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William D. Davies

A GRAMMAR OF MADURESE

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A Grammar of Madurese

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by

William D. Davies

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for Patty

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Abbreviations

AD	adversative
AGI	<i>-agi</i> morpheme
AUX	auxiliary
AV	actor voice
BEN	beneficiary
COMP	complementizer
CONJ	conjunction
CS	causative
DEF	definite
DUR	durative
E	<i>-e</i> (locative) morpheme
EMPH	emphatic
EXCL	exclamatory/exclamation
HORT	hortative
IMP	imperative
IN	involitive
IRR	irrealis
IT	iterative
KA	<i>-ka</i> (abilitive/result) morpheme
LOC	locative
NEG	negative
NOM	nominalization
ORD	ordinal
OV	object voice
PERF	perfective
PL	plural
Q	question particle
RED	reduplication
REL	relative marker

Chapter 1

Introduction

1. Madura and its people

The Madurese people are originally indigenous to the island of Madura, located in the Java Sea just north of East Java (see map 1, following page), and Madura is part of the province of Jawa Timur (East Java). Due to poor soil conditions and a low annual rainfall, with an area of 4250 km², the island was unable to sustain a population of more than 3-4 million or so. Thus, there is a long history of Madurese emigrating to other areas of Indonesia, particularly East Java, where agricultural conditions and other economic opportunities were markedly superior, resulting in large, permanent populations in such cities as Besuki, Situbundo, Probolinggo, Jember, Surabaya, and elsewhere. As of 2000, roughly 3.5 million Madurese live on Madura itself, meaning that there is a sizable population of Madurese-speaking people living in East Java and other areas of Indonesia, including significant populations on the islands of Kalimantan and

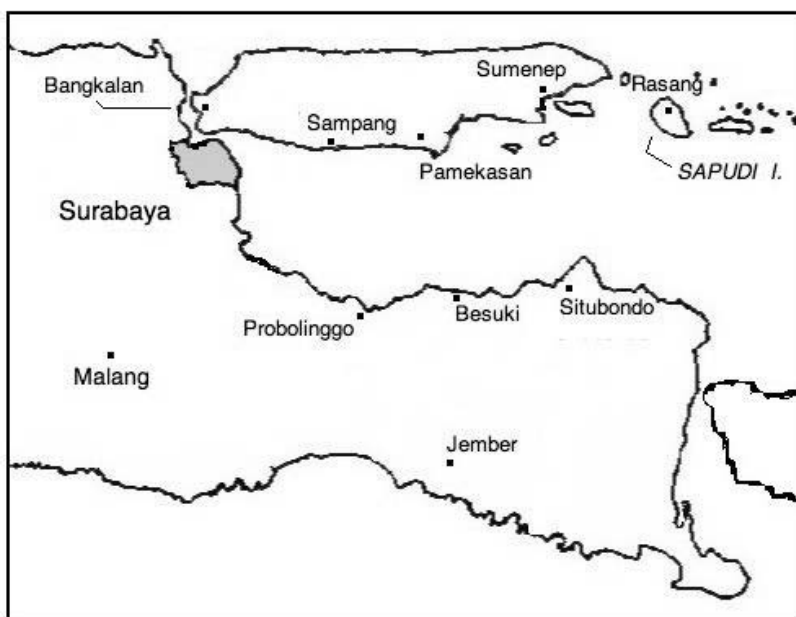
When suffixed to certain nouns and adjectives, the result is a derived adverb, as in *insustain* a population of more than 3-4 million or so. Thus, there is a long history of Madurese emigrating to other areas of Indonesia, particularly East Java, where agricultural conditions and other economic opportunities were markedly superior, resulting in large, permanent populations in such cities as Besuki, Situbundo, Probolinggo, Jember, Surabaya, and elsewhere. As of 2000, roughly 3.5 million Madurese live on Madura itself, meaning that there is a sizable population of Madurese-speaking people living in East Java and other areas of Indonesia, including significant populations on the islands of Kalimantan and

¹ Suryadinata, Arfin, and Ananta (2003) contend that there are roughly 200,000 more Malays than Madurese, arriving at this figure by combining 13 distinct categories of Malays recognized in the official census (Badan Pusat Statistik 2000).

² Other reports put the number of Madurese considerably higher. *Ethnologue* (Gordon 2005) gives a figure of 13.7 million, while Nothofer (2006) cites 13 million, and Pawitra (2009) 15 million. Others provide yet different numbers. Suryadinata, Arfin, and Ananta (2003) note that the percentage increase in Madurese population from the 1930 census to the 2000 census falls well below that of other groups and of the country as a whole, speculating that some may not identify themselves as Madurese for various reasons.

Sumatra. As is true of many ethnic groups in Indonesia, considerable Madurese enclaves are also found in Jakarta, Bandung, and other large cities in Central and West Java.

According to Husson (1997:80), early Madurese migration to East Java began in the 13th century, serfs that were sent “to colonize agricultural lands and strengthen the Majapahit kingdom”. Additionally, their reputation as fierce combatants led to the voluntary enlistment or forced conscription of soldiers,



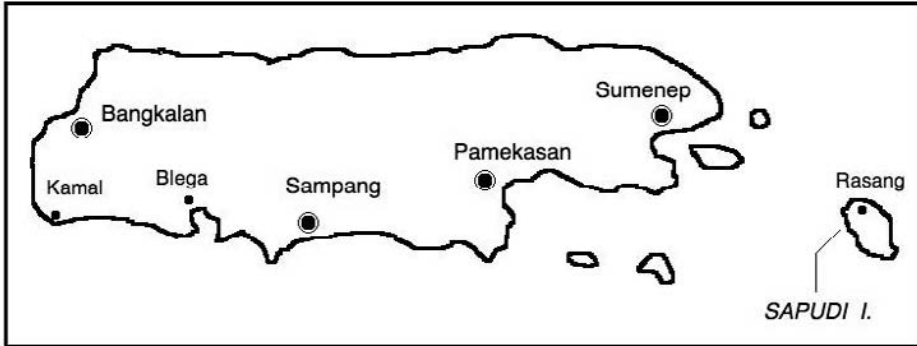
Map 1: East Java

accounting for other waves of Madurese leaving the island during the period from the 16th to 19th centuries and eventually settling on Java. Added to this were the shifting alliances of the different kingdoms or sultanates on Madura with the Mataram empire and the Dutch colonialists.³ There were also patterns of migration to East Java in search of work and a source of income due to limited opportunities on Madura (Husson 1997:86). More recently, attempts by the Republic of Indonesia government to redistribute the national population to ease crowding and fuel economic development through a program of transmigration account for the establishment of significant Madurese populations on the islands of Kalimantan and Sumatra (in Riau Province) where the Madurese have sought additional economic opportunities. There is thus a long history of the migration from Madura.

However, most previous works on the Madurese language and people

³See Husson (1997) for details of the political situation.

have focused on Madura Island and the 67 small nearby islands including Baweang, Sapudi, Kangean, and others. Madura proper is comprised of the regencies (*kabupaten*) of Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep, moving eastward on the island (see map 2). Although Sumenep is considered the cultural capital, each regency had its own political institutions and various local influences.



Map 2: Madura

As stated above, Madura itself presents a somewhat inhospitable environment. Compared to the fertile soil and abundant rainfall characteristic of Java, Sumatra, and Kalimantan, Madura receives far less rainfall and has poor chalky soil. This results in extremely unfavorable conditions for agriculture and an inability to sustain a large population. Maize was traditionally the principal crop, supplemented by beans and some other vegetable crops. Raising livestock has been critical to the subsistence economy, particularly cattle and goats. (The Madurese are well-known for the tradition of *kerapan sape* ‘bull racing’, and the annual event draws spectators to the island from a wide region. A description of the tradition is included in the texts in Chapter 16.) Given the conditions present on the island, a tradition of fishing and seafaring developed, and many Madurese became traders. Those Madurese who migrated to Java and other parts of Indonesia (to escape these conditions on Madura) largely worked as laborers and food vendors.

The tradition of trading created close ties with the *pasisir* kingdoms on the northern coast of Java, and these ties were important in the rapid introduction of Islam to Madura in the early 16th century. This was hastened further by a political system which made the more egalitarian religion of Islam particularly appealing to the large proportion of the population that did not belong to the nobility in the courts of the three principal kingdoms of Sumenep, Pamekasan, and Bangkalan. According to Mansurnoor (1990), as Islam spread, the religious leaders, the *kyai*, increasingly assumed positions of standing and some power as the kings, the *rato*, recognized the wisdom of officially embracing the popular

religious leaders as a way of maintaining their power. Subsequently, when the *rato* were stripped of their power by the Dutch in the late 1800's, the *kyai* filled the leadership vacuum and became a central focus of authority in the various villages and larger governmental units, thus taking on an important role in the governance system. As a result, the Madurese people are almost entirely Muslim, with an admixture of local customs, and a strong commitment to Islam is at the core of the Madurese identity and their lives. Traditionally, daily life in the villages in the countryside and enclaves in larger cities revolved around an Islamic center, under the leadership of an *ulama* or *kyai*, and the associated boarding school, *pesantren*, played a pivotal role in society, particularly to the education of young Madurese men, and does so in many Madurese communities throughout Jawa Timur today. Of course, with rapid transitions in modern Indonesian society, any sweeping generalization is difficult to maintain.

However, sweeping generalizations and stereotypes have for centuries plagued the Madurese and play a critical role in understanding their position in Indonesian society. The hard and uncertain livelihood and difficult conditions on Madura resulted in a tough-minded temperament and independent character, a character infused with fealty to family, friends, and leaders. A tendency toward straightforward, direct expression has generally been viewed as less refined and polite by some other groups, particularly on the main island of Java—this despite the fact that the Madurese language shares with Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese, and some other languages of the area the intricate system of politeness vocabularies and rules for their use commonly referred to as ‘speech levels’ (described in Chapter 15). But this reputation for straightforward expression, combined with the tradition of *carok* (a system of ritualized violent vengeance operating outside of the recognized legal system⁴) has created a situation succinctly summed up by de Jonge (1995:7), “There are few ethnic groups in the Indonesian archipelago about whom as many negative and equivocal stereotypes exist as about the Madurese...it is striking that the current image of the *suku Madura* [‘Madurese tribe’] in Indonesia today hardly differs from the one present during the colonial period.” As described below, this has contributed to what has been until relatively recently as relatively small Western literature on the Madurese people and their language.

2. The language

Madurese is a member of the Malayo-Sumbawan subgroup of the Western Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family (Adelaar 2005; Gray, Drummond and Greenhill 2009). Western Malayo-Polynesian in-

⁴See Smith 1997, van Dijk 2002, and Wiyata 2002 for descriptions and discussion of *carok*.

cludes some 500+ languages of western Indonesia, the Philippines, and the Malagasy language of Madagascar. On the basis of lexical and phonological evidence, it has been determined that Madurese is most closely related to Sundanese, Balinese, Malay/Indonesian, Sasak, Sumbawa, and Chadic, which is evident its morphology and syntax as well.

This work might perhaps be better titled *A Grammar of the Language of Bangkalan, Madura* because the Madurese described here is predominately the Madurese spoken in Western Madura, more specifically that in the regency of Bangkalan. In this, this work differs from most that predate it. The Eastern dialect is the recognized standard, the Madurese spoken in the regency of Sumenep, where the principle palace of the Majapahit era and earlier ‘dynasties’ is located. The attitude regarding the prestige dialect is widely held, even among the people of other dialect areas. However, as is true of any language with a significant number of speakers spread over a large geographical area, identifying a homogeneous standard can actually be somewhat controversial, or, at least, misleading. The fact is that the majority of Madurese live outside the island of Madura and speak distinct forms of the language. All, however, are speakers of Madurese. The situation is not unlike that found with most languages, and closely parallels the case of Javanese: Central Javanese, the language of the royal court in Solo and Yogyakarta, is taken to be the standard and differs in a number of respects from the Javanese spoken elsewhere on the island.

Speakers of the Western dialect tend to characterize themselves as very straightforward and direct, saying what is on their minds without equivocation (in a way reflecting what some outsiders say of the Madurese in general). They impressionistically characterize their speech as sonically more clipped, spoken at a high volume. Eastern Madurese are considered more soft spoken and refined, given more to circumlocution. But these are gross generalizations, given here in the terms used by the Madurese to describe themselves. As this is not intended to be a dialect study, no effort is made to evaluate or interpret these characterizations. In fact, while some lexical differences such as those cited above are identified in what follows, no concerted effort is made to exhaustively document the differences between the Bangkalan and Sumenep varieties. Such description is properly the province of a concerted dialect study. Some dialectal differences in pronunciation have been documented recently in Sutoko et al. 1998.

As might be expected given the close proximity of Bangkalan to Surabaya (30 minutes by ferry and as of 2009 connected by the Suramadu Bridge), there is somewhat more influence of Javanese on Western Madurese than in points further east on the island (but likely no more than the Madurese of the 3 million plus speakers living in East Java).

3. Previous studies

The amount of work on the Madurese language does not approach the scope of linguistic research done on other languages of the region such as Balinese, Javanese, Malay/Indonesian, and Sundanese. As alluded to above, the reason for this may be prevailing attitudes toward the Madurese people, attitudes which extend to views of the language as well. For example, one observer remarked, in comparison to Javanese and Sundanese “Madurese sounds much less modulated than one of those other two. Jerkier and rougher, more peasant-like and more a language for rough sailors...or pirates.” (Brandt Buys 1926:369) Such characterizations are not difficult to find in other writing. There has, nonetheless, been a substantial amount of work on the language, in Dutch, English, and Indonesian.

H.N. Kiliaan, a Dutch civil servant, did the most extensive work during the Dutch colonial rule of Indonesia. Most important are (i) his grammatical description of Madurese, *Madoereesche spraakkunst*, commissioned by the Dutch government and published in 1897 and reprinted in 1911, and (ii) a Madurese-Dutch dictionary, *Madoereesche-Nederlandsch woordenboek*, published in two parts in 1904/05. By one assessment, “After Kiliaan no linguists have done any extensive work on Madurese” (Uhlenbeck 1964:176). However, there was work that followed Kiliaan’s as well as some that predated it. The first published work was that of Vreede (1874/76), who did 4 volumes including a grammar sketch, wordlists, some literary work, among others. Elzevier Stokmans and Marinissen (1880) produced a short practical guide for learning Madurese, as did Penninga and Hendriks (1930).

The Western literature following the Dutch era has, like the work in Dutch, primarily focused on the phonology and morphology of Madurese. Foremost among these is the body of work of Stevens. The most extensive among these, *Madurese Phonology and Morphology* (1968), provide a detailed phonological description and an extensive catalogue of morphemes together with their phonological effects. In other articles Stevens describes the system of speech levels (1965), Madurese reflexes of proto-Malayo-Polynesian (1966), juncture rules in phonology (1980), and the unique system of reduplication (1985, 1994). Cohn examines Madurese vowel harmony in a series of papers (1993a,b; Cohn and Lockwood 1994). Two aspects of Madurese phonology have received quite a bit of attention in other generative literature: reduplication (Wilbur 1973; Marantz 1982; Steriade 1988; Silverman 2002) and vowel harmony (Trigo 1987, 1991 and Anderson 1991). Hamm 2001 and Maddieson (In press) include extensive discussion of gemination in Madurese. The most extensive work on the syntax and morphosyntax of Madurese is that of Davies

(1999, 2000, 2003, 2005a,b,c, 2008).⁵

Third, there is a growing Indonesian descriptive literature. The first description published in Indonesian that is available is Asmoro's (1950) 26-page *Paramasastra Madura*. Since 1978, a number of descriptions especially of the phonology and morphology have appeared, though somewhat less work on sentence structure. The largest body of work has been carried out under the auspices of Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan ('the Center for Training and Development of Language, Department of Education and Culture'), headquartered in Jakarta: Zainudin, Soegianto, Kusuma, and Barijati (1978) surveys the phonemic and morphological inventories; Moehnilabib, Wahab, Prijambada, Huda, and Ghazali (1979) survey the morphological inventory and basic sentence structure; Pratista, Harjono, Matorahardjo, Soekemi, and Hatib (1984) provide a detailed inventory of reduplication forms and their meanings; Soegianto, Soetoko, Soekarto, Soetarto, and Kustiati (1986) again survey the morphological inventory and basic clause structure. Other works have been sponsored by other Indonesian government agencies: Oka et al (1986) provide a somewhat abridged version of the information in Zainudin et al; Budi, Satyaputra; Koentjahjo, Adriana, and Marhaen (1986/1987) survey the phonemic inventory; Wibisono, Sofyan, Suyanto, Soegianto, and Suparmin (2001) provide an extensive description of negative formation. Safioedin (1977) compiled the first published Madurese-Indonesian dictionary, *Kamus Bahasa Madura-Indonesia*, again under the auspices of the Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. A more recent small dictionary, *Kamus Bahasa Madura*, compiled by Kutwa, Dradjid, Basar, Sadik, Muakmam, Sastro, Hartono, and Efendy (2007), represents the first published dictionary that includes definitions in Madurese in addition to Indonesian; this was published through the Dinas Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan ('Department of Education and Culture') of the Kabupaten of Pamekasan. Additionally, the agency sponsored two dialect studies: Soegianto, Soetoko, Soekarto and Soetarto's (1986) *Pemetaan Bahasa Madura di Pulau Madura* and Sutoko, Soegianto, Surani, Sariono, and Suyanto's (1998) *Geografi Dialek Bahasa Madura*. Most recently, a new dictionary has been compiled by Adrian Pawitra (Pawitra 2009). At nearly 750 pages, *Kamus Lengkap Bahasa Madura Indonesia* is a monumental work which includes pronunciations in phonetic transcription for each entry as well as etymological information, definitions in Indonesian, Madurese synonyms, and some common expressions. I regret that the dictionary was published after the manuscript of this volume was completed and thus could not have been more extensively consulted.

⁵ There is one further Western monograph on Madurese grammatical structure, Ogoblin 1986. Regrettably, this work, written in Russian, has not been accessible to me, and thus the current work does not benefit from Ogoblin's discoveries and insights.

4. Methodology and framework

Compiling a description of a language that has already been documented naturally entails slightly different methodology than that used when describing a language for which little or no documentation exists. And that is reflected to some degree in the procedures followed in this work. The data comprising the ‘corpus’ reported on here were gathered over a 10 year plus period from a variety of sources:

1. direct elicitation (both in Indonesia and Iowa),
2. recorded narratives and conversations (provided by my primary language consultants),
3. existing accounts of the language (as described in the section on previous literature),
4. dictionaries (published and unpublished) and
5. narratives and stories published in Madurese (e.g. *Campaka* (Imron 1979), *Santre Gudhigan* (Asmara 1984)).

The first three categories represent the sources from which the vast majority of the data were gathered. Existing accounts of the language (as well as insights from work on Javanese) provided initial leads and later specific structures to follow up on. Such data were checked and rechecked with language consultants in Bangkalan and Iowa, however, to verify their currency in the language described here. Where there was divergence it has been noted. It is clear from citations contained in the chapters that follow, which secondary sources proved the most valuable. Recorded narratives and conversations not only provided important examples of variability in structures in ‘natural speech’ as opposed to prescriptive standards but more importantly in introducing new structures and puzzles to investigate. Such naturally occurring data were also checked with language consultants in order to filter out sentences that might be considered ‘production errors’ that occur with some frequency whenever we speak.

All of them were extremely gracious and patient in the face of sometimes persistent and annoying questioning, and all deserve my special thanks, as do the extensive staff of the Hotel Ningrat in Bangkalan, who contributed data through casual conversation and sometimes through direct questioning. Deserving of special mention, however, is the late Pak Masharudin, more affectionately referred to as Pak Ending by many who met him. For 35 years or more, Masharudin compiled a dictionary of Madurese, painstakingly written by hand. He was generous enough to allow me to copy his labor in 2000, the first year I met him. There are currently no plans to publish this work; therefore, here I cite the work as Masharudin 2000. While by his own admission an incomplete work, Masharudin’s dictionary includes some forms not found in the excellent pub-

lished dictionaries of Safioedin (1977), Kutwa et al. (2007), and Pawitra (2009), thus providing important data in the present work and a valuable resource to those fortunate enough to have access to it.

4.1. Framework

This volume is intended to be a largely descriptive work. While I have attempted to provide a comprehensive description of the phonology and morphology of Madurese, this is the first work I am aware of that focuses quite so heavily on syntax. No particular theoretical framework has been adopted here. However, the basic perspective makes assumptions common to generative linguistics. This is clearly reflected in the extensive coverage of certain topics as well as aspects of the organization of this work. Nevertheless, the goal being a general description, many opportunities for theoretical discussion or in-depth consideration of certain domains of data have been passed over. That said, at times it strikes me as appropriate to discuss the data in more theoretical terms and to bring standard generative argumentation to bear on the data in order to explicate a particular analysis. These aspects, too, will be obvious to the reader.

Chapter 2

Phonology

This chapter presents the basic sound system of Madurese. Section 1 outlines the segmental inventory and the phonetic realization of consonants and vowels. Section 2 describes some of the regular sound correspondences that are found between Madurese and its two closest relatives, Indonesian and Javanese. Section 3 describes some phonotactic constraints on syllable structure. Section 4 again takes up the vowel inventory, specifically providing evidence for the phonemic inventory, describing the distribution of vowels and the conditioning environment for the system of alternating vowels. Section 5 presents the major phonological processes and section 6 the morpho-phonological processes. Section 7 includes a brief note on stress. Section 8 discusses orthography and presents the spelling system that will be used in the chapters that follow.

1. Basic inventory and description of sounds

1.1. Consonants

The basic inventory of Madurese consonants is given in the chart on the following page.

Notable in the consonantal inventory is the set of stops in Madurese. Leaving aside the glottal stop, there are five places of articulation for oral stops. Of the languages most closely related to Madurese, this is true only of Javanese, which has stops at the same places of articulation. It is not true of Indonesian, Balinese, or Sundanese. Additionally, there is a three-way contrast in phonation at each of the five places of articulation. The most-closely related languages, including Javanese, have only a two-way contrast in the series of stops, either voiceless unaspirated and voiced or voiceless unaspirated and breathy, a type not present in Madurese.

	labial	dental ¹ / alveolar	retroflex ²	palatal	velar	glottal
stop:						
voiceless	p	t	ʈ	c	k	ʔ
vl aspirated	p ^h	t ^h	ʈ ^h	c ^h	k ^h	
voiced	b	d	ɖ	ɟ	g	
nasal	m	n		ɲ	ŋ	
fricative	(f)	s				(h)
liquid		l,r				
glide	(w)			(j)	(w)	

Notable in the consonantal inventory is the set of stops in Madurese. Leaving aside the glottal stop, there are five places of articulation for oral stops. Of the languages most closely related to Madurese, this is true only of Javanese, which has stops at the same places of articulation. It is not true of Indonesian, Balinese, or Sundanese. Additionally, there is a three-way contrast in phonation at each of the five places of articulation. The most-closely related languages, including Javanese, have only a two-way contrast in the series of stops, either voiceless unaspirated and voiced or voiceless unaspirated and breathy, a type not present in Madurese.

Following is a description of the consonant phonemes.

/p/ voiceless bilabial stop
 [p] in syllable-initial position
 [paman] ‘uncle’
 [ɖɤpaʔ] ‘arrive’

¹ Although the oral stops have dental articulation, the dental diacritic will not be included here as no confusion should arise from its omission.

² Rather than using the IPA symbols for the retroflex consonants, the . diacritic signals retroflex articulation, which is consistent with the orthographic tradition as well as previous studies (e.g. Stevens 1968, Moehnilabib et al. 1979, Budi et al. 1986/87, and Cohn & Lockwood 1994).

[p̚] in syllable-final position

[taŋkəp̚] ‘catch’

[aɖɖəp̚] ‘front’

/p^h/ voiceless aspirated bilabial stop

[p^h] in syllable-initial position, does not occur in syllable-final position

[p^hurus] ‘dog’

[tamp^hɣŋ] ‘mine’

/b/ voiced bilabial stop

[b] in syllable-initial position, does not occur in syllable-final position

[bɣtɔ] ‘rock’

[t^hibiʔ] ‘alone’

/t/ voiceless dental stop

[t] in syllable-initial position

[tanəŋ] ‘hand’

[atɛ] ‘heart/liver’

[t̚] in syllable-final position

[sɔrat̚] ‘letter’

[pɔʔlɔt̚] ‘pencil’

/t^h/ voiceless aspirated dental stop

[t^h] in syllable-initial position, does not occur in syllable-final position

[t^hisa] ‘town’

[t^hut^hiŋ] ‘accuse’

/d/ voiced dental stop

[d] in syllable-initial position, does not occur in syllable-final position

[dibɣsa] ‘mature’

[duŋgu] ‘dull-witted’

/t̚/ voiceless alveolar retroflex stop

[t̚] in syllable-initial position, does not occur in syllable-final position
(except geminates)

[t̚wat̚] ‘scream’

[kɔʔak̚] ‘box’

- /tʰ/ voiceless aspirated alveolar retroflex stop
[tʰ] in syllable-initial position, does not occur in syllable-final position
(except geminates)
[tʰimɛn] ‘too much’
[pʰuʈʰu] ‘capital’
- /d/ voiced alveolar retroflex stop
[d] in syllable-initial position, does not occur in syllable-final position
(except geminates)
[dʒʔ] ‘to’
[bʒdʒ] ‘exist’
- /c/ voiceless palatal stop (lightly affricated)
[c] in syllable-initial position, does not occur in syllable-final position
(except geminates)
[cɔkpʰ] ‘enough’
[bʒca] ‘read’
- /cʰ/ voiceless aspirated palatal stop (lightly affricated)
[cʰ] in syllable-initial position, does not occur in syllable-final position
(except geminates)
[cʰukɔʔ] ‘fish’
[kʰʒcʰʒ] ‘elephant’
- /tʃ/ voiced palatal stop (lightly affricated)
[tʃ] in syllable-initial position, does not occur in syllable-final position
(except geminates)
[tʃʒɔ] ‘wake up’
[parcaʃʒ] ‘believe’
- /k/ voiceless velar stop
[k] in syllable-initial position
[kɛrɛm] ‘send’
[pakɔ] ‘nail’

[kʰ] in syllable-final position
[kɔʔakʰ] ‘box’
[candʒkʰ] ‘hold’

- /k^h/ voiceless aspirated velar stop
 [k^h] in syllable-initial position, does not occur in syllable-final position
 [k^hʁbɔŋ] ‘make’
 [p^hik^hʁl] ‘rob’
- /g/ voiced velar stop
 [g] in syllable-initial position, does not occur in syllable-final position
 (except geminates)
 [gʁʒi] ‘salary’
 [ʒʁgɔ] ‘wake up’
- /ʔ/ glottal stop³
 [ʔ] occurs only in syllable-final position
 [anaʔ] ‘child’
 [raʔjatʔ] ‘people’
- /m/ voiced bilabial nasal
 [m] in syllable-initial and syllable-final position
 [mɛra] ‘red’
 [maɛn] ‘play’
 [kɛrɛm] ‘send’
 [ɔkɔm] ‘punish’
- /n/ voiced alveolar nasal
 [n] in syllable-initial and syllable-final position
 [nəŋ] ‘at’
 [nasɛʔ] ‘rice’
 [kakan] ‘eat’
 [k^hʁn] ‘until’

³ Word-final [ʔ] and [kʔ] are virtually auditorily indistinguishable even to native speakers (leading to frequent inconsistency in spelling). Their phonemic identity is revealed when a suffix is added to the stem, however, resulting in [ʔ] for phonemic /ʔ/ and [k^h] for /k/, as in:

- (i) sabʁʔ ‘put’ sabʁʔa ‘put’ (irrealis)
 candʁk ‘hold’ candʁk^hʁ ‘hold’ (irrealis)

The surface form of the irrealis morpheme /a/ results from the vowel raising process described in section 4.1. Aspiration is discussed in section 6.

- /ɲ/ voiced palatal nasal
 [ɲ] in syllable-initial position, does not occur in syllable-final position
 (except geminates)
 [ɲaman] ‘delicious’
 [tɲa] ‘ask’
- /ŋ/ voiced velar nasal
 [ŋ] in syllable-initial and syllable-final position
 [ŋara] ‘possible’
 [taŋɛs] ‘cry’
 [sənnəŋ] ‘happy’
 [sɛŋkɔʔ] ‘I’
- /s/ voiceless alveolar fricative
 [s] in syllable-initial and syllable-final position
 [sakɛʔ] ‘sick’
 [sampɛʔ] ‘until’
 [alas] ‘forest’
 [maskɛ] ‘although’
- /r/ voiced alveolar trill
 [r] in syllable-initial and syllable-final position
 [raʃɾ] ‘large’
 [sɔratʰ] ‘letter’
 [kap^hɾ] ‘news’
 [kərtas] ‘paper’
- /l/ voiced alveolar lateral approximant
 [l] in syllable-initial and syllable-final position
 [lɛʔɛr] ‘neck’
 [alas] ‘forest’
 [bɔntal] ‘pillow’
 [ʃunɛl] ‘skilled’

The glides [j] and [w] have a special status. [j] is phonemic only in word-final position of native Madurese words, such as [sɔŋaj] ‘river’, [kaʔaŋk^huj] ‘for’, and others. In other native words, [j] is not phonemic. An epenthesis process described in section 5.1 is largely responsible for its occurrence in intervocalic environments. Word-initial [j] occurs in some loanwords.

- /j/ palatal semi-vowel
 [j] in syllable-initial and syllable-final position
 [nɛjatʰ] ‘intend’
 [rɔpɛja] ‘rupiah’
 [tamɔj] ‘guest’

Word-internal [w] is also primarily a result of epenthesis. Pawitra (2009) lists 36 w-initial entries in his dictionary (Safioden gives just 19), the majority of which are borrowings.⁴ [w] does not occur in syllable-final position.

- /w/ labio-velar semi-vowel (19 w-initial words in dictionary)
 [w] in syllable-initial position (largely non-phonemic)
 [wəjipʰ] ‘obliged’ (Arabic)
 [wawancara] ‘interview’ (Indonesia *wawancara*)
 [wɔrtəl] ‘carrot’ (Dutch *wortel*)

The phones [h] and [f] occur in borrowings. [h] occurs primarily in initial position in words that are largely of Arabic origin. There are 67 entries for *h* in Pawitra 2009 and 38 in Safioedin 1977.

- /h/ glottal fricative
 [h] in syllable-initial position
 [haɖirin] ‘audience’ (Arabic)
 [hɔrmatʰ] ‘honor’ (Indonesian *hormat*)
 [hɔtəl] ‘hotel’

[f] occurs in loanwords from a variety of languages. Pawitra list 29 for *f* in his dictionary and Safioedin 17 in his.

- /f/ labiodental fricative (17 f-initial words in dictionary)
 [foto] ‘photograph’
 [fana] ‘transitory’ (Arabic)
 [fardu] ‘duty’ (Arabic)

⁴While phonemic /w/ in loanwords is not limited to word-initial position (e.g. [wawancara] ‘interview’ from Indonesian), the relatively small number of dictionary entries is indicative of the circumscribed nature of its use. This is true of other ‘non-native’ phonemes described below.

1.2. Vowels

Identifying the inventory of vowels is a more complicated story. By Stevens' estimate, roughly 95% of the Madurese lexical items in his corpus employ the eight-vowel inventory given in the following chart:

	front	central	back
high	i	ɨ	u
		ɻ	
mid	ɛ	ə	ɔ
low		a	

These can be considered the 'primary' surface vowels of Madurese. Due to a system of paired alternating vowels, the vowels that are contrastive can be identified as those that are in bold. This system is detailed in section 4. Also, the precise phonetic realization of some of the vowels is subject to some variation among speakers and perhaps across dialects. Some of this variation is discussed in subsequent sections as well. The primary vowels are as follows.

- /i/ high front unrounded vowel
 [i] in open and closed syllables
 [bijasa] 'usual'
 [paði] 'rice plant'
 [giʔ] 'yet'
 [ɪ] in some closed syllables (subject to inter- and intra-speaker variation)
 [bɪntaŋ] 'star'
 [k^hɪppɔŋ] 'confused'
- /ɛ/ mid front lax unrounded vowel
 [ɛ] in closed and open syllables
 [kɛnɛʔ] 'small'
 [ɛŋaʔ] 'remember'
 [sakteɛ] 'magic power'
 [e] in some open syllables (subject to inter- and intra-speaker variation)
 [se] 'relative particle'
 [reja] 'that'

- /u/ high back rounded vowel
 [u] in open and closed syllables
 [k^hunɔŋ] ‘mountain’
 [c^hukɔʔ] ‘fish’
 [p^hurus] ‘dog’
 [ɔ] in some closed syllables (subject to inter- and intra-speaker variation)
 [bɔnt^hɔʔ] ‘tail’
 [k^hɔttɛ] ‘uncle’
- /ɔ/ mid back lax rounded vowel
 [ɔ] in closed and open syllables
 [cɔkɔp] ‘enough’
 [c^hukɔʔ] ‘fish’
 [bɔktɔ] ‘time’
 [o] in some open syllables (subject to inter- and intra-speaker variation)
 [pɔlɛ] ‘again’
 [toko] ‘store’
- /a/ low central vowel
 [æŋ] ‘water’
 [kapala] ‘head/chief’
 [bɔca] ‘read’
- /ə/ mid central vowel
 [ənnəm] ‘six’
 [nəssəl] ‘regret’

As indicated here, there is variation in the realization of some vowels depending on whether they occur in open or closed syllables. This is taken up in section 4.2.

Although they have a widespread distribution, the high central vowels [i] and [ɿ] are arguably not phonemic. Rather, they are allophones of [ə] and [a], respectively. As described in section 2.4, the distinction between [ə] and [i] is not universally recognized in the literature; however, acoustic analysis does support the difference (Cohn & Lockwood 1994, Bortscheller 2007). Additionally, the vowel transcribed with the symbol [ɿ] is a mid-close central unrounded vowel most nearly equivalent to the vowel represented by [ə] in standard IPA transcription.⁵ The symbol [ɿ] is used here to ensure consistency with the con-

⁵My thanks to Jill Beckman for help interpreting the acoustic measurements. Pawitra (2009) uses [ɐ], a low central vowel, for pronunciations in his dictionary.

vention adopted in the literature on Madurese (e.g. Stevens 1985, Cohn 1993a,b, Cohn & Lockwood 1994).⁶ Examples of their use include:

- [i] [billi] ‘buy’
 [ginnaʔ] ‘complete’
[ɤ] [bɤca] ‘read’
 [sanɤʔɤ] ‘intentional’

The inventory of vowels and their distribution is discussed in extensive detail in section 4.

2. Sound correspondences between Madurese and Indonesian (and Javanese)

There are some regular phonemic sound correspondences between Madurese and the languages most closely related to it, Indonesian and Javanese. As will be discussed in Chapter 15, in the higher speech levels the influence of Javanese is unmistakable. At the lower level of speech, *kasar* ‘rough’, and with *biyasa* ‘usual’ vocabulary used in all speech situations, there is greater similarity between Madurese and Indonesian, although similarity between Madurese and Javanese is widespread here as well.

2.1. Consonants

The similarities and differences among consonants in Madurese, Indonesian, and Javanese cognates are most striking at the phonemic level, so in what follows, underlying representations are given. The Madurese phonetic form also appears. The processes by which these forms are derived are presented in later sections.

Aside from loanwords, Madurese has no phonemic /w/; where Indonesian and Javanese cognates have /w/, /b/ occurs.⁷

⁶[ɤ] is used to transcribe the Sundanese equivalent of this vowel as well, which is sometimes described as a mid-back unrounded vowel, but which like the Madurese vowel is a mid-close central unrounded vowel by acoustic measurement.

⁷Even in many borrowings, /w/ is realized as /b/. E.g., *birit* [birit] ‘pray’, Indonesian *wirid* from Arabic.

(1)	Madurese	Indonesian	Javanese		
	/batu/	[bʁtɔ]	/watu/	/watu/	‘stone’
	/baktɔ/	[bʁktɔ]	/waktu/	/waktu/	‘time’
	/c ^h aba/	[c ^h ʁbʁ]	/dʒawa/	/jawa/	‘Java’
	/labang/	[labʁŋ]	(/pintu/)	/lawang/	‘door’
	/t ^h ɛbɛʔ/	[t ^h iʔiʔ]	(/diri/)	/dɛwe/	‘alone/self’
	/baca/	[bʁca]	/baca/	/waca/	‘read’

Stevens (1966) cites Kiliaan (1897) as identifying the Madurese-Javanese correspondence, as well as a correspondence between Madurese /p^h/ and Javanese /b/. This is true of Indonesian as well.⁸

(2)	Madurese	Indonesian	Javanese		
	/p ^h aʔɛk/	[p ^h ʁʔɛk]	/batik/	/batik/	‘batik’
	/p ^h ak ^h ɔs/	[p ^h ʁk ^h us]	/bagus/	/bagus/	‘good’
	/p ^h ɔt ^h ɔ/	[p ^h uʔ ^h u]	/bodoh/	/boʔo/	‘stupid’
	/ɛp ^h ɔʔ/	[ɛp ^h uʔ]	/ibu/	/ibu/	‘mother’
	/kəp ^h ɔj/	[kəp ^h uj]	/kərbaw/	/kərbaw/	‘water buffalo’

The phoneme /h/ is rare in Madurese and occurs principally in loanwords of Arabic origin, and some recent loans from Indonesian. For the most part, aside from Arabic loans, there is no /h/ in Madurese cognates of Indonesian words containing /h/. (Under the influence of Indonesian, some cognates are sometimes pronounced with [h], e.g., [asɛl] ~ [hasɛl] ‘result’. However, one might interpret this as a speaker simply using the Indonesian word, as speakers frequently will pepper their speech with Indonesian or Javanese.)

(3)	Madurese	Indonesian	Javanese		
	/taɔ/	[taɔ]	/tahu/	/tau/	‘know’
	/c ^h aɛ/	[c ^h ʁi]	/dʒahe/	/jae/	‘ginger’
	/atɛ/	[atɛ]	/hati/	/ati/	‘heart/liver’
	/asɛl/	[asɛl]	/hasil/	/asil/	‘result’
	/mɛra/	[mɛra]	/merah/	(/abaŋ/)	‘red’
	/lɛɔllɛ/	[lɛɔllɛ]	/oleholeh/	/oleholeh/	‘souvenir’ ⁹

In many lexical items, glottal stop occurs where the Indonesian cognate

⁸Stevens (1966) notes the possibility of widespread borrowing from Javanese may be a plausible explanation for the /p^h/ ~ [b] correspondence as Javanese *b* is breathy and voiceless and so might be perceived as aspirated by Madurese speakers.

⁹These are reduplicated forms.

has a syllable-final voiceless stop.¹⁰ However, this is a sporadic phenomenon; in many cases, the cognates in the two languages have the same voiceless stop. Examples of both phenomena are given below.

(4)	Madurese		Indonesian	Javanese	
a.	/ataʔ/	[ataʔ]	/atap/	(/wuwuŋ/)	‘roof (made of palm fronds)’
	/gənaʔ/	[gənaʔ]	/gənap/	/gənəp/	‘complete’
	/dʁddʁʔ/	[dʁddʁʔ]	/dadap/	/dadap/	‘Erythrima tree’
	/taŋkəp/	[taŋkəpʰ]	/taŋkap/	/taŋkəp/	‘catch’
	/atʰəp/	[atʰəpʰ]	/hadap/	/adəp/	‘front’
b.	/sakeʔ/	[sakeʔ]	/sakit /	(/lɔrɔ/)	‘ill’
	/əmpaʔ/	[əmpaʔ]	/əmpat /	/papat/	‘four’
	/c ^h aeʔ/	[c ^h ɛiʔ]	/dʒahit /	/jait/	‘sew’
	/cəpət/	[cəppətʰ]	/tʃəpat /	/cəpət/	‘fast’
	/pəʔlɔt/	[pəʔlɔtʰ]	/potlot /	/pətɫɔt/	‘pencil’
c.	/anaʔ/	[anaʔ]	/anak/	/anak/	‘child’
	/rəkɔʔ/	[rəkɔʔ]	/rokok/	/rəkək/	‘tobacco’
	/bapaʔ/	[bapaʔ]	/bapak/	/bapak/	‘father’
	/p ^h atək/	[p ^h ətəkʰ]	/batik/	/batik/	‘batik’
	/kɔtak/	[kɔtakʰ]	/kotak/	/kɔtak/	‘box’

All of the underlying forms of the Indonesian and Javanese items have /k/ in final position, which by rule is realized as [ʔ]. In the Madurese, /ʔ/ and /k/ represent a phonemic contrast. So, as with [p] and [t], some word-final phonemic /k/ in cognates correspond to underlying /k/ in Madurese while others correspond to underlying /ʔ/.

The palatal glide /j/, while present in many words, is largely non-phonemic, its presence due to an epenthesis rule discussed in section 2.5.1. Where the palatal glide occurs in Indonesian cognates, a voiced palatal stop /ɟ/ is generally found in Madurese.

¹⁰ Stevens (1966) notes that Proto-Malayo-Polynesian word-final *p, *t, and *k developed into Madurese /ʔ/. It is possible that words that do have final /p/, /t/, and /k/ entered the language through borrowing from Malay and/or Javanese or at least were influenced by them.

(5)	Madurese	Indonesian	Javanese		
	/parcaja/	[parcaɣɹ]	/pərtʃaja/	/pərcaja/	‘believe’
	/jakən/ ¹¹	[ɣɹkən]	/jakin/	/jakin/	‘sure’
	/jatəm/	[ɣɹtəm]	/jatim/	/jatim/	‘orphan’
	/c ^h aɣa/	[c ^h ɣɹɣ]	/dʒaja/	/ɣaja/	‘victory’
	/sɔrbaɣa/	[sɔrbɣɹɣ]	/surabaja/	/surabaja/	‘Surabaya’

In some cognates, Madurese has a voiceless aspirated /t^h/ or voiced /d/ retroflex where one finds /d/ in Indonesian. As spelled out by Stevens (1966), this is attributable to the fact that Proto-Malayo-Polynesian **d* was realized as /d/ in Indonesian but either /t^h/ or /d/ in Madurese.

(6)	Madurese	Indonesian	Javanese		
	/dapaʔ/	[dɣpaʔ]	/dapat/	(/əleh/)	‘arrive’
	/datəŋ/	[dɣtəŋ]	/datan/	(/teka/)	‘come’
	/sapɛda/	[sapɛdɣ]	/səpeda/	/səpeda/	‘bicycle’
	/t ^h ampəl/	[t ^h ɣmpəl]	/dəmpul/	/dəmpul/	‘putty’
	/t ^h əkən/	[t ^h ukən]	/dukun/	/dukun/	‘traditional doctor’

2.2. Vowels

Many vowel correspondences between Madurese and Indonesian are quite regular because the quality of the Madurese vowel is conditioned by a rule of vowel raising in which high vowels occur after aspirated and voiced stops and mid and low vowels elsewhere. (The process and the limited exceptions are discussed more fully in section 4). Because the surface form is more revealing in the case of vowels, phonetic representations of Madurese and Indonesian are compared here. These correspondences include instances in which Madurese has a mid vowel because of the preceding conditioning environment. So, in some cases the high vowel of the Indonesian corresponds to a mid vowel in the Madurese cognate.

(7)	Madurese	Indonesian	
	[kɔcɛŋ]	[kutʃiŋ]	‘cat’
	[sapɛ]	[sapi]	‘cow’
	[kɛrɛm]	[kirim]	‘send’
	[tɔləs]	[tulɪs]	‘write’

¹¹Many speakers currently pronounce this as [jakən], likely influenced by Indonesian or Javanese.

At other times, precisely the opposite obtains—cognates in which Madurese has a high vowel where Indonesian has a mid vowel.

(8)	Madurese	Indonesian	
	[t ^h isa]	[desa]	‘village’
	[k ^h itək]	[getek]	‘raft’
	[ʃiʃir]	[dʒedʒer]	‘row’
	[p ^h uʔ ^h u]	[bodoh]	‘stupid’

There are however, ample examples of the same vowel surfacing in both languages.

(9)	Madurese	Indonesian	
	[bukkaʔ]	[buka]	‘open’
	[diriʔ]	[diri]	‘stand’
	[kəntan]	[kontan]	‘cash’
	[tənəŋ]	[tenoŋ]	‘a type of basket’

For the most part, non-high vowels (ɛ, ə, a, ɔ) do not occur following voiceless aspirated and voiced stops and high vowels (i, ɤ, i, u) occur only in the environment after voiceless aspirated and voiced stops. This regularity accounts for the vowel correspondences illustrated in (6-7). For example, consider the Madurese and Indonesian words for ‘raft’ in (8), [k^hitək] and [getek]. The vowels in the second syllable in both are mid front vowels. However, the mid front vowel of the first syllable of the Indonesian word is a high front vowel in Madurese, owing to the fact that it follows a voiceless aspirated stop [k^h]. This pattern recurs in the other data in (7-8). The system of alternating vowels in Madurese is discussed in detail in section 4.

There are two other notable vowel correspondences that occur sporadically. In one case, Indonesian /ə/ occurs as /a/ in Madurese.¹² This occurs only in open syllables and is due in part to the fact that Madurese /ə/ occurs only in closed syllables, as discussed in section 3.

(10)	Madurese	Indonesian	
	[ka]	[kə]	‘to’
	[careta]	[tʃərita]	‘story’
	[pareksa]	[pəriksa]	‘examine’

¹²These correspondences again largely reflect the development of Proto-Malayo-Polynesian vowels in the two languages. See Stevens 1966.

The opposite correspondence obtains in some cognates. Indonesian /a/ is /ə/ in Madurese. Due to the restriction on schwa, this occurs only in closed syllables.

(11)	Madurese	Indonesian	
	[sənnəŋ]	[sənəŋ]	‘happy’
	[maləm]	[malam]	‘night’
	[kərrəp]	[kərap]	‘often’
	[taŋkəp]	[tangkap]	‘catch’

The words ‘happy’ and ‘often’ illustrate an alternative to the /ə/ ~ /a/ correspondence. Rather than a phonemic /a/ where Indonesian has schwa in an open syllable, the onset of the following syllable is geminated, creating the proper environment for Madurese /ə/.

3. Syllable structure and phonotactic constraints

The majority of Madurese roots are disyllabic, made up of CV and CVC syllables.¹³ Syllables can, however, take any of the following forms.

(12) Licit syllables

V	a.bɤ.lɤ ‘say’, ɛ.pɔ.kɔl ‘hit’, a.ɛŋ ‘water’
CV	bɤ.ca ‘read’, bɪl.li ‘buy’, sɔ.ratʰ ‘letter’
VC	ə.m.paʔ ‘four’, ɛ.n.tar ‘go’, ka.ɔs ‘t-shirt’
CVC	kɛ.rɛm ‘send’, pʰu.rus ‘dog’, bɤkʰ.tɔ ‘time’, tʰu.ŋɛŋ ‘story’
CCV	pra.ɔ ‘boat’, gla.nɔn ‘excuse me’
CCVC	ɛs.trɛ ‘wife’, trɛs.na ‘love’, klam.pʰi ‘clothes’

The clusters in CCV(C) syllables come largely but not exclusively from two sources: forms that have undergone vowel deletion and borrowings. As is shown below, [praɔ], [glaɔn], [trɛsna] and [klampʰi] are derived from /paraɔ/, /galaɔn/, /taresna/ and /kalampʰi/, respectively. [ɛs.trɛ] is borrowed from Indonesian.

Preference for disyllabic roots manifests itself in the large number of words with initial əC₁C₁ which correspond to Indonesian monosyllabic roots with initial C₁. Some of these are borrowings from Dutch and English. A few of these are given in (13).

¹³There are many words of three syllables and more, but the majority of these are forms with one or more affixes.

(13)	Madurese	Indonesian	Javanese		
	/əccɛt/	[əccɛtʰ]	/tʃat/	/cɛt/	‘paint’
	/əcc ^h am/	[əcc ^h am]	/dʒam/	/ʒam/	‘hour’
	/əllak/	[əllakʰ]	/lak/	/lak/	‘sealing wax’
	/ənnɔr/	[ənnɔr]	/nur/	/nur/	‘light’
	/əssɛl/	[əssɛl]	/sel/	/sɛl/	‘cell’
	/əttɔŋ/	[əttɔŋ]	/toŋ/	/tuŋ-tuŋ/	‘tun’

It is frequently the case, however, that in speech these forms are shortened and only the final syllable is pronounced.

As illustrated in section 1, all consonants other than [ʔ] can occur in syllable-initial position. Leaving aside cases of gemination, the set of consonants that can occur in syllable-final position is much more restricted, and includes p, t, k, m, n, ŋ, s, r, l, j, and ʔ. An example of each in word-final position is given in (14).

(14)	[cəkɔpʰ]	‘enough’
	[sɔratʰ]	‘letter’
	[kɔʔakʰ]	‘box’
	[kɛnɛʔ]	‘small’
	[kɛrɛm]	‘send’
	[kɔran]	‘newspaper’
	[nɔŋ]	‘at’
	[panas]	‘hot’
	[ɛntar]	‘go’
	[tɔkɔl]	‘hammer’
	[k ^h ɪbɪj]	‘make’

It should be noted that underlying /j/ is limited to syllable-final/word-final position. All [j]-onsets are arguably the product of an epenthesis process (section 5.1). Additionally, [ʔ] can only occur in syllable-final position. Syllabification must respect this. So any sequence of XVʔVY is syllabified as XVʔ.VY, as in the examples (15).

(15)	[sa.kɔ.laʔ.an]	‘school’
	[ɲabɪʔ.i]	‘put on’

Also, it is not uncommon for speakers of the western dialect to pronounce an [h] on words ending in vowels, e.g. [bɪtɔh] ‘rock’, [k^hurɪh] ‘teacher’, [apah]

‘what’, and so on, particularly when occurring before a significant pause. This is, however, unrelated to Indonesian words with a final /h/. Pawitra (2009) includes many examples in his dictionary.

As touched on in section 2, schwa can occur only in closed syllables, and this includes the higher counterpart [i̯]; as shown in section 4, the restriction of [ə] and [i̯] to closed syllables can induce gemination. Examples of [ə] and [i̯] include,

- (16) [dʌtəŋ] ‘come’
 [əmpaʔ] ‘four’
 [maŋəssəl] ‘regret’
 [səlɭəʔ] ‘ring’
 [biccəʔ] ‘good’
 [birriʔ] ‘give’
 [pəkʰi̯l] ‘angry’

Generally speaking, nasals must be homorganic with a following stop. Dental nasals occur adjacent to both dental and retroflex stops.

- (17) [əmpaʔ] ‘four’ [tampʰɤŋ] ‘mine’ [ambu] ‘stop’
 [mantə] ‘son-in-law’ [kantʰɤs] ‘run aground’ [səndu] ‘difference’
 [kaləntəŋ] ‘handcuffs’ [manʰi] ‘bathe’ [tandəs] ‘fast’
 [kaŋca] ‘friend’ [əŋcʰɤk] ‘pedal’ [gɪŋɤŋ] ‘lively’
 [səŋkəʔ] ‘I’ [aŋkʰuʔ] ‘use’ [aŋɤʔ] ‘conceited’

There are a small number of exceptions to this; for the most part, these are instances involving the velar nasal, such as [taŋtʰaŋ] ‘dance’, [bɤruŋbuŋaŋ] ‘sheath’, [bɤrɤŋtaʔ] ‘infatuated’, [paləŋpəŋ] ‘deaf’, [taŋtʰɤŋ] ‘unequal’, [karatəŋtəŋ] ‘without family’, [cʰuruŋcʰɤŋ] ‘a type of tall grass’.¹⁴ In root words that are not borrowed, [l], [r], and [s] are preceded almost exclusively by the velar nasal, there being only a handful of instances in which they are preceded by [m]

¹⁴Some of the instances which are clearly not reduplicated roots are being regularized. So ‘dance’ often surfaces as [tantʰaŋ], which is given as the entry in Safioedin’s (1977) dictionary. However, Masharudin’s (2000) dictionary gives the entry as [taŋtʰaŋ], and Stevens (1968) cites this form as well. (Pawitra (2009) includes entries for both forms.) These are not instances of reduplication, as the onset of the first syllable is unaspirated [t] and the onset of the second is aspirated [tʰ].

or [n].¹⁵ Some examples follow.

- (18) [aŋlɔ] ‘brazier’, [buŋlɔn] ‘type of tree’, [cɔŋlɛt] ‘type of lamp’,
 [saŋlɛʔ] ‘kick’ [sɔŋlɔt] ‘peel’
 [p^hɪŋsa] ‘like’, [t^huŋsəŋ] ‘nasal sound’, [k^hɪŋsɛ] ‘grind’,
 [saŋsara] ‘difficult’
 [bɪlɪŋrat] ‘scratched’, [caŋrɛp] ‘submerged’, [cɔŋrɔt] ‘decrease’,
 [tɔŋrap] ‘sprout all at once’
 [pamrɛ] ‘reward’
 [jumla] ‘sum’
 [lɛnra] ‘fence’

Phonetic vowel clusters are relatively limited. Sequences of identical vowels are disrupted by glottal stop epenthesis (section 5.1) and [j]-epenthesis between the object voice prefix [ɛ] and the locative prepositional clitic [ɛ] ‘at’ (sections 5 & 6). And sequences of non-like vowels where the first vowel is either front or back are disrupted by glide epenthesis (section 5). There are no əV sequences, as ə only occurs in closed syllables. Finally, [ai] and [ɻə] are, to the best of my knowledge, unattested. Thus, the only surface vowel clusters that are found are [aɛ], [aɔ], [ɪi] and [ɻu], as in

- (19) [paɛʔ] ‘bitter’ [taɛ] ‘feces’
 [taɔn] ‘year’ [paɔ] ‘mango’
 [bɪi] ‘else’ [c^hɪi] ‘ginger’
 [ɬɻun] ‘leaf’ [c^hɻu] ‘far’

¹⁵ There are cases of what appear to be clusters of [ml], [mr], [ms], [nr] and [ns]. However, they are quite limited (perhaps fewer than 20) and they clearly arise from reduplication of a monosyllabic root to form the preferred disyllabic root. Four examples are:

- (i) [lɛmlɛm] ‘calm’
 [rɔmrɔm] ‘submerged in water’
 [ranran] ‘yank’
 [sɔnsɔn] ‘smoke from incense’

4. Vowel inventory and distribution

While there are occasional discrepancies in the consonantal inventory cited in various works, there is more variation with vowels. For one, determining the precise inventory of Madurese vowels depends on whether one considers the phonetic level or the phonemic level; and even then there has been disagreement in the literature. From the standpoint of phonetic realization, there is some agreement that there are 12 vowel qualities that manifest themselves in surface forms. These are given in the chart in the following chart:¹⁶

	front	central	back
high	i (ɪ)	ɻ ɨ	u (ʊ)
mid	e, ɛ	ə	o, ɔ
low		a	

Of these half are either allophones that can be derived through regular phonological processes or constraints or auditory distinctions that may be due to other factors. These include ɪ, ʊ, e, o, ɨ, and ɻ. According to Stevens (1968), [ɪ] and [ʊ] result from a rule that lowers [i] and [u] in closed syllables, though this may actually reflect vowel length (see Cohn & Lockwood 1994 and discussion below). [e] and [o] are the output of a rule that raises [ɛ] and [ɔ]. These processes are discussed further in section 4.2. [ɨ] and [ɻ] result from the Vowel Harmony process (referred to as Vowel Tensing in Stevens 1994 and Vowel Raising in Cohn 1993a) discussed in the next section.

4.1. Vowel harmony

Vowel harmony is perhaps the most striking feature of Madurese phonology. It was first detailed in the work of Kiliaan (1897, 1904) and more recently in that of Stevens (1968, 1980, 1985, and 1994).¹⁷ Vowel harmony is contained in the system of paired alternating vowels that characterize the vast majority of lexical

¹⁶Oka et al. (1988/1989) represent 13 different vowels. No one else reports this many.

¹⁷The system has also generated interest in the theoretical literature in the work of Cohn (1993a,b), Trigo (1987, 1991), and Anderson (1991).

items. Stevens (1968) estimates that 95% of all Madurese words make use of these alternating vowels. Each pair consists of a high vowel and a non-high vowel that match in backness and whose distribution is determined by the phonological environment in which it occurs. The pairs are given in (20).

(20) Alternating vowels

 $\varepsilon \sim i$ $\text{ɔ} \sim \text{u}$ $\text{a} \sim \text{ɤ}$ $\text{ə} \sim \text{i}$

The conditioning environment is the preceding consonant: high vowels follow the voiced and voiceless aspirated stops; the low counterparts occur elsewhere, although there are systematic exceptions for [l], [r], [ʔ], and [s] under specific circumstances discussed below. The regular case is illustrated first with the $\varepsilon \sim i$ pair.

(21) $\varepsilon \sim i$ complementarity

ε		i	
p	pəkker 'think'	p ^h	p ^h ik ^h ɫ 'rob'
t	tɛŋk ^h i 'tall'	b	bilɤ 'when'
t̚	t̚ɛt̚ɛŋɛl 'make anxious'	t ^h	t ^h ittɛl 'shake'
c	cɛʔ 'very'	d	dibɤsa 'mature'
k	kɛnɛʔ 'small'	t̚ ^h	t̚ ^h iccaʔ 'lame'
m	mɛmpɛ 'dream'	d̚	d̚ijɤ 'here'
n	nɤmɔr 'dry season'	c ^h	c ^h irɤʔ 'knot'
ŋ	ŋɛjɔr 'coconut'	ʃ	ʃibut ⁷ 'corpulent'
ŋ	ŋɛd̚d̚ɤ 'sleep soundly'	k ^h	k ^h iʔ 'yet'
l	lɛwat ⁷ 'pass'	g	gigit ⁷ 'teeth'
r	rɛbɤ 'lap'		
s	sɛŋkɔʔ 'I'		
#___	ɛŋa ⁷ 'remember'		

Consider first just the bilabial stops: [ɛ] follows [p] in [pəkker] 'think', but following [p^h] and [b], the high variant [i] occurs, as in [p^hik^hɫ] 'rob' and [bilɤ] 'when'. The same is true for the other four series of stops. [ɛ] occurs following all of the nasals as well as [l], [r], and [s], when the last three are in word-initial position. [ɛ] also occurs in word-initial position. The overwhelming majority of lexical items show this pattern. (Exceptions are discussed below.) While illustration with word-initial consonants is highlighted here, the pattern obtains

word internally as well. In [tɛŋk^{hi}] ‘tall’, the non-high [ɛ] follows the voiceless unaspirated stop [t̚], but the high vowel [i] follows the voiceless aspirated stop. This is also illustrated by [t^{hi}ittɛl] ‘shake’, in which [i] follows the voiceless aspirated dental stop and [ɛ] follows the voiceless unaspirated dental stop. The rest of the data conform to this regularity.

The pattern is illustrated for the other three pairs in (22-24).

(22) ɔ ~ u complementarity

ɔ		u	
p	pəkɔl ‘hit’	p ^h	p ^h urus ‘dog’
t	tɔɖus ‘embarrassed’	b	bujɣ ‘salt’
t̚	t̚ɔʔ ‘only’	t ^h	t ^h umen ‘after’
c	cɔŋŋɔʔ ‘look for’	d	dunggu ‘dull-witted’
k	kɔcɛŋ ‘cat’	t̚ ^h	t̚ ^h uʔ ^h ɣʔ ‘widower’
m	mɔsem ‘season’	ɖ	ɖuccɔl ‘loose’
n	nɔna ‘young girl’	c ^h	c ^h ukɔʔ ‘fish’
ɲ	ɲɔɲɔr ‘inflammable’	ʝ	ʝuʝuʔ ‘great-great grandparents’
ŋ	ŋɔɖɣ ‘young’	k ^h	k ^h unɔŋ ‘mountain’
l	lɔncɔʔ ‘jump’	g	gudunʝ ‘stupid’
r	rɔma ‘house’		
s	sɔratʔ ‘letter’		
#___	ɔp ^{hi} ŋ ‘screwdriver’		

(23) a ~ ɣ complementarity

a		ɣ	
p	pacɔl ‘hoe’	p ^h	p ^h ɣk ^h us ‘good’
t	tanɔŋ ‘hand’	b	bɣʔɣriʔ ‘yesterday’
t̚	t̚aratʔ ‘scream’	t ^h	t ^h ɣtt ^{hi} ‘become’
c	candɪ ‘temple’	d	dɣnɔ ‘dull-witted’
k	kap ^h ɣr ‘news’	t̚ ^h	t̚ ^h ɣsar ‘base/foundation’
m	mandɪ ‘bathe’	ɖ	ɖɣtɔŋ ‘come’
n	nakal ‘naughty’	c ^h	c ^h ɣbɣ ‘Java’
ɲ	ɲaman ‘pleasant’	ʝ	ʝɣkɛn ‘sure’
ŋ	ŋara ‘possible’	k ^h	k ^h ɣkk ^h ɣr ‘fall’
l	labɣŋ ‘door’	g	gɣrɣŋ ‘beautiful’
r	ratt ^{hi} n ‘pretty’		
s	sampɛʔ ‘until’		
#___	aɛŋ ‘water’		

(24) ə ~ ɨ complementarity

ə		ɨ	
p	pək ^h ɨl ‘angry’	p ^h	p ^h ɨkkəm ‘grip’
t	təbbɨl ‘thick’	b	biccεɛʔ ‘good’
t̚	t̚ɨŋtəŋ ‘robust’	t ^h	t ^h ɨrrɨp̚ ‘belch’
c	cəppət̚ ‘fast’	d	dɨrpək̚ ‘stout’
k	kəŋŋaŋ ‘full’	t̚ ^h	t̚ ^h ɨkkəp̚ ‘embrace’
m	məlla ‘lukewarm’	ɖ	ɖɨrrɨŋ ‘roar’
n	nəpp ^h ɨʔ ‘flat’	c ^h	c ^h ɨllɨŋ ‘see’
ɲ	ɲəccɛŋ ‘too short’	ʃ	ʃɨrruk̚ ‘citrus fruit’
ŋ	ŋəpp ^h ɨt̚ ‘face down’	k ^h	kɨlɨ ‘crazy’
l	ləmbʔ ‘soft’	g	gɨmmɔʔ ‘fat’
r	rəpp ^h ɨ ‘grass’		
s	sənnəŋ ‘happy’		
#___	əndɨʔ ‘willing’		

The alternations are most dramatically illustrated in the pairs of root/nasal actor voice forms of verbs. The actor voice nasal prefix, which is /ŋ/ in underlying form, replaces the initial consonant of the verb root with a homorganic nasal. This is illustrated first for roots with bilabial stops in initial position.

(25) underlying root	surface root	actor voice	
/penta/	[penta]	[mɛnta]	‘ask’
/bɛtəŋ/	[bitəŋ]	[mɛtəŋ]	‘count’

The data in (24) demonstrate the Vowel Raising process in deriving surface root forms and actor voice forms from the underlying forms /penta/ ‘ask’ and /bɛtəŋ/ ‘count’. The underlying forms contain only non-high vowels. In the surface root forms, [penta] and [bitəŋ],¹⁸ the non-high vowel [ɛ] follows [p] in the first syllable of the first word and the high vowel [i] follows [b] in the first syllable of the second word, following the application of Vowel Raising. In the actor voice, the initial bilabial stop of each root is replaced with the bilabial nasal [m]. For the root [penta], the vowel of the first syllable remains the same. However, for the root [bitəŋ], the vowel of the first syllable surfaces as [ɛ] following the general principle that high vowels do not occur immediately following nasals.

¹⁸Surface root forms occur in the citation form of the word (as in a dictionary entry) as well as in the object voice form, which consists of the object voice prefix ɛ- and the root. For the two verbs in (25) the object forms would be [ɛpenta] and [ɛbitəŋ].

The forms in (26) further illustrate the pattern with surface root and actor voice forms, demonstrating its regularity.

(26)	underlying	surface root	actor voice	
	/kɛrɛm/	[kɛrɛm]	[ŋɛrɛm]	‘send’
	/k ^h ɛp ^h a/	[k ^h ip ^h ɿ]	[ŋɛp ^h ɿ]	‘carry’
	/pareksa/	[pareksa]	[mareksa]	‘examine’
	/baca/	[bɿca]	[maca]	‘read’
	/tamən/	[tamən]	[namən]	‘plant’
	/ɖapaʔ/	[ɖɿpaʔ]	[napaʔɛ]	‘arrive’
	/tɔləs/	[tɔləs]	[nɔləs]	‘write’
	/t ^h ɔtt ^h ɔʔ/	[t ^h utt ^h uʔ]	[nɔtt ^h uʔ]	‘point’
	/bøllɛ/	[billi]	[møllɛ]	‘buy’

An alternative to the nasal actor voice prefix is the actor prefix *a-*, which occurs with specific transitive roots (predominantly roots with initial aspirated or voiced stops).¹⁹ Occasionally these roots take the *ŋ-* prefix (especially in the Western dialect), and when they do, the vowel optionally follows the vowel height generalization. For example, with the root [p^huktɛ] ‘prove’, the standard actor voice form is [ap^huktɛ]. However, some speakers also use the *ŋ-* prefix. In this case, the form [mɔktɛ] is predicted, as the non-high variant of the back vowel should follow the nasal [m], and speakers occasionally produce this form. However, speakers also produce [muktɛ], which employs the nasal prefix but maintains the high vowel of the root. Other examples are:

(27)	root	surface root	<i>a-</i> prefix	<i>ŋ-</i> prefix
	/bɔkkaʔ/ ‘open’	[bukkaʔ]	[abukkaʔ]	[mɔkkaʔ] ~ [mukkaʔ]
	/k ^h ɔrɛŋ/ ‘fry’	[k ^h uriŋ]	[ak ^h uriŋ]	[ŋɔrɛŋ] ~ [ŋuriŋ]
	/t ^h ɛŋk ^h al/ ‘remain’	[t ^h iŋk ^h ɿl]	[at ^h iŋk ^h ɿl]	[nɛŋk ^h ɿl] ~ [niŋk ^h ɿl]

Clearly, the pairs of vowels represent allophonic alternation, and only one from each pair is a true phoneme. Given the wider distribution of the non-high vowels, /ɛ/, /ɔ/, /a/ and /ə/ can reasonably be assumed to be the underlying vowels, a conclusion reached by Stevens (1968, 1980) and Cohn (1993a,b) as well. The high variants are derived by a regular process variously referred to as Vowel Tensing (Stevens 1994) or Vowel Raising (Cohn 1993). As outlined above, descriptively, vowels are tensed or raised following voiced and aspirated stops. Trigo (1991) and Cohn (1993a) have proposed formal phonological ana-

¹⁹The *a-* prefix is also used with the majority of active intransitive verbs. See Chapter 9.

lyses in which the conditioning environment depends on a feature that they refer to as [lowered larynx] which is manifested in the voiced and voiceless aspirated consonants.

Given the conditioning environment, the non-high vowels are expected following [l], [r], [ʔ] and [s]. And that is what the data show when considering only word-initial [l], [r], and [s]. (Recall that [ʔ] does not occur syllable initially.) However, there are data in the previous sets that show instances of high vowels following [l] and [r]. Consider the data in (28), which also include forms with [ʔ].

(28)	non-high V	high V
	[tɔləs] ‘write’	[bilɣ] ‘when’
	[mɔllɛ] ‘buy’	[billi] ‘buy’
	[kɛrɛm] ‘send’	[p ^h urus] ‘dog’
	[kɛrɛs] ‘knife’	[t ^h irɣɣp] ‘belch’
	[napaʔɛ] ‘arrive at’	[nabɣʔi] ‘put on’

The data in (28) indicate that the vowels that follow [l], [r], and [ʔ] match the height of the vowels that immediately precede them. This is true for [l] and [r] even when geminated. These segments are thus transparent for the determination of the quality of the vowels that follow them. That non-high vowels follow [l] and [r] when these consonants occur word-initially can be attributed to the fact that there is no word-internal conditioning vowel that precedes [l] and [r] in this environment and so the default non-high vowel occurs. The glides [w] and [j] show the same effect. However, when internal to a word, it can be argued that these glides are epenthesized (see section 2.5.1). If so, then the rule determining vowel height can operate prior to the epenthesis, in which case it is unnecessary to consider these elements ‘transparent’ in the same sense as [l], [r], and [ʔ].

Finally, [s] behaves differently yet. Internal to a morpheme, [s] is followed by non-high vowels. This was illustrated for word-initial [s] above, and is also clear in the following:

(29)	[bisa]	‘can’
	[t ^h ɣsar]	‘base/foundation’
	[nɛsɛr]	‘pity/love’
	[pasar]	‘market’

Regardless of whether or not the vowel of the preceding syllable is high, such as [i] or [ɣ], or non-high, such as [ɛ] or [a], the following vowel is non-high. However, at a morpheme boundary, the height of the vowel following [s] depends on

the height of the vowel in the preceding syllable. This is illustrated in the data in (30).²⁰

(30)	tələs + -ε	→	[tələsɛ]	‘write’ (durative)
	p ^h uŋkəs + -an	→	[p ^h uŋkəsən]	‘package’ (wrapped thing)
	gibɾs + -ε	→	[gibɾsi]	‘wag’ (durative)
	bɾlis + -an	→	[bɾlisən]	‘returned thing’

In the durative form of ‘write’ [tələsɛ], the durative morpheme occurs as the non-high [ɛ] and the vowel of the root-final syllable is non-high. However, in the durative form of ‘wag’, [gibɾsi], the durative morpheme occurs as the high vowel [i], and in this instance the vowel of the root-final syllable is high [ɾ]. Similarly, the nominal suffix *-an* alternates between [an] and [ən] when suffixed to a root ending in [s], again depending on the vowel of the final syllable of the root. In (28), when the root-final syllable contains the non-high vowel [ɔ], the suffix takes the non-high form [an], [p^huŋkəsən] ‘package’. Conversely, in [bɾlisən] ‘returned thing’, the vowel of the final syllable of the root is high [i] and the suffix takes the high vowel form [ən].

Returning to the question of the phonemic inventory, there are a number of lexical items that contain what Stevens (1968) refers to as non-alternating vowels. These vowels do not follow the general pattern, including cases of high vowels that follow segments other than voiced and voiceless aspirated stops (or [l], [r], [ʔ], and [s] under the prescribed conditions). Most of these lexical items are borrowings, predominantly from Arabic, Dutch, English, and Indonesian. Nonetheless these forms have been fully absorbed into the language. Examples include:

²⁰ In the discussion that follows, phonological processes are applied to intermediate forms, forms which have already undergone the process of Vowel Raising (VR). Therefore neither phonemic nor phonetic bracketing is used. This is a matter of both clarity and brevity. For example, the derivation from underlying representation (UR) to surface representation (SR) is as follows:

(i)	UR		VRaising		Affixation		VRaising/ Phonetic Realization
	/tələs/	→	---		tələs + -ε	→	[tələsɛ] ‘write’
	/gɛbas/	→	gibɾs		gibɾs + -ε	→	[gibɾsi] ‘wave’

Dispensing with the step in which Vowel Raising takes place reduces unnecessary clutter, thus making the phonological process of interest more perspicuous.

(31) Lexical items with non-alternating vowels²¹

[ban] ‘tire’
 [baŋ] ‘bank’
 [bɔla] ‘ball’
 [bɔrgɔl] ‘manacle’
 [buku] ‘book’
 [gɔbis] ‘cabbage’
 [kibik] ‘cubic’
 [kipas] ‘fan’
 [kɔpi] ‘coffee’
 [kuwi] ‘cake’
 [sidaʔ] ‘choke’
 [sipil] ‘civilian’
 [surgap] ‘conceited’
 [susu] ‘milk’
 [tipəs] ‘typhus’

The list includes cases in which high vowels follow voiceless consonants, as in [buku] ‘book’, [kɔpi] ‘coffee’, [kibik] ‘cubic’, [susu] ‘milk’, and [tipəs] ‘typhus’. There are also instances in which a non-high vowel follows a voiced stop, such as [ban] ‘tire’, [baŋ] ‘bank’, [bɔla] ‘ball’, and [gɔbis] ‘cabbage’. The only high vowels that are found in such lexical items are [u] and [i]; [ɨ] and [ɻ] are never found outside the conditioning environment for vowel alternation.

There is another important difference among [u], [i], [ɨ], and [ɻ]: [u] and [i] occur word-initially in a small number of lexical items (32), whereas [ɨ] and [ɻ] never do.

(32) [irigɻsi] ‘irrigation’
 [iseŋ] ‘troublesome’
 [istimɛwa] ‘special’
 [uɲijɻn] ‘examination’
 [usul] ‘character’
 [uwɻʔ] ‘steam’

²¹Often, the forms that have been borrowed from Indonesian have variants with non-alternating and alternating vowels. Examples include:

- (i) [susu] ~ [sɔsɔ] ‘milk’
 [tulɛn] ~ [tɔlɛn] ‘pure’
 [tulus] ~ [tɔlɔs] ‘reliable’

In order to account for these instances of [i] and [u] outside the conditioning environment, they must be posited in underlying representations. It is never necessary to posit [ī] and [ɤ] in underlying representations of lexical items. As the occurrence of [ī] and [ɤ] can always be predicted, there is no need to include them in the phonemic inventory of the language.

Having established the vowel harmony (or raising or tensing) process and the phonemic inventory as the six vowels /ɛ/, /ɔ/, /a/, /ə/, /i/, and /u/, it is clear this should be reflected in the underlying representations of lexical items. Thus, we have the following:

(33) underlying	surface
/k ^h ɛp ^h a/	[k ^h i ^h p ^h ɤ] ‘carry’
/t ^h ɛŋk ^h al/	[t ^h i ^h ŋk ^h ɤl] ‘remain’
/pəkk ^h əl/	[pəkk ^h iɪ] ‘angry’
/c ^h ɔkɔʔ/	[c ^h ukɔʔ] ‘fish’
/k ^h ɔrɛŋ/	[k ^h uriŋ] ‘fry’

All of the high vowels in the surface forms are derived via the harmony rule. In words with non-alternating vowels, the surface and underlying forms are identical. However, in order to focus discussion and make forms maximally transparent, I include the surface form of the vowels in all roots.

A final issue regarding the vowel inventory is the status of [ɨ] as a surface vowel. In works such as Stevens (1980, 1994) and Cohn & Lockwood (1994), eight vowels are posited as being the principle vowels in Madurese, the eight described above as participating in the vowel alternation. However, other sources differ on the number of primary vowels. (I use the term ‘primary vowels’ here as the authors tend not to identify the inventories as being phonemic or phonetic.) Budi et al. (1986/1987) recognize seven vowels, as do Safioedin (1977) and Zainudin (1978). While there seems to be some conflation of [ə], [ɤ] and [ī] in Budi et al., Safioedin (1977), Zainudin (1978), and Pawitra (2009) posit [ī], [ɛ], [u], [ɔ], [a], [ə], and [ɤ] (although transcription systems vary somewhat). Moehnilabib (1979) recognizes six vowels, corresponding to the phonemic inventory posited here. Notably absent in all but Stevens and Cohn & Lockwood is any distinction between [ə] and [ī]. And, in fact, no practical orthography ever devised for Madurese has ever recognized such a distinction (see section 8). Those that make use of symbols other than *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* identify six or seven graphemes but never include a distinct symbol for [ɨ].

What, then, is the status of [ī]? It might be recognized for theoretical reasons, i.e. to regularize the system of alternating vowels. However, absent other evidence, ensuring paradigm uniformity for the alternating vowel system seems an insufficient justification. There does, however, appear to be some instrumental evidence for distinguishing [ə] and [ī]. Cohn & Lockwood (1994) report that

the analysis of recordings of one male and one female speaker from East Madura indicate the vowel space (based on first and second formants) occupied by [i] is distinct from that of [ə]. At the same time, the difference in the vowel space that they report for [ə] and [i] is much less dramatic than the differences for the other pairs, and indeed there was some overlap in their distribution. The space occupied by each of the vowels in the other pairs was essentially completely distinct from its partner. Cohn & Lockwood found little difference in the average F2s of the pair of vowels but found the difference between the average F1s to be comparable for [i]/[ɛ], [u]/[ɔ] and [i]/[ə] (the difference in the F1 averages for [ɤ]/[a] were dramatically higher). In attempting to replicate these results with a single male speaker from Jember, East Java, Bortscheller (2007) reports a somewhat more dramatic difference in the vowel space occupied by [ə] and [i]. He also reports a slightly greater difference between the average F1s for [ə] and [i] than found by Cohn & Lockwood for their male speaker. But again, the difference in average F1 is comparable to that found with the other pairs of vowels. While not a matter of great urgency, given the instrumental evidence (albeit slim), it seems that the distinction should be recognized.

4.2. Other vowel processes

Finally, there are three low-level phonetic processes that have been proposed for some apparent tense/lax allophonic variation and a vowel nasalization process. The first is a rule that alters the quality of a high front or high back vowel in closed syllables, accounting for perceived instances of [ɪ] and [ʊ]. Stevens (1968) cites this rule, and the reflexes [ɪ] and [ʊ] are included in Safioedin (1977) and Oka et al. (1988/89). Potential examples include:

- (34) [bintaŋ] ~ [bɪntaŋ] ‘star’
 [k^hippɔŋ] ~ [k^hɪppɔŋ] ‘confused’
 [buntɔʔ] ~ [bɪntɔʔ] ‘tail’

Cohn & Lockwood (1994) report that for the two speakers they studied, high front and high back vowels were significantly shorter in duration in closed syllables than in open syllables. They reported no significant differences in the F1 and F2 values in the same environments. I have been able to confirm these results to some degree through acoustic analysis of data collected from four speakers.²² There were no significant differences in the F1 and F2 values in open and closed syllables, but there was some difference in vowel length. These

²² Three speakers were recorded on Madura and one speaker originally from Situbundo (East Java) was recorded in Iowa City. Thanks to Michael Bortscheller, Craig Dresser, and Jeff Press for assistance with the acoustic analysis.

results indicate that speakers vary with respect to the strength and prevalence of this process, the distinction more robust with some speakers and nearly non-existent with others. However, this same type of laxing in closed syllables has been reported some closely-related languages (Indonesian (Lapoliwa 1981), Karo Batak (Woollams 1996)).

Similar to the tense/lax alternation is a reported raising and/or tensing process affecting non-high front and back vowels in open syllables. The reflexes of this get reported as [e] and [o] at times, e.g. Oka et al. 1988/89, and at others as a slightly raised ϵ , [ϵ^\wedge], or ɔ , [ɔ^\wedge] (Stevens 1968). Potential examples include:

- (35) [s ϵ] ~ [s ϵ^\wedge] ~ [se] ‘relative particle’
 [reja] ~ [r ϵ^\wedge ja] ~ [reja] ‘that’
 [p $\text{ɔ}\epsilon$] ~ [p ɔ^\wedge l ϵ^\wedge] ~ [pole] ‘again’
 [rat ɔ] ~ [rat ɔ^\wedge] ~ [rato] ‘king’

Again, there is a great deal of speaker variation. Acoustic analysis does not confirm a reliable difference in open and closed syllables. Additionally, some lexical items seem to be more susceptible to this process than others, for example, the word *toko* ‘store’ is usually pronounced [toko], whereas *nyoro* ‘command’ is usually pronounced closer to [n $\text{ɔ}\text{r}\text{ɔ}$].²³

Cohn and Lockwood (1994) report a different tense/lax alternation involving [ϵ]/[e] and [ɔ]/[o]. They report systematic tensing and raising of front and back non-high vowels following nasals, citing the data in (36), which confirms Stevens’ (1968) observation (and reflects the nasalization rule to be discussed presently).

- (36) [p ϵ ka] ‘pinch’ [m ϵ kətʰ] ‘trap’
 [p ɔ ka] ‘break’ [m o ka] ‘break (actor voice)’

Nasalization. Another minor phonetic realization rule affecting vowels is nasalization. Vowels immediately following nasals are lightly nasalized, as are vowels and glides adjacent to nasalized vowels. Glottal stop is transparent to vowel nasalization.

- (37) maca → [m \tilde{a} ca] ‘read’
 $\epsilon\text{n}\text{ɔ}\text{m}$ → [$\epsilon\text{n}\tilde{\text{o}}\text{m}$] ‘drink’

²³In fact, Stevens (1968:37) reports this in some instances as well, e.g. [soto] ‘a kind of soup’, but not others, e.g. [s $\text{ɔ}\text{s}\text{ɔ}$] ‘milk’.

nɛat	→	nɛjat	→	[nɛ̃ʃjātʰ]	'intend'
ɛŋaʔ	+ ε		→	[ɛŋãʔɛ̃]	'remember'

As it is unimportant to points which follow, nasalization is not marked on vowels.

5. Phonological processes

There are a number of process that derive surface structures from underlying phonemic forms.

5.1. Epenthesis

There are three principal processes that insert consonants between two contiguous vowels.

Glottal insertion. A glottal stop is epenthesized between 2 identical vowels, either at a morpheme boundary or root internally, which has the effect in (38).

$$(38) \emptyset \rightarrow ? / V_1 _ V_1$$

(39)	sakɔla	+ an	→	[sakɔlaʔan]	'school'
	mate	+ ε	→	[mateʔɛ]	'kill'

In the word for 'school', [sakɔlaʔan], [ʔ] is inserted between the root-final [a] of [sakɔla] and the suffix-initial [a] of [an]. In [mateʔɛ] 'kill', [ʔ] is inserted between the root-final [ɛ] of [mate] and the suffix [ɛ]. Other examples include:

(40)	maca	+ a	→	[macaʔa]	'will read'
	abɤlɤ	+ ak ^{hi}	→	[abɤlɤʔɤk ^{hi}] ²⁴	'tell about'
	birse	+ ε	→	[birseʔɛ]	'clean'

²⁴With the suffix *-ak^{hi}*, one actually finds variation between [abɤlɤʔɤk^{hi}] and [abɤlɤʔak^{hi}], in which the initial vowel of the suffix does not undergo the harmony rule. Stevens (1994) attributes this optionality to the fact that the form *ak^{hi}* can be more closely bound to the root as a suffix, resulting in [abɤlɤʔɤk^{hi}] (in this case), or more loosely bound, almost as an independent word, resulting in [abɤlɤʔak^{hi}].

Note that in the form [abʌlʌʔak^{hi}] ‘tell about’, [ʔ] is inserted not between two identical surface vowels but between two vowels of one of the alternating pairs, [ʌ] and [a]. This provides additional evidence that in underlying representation the paired vowels are identical. Glottal insertion also occurs root internally, as illustrated by:

(41)	lɛɛr	→	[lɛʔɛr]	‘neck’
	tɔɔt	→	[tɔʔɔtʰ]	‘knee’
	bʌʌ	→	[bʌʔʌ]	‘flood’
	naas	→	[naʔas]	‘misfortune’

Root-internal [ʔ] is completely predictable, occurring only between two identical vowels. Additionally, the Indonesian cognates of these words are virtually identical, merely lacking the glottal stop and the precise quality of vowels.

j-epenthesis. The lone exception to the glottal insertion process is a morphophonemic rule occurring in the environment in which the ‘passive’ prefix ε - precedes a stem-initial ε or the prepositional element ε ‘at’ cliticizes to a stem-initial ε . In this environment, the palatal glide [j] is epenthesized rather than the expected [ʔ].²⁵

(42) $\emptyset \rightarrow j/ \varepsilon + _ \varepsilon$

(43)	$\varepsilon + \varepsilon t^{hi}n\varepsilon$	→	[ɛjɛt ^{hi} nɛ]	‘be allowed’
	$\varepsilon + \varepsilon nɔm$	→	[ɛjɛnɔm]	‘be drunk’
	$\varepsilon + \varepsilon s\varepsilonʔ\varepsilon$	→	[ɛjɛs\varepsilonʔ\varepsilon]	‘be filled’
	$\varepsilon + \varepsilon lɔŋ$	→	[ɛjɛlɔŋ]	‘in (the) nose’

Glide epenthesis. As stated in section 1, glides in Madurese are rarely phonemic. There are a small number of loan words in which word-initial /j/ and /w/ are found and there are some native words with final /j/. (See section 1.1.) The vast majority of surface glides arise from a process of glide epenthesis that inserts [j] or [w] between contiguous vowels that have different specifications for backness. This occurs word internally or before a suffix, the glide conditioned by the backness of the first vowel. [j] is inserted after a front vowel, and [w] is inserted after a back vowel.

²⁵At times, speakers override this j-epenthesis, inserting [ʔ] instead, as in

(i) $\varepsilon + \varepsilon c\varepsilon t \rightarrow [\varepsilonʔ\varepsilon c\varepsilon tʰ]$

- (44) mǝllɛ + ak^{hi} → [mǝllɛjak^{hi}] ‘buy for’ (actor voice)
 ŋa + taɔ + ak^{hi} → [ŋataɔwak^{hi}] ‘convince’ (actor voice)

In the form [mǝllɛjak^{hi}] ‘buy for’, [j] is inserted between the stem-final [ɛ] of [mǝllɛ] ‘buy’ and the initial [a] of the benefactive suffix [ak^{hi}]. However in [ŋataɔwak^{hi}] ‘convince’ [w] is inserted between the stem and [ak^{hi}] because the stem-final vowel is back and round [ɔ]. Other examples include:

- (45) libɔli + an → [libɔlijɔn] ‘several times’
 t^hɔtt^{hi} + a → [t^hɔtt^{hi}jɔ] ‘will become’
 ɔlle + a → [ɔlleja] ‘will get’
 ka + ratɔ + an → [karatɔwan] ‘palace/kingdom’
 ɛka + taɔ + ɛ → [ɛkataɔwɛ] ‘is known’
 abɔntɔ + a → [abɔntɔwa] ‘will help’

The occurrence of root-internal glides is also completely predictable and can be derived through glide epenthesis. Examples include:

- (46) neat → [nejat^h] ‘intend’
 sɛər → [sɛjər] ‘fall asleep’
 ŋɛər → [ŋɛjər] ‘coconut’
 bɔriɔŋ → [bɔrijɔŋ] ‘feel unwell’
 diəm → [dijəm] ‘calm’
 t^hiuk → [t^hijuk] ‘commotion’
 tɔa → [tɔwa] ‘old’
 sɔər → [sɔwər] ‘notch’
 duɔʔ → [duwɔʔ] ‘two’
 bui → [buwi] ‘fetter’

It is telling that for those roots with an Indonesian cognate, the Indonesian word lacks the glide but in all other respects is virtually identical to the Madurese: *niat* ‘intend’, *diam* ‘calm’, *bui* ‘fetter’, *dua* ‘two’, *tua* ‘old’.

5.2. Gemination

There are a number of gemination processes in Madurese, but by far the most productive and frequent of these is gemination that ensures that the syllable structure constraint on [ə] is satisfied. Recall that [ə] can only occur in closed syllables. When a vowel-initial suffix is added to a consonant-final root, resyllabification takes place so that the final consonant becomes the onset of the fol-

lowing syllable. (45) illustrates.

(47) ηε.ρεμ ‘send’ + a ‘IRR’ → [ηε.ρε.μα] ‘send (IRR)’

In (47), [m] forms the coda of the second syllable of the root. But, in the derived form [ηερεμα], [m] is the onset of third syllable. Importantly, [ε] is the vowel of the second syllable, and [ε] can occur in an open syllable, and so the form [ηερεμα] is well formed. However, when the root-final syllable contains [ə], the same process would result in a form that violates the phonotactic constraint on [ə], as illustrated in (48).

(48) μα.πəs.σəl ‘regret’ + a ‘IRR’ → * [μα.πəs.σə.λα]

Gemination of the stem-final [l] of [μαπəσσəl] preserves the environment for [ə] and ensures well-formedness, as in

(49) μα.πəs.σəl ‘regret’ + a ‘IRR’ → [μα.πəs.σəl.λα] ‘regret (IRR)’
Additional examples include:

(50) p^husən ‘bored’ + ε ‘LOC’ → [p^husənnε] ‘bored with’
pəkk^hil ‘angry’ + ε ‘LOC’ → [pəkk^hilli] ‘angry at’
ka + ənnəŋ ‘stay’ + an ‘NOM’ → [kənnəŋŋan] ‘place’
naŋkəp ‘catch’ + a ‘IRR’ → [naŋkəpp^hɣ] ‘catch (IRR)’²⁶
muɟ^hik ‘strike’ + ε ‘DUR’ → [muɟ^hikk^hi] ‘strike repeatedly’

This contrasts with cases in which the vowel in the final syllable is neither [ə] nor [i]. In these cases there is no gemination of the consonant.

(51) tələs ‘write’ + ε ‘DUR’ → [tələsε] ‘write (DUR)’
ηερεμ ‘send’ + ε ‘LOC’ → [ηερεμε] ‘send to’
p^huŋkəs ‘wrap’ + an ‘NOM’ → [p^huŋkəsən] ‘package’
ɟɰwɰp ‘answer’ + an ‘NOM’ → [ɟɰwɰp^hɰn] ‘answer’
nətəp ‘close’ + a ‘IRR’ → [nətəp^hɣ] ‘close (IRR)’

Note that it is entirely possible that like ?-insertion and glide-epenthesis, this type of gemination may occur word internally as well. For example, the root

²⁶The forms [naŋkəpp^hɣ] ‘will catch’ and [muɟ^hikk^hi] ‘strike repeatedly’ undergo the process of aspiration (discussed in section 6) in addition to gemination. This additionally causes the raising of the vowel of the suffix.

[sənnəŋ] ‘happy’ includes geminate *n*. The cognate in Indonesian is [sənaŋ], with a single [n]. Indonesian does not contain the same type of syllable-structure constraint on [ə]. So, it is conceivable that the underlying form in Madurese is /sənaŋ/, and the gemination process takes place to create the appropriate syllable structure for [ɽ]. This is, in fact, Stevens’ (1968:57) approach, where, for example, an intermediate form for the actor form for ‘buy’ is *mələ* and gemination occurs in the derivation of the surface form [məllə].²⁷

Stevens (1968) cites two additional gemination processes, both of which are obligatory. In the first, which is considerably more productive than the second, a stop is geminated when it is adjacent to a liquid root internally. The process derives a form such as [pöttɾɛ] ‘princess, daughter’ from the underlying form /pötɾɛ/. The underlying form proposed by Stevens is the same as the underlying form and phonetic realization of the Indonesian cognate *putri*. In the spirit of this analysis, this gemination process operates in the derivation of the following:

(52) $C_1 \rightarrow C_1 C_1 / _ \{l/r\}$
[STOP]

(53) juk ^h lɔŋg	→	[juk ^h lɔŋg] ‘large hole, ravine’
katrəl	→	[kattɾəl] ‘pulley’
əbrɔl	→	[əbbɾɔl] ‘waste’
sadrika	→	[saddrika] ‘flat-iron’
seplak	→	[sepplak] ‘slap’
səklat	→	[səkklat ^ɽ] ‘brown’

The second of the two minor gemination processes is quite restricted, affecting only *s* when adjacent to *r* word internally. Stevens cites the forms in (54) as examples.

(54) asɾɛŋ	→	[assɾɛŋ] ‘frequent’
pasra	→	[passra] ‘hand over’

5.3. Deletion

There is an optional deletion process which affects the vowel of the first syllable of a word. When the first syllable is the third syllable from the end of the

²⁷As is the case with vowel quality, I include geminated consonants in all forms rather than listing any underlying forms with single consonants that are subsequently geminated in order to focus discussion and make forms maximally transparent.

root, the vowel can optionally be deleted in an open syllable when preceded by a consonant and followed by an approximant, a liquid or a glide.²⁸ This can be very informally represented as:

$$(55) \quad V \rightarrow \emptyset / \#C _ [\quad CV \quad (C)V(C) \\ \sigma \text{ [LIQUID/GLIDE]}]$$

This process creates the majority of the complex onsets found in Madurese. Its operation with liquids is illustrated in (56).

(56) bɔ̃ɫɪnt ^h ɔ̃	→	[bɔ̃ɫɪnt ^h ɔ̃]	‘Dutch’
bɔ̃ɾɪmpa	→	[bɔ̃ɾɪmpa]	‘how much’
t ^h ɔ̃lubɔ̃ŋ	→	[t ^h ɫubɔ̃ŋ]	‘paper’
malarat	→	[mlarat ^ʔ]	‘miserable’
karatɔ̃wan	→	[kratɔ̃wan]	‘palace/kingdom’
paraɔ̃	→	[praɔ̃]	‘ship’
salamət	→	[slamət ^ʔ]	‘safe’
sarek ^h ɔ̃p	→	[srek ^h ɔ̃p]	‘energetic’

Vowel deletion with glides is exemplified in (57). By convention, the glides are inserted via the glide epenthesis operation described above (section 5.1). Thus this deletion process takes place only in intermediate forms. Examples include:

(57) kɔ̃ace	→	kɔ̃wace	→	[kwacɛ]	‘magpie’
pɛara	→	pɛjara	→	[pjara]	‘look after’
sɔ̃ara	→	sɔ̃wara	→	[swara]	‘sound/voice’

The results of the dialect study of Sutoko et al. (1998) indicate that for the lexical items which they tested this form of elision is particularly widespread in the Bangkalan, Sampang and Pamekasan areas.²⁹

²⁸As pointed out to me by Cathie Ringen, this process likely represents some pressure for trisyllabic roots to conform to the highly favored disyllabic form, deleting the vowel of the first syllable when the resulting cluster does not violate sonority sequencing of having a less sonorous consonant precede a more sonorous one.

²⁹As pointed out to me by Jill Beckman, a plausible alternative analysis of (54) would be to derive the surface forms directly from the underlying forms via a gliding process in which /ɔ̃/ surfaces as [w] and /ɛ/ surfaces as [j].

6. Morphophonemic processes

There are a number of morphophonemic rules which apply only in the environment of specific morphemes.

j-epenthesis. Discussed in the previous section is *j-epenthesis*, the sole exception to glottal insertion and a process distinct from glide epenthesis. *j-epenthesis* occurs only when the object voice prefix ε - precedes a stem-initial ε or when the object of the preposition ε ‘at’ has a stem-initial ε . In this environment, the palatal glide [j] is epenthesized between the two vowels.

(58)	$\varepsilon + \varepsilon^{\text{h}}\text{in}\varepsilon$	→	[$\varepsilon\text{j}\varepsilon^{\text{h}}\text{in}\varepsilon$]	‘be allowed’
	$\varepsilon + \varepsilon\text{n}\text{om}$	→	[$\varepsilon\text{j}\varepsilon\text{n}\text{om}$]	‘be drunk’
	$\varepsilon + \varepsilon\text{lo}\eta$	→	[$\varepsilon\text{j}\varepsilon\text{lo}\eta$]	‘in (the) nose’

Nasal replacement. As described briefly in section 4, when the nasal actor voice morpheme η - is affixed to a verb root, the nasal assimilates to the place of articulation of an immediately following obstruent, replacing the obstruent. Exceptional in this regard is the replacement of /s/ by the palatal nasal [ɲ]. This

process operates only with the η - actor voice prefix.³⁰ The dental nasal [n] replaces both dental and alveolar/retroflex obstruents, and the palatal nasal [ɲ] results when the actor voice is prefixed to a root with an s-initial stem. The actor voice prefix is realized as [ɲ] when it precedes a vowel, l, r, or h. Only [h] deletes in the presence of [ɲ].³¹

³⁰The process does surface again with process nominals such as *panolessa* [panolessa] ‘writing’. However, as discussed in Chapter 4 section 4.1.2.8, this form combines the *pa* prefix with the actor voice form of the verb. Thus, the underlying form is /pa + η + toles + na/, and the nasal in this form is the same instance of nasal replacement illustrated in (54). The change in the form of the definite suffix /na/ → [sa] is explained in section 2.6.

³¹By and large, roots with an initial aspirated or voiced consonant tend to take the *a*-actor voice prefix rather than the nasal, a point noted by Stevens (1968) and amply documented there. However, speakers of the Western dialect have a tendency to use the nasal prefix somewhat more liberally, and in those cases the homorganic nasal replaces the initial consonant of the root.

(59) surface root	actor voice	
pəkəl	[məkəl]	‘hit’
p ^h ɣkta	[makta]	‘bring’
bɣca	[maca]	‘read’
tələs	[nələs]	‘write’
t ^h utt ^h u?	[nətt ^h u?]	‘point’
ʔəkʔək	[nəkʔək]	‘knock’
ɬɣpa?	[napa?]	‘arrive at’
sənnəŋ	[ŋənnəŋŋɛ]	‘happy with’
cantəl	[ŋantəl]	‘hook’
c ^h ucc ^h u?	[ŋəcc ^h u?]	‘pick up’
kɛrɛm	[ŋɛrɛm]	‘send’
k ^h ip ^h ɣ	[ŋɛp ^h ɣ]	‘carry’
hərmat	[ŋərmat ^ʔ]	‘respect’
ɛnəm	[ŋɛnəm]	‘drink’
lakənɛ	[ŋlakənɛ]	‘do repeatedly’
rəsak	[ŋrəsakk ^h ɣk ^h i]	‘break’

All the Indonesian-type languages have an analogue of the actor voice nasal assimilation rule. However, Madurese is unique in replacing all root-initial obstruents. In Indonesian, Javanese, Balinese, Sundanese, and Batak only the voiceless stops are replaced by the homorganic nasal. In the voiced or breathy voice series of consonants, the nasal only assimilates to the place of articulation of the obstruent; it does not replace it.

Nasal assimilation without deletion. The nasal of the nominalizing prefix *pang-* (sometimes together with the suffix *-an*) also assimilates to the place of articulation of the initial consonant of the stem to which it affixed. However, unlike the actor voice, the nasal in *paŋ-* only replaces voiceless unaspirated consonants. Other consonants are not deleted. Derivatives with *paŋ-* are largely agentive and instrumental nouns and with *paŋ- -an* abstract nouns.³² The forms in (60) have roots with an initial voiceless obstruent, and in the derived forms the voiceless obstruent deletes. The forms in (61) have roots with an initial consonant that is aspirated or voiced, and the consonant remains together with the assimilated nasal. As the final form in (61) shows, when the root is vowel-initial, the velar nasal surfaces on the prefix.

³²The *paŋ-* prefix thus differs from the collocation of *pa-* + *ŋ* found in process nominals described in footnote 18.

(60)	taŋdaŋ	‘dance’	[paŋaŋdɔŋ]	‘dancer’
	t ^h utt ^h u?	‘point’	[paŋott ^h u?	‘pointer/hand of a clock’
	kakan	‘eat’	[paŋakan]	‘utensil’
	parenta	‘command’	[pamarentaʔan]	‘government’
(61)	p ^h ik ^h ɣl	‘rob’	[pamp ^h ik ^h ɣl]	‘robber’
	bɣk ^h i	‘distribute’	[pambɣk ^h ijɣŋ]	‘distribution’
	ɣɣɣ	‘guard’	[paŋɣɣɣ]	‘guard’
	k ^h ɣris	‘line’	[paŋk ^h ɣris]	‘ruler’
	nɛsɛr	‘love/pity’	[pannɛsɛr]	‘love-gift’/‘dowry’
	arɛp	‘hope’	[paŋarɛp]	‘hope’

Aspiration. Another process sensitive to morpheme boundaries is aspiration. In this process a stop is aspirated when the following morpheme is vowel initial. As there are no prefixes that end with stops, this aspiration only takes place on root/stems that end in a stop. It has been proposed (Stevens 1968, Cohn 1993) that there are no root-final aspirated or voiced stops. Therefore, this aspiration process likely affects only voiceless stops. Informally, the process can be characterized as:

(62) Aspiration

$$C_{\text{stop}} \rightarrow C_{\text{stop}}^h / _ + V$$

Aspiration is illustrated in (63).

(63)	nɔtɔp + a	→	[nɔtɔp ^h ɣ]	‘open (irr.)’
	nɔlak + a	→	[nɔlak ^h ɣ]	‘refuse (irr.)’
	ɣwɣp + an	→	[ɣwɣp ^h ɣŋ]	‘answer’
	sɛmprɔt + an	→	[sɛmprɔt ^h ɣŋ]	‘spray’
	maŋkat + ε	→	[maŋkat ^h i]	‘leave often’
	matək + ε	→	[matək ^h i]	‘strike repeatedly’

As is clear in all of the cases in (63), aspiration creates the environment for a high vowel; thus, the non-high vowels in the underlying forms of the irrealis *-a*, nominalizing *-an*, and iterative *-ε* suffixes are realized as high vowels. Additionally, gemination is induced in the iterative form [matək^hi] ‘strike repeatedly’ to satisfy the constraint on ə occurring only in closed syllables.

For some speakers, this aspiration process appears to be optional in some

environments. For example, it is possible to find the following forms with the iterative suffix (64).

(64) nətəp + ε	→	[nətəp ^h i] ~ [nətəpɛ]	‘cover’
ɲəmprət + ε	→	[ɲəmprət ^h i] ~ [ɲəmprətɛ]	‘spray’
ŋəbət + ε	→	[ŋəbət ^h i] ~ [ŋəbətɛ]	‘give medicine to’

For other speakers, this aspiration never occurs, so the forms in (63) surface rather than those in (65).

(65) nətəp + a	→	[nətəpa]	‘open (irr.)’
nələk + a	→	[nələka]	‘refuse (irr.)’
səmprət + an	→	[səmprətən]	‘spray’
maŋkat + ε	→	[maŋkatɛ]	‘leave often’
matək + ε	→	[matəkke]	‘strike repeatedly’

Gemination. Two suffixes induce gemination of a stem-final consonant. The benefactive/causative suffix *-ak^hi*, underlying /ak^hɛ/, copies the final consonant of the stem as the onset of the first syllable of the suffix. This is illustrated in (66).³³

(66) -ak ^h i			
tərrəŋ	‘clear’	[tərrəŋŋak ^h i]	‘explain’
jakən	‘sure’	[jakənnak ^h i]	‘convince’
kap ^h ɪr	‘news’	[kap ^h ɪrɪk ^h i]	‘spread the news’
ŋerəm	‘send’	[ŋerəmmak ^h i]	‘send for’
nələs	‘write’	[nələssak ^h i]	‘write for’
ɲəmprət	‘spray’	[ɲəmprət ^h ɪk ^h i]	‘spray for’
naŋkəp	‘catch’	[naŋkəpp ^h ɪk ^h i]	‘catch for’

Note that the derivatives of [ɲəmprət] ‘spray’ and [naŋkəp] ‘catch’ trigger the aspiration of the stem-final voiceless stop, which creates the environment for a

³³ The fully derived forms in (66) are all verbs in the Actor Voice. The result of affixation of *-ak^hi* is always a transitive verb form, canonically represented in Actor Voice. In the last four cases in (66), *-ak^hi* is affixed to a transitive verb stem, which is already presented in Actor Voice form and thus occur with the nasal prefix. For the first three forms, [tərrəŋ] ‘clear’, [jakən] ‘sure’, and [kap^hɪr] ‘news’, which are not transitive verbs, the Actor Voice nasal prefix is added as part of the derivation of the causative forms.

high vowel ɪ rather than the base non-high vowel a . With vowel-final stems, depending on the quality of the vowel, epenthesis of a glide or glottal stop is triggered.

(67)	məllɛ	‘buy’	[məllɛjak ^h i]	‘buy for’
	tantə	‘certain’	[nantəwak ^h i]	‘decide’
	abɪɪɪ	‘say’	[abɪɪɪʔɪk ^h i]	‘say about’

The other suffix that copies the final consonant of the stem is the definite suffix *-na*. With vowel-final stems, there is no change in the suffix, as illustrated in (63).

(68)	definite <i>-na</i>			
	buku	‘book’	[bukuna]	‘the book’
	kəpi	‘coffee’	[kəpina]	‘the coffee’
	mɛɪɪ	‘table’	[mɛɪɪna]	‘the table’

When the stem ends in a consonant, a copy of the consonant replaces the *n* of the suffix, resulting in a geminate.

(69)	mətər	‘car’	[mətərɾa]	‘the car’
	labɪɪ	‘door’	[labɪɪɪɪa]	‘the door’
	təkəl	‘hammer’	[təkəlla]	‘the hammer’
	sərət	‘letter’	[səratt ^h ɪ]	‘the letter’
	kəɾək	‘box’	[kəɾək ^h ɪ]	‘the box’
	makam	‘grave’	[makamma]	‘the grave’
	attas	‘top’	[attassa]	‘the top’

Stem-final voiceless consonants are aspirated in these structures. However, in dialects where the aspiration rule does not hold, the consonant is still geminated, but there is no change in the vowel of the suffix. For these speakers the forms are [səratta] ‘the letter’ and [kəɾakka] ‘the box’. No other affixes trigger gemination.

Vowel reduction. There are two minor optional processes of vowel reduction. In the first, [a] reduces to [ə] in the *ka-*, *pa-*, and *sa-* prefixes. According to Stevens (1968), this is a process that targets the third syllable from end of the root. It also triggers gemination of the initial vowel of the root to ensure consistency with the syllable-structure constraint.

(70)	ka + tərən + an	→	[kəttərənən]	‘descendant’
	pa + sənnəŋ	→	[pəssənnəŋ]	‘make happy’
	sa + ratəs	→	[sərratəs]	‘one hundred’

Sutoko et al. (1998) present data from a small number of forms that indicate this process of vowel reduction occurs with more frequency in the Bangkalan and Sampang areas than the Pamekasan and Sumenep areas.

The second vowel reduction process reduces [a] to [ə] in the nominalizing suffix *-an* when it immediately precedes the definite suffix *-na*.

(71)	ka + tərən + an + na	→	[katərənənna]	‘descendant’
	ka + sakte + an + na	→	[kasaktejənna]	‘magic power’

7. Stress

Word stress is not a salient feature of Madurese, and receives little mention in the literature, e.g. Stevens (1968) mentions it only in passing. As pointed out by Ogloblin (1986), it is likely that the intonation group is the lowest relevant phonological unit in Madurese (which roughly coincides with what Uhlenbeck (1975) refers to as the ‘sentence segment’ in Javanese). Words uttered in isolation exhibit stress on almost any syllable in the root; in consecutive repetitions of single words stress may fall on the first syllable in the first instantiation and on the second in the next and vice versa. In the chapters that follow, intonation and its role in the overall syntactic structure and semantic interpretation of a particular sentence is noted when salient. However, at this point there have been few investigations into prosody in Madurese, and work in this area remains for the future.

8. Orthography

A number of writing systems have been used for Madurese over the years. Few have proven completely satisfactory for representing the variety of sounds in the language. Some have been more phonemically based but the majority take into account some of the results of the phonological rules outlined above.

Initially, Madurese was written in the *kawi* syllabary used to write Javanese. Like a number of the writing systems to follow, the Javanese syllabary was not entirely satisfactory. Because Madurese contains three series of stops (voiceless, voiceless aspirated, and voiced) and Javanese contains only two (voiceless and so-called breathy), the Javanese syllabary does not include a suf-

ficient number of symbols to represent this three-way contrast. Additionally, the vowel inventories of the two languages do not match, so the appropriate symbols were not available for every consonant-vowel combination. Most of the alphabetic systems that followed pretty much suffered from the same lack of symbols.

An exception is the Roman script alphabet devised by Kiliaan, who used it in his grammar (1897) and dictionary (1904), based on the system introduced for Javanese, Indonesian and other languages of Indonesia. This alphabet did capture the three-way phonation contrast for stops: voiceless stops and voiced stops were represented by the typical symbols. Aspirated stops were represented in two-letter sequences of the voiced stop followed by *h*. So, [p^h] was represented as *bh*, [t^h] as *dh*, and so on. The retroflex stops were distinguished from the dental stops as is customary in many phonetic transcriptions schemes, using a diacritic below the stop symbol; so, [ɖ], [ɖ^h], and [ɗ] were represented as *ṭ*, *dḥ*, and *ḍ*, respectively. The complete inventory of consonant symbols was:

(72) Orthography of the Colonial Period

sound	symbol	sound	symbol
p	p	ʔ	q
p ^h	bh	h	h
b	b	m	m
t	t	n	n
t ^h	dh	ɲ	ɲj
d	d	ŋ	ng
ṭ	ṭ	s	s
ṭ ^h	dḥ	r	r
ɖ	ɖ	l	l
c	tj	j	y
c ^h	djh	w	w
ʃ	dj		
k	k		
k ^h	gh		
g	g		

Seven vowels were represented:

sound	symbol
i	i
ɛ	è
a	a
ɤ	â/ã
ə	e
u	oe
o	o

In 1973, there was a meeting of scholars in Pamekasan, the purpose of which was to establish a standard orthography for Madurese. This orthography is used in the chapters that follow. A decision was made to adopt a system that paralleled the official spelling system used for Bahasa Indonesia and generally accepted for Javanese. Like Javanese, Indonesian has only a two-way phonation contrast for stops (voiceless and voiced). Therefore, the same dilemma is faced regarding the representation of the aspirated series of stops. Unlike Indonesian, Javanese includes a set of retroflex stops in addition to the dental-alveolar stops. The standard orthography for Javanese represents the retroflex stops with the symbols *th* and *dh*. This convention was adopted in setting the standard for Madurese. As *dh* was adopted for the voiced retroflex stop, the digraph *dh* (used in the Dutch system) was unavailable for [t^h], and consequently the digraphs with *h* were not available for any of the aspirated stops. Furthermore, no symbols were adopted that required special typesetting or keystrokes. The result is a system in which the voiceless aspirated stops are represented with the same symbols as their voiced counterparts; thus aspiration is not represented in the orthography and can lead to confusion. So, for example, *b* represents both [b] and [p^h].

Similarly, not all differences in vowel quality are represented in this system. Adhering to a principle of no diacritics or unusual symbols, [ɛ] and [ə] are represented by the symbol *e*. This parallels the use of *e* to represent [e] and [ə] in the Indonesian standard orthography. (Occasionally *è* is used to represent [ɛ] to orthographically distinguish it from [ə], as is done for Javanese. But this is not the normal practice.) Additionally, *a* is used for both [a] and [ɤ]. The other vowels each take a different orthographic symbol. The potential for ambiguity between *a* and *e* is reduced to varying degrees because of some distributional regularities of [ɤ] and [ə]. First, as discussed above, [ɤ] is not phonemic and its distribution is predictable: without exception, it occurs only following voiceless aspirated and voiced stops and in the appropriate environment following a transparent consonant ([r], [l], [w], [j]). [ɤ] never occurs as a non-alternating vowel. Thus, it is transparent that the *a*'s in *maca*, the actor voice form for

‘read’, are pronounced as [a] [maca], as well as in *kata* ‘frog’ [kataʔ]. Given the relatively small number of ‘non-alternating’ vowels, it is also the case that most *a*’s following the orthographic symbols *b*, *d*, *dh*, *j*, and *g* represent [ɤ], as in *badha* ‘exist’ [bɤɖɤ] and *jaga* ‘awake’ [c^hɤk^hɤ].

With respect to *e*, the ambiguity is more difficult to resolve. However, as [ə] occurs only in closed syllables (which can trigger gemination at morpheme boundaries), when *e* occurs in an open syllable it unambiguously signals a phonemic /ɛ/. This is illustrated in the following, in which all *e*’s represent phonemic /ɛ/: *meja* ‘table’, *pote* ‘white’, *kene* ‘now’. Additionally, given the vowel alternations, when *e* follows *b*, *d*, *dh*, *j*, or *g*, in the vast majority of cases (that is barring a non-alternating vowel) it represents [ə], as in *beddel* ‘soak’, *dhekdhek* ‘bran’, *jejjel* ‘crammed, crowded’. However, in other closed-syllable environments, *e* may represent [ɛ] or [ə]. For example, in *kenneng* ‘get, hit’ the *e* of the first syllable is [ə] and that of the second [ɛ] [kənnɛŋ], while in *senneng* ‘happy’ both are [ə] [sənnəŋ], and in *pennes* ‘pocket knife’ both are [ɛ] [pɛnnɛs]. This dual use of *e* can result in some minimal pairs (and near minimal pairs) taking the same orthographic representation, such as *kenneng* which represents both [kənnɛŋ] ‘get, hit’ and [kənnəŋ] ‘place’, *kerem* which represents both [kɛrɛm] ‘send’ and [kɛrəm] ‘sink’, and *pancer* which represents both [pancər] ‘rudder’ and [pancɛr] ‘heel, rim’. Of course, while a completely phonetic alphabet is in some ways desirable, for the native speaker of the language this alphabet need not pose any particular problems. Safioedin (1977) adopts this standard in his dictionary, which is given in (73).

(73) The 1973 Standard Orthography

sound	symbol	sound	symbol
p	p	ʔ	'
p ^h	b	h	h
b	b	m	m
t	t	n	n
t ^h	d	ɲ	ny
d	d	ŋ	ng
t̚	t	s	s
t̚ ^h	d	r	r
d̚	d	l	l
c	c	j	y
c ^h	j	w	w
ʃ	j		
k	k		
k ^h	g		
g	g		
i	i		
ɛ	e		
a	a		
ɤ	a		
ə	e		
u	u		
o	o		

In some recent work, Indonesian linguists have employed a system reminiscent of the Dutch spelling system in some ways. Aspirated consonants are transcribed as *bh*, *dh*, and so on, but except for one case, the retroflex stops are not distinguished from the dental series. What follows are the orthographies used in a number of recent (except in the case of Asmoro) works on Madurese, including the 1973 official system used in Safioedin 1977.

(74) Orthographies used in recent work

sound	Asmoro (1950)	Safioedin (1977)	Zainudin et al. (1978)	Moehnilabib et al. (1979)	Soegianto ³⁴ et al. (1986)
p	p	p	p	p	p
p ^h	b	b	bh	bh	bh
b	b	b	b	b	b
t	t	t	t	t	t
t ^h	d	d	dh	dh	dh
d	d	d	d	d	d
ṭ	ṭ	th	t	t	h
ṭ ^h	ḍ	dh	dh	dh	dh
ḍ	ḍ	dh	d	d	d
c	tj	c	c	c	c
c ^h	dj	j	jh	jh	jh
ʃ	dj	j	j	j	j
k	k	k	k	k	k
k ^h	g	g	gh	gh	gh
g	g	g	g	g	g
ʔ	'	'	q	q	q
m	m	m	m	m	m
n	n	n	n	n	n
ɲ	nj	ny	ny	ny	ny
j	j	y	y	y	y
w	w	w	w	w	w
h	h	h	h	h	h
a	a	a	a	a	a
ɤ	a	a	ā	a	a
ə	e	e	e	e	e
u	u	u	u	u	u
ɔ	o	o	o	o	o
i	i	i	i	i	i
ɛ	è	e	è	ē	e
a	a	a	a	a	a
ɤ	a	a	ā	a	a
ə	e	e	e	e	e

³⁴This orthography is also adopted by Wibisono et al. (2001).

u	u	u	u	u	u
ɔ	o	o	o	o	o

Of these systems, the orthography used by Zainudin et al. (1978) captures the most phonemic and phonetic distinctions, conflating only the dental and retroflex stops.

All of the romanized systems are heavily phonetic, with the exception of those graphemes that are used for more than one sound. That is, for the most part epenthesis, deletion, assimilation, and vowel color processes deriving surface forms are reflected in the orthography, as these forms do not obscure or confuse any phonemic contrasts. For example, *sorat* is the unaffixed root for ‘letter’ as it appears in a noun phrase such as *sorat rowa* ‘that’ letter’. With the definite suffix *-na*, it is written as *soradda* as in *soradda ebu* ‘mother’s letter’, reflecting both the gemination and aspiration processes that derive the surface form. A few examples of such surface forms are given below. All examples are taken from Imron (1979) as one of the few longer texts using the 1973 orthography, and applying it very consistently.

(75) ‘base’ form	affixed form	phonological process(es)
nyare ‘seek’	nyare'e ‘seek (DUR)’	ʔ-epenthesis (between root-final <i>e</i> and suffix <i>e</i>)
lako ‘work’	lakowa ‘work (IRR)’	glide epenthesis (between root-final <i>o</i> and suffix <i>a</i>)
senneng ‘happy’	sennengnge ‘happy with’	gemination (root final <i>ng</i> to maintain closed syllable)
sambit ‘respond’	sambidi ‘respond to’	aspiration & vowel alternation (root-final <i>t</i> → <i>d</i> , suffix <i>e</i> → <i>i</i>)
salamet ‘safe’	kasalameddan ‘safety’	aspiration & gemination (root-final <i>t</i> → <i>d</i> , <i>dd</i> to maintain closed syllable)
adhep ‘front’	ngadhebbi ‘face (LOC)’	aspiration, gemination & vowel alternation (root-final <i>p</i> → <i>b</i> , geminate root-final C, suffix <i>e</i> → <i>i</i>)

An exception to the reflection of phonological processes is with prefixes. Examples are given in (76), again all taken from Imron (1979).

(76)	form	phonetic rep.	phonological process	spelling	'expected' spelling
	sa + ella + na 'after'	[saʔɛlla]	ʔ-epenthesis	saellana	*sa'ellana
	e + olok 'call (OV)'	[ɛjɔlək]	j-epenthesis	eolok	*eyolok
	pa + ancor 'smash'	[paʔancɔr]	ʔ-epenthesis	paancor	*pa'ancor

Additionally, the palatal nasal is written simply as an *n* when preceding another consonant, as in the following:

(77)	[kaŋca]	'friend'	<i>kanca</i>
	[c ^h ɲc ^h i]	'promise'	<i>janji</i>
	[bɲŋaʔ]	'many'	<i>bannya</i>

There are some inconsistencies in the reflection of surface forms across different orthographies and different publications, but those are just variations. Here I will adopt the system akin to that used in Imron 1979, in which the phonetic features discussed above are by and large reflected in the orthography.

In 2004, a group from Balai Bahasa Surabaya (the Office of Language in Surabaya) proposed a revised orthography which reinstates distinct symbols for all consonant sounds and the seven principal vowels that have been recognized in orthographies (Dradjid 2007). This orthography was adopted as a standard in December 2008 at the four-day Kongres Bahasa Madura Internasional (International Congress of the Madurese Language) held in Pamekasan under the sponsorship of Balai Bahasa Propinsi Jawa Timur (the East Java Province Office of Language). Pawitra (2009) adopts the new orthography in his recent dictionary. With some modifications, the orthography essentially adopts the system used during the colonial period given above in (72). All phonemic distinctions are captured as well as some phonetic realizations. It diverges from the Dutch system by making use of the modern Indonesian conventions for the high back rounded vowel (*u* rather than *oe*), the glottal stop (*'* rather than *q*), the palatal glide (*y* rather than *j*), the palatal stops (*c*, *jh*, and *j* rather than *tj*, *djh*, and *dj*), and the palatal nasal (*ny* rather than *nj*). The new orthography is given in (78).

(78) The Newly Adopted Orthography

sound	symbol	sound	symbol
p	p	ʔ	'
p ^h	bh	h	h
b	b	m	m
t	t	n	n
t ^h	dh	ɲ	ny
d	d	ŋ	ng
ʈ	ʈ	s	s
ʈ ^h	ɖh	r	r
ɖ	ɖ	l	l
c	c	j	y
c ^h	jh	w	w
ʃ	j	f	f
k	k	v	v
k ^h	gh	z	z
g	g		

sound	symbol
i	i
ɛ	è
a	a
ɤ	â
ə	e
u	u
ɔ	o

As in the other orthographies the effects of major phonological rules are often reflected in the spelling, particularly vowel raising, gemination, and aspiration. For the most part glottal stops and glides are not represented at morpheme boundaries nor are some geminates. Examples of the distinction between the 1973 and 2008 orthographies are exhibited in (79).

(79)	1973 orthography	2008 orthography ³⁵	
	dungeng	dhungèng	‘story’
	gula	ghulâ	‘sugar’
	memba	mèmbhâ	‘eyebrow’
	bejjat	bhejjhât	‘broken’
	melleyagi	mellèaghi	‘buy for’
	kabadha'an	kabâdâân	‘existence’
	ngedhingngagi	ngèdingngaghi	‘listen’

The newly adopted orthography clearly is better suited to the representation of the Madurese language. The decision to use the 1973 orthography in this work is based largely on practical concerns. First, the initial draft of this work was completed well before the December 2008 Congress, using the then officially sanctioned spelling system.³⁶ Conversion to the new standard runs the risk of introducing a significant number of new errors into the this text. Additionally, while one can be reasonably hopeful that the orthography adopted by the Congress will indeed be generally adopted, whether or not this turns out to be the case is unknown at this time. Until the ‘dust settles’, future work will make use of both orthographies.

³⁵ Examples for the 2008 orthography are taken from the 2007 dictionary compiled by the Tim Pakem Maddhu Pamekasan.

³⁶ I adopted the 1973 standard in 2000 at the request of my language consultants in Madura, who were uncomfortable with the orthography I had been using, which used the same graphemes for consonants as the new standard (except glottal stop, represented with *q* as in the Dutch system, e.g. Davies 1999).

Chapter 3

Lexical categories

This chapter considers the issue of what lexical categories should be recognized in Madurese. As in any language, there are both open class categories—categories that readily admit new items either through coinage or borrowing—and closed class categories—those that resist new items. For the most part, the set of closed class categories identifiable in Madurese is similar to those in related languages: pronouns, demonstratives, numerals and quantifiers, prepositions, adverbs, auxiliaries, conjunctions and assorted particles.

An issue of potential contention in analyses of Austronesian languages is identifying the set of open class categories, basically the categories corresponding to noun, verb, and adjective in Indo-European languages. The majority of recent analyses posit a distinction between nouns and verbs. However, they are divided about whether to recognize a class of adjectives distinct from verbs. Although adjective has been recognized as a separate class in much early work, this may simply reflect the lens of the Western grammatical tradition through which they were viewed. Recently, a number of linguists have argued on the basis of morphological properties and syntactic distribution that in many Austronesian languages a category of adjective distinct from verbs is unwarranted (e.g. Donohue 1999, Klamer 1998, van den Berg 1989). Further, in some of these languages the line dividing nouns and verbs is somewhat blurred. For instance, Foley (1998) has proposed that the noun/verb distinction is irrelevant in Tagalog (and by extension other Philippine languages). Rather, roots are ‘precategorial’ and lexical classes are identifiable only from the syntactic environment in which the word occurs.¹ Regardless of the correctness or incorrectness of this proposal for a particular language, sets of precategorial roots have been suggested for a number of Austronesian languages in which the noun/verb distinction is posited.

Section 1 examines open class items and proposes that Madurese includes the categories noun and verb and a subcategory adjective. It also takes up the issue of precategorial roots. The remaining lexical classes are briefly discussed and exemplified in section 2.

¹A debate has sprung up surrounding Foley’s proposal. Some such as Kroeger (1998) and Himmelmann (2007) argue that noun and verb are important categorial distinctions in Philippine languages while acknowledging the unusual nature of lexical items in these languages.

1. Open class categories

As stated above, determining how many major lexical classes to recognize is not always a straightforward task. There are some lexical roots that can appear in a nominal syntactic frame or a verbal syntactic frame without any obvious derivational morphology. An example is given in (1).

- (1) a. *Sengko' adhi' tokol.*
 I have hammer
 'I have a hammer.'
- b. *Tokol kaju rowa!*
 hammer wood that
 'Hammer that board!'

In (1a) *tokol* 'hammer' is used nominally, an object that can be possessed. In (1b) *tokol* occurs as the imperative verb in precisely the same form. Thus, based solely on these sentences, it is impossible to determine whether *tokol* is a noun root or a verb root. Of course, one can say exactly the same of the word 'hammer' in the English sentences in the translations. Thus, this particular example is not very revealing. However, leaving aside potentially precategorical roots (which are taken up in section 1.4), establishing a distinction between nouns and verbs (and adjectives) is relatively straightforward.

1.1. The category noun

The need for a category noun as opposed to verbs and adjectives can be established on morphological as well as syntactic grounds.

Morphologically, only nouns can occur with the prefix *sa-*, which means 'all X', 'same X' or 'one X'. From the set in (2) *bengko* 'house', *saba* 'field', and *bapa'* 'father', prototypical nominal concepts, can be distinguished from the other roots, which denote actions and states, prototypically verbal and adjectival notions.

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|----------|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| (2) | <i>bengko</i> | 'house' | <i>sabengko</i> | 'all the houses'/'same house' |
| | <i>saba</i> | 'field' | <i>sasaba</i> | 'all the fields'/'same field' |
| | <i>bapa'</i> | 'father' | <i>sabapa'</i> | 'all the fathers'/'same father' |
| | <i>baca</i> | 'read' | <i>*sabaca</i> | |
| | <i>toles</i> | 'write' | <i>*satoles</i> | |
| | <i>entar</i> | 'go' | <i>*saentar</i> | |
| | <i>sala</i> | 'bad' | <i>*sasala</i> | |

<i>penter</i>	‘smart’	<i>*sapenter</i>
<i>kene</i>	‘small’	<i>*sakene</i>

Considering the paradigm, which can be replicated manyfold, *sa-* emerges as a diagnostic of the category noun. In order for any of the other roots to occur with the *sa-* prefix, derivational morphology must occur as well, morphology which typically derives nouns. So, while *toles* and *penter* cannot occur with *sa-*, derived nominals based on them can. In (3), the suffix *-an* derives a result nominal and the circumfix *ka-...-an* derives an abstract noun.

- (3) *tolesan* ‘writing’ *satolesan* ‘all the writing’
kapenterran ‘intelligence’ *sakapenterran* ‘all of the intelligence’

The fact that only derived forms of these roots can take *sa-* corroborates its usefulness as a diagnostic for nouns.

While this is really the only clear morphological test for nouns, there are syntactic tests as well. First, of the open lexical classes only nouns can be negated with the morpheme *banne* ‘no’.

- (4) *banne bengko* ‘no house’
banne saba ‘no field’
banne bapa’ ‘no father’
**banne baca*
**banne toles*
**banne entar*
**banne sala*
**banne penter*
**banne kene’*

The other forms in (4) are negated with *ta’* (or its dialectal equivalent *lo’*), which cannot be used with nouns.

- (5) **ta’ bengko*
**ta’ saba*
**ta’ bapa’*
ta’ baca ‘not read’
ta’ toles ‘not write’
ta’ entar ‘not go’
ta’ sala ‘not wrong’
ta’ penter ‘not smart’
ta’ kene’ ‘not small’

Again, derived forms of the verbs and adjectives are acceptable with *banne*.

- (6) *banne tolesan* 'no written thing'
banne kapenterran 'no intelligence'

Second, uninflected noun roots can occur before the demonstratives *reya* 'this' and *rowa* 'that' (and others) whereas non-nominal roots cannot.²

- (7) *bengko rowa* 'that house'
saba rowa 'that field'
bapa' rowa 'that father'
 * *Baca rowa*
 * *toles rowa*
 * *sala rowa*
 * *penter rowa*
 * *kene' rowa*

Unlike verbs and adjectives, noun roots can be directly modified by numbers and quantifiers. In the case of numbers the noun root can be immediately preceded or followed by a number, as in (8), while verbal and adjectival roots cannot.³

- (8) *settong bengko* *bengko settong* 'one house'
 lema saba *saba lema'* 'five fields'
 tello bapa' *bapa' tello'* 'three fathers'
 * *settong baca* * *baca settong*
 * *lema toles* * *toles lema'*
 * *tello entar* * *entar tello'*
 * *settong sala* * *sala settong*
 * *lema penter* * *penter lema'*
 * *tello kene'* * *kene' tello'*

Also, only noun roots can be modified by quantifiers such as *kabbi* 'all' or *sabban* 'each' without additional morphology.

²The verbal and adjectival forms are ungrammatical only at the phrasal level. At the clausal or sentential level they are fully grammatical. For example, *baca rowa* can be interpreted as an imperative meaning 'Read that!' *Kene' rowa* can be interpreted as a clause with inverted word order meaning 'That is small'. The point of the examples in (7) is that only nouns can combine with demonstratives in phrases.

³ It is customary for numbers ending in a vowel to take the -ʔ extension in positions other than pre-nominal position. Thus, in (8), *tello'* and *lema'* occur rather than *tello* and *lema*. See section Chapter 4 section 3 for a discussion of the morphological category 'extension'.

- (9) *kabbi bengko* ‘all the houses’
kabbi saba ‘all the fields’
sabban bapa ‘each father’
 **kabbi baca*
 **kabbi toles*
 **sabban entar*
 **kabbi sala*
 **kabbi penter*
 **sabban kene*

Finally, while all open class lexical items can serve as predicates in Madurese, a noun cannot occur as the predicate in a cleft, whereas verbs and adjectives can.

- (10) a. *Oreng rowa entar.*
 person that go
 ‘That person went.’
- b. *Oreng rowa se entar.*
 person that REL go
 ‘That person is who went.’
- (11) a. *Aba'na labu.*
 he/she fall
 ‘He/she fell.’
- b. *Aba'na se labu.*
 he/she REL fall
 ‘He/she is who fell.’
- (12) a. *Oreng rowa penter.*
 person that smart
 ‘That person is smart.’
- b. *Oreng rowa se penter.*
 person that REL smart
 ‘That person is who is smart.’
- (13) a. *Aba'na sala.*
 he/she wrong
 ‘He/she is wrong.’

- b. *Aba'na se sala.*
 he/she REL wrong
 'He/she is who is wrong.'
- (14) a. *Oreng rowa guru.*
 person that teacher
 'That person is a teacher.'
- b. **Oreng rowa se guru.*
- (15) a. *Aba'na kapala.*
 he/she head
 'He/She is the head.'
- b. **Aba'na se kapala.*

In (10a), the predicate of the simple sentence *oreng rowa entar* 'that person went' is *entar* 'go'. In (10b), *entar* occurs in the cleft construction. In (12a), *penter* 'smart' is the predicate of the simple sentence *oreng rowa penter* 'that person is smart', and in (12b) occurs in the cleft construction. In (14a), *guru* 'teacher' is the predicate in the simple sentence *oreng rowa guru* 'that person is a teacher', showing that the noun can serve as the predicate of the clause. The structures of the simple sentences in (10a), (12a), and (14a) appear to be comparable, so one might expect that it should be possible for *guru* to occur in the same position in a cleft. However, (14b) is ungrammatical, and is ungrammatical precisely because *guru* cannot occur here in the cleft. In order for a noun root to occur in this position in a cleft, the predicate *daddi* 'become' must be used, as in (16) and (17).⁴ See Chapter 11 section 7 for discussion of the structure of relative clauses and cleft constructions.

