Javanese Transitive Verbs:
a Tagmemic Grammar
EDITORS:

Amran Halim, Jakarta
Soepomo Poedjosoesmono, Yogyakarta
I. Suharno, Surakarta
John W.M. Verhaar, Jakarta
(Secretary)

EDITORIAL ASSISTANT:

H. Bambang Kaswanti Purwo, Jakarta

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JAVANESE TRANSITIVE VERBS:  
A TAGMEMIC GRAMMAR

by

Bintoro

1980
Badan Penyelenggara Seri NUSA
Universitas Atma Jaya, Jakarta
Jakarta
PREFACE

This monograph is a revision of a special topic paper (thesis) submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics at the School of English and Linguistics, Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia (November 1977). My heartfelt gratitude goes to my supervisor, Dr C.L. Yallop, for his guidance in the preparation of the original special topic paper.

My sincere gratitude also goes to Professor John W.M. Verhaar, S.J., who has been sympathetic and encouraging with regard to the publication of the special topic paper, to Dr Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo of Sanata Dharma Teachers' Training Institute, Yogyakarta, and to Dr Sudaryanto of Gajah Mada University, Yogyakarta, for their invaluable help and encouragement in the revision of the special topic paper for publication.

Satya Wacana Christian University, Bintoro
Salatiga, Indonesia
October 1979
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<td>±</td>
<td>optional</td>
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<tr>
<td>+ X + Y</td>
<td>the occurrence of either X or Y, but not both, is obligatory</td>
</tr>
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<td>X occurs in combination with Y</td>
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Chapter one

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Scope of study

Javanese, one of the major vernaculars in Indonesia, is spoken by more than 53,000,000 people (cf. Sudaryanto 1978:ii), the biggest number of native speakers in the Austronesian language family. The majority of the speakers are in the mid- and eastern part of the island of Java, except for a portion of the northern coast opposite the island of Madura.

This study deals with the structure and syntactic function of the transitive verbs in the ngoko level of the Javanese language. The local dialect under investigation is the one of the writer, a native speaker of the language who was brought up in the Javanese cultural centres of Surakarta (Sala) and Yogyakarta. A majority of the word-level construction examples given in this study were taken from the Javanese magazines Dharma Kanda (published in Surakarta), Mekar Sari (published in Yogyakarta), and the Sunday issues of the daily Parikesit (published in Surakarta). A few examples were taken from Kitab Sutji, the Javanese Bible, the magazine Penyebar Semangat (published in Surabaya), and the novel Anteping Tékad. Some other examples of word-level constructions and most of the clause-level constructions were provided by the writer. For comparison, the writer used several published sources, namely the Javanese grammars of Berg (1937), Prijohoe Domo (1937), and articles of Sudaryanto (1975) and Uhlenbeck (1956 and 1974). Besides, to obtain a wider perspective, the Indonesian grammars of Macdonald and Soenjono Darjowidjojo (1967) and Johns (1975), the Malay grammar of Blanche Lewis (1969), and the work of Nothere (1975) were consulted.

The ngoko level was chosen on the assumption that it constitutes the basic structural pattern in the language, and the "transitive verb" was chosen on the assumption that it involves the most essential suffixation system in the language. The analysis is on the word-level. Intonation and several other suprasegmental items are excluded.

For method of analysis the tagmemic model of Cook (1969) is used with some modification so that it can accommodate different or new terminologies, labels, and types or characteristics of word-level constructions.

1.2 Spelling and specifications

In this study the spelling of the Javanese examples follows the spelling convention used in the novel Anteping Tékad, a Javanese novel published by Balai Pustaka. The convention used in this novel was deliberately chosen, firstly, because the publisher is under the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, and hence we may expect that the spelling should be the standard spelling, and, secondly, the novel was published in 1975 (thus, after the introduction of the 1972 spelling system of the Indonesian language). Several points worth noting are:

a. ê stands for /e/;
b. è stands for /e/;
c. e stands for /o/;
d. th stands for /t/ (retroflex);
e. dh stands for /q/ (retroflex);
f. the glottal stop, which occurs only in morpheme-final position, is represented by the letter k.
g. the passive prefixes dak- "first person passive prefix", kok- or mbok- "second person passive prefix" are spelled as word equivalents; the construction dak-gawa 'to be brought by I' or 'I brought (something)'2 (192),
for example, is spelled *dak gawa (not dakgawa); and
h. the other affixes are spelled as affix equivalents; the construction *di-jaluk-aké 'to be asked (for someone)' (7), for example, is spelled dijalukaké (not *di jaluk aké).

This type of spelling convention will, in most cases, be retained in this study. Sometimes, however, for the sake of clarity, in constructions under the focus of attention a hyphen is used to separate an affix and a word stem. Thus, in this instance, instead of dak gawa 'to be brought by I' or 'I brought (something)' (192) we have dak-gawa, and instead of dijalukaké 'to be asked (for someone)' (7) we have di-jaluk-aké.

The phonemic transcriptions, whenever required, are enclosed in slant lines /.../. The prefixes are indicated by a hyphen (-) which comes after the prefix, and the suffixes are indicated by a hyphen (-) which comes before the suffix. Thus the component di- in the construction dijalukaké 'to be asked (for someone)' (7) is a prefix, and the component -aké in the same construction is a suffix. The asterisk (*) is used to denote uncommon or unacceptable constructions.

Following the tagmemic formulas, an example of a word-level construction is first given in its components, that is, in terms of the components which make up the construction, followed by the English translation of the individual components. Then we have the complete construction, as it normally appears in written or printed materials, followed by the English translation of the whole construction. In the construction dijalukaké 'to be asked (for someone)' (7), for example, first we have the components di- 'passive prefix' plus jaluk 'to ask' plus -aké 'benefactive-indicative suffix', and then the whole construction (in this respect: dijalukaké) is given with the English translation. For the sake of uniformity and clarity, this method of analysis will apply to constructions of the higher level.

The word order in the examples of clause constructions is by no means the only possible word arrangement. As implied by Uhlenbeck (1974), in Javanese, if given the appropriate intonation-contour, the clause construction segments (Uhlenbeck’s term: "sentence segments") may in any order form a clause construction. The clause construction layangé jalukén! 'Get the letter!' (140a), for example, consists of two segments: layangé 'the letter' and jalukén '(Let something) be asked!'. Accordingly, instead of layangé jalukén! 'Get the letter!' we can also say jalukén layangé! 'Get the letter!'. Care should be taken, however, that Uhlenbeck’s concept of "sentence segments" does not necessarily convey the same idea as the concept "clause construction segments" used in this study. The clause construction lawangé dibukak ěrî 'The door was opened by ěrî' (2), for example, viewed from Uhlenbeck’s concept of "sentence segments", consists of the segments lawangé 'the door', dibukak ěrî 'to be opened by ěrî'. In this study, however, this clause construction consists of the segments lawangé 'the door', dibukak 'to be opened', and ěrî 'Ěrî'.

For convenience, the examples or groups of examples of the same type are numbered throughout. The numbers are enclosed between brackets. In a phrase or clause level construction, a transitive verb construction under the focus of attention is underscored.

* * *

Footnotes:

1. In Javanese there are two basic speech levels: the krama 'high Javanese' and the ngoko 'low Javanese'.
2. "Tense" and "plural" in Javanese are not expressed by inflections, as in English, but by words.

If different circumstances are not significant, for convenience, in this study "simple past tense" and "singular form" are used to refer to the English gloss in the verb and noun respectively.
2.1 Definition of transitive verb

The concept of "transitive verb" in this study refers to a Javanese lexical construction, which, in an active transitive clause construction, functions as a filler of the head slot of an active transitive verb phrase. The verb phrase, in turn, functions as a filler of a predicate slot in the clause construction, and can be followed by an object slot filled by a nominal object. In this type of clause construction, the lexical construction occurs with an obligatory activizer slot filled by a "nasal" or "zero" prefix (see 3.3).

In the corresponding passive transitive clause construction, the lexical construction may occur with a passivizer slot filled by the passive prefix di-, and functions as a filler of the head slot of a passive transitive verb phrase. The verb phrase, in turn, functions as a filler of a predicate slot in the clause construction, and can optionally be followed by an agent slot filled by the filler of the subject slot of the corresponding active transitive clause construction.

The lexical construction mbukak 'to open', for example, is a transitive verb because in an active transitive clause construction it can take a nominal object and occurs with the nasal prefix n- (here: the variant m-), and in the corresponding passive transitive clause construction it occurs with the passive prefix di- (and we have the form dibukak 'to be opened'). The formulas and examples below serve as an illustration.

a. in an active transitive clause construction:

\begin{align*}
1) & \text{tCl}_{\text{a}} = + S_{N}^{\text{pn}} + P_{N}^{\text{tvA}} \quad \text{O}_{N}^{\text{pn}}^{1} \text{mbukak lawang} \\
& \text{Eri} \text{ to open door} \\
& \text{Eri mbukak lawang.} \\
& \text{'Eri opened the door.'}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
2) & \text{tv}_{\text{a}} = + H_{N}^{\text{tvA}} \\
& \text{in the corresponding passive transitive clause construction:}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
1) & \text{tCl}_{\text{p}} = + S_{N}^{\text{pn}} + P_{N}^{\text{tvP}} \quad \text{Ag}_{N}^{\text{pn}} \text{lawang-\=2 dibukak \=Eri} \\
& \text{the door to be opened} \\
& \text{Lawangé dibukak \=Eri.} \\
& \text{'The door was opened by \=Eri.'}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
2) & \text{tv}_{\text{p}} = + H_{N}^{\text{tvP}} \\
& \text{iii) tv}_{\text{p}} = + psvzr:di- + core:tvS \\
& \text{dibukak to open} \\
& \text{dibukak 'to be opened'}
\end{align*}

The definition, accordingly, covers only Javanese transitive verbs with the obligatory nasal prefix which have the capacity to take one or more objects. Javanese verbs like kélangan 'to lose' (from: ilang 'lost' + ka--an 'confix') and pamitan 'to say goodbye' (from: pamit 'farewell' + -an 'suffix'), which have the capacity to have a transitive relation, are not touched upon in this study.
2.2 Forms of transitive verbs

In Javanese, typically, a transitive verb or construction has the shape of a word. As a lexical item a transitive verb may be composed of one or more morphemes, and, at the higher level, it can function as a filler of a phrase slot.

Following Bloomfield (1933:178), the concept of "word" in this study is understood as "a minimum free form; a free form which does not consist entirely of two or more lesser free forms". As far as words are concerned, the forms of transitive verbs are as follows:

a. Simple transitive verbs, consisting of one single free morpheme (that is, transitive verb root). These forms are not constructions, and hence they need not be analyzed at the word-level (cf. Cook 1969:118).

Examples:

(3) tuku 'to buy'
yawé 'to sell'
yasa 'to build'

dijalukaké 'to be asked (for someone)'

2.3 Affixation

In Javanese, at the word-level, transitive verb constructions are composed of two or more tagmemes. One of the tagmemes, the core tagmeme, is manifested by a root or a stem, whereas the other (or: others), the derivation-al tagmeme (or: tagmemes), is (or: are) manifested by an affix (or: affixes). In terms of the occurrence of affixes there are three types of transitive verb constructions, namely "core with prefix", "core with suffix", and "core with a combination of prefix and suffix".

2.3.1 Core with prefix

The Javanese transitive verb prefixes can be divided into two main functional classes, the "active" and "passive" prefixes. The words "active" and "passive" are not necessarily the ideal terms, and some writers have suggested "actor-focus" versus "object-focus". Johns (1975:149), for example, in dealing with this type of structural problem in the Indonesian language, has suggested "subject-focus" versus "object-focus". The important point here is the existence of the two structural types. The distinction between "active" and "passive" prefixes, in turn, results in the distinction between "active transitive verb" and "passive transitive verb" constructions:

a. active transitive verb construction (for short: active construction)

\[
tva_{ind} = + atvzr: \ n- + \ core: tvs
\]

(8) n- jupuk
active to take

prefix

njupuk 'to take'

Example in a clause construction:

(9) aku njupuk buku
I to take book

"Aku njupuk buku.
I took the book."

(4) n- jaluk
active to ask

prefix

njaluk 'to ask'

(5) kok- jaluk
second person to ask

passive prefix

kok jaluk
'to be asked by you' or
'You asked.'

(6) jaluk -en
.to ask imperative suffix

jaluk-en!
'Ask!'

(7) di- jaluk -aké
passive to ask benefactive-

prefix indicative

dijalukaké
'someone asked you.
'You were asked.'
b. passive transitive verb construction (for short: passive construction)

\[ tvp_{ind} = + \text{psvzr: dak-} + \text{core:tvs} \]

(10) \text{dak-} \quad \text{jupuk} \\
\text{first-person} \quad \text{to take} \\
\text{passive prefix} \\
\text{dak jupuk} \\
\text{'}to be taken by I' or' I took (something).'

Example in a clause construction:

(11) \text{buku-nó} \quad \text{dak jupuk} \\
\text{the book} \quad \text{to be taken by I} \\
\text{Bukuné dak jupuk} \\
\text{'}The book was taken by I.' or \text{'I took the book.'}

With transitive verb roots or stems (hence, for convenience, the term "stem" is used to refer to both "root" and "stem"; for explanation see 2.4) functioning as core slot fillers, the core-prefix constructions are "restrictive", that is, "derivations which do not change the form class to which they are added" (Cook 1969:129). The construction \text{njupuk} 'to take' (8) serves as an example.

With stems of other form classes functioning as core slot fillers, the constructions are "governing", that is, "derivations which change the form class of the stem" (Cook 1969:127).

i) with a noun stem as a core slot filler:

\[ tvaind = + \text{atvzr: n-} + \text{core:ns} \]

(12) \text{n-} \quad \text{pacul} \\
\text{active} \quad \text{hoe} \\
\text{pacul} \\
\text{'}to hoe (the ground)'

ii) with an adjective stem as a core slot filler:

\[ tvaind = + \text{atvzr: n-} + \text{core:ajs} \]

(13) \text{n-} \quad \text{rusak} \\
\text{active} \quad \text{damaged} \\
\text{rusak} \\
\text{mnrusak} \\
\text{'}to destroy, to damage'

The active prefix, or the nasal prefix, is \text{n-} (with several contextual variants, see 3.2 for further details). Some of them can be noticed in the following examples:

\[ tvaind = + \text{atvzr: n-} + \text{core:tvs} \]

(14) a. \text{n-} \quad \text{jupuk} \\
\text{active} \quad \text{passive} \\
\text{njupuk} \\
\text{'}to take' \\
\text{waca} \\
\text{b. \text{n-} \quad \text{waca} \quad \text{to read} \quad \text{prefix} \text{maca} \quad \text{'to read'} \quad \text{dokok} \quad \text{to put} \quad \text{ndokok} \quad \text{'to put'} \quad \text{dokok} \quad \text{ndokok} \quad \text{'}to put'}

There are several passive prefixes, namely \text{dak-}, \text{kok-}, \text{mbok-}, \text{di-}, \text{ka-}, and \text{ke-}.
\text{Dak-} refers to 'first-person singular', \text{kok-} and \text{mbok-} refer to 'second-person (normally: singular)', whereas the others are not limited to persons (see 5.1).

\[ tvpind = + \text{psvzr: di-} + \text{core:tvs} \]

(15) a. \text{di-} \quad \text{colong} \\
\text{passive} \quad \text{to steal} \\
\text{dicolong} \\
\text{'}to be stolen' \\
\text{waca} \\
\text{b. \text{dak-} \quad \text{waca} \quad \text{to read} \quad \text{passive prefix} \text{dak waca} \quad \text{'to be read by I' or 'I read it.'} \text{kok jupuk} \quad \text{to take} \quad \text{passive prefix} \text{kok jupuk} \quad \text{'}to be taken by you' or 'You took (something).'
2.3.2 Core with suffix

Similar to the case of core-prefix constructions, some of the core-suffix constructions are "restrictive", and some are "governing". Not all core-suffix constructions occur as "minimum free forms".

i) Example of a construction which occurs as a "minimum free form":

\[
\text{tpv}_\text{imp} = \\
+ \text{core:tv} \ + \ \text{pass-imptvzr:} \ -\text{en}
\]

(16) \text{jaluk} \quad -\text{en} \\
to ask \\
\text{passive-imperative} \\
\text{suffix}

jaluken
'Ask (for something)!' or 
'(Let something) be asked!'

ii) Example of a construction which cannot occur as a "minimum free form":

\[
\text{*tv}_\text{ind} = \\
+ \text{core:tv} \ + \ \text{ben-indtvzr:} \ -\text{aké}
\]

(17) \text{jaluk} \quad -\text{aké} \\
to ask \\
\text{benefactive-indicative suffix}

*jalukaké

Example (17) should be either:

\[
\text{tva}_\text{ind} = \\
+ \text{atvzr:} \ -\text{} + \text{core:tv} \ + \ \text{ben-indtvzr:} \ -\text{aké}
\]

(18) \text{n-} \\
active \\
to ask \\
\text{benefactive-indicative suffix}

njalukaké
'to ask (something for someone)'

or:

\[
\text{tpv}_\text{ind} = \\
+ \text{psvzr:} \ -\text{} + \text{core:tv} \ + \ \text{ben-indtvzr:} \ -\text{aké}
\]

(19) \text{di-} \\
passive \\
to ask \\
\text{benefactive-indicative suffix}

dijalukaké
'to be asked (for someone)'

2.3.3 Core with a combination of prefix and suffix

To form a transitive verb construction at the word-level, in most cases, a suffix tagmemes should be combined with a prefix, either the active prefix \(n-\) (18) or a passive prefix (19).

