PROCEEDINGS

International Seminar
LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT
(LAMAS) 6

“Empowering Families, Schools, and Media for Maintaining Indigenous Languages”

August 9—10, 2016

Compiled by
Agus Subiyanto, Suharno, M. Suryadi,
Wuri Sayekti, and Tohom Marthin Donius Pasaribu

Master Program in Linguistics, Diponegoro University
in Collaboration with
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August 9—10, 2016
Semarang, Indonesia

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NOTE

This international seminar on Language Maintenance and Shift 6 (LAMAS 6 for short) is a continuation of the previous LAMAS seminars conducted annually by the Master Program in Linguistics, Diponegoro University in cooperation with Balai Bahasa Jawa Tengah.

We would like to extend our deepest gratitude to the seminar committee for putting together the seminar that gave rise to this compilation of papers. Thanks also go to the Head and the Secretary of the Master Program in Linguistics, Diponegoro University, without whom the seminar would not have been possible.

The table of contents lists 107 papers and abstracts presented at the seminar. Some of the papers have been selected to be published in Parole: Journal of Linguistics and Education, and for these papers only the abstracts are published in the proceeding.

Of the papers, 4 papers were presented by invited keynote speakers. They are Peter Suwarno, Ph.D. (Arizona University, USA), Mukhlis Abu Bakar, M.A., Ph.D., (National Institute of Education, Singapore), Dr. Agus Subiyanto, M.A. (Diponegoro University, Indonesia), Hywel Coleman, M.A., OBE (University of Leeds, UK).

The topic areas of the papers cover Sociolinguistics (16 papers), Discourse Analysis (14 papers), Language Acquisition (1 paper), Language & Culture (5 papers), Linguistics in Education (10 papers), Language in Politics (1 paper), Pragmatics (21 papers), Psycholinguistics (3 papers), Semantics (12 papers), Phonology (2 papers), Morphology (1 paper), and Syntax (11 papers).
# SCHEDULE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT (LAMAS) 6
August 9—10, 2016 in Pascasarjana, Diponegoro University (Imam Bardjo, S.H. No.3-5 Street, Semarang, Indonesia)

