PROGRAM BOOK

ISLOJ 8

THE 8TH INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON THE LANGUAGES OF JAVA

&

ISMIL 24

THE 24TH INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON MALAY / INDONESIAN LINGUISTICS

ISLOJ8 / ISMIL24
Joint Online Meeting Program

Day 1: 20 May 2021

Venue: Online - Zoom

UTC	Malang	
07:30-08:00	14:30-15:00	***Heritage Language as an Ethnic Identity Marker in Multicultural and Multilingual Indonesia*** **Evynurul Laily Zen**
08:00-08:30	15:00-15:30	***What Languages are People Shifting to? The 2010 Census, and Moving Beyond Representations to Linguistic Practices*** **Karl Anderbeck, Yanti & Tessa Yuditha**
08:30-09:00	15:30-16:00	***What can We Learn from Comparing the Sociolinguistic Patterns and Settings of BISINDO and Malay?*** **Nicholas Barrie Palfreyman**
09:30-10:00	16:30-17:00	***Multimodal Language use in Indonesian: Recurrent Gestures Associated with Negativity*** **Poppy Siahaan**
10:00-10:30	17:00-17:30	***Verbal Reduplication and Its Restrictions in Bahasa Balinese*** **Hande Sevgi** **Wei-Fang Hsieh**

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UTC	Malang	
10:30-11:00	17:30-18:00	***Clitic Doubling in Sumbawa Bare Passives and Its Relevance to Balinese*** **Hiroki Nomoto**
11:30-12:00	18:30-19:00	***PPs in Javanese Applicatives*** **Jozina Vander Klok**
12:00-12:30	19:00-19:30	***Argument Possibilities in the Object Voice in East Javanese Indonesian*** **Austin Kraft**
12:30-13:00	19:30-20:00	***Possession and Passivity in Balinese: ma- in the Middle*** **Tamisha L. Tan**
13:00-14:00	20:00-21:00	**KEYNOTE:** ***Typological Perspectives on the Nasal Prefix*** **Carly Sommerlot**

ISLOJ8 / ISMIL24
Joint Online Meeting Program

Day 2: 21 May 2021

Venue: Online - Zoom

UTC	Malang	
04:00-04:30	11:00-11:30	***Understanding Madurese Sluicing and What [it is not]*** **Saurov Syed** **John Middleton**
04:30-05:00	11:30-12:00	***The Analysis of English and Indonesian Emotion lexicons: a Comparative Study*** **Yosephine Susanto** **Ng Bee Chin**
05:00-05:30	12:00-12:30	***Madurese Reflexive Pronouns in Subject Position: neither Logophors nor Anaphors*** **Saurov Syed** **John Middleton**
05:30-06:00	12:30-13:00	***Enacted Dialogue in Conversations in Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian*** **Asako Shiohara** **Yanti** **Hiroki Nomoto**
06:30-07:00	13:30:14:00	***On the History of Malayic Applicatives*** **Alexander Adelaar**

ISLOJ8 / ISMIL24
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UTC	Malang	
07:00-07:30	14:00-14:30	***A study in Productivity of Indonesian Causative -per and -kan*** **Gede Rajeg** **Karlina Denistia**
07:30-08:00	14:30-15:00	***Liep-Liep Lipi Gadang, Kutal-Kutil Ikut Celeng: Reduplication in Balinese Proverbs from the Perspectives of Types*** **Radha Andhra Swari**
08:00-08:30	15:00-15:30	***Verbal Morphology in Indonesian - A Matter of Voice?*** **Dominik Besier**
09:00-09:30	16:00-16:30	***Wartime Linguistics in East Java*** **Nurenzia Yannuar** **Tom Hoogervorst**
09:30-10:00	16:30-17:00	***Reconstructing *-rC- sequences in Proto-Malayic*** **Jiang Wu**

ISLOJ8 / ISMIL24
Joint Online Meeting Program

Day 2: 21 May 2021

Venue: Online - Zoom

UTC	Malang	
10:00-10:30	17:00-17:30	***Exploring Sociolinguistic Variation: Metaphor Comprehension in Malayic*** **David Gil** **Jad Kadan** **Santi Kurniati** **Fadlul Rahman** **Tessa Yuditha** **Yeshayahu Shen**
10:30-11:00	17:30-18:00	***Reduplication in Riau Indonesian: Etic and Emic Approaches*** **David Gil**

ISLOJ8 / ISMIL24
Joint Online Meeting Program

Day 3: 22 May 2021

Venue: Online - Zoom

UTC	Malang	
01:00-01:30	08:00-08:30	***Grammaticalized Hortatives in Indonesian*** **Marielle Moraine Butters**
01:30-02:00	08:30-09:00	***The Cognitive Processing of Balinese Desiderative Verbs*** **Ari Natarina**
02:00-02:30	09:00-09:30	***'Not yet' as a Negative Polarity Expression in Sundanese*** **Marielle Moraine Butters**
02:30-03:00	09:30-10:00	***The Distribution of Yes/No Particles in Madurese*** **Karen McNairney** **Saurov Syed**
03:30-04:00	10:30-11:00	***Multiple Auxiliaries and v-to-T Movement in Madurese*** **Amelia Scharting** **Saurov Syed**

ISLOJ8 / ISMIL24
Joint Online Meeting Program

Day 3: 22 May 2021

Venue: Online - Zoom

UTC	Malang	
04:00-04:30	11:00-11:30	***On the Origin of Javanese Negators*** **Alexander Adelaar**
04:30-05:00	11:30-12:00	***Agent Marking in -ter Passive Sentence in Indonesian*** **Yuta Sakon**
05:00-05:30	12:00-12:30	***Does Speaking Javanese Make You Feel Less Emotion?: The Categorization and Dimensional Ratings of Indonesian Emotion Lexicon*** **Yosephine Susanto** **Ng Bee Chin**
06:00-06:30	13:00-13:30	***Addressing Terms, Kinship Terms, and Pronouns in Javanese*** **Yoshimi Miyake**
06:30-07:30	13:30-14:30	**KEYNOTE:** ***Bare Pronoun Agents Tak and Kok: Clitics or Affixes?*** **Ika Nurhayani**

ABSTRACTS

Heritage Language as an Ethnic Identity Marker in Multicultural and Multilingual Indonesia

Evynurul Laily Zen

In diverse, multicultural societies, heritage languages (HLs) serve as an important means of indexing ethnic group membership (Mu, 2015). However, in the context of multilingual Indonesia, the rise of a pan-Indonesian national identity after independence in 1945 and the rising global and regional significance of English have weakened the role of HLs in Indonesia's various ethnolinguistic communities. In defining an HL, I follow Fishman (2001) who takes the view that HL can broadly be immigrant, colonial or indigenous languages in which Javanese, the language under my investigation, fits into the last category.

Focusing on the case of Javanese, which is associated with the largest ethnic group in Indonesia, my study examines the role of Javanese as an ethnic marker and its interplay with factors such as ethnic self-identification, HL proficiency, and HL usage frequency. Prior studies on the dynamic relationship between HL and the construction of ethnic identity have primarily focused on western immigrant settings (see Kim & Chao, 2010; Geerlings & Verkuyten, 2015; Farr, Blenkiron, Harris, & Smith, 2018). Yet, little is known about how this relationship is represented in a given HL's territory; that is generally how Javanese is valued among the Javanese ethnic group in the Javanese speaking province. While the sociolinguistic analysis of Javanese has been extensive: for example, Krauße (2018) on the politeness markers in Surabayan Javanese, Setiawan (2001) on the language shift in Indonesian-Javanese bilingual community in Surabaya, Setiawan (2013) on children's proficiency and attitudes toward Javanese, and Nurani (2015) on the changing attitudes among Javanese speakers in Yogyakarta, my study differs in its objectives with parental attitude and belief about Javanese and identity construction being highlighted. It also expands Nurani's (2015) study with respect to data elicitation procedures as well as regional settings.

The data were collected via parental surveys and Javanese proficiency measurements of over 183 primary school children in five sub-regions of East Java, Indonesia. The findings indicate that the Javanese language is still highly valued as an ethnic marker and that Javanese

people continue to view maintenance of the language as central to their identity construction.

However, inconsistencies are identified between attitudes and practices, with use of Javanese as a home language decreasing, and children's production of Javanese showing extensive influence from Indonesian, the national language. Taken together, these findings suggest that positive attitudes regarding the significance of Javanese as an ethnic identity marker as well as the apparent ethnolinguistic vitality of Javanese is not necessarily translated into intergenerational transmission. The results of this study advance our understanding of the dynamic nature of the relationship between HLs and ethnic identity in Indonesia and help us predict the future trajectory of multilingualism as well as the changing face of ethnic languages in this country.

Selected references:

Farr, J., Blenkiron, L., Harris, R., & Smith, J. A. (2018). "It's my language, my culture, and it's personal!" Migrant mothers' experience of language use and identity change in their relationship with their children: An interpretative phenomenological analysis. Journal of Family Issues, 39(11), 3029–3054. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X18764542

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Setiawan, S. (2001). *Language shift in a bilingual community: The case of Javanese in Surabaya, East Java*. The University of Auckland (Master's thesis)

Setiawan, S. (2013). *Children's language in a bilingual community in East Java*. University of Western Australia (PhD dissertation)

What Languages are People Shifting to? The 2010 Census, and Moving Beyond Representations to Linguistic Practices

Karl Anderbeck, SIL LEAD Asia
Yanti, UNIKA Atma Jaya
Tessa Yuditha, Yayasan Suluh Insan Lestari

Indonesia is home to hundreds of ethnolinguistic groups. How do these groups communicate to each other? Historically, some languages have been chosen by default as a way of facilitating communication between groups, and the most prominent of these are Malay-related. The inventory of languages of wider communication (LWCs) is not static; the prominence of each language depends on the daily choices of the ethnic groups involved. Some languages may lose their status as LWC and retain a function solely as ethnic language (as is happening with Malay in West Kalimantan), while others may grow in prominence.

The 2010 Indonesian census (Badan Pusat Statistik 2012) asked respondents to identify the (single) language they speak on a daily basis. Not surprisingly, most identified their heritage language, while some identified other languages. From these data we cannot directly count how many people use LWCs as their second (or third) language. (The exception is Indonesian (*Bahasa Indonesia*), because the census contains a separate yes/no question, "Can you speak Indonesian?".) However, what we can learn from the census data is how many people from various ethnicities report speaking an LWC (Indonesian, Manado Malay, etc.) as their daily language instead of their heritage language.

This paper details the major LWCs of Sumatra and Sulawesi as revealed by the census including Indonesian. After presenting total first-language speaker populations and speaker populations per ethnic group, the paper attempts to explain the major differences in the relationship between regional LWCs and Indonesian in different regions. For example, why is Indonesian as daily language extremely common in North Sumatra but equally uncommon in South Sumatra?

Our findings include the unsurprising fact that Indonesian is the country's most significant LWC. We also find that In some regions, the Malay-related LWC is labeled/represented as *Bahasa Indonesia* (like in North Sumatra). In other regions, the Malay-related LWC is represented as a different language (like in South Sumatra, where it is called *Baso Plembang*). Understanding this situation is aided by insights from language ecology, specifically Calvet's (2006: 6) distinction between linguistic practices and linguistic representations.

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What Can We Learn from Comparing the Sociolinguistic Patterns and Settings of BISINDO and Malay

Nick Palfreyman, iSLanDS Institute
University of Central Lancashire

Isolects of BISINDO (Indonesian Sign Language) and Malay exhibit obvious differences. BISINDO is considerably younger than Malay, and uses the visual-gestural modality. Malay, on the other hand, is much older and uses the vocal-oral modality (though the composite utterances of its speakers may of course make use of co-speech gesture and other communicative strategies).

However, Malay and BISINDO have several elements in common, such as their use across the Indonesian archipelago, often written about as urban varieties; their colloquial, non standardised, and largely non-written status; and a tendency to converge and diverge intra regionally in complex ways. In particular, as I become ever more familiar with these languages, it feels that Malay and BISINDO have more in common in some ways than, for example, English and Malay, or BISINDO-BSL (British Sign Language). Why might that be, and how could this enquiry be furthered?

In this presentation, I venture (oh so tentatively) into the realms of cross-modal sociolinguistic typology, and consider three questions:

1. which grammatical and social domains should/could we consider?
2. how might we seek to quantify variation within and between BISINDO and Malay?
3. which sociolinguistic parameters should we be looking at if we are to explain cross modal similarities and differences?

The central aim of this cross-modal reflection is to shine a light not only on BISINDO, but to create fresh perspectives on Malay, and perhaps explore familiar issues in a new way.

Multimodal Language Use in Indonesian: Recurrent Gestures Associated with Negativity

Poppy Siahaan

When we speak, we quite often gesticulate. Gestures are essential in understanding meaning in communication with other people. However, gestures have long been neglected and only considered as part of linguistic analysis over the past two decades (Müller et al. 2013). Gestures accompanying linguistic utterances, co-speech gestures, are an integral part of language, because they carry meaning semantically, syntactically and pragmatically (Özyürek 2012) and seen together with speech as parts of "composite utterance" (Enfield 2013). Gestures are often used "in alternation with speech, as well as in conjunction with it" (Kendon 2004: 3), yet they are not "redundant" (McNeill 2008: 22).

