

*Grammatical relations in
Bahasa Indonesia*

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GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS IN BAHASA INDONESIA

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Preface

Grammatical relations in Bahasa Indonesia is a revised version of my Cornell University PhD dissertation, which appeared in 1986. The revisions are primarily stylistic in nature, although there are also several corrections of typographical errors, some clarifications, and minimal updating. My conclusions are largely the same. Unforeseen delays have contributed to the long gap between the appearance of the dissertation and the publication of this volume.

I would like to gratefully acknowledge the assistance of several individuals. The members of my Special Graduate Committee had the greatest input: Carol Rosen, Joe Grimes, Jim Noblitt, and John Wolff. My language helpers, who provided grammaticality judgments on Bahasa Indonesia sentences, were Amrih Widodo, Francine Tala, Budi Susanto, Reny Malik, Herlinawati, Harty, and Senyorita. The diagrams in this work are from the hand of Jane Jorgensen.

This study is dedicated to the people of Indonesia, who are engaged in a long struggle for peace.

1 *An overview of Relational Grammar*

1.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present an overview of the theory of Relational Grammar, especially those aspects of the theory which are necessary for a proper understanding of the analysis to follow in later chapters. For a more complete presentation of the theory, the reader is referred to Perlmutter (1980) and the articles in Perlmutter (1983).

1.2 Basic claim

The basic claim of Relational Grammar is that grammatical relations such as ‘subject of’, ‘direct object of’, and ‘indirect object of’ are primitives of human language and as such cannot be defined in terms of other notions such as phrase structure configurations, word order, case marking, or semantic roles. In this, the theory differs from most other current syntactic theories, such as Government and Binding and Functional Grammar. It shares this claim with Lexical-Functional Grammar, though the two theories part ways in other matters.

These relations are needed to achieve three goals of linguistic theory:

- a. to formulate linguistic universals
- b. to characterise the class of grammatical constructions found in natural languages
- c. to construct adequate and insightful grammars of individual languages.

(Perlmutter 1980:196)

Linguistic theory must deal with both language-general and language-specific data. Grammatical relations provide a convenient way of talking about how languages work in general (goals a and b); they also provide a means of describing individual languages (goal c).

1.3 Primitive linguistic elements

The set of primitive linguistic elements needed to accomplish the goals above includes:

- i) a set of nodes representing linguistic elements (such as clause, verb, noun phrase, etc.);

- ii) a set of R (relation)-signs, which are names of the grammatical relations (such as subject, direct object, etc.) that elements bear to other elements;
- iii) a set of coordinates (C_1 , C_2 , etc.) which indicate the syntactic levels at which elements bear grammatical relations to other elements.

These three types of elements are represented notationally by means of an arc:

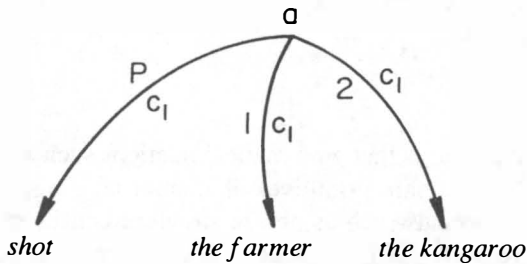
1.1



'a' and 'b' are linguistic elements. 'a' could be, for instance, a clause, and 'b' a noun phrase. 'a' is the tail of the arc; 'b' is its head. 'b' bears the grammatical relation 'X' (indicated by GR_x) to 'a' in the i -th stratum, indicated by C_i .

A complete set of arcs for a clause is contained in a relational network. The relational network below indicates the relational structure of the English clause *The farmer shot the kangaroo*:

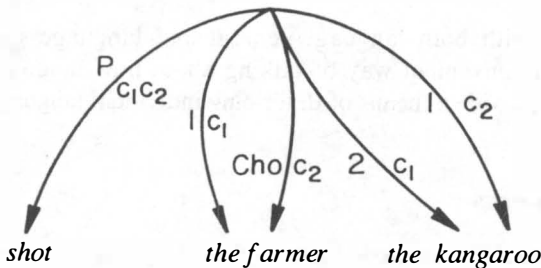
1.2



The numerals 1 and 2 are shorthand for the subject and direct-object relations, respectively. (The numeral 3 is used for the indirect-object relation.) At the first (and only) level (C_1), *shot* bears the predicate (P) relation to the clause 'a', *the farmer* bears the subject (1) relation to the clause 'a', and *the kangaroo* bears the direct object (2) relation to the clause 'a'.

The Passive equivalent of this clause shows a different structure, one with three additional arcs and an additional syntactic level.

1.3

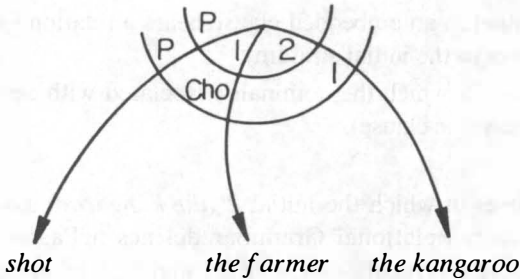


The verb *shot* consistently bears the predicate relation in both level 1 and level 2. *The farmer* is the subject at the first level (C_1), while it bears the chômeur relation at the C_2 level (more will be said about the chômeur relation later). *The kangaroo* is the direct object at C_1 ,

but the subject at C₂. Since there are just two levels in this clause, *the farmer* bears the initial subject relation, while *the kangaroo* bears the initial direct-object relation and the final subject relation. Language-specific rules determine the sentence's word order. In a structure with three levels, the final relations would be those in the last, or third, level.

The same information can be represented by means of a stratal diagram, which more clearly sets out the different levels, or strata.

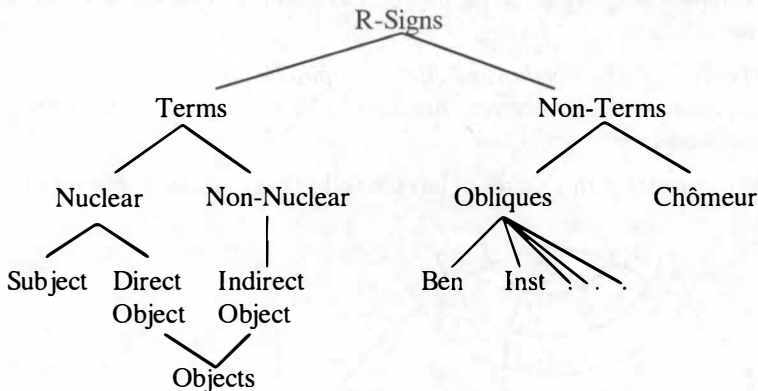
1.4



The relations of a single coordinate (for example, C₁) in a relational network are part of the same stratum (the first stratum, with relations of P, 1, and 2) in a stratal diagram.

R-signs for nominals are classified by Perlmutter and Postal (1983b) in the following way:

1.5



The main distinction is between terms and non-terms. Terms are either nuclear (subjects and direct objects) or non-nuclear (indirect objects). Non-terms include the class of oblique relations and the chômeur relation. The chômeur relation (from the French word for 'unemployed person') is another undefined primitive in the theory. A chômeur cannot occur just anywhere. Its occurrence is strictly limited. A nominal B bears the chômeur relation in stratum X only when, in a previous stratum Y, B bears some relation K, that relation being borne in stratum X by a different nominal. For example, in 1.4 above, *the farmer* bears the chômeur relation in the second stratum; this is expected because its initial subject relation in the first stratum is borne by *the kangaroo* in the second stratum.

1.4 Types of constructions

Relational Grammar claims that there is a relatively restricted class of possible grammatical constructions in natural human language. Any language will select a subset of those possible constructions.

Grammatical constructions are classified according to the relational history of their constituent elements. There are:

- Advancements (assuming there is a hierarchy of relations from highest-ranked to lowest-ranked $1 > 2 > 3 > \text{Non-Terms}$, a nominal may bear one relation in stratum X and a higher-ranked relation in a later stratum);
- Demotions (in which a nominal bears one relation in stratum X and a lower-ranked relation in a later stratum);
- Ascensions (in which a nominal in an embedded clause bears a relation in the matrix clause in some stratum, but not in the initial stratum);
- Unions (2-predicate structures in which the nominals associated with each predicate are all final dependents of the same clause).

Next I discuss each type in turn.

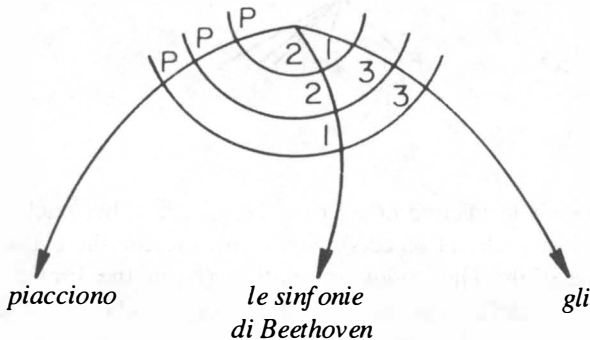
The Passive sentence in 1.4 above, in which the initial 2 (*the kangaroo*) assumes the 1 relation, is an Advancement. In fact, Relational Grammar defines a Passive as a 2–1 Advancement from a transitive stratum (one containing both a 1 and a 2). In so-called Dative Movement constructions, such as *John sent me the money*, the initial 3 (*me*) has advanced to bear the 2 relation.

English does not have productive Demotion constructions. So-called Dative Subject constructions in Romance languages exemplify 1–3 Demotion, known as Inversion. The example below is from Italian:

- 1.6 *Le sinfonie di Beethoven gli piacciono.*
 the symphonies of Beethoven him.DAT like.PL¹
 'He likes Beethoven's symphonies.'

Perlmutter (1984) argues that this sentence has the following relational structure:

1.7



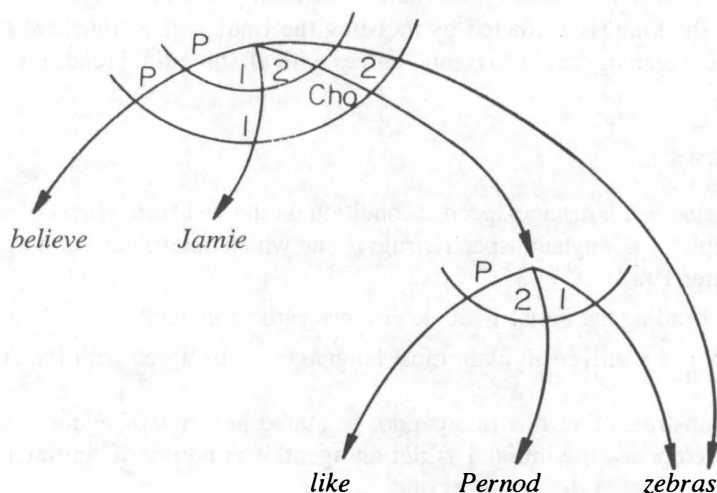
¹ The following abbreviations are used in the examples in this work:

1	subject	DAT	dative	O	object
2	direct object	DO	direct object	OBL	oblique
3	indirect object	ERG	ergative	ORD	ordinal
3PER	third person	EXC	exclusive	P	predicatal
II	series two	INC	inclusive	PASS	passive
ABS	absolutive	IND	indicative	PL	plural
ACT	active	INST	instrumental	Q	question
ADJ	adjective	INTR	intransitive	R	relation
BEN	benefactive	IO	indirect object	S	subject
C	co-ordinate	LOC	locative	TOP	topic
CAUS	causative	NOM	nominative,	TRAN	transitive
COMP	complementiser		nominaliser	V	verb

The verb agrees with *le sinfonie* rather than *gli* because the former, not the latter, is the final subject. And *gli* is in the dative case because of its final 3 relation. Perlmutter gives evidence for the initial 1 relation of *gli*, based on its control properties in non-finite constructions, in which it patterns with final 1s.

In addition to having sentences consisting of a single clause, languages also have sentences consisting of two clauses, one embedded in the other. An example is *Jamie believes that zebras like Pernod* in which the 2 of the superordinate clause is the clause *that zebras like Pernod*. Generative tradition speaks of raising the subject of the embedded clause into the higher clause to derive constructions like *Jamie believes zebras to like Pernod*. In Relational Grammar these constructions are known as Ascensions. In the sentence *Jamie believes zebras to like Pernod*, the subject of the embedded clause *zebras* ascends to become the direct object of the matrix clause, thereby putting the initial 2, the embedded clause, into chômeage.

1.8



That *zebras* is the 2 of the upstairs clause is shown by the fact that it is eligible to advance to subject: *Zebras are believed by Jamie to like Pernod*.

