê Pak Kerta adoh saka kutha.
(house-definite Mr. Kerta far from city)
'Mr. Kerta's house is far from the city.'

Or kar o 'with':

Pak Kerta wie pisah kar o Inem.
(Mr. Kerta already separated with Inem)
'Mr. Kerta has already separated from Inem.'

If the non-topicalized participant is goal or referent, it may be preceded by either kar o 'with' or marang 'to':

Pak Kerta kenal marang/karo Pak Marta.
(Mr. Kerta know to/with Mr. Marta)
'Mr. Kerta knows Mr. Marta.'

Most inherently reciprocal verbs can also take derivations which with other verbs form a verb with reciprocal meaning. For inherently reciprocal verbs these derived forms make the reciprocity more overt than it is in basic form, for example gandhangê-an from gandhangê 'connected'; kenal-kenal-an from kenal 'be acquainted with'. Derivations making reciprocity explicit will also be discussed in Chapter 6.

Inherently reciprocal verbs appear all to be either of the locational subclass of two place nonagentive verbs, such as adoh 'far', oedhak 'near', or of the approach subclass of two place transitive verbs, such as ngrabê 'get married'.

Most reciprocal verbs imply only a single situation with two participants, but some may have derived forms describing a more complex situation involving three or more participants. For example

Sapîné (sapî-(n)ê) ge-gan thêt-an.
(cow-definite attached-reciprocal-plural)
'The cows are all tied together.'

from ganthêt 'attached', refers to more than two cows being tied together. The morphological processes involved are described in 6.2.

2.3 VERB BASES DESCRIBING NON-RECIPROCAL COMPLEX EVENTS

Single verbs are often used to describe complex series of events. Common verbs of this sort in Javanese deal with (1) transactions (monetary or otherwise), (2) performing music or dance, and (3) speaking. Transactions are by nature complex events involving at the very least two potential agents, one the source and one the goal of the conveyed object (Chapter 1). Verbs describing transactions usually make presuppositions about other events such as the exchange of money, or expectations on the part of one participant concerning the return of the conveyed object. The semantic complexity of transaction verbs makes them potential candidates for morphological complexity. Not all Javanese verbs describing transactions have distinguishing morphological traits; for example, ngebus 'redeem something which has been pawned' is an ordinary acquisition verb and ngedol 'sell' is an ordinary separation verb, but many have one set of forms that treat the source of the conveyed object as agent, and derived forms that treat the goal as agent. For example, ngegadék 'lend money in exchange for articles', ngegadék 'pawn something'; utang 'owe', ngutangék, ngutangi 'lend'; nyilîh 'borrow', nyilîh-akê, nyilîhi 'lend'; ijoj 'exchange something', ngîjotî 'give someone something in exchange for something else'. The
exact nature of the morphological processes involved is discussed in Chapter 3.
Verbs dealing with the performing arts are unique in that most of them can treat the event in question in a number of ways. The simplest is as undirected motion on the part of a single participant who is agent and object, as in

\[ \text{Wiwik lagi njogèd.} \\
\text{(Wiwik in-the-process dance) 'Wiwik is dancing.'} \]

\[ \text{Pak Kerta pinter nembang.} \\
\text{(Mr. Kerta clever sing) 'Mr. Kerta is good at singing.'} \]

It is possible, however, to treat the action as involving other participants. The agent may be treated as the source of the message and the art work as its referent, or the content of the message, as in

\[ \text{Pak Kerta nembangakè Sinom.} \\
\text{(Mr. Kerta sing-conveyance name-of-song) 'Mr. Kerta sang Sinom.'} \]

If there is a spectator, that individual may be treated either as the recipient of the act of communication or as a beneficiary, as in

\[ \text{Pak Kerta nembangi Yanta.} \\
\text{(Mr. Kerta sing-complement Yanta) 'Mr. Kerta sang to Yanta.'} \]

\[ \text{Pak Kerta nembangakè Yanta.} \\
\text{(Mr. Kerta sing-benefactive Yanta) 'Mr. Kerta sang for Yanta.'} \]

Dancing is often performed simultaneously by more than one individual. In this case it is possible to treat one individual as central and the other as his CONCOMITANT, as

\[ \text{Pak Kerta njogèdè ladhèk.} \\
\text{(Mr. Kerta dance-concomitant complement street-dancer) 'Mr. Kerta danced with a street dancer.'} \]

Speaking in itself need not be treated linguistically as a complex event, but it nearly always implies a listener and thus a simultaneous event of receiving a message. In addition communication is often a series of alternating reciprocal events where two participants take turns in filling the roles of speaker and listener. It is not surprising then that Javanese has a number of verbs meaning 'speak'. These verbs or their derived forms may refer to (1) the act of a single participant, the speaker, for example omong 'talk, kandha 'say', (2) the alternating reciprocal exchange between two individuals, for example kandhan-kandhan-an, omong-omong-an, (3) the fact that an agent-source communicates a message about

a particular referent. In the latter case there is a tendency for Javanese to treat a human referent as a patient, the forms being \(N^-\) and \(d/-\). If the referent is not human, the forms \(N^-\text{akè}, d/-\text{akè}\) are used. This will all be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

2.4 VERBS FROM NOUN BASES

There are many kinds of verb formations from noun bases in Javanese. They have all been mentioned in the existing literature. I discuss three kinds here which produce verbs in common use and which are interesting both semantically and morphologically: the formation of a verb meaning 'be affected by some unnatural condition of the skin or surface' from a noun naming the condition (2.4.1), the formation of a verb meaning 'do something to one's body with a tool' from the noun naming the tool (2.4.2), the formation of a verb meaning that an agent does something to a patient with a tool, from the noun naming the tool (2.4.3).

2.4.1 VERBS FROM NOUNS NAMING SURFACE DEFORMITIES

Nouns naming afflictions which affect the texture of the surface of a patient such as kuku 'pimple', jamur 'mold form one place nonagentive verbs meaning that a patient is affected by the affliction, by adding \(-en\), for example kuku\(en\) 'have pimples', jamuren 'be moldy'.

2.4.2 REFLEXIVE VERBS FROM NOUNS NAMING TOOLS

Intransitive verbs of the reflexive subcategory may be formed from nouns naming tools that are used in grooming, by adding \(-an\) to the root, for example skat-an 'brush one's teeth' from skat 'brush', jungkatan 'comb one's hair' from jungkati 'comb'. Such verbs can undergo all the derivations that verbs which are basically of the reflexive type can undergo, but in their derived forms the \(-an\) is dropped. For example, two place transitives of the approach subclass can be formed by adding \(N^-\) \(-i\) and \(d/-\text{i}: njungkati, dijungkati 'comb (someone's) hair'. The verbs thus formed also have benefactive derivations: njungkatakè, dijungkatakè. These derivations are discussed in Chapter 3.
2.4.3 TWO PLACE TRANSITIVE VERBS FROM NOUNS NAMING TOOLS

Two place transitive verbs can be formed from nouns naming tools. The forms of the derived verbs are identical to those of underived two place transitives, that is, they contain only the inflectional affixes \( -n \) and \( -i \), which are described in 3.1. Examples are \( \text{nnapu} \ '\text{sweep} \) from \( \text{sapu} \ '\text{broom} \), \( \text{mukul} \ '\text{strike} \) from \( \text{pukul} \ '\text{hammer} \).

Notes

1. Some verbs referring to events which involve both an agent and a patient, including \( \text{bakar} \ '\text{roast} \) may occur colloquially unaffixed but such forms are always shortenings of either the passive, \( \text{di-bakar} \), described in 3.1, or the adjectival form \( \text{bakar-an} \), described in 5.2.3. Thus a child in particular might say \( \text{Saté-né} \ '\text{wheat} \) \( \text{bakar} \), but this means \( \text{Saté-né} \ '\text{make} \) \( \text{di-bakar} \ '\text{the saté \( -\text{on skewers} \) is already roasted} \). And one frequently hears phrases such as \( \text{kayu} \ '\text{bakar} \ '\text{fire wood} \), i.e. \( \text{wood to be burnt} \), but this again is a shortening from \( \text{kayu} \ '\text{bakar-an} \).

2. This is not a complete list of verb forms, as can be deduced by comparing it with the list given in the introduction. These particular verb forms are important, however, as Uhlenbeck (1956, 1964b) has discovered, for determining verb classes that are both semantically and formally significant. This will become clearer later in this chapter and in the following one.

3. This concept is taken from Dixon (1971).

4. Earlier grammars such as Roorda's and Walbheim's treated \( a \) as a morpheme, but since roots which can occur alone are by far in the majority, it seems more sensible to consider lack of affixation as basic. A diachronic analysis would be quite different. The \( a \) comes from PA \( *\text{mar-} \), which is still evident in a few derived verbs such as \( \text{mgaru} \ '\text{study with a teacher} \) from guru 'teacher', \( \text{mertau} \) or \( \text{maratapu} \ '\text{visit} \) from tama 'guest', and \( \text{merata} \) or \( \text{maratapa} \ '\text{meditate} \) from tapa 'meditating holy man'. First the \( \text{m} = \text{of} \ *\text{mar} \) was dropped and later the \( a \) in all but one syllable roots. The Javanese reflex of PA \( *\text{R} \) is sometimes \( /\text{r} / \), sometimes \( \text{g} \). This is probably due to dialectal differences but in the case of the prefix \( *\text{mar} \) the only instances of \( R \) being represented by \( /\text{r} / \) in Javanese are in fossilized forms such as those listed above, where the entire original prefix is preserved intact.

5. There is one exception, \( \text{lap-lap} \ '\text{wipe} \), but the root is a noun meaning 'cloth, rag'. One syllable roots can be doubled in combination with \( \text{an} \), but this is a separate process.

There are some bases formed by doubling one syllable roots, for example \( \text{kongkon} \ '\text{order} \) from \( \text{kon} \), but these are usually in competition with another form, in this case \( \text{akon} \). This is not a productive process.

6. Again, there are some bases formed by reduplicating a one syllable root, for example \( \text{weheh} \ '\text{give} \) from \( \text{weh} \) and \( \text{dodol} \ '\text{sell} \) from \( \text{dol} \). There are alternant forms \( \text{weheh} \) and \( \text{adol} \) respectively.

7. There are a few cases where it is difficult to tell whether we are dealing with a one syllable root or a two syllable root beginning with \( /\text{a} / \) or another vowel, since the \( a \) occurs in some forms where we would not expect it to if the root were one syllable, but there are other forms without the initial \( a \), which should not be the case if the root were actually two syllables. For example, \( \text{di-doh-aké} \ '\text{placed at a distance, made to go away} \) and \( \text{di-doh-i} \ '\text{avoided} \) suggest that the root of \( \text{adoh} \ '\text{far} \) is \( /\text{doh} / \), while the forms \( \text{ng-adoh} \ '\text{go away} \) and \( \text{adoh-adoh} \ '\text{from each other} \) suggest that the root is \( \text{adoh} \). Similarly \( \text{di-jok-aké} \ '\text{be advanced} \) suggests that the root of \( \text{maju} \ '\text{advance} \) is \( /\text{j} / \), while \( \text{ajon-ajon} \ '\text{approach each other} \) suggests that the root of \( \text{maju} \) is \( /\text{ju} / \). For \( \text{adhem} \ '\text{cold} \) the situation is reversed. \( \text{di-adhem-aké} \ '\text{make cold} \) and \( \text{di-adhem-i} \ '\text{put in a cold place} \) suggest that the root is \( \text{adhem} \), while \( \text{nge-dhem} \) and \( \text{di-dilum} \ '\text{cool off} \) (something) \( \) and \( \text{dhem-dhem-} \) '\text{(that which) has been cooled off} \) suggest that the root is \( \text{dhem} \). The explanation must be a matter of analogical change. Either the \( a \) of a two syllable root was thought to be a prefix and dropped in some forms or a prefix \( a \) was thought to be part of the root. The original root in such cases can sometimes be determined by examining texts from an earlier period. Sometimes cognates in other languages are useful. For example, \( \text{jauh} \ '\text{far} \) in Malay is cognate with \( \text{adoh} \), so the root must be \( /\text{doh} / \). On the other hand the Malay word \( \text{maju} \ '\text{advance} \) has a derived form \( \text{me-maju-kon} \ '\text{advance (something)} \) suggesting that if the Malay word is not borrowed from Javanese the root is in fact \( /\text{m} / \). There are some cases of verbs containing an initial vowel other than \( /\text{a} / \) which is dropped in some forms, for example \( \text{medhun} \) or \( \text{madhun} \ '\text{descend} \), \( \text{nge-dhun-aké} \ '\text{take something down} \), \( \text{nge-dhun-i} \ '\text{go down to} \); \( \text{di-jolaké} \ '\text{be exchanged} \) from \( \text{i} \) ol '\text{exchange} \). In these cases we must assume that the roots contain the vowel, that is that they are \( \text{udhung} \) and \( \text{ijol} \) respectively.

8. These morphophonemic rules are being lost in the younger generation, resulting in a restructuring of the vowel system.

9. The basic form of a verb is the form which is both semantically and morphologically simplest from among those listed under (3) at the beginning of this chapter. If, for example, a verb has forms of the three place transitive type with appropriate meanings, such as \( \text{m-bayar-aké} \ '\text{pay (money)} \), \( \text{m-bayar-} \) 'pay (someone) \), but also has forms of the
two place transitive type, m-bayar, di-bayar ‘pay for’, I consider that the basic forms of the verb are the two place transitive forms and that the three place transitive forms are derivations (see Chapter 3). If a verb has two place transitive forms, such as ngruđak, di-rusak ‘break (something)’, but also has a one place nonagentive form, rusak ‘broken’, then the basic form is the one place nonagentive form and the two place transitive forms are derivations (Chapter 3). There are, however, some two place transitive forms, such as nuku, di-tuku ‘buy’ with the unaffixed form tuku. In this case the two place transitive forms are basic and the unaffixed form has a specialized meaning described in Chapter 6.

10. Some one place nonagentive verbs belong to more than one subclass; for example, padhang ‘bright’ can take source as the participant, as in lamputo padhang ‘the lamp is bright’, or goal as in omahō padhang ‘the house is brightly lit’.

11. These terms are used by Gair (1970) in his description of Sinhalese.

12. The numeral 2 in formulas for verb forms indicates doubling.

13. Concomitant is a surface case. It actually represents a non-topicalized component of the agent group. See Grimes (1972b) for a discussion of the concept ‘concomitant’. 
3.0 PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Traditional linguistics textbooks divide morphological processes which occur in a language can undergo into ones which are inflectional and ones which are derivational in nature. For many languages, however, including Javanese, morphological processes which can unquestionably be labeled as inflectional are few in number. Derivation, on the other hand, is so varied that we must distinguish at least between derivation between word classes on the one hand and derivation within word classes on the other. Derivation between word classes includes forming nouns from verb bases and verbs from noun bases. The formation of certain verbs from noun bases was mentioned in the preceding chapter. Other than this, derivation between word classes is not really relevant here. Derivation within the word class of verbs, on the other hand, is extremely relevant. Chafe (1970) refers to the relationship between state, action, and action-process as 'semantic derivation.' In this chapter, I discuss the ways in which verbs of each of the classes described in the preceding chapter can be converted into verbs of other classes.

First I discuss inflection of transitive verbs for subject selection and the surface syntax of simple statements containing verbs of the various classes (3.1). Then I describe derivation within the verbal system (3.2).

Semantically involutives and causatives belong in this chapter under derivation within the verbal system, but I treat them in separate chapters (chapters 4 and 5 respectively) because of the rather divergent form-meaning correspondences involved.

3.1 INFLECTION FOR SUBJECT SELECTION AND SENTENCE SYNTAX

Transitive verbs may be inflected for subject selection. Exactly what this means is discussed in chapter 7. In chapter 3, I simply give the forms and identify the role of the subject in each case.

Two place transitive have two forms, one pronominalized, the other with a pre-posed pronominal form. For the pronominalized form, the agent fills the surface role of subject, and the patient, which follows the verb as its complement, is unmarked. An example is

Pak Kerta ngde-dol pitik-é.
(Mr. Kerta sell-agent=subject chicken-definite)
'Mr. Kerta sold his chicken.'

For forms with preposed pronouns the patient fills the surface role of subject. The agent is marked by déning 'by' in formal speech and karo 'with, and, by' or unmarked in informal speech.

Pitik-é Pak Kerta di-dol karo anak-é.
(chicken-definite Mr. Kerta sell-patient=subject by child-definite)
'Mr. Kerta's chicken was sold by his child.'

All verbs which are basically three place transitive have four forms: pronominalized with -i, pronominalized with -aké, and preposed pronominal forms with both suffixes. For both pronominal forms the agent fills the surface role of subject. For the form with -i, the goal is complement and is unmarked. For the form with -aké the object is complement and the goal is marked by marang if animate, by menyang if inanimate in formal, and by nyang or mèng if inanimate in informal speech. The object is unmarked in both cases. For the preposed pronominal forms with -i the goal is subject. The object, if mentioned, follows the verb. If the object is mentioned, the object follows the object and is marked by déning or karo. For the preposed pronominal forms with -aké, the semantic object is syntactic subject. The agent follows the goal and is marked by déning or karo. Examples of sentences containing the various forms of three place transitives follow:

Ninik mènèh (N-wènèh-i) Sigit buku.
(Ninik give-agent=subject-goal=complement Sigit book)
'Ninik gave Sigit a book.'

Ninik mènèhaké (N-wènèh-aké) buku�
(buku-(n)é) marang Sigit.
(Ninik give-agent=subject-object= complement book-definite to Sigit)
'Ninik gave her book to Sigit.'

Sigit di-wènèh-i buku karo Ninik.
(Sigit give-goal=subject book by
'Sigit was given a book by Ninik.'

'Book-definite give-object=subject Sigit by Ninik.

'The book was given to Sigit by Ninik.'

For transitive verbs it is traditional to refer to the prenasalized forms as ACTIVE and to the forms with prenasalized shapes as PASSIVE. I continue to do so because the terms are well established and because they are convenient. It must be kept in mind, however, that 'active' and 'passive' in Javanese are in no sense equivalent to 'active' and 'passive' in English or any other Indo-European language. What determines the selection of an active or passive form in Javanese is a matter of discourse structure which I discuss in Chapter 7.

Nonagentive and intransitive verbs do not undergo any inflection for topic selection, since they treat only one participant as significant. In each case the participant treated as significant fills the syntactic role of subject. For motion verbs the goal, if it occurs, is marked by menyang in formal, nyang or, especially among children, neng in informal speech. The source, if it occurs, is marked by saka in formal, saka in informal speech:

Pak Kerta budhal menyang pasar.
(Mr. Kerta leave to market)
'Mr. Kerta left for the market.'

Pak Kerta mudhun saka andha. (Mr. Kerta descend from ladder)
'Mr. Kerta got down off the ladder.'

As mentioned in Chapter 2, intransitive verbs occur in one of three forms: unaffixed, prenasalized, or prenasalized with the suffix -i. Expulsion verbs which are usually involuntary are unaffixed, such as wahting 'sneeze'. Others which are usually voluntary have prenasalized forms to indicate that the act is in fact voluntary, for example njerit 'scream, shout', nguyuh 'urinate'. Some of these verbs have accidental forms, discussed in Chapter 4, to indicate an involuntary act. Reflexive verbs are unaffixed, for example adus 'bathe', unless they are derived from nouns, as described in 2.4.2. Motion verbs may be either unaffixed, prenasalized, or have the prefix m-. There is no doubt a historical explanation for this, but at present there are no semantic criteria for determining which verb has which form. There are cases of synonyms which differ as to form, for example pindah which is unaffixed and ngalih which is prenasalized both mean 'move'. Motion verbs which take the prefix m- have no distinguishing semantic feature. However, of those commonly used all seem to be either one syllable, as in mabur 'fly' from -bur, beginning with a vowel, as in mudhun 'descend' from -udhun, or beginning with l-, as in mlayu 'run from -layu. As stated in Chapter 2, m- is actually a phonologically conditioned variant of -um- and these are the three environments which require it. In the case of the initial l-, however, the m- variant is optional. In formal writing the -um- variant sometimes replaces it, for example lamayu for mlayu. This sounds rather archaic, however. It is interesting that all of the common motion verbs which take m- have phonological shapes requiring that variant. There are a number of derivations with -um- which have wider application. These are discussed later in this chapter and in Chapter 6.

All agentive verbs have imperative forms. For all unsuffixed verbs that treat the agent as subject (including intransitive verbs and the prenasalized forms of two place transitive) the imperative is made by adding -a, as in

Lungguh-a dhietk.
(sit-agent=subject-imperative first)
'Sit down.'

For two place transitives which indicate that the patient is subject, the imperative is formed by dropping the preposed pronomin}

Tempt kwit pagan-en.
(beat=curd-cake-with-whole-soy-beans that eat-patient=subject-imperative)
'Eat that tempé.'

For forms with the suffix -i, the imperativ

Séok nukonana (N-tuku-(n)ana) jagung.
(tomorrow buy-agent=subject-patient=complement=preened-jagung-imperative corn)
'Buy some corn tomorrow.'

Klambí-mu jupuk-ana.
(clothes-your get-object=subject-imperative)
'Pick up your clothes.'

For forms with the suffix -aké, the imperative is formed by adding -a (-ka if the base ends in a vowel). Preposed pronouns are dropped:

Aku jupuk-na buku kwit.
(I get-benefactive=subject-imperative book that)
'Get me that book.'

Prenasalization would be retained if it occurred, but such forms are rare. All agentive verbs also have forms that make explicit the intention on the part of the speaker to perform the action in question. These OPTATIVE verb forms occur in both active and passive. The active is formed by placing tak between the free nominative pronoun and the ordinary
form of the verb:

Aku tak mangan (N-pangan) dhisik.
(I optative eat-agent=subject first)
'I think I'll eat first.'

Aku tak nilik (N-nilik-i) si mbah
dhisik.
(I optative visit-agent=subject-
goal=complement familiar grandparent
first)
'I think I'll go see grandma/grandpa
first.'

The passive optative is formed by placing
*ta* before the unprenasalized verb and
adding -é to the unsuffixed form, substi-
tuting -ané for -i, and -né for -aké:

Mengko bukuné (buku-(n)ó) tak
jupuk-é.
(later book-definite optative get-
object=subject-optative)
'Later today I'll get the book.'

Mengko bukuné (buku-(n)ó) tak jupuk-
ané.
(later book-definite optative get-
object=subject=plural-optative)
'Later today I'll get (all) the books.'

Mengko bukuné (buku-(n)ó) *ak jupuk-
né.
(later book-definite optative get-
object=subject-benefactive-intention)
'Later today I'll get the book for
him/her/you/them.'

The imperative and optative forms corre-
spond to the forms N-, dî-, N- -i, dî- -i,
N- -aké, dî- -aké as described above.
That is -ana for imperative and -ané for
optative always correspond to -i, -nu for
imperative and -né for optative always
correspond to -aké. This is true regard-
less of which meanings of -i or -aké are
involved.4

3.2 DERIVATION WITHIN THE VERBAL SYSTEM

Derivation within the verbal system
involves several kinds of semantic proc-
esses. These include reduction, the ad-
dition of participants, and changing role
relationships. Reduction results in forms
which specify only one participant where
their basic form deals with two or more
participants. The addition of partici-
pants involves specifying participants
which are not necessarily relevant when
the basic form of the verb is used.
Changing role relationships involves, for
example, adding agent to the role of pa-
tient of a nonagentive verb, or where
either source or goal might be regarded
as agent and the basic form treats goal
as agent, treating source as agent instead.
It would be possible to organize this

presentation on the basis of the semantic
processes involved, but the discussion is
easier to follow if the organization is
based instead on the type of verb to which
the processes are applied. I begin by
discussing derivations applied to one
place nonagentives (3.2.1), then derivations
applied to two place nonagentives (3.2.2),
derivations applied to intransitives
(3.2.3), derivations applied to transitives
(3.2.4), and derivations applied to double
transitives (3.2.5).

All of the above discussion deals
with derivation from the point of view
of changes in role structure. Many of these
derivations, however, also involve changes
from describing an event to describing the
resulting state or vice versa. In 3.2.6
I discuss derivation in relation to events
and states.

3.2.1 DERIVATIONS APPLIED TO ONE PLACE
NONAGENTIVES

Derivations applied to one place non-
agentives include, the addition of goal
(3.2.1.1), the addition of agent (3.2.1.2),
the addition of benefactive (3.2.1.3), and
changing role relationships to form in-
transitive verbs (3.2.1.4).

3.2.1.1 THE ADDITION OF GOAL

One place nonagentives, the subject
of which is a semantic object, have a de-
duced form N-i that treats the goal as
complement. Since the subject is not an
agent, there is no matching dî- -i passive
form, but there is a ke- -an involutive
passive form. (See Chapter 4 for a dis-
cussion of the involutive passives). The
goal is subject of the involutive passive
form and the verb is followed by the ob-
ject:

Uler-é nibani (N-tiba-(n)í) Wong liwat.
(caterpillar-definite fall-object=sub-
ject-goal=complement person pass)
'The caterpillars fall on passing
people.'

Aku ketiban (ke-tiba-an) uler.
(I fall-goal=subject caterpillar)
'I had a caterpillar fall on me.'

Wit-é nga-bruk-i omah.
(tree-definite collapse-object=sub-
ject-goal=complement house)
'The tree fell on a house.'

Omah-é ke-bruk-an wit.
(house-definite collapse-goal=subject
tree)
'The house was hit by a falling tree.'
3.2.1.2 THE ADDITION OF AGENT

For one place nonagentive verbs which indicate some state of destruction which could have been brought about by the act of an agent, such as rusak 'broken', suwèk 'torn', peakah 'shattered', an agent may be added forming a two place transitive verb provided that the patient is not animate. The derived verb means that an agent destroyed a patient, bringing it into the state indicated by the nonagentive form.

The forms of the derived two place transitives are identical to other two place transitives: N- indicates that the agent is subject, di- that the patient is subject:

Kursiné (kursi-(n)é) rusak.
(chair-definite broken)
'The chair is broken.'

Pak Kerta ng-rusak kursi.
(Mr. Kerta break-agent=subject-patient=complement chair)
'Mr. Kerta broke a chair.'

Kursiné (kursi-(n)é) di-rusak Pak Kerta.
(chair-definite break-patient=subject
Mr. Kerta)
'Mr. Kerta broke the chair.' (lit. 'The chair was broken by Mr. Kerta.')

The addition of N- to a one place nonagentive describing a goal forms a verb meaning that an agent-object went to a goal having that characteristic:

Pak Kerta ng-śuyup āna ngêmèpèr.
(Mr. Kerta shade-agent=subject at porch)
'The porch was shaded from the sun.'

The root śuyuf means 'shady'. Another example is:

Anggoné n-delik meteng (N-peteng).
(Nominalizer hide dark-agent=subject)
'When he hid he did so in a dark place.'

The root peteng means 'dark'.

3.2.1.3 THE ADDITION OF BENEFATIVE

Some one place nonagentives imply a benefactive, that is, someone affected by the fact that the patient is in the state in question. These have a form ke- -en indicating the effect of the condition on the patient:

Sambèl tku pedhes.
(chili-sauce that hot)
'That chili sauce is hot.'

Wahyu ke-pedhes-en.
(name-of-person hot-benefactive=subject)
'Wahyu is affected by the hotness (of something he just ate).'</p>

This ke- -en form should not be confused with the involitive form ke- -an described in Chapter 4. Although there are semantic similarities, the forms are distinct and not interchangeable. There is another ke- -en form applied to clearly adjectival types of nonagentives to indicate degree. This is described in Chapter 6.

One place nonagentives implying a benefactive can add an agentive benefactive that is someone who intentionally exposes himself to things having the condition named by the nonagentive base, by means of reduplication:

Wiwik dhemen pe-pedhes.
(name like hot/highly-seasoned-agent=benefactive=subject)
'Wiwik likes to eat highly seasoned food.'

Wahyu pe-panas āna sawah.
(name hot (temperature)-agent=benefactive=subject at rice-field)
'Wahyu is sunning himself in the rice field.'

3.2.1.4 CHANGING ROLE RELATIONSHIPS TO FORM INTRANSITIVE VERBS

A number of one place nonagentives have derived intransitive forms. These involve adding the role of agent to the subject. All nonagentives which can undergo this derivation are affixed in their basic form. The derived forms add N-. The meaning of the resulting form is 'pretend to be' or 'try to be in the state in question': for example, ngesel 'pretend to be tired' from kessel 'tired', nyèlèk 'pretend to be ugly' from élèk 'ugly'.

A few one place nonagentives add -um- to form a verb meaning 'pretend to be...', act like one is..., for example, dhumuwur 'pretend to be of high status' from dhuwur 'tall, high', sumugh 'pretend to be rich' from sugih 'rich'. Although normally in Javanese the morphophonemics of a particular affix or morphological process applies across the board regardless of its meaning or the word class to which it is applied, in the case of -um- this is not true. The morphophonemics of the -um- applied to adjectives are quite different from those of the -um- applied to motion verbs. In the case of adjectives if the root begins in /l/ or a vowel, a prefix kum- (or kem- in informal speech) is added, as in kemayap 'act as though one thought she were beautiful' from ayu 'beautiful' kemlanda 'pretend to be Dutch, act like a Dutchman' from Landa 'Dutchman'.
No adjectives consisting of one syllable roots which take -um- have been found, so it cannot be stated how they would be affected. However, in addition to the variation in the form applied to roots beginning in /l/ or a vowel, for roots beginning in a bilabial stop, this stop is replaced by a velar stop when the infix is added to the root, as in gemagus 'pretend to be handsome, act as though one thought he were handsome' from bagus 'handsome', and kamerix 'act as though one were smart, clever, pretend to be smart, clever' from pinter 'smart, clever'.