⁴It is possible to include the verb *daddi* as a verb in the grammatical sentences in (14a) and (15a). However, doing so changes the meaning of the sentences. For instance, while (14a) *Oreng rowa guru* identifies that man as being a teacher, *Oreng rowa daddi guru* does not identify the man as a teacher but that he became or is becoming a teacher. In the relative clauses in (16) and (17), *daddi* is simply being used as a semantically bleached existential predicate. This use occurs in other environments as well, as in the following sentence, taken from a narrative:

- (i) *Sampe' sateya kenneng-nga tana se e-kala' jiya paggun daddi blumbang.*
 until now place-DEF soil REL OV-take this still become pond
 'Now the place where the soil was taken is still a pond.'

- (16) *Oreng rowa se daddi guru.*
 person that REL become teacher
 ‘That person is who is a teacher.’
- (17) *Se daddi kapala aba'na.*
 REL become head he/she
 ‘He/She is who is the head.’

The ability to distinguish noun roots from verb (and adjective) roots on the basis of these morphological and syntactic facts provides evidence for recognizing the category noun in Madurese.

1.2. The category verb

It is somewhat more difficult to establish lexical distinctions on the basis of verb roots. A great many verbs require morphology that also serves to derive verbs from nouns, adjectives, and other roots, attesting to the extreme productivity of this morphology. This makes it difficult at times to determine exactly what is derivational morphology and what is inflectional morphology, a situation quite apparent in the chapter on morphology, which follows. This is not to say that Madurese lacks specifically verbal properties. Quite the contrary. But as most verbs are in a sense derived, these properties will not distinguish classes of lexical roots. There are, however, some characteristics that seem to accrue only to verb roots and not to verbals more generally.

First, although it is certainly not a property of all roots in this class, the only roots that can take the accidental or involitive prefix *ta-* are verbs.

(18)	<i>toles</i>	‘write’	<i>tatoles</i>	‘written accidentally’
	<i>buwang</i>	‘discard’	<i>tabuwang</i>	‘discarded accidentally’
	<i>mole</i>	‘go home’	<i>tamole</i> ⁵	‘go home by mistake’
	<i>entar</i>	‘go’	<i>taentar</i>	‘go accidentally’
	<i>penter</i>	‘smart’	<i>*tapenter</i>	
	<i>pote</i>	‘white’	<i>*tapote</i>	
	<i>kotor</i>	‘dirty’	<i>*takotor</i>	
	<i>roma</i>	‘house’	<i>*taroma</i>	
	<i>saba</i>	‘field’	<i>*tasaba</i>	
	<i>ebu'</i>	‘mother’	<i>*taebu'</i>	

⁵There is speaker variability in the use of *ta-*. Some speakers cannot use the prefix with active intransitives such as *mole* ‘go home’ and *entar* ‘go’ but do accept it with certain other intransitive predicates such as *tedhung* ‘sleep’ and *toju'* ‘sit’. See Chapter 9 section 6.2 for further discussion.

As these data show, only *toles* ‘write’, *buwang* ‘discard’, *mole* ‘go home’, and *entar* ‘go’, all of which are canonical verbs, can take the prefix *ta-*. With transitive verb roots, the state of affairs holds for the object, giving it a passive-like feel. With intransitive verb roots, naturally it is the subject for which the state of affairs holds. However, when *ta-* is affixed to adjective-like roots such as *penter* ‘smart’, *pote* ‘white’ and *kotor* ‘dirty’ and noun roots such as *roma* ‘house’, *saba* ‘field’ and *ebu* ‘mother’, the result is ungrammatical. Sentences like those in (19) and (20) are acceptable, but no such sentences with the starred examples can be constructed.

- (19) *Buku-na Siti ta-buwang.*
 book-DEF Siti IN-discard
 ‘Siti’s book got thrown away.’ (most likely accidentally)
- (20) *Rokip ta-entar dha' roma-na Adi.*
 Rokip IN-go to house-DEF Adi
 ‘Rokip went to Adi’s house by mistake.’ (she was supposed to stay away)

The involitive construction is discussed in more detailed in Chapter 9. For now, it suffices as a potential diagnostic for verb roots.

Verbs, but neither nouns nor adjectives, may follow the abilitive modal *bisa* ‘can’. All of the examples in (21) are acceptable while those in (22) and (23) are not.

- (21) a. *Mored reya bisa ngarte.*
 student this can understand
 ‘This student can understand.’
- b. *Mored reya bisa tao jawab.*
 student this can know answer
 ‘This student can know the answer.’
- c. *Mored reya bisa mangkat.*
 student this can leave
 ‘This student can leave.’
- d. *Mored reya bisa entar.*
 student this can go
 ‘This student can go.’
- (22) a. **Mored reya bisa penter.*
 student this can smart

- b. **Mored reya bisa sake'*.
student this can ill
- c. **Mored reya bisa kene'*.
student this can small
- (23) a. **Mored reya bisa guru.*
student this can teacher
- b. **Mored reya bisa kapala.*
student this can head
- c. **Mored reya bisa hakim.*
student this can judge

The predicates in (21) fall into the class of canonical verbs. Those in (22) are adjectival and those in (23) nominal. All of the sentences in (22) and (23) are perfectly acceptable without *bisa*.⁶ However, the predicates in (22) are states and those in (23) nouns, neither of which is particularly conducive to the control of their subjects. Thus the ungrammaticality in (22) and (23) might be attributable to semantics. However, the verbs *ngarte* 'understand' and *tao* 'know' are stative-like as well, and that may provide some defense, albeit perhaps weak, for this as a diagnostic for verbs.

A final potential diagnostic for a distinct verbal category is the durative suffix *-e*.⁷ Affixed to a root, the durative indicates that the state of affairs in question is iterated or sustained over some (unspecified) continuous period of time. The durative suffix is compatible only with canonically verbal roots.

(24) <i>toles</i>	'write'	<i>tolese</i>	'write for a while'
<i>massa'</i>	'cook'	<i>massa'e</i>	'cook for a while'
<i>berka'</i>	'run'	<i>berka'e</i>	'run for a while'
<i>penter</i>	'smart'	* <i>penterre</i>	
<i>pote</i>	'white'	* <i>pote'e</i>	
<i>kotor</i>	'dirty'	* <i>kotore</i>	

⁶The examples with nominal predicates (23) cannot be salvaged by inserting *daddi* before the noun (as with the relative clauses in section 1.1). While the sentence *Mored reya bisa daddi guru* is grammatical, it means 'The student can become a teacher' not 'The student can be a teacher'.

⁷The durative should not be confused with the homophonous locative suffix, which is compatible with verbal and adjectival roots (see section 1.3.1). Discussion here is limited to the durative.

<i>nase'</i>	'rice'	<i>*nase'e</i>
<i>bengko</i>	'house'	<i>*bengkowe</i>
<i>mored</i>	'student'	<i>*moredi</i>

It is not the case that the notions denoted by the adjectival and nominal stems are incompatible with a durative meaning. However, the durative morpheme cannot be used to express this. Rather a timeframe must be explicitly indicated to capture that aspect of the durative morpheme. As with other diagnostics for verbs, the durative is not compatible with all roots that might be taken to be verbs. Punctual verbs such as *saba'* 'put', *temmo* 'find', and others disallow the suffix as the semantics of a punctual event and a durative state of affairs are incompatible. Also, while agentive verbs such as *berka'* 'run', *jalan* 'walk' and others are compatible with the durative morpheme, dynamic intransitive verbs (those that involve action but not strong agentivity) such as *labu* 'fall', *dhateng* 'come', and others are incompatible with the durative marker.

As stated at the outset of this section, however, the category verb is the most difficult single category to establish on positive independent grounds. Many of the morphological properties that accrue to verbs but are unavailable to adjectives and nouns may have a semantic explanation. Establishing adjective as a distinct category may provide the necessary rationale for recognizing three lexical categories for open class items, but here the results are equivocal as well.

1.3. The (sub)category adjective

The last of the open class lexical categories to consider is adjective. It has been claimed for some Austronesian languages that there is no distinct category adjective, that lexical items denoting what are adjectives in other languages are part of the category verb (Donohue 1999, Klamer 1998, van den Berg 1989). And, in fact, Madurese adjectives and verbs share a great many properties, properties which distinguish them from nouns. Some of these properties are enumerated in section 1.3.1. Some characteristics that potentially distinguish them are taken up in section 1.3.2, and the need for a separate category adjective is evaluated in light of these.

1.3.1. Adjective-verb similarities

The first properties shared by adjectives and verbs that distinguish them from nouns were discussed above, when establishing the category noun. First, as shown in (5), while nouns are negated with the quantifier *banne* 'no', adjectives and verbs take the negative particle *ta'*, or *lo'*, which is used in Western Madura.

(25) a. *Kapala-na ta' tao jawab.*
 head-DEF not know answer
 'The head does not know the answer.'

b. *Ale' lo' entar dha' sakola'an.*
 yng.sibling not go to school
 'Little Brother did not go to school.'

(26) a. *Mored rowa ta' penter.*
 student that not smart
 'That student is not smart.'

b. *Roma rowa ta' raja.*
 house that not big
 'That house is not big.'

(27) a. *Oreng rowa banne guru.*
 person that no teacher
 'That person is not a teacher.'

b. *Jiya banne sapedha.*
 this no bicycle
 'This is not a bicycle.'

The verbs and adjectives in (25) and (26) cannot be negated by *banne*, and negating the nominal predicates in (27) with *ta'* or *lo'* results in unacceptable sentences. Furthermore, it is instructive that nouns are not the only category negated with *banne*. Prepositional phrases take this constituent negator, as in (28) and (29).

(28) *Hadi melle permen kaangguy Sundari, banne kaangguy Sri.*
 Hadi AV.buy candy for Sundari not for Sri
 'Hadi bought candy for Sundari, not for Sri.'

(29) *Sengko' nyaba' hadiya banne neng meja tape neng erra'.*
 I AV.put gift not at table but at bookshelf
 'I put the gifts not on the table but on the bookshelf.'

Thus, negation with *ta'* or *lo'* is a characteristic distinct to verbs and adjectives.

The second property shared by verbal and adjectival roots that distinguishes them from nominal roots is their ability to be predicates in relative clauses. This was illustrated in the sentences in (10-15), in which the headless relative clause is the subject. Additional examples are:

- (30) *Se tao jawab Ali.*
REL know answer Ali
'The one who knows the answer is Ali.'
- (31) *Se kowat Deni.*
REL strong Deni
'The one who is strong is Deni.'
- (32) *Se daddi hakim Ita.*
REL become judge Ita
'The one who is a judge is Ita.'

If the verb *daddi* 'become' were omitted from the relative clause in (32), the sentence would no longer be acceptable.⁸

Additionally, there are morphological properties shared by verbs and adjectives. One is the ability to combine with the suffix *-e*, which results in either a locative or causative meaning. The 'locative' meaning results when *-e* is suffixed to a verb or adjective that takes a prepositional object and a causative meaning with roots that do not.⁹ Thus in the set that follows, *toles* 'write', *entar* 'go', *senneng* 'happy', and *pote* 'white' combine grammatically with *-e*, but *bengko* 'house' and *kalambi* 'clothes' do not. Second, verb and adjective roots can take the instrumental prefix *pang-*, while noun roots cannot.¹⁰

(33)	<i>toles</i>	'write'	<i>tolese</i>	'write to'	<i>panoles</i>	'writing implement'
	<i>entar</i>	'go'	<i>entare</i>	'go to'	<i>pangentar</i>	'portal'
	<i>senneng</i>	'happy'	<i>sennengnge</i>	'happy with'	<i>panyenneng</i>	'joystick'
	<i>pote</i>	'white'	<i>pote'e</i>	'make white'	<i>pamote</i>	'whitewasher'
	<i>bengko</i>	'house'	<i>*bengkowe</i>		<i>*pamengko</i>	
	<i>kalambi</i>	'clothes'	<i>*kalambiye</i>		<i>*pangalambi</i>	

1.3.2. Potential adjective-verb differences

The data in the preceding section make it clear that adjectives and verbs share a

⁸The verb *daddi* can be inserted in the relative clauses in (30) and (31). However, the meaning changes accordingly as *daddi* is not being used in its placeholder sense. So, *Se daddi tao jawab Ali* would mean 'The one who will come to know the answer is Ali' and *Se daddi kowat Deni* means 'The one who will become strong is Deni'.

⁹This suffix is discussed in detail in Chapter 4 and Chapter 10.

¹⁰The items here are given in the form they (would) appear in following the application of the relevant phonological rules, which includes the nasal assimilation and deletion rule discussed for the actor voice verb forms in Chapter 2.

number of grammatical properties. There are, however, some ways in which the two seem to differ. Adjectives but not verbs (or nouns) are able to combine with the degree modifier *ce'* 'very' and the suffix *-na* to form an intensive construction: *ce'* precedes the adjective, which is marked with the definite suffix *-na*.¹¹

(34)	<i>sala</i>	'wrong'	<i>ce' salana</i>	'very wrong'
	<i>penter</i>	'smart'	<i>ce' penterra</i>	'very smart'
	<i>kene'</i>	'small'	<i>ce' kene'na</i>	'very small'
	<i>bengko</i>	'house'	<i>*ce' bengkona</i>	
	<i>saba</i>	'field'	<i>*ce' sabana</i>	
	<i>bapa'</i>	'father'	<i>*ce' bapa'na</i>	
	<i> Baca</i>	'read'	<i>*ce' bacana</i>	
	<i>toles</i>	'write'	<i>*ce' tolessa</i>	
	<i>entar</i>	'go'	<i>*ce' entarra</i>	

Adjectival roots can occur in comparative and superlative constructions, whereas verbs and nouns cannot. Examples in (35) illustrate this for superlatives.

(35)	<i>sala</i>	'wrong'	<i>paleng sala</i>	'most wrong'
	<i>penter</i>	'smart'	<i>paleng penter</i>	'smartest'
	<i>kene'</i>	'small'	<i>paleng kene'</i>	'smallest'
	<i>bengko</i>	'house'	<i>*paleng bengko</i>	
	<i>saba</i>	'field'	<i>*paleng saba</i>	
	<i>bapa'</i>	'father'	<i>*paleng bapa'</i>	
	<i> Baca</i>	'read'	<i>*paleng baca</i>	
	<i>toles</i>	'write'	<i>*paleng toles</i>	
	<i>entar</i>	'go'	<i>*paleng entar</i>	

Finally, adjectival roots can directly modify nouns in post-nominal position. Verbs which form the basis for nominal modifiers cannot occur in their root form but require derivational or inflectional morphology and must occur in a modifying relative clause to be grammatical. The examples in (36) show that the adjective roots *raja* 'big', *koros* 'thin', and *penter* 'smart' occur as modifiers in immediate postnominal position, while the uninflected verbal roots *gabay* 'make, build', *terro* 'want', *kennal* 'know', *dhapa'* 'arrive' cannot.¹²

¹¹ As discussed in Chapter 4 section 1.2.1, in the dialect spoken in Bangkalan, *-na* has the allomorph *-eng* (/əŋ/) when affixed to a word ending in [ʔ]. This occurs in the intensive construction as well, so *ce' kene'na* 'very small' surfaces as *ce' kene'eng* ([ceʔ keneʔəŋ]).

¹² It is important to interpret the final four examples as NPs and not sentences. Some of them might be acceptable as sentences to some speakers, e.g. *Bungkos dhapa'* 'A pack-

- (36) *bengko raja* 'large house'¹³
koceng koros 'skinny cat'
mored penter 'smart student'
**bengko gabay* *bengko se egabay* 'the house that was built'
**koceng terro* *koceng se ekatterowe* 'the cat that is wanted'
**mored kennal* *mored se ekennale* 'the student that is known'
**bungkos dhapa'* *bungkos se dhapa'* 'the package that arrived'

1.3.3. A subcategory adjective

But are the differences in grammatical behavior sufficient to justify an autonomous category 'adjective'? Rather than being a distinct lexical class, adjectives are very possibly a subcategory of verbal roots. Subcategories of verbs must be recognized in any event. A distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs must be recognized on morphological grounds (voice marking) and syntactic grounds (cooccurrence with a non-prepositional object). In (37), the transitive verb *baca* 'read' takes actor voice morphology (here realized as the homorganic nasal [m]) and occurs with a non-prepositional object. In (38), the intransitive verb *entar* 'go' does not have the actor voice morphology (which would result in ungrammaticality) and can have a goal in a prepositional phrase (here *dha' Sorbaja* 'to Surabaya') but not a non-prepositional object.

- (37) *Ebu' maca buku.*
 mother AV.read book
 'Mother reads a book.'

- (38) *Ebu' entar dha' Sorbaja.*
 mother go to Surabaya
 'Mother goes to Surabaya.'

Also, distinctions must be made between active and stative semantically transitive roots on similar morphological and syntactic grounds.

The morphological and syntactic differences between adjectives and other verbal roots likely have an explanation in semantics. The adjective-like lexical items in question describe properties, properties such as size (*raja* 'big'), personal characteristic (*penter* 'smart'), dimension (*koros* 'skinny') and so on. The

age arrived'. However, not all speakers will accept sentences in which the subject is not marked definite, quantified, or possessed. As NPs, these collocations are unacceptable.

¹³As detailed in Chapters 7 and 11, attributive adjectives such as *raja* 'large', *koros* 'thin', and *penter* 'smart' can also modify nouns as the predicate in a relative clause, just as in English. So synonymous NPs would be *bengko se raja* 'house that is large', *koceng se koros* 'cat that is skinny', and *mored se penter* 'student that is smart'.

reason that only these types of lexical items can occur in comparative and superlative constructions while dynamic verbs cannot may be that properties are the only type concept that can be compared. If this is the appropriate explanation, the category adjective may be unnecessary. Adjectives may simply comprise a subcategory of verbs—'intransitive stative verbs'. In fact, adjectival predicates and intransitive dynamic verbs such as *entar* 'go', *elang* 'disappear', *kerem* 'sink', *labu* 'fall' and a host of others share a property that distinguishes them from most other verbs, including intransitive agentive verbs such as *jalan* 'walk', *langoy* 'swim' and others: they both lack any voice marking in their basic use.

(39) a. *Mored reya penter.*
 student this smart
 'This student is smart.'

b. *Bengko rowa raja.*
 house that big
 'That house is big.'

(40) a. *Mored rowa entar.*
 student that go
 'That student goes.'

b. *Parao rowa kerem.*
 ship that sink
 'That ship sank.'

As discussed in Chapter 9, most other intransitive and transitive verbs must be marked for voice in non-imperative sentences.

Adjectives, therefore, can be viewed as one kind of intransitive–intransitive stative verbs—as opposed to the class of intransitive dynamic verbs. Conceivably, the same semantic difference between these two classes of intransitive verbs could account for the facts surrounding the *ce' X-na* intensive construction. Again, properties may simply be more amenable to this type of quantification than are dynamic expressions.

However, there still remains the distributional property of noun modification. Recall that only adjectives (or 'intransitive stative verbs') can directly modify nouns. Other verbs cannot be used attributively but only predicatively. Whether this can be explained solely in terms of the semantics of the verbs in question is unclear. It has been argued that verb roots can be used in this way in other related languages. For example, Klammer (1998) argues against a distinct category adjective in Kambera, a language spoken on Sumba in central Indonesia, in part because many Kambera verbs can be used as attributive nominal

modifiers.

In the end the issue could well boil down to whether one is predisposed to recognize a lexical class of adjectives wholly distinct from verbs. Those who do may cite the properties illustrated above as evidence. Those who do not must recognize a subcategory of verbs, stative intransitive verbs, which differ from other intransitive verbs on the basis of these same properties. The evidence on either side is equivocal, but theoretical parsimony favors dispensing with the additional category. Taking a somewhat jaundiced view, one might agree with Croft (2005: 435), “Since everyone is selective for their own opportunistic theoretical reasons, debates on whether there are languages with a “noun”/“verb” distinction, or languages without “adjectives”, cannot ever be resolved.” Despite the conclusion that adjectives should be considered a subcategory of verb and not a wholly distinct lexical class, I will continue to refer to some lexical items as ‘adjectives’ for ease of identification.

1.4. Precategorial roots

The issue of precategorial roots was touched on above. A precategorial root is a lexical root that can function syntactically as either a noun or a verb with no derivational morphology. Inflectional morphology associated both with verbs, e.g. agreement and tense morphology, and with nouns, e.g. case and number morphology, is directly applicable to the root. Madurese contains a modest number of roots that exhibit this property, illustrated previously with the root *tokol* ‘hammer’. This most frequently and obviously presents itself in the case of roots that one might most naturally consider noun roots, including instrumental concepts such as *are* ‘scythe’, *pacol* ‘hoe’, *kaca* ‘glass/mirror’, *jala* ‘net’, *sapo* ‘broom’ and others, occupations and work locations such as *tokang* ‘artisan’, *tane* ‘farm’, *warung* ‘small shop’ and others, and various other roots. When used as declarative verbs, these roots invariably take an actor voice prefix, either *ng-* (which is subject to assimilation) or *a-*. Examples are given in (41-43).¹⁴

- (41) a. *Kaca jarowa bassa.*
 glass that broken
 ‘That mirror broke.’

¹⁴If one were to take these as noun roots, the prefixation of the actor voice could be characterized as deriving a verb with a meaning something like ‘do an appropriate activity with N’. If one were to take them as verb roots, the derivation from verb to noun would simply be conversion with the meaning ‘thing used to V’. The former seems more likely than the latter, but ultimately the issue is not particularly significant.

- b. *Adi ngaca.*
 Adi AV.glass
 ‘Adi looked in the mirror.’
- (42) a. *Sengko' lo' andhi' sapo.*
 I not have broom
 ‘I don’t have a broom.’
- b. *Sengko' a-sapo-wan kamar-ra Ebu'.*
 I AV-sweep-IT room-DEF mother
 ‘I swept mother’s room.’
- (43) a. *Ita entar ka barung.*
 Ita go to warung
 ‘Ita went to the warung.’
- b. *Ita marung.*
 Ita AV.warung
 ‘Ita operates a warung.’

One confounding factor is ascertaining whether the voice morphology is purely inflectional. Some morphemes appear to be principally inflectional morphemes but at times seem to act derivationally, e.g. the locative *-e*. (See Chapter 4.) Some roots satisfy the criteria for precategoriality yet because of their denotation and their standard use can reasonably be classified as noun roots (which, of course, might be asserted regarding the instrumental and locative roots just discussed). Among these are:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| (44) <i>bine</i> ‘wife’ | <i>a-bine</i> ‘marry a woman’ |
| <i>ale'</i> ‘younger sibling’ | <i>a-ale'</i> ‘call someone younger sibling’ |
| <i>bapa'</i> ‘father’ | <i>a -bapa'</i> ‘call someone father’ |
| <i>sapedha</i> ‘bicycle’ | <i>a-sapedha</i> ‘ride a bicycle’ |
| <i>kaos</i> ‘t-shirt’ | <i>a-kaos</i> ‘wear a t-shirt’ |

These are potentially cases in which the actor voice morphology is working derivationally. Alternatively, these could be instances of conversion or zero derivation in which the noun root, say *bine*, becomes a derived verb and then takes the voice morphology in its role as predicate. Regardless, the number of precategorial roots in Madurese does not seem to be significant and they do not play any crucial role in the grammar.

2. Closed class categories

2.1. Adverbs: straddling the open/closed dichotomy

Adverb straddles the line between open and closed lexical classes. Many elements that modify the clause, verb phrase or adjective are derived forms, largely with adjectival roots. Nonetheless, there are a number of forms which serve exclusively as adverbs and are equipped with no derivational morphology. Although most, if not all, manner adverbs are derived, there are temporal, epistemic, frequency, and degree adverbs that are not.

(45) Temporal adverbs

<i>sateya</i>	‘now’
<i>buru</i>	‘recently’
<i>laju</i>	‘next/right away’
<i>dhaggi’</i>	‘later/in the future’
<i>gella’</i>	‘recently/before’
<i>na’an</i>	‘soon’
<i>gi’</i>	‘still’
<i>paggun</i>	‘still’

(46) Epistemic adverbs

<i>ara, ngara</i>	‘maybe’
<i>dadak</i>	‘suddenly’
<i>megga’</i>	‘possibly’
<i>pola</i>	‘probably’

(47) Frequency adverbs

<i>dhangkhadang</i>	‘sometimes’
<i>poampo</i>	‘sometimes’
<i>rangrang</i>	‘rarely’
<i>seggut</i>	‘often’

(48) Degree adverbs

<i>banget</i>	‘very’
<i>ce’</i>	‘very’
<i>coma</i>	‘only’
<i>gallu</i>	‘too’
<i>keng</i>	‘only’
<i>maggi</i>	‘almost’
<i>neng</i>	‘only’
<i>para’</i>	‘almost’

Although adverbs can take various positions in the sentence, temporal, epistemic, and frequency adverbs can all occur immediately before the verb, as in the following.

- (49) *Satimma buru dhateng.*
 Satimma recently come
 ‘Satimma just came.’
- (50) *Rokip ban Hadi ara entar ka Sumatra taon ba'ari'.*
 Rokip and Hadi perhaps go to Sumatra year yesterday
 ‘Perhaps Rokip and Hadi went to Sumatra last year.’
- (51) *Bapa' dhang-khadang a-lumbur.*
 father sometimes AV-work.late
 ‘Father sometimes works late.’

Options for adverb placement and their order in sentences containing more than one are discussed in detail in Chapter 12. Degree adverbs typically immediately precede the element that they modify (50), with the exception of *gallu* ‘too’, which follows the adjective it modifies.

- (52) *Soto Madura jiya ce' nyaman-na!*
 stew Madura this very delicious-DEF
 ‘This soto Madura is really delicious!’
- (53) *Kopi reya manes gallu.*
 coffee this sweet too
 ‘This coffee is too sweet.’

If one factors in manner adverbials, the claim can be made that the category adverb is an open class category. Manner adverbs can be readily derived from adjectives either through affixation of *-an* (54), reduplication (55), a combination of the two (56) or simple conversion (57).

- (54) *Marlena noles sorat ka Ita dhuli-yan.*
 Marlena AV.write letter to Ita quick-AN
 ‘Marlena wrote the letter to Ita quickly.’
- (55) *Siti ajar gu-onggu.*
 Siti study RED-real
 ‘Siti studies seriously.’

(56) *Hasan maca buku on-laon-an.*
 Hasan AV.read book RED-slow-AN
 'Hasan read the book slowly.'

(57) *Sinap nyetir motor-ra santa'.*
 Sinap AV.drive car-DEF fast
 'Sinap drives her car fast.'

As these derivations are quite productive, the subcategory of manner adverb seems to be an open class. However, the fact remains that if manner adverbs are set aside the category adverb is a small, closed class.

2.2. Auxiliaries

There is a small number of lexical items which act as modal and temporal elements that modify the sentence in a way quite similar to auxiliaries in English. This is the sole function for these basic words commonly referred to as auxiliaries in the literature, listed in (58).

(58) *bakal* 'will'
bisa 'can'
kodu 'should'
pasthe 'must'

The auxiliaries invariantly occur in immediate preverbal position, as in (59) and (60).

(59) *Ebu' bisa maca sorat reya.*
 mother can AV.read letter this
 'Mother can read this letter.'

(60) *Rokip kodu entar dha' Sorbaja.*
 Rokip should go to Surabaya
 'Rokip should go to Surabaya.'

The only lexical item that may intercede between these auxiliaries and the verb is the negative, *ta'* or *lo'* (61). Preverbal adverbs must precede any auxiliaries (62).

(61) *Rokip kodu lo' entar dha' Sorbaja.*
 Rokip should not go to Surabaya
 'Rokip should not go to Surabaya.'

(62) a. *Bapa' dhang-khadang pasthe a-lumbur.*
 father sometimes must AV-work.late
 'Father sometimes has to work late.'

b. **Bapa' pasthe dhang-kadhang a-lumbur.*

These elements thus share the property of preceding the sentential negative with English auxiliaries (61) but differ from English auxiliaries with respect to the inability of adverbs to intervene between the auxiliary and the main verb of the sentence (62). There is a larger number of lexical items that serve to modify sentences in the same way as modal and aspectual auxiliaries and occupy the same position in a clause. However, this set of auxiliary items include words that are primarily verbs and adverbs. Auxiliaries and their functions are discussed more fully in Chapter 9 section 4.

2.3. Prepositions

Madurese has a small number of basic prepositions for location, direction, and comitatives and instruments. Other words and expressions that serve the function of prepositions and combine are derived from other roots, or are words which are also members of other lexical categories. These lexical items combine with basic prepositions to denote particular locatives, e.g. *e* 'at' combines with *attas* 'top' as *e attas* 'on/above' (see Chapter 8 section 3). The basic prepositions are:

(63) *neng* 'at'
e 'at'
ka 'to'
dha' 'to'
dhari 'from'
bi' 'with/by'
moso 'with/by'

Prepositions typically take NP complements; in (64) *Jakarta* is the complement of *ka* and in (65) *jaran* 'horse' is the complement of *dhari*.

(64) *Hasan entar ka Jakarta.*
 Hasan go to Jakarta
 'Hasan went to Jakarta.'

- (65) *Aba'na toron dhari jaran.*
 he/she descend from horse
 'He/she got off the horse.'

2.4. Pronouns

The pronominal system of the familiar speech level includes forms for first, second, and third persons, some of which are derived forms or at least expressions that serve additional purposes. There is dialectal variation in the inventory of forms, which I will not attempt to sort out here.¹ The basic forms for the three persons are:

- (66) *sengko', engko', aba'* 'I'
tang/sang 'my'
ba'na, ba'en, ba'eng, kake, sedha 'you'
aba'na, aba'eng, dibi'na, dibi'eng 'he/she'

Of these, the only truly basic forms are *sengko'* and *tang/sang*. The second and third person forms are comprised of possessed forms of *aba'* 'body, soul' and *dibi'* 'only, sole'. The multiple forms for second and third persons are dialectal and stylistic variants, the most standard forms being *ba'na* 'you' and *aba'na* 'he/she'. Additionally, there are a large number of first and second person forms that are used in the higher speech levels. The forms are given here, but their use is detailed in Chapter 15.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (67) 1 st person | 2 nd person |
| <i>bula</i> | <i>dika</i> |
| <i>gula</i> | <i>diko</i> |
| <i>kaula</i> | <i>sampeyan</i> |
| <i>(ba)dan kaula</i> | <i>panjennenggan</i> |
| <i>dalem</i> | <i>padana</i> |
| <i>apdina</i> | <i>sampeyan dalem</i> |
| <i>apdi dalem</i> | <i>ajunan dalem</i> |
| <i>bal-gebbal dalem</i> | <i>ajunan sampeyan</i> |
| | <i>ajunan panjennenggan</i> |

Plural forms are quite rare in use, and in fact some speakers are unsure how to form them. However, there are two strategies for indicating plurality with pronouns. One is the reduplicated form of *aba'*, *ba'-aba'*. This form is a general plural pronoun that can be used for all persons; the context in which it occurs

¹See Sutoko et al 1998 for dialect information.

determines whether it is to be interpreted as first, second, or third person. The alternative is to combine the appropriate pronoun with the quantifier *kabbi* ‘all’, as in (68).

- (68) *sengko' kabbi* ‘we’
ba'na kabbi ‘you’
aba'na kabbi ‘they’

As there is no case marking on NPs in Madurese, with the exception of the first person singular possessive, the same pronominal forms are used for any grammatical role. The sentences in (69-72) illustrate.

- (69) a. *Sengko' entar dha' Lombok.*
 I went to Lombok
 ‘I went to Lombok.’
- b. *Ba'na melle buku.*
 you AV.buy book
 ‘You bought a book.’
- (70) a. *Embi' rowa ngekke' sengko'.*
 goat that AV.bite me
 ‘That goat bit me.’
- b. *Ali nenggu ba'na.*
 Ali AV.watch you
 ‘Ali watches you.’
- (71) a. *Pa' guru a-berri' buku ka sengko'.*
 Mr teacher AV-give book to me
 ‘The teacher gave a book to me.’
- b. *Ebu' ngerem paket ka ba'na.*
 mother AV.send package to you
 ‘Mother sent a package to you.’
- (72) a. *Tang koceng ngeco' juko'.*
 my cat AV.steal fish
 ‘My cat stole the fish.’
- b. *Koceng-nga ba'na ngeco' juko'.*
 cat-DEF you AV. steal fish
 ‘Your cat stole the fish.’

Finally, as is true of many languages in the area, personal names and terms of address can serve as pronouns. For example, the sentence in (73) can unexceptionally be uttered by the narrator in reference to himself as he tells a story, and thus is translated here in the first person.

- (73) *Se e-ka-dungeng-a bapa' sateya, oreng penter jareya se*
 REL OV-KA-story-IRR father now person smart this REL
badha neng Napo.
 exist at Napo
 'The story I will tell you now is about this smart person who lived in Napo.'

A more detailed look at this and other aspects of anaphora is included in Chapter 13.

2.5. Demonstratives

In addition to the pronouns just discussed, Madurese includes deictic demonstratives that can also function as pronouns. Although there are just two basic distinctions made in demonstratives, there are many variants of these, some due to dialect and some due to speech style (formal vs. informal). The forms are:

- (74) a. proximal: *reya, areya, jareya, jariya, jiya, jeh*
 b. distal: *rowa, arowa, juwa*

Demonstratives may specify nouns in NPs, as in preceding sentences and the following:

- (75) *Koceng jiya ngeco' tang juko'.*
 cat this AV.steal my fish
 'This cat stole my fish.'
- (76) *Ke Pegke jiya dujan a-leng-keleleng neng ponduk jiya.*
 Ke Pegke this like AV-RED-around at school this
 'Ke Pegke liked to walk around the school.'

In (75), *jiya* specifies that the *koceng* 'cat' being discussed is physically proximate to the speaker (or has very recently been mentioned in the discourse). In (76) there are two instances of *jiya*. The second, in *ponduk jiya* 'this school', specifies not that the religious school is close to the speaker but that it is the school that the speaker has just referred to, and so the proximal form is used. The first instance in (76), *Ke Pegke jiya*, illustrates the fact that demonstratives

are often used with names, in this instance again specifying that this is a person that the speaker has referred to earlier. Demonstratives can also be used to identify a person as being proximate or distant from the speaker.

Demonstratives can also be used pronominally; they are, in fact, the only available pronominal forms for inanimate objects.

(77) *Sengko' ng-angguy reya banne rowa.*
 I AV-use this no that
 'I used this one, not that one.'

(78) *Jiya sala manes.*
 this yet sweet
 'Nevertheless they are sweet.'

In (77), an answer to the question 'Which pen did you use?', *riya* 'this' and *rowa* 'that' refer to pens on a table near the speaker. Here the distal form *rowa* is used because compared to the first pen it is farther from the speaker. And in (78), *jiya* refers to a type of banana currently being described by the speaker.

The position of demonstrative in NPs is taken up in Chapter 7.

2.6. Numerals and quantifiers

Madurese numerals and quantifiers are used both as specifiers in NPs and as predicates themselves. The numbers 1-9 have full, abbreviated, and clitic forms.

(79)	full (citation form)	abbreviated	clitic
1	<i>settong</i> ²	<i>tong, sa'</i>	<i>sa</i>
2	<i>dhuwa'</i>	<i>wa'</i>	<i>dhu</i>
3	<i>tello'</i>	<i>lo'</i>	<i>tello</i>
4	<i>empa'</i>	<i>pa'</i>	<i>pa'</i>
5	<i>lema'</i>	<i>ma'</i>	<i>lema</i>
6	<i>ennem</i>	<i>nem</i>	<i>nem</i>
7	<i>petto'</i>	<i>to'</i>	<i>pettong</i>
8	<i>ballu'</i>	<i>lu'</i>	<i>ballung</i>
9	<i>sanga'</i>	<i>nga'</i>	<i>sangang</i>

The use of a numeral or its position with respect to the quantified entity determines which form occurs. While the full forms can be used in counting, it is more usual for speakers to use the abbreviated forms. Either the full form or the

² In the Western dialect, the form *sittung* also occurs and is preferred by some speakers.

clitic form can be used when the numeral precedes the quantified nominal expression. This is illustrated in (80).

- (80) *settong roma* or *saroma* ‘one house’
dhuwa' buku or *dhu buku* ‘two books’
tello' guru or *tello guru* ‘three teachers’
empa' mored or *pa' mored* ‘four students’
lema' buku or *lema buku* ‘five books’
ennem sorat or *nem sorat* ‘six letters’
petto' toronan or *pettong toronan* ‘seven generations’
ballu' liter or *ballung liter* ‘eight liters’
sanga' bulan or *sangang bulan* ‘nine months’

The numbers 1, 2, 4, and 6 have truncated clitic forms. And only the number 4 retains its final glottal stop as a clitic. It is dropped in all of the other numbers that end in glottal stop. The final glottal stop in the citation forms and the abbreviated forms is what Stevens (1968) refers to as an ‘extension’, a minor morphological category of limited membership, which in this case has no effect on meaning but may be phonologically motivated. (See Chapter 4 section 3 for a discussion of extensions.) Unlike the numbers 3 and 5, the clitics of the numbers 7-9 include a velar nasal ligature. This ligature does not occur in other positions. While using either the full or clitic form preminally is fully acceptable, speakers generally use the clitic forms, particularly with 1 and 2.

When the number occurs without an explicit nominal expression or if it follows the nominal expression that is quantified, only the full form is possible, as in the examples in (81).

- (81) a. *Nemmo sampe' olle tello'.*
 AV.find until get three
 ‘They could only find three.’
- b. *Loros kaju e-okor persis padha bi' se tello'.*
 straight wood OV-measure exact same with REL three
 ‘The column was exactly the same size as the other three.’
- c. *Deni a-berri' buku lema' ka Tina.*
 Deni AV-give book five to Tina
 ‘Deni gave five books to Tina.’
- d. *Mored petto' bakal lulus ujiyan.*
 student seven will pass exam
 ‘Seven students will pass the exam.’

In (81a), *tello* ‘three’ quantifies and implicit argument given in the context. In (81b), *tello* acts as the predicate of a relative clause, *se tello* ‘the three’ (literally ‘those that are 3’). In (81c,d), the numbers follow the quantified expression and occur in the full form, *lema* ‘five’ and *petto* ‘seven’, respectively. See Chapter 7 section 7 for further discussion and illustration.

The clitic forms are generally, but again not obligatorily, used in numbers above nine. For example, with *polo* ‘ten(s)’ standard is *sapolo* ‘ten’, *dhu polo* ‘twenty’, *sangang polo* ‘ninety’, and so on. Some of the higher numbers are exemplified in (82).

(82)	10	<i>sapolo</i>	30	<i>tello polo</i>
	11	<i>sabellas</i>	31	<i>tello polo settong</i>
	12	<i>dhubellas</i>	40	<i>pa' polo</i>
	13	<i>tello bellas</i>	50	<i>sa'iket</i>
	14	<i>pa' bellas</i>	60	<i>sabidak</i>
	15	<i>lema bellas</i>	70	<i>pettong polo</i>
	16	<i>nem bellas</i>	80	<i>ballung polo</i>
	17	<i>pettong bellas</i>	90	<i>sangang polo</i>
	18	<i>ballung bellas</i>	100	<i>sa'atos</i>
	19	<i>sangang bellas</i>	200	<i>dhu atus</i>
	20	<i>dhupolo</i>	500	<i>lema ratos</i>
	21	<i>salekor</i>	700	<i>pettong atos</i>
	22	<i>dhulekor</i>	1,000	<i>sa'ebu</i>
	23	<i>tello lekor</i>	4,000	<i>pa'ebu</i>
	24	<i>pa'lekor</i>	100,000	<i>saratos ebu, sakethe</i>
	25	<i>sagame'</i>	1,000,000	<i>sajuta</i>

As is true of other languages in the area, Madurese has dedicated numbers for 25, 50, and 60. In addition, while 20 takes a predictable form *dhupolo* (literally two tens), the numbers 21-24 and 26-29 take the ending *lekor* (20s). Thereafter the general case is to use the citation form following the 10s designation, e.g. *tello polo ennem* ‘36’.

To form ordinal numbers, the morpheme *kapeng* or its abbreviated form *ka*, occurs before the numeral as in *Cakraningrat kapeng dhuwa'* or *Cakraningrat ka dhuwa'* ‘Cakraningrat the second’. Ordinals can also be formed in a relative clause construction with the number as predicate occurring with the prefix *kapeng* or *ka* (usually treated as a clitic), as in *se kadhuwa'* ‘the second’. These forms are discussed in Chapter 7 section 7.

The basic Madurese quantifiers are:

- (83) *banne* ‘no’
bannya' ‘many’
dhiddhi' ‘a few/a little/some’

kabbi ‘all’
para ‘all’
sabban ‘each/every’
sakone ‘a few/a little/some’

Quantifiers can be used to specify nouns, as in (84-85).

- (84) *Bannya' mored lulus ujiyan.*
 many student pass exam
 ‘Many students passed the exam.’
- (85) *Kabbi na'-kana' a-berka' ka sakola'an.*
 all RED-child AV-run to school
 ‘All the children ran to school.’

In addition to being nominal specifiers, numerals and some quantifiers can function as predicates.

- (86) *Ana'-eng Sri empa'.*
 child-DEF Sri four
 ‘Sri has four children.’
- (87) *Mored se lulus ujiyan bannya'.*
 student REL pass exam many
 ‘There are many students who passed the exam.’

Chapter 7 provides additional details about the distribution combining possibilities of numerals and quantifiers.

2.7. Interrogatives

Madurese contains a fairly typical set of interrogative expressions. Although each one more properly belongs in one of the lexical classes, they are presented as a group here as they are primarily used as interrogatives.

- (88) *apa* ‘what’
sapa ‘who’
kamma ‘which/where’
kemma ‘where’
dhimma ‘where’
arapa ‘why’
bila ‘when’

dha'ramma 'how'
baramma 'how'
barampa 'how much/many'

When reduplicated, most interrogatives are interpreted as indefinite pronouns rather than interrogatives, e.g. *pa-sapa* 'someone', *pa-apa* 'something'. Interrogatives are treated fully in Chapter 14.

2.8. Conjunctions

The set of coordinating conjunctions includes:

- (89) *ban* 'and' *pas* 'and then'
 tape 'but' *mangka* 'therefore'
 otaba 'or'

The conjunctions *ban* 'and' and *otaba* 'or' can be used to conjoin clauses or NPs, as in (90).

- (90) a. *Hasan entar dha' Jakarta ban Ali entar dha' Bali.*
 Hasan go to Jakarta and Ali go to Bali
 'Hasan went to Jakarta and Ali went to Bali.'
- b. *Bambang ban Ita melle buku.*
 Bambang and Ita AV.buy book
 'Bambang and Ita bought books.'

The prepositions *bi'* 'with/by' and *moso* 'with/by' (and its short form *so*) are also used to coordinate NPs and could replace *ban* in (90b). All of the conjunctions can be used to conjoin phrasal as well as clausal units, while *bi'* and *moso* can only be used to coordinate subclausal constituents, as discussed in Chapter 11 section 1.1. Subordinating conjunctions include:

- (91) *dumen* 'after'
 ja' 'that'
 kalamon/mon 'if'
 ma' 'so that'
 make 'if/when'
 sambi' 'while' (also 'in addition' and 'moreover')
 seddheng 'while'
 sopaja 'so that'

The sentences in (92) illustrate the subordinating conjunctions *mon* ‘if’ (92a) and *sopaja* ‘so that’ (92b).

- (92) a. *Mon red-mored dhateng lo' tellat, guru senneng.*
 if RED-student come not late teacher happy
 ‘If the students arrive on time, the teacher is happy.’
- b. *Ali nyare'-e obing sopaja bisa ma-teppa' sapedha motor.*
 Ali AV.seek-DUR screwdriver so.that can AV.CS-right motorcycle
 ‘Ali was looking for a screwdriver so that he could fix the motorcycle.’

Subordinate clauses are also introduced by a host of derived forms. Chapters 11 and 12 include a detailed discussion of complex sentences.

2.9. Particles and interjections

As is the case in any language, there is a set of expressions important to conversation that do not fit neatly into any particular lexical categories. Many are expressions that signal the emotion or state of mind of the speaker. Others are exhortations, expressions of agreement, and other sundry expressions. The positive and negative expressions are:

- (93) Expressions of positive and negative
- iya, ya* ‘yes’ used in answering questions as well as for affirmative emphasis and pausing in extended discourse
 - yut* ‘yes’—alternate form used in the Bangkalan dialect area
 - ta'* ‘not’—a verbal/adjectival negator
 - lo'* ‘not’—dialectal variant of *ta'* used in the Bangkalan dialect area
 - enja'* ‘no’—used in answering questions
 - ja'* ‘don’t’—used in negative imperatives
 - ta'iya* ‘right?’—combination of ‘no’ and ‘yes’ is used for tag questions
 - kan* ‘right?’—used as a positive emphatic marker and a way for speaker to check that the hearer is following

While some of these occur in fixed positions in a clause, *kan* can occur in a variety of locations, including immediate preverbal position.

- (94) *Ba'eng kan ngatela' dibi'.*
 you EMPH AV-see self
 ‘You can see for yourself, right?’

The use of most of these expressions is fairly straightforward. For example, the negative particles *ta'* and *lo'* occur immediately before the verb of a clause or any auxiliaries associated with the verb. *Ja'*, the negative imperative marker also immediately precedes the imperative form of the verb. *Enja'* 'no' occurs sentence initially, and *ta'iya*, used to form tag questions generally, but not exclusively occurs sentence finally. Finally, *iya/ya* 'yes' can occur freely in sentences. These various forms and their distribution in clauses are discussed in more detail in later chapters.

Some of the interjections used in Madurese are:

(95) Interjections

adhu 'oh/ah'—used to express surprise or distress

e 'hey'—used to get someone's attention

ha'—an exclamation used to denote pleasure, emptiness, or in asking a question

la' 'oh'

lo'—exclamation of surprise

o 'ok'

oh—exclamation of realization or understanding

wa'—exclamation of surprise or distress

When used in a clause, *adhu* generally occurs in initial position as in the following example of *adhu* signaling the speaker's distress.

(96) *Adhu, engko' pas a-mempe dha' iya?*

oh I then AV-dream like.this

'Oh, why do I dream like this?'

There are a variety of other forms, many of which signal emphasis and/or the speaker's commitment to what he or she is saying.

(97) *ano* 'whatsit, whachamacallit'—a hesitation form that can be used nominally or verbally

ayu' 'come on!, let's go!'—an exhortation to action

mara 'come on!, let's...'—a hortative

ba'—a particle expressing doubt or the fact that what is being said is perhaps unexpected

ja' 'indeed, and so'—used to link consecutive thoughts

joh—an emphatic particle expressing assertion

me' 'perhaps'—a particle expressing doubt that often occurs in interrogatives

ra—an emphatic particle

sala 'yet'—a particle expressing something counter to expectations

In (98), *ra* serves to emphasize the negative imperative:

- (98) *Ja' nanges, ra!*
 don't cry EMPH
 'Don't cry!'

The uses of *me'* and *sala* are illustrated in (99-100).

- (99) *Arapa me' e-nyama-e pangpang se pangantan?*
 why EMPH OV-name-E column REL wedding.procession
 'Why did they call it 'pang-pang se pangantan'?'

- (100) *Sala lo' mandhi yang-seyang-nga.*
 EMPH not bathe RED-noon-DEF
 He did not bathe in the afternoon.'

In (99), the speaker (a storyteller here) uses *me'* to signal his belief that the listener(s) will have some doubt about what the column in question would have to do with a wedding procession. In (100), *sala* indicates that the action is unexpected and what's more led to unexpected and undesirable results (in fact, the death of the character who did not bathe). Both emphatic forms generally occur in preverbal position, preceding any auxiliaries or clitics associated with the verb.

2.10. Clitics

Madurese includes a set of forms that cliticize to the immediately following word. These proclitics have a variety of functions and are drawn from various lexical classes and the particles just discussed. The following set includes those identified by Stevens (1968:77) and others.

(101) Clitics

<i>e</i> 'at'	<i>ta'</i> 'not'
<i>neng</i> 'at'	<i>lo'</i> 'not'
<i>ka</i> 'to'	<i>tang/sang</i> 'my'
<i>dha'</i> 'to'	<i>me'</i> 'perhaps'
<i>ban</i> 'and'	<i>jung</i> 'more'
<i>nangeng</i> 'but'	<i>namong</i> 'only'
<i>pas</i> 'then'	<i>saleng/salang</i> distributive/reciprocal
<i>mon</i> 'if'	<i>patang</i> distributive/reciprocal
<i>san</i> 'when'	<i>bareng</i> 'together'
<i>gan</i> 'up to'	<i>padha</i> 'same/equal'

neng ‘only’
sa ‘1’
dhu ‘2’
pa ‘4’
nem ‘6’

Clitics can be identified phonologically and morphologically. Phonologically, they undergo rules relevant to what Stevens refers to as ‘dot juncture’, and those that end in [a] invoke a special rule with roots that have an initial [ə]. Stevens’ ‘dot juncture’ rules and the glottal stop insertion rule are discussed in Chapter 2. Briefly though, when the clitic form of ‘1’ combines with the form *ella* ‘already’ [əlla], a glottal stop is epenthesized between the adjacent vowels.

(102) [sa] + [əlla] → [saʔəlla] ‘after’
 ‘one’ ‘already’

Another phonological process that identifies certain clitics inserts a palatal glide between two adjoining [ɛ] when the first is an affix or clitic. Thus, when the object voice prefix occurs with a root initial [ɛ], [j] is epenthesized, as in (103).

(103) [ɛ] + [ɛnɔm] → [ɛjɛnɔm] ‘be drunk’
 OV ‘drink’

The same process applies when the object of the preposition *e* ‘at’ begins with [ɛ], as in (104).

(104) [ɛ] + [ɛlat kafɛ] → [ɛjɛlat kafɛ] ‘at the Elat Cafe’
 ‘at’ ‘Elat Cafe’

This process does not occur in other environments in which there are two contiguous [ɛ], as between a verbal suffix and the following object, (105).

(105) [nɔlɔŋɛ] + [ɛp^huʔ] → [nɔlɔŋɛ ɛp^huʔ] / *[nɔlɔŋɛjɛp^huʔ] ‘help mother’
 ‘help’ ‘mother’

Morphologically, clitics can sometimes be incorporated into words. This is particularly common with the causative prefix *pa-*. For example, there are options with respect to the formation of causative reciprocal, but one of them is to incorporate the morpheme *salang/patang* into the derived causative. In (106) and (107) the causative morpheme occurs as *ma*, the Actor Voice signaled by the homorganic nasal.

- (106) a. *Dhokter jiya mareksa dhokter juwa.*
 doctor this AV.examine doctor that
 ‘This doctor examined that doctor.’
- b. *Kapala-na ma-saleng-pareksa ter-dhokter juwa.*
 head-DEF AV.CS-DIST-examine RED-doctor that
 ‘The head made the doctors examine each other.’

In the word *masalengpareksa*, the reciprocal marker *saleng* combines with the root *pareksa* ‘examine’ prior to affixation of the causative morpheme. Alternatively, *saleng* can cliticize to the verb after the causative morpheme has been affixed. So, (106b) can be expressed as:

- (107) *Kapala-na saleng ma-pareksa ter-dhokter juwa.*
 head-DEF DIST AV.CS-examine RED-doctor that
 ‘The head made the doctors examine each other.’

The interaction of clitics and the causative morpheme is detailed further in Chapter 4 section 2.

Current spelling conventions separate clitics from the elements they cliticize to in most cases, thus in (107) *saleng* appears as an independent word. A notable exception is the clitic form of ‘one’ *sa*, as in (108), as distinct from the clitic form of ‘two’ *dhu*, which is written as a separate word (109).

- (108) *Sengko' melle sakothak po'lot.*
 I AV.buy one.box pencil
 ‘I bought one box of pencils.’
- (109) *Sengko' melle dhu kothak po'lot.*
 I AV.buy two box pencil
 ‘I bought two boxes of pencils.’

In the past, the prepositional clitics *e* ‘at’ and *ka* ‘to’ and the word to which they cliticized were treated as a single lexical unit, as in the examples in (110), the first of which comes from a text from the early part of the 20th century (van den Broek 1913) and the second of which comes from another text from the same era (Keizer, n.d.).³

³ While the original published texts use the Kiliaan orthography, the examples in (110) are given in the modern orthography for ease of exposition. The examples in (i) provide the original orthography.

(i) a. *Ano apa bāqna edinnaq?*
 b. *Kaoelā sakalangkong terroèpon sè èntara karoma sakèq.*

(110) a. *Ano apa ba'na edhinna'?*
uh what you at.here
'Why are you here?'

b. *Kaula sakalangkong terroepon se entara karoma sake'.*
I thank you want.DEF REL go.IRR to.house sick
'Thank you, I would like to go to the hospital.'

Additional examples of the behavior of clitics are given in following chapters.

Chapter 4

Morphology

There are two basic morphological processes in Madurese: affixation and reduplication. The major affixes are enumerated and illustrated here. Reduplication is covered in Chapter 5.

1. Affixation

Aside from reduplication, Madurese affixation includes prefixes, suffixes, circumfixes, and very limited infixation. Many of the morphemes are multifunctional, that is, the same phonological sequence can affix to various parts of speech, and sometimes the effects on the stem are quite distinct.

A particularly salient example of this is the suffix *-an*. Depending on the stem to which it is affixed, *-an* can derive nouns or adverbs or inflect verbs or adjectives. For example, when suffixed to a verbal stem, the output can be a nominal, as in:

- (1) *kakan* ‘eat’ *kakanan* ‘food’
toles ‘write’ *tolesan* ‘writing’

At other times, when suffixed to a verbal stem, the result can be a verb indicating frequent, habitual or repeated action.¹

- (2) *Baca* ‘read’ *maca'an* ‘read frequently/like to read’
mole ‘go home’ *moleyan* ‘go home often’

When suffixed to certain nouns and adjectives, the result is a derived adverb, as in

- (3) *bulan* ‘month’ *bulan-an* ‘monthly’
laon ‘slow’ *laon-an* ‘slowly’
duli ‘soon’ *duliy-an* ‘quickly, in a hurry’

¹Verb roots which require voice morphology will be presented in the actor voice form (see sections 1.1.1-2), as *maca'an* is in (2), to avoid ambiguity when possible. The form *baca'an* can be interpreted as either the verbal ‘read frequently’ in its uninflected form or the derived nominal ‘reading matter’, analogous to the derived nominals in (1).

However, when suffixed to other adjectives, the result is a comparative adjective as in

- (4) *pote* ‘white’ *poteyan* ‘whiter’
penter ‘smart’ *penterran* ‘smarter’

And further, when modifying a noun, certain adjectives with *-an* denote the quality of having been applied to the object, as reported by Stevens (1968).

- (5) *aeng* ‘water’ + *kotor* ‘dirty’ *aeng kotoran* ‘dishwater’
berras ‘rice’ + *antre* ‘stand in line’ *berras antreyan* ‘rationed rice’

Finally, when applied to other adjectival stems, *-an* derives an adjective denoting a collective quality of a plural noun, as reported by Stevens (1968).

- (6) *juko' guringan* ‘fried food’ (*guring* ‘fry’)
oreng jaba'an ‘Javanese’

As is apparent from these examples and examples to follow, there is a great deal of homophony and polysemy in the set of inflectional and derivational affixes.² Beyond this though, the multifunctionality of some affixes contributes to a peculiarity of the Madurese system: the difficulty in determining absolutely whether a particular morpheme should be considered inflectional or derivational. Here, the iterative and the comparative morphemes seem to be clearly inflectional uses and the nominal and adverbial uses to be clearly derivational. The use in compounds is somewhat equivocal but falls on the side of derivation. Added to this seeming indeterminacy is the possibility of precategorial roots. To the extent that precategorial roots are determined to be N, V or Adj after affixation, those affixes could be considered derivational and not merely inflectional, despite the fact that the morphology appears to have an inflectional function with clearly N, V, or Adj roots and stems.

As it can be difficult to determine whether a particular type of morphology is derivational or inflectional, rather than attempting to organize this discussion in this way, affixes will be presented in terms of the lexical class of the resulting word, taking verbs, nouns, and adjectives in turn.

² As homophony and polysemy can be relatively difficult to sort out in this context, whether a particular form is properly one or the other will be left an open question here to focus on other aspects of morphology.

1.1. Verbal morphology

One of the most salient properties of Madurese morphology is the voice system, morphology that indicates the relationship of thematic roles and grammatical functions. Madurese voice is discussed in detail in Chapter 9. The purpose here is to simply present the morphological manifestations.

1.1.1. Actor voice *ng-*, /ŋ/

The prefix *ng-*, and its morphophonological variants, signals actor voice or active voice verbs, used when the actor is the subject of the sentence. It is affixed directly to verb roots, as in

(7)	root	actor voice
	<i>enom</i> ‘drink’	<i>ngenom</i>
	<i>kerem</i> ‘send’	<i>ngerem</i>
	<i>baca</i> ‘read’	<i>maca</i>
	<i>teggu</i> ‘watch’	<i>neggu</i>

When affixed to roots denoting instruments, the resulting verb means ‘to use instrument’.³

(8)	root	actor voice
	<i>are</i> ‘scythe’	<i>ngare</i> ‘cut with a scythe’
	<i>pacol</i> ‘hoe’	<i>macol</i> ‘hoe’
	<i>tokol</i> ‘hammer’	<i>nokol</i> ‘hammer’
	<i>kaca</i> ‘glass, mirror’	<i>ngaca</i> ‘look in a mirror’

Very closely related to this is the use of the actor voice with different types of food and drink to denote the process of making that food or drink.

(9)	root	actor voice
	<i>kopi</i> ‘coffee’	<i>ngopi</i> ‘make coffee’ (can also be used to denote ‘drink coffee’)
	<i>tajjin</i> ‘porridge’	<i>najjin</i> ‘make porridge’
	<i>kolek</i> ‘stewed bananas’	<i>ngolek</i> ‘stew bananas’
	<i>cao</i> ‘climbing plant’	<i>nyao</i> ‘make a drink from cao plant’

³Potentially these are precategorial roots. See Chapter 3 section 1.4 for discussion of precategorial roots.

As discussed in Chapter 3, whether these should be considered noun roots or precatatorial roots is open to debate. Regardless, affixation of *ng-* to this class of roots derives an actor voice verb.

Related to this last set are cases in which *ng-* is affixed to noun roots denoting an occupation or workplace, as in

(10) root	actor voice
<i>barung</i> ‘small shop’	<i>marung</i> ‘run a <i>barung</i> ’
<i>tokang</i> ‘artisan’	<i>nokang</i> ‘work as an artisan’
<i>sopir</i> ‘driver’	<i>nyopir</i> ‘work as a driver’
<i>toko</i> ‘store’	<i>noko</i> ‘run a store’

Also related are cases in which *ng-* is affixed to nouns (and some adjectives) and derives a verb which means ‘be like’.

(11) <i>beddhi</i> ‘sand’	<i>meddhi</i> ‘be gritty’
<i>caceng</i> ‘worm’	<i>nyaceng</i> ‘be scrawny’

These derivatives seem distinct from the other examples, which are clearly agentive. However, interpreting *nyaceng* as ‘be scrawny’ may be a semantic narrowing of the conceivable, more general interpretation ‘act like a worm’, similar to *nyake* ‘act sick’ in (13).

Finally, there are a few specialized cases of verbs derived from noun roots with *ng-*.

(12) root	actor voice
<i>teppe</i> ‘edge’	<i>neppe</i> ‘go along the edge’
<i>sese</i> ‘edge/side’	<i>nyese</i> ‘give way’
<i>penggir</i> ‘edge’	<i>menggir</i> ‘step aside’
<i>pettong are</i> ‘7 th day ceremony’	<i>mettong are</i> ‘hold a 7 th day ceremony’

Affixed to adjectival roots, *ng-* again derives a verb meaning ‘displaying the quality of’ or ‘be/act like’.

(13) root	actor voice
<i>songar</i> ‘conceited’	<i>nyongar</i> ‘act conceited’
<i>sala</i> ‘wrong’	<i>nyala</i> ‘make a mistake’
<i>seppe</i> ‘quiet’	<i>nyeppe</i> ‘grow quiet’
<i>sake</i> ‘sick’	<i>nyake</i> ‘act sick’

1.1.2. Actor voice *a-*, /a/

The actor voice prefix *a-* works in much the same way as *ng-* to derive verbs in the actor voice. Many active intransitive and some active transitive verb roots take the *a-* prefix.

(14) root	actor voice
<i>bala</i> 'say'	<i>abala</i>
<i>lonca</i> 'jump'	<i>alonca</i>
<i>berka</i> 'run'	<i>aberka</i>
<i>jelling</i> 'watch'	<i>ajelling</i>
<i>berri</i> 'give'	<i>aberri</i>

Verbs are derived from a variety of nominal (or precatatorial) roots. Some are instruments or locations for (work).

(15) root	actor voice
<i>sapedha</i> 'bicycle'	<i>asapedha</i> 'ride a bicycle'
<i>jala</i> 'net'	<i>ajala</i> 'fish with a net'
<i>motor</i> 'car'	<i>amotor</i> 'ride in a car'
<i>saba</i> 'rice paddy'	<i>asaba</i> 'work in a rice paddy'
<i>tane</i> 'farm'	<i>atane</i> 'farm'
<i>sakola</i> 'school'	<i>asakola</i> 'go to school'

This derivation is quite common for articles of clothing.

(16) root	actor voice
<i>sapatu</i> 'shoe'	<i>asapatu</i> 'wear shoes'
<i>sorban</i> 'turban'	<i>asorban</i> 'wear a turban'
<i>kalambi</i> 'shirt'	<i>akalambi</i> 'wear a shirt'
<i>kaos</i> 't-shirt'	<i>akaos</i> 'wear a t-shirt'

Affixing the iterative *-an* to any of these indicates that the subject regularly/habitually wears this item of clothing, e.g. *akaosan* 'usually wear a t-shirt'. The iterative suffix is discussed in section 1.1.9.

Verbs indicating that an action has been performed or in some cases is in the process of being performed take the *a-* prefix. The state of affairs described is explicitly agentless, which makes these quite different from other uses of *a-*, and the meaning is a stative result of an action. There is an inchoative quality to these although they differ from predicates taking prefix *ka-*, discussed in section 1.1.5, which also sometimes have an inchoative quality.

(17) root	actor voice
<i>bukka'</i> 'open'	<i>abukka'</i> 'be opened'
<i>totop</i> 'close'	<i>atotop</i> 'be closed'
<i>esse</i> 'fill'	<i>aesse</i> 'be filled'
<i>engggun</i> 'situated'	<i>aengggun</i> 'be situated'

Other noun roots result in verbs with the meaning 'treat as an N', 'have an N', and others.

(18) root	actor voice
<i>bapa'</i> 'father'	<i>abapa'</i> 'call a person "father"'
<i>ale'</i> 'younger sibling'	<i>a'ale'</i> 'call a person <i>ale</i> '
<i>nyama</i> 'name'	<i>anyama</i> 'be named'
<i>bine</i> 'wife'	<i>abine</i> 'marry' (of men)
<i>lake</i> 'husband'	<i>alake</i> 'marry' (of women)
<i>daftar</i> 'list'	<i>adaftar</i> 'register'

While there is no ironclad rule for the distribution of the two actor voice prefixes, there are robust generalizations. Most base and many derived intransitive predicates take *a-*; and as noted by Stevens (1968), the majority of stems with an initial voiced or voiceless aspirated stop also take the *a-* prefix, although there are many exceptions. As discussed in Chapter 9 section 1.1, some verbs can occur with either *a-* or *ng-*, especially in the variety of Madurese spoken in and around Bangkalan.

1.1.3. Object voice *e-*, / ϵ /

The prefix *e-* can be affixed to any transitive verbal stem (root or derived) to signal that an object (theme, goal, etc.) has been selected as subject. These are often referred to as passives in the literature (Stevens 1968, Zainudin et al, 1978, Moehlinabib et al 1979, Soegianto et al 1986), and are translated as such for perspicuity in (14).⁴

(19) root	object voice
<i>berri</i> 'give'	<i>eberri</i> 'be given'
<i>kerem</i> 'send'	<i>ekerem</i> 'be sent'
<i>toles</i> 'write'	<i>etoles</i> 'be written'
<i>okom</i> 'punish'	<i>eokom</i> 'be punished'

⁴Despite some superficial similarity in the translation of these and the forms in (17), unlike the forms in (17), forms in the object voice freely take agents. Thus, the uses of *a-* as in (17) and *e-* here are completely unrelated.

1.1.4. Involitive *ta-*, /ta/

As described in Chapter 3, *ta-* is affixed to verb stems (again, root or derived) generally to indicate that the action was not purposely undertaken by the agent. When the stem is intransitive, the subject performs the action described. When the stem is transitive, usually the theme or other nonagent is subject. Thus, this is sometimes referred to as a passive (e.g. Stevens 1968, Moehlinabib et al. 1979) or an accidental passive. *ta-* usually supplants any actor or object voice morphology (although Stevens 1968:133 cites some exceptions). As described in Chapter 9 section 6.2, for some speakers *ta-* can sometimes occur with transitive stems with an active interpretation.

(20) root	involitive voice
<i>pokol</i> 'hit'	<i>tapokol</i> 'be hit accidentally'
<i>tobi</i> 'pinch'	<i>tatobi</i> 'be pinched accidentally'
<i>mole</i> 'go home'	<i>tamole</i> 'go home by mistake'
<i>entar</i> 'go'	<i>taentar</i> 'go someplace by mistake'
<i>abas</i> 'see'	<i>ta-ng-abas</i> 'accidentally see' (from Stevens 1968:133)

Some speakers, particularly in Western Madura, occasionally use *ka-* as the involitive prefix, perhaps due to the influence of Javanese, which has the involitive prefix *ke-*.

With adjectival predicates, *ta-* takes on the related (involitive) denotation of an excessive amount of the property, often accompanied by the degree adverbial *gallu* 'too'.

(21) root	derivative
<i>manes</i> 'sweet'	<i>tamanes (gallu)</i> 'too sweet'
<i>raneng</i> 'loud'	<i>taraneng (gallu)</i> 'too loud'
<i>pae</i> 'bitter'	<i>tapae (gallu)</i> 'too bitter'

As described in Chapter 3 section 2.1, the meaning of excess in the derived forms can be expressed by means of the bare adjective alone with *gallu*, which actually occurs more frequently in the Western dialect.

1.1.5. Verbal *ka-*, /ka/

The prefix *ka-* derives verbs with what has been described as a general passive-like meaning (Stevens 1968, Moehnilabib et al 1979), which more specifically describes a realized or potential state, often with a result or abilitive denotation depending on the type of stem it occurs with. Affixed to verb stems, *ka-* derives

forms that can denote either a kind of abilitive or realized state (usually either, depending on the context), the realized state often having an inchoative meaning. In this use it takes the object/theme of the stem as its primary argument.

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| (21) <i>baca</i> ‘read’ | <i>kabaca</i> ‘can be read/has been read’ |
| <i>potos</i> ‘decide’ | <i>kapotos</i> ‘can be decided/has been decided’ |
| <i>petek</i> ‘hold/pick’ | <i>kapetek</i> ‘can be held/has been held’ |

Affixed to noun stems, *ka-* derives instrumental/potential type verbs.

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| (23) <i>sabbu</i> ‘belt’ | <i>kasabbu</i> ‘get used as a belt/can be used as a belt’ |
| <i>tongket</i> ‘cane’ | <i>katongket</i> ‘get used as a cane/can be used as a cane’ |
| <i>kocca</i> ‘hat’ | <i>kakocca</i> ‘get used as a hat/can be used as a hat’ |

Affixed to adjectival roots, *ka-* derives resultant states.

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (24) <i>potek</i> ‘restless’ | <i>kapotek</i> ‘become restless’ |
| <i>peggel</i> ‘angry’ | <i>kapeggel</i> ‘become angry’ |
| <i>baji</i> ‘disgusted’ | <i>kabaji</i> ‘become disgusted’ |

These forms occasionally co-occur with the *a-* prefix and indicate that the subject nearly has the property denoted by the adjective.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (25) <i>koneng</i> ‘yellow’ | <i>akakoneng</i> ‘to be yellowish’ |
| <i>pote</i> ‘white’ | <i>akapote</i> ‘to be whitish’ |

See Chapter 9 section.6.1 for further discussion and exemplification.

1.1.6. Adversative *ka-...-an*, /ka...an/

The circumfix *ka-...-an* applied to some verbs derives a verb which adversely affects an experiencer, which is the subject.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| (26) <i>semprot</i> ‘spray’ | <i>kasemprodan</i> ‘get sprayed with’ |
| <i>gaggar</i> ‘fall’ | <i>kagaggaran</i> ‘suffer having something get fallen on’ |
| <i>robbu</i> ‘collapse’ | <i>karobbuwan</i> ‘suffer having something collapse’ |
| <i>maso</i> ‘enter’ | <i>kamaso'an</i> ‘have something get entered’ |

Adversatives are discussed in more detail in Chapter 9 section 6.3.

1.1.7. Causative *pa-*, /pa/

The prefix *pa-* derives causative verbs from verb roots (27) and adjectival roots (28). The prefixed forms are given in the actor voice (hence *ma-* and not *pa-*) to avoid certain types of ambiguity that can arise because there are other *pa-* used in the derivation of instrumental, agentive, and process nominals, as described in section 1.2.4.⁵

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (27) <i>tedhung</i> ‘sleep’ | <i>matedhung</i> ‘cause to sleep’ |
| <i>labu</i> ‘fall’ | <i>malabu</i> ‘cause to fall’ |
| <i>toles</i> ‘write’ | <i>manoles</i> ‘help someone write’ |
| <i>keco</i> ‘steal’ | <i>mangeco</i> ‘teach to steal’ |
| (28) <i>lesso</i> ‘tired’ | <i>malesso</i> ‘cause to be tired’ |
| <i>pote</i> ‘white’ | <i>mapote</i> ‘make white’ |
| <i>becce</i> ‘good’ | <i>mabecce</i> ‘fix’ |

There is a type of ambiguity that is not avoided by using the actor voice form.

1.1.8. Irrealis *-a*, /a/

The suffix *-a* inflects verb stems to indicate irrealis mood. It is used to denote future and unrealized actions. The irrealis is discussed in detail in Chapter 9 section 2.

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (29) <i>entar</i> ‘go’ | <i>entara</i> ‘will/may go’ |
| <i>tompa</i> ‘ride’ | <i>nompa'a</i> ‘will/may ride’ |
| <i>kerem</i> ‘send’ | <i>ngerema</i> ‘will/may send’ |
| <i>tedhung</i> ‘sleep’ | <i>tedhunga</i> ‘will/may sleep’ |

1.1.9. Iterative *-an*, /an/

As described at the beginning of section 1, when suffixed to some verb stems, *-an* denotes frequent, repetitive or multiple actions (again, these forms are given in the actor voice to avoid unnecessary ambiguity).

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (30) <i>berka</i> ‘run’ | <i>berka'an</i> ‘run regularly’ |
| <i>ajar</i> ‘study’ | <i>ajaran</i> ‘study often’ |

⁵ For example, as described in section 1.2.4, *palangoy* can mean ‘proficient swimmer’. However, it can also mean ‘cause someone to swim’. This ambiguity does not arise with *malangoy*, which can only have a causative interpretation.

<i>toles</i> ‘write’	<i>nolesan</i> ‘write often’
<i>massa</i> ‘cook’	<i>amassa'an</i> ‘cook often’

The iterative suffix can carry the connotation that the subject engages in the activity frequently due to enjoying it. So *berka'an* can be translated ‘like to run’ and *amassa'an* ‘like to cook’. They can also be translated simply to indicate that the action occurred more than once, e.g. *nolesan* ‘write multiple times’

1.1.10. Durative -e, /ɛ/

Another suffix that denotes iterated activity is the durative -e, one of two verbal suffixes -e. When the durative is suffixed to verb stems, the resulting verb denotes an iterated activity carried out for a continuous period of time.

(31) <i>poger</i> ‘chop’	<i>mogerre</i> ‘chop for a while’
<i>toles</i> ‘write’	<i>nolese</i> ‘write for a while’
<i>pokol</i> ‘hit’	<i>mokole</i> ‘hit repeatedly for a while’
<i>massa</i> ‘cook’	<i>amassa'e</i> ‘cook for a while’

1.1.11. ‘Locative’ -e, /ɛ/

When affixed to verbs taking a goal argument, whether a physical goal as with *kerem* ‘send’ or *entar* ‘go’ or the goal of emotion as with *tresna* ‘love’, -e can derive a verb in which the goal argument is the direct or primary object, that is, it indicates an endpoint. In other Western Austronesian languages, this is often referred to as a locative affix. The derived verb is transitive, even when the base verb is intransitive, as with *entar* ‘go’. (See Chapter 10 section 1 for a detailed discussion.)

(32) <i>kerem</i> ‘send’	<i>kereme</i> ‘send to’
<i>entar</i> ‘go’	<i>entare</i> ‘go to’
<i>busen</i> ‘bored’	<i>busenne</i> ‘bored with’
<i>parcaja</i> ‘believe’	<i>parcajai</i> ‘believe in’
<i>bala</i> ‘say’	<i>balai</i> ‘say to’

The locative -e is involved in a highly specific morphophonemic rule. When followed by the irrealis suffix -a, -an is substituted for -e.

(33) <i>kereme</i> ‘send to’	<i>keremana</i> ‘will send to’
<i>balai</i> ‘say to’	<i>bala'ana</i> ‘will say to’
<i>busenne</i> ‘bored with’	<i>busennana</i> ‘will be bored with’

A small number of speakers have innovated and have regularized the sequence of *-e + -a*, thus producing the forms in (34) in place of those in (33). However, this is a very small minority of speakers and does not represent the standard of any dialect. (The fact that some speakers but not others accept a particular form or sentence is marked by ‘%’ throughout.)

- (34) %*keremeya* ‘will send to’
 %*balaiya* ‘will say to’
 %*busenneya* ‘will be bored with’

Perhaps best considered a separate affix, when affixed to some adjectival stems, *-e* derives transitive verbs with a causative meaning, ‘make something have the quality of the adjective’, accompanied by the actor voice morpheme in the actor voice.

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (35) <i>pote</i> ‘white’ | <i>apote'e</i> ‘make white’ |
| <i>mate</i> ‘dead’ | <i>mate'e</i> ‘kill’ |
| <i>tako</i> ‘afraid’ | <i>nako'e</i> ‘scare’ |
| <i>kene</i> ‘small’ | <i>ngene'e</i> ‘make small’ |

Related to this causative form of *-e*, with a few adjectival predicates and noun roots suffixation of *-e* results in a verb that means to ‘act like X’ or ‘look like X’.

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| (36) <i>penter</i> ‘smart’ | <i>menterre</i> ‘act like an intelligent person’ |
| <i>towa</i> ‘old’ | <i>nowae</i> ‘look older than one is’ |
| <i>disa</i> ‘village’ | <i>nisane</i> ‘look like someone from the village’ |
| <i>kottha</i> ‘city’ | <i>ngotthai</i> ‘look like someone from the city’ |
| <i>rato</i> ‘king’ | <i>ngratone</i> ‘act like a king’ |

1.1.12. ‘Benefactive’ *-agi*, /ak^hε/

When suffixed to a transitive verb stem, *-agi* largely derives verbs in which the direct or primary object is understood as the beneficiary of the action.

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (37) <i>giba</i> ‘carry’ | <i>ngeba'agi</i> ‘carry for’ |
| <i>belli</i> ‘buy’ | <i>melleyagi</i> ‘buy for’ |
| <i>kerra</i> ‘slice’ | <i>ngerra'agi</i> ‘slice for’ |
| <i>toles</i> ‘write’ | <i>nolessagi</i> ‘write for’ |
| <i>kerem</i> ‘send’ | <i>ngeremmagi</i> ‘send for’ |

There are a very few intransitive verbs for which suffixation of *-agi* results in a beneficiary.

- (38) *asassa* ‘do laundry’ *asassa'agi* ‘cook rice for’
asapo ‘sweep’ *asapowagi* ‘sweep for’
ngopi ‘to make coffee’ *ngopiyagi* ‘make coffee for’

When suffixed to a verb of communication, such as *bala* ‘say’, *bisi* ‘whisper’ and so on, *-agi* derives verbs in which the subject matter being communicated is the object.

- (39) *bala* ‘say’ *abala'agi* ‘say about’
careta ‘say’ *acraeta'agi* ‘tell about’
bisi ‘whisper’ *abisi'agi* ‘whisper about’

As is true of *-e*, for some intransitive verb stems and adjectival roots, suffixation of *-agi* derives a causative verb.

- (40) *kennal* ‘know’ *ngennallagi* ‘introduce’
senneng ‘happy’ *nyennengngagi* ‘please someone’
tedhung ‘sleep’ *nedhungngagi* ‘put to bed’
mole ‘go home’ *moleyagi* ‘send home’

There is variation regarding the acceptability of some of these words. Some speakers reject these, strongly preferring or only accepting causatives with the causative prefix *pa-*. See Chapter 10 section 3 for a detailed discussion of Madurese causatives.

There is a small number of nouns which, when used to describe a location, can combine with *-agi* to form transitive verbs that denote the action of putting an object or objects in that location. This is illustrated in the sentences in (41b) and (42b)

- (41) a. *Ali noles panghaselan e buku.*
 Ali AV.write income at book
 ‘Ali entered the income in the book.’
 b. *Ali a-buku-wagi panghaselan.*
 A AV-book-AGI income
 ‘Ali entered the income in the book.’

- (42) a. *Polisi nyaba' maleng e penjara.*
 police AV.put thief at jail
 'The police put the thief in jail.'
- b. *Polisi a-penjara'-agi maleng.*
 police AV-jail-AGI thief
 'The police jailed the thief.'

As is clear from the pair of sentences in (42) and their English translations, this has its analogue in English, where there is no derivational morphology but simple conversion of the noun *jail* to a verbal use. Finally there is also an instrumental use of *-agi* in which the instrument of selected verbs is the direct object, as in (43b).

- (43) a. *Siti mungkos sassa'an kalaban koran.*
 Siti AV.wrap laundry with newspaper
 'Siti wrapped the laundry with newspaper.'
- b. *Siti mungkos-sagi koran ka sassa'an.*
 Siti AV.wrap-AGI newspaper to laundry
 'Siti wrapped newspaper around the laundry.'

This construction is detailed in Chapter 10 section 2.4.

1.2. Nominal morphology

A number of morphemes, when affixed to various stems, derive nouns. As will be clear in the course of the discussion, many of the morphemes used to derive nouns have the same phonological shape as morphemes that derive verbs. It is this kind of identity of noun and verb morphology that sometimes leads to claims about precategoriality (Jelinek and Demers 1994, Foley 1998).

1.2.1. Definite *-na*, /na/

The most frequently occurring morpheme with nouns is the definite suffix *-na*. Suffixation to a consonant-final stem (other than glottal stop) triggers the morphophonological process described in Chapter 2 section 6, in which the [n] totally assimilates to the final consonant of the stem, resulting in a geminate consonant. It occurs in possessive constructions (such as the data in Chapter 3 section 2.4 on pronouns), in which it is suffixed to the possessed noun, which is followed by the possessor.

- (44) *bukuna Siti* ‘Siti’s book’
motorra Ebu ‘mother’s car’
ana’na ba’en ‘your child’
soradda ‘his/her letter’

The fact that third person possessors need not occur overtly inspires an analysis in which *-na* is taken to be a third person possessive pronoun, much like Indonesian *-nya*. Despite this similarity, it should be noted that *-na* has a distribution somewhat different than *-nya*. For example, *-na* cannot be used as a direct object clitic on verbs, as it can in Indonesian. It thus does not have the pronominal character of Indonesian *-nya*.

- (45) *Puspa me-lihat-nya.* Indonesian
 Puspa AV-see-3
 ‘Puspa saw him.’

Second, as shown in the data in (44), *-na* occurs with second person possessors (*ana’na ba’en* ‘your child’) and also occurs with first person possessors that follow the possessed noun (although this is not the preferred form).

- (46) %*motorra sengko* ‘my car’
 %*ana’na sengko* ‘my child’

In addition, affixation of *-na* can simply indicate the definiteness of a noun, as in the sentences in (47), a feature that it has in common with *-nya*.

- (47) a. ***Buku-na neng meja.***
 book-DEF at table
 ‘The book is on the table.’
- b. *Sengko’ senneng dha’ guru-na.*
 I happy to teacher-DEF
 ‘I like the/my teacher.’

Data like these and other examples below lead to glossing *-na* as a suffix that overtly indicates the definiteness of the noun to which it is affixed. As such definiteness is inherent in possession, one of the possible translations of *-na* is as a possessive affix.

In the dialect spoken in and around Bangkalan, *-na* has a phonologically-conditioned variant.⁶ Speakers in this region regularly use *-eng* as the definite suffix following nouns that end in a glottal stop. This is illustrated in (48).

(48)	Bangkalan dialect	elsewhere
	<i>ana'eng</i> 'the child'	<i>ana'na</i>
	<i>aba'eng</i> 'he/she'	<i>aba'na</i>
	<i>bai'eng</i> 'the seed'	<i>bai'na</i>
	<i>bila'eng</i> 'the dirt'	<i>bila'na</i>
	<i>tabu'eng</i> 'the stomach'	<i>tabu'na</i>

For speakers who use *-eng*, *-na* (together with the standard morphophonological rule of gemination) is used in all cases other than noun stems ending in glottal stop, and at times in stems with a final glottal stop as well.

When suffixed to a verb (in the actor voice where appropriate), *-na* derives a process nominal, as in (49).

(49)	<i>berka'</i> 'run'	<i>berka'na</i> 'the running'
	<i>massa'</i> 'cook'	<i>massa'na</i> 'the cooking'
	<i>noles</i> 'write'	<i>nolessa</i> 'the writing'
	<i>mokol</i> 'hit'	<i>mokolla</i> 'the hitting'
	<i>ngakan</i> 'eat'	<i>ngakanna</i> 'the eating'

As shown below in section 1.2.7, process nominals are also formed with the prefix *pa-* in combination with *-na*.

Definite *-na* also occurs on elements used as adverbial subordinating conjunctions, as in the sentences in (50).

- (50) a. *Ita ngejung baktō-na a-ra-kora.*
 Ita AV.sing time-DEF AV-red-wash.dishes
 'Ita sang while washing the dishes.'
- b. *Mare-na Siti nyapo-we ubin, aba'eng entar dha' pasar.*
 finish-DEF Siti AV.sweep-DUR floor she go to market
 'After Siti had swept the floor, she went to the market.'

In (50a), *baktōna* 'the time' is interpreted as 'while' and in (50b) *marena* 'the finishing' is interpreted as 'after'. As shown below in section 1.2.9, the prefix *sa-* sometimes combines with *-na* to form nouns that function as adverbial subordinating conjunctions.

⁶The use of the *-eng* definite suffix seems to extend only about 40 km east of Bangkalan, its use tapering noticeably around town of Bliga.

As described in Chapter 3 section 1.3.2, *-na* is suffixed to the adjective in the intensive construction (51), *ce' Adj-na*.

- (51) *penter* 'smart' *ce' penterra* 'very smart'
raja 'large' *ce' rajana* 'very large'
pote 'white' *ce' potena* 'very white'
kene 'small' *ce' kene'eng* 'very small' (Bangkalan dialect only)

Note that in the Bangkalan dialect the allomorph *-eng* surfaces following a stem final glottal stop, providing further indication that the affix in this construction is the definite marker *-na*.

1.2.2. Result nominals with *-an*, /an/

The suffix *-an* occurs in a number of nominalizing circumfixes. Used alone, it affixes to verb roots to derive result nominals, i.e. nouns describing the result of the action of the verb.

- (52) *massa'* 'cook' *massa'an* 'cooked food'
toles 'write' *tolesan* 'handwriting'
enom 'drink' *enoman* 'drink'
sassa 'wash clothes' *sassa'an* 'laundry'
pekker 'think' *pekkeran* 'thought/idea'

1.2.3. Nominal *ka-...-an*, /ka...an/

The circumfix *ka-...-an*, which can derive adversative predicates as described in section 1.1.6, derives two types of nouns: abstract nominals and locative nouns. With many verbs and adjectives, the result of affixing *ka-...-an* is an abstract nominal.

- (53) *badha* 'exist' *kabadha'an* 'existence'
toron 'descend' *katoronan* 'descendents'
daddi 'become' *kadaddiyan* 'occurrence'
bagus 'good' *kabagusan* 'goodness'
sossa 'sad' *kasossa'an* 'sadness'
penter 'smart' *kapenterran* 'intelligence'

However, when affixed to particular nouns and verbs, *ka-...-an* derives locative nouns that denote a place where a noun belongs or a place for doing the action of the verb.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| (54) <i>camat</i> ‘district head’ | <i>kacamadan</i> ‘district’ |
| <i>rato</i> ‘king’ | <i>karatowan/kraton</i> ‘palace’ |
| <i>raja</i> ‘king’ | <i>karaja’an</i> ‘kingdom’ |
| <i>tedhung</i> ‘sleep’ | <i>katedhungan</i> ‘place to sleep/bed’ |
| <i>toju</i> ‘sit’ | <i>katoju’an</i> ‘place to sit/chair’ |

The use of *ka-...-an* to derive abstract nominals is very productive, a feature it shares with Indonesian and Javanese *ke-...-an*. Its use to derive locatives is much more circumscribed.

1.2.4. Agentive and instrumental *pa-* /pa/ and *pang-* /paŋ/

When affixed to some verbs, *pa-* derives agentive nouns.

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| (55) <i>langoy</i> ‘swim’ | <i>palangoy</i> ‘proficient swimmer’ |
| <i>gaja</i> ‘joke’ | <i>pagaja</i> ‘jokester’ |
| <i>soro</i> ‘order’ | <i>pasoro</i> ‘messenger/missionary’ |
| <i>tane</i> ‘farm’ | <i>patane</i> ‘farmer’ |

With other verbs, the prefix *pang-* is used to derive agents. In this use, the nasal [ŋ] assimilates to the place of articulation of the initial consonant of the verb-stem.⁷

- | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (56) <i>bigal</i> ‘rob’ | <i>pambigal</i> ‘robber’ |
| <i>jaga</i> ‘guard’ | <i>panjaga</i> ‘guard’ |
| <i>jai</i> ‘sew’ | <i>panjai</i> ‘tailor’ |
| <i>bajar</i> ‘pay’ | <i>pambajar</i> ‘payer/bursar’ |
| <i>lako</i> ‘work’ | <i>panglako</i> ‘worker’ |

When affixed to other verbs, *pang-* derives instrumental nouns.

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| (57) <i>toddu</i> ‘point’ | <i>panoddu</i> ‘pointer/hand of a clock’ |
| <i>gai</i> ‘poke’ | <i>panggai</i> ‘poker’ |
| <i>garis</i> ‘line’ | <i>panggaris</i> ‘ruler’ |

As is true in many languages, agents and instruments can be linked both morphologically and syntactically. As shown in Chapter 8, syntactically agents and instruments can take the same prepositional marking, *bi* ‘by means of’, *moso* ‘with’. Morphologically affixation of *pa-/pang-* can derive agentive and instrumental nouns.

⁷See Chapter 2 section 2.6 for discussion of the morphophonological process.

There are also some isolated uses of *pang-*, often deriving an abstract noun from a verbal stem. In this use, nasal assimilation may take place optionally or be subject to idiolectal or dialectal variation. Stevens (1968:84) reports the alternate forms *panneser* and *pangneser*, the latter of which he characterizes as ‘rare’ but which seems to be the preferred form for speakers from Bangkalan.

(58) <i>rassa</i> ‘feel’	<i>pangrassa</i> ‘feeling’
<i>arep</i> ‘hope’	<i>pangarep</i> ‘hope’
<i>neser</i> ‘pity/love’	<i>panneser/pangneser</i> ‘love-gift’
<i>gali</i> ‘know’	<i>panggali</i> ‘idea’

1.2.5. Locative/agentive *pa-...-an*, /pa...an/

The prefix *pa-* combines with the suffix *-an* to form a circumfix that derives locatives from some verbs and nouns.

(59) <i>jaga</i> ‘guard’	<i>pajaga'an</i> ‘guarded area’
<i>makam</i> ‘grave’	<i>pamakaman</i> ‘cemetery’
<i>sare</i> ‘sleep’	<i>pasareyan</i> ‘cemetery’
<i>majang</i> ‘fish’	<i>pamajangan</i> ‘place for fishing’
<i>bako</i> ‘tobacco’	<i>pabakowan</i> ‘tobacco store’

With other nouns, *pa-...-an* derives agentive nouns.

(60) <i>jalan</i> ‘road’	<i>pajalanan</i> ‘traveler’
<i>aeng</i> ‘water’	<i>pa'aengan</i> ‘water seller’
<i>bako</i> ‘tobacco’	<i>pabakowan</i> ‘tobacconist’

Note that as with some other affixes with multiple meanings, ambiguity can occur. *Pabakowan* can refer either to the location where tobacco is sold or to the person who sells tobacco. It should be noted, however, that none of these derivational affixes involving derived agents, instruments, and locations is fully productive. There is lexical idiosyncrasy regarding which affix is used to denote any one of the meanings. Thus, there is not the wholesale ambiguity that completely productive processes would predict.

1.2.6. *pang-...-an*, /paŋ...an/

The circumfix *pang-...-an* principally derives abstract nouns. As pointed out by Stevens (1968:174), the majority of these derivatives are loans from Indonesian.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (61) <i>parenta</i> ‘command’ | <i>pamarenta'an</i> ‘government’ |
| <i>asel</i> ‘origin’ | <i>pangaselan</i> ‘result’ |
| <i>arte</i> ‘mean/understand’ | <i>pangarteyan</i> ‘understanding’ |
| <i>bagi</i> ‘distribute’ | <i>pambagiyana</i> ‘distribution’ |

Evidence in support of Stevens’ observation that these are based on Indonesian loans with the circumfix *peng-...-an* is the fact that many speakers regularly and sometimes exclusively use the Indonesian forms rather than the Madurese forms in their daily speech.

1.2.7. *pa-* with process nominals

As shown in section 1.2.1, when affixed to verbs (in the actor voice where appropriate), suffixation of *-na* can derive process nominals for some speakers. For the majority of speakers, however, the prefix *pa-* obligatorily combines with these to form process nominals, so that the complete template is *pa + ng + root + na*. Those speakers who accept process nominals without the *pa-* prefix also accept the form with the prefix.

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (62) <i>toles</i> ‘write’ | <i>panolessa</i> ‘the writing’ |
| <i>massa</i> ‘cook’ | <i>pamassa'na</i> ‘the cooking’ |
| <i>berka</i> ‘run’ | <i>paberka'na</i> ‘the running’ |
| <i>pokol hit</i> | <i>pamokolla</i> ‘the hitting’ |

The distinction between these process nominals and the result nominals of section 1.2.2 is what one would expect: for example, while *tolesan* refers to the product of the act of writing ‘handwriting’, *panolessa/nolessa* refers to the action of the agent.

1.2.8. *sa-*, /sa/

The prefix *sa-* combines exclusively with nouns to derive nouns with the notion of ‘same’ or ‘all’. In this instance there is systematic ambiguity which is resolved by the discourse context in which the word is used.

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| (63) <i>roma</i> ‘house’ | <i>saroma</i> ‘same house/all the houses’ |
| <i>disa</i> ‘village’ | <i>sadisa</i> ‘same village/all the villages’ |
| <i>bengko</i> ‘house’ | <i>sabengko</i> ‘all the houses/same house’ |
| <i>polo</i> ‘island’ | <i>sapolo</i> ‘all the islands/same island’ |

This use of *sa-*, particularly with the meaning ‘same noun’, is derived from (if it is not identical to) the use of *sa-* as a clitic form of ‘one’ as in (64).

- | | | |
|------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| (64) | <i>kothak</i> ‘box’ | <i>sakothak</i> ‘one box’ |
| | <i>cangker</i> ‘cup’ | <i>sacangker</i> ‘one cup’ |
| | <i>polo</i> ‘tens’ | <i>sapolo</i> ‘ten’ |

The forms in (63) can therefore actually be interpreted in three ways, and can also simply mean ‘one house’, ‘one village’, and so on.

1.2.9. *sa-* in nominalizations

Directly related to the use of *sa-* described in the preceding section, *sa-* can combine with nominalized verbs and adjectives to derive nominals that function like subordinating conjunctions introducing adverbial clauses. Some derivations are given in (65) and two examples in (66).

- | | | |
|------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (65) | <i>mare</i> ‘finish’ | <i>samarena</i> ‘after finishing’ |
| | <i>dhateng</i> ‘come’ | <i>sadhatengnga</i> ‘after coming’ |
| | <i>tedhung</i> ‘sleep’ | <i>satedhungnga</i> ‘after sleeping’ |
| | <i>pote</i> ‘white’ | <i>sapotena</i> ‘after X is white’ |
| | <i>bassa</i> ‘broken’ | <i>sabassana</i> ‘after X is broken’ |

- (66) a. *Sa-dhateng-nga Siti, Ita mangkat.*
 one-come-DEF Siti Ita leave
 ‘After Siti came, Ita left.’
- b. *Sa-labu-na, aba'eng entar dha' Sorbaja.*
 one-fall-DEF he go to Surabaya
 ‘After falling, he went to Surabaya.’

This adverbial construction is discussed in more detail in conjunction with other adverbial clauses in Chapter 12.

Sa- in its meaning of ‘all’ also occurs with a small number of nominalized verbs.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------|--|
| (67) | <i>edhing</i> ‘hear’ | <i>sangedhingnga</i> ‘all that he hears’ |
| | <i>oneng</i> ‘know’ | <i>saonengnga</i> ‘all that he knows’ |
| | <i>jawap</i> ‘answer’ | <i>sajawabba</i> ‘all that he answers’ |

While the adverbial-type construction in (65) is very productive, this use is relatively circumscribed.

Sa- also occurs sporadically with result nominals (equipped with the *-an* suffix) or verbs, adjectives or nouns in combination with the *-an* suffix.

- | | | |
|------|------------------------|---|
| (68) | <i>kakanan</i> ‘food’ | <i>sakakanan</i> ‘small meal’ |
| | <i>ompa</i> ‘mouthful’ | <i>saompa’an</i> ‘a single portion’ |
| | <i>olok</i> ‘shout’ | <i>saologan</i> ‘shouting distance’ |
| | <i>lonca</i> ‘jump’ | <i>salonca’an</i> ‘jumping distance’ |
| | <i>roko</i> ‘tobacco’ | <i>saroko’an</i> ‘distance covered while smoking
a single cigarette’ |

1.3. Derived adjectives

There is a limited number of affixes that derive adjectives. As discussed previously, affixation of *-an* to an adjectival root results in a comparative. For many speakers, it is also possible to affix *a-* with no difference in meaning.

- | | | | |
|------|------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (69) | <i>penter</i> ‘smart’ | <i>penterran</i> ‘smarter’ | <i>apenterran</i> ‘smarter’ |
| | <i>senneng</i> ‘happy’ | <i>sennengngan</i> ‘happier’ | <i>asennengngan</i> ‘happier’ |
| | <i>kowat</i> ‘strong’ | <i>kowadan</i> ‘stronger’ | <i>akowadan</i> ‘stronger’ |
| | <i>pote</i> ‘white’ | <i>poteyan</i> ‘whiter’ | <i>apoteyan</i> ‘whiter’ |
| | <i>laju</i> ‘dry’ | <i>lajuwan</i> ‘drier’ | <i>alajuwan</i> ‘drier’ |

These *-an* derivatives can also form superlatives in conjunction with reduplication of the stem. Comparatives and superlatives are described in more detail in Chapter 6 section 8.

- | | |
|------|------------------------------------|
| (70) | <i>ter-penterran</i> ‘smartest’ |
| | <i>wat-kowadan</i> ‘strongest’ |
| | <i>neng-sennengngan</i> ‘happiest’ |
| | <i>ju-lajuwan</i> ‘driest’ |

The prefix *a-* in combination with *-an* forms a circumfix that derives from a small number of adjectival roots adjectives with the meaning ‘full of property X’.

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (71) | <i>sala</i> ‘wrong’ | <i>asala’an</i> ‘full of mistakes’ |
| | <i>rosak</i> ‘broken’ | <i>arosagan</i> ‘very broken’ |
| | <i>talpos</i> ‘damaged’ | <i>atalposan</i> ‘very damaged’ |

Just as *ka-...-an* derives adversative verbs, the circumfix *ka-...-en* forms an adversative adjective. The derivatives denote an overabundance of the property denoted by the adjective. This is a highly productive affix that can be applied to most any adjective.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| (72) | <i>manes</i> ‘sweet’ | <i>kamanesen</i> ‘too sweet’ |
| | <i>langeng</i> ‘loud’ | <i>kalangengngen</i> ‘too loud’ |
| | <i>tandhes</i> ‘fast’ | <i>katandhessen</i> ‘too fast’ |
| | <i>serret</i> ‘tight’ | <i>kaserreden</i> ‘too tight’ |

Stevens (1968) reports that adjectives can also take the *ka-...-an* adversative circumfix with a subtle difference of meaning. With the *ka-...-an* circumfix, the speaker is simply stating a fact, while with the *ka-...-en* form the speaker is stating a subjective assessment and is more directly adversely affected. The speakers with whom I have worked fail to make this distinction. Rather it seems that the alternation simply reflects variable pronunciation. This adversative notion of ‘too much’ can also be expressed by the degree modifier *gallu* ‘too’, which can optionally cooccur with the involitive prefix *ta-*.

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (73) | <i>manes gallu</i> ‘too swet’ | <i>tamanes gallu</i> |
| | <i>tinggi gallu</i> ‘too high’ | <i>tatinggi gallu</i> |
| | <i>serret gallu</i> ‘too tight’ | <i>tuserret gallu</i> |

Finally, the circumfix *pa-...-en* applied to verb roots can derive an adjective meaning to have an abundance of property.

- | | | |
|------|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (74) | <i>caca</i> ‘talk’ | <i>pacaca'en</i> ‘talkative’ |
| | <i>loppa</i> ‘forget’ | <i>paloppa'en</i> ‘forgetful’ |
| | <i>maen</i> ‘play’ | <i>pamaenen</i> ‘playful’ |
| | <i>parcaja</i> ‘trust’ | <i>pacaraja'en</i> ‘trusting’ |

1.4. Derived adverbs

The majority of manner adverbs and many temporal adverbs are derived by the suffixation of *-an* to adjectives and nouns, respectively. This is frequently accompanied by reduplication (to be discussed in Chapter 5), as is the case with ‘slowly’ and ‘really’.

- | | | | |
|------|----------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| (75) | <i>laon</i> ‘slow’ | <i>laonan</i> ‘slowly’ | <i>on-laonan</i> |
| | <i>onggu</i> ‘real’ | <i>ongguwan</i> ‘really’ | <i>gu-ongguwan</i> |
| | <i>duli</i> ‘rushed’ | <i>duliyen</i> ‘in a hurry’ | |
| | <i>are</i> ‘day’ | <i>areyan</i> ‘daily’ | |
| | <i>bulan</i> ‘month’ | <i>bulanan</i> ‘monthly’ | |

Some of the adjectives, e.g., *laon/on-laon*, can be used adverbially without suffixation of *-an*; others are standardly used adverbially without affixation, e.g. *ceppet* ‘fast’.

1.5. Infixes

Madurese contains a very small number of infixes, which are not productive and appear to be vestiges of an earlier stage of the language. Indeed speakers report that some of the infixed forms are 'old words'. Each infix is positioned after the initial consonant of the stem. The following forms are taken largely from Moehnilabib et al. 1979 and Oka et al. 1988 (and others from Stevens 1968) but have been confirmed with various other speakers.

The infix *-al-* occurs with verb stems and adjective stems. With adjectival stems it has an intensive function, and with verbs no consistent identifiable function.

- (76) **-al-**
- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>jimet</i> 'quiet' | <i>jalimet</i> 'very quiet' |
| <i>cemot</i> 'dark, dim' | <i>calemot</i> 'very dark, dim' |
| <i>gattong</i> 'hang' | <i>galattong</i> 'clothes peg/hook' |

The infix *-am-* is a nominalizing affix that occurs with some verb roots.

- (77) **-am-**
- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>penta</i> 'ask' | <i>pamenta</i> 'request/question' |
| <i>poji</i> '(to) praise' | <i>pamoji</i> 'praise' |
| <i>parenta</i> '(to) command' | <i>pamarenta</i> 'government' |

The infix *-ar-* is used in the derivation of adjectives and nouns but has no consistent identifiable function.

- (78) **-ar-**
- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>kettek</i> 'heart beat' | <i>karették</i> 'annoyed' |
| <i>keddhap</i> 'shine' | <i>kareddhap</i> 'flickering' |

The infix *-en* occurs with verb stems to derive a passive participle-type lexical item with an adjectival function.

- (79) **-en-**
- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| <i>tompang</i> 'ride' | <i>tenompang</i> 'ridden' |
| <i>ponjul</i> 'emerge' | <i>penojul</i> 'emerged' |
| <i>tolong</i> 'help' | <i>tenolong</i> 'helped, capable of being helped' |

The infix *-om-* functions very much like *-am-*: with verb stems it derives a nominal and with adjective stems an intensive form.

- (80) **-om-**
teba ‘fall’ *tomeba* ‘fallen’
tekka ‘feeling’ *tomekka* ‘hope, desire’
tolos ‘honest’ *tomolos* ‘very honest’
senget ‘evil’ *somenget* ‘very evil’

Finally, the infix *-um-* is identified by Stevens (1968), Moehnilabib et al. (1979) and Oka et al. (1988), again does not appear to have a consistent, identifiable function but is used with verb roots.

- (81) **-um-**
jenneng ‘rule’ *jumenneng* ‘reign’
gantong ‘hang’ *gumantong* ‘hang from’
daddiyan ‘become’ *dumaddiyan* ‘truly become’
sengnet ‘sullen’ *sumengnet* ‘quite sullen’

2. Co-occurrence of affixes

There are some restrictions on the cooccurrence of affixes, the number that may cooccur, and their ordering in a derived form. Of course, some combinations are ruled out on semantic grounds, the meanings of the affixes being incompatible, e.g. adversative *ka-...-an* and actor voice. Some others just do not seem to occur. However, as shown above, actor voice morphology can be applied to the causative morpheme *pa-*, as in (82), and the resultative/abilitive *ka-*, as in (83).

- (82) *Jaragan-na ma-lako Ali.*
 boss-DEF AV.CS-work Ali
 ‘His boss made Ali work.’
- (83) *Sengko' nga-tela' roma-na.*
 I AV.KA-visible house-DEF
 ‘I saw the house.’

In (82), the actor voice morpheme *ng-* precedes the causative, and in (83) it precedes the *ka-* prefix.

The involitive can occur before the actor voice (largely though not exclusively with intransitive roots) (84) and the causative (85).

- (84) *Siti ta-ng-abas tang hadiya.*
 Siti IN-AV-see my gift
 ‘Siti accidentally saw my gift.’

- (85) *Ana'-eng Rina ta-pa-tedhung Ita.*
 child-DEF Rina IN-CS-sleep Ita
 'Ita put Rina's baby to bed by mistake.'

In (84), *tangabas* 'see accidentally' shows the order *ta-* then *ng-* and in (85) the involitive precedes the causative. Additionally, for some speakers, the object voice can combine with the involitive and causative so that (86) is an acceptable variant of (85).

- (86) *Ana'-eng Rina e-ta-pa-tedhung Ita.*
 child-DEF Rina OV-IN-CS-sleep Ita
 'Ita put Rina's baby to bed by mistake.'

The causative combines with the largest variety of affixes. First, causatives can take transitive verb stems with actor voice morphology, as in (87) and (88).⁸

- (87) *Ebu' ma-ngerra' Marlina rote.*
 mother AV.CS-AV.slice Marlina bread
 'Mother made Marlina slice the bread.'

- (88) *Bapa' ma-nyapo Bambang kamar-ra.*
 father AV.CS-AV.sweep Bambang room-DEF
 'Father made Bambang sweep his room.'

The composition of the predicates in (87-88) is *ng + pa + ng + V*, with the first actor voice morpheme inflecting the causative and the second the verb root.

The causative can occasionally combine with an inchoative so that the object is caused to change its state by some action of the subject, as in (89).

- (89) *Dhari santa'-na se mokol sampe' ma-ka-lengnger moso-na.*
 from fast-DEF REL AV.hit until AV.CS-KA-dizzy enemy-DEF
 'Due to his hard punching, he knocked out his opponent.'

Here the root *lengnger* 'dizzy' takes the resultative morpheme *ka-* deriving *ka-lengnger* 'faint/collapse'. The causative morpheme *pa-* is affixed to derive *pa-kalengnger* 'knock out'.

The causative morpheme also cooccurs with some of the clitics, including the collective *bareng* (90) and the directional *ka* 'to' (91).

⁸Not all speakers are comfortable with the sentences in (87-88). This and other issues relating to causative are considered in Chapter 9, section 6.

- (90) *Guru-na ma-bareng-berka' Ali so Bambang.*
 teacher-DEF AV.CS-COLL-run Ali with Bambang
 'The teacher made Ali and Bambang run together.'
- (91) *Guru-na ma-ka-lowar red-mored.*
 teacher-DEF AV.CS-to-out RED-student
 'The teacher made the students go outside.'

Here both *bareng* 'together' and *ka* 'to' follow the causative morpheme. Other clitics showing the same distribution with the causative morpheme include the distributive/reciprocal morphemes *saleng* and *patang, padha* 'same, equal', and the negative clitics *ta'* and *lo'*. (See Chapter 3 section 2.10 for more on clitics.) In the case of some clitics, the placement in relation to the causative is relatively flexible. For example, in (92), in which the predicate is in the object voice, the negative clitic *lo'* can occur in any of three positions.⁹

- (92) a. *Ali e-pa-**lo'**-a-lako bi' jaragan-na.*
 Ali OV-CS-not-AV-work by boss-DEF
 'His boss didn't let Ali work.'
- b. *Ali e-**lo'**-pa-lako bi' jaragan-na.*¹⁰
 Ali OV-not-CS.AV-work by boss-DEF
 'His boss didn't let Ali work.'
- c. *Ali **lo'** e-pa-lako bi' jaragan-na.*
 Ali not OV-CS.AV-work by boss-DEF
 'His boss didn't let Ali work.'

In (92a), the negative morpheme (in bold) immediately precedes the verb stem *alako* 'work (actor voice)' and immediately follows the causative. In (92b), *lo'* immediately precedes the causative morpheme and follows the object voice *e-*. In (92c), the negative occurs before the entire inflected stem *epalako* 'be made to work'. These sentences are truth-conditionally equivalent, despite the different ordering of morphemes. (See Chapter 10 section 3.5 for further discussion of the structural variations in causatives.)

The negative clitic exhibits similar behavior with the prefix *ka-*, (93).

⁹The negative clitic *ta'* exhibits precisely the same behavior which would be expected as *ta'* and *lo'* are simply dialectal variants.

¹⁰The actor voice morpheme *a* in (92b,c) coalesces with the causative morpheme by a regular morphophonological process.

- (93) a. *Oreng se sumengnget e-ka-ta'-lebur-i oreng.*
 person REL sullen OV-KA-not-like-LOC person
 'People don't like a sullen person.'
- b. *Oreng se sumengnget ta' e-ka-lebur-i oreng.*
 person REL sullen not OV-KA-like-LOC person
 'People don't like a sullen person.'

In (93a) (from Stevens 1968), the negative morpheme *ta'* follows the inchoative while in (93b) *ta'* precedes the entire inflected predicate. Again, the two sentences are truth-functionally equivalent.

As regards suffixes, there are no restrictions on suffixes occurring with the definite *-na*. It occurs, naturally, with the nominalizing suffix *-an* and circumfixes ending in *-an*. It also occurs with *-agi* (94) and locative *-e* (95) in process nominals.

- (94) *Pa-maca'-agi-na mored rowa lancar.*
 NOM-AV.read-BEN-DEF student that fluent
 'That student's reading for someone was fluent.'
- (95) *Pa-noles-e-na Ali ceppet.*
 NOM-AV.write-LOC-DEF Ali fast
 'Ali'es writing on something was fast.'

Cooccurrence among purely verbal suffixes is tightly constrained. The irrealis can occur with *-agi* (96), locative *-e* (97), durative *-e* (98) and iterative *-an* (99). (Recall from section 1.1.11, that there is a special morphophonemic rule that applies to the string *e + a*, deriving *ana*, as in (97) and (98).)

- (96) *Hasan melle-yagi-na na'-kana' permen.*
 Hasan AV.buy-BEN-IRR RED-child candy
 'Hasan will buy the kids candy.'
- (97) *Siti nyaba'-a-na meja buku.*
 Siti AV.put-LOC-IRR table book
 'Siti will put the book on the table.'
- (98) *Ali mokol-a-na maleng.*
 Ali AV.hit-DUR-IRR thief
 'Ali will hit the thief for a while.'

- (99) *Bambang a-massa'-an-a.*
 Bambang AV-cook-IT-IRR
 'Bambang will like to cook.'

Other combinations are not licit. For example, the benefactive form of the verb *belli* 'buy' is incompatible with the iterative morpheme (100a). This notion must be expressed with the prepositional morpheme of the beneficiary *kaangguy na'-kana'* 'for the kids', as in (100b). The benefactive and durative are also restricted from cooccurring, thus the unacceptability of (101c) and (101d).

- (100) a. **Hasan melle-yagi-yan na'-kana' permen.*
 Hasan AV.buy-BEN-IT RED-child candy
 (Hasan frequently buys candy for the kids.)
- b. *Hasan melleyan permen kaangguy na'-kana'.*
 Hasan AV.buy-IT candy for RED-child
 'Hasan frequently buys candy for the kids.'
- (101) a. *Kaka' moger-ri ka'-bungka'an.*
 eld.brother AV.chop-DUR RED-tree
 'Big Brother chopped trees for a while.'
- b. *Kaka' moger-ragi Bapa' ka'-bungka'an.*
 eld.brother AV.chop-AGI father RED-tree
 'Big Brother chopped trees for Father.'
- c. **Kaka' moger-ragi'i Bapa' ka'-bungka'an.*
 eld.brother AV.chop-AGI-DUR father RED-tree
 (Big Brother chopped trees for Father for a while.)
- d. **Kaka' moger-ragi'i ka'-bungka'an kaangguy Bapa'.*
 eld.brother AV.chop-AGI-DUR RED-tree for father
 (Big Brother chopped trees for Father for a while.)

In addition, *-agi* and locative *-e* cannot co-occur. In environments where it is predicted that they might co-occur, only one occurs and the other is suppressed. This is illustrated by the sentences in (102).

- (102) a. *Ali notob-bagi koran dha'jendela.*
 Ali AV.close-AGI newspaper to window
 'Ali covered the window with newspaper.'

(107) *Paremba' Joko Tole se careta e-dungeng-ngagi-n-a sengko'*.

Paremba' Joko Tole REL story OV-story-AGI-n-IRR I

'Paremba' Joko Tole is the story that I am going to tell.'

In both instances here, the *n* extension is optional. (106) would be perfectly grammatical with *edhingagi* in place of *edhingagin* and (107) would be with *edungengngagia* rather than *edungengngagina*. There is a higher incidence in the use of the extension in environments such as in (107), where it serves to break up a V+V sequence, than in word-final position, where no affix, hence no vowel, follows.

As argued by Stevens (1968:94), the extension is phonologically a part of the root, despite the fact that it is often syllabified as part of an adjoining syllable. Evidence for this is the fact that it acts as part of the root in final syllable reduplication. For example, in the reduplicated form as *pan-arampan* 'several' (104b) the *n* extension occurs in the reduplicated syllable prefixed to the root. In addition, the reduplicated form of (104a) *kamman* includes the extension, as in (108).

(108) *man-kamman* 'everywhere'

Additionally, reduplicated forms for the two examples in (105) are *ekandukane*, which means 'to become extremely angry', and *eten-patena* a plural form of 'will be killed'. In both cases, the *n* occurs in the reduplicated syllable. Reduplication is described in detail in Chapter 5.

4. Compounds

Although the majority of compounds used in the language are compound nouns, there are compound verbs as well. Compound nouns are generally either N-N compounds or N-V compounds. Some compounds take the full form of the initial N and others use an abbreviated form. Examples of N-N compounds are given in (109) and N-V compounds in (110).

(109) N-N compounds

sapedha motor 'motorcycle' < *sapedha* 'bicycle' + *motor* 'car'

gula bato 'lump sugar' < *gula* 'sugar' + *bato* 'rock'

gula paser 'granulated sugar' < *gula* 'sugar' + *paser* 'sand'

toko buku 'bookstore' < *toko* 'store' + *buku* 'book'

perang tolesan 'war of words' < *perang* 'war' + *tolesan* 'writing'

pagar bato ‘protection/fiance’ < *pagar* ‘fence’ + *bato* ‘stone’
na' poto ‘descendents’ < *ana'* ‘offspring’ + *poto* ‘grandchild’
sar sore ‘afternoon market’ < *pasar* ‘market’ + *sore* ‘afternoon’

(110) N-V compounds

reng towa ‘parents’ < *oreng* ‘person’ + *towa* ‘old’
korse goyang ‘rocking chair’ < *korse* ‘chair’ + *goyang* ‘rock’
buku toles ‘writing pad’ < *buku* ‘book’ + *toles* ‘write’
messin jai ‘sewing machine’ < *messin* ‘machine’ + *jai* ‘sew’
papan toles ‘blackboard’ < *papan* ‘board’ + *toles* ‘write’
pa' kene ‘uncle’ < *bapa'* ‘father’ + *kene* ‘small’
tokang jai ‘tailor’ < *tokang* ‘artisan’ + *jai* ‘sew’

Compound verbs are predominantly made up of either two verbs (111) or a verb and a noun (112).

(111) V-V compounds

andap asor ‘polite’ < *andap* ‘decent’ + *asor* ‘humble’
toro' oca' ‘obey’ < *toro'* ‘follow’ + *oca'* ‘say’
tolak bali ‘round trip’ < *tolak* ‘forward’ + *bali* ‘return’

(112) V-N compounds

pote ate ‘honest’ < *pote* ‘white’ + *ate* ‘liver/heart’
raja ate ‘optimistic’ < *raja* ‘big’ + *ate* ‘liver/heart’
sorop are ‘sunset’ < *sorop* ‘enter’ + *are* ‘sun’

Chapter 5

Reduplication

Reduplication, the copying of all or part of a word as an affix to a stem, is a notable morphological process in Madurese, a characteristic it shares with other Austronesian languages. Aside from the vowel harmony system described in Chapter 2 section 4, reduplication is likely the aspect of Madurese grammar most frequently discussed in the theoretical linguistics literature (Wilbur 1973; Marantz 1982; Stevens 1985 & 1994; Steriade 1988; Silverman 2002).

Madurese exhibits three basic types of reduplication: final-syllable reduplication, whole-word reduplication, and *Ca*/initial-syllable reduplication. In this section, each type of reduplication and its interaction with other affixes is exemplified and the meanings denoted by reduplication are detailed.

1. Reduplication types

Far and away the most prevalent reduplication process is final-syllable reduplication. Final-syllable reduplication is also the process of most interest to theoretical linguists as the reduplicated syllable is affixed not to the end of the stem, as in most cases of final-syllable reduplication, but at the beginning of the stem. So, for a stem with an open CV final syllable, the reduplication process copies that CV sequence and affixes it to the left edge of the stem, as in (1).¹

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------|------------------------------|
| (1) | <i>buku</i> ‘book’ | <i>ku-buku</i> ‘books’ |
| | <i>baca</i> ‘read’ | <i>ca-baca</i> ‘read (PL)’ |
| | <i>pote</i> ‘white’ | <i>te-pote</i> ‘very white’ |
| | <i>bali</i> ‘return’ | <i>li-bali</i> ‘return (PL)’ |

The reduplicated forms in (1) and those that follow are given in the conventional orthography, which sets the reduplicated syllable off from the stem to which it affixes with a hyphen.

Examples of final-syllable reduplication with CVC, VC, V, and CCV(C) are:

¹Although reduplication can result in more than one meaning for a single stem, only one translation is given for any particular stem in sections 1 and 2. With verb stems, the translation may contain the designation PL(URAL), indicating multiple occurrences of the action, either by a single individual or multiple individuals. The meanings and functions of reduplication will be discussed in section 3.

- (2) a. XCVC
toles 'write' *les-toles* 'write (PL)'
malem 'night' *lem-malem* 'nights'
penter 'smart' *ter-penter* 'very smart'
- b. XVC
maen 'play' *en-maen* 'play (PL)'
aeng 'water' *eng-aeng* 'water (PL)'
laon 'slow' *on-laon* 'slowly'
- c. XVV
tao 'know' *o-tao* 'know (PL)'
prao 'ship' *o-prao* 'ships'
- d. CCV(C)
semprot 'spray' *prot-semprot* 'spray (PL)'
pottre 'princess' *tre-pottre* 'princesses'
tappla' 'tablecloth' *pla'-tappla'* 'tablecloths'
assreng 'frequent' *sreng-assreng* 'frequently'

The second most common type of reduplication is whole-word reduplication. Some use of this process may be the influence of Javanese and Indonesian, but by no means all. Whole-word reduplication in natural speech is used primarily with nouns, but occurs with other lexical classes as well. (3a) illustrates total reduplication when there are no affixes, and thus word and root are indistinguishable. However, when there are affixes, depending on the affixes involved, whole-word reduplication includes the affixes in the copy (3b) or not (3c). Which affixes are included in whole-word reduplication is detailed in section 2.

- (3) Total
- a. whole word
bakto 'time' *bakto-bakto* 'when'
becce' 'good' *becce'-becce'* 'very good'
keban 'animal' *keban-keban* 'animals'
oreng 'person' *oreng-oreng* 'people'
- b. whole word (including affixes)
ka-raja'-an 'kingdom' *karaja'an-karaja'an* 'kingdoms'
pang-asel-an 'income' *pangaselan-pangaselan* 'incomes'
- c. root only
a-caca 'talk' *acaca-caca* 'chat'
berka'-an 'run often' *berka'-berka'-an* 'run often (PL)'

Ca reduplication and initial-syllable reduplication are ostensibly in free variation, though the *Ca* variant seems more prevalent. Taken together they are the least common of the reduplication processes. In *Ca* reduplication, the initial consonant of the root is copied into a syllable with the vowel *a* and the result is affixed to the beginning of the root; in initial-syllable reduplication, the initial syllable of the root is copied. Focusing on the Madurese spoken in and around Sumenep, Stevens (1968) treats the alternation as an optional rule of CV → *Ca* conversion. If this is the proper analysis, this process is quite prevalent in Western Madura where reduplicated forms with *Ca* seem much more common. Examples include:

(4) a. *Ca*-reduplication

<i>tolong</i> ‘help’	<i>ta-tolong</i> ‘help’
<i>buruk</i> ‘advise’	<i>ba-buruk</i> ‘advises (PL)’
<i>balasan</i> ‘reply (V)’	<i>ba-balasan</i> ‘reply (N)’
<i>becce’an</i> ‘good’	<i>ba-becce’an</i> ‘goods’
<i>lema’</i> ‘five’	<i>la-lema’</i> ‘five’

b. initial-syllable reduplication

<i>dhuwa’</i> ‘two’	<i>dhu-dhuwa’</i> ‘two’
<i>pongaba</i> ‘staff person’	<i>po-pongaba</i> ‘staff persons’

In (4), *balasan* and *becce’an* are derived noun stems; the other forms are roots.

2. Reduplication with other affixes

Reduplication interacts with other affixes in various ways. As it is the most common type of reduplication, final-syllable reduplication is of the greatest interest in this regard.

First of all, final-syllable reduplication targets the final syllable of a **root**, and so suffixes are excluded from the domain of the process and are never reduplicated. This is illustrated for the various suffixes described in Chapter 4, section 1 in (5), in which the relevant suffix is in bold.

(5) <i>kennallagi</i> ‘introduce’	<i>nal-kennallagi</i> ‘introduce (PL)’
<i>tolessagi</i> ‘write for’	<i>les-tolessagi</i> ‘write for (PL)’
<i>tamenan</i> ‘plant (N)’	<i>men-tamenan</i> ‘plants’
<i>pekkeran</i> ‘think and think’	<i>ker-pekkeran</i> ‘think and think’
<i>pesowe</i> ‘yell at’	<i>so-pesowe</i> ‘yell at (PL)’
<i>kereme</i> ‘send to’	<i>rem-kereme</i> ‘send to (PL)’
<i>pogerre</i> ‘chop a while’	<i>ger-pogerre</i> ‘chop a while (PL)’

bukuna ‘the book’
motorra ‘the car’

ku-bukuna ‘the books’
tor-motorra ‘the cars’

It may seem quite natural to expect suffixes to play no role in final-syllable reduplication as it is possible that reduplication precedes suffixation in the derivation of a form. However, there are theoretical and phonological reasons for rejecting such an explanation and instead attributing this to the fact that it is the root that is specified as the target of reduplication.

First, the meaning of some derived forms indicates that suffixation precedes reduplication. For instance, the word *men-tamenan* means ‘plants’, a plural noun. As will be seen shortly, reduplication is generally (although not exclusively) associated with notions of plurality. The root for this word is the verb *tamen* ‘plant’. In order to form a plural noun, the verb must first be nominalized, which is accomplished through affixation of *-an*, a nominalizing suffix: [tamen_V] + [an_N] → [[tamen_V]an_N]. At this point, the plural noun can be derived through final-syllable reduplication, yielding [men[[tamen_V]an_N]_N]. Thus, based on the meaning, it is more logical from the standpoint of grammatical theory for suffixation to precede reduplication. Additionally, it has long been noted that derivational morphological processes overwhelmingly tend to precede inflectional processes. As nominalization is a derivational process and pluralization an inflectional one, it is expected for *-an* to be suffixed first, deriving a noun from a verb, and reduplication is subsequent to this, inflecting the noun for number.

Second, there is evidence that suffixes are applied prior to reduplication as phonological changes induced by the suffix are reflected in the reduplicated syllable. Stevens (1985) illustrates this convincingly with the form *wa'-buwa'an* ‘fruits’. The root form is *buwa* ‘fruit’. Recall from Chapter 2 (section 5.1) that sequences of identical vowels, here *aa* (realized as [ɾɾ] because of vowel harmony) trigger ?-epenthesis. Thus the affixation of *-an* induces ?-epenthesis, resulting in [buwɾ?ɾn]. When the final syllable of the root is reduplicated, the ? is included in the reduplicant [**wɾ?**-buwɾ?ɾn] (where the reduplicated syllable is in bold). If reduplication preceded suffixation, the expected form would be the incorrect form *[**wɾ**-buwɾ?ɾn] because there would be no final consonant in the root. As the phonological change induced by suffixation shows up in the reduplicated syllable, suffixation must precede reduplication. Indeed, as argued convincingly by Stevens (1985), reduplication in Madurese must be a lexical process that operates on the phonetic representation of the stem.

Further evidence for this ordering of affixation and reduplication is available from the interaction of final-syllable reduplication with the nominal circumfix *ka-...-an*. *Karaja'an* ‘kingdom’ is a locative nominal derived from *raja* ‘king’. Application of final-syllable reduplication results in *ja'-karaja'an* ‘kingdoms’. The fact that the reduplicated syllable *ja'* occurs to the left of the affix

ka- follows naturally if reduplication of the root is subsequent to affixation of the circumfix. If reduplication preceded affixation, **kaja-raja'an* would be expected. Again, the glottal stop in the final position of both the root and reduplicant is introduced by ?-epenthesis, the environment for which is created by the affixation of *ka-...-an*. If reduplication preceded the affixation of the circumfix, the appearance of the glottal stop would again be mysterious. That *ja'-karaja'an* is a plural for 'kingdom' and not 'king' adds additional, semantic evidence. The order reduplication before affixation would predict that compositionally the result would mean 'a place to find kings' rather than 'places to find a king'. Additional instances of reduplication combining with circumfixes are given in (6).

(6)	root	derived form	reduplicated form
	<i>toron</i> 'descend'	<i>katoronan</i> 'descendent'	<i>ron-katoronan</i> 'descendants'
	<i>camat</i> 'district head'	<i>kacamadan</i> 'district'	<i>mat-kacamadan</i> ² 'districts'
	<i>jalan</i> 'road/walk'	<i>pajalanan</i> 'pedestrian'	<i>lan-pajalanan</i> 'pedestrians'
	<i>makam</i> 'grave'	<i>pamakaman</i> 'cemetery'	<i>kam-pamakaman</i> 'cemeteries'
	<i>parenta</i> 'command'	<i>pamarenta'an</i> 'government'	<i>ta'-pamarenta'an</i> 'governments'

Final-syllable reduplication combines with prefixes in different ways, depending on the prefix. For example, the reduplicated syllable precedes the actor voice morpheme *ng-* but follows the actor voice morpheme *a-*, as illustrated in (7) and (8), respectively.

(7)	<i>nobi</i> 'pinch'	<i>bi'-nobi</i> 'pinch (PL)'
	<i>ngenom</i> 'drink'	<i>nom-ngenom</i> 'drink (PL)'
	<i>moger</i> 'chop'	<i>ger-moger</i> 'chop (PL)'
	<i>noles</i> 'write'	<i>les-noles</i> 'write (PL)'

(8)	<i>akalenjar</i> 'travel'	<i>ajar-kalenjar</i>
	<i>acaca</i> 'say'	<i>aca-caca</i>

²In the form *mat-kacamadan* [mat-kacmat^hʔn], the reduplicated syllable does not reflect the aspiration of the root-final [t] as predicted by the current analysis. However, recall that only voiceless unaspirated stops may occur in syllable-final position. This phonotactic constraint accounts for this apparent anomaly. See Stevens 1985 for further discussion.

<i>alako</i> ‘work’	<i>ako-lako</i>
<i>abundu</i> ‘wrap’	<i>adu'-bundu</i>

For verb roots that can occur with either *ng-* or *a-*, the position of the prefix is consistent with the forms above.

(9) <i>kerem</i> ‘send’	<u><i>rem-ngerem</i></u>	<i>arem-kerem</i> ‘send (PL)’
<i>berri</i> ‘give’	<i>ri'-merri</i>	<u><i>ari'-berri</i></u> ‘give (PL)’
<i>sapo</i> ‘sweep’	<i>po-nyapo</i>	<i>apo-sapo</i> ‘sweep (PL)’
<i>bukka</i> ‘open’	<i>ka'-mokka</i>	<u><i>aka'-bukka</i></u> ‘open (PL)’
<i>toles</i> ‘write’	<u><i>les-noles</i></u>	<i>ales-toles</i> ‘write (PL)’

Not all forms in (9) are accepted by all speakers, and some forms are preferred by most speakers. The preferred forms coincide with the actor voice morpheme typically selected for individual predicates and are indicated by underscoring.

The object voice prefix *e-* also precedes the reduplicant.

(10) <i>ekoco</i> ‘be teased’	<i>eco-koco</i> ‘be teased (PL)’
<i>etarek</i> ‘be pulled’	<i>erek-tarek</i> ‘be pulled (PL)’
<i>esolor</i> ‘be passed on’	<i>elor-solor</i> ‘be passed on (PL)’
<i>ebaca</i> ‘be read’	<i>eca-baca</i> ‘be read (PL)’

On the other hand, the involitive *ta-* and the result/abilitive morpheme *ka-* follow the reduplicant.³

(11) <i>tapokol</i> ‘be hit accidentally’	<i>kol-tapokol</i> ‘be hit accidentally (PL)’
<i>tatobi</i> ‘be pinched accidentally’	<i>bi'-tatobi</i> ‘be pinched accidentally (PL)’
<i>takerem</i> ‘be sent accidentally’	<i>rem-takerem</i> ‘be sent accidentally (PL)’
<i>tantor</i> ‘collide’	<i>tor-tantor</i> ‘collide (PL)’
(12) <i>kapeggel</i> ‘become angry’	<i>gel-kapeggel</i> ‘become angry (PL)’
<i>katako</i> ‘become afraid’	<i>ko'-katako</i> ‘become afraid (PL)’
<i>kabaca</i> ‘can be read’	<i>ca-kabaca</i> ‘can be read (PL)’
<i>kasabbu</i> ‘get used as a belt’	<i>bu-kasabbu</i> ‘get used as a belt (PL)’

As shown above, the initial syllable that is part of the circumfix *ka...-an* follows the reduplicated syllable (6), as does the nominal prefix *pa-*.

(13) <i>patane</i> ‘farmer’	<i>ne-patane</i> ‘farmers’
<i>pasoro</i> ‘messenger/missionary’	<i>ro-pasoro</i> ‘messengers/missionaries’

³The base form of *tantor* ‘collide’ is *ta-antor*. The root initial [a] deletes under the influence of the prefix [ta].

The prefix *sa-* ‘one/all’, also follows the reduplicated syllable.

- | | | | |
|------|----------------------|--|-------------------------------------|
| (14) | <i>malem</i> ‘night’ | | <i>lem-samalem</i> ‘each night’ |
| | <i>are</i> ‘day’ | | <i>re-sa'are</i> ‘each day’ |
| | <i>kerra</i> ‘piece’ | | <i>ra'-sakerra</i> ‘one piece each’ |

The causative prefix *pa-* (shown in actor voice form *ma-* here) displays some flexibility regarding its position with respect to the reduplicated syllable.

- | | | | |
|------|----------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (15) | <i>palabu</i> ‘make fall’ | <i>bu-palabu</i> | <i>pabu-labu</i> ‘make fall (PL)’ |
| | <i>pasossa</i> ‘make sad’ | <i>sa-pasossa</i> | <i>pasa-sossa</i> ‘made sad (PL)’ |
| | <i>paenom</i> ‘make drink’ | <i>nom-paenom</i> | <i>panom-enom</i> ‘make drink (PL)’ |

Both forms in each set can be used as reduplicated causative forms. However, the forms in the middle column have an additional specialized meaning of roughly ‘pretend to X’ (see section 3.1.3). Causatives, including these forms, are treated in Chapter 10, section 6. Additionally, clitics such as the negative *ta'lo'* can follow the causative morpheme, and the reduplicated syllable can precede both.

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------------|--|
| (16) | <i>pata'sake</i> ‘not make sick’ | <i>ke'-pata'sake</i> ‘not make sick (PL)’ |
| | <i>pata'lesso</i> ‘not make tired’ | <i>so-pata'lesso</i> ‘not make tired (PL)’ |

Finally, the object voice can combine with the *ka-* morpheme and the causative. In both cases, the various morphemes occur in their expected positions: *ka-* must follow the reduplicant, *pa-* may either follow or precede the reduplicant, and *e-* must take the outermost position.