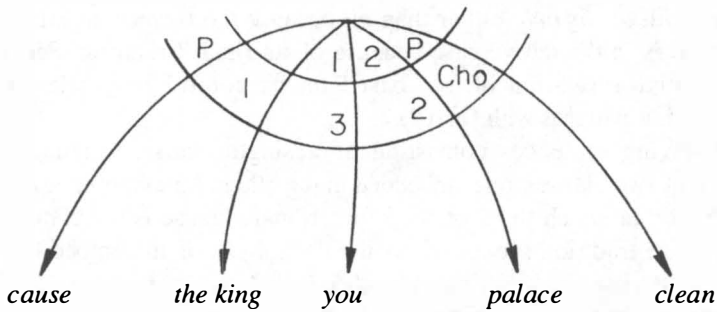
Another type of two-predicate construction is a Union. Unlike Ascensions, however, Unions are single clauses containing two predicates.² Causative constructions in many languages (but not in English) are Unions. The following example is from Georgian (data from Harris 1984):

- 1.9 *Mepem gagacmendina sasaxle (sen).*
 king.ERG he.caused.clean.you.it.IND palace.NOM you.DAT
 'The king made you clean the palace.'

The verb meaning 'clean' is the inner predicate. It has a 1 ('you') and a 2 ('palace'). Example 1.9 has the following relational structure:

² Here I am departing from Perlmutter and Postal's description of unions in favour of Davies and Rosen's (1988) reformulation.

1.10



The verb meaning 'cause' is the outer predicate. It has a 1, the causer ('the king'). Both of the nominals of 'clean' bear relations to 'cause' in the final stratum of the clause.

This analysis accounts for several facts of the sentence above. The dative case of the nominal meaning 'you' is predicted by its final 3 relation, just as the ergative case on the nominal meaning 'the king' is predicted by its being the final 1 of a transitive clause. The verb in the example, meaning 'cause to clean', agrees with all three final relations.

1.5 Rules and laws

A grammatical rule is a language-specific condition on the wellformedness of a relational network. An example of a language-specific rule is one which determines verb agreement in Achenese (Perlmutter 1982):

The nominal heading the initial 1-arc determines verb agreement.

This is certainly not a universal, as in most languages verbs agree with the final, rather than the initial, 1.

Perlmutter demonstrates that this rule cannot be stated in terms of agency, since, for a large number of predicates, the initial 1 is not an agent. The notion of 'initial 1' gives the simplest formulation of the verb agreement rule.

While rules are language-specific, laws are universal generalisations stated in terms of grammatical relations. Below are some of the most important of these laws which have been proposed (Perlmutter and Postal 1983a, 1983b and 1984b), stated informally. Most of these will be referred to later in the discussion on Bahasa Indonesia.

1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law – Only one nominal may advance to subject in a single clause, or, in the case of Unions, only one nominal may advance to subject in a single P-sector. (See Chapter 6 for a discussion of Unions and P-sectors.)

Final 1 Law – Every clause must have a final subject.

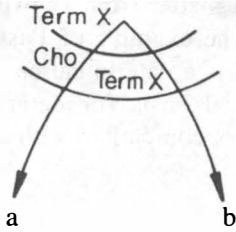
Relational Succession Law – A nominal which ascends from a host (an embedded clause) acquires the relation of that host in the matrix clause. (This is exemplified in example 1.8 above.)

Stratal Uniqueness Law – No two nominals may bear the same term (1, 2, or 3) relation in the same stratum.

Oblique Law – No nominal may advance or demote to an oblique relation.

Motivated Chômeage Law – A nominal may acquire the chômeur relation only when another nominal acquires its previous relation. This condition is shown in the following diagram:

1.11



1.6 The method of argumentation in Relational Grammar

In Chapters 3 to 8 I will be arguing for a particular analysis of a number of constructions in Bahasa Indonesia. My line of argumentation follows the standard line used in Relational Grammar. Chapter 2 provides the necessary background to those analyses. In it I discuss the properties (in terms of word order, form, and behaviour with respect to certain syntactic processes) of subjects and direct objects in sentences which clearly and unarguably have nominals bearing those relations. Then, for each type of construction I examine in Chapters 3 to 8, I begin by proposing an analysis. My evidence in favour of each analysis is primarily based on the properties of subjects and direct objects presented in Chapter 2. So, for example, if I am claiming that a 3 has advanced to 2, I must demonstrate that the advanced nominal bears the properties of 2s. Without such evidence my claim cannot be supported empirically.

Another type of evidence which I present is negative evidence. Sticking to the example of a 3–2 Advancement, if I claim that the 3 has advanced to 2, then the initial 2 no longer bears the 2 relation (it has been put en chôme). I must therefore show that the initial 2 does not bear the properties of direct objects once the 3 has advanced.

Both types of evidence above are based on the final relations of nominals. Another type of evidence is based on initial grammatical relations. For example, if I can demonstrate that the nominal which has advanced from 3 to 2, in addition to possessing properties of direct objects, also possesses properties which characterise initial 3s, but not necessarily final 3s, that would further substantiate my claim. Bahasa Indonesia, unlike some languages, does not provide many tests for initial relations. I have discovered one test for initial 2s, which can be used to show that a particular nominal bears the initial 2 relation, even though it is not a final 2. I appeal to this type of evidence in Chapter 5 on Advancements to 2.

Data from other languages besides Bahasa Indonesia are also utilised here. For each type of construction, I begin by giving an example from English, where one exists. For those notions which are not generally accepted by linguists, such as the Unaccusative Hypothesis and Clause Unions, I provide evidence from a couple of languages first, in order to substantiate the claim that the notion is a valid one cross-linguistically. Only then do I proceed to examine Bahasa Indonesia data.

1.7 The interaction of syntax with other aspects of language structure

The theory of Relational Grammar is strictly a syntactic theory. Semantic, pragmatic, and discourse factors, with which syntax interacts, are not included in the theory. Nowadays many linguists are doing word-order studies to determine, for example, under what discourse conditions a Passive construction is used rather than an active. Such functional studies are useful for certain purposes, but knowing when or under what circumstances to select a

particular construction in a discourse is quite a different matter from knowing what is the relational structure of that construction. Staying with the example of Passives above, a necessary prerequisite to a functional study of Passives is a determination of just what a Passive is. Relational Grammar provides an empirical basis for determining which constructions are Passives. Thus, Relational Grammar is compatible with extra-syntactic studies, though it has a different focus.

1.8 Relational Grammar and Bahasa Indonesia

“The ultimate test of a linguistic theory is the extent to which it increases our understanding of natural language” (Perlmutter 1980:216). The Relational Grammar framework has been selected for this study precisely because of the insights that it is able to give into the workings of Bahasa Indonesia grammar.

In the chapters that follow, those insights will be presented. Chapter 2 discusses general properties of subjects and direct objects in Bahasa Indonesia. This will allow us to determine which nominals are subjects and which are direct objects in constructions to be analysed later. Chapter 3 discusses intransitive predicates in relation to the Unaccusative Hypothesis. It is demonstrated that there exists an unaccusative–unergative split in Bahasa Indonesia, based on several syntactic criteria. It is also pointed out that this syntactic distinction cannot be predicted on the basis of meaning.

Chapters 4 and 5 examine Advancements, specifically Advancements to subject (Chapter 4) and Advancements to direct object (Chapter 5). Both of these topics have been treated previously by Chung (1976b and 1976a, respectively). Yet she made a number of errors in those articles which I try to correct in these chapters. The most important of my counterclaims are: only final subjects (never direct objects) can be relativised; there is only one rule of Passive (not two, as she claims); and the suffix *-kan* is not strictly a Dative-2 Advancement marker, as she says. I add to Chung’s inventory of Advancements to 2 both Instrument-2 and Locative-2 Advancements. I provide evidence that there is a difference between optional and obligatory uses of *-kan*. I offer rules for both types of uses, as well as a rule for the function of *-i*.

In Chapter 6 the *ke- -an* Adversative construction is examined. I analyse it as a Union, and show how this analysis explains a number of the features particular to these constructions, both syntactic and semantic. Chapters 7 and 8 look at biclausal phenomena. Chapter 7 deals with Ascensions to direct object, with both transitive and intransitive governing verbs. For the latter type, I show that, contrary to Chung’s and Gibson’s claims, initial subjects are eligible for Ascension. Chapter 8 deals with Equi constructions. Bahasa Indonesia has 2-controlled Equi, 1-controlled Equi, and non-verb-governed Equi. In this chapter I offer the generalisation that the complementiser *untuk* is a signal of Equi, and must be accompanied by non-finiteness in the clause it introduces.

Chapter 9 highlights the main findings of this study, and offers some applications to the teaching of Bahasa Indonesia.

2 *Subjects and direct objects in Bahasa Indonesia*

2.1 Introduction

In later chapters I look at various constructions in Bahasa Indonesia¹ which are sensitive to grammatical relations. I deal with notions such as Advancements to direct object and Advancements to subject, and nominals acquiring the *chômeur* relation in a union stratum.

Before proceeding to those discussions, however, we must have a clear idea of what these grammatical relations are like in Bahasa Indonesia.² Below I examine those properties which characterise subjects and direct objects in Bahasa Indonesia and which distinguish these nuclear relations from other, non-nuclear relations such as indirect object, Locative, and Benefactive. With a picture of the form and behaviour of these relations in clear, uncontroversial cases, we are then in a better position to examine the relational structure of less clear cases.

There is nothing new or theoretically significant about what follows in this chapter. Rather, it provides the background to the analysis to come later.

2.2 Subjects in Bahasa Indonesia

Normal word order in Bahasa Indonesia is S V (O). (A clause can also be verbless. I do not deal with those in this work.) Instances of sentences with subjects in their normal, unmarked position are given in examples 2.1 and 2.2. An alternative order is V (O) S, in which the subject is inverted with respect to the verb phrase. This marked order is often indicated with the verb being cliticised with *-lah*, as in 2.3, though *-lah* may also occur on non-inverted verbs to draw attention to them. When the inverted clause is transitive, the subject is set off

¹ Bahasa Indonesia is the national language of the Republic of Indonesia. It is the first language of between 17 million and 30 million speakers, and the second language of 140 million speakers (Grimes 1996).

² The data for this work were gathered in a number of ways. The primary means was by eliciting grammaticality judgments from Bahasa Indonesia speakers on sentences which I invented myself. Other sentences were found in Bahasa Indonesia literature, in bilingual dictionaries, or in pedagogical materials on the language. Some of these were also checked with Bahasa Indonesia speakers.

The corpus gathered in this way represents formal Bahasa Indonesia used in written communication. A similar study based on a non-formal oral register would differ from this one in a number of ways.

from the verb phrase by an intonational break, indicated by the comma in 2.4.³ Verhaar (1984b:52) calls this postposed subject an afterthought topic, which still retains its subject relation in the clause.

- 2.1 *Para tamu masuk bersama(-sama).*
 PL guest enter together
 'The guests entered together.'
- 2.2 *Dia sudah mem-beli mobil baru.*
 he already meN-buy car new
 'He has bought a new car.'
- 2.3 *Masuk-lah para tamu bersama(-sama).*
 enter-TOP PL guest together
 'The guests entered together.'
- 2.4 *Sudah mem-beli mobil baru, dia.*
 already meN-buy car new he
 'He has bought a new car.'

Bahasa Indonesia subjects can be distinguished from non-subjects by the form of their personal pronouns. Most personal pronouns have both full and clitic forms. The full forms may occur in any nominal position, and may bear any grammatical relation. The clitic forms are more restricted in terms of both the positions they may hold and the relations they may bear. A clitic may be a direct object, in which case it attaches to the verb; it may serve as the object of a preposition, in which case it attaches to the preposition; or it may be a possessor, in which case it attaches to the possessed noun. For each person and number there is only a single clitic form. All clitics are single-syllable, phonologically reduced forms of their 2-syllable full counterparts. Little is known about the conditions under which the clitic is chosen over the full form of a pronoun, aside from the fact that the clitics are never used emphatically. Even Purwo (1984a), in his article on Bahasa Indonesia pronouns, does not touch on this matter.

Most significantly for this section on the properties of subjects, clitics cannot be subjects. In examples 2.7 and 2.8 below, *ku* 'I'⁴ and *mu* 'you' are the clitic variants of the full pronouns *aku* and *kamu*, respectively. The word order has been reversed from S V to V S, so that the clitics do not appear sentence-initially.

- 2.5 *Akan mem-(p)egang buku-mu, aku.*
 will meN-hold book-your I
 'I will hold your books.'

³ As will be noted in the examples throughout this work, the prefix *meN-* has several variant forms, according to the initial sound of the stem. *Mem-* occurs before stems beginning with bilabials, *men-* before stems beginning with alveolars, *meny-* before palatals, *meng-* before velars and vowels, and *me-* before liquids and nasals. When the stem-initial consonant is voiceless, it drops following the morphophonemic change in the prefix. I give this prefix no gloss here, or in any of the examples. Its function is discussed in Chapter 4.

⁴ The more formal first person pronoun *saya* does not have a clitic variant. In most examples in this work, *saya* is used rather than *aku*.

- 2.6 *Boleh pergi kamu.*
may go you
'You may go.'
- 2.7 **Akan mem-(p)egang buku-mu, ku.*
will meN-hold book-your I
'I will hold your books.'
- 2.8 **Boleh pergi mu.*
may go you
'You may go.'

