

# *Babaring lelakon*

## The use of *-ing* in Javanese genitive constructions

DANIEL KRAUßE

### ABSTRACT

Two nominals in a genitive construction in Javanese are typically linked by the suffix *-é* in the low speech level and by *-ipun* in the high level, both of which are derived from the third person possessive suffix. There is a third suffix which links two nominals, namely *-ing*, which has so far received little attention in the literature. In this article, I present a syntactic and historical analysis of the suffix *-ing*. Of particular concern are four types of genitive constructions which permit the use of *-ing*, as opposed to two constructions where this suffix cannot be used.

### KEYWORDS

Syntax; noun phrase; suffixation; Javanese.

### 1. INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

Extensive studies have been carried out on the nominal phrase (NP) in Javanese (K. Baroroh and Mulyadi 2020; Gina et al. 1987; K. Hayward 1995; S. Nardiati et al. 1995; Nardiati 2007). However, the suffix *-ing* in genitive constructions has so far received little attention. Some authors analyse *-ing* as a (formal or

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DANIEL KRAUßE is a PhD candidate in Linguistics at the University of Newcastle in Australia. In his doctorate program, he investigates the syntactic and semantic commonalities and differences between serial verb constructions in Oceanic languages and coverb constructions in Australian languages. He received his BA and MA degrees in Empirical Linguistics from the Goethe University of Frankfurt in Germany. In his master's thesis, he described the politeness system of the East Javanese variety spoken in Surabaya. His research interests include linguistic typology, historical linguistics, morphosyntax, and writing systems with a focus on the languages of Southeast Asia, in particular Thai, Indonesian, and Javanese. He has been awarded a number of linguistic scholarships and grants, including the ALS Research Grant 2019, the Indonesian language scholarship Darmasiswa from 2014 to 2015, and the Indonesian Arts and Cultural Scholarship BSBI in 2014. Daniel Krauße can be reached at: krausse.daniel@gmail.com.

literary) substitute for the standard genitive suffix *-é/-ipun* with no difference in meaning or usage (L.P. Favre 1866: 84; J.J. Ras 1985: 20; S. Robson 1992: 34; Sukarno 2008: 194-195; D. van der Meij 2010: 353; Wedhawati et al. 2001: 220).<sup>2</sup> Others attempt to draw a distinction between *-ing* and *-é/-ipun* (Gina et al. 1987: 113; H.N. Kiliaan 1919: 233; Nardiati 2016; T. Roorda 1855: 440-441). A detailed literature review follows in Section 3. The suffix *-é/-ipun* has the phonologically conditioned allomorphs *-né/-nipun*. The epenthetic /n/ is used when the preceding root which it attaches to ends in a vowel. This is further explained in Section 4.

First, consider examples (1a) and (1b), in which the genitive suffix *-é* of the Ngoko speech level [NG] can be replaced by *-ing* with no change in meaning. The same is also true for *-ipun* of the Krama [KR] speech level in (2a) and (2b).

- |     |    |                             |              |    |                             |              |
|-----|----|-----------------------------|--------------|----|-----------------------------|--------------|
| (1) | a. | <i>duwèk-é</i>              | <i>wong</i>  | b. | <i>duwèk-ing</i>            | <i>wong</i>  |
|     |    | possess-GEN                 | person       |    | possess-ING                 | person       |
|     |    | 'someone's possession' [NG] |              |    | 'someone's possession' [NG] |              |
|     |    |                             |              |    |                             |              |
| (2) | a. | <i>asma-nipun</i>           | <i>Gusti</i> | b. | <i>asma-ning</i>            | <i>Gusti</i> |
|     |    | name-GEN                    | Lord         |    | name-ING                    | Lord         |
|     |    | 'name of the Lord' [KR]     |              |    | 'name of the Lord' [KR]     |              |

In contrast, the suffix *-é/-ipun* cannot be replaced by *-ing* in examples (3) and (4).

- |     |                              |                   |             |
|-----|------------------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| (3) | <i>anak-é/*-ing</i>          | <i>Mas</i>        | <i>Budi</i> |
|     | offspring-GEN/-ING           | older.brother     | PN.M        |
|     | 'a rich person's child' [NG] |                   |             |
|     |                              |                   |             |
| (4) | <i>asma-nipun/*-ning</i>     | <i>Bu Hartati</i> |             |
|     | name-GEN/-ING                | Mrs PN.F          |             |
|     | 'Mrs Hartati's name' [KR]    |                   |             |

In this article, I provide a detailed analysis of the suffix *-ing* and describe its functional range, constraints, and historical development. Except for a recent article by Nardiati (2016), no such study has been carried out to date.

Much of the data for this study comes from a searchable text corpus of written Javanese, which was generated by the website Sketch Engine prior to the research. The texts are drawn from the chronicle *Babad Tanah Jawi* (1939-

<sup>2</sup> The suffix *-é* is used in the Ngoko speech level, whereas *-ipun* is the Krama equivalent. A feature of the Javanese language is an elaborate system of speech levels and honorifics, which need to be adhered to at all times in the spoken and written language. The three principal divisions are Ngoko (low level), Madya (mid-level), and Krama (high level). These speech levels mainly affect the lexicon, but to some extent also the morphology and syntax of the language. For a general overview of the Javanese speech levels, I refer the reader to S. Poedjosoedarmo (1968, 1969) and C. Geertz (1977). For a comparison between Central and East Javanese speech levels, see Kisyani-Laksono (2004) and KrauËe (2018). Following KrauËe (2018: 72), I treat the suffixes *-é* and *-ipun* as allomorphs of a single 3SG.POSS/GEN lexeme (see Section 2).

1941), the oracle book *Sêrat Jängka Jayabaya* (1938), the dictionary *Baoesastra Djawa* by W.J.S. Poerwadarminta (1939), the Javanese Bible *Kitab Suci* from Reksa Pustaka (1962), the online news magazine *Pawarta Bahasa Jawa* (2020), as well as five randomly selected Wikipedia pages in Javanese from 2020. The material mainly consists of formal texts because the suffix *-ing* is rarely used in the spoken language except in a few expressions and proverbs, which also form part of this study (see Section 5.6). Given that *-ing* is largely absent in East and West Javanese, this study concentrates on the Central Javanese variety. I am very grateful to the two native speakers of Javanese from Yogyakarta whom I have consulted for this study.

## 2. SUFFIXES *-é* AND *-ipun*

To follow the ensuing discussion on the suffix *-ing*, some background information on the genitive construction in Javanese is necessary. The suffixes which I term “genitive” here are derived from and identical to the possessive suffixes for the third person. The expression of possession in Standard Javanese is introduced first.

Singular pronominal possession on the Ngoko level (examples a) is conveyed by the suffix *-ku* for the first person (5), by *-mu* for the second person (6), and by *-é* for the third person (7). On the Krama level (examples b), independent pronominal forms are employed for the first and second person singular, whereas the third person takes the suffix *-ipun*.

- |     |    |  |    |   |
|-----|----|--|----|---|
| (5) | a. | <i>bapak-ku</i><br>father-1SG.POSS<br>'my father' [NG]     | b. | <i>rama kula</i><br>father 1SG<br>'my father' [KR]            |
| (6) | a. | <i>bapak-mu</i><br>father-2SG.POSS<br>'your father' [NG]   | b. | <i>rama panjenengan</i><br>father 2SG<br>'your father' [KR]   |
| (7) | a. | <i>bapak-é</i><br>father-3SG.POSS<br>'his/her father' [NG] | b. | <i>rama-nipun</i><br>father-3SG.POSS<br>'his/her father' [KR] |

The plural forms are not relevant to this study and they vary by region. I refer the reader to M.C. Ewing (2010: 29-31) for the set of pronouns in West Javanese, to E.M. Uhlenbeck (1960: 3-14) and B. Arps et al. (2000: 96-100) for the pronominal forms in Central Javanese, and to Krauß (2017: 32-36) for those used in East Javanese. The focus of this article is the suffix *-é/-ipun*.