Normally, this type of construction is "restrictive". Notice the following pairs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem: transitive verb</th>
<th>Construction: transitive verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(20) \text{golèk}</td>
<td>\text{digolèkè}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to seek'</td>
<td>'(something) to be sought'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem: transitive verb</th>
<th>Construction: transitive verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(21) \text{regêk}</td>
<td>\text{ngregêkè}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'clean'</td>
<td>'to clean'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem: transitive verb</th>
<th>Construction: transitive verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(22) \text{tungghù}</td>
<td>\text{nglungguhù}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to sit'</td>
<td>'to sit (on something)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem: transitive verb</th>
<th>Construction: transitive verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(23) \text{turù}</td>
<td>\text{nurokakè}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to sleep'</td>
<td>'to put (a child) to bed' or 'to lay (something) down'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several constructions, however, are "governing", or, in this respect, "transitive verb formatives". Notice the following pairs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem: adjective</th>
<th>Construction: transitive verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(21) \text{regêk}</td>
<td>\text{ngregêkè}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'clean'</td>
<td>'to clean'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem: intransitive verb</th>
<th>Construction: transitive verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(22) \text{tungghù}</td>
<td>\text{nglungguhù}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to sit'</td>
<td>'to sit (on something)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4 Types of core slot fillers

At the layer of transitive verb constructions, it is insignificant whether the core tagmemes are manifested by roots or stems. In the construction \text{njupuk} 'to take' (8) and \text{notok-notok} 'to knock repeatedly' (41), for example, for the sake of the productivity of the formula (cf. Cook 1969:130), core slot fillers are written in terms of the stems, not root. Hence the constructions \text{njupuk} 'to take' (8) and \text{notok-notok} 'to knock repeatedly'
can be formulated as follows:

\[ tvp_{\text{ind}} = + atvzr: n- + \text{core: tvs} \]

Next, in functioning as core slot fillers of transitive verb constructions the stems can be composed of:

a. Simple forms

i) Transitive verb roots, examples:

(23) `tulis' \\
'gase' \\
`jalek' \\
'to write' \\
'to make' \\
'to ask'

ii) Intransitive verb roots, examples:

(24) `lungguh' \\
`mati' \\
`turu' \\
'to sit' \\
'to die' \\
'to sleep'

iii) Noun roots, examples:

(25) `paul' \\
`pajer' \\
`sapu' \\
'hoe' \\
'fence' \\
'broom'

iv) Adjective roots, examples:

(26) `resik' \\
`besik' \\
`dhawur' \\
'clean' \\
'good' \\
'high'

v) Adverb roots, examples:

(27) `ngane' \\
`ngono' \\
'this way' \\
'that way'

vi) Numeral roots, examples:

(28) `satus' \\
`sèwu' \\
'one hundred' \\
'one thousand'

b. Complex forms

Complex forms as core slot fillers of transitive verb constructions are normally of low frequency of occurrence and not productive. They may have the shape of (i) reduplicated roots, or (ii) compounds. Many of them require simultaneous prefixing and suffixing in forming a transitive verb construction (see 3.5).

i) Reduplicated roots

Examples:

(29) `thothok-thothok' \\
`solan-salin' \\
'to knock repeatedly' \\
'to keep on changing' or \\
'to keep on replacing'

Examples in transitive verb constructions:

(30) `nothok-nothok' \\
`nyolann-yalini' \\
'to knock repeatedly' \\
'to keep on changing' or \\
'to keep on replacing'

ii) Compounds

Examples:

(31) `japa-mantra' \\
`gagrak-angar' \\
'magic formula' \\
'new thing' or \\
'something innovated'

Examples in transitive verb constructions:

(32) `njapa-mantrani' \\
`nggagrak-angarah' \\
'to cast a spell' \\
'to update'

In this study the focus of attention is on the transitive verb constructions with core slots filled by "simple forms".

****

Footnotes:

1. For key symbols see page xi.

2. -(n)é is a suffix which has several functions (cf. Sudaryanto 1978:4-6). It may convey, among other things, the meaning of the English "third person possessive adjectives" (in particular his, her, and their) and the definite article the. If different circumstances are not significant, for convenience, in this study the is used to refer to -(n)é.
3.1 The nasal prefix and its function

The active prefix, or the nasal prefix, is /n/. It can be combined with a transitive verb stem to form a "restrictive" transitive verb construction, or with a member of some other word stem groups (see 2.3.3) to form a "governing" transitive verb construction. Thus, in terms of the functional tagmemic structure, in both "restrictive" and "governing" constructions, the prefix /n/-functions as a verbalizer. In this study, however, the term "activizer" is used, to distinguish it from the passivizing function of the passive prefixes (in a way, passive prefixes, and also prefix-suffix combinations, function as verbalizers).

3.2 Variants of the prefix /n/

3.2.1

The prefix /n/-has several contextual variants, depending on the phonological component of the stem with which the prefix is used. Following is a chart which shows the variants of the prefix /n/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variant of /n-</th>
<th>Environment</th>
<th>Type of Prefixation</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>before /t/ replacement</td>
<td>numpes</td>
<td>(n- + tumpes) 'to exterminate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>before /ŋ/ addition</td>
<td>ndhidhik</td>
<td>(n- + dhidhik) 'to educate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>before /t/ replacement</td>
<td>nuthuk</td>
<td>(n- + thuthuk) 'to strike, to hit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>before /j/ addition</td>
<td>njupuk</td>
<td>(n- + jupuk) 'to take'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>before /c/ replacement</td>
<td>nyokot</td>
<td>(n- + okot) 'to bite'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>before /s/ replacement</td>
<td>nyawang</td>
<td>(n- + sawang) 'to look at'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>before /q/ addition</td>
<td>ngqerq</td>
<td>(n- + qerq) 'to pull'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>before /k/ replacement</td>
<td>ngirim</td>
<td>(n- + kirim) 'to send'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>before /r/ addition</td>
<td>ngangkul</td>
<td>(n- + rangkul) 'to embrace, to hug'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>before /l/ addition</td>
<td>nglipur</td>
<td>(n- + lipur) 'to comfort'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>before a vowel addition</td>
<td>nganggo</td>
<td>(n- + anggo) 'to use'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>before a one-syllable root addition</td>
<td>ngetik</td>
<td>(n- + tik) 'to type'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>before a one-syllable root addition</td>
<td>ngeap</td>
<td>(n- + cap) 'to print, to stamp'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The variants of the prefix /n-/ shown in the chart can either be used with a stem alone or in combination with a suffix. The variants listed below, however, occur in conjunction with a suffix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variant of n-</th>
<th>Environment of /ŋ/</th>
<th>Type of Prefixation</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| /ŋ/ before /y/ | addition | ngyakinaké  
(n- + yakin + -aké) | 'to convince' |
| /ŋ/ before /h/ | replacement | ngakimi  
(n- + hakim + -i) | 'to pass judgment' |
| s before a nasal | zero | mérakaké  
(n- + méri + -aké) | 'to be jealous of' |

3.2.2

Two-syllable words with the Old Javanese prefix a- (cf. Berg 1937:66-68) like adol 'to sell', among 'to look after', anut 'to obey', and anggo 'to use' are worth considering. With the passive-imperative suffix -en (see 4.4.2) we have the following forms:

(33) a. dol-en!  'Sell (something)!'  
b. mong-en!  'Look after (someone)!'  
c. nut-en!  'Obey (someone)!'  
d. nggo-en!  'Use (something)!

The examples show that the forms -adol- 'to sell', -mong- 'to look after', -nut- 'to obey', and -nggo- 'to use' are the stems of the constructions dol-en! (a), mong-en! (b), nut-en! (c), and nggo-en! (d), respectively. In forming transitive verb constructions, however, the stems -adol-, -mong-, -nut-, and -nggo- behave in the same way as "one-syllable roots" (like tik 'type writer' and cap 'stamp', see 3.2.1), that is, they take the variant /ŋə/. Consider the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Transitive verb construction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. -adol-</td>
<td>'to sell' ngedol 'to sell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. -mong-</td>
<td>'to look ngemong 'to look after'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. -nut-</td>
<td>'to obey ngenut 'to obey'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the stem -nggo- 'to use', the form of the transitive verb construction is normally nganggo 'to use', like the one in the following clause construction:

(35) dhèwèkè nganggo (not 'ngengo) 
he to use  
klambi biru  
shirt blue  
DHÉWÈKÈ NGANGO KLABMI BIRU.  
'He wore a blue shirt.'

With the passive prefix di- (see 5.1) attached to the word stem, similar to the stems -mong- (b) and -nut- (c), the vowel /o/ can (but does not necessarily) be inserted between di- (prefix) and -nggo- (stem). Thus we have:

(36) a. dimong or dîmong  'to be looked after'  
b. dinut or dînut  'to be obeyed, (formal: to be observed) dînut'  
c. dînggo or dînggo  'to be used' (formal: dînggo)

As for the stem -adol- 'to sell', normally we have the construction form:

(37) didol (not 'dîadol)  'to be sold'  

3.2.3

With stems beginning with /w/, mostly in conjunction with a suffix, the variant /m/ may alternate with /ŋ/. Observe the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Transitive verb construction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. veruh</td>
<td>meruh or ngwrüh 'to see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. wenéh</td>
<td>mënèh or ngwëneh 'to give'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Phonologically, it is likely that the alternation of /m/ and /ŋ/ is due to the phonological characteristics of the Javanese /w/, that is, to a degree /w/ is similar to the vowel /u/, and hence, following the pattern of word stems beginning with a vowel (see 3.2.1), the variant /ŋ/ is added to the word stem. Following this explanation we have the forms ng(u)weruh (38a), ng(u)wènèhi (38b), and ng(u)wengakaké (38c). Next, following the pattern of word stems beginning with /w/, the /w/ is replaced by /m/, hence we have the forms mëruhi (38a), mènèhi (38b), and mengakaké (38c).

Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo (1978:205) suggests that the variant /m/ is likely to be used in an informal way, whereas the variant /ŋ/ in a formal way. The form ngweruh (38a), for example, is formal, and the form mëruhi (38a) is informal.

Mention should be made, however, that the deletion of /w/ suggests sub-standard. The following examples are, accordingly, sub-standard.

(39) a. ngueruh 'to see'
b. ngènèhi 'to give'
c. ngengakaké 'to cause (something) to open'

3.2.4

In combination with the causative-indicative suffix -aké (see 4.2.3), the intransitive verb stem layu 'to run' retains its intransitive prefix ma-, and, accordingly, the construction becomes mlâyokaké 'to cause something to disappear' (instead of nglayokaké). Observe the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive verb stem</th>
<th>Intransitive verb construction</th>
<th>-aké transitive verb construction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lalu</td>
<td>mlalu</td>
<td>nglakakaké 'to cause (something) to go'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With a vowel at the beginning of a reduplicated root, however, the prefix n- goes with the first root.

(42) ngantì-antì
(from: n- + anti-antì)
'to wait continuously'

ngobrak-abrik
(from: n- + obrak-abrik)
'to cause something to be in a state of disorder'

ngomah-omahaké
(from: n- + omah-omah + -aké)
'to marry off'

3.3 Activizer slot

There are two possibilities with regard to the use of the prefix n- functioning as a filler
of the activizer slot.

a. Presence of nasal prefix

(43) Ali maça layang
Ali to read letter

Ali maça layang.
'Ali read the letter.'

and never

*Ali waya layang.

b. Absence of nasal prefix

(44) bapak wis yasa dalem
father, already to build house

Bapak wis yasa dalem.
'Father has built a house.'

and never

*Bapak wis ngasa dalem.

In conjunction with a suffix, however, the use of the prefix n- is always obligatory.

(45) bapak wis ngasaaké dalem
father already to build house
(for someone)

Bapak wis ngasaaké dalem.
'Father has built the house (for someone).'

and never

*Bapak wis yasaaké dalem.

Considering examples (43) and (45), it is certain that in forming an active transitive verb construction the occurrence of the activizer slot is obligatory. In the construction maça 'to read' (43) the slot is filled by n-, whereas in the construction yasa 'to build' (44) the slot is filled by a "zero" (∅), which means that there is no overt realization of the prefix n-. Accordingly, the construction yasa 'to build' (44) can be formulated:

\[ \text{tva}_{\text{ind}} = + \text{atvzr:∅} + \text{core:tvs} \]

3.4 The use of the nasal and "zero" prefix

3.4.1

With several word stems, the stem with nasal prefix takes a "specific" nominal object, whereas the stem with "zero" prefix takes a "generic" nominal object. Consider the following:

a. Stem with nasal prefix

(46) Ali ngganti pakéyan-é
Ali to change, the clothes to replace

Ali ngganti pakéyan-é.
'Ali changed his clothes.'

b. Stem with "zero" prefix

(47) Ali ganti pakéyan
Ali to change, clothes to replace

Ali ganti pakéyan.
'Ali put on different clothes.'

we never say

*Ali ngganti pakéyan.

nor

*Ali ganti pakéyan-é.

Notice that the construction ngganti (46) takes a "specific" nominal object (manifested by the presence of the suffix -é in the nominal object pakéyan-é 'the clothes'), whereas ganti (47) takes a "generic" nominal object (manifested by the absence of the suffix -é in the nominal object pakéyan 'clothes').

Observe the following as well:

i) a. Stem with nasal prefix

(48) Ali ngedol omah-é
Ali to sell his house

Ali ngedol omah-é.
'Ali sold his house.'

b. Stem with "zero" prefix

(49) Ali adol omah
Ali to sell house

Ali adol omah.
'Ali sold a house.'
We never say

*Ali nggédol omah.

nor

*Ali adol omah-é.

ii) a. Stem with nasal prefix

(50) Jono nuku sepéda-ku
Jono to buy my bicycle

Jono nuku sepéda-ku.
'Jono bought my bicycle.'

b. Stem with zero prefix

(51) Jono tuku sepéda
Jono to buy bicycle

Jono tuku sepéda.
'Jono bought a bicycle.'

We never say

*Jono nuku sepéda.

nor

*Jono tuku sepéda-ku.

3.4.2

Several other word stems show a significant semantic difference depending on the occurrence of nasal or "zero" prefix. Notice the following:

(52) pak diréktor mindah
father director to move
pegawai-né
the employee

Pak Diréktor mindah pegawai-né.
'The Director moved the employee (i.e. transferred).'

This results in

(53) pegawai-né pindah
the employee to move

Pegawai-né pindah.
'The employee moved (to another job or position).'

or the passive clause construction

(54) pegawai-né dipindah
the employee to be transferred

Pegawai-né dipindah.
'The employee was transferred.'

Notice that in (52) the stem with nasal prefix construction mindah 'to move' contains a "causative" feature, and the action mindah pegawai-né 'to move the employee' (52) results in the event expressed by the ergative clause construction Pegawai-né pindah 'The employee moved (to another job or position)' (53).

Consider the following as well:

(55) gubernur nyumpah para
governor to swear definite
in article for collective
plural
pejabat anyar
official new

Gubernur nyumpah para pejabat anyar.
'The governor swore in the new government officials.'

This results in

(56) para pejabat anyar
definite official new
article for collective plural
(padha) sumpah
all to swear in

Para pejabat anyar (padha) sumpah.
'The new government officials took the oath of office.'

or the passive clause construction

(57) para pejabat anyar
definite official new
article for collective plural
(padha) disumpah
all to be sworn in

Para pejabat anyar (padha) disumpah.
'The new government officials were sworn in.'

Again, the stem with nasal prefix construction nyumpah 'to swear in' (55) contains a "causative" feature, and the action nyumpah para pejabat anyar 'to swear in the new government officials' (55) results in the event expressed by the ergative clause Para pejabat anyar (padha) sumpah 'The new government officials took the oath of office.' (56).

Notice that for (52) and (55) we never
say 'Fak Direktur pindah pegawainé and
*Gubernur sumpah para pejabat anyar respectively.