The third person singular pronoun *dia* 'he, she' has a variant form *ia* which, like *dia*, is not a clitic. More restricted than *dia*, however, *ia* may be only a subject (examples 2.9, 2.10). *Ia* may not have the direct object (2.11) or the possessive (2.12) relations, while *dia* is allowed.

- 2.9 *Ia pandai sekali.*
he/she clever very
'He/she is very clever.'
- 2.10 *Ia mem-buka pintu ini.*
he/she meN-open door this
'He/she opened this door.'
- 2.11 *Mari kita men-(t)elpon *ia/dia.*
let's we.INC meN-telephone him
'Let's call him up.'
- 2.12 *Itu bukan buku saya, itu buku *ia/dia.*
that not book my that book his
'That's not my book, that's his book.'

At first glance, it looks as though there may be a constraint against *ia* occurring in any non-initial position. That is, the ungrammaticality of examples 2.11 and 2.12 may not be due to the grammatical relation of *ia* at all. However, that this is not the case is shown by the examples below, in which the subject *ia* is inverted with its verb and the sentence is still grammatical. Therefore, the constraint is against *ia* as a non-subject.⁵

- 2.13 *Masuk-lah ia.*
enter-TOP he
'He entered.'

⁵ I owe this observation about the relational restrictions of *ia* to Ed Travis. Somewhat surprisingly, traditional grammars of Bahasa Indonesia do not mention this fact. For instance, Alisjahbana (1975) states that *dia* and *ia* have identical functions, except that only *dia* is used contrastively. So, for example, *ia* cannot be used in a cleft construction. Perhaps for this reason, *ia* is sometimes called a reduced form of *dia*.

According to John Wolff (pers.comm.), *ia* was formerly the nominative variant of *dia*. In the present-day language, *ia* has retained its nominative (or, in my terms, subject) function, while the function of *dia* has broadened to include nominatives (subjects).

- 2.14 *Sudah mem-beli mobil baru, ia.*
 already meN-buy car new he
 'He has bought a new car.'

There are three different types of fronting constructions in Bahasa Indonesia which move an element to the front of the clause – questions, relative clauses, and clefts. Each occurs with the complementiser⁶ *yang* and each permits only subjects to be fronted.⁷

In content questions, which ask for information, the question word may occur in the place of the questioned element, or the question word may be moved to the front of the clause. Only subjects may be questioned by movement (2.15 and 2.16). Direct objects may not be questioned by movement (2.17).

- 2.15 *Siapa yang akan datang?*
 who COMP will come
 'Who will come?'
- 2.16 *Siapa yang mem-beli rumah anda?*
 who COMP meN-buy house your
 'Who bought your house?'
- 2.17 **Apa yang orang itu mem-beli?*
 what COMP person that meN-buy
 'What did that person buy?'

Only subjects may be relativised⁸ – that is, only the subject of a relative clause may be replaced by *yang* (examples 2.18, 2.19). Attempts to replace direct objects of relative clauses with *yang* are judged by speakers of Bahasa Indonesia to be ungrammatical (2.20 to 2.22).

⁶ By complementiser I mean an item within an embedded clause which permits the embedded clause to function as part of a main clause. An English example is *that* in *He said that he was coming*. In the Bahasa Indonesia examples in 2.15 and 2.16 *yang* introduces the second part of an equational sentence. In 2.18 and 2.19 *yang* is the relative pronoun which introduces a relative clause and has a syntactic function within it.

⁷ Perlmutter and Postal (1983b:87) propose a category of grammatical relations which they term overlay relations. These "are the names of the 'last' relations borne respectively by the (italicized) nominals in the following cases:

- a. *Who* do you think Ted met?
- b. the table *which* he is sending
- c. *That* I would never have believed he would do.
- d. I offered to Frederica at that time the most beautiful pearl of the most expensive collection."

They call these relations Question, Relative, Topic, and Overweight, respectively. Since the processes of Topicalisation, Heavy NP Shift, and so on are movement rules rather than relation-changing rules, these relations are borne by nominals *in addition* to their other relations of subject, direct object, and so on.

⁸ Chung (1976a:229) claims that both subjects and direct objects may be relativised in Bahasa Indonesia. She gives the following sentence as an example of a relativised direct object (her example 35a):

- Ikan yang saya masak untuk Ali tidak enak rasa-mya.*
 fish COMP I cook for Ali not good taste-its
 'The fish that I cooked for Ali didn't taste good.'

She says that the embedded clause here (*yang saya masak untuk Ali* 'which I cooked for Ali'), is transitive active, with *yang* as its direct object. I claim, however, that *yang saya masak untuk Ali* is a type of Passive and that *yang*, therefore, is its subject. See Chapter 4 for further discussion of this active-passive issue.

- 2.18 *Orang yang baru datang itu ayah saya.*
 person COMP just come that father my
 'The person who just came is my father.'
- 2.19 *Saya me-lihat orang yang meng-(k)irim uang.*
 I meN-see person COMP meN-send money
 'I saw the person who sent the money.'
- 2.20 **Buku yang anda baru mem-baca itu sudah hilang.*
 book COMP you just meN-read that already lost
 'The book which you just read is already lost.'
- 2.21 **Itu-lah anak yang anjing-mu meng-gigit.*
 that-TOP child COMP dog-your meN-bite
 'That's the child your dog bit.'
- 2.22 **Ini-lah pohon yang ayah men-(t)anam tahun lalu.*
 this-TOP tree COMP father meN-plant year last
 'This is the tree which father planted last year.'

The clefted element of a cleft takes the topicaliser *-lah*, indicating that the predicate precedes the subject and is the new information, and is connected to the rest of the sentence by *yang*. Only subjects may be clefted (examples 2.23, 2.24). Direct objects do not allow clefting (2.25).

- 2.23 *Dia-lah yang menang.*
 he-TOP COMP win
 'It is he that won.'
- 2.24 *Petani itu-lah yang men-(t)anam padi.*
 farmer that-TOP COMP meN-plant rice
 'It is that farmer who plants rice.'
- 2.25 **Kursi itu-lah yang kami sudah mem-beli.*
 chair that-TOP COMP we.EXC already meN-buy
 'It is that chair that we bought.'

The subject relation is also pertinent to Equi⁹ constructions. When a clause is embedded under verbs such as *mencoba* 'try' and *mau* 'want', the subject of the embedded clause is omitted when coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause. In examples 2.26 and 2.27 below, *saya* and *dia* are omitted from their respective embedded clauses. Direct objects may not be omitted in these cases. In 2.28, *Sri* may not be absent from the embedded clause, because it is not its subject.

- 2.26 *Saya men-coba (Ø) ber-main suling.*
 I meN-try INTR-play flute
 'I tried to play the flute.'

⁹ Though the term Equi is somewhat antiquated, it still remains a convenient label for referring to a certain well-known syntactic construction, one in which a noun phrase in an embedded clause is absent when it is identical in reference with a noun phrase in the main clause. Equi is the term used generally by relational grammarians, as well as by functionalists such as Foley and Van Valin (1984). In the sentence *John wants to see the film*, *John* is the one who sees as well as the one who wants.

- 2.27 *Dia mau (Ø) pulang.*
 he want go.home
 'He wants to go home.'
- 2.28 **Sri mau mereka men-car (Ø).*
 Sri want they meN-look.for
 'Sri wants them to look for (her).'

The final property of subjects that I mention here is their role in purpose adjuncts with *untuk* 'for, in order to'. These adjuncts, unlike the Equi constructions with *mau* and *mencoba* above, are not verb-governed; nearly any verb may occur in the matrix clause, as long as it semantically admits a purpose constituent. The subject of the *untuk* clause, which must be coreferential with a matrix nominal, is obligatorily absent (example 2.29). Direct objects of *untuk* adjuncts may not be absent (2.30 and 2.31).

- 2.29 *Dia minta uang untuk pergi ke Indonesia.*
 he ask.for money for go to Indonesia
 'He asked for money to go to Indonesia.'
- 2.30 **Saya men-cari Ali untuk saya mem-bunuh (Ø).*
 I meN-look.for Ali for I meN-kill
 'I looked for Ali in order to kill (him).'
- 2.31 **Saya men-cari Ali untuk mem-bunuh (Ø).*
 I meN-look.for Ali for meN-kill
 'I looked for Ali to kill (him).'

2.3 Direct objects in Bahasa Indonesia

Direct objects, like subjects, lack prepositions.¹⁰ They occur only after the verb, or after the verb plus an adverb. No major clause constituent may intervene between a verb and its direct object. Indirect objects (examples 2.32, 2.33) and Benefactives (2.34, 2.35), for instance, must be positioned farther from the verb when a direct object also occurs.

- 2.32 *Saya meng-(k)irim buku-buku kepada teman.*
 I meN-send books to friend
 'I sent books to a friend.'
- 2.33 **Saya meng-(k)irim kepada teman buku-buku.*
 I meN-send to friend books
- 2.34 *Dia mem-buka tas-nya untuk polisi.*
 he meN-open case-his for police
 'He opened his case for the police.'
- 2.35 **Dia mem-buka untuk polisi tas-nya.*
 he meN-open for police case-his

¹⁰ This is certainly the unequivocal case. Sentences like *Saya gemar akan wayang* 'I enjoy wayangs (shadow puppet plays)', with the preposition *akan* intervening between the verb *gemar* and *wayang*, are discussed in both Chapters 4 and 8. I provide evidence in Chapter 7 that *wayang* in this example is not a direct object according to Relational Grammar.

Pronominal direct objects may have the full form (*kamu* in example 2.36, *aku* in 2.38) or the clitic form (*-mu* in 2.37, *-ku* in 2.39). In this, then, direct objects are different from subjects.

- 2.36 *Tadi saya me-lihat kamu di pasar.*
earlier I meN-see you in market
'Earlier I saw you in the market.'
- 2.37 *Tadi saya me-lihat-mu di pasar.*
earlier I meN-see-you in market
'Earlier I saw you in the market.'
- 2.38 *Tolong jemput aku jam tujuh.*
help pick.up me hour seven
'Please pick me up at seven o'clock.'
- 2.39 *Tolong jemput-ku jam tujuh.*
help pick.up-me hour seven
'Please pick me up at seven o'clock.'

Another property of direct objects concerns their role in reflexives. Direct objects are reflexivised with the reflexive pronoun *diri* 'self', or *diri* + possessive, usually followed by the emphatic *sendiri* 'oneself'. Indirect objects and oblique relations such as Benefactives either have the reflexive form *diri*, or may optionally use a regular personal pronoun followed by the emphatic *sendiri*. Examples 2.40 and 2.41 illustrate reflexivised direct objects; 2.42 demonstrates that a regular personal pronoun cannot occur in place of the reflexive. Examples 2.43 and 2.44 exemplify the two forms of Reflexivisation available to Benefactives.¹¹

- 2.40 *Kami meng-hibur diri.*
we.EXC meN-console self
'We consoled ourselves.'
- 2.41 *Kita meny-(s)alah-kan diri kita.*
we.INC meN-blame-TRAN self our.INC
'We blamed ourselves.'
- 2.42 **Kami meng-hibur kami sendiri.*
we.EXC meN-console us.EXC himself/herself
'We consoled ourselves.'
- 2.43 *Kakak saya mem-beli se-pasang sepatu merah untuk dia sendiri.*
older.sibling my meN-buy a-pair shoes red for
him himself/herself
'My older brother/sister bought a pair of red shoes for himself/herself.'

¹¹ Chung (1976a) claims that only direct objects allow reflexives with *diri*. Reflexives consisting of *diri* plus a possessive pronoun can replace direct objects but no other NPs. The reflexive of an indirect object or oblique NP is usually expressed by means of a personal pronoun plus *sendiri* '(by) oneself', which is an emphatic rather than a true reflexive (p.223). Example 2.44 (her 11b) she claims to be ungrammatical without *sendiri*, and marginally acceptable with *sendiri*. However, my Bahasa Indonesia assistants agree that this sentence is correct either way. Many other examples could be given of *diri* used in obliques.

- 2.44 *Kakak saya mem-beli se-pasang sepatu merah untuk diri-nya.*
 older.sibling my meN-buy a-pair shoes red for self-his/her
 'My older brother/sister bought a pair of red shoes for himself/herself.'

My point here is that direct objects and obliques differ in that the former require *diri* reflexives whenever subject and direct object are coreferential, while the latter allow *diri* reflexives, but do not require them when the oblique NP and the subject are coreferential. The regular personal pronoun is also allowed to occur in this context. These claims are based on the acceptability of sentences such as 2.43 and 2.44 by speakers of Bahasa Indonesia.

Bahasa Indonesia has a Passive, which is often indicated on the verb by the prefix *di-*. (See Chapter 4 for a fuller discussion of Passives. There I show that some Passives do not take *di-*.) Only direct objects may be directly made subject in a Passive construction (example 2.46). Indirect objects and Benefactives cannot directly be made subject, as the ungrammaticality of 2.47 and 2.49 indicates.

