

## Ruminations on a Madurese applicative morpheme

Next to the voice system, the ‘applicative’ suffixes are the most frequent topic in works on the morphology/syntax of Indonesian and Indonesian-type languages, and of these Indonesian *-kan* far outstrips the others (and has a literature too vast to cite comprehensively). Indonesian *-kan* and its cognates in related languages appears to fill a number of syntactic/semantic functions including marking benefactives, causatives, and others. A unified analysis encompassing all functions remains elusive. Whether purely morphological, syntactic or semantic (or some circumscribed combination), all analyses leave some residue, some data that cannot be accounted for by a particular proposal. The present paper outlines the various identifiable uses of the Madurese counterpart, *-aghi*, and considers how representatives of the various approaches fare.

Most of the functions of *-aghi* are the same as those found in descriptions of Indonesian *-kan*. As with standard accounts, with semantically intransitive predicates, the resulting structure is causative (1) and with syntactic transitive predicates benefactive (2). There are, of course, numerous exceptions to any such generalization. With predicates of communication such as *bâlâ* ‘say’, *koto* ‘whisper’ and others, the suffixation of *-aghi* coincides with the topic of communication being a core (non-prepositional) argument, as in (3b). With a limited set of predicates, the presence of *-aghi* coincides with the specification of an endpoint (reported by Son and Cole 2008 for Indonesian), as in (4b), in which *neng Masjid Aghung Bhângkalan* specifies the endpoint of the stones. As widely reported (for Indonesian), the presence of *-aghi* coincides with the specification of an instrument as a core arguments (5). Polite imperatives can be formed with *-aghi* (6). Another relatively instrumental use of the suffix derives verbs from certain nouns which be roughly characterized as containers, such as *panjârâ* ‘jail’ in (7b). Similarly, in some miscellaneous cases, *-aghi* derives verbs from nominal bases, as with *buktèyaghi* ‘prove’, derived from *buktè* ‘proof’ and *kabhârrâghe* ‘spread the news’ from *kabhâr* ‘news’. Finally, there are instances in which perception predicates become volitional predicates, as with *èding* ‘hear’ and *èdingngaghi* ‘listen to’. Regardless of what function obtains, the resulting structure is transitive in the actor voice.

With the facts in place, it is possible to evaluate the effectiveness of three basic types of analyses (of Indonesian *-kan*) in accounting for Madurese *-aghi*. The approaches to be considered are:

- the syntactic approach as represented by Postman (2002), who takes *-kan* to be a transitivizing head,
- the morphological/argument structure approach represented by Cole & Son 2004, and
- the syntactic/semantic approach of Son & Cole 2008, which treats *-kan* as an abstract RESULT head.

While no single approach handles all of the data, there is some merit to the argument-structure approach for Madurese, based in part on the interaction of the applicative suffix with the voice system, which combined show similarities to the voice systems in Philippine languages.

## Data

- (1) Sa'diyah mellè-**yaghi** na'-kana' permèn.  
Sa'diyah AV.buy-AGHI RED-child candy  
'Sa'diyah bought the children candy.'
- (2) Siti ngèdung-**ngaghi** bâji'-na.  
Siti AV.sleep-AGHI baby-DEF  
'Siti put her baby to sleep.'
- (3) a. Salè a-koto' dâ' Romlah bâb jâwâb-bhân.  
Sale AV-whisper to Romlah about answer-NOM  
'Sale whispered the answer to Romlah.'
- b. Salè ngoto'-**aghi** jâwâb-bhân dâ' Romlah.  
Sale AV.whisper-AGHI answer-NOM to Romlah  
'Sale whispered the answer to Romlah.'
- (4) a. Nembuk bâto-na.  
AV-pile stone-DEF  
'They piled up the stones.'
- b. Nembug-**ghâgbi** bâto-na neng masjid Aghung Bhângkalan.  
AV.pile-AGHI stone-DEF at mosque Agung Bangkalan  
'They piled up the stones at the Agung Bangkalan Mosque.'
- (5) Po'lo'-na è-tolès-**saghi** dâ' dlubâng.  
pencil-DEF OV-write-AGHI to paper  
'The pencil was used to write on the paper.'
- (6) a. Sabâ' kèt-pakèt rowa neng mèjâ otabâ neng korsè!  
put RED-package that at table or at chair  
'Put those packages on the table or on the chair!'
- b. Sabâ'-**âgbi** kèt-pakèt rowa neng mèjâ otabâ neng korsè.  
put-AGHI RED-package that at table or at chair  
'Please, put those packages on the table or on the chair.'
- (7) a. Polisi nyabâ' malèng è panjârâ.  
police AV.put thief at jail  
'The police put the thief in jail.'
- b. Polisi a-panjârâ'-**aghi** malèng.  
police AV-jail-AGHI thief  
'The police jailed the thief.'