3.2.2 DERIVATIONS APPLIED TO TWO PLACE NONAGENTIVES

Derivations applied to two place non-agentives include the addition of goal or referent (3.2.2.1), and changing role relationships to form intransitive verbs (3.2.2.2).

3.2.2.1 THE ADDITION OF GOAL OR REFERENT

Most experiential verbs have -i forms that treat the referent as complement in the active, and as subject in the passive:

Pak Kerta neesoi (N-nesu-(n)i) bojoné (bojo-(n)i).
(Mr. Kerta angry-patient=subject-referent=complement spouse-definite)
'Mr. Kerta is angry at his wife.'

Mbok Kerta lagi dinesoi (di-nesu-(n)i) sing lamong.
(Mrs. Kerta in-the-process angry-referent=subject the-one-which male)
'Mrs. Kerta has her husband angry at her.'

Pak Kerta nyenengi (N-nyeneng-i) Inem.
(Mr. Kerta like-patient=subject-referent=complement name)
'Mr. Kerta likes Inem.'

Inem di-nyeneng-i Pak Kerta.
(name like-referent=subject Mr. Kerta)
'Inem is liked by Mr. Kerta.'

Locational verbs have -i forms that treat source or goal as complement of the active and subject of the passive. In these derived forms the object also has the additional role of agent:

Yanta nge-doh-i Pak Kerta.
(name far-object=agent=complement Mr. Kerta)
'Yanta is avoiding Mr. Kerta.'

Pak Kerta di-doh-i Yanta.
(Mr. Kerta far-source=subject Yanta)
'Mr. Kerta is being avoided by Yanta.'

Pak Kerta n-kijé-jé Pak Marta.
(Mr. Kerta next-to-object=agent=subject-goal=complement Mr. Marta)
'Mr. Kerta took his place next to Mr. Marta.'

Pak Marta di-jé-jé-jé Pak Kerta.
(Mr. name next-to-goal=subject Mr. name)
'Mr. Marta was sat/stood next to by Mr. Kerta.'

3.2.2.2 CHANGING ROLE RELATIONSHIPS TO FORM INTRANSITIVE VERBS

A number of two place nonagentives, like one place nonagentives, have intransitive forms. As in the case of the one place nonagentives, these involve adding the role of agent to the subject. The derived forms add N-. The two place nonagentives which take this derivation are of the kind which indicate spacial or distance relationships. The resulting form means to move oneself or put oneself in the position indicated:

Tokoné (toko-(n)é) adoh saka kéné.
(store-definite far from here)
'The store is far from here.'

Boca-boca wis padha ng-adoh saka papan mau.
(child-plural already plural far-agent=object=subject from place earlier)
'The children have already gone away from that place.'

3.2.3 DERIVATIONS APPLIED TO INTRANSITIVES

Derivations applied to intransitives include the addition of referent or goal (3.2.3.1), and the addition of goal and object to expulsion verbs (3.2.3.2). Verbs meaning 'to speak', which form a special subclass of expulsion verbs, have a number of derivations (3.2.3.3). Finally motion verbs have derived conveyance forms involving changing role relationships (3.2.3.4).

3.2.3.1 THE ADDITION OF GOAL OR REFERENT

Motion and expulsion verbs can take -i forms to treat their goal or referent as complement. Some motion verbs take these forms to treat their source or range as complement. With the underived form, goal, range, referent, or source need not be mentioned, or if mentioned usually must be preceded by a preposition. N- -i indicates that the agent is subject, di- -i
indicates that the complement of the active form is subject:

Wahyu ngejoni (N-ju-(n)i) Hadi.  
(name advance-agent=subject-goal=  
complement name)  
'Wahyu went toward Hadi.'

Hadi dífoni (di-ju-(n)i) Wahyu.  
(name approach-goal=subject name)  
'Hadi was approached by Wahyu.'

Wahyu ng-lungguh-i bantal.  
(name sit-agent=subject-goal=comple- 
ment pillow)  
'Wahyu sat on a pillow.'

Bantal-é di-lungguh-i Wahyu.  
(pillow-definite sit-goal=subject name)  
'The pillow was sat on by Wahyu.'

Wiwik nisèn (N-sisè-(n)i) kacu.  
(name blow-nose-agent=subject-goal=  
complement handkerchief)  
'Wiwik blew her nose into a handker-
chief.'

Kacuú (kacu-(n)i) dísènii Wiwik.  
(handkerchief-definite blow-nose- 
goal=subject name)  
'The handkerchief was used by Wiwik 
to blow her nose.'

3.2.3.2 THREE PLACE TRANSITIVES FROM EXPULSION VERBS

As just described and illustrated in 3.2.3.1, expulsion as well as motion verbs can add -i to form a transitive verb with goal as complement. Expulsion verbs for which it is possible to name the object can also add -aké to treat the body product, which is not named with the basic form, as a conveyed object:

Wiwik nisèkkaké (N-sisè-(k)aké)  
umbëi-s.  
(name blow-nose-agent=subject-object=  
complement nasal-mucus-definite)  
'Wiwik blew the mucus out of her  
nose.'

The resulting -i forms and -aké forms  
produce a three place transitive paradigm.

3.2.3.3 BASIC AND DERIVED FORMS OF VERBS MEANING 'TO SPEAK'

As mentioned above, verbs meaning 'to speak' are basically intransitive verbs of the expulsion subclass. However, the act of speech is semantically complex. For one thing, what is actually "expelled" or produced by the agent-source is sound waves. These convey a message about a referent. Also speaking is usual-ly directed toward a human goal, who may  
or may not be involved in the act. If he  
or she is, the action is then reciprocal.  

Javanese, like most languages, has  
several distinct lexical items focusing on 

different aspects of the act of speech.  
These include, with approximate transla-

tions, omong 'talk, speak', kandha 'say,  
tell', orita 'tell, tell a story', guneman  
talk (together)', rembugan 'discuss (to-
gether)'.

Most Javanese verbs meaning 'to speak' 
regardless of their translations, have un-
affixed forms which act as intransitive  
verbs. These forms may take adjuncts, usu-
ally preceded by a preposition, which ref-
to the goal (or concomitant if the action  
is reciprocal), or to the referent. Some  
examples follow:

Dhèwèké omong karo aku.  
(third-person-pronoun talk with  
first-person-pronoun)  
'He talked with me.'

Pak Kerta kandha marang Pak Marta.  
(Mr. name say to Mr. name)  
'Mr. Kerta told Mr. Marta.'

Dhèwèké omong bab larané (lara-(n)i)  
adik-é.  
(third-person-pronoun talk about  
ilness-definite younger-sibling- 
definite)  
'He talked about his younger broth-
er's illness.'

Pak Kerta orita babad Majapait.  
(Mr. name tell historical-story name-
of-old-Javanese-kingdom)  
'Mr. Kerta told the story of Majapait.

Most of these verbs have reciprocal forms  
as well. A few verbs meaning 'speak' or  
the like have reciprocal forms but no in-
transitive forms. For example guneman  
'talk (together)', rembugan 'discuss (to-
gether)'. Reciprocal forms are discussed  
in Chapter 6. Speaking verbs which do have  
intransitive forms seem always to have de-
\n
Ninik ng-omong-aké yên adik-é lara.  
(name talk-agent=subject-referent=  
object=complement that younger-sib-
lings-definite sick)  
'Ninik said that her younger brother  
is sick.'

Ninik ng-omong-i Sigit ora kena do-
lan nêng dalan.  
(name talk-agent=subject-goal=comple-
ment name not permitted play in  
street)  
'Ninik told Sigit he's not allowed to  
play in the street.'

Pak Kerta ngandhakaké (N-kandha-(k)  
aké) letakon-d.  
(Mr. name say-agent=subject-referent=  

object=complement activity-definite)
'Mr. Kerta told about what he did.'

Pak Kerta ngandhani (N-kandha-(n)i) Pak Marta.
(Mr. name say-agent=subject-goal= complement Mr. name)
'Mr. Kerta told Mr. Marta.'

Pak Kerta nyritakaké (N-oirita-(k)aké) babad Majapait.
(Mr. name tell-agent=subject-referent=object=complement historical-stor­ry name-of-old-Javanese-kingdom)
'Mr. Kerta told the story of Majapait.'

Pak Kerta nyritani (N-oirita-(n)i) Pak Marta.
(Mr. name tell-agent=subject-goal= complement Mr. name)
'Mr. Kerta told Mr. Marta (a story).'

Many of these verbs also have two place transitive forms which treat the referent as patient. In all cases, however, the referent must be human and the connotation is usually that what was said was negative:

Pak Kerta nyrita (N-oirita) Pak Marta.
(Mr. name tell-agent=subject-patient= complement Mr. name)
'Mr. Kerta talked about Mr. Marta.'

Pak Kerta ngandha (N-kanaha) Pak Marta.
(Mr. name say-agent=subject-patient= complement Mr. name)
'Mr. Kerta gossiped about Mr. Marta.'

Some verbs which do not have intrasitive forms also have two place transitive forms which treat the referent as patient:

Pak Kerta ng-uaap tanggané (tanga­na-(n)é).
(Mr. name pronounce-agent=subject-patient= complement neighbor-definite)
'Mr. Kerta talked about his neighbor.'

For speaking verbs that do not have intrasitive forms the two place transitives may be the basic form. If this is the case then there may be -aké forms indicating a benef­active (3.2.4.2) and -i forms indicating a plural patient (see Chapter 6). An ex­ample is the verb ng-rembug 'discuss':

Bapak arep ng-rembug-aké sawah-é
Pak Krama.
(father will discuss-agent=subject-benefactive ricefield-definite Mr. name)
'Father is going to discuss Mr. Krama's ricefield (with someone) for him.'

Bapak lagi ng-rembug-i bab werna-werna.
(father in-the-process discuss-agent= subject-patient=plural matter various)
'Father is discussing various things.'

In other cases it is difficult to determine what the basic form is. -uaap 'pronounce' has -aké forms treating the referent as object, but the meaning of the -i forms is idiomatic. 'threaten, curse':

Pak Kerta ng-uaap-aké prasetya.
(Mr. name pronounce-agent=subject-referent=object=complement promise)
'Mr. Kerta made a promise.'

Pak Kerta ng-uaap-i Pak Marta.
(Mr. name pronounce-agent=subject-goal=complement Mr. name)
'Mr. Kerta threatened Mr. Marta.'

Some other verbs meaning 'speak' have -i forms which at least optionally mean 'give advice to':

Inem nyaturi (N-oatur-i) Yanta,
(Inem say-agent=subject-goal=complement Yanta)
'Inem gave advice to Yanta.'

3.2.3.4 CONVEYANCE VERBS FROM MOTION VERBS

There are a few motion verbs which can become two place transitive. As men­tioned in Chapter 2 and earlier in this chapter, motion verbs may be either unaffixed or have a prefix m- or be prenasal­ized in their basic form, and there is no semantic difference between the various forms. Examples of motion verbs having each of the three basic forms with their derived two place transitives follow:

Sepur iku arep mandheg ana ing stasiun Tugu.
(train that will stop located at station name-of-train-station)
'That train will stop at Tugu Sta­tion.'

Pak Kerta ng-endheg Pak Marta.
(Mr. name stop-agent=subject-patient= complement Mr. name)
'Mr. Kerta stopped Mr. Marta.'

Pak Kerta pindah menyang Pogung.
(Mr. name move to name-of-place)
'Mr. Kerta moved to Pogung.'

Pak Kerta minlah (N-pindah) méja.
(Mr. name move-agent=subject-patient= complement table)
'Mr. Kerta moved the table.'

Wong iku durung ng-alih saja kéné.
(person that not-yet move from here)
'That person hasn't moved from here yet.'

Anggit nge-lih cangkir.
(name move-agent=subject-patient= complement cup)
'Anggit moved a cup.'

Some motion verbs have derived three
place transitive paradigms. As would be expected, the -aké pair focuses on the role of the object, while the -t pair focuses on the role of the goal:

Pak Kerta m-lebu ng-omah.
(Mr. name enter locative-house)
'Mr. Kerta entered the house.'

Pak Kerta ngleboni (N-lebu-(n)i)
dhwit aëlëngan-ë.
(Mr. name enter-agent=subject-goal= complement money clay-animal-bank- definite)
'Mr. Kerta put some money in his clay animal bank.'

Cëlëngan-ë dileboni (di-lebu-(n)i)
dhwit Pak Kerta.
(clay-animal-bank-definite enter- goal=subject money Mr. name)
'The clay animal bank is the place where Mr. Kerta put some money.'

Pak Kerta nglebokaké (N-lebu-(k)aké)
dhwit ing aëlëngan.
(Mr. name enter-agent=subject-object= complement money in clay-animal-bank)
'Mr. Kerta put some money in a clay animal bank.'

Dhwit-ë dilebokaké (di-lebu-(k)aké)
ëlëngan Pak Kerta.
(money-definite enter-object=subject clay-animal-bank Mr. name)
'The money was put in a clay animal bank by Mr. Kerta.'

In most of these cases there are also -i forms meaning that an agent as object went to a goal (3.2.3.1). Though not many motion verbs have all the derived three place transitive forms, most have the -aké forms meaning that an agent as source or vehicle moved an object to a goal. Whether a particular motion verb takes the -aké forms, like nglebokaké, or forms a two place transitive like ngelik 'move' to express conveyance appears to be entirely arbitrary.

3.2.4 DERIVATIONS APPLIED TO TRANSITIVES

Derivations applied to transitive include reduction (3.2.4.1), the addition of a benefactive (3.2.4.2), the formation of double transitives (3.2.4.3), and the formation of double transitives with change in role relationships (3.2.4.4).

3.2.4.1 REDUCTION

Most transitive verbs have doubled or reduplicated unprenasalized forms or both. These have several uses. In some cases it is difficult to distinguish them from their prenasalized counterparts (see 6.1.1). However, the unprenasalized forms have two prevailing uses which the others do not: they refer to an uncompleted action which the agent is involved in over a period of time, or to an activity which he performs habitually. In both cases no patient is specified. In the former case, the verb may or may not be preceded by lagi 'in the process'. In the latter case, the verb is preceded by a word such as pintir 'clever at' or dhemen 'like to' or the like:

Pak Kerta bakar-bakar ana kebon.
(Mr. name burn-generalized at garden)
'Mr. Kerta is burning some things in the garden.'

Inem umbah-umbah ana sumur.
(name wash-generalized at well)
'Inem is washing (clothes) by the well.'

Wwik lagi le-lempit.
(name in-the-process fold-generalized)
'Wwik is busy folding things.'

Pak Kerta pintir anyang-anyang.
(Mr. name clever bargain-generalized)
'Mr. Kerta is good at bargaining.'

Yanta iku demen de-demok.
(name that like touch-generalized)
'Yanta likes to touch things' or 'Yanta is always touching things.'

Sometimes these forms occur with a complement, though it is always indefinite:

Pak Kerta lagi buang-buang wuwh.
(Mr. name in-the-process throw-away- generalized garbage)
'Mr. Kerta is throwing away garbage.'

Inem iris-iris twak ana pawon.
(name cut-up-generalized meat at kitchen)
'Inem is cutting up meat in the kitchen.'

Pak Kerta di-kon se-sigar (kayu).
(Mr. name order-patient=subject split-generalized (wood))
'Mr. Kerta was ordered to do some splitting/to split some wood.'

Pak Kerta lagi te-tutup (lawang).
(Mr. name in-the-process close- generalized (door))
'Mr. Kerta is closing up/(closing doors).

In some cases the doubled form may occur with a complement but the reduplicated form may not:

Pak Kerta kirim-kirim (layang).
(Mr. name send-generalized (letter))
'Mr. Kerta keeps sending things/
(letters).'
Pak Kerta lagi ke-kirim.
(mr. name in-the-process send-generalized)
'Mr. Kerta is sending off some things.'

but not

*Pak Kerta ke-kirim layang.

Whether or not a complement can occur, there is no passive equivalent to any of these unprenasalized doubled or reduplicated forms from transitive verb bases. The process of forming these verb forms is called regressive. Notice the unprenasalized doubled or reduplicated forms only treat one participant, the agent, as significant while the transitive bases from which they are derived treat two participants as significant. That is, while the basic forms require the mention of or imply an already identified patient, the unprenasalized doubled and reduplicated forms do not require the mention of a patient, and if one is not mentioned no specific patient is implied.

Aside from the fact that for some verbs a complement is allowed with the doubled form but not with the reduplicated form, there does not seem to be any difference in meaning between the two, although there are other uses of doubling and reduplication which are not interchangeable (5.3, 6.1.1). In general, both doubled and reduplicated forms of a verb may occur, although for roots beginning in a nasal reduplication is not possible as explained in 2.1.1. For some verbs, one of the forms, usually the reduplicated one, has an idiomatic meaning and therefore does not occur with the generalized meaning. For example, bebuang from -buang 'throw away' means 'defecate' and therefore never replaces buang-buang.

3.2.4.3 THE FORMATION OF DOUBLE TRANSITIVES

Many simple transitives have at least partial double transitive paradigms. Those for which the double transitive paradigm is complete may be divided into (1) those for which the patient is the object, (2) those for which the patient is the goal, (3) those for which the patient is the referent, and (4) those which involve movement of an object toward a goal or away from a source or reciprocal motion on the part of two objects either toward or away from each other. In the latter case, the simple transitives do not specify whether the patient is the object, the goal, or source.

If the patient is the object, the meaning of the simple transitive forms and that of the -aké pair of the double transitive forms may be nearly identical except that the latter focus on the object role of the patient-object, that is on the fact that it is moving toward the goal. It is difficult to convey this difference with an English translation. Examples follow:

Sapa sing nyélèh (N-sélèh) gelas nèng méjá mau?
(who the-one-which put-agent=subject-patient=complement glass on table earlier)
'Who put that glass on the table?'

Sapa sing nyélèhaké (N-sélèh-aké) gelas nèng méjá mau?
(who the-one-which put-agent=subject-object=complement glass on table earlier)
'Who put that glass down on the table?'

Often with the -aké forms it is necessary to mention the goal as well, whereas with the simple transitive forms it is not:

Wiwik nyèndhok (N-sèndhok) sega.
(name spoon-out-agent=subject-patient=}

3
complement rice)
'Wiwik dished out some rice,' or
'Wiwik picked up some rice (with a
spoon).'

Wiwik nyëndhokakë (N-sëndhok-akë)
ëega ling piingë-Ninik.
(name spoon-out-agent=subject-object= complement rice in plate-definite
name)
'Wiwik dished out some rice into
Ninik's plate.'

Where the patient is object, the -i forms
treat the goal as complement of the active
and subject of the passive:

Nggon kopi mau di-sëllëh-i apa ta?
(place coffee earlier put-goal=subject
what question)
'What was put in the coffee?'

Piëning-Ninik di-sëndhok-i gulë
Wiwik.
(plate-definite name spoon-goal=subject
Indonesian-lamb-curry name)
'Ninik's plate is the place where
Wiwik dished out some gulë,' (or more
idiomatically 'Wiwik dished out some
gulë into Ninik's plate."

In some instances where the patient is the
object there is some idiomatic difference
in meaning between two or more of the
three pairs of forms involved. For example,
ninggal (N-tinggal) 'leave behind'
involves a concrete object such as a per-
son or thing, while ninggalakë (N-tinggal-
akë) involves a semi-abstract object such
as a job, and implies that the agent will
come back to it later. Ng-gawa means
simply 'carry', where the goal may be ir-
relevant, while nggawakakë (N-gawa-(k)akë)
means 'give something to someone.'

If the patient of the simple transi-
tive is the goal, the meaning of these
forms and the -i forms of the double tran-
sitives may be nearly the same, except
that the latter forms focus on the goal
role of the patient-goal, that is the fact
that the patient-goal was the place where
the action ended up rather than the fact
that the patient-goal was the entity af-
fected. Again it is difficult to convey
this distinction in an English translation.
Examples are:

Pak Kerta nyoërot (N-sorot) maling.
(Nr. name shine-agent=subject-
patient=complement thief)
'Mr. Kerta shone a light on the thief.'

Pak Kerta nyoërot (N-sorot-i) maling.
(Nr. name shine-agent=subject-goal=
complement thief)
'Mr. Kerta shone a light at the thief.'

In this case the -akë forms take the ob-
ject-tool as complement of the active
and subject of the passive:

Pak Kerta nyoërotakë (N-sorot-akë)
sentolop.

If a verb indicates bringing two ob-
jects into a mutual relationship or remov-
ing them from a relationship which could
be interpreted as reciprocal, the simple
transitive forms do not indicate whether
the participant treated as patient is the
object or the source or goal. The -i forms
make the source or goal complement of the
active and subject of the passive, and the
-akë forms make the object complement of
the active and subject of the passive:

Pak Kerta nyambung (N-sambung) tali.
(Nr. name connect-agent=subject-
patient=complement string)
'Mr. Kerta connected the pieces
of string.'

Pak Kerta nyambungi (N-sambung-i) tali.
(Nr. name connect-agent=subject-goal=
complement string)
'Mr. Kerta added (something) to the
string (to make it longer).'

Pak Kerta nyambungakë (N-sambung-akë)
tali.
(Nr. name connect-agent=subject-ob-
ject=complement string)
'Mr. Kerta used the string to make
(something) longer.'

Many simple transitives have partial
double transitive paradigms, that is with
either -akë forms or -i forms but not both.7
One might expect that two place transitives
with object as patient would have only -i
forms in order to focus on the goal, and
that two place transitives with goal as
patient would have only -akë forms in order
to focus on the object, but this is not al-
ways the case.

I first discuss simple transitives
with -akë forms and no -i forms. Of these
the greatest number do in fact refer to an
event that involves an agent as source or
vehicle and a patient as goal. There is
either an object as tool involved, or a
part of the body of the agent is treated
as such:

Ken Angrok nyuduk (N-suduk) Tunggul
Ametung.
(name stab-agent=subject-patient=
complement name)
'Ken Angrok stabbed Tunggul Ametung.'

Ken Angrok nyudukakë (N-suduk-akë)
keris marang Tunggul Ametung.
(name stab-agent=object=complement
dagger to name)
'Ken Angrok stabbed a keris into Tung-
gul Ametung.'

Wahyu midak (N-pidak) telëk.
(name step-agent=subject-patient=
complement chicken-droppings)
'Wahyu stepped in chicken droppings.'
Wahyu midakaké (N-pidak-aké) sikil-é ana peserën.  
(name step-agent=subject-object=complement foot-definite at drain)  
'Wahyu stamped his foot on the drain.'

With some of these verbs it is possible to form the -aké forms to describe an agent as source or vehicle moving an object-tool in the appropriate manner or direction without implying any patient-goal:

Manis nyarakarake (N-okar-aké) kukune (kuku-(n)ê).  
(name-of-cat scratch-agent=subject-object=complement claw-definite)  
'Manis stretched out her claws.'

Pak Kerta nyebiakaké (N-seblak-aké) sarung-ê.  
(Mr. name best-agent=subject-object=complement man's-tubular-skirt-definite)  
'Mr. Kerta shook out his sarung.'

There are some cases of simple transitive verbs with an object as patient which have -aké forms and no -i forms. The basic forms of these verbs emphasize the patient role of the patient-object whereas the -aké forms emphasize the object role. The latter forms usually require that the goal be mentioned as well:

Asuné (asun-(n)ê) Darlan galak banget, mulané banjir di-ranté.  
(dog-definite name vicious very therefore then chain-up-patient=subject)  
'Darlan's dog is very vicious so it had to be chained up.'

Munyuk iku direntèkaké (di-ranté-kaké) ana ing n'it kranwil.  
(monkey that chain-up-object=subject located at tree coconut)  
'That monkey was chained to a coconut tree.'

Some simple transitive verbs involve patients that might be either object or goal depending on how the action is performed. These verbs often have -aké forms which specify that the patient is in fact an object applied to a tool-goal. Usually the tool-goal must also be mentioned:

Pak Kerta ng-asah péso.  
(Mr. name sha- pen-agent=subject-patient=complement knife)  
'Mr. Kerta sharpened a knife.'

Pak Kerta ng-asah-aké péséno (péseno-(n)ê) ana watu.  
(Mr. name sharpen-agent=subject-object=complement knife-definite at stone)  
'Mr. Kerta sharpened his knife on a stone.'

I next discuss simple transitives with only -i forms. Many acquisition verbs for which the source cannot be interpreted as having an agentive role are of this type. The -i forms focus on the source. Often there is only a di--i form and no N--i form in this case:

Ngon-ê Pak Krama di-maling-i.  
(place-definite Mr. name rob-source=subject)  
'Mr. Krama's place was robbed.'

Some simple transitive verbs may potentially describe two events. The events are: an action by an agent as source or vehicle on a patient-goal which results in that patient-goal moving, thus becoming an object. Some of these verbs have only simple transitive forms and -i forms. In this case the basic forms concentrate on the action by the agent as source or vehicle on the patient-goal. The -i forms concentrate on the second event and focus on the final goal. With the -i forms the patient-goal of the first event which has become object may not even be mentioned, but the final goal must be:

Inem meresi (N-peresi) klapa.  
(name squeeze-agent=subject-patient=complement coconut)  
'Inem squeezed the (grated) coconut (to get the coconut milk from it).'  

Inem meresi (N-peresi) jangan.  
(name squeeze-agent=subject-goal=complement vegetable-dish)  
'Inem squeezed the (coconut milk) into the vegetable dish.'

As mentioned above, some simple transitive verbs treat as patients participants which are in fact referents. Of these, some have -i forms which focus on the goal

Yanta ng-lamar gawéan.  
(name apply-agent=subject-referent=complement work)  
'Yanta applied for work.'

Kantor Transmigrasi di-lamar-i gawéan Yanta.  
(office transmigration apply-goal=subject work name)  
'Yanta applied for a job at the transmigration office.'

There are some cases of simple transitive verbs which have both -i and -aké forms, but the -aké forms involve a causative meaning, to be discussed in Chapter 5. Only the -i forms are relevant here. Of these verbs, some involve an agent or object moving toward a patient or goal either literally or figuratively and the action may or may not be reciprocal. In this case the basic forms focus on the patient role of the patient-goal and the -i forms focus on the goal role. As in other cases where the various forms focus on different roles
of the same participant, it is difficult to convey the difference in meaning by an English translation:

Wahyu mènëk (N-pènëk) pâger.
(name climb-agent=subject-patient=complement fence)
'Wahyu climbed the fence.'

Wahyu mènëk (N-pènëk-i) pâger:
(name climb-agent=subject-goal=complement fence)
'Wahyu climbed onto/on the fence.'

3.2.4.4 THE FORMATION OF DOUBLE TRANSITIVES WITH CHANGE IN ROLE RELATIONSHIP

Acquisition verbs which imply a human source that might also be interpreted as agentive can take double transitive forms treating the source rather than the goal as agentive. In the derived forms, those with -aké focus on the object while those with -i focus on the goal:

Sigît nyîlih (N-silîh) potëlôt (saka Ninîk).
(name borrow-agent=subject-patient=complement pencil from name)
'Sigît borrowed a pencil (from Ninîk),'

Ninîk nyîliha'ké (N-silîh-aké) potëlôt-é (menyang Sigît).
(name lend-agent=subject-object=complement pencil-definite to name)
'Ninîk lent her pencil to Sigît.'

3.2.5 DERIVATIONS APPLIED TO DOUBLE TRANSITIVES

The only derivation which double transitives can undergo is reduction. As for simple transitives (3.2.4.1), reduction of double transitives is formed by reduplication of the root. Corresponding doubled forms, however, seem not to occur for double transitive bases. Examples of reduced forms of double transitives are:

Yanta le-ladî ana nggonë Pak Kerta.
(name serve-generalized at place-definite Mr. name)
'Yanta is serving (at a celebration) at Mr. Kerta's place.'

Inem iku ora tau we-wënëh.
(name that not ever give-generalized)
'Inem never gives anything to anyone.'

The main points of 3.2 are summarized in the chart on the following page. It should be noted, however, that what is given are only examples of the various kinds of semantic changes. By no means are all the forms which can be involved in these changes listed.

CHART II: VERB DERIVATIONS INVOLVING ROLE CHANGES

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<th>DERIVED FORMS</th>
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<td>Nonagentive</td>
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<tr>
<td>ONE PLACE NON-AGENTIVES</td>
<td>- addition of benefactive: ke-pedhes-en 'be affected by hot spiciness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- addition of agentive benefactive: pe-pedhes 'eat hot spicy food'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BASIC FORM</td>
<td>DERIVED FORMS</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Nonagentive</td>
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<tr>
<td>TWO PLACE NON-AGENTIVES</td>
<td>- addition of agent role to subject.</td>
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<td>ng-adoh</td>
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<td>'go far from'</td>
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<td>DOUBLE TRANSITIVES</td>
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3.2.6 DERIVATION IN RELATION TO EVENTS AND STATES

Derivations which change verbs describing events into ones describing states and vice versa in fact often involve changing role relationships. Derivations from states to events usually involve either the addition of a participant with the role of agent or force or the addition of the agent role to the patient or object described by the static verb. Since most static verbs are non-agentive and most event verbs are agentive, derivations changing static verbs to action verbs also usually change a nonagentive verb to an agentive one. Examples of static verbs changed to event verbs by the addition of a participant with the agent role were given in 3.2.1.2. Examples of static verbs changed to event verbs by the addition of the agent role to the patient or object were given in 3.2.1.4. Derivations changing static verbs to event verbs by the addition of a participant with the role force are considered causative. These are discussed in Chapter 5.