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|---|
| (17) | <i>kapeggel</i> ‘become angry’ | <i>egel-kapeggel</i> ‘be made angry (PL)’ |
| | <i>katako</i> ‘become afraid’ | <i>eko'-katako</i> ‘become afraid (PL)’ |
| | <i>palabu</i> ‘make fall’ | <i>ebu-palabu epabu-labu</i> ‘be made to fall (PL)’ |
| | <i>pasossa</i> ‘make sad’ | <i>esa-pasossa epasa-sossa</i> ‘be made sad (PL)’ |

Total reduplication is less common than final-syllable reduplication. Generally speaking, whole-word reduplication is associated with nouns, and the affixes associated with derived nouns are included in the scope of reduplication.

- | | | | |
|------|------------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| (18) | <i>massa</i> ‘cook’ | <i>massa'an</i> ‘food/dish’ | <i>massa'an-massa'an</i> ‘dishes’ |
| | <i>raja</i> ‘king’ | <i>karaja'an</i> ‘kingdom’ | <i>karaja'an-karaja'an</i> ‘kingdoms’ |
| | <i>junel</i> ‘skilled’ | <i>kajunelan</i> ‘expertise’ | <i>kajunelan-kajunelan</i> ‘expertises’ |
| | <i>jalan</i> ‘road’ | <i>pajalanan</i> ‘pedestrian’ | <i>pajalanan-pajalanan</i>
‘pedestrians’ |

<i>tane</i> 'farm'	<i>patane</i> 'farmer'	<i>patane-patane</i> 'farmers'
<i>toddu</i> 'point'	<i>panoddu</i> 'pointer'	<i>panoddu'-panoddu</i> 'pointers'
<i>jaga</i> 'guard'	<i>panjaga</i> 'guard'	<i>panjaga-panjaga</i> 'guards'

When used with verbs that must be marked for voice, the voice morpheme generally precedes the reduplicant, and only the root is reduplicated. The lone exception to this is the nasal actor voice morpheme. In this case both the base and the reduplicant are inflected for actor voice.

- (19) *toles* 'write' *noles-noles* 'write (PL)'
pokol 'hit' *mokol-mokol* 'hit (PL)'
baca 'read' *maca-maca* 'read (PL)'
kerem 'send' *ngerem-ngerem* 'send (PL)'

When the *a-* form is used, the base is reduplicated and the actor voice morpheme occurs in word-initial position.

- (20) *berri*' 'give' *aberri'-berri*' 'give (PL)'
lonca' 'jump' *alonca'-lonca*' 'jump (PL)'
berka' 'run' *aberka'-berka*' 'run (PL)'
jelling 'watch' *ajelling-jelling* 'watch (PL)'

Likewise, in object voice, the base is reduplicated and the actor voice morpheme occurs in word-initial position.

- (21) *epokol-pokol* 'be hit (PL)'
ekerem-kerem 'be sent (PL)'
eberri'-berri' 'be given (PL)'
ejelling-jelling 'be watched (PL)'

The same is true of all the verbal prefixes, including the causative prefix *pa-*, which showed flexibility of position in cases of final-syllable reduplication.

- (22) a. *ta-*
tapokol-pokol 'get hit accidentally (PL)'
takerem-kerem 'get sent accidentally (PL)'
tamole-mole 'return home accidentally (PL)
- b. *ka-*
kasenneng-senneng 'become happy (PL)'
karaja-raja 'become large (PL)'
kasake'-sake' 'become ill (PL)'

- c. *pa-*
pasenneng-senneng ‘make happy (PL)’
papote-pote ‘make white (PL)’
palabu-labu ‘cause to fall (PL)’

As is the case with final-syllable reduplication, verbal suffixes are never reduplicated in whole-word reduplication. Thus in (20), only the second instantiation of the reduplicated material, the root, carries a suffix (which is in bold-face).¹

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|---|
| (23) | <i>ngennallagi</i> ‘introduce’ | <i>ngennal-ngennallagi</i> ‘introduce (PL)’ |
| | <i>amassa'agi</i> ‘cook for’ | <i>amassa'-massa'agi</i> ‘cook for (PL)’ |
| | <i>ngereme</i> ‘send to’ | <i>ngerem-ngereme</i> ‘send to (PL)’ |
| | <i>mokole</i> ‘hit repeatedly’ | <i>mokol-mokole</i> ‘hit repeatedly (PL)’ |
| | <i>ajaran</i> ‘study often’ | <i>ajar-ajaran</i> ‘study often (PL)’ |
| | <i>aberka'an</i> ‘run often’ | <i>aberka'-berka'an</i> ‘run often (PL)’ |

Only prefixes and circumfixes are of potential interest with respect to *Ca*/initial-syllable reduplication. In each case, the reduplicated syllable follows the prefix. The reduplicant is bolded in (24).

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------|--|
| (24) | <i>tolong</i> ‘help’ | <i>ata</i> - <i>tolong</i> ‘help (PL)’ |
| | <i>buruk</i> ‘advise’ | <i>aba</i> - <i>buruk</i> ‘advise (PL)’ |
| | <i>lenggi</i> ‘sit’ | <i>ela</i> - <i>lenggi'i</i> ‘be sat on (PL)’ |
| | <i>buruk</i> ‘advise’ | <i>ebu</i> - <i>buruk</i> ‘be advised (PL)’ |

It should be noted that *lenggi* ‘sit’ is from a higher speech level and is transitivized with the locative suffix *-e* (realized here as [i]), which makes it eligible for the object voice morphology that occurs word initially.

3. Functions of reduplication

Reduplication is used in the majority of cases to signal plurality. This can be plurality of actions, plurality of entities, plurality of effect, either directly or by metaphorical extension. This is familiar from other languages, and many of the specific grammatical functions and meanings have been noted for reduplication in other languages. However, not all instances of reduplication have any obvious connection to plurality, as in the case of denoting imitation or toy objects

¹Note that the *a* in *aberka'an* ‘run often’ is the actor voice prefix and so occurs only in the first instance of the root, whereas the initial *a* in *ajaran* ‘study often’ is part of the root *ajar* and thus is present on the root and the copy.

(in section 3.2 on nouns) or the ‘pretend to X’ instance of verbs (section 3.1.3). And some particular structures involve the combination of reduplication with a particular affix or affixes. While some of the functions of reduplication cross-cut lexical classes, there are important exceptions; therefore, the presentation is organized by lexical classes.

3.1. Reduplication of verbs

3.1.1. Multiple actions

A number of meanings conveyed by reduplication of verbs or predicates can be directly linked to the notion of multiple actions.

The first is distributivity or iteration. Reduplication of the verb can denote the fact that the events are distributed over time or one of the arguments or both over time and one of the arguments. The sentences in (25) and (26) are instances of distribution over individuals. In (25) the subject, *Ina ban Ali* is plural and in (26) the object *sorat* ‘letter’ is interpreted as plural, with plural letters requiring plural writing events.

(25) *Ba'ari' Ina ban Ali a-ka'-berka' ka toko.*
yesterday Ina and Ali AV-RED-run to store
‘Yesterday Ina and Ali ran to the store.’

(26) *Ale' les-noles sorat dha' bibbi-na.*
yngr.sibling RED-AV.write letter to aunt-DEF
‘Little sister wrote letters to her aunt.’

The sentences in (27) and (28) are instances of events distributed over time, which denotes iteration. As both the agent and theme arguments are singular, this is the only conceivable distribution signaled by the reduplication.

(27) *Hasan kol-mokol Ali.*
Hasan RED-AV.hit Ali
‘Hasan hit Ali a bunch of times.’

(28) *Pangeran Cakraningrat karaton-na le-ng-alle.*
Pangeran Cakraneigrat palace-DEF RED-AV-move
‘Pangeran Cakraningrat moved his palace from place to place.’

A second construction in which reduplication directly reflects plurality of events is in reciprocals. One way of forming reciprocals in Madurese is through reduplication of the verb root and the suffixation of the iterative morpheme *-an*.

This is illustrated in (29) and (30).

- (29) *Ter-dhokter juwa sa-pareksa'-an.*
 RED-doctor that RED-examine-IT
 'The doctors examined each other.'
- (30) *Marlena ban Siti rem-kerem-an sorat.*
 Marlena and Siti RED-send-IT letter
 'Marlena and Siti sent letters to each other.'

Inasmuch as each participant in a reciprocal performs the activity denoted by the predicate, there is necessarily more than one event, hence plurality is expressed. Also, for a few verbal elements, reduplication with actor voice results in a reciprocal meaning.

- (31) *asa-basa* 'speak alos to each other'
ada-bida 'be different from each other'

Reciprocal constructions are discussed in detail in Chapter 14, section 3.

3.1.2. Imperfect aspect

In addition to the auxiliary-type adverbial *gi* 'still' (see chapter 9, section 4), the imperfect can be expressed by reduplication. Reduplication is used to indicate the imperfect in a number of other languages (Chamorro (Topping 1973), Mokilese (Harrison 1973), Siraya (Adelaar 2003), West Tarangan (Nivens 1993), and others). Although it is not as common in Madurese, this use is clear in the sentences that follow.

- (32) *Ke' Lesap nga-tela' keng a-tabbu-wan sambi dang-tandang.*
 Ke' Lesap AV.KA-see only AV-drum-IT while RED-dance
 'Ke' Lesap only saw them drumming while they danced.'
- (33) *Mon teppa'-na les-noles sengko', ja' olok!*
 if good-DEF RED-AV.write I don't call
 'If I am writing well, don't call me!'
- (34) *Adha' reng men-namen sakale.*
 not.exist person RED-AV.plant a.little
 'No one was planting anything.'

In each of these sentences, the reduplication denotes the ongoing action. In (32),

the adverbial clause *sambi dang-tandang* ‘while they were dancing’ indicates that the act of dancing (as well as drumming) is in progress. In (33), the addressee is cautioned not to interrupt if the speaker is in the middle of a successful but incomplete act of writing. And in (34), reduplication emphasizes the fact that the speaker is talking about the fact that the period of persons not cultivating the land was ongoing during a drought.

Related to this is the use of reduplication to indicate habitual action. An action which is repeated as a habit clearly involves plural actions, actions that are not completed (imperfective). The sentences in (35) and (36) illustrate the interpretation of reduplication as habitual.

(35) *mon ca'-ng-oca' dha' oreng...*
 if RED-AV-talk to person
 ‘whenever he talked to people’

(36) *oreng se dujan sak-ng-rosak*
 person REL like RED-AV-ruin
 ‘people who like to terrorize’

In (35), the notion of the habitual nature of the activity is expressed through the reduplication of the predicate in the subordinate clause. The reduplication of the predicate *ngrosak* ‘ruin’ in combination with the verb *dujan* ‘like’ in the relative clause in (36) indicates an activity that the people in question enjoy, and thus perform habitually.

The imperfect function of reduplication can be considered a series of events, making this an instance of plural events. For many types of activities, an ongoing event of that activity will be made up of multiple subevents of that activity until the activity is completed. These subevents then make up the plurality of events that one finds in habitual or iterated activity.

3.1.3. Emphasis

Reduplication of verbal predicates can denote emphasis in the same way that it denotes emphasis with adjectival predicates (as is discussed in section 3.1.4). For example, in (37), the reduplication of the verb *tolong* ‘help’ emphasizes the importance of the help of the addressee to the speaker. (This is the hero of the story Aryo Mena' Senoyo speaking to the giant fish who took him from Sumatra to Madura.

(37) *Sakalangkong, aba'eng se ella a-ta-tolong dha' engko'.*
 thank you you REL already AV-RED-help to me
 ‘Thank you, you are the one who really has helped me.’

The *Ca* reduplication in (37) serves the same function as the final-syllable reduplication in (38).

- (38) *Joko Tole rek-narek soko-na se teppang.*
 Joko Tole RED-AV.pull leg-DEF REL lame
 ‘Joko Tole pulled hard on her bad leg.’

In (38), the reduplication signals that Joko Tole pulled very hard on his wife’s leg to cure it.

The emphatic use of reduplication also combines with other constructions. For example, the iterative morpheme *-an* was shown in Chapter 4, section 1.1.9 to be a means of indicating iterative or habitual action. In (39), the surprising or shocking nature of a habit of getting married again and again is grammatically represented by reduplication of the verb stem.

- (39) *Oreng lake' rowa a-ne-bine-yan.*
 person male that AV-RED-wife-IT
 ‘That guy keeps getting married again and again.’

The emphatic use of reduplication also frequently surfaces in negative imperatives, its function here to emphasize the importance of the hearer following the prohibition of the speaker as well as the imperfective nature of the imperative stretching into the future.

- (40) *Ja' ka'-bukka'!*
 don't RED-open
 ‘Don't open it!’
- (41) *Ja' ma'-semma'!*
 don't RED-approach
 ‘Don't come close!’

Lying outside the domain of the other forms of reduplication is the special case of reduplication with the causative prefix. As touched on in section 5.2, when a causative form is reduplicated and the reduplicant precedes the causative morpheme, the result can mean that the actor is only pretending or faking.

- (42) *Kana' juwa lo' labu tape coma bu-ma-labu.*
 kid that not fall but only RED-AV.CS-fall
 ‘That kid didn't fall but only pretended to fall.’

- (43) *Amir bunga tape gi' paggun sa-ma-sossa.*
 Amir happy but still still RED-AV.CS-sad
 'Amir is happy but still pretends to be sad.'

While *bu-malabu* and *sa-masossa* can be interpreted as normal causatives meaning 'cause more than one to fall' and 'cause more than one to be sad', respectively, they most frequently are not interpreted in this way. The sentences in (42) and (43) admit only the pretending interpretation because of the use of the counterfactual conjunction *tape* 'but'.

3.1.4. Reduplication of adjectives

As adjectives are a subcategory of verbs, the functions of reduplication of adjectives are in many respects similar to other verbs. The primary functions of the reduplication of adjectives is to denote plurality of the entities possessing the adjectival property and for emphasis. The examples in (44-46) denote plurality.

- (44) *Koceng ros-koros rowa ngeco' tang juko'.*
 cat RED-thin that AV.steal my fish
 'Those skinny cats stole my fish.'
- (45) *Dheng mare a-massa' pas e-kakan, nyang-kennyang.*
 while finish AV-cook then OV-eat RED-full
 'When they finished cooking, they ate until they were full.'
- (46) *Panglima perrang-nga padha lak-pelak mon a-perrang.*
 commander war-DEF same RED-skilled if AV-war
 'Both commanders were skilled at waging war.'

In (44) reduplication of the attributive adjective *koros* 'thin' indicates that it is more than one cat that steals the fish. In (45), which is part of a narrative, the subject is understood to be the troops of an army; the reduplication of the adjectival predicate *kennyang* 'full' indicates the plurality of the subject. And in (46), which is part of the same narrative, reduplication of *pelak* 'skilled' reflects the fact that *panglima perrang* 'commander' is plural.

While an element of emphasis may be included in some of these, examples of adjectival reduplication for emphasis are (47-48), where the subject is singular.

- (47) *Pottre-na din-raddin.*
 princess-DEF RED-pretty
 'The princess is very pretty.'

- (48) ...*mangkana engko' la becce'-becce' neng dhinna'*.
 therefore I already RED-good at here
 '...therefore, I have been very good while I have been here.'

In (47), the reduplicated adjective *raddin* 'pretty' indicates emphasis as, given the discourse context, the subject of this sentence is singular. Of course, in an appropriate context this could be interpreted as plural and not emphatic with the meaning 'The princesses are pretty'. In (48), emphasis is the only possible interpretation of the reduplicated *becce'* 'good' as it is predicated of the singular subject *engko'* 'I'. This emphatic reduplication can combine with the iterative suffix *-an*, as in (49-50) for emphasis or to denote a habitual property.

- (49) *Hasan ra'-bara'-an*.
 Hasan RED-swollen-IT
 'Hasan is swollen all over.'
- (50) *Hadi sen-busen-nan*.
 Hadi RED-bored-IT
 'Hadi is easily bored.'

3.2. Reduplication of nouns

Reduplication of noun stems for the most part indicates either simple plurality or some notion of plurality.

As shown in some examples in section 1, both final-syllable and whole-word reduplication signals plurality.

- | | | |
|------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (51) | <i>buku</i> 'book' | <i>ku-buku</i> 'books' |
| | <i>labang</i> 'door' | <i>bang-labang</i> 'doors' |
| | <i>mored</i> 'student' | <i>red-mored</i> 'students' |
| | <i>sorat</i> 'letter' | <i>rat-sorat</i> 'letters' |
| | <i>ka-toron-an</i> 'progeny' | <i>ron-katoronan</i> 'descendents' |
-
- | | | |
|------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (52) | <i>kebun</i> 'animal' | <i>kebun-kebun</i> 'animals' |
| | <i>leke</i> 'stream' | <i>leke-leke</i> 'streams' |
| | <i>oreng</i> 'person' | <i>oreng-oreng</i> 'people' |
| | <i>massa'-an</i> 'food/dish' | <i>massa'an-massa'an</i> 'dishes' |
| | <i>kraton</i> 'palace' | <i>kraton-kraton</i> 'palaces' |

With certain types of generic nouns, in combination with the suffix *-an*, reduplication serves not only to indicate plurality but also carries the additional meaning of indicating a variety of types, as in (53).

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| (53) <i>buwa</i> ‘fruit’ | <i>wa'-buwa'-an</i> ‘fruits’ |
| <i>tamenan</i> ‘plant’ | <i>men-tamen-an</i> ‘(various kinds of) plants’ |
| <i>daun</i> ‘leaf’ | <i>un-daun-an</i> ‘(various kinds of) leaves’ |

In the case of *men-tamenan* ‘types of plants’, the *-an* of *tamenan* ‘plant’ is the nominalizing suffix. In most instances, suffixes cannot co-occur, and thus only one instance of *-an* occurs in *men-tamenan*.

3.2.1. Temporal expressions

Used with temporal nouns, reduplication serves to denote more a particular part of the time (54) or indicate plurality (55), sometimes denoting frequency or duration with additional morphology (56).

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| (54) <i>laggu</i> ‘morning’ | <i>gu-laggu</i> ‘early morning’ |
| <i>malem</i> ‘night’ | <i>lem-malem</i> ‘late night/all night’ |
| <i>seyang</i> ‘afternoon’ | <i>yang-seyang</i> ‘late afternoon’ |
| (55) <i>taon</i> ‘year’ | <i>on-taon</i> ‘years’ |
| <i>laggu</i> ‘tomorrow’ | <i>gu'-laggu</i> ‘future’ |
| (56) <i>are</i> ‘day’ | <i>re-sa'-are</i> ‘every day/day after day’ |
| <i>malem</i> ‘night’ | <i>lem-sa-malem</i> ‘every night’ |
| <i>taon</i> ‘year’ | <i>a-on-taon</i> ‘for years’ |
| <i>bulan</i> ‘month’ | <i>a-lan-bulan</i> ‘for many months’ |
| | <i>lan-bulan-an</i> ‘for months and months’ |
| | <i>re-are-yan</i> ‘for days and days’ |

The reduplication in (54) is related to the emphatic use of reduplication, the early morning or the late night being the extreme edge of either. In (55), the reduplication signals simple plurality, with the notion of the future being comprised of ‘many tomorrows’. Finally, in combination with other morphology, the plurality of the time units indicates frequency with the prefix *sa-*, which can denote ‘all’. Or with the prefix *a-* or the adverbial suffix *-an*, the plurality of the time unit indicates duration.

3.2.2. Additional functions

Reduplication of a concrete noun in combination with the suffix *-an* frequently indicates that the entity being described is a toy version or an imitation of the type of entity denoted by the noun stem.

- | | | |
|------|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (57) | <i>roma</i> ‘house’ | <i>ma'-roma'an</i> ‘toy house’ |
| | <i>barung</i> ‘warung’ | <i>rung-barungan</i> ‘toy shop’ |
| | <i>bintang</i> ‘star’ | <i>tang-bintangan</i> ‘fireworks’ |

This use of reduplication to indicate an imitation of an entity parallels the reduplication of a causativized verb to indicate pretending, which is imitation of an action.

With verb roots, *Ca* (or initial-syllable) reduplication sometimes occurs with the nominalizing suffix *-an* in the derivation of a result nominal.

- | | | |
|------|------------------------|------------------------------|
| (58) | <i>buruk</i> ‘advise’ | <i>ba-burugan</i> ‘advice’ |
| | <i>laban</i> ‘fight’ | <i>la-labanan</i> ‘battle’ |
| | <i>balas</i> ‘respond’ | <i>ba-balasan</i> ‘response’ |

There are a number of specialized instances of reduplication of nouns. One that occurs quite frequently is the reduplication of *ana'* ‘child’. When reduplicated with the *k*-extension, *na'-kana'* need not be plural, but may denote a single child, but crucially a child who is not the offspring of any of the participants being discussed. Thus, we find the distinctions in (59).

- (59) a. *Siti a-temmo ana'-eng e taman.*
 Siti AV-meet child-DEF at park
 ‘Siti met her child in the park.’
- b. *Siti a-temmo na'-kana'-eng e taman.*
 Siti AV-meet RED-child-DEF at park
 ‘Siti met the child in the park.’

In (59a), the child referred to is most likely Siti’s own child, or perhaps the child of another person in the domain of discourse. However, in (59b) *na'-kana'* does not refer to Siti’s child or the child of any other discourse participant. The child has been mentioned in the discourse (hence, the definite suffix), but the parents are likely unknown. Additionally, (59b) can be translated as ‘Siti met the children in the park’.

Stevens (1968:167) identifies a number of instances in which nouns derived through reduplication do not indicate any notion of plurality but have special meaning related in some sense to the roots from which they are formed.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------|--|
| (60) | <i>bine</i> ‘wife’ | <i>ne-bine</i> ‘seed rice’ |
| | <i>cethak</i> ‘head’ | <i>thak-cethak</i> ‘scarecrow’ |
| | <i>tumbu</i> ‘growth’ | <i>bu-tumbu</i> ‘part of a plow’ |
| | <i>birang</i> ‘shy’ | <i>rang-birang</i> ‘kind of caterpillar’ |

Finally, there are a number of forms that occur only in reduplicated form, the apparent root never occurring independently.² Some of these are:

- (61) *lon-alon* ‘town square’
ko'-rongko' ‘hut’
cangcang ‘chop up’
thengtheng ‘strong’
dhungdhung ‘large drum’

3.3. Indefinite expressions

Reduplication of interrogative expressions derives indefinite expressions.

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (62) <i>sapa</i> ‘who’ | <i>pa-sapa</i> ‘whoever/someone’ |
| <i>apa</i> ‘what’ | <i>pa'-apa</i> ‘whatever/something’ |
| <i>kamman</i> ‘where’ | <i>man-kamman</i> ‘everywhere’ |
| <i>bila</i> ‘when’ | <i>bila-bila</i> ‘sometime’ |
| <i>barampan</i> ‘how many’ | <i>pan-barampan</i> ‘several’ |

The sentences in (63) and (64) illustrate.

- (63) ***Pa-apa*** *se e-sambi jiya,ayu' ka-tana!*
 RED-what REL OV-bring this HORT KA-cook
 ‘Whatever we brought, let’s cook it!’
- (64) ***Dha' man-kamman*** *Tuan Kontlir jareya nyambi pestol.*
 to RED-where Mr Kontlir this AV.bring pistol
 ‘Wherever Sir Kontlir went, he brought his pistol.’

3.4. Adverbs

As stated previously, many manner adverbs are derived from adjectives with the suffix *-an*. Additionally, it is quite common for these to be reduplicated, as in the following cases.

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (65) <i>laon</i> ‘slow’ | <i>on-laon-an</i> ‘slowly’ |
| <i>onggu</i> ‘real’ | <i>gu-onggu-wan</i> ‘really’ |
| <i>terrang</i> ‘clear’ | <i>rang-terrang-an</i> ‘clearly’ |

²Many of these have monosyllabic roots and have been reconstructed as reduplicated monosyllables in Proto-Malayo-Polynesian. See Dempwolff 1937 and Dyen 1965.

Also, reduplicated adjectives are often used adverbially without additional morphology.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (66) | <i>on-laon</i> ‘slowly’ | |
| | <i>gu-onggu</i> ‘really’ | |
| | <i>te-ngate</i> ‘carefully’ | |
| | <i>bali</i> ‘return’ | <i>li-bali-yan</i> ‘back and forth’ |
| | <i>dibi</i> ‘alone’ | <i>bi'-dibi'-an</i> ‘by oneself’ |

Some temporal adverbs are derived by reduplication as well.

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (67) | <i>abit</i> ‘a long time’ | <i>bit-abit</i> ‘after a while’ |
| | <i>aher</i> ‘end’ | <i>her-aher-ra</i> ‘eventually’ |
| | <i>sabban</i> ‘each’ | <i>ban-sabban-na</i> ‘in the past’ |
| | <i>adha</i> ‘front’ | <i>dha'-adha'-eng</i> ‘at first’ |

3.5. Numbers

Number undergo *Ca* reduplication under a variety of circumstances, which are syntactically determined. These uses are detailed in Chapter 7, section 7. Examples of the reduplication are given in (64).

- | | | |
|------|------------------|-----------------|
| (68) | <i>tello</i> ‘3’ | <i>ta-tello</i> |
| | <i>lema</i> ‘5’ | <i>la-lema</i> |
| | <i>petto</i> ‘7’ | <i>pa-petto</i> |

3.6. Compounds

In the vast majority of cases, the first root is of a compound, which is the head of the compound, undergoes final-syllable reduplication.

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|---|
| (69) | <i>sapedha motor</i> ‘motorcycle’ | <i>dha-sapedha motor</i> ‘motorcycles’ |
| | <i>korse goyang</i> ‘rocking chair’ | <i>se-korse goyang</i> ‘rocking chairs’ |
| | <i>reng tane</i> ‘farmer’ | <i>reng-oreng tane</i> ‘farmers’ ³ |
| | <i>buku toles</i> ‘writing pad’ | <i>ku-buku toles</i> ‘writing pads’ |
| | <i>sake' ate</i> ‘annoyed’ | <i>ke'-sake' ate</i> ‘very annoyed’ |
| | <i>raja ate</i> ‘proud/arrogant’ | <i>ja-raja ate</i> ‘very proud/arrogant’ |

In a few cases, the root undergoes total reduplication and is placed after the

³ The form *reng-oreng tane* ‘farmers’ is often realized as *reng-reng tane*, with the *o* of the root omitted. Speakers vary regarding the form they use. Both are considered acceptable and a single speaker may vary between the two forms.

compound or the entire compound undergoes total reduplication.

- (70) *gula bato* ‘lump sugar’ *gula bato-gula bato* ‘lumps of lump sugar’
 reng towa ‘parents’ *reng towa-reng towa* ‘parents’

Total reduplication of *reng towa* can be attributed to avoidance of ambiguity. The form *oreng towa* means ‘old person’. With final syllable reduplication, the resulting form is *reng-(o)reng towa* ‘old people’. The conventionalized whole-word reduplication of *reng towa-reng towa* prevents misinterpretation.

Chapter 6

Clause types

This chapter provides an overview of simplex clauses in Madurese, both verbal and non-verbal, declarative and non-declarative. While certain aspects of clause structure are detailed in later chapters, the clause types exemplified here are those that occur in many of the examples in the following chapters. Basic word order is illustrated and briefly discussed and the final section of the chapter takes up grammatical relations and a restriction on subjects which sets them apart from other clausal constituents.

1. Basic word order

Canonical word order in Madurese is SVO, just as is true of Indonesian, Javanese, Sundanese and other Indonesian-type languages. This has been clear in previous examples of basic transitive clauses, and is illustrated again in (1), where *sengko* ‘I’ is the subject, *ngenom* ‘drink’ is the verb and *kopi* ‘coffee’ is the object.

- (1) *Sengko' ng-enom kopi.*
I AV-drink coffee
‘I drink coffee.’

And Madurese is quite regularly head-initial, consistent with many of the word order correlations suggested in Joseph Greenberg’s work (Greenberg 1966) and proposals of those of others (Vennemann (1972), Hawkins (1988), Dryer (1992)). As is true of many VO languages, Madurese has prepositions, illustrated again in (2).

- (2) a. *dha' Sorbaja*
to Surabaya
‘to Surabaya’

b. *e kantor*
at office
‘at the office’

Also consistent with expectations, attributive adjectival modifiers follow the nouns they modify.

(3) a. *mored penter*
 student smart
 ‘smart student’

b. *bengko raja*
 house big
 ‘big house’

Relative clauses follow their head.

(4) a. *mored se dhateng*
 student REL come
 ‘the student who came’

b. *baji' se tedhung*
 baby REL sleep
 ‘the baby who is sleeping’

And it will be clear in ensuing pages that Madurese is consistent with the majority of universal tendencies posited in the word order literature.

While consistent with these universal predictions based on its neutral word order, Madurese word order is not rigid. In natural speech, the order of basic constituents in a clause can be quite fluid. Even a cursory examination of the texts in Chapter 16 makes this clear. Thus, alongside SVO structure we find transitive sentences such as (5) and (6).

(5) *Aher-ra prao se rosak gella', kalaban ka-penter-an, tre-santre-na*
 end-DEF boat REL ruined before with NOM-clever RED-student-DEF
Ke Moko pas ma-becce' pole.
 Ke Moko then AV.CS-good again
 ‘At last the boat that had been damaged, cleverly, Ke Moko's students fixed it.’

(6) *E-tenggu kembang-nga, kembang jiya, moso Joko Tole.*
 OV-see flower-DEF flower this by Joko Tole
 ‘Joko Tole saw the flower, the white, shining flower, and then burned it up.’

In the sentence in (5), the direct object *aherra prao se rosak gella'* ‘the boat that was damaged’ precedes the adverbial prepositional phrase, *klaban kapenteran* ‘with cleverness’, which precedes the subject *tre-santrena Ke Moko* ‘Ke Moko’s students’. In the sentence in (6), the verb in the object voice precedes the subject *kembangnga* ‘the flower’, and the agent occurs following that in a pre-

positional phrase *moso Joko Tole* ‘by Joko Tole’.

Although the word order of everyday speech can be quite free, the majority of examples sentences in this volume will display the basic word order, something which is true of virtually all grammars of Indonesian-type languages. The SVO order is standard for formal and written Madurese and helps make the grammatical exposition as clear as possible.

2. Non-verbal clauses

A number of clause types have predicates that consist of nominals, prepositional phrases, numerals and quantifiers.

In identificational clauses, a nominal is predicated of a subject. These clauses have a basic NP-NP structure, the first NP being the subject and the second the predicate.

- (7) *Hasan (juwa) hakim.*
 Hasan that judge
 ‘Hasan is a judge.’
- (8) *Siti (jiya) guru.*
 Siti this teacher
 ‘Siti is a teacher.’
- (9) *Oreng bine’ rowa pa-nyanyi se bagus.*
 person female that NOM-sing REL good
 ‘That woman is a good singer.’

In (7) and (8), a demonstrative may occur as part of the subject, but is not obligatory, as indicated by the parentheses. The example in (9) illustrates the fact that the predicate is not a simple noun but in fact a full NP, one which can include modifiers, here a relative clause, *se bagus* ‘that is good’. Proper nouns can occur as predicate nominals as well. In (10-12), the predicates are *Ali*, *Marlena*, and *Kangean*, respectively.

- (10) *Reng tane juwa, Ali.*
 person farm that Ali
 ‘That farmer is Ali.’
- (11) *Guru-na Hasan, Marlana.*
 teacher-DEF Hasan Marlana
 ‘Hasan’s teacher is Marlana.’

- (12) *Polo se kene' rowa, Kangean.*
 island REL small that Kangean
 'That small island is Kangean.'

Locative clauses describe the location of the subject through a PP predicate in an NP-PP structure.

- (13) *Buku-na neng meja.*
 book-DEF at table
 'The book is on the table.'
- (14) *Oreng rowa dhari Kamal.*
 person that from Kamal
 'That person is from Kamal.'
- (15) *Motor-ra neng budhi-na roma.*
 car-DEF at back-DEF house
 'The car is behind the house.'
- (16) *Tang anom e kantor-ra.*
 my uncle at office-DEF
 'My uncle is at his office.'

The PP in each of these examples, *neng meja* 'on the table', *dhari Kamal* 'from Kamal', *neng budhina roma* 'behind the house', and *e kantorra* 'at his office' is the predicate of the clause. With locative clauses, it is possible to use the existential predicate *badha* as well.

- (17) *Buku-na badha neng meja.*
 book-DEF exist at table
 'The book is on the table.'
- (18) *Oreng rowa badha dhari Kamal.*
 person that exist from Kamal
 'That person is from Kamal.'
- (19) *Motor-ra badha neng budhi-na roma.*
 car-DEF exist at back-DEF house
 'The car is behind the house.'
- (20) *Tang anom badha e kantor-ra.*
 my uncle exist at office-DEF
 'My uncle is at his office.'

As redundant functional elements (including prepositions in some situations) are omissible, it might be claimed that in (13-16) an underlying verb has been deleted/omitted. Regardless, on the surface the clauses appear to simply have PP predicates, which is what is of relevance here.¹

In quantificational clauses, numeral and quantifier predicates establish the number of the group denoted by the subject.

- (21) *Mored dhalem kellas sagame'*.
 student in class twenty-five
 'There are twenty-five students in the class.'
- (22) *Gedhung raja e Jakarta bannya'*.
 building big at Jakarta many
 'There are many big buildings in Jakarta.'
- (23) *Burus e Madura sakone'*.
 dog at Madura few
 'There are few dogs on Madura.'

Here the numeral *sagame'* 'twenty-five' and the quantifiers *bannya'* 'many' and *sakone'* 'few' are predicated of their subjects. Some quantificational clauses indicate possession by establishing the number of a group with a possessor.

- (24) *Na'-ana'-na Atin empa'*.
 RED-offspring-DEF Atin four
 'Atin has four children.'
- (25) *Mored-da Siti tello polo.*
 student-DEF Siti thirty
 'Siti has thirty students.'
- (26) *Jendela-na bengko rowa bannya'*.
 window-DEF house that many
 'That house has a lot of windows.'

As (26) shows, this construction does not require an animate possessor as here *bengko* 'house' is the possessor. (24-26) are equivalent to possessive clauses including a verbal predicate. So, (24-26) are functionally and propositionally equivalent to (27-29), in which *andhi'* 'have' establishes the possession relation.

¹ Note that as there is no tense morphology in the language, whether these sentences refer to past or present states has no impact on the use of the copula. All the sentences in (13-16) can refer to past states of affairs.

- (27) *Atin andhi' tello ana'.*
 Atin have three offspring
 'Atin has three children.'
- (28) *Siti andhi' sagame' mored.*
 Siti have twenty-five student
 'Siti has twenty-five students.'
- (29) *Bengko rowa andhi' bannya' jendela.*
 house that have many window
 'That house has a lot of windows.'

Again, the possession relation denoted by the verb *andhi'* 'have' does not require an animate possessor, as in (29), where *bengko* 'house' is ascribed the property of having many windows.

3. Existential clauses

Clauses that simply assert the existence of an entity (concrete or abstract) are frequently used to introduce an entity into the discourse. Here the predicate *badha* 'exist' is used. The standard order with this type of existential clause is *badha* - NP, as in (30-33). Locative expressions can occur following the NP, as *neng lapangan* 'in the yard' in (30), or clause initially, as does *neng disa* 'at the village' in (31).

- (30) *Badha embi' neng lapang-an.*
 exist goat at wide-NOM
 'There is a goat in the yard.'
- (31) *Neng disa badha gunung.*
 at village exist mountain
 'At the village there was a mountain.'
- (32) *Badha ka-daddi-yan ane.*
 exist NOM-become strange
 'Strange things happened.'
 lit. 'There were strange happenings.'
- (33) *Badha reng lake'se andhi' ana' settong nyama-na Bang Pote.*
 exist person male DEF have child one name-DEF garlic
 'There was a man who had a child named Bang Pote (garlic).'

In each of these sentences, the NP in question is indefinite, regardless of how complex the NP may be. In (30) and (31), the NPs consist of a single noun, *embi* ‘goat’ and *gunong* ‘mountain’, respectively. In (32), the derived nominal *kadaddiyan* ‘happening’ is modified by *ane* ‘strange’. In (33), the indefinite compound noun head *reng lake* ‘man’ is modified by the relative clause *se andhi' ana' settong nyama-na Bang Pote* ‘that had a child named Bang Pote’.

With a definite NP, the existential is a simple verb of existence. In this instance, the NP is generally preverbal (34); however, it can still follow *badha* (35).

- (34) *Sampe' sateya geddhang agung reya gi' paggun badha.*
 until now banana noble this yet still exist
 ‘Even now the agung banana still exists.’

- (35) *Serrena badha tor-ator kadi jiya...*
 because exist RED-say like this
 ‘Because of this order...’

The verbal nature of *badha* is clear from its compatibility with the future modal *bakal* and the irrealis suffix *-a*.

- (36) *Oreng padha mekker badha'-a apa pole reya.*
 person same AV.think exist-IRR what again this
 ‘The people all wondered what would happen this time.’

- (37) *Bakal badha'-a pa-apa.*
 will exist-IRR RED-what
 ‘Something will happen.’

In (36) and (37), *badha* combines with the wh-element *apa* to assert that some unknown event will take place.

To assert non-existence, the negative existential *adha'/tadha'* is normally used. Its distribution is similar to *badha*.

- (38) *Tadha' nase'.*
 not.exist rice
 ‘There isn't any rice.’

- (39) *Adha' bungkel.*
 not.exist root
 ‘There aren't any roots.’

(40) *Adha' oreng namen.*
not.exist person AV.plant
'Nobody plants it.'

(41) *Adha' nyambit.*
not.exist AV.answer
'Nobody answered.'

In each of these sentences, the lack of something is asserted, be it inanimate, (38) and (39), or animate, *adha' oreng* 'there is no person/nobody' (40). *Adha'/Tadha'* on its own can be freely translated as 'nothing' or 'nobody', depending on the discourse context. In (41), 'nobody' is a felicitous translations as here it is asserted that there exists nothing that answered, and as answering requires a human (or at least animate) agent, the 'nothing here' is 'nobody'. As with *badha*, the negative existential can take a definite NP in its scope, and like *badha*, it is clearly verbal.

(42) *Engko' bi' ba'eng kabbi gi' tadha'.*
I and you all yet not.exist
'You and I did not exist yet.'

(43) *Sateya kraton-na la adha' kare.*
now palace-DEF already not.exist remain
'Now the palace does not exist.'

The verbal nature of (*t*)*adha'* is underscored by the adverbial particles *gi'* 'yet' and *la* 'already' (here a marker of perfectivity), which occur almost exclusively in preverbal position. (See Chapter 9 section 4 for discussion of these and other auxiliary like elements.)

Though less frequent in use, non-existence can also be asserted by negating the positive existential, as in (44).

(44) *Lo' badha juko' ngakan tang panceng.*
not exist fish AV.eat my fishing.rod
'There were no fish taking my bait.'

Here the existential *badha* is negated with the negative particle *lo'* 'not'.

4. Verbal clauses

As is to be expected, many declarative sentences have clauses in which the predicate is a verbal element. What follows illustrates the various types. (Various aspects of verbal clauses, e.g. voice morphology and aspect, are treated in more detail in Chapter 9.)

4.1. Intransitive clauses

Clauses with stative intransitive (adjectival) verbs predicate some property of their sole argument. The standard word order for these clauses is subject - verb.

(45) *Kana' koros juwa penter.*
 child thin that smart
 'That skinny kid is smart.'

(46) *Kopi reya manes.*
 coffee this sweet
 'This coffee is sweet.'

(47) *Hadi lo' tenggi.*
 Hadi not tall
 'Hadi is not tall.'

(48) *Kamar-ra berse.*
 room-DEF clean
 'The room is clean.'

Adjectival predicates take no voice marking, but occur in their root form, as in (45-48). This large class of predicates includes the following, among many others: *cellep* 'cold', *kene* 'small', *kennyang* 'full', *koros* 'thin', *lapar* 'hungry', *nyaman* 'nice/delicious', *panas* 'hot', *raddin* 'beautiful', *raja* 'large', and *rosak* 'broken'.

Dynamic intransitive verbs consist of two classes, (1) verbs that describe actions that need not be under the control of the sole argument and (2) verbs that necessarily are under the volitional control of their argument. Both types denote a change of state or location of the subject. Examples of noncontrolled dynamic intransitives are given in (49-52).

(49) *Prao-na Pa' Tono kerem.*
 ship-DEF Mr Tono sank
 'Pak Tono's ship sank.'

- (50) *Ale' labu dhari korse.*
 yngr.sibling fall from chair
 'Little Brother fell from the chair.'
- (51) *Bengko-na Bu Marhamah robbu.*
 house-DEF Mrs Marhamah collapse
 'Bu Marhamah's house collapsed.'
- (52) *Buku-na elang.*
 book-DEF disappear
 'The book is lost.'

Like adjectival predicates, noncontrolled dynamic intransitive verbs take no voice marking; thus *kerem* 'sink', *labu* 'fall', *robbu* 'collapse', and *elang* 'disappear' occur in clauses in their root form. Other verbs in this class include: *ambu* 'stop', *dhapa'* 'arrive', *dhateng* 'come', *entar* 'go', *gaggar* 'fall' (for inanimate objects), *maso'* 'enter', *molae* 'begin', *mole* 'go home', *tedhung* 'sleep', and *toju'* 'sit (down)'. Stative intransitives share with these verbs lack of control by the subject over the state of affairs described by the predicate as well as lack of voice marking. In many languages, this lack of control is characteristic of unaccusative predicates (Perlmutter and Postal 1984; Levin and Rapoport Hovav 1995). One might, therefore, take the lack of voice morphology as a diagnostic of unaccusativity in Madurese.

Dynamic intransitive verbs which imply that the subject controls the action are exemplified in (53-56).

- (53) *Na'-kana' rowa a-berka' ka toko.*
 RED-child that AV-run to store
 'Those kids ran to the store.'
- (54) *Guru-na ng-oca'.*
 teacher-DEF AV-speak
 'The teacher spoke.'
- (55) *Sengko' a-langngoy e tase'.*
 I AV-swim at sea
 'I swim in the sea.'
- (56) *Malem-ma Bapa' a-lako.*
 night-DEF father AV-work
 'Last night Father worked.'

Each of the verbs in (53-56) takes actor voice morphology, either *a-* or *ng-*.

Other verbs in this class include: *abber* ‘fly’, *bala* ‘say’, *jalan* ‘walk’, *kejung* ‘sing’, *lonca* ‘jump’ *maen* ‘play’, *rangka* ‘creep’, *tanya* ‘ask’, and *tandang* ‘dance’. These verbs can be classified as unergative, which cross-linguistically is consistent with intransitive predicates under the control of their sole argument. The unaccusative/unergative classification is explored in more detail in Chapter 9 section 1.1.3.

In the neutral word order for intransitive clauses, the subject precedes the verb, as in the previous examples. However, the verb often precedes the subject for discourse-related reasons, as in the sentences in (57-60), which are taken from texts.²

(57) *Ampon duka se a-nyama Ki Pratanu.*
 already angry REL AV-name Ki Pratanu
 ‘Ki Pratanu was angry.’

(58) *Lebat potpot Tandha Serrat, e baba-na gunung nojju dha'*
 pass walk Tandha Serrat at under-DEF mountain AV.point to
Klampes.
 Klampes
 ‘Tandha Serrat went right around the mountain toward Klampes.’

(59) *Mon la dhateng oreng Resbaja...*
 if already come people Arosbaya
 ‘If the people from Arosbaya came,...’

(60) *Tape maske bu' emban otaba bu' mongmong, lo' kobater rato.*
 but though mother nanny or mother nursemaid not worry king
 ‘But because of the servants, the king was not worried.’

In (57), the adjectival predicate *duka* ‘angry’ precedes its subject *se anyama Ki Pratanu* ‘the one named Ki Pratanu’. In (58), the verb *lebat* ‘pass’ precedes its subject *Tandha Serrat*. The dynamic intransitive verb *dhateng* ‘come’ precedes its subject *oreng Resbaja* ‘Arosbaya people’ in (59). And in (60), in the main clause *lo' kobater rato* ‘the king was not worried’, the verb *kobater* ‘worried’ precedes *rato* ‘king’, the subject.

4.2. Semantically-transitive statives

There is a class of verbs which are semantically transitive but syntactically in-

²Moehnilabib et al. (1979) describe the process of subject-predicate inversion with intransitive verbs and PP predicates.

transitive.³ These predicates describe the state of the subject that results from some external stimulus, that is, they characterize the experience of the subject. Thus, these verbs have an experiencer argument and a stimulus argument, which occurs as the object of a preposition. The basic word order is experiencer subject - verb - stimulus PP.

- (61) *Rudi parcaja dha' anom-ma.*
 Rudi believe to uncle-DEF
 'Rudi believes his uncle.'
- (62) *Wati enga' dha' jawab-ba guru.*
 Wati remember to answer-DEF teacher
 'Wati remembered the teacher's answer.'
- (63) *Hasan baji' ka taretan-na.*
 Hasan hate to brother-DEF
 'Hasan hates his brother.'
- (64) *Atin tresna ka Deni.*
 Atin love to Deni
 'Atin loves Deni.'

The prepositions *ka* and *dha'* 'to' are those that mark the stimulus. For some speakers, this preposition can be omitted, but for others the structure is unacceptable. Examples (65-67) correspond to (61-63), respectively.

- (65) %*Rudi parcaja anom-ma.*
 Rudi believe uncle-DEF
 'Rudi believes his uncle.'
- (66) %*Wati enga' jawab-ba guru.*
 Wati remember answer-DEF teacher
 'Wati remembered the teacher's answer.'
- (67) %*Hasan baji' taretan-na.*
 Hasan hate brother-DEF
 'Hasan hates his brother.'

However, not all verbs that appear to belong in this class permit preposition omission. The stimulus for *peggel* 'angry' (68), *tako* 'afraid' (69), and *busen*

³ These predicates correspond to what are frequently identified as psychological predicates or 'psych verbs' in the theoretical literature (Belletti and Rizzi 1988, Levin 1993).

'bored' (70) can occur only with an overt preposition.

(68) a. *Ebu' peggel bi' Toni.*
 mother angry with Toni
 'Mother is angry with Toni.'

b. **Ebu' peggel Toni.*

(69) a. *Hosen tako' ka lar-olar.*
 Hosen afraid to RED-snake
 'Hosen is afraid of snakes.'

b. **Hosen tako' lar-olar.*

(70) a. *Ina busen bi' buku-na.*
 Ina bored with book-DEF
 'Ina is bored with her book.'

b. **Ina busen bukuna.*

The difference appears to be that those verbs for which an overt stimulus is obligatory (65-67) allow preposition omission (for those speakers who accept the structure). The verbs that do not allow preposition omission (68-70) are those that can quite naturally occur without an overt stimulus.

(71) *Ebu' peggel.*
 mother angry
 'Mother is angry.'

(72) *Ika tako'.*
 Ika afraid
 'Ika is afraid.'

(73) *Ina busen.*
 Ina bored
 'Ina is bored.'

The obligatorily transitive verbs can also occur without an overt stimulus. However, in these cases it is assumed that there is a null pronominal object that induces the state of affairs in the experiencer, as is reflected in the translations in (74-76).

- (74) *Rudi parcaja.*
 Rudi believe
 'Rudi believes him.'
- (75) *Wati enga'.*
 Wati remember
 'Wati remembered it.'
- (76) *Hasan baji'.*
 Hasan hate
 'Hasan hates him.'

The sentences in (74-76) are common cases of null pronouns. (See Chapter 13 for more on null pronouns.) It is thus possible to identify subcategories of stative predicates of experience. Those that are obligatorily transitive include: *baji'* 'hate', *enga'* 'remember', *esto* 'love', *kasta* 'regret', *lebur* 'like', *loppa* 'forget', *ngarte* 'understand', *parcaja* 'believe', *tao* 'know', *tresna* 'love', *yaken* 'be sure', and others.

4.3. Transitive clauses

Dynamic transitive verbs are both semantically and syntactically transitive in their active form. Semantically they can largely be characterized as those predicates which take an actor argument (that which initiates or carries out the action, prototypically an agent) and a theme (that which is affected by the action, prototypically a patient). Syntactically, the basic order in a transitive clause is subject - verb - object, the object taking neither prepositional nor case marking. Morphologically, the verb obligatorily takes actor voice marking in the active, which in other works is taken to be the neutral form and which is what is offered by speakers in direct elicitation situations. The sentences in (77-80) illustrate.

- (77) *Ebu' melle berras.*
 mother AV.buy rice
 'Mother buys rice.'
- (78) *Embi' rowa ngekke' Ale'.*
 goat that AV.bite yngr.sibling
 'That goat bit little sister.'

(79) *Ita maca tang buku.*

Ita AV.read my book
‘Ita read my book.’

(80) *Bu Yus noles sorat.*

Mrs Yus AV.write letter
‘Bu Yus wrote a letter.’

In each sentence the subject precedes the verb and initiates the action. The morphologically unmarked object follows the verb and is affected in some sense by the action. As can be expected, there is a large number of verbs that belong to this category. Voice marking on transitive verbs is discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 9 section 1.

4.4. Ditransitive clauses

Finally, there are a number of three-place verbs that occur as predicates of active clauses. Semantically, these verbs take an actor argument, a theme argument, and a location or goal as a third argument. Syntactically they are identical to transitive verbs with the addition of a prepositional phrase (the location or goal argument). These sentences have a basic subject - verb - object - PP word order, and the verb obligatorily takes voice morphology. These properties are evident in the sentences in (81-83).

(81) *Hadi ngerem paket ka Bambang.*

Hadi AV.send package to Bambang
‘Hadi sent a package to Bambang.’

(82) *Sengko' nyaba' buku neng meja.*

I AV.put book on table
‘I put the book on the table.’

(83) *Bapa' a-berri' pesse dha' oreng se lapar.*

father AV-give money to man REL hungry
‘Father gave money to the hungry man.’

There is a small number of root verbs that fall into this category including *bagi* ‘give’, *tambu* ‘throw’, and a number of verbs of communication and others, e.g. *nempak* ‘kick’, that are optionally ditransitive. However, there are many derived verbs that act as predicates in ditransitive clauses. These are detailed in Chapter 10.

5. Exclamatory clauses

Exclamatory interjections can be used with most simple clauses indicating the speaker's sense of surprise, pleasure, distress, realization, and so on. These are interjections such as *adhu*, *wa'*, *lo'*, and others. In most cases, the interjection introduces the clause.

- (84) *Wa' neng settong kennengngan joh pas ce' senad-da!*
 oh at one place EMPH then very clear-DEF
 'Oh, but at that one spot, it is so bright!'
- (85) *Lo' gagaman me' ce' sakte-na!*
 EXCL knife EMPH very sakti-DEF
 'Oh, this weapon is filled with magic power!'
- (86) *Keyae Bato Ampar takerjat, "Adhu, baji' se dhalem tabu'-eng
 Kiai Bato Ampar surprised oh baby REL inside stomach-DEF
 ba'eng jiya, Nyae, se a-jawab!"*
 you this nyae REL AV-answer
 'Kiai Bato Ampar was surprised, "Oh, Nyae, the baby inside you is the
 one who answered!"'
- (87) *Adhu, mella' mata kaula ano, Ka' mas! Bisa ngatela' pole neka!*
 oh AV.open.eye eye I do elder brother can AV.see again this
 'Oh, I can see, Husband! I can see again!'

The exclamatory interjections begin each of the relevant clauses in these examples, and other emphatic particles *joh* and *me'* also occur in (84) and *me'* occurs again in (85). In (84) and (85) the intensive construction with *ce'* 'very' also occurs. In (87), which uses one of the higher speech levels, the subject inverts with the verb and its object, *mella' mata* 'open eyes'. These two properties combine in a special exclamatory construction in which the subject follows the intensive structure, (88-90).

- (88) *Ce' raddin-na Ita!*
 very beautiful-DEF Ita
 'How beautiful Ita is!'
- (89) *Ce' nyaman-na nase' jiya!*
 very delicious-DEF rice this
 'How delicious this rice is!'

- (90) *Ce' penter-ra ana'-eng ba'eng!*
 very smart-DEF child-DEF you
 'How smart your child is!'

In this exclamatory structure, the intensive construction is in clause-initial position and the nominal of which the state is predicated follows. In (88) *ce' raddina* 'very beautiful' precedes its subject *Ita*, and the same pattern occurs in (89) and (90). Any of the exclamatory interjections may precede the intensive, as in (91), where *wa'* occurs in clause-initial position.

- (91) *Wa', ce' bajjir-ra Bambang!*
 oh very lucky-DEF Bambang
 'Oh, how lucky Bambang is!'

6. Hortative clauses

Two words of exhortation are used in hortative clauses: *mara* and *ayu'* (sometimes pronounced *ayo*), which can roughly be translated as 'let's' or 'come on'. In the case of an exhortation in which the speaker wishes to engage the listener(s) in a joint activity, typically *mara* or *ayu'* occurs clause initially, there is no overt subject and the verb and its complements follow, as in (92) and (93).

- (92) *Mara/Ayu' maca buku!*
 HORT AV.read book
 '(Come on,) Let's read a book!'

- (93) *Mara/Ayu' nempak bal!*
 HORT AV.kick ball
 '(Come on,) Let's kick a ball!'

The verbs in (92) and (93), *maca* 'read' and *nempak* 'kick' occur in the actor voice, as in regular transitive active clauses. Importantly, here the objects *buku* and *bal*, respectively, are interpreted as indefinite. For some speakers, this indefinite interpretation is obligatory. If the object of the verb is definite, then the verb must occur in the root form, with no voice morphology, as in (94) and (95).

- (94) *Mara baca buku reya!*
 HORT read book this
 'Let's read this book!'

- (95) *Mara tempak bal-la!*
 HORT kick ball-DEF
 ‘Let’s kick the ball!’

There is some variability with respect to the use of the actor voice morphology, however. So, in (96) the actor voice form of *gabay* ‘make’ occurs with a definite object, here a null pronominal that refers to the *are*’ or sickle shaped knife being discussed. In (97), the location to be returned to is the definite name *Bangkalan*.

- (96) *Dha'ramma ayu' mon a-gabay, kana'?*
 how HORT if AV-make child
 ‘Come on, how about we copy it, guys?’
- (97) *Ayu' a-bali pole ka Bangkalan ya!*
 HORT AV-return again to Bangkalan yes
 ‘Come on, let’s go back to Bangkalan!’

Some speakers allow variability in word order as well. In (98), a variant of (92), the verb and its complement precede *ayu'*, and in (99), a variant of (94), the definite object precedes the verb which precedes *mara*.

- (98) *%Maca buku ayu'!*
 AV.read book HORT
 ‘Let’s read a book!’
- (99) *%Buku reya, baca, mara!*
 book this read HORT
 ‘Let’s read this book!’

This inversion of word order is also found in the textual example in (100).

- (100) *Jajal ayu', kana', semma'-e!*
 try HORT child close-DUR
 ‘Let’s try to get closer, guys!’

In (100) the main verb *jajal* ‘try’ precedes *ayu'*.

Unlike the closely related imperatives (discussed in the following section), verbs in hortative clauses can occur in object voice.

- (101) *Mara e-edhing-agi!*
 HORT OV-hear-AGI
 ‘Come on, let’s listen to it!’

Finally, *ayu'* and *mara* are not restricted to use in hortative clauses in which the speaker will act with the addressee. They are also used to exhort the addressee(s) to action without the speaker's involvement (102-103), and at times emphasizing that the speaker's action that will impact the addressee(s), as in (104).

(102) *Mara, Bing, aba'eng la cokop ya dibasa!*
 HORT daughter you already enough yes mature
 'Come on, daughter, you are already old enough!'

(103) *Pola me' ta-papak bi' oreng ayu' menta!*
 maybe perhaps IN-stuck with person HORT AV.ask
 'If you meet the person (who owns it), go ahead and ask!'

(104) *Mara engko' a-dungeng-a pole ya!*
 HORT I AV-story-IRR again yes
 'Come on, I am going to tell a story again!'

In (102), in an attempt to convince his daughter that she should marry, a father urges her to realize that she has reached a sufficient level of maturity to do so. In (103), the speaker exhorts the addressee to act should the right circumstances arise. And in (104), the speaker calls the addressees to attention as he is about to perform for them.

7. Imperative clauses

Imperatives are formed by using the root form of the verb. Because of the speech situation in which the speaker commands the addressee to perform some action, a second person subject is assumed. The subject is generally a null pronoun, although an overt second person pronoun is also possible. The sentences in (105-108) illustrate.

(105) *Baca buku-na ba'eng!*
 read book-DEF you
 'Read your book!'

(106) *Totop labang rowa!*
 close door that
 'Close that door!'

(107) *Kerem sorat dha' Nabun!*
 send letter to Nabun
 'Send a/the letter to Nabun!'

(108) *Bagi buku reya dha' Hasan!*
 give book this to Hasan
 'Give this book to Hasan!'

As is the case with most clauses, the object may occur in initial position, but only when it is definite. There is usually a rising intonation on the object followed by a brief pause. This order is illustrated in (109-111).

(109) *Buku-na ba'eng, baca!*
 book-DEF you read
 'Read your book!'

(110) *Labang rowa, totop!*
 door that close
 'Close that door!'

(111) *Sorat, kerem dha' Nabun!*
 letter send to Nabun
 'Send the letter to Nabun!'

The sentences in (109-111) correspond to the sentences in (105-107), respectively, with the object front. However, while the unmarked object in *sorat* 'letter' in (107) can be interpreted either as indefinite or definite, when it is fronted, only a definite interpretation is possible, (111).

It is not possible to use the object voice with imperatives. Doing so results in an ungrammatical sentence, (112) and (113), regardless of whether the base object is clause initial (a) or clause final (b).

(112) a. **Buku-na ba'eng e-baca!*
 book-DEF you OV-read
 (Read your book!)

b. **E-baca buku-na ba'eng!*
 OV-read book-DEF you
 (Read your book!)

(113) a. **Buku reya e-bagi dha' Hasan!*
 book this OV-give to Hasan
 (Give this book to Hasan!)

- b. **E-bagi buku reya dha' Hasan!*
 OV-give book this to Hasan
 (Give this book to Hasan!)

In this regard, Madurese differs from both Indonesian and Javanese, where a passive imperative is acceptable.

When issuing an imperative in which the speaker commands the addressee to allow a third person to act, the verbs *dina* 'leave' and *penneng* 'leave' are used.

- (114) *Dina, Ahmad me' maca buku-na!*
 leave Ahmad EMPH AV.read book-DEF
 'Let Ahmad read his book!'
 lit. 'Leave Ahmad to read his book!'

- (115) *Penneng, Tina a-dungeng!*
 leave Tina AV-story
 'Let Tina tell her story!'
 lit. 'Leave Tina to tell her story.'

A special negative form *ja'*, and its variant *nja'*, is used for prohibitive imperatives. This is illustrated in (116) and (117).

- (116) *Ja' pokol Salim!*
 don't hit Salim
 'Don't hit Salim!'

- (117) *Ja' baca tang sorat!*
 don't read my letter
 'Don't read my letter!'

As described in Chapter 5 section 3.1.3, frequently with negative imperatives the verb is reduplicated.

- (118) *Ja' ter-kobater!*
 don't RED-worry
 'Don't worry!'

- (119) *Ja' ka'-bukka!*
 don't RED-open
 'Don't open it!'

The reduplication serves to emphasize the command of the speaker as well as to indicate that the prohibition is to continue indefinitely (or at least some considerable time into the future), an imperfective meaning.

8. Comparative and superlative clauses

There are multiple constructions available for comparing two or more objects with respect to a particular property. In one, the adjectival verb takes both the *a-* prefix and the *-an* suffix simultaneously. The subject of the clause is the entity which is ascribed the greater degree of some property than the comparison set or entity, which occurs as the object of a preposition, as in (120) and (121).

- (120) *Rudi a-kowad-an bi' Deni.*
 Rudi AV-strong-AN with Deni
 'Rudi is stronger than Deni.'

- (121) *Dini a-senneng-ngan katembang Lukfi.*
 Dini AV-happy-AN than Lukfi
 'Dini is happier than Lukfi.'

There are a number of prepositional elements that marked the object of comparison, including *ban* and *bi'* which both mean 'with', *dhari* 'from', *katembang* or simply *tembang*, and *banding*. *Tembang* and *banding* are verbal roots that mean 'compare', and *katembang* is the abilitive form of *tembang*. As discussed in Chapter 7 section 2, there are a number of inflected verbal forms that take the role of prepositions in Madurese. They are likely best considered prepositional or preposition-like words as the order of the element and the object is fixed, whereas clausal elements usually allow for more fluid word order. Some speakers show a marked preference for the subject to follow the verb in comparative clauses, as in (122) and (123).

- (122) *A-kowad-an Rudi banding Deni.*
 AV-strong-AN Rudi than Deni
 'Rudi is stronger than Deni.'

- (123) *A-sennengng-an Dini katembang Lukfi.*
 AV-happy-AN Dini than Lukfi
 'Dini is happier than Lukfi.'

For many speakers, the *a-* prefix can be omitted with no degradation in grammaticality.

- (124) *Penter-ran Ita bi' Siti.*
 smart-AN Ita with Siti
 'Ita is smarter than Siti.'

The other major strategy for forming the comparative is to use the adverbial *lebbi* 'more', which modifies the adjectival predicate. This is the same structure found in Indonesian.

- (125) *Ita lebbi penter dhari Siti.*
 Ita more smart from Siti
 'Ita is smarter than Siti.'

- (126) *Rudi lebbi kowat katembang Deni.*
 Rudi more strong than Deni
 'Rudi is stronger than Deni.'

A comparative can also be expressed with *lebbi* as a predicate. In this structure, the property being compared occurs in a nominalized form and takes the subject of the previous construction as its possessor. The nominalized verb together with the possessor form the subject NP with *lebbi* 'more' as predicate and the object of comparison again in a prepositional phrase. The sentence in (127) expresses the same basic proposition as (123).

- (127) *Senneng-nga Dini lebbi katembang Lukfi.*
 happy-DEF Dini more than Lukfi
 'Dini is happier than Lukfi.'
 lit. 'Dini's happiness is greater than Lukfi's.'

In a parallel way, *korang* 'less/lack' can be the predicate of a clause that asserts that one thing has less of some property than another. The sentence in (128) denotes the same balance of happiness as (127).

- (128) *Senneng-nga Lukfi korang katembang Dini.*
 happy-DEF Lukfi less than Dini
 'Lukfi is less happy than Dini.'
 lit. 'Lukfi's happiness is less than Dini's.'

The object of comparison of the positive assertion becomes the possessor of the nominalized verb of the negative assertion and vice versa.

To assert that two entities have equal amounts of some property, the same basic structures can be used substituting *padha* 'same' for *lebbi*. Thus the sentences in (129) are synonymous as are those in (130). For some speakers the definite suffix on the property of comparison is optional, but the variant with it

is preferred.

- (129) a. *Hanina padha penter-ra bi' Sinap.*
 Hanina same smart-DEF with Sinap
 'Hanina is as smart as Sinap.'
- b. *Penter-ra Hanina padha bi' Sinap.*
 smart-DEF Hanina same with Sinap
 'Hanina is as smart as Sinap.'
- (130) a. *Bengko reya padha raja-na bi' bengko rowa.*
 house this same big-DEF with house that
 'This house is as big as that house.'
- b. *Raja-na bengko reya padha bi' bengko rowa.*
 big-DEF house this same with house that
 'This house is as big as that house.'

Equality can also be expressed by means of a third construction, as in (131) and (132).

- (131) *Hanina ban Sinap padha penter-ra.*
 Hanina and Sinap same smart-DEF
 'Hanina and Sinap are equally smart.'
- (132) *Bengko reya ban bengko rowa padha raja-na.*
 house this and house that same big-DEF
 'This house and that house are the same size.'

Here the property being compared is the verb (*penter* and *raja*) modified by *padha*, and the objects being compared are coordinated as subjects. Again, some speakers accept the version without the definite suffix on the property of comparison, but the variant with it is preferred.

There are two constructions that are used when comparing amounts of items possessed by two or more entities, and both are similar to structures used to compare properties. In the first, *lebbi* 'more' modifies the appropriate quantifier which acts as the predicate for the clause. When the subject possesses a larger quantity than the compared, *bannya'* 'many' is used, (133) and (134), and when the quantity is less, *sakone'* or *dhiddhi'* 'few' is the predicate (135) and (136).

- (133) *Pottra-na Bu Nus lebbi bannya' katembang Bu Rita.*
 child-DEF Mrs Nus more many than Mrs Rita
 'Bu Nus has more children than Bu Rita.'
- (134) *Buku-na Ali lebbi bannya' katembang Bambang.*
 book-DEF Ali more many than Bambang
 'Ali has more books than Bambang.'
- (135) *Pottra-na Bu Rita lebbi sakone' banding Bu Nus.*
 child-DEF Mrs Rita more few than Mrs Nus
 'Bu Rita has fewer children than Bu Nus.'
- (136) *Buku-na Bambang lebbi dhiddhi' katembang Ali.*
 book-DEF Bambang more few than Ali
 'Bambang has fewer books than Ali.'

As an alternative to this structure, the quantifier can be nominalized by affixing the definite suffix, as in (137) and (138).

- (137) *Bannya'-an pottra-na Bu Nus banding Bu Rita.*
 many-NOM child-DEF Mrs Nus than Mrs Rita
 'Bu Nus has more children than Bu Rita.'
- (138) *Dhiddhi'-an buku-na Bambang katembang Ali.*
 few-NOM book-DEF Bambang than Ali
 'Bambang has fewer books than Ali.'

The nominalized quantifiers *bannya'nan* 'many' in (137) and *dhiddhi'an* 'few' in (138) stand in a predicative relationship to the focus of comparison, Bu Nus's children in (137) and Bambang's books in (138). As with so many sentences, there is fluidity in the ordering of the major constituents of these clauses.

To assert an equal number of some entity, the quantifier *bannya'* is modified by *padha* 'same'. There are a number of ways in which this structure is instantiated.

- (139) *Buku-na Ali so (buku-na) Bambang padha bannya'.*
 book-DEF Ali and book-DEF Bambang same many
 'Ali and Bambang have the same number of books.'
 lit. 'Ali's and Bambang's books are the same amount.'
- (140) *Buku-na Ali bi' Bambang padha banya'-eng.*
 book-DEF Ali with Bambang same many-DEF
 'Ali and Bambang have the same number of books.'

- (141) *Buku-na Ali padha bannya'-eng bi' buku-na Bambang.*
 book-DEF Ali same many-DEF with book-DEF Bambang
 'Ali has the same number of books as Bambang.'

In (139), *bannya'* 'many' occurs as the predicate and the items being compared occur as a coordinated subject. The sentence in (140) is almost identical, except the quantifier *bannya'* is a nominal predicate. In (141), one of the items being compared is the subject of the clause *bukuna Ali* and the other is the object of comparison in a prepositional phrase *bi' bukuna Bambang*. Finally, it is also possible to use *padha* as the predicate with the nominalized quantifier.

- (142) *Bannya'-na buku-na Ali padha so Bambang.*
 many-DEF book-DEF Ali same with Bambang
 'Ali has the same number of books as Bambang.'

Superlatives are formed either with the modifier *paleng* 'most' or through reduplication combined with affixation of *-an*. In (143) and (144), *paleng* immediately precedes the property being considered.

- (143) *Ina paleng penter e dhalem kellas-sa.*
 Ina most smart at inside class-DEF
 'Ina is the smartest in her class.'

- (144) *Motor juwa paleng tandhes e jalan.*
 car that most fast at road
 'That car is the fastest on the road.'

In (143), the complex preposition *e dhalem* can be replaced simply by *e* or *neng* 'at'.

The other principal structure for superlatives is reduplication and affixation of *-an*, as in (145) and (146).

- (145) *Ina ter-penter-ran e dhalem kellas-sa.*
 Ina RED-smart-AN at inside class-DEF
 'Ina is the smartest in her class.'

- (146) *Motor juwa dhes-tandhes-san e jalan.*
 car that RED-fast-AN at road
 'That car is the fastest on the road.'

9. Topic-comment structure

While most sentences consist of a subject and a predicate with its complements (plus sentential and verbal modifiers), some sentences also include a topic, for which the remainder of the sentence is a comment. As shown below, these topics must be either be coindexed with a pronominal subject or a pronominal possessor of a subject. In this structure, the standard sentences in (147a) and (148a) have the topic-comment variants in (147b) and (148b).

(147) a. *Pa' Tono senneng-ngan neng penggir sereng.*

Mr Tono happy-AN at edge coast
'Pak Tono enjoys spending time at the beach.'

b. *Pa' Tono, aba'eng senneng-ngan neng penggir sereng.*

Mr Tono he happy-AN at edge coast
'Pak Tono, he enjoys spending time at the beach.'

(148) a. *Atin ajar tata-na molekul karbon.*

Atin study structure-DEF molecule carbon
'Atin studies the structure of carbon molecules.'

b. *Atin, aba'na ajar tata-na molekul karbon.*

Atin she study structure-DEF molecule carbon
'Atin, she studies the structure of carbon molecules.'

The topic-comment structures consist of a topic NP in initial position and a sentence, the comment. The topic and comment stand in a subject - predicate type of relationship as the comment clause predicates some state of affair of the subject. Here the comment includes a coreferential pronoun as subject of the sentence. Thus, in (147b) *Pa' Tono* is the topic, and the following sentence with the coreferential subject *aba'eng* 'he' is the comment, which establishes that Pak Tono likes to go to the beach. In (148b), the topic is *Atin*, and the comment follows with the coreferential pronoun *aba'na* as subject. The topic-comment structure places additional emphasis on the topic.

A possession relation can obtain between the topic and the subject of the comment.

(149) a. *Jendela-na bengko mera rowa biyasana kotor.*

window-DEF house red that usual dirty
'That red house's windows are usually dirty.'

b. *Bengko mera rowa, jendela-na biyasana kotor.*
 house red that window-DEF usual dirty
 'That red house, its windows are usually dirty.'

(150) a. *Bannya' mored-da Pa' Hasan lulus ujiyan.*
 many student-DEF Mr Hasan pass exam
 'Many of Pak Hasan's students passed the exam.'

b. *Pa' Hasan, bannya' mored-da lulus ujiyan.*
 Mr Hasan many student-DEF pass exam
 'Pak Hasan, many of his students passed the exam.'

The topics and the subjects of these sentences stand in a possessor-possessed relationship. The sentence predicates some state of affairs regarding an element that is associated with the possessor, the topic. For example, in (149b), *bengko mera rowa* 'that red house' makes up the topic of the sentence and the comment consists of the clause *jendelana biyasana kotor* 'its windows are usually dirty'. Again, the topic and comment stand in a subject - predicate type of relationship as the comment clause predicates a property of the subject, here the fact that usually that red house has dirty windows. The same is true in (150b), in which *bannya' moredda lulus ujiyan* 'many his students passed the exam' is the comment that is predicated of the topic *Pa' Hasan*.

The topic-comment structure is narrowly constrained so that the topic must always be coindexed with the subject of the comment or must stand in a possessor relationship with the subject of the comment. The topic cannot be associated with any other grammatical position, such as direct object. Thus, (151b) is not a possible topic-comment variant of (151a).

(151) a. *Polisi nangkep anom-ma Satimma.*
 police AV.catch uncle-DEF Satimma
 'The police caught Satimma's uncle.'

b. **Satimma, polisi nangkep anom-ma.*
 Satimma police AV.catch uncle-DEF
 (Satimma, the police caught her uncle.)

In (151b), the topic *Satimma* is associated with the direct object of *nangkep* 'catch', *anom-ma* 'her uncle'. In order for *Satimma* to be the topic, *anom-ma* must be the subject of the comment clause, which it is in (152b), where the verb occurs in the object voice.

- (152) a. *Anom-ma Satimma e-tangkep bi' polisi.*
 uncle-DEF Satimma OV-catch by police
 'Satimma's uncle was caught by the police.'
- b. *Satimma,anom-ma e-tangkep bi' polisi.*
 Satimma uncle-DEF OV-catch by police
 'Satimma, her uncle got caught by the police.'

10. Subjects, definiteness and specificity

There is an important restriction on the subject of a clause, which has thus far gone unremarked upon, but it is illustrated in all of the clauses in this chapter, except perhaps existentials. Subjects of a Madurese clause must have a specific referent. This is a restriction common to Indonesian-type languages, including Indonesian (Soemarmo 1970, Sneddon 1996, and many before and since) and Javanese (Soemarmo 1970), as well as other western Austronesian languages such as Tagalog (Schachter 1976 and Kroeger 1993) and Malagasy (Keenan 1976). Thus, in careful speech, (146a) is well-formed, while (146b) is not.

- (153) a. *Baji'-na nanges.*
 baby-DEF cry
 'The baby cries.'
- b. **Baji' nanges.*
 (A baby cries.)

This requirement in various languages has spawned a vigorous debate regarding whether the notion 'subject' or the notion 'topic' is most appropriate for these languages. Topic is sometimes suggested because the specificity requirement is akin to a definiteness requirement, which is characteristic of topics. As this issue is not of particular importance in the context of this work, it will be left aside and the term 'subject' will be used.

At any rate, all subjects of clauses must be specified in some fashion. There are a number of ways to accomplish this.

1. Proper nouns can be assumed to refer to a specific or quantified entity or entities, and thus can serve as subjects of clauses.

- (154) *Pa' Hasan bakal a-dungeng-a.*
 Mr Hasan will AV-story-IRR
 'Pak Hasan will tell a story.'

- (155) *Jakarta ce' me-ramme-na.*
 Jakarta very RED-noisy-DEF
 'Jakarta is very noisy.'

2. Pronouns take a specific referent, and they, too can be subjects.

- (156) *Sengko' a-dungeng-a pole.*
 I AV-story-IRR again
 'I'm going to tell another story.'

- (157) *Ba'na mangkat dha' Blambangan.*
 you leave to Blambangan
 'You go to Blambangan.'

3. As illustrated in (153a) and below in (158) and (159), nouns affixed with the definite suffix *-na* can be subjects.

- (158) *Red-mored-da noles sorat ka presiden.*
 RED-student-DEF AV.write letter to president
 'The students wrote letters to the president.'

- (159) *Kothag-ga neng baba-na meja.*
 box-DEF at under-DEF table
 'The box is under the table.'

4. Nouns occurring with a demonstrative are specific and can be subjects.

- (160) *Kopi reya ce' nyama-na.*
 coffee this very delicious-DEF
 'This coffee is really tasty.'

- (161) *Embi' juwa ngekke' Ale'.*
 goat that AV.bite yngr.sibling
 'That goat bit Little Brother.'

5. Possessed nouns are specified, as the possessor is assumed to be specific.

- (162) *Bengko-na Pa' Tono neng Sampang.*
 house-DEF Mr Tono at Sampang
 'Pak Tono's house is in Sampang.'

- (163) *Ana' bine'-na Ina melle permen kaangguy kanca-na.*
 daughter-DEF Ina AV.buy candy for friend-DEF
 'Ina's daughter bought candy for her friends.'

6. As quantification denotes a specific set or the supposition of a specifically delimited set, quantified nouns can serve as subjects.

- (164) *Empa' cangker e attas-sa meja.*
 four cup at top-DEF table
 'Four cups are on the table.'

- (165) *Sabban mored narema buku dhari guru.*
 each student AV.receive book from teacher
 'Each student received a book from the teacher.'

7. Nouns modified by a relative clause can serve as subject.

- (166) *Mored se noles sorat a-temmo bi' presiden.*
 student REL AV.write letter AV-meet with president
 'The student who wrote the letter met the president.'

- (167) *Oreng se a-caca bi' Hadi tang anom.*
 person REL AV-talk with Hadi my uncle
 'The man talking to Hadi is my uncle.'

The sole type of nonspecific nominal that can be the subject of a clause is a nominal with a generic referent, as in (168) and (169).

- (169) *Reng towa nyalamed-e ana'-na.*
 parent AV.safe-LOC child-DEF
 'Parents protect their children.'

- (170) *Guru ce' penter-ra.*
 teacher very smart-DEF
 'Teachers are very smart.'

There are, therefore, numerous means for ensuring that the subject of the clause is specific. Nominals that are nonspecific and indefinite can be introduced into discourse through the existential construction discussed in section 6.3, (170) and (171).

(170) *Badha reng lake' se andhi' ana' settong nyama-na Bang Pote.*
 exist man REL have child one name-DEF garlic
 'There was a man who had a child named Bang Pote.'

(171) *Badha burus ngekke' tokang pos.*
 exist dog AV.bite worker postal
 'A dog bit the mail carrier.'

In (170), repeated from above, a new character is introduced into a narrative unknown to the addressee. In (171), an unspecified, unknown dog attacked the mail carrier. Of course, once these nominals have been introduced into the discourse, they are specified and are potential subjects for later sentences.

Subjects are the sole constituents of a clause with this restriction. Direct objects, actors/agents of object voice clauses, and prepositional objects are unrestricted. New discourse participants can also be introduced in any of these positions.

(172) *Soleha ngerem **sorat** ka Marhamah.*
 Soleha AV.send letter to Marhamah
 'Soleha sent a letter to Marhamah.'

(173) *Ale' e-kekke' **embi'**.*
 yngr.sibling OV-bite goat
 'Little Brother was bitten by a goat.'

(174) *Bapa' terro a-berri'-a pesse **dha' mored.***
 father want AV-give-IRR money to student
 'Father wants to give money to a student.'

There is a systematic ambiguity, however. Any of the boldfaced NPs in these sentences can be interpreted as specific or definite. So, (172) can also mean 'Soleha sent the letter to Marhamah' (173) can also mean 'Little Brother was bitten by the goat', and (174) can also mean 'Father wants to give the money to the student'. The precise interpretation depends on the discourse context in which the sentence occurs.

Chapter 7

Nominals and noun phrases

This chapter examines the structure of the noun phrase (NP). The elements that comprise the NP are detailed: nouns and their attendant morphology, pronouns, demonstratives, possessors, quantifiers and numerals, and adjectival and prepositional modifiers. The chapter also describes the various combinations of these elements and how they are structured.

1. Nominal types

A variety of constituents can be the head of the NP, including underived nouns, pronouns, derived nouns, and clauses. The types of underived nouns are listed in (1).

- (1) Noun roots
common

count: *korse* ‘chair’, *roma* ‘house’, *oreng* ‘person’, *sape* ‘cow’...
mass: *nase* ‘rice’, *gula* ‘sugar’, *paser* ‘sand’, *aeng* ‘water’...

proper

place names: *Madura*, *Bangkalan*, *Gunong Gegger* ‘Mt. Gegger’...
person names: *Ali*, *Hasan*, *Hadi*, *Ita*, *Siti*...

Of course, derived nouns can also be divided into count and mass types, which evince the same differences as common noun roots, e.g. *pajalanan* ‘traveler’ and *kabadha’an* ‘existence’. The difference essentially boils down to whether or not a numeral can quantify the noun: as to be expected, count nouns are compatible with numeral quantifiers (2a), while mass nouns are not (2b).

- (2) a. *settong korse* ‘one chair’, *ennem sape* ‘six cows’, *sapolo gunong* ‘ten mountains’, *lema pajalanan* ‘five travelers’
b. **settong nase*’, **ennam susu*, **sapolo aeng*, **lema kabadha’an*

2. Nominal morphology

There are both inflectional and derivational processes that are relevant to nouns.

They are surveyed here.

2.1. Nominal inflection

Other than perhaps the definite morpheme *-na*, which has an uncertain morphological status, reduplication is the only productive inflection of noun stems. As noted in Chapter 5 section 3.2, reduplication of a noun stem without any additional morphology indicates plurality, as in the examples in (3).

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------|----------------------------|
| (3) | <i>korse</i> ‘chair’ | <i>se-korse</i> ‘chairs’ |
| | <i>kothak</i> ‘box’ | <i>thak-kothak</i> ‘boxes’ |
| | <i>koceng</i> ‘cat’ | <i>ceng-koceng</i> ‘cats’ |
| | <i>sape</i> ‘cow’ | <i>se-sape</i> ‘cows’ |

The b-sentences in (4) and (5) illustrate.

- (4) a. *Koceng rowa ngeco' juko'.*

cat that AV.steal fish
‘That cat stole some fish.’

- b. *Ceng-koceng rowa ngeco' juko'.*

RED-cat that AV.steal fish
‘Those cats stole some fish.’

- (5) a. *Geddhang jiya kodu e-massa' gallu.*

banana this should OV-cook before
‘This banana should be cooked first (before being eaten).’

- b. *Dhang-geddhang jiya kodu e-massa' gallu.*

RED-banana this should OV-cook before
‘These bananas should be cooked first (before being eaten).’

Reduplication of the noun is not the sole means for denoting more than one entity. Aside from the use of quantifiers and numerals, which is discussed in sections 6 and 7, there are two options for indicating plurality in the noun phrase. First, if there is an adjective modifying the noun, preferably in a relative clause, reduplication of the adjective can denote that the noun is plural, as in (6) and (7).

- (6) *Koceng (se) ros-koros rowa ngeco' juko'.*

cat REL RED-thin that AV.steal fish
‘Those skinny cats stole some fish.’

- (7) *Geddhang (se) re-mera jiya kodu e-massa' gallu.*
 banana REL RED-red this should OV-cook before
 'These red bananas should be cooked first (before being eaten).'

Finally, plurality need not be expressed grammatically at all. The a-sentences in (4) and (5) may be translated 'Those cats stole some fish' and 'These bananas should be cooked first' simply by virtue of the discourse context. If it is clear from the speech situation that plural entities are the speaker's intent, the speaker need not indicate that overtly. This would hold for (6) and (7) as well. If the adjectives in (6) and (7) were not reduplicated, the NPs would be interpreted as singular or plural depending on the discourse context.

The only other instances of plurality marked directly on a noun are the exceptional cases of the interrogatives *sapa'an* and *apa'an*, plural counterparts of *sapa* 'who' and *apa* 'what', as in (8) and (9).

- (8) *Sapa'an se la mangkat dha' Sorbaja?*
 who.PL REL already leave to Surabaya
 'Who have left for Surabaya?'

- (9) *Apa'an se e-belli Romlah?*
 what.PL REL OV-buy Romlah
 'What did Romlah buy?'

The use of *sapa'an* and *apa'an* indicates that the speaker expects a plural answer. The structure and range of interrogatives is discussed in Chapter 14.

2.2. Nominal derivation

The morphology of derived nouns is detailed in Chapter 4 section 1.2. The major affixes include those in (10-14).

- (10) *ka-...-an*
- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| a. abstract nominal | |
| <i>badha</i> 'exist' | <i>kabadha'an</i> 'existence' |
| <i>toron</i> 'descend' | <i>katoronan</i> 'progeny' |
| <i>penter</i> 'smart' | <i>kapenterran</i> 'intelligence' |
| b. location | |
| <i>camat</i> 'district head' | <i>kacamadan</i> 'district' |
| <i>raja</i> 'king' | <i>karaja'an</i> 'kingdom' |
| <i>tedhung</i> 'sleep' | <i>katedhungan</i> 'place to sleep/bed' |

- (15) *sengko'*, *engko'*, *aba'* 'I'
ba'na, *ba'en*, *ba'eng*, *kake*, *sedha* 'you'¹
aba'na, *aba'eng*, *dibi'na*, *dibi'eng* 'he/she'

The noun root *aba'* 'body' (cognate with Javanese *awak*) forms the stem for second and some third person forms. The most common form for second person is the shortened stem *ba'* with the definite suffix *-na*. In Western Madura, the form is *ba'eng*, following the rule that replaces *-na* with the allomorph *-eng* following a glottal stop. The form *ba'en* also is used in Central Madura, in the areas near Sampang and Pamekasan (Sutoko, Soegianto, Surani, Sariono, and Suyanto 1998; Pawitra 2009). Additionally, the third person forms *aba'na* and *aba'eng* are also frequently used for second person (16). The dominant third person forms are *aba'na* and *aba'eng*. *Dibi'na* and *dibi'eng*, derived from the root *dibi'* 'alone', are also used but to a somewhat lesser extent, illustrated in (17). Additionally, as (18) and (19) demonstrate, the word *aba'* can serve as a pronoun on its own. In each case here, *aba'* is used to designate the speaker.

- (16) *Ngarte aba'eng iya.*
understand you yes
'You understand, right?'
- (17) *Tape dibi'eng nolak karena gilo' tao dha' kabin.*
but she AV.refuse because still.not know to married
'But she refused, because she didn't yet know about marriage.'
- (18) *Me' ce' aman-na aba'.*
EMPH very safe-DEF body
'I have a feeling of well being.'
- (19) *Ya on-laon-an ja' aba' bi'-dibi'-an. Adha' reng nolong-e.*
yes RED-slow-AN that body RED-alone-AN not.exist person AV.help-E
'It is slow because I am alone. Nobody helps me.'

With the exception of first person singular *tang* 'my' and its variant *sang* 'my', the same pronoun is used regardless of its grammatical relation in a clause. *Tang/sang* is used solely to mark possession, as in (20)

- (20) *Tang ana' bine' lo' tao entar dha' Bali.*
my child female not know go to Bali
'My daughter has never been to Bali.'

¹ Pawitra (2009) also list *ba'eh* as a form used in Bangkalan.

Pronominal possession is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3 section 2.4 and in section 5.

Plural pronouns, which are not commonly used, are formed either by the collocation of the singular pronoun with the quantifier *kabbi* ‘all’ or through reduplication of *aba* ‘body’. The latter can be used for all persons.

- (21) *sengko' kabbi* ‘we’
ba'na kabbi ‘you’
aba'na kabbi ‘they’
ba'-aba' ‘plural human’

Examples of plural pronouns are given in (22-24)

- (22) *Engko' masala dungeng pole dha' ba'eng kabbi.*

I matter story again to you all
 ‘I have another story for you all.’

- (23) *Sengko' entar dha' tase' manceng ma'le kake kabbi tao rassa-na*

I go to sea AV-fish so.that you all know taste-DEF
juko' tase'.
 fish sea

‘I went to the sea to fish so that you all could experience the taste of fish from the sea.’

- (24) *Ba'-aba' bisa a-tanya Tina minggu adha'.*

RED-body can AV-ask Tina week front
 ‘We can ask Tina next week.’

In (22), the form *ba'eng kabbi* ‘you (pl)’ is used by a narrator to refer to his audience. In (23), the speaker uses the form *kake kabbi* ‘you (pl)’ to refer to his addressees, in this instance his students. And in (24), there is an example of *ba'-aba'* used to designate first person plural. Of course, first person plural can also be expressed by conjunction of first and second person pronouns, as in (25).

- (25) *Sengko' bi' kake salamet.*

I with you safe
 ‘We are safe.’

Further, Pawitra (2009) cites *engko' ban ba'na kabbi* as a first person exclusive form (equivalent to Indonesian *kami*) and *engko' ban sakabbina bareng* as an inclusive form (equivalent to Indonesian *kita*).

As an alternative, it is possible to simply use the singular form of the pro-

noun to signify the plural. Pronouns are thus no different from regular noun heads regarding inflecting for number. As shown in section 2.1, while common nouns can be inflected for number through reduplication, this reduplication is largely optional in actual usage. Whether a given NP is singular or plural is sorted out through the discourse. The same is true of the pronouns in the following sentences, all of which clearly stand for plural entities given the context of the narratives in which they were uttered.

- (26) *Jelling cara-na engko' a-laban satreya Majapahit reya!*
 look way-DEF I AV-fight knight Majapahit this
 'Watch how we fight with these knights from Majapahit!'
- (27) *Enggi, ka'dhinto Pottre e-bagta'-a sareng dan kula ka tengnga alas*
 yes this princess OV-bring-IRR with I to center forest
kanna' ka'dhinto.
 'Yes, Princess, we will take it deep into the forest here.'
- (28) *Ba'eng tanto-na gi' enga' ta'iya dha' dungeng-nga Ke Juru*
 you certain-DEF still remember TAG to story-DEF Ke Juru
Kettheng ta'iya.
 Kettheng TAG
 'Certainly, you still remember the story of Ke Juru Kettheng, right?'
- (29) *Aba'eng a-towat, a-cerreng, senneng, "O, Ebu' dhateng! Ebu'*
 they AV-shout AV-shout happy oh mother come mother
dhateng!"
 come
 'They were shouting, shouting so happily, "Oh, Mother is coming!
 Mother is coming!"'
- (30) *Mon se endha' kareb-a dibi' ajar-in.*
 if REL willing want-IRR self learn-LOC
 'If they want it, teach them.'

In (26) and (27), the first person pronoun denotes plural entities—in (26) two young men sent to conquer two Majapahit warriors who are terrorizing a town, and in (27) two maidservants being sent on a mission. In (27), a higher (*alos*) form *dan kula* is used for first person because the speaker is talking to a member of the royal family. In (28), the narrator addresses the audience of children using the simple second person form *ba'eng*. In (29), *aba'eng* refers to the four young daughters in the story *Siti Lalumba*, who had been awaiting the return of their mother. Finally, in (30), there is an instance in which *dibi'* refers to a third

person plural, here, the people of Madura.

In (27), *dan kula* is used as the first person pronoun. This is one of many first and second person pronominal forms that are used in the higher speech levels. The complete set consists of:

(31) 1 st person	2 nd person
<i>bula</i>	<i>dika</i>
<i>gula</i>	<i>diko</i>
<i>kaula</i>	<i>sampeyan</i>
<i>kula</i>	
<i>(ba)dan kaula</i>	<i>panjennengnan</i>
<i>dalem</i>	<i>padana</i>
<i>apdina</i>	<i>sampeyan dalem</i>
<i>apdi dalem</i>	<i>ajunan dalem</i>
<i>bal-gebbal dalem</i>	<i>ajunan sampeyan</i>
	<i>ajunan panjennengnan</i>

The following examples exemplify the use of some of these forms.

- (32) *Sapora-na ka'dhinto Pottre, ka'dhinto ampon parenta, dalem dhari*
 sorry-DEF this princess this already command me from
rato kaangguy mate'-e ajunan, ajunan ampon e-anggep sala
 king for AV.dead-E you you already OV-consider wrong
sareng rato. ”
 by king
 ‘Forgive me, princess, this is an order to me from the king for me to kill
 you because the king thinks you are guilty.’

- (33) *Kaula mangken ampon ngarte ka'dhinto Dinaju Pottre, ja'*
 I now already understand this ‘lady’ princess COMP
panjennengnan ka'dhinto saestona lo' gadhuwan sala.
 you this true not have wrong
 ‘I now understand this princess, that you are truly not guilty.’

Each of these examples is taken from a dialogue between a princess and the minister instructed by her father to kill her. First person is expressed by both *dalem* and *kaula* and second person by *ajunan* and *panjennengnan*. See Chapter 15 for discussion of the use of these pronouns and other aspects of the higher speech levels.

Finally, proper names and titles can also be used pronominally. Thus, under appropriate circumstances, the sentence in (34) can be uttered by Hanina in reference to herself.

- (34) *Laggu' Hanina entar-a ka Jakarta.*
 tomorrow Hanina go-IRR to Jakarta
 'Tomorrow I am going to Jakarta.'

3.1. Distribution of pronouns

Context plays a role not only in interpreting pronouns, but also in the distribution of pronouns. Pronouns in prepositional phrases and coordinate structures are obligatory, but subject, object, non-prepositional agent, and possessive pronouns are optional. In fact, as is the case in many languages that allow them, null pronouns are generally preferred when sanctioned. Thus, the sentences in (35-37), all taken from narratives, have the interpretations ascribed to them in the context of that narrative. (In the examples, *pro* occurs in the canonical position of a pronoun or NP.)

- (35) *Dhang-kadhang pro₁ e-sambi pro₂ keya dha' pro₁ e-bagi pro₂ dha'*
 sometimes OV-bring too to OV-give to
Ke Moko keya.
 Ke Moko too
 'Sometimes they would bring these to give to Ke Moko, too.'

- (36) *Bid-abid-da pate gella' dhateng nga-tela' pro.*
 RED-long-DEF minister before come AV.KA-see
 'After a while the minister came and saw him.'

- (37) *Mole dha' disa-na pro!*
 go.home to village-DEF
 'Go home to your villages!'

In (35), null pronouns take the place of subjects *pro₁* and post-verbal agents *pro₂*. In (36), the direct object of *ngatela* 'see' is a null pronoun. And in (37), the null pronoun fills the position of the possessor. Pronominal anaphora as well as reflexives and reciprocals are treated in detail in Chapter 13.

4. Demonstratives

Demonstratives are deictic elements that identify the location of a particular entity or entities with respect to a particular discourse context. There is a two-way distinction for demonstratives: a proximal demonstrative used with items that are near the speaker and a distal demonstrative used with items that are far from the speaker and may be far from the addressee.

- (38) a. proximal: *reya, areya, jareya, jariya, jiya, jajiya, jeh*
 b. distal: *rowa, arowa, juwa*

The forms *reya, areya, and jareya* ‘this’ and *rowa* and *arowa* ‘that’ are considered standard and are the preferred forms in the Eastern dialect. The forms *jiya* and *ajiya* ‘this’ and *juwa* ‘that’ are prevalent in the Western dialect from Pamekkesan westward. The form *jajiya* ‘this’ is reportedly a form used in Sumelep. Within the noun phrase, demonstratives follow the nouns that they identify, as is evident in a number of examples in earlier chapters and is clear in the following examples.

- (39) *Nyae ng-edhing badha salam jareya.*
 nyae AV-hear exist greeting this
 ‘Nyae heard the greeting.’
- (40) *K-oca'-eng badha kancil. Kancil jiya penter, odhi' neng alas.*
 KA-say-DEF exist deer deer this smart live in forest
 ‘Once there was a deer. The deer was clever, and lived in the forest.’
- (41) “*Ya, kerbuy pote juwa,*” *jawab Empo Kelleng.*
 yes bull white that answer Empo Kelleng
 “‘Well, that white buffalo,’ Empo Kelleng replied.’
- (42) *Saba' neng kamar adha' rowa Ebu'.*
 put at room front that mother
 ‘Put Mother in the front room.’

The selection of *jareya* in (39) and *jiya* in (40) is due to the fact that the nouns they specify are in the immediate discourse environment, thus they are ‘near’ the speaker, who is narrating the story. The selection of *juwa* in (41) and *rowa* in (42) are due to the fact that the entities referred to, *kerbuy pote* ‘white buffalo’ and *kamar ada'* ‘front room’ are distant from both the speaker and the addressee.

As discussed in Chapter 3 section 2.5 demonstratives frequently occur with proper nouns. The function of the demonstrative can be either to indicate that the referent is near to or far from the speaker (43) or in a discourse context to indicate that the specified referent is one that has been mentioned recently in the text (44).

- (43) *Hasan juwa noles sorat.*
 Hasan that AV.write letter
 ‘That Hasan wrote a letter.’

- (44) *La kalonta se a-nyama Tandha Serrat jiya dha' pong-kampung*
 already famous REL AV-name Tandha Serrat this to RED-village
neng seddi'-eng kampung Tonjung jiya.
 at beside-DEF village Tonjung this
 'Tandha Serrat was famous in the villages near Tonjung.'

Demonstratives can serve as deictic third person inanimate pronouns, as in (45) and (46).

- (45) *He, gampang jiya.*
 oh easy this
 'Oh, this is easy.'

- (46) A: *Na'kana' kamma se e-berri' pesse bi' Hasan?*
 RED-child which REL OV-give money by Hasan
 'Which child did Hasan give money to?'

B: *Rowa.*
 that
 'That one.'

In (45), *jiya*, the subject of the sentence, refers to a hypothesized action referred to in the immediately preceding sentence. In the dialogue in (46), *rowa* 'that' refers to a child being singled out among a group of two or more children.

And a demonstrative can serve as the head of a relative clause, as in (47).

- (47) *E-tanya'-agin, "Apa jiya se e-teggu' neng tanang-nga jiya?"*
 OV-ask-AGI what this REL OV-hold at hand-DEF this
 'She asked "What is this that you are holding in your hand?"'

In (47), *jiya* 'this' serves as the head of the relative clause *se eteggu' neng tanangnga jiya* 'that you are holding in your hand'. The examples in (45-47) illustrate that demonstratives used pronominally are able to head noun phrases.

It should be noted that speakers exercise some latitude in the selection of the demonstrative, the proximal often being used as a kind of default, particularly with proper names. For example, the sentence in (48) is one of the opening lines of a story, a sentence which introduces the setting and one of the main characters. Regardless, the proximal demonstrative is used.

- (48) *Lamba' k-oca'-eng dungeng neng Tonjung **jiya**, badha ana'-eng*
 before KA-say-DEF story at Tonjung this exist child-DEF
po-seppo-wa kampong se a-nyama Tandha Serrat.
 RED-old-DEF village REL AV-name Tandha Serrat
 'Long ago, they say, in Tonjung, there was a child in the village called
 Tandha Serrat.'

Similar to the contrasts in demonstratives, there is a two-way distinction in deictic locatives.

- (49) proximal: *dhinna', dhiya, dhinto, iya', jadhiya, kanja*
 distal: *dhissa, dhissa', issa, kassa*

The use of these is illustrated in (50-53)

- (50) *Bapa'-eng olle mole, ya tape ba'eng neng **dhinna'** gallu ya.*
 father-DEF get go.home, yes but you at here before yes
 'Your father can go home, but you must stay here.'
- (51) ***Iya'** neng Jaba temor otama-na, la bannya' noro' dha'*
 here at Java east mainly-DEF already many AV.follow to
Pangeran Cakranengrat kapeng empa'.
 Pangeran Cakranengrat ORD four
 'Most of the people in East Java support Pangeran Cakranengrat IV.'
- (52) *E **jadhiya** kennengngan juru konce narema tamoy.*
 at here place guide AV.receive guest
 'Here the guides receive the guests.'
- (53) *K-oca'-eng oreng **dhissa** lakar la iya k-oca'-eng.*
 KA-say-DEF person there real already yes KA-say-DEF
 'This is what the people there say.'

Finally, the form *gella'*, which is an adverbial meaning 'before' or 'recently', can be used demonstratively in noun phrases, identifying a referent that has been mentioned recently in the discourse. The sentence in (54) illustrates its adverbial use.

- (54) *Reng lake' entar ka Sorbaja **gella'**.*
 person male go to Surabaya before
 'The man went to Surabaya a while ago.'

In a noun phrase, *gella'* follows the head and indicates that the speaker is referring to an entity recently mentioned by speaker or addressee in the discourse. This is illustrated in (55), which is minimally different from (54), but crucially includes *gella'* as part of the NP and not as a clause-final verbal modifier.

- (55) *Reng lake' gella' entar ka Sorbaja.*
 person male before go to Surabaya
 'That man (we were talking about just now) went to Surabaya.'

The example in (56) shows the same usage, in this instances following a relative clause modifier of the head of the NP.

- (56) *Aher-ra reng-oreng Ambunten bi' saketarra padha mendem mayyit*
 end-DEF REF-person Ambunten with surround same bury corpse
se dhuwa' gella'.
 REL two before
 'Eventually the people of Ambunten and the surrounding area buried the two bodies.'

5. Possession

As described in Chapter 3 section 2.4, except for first person singular, which has a special pronominal form *tang/sang*, possession is typically indicated by the affixation of the definite suffix *-na* followed by a nominal denoting the possessor, which may be overt or null (when the referent is recoverable from the discourse context). The first person singular possessive pronoun is exemplified in (57), and other instances of possession marked in the NP are in (58) - (59).²

- (57) *Tang bapa' entar ka Bandung.*
 my father go to Bandung
 'My father went to Bandung.'
- (58) *Sengko' lo' maca buku-na ba'eng.*
 I not AV.read book-DEF you
 'I haven't read your book.'

² Speakers sometimes regularize first person possession, using *sengko'* 'I' with the definite suffix, giving forms such as *bapa'na senko'* 'my father'.

- (59) *Roma-na guru ce' raja-na.*
 house-DEF teacher very big-DEF
 'The teacher's house is very large.'

Except for the first person possessive pronoun, which precedes the possessed noun (57), possessors follow the noun they possess, as in (58), where *ba'eng* 'you' follows *buku* 'book', and (59), in which *guru* 'teacher' follows the head noun *roma* 'house'. In all instances of non-first person possession marked in an NP, the definite suffix is obligatory.

Clause level possessive constructions are treated in Chapter 6.

6. Quantifiers

The basic quantifier expressions of Madurese are:

- (60) *kabbi* 'all'
bannya 'many'
sabban 'each'
sakone 'a few'
dhiddhi 'a few'
banne 'no'
para 'all'
pan-barampan 'several'

Of these, only *pan-barampan* 'several' is derived, the reduplicated form of *barampa* 'how much/many' with the *-n* extension. Quantifiers precede or follow the noun they quantify. There are preferences depending on where the quantified noun phrase occurs in the sentence. There is a slight preference among some speakers for the quantifier *kabbi* 'all' to precede the noun it quantifies, regardless of where it occurs in the sentence.

- (61) *Kabbi mored lulus tes.*
 all student pass test
 'All the students passed the test.'
- (62) *Dhokter rowa mareksa kabbi na'-kana'.*
 doctor that AV.examine all RED-child
 'The doctor examined all the children.'

But it is perfectly acceptable for *kabbi* to follow the noun it quantifies, as in (63) and (64).

- (63) *Mored kabbi lulus tes.*
 student all pass test
 'All the students passed the test.'
- (64) *Dhokter rowa mareksa na'-kana' kabbi.*
 doctor that AV.examine RED-child all
 'The doctor examined all the children.'

Bannya' 'many' has a distribution similar to *kabbi*. So the following pairs of sentences are synonymous.

- (65) a. *Bannya' mored lulus tes.*
 many student pass test
 'Many students passed the test.'
- b. *Mored bannya' lulus tes.*
 student many pass test
 'Many students passed the test.'
- (66) a. *Ina maca bannya' ku-buku.*
 I AV.read many RED-book
 'Ina read a lot of books.'
- b. *Ina maca ku-buku bannya'.*
 I AV.read RED-book many
 'Ina read a lot of books.'

In the a-sentences *bannya'* precedes the noun it quantifies, *mored* 'student' in (65a) and *ku-buku* 'books' in (66a), and in the b-sentences it follows the quantified noun.

Other quantifiers show slightly different distributions. For example, *sakone'* 'a few' can both precede and follow the noun it quantifies when the quantified noun is the subject of the sentence. This is illustrated in (67).

- (67) a. *Sakone' mored noles sorat dha' presiden.*
 a.few student AV.write letter to president
 'A few students wrote letters to the president.'
- b. *Mored sakone' noles sorat dha' presiden.*
 student a.few AV.write letter to president
 'A few students wrote letters to the president.'

While there is a slight preference among some speakers for the variant in which

sakone' precedes *mored* 'student', (67a), both are considered fully acceptable and the sentences synonymous. However, when *sakone'* quantifies a postverbal NP, its position is more restricted. For all speakers, the quantifier can precede the nominal, as in (68).

- (68) *Siti maca sakone' buku.*
 Siti AV.read a.few book
 'Siti read a few books.'

When *sakone'* follows the nominal, for most speakers the interpretation changes.

- (69) *Siti maca buku sakone'.*
 Siti AV.read book a.few
 'Siti read a book a little.'

In (69), *sakone'* no longer simply quantifies the nominal but is interpreted as an adverbial modifying the action of reading a book. In this use, a pause between *buku* and *sakone'* often occurs. Despite this, there are also some speakers who consider (69) ambiguous between the meaning in (69) and that in (68). *Dhiddhi'*, a variant of *sakone'* used in Bangkalan and other parts of Western Madura, shows a similar distribution.

Pan-barampan 'several' again exhibits variation. For some speakers, *pan-barampan* can occur only in prenominal position, as in (70a).

- (70) a. *E-sare pan-barampan alas pas nemmo alas paleng raja*
 OV-seek RED-how.many forest then AV.find forest most big
neng Pamekasan.
 at Pamekasan
 'He searched many forests. Then he found the biggest forest in Pamekasan.'
- b. *%E-sare alas pan-barampan pas nemmo alas paleng raja*
 OV-seek forest RED-how.many then AV.find forest most big
neng Pamekasan.
 at Pamekasan
 'He searched many forests. Then he found the biggest forest in Pamekasan.'

Other speakers accept *pan-barampan* in post-nominal positions, (70b), to indicate additional emphasis.

Sabban 'each/every' and *banne* 'no' behave differently. The interpreta-

tion of *sabban* (and its short form *ban*) is different in pre-N position (where it means ‘each’) than it is in post-N position (where it means ‘previous’), as illustrated in (71) and (72).

- (71) a. *Sabban tokang e-berri' sajuta ropeya.*
 SABBAN worker OV-give one.million rupiah
 ‘Each worker was given one million rupiahs.’
- b. *Tokang sabban e-berri' sajuta ropeya.*
 worker SABBAN OV-give one.million rupiah
 ‘The previous worker was given one million rupiahs.’
- (72) a. *Na'-kana' e-pareska bi' sabban dhokter.*
 RED-child OV-examine by SABBAN doctor
 ‘Each doctor examined the children.’
- b. *Na'-kana' e-pareska bi' dhokter sabban.*
 RED-child OV-examine by doctor SABBAN
 ‘The previous doctor examined the children.’

As the examples illustrate, when *sabban* precedes the noun it modifies, as in *sabban tokang* ‘each worker’ and *sabban hadiya* ‘each gift’, it is interpreted as a quantifier. However, when following the noun, as in *tokang sabban* ‘previous worker’ and *hadia sabban* ‘previous gift’, it does not have a quantificational interpretation. *Sabban* also occurs in its reduplicated form, (73a). However, when it follows the noun and should have the interpretation of ‘previous’, reduplication is not possible (73b).

- (73) a. *Ban-sabban guru narema settong buku.*
 RED-each teacher AV.receive one book
 ‘Each teacher received one book.’
- b. **Guru ban-sabban narema settong buku.*

Banne has a more limited role as a quantifier. A negator for nominal predicates (see Chapter 3 section 1.1), it also serves some limited duty as a negative quantifier. Its role in this capacity is illustrated in (74). Note that some speakers reject the quantifier in post-nominal position (74b).

- (74) a. *Banne pang-lako se dhateng e kantor.*
 no NOM-work REL come at office
 ‘No worker came to the office.’

- b. %*Pang-lako banne se dhateng e kantor.*
 NOM-work no REL come at office
 ‘No worker came to the office.’

The preferred structure makes use of the negative existential *adha'*, illustrated in (75).

- (75) *Adha' pang-lako e kantor.*
 not.exist NOM-work at office
 ‘There are no workers in the office.’

In order to convey the notion of an indeterminate sized subset of a group, the derived quantificational expression *sabagiyān* ‘part’ is used. This formed from the root *bagi* ‘portion, share’ with the nominalizing suffix *-an* and the prefix *sa-* ‘one’. *Sabagiyān* most frequently occurs in prenominal position, as in (76) and (77a), but can also follow the noun it quantifies (77b).

- (76) *Sabagiyān mored-da Pa' Hadi bakal lulus tes.*
 part student-DEF Mr Hadi will pass test
 ‘Some of Pak Hadi’s students will pass the test.’

- (77) a. *Sabagiyān na'-kana' a-maen bal e lon-alon.*
 part RED-child AV-play ball at alun-alun
 ‘Some of the children played soccer in the alun-alun.’

- b. *Na'-kana' sabagiyān a-maen bal e lon-alon.*
 RED-child part AV-play ball at alun-alun
 ‘Some of the children played soccer in the alun-alun.’

At times *sabagiyān* occurs with *dhari* ‘from’, forming an explicit partitive construction.³

- (78) *Sabagiyān dhari buku-na Nabun jiya parlo e-pa-teppa'.*
 part from book-DEF Nabun this need OV-CS-right
 ‘Some of these books of Nabun’s need to be mended.’

It is possible to float the quantifier *kabbi* from the noun it quantifies, though no other quantifiers permit this.

³ Partitive constructions with numbers are described in the section that follows.

- (79) a. *Na'-kana' bine' entar kabbi dha' pasar.*
 RED-child female go all to market
 'The girls all went to the market.'
- b. *Na'-kana bine' entar dha pasar kabbi.*
 RED-child female go to market all
 'The girls all went to the market.'

In (79a), the quantifier *kabbi* 'all' occurs between the verb *entar* 'go' and the prepositional phrase *dha' pasar* 'to market', but quantifies the subject *na'-kana' bine'* 'girls'. In (79b), the quantifier occurs in clause-final position. Subjects most easily allow quantifier float, but some speakers also allow *kabbi* to float from non-subjects under some circumstances, as in (80), in which a clause-final *kabbi* quantifies the direct object *ku-buku* 'books'. Some speakers, however, do not find such sentences acceptable.

- (80) %*Siti ngerem ku-buku dha' kanca-na dhari Malang kabbi.*
 Siti AV.send RED-book to friend-DEF from Malang all
 'Siti sent all the books to her friend(s) from Malang.'

7. Numbers

The basic forms for numbers are given in Chapter 3 section 2.6. To review briefly, cardinal numbers have a full form, a short form generally used for counting, and a clitic form. The forms for 1-9 are given in (81).

(81)	full (citation form)	abbreviated	clitic
1	<i>settong</i> ⁴	<i>tong, sa'</i>	<i>sa</i>
2	<i>dhuwa'</i>	<i>wa'</i>	<i>dhu</i>
3	<i>tello'</i>	<i>lo'</i>	<i>tello</i>
4	<i>empa'</i>	<i>pa'</i>	<i>empa'/pa'</i>
5	<i>lema'</i>	<i>ma'</i>	<i>lema</i>
6	<i>ennem</i>	<i>nem</i>	<i>nem</i>
7	<i>petto'</i>	<i>to'</i>	<i>pettong</i>
8	<i>ballu'</i>	<i>lu'</i>	<i>ballung</i>
9	<i>sanga'</i>	<i>nga'</i>	<i>sangang</i>

Numbers generally precede the noun that they quantify, in which case they can

⁴ In the Western dialect, the form *sittong* also occurs and is preferred by many speakers.

occur in full or clitic form, as in (82).

- (82) *setlong roma* or *saroma* ‘one house’
dhuwa' buku or *dhu buku* ‘two books’
tello' guru or *tello guru* ‘three teachers’
empa' mored or *pa' mored* ‘four students’
lema buku or *lema buku* ‘five books’
ennem sorat or *nem sorat* ‘six letters’
petto' toronan or *pettong toronan* ‘seven generations’
ballu' liter or *ballung liter* ‘eight liters’
sanga' bulan or *sangang bulan* ‘nine months’

The numbers 1, 2, 4, and 6 have truncated clitic forms. And only the number 4 retains its final glottal stop as a clitic. The final glottal stop is dropped in all of the other numbers that have it. The final glottal stop in the citation forms and the abbreviated forms is what Stevens (1968) refers to as an ‘extension’, a minor morphological category of limited membership, which in this case has no effect on meaning but may be phonologically motivated. (See Chapter 4 section 3 for a discussion of extensions.) Unlike the numbers 3 and 5, the clitics of the numbers 7-9 include a velar nasal ligature. This ligature does not occur in other positions. While using either the full or clitic form preminally is fully acceptable, speakers generally use the clitic forms, particularly with 1 and 2.

Numbers can also follow the noun they modify, although this possibility varies among speakers. For some speakers, the number can follow the quantified noun without any modification. As in the examples in (83-85).

- (83) *Deni a-berri' buku lema' ka Tina.*
 Deni AV-give book five to Tina
 ‘Deni gave five books to Tina.’
- (84) *Bu' Atin melle po'lot petto'.*
 Mrs Atin AV.buy pencil seven
 ‘Bu Atin bought seven pencils.’
- (85) *Mored sagome' badha e kellas sateya.*
 student twenty-five exist at class now
 ‘Twenty-five students were in class today.’

Other speakers prefer for postnominal numbers to occur in reduplicated *Ca* form or with *ka-*. Thus, pairs such as the following are considered acceptable.

- (86) a. *Tello na-kana' berka' ka toko.*
 three RED-child run to store
 'Three children ran to the store.'
- b. *Na-kana' ta-tello' berka' ka toko.*
 RED-child RED-three run to store
 'Three children ran to the store.'
- (87) a. *Guru-na a-berri' bolpen dha' pettong mored.*
 teacher AV-give pen to seven student
 'The teacher gave pens to seven students.'
- b. *Guru-na a-berri' bolpen dha' mored pa-petto'.*
 teacher AV-give pen to student RED-seven
 'The teacher gave pens to seven students.'

The pairs of sentences in (86) and (87) are fully synonymous. In the a-variants, the numeral precedes the quantified noun, and in the b-variants, the reduplicated form of the numeral follows the quantified noun. Speakers report that the reduplicated form is principally used in the Eastern dialect area, although all speakers deem it fully acceptable.

The prefix *ka-* with the quantifying number indicates that the members of the set included in the quantification are considered a coherent group, treated as though a single entity. This is illustrated in (88) and (89).

- (88) a. *Mored-da maca ka-tello buku.*
 student-DEF AV.read KA-three book
 'The student read all three/the three books.'
- b. *Mored-da maca buku ka-tello'.*
 student-DEF AV.read book KA-three
 'The student read all three/the three books.'
- (89) a. *Pa' Karim a-berri' pesse dha' na'-kana' ka-dhuwa'.*
 Mr Karim AV-give money to RED-child KA-two
 'Pak Karim gave money to both boys.'
- b. *Ka-dhuwa na'-kana' e-berri' Pa' Karim pesse.*
 KA-two RED-child OV-give Mr Karim money
 'Pak Karim gave both kids money.'

The collective meaning can also be expressed by suffixing *-an* to the number, as in (90) and (91), which adds the notion that the group exhausts the set of possi-

ble members. In this construction, the numeral obligatorily follows the quantified noun.

- (90) *Na'-kana', tello'-an berka'*.
 RED-child three-AN run
 'All three children ran.'
- (91) *Mored dhuwa'-an e-berri' buku ban guru.*
 student two-AN OV-give book by teacher
 'Both students were given books by the teacher.'

Combining reduplication with the *-an* suffix also results in a collective, exhaustive interpretation.

- (92) *Mored maca buku la-lema'-an.*
 student AV. read book RED-five-AN
 'All five students read the book.'
- (93) *Dayat maca buku la-lema'-an.*
 Dayat AV. read book RED-five-AN
 'Dayat read the five books.'

In this instance the resulting number acts much like an adverbial quantifying over the whole action. As (92) shows, the most natural interpretation is that five students are doing the reading. In (93), it is that there are five books. Both instances require five acts of reading.

The same construction is possible with the structure *ka-Num-an*. As the following examples show, it is not necessary for the quantified noun to occur next to the quantificational adverb, but the adverb is interpreted as indicating a plural agent/actor. The structure in (94) is more characteristic of the Eastern dialect and is not widely accepted in the Western dialect.

- (94) a. *Ka-tello'-an sengko', Sinap ban Marlana maca sorat rowa.*
 KA-three-AN I Sinap and Marlana AV.read letter that
 'Sinap, Marlana and I all three read that letter together.'
- b. *Ka-tello'-an sorat rowa e-baca sengko', Sinap ban Marlana.*
 KA-three-AN letter that OV-read I Sinap and Marlana
 'Sinap, Marlana and I all three read that letter together.'
- (95) *Sengko' ngakan juko' ayam ka-dhuwa'-an ban Amie.*
 I AV.eat fish chicken KA-two-AN with Amie
 'I ate chicken together with Amie.'

In another, related structure, the number phrase is used as a secondary predicate, taking the object voice prefix *e-*, the prefix *ka-*, and the ‘locative’ suffix *-e*, schematically *e-ka-Num-e*. This collocation again indicates the number of entities involved in the activity, but this time does not commit the speaker to the proposition that they acted together as a group. Thus, alongside (95), there is the sentence in (96).

- (96) *Sengko' ngakan ajam e-ka-dhuwa-i ban Amie.*
 I AV.eat chicken OV-KA-two-E with Amie
 ‘Amie and I both ate the chicken.’

In (96), there is no requirement that Amie and I ate together—only that we both ate chicken. The lack of a requirement that there be collective action is highlighted in the following.

- (97) *Sarwo ban engko' maca buku e-ka-dhuwa-i/ka-dhuwa'-an. Sarwo*
 Sarwo and I AV.read book OV-KA-two-E/KA-two-AN Sarwo
maca bab settong sampe' tello', engko' bab empa' sampe' ennem.
 AV.read chapter one until three I chapter four until six
 ‘Sarwo and I both read the same book. Sarwo read chapters one through three and I read chapters four through six.’

While *ekadhuwai* and *kadhuwa'an* are both perfectly grammatical, the interpretation is different. With *ekadhuwai* the notion is that Sarwo and I acted independently; we may or may not have cooperated in dividing the task of reading the book. With *kadhuwa'an*, Sarwo and I are most likely acting cooperatively, perhaps dividing the task of reading. The example in (98), where *tello'* is the base, indicates that this structure is generalized to other numbers and is not unique to *dhuwa'* ‘two’.

- (98) *Sengko' entar ka Malang e-ka-tello-we bi' Toni ban Lukman.*
 I go to Malang OV-KA-three-E with Toni and Lukman
 ‘Toni, Lukman, and I all three went to Malang.’

Partitives are indicated in a number of different ways, largely subject to speaker variation. One manner is to use the *ka-* prefix together with some other specification of the set of entities being described. This is illustrated in (99–100).

- (99) *Mored ka-dhuwa jiya badha e kellas sateya.*
 student KA-two this exist at class now
 ‘Two of these students are in class today.’

- (100) *Na'-kana' bine' ka-lema rowa maca buku.*
 RED-child female KA-five that AV.read book
 'Five of those girls read the book.'

In both (99) and (100), the implication is that there are more students or girls in the sets under consideration than the number for whom the state of affairs is predicated. But in each case the set is delimited by a demonstrative, *jiya* 'this' or *rowa* 'that'. The set may also be delimited by a possessor (101).

- (101) a. *Ka-tello', mored-da Pa' Hadi ta' lulus tes.*
 KA-three student-DEF Mr Hadi not pass test
 'Three of Pak Hadi's students did not pass the test.'
- b. *Mored-da Pa' Hadi se ka-tello' ta' lulus tes.*
 student-DEF Mr Hadi REL KA-three not pass test
 'Three of Pak Hadi's students did not pass the test.'

In (101a), the possessor *Pa' Hadi* limits the set of students being considered. In (101b), the numeral occurs as a predicate in the relative clause *se katello'*. Partitives may be indicated prepositionally as well.

- (102) *Tello dhari mored-da Pa' Hadi ta' lulus tes.*
 three from student-DEF Mr Hadi not pass test
 'Three of Pak Hadi's students did not pass the test.'
- (103) *Dhuwa dhari/antara-na na'-kana' entar-a dha' upacara.*
 two from/between-DEF RED-child go-IRR to ceremony
 'Two of the children will go to the ceremony.'

Speakers use the preposition *dhari* 'from' or the prepositional *antarana* 'between' in the complement of the number.

Finally, the number may be modified by a degree adverb such as *coma* 'only' (104) or *para'* 'only' (105). In each case the degree modifier is placed immediately before the number.

- (104) *Coma dhuwa na'-kana' entar dha' sakola'-an.*
 only two RED-child go to school-NOM
 'Only two children went to school.'
- (105) *Para' pa-petto' mored-da Pa' Hadi bakal lulus tes.*
 only RED-seven student-DEF Mr Hadi will pass test
 'Only seven of Pak Hadi's students will pass the test.'

Ordinal numbers are formed in one of two ways. One is to use *ka-peng*, which marks ordinality, before the cardinal number, as in *kapeng settong* ‘first’, *kapeng dhuwa* ‘second’, and so on. This is illustrated in (106).

- (106) *Pangeran Cakranengrat kapeng dhuwa' jiya laen moso kai-na.*
 Pangeran Cakranengrat ORD two this different with father-DEF
 ‘Pangeran Cakranengrat II was different from his father.’

The other means of indicating ordinality is with a relative clause with the number taking the prefix *ka-* as predicate, as *se kasettong* ‘first’, *se kadhuwa* ‘second’, and so on. This is illustrated in (107).

- (107) *Sengko' maca buku se kadhuwa'.*
 I AV.read book REL KA.two
 ‘I read the second book.’

8. Measure phrases

Many noncount nouns require some unit of measurement in order to be discretely quantified or enumerated, in a way quite familiar from other languages. Thus particular nouns require particular types of measure expressions, as in (108-110).

- (108) *Sengko' parlo lema liter bensin.*
 I need five liter gasoline
 ‘I need five liters of gasoline.’
- (109) *Dayat ma-tadha' tello pereng nase' guring.*
 Dayat AV.CS-not.exist three plate rice fry
 ‘Dayat ate three plates of fried rice.’
- (110) *Karim la ngenom dhu cangker kopi.*
 Karim already AV-drink two cup coffee
 ‘Karim drank two cups of coffee.’

The mass nouns *bensin* ‘gasoline’, *nase* ‘rice’, and *kopi* ‘coffee’ require appropriate units of measure such as *liter* ‘liter’, *pereng* ‘plate’, and *cangker* ‘cup’ in order to be numerically quantified. In these examples the number and the unit of measure form a constituent that precedes the quantified noun. The measure phrase can also immediately follow the noun it quantifies, as in (111-113), fully synonymous counterparts of the sentences in (108-110).

- (111) *Sengko' parlo bensin lema liter.*
 I need gasoline five liter
 'I need five liters of gasoline.'
- (112) *Dayat ma-tadha' nase' guring tello pereng.*
 Dayat AV.CS-not.exist rice fry three plate
 'Dayat ate three plates of fried rice.'
- (113) *Karim la ngenom kopi dhu cangker.*
 Karim already AV-drink coffee two cup
 'Karim drank two cups of coffee.'

The fact that the number and unit of measure can follow the quantified noun and the number must immediately precede the measure expression provides some evidence that the number and the unit of measure noun form a constituent. The measure phrase behaves like other numerals and quantifiers in its ability to either precede or follow the quantified noun.

Naturally, count nouns can also occur with measure phrases, when the speaker wishes to specify particular units. Examples such as packets, boxes, truckloads, and the like.

- (114) *Bambang ngakan sabungkos/sabuntel kropok.*
 Bambang AV.eat one.packet cracker
 'Bambang ate a whole packet of crackers.'
- (115) *Sengko' melle po'lot dhu kothak.*
 I AV.buy pencil two box
 'I bought two boxes of pencils.'

Finally, *biggi'* 'seed' and *meggi'* 'seed' can both be used as a general measurement unit for small objects, (116) and (117). This construction is optional in Madurese but parallels the use of *biji* 'seed' as a classifier in Indonesian.

- (116) a. *Siti a-berri' buku lema meggi' dha' Sale.*
 Siti AV-give book five seed to Sale
 'Siti gave five books to Sale.'
- b. *Siti a-berri' lema meggi' buku dha' Sale.*
 Siti AV-give five seed book to Sale
 'Siti gave five books to Sale.'

- (117) a. *Kaka' ngakan geddhang pettong biggi'.*
 eld.brother AV.eat banana seven seed
 'Big Brother ate seven bananas.'
- b. *Kaka' ngakan pettong biggi' geddhang.*
 eld.brother AV.eat seven seed banana
 'Big Brother ate seven bananas.'

As with other number/unit of measure phrases, the phrase may either follow (116a) and (117a) or precede (116b) and (117b) the quantified noun.

9. Adjectival modification

Adjectival modification occurs in one of two ways. In one instance, a bare attributive adjective immediately follows the noun that it modifies, as (118-120).

- (118) *Koceng koros rowa ngeco' juko'.*
 cat thin that AV.steal fish
 'That skinny cat stole the fish.'
- (119) *Mored rowa maca buku tebbel.*
 student that AV.read book thick
 'The students read a thick book.'
- (120) *Ina melle bengko anyar.*
 I AV.buy house new
 'Ina bought a new house.'

Alternatively, adjectives can modify a head noun as the predicate of a relative clause, the relative clause following the head. The sentences in (121-123) are equivalent to (118-120), respectively.

- (121) *Koceng se koros rowa ngeco' juko'.*
 cat REL thin that AV.steal fish
 'That skinny cat stole the fish.'
- (122) *Mored rowa maca buku se tebbel.*
 student that AV.read book REL thick
 'The students read a thick book.'

(123) *Ina melle bengko se anyar.*

Ina AV.buy house REL new
 'Ina bought a new house.'

There is a preference for the relative clause construction for adjectival modification, though both methods are fully acceptable.

When more than one adjective modifies the same noun, the preferred structure is for the adjectives to be coordinately conjoined using *ban*, as in (124) and (125).

(124) *Bengko mera ban raja rowa ancor.*

house red and big that collapse
 'That big and red house collapsed.'

(125) *Embi' koros ban lapar rowa ngekke' Ale'.*

goat thin and hungry that AV.bite yngr.sibling
 'That skinny hungry goat bit Little Brother.'

Multiple adjectival modifiers can also occur as coordinately conjoined predicates in relative clauses, as in (126) and (127).

(126) *Ika ban Adi maca buku se tebbel ban mera.*

Ika and Adi AV.read book REL thick and red
 'Ika and Adi read the book that is thick and red.'

(127) *Siti a-caca bi' mored se penter ban gantheng.*

Siti AV-talk with student REL smart and handsome
 'Siti talked to the student who is smart and handsome.'

Additionally, some speakers allow the adjectives to be stacked, one right after the other, immediately following the noun, although it is rare and not a preferred structure.

(128) *Ika ban Adi maca buku tebbel mera rowa.*

Ika and Adi AV.read book thick red that
 'Ika and Adi read that thick red book.'

(129) *Koceng celleng koros juwa lo' tedhung.*

cat black thin that not sleep
 'The skinny black cat is not asleep.'

For the most part, modified adjectives are used predicatively rather than

attributively and usually occur in relative clause modifiers of nouns, as in (130b) and (131b).

- (130) a. *Aba' reya kodu ng-enom kopi cellep.*
 body this must AV-drink coffee cold
 'We had to drink cold coffee.'
- b. *Aba' reya kodu ng-enom kopi se ce' celleb-ba.*
 body this must AV-drink coffee REL very cold-DEF
 'We had to drink very cold coffee.'
- (131) a. *Embi' koros rowa ngekke' Ale'.*
 goat thin that AV.bite yngr.sibling
 'The skinny goat bit Little Brother.'
- b. *Embi' se koros gallu rowa ngekke' Ale'.*
 goat REL thin too that AV.bite yngr.sibling
 'The goat that is too skinny bit Little Brother.'

Adjectival modifiers in the intensive construction (131b) can only occur in relative clause modifiers; thus (132) is unacceptable.

- (132) **Embi' koros gallu rowa ngekke' Ale'.*
 goat thin too that AV.bite yngr.sibling
 (That too skinny goat bit Little Brother.)

Some, but not all, speakers accept intensive adjectives as attributive modifiers outside of relative clauses in which case they directly follow the modified noun, as in (133) and (134).

- (133) *Se laen mandhi, Empu Kelleng jiya ngobu kerbuy*
 REL different AV.iron.work Empu Kelleng this AV.raise buffalo
ce' bannya'-eng.
 very many-DEF
 'Besides doing iron work, Empu Kelleng raised a lot of buffalo.'
- (134) *Balanda jareya ce' gendhag-ga. Dha' man-kamman lako nompa*
 Dutch this very arrogant-DEF to RED-where do AV.ride horse
jaran celleng ce' tenggi-na.
 horse black very high-DEF
 'The Dutchman was very arrogant. He would ride wherever he wanted on his very tall black horse.'

In (134), the intensive adjective *ce' tenggina* 'very tall' is part of a sequence of adjectival modifiers.

10. Prepositional phrase modifiers

Prepositional phrase modifiers show some of the same properties as adjectival modifiers. Like adjectival modifiers they follow the noun in the noun phrase and can occur either as plain PP modifiers, as in (135a) and (136a), or as predicates in relative clause modifiers, as in (127b) and (136b).

(135) a. *Tang tamoy maca buku bab kopi.*
 my guest AV.read book about coffee
 'My guest read the book about coffee.'

b. *Tang tamoy maca buku se bab kopi.*
 my guest AV.read book REL about coffee
 'My guest read the book about coffee.'

(136) a. *Kana' dhari Kamal rowa mennang addu-wan.*⁵
 child from Kamal that won compete-NOM
 'That guy from Kamal won the game.'

b. *Kana' se dhari Kamal rowa mennang addu-wan.*
 child REL from Kamal that won compete-NOM
 'That guy from Kamal won the game.'

There is a strong preference for prepositional modifiers in relative clauses where otherwise ambiguity would result. So, the potential ambiguity of *e meja* 'at the table' in (137), where the PP could modify either the predicate or the noun *buku* is resolved by the use of the relative clause construction in (138). The strongly preferred interpretation of (137) is that of predicate modifier, as reflected in the translation.

(137) *Bambang maca buku e meja.*
 Bambang AV.read book at table
 'Bambang read the book at the table.' (indicating where Bambang read)

⁵The form *kana'* 'child', which has the *k* extension added to the root *ana'* 'child', often refers to a person not well-known to the speaker. In this use, illustrated in (136), it is best rendered in English as 'guy' or 'kid'.

- (138) *Bambang maca buku se e meja.*
 Bambang AV.read book REL at table
 ‘Bambang read the book that was on the table.’

PPs are examined in more detail in Chapter 8.

11. Nominalizations and clausal NPs

There are three types of nominalizations which act as heads of NPs in Madurese: result nominals, process nominals, and bare nominals. Result nominals are formed by suffixing *-an* to the stem form of a verb (see Chapter 4 section 1.2.2).

- (139) *Siti ngoto'-agi jawab-an dha' Ita.*
 Siti AV.whisper-AGI answer-NOM to Ita
 ‘Siti whispered the answer to Ita.’

- (140) *Aba'na a-bungkos sassa'-an kalaban koran.*
 he/she AV-wrap wash-NOM with newspaper
 ‘He/she wrapped the laundry in newspaper.’

The agent or actor of the action described by the result nominal occurs as the possessor of the NP headed by the result nominal, as in (141) and (142).

- (141) *Toles-an-na Kaka' ce' bagus-sa.*
 write-NOM-DEF eld.brother very good-DEF
 ‘Big Brother’s handwriting is very good.’

- (142) *Pate-na maleng rowa ma-ngennes ate.*
 die-DEF thief that AV.CS-disturb heart
 ‘The death of that thief touched one’s heart.’

Process nominals, those which describe the action of the verb stem, have the active form of the verb (including actor voice morphology where appropriate) as base. As shown in Chapter 4 section 1.2.7, process nominals occur with the definite suffix and the prefix *pa-*, as in (143) and (144).