Apart from possession, *-é/-ipun* can mark definiteness and function like the definite article in other languages (see C. Lyons 1999: 47 and further). R. Wessing (2015: 433) terms it an “associative suffix”. S. Villerius (2018: 70) refers to *-é* as a “determiner/possessive suffix” and glosses it as a marker of definiteness throughout her thesis. According to Krauß (2017:

37), nominalization and genitive are two other functions of *-(n)é* in East Javanese. Arps et al. (2000: 43) distinguish three functions of *-é/-ipun*, namely definiteness, third person possession, and linker of two independent nouns.

Consider example (8) for the Ngoko level and (9) for the Krama level. Here, the suffix *-é/-ipun* does not denote that the sun or the city are possessed, but that they are unique objects and that no other such entity exists. There is only one sun in the universe, and there is only one city called Manila, hence they are definite.

- (8) *Ésuk-ésuk srengenge-né lagi m-etu, sibu.*  
 morning~RED SUN-DEF PROG AV-emerge mother  
 'In the early morning, **the** sun comes out, Mother.' [NG]

- (9) *Artikel punika namung m-bahas kitha-nipun; Ø-pirsa-ni*  
 article DEM only AV-discuss city-DEF IMP-see-APPL  
*"Metro Manila" kanggé artikel bab laladan metropolis-ipun.*  
 PN.GEO for article about territory metropolis-DEF  
 'This article only discusses **the** city; see Metro Manila for the article about **the** metropolitan area.' [NG]

In cases in which the status or honorific of the addressee is not known, the suffix *-é/-ipun* is used as a form of avoidance. In example (10), the referentiality of *-é/-ipun* is ambiguous, as indicated in the translation.

- (10) *Asma-nipun sinten?*  
 name-DEF who  
 'What's your/her/his/its/their/the name?' [KR]

The correlation between the third person possessive and definiteness has also been observed in other languages of the region, such as Indonesian *-nya* (P. Grangé 2015; J.N. Sneddon 2010: 155-156) and Balinese *-(n)é* (A. Shiohara and K. Artawa 2015). When the suffix *-é/-ipun* denotes definiteness or possession of the third person, it cannot be replaced by *-ing*, exemplified by the ungrammatical phrases in (11), (12), and (13).

- (11) a. *\*bapak-ing* father-ING (intended: 'his/the father') [NG]      b. *\*rama-ning* father-ING (intended: 'his/the father') [KR]

- (12) *\*Ésuk-ésuk srengenge-ning lagi m-etu, sibu.*  
 morning~RED SUN-ING PROG AV-emerge mother [NG]

- (13) a. \**Artikel punika namung m-bahas kitha-ning.*  
 article DEM only AV-discuss city-ING [KR]
- b. \**[...] artikel bab laladan metropolis-ing.*  
 article about territory metropolis-ING [KR]

The third function of the suffix *-é/-ipun* is to mark a genitive relationship between two nominals. In the resulting genitive NP, the suffix *-é/-ipun* is attached to the possessum, never to the possessor, exemplified by a concrete noun (14) and with a personal name (15). In such a genitive NP, the suffix *-é/-ipun* marks the selection of a single entity out of the pool of all possible entities. Gina et al. (1987: 36) describe the function of *-é/-ipun* as a “liminator”. This means that in (14) and (15), of all possible fathers who exist, the scope of the nominal ‘father’ is limited by the genitive suffix *-é/-ipun* to refer only to the father belonging to the person mentioned thereafter. In such genitive constructions, the suffix *-é/-ipun* is obligatory in Javanese, and the suffix *-ing* is not permitted.<sup>3</sup>

- (14) a. *bapak-é/\*-ing wong kuwi*  
 father-GEN/-ING person DEM.DIST  
 ‘the father of that person’ [NG]
- b. *rama-nipun/\*-ing tiyang punika*  
 father-GEN/-ING person DEM  
 ‘the father of that person’ [KR]
- (15) a. *bapak-é/\*-ing Doni*  
 father-GEN/-ING PN.M  
 ‘Doni’s father’ [NG]
- b. *rama-nipun/\*-ing Doni*  
 father-GEN/-ING PN.M  
 ‘Doni’s father’ [KR]

The genitive suffix *-é/-ipun* might also denote a relationship between an object and its possessor (16), between a property and the object which bears it (17) or in part-whole constructions as in (18). Examples (17) and (18) can also be described as relational locative expressions. In all examples (16-18), *-é/-ipun* can be replaced by *-ing* with no difference in meaning.

- (16) *akal-é/-ing manungsa*  
 mind-GEN/-ING human.being  
 ‘human mind’ (literally, ‘mind of a human being’) [NG]
- (17) *jembar-é/-ing pa-mawas*  
 broad-GEN/-ING NMLZ-view  
 ‘the breadth of the view’ [NG]

<sup>3</sup> The Indonesian equivalent *-nya* is optional in genitive constructions (Sneddon 2010: 150).

- (18) *pucuk-é/-ing*      *Gunung Merapi*  
 summit-GEN/-ING mountain PN.GEO  
 ‘the top of Mt Merapi’ [NG]

The aim of this article is to investigate the use and function of the suffix *-ing*. In Section 5, I show why the constructions in (14) and (15) do not permit the suffix *-ing*, whereas the constructions in (16) to (18) do.

### 3. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Favre (1866: 84), Robson (1992: 34), Sukarno (2008: 194-195), and Wedhawati et al. (2001: 220) state that the suffixes *-é/-ipun* and *-ing* in a genitive construction in Javanese have no difference in meaning and function. Ras (1985: 20) and Van der Meij (2010: 353) claim that *-ing* is a formal substitute of *-é/-ipun*. Native speakers of Javanese also typically regard *-ing* as a formal and literary suffix. In this section, I only discuss the literature in which a clear difference between *-é/-ipun* and *-ing* is drawn.

Roorda (1855: 440-441) argues that *-ing* cannot be used when two definite objects are conceived as real objects and are in some relation to each other. He states that in such cases, *-é/-ipun* must be used.

This suffix *-ing* [...] is mainly used: firstly, when the genitive attribute refers to just the nature or quality of the first mentioned object [...]; and secondly, when the first object is imagined as an adjunct or event onto the second; for example, in *rasaning atiku* ‘the feeling of my heart’. But when two definite and special objects are conceived as real objects and in real relation to each other, this relation is expressed only by the possessive pronoun, and not figuratively by the preposition or suffix *-ing* as a mere logical one. Therefore, they say for example, *anaké tanggaku* ‘the child of my neighbour’, and not *anaking tanggaku*, as they say *anaking tangga* for ‘the neighbour’s child’ or ‘a neighbour’s child’, and *pangrasaning tanggaku* ‘feelings of my neighbour’.<sup>4</sup>

It seems that Roorda’s consultants accepted *anaking tangga* ‘the neighbour’s child’ but not *anaké tanggaku* ‘my neighbour’s child’. This observation is not confirmed by my language consultants, nor do the corpus data reveal such a difference.