There is one derivation forming an event verb from a static verb which does not involve the addition of a participant or the changing of role relationships. -NA may be added to one place nonagentive bases describing temporary or permanent state. The resulting form means that the state is in the process of becoming more serious. The patient, which is the only participant, is subject, and there is no passive form:

Sirah-á m-bonyok-ti.
(head-definite wounded/infected-become-continuative)
'His head is becoming more and more wounded and infected.'

In derivations from events to states, the agent is usually eliminated from the role frame of the event verb. This will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

Notes

1. The preposed pronominals are dak- or tak- indicating first person agent, kok- or mbok- indicating second person agent, and di- indicating either third person agent or used when the person of the agent is unspecified. There are also two archaic forms, -in- and ka-, which are still used in formal speech instead of di- when the person of the agent is unspecified. Henceforth I shall refer to all preposed personal forms as simply the di- form without further explanation.

2. The formal-informal distinction is distinct from the speech levels which I describe in Chapter 8. All the forms cited here are Ngboko, the low level. Formal Ngboko is used in public speaking or in writing when the relationship between speaker and audience is such that Krama would be inappropriate or when the speaker wants to create an impression of comradeliness.

3. I use the symbol NA for prenasalization. This consists of prefixing a homorganic nasal before voiced stops, as in m-bakar 'roast', n-deleng 'look at', ng-gamar 'draw a picture'; nasal suppletion of voiceless stops, /s/, and /w/, as in m-lilh from p-lilh 'choose', n-tonton from tonton 'watch', ng-arang from -karang 'compose', m-lilh from s-lilh 'borrow'; the prefix ng- before vowels, /r/, and /l/, as in ng-uleg 'grind', ng-rungo-kaké from -runu- 'listen to', and ng-lakoko-kaké from -laku 'carry out'; and the prefix ngo- before all one syllable roots, as in rge-pel 'grop' from -pel. In the examples where it is not possible to show morpheme boundaries by hyphens due to nasal suppletion or vowel elision, I show the morpheme structure in parentheses.

4. The form of -aké which is optative in Central Java, i.e. -né, is used with both optative and indicative meanings in Western East Java, including Madura and Ponorogo, and the form which is imperative in Central Java, i.e. -m, is used further east, particularly in Surabaya, for all three meanings. Indicative, imperative and optative seem still to be distinguished, however, in unsuffixed and -i suffixed verbs.

5. The /w/ of -um- is often reduced to schwa in informal speech, regardless of the morphophonemic variant involved.

6. The root is apparently -1ih. The intransitive form contains the prefix a- while the transitive forms do not. Note that with mändheg also, which involves m- an a- has been added while with the transitive form ngendheg there is no a-. It is apparently usual that intransitive verbs with one syllable roots take a- even if they also have m- or prenasalization. The a- is dropped, however, in derived forms.

7. Nearly all simple transitives have -aké benefactive forms, which were described in 3.242, and -i continuative or repetitive forms, which will be described in Chapter 6; but this is a different matter.
CHAPTER 4
THE CONCEPT OF INVOLITIVE

4.0 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

There are two verb forms in Javanese, one formed by adding the prefix ke- to a verb root, the other by adding ke- -an, which were described by Berg as the 'accidental passive' forms. The exact meaning of these forms varies somewhat, depending on the root involved, but in general they describe what happens to a participant without reference to an agent, or suggest that the event was involitive or that the inclusion of the participant in question was an accident. For this reason I call them INVOLITIVE.

The concept of involitive as opposed to volitive or intentional is very important in Austronesian languages and Javanese is no exception. Though the formal paradigms to express the concept are not as extensive or consistent as they are in Philippine languages, for example, the concept is nevertheless basic. When involitive forms of agentive verbs are not used, the implication is always that an agent or volitive actor is involved. Thus when Javanese speakers learn English, they find sentences such as 'I cut my hand', 'I broke the glass', 'I tore my dress' ludicrous, for in the absence of an explicit involitive form they assume the action described to be deliberate.

In 4.1 of this chapter, I discuss the prefix ke-. In 4.2 I discuss the circumfix ke- -an. In addition to ke- and ke- -an, there is a totally unproductive fossilized form kep(e) - which occurs in half a dozen words and belongs both semantically and historically to the same group. I mention it briefly in 4.3.

Although it is historically unrelated to the forms with ke-, -akè applied to a certain class of verbs also have involitive meaning. I discuss this in 4.4.

The agent is usually not mentioned but if it is, it is preceded by dening 'by'. The orientation role of the patient is the same as in the basic form, that is, for separation verbs it is object, for approach verbs it is goal, for referential verbs the entity treated as patient is, in fact, referent, and for acquisition verbs it is object. Examples of accidental forms from the various sorts of simple transitive bases follow:

Dolanan-e Singgih katut ke-buwang.
(toy-definite name be-included throwaway-patient=subject-accidental)
'Singgih's toy got accidentally thrown away along with some other things.'

Tangan-e ke-belèh.
(hand-definite cut-patient=subject-accidental)
'His hand got accidentally cut.'

Utang-ku ana sing durung ke-bayar.
(debt-my exist which not-yet pay-patient=subject-accidental)
'I haven't had a chance to pay all my debts yet.'

Klambi-ku sing kèri durung bisa ke-jupuk.
(clothes-my which left-behind not-yet be-able get-patient=subject-accidental)
'I haven't had a chance to get my clothes which were left behind yet.'

Some uses of involitive forms, such as in the third and fourth sentences above, do not sound particularly involitive in translation. English speakers would assume that if someone hasn't paid his debts or picked up his clothes it is the fault of the would-be agent. The Javanese, however, consider not having got around to something an act of fate, and therefore, from their viewpoint, involitive. This interpretation is common not only in Javanese but in most Indonesian and Philippine languages.

A few simple transitives do not seem to have involitive forms, possibly because it is inconceivable that the action they describe could be performed accidentally: ng-anyang 'bargain', ng-asah 'sharpen (a knife)', ng-adang 'steam rice'. There are also a few ke- forms the bases of which are not simple transitives. Most of these identify an object which moved without initiating the action, where the base

1.1 THE PREFIX ke-

In the large majority of cases ke- corresponds to simple transitives, as others have pointed out. It treats the patient to which something happened as subject, suggesting that the agent performed the action unintentionally or that the patient was unintentionally included.
is an intransitive motion verb:

Kertas-é kabur (ke-a-bur).
(paper-definite fly-object=subject-accidental)
'The paper was blown (by the wind).'

Anggit tiba ke-lumah.
(Anggit fall right-side-up-object=subject-accidental)
'Anggit fell landing right-side-up.'

4.2 THE CIRCUMFIX ke- -an

Ke- -an, as other linguists have noted, corresponds to the -t forms in that the subject of di- -t has the same roles as the subject of ke- -an. The two forms differ in that ke- -an indicates an effect of the event, which may or may not be involuntary, on the subject, without directly assigning responsibility to an agent, which may or may not be mentioned. The di- -t form means clearly that the event was performed by an agent, though the agent, also may not be mentioned, and it identifies the goal, source, referent or a concomitant, depending on what sort of verb the base is, as subject. The subject of the ke- -an form is also goal, source, referent, or a concomitant depending on what sort of verb the base is. Examples of the various possibilities follow. The subject may be goal of a motion verb:

Dhwit-ku ke-lungguh-an Bapak.
(money-my sit-goal=subject-accidental Father)
'Father accidentally sat on my money.'

Bécaik iku ri:iysék konduran (ke-undur-an) monor.
(bicycle-propelled-rickshaw that destroyed back-up-goal=subject-accidental car)
'That bécaik was destroyed (because) it was backed up into by a car.'

The subject of a ke- -an verb may be goal of a simple transitive of the separation subclass:

Jobén iku wiis ke-getar-an klasa.
(floor that already spread-out-goal=subject-accidental mat)
'The floor has already been covered with mats.'

or goal of a double transitive:

Saking répoté nganti Bapak ora ke-aovis-an apa-apá.
(due-to business until father not serve-goal=subject-accidental anything)
'Because everyone was so busy it happened that Father wasn't served anything.'

The subject of a ke- -an verb may be the patient-goal of a simple transitive which also has a ke- form indicating patient as subject. The ke- -an form indicates that the patient-goal was hit by the object-tool which also must be mentioned:

Ken Angrok uga ke-suduk-an keris 
mpu Gandring.
(name name also stab-goal=subject-accidental dagger title-of-skilled-craftsmen name)
'Ken Angrok also got stabbed with mpu Gandring's dagger.'

The subject of a ke- -an verb may also be patient-goal of a J- -t verb derived from a reflexive verb, which has no unsuffixed simple transitive forms:

Saking akhe anak-é nganti ana eing 
orá ke-du- an.
(due-to great-quantity child-definite until exist which not bathe-goal=subject-accidental)
'Because of the large number of children there were some that didn't get bathed.'

or patient-goal of a process brought about by an inanimate force:

Klambiñé (klambi-í) ke-reged-an awu.
(clothes-definite dirty-patient=goal=subject-accidental ash)
'the clothes were dirtied by ash.'

The subject of a ke- -an form may be the source of an acquisition verb or other verb indicating an event or condition involving loss:

Toko iku ke-colong-an radio.
(store that steal-source=subject-accidental radio)
'That store had a radio stolen from it.'

Wiwik kélangan (ke-lang-an) kenéker.
(name lose-source=subject-accidental marble)
'Wiwik lost her marble.'

The subject of a ke- -an form may also be the referent of an intransitive verb which can involve a referent, as in

Patiné (pati-ni) óra ke-tangie-an.
(death-definite not cry-referent=subject-accidental)
'No one cried over his death.'

or it may be concomitant of a performance verb:

Lédhék-é ke-jogèd-an Pak Kerta.
(street-dancer-definite dance-concomitant=subject-accidental Mr.name)
'The street dancer happened to be danced with by Mr.Kerta.'

In addition to all the preceding uses of
ke- an, which correspond to uses of -i discussed in the previous chapter, the subject of ke- an may be goal and secondary agent of a causative verb where the goal-agent is given something to do:

Pak Kerta ke-garap-an sawah-é Pak Marta.
(Mr. Kerta work-goal:subject-accidental rice-field-definite Mr. Marta)
'Mr. Kerta happened to get a job working Mr. Marta's rice field.'

This use of ke- an corresponds to one of the uses of -i described in Chapter 5. There are other uses of -i discussed in Chapter 6 which do not have role identification meanings. These do not have corresponding involutive forms.

In addition to corresponding to the role related meanings of -i, ke- an corresponds to the benefactive meaning of -aké. That is, the subject of the ke- an form may be the benefactive. The patient in this case must also be mentioned but the agent never is. Even when logic implies that there must have been an agent, the ke- an form does not refer to it. It simply states that the benefactive was affected by the fact that the patient underwent a process or is in a state. If the basic form of the verb is a simple transitive, the ke- an form may mean that the benefactive is the goal of a second event of conveyance following the primary event which affects the patient:

Yanta ke-bakar-an téláa.
(name roast-benefactive:subject-accidental cassava)
'Someone roasted some cassava for Yanta.'

If the basic form of the verb is a simple transitive of the acquisition subclass, the ke- an form may mean that someone suffers from having his or her possession taken by somebody else, where the benefactive is not necessarily the immediate source:

Wiwik ke-jimpit-an gula.
(name take-a-pincho-benefactive:subject-accidental sugar)
'Wiwik's sugar was taken by pinches.'

In this case the ke- an form does not correspond directly to the -aké forms which usually mean that a benefactive is the ultimate recipient of an object taken by an agent-goal (see 3.2.4.2). The basic form of a verb having a ke- an form may also be intransitive or nonagentive. In this case the ke- an form may indicate that a possession, relative, friend, or part of the body of the benefactive is in the condition in question. Again, however, it is the benefactive that is subject:

Édi ke-rusak-an pit-á.
(name break-benefactive:subject-accidental bicycle-definite)
'Édi's bicycle was broken.'

As is usually the case in language, wherever a given term has more than one meaning, any base for which more than one of those possibilities might have an interpretation may potentially occur in that form with more than one meaning. There are several cases of ke- an forms having more than one meaning. Ke-bopong-an, from -bopong 'carry on the back', means either 'be given something to carry' or 'suffer from having one's thing carried off'. In the first instance the subject is goal of an initial act of conveyance and then agent and vehicle of a second act of conveyance. The base refers to the second act. In this case the ke- an form is the accidental counterpart of -i in one of its causative meanings, which was mentioned earlier in this section and explained in detail in Chapter 5. For the second meaning of ke-bopong-an, the subject is a benefactive who is negatively affected by an act of acquisition in which the object-patient, which belongs to the benefactive, is removed by a separate agent-goal. This is another instance where the ke- an deals with a benefactive that is negatively affected by an event while the -aké forms deal with a benefactive that is positively affected. Another verb that can take ke- an with two meanings is ke-blang-an from balang 'hit by throwing something'. It means either 'nappen to be hit by something' or 'suffer from one's child, friend, animal, etc. being hit'. In the first instance again the subject is the goal and the form is the involutive counterpart of -i forms. In the second meaning, the subject is a benefactive in the negative sense and contrasts with -aké forms which are benefactive in the positive sense.

4.3 THE FOSSILIZED FORM kep(e)-

The form kep(e)- is strictly non-productive and in fact, as far as I know, occurs with only five or six roots. These are in common use, however, and in two cases contrast with other involutive forms and are, thus, worth noting. They take as subject an actor who performs an action involitively. Elsewhere I treat this as animate force (Chapter 5). The examples are kep-layu 'be forced to flee, 'run away' from m-layu 'run' and contrasting with ke-layu 'to be run off from'; kep-rungu 'be overheard' from -rungu and contrasting with k-rungu 'hear'; kepoyuk (kepe-uyuh) 'accidentally urinate, or be on the verge of doing so'; kepesang (kepe-iaing) 'accidentally defecate, or be on the verge of doing so'; kepontut (kepe-entut) 'accidentally
pass gas or be on the verge of doing so'. All of these verb bases are either intransitives or experiential two place nonagentives. For all these verbs the subject must be animate. In this respect they contrast with the few intransitive forms of intransitive verbs formed with ke-, such as kabur 'be blown away', where the subject is inanimate.

4.4 THE INVOLITIVE USE OF -aké

In the preceding chapter, I described the transitive derivation of stative verbs, using N-, di- (3.2.1.2). The meaning of this derivation is always volitive. There is, however, for stative verbs describing a state of destruction, such as rusek 'broken', pseah 'shattered', swèk 'torn', an additional transitive derivation with -aké meaning that the action was performed involitively. Examples are

Wahyu mecahaké (N-pseah-aké) gelas.
(name break-actor=subject-accidental glass)
'Wahyu accidentally broke a glass.'

Klambiku di-suwèk-aké si mbok.
(clothing-my tear-patient=subject-accidental familiar-particle mother-
low-class=servant)
'My clothing was torn accidentally by the servant.'

Many Javanese speakers, when asked to analyze verbs of this sort, claim that the suffix -aké here includes in its meaning that someone was negatively affected by the event, in other words, that a benefactive element is always implied. Linguistically sophisticated native speakers, however, disagree. The fact that the form so often occurs in sentences like the second above may create this impression. However, in the first sentence, the glass that was broken may belong either to Wahyu or someone else. If not stated, who it belongs to is not relevant.

Note

1. Verbs of this sort which describe situations allowing for two individuals which are indirectly affected, one negatively and the other positively, suggest that perhaps we ought to distinguish benefactive from malefactive. This need not involve adding a role, since benefactive is not a role in semantic structure anyway. Perhaps the abstract predicate benefactive or affect (discussed in Chapter 1) would have to be designated as negative or positive.
CHAPTER 5
THE EXPRESSION OF CAUSATIVE

5.0 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Existing descriptions of Javanese all identify -aké as a causative morpheme or list causative as one of the meanings of -aké. This approach is misleading. -aké is often used to express meanings which are causative in other languages, but the causative uses in Javanese, except for one type, are actually outgrowths of one of the other meanings of -aké, as I explain presently. Furthermore, -aké is not the only means employed by Javanese to express causative meaning. -i is also used to convey causative-like meanings, but again, except for one type, these uses are extensions of its other meanings. -aké and -i both do have true causative meanings, but only with certain classes of verbs, and these have never been sufficiently delineated.

In 5.1 I discuss the use of -aké and -i to form verbs with causative-like meaning. I attempt to show how in fact most of the so-called causative uses are actually extensions of other meanings. I then describe the actual causative uses. There is in addition to -aké and -i a fossilized causative prefix pi- occurring in a few words. I discuss this briefly in 5.2. Reduplication plus prenasalization form causatives from verbs of certain classes. This process is not very productive, but the number of verbs to which it can apply is much larger than for pi-. I discuss causatives formed with reduplication in 5.3. In addition to the various morphological means of expressing causative meaning, there are in Javanese the separate verbs marakaké and marahi. I discuss these briefly in 5.4.

5.1 CAUSATIVES WITH -aké AND -i

As I stated above, the causative uses of -aké and -i are mostly extensions of other meanings of these two suffixes. Before describing how they are used to convey causative meaning, I summarize their meanings as described in the previous chapters (5.1.1). In 5.1.2 I describe their causative uses.

5.1.1 SUMMARY OF FUNCTIONS OF -aké AND -i

Though realizations of the meanings vary somewhat depending on what sort of base is involved, so far I have described only two meanings of the suffix -aké.

The first meaning of -aké is to focus on an object which is conveyed by an agent as source or vehicle to a goal. This means that in the active form N-aké, the complement is such an object, and in the passive form, containing a preposed pronominal, the grammatical subject fills this semantic object role. This is true whether we are dealing with a double transitive where the -aké forms are among the basic ones or with verbs derived from other classes. For -aké forms derived from simple transitives, the object may also be patient, or it may not be, or it may also be tool, or it may not be. Whether or not the object also has a cause-effect role, however, is not relevant to the meaning of -aké, which is always to focus on an object which is conveyed by an agent as source or vehicle to a goal. For causatives derived from all agitative verbs and some nonagitative verbs, it is this meaning of -aké which is involved in so-called causative uses.

The other meaning of -aké is that the event described involves an agent, a patient, and a benefactive. Either the patient or the benefactive may be treated as complement of the active verb and subject of the passive. It should be remembered, as suggested in Chapter 1 and exemplified in Chapter 3, that benefactive actually represents an INDIRECT PATIENT, that is an individual who is affected by the fact that the patient is in the state or has undergone the process named by the verb. This indirect aspect of its meaning may be related to pseudo-causative uses of -aké for certain classes of verbs, as I discuss below.

The suffix -i also has more than one meaning. Only one, however, is involved with role identification. Other uses of -i are described in Chapter 6. The meaning of -i described so far is to focus on a goal, range, source, referent, or concomitant, that is on the significant non-object. Which of these roles -i focuses on in any given occurrence depends on what class of verb base is involved.
5.1.2 CAUSATIVE USES OF -aké AND -i

I first discuss causatives from simple transitives (5.1.2.1) because the way in which object-focus -aké and non-object-focus -i are used is clearest with verbs of this type. I will then discuss causatives from intransitives (5.1.2.2) and causatives from non-agentsives (5.1.2.3). There are no causatives formed from double transitives in Javanese.1

5.1.2.1 CAUSATIVES FROM SIMPLE TRANSITIVES

The addition of -aké to an agentive verb base to form a causative is always an application of the conveyance meaning of the suffix (3.2.4.3, 5.1.1), but not all simple transitives have causative derivations. For those that have causative derivations with -aké, a large number are of the separation or approach subclasses, They mean that the agent of the act of causation conveys the patient-object to a human goal who is the agent of a second act of doing to the patient-object or patient-goal (the same individual as the patient-object of the first act) that is indicated by the verb base. For example,

Bu Yata ngumbahaké (N-kumbah-aké) klambíné (klambi-(n)é) marang mBok Kerta.
(Mrs. name wash-agent-of-causation= subject-patient=complement clothes-definite to Mrs. -low name)
'Mrs. Yata had her clothes washed by Mrs. Kerta.'

Klambíné (klambi-(n)é) Bu Yata dikumbah-aké marang mBok Kerta.
(clothes-definite Mrs. name wash-patient=complement to Mrs. -low name)
'Mrs. Yata's clothes were sent to Mrs. Kerta to be washed.'

Here, Bu Yata is agent of the act of causation, which means agent as source or vehicle of an act of conveyance. The clothes are object-patient of an act of conveyance and mBok Kerta is goal. mBok Kerta is also agent of a second act of washing where the clothes are patient, but the -aké verb forms concentrate on the first act. They focus on the clothes, the object conveyed, which is complement of the active sentence and subject of the passive sentence.

It is possible to describe the same situation concentrating on the second act, but, though the same participants and the same verb forms are involved, in this case the -aké is benefactive:

mBok Kerta ngumbahaké (N-kumbah-aké) klambíné (klambi-(n)é) Bu Yata,
(Mrs.-low name wash-agent=subject-benefactive clothes-definite Mrs. name)
'Mrs. Kerta washed Mrs. Yata's clothes for her.'

Klambíné (klambi-(n)é) Bu Yata dikumbah-aké mBok Kerta.
(clothes-definite Mrs. name wash-patient=subject-benefactive Mrs.-low name)
'Mrs. Yata's clothes were washed for her by Mrs. Kerta.'

Bu Yata dikumbah-aké klambíné (klambi-(n)é) dening mBok Kerta.
(Mrs. name wash-benefactive=subject clothes-definite by Mrs.-low name)
'Mrs. Yata's clothes were washed for her by Mrs. Kerta.'

In these three sentences mBok Kerta is agent, the clothes are patient, and Bu Yata is benefactive. Although the situation implies that there might have been a preceding act of causation where Bu Yata was agent, these sentences concentrate on the second act, that of washing.

Although the syntactico-semantic relationships in this set of sentences are entirely different from those in the preceding set, it is interesting that both involve indirect or secondary relationships, in the first set a secondary agent, or cause, and in this set a secondary patient or benefactive. This fact reinforces the impression that causative is not a primary meaning of the -aké suffix, but simply an outgrowth of other more basic meanings.

(See Conclusion).

For approach verbs of the sort where the agent is object and the patient is goal, there are derived forms with -aké which mean that an agent of an act of causation conveys a human object to a goal so that the human object, agent of the second act, could enter the relationship or perform the action indicated by the base. The patient-goal of the second act is often not mentioned. For example:

Pak Kerta ningkahaké (N-ningkah-aké) Yanta.
(Mr. name marry-agent-of-causation= subject-object=complement name)
'Mr. Kerta married off Yanto.'

Bapak nyembahaké (N-sembah-aké) Mèksi.
(father make-respectful-gesture-(by raising hands, palms together, to the face)-agent-of-causation=subject-object=complement Mèksi)
'Father made Mèksi perform a respectful gesture (by placing her hands in the right position).'

Here the agent rather than the patient of the caused act is focused on by -aké, but actually whether the object is agent or
patient of the caused act is not relevant. What the -aké does is identify the object which is conveyed. Whether that object is agent or patient of the caused act must be determined by extralinguistic cues such as the knowledge that clothes do not wash, but people wash clothes. This becomes clearer with verb bases describing an act which could be caused by conveying either agent to patient or patient to agent:

Nur nyokotaké (N-ookit-aké) Manis marang Wahyu.
(name bite-agent-of-causation=subject-object=complement name-of-cat to name)
'Nur held out Manis to bite Wahyu.'

Nur nyokotaké (N-ookit-aké) tahu marang Manis.
(name bite-agent-of-causation=subject-object=complement tofu to name-of-cat)
'Nur held out some tofu for Manis to bite.'

We know that the cat is probably the agent of the caused act in the first sentence because it is more likely that the cat would bite the boy than that the boy would bite the cat. We know that the cat is agent in the second sentence because tofu doesn't bite. What the -aké tells us is that the cat is the object conveyed in the first sentence and that the tofu is the object conveyed in the second. If, however, we were dealing with a cat and a dog, for example, the sentence would be ambiguous:

Nur nyokotaké (N-ookit-aké) Manis marang Broni.
(name bite-agent-of-causation=subject-object=complement name-of-cat to name-of-dog)
'Nur held out Manis to bite Broni,' or
'Nur held out Manis so that Broni could bite her.'

We know from the -aké and the word order that the cat is the object conveyed here, but there are no linguistic cues as to which animal is agent and which is patient of the second act.

A few simple transitives, again from either the separation or approach subclass, have derivations with -i which can occur in sentences implying causation. The actual meaning of the verb, again though, is simply that an agent as source or vehicle conveyed an object to a goal. The forms with -i focus on the goal:

Wiwik ng-gendong-i bonéka Nur.
(name carry-agent-of-causation=subject-goal=complement doll name)
'Wiwik gave Nur a doll to carry.'

Nur di-gendong-i bonéka Wiwik.
(name carry-goal-of-causation=subject doll name)

'Nur was given a doll to carry by Wiwik.'

In all the examples I have found, the goal in such cases is also the agent of the caused event, but there are not as many forms with -i having causative implications as there are with -aké. Also in acts of conveyance where only one participant other than the agent is human it is more common for that one to be the goal rather than the object. At any rate, it seems clear here that the -i is the same goal-focus, or more precisely non-object focus -i that appears in other derivations I have described and that the causative interpretation is derived from extralinguistic knowledge.

Simple transitives of the referential subclass do not have derivations with -aké or -i having causative meaning.

Among the acquisition verbs, there is a small subclass which can be called ACQUISITION-CONSUMPTION, including verbs like ngombé 'drink'. They have derivations with both -aké and -i which could be called causative. In fact these causative derivations are identical in terms of orientation roles to the double transitives derived from acquisition verbs which imply a potentially agentive source, such as nyisilh (N-alih) 'boil away'. The only difference is that the basic forms of the acquisition-consumption verbs do not imply a potentially agentive source. The derived forms mean that an agent as source and vehicle gave something, an object, to a human goal. The goal is agent and goal of a second act of consumption. The -i forms focus on the goal, the -aké forms on the object. Both concentrate on the first act, that of conveyance:

Ju Mul ngombéni (N-ombé-(n)i) Ninik susu né (susu-(né)).
(oldier-sister-low-(term of address for young girl servant) name drink-agent-of-causation=subject-goal=complement name milk-definite)
'Mul gave Ninik her milk to drink.'

Ninik wisi diombéni (di-ombé-(n)i) susu Yu Mul.
(name already drink-goal=subject milk older-sister-low name)
'Ninik has already been given milk to drink by Mul.'

Ibu lagi ngombékaké (N-ombé-(k)aké) susu menyay bayiné (bayi-(né)).
(mother in-the-process drink-agent-of-causation=subject-object=complement milk to baby-definite)
'Mother is giving milk to the baby.'

Sustyú (susu-(né)) diombékaké (di-ombé-(k)aké) Ibu.
(milk-definite in-the-process drink-object-of-causation=subject mother)
'The milk is being given by Mother to be drunk.'
In short, all the verb forms suggesting causation which are derived from simple transitives by means of the affixes -aké and -i are in fact simply conveyance verbs. They all mean that an agent as source or vehicle conveyed an object to a goal. The -aké forms focus on the object of the act of conveyance and the -i forms focus on the goal. Whether the object or the goal is agent of the caused event must be determined by extralinguistic cues. The -aké and -i here, then, are the same -aké and -i which occur in the basic forms of double transitives and in derived forms of verbs of other classes which were described in Chapter 3.

5.1.2.2 CAUSATIVES FROM INTRANSITIVE VERBS

Intransitive verbs of the expulsion subclass which are always volitive do not have causatives with -aké and -i. Some of those which are usually volitive have causatives with -aké, but these are like causatives from nonagentive bases. I discuss them in 5.1.2.3.

Reflexive verbs do not have causative derivations.

Many motion verbs have causative derivations with -aké, but these are identical in grammatical structure to the conveyance verbs derived from motion verbs described in Chapter 3:

Krishna banjur ngajokaké (N-aju-(k)aké) Gatotkaca kanggo nandingi (N-tanding-i) Adipati Karna.

(Krisna—(name of character in Mahabharata) then advance-agent-of-causation-subject-object=complement Gatotkaca—(character in Mahabharata) for combat-single-handedly-agent-subject-goal=complement Adipati Karna—(name of prince, character in Mahabharata) )

"Then Krisna sent forward Gatotkaca to combat Prince Adipati Karna."

They differ semantically in that it can be deduced that the object, since it is animate, probably retains its agentive role, but this information is not obtained from any morphological clues. The -aké is the same morpheme already discussed which means only that the focus is on an object which is conveyed by an agent as source or vehicle to a goal.

5.1.2.3 CAUSATIVES FROM NONAGENTIVES

For nonagentives too, if it is possible to bring about the state indicated by the base by conveying the patient somewhere, there will be forms with -aké meaning bring the patient into the state indicated by the base by conveying it to a goal. For example, ng-garing-aké from garing 'dry' means 'dry something by putting it in the sun for six,' Netengaké (N-peteng-aké) from peteng 'dark' means 'put something in a dark place.'

Similarly, if it is possible to bring a patient into a state by bringing something to it as goal, there will be forms with -i having that meaning. For example madhangi (N-padhang-i) from padhang 'bright' means 'make a place brighter by bringing a lamp into it,' miliketi (N-pliket-i) from pliket 'sticky' means 'make something sticky by putting a sticky substance on it.'