## TUESDAY, AUGUST 9, 2016 (FIRST DAY)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>TITLE</th>
<th>ROOM</th>
<th>CHAIR PERSON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>07.00 – 08.00</td>
<td></td>
<td>REGISTRATION</td>
<td>LOBI HALL, TTB A, 6th FLOOR</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08.00 – 08.05</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>INDONESIA RAYA ANTHEM</strong></td>
<td>CONVENTION HALL, TTB A, 6th FLOOR</td>
<td>NAILA (COMMITTEE)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>SPEECH FROM THE COMMITTEE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>KETUA COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08.05 – 08.15</td>
<td></td>
<td>OPENING</td>
<td></td>
<td>DEKAN FIB UNDIP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08.15 – 11.15</td>
<td>Hywel Coleman, M.A., OBE</td>
<td><strong>PLENARY SESSION 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dr. Deli Nirmala, M.Hum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mukhlis Abu Bakar, Ph.D.</td>
<td><strong>FLUCTUATIONS IN LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICY AND PRACTICE IN INDONESIA, 1901-2015</strong></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>BILINGUALISM AND THE MAINTENANCE OF THE MOTHER TONGUE IN MULTILINGUAL SINGAPORE</strong></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.15 – 12.45</td>
<td>Norfaizah Abdul Jobar &amp; Anida Sarudin</td>
<td><strong>PARALLEL SESSION 1</strong></td>
<td>CLASS B302</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sa’adiah Ma’alip &amp; Rahilah Omar</td>
<td><strong>DISCOURSE AGAINST LGBT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yulis Mutmainnah</td>
<td>‘WARTEG’ *FOOD SELLERS’ LANGUAGE ATTITUDES TOWARD TEGAL DIALECT OF JAVANESE LANGUAGE IN SEMARANG</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pardi Suratno</td>
<td>‘PEMILIHANBAHASA MASYARAKAT CHETTI DI MELAKA NAME/NAMA’</td>
<td>CLASS B302</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Riza Sukma</td>
<td>‘BAHASA SEBAGAI REPRESENTASI KEKUASAAN KOLONIAL TERHADAP MASYARAKAT PRIBUMI (STUDY PADA NOVEL JAWA PRAKEMERDEKAAN TERBITAN BALAI PUSTAKA)’</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Yasir Mubarok</td>
<td>‘ANALISIS WACANA KRITIS REPRESENTASI PEREMPUAN KORBAN PEMERKOSAAN DI SITUS BERITA ONLINE’</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Firda Dianing Kartika</td>
<td>‘CITRA PENGUNGAN DAN PENCARI SUAKA DI JERMAN; KAJIAN WACANA KRITIS PADA KOMENTAR PEMBACA SURAT KABAR ONLINE ZEIT’</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘PEMILIHANBAHASA MASYARAKAT CHETTI DI MELAKA NAME/NAMA’</td>
<td><strong>REPRESENTASI ‘PROSES’ DALAM WACANA UNIT PENDAHULUAN PENULISAN KARANGAN</strong></td>
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<td>11.15 – 12.45</td>
<td>Sri Rejeki Urip &amp; Ayudhia Ratna Wijaya</td>
<td>EVALUASI BUKU PANDUAN DEBAT “DEBATING” DAN “PANDUAN DEBAT KOMPETITIF” DALAM RANGKA PENGEMBANGAN BUKU PANDUAN DEBAT DALAM BAHASA PRANCIS</td>
<td>CLASS B303</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tubagus Chaeru Nugraha</td>
<td>PERISTILAHAN POLITIK ARAB DALAM BAHASA SUNDA: KAJIAN SEMIOTIK BAHASA BIDANG POLITIK</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wening Sahayu</td>
<td>SEKARANG ANDY GOES TO SCHOOL BESOK ANDY GEHT IN DIE SCHULE: FENOMENA PERKEMBANGAN BAHASA DAN BUDAYA NAMA DIRI DI INDONESIA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trisnowati Tanto</td>
<td>THE POWER OF LANGUAGE OF AN INTERNET WEBSITE IN INFLUENCING PEOPLE’S PERCEPTION: A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.15 – 12.45</td>
<td>Suwandi &amp; Sri Wahyuni &amp; Th. Cicik Sophia B</td>
<td>THE NON-ENGLISH LECTURERS’ READING COMPETENCE IN READING ENGLISH TEXT AT HIGHER EDUCATION IN CENTRAL JAVA</td>
<td>CLASS B304</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Uswatunnisa</td>
<td>THE INFLUENCE OF BAHASA MANDAR TOWARDS STUDENTS’ ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION (CASE STUDY ON STUDENTS OF JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL 1 TINAMBUNG, POLEWALI MANDAR)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yohana Ika Harnita Sari</td>
<td>LETTER NAME (ALPHABET) AND LETTER SOUND (A FIELD STUDY AT KINDERSTATION PRESCHOOL (TK CAHYA BANGSA UTAMA) YOGYAKARTA)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nia Kurniawati</td>
<td>THE PRE-SCHOOL TEACHERS’ UNDERSTANDING ON EARLY LITERACY: IMPLEMENTATION AND OBSTACLES IN TEACHING-LEARNING ACTIVITIES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.15 – 12.45</td>
<td>Hubbi Saufan Hilmi &amp; Fabio Testy Ariance Loren</td>
<td>BENTUK DAN PENGGUNAAN PRONOMINA PERSONA PADA BAHASA SASAK DIALEK NGENO-NGENE DI DUSUN MONTONG MEONG DESA LABUHAN HAJI KABUPATEN LOMBOK TIMUR</td>
<td>CLASS B308</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Husni Syukri Khotami &amp; Ageng Sutrisno</td>
<td>BANJARHARJO IS TRULY SUNDAANESE</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Prihantoro</td>
<td>THE DYNAMICS OF LOANWORD PROSODY: A CASE STUDY OF ‘JAMAAH’ IN INDONESIAN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agni Kusti Kinasih</td>
<td>LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF SINGAPORE COLLOQUIAL ENGLISH FOUND IN A LOCAL ENGLISH-LANGUAGE MOVIE ENTITLED SINGAPORE DREAMING</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>12.45 – 13.45</td>
<td></td>
<td>LUNCH BREAK (ISHOMA)</td>
<td>TTB B, 3rd FLOOR</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.45 – 15.15</td>
<td>Sulis Triyono</td>
<td>MEANINGS OF OBJEKTIVE UND SUBJEKTIVE MODALVERBEN CONSTRUCTIONS IN GERMAN SENTENCES AND THEIR EQUIVALENCES IN INDONESIAN</td>
<td>CLASS B301</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trisnowati Tanto</td>
<td>THE POWER OF LANGUAGE OF AN INTERNET WEBSITE IN INFLUENCING PEOPLE’S PERCEPTION: A</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anisa Larassati &amp; Nina Setyaningsih</td>
<td>THE KEYBOARD WARRIORS: EXPRESSING HATRED AND JUDGEMENT ON “ANOTHER” WOMAN THROUGH HATERS’ INSTAGRAM ACCOUNT</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anisa Zuhria Sugeh &amp; Ika Nurfarida</td>
<td>PERBANDINGAN KOLOKASI KATA IBU DAN BUNDA DALAM KORPUS BAHASA INDONESIA</td>
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<td>TIME</td>
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<td>Almira Fidela Artha &amp; Fina Syahadatina &amp; Okta Enggiana Pradevi</td>
<td>“SENYUM CEMERLANG, SENYUM PEPSODENT” ANALISIS DIAKRONIK BENTUK BAHASA IKLAN PEPSODENT DALAM 4 DEKADE: KAJIAN SOSIOPRAGMATIK</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Azzahra Egeng &amp; Ferina Kumala Dewi &amp; Riza Sukma</td>
<td>MAKN A KATEGORI PARTIKEL DALAM IMPLIKATUR KONVENSIONAL DI TIGA BAHASA DAERAH: SEBUAH KAJIAN TEORI RELEVANSI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bayu Aryanto</td>
<td>STRATEGI PENOLAKAN AJAKAN BAHASA JEPANG (STUDI KASUS MAHASISWA SASTRA JEPANG UNIVERSITAS DIAN NUSWANTORO DAN PENUTUR ASLI JEPANG)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.45 – 15.15</td>
<td>Agus Ridwan</td>
<td>GRAMATIKALISASI SATUAN BAHASA BIS ‘SAMPAI’ DALAM BAHASA JERMAN</td>
<td>CLASS B303</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Faridah &amp; Ratna Juwitasari Emha</td>
<td>ANALYSIS OF NOMINAL GROUP CONSTRUCTION OF THE STUDENTS’ WRITTEN TEXTS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Heny Sulistyowati &amp; M. Syaufiuddin S.</td>
<td>SYNTHETIC STRUCTURE OF ADJECTIVE PHRASE COMPARISON IN JAVANESE LANGUAGE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.45 – 15.15</td>
<td>Mahdi Ahmad</td>
<td>PEMBENTUKAN VERBA MELALUI AFIKSASI DALAM BAHASA TERNATE</td>
<td>CLASS B304</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rohendi Ali Muhamad</td>
<td>THE GENERAL STATEMENTS OF ANTECEDENT IN ENGLISH SENTENCE STRUCTURE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M. Suryadi</td>
<td>BENTUK KESANTUNAN DENGAN MEMANFAATKAN KEKUATAN LEKSIKON EMOTIF-KULTURAL YANG DIMILIKI MASYARAKAT JAWA PESISIR: PEKALONGAN, SEMARANG, DEMAK</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.45 – 15.15</td>
<td>Jeanyfer Tanusy</td>
<td>THE ANALYSIS OF LEXIS IN SUNDANESE PUPUH ‘KINANTI’</td>
<td>CLASS B308</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ariya Jati</td>
<td>POETIC LANGUAGE IN NAZARETH’S “LOVE HURTS”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fauzia</td>
<td>ANALYZING LANGUAGE STYLE OF VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOL ACCREDITATION ‘SUGGESTION AND RECOMMENDATION’ TEXT</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dewi Puspitasari</td>
<td>“MOMMY, LET’s SING THE SONG WITH ME, PLEASE...” A NARRATIVE STUDY OF A YOUNG LEARNER IN THE JAVANESSE LANGUAGE INQUIRY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.15 – 16.45</td>
<td>Leonita Maharani</td>
<td>TRANSITIVITAS DALAM CERITA RAKYAT PAPUA (SEBUAH KAJIAN LINGUISTIK SISTEMIK FUNGSIONAL PADA TEKS CERITA RAKYAT SUKI MEEP PAPUA)</td>
<td>CLASS B301</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Novian Denny Nugraha &amp; Ash Prihandini</td>
<td>ANALISIS ALIH WAHANA MEDIUM PADA GAMES CLASH ROYALE SEBAGAI UPAYA PELESTARIAN BERBAHASA PADA KELUARGA PERKOTAAN UNTUK KEBUTUHAN BERCERITA (STORY TELLING)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Anggy Denok Sukmawati</td>
<td>PROBLEMATIKA PENERAPAN MULOK BAHASA JAWA DI KABUPATEN PEMALANG</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>TIME</td>
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<td>TITLE</td>
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<td>CHAIR PERSON</td>
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<tr>
<td>15.15 – 16.45</td>
<td>Anida Binti Sarudin</td>
<td>PENGUASAAN BIDANG BAHASA DI KALANGAN KANAK-KANAK PRASEKOLAH</td>
<td>CLASS B302</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.15 – 16.45</td>
<td>Ika Inayati</td>
<td>KEBERPIHAKAN MEDIA PADA KASUS RAZIA WARTEG DI SERANG (STUDY KASUS PADA ARTIKEL LIPUTAN6.COM: MENTERI AGAMA TEGUR CARA SATPOL PP RAZIA WARTEG DI SERANG)</td>
<td>CLASS B302</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.15 – 16.45</td>
<td>Halimah</td>
<td>PERKEMBANGAN BAHASA ANAK PERIODE PRELINGUAL (STUDY KASUS PADA BAYI USIA 8 BULAN)</td>
<td>CLASS B302</td>
<td>COMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.15 – 16.45</td>
<td>Hazairin Eko Prasetyo</td>
<td>DEVELOPING AN INDONESIAN HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM OF ELT THROUGH LITERATURE</td>
<td>CLASS B302</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.15 – 16.45</td>
<td>Chendy AP. Sulistyo &amp; Dede &amp; Wiwid Nofa Suciyya</td>
<td>STRATEGI KESANTUNAN LINTAS BAHASA DI INDONESIA (SUNDA, BREBES, MELAYU) SEBUAH KAJIAN PRAGMATIK</td>
<td>CLASS B303</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.15 – 16.45</td>
<td>Della Nathania &amp; Muhammad Amin Ritonga &amp; Romiyati</td>
<td>VARIASI TINDAK TUTUR EKSPRESIF LINTAS BAHASA (JAWA DAN MADAILING)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.15 – 16.45</td>
<td>Freda Dyah Ayu Kusumaning Yandi &amp; Yuni Triastuti</td>
<td>ANALISIS DEIKSIS DALAM BAHASA JAWA DIALEK SEMARANG DAN DIALEK PEKALONGAN KAJIAN PRAGMATIK</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.15 – 16.45</td>
<td>Hendita Damayanti &amp; Imam Santoso</td>
<td>GAYA TINDAK TUTUR TIDAK LANGSUNG DALAM BAHASA JAWA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.15 – 16.45</td>
<td>Bernadette Santosa</td>
<td>THE LANGUAGE OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN SOME INDONESIAN ADVERTISEMENTS</td>
<td>CLASS B304</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.15 – 16.45</td>
<td>Chusni Hadiati</td>
<td>THE FUNCTIONS OF PHATIC EXPRESSIONS IN TRADITIONAL SELLING AND BUYING</td>
<td>CLASS B304</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.15 – 16.45</td>
<td>Eli Asikin-Garmager</td>
<td>DIALECT VARIATION AS A WINDOW INTO LANGUAGE CHANGE – A SYNTACTIC EXAMPLE FROM SASAK (LOMBOK)</td>
<td>CLASS B308</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.15 – 16.45</td>
<td>Dhion Meitreya Vidhiiasi</td>
<td>THE ANALYSIS OF SUMBER WARAS CASE IN Sindonews’ EDITORIAL : “Sumber Waras bukan Pertarungan Opini” DATED APRIL 15TH, 2016</td>
<td>CLASS B308</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.15 – 16.45</td>
<td>Mohammad Andi Hakim</td>
<td>Mendobrak Konstruksi Islam Modern dalam Buku PAI dan Budi Pekerti SMA; Sebuah Praksis Kekerasan Verbal</td>
<td>CLASS B308</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
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<tr>
<td>16.45 – 17.00</td>
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<td>BREAK</td>
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<td>REGISTRATION</td>
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<td>LOBI HALL, TTB A, 6th FLOOR</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>07.30 – 10.30</td>
<td>Prof. Dr. Dadang Sunendar, M.Hum</td>
<td>Kebijakan Bahasa di Indonesia</td>
<td>CONVENTION HALL, TTB A, 6th FLOOR</td>
<td>Dr. Suharno, M.Ed./Drs. Pardi Suratno, M.Hum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peter Suwarno, Ph.D</td>
<td>Teaching Indonesian as a Diglossic Language: The Importance of Colloquial Indonesian for Pragmatic Competence and Local Languages Preservation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dr. Agus Subiyanto, MA</td>
<td>Determining Language Typology based on Directed-Motion Lexicalization Patterns as a Language Documentation: a Case Study on Javanese</td>
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<td>10.30 – 11.00</td>
<td>BREAK</td>
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<td>TTB B, 3rd FLOOR</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
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<tr>
<td>11.00 – 12.30</td>
<td>Mualimmin</td>
<td>DIRECTIVES IN JAVANESE OF TEGAL: A CASE STUDY OF DRAMA ON PERTIWI RADIO</td>
<td>CLASS B301</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Liya Umaroh</td>
<td>STRATEGI TINDAK TUTOR DALAM TRANSKSI JUJAL BELI DI PASAR TRADISIONAL JOHAR SEMARANG</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lukman Isgianto</td>
<td>A SPEECH ACTS ANALYSIS OF DIRECT AND INDIRECT ON ‘BIG CITY SMALL WORLD’ CONVERSATION SCRIPT OF BRITISH COUNCIL LEARNING ENGLISH: A STUDY OF DISCOURSE ANALYSIS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mutiara Karna Asih &amp; Ika Inayati &amp; Nor Cholifah</td>
<td>KEUNIKAAN LEKSIKON PENANDA PRAANGGAPAN DALAM TIGA SUBDIALEK BAHASA JAWA (PURWOKERTO, BANTEN UTARA, DAN REMBANG)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Raheni Suhiha &amp; Djoko Sulaksono &amp; Kenfitra Diah Wijayanti</td>
<td>CAMPUR KODE DALAM MANTRA KANURAGAN IMPLEMENTASI SEBUAH PANGAJAB</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sri Puji Astuti &amp; M. Suryadi</td>
<td>REKONSTRUKSI POLA URUTAN FONEM PADA STRUKTUR LEKSIKON DIALEKTAL BAHASA JAWA PESISIRAN DI KOTA SEMARANG</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Siyaswati</td>
<td>POLITENESS AND ITS USE THROUGH FOLKTALES: A SOCIO-PRAGMATICS STUDY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.00 – 12.30</td>
<td>Kahar Dwi P.</td>
<td>DARI EMPULOH MENUJU PYCNONOTIDAE: PERMUFAKATAN ANTAR PENUTUR BAHASA DAERAH DALAM PENYERAGAMAN KOSA KATA AVIARY</td>
<td>CLASS B303</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Noor Maliah</td>
<td>THE APPLICATIVE VOICE IN JAVANESE DIALECT OF KUDUS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yesika M. Ocktarani &amp; Heri Dwi Santosono</td>
<td>PERSONAL DEIXIS IN RADIO BROADCASTING: EXTINCTION SIGNAL OF ’KAMI’ IN INDONESIAN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIME</td>
<td>NAME</td>
<td>TITLE</td>
<td>ROOM</td>
<td>CHAIR PERSON</td>
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<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.00 – 12.30</td>
<td>Kharisma Puspita Sari</td>
<td>METAPHORS AND DIRECTIVE SPEECH ACTS IN THE JAVANESE PROVERBS</td>
<td>CLASS B304</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ema Rahardian</td>
<td>POLA PIKIR PENUTUR BAHASA JAWA DIALEK SEMARANG DALAM RUBRIK “RAME KONDHE” DI HARJAN SUARA MERDEKA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Romilda Arivina da Costa</td>
<td>PENGAMALAN AGAMA DAN PENGARUHNYA TERHADAP PERGESERAN BAHASA HATUHAHA DI MALUKU TENGAH</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Noermanzah</td>
<td>CHILD LANGUAGE ACQUISITION 1.4 YEARS OF AGE (RESEARCH CASE STUDY ON FAMILY BILINGUAL)</td>
<td>CLASS B308</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Retno Purwani Sari</td>
<td>IDENTITY-FORMING POWER OF CHILDREN STORIES’ TRANSLATION: TRANSLATION STUDIES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suharno</td>
<td>JUXTAPOSING FIRST AND SECOND CULTURES IN ELT MATERIALS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.30 – 13.30</td>
<td></td>
<td>LUNCH BREAK (ISHOMA)</td>
<td>TTB B, 3rd FLOOR</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.30 – 15.00</td>
<td>Pininta Veronika Silalahi</td>
<td>THE SEMIOTICS OF BATAK TOBA SOCIETY MARRIAGE TRADITION</td>
<td>CLASS B301</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Agus Sudono</td>
<td>PENAMAAN HALAMAN DAN RUBRIK DALAM SURAT KABAR SOLOPO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ratna Muthia</td>
<td>HUBUNGAN MAKNA VERBA PERBUATAN BERMAKNA ’MENINGGALKAN SUATU TEMPAT’ DALAM BAHASA JAWA NGOKO</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(STUDI KASUS LUNGA, MANGKAT, BUDHAL, DAN MINGGAT): SEBUAH KAJIAN SEMANTIK</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.30 – 15.00</td>
<td>Esther Hesline Palandi</td>
<td>KAJIAN METAFORA DALAM PUISI (HAIKU) BAHASA JEPANG</td>
<td>CLASS B302</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Festri Yudanika</td>
<td>AWARENESS AND PHONOLOGICAL WORKING MEMORY IN THE ADULT ACQUISITION OF SECOND LANGUAGE PRONUNCIATION: A CASE STUDY</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hindun</td>
<td>PEMERKAYAAN BAHASA MELALUI FILM “ADA APA DENGAN CINTA 2” DAN “AISYAH: BIARKAN KAMI BERSAUDARA” SEBAGAI PRODUK BUDAYA BANGSA INDONESIA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hanny Fauziah</td>
<td>SYNTACTIC MISTAKES IN WRITING NEWS ON WEBSITE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT CENTRE FOR MINERAL AND COAL TECHNOLOGY (A CASE STUDY ON WEBSITE: <a href="http://www.tekmira.esdm.go.id/newtek2/">http://www.tekmira.esdm.go.id/newtek2/</a>)</td>
<td></td>
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<td>TIME</td>
<td>NAME</td>
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<tr>
<td>13.30 – 15.00</td>
<td>Deli Nirmala</td>
<td>MIXED JAVANESE IN ENGLISH DEPARTMENT STUDENTS’ UTTERANCES AS A SYMPTOM OF LANGUAGE SHIFT (POLITENESS AND EMBODIMENT PERSPECTIVES)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.30 – 15.00</td>
<td>I Gede Arga Anggara</td>
<td>A STUDY OF DEIXIS USED IN TOP FIVE WALDJINAH’S POPULAR KERONCONG SONGS LYRICS</td>
<td>CLASS B304</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.30 – 15.00</td>
<td>Irma Winingsih</td>
<td>PENGGUNAAN HEDGES ~ TO OMOIMASU SEBAGAI SALAH SATU USAHA PEMERTAHANAN KESANTUNAN BERTUTUR DALAM BAHASA JEPANG</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.30 – 15.00</td>
<td>Nunung Nurjati</td>
<td>POLITENESS ASPECTS OF ENGLISH COMMUNITY PRACTICE IN PARE: A THEORETICAL OVERVIEW</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.30 – 15.00</td>
<td>Riza Sukma &amp; Wiwid Nofa Suciaty &amp; Yuni Triastuti</td>
<td>BAHASA DALAM SYAIR TARI SAMAN GAYO SEBAGAI PEMBENTUK POLA PIKIR DAN POLA TINDAK MASYARAKAT LOKAL: SEBUAH KAJIAN ANTROPOLINGUISTIK</td>
<td>CLASS B308</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.30 – 15.00</td>
<td>Rosaria Mita Amalia &amp; Yusuf Hamzah</td>
<td>THE ART OF RHETORIC USING STYLISTIC DEVICES IN WORLD UNIVERSITIES DEBATING CHAMPIONSHIP: A Study of Pragmatics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.30 – 15.00</td>
<td>Wati Kurniawati</td>
<td>INDEKS VITALITAS BAHASA LOM BERDASARKAN JENIS KELAMIN DAN USIA (LOM LANGUAGE VITALITY INDEX BY GENDER AND AGE)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.00 – 15.30</td>
<td></td>
<td>CLOSING SPEECH</td>
<td>CONVENTION HALL, TTB A, 6th FLOOR</td>
<td>Drs. Pardi Suratno, M.Hum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.30 – 16.00</td>
<td></td>
<td>BREAK (Certificate Handling)</td>
<td>LOBBY HALL, TTB A, 6th FLOOR</td>
<td>COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE OF CONTENTS

