What is the role of *(su)dah*? Insights from Jakarta Indonesian

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Introduction

- Jakarta Indonesian (JI) has several preverbal, periphrastic markers that encode temporal and/or aspectual information.

- The focal point of this talk is one such marker – *(u)dah* – which occurs frequently in colloquial speech.

(1) Pok   Ati   **udah**   lama   tinggal   di   sini?   [BTJ-20070513.001]

older.sister PN   UDAH   long.time   stay   LOC   here

'(Ati) Have you been living here for a long time?'

Introduction

- What is interesting about this particular marker is that it can occur in multiple different linear positions in an utterance.

(2) Bapak.. bapak.. **udah** meninggal semua. [BTJ-040808.0033]

father father UDAH pass.away all

'All of my husbands have passed away.'

(3) Sayang ya masuk-nya **udah** dulu-dulu. [BTJ-20040706.207]

compassion yes go.in-NYA UDAH before-RED

'It's too bad that we went to the faculty years ago.'

(4) Ya, abis e Lebaran gitu aja **udah.** [BTJ-040808.1236]

yes finished FILL PN like.that just UDAH

'Yeah, it was done after the Lebaran feast.'

Introduction

- Of the three examples given in (2-4), discussion and analyses of *(u)dah*'s function has been limited to the distribution seen in (2). Even then, there lacks a current consensus.

- In previous work, it has been variously glossed as:
  - *already* (Sneddon 2003, 2006; Wouk 1999);
  - the perfect aspect (Connors, Bowden, & Gil 2013; Cole et al 2006);
  - the perfective aspect (Hidajat 2011);
  - the perfect aspect but described as *already* in the text (Tjung 2006);
  - an iamitive (Olsson 2013, Dahl & Wälchli 2016; Dahl 2022).

Introduction

- In this talk, I hope to offer a clearer picture of *(u)dah*'s role by examining its function relative to its position in the utterance. Is *(u)dah* polyfunctional, like iamitives in other languages?
    - How is this potential polyfunctionality reflected in the syntax?
    - What are these varied functions?

- I discuss three different surface positions – which I refer to as *preverbal, postverbal / sentence-medial,* and *sentence-final* – utilizing both conversational data as well as some syntactic diagnostics to explore this.

Introduction

- I utilize two different sources of data in this talk:
    - the Jakarta Field Station Corpus of conversational Jakarta Indonesian (found at https://jakarta.shh.mpg.de/) (Gil and Tadmor 2015)
    - elicitation with native speakers[1]

- A few comments on the glossing conventions used in this talk:
    - Context or speaker comments are often important, so I include this when relevant
    - I provide the reference ID from the written transcription (for corpus work) and of the speaker and date (for elicitation data)
    - I utilize glosses used in the corpus transcription (except for *(u)dah*)

[1] Many, many thanks to my speakers Yoel Prokhorus and Memmy Yamin. Any mistakes in interpretation are my own.

Roadmap

1. Introduction
2. Some known basics of *(u)dah*
   - Its distribution
   - As an iamitive (Olsson 2013)
3. The function of preverbal *(u)dah*
   - Extending Olsson's analysis
   - A summary
4. Polyfunctionality of *(u)dah*
   - *u(dah)* > NEG =/= NEG > *(u)dah*
   - Co-occurrence restrictions with downward-entailing quantifiers
   - A restriction of postverbal *u(dah)*
   - Discourse/interactional functionality of sentence-final *(u)dah*
   - A summary
5. Concluding thoughts

Some known basics of *(u)dah*

- JI *(u)dah* occurs most frequently in a preverbal position, where it either occurs adjacent to the verb (in active or the *di*-passive), in (9-10), or preceding the agent (in the so-called 'object voice', or bare passive (Chung 1976)), as in (11).

(9)   Eh   **udah**   dilepasin   kok.   [BTJ-20041101.0135]

EXCL UDAH   DI-come.off-IN   KOK

'He was released, you know.'

