



moves to a position after the *wh*-word, like what happens in English, ungrammaticality ensues, as evident in (4b) [6].

- (4) a. Nek endi cak Dani oleh nginep?  
 at where Mr. Dani may stay.overnight  
 'Where is Dani allowed to stay overnight?'  
 b. \*Nek endi oleh cak Dani nginep?  
 at where may Mr. Dani stay.overnight  
 'Where may Dani stay overnight?'

[6:30]

To change a sentence into passive, as exemplified by the active sentence (5) and its passive counterpart (6), you begin with the theme of the action, then the verb is prefixed with *-di* and suffixed with *-ke* or *-i*, and the end is with the agent of the action [3].

- (5) aku nyanek sak-lagu.  
 I sang song  
 'I sang a song.'  
 (6) sak-lagu di-nyanek-ke aku.  
 song PASS-sung-PASS me  
 'A song was sung by me.'

Of the auxiliaries in Javanese are *wis* 'PAST', *padha* 'PERFECT', *durung* 'not yet', *padha* 'still', *arep* 'about to', *kudu* 'must', and others. One of the distinguishing characteristics of auxiliary verbs in Javanese, and cross-linguistically, is that they cannot take a DP argument, as shown in (7) below [5, 7].

- (7) a. cah kuwi wis [VP mangan].  
 child the PAST eat  
 'The child has eaten.'  
 b. \*konco-ku wis [DP gelang]  
 friend-my PAST bracelet  
 'My friend had a bracelet.'

[7:2]

In Javanese finite clauses, main verbs are usually prefixed with a nasal affix, as in (8).<sup>3</sup> It is worth mentioning that verbs in positive imperative clauses, as in (9), are devoid of this affix, and only the root of the verb is used [3].

- (8) kowe ny-etir mobil-m alan-alan.  
 you NAS-drive car-your slowly  
 'You drive your car slowly.'  
 (9) setir mobil-mu alan-alan!  
 drive car-your slowly  
 'Drive your car slowly!'

After giving this brief background to the grammar of Javanese, it is time to move and advance a description of a lexical item (i.e. *oyo*) that is frequently used in Javanese to ask someone not to do something. It is interesting to examine how this item interacts with the clause structure in Javanese.

## 2. THE GRAMMAR OF *OJO*

The word *oyo* is used in Javanese in order to ask somebody not to do some action. For example, in (10), the speaker is giving a command to the one they are talking not to drive the car fast. Comparing the negative imperative in this sentence with the positive imperative in (9) shows clearly that the

nasal prefix that is maintained to precede finite verbs in Javanese, as in (8), attaches to negative imperatives, but not to positive imperatives.

- (10) ojo ny-etir mobi-mu ngebut-ngebut!  
 PROH NAS-drive car-your fast  
 'Do not drive your car fast!'

In order to mitigate such commands and make them softer, the verb *tulung* (literally means 'help') is inserted at the beginning or at the end of the clause, and *yo* 'yes' comes clause-finally. With regard to the position that *oyo* can occupy in the clause, it appears either before the verb, as in (10), or immediately after the main verb, as in (11). It cannot appear elsewhere, as exemplified in (12), where it follows the object of the verb.

- (11) ny-etir ojo mobi-mu ngebut-ngebut!  
 NAS-drive PROH car-your fast  
 (12)\*ny-etir mobi-mu ngebut-ngebut ojo!  
 NAS-drive car-your fast PROH

The subject of positive imperatives is usually dropped, as exhibited in (9) above, even though an addressee, like *Aminah*, may appear for emphasis at the beginning or at the end of the clause. Likewise, in negative imperatives, the same may be replicated, but here the subject obligatorily surfaces only if it is a first person plural pronoun, as witnessed in (13). Hence, we may hypothesize that in the negative imperatives, with *oyo*, the subject is dropped when the addressee is a second person, but when it is a first or third person, it arises.

- (13) awake-dhewe ojo pisan-pisan telat maneh!  
 we PROH ever come-late again  
 'We are not allowed to come late again.'

Examining the use of *oyo* in (13) points to its semantics. It seems to have the function of expressing prohibition. The induction that *oyo* has this function can be reinforced by the observation that there is a synonymy between a sentence containing *oyo*, (14), and one with *ora dijinke* 'not allowed to', (15).

- (14) kowe, ojo ng-anggo telepon!  
 you PROH NAS-use telephone  
 'You are not allowed to use the phone!'  
 (15) kowe ora di-ijin-ke ng-anggo  
 telepon.  
 you NEG PASS-allowed-PASS NAS-use  
 telepon  
 'You are not allowed to use the phone.'

We are led by examples like (15) to consider the use *oyo* in passive constructions. As exhibited in (16), the passive morphology, *di-* and *-i*, cannot join *oyo*. They affix only to the verb that follows *oyo*.