EDITOR’S NOTE iii
SCHEDULE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND SHIFT 6 – v
TABLE OF CONTENTS xiii

KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

BILINGUALISM AND THE MAINTENANCE OF THE MOTHER TONGUE IN MULTILINGUAL SINGAPORE
Mukhlis Abu Bakar, M.A., Ph.D. 1

DETERMINING LANGUAGE TYPOLOGY BASED ON DIRECTED-MOTION LEXICALIZATION PATTERNS AS A LANGUAGE DOCUMENTATION: A CASE STUDY ON JAVANESE
Dr. Agus Subiyanto, M.A. 10

TEACHING INDONESIAN AS A DIGLOSSIC LANGUAGE: THE IMPORTANCE OF COLLOQUIAL INDONESIAN FOR PRAGMATIC COMPETENCE
Peter Suwarno, Ph.D. 16

FLUCTUATIONS IN LANGUAGE-IN-EDUCATION POLICY AND PRACTICE IN INDONESIA, 1901-2015
Hywel Coleman, M.A., OBE. 24

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

THE REPRESENTATION OF IRAN-SAUDI CONFLICT IN THE NEWSPAPERS REGARDING MINA HAJI STAMPEDE: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS ON THE ARAB NEWS AND THE TEHRAN TIMES NEWSPAPERS
Abdulkhaleq Ali Ahmed Al-Rawafi 30

LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF SINGAPORE COLLOQUIAL ENGLISH FOUND IN A LOCAL ENGLISH-LANGUAGE MOVIE ENTITLED SINGAPORE DREAMING
Agni Kusti Kinasih 37

CITRA PENGUNGSI DAN PENCARI SUAKA DI JERMAN; KAJIAN WACANA KRITIS PADA KOMENTAR PEMBACA SURAT KABAR ONLINE ZEIT
Ajeng Dianing Kartika 38

THE LANGUAGE OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN SOME INDONESIAN ADVERTISEMENTS
Bernadette Santosa 45

ANALISIS KASUS SUMBER WARAS DALAM EDITORIAL SINDONEWS “SUMBER WARAS BUKAN PERTARUNGAN OPINI”
Dhion Meitreya Vidhiasi 51

ANALYZING LANGUAGE STYLE OF VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOL ACCREDITATION ‘SUGGESTION AND RECOMMENDATION’ TEXT
Fauzia 57
ANALISIS WACANA KRITIS BERITA SEPAK BOLA DI MEDIA OKEZONE.COM (PENDEKATAN VAN DIJK)
Masithah Mahsa
63

MENAKAR KONSTRUKSI ISLAM MODERN DALAM BUKU PAI DAN BUDI PEKERTI SMA; SEBUAH PRAKISI KEKERASAN VERBAL
Mohammad Andi Hakim
71

REPRESENTASI ‘PROSES’ DALAM WACANA UNIT PENDAHULUAN PENULISAN KARANGAN
Norfaizah Abdul Jobar & Anida Sarudin
79

DISCOURSES AGAINST LGBT ISSUES
Nurhayati
86

ANALISIS WACANA KRITIS PIDATO BASUKI TJAHAJA PURNAMA (AHOK) TERHADAP PRAJURIT TNI POLRI (20 JANUARI 2016) (MODEL NORMAN FAIRCLOUGH)
Roy Raja Sukmanta
92

EVALUASI BUKU PANDUAN DEBAT “DEBATING” DAN “PANDUAN DEBAT KOMPETITIF” DALAM RANGKA PENGEMBANGAN BUKU PANDUAN DEBAT DALAM BAHASA PRANCIS
Sri Rejeki Urip & Ayudhia Ratna Wijaya
96

THE POWER OF LANGUAGE OF AN INTERNET WEBSITE IN INFLUENCING PEOPLE’S PERCEPTION: A TEXT ANALYSIS OF REPRESENTATION
Trisnowati Tanto
103

ANALISIS WACANA KRITIS REPRESENTASI PEREMPUAN KORBAN PEMERKOSAAN DI SITUS BERITA ONLINE
Yasir Mubarok
109

LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

AWARENESS AND PHONOLOGICAL WORKING MEMORY IN THE ADULT ACQUISITION OF SECOND LANGUAGE PRONUNCIATION: A CASE STUDY
Festri Yudanika
117

LANGUAGE & CULTURE

“ADA APA DENGAN CINTA 2” DAN “AISYAH: BIARKAN KAMI BERSAUDARA” PEMERKAYAAN BAHASA MELALUI FILM SEBAGAI PRODUK BUDAYA BANGSA INDONESIA
Hindun
118

TRANSITIVITAS DALAM CERITA RAKYAT PAPUA (SEBUAH KAJIAN LINGUISTIK SISTEMIK FUNGSIONAL PADA TEKS CERITA RAKYAT SUKU MEE PAPUA)
Leonita Maharani
119

TRADISI REBO WEKASAN (TRADISI TOLAK BALAK) (STUDI KASUS PEMERTAHANAN BUDAYA DAN BAHASA JAWA DI PONDOK PESANTREN TREMAS PACITAN JAWA TIMUR)
Sri Pamungkas & Eny Setyowati
125
Juxtaposing First and Second Cultures in ELT Materials
Suharno 130

SEKARANG ANDY GOES TO SCHOOL BESOK ANDY GEHT IN DIE SCHULE: FENOMENA PERKEMBANGAN BAHASA DAN BUDAYA NAMA DIRI DI INDONESIA
Wening Sahayu 135

LINGUISTICS IN EDUCATION

PROBLEMATIKA PENERAPAN_MULOK BAHASA JAWA DI KABUPATEN PEMALANG
Anggy Denok Sukmawati 140

PENGUASAAN BIDANG BAHASA DI KALANGAN KANAK-KANAK PRASEKOLAH
Anida Binti Sarudin 150

PENGARUH BUDAYA BAHASA PERTAMA DALAM PERKEMBANGAN BELAJAR BAHASA INDONESIA SEBAGAI BAHASA ASING: STUDI KASUS PADA PENUTUR BAHASA JEPANG
Apriliya Dwi Prihatinintyas 157

DEVELOPING AN INDONESIAN HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM OF ELT THROUGH LITERATURE
Hazairin Eko Prasetyo 163

STUDENT’S ATTITUDE TOWARDS DICTIONARY AND ITS USAGE “A CASE OF STUDY FOR ENGLISH DEPARTMENT STUDENTS DIPONEGORO UNIVERSITY”
Nathaniel, Calvin, Aswita & Prihantoro 168

THE PRE-SCHOOL TEACHERS’ UNDERSTANDING ON EARLY LITERACY: IMPLEMENTATION AND OBSTACLES IN TEACHING-LEARNING ACTIVITIES
Nia Kurniawati 172

IDENTITY-FORMING POWER OF CHILDREN STORIES’ TRANSLATION: TRANSLATION STUDIES
Retno Purwani Sari 173

THE NON-ENGLISH LECTURERS’ READING COMPETENCE IN READING ENGLISH TEXT AT HIGHER EDUCATION IN CENTRAL JAVA
Suwandi, Sri Wahyuni & Th. Cicik Sophia B 174

THE INFLUENCE OF BAHASA MANDAR TOWARDS STUDENTS’ ENGLISH PRONUNCIATION (CASE STUDY ON STUDENTS OF JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL 1 TINAMBUNG, POLEWALI MANDAR)
Uswatunnisa 175

LETTER NAME (ALPHABET) AND LETTER SOUND (A FIELD STUDY AT KINDERSTATION (TK CAHYA BANGSA UTAMA) YOGYAKARTA)
Yohana Ika Harnita Sari 183

LANGUAGE IN POLITICS

BAHASA SEBAGAI REPRESENTASI KEKUASAN KOLONIAL TERHADAP MASYARAKAT PRIBUMI (STUDI PADA NOVEL JAWA PRAKEMERDEKAAN TERBITAN BALAI PUSTAKA)
Pardi Suratno 184
### MORPHOLOGY

**PEMBENTUKAN VERBA MELALUI AFISASI DALAM BAHASA TERNATE**  
Mahdi Ahmad  

---

### PHONOLOGY

**PERUBAHAN FONOLOGIS PADA DIALEK BAHASA INDRAMAYU SEBAGAI PRINSIP LEAST EFFORT DALAM BERTUTUR**  
Indah Melisa & Ratna Juwitasari Emha  

---

**REKONSTRUKSI POLA URUTAN FONEM PADA STRUKTUR LEKSIKON DIALEKTAL BAHASA JAWA PESISIRAN DI KOTA SEMARANG**  
Sri Puji Astuti & M. Suryadi  

---

### PRAGMATICS

**COMMISSIVE ILLCUTIONARY ACT ACROSS LANGUAGES: JAVANESE AND MANDARESE**  
Agnesia Arum S., Intan Mustika, Sarah Sumponogati & Uswatunnisa  

---

**“SENYUM CEMERLANG, SENYUM PEPSODENT” ANALISIS DIAKRONIK BENTUK BAHASA IKLAN PEPSODENT DALAM 4 DEKADE: KAJIAN SOSIOPRAGMATIK**  
Almira Fidela Artha, Fina Syahadatina & Okta Enggiana Pradevi  

---

**THE KEYBOARD WARRIORS: EXPRESSING HATRED AND JUDGEMENT ON “ANOTHER” WOMAN THROUGH HATERS’ INSTAGRAM ACCOUNT**  
Anisa Larassati & Nina Setyaningsih  

---

**MAKNA KATEGORI PARTIKEL DALAM IMPLIKATUR KONVENSIONAL DI TIGA BAHASA DAERAH: SEBUAH KAJIAN TEORI RELEVANSI**  
Azzahra Egeng, Ferina Kumala Dewi & Riza Sukma  

---

**STRATEGI PENOLAKAN AJAKAN BAHASA JEPANG (STUDI KASUS MAHASISWA SASTRA JEPANG UNIVERSITAS DIAN NUSWANTORO DAN PENUTUR ASLI JEPANG)**  
Bayu Aryanto  

---

**SPEECH AND ATTITUDE OF FISHERMAN IN TAWANG, KENDAL, CENTRAL JAVA**  
Catur Kepirianto  

---

**STRATEGI KESANTUNAN LINTAS BAHASA DI INDONESIA (SUNDA, BREBES, MELAYU) SEBUAH KAJIAN PRAGMATIK**  
Chendy AP. Sulistyo, Dede & Wiwid Nofa Suciati  