Little is known about multimodal language use in Indonesian. In the present study we use ELAN (2020) to investigate recurrent gestures (Ladewig 2011, 2014) associated with negativity (Harrison 2010; Inbar and Shor 2019) used in talk shows. We find three of the four members of the Away family (Bressem and Müller 2014; Bressem et al. 2017), namely sweep away, hold away and brush away. These recurrent gestures are used to express refusal, rejection and negative assessment. Furthermore, we also identify two gestures whose forms resemble the signs in Indonesian sign language TIDAK:2 (Palfreyman 2017) and PALM UP (Palfreyman 2019: 199), the latter similar to the PL gestures, "Open Hand Supine with lateral movement" (Kendon 2004: 275–281). Apart from manual gestures, we find lateral headshake too.

The brush away gesture is deployed by the speaker's "lax flat hand, with a palm oriented towards the speaker's body, is moved outwards in a rapid twist of the wrist" (Bressem and Müller 2014: 1598). An utterance with the brush away gesture is shown in (1).

(1) brush away

Penyelundupan ada dua saya lihat. Penyelundupan yang eh... informal, yang kultural, yang biasa terjadi… dengan penyelundupan formal. |~~~~**********-.-.-.|

'I see (that) there are two (kinds of) smuggling. The smuggling that is uh ... informal, cultural, which usually happens… and the formal smuggling.'

Negativity is not overtly stated in the linguistic utterance but expressed by the brush away gesture. The brush away gesture conveys the meaning of something that is not important and can therefore be neglected.

An utterance with the gesture similar to TIDAK:2 is shown in (2). A headshake is deployed synchronically with the stroke.

(2) TIDAK:2

Sehingga dokter mendiagnosa bahwa Anda menderita penyakit hati kronis dan usia Anda tidak akan lebih dari dua bulan.
|~~~~~~***-.-.-.-.-.-|

'So that the doctor diagnosed that you have a chronic liver disease and you would not live more than two months.'

The fact that the gesture in (2) resembles a sign used in Indonesian sign language makes it clear that we need to understand how spoken and sign languages make use of multimodal features of human communication. The paper contributes to a better understanding of cross linguistic gestures and draws attention to Cooperrider's claim that "gesture is unmistakably similar around the world while also being broadly diverse" (2020).

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Verbal Reduplication and its Restrictions in Bahasa Balinese

Hande Sevgi and Wei-Fang Hsieh

This paper examines the semantics of full reduplication of verbs and its restriction in Bahasa Balinese. We ask what it means for a reduplicated verb to denote pluractionality, and what the licensing condition is for verbal reduplication in Bahasa Balinese.

Previous studies (e.g., Arka and Dalrymple 2017) have shown that reduplication in Balinese marks plurality in the nominal domain, and pluractionality in the verbal domain. Lasersohn (1995) defines pluractionality as event plurality that may involve multiple participants, times, or locations. He points out that the variation in the meaning of pluractionality across different verbs could be attributed to the nature of the reduplicated event or context. This paper, assuming Vendler's (1957, 1967) classification of verbs into states, activities, achievements, and accomplishments, discusses what reading(s) (e.g., repetitive, durative, etc.) may be expressed by full reduplication of verbs of different types.

The current study finds that the aspectual properties of verbs play a role in determining whether a verb can be reduplicated or not. Crucially, state verbs and achievement verbs in general cannot undergo reduplication, as in (1) and (2), whereas accomplishment verbs and activity verbs may be reduplicated, as in (3) and (4).

(1) *Nyoman percaya~percaya Ayu. (state)
Nyoman believe~RED Ayu

(2) *Sisya seda~seda. (achievement)
Student die~ RED

(3) Nyoman ngae~ngae bunderan. (accomplishment)
Nyoman make~ RED circle
'Nyoman drew circles (repeatedly).'

(4) Arta ngelangi~langi. (activity)
Arta AV.swim~ RED
'Arta swims (repeatedly/habitual).

This pattern is interestingly in parallel with Landman's (1992) observation for progressive in English in that states and achievements cannot occur in progressive (e.g., a state verb *believe* cannot be in progressive as in **John is believing Mary*). Following Landman's account for the progressive in English, we propose that full reduplication of verbs in Bahasa Balinese are licensed when the events denoted by the verbs have stages; an event *e* is a stage of *e'* iff *e* is a part of *e'* and *e* can develop into *e'*.

On the one hand, activity and accomplishment verbs can be reduplicated to encode pluractionality because the events they denote have stages. On the other hand, reduplication of state and achievement verbs are not acceptable as the events they denote do not have stages. The event of a state verb is too long to have a stage, whereas the event of an achievement verb is punctual and too short to have a stage.

To conclude, we argue that in Bahasa Balinese the aspectual classes of verbs determine whether a verb can be reduplicated or not and what pluractional readings the reduplicated form may express.

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Clitic Doubling in Sumbawa Bare Passives and Its Relevance to Balinese

Hiroki Nomoto

Balinese *-a* passive construction as in (1) is thought to have developed from another construction which is variously called such as 'Ø-construction' (Artawa 1998), 'bare verb construction' (Artawa 2013), 'object voice' (Arka 2003, 2008) and 'bare passive' (Nomoto 2018), in which the agent occurs post-adjacent to a bare verb stem.

(1) Nasi-ne ajeng-**a** [teken anak-e ento].
rice-DEF eat-A by person-DEF that
'That person ate the rice.' (Artawa 1998: 10)

Nomoto (2018) proposes that the development of the *-a* passive involved a stage where the agent clitic *=a* (3SG) was doubled by a *teken* 'by' PP. His argument is supported by the fact that *di-* passives in Malay also underwnet a clitic doubling stage in the past. This paper provides further support for Nomoto's claim by pointing out that clitic doubling in the bare passive is also observed in Sumbawa (the Sumbawa Besar dialect), a close relative of Balinese.

(2) shows a type of transitive clause called 'basic construction' by Shiohara (2013). This construction can be considered the Sumbawa counterpart of Balinese bare passives because the verb must be bare.

(2) ka=**ku**=inóm kawa=nan [PP ling aku].
PST=1SG=drink coffee=that by 1SG
'I drank the coffee.' (Shiohara 2013: 148)

Shiohara does not explicitly state what relation holds between the agent clitic *ku=* (1SG) and the *ling* 'by' PP. I argue that clitic doubling is involved here. Specifically, the agent clitic *ku=* is doubled by the *ling* PP, paralleling Balinese *=a* doubled by a *teken* PP. Thus, Sumbawa bare passives instantiate a developmental stage hypothesized for Balinese by Nomoto (2018).

Recently, Kaufman (2017) proposed a different analysis of Sumbawa bare passives. (3) shows Kaufman's rendering of (2). In his analysis, *ling* is an ergative case marker and the first-person *ku-* on the verb is an agreement marker agreeing with the ergative DP.

(3) ka=ku-inóm kawa=nan [DP **ling aku**].
PST=Agr.1SG-drink coffee=that ERG 1SG
'I drank the coffee.' (adapted from Kaufman 2017, citing Shiohara 2013)

Kaufman (2017: n. 38) rejects Shiohara's analysis of *ling* as a preposition because it "seems obligatory on external arguments of transitive verbs." However, it is actually not obligatory. (4) is a transitive clause but lacks a *ling* phrase. The clitic is not obligatory either, as shown in (5).

(4) ka mò suda ku=tuja' padé=ta.
PST MOD finish 1SG=polish rice=this
'I have pounded the rice.' (Shiohara 2013: 150)

(5) a. ka=ya=inóm kawa=nan ling nya Amin.
PST=3SG=drink coffee=that by Mr. Amin
'Amin drank the coffee.' (Shiohara 2016: 259)

b. ka=**Ø**=bèang lamóng=nan lakó tódé =ta ling ina'.
PST=3SG=give clothes=that to child=this by mother
'The mother gave this child the clothes.' (adapted from Shiohara 2013: 153)

This kind of distribution is typical of clitic doubling, but not agreement. Hence, Kaufman's analysis is untenable.

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PPs in Javanese Applicatives

Jozina Vander Klok

Applicative constructions are prototypically defined as a verbal derivational process that introduces a former adjunct that has a peripheral thematic role as a core argument, indicated by overt morphology (e.g., Alsina & Mchombo 1990; Bresnan & Moshi 1993; Peterson 2001). Javanese has two applicative constructions, which are in complementary distribution based on the thematic role of the applied argument they introduce: *-(n)i* introduces locatives or recipient /goals, and *-ake/-ke/-no/-nang/*etc.[1] introduces benefactives or displaced themes (Suhandono 1994; Sofwan 2010; Nurhayani 2014). (I put aside the causative function of these suffixes; cf. Hemmings 2013 as well as the 'iterative' function of *-(n)i*; cf. Suhandono 1994.) The applied argument can immediately follow the verb as an NP, as in (1b) and (3b), while without applicative morphology, the same thematic role must be a PP, following the core object, (1a) and (3a). At the same time, the applicative morphology in Javanese unexpectedly does not require the applied argument to be an NP argument, but can remain a PP, for both types of applicatives, (1c) and (3c). Previously, this alternation was only reported for the benefactive applicative (e.g., Sofwan 2010), providing new insight on locative applicatives. Hence, three structures co-exist across the two applicative constructions:

A. Verb + NP + $PP_{[benefactive/locative]}$

B. Verb-applicative + $NP_{[benefactive/locative]}$ + NP

C. Verb-applicative + NP + $PP_{[benefactive/locative]}$

The main goal of this paper is to investigate why the language has the non-canonical applicative structure in [C] alongside the non-applicative structure in [A]. I first present data concerning syntactic accessibility that shows the relevance of [C]. Second, I present data on ellipsis to illustrate that the contribution of applicative morphology is to introduce a benefactive or locative as selected for by the predicate, irrespective of whether the applied phrase is realized as an NP argument or PP adjunct (vs. a PP oblique in [A]; not selected for by the predicate).

Syntactic accessibility. First, the applicative structures in [B] and [C] have different predictions for passivization: either the applied NP argument in [B] or the base NP argument in [C] are predicted to be able to passivize. This is borne out for the benefactive applicative in (2), supporting the argument that both structures are necessary for syntactic accessibility. Interestingly, only the applied argument can passivize with the locative applicative, (4). These results are also replicated with relativization. Since the passivization of a theme argument is grammatical with benefactive applicatives, this result suggests that theme passivization is blocked with locative applicatives.

Ellipsis. The applicative morphology in Javanese has two main functions: increasing the transitivity of the predicate, and providing information about the semantic role that they introduce. Given these functions, both the applied phrase and the base argument are often elided, especially when their referents can be identified based on the discourse structure (Ewing 2005). If the applied phrase is overtly mentioned in a PP structure, the preposition type serves to reinforce type of semantic role that is introduced (e.g., *kanggo* 'for' for benefactives'; *neng* 'to' for locatives) (cf. Ewing 2005:112-116), indicating a need for the structure in [C].

Put together, the syntactic accessibility and ellipsis data suggest that structures [B] and [C] co exist alongside [A] to allow for syntactic processes like passivization of different arguments while still indicating the increased transitivity of the predicate. Further tests to distinguish a PP adjunct in a non-applicative structure in [A] vs. a PP oblique in the applicative structure in [C] will be explored in the talk.

[1] These different forms are dialectal variants, but have different historical sources (Adelaar 2011).

PPs in Javanese applicatives

(1) a. Nunung nules *surat* *(gawe) Duriati.
Nunung AV.write letter for Duriati
'Nunung wrote a letter for Duriati.'

b. Nunung nules-**no** Duriati *surat*.
Nunung AV.write-**APPL** Duriati letter
'Nunung wrote a letter for Duriati.'

c. Nunung nules-**no** *surat* gawe Duriati.
Nunung AV.write-**APPL** letter use Duriati
'Nunung wrote a letter for Duriati.'

(2) a. Duriati di-tules-**no** Nunung surat. [✓**APPL OBJ**]
Duriati PASS-write-**APPL**Nunung letter
'Duriati was written a letter (for) by Nunung.'

b. Surat iku di-tules-**no** Nunung *(gawe) Duriati. [✓**BASE OBJ**]
letter DEM PASS-write-**APPL**Nunung for Duriati
'That letter was written by Nunung for Duriati.'

(3) a. Wanan nules *surat* *(neng) Zumaroh.
Wanan AV.write letter at Zumarah
'Wanan wrote a letter to Zumaroh.'

b. Wanan nules-**I** (*neng) Zumaroh *surat*.

Wanan AV.write-**APPL** at Zumarah letter

'Wanan wrote Zumaroh a letter.'

c. Wanan nules-**i** *surat* neng Zumaroh.

Wanan AV.write-**APPL** letter at Zumarah

'Wanan wrote a letter to Zumaroh.'

(4) a. Zumaroh di-tules-i Wanan *surat*. [✓**APPL OBJ**]

Zumaroh PASS-write-**APPL**Wanan letter

'Zumaroh was sent letters by Wanan.'

b. * *surat-surat* di-tules-**i** Wanan *(neng) Zumaroh. [* **BASE OBJ**]

RED-letter PASS-write-**APPL**Wanan to Zumaroh

('Letters were written by Wanan to Zumaroh.')

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Argument Possibilities in the Object Voice in East Javanese Indonesian

Austin Kraft

Introduction. Indonesian is recognized to have three morphosyntactic voice configurations: active,

marked by the verbal prefix *meN-*; passive, marked by *di-*; and object, also called passive type two or bare
passive, with a null prefix (Sneddon 1996; Cole, Hermon & Yanti 2008). Arka & Manning (1998), Sneddon (1996), and many others have noted that the agent in a Standard Indonesian object-voice construction such as (1a) must be a pronoun that follows the auxiliary. Sentences like (1b), with inverted agent-auxiliary order, are more contentious in status, with classification ranging from active-voice topicalization (Musgrave 2001) to object voice (Chung 1976) to ungrammatical (Arka & Manning 1998).