(10) Dia kalo   **dah**   jalan-jalan   tuh   di   rumah   sodara-nya.   [BTJ-20061210.023]

3SG TOP   UDAH walk-RED   that   LOC   house   sibling-NYA

'You know, when she walks around in her relative's house…'

(11) Dina Dagul **dah**   gue   umpet-in.   [BTJ-20041101.0657]

PN   PN   UDAH 1SG   hide-IN

'Dina, I've hidden Dagul.'

Some known basics of *(u)dah*

- JI *(u)dah* can co-occur with other preverbal auxiliary or modal-like markers, such as *bisa* 'can', and negation.

  (12) **Udah** **nggak** ngerokok lu? [BTJ-080807.0741]

  UDAH NEG N-cigarette 2

  'You don't smoke anymore?'

  (13) Sampe kira-kira **udah** **bisa** ditinggal ya? [BTJ-20070513.712]

  arrive reckon-RED UDAH can DI-leave yes

  'Until it can be left, right?'
  (until the mother of the baby is fit enough to take care of the child by herself)

Some known basics of *(u)dah*

- Note that *(u)dah* can only precede these markers, not follow them:

(14) **Udah** nggak (*udah) ujan.

UDAH NEG UDAH rain

'It's not raining anymore.'

(15) Bokap gue **udah** bisa (*udah) pergi ke Kalimantan.

father 1SG UDAH can UDAH go LOC PN

'My father was able to go to Kalimantan (and he wasn't able to before).'

Some known basics of *(u)dah*

- The only work to posit a semantic analysis for *(u)dah* specifically in JI is Olsson (2013).
- In a 2013 survey study, Olsson posits that *(u)dah* in JI is an *iamitive*, which he defines a marker that combines features of *already* and the English perfect.
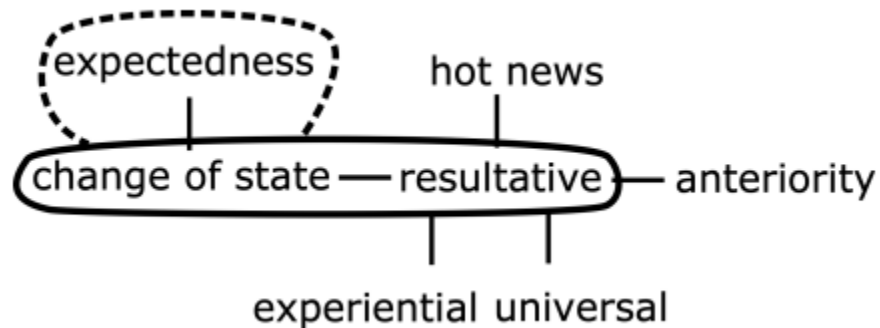

Figure 1. Semantic map of Olsson's proposed iamitive meaning (Krajinović et al 2023)