---

**THE FUNCTIONS OF PHATIC EXPRESSIONS IN TRADITIONAL SELLING AND BUYING**  
Chusni Hadiati  

---

**VARIASI TINDAK TUTUR EKSPRESIF LINTAS BAHASA (JAWA DAN MADAILING)**  
Della Nathania, Muhammad Amin Ritonga & Romiyati  

---
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POLA PIKIR PENUTUR BAHASA JAWA DIALEK SEMARANG DALAM RUBRIK “RAME KONDHE” DI HARIAN SUARA MERDEKA</td>
<td>Ema Rahardian</td>
<td>254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANALISIS DEIKSIS DALAM BAHASA JAWA DIALEK SEMARANG DAN DIALEK PEKALONGAN KAJIAN PRAGMATIK</td>
<td>Freda Dyah Ayu Kusumaning Yandi &amp; Yuni Triastuti</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAYA TINDAK TUTUR TIDAK LANGSUNG DALAM BAHASA JAWA</td>
<td>Hendita</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BANJARHARJO IS TRULY SUNDANESE</td>
<td>Husni Syukri Khotami &amp; Ageng Sutrisno</td>
<td>276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KEBERPIHAKAN MEDIA PADA KASUS RAZIA WARTEG DI SERANG (STUDI KASUS PADA ARTIKEY LIPUTAN6.COM: MENTERI AGAMA TEGUR CARA SATPOL PP RAZIA WARTEG DI SERANG)</td>
<td>Ika Inayati</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PENGGUNAAN HEDGES ~ TO OMOIMASU SEBAGAI SALAH SATU USAHA PEMERTAHANAN KESANTUNAN BERTUTUR DALAM BAHASA JEPANG</td>
<td>Irma Winingsih</td>
<td>288</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>METAPHORS AND DIRECTIVE SPEECH ACTS IN THE JAVANESE PROVERBS</td>
<td>Kharisma Puspita Sari</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STRATEGI TINDAK TUTUR DALAM TRANSKSI JUAL BELI DI PASAR TRADISIONAL JOHAR SEMARANG</td>
<td>Liya Umaroh</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A SPEECH ACTS ANALYSIS OF DIRECT AND INDIRECT ON ‘BIG CITY SMALL WORLD’ CONVERSATION SCRIPT OF BRITISH COUNCIL LEARNING ENGLISH: A STUDY OF DISCOURSE ANALYSIS</td>
<td>Lukman Isgianto</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIRECTIVES IN JAVANESE OF TEGAL: A CASE STUDY OF DRAMA ON PERTIWI RADIO</td>
<td>Mualimin</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RHETORICAL STYLISTIC DEVICES IN WORLD UNIVERSITIES DEBATIGN CHAMPIONSHIP: A STUDY OF PRAGMATICS</td>
<td>Rosaria Mita Amalia &amp; Yusuf Hamzah</td>
<td>311</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUNDA ON INSTAGRAM: WHAT SUNDANESE USERS DO TO MAINTAIN THE LANGUAGE</td>
<td>Titin Lestari</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSYCHOLINGUISTICS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“MOMMY, LET’S SING THE SONG WITH ME, PLEASE…” A NARRATIVE STUDY OF A YOUNG LEARNER IN THE JAVANESSE LANGUAGE INQUIRY</td>
<td>Dewi Puspitasari</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PERKEMBANGAN BAHASA ANAK PERIODE PRELINGUAL (STUDY KASUS PADA BAYI USIA 8 BULAN)
Halimah

EKSPRESI VERBAL LAKI-LAKI BERPERILAKU LATAH DI KABUPATEN JOMBANG JAWA TIMUR
(ANCANGAN PSIKOLONGUISTIK TERHADAP PERILAKU BERBAHASA YANG MENYIMPANG)
Sri Pamungkas & Djetmika

SEMANTICS

PENAMAAN HALAMAN DAN RUBRIK DALAM SURAT KABAR SOLOPOS
Agus Sudono

PERBANDINGAN KOLOKASI KATA IBU DAN BUNDA DALAM KORPUSS BAHASA INDONESIA
Anisa Zuhria Suhega & Ika Nurfarida

POETIC LANGUAGE IN NAZARETH’S “LOVE HURTS”
Ariya Jati

KAJIAN METAFORA DALAM PUISI (HAIKU) BAHASA JEPANG
Esther Hesline Palandi

THE ANALYSIS OF LEXIS IN SUNDANESE PUPUH ‘KINANTI’
Jeanyfer Tanusy

KEUNIKA LEKSikon PENANDA PRAANGGAPAN DALAM TIGA SUBDIALEK BAHASA JAWA
(PURWOKERTO, BANTEN UTARA, DAN REMBANG)
Mutia Asih, Ika Inayati & Nor Cholifah

METONIMI DALAM MOTIF RAGAM HIAS BATIK KASUMEDANGAN JAWA BARAT
Nani Sunarni

PEMIKIRAN FUNDAMENTAL MELAYU DALAM SIMPULAN BAHASA “BESAR KEPALA”
Nor Asiah Ismail & Anida Sarudin

THE SEMIOTICS OF BATAK TOBA SOCIETY MARRIAGE TRADITION
Pininta Veronika Silalahi

HUBUNGAN MAKNA VERBA PERBUATAN BERMAKNA ‘MENINGGALKAN SUATU TEMPAT’
DALAM BAHASA JAWA NGOKO (STUDY KASUS LUNGA, MANGKAT, BUDHAL, DAN MINGGAT):
SEBUAH KAJIAN SEMANTIK
Ratna Muthia

PERISTILAHAN POLITIK ARAB DALAM BAHASA SUNDA: KAJIAN SEMIOTIK BAHASA BIDANG
POLITIK
Tubagus Chaeru Nugraha

INDEKS VITALITAS BAHASA LOM BERDASARKAN JENIS KELAMIN DAN USIA (LOM LANGUAGE
VITALITY INDEX BY GENDER AND AGE)
Wati Kurniawati
SOCIOLINGUISTICS

MIXED JAVANESE IN ENGLISH DEPARTMENT STUDENTS’ UTTERANCES AS A SYMPTOM OF LANGUAGE SHIFT (POLITENESS AND EMBODIMENT PERSPECTIVES)
Deli Nirmala

DARI EMPULOH MENGUJU PYCNONOTIDAE: PERMUFAKATAN ANTAR PENUTUR BAHASA DAERAH DALAM PENYERAHAGAMAN KOSA KATA AVIARY
Kahar Dwi P.

BENTUK KESANTUNAN DENGAN MEMANFAATKAN KEKUATAN LEKSIKON EMOTIF-KULTURAL YANG DIMILIKI MASYARAKAT JAWA PESISIR: PEKALONGAN, SEMARANG, DEMAK
M. Suryadi

PEMEROLEHAN BAHASA ANAK USIA 1,4 TAHUN (PENELITIAN STUDI KASUS PADA KELUARGA BILINGUAL)
Noermanzah

THE APPLICATIVE VOICE IN JAVANESE DIALECT OF KUDUS
Noor Maliah

ALIH WAHANA MEDIUM BERCERITA STORY TELLING, SEBAGAI UPAYA PELESTARIAN BERPENANGKA PADA KELUARGA URBAN (STUDY KASUS GAMES CLASH OF CLAN /COC)
Novian Denny Nugraha & Asih Prihandini

POLITENESS ASPECTS OF ENGLISH COMMUNITY PRACTICE IN PARE: A THEORETICAL OVERVIEW
Nunung Nurjati

THE DYNAMICS OF LOANWORD PROSODY: A CASE STUDY OF ‘JAMAAH’ IN INDONESIAN
Prihantoro

CAMPUR KODE DALAM MANTRA KANURAGAN IMPLEMENTASI SEBUAH PANGAJAB
Raheni Suhita, Djoko Sulaksono & Kenfitria Diah Wijayanti

SITUASI PSIKOLOGIS DALAM PEMILIHAN BAHASA OLEH PENUTUR BAHASA BETAWI DI JAKARTA: KAJIAN SOSIOLOGIJI
Riza Sukma

BAHASA DALAM SYAIR TARI SAMAN GAYO SEBAGAI PEMBENTUK POLA PIKIR DAN POLA TINDAK MASYARAKAT LOkal: SEBUAH KAJIAN ANTROPOLINGUISTIK
Riza Sukma, Wiwid Nofa Suciaty & Yuni Triastuti

PENGAMALAN AGAMA DAN PENGARUHNYA TERHADAP PERGESERAN BAHASA HATUHAHA DI MALUKU TENGAH
Romilda Arivina da Costa

PEMILIHANBASA MASYARAKAT CHETTI DI MELAKA
Sa’adiah Ma’alip & Rahilah Omar
POLITENESS AND ITS USE THROUGH FOLKTALES: A SOCIO-PRAGMATICS STUDY
Siyaswati 450