(1) a.Buku itu bisa kamu baca b. Buku itu kamu bisa baca
book DEM can 2.SG read book DEM 2.SG can read
"You can read that book" "You can read that book"

With new data from native speakers of Indonesian near Malang, East Java, we present a variety of Indonesian in which the object voice appears more flexible in its morphosyntax than that ascribed to the Standard Indonesian object voice. We argue that (i) the auxiliary-agent word-order restriction is a necessary but not sufficient condition for this variety's object voice, and (ii) the acceptability of an object- voice agent argument depends not on a categorical (non-)pronoun status but rather on prosody.

Data. We identify two axes of flexibility in this object voice. First, speakers accept (1a) and (1b): either permutation of a pronoun agent and an auxiliary. Second, speakers accept all sentences in (2), in which the agent is a full DP. Our analyses find that (1b), (2a), and (2b) are not object-voice sentences but active- voice sentences subject to information-structural operations. Crucially, though, (2c) is the object voice.

(2) a. Buku itu sudah perempuan tersebut beli
book DEM PRF girl DEM buy
"That girl has bought that book"

b. Buku itu perempuan tersebut sudah beli
book DEM girl DEM PRF buy
"That girl has bought that book"

c. Sebuah buku akan guru-ku/adik-ku beli
CL book will teacher-1.SG/younger.sibling-1.SG buy
"My teacher/younger sibling will buy a book"

Analysis. While (2a) has the constituent order of an object-voice sentence like (1a), we find that (2a) degrades when the theme is indefinite, as in (3). Sensitivity to definiteness is a hallmark of topicalized DPs (Gundel & Fretheim 2004), pointing to (2a) being an active-voice sentence with a topicalized theme.

(3) ?Sebuah buku sudah perempuan tersebut beli
CL book PRF girl DEM buy
"A book, that girl has bought"

Other diagnostics of control constructions (Chung 1976) and prosodic manipulation (Musgrave 2001) corroborate the claim that (1b), (2a), and (2b) are active-voice instances of topicalization. We derive (2a) as a dual instance of auxiliary fronting (to Focus projection) and theme topicalization, a pair of operations previously observed by Fortin (2009) in non-declarative sentences. Nevertheless, (2c) - already containing an indefinite theme - resists active-voice classification. Further, judgments degrade when the clitic *-ku* in (2c) is replaced by its full-word counterpart *saya*. Instead of a restriction against non-pronoun agents, we propose a more gradient approach to object-voice agents: the agent and verb must constitute a sufficiently small phonological domain. Our account recalls phonologically based distributions of object-voice agents also observed in Balinese (Arka 2003) and Acehnese (Legate 2014).

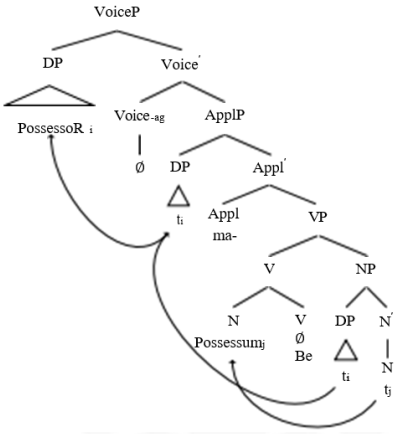
Implications. Our project enriches Nomoto's (2020) implicational hierarchy of object-voice agents with a variety that may be in transition along this typology via contact with the Javanese language, particularly given Javanese's greater flexibility in permissible object-voice agent DPs (Davies 1999). The observed prosodic sensitivity also lends itself to novel comparisons with N-bonding in Malagasy (Travis 2005). In the vein of Cole, Hermon & Yanti (2008), this study continues the program of mapping how the rich interplay among Indonesia's languages shapes each variety's grammatical restrictions and possibilities.

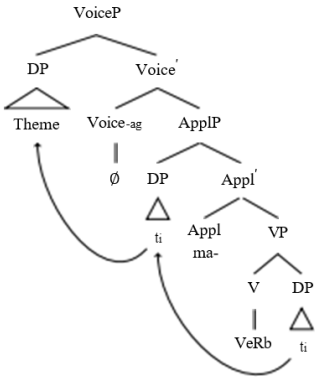
Possession and Passivity in Balinese: ma- in the Middle

Tamisha L. Tan

1. Overview While the voice system of Balinese has been extensively studied with respect to Actor and Object Voice (Legate 2014; Levin 2014; Erlewine et al. 2017), the apparent 'Middle Voice' in ma- remains largely unaddressed. One puzzle is ma-'s diverse functions as a marker of intransitivity, possession, stativity, reciprocity, and reflexivity, rendering a cohesive structural account elusive. In particular, ma- produces an inalienable possesion reading when attached to nominal stems (1a), but a mediopassive reading when attached to verbal stems (1b). This work unifies these two functions by arguing that ma- heads an athematic raising applicative (Georgala 2012) beneath a non-agentive VoiceP. Differences between (1a) and (b) arise from whether i) the applicativised verb is a silent copula or overt lexical verb, and ii) the DP that raises into Spec, ApplP for licensing bears a PossessoR or Theme θ-role. Balinese thus provides novel cross-linguistic support for a raising analysis of external possession in which θ-role assignment and argument licensing are distinct (Deal 2013, Nie 2019), and for the structural correlation between Middle voice morphology and non-Agent subjects.

2. Ma- + N The nouns which can undergo ma- prefixation are those in a part-whole or inalienable relation, e.g. body parts, clothing, and kinship terms. These are modifiable by numerals (1a), adjectives (2a), and hyponyms (2b), but cannot take possessors or definite/demonstrative marking (2c). Crucially, strict adjacency is required between ma- and the noun, displacing canonically pre-N modifiers like numerals (*ma-dua batis 'have two legs'). These restrictions follow from an external possession analysis whose structure is as follows. As proposed by Myler (2016) for predicative be-appl possession in Quechua, I argue that ma- + N involves have from applicativisation of a null copula be. Noun Incorporation (NI) of the possessum into the copula results in modifier stranding and strict adjacency. Since inalienable NPs lack both a PossP and DP layer capable of licensing the possessor argument (Alexiadou 2003, Ritter & Rosen 2011), the possessor must raise to Spec, ApplP for licensing; this absence also accounts for the unavailability of demonstrative or definite marking on the noun − having already first-merged a Possessor, additional possession is similarly blocked (2c). The possessum then raises again to become the construction pivot, but does not receive additional θ-roles from the Spec of the non-agentive VoiceP or athematic ApplP, as in Nez Perce and Tagalog external possession (Deal 2013, Nie 2019). This accounts for the lack of an animacy/affectedness requirement on the possessor (2a). Furthermore, the possessum must be syntactically active prior to NI given its ability to launch float of canonically post-N quantifiers (3a) and head relative clauses of various voices (4a). Crucially, these RCs obey the same extraction restrictions as non-incorporated nouns (4b). These are not Pseudo-NI constructions; unlike PNI in Niuean (Massam 2001), Hindi (Dayal 2011), and Danish (Asudeh & Mikkelsen 2000), Balinese allows doubling (2b) and RC stranding (3b), but not incorporation of conjuncts (*ma-[capil lan baju] 'wear a hat and shirt.')





3. Ma- + V When ma- applicativises overt verbs, it produces constructions with stative/reflexive meaning. These are strictly intransitive and cannot introduce Agents, BeneficiaRies (5a), or reflexive anaphora (5b), even when self-directed. Udayana (2013) shows ma- constructions cannot control into purpose clauses or take agent-oriented adverbs, attesting to the absence of even an implicit/existentially bound Agent. Thus, the sole argument is always a Theme/Patient. I argue that these involve an

unaccusative-like structure, in which the Theme cannot be licensed in situ due to the absence of an agentive VoiceP. The complement of V thus raises into Spec, ApplP for licensing, serving as the construction's pivot without gaining additional θ-roles. As the semantic contexts for Middle Voice in Balinese and Indo-European (IE) are nearly identical, it follows that the proposed structure parallels Grestenberger's (2016) analysis of the IE mediopassive in which stative subjects originate in Spec, ApplP/as complements of V. Evidence that ma- subject starts off below VoiceP comes from asymmetries with further applicativisation – OV allows raising of either the beneficiary or theme (6a), but ma- only allows raising of the beneficiary argument (6b).

4. Data

(1) a. Siap-é ma-batis (barak) dua.
chicken-DEF MA-leg (red) two
'The chicken has two (red) legs.'

b. Jukut ma-adép.
vegetables MA-sell
'Vegetables (were) sold.'

(2) a. Umah tiang-é ma-bataran batu.
house 1SG-DEF MA-floor stone
'My house has stone floors.'

b. I Wayan ma-capil kupluk.
Wayan MA-hat beanie
'Wayan is wearing a beanie.'

c. I Made ma-dasi (*ento/*bapa-né).
Made MA-tie (DEM/father-DEF)
'Made wears a/(*that/*father's) tie.'

(3) a. Umah-né liu ma-kabang.
house-DEF many MA-spiderweb
'The house has many spiderwebs'
Unavailable: 'Many houses have a spiderweb.'

(4) a. Tiang ma-baju$_i$ [sané t_i jahit tiang.]
1SG MA-shirt REL OV.sew 1SG
'I wear a shirt that I sewed'

b. *Tiang ma-baju$_i$ [sané nyahit tiang t_i.]
1SG MA-shirt REL AV.sew 1SG
(Available reading: 'I wear a shirt that sewed me')

(5) a. Baju ento ma-adep (*teken Wayan).
shirt DEM MA-sell (by Wayan)
'The shirt was sold (*by/for Wayan).'

b. Ayu ma-payas (*awak-n-é).
Ayu MA-adorn (*self-POSS-DEF)
'Ayu dressed (*herself).'

(6) a. Ia (ma)-tegen-ang padi.
3SG (MA)-/OV.carry-APPL rice
'He was carried rice for.'

b. Padi (*ma)-tegen-ang ia.
rice (MA)-/OV.carry-APPL 3SG
'Rice was carried for him.'

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Understanding Madurese Sluicing, and What [it is not]

Saurov Syed & J. Middleton

Summary Ever since Ross (1969) initiated the debate on the underlying forms of *sluicing*, it has been a topic of great interest within research on *ellipsis*. *Sluicing* refers to the phenomenon of ellipsis of a TP, where everything except the wh-phrase of a clause is phonetically null but at the same time fully interpretable. This paper investigates sluicing in Madurese, and argues that (i) the sluicing structures in the language are generated by wh-movement and (ii) the underlying forms for these structures do not involve copula constructions. Given that Madurese exhibits optional wh-movement in questions, the claim put forward in the paper that wh-movement is the underlying form for all sluicing structures has several theoretical and typological implications – the most important being evidence of a language where although wh-phrase may or may not move while forming a question, the said wh-phrase must move in case of sluicing.

Sluicing in Madurese The challenge in understanding sluicing in a language is to find out what kind of underlying structure it has. This is often not easy as the same surface form of a sluice can potentially be derived from different underlying structures. Two such possible underlying structures can be: (i) movement of wh-phrase out of a clause (TP), followed by the deletion of the phonetic content of this TP (Ross 1969, Merchant 2001, Stjepanovic 2003 among others); and (ii) the underlying form is a copula construction, which then undergoes pro-drop and copula deletion (Kizu 1997, 2000, Hankamer 2010 for Turkish, Shimoyama 1995 for Japanese, Gribanova 2013 for Uzbek). For illustration, a classic example of English sluicing *John bought something, but he doesn't know what* could potentially have two derivations: In a **'wh-movement+deletion'** approach the derivation would look like: *John bought something, but he doesn't know what*$_i$ ~~*[he bought* t_i*]*~~. If the underlying form is **'pro-drop+copula deletion'** instead, then the derivation would look like: *John bought something, but he doesn't know what* ~~*[it is]*~~.

This paper argues what we see as Madurese sluicing on the surface is a result of the first kind, that involves wh-movement followed by TP-deletion. It is pertinent to note that although Madurese allows wh-movement in questions for subjects, adjuncts and indirect objects, there is no wh-movement of direct objects in question formation. That is, in questions, Madurese exhibits an optionality in wh-movement of subjects, adjuncts and indirect objects, but the status of direct objects is obligatorily in-situ. Sluicing structures, however, appear with both types of wh-phrases – the ones that are in-situ (e.g direct object) as well as the ones that show optional wh-movement (e.g adjunct, subject). An example of direct object sluicing is seen in (1), while adjunct sluicing is shown in (2). We argue that the best way to analyse both these examples is by the movement of the wh-phrase followed by TP-deletion. We suggest that the second way of deriving sluicing, namely a 'pro-drop + copula deletion' approach, is not feasible in Madurese. Madurese does not have a copula form, but instead has NP NP sentences, as well as *clefting* in the form of pseudoclefts (see (3) for an NP NP sentence, and (4) for a pseudocleft construction in the language). To create a sluicing-like construction at the

surface from these underlying structures in (3) and (4), the language would need pro-drop (for the NP NP clause) or CP-ellipsis (for the pseudo-cleft). Both of these constructions can be ruled out as potential underlying forms for Madurese sluicing by using several diagnostics such as implicit adjuncts (Merchant 2001), the predicational nature of pseudoclefts (Potsdam and Polinsky 2011), non-linguistic antecedents (Hankamer and Sag 1976) and prosody (Merchant 2001).