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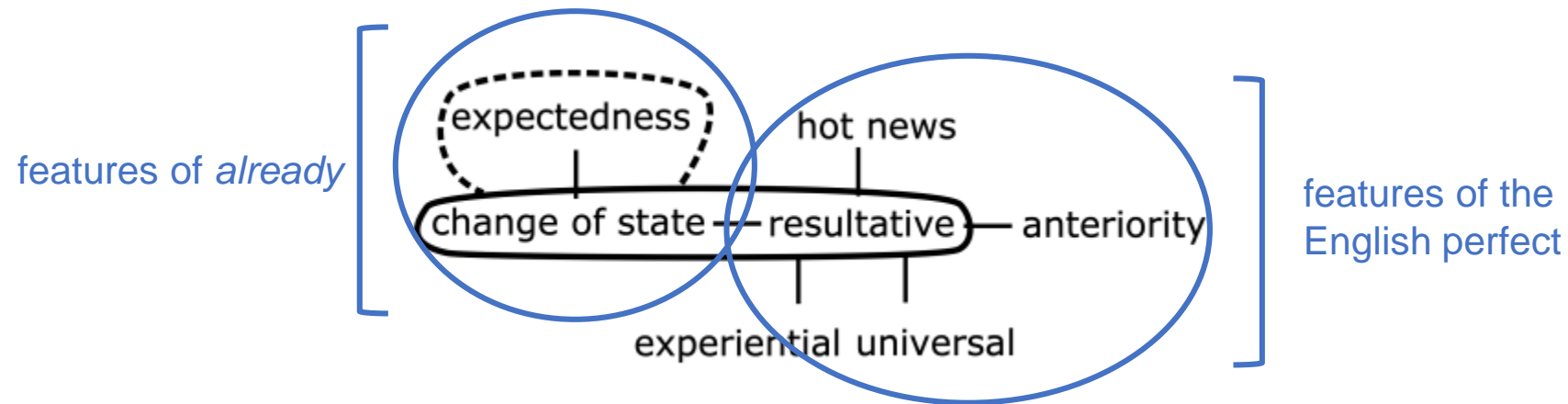
features of *already*

features of the English perfect

Figure 1. Semantic map of Olsson's proposed iamitive meaning (Krajinović et al 2023)

Some known basics of *(u)dah*

- Olsson's analysis is predominantly based on two features of *(u)*dah. First, *(u)dah* contributes a change-of-state meaning when combined with stative predicates, and the result state of the event holds at the time of the utterance.

  Context: Speaker is telling a story about a woman who went crazy after a curse was put on her. Her son comes home to find the housemaid who says…

  (16)   'Wah,   mak   lu   **dah**   gilak.'   [BTJ-181008.0920]

  EXCL   mother   2   UDAH   crazy

  'Oh dear, your mom has become crazy.'

  (17)   Temen   dia   **udah**   gendut**.**   [MY-011723]

  friend   3SG   UDAH   fat

  'Her friend is fat.'
  (*speaker comment: she wasn't fat before but now she is*)

Some known basics of *(u)dah*

- Second, there is a implicature of 'expectedness' when using preverbal *(u)dah*. The following example in (18) is infelicitous as it would require the speaker to expect that they would lose their wallet.

(18) Dompet   gue   **(*udah)**   ilang. Lu   bisa   bantu   cariin   nggak?   [YP-051023]

wallet   1SG   UDAH   lose   2   can   help   look.for-IN   NEG

'I lost my wallet! Can you help me look for it?'
(speaker comment: if you use 'udah' here, it means you expected to lose your wallet)

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The function of preverbal *(u)dah*

- Olsson (2013) uses these facts to identify preverbal *(u)dah* as an iamitive. However, work developed later by Vander Klok and Matthewson (2015) introduced some additional diagnostics (originally developed for Javanese *wis*, which is often connected to *(u)dah*).

- I discuss two of these to eliminate the perfective aspect as a potential analysis for *(u)dah:* compatibility with a habitual interpretation, and the unmarked preferentially interpreted as non-past.

The function of preverbal *(u)dah*

- Markers of the perfective aspect should be incompatible with any imperfective readings (Comrie 1976), including a habitual interpretation. Preverbal *(u)dah* in JI can co-occur with the habitual adverbs *kebiasaan* and *biasanya* 'usually'. This is unexpected if *(u)dah* were a perfective marker.

(19) **Udah**   ke-biasa-an   kerja.   [BTJ-040808.3093]

UDAH   KE-usual-AN   work

'She's just used to working.'
(intending to say that working has become her habit)

(20) Gue   **biasa-nya**   **udah**   sampe   rumah   jam   empat.   [MY-011723]

1SG   usual-NYA   UDAH   arrive   house   hour   four

'I usually arrive home at 4.'