- (143) *Pa-berka'-na Bapa' e-capok bi' Ale'.*
 NOM-run-DEF father OV-equal by yngr.sibling
 ‘Little Brother caught up with Father.’
 lit. ‘Father’s running was equalled by Little Brother.’

- (144) *Pa-noles-sa Kaka' laon.*
 NOM-AV.write-DEF eld.brother slow
 'Big Brother wrote slowly.'
 lit. 'Big Brother's writing was slow.'

Process nominals most frequently occur with overt agents, which like result nominals, occur as the possessor of the nominal, *Bapa'* in (143) and *kaka'* in (144). As shown in Chapter 4 section 1.2.1, some speakers allow the omission of the nominal prefix *pa-*. For these speakers (145) and (146) are acceptable variants of (143) and (144).

- (145) *Berka'-na Bapa' e-capok bi' Ale'.*
 run-DEF father OV-equal by yngr.sibling
 'Little Brother caught up with Father.'

- (146) *Noles-sa Kaka' laon.*
 AV.write-DEF eld.brother slow
 'Big Brother wrote slowly.'

The pairs of sentences in (147) and (148) illustrate the difference in the referents of result and process nominals.

- (147) a. *Massa'-an-na Diyah nyaman/*laon.*
 cook-NOM-DEF Diyah delicious/slow
 'Diyah's cooking is delicious.'

- b. *Pa-massa'-na Diyah laon/*nyaman.*
 NOM-cook-DEF Diyah slow/delicious
 'Diyah cooks slowly.'
 lit. 'Diyah's cooking is slow.'

- (148) a. *Pokol-an-na Ali kaja.*
 hit-NOM-DEF Ali strong
 'Ali's punches are strong.'

- b. *Pa-mokol-la Ali ceppet.*
 NOM-hit-DEF Ali fast
 'Ali punched rapidly.'
 lit. 'Ali's hitting was fast.'

As is clear from the translations, in the a-sentences the focus of the nominalization is the product or result of the activity. So with the verb *massa'* 'cook', the nominal *massa'an* denotes the result of the action of cooking, the dish or dishes

created by the agent, here Diah. Thus, only *nyaman* ‘delicious’ is an appropriate description; *laon* ‘slow’ is not. In (148), with the verb *pokol* ‘hit’, the nominal *pokolan* refers to the punches that Ali threw, the result of the action of hitting. In the b-sentences, the focus is on the activity itself and describing some property of the process. In each case, there is a description of the manner of the activity. In (147), with the nominal *pamassa'na*, the Diah's cooking is described as slow, which can only refer to the process of cooking and not the result; thus, *nyaman* ‘delicious’ is not a possible description. Likewise, in (148), it is the manner in which Ali hit which is the focus, *ceppat* ‘fast’, and not the result.

Although not particularly common, both result and process nominalizations can include objects as well as agents. When both are included, the object occurs following the agent as the object of the preposition *ka* or *dha'* ‘to’. This is illustrated in (149-152).

(149) *Kekke'-an-na burus ka Fauzan sara.*
 bite-NOM-DEF dog to Fauzan bad
 ‘The dog's biting of Fauzan was severe.’

(150) *Pa-massa'-na Diah ka juko' ce' loan-na.*
 NOM-cook-DEF Diah to fish very slow-DEF
 ‘Diah cooked the fish very slowly.’

(151) *Pa-ngrosag-ga Deni ka komputer ma-peggel Ina.*
 NOM-ruin-DEF Deni to computer AV.CS-angry Ina
 ‘Deni's breaking the computer made Ina angry.’

Additionally, result nominals (but not process nominals) can serve as modifiers of a head noun, in a type of relative clause or appositive construction, (152) and (153).

(152) *Bambang maca buku [toles-an-na Ita] juwa.*
 Bambang AV.read book write-NOM-DEF Ita that
 ‘Bambang read the book that Ita wrote.’

(153) *Na'-kana' ngakan juko' [massa'-an-na Diah].*
 RED-child AV.eat fish cook-NOM-DEF Diah
 ‘The kids ate the fish that Diah cooked.’

In (152), the result nominal and the agent *tolesanna Ita* modify the head *buku*, and in (153), the result nominal and agent *massa'anna Diah* modifies the head *juko'*. See Chapter 11 section 7 for a discussion of relative clauses.

Finally, clauses can simply serve as NPs without any additional morphol-

ogy. Largely, these are clauses without overt subjects, as in (154) and (155).

(154) *Maca buku-na ba'na se e-lako-ne Hosen.*
 AV.read book-DEF you REL OV-work-E Hosen
 'Reading your book is what Hosen is doing.'

(155) *Ngeco' motor jareya juba'.*
 AV.steal car this evil
 'Stealing a car is bad.'

12. Constituent order in NPs

While it is unusual in natural speech for an NP to include more than two or three elements aside from the head N, it is grammatically possible for many more to occur. Modifiers of the N occur in fairly regular positions, and the examples in previous sections illustrated the canonical position for these. However data in previous sections show that quantifiers and numbers can occur either before or after the head N. The canonical order of each modifier with respect to the head N is as in the following schema.

(156) Canonical order of head N and modifier
 N - demonstrative
 N - possessor (except for first person pronominal *tang/sang* - N)
 N - attributive adjective
 N - prepositional phrase
 N - relative clause
 Quant - N, N - Quant
 Num - N, N - Num

When there is more than one modifier, there are frequently options regarding their ordering. For example, an adjective most naturally follows a possessor but occurs as the predicate in a relative clause rather than as a bare attributive adjective.

(157) *Koceng-nga Nabun se koros ngeco' juko'.*
 cat-DEF Nabun REL thin AV.steal fish
 'Nabun's skinny cat stole the fish.'

(158) *Engko' melle bengko-na Hasan se laju.*
 I AV.buy house-DEF Hasan REL old
 'I bought Hasan's old house.'

In (157), the adjective *koros* ‘thin’, which modifies the head N *koceng* ‘cat’, follows the possessor *Nabun*. The same is true of the adjectival modifier *laju* ‘old’ and the possessor *Hasan* in (158). While rarer, the order N - Adj - Poss is possible as well.⁶

(159) *Koceng koros-sa Nabun ngeco' juko'*.
 cat thin-DEF Nabun AV.steal fish
 ‘Nabun’s skinny cat stole the fish.’

(160) *Engko' melle bengko laju-na Hasan*.
 I AV.buy house old-DEF Hasan
 ‘I bought Hasan’s old house.’

With the N - Adj - Poss order, the adjective takes the definite morpheme, resulting in *korossa* in (159) and *lajuna* in (160).

When there is more than a single adjectival modifier, the preferred structure is for the adjectives to follow the possessor in a relative clause (161a). Stacked (161b) or coordinated (161c) adjectives in pre-possessor position are ungrammatical.

(161) a. *Koceng-nga Nabun se koros ban lapar ngeco' juko'*.
 cat-DEF Nabun REL thin and hungry AV.steal fish
 ‘Nabun’s skinny hungry cat stole the fish.’
 lit. ‘Nabun’s cat that is skinny and hungry stole the fish.’

- b. **Koceng koros laparra Nabun ngeco' juko'*.
 c. **Koceng koros ban laparra Nabun ngeco' juko'*.

Although it is possible to have one adjective in pre-possessor position and another in a relative clause following the possessor (162), this is not a preferred structure, the preference being for (161a) in which both adjectives occur in the post-possessor relative clause.

(162) *Koceng koros-sa Nabun se lapar ngeco' juko'*.
 cat thin-DEF Nabun REL hungry AV.steal fish
 ‘Nabun’s skinny hungry cat stole the fish.’
 lit. ‘Nabun’s skinny cat that is hungry stole some fish.’

⁶ In (157) the relative clause *se koros* can also be interpreted as modifying *Nabun* resulting in the meaning ‘Skinny Nabun's cat stole the fish’. However, (158) does not yield a similar ambiguity because the adjective *laju* ‘old’ modifies things and not people. So, **Hasan se laju* is ill-formed as *laju* cannot refer to Hasan.

Modified adjectives obligatorily occur in a relative clause following the possessor, as in (163) where the modifier *koros gallu* ‘too skinny’ is grammatical when in the relative clause (163a) but ungrammatical when occurring between the noun and the possessor.

(163) a. *Koceng-nga Nabun se koros gallu ngeco' juko'.*
 cat-DEF Nabun REL thin too AV.steal fish
 ‘Nabun’s cat that is too skinny stole the fish.’

b. **Koceng koros gallu-na Nabun ngakan ngeco' juko'.*
 too-DEF

The ordering when the adjectival modifier is the predicate of a relative clause is expected because a relative clause modifier must follow the possessor of the head N (164) and (165). In the following examples, the relative clauses are set off in square brackets.

(164) *Embi'-na Budi [se ngekke' Ale'] e-pegá'.*
 goat-DEF Budi REL AV.bite yngr.sibling OV-catch
 ‘Budi’s goat that bit Little Brother was caught.’

(165) *Ebu maca sorad-da Ina [se dhateng ba'ari'].*
 mother AV.read letter-DEF Ina REL come yesterday
 ‘Mother read Ina’s letter that came yesterday.’

A possessor always precedes a PP, whether the PP modifies the head N directly (166a) and (167a) or as the predicate in a relative clause (166b) and (167b).

(166) a. *Hadi maca buku-na Bambang bab kopi.*
 Hadi AV.read book-DEF Bambang about coffee
 ‘Hadi read Bambang’s book about coffee.’

b. *Hadi maca bukuna Bambang se bab kopi.*
 Hadi AV.read book-DEF Bambang REL about coffee
 ‘Hadi read Bambang’s book about coffee.’

(167) a. *Mored-da Siti dhari Batam ce' penter-ra.*
 student-DEF Siti from Batam very smart-DEF
 ‘Siti’s student from Batam is very smart.’

b. *Mored-da Siti se dhari Batam ce' penter-ra.*
 student-DEF Siti REL from Batam very smart-DEF
 ‘Siti’s student from Batam is very smart.’

Most speakers prefer the variants with the relative clause.

When an adjective cooccurs with a demonstrative, the adjective can either precede or follow the demonstrative. When preceding the demonstrative, it can occur as a bare attributive or in a relative clause (168a) and (169a), indicated by the optionality of *se*. When following the demonstrative, the relative clause structure is obligatory (168b) and (169b).

(168) a. *Mored (se) penter rowa nerrossagi dha' sakola'-an se*
 student REL smart that AV.continue-AGI to school-NOM REL
lebbi tenggi.
 more high
 'That smart student is going to university.'

b. *Mored rowa se penter nerrossagi dha' sakola'an se*
 student that REL smart AV.continue-AGI to school-NOM REL
lebbi tenggi.
 more high
 'That smart student is going to university.'

(169) a. *Sengko' coma nyango gagaman (se) clannok reya.*
 I only AV.bring weapon REL curved this
 'I only brought this curved weapon.' (an *are'*, a scythe)

b. *Sengko' coma nyango gagaman reya se clannok.*
 I only AV.bring weapon this REL curved
 'I only brought this curved weapon.'

There are additional ordering possibilities with multiple adjectives and a demonstrative: both adjectives can occur as bare attributives preceding the demonstrative (170a), one bare attributive adjective and an adjective in a relative clause can precede the demonstrative (170b), and the adjectives can be conjoined and precede the demonstrative (optionally in a relative clause (170c).

(170) a. *Koceng celleng koros juwa lo' tedhung.*
 cat black thin that not sleep
 'The skinny black cat is not asleep.'

b. *Koceng celleng se koros juwa lo' tedhung.*
 cat black REL thin that not sleep
 'The skinny black cat is not asleep.'

- c. *Koceng (se) celleng ban koros juwa lo' tedhung.*
 cat REL black and thin that not sleep
 'The skinny black cat is not asleep.'

When one attributive adjective precedes the demonstrative and one in a relative follows (171a), and when the adjectives can occur as the conjoined predicate of a relative clause following the demonstrative (171b), the noun phrase is interpreted as denoting more than one cat.

- (171) a. *Koceng celleng juwa se koros lo' tedhung.*
 cat black that REL thin not sleep
 'The black cat that is skinny a not asleep.' (The others are awake)
- b. *Koceng juwa se celleng ban koros lo' tedhung.*
 cat that REL black and thin not sleep
 'The cats that are the skinny one and the thin one are not asleep.'

The possible orderings of the demonstrative and the relative clause containing adjectival predicates is expected as other types of relative clauses can either precede (172a) or follow (172b) the demonstrative when there is also an adjectival modifier.

- (172) a. *Ita ban Ina maca buku tebbel rowa se e-belli Syamsiah.*
 Ita and Ina AV.read book thick that REL OV-buy Syamsiah
 'Ita and Ina read those thick books that Syamsiah bought.'
- b. *Ita ban Ina maca buku tebbel se e-belli Syamsiah rowa .*
 Ita and Ina AV.read book thick REL OV-buy Syamsiah that
 'Ita and Ina read those thick books that Syamsiah bought.'

PP modifiers can either precede or follow the demonstrative, optionally occurring in a relative clause in either position.

- (173) a. *Kana' (se) dhari Sumennep rowa kennal ka Tina.*
 child REL from Sumennep that know to Tina
 'That kid from Sumennep knows Tina.'
- b. *Kana' rowa (se) dhari Sumennep, kennal ka Tina.*
 child that REL from Sumennep know to Tina
 'That kid from Sumennep knows Tina.'

In (173a) the prepositional phrase or relative clause precedes the demonstrative *rowa*, and in (173b) the same constituent follows *rowa*. The sentences in (174) provide additional examples.

- (174) a. *Sengko' la maca buku (se) bab basa Madura rowa.*
 I already AV.read book REL about language Madura that
 'I read that book about Madurese.'
- b. *Sengko' la maca buku rowa (se) bab basa Madura.*
 I already AV.read book that REL about language Madura
 'I read that book about Madurese.'

Having adjectival, PP, and demonstrative modifiers presents an array of possible combinations of orders. (Some speakers prefer to pause where there are commas in the following examples.)

- (175) a. *Mored penter dhari Batam rowa noles buku reya.*
 student smart from Batam that AV.write book this
 'That smart student from Batam wrote the book.'
- b. *Mored penter rowa, (se) dhari Batam noles buku reya.*
 student smart that REL from Batam AV.write book this
 'That smart student from Batam wrote the book.'
- c. *Mored dhari Batam se penter rowa noles buku reya.*
 student from Batam REL smart that AV.write book this
 'That smart student from Batam wrote the book.'
- d. *Mored rowa se penter bi' se dhari Batam noles buku reya.*
 student that REL smart and REL from Batam AV.write book this
 'That smart student from Batam wrote the book.'

In (175a) the order of elements in the NP is N (*mored* 'student'), adjective (*penter* 'smart'), PP (*dhari Batam* 'from Batam'), demonstrative (*rowa* 'that'). In (175b), the demonstrative precedes the PP, which optionally occurs in a relative clause (*se dhari Batam*). In (175c), the PP modifier directly follows the head N and precedes a relative clause containing the adjective (*se penter*), followed by the demonstrative. In (175d), the adjective and the PP occur in separate coordinated relative clauses (*se penter bi' se dhari Batam*) following the demonstrative. For some speakers, the structure in (175d) forces an interpretation of there being two different students, 'the one who is smart and the one who is from Batam'.

A number of other possible combinations of modifiers and their possible

orderings follow. In an NP containing PP and relative clause modifiers with a demonstrative, the relative clause usually follows the PP and precedes the demonstrative (176a). For some speakers the relative clause can follow the demonstrative (176b), but other speakers reject this structure, and for those who accept it, (176a) is preferred.

(176) a. *Ita ban Ina maca buku bab kopi se e-belli Syamsiah rowa.*
 Ita and Ina AV.read book about coffee REL OV-buy Syamsiah that
 ‘Ita and Ina read that book about coffee that Syamsiah bought.’

b. *%Ita ban Ina maca buku bab kopi rowa se e-belli Syamsiah.*
 Ita and Ina AV.read book about coffee that REL OV-buy Syamsiah
 ‘Ita and Ina read that book about coffee that Syamsiah bought.’

When the NP includes adjectival and PP modifiers, a possessor, and a demonstrative, there are a host of possibilities. The examples in (177) illustrate the structure when the option to have the adjective precede the possessor is taken. In this case the order N-Adj-Poss-PP-Dem is possible (177a), as is the order N-Adj-Poss-Dem-PP (177b).⁷

(177) a. *Sengko' a-temmo kanca tenggi-na Tina dhari Sumennep rowa.*
 I AV-meet friend tall-DEF Tina from Sumenep that
 ‘I met that tall friend of Tina’s from Sumenep.’

b. *Sengko' a-temmo kanca tenggi-na Tina rowa dhari Sumennep.*
 I AV-meet friend tall-DEF Tina that from Sumenep
 ‘I met that tall friend of Tina’s from Sumenep.’

With possessor NPs, numerals behave as expected, occurring in either NP-initial position (178a) or NP-final position (178b). As before, in NP-final position the numeral occurs in reduplicated form. The structure with the NP-initial numeral (178a) is preferred by speakers of the Western dialect; the NP-final reduplicated structure (178b) is commonly viewed as a structure used in the Eastern dialect.

(178) a. *Pettong mored-da Pa' Hadi bakal lulus tes.*
 seven student-DEF Mr Hadi will pass test
 ‘Pak Hadi’s seven students will pass the test.’

⁷ Some speakers reject these structures as having too much information packed into a single noun phrase and would use multiple sentences or phrases to convey the information.

- b. *Mored-da Pa' Hadi pa-petto' bakal lulus tes.*
 student-DEF Mr Hadi RED-seven will pass test
 'Pak Hadi's seven students will pass the test.'

When a modifier of the number is added, it occurs in NP-initial position, regardless of whether the number is in pre-N (179a) or post-N (179b) position. Since this is a partitive construction, the number obligatorily occurs in the reduplicated form. Again this is a structure characteristic of the Eastern dialect.⁸

- (179) a. *Para' pa-petto' mored-da Pa' Hadi bakal lulus tes.*
 only RED-seven student-DEF Mr Hadi will pass test
 'Only seven of Pak Hadi's students will pass the test.'
- b. *Para' mored-da Pa' Hadi pa-petto' bakal lulus tes.*
 only student-DEF Mr Hadi RED-seven will pass test
 'Only seven of Pak Hadi's students will pass the test.'

There are some restrictions on reduplication, adjectival modifiers and possession. First, as illustrated in section 2.1, either the head noun or an adjectival modifier can be reduplicated to indicate plurality.

- (180) a. *Red-mored penter rowa lulus tes.*
 RED-student smart that pass test
 'Those smart students passed the test.'
- b. *Mored (se) ter-penter rowa lulus tes.*
 student REL RED-smart that pass test
 'Those smart students passed the test.'

In (180a), the N head, *mored* 'student', is reduplicated, and in (180b), the modifier *penter* 'smart' is reduplicated. There is no difference in meaning. When there are multiple adjectives, only the head N can be reduplicated to indicate plurality.

⁸ In the Western dialect (179) would typically be expressed as in (179a) minus the reduplication of the number. So,

(i) *Para' petto' mored-da Pa' Hadi bakal lulus tes.*
 only seven student-DEF Mr Hadi will pass test
 'Only seven of Pak Hadi's students will pass the test.'

(180) a. *Ceng-koceng celleng koros juwa lo' tedhung.*
 RED-cat black thin that not sleep
 'Those skinny black cats are not asleep.'

b. **Koceng leng-celleng koros juwa lo' tedhung.*
 cat RED-black thin that not sleep
 (Those skinny black cats are not asleep.)

c. **Koceng celleng ros-koros juwa lo' tedhung.*
 cat black RED-thin that not sleep
 (Those skinny black cats are not asleep.)

In (180a), the noun, *koceng* 'cat' is reduplicated and the structure is grammatical. In (180b) it is the first adjective *celleng* 'black' is reduplicated and in (180c) the second one, *koros* 'thin', is, resulting in unacceptable sentences.

When there is a possessor in addition to an adjectival modifier, the dynamic changes somewhat. As (181) shows, unsurprisingly the head noun can be reduplicated.

(181) *Ceng-koceng koros-sa Nabun ngeco' juko'.*
 RED-cat thin-DEF Nabun AV.steal fish
 'Nabun's skinny cats stole some fish.'

However, pre-possessor attributive adjectives cannot be reduplicated.

(182) **Koceng ros-koros-sa Nabun ngeco' juko'.*
 cat RED-thin-DEF Nabun AV.steal fish
 (Nabun's skinny cats stole some fish.)

The sentence in (182) is unacceptable precisely because the pre-possessor modifier is reduplicated. The adjective may be reduplicated only if it is the predicate of a modifying relative clause, which necessarily follows the possessor.

(183) *Koceng-nga Nabun se ros-koros ngeco' juko'.*
 cat-DEF Nabun REL RED-thin AV.steal fish
 'Nabun's skinny cats stole some fish.'

Of course, the noun may be reduplicated and the adjective occur in a post-possessor relative clause with no change in meaning.

(184) *Ceng-koceng-nga Nabun se koros ngeco' juko'.*
 RED-cat-DEF Nabun REL thin AV.steal fish
 'Nabun's skinny cats stole some fish.'

Finally, although some of the data here have come from recorded speech, examples of NPs with more than one or two modifiers are relatively rare. However, the sentence in (185) includes a complex NP that includes two relative clauses.

- (185) *Mara, kana', sa-bagi-yan entar dha' penggir tase' [prao-na taretan*
 HORT kid one-part-NOM go to edge sea ship-DEF brother
se dhari Makassar se rosak reya] pa-teppa'!
 REL from Makassar REL ruined this CS-right
 'Come on, guys, some of you go to the coast to fix the damaged boat of
 our friend from Makassar!'

The NP, in square brackets, has the informal structure N - [Poss - Rel Cl₁] - Rel Cl₂ - Dem. The first relative clause (Rel Cl₁), *se dhari Makassar* 'who is from Makassar', modifies the possessor *taretan* 'brother/friend'. The second relative clause (Rel Cl₂), *se rosak* 'which is damaged', modifies the head N of the NP, *prao* 'ship'. Again, although such complex NPs are rare in spoken Madurese, it is clear from this example drawn from this oral narrative that they do occur in spontaneous speech.

Chapter 8

Prepositions and prepositional phrases

Simply speaking, a Madurese prepositional phrase minimally consists of a preposition (or preposition-like expression) and its complement NP. Madurese contains underived prepositions, preposition-like elements derived from verb and noun roots, and complex locative expressions. Each is presented in turn in sections 1-3. Verb-preposition combinations and prepositional marking of direct objects are discussed in section 4.

1. Basic prepositions

Madurese has a relatively small number of basic prepositions. All prepositions are transitive, so minimally a prepositional phrase must consist of a preposition and its object complement.

1.1. *e* and *neng* ‘at’

The prepositions *e* and *neng* denote static position at a location, basically translated as ‘at’, and are largely interchangeable. The use of these prepositions to denote physical locations is illustrated in (1-6). The PP appears in bold.

- (1) *Rina a-temmo Wati **e pasar**.*
Rina AV-meet Wati at market
‘Rina met Wati at the market.’
- (2) *Ke Pegke badha **e disa Lembung neng Lenteng, Sumennep**.*
Ke Pegke exist at town Lembung at Lenteng Sumenep
‘Ke Pegke was in the town of Lembung in Lenteng, Sumenep.’
- (3) *Ebu' **e kantor pos**.*
mother at office post
‘Mother is at the post office.’
- (4) *Rina a-temmo kanca-na **neng pasar**.*
Rina AV-meet friend-DEF at market
‘Rina met her friend at the market.’

- (5) *Neng Bangkalan neng Madura bara' badha Makam Aer Mata.*
 at Bangkalan at Madura west exist Makam Aer Mata
 'In Bangkalan, in western Madura, is Aer Mata Cemetery.'
- (6) *Kenneng-nga reh coma neng settong kenneng-ngan.*
 place-DEF EMPH only at one place-NOM
 'There is only one place you can find it.'
 lit. 'Its location is only at one place.'

As these data show, *e* and *neng* can be used in the same grammatical positions. In (1) and (4), both take the object *pasar* 'market' and denote the location 'at the market'. As described in Chapter 6 section 2, PPs headed by *e* or *neng* can act as the predicate of a clause. In (3), *e* heads the PP *e kantor pos* 'at the post office', denoting mother's location, and in (6) the PP predicate *neng settong kennengan* 'at one place' is headed by *neng*. *E* and *neng* can head PP modifiers of nouns, as described in Chapter 7 section 10, and illustrated in (7) and (8).

- (7) *Sorat e meja rowa e-toles Siti.*
 letter at table that OV-write Siti
 'Siti wrote the letter on the table.'
- (8) *Pate neng Sumennep teppa' jareya a-nyama Radin Puspa Negoro.*
 minister at Sumenep right this AV-name Radin Puspa Negoro
 'The chief minister of Sumenep at this time was named Radin Puspa Negoro.'

E and *neng* can take abstract nouns as complements and are frequently used in temporal expressions, as in the bolded PPs in (9-11).

- (9) *Dhaggi' careta-na Adi Poday moso Adi Roso jareya neng dungeng laen.*
 next story-DEF Adi Poday with Adi Roso this at story
 different
 'Later (I will tell) the story of Adi Poday and Adi Roso in a different story.'
- (10) *Taon se tapongkor reya mo'dul juma neng sa.kajja'.*
 year REL behind this arise only at short.time
 'Last year it showed up only for a short time.'

- (11) *E are-na sateya sengko' terro a-dungeng-a dungeng-nga Radin*
 at day-DEF now I want AV-story-IRR story-DEF Radin
Sagara.
 Sagara
 'Today I want to tell the story of Radin Sagara.'

1.2. *dha'* and *ka* 'to'

The prepositions that denote goals are *dha'* and *ka* 'to'. Like *e* and *neng*, they can be used interchangeably, as is evident in (12-17).

- (12) *Na'-kana' a-berka' dha' toko.*
 RED-child AV-run to store
 'The children ran to the store.'
- (13) *Bapa' a-berri' pesse dha' na'-kana' rowa.*
 father AV-give money to RED-child that
 'Father gave money to that child.'
- (14) *Engko' a-dungeng-a dha' ba'eng.*
 I AV-story-IRR to you
 'I will tell you a story.'
- (15) *Na'-kana' a-berka' ka toko.*
 RED-child AV-run to store
 'The children ran to the store.'
- (16) *Atin ngerem paket ka ebu'-na.*
 Atin AV.send package to mother-DEF
 'Atin sent a package to her mother.'
- (17) *Wati a-caca ka Hadi.*
 Wati AV-talk to Hadi
 'Wati talked to Hadi.'

As (12) and (15) show, *dha'* and *ka* can head PPs denoting the goal of physical movement, here running to the store, *dha'/ka toko*. In (13) and (16), *dha' na'-kana' rowa* 'to that child' and *ka ebu'na* 'to her mother' designate the goal argument of a three-place predicate of transference. And the sentences in (14) and (17) illustrate their use to designate the goal argument of verbs of communication, *dha' ba'eng* 'to you' and *ka Hadi* 'to Hadi', respectively.

Additionally, as is illustrated in section 4.1, *dha'/ka* mark the object in a

nominalization. Sections 4.2-3 describe specific conditions for their use marking the direct object of a clause.

1.3. *dhari* 'from'

Sources are principally indicated in PPs headed by *dhari* 'from', as in (18-21).

- (18) *Ale' ngerem paket dhari Lombok.*
 yngr.sibling AV.send package from Lombok
 'Little Brother sent a package from Lombok.'
- (19) *Aba'na toron dhari jaran.*
 he descend from horse
 'He got down from his horse.'
- (20) *Aba'na ngejjit dhari se tedhung.*
 she startled from REL sleep
 'She was startled from her sleep.'
- (21) *Ebu' gu'-onggu'an sakeng dhari senneng-nga.*
 mother RED-nod-IT on.account.of from happy-DEF
 'Mother kept nodding because of her happiness.'

In (18) and (19), the PP headed by *dhari* indicates a physical location, *Lombok* and *jaran* 'horse', respectively. The sentences in (20) and (21) illustrate the fact that *dhari* can take an abstract object, in (20) the headless relative clause *se tedhung* 'sleep' (literally, 'that which sleeps') and in (21) a nominalized form *sennengnga* 'her happiness'.

Dhari can also designate source groups, as in (22) and (23) where it is used in comparatives, and (24) where it is used in a partitive.

- (22) *Ke' Taji' e-berri' pesse lebbi dhari ca-kanca laen-na.*
 Ke' Taji' OV-give money more from RED-friend other-DEF
 'Ke' Taji' was given more money than his compatriots.'
- (23) *Ita jung senneng-an dhari Bambang.*
 Ita very happy-AN from Bambang
 'Ita is happier than Bambang.'
- (24) *Tello dhari mored-da Pa' Hasan ta' lulus tes.*
 three from student-DEF Mr Hasan not pass test
 'Three of Pak Hasan's students did not pass the test.'

1.4. *bi'* and *moso* 'with'

The two prepositions *bi'* and *moso* 'with' can be used to designate a variety of relations between an NP and the clause containing it. First, they can be used to mark comitatives (taking this to be a broad category including association of two or more entities), (25) and (26).¹

- (25) *Mangkana engko' keng wa'-dhuwa'-an bi' ba'eng.*
 therefore I only RED-two-AN with you
 'Therefore, it will only be the two of us.'
 lit. 'Therefore, I will only be two with you.'

- (26) *Ali saleng pokol so Hasan.*
 Ali DIST hit with Hasan
 'Ali and Hasan hit each other.'

In (26) *moso* occurs in its truncated form *so*. Second, *bi'/moso* can be used to mark instruments, as in (27) and (28).

- (27) *Ali ma-becce' sapedha motor-ra bi' obing.*
 Ali AV.CS-good motorcycle-DEF with screwdriver
 'Ali fixed his motorcycle with a screwdriver.'

- (28) *Hasan mowa' buwa-buwa so trek.*
 Hasan AV.transport RED-fruit with truck
 'Hasan transported the fruit with a truck.'

Third, just as instruments and agents take the same morphology in many languages, *bi'/moso* can also mark the agent in a clause with a verb in the object voice.

- (29) *Na'-kana' rowa e-berri' pesse bi' Bapa'.*
 RED-child that OV-give money by father
 'That child was given money by father.'

¹In addition to *bi'/moso*, the comitative/associative relationship can be expressed with the derived prepositions *kalaban/ban* (section 2.3) and with the collective adverbial *bareng* (Chapter 10), as in

- (i) *Jan gantheng bareng neka, Rato, ng-angguy diskap ka'dhinto.*
 more handsome together this king AV-use jacket this
 'I look more handsome with this, King, wearing this jacket.'

- (30) *Pate-na jiya e-olok moso rato gella'.*
 minister-DEF this OV-call by king before
 'The chief minister was summoned by the king.'

Fourth, *bi'* and *moso* can be used in PPs that function as adverbials.

- (31) *Juko' rowa e-massa' Tina bi' te-ngate.*
 fish that OV-cook Tina with RED-care
 'Tina cooked the fish carefully.'
- (32) *Moso akantha napa sakte-na, mon la ng-addheb-bi tombak*
 with like what sakti-DEF if already AV-face-LOC spear
Se Nanggala, bakal tebas-sa.
 Si Nanggala will misfortune-DEF
 'Regardless of his sakti, anyone who faces Si Nanggala will die.'
 lit. 'With any kind of superpower, if someone faces Si Nanggala,
 he will have misfortune.'

In (31), *bi' te-ngate* 'with care' is a manner adverbial describing how Tina cooked the fish. In (32), the PP functions as a sentence adverb, setting up a condition modifying the sentence. Fifth, *bi'* and *moso* are occasionally used in comparatives, as in (33) and (34), although acceptance varies among speakers.

- (33) *Rudi a-kowad-an bi' Deni.*
 Rudi AV-strong-AN with Deni
 'Rudi is stronger than Deni.'
- (34) *Bannya'an buku-na Ali padha so Bambang.*
 many-NOM book-DEF Ali same with Bambang
 'Ali has as many books as Bambang.'

Finally, both prepositions can be used to coordinate two nominals, which is an extension of their comitative use.

- (35) *Bambang bi' Ita melle buku.*
 Bambang and Ita AV.buy book
 'Bambang and Ita bought books.'
- (36) *Joko Tole moso raji-na Dewi Ratnadi a-jalan ka temor.*
 Joko Tole and wife-DEF Dewi Ratnadi AV-walk to east
 'Joko Tole and his wife Dewi Ratnadi walked to the east.'

The form *ban* ‘with’ has largely the same distribution as *bi*’ and *moso* and should be thought of as a class with them. However, at least historically, *ban* is a truncated form of the derived preposition *kalaban* ‘with’. Therefore, discussion of its use and distribution is held in abeyance until discussion of *kalaban* in section 2.3.

1.5. *sampe*’ and *gan* ‘until’

The lexical items *sampe*’ and *gan* ‘until’ specify that some endpoint or state has been reached. Although they denote the same basic meaning, their distribution differs slightly and use of *gan* is somewhat more limited than *sampe*’.

NP, PP, and clausal complements occur with *sampe*’. NP complements are largely temporal nouns. And in the temporal use of *sampe*’ the state of affairs predicated in the clause has held up to the point in time denoted by the temporal noun, as in (37) and (38).

(37) *Sampe’ sateya koca’eng gi’ badha.*
 until now said yet exist
 ‘It still exists today.’

(38) *Sampe’ pan-brampan are reng-oreng Makassar bi’ jaragan*
 until RED-how many day RED-person Makassar and owner
Makassar jareya badha neng disa Jangka.
 Makassar this exist at village Jangka
 ‘For several days the Makassarese people and their boss stayed in the village of Jangka.’

Sampe’ can also take non-temporal NP complements, as in (39).

(39) *Tokang jiya a-gabay kerres gantheng sampe’ barangka-na jiya.*
 worker this AV-make kris handsome until sheath-DEF this
 ‘The craftsman made a handsome kris with a sheath.’

Here *sampe*’ and its complement denote a notion of inclusion or completeness.

PP complements of *sampe*’ generally indicate a location that is the achieved endpoint of some movement, as in (40) and (41).

(40) *Ponggaba-na a-berka’ sampe’ dha’ Bang Selo.*
 staff-DEF AV-run until to Bang Selo
 ‘The staff person ran all the way to Bang Selo.’

- (41) *Gu-laggu aba'na noro' kerbuy pote sampe' ka tengnga alas.*
 RED-morning he AV.follow buffalo white until to center forest
 'The next morning he followed the albino bull deep into the forest.'

Non-locative PP complements, such as goal PPs headed by *dha'*, denote inclusion of the object in some group established in the sentence or discourse.

- (42) *Sampe' dha' reng-oreng kraton dibi', sampe' dha' pottra-na rato*
 until to RED-person kingdom self until to child-DEF king
Palembang jagan sake'.
 Palembang also sick
 'Even the royal family itself, even the king of Palembang's children,
 are sick.'

In (42), the object of the preposition *dha'* 'to', *reng-oreng kraton dibi'* 'the royal family itself' acts as an abstract location at the outer boundary of the group being discussed (the people who are ill); *pottrana rato Palembang* 'the king of Palembang's children' fulfills the same function in the second instance.

Clausal complements are also possible, *sampe'* functioning in this case like a subordinating conjunction, (43) and (44).

- (43) *Panas sampe' bu-tombu-wan se mate.*
 hot until RED-plant-AN REL die
 'It was so hot that the plants died.'
- (44) *Geddhang agung reya mo'dul sampe' a-buwa, sampe' baji'-eng*
 banana exalted this appear until AV-fruit until seed-DEF
geddhang-nga a-ga-gaggar-an.
 banana-DEF AV-RED-fall-AN
 'The geddhang agung appeared until it bore fruit, until the seeds of the
 banana dropped all around.'

The meaning of *gan* is similar to *sampe'*, but *gan* is more restricted in its distribution and use. Like *sampe'*, with a temporal NP complement the state of affairs predicated in the clause holds up to the point in time denoted by the temporal noun, as in (45), *gan sobbu* 'until dawn'. With a locative NP complement, it denotes the endpoint of motion, as in (46), where *gan labang buta* mean 'up to the main gate'.

- (45) *Aba'eng a-tari gan sobbu.*
 they AV-dance until dawn
 'They danced until dawn.'

- (46) *Dhapa' gan labang buta.*
 arrive until gate giant
 'He arrived at the main gate.'

The combination of *gan* and the locative noun *dhinna'* 'here' is generally used idiomatically to denote completion, that is arrival at the abstract endpoint of what is being described. In (47), *gan dhinna'* indicates that the end of the story has been reached.

- (47) *Gan dhinna' careta Aryo Mena' Senoyo.*
 until here story Aryo Mena' Senoyo
 'This is the story of Aryo Mena' Senoyo.'

Like *sampe'*, *gan* can take a clausal complement, again denoting completion and functioning as a subordinating conjunction.

- (48) *Ya ging-daging-nga e-kala' gan diddhi' e-kakan.*
 yes RED-meat-DEF OV-take until a.little OV-eat
 'The flesh was eaten little by little.'

At times *sampe'* and *gan* appear to modify the main predicate of the clause. It may be possible to analyze these as including abstract predication of the subject and *sampe'/gan* still act as subordinating conjunctions, but definitive evidence is lacking.

- (49) *Dhari sakte-na, sampe' lo' endha' e-parenta bi' rato Majapahit.*
 from sakti-DEF until not willing OV-command with king Majapahit
 'Because of his sakti (supernatural power), he was unwilling to obey the king of Majapahit.'

- (50) *Panyake' gella' jeh pas gan sakone' padha elang.*
 illness before this then until little.bit same disappear
 'The diseases gradually all disappeared.'

In (49), the PP modifier *dhari saketna* 'from his sakti' immediately precedes *sampe'*, which takes in its scope the predicate *endha'* 'be willing', and there is no other overt potential main predicate in the clause. In (50), *gan* takes in its scope the apparent main verb of the sentence, *elang* 'disappear'. Chapter 12 describes subordinating conjunctions that occasionally are used adverbially.

1.6. *akantha* ‘like’

Akantha ‘like’ and its variants *kantha*, *katha* and *kanthang*, as well as *kadi* generally take an NP complement and form a phrase comparing the complement to some dependent of the clause. This is illustrated in (51-54).

- (51) *Ajiya keng tandha' se e-dandan-e akantha pottre kraton.*
 this only dancer REL OV-dress up-E like princess palace
 ‘This was only a dancer dressed up like a princess.’
- (52) *Lamba' neng polo Poterran reya lo' ramme kantha sateya;*
 ago at island Poterran this not noisy like now
ce' seppe-na.
 very quiet-DEF
 ‘Long ago, on the island of Puteran it was not crowded and noisy like it is now. It was very very quiet.’
- (53) *Ba'eng banne tang ebu'. Tang ebu' raddin, lo' katha ba'eng .*
 you no my mother my mother pretty not like you
 ‘You are not my mother. My mother is pretty, not like you.’

The comparison may be relatively abstract, as in (54).

- (54) *Kantha se e-dungeng-agi engko' gella',...*
 like REL OV-story-AGI I before
 ‘Like I told you before,...’

Here, *kantha* takes as its complement the headless relative clause *se edungengagi engko' gella'* ‘that which I told before’, which sets up a comparison between what will be said now with what was said at a previous time. It is also possible for the complement to be a clause used as an NP, as in (55).

- (55) *Aba'na lo' andhi' pondu' akantha biyasana oreng muruk*
 he not have Islamic.school like usual person AV-advise
ng-ajih.
 AV-ajih
 ‘He did not have an Islamic school like people teaching Islamic customs usually do.’

2. Derived prepositions

A number of elements used prepositionally are derived forms of other lexical items. In some instances, although historically they are derived forms, they have become indivisible lexical items which have taken on special meanings. Most of the derivations include overt morphology, but in some cases only the root form of the verb or noun is used.

2.1. *kaangguy* ‘for’

Kaangguy is the resultive/abilitive form of *angguy* ‘use’, signaled by the *ka*-prefix. The sentences in (56) and (57) illustrate its use.

(56) *Atin melle-yagi manes-an kaangguy na'-kana'.*
 Atin AV.buy-AGI sweet-NOM for RED-child
 ‘Atin bought candy for the children.’

(57) *Kana' rowa moger kaju kaangguy tang rama.*
 guy that AV.chop wood for my father
 ‘That guy chopped wood for my father.’

The roots of this use of *kaangguy* are easily traced to the resultive/abilitive construction, an example of which is given in (58). (This structure is discussed in more detail in Chapter 9 section 6.1.)

(58) *Buku reya ka-baca (bi') Intan.*
 book this KA-read by Intan
 ‘This book can be read by Intan.’

The sentence in (58) asserts that the agent, here *Intan*, is capable of performing the action denoted by the predicate, here *baca* ‘read’, and this is predicated of the subject, here *buku* ‘book’. It might be conjectured that *kaju kaangguy tang rama* ‘wood for my father’ is a resultive/abilitive construction meaning something like ‘the wood can be/is to be used by my father’. There is little indication that this is the correct synchronic analysis, however. First, the object of the preposition *kaangguy* need not be the person or persons who will use the object; so it is possible to interpret (57) as ‘That guy chopped wood instead of my father (doing it)’. Thus, there is no sense of agentivity. Second, *kaju kaangguy tang rama* is not a constituent. Adverbs modifying the predicate can intervene between *kaju* and the PP, which would not be possible if it were a constituent.

And third, while the agent of the *ka*-form can optionally be the object of the preposition *bi* 'by' (or one of the other forms discussed above), as in (59a), the object of the preposition *kaangguy* cannot (59b).

- (59) a. *Buku jiya ka-angguy bi' Tina.*
 book this KA-use by Tina
 'This book can be read by Tina.'
- b. *Buku jiya e-melle-yagi Siti kaangguy (*bi') Tina.*
 book this OV-buy-AGI Siti for by Tina
 'Siti bought this book for Tina.'

Thus, while historically derived, *kaangguy* can be treated as a monomorphemic lexical item (as it is in Safioedin's (1977) dictionary and in grammatical expositions such as Moehilabib et al. 1979 and Soegianto et al. 1986).

2.2. *ngangguy* instrumental 'with'

Ngangguy is the actor voice form of *angguy* 'use' and is much more transparently a derived form. In fact, there may be little reason to consider it a prepositional inasmuch as the verbal form can quite naturally occur as a participial modifier like other verbs. However, it too has assumed a status almost independent from verbal use. The sentences in (60) and (61) illustrate.

- (60) *Marlena a-massa' juko'-eng ngangguy bajan.*
 Marlena AV-cook fish-DEF AV.use frying pan
 'Marlena cooked the fish using a frying pan.'
- (61) *Ali ma-becce' sapedha motor-ra ngangguy obing.*
 Ali AV.CS-good motor cycle-DEF AV.use screwdriver
 'Ali fixed the motorcycle with a screwdriver.'

The notion 'without' can be expressed with the negation of *ngangguy*, as in (62).

- (62) *Sengko' dujan tang nase' guring lo' ngangguy odhang.*
 I like my rice fried not AV.use shrimp
 'I like my fried rice without shrimp.'

2.3. *kalaban* and *ban* 'with'

Kalaban is the abilitive form of *laban* 'fight face-to-face'. Its distribution is

similar to that of the nearly synonymous *bi'* and *moso*, expanding slightly on the functions discussed in section 1.4.

First, PPs headed by *kalaban* serve a variety of instrumental and agentive-type functions include marking instruments (63), agents (64), abstract instrument/agent (65), and cause (66).

- (63) *Nabun mongkos sassa'-an kalaban koran.*
 Nabun AV.wrap wash-NOM with newspaper
 'Siti wrapped the laundry in newspaper.'
- (64) *Aba'na lo' kala kalaban satreya-satreya Mataram.*
 he not defeated by RED-knight Mataram
 'He wasn't defeated by other knights from Mataram.'
- (65) *Ya aher-ra kalaban ka-kowad-an-na sentana dhari Madura, Karta*
 yes end-DEF with NOM-strong-DEF soldier from Madura Karta
Sura bisa e-pa-kala.
 Sura can OV-CS-defeat
 'Finally, through the strength of the soldiers from Madura, Karta Sura could be conquered.'
- (66) *Kalaban dha' iya,tanto-na rato Majapahit pas laju a-rassa*
 with like.this certain-DEF king Majapahit then then AV-feel
ce' lebur-ra dha' kana'se kadhuwa'jareya.
 very like-DEF to kid REL two this
 'Because of this, the king of Majapahit came to like these two guys very much.'

In (63), *kalaban koran* 'with a newspaper' is a simple instrument, and in (64) *kalaban satreya-satreya Mataram* 'by Mataram knights' is an agent. In (65), *kakowadanna sentana dhari Madura* 'the strength of the Madurese soldiers' denotes an abstract agency or instrumentality. And in (66), *dha' iya* 'like this' refers to the state of affairs described in the previous sentence which brought about the current state of affairs.

In addition, as is true of *bi'* and *moso*, *kalaban* can head PPs that denote associative objects (67), can be used in adverbial PPs (68), and can coordinate two NPs (69).

- (67) *E-bagi dha' sodagar dhari Makassar jareya kalaban pessen,...*
 OV-give to trader from Makassar this with message
 'It was given to the trader from Makassar with the message...'

- (68) *Ba'ari' Ale' bine' a-rakora kalaban senneng.*
 yesterday yngr.sibling female AV-wash.dishes with happy
 'Yesterday Little Sister washed the dishes happily.'
- (69) *Toron-na Sarifah Ambami kalaban Pangeran Cakraningrat settong*
 down-DEF Sarifah Ambami with Pangeran Cakraningrat one
jareya terros bisa daddi rato neng Madura bara'.
 this continue can become king at Madura west
 'The descendents of Sarifah Ambami and Pangeran Cakraningrat I could
 continue to rule western Madura.'

Thus, PPs headed by *kalaban* minimally serve the same functions as *bi'* and *moso*.

The notion 'without' can also be realized using *kalaban* when the complement is a subjectless clause with the negated verb *andhi'* 'have'.

- (70) *Ba'na reya e-lahir-ragi engko' kalaban ta' andhi' emma'.*
 you this OV-birth-AGI I with not have father
 'I gave birth to you without a father.'

As mentioned in section 1.4, *kalaban* has a truncated form *ban*, which has much the same distribution as *kalaban*. Despite historically being a truncated form, *ban* is often treated separately in grammars and dictionaries and is perceived as a separate form that functions as a preposition and a conjunction. Like *kalaban*, however, it is used with comitatives (71) and comparatives (72). Additionally, some speakers (mainly younger ones) accept its use with instruments (73) and agents (74).

- (71) *Siti maca buku rowa ka-dhuwa'-an ban Marlana.*
 Siti AV.read book that KA-two-AN with Marlana
 'Siti read that book together with Marlana.'
- (72) *Gi' a-senneng-ngan Ita ban Bambang.*
 yet AV-happy-AN Ita with Bambang
 'Ita is happier than Bambang.'
- (73) *%Noni noles sorat ban bolpen.*
 Noni AV.write letter with pen
 'Noni wrote a letter with pen.'

- (74) %Rina e-pareksa **ban dhokter rowa**.
 Rina OV-examine by doctor that
 ‘Rina was examined by that doctor.’

Most frequently, though, *ban* is used as a coordinating conjunction (75-76). While use of *kalaban* as a conjunction is relatively rare, *ban* is used to coordinate both noun phrases and sentences (see Chapter 11 section 1).

- (75) *Ba'na kabbi ban sengko' kodu ng-oramat tamoy*.
 you all and I should AV-honor guest
 ‘You and I should respect our guests.’
- (76) *Sundari entar dha' Lombok ban Hanina entar dha' Bali*.
 Sundari go to Lombok and Hanina go to Bali
 ‘Sundari went to Lombok and Hanina went to Bali.’

2.4. *katembang* and *banding* ‘than’

Katembang is the resultive/abilitive form of *tembang* ‘be equal, compare’. It is used primarily to mark the object of comparison. The root *tembang* can also be used in this environment. This is illustrated in (77) and (78).

- (77) *Dini a-senneng-ngan katembang Lukfi*.
 Dini AV-happy-AN than Lukfi
 ‘Dini is happier than Lukfi.’
- (78) *Ina lebbi penter tembang Siti*.
 Ina more smart than Siti
 ‘Ina is smarter than Siti.’

Banding is a verbal root, which like *tembang* means ‘compare, equal’. It is also used in comparatives (79), and can optionally occur in the object voice form *ebanding*.

- (79) *A-kowad-an Rudi banding Sale*.
 AV-strong-AN Rudi compare Sale
 ‘Rudi is stronger than Sale.’
- (80) *Bannya'-an buku-na Tono ebanding Bambang*.
 many-NOM book-DEF Tono OV.compare Bambang
 ‘Tono has more books than Bambang.’

2.5. *lebat* ‘through’

Lebat, a verbal root which means ‘pass by/through’, and indicates the path of motion (80) or the conduit for some object of transference, which is also a path of motion (81).

- (80) *Nompa' jaran lor-nyellor lebat saba apa rowa.*
 AV.ride horse RED-AV.penetrate through field what that
 ‘He rode a horse, taking shortcuts through the fields.’
- (81) *Daddi engko' menta'a kerem-an lebat ba'na kakan-an.*
 so I AV.ask-IRR send-NOM via you eat-NOM
 ‘So I will ask that food be sent through you.’

2.6. *parkara* and *hal* ‘concerning’, ‘in regard to’

The lexical items *parkara* and *hal* are noun roots which are used prepositionally to denote ‘about, concerning, in regard to’. *Parkara* is a noun meaning ‘matter, question, business’, and *hal* is a noun meaning ‘case, situation, point’.

- (82) *Wati a-bukte-yagi parkara Bambang ka Hasan ja' aba'eng a-berri' pesse dha' Deni.*
 Wati AV-prove-AGI about Bambang to Hasan COMP he AV-give
 money to Deni
 ‘Wati proved about Bambang to Hasan that he gave money to Deni.’
- (83) *Atin a-koto' ka Satimma parkara guru.*
 Atin AV-whisper to Satimma about teacher
 ‘Atin whispered to Satimma about the teacher.’
- (84) *Guru-na yaken hal Dina ja' aba'eng bakal lulus ujiyan.*
 teacher-DEF sure about Dina COMP she will pass exam
 ‘The teacher is sure about the exam that Dina will pass it.’

2.7. *sabab/bab* ‘about’

Sabab is a noun root that means ‘cause, reason’. In its prepositional usage, the truncated form *bab* is more frequently used.

- (85) *Hasan maca buku bab kopi.*
 Hasan AV.read book about coffee
 ‘Hasan read a book about coffee.’

- (86) *Ali a-careta ka sengko' bab Sampang.*
 Ali AV-story to me about Sampang
 'Ali told me about Sampang.'

The use of *sabab* as a preposition parallels that *parkara* and *hal*. *Sabab* is also used as subordinating conjunction, as described in Chapter 12 section 3.2.

2.8. *sabellunna* 'before', *sa'ellana* 'after', *samarena* 'after'

The temporal expressions 'before' and 'after' are complex forms in Madurese. Each is composed of *sa* 'one' + root + *na* 'DEF': *sabellunna* 'before' is based on the root *bellun* 'not yet', *sa'ellana* 'after' is based on the root *ella* 'already' (perfective), and *samarena* (and its variant *samare*) is based on the root *mare* 'finish'. As will be shown in Chapter 9, *bellun*, *ella*, and *mare* are all preverbal auxiliary-type elements that mark aspect. Examples of their prepositional use are in (87-90).

- (87) *Nyo'on tolong dhateng sabellunna pokol ballu'.*
 AV.request help come before 8 o'clock
 'Please arrive before 8 o'clock.'
- (88) *Sabellunna taon 2001, a-jalan-an dha' Amerika lebbi gampang.*
 before year 2001 AV-travel-IT to America more easy
 'Before 2001, traveling to America was easier.'
- (89) *Aba'eng dhateng sa'ellana ngakan malem.*
 he come after dinner
 'He arrived after dinner.'
- (90) *Samarena pa-mele-yan, ekonomi sajan becce.'*
 after NOM-choose economy more good
 'After the elections, the economy improved.'

As is true of many other prepositions, *sabellunna*, *sa'ellana*, and *samarena* can take clausal complements and thus function as subordinating conjunctions. This use is detailed in Chapter 12.

3. Complex locative expressions

As is true of Indonesian, Javanese, and the other Indonesian-type languages, Madurese contains a set of locative nouns which combine with the basic loca-

tive prepositions to denote various locations, this in lieu of a large number of locative prepositions as found in many other languages. The set includes:

- (91) *adha* 'front'
antara 'between, gap'
attas 'top, above'
baba 'bottom, underneath'
budhi 'behind, back'
dhalem 'inside'
ereng 'side'
lowar 'outside'
seddi 'side'
semma 'close'

In the general case, these locative nouns combine with one of the basic locative prepositions *e/neng* 'at', *dha/ka* 'to', and *dhari* 'from'. And the complex prepositions or complex locative expressions largely take the following form:

- (92) locative P + locative N + *na* + object

The following illustrate the pattern:

- (93) a. *neng attas-sa meja* 'on the table'
 b. *e antara-na ku-buku juwa* 'between those books'

The locative noun + *na* + object actually constitute a possessive construction with the object as possessor. The parallel between the PPs in (93) and (94) is clear.

- (94) a. *neng bengko-na Bu' Yus* 'at Bu Yus's house'
 b. *e kantor-ra Bapa'* 'at father's office'

The complex locative expressions can thus be more literally translated as 'on the table's top' and 'at the those books' gap'. The examples in sentences (95-98) illustrate the same pattern.

- (95) *Neng adha'-eng langgar-ra jareya badha dampar bato.*
 at front-DEF langgar-DEF this exist sitting rock.
 'In front of the langgar (small mosque) was a rock for sitting.'

- (96) *Tang telpon badha neng baba-na dlubung juwa.*
 my telephone exist at underside-DEF paper that
 'My phone was under all those papers.'

- (97) *Hasan nyaba' motor-ra e seddi'-na roma-na.*
 Hasan AV.put car-DEF at side-DEF house-DEF
 'Hasan put the car next to the house.'
- (98) *Ale' a-sendem neng budhi-na ka'-bungka'an rowa.*
 yngr.sibling AV-hide at back-DEF RED-tree that
 'Little Brother is hiding behind that tree.'

There are exceptions to the general pattern, however. For example, *dha-lem* 'inside' and *lowar* 'outside' rarely take the definite suffix, although it is possible. Thus, there are well-formed sentences such as (99-102).

- (99) *Na'-ana'-na nyaba' maen-an-na ka dhalem kothak.*
 RED-child-DEF AV.put play-NOM-DEF to inside box
 'The children put their toys in the box.'
- (100) *Rato pas a-tanya dha' keyae jiya e dhalem mempe-na...*
 king then AV-ask to kiai this at inside dream-DEF
 'The king then asked the kiai in his dream...'
- (101) *Se bi' kai-na tao e-buwang dha' lowar Mataram iya*
 REL with father-DEF know OV-discard to outside Mataram yes
areya dha' Selon.
 this to Ceylon
 'He was banished from Mataram to Ceylon by his father.'
- (102) *Ng-edhing e lowar jareya cora' badha oreng a-tokar.*
 AV-hear at outside this like exist person AV-fight
 'Outside (of this) they heard the sound of people arguing.'

In the case of *dhalem*, the definite suffix is always an option. While with *lowar*, the definite suffix is only possible when the preposition *e* or *neng* (or *dha'* or *ka*) is used. In addition, the suffix is fully optional with the other locative nouns as well. Thus alongside (93a,b), while not preferred, (103a,b) are possible as well.

- (93) a. *neng attas-sa meja* 'on the table'
 b. *e antara-na ku-buku juwa* 'between those books'
- (103) a. *neng attas meja* 'on the table'
 b. *e antara ku-buku juwa* 'between those books'

This does not appear to be a question of formality but a question of style and usage.

Locative expressions may be used with abstract nouns as well as concrete nouns. In (104), the nominalized form of *pekker* ‘think (about)’ is the entity for which a location, *dhalem* ‘inside’ is being specified. In (105), the object is the abstract nominal *kasossa'an* ‘sadness’.

- (104) *Neng dhalem pekker-ra, Sarfiah Ambami jareya nyo'on dha'*
 at inside think-DEF Sarfiah Ambami this AV.ask to
Se Kobasa...
 Si Lord
 ‘During her meditation, Sarfiah Ambami asked the Lord...’

- (105) *Mon ra'yad-da dhalem ka-sossa'-an, Sarifah Ambami jareya gella'*
 if people-DEF inside NOM-sad Sarifah Ambami this before
gampang a-tolong.
 easy AV-help
 ‘If the people had problems, Sarifah Ambami gladly helped.’

In colloquial speech, the preposition preceding the locative noun is sometimes omitted as long as directionality or stativity plays no important role in interpreting the clause, that is, for those situations in which it is not important to indicate that the action is moving toward (*ka, dha'* ‘to’) or away from (*dhari* ‘from’) or is situated at (*e, neng* ‘at’) a particular location. This is true in (105), in which *dhalem* occurs without a locative preposition. In (106b) and (107b), concrete locations are specified, and speakers sometimes (especially younger speakers) use the structures without the locative preposition that appears in the a-variants. However, in direct questioning, there is a great deal of variation in regard to this and only the a-variants are universally accepted.

- (106) a. *Ita badha e dhalem kamar.*
 Ita exist at inside room
 ‘Ita is in the room.’

b. *%Ita badha dhalem kamar.*

- (107) a. *Buku-na ba'eng badha e baba-na meja.*
 book-DEF you exist at under-DEF table
 ‘Your book is under the table.’

b. *%Bukuna ba'eng badha babana meja.*

Finally, as is true of Indonesian-type languages in general, the locative

noun is omissible if the location described is the one canonically associated with the object. So, *attas* ‘top’ may be omitted with *meja* ‘table’ if the object described is ‘on the table’ as the top is where one expects to find things with tables. Any other location with respect to the table, such as ‘under’ obligatorily requires the locative noun. Likewise, *dhalem* ‘inside’ is the typical location associated with houses. (108) and (109) illustrate.

(108) *Aba'na nyaba' paket e meja.*
 she AV.put package at table
 ‘She put the package on the table.’

(109) *Ebu' badha neng roma.*
 mother exist at house
 ‘Mother is in the house.’

4. Prepositions in other environments

As touched on in Chapter 6 section 4.2, there are certain verbs which require that their objects occur in PPs and verbs that are optionally transitive. Additionally, in nominalizations and under other specific conditions the direct object of a clause occurs with the preposition *dha'* or *ka* ‘to’. These are considered in sections 4.1 and 4.2, respectively.

4.1. Verb preposition combinations

With the basic form of verbs of communication, the addressee is marked by the preposition *dha'/ka* ‘to’ or sometimes *bi'/so* ‘with’. These verbs include:

(110) *acareta* ‘tell’ (the root for ‘story’ in the actor voice), *bala* ‘say’, *bisi'* ‘whisper’, *caca* ‘talk’, *oca'* ‘say’, *penta* ‘ask’, *so'on* ‘ask’, *soro* ‘order’, *tanya* ‘ask’

Examples are in (111) and (112).

(111) *Hadi a-careta ka Deni bab ebu'-na.*
 Hadi AV-story to Deni about mother-DEF
 ‘Hadi told Deni about his mother.’

(112) *Bapa' a-caca bi' polisi.*
 father AV-talk with police
 ‘Father spoke with the police.’

A number of verbs denoting cognitive states in their base form take an object in a PP headed by *dha'* or *ka*.

- (113) *enga'* 'remember', *kennal* 'know', *loppa* 'forget', *ngarte* 'understand',
percaja 'believe', *tao* 'know', *yaken* 'sure'

As documented in Chapter 6 section 4.2, these verb-PP combinations are marked by the fact that the preposition is optional for many speakers (114b).

- (114) a. *Wati enga' dha' jawab-ba guru.*
 Wati remember to answer-DEF teacher
 'Wati remembered the teacher's answer.'

- b. %*Wati enga' jawab-ba guru.*
 Wati remember answer-DEF teacher
 'Wati remembered the teacher's answer.'

Most verbs denoting emotional states can take a PP object, generally headed by *dha'/ka*, but some take *bi'*. A partial list includes:

- (115) *baji'* 'hate', *bellis* 'hate', *busen (bi')* 'bored', *esto* 'love', *kasta* 'regret',
lebur 'happy with/about', *ledur* 'happy with/about' (Bangkalan),
neser 'pity', *peggel* 'angry', *senneng* 'happy', *sessel* 'regret',
tresna 'love', *tako'* 'afraid'

Of these, some are more clearly transitive than others, and as with the cognitive verbs, the object may occur without a preposition. Thus, within this set of verbs, *baji'* 'hate', *bellis* 'hate', *esto* 'love', *kasta* 'regret', *neser* 'pity', *sessel* 'regret', and *tresna* 'love' pattern more closely with the cognitive verbs, which can be attributed to being obligatory transitive. The possibility of preposition omission is illustrated in (116) and (117).

- (116) a. *Ika tako' ka lar-olar.*
 Ika afraid to RED-snake
 'Ika is afraid of snakes.'

- b. **Ika tako' lar-olar.*

- (117) a. *Lukfi baji' ka taretan-na.*
 Lukfi hate to brother-DEF
 'Lukfi hates his brother.'

- b. %*Lukfi baji' taretan-na.*

There is a variety of other verbs which take prepositional rather than bare objects, a few of which include: *campor moso* ‘mix with’, *congngo dha* ‘visit’, *pabine'e moso* ‘be married with’, *tabang dha* ‘chase’ and others.

4.2. Prepositional marking of direct objects

Under certain conditions, direct objects, which usually occur as unmarked NPs, occur in PPs headed by *dha/ka* ‘to’. Although nominalizations with overt direct objects are relatively rare, when they occur, the object takes the preposition.

(118) *Pa-mokol-la Jatim ka kaju sala.*
 NOM-AV.hit-DEF Jatim to wood wrong
 ‘Jatim’s hitting the wood was poorly executed.’

(119) *Pa-ngekke'-na burus ka Hosen kellet.*
 NOM-AV.bite-DEF dog to Hosen deep
 ‘The dog’s biting of Hosen was deep.’

(120) *Kekke'-an-na burus ka Hosen sara.*
 bite-NOM-DEF dog to Hosen bad
 ‘The dog’s biting of Hosen was bad.’

In the process nominal in (118), *pamokolla Jatim ka pettah* ‘Jatim’s hitting the bricks’, the object of *pokol* ‘hit’, *pettah* ‘brick’, which is normally a bare NP, is the object of the preposition *ka*. Likewise, in the result nominal in (120), *keke'anna burus ka Hosen* ‘the dog’s biting of Hosen’, the object *Hosen* occurs as the object of *ka*.

Another environment in which a direct object can occur in a PP with *dha/ka* as the head is when the object is split from its verb by the adverbial *keya* ‘too’. This is illustrated in the pairs in (121) and (122).

(121) a. *Rokip nenggu kanca-na keya.*
 Rokip AV.see friend-DEF too
 ‘Rokip visited her friends, too.’

b. *Rokip nenggu keya dha' kanca-na.*
 Rokip AV.see too to friend-DEF
 ‘Rokip visited her friends, too.’

(122) a. *Adi nambu' Ari bi' bato keya.*
 Adi AV.throw.at Ari with rock too
 ‘Adi hit Ari with a rock too.’

- b. *Adi nambu' keya dha' Ari bi' bato.*
 Adi AV.throw.at too to Ari with rock
 'Adi hit Ari with a rock too.'

In the a-sentences, the direct objects *kancana* 'her friends' and *Ari* occur as plain NPs immediately following the verb. In the b-sentences, where *keya* 'too' intervenes between verb and object, the object occurs with the preposition *dha'*. While many speakers accept both variants of such sentences, others do not, judging the b-sentences unacceptable.

More marginal than the case above, for some speakers direct objects can optionally be PP objects when the direct object of the clause represents one of a group of potential entities affected, as in (123) and (124).

- (123) %*Alwi mokol dha' Amir.*
 Alwi AV.hit to Amir
 'Alwi hit Amir (out of a group of possible people).'

- (124) %*Lukman maca dha' buku jiya.*
 Lukman AV.read to book this
 'Lukman read this book (instead of some other he might have).'

(123) and (124) differ minimally from structures in which the object is a bare NP, *Alwi mokol Amir* 'Alwi hit Amir' and *Lukman maca buku jiya* 'Lukman read this book', only asserting that there was a possible set of potential entities but these were the ones chosen. Again, this structure is considered marginal by some and completely ungrammatical by many.

The direct object is also marked by *ka* or *dha'* with transitive active involitives, as in (125) and (126), the latter of which is taken from Stevens 1968:133.

- (125) *Alwi ta-pokol ka/dha' Amir.*
 Alwi IN-hit to Amir
 'Alwi accidentally hit Amir.'
- (126) *Sengko' ta-ng-abas dha' Paman.*
 I IN-AV-see to uncle
 'I accidentally saw Uncle.'

Chapter 9

Verb phrases and verbal marking

This chapter focuses on the structure of the verb phrase and the inflectional morphology associated with verbal predicates. While most, if not all, of these features have been evident in illustrative examples in previous chapters, none has been examined in much detail. In addition to the verbal voice system detailed in section 1, manners of indicating mood and aspect are examined in sections 2-4, negation in section 5, and adversative, involitive, and abilitive VPs in section 6.

1. Voice

Far and away the most striking and unique feature of Western Austronesian languages is the morphological means for identifying on the verb the most prominent argument in a clause. In looking at Tagalog, Starosta (1986) refers to this as the ‘perpetual centre of the sentence’. This is illustrated in (1a,b). Each sentence makes use of the same verbal predicate and the same arguments, and the clauses are propositionally equivalent; however, (1a) has the agent precede the verb, which takes a nasal prefix, and (1b) has the object precede the verb, which takes the prefix *e-*.

(1) a. *Ale' noro' Ebu.*
 yngr.sibling AV.follow mother
 ‘Little Brother followed Mother.’

b. *Ebu e-toro' Ale'.*
 mother OV-follow yngr.sibling
 ‘Little Brother followed mother./Mother was followed by Little Brother.’

In (1a), the ‘perceptual centre’ is *Ale'* ‘Little Brother’ and in (1b) it is *Ebu* ‘mother’. This element has been alternately referred to as the subject, the topic, the focus, and the ‘trigger’ in various accounts of closely related languages. Here the term ‘subject’ will be employed as in many ways it is the most generally used and theory-neutral term that can be applied.

Formosan languages, Philippine languages, and Malagasy are widely recognized as having rich voice systems in which as many as 6 voices are posited, each with its identifying morphology. Generally only two distinct voices are posited for Indonesian languages, including Madurese, based largely on the

analysis of syntactically transitive verbs. One voice has been referred to in the literature as active, actor voice, actor focus, actor trigger and others. This voice is indicated by the morphology associated with verbs in canonical transitive clauses in which the agent is the subject, as in (1a). In opposition stands the passive, object voice, object focus, object trigger, and others indicated by the morphology associated with the same set of verbs in clauses in which an argument other than the agent is subject, as in (1b).

These pairs, illustrated again in (2), on the surface strongly resemble the active/passive opposition found in Western languages and many other languages of the world. (Specifically, the basic word order found in these clauses is identical to that in English.)

(2) a. *Bibbi' nenggu na'-kana'.*

aunt AV.watch RED-child
'Auntie watched the children.'

b. *Na'-kana' e-tenggu Bibbi'.*

RED-child OV-watch aunt
'Auntie watched the children./The children were watched by Auntie.'

1.1. Actor voice

The morphology associated with canonical transitive verbs with agentive subjects is referred to as 'actor voice'. This morphology takes two forms: (1) the nasal prefix *ng-* and its phonologically-conditioned variants, which it shares with Indonesian, Javanese, Sundanese, and other Indonesian languages; and (2) the prefix *a-*, which is unique to Madurese.

The nasal prefix is used with a large number of predicates. A very limited list is given in (3).

(3) Transitive verbs taking *ng-* actor voice morphology

root	actor voice
<i>enom</i> 'drink'	<i>ngenom</i>
<i>rosak</i> 'ruin'	<i>ngrosak</i>
<i>ladine</i> 'serve'	<i>ngladine</i> ¹
<i>baca</i> 'read'	<i>maca</i>
<i>toles</i> 'write'	<i>noles</i>

¹*ladine* is a derived form, *e* being the 'locative' suffix discussed at length in Chapter 10. What is more, *ngladine* is an alternate form of the more common form *aladine* 'serve', which takes the *a-* actor voice prefix discussed presently. Most of the few instances of *ng-l* are less common variants of forms with the *a-* prefix.

<i>kera</i> 'think'	<i>ngera</i>
<i>semprot</i> 'spray'	<i>nyemprot</i>

As described in Chapters 2 and 4 and clear in (3), the surface realization of the prefix is determined by the initial segment of the verb root to which it is affixed. When the initial segment is a vowel or liquid ([r] or [l]), the based form, the velar nasal *ng-* surfaces. Thus, *ngenom* 'drink', *ngrosak* 'ruin' and *ngladine* 'serve'.¹ Otherwise, a nasal that is basically homorganic with the initial consonant of the stem replaces that consonant; thus, *baca/maca* 'read', *toles/noles* 'write', *kerem/ngerem* 'send', and so on.²

The prefix *a-* is less widespread, but occurs with a sizable number of roots nonetheless.

(4) Transitive verbs taking *ng-* actor voice morphology

root	actor voice
<i>berri</i> 'give'	<i>aberri</i>
<i>temmo</i> 'meet'	<i>atemmo</i>
<i>gabay</i> 'make'	<i>agabay</i>
<i>jelling</i> 'look at'	<i>ajelling</i>
<i>sassa</i> 'wash'	<i>asassa</i>

One generalization that emerges is that to a significant degree, stems beginning with voiced and voiceless aspirated consonants take the prefix *a-*. This has been observed by Stevens (1968:87) and is amply illustrated in various grammatical sketches of Madurese and in textual material. The *a-* prefix at times surfaces as *an-* with individual lexical items, as in the case of *andaddiyagi* 'make become'; this seems to vary somewhat speaker to speaker. Stevens (1968) cites several examples.

There is a small number of stems that can take either prefix, with no apparent affect on meaning.

¹In many descriptions of Madurese and other Indonesian languages, the nasal actor voice prefix is given with an archisegment N-, to represent a general nasal consonant. However, archisegments are generally reserved for those instances in which the underlying form cannot be ascertained. Here, in neutral non-conditioning environments *ng-* occurs; thus, this is clearly the underlying form of this morpheme in Madurese (and other Indonesian languages).

²We must say 'basically' homorganic because the dental nasal is used with alveolar/retroflex stops and the palatal nasal rather than the dental nasal alternates with *s*.

- (5) Transitive verbs taking either *ng-* or *a-* actor voice morphology
- | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| root | actor voice |
| <i>kerem</i> 'send' | <i>ngerem</i> or <i>akerem</i> |
| <i>buketagi</i> 'prove' | <i>mokteagi</i> or <i>abukteagi</i> |
| <i>bukka</i> 'open' | <i>mokka</i> ' or <i>abukka</i> ' |
| <i>giba</i> 'bring' | <i>ngeba</i> or <i>agiba</i> |

Stevens (1968:91-95) provides a detailed listing of verb roots and the actor voice prefix associated with each.

Actor voice marking occurs obligatorily on verbs in syntactically transitive clauses when the highest ranking argument on a thematic hierarchy is selected. Typically, this is the agent, as in (6) and (7).

- (6) a. *Red-mored-da maca buku.*
 RED-student-DEF AV.read book
 'The students read a book.'
- b. **Red-moredda baca buku.*
- (7) a. *Red-mored rowa a-berri' buku dha' guru-na.*
 RED-student that AV-give book to teacher-DEF
 'Those students gave a book to their teacher.'
- b. **Red-mored rowa berri' buku dha' guruna.*

Note that absence of actor voice morphology renders the clause unacceptable, even in colloquial speech. Of course, not all verbs in syntactically transitive clauses have an agent argument. For example, verbs such as *katela* 'see' and *arte* 'understand', the highest ranking argument is an experiencer, yet actor voice morphology is still obligatory.

- (8) *Pangeran Mataram ngatela' Balanda, ngatela' tamoy-na pas nyander.*
 Pangeran Mataram AV.see Dutch AV.see guest-DEF then
 AV.confront
 'Pangeran Mataram saw the Dutchman, saw his guest, and confronted him.'
- (9) *Red-mored ta' ng-arte jawab-an-na guru.*
 RED-student not AV-understand answer-NOM-DEF teacher
 'The students do not understand the teacher's answer.'

Because it is not always an agent which is the highest-ranking argument, the term ‘actor’, coined by Benton (1971), has been generally adopted to describe the relevant argument.

However, it is more than just a linking of highest-ranking argument to the grammatical function subject that is indicated by actor voice morphology. There are intransitive clauses in which the verb does not take actor voice morphology even though the subject is an apparent agent *entar* ‘go’ (10) and *dhateng* ‘come’ (11) and other clauses with clearly non-volitive subjects in which verbs do take actor voice morphology, as in (12) and (13), in which the subjects are both experiencers.

- (10) *Hasan entar dha' Jakarta.*
 Hasan go to Jakarta
 ‘Hasan went to Jakarta.’
- (11) *Moy-tamoy-ya dhateng jam lema'.*
 RED-guest-DEF come hour five
 ‘The guests come at five o’clock.’
- (12) *Rina ng-esto-we Bambang.*
 Rina AV-love-E Bambang
 ‘Rina loves Bambang.’
- (13) *Mored rowa ng-yaken-ne jawab-ba.*
 student that AV-sure-E answer-DEF
 ‘That student is sure about the answer.’

These data indicate that some notion of transitivity is at least associated with the *ng-* prefix.³ The nature of the transitivity in (12) and (13) is discussed below in section 1.3.

1.1.1. Actor voice with intransitive roots

Actor voice morphology is not limited to the domain of transitive clauses, however. There is a class of intransitive verbs that (largely) obligatorily take actor voice marking. Verbs in this class, referred to as controlled dynamic intransitive verbs in Chapter 6 section 4.1, prototypically take an agentive subject. A partial list includes

³Chung (1976) glosses the Indonesian actor voice prefix as ‘TRANS’, indicating that transitivity played a role or was the sole meaning of *meng-*.

(14) Intransitive verbs with actor voice morphology

root	actor voice
<i>lako</i> 'work'	<i>alako</i>
<i>berka</i> 'run'	<i>aberka</i> '
<i>tare</i> 'dance'	<i>atare</i>
<i>abber</i> 'fly'	<i>ngabber</i>
<i>bala</i> 'say'	<i>abala</i>
<i>lonca</i> 'jump'	<i>alonca</i> '
<i>oca</i> 'say'	<i>ngoca</i> '
<i>maen</i> 'play'	<i>amaen</i>
<i>tangdang</i> 'dance'	<i>nangdang</i>
<i>rangka</i> 'creep'	<i>arangka</i> '

Notable in (14) is the fact that nearly all intransitives taking actor voice morphology take the *a-* prefix. A very small minority take *ng-*: *ngabber* 'fly', *nangdang* 'dance', *ngoca* 'say', and some others. Additionally, derived intransitive verbs almost exclusively take the *a-* prefix. These derived stems are illustrated in Chapter 4. Some examples include:

(15) Derived intransitive verbs with actor voice morphology

root	actor voice
<i>daftar</i> 'list'	<i>adaftar</i> 'register'
<i>bine</i> 'wife'	<i>abine</i> 'marry'
<i>saba</i> 'rice field'	<i>asaba</i> 'work a rice field'
<i>tane</i> 'farm'	<i>atane</i> 'farm'
<i>sakola</i> 'school'	<i>asakola</i> 'go to school'

Given the preponderance of *a-* with intransitive verbs, whether this prefix *a-* and the *a-* of transitive verbs is one and the same may be questioned. There is, after all, a great deal of homophony in the inventory of Madurese morphemes. The *a-* of intransitives is often associated with the intransitive active *ber-* of Indonesian. However, *a-* with intransitives and *a-* with transitives seem to have the same semantic ingredient of volitionality. There appears to be no notion of transitivity associated with it. Conversely, save for the few exceptional cases noted, as well as some additional instances, *ng-* has a strong association with transitivity. In fact nearly all syntactically transitive verbs derived from roots that take no voice morphology in normal usage take the *ng-* prefix, as in (16).

(16) Actor voice morphology with derived transitive verbs

root	actor voice
<i>entar</i> 'go'	<i>ngentare</i> 'go to'
<i>esto</i> 'love'	<i>ngestowe</i> 'love'

<i>tako'</i> 'afraid'	<i>nako'e</i> 'scare'
<i>busen</i> 'bored'	<i>mosenne</i> 'bored with'
<i>enga'</i> 'remember'	<i>ngenga'e</i> 'remember (tr)'
<i>gaggari</i> 'fall'	<i>ngaggari</i> 'fall on'
<i>tedhung</i> 'sleep'	<i>ngedhunge</i> 'sleep with'

Thus, despite the fact that both *a-* and *ng-* indicate actor voice, they are not semantically identical.

1.1.2. *The unaccusative/unergative split*

As suggested in Chapter 6 section 4.1, the distinction between those intransitive verbs requiring actor voice morphology and those that do not generally accords with the unergative/unaccusative distinction first proposed by Perlmutter and Postal (1984) and generally adopted in linguistic theory since. Although the correlation is imperfect, in general terms unergative predicates are cross-linguistically agentive/volitional and unaccusatives nonagentive/nonvolitional, the distribution found in Madurese. But the preciseness of this system appears challenged by a number of seemingly agentive verbs that take no voice morphology, verbs such as *buru* 'run', *dhapa'* 'arrive', *dhateng* 'come', *entar* 'go', *maso'* 'enter', *mole* 'go home', and others, two of which are illustrated in (17) and (18).

(17) *Maleng-nga maso' dha' roma-na Pa' Rahman.*
 thief-DEF enter to house-DEF Mr Rahman
 'The thief entered Pak Rahman's house.'

(18) *Atin mole jam petto'.*
 A go.home hour seven
 'Atin went home at seven o'clock.'

At first blush, this might appear to undermine the agentive/nonagentive distinction, which seems to correlate with the presence or absence of actor voice morphology on intransitives. However, as Arka (2003) points out for Balinese, in the main, those motion predicates which lack actor voice morphology are verbs of **directed** motion, e.g., 'come', 'go', rather than verbs of **manner** of motion, e.g., 'run', 'dance'. It has been suggested that directed motion predicates are unaccusative while manner of motion verbs are unergative (Hoekstra 1984, Levin and Hovav Rappaport 1995). If this is the correct analysis, then the seemingly exceptional verbs should be classified as unaccusatives, and the crucial factor is unergative vs. unaccusative rather than agentive/volitional vs. nonagen-

tive/nonvolitional.⁴ Thus, roughly speaking, unergative predicates in Madurese take actor voice morphology, while unaccusative predicates do not, as has been argued for Balinese (Arka 2003) and Javanese (Davies 1991).

1.2. Object voice

As stated above, object voice in Madurese indicates that some argument other than the actor of a transitive predicate has been selected as the subject in the clause. Object voice is invariably marked with the prefix *e-*, as in previous examples and (19) and (20).

(19) *Ale' e-kekke' embi' rowa.*
 yngr.sibling OV-bite goat that
 'That goat bit Little Brother.'

(20) *Maleng rowa e-tangkep polisi.*
 thief that OV-catch police
 'The police caught the thief.'

In (19) and (20), the agent of the clause *embi' rowa* 'that goat' and *polisi* 'the police', respectively, occurs in immediate postverbal position and is unmarked. The agent can optionally be expressed in a PP headed by *bi'*, *(mo)so*, *ban*, or *kalaban*, as described in Chapter 8 and exemplified in (21) and (22).

(21) *Ale' e-kekke' bi' embi' rowa.*
 yngr.sibling OV-bite by goat that
 'That goat bit Little Brother.'

(22) *Maleng rowa e-tangkep so polisi.*
 thief that OV-catch by police
 'The police caught the thief.'

The preposition adds little to the structure, as there is no identifiable grammatical difference between the pairs (19/21) and (20/22).⁵ The preposition becomes (nearly) obligatory if the agent is separated from the verb. Thus, (23b), which lacks the preposition is severely degraded (or completely unacceptable for many speakers), and (24b), with the agent in clause-initial position, is ungrammatical.

⁴ There is a large literature on the imperfect alignment of the unaccusative/unergative split and semantics.

⁵ This is apparently not the case for the analogues in Balinese (Arka 2003). See discussion below.

(23) a. *Ale' e-kekke' bari', bi' embi' rowa.*
 yngr.sibling OV-bite yesterday by goat that
 'That goat bit Little Brother yesterday.'

b. **Ale' ekekke' bari' embi' rowa.*

(24) a. *So polisi maleng rowa e-tangkep.*
 by police thief that OV-catch
 'The police caught the thief.'

b. **Polisi maleng rowa etangkep.*

As stated above in section 1, despite the fact that word order and grammatical relations seem to align this structure with passives in other languages, the functional load of object voice in Madurese (and other related languages) differs from passives in other languages. Similar to passive, object voice is often used when the agent is unspecified, as in (25).

(25) *Ale' e-kekke'.*
 yngr.sibling OV-bite
 'Little Brother was bitten.'

(26) *Maleng rowa e-tangkep.*
 thief that OV-catch
 'That thief was caught.'

But distributionally, the ratio of object voice structures in a discourse is far higher than the ratio of passives in the relevant languages. In Madurese narratives, approximately 50-60% of all voice marking on transitive predicates is object voice, as reported in Davies 2005 and discussed in more detail in Chapter 10 section 4. In English, the percentage is considerably smaller. For example, Blankenship (1962) reports that passive clauses made up only 7.8% of clauses in oral and 17.9% in written discourse; other reports based on experiment (Poole and Field 1976, Biber 1988) and casual observation (e.g. Quirk et al. 1985) also assert passive has a low frequency in English. And similar reports are available for other languages, e.g. Chinese (Xiao, McEnery and Qiang 2006). Additionally, in languages such as English, the percentage of passives clauses with overt agents is quite low: 13-20% of passives have an agent phrase (Svartik 1966, Duškova 1971, Givon 1979) and for German passives 17.8% has been reported (Stein 1979). For Madurese, 60-70% or more object voice clauses

have an overt agent or a discourse-linked null pronominal agent.⁶ Finally, it has been proposed that in certain narrative discourse, actor voice and object voice clauses play different functional roles: actor voice providing background information and object voice for advancing the plot line (see Hopper 1979 on Classical Malay, Davies 2005 on Madurese).

Added to this is the fact that some Indonesian languages, it has been proposed that object voice and passive are distinct structures. Arka (2003) identifies both object voice and passive in Balinese. According to Arka, object voice is indicated by lack of voice morphology (27) and passive by the suffix *-a* (28).⁷

(27) *Nyoman ejuk polisi.* Balinese
 Nyoman OV.arrest police
 'The police arrested Nyoman.'

(28) *Nyoman baang-a pipis teken Wayan.* Balinese
 Nyoman give-PASS money by Wayan
 'Nyoman was given money by Wayan.'

Additionally, the agent of the object voice in Balinese must be an unmarked NP (as in (27)) and is a core argument that can participate in a number of grammatical structures (e.g. quantifier float, topicalization, imperatives and others), while the agent in the passive is expressed in a PP (as in (28)) and is not a core argument and thus does not participate in other grammatical structures. Specifically, Arka shows that the agent in the object voice structure can antecedent a reflexive while the agent of a passive cannot.

The types of grammatical distinctions observable in Balinese do not exist in Madurese; that is, there is no discernable difference in the grammatical behavior of the agent when it is an NP and when it is the object of a PP. In particular, unlike Balinese, the agent of the Madurese object voice structure is able to bind a reflexive-like element.

(29) *Aba'na dibi' e-kennal-lagi (bi') Rika ka Evi.*
 herself OV-know-AGI by Rika to Evi
 'Rika introduced herself to Evi.'

(30) *Foto-na aba'eng dibi' e-jelling bi' Marlana.*
 photo-DEF herself OV-see by Marlana
 'Marlana looked at a photo of herself.'

⁶ Keenan and Manorohanta (2001) report a similar number for Malagasy (60%), as does Bell (1988) for Cebuano (49.3%).

⁷ The *-a* suffix marks passive in the low register. In the high register, there is a distinct passive prefix, *ka-*.

In (29), *aba'na dibi'* takes its reference from *Rika*, regardless of whether the preposition *bi'* occurs, and, in (30), the possessor *aba'na dibi'* takes its reference from the prepositional agent of the clause *bi' Marlana*. While this does not constitute definitive evidence, it is clear that the type of evidence available in Balinese is not available in Madurese.⁸ As is described in section 6, there is a resultive/abilitive structure with the prefix *ka-* in which a nonagent is subject, but this is quite distinct from the Balinese passive. However, to the extent that Madurese object voice aligns with the properties of Balinese object voice and not passive voice, this may provide an additional reason to not treat object voice as a passive. Thus, unless it serves to help elucidate the structure of a particular Madurese clause, object voice will be translated as an active rather than a passive.

1.3. Further manifestations of voice

As illustrated in section 1.1 examples (12) and (13), some verbs that take no voice morphology in basic usage can be made syntactically transitive and thus require voice morphology. Additional examples are (31b) and (32b).

(31) a. *Hasan entar dha' Bibbi'*.

Hasan go to aunt
'Hasan went to Auntie.'

b. *Hasan ng-entar-e Bibbi'*.

Hasan AV-go-E aunt
'Hasan went to (visited) Auntie.'

(32) a. *Red-more-da ta' yaken ka jawab-ba.*

RED-student-DEF not sure to answer-DEF
'The students are not sure of the answer.'

b. *Red-more-da ta' ng-yaken-e jawab-ba.*

RED-student-DEF not AV-sure-E answer-DEF
'The students are not sure of the answer.'

What distinguishes the a- and b-variants other than actor voice morphology is the suffix *-e* on the verbs in the b-variants and the syntactic change to a bare NP object rather than a PP object, *dha'* 'to' does not occur in (31b) nor *ka* 'to' in (32b). The status of this suffix is somewhat uncertain. Virtually all theoretical-

⁸ The same type of data from antecedence of reflexives is used as evidence for the status of the Indonesian *di-* structure is passive (Arka & Manning 1998; Cole, Hermon & Yanti 2008).

ly-informed analyses take the analysis of this suffix (as well as *-agi* below) to be an applicative morpheme, a morpheme that increases the syntactic valence of the predicate by introducing an additional argument or making a prepositional argument a more core NP argument.⁹ The suffixes are largely assumed **not** to be part of the voice system. There are some reasons for revisiting this view and perhaps considering *-e* and *-agi* part of the voice system to a limited extent. There are some similarities in the functions of the suffixes and voice morphology in Philippine languages and Malagasy. These will be detailed in Chapter 10 section 4, when the full range of uses of *-e* and *-agi* are taken up.

2. Irrealis mood

Like Javanese but unlike other closely-related Indonesian-type languages, Madurese has a verbal affix that signals irrealis mood. The suffix *-a* is used to denote unrealized actions, including the future. Without additional contextual specification, simple sentences with verbs marked for the irrealis are generally translated as future; so with no discourse specified time, the sentences in (33) and (34) are given future interpretations.

- (33) *Siti entar-a dha' Sorbaja.*
 Siti go-IRR to Surabaya
 'Siti will go to Surabaya.'

- (34) *Deni nompa'-a sapedha-na.*
 Deni AV.ride-IRR bicycle-DEF
 'Deni will ride his bicycle.'

When used with a past time adverbial, it denotes an unrealized action, though there may still be some doubt on the part of the speaker as to whether or not the action took place. For example, in (35), it may or may not be the case that Deni rode his bicycle yesterday.

- (35) *Deni nompa'-a sapedha-na ba'ari'.*
 Deni AV.ride-IRR bicycle-DEF yesterday
 'Deni was going to ride his bicycle yesterday (but probably didn't).'

⁹ *Core* arguments are those most closely associated with a predicate (such as subject and direct object) and occur with no syntactic or prepositional marking. See Foley and van Valin (1984:77-80). The term will be used here informally.

In sentences with the future modal verb *bakal*, the main verb often takes irrealis marking, as in (36) and (37), although this is not obligatory. *Bakal* is discussed more fully in section 4.

- (36) *Radin Puspo Negoro bakal ng-amog-a dhaggi' neng kanja, bakal*
 Radin Puspo Negoro will AV-amok-IRR next at here will
nyare-ya Bindara Sa'od.
 AV.seek-IRR Bindara Sa'od
 'Radin Puspo Negoro will go wild when he first gets here; he will look
 for Bindara Sa'od.'
- (37) *Oreng mon gendhak areh gu'-aggu' bakal olle-ya apes-sa*
 person if arrogant EMPH RED-tomorrow will get-IRR bad.luck-DEF
dibi'.
 self
 'An arrogant person will later on get his misfortune.'

The irrealis is also used to mark the conative, on verbs describing unsuccessful attempts to perform some action. For example, the sentences in (38) and (39) describe a scene in which the minister charged by the king with the task of killing the king's daughter (because of an inexplicable pregnancy).

- (38) *...moso pate jareya pas pottre gella' jiya e-pate-na.*
 with pate this then princess before this OV-dead-IRR
 '... the pate (minister) then tried to kill the princess.'
- (39) *E-kala' peddhang-nga pas e-sabed-dagin-a dha' le'er-ra pottre*
 OV-take sword-DEF then OV-swing-AGI-IRR to neck-DEF princess
gella'.
 before
 'Then he took his sword and swung it at the princess's neck.'

In (38), the verbal form *epatena* 'kill. IRR', indicates the minister is unsuccessful in his attempt, and (39) follows this up with an explanation of what happened. Here the irrealis marking on the verb makes clear that the sword did not complete the swing and behead the princess. Rather, the sword bounced off and fell to the ground, providing proof of the princess's innocence. Also, the irrealis sometimes occurs where there is overt negation, reinforcing the fact that the state of affairs was not realized (40), and occasionally the irrealis marker is the sole indication of negation in the sentence (41).

- (40) *Sajan peggel, sajan peggel, sampe' lo' tao entar-an pole dha' kraton*
 more angry more angry until not know go-IRR again to palace
kaangguy a-seba.
 for AV-face.
 'He got more and more angry until he didn't ever go to the palace again
 because he didn't want to face her.'
- (41) *Se ng-ako-wa rang-terrang-an a-rassa todhus dha' iya rato jiya.*
 REL AV-admit-IRR RED-clear-AN AV-feel embarrassed like.this king this
 'The king was embarrassed and did not want to admit this, to explain
 this.'

In (40), only the irrealis marking on *ngako* 'admit' signals negation, and in this instance clearly it is not a failed attempt, as in (38) and (39).

The irrealis occurs on predicates in complements of verbs of desire reinforcing that the state of affairs in the complement has not yet been realized.

- (42) *Engko' terro andhi'-a ana'.*
 I want have-IRR child
 'I want to have a child.'
- (43) *Aba'na ngarep Edi dhapa'-a are Sennen.*
 he AV.hope Edi arrive-IRR day Monday
 'He hopes Edi arrives on Monday.'

The semantics of *terro* 'want' and *arep* 'hope' include the proposition that the state of affairs in their complements has not yet come to pass, thus, irrealis marking. Other predicates in this set include *endha'* 'willing', *parlo* 'need', *kasoka'an* 'want to', *ngagna'* 'be about to', *janji* 'promise', and others. Much of the time, however, apart from *terro* and *ngarap*, irrealis marking is treated as optional in these complements.

The irrealis can generally be used in any instance of any unrealized action in embedding environments. It frequently occurs on purpose clauses with the subordinators *sopaja* 'so that' (44) and *kaangguy* 'for' (45).

- (44) *Ale' a-berri' buku ka Ebu' sopaja maca'-a.*
 yngr.sibling AV-give book to mother so that AV.read-IRR
 'Little brother gave the book to Mother so that she would read it.'
- (45) *Parlo-na dha'-adha'-eng keng kaangguy koca'-eng a-dagang-a.*
 need-DEF RED-front-DEF only for say-DEF AV-business-IRR
 'In the beginning they said it was only to do business.'

The irrealis is also often used to denote hypothetical situations.

- (46) *Badha pole geddhang jiya mon e-kakan-a kodu e-massa' gallu.*
 exist again banana this if OV-eat-IRR must OV-cook before
 'There are bananas that you must cook if you want to eat them.'
- (47) *Ba'eng nyajal-a senjata-na ba'eng jiya, lo' osa jajal-agi dha' tang*
 you AV-try-IRR weapon-DEF you this not need try-AGI to my
pongga.
 staff
 'If you want to try your weapon, you don't need to try with my aides.'

In (46), the irrealis form of 'eat', *ekakana* occurs in a clause introduced by the subordinator *mon* 'if', marking explicitly the hypothetical nature of the conditional. In (47), the clause including the irrealis form of *nyajala* 'try' is again interpreted as a hypothetical, but in this instance there is no other indication of this; the use of the irrealis is sufficient to convey this meaning.

Questions regarding a state of affairs in the present time, and those of the future, sometimes appear with irrealis marking.

- (48) *Taretan neng kinto' ba' badha'-a kampong?*
 brother at here Q exist-IRR village
 'Brother, is there a village near here?'

In (48), the existential predicate *badha* is marked irrealis, indicating the uncertainty about the possibility of a positive answer. In a similar vein, negatives sometimes occur with irrealis marking. The irrealis also optionally occurs on verbs modified by the adverbials *para'*, *laggi'*, and *ra'-dhara'* all of which can be translated as 'almost'.

- (49) *Mon para' dhapa'-a dha' ba'eng, buwang biggi-na temon gallu!*
 if almost arrive-IRR to you discard seed-DEF cucumber before
 'If he gets close to you, throw the cucumber seeds!'

In (49), the verb modified by *para'*, *dhapa'* 'arrive', carries the irrealis suffix.

Finally, the irrealis is often used in polite requests with, particularly with *so'on* 'request', (50), which, as described in Chapter 15, is a word with a connotation of respect toward the person of whom the request is made. It also occurs with *menta* 'request', a form without the connotation of respect, (51).

- (50) *Nyo'on-a a-tolong ka sengko'.*
 AV.request-IRR AV-help to me
 'Please, help me.'
- (51) *Bu' mongmong, engko' menta'-a tolong dha' kake.*
 mother nurse I AV.request-IRR help to you
 'Nurse, I ask you to please help me.'

3. Aspectual *-an*, *-e*, reduplication

Two types of aspect can be indicated by affixation or reduplication: iterative and imperfective.

There are a number of ways of indicating that an action or a state is iterated, that it occurs multiple times. The durative *-e* indicates an event that occurs multiples times in a single bounded time frame. This is illustrated in (52b) and (53b).

- (52) a. *Ali ban Hasan mokol maleng.*
 Ali and Hasan AV.hit thief
 'Ali and Hasan hit the thief.'
- b. *Ali ban Hasan mokol-e maleng.*
 Ali and Hasan AV.hit-DUR thief
 'Ali and Hasan repeatedly hit the thief.'
- (53) a. *Ebu' nobi' Marlana.*
 mother AV.pinch Marlana
 'Mother pinched Marlana.'
- b. *Ebu' nobi'-i Marlana.*
 mother AV.pinch-DUR Marlana
 'Mother kept pinching Marlana.' (trying to make her behave)

There is no overt indication in these examples that the hitting in (52b) and the pinching in (53b) are confined to a specific bounded time, but this is implicit in the interpretation. If a specific time frame is provided, the understanding is that at the end of that time frame the fairly continuous activity ceased. So, in (54), Rudi pursues the activity of cutting down trees for a full 2 hours.

- (54) *Rudi moger-ri ka'-bungka'an dhu jam.*
 Rudi AV.chop-DUR RED-tree two hour
 'Rudi cut down trees for 2 hours.'

The iterative suffix *-an* indicates multiple unbounded events. The event which is iterated is often interpreted as frequently happening or habitual, as in (55b) and (56b).

- (55) a. *Soleha noles sorat dha' Rohima.*
 Soleha AV.write letter to Rohima
 'Soleha wrote a letter to Rohima.'
- b. *Soleha noles-an sorat dha' Rohima.*
 Soleha AV.write-IT letter to Rohima
 'Soleha frequently writes letters to Rohima.' (or at least wrote more than one)
- (56) a. *Burus juwa ngekke' Ahmad.*
 dog that AV.-bite Ahmad
 'That dog bit Ahmad.'
- b. *Burus juwa ngekke'-an Ahmad.*
 dog that AV.-bite-IT Ahmad
 'That dog often bites Ahmad.'

When a time frame for the action is specified, it is not the case that the speaker asserts that the activity lasted the whole time.

As described in Chapter 5, multiple events can also be indicated by reduplication of the predicate, as in (57) and (58).

- (57) *Fatima a-rem-kerem buku ka ale'-na.*
 Fatima AV-RED-send book to yngr.sibling-DEF
 'Fatima sends books to her little sister.'
- (58) *Amir kol-nokol ng-angguy kaju.*
 Amir RED-AV.hammer AV-use wood
 'Amir hammers using a stick.'

Habitual iteration can also be indicated by reduplication (59), sometimes in combination with a verb such as *dujan* 'like' or *kadi* 'like' (60).

- (59) *Mon ca'-ng-oca' dha' oreng, ...*
 if RED-AV-say to person
 'Whenever he talked to people, ...'
- (60) *Ke Napo jiya paggun dujan a-ba-buruk ba-becce'-an.*
 Ke Napo this still like AV-RED-advice RED-good-AN
 'Ke Napo still liked to give good advice.'

Although the use of multiple suffixes is tightly restricted (see Chapter 4 section 2), the iterative suffixes can combine with the irrealis, as in (61) and (62). In the case of the durative, the special morphological rule applies, resulting in *ana* instead of *eya*.

- (61) *Ali mokol-a-na maleng.*
 Ali AV.hit-DUR-IRR thief
 'Ali will hit the thief for a while.'
- (62) *Bambang a-massa'-an-a.*
 Bambang AV-cook-IT-IRR
 'Bambang will like to cook.'

The iterative suffixes may not, however, co-occur with *-agi*.

- (63) a. *Rudi moger-ri ka'-bungka'an kaangguy Bapa'.*
 Rudi AV.chop-DUR RED-tree for father
 'Rudi chopped tree for a while for Father.'
- b. **Rudi moger-ragi'-i Bapa' ka'-bungka'an.*
- (64) a. *Hosen melle-yan permen kaanguy na'-kana'.*
 Hosen AV.buy-IT candy for RED-child
 'Hosen frequently buys candy for the kids.'
- b. **Hosen melle-yagi-yan na'-kana' permen.*

Finally, one means of signaling imperfective aspect is through reduplication, as in (65) and (66).

- (65) *Mon teppa'-na les-noles sengko', ja' olok!*
 if good-DEF RED-AV.write I don't call
 'If I am writing well, don't call me!'

- (66) *Sambi dang-tangdang*, ...
 while RED-dance
 ‘While he was dancing, ...’

4. Auxiliaries and adverbial tense, mood and aspect marking

There are a number of auxiliary-type words and particles that signal time, modality, and aspect. These auxiliaries and adverbs must occur in immediate pre-verbal position, separable from the verb only by other auxiliaries.

1. *bakal* ‘will’

Future time can be indicated with a temporal noun such as *laggu* ‘tomorrow’ (67) or with the auxiliary *bakal* ‘will’ (68) and (69).

- (67) *Bapa' mangkat ka Jember laggu'*.
 father leave to Jember tomorrow
 ‘Father leaves for Jember tomorrow.’

- (68) *Deni bakal nompa' sapedha-na*.
 Deni will AV.ride bicycle-DEF
 ‘Deni will ride his bicycle.’

- (69) *Dungeng se bakal e-dungeng-ngagin-a bi' engko' sateya reya iya*
 story REL will OV-story-BEN-IRR by me now this yes
areya dungeng Pa-rembi'-na Joko Tole.
 this story NOM-bear-DEF Joko Tole
 ‘The story that I will tell now is the story of the Birth of Joko Tole.’

The use of *bakal* indicates a greater certainty and imminence of the state of affairs than does using the irrealis suffix alone. Thus, the event of Deni riding his bicycle is more likely to take place in the nearer future in (68) than in (34).

- (34) *Deni nompa'-a sapedha-na*.
 Deni AV.ride-IRR bicycle-DEF
 ‘Deni will ride his bicycle.’

Additionally, as (69) illustrates, *bakal* can cooccur with a verb marked for irrealis, as in the relative clause *se bakal edungengngagina bi' engko' sateya*. This double marking denotes no difference in meaning. As shown below, future time can also be indicated using *kera* ‘guess’ as an auxiliary.

2. *bisa* ‘can’

The auxiliary *bisa* is an abilitive, indicating the capability of the subject to perform the action denoted by the verb, as in (70) and (71).

(70) *Sa'diyah bisa maca buku rowa.*
 Sa'diyah can AV.read book that
 ‘Sa'diyah can read that book.’

(71) *Mata-na Dewi Ratnadi bisa mella' pole, lo' buta pole.*
 eye-DEF Dewi Ratnadi can AV.open.eye again not blind again
 ‘And Dewi Ratnadi could open her eyes, and she was no longer blind.’

3. *gi'* ‘still, yet’

Gi' ‘still, yet’ is an adverbial that indicates that some state of affairs is still obtains or is in progress. Thus, it imperfective aspect, as when it modifies adjectival predicates, as in (72).

(72) *Mon gi' ngodha, barna-na biru.*
 if yet young color-DEF green
 ‘If it is still young, its color is green.’

With active verbs, *gi'* + verb has a progressive interpretation, as in (73) and (74).

(73) *Tang ana' gi' a-sapo kamar-ra.*
 my child yet AV-sweep room-DEF
 ‘My child is sweeping his room.’

(74) *Ebu polana gi' a-bajang, ta' kengeng Ebu nyambit.*
 mother because yet AV-pray not allowed mother AV.answer
 ‘Because mother was saying her prayers, she could not answer.’

As illustrated in section 3, imperfectivity can be denoted by reduplication. Additionally, use of the temporal noun *sateya* ‘now’ indicates that the state of affairs is true at the time of speaking, and is thus interpreted as progressive with active predicates, as in (75).

(75) *Tang ana' a-sapo kamar-ra sateya.*
 my child AV-sweep room-DEF now
 ‘My child sweeps/is sweeping his room now.’

4. *gi' buru* 'just completed'

The collocation *gi' buru*, literally, 'yet just (now)', is used to indicate that some state of affairs has just recently obtained.

(76) *Sa'diyah gi' buru dhateng.*
 Sa'diyah yet just arrive
 'Sa'diyah just arrived.'

(77) *Kerbuy bine' pote gella' gi' buru a-budhu'.*
 buffalo female white before yet just AV-child
 'The albino buffalo had just had a baby.'

In (76) *gi' buru* indicates that Siti has only recently arrived, and in (77) that the albino buffalo had just delivered. Although it typically occurs with *gi'* in this structure, it is also possible for *buru* to occur on its own with the same meaning. So, (78) is synonymous with (76).

(78) *Sa'diyah buru dhateng.*
 Sa'diyah just come
 'Sa'diyah just came.'

5. *gita', gilo'* 'not yet'

The collocation of *gi'* with the negative *ta'* or *lo'* indicates that the state of affairs described in the clause has yet to obtain. In this form, *gi'* cliticizes to the negative morpheme.

(79) *Sengko' gilo' maca buku juwa.*
 I not.yet AV.read book that
 'I haven't read that book yet.'

(80) *Presiden gita' dhapa'.*
 president not.yet arrive
 'The president hasn't arrived yet.'

6. *kera* 'think, guess'

As a main verb *kera* means 'think' or 'guess'. When used as an auxiliary, it denotes the future from some point in time established in the discourse.

- (81) *Marlena kera entar dha' Jakarta minggu adha'.*
 Marlena will go to Jakarta week front
 'Marlena will go to Jakarta next week.'
- (82) *Lo' kera kala bi' bangsa-na gondorowo, bi'ibi ban en-laen-na.*
 not will defeated by group-DEF devil demon and RED-other-DEF
 'They would not be defeated by a bunch of demons, devils, and so on.'

7. *kodu* 'must, should'

Obligation is denoted by the auxiliary *kodu* 'must, should', as illustrated in (83) and (84).

- (83) *Tanto-na lo' bisa kan a-langngoy, kodu nompa' prao.*
 certain-DEF not able EMPH AV-swim must AV.ride boat
 'Of course, they were not able to swim but had to take a boat.'
- (84) *Hasan kodu a-lako pole sateya.*
 Hasan should AV-work again now
 'Hasan should go back to work now.'

8. *(el)la* 'already'

The adverb *ella* 'already', most frequently used in the truncated form *la*, denotes perfectivity, that is, the state of affairs expressed in the clause has obtained, a state has been reached or an action completed.

- (85) *Sengko' la ngakan.*
 I already AV.eat
 'I have eaten.'
- (86) *Ke' Lesap bi' tentara-na la dhateng, nyambi gaman-na, nyerbu Bangkalan.*
 Ke' Lesap with troops-DEF already come AV.bring weapon-DEF
 AV.invade Bangkalan.
 'Ke' Lesap and his army arrived, bringing their weapons, and invaded Bangkalan.'

9. *mare* 'finish'

Perfectivity can also be denoted by the verb *mare* 'finish' when it precedes the principal predicate of the clause. The nature of *mare* makes it most compatible with active verbs. And so it typically denotes the completion of an action.

- (87) *Ita mare a-sassa klambi-na.*
 Ita finish AV-wash clothes-DEF
 ‘Ita has finished washing the clothes.’
- (88) *Dheng mare a-massa’ pas e-kakan, nyang-kennyang.*
 when finish AV-cook then OV-eat RED-full
 ‘When they were done cooking, they ate until they were full.’

Frequently, *la* and *mare* occur together, as in (89).

- (89) *Aher-ra seddheng la mare a-bajang, Nyae Nuriyam mukka’*
 end-DEF while already finish AV-pray nyae Nuriyam AV.open
labang.
 door
 ‘When she was finally done praying, Nyae Nuriyam opened the door.’

Although both *mare* and *la* can denote perfectivity, there is a subtle difference in their denotation. The following illustrate.

- (90) *Listrik-ka la mate.*
 electricity-DEF already die
 ‘The power has been off.’ (and likely still is)
- (91) *Listrik-ka mare mate.*
 electricity-DEF finish die
 ‘The power was off.’ (but it’s on now)

As noted in the parenthetical statements in the examples, use of *la* in the case of a stative predicate indicates that the state of affairs still obtains: (88) asserts that the state of the power being off has happened and likely it still the case. On the other hand, when *mare* is used in the same environment, the implication is different. Here the implication is that the state of the power being off has obtained, but that state has already finished; therefore, the power is back on, no longer off. This has interesting ramifications for the use of these morphemes with respect to the death of animate objects. As *mare* implies the completion of that state, and *la* admits for the continuation of the state, only *la* is compatible with *mate* when the subject is animate. Thus, (92) is grammatical with no special interpretation.

- (92) *Paman la mate.*
 uncle already die
 ‘Uncle has died.’

If *mare* is substituted, it implies a special situation in which the apparent death of a person has passed. It can be used in the case of a victim awakening from a coma.

- (93) *Paman mare mate.*
 uncle finish die
 ‘Uncle finished being dead.’ = ‘Uncle has come out of his coma.’

10. *masthe/pasthe* ‘must’

The fact that some state of affairs is likely to be true can be expressed by the modal *masthe/pasthe* ‘must’.

- (94) *Tang ana' **pasthe** buru. Otaba e-sambi oreng.*
 my child must run.away or OV-bring person
 ‘My children must have run away. Or they were kidnaped.’
- (95) *Oreng reya **masthe** badha apes-sa.*
 person this must exist misfortune-DEF
 ‘This person must have a weakness.’

11. *osa* ‘need’

Lack of necessity can be indicated by the verb *osa* ‘need’ in combination with the verbal negator *ta'* or *lo'*; *osa* functions solely as an auxiliary, as in (96) and (97).

- (96) *Lo' **osa** nyambi kerres koca'-eng.*
 not need AV.bring kris say-DEF
 ‘It is not necessary to bring a kris, they say.’
- (97) *Badha keya geddhangg jiya e-kakan lo' **osa** e-massa' gallu.*
 exist also banana this OV-eat not need OV-cook before
 ‘There are also bananas that do not need to be cooked before they are eaten.’

12. *parlo* ‘need’

The presence of necessity is indicated by the verb *parlo*, which can act as a main predicate or in an auxiliary function, as in (98) and (99).

- (98) *Siti parlo entar ka Jakarta.*
 Siti need go to Jakarta
 ‘Siti needs to go to Jakarta.’
- (99) *Koncer-ra jeh tajem se e-guna'-agi kalamon nyongke' rang-barang*
 tail-DEF this sharp REL OV-use-AGI if AV-hook RED-thing
se parlo e-congke'.
 REL need OV-hook
 ‘The tail was sharp and was used for prying things up that needed to be separated.’

13. *tao* ‘know’

The main verb *tao* ‘know’ can be used as an auxiliary to indicate past time. It is largely used to refer to a non-immediate past time. It can be translated as ‘ever’ but need not occur in the scope of negation.

- (100) *Engko' lamba' tao a-dungeng dha' ba'eng kabbi rato Mekksasan*
 I before know AV-story to you all king Pamekasan
se a-nyama Panembahan Ronggo Suka Wati.
 REL AV-name Panembahan Ronggo Suka Wati
 ‘Once I told you the story of the king of Pamekasan who was named Panembahan Ronggo Suka Wati.’
- (101) *Pangeran Koneng se bi' kai-na tao e-buwang dha' lowar*
 Pangeran Koneng REL by father-DEF know OV-discard to outside
Mataram.
 Mataram.
 ‘Pangeran Koneng was once banished from Mataram by his father.’

5. Negation

As described in Chapter 3 section 1, verbs are negated by means of the preverbal negative clitic *ta'* or *lo'*, the latter used in the Western dialect area, illustrated in (102) and (103).

- (102) *Hasan ta' mokol Bambang.*
 Hasan not AV.hit Bambang
 ‘Hasan didn’t hit Bambang.’

- (103) *Deni lo' ngarte jawab-an.*
 Deni not understand answer-NOM
 'Deni doesn't understand the answer.'

Negative imperatives are formed with the particle (*n*)*ja'*.

- (104) *Ja' entar dha' Jakarta!*
 don't go to Jakarta
 'Don't go to Jakarta!'

- (105) *Ja' dhak-gendhak!*
 don't RED-arrogant
 'Don't be arrogant!'

Although the auxiliaries described in section 4 are largely mutually exclusive, negation can naturally cooccur with them. And in all cases, the negative particle precedes the auxiliary element, as in (106) and (107).

- (106) *Red-mored-da ta' bisa maca buku reya.*
 RED-student-DEF not can AV.read book this
 'The students can't read this book.'

- (107) *Ali lo' kodu mokol ale'-eng.*
 Ali not must AV.hit yngr.sibling-DEF
 'Ali mustn't hit his little brother.'

As described in Chapter 10 section 3, the position of the negative particle is somewhat flexible in causative constructions. In (108), it occurs in preverbal position (108a), prior to the verb but following object voice morphology (108b), or following the causative morpheme (108c).

- (108) a. *Ali lo' e-pa-lako bi' jaragan-na.*¹¹
 Ali not OV-CS.AV-work by boss-DEF
 'His boss didn't let Ali work.'
- b. *Ali e-lo'-pa-lako bi- jaragan-na.*
 Ali OV-not-CS.AV-work by boss-DEF
 'His boss didn't let Ali work.'

¹¹ The actor voice prefix *a-* and the causative morpheme *pa-* coalesce when contiguous in (106a,b). The full form of the morphemes emerges in (106c) where the interpolation of *lo'* prevents the coalescence.

- c. *Ali e-pa-lo'-a-lako bi' jaragan-na.*
 Ali OV-CS-not-AV-work by boss-DEF
 'His boss didn't let Ali work.'

6. Additional voice constructions

There are three primary additional voice constructions, each of which is a non-actor voice as the subject for each is non-agentive. These include the result/abilitive, the involitive, and the adversative constructions, detailed in sections 6.1-3, respectively.

6.1. Result/abilitive *ka-*

As described in Chapter 4 section 1.1.5, the prefix *ka-* derives verbs denoting an realized, result, or potential state, which is more or less specifically potential or resultant depending on the type of stem. Because its uses are difficult to capture in a single term, it is simply glossed KA in examples. Affixed to verb stems, *ka-* derives a kind of positive potential or abilitive, taking a subject which is the theme of the verb stem, as in (109) and (110).

- (109) *Buku rowa ka-baca tang ale'.*
 book that KA-read my yngr.sibling
 'That book can be read by my little sister.'

- (110) *Ja'reng buwa-na mandhap,ka-petek bi' na'-kana'.*
 because fruit-DEF low KA-hold by RED-child
 'Because the fruit is low, children can pick it.'

In (109), the subject of the clause, *buku rowa* 'that book', bears the theme relation to the verb stem *baca* 'read', and the verb predicates of the subject the property of being readable, at least to my little sister. In (110), the predicate indicates that the fruit hangs so low that children are able to pick it..

With nominal stems, *ka-* still denotes an abilitive but it is instrumental in nature such that the subject can be used to perform the function of the predicate, as in (111) and (112).

- (111) *Tale juwa ka-sabbu bi' Pa' Amie.*
 rope that KA-belt by Mr Amie
 'That rope can be used as a belt by Pak Amie.'

- (112) *Pappa jareya ka-dungket Emba.*
 stem this KA-cane grandparent
 ‘Grandfather used this stick as a cane.’

The clause in (111) asserts that Pak Amie can (or did if in the past) use the rope as he does not have a belt, while that in (112) indicates that Grandfather used a branch as a substitute for his cane. In these instances, actor voice can be prefixed to the *ka* prefix to derive an active transitive clause, as in (113) and (114). The active denotes that the potential has been realized and the action has taken place

- (113) *Pa' Amie nga-sabbu' tale juwa.*
 Mr Amie AV.KA-belt rope that
 ‘Pak Amie used that rope as a belt.’
- (114) *Emba nga-dungket pappa jareya.*
 grandparent AV.KA-cane stem this
 ‘Grandfather used this stick as a cane.’

Further, *ka* can be used with adjectival predicates to denote inchoatives or accomplished states.

- (115) *Embuk ka-peggel.*
 eld.sister KA-angry
 ‘Big Sister got angry.’
- (116) *Ale' ka-potek.*
 yngr.sibling KA-restless
 ‘Little Brother got restless.’

Ka- is often added to transitivized stative predicates in the object voice, as in (117c) and (118b).

- (117) a. *Soleha enga' ka nyama-na guru-na.*
 Soleha remember to name-DEF teacher-DEF
 ‘Soleha remembered her teacher’s name.’
- b. *Soleha ng-engga'-e nyama-na guru-na.*
 Soleha AV-remember-E name-DEF teacher-DEF
 ‘Soleha remembered her teacher’s name.’

- c. *Nyama-na guru-na e-ka-enga'-e Soleha.*
 name-DEF teacher-DEF OV-KA-remember-LOC Soleha
 ‘Soleha remembered her teacher’s name.’

(118) a. *Amie baji' ka taretan-na.*
 Amie hate to brother-DEF
 ‘Amie hates his brother.’

- b. *Taretan-na e-ka-baji'-i bi'sAmie.*
 brother-DEF OV-KA-hate-LOC by Amie
 ‘Amie hates his brother.’

In (117a), the stative predicate *enga* ‘remember’ takes a subject, *Soleha*, and a prepositional object, *ka nyamana guru* ‘to her teacher’s name’. As described in Chapter 10 section 1.4, cognitive stative predicates of this sort are syntactically transitive when the locative suffix *-e* is added, as in (117b), where the object *nyamana guru* ‘her teacher’s name’ is no longer in a prepositional phrase and the verb takes actor voice, *ngena'e* ‘remember’. In the object voice, *ka* is prefixed to the root and the object voice morpheme *e* prefixed to the derived form (117c). (118a,b) illustrate the same point. See Chapter 10 section 1.4 for discussion of the use of locative *-e* with cognitive predicates.

6.2. Involitive

As briefly described in Chapter 4 section 1.1.4, the fact that an agent did not perform some action purposely can be indicated by the prefix *ta-*. When the stem is transitive, it is generally the theme or some other nonagent that is subject, and the agent can be expressed as an NP or PP (or can go unexpressed but specified by the discourse context). With the nonagentive subject and postverbal agent, the structure is parallels that of the object voice and *ka-*.

(119) *Atin ta-tobi' bi'Ebu'.*
 Atin IN-pinch by mother
 ‘Mother pinched Atin by mistake.’

(120) *Sassa'-an-na Siti ta-bungkos Marlina bi' koran kotor.*
 wash-NOM-DEF Siti IN-wrap Marlina with newspaper dirty
 ‘Marlena accidentally wrapped Siti’s laundry in dirty newspaper.’

As evident in the translations, the actions of the PP agent *bi'Ebu* ‘by Mother’ in (119) and the NP agent *Marlina* in (120) were performed without conscious

volition. The incompatibility of volitional adverbs with the structure underscored the involitive nature of the action described.

- (121) a. *Juko' juwa ta-massa' Marhamah.*
 fish that IN-cook Marhamah
 'Marhamah cooked the wrong fish.'
- b. **Juko' juwa ta-massa' Marhamah te-ngate.*
 fish that IN-cook Marhamah carefully
 (Marhamah carefully cooked the wrong fish.)

- (122) a. *Buku-na Hadi ta-buwang Ebu'.*
 book-DEF Hadi IN-discard mother
 'Mother accidentally threw away Hadi's book.'
- b. **Buku-na Hadi sengaja ta-buwang Ebu'.*
 book-DEF Hadi purposely IN-discard mother
 (Mother accidentally threw away Hadi's book on purpose.)

With intransitive predicates, the actor of the verb stem is the subject of the clause and again performs the action nonvolitionally.

- (123) *Sengko' ta-tedhung.*
 I IN-sleep
 'I accidentally fell asleep.'
- (124) *Siti ta-entar dha' roma-na Ita.*
 Siti IN-go to house-DEF Ita
 'Siti accidentally went to Ita's house.'

The context for a clause such as (124) might be that Siti and Ita although good friends were having a bitter argument and neither wanted to see the other. The intransitive verbs that can take the involitive prefix are largely the nonvolitional/nonagentive dynamic intransitive verbs. While some speakers accept the structure with a broader range of verb stems, many speakers do not. Therefore, sentences such as (125) received mixed acceptability judgments.

- (125) %*Na-kana' ta-berka' dha' toko.*
 RED-child IN-run to store
 'The children ran to the store by mistake.' (they were supposed to go to the post office)

In some instances for some speakers, *ta* can be affixed to a transitive stem to derive an active clause. In this case, the agent is the subject and the object occurs in a prepositional phrase. (The sentence in (127) is taken from Stevens 1968:133.)

(126) *Hasan ta-pokol ka/dha' Bambang.*
 Hasan IN-hit to Bambang
 'Hasan accidentally hit Bambang.'

(127) *Sengko' ta-ng-abas dha' Paman.*
 I IN-AV-see to uncle
 'I accidentally saw Uncle.'

In (127), *ta* co-occurs with the actor voice morpheme *ng*.

Some speakers in Western Madura occasionally use *ka-* as the involitive prefix, perhaps due to the influence of Javanese, which has the involitive prefix *ke-*, as in (128) and (129).

(128) *Dlubang-nga ka-coco.*
 paper-DEF IN-stab
 'The paper got stabbed accidentally.'

(129) *Ali a-gaja bi' Hasan pas ka-pokol cethag-ga.*
 Ali AV-joke with Hasan then IN-hit head-DEF
 'Ali was goofing around with Hasan and got hit in the head.'

6.3. Adversative

That the action of the clause adversely affects one of the participants can be expressed through the circumfix *ka-...-an* (cognate with Indonesian and Javanese *ke-...-an*). The subject of the clause is the entity adversely affected by the action.

(130) *Motor-ra Dayat ka-gaggar-an ennyor.*
 car-DEF Dayat AD-fall coconut
 'Dayat's car got fallen on by a coconut.'

(131) *Deni ka-semprod-an aeng panas bi' ana'-eng.*
 Deni AD-spray water hot by child-DEF
 'Deni got sprayed with hot water by his son.'

(132) *Pa' Hasan ka-pate-yan ibu'-eng.*

Mr Hasan AD-die mother-DEF

'Pak Hasan's mother died on him.'

lit. 'Pak Hasan suffered his mother dying.'

The implication in (130) is that Dayat's car was damaged by the falling coconut, and in (131) that Deni was hurt or at least inconvenienced by being sprayed with the hot water.

Adversatives can be formed with adjectival predicates as well. In this case, the structure expresses an overabundance of the property denoted by the predicate. Recall from Chapter 4 section 1.3 that adjectival predicates generally take the suffix *-en* rather than *-an*, although the latter can occur as well.

(133) *Sapu'-eng kana' juwa ka-sekken-en.*

belt-DEF child that AD-tight

'The child's belt is too tight.'

(134) *Ali berka' ka-tandhes-sen.*

Ali run AD-fast

'Ali ran too fast.' (he's early)

(135) *Kopi jiya ka-manes-an.*

coffee this AD-sweet

'This coffee is too sweet.'

Akin to the adversative, is a structure which makes use of an auxiliary verb or alternatively is a serial verbs type of construction. This structure makes use of the verb *kenneng* 'get, hit' which immediately precedes the stem form of the verb denoting the state of affairs. The structure has an adversative connotation.

(136) *Motor-ra Dayat kenneng gaggar-i ennyor.*

car-DEF Dayat get fall-LOC coconut

'Dayat's car got fallen on by a coconut.'

(137) *Wati kenneng pokol bi' Bambang.*

Wati get hit by Bambang

'Wati got hit by Bambang.'

The subject in this construction is the theme of the 'main' verb of the structure. In (136), Bambang's car is the theme of the locative form of *gaggar* 'fall' and in (137) Wati is the theme of hit. All in all, this structure is similar to 'get'-passives in other languages.

Further, there is a construction that parallels the adversative in that its subject is the experiencer of the action of the main predicate. This structure makes use of the verb *capo'* 'hit/affected'.

- (138) *Deni capo' semprot (bi') aeng panas.*
Deni affected spray with water hot
'Deni got sprayed with hot water.'
- (139) *Ana'-eng Hasan capo' kekke' ketthang.*
child-DEF Hasan affected bite monkey
'Hasan's child got bitten by a monkey.'

Chapter 10

Modifications to argument structure

Madurese contains two suffixes that have been referred to as applicative suffixes in other Indonesian languages. The suffix *-e*, which carries a general locative meaning, is cognate to Indonesian *-i* and Javanese *-(n)i*. The suffix *-agi* is a bit more difficult to pin down. Cognate to Indonesian *-kan* and Central Javanese *-ake*, it occurs when benefactive, causative, instrumental, and other elements are core arguments, that role depending on the argument structure and semantics of the verb. Here the uses of these suffixes are detailed, along with causative constructions. The potential role that these suffixes play in the voice system is discussed in section 4.

1. ‘Locative’ *-e*

Of the two applicative suffixes, *-e* has a fairly constant use, with verbs taking a locative argument. Its most common use is as a suffix on the verb of a clause in which a locative argument which in basic structure occurs as a prepositional object is a core argument, i.e. either subject or object.

1.1. Ditransitives

Locative *-e* is frequently used with ditransitive verbs such as *kerem* ‘send’, *saba* ‘put’, *toles* ‘write (to)’, *baca* ‘read’, *keba/giba* ‘carry (to)’, *juwal* ‘sell’, *ngedid* ‘let/give permission’, and others. This is illustrated in (1) and (2).

- (1) a. *Embuk ngerem paket ka Ebu’.*
eld.sister AV.send package to mother
‘Big Sister sent a package to Mother.’
- b. *Embuk ngerem-e Ebu’ paket.*
eld.sister AV.send-LOC mother package
‘Big Sister sent Mother a package.’
- (2) a. *Ebu’ nyaba’ paket neng meja.*
mother AV.put package at table
‘Mother put the package on the table.’

- b. *Ebu' nyaba'-i meja paket.*
 mother AV.put-LOC table package
 'Mother put the package on the table.'

In the a-sentences, the location is a prepositional object, *ka Ebu'* 'to Mother' in (1) and *neng meja* 'on the table' in (2). In (1b), *Ebu'* is a bare NP object rather than a prepositional object, it immediately follows the verb, and the verb *ngerem* 'send' is suffixed with *-e*. Similarly, in (2b), the locative object is a bare NP object instead of a prepositional object, it occurs in immediate postverbal position, and the verb *nyaba'* 'put' is suffixed with *-i*, the phonologically determined allomorph of *-e*, conditioned by the high vowel [ʏ] in the final syllable of the stem. This use of *-e* appears to be quite similar to the applicative construction in Bantu languages. This similarity has led to the use of this term for closely related Indonesian languages (Arka 2003 on Balinese, Musgrave 2001 and Ross 2002 on Indonesian, Donohue 1999 on *Tukang Besi*).

The suffix also occurs when the locative argument is the subject of the clause, which actually occurs more frequently than its use with objects. This is illustrated with the object voice variants of (1) and (2) in (3) and (4), respectively.

- (3) *Ebu' e-kerem-e paket bi' Embuk.*
 mother OV-send-LOC package by eld.sister
 'Mother was sent a package by Big Sister.'
- (4) *Meja rowa e-saba'-i paket bi' Ebu'.*
 table that OV-put-LOC package by mother
 'Mother put the package on the table.'

The subjects in (3) *Ebu'* 'mother' and (4) *meja rowa* 'the table' are prepositional objects of (1a) and (2a) and the direct objects of (1b) and (2b). When the verb has the *-e* suffix, only the locative argument can be the subject, regardless of whether the location or goal is a prepositional or bare NP object.

- (5) **Paket rowa e-kerem-e (ka) Ebu' bi' Embuk.*
 package that OV-send-LOC to mother by eld.sister
 (The package was sent (to) Mother by Big Sister.)
- (6) **Paket rowa e-saba'-i (neng) meja bi' Ebu'.*
 package that OV-put-LOC at table by mother
 (The package was put on the table by Mother.)

The sentences in (5) and (6) are ungrammatical precisely because the theme and

not the location is the subject. The theme can be subject of the object voice clause only when the verb lacks the subject, in which case the location must be in a PP.

- (7) *Paket rowa e-kerem ka Ebu' bi' Embuk.*
 package that OV-send-LOC to mother by eld.sister
 'The package was sent to mother by Big Sister.'
- (8) *Paket rowa e-saba' neng meja bi' Ebu'.*
 package that OV-put at table by mother
 'The package was put on the table by mother.'

Likewise, the theme cannot be the direct object when the verb carries the suffix.

- (9) **Embuk ngerem-e paket ka Ebu'.*
 eld.sister AV.send-LOC package to mother
 (Big Sister sent a package to mother.)
- (10) **Ebu' nyaba'-i paket neng meja.*
 mother AV.put-LOC package at table
 (Mother put the package on the table.)

The theme is object only when the verb lacks the locative suffix, as in (1a) and (2a).

Therefore, the locative suffix occurs with ditransitives only when the location is a core argument, i.e. subject or object. Further examples with the verbs *keba* 'carry' and *toles* 'write' are in (11) and (12).

- (11) *Ali e-keba-i kothak bi' Hasan.*
 Ali OV-carry-LOC box by Hasan
 'Hasan carried the box to Ali.'
- (12) *Tang buku anyar e-toles-e bi' Ale'.*
 my book new OV-write-LOC by yngr.sibling
 'Little Brother wrote in my new book.'

As before, the structures are much more common when the location is the subject.

It should be noted that the goal of *kerem* 'send' must be human in order for it to be a core argument, as it is in (1b) and (3). When the goal is inanimate, as in (13b), it cannot occur as a core argument in the presence of *-e*.

- (13) a. *Siti ngerem pesse-na dha' Amir/bang.*
 Siti AV.send money-DEF to Amir/bank
 'Siti sent her money to Amir/the bank.'
- b. *Siti ngerem-e Amir/*bang pesse.*
 Siti AV.send-LOC Amir/bank money
 'Siti sent Amir/*the bank money.'

As reflected in the English translations, both Madurese and English have the same animacy restriction.

1.2. 'Give'

A ditransitive with a goal/location argument that notably does not show this kind of alternation is the verb expressing the notion 'give'. The verb 'give' never takes the locative suffix. With *berri'* 'give', the object voice exclusively takes the recipient as subjects; thus the paradigm in (14-16).

- (14) *Guru-na a-berri' buku ka red-mored.*
 teacher-DEF AV-give book to RED-student
 'The teacher gave a book to the students.'
- (15) **Buku-na e-berri' guru-na ka red-mored.*
 book-DEF OV-give teacher-DEF to RED-student
 (The book was given by the teacher to the students.)
- (16) *Red-mored e-berri' buku bi' guru-na.*
 RED-student OV-give book by teacher-DEF
 'The students were given a book by the teacher.'

In the actor voice, the theme is object and the recipient a PP (14). Despite this, if the theme is the subject of the object voice clause, the sentence is ungrammatical (15). The only possible subject when *berri'* is in the object voice is the recipient, as in (16).

In order for the theme of giving to be the subject of the object voice, a different verb is used, *bagi*. And with *bagi* the recipient cannot be the object voice subject (19).

- (17) *Guru-na magi buku ka red-mored.*
 teacher-DEF AV-give book to RED-student
 'The teacher gave a book to the students.'

- (18) *Buku-na e-bagi guru-na ka red-mored.*
 book-DEF OV-give teacher-DEF to RED-student
 'The book was given by the teacher to the students.'
- (19) **Red-mored e-bagi buku bi' guru-na.*
 RED-student OV-give book by teacher-DEF
 (The students were given a book by the teacher.)

The locative suffix is incompatible with *bagi* and thus the recipient cannot be a bare NP object, and it is incompatible with *berri'*, but here the recipient can be a bare NP object without the suffix. Thus the sentence in (20a) is ungrammatical, but the sentence in (20b) is acceptable.

- (20) a. **Guru-na magi'-i red-mored buku.*
 teacher-DEF AV.give-LOC RED-student book
 (The teacher gave the students a book.)
- b. *Guru-na a-berri' red-mored buku.*
 teacher-DEF AV-give RED-student book
 'The teacher gave the students a book.'

It is interesting to note that the verb 'give' behaves exceptionally in all of the closely related Indonesian-type languages. In Indonesian, the verb *beri* 'give' takes no suffix in the object voice when the recipient is the subject (22), and it takes the *-kan* suffix (cognate with *-agi*) when the theme is the object voice subject (23).¹

¹Sundanese shows the same fact pattern as Indonesian. In (ib), where the goal is the subject, the verb takes no suffix but has the same stem form as the active (ia), and in (ic) where the theme is the subject, the verb takes the suffix *-keun*.

