

TYPES OF JAVANESE ACTION CLAUSE ROOT  
A Preliminary Study of the Javanese Clause<sup>1</sup>

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## 1.0 Introduction

This is a preliminary study of the Javanese clause root. The study seeks to determine the number of types of the clause roots, and the interrelations of tagmemes which form the clause structure.

The model used in this study is Hale's as it is applied to English (Pike and Pike, 1974, p. 425). It is, however, modified to accommodate a different terminology and new types of clauses. The materials were of the Ngoko type<sup>2</sup>, as it would be used by the analyst, who was born and grew up in the area where the Sala dialect<sup>3</sup> is spoken.

In this description, I subscribe to the so-called "principle of relationship", which believes that a component or a unit or a tagmeme can be identified only because it is related to another one (J. W. Verhaar, 1974, p. 80). In the functional (slot-role) structure of the clause level, the center of the relationship is a predicate (P) filled by a verb (V) class (see E. G. Pike, 1974, p. 20; J. W. Verhaar, 1973, p. 5). The predicate may be considered as a peak and the others as onsets or codas (D. L. Bees, 1973, p. 66). The number of the onset and the coda tagmemes depends on the semantic character of the V, which is called a type of "transitivity". At the same time, this characteristic also defines the type of clause, or more specifically, the clause root.

The non-peak tagmemes include subject (S), focus (F), topic (T), and adjunct (Ad). S is an onset tagmeme which can be defined as given (or old) information in a discourse. We already know something about S from earlier sentences. In the first sentence of the Javanese discourse, S is usually the same form as S later in the discourse. (That is without an article--versus English, where the first is an indefinite noun phrase (NP) and the later one is a definite NP.)

An F tagmeme is one whose filler could be the subject slot in passive voice. A T tagmeme is one which, in discourse, requires an answer to a question, and an Ad is defined negatively as a tagmeme which is neither S, F, nor T. Some examples will be given below.

## 1.2 Examples

Let us take a Javanese clause root: Jana mènèhi Pétrus buku. 'John gave Peter a book.'<sup>4</sup> In this clause, Jana 'John' is the subject of the predicate mènèhi 'gave'.<sup>5</sup>

Jana precedes mènèhi, i. e. it is on onset tagmeme in relation to mènèhi. Jana in discourse is known from previous reference. Pétrus 'Peter' is in focus relation to the same predicate. If the clause is passivized we would find Pétrus diwènèhi buku déning Jana 'Peter was given a book by John', in which Pétrus fills the subject<sup>6</sup>. It is impossible to passivize such a clause into a sentence Buku kuwi diwènèhi Pétrus déning Jana, in which buku fills S.

Buku 'book' is the topic of the clause and is in topic relationship to the same predicate. In discourse, it is only buku (not Jana or Pétrus) that is required as an answer to a question, e. g. Jana mènèhi Pétrus apa? 'What did John give Peter?'. The answer is Buku, or Mènèhi buku, or Mènèhi Pétrus buku, or Jana mènèhi Pétrus buku. The questions \*Jana mènèhi sapa buku (sapa 'whom') and \*Sapa mènèhi Pétrus buku? (sapa 'who') are ungrammatical in Javanese.<sup>7</sup>

If we ask about Jana, the question is Sapa sing mènèhi Buku Pétrus? 'Who gave a book to Peter?' or Sapa sing mènèhi Pétrus buku? 'Who gave Peter a book?'. The answer is Jana, or Jana sing mènèhi, or Jana sing mènèhi dhèwèké buku (dhèwèké 'him' or Pétrus, with an addition of word sing) 'It is John who gave him (Peter) a book'; and neither \*Jana mènèhi Pétrus buku nor \*Jana mènèhi buku Pétrus is permitted.

If we want to ask about buku while retaining the order in which buku precedes Pétrus, the question has to be Jana mènèhi apa marang Pétrus?, i. e. with an addition of a preposition marang 'to' before Pétrus. The answer is Jana mènèhi buku marang Pétrus or Marang Pétrus Jana mènèhi buku, or Buku, or Mènèhi buku; but is never \*Jana mènèhi marang Pétrus buku.

### 1.3 Position of Tagmemes

We have seen that the topic and the focus may change position or even be simultaneously present in a single tagmeme, i. e. we have types S P F T, S P Ad T/F, and S P T F + prep. Topicalization, to be more specific, can be indicated in three different ways: 1. By placing the tagmeme in the last position of the tagmeme sequence (see Jana mènèhi Pétrus buku above); 2. By retaining the tagmeme in its position as in 1. but changing the filler of the immediately following tagmeme (which is usually filled by a noun or a noun phrase) to a prepositional phrase (see Jana mènèhi buku marang Pétrus)<sup>8</sup>; 3. By placing the filler into a complement slot so that the type of the clause is totally changed from an action type (in our present analysis) to an identification type (see Jana, Jana sing mènèhi, and Jana sing mènèhi dhèwèké buku) which we are not treating here.<sup>9</sup>

We can see that the Javanese clause slot order is not too rigid. A transfer of topicalization causes a permutation of the tagmemes, especially of the focus, topic, and adjunct. However, we can determine a normal order, i. e. one in which the focus is placed immediately after (on the right of) the predicate and in which the others (if any) follow the focus. This conclusion is supported by language typology which divides languages into two types, i. e. OV languages and VO languages (J. H. Greenberg, 1963; W. P. Lehmann, 1972, 1973). This division is based on the order of the slots. The V (verb) equals the predicate, and O (object) equals the focus (see J. W. Verhaar, 1973, p. 23).

The languages within the VO type place the other slots (or functions) after O, and the languages within the OV type place them before O. One of these slots is, for example, what is generally known as indirect object but which, in this study, is called adjunct or, in some cases, topic. The normal slot order is S V O IO, whereas the Japanese slot order is S IO O V.

## 2.0 Principles of Division

With reference to the predicate and the interrelation of the tagmemes in the clause structure, there is at least one other tagmeme in addition to the predicate, and it participates in forming the structure. The exception is when the structure is eventive. One of these participants (non-predicate tagmeme) would be a performer of an action or of a process; it is symbolized as A. In relation to the action, the others would be a recipient or undergoer (U), beneficiary (Ben), instrument (Instr), and scope (Sc) or location of the action. These five participants just mentioned seem to be most directly involved in forming the clause root structure. There are, however, certain restrictions in their permitted cooccurrence, e. g. it is impossible for U to exist together with Instr, but Ben can exist without U.

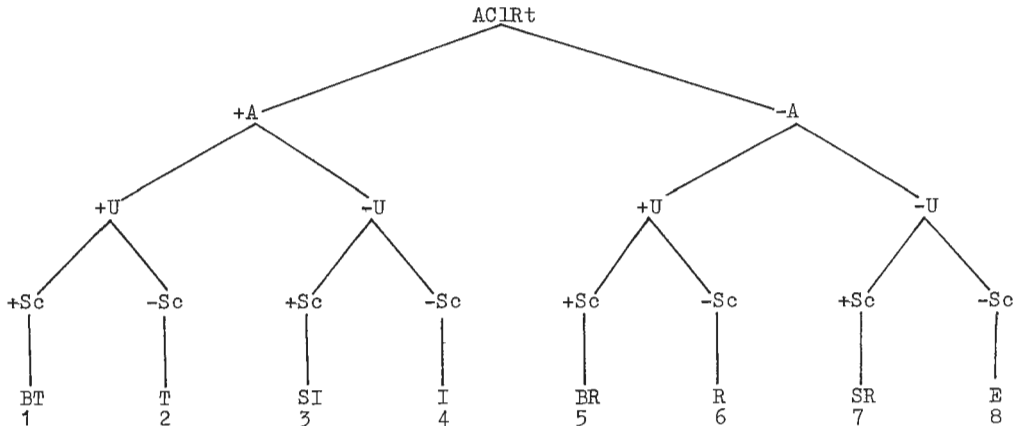
### 2.1 Restrictions

Certain restrictions indicate the one of the crucial divisions involves A, U, and Sc only (see Chart I). The Chart shows eight action clause root (AClRt) types. Type 1 includes an actor, an undergoer, and a scope. Type 2 includes an actor, an undergoer, but without scope. Type 3 includes an actor and a scope but no undergoer. Type 4 includes an actor but no other participant tagmeme. Type 5 has no actor but includes an undergoer and a scope. Type 6 includes only U as its participant. Type 7 includes a scope participant only, whereas Type 8 has neither actor, undergoer, nor scope.