- 2.45 *Ibu meng-(k)irim surat kepada teman-nya.*
 Mother meN-send letter to friend-her
 'Mother sent a letter to her friend.'
- 2.46 *Surat di-kirim (oleh) Ibu kepada teman-nya.*
 letter 3PER-send by Mother to friend-her
 'A letter was sent by Mother to her friend.'
- 2.47 **Teman-nya di-kirim surat oleh Ibu (kepada).*
 friend-her 3PER-send letter by Mother to
 'Her friend was sent a letter (to) by Mother.'
- 2.48 *Ali mem-bikin roti untuk tetangga-nya.*
 Ali meN-make bread for neighbour-his
 'Ali made bread for his neighbour.'
- 2.49 **Tetangga-nya di-bikin roti (untuk) oleh Ali.*
 neighbour-his 3PER-make bread for by Ali
 'His neighbour was made bread (for) by Ali.'

2.4 Other relations

In the class of oblique relations, I include indirect objects, Benefactives, Locatives, and Instrumentals. Although in the Relational Grammar literature indirect objects are generally treated separately from obliques (see section 1.5), I classify indirect objects as obliques in Bahasa Indonesia because both in form and function they are more similar to the obliques than to the other term relations. That is, they take prepositions, like obliques; and 3s advance to 2, like other obliques, while no relations advance to the 3 relation.

Oblique relations are characterised by obligatory¹² prepositions. The normal position of obliques is clause-final, but it is possible for them to occur clause-initially under little

¹² In non-formal Bahasa Indonesia, sentences such as *Saya bertemu dia* 'I met him' are found. The formal equivalent takes the preposition *dengan* 'with': *Saya bertemu dengan dia*.

understood discourse constraints. When two obliques are used together, indirect object is most commonly ordered before any other.

Examples follow of indirect object with the preposition *kepada* 'to' (example 2.50), Locative with *di* 'in, at' (2.51), Benefactive with *bagi* 'for' (2.52), and Instrumental with *dengan* 'with' (2.53). These are the usual prepositions for these oblique relations. Benefactives can also take *untuk* or *buat* 'for'.

- 2.50 *Guru itu meng-(k)irim buku kepada saya.*
 teacher that meN-send book to me
 'The teacher sent a book to me.'
- 2.51 *Dia men-(t)anam padi di sawah.*
 he meN-plant rice in field
 'He planted rice in the field.'
- 2.52 *Ali mem-bawa buku bagi pacar-nya.*
 Ali meN-bring book for girlfriend-his
 'Ali carried (some) books for his girlfriend.'
- 2.53 *Sri men-(t)ulis surat dengan pulpen.*
 Sri meN-write letter with pen
 'Sri wrote a letter with a fountain pen.'

2.5 Summary

We have been looking at those diagnostic properties which typically characterise subjects, direct objects, and obliques in Bahasa Indonesia. An understanding of these relations enables us to determine the relational structure of more complex constructions, which is the focus of subsequent chapters.

I have not tried to specify whether the properties discussed here are true of initial relations, final relations, or both. That will be made clear in the course of the discussion that follows.

Below is a table which sets out the properties I have mentioned in this chapter.

Table 2.1: Summary of grammatical relation properties

(N = No; Y = Yes)	<u>SUBJECTS</u>	<u>DIRECT OBJECTS</u>	<u>OBLIQUES</u>
-Prepositions	N	N	Y
-Position	preverbal	postverbal	clause-final
-Pronoun clitics	N	Y	Y
-Allows <i>ia</i>	Y	N	N
-Reflexivised with <i>diri</i>	N	Y	N/Y
-Can be directly made Passive	N	Y	N
-May be fronted with <i>yang</i>	Y	N	N
-Can be absent in Equi clauses	Y	N	N

3 *Bahasa Indonesia* *intransitives and the* *Unaccusative Hypothesis*

3.1 The Unaccusative Hypothesis cross-linguistically

The Unaccusative Hypothesis was proposed by Perlmutter and Postal (1984b) to distinguish two kinds of intransitive predicates: those whose single nuclear term acts like a subject in its position, form, and behaviour with respect to some syntactic processes, and those whose single nuclear term acts like a direct object. This idea is not a new one, however. Edward Sapir, in a footnote in his *Language* (1949:109), mentions that many languages distinguish between ‘active’ subjects (*I go, I kill him*) and ‘static’ subjects (*I sleep, I am good, I am killed*). Relational Grammar has raised this notion to a linguistic universal, since it has turned up in a variety of language types and in languages from a wide range of families.

These two verb classes determine two different clause types:

- i) Some intransitive clauses (‘unergatives’) have an initial subject.
- ii) Other intransitive clauses (‘unaccusatives’) have an initial direct object, and no initial subject.

Note that this further refines the traditional 2-way classification of clauses as transitive and intransitive into a 3-way classification. According to Relational Grammar, transitive clauses – or, more correctly, transitive strata – contain both a subject and a direct object. Intransitive strata, which are defined as a predicate plus a single nuclear term, are divided between those with an initial subject and those with an initial direct object.

A related notion, the Universal Alignment Hypothesis, claims that the meaning of a verb universally determines its inclusion in either the unergative or the unaccusative group. Perlmutter and Postal’s (1984b) original statement of the Unaccusative Hypothesis took this strong form. For example, under this hypothesis, in all languages the verb meaning ‘to walk’ would be unergative, because it is an activity performed by an agent. Similarly, the verb meaning ‘to be hungry’ would have an initially unaccusative stratum because its sole nominal is a patient or experiencer, rather than a controlling agent. This idea has not held up to scrutiny (Rosen 1984).

Rosen cites several examples of synonymous predicates in different languages with different initial relations. For instance, in Choctaw the verb meaning ‘die’ takes an initial 1,

while in Italian it takes an initial 2. The verb meaning 'sweat' takes an initial 2 in Choctaw, an initial 1 in Italian. Such differences are not restricted to these two languages. In many languages the verb meaning 'blush', being an involuntary bodily process, takes an initial 1. Yet Italian, Albanian, and Dutch all agree in assigning 'blush' an initial 2. As a final example, I mention 'be hungry', which takes an initial 2 in Choctaw, and an initial 1 in Lakhota. These examples, which could be multiplied endlessly, point to the futility of trying to assign initial grammatical relations on the basis of meaning.

The Unaccusative Hypothesis does not make such a strong claim. It simply claims that there is a tendency for a verb to be classified according to its meaning as either unergative or unaccusative.

For example, the verb meaning 'to walk' would most likely be unergative in a given language, again because of its inherent activity, but not necessarily so. Nothing prevents it from being unaccusative and, in fact, as I will demonstrate later, the Bahasa Indonesia word for 'walk' is unaccusative. This hypothesis has received much more cross-linguistic support than the Universal Alignment Hypothesis.

Perlmutter and Postal (1984b) have noticed definite tendencies in how languages split up their intransitives. Why languages should do so is not discussed by Perlmutter and Postal, nor will it be here. They admit their description is "provisional and incomplete" (p.99), and that nothing hinges on the particular subcategories which they offer. These are only tendencies, and any language is free to assign a predicate with any of the meanings below in either the unergative or the unaccusative class. They are not semantically predetermined.

The class of initially unergative clauses corresponds closely to the common notion of 'activity' clauses. Perlmutter and Postal give two subcategories:

- a. Predicates describing willed or volitional acts, including manner-of-speaking verbs and sounds made by animals.

Examples: work, play, speak, talk, smile, grin, frown, think, meditate, daydream, swim, hunt, walk, quarrel, cry, kneel, lie, study, dance, cheat, bow, pray, shout

- b. Certain involuntary bodily processes.

Examples: cough, sneeze, belch, vomit, defecate, sleep, urinate

The class of predicates determining initially unaccusative strata includes:

- a. Predicates expressed by adjectives in English.
- b. Predicates whose initial nuclear term is semantically a patient.

Examples: burn, fall,¹ slip, flow, drip, tremble, drown, trip, boil, seep, hang, roll, lie, sit

This includes the class of inchoatives, which also involve a patient:

melt, evaporate, brighten, redden, rot, yellow, wilt, increase, grow, collapse, die, blush, open, close, break, burst, dry up, scatter, fill, disappear

- c. Predicates of existing and happening.

Examples: exist, turn up

¹ Dowty (1979) says *fall* and *sink* have themes rather than patients. This does not affect Perlmutter and Postal's classification, however.

d. Non-voluntary emission of stimuli that impinge on the senses.

Examples: shine, sparkle, clang, pop, smell

e. Aspectual predicates.

Examples: begin, start, stop, cease, continue, end

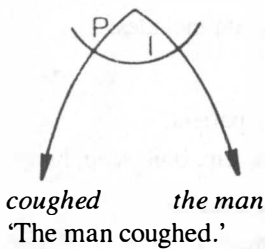
f. Duratives.

Examples: remain, survive

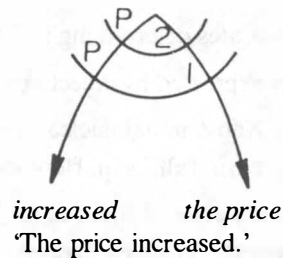
I emphasise here that the *syntactic* unaccusative/unergative distinction is not *semantically* predictable. Thus, Foley and Van Valin's notions of actor and undergoer are not always sufficient when it comes to analysing intransitives in particular languages. 'Actor' and 'undergoer' are generalised semantic relations between a predicate and its arguments. They are not equal to initial 'subject' and 'object', nor are they equivalent to Fillmorean case roles. The actor argument expresses the participant which "performs, effects, instigates, or controls the situation denoted by the predicate", while the undergoer argument expresses the participant which "does not perform, initiate, or control any situation but rather is affected by it in some way" (Foley and Van Valin 1984:29). Once we find syntactic evidence that allows us to distinguish unergatives from unaccusatives, it can occasionally turn out that the single term of an unergative predicate may be an undergoer; the single term of an unaccusative predicate may be an actor. If actors were invariably linked with subjects and undergoers were invariably linked with direct objects, then this phenomenon should not happen. In a later section of this chapter, I will illustrate from both English and Bahasa Indonesia instances of unergatives paired with an undergoer and unaccusatives paired with an actor.

The relational diagrams below show the different relational structures of these two clause types. The a. example is unergative; the b. example is unaccusative. These two verbs typically, but not necessarily, belong to the classes represented below, the first being unergative by virtue of the fact that 'cough' is an involuntary bodily process, the second being unaccusative by virtue of the fact that 'price' is a patient of 'increase'.

3.1a. Unergative



3.1b. Unaccusative



The initial 2 of the unaccusative clause advances to 1 in the second stratum, thus satisfying the Final 1 Law.

If the Unaccusative Hypothesis is valid and if languages do have unaccusative predicates which are different from unergative predicates, then there ought to be morphological or syntactic effects, or both, of that distinction.

Because the Unaccusative Hypothesis is not a widely accepted notion within general linguistic theory, in the following two subsections I substantiate it as a valid hypothesis, based on data from two widely divergent languages, English and Georgian. Once I have

substantiated the Hypothesis, I go on to discuss the unaccusative–unergative dichotomy in Bahasa Indonesia in 3.2.

3.1.1 English derivational affixes

Horn (1980) discusses several derivational processes in English which are sensitive to the unergative/unaccusative distinction. For instance, *re-* can be prefixed only to verbs which take an initial 2 – that is, transitives and unaccusatives, but not to unergatives:

3.2	Transitive	Unaccusative	Unergative
	<i>repaint</i>	<i>reappear</i>	* <i>resneeze</i>
	<i>rewash</i>	<i>reenter</i>	* <i>redance</i>
	<i>rearrange</i>	<i>reawaken</i>	* <i>relaugh</i>
	<i>rediscover</i>	<i>reascend</i>	* <i>regoo</i>
	<i>redefine</i>	<i>reignite</i>	* <i>resmoke</i>

Notice that the unaccusative examples, with the exception of *reappear*, may also be transitive. These show that, in addition to their obligatory initial 2s, they have other optional relations in their valences² which, when selected for the initial strata, permit transitivity. Horn points out that initial 2-hood is a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition on the derivation of *re-* verbs.

Un- is another prefix which shows the same distribution. It may be prefixed only to verbs which take an initial 2:

3.3	Transitive	Unaccusative	Unergative
	<i>unfold</i> (tr.)	<i>unfold</i> (intr.)	* <i>ungo</i>
	<i>uncoil</i> (tr.)	<i>uncoil</i> (intr.)	* <i>unswim</i>
	<i>undress</i> (tr.)	<i>undress</i> (intr.)	* <i>untravel</i>

Finally, the suffix *-ee* may occur only on verbs with an initial 2:

3.4	Transitive	Unaccusative	Unergative
	<i>employee</i>	<i>returnee</i>	* <i>sneeze</i>
	<i>draftee</i>	<i>standee</i>	* <i>dancee</i>
	<i>deportee</i>	<i>refugee</i>	* <i>runnee</i>
	<i>evacuee</i>	<i>absentee</i>	* <i>barkee</i>
	<i>nominee</i>	<i>escapee</i>	* <i>goee</i>

The conditions for the use of these three affixes can be simply stated: each attaches to a verb base which has an initial 2.