The function of preverbal *(u)dah*

- Further, if *(u)dah* marked the perfective, we might expect that predicates without *(u)dah* would preferentially be interpreted as non-past reference time. This is not true of JI, where *(u)dah* is not a prerequisite for a past time interpretation.

(21) Bikin   jaket-nya   Teh.   [BTJ-070109.1830]

   make   jacket-NYA   older.sister

   'I made the coat.'
   (referring to when she worked in the garment industry)

- Similarly to other languages of Indonesia, sentences like (22), when there are no overt temporal or aspectual adverbs, can be interpreted as past, present, or future tense dependent upon the context.

The function of preverbal *(u)dah*

- In both the features outlined by Olsson (2013) and the diagnostics laid out by Vander Klok and Matthewson (2015), JI *(u)dah* patterns like Javanese *wis.*

- Additionally, Nomoto & Mohd. Farez Syinon (2019) utilized VK&M's diagnostics with preverbal *sudah/dah* in Standard Malay, and found the same.

Summary of preverbal *(u)dah*

- VK&M analyze *wis* as having the semantics of English *already* following Krifka (2000) (a focus operator that presupposes that the focus is a maximal element among a set of ordered alternatives). N&MFS posit this analysis for SM *sudah/dah* as well.

- I propose that JI *(u)dah* in its preverbal position additionally follows this analysis.

Summary of preverbal *(u)dah*

Preverbal *(u)dah*	Postverbal *(u)dah*	Sentence-final *(u)dah*
semantics of *already* / iamitive		
> neg > modals		

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Polyfunctionality of *(u)dah*

- At this point, I have summarized:
  - the function of preverbal *(u)dah*, largely based upon previous work;
  - some syntactic constraints on *(u)dah*, based on its interaction with other preverbal markers.

Polyfunctionality of *(u)dah*

- The question now is whether or not these facts hold for *(u)dah* when it occurs in other positions: namely, when it occurs either postverbally or sentence-finally.

- I argue that *(u)dah* does show polyfunctionality, with its function dependent upon its position. I demonstrate this through:
  - Interaction with negation;
  - Co-occurrence restrictions with downward-entailing quantifiers;
  - Certain functionality only being available for preverbal *(u)dah*;
  - Restrictive discourse functionality of sentence-final *(u)dah.*

Negation

- I first turn to *(u)dah*'s behavior when it co-occurs with negation. I noted earlier that preverbal *(u)dah* must precede negation, not follow it:

(22) **Udah** nggak (*udah) ujan.   [MY-011723]

UDAH   NEG   UDAH   rain

'It's not raining anymore.'

Negation

- It is possible for *(u)dah* to follow negation, however, when it occurs postverbally. Note that the negator still occurs preverbally in both of these examples.

(23) A: Nah yang pas Dagul ini terakhir. [BTJ-20041101.0639]

NAH REL precise PN this TER-end

'And Dagul was the last person.'

B: Nggak ketemu **udah.**

NEG KE-meet UDAH

'We don't meet him.'

Negation

- It is possible for *(u)dah* to follow negation, however, when it occurs postverbally. Note that the negator still occurs preverbally in both of these examples.

(24) A: Nggak, saya ga kaya gitu. [BTJ-181008.1776]

NEG 1SG NEG like like.that

'I am not like that.'
(telling that he's not a kind of person who likes to make a fixed price for the customer.)

A: Kecuali orang-orang, saya gak tau dah.

except person-RED 1SG NEG know UDAH

'I don't care if other people do so.'

Negation

- If *(u)dah* occupied the same syntactic position both preverbally and postverbally, we would expect that they would be semantically equivalent, i.e. in both cases, *(u)dah* would scope over negation, like seen in below.

(25) **Udah** **nggak** ngerokok lu? [BTJ-080807.0741]

UDAH NEG N-cigarette 2

'You don't smoke anymore?'

(26) **Udah** **nggak** makek se-ragam dia? [BTJ-080807.1184]

UDAH NEG N-use SE-manner 3

'He doesn't wear a uniform anymore.'