Each of ClRt types which obligatorily has an actor is a member of the transitivity set. If there is no obligatory actor, the type is a member of the receptive set. Furthermore, each of the members of the transitivity set which obligatorily has an undergoer is a member of the transitive subset, and if there is no obligatory undergoer it is a member of the intransitive subset. The member of transitive subset is called bitransitive (BT) if it has a scope, and it is called transitive (T) if it has no scope. The member of intransitive subset is called semi-intransitive (SI) if it has a scope, and it is called intransitive (I) if it has no scope.

The transitivity set may be divided further, depending on the possibility of passivization. The prefix semi-, as in semi-bitransitive, semi-transitive, is used for labelling of structure which has no passive voice, but which has either U or Sc or both. However, since the passivization has been defined in relation to the slot structures of the basic active transitivity set, we could say that, in terms of role, the passivization division is secondary. This does not mean that a division based on the role structure (situational string) is more relevant for Javanese ClRt than one based on the slot structure (grammatical string), or that the first is completely independent of the other; they are, of course, in an intimate correlation

(see J. Forster and M. L. Barnard, 1968, p. 267). "Secondary" here means that a passive-action paraphrase could not be used to test every type in order to get a further division (e. g. in the intransitive).



C H A R T I

The simple transitivity levels are insufficient to cover all of their subdivision. A further role label is added that represents the role which will become subject in passive. Thus, action bitransitive undergoer (ABTU), action bitransitive scope (SBTSc), and so forth could be posited.

The receptive set, parallel with the division of the transitivity set, can be divided into non-receptive (if it has no participant tagmeme), receptive (R) (if it has one participant only), and bireceptive (BR) (if it has two participants). The non-receptive type is called eventive (E) from here on. The receptive set is not subject to passivization. There are two receptive subsets--one where the subject slot is filled by scope and is labelled as semi-, e. g. semi-receptive (but cf. semitransitive). The other type is not so labelled. For example and discussion see Section 2.

## 2.2 Further Possibilities

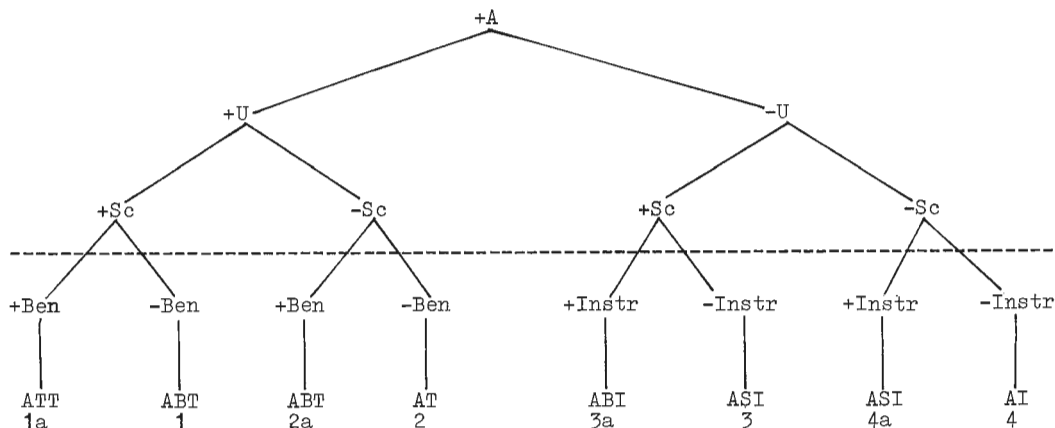
A second possibility of subdivision involves Ben and Instr (besides A, U, and Sc). Since U never exists with Instr, and since Ben exists only with U, Instr and Ben are twins in the sense that both Ben and Instr can form a ClRt structure (see Chart 2). For explanation of this tritransitive structure, see below.

## 2.3 Further Types

The presence of the participant Ben in ClRt structure of the transitive subset is responsible for the presence of further types. The first (in Chart II:1a) is a type involving four participants, i. e. A, U, Sc, and Ben. This is called tritransitive (TT). In this subdivision one might expect to find one active semitransitive (if the clause root is not subject to passivization) and three kinds of TT (depending on which of three participants fills S in the passive). But as far as I know,

there is only one TT where Ben is S in passive. This TT is the action tritransitive benefactive (ATTBen).

A second type involves benefactive among three participants (i.e., A, U, and Ben in Chart II:2a) and this is called bitransitive (BT). There is only one of this type, i. e. ABTBen.



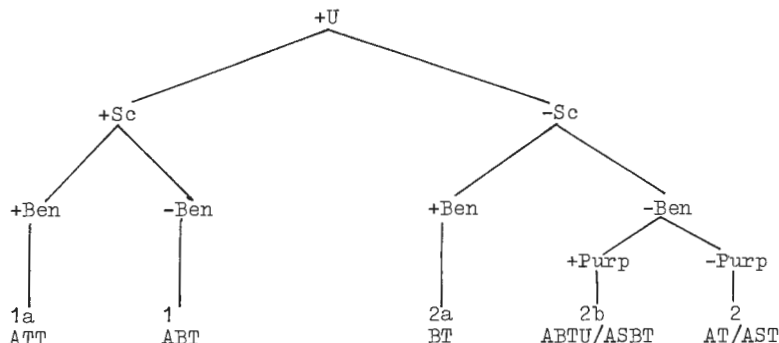
C H A R T II

A similar phenomenon occurs in structures which have no participant U (in intransitive subset) but which may have Instr or Sc. There we would find ABI with the participants A, Sc, and Instr (i. e. ABISc in Chart II:3a), and ASI with the participants A and Instr (which has no passive voice, i. e. 4a).

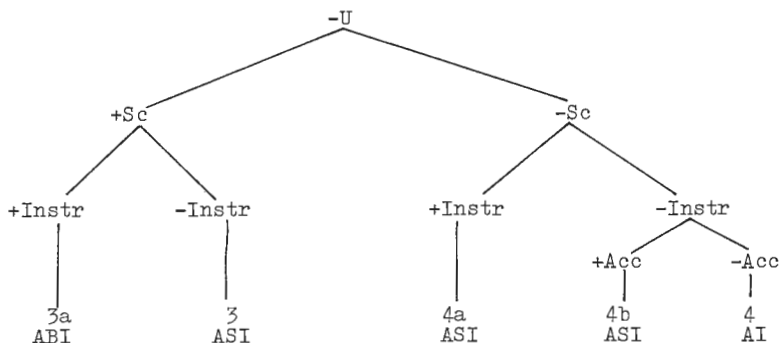
A third possibility of division involves a participant of purpose (Purp) and an accompanist (Acc). Purp occurs only with U, but not with Sc, Ben, Instr, or Acc, i. e. it occurs in transitive subset. I arbitrarily call the purpose element a participant even though it is verbal in form. The accompanist occurs only with A, but not with U, Sc, or Instr, i. e. it occurs in intransitive subset. This results in some further types, i. e. a kind of ABT with participants A, U, and Purp (namely ABTU and ASBT) (see Chart III:2b), and a kind of AI with participants A and Acc (namely ASI) (see Chart IV:4b).

Thus it is clear that in order to know the kinds of Javanese action clause root types we need to consider the seven participants mentioned above to determine which participants can potentially fill S (especially in passive or passive-like form), and the interrelation among them.

To complete the list of types it is necessary to consider the subcategory of verb class which fills P and which is usually characterized by certain morphological forms.



C H A R T III



C H A R T IV

### 3.0 Types of Javanese Action Clause Roots

AClRt type with A, U, and Sc (see Chart I) has three members, and one of the members has sub-members. The members are: (1a) ClRt which has A, U, Sc, Ben, and Passive; (1b) ClRt which has A, U, Sc and passive (Pass); (1c) ClRt which has A, U, Sc, but has no Pass. Chart 5 summarizes this further subdivision, where morphological markers are also shown.

#### 3.1 ClRt Type (1a)

ClRt Type (1a) is only one basic cognitive type but has four emic variants of slot order with accompanying contrastive changes of placement of focus and of topic (see Section 1.3). The verb occurs with the prefix nasal and suffix -ake (nsV<sub>1</sub><sup>ake</sup>): njalukake (n-jaluk-aké) 'ask for something from someone for the benefit of someone else'; ngutangake (ng-utang-aké) 'lend something to someone for the benefit of someone else'; nyilihake (ny-silih-aké) 'lend something to someone for the benefit of someone else'. The label for the type is Action Tritransitive Benefactive (ATTBen).