Consequences Recall that direct objects do not undergo wh-movement in questions – however, the paper argues that they do move in sluicing. This claim has an important consequence, namely it suggests that there are two types of wh-movement in the language: one for questions, and one for sluicing. The wh-movement for questions can be described as optional for subjects and adjuncts, and not applicable to direct objects. On the other hand, the wh-movement for sluicing is obligatory irrespective of the constituent status, be it subject, adjunct, or direct object.

(1) **Direct object sluice**
John mokol oreng, tape engko' lo' tao **sapa**.
John AV.hit someone but I not know **who**
John hit someone, but I don't know who.

(2) **Adjunct sluice**
Bapa' ngerem sorat tape engko' lo' tao **bila**.
father AV.send letter but I not know **when**
Father sent a letter, but I don't know when.

(3) **NP NP clause**
Sapa rowa?
who that
Who is it?

(4) **Pseudocleft clause**
Sapa se mokol Ali?
who REL AV.hit Ali
Who hit Ali?

The Analysis of English and Indonesian Emotion Lexicons: A Comparative Study

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Abstract

This study will investigate how English and Indonesian speakers use and evaluate emotion words. Following the framework of emotion identification system by Ng, Cui, and Cavallaro (2019), we compiled English and Indonesian emotion lexicon annotated with part-of-speech and valence. In this study, we will focus on analyzing the group of emotion words (665 English and 590 Indonesian words, excluding proverbs and idioms). This is culled from a larger emotion lexicon consisting of more than 8000 English and 6000 emotion terms. These are further categorized into three main groups based on Pavlenko's (2008) emotion classifications:

- emotion words: words which denote an emotion state (e.g. sad and happy) or a process (e.g. to worry and to rage) directly.
- emotion-laden words: words which describe human's behaviors in its relation to emotion (e.g. to scream and to cry).
- emotion-related words: words which can be used to evoke emotions from our interlocutors (e.g. divorce and stupid).

The emotion expressions investigated are the emotion words in the first group. We asked more than 2000 English speakers and 3000 Indonesian speakers to rate those emotion terms with respect to their categories (anger, happiness, disgust, sadness, etc.), intensity (low, neutral, high), and valence (positive, negative, neutral) using an online questionnaire. This dimensional approach provides an overall semantic space of emotion words in both languages.

English and Indonesian have more or less similar proportion of emotion categories in which the group of emotion words denoting happiness has the highest frequency in both English (21%) and Indonesian (26%) emotion lexicon. In contrast the group of contempt words only account for 2% of the emotion lexicon in both languages. The findings also show both similarities and contrast in the way the emotion semantic space is carved out in both English and Indonesian. While both languages share similarities in the frequency of positive emotion words such as "happiness" and the same dominance for high intensity and negative emotion words (up to 60%), they also exhibit clear differences. For negative emotions, such as disgust and fear, which are often perceived to have a negative valence in English, they were perceived as neutral in Indonesian. In contrast, emotions such as 'anger' is experienced more intensely by Indonesian speakers. Meanwhile, other emotions which belong to the same categories in both languages can have different semantic space. For example, the category of happiness is both positive emotions in English and Indonesian but it is rated higher in intensity

in Indonesian. The results of the questionnaire will also be analyzed by taking some sociolinguistic aspects, such as gender and age, into consideration. It will provide an in-depth discussion on how distinct English and Indonesians display their emotions.

Keywords: Indonesian emotion words, emotion categorization, dimensional ratings

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Madurese Reflexive Pronouns in Subject Positions: Neither Logophors nor Anaphors?

Saurov Syed & J. Middleton

Summary This paper argues that Madurese has a new category of reflexive pronoun, that seems to be neither an anaphor nor a logophor. This particular property is argued to be syntactic in nature, as it is seen only when the reflexive pronouns occur in the subject position of transitive verbs. This is interesting because Madurese, like other Austronesian languages, typically have logophors (cf. Polinsky and Potsdam 2013, for several general syntactic properties of Austronesian languages). It is often argued that logophors, in certain contexts, may lose the logophoric property and behave like anaphors (cf. Charnaval 2018). First, we show that reflexive pronouns, when in the subject position of transitive verbs, do not have logophoric properties. The natural implication is that in the absence of logophoric properties, they must be anaphors that are subject to Binding Principles (Chomsky 1986). We demonstrate that this implication does not hold, and that these pronouns do not obey such Binding Principles. This leads to the conclusion that these pronouns in the subject position are neither logophors nor anaphors. This opens up further research in terms of the best possible way to categorise these pronouns.

Data and Discussion Madurese has several politeness registers, of which the paper examines the low and medium, looking at first, second and third person (note that 3SG does not vary between politeness registers). Reflexive pronouns in the 1SG(M) and 2SG(L) always act logophorically, while 1SG(L) and 3SG reflexives act logophorically in non-subject positions. More specifically, the non-logophoric behaviour is observed in the subject position of transitive verbs. This strange distribution is illustrated in a table in (1). Some interesting properties of Madurese reflexive pronouns are highlighted below:

a) while a sentence like 'I love himself' is ungrammatical in English, the equivalent in Madurese is acceptable.

b) Furthermore, a sentence like the equivalent of English 'himself ate' is also grammatical in Madurese. Note that the 3SG reflexive is in the subject position of an *intransitive* verb (and not transitive).

c) However, a Madurese sentence equivalent to the English 'himself buys a car' is ungrammatical, as seen in (2) and (3). The crucial contrast to (b) is that now the verb is transitive, and the 3SG reflexive occupies the subject position of this *transitive* verb.

The status of 3SG reflexives Logophors, by definition, do not need a syntactically overt antecedent. This is true for Madurese 3SG reflexive pronouns unless they are the subject of a transitive sentence. In this subject-position, they seem to require an overt antecedent and the absence of this antecedent renders the sentence bad, as seen in the ungrammaticality of (2) and (3). This makes them similar to anaphors, and one will expect them to be subject to Principle A (Chomsky 1986) which states that anaphors must be bound in their Binding Domains (where Binding Domains are usually understood to be clauses). However, Madurese does not obey Principle A as the antecedent can clearly be outside the of clause where the reflexive is located (see 4). It can mean two things: (a) these reflexive pronouns in the subject position of a transitive verb is neither a logophor nor an anaphor, or (b) the Binding Domains are defined differently in Madurese. If it is (a), future research needs to focus on what the best way to

categorize these pronouns will be. If it is (b), then future research needs to categorically define what the Binding Domain is in the language.

(1) Table showing logophoric properties for reflexive pronouns.

	1SG(L)	1SG(M)	2SG(L)	3SG
Object	✓	✓	✓	✓
Subject Intransitive	✓	✓	✓	✓
Subject Transitive	*	✓	✓	*

Note: ✓ indicates logophoric properties, * indicates no logophoric properties

(2) ***Abetibiing** malleh montor.
Self buy car
Him/herself bought a car.

(3) *Kakeh$_i$ ngojja ce **abetibiing**$_k$ malleh montor
you say that self buy car
You said that himself bought a car.

(4) Imam$_i$ ngojja ce **abetibiing**$_i$ malleh montor
Imam say REL self buy car
Imam said that he himself bought a car

Enacted Dialogue in Conversations in Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian

Asako Shionara, Yanti, and Hiroki Nomoto

In conversations in colloquial Jakarta Indonesian (CJI hereafter), speakers often insert what we may call "enacted" dialogue, rather than report the speech as an objective narrator, to describe an interaction outside the conversation's setting. This study is a preliminary study to investigate the structural and functional aspects of this enacting practice. Excerpt (1) is cited from conversational data collected by the Jakarta Field Station and is a typical example of what we call "enacting" in this study. Here, the speaker is talking about how difficult it was to obtain a passport without a middleman by citing the dialogues that occurred in the scene.

(1) *The speaker is first to arrive at the bureau and receives a No. 1 tag, but is pulled aside again and again.*

gua	*bukaq*	*aya*	*pintuqnya,*	*gua*	*masuk.*
1SG	open	just	door-NYA	1SG	go.in

'*Pa,*	*ini*	*nomer*	*saya*	*ni,*	*Pa*'.
TRU.father	this	number	1SG	this	TRU.father

wah,	*uda*	*gitu...*	'*uda,*	*Mas,*	*kepotong*	*sholat*	*Jum'at*	*duluq*	*ya*?'
EXCL	PFCT	like.that	PFCT	EPIT	KE-cut	pray	Friday	before	yes

tungguq	*xxx. Yaa, gilaq.*
wait	xxx yes crazy

I just opened the door and entered. "Sir, this is my number. Sir." Oh, and then ... "that is enough for now, we need to have a break for the Friday prayer, okay?" I waited. That's crazy. (BTJ080807)

Conversations in this scene—in the single quotations in the excerpt—are presented without a quotative frame, such as a quotative predicate or quotative particle. CJI conversational data shows that the enacting strategy has been conventionalized and is frequently used by speakers to describe a scene outside the conversation's setting and this guarantees the correct interpretation of the frameless direct speech. A comparison between CJI and colloquial

Malaysian Malay (CMM) shows that CJI data include far more enacted dialogue than CMM. This shows that the preference of enacting dialogue is attributed to a preferred narrative structure among CJI speakers rather than a basic linguistic structure. Having said that, we might be able to consider that the preference may be one of the factors causing the relatively recent development of quotative frames, such as *kayak* ("like") or *gitu* ("like that") (Ginanjar 2016), as seen in excerpt (2) below. (Note that the word *gitu* in excerpt (1) above is not we call a quotative frame but an ordinary anaphoric adverb.)

(2)	"*dulu*	*gua*	*kayak*	*gini*	*kayak*	*gini*	*ama*	*anak*	*gua*"	*gitu*.
	before	1SG	like	this	like	this	with	child	1SG	like.that

(He said,) "in the past I did like this with my child."

In the presentation, pragmatic functions of enacted dialogue will also be investigated with examples of conversational data.

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On the History of Malayic applicatives

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Abstract

Indonesian has the applicatives affixes *-kan*, *-i* and *pər-*. In the literature they are often considered to have a long history, but there is plenty of evidence that in Malay and Javanese language history, *-akən (> ML *-kan*, JV *-(ʔ)aké*, *-(ʔ)akən*, OJV *-akən*) is a recent addition to their morphological inventory (Adelaar 1984, 1992, 2009). Moreover, the comparative evidence clearly indicates that it has replaced an earlier applicative suffix *-An. A survey of Malay varieties (and Javanese) clearly shows as much:

- -(a)kan is not there, and there is no applicative suffix (as in Mualang, an Ibanic language).
- -(a)kan is not there, but there is another applicative suffix: Iban -ka, Besemah –ke, Jakarta Malay (Betawi) –in.
- *-An is still there: Kendayan *-àtn*/*-an*, *ba-padàh* '1. to request; 2. to inform' -> *madàhàtn* 'to report (something); to denounce'; *nabàtn* 'to take away' -> *nabanan* 'to bring or take along (something)'.
  - *-An is still there but it is "snowed under" because of subsequent phonological changes, as seen in Bangka Malay, and more spectacularly, in Kerinci.
- Sometimes the urban/koine has -kan, but the regional vernaculars still have *-An: Minangkabau (compare Tamsin Medan [1980] with Moussay [1981]), Palembang Malay (courtesy of Yanti et al. to appear).
  - While *-An is still there, *-kan* is being introduced via recent loanwords from the Malay acrolect, e.g. Salako/Kendayan *ma-ñata-kan* 'to express (something)' • -(a)kan is there but the fact that it has recently joined the queue appears for instance in that it follows locative *-i* in verbs like *ma-hatap-i-akan* 'to cover with a roof (*hatap*) on behalf of X'
- A historical *-ən is still there but is marginalised: (example from Javanese): *-(ʔ)aké*/ *-(ʔ)akən* is the main applicative but it has an allomorph *-ən* emerging in verbs in the imperative undergoer form, e.g. *Klambi iki*, *jajal-ən!* 'Try (on) this shirt!' (Smith Hefner 1988:208) (*klambi* 'shirt'; *iki* 'this'; *jajal-ən* 'try it on!').

In this paper I claim that *-An preceded *-akən* as an applicative suffix and that it was part of the Malayic morphological inventory.
This *-An was a PMP retention which changed its function from a voice marker to that of an applicative. The rise of *-akən* can be explained in two ways: (1) the need to avoid ambiguity because *-An had too many functions; (2) the diminished applicability of *-i due to the phonotactic structure of most Malayic varieties.

A Study in Productivity of Indonesian Causative *per-* and *-kan*

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Indonesian has two rival affixes, *per-* and *-kan*, that attach to adjective (ADJ) bases to derive transitive causative verbs (cf. Roolvink 1965: 334). Semantically, ADJ-*kan* causes the direct object to have the ADJ quality from a non-existence characteristic (e.g., *besar* 'big' – *besar**kan*** *baju* '**make** shirt big'; the shirt was small), whereas *per-*ADJ is interpreted as increasing the object's ADJ quality (e.g., *besar* 'big' – ***per****besar* *baju* '**make** shirt bigg**er**'; the shirt was big) (cf. Sneddon et al. 2010: 103). However, such subtle semantic contrast is often not recognised by many speakers, especially for *per-*ADJ, which is simply thought as causing the direct object to possess a given characteristic regardless of the prior existence of such characteristic (Sneddon et al. 2010: 103). Historically, *per-* is described as a reflex of the Austronesian causative proto-prefix **pa-*, while *-kan* developed out of *-akan* (Ogloblin 1998: 180, 182). While many speakers may indeed vary in their intuition, especially for having an awareness of the subtle semantic nuances, another property of these affixes needs to be investigated. In this study, we analysed the productivity of *per-*ADJ and ADJ-*kan*.