- The previous examples, with *(u)dah* postverbally, do not have the interpretation of 'no longer' or 'anymore' as (25-26) above do. This suggests they occupy different syntactic positions – and negation scopes above postverbal *(u)dah*.

Downward-entailing quantifiers

- I now turn to *(u)dah*'s behavior when it co-occurs with both downward-entailing and non-downward entailing quantifiers.

- This is relevant to the question at hand -
  - Soh & Gao (2008) show that the English *already* may not appear in a sentence with a downward-entailing quantifier. If JI *(u)dah* is to be analyzed as *already*, it therefore should not be able to co-occur with a downward-entailing quantifier.
  - Soh (to appear) demonstrates how CM *dah* can only co-occur with downward-entailing quantifiers in its preverbal position, not its postverbal or sentence-final position.

Downward-entailing quantifiers

- When *(u)dah* occurs in its preverbal position in JI, it can co-occur with both downward-entailing quantifiers and non-downward-entailing quantifiers. This is shown below with the DE quantifier *kurang dari* 'less than' in (23) and the non-DE quantifier *lebih dari* 'more than' in (24).

(27) Mereka **udah** sampe **kurang dari** tiga jam yang lalu. [YP-050323]

3PL UDAH arrive less than three hour C ago

'They arrived less than three hours ago.'

(28) Mereka **udah** sampe **lebih dari** tiga jam yang lalu. [YP-050323]

3PL UDAH arrive more than three hour C ago

'They arrived more than three hours ago.'

Downward-entailing quantifiers

- This is in contrast with the postverbal *(u)dah,* which can only occur with non-downward-entailing quantifiers. This follows CM *dah* (Soh to appear).

(29) *Mereka sampe **udah** kurang dari tiga jam yang lalu. [YP-050323]

    3PL arrive UDAH less than three hour C ago

    'They arrived less than three hours ago.'

(30) Mereka sampe **udah** lebih dari tiga jam yang lalu. [YP-050323]

    3PL arrive UDAH more than three hour C ago

    'They arrived more than three hours ago.'

Downward-entailing quantifiers

- Sentence-final *(u)dah*, however, is deemed unacceptable with both types of quantifiers.

(31) *Mereka sampe kurang dari tiga jam yang lalu **udah.** [YP-050323]

3PL arrive less than three hour C ago UDAH

'They arrived less than three hours ago.'

(32) *Mereka sampe lebih dari tiga jam yang lalu **udah.** [YP-050323]

3PL arrive more than three hour C ago UDAH

'They arrived more than three hours ago.'

Downward-entailing quantifiers

- This pattern can be seen below with the DE quantifier *aja* 'only' as well.

- For Colloquial Malay, Soh (2011, to appear) notes that postverbal *dah* is felicitous with DE quantifiers if there is a prosodic break. This is not true of JI, however; (29) is not possible with or without a prosodic break.

(33) *Dia minum **dah** // dua pil aja.   [MY-122822]

     3 drink ᴜᴅᴀʜ two pill just

    'She's already taken two of those pills.'

(34) *Dia minum dua pil aja **dah.**   [MY-122822]

     3 drink two pill just ᴜᴅᴀʜ

    'She's already taken two of those pills.'

Downward-entailing quantifiers

- These facts look similar to the French *déjà,* which can occur postverbally to act as a focus particle (Mosegaard Hansen & Strudsholm 2008):

(35) Je l'attends [**déjà** depuis deux heures].   (Mosegaard Hansen & Strudsholm 2008: 22)

     1 3-wait   DEJA since two hour

'I've been waiting for him/her for two hours already.'

Downward-entailing quantifiers

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(35) Je   l'attends [**déjà** depuis   deux   heures].   (Mosegaard Hansen & Strudsholm 2008: 22)

    1   3-wait   DEJA   since   two   hour

'I've been waiting for him/her for two hours already.'