It is clear from the above examples that the traditional transitive/intransitive distinction is insufficient to account for the distribution of these derivational morphemes in English. However, when English verbs are partitioned between those with an initial 2 and those without an initial 2, the data above are easily accounted for.

² A verb's valence is information in its lexical entry about the grammatical relations the verb takes and the semantic roles assigned to each of the NPs bearing those grammatical relations.

Some would no doubt prefer to account for the data above on the basis of meaning. However, notice that, while there is a correlation between unergatives and semantic volition on the one hand, and unaccusatives and semantic statives and non-volition on the other, it is not a complete correlation.

The English verbs *dress* (intr.) and *escape*, for example, are volitional and controlled activities. They have actors, yet pattern with the unaccusatives with regard to the affixing of *un-* and *-ee*, respectively. And *sneeze*, a non-volitional, non-controlled predicate, whose single nominal is an undergoer, patterns with the unergatives in not taking any of the affixes discussed above. Such involuntary bodily processes are typically unergative, according to Perlmutter and Postal. These facts point out that unaccusativity and unergativity are syntactic, rather than strictly semantic, notions, and that any effort to predict initial relations based on meaning alone would yield at least partially incorrect results.

3.1.2 Georgian unaccusatives

Georgian manifests the unergative-unaccusative distinction in a number of ways, discussed by Harris (1982). Below I summarise just three of those effects: case marking, suppletion, and Inversion.

Georgian verbs are categorised into various series, according to the tense/aspect system. Subjects and direct objects of Series II verbs receive case markers according to the following pattern:

3.5	Subject	Direct Object
Transitive	<i>-ma</i>	<i>-i</i>
Active intransitive	<i>-ma</i>	
Inactive intransitive	<i>-i</i>	

The class of active intransitives includes verbs of motion (with meanings such as 'shake', 'swim'), verbs of noise production ('yell'), and other activities ('work'). The nominal of this class, the unergative class, patterns with the transitive subject because its initial relation is subject. The class of inactive intransitives, on the other hand, includes verbs with meanings such as 'stay', 'drown', 'die', 'grow up', and 'break'. The nominal of this unaccusative class patterns with the transitive direct object, because its initial relation is direct object.

Several Georgian verbs have suppletive forms, depending on the number of the direct object. The transitive verb for 'kill' is one of those suppletive verbs:

- 3.6a. *Mgel-i movkʰali.*
 wolf-NOM 1S.3DO.kill.II
 'I killed the wolf.'
- b. *Mgl-eb-i davxoce.*
 wolf-PL-NOM 1S.3DO.kill.II
 'I killed the wolves.'

No suppletion occurs if the subject is changed from 'I' to 'we'.

Now notice the inactive intransitive verb meaning 'die'.

3.7a. *Mgel-i moḱvda.*
 wolf-NOM 3S.kill.II
 'The wolf died.'

b. *Mgl-eb-i daixoca.*
 wolf-PL-NOM 3S.kill.II
 'The wolves died.'

The verb suppletion here is evidence that the noun 'wolf', which triggers the suppletion, is a direct object at some level. Thus, the nominal with the verb for 'die' behaves like a direct object in two ways: its case marking and its ability to trigger verb suppletion.

'Inversion' is the term traditionally given to the process in Georgian whereby the initial subject is made the indirect object with the evidential mood, which carries the meaning 'presumption on the part of the speaker'. This evidential mood occurs felicitously with the adverb *turme* 'apparently'. In sentence a. below, *glex* 'peasant' is the subject, as evidenced by its case and verb agreement with third person subject. In the b. example, which is in the evidential mood, *glex* is the indirect object, evidenced by its dative case and verb agreement with third person indirect object rather than subject. *Simind* 'corn' is the final subject of this sentence:

3.8a. *Glex-ma datesa simind-i.*
 peasant-ACT 3S.3DO.sow.II corn-NOM
 'The peasant sowed corn.'

b. *Turme glex-s dautesavs simind-i.*
 apparently peasant-DAT 3S.3IO.sow.II corn-NOM
 'Apparently the peasant has sown corn.'

In the active intransitive pair below, Inversion works much as it does in the transitive examples above. Both case and verb agreement indicate the subject relation of *Merab* in the evidential mood in b.

3.9a. *Merab-ma imušava.*
 Merab-ACT 3S.work.II
 'Merab worked.'

b. *Merab-s turme umušavnia.*
 Merab-DAT apparently 3IO.work.III
 'Apparently Merab worked.'

However, Inversion is not possible with the inactive intransitive verb meaning 'grow up'. The b. example below is ungrammatical because the unaccusative verb has no initial subject, only an initial direct object.

3.10a. *Rezo gamoizarda.*
 Rezo.NOM 3S.grow.II
 'Rezo grew up.'

b. **Turme rezo-s gamozrdila/gamouzrdila.*
 apparently Rezo-DAT 3S.grow.III/3IO.grow.III
 ('Apparently Rezo has grown up.')

To summarise the Georgian evidence, the nuclear nominal of inactive intransitives (unaccusatives) patterns like the transitive direct object with respect to case marking and suppletion, while failing to behave like a subject with respect to Inversion. By each of these criteria, the nuclear nominal of the active intransitives (unergatives) consistently behaves like a transitive subject. Thus the Unaccusative Hypothesis, which claims that some intransitives have initial direct objects rather than subjects, is supported.

3.2 Bahasa Indonesia unaccusatives

3.2.1 The morphology of intransitive verbs

Traditional grammars of Bahasa Indonesia recognise that intransitive³ verbs take one of three possible shapes: *ber-* + base, *meN-* + base, or the verb base alone.

Ber- is the most common intransitive prefix. It productively forms predicates on noun bases, which mean 'to possess Noun' or 'to be characterised by Noun'.⁴

3.11 *Meja itu ber-kaki tiga.*
table that have-leg three
'The table has three legs.'

3.12 *Wanita itu be(r)-rambut panjang.*
woman that have-hair long
'The woman has long hair.'

Other common intransitive predicates with *ber-* also have noun bases:

3.13	<i>berjalan</i>	'walk'	<i>jalan</i>	'way, road'
	<i>berbatuk</i>	'cough'	<i>batuk</i>	'cough'
	<i>berdarah</i>	'bleed'	<i>darah</i>	'blood'
	<i>berdusta</i>	'lie'	<i>dusta</i>	'falsehood'
	<i>berlayar</i>	'sail'	<i>layar</i>	'sail'
	<i>berperang</i>	'wage war'	<i>perang</i>	'war'
	<i>berapi</i>	'be on fire'	<i>api</i>	'fire'
	<i>berguna</i>	'be useful'	<i>guna</i>	'use (n.)'

³ It is appropriate at this point to discuss the form of lexical entries within Relational Grammar, as this has to do with how I distinguish transitive from intransitive verbal bases. Besides giving the usual information about pronunciation and meaning, the lexical entry for a verb also specifies the initial grammatical relations which it takes, or subcategorises for. Some of these relations may be obligatory, and must occur in any clause containing that verb, while others are optional, and may or may not occur in a clause containing that verb. These relations form a verb's valence.

In addition, a verb assigns a semantic role (agent, patient, experiencer, etc.) to each term relation it subcategorises for. The verb is said to 'initialise' (a label coined by Dubinsky 1985) – meaning it subcategorises for and assigns a semantic role to – a 1, for example, or a 1 and a 2. In my treatment of Bahasa Indonesia, an intransitive verbal base is one which takes either an obligatory 1 or an obligatory 2, but not both, in its valence. A transitive verbal base, on the other hand, takes an obligatory 1 and an obligatory 2, though either nominal or both may be absent when the verb is used in actual production. It is the privilege of occurrence, then, of both a 1 and a 2 in a non-derived way which distinguishes a transitive verbal base from an intransitive verbal base.

⁴ A *ber-* prefix reduces to *be-* before a root whose first syllable contains *er* or which begins with *r*. Therefore *ber + kerja* is *bekerja* on the surface. The root *ajar* 'study' is irregular in that *ber-* is pronounced *bel-*.

More commonly *ber-* attaches to bound verb bases (that is, verbs which do not occur without a prefix) to form intransitive predicates.⁵

3.14	<i>be(r)kerja</i>	'work'	<i>berenang</i>	'swim'
	<i>bercakap</i>	'talk'	<i>berjuang</i>	'fight'
	<i>berdiri</i>	'stand'	<i>bercahaya</i>	'shine'
	<i>bertemu</i>	'meet'	<i>belajar</i>	'study'
	<i>berbaring</i>	'lie down'	<i>berpikir</i>	'think'
	<i>bergurau</i>	'joke'	<i>bersaing</i>	'compete'
	<i>berburu</i>	'hunt'	<i>berdoa</i>	'pray'
	<i>bermain</i>	'play'	<i>bergerak</i>	'move'
	<i>berjanji</i>	'promise'	<i>bergaul</i>	'associate'
	<i>berbicara</i>	'speak'	<i>bertanya</i>	'ask'

The *meN-* prefix can always occur on finally transitive predicates. In addition, *meN-* occurs on a number of intransitive predicates. It forms process predicates from some adjective bases. These express a change of state, with the adjective defining the end state:

3.15	<i>me-merah</i>	'redden'	<i>merah</i>	'red'
	<i>meng-(k)uning</i>	'ripen'	<i>kuning</i>	'yellow'
	<i>mem-bulat</i>	'become round'	<i>bulat</i>	'round'
	<i>men-(t)ipis</i>	'become thin'	<i>tipis</i>	'thin'

It also occurs on a class of intransitive predicates which are formed on noun bases (example 3.16) or on bound verb bases (3.17):

3.16	<i>meng-(k)eluh</i>	'complain'	<i>keluh</i>	'complaint'
	<i>mem-(p)ancing</i>	'fish'	<i>pancing</i>	'fish line'
	<i>me-lompat</i>	'jump'	<i>lompat</i>	'jump'
	<i>mem-(p)ekik</i>	'scream'	<i>pekik</i>	'a scream'
	<i>men-(t)ingkat</i>	'rise'	<i>tingkat</i>	'level'
	<i>men-(t)ari</i>	'dance'	<i>tari</i>	'dance'
	<i>men-darat</i>	'land'	<i>darat</i>	'land'
	<i>men-(t)epi</i>	'move to side'	<i>tepi</i>	'side'
	<i>mem-(p)erotes</i>	'protest'	<i>perotes</i>	'protest'
	<i>mem-(p)uncak</i>	'rise to top'	<i>puncak</i>	'peak'
	<i>mem-berontak</i>	'rebel'	<i>berontak</i>	'rebellion'
	<i>meng-gambar</i>	'draw a picture'	<i>gambar</i>	'picture'
	<i>me-nikah</i>	'marry'	<i>nikah</i>	'marriage'
3.17	<i>me-letus</i>	'explode'	<i>me-lambai</i>	'wave'
	<i>meng-angguk</i>	'nod'	<i>men-(t)angis</i>	'weep'
	<i>meng-endap</i>	'settle, precipitate'	<i>me-resap</i>	'penetrate'

⁵ I have eliminated from this list two common verbs whose *ber-* prefix has become, or is on the way to becoming, frozen to the base: *berhenti* 'stop' and *berangkat* 'leave'. That the *ber-* of these verbs is no longer recognised as a prefix is shown by the possible forms *mem-berhenti-kan* 'stop (tr)' and *mem-berangkat-kan* 'allow to leave'. Normally the prefixes *meN-* and *ber-* are prohibited from co-occurring, as Bahasa Indonesia allows a maximum of one prefix on a verb.

<i>meng-uak</i>	'moo'	<i>me-rebah</i>	'fall down'
<i>men-(t)oleh</i>	'turn around'	<i>me-lintang</i>	'move aside'
<i>men-deru</i>	'roar'	<i>meng-aduh</i>	'lament'
<i>me-nganga</i>	'be agape'	<i>men-derita</i>	'suffer'
<i>me-nanti</i>	'wait'	<i>me-nyanyi</i>	'sing'
<i>men-doa</i>	'pray'		

Most non-derived adjectives are morphologically simple.⁶

3.18	<i>besar</i>	'big'	<i>senang</i>	'happy'
	<i>tua</i>	'old'	<i>hijau</i>	'green'

There are also verbs which are morphologically simple – that is, they consist of a verb base only without a prefix. This class includes some of the most commonly used verbs in the language.