Our database was collected from the *Indonesian Leipzig Corpora* (180,769,204 word-tokens) (Goldhahn, Eckart & Quasthoff 2012). We extracted deadjectival verbs with *per-* and *-kan* in active and passive forms, indicated by *meN-* and *di-* prefixes respectively. An Indonesian morphological parser (Larasati, Kuboň & Zeman 2011) was used to pre-process the data, followed by manual post-editing.

As presented in Table 1 (see column `Tokens`, `Types`, and `Hapaxes`) and Figure 1, ADJ-*kan* is more productive than *per-*ADJ as ADJ-*kan* occurs with more tokens, types, and hapaxes. The qualitative reason for a higher realised productivity of *-kan* could be due to its semantics development from inert to actional causatives (Ogloblin 1998). Moreover, the higher realised productivity of ADJ-*kan* indicates that it is a more entrenched and prototypical causative morphological constructions than *per-*ADJ (see Stefanowitsch & Flach 2016, for the discussion on corpus-based measure of entrenchment). The higher entrenchment of ADJ-*kan* could explain the semantic levelling of *per-*ADJ, that is, many native speakers make no semantic distinction between the affixes and consider the meaning of *per-*ADJ as similar to ADJ-*kan* (Sneddon et al. 2010: 103). The reason could be that ADJ-*kan* would compete with *per-*ADJ for a semantic niche in the causative domain, and the high realised productivity of ADJ-*kan* makes way into generalising the semantics of *per-*ADJ. These assumptions need to be further tested. Interestingly, when we calculated hapax-per-token ratio (HTR) (Baayen 2009), we found that the less productive *per-*ADJ has a higher potential productivity than ADJ-*kan* (see column `HTR` in Table 1). This suggests that *per-*ADJ is more likely to produce novel forms. Our corpus-based analyses therefore show further evidence that two semantically similar affixes could realise different productivity properties (cf. Denistia & Baayen 2019 for similar discussion on the productivity of Indonesian *PE-* and *PEN-* ; and Aronoff & Anshen 2017, for the discussion on English *-ity* and *ness-*).

Table 1 Counts of tokens, types, and hapaxes (word types occurring only once in the corpus) for *per*-ADJ and *ADJ*-kan

Affix	Tokens	Types	Hapaxes	HTR
ADJ-*kan*	864,776	856	176	0.0204
per-ADJ	78,248	171	52	0.0665

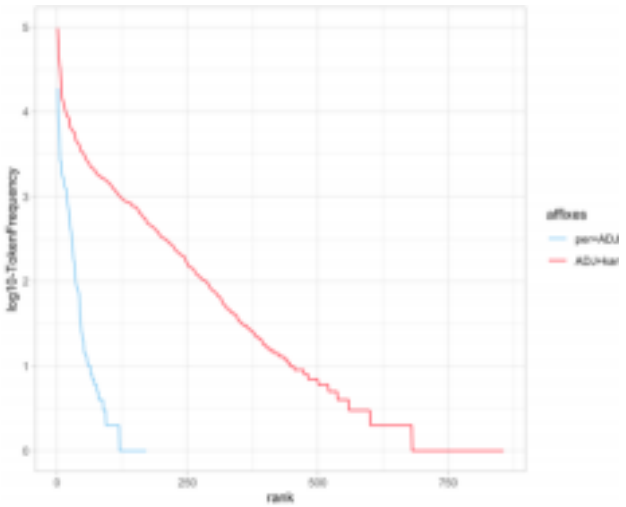

Figure 1. Rank-frequency curves for ADJ-*kan* (red line) & *per*-ADJ (blue line). *Per-* is less productive than *-kan*

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Liep-Liep Lipi Gadang, Kutal-Kutil Ikut Celeng: Reduplication in Balinese Proverbs from the Perspectives of Types and Functions

Radha Andhra Swari

Proverbs have been handed down through generations due to its practicality and cultural richness (Liontas, 2018). A number of linguists around the globe have been working on examining proverbs from a great variety of perspectives, such as syntax, semantics, morphology, and so on (Kouega, 2017; Lai, 2018; Singh, 2015). In spite of that, there are numerous traditional proverbs that need wider recognition, one of which is Balinese proverbs. Despite having several classifications of proverbs based on the usage, studies on Balinese proverbs are currently still lacking. One of the most recent works is a study by Budiarta and Kasni (2017), which pointed out the structure and meaning of Balinese proverbs with animal concepts. This leads to the realization that little attention has been paid on morphological processes in Balinese proverbs. As one of morphological processes, reduplication varies immensely across languages, since there are various types and functions that can be identified (Katamba, 1993). This also applies to Balinese language, as one of Austronesian languages (Blust, 2013). According to Temaja's study (2018), the main patterns of Balinese reduplication are full reduplication (i.e. *bikul-bikul* 'mice'), full reduplication with affixes (i.e. *sa-dina-dina* 'everyday'), imitative reduplication with vowel change (i.e. *dengak-dengok* 'look'), and Ca-reduplication (i.e. *dadua* 'two'). Due to the fact that reduplication is frequently used in Balinese proverbs, this study aims to break down types and functions of reduplication in Balinese proverbs. This research was conducted using descriptive qualitative method, and the data were gathered from a book of Balinese proverbs entitled *Basita Parihasa* by Simpen (2010), since it provides complete categories of Balinese proverbs. Furthermore, the data were analyzed according to the theory of reduplication by Sneddon and Ewing (1996). Through the findings, it is revealed that types of reduplication in Balinese proverbs mostly comprise full reduplications of nouns, adjectives, verbs with and without attached affixes, some imitative reduplications with vowel change, as well as very few partial reduplications. Though these findings are in line with Temaja's study (2018) on patterns of Balinese reduplication, this study reveals that almost all types of Balinese reduplications appear in the proverbs. In addition, this study also sheds light on how reduplication plays a significant role in Balinese proverbs. Related to the common function of proverbs itself, which is to clearly portray human characteristics, attitudes, or situations happening in one's surroundings, the frequent appearance of reduplication in Balinese proverbs aims to give more emphasis on certain things, depict repeated actions, and convey plurality. Few instances from the findings are listed as follows:

(1) *Liep-liep* *lipi* *gadang*

quiet-RED snake green

'As quiet as the green snakes.'

(2) *Buka naar be-ne matah, ng-lawan-lawan-in*
like eat fish-DEF raw ACT-beat-RED-APPL
'Like eating raw fish, it is just not right.'

(3) *Kutal-kutil ikut celeng*
wag-RED tail pig
'(Like) a pig wagging its tail.'

(4) *Lelipi ng-alih gegitik*
RED-snake ACT-look.for stick
'(Like) a snake looking for a stick.'

Keywords: types of reduplication, functions of reduplication, Balinese proverbs.

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Verbal Morphology in Indonesian – A Matter of Voice?

Dominik Besier

For both learners of the Indonesian language and linguists concerned with Bahasa Indonesia, the system of verbal morphology, especially the prefixes *meN-*, *ber-*, *ter-* and the suffixes *-i* and *-kan*, are of great struggle/interest.

Several different approaches have tackled one or more of these affixes from different angles. This paper aims to treat those affixes holistically and comprise them under a common denominator, namely voice. For Austronesian languages, voice systems are often dependent on thematic roles, see, e.g., the trigger system in Tagalog (Schachter 1995) or Malagasy (Guilfoyle, Hung & Travis 1992). Bearing this in mind, voice will be here interpreted as selecting an argument with a specific thematic role for a syntactic function. This selection is not limited to the subject position but would apply to the object position as well. Therefore, this approach does not only account for prefixes like *meN-*, *ter-*, *ber-*, but also suffixes like *-i* and *-kan*.

The general idea is that each of these affixes selects a specific thematic role: *meN-* selects CAUSE, *ber* GOAL, and *ter-* THEME. For the transitive suffixes, either GOAL (*-i*) or THEME (*-kan*) can be selected. One way of describing these thematic relations is by using the basic relations CAUSE, BE and HAVE (cf. Harley 1995). The CAUSE is, therefore, something that causes what the root says (1), the THEME something that is what the root says (2), and the GOAL something that has what the goal says (3).

(1) *Udin me-nyapu.*	(2) *Udin ter-daftar.*	(3) *Udin ber-bau.*
Udin MEN-broom	Udin TER-register	Udin BER-stink
'Udin sweeps.'	'Udin is register'	'Udin stinks.'

This approach cannot only explain the connection between *-kan* objects and *ter-* subjects (4), and *-i* objects and *ber-* subjects (5) respectively, it can also predict the correct meaning of relatively rare forms like *ber-kan* forms (6).

(4) *Siska mendaftarkan Udin.* → *Udin terdaftar.*
Siska MEN-register-KAN Udin → Udin TER-register.
'Siska registered Udin.' → 'Udin is registered.'

(5) *Siska mewarnai kertas itu.* → *Kertas itu ber-warna.*
Siska MEN-colour-I paper DET → paper DET BER-colour.
'Siska colours the paper.' → 'The paper is colourful.'

(6) *Pohon bertuliskan namamu.*
Tree BER-write-KAN name-2SG
'The tree has your name written on it.'

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Wartime Linguistics in East Java

Nurenzia Yannuar & Tom Hoogervorst

East Java is a melting pot of different languages. The pinnacle of this plurilingual tradition can be identified as the 1940s, when many people had some understanding of Dutch and Japanese next to their native languages (Javanese, Madurese, Hokkien) and link-languages (Malay, Mandarin). This linguistic diversity comes to the fore in all its prominence in the book *Indonesia dalem Api dan Bara* (Indonesia on Fire and Charcoals). First published in 1947 by Kwee Thiam Tjing (nicknamed "Tjamboek Berdoeri"), this forgotten book has been used by scholars to understand the tumultuous history of Java around this period. We argue that the book is of equal value to understand language development and sociolinguistic practices at a transitional period of Indonesia's history. The book is written in the colloquial language of East Java's Chinese population, which used a highly Javanized type of Malay, further enriched by lexical borrowing and code-mixing with Hokkien. First, we offer a typological overview of this linguistic variety, paying attention to its phonology, word order, and affixes. Next, we look at the translingual practices that make the book both fascinating and arcane (especially since the Malang dialect of Javanese is itself poorly described). The plurilingual repertoire of East Java's Chinese authors allowed them to infuse their language with jokes, puns, imitations of accents, obscure references, and other linguistically encoded ways to add subtle nuances to their speech. In analysing these phenomena in archaic texts, we offer ways to study them in the (near-)absence of native-speaking reference points.

Keywords: *language development, sociolinguistic practice, East Javanese, Malay, translingualism,*

Reconstructing *-rC- sequences in Proto Malayic

Jiang Wu

In Adelaar (1992)'s reconstruction of Proto Malayic (PM), a handful of words are reconstructed with an uncertain schwa breaking a penultimate *r [ɣ] and a following consonant, e.g. *tV**r(ə)b**it 'to emerge', *kA**r(ə)b**aw 'buffalo', *tV**r(ə)j**un 'to leap down' and *bV**r(ə)s**in 'to sneeze'. The reflexes of these reconstructions in Standard Malay (SM) typically have sequences of *-rC-*, i.e. *tə**rb**it, kə**rb**aw, tə**rj**un* and *bə**rs**in*, but the difficulty of reconstructing these *-rC-*sequences to PM lies in the fact that cognates in other Malayic varieties often have a trisyllabic shape. For instance, Iban has the following cognates: *tərəbit, kərəbo/kərəbaw*, *tərəjun* and *bərəsin*, all of which are trisyllabic with a penultimate schwa. It is not clear whether the penultimate schwa is inherited or secondary, hence the ambiguous reconstruction of *-r(ə)C-. A reconstruction like *tVr(ə)bit 'to emerge' essentially entails two possibilities that could not yet be resolved: a trisyllable *tVrəbit or a disyllable *tVrbit.

In this talk, I suggest *-rC- to be reconstructed as a valid type of consonant sequences in PM by drawing new material from North-eastern Peninsular Malayic varieties. Table 1 presents some cognate sets between SM, Kelantan Malay (KLT), Coastal Terengganu Malay (CoaTRG) and Inland Terengganu Malay (InlTRG), together with the revised PM reconstructions.