The formulas and the examples of the ClRt are given below with added notes as desirable. The first (upper left) cell indicates slot; the second (lower left)

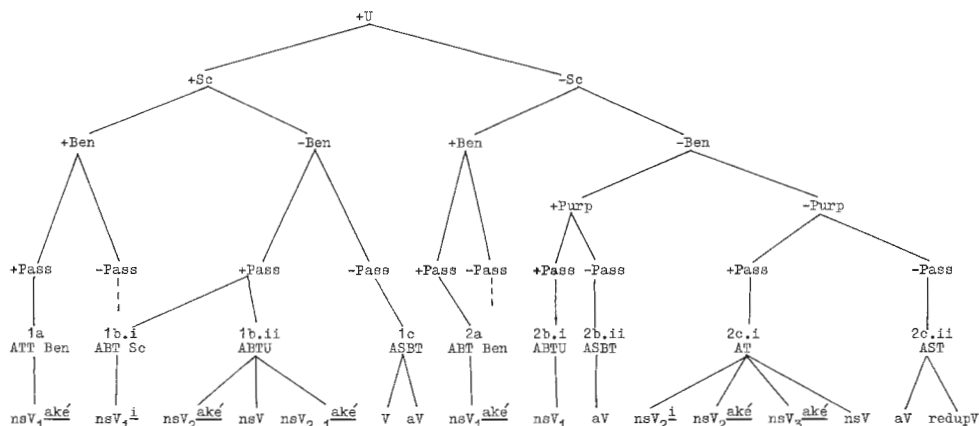


CHART V

cell indicates role; the third (upper right) indicates class; and the fourth (lower right) indicates category (and also sometimes subcategory). In the examples P is always statement (St) rather than a question or command (which is possible but not relevant to the present discussion). The first formula in the set is considered as the norm. The topic tagmeme is in the upper case.

CLRT (1a): ATTBen

$$(a) + \begin{array}{c|c} S & N \\ \hline A & \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} P & nsV_1 aké \\ \hline St & ATTBen \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} F & N \\ \hline Ben & Anim \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} T & N \\ \hline U & \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} Ad & prepP^{marang} \\ \hline Sc & \end{array}$$

Jana njalukaké Maryam DHUWIT marang Pétrus.

John ask for Mary money to Peter

'John asked for MONEY from Peter for the benefit of Mary.'

$$(b) + \begin{array}{c|c} S & N \\ \hline A & \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} P & nsV_1 aké \\ \hline St & ATTBen \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} Ad & N \\ \hline U & \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} TF & N \\ \hline Ben & Anim \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} Ad & prepP^{marang} \\ \hline Sc & \end{array}$$

Jana njalukaké dhuwit MARYAM marang Pétrus.

John ask for money Mary to Peter

'John asked for money from Peter for the benefit of MARY.'

$$(c) + \begin{array}{c|c} S & N \\ \hline A & \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} P & nsV_1 aké \\ \hline St & ATTBen \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} T & N \\ \hline U & \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} Ad & prepP^{marang} \\ \hline Sc & \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} F & prepP^{kangge} \\ \hline Ben & \end{array}$$

Jana njalukaké DHUWIT marang Pétrus kangge Maryam.

John ask for money to Peter Mary

'John asked for MONEY from Peter for the benefit of Mary.'

$$(d) + \begin{array}{c|c} S & N \\ \hline A & \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} P & nsV_1 aké \\ \hline St & ATTBen \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} T & N \\ \hline U & \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} F & prepP^{kangge} \\ \hline Ben & \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} Ad & prepP^{marang} \\ \hline Sc & \end{array}$$

Jana njalukaké DHUWIT kangge Maryam marang Pétrus.

John ask for money Mary to Peter

'John asked for MONEY from Peter for the benefit of Mary.'

The passive for the four clauses above are illustrated as follows:

Maryam dijalukaké DHUWIT marang Pétrus déning Jana.

Maryam dijalukaké DHUWIT déning Jana marang Pétrus.

Maryam dijalukaké Jana DHUWIT marang Pétrus.

'It was Mary who had MONEY asked for her from Peter by John.'

### 3.2. ClRt Type (1b)

This type has two members, namely Action Bitransitive (ABT) (1b.i), which has S and Sc in the passive voice, and ABT (1b.ii), which has S as U in the passive. The first has one kind of verb, i. e. verb with prefix nasal and suffix -i (nsV<sub>1</sub><sup>i</sup>): mènèhi (m-wènèh-i) 'give', nyilihi (ny-silih-i) 'lend', ngutangi (ng-utang-i) 'lend' and has three emic variants of slot order. The second has three kinds of verb, i. e. two kinds of verb occur with prefix nasal and suffix -ake but with different verbs (nsV<sub>2</sub><sup>ake</sup> and nsV<sub>2.1</sub><sup>ake</sup>). First list: mènèhaké (m-wènèh-aké) 'give', nyèlèh-aké (ny-sèlèh-aké) 'put', ngeteraké (ng-eter-aké) 'accompany'. Second list: ngelok-aké 'call'. The third kind of verb has prefix nasal (nsV): nyilih (ny-silih) 'borrow', nampa (n-tampa) 'receive', ndekek (n-dekek) 'put'. The type with nsV<sub>2.1</sub><sup>ake</sup> has two emic variants of slot order.

The formulas and examples are illustrated below:

#### 1b.i. ABTSc Type:

$$(a) + \begin{array}{c|c} S & N \\ \hline A & \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} P & \text{nsV}_1^{+i} \\ \hline \text{St} & \text{ABT} \\ \text{Lec} & \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} F & N \\ \hline \text{Sc} & \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} T & N \\ \hline U & \end{array}$$

Jana mènèhi Pétrus BUKU.

John give Peter book

'John gave Peter a BOOK.'

$$(b) + \begin{array}{c|c} S & N \\ \hline A & \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} P & \text{nsV}_1^{+i} \\ \hline \text{St} & \text{ABT} \\ \text{Lec} & \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} \text{Ad} & N \\ \hline U & \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} \text{TF} & N \\ \hline \text{Sc} & \end{array}$$

Jana mènèhi buku PÉTRUS.

John give book Peter

'John gave a book to PETER.'

$$(c) + \begin{array}{c|c} S & N \\ \hline A & \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} P & \text{nsV}_1^{+i} \\ \hline \text{St} & \text{ABT} \\ \text{Lec} & \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} T & N \\ \hline U & \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} F & \\ \hline \text{Sc} & \end{array} \text{ prepP} \underline{\text{marang}}$$

Jana mènèhi BUKU marang Pétrus.

John give book to Peter

'John gave a BOOK to Peter.'

The passive for these examples is as follows:

Pétrus diwènèhi BUKU déning Jana.

Pétrus diwènèhi Jana BUKU.

Pétrus diwènèhi buku JANA.

'Peter was given a book by John.'



## 1b.ii. ABTU Types:

(a) with nsV<sub>2</sub><sup>aké</sup>

S	N	P	nsV <sub>2</sub> <sup>aké</sup>	TF	N	Ad	prepp <sup>menyang</sup>
+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
A	St	AST	U	Spec	Sc		<u>ana ing marang</u>

- (1)
- Jana mènèhake BUKUNÉ marang Pétrus.

John give book his to Peter

'John gave HIS BOOK to Peter.'

The passive for this example is:

Bukuné Jana diwènèhake marang Pétrus déning JANA DHEWE.

book his John be given to Peter by John himself

Bukuné Jana diwènèhake JANA DHEWE marang Pétrus.

Book his John be given John himself to Peter

'John's book was given to Peter by JOHN HIMSELF.'

- (2)
- Jana nyèlèhake BUKUNÉ ana ing meja.

John put book his on table

'John put HIS BOOK on the table.'

- (3)
- Jana ngeteraké PÉTRUS menyang pasar.

John accompany Peter to market

'John accompanied Peter to the market.'

The passive of (2) and (3) is the same as for (1) above.

(b) with nsV<sub>2.1</sub><sup>ake</sup>

1.	+	S	N	P	nsV <sub>2.1</sub> <sup>ake</sup>	F	N	T	V
		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
		A	St	AST	U	Sc			

Jana ngelekake Petrus MALING.

John call Peter steal

'John called Peter a THIEF.'

2.	+	S	N	P	nsV <sub>2.1</sub> <sup>ake</sup>	T	V	F	prepp <sup>marang</sup>
		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
		A	St	ABT	Sc	U			

Jana ngèlèkake MALING marang Pétrus.

John call steal to Peter

'John called Peter a thief.'

The passive of examples in 1. and 2. is as follows:

Pétrus dilekake MALING déning Jana.

Peter was called steal by John

'Peter was called a thief by John.'

Pétrus dilekake Jana MALING.

Peter was called John steal

'Peter was called a thief by John.'

## (c) with nsV

+	S	N	P	nsV	TF	N	Ad	prepp <sup>ana ing</sup>
	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
	A	St	ABT	U	General	Sc		<u>saka</u>

- (1) Jana nampa DHUWIT saka Pétrus.