‘WARTEG’ FOOD SELLERS’ LANGUAGE ATTITUDES TOWARD TEGAL DIALECT OF JAVANESE LANGUAGE IN SEMARANG
Yulia Mutmainnah 458

SYNTAX

GRAMATIKALISASI SATUAN BAHASA BIS ‘SAMPAI’ DALAM BAHASA JERMAN
Agus Ridwan 465

DIALECT VARIATION AS A WINDOW INTO LANGUAGE CHANGE – A SYNTACTIC EXAMPLE FROM SASAK (LOMBOK)
Eli Asikin-Garmager 470

ANALYSIS OF NOMINAL GROUP CONSTRUCTION OF THE STUDENTS’ WRITTEN TEXTS
Farikah 478

SYNTACTIC MISTAKES IN WRITING NEWS ON WEBSITE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT CENTRE FOR MINERAL AND COAL TECHNOLOGY (A CASE STUDY ON WEBSITE: http://www.tekmira.esdm.go.id/newtek2/)
Hanny Fauziah 482

SYNTAX STRUCTURE OF ADJECTIVE PHRASE COMPARISON IN JAVANESE LANGUAGE
Heny Sulistyowati & M. Syaifuddin S. 486

BENTUK DAN PENGGUNAAN PRONOMINA PERSONA PADA BAHASA SASAK DIALEK NGENO-NGENE DI DUSUN MONTONG MEONG DESA LABUHAN HAJI KABUPATEN LOMBOK TIMUR
Hubbi Saufan Hilmi & Fabio Testy Ariance Loren 487

A STUDY OF DEIXIS USED IN TOP FIVE WALDJINAH’S POPULAR KERONCONG SONGS LYRICS
I Gede Arga Anggara 493

DESKRIPSI STRUKTUR FRASA BAHASA MAKASSAR DIALEK LAKIUNG
Mantasiah R 494

THE GENERAL STATEMENTS OF ANTECEDENT IN ENGLISH SENTENCE STRUCTURE
Rohendi Ali Muhamad 500

MEANINGS OF OBJEKTEIVE UND SUBJEKTIVE MODALVERBEN CONSTRUCTIONS IN GERMAN SENTENCES AND THEIR EQUIVALENCES IN INDONESIAN
Sulis Triyono 501

PERSONAL DEIXIS IN RADIO BROADCASTING: EXTINCTION SIGNAL OF ‘KAMI’ IN INDONESIAN
Yesika M. Ocktaran & Heri Dwi Santoso 508
Abstract

Structural contrasts in language are often accompanied by corresponding morphological contrasts. When morphological contrasts are simplified or morphology is reanalyzed, what is the effect on syntactic structure? Eastern Sasak has two syntactically transitive constructions, and with the first, the lexical verb occurs with a prefix with the underlying form /ng-/ (hence 'nasal prefix'). The second transitive clause type occurs with the unprefixed verb (hence 'bare' form). In dialects without this morphological contrast, do we expect structural simplification? (i.e., a single transitive clause type). In contrast to Eastern Sasak, Central Sasak transitive clauses occur almost exclusively with the unprefixed (or 'bare') form of the lexical verb. On the basis of data from complex clauses (namely raising verbs), this paper argues that – despite not having a morphological contrast – Central Sasak maintains two transitive clause types.

Keywords: voice morphology, transitive clauses, raising, Austronesian voice

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper explores the relationship between verbal morphology and syntactic structure. Namely, in languages in which a morphological contrast accompanies a structural contrast, how dependent is the latter upon the former? When morphological contrasts are simplified, or the morphology is reanalyzed, what is the effect on syntactic structure? This paper addresses these questions by examining morphosyntactic micro-variation among Sasak dialects. Like neighboring languages, Sasak has a rich system of verbal morphology, which is part of its voice system. We begin with an Eastern Lombok village that maintains a morphological contrast for two transitive clause types. After presenting data from simplex clauses, we move to show how the voice type (verbal morphology) of embedded clauses is connected to the syntactic status of arguments occurring in sentence-initial position with raising verbs. Next, the paper presents variability found in Central Sasak transitive clauses, for which there is no corresponding verbal morphological contrast. Based on data from raising verbs – which show a number of word order similarities with Eastern Sasak – we argue that Central Sasak retains two transitive clause types despite morphological opacity. Finally, we discuss how this data corroborates arguments from Shibatani (2008) that Sasak has both a grammaticalized subject and topic position.

Before proceeding, note that Sasak is characterized by a high degree of dialectal variation in all domains of structure (including phonology, morphology, and syntax), and even villages only a few kilometers apart often differ considerably. Traditionally, reference is usually made to one of five ethnolinguistic classifications, which include Ngenó-ngéné and Nggetó-nggeté (Eastern Lombok), Menó-mené and Meriaq-meriku (Central and Southern Lombok), and Kutó-kuté (Northern Lombok). The linguistic reality of these groupings is increasingly suspect, at least if characterized by morphosyntactic and syntactic patterns. For example, within the Ngenó-ngéné-speaking area, speakers in Pancor differ from those in Montong Betök. While sharing some similarities, clause structure (particularly verbal morphology) in Montong Betök is arguably more similar to that in Menó-mené (for example, Praya). This paper presents Eastern Sasak data specifically from Pancor village, which retains a morphological contrast for two transitive clause types. For Central Sasak, we present Menó-mené data from Praya, Puyung, and Mantang villages.

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2 Research was supported by a Fulbright-Hays DDRA Fellowship and University of Iowa T. Anne Cleary International Dissertation Research Fellowship awarded to Eli Asikin-Garmager. We would like to thank our Sasak consultants for their time and patience.
2. EASTERN SASAK’S MORPHOLOGICAL CONTRAST & TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

2.1 Actor Voice

The first of two syntactically transitive clause types in Eastern Sasak is referred to here as *actor voice* (AV). In AV clauses, the lexical verb is marked with the prefix /ng/-, which assimilates in place to the initial consonant of the root. Initial voiceless consonants are replaced with a homorganic nasal. The word order in AV clauses is *agent – verb – patient*. The agent in AV clauses can be realized as a bare noun phrase (NP) (1a), pronominal clitic (1b, 1c) or both (1d).

(1) a. kanak meme inó maléq bèmbéq inó
   child male DEF AV.chase goat DEF
   ‘The boy chased the goat’
   b. ne=maléq bèmbéq
   3=AV.chase goat
   ‘He chased the goat’
   c. kenyéngke=ne i maléq bèmbéq (isiq kanak meme inó)
      PROG=3 AV.chase goat by child male DEF
      ‘He (the boy) chased the goat’
   d. kanak meme inó, ne=maléq bèmbéq
      child male DEF 3=AV.chase goat
      ‘The boy chased the goat’

The presence of the pronominal clitic referring to the agent in (1b) makes the presence of the NP optional. The clitic appears as a verbal proclitic (1b), or enclitic if a preverbal host (such as auxiliary verb or conjunction) is available (1c). When both NP agent and pronominal clitic surface, as in (1d), the NP can appear in clause-final position (2a). However, the agent NP cannot occur between the verb and patient (2b). If the preverbal NP in AV clauses is not marked for definiteness (3a), speakers much prefer to use the existential predicate *areq* before the indefinite NP (3b).

(2) a. nei=maléq bèmbéq kanak inó
   b. *nei=maléq kanak meme inó, bèmbéq inó
(3) a. ? kanak meme maléq bèmbéq inó
   b. *areq kanak meme maléq bèmbéq inó

2.2 Non-Actor Voice

The second transitive construction in Eastern Sasak is referred to here as *non-actor voice* (NAV). In NAV clauses, the patient appears clause-initially, followed by the (non-prefixed/’bare’) verb. The agent occurs as an NP post-verbally, either as a bare NP (4a-b) or oblique (4c).

(4) a. bèmbéq inó paléq kanak meme inó
   goat DEF NAV-chase child male DEF
   ‘The boy chased the goat’
   b. bèmbéq inó nei=paléq kanak inó
   c. bèmbéq inó paléq=nei i siè kanak inó

While speakers who reside primarily in Pancor readily accept (4a-c), other Ngenó-ngené speakers – particularly those who spend more time outside of Pancor (and thus communicate with frequently with non-Pancor speakers) – tend to reject (4a-b), preferring instead (4c). The examples in (4) show

---

3 All Eastern Sasak data in this paper come from Ngenó-ngené speakers in Pancor. All dialects of Sasak also have a passive voice clause type characterized by overt verbal morphology (i.e., passive prefix /te/-).

4 Our choice of terminology is not intended to take a particular stance on any terminological debate, and we recognize that the terms trigger and focus system have also been used for this language family.

5 Abbreviations used in the glosses include: ART – article; AV – actor voice; CAUS – causative; DEF – definite; F – feminine; FUT – future; NAV – non-actor voice; NE – (see footnote 6); PV – passive voice; REAL – realis; PERF – perfective; POSS – possessive; SG – singular. Note about orthography: we use q for glottal stops, ny for palatal nasals, and ng for velar nasals. Regarding front and central vowels, e represents a schwa, é a close-mid vowel, and è an open-mid vowel. For back vowels, ô is close-mid and ò open-mid.
the variation in NAV clauses in terms of whether or not the agent is expressed as a bare NP (4a-b), as well as whether or not the agent clitic is a verbal pro or enclitic (4b-c). For speakers who accept both proclitic and enclitic agent options, (4b) is reported as expressing irrealis mood, while (4c) is realis. Unlike with AV, clause-initial NPs in NAV do not need to be marked for definiteness (5a), and the use of the existential predicate areq is prohibited (5b-c).