- (i) a. *Guru méré buku ka palajar-palajar.* Sundanese
 teacher AV.give book to RED-student
 'The teacher gave a book to the students.'
- b. *Palajar-palajar di-béré buku ku guru.* Sundanese
 RED-student PASS-give book by teacher
 'The students were given a book by the teacher.'
- c. *Buku éta téh di-béré-keun ka palajar-palajar ku guru.* Sundanese
 book that EMPH PASS-give -KEUN to RED-student by teacher
 'The book was given by the teacher to the students.'

I am indebted to Rina Anggriani for these sentences.

- (21) *Guru mem-beri buku kepada murid-murid.* Indonesian
 teacher AV-give book to RED-student
 ‘The teacher gave a book to the students.’
- (22) *Murid-murid di-beri buku oleh guru.* Indonesian
 RED-student PASS-give book by teacher
 ‘The students were given a book by the teacher.’
- (23) *Buku itu di-beri-kan guru kepada murid-murid.* Indonesian
 book that PASS-give-KAN teacher to RED-student
 ‘The book was given by the teacher to the students.’

In the Javanese spoken in East Java, the verb *kèkèk* ‘give’ never occurs without a suffix. When the recipient is subject of the object voice, the locative *-i* suffix is used (24), and when the theme is subject, *-ake* (or a variant) is used.²

- (24) *Guru-né di-kèkèk-i buku karo murid-murid.* Javanese (eastern)
 teacher-DEF PASS-give-LOC book by RED-student
 ‘The teacher was given a book by the students.’
- (25) *Buku kuwi di-kèkèk-aké murid-murid nang guru-né.* Javanese (eastern)
 book that PASS-give-AKE RED-student to teacher-DEF
 ‘The book was given by the students to their teacher.’

This is reflected in the actor voice forms as well, where *-(n)i* is used when the recipient is a bare NP object (26) and *-aké* when the theme is (27).

²In the Javanese spoken in Central Java, which is considered the prestige dialect, the verb *wènèh* ‘give’ shows the typical pattern for ditransitive verbs. When the goal is the subject (or bare NP object), the verb takes the locative suffix (ib); however, when the theme is the subject (ic), the verb has no suffix, occurring in the same form as in the active (ia).

- (i) a. *Guru-né mènèh buku menyang murid-murid.* Central Javanese
 teacher AV.give book to RED-student
 ‘The teacher gave a book to the students.’
- b. *Murid-murid di-wènèh-i buku karo guru-né.* Central Javanese
 RED-student PASS-give-LOC book by teacher-DEF
 ‘The students were given a book by the teacher.’
- c. *Buku kuwi di-wènèh guru-né menyang murid-murid.* Central Javanese
 book that PASS-give teacher-DEF to RED-student
 ‘The book was given by the teacher to the students.’

- (26) *Murid-murid ngèkèk-i guru-né buku.* Javanese (eastern)
 RED-student AV.give-LOC teacher-DEF book
 ‘The students gave their teacher a book.’
- (27) *Murid-murid ngèkèk-aké buku nang guru-né.* Javanese (eastern)
 RED-student AV.give-AKE book to teacher-DEF
 ‘The students gave a book to their teacher.’

In Balinese, the root *baang* ‘give’ (which indicates that the giver is either of equal or higher rank than the recipient) is what Arka (2003) refers to as ‘symmetrical’, that is it takes no affix regardless of the whether the theme or recipient is the immediately post-verbal argument or selected as subject of the passive. This is illustrated in (28), in which the recipient is the object, and the passive clauses in (29) and (30).³

- (28) *Guru-ne maang murid-murid-e buku.* Balinese
 teacher-DEF AV.give student-RED-DEF book
 ‘The teacher gave the students books.’
- (29) *Murid-murid-e baang-a buku teken guru-ne.* Balinese
 student-RED-DEF give-PASS book by teacher-DEF
 ‘The students were given books by the teacher.’
- (30) *Buku baang-a murid-murid-e teken guru-ne.* Balinese
 book give-PASS student-RED-DEF by teacher-DEF
 ‘Books were given to the students by the teacher.’

Thus, the verb ‘give’ is exceptional in all languages (leaving aside Central Javanese), but there are four different strategies for dealing with this: in Madurese there are two different verbs that take no suffix; in Indonesian (and Sundanese) the verb takes a suffix when the theme is subject but not when the recipient is; in eastern Javanese, ‘give’ always requires a suffix, albeit different suffixes depending on whether the theme or recipient is a core argument; and in Balinese the stem takes no affix, regardless of whether the theme or recipient is a core argument. These patterns nearly exhaust the logical possibilities for expressing these relations.

1.3. Verbs of communication

Another class of predicates with which the locative suffix is used is verbs of

³I am indebted to Wayan Arka for the Balinese examples and discussion.

communication—verbs such as *bala* ‘say’, *acareta* ‘tell’, *adungeng* ‘tell a story’, *koto* ‘whisper’, *janji* ‘promise’, *baca* ‘read (to)’, and others. Like the ditransitive verbs of transmittal, these verbs are essentially three-place predicates with an agent/actor, recipient (of the communication), and a subject-matter argument which is overtly or covertly realized. This is illustrated first with *careta* ‘tell’, which has the following paradigm:

- (31) *Ita a-careta ka Ina bab Marlana.*
Ita AV-story to Ina about Marlana
‘Ita told Ina about Marlana.’
- (32) *Ita a-careta-e Ina bab Marlana.*
Ita AV-story-LOC Ina about Marlana
‘Ita told Ina about Marlana.’
- (33) *Ina e-careta-e Ita bab Marlana.*
Ina OV-story-LOC Ita about Marlana
‘Ina was told by Ita about Marlana.’

In (31), both the goal *Ina* and the subject matter *Marlana* occur as prepositional objects. However, when the goal is a core argument, the verb is suffixed with *-e*: in (32) it is the object and in (33) the subject. When *careta* takes the *-e* suffix, the subject matter cannot be a core argument; hence, (34), in which it is subject, is ungrammatical.

- (34) **Marlana e-careta-e Ita (ka) Ina.*
Marlana OV-story-LOC Ita to Ina
(Ita told Ina about Marlana.)

In order for the subject matter argument to be a core argument, the suffix *-agi* must be used, as in (35) and (36), in which it occurs as object and subject, respectively. (This suffix is treated in detail in section 10.2.)

- (35) *Ita a-careta'-agi Marlana ka Ina.*
Ita AV-story-AGI Marlana to Ina
‘Ita talked about Marlana to Ina.’
- (36) *Marlana e-careta'-agi Ita ka Ina.*
Marlana OV-story-AGI Ita to Ina
‘Ita talked about Marlana to Ina.’

The root *bala* ‘say’ shows the same paradigm as *careta*. The difference here is that the subject matter is clausal rather than nominal.

- (37) *Deni a-bala dha' Budi ja' Ali se ma-becce' sapedha motor-ra.*
 Deni AV-say to Budi COMP Ali REL AV.CS-good motorcycle-DEF
 'Deni said to Budi that Ali is the one who fixed his motorcycle.'
- (38) *Deni a-bala-i Budi ja' Ali se ma-becce' sapedha motor-ra.*
 Deni AV-say-LOC Budi COMP Ali REL AV.CS-good motorcycle-DEF
 'Deni said to Budi that Ali is the one who fixed his motorcycle.'
- (39) *Budi e-bala-i Deni ja' Ali se ma-becce' sapedha motor-ra.*
 Budi OV-say-LOC Deni COMP Ali REL AV.CS-good motorcycle-DEF
 'Deni said to Budi that Ali is the one who fixed his motorcycle.'

Again, when the goal is a core argument, the locative suffix (here realized as *-i*) is used (38) and (39). The clause can also be subject, in which case the locative suffix cannot be used. Here the suffix *-agi* is optionally used.

- (40) *Ja' Ali se ma-becce' sapedha motor-ra se e-bala(-agi) Deni ka*
 COMP Ali REL AV.CS-good motorcycle-DEF REL OV-say-agi Deni to
Budi.
 Budi
 'Deni said to Budi that Ali is the one who fixed his motorcycle.'
 lit. 'That Ali is the one who fixed his motorcycle is what was said by
 Deni to Budi.'

When clauses are to be subjects, the cleft construction is frequently used. The structure of clefts is examined in Chapter 11 section 6.⁴

Inasmuch as the goal of communication is a human goal/location, similar to human goals of verbs of transmittal, the basic use of *-e* here is the same as with those verbs of transmittal: *-e* registers the fact that the location/goal is a core argument.

1.4. Verbs of cognitive state

The locative suffix also plays a prominent role with verb denoting cognitive states such as *baji* 'hate', *enga* 'remember', *esto* 'love', *loppa* 'forget', *percaja* 'believe/trust', *tao* 'know', *terro* 'want', *yaken* 'be sure', and others. These verbs are semantically transitive but syntactically intransitive: these predicates require two arguments, an experiencer and a stimulus, but only the experiencer/cognizer is a core argument. The stimulus argument occurs in a PP. By and

⁴As discussed in Chapter 11 section 6, the structure of clefts is somewhat more complicated than need concern us here. It is shown there that the element that is the predicate in the cleft is actually the element that on the surface appears to be the subject.

large, the preposition heading the PP is *ka/dha* 'to'. The selection of this preposition is likely due to the fact that the stimulus argument can be viewed as the goal or locus of the cognition. Thus, its relation to the verb is not unlike the goals of verbs of transmittal and verbs of communication.

The basic form of these verbs is illustrated for *baji* 'hate' and *enga* 'remember' in (41) and (42).

(41) *Amie baji' ka taretan-na.*
Amie hate to brother-DEF
'Amie hates his brother.'

(42) *Soleha enga' ka nyama-na guru-na.*
Soleha remember to name-DEF teacher-DEF
'Soleha remembered her teacher's name.'

Here the cognizer is the sole core argument, the subjects *Amie* and *Soleha* here, and the goal-stimulus the object of the preposition *ka*, here *taretanna* 'his brother' and *nyamana guru* 'her teacher's name'. As demonstrated in Chapter 6 section 4.2, the preposition is optional with these verbs, and is more often than not omitted, as in (43) and (44).⁵

(43) %*Amie baji' taretan-na.*
Amie hate brother-DEF
'Amie hates his brother.'

(44) %*Soleha enga' nyama-na guru-na.*
Soleha remember name-DEF teacher-DEF
'Soleha remembered her teacher's name.'

The sentences in (43) and (44) have the appearance of having two core arguments and thus being transitive. However, the locative suffix indicates otherwise. When the locative *-e* is affixed to the verb, the goal obligatorily occurs without the preposition and the verb takes the actor voice prefix *ng-*, as in (45a) and (46a).

⁵There is some speaker variation with respect to the acceptability of the sentences in (43) and (44), thus the % annotation. Some consider it substandard but state that it is often used in everyday speech situations.

- (45) a. %*Amie maji'-i taretan-na.*⁶
 Amie AV.hate-LOC brother-DEF
 'Amie hates his brother.'
- b. **Amie maji'-i ka taretan-na.*
 c. **Amie baji'-i (ka) taretan-na.*
- (46) a. *Soleha ng-enga'-e nyama-na guru-na.*
 Soleha AV-remember-E name-DEF teacher-DEF
 'Soleha remembered her teacher's name.'
- b. **Soleha ng-enga'-e ka nyama-na guru-na.*
 c. **Soleha enga'-e (ka) nyama-na guru-na.*

In the grammatical sentences, the verb is in the actor voice, *maji'i* 'hate' and *ngenga'e* 'remember' and the goal is a bare NP, *taretanna* 'his brother' and *nyamana guruna* 'her teacher's name'. If either of these features is absent (in non-object voice structures), the clause is ill-formed. In the b-sentences the goal is a prepositional object, accounting for the ungrammaticality. In the c-sentences, the verb does not take the actor voice morphology in the presence of the locative suffix, accounting for the ungrammaticality.

In object voice clauses, the goal is subject and the verb has the locative suffix. However, with the object voice for verbs of cognition (and some verbs of emotion shown in section 1.6), there is additional morphology. The prefix *ka-*, which signals an achieved state, is usually affixed on the verb and follows the object voice prefix.⁷ This is illustrated in (47) and (48).

- (47) *Taretan-na e-ka-baji'-i bi' Amie.*
 brother-DEF OV-KA-hate-LOC by Amie
 'Amie hates his brother.'
- (48) *Nyama-na guru-na e-ka-enga'-e Soleha.*
 name-DEF teacher-DEF OV-KA-remember-LOC Soleha
 'Soleha remembered her teacher's name.'

There is speaker variability with the object voice structures. Some verbs can occur (for some speakers) without the *ka-* prefix in object voice. Object voice clauses with the verb *parcaja* 'believe/trust' are considered most fully

⁶There is some speaker variation with respect to the acceptability of the sentence in (45a) as well. However, those who consider it substandard remark that it is far more acceptable than (45b,c).

⁷ See Chapter 9 section 6.1 for a discussion of the verbal prefix *ka-*.

grammatical with *ka-*, as in (49).

- (49) *Siti e-ka-parcaja-ne Hasan.*
 Siti OV-KA-believe-LOC Hasan
 ‘Hasan trusts Siti.’

(Speakers prefer to add the *n* extension before the locative suffix with this verb.) Additionally, however, the versions in (50) and (51) are considered acceptable by many speakers.

- (50) *Siti e-ka-parcaja Hasan.*
 Siti OV-KA-believe Hasan
 ‘Hasan trusts Siti.’

- (51) *Siti e-parcaja-ne Hasan.*
 Siti OV-believe-LOC Hasan
 ‘Hasan trusts Siti.’

In (50) the locative suffix is omitted and in (51) the *ka-* prefix is omitted. This judgment is by no means universal, and speakers who accept (50) and (51) routinely reject this with some other verbs. Thus, (52) and (53) are widely considered to be unacceptable despite the parallel with the structures in (50) and (51). Again, however, there is quite a bit of speaker variation and the * annotations should be viewed with caution.

- (52) a. **Taretan-na e-ka-baji' Amie.*
 brother-DEF OV-KA-hate Amie
 (Amie hates his brother.)
 b. **Taretan-na e-baji'-i Amie.*
 brother-DEF OV-hate-LOC Amie
 (Amie hates his brother.)
- (53) a. **Nyama-na guru-na e-ka-enga' Soleha.*
 name-DEF teacher-DEF OV-KA-remember Soleha
 (Soleha remembered her teacher's name.)
 b. **Nyama-na guru-na e-enga'-e Soleha.*
 name-DEF teacher-DEF OV-remember-LOC Soleha
 (Soleha remembered her teacher's name.)

1.5. Dynamic intransitive verbs

The locative suffix is found with noncontrolled dynamic intransitive verbs (Chapter 6 section 4.1). These are verbs such as *dhateng* 'come', *entar* 'go', *gaggar* 'fall', *maso* 'enter' and others. The full paradigm is illustrated for *maso* and *gaggar* in (54) and (55).

- (54) a. *Leng-maleng maso' dha' roma-na Pa' Jatim.*
 RED-thief enter to house-DEF Mr Jatim
 'Thieves got into Pak Jatim's house.'
- b. *Roma-na Pa' Jatim e-maso'-e leng-maleng.*
 house-DEF Mr Jatim OV-enter-LOC RED-thief
 'Thieves got into Pak Jatim's house.'
- c. *Leng-maleng maso'-e roma-na Pa' Jatim.*
 RED-thief AV.enter-LOC house-DEF Mr Jatim
 'Thieves got into Pak Jatim's house.'
- (55) a. *Ennyor rowa gaggar ka motor-ra Ahmad.*
 coconut that fall to car-DEF Ahmad
 'That coconut fell on Ahmad's car.'
- b. *Motor-ra Ahmad e-gaggar-i ennyor rowa.*
 car-DEF Ahmad OV-fall-LOC coconut that
 'That coconut fell on Ahmad's car.'
- c. *Ennyor rowa ngaggar-i motor-ra Ahmad.*
 coconut that AV.fall-LOC car-DEF Ahmad
 'That coconut fell on Ahmad's car.'

The a-sentences are the basic clauses with this verb type: there is no voice morphology and the goal/locative is in a prepositional phrase headed by an appropriate preposition, here *dha* 'to' and *ka* 'to'. The b-sentences have the locative suffix, object voice morphology, and a goal/locative subject, *romana Pa' Jatim* 'Pak Jatim's house' in (54b) and *motorra Ahmad* in (55b). The c-sentences with the locative suffix are transitive and have the goal/locative as bare NP but are considered somewhat marginal and relatively unnatural. However, they are not completely ungrammatical and show once again that non-object voice verbs with the locative suffix are transitive structures, as evinced by the obligatory actor voice morphology.

Two predicates that generally pattern with this class of verbs are noteworthy. The verbs *tedhung* ‘sleep’ and *toju* ‘sit’ have the characteristic lack of voice marking but have a locative prepositional phrase, (56) and (57).

(56) *Dayat tedhung neng ranjang.*

Dayat sleep at bed
‘Dayat slept on the bed.’

(57) *Hamina toju' neng korse.*

Hamina sit at chair
‘Hamina sat on the chair.’

In the object voice, both require the locative suffix, but both optionally take the *ka-* prefix, like the verbs of cognition (section 1.3). Thus, both forms in (58) and (59) are acceptable to most speakers.

(58) a. *Ranjang-nga e-tedhung-e Dayat.*

bed-DEF OV-sleep-LOC Dayat
‘Dayat slept on the bed.’

b. *Ranjang-nga e-ka-tedhung-e Dayat.*

bed-DEF OV-KA-sleep-LOC Dayat
‘Dayat slept on the bed.’

(59) a. *Korse-na e-toju'-i Hamina.*

chair-DEF OV-sit-LOC Hamina
‘Hamina sat on the chair.’

b. *Korse-na e-ka-toju'-i Hamina.*

chair-DEF OV-KA-sit-LOC Hamina
‘Hamina sat on the chair.’

Tedhung has the additional peculiarity that the transitive form—with actor voice and locative morphology—has a special meaning. A locative object is strongly dispreferred (although possible for some speakers).

(60) **?Dayat ngedhung-e ranjang.*

Dayat AV.sleep-LOC bed
(Dayat slept on the bed.)

Instead, this form typically takes a human object with the interpretation ‘sleep with’, with a sexual connotation.

- (61) *Dayat ngedhung-e bine-na.*
 Dayat AV.sleep-LOC wife-DEF
 'Dayat slept with his wife.'

The idiosyncratic interpretation of the transitive form of *tedhung* and the degraded nature of transitive forms of this class of verbs underscores the fact that *-e* is used far more frequently with object voice predicates than actor voice predicates.

1.6. Stative-intransitive verbs

A subclass of stative intransitive verbs, verbs describing emotion, can optionally take an overt goal/stimulus object, as in (62) and (63). (See Chapter 6 section 4.2 for a discussion of this class of verbs.)

- (62) *Sinap peggel dha' Lukman.*
 Sinap angry to Lukman
 'Sinap is angry at Lukman.'

- (63) *Hosen tako' ka lar-olar.*
 H afraid to RED-snake
 'Hosen is afraid of snakes.'

Other verbs of this class include *busen* 'bored', *dusen* 'angry', *kobater* 'worry', *senneng* 'happy', *sossa* 'sad', and others. In the object voice, these verbs pattern much like the verbs of cognition (section 1.4); the *ka-* prefix is often required in addition to the object voice prefix and locative suffix. (64) and (65) are the object voice counterparts of (62) and (63), respectively.

- (64) *Lukman e-ka-peggel-li Sinap.*
 Lukman OV-KA-angry-LOC Sinap
 'Sinap is angry at Lukman.'
- (65) *Lar-olar e-ka-tako'-e Hosen.*
 RED-snake OV-KA-afraid-LOC Hosen
 'Hosen is afraid of snakes.'

As with the closely related verbs of cognition, there is some variability regarding the optionality of the *ka-* prefix. Some speakers regularly accept object voice without *ka-*, although it is considered degraded. With other verbs, such as *busen* 'bored' and *senneng* 'happy', the acceptability of the forms without *ka-* is higher; however, the forms with *ka-* are preferred.

(66) *Alwi e-(ka-)busen-ne bi' Nabun.*
 Alwi OV-KA-bored-LOC by Nabun
 'Nabun is bored with Alwi.'

(67) *Salak e-(ka-)senneng-nge Romlah.*
 salak OV-KA-happy-LOC Romlah
 'Romlah likes salak (fruit).'

As usual, the object voice and base forms are synonymous. However, when these verbs occur in the transitive construction (i.e. actor voice morphology and locative suffix) the forms are no longer synonymous. Instead the interpretation is causative. Thus, while *Sinap peggel dha' Lukman* means 'Sinap is angry at Lukman', the form with actor voice and *-e* is causative, (68).

(68) *Sinap meggel-li Lukman.*
 Sinap AV.angry-LOC Lukman
 'Sinap makes Lukman angry.'

While it is not entirely clear that the *-e* suffix in (68) should be considered the same suffix as the locative, the two forms are in complementary distribution, indicating that they could well be. The actor voice counterpart of (63), *Hosen tako' ka lar-olar*, has a decidedly odd meaning given the generic quality of the goal/stimulus *lar-olar* 'snakes'.

(69) *?Hosen nako'-e lar-olar.*
 Hosen AV.afraid-LOC RED-snake
 'Hosen scares snakes.'

In the context of scaring snakes being a common activity of Hosen's (69) is completely acceptable, and the oddness disappears if the object is not generic but specific, as in (70).

(70) *Hosen nako'-e olar rowa.*
 Hosen AV.afraid-LOC snake that
 'Hosen scared that snake.'

For a general fear of snakes, (71), in which *lar-olar* is subject, is completely natural.

(71) *Lar-olar nako'-e Hosen.*
 RED-snake AV.afraid-LOC Hosen
 'Snakes scare Hosen.'

The object voice form with *-e* does not have a causative interpretation; that is, it is not ambiguous. An object voice form of a causative of this predicate requires the use of the causative morpheme *pa-* rather than *-e*. Object voice forms propositionally equivalent to (68) and (71) are (72) and (73), respectively.

(72) *Lukman e-pa-peggel Sinap.*
Lukman OV-CS-angry Sinap
'Sinap made Lukman angry.'

(73) *Hosen e-pa-tako' bi' lar-olar.*
Hosen OV-CS-afraid by RED-snake
'Snakes scare Hosen.'

Causatives are discussed in some detail in section 3.

2. The suffix *-agi*

The other applicative-type suffix is *-agi*. Though it shares many of the properties of Indonesian *-kan* and Javanese *-ake*, there are some differences. The most notable difference is in causatives, as there is a dedicated prefix *pa-* used in the majority of morphological causative structures, the use of *-agi* is much more circumscribed than in Indonesian or Javanese, both of which lack this prefix. Causatives are treated in detail in section 3. The *-agi* suffix has a few main effects, which are detailed in what follows.

2.1. Benefactives

With transitive verbs, *-agi* appears to have a benefactive function. In the same way that *-e* signals a locative/goal is a core argument, with canonical transitive verbs, *-agi* many times indicates that a beneficiary is a core argument. Thus, the a- and b-sentences in (74) and (75) are propositionally equivalent.

(74) a. *Sa'diyah melle permen kaangguy na'-kana'.*
Sa'diyah AV.buy candy for RED-child
'Sa'diyah bought candy for the children.'

b. *Sa'diyah melle-yagi na'-kana' permen.*
Sa'diyah AV.buy-AGI RED-child candy
'Sa'diyah bought the children candy.'

- (75) a. *Marlena ngeba kothak kaangguy Siti.*
 Marlena AV.carry box for Siti
 'Marlena carried the box for Siti.'
- b. *Marlena ngeba'-agi Siti kothak.*
 Marlena AV.carry-AGI Siti box
 'Marlena carried Siti the box.'

In both (74a) and (75a), the beneficiary, *na'-kana'* 'children' and *Siti*, occurs as the object of the preposition *kaangguy* 'for'. In the b-sentences, the beneficiary is a bare NP and occurs immediately after the verb and before the theme argument. This parallels the structure of *-e* with ditransitive verbs such as *kerem* 'send' and *saba'* 'put'. The facts help account for comparisons with Bantu applicatives, which frequently target benefactive arguments. There is a systematic ambiguity to the benefactive constructions.

The beneficiary can refer to the entity that either benefits from the action by physically possessing the result or benefits because the action is performed by another in the beneficiary's stead. Thus, while for pragmatic reasons the preferred interpretation of (75b) is that Sa'diyah bought the candy for the children to have (and eat), the sentence can also be interpreted as meaning that the children were supposed to buy candy but for some reason could not and Sa'diyah bought it instead. A less marked example would be the pair in (76).

- (76) a. *Bibbi'ngerra' rote kaangguy Ebu'.*
 aunt AV.slice read for mother
 'Auntie sliced bread for Mother.'
- b. *Bibbi'ngerra'-agi Ebu' rote.*
 aunt AV.slice-AGI mother bread
 'Auntie sliced bread for Mother.'

The sentences in (76) are systematically ambiguous between an interpretation that Mother will eat the bread and one that Auntie is helping Mother prepare food. Thus, it is conceivable for a sentence to include two beneficiaries, as in (77).

- (77) *Siti maca'-agi Marlena careta kaangguy na'-kana'.*
 Siti AV.read-AGI Marlena story for RED-child
 'Siti read a story for the children for Marlena.'

The most natural interpretation here is that Siti read the story to the children as a favor to Marlena.

The object voice variants of these clauses have both expected and unexpected features.

- (78) a. *Na'-kana' e-melle-yagi permen bi' Sa'diyah.*
 RED-child OV-AV.buy-AGI candy by Sa'diyah
 'Sa'diyah bought the children candy.'
- b. **Permen e-melle-yagi na'-kana' bi' Sa'diyah.*
 candy OV-AV.buy-AGI RED-child by Sa'diyah
- (79) a. *Ebu' e-ngerra'-agi rote bi' Bibbi'.*
 mother OV-AV.slice-AGI bread by aunt
 'Auntie sliced bread for Mother.'
- b. **Rote e-ngerra'-agi Ebu' bi' Bibbi'.*
 bread OV-AV.slice-AGI mother by aunt

As is true of the sentences with *-e* and the corresponding sentences in Indonesian and Javanese, with the *-agi* suffix only the beneficiary and not the theme can be the subject of the object voice clause; thus, (78a) and (79a) are acceptable while (78b) and (79b) are not.¹ Distinct from Indonesian and Javanese (and the locative sentences in Madurese), however, in these clauses the verb stem tends to retain the actor voice morpheme (although where this is permissible and/or obligatory is subject to a great deal of speaker variation). Thus, in (78) the *ng-* prefix, realized here as [m], occurs obligatorily on the verb. Without the actor voice morphology, the clause is unacceptable (all speakers I have consulted report this).

- (80) **Na'-kana' e-belli-yagi permen bi' Sa'diyah.*
 RED-child OV-buy-AGI candy by Sa'diyah
 (Sa'diyah bought the children candy.)

In (79), the actor voice *ng-* prefix again occurs on the verb root *kerra'* 'slice'. Again, without the morphology, the clause is largely considered unacceptable.²

¹ The ungrammatical sentences in which the theme object is the subject of the object voice (78b) and (79b) are still unacceptable if the actor voice morpheme in the *a-* variants is absent.

² Some speakers accept (81) as grammatical, although they prefer (79), which includes the actor voice morpheme.

- (81) %Ebu' e-kerra'-agi rote bi' Bibbi'.
 mother OV-slice-AGI bread by aunt
 'Auntie sliced bread for Mother.'

With the verb root, *giba* 'carry', the situation is reversed. Sentences in which both object voice and actor voice morphology occur are rejected by some speakers (82a), while the form with only object voice morphology is generally considered acceptable (82b).

- (82) a. %Siti e-ngeba'-agi kothak bi' Marlana.
 Siti OV-AV.carry-AGI box by Marlana
 Marlana carried the box for Siti.'
- b. Siti e-giba'-agi kothak bi' Marlana.
 Siti OV-carry-AGI box by Marlana
 'Marlana carried the box for Siti.'

Unlike *-e*, *-agi* can be used in a sentence with no apparent change in the alignment of arguments and grammatical relations. Thus, in addition to (74) and (75), repeated here, the propositionally equivalent (83) and (84) are possible.

- (74) a. Sa'diyah melle permen kaangguy na'-kana'.
 Sa'diyah AV.buy candy for RED-child
 'Sa'diyah bought candy for the children.'
- b. Sa'diyah melle-yagi na'-kana' permen.
 Sa'diyah AV.buy-AGI RED-child candy
 'Sa'diyah bought the children candy.'
- (75) a. Marlana ngeba kothak kaangguy Siti.
 Marlana AV.carry box for Siti
 'Marlana carried the box for Siti.'
- b. Marlana ngeba'-agi Siti kothak.
 Marlana AV.carry-AGI Siti box
 'Marlana carried Siti the box.'
- (83) Sa'diyah melle-yagi permen kaangguy na'-kana'.
 Sa'diyah AV.buy-AGI candy for RED-child
 'Sa'diyah bought candy for the children.'

- (84) *Marlena ngeba'-agi kothak kaangguy Siti.*
 Marlena AV.carry-AGI box for Siti
 'Marlena carried the box for Siti.'

In (83) and (84), the beneficiary is in a PP headed by *kaangguy* and the theme is immediately postverbal. Thus, the surface syntactic structure is like that in (74a) and (75a), respectively. Speakers report no difference in meaning between the sentences in (74) and (83) or (75) and (84).

When the *-agi* suffix occurs together with the prepositional beneficiary, the theme occurs as the subject of the clause, not the beneficiary. This is illustrated in (85) and (86).

- (85) *Permen-na e-melle-yagi Sa'diyah kaangguy na'-kana'.*
 candy-DEF OV-AV.buy-AGI Sa'diyah for RED-child
 'Sa'diyah bought candy for the children.'

- (86) *Rote rowa e-kerra'-agi Bibbi' kaangguy Ebu'.*
 bread that OV-slice-AGI aunt for mother
 'Auntie sliced the bread for Mother.'

This is distinct from the object voice structures in (78) and (79), in which *belli* 'buy' and *kerra'* 'slice' are suffixed with *-agi*. There the beneficiary must be the subject (78a) and (79a). If the theme occurs as the subject and the beneficiary as an NP object, the sentences are ungrammatical, (78b) and (79b).

When *-agi* affixed to an intransitive root, the result is usually not a benefactive interpretation but a causative interpretation, with the object as causee, as in (87).

- (87) *Siti ngedhung-ngagi baji'-na.*
 Siti AV.sleep-AGI baby-DEF
 'Siti put her baby to sleep.'

In (87), the object, *baji'na* 'her baby', is the causee. An exception to this is with verbs whose roots contain the element that would be the theme argument of the predicate. For instance, *sassa* refers specifically to washing clothes, and with actor voice morphology derives a verb meaning 'to do laundry'.

- (88) *Ebu a-sassa.*
 mother AV-wash
 'Mother washed clothes.'

When suffixed with *-agi*, a bare NP benefactive argument is added.

- (89) *Ebu nyassa'-agi Mutmainah.*
 mother AV.wash-AGI Mutmainah
 'Mother did laundry for Mutmainah.'

(89) does not mean that Mother made Mutmainah do the laundry but that Mother did the laundry for Mutmainah. Another example of this sentence type is:

- (90) a. *Bu Yus ngopi.*
 Mrs Yus AV.coffee
 'Bu Yus made coffee.'
- b. *Bu Yus ngopi-agi Pa' Salim.*
 Mrs Yus AV.coffee-AGI Mr Salim
 'Bu Yus made coffee for Pak Salim.'

As is true in (88) and (89), what would be the theme of the verb here is the root itself, *kopi* 'coffee'. As the theme role is filled, the postverbal argument cannot be a causee, as the causee is the theme in an intransitive sentence. So, a benefactive interpretation results.

To recapitulate, when affixed to a syntactically transitive verb stem or an intransitive stem which 'incorporates' the theme, the postverbal NP is interpreted as a beneficiary (with the exception of those cases like (78) and (79), in which the beneficiary is a prepositional object).

2.2. Verbs of communication

As described in Chapter 4 section 1.1.12 and section 1.3 above, when *-agi* is affixed to verbs of communication such as *bala* 'say', *careta* 'tell (a story)', *lapor* 'report', *koto* 'whisper', and others, the subject matter being communicated is a core argument. In the actor voice form, the subject matter is the immediately postverbal object, as in (91b) and (92b).

- (91) a. *Wati a-careta ka Marlana bab ibu'-na.*
 Wati AV-tell to Marlana about mother-DEF
 'Wati told Marlana about her mother.'
- b. *Wati a-careta'-agi ibu'-na ka Marlana.*
 Wati AV-tell-AGI mother-DEF to Marlana
 'Wati told Marlana about her mother.'

- (92) a. *Sale a-koto' dha' Romlah bab jawab-an.*
 Sale AV-whisper to Romlah about answer-NOM
 'Sale whispered the answer to Romlah.'
- b. *Sale ngoto'-agi jawab-an dha' Romlah.*
 Sale AV.whisper-AGI answer-NOM to Romlah
 'Sale whispered the answer to Romlah.'

In (91b) and (92b), the subject matter which is object of the preposition *bab* 'about' in the corresponding a-sentences is a bare NP object in immediate post-verbal position. As with beneficiaries, the immediate postverbal bare NP of the suffixed actor voice clauses is the subject in the object voice clauses.

- (93) *Ebu'-na e-careta'-agi Wati ka Marlana.*
 mother-DEF OV-tell-AGI Wati to Marlana
 'Wati told Marlana about her mother.'
- (94) *Jawab-an-na e-koto'-agi Sale dha' Romlah.*
 answer-NOM-DEF OV-whisper-AGI Sale to Romlah
 'Sale whispered the answer to Romlah.'

Many verbs of communication take clausal subject matter arguments rather than simple nominals. In the object voice, when the clause is the subject, the verb characteristically has the *-agi* suffix, as in the b-sentences in (95) and (96).

- (95) a. *Bapa' a-lapor dha' polisi ja' sapedha motor-ra e-keco' maleng.*
 father AV-report to police COMP motorcycle-DEF OV-steal thief
 'Father reported to the police that his motorcycle had been stolen.'
- b. *Ja' sepadha motor-ra e-keco' maleng e-lapor-agi Bapa' dha'*
 COMP motorcycle-DEF OV-steal thief OV-report-AGI father to
polisi.
 police
 'Father reported to the police that his motorcycle had been stolen.'
- (96) a. *Anom a-janji ka Bibbi' ja' labang-nga e-pa-becce'-a are*
 uncle AV-promise to aunt COMP door-DEF OV-CS-good-IRR day
Sennen.
 Monday
 'Uncle promised Auntie that the door would be fixed by Monday.'

- b. *Ja' labang-nga e-pa-becce'-a are Sennen e-janji-agi Anom*
 COMP door-DEF OV-CS-good-IRR day Monday OV-promise-AGI uncle
ka Bibbi'.
 to aunt
 'Uncle promised Auntie that the door would be fixed by Monday.'

The embedded clauses in (95a) and (96a) do not take the preposition characteristic of nominal subject matter arguments, but cross-linguistically fully inflected clauses resist prepositional marking. Regardless, when the clausal subject matter occurs as subject, (95b) and (96b), the *-agi* suffix is generally obligatory. An exception to this is the verb *bala* 'say', with which *-agi* is optional. Thus, both (97b) and (97c) are acceptable.

- (97) a. *Ina a-bala ka Satimma ja' ter-dhokter juwa ng-obad-i*
 Ina AV-say to Satimma COMP RED-doctor that AV-medicine-LOC
ana'-na Marlana.
 child-DEF Marlana
 'Ina said to Satimma that those doctors cured Marlana's child.'
- b. *Ja' ter-dhokter juwa ng-obad-i ana'-na Marlana*
 COMP RED-doctor that AV-medicine-LOC child-DEF Marlana
e-bala'-agi Ina ka Satimma.
 OV-say-AGI Ina to Satimma
 'Ina said to Satimma that those doctors cured Marlana's child.'
- c. *Ja' ter-dhokter juwa ng-obad-i ana'-na Marlana e-bala*
 COMP RED-doctor that AV-medicine-LOC child-DEF Marlana OV-say
Ina ka Satimma.
 Ina to Satimma
 'Ina said to Satimma that those doctors cured Marlana's child.'

Also, in the case of *bala*, it is possible to use the inchoative *ka-* prefix, as in (98).

- (98) *Ja' ter-dhokter juwa ng-obad-i ana'-na Marlana e-ka-bala*
 COMP RED-doctor that AV-medicine-LOC child-DEF Marlana OV-KA-say
Ina ka Satimma.
 Ina to Satimma
 'Ina said to Satimma that those doctors cured Marlana's child.'

The effect of suffixing *-agi* to verbs of communication can be viewed as essentially the same as its use with transitive verbs—an indication that the subject matter argument (instead of beneficiary) is a core argument.

2.3. *-agi* specifying an endpoint

The suffix *-agi* also serves to specify the endpoint of a theme/object moved from one location to another. This is illustrated in the pairs in (99) and (100).

(99) a. *Nembuk bato-na.*

AV-pile stone-DEF

‘They piled up the stones.’

b. *Nembug-gagi bato-na neng Masjid Agung Bangkalan.*

AV -pile-AGI stone-DEF at mosque Agung Bangkalan

‘They piled up the stones at the Agung Bangkalan Mosque.’

(100) a. *Empu Bageno nyebar agama anyar.*

Empu Bageno AV.spread religion new

‘Empu Bageno spread the new religion.’

b. *Empu Bageno nyebar-ragi agama anyar dha'ra'yat neng*

Empu Bageno AV.spread-AGI religion new to people at

Madura bara'.

Madura west

‘Empu Bageno spread the new religion to the people in western Madura.’

In (99a) no particular location is specified as the place where the stones were piled up. In (99b), however, Masjid Agung Bangkalan is identified as the location at which the stones, which have been brought from elsewhere, have been piled up—the endpoint of the path traversed by the stones. Likewise, the sentence in (100a) does not specify where Empu Bageno spread the new religion, only that he did so. In (100b), *ra'yat neng Madura bara'* ‘the people of western Madura’ are specified as the goal of the action, the endpoint of the spreading of the religion, albeit in a somewhat abstract sense. The starting point of the path of an object or objects can also be specified in this way.

(101) a. *Ngala' tana-na otama-na.*

AV.take earth-DEF prime-DEF

‘They took the best soil.’

b. *Ngala'-agi tana-na otama-na dhari Rosbaja.*

AV.take-AGI earth-DEF prime-DEF from Arosbaya

‘They took the best soil from Arosbaya.’

In (101a), there is no specification as to where *tanana otamana* 'the best soil' is being taken from. However, in (101b), the origin of the soil is specified as being the area of Arosbaya. The endpoint of the path is inferred from the context of the sentence.

2.4. *-agi* with instruments

In works on related languages (e.g. Sneddon (1996) on Indonesian), the analogue of *-agi* is analyzed as having an instrumental function in some environments.³ In Madurese, there are similar constructions with *-agi* as well. In one structure, an instrument which is a prepositional object in the basic use of the verb is a core argument when the verb takes the *-agi* suffix. This use is somewhat limited, depending primarily on whether or not the instrument is a central notion to carrying out the action: verbs such as *bungkos* 'wrap', *buntut* 'wrap', *notobi* 'cover', *orap* 'spread', *semprot* 'spray', *tambu* 'hit (by throwing)', and others occur in this construction. The basic and instrumental uses of these verbs are first illustrated with *bungkos* 'wrap' in (102).

- (102) a. *Diyah mongkos sassa'-an kalaban koran.*
 Diyah AV.wrap wash-NOM with newspaper
 'Diyah wrapped the laundry in newspaper.'

³ Son & Cole (2008) contend that *-kan* does not have an instrumental function in these types of structures but is simply a case of the structure in which *-kan* denotes an endpoint, the specific endpoint of the 'instrumental' argument. They cite sentences such as (i) (from Sneddon 1996), which Arka (1992), Sneddon (1996), and Postman (2002) take to be the case of an instrument.

- (i) *Dia mengikat(-kan) tali ke anjing.* Indonesian
 3SG AV.tie-KAN rope to dog
 'He tied the rope to the dog.'

As Son & Cole (2008) observe, this is similar to the structure in which an endpoint is specified: the instrumental object, here *tali* 'rope', can serve as the direct object of the verb *mengikat* 'tie' without the *-kan* suffix and with no specification of what the rope is tied to, as in (ii) (from Sneddon 1996).

- (ii) *Dia mengikat tali.* Indonesian
 3SG AV.tie rope
 'He tied the rope.'

It is not clear that this analysis can extend to all apparent instrumental cases of *-agi*. For example, *mongkos* 'wrap' cannot take the 'instrumental' NP as direct object without the suffix. The verb *tambu* 'hit by throwing' is similarly resistant to this analysis as *burus* 'dog', as the goal of the throwing is the base direct object (103a). The object thrown or 'instrument', in (103b) *bato* 'stone', can only be a direct argument when the *-agi* suffix is present.

- b. *Diyah mongkos-sagi koran ka sassa'-an.*
 Diyah AV.wrap-AGI newspaper to wash-NOM
 ‘Diyah wrapped the laundry in newspaper.’
- c. *Koran e-bungkos-sagi (ka) sassa'-an bi' Diyah.*
 newspaper OV-wrap-AGI to wash-NOM by Diyah
 ‘Diyah wrapped the laundry in newspaper.’
- d. *Sassa'-an e-bungkos koran bi' Diyah.*
 wash-NOM OV-wrap newspaper by Diyah
 ‘Diyah wrapped the laundry in newspaper.’
- e. *Koran e-bungkos-sagi Diyah ka sassa'-an .*
 newspaper OV-wrap-AGI Diyah to wash-NOM
 ‘Diyah wrapped the laundry in newspaper.’

The sentence in (102a) illustrates the basic actor voice structure for *bungkos* ‘wrap’, and the instrument *koran* ‘newspaper’ is in a PP headed by *kalaban* ‘with’. In (102b) and (102c) the verb bears the *-agi* suffix, and *koran* is a core argument, object and subject respectively. When the instrument is object, the theme occurs as a prepositional object in a PP headed by *ka* ‘to’ (103b). When the instrument is the subject (103c), the prepositional marking of the theme is optional as long as the theme occurs immediately after the verb. If it follows the agent, the preposition is again obligatory (103e). The paradigm for *tambu'* ‘hit (by throwing)’ is given in (103).

- (103) a. *Ale' nambu' burus bi' bato.*
 yngr.sibling AV.hit dog with rock
 ‘Little Brother hit the dog with rocks.’
- b. *Ale' nambu'-agi bato dha' burus.*
 yngr.sibling AV.hit-AGI rock to dog
 ‘Little Brother hit the dog with rocks.’
- c. *Bato e-tambu'-agi (dha') burus bi' Ale'.*
 rock OV-hit-AGI to dog by yngr.sibling
 ‘Little Brother hit the dog with rocks.’
- d. *Burus-sa e-tambu' (bi') bato bi' Ale'.*
 dog-DEF OV-hit by rock by yngr.sibling
 ‘Little Brother hit the dog with rocks.’

Note in (103) that either of the prepositions *dha'* ‘to’ (103c) or *bi'* ‘with’ (103d)

can be omitted when the PP is immediately adjacent to the verb, reminiscent of the omission of prepositions with verbs of cognition (section 1.4).

In some ways, the structures in (102) and (103) are similar to the spray/load alternation in English, and, in fact, *semprot* ‘spray’ is one of the verbs that evince this structure.

- (104) a. *Alwi nyemprot tembo' bi' cet.*
 Alwi AV.spray wall with paint
 ‘Alwi sprayed the wall with paint.’
- b. *Alwi nyemprod-dagi cet dha' tembo'.*
 Alwi AV.spray-AGI paint to wall
 ‘Alwi sprayed paint on the wall.’

Unlike the English counterparts, the two sentences in (104) are reported to be completely synonymous. It is not the case that (104a) implies that the wall is completely covered with paint, as it does in English, where this implication distinguishes it from (104b) in that the latter does not entail full coverage. Thus, despite the similarities with the English structure, including the prepositional marking of both the ‘instrument’ and the theme when not direct object, the Masurese structure is distinct.

Another basically instrumental construction including *-agi* derives verbs from certain nouns when they can be characterized as containers. The a-sentences represent the noun as the object of a preposition and the b-sentences the derived verb in a propositionally-equivalent sentence.

- (105) a. *Ali noles pang-asel-an e buku.*
 Ali AV.write NOM-succeed at book
 ‘Ali entered the income in the book.’
- b. *Ali a-buku-wagi pang-asel-an.*
 Ali AV-book-AGI NOM-succeed
 ‘Ali entered the income in the book.’
- (106) a. *Polisi nyaba' maleng e panjara.*
 police AV.put thief at jail
 ‘The police put the thief in jail.’
- b. *Polisi a-panjara'-agi maleng.*
 police AV-jail-AGI thief
 ‘The police jailed the thief.’

In (105a) *buku* ‘book’ is a prepositional object denoting the location of the

theme-object *pangaselan* ‘income’. In (105b), *buku* forms the root of the actor voice verb *abukuwagi* ‘to book’ (‘to enter in the books’). Here the subject *Ali* and the object *pangaselan* remain the same as in (105a) and the sentence is synonymous with the first. The sentences in (106) illustrate the same set of facts with the noun *penjara* ‘jail’. It should be noted that English has a similar structure in which *book* and *jail* are zero-derived transitive verbs, where *book* has the specialized meaning of charging a criminal act.

2.5. Intransitive predicates and causativization

As stated in section 2.1, generally speaking, affixation of *-agi* to an intransitive predicate derives a causative in which the subject of the root in its basic form is the causee and a causer argument is introduced, which is the subject in basic usage. This is illustrated by the pairs in (107-109).

(107) a. *Bambang senneng.*

Bambang happy
‘Bambang is happy.’

b. *Ita nyenneng-ngagi Bambang.*

Ita AV.happy-AGI Bambang
‘Ita makes Bambang happy.’

(108) a. *Na'-kana' rowa mole.*

RED-child that go.home
‘That child went home.’

b. *Ebu mole-yagi na'-kana' rowa.*

mother AV.go.home-AGI RED-child that
‘Mother made that child go home.’

(109) a. *Jawab-an-na terrang dha' red-mored.*

answer-NOM-DEF clear to RED-student
‘The answer is clear to the students.’

b. *Guru-na nerrang-ngagi jawab-an-na dha' red-mored.*

teacher-DEF AV.clear-AGI answer-NOM-DEF to RED-student
‘The teacher explained the answer to the students.’

In (107a) the theme of the verb *senneng* ‘happy’ is the subject *Bambang*. In (107b), when *-agi* is affixed to *senneng*, a causer argument, *Ita*, is added as subject, the theme *Bambang* is a bare postverbal NP, and the verb obligatorily takes

actor voice morphology, indicating a syntactically transitive structure. (108) and (109) have the same properties. In (109a), though, there is both a theme and a goal. In this case, the theme still becomes the postverbal bare NP and the goal, here *red-mored* ‘students’, remains object of the preposition *dha* ‘to’. There is speaker variation in acceptance of some causatives with *-agi*. For example, (109b) is widely accepted, whereas (107b) and (108b) are rejected by some speakers who consider them unacceptable. These issues are explored in the discussion of causatives in section 3.

As some of the bare verbs can take clausal arguments, some *-agi* causatives have clausal objects, as in (110) and (111).

- (110) *Guru-na nerrang-ngagi dha' red-mored ja' kapala sakola*
 teacher-DEF AV.clear-AGI to RED-student COMP head school
me-yos-a are Rebbu.
 come-IRR day Wednesday
 ‘The teacher explained to the students that the principal would visit on Wednesday.’

- (111) *Ebu' ng-yaken-nagi Bapa' ja' aba'eng kodu melle motor anyar.*
 mother AV-sure-AGI father COMP he must AV.buy car new
 ‘Mother convinced Father that he should by a new car.’

Again, while (110) is widely accepted, some speakers reject (111), favoring the use of the causative affix *pa-*, as in (112).

- (112) *Ebu ma-yaken Bapa' ja' aba'eng kodu melle motor anyar.*
 mother AV.CS-sure father COMP he must AV.buy car new
 ‘Mother convinced Father that he should by a new car.’

As with the previous instances of *-agi*, it is the object causee which is the subject of the object voice variants. (113-115) are the object voice variants of (107-109).

- (113) *Bambang e-senneng-ngagi Ita.*
 Bambang OV-happy-AGI Ita
 ‘Ita makes Bambang happy.’
- (114) *Na'-kana' rowa e-mole-yagi Ebu'.*
 RED-child that OV-go.home-AGI mother
 ‘Mother made that child go home.’

- (115) *Jawab-an-na e-terrang-ngagi guru dha' red-mored.*
 answer-NOM-DEF OV-clear-AGI teacher to RED-student
 'The teacher explained the answer to the students.'

With a number of predicates, causatives can be formed either with the *-agi* suffix or the causative prefix *pa-*. One such predicate is *senneng* 'happy'.

- (116) a. *Ita nyenneng-ngagi Bambang.*
 Ita AV.happy-AGI Bambang
 'Ita pleases Bambang.'
- b. *Ita ma-senneng Bambang.*
 Ita AV.CS-happy Bambang
 'Ita pleases Bambang.'

There is no difference in the interpretation of these two clauses (although individual speakers may have a preference for one or the other structure). It is also possible to combine the two affixes as in (117), with (117a) or without (117b) actor voice morphology on the verb root.

- (117) a. *Ita ma-nyenneng-ngagi Bambang.*
 Ita AV.CS-AV.happy-AGI Bambang
 'Ita makes Bambang happy.'
- b. *Ita ma-senneng-ngagi Bambang.*
 Ita AV.CS-happy-AGI Bambang
 'Ita makes Bambang happy.'

The sentences in (117) are considered more emphatic than the forms with a single causativizing morpheme. One further textual example is given in (118).

- (118) *Oreng gella' terro nolong-a Bu Randa ma-nyalamed-dagi Temon*
 person before want AV.help-IRR Mrs widow AV.CS-AV.safe-AGI Temon
Emmas dhari ma' butha se jahat jiya.
 Emmas from father giant REL evil this
 'That person wanted to help the widow protect Temon Emmas from the evil giant.'

2.6. Polite imperatives

Affixing *-agi* to an imperative form results in a softer or more polite request, as in (119b) and (120b).

- (119) a. *Saba' ket-paket rowa neng meja otaba neng korse!*
 put RED-package that at table or at chair
 'Put those packages on the table or on the chair!'
- b. *Saba'-agi ket-paket rowa neng meja otaba neng korse!*
 put-AGI RED-package that at table or at chair
 'Please, put those packages on the table or on the chair!'
- (120) a. *Nyare kaen kapan!*
 AV.seek fabric shroud
 'Look for a shroud!'
- b. *Nyare-yagi kaen kapan!*
 AV.seek-AGI fabric shroud
 'Please, look for a shroud!'

The polite interpretation of these imperatives is related to the benefactive function of *-agi* making the request less direct through the addition of an abstract null beneficiary.

2.7. Miscellaneous instances

With some predicates, *-agi* is an obligatory element in the derivation. One class of such verbs is those which take nominal roots, like those in (121) and (122).

- (121) *Ina ngabar-ragi ja' ter-dhokter juwa se ng-obad-i ana'-na*
 Ina AV.news-AGI COMP RED-doctor that REL AV-medicine-LOC child-DEF
Marlena.
 Marlena
 'Ina spread the news that those doctors are the ones who cured Marlena's child.'
- (122) *Ali a-bukte-yagi ka Hasan ja' Bambang a-berri' pesse dha' Wati.*
 Ali AV-proof-AGI to Hasan COMP Bambang AV-give money to Wati
 'Ali proved to Hasan that Bambang gave money to Wati.'

In (121) the root is *kabar* 'news', and in (122) *bukte* 'proof'. These have a causative interpretation such as 'make the news known' and 'make a proof', respectively.

2.8. The meaning/function of *-agi* and Indonesian *-kan*

Compared to *-e*, *-agi* appears to play a role in more disparate structures, making attempts at a unified account on largely semantic grounds relatively more difficult. In recent work, Cole & Son (2004) and Son & Cole (2008) have made proposals regarding Indonesian *-kan* which may shed some light on the appropriate analysis of *-agi*. In Son & Cole (2008), they propose that *-kan* is a morphological reflex of a primitive semantic predicate RESULT, which they hypothesize is a part of the semantic event structure in the relevant construction. They maintain that it is this RESULT head in the abstract structure that induces the causative meaning as well as the endpoint of a path and so on. It is unclear that *-agi* would be open to the same analysis inasmuch as instances of *-agi* in causatives are not significantly greater than instances of *-e* in causatives. In addition, Madurese contains the dedicated causative morpheme *pa-*.

In earlier work, Cole & Son (2004) propose a unified account of *-kan* as a derivational morpheme affecting argument structure, specifically a morpheme that licenses an argument in the argument structure that the base verb does not itself license syntactically. As they note in their 2008 work, however, it is not clear that argument structure is always affected, as in the case of *-kan* occurring on the verb when the beneficiary is a prepositional object or in the case of the specification of an endpoint. While it is not clear that this analysis can be applied part and parcel to *-agi*, aspects of it are appealing. A similar type of analysis in terms of argument structure and voice is entertained in section 4, but ultimately no unified analysis can be sustained.

3. Causatives

In most uses of *-e* and *-agi*, the semantic valence of a verb remains constant; the change is in the alignment of semantic arguments with syntactic structure, specifically with core arguments. This is true with the use of *-e* with ditransitives, verbs of communication, verbs of cognition, and so on, and the use of *-agi* with most transitive verbs, verbs of communications, instrumental constructions, and so on. However, data in sections 1.6 and 2.4 demonstrate that with some intransitive predicates in some instances affixation of *-e* or *-agi* changes the semantic valence, licensing an additional argument of causation. However, neither is the primary means of forming causative structures. The principal manner of forming morphological causatives is affixation of the causative prefix *pa-* (Chapter 4 section 1.1.7). In this section both synthetic (affixal) and periphrastic (syntactic) causatives are detailed.

The majority of synthetic causatives take the prefix *pa-* as in (123b) and (124b).

- (123) a. *Sinap peggel.*
 Sinap angry
 ‘Sinap is angry.’
- b. *Karim ma-peggel Sinap.*
 Karim AV.CS-angry Sinap
 ‘Karim made Sinap angry.’
- (124) a. *Todhi'-na tajem.*
 knife-DEF sharp
 ‘The knife is sharp.’
- b. *Koki-na ma-tajem todhi'.*
 cook-DEF AV.CS-sharp knife
 ‘The cook sharpened the knife.’

The stative intransitive predicates of the a-sentences form the root of the causative counterparts (the b-sentences) simply through affixation of *pa-*. Causative-type structures are also formed through embedding the basic clause as complement of verbs such as *soro* ‘command’, *gabay* ‘make’, *paksa* ‘force’, and others. These periphrastic causatives are illustrated in (125b) and (126b).

- (125) a. *Ali a-caca dha' ebu'-na.*
 Ali AV-talk to mother-DEF
 ‘Ali talked with his mother.’
- b. *Hasan nyoro Ali a-caca dha' ebu'-na.*
 Hasan AV.order Ali AV-talk to mother-DEF
 ‘Hasan made Ali talk with his mother.’
- (126) a. *Marlena ngerra' rote.*
 Marlena AV.slice bread
 ‘Marlena sliced the bread.’
- b. *Ebu' nyoro Marlena ngerra' rote.*
 mother AV.order Marlena AV.slice bread
 ‘Mother made Marlena slice the bread.’

As is clear by comparing the causative and non-causative counterparts in (125) and (126), in the periphrastic causative the non-causative clause simply follows the matrix predicate.

There is considerable speaker variation in the acceptability of various synthetic causative structures—variation that is detailed in what follows.

3.1. Causatives of stative intransitive verbs

Stative transitive verbs regularly form causatives through affixation of *pa-*. This is illustrated in (123) and (124), as well as in (127-129).

(127) *Mutmainah ma-sossa ca-kanca-na.*
 Mutmainah AV.CS-sad RED-friend-DEF
 ‘Mutmainah made her friends sad.’

(128) *Rokip ma-bungo tembo'.*
 Rokip AV.CS-blue wall
 ‘Rokip made the wall blue.’

(129) *Lar-olar ma-tako' Hosen.*
 RED-snake AV.CS-afraid Hosen
 ‘Snakes scare Hosen.’

In each case, in the actor voice form, both causer and causee are core arguments, subject and object respectively.

As described above, in many instances affixation of *-agi* or *-e* with such verbs also derives a causative. Thus, (130-132) are possible alternatives for (127-129).

(130) *Mutmainah nyossa'-agi ca-kanca-na.*
 Mutmainah AV.sad-AGI RED-friend-DEF
 ‘Mutmainah made her friends sad.’

(131) *Rokip a-bungo-wagi tembo'.*
 Rokip AV-blue-AGI wall
 ‘Rokip made the wall blue.’

(132) *Lar-olar nako'-e Hosen.*
 RED-snake AV.afraid-LOC Hosen
 ‘Snakes scare Hosen.’

In the main, the two forms of the causatives are completely synonymous. However, it is not the case that both forms are equally acceptable to all speakers. While the *pa-* causatives here are accepted by all and preferred by most, not all speakers accept all of the suffixed forms. Many accept (128) with *mabungo* ‘make blue’, but reject (131) with *abungowagi*.

The forms with the causative prefix *pa-* are considered more proper Madurese, the forms with *-agi* and *-e* seeming to bear a Javanese or Indonesian

influence some of the time. For example, some consider (133) with *najemme* ‘sharpen’ to be an unacceptable paraphrase of (124b) with *matajem*.

- (133) %*Koki-na najem-me todhi*.
 cook-DEF AV.sharp-LOC knife
 ‘The cook sharpened the knife.’

In other cases, the *-agi* or *-e* form seems to be equally acceptable, and in some cases preferred, e.g. *kennallagi* ‘introduce’.

- (134) a. *Ita kennaldha' Bambang*.
 Ita know to Bambang
 ‘Ita knows Bambang.’
- b. *Ina ngennal-lagi Ita dha' Bambang*.
 Ina AV.know-AGI Ita to Bambang
 ‘Ina introduces Ita to Bambang.’
- c. *Ina ma-kennal Ita dha' Bambang*.
 Ina AV.CS-know Ita to Bambang
 ‘Ina introduces Ita to Bambang.’
 lit. ‘Ina makes Ita know Bambang.’

3.2. Causatives of dynamic intransitive verbs

Dynamic intransitive verbs have characteristics distinct from the stative verbs. Most speakers accept *pa-* causatives formed on non-controlled root such as *dhateng* ‘come’, *entar* ‘go’, *gaggar* ‘fall’, *tedhung* ‘sleep’, and others. Thus, there are non-causative/causative pairs such as those in (135-137).

- (135) a. *Baji'-eng tedhung*.
 baby-DEF sleep
 ‘The baby is sleeping.’
- b. *Siti ma-tedhung baji'-eng*.
 Siti AV.CS-sleep baby-DEF
 ‘Siti put her baby to bed.’
- (136) a. *Bapa' labu*.
 father fall
 ‘Father fell.’

- b. *Ale' ma-labu Bapa'.*
 yngr.sibling AV.CS-fall father
 'Little Brother knocked Father down.'

(137) a. *Kana' rowa mole.*
 child that go.home
 'That child went home.'

- b. *Guru-na ma-mole kana' rowa polana ta' ng-lako-ne*
 teacher-DEF AV.CS-go.home child that because not AV-work-LOC
PR-ra.
 homework-DEF
 'The teacher made that child go home because he didn't do his
 homework.'

Additionally, some speakers accept some suffixed causatives with these verb roots. In all cases, the suffix used is *-agi*.

(138) *Siti nedhung-ngagi baji'-eng.*
 Siti AV.sleep-AGI baby-DEF
 'Siti put her baby to bed.'

(139) *Ale' ng-labu-wagi Bapa'.*
 yngr.sibling AV-fall-AGI father
 'Little Brother knocked Father down.'

(140) *Guru-na mole-yagi kana' rowa polana ta' ng-lako-ne*
 teacher-DEF AV.CS-go.home child that because not AV-work-LOC
PR-ra.
 homework-DEF
 'The teacher made that child go home because he didn't do his
 homework.'

There are fewer speakers who accept suffixed causatives with these verb stems than with stative intransitives. Periphrastic causatives are possible with a few of these roots but generally are not preferred.

Controlled (or agentive) dynamic intransitive verb roots evince yet a different pattern of causatives. The controlled dynamic intransitive verbs are those that take an actor voice prefix in their basic use, e.g. *berka'* 'run', *caca* 'talk', *lako* 'work', and others.

- (141) a. *Na'-kana' a-berka' dha' toko.*
 RED-child AV-run to store
 'The children ran to the store.'
- b. *Siti ma-berka' na'-kana' dha' toko.*
 Siti AV.CS-run RED-child to store
 'Siti made the children run to the store.'
- (142) a. *Nabun a-caca ka ebu'-na.*
 Nabun AV-talk to mother-DEF
 'Nabun talked to her mother.'
- b. *Hasan ma-caca Nabun ka ebu'-na.*
 Hasan AV.CS-talk Nabun to mother-DEF
 'Hasan made Nabun talk to her mother.'
- (143) a. *Ali a-lako.*
 Ali AV-work
 'Ali worked.'
- b. *Jaragan-na ma-lako Ali.*
 boss-DEF AV.CS-work Ali
 'The boss made Ali work.'

The causative sentences in (141b-143b) are not acceptable for all speakers. For some, only the periphrastic causatives in (144-146) are grammatical with this set of verbs.

- (144) *Siti nyoro na'-kana' a-berka' dha' toko.*
 Siti AV.order RED-child AV-run to store
 'Siti made the children run to the store.'
- (145) *Hasan nyoro Nabun a-caca ka ebu'-na.*
 Hasan AV.order Nabun AV-talk to mother-DEF
 'Hasan made Nabun talk to her mother.'
- (146) *Jaragan-na nyoro Ali a-lako.*
 boss-DEF AV.order Ali AV-work
 'The boss made Ali work.'

The sentences in (144-146) are acceptable to all speakers. To those for whom both variants are acceptable, the sentences in (141b-143b) imply more direct causation/coercion than do the periphrastic causatives.

3.3. Causatives of syntactically transitive verbs

Those verbs that are syntactically transitive, that is, verbs that take two core arguments in basic actor voice clauses, exhibit yet a slightly different fact pattern. With syntactically transitive verbs, the root with actor voice morphology forms the stem to which the causative morpheme is affixed. This is evident in the b- and c-sentences in the following.

- (147) a. *Red-mored noles sorat.*
 RED-student AV.write letter
 ‘The students wrote letters.’
- b. *Guru-na ma-noles red-mored sorat.*
 teacher-DEF AV.CS-AV.write RED-student letter
 ‘The teacher made the students write letters.’
- c. *Guru-na ma-noles sorat red-mored.*
 teacher-DEF AV.CS-AV.write letter RED-student
 ‘The teacher made the students write letters.’
- (148) a. *Bambang a-sapo kamar-ra.*
 Bambang AV-sweep room-DEF
 ‘Bambang swept his room.’
- b. *Bapa' ma-nyapo Bambang kamar-ra.*
 father AV.CS-AV.sweep Bambang room-DEF
 ‘Father made Bambang sweep his room.’
- c. *Bapa' ma-nyapo kamar-ra Bambang.*
 father AV.CS-AV.sweep room-DEF Bambang
 ‘Father made Bambang sweep his room.’
- (149) a. *Marlena ngerra' rote.*
 Marlena AV.slice bread
 ‘Marlena sliced the bread.’
- b. *Ebu' ma-ngerra' Marlena rote.*
 mother AV.CS-AV.slice Marlena bread
 ‘Mother made Marlena slice the bread.’

- c. *Ebu' ma-ngerra' rote Marlana.*
 mother AV.CS-AV.slice bread Marlana
 'Mother made Marlana slice the bread.'

The b- and c-sentences in (147-149) illustrate the fact that the verb stem is in the actor voice form, *noles*, *nyapo*, and *ngerra'*, respectively. Additionally, either order of causee and theme is usually possible. In (147b) the causee *red-mored* 'students' precedes the theme *sorat* 'letter' and in (147c) the order is reversed. An additional wrinkle is the fact that in many instances the sentence implies not so much coercion on the part of the causer but facilitation or a request. Thus, it is natural to interpret (147b,c) as the teacher instructing or aiding the students. But this can depend on the semantics of the verb and pragmatics of the clause. The causative sentences in (148b,c) imply more coercion than assistance (or at least the issuance of an order) inasmuch as a father is more likely to coerce or order someone to sweep than instruct or assist that person. With some transitive predicates, such as *pokol* 'hit', the theme (object) of the base verb is marked with the preposition *dha'* or *ka* 'to'.

- (150) a. *Kadir mokol Karim.*
 Kadir AV.hit Karim
 'Kadir hit Karim.'
- b. *Se ma-mokol Kadir dha' Karim jareya taretan-na dibi'.*
 REL AV.CS-AV.hit Kadir to Karim this sibling-DEF self
 'The one who caused Kadir to hit Karim was his own brother.'

For many speakers, periphrastic causatives are preferred with syntactically transitive verbs.

- (151) *Guru-na nyoro red-mored noles sorat.*
 teacher-DEF AV.order RED-student AV.write letter
 'The teacher made the students write letters.'
- (152) *Bapa' nyoro Bambang a-sapo kamar-ra.*
 father AV.order Bambang AV-sweep room-DEF
 'Father made Bambang sweep his room.'
- (153) *Ebu' nyoro Marlana ngerra' rote.*
 mother AV.order Marlana AV.slice bread
 'Mother made Marlana slice the bread.'

While many speakers reject the synthetic causatives in (147-149), all accept the sentences in (151-153). (However, the facilitation interpretation possible with

the causatives in (147-149) is unavailable with the causatives in (151-153).) In fact, some speakers who accept synthetic causatives of controlled dynamic intransitive verbs do not consider the synthetic causatives of syntactically transitive verbs well-formed and only accept the periphrastic causatives in (151-153). Of those who accept both varieties, synthetic causatives imply more coercion than the periphrastic causatives.

3.4. Patterns of acceptability

As pointed out in the preceding discussion, speakers differ in their acceptance of synthetic causatives. However, the variability is not completely idiosyncratic or unstructured. There is a clear pattern of acceptability along a continuum of verbs types organized in terms of argument structure. Speakers assess acceptability roughly at the various points in the continuum as set out in (154).

(154) Patterns of acceptability of synthetic causatives

stative intransitive verbs	-	noncontrolled dynamic intransitive verbs	-	controlled dynamic intransitive verbs	-	syntactically transitive verbs	-	ditransitive verbs
non-agentive						agentive		
intransitive						transitive		

This pattern of acceptability emerges from the description in the preceding sections. As described in section 3.1, synthetic causatives of stative intransitive verbs formed with *pa-* are acceptable to all speakers, as are synthetic causatives of non-controlled dynamic intransitive verbs as a whole. Within this group, however, some speakers more readily accept synthetic causatives with *-e* or *-agi* with statives than noncontrolled dynamic verbs. Thus some distinction between them in (154) is warranted. As described in section 3.2, while essentially all speakers can form synthetic causatives with non-agentive verbs, many reject them with agentive verbs, including both intransitive and transitive roots. Speakers falling into this category would thus accept sentences such as (123b) and (135b) but not (141b) or (147b), all reproduced below.

- (123) b. *Karim ma-peggel Sinap.*
 Karim AV.CS-angry Sinap
 ‘Karim made his father angry.’

- (135) b. *Siti ma-tedhung bayi'-eng.*
 Siti AV.CS-sleep baby-DEF
 'Siti put her baby to bed.'
- (141) b. *Siti ma-berka' na'-kana' dha' toko.*
 Siti AV.CS-run RED-child to store
 'Siti made the children run to the store.'
- (147) b. *Guru-na ma-noles red-mored sorat.*
 teacher-DEF AV.CS-AV.write RED-student letter
 'The teacher made the students write letters.'

Other speakers consider (123b), (135b), and (141b) acceptable, but not (147b). For these speakers transitivity and not volitionality appears to be the important criterion. Yet other speakers accept the four sentences under consideration but reject sentences such as (155b), which takes a ditransitive base.

- (155) a. *Ana'-eng nyaba' en-maen-an e dhalem kothak.*
 child-DEF AV.put RED-play-NOM at inside box
 'Here child put the toys in the box.'
- b. *Siti ma-nyaba' ana'-eng en-maen-an e dhalem kothak.*
 Siti AV.CS-AV.put child-DEF RED-play-NOM at inside box
 'Siti made her child put the toys in the box.'

A small minority of speakers find synthetic causatives based on some ditransitive verbs (as in (155b)) acceptable, if marginal.

Of course, the foregoing discussion is an idealization and speakers generally reject some synthetic causatives within the last category that they find acceptable, and so will accept as sentence such as (156) but not (157).

- (156) *Jaragan-na ma-lako Ali.*
 boss-DEF AV.CS-work Ali
 'The boss made Ali work.'
- (157) *Guru-na ma-mole kana' rowa polana ta' ng-lako-ne .*
 teacher-DEF AV.CS-go.home child that because not AV-work-LOC
PR-ra.
 homework-DEF
 'The teacher made that child go home because he didn't do his homework.'

However, the basic outline sketched above is relatively robust and noteworthy for that reason.

It is also striking that the basic patterns described fall within generalization noted on the basis of a wide variety of human languages. It has been reported that languages such as Arabic and Blackfoot (Shibatani 2002) can form synthetic causatives with intransitive stems only, but not with transitive predicates. For other languages, such as Seri, a Hokan language of northeastern Mexico, synthetic causatives of intransitive predicates are fully productive, but are possible with only a small number of transitive predicates.¹¹ A language such as Choctaw, a Muskogean language of Oklahoma and Mississippi, can form synthetic causatives on intransitive and transitive verbs but not ditransitive verbs (Davies 1986). Finally, Tarascan, a Meso-American language, permits synthetic causatives with intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive roots (Maldonado & Nava 2002). Thus, while Madurese speakers differ from one another regarding the categories of verbs that can serve as stems for synthetic causatives, the categories that are relevant are much the same as those observed for languages in general.

3.5. Structural variations

While the causative morpheme is normally prefixed directly to the verb stem, as described in Chapter 4 section 4.2, when the construction contains certain clitics, the ordering of the causative morpheme and the clitics can be variable. This is particularly true in negative structures. In particular, the negative element, which cliticizes to the verb complex, can occur in multiple positions with respect to the other morphemes. For example, in (158), in which the causative predicate is in the object voice, the negative clitic *lo'* can occur in any of three positions (as can the negative *ta'*, as *lo'* is simply a variant in the western dialect).

(158) a. *Samidin e-pa-lo'-a-lako bi' jaragan-na.*

Samidin OV-CS-not-AV-work by boss-DEF

'His boss didn't let Samidin work.'

b. *Samidin e-lo'-pa-lako bi' jaragan-na.*¹²

Samidin OV-not-CS.AV-work by boss-DEF

'His boss didn't let Samidin work.'

¹¹ I am indebted to Steve Marlett for discussing the Seri facts with me.

¹² The actor voice morpheme *a* in (158b,c) coalesces with the causative morpheme by a regular morphophonological process, accounting for the morphemic gloss CS.AV-work.

- c. *Samidin lo' e-pa-lako bi' jaragan-na.*
 Samidin not OV-CS.AV-work by boss-DEF
 'His boss didn't let Samidin work.'

In (158a), the negative morpheme immediately precedes the verb stem *alako* 'work (actor voice)' and immediately follows the causative. In (158b), *lo'* immediately precedes the causative morpheme and follows the object voice *e-*. In (158c), the negative occurs before the entire inflected stem *epalako* 'be made to work'. Despite the different ordering of morphemes, these sentences are truth-conditionally equivalent.

Structural variations also arise with reciprocal and collective constructions. As described in detail in Chapter 14 section 14.3, there are two principal means of forming reciprocals, either through the use of the distributive clitic *saleng* or through reduplication of the verb root plus the suffix *-an*.¹³ The synonymous sentences in (159) and (160) illustrate these.

- (159) *Na'-kana' saleng teggu' tanang-nga.*
 RED-child DIST hold hand-DEF
 'The children held hands.'

- (160) *Na'-kana' gu'-teggu'-an tanang-nga.*
 RED-child RED-hold-AN hand-DEF
 'The children held hands.'

Causative reciprocals can be formed with either of the two structures. In (161), the causative morpheme is affixed to the distributive morpheme *saleng*.

- (161) *Guru-na ma-saleng teggu' na'-kana' tanang-nga.*
 teacher-DEF AV.CS-DIST hold RED-child hand-DEF
 'The teacher made the children hold one another's hands.'

In the synonymous sentence in (162), the causative is affixed to the reduplicated stem, *gu'-teggu'*.

- (162) *Guru-na ma-gu'-teggu'-an na'-kana' tanang-nga.*
 teacher-DEF AV.CS-RED-hold-AN RED-child hand-DEF
 'The teacher made the children hold one another's hands.'

The order of nominals following the causative reciprocal verb *magu'-teggu'an* is relatively fluid. The unmarked order is the causee (here *na'-kana'* 'children')

¹³As described in Chapter 14, a number of morphemes other than *saleng* are also possible.

followed by theme (here *tanangnga* ‘their hands’). However, the theme can precede the causee, in which case overt definite marking on the causee is preferred and a slight pause or rising intonation precedes the causee (163).

- (163) *Guru-na ma-gu'-teggu'-an tanang-nga na'-kana' juwa.*
 teacher-DEF AV.CS-RED-hold-AN hand-DEF RED-child that
 ‘The teacher made the children hold one another’s hands.’

As *saleng* is cliticized to the following verb, the unmarked order of elements following *masaleng* is as in (161), verb - causee - theme, *teggu' na'-kana' tanangnga* ‘hold children their hands’. However, for some speakers the reverse order of causee and verb is acceptable, and (164) is considered a possible variant, indicating that the causative + *saleng* together form a verbal unit.

- (164) *Guru-na ma-saleng na'-kana' teggu' tanang-nga.*
 teacher-DEF AV.CS-DIST RED-child hold hand-DEF
 ‘The teacher made the children hold one another’s hands.’

Non-reciprocal distributive and collective clitics also can take causative morphology, as in (165) and (166), respectively.

- (165) *Siti ma-saleng Ali ban Hasan nokol Bambang.*
 Siti AV.CS-DIST Ali and Hasan AV.hit Bambang
 ‘Siti made both Ali and Hasan hit Bambang.’

- (166) *Guru-na ma-bareng berka' Ali ban Bambang.*
 teacher-DEF AV.CS-COLL run Ali and Bambang
 ‘The teacher made Ali and Bambang run together.’

Again, the causative morpheme + clitic appear to form a verbal unit as the order of elements following is somewhat fluid. For example, in (166) the verb *berka'* ‘run’ precedes the causee *Ali ban Bambang* while in the synonymous (167), the causee precedes the verb.

- (167) *Guru-na ma-bareng Ali ban Bambang a-berka'.*
 teacher-DEF AV.CS-COLL Ali and Bambang AV-run
 ‘The teacher made Ali and Bambang run together.’

4. The role of *-e* and *-agi*

Outside their use in causatives, the presence of *-e* and *-agi* in a clause largely

indicates that an argument that is syntactically oblique in the basic usage of the verb is a core argument in the clause. The data in section 1 demonstrate that *-e* is correlated with the presence of a core argument bearing a locative thematic role, including goal and goal-stimulus roles. The data in section 2 illustrate a correlation between *-agi* and the presence of a core argument with benefactive, instrumental, or subject matter thematic role. While generally considered applicative affixes in the literature on closely related languages (Arka 2003 on Balinese, Musgrave 2001 and Ross 2002 on Indonesian, Donohue 1999 on *Tukang Besi*), in these instances, these affixes actually parallel the function of the voice morphology. Specifically, as *-e/-agi* indicate linking of specific thematic roles with core argument status, actor voice indicates that the subject bears the actor/agent role and object voice indicates that the theme or some other non-actor argument is the subject. Viewed in this way, *-e* and *-agi* (in these uses) might be correctly considered part of the voice system and not merely applicative affixes.

On this view, Madurese is more closely allied with other western Austronesian languages recognized as having more highly articulated voice systems, languages such as the Philippine languages, Formosan languages, and Malagasy. For example, in Philippine languages, arguments bearing many different thematic roles can serve as subject of a clause. Special verbal morphology occurs depending on the role of the argument selected as subject. The sentences in (168) from Tagalog illustrate.

(168) Tagalog (Schachter 1976:494-495)¹

- a. *Mag-sali* *angbabae ng bigas sa sako para sa bata.*
 AT-will.take.out T-woman G-rice D-sack B-child
 'The woman will take some rice out of a/the sack for a/the child.'
- b. *Aalisin* *ng babae ang bigas sa sako para sa bata.*
 GT.will.take.out A-woman T-rice D-sack B-child
 'A/The woman will take the rice out of a/the sack for a/the child.'
- c. *Aalisan* *ng babae ng bigas ang sako para sa bata.*
 DT.will.take.out A-woman G-rice T-sack B-child
 'A/The woman will take some rice out of the sack for a/the child.'
- d. *Ipag-salis* *ng babae ng bigas sa sako ang bata.*
 BT-will.take.out A-woman G-rice D-sack T-child
 'A/The woman will take some rice out of a/the sack for the child.'

¹Schachter (1976) and Schachter and Otones (1972) refer to the subject as the 'topic'. Here T = topic, A = actor, G = goal, D = direction, and B = benefactive. Thus AT = actor topic, GT = goal topic, and so on.

In (168), *ang* marks the topic (subject) of the clause. In (168a), the actor, *babae* ‘woman’ is subject and the verb takes future actor topic morphology (in bold). In (168b), the theme (goal), *bigas* ‘rice’ is subject and the verb take future goal topic morphology. (168c,d) show the same for direction (locative) and benefactive arguments. As illustrated amply in Schachter and Otanes 1972, in Tagalog, the types of arguments that can be selected as subject and associated with distinct verbal (voice) morphology include actor, theme (goal), location/goal (direction), beneficiary, instrument, subject matter, time, manner, and others. The first six of these are the same roles that can be core syntactic arguments in Madurese, and like Tagalog, each is associated with specific verbal morphology (except when the theme is object and there is no overt affix).

There is, however, some question as to whether or not *-e* and *-agi* suffixes are properly treated as voice morphemes. Most analyses of Indonesian-type languages do not do so, and the Indonesian voice system is generally characterized as a two-voice system (Wolff 1996, Ross 2002, 2005). There have been alternative views though. Naylor (1978) explicitly draws the parallel between Philippine languages and Indonesian. Using the term ‘focus’ (as is standard in some of the literature), Naylor identifies Indonesian *-i* as ‘locative focus’ and *-kan* as ‘instrument focus’, and posits a null affix for ‘goal focus’ (marking themes as objects). Verhaar (1984) treats *-i* and *-kan* as part of the same system as the active (*meng-*) and passive (*di-*), referring to *-i* as the ‘locative role marker’ and describing *-kan* as marking one of five ‘semantic species’—‘benefactive’, ‘instrument’, ‘dative-accusative’, ‘accusative-accusative’, and ‘noncausative’. Additionally, he identifies *men...i* and *men...kan* as circumfixes ‘deriving *men*-verbs’ (1984:6), underscoring an analysis in which actor voice and *-i* and *-kan* are part of the same system. More recently, Musgrave, while stopping short of analyzing Indonesian *-i* and *-kan* as part of the voice system, does provide four arguments that ‘suggest that the Indonesian system is related’ to the Philippine systems (2001:72).

The apparent derivational nature of *-e* and *-agi* suffixes (especially with causatives) contributes to the applicative analysis. But the distinction between derivation and inflection in Madurese is blurred, and it is far from crystal clear that actor voice morphology is purely inflectional. As described in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, many lexical items denoting nominal entities can be used as verbs when affixed with the actor voice morpheme. Examples of this include:

(169)	root	actor voice
	<i>are</i> ‘scythe’	<i>ngare</i> ‘cut with a scythe’
	<i>pacol</i> ‘hoe’	<i>macol</i> ‘hoe’
	<i>tokol</i> ‘hammer’	<i>nokol</i> ‘hammer’
	<i>kaca</i> ‘glass, mirror’	<i>ngaca</i> ‘look in (use) a mirror’

<i>barung</i> ‘small shop’	<i>marung</i> ‘run a <i>barung</i> ’
<i>kole</i> ‘day laborer’	<i>ngole</i> ‘work as a day laborer’
<i>tokang</i> ‘artisan’	<i>nokang</i> ‘work as an artisan’
<i>sapedha</i> ‘bicycle’	<i>asapedha</i> ‘ride a bicycle’
<i>jala</i> ‘net’	<i>ajala</i> ‘fish with a net’
<i>motor</i> ‘car’	<i>amotor</i> ‘ride in a car’
<i>saba</i> ‘rice paddy’	<i>asaba</i> ‘work in a rice paddy’
<i>tane</i> ‘farm’	<i>atane</i> ‘farm’
<i>sakola</i> ‘school’	<i>asakola</i> ‘go to school’
<i>sapatu</i> ‘shoe’	<i>asapatu</i> ‘wear shoes’
<i>sorban</i> ‘turbin’	<i>asorban</i> ‘wear a turbin’
<i>kalambi</i> ‘shirt’	<i>akalambi</i> ‘wear a shirt’
<i>kaos</i> ‘t-shirt’	<i>akaos</i> ‘wear a t-shirt’

The forms in (169) portray the actor voice in a distinctly derivational manner. The left-hand column appears to consist of a list of nouns and the right-hand column as verbs derived from them through affixation of *ng-* or *a-*. Additionally, as the affixation of *ng-* or *a-* creates an argument-taking predicate, this process introduces an argument slot into the lexical item, much as an applicative morpheme can. This increases the parallelism between some uses of *-e* and *-agi* and *ng-* and *a-*. Clearly, when used with transitive and ditransitive verb roots, actor voice morphology is not always associated with an increase in the valence of its host or derives a verb from an item from a different lexical category. It is equally clear that the same is true of *-e* and *-agi*. Outside of causatives, *-e* and *-agi* do not add to the semantic valence of the verbs to which they are affixed. Thus, *-e* and *-agi* are no more straightforwardly derivational than is actor voice *ng-* and *a-*.

Other analyses of the facts in (169) are, of course, conceivable. The forms in the left-hand column need not be analyzed as nouns. It is possible that they are zero-derived verbs (such as *hammer* and *saw* in English), in which case the actor voice forms in the right-hand column are simply inflected verbs. That said, there is no particular evidence that determines such an analysis as necessarily correct. Discussion in Chapter 3 section 3.4 suggests the possibility of analyzing these as precategorical roots. But such an analysis entails that the actor voice morphology in these cases derives a verb from a precategorical root. The precategorical root analysis for Philippine languages entails that voice morphology there is associated with derivation of just this sort (Foley 1998, Kroeger 1998, Himmelmann 2007). So, in this view, Philippine voice is derivational and not inflectional. If Austronesian voice systems (including that of Madurese) should be considered purely inflectional or derivational begs an easy answer.

The distribution of *-e* and *-agi* points to an additional similarity to Tagalog voice. While *-e* and *-agi* can occur with verbs taking actor voice, speakers

treat some of these as ‘possible, but odd’, sometimes distinctly so. More importantly, actual usage indicates that outside of causatives, verbs with *-e* and *-agi* largely occur in object voice. That is, in the overwhelming majority of non-causative cases, *-e* and *-agi* occur when a location, goal, beneficiary, instrument, or subject matter argument is subject. This is comparable to the function of actor voice and object voice: they indicate what the thematic role of the subject is or is not. In a similar way, in most instances *-e* and *-agi* actually serve to indicate the role of the subject not the object. Textual evidence follows.

In connected discourse, such as the narrative texts in Chapter 16, the distribution of actor voice and object voice fluctuates between roughly 50/50 to a 40/60 split with object voice verbs predominating. For example, in the story *Ke Moko*, the raw count in transitive clauses is 50 actor voice and 64 object voice, roughly a 44/56 ratio. As the repeated use of a particular verb in a given text may skew the results, this potentially confounding effect can be factored out by considering only the number of distinct verbs used in each voice; in *Ke Moko* doing so changes the counts to 27 actor voice and 41 object voice, roughly a 40/60 ratio. If use of *-e* and *-agi* were unrelated to subject selection, the ratio of actor voice/object voice for *-e* and the ratio of actor voice/object voice for *-agi* should be similar to the general actor voice/object voice ratio. In *Ke Moko* this appears to be true of *-e*, which has a raw count of 4 actor voice and 5 object voice. However, it is not true of *-agi*. Verbs with the *-agi* suffix occur in 1 actor voice clause and 14 object voice clauses. Of the 15 tokens, 2 are causative, including the lone instance of actor voice. Given the relatively small number of tokens, any one text might not be representative. The results for an additional three stories is given in (170), along with the results for *Ke Moko*.

(170)	actor voice	object voice	<i>-e</i>		<i>-agi</i>	
			AV	OV	AV	OV
<i>Ke Moko</i>	50	60	4	5	1	14
<i>Joko Tole</i>	23	30	2	11	2	3
<i>Asal Molana Nyamana...</i>	45	59	3	12	3	8
<i>Siti Lalumba</i>	49	57	1	4	1	5

In the three additional stories, the actor voice/object voice ratio is similar to that in *Ke Moko*. The numbers of *-e* and *-agi* verbs show more fluctuation. However, the results taken together clearly indicate that a large majority of the *-e* and *-agi*

verbs occur in the object voice, thus indicating that an important if not principal function of *-e* and *-agi* is, in fact, in service of identifying the role of the subject. Viewed this way, *-e* and *-agi* appear to be part of the same morphological system as actor voice and object voice. And the function of them all combined parallels the role of voice morphology in western Austronesian languages, identifying the subject (or topic or focus) of a clause.

It is also the case that the distribution of Madurese voice (+ applicative) morphology can be quite similar to that of Philippine languages. A comparison of the relative occurrence of actor voice, object voice, and object voice + applicative morphology reported in Davies 2005 demonstrated that the pattern of distribution was quite comparable to that reported for Cebuano in Bell 1988. The comparison is given in (171). (The terminology for Cebuano voice categories is that used in Bell 1988. It differs somewhat from Schachter's 1976 terminology for Tagalog, which is the terminology most widely used in the literature on Philippine languages.)

(171)	Cebuano voice distribution (Bell 1988)		Madurese voice distribution (Davies 2005)	
	Agent-topic	50.7%	Actor voice	48.0%
	Object-topic	31.6%	Object voice	38.3%
	Reference-topic	12.4%	<i>-e</i>	9.7%
	Instrument-topic	5.0%	<i>-agi</i>	4.0%
	Total goal-topic	49.3%	Total object voice	52.0%

In (171), the object voice number (38.3%) reported for Madurese excludes object voice used with *-e* and *-agi*, and the *-e* and *-agi* categories represent those instances of *-e* and *-agi* combined with object voice. The 'total object voice' category combines object voice, *-e* and *-agi*, which is comparable to Bell's cover term 'goal-topic', the category comprised of all the non-agent-topic instances of voice morphology. As is clear from this table, as well as the figures for the Madurese texts given in (170), the combined effect of object voice and the applicative affixes is quite similar to Bell's tallies for Cebuano. Clearly, the statistics and their comparison is neither rigorous nor definitive. However, the remarkably similarity across the two languages is suggestive. The applicative morphology together with the voice morphology give a result quite like that of the richer voice systems found in some other Western Austronesian languages.

Despite this suggestion, it is clear that treating the *-agi* suffix as a part of the voice system of Madurese is no closer to providing a unified analysis than

any other account. There are instances of the suffix that clearly do not conform to such an analysis. As shown in section 2.1, *-agi* can occur when the beneficiary is not linked to any core argument position but remains a prepositional object, as in (83), repeated here.

- (83) *Sa'diyah melle-yagi permen kaangguy na'-kana'.*
 Sa'diyah AV.buy-AGI candy for RED-child
 'Sa'diyah bought candy for the children.'

Additionally, the data in section 2.3 illustrate a use of *-agi* in which it appears to specify the endpoint (either beginning or end) of the path of the theme object, as in (99b).

- (99) a. *Nembug bato-na.*
 AV-pile stone-DEF
 'They piled up the stones.'
- b. *Nembug-gagi bato-na neng Masjid Agung Bangkalan.*
 AV-pile-AGI stone-DEF at mosque Agung Bangkalan
 'They piled up the stones at the Agung Bangkalan Mosque.'

Thus, the same type of data that Son & Cole (2008) cite as undercutting their proposal for a unified syntactic analysis of Indonesian *-kan* (Cole & Son 2004) prove problematic for an argument-structure analysis (of either the type outlined here or that of Cole & Son 2004) for Madurese *-agi*. Likewise, however, the semantic analysis of Son & Cole (2008) in terms of *-agi* contributing an abstract result meaning faces difficulties when applied to data such as (83), which yields no semantic difference from the sentence without the suffix, (74a), and its use with verbs of communication, where the distinction is one of emphasis but not of any result semantics.

- (74) a. *Sa'diyah melle permen kaangguy na'-kana'.*
 Sa'diyah AV.buy candy for RED-child
 'Sa'diyah bought candy for the children.'
- (90) a. *Wati a-careta ka Marlana bab ibu'-na.*
 Wati AV-tell to Marlana about mother-DEF
 'Wati told Marlana about her mother.'
- b. *Wati a-careta'-agi ibu'-na ka Marlana.*
 Wati AV-tell-AGI mother-DEF to Marlana
 'Wati told Marlana about her mother.'

Finally, the existence of a dedicated causative prefix, *pa-*, adds another variable which must be taken into account in examining whether result semantics are dependent on the *-agi* suffix. However, at this point, the entire issue remains unresolved.

Chapter 11

Complex sentences

1. Coordination

When neither of the combined clauses dominates, Madurese has a variety of different coordinate conjunctions to indicate neutral, temporal, causal, and other relations between clauses.

The conjunction *ban* 'and' serves for the simple coordination of clauses, in neutral contexts indicating no special relationship between them other than simple association, as illustrated in (1-3).

- (1) *Sale maca koran ban Soleha noles sorat.*
Sale AV.read newspaper and Soleha AV.write letter
'Sale read the newspaper and Soleha wrote a letter.'
- (2) *Hasan entar dha' Jakarta ban Ali entar dha' Bali.*
Hasan go to Jakarta and Ali go to Bali
'Hasan went to Jakarta and Ali went to Bali.'
- (3) *Hadi kowat ban Bambang penter.*
Hadi strong and Bambang smart
'Hadi is strong and Bambang is smart.'

None of the sentences in (1-3) identifies any special relationship between the states of affairs in the two clauses, simply that in the context of the utterance, the two are in some way associated.

Although *bi* 'with' and *so* 'with' can be used to coordinate NPs (see section 1.1), they are not used to coordinate clauses.

- (4) *Sale maca koran ban/*so Soleha noles sorat.*
Sale AV.read newspaper and/with Soleha AV.write letter
'Sale read the newspaper and Soleha wrote a letter.'
- (5) *Bu Yus ngeba opor ayam ban/*bi' Bu Ita ngeba soto madura.*
Mrs Yus AV.bring opor ayam and/with Mrs Ita AV.bring soto madura
'Bu Yus brought opor ayam and Bu Ita brought soto Madura.'

In (1) *ban* conjoins the two clauses, while in (4) attempting to coordinate the clauses with *so* ‘with’ results in ungrammaticality. The same is shown in (5), where *ban* can coordinate the two clauses but *bi* cannot.

Disjunction is indicated with the conjunction *otaba* ‘or’.

- (6) *Siti badha e kantor otaba (aba'na) entar ka stasiun.*

Siti exist at office or she go to station
‘Siti is at the office or she went to the station.’

- (7) *Apa Ali a-lako otaba (aba'na) tedhung?*

what Ali AV-work or he sleep
‘Is Ali working or sleeping?’

As indicated in (6) and (7), and as is true of all coordinated clauses, if the subjects are shared by the two clauses, the second of the two is omissible. In this case, it may be that verb phrases rather than clauses are coordinated (see section 1.1).¹ However, null pronouns, especially subjects, are widespread throughout the language, so the structure is compatible with either analysis.

Contradiction or contrary to expectation is indicated with the coordinating conjunction *tape* ‘but’.

- (8) *Sohina a-berka' dha' taman tape Ina a-berka' dha' toko.*

Sohina AV-run to park but Ina AV-run to store
‘Sohina ran to the park, but Ina ran to the store.’

- (9) *Deni ma-becce' komputer tape paggun rosak.*

Deni AV.CS-good computer but still ruined
‘Deni fixed the computer, but it still doesn’t work.’

In (8), the different locations are being highlighted, as both Sohina and Ina run. Obviously, in (9), contrary to expectations, the computer that had supposedly been fixed by Deni in fact wasn’t fixed at all.

¹ This is not to say that it is impossible to coordinate two clauses in which a null subject of the second clause refers to a nonsubject in the first conjunct; that can surely arise, as in (i).

(i) *Ita ng-eccet bengko-na ban sateya barna-na mera.*

Ita AV-paint house-DEF and now color-DEF red
‘Ita painted her house and now it’s red.’

However, (i) is incompatible with a coordinated VP analysis because coordinated VPs must share subjects, and so the second conjunct should be interpreted as being predicated of *Ita*, which yields a pragmatically odd meaning.

The situation in (9) points to the fact that meanings in Madurese declarative clauses are not absolute but defeasible. That is, the fact that a speaker utters a particular declarative sentence does not commit that speaker to the truth of the statement. This becomes more obvious in the sentences in (10) and (11).

- (10) *Polisi nangkep maleng tape ta' kenneng.*
 police AV.catch thief but not get
 'The police caught the thief, but didn't catch him.'
- (11) *Mored-da a-tanya ka guru tape ta' bisa.*
 student-DEF AV-ask to teacher but not can
 'The students asked the teacher but couldn't ask.'

The implication in (10) is that the police made an attempt to catch the thief and almost had him, but in the end the thief got away. In (11), the student was unsuccessful in getting the question asked despite making an attempt. Thus, the assertion of the declarative sentence in the first conjuncts in (9-11) is cancelled by the negative assertion in the second conjunct.

To explicitly indicate temporally related clauses, *pas* 'then', *laju* 'next', or *terros* 'continue' can be used to coordinate two clauses. These are illustrated in (12-14).

- (12) *Koceng-nga ngkan juko', pas a-jilat badhan-na.*
 cat-DEF AV.eat fish then AV-lick body-DEF
 'The cat ate the fish and then washed itself.'
- (13) *E-jaza' sodagar dhari Makassar jareya bi' keyae, laju mangkat pole*
 OV-pray trader from Makassar this by kiai then leave again
nojju dha' Palembang.
 toward to Palembang
 'The kiai prayed for the Makassar trader, then they left for Palembang.'
- (14) *Hasan nambu' bato ka burus, terros buru.*
 Hasan AV.throw rock to dog continue run.away
 'Hasan threw a rock at the dog and then ran away.'

Finally, to show simultaneity of two events, the conjunction *sambi* can be used.

- (15) *Ale' a-rakora sambi ngejung.*
 yngr.sibling AV-wash.dishes while AV.sing
 'Little Sister washed dishes and sang.'

Perhaps the most commonly preferred form of coordination is parataxis, the juxtaposition of two independent clauses. The structure differs intonationally from two sentences uttered sequentially in that there is a rise at the end of the first clause and a shorter pause than is customary between two independent sentences. The two clauses can be related in a variety of ways, illustrated in (16-19).

- (16) *Hasan entar dha' Jakarta, Ali entar dha' Bali.*
 Hasan go to Jakarta Ali go to Bali
 'Hasan went to Jakarta, and Ali went to Bali.'
- (17) *Bapa' maca buku, Ebu' noles sorat.*
 father AV.read book mother AV.write letter
 'Father read a book, and Mother wrote a letter.'
- (18) *Deni ma-becce' komputer, sateya la becce'.*
 Deni AV.CS-good computer now already good
 'Deni fixed the computer and now it works.'
- (19) *Hasan biyasana ka'-kerka' e taman, sateya la nja' pole.²*
 Hasan usually RED-run at park now already not again
 'Hasan used to run in the park but doesn't anymore.'

The sentence in (16) is a simple coordination, synonymous with (2), although in the proper context it might be interpreted as a counterfactual (for instance, if the expectation is that Hasan and Ali traveled together as they normally do). In (17), the clauses are most likely interpreted as simultaneous actions, although again discourse context will play a deciding factor. The sentence in (18) establishes a cause-and-effect or temporal relation in which the action in the first clause precedes and accounts for that in the second. Finally, the juxtaposition of the positive and negative clauses implies a counterfactual relationship (19).

1.1. Subclausal coordination

Subclausal coordination differs from clausal coordination. Coordinating conjunctions such as *otaba* 'or' and *tape* 'but', which are used with clauses, can be used to coordinate constituents smaller than the clause. In (20) and (21), noun phrases have been coordinated.

² It should be noted that the temporal expression *sateya* 'now' cannot be considered a conjunction, as is, say, *pas* 'then' in (12). Note that in (18) *sateya* comes in clause-final position rather than the clause initial position found in (19). This is characteristic of temporal adverbials but not conjunctions. *Pas* cannot occur clause finally.

(20) *Rohima lo' ngenom kopi otaba teh.*
 Rohima not AV.drink coffee or tea
 'Rohima doesn't drink coffee or tea.'

(21) *Hanina ngenom kopi tape banne teh.*
 Hanina AV.drink coffee but not tea
 'Hanina drinks coffee but not tea.'

The coordination in (21) is not a case of clausal coordination with *banne teh* 'not tea' taken to be a clausal fragment, and thus an instance of clausal coordination. As discussed in Chapter 3 section 3.1.1, *banne* is the negative morpheme used with nouns, not with verbs or clauses. Therefore, the coordinated elements in (21) are *kopi* 'coffee' and *banne teh* 'not tea', and (21) must be analyzed as coordination of two noun phrases (or nominal elements at some level of structure).

The differences emerge when coordinating NPs and PPs. While *bi'* 'with', and *(mo)so* 'with' cannot be used to coordinate clauses, they can be used to coordinate NPs, as can *ban* 'and'.

(22) *Bambang bi' Ita melle buku.*
 Bambang and Ita AV.buy book
 'Bambang and Ita bought books.'

(23) *Ebu' so Bapa' a-lan-jalan ka pasar.*
 mother with father AV-RED-walk to market
 'Mother and Father walked to the market.'

(24) *Minggu se tapongkor Ali ban Atin entar dha' Bali.*
 week REL behind Ali and Atin go to Bali
 'Last week Ali and Atin went to Bali.'

Speakers differ somewhat in coordinating PPs. *Ban* can be used to coordinate constituents at any level and is preferred for coordinate PPs (25).

(25) *Sengko' a-temmo tang kanca neng kantor pos ban neng toko buku.*
 I AV-meet my friend at office post and at bookstore
 'I met my friends at the post office and at the bookstore.'

The acceptability of both *bi'* and *so* in coordinating PPs is much less certain. Most speakers find *bi'* acceptable in some instances, though some do not. All of the speakers consulted accepted *bi'* in (26). *So*, however, is sometimes rejected when coordinating PPs, but is accepted by many speakers in the sentence in (27) (thus the % annotation). Again, *ban* is acceptable in both environments.

- (26) *Ebu' namen tomat e seddi'-eng roma bi' e antara-na*
 mother AV.plant tomato at side-DEF house and at between-DEF
ka'-bunka'an raja.
 RED-tree big
 'Mother planted tomatoes beside the house and between the big trees.'

- (27) %*Na'-kana' a-berka' dha' sakola'an so dha' pasar.*
 RED-child AV-run to school and to market
 'The children ran to school and to the market.'

For the coordination of lexical items, *ban*, *bi'*, and *so* can all be used, as can *otaba* and *tape*. Again, *ban* is accepted by all speakers, whereas *bi'* and *so* are sometimes rejected. Coordination of nouns is illustrated in (28) and (29).

- (28) *Burus ban koceng se raja juwa ngakan kakan-an-na Ale'.*
 dog and cat REL big that AV.eat eat-NOM-DEF yngr.sibling
 'The large dog and cat ate Little Brother's food.'
 'The dog and that large cat ate Little Brother's food.'

- (29) *Ali ma-becce' motor bi' sapedha motor rowa.*
 Ali AV.CS-good car and motorcycle that
 'Ali fixed that car and motorcycle.'
 'Ali fixed a/the car and that motorcycle.'

There is systematic ambiguity in (28) and (29), as reflected in the dual translations. The two interpretations of (28) depend on whether the relative clause *se raja* 'that is big' modifies both *burus* 'dog' and *koceng* 'cat' or only modifies *koceng*. When conjunction is at the word level, *burus* and *koceng* jointly head the relative clause *se raja* 'that is big' and both are interpreted as being large. When conjunction is at the phrases level, *burus* and *koceng se raja* are coordinated and only the cat is interpreted as being large. In (29), conjunction at the word level results in *motor* 'car' and *sapedha motor* 'motorcycle' being conjoined and *rowa* 'that' has scope over both nouns: they are assumed to be close together or grouped together. When conjunction is at the phrasal level *rowa* has scope only over *sapedha motor*; here the interpretation is 'a/the car and that motorcycle'.

For verbs and VPs, only *ban* is an acceptable coordinating conjunction; *bi'* and *so* are consistently rejected in this environment. (30) and (31) illustrate coordination of verbs and verb phrases.

- (30) *Paman manceng ban/*bi' a-massa' juko' jiya.*
 uncle AV.pole and AV-cook fish this
 'Uncle caught and cooked this fish.'
- (31) *Na'-kana' ngejung ban/*so a-tari ce' senneng-nga.*
 RED-child AV.sing and AV-dance very happy-DEF
 'The children sang and danced very happily.'

Finally, at the sub-PP level, the complex prepositions present a somewhat more mixed picture. Once again, conjunction with *ban* is fully acceptable.

- (32) *Ceng-koceng-nga Pa' Tono tedhung e attas-sa ban e baba-na meja.*
 RED-cat-DEF Mr Tono sleep at top-DEF and at under-DEF table
 'Pak Tono's cats slept on and under the table.'

Conjunction with *so* is more widely accepted than with *bi'*; however, examples with both are acceptable to many speakers.

- (33) *Na'-kana' a-maen e dhalem so e lowar-ra roma.*
 RED-child AV-play at inside and at outside-DEF house
 'The children played inside and outside the house.'
- (34) *Tokang pos nyaba' paket e seddi'-eng bi' e budhi-na roma.*
 worker post AV.put package at side-DEF and at back-DEF house
 'The mail carrier put packages beside and behind the house.'

All in all, coordination with *ban* is preferred over coordination with *bi'* or *so*, even when the latter two are considered acceptable.

2. Complementation

A variety of predicates can or must take a clause as one of their arguments. As there are no tense distinctions or participial forms in Madurese, predicates cannot be straightforwardly categorized in terms of distinctions in the finiteness of their complements as is done in many languages. However, these predicates can be sorted into rough categories and subcategories on the basis of morphological and syntactic characteristics, admitting some overlap in category membership. After examining these categories, specific properties of these structures are examined in more detail, including sentential subjects, the nature of control, the issue of raising, the unique nature of aspectual predicates, and others.

The first broad categorization that can be identified is whether the complement clause may take a complementizer or other subordinating conjunction. The most commonly used subordinating conjunction for complement clauses is *ja'*, which is translated as 'that' or 'if/whether' depending upon the semantics of the matrix predicate and the discourse context. For example, the complement of a predicate such as *ker*a 'think/guess' can take a complementizer (35) whereas the complement of a verb such as *coba'* 'try' cannot (36).

(35) a. *Siti ngera ja' Ina mangkat dha' Jakarta are Kemmes.*
 Siti AV.think COMP Ina leave to Jakarta day Thursday
 'Siti thinks that Ina left for Jakarta on Thursday.'

b. *Siti ngera Ina mangkat dha' Jakarta are Kemmes.*
 Siti AV.think Ina leave to Jakarta day Thursday
 'Siti thinks Ina left for Jakarta on Thursday.'

(36) a. *Ali nyoba' ma-becce' sapedha motor-ra bi' obing.*
 Ali AV.try AV.CS-good motorcycle-DEF with screwdriver
 'Ali tried to fix his motorcycle with a screwdriver.'

b. **Ali nyoba' ja' mabecce' sapedha motorra bi' obing.*
 COMP

Note that the complementizer *ja'* is optional with the matrix predicate *ker*a 'think'. When it is present (34a), the sentence is grammatical, as it is when *ja'* is absent (34b). With *coba'* 'try', however, neither *ja'* nor any other subordinating conjunction is acceptable; thus (35a) is grammatical but (35b) is not.³ With the matrix verb *tao* 'know', *ja'* can be translated as 'if' or 'whether', particularly when negated, as in (37).

³ The impossibility of *ja'* with the complement of *coba'* 'try' in (36b) is not due to the fact that the complement has no overt subject here. First, overt complementizers are not incompatible with complement clauses taking null subjects, as illustrated in (i), in which the complementizer *ja'* immediately precedes the embedded verb *mabecce'* 'fix' and the embedded subject is understood to be coreferential with the matrix subject *Ali*.

(i) *Ali a-janji dha' Ita ja' ma-becce'-a labang-nga.*

Ali AV-promise to Ita COMP AV.CS-right-IRR door-DEF

'Ali promised Ita that he would fix the door.'

Second, it is possible for *coba'* to take an overt subject in the complement clause which may or may not be coreferential with the subject of the main clause. The complementizer is still unacceptable in this environment.

(ii) *Ali nyoba' (*ja') Bambang ma-becce' sapedha motor-ra bi' obing.*

Ali AV.try COMP Bambang AV.CS-good motorcycle-DEF with screwdriver

'Ali tried (to have) Bambang to fix his motorcycle with a screwdriver.'

- (37) *Siti lo' tao ja' Ina mangkat dha' Jakarta are Kemmes.*
 Siti not know COMP Ina leave to Jakarta day Thursday
 'Siti does not know whether Ina left for Jakarta on Thursday.'

In this environment, *apa* 'what' can occur in initial position in the complement clause (38), and the complement can be analyzed as an embedded yes/no question. (See Chapter 14, section 1 for a discussion of yes/no questions.)

- (38) *Siti lo' tao apa Ina mangkat dha' Jakarta are Kemmes.*
 Siti not know what Ina leave to Jakarta day Thursday
 'Siti does not know whether Ina left for Jakarta on Thursday.'

For many speakers, *mon* 'if' acts as a primary complementizer as well, with the same properties as *ja'*. While this might be expected with embedded questions, such as (39), its use is not limited to these environments. As the clauses in (40) and (41) indicate, both *ja'* and *mon* can be used in non-interrogative environments.

- (39) *Siti lo' tao mon Ina mangkat dha' Jakarta are Kemmes.*
 Siti not know if Ina leave to Jakarta day Thursday
 'Siti does not know whether Ina left for Jakarta on Thursday.'

- (40) *Sinap ma-yaken Wati mon/ja' bapa'-eng banne maleng.*
 Sinap AV.CS-sure Wati if/COMP father-DEF not thief
 'Sinap convinced Wati that their father is not a thief.'

- (41) *Anom a-janji dha' Bibbi' mon/ja' labang-nga bakal e-pa-becce'*
 uncle AV-promise to aunt if/COMP door-DEF will OV-CS-good
are Sennen.
 day Monday
 'Uncle promised Auntie that the door would be fixed on Monday.'

Within the category of complement clause-compatible predicates, only some predicates can take sentential subjects in their basic use (that is, neutral or actor voice). The majority of predicates, however, take object complements. Those taking sentential subjects include *budhu* 'stupid' (42) and *pacengngeng* 'surprise' (43).⁴ Those taking object complements include *kera* 'think' (35) and *tao* 'know' (37) as well as *payaken* 'convince' and *janji* 'promise'.

⁴ Some speakers prefer the use of *mon* to *ja'* with clausal subjects or the absence of an overt complementizer altogether.

- (42) *Ja'mon Siti melle roma anyar budhu.*
 COMP/if Siti AV.buy house new stupid
 'That Siti bought a new house is stupid.'
- (43) *Ja'mon Ali se nga-rosak komputer ma-cengngeng Siti.*
 COMP/if Ali REL AV.KA-ruined computer AV.CS-surprise Siti
 'That Ali ruined the computer surprised Siti.'

Naturally, the semantics of the matrix predicates determine whether or not a sentential subject is possible in the basic form.

While virtually every predicate allows the subordinating conjunction in the complement clause to be optional with no obvious affect on meaning, physical perception predicates such as *katela'* 'see' and *edhing* 'hear' can behave differently. When the complement occurs without a complementizer, the assertion is that the subject of the matrix predicate directly perceived the state of affairs denoted in the complement, as in (44). The occurrence of an overt complementizer is unacceptable with perception predicates, and so (45) is judged ungrammatical.⁵ The impossibility of a complementizer with perception predicates is reported by Donohue (1999) for *Tukang Besi*.

- (44) *Aba'eng nga-tela' oreng teppa'-eng moger ka'-bungka'-an se*
 he AV.see person right-DEF AV.chop RED-tree-AN REL
ce' raja-na.
 very big-DEF
 'He saw a man chopping a very big tree.'
- (45) **Aba'eng nga-tela' ja' oreng teppa'-eng moger ka'-bungka'-an se*
 he AV.see COMP person right-DEF AV.chop RED-tree-AN REL
ce' raja-na.
 very big- DEF
 (He saw that a man had chopped a very big tree.)

However, at times while the complement of the perception predicate may occur without a complementizer, there is no implication of direct perception by the subject. Thus in (46) the perception predicate *pereng* 'hear' does not that the king directly perceived his daughter's pregnancy aurally, just that he heard about the state of affairs.

⁵ Some young speakers consider (45) acceptable, but with a difference in meaning. When the complementizer is present the implication is that the subject gained the knowledge second hand.

- (46) *Bid-abid-da rato pas mereng ana' bine'-eng tong-settong-nga jareya*
 RED-long-DEF king then AV-hear daughter-DEF RED-one-DEF this
ngandung.
 AV.pregnant
 'Eventually, the king heard that his daughter was pregnant.'

The complements of some predicates never occur with the subordinating conjunctions *ja'* or *mon*. These include aspectual predicates, such as *molae* 'start' (47), and predicates that generally impose coreference restrictions between the complement subject and a matrix argument, such as *larang* 'prevent' (48).

- (47) *Hasan molae a-berse'-e motor-ra Wati.*
 Hasan start AV-clean-LOC car-DEF Wati
 'Hasan began to clean Wati's car.'
- (48) *Guru rowa a-larang red-mored maca ku-buku-na*
 teacher that AV-present RED-student AV.read RED-book-DEF
naleka-na badha pang-ajar-an.
 moment-DEF exist NOM-study
 'The teacher prevented the students from reading their books during the lesson.'

Aspectual predicates such as *molae* 'start' are detailed in section 5 and predicates such as *larang* 'prevent' are treated in section 4 on control.

These morphosyntactic properties of predicates align roughly with semantic classes of predicates as well. Thus, verbs of communication, verbs of cognition and mental state, and some others fall into the class of verbs that take complements with optional complementizers. Verbs of persuasion and manipulation and verbs of desire generally disallow complementizers and require coreference of one of their arguments and the actor of the complement clause, that is, they occur in a control structure. Aspectual predicates generally behave as a class with properties distinct from the other categories (as discussed in section 5). Predicates taking sentential subjects are generally evaluative intransitive predicates and causative verbs of emotional state. Samples of each category are given in (49-52).

- (49) Verbs taking complements with optional complementizer (*ja'/mon*)
bala 'say'
bukteyagi 'prove'
enga' 'remember'
janji 'promise'
kabarragi 'spread the news'

kasta 'regret'
kerá 'think/guess'
lapor 'report'
tanya('agi) 'ask'
yaken 'sure'

- (50) Verbs disallowing complements with complementizer (*ja'/mon*)

coba' 'try'
endha' 'willing'
jajal 'try'
lantor 'allow'
olleyagi 'allow'
oman 'persuade'
pasksa 'force'
soro 'order'
terro 'want'

- (51) 'Aspectual' predicates

ambu 'stop'
asel 'succeed'
kenneng 'get'
molae 'start'
terros 'continue'

- (52) Predicates allowing sentential subjects

bahaya 'dangerous'
budhu 'stupid'
juba' 'bad'
lecek 'untrue'
pacengngeng 'surprise'
pasenneng 'make happy'
pasossa/sossa'agi 'made sad'

3. Sentential subjects

A limited set of predicates admit sentential subjects in their basic usage. One type can be characterized as intransitive evaluative predicates, such as *bendher* 'true', *juba'* 'bad', *lecek* 'untrue', *sala* 'wrong' and others, as exemplified in (53) and (54). Sentential subjects are generally set off from the predicate by comma intonation, i.e. a rise on the final word of the subject followed by a brief pause. Additionally, many speakers prefer the use of *mon* to *ja'* in these sen-

tences, although others judge them acceptable with either form. As *mon* is more widely accepted, it occurs first in the data that follow.

- (53) a. *Mon/Ja' Sinap lo' lulus ujiyan, lecek.*⁶
 if/COMP Sinap not pass exam untrue
 'That Sinap did not pass the exam is untrue.'
- b. *Lecek, mon/ja' Sinap lo' lulus ujiyan.*
 untrue if/COMP Sinap not pass exam
 'It is untrue that Sinap did not pass the exam.'
- (54) a. *Mon/Ja' Embuk nyabis dha' Bibbi' ba'ari', becce'.*
 if/COMP eld.sister AV.go to aunt yesterday good
 'That Big Sister went to visit Auntie yesterday is good.'
- b. *Becce', mon/ja' Embuk nyabis dha' Bibbi' ba'ari.*
 good if/COMP eld.sister AV.go to aunt yesterday
 'It is good that Big Sister went to visit Auntie yesterday.'

In (53a), the clausal subject precedes the predicate *lecek* 'untrue'; the same occurs in (54a), where the predicate is *becce'* 'good'. In the b-sentences, the subject follows the predicate. As is the case in the English translational equivalents, the structure with the sentential subject following the predicate is more common. As is expected, no overt preverbal pronominal element is required in the Madurese sentences. It is possible, however, for some speakers to have a deictic element occur in this position, as in (55) and (56), although not all speakers find this to be completely acceptable (thus the % annotation).

- (55) %*Juwa lecek, mon/ja' Sinap lo' lulus ujiyan.*
 that untrue if/COMP Sinap not pass exam
 'It is untrue that Sinap did not pass the exam.'
- (56) %*Ajiya becce', mon/ja' Embuk nyabis dha' Bibbi' ba'ari.*
 this good if/COMP eld.sister AV.go to aunt yesterday
 'It is good that Big Sister went to visit Auntie yesterday.'

The sentences in (55) and (56) are dislocation structures, with the clausal element clarifying the referents of the pronominal elements *juwa* 'that' and *ajiya* 'this'.

⁶ Many speakers prefer the Indonesian spelling for 'exam' *ujiyan*. Here I follow Samoe-din (1977) and use the spelling *ujiyan*, which reflects the glide which is inserted between the vowels. See Chapter 2 on glide epenthesis.

If the subject is non-overt or arbitrary, the complementizer need not occur (57a) and (58a), although it can, as in (57b) and (58b). Again there is speaker variation, with some showing a marked preference for *mon* ‘if’ rather than *ja* ‘that’ in this structure.

- (57) a. *Lo' lulus ujiyan, lecek.*
not pass exam untrue
‘That he/she did not pass the exam is untrue.’
- b. *Mon/Ja' lo' lulus ujiyan, lecek.*
if/COMP not pass exam untrue
‘That he/she did not pass the exam is untrue.’
- (58) a. *Nyabis dha' Bibbi' ba'ari, becce'.*
AV.go to aunt yesterday good
‘That he/she went to visit Auntie yesterday is good.’
- b. *Mon/Ja' nyabis dha' Bibbi' ba'ari, becce'.*
if/COMP AV.go to aunt yesterday good
‘That he/she went to visit Auntie yesterday is good.’

Finally, even with an overt subject NP in the embedded complement, the complementizer is omissible, whether the clausal subject precedes the predicate (59a) and (60a), or follows it (59b) and (60b).

- (59) a. *Sinap lo' lulus ujiyan, lecek.*
Sinap not pass exam untrue
‘That Sinap did not pass the exam is untrue.’
- b. *Lecek, Sinap lo' lulus ujiyan.*
untrue Sinap not pass exam
‘It is untrue that Sinap did not pass the exam.’
- (60) a. *Embuk nyabis dha' Bibbi' ba'ari, becce'.*
eld.sister AV.go to aunt yesterday good
‘That Big Sister went to visit Auntie yesterday is good.’
- b. *Becce', Embuk nyabis dha' Bibbi' ba'ari.*
good eld.sister AV.go to aunt yesterday
‘It is good that Big Sister went to visit Auntie yesterday.’

The second group of predicates which regularly admit sentential subjects in basic usage is causative predicates of emotional states—predicates such as *pasenneng* ‘make happy’, *pasossa* ‘make sad’, *pacengngeng* ‘surprise’, and others. There is again speaker variation with respect to the acceptability of some of these structures, as well as variation in preference of *ja'* and *mon*.

- (61) %*Mon/Ja' Ale' ngeco' sapedha ma-sossa Ebu'*.
if/COMP yngr.sibling AV.steal bicycle AV.CS-sad mother
‘That Little Brother stole a bicycle made Mother sad.’
- (62) %*Mon/Ja' Pa' Sale se mennang addu-wan ma-cengngeng oreng*.
if/COMP Mr Sale REL AV.win compete-NOM AV.CS-surprise person
‘That Pak Sale was the one who won the competition surprised people.’

Again, the complementizer is optional.

- (63) *Ale' ngeco' sapedha ma-sossa Ebu'*.
yngr.sibling AV.steal bicycle AV.CS-sad mother
‘That Little Brother stole a bicycle made Mother sad.’
- (64) *Pa' Sale se mennang addu-wan ma-cengngeng oreng*.
Mr Sale REL AV.win compete-NOM AV.CS-surprise person
‘That Pak Sale was the one who won the competition surprised people.’

Sentential subjects also occur with predicates that take clausal object complements when the predicate is in the object voice, as in (65) and (66). Speakers exhibit a strong preference for the cleft construction in these instances, perhaps because the insertion of the relative marker *se* and the cleft intonation make the structures easier to parse.

- (65) *Ja' Ina mangkat dha' Jakarta are Kemmes se la e-ker a Siti*.
COMP Ina leave to Jakarta day Thursday REL already OV-think Siti
‘Siti thought that Ina left for Jakarta on Thursday.’
- (66) *Ma-becce' sapedha motor-ra bi' obing se e-coba' bi' Ali*.
AV.CS-good motorcycle-DEF with screwdriver REL OV-try by Ali
‘Ali tried to fix his motorcycle with a screwdriver.’

(65) is the object voice variant of (35a) and (66) the object voice variant of (36a).

4. Control

Unlike predicates taking object complements that can occur with the subordinating conjunction *ja'*, one class of predicates usually requires coreference between one of its arguments and an argument in the complement clause. At times the matrix coreferential argument is the actor, as in (67) and (68), and at times it is an object argument, as in (69) and (70).

- (67) *Ari terro ajar-a basa inggris neng Australia.*
 Ari want study-IRR language English at Australia
 'Ari wants to study English in Australia.'
- (68) *Bu Nus nyajal nerrang-ngagi jawab-an dha' mored-da.*
 Mrs Nus AV.try AV.clear-AGI answer-NOM to student-DEF
 'Bu Nus tried to explain the answer to her students.'
- (69) *Eppa' paksa Wati melle maen-an kaangguy Ale'.*
 father AV.force Wati AV.buy play-NOM for yngr.sibling
 'Father forced Wati to buy a toy for Little Brother.'
- (70) *Ebu' a-lantor na'-kana' nenggu tifi sa.ejjam aggi'.*
 mother AV-allow RED-child AV.watch TV one.hour later
 'Mother let the children watch TV for one more hour.'

In (67), *Ari* is the subject, the actor, of the matrix predicate *terro* 'want' and is obligatorily coreferential with the actor of the embedded clause *ajara basa inggris neng Australia* 'study English in Australia'. The embedded predicates of verbs of desire generally occur with the irrealis suffix *-a*, as is true of *ajar* 'study' in (67). Likewise, the verb *tolak* 'refuse' requires its actor, the subject in the actor voice, to be coreferential with the embedded actor. Thus, in (68), *Ina ban Siti* is both matrix and complement actor. Predicates such as *paksa* 'force' (69) and *lantor* 'allow' (70) require coreference between the matrix object and embedded actor; thus *Wati* is both object and actor in (69), as is *na'-kana'* 'children' in (70). Unlike most of the other predicates in this class, most speakers also accept complements of *terro* 'want' with a non-coreferential actor, as in (71).

- (71) *Ebu' terro Ari ajar-a basa inggris neng Australia.*
 mother want Ari study-IRR language English at Australia
 'Mother wants Ari to study English in Australia.'

As illustrated in (72), *coba* 'try' also allows a non-coreferential actor in the complement.

- (72) *Ali nyoba' Bambang ma-becce' sapedha motor-ra bi' obing.*
 Ali AV.try Bambang AV.CS-good motorcycle-DEF with screwdriver
 'Ali tried (to have) Bambang to fix his motorcycle with a screwdriver.'

These structures are reminiscent of control structures in other languages, though without any obvious non-finiteness or tense restrictions on the complement clause typically found in other languages. Additionally, while the coreference requirement is generally (though not exclusively) sensitive to grammatical functions in other languages such as subject and object, the coreference requirement for these structures in Madurese is largely sensitive to thematic relations. For example, the embedded argument in control structures in the majority of languages must be the subject. In Madurese, it is generally the embedded actor argument that must be coreferential. This is clear in (73), in which the embedded clause is an object voice structure.

- (73) *Ali nyoba' sapedha motor-ra e-pa-becce' bi' obing.*
 Ali AV.try motorcycle-DEF OV-CS-good with screwdriver
 'Ali tried to fix his motorcycle with a screwdriver.'

In (73), the embedded subject of the object voice predicate *epabecce* 'fix' is *sapedha motorra* 'his motorcycle'. The coreferential argument is the non-overt actor, which is understood to be *Ali*. Madurese thus differs from many languages of the world but behaves the same as Tagalog (Schachter 1976), where in many cases it is the actor, not the subject/topic which must be coreferential with a matrix argument.

The facts are the same for structures in which it is a nonactor matrix argument which must corefer with an embedded argument. This is illustrated with the verb *lantor* 'allow' in (74).

- (74) *Ebu' a-lantor na'-kana' tifi e-tunggu sa.ejjam aggi'.*
 mother AV-allow RED-child TV OV-watch one.hour later
 'Mother let the children watch TV for one more hour.'

In (74), the embedded subject is *tifi*. However, the matrix object *na'-kana'* 'children' is coreferential with the unexpressed embedded actor of *tunggu* 'watch'. The sentence in (74) is synonymous with the sentence in (70), in which the complement clause has an actor voice structure.

For many speakers, it is also possible for the matrix clause of subject control verbs to occur in the object voice. This is illustrated with the verb *coba* 'try' in (66), and again in (75) with *jajal* 'try'.

- (75) %*Magi permen-na dha' embug-ga se e-jajal Ina ban Siti.*
 AV.give candy-DEF to eld.sister-DEF REL OV-try Ina and Siti
 'Ina and Siti tried to give their candy to their older sister.'

In (75), the agent/actor *Ina ban Siti* corefers with the embedded actor. With respect to object control, all speakers allow the matrix predicate of an object control predicate to occur in the object voice, (76).

- (76) *Wati e-paksa Eppa' melle maen-an kaangguy Ale'.*
 Wati OV-force father AV.buy play-NOM for yngr.sibling
 'Father forced Wati to buy a toy for Little Brother.'

In (76) the matrix non-actor subject *Wati* corefers with the embedded actor. In none of these instances are grammatical functions relevant to the coreference requirement. Again, the coreference requirement matches that reported by Schachter (1976) for Tagalog. While all the structures illustrated thus far are possible, the preferred structure in neutral contexts is that in which the actor is subject in the embedded clause. The other structures emerge with the appropriate discourse context.

The actor requirement is not absolute however. It is possible to coerce coreference between the matrix argument and a non-actor subject of a complement clause. However, such sentences require sufficient context and in some instances speakers reject the sentences as unacceptable.

- (77) *Maleng gila rowa nyoba' e-tangkep bi' polisi.*
 thief crazy that AV.try OV-catch by police
 'That crazy thief tried to get caught by the police.'
- (78) *Ebu' a-lantor na'-kana' e-pareksa dhokter.*
 mother AV-allow RED-child OV-examine doctor
 'Mother allowed the children to be examined by the doctor.'

In (77), *maleng gila rowa* 'that crazy thief' corefers with the complement theme subject, not the actor. This obtains here in spite of the fact that previous examples ((36a), (66)) have demonstrated that *coba'* 'try' adheres to the complement actor control requirement. However, the semantics of the embedded clause and the pragmatics of the typical behavior of police and thieves (with respect to who catches whom) conspire to coerce the meaning in (77). Similar circumstances coerce coreference between the matrix them subject and embedded subject in (78). It is noteworthy that some degree of volitionality is imputed to the embedded subjects in (77) and (78), which is similar to the volitionality of the actors in the typical examples. When the embedded clause is in the actor voice, this

coercion is impossible. The sentences in (79) and (80), the actor voice counterparts of (77) and (78), are unacceptable.

- (79) **Maleng gila rowa nyoba' polisi nangkep.*
 thief crazy that AV.try police AV.catch
 (That crazy thief tried to get caught by the police.)
- (80) **Ebu' a-lantor na'-kana' dhokter juwa mareksa.*
 mother AV-allow RED-child doctor that AV.examine
 (Mother allowed the children to be examined by the doctor.)

As null objects are permitted in Madurese, the unacceptability of (79) and (80) cannot be attributed to the non-overt objects here. Thus, in a minority of cases, coreference in terms of matrix argument and embedded subject can be stipulated.

Some speakers allow an overt pronoun to occur in the complement clause with select matrix predicates. Thus, while the majority of speakers reject (81), a minority consider it acceptable.

- (81) %*Wati e-paksa (bi') Eppa' aba'eng melle maen-an kaangguy*
 Wati OV-force by father he AV.buy play-NOM for
Ale'
 yngr.sibling
 'Father forced Wati to buy a toy for Little Brother.'

In (81), *aba'eng* in the complement corefers with *Wati* in the matrix clause, and (81) is taken to be synonymous with (76) with greater emphasis placed on the fact that it is Wati who is forced to do the buying. Regardless of the degree of acceptability of the sentences with overt pronouns in complement clauses, they are not preferred structures and not universally accepted.

Finally, many of these predicates such as *coba'* 'try', *jajal* 'try', *terro* 'want', and others permit the embedded object to occur as the matrix subject, as illustrated in (82b) and (83b).

- (82) a. *Bibbi' terro melle-ya motor se anyar.*
 aunt want AV.buy-IRR car REL new
 'Auntie wants to buy a new car.'
- b. *Motor se anyar terro e-belli-ya Bibbi'.*
 car REL new want OV.buy-IRR aunt
 'Auntie wants to buy a new car.'

- (83) a. *Ali nyoba' ma-becce' sapedha motor-ra bi' obing.*
 Ali AV.try AV.CS-good motorcycle-DEF with screwdriver
 'Ali tried to fix his motorcycle with a screwdriver.'
- b. *Sapedha motor-ra e-coba' e-pa-becce' Ali bi' obing.*
 motorcycle-DEF OV-try OV-CS-good Ali with screwdriver
 'Ali tried to fix his motorcycle with a screwdriver.'

In (82b) and (83b), the predicates of the complement clauses are obligatorily in the object voice. With *coba'* 'try', the matrix verb must also be in object voice; with *terro* 'want', there is no such requirement as the verb occurs with no voice marking. These structures are often referred to as 'crossed control' because the agent of both verbs occurs in the embedded clause rather than the matrix clause. Crossed control has been reported in Indonesian (Polinsky and Potsdam 2008, Davies and Kurniawan 2010), Javanese (Polinsky and Postdam 2008), Malay (Nomoto 2008), Sundanese (Davies and Kurniawan 2010), and many others. This distinguishes these predicates from verbs such as *endha'* 'be willing', *enga'* 'remember', and others with which a complement object may not occur in the matrix subject position.

- (84) a. *Eppa' endha' magi pesse-na ka na'-kana' se lapar.*
 father willing AV.give money-DEF to RED-child REL hungry
 'Father was willing to give money to the hungry child.'
- b. **Pesse-na endha' e-bagi Eppa' ka na'-kana' se lapar.*
 money-DEF willing OV-give father to RED-child REL hungry
 'Father was willing to give money to the hungry child.'

5. Aspectual predicates

Another category of predicates that require coreference and disallow complements with the complementizers can be roughly (but imperfectly) characterized as aspectual predicates. This class includes *ambu* 'stop', *asel* 'succeed', *burung* 'fail', *kenneng* 'get', *molae* 'start', *terros* 'continue', and others, illustrated in (85) and (86).

- (85) *Ina molae maca sorad-da Ebu'.*
 Ina start AV.read letter-DEF mother
 'Ina started to read Mother's letter.'

- (86) *Kaka' terros ng-eccet bengko rowa.*
 eld.brother continue AV-paint house that
 'Big Brother continued to paint the house.'

The sentences in (85) and (86) have the same surface appearance as the control predicates *coba'* 'try', *jajal* 'try', and *terro* 'want' in section 11.4: subject - verb - verb (-object) There is no possibility of complementizers *ja'* or *mon* preceding the second verb. Additionally, it appears that the matrix subject is coreferential with the complement clause actor.

In addition to the complementizer and coreferentiality restrictions, like *coba'* 'try', *jajal* 'try', and *terro* 'want', a complement object can occur as matrix subject, provided the embedded predicate is in object voice.

- (87) *Sorad-da Ebu' molae e-baca (bi') Ina.*
 letter-DEF mother start OV-read by Ina
 'Ina started to read Mother's letter.'
- (88) *Bengko rowa terros e-eccet (bi') Kaka'.*
 house that continue OV-paint by eld.brother
 'Big Brother continued to paint the house.'

Also, when the complement object is matrix subject, it is possible to reorder the agentive PP to sentence-initial position.