3.19	<i>pergi</i>	'go'	<i>terbit</i>	'appear'
	<i>kembali</i>	'return'	<i>pulang</i>	'go home'
	<i>masuk</i>	'enter'	<i>tinggal</i>	'remain'
	<i>tewas</i>	'be slain'	<i>naik</i>	'go up'
	<i>pindah</i>	'move'	<i>tiba</i>	'arrive'
	<i>sampai</i>	'arrive'	<i>keluar</i>	'go out'
	<i>mandi</i>	'bathe'	<i>kawin</i>	'marry'
	<i>timbul</i>	'arise'	<i>duduk</i>	'sit'
	<i>lolos</i>	'bolt away'	<i>tumpah</i>	'spill'
	<i>hidup</i>	'live'	<i>roboh</i>	'fall'
	<i>undur</i>	'go backwards'	<i>terjun</i>	'fall (water)'
	<i>terbang</i>	'fly'	<i>jatuh</i>	'fall'
	<i>tidur</i>	'sleep'	<i>tahu</i>	'know'

These three verb classes are not as straightforward as I have made them appear. MacDonald (1976) points out that many verbs which are morphologically complex in formal use are simple in colloquial speech, "and the tendency to use such forms is increasing even on more formal levels. For this reason, no list of verbs which are commonly used without affixes can be complete, because the list is not stable" (p.92).

There are many problem cases. For instance, MacDonald lists among the morphologically simple verbs *diam* 'to dwell'. However, *diam* may take *ber-*, though it often occurs without it in common usage. Mees (1946) includes *harap* 'to hope' in the unaffixed list, which, according to Echols and Shadily (1963), takes the prefix *ber-*. Other verbs, such as *singgap* 'to stop in', *hinggap* 'to land', *tumbuh* 'to grow', and *turut* 'to follow', may take either *ber-* or *meN-* in the intransitive. Emeis (1950) includes in his list of unprefixated verbs both *main* 'to play' and *tunduk* 'to bow', which, according to Echols and Shadily, may take *ber-* and *meN-*, respectively, in the intransitive.

⁶ A few adjectives are morphologically complex. *Mengantuk* (*meN-* + *kantuk* 'sleepiness') 'sleepy' is one example. I distinguish adjectives from verbs by the fact that the former, but not the latter, can be compared with *lebih* 'more'. Since *lebih mengantuk* 'sleepier' is permissible, I count it among the adjectives rather than the verbs.

Nevertheless, the verbs which I have listed in example 3.19 above as unprefixd are those which never occur with either *ber-* or *meN-* in the intransitive. Therefore, their morphological status is unquestioned.

The grammatical descriptions of Bahasa Indonesia by Wolff, MacDonald, Mees, Emeis, and others leave the matter of intransitives here, without any attempt to explain the distribution or function of the different prefixes. To my knowledge, there have not even been attempts to provide a semantic account of them.

Below I offer evidence that these morphological distinctions are, at least in part, manifestations of an unaccusative–unergative dichotomy. In particular, the prefixless verbs are unaccusative; most of the prefixed verbs are unergative, while some of the prefixed verbs are unaccusative. The first bit of evidence comes from transitive–intransitive sentence pairs.

3.2.2 Transitive–intransitive sentence pairs

In Bahasa Indonesia transitive and intransitive verbs are related in a number of ways. In some cases, there is an intransitive verb with *ber-* and a transitive counterpart with *meN-*. Examples are *belajar* ‘study’ and *mengajar* ‘teach’, *bertambah* ‘increase’ and *menambah* ‘increase’, and *bercukur* ‘shave (oneself)’ and *mencukur* ‘shave (someone else, one’s beard, etc.)’. My analysis of these is that each form has a separate lexical entry. So, for example, for *ajar*, there is one entry with a valence of 1, and another entry with 1 and 2. For this class there is no regular process which derives transitives from intransitives, or vice versa.

Another type of transitive–intransitive pair is derivationally related. *-kan* is suffixed to the intransitive verbal base to form the transitive verb. For these there is but a single lexical entry, with one obligatory nuclear term and one optional nuclear term. It is this second type, which is both large and productive, which provides the data relevant to the unergative–unaccusative dichotomy in Bahasa Indonesia.

There are two types of transitive–intransitive sentence pairs formed on intransitive bases, each with the suffix *-kan*. I label the first type the ‘Working Class’ because the verb *kerja* ‘work’ is representative of the class. These are illustrated in 3.20–3.25 below. The single intransitive term aligns semantically with the 1 of the transitive.

3.20a. *Sri meng-(k)erja-kan pe-kerja-an-nya dengan baik.*

Sri meN-work-TRAN NOM-work-her with well
‘Sri carried out her work well.’

b. *Pegawai itu be-kerja di kantor gubernur.*

employee that INTR-work in office governor
‘That employee works in the governor’s office.’

3.21a. *Jangan meng-gurau-kan hal-hal keagamaan.*

don’t meN-joke-TRAN matters religious
‘Don’t make fun of religious matters.’

b. *Pemuda itu ber-gurau dengan adik-nya.*

boy that INTR-joke with younger.sibling-his
‘That boy jokes with his younger sister/brother.’

- 3.22a. *Orang itu men-dusta-kan segala desas-desus.*
 person that meN-lie-TRAN all rumors
 'The person denied all the rumors.'
- b. *Anak sekolah itu ber-dusta pada guru-nya.*
 child school that INTR-lie to teacher-his
 'The school child lied to his teacher.'
- 3.23a. *Saya mesti mem-(p)ikir-kan soal itu.*
 I must meN-think-TRAN problem that
 'I must think about that problem.'
- b. *Dia ber-pikir lama sebelum mem-(p)ilih isteri.*
 he INTR-think long before meN-choose wife
 'He thought a long time before he chose a wife.'
- 3.24a. *Pendeta itu men-doa-kan yang sakit.*
 pastor that meN-pray-TRAN COMP sick
 'The pastor prayed for the sick.'
- b. *Kami selalu ber-doa untuk orang tua kami.*
 we.EXC always INTR-pray for person old our.EXC
 'We always pray for our parents.'
- 3.25a. *Orang itu me-nyanyi-kan lagu kebangsaan.*
 person that meN-sing-TRAN song national
 'That person sang the national anthem.'
- b. *Yance ber-nyanyi di depan orang banyak.*
 Yance INTR-sing in front person many
 'Yance sang in front of a crowd.'

In the second type, which I label the 'Sleeping Class', since the verb *tidur* 'sleep' is representative of the class, the single term aligns semantically with the transitive 2. In addition, the meaning of the transitive sentences in this class is 'X makes/causes/lets Y (to Verb)'. This pattern of meaning is not found in the first class illustrated above.

- 3.26a. *Ibu men-(t)idur-kan anak-nya.*
 Mother meN-sleep-TRAN child-her
 'Mother put her child to sleep.'
- b. *Dia tidur di atas tikar.*
 he sleep on top straw.mat
 'He sleeps on a straw mat.'
- 3.27a. *Wanita itu me-masuk-kan buku ke lemari.*
 woman that meN-enter-TRAN books to case
 'The woman put the books into the case.'
- b. *Barang baru belum masuk.*
 goods new not.yet enter
 'The new goods haven't come in yet.'

- 3.28a. *Ke-jadi-an itu dapat men-(t)imbul-kan perang.*
 NOM-be that can meN-arise-TRAN war
 'That incident could start a war.'
- b. *Rasa marah timbul dalam hati-nya.*
 feeling angry arise in heart-her
 'A feeling of anger arose in her heart.'
- 3.29a. *Siapa yang me-mati-kan lampu?*
 who COMP meN-die-TRAN lights
 'Who put out the lights?'
- b. *Listrik mati setiap sore.*
 electricity die every afternoon
 'The electricity goes off every afternoon.'
- 3.30a. *Ali meny-(s)ampai-kan kabar itu kepada saya.*
 Ali meN-arrive-TRAN news that to me
 'Ali delivered the news to me.'
- b. *Kita sampai di Jakarta tanggal 3 Februari.*
 we.INC arrive in Jakarta date 3 February
 'We arrived in Jakarta on February 3rd.'

How should the above facts be interpreted? My hypothesis is that these two classes differ with regard to the valence of their verb bases. The verbs of the Working Class, in which the term of the intransitive aligns semantically with the transitive subject, have a valence of 1 (2) – that is, an obligatory 1 and an optional 2. In its intransitive form, then, each verb of this class is unergative. The corresponding transitive verb, with the suffix *-kan*, has a direct object as well as a subject.

The verbs of the Sleeping Class, in which the term of the intransitive aligns semantically with the transitive direct object, have a valence of (1) 2 – that is, an obligatory 2 and an optional 1. Each of these verbs in its intransitive form is unaccusative. The transitivising suffix *-kan* signals the addition of a subject.

The next question to be asked is whether, within each class, there is a constant intransitive verb morphology. It should be noted that, in the examples of Working Class verbs in 3.20–3.25 above, the intransitive verb always has *ber-*, while all the examples of Sleeping Class verbs are prefixless. Below I give more examples of Working Class verbs, in transitive and intransitive forms. These show that intransitive Working Class verbs may be prefixed with either *meN-* or *ber-*, but they are never⁷ prefixless.

- 3.31a. *Yonky mem-bohong-kan segala tuduhan-tuduhan.*
 Yonky meN-deny-TRAN all accusations
 'Yonky denied all the accusations.'

⁷ There is at least one possible exception to this generalisation. *Tertawa* 'laugh' is in the Working Class: the transitive form *tertawakan* means 'laugh at' rather than 'make laugh'. Though it is now treated as prefixless, it does contain a frozen prefix *ter-*, which is sometimes replaced with the Javanese equivalent *ke-*, forming *ketawa*. This is the only prefixless verb containing a frozen prefix.

- b. *Harti ber-bohong tentang umur-nya.*
 Harti INTR-lie about age-her
 'Harti lied about her age.'
- 3.32a. *Dia mem-batuk-kan darah.*
 he meN-cough-TRAN blood
 'He coughed blood.'
- b. *Dia ber-batuk dari pagi sampai malam.*
 he INTR-cough from morning until evening
 'He coughed from morning to night.'
- 3.33a. *Anak itu me-main-kan piano untuk tamu.*
 child that meN-play-TRAN piano for guest
 'The child played the piano for the guests.'
- b. *Anak-anak ber-main di-luar.*
 children INTR-play at-outside
 'The children are playing outside.'
- 3.34a. *Anwar men-cerai-kan isteri-nya.*
 Anwar meN-separate-TRAN wife-his
 'Anwar divorced his wife.'
- b. *Orang tua saya akan ber-cerai.*
 person old my will INTR-separate
 'My parents are going to get divorced.'
- 3.35a. *Mereka mem-bicara-kan soal itu*
 they meN-speak-TRAN problem that
 'They discussed the problem.'
- b. *Saya ingin ber-bicara dengan Saudara.*
 I want INTR-speak with you
 'I want to speak with you.'
- 3.36a. *Tanya-kan pak guru.*
 ask-TRAN Mr teacher
 'Ask the teacher.'
- b. *Murid itu ber-tanya tentang nilai-nya.*
 student that INTR-ask about grade-his
 'The student asked about his grade.'
- 3.37a. *Dia meng-gambar-kan adat-adat-nya.*
 he meN-describe-TRAN customs-his
 'He described his customs.'
- b. *Mereka meng-gambar di tembok.*
 they meN-draw on wall
 'They drew on the wall.'

All of the intransitive verbs in the examples 3.31–3.37 above have a prefix, either *ber-* or *meN-*. None is prefixless.

Further examples of Sleeping Class transitive–intransitive pairs are given below. In every case, the meaning of the transitive sentence is ‘X causes/makes/lets Y (to Verb)’. These show that the intransitive member of each pair, though most commonly unprefixed, may with some verbs be prefixed with *ber-* or *meN-* (3.43–3.48). Others (3.41–3.42), mentioned in an earlier footnote, have two intransitive forms, one prefixed and one unprefixed.

- 3.38a. *Guru itu mem-(p)ulang-kan murid-murid.*
 teacher that meN-go.home-TRAN pupils
 ‘The teacher sent her pupils home.’
- b. *Saya mesti pulang sekarang.*
 I must go.home now
 ‘I must go home now.’
- 3.39a. *Se-orang gila men-(t)enggelam-kan kapal.*
 a-person crazy meN-sink-TRAN craft
 ‘A crazy person sank the ship.’
- b. *Perahu itu tenggelam di laut.*
 canoe that sink in sea
 ‘The canoe sank in the sea.’
- 3.40a. *Mereka me-runtuh-kan rumah itu.*
 they meN-collapse-TRAN house that
 ‘They destroyed the house.’
- b. *Gedung lama itu sudah runtuh.*
 building old that already collapse
 ‘That old building has collapsed.’
- 3.41a. *Hujan deras sudah meng-hilang-kan debu.*
 rain heavy already meN-all.gone-TRAN dust
 ‘The heavy rain has gotten rid of the dust.’
- b. *Cincin emas saya sudah hilang.*
 ring gold my already all.gone
 ‘My gold ring is lost.’
- c. *Pesawat itu meng-hilang di balik awan.*
 airplane that meN-all.gone behind cloud
 ‘The airplane disappeared behind the cloud.’
- 3.42a. *Allah men-jadi-kan langit dan bumi.*
 God meN-be-TRAN sky and earth
 ‘God made the heavens and the earth.’
- b. *Pe-kerja-an itu sudah jadi.*
 NOM-work that already be
 ‘That work is already completed.’
- c. *Ayah-nya men-jadi guru.*
 father-his meN-be teacher
 ‘His father became a teacher.’