There is also a morphosyntactic difference between the clauses with pro and enclitic agents. When the agent occurs as verbal proclitic (6b), the bare NP agent may optionally be introduced with the preposition isiq/siq ‘by’ (4a) (although this option is slightly less preferred). Conversely, when the agent occurs as a verbal enclitic, the NP must occur in oblique form with the preposition (and thus the bare NP agent in (6b) is ungrammatical).

2.3 Actor- & Non-Actor Voice With Raising Verbs

The two transitive clause structures AV and NAV are relevant in cases of subordination as only the preverbal NP in the simplex clause can occur sentence-initially with a raising verb, such as rue-rue ‘seem’. The term ‘raising’ refers to how a semantic argument of the embedded verb (nyorong/sorong ‘push’ in (7)) can occur sentence-initially (in the matrix clause) preceding the raising verb (7d) instead of occurring in its usual position adjacent to the embedded verb (contrast (7b) with (7d)).

a. le Mimi nyôrông ódi=nei ART.F Mimi AV.push younger.sibling=3POSS ‘Mimi pushed her younger sibling’

b. rue-rue=ne [le Mimi nyôrông ódi=nei] ART.F Mimi AV.push unger.sibling=3POSS ‘It seems Mimi pushed her younger sibling’

c. rue-rue=ne [ódi=nei sorong=sqi le Mimi] ART.F Mimi seim=NE younger.sibling=3POSS NAV.push=3 by ART.F Mimi ‘It seems Mimi pushed her younger sibling’

d. le Mimi rue-rue=ne [nyôrông ódi=nei] ART.F Mimi seim=NE AV.push younger.sibling=3POSS ‘Mimi seems to have pushed her younger sibling’

The sentence in (8b) differs from (8a) only in that the subordinate patient occurs before the embedded verb in the latter. Ungrammaticality obtains despite the form of the verb (actor voice, non-actor voice, and passive voice, respectively). Next, (9) shows the embedded patient raised to the matrix clause, occurring clause-initially.

a. ódi=ne rue-rue=ne [sorong=nei isiq le Mimi] NAV.push=3 by ART.F Mimi younger.sibling=3POSS seem=NE ‘Mimi seems to have pushed her younger sibling’

We choose to gloss (5c) as an active transitive clause in English for two reasons. First, it is syntactically transitive (whereas the English passive is not); secondly, there is a distinct morphological passive alternative available in Sasak: rue-rue=ne ódi=nei terèss-sorong (siq le Mimi).

The morpheme /ne/ (/n/ in Central Sasak) has multiple functions in Sasak. In addition to its function in (7d), it can also function as a pronominal clitic or possessive marker. It serves neither of these functions in (7d), so in these cases we simply gloss it as its surface form and leave it for further future analysis.

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b. *odine rue-ruene [le Mimi nyorong/sorong]
c. odi=ne rue-ruene [te=sorong isiq le Mimi]
younger.sibling=3POSS seem=NE PV.push by ART.F Mimi
‘Her younger sibling seems to have been pushed by Mimi’
d. le Najwa rue-ruene=ne gen=ne takut-in siq le Siti
ART.F Najwa seem=NE FUT.3 NAV.scare-APPL by ART.F Siti
‘Siti seems to have pushed Najwa’

When the semantic patient of the embedded clause occurs sentence-initially in (9a), the embedded verb sorong ‘push’ occurs with NAV morphology, and an obligatory agent enclitic. The agent NP is only expressed obliquely. Regardless of whether the embedded verb bears AV or NAV morphology, if the embedded agent le Mimi occurs before the embedded verb (9b), the sentence is reported as highly unacceptable (even confusing). In addition to the option in (9a), the lexical verb can also bear passive morphology (9c) (note that the embedded agent must remain post-verbal). Also, the embedded clause is transitive in (9a) but intransitive in (9c). Finally, (9d) shows how, while the agent NP cannot occur in initial position of the embedded clause, it can occur (in clitic form) on an auxiliary preceding the embedded lexical verb.

2.4 Morphological Contrasts and Syntactic Structure
Data in sections 2.1 – 2.2 shows how Ngenó-ngené Sasak in Pancor has two syntactically transitive clause types (actor and non-actor voice), and these clause types correspond to a morphological contrast expressed on the lexical verb (namely whether or not the verb bares the ‘nasal’ prefix). Following, data in section 2.3 shows how the subordinate clause type (AV or NAV) directly correlates with the NP that occurs clause-initially, or as a syntactic (‘raised’) argument of the matrix verb (the latter of which selects the embedded clause as its sole semantic argument). Having established that the embedded verb form is sensitive to the NP that has undergone raising (i.e., occurs sentence-initially), we can account for the patterns in (7-9) by assuming that only the preverbal NP in the subordinate clause is available to be ‘raised’ to the matrix clause. This may or may not be the argument coreferential with the enclitic on the preverbal auxiliary.

The verbal voice morphology we observe in Pancor is a salient marker of structural differences and cue for semantic interpretation. Thus, what effect on structure would the loss of such morphology have? Or, taking a more neutral stance on the directionality of change, what would Sasak otherwise look like in the absence of such verbal voice morphology? In section 3, we examine precisely this question by investigating transitive clauses in Central Sasak villages.

3. CENTRAL SASAK STRUCTURAL CONTRAST AND MORPHOLOGICAL OPACITY
3.1. Variation In Transitive Clauses With Bare Verbs
Central Sasak does not have the same morphological contrast (expressed in the form of verbal morphology) that we observe in Pancor. We only observe the nasal prefix in detransitivized clauses or those with an indefinite semantic restriction on the patient (Austin, 2012). Yet, while transitive clauses are almost exclusively produced with unprefix verbs, variation in such clauses is still observed. To begin with, transitive clauses may appear in one of the forms shown in (10).

(10) a. aku paléq kanak nine=nó (Mantang)
1SG chase child female=DEF
‘I chased the girl’

b. wah=k paléq kanak nine=nó (# isiq aku)

8 An alternative free translation is ‘Her younger sibling seems to have been pushed by Mimi’, but this translation obscures the fact that the Sasak is not passive, and an alternative, morphological passive exists (see (7c)).
9 Due to constraints of space, we are unable to present what we believe is preliminary evidence that ‘loss’ may not be a misnomer. The relevant data pertains to sensitivity to verb forms on the part of Central Sasak speakers despite not producing the morphological contrast themselves.
10 While morphosyntactically, villages such as Praya, Puyung, and Mantang appear quite similar, we include reference to the speaker’s village.
Most transitive clauses appear with the word order AVP, and just like all other dialects, a system of pronominal clitics is available (note that the forms differ slightly from village-to-village). The agent can be expressed as a bare NP clause-initially (10a) or expressed preverbally as an enclitic on a preverbal host (e.g., auxiliary, conjunction) (10b). No verbal proclitics are available in Central dialects. The optional by-phrase in (10b) is unacceptable mostly because there would be no need to specify the referent of the 1SG clitic. However, generally in the case of 3SG/PL agents, the agent is specified clause-finally as an oblique (11). As with Eastern Sasak, there is also a morphological passive available in which case the enclitic on a preverbal element is coreferential with the passive subject (semantic patient), not the semantic agent (12).

\[
\begin{align*}
(11) & \quad \text{mu} = n \quad \text{paléq} \quad \text{anak} = n (\text{siq inaq=nó}) \quad \text{uviq} \\
& \quad \text{REAL}=3 \quad \text{chase} \quad \text{child}=3\text{POSS} \quad \text{by mother}=\text{DEF} \quad \text{esteryday} \\
& \quad \text{‘The woman chased her child yesterday’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(12) & \quad \text{wah} = k \quad \text{te-pe-takut} \\
& \quad \text{PERF}=1\text{SG} \quad \text{PV-CAUS-scare} \quad \text{by child} \quad \text{DEF} \\
& \quad \text{‘I was already scared (by that child)’}
\end{align*}
\]

In addition to the options for transitive clauses shown in (10-11), it is also possible to find preverbal patients, although this is a more marked option (13-14).