John receive money from Peter

'John received MONEY from Peter.'

The passive for this example is:

Dhuwité ditampa JANA saka Pétrus.

money the be received John from Peter

'The money was received from Peter by JOHN.'

Dhuwité ditampa saka Pétrus déning JANA.

money the be received from Peter by John

'They money was received from Peter by JOHN.'

- (2) Jana ndekek DHUWIT ana ing lemari.

John put money in cupboard

'John put MONEY in the cupboard.'

The passive is as follows:

Dhuwité didekek JANA ana ing lemari.

money the be put John in cupboard

'The money was put in the cupboard by JOHN.'

Dhuwité didekek LEMARI déning Jana.

Dhuwité didekek ana ing LEMARI déning Jana.

'The money was put in the CUPBOARD by John.'

### 3.3 CLRT Type (1c)

This has one basic cognitive type only, namely Action Semibitransitive (ASBT), but occurs with three kinds of verb, namely (a) with prefix nasal (nsV): nyilih (ny-silih) 'borrow'; (b) with prefix a- (aV): awèh (a-wèh) 'give'; and (c) without affix (V): utang 'borrow'. They have three emic variants of slot order and have the same formulas:

$$(a) + \frac{S}{A} \left| \frac{N}{N} \right| + \frac{P}{St} \left| \frac{nsV, aV, V}{ASBT} \right| + \frac{T}{U} \left| \frac{N}{General} \right| + \frac{Ad}{Sc} \left| \frac{prep \overline{marang}}{Sc} \right|$$

Jana nyilih DHUWIT marang Pétrus.

John borrow money to Peter

'John borrowed money from Peter.'

Jana awèh DHUWIT marang Pétrus.

John give money to Peter

'John gave MONEY to Peter.'

Jana utang DHUWIT marang Pétrus.

John borrow money to Peter

'John borrowed MONEY from Peter.'

$$(b) + \frac{S}{A} \left| \frac{N}{N} \right| + \frac{P}{St} \left| \frac{nsV, aV, V}{ASBT} \right| + \frac{Ad}{Sc} \left| \frac{N}{N} \right| + \frac{T}{U} \left| \frac{N}{General} \right|$$

Jana nyilih PÉTRUS dhuwit.

John borrow Peter money

'John borrowed money from PETER.'

Jana awèh PÉTRUS dhuwit.

John give Peter money

'John gave money to PETER.'

Jana utang PÉTRUS dhuwit.

John borrow Peter money

'John borrowed money from PETER.'

$$(c) + \frac{S}{A} \frac{N}{\quad} + \frac{P}{St} \frac{nsV, aV, V}{ASBT} + \frac{Ad}{U} \frac{N}{General} + \frac{T}{Sc} \frac{N}{\quad}$$

Jana nyilih dhuwit PÉTRUS.

John borrow money Peter

'John borrowed money from PETER.'

Jana awèh dhuwit PÉTRUS.

John give money Peter

'John gave money to Peter.'

Jana utang dhuwit PÉTRUS.

John borrow money Peter

'John borrowed money from PETER.'

It is also possible to use the verb nyilih 'borrow' in other clause types, which can be passivized, i. e. Action Transitive (AT), and Action Bitransitive (ABT). The passivization seems to depend on the category of undergoer (in AT) and the class of the scope. If the category of undergoer is specific, e. g. dhuwité Pétrus 'Peter's money', passivization is possible. An example would be to change Jana nyilih DHUWITÉ PÉTRUS 'John borrowed PETER'S MONEY' to Dhuwité Pétrus disilih JANA or to Dhuwité Pétrus disilih déning JANA 'Peter's money was borrowed by JOHN.'

The same situation occurs if the preposition is saka 'from' in the prepositional phrase that fills Ad as Sc, and is not marang 'to', i. e. Jana nyilih DHUWIT saka Pétrus 'John borrowed money from Peter.' This can be passivized to Dhuwité disilih JANA saka Pétrus 'The money was borrowed by JOHN from Peter.'

### 3.4 AC1Rt Type (2)

This type has five members, i. e. (2a) ClRt which has A, U, Ben, and Pass but has no Sc; (2b.i) ClRt which has A, U, Purp, and Pass, but does not have either Sc or Ben; (2b.ii) ClRt which has A, U, and Purp but no Sc, Ben, or Pass; (2c.i) ClRt which has A, U, and Pass, but no Sc, Ben, or Purp; and (2c.ii) ClRt which has A and U only and does not have either Sc, Ben, Purp, or Pass (see Chart V).

### 3.5 ClRt Type (2a)

This has one basic cognitive type only, i. e. Bitransitive Benefactive (ABTBen). This type has a verb with a nasal prefix and suffix -aké (nsV<sub>1</sub><sup>aké</sup>): nggelèkaké (ng-gelèk-aké) 'to look for something for the benefit of someone'; njupukaké (n-jupuk-aké) 'take something for the benefit of someone'; nggungtingaké (ng-gungting-aké) 'to cut something with scissors for the benefit of someone.' The verbs are the same kind of verbs mentioned in 3.1. This type has three emic variants of slot order. The formulas and examples are illustrated below.

$$(a) + \frac{S}{A} \frac{N}{\quad} + \frac{P}{St} \frac{nsV_1^{aké}}{ABT} + \frac{F}{Ben} \frac{N}{\quad} + \frac{T}{U} \frac{N}{\quad}$$

Jana nggelèkaké Pétrus PEGAWÉYAN.

John look for Peter job

'John looked for a JOB for the benefit of Peter.'

Jana njupukaké Pétrus BUKU.

John take Peter book

'John took a BOOK for the benefit of Peter.'

Jana ngguntingaké Pétrus KERTAS.

John cut with scissors Peter paper

'John cut a PAPER with scissors for the benefit of Peter.'

(b) +  $\begin{array}{c|c} S & N \\ \hline A & \end{array}$  +  $\begin{array}{c|c} P & \text{nsV}_1 \text{aké} \\ \hline \text{St} & \text{ABT} \end{array}$  +  $\begin{array}{c|c} \text{Ad} & N \\ \hline U & \end{array}$  +  $\begin{array}{c|c} \text{TF} & N \\ \hline \text{Ben} & \end{array}$

Jana nggelèkaké pegawéyan PÉTRUS.

John look for job Peter

'John looked for a job for the benefit of PETER.'

Jana njupukaké buku PÉTRUS.

John take book Peter

'John took a book for the benefit of Peter.'

Jana ngguntingaké kertas PÉTRUS.

John cut with scissors paper Peter

'John cut a paper with scissors for the benefit of PETER.'

(c) +  $\begin{array}{c|c} S & N \\ \hline A & \end{array}$  +  $\begin{array}{c|c} P & \text{nsV}_1 \text{aké} \\ \hline \text{St} & \text{ABT} \end{array}$  +  $\begin{array}{c|c} T & N \\ \hline U & \end{array}$  +  $\begin{array}{c|c} F & \text{prep}^{\text{kangge}} \\ \hline \text{Ben} & \end{array}$

Jana nggelèkaké PEGAWÉYAN kangge Pétrus.

John look for job for Peter

'John looked for a JOB for the benefit of Peter.'

Jana njupukaké BUKU kangge Pétrus.

John take book for Peter

'John took a BOOK for the benefit of Peter.'

Jana ngguntingaké KERTAS kangge Pétrus.

John cut with scissors paper for Peter

'John cut a PAPER with scissors for the benefit of Peter.'

The passive of the first sentence in (a), (b), and (c) is:

Pétrus digelèkaké PEGAWÉYAN déning Jana.

Peter look for job by John

'It was Peter who has a JOB looked for for him by John.'

The passive of the second sentence in (a), (b), and (c) is:

Pétrus dijupukaké BUKU déning Jana.

Peter put book by John

'It was Peter who had a BOOK put for him by John.'

The passive of the final sentence in (a), (b), and (c) is:

Pétrus diguntingaké KERTAS déning Jana.

Peter cut with scissors paper by John

'It was Peter who had a PAPER cut for him with scissors by John.'

Without dening these would be:

Pétrus digelèkaké pegawéyan JANA.

Pétrus dijupukaké buku JANA.

Pétrus diguntingaké kertas JANA.

Permuted, they are as follows:

Pétrus digelèkaké Jana PEGAWÉYAN.

Pétrus dijupukaké Jana BUKU.

Pétrus diguntingaké Jana KERTAS.

Some verbs have a double character. For example, nggambaraké (ng-gambar-aké) 'draw' and nulisaké (n-tulis-aké) 'write' are sometimes included in nsV<sub>1</sub><sup>aké</sup> and sometimes in nsV<sub>2</sub><sup>aké</sup>. The character of each of the verbs can be recognized from the clauses in which the verbs fill the predicate. Examples are given below:

Jana nggambaraké adhiné MONTOR MABUR.