3.5 "Transitive verb stem" versus "Semi-transitive verb stem"

We return to the discussion of transitive verb stems in their function as core slot fillers. In terms of their ability to be combined with the prefix n-, a distinction is made between "transitive verb stems" and "semi-transitive verb stems". 6

"Transitive verb stems" do not require any suffix in taking the prefix n- (although they may take a suffix, see 6.2). Examples:

Transitive verb stem | Core-activizer construction
----------------------|-----------------------------------------------
jaluk 'to ask'         | njaluk 'to ask'
ombé 'to drink'        | ngombé 'to drink'
tolak 'to reject'      | nolak 'to reject'

In the same way, "transitive verb stems" do not require any suffix in taking a passive prefix (although they may take a suffix, see 6.2). Thus, from the "transitive verb stems" listed in (58) we may have the following constructions:

(59) dijaluk 'to be asked'
diombé 'to be drunk'
ditolak 'to be rejected'

"Semi-transitive verb stems", on the other hand, require simultaneous prefixing 7 and suffixing 8. Examples:

Semi-transitive verb stem | Transitive verb construction
---------------------------|-----------------------------------------------
weruh 'to see'             | meruh 'to see'
éling 'to remember'        | ngéling 'to remember'
nyarujuk 'to agree (with)'| nyarujuki 'to agree with'

we never say

(61) *meruh

3.6 The meaning of core-activizer constructions

The meaning of a core-activizer construction is mostly confined to the lexical meaning of the stem which functions as the core slot filler of the construction. With a transitive verb stem, which makes the construction "restrictive", the activizer functions as an overt realization of the lexical meaning of the stem. Compare the following pairs, where the forms in the right-hand column are those which actually occur in sentences:

Transitive verb stem | Core-activizer construction
----------------------|-----------------------------------------------
gawa 'to bring'       | nggawa 'to bring'
anggo 'to use'        | nganggo 'to use'
waca 'to read'        | maca 'to read'
anti-anti 'to keep on waiting' | nganti-anti 'to keep on waiting'

With a noun stem, which makes the construction "governing", the meaning of the construction can be

1) to use the noun as an instrument for doing something, examples:

Noun stem | Core-activizer construction
-----------|-----------------------------------------------
paul 'hoe' | macul 'to use a hoe, to hoe the ground'
arit 'sickle' | ngarit 'to use a sickle, to cut grass'
jala 'casting net' | njala 'to use a casting net, to fish with a net'
pancing 'fish-hook' | mancing 'to use a fish-hook, to fish with a fish-hook'

13
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun stem</th>
<th>Core-activizer construction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tik</td>
<td>ngetik 'to use a typewriter, to type'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>setèmpel</td>
<td>nyetèmpel 'to use a stamp, to stamp something (normally an official or business letter)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ii) to prepare or make materials referred to by the noun, examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun stem</th>
<th>Core-activizer construction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sambel</td>
<td>nyambel 'to prepare hot chilli sauce'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jangan</td>
<td>njangan 'to prepare vegetable soup'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batik</td>
<td>mbatik 'to make batik materials, to do batik work'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Concerning numeral stems, as far as "core-activizer constructions" are concerned, there are only two numeral stems which require no suffix in taking the prefix n-. These two stems are satùs 'one hundred' and sèwù 'one thousand'. The meaning of the construction is associated with an act of service or commemoration held in memory of the death of somebody. Thus we have:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numeral stem</th>
<th>Core-activizer construction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(65) satùs</td>
<td>ngyatùs 'to commemorate the one-hundredth day of the death of somebody'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sèwù</td>
<td>ngyèwù 'to commemorate the one-thousandth day of the death of somebody'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The other word stems (that is, the intransitive verb stems, semi-transitive verb stems, adjective stems, adverb stems, most of the numeral stems, and a group of noun stems) require simultaneous prefixing and suffixing.

* * *

Footnotes:

1. With the suffix -en attached to the word stem ending with a vowel, the nasal /n/ is inserted between the word stem and the suffix (see 4.2.2).

2. The stem -nut- 'to obey' can also retain the Old Javanese prefix ma- and the construction becomes manut which means 'obedient'.

3. The construction nglayokakè can be used by some people in the sense of 'to cause someone, usually a child, to go with someone else', and is synonymous with the expression nyebabakè klayu (nyebabakè 'to cause', klayu 'to go with someone else').

4. It seems that the Old Javanese prefix a- is retained in the construction adol 'to sell' (see 3.2.2).

5. The word "causative" used in this section is not part of the technical terms used in this study, that is, it does not necessarily convey the same idea as the one used in the description of "causative tagmeme" (4.2.3).

6. The term "semi-transitive verb stem" is not necessarily the ideal term. It is used in this study for lack of better term. The point here is the existence of two types of transitive verb stems in view of their ability to be combined with a prefix.

7. The term "prefixing" refers to both active and passive prefixes. In this chapter we deal mostly with the active prefix.

8. For convenience, only the suffix -i (-ni following a vowel) is used to illustrate suffixation in this chapter.

9. In the Javanese saying Di eiling lan waspada! 'Be careful and cautious!' the form di is not a prefix. Presumably di is a sort of request formula, used especially in a literary variety.
4.1 The function of suffixes

The Javanese transitive verb suffixes are -a, -i, -aké, -en, -ana, -na, -é, -ané, and -né. As far as the tagmemic functions are concerned, the suffixes can be classified into four main groups: the "indicative suffixes" (-i and -aké), "imperative suffixes" (-a, -en, -ana, and -na), "mood suffixes" (-a, -ana, and -na), and "first-person request suffixes" (-é, -ané, and -né).

An indicative suffix can be "plain-transitive", or "locative", or "causative", or "benefactive", or "iterative". Accordingly, the function of an indicative suffix can be described as a "plain-transitive-indicativizer", or a "locative-indicativizer", or a "causative-indicativizer", or a "benefactive-indicativizer", or an "iterative-indicativizer". In the same way, an imperative suffix can be "plain-transitive", or "locative", or "causative", or "benefactive", or "iterative", and accordingly, the function of an imperative suffix can be described as a "plain-transitive-imperativizer", or a "locative-imperativizer", or a "causative-imperativizer", or a "benefactive-imperativizer" or an "iterative-imperativizer". The same pattern also applies to the "mood" and "first-person request" suffixes. We will come back to the discussion of these four types of suffixes.

4.2 Phonological changes

There are some phonological changes with regard to the use of suffixes. The changes are related to the phonological components of the word stem and the suffix (mostly in the environment produced by the combination of a word stem ending with a vowel and a suffix beginning with a vowel), and involve the consonant segment /n/ or /ʔ/ (glottal stop) and vowel change. In some instances the phonological change affects spelling.

4.2.1

With the suffixes -i, -aké, -ana, -na, -ané, and -né (that is, verbal suffixes except -a, -en, and -é) attached to a word stem ending with a vowel, the vowel in the stem undergoes phonological change in the following way:

i) The stem-final /i/ becomes /ɛ/ (spelled e).

\[ \text{tva}_{\text{ind}} = +atvzr:n-+core:itvs+loc-indtvzr:-i \]

\( n- ili/ili/ -i \)  
active to flow locative-indicative suffix

\[ \text{ngi}lɛni /gilɛni/ 'to irrigate' \]

\[ \text{tva}_{\text{ind}} = +atvzr:n-+core:itvs+caus-indtvzr:-aké \]

\( n- tangi -aké \)  
active /taŋi/ causative- prefix to wake indicative suffix

\[ \text{nang}ɛkakɛ /nangɛ?ake/ 'to wake (someone) up' \]

ii) The final-stem /u/ becomes /ɔ/ (spelled o).

\[ \text{tva}_{\text{ind}} = +atvzr:n-+core:ns+loc-indtvzr:-i \]

\( n- susu/ -i \)  
active /susu/ locative- indicative suffix
iii) The stem-final /e/ (and, if any, the
/e/ which occurs in the preceding
syllable) becomes /a/. There is no
change in the spelling of the vowel.

(70) n-
active
prefix
kuru
/kuru/
causative-
thin
indicative
suffix

nyaqondani /nyaqondani/
'to speak to (someone)'

tva \text{ind} =
+atvzr: n- + core: ajs + caus-indtvzr: aké
(73) n-
active
prefix
kondo
/kondo/
causative-
to speak
indicative
suffix
gonokaké /gono'ake/
'treat that way'

iv) The stem-final /o/ (and, if any, the
/o/ which occurs in the preceding
syllable) becomes /a/. There is no
change in the spelling of the vowel.

(71) n-
active
prefix
sara
/sara/
causative-
to sleep
indicative
(Krama
suffix
item)

nyaqondani /nyaqondani/
'to speak to (someone)'

4.2.2

With the suffixes -i, -en, -ana, -é, and
-ané attached to the word stem ending with a
vowel, the nasal /n/ is inserted between the
word stem and the suffix. Observe the follow-
ing suffixation of the stem waca 'to read'
(which serves as an example of a word stem
ending with a vowel). The suffixes marked with
a plus (+) are used only in combination with a
prefix.

Suffix Construction

(76) -i+

waca-n-i
'to read repeatedly'

-waca-n-en
'Let something) be read!' or
'Read (something)!'
Suffix Construction

-ana  waca-n-ana  '(Let something) be read repeatedly.' or  
'Read (something) repeatedly.'

-ē+  dak-waca-n-ē  'Let me read (something)!'  

-anē+  dak-waca-n-anē  'Let me read (something) repeatedly.'

With the suffixes -aké, -na, and -né attached to the same type of word stem, the glottal stop /ʔ/ is inserted between the word stem and the suffix. Considering the fact that the "imperative suffix" -na, the "mood suffix" -na, and the "first-person request suffix" -né serve as the overt realization of the "indicative suffix" -aké (see 4.6), it is likely that the insertion of the glottal stop has something to do with the assimilation produced by the combination of the "indicative suffix" -aké (in krama and Old Javanese the suffix is -aken; cf. Nothero 1975:206) and the "imperative suffix" or "mood suffix" -a, or the "first-person request suffix" -ē.

Thus we have:

-aké + -a becomes -kna /ʔno/, and  
-aké + -ē becomes -kné /ʔne/

in a few dialects, instead of the glottal stop, the consonant /k/ is used. Either the glottal stop or the consonant /k/ is spelled k. The same word stem waca 'to read' is given here as an example. The suffixes marked with a plus (+) are used only in combination with a prefix.

Suffix Construction

(77)  -aké+  maca-k-aké /macaʔake/  
'to read (for someone)'

-na  waca-k-na /wacaʔna/  
'(Let something) be read (for someone)!' or  
'Read (something for someone)!' 

-né+  dak-waca-k-né /taʔwacaʔne/  
'Let me read (it for someone)!' or  
'What if I read (it)_GT?

In daily conversation the vowel /a/ in the suffix -aké is sometimes deleted. The construction mbukakaké 'to open (for someone)', for example, is sometimes pronounced /mbukaʔké/ and spelled mbukakéké (Mekar Sari, No. 11, Th. XIX, 1975, p.13). With the suffix -a no consonant is inserted between the word stem and the suffix. Thus we have:

(78)  maca-a  
'Read!' or  
'even if I read'

tuku-a  
'Buy (something)!' or  
'even if I buy (something)'

ngombé-a  
'Drink!' or  
'even if I drink'

ngango-a  
'Use (something)!' or  
'even if I use (something)'

4.3 Indicative tagmemes

4.3.1 Plain-transitive tagmeme

The term "plain-transitive tagmeme" is introduced here to get its concept differentiated from the transitivizing property of the other tagmemes, in particular from other members of indicative tagmemes, since in a way they are also "transitive". The function of the "plain-transitive tagmeme" is simply to get the word stem transitivized.

With the word stems which require simultaneous prefixing and suffixing (see 3.6), the "plain-transitive indicative tagmeme" is manifested by the suffix -i (with other word stems, the "plain-transitive indicative tagmeme" is manifested by the "zero" indicative suffix; see 4.6 and 6.2 for further discussion). This section will deal with the suffix -i only.

As a filler of the plain-transitive-indicativizer slot, in conjunction with the active or passive prefix, the suffix -i can be combined with:

i) an intransitive verb stem as a filler of the core slot; examples:

tva  ind =
  +atvzr:n-+core:itvs+p-t-ndtvzr:-i

(79)  a. n-  
laku  -i  
active to walk, plain-transitive prefix to do indicative suffix
ng lakoni
'to perform, to carry out' (e.g., to perform a task)

b. n-  
active  to pass  plain-transitive prefix
-ī  

ngliwati
'to pass through, to pass by'  
(e.g., to pass through a town)

The meaning of the construction is  
"to direct the action referred to by  
the intransitive verb stem toward the  
object".

ii) a semi-transitive verb stem as a  
filler of the core slot; example:

tva\text{ind} =  
+atvzr:n- +core:stvs +p-t-indtvzr: -ī  
(80) a. n-  
active  to reply  plain-transitive prefix
wàngsul  -ī  

màngsulì
'to reply to (someone or someone's  
letter)'

b. n-  
active  to remem-  
ber  plain-transitive prefix
-ī

ngélìngi
'to remember'

As in the case of a core-activizer  
construction with a transitive verb  
stem as a filler of the core slot,  
the meaning of the construction,  
which is "restrictive" in nature, is  
closely confined to the meaning of  
the stem, and the suffixation func- 
tions as an overt realization of the  
lexical meaning of the stem.

iii) an adjective stem as a filler of the  
core slot; examples:

tva\text{ind} =  
+atvzr:n- +core:ajs +p-t-indtvzr: -ī  
(81) a. n-  
active  good  plain-transitive prefix
apík  -ī  

ngapíkì
'to be on good terms with'

b. n-  
active  happy,  
plain-transitive prefix
song  -ī  

nyenengì
'to love, to be in love with'

The effect of the construction is that  
the meaning of the adjective stem is  
applied to the object.

iv) a numeral stem as a filler of the core  
slot; examples:

tva\text{ind} =  
+atvzr:n- +core:nums +p-t-indtvzr: -ī

(82) a. n-  
active  seven  
plain-transitive prefix
pitù  -ī  

mitònì
'to commemorate or celebrate the  
seventh month of a pregnancy'

b. n-  
active  forty  
plain-transitive prefix
patàng-pulùh  -ī

matàng-pulùhì
'to commemorate the fortieth day of  
the death of somebody'

The term "numeral" here is normally  
related to the span of time, and thus,  
in addition to numbers, which indi- 
cate length of time, we have also  
units of time, such as jam 'hour',  
setahun 'a period of one year', and  
sepasar 'a period of five days'. The  
meaning of the construction is usually  
associated with an act of service or  
commemoration or celebration in mem- 
ory of an event, normally the birth or  
death of a person, or the beginning  
of existence, like mitònì 'to commemo- 
rate or celebrate the seventh month  
of a pregnancy'(82a). In a few cases,  
the meaning of the construction can  
be related to an act of measuring the  
length of time of a particular event,  
like ngejami (from: n- + jam 'hour' +  
-ī) 'to measure the length of time of
a particular event'.

4.2.2 Locative tagmeme

The locative tagmeme denotes "movement towards or from a location on the object". It is chiefly manifested by the suffix -i which is attached to the word stem of a transitive verb construction.

Several locative transitive verb constructions (for short: locative constructions), with the preposition marang 'to', allow the presence of two objects, the direct and indirect objects. Observe the locative constructions ngirim 'to send' and marangi 'to give' in the following clause constructions:

(83) a. bapak ngirim ngirim dhuwit marang
    father to send money to
    Jono

    Bapak ngirim dhuwit marang Jono.
    'Father sent money to Jono.'

b. bu Dirjo marangi dolanan
    Mrs. Dirjo to give toy
    marang putrané
    her child

    Bu Dirjo marangi dolanan marang
    putrané.
    'Mrs. Dirjo gave a toy to her son.'

In daily conversation either the indirect object (with the preposition which precedes it) or the direct object can be deleted. And hence we have:

(84) a. Bapak ngirim dhuwit.
    'Father sent money (implying 'to someone'; marang Jono 'to Jono', may, for example, be contextually understood).' 

b. Bu Dirjo marangi dolanan.
    'Mrs. Dirjo gave a toy (implying 'to someone'; marang putrané 'to her son', may, for example, be contextually understood).'

or:

(85) a. Bapak ngirim marang Jono.
    'Father sent (something) to Jono (dhuwit 'money' may be contextually understood).'

b. Bu Dirjo marangi marang putrané.
    'Mrs. Dirjo gave (something) to

her son (dolanan 'a toy' may be contextually understood).'

In the clause constructions (85a) and (85b) the preposition marang 'to' can be deleted, and hence we have:

(86) a. Bapak ngirim Jono.
    'Father sent Jono something (dhuwit 'money' may be contextually understood).'

b. Bu Dirjo marangi putrané.
    'Mrs. Dirjo gave her son something (dolanan 'a toy' may be contextually understood).'

With intransitive verb stems functioning as fillers of the core slots, the locative constructions are characterized by their ability to be replaced by the corresponding intransitive verb stems followed by a locative preposition. Observe the locative constructions nuroni 'to sleep on', marani 'to come to', and nglungani 'to leave, to avoid' in the following clause constructions:

(87) a. Ijah nuroni
    Ijah to sleep
    ambén-è
    her bamboo cot
    'Ijah slept on her bamboo cot.'

b. Ragil marani
    Ragil to come
    ibu-né
    his mother
    'Ragil came to his mother.'

c. Sarija nglungani
    Sarija to leave, the job
    gavèyan-è
    to avoid
    'Sarija did not do the job.' or
    'Sarija avoided the job.'