- 3.43a. *Dia men-jalan-kan mobil-nya cepat.*
 he meN-go-TRAN car-his fast
 'He drives his car fast.'
- b. *Ibu itu ber-jalan cepat ke pasar.*
 Mother that INTR-go fast to market
 'That woman walked quickly to the market.'
- 3.44a. *Mereka me-renang-kan anak bebek itu.*
 they meN-swim-TRAN child duck that
 'They let the duckling swim.'
- b. *Saya bisa be-renang sejak kecil.*
 I can INTR-swim since small
 'I've been able to swim since I was small.'
- 3.45a. *Tukang kayu itu men-diri-kan rumah baru.*
 worker wood that meN-stand-TRAN house new
 'The carpenter built a new house.'
- b. *Ia ber-diri di depan jendela.*
 he INTR-stand in front window
 'He stood in front of the window.'
- 3.46a. *Wanita itu mem-baring-kan anak-nya di tikar.*
 woman that meN-lie-TRAN child-her on mat
 'The woman lay her child on the mat.'
- b. *Anak ber-baring di lantai.*
 child INTR-lie on floor
 'The child is lying on the floor.'
- 3.47a. *Pak tani meng-alir-kan air ke sawah-nya.*
 Mr farm meN-flow-TRAN water to field-his
 'The farmer channelled water to his field.'
- b. *Air meng-alir hanya satu jam se-hari.*
 water meN-flow only one hour a-day
 'Water flows only an hour a day.'
- 3.48a. *Dia meny-(s)eberang-kan saya dalam perahu-nya.*
 he meN-cross-TRAN me in canoe-his
 'He took me across in his canoe.'
- b. *Meny-(s)eberang dengan hati-hati!*
 meN-cross with careful
 'Cross carefully!'

There are some *ber-* intransitives (3.43–3.46) and some *meN-* intransitives (3.47–3.48) in the Sleeping Class. What is significant about the examples above and what distinguishes the

two classes is that, with the possible exception of *tertawa* 'laugh', all prefixless intransitives are in the causative Sleeping Class, while there are none in the non-causative Working Class.⁸

The following generalisation can thus be made:

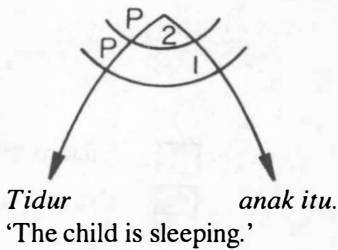
All zero-prefixed intransitives, if transitivised, must be in the Sleeping Class, with a valence of (1) 2.

In addition, some *meN-* and *ber-* intransitives, if transitivised, are also in the Sleeping Class.

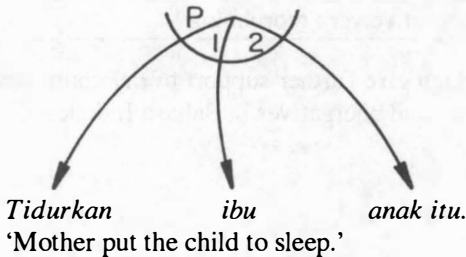
The relational diagrams below represent the two classes I have been discussing:

3.49 Sleeping Class

a.

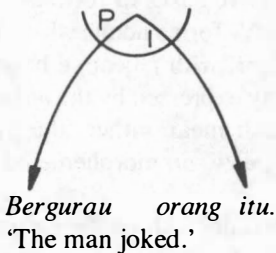


b.

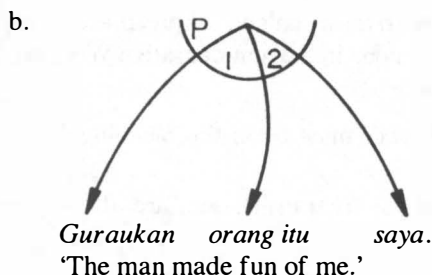


3.50 Working Class

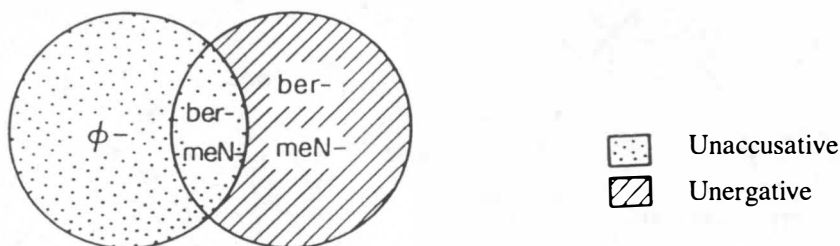
a.



⁸ Two prefixless intransitives, *pergi* 'go' and *tiba* 'arrive' have no corresponding transitive forms in formal Bahasa Indonesia. The absence of **memergikan* 'cause to go' and **menibakan* 'cause to arrive' could be accidental gaps. However, the fact that these two verbs also lack nominalised forms (see section 3.2.3) as well as non-standard forms with *kasi(h)* (see section 3.2.4) leads me to the conclusion that these have only a 2 in their valences, and no optional 1. The meanings of the missing transitive forms are carried by the transitive verbs *kirim* 'send' and *bawa* 'bring'.



My analysis of intransitive verbs may be represented graphically in the following way (the graph is not meant to be proportional):



Graph 1: Intransitive verb morphology

Next we examine nominalisations, which give further support to my claim that there is a syntactic distinction between unaccusatives and unergatives in Bahasa Indonesia.

3.2.3 Nominalisations

Bahasa Indonesia forms nouns from non-nominal bases⁹ in a number of ways. One is by the suffixing of *-an*. The concrete nouns formed in this way refer to the result or end product of the action of the verb. *Ke-* *-an* attaches to mostly adjective bases to form abstract nouns with meanings such as 'bigness' and 'justice'. The prefix *peN-* forms nouns which refer to the agent or instrument of the action expressed by the verb, or, with adjective bases, it forms nouns which indicate one who is characterised by the quality expressed by the adjective.

The discontinuous affix¹⁰ *per-* *-an* forms nouns which mean either 'the place where (Verb) takes place', or 'the result of (Verb)'. Finally, the *peN-* *-an* morpheme on verb bases forms nouns generally meaning 'the act of (Verb)ing'.

Nominalisations with this last meaning may occur potentially with another argument. This other argument is crucial to my analysis, and, because of it, I will concentrate exclusively on the *peN-* *-an* type in this section. I propose here that the affix *peN-* *-an* is attached to both unaccusative and transitive bases, but not to unergative bases. In traditional descriptions of

⁹ I use the term 'base' to refer to the basic part of a word which forms the lexical entry for all forms built on that base. It is the stem without any affixes.

¹⁰ This is a discontinuous affix, rather than a prefix-suffix pair, since there is no *per-* prefix which exists on its own without *-an*. The prefix *peN-* does occur on its own, with the meaning of 'one who (Verbs)', 'one who is characterised by (Adjective)' (e.g. *peN-* + *lari* 'run' = *pelari* 'runner', *peN-* + *diam* 'quiet' = *pendiam* 'quiet person').

Bahasa Indonesia the two forms *per-* *-an* and *peN-* *-an* are related, according to the bases they attach to. The prefix part of the discontinuous affix is said to be associated with the form of the prefix of the corresponding verb. That is, *per-* is said to be affixed only to bases whose verbs take *ber-*, and *peN-* goes only on bases whose verbs take *meN-* (both transitive and intransitive). For example, MacDonald (1976:63) states: "The prefix *peN-* replaces the prefix *meN-* in verbs, and, in combination with the suffix *-an*, forms a noun referring to the act of performing the action referred to by the verb." And Dardjowidjojo (1978:292) comments: "The *pe(N)-an* nouns are usually related in function to the *me(N)-* base verbs, with or without a suffix". Later (p.312) he adds, "In most cases the *pe(r)- -an* nouns are related to the verbs derived from the *ber-* prefix".

While these statements are not absolutely incorrect, they are insufficient in themselves, because they make no prediction about nominalisations formed on bases such as *kembali* 'return', which take neither *meN-* nor *ber-* in the intransitive. It is true that, in the transitive form of *kembali* (*meng-kembali-kan* 'make return'), there is a *meN-* prefix, which could conceivably be the source of the *peN-* in *pengembalian* 'return'. However, the transitive form of *ber-* verbs such as *berlindung* 'protect' also takes *meN-*. Yet the nominalised form of the base *lindung* is *per-* *-an* and not *peN-* *-an*. The transitive form of intransitive bases thus cannot be the source of the prefix part of the nominalisation. If that were the case, there would be only *peN-* *-an* and no *per-* *-an* at all.

Is there any consistent correlation between verbs and their nominalised forms? And, if so, can any generalisation be made regarding the form of nominalisations for all verbs in the language? The Unaccusative Hypothesis already presented suggests a generalisation: *peN-* *-an* attaches to verbs whose valence includes an obligatory 2 (that is, transitives and unaccusatives). *Per-* *-an*, which attaches to a variety of bases and has a multitude of meanings, cannot be so simply described. I will say no more about it here.

The data support this hypothesis. Nominalisations formed from transitive bases – that is, those whose valence is obligatory 1 and obligatory 2 – consistently take¹¹ *peN-* *-an*. Also, the argument which may occur with these nominalisations is always the 2, never the 1. *Serdadu* 'soldier' in *pembunuhan serdadu* can only mean 'the murder of the soldier', never 'the murder by the soldier'.

3.51	<i>pembunuhan serdadu</i>	'murder of the soldier'
	<i>mem-bunuh</i>	'meN-kill'
	<i>pemeriksaan darah</i>	'examination of the blood'
	<i>mem-(p)eriksa</i>	'meN-examine'

¹¹ Exceptions are *pertolongan* 'help', from the transitive verb base *tolong*, *perlawanan* 'opposition', from *lawan*, *permintaan* 'request', from *minta*, and *permohonan* 'request', from *mohon*. It is likely that there is a historical explanation for these exceptions. Dempwolff (1971) lists **pin(t)a* as the Proto Austronesian reconstruction of the verb meaning 'ask for'. Wolff (pers.comm.) claims that *pinta* is the older Malay form, though not Proto Austronesian. Verhaar (1984a) says that earlier Malay had the base *pohonf* or the present-day *mohon*. The *m* in modern Bahasa Indonesia is the remnant of the old transitive prefix.

A similar thing has happened in the history of the Bahasa Indonesia verbs *makan* 'eat' (Proto Austronesian **kan*) and *minum* 'drink' (Proto Austronesian **inum*). These verbs do not behave like true transitives in that they do not normally take the prefix *meN-*, though they can be passivised. I am suggesting here that *minta* and *mohon*, along with *makan* and *minum*, are now treated somewhat like intransitives because they have absorbed the transitive prefixes into their stems.

<i>pengajaran ilmu bumi</i>	'teaching of geography'
<i>meng-ajar</i>	'meN-teach'
<i>pemakaian martil</i>	'use of a hammer'
<i>mem-(p)akai</i>	'meN-use'
<i>pendidikan murid</i>	'education of the pupil'
<i>men-didik</i>	'meN-educate'
<i>pembakaran sampah</i>	'burning of rubbish'
<i>mem-bakar</i>	'meN-burn'
<i>pencurian uang</i>	'theft of money'
<i>men-curi</i>	'meN-steal'
<i>pemberian hadiah</i>	'gift of a present'
<i>mem-beri</i>	'meN-give'

The prefixless unaccusative bases freely form nominalisations. The form of the prefix part is consistently *peN-* and never¹² *per-*:

3.52	<i>penyampaian surat</i>	'delivery of a letter'
	<i>sampai</i>	'arrive'
	<i>penenggelaman kapal</i>	'making a craft sink'
	<i>tenggelam</i>	'sink'
	<i>pengembalian uang</i>	'return of the money'
	<i>kembali</i>	'return'
	<i>pelenyapan orang</i>	'making a person disappear'
	<i>lenyap</i>	'disappear'
	<i>pemulangan anak</i>	'sending the child home'
	<i>pulang</i>	'go home'
	<i>pemasukan barang</i>	'importing of goods'
	<i>masuk</i>	'enter'
	<i>penaikan harga</i>	'raising of a price'
	<i>naik</i>	'go up'

¹² A general rule of cluster reduction in Bahasa Indonesia deletes a prefix-final nasal before a stem beginning with a liquid, and reduces an r+r cluster to a single r.

<i>renang</i> 'to swim'	<i>ber + renang = berenang</i>
	<i>men + renangkan = merenangkan</i>
<i>lihat</i> 'to see'	<i>men + lihat = melihat</i>

For this reason, it is not possible to tell whether *per-* or *peN-* is the underlying form of the prefixal part of the discontinuous affix for stems such as *renang* 'meditate'. Both would have the form *perenangan*. The stem form of *tahu* 'know', to which affixes are added, has an idiosyncratic form *ketahu* rather than *tahu*.