Kiliaan (1919: 233) observes three uses of *-ing* which distinguish it from *-é/-ipun*. These concern the lexical meaning, the style, and the phonology of

<sup>4</sup> Dutch original: “Dit *aanhechtsel* *miti* nu [...] is voornamelijk in gebruik: 1°. wanneer men met het Genitief attribueert alleen een *aard* of *hoedanigheid* van het eerstgenoemde voorwerp beteekenen wil [...]; en 2°. wanneer men het eerste voorwerp zich voorstelt als adjunct of accident aan (*miti*) het tweede; b.v. in *rajaning atiku* het gevoel van mijn hart. Maar, wanneer men twee bepaalde en bijzondere voorwerpen zich voorstelt als reële voorwerpen en in reële betrekking tot elkander; dan wordt deze betrekking alleen door het bezittelijk voornaamwoord uitgedrukt, en niet figuurlijk door het voorzetsel of *aanhechtsel miti* als een louter logische aangeduid. Zoo zegt men b.v. *anaké tanggaku* het kind van mijn buurman, en niet *anaking tangga*, zooals men wel zegt *anaking tangga* voor het kind van een buurman of een buurmans kind, en *pangrasaning tanggaku* het gevoel van mijn buurman”.

the constituents in the genitive NP. He argues that *-ing* is preferred to *-é/-ipun* when (i) the second constituent of the NP has an abstract meaning, (ii) the genitive or possessive NP consists of more than two elements, so that a sequence of same suffix is avoided, or (iii) the second NP constituent begins with a vowel.

Instead of *e (ne)*, *ing (ning)* can occur as a suffix when the determining word immediately follows it and has an abstract and general meaning, for example *lunjuning* (or *lunjune*) *wělut* ‘the slipperiness of an eel’, *djogeding* (or *djogede*) *badaja* ‘the dance of a court dancer’. – If the particular word is a concrete noun, nothing but *ing (ning)* can be used as a suffix, for example, *anaqing sapi iku aran pĕdet*, ‘the young of a cow is called calf’. In this case, however, the suffix can be omitted: *anaq sapi*. – Furthermore, it is common to say *ing (ning)* after the determining word 1) when it is followed by an adjunct with *e (ipun K.)* to avoid two *e*’s or *ipun*’s, for example, *unĕdaqing rĕgane N.*, *inĕdaqing* (or *inĕdaqe*) *rĕginipun K.* ‘the raising of the price’; – 2) when the first word is determined by a vowel-initial word, for example, *karsaning Allah* ‘God’s pleasure’, *rasaning atiku N.*, and accordingly: *raosing manah kula K.* ‘(according to) the feelings of my heart’.<sup>5</sup>

While my consultants confirm that *anak sapi* ‘the young of a cow’ is the most common expression, they do not accept *anaking sapi*. This use of *-ing* also does not occur in my corpus. It is very likely that *anak sapi* is understood as a nominal compound (see Section 5.5.2), therefore disallowing the occurrence of the suffix *-ing* and not as a possessive construction, which would permit the use of *-ing* (see Section 5.1). Kiliaan argues that *anaké sapi* is ungrammatical, but this is accepted by my consultants, although it is rarely used. Kiliaan’s example sentence would be *anak sapi iku aranĕ/jenengĕ pedhet* ‘the young of a cow is called calf’ in contemporary Javanese. His example *djogeding/djogede badaja*, now spelled *jogĕding bedhaya*, is not a meaningful expression in Javanese because *bedhaya* does not mean ‘court dancer’ but ‘court dance’. Therefore, *jogĕding bedhaya* would mean ‘dance of the court dance’, which is not accepted by my consultants. Instead, the correct expression is *jogĕd bedhaya* ‘court dance’ as a nominal compound, described in more depth in Section 5.5.2.

Roorda’s explanation is reminiscent of Kiliaan’s hypothesis that *-ing* is used when the second constituent of the genitive construction has an abstract meaning. From the following examples, it seems that *-ing* cannot be used when the two constituents in the NP refer to real persons. Compare example (19),

<sup>5</sup> Dutch original: “In plaats van *e (ne)* kan *ing (ning)* als suffix voorkomen wanneer het bepalende woord er onmiddellijk op volgt en abstracte, algemeene beteekenis heeft; b.v. *lunjuning* (of *lunjune*) *wĕlut*, de gladheid van een aal, *djogeding* (of *djogede*) *badaja*, de dans van een hofdanseres. – Is het bepaalde woord een concreet substantief, dan kan zelfs niets anders dan *ing (ning)* als suffix gebezigd worden; b.v. *anaqing sapi iku aran pĕdet*, het jong van een koe heet kalf. In dit geval kan het suffix echter weggelaten worden: *anaq sapi*. – Wijders zegt men ‘t liefst *ing (ning)* achter het bepaalde woord 1) wanneer dit door een bepaling met *e (ipun K.)* gevolgd wordt om twee *e*’s of *ipun*’s te vermijden; bv. *unĕdaqing rĕgane N.*, *inĕdaqing* (of *inĕdaqe*) *rĕginipun K.*, de verhooging van den prijs; – 2) wanneer het eerste woord door een met een klinker beginnend woord bepaald wordt; b.v. *karsaning Allah*, Gods welbehagen, *rasaning atiku N.*, en dienovereenkomstig: *raosing manah kula K.*, (naar) het gevoelen van mijn hart”.

which is an excerpt of a classical version of the Javanese Bible, with example (20), which is from the contemporary version of the same verse, in which the suffix *-ing* has been replaced by *-é*. Because *Zebedeus* is neither a real nor a living person and instead perceived as a figure from the past, either *-ing* or *-é* can be attached to *anak* ‘offspring’. However, in a context in which a person named *Yakub* is described as the son of a woman named *Bu Dewi*, who is a real person and still alive, the suffix *-ing* is not permitted (21). In such cases, only *-é/-ipun* is possible (22). The use of *-ing* is blocked before proper names which refer to humans of the present and of the mortal world (see Section 5.5.1 for more examples).

- (19) *Yakobus anak-ing Sebedayu.*  
 PN.M offspring-ING PN.M  
 ‘Jacob was the son of Zebedee.’ [NG] (*Kitab Suci Jawa* 1962, Matius 10:2)
- (20) *Yakobus anak-é Zébedéus.*  
 PN.M offspring-3SG.POSS PN.M  
 ‘Jacob was the son of Zebedee.’ [NG] (*Alkitab Mobile* 2006, Matius 10:2)
- (21) \**Yakub anak-ing Bu Déwi.*  
 PN.M offspring-ING Mrs PN.F  
 (intended: ‘Jacob is the son of Mrs Dewi.’) [NG]
- (22) *Yakub anak-é/-ipun Bu Déwi.*  
 PN.M offspring-3SG.POSS Mrs PN.F  
 ‘Jacob is the son of Mrs Dewi.’ [NG]

Both Kiliaan and Roorda use the example *rasaning atiku* ‘the feeling of my heart’, which is indeed a very common genitive construction in Javanese. Roorda states that *anaké tanggaku* is the standard way to express ‘the child of my neighbour’, whereas *anaking tanggaku* is ungrammatical. This is confirmed by my consultants. On the other hand, Roorda argues that *anaking tangga* ‘the neighbour’s child’ is possible, which is deemed ungrammatical by both of my consultants.

Kiliaan (1919: 233) also states that the suffix *-é/-ipun* in a longer NP is replaced by *-ing* to avoid a repetition of the same suffix. C. Poensen (1897: 235) also explains that “*-ing* as a preposition” can be used in lieu of *-é/-ipun* for euphonious reasons. For example, both (23) and (24) are well-formed NPs, but (23) is more euphonious than (24) and is therefore preferred in the literary language and in set phrases. The construction in (24) is more commonly used in the spoken language.