If conveyance may be involved in causing a patient to enter a state, if the patient is the object, and if the goal may be relevant too, particularly if it is human, there may be forms with -i focusing on the goal. For example, ng-larang-i from larang 'expensive' means 'make expensive when selling to someone', murahí (N-murah-i)'cheap' means 'make cheap when selling to someone.' The forms focusing on the patient, which is object in the transaction, are ng-larang-aké 'make (more) expensive' and murahaké (N-murah-aké) 'make cheap(er) respectively.

If the patient is goal and the object used to bring it into the state in question cannot be determined from the verb there may be -aké forms focusing on the object:

Singgih medhaké (N-wedi-(k)aké) uler marang Anggit.

(name afraid-agent-of-causation-subject-object=complement caterpillar to name)

"Singgih used a caterpillar to frighten Anggit."

Here the caterpillar is object-tool and is focused on. The form of this verb focusing on the patient-goal contains -i:

Singgih medhêni (N-wedi-(n)i) adhik-é.

(name afraid-agent-of-causation-subject-goal=complement younger-sibling-definite)

"Singgih frightened his little brother."

So far in all the forms discussed, acts of causation were in fact acts of conveyance. -aké focused on the object, -i on the goal. Whether the entity focused on was agent or patient or neither in the caused event or condition was not indicated morphologically. For many nonagentive verbs, orientation roles are not relevant in an event which brings about the condition in question. Most of these verbs have what might be called causative derivations with -i or -aké or both. The forms with -i mean that an agent did something to a patient to bring
it into the state in question and the patient is usually also goal. The meaning is thus really simply transitive. The forms with -aké mean that the patient was brought into the state in question (1) by an actor who did something involuntively, (2) by an inanimate entity or a condition or event, or (3) by an animate entity who was indirectly or ultimately responsible. The first of these meanings only occurs with stative verbs describing a state of destruction. This was discussed in the preceding chapter, though it might have been dealt with here as well. Examples of the distinction between the -i and the second meaning of -aké are:

Prajurit i'ku ngwati (N-kwatis) posé-é sarana penangkis udara.
(soldier that strong-agent=subject-patient=complement post-definite by-means-of defense air)
'The soldiers strengthened their post by means of air defense.'

Vitamin iku bisa ngwataké (N-kwata-aké) awak.
(vitamin that can strong-cause=non-agentive=subject-patient=complement body)
'Vitamin can make the body strong.'

This usage of -aké is truly causative in that another meaning is involved. The subject, however, has the role of inanimate force. The third meaning of -aké listed above involves an animate actor who acts volitionally. This usage is also truly causative in that orientation roles are irrelevant. Most often, though, the forms are passive and the actor, whose identity is known, is not mentioned. Some examples are:

Omah-é Pak Kerta lagi digadhekaké (di- gadeh-(k)aké).
(house-definite Mr. name in-the-process large-causative-patient=subject)
'Mr. Kerta's house is being enlarged,' or
'Mr. Kerta is having his house enlarged.'

Gawéan-mu kuwi kudu di-apik-aké.
(work-your that must good-causative-patient=subject)
'Your work has to be improved,' or
'you have to improve your work.'

In addition to the forms with -i which are really only agentic-transitive, and the truly causative forms with -aké just described, many nonagentic can add -i or -aké to form a word which describes the ability to bring about the condition named by the root. These forms are not really transitive verbs because they do not describe an event, they never occur in the passive, and they never take an object. Some examples of words with -i having this meaning are mareg 'filling' from wareg 'full', mbosenti 'boring' from bosem 'bored', njijikí 'disgusting' (said of something concrete) from jijik 'disgusted'. Some examples of words with -aké having this meaning are mangkelak é 'annoying' from mangkel 'annoyed', mbingungaké 'confusing' from bingung 'confused', nyenengaké 'pleasing' from seneng 'pleased, happy'. There does not seem to be any way of predicting whether a given root will form this meaning with -aké or -i.

5.2 THE FOSSILIZED CAUSATIVE PREFIX pi-

Old Javanese had a causative morpheme, the reflex of PA *pa- for which there are cognates in other contemporary Austronesian languages, such as those of the Philippines. In modern Javanese, however, probably because the reflex of *pa- fell together with the reflex of PA *pa-, a derivational affix, in some dialects, at least, both morphemes ceased to be productive. At present, there remain a few fossilized forms containing pi-, one Javanese reflex of *pa-, to indicate causative. I have only found one pair of verb forms occurring in both active and passive where this is so. They are milara (N-pi-lara) and di-pi-lara 'hurt, beat, persecute' from lara 'sick, hurt':

Pak Kerta kerep milara (N-pi-lara) anak-é.
(Mr. name often hurt-causative-agent=subject-patient=complement child-definite)
'Mr. Kerta often beats his child.'

Koapé Kén Angrok banjur dí-cekel, di-pi-lara, dí-aniya démény para tapa.
(change-topic name name then catch-patient=subject hurt-causative-patient=subject by plural meditating-holyman)
'And then Kén Angrok was caught and beaten and persecuted by the meditating holy men.'

There are a few more verbs having pi-which appear to be causative in meaning: mikwati (N-pi-kwatis) 'make stronger', which has the same meaning as ngwati (N-kwatis), mikoléh (N-pi-ke-oléh-i) 'give benefit, be useful' or literally 'cause someone to get' from ošh 'get', recehe, mirasa (N-pi-rasa) 'delicious, tasty' or literally 'cause someone to taste', from rasa 'taste, feel'.

5.3 CAUSATIVES WITH REDUPLICATION

Many nonagentive and intransitive verbs have causative derivations formed
by reduplication plus prenasalization. Some examples are:

Wiwik m-be-bengok Wahyu.
(name shout-causative-agent=subject-patient=complement name) 'Wiwik made Wahyu shout.'

Wiwik nenwu (N-R-turu) Ana.
(name sleep-causative-agent=subject-patient=complement name) 'Wiwik put Ana to sleep.'

Wahyu menangis (N-R-tangis) Ana.
(name cry-causative-agent=subject-patient=complement name) 'Wahyu made Ana cry.'

In many cases they contrast with -i or -aké forms in that they only occur in set phrases:

Aja menangi (N-R-iangi) macan/ula turu.
(don't wake-up-causative-agent=subject-patient=complement tiger/snake sleep) 'Don't awaken sleeping tigers,' or 'Don't awaken sleeping snakes.'

or with figurative meanings:

Pak Kerta n-äe-dava laku.
(Mr. name long-causative-agent=subject-patient=complement walk) 'Mr. Kerta took the long way around.'

Pak Kerta n-de-dava virang.
(Mr. name long-causative-agent=subject-patient=complement shame) 'Mr. Keita became more ashamed.'

Yanta iku bochh memanas (N-R-panas) ati.
(Yanta that child hot-causative-agent=subject-patient=complement liver-(considered to be the center of feelings)) 'Yanta is a child who always makes people angry.'

Those in general use seem to be mostly from intransitive bases where the -aké forms indicate conveyance of an object:

Mbak Lela lagi nurowaké (N-turu-(k)aké) Unun.
(older-sister name in-the-process sleep-causative-agent=subject-object=complement name) 'Lela is putting Unun to bed.'

Note that nurowaké and nenwu may both refer to the same situation, but nurowaké concentrates on the conveyance of the child to the bed while nenwu concentrates on making him enter the state of sleep. For nonagentive verbs with derived simple transitive forms, such as ng-rugak 'break' from rusak 'broken', where -aké means that an actor performed the action involitionally, reduplication plus prenasal-

ization may form a causative in which inanimate force is the responsible element:

Seneng main iku ng-re-ruwak awak
(like gamble that broken-causative-cause=subject body) 'Too much gambling can destroy the body.'

There is one case of a simple transitive having a reduplicated form with something like causative meaning. The causative element is inanimate, but the form is actually an idiom so that it is not valid to base generalizations on it:

Barang iki tansah n-de-deleng mata.
(thing this always look-causative-cause=subject-patient=referent=complement eye) 'This thing always reminds me of something.'

-deleng belongs to the referential subclass of simple transitives, which otherwise do not have causative derivations.

5.4 CAUSATIVES FORMED WITH marakaké, marahi

In addition to the various morphological means of expressing causative meaning, there are in Javanese the separate verbs marakaké, marahi. These verbs take a clause as complement, Marakaké is used when the cause is inanimate or animate involitive, marahi when the cause is agentive. Examples of sentences containing these forms are:

Aja mangan (N-pangan) kembang gula waé, kuwi marakaké (N-para-(k)aké) unto-mu krouk.
(don't eat-agent=subject-patient=complement flower-sugar=candy only that cause-cause=nonagentive=subject-patient=complement tooth-your decay) 'Don't just keep eating candy; that makes your teeth decay.'

Sapa mau sing marahi (N-warah-i) kereng-an.
(who earlier which cause-agent=subject-patient=complement fight-mutual) 'Who started the quarrel?'

The use of marakaké, at least, appears to emphasize the act of causation rather than the result. However, often, both marakaké and marahi are used where it is not possible to form a causative verb with the desired meaning by morphological means.

NOTES
1. Javanese verbs never deal directly with more
than three participants, and double transitive, of course, already include three: an agent as source or vehicle, an object and a goal. It may be possible to put more than three noun phrases in a clause, though this is certainly rare. However, additional ones would all have to be preceded by prepositions, they would all be deletable, and if deleted they would not be implied by the verb form. In the surface structure they would have to be interpreted as external adjuncts.

Causation in relation to acts described by double transitives can be expressed, however, by using verbs of causation such as marakaké and marahi (see 5.4).

2. The phrase marang bayiné 'tô her baby' could be added, but the result would be awkward. Normally when the sentence is in this form the goal would be old information and therefore deletable.

3. There is one exception: nguyoni 'make laugh' from ng-guyu 'laugh', but this verb is an anomaly. I discuss the implication of the form-meaning relationships of several of its derived forms in the section on causatives formed by reduplication (5.3).
CHAPTER 6
ASPECT, NUMBER, AND RELATED MATTERS

6.0 PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The contents of this chapter do not deal with role phenomena as such, but are related to possible features of the participants in an event which fill given semantic roles.

The term 'aspect' is generally used in Indo-European languages to refer to whether an action has begun, is in progress, or has been completed. But Chafe (1970) uses the term ASPECT in discussing the relationship between actions and resulting states, and Fillmore (1970) uses the term in discussing features inherent in the meaning of certain verbs, such as [+ instantaneous], and the possibility of repeating a given action on the same patient.

Speakers of European languages tend to think of number as a property of persons and things, since in European languages it is nouns that are inflected for number, and 'inflexion of verbs for number' simply means inflexion to agree with the subject of the sentence. However, a moment's reflection should convince one that events as well as participants in them can be counted, and the plurality of an event may or may not involve plurality of agent or patient.

Several Javanese verb forms convey meanings such as repetition, continuation, and habitual behavior, which involve both ASPECT and NUMBER as just defined. I discuss these in 6.1. In 6.2 I discuss plural events of a special sort under the heading 'approach and culmination'. Additional features of participants and events are expressed by forms described in 6.3 under the heading 'Pretense, lack of seriousness, and unsuccessful attempt'. Derivation in relation to states and events was discussed in Chapter 3, but with focus on the effect on the roles of participants. Further derivations of stative from action verbs in which role is not important are discussed in 6.4. Finally there are in Javanese a number of derivations which either form or apply to adjectives, that is words which describe a more or less permanent characteristic of a person or thing, as opposed to a usually temporary state. I discuss these in 6.5. In 6.6 I give some concluding remarks.

6.1 REPETITION, CONTINUATION, AND HABITUAL BEHAVIOR

I begin this discussion with simple transitives (6.1.1) because the form-meaning relationships are clearest here. I then discuss forms indicating repetition, continuation or habitual behavior in verbs of other classes (6.1.2). In 6.1.3 I discuss emphatic repetitive and continuable forms, and in 6.1.4 I summarize the information presented in this section.

6.1.1 SIMPLE TRANSITIVES

Nearly all simple transitives, in addition to the prenasalized and passive forms, have doubled versions of each form and a pair of forms with the suffix -i. For example, from the root -antem 'hit with the fist', in addition to the forms ng-antem and di-antem, there are the doubled forms ng-antem-i, di-antem-i.1 With regard to doubling, for the prenasalized form, the entire base including the prenasalization is doubled, but for the passive forms the preposed pronouns are not included in the doubled portion: that is, only the root is doubled. Both the doubled forms and the forms with the -i suffix indicate that the event in question took place more than once. With either set of forms the repeated action may be directed toward the same patient at each occurrence if that is possible with the action described by the base, or toward a different and diverse group. Additional forms, however, imply several distinct events and may involve fairly long time intervals between their occurrences. If the patient is plural, this usually means that individual patients were selected haphazardly from among a much larger group. If the patient is plural, this form is usually indefinite, though it may not be. The forms suffixed with -i, on the other hand, imply that the individual events follow each other in close succession and that there is, was, or will be some point at which the actions reach completion. If the patient is plural, this usually means that every member of the group must be acted upon once. If the patient is singular, the meaning is that the action is continued until in some sense the patient has totally experienced its effect. The -i forms can often be translated by English phrases with 'up', like 'beat him up', 'eat it (all) up'. Although definitiveness may not be made ex-
licit, the meaning of the -i form is usually that the patient is definite. Some examples of contrasting doubled and -i suffixed forms in sentences are:

Wiwik ng-angkat2 Ana.
('name lift-random-repetition-agent=subject-patient=complement name')
'Wiwik picked Ana up several times', or
'Wiwik keeps picking Ana up.'

Pak Kerta ng-angkat-i watu.
('Mr. name lift-continuation-to-completion-agent=subject-patient=complement stone')
'Mr. Kerta lifted all the stones (moved each of them from one place to another).'

Pak Kerta seneng m-bakar2 krowotan.
('Mr. name like roast-random-repetition-agent=subject-patient=complement tuberous-things')
'Mr. Kerta likes to roast tuberous things.'

Pak Kerta m-bakar-i saté.
('Mr. name roast-continuation-to-completion-agent=subject-patient=complement skewered-meat-marinated-in-sauce-made-with-peanuts-and-soy-sauce')
'Mr. Kerta roasted all the satés. (He had to perform the action repeatedly because of the large quantity.)'

Whether the patient must be plural or not depends upon the verb. If the verb describes an event which can only be performed once on a single patient, then the patient with both doubling and -i must be plural:

Wiwik methik2 (N-pethik2) kembang.
('name pick-random-repetition-agent=subject-patient=complement flower')
'Wiwik picked several flowers.'

Wiwik methiki (N-pethik-i) kembang.
('name pick-continuation-to-completion-agent=subject-patient=complement flower')
'Wiwik picked all the flowers' (on one branch, one tree, all the flowers of one kind in the garden, etc.)

Pak Kerta ng-opêk2 gori.
('Mr. name pick-random-repetition-agent=subject-patient=complement young-jackfruit')
'Mr. Kerta picked several young jackfruits.'

Pak Kerta ng-opêk-i gori.
('Mr. name pick-continuation-to-completion-agent=subject-patient=complement young-jackfruit')
'Mr. Kerta picked all the young jackfruits' (on one tree, in the garden, etc.)

If the action in question is the sort that can be repeated on a single patient, then the patient may be single or plural with the -i forms, though it is usually plural with the doubled forms:

Pak Kerta ng-antem2 maling.
('Mr. name hit-random-repetition-agent=subject-patient=complement thief')
'Mr. Kerta hit several thieves' (chosen at random from a larger group) or 'Mr. Kerta has hit thieves' (on a number of distinct occasions).

Pak Kerta ng-antem-i maling.
('Mr. name hit-continuation-to-completion-agent=subject-patient=complement thief')
'Mr. Kerta hit the thief again and again' (let him up), or 'Mr. Kerta hit all the thieves' (each of them once).

The doubled form may also mean 'hits a single thief repeatedly' but if so, there is an implication of randomness absent in the form with -i.

The -i forms, since they indicate continuation, are often used in sentences meaning that the event is in process but not completed:

Inem lagi m-bakar-i saté.
('name in-the-process roast-continuation-to-completion-agent=subject-patient=complement skewered-meat-with-sauce')
'Inem is roasting saté.'

This does not mean, however, that -i indicates incompletive aspect as opposed to N- which indicates complete aspect. Both may occur with either completive or incompletive meaning provided the base does not indicate an instantaneous event:

Inem arep m-bakar saté.
('name will roast-agent=subject-patient=complement skewered-meat-with-sauce')
'Inem is going to roast some saté.'

Inem lagi m-bakar saté.
('name in-the-process roast-agent=subject-patient=complement skewered-meat-with-sauce')
'Inem is roasting some saté.'

Inem mentas m-bakar saté.
('name just-finished roast-agent=subject-patient=complement skewered-meat-with-sauce')
'Inem has just roasted some saté.'

Inem arep m-bakar-i saté.
('name will roast-continuation-to-completion-agent=subject-patient=complement skewered-meat-with-sauce')
'Inem is going to roast a lot of saté.'

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6.1.2 OTHER VERB TYPES

Intransitive verbs can be doubled to indicate that several such events took place, either involving several agents or a single agent in a series of events:

- **Anak2-é padek2 kabèh.**
  (child-plural-definite plural stand-plural all)
  'The children all support themselves (now).'</div>

- **Manuk-é adus2 terus.**
  (bird-definite bathe-repetitive continuously)
  'The bird keeps taking baths.'

Some intransitive verbs have forms with -an which are parallel to the -i forms of simple transitives in that they indicate that the event is continuous, or in process. In some cases these forms are used to imply an evaluation on the part of the speaker that a lack of seriousness or purpose is involved. This is particularly true if the action is usually momentary or if it normally follows a set pattern and requires a fixed amount of time:

- **Pak Kerta lungguh-an ana kurei.**
  (Mr. name sit-continuous in chair)
  'Mr. Kerta is sitting around in a chair.'

- **Wahyu jogè-an.**
  (name dance-continuous)
  'Wahyu is dancing around.'

But if the event normally takes some time to complete, the form with -an simply indicates that it is continuous or in process:

- **Wiwik kramas-an ana kolah.**
  (name wash-hair-continuous at tub-filled-with-water-for-bathing-or-room-containing-tub)
  'Wiwik is washing her hair in the bathroom,'

Many intransitive verbs also have reduplicated forms which may mean that the event in question is habitual:

- **Saben ésuk Wiwik be-belanja menyang pasar.**
  (every morning name shop-habitual to market)
  'Every morning Wiwik shops in the market.'

- **Pak Kerta dhemen ke-kumpul.**
  (Mr. name like gather-habitual)
  Mr. Kerta likes getting together with people.'

Nonagentive verbs can also be doubled to indicate either that all the members of

In addition to doubled forms and forms with -i, many simple transitive have prenasalized reduplicated forms. These can mean several things: someone always does something, someone likes to do something, someone has the ability to do something, someone has not done something all morning, or all day, week, etc., someone didn't do something to any particular thing. The meanings of positive sentences are habitual, but the characteristic which the negative and positive sentences have in common is in being ABSOLUTE, that is that something is always true, or that it has not been true ever up to this time. Examples of the various meaning possibilities in sentences are:

- **Pak Kerta tansa n-je-jupuk.**
  (Mr. name always get-absolute-agent=subject)
  'Mr. Kerta is always taking things.'

- **Pak Kerta iku seneng n-je-jaluk.**
  (Mr. name that like ask-for-absolute-agent=subject)
  'Mr. Kerta likes to ask people to give him things.'

- **Hadi iku durung tau nemabok (N-R-tabok) kanoa2 (kanoa-(n)é).**
  (Hadi that not-yet ever hit-absolute-agent=subject friend-definite)
  'Hadi has never hit his friends.'

- **Anggoné lunga Pak Kerta ora ng-ge-gawa.**
  (nominalizer-for-verb-phrase go Mr. name not carry-absolute-agent=subject)
  'When he left, Mr. Kerta didn't take anything.'

Sometimes the doubled prenasalized forms can be used in place of the reduplicated forms, particularly in the negative sentences, but the doubled forms do not seem to imply the absoluteness that the reduplicated forms do. They mean rather 'still hasn't, but probably eventually will'. The prenasalized reduplicated forms, in addition to their absolute meaning, can sometimes be used in sentences that mean that someone is involved in an activity without reference to a patient. This usage seems to be very much like the generalized meaning of unprenasalized reduplicated and doubled forms discussed in Chapter 3 under reduction:

- **Inem ng-ge-goreng ana pawon.**
  (name fry-generalized-agent=subject at kitchen)
  'Inem is frying in the kitchen.'
patient is repeatedly in the condition (if that is possible), or that the condition affects several places on the surface of a single patient:

Piringé ambayar2 waé.
(plate-definite shatter-repetitive only)
'The plates keep shattering.'

Luwangan2 ambleg2 terus.
(hole-definite caved-in-repetitive continuously)
'The hole keeps getting caved in.'

Sikuté bobak2.
(elbow-definite scratched-repetitive)
'His elbow is scratched in several place.'

A few nonagentive verbs also have forms with -am meaning that all the patients are in the condition in question:

Anggoné panën wis rampung-an.
(verb-nominalizer harvest already finished-continuous-to-completion)
'The harvesting is all finished.'

Anggoné masak wis mateng-an.
(verb-nominalizer cook already cooked-continuous-to-completion)
'The cooking is all ready.'

The difference between this and the doubled form is similar to the difference between the -i suffixed and doubled forms for simple transitives: the -am form means that all the members of an entire group are in the condition in question. The doubled form may be more random in scope. In addition, the -am form always implies that an event brought the condition about, while the doubled form does not carry such an implication.

Double transitives and derived forms of other verbs with the suffixes -i and -aké can also be doubled to indicate that the event in question occurred more than once. In this case the suffix is not included in the doubled portion:

Yanta nge-kèk2-i dhwít kanca2-né.
(name give-repetitive-agent=subject-object=complement money friend-plural-definite)
'Yanta gave his friends some money (on several occasions).'

Yanta nge-kèk2-aké dolanan-é marang kanca2é (kanca2-(n)é).
(name give-repetitive-agent=subject-object-complement toy-definite to friend-definite)
'Yanta gave his toys to his friend(s) (on several occasions).'

Pak Kerta nglarak2-aké (N-lara2-(k)-aké) attiné (ati-(n)é) Pak Marta waé.
(Mr. name hurt-cause-repetitive-cause=nonagentive=subject-patient=complement liver-(center-of-feelings)-definite Mr. name only)
'Mr. Kerta keeps hurting Mr. Marta's feelings.'

6.1.3 EMPHATIC REPETITIVE AND CONTINUATIVE FORMS

The continuative forms described above have emphatic forms as well. For simple transitives the emphatic form is made by doubling the base before adding -i:

Inem nge-dang2-i bakpao.
(name steam-continuative-emphatic-agent=subject-patient=complement large-roll-filled-with-meat-and-steamed)
'Inem steamed a lot of bakpao.'

Intransitive continuative verbs with -an have emphatic forms made by reduplication plus -an:

Wiwik be-bilas-an banyu anget.
(name rinse-continuative-emphatic water warm)
'Wiwik rinsed herself over and over again with warm water.'

Wiwik lelangén (R-longi-an) ana m-hlumbang.
(name swim-continuative-emphatic at loccitive-pond)
'Wiwik is swimming around and around in the pond.'

The continuative forms of nonagentive verbs, which are formed with -an, have emphatic forms made by doubling the root before adding -an:

Anggoné panën wis rampung2-an.
(verb-nominalizer harvest already finished-continuative-to-completion-emphatic)
'The harvesting is all entirely finished.'

6.1.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

On the following page I present a chart showing how the various morphological processes described so far in this chapter relate to each other.
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<th>repetitive</th>
<th>continuation to completion</th>
<th>habitual</th>
<th>emphatic continuative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>NAGENTIVE</strong></td>
<td>-2</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>NONE</td>
<td>rampung2an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambyar2</td>
<td></td>
<td>rampungan</td>
<td></td>
<td>'all absolutely completed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'repeatedly shattered'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'all completely finished'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INTRANSITIVE</strong></td>
<td>-2,</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>R-</td>
<td>R- -an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m- -2</td>
<td>kramaan</td>
<td>beblanja</td>
<td></td>
<td>bebilasan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N- -2</td>
<td>'in the process of washing one's hair'</td>
<td>'shop (habitually)'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'rinse (oneself) over and over'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mandheg2</td>
<td>'keep stopping'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TRANSITIVE</strong></td>
<td>N- 2</td>
<td>N- -i</td>
<td>N-R-</td>
<td>N- -2i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>methik2</td>
<td>methiki</td>
<td>ngengarang</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngedang2i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kembang</td>
<td>kembang</td>
<td>'compose (habitually)'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'steam a lot of something over and over'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'pick several flowers'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'pick all the flowers'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DOUBLATIVE</strong></td>
<td>N- -i</td>
<td>NONE</td>
<td>NONE</td>
<td>NONE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N- -aké</td>
<td>nge-kak2i</td>
<td>'give to repeatedly'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nge-kakaké</td>
<td></td>
<td>'give away repeatedly'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2 RECIPROCITY AND SIMULTANEITY

Verbs of all classes have forms indicating reciprocity, simultaneity, or usually both. Henceforth I refer to this semantic category as MUTUAL. Although the resulting forms bear superficial similarity to others already described in this chapter, all those were formed by adding a morpheme of doubling indicating plurality, emphasis, or intensity to a base which contained a separate -an suffix such as rampung2an, the emphatic form of rampungan 'completely finished'. The doubling plus -an with mutual meaning acts as a single morpheme and not a combination of two distinct processes.

The precise interpretation of this process depends on the verb class of the base, but in most cases there are various possibilities. For simple transitives, if the patient is human, the mutual form may mean 'perform the action on each other':

52
Nur karo Wahyu padha jiwit2-an.
(name and name plural pinch-mutual)
'Nur and Wahyu pinched each other.'

If both participants are being given equal emphasis, both are included in the subject. However, it is possible to focus on only one participant. In this case, the concomitant must be named following the verb. It is preceded by karo 'with, and'.

Ni jiwit2-an karo Wahyu.
(name pinch-mutual with name)
'Nur and Wahyu pinched each other.'

For acquisition verbs, if the source may be human, the mutual form may mean 'take each other's things', where the object-patient must appear after the verb as complement:

Wahyu karo Hadi jupuk2-an bal.
(name and name take-mutual ball)
'Wahyu and Hadi took each other's balls.'

For simple transitive verbs the patient of which is not human, the meaning of the mutual form may be reciprocal and benefactive, meaning 'perform the action on each other's things for the benefit of each other'. Again the patient must appear after the verb as complement:

Pak Kerta gawan2-an (gawa-2-(n)an)
barang karo Pak Marta.
(Mr. name carry-mutual thing with Mr. name)
'Mr. Kerta and Mr. Marta each carried the other's things for him.'

For most simple transitives, the meaning of the mutual form may also be to perform the action in question simultaneously, each agent working on his own patient:

Wiwik garaq2-an etung karo kanaané
(kanaa-(n)é).
(name work-mutual arithmetic-problem with friend-definite)
'Wiwik did arithmetic problems together with her friend.'

All of these possibilities apply to derived as well as basically transitive verbs. For double transitives or conveyance verbs derived from motion verbs, the meaning of the mutual form is usually to give each other the object in question; for communication verbs, to talk to each other. Again, wherever there is an inanimate object-patient which is distinct from the two human participants (which are simultaneously agent and goal), it must be mentioned as complement of the verb:

Wahyu karo Hadi padha kék2-an pangan-
an.
(name and name plural give-mutual food)
'Wahyu and Hadi gave food to each other.'

Wiwik karo Nur padha kandhan2an
(kandha-2-(n)an)
(name and name plural tell-mutual)
'Wiwik and Nur told each other something.'

Although the referent of a speaking verb is elsewhere treated grammatically as object, it does not follow the rule that objects must be specified as complements of mutual derivations. The rule here applies to concrete inanimate object-patients.

For motion verbs, the meaning of the mutual form may be to go to or from each other, or go somewhere together:

Wahyu karo Hadi padha playon2-an
(name and name plural run-mutual)
'Wahyu and Hadi ran toward each other,' or
'Wahyu and Hadi ran away from each other,' or
'Wahyu and Hadi ran around each other.'

For reflexive verbs, the meaning of the mutual form may be either to perform the reflexive action simultaneously, or to perform the action on each other:

Wahyu karo Hadi padha adus2-an
(name and name plural bathe-mutual)
'Wahyu and Hadi bathed together,' or
'Wahyu and Hadi bathed each other.'

For expulsion verbs, the meaning of the mutual form may be either to perform the action with each other as goal, or to perform the event simultaneously:

Wahyu karo Hadi padho argop2-an,
(name and name plural yawn-mutual)
'Wahyu and Hadi yawned at each other,' or
'Wahyu and Hadi yawned at the same time.'

For experiential verbs, the usual interpretation of the mutual form is to experience the emotion or sensation with reference to each other:

Ninik nesn2-an (nesu-2-(n)an) karo
kanaané (kanaa-(n)é)
(name angry-mutual with friend-definite)
'Ninik and her friend are angry with each other.'

For locational verbs, the mutual forms mean to be in, or move into the position in question with reference to each other:

Wahyu karo Hadi padha oedhak2-an,
(name and name plural near-mutual)
'Wahyu and Hadi approached each other.'

For clearly adjectival nonagents, the mutual forms usually mean to compare each other or each other's things to see which is the most (adjective):
Wahyu karo Hadi dhwur2-an (name and name tall-mutual)
'Wahyu and Hadi compared their heights.'

Wahyu karo Hadi dhwur2-an layangan. (name and name tall-mutual kites)
'Wahyu and Hadi compared their kites to see which was highest.'