\[
\begin{align*}
(13) & \quad \text{lamun lépang} = n \quad \text{mu} = n \quad \text{pólòq éléq} \quad \text{dalem tòples} \\
& \quad \text{but} \quad \text{frog}=3\text{POSS} \quad \text{REAL}=3 \quad \text{put} \quad \text{LOC} \quad \text{inside} \quad \text{jar} \\
& \quad \text{‘But his frog was put inside the jar’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(14) \quad & \quad \text{a.} \quad \text{balé=nó} \quad \text{yaq=n} \quad \text{beli} \quad \text{siq Yudah} \\
& \quad \text{house}=\text{DEF} \quad \text{FUT}=3 \quad \text{buy} \quad \text{by Yudah} \\
& \quad \text{‘Yudah will buy the house’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(14b) \quad & \quad \text{b.} \quad \# \quad \text{balé=nó} \quad \text{yaq=n} \quad \text{beli Yudah} \\
& \quad \text{As shown in (13-14), patients can also occur as bare NPs in clause-initial position in Central Sasak, even when the verb does not bear passive morphology (contrast (13) and (14a) with (12)). However, in the absence of the passive-marked verb, the semantic patient is not coreferential with the enclitic on the preverbal auxiliary. The agent is a core argument via the enclitic; the NP can only occur as an oblique (14a). If the agent occurs as a bare NP (14b), the only available interpretation is that the house bought Yudah. The interpretation in this case is that the enclitic is coreferential with the clause initial NP, which is as a result interpreted as agent in the absence of passive morphology.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Clause-initial patients are not as common as post-verbal patients when the verb occurs in its non-prefixed form (i.e., no passive /te/ marking). Moreover, they are more readily accepted and produced when the patient is inanimate. Sentences in which the patient is animate – and in particular [+human] – are commonly reported as unacceptable in elicitation data. That is, even with the agent bearing overt oblique marking, the clause-initial patient is sometimes interpreted as the semantic agent in such cases. For speakers who do not readily accept clause-initial patients with unprefixed verbs (15b), they offer clauses with passive morphology as improvements (15a).}
\end{align*}
\]

11 Unlike Ngenó-ngené, verbal proclitics are unavailable in Central dialects. We either observe an NP or full pronoun (1a), or enclitic on preverbal element (such as an auxiliary) (1b). Verbal proclitics are unavailable (1b).

\[
\begin{align*}
(1) \quad & \quad \text{a.} \quad \text{aku te-pe-takut} \\
& \quad \text{1SG PV-CAUS-scare} \\
& \quad \text{‘I was scared (by someone/something)’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(1) \quad & \quad \text{b.} \quad \# \quad \text{ku=te-pe-takut} \\
& \quad \text{‘I was already scared (by someone/something)’}
\end{align*}
\]
Does Central Sasak Retain A Structural AV/Nav Voice Contrast?

Whereas Sasak spoken in Pancor retains a morphological contrast between AV and NAV, Central Sasak displays no such morphological opposition for the majority of syntactically transitive clauses. Section 2.3 shows how the AV/NAV contrast in Eastern Sasak is also important for subordination, with the subordinate clause bearing morphology corresponding to the argument raised into the matrix clause. Given no morphological contrast in Central Sasak, we might ask if such a structural contrast is maintained. This raises the question of whether the variation we find in simplex clauses with bare verbs presented in section 3.1 reflects distinct clause types, or whether in Central Sasak only a single transitive clause type occurs. The Central clauses under question are repeated below.

(16)  a. * kanak nine=nó wah=n paléq (Mantang) (example (10a))
       ‘I chased the girl’

      b.  mu=n, paléq anak=n (siq inaq=nó) uwiq
         ‘The woman chased her child yesterday’

      c. balé=nó yaq=n beli siq Yudah
         (example (14a)) (Praya)
       ‘Yudah will buy the house’

Thus, despite that (16a-c) all occur with the same, unprefixed form of the verb, we will explore additional evidence that they represent different clause types (following Shibatani, 2008). Raising data will support the claim that (16a) is a case of actor voice, whereas both (16b-c) reflect a structural non-actor voice clause type.

3.3 Actor- and Non-Actor Voice With Raising Verbs

In this section we examine raising data to see if Central Sasak exhibits the same structural contrast we find in Pancor, except without the accompanying morphology. Examples with a raising verb are shown in (17).

(17)  a. rue-rue=n [balé=nó mu=n, beli isiq Mimi] (Praya, Mantang)
       seem=NE house=DEF REAL=3 NAV.buy by Mimi
       ‘It seems that Mimi bought the house’

      b. rue-rue=n [Mimi, mu=n, beli balé=nó]
         seem=NE Mimi REAL=3 AV.buy house=DEF
         ‘It seems that Mimi bought the house’

As suggested by the glosses for the verbs, we argue that in order to analyze the patterns for raising verbs, we must assume that the embedded clauses in (17a-b) (marked with brackets) represent two distinct clause types (non-actor voice and actor voice, respectively). Consider (18a), in which the embedded patient has been raised to the matrix clause. The embedded agent has been raised in (19).

(18)  a. balé=nó rue-rue=n [mu=n, beli isiq Mimi] (Praya, Mantang)
       house=DEF seem=NE REAL=3 NAV.buy by Mimi
       ‘The house seems to have been bought by Mimi’

      b. * balé=nó rue-rue=n [Mimi, mu=n, beli]

(19)  a. Mimi, rue-rue=n [yaq=n, beli balé=nó]
       Mimi seem=NE FUT=3 AV.buy house=DEF
       ‘Mimi seems to have bought the house’

      b. * Mimi, rue-rue=n [balé=nó mu=n, beli]

Unlike in Pancor, in Central Sasak the form of the verb does not change in the embedded clause.12 In (18a), when the patient occurs sentence-initially, the embedded agent (while coreferential

12 We exclude passive-marked verbs since the focus here is syntactically transitive clauses.
with the clitic on the preverbal realis marker) occurs as a sentence-final oblique. The ungrammaticality of (18b) results from the agent occurring in the initial position of the embedded clause. Similarly, when the embedded agent is raised in (19a), the patient remains post-verbal. So, while in simplex clauses preverbal patients are available, such a scenario results in the ungrammaticality of (19b). The example in (19a) is particularly revealing of syntactic structure since the raised argument does not have to be coreferential with the preverbal auxiliary/mood marker. So, while there is no morphological contrast realized on Central Sasak verbs, we observe a similar structural contrast in embedded clauses as in Pancor, East Lombok (consider the similar word order and clitic behavior in examples (18a) and (9d), Central and Eastern Sasak, respectively).

4. **AUSTRONESIAN SUBJECT & TOPIC**
   Since Keenan’s (1976) attempts to provide a universal definition of grammatical subject, various authors have attempted to identify the relevant properties for a range of Austronesian languages (e.g., C.N. Li, 1976; Kroeger, 1993). Sasak data presented in this paper provide direct support for Shibatani’s (2008) arguments from relativization data that Sasak has both a grammatical subject and topic position. Namely, arguments can only be raised from grammatical topic. Central Sasak data is elucidated in (20), but the same facts hold for Eastern Sasak (refer to data in section 2.3).

   (20)  
   a. \textit{balé=nó} \textit{rue-rue}=n [\textit{< >} \textit{TOPIC} \textit{mu}=n_{\text{SUBJECT}} \textit{beli isiq Mimi,}]  
   ‘The house seems to have been bought by Mimi’

   b. *\textit{balé=nó} \textit{rue-rue}=n [\textit{Mimi}_{\text{TOPIC}} \textit{mu}=n_{\text{SUBJECT}} \textit{beli} < \textit{balé=no} >_{\text{OBJECT}}]

   c. \textit{Mimi, rue-rue}=n [\textit{< >} \textit{TOPIC} \textit{yaq}=n_{\text{SUBJECT}} \textit{beli} \textit{balé=nó}]
   ‘Mimi seems to have bought the house’

   d. *\textit{Mimi, rue-rue}=n [\textit{balé=nó} _{\text{TOPIC}} \textit{mu}=n_{\text{SUBJECT}} \textit{beli} < \textit{siq Mimi} >_{\text{OBLIQUE}}]

   In (20a) the embedded semantic patient occurs sentence-initially, and the embedded clause auxiliary maintains coreference with the embedded agent, providing clear evidence that the clause-initial NP is not invariably coreferential with the clitic. To account for these clitic patterns, following Shibatani (2008), we assume both a grammaticalized subject and topic position. Thus, in (20a) the topic position is not occupied by the embedded agent, allowing the patient to raise. If the embedded agent occupies topic of the embedded clause (20b), the patient is unable to raise to the matrix clause. In example (20) ‘\textit{< >}_{\text{TOPIC}}’ marks the unoccupied topic positions in (20a,c) and ‘\textit{< >}’ marks where we assume the argument originates in (20b,d)). The account of the raised agent in (20c) is similarly dependent on grammatical topic of the embedded clause being unoccupied by another argument. Thus, if the embedded patient remains post-verbal, then the agent is able to raise to the matrix clause (presumably because it can first occupy topic (20c)). In this way we can account for the ungrammaticality of (20d) since the embedded patient occupies the embedded topic position, preventing the agent from raising and occurring sentence-initially.

5. **CONCLUSION**
   This paper has examined clause structure in Eastern and Central Sasak dialects, which differ in terms of whether or not a morphological contrast is expressed on syntactically transitive verbs. Because Central Sasak does not exhibit a morphological contrast, it presents a prime case for investigating whether or not morphological simplification necessarily implies structural simplification. Data from raising verbs was used to show that, despite morphological opacity, Central Sasak retains two distinct syntactically transitive clause types, referred to here as \textit{actor} and \textit{non-actor voice}. In conclusion, examining dialectal micro-variation has proven to be a productive way of investigating morphosyntactic variation and the relationship between morphological contrasts and syntactic structure.
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