John draw younger brother motor fly

'John drew a PLANE for the benefit of his younger brother.'

Jana nggambaraké montor mabur ADHINÉ.

John draw motor fly younger brother

'John drew a plane for the benefit of his YOUNGER BROTHER.'

In these clauses nggambaraké is in type nsV<sub>1</sub><sup>aké</sup>, and the clauses are in ABTBen type. In the following clause, nggambaraké is in type nsV<sub>2</sub><sup>aké</sup>, and the clause is in type ABTU.

Jana nggambaraké PANEMUNÉ marang Pétrus.

John draw opinion his to Peter

'John described HIS OPINION to Peter.'

The same situation occurs with nulisaké. In the first two clauses following it is in type nsV<sub>1</sub><sup>aké</sup>, and in the third is in type nsV<sub>2</sub><sup>aké</sup>.

Jana nulisaké layang PÉTRUS.

John write letter Peter

'John wrote a letter for the benefit of PETER.'

Jana nulisaké Pétrus LAYANG.

John write Peter letter

'John wrote a LETTER for the benefit of Peter.'

Jana nulisaké PENGALAMANE marang Pétrus.

John write experience his to Peter

'John wrote his experience (in a letter) to Peter.'

### 3.6 ClRt Type (2b.i)

This has only one basic cognitive type, namely Action Bitransitive Undergoer (ABTU). It has a verb with a nasal prefix (nsV): ngekon (ng-ekon) 'order'; nglatih (ng-latih) 'train'; mrentah (m-préntah) 'command, govern'.

This type has four emic variant slot orders. The formulas and examples are illustrated below.

$$(a) + \begin{array}{c|c} S & N \\ \hline A & \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} P & nsV_1 \\ \hline St & ABT \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} F & N \\ \hline U & \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} T & \\ \hline Purp & V \end{array}$$

Jana ngekon Pétrus METU.

John order Peter go out

'John ordered Peter to GO OUT.'

- (b) +  $\begin{array}{c|c} S & N \\ \hline A & \end{array}$  +  $\begin{array}{c|c} P & nsV_1 \\ \hline St & ABT \end{array}$  +  $\begin{array}{c|c} Ad & V \\ \hline Purp & \end{array}$  +  $\begin{array}{c|c} TF & N \\ \hline U & \end{array}$

Jana ngekon metu PÉTRUS.

John order go out Peter

'John ordered PETER to go out.'

- (c) +  $\begin{array}{c|c} S & N \\ \hline A & \end{array}$  +  $\begin{array}{c|c} P & nsV_1 \\ \hline St & ABT \end{array}$  +  $\begin{array}{c|c} T & V \\ \hline Purp & \end{array}$  +  $\begin{array}{c|c} F & prep\text{marang} \\ \hline U & \end{array}$

Jana ngekon METU marang Pétrus.

John order go out to Peter

'John ordered Peter to GO OUT.'

- (d) +  $\begin{array}{c|c} S & N \\ \hline A & \end{array}$  +  $\begin{array}{c|c} P & nsV_1 \\ \hline St & ABT \end{array}$  +  $\begin{array}{c|c} TF & N \\ \hline U & \end{array}$  +  $\begin{array}{c|c} Ad & prepP\text{supaya} \\ \hline Purp & \end{array}$

Jana ngekon PÉTRUS supaya metu.

John order Peter in order to go out

'John ordered PETER to go out.'

### 3.7 CLRT Type (2b.ii)

This has one basic cognitive type only, namely Action Semibitransitive (ASBT), and the verb occurs with prefix a- (aV), e. g. akon (a-kon) 'order'.

This type has four emic variants of slot order. The formulas and examples are illustrated below.

- (a) +  $\begin{array}{c|c} S & N \\ \hline A & \end{array}$  +  $\begin{array}{c|c} P & aV \\ \hline St & ASBT \end{array}$  +  $\begin{array}{c|c} Ad & N \\ \hline U & \end{array}$  +  $\begin{array}{c|c} T & V \\ \hline Purp & \end{array}$

Jana akon Pétrus METU.

John order Peter go out

'John ordered Peter to GO OUT.'

- (b) +  $\begin{array}{c|c} S & N \\ \hline A & \end{array}$  +  $\begin{array}{c|c} P & aV \\ \hline St & ASBT \end{array}$  +  $\begin{array}{c|c} Ad & V \\ \hline Purp & \end{array}$  +  $\begin{array}{c|c} T & N \\ \hline U & \end{array}$

Jana akon lunga PÉTRUS.

John order go out Peter

'John ordered PETER to go out.'

- (c) +  $\begin{array}{c|c} S & N \\ \hline A & \end{array}$  +  $\begin{array}{c|c} P & aV \\ \hline St & ASBT \end{array}$  +  $\begin{array}{c|c} T & V \\ \hline Purp & \end{array}$  +  $\begin{array}{c|c} Ad & prepF\text{marang} \\ \hline U & \end{array}$

Jana akon LUNGA marang Pétrus.

John order go out to Peter

'John ordered Peter to GO OUT.'

- (d) +  $\begin{array}{c|c} S & N \\ \hline A & \end{array}$  +  $\begin{array}{c|c} P & aV \\ \hline St & ASBT \end{array}$  +  $\begin{array}{c|c} T & N \\ \hline U & \end{array}$  +  $\begin{array}{c|c} Ad & prepP\text{supaya} \\ \hline Purp & \end{array}$

Jana akon PÉTRUS supaya lunga.

John order Peter in order to go out

'John ordered PETER to go out.'

This clause root looks like Type (2b.i) (ABTU) but it is more like the clause

that has the verb awèh 'give' (3.3), which has no passive form. The passive verbal form dikon is the counterpart of the active form ngekon. No passive form of akon occurs.

### 3.8 ClRt Type (2c.i)

This has one basic cognitive type only, namely Action Transitive Undergoer (ATU), but has five kinds of verbs and has no emic variant of slot order. These verbs are distinguished from each other by their subclass list, their subcategory, and the focus of accompanying participants. The first set of these verbs have prefix nasal and suffix -i (nsV<sub>2</sub><sup>i</sup>); the second set has prefix nasal and suffix -aké (nsV<sub>2</sub><sup>aké</sup>); and the third has prefix nasal (nsV). This nsV<sup>i</sup> is included in subcategory repetitive and symbolized as nsV<sub>2</sub><sup>i</sup>; nsV<sub>1</sub><sup>i</sup> is locative. The subcategory verb goal has two different lists. The first list is accompanied by focus filled by noun class, the other by focus filled by verb class. The first list is symbolized as nsV<sub>2,2</sub><sup>aké</sup> and the other as nsV<sub>2,2</sub><sup>aké</sup>; nsV<sub>1</sub><sup>aké</sup> is benefactive). The subcategory verb causative is symbolized as nsV<sub>3</sub><sup>aké</sup>. This verb occurs with prefix nasal only (nsV), and has no further subcategory. The formulas and examples are illustrated below. The formulas of clause root types with verbs nsV<sub>2,1</sub><sup>aké</sup>, nsV<sub>2,2</sub><sup>aké</sup>, and nsV are combined in one formula.

(a) with nsV<sub>2</sub><sup>i</sup>: nendhang-i (n-tendhang-i) 'kick repeatedly'

+	S		N	+	P		nsV <sub>2</sub> <sup>i</sup>	+	TF		N
	A				ATU		repetitive		U		

Jana nendhang-i                      Pétrus.

John kick repeatedly Peter.

'John kicked repeatedly PETER.'

The passive is as follows:

Pétrus ditendhang-i                      déning JANA.

Peter be kicked repeatedly by John

Pétrus ditendhang-i                      JANA.

Peter be kicked repeatedly John

'Peter was kicked repeatedly by JOHN.'

For some verbs, the difference between subcategory repetitive (asV<sub>2</sub><sup>i</sup>) and subcategory locative (nsV<sub>1</sub><sup>i</sup>) is sometimes not clear. We find nukeni (n-tuku-ani) 'buy' and nutupi (n-tutup-i) 'shut, cover', both sometimes as locative and as repetitive. The distinction between the two is based on the category and the role of the topic. If the category of the topic is human and specific, and the role is Sc, the subcategory of the verb is repetitive. See the following:

Jana nukeni Pétrus KLAMBI PANGAJI Rp 2000.

John buy Peter shirt price 2000 rupiahs

'John bought a SHIRT for Rp 2000 from Peter.'

Jana nukeni                      BARANG-BARANG.

John buy repeatedly everything

'John bought EVERYTHING.'