Table 1: Correspondences of SM *-ərC-* : KLT/TRG *-uC-* and the reconstruction of *-ərC

SM	KLT	CoaTRG	InlTRG	PM (revised)	Gloss
tərbit	*tube?*	*tube?*	*tubi?*	*tərbit	'to emerge'
kərbaw	*kuba*	*kubɔ*	*kubɔ*	*kərbaw	'buffalo'
tərjun	*tujoŋ*	*tɣəjoŋ*	*tujuŋ*	*tərjun	'to leap down'
bərsin	*byəsiŋ*	*byəsiŋ*	*busiŋ*	*bərsin	'to sneeze'

Data from these Malayic varieties provides two strands of evidence for reconstructing *-rC- in PM. First, all three varieties reflect a sound change of *-ər- > *-u-*, as in *bəri 'to give' > $^{+}$bui > KLT/CoaTRG *buwi*, InlTRG *buwɛi* (cf. SM *bəri*). The cognate sets in Table 1 also show the sound correspondence of SM *-ərC-* : KLT/TRG *-uC-*, which points to the same sound change, and KLT/TRG *-uC-* must reflect earlier $^{+}$-ərC-. Second, PM trisyllables and disyllables underwent divergent developments in the histories of these varieties. All PM trisyllables were reduced to disyllables with the syncope of antepenultimate vowels, e.g. *tiŋgələm 'to sink' > KLT *tgəlɛ*, CoaTRG *tgəlaŋ/ggəlaŋ*, InlTRG *tŋəlaŋ*. Penultimate vowels in PM trisyllables, on the other hand, are always retained. A putative trisyllabic reconstruction *tVrəbit 'to emerge' would have been reflected as KLT/CoaTRG ^{x}*tɣəbe?* and InlTRG ^{x}*tɣəbi?*, but they are contradicted by the attested reflexes KLT/CoaTRG *t**u**be?* and InlTRG *t**u**bi?*. The possibility of a trisyllabic PM reconstruction can thus be ruled out, and $^{+}$-ərC- should be reconstructed to a disyllable, hence *tərbit.

In some instances, KLT/CoaTRG also fails to reflect *-ərC- as *-uC-*, e.g. *bərsin 'to sneeze' > KLT/CoaTRG *byəsiŋ*, and *tərjun 'to leap down' > CoaTRG *tɣəjoŋ.* I consider these forms as more recent borrowings from SM, whereby SM *-ərC-* is regularly adapted as *-ɣəC-*. In other words, there is a two-layer reflex of PM *-ərC- in KLT/TRG, and the sound change of *-ər- > *-u-* presumably ceased to operate at a relative early stage.

As a further note, PM reconstructions above only have few correspondences (if any) outside Malayic, and in all likelihood *kərbaw 'buffalo' ultimately has a Mon-Khmer origin (Thurgood 1999). The reconstructions are yielded in a bottom-up approach with data within Malayic, but howthese words ended up in Malayic requires more careful scrutiny.

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Exploring Sociolinguistic Variation: Metaphor Comprehension in Malayic

David Gil, Jad Kadan, Santi Kurniati, Fadlul Rahman, Tessa Yuditha & Yeshayahu Shen

Linguistic typology tends to focus on variation across geographical space, comparing languages from different parts of the world and belonging to different families. However, languages vary not only geographically and genealogically but also across sociolinguistic space. Moreover, such variation is not random: languages of different sociolinguistic types, or spoken in different sociolinguistic settings, often differ from one another in systematic ways. With their multiplicity of socially, ethnically and geographically determined dialects, Malay/Indonesian and related Malayic language varieties provide a valuable laboratory for the investigation of such variation.

This paper presents a case study of such variation, in the form of an online experimental study of metaphor comprehension in Malayic varieties and elsewhere. As noted by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Kogan et al (1989), Glucksberg and Keysar (1990) and others, metaphors exhibit a pervasive directionality, founded in conceptual hierarchies. As argued in Porat and Shen (2017) such directionality is observable not just in the conventionalized metaphors that we are all familiar with but also in novel and anomalous metaphors, such as the following:

(1) (a) Forgetfulness is like a mackerel
(b) # A mackerel is like forgetfulness

In (1) above, the (a) variant is preferred to the (b) variant because it conforms to the tendency for abstract concepts to be explicated in terms of concrete ones rather than the other way around. To explore possible patterns of variation in metaphor comprehension, we adapted the Context Experiment first developed in Porat and Shen (2017). In this experiment, subjects are presented with 22 novel comparisons in the less natural order, such as that in (1b). Beneath each comparison, two potential speakers are offered, and subjects are asked to choose which of the two is more likely to have uttered the comparison. An example experimental stimulus derived from (1) above is presented in (2) below:

(2) A mackerel is like forgetfulness
a very old man
a fisherman

The experiment thus pits the directionality of conceptual hierarchies against the asymmetries of grammar, posing subjects with a dilemma. In accordance with the the tendency to explicate abstract entities in terms of concrete ones, the comparison should be about forgetfulness, and hence the speaker is more likely to be the very old man. However, the grammatical structure of the sentence is such that the mackerel is the subject, and hence the speaker is more likely to be a fisherman. Who wins?

In English, grammar tends to win; for example, in (2), speakers tend to prefer the fisherman over the very old man as the more likely speaker. However, in other languages, different preferences are in evidence. In this paper, we present two findings based on experimental results from three Malayic varieties: Standard Indonesian, Jakarta Indonesian, and Minangkabau, further supported by data from languages in other parts of the world. First, the larger the polity size associated with the language, the stronger the grammatical effect; thus, the grammatical effect is stronger in Jakarta Indonesian than in Minangkabau. Secondly, the higher the socioeconomic status of the subjects the stronger the grammatical effect; this tendency is revealed in a comparative study of Minangkabau speakers of different socioeconomic status.

In conclusion, we suggest that our findings may be viewed within the broader perspective of a journey from symmetry to asymmetry manifest in cognitive architecture, in ontogenesis and in phylogenesis. In the case at hand, the weaker grammatical asymmetries in languages of low polity complexity and speakers of low socio-economic status would appear to point towards an earlier stage in the evolution of metaphors in which the comprehension of metaphors was more symmetric than it is now; see Gil and Shen (2021).

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Reduplication in Riau Indonesian: Etic and Emic Approaches

David Gil

This paper is concerned with the functions of reduplication in the Riau dialect of Indonesian, presenting a contrast between two approaches to linguistic description and analysis, etic and emic.

In an etic approach, the observable patterns of a language are described and analyzed in terms of comparative concepts that are objective, easily defined, and universal in the sense that they are applicable to all languages, thereby facilitating cross-linguistic comparisons. In accordance with such an etic approach, reduplication in Indonesian may be shown to exhibit a wide range of cross-linguistically familiar functions, involving the expression of notions such as plurality of objects or kinds, large size, iterativity durativity, pluractionality, atelicity, concessivity, deprecation, negative polarity, as well as other notions, some seemingly systematic, others more idiosyncratic and lexically-conditioned. However, the picture is complicated by the fact that in naturalistic usage, these various functions often blend into one another, resulting in cases where a single instance of reduplication appears to be associated, simultaneously, with two or more of the above functions.

In an emic approach, the patterns of the language are described on their own terms, without the aprioristic imposition of categories from other languages. In accordance with an emic approach, the overwhelming majority of instances of reduplication in Riau Indonesian may be analyzed as expressing a relationship of distributivity. Following Gil (1982, 1988, 1992), Choe (1987) and others, distributivity is a binary relationship holding between two terms, the *distributive key* and the *distributive share*. The distributive key is semantically plural, each of its members being associated with its respective distributive share. For example, in an English sentence such as *Each boy got three pencils*, the subject *each boy* is distributive key while the object *three pencils* is distributive share: each member of a plural set of boys is associated with three pencils. In Riau Indonesian reduplication marks its host as distributive share, thereby implying the presence of some other term as its plural distributive key. In other words, the reduplicated expression "distributes over" another term which receives a plural interpretation. Under such an analysis, the wide range of apparent functions of reduplication result from different potential choices of the distributive key, which may be either understood or overtly expressed, standing in a variety of syntactic configurations relative to the reduplicated expression, the distributive share. Moreover, cases in which a single instance of reduplication expresses two or more functions simultaneously are readily accounted for by positing a distributive key that consists of ordered n-tuples of entities. For example, in sentence (1) below, the distributive key is a set of ordered pairs, each consisting of a agent (or eater) and a patient (or thing being eaten): each such ordered pair is then associated with an eating.

(1) Makan-makan apa?
DISTR~eat what
'What are you all eating?'
[Speaker on phone to friends having dinner.]

This, an emic analysis provides a more insightful understanding of the forms and functions of reduplication Riau Indonesian, in terms of a unified analysis accounting for most instances of reduplication. Nevertheless, as argued by Haspelmath (2010), etic analyses are still a necessary component of linguistic typology and cross-linguistic comparisons; in particular, in the case at hand, such comparisons reveal that many of the characteristics of reduplication in Riau Indonesian are actually quite common from a cross-linguistic point of view.

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Grammaticalized hortatives in Indonesian

Marielle Moraine Butters

Hortatives – that is, markers that are used to incite or encourage someone to action - are known to arise from a number of lexical sources, including the verbs 'come', 'let', and 'leave' (Kuteva et al 2019). In standard and colloquial dialects of Indonesian (such as the Jakarta dialect), hortatives also arise from other sources including the lexemes *coba* 'try' and *harap* 'hope'. In this paper, I examine the functions of *coba* and *harap* and suggest that the conventionalization of these lexemes is a result of their property as indirect means. I take indirectness to be a very general and very powerful motivator for language change. The data represented in this work are drawn from natural speech in fieldwork in West Java, as well as corpora.

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The Cognitive Processing of Balinese Desiderative Verbs

Ari Natarina

ABSTRACT

Desideratives in Austronesian languages have received intensive scrutiny in the past few years due to the fact it can have ambiguous interpretation in a construction known as Crossed Control Constructions (CCC), as exemplified in (1). Unlike other Indonesian languages, Balinese has three desideratives that have distinguishing properties, as exemplified in (2) and (3). The desiderative *makita* has the properties of a subject control predicate since it cannot take inanimate Experiencer/Agent, nor inanimate Theme subject. The desiderative *dot* has in-between properties because its Experiencer/Agent argument is a subject to selectional restrictions, but it can have an inanimate theme subject, deriving the crossed control interpretation. The desiderative *nagih*, on the other hand, can take inanimate Experiencer/Agent argument and inanimate Theme subject. Yet, it assigns a theta role for its subject when it is in a canonical control construction as shown in (4).

The goal of this study is to investigate how the participants process the predicate *nagih*, that can generate ambiguity, compared to the unambiguous predicates *makita* and *dot*? Do they choose normal control or crossed control interpretation for each desiderative? In the experiment, three context conditions (null context, normal control context, and crossed control context) preceding sentences with these desideratives and two pictures depicting normal control interpretation and crossed control interpretation are provided.

The results portray differences between the interpretation of the three desideratives. In the three context conditions, the *nagih* sentences was mainly interpreted to have crossed control interpretation (5a), while normal control interpretation was chosen for the *makita* sentences (5b) and *dot* sentences (5c). Furthermore, it took longer for the participants to interpret the *nagih* sentences in normal control context compared to the other two contexts (6a). This result indicates that the participants did not expect the normal control interpretation for the *nagih* sentences. On the contrary, normal control context helped the participants in processing the *makita* sentences (6b) and the *dot* sentences (6c), suggesting that participants preferred normal control interpretation for these sentences.

The results of this experiments suggest that *nagih* may have evolved into an auxiliary-type of verb, in particular an aspectual auxiliary indicating near future. This is in accordance with Polinsky & Potsdam (2008) analysis of the Indonesian wanting verbs, i.e. *mau* and *ingin*, which they hypothesized to be an instance of auxiliary verb, thus allowing the crossed control interpretation.

Keywords: Balinese, desiderative, CCC, sentence processing, animacy, context

1. Anaké cerik ento nagih sangkola teken méménné.

person.DEF small that want carry.PV by mother.POSS

i. ‘The child wanted to be carried by his mother.’ → *normal control interpretation*

ii. ‘The mother wanted to carry the child.’ → *crossed control interpretation*

2. Anak-é cerik ento *makita / *dot / nagih anyud-ang blabar.

child-DEF small that w ant / want / want OV.wash.away-APPL flood

Crossed control interpretation: ‘The flood is about to wash away that child.’ (Lit: The child wanted to be washed away by the flood.)

3. Bola-né ento *makita / dot / nagih silih-a t ekén cerik-cerik-é.

ball-DEF that want / want / want borrow-PV by RED-child-DEF

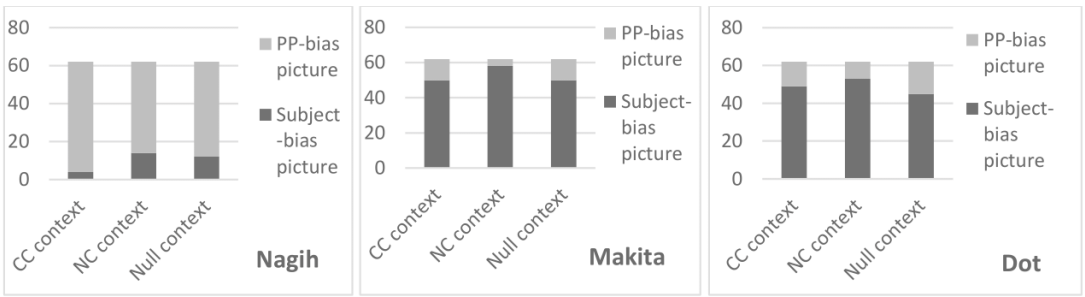
Crossed control interpretation: ‘The children wanted to borrow that ball. (Lit: That ball wanted to be borrowed by the children.)