Potentially, the clauses (87a), (87b), and (87c) can be respectively replaced by

(88) a. Ijah turu
    Ijah to sleep
    ing ambén-è
    on her bamboo cot
In daily conversation sometimes we can have redundant locative markers:

\[ tCl = tCl \cdot s_p + s_N + p' t_v + L' p' \]

(89) a. \textit{Ijah} nuroni \textit{ing} ambènè.  
'Ijah slept on her bamboo cot.'

b. \textit{Ragil} marani marang ibu-né  
'Ragil came to his mother.'

c. \textit{Sarija} lunga saka gwéyan-é  
'Sarija to go from the job.'

Similarly, the locative construction \textit{mbandhani} 'to support, to afford' (97b) in the clause construction

(92) \textit{pak} Lurah \textit{mbandhani}  
father village head to support 
putra-né  
his child

Pak Lurah \textit{mbandhani} putrané.  
'The village head supported his son.'

can be replaced by \textit{mènèhi bandha marang} 'to give the property (support) to', and hence we have

(93) \textit{pak} Lurah \textit{mènèhi}  
father village head to give 
bandha marang putra-né  
property to his child

Pak Lurah \textit{mènèhi bandha marang} putrané.  
'The village head supported his son.'

In daily conversation, instead of \textit{Anto nglayangi pacaaré }'Anto wrote to his girl friend.' (90) and \textit{Pak Lurah \textit{mbandhani} putrané }'The village head supported his son.' (93), we may have redundant locative markers

(94) \textit{Anto nglayangi marang}  
Anto to write to his girl friend 
pacaar-é

\textit{Anto nglayangi pacaaré.}  
'Anto wrote to his girl friend.'

The locative construction \textit{nglayangi} 'to write to' can be replaced by \textit{mènèhi layang marang} 'to give a letter to', and hence we have

(91) \textit{Anto mènèhi layang marang}  
Anto to give letter to 
pacaar-é  
his girl friend

In sum we can say that the locative tagmeme, which is chiefly manifested by the suffix \textit{-i}, is characterized by its ability to go with a locative preposition, in particular with the preposition \textit{marang} 'to'. With the suffix \textit{-i} functioning as a filler of the locative-indicativizer slot, the core slot can be
"on" the object. Notice the following:

(99) a. nuroni
    (from: n- + turu 'to sleep' + -i)
    'to sleep on'

b. marani
    (from: š + mara 'to come' + -i)
    'to come to'

c. nglungani
    (from: n- + lunga 'to go' + -i)
    'to leave, to avoid'

d. mlayoni
    (from: n- + layu 'to run' + -i)
    'to run to'

iii) a transitive verb stem

(100) n- kirim -i
    active to send locative- indicative
    prefix suffix

ngirimì
    'to send to'

The meaning of the construction is potentially ambiguous, since in most cases, when attached to a transitive verb stem, the suffix -i functions as the filler of the iterative-indicativizer slot (see 4.3.5 and 4.3.6). However, on the basis of its ability to go with the locative preposition marang 'to', which implies the idea of "movement toward", the construction may be assumed to convey the idea of "performing the action or movement referred to by the stem toward the object". This type of construction, however, is restricted to a small number of transitive verb stems. The examples which can be given here are:

(101) a. ngirimì
    (from: n- + kirim + -i)
    'to send to'

b. nulisì
    (from: n- + tulis + -i)
    'to write to'
iv) a semi-transitive verb stem

\[ \text{tva}_{\text{ind}} = +\text{atvzr}:n- \text{+core:stvs}+\text{loc-indtvzr}:-i \]

(102) \[ n- \text{ wênêh} -i \]
active to give locative-
prefix indicative suffix

\( \text{ng(u)wênêh} \) (or \( \text{mênêh} \), see 3.2.3) 'to give (something) to'

The meaning of the construction is
"to perform the action or movement referred to by the word stem toward the object".

With regard to the suffix \(-aké\) it is not clear whether the suffix in the construction
\( \text{nakoaké} \) (from: \( n- \text{+ takon} \) 'to ask' \+ \(-aké\)
'to ask about' can be considered a locative tagmeme. We will come back to the discussion
of this suffix in this particular construction (see 4.3.6).

4.3.3 Causative tagmeme

The causative tagmeme denotes a causative effect on the object. It indicates either that
the subject causes a change or "becoming" (cf. Jespersen 1924:287) referred to by the word
stem, normally an adjective or adverb stem, or, that the subject causes the object to perform
an action (cf. Elson and Pickett 1964:24) referred to by the word stem, normally an intransitive verb. The causative tagmeme is chiefly manifested by the suffix \(-aké\) attached to the
word stem of a transitive verb construction. With the suffix \(-aké\) the core slot of the transitive verb construction can be filled by

i) an adjective stem

\[ \text{tva}_{\text{ind}} = +\text{atvzr}:n- \text{+core:aajs}+\text{caus-indtvzr}:-aké \]

(103) \[ n- \text{ peoah} -aké \]
active broken causative-
prefix indicative suffix

\( \text{mepoahaké} \)
'to break'

The meaning of the construction is to
cause or to allow the object to be in
a state referred to by the adjective
stem. Notice the following:

(104) a. \( \text{mekahaké} \)
(from: \( n- \text{+ peoah} \) 'broken' \+ \(-aké\)
'to cause the object to be
broken' or
'to break'

b. \( \text{nyedahakaké} \)
(from: \( n- \text{+ oedhak} \) 'close' \+ \(-aké\)
'to allow the object to be
closer' or
'to bring closer'

c. \( \text{nyusahaké} \)
(from: \( n- \text{+ susah} \) 'trouble' \+ \(-aké\)
'to cause trouble'

d. \( \text{nyadaraké} \)
(from: \( n- \text{+ sadar} \) 'aware' \+ \(-aké\)
'to make someone aware of'

ii) an adverb stem

\[ \text{tva}_{\text{ind}} = +\text{atvzr}:n- \text{+core:advs}+\text{caus-indtvzr}:-aké \]

(105) \( \phi \) \( \text{ngono} -aké \)
that way causative-
indictative suffix

\( \text{ngonokaké} \)
'to treat someone that way'

The meaning of the construction is to
cause or to allow the object to be in
a state referred to by the stem. In
the construction \( \text{ngonokaké} \) 'to treat
someone that way' (105) the agent or
subject allows the object to be in a
state of \( \text{ngono} \) 'that way'. In the
same way, in the construction
\( \text{ngênêkaké} \) 'to treat someone this way'
the agent or subject allows the object
to be in a state of \( \text{ngêné} \) 'this way'.

iii) an intransitive verb stem

\[ \text{tva}_{\text{ind}} = +\text{atvzr}:n- \text{+core:ivvs}+\text{caus-indtvzr}:-aké \]

(106) \[ n- \text{ lunga} -aké \]
active to go causative-
prefix indicative suffix

\( \text{nglungakaké} \)
'to remove'
The meaning of the construction is to cause or to allow the object to perform the action referred to by the stem. Notice the following:

(107) a. nglungakaké
(from: n- + lunga 'to go' + -aké)
'to cause someone or something to go away' or
'to remove'

b. ngiebokaké
(from: n- + lebu 'to enter' + -aké)
'to cause someone or something to enter' or
'to take in'

c. nurokaké
(from: n- + turu 'to sleep' + -aké)
'to allow someone (normally: a child) to sleep' or
'to put to bed'

d. nyarëkkaké
(from: n- + saré 'to sleep, krama' + -aké)
'to allow someone (normally: a child) to sleep' or
'to put to bed'[^3]

On a formal basis the causative construction is marked by its ability to be replaced by nyebabaké or ndadëkaké 'to cause' plus the word stem. The construction mecahaké 'to break' (104a) for example, can be replaced by nyebabaké pecah 'to cause something to be broken'. In the same way the construction ngonokaké 'to treat someone that way' (105) can be replaced by nyebabaké ngono 'to cause someone to be in a state of ngono (or 'that way')', whereas nglungakaké 'to remove' (107a) can be replaced by nyebabaké lunga 'to cause or allow someone to go away'.

It is not certain whether in a very limited number of cases the suffix -i can be considered causative. In the construction mecahî 'to break something into pieces' (see 4.3.5), for example, by the definition mentioned before, the suffix -i can be considered causative on the ground that the construction mecahî (which is derived from the prefix n- plus the adjective stem pecah 'broken' plus the suffix '-i') can be replaced by nyebabaké pecah 'to cause something to be broken'. The construction, however, is potentially ambiguous. In the clause construction Ali mecahî ès batu 'Ali broke the ice cube into pieces' (122) the construction mecahî 'to break something into pieces' implies the idea that the subject Ali 'Ali' directly (and "intentionally") broke the ice cube into pieces, whereas in the clause construction

(109) Siti mecahaké gelas
Siti to cause glass
 something to be
 broken

Siti mecahaké gelas. 'Siti broke the glass.'

the construction mecahaké 'to cause something to be broken' implies the idea that Siti 'Siti' allowed (perhaps "unintentionally") the glass to be broken.

4.3.4 Benefactive tagmeme

The benefactive tagmeme denotes an action performed for the benefit of someone (cf. Elson and Pickett 1964:24). The tagmeme is manifested by the suffix -aké, which is attached to a transitive verb stem or a member of a group
of noun stems (that is, the word stems which do not require simultaneous prefixing and suffixing; see 3.6). Notice the following:

\[
\text{tva}_{\text{ind}} = +\text{atvzr:n}- +\text{core:tv}s \text{tben-indtvzr: -aké}
\]

(110) \text{n-} \quad \text{jupuk} \quad \text{aké} \quad \text{active} \quad \text{to take} \quad \text{benefactive-prefix}

\[
\text{njupukaké} \quad \text{to take} \quad \text{(for someone)}
\]

\[
\text{tva}_{\text{ind}} = +\text{atvzr:n}- +\text{core:ns} \text{tben-indtvzr: -aké}
\]

(111) \text{n-} \quad \text{batik} \quad \text{aké} \quad \text{active} \quad \text{to do} \quad \text{benefactive-prefix}

\[
\text{mbatikaké} \quad \text{to do batik work} \quad \text{(for someone)}
\]

The benefactive transitive verb construction (for short: benefactive construction) might permit the presence of two objects, the direct and indirect objects. Following Macdonald and Soenjono Darjowidjojo (1967:88), the direct object is a "noun which could occur as the object of the plain-transitive verb, whereas the indirect object, which normally contains a "human feature", is a "noun referring to the person in whose stead or on whose behalf the action is performed". In the examples below the indirect object occurs after the preposition kanggo or kagem 'for'.

(112) \text{Ali njupukaké} \quad \text{buku kanggo} \quad \text{Ali to take (for book for someone)}

\text{Aminah} \quad \text{Aminah}

\text{Ali njupukaké buku kanggo Aminah.} \quad \text{'Ali took a book for Aminah.'}

(113) \text{Ijah nukokaké sayuran} \quad \text{Ijah to buy (for vegetable someone)}

\text{kagem Bu Wiryo for mother Wiryo}

\text{Ijah nukokaké sayuran kagem Bu Wiryo.} \quad \text{'Ijah bought vegetables for Mrs. Wiryo.'}

Either the direct or indirect object (with the preposition which precedes it) can be deleted, and thus we have

(114) \text{Ali njupukaké kanggo Aminah.} \quad \text{'Ali took (something) for Aminah (buku 'book' may be contextually understood).'}

(115) \text{Ijah nukokaké kagem Bu Wiryo.} \quad \text{'Ijah bought (something) for Mrs. Wiryo (sayuran 'vegetable' may be contextually understood').'}

or

(116) \text{Ali njupukaké buku.} \quad \text{'Ali took a book (for someone); kanggo Aminah 'for Aminah' may be contextually understood.'}

(117) \text{Ijah nukokaké sayuran.} \quad \text{'Ijah bought vegetables (for someone); kagem Bu Wiryo 'for Mrs. Wiryo' may be contextually understood.'}

The preposition kanggo or kagem 'for' in the constructions (114) and (115) can be deleted, and hence we have

(118) \text{Ali njupukaké Aminah.} \quad \text{'Ali took (something) for Aminah.'}

(119) \text{Ijah nukokaké Bu Wiryo.} \quad \text{'Ijah bought (something) for Mrs. Wiryo.'}

The meaning of the benefactive construction, as mentioned earlier, is to perform an action referred to by the word stem for the benefit of someone.

4.3.5 Iterative tagmeme

The iterative tagmeme denotes repeated actions. As far as suffixation is concerned, the iterative tagmeme is manifested by the suffix -i. In the formation of an iterative transitive verb construction (for short: iterative construction), the suffix -i, functioning as the filler of the iterative-indicativizer slot, is chiefly attached to a transitive verb stem or a member of a group of noun stems (that is, the word stems which do not require simultaneous prefixing and suffixing; see 3.6). Notice the following:

\[
\text{tva}_{\text{ind}} = +\text{atvzr:n}- +\text{core:tv}s \text{tben-indtvzr: -aké}
\]
of adjective stems.

4.3.6

Concerning the indicative suffixation, what we have so far discussed shows that, in terms of the tagmemic forms, the iterative and benefactive tagmemes show a discernable contrast. The iterative tagmeme is manifested by the suffix -i only, which is normally attached to a member of the word stems which require no simultaneous prefixing and suffixing (see 3.6), whereas the benefactive tagmeme is manifested by the suffix -aké only, which is normally attached to a member of the same type of word stems. With regard to the locative and causative tagmemes, putting aside several cases which are open to doubt, we can say that the locative tagmeme is chiefly manifested by the suffix -i (which is attached to a member of several classes of word stems), and the causative tagmeme is chiefly manifested by the suffix -aké (which is attached to a member of several classes of word stems).

The fact that a suffix can have more than one tagmemic function implies that the construction in which the suffix occurs can be ambiguous, or at least potentially so. As mentioned earlier (4.3.3 and 4.3.5), the suffix -i in the construction meoahi 'to break (something) into pieces' might be plain-transitive or iterative or causative. In the same way the suffix -i in the construction ngirimí 'to send' (100) can be locative or iterative.

Next, an affix attached to a particular word stem might create some confusion with respect to the tagmemic function. Perhaps the suffix -aké in the construction nakokaké 'to ask about' (see 4.2.2) may serve as an example. Consider the following clause construction:

(123) Anto nakokaké garapané.
Anto to ask the assignment

marang Èri
about
Èri

Anto nakokaké garapané marang Èri.
'Anto asked Èri about the school assignment.'

Either the indirect object (with the preposi-
tion which precedes it) or direct object can be deleted, and hence we have

(124) Anto nakokaké garapané.
    'Anto asked (about the school assignment (marang Ėri 'to Ėri') may be contextually understood'.

or

(125) Anto nakokaké marang Ėri.
    'Anto asked Ėri (about something); garapané 'the school assignment' may be contextually understood.'

The preposition marang 'to' can also be deleted, and we have

(126) Anto nakokaké Ėri.
    'Anto asked Ėri (about something); garapané 'the school assignment' may be contextually understood.'

The suffix -aké in the construction nakokaké 'to ask about' is neither causative (because it has no causative effect on the object), nor benefactive (because the benefactive preposition kanggo or kagem 'for' cannot be inserted before the indirect object Ėri 'Ēri'). Neither is it a plain-transitive tagmeme on the ground that it allows the presence of two objects, and one of the objects might go with the preposition marang 'to' (152). Accordingly, at least at the surface level, considering the fact that in the clause construction the suffix -aké can go with the preposition marang 'to', the suffix -aké in this particular construction is locative.

In isolation, however, the clause construction Anto nakokaké Ėri (126) might mean 'Anto proposed to Ėri'. It is likely that with this particular meaning the suffix -aké is a plain-transitive tagmeme, because it does not allow the presence of two objects and the verb construction does not have any effect on the object Ėri 'Ēri'.

Furthermore, again in isolation, the clause construction Anto nakokaké Ėri (126) might mean 'Anto asked (something) for the benefit of Ėri'. With this meaning the suffix -aké is a benefactive tagmeme. The benefactive preposition kanggo 'for', accordingly, can be inserted, and we have

(127) Anto nakokaké kanggo Ėri.
    'Anto asked (something) for the benefit of Ėri.'

In a similar way the suffix -aké in the construction ndèrèkaké (from: n- + dèrèk 'to follow' + -aké) 'to accompany', following the subtle and modest way of expressing ideas in the Javanese culture, implies the idea of "to follow someone referred to by the object for the benefit of the person". The clause construction

(128) Jono ndèrèkaké Bu Wignyo
    Jono to accompany mother Wignyo
    Jono ndèrèkaké Bu Wignyo.
    'Jono accompanied Mrs. Wignyo.'

might be understood as 'Jono followed Mrs. Wignyo for the benefit of her'. In this sense the suffix -aké can be considered benefactive.

### 4.4 Imperative tagmemes

The imperative tagmemes denote a command or request, and, as far as transitive verb constructions are concerned, they are manifested by the suffixes -a, -en, -ana, and -na. In view of the presence or absence of the active prefix, a distinction is made between the active and passive imperative constructions.

Since basically the imperative suffixes serve as the overt realization of the indicative tagmemes in the imperative constructions (see 4.6 and 6.5), for convenience in labelling, the terms "active-imperativizer" and "passive-imperativizer" are used to refer to different tagmemic functions of imperative suffixes.