- (23) *indhak-ing regi-nipun*  
 rise-GEN price-DEF  
 ‘increase in the price’ [KR] (Kiliaan 1919: 233)



- (24) *indhak-ipun regi-nipun*  
 rise-GEN price-DEF  
 ‘increase in the price’ [KR] (Kiliaan 1919: 233)

Gina et al. (1987: 113) attempt to draw a difference between *-é/-ipun* and *-ing* by stating that there needs to be some physical contact between the head of the NP and its modifier, insofar as the NP head can be “worn by or placed on its modifier”.<sup>6</sup> They cite the example *jenenging negara* ‘name of the state’ because the name is “worn by” or is part of the state.

Nardiati (2016: 94-95) describes four nominal relations which are conveyed by the suffix *-ing*, namely possession, part-whole, agentive, and goal. She also discusses a rare type of genitive expression involving the repetition of the same nominal (Nardiati 2016: 93). In Section 5, I discuss three of Nardiati’s types, which I term possessive relation, meronymic relation, and subject relation. She has no examples of the fourth type which I have identified, namely object relation.

#### 4. ETYMOLOGY OF *-ing*

Javanese has the genitive suffix *-ing* and also the phonologically identical preposition *ing*, which exists in dialectal variation with *ning*. It is worth noting that the genitive suffix and the preposition are written differently in Hanacaraka, the traditional Javanese writing system. Hanacaraka is an abugida, the basic elements of which are consonant letters and vowel diacritics. Consonant clusters are written as stacked consonants. Vowel diacritics, except for the inherent vowel /a/ (realized as [ɔ] in open syllables), are placed around the preceding consonant or consonant cluster. For an overview of the writing system and its rules, see Darusuprta (2002). The crucial point for this article is that vowel-initial suffixes such as *-ing*, *-é*, and *-ipun* receive an epenthetic /n/ which is written twice when they attach to a final vowel of the base word, for example, *rasaning* ‘feeling of’ is written as *ꦫꦱꦤꦶꦁꦶꦤꦶ* <rsnniꦁ>, pronounced [ra.sa.niꦁ], whereas independent vowel-initial words must begin with a silent <h>, for example, *rasa ning* ‘feeling in’ is written as *ꦫꦱꦤꦶꦁꦶꦤꦶ* <rsniꦁ>, pronounced [ra.sa.ɲiꦁ]. With this in mind, we can easily identify in Hanacaraka whether /iŋ/ is the genitive suffix *-ing* or the preposition *ing*.

Various hypotheses concerning the history and development of the suffix *-ing* have been put forward. Hypothesis 1 is normally offered by native speakers of Javanese, stating that *-ing* has simply grammaticalized from the preposition (*n*)*ing* ‘in’. This hypothesis proposes that an expression like *rasaning atiku* ‘the feeling of my heart’ is derived from *rasa (n)ing atiku* ‘the feeling in my heart’. Hypothesis 2 is similar but adds that the suffix has developed from *-é+ing* (Roorda 1855: 441, 1874: 167), that is, the possessive

<sup>6</sup> Indonesian original: “[...] kalau intinya berupa nomina yang dapat dikenakan atau ditempatkan pada modifikatornya, hubungan antara inti dan modifikatornya dapat dinyatakan dengan *-ing*.”

suffix (see Section 2) and the preposition *ing*. This hypothesis proposes that *rasaning atiku* is derived from *rasané ing atiku* ‘the/his/its feeling in my heart’. According to Hypothesis 3, the suffix *-ing* is a contraction of the Old Javanese linking element *ni* and the article *ñ*, resulting in the ‘particle *nin*’ (Nardiati 2016: 87). This hypothesis is backed by the fact that genitive constructions like *warna nin kuda* ‘colour of the horse’ are attested in Old Javanese (A.S. Teselkin 1972: 50).

Each of the three hypotheses is explored below. Of these, I show that Hypothesis 3 is best supported, whereas the other two appear to be folk etymology. The following grammaticalization paths are imaginable (MJ = Modern Javanese, OJ = Old Javanese, H = head, M = modifier).

- Hyp1 MJ: H + *ing* + M → MJ: H-*ing* + M  
 Hyp2 MJ: H + -(*n*)é + *ing* + M → MJ: H-(*n*)é *ing* + M > H-(*n*)*ing* M  
 Hyp3 OJ: H + *ni* + *ñ* + M → MJ: H-*ning* + M

In order to investigate these hypotheses, a short introduction to the genitive construction in Old Javanese is necessary. There are three ways to relate two nominals in Old Javanese, two of which include the particles (*n*)*nin* and (*n*)*ikan* after the head nominal. Dwi Puspitorini (2015: 61) analyses (*n*)*nin* as a definite and (*n*)*ikan* as an indefinite-specific oblique particle. The variation between the forms with and without the epenthetic /n/ is phonologically conditioned (explained below). The particle (*n*)*nin* consists of (*n*)*i* (also explained further below) and the definite article (*a*)*ñ*. The particle (*n*)*ikan* consists of (*n*)*i*, the demonstrative *ika* ‘that’, and the definite article (*a*)*ñ* (W. van der Molen 2015: 20-21). While Van der Molen (2015) writes (*n*)*nin* and (*n*)*ikan* as suffixes on the head noun, they are treated as separate words by Teselkin (1972: 50) and by M.S. Zurbuchen (1976). I follow the traditional spelling as separate words for Old Javanese in this article. H. Kern (1871: 34) says that *nin* is an “amplified form” of *ni* and that *ni* is an alternative form of the locative preposition *i* ‘in, at’.

The Modern Javanese preposition *ing* is also a contraction of the Old Javanese locative preposition *i* and the definite article (*a*)*ñ* (P.J. Zoetmulder and S.O. Robson 1982: 664). Therefore, all three hypotheses above have in common that they involve the Old Javanese article (*a*)*ñ* of some sort.

The Old Javanese genitive particle is *nin* for consonant-final and vowel-final nominals (25a and 25b) but *in* when it attaches to nominals whose final sound is /n/ (25c). Old Javanese also allows verb roots like *tibā* ‘fall’ to occur as the head of a genitive NP (25d). The examples below are all taken from Van der Molen (2015: 20-21). For more examples of Old Javanese genitive constructions, see Dwi Puspitorini (2015: 105-106).

- (25) N + *-ni* + *ñ* + N → N-(*n*)*nin* N  
 a. *lin*      *ni-ñ*              *guru*  
     word GEN-DEF.ART teacher  
     ‘the word of the teacher’

- b. *krama ni-ñ śiṣya*  
behaviour GEN-DEF.ART pupil  
'the behaviour of the pupil'
- c. *ñaran i-ñ dewatā*  
name GEN-DEF.ART god  
'the name of the god'
- d. *tibā ni-ñ hudan*  
fall GEN-DEF.ART rain  
'the falling of the rain'<sup>7</sup>

The second possibility to express a relationship between two nominals in Old Javanese involves the particle (*n*)*ikañ*. Its form is *nikañ* when it follows consonant-final and vowel-final nominals (26a), but it is spelled as *ikañ* when it is preceded by a nominal whose final sound is /n/ (26b).

- (26) N + (*n*)*i* + *ika* + *ñ* + N → N-(*n*)*ikañ* N
- a. *liñ ni-ka-ñ rākṣasa*  
word GEN-DEM.DIST-DEF.ART demon  
'the word of the demon'
- b. *ñaran i-ka-ñ rare*  
name GEN-DEM.DIST-DEF.ART child  
'the name of the child'

When the modifying nominal in the genitive construction is already definite because of a possessive suffix, the definite article is not used (27a), whereas *ni* remains obligatory (Van der Molen 2015: 21). In a genitive construction with three nominals, the presence of *nikañ* on the second member demands that the first member do not take the definite article (27b), although this rule is not consistently applied, as shown in example (27c).