4. *Blabar-é nagih ng-anyud-ang anak-é cerik ento.

flood-DEF want AV-wash.away-APPL person-DEF small that

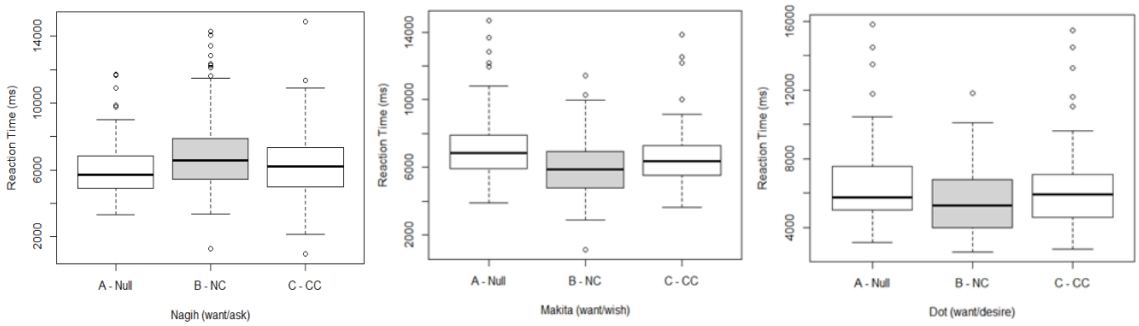
‘The flood is about to wash away that child.’

(Lit: The flood wanted to wash away that child.)



(5a) (5b) (5c)

6. Boxplots of reaction time for the desiderative sentences in three context conditions.



(6a) (6b) (6c)

‘Not Yet’ as a Negative Polarity Expression in Sundanese

Marielle Moraine Butters

The languages of Java are ripe ground for the study of negation, as these languages possess diverse negative systems. One aspect of negation that has garnered relatively little attention, both in the cross-linguistic literature of negation and in the Malayo-Polynesian literature, is the expression of NOT YET, a category that Comrie (1985) and Schadeberg (2000) describe as a temporal marker restricted to the broader negative domain. More recently, Veselinova and Devos (forthcoming), employ the term ‘nondum’ to describe the means used to indicate the non-occurrence of an otherwise expected state of affairs. Every language possesses some strategy for expressing this non-occurrence, but Malayo-Polynesian languages have stood out in crosslinguistic studies as a group that employs special NOT YET particles to a high degree. In this paper, I demonstrate the numerous functions of a particle *acan* in Sundanese, including its use in expressing NOT YET. I suggest that the Sundanese particle *acan* began as a scalar additive particle, but overtime became associated with the negator due to frequent co-occurrence in reinforcing contexts. This work is based on fieldwork conducted in West Java between 2018-2020.

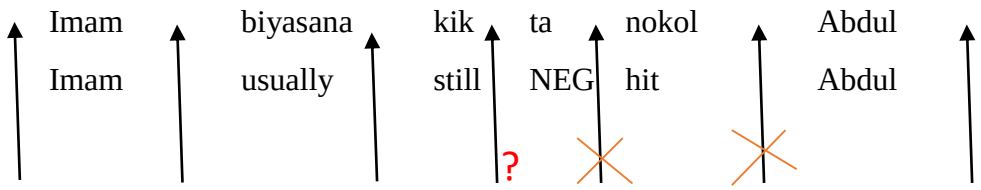
The Distribution of Yes/No Particles in Madurese

Karen McNairney & Saurov Syed

Introduction Declarative sentences in Madurese (SVO) can be turned into yes/no questions with a rise in intonation at the end of the sentence. While this is the most common strategy to form a yes/no question, there also exist question particles that can be used to change a statement into a yes/no question. Davies (2010) describes the distribution of the particle *apa* in creating yes/no questions in Madurese. The most common occurence of *apa* is in the sentence initial position, but it can appear immediately following the subject as well. This paper presents novel data with two further polar particles that are not previously discussed: *pola* and *manabi*, which appear only in y/n questions. The goal of this paper is to find the possible distribution of these two particles with respect to other elements in a sentence (e.g adverbs and negation), which allows for a more comprehensive understanding of question particles in Madurese and complements the existing work of Davies (2010).

Empirical generalization 1: *apa* vs *pola*/*manabi* The paper shows that *apa* has a more restricted distribution than *pola* and *manabi*. The particles *pola* and *manabi*, on the other hand, have the same exact distribution but reflect a change in register. The particle *pola* is more accepted in informal conversations, while *manabi* is used with the higher 'polite' register. Regarding the more restricted behaviour of *apa* vs *pola*/*manabi*, *apa* can occur either in the sentence-initial position or following the subject, but crucially never in the sentence final position. On the other hand, *pola*/*manabi* can occur in the sentence initial, post-subject, as well as sentence final positions. This is shown in data (1a)-(1e).

Empirical generalization 2: Distribution of pola/manabi with respect to adverbs and negation To get a more comprehensive idea about the distribution of *pola*/*manabi*, the possible position of the particle is checked with respect to the adverbs *biyasana* 'usually', *kik* 'still', and *ta* 'negation'. The finding is that there are four positions where *pola*/*manabi* are consistently accepted: (a) sentence-initial (see 2b) (b) sentence-final (see 2h) (c) immediately following the subject (see 2c), and d) immediately after *biyasana*, but before *kik* (see 2d). Another crucial finding is that there are certain positions where *pola*/*manabi* is not acceptable: (a) immediately preceding the verb (2f), (b) between the verb and the object (2g), (c) between *kik* and negation (2e), although judgement on this position has been inconsistent. The verb and the object are almost unanimously understood to be a constituent, so it is no surprise that the polar particle cannot appear between them; however it is interesting that *pola*/*manabi* can potentially occur between the two adverbs, but cannot follow the second/lower adverb *kik*. The distribution of *pola*/*manabi* in a simple transitive sentence is illustrated below, where the arrows denote possible positions for *pola/manabi*, and the red-crosses denote positions that are unacceptable, while the question mark indicates inconsistency.



pola/*manabi*

'Does Imam usually still not hit Abdul?'

Analysis To account for the different positions of *pola*/*manabi*, we adopt an analysis along the lines of Bhatt & Dayal 2020 and Syed & Dash 2017 that the underlying position of the polar particle is the sentence-initial position. The different orders arise because of different material that is moved to the left of this particle. More specifically, adopting Bhatt & Dayal's model, we assume the polar particle is in ForceP, which takes CP as its complement. When the entire CP is moved to the left of pola/manabi, we get the sentence-final position of the particle. If only the subject is moved to the left of the particle, we get the post-subject position of *pola*/*manabi*. When the subject is moved to the left as well as the adverb *biyasana*, we get the order where *pola*/*manabi* immediately follows *biyasana*. In addition to these movements, there exist restrictions on what can undergo movement to the left of the particle: for example, the adverb *kik* and the negation seem to resist this movement.

Data: *apa* vs *pola*/*manabi*

1a. Imam berka
Imam run
'Imam runs.'

1b. Apa/pola/manabi Imam berka
Q Imam run
'Does Imam run?'

1c. Imam apa/pola/manabi berka
Imam Q run
'Does Imam run?'

1d. Imam berka pola/manabi
Imam run Q
'Does Imam run?'

1e. *Imam berka apa
Imam run Q
'Does Imam run?'

Note: The sentence (1e) becomes grammatical with a different interpretation, namely: 'Imam runs what?' That is, *apa* in the sentence final position means 'what', and cannot be used as an y/n particle.

Data: position of pola/manabi with respect to adverbs and negation

2a. Imam biyasana kik ta nokol Abdul
Imam usually still NEG hit Abdul
'Imam doesn't usually still hit Abdul?'

2b. Pola/manabi Imam biyasana kik ta nokol Abdul
Q Imam usually still NEG hit Abdul
'Doesn't Imam usually still hit Abdul?'

2c. Imam pola/manabi biyasana kik ta nokol Abdul
Imam Q usually still NEG hit Abdul
'Doesn't Imam usually still hit Abdul?'

2d. Imam biyasana pola/manabi kik ta nokol Abdul
Imam usually Q still NEG hit Abdul
'Doesn't Imam usually still hit Abdul?'

2e. ?*Imam biyasana kik pola/manabi ta nokol Abdul
Imam usually still Q NEG hit Abdul
'Doesn't Imam usually still hit Abdul?'

2f. *Imam biyasana kik ta pola/manabi nokol Abdul
Imam usually still NEG Q hit Abdul3
'Doesn't Imam usually still hit Abdul?'

2g. *Imam biyasana kik ta nokol pola/manabi Abdul
Imam usually still NEG hit Q Abdul3
'Doesn't Imam usually still hit Abdul?'

2h. Imam biyasana kik ta nokol Abdul pola/manabi
Imam usually still NEG hit Abdul Q
'Doesn't Imam usually still hit Abdul?'

Multiple Auxiliaries and v-to-T Movement in Madurese

Amelia Scharting & Saurov Syed

Introduction Davies (2010) suggests that there are 13 auxiliaries in Madurese – words like *bisa* 'can', *la* 'willing', *masthe* 'must', etc, which convey time, modality, and aspect. Looking at the distribution of these auxiliaries in a declarative sentence, Davies (2010) concludes that they must occur 'in immediate preverbal position, separable from the verb only by other auxiliaries.' However, Davies does not discuss examples with multiple auxiliaries occurring together, and thus the syntactic hierarchy among these elements remains unclear. In addition, very few examples are found in existing works on Madurese where these auxiliaries appear in a negative sentence, and thus the order of the auxiliaries with respect to negation also remains unknown. This paper aims to understand the underlying syntactic structures of the auxiliaries in Madurese by looking at the distribution of *bisa* 'can', *la* 'willing', *masthe* 'must' with respect to each other and with negation. From the data collected, we suggest that the internal hierarchy is as follows: *negation* > *la* > *masthe* > *bisa*. We also suggest that the language employs verb-movement v□T, which results in the word-order alternations discussed below.

Data If only one auxiliary is considered in a positive declarative sentence, then the auxiliary is found to appear in an immediate pre-verbal position, as observed in Davies (2010). That is, given that Madurese is an SVO language, the order found with one auxiliary is: S Aux V O. However, just looking at this order does not tell us the whole story. For instance, when we consider the position of this Aux with negation, it is observed that when the Aux is *bisa*, it can only occur post negation: S Neg *bisa* V O / *S *bisa* Neg V O (see ex. 1 and 2). However, the Aux *la* is attested only in a pre-neg position, and can never occur post negation: S *la* Neg V O / *S Neg *la* V O (see 3 and 4), leading to generalization1:

Generalization 1: *bisa* is always post-neg while *la* is always pre-neg.

When the Aux *masthe* is considered, the more common order is where *masthe* follows the negation: S Neg *masthe* V O (see 5); however, pre-neg occurrence of *masthe* is also attested: S *masthe* Neg V O (see 6). When *masthe* and *bisa* co-occur, it is seen that *masthe* always precedes *bisa* (see 7&8). Taking all this into account, we make the following generalizations:

Generalization 2: *masthe* can occur both pre-neg and post-neg.

Generalization 3: *masthe* always precedes *bisa*.

Analysis To account for the empirical generalizations, we first suggest that there is a hierarchy in terms of syntactic positions of the different auxiliaries. More specifically, we propose that each auxiliary heads a functional projection vP, and *la* is higher than *masthe*, and *masthe* is higher than *bisa*. Negation is higher than all the auxiliaries, thus the hierarchy among all the elements is: neg > la > masthe > bisa.

Furthermore, we argue that there is head-movement (v-to-T) of the auxiliaries that creates different surface orders. We suggest that there are restrictions to this v□T movement depending on the syntactic position: more specifically, low auxiliaries like *bisa* do not undergo v-to-T

movement; *masthe* can undergo v-to-T movement, but optionally; and high auxiliary *la* obligatorily undergoes v-to-T movement. Main verbs in the V position do not move to T, similar to languages like English. In English, auxiliaries in the v slot undergo movement to T – we have suggested that for Madurese the syntactic hierarchy of the auxiliaries determine if they can undergo movement. The generalizations above are accounted for in our proposal in the following way: if *la* and negation co-occur, *la* will undergo v□T movement, and the surface order will be *la* > neg. This accounts for the first part of generalization 1, namely *la* can occur only in a pre-neg position. The second part of generalization 1 is accounted for straightforwardly as *bisa* can never undergo movement, and thus will always remain in a post-neg position. When *masthe* and negation co-occur, *masthe* can optionally undergo v□T movement, and thus can create two surface orders: (i) *masthe* > neg when movement occurs, and (ii) neg > *masthe* when movement does not occur, thus accounting for generalization 2. Generalization 3 is a result of *masthe* being in a projection syntactically higher than *bisa*. Our analysis also **rightly predicts** that when *masthe* and *la* co-occur, there can be two surface orders: (i) *la* > *masthe* when *la* undergoes movement but *masthe* does not (see 9), and (ii) *masthe* > *la* when *masthe* undergoes head-movement (see 10), picking up *la* first (following the Head Movement Constraint), forming the complex head *masthe-la*, which then moves further up to T. As *la* ends up moving along with *masthe*, its obligatory requirement of movement is satisfied as well.

Examples:

(1) John ta' bisa ngakan apil
John NEG can eat apple
'John cannot eat an apple'.

(2) *John bisa ta' ngakan apil
John can NEG eat apple
Intended: 'John cannot eat an apple'.

(3) John la ta' ngakan apil
John already NEG eat apple
'John has not eaten an apple'.

(4) *John ta' la ngakan apil
John NEG already eat apple
Intended: 'John has not eaten an apple'.

(5) John ta' masthe bisa ngakan apil
John NEG must can eat apple
'John must not be able to eat an apple'.

(6) John masthe ta' bisa ngakan apil
John must NEG can eat apple
'John must not be able to eat an apple'.

(7) John masthe bisa ngakan apil
John can must eat apple
'John must be able to eat an apple'.

(8) *John bisa masthe ngakan apil
John can must eat apple
Intended: 'John must be able to eat an apple'.