#### 4.4.1 Active-imperative tagmeme

The "active-imperative tagmeme" is manifested by the imperative suffix -a or -ana in conjunction with the prefix n-. The suffix -a, functioning as a filler of the plain-transitive-imperativizer slot, serves as the imperative realization of the zero indicative suffix (that is, the core-activizer construction; see 4.6 for further explanation). The suffix is attached to a member of the word stems which require no simultaneous prefixing and suffixing
realization of the indicative suffix -i, and functions as a filler of the plain-transitive
imperativizer slot. However, unlike the corresponding active-indicative suffix -i (which
can be combined with an intransitive verb stem, a numeral stem, a semi-transitive verb stem,
and a member of a restricted number of adjective stems), the active-imperative suffix -ana
is normally combined with an intransitive verb stem, or a semi-transitive verb stem, less com-
monly with a member of a restricted number of adjective stems, and least commonly with a
numeral stem. The general tendency is that a command or request, as far as transitive verb
constructions are concerned, is conveyed by means of passive constructions. Following are
the examples of -ana constructions:

\[
\text{tva}_\text{imp} = \\
+\text{atvzr}:n- +\text{core}:\text{tvz} + \text{act-primzv}: -\text{a} \\
\]

(130) a. \(n-\)
active
\(\text{jangan} -a\)
active-imperative
prefix
\(\text{suffix}\)

\(\text{njangan}\)
'Prepare the soup!'

b. \(n-\)
active
\(\text{paol} -a\)
active-imperative
prefix
\(\text{suffix}\)

\(\text{maula}\)
'Hoe (the ground)!'

In clause constructions we can have the fol-
lowing examples:

(131) a. \(\text{njaluka}\)
\(\text{keterangan}\)
ask (for
information
something)!

\(\text{Njaluka keterangan}!
'Ask for the information!'

b. \(\text{macaa}\)
\(\text{buku}\)
\(\text{read! book}\)

\(\text{Macaa buku}!
'Read the book!'

c. \(\text{njangan}\)
\(\text{bayem}\)
\(\text{prepare}
\text{spinach}
\text{the soup!}\)

\(\text{Njangan bayem}!
'Prepare the spinach soup!'

d. \(\text{maula}\)
\(\text{sawah}\)
\(\text{hoe! rice field}\)

\(\text{Maula sawah}!
'Hoe the rice field!'

The suffix -ana serves as the imperative
b. ngentènana adhi-mu
  wait (for someone or something)!
  or sister

  Ngentènana adhimu!
  'Wait for your sister!'

  c. nganyarana klambimu
  use or wear it your dress
  (for the first time)!

  Nganyarana klambim!n
  'Wear your new dress!'

Notice that the imperative suffix -a constructions pair with their corresponding indicative zero suffix constructions:

(136)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Indicative suffix -i</th>
<th>Imperative suffix -a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. jaluk</td>
<td>njaluk</td>
<td>njaluka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to ask'</td>
<td>'to ask'</td>
<td>'Ask (for something)!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. pangan</td>
<td>mangan</td>
<td>mangana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'food'</td>
<td>'to eat'</td>
<td>'Eat!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. ajak</td>
<td>ngajak</td>
<td>ngajaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to invite'</td>
<td>'invite'</td>
<td>'Invite (someone)!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. anggo</td>
<td>nganggo</td>
<td>nganggoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to use'</td>
<td>'to use'</td>
<td>'Use (something)!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. deleng</td>
<td>ndeleng</td>
<td>ndelenga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to look at' or 'to watch'</td>
<td>'Look at' or 'to watch'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. sapu</td>
<td>nyapu</td>
<td>nyapua</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 'broom'    | 'to sweep'            | 'Sweep!'

whereas the imperative suffix -ana constructions pair with their corresponding indicative suffix -i constructions:

(137)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Indicative suffix -i</th>
<th>Imperative suffix -ana</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. anti</td>
<td>ngentènana</td>
<td>ngentènana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to wait'</td>
<td></td>
<td>'Wait!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. wangsul</td>
<td>mangsulit</td>
<td>mangsulana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'to reply' to someone)!'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4.2 Passive-imperative tagmeme

Unlike the other tagmemes, the passive imperative tagmeme does not require the presence of a prefix. They are manifested by the suffixes -en, -ana, and -na, which are attached to a word stem. The imperative suffix -en corresponds with the indicative zero suffix, the imperative suffix -ana corresponds with the indicative suffix -i, whereas the imperative suffix -na corresponds with the indicative suffix -aké. For this reason, in this section and the sections which follow, the tagmemes will be discussed in terms of the forms instead of the functions. The marginal cases (that is, the tagmemic function of the constructions which is open to doubt; see 4.3.6), to avoid redundancy, are excluded from the discussion.

The suffix -en, in keeping with the indicative zero suffix, functions as a filler of the plain-transitive imperativeizer slot and goes with a member of the word stems which require no simultaneous prefixing and suffixing (see 3.6). Notice the absence of the nasal prefix in the examples below. For this reason these constructions are regarded as passive (see 6.1.2), though such passive imperatives are not easily translated into English. In the construction wácanen (138b), for example, the English translation 'be read' is understood as an action addressed to a book, whereas in Javanese the construction wácanen (138b) is contextually understood as an action addressed to the second person.

\[
tvp\text{imp} = +\text{core:tvs} +\text{pass-imptvzr}: -\text{en}
\]

(138) a. jaluk -en
  to ask
  passive-imperative suffix
jaluken
'Ask (for something)!'  
Literal translation: '(Let something) be asked!'

b. wasan -en
  to read  passive-imperative suffix

washanen
'Read (something)!'  
Literal translation: '(Let something) be read!'

tv[assembly]pimp = +core:nsI +pass-imptvzr: -en

(139) a. jangan -en
  soup  passive-imperative suffix

janganen
'Get the soup prepared!'  

b. sapu -en
  broom  passive-imperative suffix

sapunen
'Sweep (something)!'  
Literal translation: '(Let something) be swept!'

In clause constructions we might have the following examples:

(140) a. layang-é jaluken
  the letter  (let something)  
  be asked for!

Layangé jaluken!
'Ask for the letter!' or 'Get the letter!'

b. koran-é wasanen
  the newspaper  (let something)  
  be read!

Korané wasanen!
'Read the newspaper!'

c. bayan-é janganen
  the spinach  get the soup  
  prepared!

Bayané janganen!
'Get the spinach soup prepared!'

d. jobin-é sapunen
  the floor  (let something)  
  be swept!

Jobiné sapunen!
'Sweep the floor!'

The suffix -ana, in keeping with the indicative suffix -i, can function as (i) plain-imperative suffix, or (ii) locative-imperative suffix, or (iii) iterative-imperative suffix.

i) plain-imperative suffix

tv[assembly]pimp = +core:ajs +pass-imptvzr: -ana

(141) apik -ana
  good  passive-imperative suffix

apikana
'Be on good terms (with someone)!'  

tv[assembly]pimp = +core:itvs +pass-imptvzr: -ana

(142) laku -ana
  to walk  passive-imperative suffix

lakonana
'Carry (something) out!'  
Literal translation: '(Let something) be carried out!'


tv[assembly]pimp = +core:stvs +pass-imptvzr: -ana

(143) anti -ana
  to wait  passive-imperative suffix

enténa
'Wait (for someone or something)!'  
Literal translation: '(Let someone or something) be waited for!'


tv[assembly]pimp = +core:nums +pass-imptvzr: -ana

(144) selapan -ana
  a period  passive-imperative of 35  
  days

selapana
'Celebrate or commemorate the thirtyfifth day of the birth of the baby!'

ii) locative-imperative suffix


tv[assembly]pimp = +core:ns +pass-imptvzr: -ana

(145) layang -ana
  letter  passive-imperative suffix

layangana
'Send a letter (to someone)!'
In clause constructions we might have the following examples:

(151) a. dhëwëk-é apìkana
    he be on good terms (with someone)!

    Dhëwëké apìkana!
    'Be on good terms with him!'

b. tugas-é lakonana
    the duty, (let something) be the job carried out!

    Tugasé lakonana!
    'Do the job!'

c. mëbakyn-é entènana
    your (let someone or (older) something) be sister waited for!

    mëbakyné entènana!
    'Wait for your sister!'

d. putran-é selapana
    your child celebrate or commemorate the thirty-fifth day of the birth of the baby!

    Putrané selapana!
    'Commemorate the thirty-fifth day of your baby child!'

e. mas-mu layangana
    your send a letter (older) (to someone)!

    Mas-mu layangana!
    'Send your brother a letter!'

f. Ali kirimana
    Ali send (something to someone)!

    Ali kirimana!
    'Send (something) to Ali!'

g. Ijah wënhènana
    Ijah give (something to someone)!

    Ijah wënhènana!
    'Give (something) to Ijah!'

h. peturon-é tûronana
    the bed sleep (on something)!

    Peturoné tûronana!
    'Sleep on the bed!'

i. koran-é wàcanana
    the newspaper keep on reading (something)!

    Korané wàcanana!
    'Keep on reading the newspapers!'

j. jobin-é saponana
    the floor sweep (something repeatedly)!

    Jobiné saponana!
    'Sweep the floor (repeatedly)!'
i) causative-imperative suffix

\[ \text{tvp}_{\text{imp}} = +\text{core:ajs} + \text{pass-imptvzr: } -\text{na} \]

(152) \text{pecah} -na
broken passive-imperative suffix

\text{pecahna}
'Break (something)!' 

\[ \text{tvp}_{\text{imp}} = +\text{core:advs} + \text{pass-imptvzr: } -\text{na} \]

(153) \text{ngono} -na
that way passive-imperative suffix

\text{ngonokna}
'Treat (someone or something) that way!' 

\[ \text{tvp}_{\text{imp}} = +\text{core:itvs} + \text{pass-imptvzr: } -\text{na} \]

(154) \text{lunga} -na
to go passive-imperative suffix

\text{lunakna}
'Get (something or someone) removed!' 

ii) benefactive-imperative suffix

\[ \text{tvp}_{\text{imp}} = +\text{core:tvz} + \text{pass-imptvzr: } -\text{na} \]

(155) \text{jupuk} -na
to take passive-imperative suffix

\text{jupukna}
'Take (something for someone)!' 

\[ \text{tvp}_{\text{imp}} = +\text{core:ns} + \text{pass-imptvzr: } -\text{na} \]

(156) \text{sapu} -na
broom passive-imperative suffix

\text{sapokna}
'Sweep (something for someone)!' 

In clause constructions we can have the following examples:

(157) a. \text{kaca-né pecahna}
the glass break (something)!

\text{Kacané pecahna!}
'Break the glass!' 

b. \text{dolanané ngonokna}
the toy treat (someone or something) that way!

\text{Dolanané ngonokna!}
'Treat the toy that way!' 

c. \text{botaké lunakna}
the boy get (something or girl or someone) removed!

\text{Botaké lunakna!}
'Get the boy removed!' 

d. \text{buku-né jupukna}
the book take (something for someone)!

\text{Bukané jupukna!}
'Get the book (for someone)!' 

e. \text{jobin-né sapokna}
the floor sweep (something for someone)!

\text{Jobiné sapokna!}
'Sweep the floor (for someone)!' 

4.5 Mood tagmemes

The "mood tagmemes" are associated with a doubtful or improbable happening or situation, and normally imply a notional negative. The term "mood" is by no means the ideal term. Berg (1937:110-111) has suggested \textit{irrealisitivaform} 'irrealis form'. The point is that the mood tagmemes are functionally distinct from the imperative tagmemes, even though they share the suffixes -a, -ana, and -na. In terms of the prefix which occurs in conjunction with the mood suffix, we can have active and passive mood constructions. (154) is an example of an active mood construction, whereas (159) and (160) are examples of passive mood constructions. Both active and passive mood constructions imply "open" and "counterfactual" interpretation. The mood construction \textit{nyina} 'even if someone (including the first person) studies' (158) in the clause construction \textit{Nyina} nganti ngaga, (aku) iya ora bakal lulua (161), for example, can be "open" (and the English equivalent is 'Even if I do work hard, I will not pass the exam.'), or "counterfactual" (and the English equiva-
lent is 'Even if I had worked hard, I would not have passed the exam'). Since basically
the mood suffixes are the overt realization of the indicative tagmemes in the mood construc-
tions (see 4.6 and 6.5), for convenience in labelling, the term "mood" is used to refer to the
different mood functions of mood suffixes. Following are examples of the mood construc-
tions:

i) suffix -a mood construction

\[ tva_{md} = +atvzr: n- + \text{core:tvs} + \text{md}: -a \]

(158) n- sinau -a
active to study mood suffix
prefix

\text{nyinaua}
'even if someone (including the first or second person) studies'

ii) suffix -ana mood construction

\[ tvp_{md} = +psvzr: di- + \text{core:tvs} + \text{md}: -ana \]

(159) di- kandha -ana
passive to talk, mood suffix
prefix to say

\text{dikandhanana}
'even if advice is given (to someone)' or
'even if someone is told'

iii) suffix -na mood construction

\[ tvp_{md} = +psvzr: di- + \text{core:tvs} + \text{md}: -na \]

(160) di- tuku -na
passive to buy mood suffix
prefix

\text{ditukokna}
'even if something is bought (for someone)'

At the clause level normally a mood con-
struction occurs as a filler of the head slot
of a transitive verb construction, which, in
turn, occurs as a filler of the predicate slot
in a dependent introducer slot. A mood con-
struction can usually be replaced by \text{senajan}
or \text{senajan} 'even if' plus the corresponding indicative suffix construction. The construc-
tion \text{nyinaua} 'even if someone (including the

first or second speaker) studies' (158),
\text{dikandhanana} 'even if someone is told' (159),
\text{ditukokna} 'even if something is bought (for
someone)' (160), for example, can occur in
the following clause constructions:

(161) \text{nyinaua} \text{ nganti ngaya (aku)}
\text{even if} \text{ so far to} \text{ I}
\text{I study as} \text{ work}
\text{hard}
\text{iya ora bakal lulus}
\text{yes no will to pass}

\text{Nyinaua nganti ngaya, (aku) iya}
\text{ora bakal lulus.}
'Even if I do work hard, I will not pass the exam.' or
'Even if I had worked hard, I would not have passed the exam.'

(162) \text{dikandhanana (dhewèké) iya ora}
even if he \text{ he yes no}
\text{is told}
\text{bakal nglakoni}
\text{will to carry}
\text{out}

\text{Dikandhanana (dhewèké) iya or}
\text{bakal nglakoni.}
'Even if he is told, he will not do the job.' or
'Even if he had been told, he would not have done the job.'

(163) \text{ditukokna (buku-nè) iya ora}
even if \text{ the book yes no}
\text{something is bought}
\text{(for some-
one)}
\text{bakal divaa}
\text{will to be read}

\text{Ditukokna bukumè iya ora bakal}
\text{divaa.}
'Even if the book is bought, he will not read it.' or
'Even if the book had been bought, he would not have read it.'

In clause constructions (161), (162), and (163)
can be respectively replaced by:

(164) \text{senajan sinau nganti ngaya}
even if \text{ to study far work}
\text{as hard}

\text{(aku) iya ora bakal lulus}
\text{I yes no will to pass}

\text{Senajan sinau nganti ngaya, (aku) iya}
\text{ora bakal lulus.}
'Even if I do work hard, I will not pass the exam.' or
'Even if I had worked hard, I would not have passed the exam.'
In daily conversation we can have redundant mood markers:

(167) senajan  sinau nganti ngaya
    even if  even if  so to
    I study  work
    as hard

(aku) iya ora bakal lulu
I yes no will to pass

Senajan sinau nganti ngaya, (aku)
iya ora bakal lulu.
'Even if I do work hard, I will not pass the exam.' or
'Even if I had worked hard, I would not have passed the exam.'

(168) senajan  dikandhanana (dhewëkë)
    even if  even if he  he
    is told

iya ora bakal nglakoni
yes no will to carry out

Senajan dikandhanana (dhewëkë)
iya ora bakal nglakoni.
'Even if he is told, he will not do the job.' or
'Even if he had been told, he would not have done the job.'

(169) senajan  ditukokna (buku-né)
    even if  the book
    something is bought
    (for someone)

iya ora bakal diwaac
yes no will to be read

Senajan ditukokna (bukunë) iya
ora bakal diwac. 'Even if the book is bought, he will not read it.' or
'Even if the book had been bought, he would not have read it.'

Occasionally, to give an emphasis (and hence the construction has further redundancy), an "extra suffix -a" is added to the whole word construction. In this instance, as in the case of the subject of the independent clause, the word senajan 'even if' is optionally used.

(170) (senajan) sinau-a nganti ngaya
    even if  even if so to
    I study  work
    as hard

(aku) iya ora bakal lulu
I yes no will to pass

Senajan sinau-a nganti ngaya,
(aku) iya ora bakal lulu.
'Even if I do work hard, I will not pass the exam.' or
'Even if I had worked hard, I would not have passed the exam.'