Certain kinds of verbs have reciprocal forms with -an only and no doubling. These verbs also have forms with doubling plus -an meaning that the event was performed more than once or that more than two individuals were involved or that the event continued for some time. The three kinds of verbs for which this is true are (1) verbs which are by definition reciprocal:

Pak Kerta gandhêng-an karo Pak Marta. (Mr. name attached-mutual with Mr. name)
'Mr. Kerta walked hand in hand with Mr. Marta.'

Sapine (sapi-(n)é) gandhêng2-an. (cow-definite attached-plural-mutual)
'The cows are all tied together.'

(2) simple transitives of the approach subclass describing acts of physical violence:

Wahyu karo Hadi padha tabok-an. (name and name plural hit-mutual)
'Wahyu and Hadi hit each other (once).'

Wahyu karo Hadi padha tabok2-an. (name and name plural hit-plural-mutual)
'Wahyu and Hadi hit each other repeatedly.'

(3) most communication verbs:

Pak Kerta omong-an karo Pak Marta. (Mr. name talk-mutual with Mr. name)
'Mr. Kerta and Mr. Marta talked together for some time.'

Pak Kerta omong2-an karo Pak Marta. (Mr. name talk-plural-mutual with Mr. name)
'Mr. Kerta and Mr. Marta talked together for some time.'

There is an old form with reciprocal meaning which is still found occasionally. It consists of doubling the root and adding the infix -in- in the second occurrence of the root, as in takon-tinakan from takon 'ask'. In usage there is no difference between this and doubling with -an except that the former has a more formal, archaic, or poetic flavor. Taken literally, however, the meanings are not exactly the same. The forms with -in in the example means literally 'ask and be asked' so that the focus is on the viewpoint of one participant in a reciprocal event, identifying his roles as simultaneously or serially agent and goal. The form with -an, however,'(takon2-an) means literally 'ask each other', where both participants are treated equally and in each case the agitative role is focused on rather than the combined roles of a single participant.

6.3 PRETENSE, LACK OF SERIOUSNESS, UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT

There are various ways of indicating various sorts of lack of genuineness of conditions and events. Most verbs can double the base (not the root unless they happen to be the same) and add -an to mean that the condition or event in question is not genuine:

Wahyu mabur2-an ngango sarung. (name fly-pretense use sarung)
'Wahyu pretended to fly using a sarung (for wings).'

Wiwik mèsem2-an (name smile-pretense)
'Wiwik gave a phoney smile.' or 'Wiwik smiled (but she didn't mean it).'

Tapé (tapé-(n)é) ïku mung legèn2-an (legí-2-(n)an) wàé. (fermented-rice or cassava-drink-definite that just sweet-pretense only)
'Vehat tapé isn't really becoming sweet (the way it ought to).'

For simple transitive verbs, if a patient is included, the implication may be that something else is actually used and treated as though it were the patient named:

Nur karo Witri padha masak3-an bakmi. (name and name plural cook-pretense noodles)
'Nur and Witri are pretending to cook noodles (using something else and pretending that it's noodles).'

For nonagentives describing a condition, the doubled form may mean that the patient is somewhat in the condition in question, but not completely or not to an exceptional degree. The verb in this case must be followed by a modifier such as setththik 'a little' to indicate that this is the meaning intended and not that the patient is plural or that it is affected in several places (meanings described in 6.1.2):

Nangké (nangka-(n)é) bangka2 setththik. (jackfruit-definite rotten-somewhat a-little)
'The jackfruit is rather rotten.'

Some nonagentive verbs which refer to a human participant may take the in-
fix -um- to mean that someone behaves as though they thought they were that way: kemayu means 'behave as though one thought she were beautiful (by showing off, acting flirtatious), from ayu 'beautiful'. This derivation was described in 3.2.1.4.

Most active verbs can be doubled to indicate repeated unsuccessful attempts at performing the action in question:

Manuk-é maburé.
(bird-definite fly-repetitive)
'The bird kept trying to fly.'

This is no doubt an extention of the repetitive meaning of doubling described in 6.1.

6.4 STATES FROM EVENTS

Derived stative verbs from bases describing events also involve changes in role structure. There are two derivations from transitive verb bases which take a single participant, a patient. One is formed with the infix -um-, and the other with the suffix -an.

-um- forms from transitive verbs may have two meanings, both of which describe states. In general which meaning a given verb has is predictable from the meaning of its base. If the basic form indicates conveyance, the -um- form will mean that the object-patient is in the state of having been conveyed. For example, gumantung 'hung up, hanging' is from the event verb ng-antung 'hang'; gumelar 'rolled out' is from ng-gelar 'roll out', tumata 'arranged, in order' is from nota (N-tata) 'arrange', and lumadi 'served' is from ngladéni (N-ladi-(n)i) 'serve'. Though it is often misleading to translate a form in one language by a form in another, it may be helpful to suggest that the resulting Javanese forms are much like English past participles.

The other meaning of -um is adjectival and is discussed in 6.5.

-an may be added to the root of an event verb to form a verb which means that the patient is in the state that has been brought about by the event, usually implying that the event involved an agent:

Lawang-é kanging-an.
(door-definite lock-stative)
'The door is locked.'

Wedhus-é encang-an
(goat-definite tie-up-stative)
'The goat is tied up.'

Mejané (méja-(n)é) wis kelut-an.
(table-definite already dust-stative)
'The table is already dusted.'

This -an is like the -an applied to intransitive verb bases (described in 6.1.2) in that both have continuous meaning. The one applied to intransitive bases means 'in the act of doing something', which is not instantaneous. The -an under consideration here means 'in the state', which again cannot be instantaneous. It is also like the -an applied to nonagentives (described in 5.1.2) in that it means that the act which brought the patient into the state in question is completed.

Though many of these verbs are derived from simple transitive bases, the basic forms of some of them in fact describe states. In this case the -an is added to the derived transitive form. Although this cannot be determined from the forms, the meanings indicate this: bedah-án 'broken (as the result of an action)' comes from m-bedah 'break', which in turn is from bedah 'broken'. In most cases the state in question involves the patient's being attached to, detached from, or placed in some position with reference to another entity. This is very similar to the conditions for stative verbs formed with -um-, where the patient is also object of the event, though the patient of the -an form, it seems, may be object or goal. There are a few cases of competing forms with -an and -um-: temutup/tutupan 'closed' from n'tutup (N-tutup) 'close', ku'mano-ng/kano'ngan 'locked' from ngancing (N-kancing) 'lock', mino'ng/inepan 'closed' from ng-inep 'close'. The difference in meaning is that the -an form implies that the state was brought about intentionally by an agent, while the -um- form simply describes the state without reference to how it came about.

6.5 ADJECTIVES

Though with regard to the shape of basic forms, and for the purpose of describing derivational possibilities, the distinction between adjectives and stative verbs is not particularly relevant in Javanese, nonagentives which describe a permanent characteristic of a person or thing are for semantic purposes purely adjectival. Nearly all verbs of all classes have one or more derived forms which are semantically purely adjectival. In addition, basically adjectival words can undergo certain derivations.

An adjective can be made from another kind of verb by adding -an to the base (not the root unless they happen to be the same). The meaning of the derived adjective is 'be the sort of person or thing who/which is always performing the action in question (for event verbs), or who/which is always in the state in question (for stative verbs)'.

55
Karta iku boolah manut-an.
(name that child obey-adjectival)
'Yanto is an obedient child.'

Wahyu iku iisin-an.
(name that embarrassed/ashamed-adjectival)
'Wahyu is shy.'

Pak Karta iku wong latem (lali-an).
(Mr. name that person forget-adjectival)
'Mr. Kerta is a forgetful person.'

The causative -i described in Chapter 5 also forms an adjective, as in, for example, matuki 'have the characteristic of causing coughing' from watuk 'cough.' This derivation also involves role differences since the subject of the adjectival form is not patient but force.

Finally, there is an -um- form, referred to above, which forms an adjective from transitive verbs. If the basic form of the verb indicates acquisition or involves an event having an effect on the patient beyond simply altering its position, then the -um- form indicates potential, meaning 'good to be ... -ed.'

Many of the acquisition -um- forms would only be used jokingly. Examples are omekal 'good to be grabbed' from myekel (N-ekel) 'catch, hold,' jumaluk 'good to be asked for' from n-jaluk 'ask for,' gumakar 'good to be roasted' from m-akar 'roast,' jumotos 'good to be hit' from n-jotos 'hit with the fist.'

We now turn our attention to derivations which can be applied to adjective bases. Except in the case of a very few nonagatives which relate to size, Javanese does not have any regular inflectional pattern to indicate degree in adjectives. For these few verbs, prenasalization and the suffix -i form a verb meaning that the patient is more in the condition in question than a referent is:

Wahyu nyilik (N-cilik-i) kanaané
(kanana-(m)é).
(name small-relative-patient=subject-referent=complement friend-definite)
'Wahyu is smaller than his friend(s),'

These forms can also be passivized:

Hadi di-cilik-i Wahyu.
(name small-relative-referent=subject name)
'Hadi is exceeded in smallness by Wahyu.'

In addition to this unproductive pattern, all nonagative verbs except those which may imply a benefactive, such as taste and temperature words, may take the circumfix ke- -en to mean 'too ...':

Daging-é kaloten (ke-alot-en).
(meat-definite tough-too)
'The meat is too tough.'

Such a statement is, of course, judgemental, usually on the part of the speaker, though it is possible to phrase the remark as a question inquiring as to whether the addressee is affected in that way:

Apa daging-é kaloten (ke-alot-en)?
(question meat-definite tough-too)
'Is the meat too tough (for you) ?'

6.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

A large portion of this chapter involved a description of derivations to form stative verbs and adjectives from verbs describing events. The chart on the following page summarizes derivations of event verbs from stative verbs (described in Chapter 3), stative verbs from event verbs, and adjectives from other classes of predicate words.

NOTES

1. For most simple transitive verbs, there are also doubled forms with vowel change, implying, in addition to repetition of the event, irritation toward it on the part of the speaker. This has been described by Uhlenbeck (1953b).

2. This is one clear case where reduplication and doubling differ. Most of these verbs also have forms that are doubled with -an, which have reciprocal or simultaneous meanings. See 6.2.

3. For roots ending in a vowel there is an alternant consisting of doubling of the combination of root plus -an:

   Wiwik langen2 ((langi-an)-2) ana
   m-blumbung.
   (name swim-continuative-emphatic at locative-pond)
   'Wiwik is swimming around and around in the pond.'

4. If -um- is added to a verb beginning with /b/, the /b/ becomes /g/. Why this should be the case is not known, but it is interesting that the same alternation occurs in Mongondow, a language of Northern Sulawesi (Celebes). In Mongondow, it may be either phonologically or morphologically conditioned.
### Chart 4: Derivation: events and states

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Events from states</th>
<th>States from events</th>
<th>Adjective formation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>addition of agent</strong> to object</td>
<td>not implying preceding event</td>
<td>from any base:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-</td>
<td>-um-</td>
<td>-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nibo</td>
<td>gumantung</td>
<td>manutan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'fall intentionally'</td>
<td>'hung up'</td>
<td>'obedient'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of role to</td>
<td>of implying preceding event</td>
<td>from simple transitives:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>-um-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngesel</td>
<td>kancingan</td>
<td>oemekel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'pretend to be tired'</td>
<td>'locked'</td>
<td>'good to be caught'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>for</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>from nonagentive or involutive expulsion bases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>N- -i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhumuwur</td>
<td></td>
<td>matuki 'cough causing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'pretend to be of high status'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>addition of agent</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ngrusak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'break'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>addition of agent</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>N- -i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngwati</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'strengthen'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>addition of non-agentive cause</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N- -akè</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguwatakè</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'make strong'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no N- -i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>role mbonyoki</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>change 'become more and more wounded and infected'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 7
DISCOURSE ROLES

7.0 PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The classification and overall structure of Javanese discourses is an interesting topic but beyond the scope of this study. In this chapter, I simply intend to show how many verb forms and related syntactic matters are determined by phenomena which occur outside the clause in question, that is elsewhere in the discourse. I first discuss topicalization in Javanese (7.1), then Javanese information structure (7.2), and finally definiteness (7.3). In a final section (7.4), I summarize the preceding discussions and explain how these various categories, topicalization, information structure, and definiteness, are related.

7.1 TOPICALIZATION

In this section I discuss subject and predicate (7.1.1.) in verbal sentences (7.1.1.), and equational sentences (7.1.2.). I then discuss topic-comment sentences (7.1.2.), describe primary and secondary topics (7.1.3.), and finally discuss topic selection (7.1.4.).

7.1.1 SUBJECT AND PREDICATE

Fillmore (1968a) has suggested that the subject-predicate division is a purely surface phenomenon. Halliday (1967-68) has noted that subject is a necessary part of the apparatus used to encode modality in English. Subject in Javanese is not exactly the same thing as subject in English, although for Javanese sentences in isolation Fillmore’s suggestion seems to be true. The subject-predicate distinction for sentences in context, however, is important and it must be distinguished from another kind of cut, that between new and old information.

7.1.1.1 VERBAL SENTENCES

The subject of Javanese sentences with intransitive or nonagentive verbs is the participant to which the verb refers, usually the only noun phrase in the sentence not preceded by a preposition:

Pak Kerta teka (saka kutha).
(Mr. name arrive from city)
'Mr. Kerta arrived (from the city)

Pak Kerta nesu (karo bojoné (bojo-(n)é)).
(Mr. name angry with spouse-definite)
'Mr. Kerta is angry (with his wife).

Omah-é adoh (saka kéné).
(house-definite far from here)
'The house is far away' or
'The house is far from here.'

The subjects of the preceding sentences are Pak Kerta, Pak Kerta, and omah-é respectively.
The subject of sentences with transitive verbs is identified by verbal affixation which indicates the semantic role of the subject:

Ken Angrok nyilihaké (N-silih-aké)
keris-é marang Kebo Ijo.
(name lend-agent=subject-object=
complement kind-of-sword-definite to
name)
'Ken Angrok lent his keris to Kebo
Ijo.'

Keris-é日记-silih-aké (dénig Ken
Angrok) marang Kebo Ijo.
(sword-definite lend-object=subject
by name to name)
'The keris was lent (by Ken Angrok)
to Kebo Ijo.'

Kebo Ijo diary-silih-i keris (dénig
Ken Angrok).
(name lend-goal=subject sword (by
name)
'Kebo Ijo was lent a keris by Ken
Angrok.'

The prenasalization in the first sentence indicates that the agent is subject. The preposed pronominal in the second and third sentences indicates that the agent is not subject. The suffix -aké in the second sentence indicates that the object is subject, and the suffix -i in the third
sentence indicates that the goal is sub-
ject. For sentences which are not of the
topic-comment variety (discussed in 7.1.2),
the subject is always equivalent to the
TOPIC; that is, it is what is being talked
about. The normal unmarked order is for
the topic to occur initially, as it does
in all the examples given so far. It may
appear superfluous to use both terms, sub-
ject and topic, with regard to subject-
predicate sentences, since they are usu-
ally identical. However, with topic-comment
sentences they are not, and it is
significant that the subject-topic of a
subject-predicate sentence is like the sub-
ject of a topic-comment sentence in its
relationship to the predicate, but is like
the topic of a topic-comment sentence in
its function in the discourse. 

7.1.1.2 EQUATIONAL SENTENCES

Equational sentences assert the equiva-

cence of two noun phrases, for example

Bu Tutoyo kwì guruné (guru-'n á) Ni

Nínik.
(Mrs. name that teacher-definite
name)
'Mrs. Tutoyo is Ninik's teacher.'

The subject-topic is Bu Tutoyo kwì.
Questions which ask for a particular
item of information with reference to an
event or condition or individual, and not
whether or not the sentence is true, are
usually equational and are thus structur-
ally quite different from English questions
with the same meanings. The verb of the
Javanese question may be nominalized by
adding either anggoné or oléné (lé collo-
quially) before an intransitive verb or
before the active form of a transitive verb:

Lé teka dhèk kapan?
(nominalizer arrive preceding-time
when)
'When did he arrive?'

Lé teka suk kapan?
(nominalizer arrive future-time
when)
'When will he arrive?'

If the question asks for the identity of
a participant, sîng may be added before
the form indicating the role of that par-
cipant:

Sîng mundhut (N-pundhut) sapa?
(the-one-who buy-krama-inggil-agent=
subject who)
'Who bought it?'

Sîng di-pundhut-ké sapa?
(the-one-who buy-Krama-inggil-bene-

tactive=subject who)
'Who was it bought for?'

Sîng di-pundhut Ibu apa?
(That-which buy-Krama-Inggil-patient=
subject Mother what)
'What did Mother buy?'

The nominalized verb or verb phrase is the
topic in all cases as well as the presup-
posed part of the sentence. This is quite
different from the surface structure of
the equivalent English questions, where
the verb is in the predicate.

7.1.2 TOPIC-COMMENT SENTENCES

Topic-comment sentences are equation-
al sentences in which the predicate (com-
ment) is itself a sentence containing a
subject and a predicate. Though such sen-
tences occur in English, as Halliday points
out, they are always highly marked. In
Javanese, topic-comment constructions are
unmarked and are very commonly used to say
(1) that something is true of somebody's
possession, relative, or friend, (2) that
somebody does something, did something, is
doing something in a particular manner:

Pak Kerta, anak-é telu.
(Mr. name child-definite three)
'Mr. Kerta has three children.'

Pak Kerta kwì, omah-é gedhé.
(Mr. name that, house-definite large)
'Mr. Kerta has a large house.'

Édi, anggoné mlayu cepet.
(name nominalizer run fast)
'Édi runs fast.'

There are untopicalized forms of the same
sentences. These are all equational:

Anak-é Pak Kerta telu.
(child-definite Mr. name three)
'Mr. Kerta has three children.'

Omah-é Pak Kerta gedhé.
(house-definite Mr. name large)
'Mr. Kerta's house is large.'

Anggoné mlayu Édi cepet.
(nominalizer run name fast)
'Édi runs fast.'

In these sentences, the topics are anak-é
(Pak Kerta), omah-é (Pak Kerta), and
anggoné mlayu (Édi) respectively. The selec-
tion between the topicalized and untopo-
cialized forms, as one might expect, de-
pends on what the topic has been in pre-
ceding stretches of the discourse. This
is discussed further in 7.1.4.
Though these are the most common
sorts of topic-comment sentences, it is
also possible for the topic itself to be
a nominalized sentence. This is a rather complicated structure and would occur only if one wanted to say something about another participant in an event in which the agent was the only given information:

Anggoné adang Déwi Nawang Wulan, pariné (pari-(n)i) kok sitíkh banget. (nominalizer cook-rice goddess name unhusked-rice-definite why-is-it a-little very)
'Whene'er Dewi Nawang Wulan cooked rice, it is strange that (she used) only a very little unhusked rice.'

It is also possible to topologicize the topic of such a sentence:

Déwi Nawang Wulan, anggoné adang, pariné (pari-(n)i) kok sitíkh banget. (goddess name nominalizer cook-rice unhusked-rice-definite why-is-it a-little very)
'Dewi Nawang Wulan, when she cooked rice, it is strange that (she used) only a very little unhusked rice.'

7.1.3 PRIMARY AND SECONDARY TOPIC

For topic-comment sentences, while the topic is obviously primary topic, the subject of the comment can be regarded as secondary topic. In the sentence

Pak Kerta kuwi omah-é gedhé.
'Mr. Kerta has a large house.'

Pak Kerta kuwi is the topic, and omah-é gedhé is the comment. Omah-é is subject of the comment, and gedhé is predicate. Pak Kerta kuwi is the primary topic and omah-é is the secondary topic.

For sentences with double topics, such as

Déwi Nawang Wulan, anggoné adang, pariné (pari-(n)i) kok sitíkh banget. (goddess name nominalizer cook-rice unhusked-rice-definite why-is-it a-little very)
'Dewi Nawang Wulan, when she cooked rice, it is strange that (she used) only a very little unhusked rice.'

there is also a tertiary topic. Déwi Nawang Wulan is primary topic, anggoné adang 'her cooking of the rice' is secondary topic, and pariné 'the unhusked rice' is tertiary topic.

7.1.4 TOPIC SELECTION

If more than one participant occurs in a sentence and it is possible to in-

fect the verb to indicate either of these participants as subject, then topic selection may be a matter of choice on the part of the speaker. Rules can be stated, however, defining the unmarked or neutral selection in the simpler cases.

If only one participant occurs in a series of utterances, it, of course, must be the topic throughout, as in sentences (8) and (9) of the story Kancil Ngapuwi Maan (see texts). Kancil is subject-topic with reference to nine verbs: kalebu 'be included among', tangi 'get up', nguis-nsiil 'yawn and squirm', kriyap-kriyap 'squit eyes from sleepiness', angop 'yawn', and elik 'bad'.

If only one participant occurs in common to a series of utterances, while other participants are not mentioned more than once each, that participant must be cast as the subject-topic throughout, as in

Anuju awiijining dina, Këm Endhok lunga saka omah-é, arep ngirim (N-kirim) bojoné (bojo-(n)i).
(happen-to-be one day name go from house-definite will send-agent-subject-goal=complement spouse-definite)
'One day Ken Endhok left her house to take some food to her husband.'

Nanging, tekan (teka-an) ing dalan ke-temu karo Bathara Brama.
(but arrive-goal=new-setting locative road meet-accidental-patient=sub-
ject with Bathara Brama-(name of god))
'But upon reaching the road, she met Bathara Brama.'

Here Ken Endhok is subject of each of the verbs lunga 'go', ngirim 'send', tekan 'arrive', and ketemu 'happen to meet'. The verb forms identify the role of the subject as agent-object (lunga), agentvehicle (ngirim), agent-object (tekan), and patient-object (ketemu) respectively. With each clause there is one other participant mentioned: omah-é 'her house', bojoné 'her husband', dalan 'road', and Bathara Brama respectively, but since none of these is repeated and Këm Endhok is a participant in each of the four events, she is the topic throughout.

The topic changes if a participant is introduced in the last of a series of utterances with a given topic and then continues to be the only participant in common with a following series. The new participant must be made the topic beginning with the second verb in regard to which it is a participant:

Bayu kraa Lara lan org bisa bali menyang papan padatan-é.
(Crocodile feel hurt and not be-able return to place usual-definite)
'Crocodile was hurt and couldn't return to his usual place.'
Hula kanti memelas Baya mau n-jaluk tuling marang Bantèng supaya glelem nge-ter-aké menyang ing papan-è.
(and-so with pitiful crocodile earlier ask-for-agent=subject-patient=complement to help to bull so-that be-willing convey-agent=subject-object=complement to locative place-definite)
'And so pitifully, Crocodile asked
for help from Bull, (asked) that
(Bull) take him (back) to his place.'

Bantèng uga nyaguki (N-saguk-i)
(Bull also be-willing-agent=subject-
ref-vent=complement)
'Bull said that he would.'

Bantèng 'Bull' is first mentioned in the
clause Baya . . . njaluk tuling marang Bantèng 'Crocodile asked for help from Bull'. With the next verb, glelem (nge-ter-
akè) 'be willing (to take)' Bantèng be-
comes topic and continues as topic in the following sentence where Baya 'Crocodile' is no longer a participant.

If two participants occur in a series of utterances and one is an existing agent, the other patient, after its intro-
duction, the tendency is for the patient to be primary topic. This accounts for the prevalence of passive sentences in
Javanese as compared to English. In Sen-
tences (8), (9), and (10) of Excerpt B
from the story of Kèn Angrok (see texts), Limbong is the topic throughout the first
sentence, and a baby is introduced in the last clause of that sentence. Following this, the baby is patient consistently and though Limbong is agent of dè-sehak-i
'approached', dè-bopong 'picked up', and dè-gawa (mulih) 'carried (homel)', it is the baby which is topic.

The tendency for patient to be treat-
ed as topic in Javanese wherever the same
two participants are consistently agent
and patient is particularly apparent in
recipes where the ingredients are first
introduced and thereafter all instruc-
tions are passive (see texts A and B).
The rule may not hold, however, if the
agent was topic before the introduction of
the patient, the patient does not occur in
more than two or three clauses, and the
agent will continue to be topic afterwards.
In this case the agent is likely to be
topic throughout. In Sentence (22) of Kanôl Ngapui Maacan, Kanôl 'Mousedeer'
'is introduced as complement of wersh 'see'
where Maacan 'Tiger' is topic. In the two
succeeding clauses, Maacan is agent and
Kanôl is patient. This would normally
require that Kanôl be made topic. How-
ever, in the very next clause Maacan speaks and Kanôl is no longer a participant. Therefore Maacan remains topic in all three
clauses in which Kanôl is a participant.
In sequences involving two partici-
pants which alternate being agent, the
tendency seems to be to make the agent of
each clause topic of that clause. From
the last clause of Sentence (83) in Kanôl
Ngapui Maacan through Sentence (88) Kanôl
(dhèwèkè 'he') is agent and topic of miayu
'run', then Maacan is agent and topic of
tenguk-tenguk 'sit alone' and ngundang
'call' in the two following clauses.
Next, Kanôl is again agent and topic of
mangsi 'answer and nutugaké 'continue',
and finally Maacan is agent and topic of
ngundang 'call'.

The occurrence of more than two par-
ticipants in successive sentences is rel-
avely rare. Such instances often appear
to be at high points of action in a narra-
tive. Though the speaker seems to have a
much greater range of choice in topic se-
lection in this case, there does seem to
be a tendency to make the two most recent-
ly mentioned participants primary and sec-
ondary topic, and to leave as the untopic-
ialized element the one which is to be
topic in the following sentence. In Ex-
cerp F from Kèn Angrok, Kèn Angrok has
just returned from the craftsman mpu Gan-
dring with the keri. In Sentence (3)
Kèn Angrok is the primary topic of mamè-
akè and the keri is secondary topic.
Kèbo Ijo, who was just introduced in Sen-
tence (1), is untopicized in Sentence
(3), but in Sentences (4) and (5) Kèbo Ijo
is topic. Similarly in Excerpt F of the
story, where the servant has just returned
with the keri from murdering Kèn Angrok
according to the orders of Prince Anusopati,
the keri is primary topic of dicoaakè
'give', and Anusopati, the goal, who did
not appear in the preceding scene, is un-
topicized. In Sentence (2), however,
Anusopati becomes the topic.

7.2 INFORMATION STRUCTURE

Halliday distinguishes OLD or GIVEN
INFORMATION from NEW. Given information
is anything referred to in the preceding
utterances. New information is new-
relative to the given, though it may be some-
thing that has been mentioned previously
in the discourse. The term INFORMATION
FOCUS refers to that element of new infor-
mation which the speaker wishes the list-
tener to regard as most informative.

In Javanese, the information focus is
usually in the second part of an utterance.
In unmarked instances, the topic is old
information and is preverbal, as in Sentence
(10) of Kanôl hgapui Maacan, where Kanôl
has been the topic in Sentences (6) through
(9) and still is. This is why question
words come last (7.1.1.2). They are al-
ways the information focus.

When the topic of a sentence is new
information and the speaker wants to focus
on this, the word order is reversed. This
most often occurs when a new character
is introduced in a discourse or when a char-
acter who has not been mentioned for
some time reappears, as in Sentence (11) or
Kanôl Ngapui Maacan. This sentence fol-
low the one referred to above. Maacan
'Tiger' is the only noun phrase in the
sentence on which the verb can focus, so
it must be topic. However, it is new information. Therefore the word order is inverted.

Sometimes inverted word order occurs when there is more than one participant in the sentence and all have been taking part in the scene at hand. In this case the information focus is not on the existence of the finally placed topic, but on the fact that that participant has a particular role with respect to the verb. For example, in Sentence (23) of Kancil Ngapuwi Ma acne, kowé 'you' referring to Mousse deer is subject-topic of the verb kemah-kemah 'chew up', and is in final position; the other participant, indicated by the preposed pronominal tak 'by me', is Tiger. Both animals have been participants in this scene for some time. The information focus is on the fact that Mousse deer will be the patient of kemah-kemah 'chew up'.

Time and locative phrases may be added to a clause finally or initially in Javanese. If the only given information in a sentence is a time or locative phrase, it occurs sentence initially,6 as in Sentence (6) of Excerpt B from the story of Kèn Angrok. Here the village has been mentioned before, but the rest of the sentence, which states the existence of a man named Limbang, is all new information. If a time or locative phrase contains new information, it occurs sentence finally, as in:

San jur Kèn Angrok meguru marang mp u Janggan ing dèsa Sugenggeng.
(then name study to title-for-skilled-person name at village Sugenggeng)
'Then Ken Angrok studied from mpu Janggan in Sugenggeng village.'

where Sugenggeng village has not been mentioned before.

If the only old information in a sentence is contained in a prepositional phrase, that prepositional phrase occurs first, as in Sentence (3) of Excerpt D from Kèn Angrok. Here, the pronoun dhé-wéké refers to sawijining pandhit a anyar 'a new priest', which is the topic of lagi nene nèka 'had' in the preceding clause. The priest is the only participant occurring in that clause which also occurs in Sentence (5), and so in Sentence (3) it occurs first.

Normal unmarked word order for verbal sentences referring to two or three participants is topic first followed by verb followed by other participants, as in

Keris-é dè-stilh-aké (dénings) Kèn Angrok marang kebo Ijo.
(sword-definite lend-object=subject (by) name to name)
'The keris was lent by Ken Angrok to Kebo Ijo.'

where the keris is topic, and the other participants, Kèn Angrok the agent, and Kebo Ijo the goal, follow the verb. If,

however, in a passive sentence, the agent as well as the topic are given information and the speaker wishes to place information focus on the agent as well as on the other participant, the agent will be named following the topic and preceding the verb, as in Sentence (1) of Excerpt F from Kèn Angrok. At this point in the story, a servant has just returned from murdering the king, Ken Angrok, according to the instructions of Prince Anusopati. Both the servant and the keris appeared in the preceding scene, but the prince did not. The keris is the topic here, but the servant, which is also given information, is also named preceding the verb, which is new information.