(9) John la masthe ngakan apil
John willing must eat apple
'John must be willing to eat an apple'.

(10) John masthe la ngakan apil
John must willing eat apple
'John must be willing to eat an apple'.

On the Origin of Javanese Negators

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Abstract.

This paper investigates the history of Javanese negators. The modern Javanese negator *ora* 'no; (there is) not' is a reflex of PMP *wada. Austronesianists have had a hard time defining the meaning of this etymon because in many languages its reflexes are existential markers, whereas in various others they are negators. Dempwolff (1934-38) was obliged to reconstruct the meaning 'to exist, be available; not exist' for *wada. Blust and Trussel (online) label it as 'be, exist, have; wealthy; not exist, not have', noting that there is no language in which a reflex of *wada combines these opposing senses. They are at a loss to explain how the two can be reconciled for the same etymon.

However, in the case of *ora*, there is a fairly simple philological explanation. While *ora* is a cognate of Old Javanese *wwara* 'to be, exist', Old Javanese originally had only one negator *tan* which was used for both standard and prohibitive negation.[1] As can be deduced from Zoetmulder (1982), *ora* is the result of a semantic shift that took place in the Old Javanese collocation *tan wwara* 'there is not': over time, this collocation became contracted into a single word *tan-ora* through monophthongisation of the second syllable, and it was reduced further to *nora* and *ora*. The process taking place from *tan wwara* to *ora* is an example of the Negative Existential Cycle (Veselinova 2016), in which a negator + existential formed a negative existential construction (*tan wwara* 'there is not') and then evolved to a default negator (*ora* 'no, not').

As to the Old Javanese prohibitive marker *haywa* and its modern Javanese counterpart *ȧjȧ*, these must have evolved from a subjunctive form of the Old Javanese root *hayu* 'beautiful, virtuous, good'. I propose that *haywa* was initially a subjunctive derivation which had the meaning 'it would be good (if)'. It was used in desiderative and hortative phrases, and, in combination with a preceding *tan*, in prohibitive phrases: *tan *hayu-a 'it wouldn't be good (if)…'. With the reduction of *tan wwara* to *ora*, *tan* lost its function as a negator and was lost. This must have had a catch-on effect on the collocation *tan hayu-a* and have paved the way for *haywa* to become a prohibitive marker by itself, as it was no longer associated with the meaning '(it would be) good (if)' or with the root *(h)ayu* 'beautiful' In modern Javanese. This process gave rise to two additional separate forms, with *ayoh* taking on a hortative meaning 'c'mon on, let's', and *ȧjȧ* becoming a dedicated prohibitive marker 'don't'. (The reduction and fortition of the initial *yw cluster is phonologically regular). Javanese *haywa*/*ȧjȧ* reappears as loanwords in Madurese *jaʔ*, Malagasy *aza* (< *aya), Ma'anyan *adaʔ*, Buginese *ajaʔ*, Sa'dan Toraja and Mandar *daʔ*, all meaning 'don't' (although Blust and Trussel reconstruct two separate Proto West Malayo-Polynesian prohibitive markers *əjaʔ or *ədaʔ for some of these reflexes).

[1] Old Javanese *ora* is listed in Zoetmulder (1982). However, it only emerges in relatively recent texts and must be the result of borrowing (or extrapolation) from modern Javanese.

As to *sampun*, the high register counterpart of *ajà* in modern Javanese, this word extended its primary meaning 'already, finished' to that of a prohibitive, in the same pragmatic way as French '*c'est fini!*' (literally 'it's over!') and German '*Schluss damit!*' (literally 'stop it!') are used as prohibitives.

Another main negator, *dudu* (high register *dédé* or *sanès*) means 'not (of several alternatives)' and is also a "nominal negator" (Vander Klok). It has a more straightforward history than *ora* and *ajà*. Its original meaning was 'other', showing the same semantic development as Indonesian/Malay *bukan* and Sundanese *laen*, which originally also meant 'other'. Modern Javanese *sanès* still integrates both 'other' and 'not (of several alternatives)', and the Old OJV dictionary (Zoetmulder 1982) has for *dudū* 1. 'different, difference, distinction'; 2. 'not to mention, and furthermore; "and there were others who…" '; 3. 'wrong, not as it should be'; 4. 'not (being)…'.

Finally, the history of *duruŋ* and (high register) *dèrèŋ* 'not yet' still needs to be investigated. As a preliminary observation it seems that *duruŋ* is related to *uruŋ* 'not yet' and *wuruŋ* 'fail, not happen'. In Old Javanese, *duruŋ* only occurs in relatively late texts.

Agent Marking in *ter-* Passive Sentence in Indonesian

Yuta Sakon

The aim of this presentation is to discuss markings of agent arguments in passive sentences marked by *ter-*. In Indonesian, an agent in passive voice is marked basically by *oleh* or *sama*. Jeoung (2020: 35) argued that such prepositions are "elements that are deleted under specific circumstances": in *di-* passive sentence, when introducing an "Initiator" argument, and when there is linear adjacency to the verb, as in (1).

(1) *Buku ini di-baca* (*oleh/sama*) adik.
book this PASS-read by younger.siblings
'This book was read by little brother.' (Jeoung & Biggs 2017: 83)

However, we can find many examples where the preposition is omitted in *ter-* passive sentences such as (2), which cannot be explained by the conditions listed in the previous study. Therefore, it is necessary to give a different explanation for *ter-* passive sentence.

(2) *Se-banyak 198 anak di Jawa Barat ter-infeksi Covid-19.*
one-many 198 child in Jawa west TER-infect Covid-19
'198 children in West Java have been infected with coronavirus' (Kompas.id)

This presentation provides a corpus-based description of markings on agent arguments in *ter* passive sentence and argues that, at least for *ter-* passive sentences, rather than accepting the preposition dropping analysis which assumes that the meaning remains the same if a preposition is omitted, it is better to consider zero and prepositional marking as having different functions. The evidence can be summarized in the following two points.

(i) There are two verb groups that are biased toward one of the markers: (a) zero marking is predominant (cf. (2)), and (b) prepositions cannot be omitted, as in (3) below.

(3) *Suara saya ter-dengar *(oleh) kucing itu.*
voice 1SG TER-hear by cat that
'My voice was heard by the cat.'

For verbs (a), an agent argument is often inanimate and less specific. In addition to (1), there are other examples such as *termakan usia* 'glow old'. Mandatory prepositional markings in verbs (b) are used when ambiguity arises in interpretation. In the case of (3), the *oleh* marking is necessary to avoid the interpretation that 'my voice sounded like a cat'.

(ii) In addition to the verbs in (a) and (b), there are those where zero and preposition marking can be interchanged relatively freely as in (4). In this case, zero and prepositional marking are used differently depending on the meaning of the verb and the context. According to the consultant, if there is *oleh*, the example (4) implies that the machine is prepared to catch the bad guys. When zero marking is used, this sentence has the nuance that the camera that was installed happened to catch the bad guy.

(4) *Penjahat itu terekam* (*oleh*) *mesin itu.*
rogue that TER.record by machine that
'The bad guy was caught on that maschine.'

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Does Speaking Javanese Make You Feel Less Emotion?:

The Categorization and Dimensional Ratings of Indonesian Emotion Lexicon

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Abstract

Javanese speakers are expected to regulate their emotion carefully and this aspect of managing emotion is a critical part of their socialisation process. In order to maintain harmony, Javanese is taught to have control over their emotions since they are little: they cannot be too excited or too frustrated over something (Lee, 1999). There is even more pressure on Javanese women to suppress their emotions in order to be the "ideal and true" Javanese women (Koentjaraningrat, 1985; Berman, 1999). Interestingly, Heider (1991) also found that Javanese speakers talk less about their emotions in comparison to other cultures in Indonesia pointing to the possibility of different emotion regulation profiles within Indonesia.

In this study, we seek to investigate how Javanese speakers use and evaluate emotions and how they differ from monolingual Indonesian speakers. Following the framework of emotion identification system by Ng, Cui, and Cavallaro (2019), we compiled Indonesian emotion lexicon annotated with part-of-speech and valence. We will focus on analyzing the group of emotion words (590 Indonesian words, excluding proverbs and idioms). This is culled from a larger emotion lexicon consisting of more than 6000 emotion terms. These are further categorized into three main groups based on Pavlenko's (2008) emotion classifications:

- emotion words: words which denote an emotion state (e.g sad and happy) or a process (e.g. to worry and to rage) directly.
- emotion-laden words: words which describe human's behaviors in its relation to emotion (e.g. to scream and to cry).
- emotion-related words: words which can be used to evoke emotions from our interlocutors (e.g. divorce and stupid).

The emotion expressions investigated are the emotion words in the first group. We asked 1221 Javanese speakers and 1882 monolingual Indonesian speakers to rate those emotion terms with respect to their categories (anger, happiness, disgust, sadness, etc.), intensity (low, neutral, high), and valence (positive, negative, neutral) using an online questionnaire. The data from Javanese and monolingual Indonesian speakers were compared and contrasted. This dimensional approach provides an overall semantic space of emotion words in both languages. The overall results shows that Javanese speakers rated the emotion words higher in intensity in comparison to monolingual Indonesian speakers. This is especially true for emotions such as anger and surprise. In terms of their valence, Javanese speakers rated the emotion words, such as sadness and fear, more negatively. Generally, the results shows an intriguing pattern of

emotion mapping among Javanese speakers that are different from monolingual Indonesian speakers. The discussion explores both inter-ethnic and gender differences and cautions against the tendency to homogenize "Indonesian" as a single cultural group.

Keywords: Indonesian emotion words, Javanese, emotion

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Addressing Terms, Kinship Terms, and Pronouns in Javanese

Yoshimi Miyake

This paper will discuss the relationship between addressing terms and reference terms of kinship in Javanese. Javanese is known for having ellipsis of pronouns, especially the second person pronouns (cf. Ewing 2013), while Sunisa and others (2020) have been studying how in certain Asian languages, addressing terms can substitute the second person pronouns. Javanese ellipsis of first person pronoun and second person pronoun has been discussed either in the context of grammatical features or the context of politeness (Poedjosoedarmo 2017, Ewing 2013).

My study will not argue that ellipsis of pronouns is not relevant to the politeness. Instead, first, I will describe how the interlocutors' emotional condition swings between use or non-use of second pronoun. Secondly I will argue that addressing terms which mark social strata, especially for the working class, has lost its popularity, but the kinship terms for seniors and elders, i.e. *bapak* (lit.father), *ibu* (lit. mother), *mas* (lit. older brother) and *mbak* (lit.older sister) have started being extensively used for anybody, including *becak* drivers and housemaids. Those kinship terms have crossed *krama-ngoko* boundaries, too.

Thirdly, I will discuss an excessively frequent use of tag, which has developed from kinship addressing term, as seen in a part of dialogues between a young couple in a village in film Calon Pak Lurah 'A candidate for village head'. Mas Hapid uses a tag *dek* 'younger sister' at the end of every sentence.

Mbak Lestari	: O iyo	**mas**	iki	dimaem.		
	hey, this	mas	this	to be eaten		
	'Hey, mas, eat this.'					
Mas Hapid	: Eh hooh **dek**.		waaahh	anget anget	yo	**dek**.
	EXCL TAG		EXCL	warm warm	PARTCLE	TAG
	'Wow, dek, wow, it is so warm, yeah, dek.'					

tak	maem	sek	yo	**dek**
1p	eat	PARTCLE	PARTCLE	TAG

'I will eat this first, *dek.*'

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Bare Pronoun Agents Tak and Kok: Clitics or Affixes?

Ika Nurhayani

This paper aims to answer problems related to the status of the bare pronoun agents *tak* and *kok* in Javanese. Javanese has three types of passive construction, the regular passive, the bare passive and the adversative passive. The bare passive is realized as 1st or 2nd person bound pronoun in preverbal position**.**

1. *Duren bosok kuwi wis tak buang neng jugangan*
   Durian rotten that already 1st person singular throw in dumpster
   The rotten durian has been thrown in the dumpster by me.

2. *Duren bosok kuwi wis kok buang neng jugangan*
   Durian rotten that already 2nd person singular throw in dumpster
   The rotten durian has been thrown in the dumpster by you.

It can be observed that *tak* and *kok* have similar distribution with di-, the affix of the regular passive.

3. *Duren bosok kuwi wis di-buang neng jugangan*
   Durian rotten that already passive-throw in dumpster
   The rotten durian has been thrown in the dumpster.

However, *tak* and *kok* do not show similar behavior with *di-*. Unlike *di-* which can be applied to any verb, *tak* and *kok* can only be attached to a verb if the agent is a first or second person singular. This is not in line with the criteria of affixes of Zwicky and Pullum (1993). Moreover, a passive construction with *di-* can take a pronounced agent in the form of a postverbal bare nominal agent, while it is not the case with *tak* and *kok* (Nurhayani, 2014).

4. *Duren bosok kuwi di-buang Simin wingi*
   Durian rotten that passive-throw Simin yesterday
   The rotten durian was thrown by Simin yesterday.
5. **Duren bosok kuwi kok buang kowe wingi*
   Durian rotten that Passive- throw you yesterday
   The rotten durian was thrown by you yesterday

This paper offers a solution on the status of *tak* and *kok* by providing discussions on (1) the historical account of *tak* and *kok* (Zoetmulder, 1983, Adelaar, 2011, Oglobin, 2012) (2) Austronesian affix and clitic typology (Adelaar and Himmelman, 2005), (3) and the VP argument behavior of *tak* and *kok*.

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