(171) (senajan) dikandhanana-a (dhewëkë)
    even if  even if he is
    told

iya ora bakal
he yes no will
nglakoni
to carry out

Senajan dikandhanana-a (dhewëkë)
iya ora bakal nglakoni.
'Even if he is told, he will not do the job.' or
'Even if he had been told, he would not have done the job.'

(172) (senajan) ditukokna-a (buku-né)
    even if  even if some-thing is
    bought (for someone)

iya ora bakal diwac
the book yes no will
to be read

Senajan ditukokna-a (bukunë)
iya ora bakal diwac.
'Even if the book is bought, he will not read it.' or
'Even if the book had been bought, he would not have read it.'

4.6 First-person request tagmemes

The tagmemes are called "first-person
request tagmemes" because, as far as the suffixes are concerned, they only refer to the first person singular. The term is arbitrarily used. The tagmemes denote a request made by first-person singular aku 'I' or its variants. In terms of suffixation there is no active first-person request tagmeme, and hence the term "first-person request tagmemes" at the word-level construction refers to the passive constructions only. The tagmemes are manifested by the suffixes -é, -ané, and -né in conjunction with the passive prefix dak-first-person singular passive prefix'. In line with the imperative and mood suffixes, the first-person request suffixes -é, -ané, and -né correspond with the zero indicative suffix, the indicative suffix -i, and the indicative suffix -aké, respectively. For convenience in labelling, the term "first-person request" is used to refer to different "first-person request" functions of "first-person request" suffixes. Following are examples of the first-person request constructions:

i) suffix -é construction

\[
\text{tvp}_{\text{fpr}} = +\text{psvzr:\textit{dak-} + core:\textit{tvs} + fpr: -é}
\]

(173) \text{dak-} \quad \text{waaw} \quad -é
\text{first-} \quad \text{to read} \quad \text{first-person request singular passive prefix}
\text{dak waawáne}
'Let me read (something)!' or 'What if I read (something)?'

ii) suffix -ané construction

\[
\text{tvp}_{\text{fpr}} = +\text{psvzr:\textit{dak-} + core:\textit{itvs} + fpr: -ané}
\]

(174) \text{dak-} \quad \text{kanbha} \quad -ané
\text{first-} \quad \text{to talk,} \quad \text{first-person request singular passive prefix}
\text{dak kanbhanané}
'Let me tell (someone)!' or 'What if I tell (someone)?'

iii) suffix -né construction

\[
\text{tvp}_{\text{fpr}} = +\text{psvzr:\textit{dak-} + core:\textit{tvs} + fpr: -né}
\]

(175) \text{dak-} \quad \text{tuku} \quad -né
\text{first to buy} \quad \text{first-person request singular passive prefix}
dak tukokné
'Let me buy (something for someone)!' or 'What if I buy (something for someone),'

In clause constructions we can have the following examples:

(176) a. \textit{buku-né dak-waané} \text{the book} \text{let me read} \text{(something)!
Bukuné dak \textit{waaané}!
'Let me read the book!' or 'What if I read the book?'

b. \textit{Ali dak-kandhanané} \text{Ali} \text{let me tell} \text{(someone)!
Ali dak kandhanané!
'Let me tell Ali!' or 'What if I tell Ali?'

c. \textit{Ali dak-tukokné} \text{Ali} \text{let me buy (something for someone)!
Ali dak \textit{tukokné}!
'Let me buy (something) for Ali!' or 'What if I buy (something) for Ali?'

The passive clause constructions (176a), (176b), and (176c) can be respectively replaced by the following active clause constructions:

(177) a. \textit{aku dak makaa buku-né} \text{I} \text{let me read!} \text{the book}
Aku \textit{dak makaa buku-né}!
'Let me read the book!' or 'What if I read the book?'

b. \textit{aku dak ngandhání Ali} \text{I} \text{let me tell} \text{Ali} \text{(someone)!
Aku \textit{dak ngandhání Ali}!
'Let me tell Ali!' or 'What if I tell Ali?'}
(177) c. aku dak nukokaké Ali
I let me buy Ali
(something for someone)!

Aku dak nukokaké Ali!
'Let me buy (something) for Ali!' or
'What if I buy (something) for Ali?'

Notice that in the active clause constructions (177a), (177b), and (177c), the idea of "first-person request" is not conveyed by means of suffixation, but by means of an active transitive verb phrase construction. The phrase construction can be formulated as follows:

\[ tVafpr = + \text{Mod: } dak + H: tVa_{ind} \]

Examples:

(178) a. dak maa 'Let me read!'

b. dak ngandkani 'Let me tell (someone)!'

c. dak nukokaké 'Let me buy (something for someone)!

The form *dak* in these transitive verb phrase constructions is not a prefix because it occurs as a "minimum free form" and goes with the active prefix *n-* . This special type of "first-person request" construction, however, is at the phrase-level (not at the word-level), and, accordingly, is excluded from this study.

4.7 Summary of suffixes

In view of the suffix forms, the transitive verb suffixes can be summed up as follows:

(see next column)

On the diagram we notice that basically the suffixes fall into three categories. Assuming that the indicative constitutes "the vast majority of verbs" (Bernard 1975:32), for convenience, following the indicative suffixes, we call them the "zero indicative suffix" group (that is, the "core-activizer" construction; see 3.3 and 3.4), "indicative suffix -i" group, and "indicative suffix -aké" group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main tagmemic functions</th>
<th>Suffixes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;zero&quot; group</td>
<td>-i group</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Indicative</th>
<th>-</th>
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<tr>
<td>2. Imperative</td>
<td>-a (active)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-é</td>
<td>-ané</td>
<td>-né</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The word "zero" used here does not convey the same idea as the word "zero" which functions as a filler of the activizer slot (see 3.3). In the latter case, the word "zero" is used to indicate that there is no overt realization of the obligatory active prefix, whereas in the former case the word "zero" is used to indicate the absence of a suffix in the indicative suffixation system. Notice that in the other main tagmemic functions (that is: the imperative, mood, and first-person request tagmemic functions) a suffix does occur in agreement with the zero indicative suffix. Accordingly, as it has been mentioned earlier, in the transitive verb suffixation system the imperative suffixes -a and -en, the mood suffix -a, and the first-person request suffix -é serve as the overt realization of the zero indicative suffix, whereas the imperative suffix -ana, the mood suffix -ana, and the first-person request suffix -ané serve as the overt realization of the indicative suffix -i, and in the same way the imperative suffix -na, the mood suffix -na, and the first person request -né serve as the overt realization of the indicative suffix -aké. In the following examples of clause constructions, a set of the transitive verb constructions, each with the transitive verb stem *maaa* 'to read' functioning as a filler of the core slot, might serve as an illustration of the suffixation system.
a. zero suffix group

i) indicative

(179) Ali maaq koran
Ali to read newspaper

Ali maaq koran.
'Ali read the newspaper.'

ii) imperative

(180) suffix -a: maaq-na koran-
read! newspaper

Maaqa koran!
'Read the newspaper!'

(181) suffix -en: waaq-en koran-é
(let it) the be read! newspaper

Waaqen korané!
'Read the newspaper!'

iii) mood

(182) maaq-na layang-é nganti
even if the so far someone letter as reads

njilmet (aku) tetep
in detail I to remain

ora ngerti maksud-é
not to his under- intention stand

Maaqa layangé nganti njilmet,
(aku) tetep ora ngerti maksudé.
'Even if I read the letter with great care, I will not understand what his intention is.' or
'Even if I had read the letter with great care, I would not have understood what his intention was.'

iv) first-person request

(183) dak-waaq-né koran-é
let me read the newspaper (something)!

Dak waaqen korané!
'Let me read the newspaper!' or
'What if I read the newspaper?'

b. suffix -i group

i) indicative

(184) Ali maaq-ni layang-é
Ali to keep on the reading letter

Ali maaq-ni layangé.
'Ali kept on reading the letters.'

ii) imperative

(185) waaq-nana layang-é
keep on the letter reading!

Waaqanana layangé!
'Keep on reading the letters!'

iii) mood

(186) di-waaq-nana bolak-balik
even if some- repeatedly thing is read

(isti-né layang) tetep the letter to remain content

padha baé
the same just

Diwaqanana bolak-balik
(isti-né layang) tetep padha báé.
'Even if the letter is repeatedly read, again and again, the content will remain the same.' or
'Even if the letter had been repeatedly read, again and again, the content would have remained the same.'

iv) first-person request

(187) dak-waaq-nané koran-é
let me keep on the reading (some- newspaper thing)!

Dak waaqanén korané!
'Let me keep on reading the newspapers!' or
'What if I keep on reading the newspapers?'

c. suffix -aké group

i) indicative

(188) Ali maaq-kaké
Ali to read (some- thing for some- one)

simbah
grandfather or grandmother
Ali macakaka simbah.
'Ali read (something) for grandfather.'

ii) imperative

(189) wara-kna layang-é
read (some- the letter thing for someone)

Wara-kna layangé!
'Read the letter (for someone)'

iii) mood

(190) layang-é di-wara-kna
the letter even if some-
thing is read for someone

(simbah) iya ora
grand- yes no
father or grand-
mother

iv) first-person request

(191) dak-warakna layang-é
let me read (something for someone)

Dak wara-kna layangé!
'Let me read the letter (for someone)!' or
'What if I read the letter (for someone),'

Footnotes:

1. The locative prepositions are marang 'to', saka 'from', and ana or ing, or anêng, or nêng 'in, at, on'. The word ana, which literally means 'to exist', is considered a locative preposition because in a loca-
tive relator-axis phrase construction (in the same way as the forms marang 'to', saka 'from', ing 'in, at, on', etc.) it can function as a filler of the relator
slot. The form anêng is derived from ana 'to exist' and ing 'in, at, on'. Nêng is the short form of anêng.

2. Note that the Javanese verb menêhi 'to give', like some other verbs in the language, has a wider use than the English verb to give. The English clause con-
struction Anto gave his girl friend a letter suggests an act of handing over a letter, whereas the Javanese clause construction Anto menêhi layang marang pacaré
(91) is not restricted to this meaning.

3. It is likely that, on the same basis, the con-
struction nyarêkakê meaning 'to bury' can be considered

a causative construction. The explanation is that in a
figurative sense the stem saré 'to sleep, Krama' is un-
derstood as 'to allow someone to sleep in the last rest-
ing-place', or 'to bury'.

4. The meaning of the Javanese verb nyaponi, as a
matter of fact, is not equivalent to the English verb
to sweep (which implies "one movement", such as to sweep
the books off the table).

5. The passive construction wangsulana 'Reply (to
someone)!' or '(Let someone) be replied to!' is more
common.

6. It is possible, and more common, to say sinau
(the activizer slot is filled by "zero"; see 3.3) in-
stead of nyinau.

7. In daily conversation the subject of the in-
dependent clause is normally deleted. For (161) we
usually say Nyinau (or sinau) nyanti ngaya iya ora
bakal lulus.
5.1 Passive prefixes and passive constructions

In Javanese the passive prefixes are dak-, kok- or mbok-, di-, ka-, and ke-. The prefix dak- is confined to the "first-person singular", the prefix kok- or mbok- is confined to the "second-person (normally: singular)", whereas the prefixes di-, ka-, and ke- are normally used to refer to the "third-person" (although they can also be used to refer to either the "first-person" or "second-person"). As mentioned earlier (1.3), the passive prefixes dak- and kok- or mbok- (that is, the "first-person" and "second-person" passive prefixes) are conventionally spelled as word equivalents, whereas the passive prefixes di-, ka-, and ke- are spelled as affix equivalents. Following are examples of the use of passive prefixes in passive transitive verb constructions (for short: passive constructions):

\[ \text{tvp}_{\text{ind}} = +\text{psvzr:} \text{dak-} + \text{core:tvs} \]

(192) \text{dak- gawa}
\text{first-person to bring singular passive prefix}
\text{dak gawa}
' to be brought by me' or 'I brought (something).'

\[ \text{tvp}_{\text{ind}} = +\text{psvzr:} \text{kok-} + \text{core:tvs} \]

(193) \text{kok- gawa}
\text{second-person to bring passive prefix}
\text{kok gawa}
' to be brought by you' or 'You brought (something).'

\[ \text{tvp}_{\text{ind}} = +\text{psvzr:} \text{di-} + \text{core:tvs} \]

(194) \text{di- gawa}
\text{passive prefix to bring}
\text{digawa}
' to be brought'

\[ \text{tvp}_{\text{ind}} = +\text{psvzr:} \text{ka-} + \text{core:tvs} \]

(195) \text{ka- gawa}
\text{passive prefix}
\text{kagawa}
' to be brought'

\[ \text{tvp}_{\text{ind}} = +\text{psvzr:} \text{ke-} + \text{core:tvs} \]

(196) \text{ke- gawa}
\text{passive prefix}
\text{kegawa}
' to be brought (normally: unintentional action)'

It is likely that in the passive constructions an emphasis is put on the object of the action. Observe the following passive transitive clause construction:

\[ \text{buku-né dak-gawa} \]
\text{the book to be brought by me}

\text{Bukané dak gawa.}
'The book was brought by me.' or 'I brought the book.'

The clause construction (197) can alternate with

\[ \text{buku-né kang dak-gawa} \]
\text{the book which to be brought by me}

\text{Bukané kong dak gawa.}
'It was the book which I brought.' or 'What I brought was the book.'

It seems that the construction (198) is derived from

\[ ^{\text{Bukané}} \text{barangé kong dak gawa.} \]
\text{(barangé 'something')}
Compare the passive transitive clause construction (197) with the following active transitive clause construction:

(200) Aku nggawa buku-né
I to bring the book

Aku nggawa buku-né.
'I brought the book.'

In the clause construction (200) an emphasis is put on aku 'I', the agent or subject. The clause construction can alternate with

(201) Aku kong nggawa buku-né
I which to bring the book

Aku kong nggawa buku-né.
'It was I who brought the book.'

It seems that the construction (201) is derived from

(202) *Aku wong kong nggawa buku-né.
(wong 'person')

Still dealing with the semantic emphasis, observe the following transitive clause construction:

(203) buku-né (dudu layang-é)
the book not the letter
dak-gawa
to be brought by me

Bukuné (dudu layangé) dak gawa.
'I brought the book (not the letter).'

but never

(204) *Bukuné (dudu kové) dak gawa.
(kové 'you')

(except when the word kové 'you' serves as an object of the action gawa 'to bring').

Compare the passive transitive clause construction (203) with the following active transitive clause construction:

(205) Aku (dudu kové) nggawa
I not you to bring
buku-né
the book

Aku (dudu kové) nggawa buku-né.
'I brought the book (not you).'

but never

(206) *Aku (dudu layangé) nggawa buku-né.

The same explanation applies to the "second-person" and "third-person" passive prefixes. Take notice of the following pairs of passive transitive and active transitive clause constructions:

(207) 1a. buku-né (dudu layang-é)
the book not the letter
kok-gawa
to be brought by you

Bukuné (dudu layangé) kok gawa.
'The book was brought by you (not the letter).' or 'You brought the book (not the letter).'

(208) b. Kové (dudu aku) nggawa
you not I to bring
buku-né
the book

Kové (dudu aku) nggawa buku-né.
'You brought the book (not I).'

(209) 2a. buku-né (dudu layang-é)
the book not the letter
di-gawa
Ali to be brought

Bukuné (dudu layangé) di-gawa
Ali.
'The book was brought by Ali (not the letter).' or 'Ali brought the book (not the letter).'

(210) b. Ali (dudu aku) nggawa
Ali not I to bring
buku-né
the book

Ali (dudu aku) nggawa buku-né.
'Ali brought the book (not I).'

(211) 3a. buku-né (dudu layang-é)
the book not the letter
kapundhut
bapak
to be taken father

Bukuné (dudu layangé) kapundhut
bapak.
'The book was taken by father (not the letter).' or 'Father took the book (not the letter).'

(212) b. Bapak (dudu ibu)
father not mother
mundhut
buku-né
to take the book
Types of passive constructions

Following Lyons (1968:378), there are three possible passive constructions. They are: passive with a "specified agent", passive with a "non-specified agent", and "agentless" passive.

5.2.1 Passive with a "specified agent"

It is likely that the Javanese 
'dak-first-person singular passive prefix' and 
kok- (or mbok-) 'second-person passive prefix' constructions are used to refer to a "specified agent". Observe the following:

(213) buku-né nembé dak-waaga
the book in the to be read process by I of

Bukuné nembé dak waaga.
'The book is being read by me.' or
'I am reading the book.'

(214) payung-é kok-gawa
his umbrella to be brought by you

Payungé kok gawa?
'Do you have his umbrella?'

We notice that in the clause construction (213) the agent is dak- 'I', and in the clause construction (214) the agent is kok- 'you'.

In some circumstances the di- 'passive-prefix' and ka- 'passive prefix' constructions can be used to denote a "specified agent", normally by the use of an agent slot which is filled by a noun phrase or a prepositional phrase (the use of preposition is normally optional). Observe the following clause constructions:

\[
tClp = + S; pn N + P: tVp \uparrow \pm Ag; N \downarrow PP
\]

(215) buku-né di-waao (déning) bapak
the book to be (dening) father

Bukuné diwaao (déning) bapak.
'The book was read by father.' or
'Father read the book.'