- (27) H + *-ni* + M-POSS > H-*ni* M-*ñā*
- a. *lawas ni hurip-ñā*  
long.time GEN life-3SG.POSS  
'the length of his life'

<sup>7</sup> When the locative preposition *i* and the definite article *ñ* follow *tibā* 'fall', it attaches to the verb and undergoes sandhi: *tibəng* (< *tibā+i+ñ*) *lemah* 'fall on the ground' (Teselkin 1972: 55).

- b. *kweh ni wulu ni-ka-ñ kuda*  
 number GEN body.hair GEN-DEM.DIST-DEF.ART horse  
 ‘the number of the hairs of the horse’
- c. *kweh ni-ñ wadya ni-ka-ñ Dhr̥ṣṭadyumna*  
 number GEN-DEF.ART troops GEN-DEM.DIST-DEF.ART PN.M  
 ‘the number of the troops of Dhr̥ṣṭadyumna’

The genitive particle *ni* is not used when the person article *si* (28a) or the honorific article *sañ* (28b) precedes the modifying nominal.

- (28) H + *si/sañ* M → H *si/sañ* M
- a. *ujar si Upasunda*  
 speech HUM.ART PN.M  
 ‘the words of Upasunda’
- b. *liñ sañ guru*  
 word ART.HON teacher  
 ‘the word of the teacher’

Considering the various types of genitive NPs in Old Javanese, it is very likely that the Modern Javanese genitive suffix *-ing* and its allomorph *-ning* are a direct continuation of Old Javanese *niñ* and not an *ad hoc* formation out of the Modern Javanese preposition *ing*. At first sight, Hypothesis 1 seems to be the most plausible because it directly yields the desired form N-(*n*)*ing*. However, this would require a semantic extension of the locative meaning ‘in, at’ to a general genitive suffix, which ignores the Old Javanese genitive particle *ni*. Hypothesis 2 does not take Old Javanese into consideration because the suffix *-(n)é* did not exist back then. Its equivalents were *-ña* and *-nira* (Uhlenbeck 1968: 467; Van der Molen 2015: 25). I argue that Hypothesis 3 is best supported and that the genitive particle *ni* in Old Javanese in combination with the definite article, yielding *(n)niñ*, has developed into the genitive suffix *-ning* in pre-Modern Javanese. This form was later re-analysed as a suffix with an epenthetic /n/, just like *-(n)é* and *-(n)ipun*. The alternation between vowel-initial and nasal-initial suffixes did not exist in Old Javanese and is only attested from a later stage of the language. This has led to doublets in the literature, for example, *sa(k)rèhning* vs. *sa(k)rèhing* ‘in view of the fact that’ and *sakwèh-ning* vs. *sakwèh-ing* ‘all’, as well as to free variation across the different varieties of Javanese, for example, *bapak-né* vs. *bapak-é* ‘his/her/the father’. See Uhlenbeck (1968: 474) for a similar observation.

The epenthetic /n/ is only used for the three suffixes *-é*, *-ipun*, and *-ing* in the nominal domain and the locative applicative suffix *-(n)i* in the verbal domain.<sup>8</sup> In contrast, the verbal applicative suffix *-aké* (NG)/*-aken* (KR) does not require an

<sup>8</sup> The opposition between the vowel-initial and the /n/-initial forms of these suffixes is attested from all varieties of Modern Javanese.

epenthetic /n/ but an epenthetic glottal stop instead, for example, *waca* /wɔ.tʃɔ/ ‘read’ > *macak-aké* /ma.tʃaʔ.a.ke/ ‘read for someone’, *priksa* /prik.sɔ/ ‘know, see’ > *mriksak-aken* /mrik.saʔ.a.kən/ ‘show, inform’. The irrealis/imperative suffix *a* /ɔ/ has no glottalizing effect, for example, *teka* /tə.kɔ/ ‘come’ > *teka-a* /tə.kɔ.ɔ/ ‘come here!’<sup>9</sup>

The fact that the epenthetic /n/ is consistently employed on the three suffixes *-é*, *-ipun*, and *-ing* suggests that they have undergone a similar development. The suffix *-(n)é* is most likely from Old Javanese *-ña* (discussed above), which has an alternative form *-ya* when it attaches to a root which ends in /n/ (Uhlenbeck 1968: 468). The Krama equivalent *ipun* has no known etymology, but the demonstrative-possessive pronoun *nipun* ‘his, her, their’ with the alternative *ipun* after /n/ is attested in Old Javanese (Zoetmulder and Robson 1982: 1438). Considering these observations, it is very likely that the suffix *-ing* has similarly developed from Old Javanese *(n)i+iñ*, confirming Hypothesis 3.

### 5. USE OF *-ing*

In this section, I explore the use of the genitive suffix *-ing*. As foreshadowed in Section 3, and as other researchers have found out, the suffix *-ing* cannot be used in all cases in which a genitive construction is possible in other languages. Consider sentence (29), in which the suffix is used between the numeral *sadasa* ‘ten’ and the nominalized adverb *waunipun* ‘before’ to indicate a relationship between the current number and the (implied) number from before, somewhat like ‘the tenth time of the previous’. In the second case, *-ing* links the nominalized adverb *pindha* ‘like, as’ to the nominal *kajeng agaran* ‘firewood’ to create the genitive NP ‘the resemblance of firewood’.

- (29) *Wondéné Sang Parta anggè-nipun m-esu sarira saya*  
 as.for ART.HON PN.M use-GEN AV-make.effort body more.and.more  
*banter tikel kaping sa-dasa-ning waunipun. kados pe-pindha-ning*  
 fast great.than times one-ten-GEN before-DEF like RED~resemble~GEN  
*kajeng agaran vsampun bêtèr mèn ng-ukus.*  
 wood rubbing already hot almost AV-steam  
 ‘As for Sang Parta he’s using his body’s utmost effort to be more than ten times as fast as before, resembling firewood which has become hot and almost steams.’ [KR] (*Pusaka Jawi* 1935: 94)

In the ensuing discussion, I present four construction types in which the suffix *-ing* can be used, along with two types in which it cannot be used. The final part of this section is an overview of fixed expressions which contain *-ing*.

<sup>9</sup> While there is great variation of the suffix *-aké* across the dialects of Javanese, *-aken* and *-en* are more stable. The suffix *-i* is stable across all varieties of Javanese. For an overview of their distribution and etymology, see A. Adelaar (2011).

## 5.1 POSSESSIVE RELATIONS

One of the major functions of the genitive suffix *-ing* is to serve as a linker between the possessor and the possessum. This construction is known as *genitivus possessivus* in Latin grammars. It is typical of the languages of western and central Indonesia that the possessum precedes the possessor. Possessive relations in Javanese with *-ing* are formed according to the formula in (30), which can be tested by paraphrasing it as in (31).