- (89) *Bi' Ina, sorad-da Ebu' molae e-baca.*
 by Ina letter-DEF mother start OV-read
 'Ina started to read Mother's letter.'
- (90) *Bi' Kaka', bengko rowa terros e-eccet.*
 by eld.brother house that continue OV-paint
 'Big Brother continued to paint the house.'

In (89), the agent of reading, *bi' Ina*, occurs in sentence-initial position, as is the agent of painting, *Kaka'* 'Big Brother', in (90). Embedded agents of *coba'* 'try', *jajal* 'try', and *terro* 'want' can also be fronted under the same conditions.

- (91) *Moso Bibbi', motor se anyar terro e-belli-ya.*
 by aunt car REL new want OV.buy-IRR
 'Auntie wants to buy a new car.'
- (92) *Bi' Ali, sapedha motor-ra e-coba' e-pa-becce' bi' obing.*
 by Ali motorcycle-DEF OV-try OV-CS-good with screwdriver
 'Ali tried to fix his motorcycle with a screwdriver.'

This structure is unavailable with other matrix predicates.

- (93) **Moso Embuk, karces-sa la enga' e-bagi ka kondhektur.*
 by eld.sister ticket-DEF already remember OV-give to conductor
 (Big Sister remembered to give her ticket to the conductor.)

There are some differences between the two classes of predicates. As illustrated in section 4, coreference of the complement subject and the matrix argument is optional—a non-coreferential complement subject is possible with *coba* ‘try’, *jajal* ‘try’, and *terro* ‘want’, (71) and (72). This option is unavailable for aspectual predicates. Thus the sentences in (94) and (95) are both unacceptable.

- (94) **Pa' Salim la ambu ana'-na ng-eccet bengko-na.*
 Mr Salim already stop child-DEF AV-paint house-DEF
 (Pak Salim stopped his son painting the house.)
- (95) **Ina molae Siti maca sorad-da Ebu'.*
 Ina start Siti AV.read letter-DEF mother
 (Ina started Siti reading Mother’s letter.)

The aspectual predicates also differ from *coba* ‘try’, *jajal* ‘try’, and *terro* ‘want’ as well as object control predicates as their complement clause may not be in object voice if a complement object is not the matrix subject.

- (96) **Ina molae sorad-da Ebu' e-baca.*
 Ina start letter-DEF mother OV-read
 (Ina started reading Mother’s letter.)
- (97) **Kaka' terros bengko rowa e-eccet.*
 eld.brother continue house that OV-paint
 (Big Brother continued to paint the house.)

Thus, it is impossible for the complement of an aspectual predicate to have an overt subject distinct from the matrix subject, neither a non-coreferential actor argument (94-95) nor the complement object (96-97). Therefore, despite the acceptability of object voice marking in the complement (87-88), the complement of aspectual predicates appears not to include a syntactic subject position.

6. Prolepsis

Most verbs that take clausal object complements can also occur in structures in which an argument of the complement is a dependent of the matrix clause. Thus, alongside the basic structure, in which the matrix predicate is in actor voice, as in (98a) and (99a) are sentences such as (98b) and (99b).⁷

- (98) a. *Siti ngera ja' Ina mangkat ka Jakarta are Kemmes.*
 Siti AV.think COMP Ina leave to Jakarta day Thursday
 'Siti thinks that Ina left for Jakarta on Thursday.'
- b. *Ina e-ker a (bi') Siti ja' mangkat ka Jakarta are Kemmes.*
 Ina OV-think by Siti COMP leave to Jakarta day Thursday
 'Siti thinks that Ina left for Jakarta on Thursday.'
- (99) a. *Ina a-bala ka Ebu' ja' Nabun a-berri' konce juwa dha' Sa'diyah.*
 Ina AV-say to mother COMP Nabun AV-give key that to Sa'diyah
 'Ina said to Mother that Nabun gave the key to Sa'diyah.'
- b. *Nabun e-bala'-agi (bi') Ina ka Ebu' ja' a-berri' konce juwa*
 Nabun OV-say-AGI by Ina to mother COMP AV-give key that
dha' Sa'diyah.
 to Sa'diyah
 'Ina said to Mother that Nabun gave the key to Sa'diyah.'

In (98b):

- the matrix verb *ker a* 'think' is in object voice,
- the actor of *ker a* is postverbal, optionally in a prepositional phrase headed by *bi'* 'by', and
- the subject of *ker a*, *Ina*, corresponds to the embedded subject of (98a).

The sentence in (99b) shows the same constellation of facts with *bala* in the object voice, the actor *Ina* in postverbal position, and the subject of *bala* the same as the embedded subject of (99a).

Similar structures in closely related languages have been analyzed as raising structures in which the matrix subject of the b-sentences either raises from a base position in the embedded clause or is shared between the matrix and em-

⁷ Some verbs, such as *yaken* 'be sure' take no voice marking in the basic structure.

bedded clauses (see Chung 1976 and Kana 1986 for Indonesian, Davies 1990 for Javanese, Arka 2003 for Balinese, and Kurniawan 2010). These analyses liken the structure of these sentences to the English sentence in (100).

(100) Kate is believed by many to have been selected Daughter of the Year.

However, the facts surrounding the Madurese sentences indicate that the structure more closely parallels the English sentence in (101).

(101) Many believe of Kate that she was selected Daughter of the Year.

The English construction is akin to what has been referred to by Higgins (1981) as ‘prolepsis’ in Zacapoaxtla Nahuat and in Ancient Greek and Latin, in which an apparent nonthematic object in the matrix clause anticipates the referent of that object as a thematic argument of the embedded clause. Examination of the Madurese structures indicates many differences between sentences such as (98b) and (99b) and the grammatical properties generally cited as characteristic of raising structures but points to similarities between the Madurese and prolepsis structures.

The structures in the a-sentences and the b-sentences have obvious differences inasmuch as the matrix verb is in actor voice in one and object voice in the other. This not a necessity for the prolepsis structure, however. Although a subtle difference, (102b) is a prolepsis structure while (102a) is not.

(102) a. *Siti ngera ja' Ina mangkat ka Jakarta are Kemmes.*

Siti AV.think COMP Ina leave to Jakarta day Thursday
‘Siti thinks that Ina left for Jakarta on Thursday.’

b. *Siti ngera Ina ja' mangkat ka Jakarta are Kemmes.*

Siti AV.think Ina COMP leave to Jakarta day Thursday
‘Siti thinks about Ina that she left for Jakarta on Thursday.’

The only difference between the two structures is that in (102a), the basic structure, the complement subject *Ina*, follows the complementizer *ja'* while in (102b) *Ina* precedes *ja'*. However, the verb *ker* ‘think’ is exceptional in that it has precisely the same form in the basic and prolepsis structures. In all other cases, the matrix verb has additional morphology, either the locative *-e* suffix or the *-agi* suffix in the prolepsis structures. The b-sentences are translated here as instances of prolepsis.

(103) a. *Guru-na yaken Bambang bakal lulus ujiyan.*

teacher-DEF sure Bambang will pass exam
‘The teacher is sure Bambang will pass the exam.’

- b. *Guru-na ng-yaken-ne Bambang ja' bakal lulus ujiyan.*
 teacher-DEF AV-sure-LOC Bambang COMP will pass exam
 'The teacher is sure about Bambang that he will pass the exam.'

(104) a. *Ina a-bala ka Ebu' ja' Nabun a-berri' konce juwa*
 Ina AV-say to mother COMP Nabun AV-give key that
dha' Sa'diyah.
 to Sa'diyah
 'Ina said to Mother that Nabun gave the key to Sa'diyah.'

- b. *Ina a-bala'-agi Nabun ka Ebu' ja' a-berri' konce juwa*
 Ina AV-say-AGI Nabun to mother COMP AV-give key that
dha' Sa'diyah.
 to Sa'diyah
 'Ina said about Nabun to mother that she gave the key to Sa'diyah.'

In (103b), the locative suffix *-ne* and concomitant actor voice marking indicate that *Bambang* is a matrix dependent, differentiating it from the embedding construction in (103a). And in (104b), the suffix *-agi* in and the fact that *Nabun* precedes a matrix clause argument, *ka Ebu'* 'to mother', indicate that *Nabun* is a matrix dependent, unlike (104a). So, the basic embedding structure is distinguishable from the prolepsis structure on the basis of word order and morphology.

The suffixal morphology has the same function here as it does elsewhere. As described in Chapter 10, *-e* and *-agi* indicate that what is a prepositional argument in basic structure has been selected as a core argument: the locative suffix indicating that a goal is a core argument and *-agi* indicating that a benefactive argument, instrumental argument, subject matter argument and so on is a core argument. There are synonymous sentences in which the additional matrix dependent in the b-sentences occurs in a prepositional phrase. The sentence in (105) is synonymous with (103b).

(105) *Guru-na yaken ka Bambang ja' bakal lulus ujiyan.*
 teacher-DEF sure to Bambang COMP will pass exam
 'The teacher is sure about Bambang that he will pass the exam.'

In (105), *Bambang*, which is the actor of the embedded clause, is object of the preposition *ka 'to'* in the matrix clause. Thus, the presence of the locative suffix in (103b) parallels that in (106b), in which the goal argument that is object of the preposition *ka 'to'* in (106a) occurs as a core argument.

- (106) a. *Soleha enga' ka nyama-na guru-na.*
 Soleha remember to name-DEF teacher-DEF
 'Soleha remembered her teacher's name.'
- b. *Soleha ng-eng'a-e nyama-na guru-na.*
 Soleha AV-remember-LOC name-DEF teacher-DEF
 'Soleha remembered her teacher's name.'

Similarly, (107), in which *Nabun* is object of the preposition *bab* 'about', is synonymous with (104b).

- (107) *Ina a-bala bab Nabun ka Ebu' ja' a-berri' konce juwa*
 Ina AV-say about Nabun to mother COMP AV-give key that
dha' Sa'diyah.
 to Sa'diyah
 'Ina said about Nabun to Mother that she gave the key to Sa'diyah.'

In (107), *bab Nabun* 'about Nabun' is the subject matter argument of *bala* 'say'. Thus, the relationship of (107) and (104b) parallels that of (108a) and (108b) (discussed in Chapter 10 section 2.2).

- (108) a. *Ita a-bala bab Lukman ka Soleha.*
 Ita AV-say about Lukman to Soleha
 'Ita talked about Lukman with Soleha.'
- b. *Ita a-bala'-agi Lukman ka Soleha.*
 Ita AV-say-AGI Lukman to Soleha
 'Ita talked about Lukman with Soleha.'

In (108b), the subject matter argument *Lukman* occurs as a core argument and the verb takes the *-agi* suffix. The *-agi* suffix in (104b) indicates the same about the subject matter argument *Nabun*.

The fact that the additional argument in these structures can occur as a prepositional argument highlights the parallel with the English prolepsis structure. But even when the argument is a bare NP core argument, the suffixal morphology indicates the same relationship. Although *ker'a* 'think' in (102b) has no suffix, the matrix dependent *Ina* can occur as a prepositional object, as in (109).

- (109) *Siti ngera parkara Ina ja' mangkat ka Jakarta are Kemmes.*
 Siti AV.think about Ina COMP leave to Jakarta day Thursday
 'Siti thinks about Ina that she left for Jakarta on Thursday.'

The verb *kerá* is exceptional with respect to the lack of suffixal morphology. The pairs of sentences in (110) and (111) illustrate further examples of the *-e* and

-agi suffixes on matrix predicates in prolepsis structures. The prolepsis sentences are given in the object voice, reflecting the preference of speakers with respect to these structures.

(110) a. *Ita lo' tao ja' Ali la mare a-berri' pesse ka Amir.*
Ita not know COMP Ali already finish AV-give money to Amir
'Ita didn't know that Ali had given money to Amir.'

b. *Ali lo' e-ka-tao-we Ita ja' la mare a-berri' pesse*
Ali not OV-KA-know-LOC Ita COMP already finish AV-give money
ka Amir.
to Amir
'Ita didn't know about Ali that he had given money to Amir.'

(111) a. *Ali a-janji ka Siti ja' labang-nga la e-pa-becce'-a*
Ali AV-promise to Siti COMP door-DEF already OV-CS-good-IRR
are Sennen.
day Monday
'Ali promised Siti that the door would be fixed by Monday.'

b. *Labang-nga e-janji-yagi Ali ka Siti ja' la e-pa-becce'-a*
door-DEF OV-promise-AGI Ali to Siti COMP already OV-CS-good-IRR
are Sennen.
day Monday
'Ali promised Siti about the door that it would be fixed by Monday.'

Also pointing to the prolepsis analysis of the Madurese sentences is the fact that the basic structure (those sentences in which the argument is only a dependent of the embedded clause) and the prolepsis structure are not entirely synonymous. That is, the pairs of sentences in (102-104) and (110-111), have subtly different interpretations. This is illustrated with a further example in (112).

(112) a. *Ita a-bukte-yagi ja' Hasan ngeco' sapedha motor.*
Ita AV-prove- AGI COMP Hasan AV.steal motorcycle
'Ita proved that Hasan stole the motorcycle.'

b. *Ita a-bukte-yagi Hasan ja' ngeco' sapedha motor.*
Ita AV-prove-AGI Hasan COMP AV.steal motorcycle
'Ita proved Hasan stole the motorcycle.'

Speakers report that although the same basic state of affairs is presented in the pair in (112), in (112a) Ita is proving that a certain event took place, but in (112b) she is proving some fact about Hasan, and thus is attributing something to Hasan. Similarly, in (110a), the sentence asserts that Ita did not know a particular fact, while (110b) asserts that Ita did not know something about Ali, in particular the fact that he gave money to Amir. These different interpretations parallel the facts of the pair of English sentences in (113).

- (113) a. *Many thought that Kate had been selected as Daughter of the Year.*
 b. *Many thought about Kate that she had been selected as Daughter of the Year.*

This lack of synonymy does not occur between basic and raising structures in English.

- (114) a. *Many believe that Kate had been selected as Daughter of the Year.*
 b. *Many believe Kate to have been selected as Daughter of the Year.*

The facts described thus far are consistent with an analysis in which the argument shared between the matrix and embedded clauses occurs in both clauses. The fact that an overt pronoun in the complement clause is possible supports such an analysis.

- (115) *Ina a-bala'-agi Nabun ka Ebu' ja' aba'eng a-berri' konce juwa*
 Ina AV-say-AGI Nabun to mother COMP she AV-give key that
dha' Sa'diyah.
 to Sa'diyah
 'Ina said about Nabun to Mother that she gave the key to Sa'diyah.'

The complement clause in (115) includes a pronominal subject *aba'eng* 'she' which obligatorily refers to *Nabun*, a matrix dependent. The sentence in (115) is completely synonymous with (104b), which contains no overt pronoun in the complement. Inasmuch as null pronouns are quite common in Madurese, especially in subject position, it is plausible that there is a null pronoun in (104b), again coreferential with the matrix dependent *Nabun*, and that (99b) is more faithfully represented as in (116), where *pro* represents a null pronoun that is coindexed with *Nabun*.

- (116) *Ina a-bala'-agi Nabun_i ka Ebu' ja' pro_i a-berri' konce juwa*
 Ina AV-say-AGI Nabun to mother COMP AV-give key that
dha' Sa'diyah.
 to Sa'diyah
 'Ina said about Nabun to Mother that she gave the key to Sa'diyah.'

Overt pronouns are also acceptable in the embedded clauses in other examples. There is a preference for the overt pronoun not to be too close to its antecedent, so the most acceptable sentences are those with matrix object voice. (117) is synonymous with (110b), and (118) synonymous with (98b).

- (117) *Ali lo' e-ka-tao-we Ita ja' la mare a-berri' pesse*
 Ali not OV-KA-know-LOC Ita COMP already finish AV-give money
ka Amir.
 to Amir
 'Ita didn't know about Ali that he had given money to Amir.'

- (118) *Ina e-kerā (bi') Siti ja' mangkat ka Jakarta are Kemmes.*
 Ina OV-think by Siti COMP leave to Jakarta day Thursday
 'Siti thinks that Ina left for Jakarta on Thursday.'

It is notable that the matrix NP need not be a subject in the embedded clause. In (119), *Hasan* is the agent of the embedded clause, and would be expected to occur postverbally. In (120) *Hasan* is the possessor of the object of the embedded clause, *ana* 'child', and in (121) *Hasan* is the possessor of the subject of the embedded clause. In each case, a null pronoun occupies the expected location of the NP although an overt pronoun is also possible.

- (119) *Siti ngera Hasan_i ja' motor juwa e-belli pro_i.*
 Siti AV.think Hasan COMP car that OV-buy
 'Siti thinks that Hasan bought that car.'

- (120) *Siti ngera Hasan_i ja' dhokter juwa mareksa ana'-eng pro_i.*
 Siti AV.think Hasan COMP doctor that AV.examine child-DEF
 'Siti thinks that the doctor examined Hasan's child.'

- (121) *Marlena a-bala'-agi Hasan_i ja' embi'-eng pro_i ngekke' Ali.*
 Marlena AV-say-AGI Hasan COMP goat-DEF AV.bite Ali
 'Marlena said that Hasan's goat bit Ali.'

Object positions are licit as well:

- (122) *Siti ngera Hasan_i ja' dhokter juwa mareksa aba'eng_i.*
 Siti AV.think Hasan COMP doctor that AV.examine he
 'Siti thinks that the doctor examined Hasan.'

- (123) *Ita, e-ka-loppa-en sengko' ja' Adi a-kerem paket dha' aba'eng_i*
 Ita OV-KA-forget-LOC I COMP Adi AV-send package to her
dhari Kanada.
 from Canada
 'I forgot about Ita that Adi sent a package to her from Canada.'

In the case of the direct object (122), the overt pronoun is preferred by most speakers, and, in the case of the prepositional object (123), the pronoun must be overt.

The last feature of note is the interpretation of idioms in the prolepsis structure. A classic argument for raising has been the fact that chunks of idioms can retain their idiomatic interpretation, even when raised (e.g., Postal 1974). Thus, in (124), *the cat* can retain the idiomatic meaning of 'secret' that it has in the construction *the cat is out of the bag* (124a), even when it is the matrix clause subject (124b) or object (124c).

- (124) a. *It seems that the cat is out of the bag.*
 b. *The cat seems to be out of the bag.*
 c. *We expect the cat to be out of the bag well before the date of the party.*

In the Madurese construction, idiomatic meaning is not available. First, consider the sentence in (125), which has both an idiomatic and literal interpretation.

- (125) *Nase' la daddi tajjin.*
 rice already become porridge
 'It is too late to do anything about it.'
 lit. 'The rice has become porridge.'

When wholly contained in a complement clause, this string can be interpreted idiomatically.

- (126) *Siti ngera bari' ja' nase' la daddi tajjin.*
 Siti AV.think yesterday COMP rice already become porridge
 'Siti thought yesterday that it is too late to do anything about it.'
 lit. 'Siti thought yesterday that the rice had become porridge.'

However, when *nase'* 'rice' appears in the matrix clause, only the literal interpretation is possible.

- (127) *Siti ngera nase' bari' ja' la daddi tajjin.*
 Siti AV.think rice yesterday COMP already become porridge
 'Siti thought about the rice yesterday that it had become porridge.'

In (127), *nase'* precedes both the matrix adverbial *bari'* 'yesterday' and the complementizer *ja'*, so it is a constituent of the matrix clause. The sentence in (127) does not allow the idiomatic reading but admits only the literal interpretation. The same effect is seen in the sentences in (128), this time with the idiom *ajam atellor e berras* 'She or he has it easy' (lit. 'A chicken laid an egg in the rice').

- (128) a. *Siti namto-wagi ja' ayam a-tellor e berras.*
 Siti AV.certain-AGI COMP chicken AV-lay.egg at rice
 'Siti is certain that he or she has it easy.'
 lit. 'Siti is certain that the chicken laid an egg in the rice.'
- b. *Siti namto-wagi ayam ja' a-tellor e berras.*
 Siti AV.certain-AGI chicken COMP AV-lay.egg at rice
 'Siti is certain about the chicken that it laid an egg in the rice.'

Idiom chunks in this structure operate not as they would a raising analysis, but as idioms operate in the English proleptic object construction. Note that idiomatic interpretations are not possible in either (129b) or (130b), which is pragmatically odd.

- (129) a. *Kelsey believed that the cat would be out of the bag by now.*
 b. *Kelsey believed about the cat that it would be out of the bag.*
- (130) a. *Ashley predicted that the fur would fly at the next committee meeting.*
 b. *#Ashley predicted about the fur that it would fly at the next committee meeting.*

All considered, although raising should not be completely ruled out for the language, the Madurese construction has the characteristics more typically found in a prolepsis structure and not a raising structure.

7. Relative clauses

The primary relative clause structure in Madurese consists of the relative particle *se* followed by a clause with a gap corresponding to the role of the head noun in the modifying clause. In basic structure, relative clauses follow the heads they modify, with the exception of headless relative clauses (which can be viewed as relative clauses with null pronominal heads). The basic structure is illustrated by the relative clauses in (131) and (132).

(131) *koceng se ngeco' juko'*
 cat REL AV.steal fish
 'the cat that stole the fish'

(132) *buku se e-baca red-mored*
 book REL OV-read RED-student
 'the book the students read'

In (131) and (132), the subject has been relativized, there being a gap in the subject position of *ngeco' juko'* 'stole the fish' in (131) and *ebaca red-mored* 'read by the students' in (132).

In the standard cases, only subjects and possessors of subjects may be relativized. Relative clauses of possessors of subjects are illustrated in (133) and (134).

(133) *mored se buku-na e-buwang bi' Ali*
 student REL book-DEF OV-discard by Ali
 'the student whose book Ali threw away'

(134) *oreng lake' se ana'-eng la mangkat dha' Amerika*
 person male REL child-DEF already leave to America
 'the man whose child has already left for America'

As clearly indicated in the translations, in (133) *mored* 'student' is the owner of the book and in (134) *oreng lake'* 'man' is the father of the subject *ana'eng* 'his child'. In (132), in which the theme of the transitive verb *baca* 'read' is relativized, the verb occurs in the object voice. This choice of voice is obligatory. As (135) illustrates, the theme cannot be directly relativized from object position.

(135) **buku se red-mored maca*
 book REL RED-student AV.read
 (the book the students read)

Also, the actor voice counterpart of (135), in which the possessor of the direct object is directly relativized, is ungrammatical.

(136) **mored se Ali muwang buku-na*
 student REL Ali AV.discard book-DEF
 (the student whose book Ali threw away)

These data demonstrate that relativization is a syntactic determinant of voice selection. If the actor of a transitive verb (or its possessor) is to be relati-

vized, actor voice is required. If the theme of a transitive verb (or its possessor) is to be relativized, object voice is required.

In similar fashion, relativization is a syntactic determinant of the use of *-e* and *-agi*. For example, if the goal of the verb *kerem* ‘send’ must be subject because it is to head a relative clause, the form of *kerem* with the locative suffix must be used.

- (137) a. *ale' se e-kerem-e paket bi' Samidin*
 yngr.sibling REL OV-send-LOC package by Samidin
 ‘the little brother who was sent a package by Samidin’
- b. **ale' se e-kerem paket bi' Samidin*
 yngr.sibling REL OV-send package by Samidin
- c. **(ka) ale' (ka) se Samidin ngerem paket (ka)*
 to yngr.sibling to REL Samidin AV.send package to

In (137), only the a-example is acceptable. Here the relative clause has the morphology appropriate for a goal subject, object voice and the locative suffix. As demonstrated in Chapter 10 section 1.1, this morphology is obligatory in making the recipient of the package, *ale'* ‘little brother’ (the Goal argument in the clause) a subject, which is what makes it an accessible target of relativization. When the locative suffix is missing, the string is ungrammatical (137b). Direct relativization of the goal is impossible whether or not the preposition *ka* ‘to’ occurs in any of the conceivable locations indicated (137c). Similarly, if the subject matter argument of a verb of communication is to be relativized, *-agi* must be used on the object voice verb, as in (138a).

- (138) a. *buku se e-careta'-agi Romlah ka Hanina*
 book REL OV-tell-AGI Romlah to Hanina
 ‘the book that Romlah told Hanina about’
- b. **buku se e-careta Romlah ka Hanina*
 book REL OV-tell Romlah to Hanina
- c. **(bab) buku (bab) se Romlah a-careta ka Hanina (bab)*
 about book about REL Romlah AV-tell to Hanina about

Finally, a goal of a verb of motion requires the locative suffix on an object voice form of the verb, as in (139).

- (139) *Badha settong koburan [se sampe' sateya paggun e-entar-e bannya' reng-oreng].*
 exist one grave REL until now still OV-go-LOC many
 reng-oreng].
 RED-person
 'There is one grave that up until now many people still go to.'

Substituting any other form of *entar* 'go' in its position in the relative clause *se sampe' sateya eentare bannya' reng-oreng* 'that up until now many people still go to' results in an ungrammatical sentence. The facts are the same for possessors of such NPs, as illustrated with a single example in (140).

- (140) *mored se buku-na e-careta'-agi Romlah ka Hanina*
 student REL book-DEF OV-tell-AGI Romlah to Hanina
 'the student whose book Romlah told Hanina about'

Any form of *careta* 'tell' other than *ecareta'agi* results in an ungrammatical string.

There are no long-distance relative clauses; all relative clauses are strictly local. Any apparent long-distance relativization actually involves prolepsis (see section 6).

- (141) *Ale' kennal mored [se e-yaken-ne guru bakal lulus ujiyan].*
 yngr.sibling know student REL OV-sure-E teacher will pass exam
 'Little Brother knows the student who the teacher is sure will pass the exam.'

In (141) it appears that *mored* 'student' has been relativized from the subject position of the embedded clause, *bakal lulus ujiyan* 'will pass the exam'. However, both the object voice of and locative suffix *-ne* on the verb *yaken* 'sure' are obligatory. The absence of either results in an ill-formed structures. As shown in section 6, these facts are characteristic of and explained by the prolepsis analysis. This strict locality is also characteristic of clefts (section 9) and constituent questions (Chapter 14 section 5.4).

Headless relative clauses (or relative clauses with null pronominal heads) are quite common in speech, used to identify an individual or a group of people or objects that play a role in a sentence.

- (142) *[Se e-dungeng-ngagi-ya engko' sateya] areya dungeng-nga*
 REL OV-story-AGI-IRR I now this story-DEF
Ke Moko.
 Ke Moko
 'What I will tell now is the story of Ke Moko.'

(143) [*Se masthe-yagi mate*] *jiya banne kake.*
 REL should-AGI die this no you
 ‘The one who decides death is not you.’

(144) *Bi' [se a-jaga] e-pa-ambu.*
 by REL AV-guard OV-CS-stop
 ‘He was stopped by a guard (the one who guards).’

In (142) and (143), headless relative clauses occupy subject position. In (144), the headless relative clause is the object of the preposition *bi'* ‘by’.

Restrictive relative clauses can take a proper noun head when used to identify the precise one of a group of individuals with the same name.

(145) *Ali se la entar ka Australia jiya ngerem pesse ka reng towa-na.*
 Ali REL already go to Australia this AV.send money to parent-DEF
 ‘The Ali who has gone to Australia sent money to his parents.’

The relative clause in (145) *se la entar ka Australia* ‘who has gone to Australia’ identifies which Ali the speaker intends to provide information about.

Relative clauses may also be used non-restrictively as a means of providing additional information about the noun they modify.

(146) *Rato pelak perrang-nga entar nyerbu dha' rato Bali se lo' ellem*
 king capable war-DEF go AV.invade to king Bali REL not willing
a-toro' dha' Mataram pole.
 AV-follow to Mataram again
 ‘The warrior king went to attack the king of Bali, who was unwilling to obey the king of Mataram anymore.’

(147) *Kerbuy pote reya se nyosowe baji' reya mole ban sajan koros.*
 buffalo white this REL AV.nurse baby this go.home with more thin
 ‘This albino buffalo, which was nursing the baby, returned home thinner.’

In (146), the relative clause *se lo' ellem atoro' dha' Mataram pole* ‘who was unwilling to obey the king of Mataram anymore’ does not identify the king of Bali but simply provides additional information about the king. In (147), the albino buffalo has already been identified in the story and has a unique referent; thus the relative clause is simply a reminder to the audience about the central role of the buffalo in the story.

The order of relative clauses in noun phrases is discussed in Chapter 7 section 12. It is noted that there is flexibility with respect to the placement of relative clauses with other modifiers in the noun phrase. It should also be noted

that adjectival predicates when used attributively are generally included in a relative clause. Thus, while (148a) is grammatical, speakers show a marked preference for (148b), in which the attribute *kotor* ‘dirty’ is contained in a relative clause.

- (148) a. *Aba'eng nyambi sa-sassa'-an kotor.*
 she AV.bring RED-wash-NOM dirty
 ‘She brought the dirty laundry.’
- b. *Aba'eng nyambi sa-sassa'-an [se kotor].*
 she AV.bring RED-wash-NOM REL dirty
 ‘She brought the dirty laundry.’

It is also possible to extrapose relative clauses so that they are separated from their heads by other clausal constituents.

- (149) a. *Bu Ina a-juwal roma [se e-gabay bi' Pa' Dayat] dha' Pa' Hosen.*
 Mrs Ina AV-sell house REL OV-make by Mr Dayat to Mr Hosen
 ‘Bu Ina sold the house that Pak Dayat built to Pak Hosen.’
- b. *Bu Ina a-juwal roma dha' Pa' Hosen [se e-gabay bi' Pa' Dayat].*
 Mrs Ina AV-sell house to Mr Hosen REL OV-make by Mr Dayat
 ‘Bu Ina sold the house to Pak Hosen that Pak Dayat built.’

In (149a), the relative clause modifying *roma* ‘house’ occurs in the expected position immediately following the head noun. In (149b), *roma* ‘house’ occurs before the indirect object PP *dha' Pak Hosen* ‘to Pak Hosen’ and the relative clause *se egabay bi' Pa' Dayat* ‘that Pak Dayat built’ occurs after the PP.

A secondary strategy for clausal modification of a head noun is the use of nominalized clauses. This use is restricted to object NPs of the nominalized clause.

- (150) *Bungkosan raja [kerem-an-na Siti] e-bukka' bi' Nobun.*
 package big send-NOM-DEF Siti OV-open by Nobun
 ‘The package sent by Siti was opened by Nobun.’
- (151) *Na'-kana' ngakan juko'-eng Paman [massa'-an-na Bibbi'].*
 RED-child AV.eat fish-DEF uncle cook-NOM-DEF aunt
 ‘The children ate Uncle’s fish cooked by Auntie.’

In (150), *keremanna Siti* ‘Siti’s sending’ identifies *bungkosan raja* ‘the big package’ as the item Siti sent. Similarly, in (151), *massa'anna Bibbi'* ‘Auntie’s cooking’ identifies *juko'eng Paman* ‘uncle’s fish’ as the thing Auntie cooked.

The nominalizations in (149) and (150) are result nominals (see Chapter 4 section 1.2.2). Thus, the result nominal is a kind of appositive, simply identifying again the item of interest. Without the apparent head noun, the clauses are still entirely grammatical, simply lacking specification of precisely what it is that Siti sent and Auntie cooked.

(152) *Kerem-an-na Siti e-bukka' bi' Nobun.*
 send-NOM-DEF Siti OV-open by Nobun
 'What Siti sent was opened by Nobun.'

(153) *Na'-kana' ngakan massa'-an-na Bibbi'.*
 RED-child AV.eat cook-NOM-DEF aunt
 'The children ate what Auntie cooked.'

The restriction of the nominalizations in the nominalized clauses to result nominals accounts for the restriction of targets to direct objects: the direct object is precisely that element identified in a result nominal. Attempts to modify other NPs in this manner fail. Thus, the goal of *kerem* 'send' is ineligible.

(154) **Oreng kerem-an-na Siti (dha') bungkosan e-kennal-e bi' Nobun.*
 person send-NOM-DEF Siti to package OV-known-LOC by Nobun
 (The person Siti sent the package is known by Nobun.)

(154) is ungrammatical because it is not the goal (*oreng* 'person') which is the entity denoted by the result nominal *keremanna*, but the theme (*bungkosan* 'package'). Additionally, direct objects that are affected by the predicate but are not the result of the predicate cannot be modified in this way. The result nominal associated with the verb *pokol* 'hit' in (156) is the punches.

(155) *Pokol-an-na Ali kaja.*
 hit-NOM-DEF Ali strong
 'Hasan's punches are strong.'

Thus, the object of *pokol* in (156), *reng lake' juwa* 'that man', is affected by the action but is not the result.

(156) *Ali mokol reng lake' juwa.*
 Ali AV.hit man that
 'Ali hit that man.'

Because of this, *reng lake'* cannot be modified by the result nominal (157a), but must be modified by a standard relative clause (157b).

(157) a. **Reng lake' pokol-an-na Ali sateya badha e roma sake'*
 man hit-NOM-DEF Ali now exist at hospital
 (The man Ali hit is now in the hospital.)

b. *Reng lake' se e-pokol Ali sateya badha e roma sake'*
 man REL OV-hit Ali now exist at hospital
 'The man that Ali hit is now in the hospital.'

A relativization strategy for locative, temporal, and other adjuncts is illustrated in (158). In this structure, a modifying clause is simply juxtaposed following the noun being modified, which is reminiscent to the appositive object structure, in which the modifying clause is juxtaposed to the head.

(158) *Kantor-ra [Emma' a-lako] badha neng e kottha.*
 office-DEF Mother AV-work exist at at city
 'The office where Mother works is in town.'

In (158), *kantorra* 'the office' is modified by the juxtaposed clause *Emma' alako* 'mother works'. The modifying clause contains no locative phrase; the absence of a locative phrase can be interpreted as a gap that would refer to the head in the same way that the gap in a relative clause refers to the head. Filling the gap in (158) would yield the independent clause *Emma' alako e kantorra* 'Mother works in the office'. Another example of this strategy is given in (159).

(159) *Rowa taon [oreng jarowa entar ka Australia].*
 that year man that go to Australia
 'That is the year that man went to Australia.'

In (159), *taon* 'year' is modified by the juxtaposed clause *oreng jarowa entar ka Australia* 'that man went to Australia'. The noun and the modifying clause constitute the predicate of the sentence in (159), the subject of which is *rowa* 'that'.

A variation of this structure includes a low-information noun serving as the head of a juxtaposed modifying clause, the whole of which acts as an appositive to the specified noun head. This is illustrated in (160) and (161).

(160) *Roma kennengngan-na engko' ta-temmo tang bine ancor.*
 house place-DEF I IN-meet my wife collapse
 'The house where I met my wife collapsed.'

(161) *Sengko' ta' enga' are-na e bakto Eppa' mole ka roma.*
 I not remember day-DEF at time father go.home to house
 'I don't remember the day that Father came home.'

In (160), *roma* ‘house’ is modified by *kennengnganna engko' tatemmo tang bine* ‘the place that I met my wife’. This latter structure includes the low-information locative noun *kennengngan* ‘place’, modified by the juxtaposed clause *engko' tatemmo tang bine* ‘I met my wife’. Taken together, the noun and the juxtaposed clause function as an appositive further specifying *roma* ‘house’. (161) provides a similar example with a temporal adjunct, which includes the temporal low-information noun *bakto* ‘time’.

8. Complements of nominals

In addition to relative clauses, there are noun heads that take sentential complements. These include *careta* ‘story’, *kabar* ‘news’, *sowal* ‘concern/problem’, and a host of others. Examples are given in (162-164).

(162) a. *Careta ja' polisi nangkep Pa' Samidin, lecek.*
 story COMP police AV.catch Mr Samidin lie
 ‘The story that the police caught Pak Samidin is a lie.’

b. *Lecek careta-na ja' polisi nangkep Pa' Samidin.*
 lie story-DEF COMP police AV.catch Mr Samidin
 ‘The story that the police caught Pak Samidin is a lie.’

(163) a. *Kabar ja' Emba seda ma-sossa.*
 news COMP grandparent die AV.CS-sad
 ‘The news that Grandfather died made people sad.’

b. *Ma-sossa, kabar ja' Emba seda.*
 AV.CS-sad news COMP grandparent die
 ‘The news that Grandfather died made people sad.’

(164) *Ng-edhing kabar ja' Ke' Lesap nyerbu-wa dha' Sampang, buru kabbi rato Sampang.*
 AV-hear news COMP Ke' Lesap AV.invade-IRR to Sampang hurry
 all king Sampang
 ‘Hearing the news that Ke' Lesap was going to invade, the king of Sampang and everyone else ran away.’

The complementizer *ja'* is used with sentential complements of nouns. The sentences in (162) illustrate the fact that the head of a complex noun phrase can take a definite suffix (162b) but need not (162a).

9. Clefts

Cleft structures in Madurese take the same morphology as relative clauses and are subject to most of the same restrictions.⁸ Examples of well-formed clefts are:

(165) *Ita se maca buku-na Hasan.*
Ita REL AV.read book-DEF Hasan
'Ita is who read Hasan's book.'

(166) *Buku-na Hasan se e-baca Ita.*
book-DEF Hasan REL OV-read Ita
'Hasan's book is what Ita read.'

(167) *Hasan se buku-na e-baca Ita.*
Hasan REL book-DEF OV-read Ita
'Hasan's is whose book Ita read.'

The cleft structures consists of the NP focus of the cleft, e.g. *Ita* in (165), followed by the relative particle *se*, which introduces a clause with a gap in the position that would otherwise be occupied by the focused element, just as with relative clauses. With a few exceptions, like the head of a relative clause, the focus of the cleft must be the subject or possessor of the subject of the clause. Thus, to cleft the actor of a transitive verb, the actor form must be used, as in (165), where the verb is *maca*, the actor voice form of *baca* 'read'. In order to cleft the theme of a transitive verb, the object voice is required, as in (166). Also, to cleft the possessor of the theme, object voice is required (167). The theme and the possessor of the theme cannot be directly clefted; thus (168) and (169) are ungrammatical.

(168) **Buku-na Hasan se Ita maca.*
book-DEF Hasan REL Ita AV.read
(Hasan's book is what Ita read.)

(169) **Hasan se Ita maca buku-na.*
Hasan REL Ita AV.read book-DEF
(Hasan is whose book Ita read.)

⁸ The sole restriction the structures do not share is the fact that for some speakers adjuncts can be clefted under certain circumstances (section 9.3). This is never possible with relative clauses.

As with relative clauses, clefting of an oblique argument, such as a goal, generally requires the appropriate verbal morphology. Thus, clefting the goal of the verb *kerem* 'send' requires both object voice and the locative suffix, as in (170).

- (170) *Adi se e-kerem-e paket bi' Bambang.*
 Adi REL OV-send-LOC package by Bambang
 'Adi is who Bambang sent a package.'

The Madurese cleft is an exhaustive focus construction. That is, the clefted element exhausts the set of elements which satisfy the state of affairs denoted by the clause. So, in (165), *Ita* is the only one in the set established in the discourse for whom the proposition 'read Hasan's book' is true. This is elaborated below in section 9.1.

The similarity in the restrictions on clefts and relative clauses is due to the structure of the cleft construction. As has been proposed in Cole, Hermon, and Aman (2008) for Singapore Malay and Paul (2001) for Malagasy, the Madurese cleft is a pseudo-cleft in which the clefted element is actually the NP predicate of the clause and in which the subject is a headless relative clause. So, for example, in (166) *Adi* is the NP predicate and *se ekereme paket bi' Bambang* '(the one) who was sent a package by Bambang' is the subject. In the cleft in (170), the NP predicate *Adi* has been fronted. This occurs regularly in Madurese as well as Singapore Malay and Indonesian (Sneddon 1996). Equally grammatical are the counterparts in (171-174), in which the focused element occurs in standard predicate position, following the subject.

- (171) *Se maca buku-na Hasan Ita.*
 REL AV.read book-DEF Hasan Ita
 'The one who read Hasan's book is Ita.'

- (172) *Se e-baca Ita buku-na Hasan.*
 REL OV-read Ita book-DEF Hasan
 'What Ita read is Hasan's book.'

- (173) *Se buku-na e-baca Ita Hasan.*
 REL book-DEF OV-read Ita Hasan
 'The one whose book Ita read is Hasan.'

- (174) *Se e-kerem-e paket bi' Bambang Adi.*
 REL OV-send-LOC package by Bambang Adi
 'Who Bambang sent a package is Adi.'

Data regarding *keya* described in section 9.2 point to the correctness of this analysis.

As clefts consists of a NP predicate and a headless relative clause, just as is true of relative clauses, there are no long-distance clefts. All apparent long-distance clefts are prolepsis constructions.

(175) *Ina se e-kerā Siti ja' (aba'eng) mangkat dha' Jakarta are Kemmes.*
 Ina REL OV-think Siti COMP she leave to Jakarta day Thursday
 'Ina is who Siti thinks left for Jakarta on Thursday.'

(176) *Ali se lo' e-ka-tao-we Rina ja' Deni ma-becce'*
 Ali REL not OV-KA-know-LOC Rina COMP Deni AV.CS-good
sapedha motor-ra (aba'eng).
 motorcycle-DEF he
 'Ali is who Rina doesn't know that Deni fixed his motorcycle.'

The headless relative clauses in (175) and (176) are prolepsis constructions as clear from the possibility of the resumptive pronoun *aba'eng* in each. Direct clefting with the necessary object voice and locative morphology in the clause is impossible.

(177) **Ina se Siti ngera (ja' (aba'eng)) mangkat dha' Jakarta are Kemmes.*
 Ina REL Siti AV.think COMP she leave to Jakarta day Thursday
 (Ina is who Siti thinks left for Jakarta on Thursday.)

(178) **Ali se Rina lo' tao (ja') Deni ma-becce'apedha motor-ra*
 Ali REL Rina not know COMP Deni AV.CS-good motorcycle-DEF
 (aba'eng).
 he
 (Ali is whose motorcycle Rina doesn't know whether Deni fixed.)

9.1. The presuppositional clause

The cleft consists of the focused NP predicate and a presuppositional clause. That is, the headless relative clause sets up the presupposition that there is some set of elements that satisfies the state of affairs denoted by the relative clause. The clause in the headless relative clause can generally be verbal, as in the previous examples, including adjective and PP predicates, (179) and (180) illustrating the latter types.

(179) a. *Ana'-eng Wati se penter.*
 child-DEF Wati REL smart
 'Wati's child is who is smart.'

- b. *Deni se kowat.*
Deni REL strong
'Deni is who is strong.'
- (180) a. *Siti se neng taman.*
Siti REL at park
'Siti is who is at the park.'
- b. *Tang buku se e attas-sa meja.*
my book REL at top-DEF table
'My book is what is on the table.'

However, NPs cannot be predicates in presuppositional clauses. In the case of NP predicates, the verb *daddi* 'become' is used as a pleonastic element.⁹

- (181) a. **Siti se hakim(-ma).*
Siti REL judge-DEF
(Siti is who is the/a judge.)
- b. *Siti se daddi hakim.*
Siti REL become judge
'Siti is who is a judge.'
- (182) a. **Guru-na se Marlana.*
teacher-DEF REL Marlana
(The teacher is who is Marlana.)

⁹ There is actually a systematic ambiguity in the cleft in (181b), in which *daddi* 'become' is not treated as a pleonastic. This clause can also mean 'Siti is the who becomes a judge'. With a future interpretation, *daddi* takes the irrealis suffix *-a*, the auxiliary *bakal* 'will' is used, or both can occur, as illustrated in (i).

- (i) a. *Siti se daddi-ya hakim.*
Siti REL become-IRR judge
'Siti is who will become a judge.'
- b. *Siti se bakal daddi hakim.*
Siti REL will become judge
'Siti is who will become a judge.'
- c. *Siti se bakal daddi-ya hakim.*
Siti REL will become-IRR judge
'Siti is who will become a judge.'

- b. *Guru-na se daddi Marlana.*
 teacher-DEF REL become Marlana
 ‘The teacher is who is Marlana.’ (might be said of an actress in a play)

Clefts provide exhaustive listing readings.¹⁰ That is, the NP predicate provides an exhaustive set of elements for which the state of affairs is true. A number of properties of these clefts underscore this. First, a cleft cannot be followed with a positive assertion that the state of affairs is true of any element other than that in the NP predicate. Thus, while the clefts in (183) and (184) would be well-formed on their own, the second clause, with *keya* ‘too’ renders the sentence ill-formed.

- (183) **Ita se maca buku-na Hasan, Bambang keya.*
 Ita REL AV.read book-DEF Hasan Bambang too
 (Ita is who read Hasan’s book, and Bambang did, too.)

- (184) **Marlana se entar dha' Sorbaja, Wati keya.*
 Marlana REL go to Surabaya Wati too
 (Marlana is who went to Surabaya, and Wati did, too.)

The constructions with *keya* are only possible if a second speaker directly contradicts an assertion of a previous speaker, as in B’s utterances in the following:

- (185) A: *Marlana se entar dha' Sorbaja.*
 Marlana REL go to Surabaya
 ‘Marlana is who went to Surabaya.’

B: *Enja', Wati keya.*
 no Wati too
 ‘No, Wati did, too.’

- (186) A: *Ita se maca buku-na Hasan.*
 Ita REL AV.read book-DEF Hasan
 ‘Ita is who read Hasan’s book.’

B: *Enja', Tono se maca buku-na Hasan keya.*
 no Tono REL AV.read book-DEF Hasan too
 ‘No, Tono is who read Hasan’s book, too.’

In (186), B’s response is in the form of a cleft. As such, this commits B to the proposition that Ita and Tono are the only two of some group that read Hasan’s

¹⁰See Kuno (1973) and É. Kiss (1998) for a discussion of exhaustive focus clefts.

book. This is due to the combination of the cleft construction and the adverbial *keya* 'too'. The use of *keya* implies that B agrees that Ita read Hasan's book, but the cleft construction denotes that in B's estimation Tono is the only other person who read the book.

Next, a subset of the elements identified in a cleft cannot itself be asserted in a separate cleft construction. This is illustrated in (187a-c).

- (187) a. *Ita ban Tono se maca buku-na Hasan.*
 Ita and Tono REL AV.read book-DEF Hasan
 'Ita and Tono are who read Hasan's book.'
- b. *Ita se maca buku-na Hasan.*
 Ita REL AV.read book-DEF Hasan
 'Ita is who read Hasan's book.'
 (incoherent and false proposition if (a) is true)
- c. *Ita maca buku-na Hasan.*
 Ita AV.read book-DEF Hasan
 'Ita read Hasan's book.'
 (coherent and entailed by (a))

Thus, given the assertion in the cleft in (187a), the statement in (187b) is false. In (187b), only a subset of the set in (187a) is asserted in the cleft. This contradicts the exhaustive listing reading in (187a), as it asserts that Ita exhausts the set of those who read Hasan's book and excludes Tono. The cleft in (187a) does entail the simple assertion in (187c) that Ita read the book as Ita is included in the full set of those reading the book.

Third, the fact that the headless relative clause establishes the presupposition of a set of elements satisfying the state of affairs is also indicated by the entailment of its negation. If the presuppositional clause is negated, as it is in (188), this entails that the remainder of the candidate set is positive.

- (188) *Burus se ta' ngekke' Ali.*
 dog REL not AV.bite Ali
 'A dog is what did not bite Ali (everything else did).'

The focused set is selected from a set determined by the discourse context, which in the default case is the entire universe. So, (188) is uttered in the context of there being some understood set of entities that may have the property of having bitten Ali. Asserting that *burus* 'dog' is the only element of that set that did not bite Ali entails that everything else in the candidate set did. This entailment can only go through if the cleft construction includes the presupposition that positive state of affairs denoted by the headless relative clause is true.

That the presuppositional clause asserts the existence of the state of affairs is also indicated by negation of the focused set, as seen in the contrast between (189) and (190).

(189) *Tadha' burus ngekke' Ali.*
not.exist dog AV. bite Ali
'There is no dog that bit Ali.'

(190) *Tadha' burus se ngekke' Ali.*
not.exist dog REL AV.bite Ali
'No dog is what bit Ali.' (but something else DID)

The sentence in (189) asserts that there is no dog that bit Ali but does not commit the speaker to the proposition that Ali was bitten at all. Conversely, the sentence in (190) also asserts that there is no dog that bit Ali but does commit the speaker to the proposition that Ali was bitten, as the headless relative clause sets up precisely that presupposition. Thus, (190) asserts that Ali was indeed bitten by some other set of entities in the candidate set, however the discourse establishes that set.

The assertion of existence by the presuppositional clause is also indicated by the following situation. The assertion of a cleft can be contradicted by another cleft structure. But only certain cleft structures are admissible as well-formed, pragmatically coherent contradictions. Consider the exchange in (191)

(191) A: *Siti se melle motor.*
Siti REL AV.buy car
'Siti is who bought a car.'

B1: ✓ *Banne, Ali se melle motor.*
no Ali REL AV.buy car
'No, Ali is who bought a car.'

B2: # *Banne, Siti se melle prao.*
no Siti REL AV.buy boat
'No, Siti is who bought a boat.'

B3: # *Banne, Ali se melle prao.*
no Ali REL AV.buy boat
'No, Ali is who bought a boat.'

B4: ✓ *Banne, Siti melle prao.*
no Siti AV.buy boat
'No, Siti bought a boat.'

In (191), A asserts that out of the candidate set, Siti is the only one who bought a car. The presupposition in A's statement is that someone bought a car. Therefore, the only pragmatically consistent contradiction of this assertion is one that includes the same presupposition, that is that someone bought a car. For that reason, only B1, which continues this presupposition but corrects the focused set, is acceptable in the discourse. B2 maintains the focus set, *Siti*, but changes the presupposition (that is that someone bought a boat not that someone bought a car) and is thus pragmatically odd. B3 is pragmatically odd for the same reason, but also changes the focus set from Siti to Ali. The simple declarative clause in B4, that Siti bought a boat, is pragmatically well-formed as it does not contradict the presupposition that someone bought a car. The use of *banne* simply asserts that Siti, in fact, bought a boat and pragmatically entails that she did not buy a car, not that no car was purchased. If Siti had, in fact, bought the boat as well, *banne* would be pragmatically odd here.

The data in (192) illustrate the same effect.

(192) A: *Buku se e-kerem Siti dhari Amerika.*

book REL OV-send Siti from America

'A book is what Siti sent from America.'

B1: ✓ *Banne, koran se e-kerem Siti dhari Amerika.*

no newspaper REL OV-send Siti from America

'No, a newspaper is what Siti sent from America.'

B2: # *Banne, buku se e-kerem Adi dhari Amerika.*

no book REL OV-send A from America

'No, a book is what Adi sent from America.'

B3: # *Banne, buku se e-kerem Siti dhari Kanada.*

no book REL OV-send Siti from Canada

'No, a book is what Siti sent from Canada.'

Again, the presupposition must remain intact for pragmatic coherence. Only the focus set can be contradicted with a cleft construction. The presupposition in A's statement is that Siti sent something from America, and only the structure in B1 maintains that presupposition.

9.2. Predicative nature of the clefted element

Analyses of clefts in closely related languages take the focused element to be the predicate (see Cole, Hermon, and Aman (2008) for Singapore Malay, Sneddon (1996) for Indonesian, Paul (2001) for Malagasy). Evidence for the cor-

rectness of this analysis for Madurese is available from the distribution of the adverbial element *keya* 'too'. As is illustrated in (193) and (194), *keya* can only occur in the predicate (VP) of a sentence.

- (193) a. *Tono maca buku-na Hasan keya.*
 Tono AV.read book-DEF Hasan too
 'Tono read Hasan's book, too.'
- b. *Tono maca keya dha' buku-na Hasan.*¹¹
 Tono AV.read too to book-DEF Hasan
 'Tono read Hasan's book, too.'
- c. **Tono keya maca buku-na Hasan.*
 Tono too AV.read book-DEF Hasan
 (Tono, too, read Hasan's book.)

- (194) a. *Ina entar ka Sorbaja keya.*
 Ina go to Surabaya too
 'Ina went to Surabaya, too.'
- b. *Ina entar keya ka Sorbaja.*
 Ina go too to Surabaya
 'Ina went to Surabaya, too.'
- c. **Ina keya entar ka Sorbaja.*
 Ina too go to Surabaya
 (Ina too went to Surabaya.)

In the a- and b-sentences in (193) and (194), *keya* is a dependent of the VP, occurring in VP-final position and VP-internal position, respectively. In the c-sentences, *keya* is external to the VP, occurring in the position immediately following the subject. These sentences are ungrammatical. The explanation is that *keya* must be a dependent of a VP.¹² Crucially, what the c-sentences show is that in simple declarative sentences *keya* may not immediately follow the subject.

¹¹ The preposition *dha* 'to' in (193b) acts as a marker of the direct object when the adverbial element *keya* 'too' intervenes between it and the verb. See Chapter 8 section 4.2.

¹² This is similar to Cole, Hermon, and Aman (2008) evidence regarding the distribution of *-kah* as a VP element in Singapore Malay.

In cleft structures, however, this prohibition is apparently relaxed. In the exchanges between A and B in (195) and (196), B contradicts A's assertion that only Ita read the book or only Siti went to Surabaya.

(195) A: *Ita se maca buku-na Hasan.*
Ita REL AV.read book-DEF Hasan
'Ita is who read Hasan's book.'

B: *Enja', Tono keya se maca buku-na Hasan.*
no Tono too REL AV.read book-DEF Hasan
'No, Bambang also is who read Hasan's book.'

(196) A: *Siti se entar ka Sorbaja.*
Siti REL go to Surabaya
'Siti is who went to Surabaya.'

B: *Enja', Ina keya se entar ka Sorbaja.*
no Ina too REL go to Surabaya
'No, Ina also is who went to Surabaya.'

In B's responses, *keya* occurs immediately following the focused NP, *Tono* in (195) and *Ina* in (196). As (193c) and (194c) show, *keya* cannot immediately follow the subject in non-cleft structures. The grammaticality of (195B) and (196B) indicate that the focused NP in clefts is not the subject but is the predicate, thus accounting for the well-formedness of these sentences.

9.3. Clefting adjuncts

For some speakers, it is possible to front an adjunct in a cleft, which distinguishes clefts from relative clauses. Examples of clefted adjuncts are in (197) and (198).¹³

(197) *Dhari Kanada buku se e-kerem Ina.*
from Canada book REL OV-send Ina
'From Canada is where the book was sent by Ina.'

(198) *Are Salasa Marlana se mangkat ka Jakarta.*
day Tuesday Marlana REL leave to Jakarta
'Tuesday is when Marlana left for Jakarta.'

¹³ Some speakers consulted found the structure of questionable acceptability. And it is certainly not one often employed. However, because of its general acceptability, it is presented here and the data are not annotated as acceptable only to some (%).

In (197) the prepositional phrase *dhari Kanada* ‘from Canada’ has been fronted, and in (198) the time adverbial *are Salasa* ‘Tuesday’. These elements cannot be fronted in relative clauses, as is shown in the ungrammatical b-examples in (199) and (200).

(199) a. *Siti maca buku se e-kerem Ina dhari Kanada.*
Siti AV.read book REL OV-send Ina from Canada
‘Siti read the book that Ina sent from Canada.’

b. **Siti maca dhari Kanada buku se ekerem Ina.*

(200) a. *Siti kennal oreng se mangkat ka Jakarta are Salasa.*
Siti know person REL leave to Jakarta day Tuesday
‘Siti knows the person who left for Jakarta on Tuesday.’

b. **Siti kennal are Salasa oreng se mangkat ka Jakarta.*

In the clefts in (201) and (202), it appears that it is actually the adjunct that is the focus of the cleft.

(201) a. *Dhari Kanada Ina se a-kerem bestelan.*
from Canada Ina REL AV-send package
‘It is from Canada that Ina sent a package.’

b. *Dhari Kanada Ina se akerem bestelan, Nobun keya.*
from Canada Ina REL AV-send package Nobun too
‘It is from Canada that Ina sent a package, and Nobun did, too.’

(202) a. *Are Salasa ana'-eng Adi se la mangkat dha' Jeppang.*
day Tuesday child-DEF Adi REL already leave to Japan
‘It’s Tuesday that Adi’s child left for Japan.’

b. *Are Salasa ana'eng Adi se la mangkat dha' Jeppang,*
day Tuesday child-DEF Adi REL already leave to Japan
ana'eng Rohima keya.
child-DEF Rohima too
‘It’s Tuesday that Adi’s child left for Japan, and Rohima’s child did, too.’

In the b-sentences in (201) and (202), it is possible to add a clause that indicates that another entity is also relevant to the state of affairs denoted in the relative clause. For example, in (201b) it is asserted that not only did Ina send a package from Canada but that Nobun did, too. As shown above in (193) and (194), it is not possible to assert that another entity other than the focus of the cleft satisfies the state of affairs in the presuppositional clause. The fact that this is possible in (201b) indicates that Ina is not the focus of the cleft in (201) as Ina does not constitute an exhaustive list. The focus is actually the adjunct *dhari Kanada*. What is asserted in (201b) is that Nobun also sent a package from Canada, and the adjunct is the exhaustive list. Thus, it is not possible to assert that Ina sent a package from some other location as well, as indicated by the ungrammaticality of (203).

- (203) **Dhari Kanada Ina se a-kerem bestelan ban aba'eng a-kerem dhari*
 from Canada Ina REL AV-send package and she AV-send from
Australia keya.
 Australia too
 (It is from Canada that Ina sent a package, and she sent one from
 Australia, too.)

Crucially, the adjunct cannot be clefted on its own. The subject of the clause must also be fronted. Thus, (201) and (202), with both the adjunct and the subject preceding the relative particle are grammatical, but (204) and (205), in which only the adjunct precedes the relative clause particle, are ungrammatical.

- (204) **Dhari Kanada se Ina a-kerem bestelan.*
 from Canada REL Ina AV-send package
 (It is from Canada that Ina sent a package.)
- (205) **Are Salasa se Marlina mankgat ka Jakarta.*
 day Tuesday REL Marlina leave to Jakarta
 (Tuesday is when Marlina left for Jakarta.)

This is like the bodyguard condition on the clefting of adjuncts described for Malagasy by Keenan (1976) and discussed by Paul (2001).

10. Direct speech

Direct speech is used to quote or approximate the speech or thoughts of a speaker. Frequently, the sole morphological or syntactic indication of quoted

speech is use of first or second person forms in reference to a third person, as in (206) and (207).

- (206) *Bi' se a-jaga e-pa-ambu. "Toron! Sampeyan lo' olle nompa' jaran neng karaton."*
 with REL AV-guard OV-CS-stop descend you not get AV.ride
 horse at palace
 'He was stopped by a guard, "Get down! You are not allowed to ride a horse in the palace.'"

- (207) *Sajan takerjat rato, non-glanon salerana pas mera, "Dhaggi' reh tang ana'. Roba-na ce' padha-na bi' engko'."*
 more shocked king RED-excuse he then red next EMPH my
 child face-DEF very same-DEF with me
 'He grew more shocked and embarrassed. "This must be my son. His face is just like mine.'"

Quoted speech is set off from the surrounding discourse intonationally. In (206) there is a full stop before the quoted speech and in (207) a significant pause. Naturally, the discourse context also provides key information in identifying quoted speech.

Indirect speech typically makes use of verbs of communication and simple embedding.

- (208) *Guru ng-oca' sakola kapala meyos-a are Salasa.*
 teacher AV-say school head come-IRR day Tuesday
 'The teacher said the principal would come Tuesday.'
- (209) *Soleha a-koto' dha' Hamidah ja' lake-na gi' buru dhateng.*
 Soleha AV-whisper to Hamidah COMP husband-DEF just come
 'Soleha whispered to Hamidah that her husband just arrived.'

It is also possible to use a nominalized form of a verb of communication, as in (206).

- (210) *Koca'-eng guru, sakola kapala meyos-a are Salasa.*
 say-DEF teacher school head come-IRR day Tuesday
 'The teacher said the principal would come Tuesday.'

In (210), a possessed form of *oca'* 'say' is realized as *koca'*, which means to state something in past time, so *koca'-eng guru* essentially means 'the teacher's past speech'. This form with the possessor is used as a type of topic and the reported speech is not syntactically embedded.

The two syntactic strategies for marking quoted speech are the same as those used for indirect speech. The most common is through use the possessed form of *oca'* 'word/speech' or the abbreviated form *ca'*, as in (211) and (212).

(211) *"La', pas mate mon ba'eng e-obbar, Cong?" koca'-eng Empu Kelleng.*
oh then die if you OV-burn kid say-DEF Empu Kelleng
'"Oh, won't you die if you are burned, Son?" said Empu Kelleng.'

(212) *"Apa se e-dhante'? Korang apa, engko?" ca'-eng Puspo Negoro, ya.*
what REL OV-wait lack what I say-DEF Puspo Negoro yes
'"What is she waiting for? What do I lack?" wondered Puspo Negoro.'

As is true in (211) and (212), with direct speech the nominal form typically follows the quoted speech.

The other syntactic means for marking direct speech is through use of a verb of communication, as in (213-215), just as with indirect speech.

(213) *Aba'eng ng-oca', "Iya, ayu' so engko' e-bagi-ya samper reya, tape*
she AV-say yes HORT by me OV-give-IRR cloth this but
aba'eng kodu a-lako neng kanna' pettong are.
you must AV-work at here seven day
'She said, "Well, I am going to return the cloth, but you have to work here for seven days."'

(214) *Bit-abit pas ng-adhep dha' rato Majapahit Joko Tole jareya, rato*
RED-long.time then AV-face to king Majapahit Joko Tole this king
a-tanya, "Ba'eng dhari dhimma,kana' lake?"
AV-ask you from where, boy
'After a long time, Joko Tole met the king of Majapahit and the king asked, "Where are you from, boy?"'

(215) *Mekker Bang Pote, "Adhu engko' dhaggi' e-pokol-a bi' tang ebu'."*
AV.think Garlic oh I next OV-beat-IRR by my mother
'Garlic thought, "Oh, I am going to get beaten by my mother."'

The sentences in (213-215) illustrate the predominant pattern that the matrix clause that contains the verb of communication precedes the quoted material. The verbs in (213-215) are all in the actor voice, *ngoca'* 'say', *atanya* 'ask', and *mekker* 'think', but object voice forms are acceptable as well. In (216) *esenta'* 'be yelled' is used and in (217) *etanya'agi* 'be asked'.

(216) *E-senta'*, “*Bang Pote! Bang Pote! Engko' lapar!*”
 OV-yell Garlic Garlic I hungry
 ‘She yelled, “Garlic! Garlic! I’m hungry!”’

(217) *Sabban a-temmo bi' oreng, e-tanya'-agi*, “*Ba'eng nga-tela'-e*
 every AV-meet with person OV-ask-AGI you AV.see-DUR
tang ana' ya?”
 my child yes
 ‘Each time she met someone, she asked, “Have you seen my children?”’

Among the verbs used to mark quoted speech are:

(218) <i>bala</i> ‘say’	<i>olok</i> ‘call’
<i>cerreng</i> ‘scream’	<i>pekker</i> ‘think’
<i>jawab</i> ‘answer’	<i>sambit</i> ‘answer’
<i>jerrit</i> ‘yell’	<i>sentat</i> ‘yell’
<i>koto'</i> ‘whisper’	<i>serro</i> ‘call’
<i>nyanyi</i> ‘sing’	<i>tanya</i> ‘ask’
<i>oca'</i> ‘say’	<i>thowat</i> ‘scream’

The texts in Chapter 16 provide many additional examples of direct address in connected discourse.

Chapter 12

Adverbs and adverbial clauses

Adverbial expressions elaborate information regarding the state of affairs expressed by the verb and its arguments, information such as temporality, frequency, manner, purpose, instrumentality, and so on. This chapter details lexical, phrasal, and clausal adverbial expressions.

1. Types of adverbial expressions

Few lexical items exist that one can unequivocally identify as adverb roots. However, there are many nouns and adjectives that function adverbially and there are some derived lexical items that function adverbially. These include temporal, frequency, epistemic, manner, and degree expressions.

1.1. Temporal expressions

Expressions of time are largely nominal and adjectival. Nominal expressions include:

- nouns denoting time of day, e.g. *laggu* ‘morning’, *seyang* ‘midday’, *malem* ‘night’,
- nouns denoting specific days, e.g. *ba'ari'* ‘yesterday’, *laggu'* ‘tomorrow’, *dhaggu'* ‘tomorrow’,
- nouns denoting periods of time, e.g. *jam* ‘hour’, *are* ‘day’, *bulan* ‘month’, *taon* ‘year’,
- names of days of the week, e.g., *are Minggu* ‘Sunday’, *are Salasa* ‘Tuesday’,
- names of months and years, e.g. *bulan Juni* ‘June’, *bulan Augustus* ‘August’, *taon sa'ebu sangatos sabidak lema'* ‘1965’, *taon dhu'ebu setong* ‘2001’, and
- specific times and dates, e.g., *kol lema'* ‘five o'clock’, *tanggal tello polo Juni dhu'ebu ballu'* ‘30 June 2008’

Examples of these are given in (1-3).

- (1) *Daddi baji' gella', e-soso-we kerbuy pote pan-brampan are*
 so baby before OV-milk-LOC buffalo white RED-how.many day
dha' iya iya
 like.this yes
 'So the baby was nursed by the albino buffalo for several days like this.'
- (2) *Engko' malem-ma a-mempe se ne-banne.*
 I night-DEF AV-dream REL RED-no
 'Last night I dreamed something weird.'
- (3) *Taon sa'ebu sangangngatos sabidak ennem koca'-eng mo'dul pole.*
 year 1000 900 60 6 say-DEF show.up again
 'In 1966 they say it appeared again.'

Adjectival predicates indicating temporal relations also function adverbially in clauses. Among these are *dhaggi'* 'next', *gella'* 'recent', *kedhu* 'later', *laju* 'next', *lamba'* 'former', *paggun* 'still (unaltered)', and others. Examples of their use are in (4-6).

- (4) *Lamba' neng polo Poterran reya lo' ramme kantha sateya.*
 ago at island Poterran this not noisy like now
 'Long ago the island of Puteran was not crowded and noisy like it is now.'
- (5) *Paggun badha sampe' sateya.*
 still exist until now
 'It still exists now.'
- (6) *A-gurgur laju, a-rassa gatel.*
 AV-scratch next AV-feel itchy
 'He scratched next; he felt itchy.'

A handful of temporal expressions fall outside the nominal and adjectival classes, and these can simply be categorized as adverbs. These include expressions such as *buru* 'recently', *ella* 'already' (usually in its truncated form *la*), *gi'* 'still, yet', *kene* 'now', *na'an* 'soon', and *sateya* 'now', as exemplified in (7) and (8).

- (7) *Mon gi' ngoda barna-na biru.*
 if still young color-DEF green
 'If it is still young, the color is green.'

- (8) *Reng tentara Mataram la adha' a-bali pole dha'*
 person troop Mataram already not.exist AV-return again to
kampong-nga.
 village-DEF
 'The Mataram soldiers were gone, and they returned again to their
 village.'
- (9) *Sateya sengko' a-dungeng-a bab badha-na gagaman-na oreng*
 now I AV-story-IRR about exist-DEF knife-DEF person
Madura, se a-nyama are' otaba are' Madura.
 Madura REL AV-name are' or are' Madura
 'Now I am going to tell you about the weapon of the Madurese, which is
 called are' or are' Madura.'

When used temporally, *buru*, *gi'*, and *la* generally (though not obligatorily) occur in the immediate preverbal slot, where they function like auxiliaries. (See discussion in Chapter 9 section 4.)

There is considerable freedom in the position of temporal expressions in a clause. For instance, in the clause in (10), for many speakers only the position between the verb and NP object is considered completely unacceptable (10e), although some speakers accept this as well.

- (10) a. *Marlena noles sorat ka Ita, ba'ari.*
 Marlena AV.write letter to Ita yesterday
 'Marlena wrote a letter to Ita yesterday.'
- b. *Ba'ari, Marlena noles sorat ka Ita.*
 c. *Marlena ba'ari, noles sorat ka Ita.*
 d. *Marlena noles sorat ba'ari, ka Ita.*
 e. **Marlena noles ba'ari, sorat ka Ita.*

Though clause-final position (10a) is perhaps the most preferred, these temporal expressions are frequently found in clause-initial position (10b) and immediately following the subject (10c). Many speakers consider (10d) to be acceptable but not preferred with a slight pause following *ba'ari*, while others consider it ungrammatical. Here *ba'ari* follows the direct object *sorat* 'letter' and precedes the PP indirect object *ka Ita* 'to Ita'. The same pattern of facts obtains with *sa-minggu tapongkor* 'last week' in (11).

- (11) a. *Karim nyaba' motor e seddi'-na roma-na sa-minggu se tapongkor.*
 Karim AV.put car at side-DEF house-DEF one-week REL behind
 'Karim put the car beside the house a week ago.'

- b. *Sa-minggu se tapongkor, Karim nyaba' motor e seddi'-na roma-na.*
 c. *Karim sa-minggu se tapongkor, nyaba' motor e seddi'-na roma-na.*
 d. *Karim nyaba' motor sa-minggu se tapongkor, e seddi'-na roma-na.*
 e. **Karim nyaba' sa-minggu se tapongkor, motor e seddi'-na roma-na.*

Again, many speakers consider (11e) unacceptable or degraded.

A number of temporal expressions such as *sabaktona* 'when (at the time of)', *sabellunna* 'before', *sa'ellana* 'after', and *samarena* 'after' are derived nominals. They are comprised of the clitic *sa* '1/all', a root, and the definite suffix *-na*. Thus, *samarena*, made up of *sa* + *mare* 'finish' + *na*. Examples are in (12) and (13).

- (12) *Daggi' samarena pettong are so engko' samper-ra e-bagi dha' ba'eng.*
 later after seven day by me cloth-DEF OV-give to you
 'Later after seven days I am going to give you the cloth.'
- (13) *Bapa' dhapa' neng kantor sabellunna kol ballu'.*
 father arrive at office before strike eight
 'Father gets to the office before eight o'clock.'

The *sa* + root + *na* derivatives frequently introduce clauses, functioning as subordinating conjunctions. See section 3.5 for further discussion of this highly productive structure.

1.2. Frequency adverbs

How often a state of affairs obtains can be expressed by a small number of words and phrases, including: *biyasana* 'usually', *dangkadang* 'sometimes', *poampo* 'sometimes', *li-baliyan* 'several times', *pan-barampan kale* 'several times', *rangrang* 'seldom', *(sa)bakto-bakto* 'sometimes', and *seggut* 'often', as illustrated in (14) and (15).

- (14) *Ali rangrang mangkat ka sakola sabellunna kol ennem.*
 Ali seldom leave to school before strike six
 'Ali seldom leaves for school before six o'clock.'
- (15) *Bapa' seggut maca koran kaanggu'y Ebu'.*
 father often AV.read newspaper for mother
 'Father often reads the newspaper to Mother.'

In (14) and (15), the frequency adverbs *rangrang* ‘seldom’ and *seggut* ‘often’ occur in immediate preverbal position, the preferred position for frequency adverbs.

Along with *rangrang* and *seggut*, *poampo* and *dangkadang* are underived adverbs (or at least obligatorily reduplicated roots). Others of the frequency adverbs are derived forms. *Biyasana* ‘usually’ is a nominal form derived by affixing the definite suffix to *biyasa* ‘usual’. *Li-baliyan* ‘several times’ is derived by reduplication of the verbal root *bali* ‘return’ and affixation of *-an*, both processes frequently encountered in adverb formation. *Li-baliyan* literally means ‘back and forth’. The NP *pan-barampan kale* is made up of the quantifier *pan-barampan* ‘several’ and *kale* ‘time’. The frequency adverbs are also quite commonly found in preverbal position.

- (16) *Bambang biyasana ngenom kopi gi' laggu.*
 Bambang usually AV.drink coffee still morning
 ‘Bambang usually drinks coffee in the early morning.’

While the preverbal position is a preferred position, frequency adverbs often occur in clause-initial position, although some speakers reject *seggut* ‘often’ and *rangrang* ‘seldom’ here.

- (17) *Dangkadang/Li-baliyan/Biyasana/Seggut, Bapa' a-lombur.*
 sometimes/several times/usually/often father AV-overtime
 ‘Sometimes/Many times/Usually Father works overtime.’

Li-baliyan and *pan-barampan kale* easily occur clause-finally as well.

- (18) *Ale' maca buku rowa li-baliyan/pan-barampan kale.*
 yngr.sibling AV.read book that several time
 ‘Little Sister has read that book several times.’

Most of the other frequency adverbs resist clause-final position, but can sometimes occur there with a significant pause preceding them.

1.3. Epistemic adverbials

Epistemic expressions signal the speaker’s attitude about a particular proposition—the degree of their certainty, doubt, equivocation, and so on toward that proposition. The forms in Madurese are largely adjectival expressions and nouns derived from adjectives. These include *ara* ‘possible’, *dadak* ‘sudden’, *emana* ‘unfortunate’, *megga* ‘possible’, *onggu* ‘definite’, *pola* ‘possible’, *mompong* ‘maybe’, *ga-moga* ‘hopefully’ (*moga* ‘hopeful’), *saongguna* ‘apparently’,

tantona ‘certainty’, and others. Examples are given in (19) and (20).

- (19) *Hadi ban Hamina saongguna entar ka Sumatera.*
 Hadi and Hamina apparently go to Sumatra
 ‘Hadi and Hamina apparently went to Sumatra.’

- (20) *Siti pola lo' mare sasssa'-an-na.*
 Siti probably not finish wash-NOM-DEF
 ‘Siti probably didn’t finish the laundry.’

Again, epistemic expressions generally occur in preverbal position. However, they can also occur naturally in clause-initial position.

- (21) *Saongguna Hadi ban Hamina entar ka Sumatera.*
 apparently Hadi and Hamina go to Sumatra
 ‘Apparently Hadi and Hamina went to Sumatra.’

- (22) *Pola Siti lo' mare sasssa'-an-na.*
 probably Siti not finish wash-NOM-DEF
 ‘Probably Siti didn’t finish the laundry.’

While these expressions cannot occur internal to the VP, they are marginally acceptable in clause-final position, usually preceded by rising intonation and a significant pause.

1.4. Manner adverbials

Manner adverbials are expressions that elaborate on the way that some action is carried out, generally oriented toward an agent or cause (although this is by no means a requirement). Manner expressions are generally adjectives and forms derived from adjectives. These include: *ceppet* ‘fast’, *duli/duliyān* ‘hurriedly’, *laonan/on-laon* ‘slowly’, *santa* ‘fast’, *te-ngate* ‘carefully’, and others, as exemplified in (23) and (24).

- (23) *Hasan markir motor-ra neng ereng-nga roma-na te-ngate.*
 Hasan AV.park car-DEF at side-DEF house-DEF RED-careful
 ‘Hasan parked the car by the side of the house carefully.’

- (24) *Ali maso' ka kamar on-laon.*
 Ali enter to room RED-slow
 ‘Ali entered the room slowly.’

The characteristic position for manner adverbs is the end of the VP, which is generally clause-final position, as is true of *te-ngate* ‘carefully’ in (23) and *on-laon* ‘slowly’ in (24). However, manner adverbials can occur preverbally (25a) and (26a) and clause-initially (25b) and (26b).

- (25) a. *Hasan te-ngate, markir motor-ra neng ereng-nga roma-na.*
 Hasan RED-careful AV.park car-DEF at side-DEF house-DEF
 ‘Hasan carefully parked the car by the side of the house.’
- b. *Te-ngate, Hasan markir motor-ra neng ereng-nga roma-na.*
 RED-careful Hasan AV.park car-DEF at side-DEF house-DEF
 ‘Carefully Hasan parked the car by the side of the house.’
- (26) a. *Ali on-laon maso' ka kamar.*
 Ali RED-slow enter to room
 ‘Ali entered the room slowly.’
- b. *On-laon Ali maso' ka kamar.*
 RED-slow Ali enter to room
 ‘Ali entered the room slowly.’

Additionally, manner adverbials can occur before PP dependents in the VP, (27) and (28), although it is not a preferred position.

- (27) *Hasan markir motor-ra te-ngate, neng ereng-nga roma-na.*
 Hasan AV.park car-DEF RED-careful at side-DEF house-DEF
 ‘Hasan parked the car carefully by the side of the house.’
- (28) *Ali maso' on-laon ka kamar.*
 Ali enter RED-slow to room
 ‘Ali entered the room slowly.’

Manner of action can also be expressed in a PP headed by *kalaban* ‘with’, as in (29) and (30).

- (29) *Rohina a-ra-kora kalaban senneng.*
 Rohina AV-RED-wash.dish with happy
 ‘Rohina washed the dishes happily.’
- (30) *Marlena noles sorat dha' Solihin kalaban ceppet.*
 Marlena AV.write letter to Solihin with fast
 ‘Marlena wrote a letter to Solihin quickly.’

Note that *kalaban* takes what appears to be an adjectival complement. In (29) the complement of *kalaban* is *senneng* ‘happy’ and in (30) *ceppet* ‘fast’. This parallels the construction in English that uses the nominalization of an adjective as a complement of *with* (e.g. *with happiness*). If the madurese forms are zero-derived nominals, they are exceptional from the standpoint that most nominalizations of verbs minimally occur with the definite suffix *-na*. See Chapter 4 section 1.2.1 for discussion of this type of nominalization. This is a very productive process.

Additionally, the intensive adjectival construction (Chapter 3 section 1.3.2 and Chapter 4 section 1.2.1) can serve the manner function, as in (31) and (32).

- (31) *Rohina a-rakora ce' senneng-nga.*
 Rohina AV-wash.dish very happy-DEF
 ‘Rohina washed the dishes very happily.’
- (32) *Marlena noles sorat dha' Solihin ce' ceppet-da.*
 Marlena AV.write letter to Solihin very fast-DEF
 ‘Marlena wrote a letter to Solihin very quickly.’

1.5. Degree modifiers

A number of degree words modify verbs, adjectives, and adverbial expressions, including: *banget* ‘very’, *ce'* ‘very’, *coma* ‘only’ (and its alternate *juma*), *gallu* ‘too’, *gi'* ‘yet’, *gun* ‘only’, *keng* ‘only’, *maggis* ‘almost’, *maha* ‘highly (very)’, *neng* ‘only’, *para'* ‘almost’, *parana* ‘very’. The use of *ce'* in the intensive construction has been well-documented (Chapter 3 and in (31) and (32) above), thus others are illustrated here.

- (33) *Seddheng bi-abit para' e-kenneng-a e-buwang biggi'-na temon*
 when RED-long almost OV-get-IRR OV-discard seed-DEF cucumber
bi' Temon Emmas.
 by Temon Emmas
 ‘When she was almost caught, Temon Emmas threw the cucumber seeds.’
- (34) *Mon lamba' coma a-nyama Napo, sateya bagi dhuwa', Napo Daja,*
 if before only AV-name Napo now part two Napo north
Napo Lao'.
 Napo south
 ‘In the past it only was named Napo, but now there are two parts, North Napo and South Napo.’

In (33), *para'* 'almost' occurs right before the verb *ekennenga* 'caught', which it modifies. In (34), *coma* 'only' occurs right before the verb *anyama* 'have the name'. Degree modifiers generally occur immediately before the element they modify, as in the examples in (31-34). The lone exception to this is *gallu* 'too' (excessively), which follows the adjective it modifies, as described in Chapter 3 section 2.1 and exemplified in (35).

- (35) *Kopi reya manes gallu.*
 coffee this sweet too
 'This coffee is too sweet.'

2. Derivation of adverbs

As the data in section 1.1 amply illustrate, a number of regular processes are at work in the derivation of adverbial expressions.

A great many temporal expressions are simply the nouns associated with time. The nouns associated with time of day, time periods, names of days of the week and months, and specific dates are all nominal expressions that assume an adverbial function. Other temporal expressions are also nominal. The chief means of derivation is the *sa-...-na* structure. As illustrated in section 1.1, a verbal, adverbial or nominal root occurs in the structure *sa-...-na* to denote such relative temporal relations as 'before' (*sabellunna*) and 'after' (*samarena*) and 'when' (*sabaktona*). With some expressions *sa* can be dropped, so *marena* and *baktona* are commonly used as is the underived form *bakto*.

Many adjectival predicates can be used in root form, especially in the case of manner adverbials and epistemic expressions. Thus, an adjective such as *ceppet* 'fast' can be used both as a predicate (36) and as a manner adverbial (37).

- (36) *Motor-ra Ina ceppet.*
 car-DEF Ina fast
 'Ina's car is fast.'

- (37) *Ina nyetir motor-ra ceppet.*
 Ina AV.drive car-DEF fast
 'Ina drives her car fast.'

Adverbial expressions are also derived through reduplication and the suffix *-an*, which are used individually and in combination. Some of the frequency expressions occur only as reduplicated roots, including *dangkadang* 'sometimes', *poampo* 'sometimes' and *rangrang* 'seldom'. Manner adverbs such as

on-laon ‘slowly’ and *te-ngate* ‘carefully’ are also derived through reduplication. Additionally, manner adverbs are derived through suffixation of *-an* to adjectival predicates, including *laonan* ‘slowly’, *duliyān* ‘in a hurry’, and *ongguwan* ‘really’. And at times, the two processes combine to derive adverbials, such as *on-laonan* ‘slowly’, *li-baliyan* ‘several times’, *gu-ongguwan* ‘really’, and others. In the case of ‘slowly’, all of the following are possible.

- (38) *Ali maso' ka kamar on-laon/laon-an/on-laon-an.*
 Ali enter to room slowly
 ‘Ali entered the room slowly.’

3. Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are introduced by subordinating conjunctions or subordinating expressions, which can be underived or morphologically complex, or by parataxis (section 3.6). There are also complex conjunctions or correlative conjunctions. Adverbial clauses establish a relationship between the two states of affairs described in the clauses, including purpose, reason (cause), condition, concession, and time. In most instances, the adverbial clause can either precede or follow the clause it modifies. There are some exceptions to this, as will be noted below.

3.1. Purpose clauses

Adverbial clauses establish the purpose for which some action is undertaken. Most commonly they are introduced by subordinators such as *guna* ‘in order to’, *kaangguy* ‘for’, *ma'le* ‘in order to’ (and its alternative form *malle*), *sopaja* ‘so that’. As a purpose is established for undertaking the state of affairs described in the main clause, the predicate of the main clause in these cases tends to be a verb that denotes an action, and not a state. Purpose adverbial clauses usually follow the modified clause, as in (39-42).

- (39) *Satima ngomba sassa'-an-na tello kale ma'le asel-la berse.*
 Satima AV.rinse wash-NOM-DEF three time in.order.to success-DEF clean
 ‘Satima rinses her laundry three times in order to make sure it’s clean.’
- (40) *Siti a-berri' Hasan sorad-da sopaja aba'na bisa maca.*
 Siti AV-give Hasan letter-DEF so.that he can AV.read
 ‘Siti gave the letter to Hasan so that he could read it.’

- (41) *Ali nyare'-e obing guna ma-teppa' sapedha motor.*¹
 Ali AV.seek-DUR screwdriver in.order.to AV.CS-right motorcycle
 'Ali looked for a screwdriver to fix the motor cycle.'
- (42) *Ponggaba perrang-nga tao e-kerem-magi dha' Madura bara' kaangguy*
 staff war-DEF know OV-send-AGI to Madura west for
ma-ta'lo' rato Rosbaja, sopaja a-semba'-a dha' Sultan Agung
 AV.CS.defeat king Arosbaya so.that AV-homage-IRR to Sultan Agung
neng Mataram.
 at Mataram
 'He sent his army to west Madura, to defeat the king of Arosbaya so that
 he would pay tribute to Sultan Agung in Mataram.'

Purpose clauses can also precede the clause they modify, as in (43) and (44).

- (43) *Kaangguy nyare slamet, Pangeran Cakraningrat ka empa' pas buru.*
 for AV.seek safe Pangeran Cakraningrat ORD four then run
 'In order to find safety, Pangeran Cakraningrat IV ran away.'
- (44) *Malle tang kai lo' todhus, malle tang ebu lo' todhus,*
 so.that my father not embarrassed so.that my mother not embarrassed
engko' keya lo' todhus, buwang-ngagi tang baji' reya dha'
 I too not embarrassed discard-AGI my baby this to
tengnga alas.
 center forest
 'So that my father is not ashamed and so that my mother is not ashamed,
 and I am not ashamed either, please abandon my baby deep in the forest.'

Some purpose clauses establish the main clause as a consequence of the action of the adverbial clause.

- (45) *Dha'ramma mon pas laju kraton bisa sampe' e-pa-kala, bisa sampe'*
 how if then then palace can until OV-CS-defeat can until
rato-na e-gante molo' menta banto-wan dha' to-rato laen
 king-DEF OV-succeed although AV.ask help-NOM to RED-king different
ya, sossa reya?
 yes sad this
 'How can the palace be defeated so that the king can be replaced without
 asking for the help of other kings?'

¹ Some speakers reject the use of *guna* 'use' in (41), considering it to be Indonesian rather than pure Madurese.

3.2. Reason clauses

Adverbial clauses that establish a causative relation between two clauses are often referred to as reason clauses. The elements that introduce the subordinate clauses include: *karana*, *keng*, *ja'reng*, *lantaran*, *marga/amarga*, *polana*, *sabab*, *sakeng*, *serrena* all of which can be translated as 'because' or 'on account of'. Of these, *polana*, *sabab*, and *serrena* are the most frequently used. As with purpose clauses, the adverbial clause can either precede or follow the clause it modifies.

- (46) *Tape lo' kenneng kakan polana bannya' bigi-na.*
 but not get eat because many seed-DEF
 'But it cannot be eaten because there are so many seeds.'
- (47) *E-nyama-e Pangeran Sidingkap karana seda neng Tanjung Kaab,*
 OV-name-E Pangeran Sidingkap because die at Tanjung Kaab
Afrika Selatan.
 Africa south
 'He is named Pangeran Sidingkap because he died in Tanjung Kaab in South Africa.'
- (48) *Reng-oreng se padha noro' neng prao jiya padha ka-lapar-en*
 RED-person REL same AV.follow at boat this same AD-hungry
sabab pan-brampan are e-capo' angen bara' neng tengnga tase'.
 because RED-how.many day OV-get wind west at center sea
 'The sailors were all starving because for many days they were battered by the wind in the middle of the sea.'
- (49) *Polana Pa' Surachman terro ngala'-a visa-na, entar ka Sorbaja.*
 because Mr Surachman want AV.take-IRR visa-DEF go to Surabaya
 'Because Pak Surachman needed to pick up his visa, he went to Surabaya.'
- (50) *Serrena ce' manes-sa, bau-na ro'om ya, arga-na larang.*
 because very sweet-DEF smell-DEF fragrant yes price-DEF expensive
 'Because they are very sweet and smell good, the price is also high.'
- (51) *Ja'reng lo' tao a-sapo-wan, adha' lo' berse.*
 because not know AV-sweep-IT not.exist not clean
 'Because she had never swept, it did not get clean.'

In (46-48) the adverbial clause follows the clause it modifies and in (49-51) it precedes the main clause.

Although the reason clause generally precedes or follows the main clause, it occasionally occurs within the main clause, usually right after the subject or agent.

- (52) *Se ponggaba-na, ja'reng lo' nompa' pa-apa, a-berka' sampe' dha'*
 REL staff-DEF because not AV.ride RED-what AV-run until to
Bang Selo.
 Bang Selo
 'The staff person, because he was not riding anything, ran all the way to Bang Selo.'
- (53) *Bi' reng-oreng dhissa, polana badha neng kenneng-nga, palataran*
 with RED-person there because exist at place-DEF yard
Agung jiya, e-nyama-e geddhang agung.
 Agung this OV-name-LOC banana noble
 'Because the banana grows at this place, the land around Agung, people call it geddhang agung.'

In (52), the adverbial clause *ja'reng lo' nompa' pa-apa* 'because he wasn't riding anything' immediately follows the subject of the sentence, *se ponggabana* 'the staff person'. In (53), the lengthy reason clause, *polana badha neng kennengnga, palataran Agung jiya* 'because it is at this place, the land around Agung', follows the agent of the sentence, *bi' reng-oreng dhissa* 'by the people there'. Here the main verb of the sentence is in object voice, *enyamae* 'is named'.

3.3. Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are largely introduced by the subordinator *mon* 'if', a short form of *kalamon*. Occasionally, other subordinators are used, such as *angsal*, *asal*, *ame'*, *ompamana*, and *gunana*. Conditional constructions are used for a variety of structures: to set out straight conditions, to express habitual temporal activities, to express negative conditionals, and to establish a topic.

As is true of most adverbial clauses, the conditional clause may precede (54-55) or follow (56-57) the main clause.

- (54) *He, mon ba'eng a-lako, Bang Pote, pa-ceppet!*
 hey if you AV-work Garlic CS-fast
 'Hey, if you are working, Garlic, go faster!'

- (55) *Ompama Fatima lulus ujiyan guru-na ce' senneng-nga.*
 if Fatima pass exam teacher-DEF very happy-IRR
 'If Fatima passes the exam, her teacher will be happy.'
- (56) *"La', pas mate mon ba'eng e-obbar, Cong," koca'-eng Empu Kelleng.*
 oh then die if you OV-burn son say-DEF Empu Kelleng
 "'Oh, you will die if you are burned, Son,'" said Empu Kelleng.'
- (57) *Biyasana oreng daddi rato reya kalamon ron-toron-na rato,*
 usually man become king this if RED-descend-DEF king
pottra-na rato.
 son-DEF king
 'Usually, someone becomes a king if he is the descendent of a king, the son of a king.'

Frequently the conditional structure is best translated into English as 'when...' or 'whenever...'. However, unlike English, there is no implication that the apodosis will occur.

- (58) *Mon se dha' Mekkasan lo' sampe' a-perrang, keng e-bekkas-e*
 if REL to Pamekasan not until AV-war only OV-warn-LOC
Ke' Lesap.
 Ke' Lesap
 'When it came to Mekkasan, he didn't fight. Ke' Lesap only warned them.'
- (59) *Koca'-eng mon la dhateng oreng Resbaja², bala sentana dhari*
 say-DEF if already come people Asobaya troop soldier from
Bliga lo' bagi ro'-noro'.
 Bliga not give RED-AV.follow
 'It was said that when the soldiers from Arosbaya arrived, the soldiers from Bliga were not allowed to fight.'

As with other adverbial clauses, the conditional clause can immediately follow the subject of the main clause, as a type of appositive clause.

- (60) *Daddi, kalowarga kraton, mon a-bajang-a, lo' neng kraton jareya.*
 so family palace if AV-pray-IRR not at palace this
 'So, the royal family, when it was going to pray, did not pray at the palace.'

² *Resbaja* is a colloquial pronunciation of *Arosbaja*.

There is no separate word equivalent to the English ‘unless’. Rather the typical conditional clause is simply negated (61) and (62).

- (61) *Ja' endha' bukka' mon lo' sampe' dha' roma-na ya!*
 don't want open if not until to house-DEF yes
 ‘Don’t open it unless you are home, ok?’
- (62) *Ba'eng ja' endha' mole dha' Madura ban Sumennep, mon gilo'*
 you don't want go.home to Madura and Sumenep if not.yet
bisa ma-kala rato Blambangan.
 can AV.CS-defeat king Blambangan
 ‘You won’t be allowed to go home to Madura and Sumenep unless you defeat the king of Blambangan.’

Used with a temporal expression—such as *laggu* ‘morning’, *malem* ‘night’, *lamba* ‘before’, *sateya* ‘now’, the names of specific days and months and so on—the conditional structure indicates the time at which some state of affairs usually obtains, as in (63) and (64).

- (63) *Biyasana mon gu-laggu reng-oreng Balanda jiya late-yan*
 usually if RED-morning RED-person Dutch this drill-NOM
rang-perrang-an neng lon-alon.
 RED-war-NOM at alun-alun
 ‘Usually every morning the Dutch soldiers did drills on the alun-alun.’
- (64) *Ban taon, apa pole mon Tellasan, bannya' oreng se nyalase dha'*
 every year what again if Idul Fitri many person REL AV.pray to
reng towa-na.
 parent-DEF
 ‘Every year at Idul Fitri, many people pray for their parents.’

Conditionals can be used as a type of topicalization. In this structure *mon* or *kalamon* occurs with a noun and a pronoun (generally null) occurs as the subject or the possessor of the subject of the main clause. This is illustrated in (65) and (66).

- (65) *Biyasana, mon pate jiya, kodu seggut a-seba dha' rato.*
 usually if minister this should often AV-face to king
 ‘Usually the chief minister should meet with the queen frequently.’

- (66) *Mon manossa, lo' bisa ng-okor arapa me' pas tombu adha'*
 if human not can AV-measure why EMPH then grow not.exist
bungkel-la.
 root-DEF
 'Humans are unable to figure out why it grows without roots.'

In (65), *mon pate* 'if a chief minister' serves the function of a topic and the reference is picked up as the subject of the main clause. This is clear from the comma intonation following *jiya*. Additionally, it is possible for an overt pronoun to occur in the matrix clause, as in (67) and (68).

- (67) *Biyasana, mon pate jiya, aba'eng kodu seggut a-seba dha' rato.*
 usually if minister this he should often AV-face to king
 'Usually the chief minister should meet with the queen frequently.'
- (68) *Mon manossa, aba'eng lo' bisa ng-okor arapa me' pas tombu*
 if human he not can AV-measure why EMPH then grow
adha' bungkel-la.
 not.exist root-DEF
 'Humans are unable to figure out why it grows without roots.'

This structure can be viewed as an instance of a subordinate clause with a nominal predicate, i.e. 'if someone is a chief minister', but its function is to highlight a topic from a clause immediately or closely preceding it.

Finally, a *mon* phrase can act as a modifier of a noun, as *mon mate* 'if dead' does in the NP *kafan kaangguy mungkos oreng mon mate juwa* 'the shroud for wrapping a person if he is dead', (69).

- (69) *Kafan kaangguy mungkos oreng mon mate juwa, tao ba'eng, pote,*
 shroud for AV.wrap person if dead that know you white
ta'iyā?
 TAG
 'The shroud for wrapping a dead person, you know, is white, right?'

3.4. Concessive clauses

Concessive clause are introduced by the subordinators *make, maske, maskeya, najjan, sanajjan, sanare,* and *tekka'a*, all of which can be translated as 'though', 'although', and 'even though'. Concessive clauses may precede (70-72) or follow (73, 74) the clause they modify.

- (70) *Make pang-lako-na mare lapor badha pokpara, kapala-na paggun*
 though NOM-work-DEF finish report exist problem head-DEF still
ta' ngareken.
 not AV.fix
 'Even after the worker reported the problem, his boss didn't fix it.'
- (71) *Ya, tape maske santre-na bannya',Ke Moko jiya paggun lo' andhi'.*
 yes but though student-DEF many Ke Moko this still not have
 'Even though he had many students, Ke Moko was not rich.'
- (72) *Tekka'a aba'eng sogi, lo' cerre'.*
 though she rich not miserly
 'Although she is rich, she's not miserly.'
- (73) *Ali lulus ujiyan maske aba'eng lo' pate bajeng ajara.*
 Ali pass exam though he not really diligent study-IRR
 'Ali passed the test in spite of the fact that he didn't study very hard.'
- (74) *Tape ma' buta gi' terros nabang Temon Emmas gella' make*
 but father giant still continue AV.chase Temon Emmas before though
so-lesso polana abit lo' a-langngoy neng tase'.
 RED-tired because long.time not AV-swim in sea
 'But the giant continued to chase Temon Emmas even though he was very
 tired because he had not swum in the sea for a long time.'

As with other adverbial clauses, concessive clause can occur internal to the main clause, most often following the subject, as in (75).

- (75) *Kana' jiya make penter lo' lancar maca.*
 child that though smart not fluent AV.read
 'This child, although smart, does not read well.'

3.5. Temporal clauses

There are many conjunctions and nominal elements that introduce adverbial clauses that mark temporal relations between two clauses.

When two events or states of affairs occur at the same time, a variety of conjunctions can be used, largely interchangeably.

a. *seddheng* ‘when’ (and its short form *dheng*) is one

(76) **Seddheng** *la e-kroyo', senjata-na lebbi maju, aher-ra*
 while already OV-overwhelm weapon-DEF more front end-DEF
bannya' tentara Madura, sentana Madura, bannya' se mate, kala.
 many soldier Madura soldier Madura many REL die defeated
 ‘When they had been overwhelmed by the greater number of weapons,
 many Madurese soldiers died, defeated.’

(77) **Dheng** *la padha mate, satreya Majapahit se ka-dhuwa' jiya pas*
 when already same dead knight Majapahit REL KA-two this then
ng-oca'...
 AV-say
 ‘When they were both dead, the two Majapahit knights then said,...’

b. *san* also indicates that two states of affairs are true at the same time.

(78) **Daggi' san** *patane mole, buru engko' ngeco'-a.*
 later when farmer go.home then I AV.steal-IRR
 ‘Later, when the farmer goes home, I will steal them.’

c. *bareng* can be translated ‘at the time when’ or simply ‘when’

(79) **Bareng** *kennyang, Si Kancel mole.*
 when full Si deer go.home
 ‘When she was full, the deer went home.’

d. *sambi* ‘while’ denotes simultaneity of actions.

(80) **Sambi** *a-massa', enga' ka ebu'-eng.*
 while AV-cook remember to mother-DEF
 ‘While she cooked, she remembered her mother.’

(81) *Nyambit Empu Bageno sambi nyemba.*
 AV.answer Empu Bageno while AV.salute
 ‘Empu Bageno answered while showing respect.’

At times, both adverbial and main clauses can be marked with *sambi*, as in (82) and (83).

(82) **Sambi** *a-lako, sambi katha jiya mekker.*
 while AV-work while like this AV.think
 ‘While she worked, she thought about it like this.’

- (83) *Ker-pekker-an Bang Pote sambi a-jalan sambi a-sassa sambi nanges*
 RED-think-IT Garlic while AV-walk while AV-wash while AV.cry
e penggir-ra songay.
 at edge-DEF river
 ‘Garlic was thinking while she walked, and then she cried while washing
 clothes clothes at the river side.’

In (83), three clauses include *sambi*. In some instances, *sambi* can occur internally to the adverbial clause, although this is an unusual structure.

- (84) “*Dha'ramma cara-na nyabrang songay?*” *mekker, soko-na sambi*
 how way-DEF AV.cross river AV.think leg-DEF while
en-maen-an dhalem songay.
 RED-play-IT inside river
 ‘‘How to cross the river?’’ she thought, while she dangled her legs in the
 river.’

In (84), the temporal element *sambi* follows the subject *sokona* ‘her legs’ in the adverbial clause *sokona sambi en-maenan dhalem songay* ‘while her legs played in the river’.

e. Adverbial clauses indicating contemporaneous states of affairs can be introduced by the nominal *bakto* ‘time’, in its plain form (85), definite form *baktona* (86), or derived form *sabaktona* ‘when’ (87). At times, *bakto* occurs as the object of the preposition *e* ‘at’, as in (88).

- (85) *Na'-kana' a-dhante' neng motor, bakto bapa'-eng a-caca bi' polisi.*
 RED-child AV-wait at car time father-DEF AV-talk with police
 ‘The children waited in the car, while their father talked to the policeman.’
- (86) *Ma' Buta ka-lowar bakto-na Bang Mera entar dha' roma-na*
 father giant to-outside time-DEF Bang Mera go to house-DEF
Mbu' Buta.
 mother giant
 ‘Father giant was out when Bang Mera went to mother giant’s house.’
- (87) *Sabaktona neng Mekkasana se daddi rato Panembahan Ronggo*
 all-time-DEF at Pameksasan REL become king Panembahan Ronggo
Suko Wati, badha pan-barampan ka-daddi-yan se ane.
 Suko Wati exist RED-how many NOM-become REL strange
 ‘When Panembahan Ronggo Suko Wati became king of Mekkasana,
 several strange things happened.’

- (88) *Ali ngetek e bakto a-caca ka Siti.*
 Ali AV.shaky at time AV-talk to Siti
 ‘Ali gets nervous whenever he talks to Siti.’

The sentence in (88) indicates that the two states of affairs described regularly cooccur. This notion can also be expressed when *bila* ‘when’ introduces the adverbial clause.

- (89) *Bila Ali a-caca ka Siti, Marlina tamburuwan.*
 when Ali AV-talk to Siti Marlina jealous
 ‘Whenever Ali talks to Siti, Marlina gets jealous.’

There are a number of options for indicating that one event takes place before another. Frequently, two independent clauses conjoined either paratactically or with the coordinating conjunction *ban* ‘and’ are interpreted such that the state of affairs in the first antedates that in the second (90) and (91), or the second of two clauses can take the conjunction *pas* ‘then’ (92) or the adverbial such as *laju* ‘directly’.

- (90) *Deni ma-becce' komputer, sateya la becce'.*
 Deni AV.CS-good computer now already good
 ‘Deni fixed the computer and now it works.’

- (91) *Paman manceng juko' ban Bibbi' a-massa'.*
 uncle AV.pole fish and aunt AV-cook
 ‘Uncle caught fish and auntie cooked them.’

- (92) *Koceng-nga ngkan juko', pas a-jilat badhan-na.*
 cat-DEF AV.eat fish then AV-lick body-DEF
 ‘The cat ate the fish and then washed itself.’

With subordinate structures, when the main clause event occurs prior to the event described in the adverbial clause, the conjunction *sabellunna* ‘before’ (or a variant such as *bellunna*) is used. The form consists of the adverbial auxiliary *bellun* ‘not yet’ with the *sa-* prefix and the definite suffix *-na*. This is illustrated in (93) and (94).

- (93) *Sabellunna mate ebu'-eng messen, “Mon engko' mate, kobur neng*
 before die mother-DEF AV.instruct if I die bury at
budhi-na roma-na ba'eng ya.”
 back-DEF house-DEF you yes
 ‘Before she died, the mother said, “When I die, bury me behind your house, OK?”’

- (94) *Adi Poday sabellunna mangkat dha' Madura e-pa-bine'e pottre-na*
 Adi Poday before leave to Madura OV-CS-wife-LOC princess-DEF
rato se a-nyama Din Aju Talingsing.
 king REL AV-name Din Aju Talingsing
 'Adi Poday, before leaving for Madura, married the princess Din Ajun
 Talingsing.'

As (94) shows, adverbial clauses with *sabellunna* can occur following the subject of the main clause.

When the state of affairs of the adverbial clause precedes that of the main clause, a number of subordinators can be used. One of these is *sa'ellana* 'after', and its variant *sa'lana* and *saellana*. This form consists of the prefix *sa-* followed by the perfective adverb *ella* 'already' and the definite suffix *-na*. Examples are given in (95) and (96).

- (95) *Sa'ellana dhapa' dha' Gunong Pajuddan, Pottre Koneng lako-na*
 after arrive to mountain Pajuddan Pottre Koneng work-DEF
a-birit terros, lo' a-dha'ar, lo' ng-enom.
 AV-pray continue not AV-eat not AV-drink
 'After arriving at Mount Pajuddan, Pottre Koneng prayed continuously,
 not eating and not drinking.'
- (96) *Sa'lana e-pokol Hasan, Ali buru.*
 after OV-hit Hasan Ali run
 'After being hit by Hasan, Ali ran away.'

An adverbial clause of a prior event or state of affairs can be introduced by *samarena*, which many times occurs simply as *marena*. This form is made up of the prefix *sa-*, the verb *mare* 'finish', and the definite suffix.

- (97) *Samarena Siti a-sapo-we kamar, aba'na entar ka pasar.*
 after Siti AV-sweep-DUR room she go to market
 'After Siti swept the room, she went to the market.'
- (98) *Marena ja' reng Cena saJaba padha a-polong neng Mataram*
 after COMP person China one.Java same AV-gather at Mataram
neng Karta Sura, padha nyerbu kraton.
 at Karta Sura same AV.invade palace
 'After all of the Chinese on Java gathered in Mataram at Karta Sura, they
 all stormed the palace.'

Frequently, *mare* 'finish' is used to signal anteriority, as in (99) and (100).

- (99) *Mare ngakan, ebu'-eng pas mandhi.*
 finish AV.eat mother-DEF then AV.bathe
 'Having finished eating, their mother then bathed.'
- (100) *Aher-ra mare a-massa' pas bagi dha' tamoy-ya jiya,ka-senneng-gan*
 end-DEF finish AV-cook then give to guest-DEF this AD-happy
tamoy-ya.
 guest-DEF
 'Eventually, after they cooked everything and gave it to the guests, the
 guests were very content.'

It is conceivable that some of these clauses can be analyzed as coordinate structures, thus (100) might be translated as 'Eventually, they finished cooking everything and giving it to the guests, and the guests were very contented'. However, in (99), the null pronoun in the first clause is bound by the subject of the second clause, which favors an analysis of the first clause as a dependent clause, in which case the antecedent commands the subject position of the first clause. See Chapter 13 for further discussion of anaphora.

The anteriority of the adverbial clause can also be indicated through the use of one of the subordinating conjunctions meaning 'when' or 'while' and a perfective subordinate clause. This is illustrated in (101) and (102).

- (101) *San la dhapa' dha' Bliga, rato Bliga lo' laju gubar*
 when already arrive to Bliga king Bliga not directly go.home
dha' kraton.
 to palace
 'After arriving in Bliga, the King of Bliga did not go directly to the
 palace.'
- (102) *Dheng la olle edi dhari Balanda, nyorot pole.*
 when already get permission from Dutch AV.follow again
 'After he got permission from the Dutch, he started to worry again.'

The adverb *la* 'already' marked the adverbial clauses as perfective, thus the state of affairs described in those clauses is true at the same time as the state of affairs described in the main clause. Thus, a more literal translation of (101) might be 'When he had arrived in Bliga,...', which indicates that the arriving is complete when the action of the main clause takes place.

The prepositional-type element *sampe'* 'until'—which can denote a temporal or locative endpoint, as in *sampe' sateya* 'until now' (Chapter 8, section 1.5)—can also denote a temporal endpoint when it introduces an adverbial clause, as in (103) and (104).

- (103) *Ya, pele kase saengga oreng Cena reya ng-amok sampe' dhateng*
 yes select bless therefore person China this AV-amok until come
dha' kraton rato-na bisa e-pa-kala.
 to palace king-DEF can OV-CS-defeat
 'Because of the unfair treatment, the Chinese rampaged until they came
 to the palace and defeated the king.'
- (104) *Nanges sampe' klambi-na bapa'-eng bacca.*
 AV.cry until clothes-DEF father-DEF wet
 'She cried until her father's clothes were wet.'

There is no preposition/conjunction such as English 'since' that denotes a starting point for a temporal adverbial clause. Rather an adverbial clause that includes the verb *molae* 'begin' is used.

- (105) *Molae gi' kana' la e-ajar-i cara-cara-na oreng neng*
 begin still child already OV-learn-E RED-way-DEF person at
kraton, cara perrang ban en-laen-na.
 kingdom way war and RED-other-DEF
 'Since they were kids, they had been taught the customs of the palace,
 tactics of war, etc.'
- (106) *Engko' se ng-rabad-i ba'eng molae gi' kene' sampe' la towa*
 I REL AV-care-E you begin still small until already old
padha bi' reya.
 same with this
 'I am the one who took care of you since you were small until you are big
 like this.'

Of course, more literal translations are possible, such as 'Beginning when they were kids, they had been taught the customs of the palace, tactics of war, etc.' for (105).

3.5.1. *sa-* adverbials

As described in sections 1.1 and 2, a very productive structure deriving temporal adverbial clauses consists of *sa-* + verb + *-na*. The event denoted by the adverbial clause precedes the event of the main clause, often times denoting immediate precedence, as in (107) and (108).

(107) *Sa-dhateng-nga Siti, Ita mangkat.*

SA-come-DEF Siti Ita leave
 ‘After Siti arrived, Ita left.’

(108) *Sa-entar-ra ibu'-na Siti, Hasan mole.*

SA-go-DEF mother-DEF Siti Hasan go.home
 ‘After Siti’s mother went, Hasan went home.’

Structurally, these adverbial clauses are nominalizations, the agent taking the role of possessor, so that (107) should perhaps be more literally translated as ‘After Siti’s coming, Ita left’.

For some speakers, only a small set of intransitive verbs denoting arrival and departure are possible roots for these adverbials, similar to the type of restriction noted by Sneddon (1996) for the cognate structure in Indonesian. However, for other speakers the structure is much more productive and can be used with two- and three-place predicates, as in (109) and (110).

(109) *%Sa-mokol-la Hasan dha' Ali, Ita buru.*

SA-hit-DEF Hasan to Ali Ita run
 ‘After Hasan hit Ali, Ita ran away.’

(110) *%Sa-ngerem-ma bungkosan dhari Kanada, Marlina lo' andhi' pesse.*

SA-AV.send-DEF package from Canada Marlina not have money
 ‘After sending a package from Canada, Marlina had no money.’

3.6. Parataxis

Adverbial clauses can be linked to a matrix clause by simple juxtaposition. While the subject of the clauses need not be identical, it is frequently the case that a close association is made between them. This is illustrated in (111), in which a causal dependency is established between the two clauses.

(111) *Sapora-na, Ma' Buta, kula entar dha' kanna' badha parlo-na,*

forgive-IRR father giant I go to here exist need-DEF
Ma' Buta.
 father giant

‘Forgive me, Father Giant, I came here because I need something.’

In (111), the two clauses *kula entar dha' kanna'* ‘I came here’ and *badha parlo-na* ‘there is something I need’ are simply juxtaposed in the sentence but the second clause is linked to the first as a causal clause. Likewise, in (112) and (113), dependencies are established between two juxtaposed clauses

- (112) *Pamor bajeng kake nyare elmo.*
 shine diligent you AV.seek knowledge
 ‘Study hard so that you can increase your knowledge.’
- (113) *Sampeyan, Rato, nan dalem rato, lo' osa ng-adhep pole dha' taretan-na*
 you king I king not need AV-face again to sibling-DEF
sampeyan, padha mangken darajad-da.
 you same now rank-DEF
 ‘You, my king, do not need to visit your brother again, because you are now equals.’

In (112), the clause *kake nyare elmo* ‘you seek knowledge’ is a reason clause juxtaposed to *pamor bajeng* ‘study diligently’. In (113), the clause *padha mangken darajad-da* ‘you are now equals’ is paratactically linked to the preceding clause indicating a causal relationship.

3.7. Correlative structures

At times, both clauses in an adverbial structure will take subordinating or coordinating conjunctions. For instance, when *maske* or *magi* ‘even though’ introduces an adverbial clause, the clause it is paired with is marked with the coordinating conjunction *tape* ‘but’, which is best translated as ‘even though...nevertheless’. This is illustrated in (114) and (115).

- (114) *Maske bannya' mored e kellas, tape guru-na ta' e dhissa.*
 though many student at class but teacher-DEF not at there
 ‘Even though there were many students in class, nevertheless their teacher was not there.’
- (115) *Magi Bu Siti ce' sogi-na, tape ta' andhi' bannya' kanca.*
 though Mrs Siti very rich-DEF but not have many friends
 ‘Even though Bu Siti is very rich, nevertheless she does not have many friends.’

4. Adjuncts in complement clauses

While adverbials have relative freedom of position in clauses, adjuncts in complement clauses are clause bound. They cannot occur fronted in the matrix clause in a topicalization, focalization, or dislocation structure.

- (116) a. *Siti a-bala ja' Ali ma-becce' sapedha motor bi' obing.*
 Siti AV-say COMP Ali AV.CS-good motorcycle with screwdriver
 'Siti said that Ali fixed the motorcycle with a screwdriver.'
- b. **Bi' obing Siti a-bala ja' Ali ma-becce' sapedha motor.*
 with screwdriver Siti AV-say COMP Ali AV.CS-good motorcycle
 (With a screwdriver Siti said that Ali fixed the motorcycle.)
- (117) a. *Guru-na ngera mored-da nyoper motor laonan.*
 teacher-DEF AV.think student-DEF AV.drive car slowly
 'The teacher thought her student drove the car slowly.'
- b. **Laonan guru-na ngera mored-da nyoper motor.*
 slowly teacher-DEF AV.think student-DEF AV.drive car
 (Slowly, the teacher thought her student drove the car.)

If the adjunct of the complement in (116a), *bi' obing* 'with a screwdriver', occurs in the matrix clause (116b) the sentence is ungrammatical with the interpretation that Ali used a screwdriver to fix the motorcycle. (116b) can only have the bizarre interpretation in which Siti used a screwdriver to speak; hence the sentence is rejected outright. The same is true of (117), where *laonan* 'slowly', the adverb of the complement in (117a), occurs in sentence-initial position in the ungrammatical (117b). This is relatively unsurprising for two reasons. First, topicalization/focalization of adjuncts is not a particularly common phenomenon, although grammatical in English when the moved adjunct is contrastively stressed. Second, this type of interclausal movement of arguments is equally ungrammatical in Madurese. Thus, (118b), in which the embedded direct object of (118a) is fronted is ungrammatical.

- (118) a. *Dayat yaken ja' Rohina a-temmo Rokip e pasar.*
 Dayat sure COMP Rohina AV-meet Rokip at market
 'Dayat is sure that Rohina met Rokip in the market.'
- b. **Rokip, Dayat yaken ja' Rohina a-temmo (aba'na) e pasar.*³
 Rokip Dayat sure COMP Rohina AV-meet her at market
 (Rokip, Dayat is sure that Rohina met (her) in the market.)

Although the behavior of complement clause adjuncts is relatively unremarkable, the fact is relevant when examining the behavior of embedded *wh*-

³ Although irrelevant to the point here, (118b) is grammatical if *Rokip* is interpreted as a vocative as the addressee of the of the sentence, as in 'Rokip, Dayat is sure that Rohina met someone in the market'.

adjuncts, such as *dha'ramma* 'how', *bila* 'when', and so on, which also cannot be moved to sentence-initial position but must remain in the complement clause (Chapter 14 section 5.5).

Chapter 13

Anaphora

This chapter describes the structure and use of various anaphoric expressions, including reflexives (section 1), reciprocals (section 2), and various types of null pronouns and null anaphors (sections 3-5). As the pronominal forms of Madurese are detailed in Chapter 3 section 3 and more extensively in Chapter 7 section 3, they are not treated here.

1. Reflexives

Reflexive meaning is primarily expressed by means of the word *dibi'*, which means 'alone' or 'only'. This is reflected in sentences such as (1) and (2).

- (1) *Rika ngennal-lagi aba'na dibi' ka Evi.*
Rika AV.know-AGI to Evi
'Rika introduced herself to Evi.'
- (2) *Ali a-careta bab aba'na dibi' ka Hadi.*
Ali AV-story about to Hadi
'Ali told Hadi about himself.'

In both (1) and (2), the complex form *aba'na dibi'* corefers with the subject, *Rika* and *Ali*, respectively. The complex form is made up of the third person pronoun *aba'na* and *dibi'*, looking very much like the complex forms *herself* and *himself* in English. As described in Chapter 7 section 7.3, *aba'na* is itself a complex form made up of *aba'* 'body, soul' and the definite suffix *-na*. Thus, in dialects making use of *aba'eng*, *aba'eng dibi'* is also fully acceptable.

- (3) *Dhokter juwa mareksa aba'eng dibi'.*
doctor that AV.examine
'The doctor examined herself.'

Reflexives for first and second persons can be formed through the use of *aba'na dibi'*, (4a) and (5a), or can be marked simply with *aba'*, as in (4b) and (5b), an instance of using a plain pronoun to mark reflexive (see section 1.3).

- (4) a. *Engko' ngennal-agi (aba'na) engko' dibi' ka Deni.*
 I AV.know-AGI I to Deni
 'I introduced myself to Deni.'
- b. *Engko' ngennal-agi aba' ka Deni.*
 I AV.know-AGI to Deni
 'I introduced myself to Deni.'
- (5) a. *Apa ba'na ella a-careta bab aba'na dibi' ka Jatim?*
 what you already AV-story about to Jatim
 'Have you told Jatim about yourself?'
- b. *Apa ba'na ella a-careta bab aba' ka Jatim?*
 what you already AV-story about to Jatim
 'Have you told Jatim about yourself?'

As indicated in (4a), first person singular reflexives can occur without *aba'na* formed simply with the first person pronoun and *dibi'*, *sengko' dibi'*. *Dibi'* can be used with or without *aba'na* to mark reflexive possessors.

- (6) *Marlena a-jelling foto-na aba'eng dibi'.*
 Marlena AV-look photo-DEF
 'Marlena looked at a photo of herself.'
- (7) *Ina ta' sengaja mokol ana'-eng dibi'.*
 Ina not purposely AV.hit child-DEF
 'Ina accidentally hit her own child.'

In (6) *aba'eng dibi'* corefers with the subject *Marlena* and in (7) *dibi'* refers to the subject *Ina*.

1.1. The uses of *dibi'*

The morpheme *dibi'* has multiple functions, many of which are related to uses of reflexives in many languages. It is similar to what Gil (2001) describes for Riau Indonesian *sendiri*. For one, *dibi'* can function as a 'deagentive', that is it can indicate that the action described requires no sentient agent, as in (8).

- (8) *Bisa ngabber dibi'.*
 can AV.fly
 'It could fly by itself.'

The null pronominal subject of the sentence in (8) is a magical blade possessed by the hero of the story; here it indicates that with a little encouragement from its owner it could fly on its own. A second use is what Gil refers to as ‘decomitative’, that is describing a situation in which the subject acts alone.

- (9) *Pekker dibi' ba'eng ya.*
 think you yes
 ‘Think on your own.’
- (10) *Ali entar ka Jakarta dibi'.*
 A go to Jakarta
 ‘Ali went to Jakarta by himself.’

In (9), the addressees (children listening to a story) are encouraged to think for themselves, while (10) asserts that Ali went to Jakarta without a companion.

Dibi' also has an intensive usage, in which it emphasizes a particular participant in a situation, as in (11) and (12).

- (11) *Pangeran Wilaran dhari ahli-na Keyae Pratanu dibi' ya.*
 Pangeran Wilaran from relative-DEF Keyae Pratanu yes
 ‘Pangeran Wilaran was descended from Keyae Pratanu himself.’
- (12) *Ina ngerem pesse-na Wati dibi' ka ibu'-na Sundari.*
 Ina AV.send money-DEF Wati to mother-DEF Sundari
 ‘Ina sent Wati’s money itself to Sundari’s mother.’

In its intensive use in (11), the role of *dibi'* is to emphasize the fact that Pangeran Wilaran has a particularly famous and influential relative, Keyae Pratanu. In (12), an inanimate object, *pessena Wati* ‘Wati’s money’ takes *dibi'* and is the focus of emphasis. Finally, *dibi'* can be used to indicate that a noun phrase is the only element of which a state of affairs is true; what Gil refers to as ‘dealiative’.

- (13) *Poko'-eng aba'eng dibi' kenyang, aba'eng dibi' senneng, lo'*
 short-DEF he full he happy not
mekker-re ra'yad-da se sangsara.
 AV.think-LOC people-DEF REL suffer
 ‘In short, only he was satisfied; only he was happy. He didn’t think about his people who suffered.’
- (14) *Pesse-na e-tarema Satimma ban bapa'-na dhari Arinda dibi'.*
 money-DEF OV-receive Satimma and father-DEF from Arinda
 ‘Satimma and her father received money only from Arinda.’

The sentence in (13) describes a notoriously greedy king who looks after only himself, while (15) indicates that Arinda and no one else gave money to Ita and her father.

Dibi' also combines with the prefix *ka-* in the dealiative (15) and decommitative (16-17) uses.

- (15) *Arinda a-berri' pesse ka Satimma ban bapa'-na ka-dibi'*.
Arinda AV-give money to Satimma and father-DEF KA-alone
'Only Arinda gave money to Siti and her father.'
- (16) *Hasan ka-dibi'(-an)*.
Hasan KA-alone-AN
'Hasan is by himself.'
- (17) *Sengko' entar-a ka Jakarta ka-dibi'(-an)*.
I go-IRR to Jakarta KA-alone-AN
'I will go to Jakarta alone.'

The *ka-* prefix used here is the collective prefix used with numerals and quantifiers to denote an exhaustive set. Therefore, when used in conjunction with *dibi'* 'alone', it denotes exclusiveness.¹ The *-an* is that used sometimes in the derivation of an adverb from an adjective.²

The same effect is achieved through reduplication and affixation with *-an*, which combine in the derivation of manner adverbs (Chapter 12 section 1.4). This is illustrated in (18) and (19).

- (18) *Ke' Lesap bi'-dibi'-an a-tangdang bi' tandha' gella'*.
Ke' Lesap RED-alone-AN AV-dance with dancer before
'Ke' Lesap danced with the dancer by himself.'
- (19) *Mole se laen, kare bi'-dibi'-an jin bine' nanges*.
go.home REL different left RED-alone-AN jin female AV.cry
'The others went home, leaving the jin by herself crying.'

The fact that *kadibi'(an)* and *bi'-dibi'an* are essentially manner adverbs accounts for the fact that they are actor-oriented and refer to the subject of the clause.

¹This use of *ka-* is detailed in Chapter 7 section 7.

²The derivation of manner adverbials using *-an* is described in Chapter 12 section 1.4.

1.2. The distribution of *aba'na dibi'*

Although when examined out of context the collocation *aba'na dibi'* bears a striking resemblance to the English reflexive anaphor *himself/herself*, its distribution is quite different.

In the typical case, *aba'na dibi'* corefers with the subject of its clause. This is evident in (1-3), as well as (20) and (21).

(20) *Nabun melle permen kaangguy aba'na dibi'.*

Nabun AV.buy candy for
'Nabun bought candy for herself.'

(21) *Ika peggel ka aba'eng dibi'.*

Ika angry to
'Ika is angry at herself.'

In each of these examples *aba'na/aba'eng dibi'* takes its reference from the subject of the clause.

The subject need not be the antecedent, however. In (22) and (23) prepositional objects serve as antecedent.

(22) *Buku se e-belli bi' Rini kaangguy aba'na dibi'.*

book REL OV-buy by Rini for
'A book is what Rini bought for herself.'

(23) *Sengko' a-careta ka Sundari bab aba'na dibi'.*

I AV-story to Sundari about
'I talked to Sundari about herself.'

In (22), the post-verbal prepositional agent *Rini* is the antecedent, and in (23) it is the prepositional goal *Sundari*.

There are marked differences with the English reflexive though. When in subject position, *aba'na dibi'* can corefer with the posverbal agent of an object voice clause.

(24) *Aba'na dibi' e-kennal-lagi Rika ka Evi.*

OV-know-AGI Rika to Evi
'Rika introduced herself to Evi.'
lit. 'Herself was introduced by Rika to Evi.'

- (25) *Foto-na aba'eng dibi' e-jelling bi' Marlana.*
 photo-DEF OV-see by Marlana
 'Marlena looked at a photo of herself.'
 lit. 'A photo of herself was looked at by Marlana.'

Aba'na dibi' can take its reference from an argument of a higher clause.

- (26) *Tina a-janji ka bapa'-eng ja' aba'eng dibi' entar-a dha' pasar.*
 Tina AV-promise to father-DEF COMP go-IRR to market
 'Tina promised her father that she would go to the market.'
- (27) *Sengko' a-careta ka Deni ja' aba'eng dibi' kodu nyongngo' ebu'-na.*
 I AV-story to Deni COMP should AV.see mother-DEF
 'I told Deni that he should visit his mother.'

In (26), *aba'eng dibi'* is the subject of the embedded clause and has as its antecedent the matrix subject *Tina*. In (27), *aba'na dibi'* is again the subject of the embedded clause and takes the matrix prepositional object *Deni* as its antecedent.

Additionally, *aba'na dibi'* can corefer with an argument in a subordinate adverbial clause (28), an argument in a relative clause (29), and, when subject, the possessor of a preposed object (30).³

- (28) *Bakto-na Ali nyetir motor-ra, aba'na dibi' senneng.*
 time-DEF Ali AV.steer car-DEF happy
 'When Ali drives his car, he is happy.'
- (29) *Koran se nyareta'-agi Hasan nyenneng-ngagi aba'na dibi'.*
 newspaper REL AV.story-AGI Hasan AV.happy-AGI
 'The newspaper that told about Hasan pleases him.'
- (30) *Gambar-ra Fatima, aba'na dibi' nengale.*
 draw-DEF Fatima AV.look
 'Fatima looked at the picture of herself.'
 lit. 'The picture of Fatima, herself looked at.'

³ The data in (28-29) demonstrate that there is no reason to posit a condition on antecedent-reflexive binding along the lines of Principle A of government-binding theory. In these examples the antecedent and reflexive are not dependents of the same clause and the antecedent does not c-command the reflexive--it occurs in the adverbial clause in (28) and in the relative clause in (29). Additionally, as (31-32) show, the antecedent need not even occur in the same sentence.

In (27), *aba'na dibi'* takes its reference from the subject of the subordinate adverbial clause, *Ali*. In (29), the antecedent of *aba'na dibi'* is *Hasan*, which is the direct object in a relative clause modifying the subject of the sentence. And in (30), *Fatima* is the possessor of the preposed object yet serves as the antecedent of the subject *aba'na dibi'*.

In (24-30), *aba'na dibi'* has an antecedent within the sentence that contains it. However, *aba'na dibi'* need not have an antecedent in its own sentence but can take its reference from a salient argument in the discourse. This is true in (31) and (32).

(31) *Aba'na dibi' e-tangkep bi' polisi.*
 OV-catch by police
 'The police caught him.'

(32) *Are laggu' aba'na dibi' e-tunggu Atin neng tifi.*
 day tomorrow OV-watch Atin on TV
 'The next day, Atin saw her on TV.'

When (31) occurs as part of a discourse describing the police apprehending a thief, it is the thief that serves as the antecedent of *aba'na dibi'*. While in one context *aba'na dibi'* can be construed as referring to *Atin* in (32), in the context of a friend of *Atin's* having been interviewed by TV reporters, *aba'na dibi'* is interpreted as referring to *Atin's* friend. (32) especially points to the importance of context for the interpretation of *aba'na dibi'*. While there is potential for ambiguity, when the discourse context is factored in, the ambiguity is generally resolved.

1.3. Reflexive interpretation without *dibi'*

At times, reflexive meaning can also be conveyed without the use of *dibi'*. This was shown above for some instances of first and second person reflexives with *aba'*. In some instances it is possible or even preferred to simply use the third person pronominal to denote reflexive meaning. For example, for reasons that are not currently well understood, some speakers greatly prefer *aba'na* rather than *aba'na dibi'* in the following sentences.⁴

(33) *Bambang a-careta ka Hasan bab aba'na.*
 Bambang AV-story to Hasan about him
 'Bambang talked to Hasan about himself.'

⁴ Just as the data in the previous section indicate that there is no analog of Principle A at work in Madurese, the data in this section indicate that there is no analog of Principle B either, as pronouns can be bound by a c-commanding antecedent in the same clause.

- (34) *Siti e-bala-i Ita bab aba'na.*
 Siti OV-say-LOC Ita about her
 ‘Ita told Siti about herself.’

In each instance, *aba'na* can be replaced by *aba'na dibi'*, at least for some speakers.

Additionally, with the appropriate context, it is acceptable for some speakers to use the pronominal form in some environments in which *aba'na dibi'* might be expected. These include:

- (35) *Atin nenggu aba'na neng tifi.*
 Atin AV.watch her on TV
 ‘Atin watched herself on TV.’
- (36) *Rika ngennal-lagi aba'na ka Evi.*
 Rika AV.know-AGI her to Evi
 ‘Rika introduced herself to Evi.’
- (37) *Siti melle permen kaangguy aba'na.*
 Siti AV.buy candy for her
 ‘Siti bought candy for herself.’

In each of these instances, *aba'na* can be replaced by *aba'na dibi'*. However, with the appropriate context, in each case, the sentence can be interpreted as reflexive. *Aba'na* can also replace *aba'na dibi'* in the examples in (26-32) without altering the meaning. Thus, *aba'na dibi'* should not be viewed as a dedicated reflexive anaphor nor as the sole means of expressing reflexive meaning.⁵

⁵This is, similar to the facts reported by Cole et al. (2005) for the Mudung Darat and Tanjung Raden dialects of Jambi Malay. In these dialects, the third person pronoun is ambiguous between a non-reflexive and reflexive meaning, as in (i).

- (i) Jambi Malay (Mudung Darat dialect)

Dio cinta dio.
 3 love 3
 ‘He loves himself/him.’

While the non-reflexive meaning is preferred, sufficient context allows coreference between subject and object in (i). When the emphatic particle *la* occurs with the object pronoun, both reflexive and non-reflexive interpretations are again possible (ii), in this instance the reflexive interpretation being preferred.

- (ii) Jambi Malay (Mudung Darat dialect)

Dio cinta sama dio-la.
 3 love with 3-EMPH
 ‘He loves himself/him.’

1.4. NP + *dibi'* Reflexives

Reflexive meaning can also be indicated through the collocation of a proper noun or NP with *dibi'*. The sentences in (32-36) illustrate.

- (38) *Rika ngennal-lagi Rika dibi' ka Evi.*
 Rika AV.know-AGI Rika to Evi
 'Rika introduced herself to Evi.'
- (39) *Lake-na Ina a-careta ka Deni bab lake(-na Ina) dibi'.*
 husband-DEF Ina AV-say to Deni about husband(-DEF Ina)
 'Ina's husband_i talked to Deni about himself_i.'
- (40) *Lake-na Ina a-careta ka Deni bab Deni dibi'.*
 husband-DEF Ina AV-say to Deni about Deni
 'Ina's husband talked to Deni_i about himself_i.'
- (41) *Siti melle permen kaanguy Siti dibi'.*
 Siti AV.buy candy for Siti
 'Siti bought candy for herself.'

As (39) shows, with a more complex NP, options regarding how much of the NP is repeated present themselves. The use of NP + *dibi'* as a reflexive follows logically from the fact that proper nouns and NPs can be used pronominally in Madurese, as described in Chapter 7 section 3.⁶

2. Reciprocals

There are two structures that denote reciprocals that are used with most verbs. One is a reduplicated form in which the verb lacks voice morphology and takes the suffix *-an*.

- (42) *Ali bi' Hasan kol-pokol-an.*
 Ali and Hasan RED-hit-AN
 'Ali and Hasan hit each other.'

⁶Again, in the appropriate context NP + *dibi'* in (38-41) can be interpreted as meaning 'only NP'.

- (43) *Marlena so Siti rem-kerem-an surat.*
 Marlena and Siti RED-send-AN letter
 ‘Marlena and Siti sent each other letters.’
- (44) *Bambang ban Ita gu'-teggu'-an tanang-nga.*
 Bambang and Ita RED-hold-AN hand-DEF
 ‘Bambang and Ita held hands.’