(216) bojo-né ka-pundhut (déning) Pangérán
his to be by God wife taken

Bojoné kapundhut (déning) Pangérán.
'His wife died.'

We notice that in the clause construction (215) the agent is bapak 'father', and in the clause construction (216) the agent is Pangérán 'God'.

5.2.2 Passive with a "non-specified agent"

The passive di- and ka- constructions can also be used to refer to a "non-specified agent". Notice the following passive transitive clause constructions:

(217) kandhutan-mu kudu di-gogrok-aké
your foetus must to cause to be dropped

Kandhutanmu kudu digogrokaké.
'You must have an abortion.'

(218) wong sa-dééa ka-boyong mengang
people one to be to village moved

Sumatra

Sumatra

Wong sa-dééa kaboyong mengang
'Sumatra.
'All the people in the village were moved to Sumatra.'

We notice that neither in the construction (217) nor in the construction (218) is the agent specified.

5.2.3 "Agentless" passive

In Javanese the 'agentless" passive seems to be associated with unintentional actions, and is manifested by the ke- construction. Notice the following passive transitive clause constructions:

(219) bal-é ke-rempung ana
the ball to be plunged

kalam

pond
Balé kaeemplung ana kolam.
'The ball fell into the pond (without anyone's deliberately throwing it).'

(220) omah-é ke-obong
the house to be burnt

Omahé kobong.
'The house was on fire (without anyone's deliberately setting fire to it).'

Notice that the distinction between the passive prefix ke- and the passive prefix ka-
is basically significant. The prefix ke- denotes "unintentional action", whereas the prefix ka- denotes "intentional action".2 Observe that the di- construction diobong (from: di- + obong 'to burn') 'to be burnt' in the clause construction

(221) omah-é di-obong
the house to be burnt

Omahé diobong.
'Someone set fire to the house (intentional action).'

is synonymous with the ka- construction kaeobong
(from: ka- + obong 'to burn') 'to be burnt' in the clause construction

(222) omah-é ka-obong
the house to be burnt

Omahé kaobong.
'Someone set fire to the house (intentional action).'

Consider also that the di- construction
diœemplunkaké (form: di- + œemplung 'to plunge' + -aké) 'to cause to be plunged' in the clause construction

(223) bal-é diœemplung-aké ana the ball to cause to be in plunged kolam pond

Balé diœemplungaké ana kolam.
'Someone threw the ball into the pond (intentional action).'

Returning to the clause constructions (219) and (220) we notice that the ke-
constructions kaeemplung 'to be plunged' (219) and kobong 'to be burnt' (220) denote "unintentional action" as well as "agentless" passive. The di- and ka-
constructions diœemplungaké 'to cause to be plunged' (223), diobong 'to be burnt' (221), kaeemplungaké 'to cause to be plunged' (224) and kaobong 'to be burnt' (222), on the contrary, denote "intentional action" as well as a "specified agent".

In addition, the prefix di- and the prefix ka-
might go with the causative suffix -aké
(which implies "intentional action"), whereas the prefix ke- cannot go with the causative suffix -aké. Thus we might say diœemplungaké
'to cause to be plunged' (223) and kaeemplungaké
'to cause to be plunged' (224), but never *keœemplungaké.

5.3 "Prefix di-" versus "prefix ka-"

Now we come to the discussion of the differ-
cence between the passive prefix di- and the
passive prefix ke-. In the passive prefix di-
constructions all suffixes found in the corre-
sponding active prefix n- constructions are
preserved. Observe the derivations of the
transitive verb stem waca 'to read' in the
following clause constructions:

a. zero indicative suffix

i) active prefix n- construction

(225) Ali maoa layang-é
Ali to read the letter

Ali maoa layangé.
Ali read the letter.'

ii) passive prefix di- construction

(226) layang-é di-waca Ali
the letter to be read Ali

41
Layangé diwaca Ali.
'The letter was read by Ali.' or
'Ali read the letter.'

b. indicative suffix -aké

i) active prefix n- construction

(227) Ali maaca-kaké
Ali to read (something for someone)

layang-é
the letter

Ali macakaké layangé.
'Ali read the letter (for someone).'

ii) passive prefix di- construction

(228) layang-é di-waca-kaké
the letter to be read (for someone)

Ali
Ali

Layangé diwacakaké Ali.
'The letter was read by Ali (for someone).' or
'Ali read the letter (for someone).'

c. indicative suffix -i

i) active prefix n- construction

(229) Ali maça-ni layang-é
Ali to keep on the letter reading

Ali mañani layangé.
'Ali kept on reading the letters.'

ii) passive prefix di- construction

(230) layang-é di-waca-ni
the letter to be continuously read

Ali
Ali

Layangé diwacani Ali.
'The letters were continuously read by Ali.' or
'Ali kept on reading the letters.'

Not all of the passive prefix ka- constructions in (231) and (232), each of which corresponds with the active prefix n- in (225) and (227) respectively, are possible, but not very common.

(231) layang-é ka-waca Ali
the letter to be read Ali

Layangé kawaca Ali.
'The letter was read by Ali.' or
'Ali read the letter.'

(232) layang-é ka-waca-kaké Ali
the letter to be read Ali (for someone)

Layangé kawacakaké Ali.
'The letter was read by Ali (for someone).' or
'Ali read the letter (for someone).'

The construction *kawaani in the following clause construction, however, does not sound grammatical, at least in the Javanese dialect of Surakarta-Yogyakarta.


Usually the passive prefix ka- construction goes with the words durang 'not yet', lagi or nembé 'in the process of', or wis or uwis 'already'. In many circumstances, however, the corresponding construction with the passive prefix di- is more common. Thus, the clause construction

(234) layang-é lagi ka-waca
the letter in the process to be read

Layangé lagi kawaca.
'The letter is being read.'

is less common than the clause construction

(235) layang-é lagi di-waca
the letter in the process to be read

Layangé lagi diwaca.
'The letter is being read.'

In a certain sense, the passive prefix di- construction does differ from the passive prefix ka- construction. Consider the following pair of clauses:

(236) sega-né wis kebañut
the rice already accidentally
di-pangan
to be eaten
Segané wis kebaucut dipangan.
'The rice has been accidentally
eaten.'

(237) sega-né wis kebaucut
the rice already accidentally
ka-pangan
to be eaten
Segané wis kebaucut kapangan.
'The rice has been accidentally
eaten.'

With kebaucut (or kebanjur) 'accidentally', the
constructions dipangan 'to be eaten' (236) and
kapangan 'to be eaten' (237) are grammatical.
Both imply the idea of "unintentional action". Without kebaucut (or kebanjur) 'accidentally',
however, the construction dipangan 'to be
eaten' (236) implies an intentional action,
whereas kapangan 'to be eaten' (237) might (but
does not necessarily) imply an unintentional
action.

Consider also the following pairs of
clause constructions:

a. with durung 'not yet'

(238) sega-né durung di-pangan
the rice not yet to be eaten
Segané durung dipangan.
'The rice has not been eaten.'

(239) sega-né durung ka-pangan
the rice not yet to be eaten
Segané durung kapangan.
'The rice has not been eaten.'

b. with nembé (or lagi) 'in the process of'

(240) sega-né nembé di-pangan
the rice in the process of
to be eaten
Segané nembé dipangan.
'The rice is being eaten.'

(241) sega-né nembé ka-pangan
the rice in the process of
to be eaten
Segané nembé kapangan.
'The rice is being eaten.'

c. with wis (or uwis) 'already'

(242) sega-né wis di-pangan
the rice already to be eaten
Segané wis dipangan.
'The rice has been eaten.'

(243) sega-né wis ka-pangan
the rice already to be eaten
Segané wis kapangan.
'The rice has been eaten.'

In each pair the occurrence of either the pas-
sive prefix di- construction or the passive
prefix ka- construction is grammatical. With
durung 'not yet' and nembé (or lagi) 'in the
process of' the use of the passive prefix di-
is more common. The passive prefix ka-
sounds more natural when it goes with wis (or uwis)
'already' rather than when it goes with durung
'not yet' or nembé (or lagi) 'in the process
of' (Even with wis or uwis 'already', at the
moment, the tendency is that the Javanese
speakers prefer the use of the passive prefix di-).

The difference between the passive pre-
fix di- and the passive prefix ka-, as a
matter of fact, is very subtle. Perhaps, the
following phenomena can be said of the passive
prefix ka- constructions (as opposed to the
passive prefix di- constructions).

a. There is a tendency that the passive pre-
fix ka- is used to denote a "non-specified
agent". In addition to the clause con-
struction (218), the clause construction
below can serve as an example.

(244) para sarjana
collective university
plural graduate
article
ka-wajib-aké nyambut-gawé
to be obliged to work
ing padéan
in rural areas

Para sarjana kawajibakè nyambut-
gawé ing padéan.
'University graduates are required
to work in rural areas.'
b. The passive prefix ka- constructions do not always allow the variety of suffixes which are available with the active prefix n- constructions. The construction 'kawacanæ in (233) can serve as an example.

c. Where the passive prefix ka- is possible, it is less likely to occur with a ngoko verb stem than with its krama equivalent. Hence the passive prefix ka- constructions suggest a formal or literary usage. Consider the following:

i) gawa 'to take (ngoko)' versus asta 'to take (krama)'

(245) mobilé ka-gawa bapak
the car to be taken father
Mobilé kagawa bapak.
(less common) 'Father drove the car.'

(246) mobilé ka-asta bapak
the car to be taken father
Mobilé kaasta bapak.
(more common) 'Father drove the car.'

ii) tuku 'to buy (ngoko)' versus pundhut 'to buy (krama)'

(247) omah-é wis ka-tuku
the house already to be bought
Omahé wis ka-tuku.
(less common) 'The house has been bought.'

(248) dalem-é wis kapundhut
the house already to be bought
Dalemé wis kapundhut.
(more common) 'The house has been bought.'

The ngoko verb stem gawa 'to take' in the construction kagawa 'to be taken' (245) is less common than its krama equivalent asta 'to take' in the construction kaasta 'to be taken' (246). In the same way the ngoko verb stem tuku 'to buy' in the construction katuku 'to be bought' (247) is less common than its krama equivalent pundhut 'to buy' in the construction kapundhut 'to be bought' (248). The constructions kagawa 'to be taken' (245), kaasta 'to be taken' (246), katuku 'to be bought' (247), and kapundhut 'to be bought' (248) can be respectively replaced by the constructions digawa 'to be taken', diasta 'to be taken', dituku 'to be bought', and dipundhut 'to be bought' (these passive prefix di- constructions sound more natural, especially in daily conversation). The passive prefix ka- constructions, in particular the constructions kaasta 'to be taken' (246) and kapundhut 'to be bought' (248), suggest a formal usage. Consider also the formal (or literary) usage of the passive prefix ka- constructions in the following clause construction (which is taken from the Javanese Bible, Matthew 27:2):

(249) (Gusti Žesús) .... mbanjur Lord Jesus then
ka-dhabyaŋ sarta ka-lados-aké to be taken and to be handed over
marang Pontius Pilatus to Pilate

(Gusti Žesús) .... mbanjur kadhabyaŋ sarta kaladosaké marang Pontius Pilatus.
'They took Jesus and handed him over to Pilate.'

* * *

Footnotes:

1. The form kobong is derived from ke- plus obong 'to burn'. Normally the assimilation produced by the combination of the prefix ke- and the vowel at the beginning of the word stem results in the deletion of the vowel /a/ in the prefix ke-. The combination of the prefix ka- and the stem obong 'to burn', however, does not undergo sound change. Thus we have the form kobong (from: ke- + obong 'to burn') as opposed to kaobong (from: ka- + obong 'to burn').

2. In modern usage, however, the distinction between ke- and ka- tends to be neglected.
Chapter six

CONCLUSION

6.1 "Active construction" versus "passive construction"

6.1.1

As we have seen (see 2.3), in view of the preflexion, basically in Javanese there are two structural types of transitive verb constructions, namely the "active" and "passive" transitive verb constructions. It has been mentioned that neither the term "active" nor "passive" is the ideal term. Unlike English, in which the term "active" is commonly understood as a verb conveying an action performed by the subject, and the term "passive" is commonly understood as a verb conveying an action suffered by the subject (cf. Bernard 1975:30), the notions of "active" and "passive" in the Javanese language are used to denote two different focuses of attention. It is likely that the active constructions emphasize the agent of an action, whereas the passive constructions emphasize the recipient of an action. Perhaps the active construction *ngawa* 'to bring' in the clause construction *Aku ngawa bukuné* 'I brought the book' (200) and the passive construction *dak gawa* 'to be brought by me' in the clause construction *Bukuné dak gawa* 'The book was brought by me' or 'I brought the book' (197) can serve as an illustration. Notice that the clause construction *Aku ngawa bukuné* 'I brought the book' (200) can alternate with *Aku käng ngawa bukuné* 'It was I who brought the book' (201), whereas the clause construction *Bukuné dak gawa* 'The book was brought by me' or 'I brought the book' (197) can alternate with *Bukuné käng dak gawa* 'It was the book which I brought' or 'What I brought was the book' (198).

6.1.2

In some way the difference between "active construction" and "passive construction" can be related to the presence or absence of the nasal prefix (either overt or covert) which functions as the active prefix. Consider the following active transitive clause construction:

(250) *panjenengan durung maos you (krama) not yet to read (krama)

buku-né
the book

Panjenengan durung maos bukuné.¹
'You have not read the book.'

Normally, the corresponding passive transitive clause construction is

(251) *Bukuné durung panjenengan waos.*
'The book has not been read by you.' or
'You have not read the book.'

Here we notice that the passive prefix *di-* is replaced by the second person *krama* pronoun *panjenengan* 'you'. The significant point is that the form *waos* 'to be read' in (251), by analogy with the construction *di-waos* 'to be read', is a transitive verb construction (and not a word stem) despite of the absence of a prefix. In the active construction *maos* 'to read' (250) the nasal prefix is present, whereas in the passive construction *waos* 'to be read' (251) the nasal prefix is absent (and so is the passive prefix). The same explanation applies to the passive imperative constructions (see 4.3.2), such as *lakonana* 'Carry (something) out!' (142), *kirimana* 'Send (something to someone)!' (146), and *jupukna* 'Take (something for someone)!' (155).
6.2 "Type-One construction" versus "Type-Two construction"

The suffix system of the indicative plain-transitive constructions shows us that there are two types of word stems (see 3.5): the word stems which require no suffix (zero suffix) in the formation of transitive verb constructions (we call members of this group "Type-One word stems"), and the word stems which require a suffix in the formation of transitive verb constructions (we call members of this group "Type-Two word stems"). In the same way, we call a construction with a Type-One word stem functioning as the core slot filler a "Type-One construction", and a construction with a Type-Two word stem functioning as the core slot filler a "Type-Two construction".

Type-One word stems include transitive verb stems (62) and noun stems which denote "instruments" (63) or "materials" (64). Accordingly, the transitive verb stem gawa 'to bring' (62), the noun stems paolu 'hoe' (63) and batik 'batik' (64) can serve as the examples of Type-One word stems (in this study the noun stems which denote "instruments" or "materials" are called "Type-One noun stems").

The rest constitute Type-Two word stems. Thus, the intransitive verb stem lungguh 'to sit' (24), the adjective stem resik 'clean' (26), the semi-transitive verb veruk 'to see' (60), and numeral stem pitu 'seven' (82a) can serve as the examples of Type-Two word stems.

In terms of the overt markers, there are two suffixes (the suffix -i and the suffix -aké) which are involved in the formation of transitive verb constructions. In Type-One indicative constructions, the use of either the suffix -i or the suffix -aké is optional. In the absence of the second person krama pronoun panjenengan 'you' (which can replace the position of a passive prefix in the construction, see 6.1.2), the Type-One indicative constructions can be formulated as follows (for convenience, the label "indicativizer" is used either for the indicative suffix -i or the indicative suffix -aké):

**Examples:**

(252) a. njupuk
(from: n- + jupuk 'to take')
'to take'

b. djsupukaké
(from: d- + jupuk 'to take' + -aké)
'to be taken (for someone)

c. njaluk
(from: n- + jaluk 'to ask' + -i)
'to keep on asking (for something)

d. disapu
(from: d- + sapu 'broom')
'to be swept'

e. kesapu
(from: ke- + sapu 'broom')
'to be swept (unintentionally)

f. mbatik
(from: n- + batik 'batik')
'to do batik work'

In Type-Two indicative transitive verb
constructions, the use of either the suffix -i or the suffix -aké is obligatory. Type-Two indicative transitive verb constructions can be formulated as follows:

Formula:

\[
\text{tv}_{\text{ind}} = \frac{tvy}{\text{tv}_{\text{II}}} = \frac{\text{dak-} + \text{itvs}}{\text{stvs}} + \frac{\text{tvzr}: \text{n}}{\text{psvzr}: \text{n}} + \frac{\text{ajt} + \text{ads}}{\text{nums}} + \text{indtvzr: -i} + \text{aké}
\]

Statement:

A Type-Two indicative transitive verb construction consists of an obligatory activizer slot filled by n- or "zero", or an obligatory passivizer slot filled by dak- or kok-(or mbok-) or di- or ka-, followed by an obligatory core slot filled by an intransitive verb stem or a semi-transitive verb stem or an adjective verb stem or an adverb stem or a numeral stem or a Type-Two noun stem, followed by an obligatory indicativizer slot filled by -i or -aké. In a given Type-Two indicative transitive verb construction the obligatory activizer slot cannot occur simultaneously with the obligatory passivizer slot. Restriction: the obligatory passivizer slot only occurs in the absence of the second person krama pronoun panjenengan 'you' which can be used to replace the position of a passive prefix.