Jana nutupi PÉTRUS.

John block Peter

'John blocked PETER.'

Jana nutupi CENDHELA.

John shut window

'John shut the WINDOWS.'

The topic Pétrus in the penultimate clause above is Scope, and the category is human-specific, whereas the topic barang-barang and cendhela (see above) is Undergoer, and the category is non-human-general.

(b) with nsV<sub>2,2</sub><sup>aké</sup>: mbutuhaké (m-butuh-aké) 'need'

with nsV<sub>2,3</sub><sup>aké</sup>: nerusaké (n-terus-aké) 'continue'

with nsV : nendhang (n-tendhang) 'kick'

+  $\frac{S}{A} \mid \frac{N}{St} + \frac{P}{AT} \mid \frac{nsV_{2,2}^{aké}, nsV_{2,3}^{aké}, V}{U} + \frac{TF}{U} \mid \frac{N, V, N}{U}$

Jana mbutuhaké KANCA.

John need friend

'John needed a FRIEND.'

Jana nerusaké LAKU.

John continue walk

'John continued the TRIP.'

Jana nendhang PÉTRUS.

John kick Peter

'John kicked PETER.'

The passives of these clauses is as follows:

Kanca kuwi dibutuhaké déning JANA.

friend the be needed by John

'That friend is needed by JOHN.'

Lakuné Jana diterusaké (déning Jana dhewe)

walk his John be continued

'His (John's) trip was continued.'

Pétrus ditendhang déning JANA.

Peter be kicked by John

'Peter was kicked by JOHN.'

Sometimes the word déning 'by' is omitted. In that case, the two clauses with this word above would become:

Kanca kuwi dibutuhaké JANA.

Pétrus ditendhang JANA.

Thus, as we shall see below, there are several types of passive.

(c) with nsV<sub>3</sub><sup>aké</sup>: ngurekaké (ng-kuru-aké) 'make slender'

+  $\frac{S}{A} \mid \frac{N}{St} + \frac{P}{AT} \mid \frac{nsV_3^{aké}}{U} + \frac{TF}{U} \mid \frac{N}{U}$

Jana ngurekaké AWAK.

John make slender body



'John made HIS BODY slender.'

The passive form of this clause is given below:

Awake Jana dikurokake.

body his John be made slender

'John's body was made slender.'

Jana awake dikurokake.

John body his be made slender

'John's body was made slender.'

Note that the class nsV<sub>3</sub><sup>ake</sup> (in the example above) is derived from other classes. These classes are usually adjectives or adverbs of place, e. g. ngurokake is from kuru 'thin', and ngedohake 'keep away' is from aduh 'far'.

### 3.9 ClRt Type (2c.ii)

This has only one basic cognitive type, namely Action Semitransitive (AST), but has two kinds of verb, i. e. (a) verbs with prefix a- (aV) and (b) verbs with reduplication (redupV). The redupV has a subcategory 'continuative'.

The formulas and examples are illustrated below.

(a) with aV: apèk (a-pèk) 'pick up', adang 9a-dang) 'steam'

$$+ \frac{S}{A} \frac{N}{|} + \frac{P}{St} \frac{aV}{AST} + \frac{T}{U} \frac{N}{|}$$

Jana apèk KLAPA.

John pick up coconut

'John picked up a COCONUT.'

Jana adang SEGA.

John steam rice

'John steamed RICE.'

(b) with redupV: dandan-dandan 'improve continually'

klumpuk-klumpuk 'collect continually'

$$+ \frac{S}{A} \frac{N}{|} + \frac{P}{St} \frac{redupV}{ASTcontinuative} + \frac{T}{U} \frac{N}{|}$$

Jana dandan-dandan OMAH.

John improve continually house

'John improved HIS HOUSE continually.'

Jana klumpuk-klumpuk DHUWIT.

John collect continually money

'John saved MONEY continually.'

### 3.10 ACLrt Type 3

This type has three members, i. e. (a) ClRt which has A, Sc, Instr, and Pass, but no U; (b) ClRt which has A, Sc, and Pass, but no U or Instr; and (c) ClRt which has A and Sc, but no U, Instr, or Pass (see Chart VI).

### 3.11 ClRt Type (3a)

ClRt Type (3a) has only one basic cognitive type, namely Action Bi-intransitive Scope (ABISc), and verbs with nasal prefix and suffix -i (nsV<sub>1</sub><sup>i</sup>) which occurs in the same class as the verb mentioned in 3.2. Examples of the verb are nèmplèki

(n-tèmplèk-i) 'cover', nyèlèhi (ny-sèlèh-i) 'put', nalèni (n-tali-ani) 'tie'. This type has no emic variant of slot order. The formula and examples are illustrated below.

+	S	N	+	P	nsV <sub>1</sub> <sup>i</sup>	+	TF	N	+	Ad	prepP <sup>ngangge</sup>
	A			St	ABT loc		Sc			Instr	Specific

Jana nèmplèki TEMBOK ngangge gambar cabul.

John cover wall with photo pornography

'John covered the WALL with (a) pornographic photo(s).'

Jana nyèlèhi MEJA ngangge sepatu.

John put table with shoes

'John put the shoes on the TABLE.'

Jana nalèni PITIKÉ ngangge dhadhung.

John tie hen his with rope

'John tied HIS HEN with a rope.'

The passives of these clauses are listed respectively below.

Témboké ditèmplèki déning JANA ngangge gambar cabul.

wall the be covered by John with photo pornography

'The wall was covered with (a) pornographic photo(s) by JOHN.'

Mejané disèlèhi déning JANA ngangge sepatu.

table the be put by John with shoes

'John put the shoes on the table.'

Pitike ditalèni déning JANA DHEWE ngangge dhadhung.

hen his be tied by John self with rope

'John's hen was tied with a rope by JOHN HIMSELF.'

Without déning 'by' these clauses read:

Témboké ditèmplèki JANA ngangge gambar cabul.

Mejané disèlèhi JANA ngangge sepatu.

Pitike ditalèni JANA DHEWE ngangge dhadhung.

Sometimes Jana or déning Jana is placed in the last position, where the preposition ngangge 'with' may be omitted; déning 'by' may be replaced by karo 'by'.

Témboké ditèmplèki GAMBAR CABUL karo Jana.

Mejané disèlèhi SEPATU Jana.

Pitike ditalèni DHADHUNG déning Jana dhewe.

### 3.12 ClRt Type (3b) (See Chart VI)

This has only one basic cognitive type, i. e. Action Intransitive Scope (AISc). The verb of this type has prefix nasal and suffix -i, which is in the same class with the verb of type mentioned in 3.2 (nsV<sub>1</sub><sup>i</sup>). For example: nekani (n-teka-ani) 'attend'; nyedhaki (ny-cedhak-i) 'approach'; nggelèki (ng-gelèk-i) 'look for'.

The formulas and examples are illustrated below.

+	S	N	+	P	nsV <sub>1</sub> <sup>i</sup>	+	TF	N
	A			St	AT Locative		Sc	

Jana nekani RAPAT.

John attend meeting

'John attended the MEETING.'

Jana nyedhaki PÉTRUS.

John approach Peter

'John approached PETER.'

Jana nggolèki PÉTRUS.

John look for Peter

'John looked for PETER.'

The passives of these clauses are as follows. In this situation, the preposition déning can be omitted.

Rapate        ditekani        JANA

meeting the be attended John

'The meeting was attended by JOHN.'

Pétrus dicedhaki        déning JANA.

Peter be approached by John

'Peter was approached by JOHN.'

Pétrus digelèki        JANA.

Peter be looked for John

'Peter was looked for by JOHN.'

### 3.13 CLrT Type (3c)

This has only one cognitive type, namely Action Semi-intransitive (ASI), but has four kinds of verbs. These verbs are: (a) without affix (V); (b) with prefix nasal (nsV<sub>1</sub>); (c) with prefix a- (aV); and (d) with suffix -an (V<sub>1</sub><sup>an</sup>). Examples are lunga 'go', toka 'come', mlebu (m-lebu) 'enter', asih (a-sih) 'love', amor (a-mor) 'stay together, stick around with', dolanan (dolan-an) 'play'. See the following formulas and examples.

+	S		N	+	P		V <sub>1</sub> <sup>an</sup> , aV, nsV <sub>1</sub> , V	+	T		prepP	<u>karo</u> , <u>marang</u> , <u>saka</u> , <u>menyang</u> , <u>ing</u>
	A						St   AST				Sc	

Jana lunga menyang PASAR.

John go to market

'John went to the MARKET.'

Jana teka saka JAKARTA.

John come from Jakarta

'John came from JAKARTA.'

Jana mlebu ing KAMAR.

John enter in room

'John entered the ROOM.'