Just as where there is more than one element of given information the most recently mentioned element is stated first, where there is more than one element of new information, the element that carries the information focus, in narrative, is usually stated last. In topic-comment sentences, the entire comment is usually new information. The unmarked order for the comment is subject followed by predicate, as in

Pek Kerta, minak-é tela.
(Mr. name child-definite three)
'Mr. Kerta has three children.'

If, however, information focus is placed on the subject, the order is reversed:

Kèn Dèdè, misuwur kasuli syaning aitrànè (aitrén-i). (name famous beauty-of face-or-appearance-definite)
'Ken Dedes is famous for her beauty.'

Here Kèn Dèdè is topic, misuwur 'famous' is predicate of the comment, and kasulisnyaning aitrànè 'beauty of face' is the subject. The information focus is on kasulisnyaning aitrànè.

Occasionally, particularly with existential sentences, which often occur at the beginning of a story or after a change of setting where a new character is introduced, all information given in a sentence may be new. In this case it appears that the most common order is to place information focus on the topic, that is, for it to occur last, as in

Anuju sawijining dina ana mbok randha.
(happen-to-be one-linker day there-is Mrs.-low widow)
'Once upon a time there was a widow.'

where all the information is new, mbok randha is the topic, and also the point of information focus. There may be instances, however, in existential sentences where the speaker wants to give information focus to the fact that something does or does not exist, rather than to the identity of that thing. In this case, the topic precedes the predicate, as in the second sentence below.
Aja kwatir kang Garèng, oekakè arep mangan (N-pangan) kwèt apa waè, sa-gendhing-mu.

(don't worry older-brother-low name, short-definite will eat-agent-subject-patient=complement cake what only=(= whatever) whatever-song-your=(=whatever you like))

'Don't worry, brother Garèng, in short, you want to eat any kind of cake at all, whatever you want.'

Sepèk kuk, ora ana; kwèt tar, ora ana; kwèt bleg, ora ana; kwèt teles, ora ana; kering-kerigèn, ora ana.

(spice cake not there-is cake tart-=(=frosted cake) not there-is cake tin-can-=(=cookies) not there-is cake wet-=(=not canned) not there-is dry-things not there is)

'Spice cake, we don't have any; frosted cakes, we don't have any; cookies, we don't have any; moist cake, we don't have any; crunchy things to nibble on, we don't have any.'

This is from a dialogue between two clowns in a comical skit. The non-existence or non-presence of each of the delicacies offered is the punch line in each case, so that ora ana, the predicate, occurs last in each clause, even though the topic is also new information.

There are two verb forms in Javanese meaning 'arrive', teka and tekan (teka-an). Which one is used is determined by whether the subject is given or new information. If the subject is given, that is has been a participant, usually the topic, in the immediately preceding utterances, tekan is used:

Bareng we tamat lan krungu menawa dhewèkè di-anacan dèning kewu Tunggul Ametung, barjir lunga minggalakè (sènggul-akè) dèsan (dèsa-n'èjè), tekan (teka-an) ing dèsa Wayang.

(when already finish-studies and hear-patient=subject that he threatens-patient=subject by king name, then go leave-behind-agent=subject-object=complement village-definite arrive-topic=subject-goal=new-setting locative village Wayang)

'When he had finished his studies and heard that he was threatened by the King Tunggul Ametung, he then left his village and arrived at Wayang Village.'

If, however, the subject of the verb is new information relative to the scene under consideration (not necessarily mentioned for the first time in the story), teka is used, as in Sentence (3) of Excerpt C from Kèn Angroèk. The only character in this scene up to this point, that is in Sentences (1) and (2), has been mpu Palot. Then Kèn Angroèk, who has not been present, suddenly appears.

There are two possible diachronic explanations for the two verb forms. The

-an of tekan could be the vestige of a counterpart for intransitive verbs of goal focus -i of transitive verbs,9 or perhaps at some time in the past tekan meant 'be in the state of having arrived', involving a meaning of -an described in Chapter 6, while teka referred to the action. This explanation is suggested by the fact that there are also two forms of the verb for 'go', lunga and lungan (lunga-an). Lungan means 'in the state of being away from home', usually said at the residence of the person who is not there in explanation to someone who is looking for that person. Lunga refers to the action. At any rate, regardless of the historical source of the forms teka and tekan, their meanings at present are as described above. Teka means that a participant not recently mentioned arrives on the established scene, while tekan means that the participant we have been talking about arrives at a new setting.

7.3 DEFINITENESS

A noun is definite if the speaker can assume that the listener knows about the existence of the thing it refers to. In Javanese, such a thing may be indicated by a noun suffixed with the definite marker -(n)è, or by a proper name, by a kinship term used as a name, or by a noun modified by one of the demonstratives iki 'this', kwi 'that', kàdè 'that over there'.10

If two or more things are mentioned in series, often only the last is marked as definite, implying that all the other items in the series are also definite. Examples of this are Sentences (4) and (5) in the recipe Kàrè Kobia, where kobía lan kentang-è means 'the cabbage and potatoes' and kobia, daging, lan kentang-è 'the cabbage, meat, and potatoes'. Only 'potatoes', the last item in each list is marked as definite.

Anything that is not definite is indefinite. Indefinite actually means two different things. It may mean anything which belongs to a particular class, as in

Pak Kerta adol pitik.

(Mr. name sell chicken)

'Mr. Kerta sells chickens.'

or it may mean a particular item which has not yet been identified by the speaker and is probably not known about by the listener, as in

Pak Kerta tuku omah.

(Mr. name buy house)

'Mr. Kerta bought a house.'

For Javanese it is not significant grammatically which sort of indefiniteness is involved. What is significant is simply whether or not a thing referred to is
definite.
There are in Javanese a handful of transitive verbs with unaffixed forms.
These mean among other things, that the patient is indefinite. Examples are adol 'sell' and tuku 'buy' in the sentences above, as well as the verbs in the following sentences:

Pak Kerta wis ora garap sawah.
(Mr. name already not work rice-field)
'Mr. Kerta doesn't work rice fields any more.'

Pak Kerta tunggu wong Lara.
(Mr. name wait=attend person sick)
'Mr. Kerta is attending a sick person.'

In some cases these unaffixed forms refer to a habitual action, as in the sentences with adol 'sell', garap 'work, but the significant fact is that the complement is indefinite and the complement of the corresponding prenasalized form must be definite:

Pak Kerta nge-dol pitik-é katâ.
(Mr. name sell=agent=subject=patient=complement chicken=cn-definite type-of=miniature-chicken)
'Mr. Kerta sold his miniature chicken.'

Pak Kerta lagi ng-garap sawah-é.
(Mr. name in-the-process work=agent=subject-patient=complement rice-field-definite)
'Mr. Kerta is working his rice field.'

Pak Kerta muku (N-tuku) omah-é Pak Marta.
(Mr. name buy=agent=subject-patient=complement house-definite Mr. name)
'Mr. Kerta bought Mr. Marta's house.'

Pak Kerta munngu (N-tunngu) Pak Marta.
(Mr. name wait=agent=subject-patient=complement Mr. name)
'Mr. Kerta is attending Mr. Marta.' or
'Mr. Kerta is waiting for Mr. Marta.'

A new participant may be introduced into a discourse as complement of the unaffixed form of such a transitive verb, or it may be introduced by an existential sentence such as Sentence (6) of Excerpt B of Ken Angrok.

A character mentioned in a discourse for the first time is not necessarily indefinite. The speaker may for some reason be able to assume that the listener has heard about this character. In the mouse-deer story, both animals, Tiger and Mouse-deer, are treated as definite when they are first introduced. This is because they are familiar characters to Javanese children and they recur in numerous stories, like the characters of Uncle Remus stories. Similarly in the story of Ken Angrok, the Hindu god Bhatara Brama is treated as definite when he is introduced because it is assumed that everyone knows who he is (Excerpt A, Sentence (1)).

New information is not necessarily indefinite. In the preceding example Bhatara Brama is new information in the discourse but definite. So are each of the animals in the mouse-deer story when they are introduced. In Ken Angrok, Excerpt C, Sentence (3), Ken Angrok is new information since he has not been present in that setting so far during the scene, but he is definite since he has already been introduced in the story, and is, in fact, the hero.

7.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

There are three structural categories in Javanese sentences which relate to phenomena found elsewhere in the discourse or even outside the discourse in question. These categories are topicalization, information structure, and definiteness. In addition, there is a structural division found in Javanese sentences which is contained within those sentences and is not determined by any exterior phenomena. This is the division of sentences into subject and predicate. There is often an overlap between two or more of these four categories; but there are also instances when each of them must be distinguished from all of the others. In subject-predicate sentences, the subject is always the same as the topic, but in topic-comment sentences, subject and topic are distinct. The subject-topic of a subject-predicate sentence is like the subject of a topic-comment sentence in its relationship to the predicate, and like the topic of a topic-comment sentence in its function in the discourse, or, in other words, the subject aspect of the topic has to do with its relationship to the predicate in that sentence, while the topic aspect of a subject-topic has to do with its relationship to other sentences in the discourse.

Information structure is indicated by word order, with the most recently mentioned given information first and information focus on what occurs finally. In the most neutral instance, the topic is also given information and occurs sentence initially but, particularly where new participants are introduced, the topic may be new information, and if information focus is placed on it, it occurs finally. Even where the topic is given information, there may be a more recently mentioned element of given information indicated by a locative or temporal phrase or by a prepositional phrase which precedes the topic. Where some element other than the topic is also given information and where information focus is placed on the predicate as well as on a third participant, the other element of given information follows the topic but precedes the predicate.
New information may be indefinite, but it is not necessarily so. If an element of information is new relative to the cene in question, but has been mentioned earlier in the discourse or is assumed by the speaker to be known about by the listener, it is definite but may be given information focus.

4. Whereas with the active form of a transitive verb or with an intransitive verb where the question asks for the identity of an individual, either *lé* or *sing* may be used, elsewhere there is no choice. If some other item of information is asked for, as in *lé teka dhék kapan* 'When did he arrive?' *lé* must be used. If passive verb forms occur, and it is the identity of the participant which is asked for, *sing* must be used.

5. The translation of Omah-é Pak Kerta gedhé, as 'Mr. Kerta's house is large,' and Pak Kerta *kwa:l, omah-é gedhé* as 'Mr. Kerta has a large house' suggest questions concerning Javanese realization of the possessive and *be* and how they support or refute proposals which have been made concerning the semantic nature of these concepts. Actually, I translated the two sentences in this way to emphasize that while 'Mr. Kerta's house' is topic in the simple equational sentence, 'Mr. Kerta' is topic in the topic-comment sentence. There is no verb in Javanese meaning 'have'. It is *ndwé*. It occurs in sentences stating that someone possesses something where the possessed item is indefinite and new information: *Pak Kerta ndwé omah* 'Mr. Kerta has a house.' In both sentences in the text, however, *omah* is definite and old information. The new information is that the house is large. The possessed item in a sentence with *ndwé* may also be modified: *Pak Kerta ndwé omah gedhé, 'Mr. Kerta has a large house.' Probably in all cases the semantic structure contains two propositions: *Mr. Kerta has a house. The house is large.* The sentence with *ndwé* emphasizes the first of these, while the others emphasize the second.

Since *ndwé* is unsuffixed, it cannot suggest anything about the roles of the possessor or the possessed item, which are discussed in Fillmore (1968a) and Lake (1969). There is a less common alternative form of the verb, *ndwéni* (*N-ndwé-*(n)j(i) (Ken Angrok, Excerpt E, Sentencc (1))), which contains the -i usually associated with non-object roles. This would seem to eliminate the possibility of the possessed item being object, the possessor goal. However, -i is also sometimes used to identify a participant in the subject-object alignment. There is no contrast between object and non-object among non-subjects of the active verb form, particularly in derived forms, as this is. Also Javanese sometimes treats as grammatical patient participants which are not patients, as with verbs of the referential subclass of two place transitive, so I think there is no conclusive evidence here that any of the proposals concerning the role structure of 'have' either are or are not true.

Javanese also has an explicit word *ana* indicating *existence or location*. Lakoff (1970) equates it with 'be' and uses the fact that it sometimes primes *be* in a leftward position to prove that such phrases are predicates in semantic structure. Lakoff's proposal may very well be valid, but I think he is wrong to equate *ana* with 'be'. While the English verb is clearly a predicate marker,
the Javanese word simply indicates existence or location. Since it is unaffixed, again, it does not constitute evidence concerning role structure for existential sentences. For locative phrases, the locative must also be preceded by a strictly locative marker ing, where ana and ing are usually contracted to neng in informal speech, or ing is replaced by prenasalization of an initial voiced stop in a place name or word referring to a place.

6. Hale and Watters' (1973) seem to use 'theme' to refer to this sort of thing: time or locative phrases used initially to link an utterance to what preceded it. For some languages there may be no distinction between this and theme or topic, but in Javanese there is. In the example cited above, while ing désa kono 'in that village' is old information and is used to link the rest of the sentence to what preceded it, wong (aran limbong) 'man [named Limbong]' is the subject-topic and also happens to be indefinite since this person has not previously been introduced. Topic in Javanese is more or less equivalent to focus in the Philippine languages, while initial placement of phrases other than topic to indicate an informational link with preceding utterances is probably parallel to attention as described by Austin (1966).

7. If conversation as well as formal texts are included in the data, the situation proves to be somewhat more complex. See G. Poedjosoedarmo (1977).

8. This semantic distinction is apparently fairly common in Malayopolynesian languages, though individual languages differ as to how it is conveyed. Gieser on Kalinga notes that the verb meaning 'arrive' can occur alone only where a new participant is entering the scene, and that if someone who has been in the scene under consideration arrives somewhere else the verb must be followed by 'there' or some other locative indicator. Indonesian-Malay has two verbs: datang means arrive at the scene under consideration, sampai means for a participant under consideration to arrive somewhere else. Javanese is the only language I know of, however, where the distinction is indicated by verbal inflection.

9. The suffix -i occurs in conjunction with prenasalization or proposed pronouns. In other environments, regardless of the meaning of -i, it is replaced by -an. This alternation is common in Malayopolynesian languages though the distribution of the two variants varies considerably. Gieser's observation that the verb in Kalinga meaning that a participant under consideration has arrived at a new location must be followed by a word meaning 'there' or other locative indicator suggests that the locative meaning of -an is indeed the source of the form tekan.

10. Moravesik mentions Javanese and has it classified as a language which places the definite article before a noun. The particles on which she bases her description, however, are not definite articles but rather particles which indicate an attitude on the part of the speaker toward a human referent or a personified animal. They are si indicating familiarity, pun the Krama equivalent, and sang indicating a respectful attitude. Her faulty analysis is due to her inadequate source, Brandstetter where only particles that can be connected historically to particles in other languages are considered, and the ways in which the various languages mentioned indicate definite ness at the present time are not discussed.

The Javanese definite marker -(n)è is historically from the third person possessive pronoun and the form -(n)è still occurs with that meaning.

11. As with unaffixed roots of other kinds, one syllable roots form the equivalent by adding a-

12. As mentioned in an earlier note, this is true for formal, especially written texts. Colloquial style, where intonation is a factor, is more complex. See G. Poedjosoedarmo (1977).
8.0 THE NATURE AND USE OF THE SPEECH LEVELS

Javanese speech levels have been described extensively. A complete description of the nature of the system can be found elsewhere. There are basically three speech levels. These indicate the attitude of the speaker toward the addressee. NGOKO is the level of unmarked social attitude. It indicates closeness and informality. Krama is the formal and polite level. MADYA is the semi-formal level. (See Chart 5 on the following page).

In addition to the three levels indicating social distance between speaker and addressee, Krama INGGIL and Krama ANDHAP words may be introduced into speech in any of the three levels to indicate respect for a referent which may be the addressee or a third person. Javanese, then, consists of five vocabularies, the basic (Ngoko) vocabulary, the polite (Krama) vocabulary of around 700 words, the semi-formal (Madya) vocabulary of around 300 words, the honorific (Krama Inggil) vocabulary of around 300 words, and the deferential (Krama Andhap) vocabulary of around 75 words.

Krama and Madya words are of all sorts: function words as well as content words. Krama Inggil and Krama Andhap words are only content words which relate to an individual. Krama Inggil words include nouns and pronouns naming a respected individual, and verbs denoting events or conditions of which a respected individual is a participant. Krama Andhap words include verbs denoting events in which a respected individual is goal, or source of an acquisition verb, and the agent is an individual having a respectful attitude toward that person. There is also a first person pronoun dalem used when an individual with a respectful attitude addresses a respected individual.

When a non-Ngoko level is used, that is either Krama or Madya, for every Ngoko morpheme that has a Krama or Madya equivalent, the Krama or Madya equivalent should be substituted for the Ngoko morpheme:3

(Ngoko) Anak-ku wis turu kabhè.
(child-my already sleep all)
'My children are all asleep already.'

(Krama) Anak kula sampun titem sedaya.

In the Krama sentence, only the word anak 'child', which has no Krama equivalent, remains unchanged.

Using Krama or Madya instead of Ngoko does not affect morphology or syntax. It is simply a matter of vocabulary substitution. The insertion of Krama Inggil and Krama Andhap words, however, involves the addition of honorific roles to some participants, so that where the verb is a Krama Inggil or Krama Andhap word, some participants will have honorific as well as situational roles. In the following discussion, I refer to a respected individual as having the honorific role [+ high] and I refer to an individual, who has a respectful attitude toward another individual as having the honorific role [+ low]. It should be understood, however, that these terms do not refer to any absolute division in social structure within the society. In a sentence with a Krama Inggil verb, the speaker has a respectful attitude toward the individual with the role [+ high]. In a sentence with a Krama Andhap verb, the speaker feels that respect would be a proper attitude on the part of the participant with the role [+ low] toward the participant with the role [+ high], or if the speaker is the same individual as the participant with the role [+ low], he feels respect toward the participant with the role [+ high]. Respect, however, can be mutual. For example, two government officials of equal status will each refer to the other as [+ high], and if speaking of an event involving himself as well as the other individual, each will refer to himself as [+ low]. (See Chart 6 on page 70).

Since the classification of Javanese verbs on the basis of role has not been made previous to this study, no description has yet been given of the way in which honorific roles coincide with situational roles for Krama Inggil and Krama Andhap verbs of the various classes. This is what I describe in this chapter. In 8.1 I describe the coincidence of the two kinds of roles for basic forms of the verbs of the various classes, and in 8.2 I describe the coincidence for inflected and derived forms. In 8.3 I discuss implications for rule ordering. In 8.4 I add miscellaneous notes on the Krama Inggil and Krama Andhap verb forms.
NGOKO, MADYA, KRAMA indicate various degrees of social distance between speaker and addressee.

NGOKO: close  
example:

speaker:  
student, male

addressee:  
fellow student, also male

same age

same economic background

MADYA: semi-distant  
example:

speaker:  
young woman, age around 20 education - high school economic status - lower middle class

addressee:  
older brother, age around 35 education - Ph.D. from American University economic status - upper middle class

KRAMA: distant  
example:

speaker:  
student

addressee:  
teacher
8.1 HONORIFIC AND SITUATIONAL ROLES IN THE BASIC FORMS OF KRAMA INGGIL AND KRAMA ANDHAP VERBS

For the basic form of Krama Inggil verbs of the non-agentive type, the subject has the honorific role [+ high]. The subject is patient. I give examples in both Ngoko and Krama sentences to emphasize that the level used in address is irrelevant to the insertion of respect vocabulary. Examples of a one place non-agentive Krama Inggil verb follow:

(Ngoko) Bapak wís yusa.
(father already old-Krama-Inggil-ativa-t=high)
'Father is already old.'

(Krama) Bapak sampun yusa.
(father already-Krama old-Krama-Inggil-patient=high)
'Father is already old.'

The substitution of sampun for wís in the second sentence marks that sentence as Krama, but in both cases the use of yusa, which is Krama Inggil, indicates that the subject is [+ high], that is, is respected by the speaker. An example of a two place non-agentive Krama Inggil verb is:

Bapak duka.
(father angry-Krama-Inggil-patient=high)
'Father is angry.'

Since Bapak has no Krama equivalent, this sentence could occur in either a Ngoko or Krama discourse. The Krama Inggil word duka indicates that the patient is [+ high]. The referent is not mentioned.

For the basic form of Krama Inggil verbs of the intransitive type, the subject, which is agent, has the honorific role [+ high]. Examples of intransitive Krama Inggil verbs are:

(Ngoko) Bapak rawuh (saka kutha).
(father arrive-Krama-Inggil-agent=high from city)
'Father has arrived from the city.'

(Krama) Bapak rawuh (saking kitha).
(father arrive-Krama-Inggil-agent=high from Krama city Krama)
'Father has arrived from the city.'

(Ngoko) Bapak wís strám.
(father already take-a-bath-Krama-Inggil-agent=high)
'Father has already taken a bath.'

(Krama) Bapak sampun strám.
(father already-Krama take-a-bath-Krama-Inggil-agent=high)

'Father has already taken a bath.'

If the adjunct in the first pair of sentences, saka kutha/saking kitha 'from the city', were dropped, the resulting sentence would be ambiguous for Ngoko or Krama. The substitution of sampun for wís in the last sentence marks it as Krama. The Krama Inggil verbs, rawuh in the first pair of sentences, and strám in the second pair, indicate that the subject is [+ high].

For transitive Krama Inggil verbs, the subject of the active form, that is the agent, has the honorific role [+ high]. (Passive forms are discussed in 8.2). Examples of two-place transitive Krama Inggil verbs are:

Bapak ng-a-ato koper.
(father carry-agent=subject-patient=complement-Krama-Inggil-agent=high suitcase)
'Father is carrying a suitcase.'

Bapk mundhut (N-pundhut) roti.
(father buy-agent=subject=patient=complement-Krama-Inggil-agent=high bread)
'Father bought some bread.'

Since neither Bapak, koper, nor roti have Krama equivalents, these two sentences are ambiguous as to level. The Krama Inggil verbs which are active indicate that the subject, which is the agent, is [+ high]. Examples of three-place transitive Krama Inggil verbs are:

Bapak maringi (N-paring-i) Ninik permén.
(father give-agent=subject-goal=complement-Krama-Inggil-agent=high name candy)
'Father gave Ninik some candy.'

(Ngoko) Bapak maringaké (N-paring-aké) permén-é marang Ninik.
(father give-agent=subject-object=complement-Krama-Inggil-agent=high candy-definite to name)
'Father gave the candy to Ninik.'

(Krama) Bapak maringaken (N-paringaken) permén-ípun dhateng Ninik.
(father give-agent=subject-object=complement-Krama-Inggil-agent=high-affix=Krama candy-definite-Krama to-Krama name)
'Father gave the candy to Ninik.'

Since Bapak, Ninik, and permén have no Krama equivalents, the first sentence is ambiguous as to level. The substitution of -aken for -aké, -ípun for -é, and...
Krama Inggil and Krama Andhap verbs: Honorific roles are relative. A (Pak Mujanto) and B (Pak Tutoyo) are both college professors of the same age. C is a close friend of both.

**Krama Inggil verb: rawuh 'arrive'**

A: Pak Tutoyo rawuh. (Mr. Tutoyo arrive-Krama-Inggil=agent=high) 'Mr. Tutoyo is coming.'

B: Pak Mujanto rawuh. (Mr. Mujanto arrive-Krama-Inggil=agent=high) 'Mr. Mujanto is coming.'

**Krama Andhap verb: nyaosi 'give to'**

A: Aku arep nyaosi (N-aaos-i) Pak Tutoyo. (I will give-agent=subject-goal=complement-Krama-Andhap=agent=low-goal=high) 'I'm going to give this to Mr. Tutoyo.'

B: Aku arep nyaosi (N-aaos-i) Pak Mujanto. (I will give-agent=subject-goal=complement-Krama-Andhap=agent=low-goal=high) 'I'm going to give this to Mr. Mujanto.'
dhatseng for marang mark the last sentence as Krama. In all three sentences, the verb root, -paring, is Krama Inggil, and since all three sentences are active, this indicates that the subject is [+ high].

Since Krama Andhap verbs must involve an agent as well as either a goal or a source of acquisition as separate individuals, they are all either intransitive motion verbs or transitive verbs. For intransitive motion verbs, the agent has the honorific role [+ low] and the goal, which must be mentioned, has the honorific role [+ high]. Examples of an intransitive Krama Andhap verb are:

(Ngoko) Bapak soun marang Pak guru, (father visit=Krama-Andhap-agent=low-goal=highto Mr. teacher) 'Father visited the teacher.'

(Krama) Bapak soun dhateng Pak guru, (father visit=Krama-Andhap-agent=low-goal=highto-Krama Mr. teacher) 'Father visited the teacher.'

The substitution of dhateng for marang in the second sentence marks that sentence as Krama.

For two-place transitive Krama Andhap verbs of the acquisition subclass, the agent has the honorific role [+ low] and the source has the honorific role [+ high]. For the active form, the agent is, of course, also subject. Examples of a two-place transitive Krama Andhap verb of the acquisition type are:

(Ngoko) Sigit nyuwn (N-suwun) dhwrit Bapak. (name ask-for-agent=subject-patient=complement-Krama-Andhap-agent=low-source=highto-money father) 'Sigit asked Father for some money.'

(Krama) Sigit nyuwn (N-suwun) arata Bapak. (name ask-for-agent=subject-patient=complement-Krama-Andhap-agent=low-source=highto-money-Krama father) 'Sigit asked Father for some money.'

The substitution of arata for dhwrit in the second sentence marks that sentence as Krama. Note that 'money', the object, is complement and that, in terms of situational roles 'Father', the source, is peripheral. The use of the Krama Andhap verb, however, requires the presence of source, which carries the honorific role [+ high].

For three-place transitive Krama Andhap verbs, the agent has the honorific role [+ high]. This is true whether forms focusing on the goal (-t) or object (-aked) are used. In the active forms, the agent is, of course, also subject. Examples of a three-place transitive Krama Andhap verb are:

Sigit nyaoi (N-oao-o-t) Bapak permèn. (Name give-agent=subject-goal=complement-Krama-Andhap-agent=low-goal=highto-high Father candy) 'Sigit gave Father some candy.'

(Ngoko) Sigit nyaoaké (N-oao-o-aké) permèn-é marang Bapak. (name give-agent=subject-object=complement-Krama-Andhap-agent=low-goal=highto-candy-definite to Father) 'Sigit gave the candy to Father.'

(Krama) Sigit nyaoaken (N-oao-o-aken) permèn-tpun dhateng Bapak. (name give-Krama-Andhap-agent=low-goal=highto-agent=subject-object=complement-affix=Krama candy-definite-Krama to-Krama Father) 'Sigit gave the candy to Father.'

The first sentence is ambiguous as to level since Sigit, Bapak, and permèn do not have Krama equivalents. The substitution of -aken for -aké, -ir-un for -é, and dhateng for marang in the last sentence mark it as Krama. Notice that although the first sentence focuses on the goal and the last two focus on the object, in all cases 'Father', the goal, has the honorific role [+ high]. The agent, Sigit, has the honorific role [+ low].

8.2 INFLECTED AND DERIVED FORMS OF KRAMA INGGIL AND KRAMA ANDHAP VERBS

For inflected forms of the Krama Inggil and Krama Andhap verbs, the honorific roles coincide with the same situational roles as in the basic forms. For example, the two-place transitive Krama Inggil verb occurring in Bapak mundhut (N-pundhut) roti. (father buy-Krama-Inggil-agent=highto-agent=subject-patient=complement-bread) 'Father bought some bread.' has the passive forms

(Ngoko) Roti kuwi di-pundhut Bapak. (bread that buy-Krama-Inggil-agent=highto-patient=subject father) 'That bread was bought by Father.'

(Krama) Roti punika dipun-pundhut Bapak. (bread that-Krama buy-Krama-
In both these sentences Bapak, the agent, has the honorific role [+ high], and Sigit the agent, has the honorific role [+ low].

For the derived forms of Krama Inggil and Krama Andhap verbs, the honorific roles also coincide with the same situational roles as in the basic forms. For example, the one-place non-agentive Krama Inggil verb sugeng 'healthy', as in

(Krama) Ṣyaṅg takāh sugeng.
(grandfather-Krama-Inggil
still-Krama healthy-Krama-
Inggil)
'Grandfather is still healthy.'

has a derived causative form as in

(Krama) Jampi-jampi punta saged nyug-
gengaken (N-sugeng-aken) sa-
lira penjenengan.
(Javanese-herb-medicine-Krama-
plurall can-Krama healthy-Kra-
ma-Inggil-patient=high-cause-
force=subject-patient=comple-
ment-affix=Krama body-Krama-
Inggil you-Krama-Inggil)
'Those herbs can make you healthy.'

In both cases it is the patient, which is subject in the basic and complement in the derived form, which has the honorific role [+ high]. The two-place nonagentive Krama Inggil verb duka 'angry' as in

(Krama) Artanāpun (arta-nāpun)
ingkang wonten Bapak sampun
āpun-tswun.
(money-Krama-definite-Krama
which-Krama located-at-Krama
father already-Krama ask-for
Krama-Andhap-agent=low-source=
high-patient=subject-affix=Krama)
'The money that was with
Father has already been asked
for.'