(30) N2 possesses N1 → N1-*ing* N2

(31) N1 *duwèké* N2

The formula in (30) states that it is always the possessum which receives the suffix *-ing*. The examples in (32) to (40) exemplify this possessive relationship between two nominals. A number of these NPs are taken from various sources, for example, Gina et al. (1987: 38-39), Poerwadarminta (1939: iii, 28), and common proverbs (see Section 5.6), while others are from the source texts which formed my corpus for this study (see Section 1). My consultants have confirmed that the NPs in (32) to (40) are grammatical and also commonly used in contemporary Standard Javanese.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (32) <i>jiwaning manungsa</i>                          | 'human soul' (lit. 'soul of the human being')      |
| (33) <i>asmaning Gusti</i>                             | 'name of God'                                      |
| (34) <i>putraning Déwa</i>                             | 'son of the deity'                                 |
| (35) <i>pangajabing rakyat</i>                         | 'hope of the people'                               |
| (36) <i>pusakaning Déwa</i>                            | 'heirloom of the deity'                            |
| (37) <i>duwèking wong</i>                              | 'someone's possession' (lit. 'having of a person') |
| (38) <i>kakuwataning wong akèh</i>                     | 'strength of many people'                          |
| (39) <i>kridhaning manungsa</i>                        | 'pleasure of man'                                  |
| (40) <i>para empuning basa Jawi</i>                    | 'masters of the Javanese language'                 |
| (41) <i>dhemenan karo bojoning liyan</i> <sup>10</sup> | 'pleasure with the partner of someone else'        |

## 5.2 MERONYMIC RELATIONS

A meronym is a lexeme which constitutes a part of something else. This part-whole relationship is often expressed by the genitive suffix *-ing* in Javanese. In all cases discussed below, this suffix can be replaced by *-é/-ipun*. The formula for meronymic relations is set out in (42) and it can be tested with the Javanese paraphrase in (43).

<sup>10</sup> An anonymous reviewer remarks that we would expect *liya-né* 'other-NMLZ' in this example. The phrase in (41) is taken from Poerwadarminta (1939: 28). The form *liyan*, perhaps originating from *liya-an*, is also listed in S. Robson and S. Wibisono (2002: 449) with the translation 'another, others'. The difference between *liya* and *liyan* in Standard Javanese is that *liya* is an attribute which modifies a nominal, for example, *wong liya-né* 'the other person' whereas *liyan* is used in predicative position and as a nominal, for example, *rasané liyan* 'the feelings of the others'.

(42) N1 is part of N2 → N1-ing N2

(43) *N1 ya iku bagéan saka N2*

The formula states that, if the first nominal is part of the second nominal, the suffix *-ing* attaches to the first nominal. Some selected examples are provided in (44) to (53).

(44) <i>pucuking gunung</i>	'top of the mountain'
(45) <i>lacining méja</i>	'ladle of the table'
(46) <i>cendhelaning bis</i>	'window of the bus'
(47) <i>rambuting pari</i>	'top hair of (an ear of) rice'
(48) <i>soroting mripatmu</i>	'shine of your eyes'
(49) <i>salah s(aw)ijining sarana</i>	'any means' (literally, 'one seed of means')
(50) <i>sakabèhing gegayuhanmu</i>	'all your aspirations' (literally, the whole of ...')
(51) <i>sajroning urip</i>	'the whole life' (literally, 'the inner of life')
(52) <i>bebukaning serat punika</i>	'salutation of that letter'
(53) <i>lingganing tembung</i>	'root of a word'

Meronymic relations in Javanese also include comparatives, such as the relation between *kalih* 'two' and *bagéan* 'part' in sentence (54).

- (54) *Bagé-an-ipun priya tikel kalih-ing bagé-an-ipun wanita.*  
 share-NMLZ-GEN man more.than two-GEN share-NMLZ-GEN woman  
 'The proportion of men is more than twice (of) the proportion of women.' [KR]

### 5.3 SUBJECT RELATION

The genitive suffix *-ing* can relate the subject to its activity, state, or property. In Latin grammars, this is known as *genitivus subiectivus*. The formula in (55) explains this relation and it can be paraphrased as in (56).

(55) N1 is performed by N2 → N1-ing N2

(56) *N1 dilakoni déning N2*

Here, the first nominal which bears the suffix *-ing* represents the activity that is performed by the second nominal. The "activity" is normally not a verb, but either a nominalization like *panjaluk* 'request' (from the root *jaluk* 'ask for'), or a nominal root which describes an activity like *jerit* 'crying', or a state or property like *regeng* 'lively'. The examples in (57) to (62) illustrate this relation. In all cases, *-ing* can be replaced by *-é/-ipun* without a change in meaning.

(57) <i>jeriting bayi</i>	'the crying of the baby'
(58) <i>pangamuking angin</i>	'raging of the wind'
(59) <i>panjaluking kanca</i>	'request of a friend'
(60) <i>ocèh(an)ing manuk</i>	'twitter of a bird'
(61) <i>kersaning sing gawé urip</i>	'will of the one who made life (= God)'
(62) <i>regenging swasana</i>	'liveliness of the atmosphere'

#### 5.4 OBJECT RELATION

The opposite of subject relation as described in Section 5.3 is an object relation between the two nominals which are connected by *-ing*. This relation is termed *genitivus obiectivus* in Latin grammars. The formula in (63) illustrates the object relation between the two nominals, which can be expressed as in (64).

(63) N2 is object of N1 → N1-ing N2

(64) N2 *di-N1 déning uwong*

This formula states that, when *-ing* attaches to the first nominal whose root is transitive and can therefore have a direct object, the second nominal denotes that object. The Javanese paraphrase uses a passive construction to convey the meaning of such object relations. Only a few examples of this type have been found and are listed in (65) to (69).

(65) <i>kumpulaning tembung</i>	'collection of words'
(66) <i>dhapukaning paribasan</i>	'arrangement of proverbs'
(67) <i>wedharaning tembung</i>	'expression of words'
(68) <i>dhedhapukaning serat punika</i>	'arrangements of those letters'
(69) <i>kateranganing tegesipun tembung</i>	'explanation of the meaning of the word'

There is one attested case of two nominals which are the object of the activity which carries the genitive suffix *-ing*, illustrated in (70). Here, the activity is the nominalized form of *sambung* 'associate, connect', and the objects are *manungsa* 'human being' and *alam urip* 'living nature'.

(70) *se-sambung-an-ing manungsa lan alam urip-é*  
 NMLZ-CONNECT-NMLZ-GEN human and nature life-3SG.POSS  
 'the connection of man and his living nature' [NG]

#### 5.5 IMPOSSIBLE CONSTRUCTIONS

In this section, I describe two instances in which the suffix *-ing* cannot be used, although both of them constitute a relation between two nominals. One includes possession or actions of real and living persons referred to by name. The other construction involves descriptive relations, in which the second nominal modifies the first.



5.5.1 *Possession or actions of concrete and living people*

It has been observed by other researchers before (see Section 3) that *-ing* seems to be unfavoured or even ungrammatical in some constructions. The case in which this is most obvious is in possessive constructions with real (living) people who are referred to by name. There is no attested example of a genitive construction with *-ing* followed by the name of a living person. Compare the attested construction in (71) with the ungrammatical NP in (72).

(71) *dalem-ing raka*  
house-GEN older.brother  
'the house of the older brother' [KR]

(72) \**dalem-ing Bu Hartati*  
house-GEN Mrs PN.F  
(intended: 'the house of Mrs Hartati' [KR])

Although in both cases the possessor refers to a real person, as attested in my corpus, (72) is considered ungrammatical by my consultants. The reason (71) is permitted is that it is taken from a story from the past in which *raka* 'older brother' refers to the brother of the former Prince of Blitar who lived in the eighteenth century.<sup>11</sup> In contrast, (72) is not possible because the possessor is a proper name.

The construction in (73) is from a poem, in which the person is described as a friend of the moon. This is permitted by Javanese syntax because the moon does not refer to a real person with a name. In contrast, the genitive construction in (74) is not permitted because it is about a friend of a person with a proper name.