(36) Mereka   sampe   [**udah** lebih dari   tiga   jam   yang   lalu].   [YP-050323]

    3PL   arrive   UDAH   more than   three hour C   ago

'They arrived more than three hours ago.'

Downward-entailing quantifiers

- But contra French, JI *(u)dah* is restricted in its distribution: its only possible with *(u)dah* preceding the temporal adverbial, not after.

(37) *Mereka sampe lebih dari tiga jam yang lalu **udah.**   [YP-050323]

 3PL arrive more than three hour C ago UDAH

'They arrived more than three hours ago.'

A quick summary

- Both the negation and downward-entailing quantifier facts suggests that preverbal and postverbal *(u)dah* occupy multiple different positions in the syntax.

- JI postverbal *(u)dah* differs from Javanese *wis* – Vander Klok & Matthewson argue that *wis*, on the basis of negation, scopes over negation even when it occurs in a sentence-final position.

- Both preverbal and postverbal JI *(u)dah* function similarly to CM in regards to downward-entailing quantifiers as described by Soh (to appear).

A quick summary

Preverbal *(u)dah*	Postverbal *(u)dah*	Sentence-final *(u)dah*
semantics of *already* / iamitive		
> NEG > modals	NEG >	
downward-entailing non-downward-entailing	*downward-entailing non-downward-entailing	*downward-entailing *non-downward-entailing

A quick summary

- This further suggests that *(u)dah*'s function can vary dependent upon its position, and that it can potentially modify more than just the verb or predicate.

- Now, I present some data that show that postverbal *(u)dah* is more restricted in its interpretation than preverbal *(u)dah*.

A restriction of postverbal *(u)dah*

- One function of preverbal *(u)dah* is that it can be used to refute a wrong assumption.

> *Context: Someone accuses you of napping all afternoon.*
>
> (38) Gue *(udah) baca   tiga   buku kok!
>
> 1SG   UDAH   read   three book KOK
>
> 'I have read three books!'
> *(speaker comment: you need to use 'udah' if you want to refute them)*

A restriction of postverbal *(u)dah*

- Postverbal *(u)dah* in this same context, however, cannot be used to correct a wrong assumption. Instead, it is used in the context of tracking some progress, as in (40).

> *Context: Someone accuses you of napping all afternoon.*　　　　　　　[YP-051023]
>
> (39) #Gue baca **udah** tiga buku.
>
> 　　　1SG read UDAH three book
>
> 'I have read three books'!
> *(speaker comment: this doesn't work if you want to refute)*

> *Context: Someone asks you how the reading is going for your thesis.*
>
> (40) Gue **(udah)** baca **(udah)** tiga buku.
>
> 　　　1SG UDAH read UDAH three book
>
> 'I've read three books (so far).'

A quick summary

- One of these functions associated with *(u)dah* – refuting an incorrect assumption – is only available if *(u)dah* occurs in the preverbal position.

- This does not hold for all functions, however, as both the preverbal and postverbal *(u)dah* can be used to track progress, as in (40). The interpretation in this example does not vary dependent upon position.

- This could suggest that postverbal *(u)dah* has a subset of functions of preverbal *(u)dah* – but this is a very preliminary analysis.

A quick summary

Preverbal *(u)dah*	Postverbal *(u)dah*	Sentence-final *(u)dah*
semantics of *already* / iamitive	a subset of functions of *already*	
> NEG > modals	NEG >	
downward-entailing non-downward-entailing	*downward-entailing non-downward-entailing	*downward-entailing *non-downward-entailing

Discourse functionality of sentence-final *(u)dah*

- I have largely avoided the sentence-final *(u)dah* up until this point.

- There is a reason for this – one interesting feature of sentence-final *(u)dah* is that is seems to be quite limited to conversations. Attempts to elicit *(u)dah* in this position were nearly always deemed unacceptable, regardless of context.