In each example, a transitive root occurs without voice morphology, *pokol* ‘hit’, *kerem* ‘send’, and *teggu'* ‘hold’ in (42-44), respectively. The second strategy makes use of a special preverbal morpheme and the verb again lacks voice morphology, but in this structure there is neither reduplication nor the suffix *-an*.

- (45) *Ali bi' Hasan saleng/patang pokol.*
 Ali and Hasan hit
 ‘Ali and Hasan hit each other.’
- (46) *Marlena so Siti saleng/salang/patang kerem surat.*
 Marlena and Siti send letter
 ‘Marlena and Siti sent each other letters.’
- (47) *Bambang ban Ita saleng/salang/patang/gante teggu' tanang-nga.*
 Bambang and Ita take hand-DEF
 ‘Bambang and Ita held hands.’

A number of different morphemes are possible in the preverbal position. The most frequently used is *saleng* (and its variant *salang*). It is most often translated as ‘each other’, though as shown below it can be used outside of the reciprocal construction. *Patang* is less frequently used but has the same basic meaning as *saleng*. Least frequently used is the verb *gante* which means ‘follow’ or ‘substitute’. It can be used elsewhere as an adverb with a plural subject that indicates that the subjects took turns performing the action without any implication of coreference, as in (55) below.

There are a number of properties that the two different structures have in common. First, as already noted, the verb obligatory occurs without voice morphology. Second, reciprocal action must be carried out by the necessarily plural agent. Third, as *saleng* and the others can be shown to have different functions, there is no overt reciprocal NP in the structure. The plural agent need not be a single contiguous constituent. As (48) and (49) show, it is possible to have a singular subject provided there is a comitative PP in the sentence.

(48) *Ali saleng/patang pokol bi' Hasan.*

Ali hit with Hasan
 'Ali and Hasan hit each other.'

(49) *Marlena rem-kerem-an sorat so Siti.*

Marlena RED-send-AN letter with Siti
 'Marlena and Siti sent each other letters.'

In (48), which is synonymous with (45), *Ali* alone is in subject position and the other agent *Hasan* occurs as the object of the preposition *bi'* 'with'. Likewise, in the reduplicated reciprocal in (49), an analogue of (43), the agent *Marlena* occurs as the subject and the other agent *Siti* as the object of the preposition *so* 'with'.

Further, *saleng* can occur in the reduplicated structure fully grammatically, as illustrated in (50) and (51).

(50) *Nobun ban Mutmainah saleng ri'-berri'-an buku.*

Nobun and Mutmainah RED.give-AN book
 'Nobun and Mutmainah gave books to each other.'

(51) *Na'-kana' saleng bi'-tobi'-an.*

RED-child RED-pinch-AN
 'The children pinched each other.'

As these data show, unlike the situation in many languages, reciprocals and reflexives share neither distributional nor binding properties. While the reflexive *aba'na dibi'* has a fairly free distribution, the antecedents of reciprocals must bear the actor role in the clause in which the reciprocal structure occurs.

2.1. The components of reciprocals

None of the components of reciprocals is used only to denote reciprocals. Each of the key components has other uses. Reduplication of verbs is described in detail in Chapter 5 section 3.1, particularly with respect to multiple actions. The suffix *-an* here is the iterative suffix, described in Chapter 9 section 3, and denotes that the action occurred more than once. The morphemes *saleng*, *patang*, and *gante* also have uses outside of the reciprocal construction.

Saleng, *patang*, and *gante* can all be used adverbially. For example, in (52-54), *saleng* is used with plural subjects, but in neither case do the subjects act reciprocally.

- (52) *Kadir so Jamal patang/saleng ng-angko' aeng.*
 Kadir and Jamal AV-carry water
 'Kadir and Jamal are carrying water.'
- (53) *Ali ban Hasan saleng mokol Bambang.*
 Ali and Hasan AV.hit Bambang
 'Ali and Hasan hit Bambang.'
- (54) *Rohimah ban Sinap saleng ngerem bestelan dha' embug-ga.*
 Rohimah and Sinap AV.send package to eld.sister-DEF
 'Rohimah and Sinap each sent a package to their big sister.'

Each of these sentences describes situation in which the subjects act independently, sometimes with the implication of taking turns; but that is not necessary. This implies multiple actions. Also, in each case the verb takes actor voice morphology, distinguishing the structure from the reciprocal structure with *saleng*. As (52) shows, *patang* also occurs in this structure. Here *saleng* denotes distributed action. Reciprocals have this same implication of distributed actions as each of the subjects acts on the other.

The form *gante* is a verb meaning 'substitute' or 'follow', as in (55).

- (55) *Pangeran Trunojoyo lo' ellem a-gante daddi rato Mataram.*
 Pangeran Trunojoyo not willing AV-follow become king Mataram
Lo' endha'.
 not want
 'Pangeran Trunojoyo was not willing to succeed him and become the king of Mataram. He didn't want to.'

When used adverbially, it is usually reduplicated, sometimes with the *-an* suffix, a typical means of deriving manner adverbs. In this usage, it implies that the agents of the action took turns and did not act simultaneously.

- (56) *Ebu' ban Bapa' te-gante maca buku-na Kaka'.*
 mother and father AV.read book-DEF eld.brother
 'Mother and Father took turns reading Big Brother's book.'
- (57) *Ali ban Hasan te-gante-n mokol Bambang.*
 Ali and Hasan AV.hit Bambang
 'Ali and Hasan took turns hitting Bambang.'

While the actions may occur close in time (Ali and Hasan may hit Bambang in rapid succession), what is important is that multiple actions are implied.

Each of the morphological markers found in reciprocals implies plurality of action when functioning outside of the reciprocal construction. As reciprocals imply plurality of action, their grammaticalization as part of the reciprocal construction represents a logical development.⁷

2.2. A special property of *saleng*, *patang*, and *gante*

The morpheme *saleng*, *patang*, and *gante* have special properties in reciprocals indicating that they are tightly bound to the main predicate. First, in reciprocals no element may come between *saleng* and the verb. In nonreciprocal constructions, modal expressions such as *bisa* ‘can’, *kodu* ‘should’, and others may occur either before or after *saleng*; this is illustrated with the auxiliary *kodu* ‘should/must’ in (58).

- (58) a. *Siti so Marlana kodu saleng ngerem sorat dha' ebu'-na.*
 Siti and Marlana should SALENG AV.send letter to mother-DEF
 ‘Siti and Marlana should send letters to their mother.’
- b. *Siti so Marlana saleng kodu ngerem sorat dha' ebu'-na.*
 Siti and Marlana SALENG should AV.send letter to mother-DEF
 ‘Siti and Marlana should send letters to their mother.’

However, in the reciprocal, the modal may not follow *saleng*; therefore, (59a) is grammatical, but (59b) is not.

- (59) a. *Siti so Marlana kodu saleng kerem sorat.*
 Siti and Marlana should SALENG send letter
 ‘Siti and Marlana should send letters to each other.’
- b. **Siti so Marlana saleng kodu kerem sorat.*
 Siti and Marlana SALENG should send letter
 (Siti and Marlana should send letters to each other.)

The sentences in (60) illustrate the same tight connection between *patang* and the verb with respect to the placement of the negative.

- (60) a. *Na'-kana' ta' patang tobi'.*
 RED-child not PATANG pinch
 ‘The children did not pinch each other.’

⁷See Davies 2000 for more extensive discussion of multiple events in reciprocals.

- b. **Na'-kana' patang ta' tobi'*.
 RED-child PATANG not pinch
 (The children did not pinch each other.)

When *saleng* is used in conjunction with reduplicated reciprocals, its order with respect to negation is relaxed. This indicates that it is likely being used in its distributive adverbial function.

- (61) *Ali ban Hasan saleng ta' kol-pokol-an.*
 Ali and Hasan SALENG not RED-hit-AN
 'Ali and Hasan did not hit each other.'
- (62) *Siti ban Marlana saleng ta' rem-kerem-an sorat.*
 Siti and Marlana SALENG not RED-send-AN letter
 'Siti and Marlana did not send each other letters.'

However, the restriction on its placement with respect to auxiliaries and frequency adverbs when used with reduplicated reciprocals is unchanged.

- (63) **Siti ban Marlana saleng kodu remkerem-an sorat.*
 Siti and Marlana SALENG should RED-send-AN letter
 (Siti and Marlana should send each other letters.)
- (64) a. *Na'-kana' seggut patang tobi'*.
 RED-child often PATANG pinch
 'The children often pinch each other.'
- b. **Na'-kana' patang seggut tobi'*.
 RED-child PATANG often pinch
 (The children often pinch each other.)

The sentence in (63) is ungrammatical precisely because of the order of *saleng* and the auxiliary *kodu* 'should'. In the grammatical (64a), *patang* follows the frequency adverb *seggut* 'often'. However, reversing the order of the two words is unacceptable, as indicated by the fact that (64b) is ungrammatical.

2.3. Stative predicates

Many speakers form reciprocals differently with stative predicates. For the most part, reduplication and *saleng/patang* are not used with predicates such as *tres-na* 'love', *ngarte* 'understand', *kennal* 'know', *tao* 'know', *tako* 'afraid', *busen* 'bored', *percaya* 'believe', and a host of others. Rather, reciprocals are

formed by using *padha* 'same' and optionally placing the definite suffix on the predicate. This is illustrated in (65-68). Note that some speakers prefer to omit the definite suffix.

- (65) *Siti ban Marlana padha kennel(-la)*.
Siti and Marlana same know-DEF
'Siti and Marlana know each other.'
- (66) *Bambang ban Ita padha tresna(-na)*.
Bambang and Ita same love-DEF
'Bambang and Ita love each other.'
- (67) *Bambang so Ita padha terro(-na)*.
Bambang and Ita same want-DEF
'Bambang and Ita want (love) each other.'
- (68) *Ali so Hasan padha tako'(-eng)*.
Ali and Hasan same afraid-DEF
'Ali and Hasan are afraid of each other.'

Many, but not all, speakers reject the use of *saleng* or *patang* in place of *padha* in these sentences. An even larger number of speakers deem reduplicated reciprocals unacceptable with these predicates.

3. Null pronouns

As is true of all Indonesian-type languages and many other languages of the region, there is widespread use of null pronouns. Null pronouns can find antecedents internal to the sentence they occur in or from the discourse in which they occur. Null pronouns taking discourse referents can be both subjects and objects. In the examples that follow, a blank underscore, ____, indicates the position in which an overt pronoun would occur.

- (69) ____ *Ng-edhing kabar ja' pottra-na jareya badha neng Sampang*.
AV-hear news COMP prince-DEF this exist at Sampang
'He heard that the prince was in Sampang.'
- (70) *Serrena ____ todhus pas ____ ma-elang gemmet ya*.
because embarrass then AV.CS-lost disappear yes
'Because he was embarrassed, he disappeared.'

- (71) *Engko' olle nemmo ___ neng alas.*
 I get AV.find at forest
 'I found it in the forest.'
- (72) *Tape reng Balanda ya lo' bisa ma-kala ___ keya.*
 but person Dutch yes not can AV.CS-defeated too
 'But the Dutch could not defeat him either.'

In (69), the null subject, translated as 'he', refers to the actor of the previous sentence (Ke Juru Kettheng), who is hunting for the prince after conquering West Madura. The null subject in (70) refers to the protagonist of the story, established as topic in the previous sentence. In (71) and (72), the object of a transitive verb is null in both instances, again the null element having been established as a topic in the preceding discourse. In (71), the null object of *nemmo* 'find' is a baby that the subject (*engko* 'I') has just brought home and in (72) the null object of *makala* 'defeat' is a particularly powerful warrior king. Thus, with sufficient context, both subjects and objects can be null pronouns.

In appropriate contexts, both arguments of a transitive verb can be null. In such instances, the clause often occurs in the object voice.

- (73) ___ *Dhapa' ka tengnga alas ___ e-saba' ___ neng baba-na*
 arrive to center forest OV-put at under-DEF
ka'-bungka'an raja, se naong, ___ e-dina'-agi ___.
 RED-tree big REL shade OV-left-AGI
 'They arrived in the forest and put him under a big shade tree and left him.'
- (74) ___ *Gaggar pas ___ e-poka ___, ___ e-lobang-en ___ gallu pas ___*
 fall then OV-split OV-hole-LOC before then
e-enom ___ aeng-nga.
 OV-drink water-DEF
 'When it fell down, she then peeled and holed it before she drank the water.'

In (73), the null subject of *dhapa'* 'arrive' of the first clause refers to the maid-servants of a princess who have been charged with taking the princess's newborn child into the forest to abandon it (the infant found by the subject of sentence (71)). In the following two clauses, the maidservants are the agent of the object voice verbs *esaba'* 'put' and *edina'agi* 'leave'; the null subjects of these verbs refer to the infant. In (74), the null subject of *gaggar* 'fall' is a coconut, which is also the null subject of the two subsequent clauses, and the agent of *epoka* 'split', *elobangan* 'put a hole in', and *e'enom* 'drink' is the subject of the previous sentence.

Null subjects and objects of transitive actor voice verbs can also occur.

- (75) ___ *Lo' bisa keya.* ___ *Keng bisa mangguk* ___ *tape* ___ *lo' bisa*
 not able too only able AV.pull toward but not able
amolong ___, ___ *lo' bisa metthek* ___.
 AV.collect not able AV.pick
 'She failed too. She could lower them, but she wasn't able to grab them,
 she wasn't able to pick them.'

The sentences in (75) describes a scene in which a woman attempts to pick some flowers but is unsuccessful. In the second sentence, in each case both the subject and the object of the actor voice verbs *mangguk* 'pull toward', *amolong* 'collect', and *metthek* 'pick' are null, the subject referring to the woman and the object the flowers. Null objects do not occur in embedded clauses, however.

Finally, in (76) there are two consecutive intransitive clauses with null subjects; however, in this case each has a distinct referent.

- (76) ___ *Mate pas* ___ *mennang, ya tanto-na rato bunga.*
 dead then win yes certain-DEF king happy
 'He died, Radin Sagara won and, of course, the king was happy.'

The discourse context surrounding (76) is a battle between a Chinese king waging war on the Giling Tosang kingdom and the legendary Radin Sagara. The null subject of *mate* 'die' refers to the Chinese king, but the null subject of *mennang* 'win' refers to Radin Sagara. Thus, with sufficient context the subjects of contiguous intransitive clauses can be null even then they have different referents.

4. Cross-clausal null anaphora

As described in Chapter 11 there are instances of obligatory coreference between an NP in the matrix clause and a null anaphor in a dependent clause. These include control structures and the proleptic object structure. In the case of control into a complement clause, either the subject or the actor of the embedded clause is null, its reference determined by a matrix argument.

- (77) *Ina ban Siti nolak* ___ *magi perman-na dha' embug-ga.*
 Ina and Siti AV.refuse AV.give candy-DEF to eld.sister-DEF
 'Ina and Siti refused to give their candy to their older sister.'

- (78) *Eppa' maksá Wati ___ melle maen-an kaanggy Ale'.*
 father AV.force Wati AV.buy play-NOM for yngr.sibling
 'Father forced Wati to buy a toy for Little Brother.'

In (77), the complement subject is null and its reference supplied by the matrix subject, *Ina ban Siti*. In (78), it is the matrix object *Wati* that determines the referent of the null complement subject. The sentences in (79) and (80) are variants of (77) and (78), respectively, in which the complement clause is in the object voice rather than the actor voice.

- (79) *Ina ban Siti nolak perman-na e-bagi ___ dha' embug-ga.*
 Ina and Siti AV.refuse candy-DEF OV-give to eld.sister-DEF
 'Ina and Siti refused to give their candy to their older sister.'
- (80) *Eppa' maksá Wati maen-an e-belli ___ kaanggy Ale'.*
 father AV.force Wati play-NOM OV-buy for yngr.sibling
 'Father forced Wati to buy a toy for Little Brother.'

In (79), the embedded subject of the object voice predicate *ebagi* 'give' is *per-menna* 'their candy'. Here the coreferential argument is the non-overt actor, which is understood to be *Ina ban Siti*. Similarly, in (80), the embedded subject is *maenan* 'toy'. However, the matrix object *Wati* is coreferential with the null embedded actor of *belli* 'buy'. Control into complement clauses is discussed in detail in Chapter 11 section 4.

Another structure requiring coreference between matrix and complement dependents is the prolepsis structure. In this structure an extra object argument in the matrix clause is obligatorily coreferential with a complement clause dependent. Unlike the control structure, the structure is not restricted to complement subject or actors but admits any grammatical dependent of the complement.

- (81) *Ina_i e-kerá (bi') Siti ja' ____i mangkat ka Jakarta are Kemmes.*
 Ina OV-think by Siti COMP leave to Jakarta day Thursday
 'Siti thinks that Ina left for Jakarta on Thursday.'
- (82) *Siti ngerá Hasan_i ja' motor juwa e-belli ____i.*
 Siti AV.think Hasan COMP car that OV-buy
 'Siti thinks that Hasan bought that car.'
- (83) *Siti ngerá Hasan_i ja' dhokter juwa mareksa ana'-eng ____i.*
 Siti AV.think Hasan COMP doctor that AV.examine child-DEF
 'Siti thinks that the doctor examined Hasan's child.'

In (81) the complement subject is coreferential with the matrix subject, in (82) the complement post-verbal agent is coreferential with the matrix object, and in (83) the possessor of the object of the complement clause is coreferential with the object. As indicated in the examples, the null element is actually a null pronoun. Evidence for this is that an overt pronoun can occur instead, which is fairly standard with objects and obligatory in the case of prepositional objects. Details of the structure are given in Chapter 11 section 6.

A final instance of cross-clausal anaphora is control into adverbial clauses. Although cross-clausal dependency is not obligatory in most cases, the subject of an adverbial clause is frequently a null pronoun coreferential with an argument in the matrix clause. This is illustrated in (84-87), in which the adverbial clauses are marked with brackets.

- (84) *Embuk ngetek [e bakto ___ a-caca ka guru-na].*
 eld.sister AV.shaky at time AV-talk to teacher-DEF
 ‘Big Sister gets nervous whenever she talks to her teacher.’
- (85) *Juko' juwa e-kakan koceng-nga [polana ___ lapar].*
 fish that OV-eat cat-DEF because hungry
 ‘The cat ate the fish because it was hungry.’
- (86) *Soleha a-juwal selo'-eng [sopaja ___ bisa melle kakanan].*
 Soleha AV-sell ring-DEF so.that can AV.buy food
 ‘Soleha sold her ring so that she could buy food.’
- (87) *Ba'eng ja' endha' mole dha' Madura ban Sumenep [mon ___ gilo' bisa ma-kala rato Blambangan].*
 you don't want go.home to Madura and Sumenep if
 not.yet can AV.CS-defeated king Blambangan
 ‘You won't be allowed to go home to Madura and Sumenep until you defeat the king of Blambangan.’

Each of the adverbial clauses has a null subject, and in each case it is the actor of the matrix clause that controls its reference: *Embuk* ‘Big Sister’ in (84), *kocengnga* ‘the cat’ in (85), *Soleha* in (86) and *ba'eng* ‘you’ in (87). In most cases, a coreferential overt pronoun is always possible, as in (88), a variant of (86).

- (88) *Soleha a-juwal selo'-eng [sopaja aba'eng bisa melle kakanan].*
 Soleha AV-sell ring-DEF so.that can AV.buy food
 ‘Soleha sold her ring so that she could buy food.’

5. Ellipsis and gapping

In keeping with the fact that there is widespread use of null pronouns, almost any material can be dropped from a clause that is nearly identical to the clause that precedes it. First, all of the material in a verb phrase can be omitted if identical to the verb phrase in the preceding clause. This is illustrated in (89) and (90)

- (89) *Pa' guru a-berri' pesse dha' mored se dhari Kamal, Dayat keya.*
 Mr teacher AV-give money to student REL from Kamal Dayat too
 'The teacher gave money to the student from Kamal, and Dayat did too.'
- (90) *Tono e-pokol kana' rowa, Lukman keya.*
 Tono OV-hit child that Lukman too
 'Tono was hit by that child, and Lukman was too.'

In (89), an actor voice VP *aberri' pesse dha' mored se dhair Kamal* 'gave money to the student from Kamal' is missing from the second of the conjoined clauses under identity with the VP of the first clause. In (90) it is the object voice VP *epokol kana' rowa* 'hit by that guy' that is understood to be the VP of the second conjunct.

Verbs can be gapped in the second of two conjuncts, leaving behind the remainder of the VP, as in (91-93).

- (91) *Bapa' maca koran, Ebu' buku.*
 father AV.read newspaper mother book
 'Father read a newspaper, and Mother a book.'
- (92) *Hanina entar dha' Borobudur, Sinap dha' Prambanan.*
 Hanina go to Borobudur Sinap to Prambanan
 'Hanina went to Borobudur, and Sinap to Prambanan.'
- (93) *Wati ma-becce' sapedha motor bi' obing, Abu motor bi' tokol.*
 Wati AV.CS-fix motorcycle with screwdriver Abu car with hammer
 'Wati fixed the motorcycle with a screwdriver, and Abu (fixed) the car with a hammer.'

In (91), the verb *maca* 'read' has been gapped in the second clause, in (92) *entar* 'go', and in (93) *mabecce* 'fix'.

Finally, any parts of a VP that repeat information from the previous clause may be omitted.

- (94) *Marlena ngerem sorat dha' Ita dhari Australia, Siti dhari Kanada.*
 Marlena AV.send letter to Ita from Australia Siti from Canada
 'Marlena sent a letter to Ita from Australia, and Siti did (sent a letter to Ita) from Canada.'
- (95) *Marlena ngerem sorat dha' Ita dhari Australia, Siti kaos dhari Kanada.*
 Marlena AV.send letter to Ita from Australia Siti t-shirt from Canada
 'Marlena sent a letter to Ita from Australia, and Siti did (send) a t-shirt (to her) from Canada.'
- (96) *Marlena ngerem sorat dha' Ita dhari Australia, Siti kaos.*
 Marlena AV.send letter to Ita from Australia Siti t-shirt
 'Marlena sent a letter to Ita from Australia, and Siti did (send) a t-shirt (to her from Australia).'

In (94) the verb, direct object, and indirect object, *ngerem sorat dha' Ita* 'send a letter to Ita', have been omitted from the second conjunct. In (95), the omitted material includes the verb *ngerem* and the indirect object PP *dha' Ita*, noncontiguous dependents of the VP. And in (96), again the verb *ngerem* and the indirect object *dha' Ita* as well as the locative PP have been omitted. In all cases, the second conjuncts in these examples are interpreted as including the material from the VP in the first clause that is missing. However, preposition stranding is ill-formed in Madurese. Thus it is impossible to omit the object of the preposition *dhari* 'from' in the second conjunct in (97) under coreference with the object of the preposition in the first conjunct, *Australia*.

- (97) **Marlena ngerem sorat dha' Ita dhari Australia, Siti kaos dhari.*
 Marlena AV.send letter to Ita from Australia Siti t-shirt from
 (Marlena sent a letter to Ita from Australia, and Siti did (send) a t-shirt
 (to her) from (Canada).)

Chapter 14

Questions

Madurese contains a variety of question types, which are detailed in this chapter. These include yes/no questions (section 1), alternative choice questions (section 2), and tag questions (section 3), in addition to content questions, for which there are a number of different strategies (section 4), including both *in situ* questions and cleft questions. Content questions of dependents of complement clauses are examined in great detail in section 5 given their comparatively intricate nature, the previous literature on these structures in Indonesian languages, and the importance of the place of question formation in the development of generative theory. Embedded questions are detailed in section 6 and use of the question particle *ba'* in section 7.

1. Yes/no questions

Questions that an addressee can answer sufficiently simply with *iya* 'yes' or *ngja'/banne* 'no' are formed in two principal manners. The first is by means of intonation: a rising intonation contour at the terminus of a declarative sentence. The sentences in (1) and (2) are questions by virtue of the appropriate intonation.

- (1) *Ba'eng la ngakan?*
you already AV.eat
'Have you eaten?'
- (2) *Hasan ngerem paket dhari Kanada?*
Hasan AV.send package from Canada
'Did Hasan send a package from Canada?'

The second manner of forming yes/no questions is by means of the word *apa*, which translates as 'what' but is also used as a general question particle, which is glossed here as Q in those specific environments. Most frequently, *apa* occurs at the beginning of the question, as in (3-5).

- (3) *Apa ba'eng maca buku?*
Q you AV.read book
'Did you read the book?'

- (4) *Apa Wati bari' ma-becce' sapedha-na?*
 Q Wati yesterday AV.CS- good bicycle-DEF
 'Did Wati fix the bicycle yesterday?'
- (5) *Apa Bambang biasanya ngenom kopi, mon laggu?*
 Q Bambang usually AV.drink coffee if morning
 'Does Bambang usually drink coffee in the morning?'

Questions with *apa* are generally accompanied by an intonation contour with a rise and fall on the sentence-final word.

Apa may occur in other than sentence-initial position. For instance, it may occur following the subject of the sentence, as in (6) and (7). There is generally a brief pause following the adverbial expression, indicated here with a comma.

- (6) *Wati / apa bari', ma-becce' sapedha-na?*
 Wati Q yesterday AV.CS- good bicycle-DEF
 'Did Wati fix the bicycle yesterday?'
- (7) *Bambang / apa biasanya, ngenom kopi mon laggu?*
 Bambang Q usually AV.drink coffee if morning
 'Does Bambang usually drink coffee in the morning?'

When *apa* follows the subject, there is a rising, anticipatory intonation on the subject followed by a pause (represented here by '/'). The remainder of the question has typical yes/no intonation such as is found with (3-5).

Additionally, while *apa* cannot follow auxiliaries such as *bisa* 'can', *kodu* 'should' and others, it may follow certain sentential adverbs that follow the subject, including *bari'* 'yesterday' (8) and *biasana* 'usually' (9).

- (8) *Wati / bari', apa ma-becce' sapedha-na?*
 Wati yesterday Q AV.CS- good bicycle-DEF
 'Did Wati fix the bicycle yesterday?'
- (9) *Bambang / biasanya, apa ngenom kopi mon laggu?*
 Bambang usually Q AV.drink coffee if morning
 'Does Bambang usually drink coffee in the morning?'

Certain adverbs resist this placement of *apa*, but these are adverbs such as *seg-gut* 'often', *rangrang* 'seldom', and others that generally do not allow a nonverbal element to follow. (See Chapter 12 section 1.2).

Unlike declarative sentences, it is possible for the auxiliary and subject to invert in yes/no questions, as in (10b) and (11b).

- (10) a. *Apa Marlana bisa maca buku juwa?*
 Q Marlana can AV.read book that
 ‘Can Marlana read that book?’
- b. *Apa **bisa Marlana** maca buku juwa?*
 Q can Marlana AV.read book that
 ‘Can Marlana read that book?’
- (11) a. *Apa Siti kodu ngerra' rote-na, sateya?*
 Q Siti should AV.slice bread-DEF now
 ‘Should Siti cut the bread now?’
- b. *Apa **kodu Siti** ngerra' rote-na, sateya?*
 Q should Siti AV.slice bread-DEF now
 ‘Should Siti cut the bread now?’

Even with the subject-auxiliary inversion, a standard yes/no question intonation is required for well-formedness. Yes/no questions without subject-auxiliary inversion are more common.

Recapitulating, there are five basic manners of forming yes/no questions, all of which occur with a characteristic question intonation¹:

- i. intonationally (12a)
 - ii. with the question particle *apa* in sentence-initial position (12b),
 - iii. with the question particle *apa* immediately following the subject (12c),
 - iv. with the question particle *apa* following both the subject and a qualifying sentential adverb (e.g. *biyasana* ‘usually’) (12d),
 - v. with subject-auxiliary inversion (12e),
 - vi. with the question particle *apa* in sentence-initial position combined with subject-auxiliary inversion combined (12f)
- (12) a. *Bambang biyasana ngenom kopi mon laggu?*
 ‘Does Bambang usually drink coffee in the morning?’
- b. *Apa Bambang biyasana ngenom kopi mon laggu?*
 ‘Does Bambang usually drink coffee in the morning?’
- c. *Bambang apa biyasana ngenom kopi mon laggu?*
 ‘Does Bambang usually drink coffee in the morning?’

¹ As described in section 7, there is a second question particle *ba'* that is used by some speakers in yes/no questions and constituent questions.

- d. *Bambang / biyasana apa ngenom kopi mon laggu?*
‘Does Bambang usually drink coffee in the morning?’
- e. *Bisa Marlina maca buku juwa?*
‘Can Marlina read that book?’
- f. *Apa bisa Marlina maca buku juwa?*
‘Can Marlina read that book?’

2. Alternative questions

There are two strategies for forming questions which provide two or more possible (and usually contrasting) alternatives for the addressee to choose from. The first makes use of the question particle in combination with the disjunctive conjunction *otaba* ‘or’.

- (13) *Apa ba'eng ngatela' Sinap otaba Fatima?*
Q you AV.see Sinap or Fatima
‘Did you see Sinap or Fatima?’

- (14) *Apa Alwi senneng (ka) kopi otaba teh?*²
Q Alwi happy to coffee or tea
‘Does Alwi like coffee or tea?’

- (15) *Apa Ale' a-lako otaba tedhung?*
Q yngr.sibling AV-work or sleep
‘Is Little Brother working or sleeping?’

In each of the questions in (13-15) the question particle is in sentence-initial position and the choice of nouns (13-14) or verbs (15) is conjoined with *otaba* ‘or’. As with yes/no questions, the question particle may follow the subject, as in (16-17) or, with appropriate intonation, it may be omitted altogether.

- (16) *Alwi / apa senneng ka kopi otaba teh?*
Alwi Q happy to coffee or tea
‘Does Alwi like coffee or tea?’

² Some speakers prefer to omit the preposition *ka* in this structure.

- (17) *Ale' / apa a-lako otaba tedhung?*
 yngr.sibling Q AV-work or sleep
 'Is Little Brother working or sleeping?'

In the second strategy, preferred by some speakers, the conjunction *otaba* is replaced by the question particle, (18); for some speakers, the option of the pre-verbal question particle is retained (19).

- (18) *Alwi senneng (ka) kopi apa teh?*
 Alwi happy to coffee Q tea
 'Does Alwi like coffee or tea?'
- (19) *(Apa) ba'eng ngatela' Sinap apa Fatima?*
 Q you AV.see Sinap Q Fatima
 'Did you see Sinap or Fatima?'

3. Tag questions

Tag questions are most frequently formed by placing *ta'iya* 'no yes' at the end of a sentence with rising intonation, as in (20) and (21).

- (20) *Ba'eng ngatela' Pa' Lukman, ta'iya?*
 you AV.see Mr Lukman TAG
 'You saw Pak Lukman, didn't you?'
- (21) *Aba'eng gi' tanto-na gi' enga' dha' dungeng-nga Ke Juru Kettheng, ta'iya?*
 you still certain-DEF still remember to story-DEF Ke Juru
 Kettheng TAG
 'Certainly, you still remember the story of Ke Juru Kettheng, right?'

Tags are most often used to confirm the speaker's understanding of belief about a situation. They can also be used to check the addressee's understanding or to bring the addressee into agreement with the speaker, as in (22).

- (22) *Seddhang la e-tanem ya tanto-na mon lo' e-seram, lo' e-sarbu, lo' tombu, ta'iya?*
 when already OV-plant yes certain-DEF if not OV-water not
 OV-hoe not grow TAG
 'After it is planted, if you don't water it, and don't take care of the land, it won't grow, right?'

They can be used at times for emphasis, as in (23).

- (23) *Adha' aeng, ba-saba padha garing, ta'iya.*
 not.exist water RED-field same cracked TAG
 'There was no water, and the fields dried up and the ground cracked.'

In this last usage, it parallels the emphatic particles *kan* (24) and *(i)ya* (25); however, *ta'iya* is largely relegated to sentence or clause-final position, whereas *kan* is most frequently (but certainly not always) a second position element and *ya* has fairly free distribution, though it often occurs clause-finally or at the end of major constituents.

- (24) *Reng Madura kan kasohor lebur ngobu ebin, sape, kerbuy, embi'.*
 person Madura EMPH famous like AV.raise cattle cow buffalo goat
 'The Madurese people are known for raising cattle, cows, bulls, and goats.'
- (25) *Tape reng Balanda ya lo' bisa ma-kala keya.*
 but person Dutch yes not can AV.CS-defeated too
 'But the Dutch could not defeat him either.'

4. Constituent questions

Constituent questions are formed by use of one of a set of interrogative pronouns, including:

- apa* 'what'
sapa 'who'
kamma/kemma/emma 'which/where'
dhimma/imma 'where'
arapa 'why'
bila 'when'
dha'ramma 'how'
baramma 'how'
barampa 'how much/many'

The forms *baramma* and *dhimma* are primarily used largely by speakers in the eastern dialect area, while *dha'ramma* and *kamma* characteristic of the western part of Madura. The various strategies for forming constituent questions are outlined in what follows.

4.1. In situ questions

One of the principal types of constituent questions is the in situ question, in which the interrogative element occurs in the same position in which non-interrogatives are found. This strategy is available for direct objects and prepositional objects, as illustrated in (26-29).

- (26) a. *Bapa' ngerem apa dha' Bibbi'?*
 father AV.send what to aunt
 'What did father send to Auntie?'
 b. *Ina a-temmo sapa neng pasar?*
 Ina AV-meet who at market
 'Who did Ina meet at the market?'
- (27) a. *Ari a-berri' pesse dha' sapa?*
 Ari AV-give money to who
 'Who did Ari give money to?'
 b. *Ale' senneng (dha') apa?*
 yngr.sibling happy to what
 'What does Little Brother like?'
 c. *Embuk busen bi' sapa?*
 eld.sister bored with who
 'Who is Big Sister bored with?'
- (28) a. *Ebu' melle-yagi permen kaangguy sapa?*
 mother AV.buy-AGI candy for who
 'Who did Mother buy candy for?'
 b. *Pa' Rudi ma-becce' sapedha motor-ra bi' apa?*
 Mr Rudi AV.CS-good motorcycle-DEF with what
 'What did Pak Rudi fix the motorcycle with?'
 c. *Ina a-massa' juko' ngangguy apa?*
 Ina AV-cook fish using what
 'What did Ina cook the fish with?'
- (29) a. *Ana'-eng Bu Marlina mangkat dha' kamma?*
 child-DEF Mrs Marlina leave to where
 'Where did Marlena's child run away to?'

- b. *Siti nyaba' buku e dhimma?*
Siti AV.put book at where
'Where did Siti put the book?'
- c. *Ba'eng dhari kamma?*
you from where
'Where are you from?'

In (26), direct objects are questioned. In (27), prepositional arguments of the verbs *berri* 'give', *senneng* 'like', and *busen* 'bored' are questioned. Benefactive and instrumental adjuncts are questioned in (28), and locatives are questioned in (29). As shown in section 4.3.2, prepositional interrogatives can be fronted; however, this is also a feature of non-interrogative PPs and is thus unrelated to their status as interrogatives.

Within NPs, possessors (30) and interrogative demonstratives (31) occur in situ.

- (30) a. *Ali ma-becce' sapedha motor-ra sapa?*
Ali AV.CS.-good motorcycle-DEF who
'Whose motorcycle did Ali fix?'
- b. *Ebu' entar dha' bengko-na sapa?*
mother go to house-DEF who
'Whose house did Mother go to?'
- (31) a. *Ari a-berri' pesse ka kana' kamma?*
Ari AV-give money to child which
'Which child did Ari give money to?'
- b. *Hasan maca buku kamma?*
Hasan AV.read book which
'Which book did Hasan read?'
- c. *Tina senneng buwa apa?*
Tina happy fruit what
'What kind of fruit does Tina like?'

The questions in (31), especially the a- and b-examples, carry the presupposition that Ari gave money to a child and that Hasan read a book. Neither may in fact be true, but the speaker presumes that the events at least should have transpired. In this function, *kamma/dhimma* may also occur as the predicate in a relative clause with the noun as head (32a).

(32) a. *Siti ma-tedhung kana' se kamma?*
 Siti AV.CS-sleep child REL which
 'Which child did Siti put to bed?'

b. *Kaka' ngeba buku se dhimma?*
 eld.brother AV.bring book REL which
 'What book did Big Brother bring?'

barampa 'how many/much' can also occur in situ in its quantified NP, as in (33). However, it is also possible to front *barampa*, as described in section 4.3.3, (53-55).

(33) *Nabun melle barampa buku are Sennen?*
 Nabun AV.buy how.many book day Monday
 'How many books did Nabun buy on Monday?'

As true of many Austronesian languages, traditionally subjects in Madurese could not be nonspecific indefinites (see Chapter 6 section 10). Therefore, in situ questions of subjects were ill-formed. The speaker resorted to either the cleft structure (34), discussed more fully in the following section, or the agent could be questioned in situ in the object voice, as in (35).

(34) *Sapa se mokol Ali?*
 who REL AV.hit Ali
 'Who hit Ali?'
 lit. 'Who is the one who hit Ali?'

(35) a. *Ali e-pokol sapa?*
 Ali OV-hit who
 'Who hit Ali?'

b. *Ale' e-kekke' apa?*
 yngr.sibling OV-bite what
 'What bit Little Brother?'

This prohibition held for the possessors of subjects as well: thus either a clefted question (36) or an in situ object voice question (37) was required.

(36) *Embi'-na sapa se ngekke' Ale'?*
 goat-DEF who REL AV.bite yngr.sibling
 'Whose goat bit Little Brother?'

- (37) *Ale' e-kekke' embi'-na sapa?*
 yngr.sibling OV-bite goat-DEF who
 'Whose goat bit Little Brother?'

This restriction currently holds for formal Madurese and for many speakers in general. However, just as the specificity requirement is relaxed for non-interrogative subjects in colloquial Madurese (at least in some varieties), the restriction is relaxed somewhat for questioned subjects, and questions such as those in (38) do occur. I annotate them here as '%' due to the fact that some speakers reject them as ill-formed, despite the fact that the majority consider them perfectly acceptable.

- (38) a. %*Sapa mokol Ali?*
 who AV.hit Ali
 'Who hit Ali?'
- b. %*Sapa ngerem sorat?*
 who AV.send letter
 'Who sent the letter?'
- c. %*Ana'-eng sapa e-kekke' burus-sa Hadi?*
 child-DEF who OV-bite dog-DEF Hadi
 'Whose child did Hadi's dog bite?'

4.2. Clefted questions

The second major manner of questioning arguments is the cleft structure. In clefted questions, the interrogative phrase normally occurs clause-initially followed by a headless relative clause. Just as with non-interrogative clefts, the headless RC is the subject of the sentence and the clefted phrase the predicate (see Chapter 11 section 8 for a discussion and analysis of cleft constructions). Consistent with the restriction on relative clauses, the clefted interrogative phrase always corresponds to the subject or the possessor of the subject of the relative clause. Clefted questions are illustrated in (39-42).

- (39) *Sapa se melle motor anyar?*
 who REL AV.buy car new
 'Who bought a new car?'
 (more literally 'Who is the one who bought a new car?')

- (40) *Sapa se e-temmo bi' Ita neng pasar?*
 who REL OV-meet by Ita at market
 'Who did Ita meet at the market?'
- (41) *Ana'-eng sapa se e-kekke' burus-sa Hadi?*
 child-DEF who REL OV-bite dog-DEF Hadi
 'Whose child did Hadi's dog bite?'
- (42) *Sapa se ana'-eng e-kekke' burus-sa Hadi?*
 who REL child-DEF OV-bite dog-DEF Hadi
 'Whose child did Hadi's dog bite?'
 (more literally 'Who is the one whose child was bitten by Hadi's dog?')

4.3. Fronted questions

Some interrogative phrases are either obligatorily or optionally placed in sentence- or clause-initial position. These include adverbial and prepositional interrogatives and a special structure with *barampa* 'how many/much'.

4.3.1. Adverbial questions

Adverbial interrogatives such as *bila* 'when', *arapa* 'why', and *dha'ramma/baramma* 'how' are regularly fronted in a clause, as in (43a-c).

- (43) a. *Arapa Ita me' mole?*
 why Ita EMPH go.home
 'Why did Ita go home?'
- b. *Bila ana'-na Lukman entar ka Sorbaja?*
 when child-DEF Lukman go to Surabaya
 'When did Lukman's child go to Surabaya?'
- c. *Dha'ramma Ali ma-teppa' komputer?*
 how Ali AV.CS-right computer
 'How did Ali fix the computer?'

However, it is possible for them to occur in clause-final position (where the corresponding non-interrogative adverbial can also naturally occur). This order is perfectly natural, but frequently there is a slight pause before the interrogative, which is pronounced with a characteristic rising-falling interrogative intonation. The questions corresponding to (43a-c) are given in (44a-c), respectively.

- (44) a. *Ita ma' mole, arapa?*
Ita EMPH go.home why
'Why did Ita go home?'
- b. *Ana'-na Lukman entar ka Sorbaja, bila?*
child-DEF Lukman go to Surabaya when
'When did Lukman's child go to Surabaya?'
- c. *Ali ma-teppa' komputer, dha'ramma?*
Ali AV.CS-right computer how
'How did Ali fix the computer?'

4.3.2. Prepositional questions

As described in section 4.1, interrogative PPs can optionally be fronted. Clause-initial locative PPs are more likely than goal, benefactive, or instrumental PPs, but this reflects the general distribution of non-locative PPs. The facts are similar with non-interrogative PPs, which can be freely fronted in declaratives. Examples are given in (45-49).

- (45) *Dha' kamma ana'-eng Marlana mangkat?*
to where child-DEF Marlana leave
'Where did Marlana's child run away to?'
- (46) *E dhimma Siti nyaba' buku?*
at where Siti AV.put book
'Where did Siti put the book?'
- (47) *Dha' sapa Ari a-berri' pesse?*
to who Ari AV-give money
'Who did Ari give money to?'
- (48) *Bi' apa Pa' Rudi ma-becce' sapedha motor-ra?*
with what Mr Rudi AV.CS-good motorcycle-DEF
'What did Pak Rudi fix the motorcycle with?'
- (49) *Ngangguy apa Ina a-massa' juko'?*
using what Ina AV-cook fish
'What did Ina cook the fish with?'

4.3.3. *barampa* 'howmany/how much'

As shown in section 4.1, like other quantifiers *barampa* normally immediately precedes the noun it quantifies, as in (50) and (51).

- (50) *Bu Rokip noles barampa sorat?*
 Mrs Rokip AV.write how.many letter
 'How many letters did Bu Rokip write?'
- (51) *Kaka' ngakan barampa geddhang?*
 eld.brother AV.eat how.many banana
 'How many bananas did Big Brother eat?'

Additionally, it is possible to insert *bannya'na* 'amount' (a nominalization of *bannya* 'many') or *biggi'* (or *meggi'*), which literally means 'seed' but can be viewed as a classifier (as in cognate Indonesian *biji* 'classifier for a small round object').

- (52) *Bu Rokip noles barampa bannya'-na sorat?*
 Mrs Rokip AV.write how.many many-DEF letter
 'How many letters did Bu Rokip write?'
- (53) *Kaka' ngakan barampa biggi' geddhang?*
 eld.brother AV.eat how.many seed banana
 'How many bananas did Big Brother eat?'

Bannya'na and *biggi'* act as a type of counter here, and either can be used in either phrase, that is *barampa biggi' sorat* 'how many letters' and *barampa bannya'na geddhang* 'how many bananas' could be used in (51) and (52) with no change in meaning. In fact, though, these counters are generally not used when the quantifier immediately precedes the noun it quantifies.

However, *barampa* can optionally occur in clause-initial position with the quantified noun remaining in its base position. When *barampa* is fronted, it is obligatorily accompanied by *biggi'* or *bannya'*.

- (54) *Barampa bannya'-na Bu Rokip noles sorat?*
 how.many many-DEF Mrs Rokip AV.write letter
 'How many letters did Bu Rokip write?'
- (55) *Barampa biggi' Kaka' ngakan geddhang?*
 how.many seed eld.brother AV.eat banana
 'How many bananas did Big Brother eat?'

With items that can be held, such as *sorat* ‘letter’ or *geddhang* ‘banana’, either *biggi*’ or *bannya’na* may be used. However, in the case of larger items, such as humans, houses, or villages, only *bannya’na* is used, as in (56), which perhaps further indicates its similarity to the Indonesian classifier.

- (56) ***Barampa*** *bannya’-na/*biggi’ disa e-entar-a-na Bapa’?*
 how.many many-DEF seed village OV-go-LOC-IRR father
 ‘How many villages will Father go to?’

The structure with fronted *barampa* appears to be restricted to non-prepositional objects, that is direct objects. The sentence in (57b), in which *barampa* should quantify the objects of the prepositions *ka* and *bi*’, are ungrammatical. Here *barampa* must occur in the same phrase as the element it quantifies.

- (57) a. *Bapa’ entar-a ka barampa (bannya’-na) disa?*
 father go-IRR to how.many many-DEF village
 ‘How many villages will Father go to?’

- b. ****Barampa*** *bannya’-na Bapa’ entar-a ka disa?*

Therefore, in transitive clauses with PP objects, clause-initial *barampa* can quantify only the object (58b), even when the object is a null NP, as in (59b).

- (58) a. *Sa’diyah ngerem sorat ka barampa guru?*
 Sa’diyah AV.send letter to how.many teacher
 ‘How many teachers did Sa’diyah send letters to?’

- b. ***Barampa*** *bannya’-na Sa’diyah ngerem sorat ka guru?*
 how.many many-DEF Sa’diyah AV.send letter to teacher
 ‘How many letters did Sa’diyah send to the teacher?’
 (not: ‘How many teachers did Sa’diyah send letters?’)

- (59) a. *Bu Sinap a-massa’ kaangguy barampa orang?*
 Mrs Sinap AV-cook for how.many person
 ‘How many people did Bu Sinap cook for?’

- b. ***Barampa*** *bannya’-na Bu Sinap a-massa’ kaangguy orang?*
 how.many many-DEF Mrs Sinap AV-cook for person
 ‘How much did Bu Sinap cook for the people?’
 (not: ‘How many people did Bu Sinap cook for?’)

5. Long-distance questions

There are multiple strategies for questioning a dependent of an embedded clause. This is illustrated in the synonymous sentences in (60).³

- (60) a. *Hasan a-bala dha' Atin ja' Siti maca apa?*
 Hasan AV-say to Atin COMP Siti AV.read what
 'What did Hasan tell Atin that Siti read?'
- b. *Hasan a-bala dha' Atin apa se e-baca Siti?*⁴
 Hasan AV-say to Atin what REL OV-read Siti
 'What did Hasan tell Atin that Siti read?'
- c. *Apa se e-bala'-agi Hasan dha' Atin e-baca Siti ?*
 what REL OV-say-AGI Hasan to Atin OV-read Siti
 'What did Hasan tell Atin that Siti read?'

In each sentence in (60), the interrogative phrase *apa* 'what' occurs in a different position. In (60a), it remains in situ in the complement clause. In (60b), it occurs in a cleft structure in the complement clause. And in (60c), it occurs in a cleft structure in the matrix clause. In the cleft structures it appears that *apa* has been moved into position in the same fashion that *what* has been moved in the English translation; however, in English there is only the option of moving the interrogative phrase to the front of the very highest clause, so only a structure similar to (60c) is possible. However, as described below, the Madurese structure does not parallel the English.

5.1. Long-distance in situ questions

When questioning a dependent of an embedded clause, the most common structure for bare non subject NP arguments and PP objects is generally the in situ construction. This is illustrated in (61-64).

- (61) *Amir a-bala ja' Marlana melle apa neng pasar?*
 Amir AV-say COMP Marlana AV.buy what at market
 'What did Amir say that Marlana bought at market?'

³ The word order in the sentences in (60a,b) can also be interpreted as embedded questions. However as embedded questions they would be spoken with a different intonation. Embedded questions are the topic of section 6.

⁴ With appropriate intonation, (60b) can be interpreted as an instance of direction address: Hasan said to Amir, "What did Siti read?"

(62) *Polisi a-bukteyagi ja' maleng-nga a-berri' pesse dha' sapa?*
 police AV-prove COMP thief-DEF AV-give money to who
 'Who did the police prove that the thief had given the money to?'

(63) *Na-kana' ngera ja' ebu'-eng ka kamma?*
 RED-child AV.think COMP mother-DEF to where
 'Where do the children think that their mother went?'

(64) *Atin ma-yaken dha' Adi ana'-eng e-kekke' apa?*
 Atin AV.CS-sure to Adi child-DEF OV-bite what
 'What did Atin convince Adi bit her child?'

It is also possible for an interrogative phrase to be embedded in more than a single clause. In (65), *apa* is a part of the complement clause of *bala* 'say', which is itself part of the complement of the verb *yaken* 'be sure'.

(65) *Amir yaken [Hasan a-bala dha' Atin [ja' Siti maca apa]]?*
 Amir sure Hasan AV-say to Atin COMP Siti AV.read what
 'What is Amir sure that Hasan told Atin that Siti read?'

In (66), the questioned element is the adverbial *dha'ramma* 'how', and is in final position in the embedded clause.

(66) *Red-mored rowa padha ngarte ja' aba'eng kodu ajar dha'ramma?*
 RED-student that same AV.understand COMP they should study
 how
 'How do the students understand that they should study?'

When the subject of the complement clause is the questioned element, in most instances the complement contains a cleft construction, as in (67) and (68).

(67) *Marlena a-koto' dha' Siti sapa se badha e kamar?*
 Marlena AV-whisper to Siti who REL exist at room
 'Who did Marlena whisper to Siti was in the room?'

(68) *Hasan ngera sapa se a-gabay meja?*
 Hasan AV.think who REL AV-make table
 'Who does Hasan think made the table?'

5.2. 'Partial movement' questions

In (67) and (68), it appears that *sapa* 'who' has moved part way to initial position in the matrix clause. This impression is even stronger in the sentences in (69-72); here phrases that are either clearly not subjects or are arguably derived subjects occur in initial-position in the complement clause.

- (69) *Hasan ng-oca' apa se e-kala' Bambang?*
 Hasan AV-say what REL OV-take Bambang
 'What did Hasan say that Bambang took?'
- (70) *Polisi a-bukteyagi sapa se e-berri' pesse bi' maleng-nga?*
 police AV-proveAGI who REL OV-give money by thief-DEF
 'Who did the police prove the thieves gave the money to?'
- (71) *Wati ngera dha'ramma Ali ma-becce' komputer-ra?*
 Wati AV.think how Ali AV.CS-good computer-DEF
 'How does Wati think that Ali fixed the computer?'
- (72) *Ina yaken bila Rokip mangkad-a ka Jakarta?*
 Ina sure when Rokip leave-IRR to Jakarta
 'When is Ina sure Rokip will leave for Jakarta?'

In (69) and (70), the verbs in the complements occur in object voice and a non-actor is clefted—the theme in (69) and the goal in (70). In (71) and (72) the adverbial interrogatives *dha'ramma* 'how' and *bila* 'when' occur in initial position in the complement. These interrogatives appear to have moved part way to initial position of the matrix clause. For this reason, this structure has been referred to as 'partial movement' in Indonesian (Saddy 1991) and Malay (Cole and Hermon 1998).⁵

5.3. Long-distance 'movement'

In the example in (60c), the interrogative phrase that relates to the complement clause occurs in a cleft structure in the matrix clause. This resembles the structure of English *wh*-questions in which a *wh*-phrase from a complement clause occurs in initial position of the entire sentence. Thus, it appears that *apa* in (60c) and the interrogative phrases in (73-75) have undergone long-distance movement of the type exhibited by their English translations.

⁵ As pointed out by Saddy (1991) and Cole & Hermon (1998), the Indonesian structures seem to parallel partial movement question structures in German (McDaniel 1989), Hungarian (Horvath 1997) and other languages.

- (73) **Sapa** *se e-ker* Hasan *melle motor anyar?*
 who REL OV-think Hasan AV.buy car new
 ‘Who does Hasan think bought a new car?’
- (74) **Apa** *se e-janji-yagi Ali dha’ Siti* *e-pa-becce’-a are Sennen?*
 what REL OV-promise-AGI Ali to Siti OV-CS-good-IRR day Monday
 ‘What did Ali promise Siti would be fixed by Monday.’
- (75) **Sapa** *se e-kabar-ragi Ina ja’ para dhokter namba-i*
 who REL OV-new-AGI Ina COMP all doctor AV.medicine-LOC
ana’-na ?
 child-DEF
 ‘Whose child did Ina spread the news that the doctors cured?’

Although it may appear that the bolded interrogative words have moved from the position in the complement clause marked by the underscore, there is evidence that this conclusion is unwarranted and that the interrogative phrase is a dependent of only the matrix clause.⁶ The matrix structure in all of these sentences has all of the features of the prolepsis construction detailed in Chapter 11 section 6, in which a proleptic object occurs in the matrix clause and is coreferential with a pronoun (overt or nonovert) in the complement clause. So, the interrogative phrase is in fact never a dependent of the complement clause and is only a dependent of the matrix clause. This evidence is briefly reviewed in what follows.

5.4. Evidence against long-distance movement

First, the object voice form of the matrix verb is obligatory. In (60c) and (73-75) the matrix predicates are marked for object voice. The object voice is used when a non-actor is the subject of the sentence. This indicates that the interrogative phrase is the subject of the sentence, something that would be unnecessary in a movement analysis of the type found in English. The object voice cannot be attributed to a constraint against an element moving past a verb in the actor voice, as the sentences in (76) illustrate.⁷

⁶Complete arguments are given in Davies 2003.

⁷Saddy (1991) and Cole and Hermon (1998) propose that in Indonesian/Malay no element may move over a verb in the actor voice. A constraint of this kind appears to be unable to explain the Madurese facts (see Davies 2003). Sundanese presents a fact pattern very similar to Madurese in which a condition constraining movement across actor voice verb forms in unable to account for all relevant characteristics (see Davies and Kurniawan 2009).

- (76) a. *Apa se e-yaken-ne Hasan (ja') e-baca Siti?*
 what REL OV-sure-LOC Hasan COMP OV-read Siti
 ‘What is Hasan sure that Siti read?’
- b. **Apa Hasan yaken (ja') e-baca Siti?*⁸
 what Hasan sure COMP OV-read Siti
 (What is Hasan sure that Siti read?)

The predicate *yaken* ‘be sure’ does not take actor voice morphology in its basic usage, as shown in (72). Thus an analysis based simply on the absence of actor voice is insufficient to account for the ‘long-distance’ questions. The facts are, however, consistent with a prolepsis analysis in which *apa* is a matrix dependent.

Additionally, the matrix predicate must have the appropriate applicative suffix. In (76a), the matrix verb *yaken* occurs with the locative suffix *-e*, which is unnecessary in the basic use of *yaken* but obligatory in the prolepsis construction. All matrix predicates that require an applicative suffix in the prolepsis construction (that is all predicates other than *kerā* ‘think/guess’) also require this suffix in the long-distance question structure. A further example is:

- (77) a. *Sapa se e-bala'-agi Ali ja' ma-becce' sapedha motor?*
 who REL OV-say-AGI Ali COMP AV.CS-good motorcycle
 ‘Who did Ali say fixed the motorcycle?’
- b. **Sapa se e-bala Ali ja' ma-becce' sapedha motor?*
 who REL OV-say Ali COMP AV.CS-good motorcycle
 (Who did Ali say fixed the motorcycle?)
- c. *Ja' Wati ma-becce' sapedha motor e-bala Ali.*
 COMP Wati AV.CS-good motorcycle OV-say Ali
 ‘Ali said that Wati fixed the motorcycle.’

In the grammatical question in (77a), the matrix verb *bala* ‘say’ carries the suffix *-agi*. This suffix only occurs when the subject matter argument occurs as a core argument, that is when it is either direct object or subject.⁹ The ungrammaticality of (77b) indicates that the suffix is obligatory here. However, the applicative suffix is not obligatory in the object voice if the complement clause is the derived subject, as illustrated in (77c). However, the suffix does occur in the prolepsis structure when the proleptic object is a core argument. The occur-

⁸ As elsewhere in this work, English translations of ill-formed Madurese sentences are enclosed in parentheses rather than single quotation marks.

⁹ The function of *-agi* with respect to *bala* is detailed in Chapter 10 section 2.2.

rence of the suffixes in the long-distance questions is consistent with their occurrence in the prolepsis construction, providing evidence for the prolepsis analysis of these questions.

Finally, it is not the case that long-distance questions are always possible. In fact, they are only possible with verbs that occur in the prolepsis structure. Control predicates of the type described in Chapter 11 section 4 do not allow long-distance questions. The interrogative phrase must remain in the complement clause.¹⁰

- (78) a. *Ali nyoba' ma-becce' sapedha motor-ra Ina are Rebbu.*
 Ali AV.try AV.CS-good motorcycle-DEF Ina day Wednesday
 'Ali tried to fix Ina's motorcycle on Wednesday.'
- b. *Ali nyoba' mabecce' sapedha motorra sapa are Rebbu?*
 Ali AV.try AV.CS-fix motorcycle-DEF who day Wednesday
 'Whose motorcycle did Ali try to fix on Wednesday?'
- c. *E-coba' Ali ma-becce' sapedha motor-ra Ina are Rebbu.*
 OV-try Ali AV.CS-fix motorcycle-DEF Ina day Wednesday
 'Ali tried to fix Ina's motorcycle on Wednesday.'
- d. **Sapa se e-coba' Ali mabecce' sapedha motorra are Rebbu?*
 who REL OV-try Ali AV.CS-fix motorcycle-DEF day Wednesday
 (Whose motorcycle did Ali try to fix?)
- e. *E-coba' Ali ma-becce' sapedha motor-ra sapa are Rebbu?*
 OV-try Ali AV.CS-fix motorcycle-DEF who day Wednesday
 'Whose motorcycle did Ali try to fix on Wednesday?'

(78b) is an in situ question based on the sentence in (78a); the interrogative *sapa* occurs in the complement clause. (78c) indicates that *coba'* 'try' can occur in object voice. However, even when *coba'* is in object voice, a question with the complement interrogative in sentence-initial position is impossible, as shown by the ungrammatical sentence in (78d). There is no applicative suffix that can occur with *coba'* and the prolepsis structure is unavailable. Even with the main verb in object voice, the only possibility is to have the interrogative phrase remain in the embedded clause, as in (78e).

Thus apparent 'long-distance movement' questions are possible only where prolepsis is possible. This indicates that these structures are in fact pro-

¹⁰ Similar to Madurese, Sundanese 'long-distance movement' questions are not possible with control structures, only raising or prolepsis structures (Davies and Kurniawan 2009).

lepis structures and that long-distance movement is not involved.

5.5. Embedded *wh*-adjuncts and movement

In simple clauses, adverbial and prepositional *wh*-constituents may remain in situ or be fronted (sections 4.3.1-2). They may do so in complement clauses as well.

(79) a. *Guru-na ngera mored-da nyoper motor dha'ramma?*
 teacher-DEF AV.think student-DEF AV.drive car how
 'How did the teacher think her student drove the car?'

b. *Guru-na ngera dha'ramma mored-da nyoper motor?*
 teacher-DEF AV.think how student-DEF AV.drive car
 'How did the teacher think her student drove the car?'

(80) a. *Siti a-bala ja' Ali ma-becce' sapedha motor bi' apa?*
 Siti AV-say COMP Ali AV.CS-good motorcycle with what
 'What did Siti say that Ali fixed the motorcycle with?'

b. *Siti a-bala ja' bi' apa Ali ma-becce' sapedha motor?*
 Siti AV-say COMP with what Ali AV.CS-good motorcycle
 'What did Siti say that Ali fixed the motorcycle with?'

In (79a), *dha'ramma* 'how' occur clause-finally, and in (79b) it occurs in initial position in the embedded. The two sentences are synonymous and would elicit a response such as *laonan* 'slowly'. In (80b) the *wh*-adjunct *bi' apa* is clause final in the embedded clause and in (80a) clause initial. Either of these questions could felicitously be answered as *bi' obing* 'with a screwdriver'. The distribution of embedded *wh*-adjuncts then is the same as in simple clauses.

However, unlike languages like English, in which the *wh*-adjunct nearly always occurs sentence-initially, embedded *wh*-adjuncts are confined to the embedded clause in Madurese.

(81) **Dha'ramma guru-na ngera mored-da nyoper motor?*
 how teacher-DEF AV.think student-DEF AV.drive car
 (How did the teacher think her student drove the car?)

- (82) ***Bi' apa** Siti a-bala ja' Ali ma-becce' sapedha motor?¹¹
 with what Siti AV-say COMP Ali AV.CS-good motorcycle
 (What did Siti say that Ali fixed the motorcycle with?)

In (81) and (82), the *wh*-adjuncts of the embedded clauses have moved by long-distance movement and the sentences are ungrammatical. This behavior is exactly these same as that of non-*wh*-adjuncts (Chapter 12 section 4). The explanation for the facts is the same as for the *wh*-nominals discussed in section 5.4: Madurese does not permit long-distance movement, with *wh*-phrases or non-*wh*-phrases.

In order to front these embedded *wh*-phrases, it is necessary to nominalize the matrix predicate, thus making the structures monoclausal.

- (83) a. *Pa-ngera-na guru-na, dha'ramma mored-da nyoper motor?*
 NOM-AV.think- DEF teacher- DEF how student-DEF AV.drive car
 'How did the teacher think and her student drove the car?'
 lit. '(In) the teacher's thinking, how did her student drive the car?'
- b. *Dha'ramma pa-ngera-na guru-na, mored-da nyoper motor?*
 how NOM-AV.think- DEF teacher- DEF student-DEF AV.drive car
 'How did the teacher think and her student drove the car?'
 lit. 'How, (in) the teacher's thinking, did her student drive the car?'
- (84) a. *Pa-bala-na Siti Ali ma-becce' sapedha motor bi' apa?*
 NOM.AV-say Siti Ali AV.CS-good motorcycle with what
 'What did Siti say that Ali fixed the motorcycle with?'
 lit. '(According to) Siti's saying, what did Ali fix the motorcycle with?'
- b. *Bi' apa pa-bala-na Siti Ali ma-becce' sapedha motor?*
 with what NOM.AV-say Siti Ali AV.CS-good motorcycle
 'What did Siti say that Ali fixed the motorcycle with?'
 lit. 'What, (according to) Siti's saying, did Ali fix the motorcycle with?'

In the structures in (83) and (84), the nominalized predicate, *pangerana* 'the thinking' and *pabalana* 'the saying' together with their agents marked as possessors become adjuncts to the main (simple) clause, which contains the question. Although it is possible for the nominalization to come sentence finally, in (83a) and (84a), the adjunct nominalizations occur in clause-initial position

¹¹Technically (82) is not ungrammatical, but *bi' apa* is a question not about how Ali fixed the motorcycle but a question about what Siti used to ask the question. A legitimate answer would be something like 'With a megaphone' or 'With a microphone'. Most speakers I consulted merely reject the sentence, however.

while in (83b) and (84b) the *wh*-phrase occurs in initial position. In this way it is possible to front the *wh*-adjunct as in any other simple clause.

5.6. Long-distance questions and island effects

To complete the comparison with long-distance questions in Indonesian and Malay, this section examines the behavior of long-distance questions with syntactic islands as first discussed by Ross (1967/1984). Movement of any element out of a constituent that is an island is prohibited. This accounts the ungrammaticality of the English questions in (85).

- (85) a. **Who did Ita slap [the person who loves ___]?*
 b. **[What did that Hasan stole ___] make Mother sad?*
 c. **What did Bambang buy [a book and ___]?*
 d. **What did Ali go to the store [after Siti read ___]?*

The islands in these data are a relative clause (85a), a sentential subject (85b), a coordinate structure (85c), and an adverbial clause (85d). The questions are ungrammatical because the interrogative phrase has moved out of an island.

In situ questions are immune from island effects, as is fairly standard for in situ questions in the world's languages, and is true of Indonesian (Saddy 1991) and Malay (Cole and Hermon 1998). For example, it is possible to question an element in a relative clause (86), a sentential subject (87), a coordinate structure (88), and an adverbial clause (89). These structures are taken to be islands cross-linguistically due to the inability of an element such as an interrogative word to move out of these structures, as is illustrated by the ungrammaticality of the English translations for each of these sentences.

- (86) *Ita nempeleng oreng se tresna sapa?*
 Ita AV.slap person REL love who
 'Who did Ita slap the person who loves?'
 i.e. 'Who is the person x such that Ita slapped the person who loves that person x?'

- (87) *Ja' Hasan ngeco' apa ma-sossa Ebu'?*
 COMP Hasan AV.steal what AV.CS-sad mother
 'What did it make Mother sad that Hasan stole?'

- (88) *Bambang melle buku ban apa?*
 Bambang AV.buy book and what
 ‘What did Bambang buy a book and?’
- (89) *Ali entar dha' toko marena Siti maca apa?*
 Ali go to store after Siti AV.read what
 ‘What did Ali go to the store after Siti read?’

Unlike what has been documented for Indonesian (Saddy 1991) and Malay (Cole & Hermon 1998), the so-call partial movement questions do not exhibit any island effects. Thus, in Madurese an interrogative phrase may be fronted in the embedded clause in relative clauses (90b), adjuncts (91b), and sentential subjects (92b). The a-sentences are the in situ variants, provided here to indicate the source of a ‘partial movement’ structure.¹²

- (90) a. *Ita nempeleng oreng se a-bala ja' Hasan tresna dha' sapa?*
 Ita AV.slap person REL AV-say COMP Hasan love to who
 ‘Who did Ita slap the person who said that Hasan loves?’
 i.e. ‘Who is the person *x* such that Ita slapped the person who said that Hasan loves that person *x*.’
- b. *Ita nempeleng oreng se a-bala sapa se e-tresna-e Hasan?*
 Ita AV.slap person REL AV-say who REL OV-love-LOC Hasan
 ‘Who did Ita slap the person who said that Hasan loves?’
- (91) a. *Ali entar dha' toko marena Ita a-bukteyagi ja' Siti maca apa?*
 Ali go to store after Ita AV-prove COMP Siti AV.read what
 ‘What did Ali go to the store after Ita proved that Siti read?’
- b. *Ali entar dha' toko marena Ita a-bukteyagi apa se e-baca Siti?*
 Ali go to store after Ita AV-prove what REL OV-read Siti
 ‘What did Ali go to the store after Ita proved that Siti read?’
- (92) a. *Ja' Marlina a-bala ja' Hasan ngeco' apa lecek?*
 COMP Marlina AV-say COMP Hasan AV.steal what lie
 ‘What is it a lie that Marlina said that Hasan stole?’
- b. *Ja' Marlina a-bala apa se e-keco' Hasan lecek?*
 COMP Marlina AV-say what REL OV-steal Hasan lie
 ‘That Marlina said that Hasan stole what is a lie?’

¹² Again, Sundanese presents a similar case in that ‘partial movement’ questions exhibit no island effects. Davies and Kurniawan 2009 provides details.

The lengthy section on long-distance questions notwithstanding, embedding structures are frequently avoided in everyday speech through the use of nominalization, as described in section 5.5. Thus, rather than use *kera* ‘think’ as a matrix predicate, it is possible to use a nominalized verb, as in (93).

- (93) *Emma' entar ka kamma pa-nyana-na na'-kana'?*
 mother go to where NOM-AV.think-DEF RED-child
 ‘Where do the children think that their mother went?’
 lit ‘Where did mother go, (by) the children’s thinking.’

By expressing the children’s thought through a nominalization having an adverbial function, the question is contained in a single clause.

6. Embedded questions

Embedded non-constituent questions can occur with the complementizer *ja'* (94), the complementizer/adverbial conjunction *mon* (89), or with the question particle *apa* in the position of the complementizer of the embedded clause (90).

- (94) *Ahmad a-tanya ja' Eppa' neng roma.*
 Ahmad AV-ask COMP father at house
 ‘Ahmad asked if father is at home.’
- (95) *Siti lo' tao mon Ina mangkat dha' Jakarta are Kemmes.*
 Siti not know if Ina leave to Jakarta day Thursday
 ‘Siti does not know whether Ina left for Jakarta on Thursday.’
- (96) *Guru-na lo' yaken apa ana'-eng Hasan entar dha' Sorbaja.*
 teacher-DEF not sure Q child-DEF Hasan go to Surabaya
 ‘The teacher is not sure whether/if Hasan’s child went to Surabaya.’

Both the in situ structure and the fronting structure are used in the formation of embedded questions. The in situ structure is illustrated in (97a) and (98a), and the fronting structure in (97b), (98b), and (98c). Just as with matrix questions prepositional objects may be fronted without clefting (98c), while fronted interrogative objects must be clefted (97b) and (98b).¹

¹ As with widescope questions, it is impossible to use the in situ strategy with subjects (i), but perfectly acceptable with actors in object voice structures (ii).

(i) **Guru yaken sapa maca buku rowa.*
 teacher sure who AV.read book that
 (The teacher is sure who read that book.)

- (97) a. *Siti tao ja' Ali melle apa e toko.*
Siti know COMP Ali AV.buy what at store
'Siti knows what Ali bought at the store.'
- b. *Siti tao apa se e-belli Ali e toko.*
Siti know what REL OV-buyAli at store
'Siti knows what Ali bought at the store.'
- (98) a. *Hasan a-bala ka Amir ja' Hadi a-berri' konce juwa ka sapa.*
Hasan AV-say to Amir COMP Hadi AV-give key that to who
'Hasan told Amir who Ali gave the keys to.'
- b. *Hasan a-bala ka Amir ja' sapa se e-berri' konce juwa bi' Hadi.*
Hasan AV-say to Amir COMP who REL OV-give key that by Hadi
'Hasan told Amir who Ali gave the keys to.'
- c. *Hasan a-bala ka Amir ja' ka sapa Hadi a-berri' konce juwa .*
Hasan AV-say to Amir COMP to who Hadi AV-give key that
'Hasan told Amir who Ali gave the keys to.'

The only difference between embedded questions and structurally identical in situ constituent questions described in section 5.1 is intonation. Wide scope in situ questions are uttered with a characteristic rise-fall intonation on the interrogative word while embedded questions are uttered with simple declarative intonation. As is true of matrix questions, in embedded questions adverbials are generally fronted (99) and (100).

- (99) *Guru-na a-tanya bila ana'-eng Hasan se entar dha' Sorbaja.*
teacher-DEF AV-ask when child-DEF Hasan REL go to Surabaya
'The teacher asked when Hasan's child went to Surabaya.'
- (100) *Siti lo' tao dha'ramma Ali ma-becce' sapedha motor-ra.*
Siti not know how Ali AV.CS-good motorcycle-DEF
'Siti did not know how Ali fixed the motorcycle.'

-
- (ii) *Guru yaken buku rowa e-baca (bi') sapa.*
teacher sure book that OV-read by who
'The teacher is sure who read that book.'

7. The question particle *ba'*

As described in section 1, yes/no questions are formed either by means of intonation or using *apa* 'what' as a general question marker (accompanied by the appropriate intonation contour). There is another question particle *ba'*, which also occurs as *ba'nengan*, which can substitute for *apa* in yes/no questions but can also be used with constituent questions.

With yes/no questions, *ba'* usually occurs in second position following the subject of the sentences as in (101), where it follows the subject *guruna* 'the teacher', and (102), where it follows the subject *Amir*.

(101) *Guru-na ba' la nerrang-ngagi kalaban bendher?*
 teacher-DEF Q already AV.clear-AGI with correct
 'Did the teacher explain well?'

(102) *Amir ba' bisa'-a maca'-agi sorat ka ba'na?*
 Amir Q can-IRR AV.read-AGI letter to you
 'Can Amir read the letter for you?'

When it occurs in sentence-initial position immediately preceding the subject, the particle occurs with *nengan*, as in (103). Samoedin (1977) lists the definition of *ba'nengan* as 'perhaps' or 'possibly'.

(103) *Ba'nengan guru-na la nerang-ngagi kalaban bendher?*
 Q teacher-DEF already AV.clear-AGI with correct
 'Did the teacher explain well?'

As (104) illustrates, when an auxiliary precedes the subject in a yes/no question, the question particle can occur in initial position, as a clitic to the auxiliary.

(104) *Ba' bisa'-a Amir maca'-agi sorat ka ba'na?*
 Q can-IRR Amir AV.read-AGI letter to you
 'Can Amir read the letter for you?'

Unlike the use of *apa* as a question particle in yes/no questions (section 1), for some speakers *ba'* can also be used in constituent questions. In constituent questions, *ba'* most frequently occurs cliticized to the interrogative phrase, whether a single lexical item, such as *sapa* 'who' (105) or *baramma* 'how' (106), or a complex interrogative phrase, such as *ngangguy apa* 'using what' (107). As these structures are not accepted by all speakers, they are annotated with % here.

(105) %*Ba' sapa se e-berri' pesse so Ali?*

Q who REL OV-give money by Ali
'Who did Ali give money?'

(106) %*Ba' baramma Ina a-ola juko'-na?*

Q how Ina AV-cook fish-DEF
'How did Ina cook the fish?'

(107) %*Ba' ngangguy apa Arinda ma-becce' komputer-ra?*

Q using what Arinda AV.CS-good computer-DEF
'What did Arinda fix the computer with?'

ba' can also occur following a fronted interrogative phrase, but in this case occurs with *nengan*. This is illustrated by the questions in (102-104), which are variants of (99-101) respectively.

(108) *Sapa ba'nengan se e-berri' pesse so Hasan?*

who Q REL OV-give money by Hasan
'Who did Hasan give money to?'

(109) *Baramma ba'nengan Ina a-ola juko'-na?*

how Q Ina AV-cook fish-DEF
'How did Ina cook the fish?'

(110) *Ngangguy apa ba'nengan Arinda ma-becce' komputer-ra?*

using what Q Arinda AV.CS-good computer-DEF
'What did Arinda fix the computer with?'

Finally, for some speakers, *ba'* can occur sentence-internally as *ba'nengan* immediately following the interrogative element in *in situ* questions. This structure is not acceptable to all speakers (and is thus marked %). The structure is illustrated in (111) and (112). (113) provides an additional illustration of the three options.

(111) %*Hasan ngerem apa ba'nengan dha' Ali?*

Hasan AV.send what Q to Ali
'What did Hasan send to Ali?'

(112) %*Ngerem sorat dha' sapa ba'nengan Ali?*

AV.send letter to who Q Ali
'Who did Ali send a letter to?'

- (113) a. %**Ba'** *bila Ita dhateng-nga dhari Kanada?*
Q when Ita come-IRR from Canada
'When will Ita arrive from Canada?'
- b. *Bila ba'nengan Ita dhateng-nga dhari Kanada?*
when Q Ita come-IRR from Canada
'When will Ita arrive from Canada?'
- c. %*Ita dhateng-nga dhari Kanada bila ba'nengan?*
Ita come-IRR from Canada when Q
'When will Ita arrive from Canada?'

Chapter 15

Speech levels

References to speech levels in Madurese occur sporadically in previous chapters, most prominently in the discussion of pronouns in Chapters 3 and 7. As shown there, in addition to the paradigm of ‘common’ pronouns, there are additional first and second person forms. The paradigms of first and second person pronouns are given in (1).

(1) 1st and 2nd person pronominal forms

	kasar/ mapas	tengnga'an	alos
1 st person	<i>sengko'</i> <i>engko'</i> <i>aba'</i>	<i>bula</i> <i>gula</i>	<i>kaula</i> <i>(ba)dan kaula</i> <i>dalem</i> <i>apdina</i> <i>apdi dalem</i> <i>bal-gebbal dalem</i>
2 nd person	<i>ba'na</i> <i>ba'eng</i> <i>ba'en</i> <i>kake</i> <i>sedha</i>	<i>dika</i>	<i>sampeyan</i> <i>panjennengngan</i> <i>padana</i> <i>sampeyan dalem</i> <i>ajunan dalem</i> <i>ajunan sampeyan</i> <i>ajunan panjennengngan</i>

There are three divisions of personal pronouns: *kasar* ‘rough’, *tengnga'an* ‘middle’, and *alos* ‘refined’. *Kasar* is also referred to as *mapas* by the Madurese, and sometimes *ngoko*, a term borrowed from Javanese. The pronouns used in any particular interaction are to be selected in accord with the respective social status of the interlocutors. There are multiple *kasar/mapas* pronouns for 2nd person. These represent dialectal differences. The considerable list of *alos* forms represents increasing respect toward the addressee; the last few being used only when speaking with the nobility, kings and God. The Madurese people often refer to the three vocabularies as *enja' iya*, *enggi enten*, and *enggi bunten*, which, as shown in (2) below, are the words for ‘yes’ and ‘no’ for each level.¹

¹Although within the 1973 spelling system the words for ‘yes’ in both *tengnga'an* and *alos* are spelled *enggi*, they are pronounced differently, [əŋk^hi] in *tengnga'an* and

1. The vocabularies

As is true of Javanese, Balinese, and Sundanese, the distinctions are not made solely in the pronominal system. Sizable vocabularies are associated with each level. The table in (2) gives an incomplete but representative indication of the scope of the system.²

(2)	kasar	tengnga'an	alos
'remember'	<i>enga'</i>	<i>enget</i>	<i>emot</i>
'not know'	<i>ta' tao</i>	<i>bikan</i>	<i>ta' oneng</i>
'here'	<i>dhissa</i>	<i>ko'dhissa</i>	<i>ka'dhissa</i>
'this'	<i>reya</i>	<i>neko</i>	<i>paneka, neka</i>
'yes'	<i>iya</i>	<i>enggi</i>	<i>enggi</i>
'no'	<i>enja'</i>	<i>enten</i>	<i>bunten</i>
'now'	<i>sateya</i>	<i>sanonto</i>	<i>samangken</i>
'already'	<i>ella</i>	<i>empon</i>	<i>ampon</i>
'where'	<i>dhimma</i>	<i>ko'dhimma;</i> <i>ko'imma</i>	<i>ka'dhimma</i>
'what'	<i>apa</i>	<i>nape</i>	<i>panapa</i>
'who'	<i>sapa</i>		<i>sera, pasera</i>
'why'	<i>arapa</i>	<i>anape</i>	<i>anapa</i>
'how'	<i>baramma;</i> <i>dha'ramma</i>	<i>mara nape</i>	<i>kadi ponapa</i>
'how many'	<i>barampa</i>	<i>sanape</i>	<i>sanapa</i>
HORT	<i>ayu', mara,</i> <i>mayu, maju</i>	<i>naddha</i>	<i>tore</i>
'accompany'	<i>noro'</i>		<i>ngereng</i>
'get'	<i>olle</i>		<i>kengeng</i>
'make'	<i>agabay</i>		<i>abadhi</i>
'meet'	<i>temmo</i>		<i>panggi</i>
'use'	<i>angguy</i>		<i>mabi</i>
'with'	<i>kalaban, moso</i>		<i>sareng</i>
'if'	<i>mon, kalamon</i>		<i>manabi, binabi</i>
'more'	<i>lebbi</i>		<i>langkong</i>
'only'	<i>coma, neng, gun</i>		<i>namong</i>
'serious'	<i>ce'</i>		<i>sanget</i>
DEF	<i>-na</i>		<i>-epon</i>

[ɛŋk^{hi}] in *alos*. Under a reformed spelling system this difference would not be obscured, the *tengnga'an* word being spelled *engghi* and the *alos* *èngghi*.

² It should be noted that there is some disagreement among sources (Safioedin 1977, Muakmam 2007, Pawitra 2009, and personal elicitation) and some imprecision as well. The examples in (2-4) thus may require further study and refinement.

The kasar and alos vocabularies are far more extensive than is tengnga'an, which Stevens (1966) estimates consists of about 30 words; this is reflected in the gaps in the table. Tengnga'an lexical items tend to be deictic words indicating temporal and physical relations, e.g. *sanonto* 'now' and *neko* 'this', but includes some nouns and verbs as well. The alos and kasar vocabularies include many more nouns and verbs than tengnga'an. Each lexical item in the alos category has a kasar counterpart. The semantic fields represented by alos words include first and second person and deictic pronouns, some body parts, some clothing, some familial relations, some personal items, some actions, temporal expressions, perception predicates, and other terms. Lexical items which do not show this kind of variation and are to be used regardless of the speech situation are referred to in the literature (e.g., Stevens 1966) as *biyasa* 'usual'.³ Choice of lexical items depends on the respective social status of speaker and addressee and the context of the speech event. These notions are set out more precisely in the section that follows.

In addition to these vocabularies is a system of honorific vocabulary used primarily in reference to third persons. Focusing on the person to be honored, this system includes two sets of lexical items—*alos tenggi* 'high refined' and *alos mandhap* 'low refined'. A sample is given in (3), which also includes the corresponding *biyasa* word.

(3) Some alos tenggi and alos mandhap words

	biyasa/ kasar	alos tenggi	alos mandhap
'say'	<i>oca'</i>	<i>dhabu</i>	<i>ator</i>
'give'	<i>berri'</i>	<i>pareng</i>	<i>atoragi</i>
'go'	<i>entar</i>	<i>meyos</i>	<i>cabis</i>
'eat'	<i>kakan</i>	<i>dha'ar</i>	
'drink'	<i>enom</i>	<i>dha'ar</i>	
'go home'	<i>mole</i>	<i>bubar, gubar</i>	<i>paleman</i>
'house'	<i>bengko, roma</i>	<i>dalem</i>	
'stomach'	<i>tabu'</i>	<i>padha'aran</i>	
'mouth'	<i>colo'</i>	<i>padha'aran</i>	

As is clear from the chart, the set of alos tenggi words is much more extensive than the alos mandhap set. The reason for the disparity reflects the function of the vocabulary. The alos tenggi vocabulary includes lexical items that identify the possessions, body parts, and relatives of an honored person (including, when

³Most Madurese speakers consider the kasar and biyasa vocabularies as comprising a single, kasar level. Useful or not, the distinction between kasar and biyasa will be recognized when necessary in what follows.

appropriate, the addressee) as well as their actions. The *alos mandhap* vocabulary includes only words indicating the actions of a person of lower status toward the person to be honored. Thus, in (3), there are both *alos tenggi* and *alos mandhap* words for ‘say’, ‘give’, and ‘go’, as these are actions that people perform with regard to other people. As is clear from the table, lexical items can have more than one related meaning, so *alos tenggi dha'ar* is used for both the concepts ‘eat’ and ‘drink’ (which, of course, both refer to ingesting something). Its locative derivative, *padha'aran*, refers to both of the endpoints of ingestion, the mouth and the stomach. The use of these vocabularies is taken up below.

Despite the fact that the same lexical items are frequently used for *alos* and *alos tenggi*, it is also the case that many concepts have distinct forms in the two vocabularies. Some examples of this are given in (4).

(4) Some *kasar*, *alos*, and *alos tenggi* forms

	kasar	alos	alos tenggi
‘eye’	<i>mata</i>	<i>soca, edep</i>	<i>soca, tengal</i>
‘head’	<i>cethak</i>	<i>sera</i>	<i>sera</i>
‘back’	<i>budhi</i>	<i>bingkeng</i>	<i>pongkoran</i>
‘stomach’	<i>tabu'</i>	<i>padha'aran</i>	<i>padha'aran</i>
‘mother’	<i>embu', ebu'</i>	<i>ebu</i>	<i>ebu</i>
‘father’	<i>emma', bapa'</i>	<i>rama</i>	<i>kai</i>
‘wife’	<i>bine</i>	<i>robiya</i>	<i>raji</i>
‘house’	<i>bengko, roma</i>	<i>compo'</i>	<i>dalem</i>
‘(skull) cap’	<i>kocca</i>	<i>songko'</i>	<i>sengel</i>
‘money’	<i>pesse</i>	<i>obang</i>	<i>obang</i>
‘sick’	<i>sake'</i>	<i>anglo</i>	<i>songkan</i>
HORT	<i>ayu', maju</i>	<i>tore</i>	<i>nyara</i>
‘angry’	<i>peggel</i>	<i>bendu</i>	<i>duka</i>
‘give’	<i>berri'</i>	<i>sendhuk</i>	<i>pereng</i>
‘drink’	<i>enom</i>	<i>dha'ar</i>	<i>dha'ar</i>
‘eat’	<i>kakan</i>	<i>teddha</i>	<i>dha'ar</i>
‘have’	<i>andhi'</i>	<i>gadhuwan</i>	<i>anggadhuwan</i>
‘hear’	<i>edhing</i>	<i>pereng</i>	<i>peyarsa</i>
‘know’	<i>tao</i>	<i>oneng</i>	<i>ngagali</i>
‘sit’	<i>toju'</i>	<i>lenggi</i>	<i>longgu</i>
‘request’	<i>penta</i>	<i>so'on</i>	<i>panyo'on</i>
‘want’	<i>terro</i>	<i>poron</i>	<i>kasokan</i>

While this, of course, represents a fraction of the lexical items involved, it is clear that in some instances a distinction is made between the *alos* and *alos tenggi* words--as in ‘back’ *bingkeng/pongkoran*, ‘father’ *rama/kai*, and ‘want’ *poron/kasokan*--and in others there is not, as in ‘head’ *sera*, ‘mother’ *ebu*, and

'drink' *dha'ar*. These distinctions and commonalities are apparent in examples that follow.

2. Use of the vocabularies

It is often the case that the manner in which a system is designed to function and the way in which that system is implemented do not match perfectly. This is true of the specialized vocabularies of Madurese. However, in this section, the appropriate use of the various vocabularies is presented in an idealized manner. Discussion of the ways that actual use diverged from the ideal and are used today is taken up in section 2.

2.1. Kasar, tengnga'an and alos

As is true of the other Indonesian languages containing the specialized vocabularies, the use of *kasar*, *tengnga'an*, and *alos* is determined by the social status of the interlocutors. *Kasar* is used between persons of equal social status and by people of a superior status to those of a lower status. Typically intimate friends, siblings, and persons of low but equal social status (such as farmers, laborers, domestic employees, and so on) speak *kasar* with one another. *Kasar* is also to be used by parents to their children, older people to younger people when there are no other class distinctions that might complicate the situation, and at times bosses to workers. As pointed out by Muakmam (2007), in the past, *kasar* was also used by kings, their ministers, and other nobility to persons of lower status. *Tengnga'an* is to be used between social equals who are not well acquainted, husbands to their wives, parents-in-law to their sons- and daughters-in-law, and between buyer and seller in the market; it may also be used among friends and family. It may also be used when an older person addresses a younger person but wants to show some respect due to the relative higher social status of the younger addressee. *Alos* is used by people of lower status when addressing people of higher status. *Alos* should be used by students when addressing their teachers, *santri* when addressing their *kiai*, wives when addressing their husbands, children when addressing their parents and other older people, younger to older siblings, and in past times, commoner to nobility and all when addressing royalty.

The sentences in (5-7), which are propositionally equivalent illustrate each of the specific speech levels.

- (5) Kasar
Sengko' sateya ta' olle ngakan durin.
 I now not allowed AV.eat durian
 'Now I am not allowed to eat durian.'
- (6) Tengnga'an
Bula sanonto ta' kengeng neddha durin.
 I now not allowed AV.eat durian
 'Now I am not allowed to eat durian.'
- (7) Alos
Kaula samangken ta' kengeng neddha durin.
 I now not allowed AV.eat durian
 'Now I am not allowed to eat durian.'

The kasar sentence in (5) includes the pronoun *sengko* 'I', the temporal adverb *sateya* 'now', and the verbs *olle* 'allowed' and *ngakan* 'eat'. In the alos variant in (7), these four lexical items are replaced by *kaula*, *samangken*, *kengeng*, and *neddha*, respectively. The negative marker *ta'* and the noun *durin* 'durian' are the same in both sentences. No status distinctions occur for these concepts; thus, the words can be technically classified as *biyasa* vocabulary. The *tengnga'an* sentence in (6) includes the alos verbs *kengeng* and *neddha* but has level-specific variants of the first person pronoun, *bula*, and the temporal adverb, *sanonto*. Ideally, *tengnga'an* sentences should include only lexical items from the *tengnga'an* and *biyasa* vocabularies, but in practical terms, lexical items from either *kasar* or *alos* vocabularies are used when no *tengnga'an*-specific or *biyasa* words exist. As is clear from the examples in (5-7), only lexical and a very few morphological differences are marked by the speech levels. There are no syntactic differences.

The sentences in (8-10) provide another example.

- (8) Kasar
*Ba'na apa mare ngakan?*⁴
 you what finish AV.eat
 'Have you eaten?'
- (9) Tengnga'an
Dika nape mare ngakan?
 you what finish AV.eat
 'Have you eaten?'

⁴As described in Chapter 14 section 1, *apa* 'what' is used as a question particle in yes-no questions.

- (10) Alos
Sampeyan ponapa lastare neddha?
 you what finish AV.eat
 'Have you eaten?'

In (8) and (10), the kasar and alos variants are lexically completely discrete. The personal pronouns (*ba'na* and *sampeyan* 'you'), question particles (*apa* and *ponapa* 'what'), aspectual predicates (*mare* and *lastare* 'finish'), and main verbs (*ngakan* and *adha'ar* 'eat') are all drawn from their respective vocabularies. In the tengnga'an variant (9), tengnga'an-specific words *dika* 'you' and *nape* 'what' are employed. However, there is no unique tengnga'an lexical item for the aspectual predicate or the main predicate. Here, the kasar words *mare* and *ngakan* are used, rather than using alos word, as was illustrated with the auxiliary predicate *olle* 'get/allow' in (6).

The distinction between drawing vocabulary from alos versus kasar indicates the degree to which the speaker wishes to show respect to the addressee. Using alos vocabulary, as in (6), signals the speaker's desire to be more polite, while drawing from kasar, as in (9), signals the speaker's desire to be somewhat more intimate or informal or to indicate a sense of slight social superiority of the speaker. As discussed in section 2.3, drawing lexical items from the different lexical sets allows a speaker to create gradations that indicate fine-tuning of the social context.

2.2. Alos tenggi and alos mandhap

Cross-cutting the vocabularies sensitive to the respective social status of the speaker and addressee are the vocabularies sensitive to the status of the persons who are the participants in the state of affairs being discussed. The effects of this will be illustrated with examples from kasar and alos speech.

The kasar sentences in (11) and (12) illustrate the different lexical choices made when the person referred to does not require respectful vocabulary. These sentences might be used among friends.⁵

- (11) *Tang le'er la ta' sake' pole.*
 my neck already not hurt again
 'My neck doesn't hurt anymore.'

⁵For some speakers it is possible to substitute *anglo* 'hurt', an alos word, for *sake'* in (10) and (11). Others consider *anglo* to be alos mandhap, as it will be treated here in example (13).

- (12) *Apa le'er-ra ba'na gi' sake'?*
 what neck-DEF you still hurt
 'Does your neck still hurt?'

By comparison, when the person referred to is someone to be shown respect, such as a king, some different lexical choices are required.

- (13) *Rato la ta' songkan pole gulu-na.*
 king already not hurt again neck-DEF
 'The King's neck does not hurt anymore.'

In (11-12), the word *le'er* is used to denote 'neck' and *nganglo* to denote 'hurt'. In describing the king, *gulu* denotes 'neck' and *songkan* denotes 'hurt'. The lexical choice is triggered solely by the fact that the person being referred to, *rato*, is someone of higher social status, someone to be honored and accorded respect. *Gulu* and *songkan* are also *tenggi* words. Note that the aspectual adverb *la* 'already' and the definite morpheme *na* are unaffected by the status of the subject. This indicates that no status difference between speaker and addressee is being recognized or that the speaker is of a higher status than the addressee; thus, *kasar* speech is appropriate.

The same sentences in *alos* speech are given in (14-16), in which, for example, the speaker may be addressing a parent, teacher, or older person.

- (14) *Le'er-epon kaula ampon ta' ng-anglo pole.*
 neck-DEF I already not AV-hurt again
 'My neck doesn't hurt anymore.'
- (15) *Ponapa gulu-epon panjennengngan gi' songkan?*
 what neck-DEF you still hurt
 'Does your neck still hurt?'
- (16) *Rato ampon ta' songkan pole gulu-epon.*
 king already not hurt again neck-DEF
 'The King's neck does not hurt anymore.'

In comparing (11) and (14), it is clear that some of the lexical items used are the same in the two variants and some are different. In both (11) and (14), *le'er* is used for 'neck', a word that refers to the possessions, body parts, or state of the person being described; words that were paired with *alos tenggi* word *gulu* in (13). Even though in (14) the addressee is a social superior of the speaker, the referent of the state is not someone to be honored (*alos tenggi* words are never used to refer to oneself); therefore, *alos tenggi* vocabulary is not appropriate. However, the definite marker *-epon*, the first person pronoun *kaula*, the tempor-

al adverb *ampon*, and the verb *anglo* 'hurt' are all different from the *kasar* sentence. Comparing (13) and (16) reveals that as was true of (11)/(14), the words describing the referent are not different (both use *alos tenggi* as the person referred to is the King), but the temporal adverb and definite article are different as this situation calls for *alos* speech. These sentences clearly demonstrate the distinction between *alos* and *alos tenggi* usage.

The pair of sentences in (12) and (15) reveal what at first seems to be a bit of a contradiction. While the *alos* variant includes different lexical items for 'what' (*ponapa*), the definite marker (*-epon*), and the personal pronoun (*panjennengnan*) as is expected, the words associated with the referent of the state of affairs are also different. This is not true of (11) and (14). The important difference in this case is, however, the fact that the addressee is a person of higher status and thus should be described using *alos tenggi* vocabulary.

If *alos tenggi* words are used in place of *kasar* (or *biyasa*) vocabulary in an a setting appropriate for *alos* speech, the sentences are not acceptable. Thus, all of the sentences in (17) are ill-formed *alos* sentences and should not be used in place of (14).

- (17) a. **Gulu-epon kaula ampon ta' nganglo pole.*
 b. **Gulu-epon kaula ampon ta' songkan pole.*
 c. **Le'er-epon kaula ampon ta' nganglo pole.*
 (My neck doesn't hurt anymore.)

The ill-formed sentences in (17) demonstrate the inappropriateness of using *alos tenggi* vocabulary to refer to oneself.⁶ Likewise, *alos* vocabulary cannot substitute for *kasar* vocabulary simply because the referent of the relevant state of affairs is a person to be honored. Thus, (16), while acceptable as an *alos* sentence, cannot be used in a *kasar* environment; that is, *ampon* 'already' and the definite marker *-epon* are inappropriate in *kasar* speech.

⁶Mauknam (2007) offers a number of examples such as this, including the following pair:

- (i) a. **Potra kaula songkan ampon tello are.*
 son I sick already three day
 (My son has been sick for three days.)
 b. *Ana' kaula anglo ampon tello are.*
 child I sick already three day
 'My child has been sick for three days.'

In the ill-formed sentence in (ia) the *alos tenggi* word *potra* 'son' is ill-formed as the child being referred to is the speaker's child. Also, the *alos tenggi* word *songkan* 'sick' has been used to refer to the condition of one's own child rather than the appropriate *alos* word *anglo*.

Alos mandhap vocabulary is relatively limited but like alos tenggi operates independently of the status of speaker and addressee. This is illustrated in the sentences that follow, as is the distinction between alos mandhap and alos tenggi. The sentences in (18-20) are kasar sentences.

- (18) *Ali menta Siti entar ka roma-na.*⁷
 Ali AV.request Siti go to house-DEF
 ‘Ali asked Siti to go to his house.’
- (19) *Ali ng-ator-e guru-na meyos ka roma-na.*
 Ali AV-say-E teacher-DEF go to house-DEF
 ‘Ali invited his teacher to go to his (Ali’s) house.’
- (20) *Ali menta Siti nyabis ka dalem-ma Pa' Hasan.*
 Ali AV.request Siti AV.go to house-DEF Mr Hasan
 ‘Ali asked Siti to go to Pak Hasan’s house.’

First, consider the word meaning ‘go’ in each sentence. In (18), *entar* ‘go’, familiar from many examples in previous chapters, is used because no special status is attributed to Siti nor to Ali. In (19), the alos tenggi word *meyos* ‘go’ must be used because the person undertaking the activity is a person commanding respect. In (20), once again Siti is doing the action, but this time the goal of her going is to the house of a person of higher status *Pa' Hasan*. Thus the situation is that a person of lower status acting toward a person of higher status, and so *nyabis* the actor voice form of the alos mandhap word *cabis* ‘go’ must be used. Also to be noted is the verb of saying that is used in each case. As neither Ali nor Siti is a person of higher status and there is no difference in status between them, the form *menta* ‘request’ is used in (18) and (20), where Ali addresses Siti. In (19), Ali addresses his teacher, a person of higher status, and the word *ngatore* ‘say to’ is used.⁸ The only other point of note is the use of *dalem* ‘house’ in (20), which is used in this environment as Pa' Hasan is person toward whom one should show respect.

The sentences in (21-23) are the alos counterparts of (18-20), respectively.

⁷Another common kasar word for ‘house’ is *bengko*; however, *roma* is more commonly used in the Western dialect.

⁸The alos mandhap counterpart of *menta* is actually *nyo'on*, but it is considered somewhat more appropriate to use *ngatore*, which is best translated as ‘invite’, in a situation such as asking a teacher to go somewhere.

- (21) *Ali menta Siti meyos dha' compo'-epon.*
 Ali AV.request Siti go to house-DEF
 'Ali asked Siti to go to his house.'
- (22) *Ali ng-ator-e guru-epon meyos dha' compo'-epon.*
 Ali AV-say-E teacher-DEF go to house-DEF
 'Ali invited his teacher to go to his (Ali's house) house.'
- (23) *Ali menta Siti nyabis dha' dalem-epon Pa' Hasan.*
 Ali AV.request Siti AV.go to house-DEF Mr Hasan
 'Ali asked Siti to go to Pak Hasan's house.'

There are two points to note in this set of sentences. First, the alos word *compo'* 'house' is used rather than the kasar *roma* in keeping with the alos speech situation. Second, the word *meyos* 'go' used as alos *tenggi* in (19) is used here as an alos word, as Siti is not a person for whom alos *tenggi* vocabulary is appropriate. This demonstrates the occasional overlap between the alos and alos *tenggi* vocabularies, or viewed differently the use of one or the other in the absence of an appropriate lexical item within one or the other vocabularies.

2.3. Identifying distinct speech levels

The data described in sections 2.1 and 2.2 represent an account of 'pure' kasar and 'pure' alos speech. The use of kasar vocabulary in an alos sentence or alos vocabulary in a kasar sentence constitute inappropriate lexical choice and result in ill-formed utterances. Identification of other levels is somewhat more delicate.

As described in section 2.1, pure *tengnga'an* speech requires the use of only *tengnga'an* and *biyasa* vocabulary. However, certain concepts require the choice of kasar or alos vocabulary. For example, as demonstrated in sentences (18-23), there are no level-neutral (*biyasa*) lexical items for the concept 'house'; one must select either the kasar *roma* (or *bengko*) or the alos *compo'* (assuming the situation does not dictate the use of the alos *tenggi dalem*). This was also demonstrated for 'go' (*entar* vs. *meyos*) and is true for a significant number of other concepts. Thus, pure *tengnga'an* speech would restrict a speaker from discussing certain concepts or would require extensive circumlocution. It is clearly not impossible to do so; the sentence in (24) (from Maukmam (2007:2)) is made up entirely of *tengnga'an* and level-neutral lexical items.

- (24) *Dika mon mangkad-a pon duli-yan, pongpong gi' laggu.*
 you if leave-IRR already soon-AN while still morning
 'You should go soon, while it is still morning.'

In (24), *dika* ‘you’ and *pon* ‘already’ are *tengnga'an* words and the rest are *biyasa*.

The examples in (6) and (9), discussed above and repeated here, are not strictly speaking pure *tengnga'an* speech.

(6) *Bula sanonto ta' kengeng neddha durin.*

I now not get AV.eat durian
‘Now I am not allowed to eat durian.’

(9) *Dika nape mare ngakan?*

you what finish AV.eat
‘Have you eaten?’

In (6), the *alos* words *kengeng* and *neddha* occur; and in (9), the *kasar* form *mare* is used. The sentence in (6) is used if a speaker using *tengnga'an* wishes to show a degree of respect to the addressee, shown through the use of the *alos* items. If the speaker does not believe such a degree of respect is warranted, the sentence in (9) would be appropriate. So, (6) includes *tengnga'an* + *alos* and (9) includes *tengnga'an* + *kasar*. Four speech levels can thus be posited: *kasar*, *alos*, *tengnga'an* + *alos*, and *tengnga'an* + *kasar*. Strictly speaking, a completely ‘levelless’ sentence made up only of *biyasa* words is possible, and one might posit a *biyasa* level as well (as Stevens (1966) does). However, in practical terms such sentences will be embedded in a situation in which the speaker will also use *kasar*, *tengnga'an*, or *alos* vocabulary. Thus, it is not clear that a distinct level of this kind needs to be recognized, just as a pure *tengnga'an* level would be difficult to maintain.

This does not exhaust the possibilities, however. The fact is that it is possible to mix the vocabulary somewhat more. For instance, (25) can be used as a variant of (9).

(25) *Dika nape mare neddha?*

you what finish AV.eat
‘Have you eaten?’

In (25), the *alos* word *neddha* ‘eat’ is substituted for the *kasar* word *ngakan* in (9). This sentence thus combines *tengnga'an*, *kasar*, and *alos* vocabulary in a single utterance. (This variant is actually preferred by some speakers over (9).) The sentence in (25) is considered a bit more respectful than that in (9) due to the use of the *alos* *neddha* rather than the *kasar* *ngakan*.

The examples in (26) and (27) show an additional example of a speaker’s use of *kasar* and *alos* vocabulary in a *tengnga'an* speech situation to show more or less respect to the addressee.

(26) *Nape gulu-epon dika gi' ng-anglo?*

what neck-DEF you still AV-sick
'Does your neck still hurt?'

(27) *Nape le'er-ra dika gi' sake'?*

what neck-DEF you still sick
'Does your neck still hurt?'

In (26), *tengnga'an* vocabulary combines with *alos* (*gulu*, *-epon*, and *nganglo*), as the speaker wishes to show increased respect to the addressee. This contrasts with (27) in which *kasar* words are used for these concepts and the speaker affords less respect to the listener.

Mauknam (2007) provides the following illustrative examples. In the market, a buyer might ask as vendor the following:

(28) *Gi' badha jila-na, Buk?*

still exist tongue-DEF eld.sister
'Is there any tongue, Ma'am?'

In (28), the *kasar* word *jila* 'tongue' is used, but the use of *Buk* as a term of address denotes a modicum of respect. If the buyer wishes to show a bit more respect, he or she will substitute the *alos* word for 'tongue', *elat*, as in

(29) *Gi' badha elad-da, Buk?*

still exist tongue-DEF eld.sister
'Is there any tongue, Ma'am?'

Note in (29) that although the *alos* word *elat* 'tongue' is used, the *alos* definite suffix *-epon* is not. Thus, again, there is quite an admixture of vocabularies.

This clearly shows the difficulty with attempting to establish rigorously distinct levels for Madurese. However, there are have proposals for multiple, distinct, clearly-defined levels for Javanese, most notably by Geertz (1960), who posits six levels, and Poedjosoedarmo (1968), who posits nine. According to these proposals, a single level must be selected and adhered to in a given speech situation, which is determined solely in terms of the social relationships of the interlocutors. Uhlenbeck (1978), however, argues against any such analysis as portraying the system of vocabularies as being much more rigid than they in fact are. The use of the various vocabularies is more fluid than this in any given interaction and the particular choice of a *ngoko* (= *kasar*) form or a *krama* (= *alos*) form can depend on the lexical item itself. Myhill (1994) demonstrates this in a quantitative study of the use of the Javanese vocabularies in dialogues in a contemporary anthology of short stories--showing that many sentences in the sample do not strictly speaking adhere to the descriptions of the intermediate

levels that have been posited.

The same can be said for Madurese. Strict speech levels and rules for their use are, of course, hypothetically a possibility. However, to posit these would misrepresent the system. This is manifest in the examples above illustrating the ways in which speakers can use *alos* or *kasar* with *tengnga'an* vocabulary to fine tune their speech in a particular situation.

3. Textual examples

Narratives provide a wealth of illustrations of the use of the speech levels with a variety of social dynamics. A few examples are presented illustrate in a number of distinct social situations.

As described in section 1.2, traditionally, wives were to speak to their husbands using *alos* and husbands to their wives using *tengnga'an*; however, texts reveal that there was much variation. For example, in some instances husbands responded in *kasar*. The following two short dialogues are taken from the story *Asal Molana Nyamana Disa Soca – Jambu – Burneh* told by Pa' Hasan Sasra and recorded in 2006. In these two short dialogues, Joko Tole (JT) and Dewi Ratnadi (DR), Dewi Ratnadi, have arrived on Madura after a difficult voyage and are making their way back to Sumenep. Dewi Ratndi addresses her husband in *alos*, and Joko Tole responds in *kasar*. *Alos* words are marked with a double underscore, and *kasar* words with a single underscore.

DR: *Ka' mas* *Joko Tole, kaula badan ce' lo' nyaman-na, terro*
 elder.brother Joko Tole I body very not pleasant-DEF want
mandhi-ya. Sala neka gatel kabbi.
 bathe-IRR wrong this itchy all
 'Joko Tole, I am very uncomfortable and want to bathe. I feel itchy all over.'

JT: *Iya, mara engko' nyare-ya aeng, tang bine. Pola me' nemmo.*
 yes HORT I AV.seek-IRR water my wife maybe EMPH AV.find
 'Yes, let me look for water, my wife. Maybe I can find some.'

In the second dialogue, after finding no water, Dewi Ratnadi tells Joko Tole of a special cane she has been given that may help them.

DR: *Dungket ka'dhinto dankula dhimen oneng e-pareng-e settong oreng
 cane this I before know OV-give-E one person
seppo bakto-na panjennengnan mangkat a-perrang dha' Blambangan.
 old time-DEF you leave AV-war to Blambangan
 'This cane was given by an old man when you went to war in
 Blambangan.'*

JT: *Marena pas e-pa-dha'ramma'-a reya?*
 after then OV-CS-how-IRR this
 'What do we do with it?'

DR: *Ponapa ca'-epon panjennengnan.*
 what say DEF you
 'Well, whatever you say.'

As indicated by the single and double underscoring, Dewi Ratnadi is using alos vocabulary in addressing her husband, Joko Tole, and he responds to her in kasar. Additionally, in the first line of the second passage, Dewi Ratnadi using the alos tenggi word *pareng* 'give' as the person doing the giving was a man older than herself.

A text published sometime during the early 20th century (Keizer n.d.) illustrates a different state of affairs. In this instance, the wife (B) speaks to the man, a laborer in a factory, using *tengnga'an* and the husband, Pa' Arsik (PA), responds in kasar. Pa' Arsik is ill and tells his wife of his plan to go to the hospital (with the help of his boss).

B: *Dika ta' kera a-bali pole, e ko'issa dika e-potong. Ko'imma dika.
 you not will AV-return again at there you OV-break which you
se olle-ya teddha?
 REL get-IRR eat
 'You will not come back again. They will finish you there. What do you
 want to eat?'*

PA: *Sengko' entar-a bai, ta' abit sengko' mole kalaban ella baras.
 I go-IRR only not long I go.home with already healthy
 'I'm just going, and before long I will come home healthy.'*

As indicated by the underscoring, Pa' Arsik's wife speaks to him largely using *tengnga'an* vocabulary, except where she uses the alos form for eat, *teddha*. Pa' Arsik responds with kasar, most easily identified by the first person pronoun *sengko'*.

The next passage is a dialogue from *Parembi'na Joko Tole* (included in Chapter 16) between the princess Din Aju Saini and her maidservants. The vir-

gin princess has awakened in the morning after having a dream about a conjugal visit from a handsome man (from which she miraculously becomes pregnant). The servants (S) speak first to the princess (DAJ).

S: *Pottre, badha ponapa panjennengnan? Me' pas ta' kadi biyasana.*
 princess exist what you EMPH then not like usual
 'Princess, what's up with you? You look different.'

DAJ: *Enja', engko' malem-ma a-mempe se ne-banne.*
 no I night-DEF AV-dream REL RED-no
 'Yes, last night I dreamed something weird.'

S: *A-sopenna ponapa?*
 AV-dream what
 'What did you dream?'

DAJ: *A...lo' osa tao ba'eng. Engko' mole-ya dha' Sumennep.*
 uh not need know you I go.home-IRR to Sumenep
 'Well, you don't need to know. I want to go home to Sumenep.'

As is appropriate to the speech situation, the servants speak alos to the princess who responds in kasar.

Earlier in the story, the princess is speaking with her father, Pangeran Saca Diningrat (PSD), the King of Bana Sare. In this interaction the daughter uses alos and the king responds in kasar. The king is trying to cajole his daughter into getting married.

PSD: *Jajal rapa ayu' la duli noro' paton-na oreng, la*
 try why HORT already soon AV.follow opinion-DEF person already
duli a-lake.
 soon AV-husband
 'Why don't you pay attention to what most people think and get married soon?'

DAJ: *Adhu, Kai, dalem gilo' a-krena sakale se terro dha'-padha'-a*
 oh father I not.yet AV-want once REL want RED-same-IRR
bi' oreng.
 with person
 'Oh, father, I am really not yet ready to be married.'

Gi' terro namba-na elmo, elmo badan kaula, otama-na
 still want AV.add-IRR knowledge knowledge I main-DEF
sowal elmo agama. Rassa ba-budu-n badan kaula.
 matter knowledge religion feel RED-stupid-NOM I
 'I still want to learn more, especially about religion. I feel ignorant.'

PSD: *Ya mara ce'-becce' ba'eng ma-dhalem elmo, sowal agama.*
 yes HORT RED-good you AV.CS-inside knowledge matter religion
 'OK, go ahead. It's good for you to learn more about religion.'

While this passage includes fewer level-specific words, where they are used, the princess addresses her father in *alos* and he responds in *kasar*. Note also the use of the *alos tenggi kai* by the princess as a term of address to her father.

The use of *alos*, *kasar*, and *tengnga'an* in familial relationships is illustrated with two passages from *Campaka* (Imron 1979). In the first, Bu' Randha (BR) is speaking with her son Campaka (C), who asks for money in order to meet with friends in town. Campaka addresses his mother using *alos* and Bu' Randha replies in *kasar*.

C: *Kaula terro nenggu-wa nyo'on-a obang-nga e-ka-sango-wa.*
 I want AV.see-IRR AV.request-IRR money-DEF OV-KA-bring-IRR
 'I want to see them and would like you to give me some money.'

BR: *Mon pesse sateya sengko' ta' andhi'. Ale'-na jarowa gi'*
 if money now I not have yngr.sibling- DEF that still
molong monyet e-juwal-a laggu-na ka pasar.
 AV.take monkey OV-sell-IRR morning- DEF to market
 'I don't have any money now. Little Brother took the monkey this morning to try to sell it in the market.'

Here Campaka uses the *alos* word *obang* 'money' and his mother uses the *kasar* *pesse* in her response. Note also Campaka's use of the *alos* *mandhap nyo'on* 'request' (rather than the *biyasa menta*) as is appropriate since the person of lower status is making a request to a person of higher status. When he finds his brother (A) in the market, the following interchange takes place.

A: *Nape Ka'? Bula ma-toron monyet.*
 what eld.brother I AV.CS-get down monkey
 'What is it, Big Brother? I got rid of the monkey.'

- C: *Iya sengko' lakar tao ja' ba'na ma-toron monyet. Mara*
 yes I indeed know COMP you AV.CS-get down monkey HORT
edhing-agi!
 hear-AGI
 'Yes, I know indeed that you got rid of the monkey. Now listen to me!'

In this exchange between brothers, the younger brother addresses Campaka, his older brother, using *tengnga'an nape* 'what' and *bula* 'I' as a moderate show of respect for the difference in age. Campaka, as the older speaking to the younger brother, responds in *kasar* (as indicated by the underscored words in the second sentence).

A shift of levels within a single dialogue is illustrated in the following passage from *Ke Moko*. In it, the King of Palembang is offering a Makassarese trader his daughter's hand in marriage as a reward for the trader's helping rid the kingdom of disease. Earlier in the story, Rato Palembang (RP) addresses the trader in *kasar*. But in this passage the king shifts to *tengnga'an* speech and in the following line *alos*. This entire passage indicates first the change in their relationship (from king/commoner to father-in-law and son-in-law) and second the understanding of the special powers of the trader (which he developed through his *kiai*, *Ke Moko*).

- RP: *Mon dika endha', dha-ngodh-an dhari Makassar, jaragan bi' bula*
 if you want RED-young-NOM from Makassar owner with I
e-kala'-a manto.
 OV-take-IRR son-in-law
 'If you want, young man from Makassar, I will take you as my
 son-in-law.'

Tape badha sarad-da sampeyan kodu a-pareng lamar-an
 but exist requirement-DEF you must AV-give propose-NOM
gallu.
 before
 'But first you must give an engagement gift.'

In the first line, the king uses the *tengnga'an* pronouns *dika* 'you' and *bula* 'I' (marked by the dotted underscore). In the next line, the king shifts to the *alos* pronoun *sampeyan* and refers to the action of giving by the Makassarese trader, the addressee, using the *alos* *tenggi pareng* 'give'. This passage marks the shift in the relationship between the two men from the perspective of the king.

Finally, in a dialogue among acquaintances of equal status, such as the two cousins Tandha Anggre' and Tandha Serrat (from the story of the same name), *kasar* is used throughout. In this passage Tandha Serrat challenges

Tandha Serrat to a cock fight to determine who will actually wed Sare Bate, the fiancée of Tandha Anggre'. The kasar specific words are underscored.

TS: *Tao dha' iya, Tandha Anggre'. Mara ayam-ma ba'eng addu bi'*
 know like.this Tandha Anggre' HORT chicken-DEF you compete with
tang ayam.
 my chicken
 'It will be like this, Tandha Anggre'. Let's have your cock fight my
 cock.'

TA: *Tarona apa?*
 stake what
 'What's the wager?'

TS: *Sare Bate. Se mennang olle nga-bine Sare Bate. Mon ba'eng*
 Sare Bate REL win get AV.KA-wife Sare Bate if you
ayam-ma se mennang, kala' Sare Bate ka-bine kake. Mon tang
 chicken-DEF REL win take Sare Bate KA-wife you if my
ayam se mennang, Sare Bate bakal daddi-ya tang bine.
 chicken REL win Sare Bate will become-IRR my wife
 'Sare Bate. Whoever wins gets to marry Sare Bate. If your cock wins,
 take Sare Bate to marry you. If my cock wins, Sare Bate will become my
 wife.'

TA: *O, jiya se e-ka-karep kake, Tandha Serrat. Mara pa-ka-lowar*
 oh this REL OV-KA-want you Tandha Serrat HORT CS-to-out
ayam-ma.
 chicken-DEF
 'Oh, so that's what you want, Tandha Serrat. Come on, let's let them out.'

4. Implementation of the speech levels

Though the foregoing discussion has depicted the language level system as relatively stable or 'consistent', as stated above, this is an idealization. The actual use of the system of status vocabularies was executed to varying degrees among different social classes in different settings. Today this is true more so than ever.

In many instances among those of lower social status, mastery of the vocabularies was incomplete at best and inconsistently applied. Poedjosoedarmo (2006) reports for this for Javanese as well. The higher one's social rank and level of education, the more likely one was to have mastered the respect vocabularies and the situations in which each would be considered appropriate. Ad-

ditionally, speakers report that the proper use of the vocabularies was more rigorously adhered to in certain social relationships, citing the importance of students addressing their teachers and santri addressing their kiai using *alos* vocabulary.

The situations in which each vocabulary was to be employed was at times subject to some variation as well. Outside of some specific examples such as student to teacher and others like it, there is not always agreement among speakers regarding what situation calls for what level of politeness. Two sources note that (in past times) husbands would address their wives in *tengnga'an* (Stevens 1966, Muakmam 2007), while others have reported that husbands would address their wives in *kasar*. At any rate, this appears to no longer be the case, and spouses regularly use *kasar* with one another.⁹ Some report, however, that some higher frequency *alos* words (e.g. *asaren* 'sleep' rather than *tedhung* and *neddha* 'eat' rather than *ngakan*) might be employed to increase the level of politeness.

Variation also took place in the completeness of the vocabulary used. In many instances, children would mainly use *kasar* vocabulary with their parents, but again would integrate higher frequency *alos* lexical items. And as Stevens (1966) notes, many aspects of language are subject to change and there has been and can be expected to be such changes in the respect vocabularies. He cites, on the one hand, *alos* *tenggi* words becoming *alos*, and thus being used to refer to the first person. In some ways this is not entirely surprising as in practical terms many Madurese speakers do not differentiate the *alos* and *alos* *tenggi* vocabularies, simply using the label *alos*.¹⁰ This is not to imply that they do not understand that some *alos* words are used only in reference to third and second persons of higher rank; they do. It simply indicates that using a single label could well improve the chances of such a shift. Stevens (1966) identifies shifts in social factors as having perhaps a greater impact on the implementation of the speech levels, citing a tendency for familiarity to replace status as a criterion—*kasar* tending to be used between well acquainted people regardless of rank (e.g. children to adult family friends) and *alos* with unfamiliar people regardless of social rank.

There was evidence of these shifts over 40 years ago, when Stevens made his observations, and the trend has only accelerated. Many societal factors have exacerbated this, including: the increased use of Indonesian (a language without the intricate respect vocabularies) in everyday life, the use of Indonesian in

⁹But see Muakmam (2007) for a different view of the currency of the practice.

¹⁰ Muakmam (2007) does identify some *alos* lexical items as *ka orang laen* 'to other people' (*alos* *tenggi*) and others as *ka aba' dibi* 'to oneself' (*alos* *mandhap*), but includes only some 16 lexical meanings in the *alos* *tenggi* set. Additionally, some items in his *ka aba' dibi* set would not be classified as *alos* *mandhap* but clearly fit his category of words that would refer to the self (as well as others of non-honorific status).

educational settings and a de-emphasis of using and teaching the local language in school, a tendency toward leveling class distinctions in a democratic society (including the influence of some aspects of Western society), and other factors (including what some older adults see as 'laziness' on the part of the younger generation). At any rate, this trend affects the use of respect vocabulary not only in Madurese, but in Javanese, Sundanese, and Balinese as well. Poedjosoedarmo (2006) notes that in the case of Javanese (i) an increased number of well-educated speakers confuse the Krama Inggil (= alos tenggi) and Krama Andhap (= alos mandhap) pairs, (ii) more younger Javanese speakers have greatly reduced vocabularies compared to their elders, and (iii) speakers are cognizant of the fact that they do not control the respect vocabularies and opt to use Indonesian instead. These observations are undoubtedly applicable to the case of Madurese and other related languages as well.

Chapter 16

Texts

What follows are three traditional texts narrated by two different speakers, and a description of the bull races by a third speaker. All are transcribed from recordings and provide examples of natural narration style and structure. The first story is about the circumstances surrounding the birth of one of the legendary heroes of Madura, Joko Tole. The second, Radin Sagara, tells of aspects of the origin of Madura. And Siti Lalumba is more a cautionary tale meant to instruct children.

1. Parembi'na Joko Tole

'The Birth of Joko Tole'
as told by
Hasan Sasra

1. *Engko' masala dungeng pole dha' ba'eng kabbi.*
I about story again to you all
I have another story for you all.
2. *Mara e-edhing-agi!*
HORT OV-hear-AGI
Let's listen!
3. *Dungeng se bakal e-dungeng-ngagin-a bi' engko' sateya reya*
story REL will OV-story-AGI-IRR with I now this
iya areya dungeng Pa-rembi'-na Joko Tole.
yes this story NOM-bear-DEF Joko Tole
The story I will tell now is the story of the birth of Joko Tole.
4. *Ba'eng kabbi tanto-na la bannya' se tao dungeng-nga Joko*
you all certain-DEF already many REL know story-DEF Joko
Tole, iya areya sala settong rato se badha neng Sumennep.
Tole, yes this one of king REL exist at Sumenep
You all certainly know many stories of Joko Tole, one of the kings of Sumenep.

5. *Lamba', kana', neng Sumennep iya areya neng kraton Bana Sare, badha long ago kids at Sumenep yes this at kingdom Bana Sare exist settong rato se a-nyama Agung Ru'yat, a-juluk keya Pangeran Saca one king REL AV-name Agung Ru'yat AV-name too Pangrran Saca Diningrat.*
 Diningrat
 Long ago, in Sumenep, in the kingdom of Bana Sare, there was a king called Agung Ru'yat, also known as Pangeran Saca Diningrat.
6. *Rato jareya andhi' dinaju, andhi' bine se a-nyama Dewi Sarini.*
 king this have raden.aju have wife REL AV-name Dewi Sarini
 This king had a wife, a wife named Dewi Sarini.
7. *Ka-careta koca'-eng rato jareya andhi' kembang-nga kraton.*
 KA-story say-DEF king this have flower-DEF kingdom
 It was said that this king had the flower of the kingdom.
8. *Andhi' pottre bine' se a-nyama Din Aju Saini, se la raddin,*
 have child female REL AV-name Din Aju Saini REL already pretty
koneng.
 yellow
 He had a daughter whose name was Din Aju Saini, who was pretty and fair skinned.
9. *Din Aju Saini jareya, otaba pottre Saini jareya bi' reng-oreng neng*
 Din Aju Saini this or princess Saini this with RED-person at
kraton Bana Sare jareya e-sebbut otaba e-juluk-i keya Pottre Koneng.
 kingdom Bana Sare this OV-call or OV-call-LOC too Pottre Koneng
 Din Aju Saiini, or Princess Saini, was also called Pottre Koneng (fair-skinned princess) by the people of Bana Sare.
10. *Sala la oreng-nga raddin, koneng, bagus tabiyad-da, kenceng*
 EMPH already person-DEF pretty yellow handsome behavior-DEF tight
ibada-na.
 pray-DEF
 So, she was pretty, fair skinned, well behaved, and devout.
11. *Bannya' oreng se a-krena dha-ngodha-n reya se terro dha' Pottre*
 many people REL AV-want RED-young-NOM this REL want to Pottre
Koneng, se terro nga-bine-ya Pottre Koneng.
 Koneng REL want AV.KA-wife-IRR Pottre Koneng
 Many men, especially young men, were wanted to marry Pottre Koneng.

12. *Bannya' dha-ngodha-n kraton se badha neng Sumennep jareya*
 many RED-young-NOM kingdom REL exist at Sumenep this
padha a-krena a-lamar dha' Pottre Koneng.
 same AV-want AV-engage to Pottre Koneng
 Many young men in the kingdom of Sumenep wanted to be engaged to
 Pottre Koneng.
13. *Bi' reng seppo-na Pottre Koneng jeh la e-man-oman, ya*
 with person old-DEF Pottre Koneng this already OV-RED-cajole yes
bi' Pangeran Saca Diningrat bi' raji-na Dewi Sarini jeh
 with Pangeran Saca Diningrat with wife-DEF Dewi Sarini this
e-man-oman.
 OV-RED-cajole
 Pottre Koneng's parents, Pangeran Saca Diningrat and his wife Dewi Sarini,
 cajoled her,
14. *"Mara, Bing, aba'eng la cokop ya dibasa.*
 HORT daughter you already enough yes mature
"Come on, daughter, you are already grown up enough.
15. *"Jajal rapa ayu' la duli noro' paton-na oreng, la*
 try why HORT already soon AV.follow opinion-DEF person already
duli a-lake."
 soon AV-husband
*"Why don't you pay attention to what most people think and get married
 soon?"*
16. *Tape Pottre Koneng klaban cara se alos a-dhabu,ng-oca' dha' reng seppo-na,*
 but Pottre Koneng with way REL soft AV-say, AV-say to parent-DEF
 But Pottre Koneng gently said to her parents,
17. *"Adhu, Kai, dalem gilo' a-krena sakale se terro dha'-padha'-a bi'*
 oh father I not.yet AV-want once REL want RED-same-IRR with
oreng.
 person
"Well, father, I am really not yet ready to be married.
18. *"Gi' terro namba-na elmo, elmo badan kaula, otama-na*
 still want AV.add-IRR knowledge knowledge I main-DEF
sowal elmo agama.
 thing knowledge religion
"I still want to learn more, especially about religion.

19. *“Rassa ba-budu-n badan kaula.*
 feel RED-stupid-NOM I
“I feel ignorant.
20. *“Badan kaula gilo’ genna’ elmo, elmo agama.*
 I not.yet enough knowledge knowledge religion
“I still don’t know enough about religion.
21. *“Daddi sowal judu mangken bakal dhateng-nga dibi’, sowalla se*
 so matter couple now will come-IRR self because REL
ng-ator ka’dhinto enggi paneka Guste Pangeran, Kai.”
 AV-arrange this yes this Lord father
*“So, regarding a husband, that will come later on its own, because the one
 who arranges these things is the Lord, Father.”*
22. *Serrena e-man-oman li-bali-yan, lo’ ka-soka-n Pottre Koneng jiya.*
 because OV-RED-cajole RED-return-AN not NOM-like Pottre Koneng this
 Although she was cajoled again and again by her parents, Pottre Koneng
 did not want to get married.
23. *Reng seppo-na sa-ka-dhuwa’ ya padha neng-enneng.*
 person old-DEF one-KA-two yes same RED-stay
 And eventually her parents were quiet.
24. *“Ya mara ce’-becce’ ba’eng ma-dhalem elmo, sowal agama.”*
 yes HORT RED-good you AV.CS-inside knowledge matter religion
“OK, go ahead learn more about religion.”
25. *Se laen jareya, kana’, Pottre Koneng jeh, se laen ajar elmo*
 REL other this kids Pottre Koneng this REL other learn knowledge
agama, lebur a-tapa.
 religion like AV-meditate
 Beside wanting to learn about religion, Pottre Koneng liked to meditate.
26. *Lebur nyeppe neng kennengnan se mustajab, neng kennengnan se*
 like AV.quiet at place REL fortune, at place REL
mustajab.¹
 fortune
 She liked to go to a quiet place, a place where prayers are answered.

¹ *kennengnan se mustajab* refers to a place where people believe that prayers and wishes are answered.

27. *Settong bakto Pottre Koneng jiya amet dha' kai bi' dha' ebu-na,*
 one time Pottre Koneng this permit to father with to mother-DEF
 Once Pottre Koneng came to get permission from her father and mother,
28. *"Kai, dalem terro namba-na elmo.*
 father I want AV-add-IRR knowledge
 "Father, I want to increase my knowledge.
29. *"Nyo'on-a edi dalem terro a-tapa'-a dha' Gunong*
 AV.ask-IRR permission I want AV-meditate-IRR to mountain
Pajuddan."
 Pajuddan
 "I would like permission to go to meditate on Mount Pajuddan."
30. *"Adhu, Bing," kai-na nyambit, "Gunong Pajuddan jareya birit,*
 oh daughter father-DEF AV.reply mountain Pajuddan this pray
neng dha-dhinna' koca'-eng bannya' ejjim-ma.
 at RED-there say-DEF many evil spirit-DEF
 "Well, daughter," the father replied, "They say that there are many evil
 spirits on Mount Pajuddan.
31. *"Daddi ba'eng mon entar-a a-tapa dha' kassa kodu genna'*
 so you if go-IRR AV-meditate to there must enough
elmo-na.
 knowledge-DEF
 "So if you go to pray there you must be very careful.
32. *"Olle ba'eng bi' engko' e-ed-i ba'eng a-tapa dha' kassa,*
 get you with I OV-permit-LOC you AV-mediate to there
tape kodu badha bareng-nga.
 but must exist together-DEF
 "I will give you permission to meditate there but you must go with others.
33. *"Lo' olle reng lake'. Kodu bareng padha bine'-eng."*
 not get person male must together same female-DEF
 "But you cannot have a male companion. You must go with a woman."
34. *Daddi moso rato pas e-nyambi-yagi dhuwa' oreng iya areya bu'*
 so with king then OV-bring-AGI two person yes this mother
emban bi' bu' mongmong-nga ka-dhuwa'.
 nanny with mother nurse-DEF KA-two
 So the king provided two women, two servants.

35. *Tape maske bu' emban otaba bu' mongmong, lo' kobater rato*
 but though mother nanny or mother nurse not worry king
sowalla bu' emban bi' bu' mongmong-nga Pottre Koneng reya
 because mother nanny with mother nurse-DEF Pottre Koneng this
oreng penter, oreng pelak bannya' elmo-na keya.
 person smart person clever many knowledge-DEF too
 But because of the servants, the king was not worried because Pottre
 Koneng's companions were clever and very knowledgeable.
36. *Lo' kera kala bi' bangsa-na gondorowo, bi'ibi ban en-laen-na.*
 not will defeat with group-DEF devil demon and RED-different-DEF
 They would not be defeated by demons, devils, and others.
37. *Aher-ra pongkas-sa dungeng sa'ellana olle edi dhari*
 end-DEF end-DEF story after get permission from
reng seppo-na se ka-dhuwa', mangkat dha' Gunong Pajuddan
 parent-DEF REL KA-two AV-leave to mountain Pajuddan
e-bareng-nge bu' emban bi' mongmong.
 OV-together-LOC mother nanny with nurse
 In short, after she got permission from her parents, she left for Mount
 Pajuddan accompanied by the two servants.
38. *Sa'ellana dhapa' dha' Gunong Pajuddan, Pottre Koneng jeh lako-na*
 after arrive to mountain Pajuddan Pottre Koneng this work-DEF
a-birit terros, lo' a-dha'ar, lo' ng-enom.
 AV-pray continue not AV-eat not AV-drink
 After arriving at Mount Pajuddan, Pottre Koneng prayed continuously, not
 eating or drinking.
39. *Ya bu' emban, bu' mongmong dha' iya keya, lako-na a-birit.*
 yes mother nanny mother nurse like.this too work-DEF AV-pray
 Her companions prayed that way too.
40. *Saellana olle saminggu, kana',teppa' bulan pornama, Pottre Koneng jeh*
 after get one.week kids right moon full, Pottre Koneng this
neng tapa-na me' pas ta-reddep, ta-tedhung.
 at mediate-DEF EMPH then IN-sleep IN-sleep
 After about one week, during a full moon, Pottre Koneng fell asleep while
 meditating.