(73) *Tinansah dadi kanca-ning rembulan.*  
always become friend-GEN moon  
'[You] will always be a friend of the moon.' [NG]

(74) \**Aku kanca-ning Mas Andit.*  
1SG friend-GEN older.brother PN.M  
(intended: 'I'm a friend of Andit.' [NG])

Now compare the attested constructions with *anak* 'offspring' in (75) to (83), with the ungrammatical constructions in (84) to (88). It seems that *-ing* is only permitted in NPs with people where one of the following two conditions are met: either the person is unspecific, as in (75) to (81), or the nominal refers to

<sup>11</sup> The sentence is taken from the *Babad Kartasura II*, the Chronicles of Kartasura Vol. II: *Saha bala sigra prapta lampahira Kapurbayan nuli Pangeran Balitar manjing dalem ing raka kang wadya penuh ing jawi wong Kapurbayan samya Kapurbayan samya kagyat ningali* 'And then the troops hastily made their way to Kapurbayan, then the Prince of Blitar entered the house of his elder brother, while the troops were waiting in droves outside, and the people from Kapurbayan were aghast to see them all'.

a specific but well-known deceased person or supernatural being, as in (82) and (83).<sup>12</sup>

(75) <i>anaking priyayi</i>	'the child of the official'
(76) <i>anaking wong liya</i>	'the child of someone else'
(77) <i>anaking anak</i>	'the child of the child'
(78) <i>anaking sedulur</i>	'the child of one's relative'
(79) <i>anaking putu</i>	'the child of one's grandchild'
(80) <i>anaking buyut</i>	'the child of one's great-grandchild'
(81) <i>anaking canggah</i>	'the child of one's great-great-grandchild'
(82) <i>anaking Dipati Suradimenggala</i>	'the child of Regent Suradimenggala'
(83) <i>anaking Gusti Allah</i>	'child of God'
(84) * <i>anaking Bu Nanik</i>	(intended: 'the child of Mrs Nanik')
(85) * <i>anaking Pak Bud</i>	(intended: 'the child of Mrs Budi')
(86) * <i>anaking Mas Hendra</i>	(intended: 'the child of Hendra')
(87) * <i>anaking Mbak Déwi</i>	(intended: 'the child of Ms Dewi')
(88) * <i>anaking Mbah Nun</i>	(intended: 'the child of Granny Nun')

Further ungrammatical constructions are listed in Gina et al. (1987: 113), repeated here in (89) to (91). My consultants also confirm that these examples cannot take *-ing*, and that the suffix *-é/-ipun* is required instead.

(89) <i>inisiatip-é</i>	/	* <i>inisiatip-ing</i>	<i>Ki Hajar Dewantara</i>
initiative-GEN	/	initiative-GEN	Mr PN.M PN.M
'the initiative of Mr Hajar Dewantara' [NG]			
(90) <i>bayar-é</i>	/	* <i>bayar-ing</i>	<i>Présidhén</i>
payment-GEN	/	payment-GEN	president
'the salary of the President' [NG]			
(91) <i>pidhaton-é</i>	/	* <i>pidhaton-ing</i>	<i>Perdana Menteri</i>
speech-GEN	/	speech-GEN	prime minister
'the speech of the Prime Minister' [NG]			

### 5.5.2 Nominal compounds

Javanese makes a syntactic distinction between two types of NPs, one involves a genitive construction that requires a genitive suffix (see Section 2) and the other is nominal compounding, in which the second nominal functions as a specifier of

<sup>12</sup> I thank the anonymous reviewer who suggested that the reason the constructions in (75) to (83) are permitted whereas (84) to (88) are not might have to do with the specificity of the person. However, the specificity criterion would not permit the examples (82) and (83), therefore I have added the criterion that the person must be deceased (and probably well-known) or a supernatural being. A more fine-honed answer to this question certainly requires further investigation.

the first. Cross-linguistically, it has been observed that nominal compounds can be expressed by a genitive construction (S. Pepper 2020: 155-156), for example, in Latin by a *genitivus explicativus*. However, nominal compounds in Javanese are never express by a genitive construction but by simple juxtaposition of the nominals instead (see Pepper 2020: 145-146 for a typological overview of this type of compounding).

Compare example (92) with (93) below. In (92), the second nominal *dhokter* ‘doctor’ specifies the first nominal *klambi* ‘clothes’, and the NP *klambi dhokter* means ‘a doctor’s coat, a white coat’, not ‘the coat of a (specific) doctor’. Example (93) is an infelicitous sentence (marked by the hash sign), because Ali cannot normally buy a coat which belongs to a specific doctor. The sentence becomes acceptable when a relative clause which specifies the coat is added, as in (94).

- (92) *Ali toko klambi dhokter.*  
 PN.M buy clothes doctor  
 ‘Ali bought a doctor’s coat.’ [NG] (Gina et al. 1987: 37)
- (93) #*Ali toko klambi-né dhokter.*  
 PN.M buy clothes-GEN doctor  
 ‘Ali bought the clothes of the doctor.’ [NG] (Gina et al. 1987: 37)
- (94) *Ali toko klambi-né dhokter sing wis ora di-enggo manèh.*  
 PN.M buy clothes-GEN doctor REL already NEG pass-wear again  
 ‘Ali bought the clothes of the doctor that weren’t worn anymore.’ [NG]  
 (Gina et al. 1987: 37)

From what I have described in Section 5.1, one would expect that the suffix *-é* in (94) could be replaced by *-ing*, because of a possessive relationship existing between the doctor and the clothes. However, because the doctor is a real person, the use of *-ing* is blocked (see Section 5.5.1). The important point for this section is that NPs as in (92) can never take the genitive suffix *-ing*. The structure for descriptive relations is set out in (95) and paraphrased in Javanese in (96).

- (95) N2 is a kind of N1  
 (96) *N2 ya iku jinis N1*

Some examples in which the suffix *-ing* (and also *-é/-ipun*) is ungrammatical are listed in (97) to (102).

- |   |                                  |
|---|----------------------------------|
| (97) <i>kembang(*-ing) mlathi</i>             | ‘jasmine flower’                 |
| (98) <i>wit(*-ing) munggur</i>                | ‘ <i>Samanea saman</i> tree’     |
| (99) <i>woh(*-ing) mojo</i>                   | ‘bael fruit’                     |
| (100) <i>kompleks(*-ing) pondok pesantren</i> | ‘Islamic boarding house complex’ |
| (101) <i>guru(*-ning) basa</i>                | ‘language teacher’               |
| (102) <i>sepédhah(*-ing) onthèl</i>           | ‘bicycle’                        |

## 5.6 IN FIXED EXPRESSIONS

While the suffix *-ing* is largely absent from the spoken language and nearly unheard of in the varieties farther away from Central Java, it still occurs in a variety of fixed expressions, proverbs, collocations, and advices for daily living. Table 1 contains a collection of the most common phrases along with their literal and free translations, all of which were familiar to my consultants from Yogyakarta, whereas my consultant from Surabaya did not recognize any except for *sawijining dina* ‘one day’.