Discourse functionality of sentence-final *(u)dah*

- In conversations, it occurs frequently. This seems to suggest that sentence-final *(u)dah* is discourse-dependent.

- I now turn to a preliminary discussion of the usage of this *(u)dah* and its function in discourse.

Discourse functionality of sentence-final *(u)dah*

- One instance where *(u)dah* was accepted in elicitation was the following. Importantly, however, it had to be accompanied by rising intonation. Note that there is no difference in interpretation between (41) and (42).

(41) Dia   **udah**   tau   rincana   ini.   [YP-050323]

     1SG   UDAH   know   plan   this

     'S/he already knows the plan.'

(42) Dia   tau   rincana   ini   **udah**.

     1SG   know   plan   this   this

     'S/he already knows the plan.'

Discourse functionality of sentence-final *(u)dah*

- I argue that sentence-final *(u)dah* has at least one discourse function: to reiterate, or emphasize, what is being said. Consider the following conversation:

Discourse functionality of sentence-final *(u)dah*

La trus Nenek sehari-hari ngapain di rumah?
What do you do everyday at home?

(43) Ya, ya diem-diem aja begini.
yes yes reside-RED just like.this
'Well, I just stay at home doing nothing.'

Kerja apa aja **dah.**
work what just UDAH
'Just do anything I can do.'

Ngapain gitu.
I think maybe you have something to do.

Iya, iya ngapain aja **dah.**
yes yes N-what-IN just UDAH
'Yeah, yeah…I just do anything I can do.'

Bebenah-benah aja **dah.**
BE-clear.away-RED just UDAH
'I just put things in order.'

[BTJ-040808.0055]

Discourse functionality of sentence-final *(u)dah*

- In this conversation, *(u)dah* occurs in the sentence-final position and has significant emphasis and rising intonation in the two utterances indicated.

- In each instance, it co-occurs with *aja* 'just', which occurs without *(u)dah* in the first utterance, and reiterates the main idea that the speaker doesn't really do anything at home.

Discourse functionality of sentence-final *(u)dah*

- There is more evidence of sentence-final *(u)dah* used when reiterating or confirming previously mentioned information.

(44) A: Yang   merah   malah   **udah**   dijual.

          REL   red   even   UDAH   DI-sell

          'The red [car] was already sold.'

    B: Yang   merah   jual.

          REL   red   sell

          'You sold the red one.'

    A: Merah   jual   **udah.**

          red   sell   UDAH

          'I sold the red one.'

Discourse functionality of sentence-final *(u)dah*

- Sentence-final *(u)dah* can additionally be used in commands.

(45) Beres-beres aja   **udah**.

clean-RED   just   UDAH

'Just clean it up.'

(46) Ini   aja   **dah**.

this   just   UDAH

'Just take this one.'

- It has been noted for some Papuan languages that relevant iamitives can be used to soften commands. It's not clear if this is possible for *(u)dah,* perhaps somewhat in part to its co-occurrence with *aja* in both (45-46).

Discourse functionality of sentence-final *(u)dah*

- In fact, sentence-final *(u)dah* co-occurs frequently with *aja*.

(47)	Kerja	apa	aja	**dah.**	[BTJ-010607.778]
	work	what	just	UDAH	

'Just do anything that I can do.'

(48)	Udah,	saya	makan	aja	**udah.**	[BTJ-040808.0127]
	UDAH	1	eat	just	UDAH	

'Then I just ate it.'

(49)	Nerimakin	aja	**udah.**	[BTJ-040808.2721]
	N-receive-IN	just	UDAH	

'I just accept it.'
(referring to accepting her destiny)

Discourse functionality of sentence-final *(u)dah*

- I have outlined a few features of sentence-final *(u)dah* here but this discussion has been largely preliminary and speculative.

- More fine-grained discourse analysis needs to be done to determine what other potential features *(u)dah* can have when occurring sentence-finally.

