

## Applying Madurese *-agi*

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A long-standing issue in studies of Indonesian is the range of functions performed by the suffix *-kan* and whether or not a unified account of the morpheme is possible. A number of recent works have focused on the nature of *-kan* and the structures in which it is found (Kaswanti Purwo 2002, Musgrave 2002, Postman 2002, Cole & Son 2004, Son & Cole 2008, and others). Cole and Son have attacked the problem from two angles, proposing unified accounts in terms of argument structure (2004) and event structure (2008). As the analogues of *-kan* in the other closely related Indonesian-type languages have a similar distribution, it would be expected that proposals for *-kan* should generally extend to these as well. In this paper I examined the applicability of some of these accounts to Madurese *-agi*. Madurese may provide a revealing case as the only one of these languages with a dedicated causative morpheme *pa-* distinct from *-agi*, which takes up some of one of the primary functions of *-kan*.

The functions of *-agi* closely parallel the functions of *-kan*. The suffix occurs with benefactive applicatives (1), with applicatives of verbs of communication (making the subject matter a core argument) (2), in verbalizing nouns (3), in sentences establishing an endpoint for some theme (4), and in some causatives (5). *-agi* can also be used to make a polite request.

Cole & Son (2004) propose that *-kan* is a derivational morpheme that syntactically licenses an additional argument in the argument structure of the element to which it is affixed. This can account for cases of

- benefactive applicatives: in (1) the beneficiaries *na'-kana* 'children' and *Siti* are made core arguments)
- verbs of communication: in (2) *jawaban* 'answer' and *dungngeng* 'story' are core arguments rather than prepositional objects
- verbalized noun: in (3) argument slots are created
- causatives: (5) agent arguments *engko* 'I' and *binena* 'his wife' are introduced.

However, in texts, one of the core functions of *-agi* is to establish an endpoint for a theme (Son & Cole's 'goal PP' structure): in (4a) *-agi* functions to mark precisely that the Great Bangkalan mosque is where the stones were piled. The suffix is unnecessary without this specification (6). The same is true in (4b). One might attempt to analyze these additional specifications as PP arguments, but doing so calls into question the role of *-agi* with the verbs of communication as PPs denoting subject matter of communication should qualify as arguments in their own right.

Son & Cole (2008) propose a semantic approach based on the event structure associated with the predicates. They argue that causatives, benefactive applicatives, goal PP structures, and verbalized nouns all include a result state in their event structure—a result such as the state of the causee, the location of the theme of a benefactive, the goal in the goal PP structure, and the resulting location inherent in some verbalized nouns. They propose that *-kan* is the instantiation of the head of a result phrase, providing a unified account. While this approach brings the goal PP structures into the account, applicatives formed on the verbs of communication (the second most frequent usage in the texts) include no obvious result in the event semantics.

Additional structures, including cases in which both causative *pa-* and *-agi* surface (7) and polite requests (8), cast further doubt on the ability to unify an account of *-agi* in either of the manners under consideration.

## Data

- (1) a. Sa'diyah melle-yagi na'-kana' permen.  
S AV.buy-AGI RED-child candy  
'Sa'diyah bought the children candy.'
- b. Marlana ngeba'-agi Siti kothak.  
M AV.carry-AGI S box  
'Marlena carried Siti the box.'
- (2) a. Sale ngoto'-agi jawab-an dha' Romlah.  
S AV.whisper-AGI answer-NOM to R  
'Sale whispered the answer to Romlah.'
- b. Dungngeng se bakal e-dungngeng-ngagi bi' engko' dha' ba'eng kabbi sateya riya...  
story REL will OV-story-AGI by me to you all now this  
'The story that I will tell you now...'
- (3) a. Polisi a-panjara'-agi maleng.  
police AV-jail-AGI thief  
'The police jailed the thief.'
- b. Ali a-buku-wagi pang-asel-an.  
A AV-book-AGI NOM-succeed  
'Ali entered the income in the book.'
- (4) a. Nembug-gagi bato-na neng masjid Agung Bangkalan.  
AV-pile-AGI stone-DEF at mosque A B  
'They piled the stones at the Agung Bangkalan mosque.'
- b. Nyebbar-ragi agama Islam e Rosbaja.  
AV.spread-AGI religion I at R  
'He spread Islam in Arosbaya.'
- (5) a. Mare nerrang-ngagi engko' dha' red-mored,...  
finish AV.clear-AGI I to RED-student  
'After I explained it to the students.'
- b. Bine-na mate bakto ng-rembi'-agi Bang Pote.  
wife-DEF die time AV-born-AGI Garlic  
'His wife died when she delivered Garlic.'
- (6) Nembug-gagi bato-na.  
AV-pile-AGI stone-DEF  
'They piled the stones.'
- (7) a. Aba'eng e-pa-kennal-lagi dha' se lake'.  
she OV-CS-know-AGI to REL husband  
'She was introduced to her husband.'
- b. Bu randa ma-nyalamed-dagi Temon Emmas dhari ma' buta se jahat jiya.  
mother widow AV-CS-AV-safe-AGI T E from father giant REL evil this  
'The widow saved Temon Emmas from the evil giant.'
- (8) Nyare-yagi kain kafan.  
AV.seek-AGI fabric shroud  
'Please, find a shroud.'