Jana asih marang MARYAM.

John love to Mary

'John loved MARY.'

Jana amor        karo PÉTRUS.

John stay together with Peter

'John stayed together with PETER.'

Jana dolanan karo PÉTRUS.

John play with Peter

'John played together with PETER.'

Some prepositions, e. g. ing and karo, are optional, and some verbs, e. g. dolan-an, may be used in other clause types. Notice the etic variants of Jana mlebu KAMAR and Jana amor PÉTRUS. We may find a clause in which the topic is instrumental and the verb is dolanan, e. g. Jana dolanan ula 'John played with a snake.'

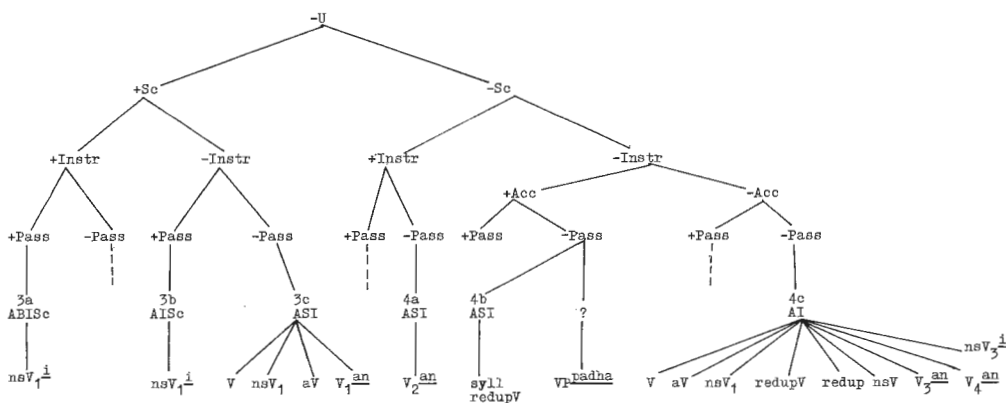


CHART VI

### 3.14 ClRt Type (4)

This clause type has three members (see Chart VI above): (a) ClRt which has A and Instr, but no U, Sc or Pass; (b) ClRt which has A and Acc, but no U, Sc, Instr, or Pass; and (c) ClRt which has only A and no U, Sc, Instr, Acc, or Pass.

### 3.15 ClRt Type (4a)

This has only one basic cognitive type: Action Semi-intransitive (ASI). The verb occurs with suffix -an ( $V_2^{\text{an}}$ ). This verb refers to explicit utilization, e. g. dolanan (dolan-an) 'play', gelangan (gelang-an) 'use something as a bracelet', gujengan (gujeng-an) 'hold'. The formulas and examples are illustrated below.

+ S	N	+ P	$V_2^{\text{an}}$		+ T	N
A		St	AST explicit utilization		Instr	

Jana dolanan ULA.

John play snake

'John played with a SNAKE.'

Jana gelangan KARET.

John use as bracelet rubber

'John used a RUBBER BAND as a bracelet.'

Jana gujengan CAGAK.

John hold post

'John held a POST.'

This type can be distinguished from the clause types in 3.13 (with  $V_1^{\text{an}}$ ) mainly in discourse. With reference to clause (in 3.13) Jana dolanan karo Pétrus 'John played together with Peter', we can say Aja dolanan karo Pétrus! Pétrus kok diajak dolanan. 'Don't play together with Peter! Why is Peter invited to play (together with you)?' On the contrary we cannot say to the clause Jana dolanan ula, Aja dolanan ula! \*Ula kok diajak dolanan! 'Don't play with a snake!' Furthermore, in reference to this clause, we can say Aja dolanan ula! Ula kok diengge dolanan. 'Don't use a snake to play with! Why are you using a snake to play with?', but we cannot say Aja dolanan karo Pétrus! \*Pétrus kok diengge dolanan! 'Don't play together with Peter! \*Why Peter is used to play!'

### 3.16 ClRt Type (4b)

This has one basic cognitive type: Action Semi-intransitive (ASI). This type has only one verb, reduplicative syllabic verb plus suffix -an (syll redup $V^{\text{an}}$ ). The verb refers to coincidental reciprocity, e. g. rerasanan (re-rasa-an-an) 'talk about', geguyon (ge-guyu-an) 'horse around'.

The formula and examples are given below:

+  $\frac{S}{A} \mid \frac{N}{P} + \frac{P}{\text{AST coincidental reciprocity}} \mid \frac{\text{syll redup} V^{\text{an}}}{\text{prep}^{\text{karo}}}$

Jana rerasanan karo PÉTRUS.

John talk with Peter

'John and PETER talked (about something).'

Jana geguyon karo PÉTRUS.

John jest with Peter

'John and PETER jested.'

### 3.17 ClRt Type (4c)

This has eight kinds of verbs, i. e. (a) verb without affix ( $V$ ): dandan 'dress up'; (b) verb with prefix a- ( $aV$ ): adus (a-dus) 'take a bath'; (c) verb with prefix nasal ( $nsV_1$ ): nangis (n-tangis) 'cry'; (d) verb with reduplication (this has two subcategories, repetitive ( $redupV_1$ ): jerit-jerit 'scream repeatedly', and continual repetitive ( $redupV_2$ ): jerat-jerat 'scream continually and repeatedly'); (e) verb with reduplication and prefix nasal (this has two subcategories, similar to verb type (d), i. e. repetitive and continual repetitive); (f) and (g) verbs which occur with suffix -an ( $V_3^{\text{an}}$  and  $V_4^{\text{an}}$ ). (f) represents implicit utilization: jungkatan (jungkāt-an) 'comb', while (g) is irregular repetitive: kroncalan (kroncal-an) 'writhe'. Finally (h) verb occurs with prefix nasal and suffix -i ( $nsV_3^i$ ), whose subcategory is imitative: mmanyaki (m-banyak-i) 'act like a goose.'

The formulas and examples are illustrated below.

(4c.i): with verbs (a), (b), and (c)

+  $\frac{S}{A} \mid \frac{N}{P} + \frac{P}{\text{St} \mid \text{AI}} \mid \frac{V, aV, nsV_1}{\text{AI}}$

Jana dandan.

John dress up

'John got dressed up.'

Jana adus.

John take a bath

'John took a bath.'

Jana nangin.

John cry

'John cried.'

(4c.ii): with verbs (d) and (e)

+	S		N	+	P		redupV <sub>1</sub> , redup nsV <sub>1</sub>
	A				St		AI repetitive

Jana jerit-jerit.

John scream repeatedly

'John screamed repeatedly.'

Jana njerit-njerit.

John scream repeatedly

'John screamed repeatedly.'

(4c.iii): with verbs (d) and (e)

+	S		N	+	P		redupV <sub>2</sub> , redup nsV <sub>2</sub>
	A				St		AI continual repetitive

Jana ngguya-ngguyu.

John laugh continually and repeatedly

'John laughed continually and repeatedly.'

Jana jerat-jerit.

John scream continually and repeatedly

'John screamed continually and repeatedly.'

(4c.iv): with verb (f)

+	S		N	+	P		V <sub>3</sub> <sup>an</sup>
	A				St		AI implicit utilization

Jana jungkatan.

John comb

'John combed (his hair).'

(4c.v): with verb (g)

+	S		N	+	P		V <sub>4</sub> <sup>an</sup>
	A				St		AI irregular repetitive

Jana krencalan.

John writhe

'John writhed.'

(4c.vi): with verb (g)

+	S		N	+	P		nsV <sub>3</sub> <sup>i</sup>
	A				St		AI imitative

Jana mbanyaki.

John act like a goose

'John lost his head.'

### 3.17 ACLRt Type (5)

This type has two members: (a) CLRt type with S as U; and (b) CLRt type with S as Sc. The first type is called Action Bireceptive (ABR), and has two kinds of verbs, i. e. (i) verb without affix (V): nandhang 'suffer', kena 'be struck', and (ii) verb with prefix nasal and suffix -i (nsV<sub>4</sub><sup>i</sup>) which is experiential, e. g. nglakoni (ng-laku-ani) 'experience', and ngalami (ng-alam-i) 'experience'.

The other type is called Action Semibireceptive (ASBR). This type has two kinds of verbs: (i) verb without affix (V): thukul 'emerge', tambah 'add'; and (ii) verb with prefix nasal (nsV): metu (m-wetu) 'go out, emerge'.

The formulas and examples are illustrated below.

(5a): with V and nsV<sub>4</sub><sup>i</sup>

$$+ \frac{S}{U} \left| \frac{N}{U} \right| + \frac{P}{St} \left| \frac{V, nsV_4^i}{ABR \text{ experiential}} \right| + \frac{T}{Sc} \left| \frac{N, Adj, prep^{ing}}{Sc} \right|$$

Jana nandhang KASEDHIAN.