Examples:

(253) a. ngapiki
(from:n- + apik 'good' + -i)
'to be on good terms with'

b. ngapikaké
(from:n- + apik 'good' + -aké)
to make (something) better'

c. diwang suli
(from:di- + wangsul 'to reply' + -i)
'to be replied to'

d. ngonokaké
(from:o + ngono 'that way' + -aké)
'to treat that way'

e. nyelapani
(from:n- + selapan 'a period of thirty five days' + -i)
'to commemorate the thirty-fifth day of the birth of a child'

f. dipageri
(from:di- + pager 'fence' + -i)
'to be fenced'

6.3 The suffixes -i and -aké in Type-One and Type-Two constructions

The distinction between Type-One and Type-Two indicative transitive verb constructions in a way can be related to the way the suffix -i differs from the suffix -aké. In Type-One constructions the general tendency is that the zero suffix constructions convey a plain-transitive function, the suffix -i constructions convey an iterative function, and the suffix -aké constructions convey a benefactive function. Observe the following:

Zero suffix suffix
Stem con- con-
struct- struct-
tion tion

(254) a. jupuk njupuk njupuki njupukaké
'to 'to 'to keep 'to take take' take' on (for some-
taking' one')

b. tuku tuku nukoni nukokaké
'to 'to 'to keep 'to buy buy' buy' on (for some-
buying' one')

c. tulis nulis nulisi nulisaké
'to 'to 'to keep 'to write write' write' on (for some-
writing' one') or
'to write on something'

d. sapu nyapu nyloni nyapokaké
'broom' 'to 'to sweep sweep' (for some-
or one')
'to keep on sweeping'

47
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Zero suffix</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**Suffix **</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-aké</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stem</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>construction</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(254) e. *batik* mbatik mbatikaké 'ba-
*tik* batik work' 'to do batik on doing work for batik someone' 'to do batik work on something',

As mentioned earlier (see 4.3.6), the fact that a suffix can have more than one tagmemic function implies that the function of the suffix can be ambiguous. The suffix -i in the construction *ngaponi* 'to sweep' or 'to keep on sweeping' (254d) by definition (see also example 121a), can be either locative or iterative. Nevertheless, the fact remains that in Type-One constructions the suffix -i is essentially iterative, and the suffix -aké is essentially benefactive.

Concerning Type-Two constructions, with Type-Two noun stems and numeral stems, the suffix -aké is essentially benefactive and with other stems it tends to be causative. In this type of constructions the suffix -i tends to be locative or plain-transitive. It should be mentioned here that a fair number of word stems can only be attached to either the suffix -i or the suffix -aké, but never both. Observe the following examples (where only (a), (b), and (h) show contrast between the suffix -i and the suffix -aké):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stem</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Suffix -i construction</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Suffix -aké construction</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(255) a. *turu* nuroni nurokaké 'to sleep (on something)' to allow (a child) to sleep',
b. *apik* ngapiki ngapikaké 'good' 'to be on good terms with' 'to make something better',

c. *woneuli* moneuli 'to reply' to (someone or someone's letter)',
d. *ngono* 'that way' nongoaké 'to treat that way',
e. *layang* nglayangi 'let to send a letter to',
f. *anti* ngentèni 'to wait for',
g. *weka* 'trouble, sad' nyusahaké 'to cause trouble',
h. *kedak* nedyakaké nedyakaké 'close' 'to approach' 'to allow (something) to be closer',

Still, it should be mentioned here that several word stems are in marginal cases, in the sense that in the formation of active plain-transitive verb constructions they require no suffix, but the presence of the suffix -i is required in the formation of passive transitive verb constructions. For the stem *dusé* 'to have, to possess', for example, we might have the construction *dusé* or *nàusu* 'to have, to possess', but we never have the passive construction *ndusé*. A few of them do not occur with the suffix -aké. The tagmemic function of the suffix -i might be plain-transitive or locative or iterative, whereas the tagmemic function of the suffix -aké is chiefly benefactive (similar to Type-One constructions). Notice the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Zero suffix</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**Suffix **</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-aké</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stem</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>construction</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(256) a. *dusé* (n)dusé *nausénti* 'to have, have, to possess' 'to have, to possess'
In sum, we might say that in Javanese there are two dimensions with regard to the structural grouping of transitive verb constructions. The first dimension is related to the presence or absence of the overt or covert nasal prefix (the notion of "active construction" as opposed to "passive construction"), whereas the second dimension is related to the presence or absence of a suffix in plain-transitive verb constructions (the notion of "Type-One construction" as opposed to "Type-Two construction"). The idea can be put in the following diagram:

(see next column)

6.4 Imperative, mood, and first-person request constructions

It has been discussed (see 4.6) that

basically the imperative suffix, mood suffix, and first-person request suffixes are the overt realization of the indicative tagmemes in the imperative construction, mood construction, and first-person request construction, respectively. At the surface level these three types of constructions can be formulated as follows:

a. imperative construction

i) Type-One imperative construction

Formula:

\[
\text{tvp}_\text{imp} = \begin{cases} 
\pm \text{+atvzr:} & \text{+core: tvg} \begin{cases} 
\text{+act-imptvzr:} & \text{+pass-imptvzr:} \\
\text{n-} & \text{en} \\
\text{en} & \text{ana} \\
\text{na} & \text{na} 
\end{cases}
\end{cases}
\]
A Type-One imperative transitive verb construction consists of an obligatory activizer slot filled by n- or "zero" followed by an obligatory core slot filled by a transitive verb stem or a Type-One noun stem followed by an obligatory active-imperativizer slot filled by -a, or an obligatory core slot filled by a transitive verb stem or a Type-One noun stem followed by an obligatory passive-imperativizer slot filled by -en or -ana or -na. The obligatory activizer slot occurs in conjunction with the obligatory active-imperativizer slot. The obligatory activizer slot cannot occur simultaneously with the obligatory passive-imperativizer slot.

Examples:

(257) a. njupuka
(from: n- + jupuk 'to take' + -a)
'Take (something)!'  

b. jupukken
(from: jupuk 'to take' + -en)
'(Let something be taken)'

c. jupukana
(from: jupuk 'to take' + -ana)
'Take (something) repeatedly!'  

d. jupukna
(from: jupuk 'to take' + -na)
'Take (something for someone)!'  

e. nyapua
(from: n- + sapu 'broom' + -a)
'Sweep!'  

f. sapokna
(from: sapu 'broom' + -na)
'Sweep (something for someone)!'  

g. sapunen
(from: sapu 'broom' + -en)
'(Let something be swept)'

ii) Type-Two imperative construction

Formula:

\[
\text{tvp}^{\text{imp}} = \begin{cases} 
\text{itvs} \\
\text{stvs} \\
\text{ajs} \\
\end{cases} + \begin{cases} 
\text{adv} \\
\text{n-} \\
\text{ns}^{\text{II}} \\
\end{cases} + \begin{cases} 
\text{stvzr} \\
\text{core} \\
\text{act-imptvzr} \\
\text{pass-imptvzr} \\
\end{cases} + \begin{cases} 
\text{ana} \\
\text{ana} \\
\text{ana} \\
\end{cases} + \begin{cases} 
\text{n-} \\
\text{en} \\
\text{na} \\
\end{cases}
\]

A Type-Two imperative transitive verb construction consists of an obligatory activizer slot filled by n- or "zero" followed by an obligatory core slot filled by an intransitive verb stem or a semi-transitive verb stem or an adjective stem or an adverb stem or a numeral stem or a Type-Two noun stem followed by an obligatory active-imperativizer slot filled by -ana, or an obligatory core slot filled by an intransitive verb stem or a semi-transitive verb stem or an adjective stem or an adverb stem or a numeral stem or a Type-Two noun stem followed by an obligatory passive-imperativizer slot filled by -ana or -na. The obligatory activizer slot occurs in conjunction with the obligatory active-imperativizer slot. The obligatory activizer slot cannot occur simultaneously with the obligatory passive-imperativizer slot.

Examples:

(258) a. ngentènana
(from: n- + anti 'to wait' + -ana)
'Wait!'  

b. entènana
(from: anti 'to wait' + -ana)
'Wait (for someone or something)!' or
'(Let someone or something) be waited!'  

c. apikana
(from: apik 'good' + -ana)
'Be on good terms with (someone)!' or
'(Let someone) be treated well!'  

d. pekahna
(from: pekah 'broken' + -na)
'Break (something)!' or
'Allow (something) to be broken!'  

e. selapanana
(from: selapan 'a period of thirty-five days' + -ana)
'Commemorate the thirty-fifth day of the birth of the baby!'  

f. lakokna
(from: lak 'to walk' + -na)
'Make (something) go!' or
'Drive (for example: the car)!'  

b. mood construction

i) Type-One mood construction
A Type-Two mood transitive verb construction consists of an obligatory activizer slot filled by \( n \) or "zero", or an obligatory passivizer slot filled by \( \text{dak-} \) or \( \text{kok-} \) (or \( \text{mbok-} \)) or \( \text{di-} \), followed by an obligatory core slot filled by an intransitive verb stem or a semi-transitive verb stem or an adjective stem or an adverb stem or a numeral stem or a Type-Two noun stem, followed by an obligatory mood slot filled by \( -\text{ana} \) or \( -\text{na} \).

Examples:

(260) a. \( \text{ngapikana} \)
(from: \( n- + \text{apik} '\text{good}' + -\text{ana} \))
'even if someone is on good terms with someone else'

b. \( \text{diapikana} \)
(from: \( \text{di-} + \text{apik} '\text{good}' + -\text{ana} \))
'even if someone is treated in a good way'

c. \( \text{diapikna} \)
(from: \( \text{di-} + \text{apik} '\text{good}' + -\text{na} \))
'even if something is made better'

d. \( \text{nglakonana} \)
(from: \( n- + \text{laku} '\text{to follow}' + -\text{ana} \))
'even if someone carries something out'

e. \( \text{kok ngonokna} \)
(from: \( \text{kok-} + \text{ngono} '\text{that way}' + -\text{na} \))
'even if you treat something that way'

f. \( \text{dipagerana} \)
(from: \( \text{di-} + \text{pager} '\text{fence}' + -\text{ana} \))
'even if something is fenced'

c. first-person request construction
i) Type-One first-person request construction

Formula:

\[
\text{tv}_{\text{fpr}}^{\uparrow} = \text{tv}^{\uparrow}_{\text{md}} + \text{psvzr: \langle daky- \rangle + core: tvs_{\text{nsI}} + fpr: -\text{ne}} -\text{a}
\]
tive verb construction consists of an obligatory passivizer slot filled by dak-, followed by an obligatory core slot filled by a transitive verb stem or a Type-One noun stem, followed by an obligatory first-person request slot filled by -é or -ané or -né.

Examples:

(261) a. dak waqané
(from: dak- + waqa 'to read' + -é)
'Let me read (something)!' or 'What if I read (something)??'

b. dak wacanané
(from: dak- + waqa 'to read' + -ané)
'Let me keep reading (something)!' or 'What if I keep on reading (something)??'

c. dak waqakné
(from: dak- + waqa 'to read' + -né)
'Let me read (something for someone)!!'

d. dak sapuné
(from: dak- + sapu 'broom' + -é)
'Let me sweep (something)!!' or 'What if I sweep (something)??'

ii) Type-Two first-person request construction

Formula:

\[ \text{tvfpr} = \text{itvs} + \text{stvs} + \text{psvzr: } \text{<dak->} + \text{core: ajs advs} + \text{fpr: } -\text{ané} + \text{num: ns}^{II} \]

Statement:

A Type-Two first-person request transitive verb construction consists of an obligatory passivizer slot filled by dak-, followed by an obligatory core slot filled by an intransitive verb stem or a semi-transitive verb stem or an adjective stem or an adverb stem or a numeral stem or a Type-Two noun stem, followed by an obligatory first-person request slot filled by -ané or -né.

Examples:

(262) a. dak apišané
(from: dak- + apik 'good' + -ané)
'Let me be on good terms (with someone)!!' or 'What if I am on good terms (with someone)??'

b. dak gedēkènè
(from: dak- + gedé 'great' + -né)
'Let me make it greater!!' or 'What if I make it greater??'

c. dak ngonokné
(from: dak- + ngono 'that way' + -né)
'Let me treat it that way!!' or 'What if I treat it that way??'

d. dak pagerané
(from: dak- + pager 'fence' + -é)
'Let me fence something (normally: a piece of land)!!' or 'What if I fence something (normally: a piece of land)??'

It has been implied in the previous section (6.3) that Type-One constructions, in particular the indicative constructions, are relatively regular in the sense that more substantial generalization can be made, and hence the formulas proposed in this study can be applied to almost every member of the transitive verb stem or Type-One noun stem group. Type-Two constructions, however, are less uniform. As shown in (255), largely due to semantic constraint, a fair number of word stems can only be attached to either the suffix -é or the suffix -akè, but never both. It is likely that this semantic constraint also applies to some of the suffixes, in particular the prefix ke- and the suffix -akè with Type-Two word stems. With the transitive verb stem turu 'to sleep', for example, we might have the constructions diturokakè 'to be put on bed', dak turokakè 'to be put to bed by me' or 'I put someone (normally: a child) to bed', kok turokakè 'to be put to bed by you' or 'you put someone (normally: a child) to bed', but never 'keturokakè. Next, on the part of the investigator, it was hard to find or to think of the occurrence of the prefixes ka- and ke- in mood constructions, and hence they are not mentioned in the mood construction formulas.

6.5 Summary of affixation

To conclude, the tagmemic functions and
the tagmemic forms of Ngoko-Javanese transitive verbs at the word-level construction are put in a diagram on the following page. The Roman numeral I before the example denotes a member of Type-One construction, whereas the Roman numeral II denotes a member of Type-Two construction. The constructions of which tagmemic functions are open to doubt are excluded.

* * *

Footnotes:

1. In this ngoko clause construction the krama verb form maos 'to read' occurs in conjunction with the krama pronoun panjenengan 'you'. In Javanese it is possible to use krama word stem in a ngoko construction to show respect.

2. It is also possible to say Bukuné durung di-
   waos panjenengan 'The book has not been read by you.' or 'You have not read the book.', but less common.

3. The construction nyatusaké, which is rarely used, might alternate with nyatusi or nyatus. The construction nyèwu 'to commemorate the one-thousandth day of the death of somebody' (65) behaves in the same way as nyatus.

4. Figurative meaning: 'even if someone brings someone else (normally a child) up'.

5. Figurative meaning: 'even if someone is brought up'.

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### Summary of affixation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tagmemic Function</th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
<th>Mood</th>
<th>First-person Request</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>active</td>
<td>active</td>
<td>active</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zero suffix</td>
<td>I. n-jupuk 'to take'</td>
<td>I. n-jupuk-a 'Take!'</td>
<td>I. m-aca-a 'even if someone reads'</td>
<td>I. dak-waca-né 'Let me read it!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I. di-jupuk 'to be taken'</td>
<td>I. di-jupuk-en '(Let it) be taken!'</td>
<td>I. di-waca-a 'even if it is read'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suffix -i</td>
<td>I. n-jupuk-i 'to keep on taking'</td>
<td>I. di-jupuk-i 'to be taken repeatedly'</td>
<td>I. di-waca-nana 'even if something is repeatedly read'</td>
<td>I. dak-waca-nané 'Let me read it repeatedly!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II. ng-apist-i 'to be on good terms with'</td>
<td>II. di-apik-i 'to be treated in a good way'</td>
<td>II. ng-apik-ana 'even if someone is on good terms with someone else'</td>
<td>II. dak-apik-ané 'Let me be on good terms (with someone)!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II. ng-enté-nana 'Wait!'</td>
<td>II. enté-nana '(Let someone or something be waited for!)'</td>
<td>II. di-apik-ana 'even if someone is treated in a good way'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suffix -aké</td>
<td>I. n-jupuk-aké 'to take (something for someone)'</td>
<td>I. di-jupuk-aké 'to be taken (for someone)'</td>
<td>I. maca-kna 'even if someone reads something (for someone else)'</td>
<td>I. dak-waca-aké 'Let me read it (for someone)!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II. ng-apist-aké 'to make (something) better'</td>
<td>II. di-apik-aké 'to be made better'</td>
<td>II. ng-gedhe-ka 'even if someone makes someone else or something greater'</td>
<td>II. dak-apist-aké 'Make (something) better!'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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