Javanese	Literal translation	Free translation
<i>agama ageming aji</i>	‘religion used by the king’	‘tradition adhered to by kings’
<i>aja lali marang sapadha-padhaning tumitah</i>	‘don’t forget about the same ones of your shape’	‘don’t forget about your fellow men’
<i>ajining dhiri dumunung ana ing lathi, ajining raga ana ing busana</i>	‘the value of one’s self is at the lips, the value of one’s body is in the garment’	‘your real value is judged by what you say, your appearance is measured by what you wear’
<i>ancik-ancik pucuking eri</i>	‘reach the tip of the thorn’	‘in a precarious position’
<i>antebing tékad</i>	‘firmness of determination’	‘firm will, resolution’
<i>babaring lelakon</i>	‘proliferation of the biography’	‘unfolding of a life-story’
<i>beda-beda pandumaning dumadi</i>	‘everyone’s share of genesis is different’	‘God distributes his grace differently’
<i>cekaking rembug</i>	‘brevity of the topic’	‘to make a long story short’
<i>dadi panjanging kidung</i>	‘become the length of a poem’	‘famous, renowned’
<i>dumadining sira iku lantaran anane bapa biyung ira</i>	‘the genesis of you is because of the existence of your parents’	‘circle of life’
<i>gelah-gelahing jagad</i>	‘the dregs of the world’	‘the dregs of society’
<i>kodhok sajroning bathok</i>	‘frog in a coconut shell’	‘narrow-minded’
<i>lebak ilining banyu</i>	‘the valley is the flow of water’	‘subordinates are always blamed’
<i>lelananging jagad</i>	‘the one man of the world’	‘the bravest man in the world’
<i>lenging cipta</i>	‘focal point of thoughts’	‘the centre of one’s thoughts’
<i>manunggaling kawula gusti</i>	‘unity of servant and God’	‘unity between the ordinary people and higher authorities’
<i>marak ing pangayunaning Pangéran</i>	‘sit humbly in front of the Lord’	‘pass away’
<i>ngundhuh wohing pakerti</i>	‘pick the fruit of character’	‘you reap what you sow’
<i>ora tedhas tapak paluning pandhé sisaning gurénda</i>	‘cannot be cut by a blacksmith’s mallet, residue of the grinder’	‘magically invulnerable’
<i>pusering tanah Jawa</i>	‘centre of the Javanese land’	‘area of the Sultanate of Mataram’
<i>salumahing bumi, sakurebing langit</i>	‘the upper side of Earth, the underside of the sky’	‘everywhere under the sun’
<i>saumuring jagung</i>	‘the life of corn’	‘very short time, just three months’
<i>sawijining dina (NG) / satunggaling dinten (KR)</i>	‘a seed of the day’	‘one day, some day, once upon a time’
<i>witing tresna jalaran saka kulina</i>	‘origin of love due to habit’	‘fall in love with someone because you know him/her well’
<i>wolak-waliking jaman</i>	‘opposite side of the era’	‘times have changed’
<i>wrangkaning ratu</i>	‘sheath of the monarch’	‘Prime Minister, Governor’

Table 1. Common expressions with *-ing*.

I have chosen *babaring lelakon* as the title of this article. The literal meaning of this expression is ‘proliferation of someone’s biography’, which in our case refers to the historical development of the suffix *-ing*. This expression contains the root *babar*, which is the Krama equivalent to *lair* ‘birth’. It can also be used as verb *mbabar* ‘give birth’. However, the original meaning of *babar* is ‘unfold, open’, attested in Old Javanese as *ambabar* ‘disperse, unfold’ (Zoetmulder and Robson 1982: 183). The form *lelakon* ‘biography, destiny’ is derived from *le-laku-an*, from the root *laku* ‘walk, progress’, also attested in Old Javanese with the same meaning (Zoetmulder and Robson 1982: 960).

There are many more fixed expressions which contain the genitive suffix *-ing*. Table 2 is a list of those phrases which were only recognized by one of my consultants but not by both.

Javanese	Literal translation	Free translation
<i>ancasing sedyā</i>	‘goal of the plan’	‘definite intention’
<i>celak coloking Hyang Widi, momor pamoring sawujud</i>	‘close to the torch of Lord Destiny (God), and blend in with the crowd of one’s shape’	‘strengthen your relationship with God and with other people’
<i>cempéning Allah (KR)</i>	‘lamb of God’	‘Lamb of God’
<i>gancangang carita</i>	‘celerity/haste of the narration’	‘to make a long story short’
<i>krejeting ati</i>	‘twitch of the heart’	‘feeling which arises in the heart’
<i>kridha lumahing asta</i>	‘pleasure is the surface of hand’	‘begging, rather take than give’
<i>manungsa iku saka dating Pangéran mula uga darbé sipating Pangéran</i>	‘man is from the essence of the Lord, hence he also possesses the nature of the Lord’	religious saying
<i>nambut silaning akrama</i>	‘receive the act of marriage’	‘enter into matrimony’
<i>nggolèki tapaking kontul nglayang heron’</i>	‘search the traces of a flying heron’	‘attempt the impossible’
<i>owah gingsiring kaanan iku saka karsaning Pangéran Kang Murbèng Jagad</i>	‘constant change in the situation is the will of the Lord who is the ruler of the world’	‘all changes in our lives are God’s will’
<i>sangkan-paraning dumadi</i>	‘start and course of creation’	‘origin and purpose of creation’
<i>suwé mijet wohing ranti</i>	‘knead the small fruits of a tree for a long time’	‘very easy, a piece of cake’
<i>tancebing langit</i>	‘tip of the sky’	‘horizon’
<i>telenging ati</i>	‘innermost of the heart’	‘most beloved person/thing’
<i>tempuking nétra</i>	‘merger of the eyes’	‘a meeting of the eyes’
<i>trahing kusuma rembesing madu</i>	‘lineage of nobility, flow of honey’	‘of noble descent’
<i>wimbaning lèk</i>	‘emergence of the visible moon’	‘the time of the new moon’
<i>woding ati</i>	‘root of the heart’	‘beloved one’

Table 2. Further expressions with *-ing*.

There is at least one example of *-ing* being used where it should not, because it does not function as a linker between two nominals. This is the case of *sarèhning*, which is a literary substitute for *sarèhné* or *sarèhnipun* ‘since, in view of the fact that’, exemplified in (103).

- (103) *Sarèhning wis subuh, aku arep semèdi.*  
 since already dawn 1SG will meditate  
 ‘Since it’s already dawn, I want to meditate now.’ [NG]

## 6. CONCLUSION

In this article, I have attempted an analysis of the Javanese suffix *-ing*, which has so far received little attention in the literature. Although it has been observed before by some authors that there is a difference in usage between the common genitive suffix *-é/-ipun* and the more formal suffix *-ing*, the latter has often been neglected from grammatical descriptions of Javanese, perhaps because it is rarely used in the spoken language.

Two observations can be made with regard to the use of *-ing*: (1) It is a formal and literary suffix which can be replaced by *-é/-ipun* in all cases in the spoken language. It is commonly used in four different types of genitive constructions. (2) There are at least two genitive constructions, in which *-ing* cannot be replaced by *-é/-ipun*. The second point is perhaps the most interesting. When the possessor in a genitive construction is a proper name of a real and living person, or when the second nominal modifies the first, then *-ing* cannot be used. In the first case, *-é/-ipun* must be used, and in the second case, no suffix can be used.

However, more in-depth investigation is still needed to determine the exact constraints of *-ing*. This study along with Nardiaty’s (2016) investigation forms a good basis for further research into the patterns and functions of Javanese suffixation in genitive constructions.

## ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
-	morpheme boundary
~	reduplication
app	applicative
ART	article
AV	agent voice
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DIST	distal
F	feminine
GEN	genitive
GEO	geographical
HON	honorific
HUM	human
IMP	imperative
ING	suffix <i>-ing</i>
KR	Krama speech level
M	masculine

N	noun
NEG	negation
NG	Ngoko speech level
NMLZ	nominalizer
NP	nominal phrase
PASS	passive
PN	proper name
POSS	possessive
PROG	progressive
RED	reduplicant
REL	relative pronoun
SG	singular

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