John suffer sadness

'John was SAD.'

Jana nandhang SEDHIH.

John suffer sad

'John was SAD.'

Jana kena ing BEBENDU.

John be struck by trouble

'John was TROUBLED.'

Jana ngalami KACILAKAN.

John experience accident

'John had an ACCIDENT.'

Jana ngalami CILAKA.

John experience accident

'John had an ACCIDENT.'

(5b): with V and nsV

$$+ \frac{S}{Sc} \left| \frac{N}{U} \right| + \frac{P}{St} \left| \frac{V, nsV}{ASBR} \right| + \frac{T}{U} \left| \frac{N}{Specific} \right|$$

Jana thukul SABARE.

John grow patient his

'John became a PATIENT MAN.'

Jana metu KRINGETE.

John emerge perspiration his

'John PERSPIRED.'

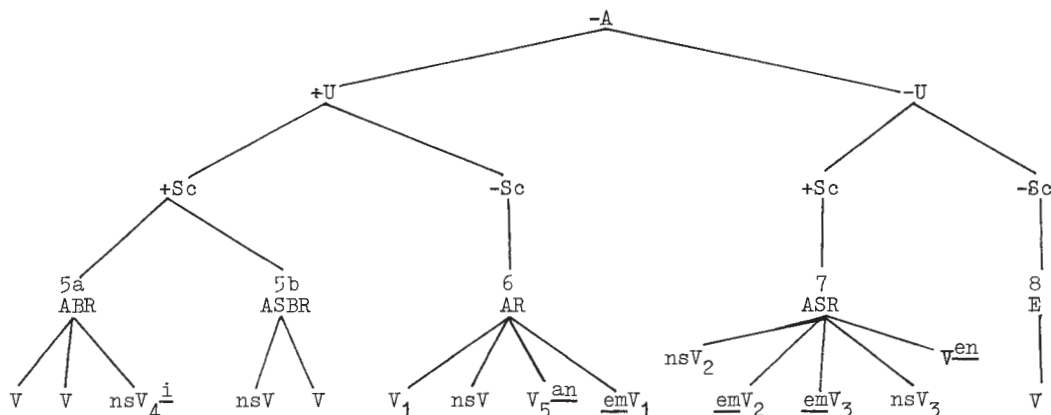


CHART VII

### 3.18 ACLRt Type (6)

This has only one basic cognitive type: Action Receptive (AR), but has four kinds of verbs. These are: (i) verb without affix (V): lèlèh 'melt'; (ii) verb with prefix nasal (nsV): netes (n-tetes) 'hatch'; (iii) verb with suffix -an (V<sub>5</sub><sup>an</sup>): dlèwèran (dlèwèr-an) 'flow'; and (iv) verb with infix -em- (emV): semrepet (-em-srepet) 'blur'. Verbs (i), (ii), and (iii) especially has a subcategory process.

The formulas and examples are illustrated below.

(6.i, ii, iii): with V, nsV, V<sub>5</sub><sup>an</sup>  

+ S   N	+ P   V, nsV, V <sub>5</sub> <sup>an</sup>
U   Impersonal	St   AR process

Liliné lèlèh.

candle the melt

'The candle melted.'

Endhegé netes.

egg the hatch

'The egg hatched.'

Kringeté dlèwèran.

perspiration the flow

'He perspired heavily.'

(6.iv): with emV

+ S   N	+ P   emV
U   Impersonal	St   AR

Pandelengané semrepet.

eye his blur

'His eyesight blurred.'

### 3.19 ACLRt Type (7)

This type has only one basic cognitive type: Action Semireceptive (ASR), but



has three kinds of verbs. These are: (i) verb with prefix nasal, with two subcategories, (a) contents (nsV<sub>2</sub>): mbanyu (m-banyu) 'water-logged', nglenga (ng-lenga) 'oily', and (b) presentation (nsV<sub>3</sub>): ngiler (ng-iler) '(mouth) water'; (ii) verb with infix -em-, with two kinds of subcategories, (a) contents (emV<sub>2</sub>): kemringet (-em-kringet) 'contain perspiration', and (b) presentation (emV<sub>3</sub>): kemebul (-em-kebul) 'smoke'; and (iii) verb with suffix -en (v<sup>en</sup>), e. g. kringeten (kringet-en) 'be perspiring'. The formulas and examples are illustrated below.

(7.i.a) (7.ii.a): with nsV<sub>2</sub> and emV<sub>2</sub>

$$+ \begin{array}{c|c} S & N \\ \hline Sc & \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} P & nsV_2, \text{ emV}_2 \\ \hline St & ASR \text{ contents} \end{array}$$

Uyahe mbanyu.

salt the water-logged

'The salt is water-logged.'

Raine nglenga.

face his oily

'His face is oily.'

Jana kemringet.

John perspire

'John perspired.'

(7.i.b) (7.ii.b) (7.iii): with nsV<sub>3</sub>, emV<sub>3</sub>, and v<sup>en</sup>

$$+ \begin{array}{c|c} S & N \\ \hline Sc & \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|c} P & nsV_3, \text{ emV}_3, \text{ v}^{\text{en}} \\ \hline St & ASR \text{ presentation} \end{array}$$

Jana ngiler.

John (mouth) water

'John's mouth watered.'

Pawene kemebul.

kitchen the smoke

'The kitchen smokes.'

Jana kringeten.

John perspire

'John perspired.'

### 3.20 ACLRt Type (8)

This has no participants. It is called Action Eventive (AE). The formula and examples are illustrated below.

$$+ \begin{array}{c|c} P & V \\ \hline St & E \end{array}$$

Udan. 'It's raining.'

Gremis. 'It's drizzling.'

### 4.0 Concluding Notes

The predicate filled by the verb is important to defining and distinguishing the different types of Javanese clause roots, especially those of transitivity. The

distinctive features reflected by the morphemic forms often give valuable clues.

The tagmemic approach has been used as a framework in this study, since it makes a distinction between filler components (class and category) and function components (slot and role).

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank Dr. Kenneth L. Pike for his encouragement to write this paper, and Dr. Ignatius Suharno for his suggestions concerning certain aspects of Javanese, and Miss Hiroko Oguri for her Japanese examples for my verification.

<sup>2</sup> Ngoko is one of the many social styles of Javanese language. It is usually spoken between persons intimately related, or by an elder person to a younger one (but generally not in reverse), or by a man whose social status is higher to a man whose social status is lower. Other social styles are Kromo Inggil and Kromo Madya. For further discussion, see Suharno, 1974: 10 - 11. He also refers to Poedjosedarmo's Javanese Speech Level, 1968, and Sumukti's Javanese Morphology and Morphophonemics, 1971.

<sup>3</sup> The Javanese language is mainly spoken in Central and East Java, by more than 45 million native speakers (see Suharno, 1974: 6). The Sala dialect, together with the Yogya dialect, are recognized as the Javanese language standards, because the two areas are the location of former Javanese kingdoms and have become centers of Javanese civilization. Some other dialects are Cirebon, Banyumas, Tegal, Pati, Madiun, Surabaya, Malang, and Banyuwangi.

<sup>4</sup> The Javanese spelling used here is, except for é and è, the present-day spelling, which conforms to the spelling of the Indonesian language.

<sup>5</sup> Tense is not referred to by verbal inflection, but by a word, so the English gloss to the verb may be indicated in simple present or simple past tense.

<sup>6</sup> Passivization in Javanese involves changing the nasal verbal prefix to the di-verbal prefix.

<sup>7</sup> Grammaticality relates to a grammatical structure; acceptability relates to a semantic structure (Cf. Chomsky's concept on grammaticality and interpretability, 1965: 140 - 153; and Verhaar, Lexical Collection: The Application of Meanings, 1973 a: 443 - 454).

<sup>8</sup> Topicalization caused by this kind of order has a side effect, i. e. it is possible to assume that the final tagmeme in the answer is to be analyzed as the topic which is elicited by the question Jana mènèhi buku marang sapa? 'To whom did John give a book?' (with an answer whose order of slots is the same as that for the answer of the question). So we might say that there are two topics in such a clause. However, for ease of explanation, this problem is left unsolved, and from here on the last tagmeme is called adjunct (Ad).

<sup>9</sup> According to Hale's division, clause root types may be classified into: (1) Transitivity; (2) Identification; (3) Existence (Cf. Pike and Pike, 1974: 4.24). Identification type has Item and Complement slots. Complement slot in Javanese is filled by a noun (noun phrase) or prepositional phrase (prep P), but never by a verb.