- (16) a. ojo di-apus-i karo peniampilan!  
 PROH PASS-lied-PASS by appearance  
 'Do not by misled by appearance!'  
 b.\*di-oyo-i apus karo peniampilan!  
 PASS-PROH-PASS lied by appearance  
 c.\*di-oyo-i di-apus-i karo  
 PASS-PROH-PASS PASS-lied-PASS by  
 peniampilan!  
 appearance

To have a more comprehensive picture of the structure of the clauses encompassing *oyo*, it is essential to examine the different kinds of predicates with which *oyo* is used. We

<sup>3</sup> There is allophonic variation in the realization of this nasal affix. For more on the details of this variation, see Connors (2008) and Pater (2001).

documented the use of *ojo* with single-root verbs; in addition, *ojo* joins reduplicated verbs, like *mongan mangan* ‘eat a lot’ in (17), adjectives, like *degdegan* ‘nervous’ in (18), and prepositional phrases, like *nang ngarepe bapak-mu* in (19).

(17) *ojo monganmangan!*  
 PROH eat-a-lot  
 ‘Do not eat a lot!’

(18) *ojo degdegan!*  
 PROH nervous  
 ‘Do not be nervous!’

(19) *ojo nangngarepe bapak-mu!*  
 PROH in-front-of father-your  
 ‘Do not be in front of your father!’

Interestingly, when *ojo* is used with a nominal predicate, the word *dadi* has to be inserted after *ojo*, as exhibited in (20). When such a nominal predicate appears in declarative clauses, the use of *dadi* is not legitimate, as found in (21).

(20) *ojo \*(dadi) tukang ngabusi!*  
 PROH be person that-lies  
 ‘Do not be a liar!’

(21) *John \*(dadi) tukang ngabusi.*  
 John be person that-lies  
 ‘John is a liar.’

The obligatory use of *dadi* with other similar nominal predicates after auxiliary verbs like *arep* ‘will’, as exemplified in (22), might say something about *dadi*. It seems to be needed only with auxiliary verbs before noun phrases. Accordingly, we can say that *dadi* is more like a copular verb, but the difference between English and Javanese in this respect is that in Javanese this copular is used only after auxiliary verbs and before noun phrases.

(22) *A- arep dadi lawyer!*  
 FUT be lawyer  
 ‘Be a lawyer!’

*B- \*arep lawyer!*  
 FUT lawyer

It is also necessary to examine the occurrence of *ojo* with other auxiliary verbs. It was found that *ojo* does not co-occur with the majority of the auxiliaries, especially the ones that introduce a temporal reference, like *wis* ‘before now’, *lagi* ‘now’, *arep* ‘in the future’, *tau* ‘ever’, *during* ‘not yet’, and *isih* ‘still’, as exemplified in (23). I think the impossibility of using *ojo* with such auxiliaries is because it (i.e. *ojo*) is used to express prohibitions for future actions, so it has its own temporal reference; consequently, it may not refer to any time else and there is no need for any temporal specification.

(23) *A- \*ojo wis sepisanpisan telat!*  
 PROH PAST ever-try-to come-late  
 (‘You are not allowed to have ever tried to come late!’)

*B- \*wis ojo sepisanpisan telat!*  
 PAST PROH ever-try-to come-late

In the same vein, *ojo* may not be used with the auxiliaries expressing necessity of doing actions, like *kudu* ‘must’, as in (24). Again, I think the reason is that there is a semantic clash in the functions of the two auxiliaries here.

(24) *A- \*ojo kudu kampang moco buku harry*  
 PROH must finish read book Harry  
 potter.

Potter

*B- \*kudu ojo kampang moco buku*  
 harry

must PROH finish read book

Harry  
 potter.  
 Potter

The only auxiliaries that may accompany *ojo* are those expressing allowance and permission, like *oleh*, *mesthine*, *kudune*, and *entok*, as illustrated in (25). I suppose that *ojo* can accompany these auxiliaries as it is reasonable to prohibit the act of allowing. Here, *ojo* acts more like a negative particle.

(25) *ojo oleh mangan sik!*  
 PROH allowed-to eat first  
 ‘You are not allowed to eat first!’

One may ask if *ojo* may be used in a wh-question. It was pointed out that *ojo* may never appear in such a kind of questions, as illustrated in (26). I guess that this is due to the function of *ojo*. As shown above, *ojo* is used to give a direct prohibition from the speaker, so it is not expected to direct a question to the source of the authority about a prohibition. If we want to ask to have more details about the prohibition, another auxiliary verb *entuk* is used in this case, as in (27).

(26) *\*ruangan endi sing ojo aku mlebu?*  
 room which REL PROH I enter  
 ‘Which room am I not allowed to enter?’