It is the source Bapak which still has the honorific role [+ high]. The agent is not mentioned directly in this sentence, but the use of the Krama Andhap verb indicates that, whoever he is, he has the honorific role [+ low].

Similarly for three-place transitive Krama Andhap verbs, passivization does not change the coincidence of honorific with situational roles:

(Ngoko) Bapak dī-oos-t permèn Sigit.
(father give-Krama-Andhap-
agent=low-goal=high-goal=
subject candy name)
'Father was given some candy
by Sigit.'

(Ngoko) Permèn-e dī-oos-akē Sigit
marang Bapak.
(candy-definite give-Krama-
Andhap-agent=low-goal=high-
object=subject name to fa-
ther)
'The candy was given to Fa-
thor by Sigit.'

Again it is the patient in all three cases which has the honorific role [+ high] regardless of its grammatical role.

For intransitive Krama Inggil verbs it is the agent which has the honorific role [+ high] in derived as well as basic forms.
(Krama) Bapak lenggah wongen kursi.
(father sit-Krama-Inggil-
agent=high at-Krama chair)
'Father sat on the chair.'

Bapak ng-lenggah-i bantal.
(father sit-Krama-Inggil-agent=high=
agent=subject-goal=complement pillow)
'Father sat on a pillow.'

(Krama) Buku kula penjenengan lenggah-
(i).
(book my-Krama you-Krama-Ing-
gil sit-Krama-Inggil-agent=
high-goal=subject)
'You're sitting on my book.'

It is the agent in all three sentences which has the honorific role [+ high]. In causatives derived from Krama Inggil motion verbs it is the agent of the motion, not the agent of causation, which has the honorific role [+ high]:

(Krama) Putranipun (putra-(n)ipun)
sampun dipun-lenggah-aken itu.
(child-Krama-Inggil-definite-
mul wongen kursi.
Krama already-Krama sit-Krama-
Inggil-agent=high-conveyance-
object-of-conveyance=subject-
affix=Krama older-sister-low-
(term-of-address-for-servant)
name at-Krama chair)
'The child has already been
sat down in the chair by Mul.'

That is, it is the child, the agent of 'sit', rather than the servant, the agent of conveyance, which has the honorific role [+ high]. For intransitive Krama Inggil verbs of the reflexive subclass, such as sirom 'take a bath', as in

(Krama) Bapak dèrèng sirom.
(father not-yet-Krama take-
a-bath-Krama-Inggil-agent=
high)
'Father hasn't taken a bath
yet.'

the derived agentive forms treat the goal as [+ high]:

(Krama) Sinten ingkang nyirom (N-
nyirom-i) putranipun (putra-
(n)ipun) Su Guru kala wau?
(who-Krama the-one-which-
Krama bathe-Krama-Inggil-
goal=high-agentic-agent=subject-goal=complement
child-Krama-Inggil-definite-
Krama Mrs. teacher past-time-
Krama earlier-today-Krama)
'Who bathed the teacher's
child earlier?'

That is, it is the one who gets bathed, whether he does it himself or someone else does it to him, who has the honorific role [+ high]. For two-place transitive Krama Inggil verbs, such as mundhut 'buy' as in

(Krama) Ibu kala wau mundhutaken (N-
pundhut-aken) sekar gendhi-
Ninik.
(mother past-time-Krama ear-
lier-today-Krama buy-Krama-
Inggil-agent=high-benefactive-
agent=subject-affix=Krama
flower-Krama sugar-Krama-
(=candy) name)
'Mother bought some candy for
Ninik earlier today.'

For two-place transitive Krama Inggil verbs of the acquisition subclass which can add the suffix -i to focus on the source, the agent nevertheless retains the honorific role [+ high]:

(Krama) Toko Furnama kala wau dipun-
pundhut-i nyamping bathik I-bu.
(store name past-time-Krama
earlier-today-Krama buy-Kra-
ma-Inggil-agent=high-source=
subject-affix=Krama cloth-
Krama batik mother)
'Furnama Store is the place
where Mother bought a piece
of batik cloth earlier today.'

That is, 'Mother', the agent, has the hon-
orific role [+ high] here as well. For Krama Inggil verbs, then, of the nonagentive sort, the patient has the honorific role [+ high] in both basic and derived forms; for intransitive Krama Inggil verbs, the agent of the basic form has the honorific role [+ high] and the participant in the derived form with the same orientation role as the agent of the basic form has the honorific role [+ high]; for transitive verbs, the agent of both the basic and derived forms has the honorific role [+ high].

For derived forms of Krama Andhap verbs, the coincidence between honorific and situational roles also remains the same as in the basic form. For Krama Andhap intransitive motion verbs, it is the agent which has the honorific role [+ low] and the goal which has the honorific role [+ high], as in

(Krama) Pak Makso badhe sowan Bapak
dhateng Wonoasari.
(Mr. name will-Krama visit-
Krama-Andhap-agent=low-goal-
high father at-Krama name-of-
town)
'Mr. Makso is going to visit
Father in Wonoasari.'

For derived causatives, it is the agent of motion, not of causation, which has the honorific role [+ low] and the goal still retains the honorific role [+ high]:

(Krama) Pak Makso nyowanaken (N-sowan-
aken) Anggit dhateng delem-
ipun dyang-ipun Wonoasari.
(Mr. name visit-Krama-Andhap-agent=low-goal=high-conveyance-agent-of-conveyance=subject-object-of-conveyance=complement-affix=Krama name-to-Krama house-Krama-Inggil-definite-Krama grandfather-Krama-Inggil-definite-Krama name-of-town)
'Mr. Makso took Anggit to visit his grandfather’s house in Wonosari.'

For Krama Andhap two-place transitive acquisition verbs, it is the agent which has the honorific role [+ low] and the source which has the honorific role [+ high] as in

(Krama) Anggit nyuwun (N-suwun) arta ibuntun (ibu-(n)ipun).
(name ask-for-Krama-Andhap-agent=low-source=high-agent=subject-patient=complement money-Krama mother-definite-Krama)
'Anggit asked his mother for some money.'

For derived forms with -i focusing on the source, this is still true:

(Krama) Bapak sampun natë dipun-suwun-i sokongan.
(father already-Krama ever-Krama ask-for-Krama-Andhap-agent=low-source=high-source=subject-affix=Krama contribution)
'Father was once asked (to give) a contribution.'

It is the source Bapak which has the honorific role [+ high]. The agent is not mentioned, but the use of the Krama Andhap verb implies that whoever he is, his honorific role is [+ low]. Similarly with benefactives derived from Krama Andhap acquisition verbs, the source is not usually mentioned, as in

(Krama) Kula dipun-utus nyuwunaken (N-suwun-aken) arta-(n)ipun (arta-(n)ipun) Ibu.
'I have been sent to ask for Mother's money.'

The use of the Krama Andhap verb implies that whoever he is, the source has the honorific role [+ high].

8.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR RULE ORDERING

McCawley (1968) mentions that honorific features are attached to an entire discourse rather than to single sentences. For Javanese, the choice of one of the three levels indicating social distance between speaker and addressee (Ngoko, Krama, or Madya), must be made at the beginning of the discourse as well as the decision to use or not to use honorific terms with reference to the addressee. The use of honorific terms with reference to third persons, however, is decided at the point where the persons referred to are introduced. Assignment of honorific roles to participants must be made prior to lexicalization, since the selection of a Krama Inggil, Krama Andhap, or neutral (that is Ngoko, Krama, or Madya, depending on the level being used) verb will depend on the coincidence of honorific roles with situational roles.

8.4 MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON KRAMA INGGIL AND KRAMA ANDHAP VERBS

As indicated in 8.0, there are relatively few Krama Inggil and Krama Andhap verbs. A single Krama Inggil or Krama Andhap verb often has the same denotative meaning as two or more Ngoko verbs. As a rule, all the Ngoko equivalents of a single Krama Inggil or Krama Andhap verb have the same case frame. Some examples are Krama Inggil tindak which has Ngoko equivalents malaku 'walk' and lunga 'go, leave'; Krama Inggil prkeu which has the Ngoko equivalents waru 'see' and ngerti 'know'; Krama Inggil mundhut which has Ngoko equivalents njupuk 'take' (in the acquisition sense), sukku 'buy', njaluk 'ask for'; Krama Andhap ngaturi which has the Ngoko equivalents ngandhani 'say (to)', menèh 'give (to)'.

Sometimes a single Krama Inggil or Krama Andhap root is used in forms with different Ngoko equivalents having different case frames, but in this case the Krama Inggil or Krama Andhap forms involve different affixations. For example, Krama Inggil ngendika corresponds to Ngoko kandha 'say', which is usually followed by a quotation, direct or indirect, while ngendikan with the suffix -an corresponds to Ngoko omong 'talk' and cannot include a complement.

Krama Inggil and Krama Andhap verbs often have three syllable or compound bases, unlike Ngoko verbs which, in the large majority of cases, contain two syllable roots. A large number of the three syllable Krama Inggil and Krama Andhap bases do not seem to contain smaller components. Many of these three syllable bases do appear to have been formed by adding an affix to a two syllable root. In nearly all cases, however, the root is no longer in use, or if it is, it has an entirely different meaning, and the affix, though its form usually occurs elsewhere productivity, appears to be meaningless in the
Krama Inggil or Krama Andhap formation. Some examples of three syllable bases which appear to have been formed with affixes, all Krama Inggil, are pinarak 'drop in', which involves the infix -in-, midhanget (k-pidhanget) 'hear' with the prefix pi-, jum-eneng 'stand' with the infix -um-, § and pengalih 'think' with the prefix peN-.

Since the basic forms of such Krama Inggil or Krama Andhap verbs differ formally from their Ngoko equivalents, the means employed to create derived forms may also differ. For example, midhanget 'hear' is formed by prenasalization of the base pidhanget, while the Ngoko equivalent krungu is formed with ke-; kapidhanget 'be heard' is formed with ka-, the formal equivalent of ke-, 10 while the Ngoko equivalent kepungu is formed with kep(e)-.

Notes


2. The exact rules governing which level is used by whom in addressing whom under what circumstances vary considerably from one geographical area to another and are becoming increasingly complex with increased social and geographical mobility and the increasing use of Indonesian as a code in certain situations.

3. In actual fact, this does not always occur. In fact, failure to follow the rules in Krama formation is one of the major criteria for defining class dialects.

4. Several affixes have different forms in Krama. -aké becomes -aken, -niá becomes -(ni)pun, and di- becomes dipun- but this is just a matter of morpheme substitution. Also there is no imperative in Krama. One says instead, kula aturi 'I say to you,' followed by an indicative statement indicating what the speaker wants done.

5. Non-agentives with object, source, or goal as subject do not have Krama Inggil equivalents.

6. The word punika is orthographically irregular; it is pronounced [meniké].

7. Henceforth I do not give all sentences in both Krama and Ngoko, though I mark them to indicate which level they occur in if there is a difference.

8. Dixon (1971) describes the relationship between mother-in-law vocabulary, which is limited, and neutral vocabulary in Dyirbal. Just as with the relationship between the various speech levels in Javanese, one term in Dyirbal mother-in-law language often corresponds to several different words in neutral language which are semantically similar in some way. In Dyirbal, however, while the neutral language tends to have different lexical items for transitive and intransitive forms of verbs like 'stand' and 'eat', for example, the mother-in-law language forms an intransitive verb by a reflexive derivation of the transitive verb. In Javanese, all levels make extensive use of derivation to relate verbs referring to similar situations but differing in number and kinds of participants involved (see 3.3, 3.4). It is rather Ngoko verbs referring to different situations but involving the same role frame which often have one equivalent in the marked speech levels.

9. The word jeneng means 'name' in Ngoko, but any connection with the meaning of jum'eneng 'stand' must certainly be remote and is no longer recognized by native speakers.

10. The formal-literary as opposed to non-formal-non-literary distinction is a different matter from the speech levels which I have been discussing in this chapter. Formal-literary style may be used in Ngoko as well as Krama. It is most often employed in formal speeches and in writing.
CHAPTER 9
CONCLUSION

9.0 PRELIMINARY REMARKS

In Chapter 1 of this monograph, I listed the semantic roles which seem to me to be necessary to a linguistic theory adequate for dealing with both Javanese and English. I utilized these roles in my classification of Javanese verb stems (Chapter 2) and in my description of inflectional and derivational processes which can be applied to verbs of the various classes (Chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6).

The impression created by a description is often influenced by the organization of that description. I elected to organize my description of Javanese verb morphology according to semantic categories primarily because this has never been done and I thought it might be enlightening to do so. The results, I believe, have proved rewarding, at least from the point of view of theoretical linguistics. Other possible patterns of organization would have been to list the meanings of each form, as many others have done, or to describe all the inflectional and derivational processes which can be applied to verbs of each class. The latter pattern of organization is useful pedagogically, when teaching Javanese (or Indonesian, which has a similar verb morphology) to speakers of other languages. For this reason, and also to emphasize (1) the bidirectional nature of the form-meaning relationship and (2) the fact that looking at a set of phenomena from more than one perspective can often prove enlightening, I propose, in this conclusion, to reverse the direction of description.

I will summarize my findings regarding the Javanese verb system by describing the meanings of the morphological processes when applied to the members of each verb class. In 9.1 I discuss morphological processes applied to non-agents. In 9.2. I discuss intransitives. In 9.3 I discuss transitives. For each class I will discuss the morphological processes, if they occur, in the following order:

-aké
-i
-
-um-
ke-
ke- -an
ke- -en
doubling
reduplication
-an
doubling plus -an

In the concluding remarks (9.4), I make a few generalizations about form-meaning relationships which cut across verb classes.

9.1 NON-AGENTIVES

In Chapter 2, non-agentives were divided into one-place and two-place non-agentives, depending on how many participants they implied. One-place non-agentives were further divided into (1) those describing a (usually) permanent condition of a patient, such as dhuwur 'high', (2) those describing a condition of a patient with an implied benefactive (person affected by the condition), such as panas 'hot', (3) those describing a condition (often of loss or destruction) brought about by an event involving an agent, such as rusak 'broken', (4) those describing the condition of an object (which is moving or has moved), such as tiba 'fall' or 'fallen', (5) those describing the condition of a source, such as sorot 'shine', and (6) those describing the condition of a goal, such as peteng 'dark'. Two-place non-agentives were divided into the experiential subclass, involving a patient and a referent, such as nesu 'angry' and the locational subclass, involving an object and a goal, such as gandheng 'connected'.

A number of the morphological processes have the same or similar meaning for all non-agentives; others have specialized meanings for verbs of particular classes. -aké can be said in general to have causative meaning with non-agentives (5.1.2.3). If the meaning of the verb can be interpreted in terms of situational roles, the causation will be by means of conveyance, as with ndhawuraké 'make high' (i.e. 'convey to a higher position'). Otherwise the meaning is simply causative, as with metengaké 'make dark'. Some experiential verbs have causative like meaning, 'having the ability to cause the state in question', such as mungkélékaké 'annoying', but these are really adjectival since they have no passive form and do not name a patient.

One-place non-agentives of subclass (3), describing a condition brought about by an agentive event, are special because the form with -aké, in addition to being causative, includes the meaning that the action is done unintentionally, such as mfrusakaké 'unintentionally break (something)'.

-i may also have causative meaning (5.1.2.3) though if situational roles are
relevant, the meaning will be 'cause by affecting a goal', as in metengi 'cause to be dark by casting a shadow over'. For class (4) one-place non-agentsives, which describe an object, as for experiential verbs, -i simply makes the mention of goal or referent obligatory (3.2.2.1), as with nitoni 'fall on' or neson 'be angry at'. Some non-agentsives have derived transitive forms with -i. For these, the addition of -i has the same meaning of repetition or plural object common with other transitive verbs (6.1.1).

ke- -an is the only accidental form occurring with non-agentsives. With one-place non-agentsives of class (3), describing a state of destruction, ke- -an means 'be affected by one's (thing) being broken'. For non-agentsives involving situational roles, the resulting form means 'be hit by', as ketiban 'be hit by something falling' (4.2).

ke- -en (6.5) means 'too', with non-agentsives having purely adjectival meaning and non-agentsives having meaning, such as kedhewen 'too high'. With non-agentsives implying a benefactive, the meaning of the derived form is that the benefactive element was 'affected by' the condition in question, such as kepahessen 'affected by (something) being spicy hot'. Doublet (6.1.2) indicates that the subject is plural, as with dhewur-dhewur 'all high', or if the root can describe an event as well as the resulting state, that the action was repeated, as with tibatiba 'kept falling'.

Prenasalization plus reduplication has causative meaning (5.3), as in memanas 'make hot (i.e. angry)', ngererusak 'cause to be broken, destroyed'.

For non-agentsives that are ambiguous as to whether they describe an action or a state, -an indicates a state (6.1.2, 6.5), for example, rampungan 'in the state of being finished'.

For two-place non-agentsives, doubling plus -an has reciprocal meaning (6.2), as in neson-nesonan 'be angry with each other'.

9.3 TRANSITIVES

Transitives are divided into two-place and three-place transitives. Two-place transitives have agent as subject and patient as complement in the active form. There are four sub-classes of two-place transitives. For verbs of the separation sub-class, the agent is source and vehicle and the patient is object (conveyed somewhere). An example is ngerendem 'soak (something)'. For verbs of the approach sub-class, the agent is either source and vehicle if an instrument is involved or object if not, and the patient is goal. An example of the former is nyuduk 'stab'. An example of the latter is ngrabi 'marry'. For verbs of the referential sub-class the agent is usually source and vehicle, and the entity treated as patient is in fact referent. An example is mbayar 'pay (for something)'. For verbs of the acquisition sub-class, the agent is goal and the patient is object. An example is nyith 'borrow'.

All transitive verbs have prenasal-
ization (N -) in the active form, and proposed pronouns indicating the person of the agent in the passive form (3.1).

Most two-place transitives can add -aké with benefactive meaning (3.2.4.2). Examples are nukokaké 'buy (something) for someone', ngrèndhemaké 'soak (something) for someone'. For acquisition verbs where the source has a potentially agentive role, -aké converts the verb into a conveyance verb where the source is treated as agent (3.2.4.4). An example is nyîlïhaké 'lend' (from nyîlîh 'borrow'). For any two-place transitive in which the agent is source and/or vehicle -aké can form a conveyance verb focusing on the role of the object and contrasting it with that of the goal (3.2.4.3). Examples are ngrèndhemaké 'soak (something somewhere)', nyudukaké 'stab something into someone or something', mbayarâké 'pay (money) to someone'. As can be seen from the examples, if the meanings are plausible, the suffix may have more than one meaning when attached to a given root.

Most two-place transitives can add -i to indicate that the object is plural or that the action is repeated on the same object (6.1.1). The patient is usually definite and the idea is that all of the members of the patient group experienced the action, or that a single member of the group experienced it to completion. Examples are ngrèndhemi 'soak all of (something)', and nyîlongi 'steal all of (something)'. For verbs in which a patient group is a participant in the action -i focuses on the goal (3.2.4.3). An example is mbayari 'pay (someone)'. For acquisition verbs where the source has a potentially agentive role, -i converts the verb into a conveyance verb which focuses on the goal rather than object (3.2.4.4). An example is nyîlîhi 'lend (someone)' (from nyîlîh 'borrow').

For transitive verbs describing an action which results in a state, -um- describes that state (6.4, 6.5). An example is gûmântung 'hanging'.

Most two-place transitive verbs have 'accidental passive' forms with ke-, meaning that an event happened to a patient, that the patient was accidentally included in the action, or (with a negative usually) that something was (not) able to be done (4.1). Examples are kerendhem 'get soaked', and (durung) kebayar 'was not able to be paid for'. For actions in which a source or goal is relevant, ke- -an forms a verb meaning that the source or goal was (accidentally) affected by the action (4.2). Examples are kerendheman 'get (something) soaked in (it)', and keeolongoan 'get (something) stolen from (it)'.

Doubling or reduplication of a transitive verb root is called reduction. This produces a form which says that the actor performed or habitually performs the action, without reference to any patient (3.2.4.1). Examples are seslíh: 'borrow (things)', sesuduk 'stab (as an activity)'.

Doubling of the prenalized base of a transitive verb indicates random repetition, where an object, if mentioned, is generally indefinite (6.1.1). An example is ngrèndhem-ngrendhem 'keep soaking something'.

Doubling plus -an indicates reciprocity (6.2). Examples are suduk-sudukan 'stab each other', and bayar-bayaran 'pay each other'.

Three-place transitives always have an agent which is source and usually vehicle, and both an object and goal, neither of which is treated as patient. For verbs which are three-place transitives in their basic form, the object is usually inanimate, the goal animate, though this may not be true for derived three-place transitives. Three-place transitives have prenalized (N-) and preposed pronouns with -aké and also with -i. The ones with -aké take the object as complement of the active and subject of the passive form, while the ones with -i take the goal as complement of the active and subject of the passive.

As with two-place transitives, doubling or reduplication of the root indicates reduction (3.2.5). Reduced forms describe the activity without reference to object or goal. An example is wewnèn 'give (things)'.

The accidental form with ke- -an indicates that the goal happened to be the recipient of something (4.2). An example is mënèn-mënèhaké 'keep giving (something) away'.

Doubling plus -an indicates reciprocity (6.2). An example is wënèn-wënèhan 'give each other (something)'.

9.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

It can be seen from the preceding discussion that for Javanese morphological processes which have a number of distinct meanings (in particular -aké, -i, doubling, reduplication and -um-), which meaning the form will have when applied to a particular verb depends on the type of the verb. The suffix -aké generally has causative meaning with non-agentive and intrasitive verbs, though if situational roles are relevant to the meaning of the verb causation will be by conveyance. For most transitive verbs -aké has benefactive meaning, though if the verb describes an act of conveyance -aké can focus on the object, and for acquisition verbs it often changes role relationships to form the corresponding conveyance verb (e.g. nyîlîh 'borrow', nyîlîhaké 'lend').

The suffix -i has locative meaning whenever situational roles are involved
in the meaning of the verb. This may involve adding a goal for non-agentives and intransitives or focusing on an implied goal for transitives. For non-agentives in which situational roles are irrelevant, -i may form a causative which is more direct and agentive in nature than the causative with -aké if both occur. For most transitives -i indicates repeated action with one specific patient or a specific plural patient.

Doubling and reduplication in general indicate repetition of an action, but for transitives doubling or reduplication of the root can produce an intransitive-like form referring to the action of the agent without reference to the patient or other participants. Reduplication plus prenasalization can also be used to form a causative in which conveyance is not a factor, particularly for intransitives and non-agentives.

The infix -um- (with the variant m-) forms the base for many intransitive motion verbs, but for transitives -um- (with no m- variant) forms a stative verb.

In addition to clarifying the relationship between verb type and meaning of affixes applied to the verb, in Chapter 7 I showed how the selection of active and passive as well as the choice between form with -aké and -i, when they focus on different situational roles in complex action are dictated by discourse functions.

In Chapter 8, honorific roles were described as features of non-Ngoko lexical items. It was also shown that in derived forms of Krcma Inggil and Krama Andhap verbs, honorific roles are attached to the same situational role as in the basic form.

In conclusion, the modified version of semantic role analysis proposed here as well as the consideration of context (both textural and extra-linguistic) in determining certain verb forms, have revealed some interesting features in the structure of Javanese. I hope that my suggestions for the modification of semantic theory will prove useful in the analysis of other languages as well.
APPENDIX

TEXTS

A. Karé Köbis
   (curry cabbage)
   'Cabbage Curry' (a recipe)

(1) Bahan-é: daging setengah kilogram, kóbis setengah kilogram, kentang setengah kilogram, solo setengah ons, klapa separo, lenga separat gelas.
   (ingredients-definite: meat half kilogram, cabbage half kilogram, potato half kilogram, transparent-noodle half ounce (=1/10 kilogram), coconut half, oil one-fourth glass)
   'The ingredients are:
   one half a kilogram of meat, one half a kilogram of potatoes, one half an ounce (Indonesian) of transparent noodles, half a coconut, one fourth of a glass of oil.'

(2) Bumuné (bumu-(n)é); brambang lima-ng ijí, bawang ro-ng stiung, kermiri sepuluh ijí, tumbar sa-séndok teh, laos sa-driji, kunir sa-pucuk driji, asem sa-klingou, gula abang sa-cukup-é, uyah sa-cukup-é.
   (spice-definite: onion five-linker piece, garlic two-linker section, kind-of-nut ten piece, coriander one-tea, laos (root spice) one-finger, turmeric one-end finger, tamarind one-section, sugar red whatever-enough-definite, salt whatever-enough-definite, salt whatever-enough-definite)
   'The spices are: five onions, two garlic cloves, ten kermiri nuts, one teaspoon of coriander, a finger length of laos root, a piece of turmeric the size of one joint of a finger, one tamarind section, Javanese brown sugar to taste, salt to taste.'

   (cooking definite meat boil-patient=subject, after soft slice-continuation-to-completion-patient=subject)
   'The procedure is (as follows): boil the meat and when it is soft slice it.'

(4) Semana uga kóbis lan kentang-é.
   (likewise also cabbage and potato-definite)
   'Do the same to the cabbage and potatoes.'

(5) Bumuné (bumu-(n)é) sawisé di-uleg lembut nuli di-gangsa nganti rada abang, jen wix kóbis, daging lan kentang-é di-emplung-aké nganti setengah mateng.
   (spice-definite after grind-patient=subject fine then saute-patient=subject until rather red, if already cabbage, meat and potato-definite plunge-object=subject until half cooked)
   'After the spices have been ground fine, saute them until they're rather red, then add the cabbage, meat, and potatoes (and cook them) until they're half done.'

(6) Sabanjure sanen-é di-emplung-aké, di-godhog nganti bumuné (bumu-(n)é) m-razuk.
   (afterwards coconut-milk-definite plunge-object=subject, boil-patient=subject until spice-definite absorb-state-patient=subject)
   'After adding the coconut milk, boil until the spices are absorbed.'

B. Pindhang Bandeng Kéop
   (name-of-dish kind-of-fish soy-sauce)
   'Pindhang of Bandeng Fish in Soy Sauce' (a recipe)

(1) Bahan-é: iwak bandeng lóro, kira2 setengah kilogram, kéap sing rasa-é (rasa-(n)é) legi setengah cangkir, lenga sa-cukup-é.
   (ingredients-definite fish kind-of-fish two approximately half kilogram, soy-sauce which taste-definite sweet half cup oil whatever-necessary-definite)
   'The ingredients are: two bandeng fish, approximately half a kilogram, a half a cup of sweet soy sauce, as much oil as necessary.'

(2) Bumuné (bumu-(n)é); brambang lima-ng ijí, lombok abang lima-ng ijí, kunir sethitéh wáé, bawang telu-ng stiung, gula abang yén perlu wáé se-bab kéap-é wix legi, asem telu-ng klingou, laos sa-iris, uyah sa-cukup-é.
   (spice-definite onion five-linker piece, chili-pepper red five-linker piece, turmeric a little only, garlic three-linker section, sugar red if necessary only because soy-sauce-
definite already sweet; tamarind three-linker section,laos=(root spice) one-slice, salt whatever-necessary-definite)
The spices are: five onions, five red chili peppers, a little bit of turmeric, three garlic cloves, brown sugar only if necessary since the soy sauce is already sweet, three sections of tamarind, one slice of laos, salt to taste.'

(3) Pangolah-é: bandeng di-tugeł-ti dadi tely utawa papat, di-vutuh-aké ya ke-
na.
(cooking-definite bandeng-fish break-continuation-to-completion-patient=subject become three or four whole cause-patient=subject also be-able)
The procedure is (as follows): break the fish into three or four pieces or leave it whole.'

(4) Brambang, bawang, lombok abang, kunir, di-sunduk-ti nganggo sunduk saté di-
bakar.
(onion, garlic, chili-pepper red, tur-
meric, spear-gal=subject use skewer saté (Indonesian shish kabobs) roast-
patient=subject)
'Spear the onions, garlic, red chili peppers, and turmeric with a sate skewer (and) roast them.'

(5) Bandeng-é di-oeer-2-i asem lan uyah, nuti di-gorèng.
(fish-definite smear-repetitive-goal=subject tamarind and salt then fry-
patient=subject)
'Smear the fish with tamarind and salt and then fry it.'

(6) Panggorèng-é aja nganti ke-garing-en.
(frying-definite don't until too-dry)
'Don't fry it until it is too dry.'

(7) Sabanjuré bandeng sabumbuné (sa-bum-
bu-(n)b) dîlebokaké (dì-lebu-(k)aké) panoii sing wis iai banyu, sing akh-
è ourup ng-analap-aké bandeng.
(afterwards fish together-with-spice-definite enter-object=subject pot which already filled water which quan-
ty-definite enough covered-cause-
force=subject fish)
'Then put the fish and the spices in a pot which has already been filled with water which is enough to cover the fish.'

(8) Pungkaan-é bandeng di-goddhog nganti banyund (banyu-(n)b) umub lan geni di-citlk-aké supaya bumbuné (bumbu-
(n)b) biaa r-um-asuk.
(end-definite fish boil-patient=subject so-that spice-definite be-able absorb-state-patient=subject until water-definite boil and fire small-
cause-patient=subject so-that spice-
definite be-able absorb-state-patient=subject)

'Finally heat the fish until the wa-
ter comes to a boil and then turn
down the fire so the spices can be
absorbed.'

(9) Kanthi wola-wali di-panas-i, masakan biaa aútè lan sangsaya sedhep raše-
né (rasa-(n)b).
(with backward-forward hot-cause pa-
tient=subject dish can last-long and the-longer delicious taste-definite)
'By reheating before and after each use this dish can keep for a long
time, and the longer it is kept the better it tastes.'