41. *Dhalem tedhung-nga a-mempe, a-mempe ka-tamoy-an,oreng lake' ce'*
 inside sleep-DEF AV-dream AV-dream NOM-guest person male very
gantheng-nga, bagus.
 handsome-DEF good
 In her sleep she dreamed that she met a very handsome man.
42. *Pang-rassa-na neng mempe jareya.*
 NOM-feel-DEF at dream this
 This is what she dreamed.
43. *Sampe' antara Pottre Koneng moso reng lake' se bagus gella' jiya*
 until between Pottre Koneng with person male REL good before this
tedhung a-polong, mempe, kana', ya akantha tedhung a-polong-nga
 sleep AV-together dream kids yes like sleep AV-together-IRR
oreng lake' bine' ajiya mempe ya.
 person male female this dream yes
 In the dream Pottre Koneng and the handsome man were sleeping together
 as though husband and wife.
44. *A-mempe dha' iya Pottre Koneng ta-kerjat.*
 AV-dream like.this Pottre Koneng IN-startled
 Dreaming like this startled Pottre Koneng.
45. *“Adhu, engko' pa s a-mempe dha' iya?*
 oh I then AV-dream like.this
 “Oh, why do I dream like this?”
46. *“Sajjeggia engko' lo' tao a-mempe a-lako kantha reya.”*
 since I not know AV-dream AV-work like this
 “All my life I have never had a dream like this.”
47. *Sampe' laggu Pottre Koneng jeh cengngeng, ceng...ngeng, tape*
 until morning Pottre Koneng this stunned stun....ned but
aba'eng jeh a-rassa ganggang.
 she this AV-feel restored
 Until the next morning Pottre Koneng was pre-occupied, but she felt good.
48. *“Me' ce' aman-na aba'.”*
 EMPH very safe-DEF body
 “I have a feeling of well being.”

49. *Serrena ne-banne-yan moso biyasana, bu' mongmong moso*
 because RED-no-AN with usual mother nurse with
bu' emban-na a-tanya,
 mother nanny-DEF AV-ask
 Because she was acting unusually, her two companions asked,
50. “*Pottre badha ponapa panjennengnan, me' pas ta' kadi biyasana?*”
 princess exist what you EMPH then not like usual
 “Princess, what's up with you? You look different.”
51. “*Enja', engko' malem-ma a-mempe se ne-banne.*”
 no I night-DEF AV-dream REL RED-no
 “Yes, last night I dreamed something weird.”
52. “*A-mempe ponapa?*”
 AV-dream what
 “What did you dream?”
53. “*A...lo' osa tao ba'eng.*
 uh not need know you
 “Uh, you don't need to know.”
54. “*Engko' mole-ya dha' Sumenep.*
 I go.home-IRR to Sumenep
 “I want to go home to Sumenep.”
55. “*Engko' mole-ya dha' Bana Sare.*”
 I go.home-IRR to Bana Sare
 “I want to go home to Bana Sare.”
56. *Aher-ra pas laju terros mole dha' Bana Sare dha' kraton*
 end-DEF then then continue go.home to Bana Sare to palace
Sumenep.
 Sumenep
 Eventually, they went home to Bana Sare to the palace at Sumenep.
57. *Pan-brampan bulan, Pottre Koneng me' pas a-rassa aba'eng jeh*
 RED-how.many month Pottre Koneng EMPH then AV-feel she this
ne-banne-yan bi' oreng.
 RED-no-AN with person
 After several months, Pottre Koneng started feeling different.

58. *Sajan lempo, non-glanon, tabu'-eng sajan raja.*
 more fat RED-excuse.me stomach-DEF more big
 She got fatter, excuse me, her stomach was getting bigger.
59. “*Badha apa engko?*” *Reya pas ne-banne-yan.*”
 exist what I this then RED-no-AN
 “What's going on with me? This is strange.”
60. *Aher-ra ka-badha-n-na Pottre Koneng se kantha jareya, rato bi' bun*
 end-DEF NOM-exist-DEF Pottre Koneng REL like this king with wife
rato tao, a-tanya dha' Pottre Koneng,
 king know AV-ask to Pottre Koneng
 Finally, the king and queen noticed her condition and asked Pottre Koneng,
61. “*Bing, aba'eng me' pas dha' iya?*”
 daughter you EMPH then like.this
 “Daughter, how come you are pregnant?”
62. “*Sapa se nyabab-bagi ba'eng akantha jareya ?*”
 who REL AV.cause-AGI you like this
 “Who did this to you?”
63. “*Korang oneng ka'dhinto, Kai.*”
 less know this father
 “I don't know, Father.”
64. “*Dalem lo' a-rassa a-lako nyalenda.*”
 I not AV-feel AV-work AV.misbehave
 “I did not do anything wrong.”
65. “*Namong kobasa-na Se Kobasa dan kula pas ka-badha'-an laen kadi*
 but authority Si Lord I then NOM-exist other like
ka'dhinto.”
 this
 “But through the will of the Lord I became like this.”
66. *Se nyama rato, rato Bana Sare, duka, duka.*
 REL name king king Bana Sare angry angry
 The king of Bana Sare was very angry.

67. *Todhus dha' tembing sereng-nga,² tembing sereng-nga ja'reng*
 embarrassed to edge border-DEF edge border-DEF because
ana'-eng rato sampe' bubut gita' a-lake.
 child-DEF king until pregnant not.yet AV-husband
 He was ashamed to those close to him that his daughter was pregnant but
 was not yet married.
68. *Buh...ng-amok.*
 EXCL AV-amok
 Oh, the king went wild.
69. *"Pate'-e kana' jiya. Gabay bila'-an dha' engko'," ca'-eng rato.*
 die-LOC child this make dirty-AN to me say-DEF king
 "Kill this child. She makes me ashamed," said the king.
70. *Tape ebu-na Pottre Koneng se a-nyama Dewi Sarini, nesor ja'reng*
 but mother-DEF Pottre Koneng REL AV-name Dewi Sarini, pity because
ana' e-pa-ten-na, rato e-man-oman, abareng bu'
 daughter OV-CS-die-IRR king OV-RED-cajole together mother
mongmong so bu' emban.
 nurse with mother nanny
 But Pottre Koneng's mother, Dewi Sarini, felt regret that her daughter
 would be killed, and she cajoled the king, together with the servants.
71. *"Ya, engko' lo' mate-na.*
 yes I not AV.kill-IRR
 "Ok, I will not kill her.
72. *"Tape pa-nyengga dhari kraton.*
 but CS-flee from kingdom
 "But she is banished from the palace.
73. *"Ja' pa-semma' dha' sengko'."*
 don't CS-close to me
 "Keep her away from me."
74. *Totok lekkas, Pottre Koneng moso ebu-na pas e-saba' neng*
 end soon Pottre Koneng with mother-DEF then OV-put at
settong kennengngan.
 one place
 In short, Pottre Koneng's mother sent her away.

² *tembing sereng* is an idiom denoting close associates

75. *San olle sangang bulan pas rembi', rembi' kana' lake', baji' lake' ce' gantheng-nga.*
 after get nine month then deliver deliver child male baby male
ce' gantheng-nga.
 very handsome-DEF
 After nine months, she delivered a baby boy, very handsome baby boy.
76. *Tape pa-rembi'-eng Pottre Koneng lo' kalowar dara sakale, kana'.*
 but NOM-deliver-DEF Pottre Koneng not come.out blood once kids.
 But after the delivery, Pottre Koneng did not bleed at all.
77. *Ca'-eng dungeng, ja'reng Pottre Koneng a-rassa todhus keya andhi' ana' gita' a-lake, aba'eng gita' a-lake, pas nyoro dha' bu' emban bi' bu' mongmong.*
 say-DEF story because Pottre Koneng AV-feel embarrassed too
 have child not.yet AV-husband she not.yet AV-husband then
 AV.command to mother nanny with mother nurse
 According to the story, because Pottre Koneng also felt ashamed to have a child without being married, she said to her servants,
78. *"Bu' mongmong, engko' menta'-a tolong dha' kake.*
 mother nurse I AV.ask-IRR help to you
 "Nurse, I ask you to help me.
79. *"Malle tang kai lo' todhus, malle tang ebu lo' todhus, engko' keya lo' todhus, buwang-ngagi tang baji' reya dha' tengnga alas.*
 I too not embarrassed discard-AGI my baby this to
 center forest
 "So that my father is not ashamed and so that my mother is not ashamed, and I am not ashamed either, please abandon my baby deep in the forest.
80. *"Engko' berra' se nyata-na ja'reng na'-kana' gi' buru ma-rocot dhari sengko'.*
 I heavy REL real-DEF because RED-child still just AV.CS-free
 from me
 "I really feel sad about that this child I just delivered.

81. *"Tape kaangguay notob-bi todhus-sa reng towa ban*
 but for AV-close-LOC embarrassed-DEF parent and
todhus-sa reng-oreng kraton neng dhinna', buwang-ngagi
 embarrassed-DEF RED-person kingdom at here discard-AGI
ka tengnga alas."
 to center forest
 "But to ease the shame of my parents and the shame of the people in the
 kingdom, take my baby away deep into the forest."
82. *Ya sambu nanges bu' mongmong so bu' emban jiya,*
 yes while cry mother nurse with mother nanny this
 While crying, the two companions said,
83. *"Enggi, ka'dhinto Pottre, e-bakta'-a sareng dan kula ka tengnga alas kannu'*
 yes this princess OV-bring-IRR with I to center forest here
ka'dhinto."
 this
 "Yes, Princess, we will take it deep into the forest here."
84. *Aher-ra bu' mongmong bi' bu' emban nyambi baji' lake' gella'*
 end-DEF mother nurse with mother nanny AV.bring baby male before
ka tengnga alas.
 to center forest
 Finally, the two took the baby boy deep into the forest.
85. *Dhapa' ka tengnga alas e-saba' neng baba-na ka'-bungka'an raja se*
 arrive to center forest OV-put at under-DEF RED-tree big REL
naong, e-dina'-agi.
 shade OV-left-AGI
 They arrived in the forest and put him under a big shade tree and left him.
86. *A-bala dha' Pottre Koneng, "Ka'dhinto ampon e-saba' neng tengnga alas."*
 AV- tell to Pottre Koneng this already OV-put at center forest
 They told Pottre Koneng, "We have left him deep in the forest."
87. *Gabay careta pole, kana', koca'-eng neng kampong laen, se laen dhari*
 make story again kids say-DEF at village other REL other from
Bana Sare jareya badha disa se a-nyama Pekandangan.
 Bana Sare this exist village REL AV-name Pekandangan
 In short, kids, at another village, other than Bana Sare, there was a village
 called Pekandangan.

88. *Neng disa Pekandangan jiya badha settong oreng se a-nyama*
 at village Pekandangan this exist one person REL name
Ke Empu Kelleng.
 Ke Empu Kelleng
 In the village of Pekandangan there was a man named Ke Empu Kelleng.
89. *Lako-na ya tokang pandhi, a-gabay calo, a-gabay todhi', a-gabay*
 work-DEF yes worker iron AV-make knife AV- make knife AV-make
kerres, agabay kas-pakakas-sa oreng tane.
 kris AV-make RED-tool-DEF person farmer
 He worked as an iron worker, making knives, weapons, crises and tools for farmers.
90. *Se laen mandhi, Empu Kelleng jiya ng-obu kerbuy ce' bannya'-eng,*
 REL other AV.iron Empu Kelleng this AV-raise buffalo very many-DEF
bannya' kerbuy-ya.
 many buffalo-DEF
 Besides doing iron work, Empu Kelleng raised many buffalo.
91. *Badha kerbuy bine' pote molos, ce' berse-na, ce' bagus-sa.*
 exist buffalo female white plain very clean-DEF very handsome-DEF
 Among them there was a very handsome albino female buffalo.
92. *Ajiya se paleng e-ka-lebur-i bi' Empu Kelleng,*
 this REL most OV- KA-like-LOC with Empu Kelleng
 This was Empu Kelleng's favorite buffalo.
93. *Buy-kerbuy jeh ban laggu bi' Empu Kelleng e-bukka' kandhang-nga*
 RED-buffalo this every morning with Empu Kelleng OV-open fence-DEF
e-pa-buru pas ramban dha' alas entar nyare pakan dibi'.
 OV-CS-run then forage to forest go AV.seek food self
 Every morning Empu Kelleng opened the gate and let the buffalo out to go to the forest and forage for food for themselves.
94. *Kobasa-na Guste Pangeran koca'-eng, ka-bendher-ran kerbuy*
 authority-DEF Lord say-DEF NOM-right buffalo
bine' pote gella' gi' buru a-budu'.
 female white before still just AV-child
 Through the will of the Lord, the albino buffalo had just had a baby.

95. *Me' pas dhapa' dha' alas nemmo baji' gella' se e-saba' bu' emban*
 EMPH then arrive to forest AV.find baby before REL OV-put nanny
bi' bu' mongmong pottra-na Pottre Koneng jareya neng baba-na
 with mother nurse son-DEF Pottre Koneng this at under-DEF
ka'-bungka'an raja gella'.
 RED-tree big before
 She arrived in the forest and found the baby that had been put there by the
 two companions, the son of Pottre Koneng, under the big tree.
96. *Kerbuy pote pas a-rendu koca'-eng, neng baji' gella' pas e-soso-we.*
 buffalo white then AV-lay say-DEF at baby before then OV-milk-LOC
 The albino buffalo then lay down and nursed the baby.
97. *Daddi baji' gella', kana', e-soso-we kerbuy pote pan-brampan are*
 so baby before kids OV-milk-LOC buffalo white RED-how.many days
ya dha' iya iya.
 yes like.this yes
 So the baby was nursed by the albino buffalo for several days like this.
98. *Empu Kelleng bid-abid-da ngatela' buy-kerbuy-ya jiya me' pas*
 Empu Kelleng RED-long-DEF AV.see RED-buffalo-DEF this EMPH then
andhi' ka-ane-yan.
 have NOM-strange
 Eventually Empu Kelleng noticed something strange about his buffalo.
99. *Biyasana kerbuy pote reya mon mole dha'-adha', sateya me'*
 usual buffalo white this if go.home RED-front now EMPH
dhi-budhi mon mole ban sajan koros.
 RED-back if go.home and more thin
 Usually the albino buffalo had returned home first, but now it came back
 last and came home thinner.
100. *"Laggi' pas neng kennengan laen bi' oreng keng e-pa-lako*
 later then at place other with person only OV-CS-work
neng saba-na."
 at field-DEF
 "Maybe at another place she is being made to work in the field by someone."

101. *Daddi ja'reng la kobater dha' iya, gu-laggu e-toro'-e*
 so because already worry like.this RED-morning OV-follow-LOC
koca'-eng, e-toro'-en sampe' ka tengnga alas.
 say-DEF OV-follow-LOC until to center forest
 Because he worried like this, the next day he followed the white buffalo
 deep into the forest.
102. *Buru dha'-adha', berka' dha'-adha' koca'-eng, kerbuy pote e-toro'*
 run RED-front run RED-front say-DEF buffalo white OV-follow
bunte' bi' tokang pandhi gella' juwa, e-toro' bunte'.
 tail with worker iron before that OV-follow tail
 The albino buffalo ran on ahead and Ke Empu Kelleng followed behind
 and followed and followed.
103. *Dhapa' dha' kenneng-nga baji' pas a-rendu koca'-eng, a-rendu nyoso-we.*
 arrive to place-DEF baby then AV-lay say-DEF AV-lay AV.milk-E
 The buffalo arrived at the place where the baby was then lay down and
 nursed it.
104. *“Oo, rowa ya. Lo' manglo. Ja'reng se laen nyoso-we ana'-eng,*
 oh that yes not wonder because REL other AV.milk-LOC child-DEF
nyoso-we baji' reya.
 AV.milk-LOC baby this
 “Oh, that's it. No wonder. Beside nursing her own calf, she is nursing
 this human baby.
105. *“Adhu, ce' ganheng-nga! Ana'-eng sapa reya?”*
 EXCL very handsome-DEF child-DEF who this
 “Oh, he's so handsome! But whose child is this?”
106. *Koca'-eng na'- kana' baji' jiya pas e-kala' bi' Empu Kelleng*
 say-DEF RED-kid baby this then OV-take with Empu Kelleng
e-sambi mole dha' Pekandangan.
 OV-bring go.home to Pekandangan
 Empu Kelleng then took the baby with him and brought it home to
 Pekandangan.
107. *Dhari jau-wan lok-olog-an bine-na, “Nyae, Nyae, ya' engko' nemmo*
 from far-AN RED-call-AN wife-DEF nyae nyae here I AV.find
baji'.”
 baby
 From far away he called to his wife, “Nyae, nyae. I found a baby.”

108. *Ya ja'reng lakar lo' andhi' ana' Nyae Empu Kelleng jiya bunga, kana'.*
 yes because real not have child Nyae Empu Kelleng this happy kids
 Well, since they did not have a child, Nyae Empu Kelleng was happy.
109. “*Ana'-eng sera, Ke?*”
 child-DEF who Ke
 “Whose child is it, Ke?”
110. “*Tao engko' olle nemmo neng alas, nemmo neng alas sengko'.*”
 know I get AV.find at forest AV.find at forest I
 “I don't know. I found it in the forest.”
111. “*E-soso-we kerbuy pote reh gella'.*”
 OV-milk-LOC buffalo white EMPH before.
 “The albino buffalo was nursing it.”
112. “*E-nyama-na sapa reya ya?*”
 OV-name-IRR who this yes
 “What should we name it?”
113. *Aher-ra seraju' Nyae Empu Kelleng bi' Ke Empu Kelleng a-nyama-e*
 end-DEF agree nyae Empu Kelleng with Ke Empu Kelleng AV-name-LOC
baji' se gella' jiya e-nyama-e Joko Tole ya.
 baby REL before this OV-name-LOC Joko Tole yes
 In the end, Nyae Empu Kelleng and Ke Empu Kelleng agreed to name the
 baby Joko Tole.
114. *Totok lekkas, koca'-eng sajan dibasa Joko Tole jiya sajan gantheng,*
 end fast say-DEF more mature Joko Tole this more handsome
sajan gaga'.
 more dashing
 In short, as Joko Tole grew up he became more handsome and manly.
115. *Ban totog-ga lekkas gu'-aggu' koca'-eng neng dungeng reya*
 and end-DEF fast RED-tomorrow say-DEF at story this
serrena lakar kenda' Joko Tole reya toron-na rato ya.
 because real descendant Joko Tole this down-DEF king yes
 And later on, according to the story, because Joko Tole was really was the
 descendent of a king, he became king.

116. *Serrena a-lalana, a-leng-kaleleng dha' Majapahit ban en-laen-na*
 because AV-journey AV-around to Majapahit and RED-other-DEF
kennengnan, pas aher-ra daddi rato neng Sumennep keya ya.
 place then end-DEF become king at Sumenep too yes
 After traveling around Majapahit and other places, in the end he
 became the king of Sumenep.
117. *Lakar katoron-na rato, kana', ya mon katoron-na rato ya*
 real descendant-DEF king kids yes if descendant-DEF king yes
aher-ra daddi rato keya.
 end-DEF become king too
 He actually was descended from a king, so in the end he became a king, too.
118. *Dha' iya careta-na Joko Tole.*
 like.this story-DEF Joko Tole
 This is the story of Joko Tole.
119. *Acem-macem careta-na Joko Tole reya.*
 RED-type story-DEF Joko Tole this
 There are many stories about Joko Tole.
120. *Tape engko' sateya dha' ba'eng kabbi keng coma a-careta'-agi-na*
 but I now to you all only only AV-story-AGI-IRR
parembi'-na Joko Tole.
 birth-DEF Joko Tole.
 But the one I told you now is only about the birth of Joko Tole.
121. *Joko Tole reya rembi' Dewi Sarini gilo' a-raka ya, gilo'*
 Joko Tole this delivered Dewi Sarini not.yet AV-husband yes not.yet
a-raka pon e-buwang dha' tengnga alas e-soso-we
 AV-husband already OV-discard to center forest OV-milk-LOC
kerbuy bine' gella' jiya.
 buffalo female before this
 Joko Tole, born to Dewi Sarini, who was not yet married, and was left
 deep in the forest and nursed by the buffalo.
122. *Gan dhinna' dungeng-nga Parembi'-na Joko Tole.*
 until here story-DEF birth-DEF Joko Tole
 And this is the story of the Birth of Joko Tole.

2. Radin Sagara

as told by
Hasan Sasra

1. *Na'-kana' kabbi, kalamon lamba' sengko' dha' ba'na tao a-dungeng,*
RED-child all if before I to you know AV-story
dungeng, dungeng se badha neng Madura.
story story REL exist at Madura
Earlier I told you the stories from Madura.
2. *Sateya sengko' terro ma-terros-sa dha' ba'eng kabbi dungeng,*
now I want AV.CS-continue-IRR to you all story
dungeng se laen.
story REL different
Now I am going to tell you another story, a different story.
3. *E are-na sateya sengko' terro a-dungeng-a, dungeng-nga Radin*
at day now I want AV-story-IRR story-DEF Radin
Sagara.
Sagara
Today I will tell you the story of Radin Sagara.
4. *Koca'-na dungeng, kana', lamba' rato Jaba se dha'-adha' reya badha,*
say-DEF story kid before king Java REL RED-front this exist
a-nyama Aji Soko.
AV-name Aji Soko
According to the story, kids, there once was a Javanese king named Aji Soko.
5. *Aji Soko jareya a-juluk, Prabu Dewoto Cengkar, kraton-na se badha*
Aji Soko this AV-call Prabu Dewoto Cengkar kingdom-DEF REL exist
neng-kennengngan se a-nyama Medang Kawulan.
RED-place REL AV-name Medang Kawulan
Aji Soko was called Prabu Dewoto Cengkar and his kingdom was called Medang Kawulan.

6. *Bid-abid-da ya, sajan, bannya' kraja'an-kraja'an se laen, e*
 RED-long-DEF yes more many RED-kingdom REL different at
antara-na iya areya kraja'an Giling Tosan.
 between-DEF yes this kingdom Giling Tosan
 A long time ago there were many more different kingdoms, and one of them
 was the kingdom of Giling Tosan.
7. *Rato Giling Tosan jareya a-nyama Syang Hiyang Tunggal.*
 king Giling Tosan this AV-name Syang Hiyang Tunggal
 The king of Giling Tosan was called Syang Hiyang Tunggal.
8. *Oreng-nga bengnges kantha reya, mon la kareb-ba sapa'-a bai*
 person-DEF cruel like this if already intend-DEF who-EMPH else
se ng-langlang ta' kera endha', dha' rato Giling Tosan reya.
 REL AV-journey not think want to king Giling Tosan this
 He was a cruel man; he did whatever he wanted, and he wouldn't let anyone
 stop him.
9. *Rato Giling Tosan reya andhi' pate.*
 king Giling Tosan this have minister
 The king of Giling Tosan had a chief minister, a pate.
10. *Pate-na reya, iya areya a-nyama ya a-nyama Radin otaba Tumenggung*
 pate-DEF this yes this AV-name yes AV-name Radin or Tumenggung
Pulang.
 Pulang
 This pate was named Radin or Tumenenggung Pulang.
11. *Ya daddi pate-na areya nyama-na, a-nyama Ke Pulang ya.*
 yes so pate-DEF this name-DEF AV-name Ke Pulang yes
 Well, the pate was known as Ke Pulang.
12. *Na'-kana' kabbi, salaen dhari jareya rato reya bannya', bannya'*
 RED-child all in addition from this king this many many
nagara-nagara laen se padha manot, sabab rato reya salaen
 RED-country different REL same obedient because king this in addition
bengnges ya bengnges iya sakte, bannya' gagaman perrang-nga,
 cruel yes cruel yes magic.power many knife war-DEF
sogi pole koca'-eng.
 rich again say-DEF
 Kids, in addition, many other kingdoms were obedient to him, because this
 king was cruel, had magical powers, had many weapons, and was very rich.

13. *Tape rato reya andhi' settong ka-renteg-gan, polana andhi' kabar ja' ana' bine-na, ana' bine'-eng, tong-settong-nga ya.*
 but king this have one NOM-sad because have news COMP
 child female-DEF child female-DEF RED-one-DEF yes
 But the king had one sorrow because of his daughter, his only daughter.
14. *Oreng-nga se raddin sa-nyata-na, koneng ya mon a-caca reya ce' nyaman-na sowara-na.*
 person-DEF REL pretty one-real-DEF yellow yes if AV-say this very
 nice-DEF voice-DEF
 This girl was really pretty, with fair skin, and, they say, a very pleasant voice.
15. *Tape settong malem Pottre Doro Gung reya, nyama-na Pottre Doro Gung, a-mempe koca'-eng.*
 Gung AV-dream say-DEF
 One night the princess Doro Gung, her name was Pottre Doro Gung, had a dream.
16. *A-mempe ngontal bulan, ta'iya, ja'reng bulan se kenneng ontal.*
 AV-dream AV-swallow moon TAG because moon REL get swallow
 She dreamt that she swallowed the moon; it was the moon that she swallowed.
17. *Bid-abid-da Pottre Doro Gung reya ya, koca'-eng dungeng, pas a-buberra', ngandung.*
 RED-long-DEF Pottre Doro Gung this yes say-DEF story then
 AV-pregnant AV.pregnant
 After a while, according to the story, Pottre Doro Gung became pregnant.
18. *Mangkana Pottre Doro Gung reya gi'lo' andhi' raka, gi'lo' andhi' lake.*
 husband
 However, Pottre Doro Gung did not yet have a husband.
19. *Ya tanto-na Pottre Doro Gung gella' reya ce' ruwed-da ja'reng aba'eng gi'ta' a-lake me' pas laju ngandung.*
 yes certain-DEF Pottre Doro Gung before this very confused-DEF
 because she yet.not AV-husband EMPH then then AV.pregnant
 So of course she was very confused because she did not yet have a husband, but she became pregnant.

20. *Bu' emban', bu' mongmong, se ng-ladi-ne Pottre Dorong*
 mother nanny mother nursemaid REL AV-serve-LOC Pottre Dorong
Gung jareya padha ruwet, sossa.
 Gung this same perplexed sad
 The maidservant who helped the Pottre Doro Gung, was also very
 perplexed and sad.
21. *Me'-ame³ ka-daddi-yan jareya e-ka-pereng bi' rato-na, tanto-na*
 RED-if NOM-become this OV-KA-hear with king-yes certain-DEF
rato se gella' jiya, iya areya rato Giling Tosan, Syang Hiyang Tunggal,
 king REL before this yes this king Giling Tosan Syang Hiyang Tunggal
bakal ng-amog-ga, ya bakal ng-amog-ga.
 will AV-angry-IRR yes will AV-angry-IRR
 They were worried if the king would hear about this because the king of
 Giling Tosan, Syang Hiyang Tunggal, would be very angry.
22. *Pa'-sapa'-a bai se nyempen batang ya, aher-ra e-k-edhing keya*
 RED-who-EMPH else REL AV.keep corpse yes end-DEF OV-KA-hear also
bau-na.⁴
 smell-DEF
 Whoever keeps a secret will be discovered in the end.
23. *Bid-abid-da rato pas mereng ja' ana' bine'-eng tong-settong-nga*
 RED-long-DEF king then AV-hear COMP daughter-DEF RED-one-DEF
jareya a-buberra', ngandung, mangkana gilo' gadhuwan raka,
 this AV-pregnant AV.pregnant though yet.not have husband
gi'ta' a-lake.
 yet.not AV-husband
 So eventually, the king heard that his only daughter was pregnant, pregnant
 even though she was still not married.
24. *Adhu ella ng-amok, lakar aba'eng dujan ngamog-gan, pas ng-edhing*
 EXCL already AV-angry real he quick AV-angry-IRR then AV-hear
ana'-eng andhi' sala kantha jareya.
 child-DEF have wrong like this
 Well, the king got angry; he became very angry when he heard his daughter
 was like this.

³ Reduplication of *ame'* 'if' acts as a subjunctive; here it indicates an unexpected event.

⁴ An idiom explaining that just as you cannot keep a corpse without discovery because of the smell, if you try to keep a secret, the truth will eventually come out.

25. *E-olok pottre-na jiya e-tanya'-agi "Aba'eng jareya a-buberra' bi' sapa mangkana aba'eng gi'ta' gadhuwan raka?"*
 OV-call daughter-DEF this OV-ask-AGI you this AV-pregnant with
sapa mangkana aba'eng gi'ta' gadhuwan raka?"
 who although you yet.not have husband
 He called his daughter and asked her, "Are you pregnant even though you still do not have a husband?"
26. *Kalaban nanges pottre-na jareya nanges a-sapora dha' reng seppo lake'-eng jareya, ja' jareya ka-daddi-yan se ane.*
 with AV.cry daughter-DEF this AV.cry AV-sorry to parent
lake'-eng jareya, ja' jareya ka-daddi-yan se ane.
 male-DEF this COMP this NOM-become REL strange
 Crying, the daughter asked her father for forgiveness, that this was a mysterious thing.
27. *Tape rato paggun ta' percaja, lo' percaja dha' ka-daddi-yan sabab lo' maso' akkal, oreng bine' jareya bakal a-buberra'-a mon ta' gadhuwan raka.*
 but king still not believe not believe to NOM-become because not
maso' akkal, oreng bine' jareya bakal a-buberra'-a mon ta' gadhuwan raka.
 enter reason person female this will AV-pregnant-IRR if not
 have husband
 But the king did not believe this because it is illogical that a woman would become pregnant if she didn't have a husband.
28. *Pas e-duka-ne e-pate-na, makke pottre-na ja' la a-ra-sapora dha' rama-na, dha' kai-na, rato paggun duka, paggun ng-amok.*
 then OV-angry-LOC OV-dead-IRR though daughter-DEF COMP already
a-ra-sapora dha' rama-na, dha' kai-na, rato paggun duka, paggun ng-amok.
 AV-RED-sorry to father-DEF to father-DEF king still angry still
 AV-angry
 The king was angry and was going kill his daughter. Even though the princess asked her father for forgiveness, the king was still wild with anger.
29. *Pate-na se gella' jiya pas e-olok moso rato gella'.*
 pate-DEF REL before this then OV-call with king before
 Then the pate was called by the king.
30. *Ya, bi' rato pas laju e-soro pottre-na jiya pate'-e dha' alas ya.*
 yes with king then then OV-order daughter-DEF this dead-LOC to forest yes
 He was ordered by the king to kill the princess in the forest.

31. *E-soro pate'-e dha' alas.*
 OV-order dead-LOC to forest
 He was ordered to kill her in the forest.
32. *Reng la olle parenta pate gella' dhari rato-na ya, tanto-na*
 person already get order pate before from king-DEF yes certain-DEF
pas mangkat dha' alas, a-bareng Pottre Doro Gung jareya.
 then leave to forest AV-together Pottre Doro Gung this
 The pate got this order from the king, so of course he had to go to the forest
 with the Pottre Doro Gung.
33. *Alas-sa ya tanto-na jau, a-jalan dha' alas jareya ya lo' semma'*
 forest-DEF yes certain-DEF far AV-walk to forest this yes not near
dhang-kadhang Pottre Doro Gung se a-buberra' jiya, moso pate gella'
 sometimes Pottre Doro Gung REL AV-pregnant this with pate before
pas e-gindung ya, e-emban.
 then OV-carry yes OV-carry (over shoulder or on back)
 The forest was a far away, not close, so sometimes Pottre Doro Gung, who
 was pregnant, had to be carried by the pate.
34. *Reng sanyatana pate gella' jiya neser keya dha' pottre se gella'*
 person actually pate before this pity too to princess REL before
jiya, se ta' andhi' sala sanyatana.
 this REL not have wrong actually
 Well, actually the prime minister pitied the princess, who actually had not
 done anything wrong.
35. *Serrena la parenta dhari rato, dhapa' dha' alas moso rato, moso*
 because already command from king come to forest with king with
pate jareya pas laju pottre gella' jiya e-pate-na.
 pate this then then princess before this OV-dead-IRR
 Because it was the order from the king, after arriving in the forest, the pate
 then tried to kill the princess.
36. *E-kala' senjata-na, peddhang jiya, e-kala' nyemba gallu dha' pottre*
 OV-take weapon-DEF sword this OV-take AV.salute before to princess
gella'.
 before
 He took his weapon, his sword, and saluted the princess.

37. *"Sapora-na ka'dhinto, Pottre, ka'dhinto ampon parenta dalem dhari sorry-DEF this princess this already command me from rato kaangguy mate'-e ajunan, ajunan ampon e-anggep sala king for AV.dead-LOC you you already OV-consider wrong sareng rato."*
with king
"Forgive me, princess, this is an order to me from the king for me to kill you, because the king considers you guilty."
38. *"Iya mara, Pate, serrena reya lakar parenta-na tang kai dha' ba'na. yes HORT pate because this true ask-DEF my father to you*
"Well, go ahead, Pate, this is my father's order to you.
39. *"Ya mara, mon ba'na la mate-na sengko' eatoren." yes HORT if you already kill-IRR me please*
"If you are going to kill me, go ahead, please."
40. "Enggi."
yes
"OK."
41. *E-kala' peddhang-nga pas e-sabed-dagin-na dha' le'er-ra pottre OV-take sword-DEF then OV-swing-AGI-IRR to neck-DEF princess gella'.*
before
Then he took his sword and swung it at the princess's neck.
42. *Tape kobasan-na Se Kobasa, saellana peddhang-nga Ke Pate gella' but authority-DEF Si Lord after sword-DEF Ke Pate before jiya e-ancan-nagi dha' le'er-ra, me' pas bancang.*
this OV-swing-AGI to neck-DEF EMPH then bounce off
But because of the power of the Lord, when the pate swung his sword, it bounced off her neck.
43. *E-ancan-nagi dha' le'er-ra bancang, ngalto', peddhang-nga OV-swing-AGI to neck-DEF bounce off bounce off sword-DEF ngalto', cemot e-sare lo' e-temmo.*
bounce off go away OV-seek not OV-find
He swung it and it bounced off; the sword bounced off and disappeared.

44. *Daddi dhi-budhi-na pate jiya ang-rassa, ya ang-rassa ja' reya*
 so RED-behind-DEF pate this AV-feel yes AV-feel COMP this
petodu dha' sengko', koca'-eng pate-na ja' ng-oca' dha' aba'eng dibi'
 guidance to I say-DEF pate-DEF COMP AV-say to himself
 So finally the pate felt that this was a sign to him, and he said to himself,
45. “*Ja' Pottre Doro Gung reya lo' sala.*
 COMP Pottre Doro Gung this not wrong
 “Pottre Doro Gung is not guilty.”
46. “*Ka-daddi-yan reya, ka-daddi-yan lakar-an toles-an se dhari taqdir-ra*
 NOM-become this NOM-become true-AN write-AN REL from destiny-DEF
dhari Se Kobasa.”
 from Si Lord
 “This is truly a sign from the Lord.”
47. *Daddi pas laju pate jareya a-sompa dha' pottre gella'*
 so then then pate this AV-swear to princess before
 So then the pate swore to the princess,
48. “*Kula mangken ampon ngarte ka'dhinto, Dinaju Pottre, ja'*
 I now already understand this Radin Aju princess COMP
panjennengnan ka'dhinto saestona lo' gadhuwan sala.
 you this really not have wrong
 “I now understand, Princess, that you are really not guilty.”
49. “*Mangkana kula mon a-bali dha' kraton lo' makta sera-na*
 although I if AV-return to palace not AV.bring head-DEF
sampeyan, lo' makta, non-glanon, cetag-ga sampeyan, kula
 you not AV.bring RED-excuse head-DEF you I
e-pate-na moso rato.
 OV-dead-IRR with king
 “If I return to the palace without bringing your head, my apologies,
 without bringing your head, the king will kill me.”
50. “*Daddi langkong sae dan kula lo' a-bali-ya pole dha' kraton,*
 so pass good I not AV-return-IRR again to palace
ng-ater-ra panjennengnan.”
 AV-deliver-IRR you
 “So, it is better if I do not return to the palace, but assist you.”

51. *Pas laju mare jareya, pate jiya a-gabay gitek.*
 then then finish this pate this AV-make raft
 After this, the pate made a raft
52. *Tao gitek, gitek reya, iya areya perreng se e-ator, a-jur-lonjur⁵,*
 know raft raft this yes this bamboo REL OV-arrange AV-RED-plank
pas e-berri' tale, akantha lencak⁶ jarowa.
 then OV-give rope like platform that
 He arranged bamboo lengthwise, then tied them with rope, like a lencak.
53. *Pas laju Pottre Doro Gung moso pate e-pa-ongga dha' gitek gella'.*
 then then Pottre Doro Gung with pate OV-CS-get on to raft before
 Then the pate put Pottre Doro Gung on the raft.
54. *Seddheng pate-na pas ng-oca', "Pottre, panjennengan sareng dan kula*
 when pate -DEF then AV-say princess you with I
e-lanyo'-agin-na neng tase'.
 OV-float-AGI -IRR at sea
 While doing this the pate said, "Princess, I am going to push you and the
 raft out to sea.
55. *"Tape mon panjennengnan manggi alangan, olok kaula."*
 but if you AV-meet barrier call me
 "But if you have any problems, call me."
56. *"Iyut, iya mara."*
 yes yes HORT
 "Yes, yes, let's go."
57. *"Ban kaula mangken a-nyama'-a Ke Poleng, malle samar, oreng lo'*
 with me now AV-name-IRR Ke Poleng so that blurred person not
oneng ja' kaula neka asal-la pate.
 know COMP I this origin-DEF pate
 "And now I will be called Ke Poleng so that people will not know that I am
 the pate.

⁵ *lonjur* refers to something long and thin in shape such as a board or a piece of bamboo. The verbal form refers to the act of properly arranging a group of things of that shape (here bamboo).

⁶ A *lencak* is a platform made out of bamboo that is used for sitting or resting, often used as a bed.

58. *“Gun molae mangken kaula a-nyama'-a Ke Poleng.”*
 until begin now I AV-name-IRR Ke Poleng
 “From now on I will be known as Ke Poleng.”
59. *Daddi, pate jareya pas laju a-nyama Ke Poleng.*
 so pate this then then AV-name Ke Poleng
 So, kids, the pate was then known as Ke Poleng.
60. *Seddheng Pottre Doro Gung la e-pa-ongga dha' attas gitek moso*
 when Pottre Doro Gung already OV-CS-get on to top raft with
pate gella', pas e-sotok, e-sotok dha' tase' ya pas a-jalan giteg-ga.
 pate before then OV- push OV-push to sea yes then AV-walk raft-DEF
 When Pottre Doro Gung was put on the raft by the prime minister, he
 pushed it out to sea, and the raft moved away.
61. *Badha omba' ya, e-anjul-lagi bi' omba' mon ka-bendher-ran adha'*
 exist wave yes OV-float-AGI with wave if NOM-right exist
omba' ya a-jalan laon-an giteg-ga.
 wave yes AV-walk slow-AN raft-DEF
 If there was a wave it rose up and if there was no wave it moved away slowly.
62. *Sampe' settong malem ya tanto-na abit sampe' dhapa' dha' dharad-dan.*
 until one night yes certain-DEF long until arrive to shore-AN
 Finally one night, after a long time, it came to land.
63. *Pas a-mempe, pottre jiya a-mempe ja' bakal babar-ra, bakal*
 then AV-dream princess this AV-dream COMP will give birth-IRR will
rembi'-a.
 give birth-IRR
 Then she had a dream; the princess dreamed that she would give birth.
64. *Dhapa' dha' settong tenggan pas kabendherran e penggir-an jareya.*
 arrive to one shore then actually at edge-AN this
 The raft came to the shore, actually to the beach.
65. *Pas laju pottre jiya e penggir tase' jiya, kabendherran pas laju babar,*
 then then princess this at edge sea this actually then then birth
rembi', na'-kana' lake' ce' gantheng-nga.
 birth RED-child male very handsome-DEF
 Then the princess at the beach actually gave birth to a very handsome boy.

66. *Ja'reng lakar-ra,ra-kerā sangang bulan se e-buwang dha'tase'*
 because real-DEF RED-guess nine month REL OV-discard to sea
jiya, pas rembi' na'-kana' lake', baji' lake' ce' gantheng-nga.
 this then birth RED-child male baby male very handsome-DEF
 Because she had actually been out to sea for about nine months, then this
 very handsome baby boy was born.
67. *A-pekker Pottre Doro Gung jareya, "E-nyama-na sapa reya?"*
 AV-think Pottre Doro Gung this OV-name-IRR who this
 Pottre Doro Gung thought, "What should I name this baby?"
68. *"Reng rembi' neng penggir tase', neng pa-jalan-an tase', apa lebbi*
 person born at edge sea at NOM-walk sea what more
becce' ayu' nyama-e bai Radin Sagara."
 good HORT name-LOC else noble ocean
 "Because he was delivered at the beach, and there was the journey over the
 sea, what better to name him than Radin Sagara."
69. *Daddi na'-kana' lake' jareya moso Pottre Doro Gung pas e-nyama-e*
 so RED-child male this with Pottre Doro Gung then OV-name-LOC
Radin Sagara.
 Radin Sagara
 So Pottre Doro Gung named the boy Radin Sagara.
70. *Bid-abid-da, careta koca'-na, baji' bi' reng towa bine'-eng jareya,*
 RED-long-DEF story say-DEF baby with parent female-DEF this
neng attas gitek jiya, pas kandas dha' settong gegger-ran ya.
 at top raft this then run aground to one hill-NOM yes
 Eventually, according to the story, the baby and his mother on the raft ran
 aground at some fertile land.
71. *Penggir tase' se bannya' men-tamen-na ajiya e-nyama-e gegger-ran.*
 edge sea REL many RED-plant-DEF this OV-name-LOC gegger-an
 On the coast were many plants called 'gegger'.
72. *Kandas e se dhinna' Pottre Doro Gung pas laju toron, onnga*
 run aground at REL there Pottre Doro Gung then then descend ascend
dha' dharat.
 to shore
 Stuck there, Pottre Doro Gung then got off the raft and went ashore.

73. *Kennengngan jareya bid-abid-da sa'ellana bannya' oreng se*
 place this RED-long-DEF after many person REL
ngenneng-nge pas e-nyama-e kampong Gegger ya.
 AV.place-LOC then OV-name-LOC village Gegger yes
 Eventually, many people were living there and it was called village Gegger.
74. *Sampe' sateya kampong otaba disa Gegger jiya gi' badha ya.*
 until now village or town Gegger this yet exist yes
 The village of Gegger is still there today.
75. *La-mala badha gunong-nga se e-nyama-e Gunong Gegger.*
 RED-even exist mountain-DEF REL OV-name-LOC mountain Gegger
 In addition, there is a mountain called Mt. Gegger.
76. *Daddi asal mola-na koca'-eng dungeng, Pottre Doro Gung moso*
 so origin begin-DEF say-DEF story Pottre Doro Gung with
Radin Sagara pottra-na jareya odhi' neng Gunong Gegger.
 Radin Sagara son-DEF this live at mountain Gegger
 So, according to the story, the village began with Pottre Doro Gung and
 Radin Sagara living at Mt. Gegger.
77. *Ya, seddheng ra-ker a Pottre Doro Gung jareya la cokop abit*
 yes when RED-guess Pottre Doro Gung this already enough long
badha neng kennengngan se a-nyama Gegger jareya, enga', enga'
 exist at place REL AV-name Gegger this remember remember
dha' Ke Poleng, pas ng-olok Ke Poleng.
 to Ke Poleng then AV-call Ke Poleng
 After the Pottre Doro Gung lived at Mt. Gegger for a while, she
 remembered Ke Poleng, and then she called him.
78. *Ke Poleng janji-na lakar mon badha pa-apa, manggi ka-sossa'-an,*
 Ke Poleng promise-DEF real if exist RED-what AV.meet NOM-sad
pottre e-soro a-tarja dha' tana tello kale, Ke Poleng bakal
 princess OV-order AV-stomp to ground three time Ke Poleng will
dhateng-nga.
 come-IRR
 Ke Poleng promised that if there was a problem, the princess could call
 him by stamping her foot on the ground three times, and he would come.
79. *A-tarja dha' tana tello kale pas laju Ke Poleng ombar.*
 AV-stomp to ground three time then then Ke Poleng appear
 She stamped her foot three times and then Ke Poleng appeared.

80. *“Pa-napa ka'dhinto, Pottre Doro Gung, se e-ka-parlo panjennengnan?”*
 RED-what this Pottre Doro Gung REL OV-KA-need you
 “What do you need, Pottre Doro Gung?”
81. *“Areya, ya tang ana' la towa, la omor pettong taon.*
 this yes my child already old already age seven year
 “My son is already seven years old.
82. *“Abit ta' ta-temmo moso ba'eng.*
 long not IN-meet with you
 “We have not seen you for a long time.
83. *“Pa-apa se e-ka-parlo ya la sajan adha'.*
 RED-what REL OV-KA-need yes already more not.exist
 “All of our supplies are almost gone.
84. *“Wa'-buwa'-an neng dhinna' la cokop bannya' se e-kakan bi'*
 RED-fruit-AN at here already enough many REL OV-eat with
sengko'.
 me
 “There is not enough fruit here for us to eat.
85. *“Daddi engko' ban are menta'-a kerem-an lebat ba'na, kakanan,*
 so I every day AV.ask-IRR send-AN through you food
kaangguy tang ana' bi' engko'.”
 for my child with me
 “So every day I'm going to ask you to deliver food for my son and me.”
86. *La molae dhari bakto ka'dhinto koca'-eng dungeng, Ke Poleng*
 already begin from time this say-DEF story Ke Poleng
jiya pas seggut dhateng dha' Gegger.
 this then often come to Gegger
 So, from this time on, according to the story, Ke Poleng often came to
 Gegger.
87. *Bur-lebur-ra Radin Sagara jareya a-maen e penggir tase'.*
 RED-happy-DEF Radin Sagara this AV-play at edge sea
 Radin Sagara liked to play on the beach.
88. *Toron dhari Geggeran jareya entar dha' penggir tase', en-maen-an.*
 descend from Geggeran this go to edge sea RED-play-IT
 He went down from Gegger to go to the beach, and he often played.

89. *Reng nyama-na na'-kana', bur-lebur-an lakar-ra aeng la*
 person name-DEF RED-child RED-happy-AN real-DEF water already
ngoy-langngoy-an dhang-kadhang.
 RED-swim-IT sometimes
 Because he was a kid, he really liked the water and would swim sometimes.
90. *Lo' andhi' kanca; reng coma wa'-dhuwa'-an.*
 not have friend person only RED-two-an
 But he had no friends. It was only the two of them.
91. *E settong bakto Radin Sagara pas nemmo ngatela' olar ce' raja-na,*
 at one time Radin Sagara then AV.meet AV.see snake very big-DEF
olar naga,⁷ dhuwa' ja-raja.
 snake two RED-big
 One day Radin Sagara came across very big snakes, two very big dragon
 snakes.
92. *Ya tanto-na Radin Sagara jareya ka-tako'-an.*
 yes certain-DEF Radin Sagara this AD-afraid
 Of course, Radin Sagara was afraid.
93. *Din Sagara na'-kana'-eng glempeng enga', glempeng, obu'-eng ya*
 Din Sagara RED-child-DEF fat remember fat hair-DEF yes
lanjang, a-nyama na'-kana', ja' adha' tokang polka.
 long AV-name RED-child COMP not. exist worker haircut
 Radin Sagara was a fat child, and he had long hair because there was no
 barber.
94. *E settong bakto koca'-eng gella' joh ka-dhatenga-ngan olar dhuwa'*
 at one time say-DEF before EMPH NOM-come snake two
ce' raja-na, olar-ra, olar naga, nabang dha' Radin Sagara.
 very big-DEF snake-DEF snake naga AV.chase to Radin Sagara
 Once Radin Sagara came across two very big snakes, dragon snakes, and
 they chased Radin Sagara.
95. *Buru Radin Sagara, buru a-dungeng dha' ebu'-eng.*
 run Radin Sagara run AV-story to mother-DEF
 And Radin Sagara ran off, ran to tell his mother.

⁷ *naga* is a mythical snake, a dragon snake.

96. *"Ebu', engko' a-maen e penggir tase' gella' pas ngatela' olar naga*
 mother I AV-play at edge sea before then AV.see snake naga
ce' raja-na."
 very big-DEF
 "Mother, I was playing at the beach and saw very big dragon snakes."
97. *"Adhu," koca'-eng ebu'-eng "Ja' ma'-nyemma' ba'eng dha' olar,*
 EXCL say-DEF mother-DEF don't RED-AV.approach you to snake
dhaggi' ba'eng e-tanca', e-kakan.
 next you OV-strike OV-eat
 "Oh dear," his mother said. "Don't go near the snakes. You will be struck
 and eaten."
98. *"Sapa pole se ngancan-na sengko'?" Mangkana engko' keng*
 who again REL AV.friend-IRR me thus I only
wa'-dhuwa'-an bi' ba'eng, tang ana', keng ba'eng."
 RED-two-AN with you my child only you
 "If so, who is going to keep me company? Because there are only the two
 of us, my child, only you and me."
99. *Ruwet ebu'-eng pas aher-ra ng-olok Ke Poleng pole, Ke Poleng*
 perplexed mother-DEF then end-DEF AV-call Ke Poleng again Ke Poleng
ombar.
 appear
 Troubled, the mother eventually called Ke Poleng and Ke Poleng appeared.
100. *"Badha pa-napa ka'dhinto, Pottre?"*
 exist RED-what this princess
 "What's the matter, Princess?"
101. *"Ya, dha' iya. Tang ana' ban a-maen dha' tase' koca'-eng nemmo*
 yes like.this my child with AV-play to sea say-DEF AV.meet
olar dhuwa' ja-raja, olar naga."
 snake two RED-big snake naga
 "Well, it's like this. My child was playing on the beach, and he said that
 he came across two very big dragon snakes."
102. *"Marena ka'dhimma?"*
 after where
 "Where are they?"

103. *“Ya, dha'ramma cara-na. Oh, ngereng Radin Sagara sareng dan kula,”*
 yes how way-DEF EXCL HORT Radin Sagara with I
koca'-eng Ke Poleng.
 say-DEF Ke Poleng
 “Show me the way. Come on with me Radin Sagara,” Ke Poleng said.
104. *“Ya mayu', keng senga' te-ngate, Cong,” koca'-eng Pottre Doro*
 yes HORT only watch out RED-careful son say-DEF Pottre Doro
Gung dha' pottra-na Radin Sagara.
 Gung to son-DEF Radin Sagara
 “You must watch out, be careful, Cong,” Princess Doro Gung said to her
 son Radin Sagara.
105. *“Ja' ma'-nyemma' ba'eng.”*
 don't RED-AV.near you
 “Don't go near them!”
106. *“Bunten ja' kabater ka'dhinto, Pottre” koca'-eng Ke Poleng gella'.*
 no don't worry this princess say-DEF Ke Poleng before
 “No, don't worry, Princess,” said Ke Poleng.
107. *Pas Radin Sagara entar dha' penggir tase' a-bareng Ke Poleng.*
 then Radin Sagara go to edge sea AV-together Ke Poleng
 Then Radin Sagara went to the beach with Ke Poleng.
108. *Pas ka-bendher-ran naga se dhuwa' teppa'-eng badha e penggir tase'.*
 then NOM-right dragon REL two right-DEF exist at edge sea
 And actually the two dragon snakes were right there at the beach.
109. *Ng-oca' Ke Poleng, “Teh kene', Radin Sagara, sampeyan ja' ko'-tako'.*
 AV-say Ke Poleng EMPH small Radin Sagara you don't RED-afraid
 And Ke Poleng said, “Now little one, Radin Sagara, don't be afraid.
110. *“Candhak bunto'-eng olar dhuwa', kanan kaccer.*
 catch tail-DEF snake two right left
 “Catch the two snakes by the tail, on the right and the left.
111. *“Se kanan sampeyan nyandhak olar se pote, se kaccer sampeyan*
 REL right you AV.catch snake REL white REL left you
nyandhak olar se barna abak celleng.
 AV.catch snake REL color somewhat black.
 “Catch the white one on your right and the blackish one on your left.

112. “*Mon la e-kenneng teggu' bunto'-eng pas banteng dha' tana.*”
 if already OV-get hold tail-DEF then slap to ground
 “When you grab hold of them by the tail, slap them on the ground.”
113. “*Tako' engko', Pate. Mon pas ngekke', dha'ramma?*”
 afraid I pate if then AV.bite how
 “I am afraid, Pate. If they bite me, then what?”
114. “*Ja' kabater. Mon gi' badha'-a, Ke Poleng sampeyan masthe slamet.*”
 not worry if yet exist-IRR Ke Poleng you must safe
 “Don't worry. If something happens, I will keep you safe.”
115. “*Ya, mara.*”
 yes HORT
 “OK, let's go.”
116. *Dheng la e-toro' Radin Sagara pas a-semma' on-laon-an*
 when already OV-follow Radin Sagara then AV-close RED-slowly-AN
dha' olar se pas a-let-bulet e penggir tase'.
 to snake REL then AV-RED-coil at edge sea
 And Radin Sagara went with him, and they slowly approached the snakes,
 which were coiled up on the beach.
117. *Dheng la semma' pas e-candhak bunto'-eng.*
 when already close then OV-catch tail-DEF
 When they got close, he caught them by the tail.
118. *Padha e-k-olle teggu' pa-sekken pas e-banteng 'jaaalbok',*
 same OV-KA-get hold CS-tight then OV-slap
a-li-guli a-li-guli guli guli guli.
 AV-RED-move AV-RED-move move move move
 He caught them both and held tight, and then he slapped them against the
 ground ‘jaaalbok’, again and again and again.
119. *Bid-abid-da, pas laju, olar neka, se gella' neka pas daddi*
 RED-long-DEF then then, snake this REL before this then become
tombak dhuwa'-an, tombak.
 spear two-AN spear
 After a while these snakes became a couple of spears.

120. *Olar se e-banteng neka bi' Radin Sagara, pas laju e-banteng*
 snake REL OV-stick this with Radin Sagara then then OV-stick
daddi tombak dhuwa'-an.
 become spear two-AN
 The snakes were made straight by Radin Sagara, and then they became
 a couple of spears.
121. *Seddheng la daddi tombak bi' Ke Poleng pas e-bala-i*
 while already become spear with Ke Poleng then OV-say-LOC
Radin Sagara, "Radin Sagara, tombak se asal-la dhari olar
 Radin Sagara Radin Sagara spear REL origin-DEF from snake
koneng neka nyama-na tombak Se Nanggala, seddheng se dhari olar
 yellow this name-DEF spear Si Nanggala while REL from snake
celleng neka nyama-na tombak Aluguroh.
 black this name-DEF spear Alugoroh
 When the snakes became spears, Ke Poleng said to Radin Sagara, "Radin
 Sagara, the spear that came from the yellow snake is called Si Nanggala,
 and the one from the black snake is called Alugoroh.
122. *"Guna-na mon tombak Se Nanggala gu'-aggu' mon sampeyan entar*
 use-DEF if spear Si Nanggala RED-tomorrow if you go
a-perrang sambi.
 AV-war bring
 "Later if you go to war, bring the spear Si Nanggala.
123. *"Moso akantha napa sakte-na, mon la ng-addheb-bi tombak Se*
 with like what magic-DEF if already AV-face-LOC spear Si
Nanggala bakal tebas-sa.
 Nanggala will misfortune-DEF
 "Regardless of the strength or power of the enemy, if he faces Si
 Nanggala, he will die.
124. *"Ta-balig-ga tombak Alugura neka lo' kenneng sambi dha',*
 IN-opposite-DEF spear Alugura this not get bring to
man-kamman namong e-saba' e po'-compo'.
 RED-where but OV-put at RED-house
 "On the other hand, the spear Alugora should not be brought anywhere but
 should be placed in the home.
125. *"Neka e-guna'-agi kaangguy a-jaga ka'-aman-na roma neka."*
 this OV-use-AGI for AV-watch NOM-secure-DEF house this
 "It is used to maintain the security of the house."

126. *Ampon gabay panda'-eng careta, mangken, sateya, kana', Radin Sagara*
 already make short-DEF story now now kid Radin Sagara
reya la dibasa, la gantheng.
 this already mature already handsome
 To make the story shorter, kids, Radin Sagara grew up to be very handsome.
127. *Pas badha kabar koca'-eng neng kraja'an Giling Tosan se lamba'juwa.*
 then exist news say-DEF at kingdom Giling Tosan REL before that
 And then there was news from the kingdom of Giling Tosan from before.
128. *Rato-na ruwet, polana badha rato Cena se a-kraman, a-bronta',*
 king-DEF perplexed because exist king China REL AV-rebel AV-struggle
dha' to-rato se badha neng Jaba ta-maso' dha' kraja'an Giling Tosan
 to RED-king REL exist at Java IN-enter to kingdom Giling Tosan
jareya, kaangguy ja'-kraja'an se badha neng polo Jaba reya bisa
 this for RED-kingdom REL exist at island Java this can
ta'lo' dha' rato se dhari Cena jareya.
 surrender to king REL from China this
 The king was troubled because the king of China had come to Java to defeat the smaller kingdoms in Java, including the kingdom of Giling Tosan, wanting them to surrender to the Chinese king.
129. *Serrena la entar dha' Medang Kawulan, rato-na ruwet.*
 because already go to Medang Kawulan king-DEF perplexed
 Because the Chinese king went to Medang Kawulan, the king was troubled.
130. *Ya tanto-na la banne rato se lamba' la gante rato,*
 yes certain-DEF already no king REL before already succeed king
banne rato emba-na Radin Sagara, la gante orang.
 no king grandparent-DEF Radin Sagara already succeed person
 The King at Medang Kawulan was not the one from before, not the grandfather of Radin Sagara, but a successor.
131. *Settong bacto rato koca'-eng a-mempe ja' se bisa ma-kala rato*
 one time king say-DEF AV-dream COMP REL can AV.CS-defeat king
dhari nagara Cena reya na'-kana' dhari polo Madura nyama-na Radin
 from country China this RED-kid from island Madura name-DEF Radin
Sagara.
 Sagara
 Once the king dreamt that the one who could defeat the Chinese king was the boy from Madura named Radin Sagara.

132. *Ja'reng la olle petodu dhari Se Kobasa, a-mempe pas laju*
 because already get guidance from Si Lord AV-dream then then
rato reya ng-otos pate-na kaanguy nyare oreng se a-nyama
 king this AV-order pate-DEF for AV.seek person REL AV-name
Radin Sagera se badha neng polo Madura.
 Radin Sagera REL exist at island Madura
 Receiving guidance from the Lord, he had a dream, and then the king
 ordered his minister to look for the man named Radin Sagara who lived
 on Madura.
133. *Gabay panda'-na dungeng, aher-ra ka-temmo, e-temmo Radin Sagara*
 make short-DEF story end-DEF KA-meet OV-meet Radin Sagara
jareya bi' pate dhari Giling Tosan jareya.
 this with pate from Giling Tosan this
 To make the story shorter, eventually they met; the minister from Giling
 Tosan found Radin Sagara.
134. *E-aja', a-bala, dha' ebu', dha' reng seppo bine'-eng ja' ana'*
 OV-ask AV-say to mother to parent female-DEF COMP child
lake'-eng se la dibasa reya e-sambi-ya dha' nagara Giling
 male-DEF REL already mature this OV-bring-IRR to country Giling
Tosan e-pa-perrang-a moso rato dhari nagara Cena.
 Tosan OV-CS-war-IRR with king from country China
 He asked his mother if he could bring her grown son to Giling Tosan to do
 battle against the Chinese king.
135. *Seddheng la ng-addhep dha' rato, aher-ra Radin Sagara pas*
 while already AV-face to king end-DEF Radin Sagara then
ng-adheb-bi rato Cena jareya.
 AV-face-LOC king China this
 He went to the king, and in the end, Radin Sagara faced the Chinese king.
136. *Tanto-na Se Nanggala-na e-sambi reng entar-a a-perrang, ta'iya?*
 certain-DEF Si Nanggala -DEF OV-bring person go-IRR AV-war TAG
 And of course he brought Si Nanggala when he went to war, right?
137. *Makke la bannya' ka-sakte-na rato Cena jareya, lo' meddas*
 though already many NOM-magic-DEF king China this not hurt
e-tokol-lagi dha' Radin Sagara.
 OV-hit-AGI to Radin Sagara
 Even though the Chinese king had much supernatural power, Radin Sagara
 was unhurt when he was struck.

138. *Tape sa'ellana tombak Se Nanggala coma keng e-anar-ragi lo' sampe'*
 but after spear Si Nanggala only only OV-point-AGI not until
e-coco'-agi rato jeh tebas.
 OV-stab-AGI king this misfortunate
 And after that, he just pointed Si Nanggala at him; he didn't stab him, but
 the king died.
139. *Mate pas mennang, ya tanto-na rato bunga.*
 dead then WIN yes certain-DEF king happy
 He died, Radin Sagara won and, of course, the king was happy.
140. *Rato Cena se e-ka-tako'-e bi' to-rato se laen, bisa*
 king China REL OV-KA-afraid-LOC with RED-king REL other can
e-pa-kala moso oreng-nga rato Medang Kawulan se a-nyama
 OV-CS-defeat with person-DEF king Medang Kawulan REL AV-name
Radin Sagara jareya, na'-kana' Madura jareya.
 Radin Sagara this RED-kid Madura this
 The Chinese king, who the other kings were afraid of, was defeated by this
 man of the king of Medang Kawulan, the one named Radin Sagara, this
 son of Madura.
141. *Aher-ra, Radin Sagara reya pas e-pondut manto e-kala' manto*
 end-DEF Radin Sagara this then OV-take son-in-law OV-take son-in-law
bi' rato Medang Kawulan.
 with king Medang Kawulan
 Eventually, Radin Sagara became a son-in-law of the king of Medang
 Kawulan.
142. *Tape saellana Radin Sagara reya bit-abit badha neng nagara Medang*
 but after Radin Sagara this RED-long exist at country Medang
Kawulan, andhi' raji, andhi' bine neng Medang Kawulan,
 Kawulan have wife have wife at Medang Kawulan
mattawa-na rato Medang Kawulan pas a-tanya,
 parent-in-law-DEF king Medang Kawulan then AV-ask
 But after Radin Sagara had been in Medang Kawulan a long time and he
 had a wife there, his father-in-law, the king, asked,
143. *"Cong, ba'eng jiya, ba'na jareya reng towa lake'-eng sapa nyama-na."*
 son you this you this parent male-DEF who name-DEF
 "Cong, what is your father's name?"

144. *Bingong, reng lakar molae gi' lo' oneng dha' reng towa lake'-eng, se*
 confused person real start yet not know to parent male-DEF REL
oneng namong, coma tao dha' reng towa bine'-eng se a-nyama
 know only only know to parent female-DEF REL AV-name
Pottre Doro Gung jareya.
 Pottre Doro Gung this
 He really started to get confused, because he did not know who his father
 was and only knew his mother, Pottre Doro Gung.
145. “*Oh, dha' ka'dhinto saos, Rato, dan kula gi' a-tanya'-a dha' Ebu,*
 oh to this only king I still AV-ask-IRR to mother
manabi e-tanya'-agi reng seppo lake' badan kula.”
 if OV-ask-AGI father I
 “Oh, about this, Sire, I have to ask my mother, ask her who my father is.”
146. “*Ya, kalla la mole dha' Madura, tape a-bali pole ya.*”
 yes please already go.home to Madura but AV-return again yes
 “Yes, go home to Madura, but be sure to return again.”
147. “*Dalem ka'dhinto, Rato.*”
 I this king
 “I will do this, Sire.”
148. *Gabay panda'-eng careta, koca'-eng dungeng, Radin Sagara pas*
 make short-DEF story say-DEF story Radin Sagara then
mole dha' Madura entar a-panggi moso ibu'-eng.
 go.home to Madura go AV-meet with mother-DEF
 In short, Radin Sagara returned to Madura and found his mother.
149. *San la a-temmo bi' ibu'-eng pas a-tanya dha' ibu'-eng, “Bu,*
 after AV-meet with mother-DEF then AV-ask to mother-DEF mother
engko' neng nagara-na oreng bisa ma-kala moso, e-kala'
 I at country-DEF person can AV.CS-defeat enemy OV-take
manto malana engko'.
 son-in-law in addition me
 After he found his mother, he asked her, “Mother, I defeated the enemy of
 the country where I live, and was also taken as son-in-law by the king.
150. “*Tape serrena engko' e-tanya'-agi tang reng towa lake', engko' lo' bisa*
 but because I OV-ask-AGI my father I not know
a-jawab, Bu.”
 AV-answer mother
 “But I was asked who my father is, and I don't know the answer, Mother.”

151. *Ebu'-eng pas nanges, nanges.*
 mother-DEF then AV.cry AV.cry
 His mother started to cry and cry.
152. “*Adhu engko' lo' bisa a-jawab Na', mon ba'eng a-tanya*
 EXCL I not can AV-answer child if you AV-ask
reng towa lake'-eng.
 father-DEF
 “Oh dear, I cannot answer you, Son.
153. “*Engko' malo, malo onngu engko' dha' ba'eng polana*
 I embarrassed embarrassed real I to you because
ba'eng lakar lo' andhi' reng towa lake', Cong.
 you real not have father son
 “If you ask me about your father, I am ashamed, very ashamed to you,
 because you really don't have a father, son.
154. “*Lakar kobasa-na Pangeran, kabasa-na se Agung, ba'na reya*
 real authority-DEF Lord authority-DEF REL exalted you this
e-lahir-ragi engko' kalaban ta' andhi' emma'.”
 OV-born-AGI I with not have father
 “Actually the Lord, the Great One, had me give birth to you without a
 father.”
155. *Gadek, todhus, oreng lake' rembi' dha' dunnya lo' andhi'*
 shocked embarrassed person male born to world not have
reng towa lake'.
 father
 He was shocked and embarrassed to be born into the world and not
 have a father.
156. *Todhus, tape serrena neser dha' ebu'-eng, dha' reng towa bine'-eng*
 embarrassed but because pity to mother-DEF to mother-DEF
pas ngoca',
 then AV-say
 He was embarrassed, but because his loved his mother he said,
157. “*Manabi kadi ka'dhinto Ebu, dan kula a-rassa ce' ena-na,*
 if like this mother I AV-feel very inferior-DEF
a-rassa ce' todhus-sa dha' reng-oreng se ma'-semma'.
 AV-feel very embarrassed-DEF to RED-person REL RED-close
 “If it is like this, Mother, I feel very inferior, I feel very embarrassed to
 people close to me.

158. *"Ka'dhinto langkong sae dan kula ma-elang-a saos.*
 this more good I AV.CS-disappear-IRR only
"It would be better for me to just disappear,
159. *"Lo' neng-enneng-nga neng dunnya ka'dhinto, karsana malle oreng*
 not RED-stay-IRR at world this rather though person
oneng dha'pa-napa se daddi ka-birang-an epon badan kula."
 know to RED-what REL become NOM-ashamed DEF I
*"I should not stay in this world rather than have people know of my
 shame."*
160. *"O, mon ba'eng e-serna'-a keya, gemed-da keya, engko'*
 oh if you OV-disappear-IRR too disappear-IRR too I
noro'-a gemmet, Cong."
 AV.follow-IRR disappear son
"Oh, if you vanish, I will follow you, I will vanish too, Cong."
161. *Mon lakar ka'dhinto antara-na Radin Sagara moso ebu'-eng, so*
 if real this between-DEF Radin Sagara with mother-DEF, with
embu'-eng Pottre Doro Gung pas serna, pas gemmet koca'-eng
 mother-DEF Pottre Doro Gung then disappear then disappear say-DEF
reng Madura.
 person Madura
 This is really what happened, Radin Sagara and his mother, Pottre Doro
 Gung, vanished, according to the Madurese.
162. *Molae sa'at ka'dhinto Radin Sagara pas laju e-sebbut jugan, e-sebbut*
 start time this Radin Sagara then then OV-call also OV-call
keya, kana', bi' reng-oreng e-sebbut Panembahan Gemmet.
 too kid with RED-person OV-call nobleman disappear
 From that time on, Radin Sagara was called by everyone, was referred to
 as Panembahan Gemmet (the nobleman who vanished).
163. *Seddheng kraton-na koca'-eng badha neng disa Nepa se maso'*
 while kingdom-DEF say-DEF exist at village Nepa REL enter
dha' daerah kabupaten Sampang bagian daja.
 to district county Sampang part north
 The palace, it is said, was located in the village of Nepa in the county of
 Sampang, in northern Sampang.

164. *Dha' iya, kana', ya careta-na Radin Sagara se badha neng*
 like.this kid yes story-DEF Radin Sagara REL exist at
ngeng-dungeng Madura.
 RED-story Madura
 This is the story of Radin Sagara from the Madurese stories.
165. *Iya areya settong satreya Madura se rembi' dhari rahima reng seppo*
 yes this one knight Madura REL born from womb mother-DEF
bine'-eng Pottre Doro Gung kalaban ta' gadhuwan reng seppo lake'.
 Pottre Doro Gung with not have father
 He was a Madurese hero born from the womb of his mother Pottre Doro
 Gung without having a father.
166. *Serrena todhus, pas ma-elang gemmet ya.*
 because embarrassed then AV.CS-lost disappear yes
 Because he was ashamed, he made himself vanish.
167. *Seddheng tombak Se Nanggala koca'-eng pas noro' serna keya,*
 while spear Si Nanggala say-DEF then AV.follow disappear too
elang.
 lost
 When he disappeared, the spear Si Nanggala also disappeared, they say.
168. *Saellana Radin Sagara serna, tombak Se Nanggala noro' elang.*
 after Radin Sagara disappear spear Si Nanggala AV.follow lost
 After Radin Sagara disappeared, the spear Si Nanggala also disappeared.
169. *Ra'yat se badha neng Nepa jareya koca'-eng dungeng lo' noro'*
 people REL exist at Nepa this say-DEF story not AV.follow
serna, tape pas a-oba daddi mothak, daddi ketthang.
 disappear but then AV-change become monkey become monkey
 The people of Nepa, according to the story, did not disappear but turned
 into monkeys, became monkeys.
170. *Sampe' sateya thang-ketthang neng disa gi' bannya' neng Nepa jareya.*
 until now RED-monkey at town still many at Nepa this
 And now there are still many monkeys at Nepa.
171. *Se koca'-eng asal-la dhari ra'yad-da Radin Sagara se serna*
 REL say-DEF origin-DEF from people-DEF Radin Sagara REL disappear
jareya.
 this
 It is said that they originated from Radin Sagara's people.

172. *Ra-kerā cōkop gan dhinna' gallu dungeng-nga Radin Sagara.*
 RED-guess enough until here before story-DEF Radin Sagara
 OK, that's about enough for now; that's the story of Radin Sagara.

3. Siti Lalumba

as told by
 Sri Mulyati Surachman

1. *Gi' jaman lamba', kona, badha oreng andhi' ana' empa', bine' kabbi.*
 still age past ancient exist person have child four girl all
 A long time ago, there was a woman who had four children, all of them girls.
2. *Oreng jiya la towa, lo' andhi', mesken.*
 person this already old not have poor.
 This woman was very old and poor.
3. *Roma-na ne'-kene', ko'-rongko'.*
 house-DEF RED-small RED-hut
 The house was very small, only a small hut.
4. *Andhi' ana' empa', bine' kabbi nyama-na Siti Lalumba, Siti Kumamba,*
 have child four female all name-DEF Siti Lalumba Siti Kumamba
Siti Balasaritatiya ban Sariatinya.
 Siti Balasaritatiya and Sariatinya
 She had four children, all girls, named Siti Lalumba, Siti Kumamba, Siti Balasaritatiya and Sariatinya.
5. *Ban laggu ebu'-eng nyare kakan dha' pasar, nyare*
 every morning mother-DEF AV.seek eat to market AV.seek
ter-butur.
 RED-trivial.amount
 The mother looked for food at market. She looked for small amounts of rice.
6. *Biyasana oreng a-juwal topa' gi' cekka' topa'-eng.*
 usually person AV-sell wrapped.rice still stuck rice-DEF
 Usually someone sells rice cakes and some is still stuck in its wrapper.

7. *E-pele gan settong, e-badha-i taker.*
 OV-pick until one OV-exist-LOC leaf.container
 She picked over the leaves, one at a time. and put the rice in a leaf container.
8. *Dhaggi' lan san bannya' mole e-bagi dha' ana'-eng.*
 next after many go.home OV-give to child-DEF
 Later, when she got a lot, she went home and gave it to her children.
9. *Ana'-eng se empa' gella' e-dina'-agi neng roma-na.*
 child-DEF REL four before OV-leave-AGI at house-DEF
 She left the four children at home.
10. *Roma-na e-kanceng.*
 house-DEF OV-lock
 She locked the house.
11. *E-pesen bi' ebu'-eng.*
 OV-warn by mother-DEF
 The mother warned her children.
12. *Mon badha oreng se nokthok labang lo' ng-olok nyama-na padha bi' aba'eng, ja' bukka' labang-nga*
 if exist person REL AV.knock door not AV-call name-DEF same with
 her don't open door-DEF
 If there was someone knocking at the door without calling their names like she did, not to open the door.
13. *Sowal-la ana'-eng se bine' jiya din-radin la ja-raja, tako' e-kala' oreng, e-culik.*
 problem-DEF child-DEF REL female this RED-pretty already RED-big afraid
 OV-take person OV-kidnap
 Because her four girls were pretty and grown, she was afraid they would be taken, kidnaped.
14. *Mon san la dhateng dha' roma-na e-olok bi' ebu'-eng sambi a-nyanyi,*
 if already come to house-DEF OV-call by mother-DEF while
 AV-sing
 When she arrived, she called the children, singing,

15. “*Siti Lalumba, Siti Kumamba, Siti Balasariatinya, Sariatinya, Ebu'*
Siti Lalumba Siti Kumamba Siti Balasariatinya Sariatinya mother
la dhateng. Bukka' labang-nga.”
already come open door-DEF
“Siti Lalumba, Siti Kumamba, Siti Balasariatinya, Sariatinya, your Mother
is home. Open the door.”
16. *Aba'eng a-towat, a-cereng, senneng,*
they AV-shout AV-shout happy
They would shout, shout so happily
17. “*Oh, Ebu' dhateng. Ebu' dhateng. Ebu' dhateng.*
oh mother come mother come mother come
“Mother's home. Mother's home. Mother's home
18. “*Engko' se a-bukka'-a. Engko' se a-bukka'-a.*”
I REL AV-open-IRR I REL AV-open-IRR
“I am going to open the door. I am going to open the door.”
19. *Rebbu'-an ana'-eng jiya, terro se a-bukka'-a labang-nga.*
struggle-IT child-DEF this want REL AV-open-IRR door-DEF
The children jostled each other, each wanting to be the one to open the door.
20. *Krincing-krincing, “Ebu' dhateng. Ebu' dhateng.”*
sound of door opening mother come mother come
Krincing-krincing. “Mother's home. Mother's home.”
21. *Nase' sa-taker e-kembul-i e-kakan. Ce' nyaman-na!*
rice one-packet OV-share-LOC OV-eat very delicious-DEF
They shared one packet of rice. It was so delicious!
22. *Adha' juko'-eng, keng nase' tho'.*
not.exist fish-DEF only rice only
There was no fish, only rice and nothing else
23. *Buter tho' se e-badha-i taker, senneng.*
trivial.amount only REL OV-exist-LOC packet happy
They were happy even though it was a very small amount of rice in a
packet.

24. *Mon adha', ebu'-eng a-bali pole nyare kakan.*
 if not.exist mother-DEF AV-return again AV.seek eat
 If the rice ran out, the mother went back again to look for more to eat.
25. *Terros dha' iya ban are, katha jiya.*
 continue like.this every day like this
 It continued like this day after day.
26. *Klambi-na, la lo' mekker-e klambi.*
 clothes-DEF already not AV.think-DUR clothes
 And her clothes. She did not even think about clothes.
27. *Klambi-na la compang-camping, beddha bara' temor.*
 cloth-DEF already RED-tear tear west east
 Her dress was really raggedy, with holes everywhere.
28. *La lo' mekker-en; mekker-en se nyare kakan-an.*
 already not AV.think-DUR AV.think-DUR REL AV.seek eat-NOM
 She did not think about her dress; what she thought about was looking for food.
29. *A-lako la lo' kowat a-lako sowal-la la towa aba'eng.*
 AV-work already not strong AV-work problem-DEF already old she
 She was not strong enough to work because she was really old.
30. *Settong are badha oreng se terro dha' Siti Lalumba bi'*
 one day exist person REL want to Siti Lalumba with
tan-taretan-na.
 RED-sibling-DEF
 One day there were some men who wanted Siti Lalumba and her sisters.
31. *Oreng jiya oreng sogi, empa', empa' oreng.*
 person this person rich four four person
 They were four rich men.
32. *Oreng jiya nyendem-en pan-barampan are.*
 person this AV-spy-DUR RED-how.many day
 They were spying on the house for several days.
33. *Dha'ramma cara-na terro e-bukka'-a labang-nga bi' na'-kana' jiya.*
 how way-DEF want OV-open-IRR door-DEF with RED-child this
 They wanted to find a way to get the children to open the door for them.

34. *Mon ebu'-eng dhateng, apa se e-koca'?*
 if mother-DEF arrive what REL OV-say
 What did their mother say when she arrived at home?
35. *Dhaggi' mon ebu'-eng ng-olok ana'-eng dha'ramma?*
 next if mother-DEF AV-call child-DEF how
 How did the mother call to her children?
36. *Pas seddhang ebu'-eng mangkat, oreng jiya entar nokthok*
 then while mother-DEF leave person this go AV.knock
labang-nga. Thok, thok, thok.
 door-DEF
 Then when the mother left, the men went to knock on the door. Knock.
 Knock. Knock.
37. *"Sapa jiya se dhateng?" koca'-eng ana'-eng. "Pola Ebu'."*
 who this REL come say-DEF child-DEF maybe mother
 "Who is coming?" the children said. "Maybe Mother."
38. *"Sapa pole mon lo' Ebu'?"*
 who again if not mother
 "Who could it be if not Mother?"
39. *"Masa' ceppet dha' iya?"*
 impossible fast like.this
 "But it's impossible for her to get back so soon."
40. *Terros padha a-rendi-yan. Settong bi' laen-na padha a-rendi-yan.*
 continue same AV-argue-IT one with other-DEF same AV-argue-IT
 They were arguing. They were all arguing with one another.
41. *"Enja', banne! Banne Ebu'!"*
 no no no mother
 "No, it is not! It's not Mother!"
42. *"Pasthe Ebu' jiya! Pasthe Ebu'!"*
 must mother this must mother
 "It has to be Mother! It has to be Mother!"
43. *"Banne, Ebu' gi' buru mangkat! Penneng ja' bukka' gallu!"*
 no mother just left HORT don't open before
 "No, Mother just left! Let's not open the door yet."

44. *"Dhaggi' mon Ebu' ng-olok tang nyama bi' nyama-na ba'eng, bukka',"*
 next if mother AV-call my name with name-DEF you open
koca'-eng Siti Lalumba.
 say-DEF Siti Lalumba
 "But if she calls our names, open the door," said Siti Lalumba.
45. *Ya oreng gella' se lake' gella' tak la tao.*
 yes person before REL male before EMPH already know
 Well, these men already knew what the mother said when she got home.
46. *Tak la nyendem-en sabellunna dha'ramma cara-na terro*
 EMPH already AV.spy-DUR before how way-DEF want
e-bukka'-a labang-nga.
 OV-open-IRR door-DEF
 They had been spying and knew the way to get them to open the door.
47. *Mare dha' iya, se lake' nerro-wagi nyanyi-na ebu'-eng.*
 finish like.this REL male AV.want-AGI song-DEF mother-DEF
 After this, the men imitated the mother's song.
48. *"Siti Lalumba, Siti Kumamba, Siti Balasa'riatinya, Sariatinya, bukka'*
 Siti Lalumba Siti Kumamba Siti Balasa'riatinya Sariatinya open
labang-nga! Ebu' la dhateng."
 door-DEF mother already come
 "Siti Lalumba, Siti Kumamba, Siti Balasa'riatinya, Sariatinya, open the
 door. Mother is here."
49. *"Dha'ramma tak a-nyanyi," koca'-eng sala settong-nga.*
 how EMPH AV-sing say-DEF one.of-DEF
 "See, she is singing," said one of them.
50. *E-bukka' labang-nga.*
 OV-open door-DEF
 And they opened the door.
51. *Seddhang e-bukka', oh banne Ebu'.*
 while OV-open oh no mother
 When they opened the door, they were surprised; it was not Mother.
52. *Pas ka-tako'-an kabbi.*
 then AD-afraid all
 They were all very scared.

53. *Buru-wa dha' kamma lo' bisa buru.*
 run-IRR to where not can run
 They wanted to run away, but they weren't able to.
54. *Labang-nga me' settong, labang budhi-na adha'.*
 door-DEF EMPH one door back-DEF not.exist
 There was only one door. There was no back door.
55. *Dha'ramma jiya buru dha' kamma?*
 how this run to where
 Oh no...how to get away?
56. *Adha' padha e-pega', e-pega', e-tompa'-agi jaran.*
 front same OV-catch OV-catch OV-ride-AGI horse
 Finally, they were all caught, caught and taken away on the horses.
57. *E-sambi buru bi' reng lake', e-sambi buru jau sara.*
 OV-bring run with person male OV-bring run far very
 They were kidnaped by the men and taken far away.
58. *Mare dha' iya ka-gabay bine, padha ka-bine.*
 finish like.this KA-make wife same KA-wife
 After that, they were married by these men; they were all married.
59. *Kan oreng-nga empa', settong-settong padha ka-bine.*
 EMPH person-DEF four RED-one same KA-marry
 There were four kidnapers, and each of the girls got married to one of them.
60. *Sedhang ebu'-eng dhateng, labang-nga paggun a-totop.*
 while mother-DEF arrive door-DEF still AV-close
 When their mother got home, the door was closed.
61. *Tape me' adha' kasa'-eng.*
 but EMPH not.exist sound-DEF
 But there wasn't a sound.
62. *Koca'-eng, "Roma-na paggun a-kanceng. Dha' kamma tang na'-kana'?"*
 say-DEF house-DEF still AV-lock to where my RED-child
 She thought, "The house is locked, where did my children go?"

63. *Pas e-olok, "Siti Lalumba, Siti Kumamba, Siti Balasariatinya, Sariatinya,*
 then OV-call Siti Lalumba Siti Kumamba Siti Balasariatinya Sariatinya
Ebu' la dhateng. Bukka' labang-nga!"
 mother already come open door-DEF
 Then she called her children, "Siti Lalumba, Siti Kumamba, Siti
 Balasariatinya, Sariatinya, Mother is here. Open the door!"
64. *Adha'. Adha' a-monye. Labang-nga paggun a-totop.*
 not.exist not.exist AV-sound door-DEF still AV-close
 There was nothing. Not a sound. The door remained closed.
65. *"Adha' sowara-na. Dha' kamma tang ana'?"*
 not.exist voice-DEF to where my child
 "There isn't a sound. Where did my children go?"
66. *A-lengleng nase'-eng sampe' dhumpa; la lo' e-reken.*
 AV-go.around rice-DEF until spilled EMPH not OV-count
 She went around the house and the rice spilled to the ground; she didn't care.
67. *A-lengleng, "Kemma tang ana'? Kemma tang ana'?"*
 AV-go.around where my child where my child
 She went around the house saying, "Where are my children? Where
 are my children?"
68. *Pas e-bukka' labang-nga, adha' oreng-nga.*
 then OV-open door-DEF not.exist person-DEF
 Then she opened the door, but nobody was there.
69. *Ana'-eng adha' kabbi.*
 child-DEF not.exist all
 All of her children were gone.
70. *"Adhu! Dha' kamma tang ana'? Dha' kamma tang ana'?"*
 EXCL to where my child to where my child
 "Oh no! Where did my children go? Where did my children go?"
71. *Wa' a-lenglengleng e-sare-en neng roma-na adha'.*
 EXCL AV-go.around OV-look-DUR at house-DEF not.exist
 She went around the house looking for her children, but no one was there.
72. *"Tang ana' pasthe buru otaba e-sambi oreng.*
 my child must run or OV-bring person
 "My children must have run away or have been kidnaped.

73. *“Lo' tao maen dha' lowar tang ana' jiya.*
not know play to outside my child this
“My children never play outside.
74. *“Dha' kamma?” koca'-eng.*
to where say-DEF
“Where did they go?” she thought.
75. *“E-sare-en, sowal-la so engko' e-sare-ya dha' kamma tang*
OV-seek-DUR problem-DEF with I OV-seek-IRR to where my
ana' sampe' ka-temmo.”
child until KA-meet
“I am going to look for my children, no matter what, until I find them.”
76. *A-jalan e-sare-en.*
AV-walk OV-seek-DUR
She went to look for them.
77. *Sabban a-temmo bi' orang, e-tanya'-agi, “Ba'eng ngatela'-e tang ana'*
every AV-meet with person OV-ask-AGI you AV.see-DUR my child
ya?”
yes
Each time she met someone, she asked, “Have you seen my children?”
78. *“Sapa ana'-eng ba'eng?”*
who child-DEF you
“Who are your children?”
79. *“Engko' andhi' ana' empa', nyama-na Siti Lalumba, Siti Kumamba, Siti*
I have child four name-DEF Siti Lalumba Siti Kumamba Siti
Balasariatinya, ban Sariatinya.
Balasariatinya and Sariatinya
“I have four children, and their names are Siti Lalumba, Siti Kumamba, Siti
Balasariatinya, and Sariatinya.
80. *“Nemmo-wa ya ba'eng?”*
AV.meet-IRR yes you
“Have you seen them?”
81. *“Enja', lo' nemmo.”*
no not AV.meet
“No, I haven't seen them.”

82. *A-jalan pole a-jalan.*
 AV-walk again AV-walk
 She walked and walked.
83. *Sala oreng la towa, jalan “yok-seyok”.*
 one.of person already old walk (dragging sound)
 She was old and walked with a limp.
84. *Ka-panas-an, ka-ojan-an, seyang malem, nyare terros.*
 AD-hot AD-rain day night AV.seek continue.
 Suffering heat and rain, she continue to look for her children day and night.
85. *Aher-ra a-temmo dha' oreng.*
 end-DEF AV-meet to person
 Finally, she met a woman.
86. *A-tanya pole, “Ba'eng a-temmo bi' tang ana'? Ba'eng a-temmo bi' tang ana'?”*
 AV-ask again you AV-meet with my child you AV-meet with my child
 child
 Again she asked, “Have you seen my children? Have you seen my children?”
87. *“Ngatela'-e tang ana' pola? Engko' nyare-en tang ana'.”*
 AV.see-DUR my child perhaps I AV.seek-DUR my child
 “Have you seen my children perhaps? I am looking for my children.”
88. *“Oh iya, Bu. Wa' roh! Neng kassa, roh!”*
 oh yes Bu EXCL EMPH at there EMPH
 “Oh yes, Bu. Right there!”
89. *“Ya? Neng kamma?”*
 yes at where
 “Yes? Where?”
90. *“Neng kassa. Ana'-eng ba'eng sateya sogi, senneng la'an.*
 at there child-DEF you now rich happy already
 “Right there. Now your children are rich and happy now.
91. *“Ana'-eng ba'eng andhi' lake.*
 child-DEF you have husband
 “Your children are married.

92. *“Neng kassa roh roma-na se perna.”*
 at there EMPH house-DEF REL comfortable
 “Those fancy houses there are theirs.”
93. *Oh, ya. Adhu senneng ibu'-eng, senneng sara.*
 oh yes EXCL happy mother-DEF happy very
 Well, the mother was happy, really happy.
94. *Entar, e-thok-thok.*
 go OV-knock
 She went and knocked on the door
95. *“Adhu,” koca'-eng. “Adhu pasthe tang ana'.*
 EXCL say-DEF EXCL must my child
 “Oh, my” she thought. “It must be my child.
96. *“Engko' ce' kerrong-nga bi' tang ana' la'an.*
 I very longing-DEF with my child already
 “I have missed my children very much.
97. *“La a-lan-bulan engko' la lo' a-temmo bi' tang ana'.*
 already AV-RED-month I already not AV-meet with my child
 “I haven't seen my children for months.
98. *“Pasthe tang ana' senneng onngu mon e-temmo bi' engko',” pekker-e*
 must my child happy real if OV-meet with me think-LOC
ibu'-eng.
 mother-DEF
 “My children will be very happy to see me,” she thought.
99. *Pas e-thokthok labang-nga, “Glanon.”*
 then OV-knock door-DEF excuse me
 Then she knocked at the door and said, “Excuse me.”
100. *Siti Lalumba pas badha roma-na.*
 Siti Lalumba then exist house-DEF
 Siti Lalumba was at home at that time.
101. *“Sapa ba'eng?”*
 who you
 “Who are you?”

102. “*Oh, Siti Lalumba!*” *E-gellu'-a ana'-eng e-seyom-ma ana'-eng.*
 oh Siti Lalumba OV-hug-IRR child-DEF OV-kiss-IRR child-DEF
 “Oh Siti Lalumba!” She tried to hug and kiss her child.
103. *Para' e-sandakeb-ba tape ana'-eng molor.* “*Sapa ba'eng jiya?*”
 almost OV-hug-IRR but child-DEF back away who you this
 She almost hugged her, but her child backed away. “Who are you?”
104. “*Engko' ebu'-eng ba'eng, Siti Lalumba. Masa' ba'eng lo'*
 I mother-DEF you Siti Lalumba impossible you not
enga' dha' engko'?”
 remember to me
 “I am your mother, Siti Lalumba. How can you not recognize me?”
105. “*Enja', engko' lo' andhi' ebu'. Tang ebu' raddin, lo' katha ba'eng.*
 no I not have mother my mother pretty not like you
 “No, I do not have mother like you. My mother is pretty, not like you.
106. “*Ba'eng la towa. Klambi-na dha-beddha katha jiya.*
 you already old clothes-DEF RED-tear like this
 “You are old. Your clothes have many holes in them.
107. “*Nyengga! Nyengga! Engko' lo' andhi' ebu' katha ba'eng.*”
 AV.go away AV.go away I not have mother like you
 “Go away! Go away! I don't have a mother like you.”
108. *Lo', lo' endha' Siti Lalumba dha' ebu'-eng.*
 not not willing Siti Lalumba to mother-DEF
 No, Siti Lalumba refused the woman as her mother.
109. *Ebu'-eng nanges.*
 mother-DEF AV.cry
 Her mother cried.
110. “*Siti Lalumba, masa' ba'eng lo' parcaja engko' ebu'-eng?*
 Siti Lalumba impossible you not believe I mother-DEF
 “Siti Lalumba, how come you don't believe I am your mother?”

111. *“Engko' se ng-rabad-i ba'eng molae gi' kene' sampe' la towa*
 I REL AV-care-DUR you start still small until already old
padha bi' reya.
 same with this
 “I am the one who took care of you since you were a small child until you
 are grown like this.
112. *“Sedhang senneng, ba'eng lo' enga' dha' engko'.”*
 while happy you not remember to me
 “You are happy now, but you don't remember me.”
113. *“Enja, engko' lo' andhi' ibu' katha ba'eng.*
 no I not have mother like you
 “No, I don't have a mother like you.
114. *“Masa' engko' andhi' ibu' katha ba'eng.”*
 impossible I have mother like you
 “How could I have the mother like you?”
115. *Nanges ibu'-eng.*
 AV.cry mother-DEF
 Her mother was crying.
116. *Ibu'-eng paggun lo' endha' nyangga, gi' paggun.*
 mother-DEF still not willing AV.go away yet still
 Her mother didn't want to go away. She stayed there.
117. *Pas e-sampat bi' pacca'-eng, teppa' dha' soko-na.*
 then OV-throw with wooden.sandal-DEF right to leg-DEF
 Then she threw her shoe at her mother and hit her right on the leg.
118. *Sake' sampe' bungo kabbi soko-na.*
 hurt until blue all leg-DEF
 It hurt and her leg was blue all over.
119. *A-jalan nyangga dhari roma-na.*
 AV-walk AV.go away from house-DEF
 The mother walked away from the house.
120. *Nokthok dha' roma settong-nga pole.*
 AV.knock to house one-DEF again
 The mother knocked at the next house.

121. *“Pola roma-na Siti Kumamba. Pola bellas dha' engko’.”*
 probably house-DEF Siti Kumamba probably pity to me
 “It’s probably Siti Kumamba’s house. She will probably feel sorry for me.”
122. *E-thokthok labang-nga. Ka-bendher-ran padha bi' Siti Lalumba.*
 OV-knock door-DEF NOM-true same with Siti Lalumba
 She knocked at the door. Actually, she was just like Siti Lalumba.
123. *Lake-na adha'. Ajiya bi' dibi'-eng neng roma.*
 husband-DEF not.exist this with alone-DEF at house
 Her husband was not there. She was home alone.
124. *E-bukka' labang-nga, sambid-da padha bi' Siti Lalumba.*
 OV-open door-DEF respond-DEF same with Siti Lalumba
 She opened the door, but her response was the same as Siti Lalumba’s.
125. *“Ba'eng banne tang ebu'. Tang ebu' raddin, lo' katha ba'eng.*
 you no my mother my mother pretty not like you
 “You are not my mother. My mother is pretty, not like you.
126. *“Engko' todhus andhi' ebu' katha ba'eng. Nyengga!”*
 I ashamed have mother like you AV.go away
 “I’d be ashamed to have a mother like you. Go away!”
127. *E-seram bi' aeng panas.*
 OV-splash with water hot
 She splashed her mother with hot water.
128. *Teppa' dha' soko-na, teppa' dha' bettes-sa.*
 right to feet-DEF right to calf-DEF
 It hit her feet and calves.
129. *Ebu'-eng nanges, “Adhu, tang ana', me' katha jiya?”*
 mother-DEF AV.cry EXCL my child EMPH like this
 The mother cried, “Oh, my child, why treat me like this?”
130. *“Engko' se ma-raja ce' ongguna, balas-sa padha bi' jiya.”*
 I REL AV.CS-big very real-DEF respond-DEF same with this
 “I am the one who worked so hard to raise her, and this is how she repays me.”

131. *Entar pole dha' roma settong-nga.*
 go again to house one-DEF
 The mother then went to the next house.
132. *Roma-na a-jir-jijir. Siti Lalumba, Siti Kumamba, Siti Balasariatinya,*
 house-DEF AV-RED-close Siti Lalumba Siti Kumamba Siti Balasariatinya
bi' Sariatinya roma-na jir-jijir ka-empa'.
 with Sariatinya house-DEF RED-close KA-four
 Their houses were side by side. Siti Lalumba, Siti Kumamba, Siti
 Balasariatinya, and Saraitinya's houses, all four were side by side.
133. *Nokthok pole ebu'-eng dha' roma settong-nga.*
 AV.knock again mother-DEF to house one-DEF
 The mother knocked again at the next house.
134. *Sambid-da lo' pate kasar tape paggun bain gi' lo' ng-ako dha'*
 respond-DEF not really rude but still else yet not AV-admit to
ebu'-eng.
 mother-DEF
 The response was not really rude, but she still would not admit that the
 woman was her mother.
135. *"Ba'eng banne tang ebu'. Engko' todhus andhi' ebu' katha ba'eng.*
 you no my mother I ashamed have mother like you
 "You are not my mother. I'd be ashamed have a mother like you.
136. *"Tang lake gantheng, sogi. Aba'eng ja' neng kanna'! Ja' dha'*
 my husband handsome rich you don't at here don't to
kanna'!
 here
 "My husband is handsome and rich. You cannot stay here. You go away.
136. *"Ya', ba'eng e-berri-na pesse bi' engko'.*
 here you OV-give-IRR money with me
 "Here, I'll give you some money.
138. *"Tape ba'eng ja' neng kanna'. Engko' todhus."*
 but you don't at here I ashamed
 "But you can't stay here. I would be ashamed."
139. *Ebu'-eng nanges, "Adhu, tang ana'!"*
 mother-DEF AV.cry EXCL my child
 The mother cried, "Oh, my child!"

140. *Pesse gella' lo' endha'.*
 money before not willing
 She didn't want the money.
141. “*Enja', engko' lo' parlo pesse. Engko' parlo tang ana'. Ya' pesse-na!*”
 no I not need money I need my child here money-DEF
 “No, I don't need money. I need my child. Here's your money!”
142. *E-samped-dagi e-bagi pole pesse-na. Lo' endha'.*
 OV-throw-AGI OV-give again money-DEF not willing
 She threw it, gave the money back. She didn't want it.
143. *Ebu'-eng a-jalan pole.*
 mother-DEF AV-walk again
 The mother set off again.
144. “*Kare settong tang ana'. Pola reya se bellas dha' engko'.*”
 remain one my child maybe this REL pity to me
 “One of my children is left. Maybe she will feel sorry for me.”
145. *Ka-bendher-ran lake-na badha roma-na.*
 NOM-true husband-DEF exist house-DEF
 Actually her husband was at home.
146. *Lo' e-sangka ana' se dhi-budhi ce' bellas-sa dha' ibu'-eng.*
 not OV-think child REL RED-back very pity-DEF to mother-DEF
 Who knew that the last child would take pity on her mother?
147. *Langsong, “Oh Ebu', Ebu', Ebu'!”*
 direct oh mother mother mother
 Right away she cried, “Mother, Mother, Mother!”
148. *Langsong e-rangkol e-seyom ibu'-eng.*
 direct OV-hug OV-kiss mother-DEF
 Right away she hugged and kissed her mother.
149. “*Ba' ba'eng me' katha reya, Bu'? Adhu, Bu', ba'eng me' katha*
 Q you EMPH like this mother EXCL mother you EMPH like
reya, Bu'?
 this mother
 “Why are you like this, Mother? Oh, Mother, why are you like this?”

150. *"Adhu, Bu', ba'eng me' teppang jalan-na me' katha reya?"*
 EXCL mother you EMPH lame walk-DEF EMPH like this
 "Oh, Mother, why are you lame like this?"
151. *"Ba'eng me' sajan towa me' katha jiya?"*
 you EMPH more old EMPH like this
 "Why do you look so old?"
152. *Ebu'-eng nanges a-careta,*
 mother-DEF AV.cry AV-story
 Crying, the mother said,
153. *"Ja' engko' a-jalan jau dhari roma sampe' dha' enna'.*
 EMPH I AV-walk far from house until to here
 "I walked far from home to get here.
154. *"Tang tabu' lapar arjang.*
 my stomach hungry thirsty
 "I was hungry and thirsty.
155. *"Ambu neng jalan ng-enom, menta aeng ng-enom dha' oreng."*
 stop at street AV-drink ask water AV-drink to person
 "I stopped in the street to get a drink. I asked people for water to drink."
156. *Poko'-eng a-careta.*
 basic-DEF AV-told
 In short, she told the story.
157. *Poko'-eng lo' a-bala ja' embug-ga lo' bellas dha' aba'eng.*
 basic-DEF not AV-say COMP eld.sister-DEF not pity to her
 She didn't say that her older sisters did not feel sorry for her.
158. *Lo' ng-ako dha' aba'eng. Lo' a-bala dha' Sariatinya.*
 not AV-admit to her not AV-say to Sariatinya
 She didn't admit it to her. She didn't tell Sariatinya.
159. *"Kanna', Bu'. Ayu', Bu'."*
 here mother HORT mother
 "Come here, Mother. Come on."

160. *E-berri'-na ngakan ebu'-eng.*
 OV-give-IRR AV.eat mother-DEF
 She gave her mother something to eat.
161. *Se lake, e-pa-kennal-agi dha'se lake.*
 REL husband OV-CS-know-AGI to REL husband
 She introduced her to her husband.
162. *“Ajiya tang ebu'. Ebu' la towa.*
 this my mother mother already old
 “This is my mother. She's quite old.
163. *“Areya se ng-rabad-i engko'.*
 this REL AV-care-DUR me
 “She is the one who took care of me.
164. *“Molae engko' gi' kene', Ebu' se ng-rabad-i engko'.”*
 begin I yet small mother REL AV-care-DUR me
 “Since I was little, Mother is the one who took care of me.”
165. *“Iya, lo' pa-apa.”*
 yes not RED-what
 “Yes, no problem.”
166. *Se lake pas ce' becce'-eng keya.*
 REL male agreeable very good-DEF too
 Her husband was a very kind person, too.
167. *“Dina Ebu' nenneng neng kannu'. Saba' neng kamar adha' rowa
 Ebu'.”*
 let mother stay at here put at room front that
 mother
 “Let Mother stay here. Put Mother in the front room.”
168. *Mare ngakan ebu'-eng pas mandhi.*
 finish AV.eat mother-DEF then bathe
 After eating, her mother bathed.
169. *Mare mandhi pas e-berri' klambi se gantheng, se anyar.*
 finish bathe then OV-give clothes REL handsome REL new
 After bathing, she gave her mother a nice new dress.

170. *“La, Bu’, ba’eng nenneng neng kanna’ ya.*
EXCL mother you stay at here yes
“Mother you stay here, ok?”
171. *“Lo’ osa a-lako, lo’ osa nyare kakan cora’ sabban-na.*
not need AV-work not need AV.seek eat like previous-DEF
“You don’t need to work, and you don’t need to look for food like before.”
172. *“Neng kanna’ so engko’ e-berri’-na ngakan.”*
at here with me OV-give-IRR AV.eat
“Stay here, and I will feed you.”
173. *“E-rabad-i ba’eng bi’ engko’, Bu’.”*
OV-care-LOC you with me mother
“I am going to take care of you, Mother.”
174. *Nenneng sadhiya pas ebu’-eng.*
stay there then mother-DEF
So the mother stayed there.
175. *Sabban are e-rabad-i bi’ Sariatinya.*
every day OV-care-LOC with Sariatinya
Every day Sariatinya took care of her mother.
176. *Settong are ebu’-eng sake’.*
one day mother-DEF sick
One day her mother got sick.
177. *Ebu’-eng sake’ e-sambi dha’ dhukon.*
mother-DEF sick OV-bring to traditional doctor
They brought her mother to the dukun.
178. *Mare sambi dha’ man-kamman mare, pas mate ebu’-eng.*
finish bring to RED-where finish then die mother-DEF
After they had taken her all over, her mother died.
179. *Sabellunna mate, ebu’-eng mesen, “Mon engko’ mate, kobur neng*
before die mother-DEF AV.instruct if I die bury at
budhi-na roma-na ba’eng ya.”
back-DEF house-DEF you yes
Before she died, the mother instructed, “When I die, bury me behind the house, OK?”

180. “*Ya, Bu’.*”
 yes mother
 “Yes, Mother.”
181. *E-kobur neng budhi-na roma-na.*
 OV-bury at back-DEF house-DEF
 She was buried behind house.
182. *Ban are e-seram bi’ Sariatinya.*
 every day OV-shower with Sariatinya
 Every day Sariatinya watered the grave.
183. *Pas tombu kembang. Neng attas-sa kobur-an tombu kembang.*
 then grow flower at top-DEF bury-NOM grow flower
 Then flowers grew. Flowers grew on the grave.
184. *A-kembang lebba’, bannya’ kembang-nga.*
 AV-flower heavy many flower-DEF
 There were lots and lots of flowers.
185. *Ban are Sariatinya molong kembang.*
 every day Sariatinya AV.gather flower
 Sariatinya gathered flowers every day.
186. *E-saba’ neng baddha-na kembang neng roma-na.*
 OV-put at container-DEF flower at house-DEF
 She put the flowers in a vase in the house.
187. *Settong are embug-ga dhateng.*
 one day eld.sister-DEF come
 One day her older sister came.
188. *Siti Lalumba a-maen dha’ Sariatinya.*
 Siti Lalumba AV-play to Sariatinya
 Siti Lalumba visited Sariatinya.
189. *Terro neggu-wa kembang.*
 want AV.see-IRR flower
 She wanted to see the flowers.

190. “*Adhu kembang-nga ce' gantheng-nga! Ce' raddin-na kembang-nga*
 EXCL flower-DEF very handsome-DEF very pretty-DEF flower-DEF
reya!
 this
 “Wow, the flowers are so beautiful! The flowers are so pretty!”
191. “*Nemmo kamma ba'eng melle-na, Le'?*
 AV.meet where you AV.buy-IRR yngr.sibling
 “Where did you buy them, Sis?”
192. “*Enja', engko' lo' melle. Engko' coma molong ngala' neng*
 no I not AV.buy I just AV.gather AV.take at
budhi-na roma.”
 back-DEF house
 “Oh, I didn't buy them. I just picked them from behind the house.”
193. “*O iya? Jajal engko' terro tao-wa.*”
 oh yes try I want know-IRR
 “Oh yeah? I want to see them.”
194. “*Iya ayu' lo' pa-apa mon ba'eng terro ngala'.*
 yes HORT not RED-what if you want AV.take
 “Come on, I don't mind if you want to take some.”
195. “*Ngala' dibi' kassa, molong dibi'.*
 AV.take self there AV.collect self
 “Well help yourself.”
196. “*Kembang-nga bannya', lo' adha' makke e-polong engko'.*
 flower-DEF many not not.exist though OV-gather I
 “There are a lot of flowers, and they never run out even though I pick them.”
197. “*Dhaggi' mare e-polong tombu pole a-kembang pole.*”
 next finish OV-gather grow again AV-flower again
 “After I have picked them, the flowers grow again.”
198. *Aher-ra Siti Lalumba entar dibi'.*
 end-DEF Siti Lalumba go self
 Finally, Siti Lalumba went out by herself.

199. *Ngala', lo' bisa.*
 AV.take not able
 She tried to pick them but she couldn't.
200. *Kembang sajan tenggi mon meteg-ga.*
 flower more high if AV.hold-IRR
 The flowers went higher and higher when she tried to grab hold of them.
201. *Kembang-nga jan tenggi, jan tenggi lo' bisa.*
 flower-DEF more high more high not able
 The flowers got higher and higher, and she couldn't get them.
202. *Peggel mole lo' la-bala dha' Sariatinya, mole.*
 angry go.home not RED-say to Sariatinya go.home.
 She got angry and went home without telling Sariatinya she was leaving.
203. *A-bala dha' Siti Kumamba ja' neng roma-na ale'-eng badha*
 AV-say to Siti Kumamba COMP at house-DEF yngr.sibling-DEF exist
kembang se a-kembang ce' lebba'-a ban aba'eng lo' bisa ngala'.
 flower REL AV-flower very heavy-DEF and she not can AV.take
 She told Siti Kumamba that at their little sister's house there was a flower
 bush that grew a lot of flowers, but she wasn't able to pick them.
204. *Ng-ajak, "Ayu' ngala', pola ba'eng bisa."*
 AV.nvite HORT AV.take maybe you can
 She said, "Come on, let's go pick some. Maybe you'll be able to."
205. *Sariatinya adha' neng roma-na, entar dha' pasar.*
 Sariatinya not.exist at house-DEF go to market.
 Sariatinya was not at home. She had gone to the market.
206. *"Ayu' pola ba'eng bisa ngala'."*
 HORT maybe you can AV.take
 "Come on, maybe you'll be able to pick them."
207. *Entar dha' roma-na Sariatinya.*
 go to house-DEF Sariatinya
 So they went to Sariatinya's house.
208. *Ban ngala', makke e-guwi', make e-nae'-en, lo' bisa.*
 every AV.take though OV-poke.at though OV-climb-LOC not can
 Every time they tried to grab the flowers, even though they poked at them
 and climbed on them, they couldn't get them.

209. *Kembang sajan tenggi, sajan tenggi lo' bisa, sajan tenggi lo' bisa.*
 flower more high more high not can more high not can
 They could get the flowers because the bush kept getting higher and higher.
210. *Ng-olok ale'-eng pole se settong-nga, Balasariatinya.*
 AV-call yngr.sister-DEF again REL one-DEF Balasariatinya
 Then they called their other little sister, Balasariatinya.
211. *Balasariatinya entar dha' sadhiya.*
 Balasariatinya go to there
 Balasariatinya went over there.
212. *Lo' bisa keya. Keng bisa manggu' tape lo' bisa amolong, lo' bisa*
 not can too only can AV.pull on but not can AV.gather not can
metek.
 AV.collect
 She couldn't do it either. She could pull the branch down, but she wasn't able to get the flowers.
213. *Seddhang mare dha' iya, se taretan ka-tello jiya a-rembuk.*
 while finish like.this REL sibling KA-three this AV-discuss
 After doing this, the three sisters talked it over.
214. *"Ayu' ano padha manjang lor-solor, lor-solor.*
 HORT say same AV.stand RED-relay RED-relay
 "Let's all three of us stand on each other.
215. *"Ba'eng nongko' neng tang bau.*
 you AV.roost at my shoulder
 "You get on my shoulders.
216. *"Terros Balasariatinya nongko' neng bahu-na ba'eng.*
 continue Balasariatinya AV.roost at shoulder-DEF you
Gul-tonggul-an.
 RED-sit on shoulders-AN
 "Then Balasariatinya gets on your shoulders. One on top of the other.
217. *"Iya, ayu'!"*
 yes HORT
 "Come on! Let's go!"

218. *Sedhang e-kala'-a kembang-nga, pas, tana gella' pas ma-roka.*
 while OV-take-IRR flower-DEF then ground before then AV.CS-split
 While they were trying to get the flowers, the ground suddenly split open.
219. *Taretan ka-tello' jiya maso' dha' dhalem.*
 sibling KA-three this enter to inside
 The three sisters fell into the hole.
220. *Ka-bendher-ran Sariatinya dhateng.*
 NOM-true Sariatinya come
 At that very moment, Sariatinya arrived.
221. *Pas teppa'-eng tana-na ma-roka tan-taretan-na maso'.*
 then time-DEF ground-DEF AV.CS.split RED-sibling-DEF enter
 She saw the ground split and her three sisters fall in.
222. *"Tolong, tolong, tolong," koca'-eng taretan-na.*
 help help help say-DEF sibling-DEF
 "Help, help, help," called her sisters.
223. *Tape lo' bisa nolong Sariatinya.*
 but not can AV.help Sariatinya
 But Sariatinya could do nothing to help them.
224. *Tana-na ma-roka ce' lebar-ra.*
 ground-DEF AV.CS-split very wide-DEF
 The ground had split open too wide.
225. *Se taretan se ka-tello' jiya maso' dha' dhalem.*
 REL sibling REL KA-three this enter to inside
 The three sisters were swallowed up in the ground.
226. *Adha' tana-na a-totop pole ce' cepped-da.*
 front ground-DEF AV-close again very fast-DEF
 Next, the ground closed up again very quickly.
227. *Bi' bang-kembang-nga maso'.*
 with RED- flower-DEF enter
 The flowers got swallowed up, too.
228. *Adha', amblas, mate, maso' dha' dhalem tana.*
 not.exist gone die enter to inside ground
 They were all gone, buried in the ground

229. “*Adhu tang tan-taretan adha' kabbi.*”
EXCL my RED-sibling not.exist all
“Oh no, all of my sisters are gone.”
230. *Sariatinya, aba'eng lo' bisa pa-apa.*
Sariatinya she not can RED-what
Sariatinya wasn't able to do anything.
231. *Lo' bisa nolong-e taretan-na.*
not can AV.help-LOC sibling-DEF
She couldn't help her sisters.
232. *Tengka lako-na padha bi' jiya tan-taretan.*
behavior do-DEF same with this RED-sibling
It was because of her sisters' behavior.
233. *Ella kare Sariatinya odhi' senneng bi' lake-na.*
already remain Sariatinya live happy with husband-DEF
Well, Sariatinya and her husband lived happily ever after.

4. Kerrapan Sape

as told by
Bu Mauliyati

1. *Sabban taon e Madura e-badha'-agi kerrap-an sape.*
every year at Madura OV-exist-AGI spur-NOM bull
Every year on Madura, they put on bull races.
2. *E-molae dhari kerrap Kabadanan, kerrap Kabupaten, sampe' ondhak se*
OV-begin from race Kabadanan race Kabupaten until level REL
*dhi-budhi kerrap Karesidenan.*¹
RED-back race Karesidenan
It begins with the Kabadanan (subdistrict) race, and then the Kabupaten
(district) race, until reaching the final Karesidenan race.

¹ Historically, *kabadanan*, *kabupaten*, and *karesidenan* are three levels of governmental units. The *kabadanan* is a subdistrict level, made up of small villages. Several *kabadanan* comprise the *kabupaten*, essentially equivalent to a county level of government. The *karesidenan* is made up of the four *kabupaten* of Madura, Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenup. Of the three, only the *kabupaten* has a role in modern government.

3. *Tello' pasang bagiyany mennang bi' tello' pasang bagiyany kala neng*
 three pair part win with three pair part defeated at
kerrap Kabadanan noro' addu-wan kerrap e Kabupaten.
 race Kabadanan AV.follow compete-NOM race at Kabupaten
 Three of the teams win over three others at the Kabadanan race and then go
 on to the competition at the Kabupaten.
4. *Nem pasang se mennang kerrapan Kabupaten olle noro' kerrap neng*
 six pair REL win race Kabupaten get AV.follow race at
Karesidenan Madura.
 Karesidenan Madura
 Six teams that win the Kabupaten race get to go on to the Karesidenan
 Madura race.
5. *Daddi se Madura gun badha pa' lekor pasang kaangguy a-rebu'*
 so REL Madura until exist four twenty pair for AV-compete
eppres nomer settong, nomer dhuwa', nomer tello'.
 award number one number two number three
 So on Madura there are 24 teams competing for the awards for number one,
 number two, and number three.
6. *Bagiyany mennang tello' pasang, bagiyany tello' nomer pole bagiyany se*
 part win three pair part three number again part REL
kala.
 defeated
 Three teams will win and the other three lose.
7. *Daddi se mennang jiya badha dhu macam, bagiyany mennang bi'*
 so REL win this exist two type part win with
bagiyany kala.
 part defeated
 So, there are two groups, those that win and those that lose.
8. *Kerrap ondhak apa'-an bain la tanto ka-badha'-an-na talebat*
 race level what-NOM else already sure NOM-exist-DEF very
ramme-na.
 crowded-DEF
 Whatever level race, it is sure to be very festive and noisy.

9. *Saminggu sabellunna lon-alon se e kennengngan-na kerrapan la*
 one.week before alun-alun REL at place-DEF race already
ce' ramme-na e-pa-teppa'.
 very crowded-DEF OV-CS-right
 One week before on the alun-alun where the race is held it is sure to already
 be very crowded and noisy.
10. *Tarob, ka-toju'-na moy-tamoy rateng.*
 shaded.area NOM-sit-DEF RED-visitor already
 Spectators already gather in the shaded area.
11. *Panggung-nga juri par-tampar se daddi bates-sa orang se*
 grandstand-DEF jury RED-rope REL become boundary-DEF person REL
neggu.
 see
 The ropes of the jury's grandstand form the boundary for those who want to
 watch.
12. *Kennengngan-na reng se wal-juwal bi' sa-laen-na la mare*
 place-DEF person REL RED-sell with one-other-DEF already finish
e-ator kabbi, e-pa-ranta kabbi.
 OV-arrange all OV-CS-ready all
 There's a place for people to sell things to each other and they are already
 arranging all sorts of things, getting all sorts of things ready.
13. *Sa'are sabellunna kerrapan karangga-na la e-pasang kabbi.*
 one.day before race special cloth-DEF already OV-pair all
 A day before the race, all the teams are in the designated area.
14. *Bandira mera pote. Bang-dlubang a-macem barna.*
 banner red white RED-paper AV-type color
 There are red and white banners and signs (accessories) of many colors.
15. *Un-daun-na akantha daun-na camara, baringen, bi' sa-macem-ma*
 RED-leaf-DEF like leaf-DEF type.of.tree type.of.tree with one-type-DEF
la daddi ra-rengan-na tarob bi' rang-barang e
 already become RED-decoration-DEF shaded.area with RED-thing at
kerrapan jiya.
 race this
 The leaves like evergreens, beringin, and others become decorations in the
 shade area and other places in the bull race area.

16. *Dha' iya keya, bar-glebbar a-macem barna mossa'-e sa-kobang-nga*
 like.this too RED-banner AV-type color AV.fill-LOC one-wide-DEF
lon-alon.
 alun-alun
 As well as colorful banners surround the square.
17. *Bila la napa', la daddi-na kerrap ka-badha'-an sajjan*
 when already AV.arrive already become-IRR race NOM-exist more
talebat ramme.
 very crowded
 Once everyone has arrived, when it's time for the race, it will be even more
 crowded and noisy.
18. *Oreng se neggu dhateng dhari man-dhimman.*
 person REL AV.see come from RED-where
 People who want to watch come from everywhere.
19. *Pe-sape se e-kerrab-a la padha dhateng.*
 RED-bull REL OV-race-IRR already same come
 The bulls that will be raced have all arrived.
20. *Pang-ereng-nga seronen.*
 NOM-follow-DEF reed flute
 They are accompanied by music.
21. *Sabelunna kerrap e-molae, pe-sape jareya e-arak gallu.*
 before race OV-start RED-bull this OV-parade before
 Before the race starts, these bulls will be paraded around.
22. *Pe-sape se la rateng bi' dandan-na e-arak*
 RED-bull REL already ready with decoration-DEF OV-parade
ngaleleng-i lon-alon.
 AV.go around-LOC alun-alun
 The bulls, which have been decorated, will be paraded around the alun-alun.
23. *Pangonong-nga ngaredhap e-capo' sonar-ra are.*
 harness-DEF AV.sparkle OV-hit gleam-DEF day
 The harnesses and trappings sparkle in the sunshine.
24. *Sape-na a-jamang, tandu'-eng e-bundu' bludru celleng.*
 bull-DEF AV.have.tuft horn-DEF OV-wrap wool cloth black
 The bulls have their horns wrapped in black woolen cloth.

25. *A-kalong kaen bludru a-solam benang emmas.*
 AV-necklace cloth wool cloth AV-embroidered thread gold
 Cloths embroidered with gold thread hang around their necks.
26. *Sapo'-eng bludru a-solam emmas keya, possa' bi' gungseng.*
 blanket-DEF wool cloth AV-embroidered gold also filled with bauble
 There are blankets embroidered with gold too, covered with baubles.
27. *E bagiyon cethak sasat a-polon bi' tongar-ra e-pasangen salempang.*
 at part head like AV-gather by nose band-DEF OV-fasten sash
 The harnesses have been gathered on their heads and fastened.
28. *Sajjan nambai ang-krengga.*
 more AV.give.medicine AV-make.strong
 They are given more elixir for strength.
29. *Sala sape e-pobi' salempang, e-dadan-i pole', theng-gatheng sape-na.*
 when bull OV-dress harness OV-dress-E again RED-handsome bull-DEF
 When the harness is put on the bulls, the bulls are very handsome.
31. *Seronen se noro'-agi sa'at sasat adha' pegga'-eng se ngarethet.*
 flute REL AV.follow-agi time like front block-DEF REL noisy
 The music that accompanies them up to the starting line is loud.
32. *E-tambai pole sorag-ga oreng ban ka-baja-'an se ngereng-ngagi*
 OV-give.med again cheer-DEF person and NOM-now REL AV.align-AGI
pe-sape jareya.
 RED-bull this
 They are given more elixir, and the crowd cheers as the bull are lined up.
33. *Tendag-ga sape-na sasat noro' monye-na seronen.*
 action-DEF bull-DEF like AV.follow sound-DEF flute
 The movement of the bulls makes it seem like they are following the sound of the flute.
34. *Ra-kera pokol sanga' dha' pokol sapolo kerrap e-molae-n.*
 RED-guess strike nine to strike ten race OV-start-N
 Around 9 or 10 o'clock the race starts.

35. *Rak-arag-gan e-ambu-wagi.*
 RED-parade-NOM OV-stop-AGI
 The procession stops.
36. *Dandanán sape e-bucol-en.*
 decoration bull OV-release-LOC
 The decorations are taken off of the bulls.
37. *Se ceka' coma', congor bi' tale laen-na se nga-lelet badhan-na.*
 REL stick only mouth.cover with rope other-DEF REL AV-spin body-DEF
 The only thing left was the bridle and other ropes encircling the body.
38. *Tale-na pangonong e-pareksa, me'-ame' badha se ram-ram otaba*
 rope-DEF harness OV-examine RED-perhaps exist REL too big or
lorga.
 loose
 The ropes of the harness are examined to make sure that none are too big or loose.
39. *Dha 'iya pole kaleles-sa.*
 like.this again equipment-DEF
 The jockey's equipment is then checked.
40. *Sape nomer tong ban nomer dhuwa' la padha sanat e garis paleng*
 bull number one and number two already same ready at line most
adha'.
 front
 Bull number one and bull number two are ready at the starting line.
41. *Sa'lana badha tandha bar-glabbar, sape e-ocol.*
 after exist sign RED-flag bull OV-remove
 After that, the flags are removed from the bulls.
42. *Sorag-ga oreng se neggu a-garudhu'ma-tagar bume.*
 cheer-DEF person REL AV.look AV-thunder AV.CS-vibrate earth
 The crowd cheers and the thundering bulls shake the earth.
43. *Sambi ngoca', se neggu, "Hidhup Se Lajjing! Hidhup Se Lajjing!"*
 until AV.say REL AV.look go Si Lajjing go Si Lajjing
 Until an onlooker says, "Go Se Lajjing! Go Se Lajjing!"

44. *Sorag-ga se neggu, se neggu nomer sittung.*
cheer-DEF REL AV.watch REL AV.watch number one
The crowd cheers, cheers the winner.
45. *Sa-balig-ga se neggu nomer dhuwa' sorag-ga laen pole*
one-return-DEF REL AV.watch number two cheer-DEF different again
sowara-na.
sound-DEF
After number two crosses, there is another cheer from the crowd.
46. *Padha ngocol sowara, padha bi' nyama-na sape-na,*
same AV.free voice same with name-DEF bull-DEF
They are calling each of the bulls by name,
47. *"Hidhup Se Miang! Hidhup Se Miang! Ayu' berka'! Ayu' berka'!*
go Si Miang go Si Miang HORT run HORT run
"Go Se Miang! Go Se Miang. Come on, run! Come on, run!"
48. *"Hidhup Se Miang! Duli berka'! Salep! Salep!"*
go Si Miang hurry run overtake overtake
"Go Se Miang! Quickly! Run! Pass him! Pass him!"
49. *Sape-na berka' ce' santa'-eng.*
bull-DEF run very fast-DEF
The bulls run very fast.
50. *Tape napa' dha' garis finis sape se nomer sittung, sape Se Lajjng*
but AV.arrive to line finish bull REL number one bull Si Lajjng
mennang onngu.
win really
But at the finish line the first bull, called Se Lajjng, wins the race.
51. *Pas oreng se neggu, sape Se Lajjng ngoca' pole, a-sorak sambi*
then person REL AV.watch bull Si Lajjng AV.say again AV-cheer until
a-ca'-lonca'.
AV-RED-jump
The spectators call out "Si Lajjng" and cheer wildly, and jump up and down.

52. “*Se Lajjing mennang! Se Lajjing mennang! Hore! Se Lajjing mennang!*”
 Si Lajjing win Si Lajjing win hooray Si Lajjing win
 “*Se Lajjing won! Se Lajjing won! Se Lajjing won! Hooray! Se Lajjing won!*”
53. *Sorag-ga oreng sasat sa-lon-alon.*
 cheer-DEF person like one-alun-alun
 The people cheer like that all around the alun-alun.
54. *Dhari panggung-nga juri kalowar bandir-ra koneng.*
 from grandstand-DEF jury outside banner-DEF yellow
 From the grandstand, the judges pull out the yellow flag.
55. *Nandhe-yagi ja' tongko' se a-salempang koneng mennang.*
 AV.sign-AGI COMP jockey REL AV-sash yellow win
 This signals that the jockey wearing the yellow sash is the winner.
56. *Nandhe-yagi keya ja' se nompa' sape Se Lajjing jiya salempang-nga*
 AV.sign-agi also COMP REL AV.ride bull Si Lajjing this sash-DEF
koneng, padha bi' sape-na.
 yellow same with bull-DEF
 It signals that the one who rode Se Lajjing, has the yellow sash, same as the bull.
57. *Daddi e-julug-gi se koneng mennang.*
 become OV-title-LOC REL yellow win
 Then the one in yellow is declared the winner.
58. *Dha' iya saterros-sa sampe' sape se dhi-budhi.*
 like.this one.continue-DEF until bull REL RED-behind
 It continues like this until the last bull finishes.
59. *Sa'lana jareya se mennang e-addu padha mennang-nga.*
 after this REL win OV-compete same win-DEF
 After this, the winners compete against the other winners.
60. *Se kala e-addu padha kala-na.*
 REL defeated OV-compete same defeated-DEF
 The losers compete with the other losers.

61. *Dhi-budhi pas e-temmo nomer sittung, nomer dhuwa' bi' nomer tello' bagiyan sape se mennang.*
 RED-behind then OV-meet number one number two with number three part bull REL win
 Eventually the first, second, and third place winners are decided.
62. *Dha' iya keya nomer sittung, nomer dhuwa' bi' nomer tello' bagiyan se kala.*
 like.this also number one number two with number three part REL defeated
 They do the same to decide the first, second, and third place among the losing teams.
63. *Pe-sape se mennang jareya olle eppres dhari pamarenta.*
 RED-bull REL win this get prize from government
 The winning bulls get prizes from the government.
64. *Sape se olle eppres ompamana sajjan kalonta.*
 bull REL get prize if more famous
 A bull that wins a prize becomes more famous.
65. *Arga-na sape-na sajjan larang.*
 price-DEF bull-DEF more expensive
 The bull's value increases.
66. *Oreng-nga se andhi' tamba senneng bi' a-tamba sogi polana sape-na e-tabar larang.*
 person-DEF REL have increased happy with AV-increased rich because bull-DEF OV-offer.price expensive
 The owner of the bull will be happier and become richer because the bull's price will be very high.
67. *Larang-nga jiya kanna' sampe' a-ta-juta.*
 expensive-DEF this there until AV-RED-million
 The value will be somewhere in the millions.
68. *Badha se sapolo juta, badha se sagame' juta, badha se lema ratos juta.*
 exist REL ten million exist REL twenty-five million exist REL five hundred million
 It might be ten million, twenty-five million, 500 million.

69. *A-gantong dha' menneng-nga sape mennang neng kamma.*
 AV-hang to win-DEF bull win at where
 It depends on the level at which the bull wins.
70. *Mon meng neng bagiyan Kabadanan lebbi modha dhari bagiyan*
 if only at part Kabadanan more inexpensive from part
Karesidenan apa pole mon mennang bagiyan dhari Kecamatan.
 Karesidenan what again if win part from county
 If it is only at the sub-district level, it will be less expensive than one from
 the Karesidenan level or even from the county level.
71. *La, mon mennang bagiyan Karesidenan rowa, adhu, larang!*
 PART if win part Karesidenan that EXCL expensive
 Well, if it is the winner for the entire island, wow, it will be worth a lot!
72. *Padha bi' careta gella', sajuta ka attas.*
 same with story before one.million to top
 As I said before, it will be more than one million.
73. *Badha se sampe' saiket juta, lema ratos juta.*
 exist REL until fifty million five hundred million
 There have been some up to 50 million and 500 million.
74. *A...kaangguy melle angguy-na sape gella' laku larang.*
 for AV.buy use-DEF bull before real expensive
 Buying the equipment for the bull is, of course, very expensive.
75. *Mon sajjan mennang angguy-na reya sajjan bagus.*
 if more win use-DEF this more good
 The more the bull wins, the higher it gets.
76. *Ta-ballig-ga keya a-peyara sape kerrapan rowa baragad-da larang.*
 IN-reverse-DEF also AV-raise bull race that cost-DEF expensive
 On the other hand, raising a racing bull also costs a lot.
77. *Mara reken tellor abain mon e-jamo-wagi ban are ban are sampe' satos*
 HORT count egg else if OV-jamu-AGI each day each day until 100
ka attas.
 to top
 Counting only the eggs given as medicine every day, every day it's over 100.

78. *Satos biggi' ka attas tellor.*
 100 seed to top egg
 More than 100 eggs.
79. *Tellor satos biggi', kopi-na lema kilo.*
 egg 100 seed coffee-DEF five kilo
 One hundred eggs, and five kilos of coffee.
80. *Kopi-kopi la mare e-toto rowa lema kilo ban are pas bitong.*
 RED-coffee already finish OV-coincide that five kilo each day then count
 The coffee used amounts to five kilos a day, at least.
81. *Badha-na kerrapan reya sataon sakale-yan.*
 exist-DEF race that one.year one.time-AN
 The bull races occur once a year.
82. *Daddi mon e-bitong sataon sakale-yan kale baragat jiya barampa.*
 become if OV-count one.year one.time-AN time cost this how much
 So, it would cost this much to raise a bull for a year.
83. *Mangkana arga-na kerrapan sape jiya e attas sajuta sampe'*
 therefore price-DEF race bull this at top one.million until
lema ratos juta.
 five hundred million
 Therefore, the price of a racing bull will be over a million up to 500 million.
84. *Ella se andhi', mon andhi' sape kerrapan mennang, sogi ongg.*
 already REL have if have bull race win rich really
 So, the owner of a winning bull is really wealthy.
85. *Adha' oreng andhi' sape kerrapan mesken.*
 not.exist person have bull race poor
 No one who has a racing bull is poor.
86. *Polana mon lo' reng sogi, lo' kera andhi' sape kerrapan.*
 because if not person rich not will have bull race
 Because if you are not a rich, you will not be able to afford a racing bull.
87. *Mara bi' engko' e-berri'-na nyanyi-an kerrapan sape.*
 HORT with me OV-give-IRR AV.sing-NOM race bull
 Let me sing you the song of the bull race.

88. *Ya edhing-ngagi!*
yes hear-AGI
Listen!
89. *Rowa sape-na la a-jajar bakal e-kerrap.*
that bull-DEF already AV-line will OV-race
The bulls are lined up to race.
90. *Se nompa' sambu a-tandhang, ate-na nekat.*
REL AV.ride until AV-dance heart-DEF determined
The jockey almost dances, with great determination.
91. *Ta' tako' mate sape buru sasat angen.*
not afraid die bull run like wind
He's not afraid to die as the bull runs like the wind.
92. *Ta' tako' mate sape buru duli nyalep.*
not afraid die bull run hurry AV.overtake
Not afraid to die as the bull run quickly to pass its opponents.
94. *Ee, sape buru. Le' duli buru.*
bull run yngr.sibling hurry run
Ee, the bull runs. Run quickly, little brother.
95. *Ee, sape nyalep. Duli nyalep.*
bull AV.overtake hurry AV.overtake
Ee, the bull overtakes him, quickly pass him.
96. *Ayu' duli nyalep. Ayu' duli nyalep.*
HORT hurry AV.overtake HORT hurry AV.overtake
Come on, quickly pass him. Come on, quickly pass him.
97. *Ayu' duli buru. Ayu' duli buru.*
HORT hurry run HORT hurry run
Come on, quickly run. Come on quickly run.
98. *Mennang, Le' Se Lajjing, Le' mennang Le', Se Lajjing Le'!*
win Le' Si Lajjing Le' win Le' Si Lajjing Le'
Win Se Lajjing, little brother win, little brother Se Lajjing, little brother!

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