One final summary

Preverbal *(u)dah*	Postverbal *(u)dah*	Sentence-final *(u)dah*
semantics of *already* / iamitive	a subset of functions of *already*	discourse particle reiteration / emphasis
> NEG > modals	NEG >	
downward-entailing non-downward-entailing	*downward-entailing non-downward-entailing	*downward-entailing *non-downward-entailing
		often accompanied by: rising intonation / *aja*

Roadmap

1. Introduction
2. Some known basics of *(u)dah*
   - Its distribution
   - As an iamitive (Olsson 2013)
3. The function of preverbal *(u)dah*
   - Extending Olsson's analysis
   - A summary
4. Polyfunctionality of *(u)dah*
   - *u(dah)* > NEG =/= NEG > *(u)dah*
   - Co-occurrence restrictions with downward-entailing quantifiers
   - A restriction of postverbal *u(dah)*
   - Discourse/interactional functionality of sentence-final *(u)dah*
   - A summary
5. Concluding thoughts

Concluding thoughts

- There is still a significant amount to be done here. This work is really only a starting point to determining out the function and analysis of postverbal and sentence-final *(u)dah*.

- What I have determined is that one analysis of *(u)dah* as having the semantics of *already* is not enough to explain the polyfunctionality of this marker in JI.

- This work continues in a line of investigating these preverbal markers in languages of Indonesia.

sudah in Indonesia

- JI *(u)dah* is a cognate of *sudah* in Standard Indonesian, and further cognates of it exist in multiple varieties of Indonesian and Malay, as well as other Malayic languages spoken in Indonesia.

  (37) Aku **dah** sampai kat KLCC.   Colloquial Malay

  1sg DAH arrive at PN

  'I have arrived at the KLCC.' (Soh 2011: 1)

  (38) Lia, anto **su** makang.   Ambonese Malay

  look 3SG TMA eat

  'Look, he's already eating.' (van Minde & Tjia 2002: 297)

sudah in Indonesia

- JI *(u)dah* is a cognate of *sudah* in Standard Indonesian, and further cognates of it exist in multiple varieties of Indonesian and Malay, as well as other Malayic languages spoken in Indonesia.

(39) **Sudah**   diangkat   barang   sama   orang.   Riau Indonesian

       PFCT   already   thing   accompany   person

       'The things may have already been taken by someone.'   (Gil 2002: 249)

(40) Inya   **udah**   mali   baju   semare'.

       3SG   already   buy   shirt   yesterday   Suak Mansi Desa

       'I bought a shirt yesterday.'   (Sommerlot 2020: 93)

sudah in Indonesia

- There has been some discussion of the role and function of this marker in related languages in which some cognate exists:
  - Standard Indonesian (Kaswanti Purwo 1984; Alieva et al 1991; Grangé 2010; Olsson 2013)
  - Standard Malay (Nomoto & Mohd. Farez Syinon 2019)
  - Colloquial Malay (Koh 1990; Soh 2011, to appear)
  - Betawi Malay (Samaniri 2001)
  - Ambonese Malay (van Minde & Tjia 2002)
  - Javanese [*wis*] (Vander Klok & Matthewson 2015)

Concluding thoughts

- I've noted throughout this presentation that some of these findings are compatible with what has been discussed for some of these languages: namely, Javanese (Vander Klok & Matthewson 2015), Standard Malay (Nomoto & Mohd. Farez Syinon 2019), and Colloquial Malay (Soh 2011, to appear).

- However, there does seem to exist some variation among these findings –
  - Javanese notably has a preverbal and sentence-final *wis* but VK&M argue that it functions the same in either position (contra CM and JI).
  - CM postverbal *dah* and sentence-final *dah* occupy the same syntactic position; it is unclear if this is the case in JI, given that sentence-final *(u)dah* is very discourse-dependent.

- Looking at related languages with similar markers allows us to elucidate variation among languages, building towards a more complete analysis of these markers in general.

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