C. Kanoil Ng-apus-i Maan
(mousedeer deceive-agent=subject-pa-
tient=complement tiger)
'Mousedeer Tricks tiger' (a story)

(1) Saiki aku arep n-dongèng crita Kanoil.
(now I will tell-story-agent=subject-pa-
tient=complement story mousedeer)
'Now I am going to tell a story about Mous-deer.'

(2) Pande Kanoil iku misuwur kewan sing pinter, sing wiocakana, nanging uga kena di-ar-an-i kewan sing nakal, ja-
laran Kanoil iku kersep ng-apus-i kanaané (kanea-(n)b).
(indubed mousedeer that famous animal
which clever, which wise, but also
can call-referent=subject animal whom naughty, because mousedeer that often
deeceve-agent=subject-patient=comple-
ment friend-definite)
'It is quite true that Mousedeer is
famous as an animal who is intelli-
gent and wise, but it can also be
said that he is a naughty animal, be-
cause he often deceives his friends.'

(3) Ban orita iki nali Kaoci ng-apus-
i Maan.
(now story this when mousedeer de-
ceive-agent=subject-patient=comple-
ment tiger)
'Now this story is about the time
when Mousedeer tricked Tiger.'

(4) Anuju sa-wiçi-ngioring, wayah-é oku tur hauené (hava-(n)b) kepènak banget.
(happen-to-be one-piece-linker day
time-definite morning furthermore
weather-definite pleasant very)
'One day, it was morning and the
weather was very pleasant.'

(5) Srengéngéné (srengéngé-(n)b) e-um-
oret.
(sun-definite shine-intransitive)
'The sun was shining.'

(6) Nalika iku Kanoil lagi tangi kriyip-2.
(when that mousedeer in-the-process
cut-up eyes-half-open repetitive)

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At that time Mousedeer was just getting up, still half asleep.

(Iku wáé menawu durung tangi yen 'papan-é turu ora ke-panas-en.' (that only perhaps not-yet get-up if place-definite sleep not too-hot) 'Perhaps even then he wouldn't have gotten up yet if his sleeping place were not too hot.'

Panañ Kanoil iku kalebu kéwan sing keséed. (indeed mousedeer that be-included-among animal which lazy) 'Mousedeer is indeed a very lazy animal.'

'When the process was about to end, he opened eyes, even though he doesn't get up right away and go off, but has to squirm, still half asleep, and yawn terribly.'

Hengko nèk Kiyainé (kiyai-(n)é) ora ngerti aku tak nahnélik. (later if religious-leader-definite not know I intention hides) 'Later if Mr. Tiger doesn't see me I'll hide.'

Kanoil rumangsa nemu (N-tamu) akal kanggo ngendhaké (N-endha-(n)n) an-caman-é st Naan. (mousedeer feel meet-agent=subject-patient=complement idea for avoid-agent=subject-source=complement threat-definite familiar tiger) 'Mousedeer got an idea how to dodge Tiger's threat.'

'Mousedeer was very afraid (and) his heart beat violently.'

Gagasen-é Kanoil: "Wah cilaka iki. (thought-definite mousedeer goodness disaster this) 'He thought, 'Goodness, this is a disaster.'

Sida di-kathak Kiyainé (kiyai-(n)é) tenan awak-ku. (turn-out gobble-up-patient=subject religious-leader-definite-('tiger' is a taboo word if there is danger of tigers) really body-my)
subject really you Cil=nickname-for-mousedeer) 'Now I'm really going to eat you up, Cil.'

(24) Ana wong kok pijer di-ague-i wae. (there-is person why-is-it always deceive-patient=subject only) 'How can there be such a person who is always deceived?'

(25) Ayo kowé arep m-layu nyang ng-endé? (come-on you will run-intransitive to locative-where) 'Come on, where are you going to run to?'

(26) Tak oyak mungu ora ke-oekele-a.' by-me chase-patient=subject impossible not catch-accidental-patient=subject-unreal) 'I'll chase you. It's impossible that I won't catch you.'

(27) Kanool mangsul (N-mangsul-i), nanging ya kanthi gragapan saking wédiné (wedé-(n)lé). (mousedeer answer-agent=subject-goal=complement but yes with me=you from fear-definite) 'Mousedeer answered, but nervously from fear.'

(28) Suwarané (swawa-(n)lé) rada groyok, nanging di-tataq-ò-a:ó, tembung-i: "Sessesset" nongo karo nutupi (N-tu-tup-i) tutuk-ó. (voice-definite rather stutter, but brave-cause-patient=subject, word-definite "ssshhh" like-that and close-agent=subject-goal=patient mouth-definite) 'He stuttered a bit, but he made himself brave, and said "Sssshhh" like that and covered his mouth.'

(29) "Aja seru-2." (don't loud-intense) '"Be quiet.'

(30) Mula Macean gunun banget génobyà Kan-oil kok ora wédi di-oeđak-i, banjur takon kanthi tembung kang rada lirih: "Ara apa ta, Cil?" (and-so tiger surprised very why mousedeer why-is-it not afraid approach-goal=subject then ask with word which rather soft there-is what question Cil) 'And so Tiger was very surprised that Mousedeer wasn't afraid of being approached, then he asked softly, "What is it, Cil?"

(31) Kanool mang-sul (N-mang-sul-i) kanthi tembung kang luwh lirih: "Sesset" (mousedeer answer-agent=subject with word which more soft ssssh) 'Mousedeer answered even more softly, "Sssshh."'
is the belt of prophet Suleman. ' (43) Sabuk iki ndwé daya pangari-bawang ampuh bangké, sing seké. (belt this have strength magical power which powerful very which magical) ' This belt has magical powers which are very strong and powerful. ' (44) Mula sapa sing kwat lan bisa niganggo sabuk iki bakal ora kena ing pati, mung bisa kena ing lara. (and-so who which strong and can wear-agent=subject-patient=complement belt this will not can-be-hit-by in death, only can can-be-hit-by in sickness) ' So whoever is strong enough to wear this belt can only get sick or hurt, but cannot die. ' (45) Apa ora jeneng ampuh anggoni kaya ngono iki. " (question not name powerful accessory-to-dress like that this) ' Wouldn't you call that a powerful accessory? ' (46) Kuwé mung ng-anggo sedhéla waé. (that only wear-agent=subject-patient=complement a-moment only) ' And that's if you just wear it for a moment. ' (47) Apa mëngh yén ng-anggo salawasé. " (what more if wear-agent=subject-patient=complement forever) ' What more if you wear it forever. " (48) Macan gumun banget lan uga duwé melik supaya ora kena ing pati, yaiku saran ng-anggo sabuk-é Kanjeng Nabi Suléman. (tiger surprised very and also have desire so-that not be-hit-by in death, that-is by-means-of wear-agent=subject-patient=complement belt-definite title prophet Suleman) 'Tiger was quite surprised and of course he wanted to be immortal, that is he wanted to wear the belt of the prophet Suleman. ' (49) Tembung-é marang Kanoil kanthi nga-rith-arth: "Cil, saiki ngéné, Cil. (word-definite to mousedeer with plead-agent=subject cil now like this Cil) ' He said pleadingly to Mousedeer, "Hey, Cil, how about this? " (50) Kuwé ora arep tak kleskhat, ora arep tak pangan èsuk iki tak enggo sarapan. (you not will by-me gobble-up-patient=subject not will by-me eat-patient=subject morning this by-me use-patient=subject breakfast) ' I won't gobble you up, I won't eat you for breakfast this morning. ' (51) Mangting aku lijanama (lila-(n)ana) nganggo sabuk-é Kanjeng Nabi Suléman. (but I permit-imperative-patient=subject use-agent=subject-patient=complement belt-definite title prophet Suleman) ' But let me wear the belt of prophet Suleman. ' (52) Piýé? Kowé wanti ng-idin-aké apa ora?" (how you brave permission-cause-agent=subject or not) ' How about it? Do you dare to let me or not? " (53) Kanoil mangul-i (N-wan-seul-i): "Wah ora bisa. (mousedeer answer-agent=subject-goal=complement goodness not possible) 'Mousedeer answered, "Goodness, that's impossible. ' (54) Kuwé ngerti yên aku nganti ngılır-wakaké (N-lixirá-(k)aké) dhasuk-é Kanjeng Nabi Suléman gulu-ku sing bakal dítigás. (you know if I until violate-agent=subject order-definite title prophet Suleman neck-my which will slash-off-patient=subject) ' You know if I violate the orders of prophet Suleman it's my own neck that will be slashed off. ' (55) Merga panèn sabuk iki sabuk sing ampuh tenan. (because indeed belt this belt which powerful really) ' Because really this is a very powerful belt. ' (56) Sanaján mung ng-anggo sedhéla waé salawasé wrip ora kena ing pati. (although only wear-agent=subject-patient=complement a-moment only as long-as alive not be-hit-by in death) ' Even if you wear it just for a moment as long as you live you won't be able to die. ' (57) Dadi ora kena ana kéwan nganti nganggo sabuk iki. (so not permitted there-is animal until wear-agent=subject-patient=complement belt this) ' So no animal is allowed to wear this belt. ' (58) Lha wong aku waé ora wani kok. (exclamation because I only not brave emphatic) ' I myself don't dare to. ' (59) Sanaján mung sedhéla lan ora kapir-pan (ka-pirsa-an) dening Kanjeng Na-bi Suléman. (although only a-moment and not know-Krama-Inggil-accidental-referent=subject by title prophet Suleman)
' Even if it were just for a moment and prophet Suleman didn't know.

(60) Lha kok aku arep ng-idin-aké kowé. (exclamation how-is-it-that I will permit-agent=subject you) ' So how can I permit you?'

(61) Apa sasat ngendhat (N-kendhat)?' (question same-as commit-suicide) 'Isn't that like committing suicide?''

(62) Maaan ora trima marang wangsulan-é Kantic. (tiger not receive to answer-definite mousedeer) 'Tiger didn't accept Mousedeer's answer.'

(63) Isi hin ngarih-arih menèh. (still plead again) 'He still continued to plead.'

(64) 'Yèn ngono apa kowé kepèngin tak enggo sarapán? (if like-that question you want by-me use-patient=subject breakfast) 'Well if that's the way it is do you want to be my breakfast?'

(65) Amarga wiuw ésuw mau aku panoèn durung sarapá. (because begin morning earlier I indeed not-yet eat-breakfast) 'Because this morning, as a matter of fact, I haven't had breakfast yet.'

(66) Dadi kowé kari milii (N-pilih) ng-idin-aké aku ng-anggo sabuk-é Kanjeng Nabi Suléman apa tak kemah-2 tak enggo sarapán. (so you be-left choose-agent=subject-patient=complement permit-agent=subject I wear-agent=subject-patient=complement belt-definite title prophet Suléman or-by-me chew-up-patient=subject by-me use-patient=subject breakfast) 'So you can just choose: either let me wear the belt of prophet Suléman or I'll chew you up for breakfast.'

(67) "Wah lha abot kabèh kuwi", wangsulan-é Kantic. (goodness exclamation heavy all that answer-definite mousedeer) '"Goodness, both choices are bad," answered Mousedeer.'

(68) "Iya wis. (yes already) 'Well, all right.'

(69) Tinimbang aku mati konyol, kowé tak lilani (ilia-(n)i) ng-anggo sabuk-é Kanjeng Nabi Suléman. (compared-to I die half-cooked you by-me permit-goal=subject wear-agent=subject-patient=complement belt-definite title prophet Suleman) 'Rather than dying senselessly I'll let you wear the prophèt's belt.'

(70) Nanging cara né (cara-(n)i) ngéné. (but way-definite like this) 'But do it like this.'

(71) Supaya aku ora didukani (di-duka-(n)i) Kanjeng Nabi Suléman, aku tak lunga dhieik. (so-that I not angry-Krama-Inngil-referent=subject title prophet Suléman I intention go first) 'So prophet Suléman isn't angry with me I'll go away first.'

(72) Samangsa lunga-ku wis adök, sabuk tki lagi kena kok enggo. (as-soon-as going-my already far, belt this only-then permitted by-you wear-patient=subject) 'As soon as I'm far away you can wear the belt.'

(73) Nanging ya aja suwé-2. (but yes don't very-long-time) 'But don't do it for too long.'

(74) 'Yèn wis koko enggo sawetara wékutu bannu' woul-ana lan gulung-em manèh kaya mau. (if already by-you wear-patient=subject a-short-while time then take-off imperative-patient=subject and roll-up imperative-patient=subject again like earlier) 'As soon as you've worn it for a moment, take it off and roll it up again like it was before.'

(75) Mengko yen wis kaya ngaon aku tak balt manèh ng-ayak-i kuwajiban-ku kaya mau, ng-unban dhauw-é Kanjeng Nabi Suléman nunggu (N-tunggu) sabuk tki. (later if already like-that I intention return again carry-out-agent=subject-patient=complement duty-my like earlier, carry-out order-definite title prophet Suléman wait-agent=subject-patient=complement belt this) 'Then if it's already like that, I'll come back and continue to do my duty like before, carrying out the orders of prophet Suléman, guarding the belt.'

(76) Piye saquh apa nga-anggo cara kaya ngaon?' (how agree or not use-agent=subject-patient=complement way like-that) 'How about it? Do you agree or not to do it like that?''

(77) "Iya wis, nga-anggo cara piye wàé kau manut. (yes already, use-agent=subject-patient=complement way how only I go-along)
"Yes, all right. Do it any way whatever. I'll go along."

(87) Sautara manèh Kanoil nutugaké (N-tu-
tug-aké) playuné (playu-(n)é). (a short-while more mousedeer continue-
ue-agent=subject-patient=complement running-definite)
'Mousedeer continued running for some time.'

(88) Maan banjur ng-undang manèh: "Cil." (tiger then call-agent=subject again Cil)
'Then Tiger called again: "Cil."'

(89) Wungusan-é Kanoil iaih kep-rungu: "Kuk."
(answer-definite mousedeer still hear-force=subject yoo-hoo)
'Mousedeer's answer could still be heard, "Yoo hoo."

(90) Maan nunggu (i-tunggu) manèh. (tiger wait-agent=subject again)
'tiger waited again.'

(91) Bareng wéw sautara wektu banjur ng-
undang manèh: "Cil." (when already a-short-while time then call-agent=subject again Cil)
'After a short while he called again, "Cil."

(92) Kanoil wé wé mANGSULI (N-wangsu-
li). (mousedeer already not answer-agent= subject-goal=complement)
'Mousedeer didn't answer.'

(93) Dadi nandakaké (N-tanda-ka) yèn
playuné (playu-(n)é) wí adoh,
 therefore sign-convey-force=subject
that running-definite already far)
'that meant he was already far away.'

(94) Mula Maan banjur mapan (N-papan)
arep ng-ango sabuk-é Kanjeng Nabi
Suléman.
(and-so tiger then place-agent-sub-
ject-settle-down) will wear-agent= subject-patient=complement belt-def-
inite title prophet Suléman)
'And so Tiger settled down to put on
the belt of the prophet Suléman.'

(95) Ranging sepira kaqé-té bareng di-ae-
dhak-i lan di-oekei déning Maanac,
sabuk mau bisa ng-gronjal lan ng-an-
caam marang Maanac.
(but how-much surprise-definite when
approach-goal=subject and grasp-pat-
ient-subject by tiger, belt earlier
move-jerkly-agent=subj ect and
threaten-agent=subject to tiger)
'But how startled he was to find
when he approached and grasped it,
the belt suddenly jumped up and
threatened him.'

(96) Malah Maan banjur di-gubet weteng-é
singset banget nganti bengkak-é ora
bisa bangga. (even tiger then encircle patient=
subject stomach-definite tight very
until shout-repetitive not able
loose)
'That's more, it encircled Tiger's stomach very tightly so that he shouted and shouted, but could not get loose.'

(97) Kaya ngono kedadayan ésuk iki, yaku Kangil ng-aopus-i Maaan.
(like like-that happening morning this th-is mousedeer deceiving-agent=subject-patient=complement
tiger) 'That's what happened that morning, Mousedeer tricked Tiger.'

(98) Ngandhakaké (N-kandhaa-(k)aké) yén di-dhau-uh-i rungu (N-tunggu) agem-é sabuk Kangeng Habi Suléman, na-nging sefatinê ula sawu.
(say-agent=subject-referent=complement that order-patient=subject wait-agent=subject-patient=complement thing-worn-definite belt title prophet Suléman but actually snake Python)
'He said that he was ordered to guard the belt of prophet Suléman, but actually it was a python.'

(99) Tujuuné úlc sawu iku kalebu ula sing wisané (úla-(n)le) ora mandí.
(fortunately snake python that included-among snake which venom-definite not poisonous)
'Fortunately, the python is not a poisonous snake.'

(100) Dadi tarung-á karo Maan ramé banget, na-nging Maan ora nganti tumeka ing pati.
(therefore fight-definite with tiger lively very, but tiger not until come to death)
'So his fight with Tiger was very lively, but Tiger didn't die.'

(101) Mula sawisé owal saka panggubet-é ula sawu, Maan banjuru nguber òber Kangil, kepèngin malee ukum.
(and-so after escape from encircling-definite snake python then chase-repetitive-agent=subject-patient=complement mousedeer, want return judgement=revenge)
'And so after he escaped from grasp of the python, Tiger continued to chase Mousedeer, wanting to get revenge.'

(102) Na-nging bareng ke-temu karo Kangil, mekka isith bisa kapuean (ke-aopus-an) manèh.
(but when meet-accidental-patient=subject with mousedeer, necessarily still can cheat-accidental-patient=subject again)
'But whenever he meets Mousedeer, he's always tricked again.'

(103) Wia ekukup seméné dhiéik.
(already enough this-much first)
'That's all for now.'

D. Kén Angrok (a legend: Kén Angrok is a very long narrative, about 100 pages. I include excerpts here because since it deals with many characters and involves many scene changes, it exhibits certain linguistic phenomena not found in the shorter narratives.

Kén Angrok is the story of a king by that name who reigned in East Java in about the 14th century. Unlike other kings of that period, he was not descended from royalty, but was from the common people. He became king by killing his predecessor, Tunggul Ameung, and marrying the queen, Ken Dhedhes. This much of the story is probably factual, but a great body of legend has grown up, including the story that Ken Angrok was actually descended from the god Bathara Brama, and the story of the magical keris mpu Gandring which was cursed by its maker before he died so that anyone who used it to kill would also die by it.)

Excerpt A (the beginning of the story after a short introduction explaining the history of the legend and naming its various sources):

(1) Anuju sawiifining dina, Bathara Brama mider-mider kepengin nitis-aké (N-ti-tis-aké) manungaa sing mengkono bisa ngratoni (N-rtu-(k)le) ing tanah Java.
(happen-to-be one gay name-of-god travel-around-repetitive want reincarnate-cause-agent=subject human-being which later-on be-able rule-agent=subject-goal=complement locative land Java.)
'One day Bathara Brama was traveling around; he wanted to become reincarnated as a mortal who could later on rule Java.'

(2) Dvonadaa warmu ana mantèn anyar ika iku antarané Gajahpara karo Ken Endhok, sing pang-uripan-é Wong Loro mau tetenan.
(suddenly see there-is bride-and-groom new yes that=(what is) between name and name who livelihood-definite person two earlier agriculture) 'Suddenly he saw that there was a newly married couple, Gadjahpara and Ken Endhok, who were farmers.'

(3) Nalika Gajahpara nyambut-gawé ana ing alas, ana ing pategalan, Kén Endhok lunga saka omah-d arep ngirim (N-ki-rim) bojone (boja-(n)lé).
(when name work located-in locative-marker forest located-in locative-marker dry-field name go from house-definite will send-agent=subject-patient=complement spouse-definite)
'While Gajahpara was working in the forest, in the fields, Ken Endhok left the house to take her husband (some food).'

(4) Tekan (teka-an) n-dalann ketemu karo Bathara Brama.
(Arrive-agent=old-information loca-
tive-road meet-accidental-patient=subject with name-of-god)
'When she reached the road she met Bathara Brama.'

(5) Ora ke-aamar-an man'ëh, Bathara Brama banjâr m-udhun lan mpepekî (N-prepek-i) lakunë (laku-(n)ë) Kën Endhok.
(not clouded-accidental-goal=subject anymore Bathara Brama then descend-intransitive and confront-agent=subject-goal=complement movement-define name)
'Suddenly becoming visible, Bathara Brama came down and confronted Ken Endhok.'

(6) Kën Endhok banjur di-potha-potha lar kelakong lambang sari ana tegal pelatengan.
(name then rape-patient=subject and it-happened=that exchange essence located-at field-place-of-briars)
'He raped her and managed to plant his seed there in the field.'

(7) Savi's' iku Bathara Brama banjur we'ing marang Kën Endhok: marawa anak sing di-ñiti-akê iku mbësuk bakal lair lanang, mula Gajahpara ora kena turu bareng man'ëh, mundhak nyenyyuker-i (R-N-suker-i) wiji sing suci saka Bathara Brama.
(after that name-of-god then leave-instructions to name that child which reincarnate-cause-patient=subject that in-the-future will be-born male, and so name not be-permitted sleep together in order-not-to dirty-cause-agent=subject-goal=complement seed which pure from name-of-god)
'After that Bathara Brama left parting instructions to Ken Endhok that the child which would be reincarnated would be born a boy, and that Gajahpara was not allowed to sleep with her any more so that he wouldn't contaminate the pure seed from Bathara Brama.'

(8) Dha'uh-ë Bathara Brama d'ëstokakê (di-ëstu-(k)akê) dënîng Kën Endhok. (order-definite name-of-god obey-object=subject by name)
'Ken Endhok obeyed the instructions of Bathara Brama.'

Excerpt B:

(1) Kelakon Kën Endhok banjur di-peqat dënîng Gajahpara lan padha pe-pisah-an.
(it-happened-that name then divorce-patient=subject by name and plural separate-mutual)
'It happened that Ken Endhok was divorced and she and Gajahpara separated.'

(2) Saiki Kën Endhok manggon ana désa Pangkur lan anëhe lima-ng dina saka anggøne pegat-an mau Gajahpara banjur mati.
(Now name live located-at village name-of-village and the-strange-thing five-linker day from nominizer divorce earlier name then die)
'After that Ken Endhok lived in Pangkur village, and strangely enough five days after their divorce Gajahpara died.'

(3) Menawa waë ke-siku dënîng Bathara Brama.
(if only judge-accidental-patient=subject by name-of-god)
'Perhaps he was punished by Bathara Brama.'

(4) Sateruë, bareng Kën Endhok oillê ngandhut wës tekan (teka-an) îkê, banjur bâbar lanang lan katôn-ë uga biisa waë.
(afterwards when name nominizer be-pregnant already arrive-agent=old-information time-definite then be-born male and appearance-definite ordinary only)
'After that, when Ken Endhok's pregnancy had reached its conclusion, a boy was born and he appeared ordinary.'

(5) Mula booch mau banjur di-bwung ing pembajangan nganti tekan bengi.
(then child earlier then throw-away-patient=subject locative boy-house- in a deserted place until arrive-at night)
'The child was then abandoned in the boy house until night.'

(6) Kocaap ing désa konc ana wong aran Lëmbong sëng pegawëyan-ë maling lan tindak durjana.
(it-happened-that locative village there there is person named name who work-definite be-thief and carry-out evil-deed)
'Now it happened that in that village there was a man called Lembong who was a thief by profession.'

(7) Nah, bengi iku Lëmbong lunga saka ng-omah-ë arep madik-madik golëk limpëning (limpë-(n)ing) wong arep di-maling-i.
(now night that name go from locative-house-definite will investigate-repetitive look-for unsuspecting-linker person will rob-source-subject)
'That night Lembong went out to look for an unsuspecting person to be robbed.'

(8) Nanging nakdurungë bisa kelakon ka-rep-ë, dëwuëk-ë rungu anu swara ba-yi cenëgr-cenëgr.
(but before be-able happen desire-definite he hear-patient=subject there-
Bathara Brama admitted that he had an earthly son who was destined to become king. Ken Angrok made himself known and was given instructions by the gods.

Excerpt D:

(1) Ken Angrok banjur di-weling dening Bathara Guru supaya lunga menyang desa Taloka.
(name then give-parting-instructions-patient=complement by name-of-god so-that go to village Taloka)
'Ken Angrok then was given parting instructions by Bathara Guru to go to Taloka village.'

(2) Ing kono bakal ke-temu sawijining pendhita anyar kang lagi neneka (R-N-teska) saka negara Jambudwipa.
(locative there will meet-accidental-patient=subject a priest new which just arrive-suddenly unexpectedly from country name-of-country)
'There he would meet a new priest who had just arrived from Jambudwipa.'

(3) Saka dhewèke Ken Angrok bakal éntuk pangayoman lan nemu dalan kango nggayuh kamukten.
(from him Ken Angrok will receive protection and find road for achieve-agent=subject-patient=complement happiness-in-life)
'From him Ken Angrok would receive protection and find the way of achieving happiness in life.'

(1) Kacarita Kwu Tunggul Ametung nduwèni (N-duwè-nil) abdi kang aran Kebo Ijo.
(it-happened-that king name have-possessor=subject-possessed=complement servant which named name)
'Now it happened that the king Tunggul Ametung had a servant named Kebo Ijo.'

Excerpt E:

(2) Kebo Ijo mau memitran (R-mitra-an) apik banget karo Ken Angrok.
(name earlier friend-mutual good
very with name)
'And Kebo Ijo was very good friends with Ken Angrok.'

(3) Mula satekané (sa-teka-(n)é) saya pa-
part-é mpu Gandring Kën Angrok banjur
manèraké (N-pamèr-aké) keris-é marang
Kebo Ijo.
(and-so when-arrive-nominalizer from
place-definite title-for-skilled-person
name then show-off-goal=subject-object=complement-sword-defi-
nette to)
'And so when he returned from mpu
Gandring's place, Ken Angrok showed
his keris to Kebo Ijo.'

(4) Apa manèh bareng Kebo Ijo di-pamèr-i
dayané (daya-(n)é) keris mau, dhèwék-
è rumangaa ka-aengaem lan kepengin
bangget ndawenti '(N-duwé-(n)i) keris-
è Kën Angrok mau.
(what more when name show-off-goal=
subject and want very own-possessor=
subject-possessed=complement-sword-
definite name earlier)
'And when Kebo Ijo saw the power of
the keris he felt attracted to it
and wanted very much to own the keris
of Ken Angrok.'

(Ken Angrok lent the keris to Kebo
Ijo who showed it off to everyone.
Everyone thought it belonged to Kebo
Ijo. Then one night Ken Angrok stole
the keris from Kebo Ijo and used it
to murder Tunggul Ametung. He left
the keris sticking out of Tunggul A-
metung's chest. Everyone thought Ke-
bo Ijo was the murderer, since they
believed it was his keris. He was
punished, and Ken Angrok married Ken
Dhedhes and became king.

It happened that Ken Dhedhes was
already pregnant at the time, and
shortly after that gave birth to a
son, Anusopati. When Anusopati grew
up, he disso-rected that Ken Angrok was
not really his father and, in fact,
that his real father was murdered by
Ken Angrok. He resolved to have re-
venge. He borrowed the keris from
the house of palace heirlooms where
it had been kept, and ordered a ser-
vant to use it to kill the king, Ken
Angrok, who had changed his name to
Sang Amurwa Bumi.)

Excerpt F:

(1) Savié iku keris mpu Gandring déning
abi pekathik mau banjur di-aoos-aké
kondur marang Anusopati, kanthi matur
menawa wé rampung ngembang dhawuh lan
bisa kelekeanaan (ka-lekeana-an) ngé-
dani (N-édda-(n)i) Sang Amurwa Bumi.
(after that sword name by servant
(kind of servant) earlier then give-
object-subject return to name with
say that already finished carry-out-
agent=subject-patient=complement-ord-
der and can happen-accidental-patient=
subject die-agentsive-patient=complement-name)
'After that the servant returned the
mpu Gandring's keris to Anusopati and
reported that he had already carried
out his order and had succeeded in
killing sang Amurwa Bumi.'

(2) Nanging béda karo Kën Angrok, Anuso-
pati ora nuhont (N-tuuh-(n)i) janji-
né (janji-(n)i) marang pekathik mau,
kosok-baline (bali-(n)é) nalika peka-
thik mau arep nyoaeké (N-aoos-aké)
keris-mpu Gandring banjur di-tuweg
ngango keris iku uga.
(but be-different with name name not
true-agentsive-agentsive-patient=complement promise-definite to ser-
vant earlier reverse-definite when
servant earlier will give-agent=subject-object=complement-sword name
then stab-patient=subject use sword
that also)
'But unlike Ken Angrok, Anusopati
didn't keep his promise to the ser-
vant; when the servant was going to return the keris
to Anusopati, he stabbed the servant
with that very keris.'

(According to the curse of mpu Gan-
dring, the keris was supposed to
cause death through seven generations
of kings. In fact, seven people
were killed by it, but they included mpu
Gandring himself and Anusopati's
servant. At last, a wise king, de-
termined to stop the murders, had
the keris thrown into the South Sea
and that ended the story.)

Notes:
1. This and the following recipe are taken from
Soewarsi (1967).

2. The ideas of spiritual reincarnation and men
being biologically descended from gods are
often confused in Javanese mythology, and the
same word (root: -titis) is used in refer-
cence to both, though the word actually means
"reincarnate".

3. This is an old custom no longer practiced
which was done to insure the safety of the
child.

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BKI - Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
FL - Foundations of Language
I - Indonesia
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