(27) *ruangan endi sing ora entuk aku mlebu?*  
 room which REL NEG can I enter  
 ‘Which room can I not enter?’

Before closing this descriptive account of *ojo*, I will refer to the possibility of using it with two verbal predicates conjoined by a suitable coordinator, as shown in (28). It is noteworthy that *ojo* in the second part is optional. If it exists in the second coordinate, then the coordination is at the level of sentence, whereas if it is dropped, the coordination is for the verbal predicates.

(28) *ojo mangan sing legilegi lan (ojo)*  
 PROH eat REL much-sweet and  
 PROH

*turutelat!*  
 sleep-late

‘You are not allowed to eat much sweet and sleep late!’

In brief, *ojo* is used in Javanese in order to express a prohibition to the addressee not to do an action. In documenting the use of *ojo*, it was shown that it immediately precedes or follows the verb to which a nasal prefix is attached; the subject has to be overt only if it is not a second person; *ojo* may appear in passive constructions and with predicates of different categories, including verbs, adjectives, prepositional phrases, and nouns; only the auxiliary verbs expressing permission may accompany *ojo*; wh-questions may not host *ojo*; and two verbal predicates conjoined by a coordinator may have *ojo* in either the first or both predicates.

### 3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Based on the description presented above for *ojo* and other relevant issues, we can conclude that *ojo* is an auxiliary verb. The main verbs, adjectives, prepositional phrases, and nouns *ojo* accompanies provide the main semantic content of the

action or the state, and *oyo* has the function of expressing the prohibition of doing the action or having the state in the predicate. It does not carry the morpho-syntax of the main verb. For example, it does not bear the passive affixes, and it may not stand alone in the sentence. When *oyo* appears with nominal predicates, a particle *dadi* is resorted to intervene between *oyo* and the noun. The same holds when other auxiliaries, like *arep* 'will', arise in nominal predicates. The semantics of *oyo* is comparable to that of the construction comprising a negative particle and the verb *ijin* 'allow' in the passive voice.

Since the clauses containing *oyo* have the function of getting the addressee not to do an action, we are led to hypothesize that *oyo* marks the clauses for the (negative) imperative mood. However, there are differences found between the clauses in the positive imperative and those with *oyo*, of which are the issue of prenasalization and the possibility of giving an imperative to first and third persons, in addition to second persons as in positive imperatives. Consequently, we propose that *oyo* marks a mood, but not that of the positive imperative. It is reasonable to think of the prohibitive mood, which can also issue imperatives, but with some differences from the imperative mood; for example, the negative imperatives in the prohibitive mood can be given to first and third persons as well as to second persons, whereas the non-prohibitive imperatives are only given to second persons. On this grounding, we can say that *oyo* marks the prohibitive mood in Javanese, whereas the verb in its stem forms marks the imperative mood. That is, positive imperatives and negative imperatives, with *oyo*, are marked for two separate moods: imperative mood and prohibitive mood. This conclusion shows clearly that Javanese, on a par with Spanish, Italian, Latin, Greek, Swahili, and other languages, forms affirmative and negative imperatives differently in terms of morphology and syntax, but unlike such languages as English, German, and Hungarian, which form affirmative and negative imperatives in the same manner; for example, they use the same morphological endings in both forms of the imperatives [9].

## APPENDIX 1

### Transliteration Symbols

DP:	Determiner Phrase
FUT:	Future
INTERROG:	Interrogative
PASS:	Passive
PAST:	Past
PROH:	Prohibitive
NAS:	Nasal
NEG:	Negative
REL:	Relative
VP:	Verb Phrase

### REFERENCES:

1. Connors, T and Klok, J. Language Documentation of Colloquial Javanese Varieties. In the proceedings of the 2016 annual conference of the Canadian Linguistic Association. (2016).
2. Klok, J. The Javanese Language at Risk? Perspectives from an East Java Village. Language Documentation and Conservation, 13: 300-345. (2019).
3. Connors, Thomas. Tengger Javanese. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. Yale University. (2008).
4. Clynes, A. Topics in Phonology and Morphosyntax of Balinese. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. ANU, Canberra. (1995).
5. Robson, Stuart. Javanese Grammar for Students. Glen Waverley: Monash Papers on Southeast Asia. (1992).
6. Klok, Jozina. Types of Polar Questions in Javanese. NUSA, 63: 1-44. (2017)
7. Klok, Jozina. Javanese Modals. In the proceedings of the 2008 annual conference of the Canadian Linguistic Association. (2008).
8. Pater, J. Austronesian Nasal Substitution and other NC Effects. In H. Van derHulset. al. (eds.), The Prosody-Morphology Interface. Cambridge: CUP. (2001).
9. Leszek, Andrea. A Critical Study of Imperatives. Unpublished Master Thesis. MIT. (1995).