<i>penjatuhan buah</i>	'dropping of the fruit'
<i>jatuh</i>	'fall'
<i>pengeluaran uang</i>	'spending of money'
<i>keluar</i>	'go out'

As for nominalisations formed from *meN*- unaccusatives, they also take *peN*- *-an*, and the nominal argument is the 2 of both the transitive and the intransitive forms of the verb base:

3.53	<i>pengaliran air</i>	'flow, stream of water'
	<i>meng-alir</i>	'meN-flow'
	<i>pendaratan kapal</i>	'landing of the craft'
	<i>men-darat</i>	'meN-land'
	<i>penyeberangan orang tua</i>	'crossing of the old person'
	<i>meny-(s)eberang</i>	'meN-cross'
	<i>penularan flu</i>	'infection of flu'
	<i>men-(t)ular</i>	'meN-spread'

The verbs *berdiri* 'stand' and *berjangkit* 'spread' are unaccusative and take *peN*- *-an*. The traditional analysis, which connects all *per-* *-an* nominalisations with *ber-* intransitives, would make wrong predictions for these two cases. The following examples are thus crucial to my claim that the existence of the *peN*- *-an* nominalisation depends on the initial relations of the verb base, and not on the verb's morphology.

3.54	<i>pendirian gedung</i>	'erection of a building'
	<i>berdiri</i>	'stand'
	<i>penjangkitan malaria</i>	'spread of malaria'
	<i>berjangkit</i>	'spread'

It is clear from the data above that an explanation in terms of the corresponding verbal prefixes alone is not adequate. At least two *ber-* intransitives (namely, *berdiri* 'stand' and *berjangkit* 'spread') take *peN*- rather than *per-*. What is significant is that these two verbs have been shown to be, on independent grounds, unaccusatives rather than unergatives.¹³

These two verbs are also good examples to dash any still-lingering hopes of providing a semantic explanation for the behaviour of intransitive verbs in Bahasa Indonesia. The single nuclear term of the verb *berdiri* 'stand' is, in most cases, an actor, while the single nuclear term of the verb *berjangkit* 'spread' is never an actor, but only an undergoer. Nevertheless, these two verbs behave alike with respect to transitive-intransitive pairs and to nominalisations. Only a syntactic analysis makes this possible.

Also, prefixless intransitives consistently take *peN*- *-an* nominalisations. In addition, the nominal argument which may occur with each nominalisation does not have just any semantic role. Rather, its role is predictably the same as the role of the single term of the corresponding intransitive verb.

¹³ One other *ber-* prefixed unaccusative is not mentioned here, because its nominalised form does not have the usual meaning. This is *pembaringan*, from *ber-baring* 'lie'. Its meaning ('lying place') is different from the process-type nominalisations being looked at here.

My conclusion is that *peN-* *-an* nominalisations meaning 'act of (Verb)ing' are formed on verbal bases with an obligatory 2 (that is, transitives and unaccusatives).

Some verb stems appear to contradict the statement above in that they may take two nominalised forms, one with *per-* *-an* and the *other* with *peN-* *-an*. Contrasts are shown below:

- | | | |
|--------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 3.55a. | <i>perkembangan Bahasa Indonesia</i> | 'development of Bahasa Indonesia' |
| | <i>pengembangan pabrik</i> | 'development of factories' |
| b. | <i>pergantian musim</i> | 'change of seasons' |
| | <i>penggantian menteri</i> | 'change of ministers' |

Fokker (1960) borrows from classical tradition the terms 'subjective genitives' for the first of each pair above and 'objective genitives' for the second of each pair. An English example of the former is *the shooting of the hunters*, while an example of the latter is *the selection of candidates*. The nominal arguments of the *per-* forms (*Bahasa Indonesia* and *musim*) are subjects; the nominal arguments of the *peN-* forms (*pabrik* and *menteri*) are direct objects and the nominalisation expresses an agentive action. The examples above are related to the following sentences:

- 3.56 *Bahasa Indonesia berkembang.*
'Bahasa Indonesia is developing.'
- Departemen itu meng-(k)embang-kan pabrik di Indonesia.*
'The Department is developing factories in Indonesia.'
- Musim sudah berganti.*
'The season has changed.'
- Presiden Suharto meng-ganti menteri-nya.*
'President Suharto replaced his ministers.'

These examples indicate the existence of semantically related verb bases with different valences. The valence of *ganti-1* 'to change', for example, is obligatory 1 (yielding *berganti* and *pergantian*) while the valence of *ganti-2* is obligatory 1 and obligatory 2 (yielding *mengganti* and *penggantian*). The noun *musim* 'season' must occur with *ganti-1*. It can never be actively 'changed' by some agent. Therefore, the nominalisation **penggantian musim* is ungrammatical.

This is different from verbs such as *berlindung* 'protect' which have a valence of 1 (2). For these, only one nominalisation form is usual. *PeN-* *-an* cannot occur, because there is no obligatory 2 in the verb's valence.

3.2.4 Non-standard expressions with *kasi(h)*

The dialect of Bahasa Indonesia used by the inhabitants of eastern Indonesia in regular, non-formal social intercourse owns a number of distinct features, both phonetically, morphologically, and syntactically. One of its common syntactic features is the use of expressions consisting of *kasi(h)* 'give' plus a verb base. The meaning of these expressions is 'X cause/make/let Y (to Verb)'. For example, the sentence *Tolong kasi(h) saya lihat* ('see') *foto itu* means 'Please let me see that photograph'. These expressions thus replace the

standard means of expressing the causative notion, which is with the *-kan* suffix. Most speakers would have access to both expressions, and would select one over the other according to the speech register.

The verb bases which participate in this construction include transitives and those intransitives which, on the basis of other criteria, I have determined to be unaccusative. There are few¹⁴ cases of these expressions with bases which I have determined to be unergative. The examples below illustrate the acceptability of transitive bases (3.57) and unaccusative bases (3.58), and the general unacceptability of unergative ones (3.59). The prefix on those unaccusative verbs that take one (for example, *berjalan* 'walk') does not occur in these expressions. However, notice that the presence or absence of the *meN-* or *ber-* prefixes on the unergative bases does not affect their acceptability.

3.57	<i>kasi(h)</i>	<i>makan</i>	'cause to eat, feed'
	<i>kasi(h)</i>	<i>lihat</i>	'cause to see, show'
	<i>kasi(h)</i>	<i>tunjuk</i>	'cause to see, show'
3.58	<i>kasi(h)</i>	<i>tidur</i>	'make sleep, put to sleep'
	<i>kasi(h)</i>	<i>masuk</i>	'make enter, put in'
	<i>kasi(h)</i>	<i>turun</i>	'make descend, let down'
	<i>kasi(h)</i>	<i>mati</i>	'make die, kill'
	<i>kasi(h)</i>	<i>hidup</i>	'make live, resuscitate'
	<i>kasi(h)</i>	<i>pindah</i>	'make move'
	<i>kasi(h)</i>	<i>mandi</i>	'bathe (tr.)'
	<i>kasi(h)</i>	<i>bangun</i>	'wake up (tr.)'
	<i>kasi(h)</i>	<i>jatuh</i>	'let fall, drop'
	<i>kasi(h)</i>	<i>kembali</i>	'return (tr.)'
	<i>kasi(h)</i>	<i>tinggal</i>	'leave (tr.)'
	<i>kasi(h)</i>	<i>naik</i>	'make go up, raise'
	<i>kasi(h)</i>	<i>jalan</i>	'make go'
3.59	* <i>kasi(h)</i>	<i>(ber)pikir</i>	'make think'
	* <i>kasi(h)</i>	<i>(ber)doa</i>	'make pray'
	* <i>kasi(h)</i>	<i>(meng)keluh</i>	'make complain'
	* <i>kasi(h)</i>	<i>(men)derita</i>	'make suffer'
	* <i>kasi(h)</i>	<i>(ber)bicara</i>	'make speak'

It is not the presence or absence of the prefix which makes the difference, since some bases which allow a prefix¹⁵ (*ber-jalan*) occur with *kasi(h)*, while others (those in 3.59) do not. Nor can the difference be attributed to semantics, since, for example, *ber-jalan* 'go' and *mandi* 'bathe' occur with *kasi(h)*, but *ber-doa* 'pray' does not, even though all are activity verbs.

¹⁴ There are some exceptions to my generalisation that unergatives do not occur with *kasi(h)*: *kasi(h) kerja* 'make work', *kasi(h) nyanyi* 'have sing', and *kasi(h) nangis* 'make cry' are all acceptable.

¹⁵ Although *berjalan* 'go, walk' occurs in expressions with *kasi(h)*, other prefixed unaccusatives (*melompat* 'jump', *berenang* 'swim', *mengalir* 'flow') were not accepted in *kasi(h)* expressions by my informants.

There are some unaccusatives which may not occur in expressions with *kasi(h)*. The following expressions never occur:

- 3.60 **kasi(h) pergi* ‘let, make go’
 **kasi(h) tiba* ‘let, make arrive’
 **kasi(h) ada* ‘let, make be’
 **kasi(h) sampai* ‘let, make arrive’

Besides not occurring in expressions with *kasi(h)*, *pergi* ‘go’ and *tiba* ‘arrive’ are also the only unaccusative verbs that I am aware of which have no corresponding transitives with *-kan*. In failing to possess these two common characteristics of unaccusatives, it appears that they have a valence of 2 only, rather than an obligatory 2 and an optional 1. This would explain the failure of these two verbs to appear in either of the constructions which require both a 1 and a 2.

Ada ‘there is’ is the existential verb; there may be some restriction against *kasi(h)* occurring with existential verbs. *Sampai* ‘arrive’, on the other hand, is neither existential nor copular, and it does have a corresponding transitive with *-kan*. I can offer no explanation as to why it fails to occur in expressions with *kasi(h)*.

All of the missing meanings can be expressed in other ways in the language. In particular, for *ada* and *sampai* there is the standard expression with *-kan*. ‘To make go’ can be expressed with the verb *kirim* ‘send’, ‘to make arrive’ with *bawa* ‘bring’. The 2-controlled Equi verb *buat* ‘to make’ is also available to make causatives from *pergi*, *sampai*, and *tiba*.

Though the exceptions are more than a few, I believe a proper generalisation can still be made, based on the above data:

Expressions with *kasi(h)* are formed with verb bases which take an obligatory 2.

3.2.5 Conclusion

Bahasa Indonesia has intransitive verbs whose initial nuclear term is a subject only, and other verbs whose initial nuclear term is a direct object only. Evidence for this analysis comes from transitive–intransitive pairs, nominalisations, and nonstandard expressions with *kasi(h)*. Further evidence will be provided in the chapter on *ke-* *-an* adversatives. For the most part, these pieces of evidence correlate with verb morphology, though not completely.

Two points are noteworthy about this analysis. One is that, though nearly all unergatives have an actor as their sole argument, there are also a number of Bahasa Indonesia unaccusatives with actors, rather than undergoers, as their sole argument. Cross-linguistically, motion verbs tend to be unpredictable with regard to their inclusion in either class, and Bahasa Indonesia is no exception. The motion verbs *datang* ‘come’, *sampai* ‘arrive’, and *masuk* ‘enter’ all have actors and all are unaccusative. Other predicates with an actor are also unaccusatives: *mandi* ‘bathe’ and *duduk* ‘sit’.

Foley and Van Valin’s semantic classification of predicate arguments (discussed more fully in section 3.1) cannot account for the syntactic behaviour of these verbs. In their scheme, rules are generally sensitive to the actor-undergoer relations. Therefore, all intransitives with an actor NP would be expected to behave in the same way syntactically. Yet that is a false prediction for Bahasa Indonesia, as I have shown.

A second point is that Bahasa Indonesia has some unusual unaccusative verbs. For example, *tidur* 'sleep' is unaccusative in Bahasa Indonesia by all the available syntactic tests. Yet in most other languages (for example, in Italian (Rosen 1981)) the verb with the same meaning is unergative. This supports a basic claim of Relational Grammar (in light of Rosen's 1984 article), namely that the initial relation in an intransitive clause is not predictable from the verb's meaning. If the relation were predictable, then a semantic analysis of intransitives would no doubt be more plausible than a syntactic analysis.

3.3 Unaccusatives in other Western Austronesian languages

Several other Austronesian languages show a distinction between unaccusatives and unergatives.

Data from Acehnese are mentioned by Perlmutter (1982) to justify his proposal that 'Initial 1' may be a significant relation in a language. Acehnese verbs agree with their initial 1s. This means that the nominal of initial unergatives governs agreement while the nominal of initial unaccusatives does not. The members of the unergative list (3.61a) are all prefixed. Initial unaccusative verbs (3.61b), on the other hand, are prefixless:

3.61a. *Gopnyan gi-pluəŋ.*

'He runs.'

Gopnyan gi-duwəʔ.

'He sits.'

Gopnyan gi-pike.

'He is thinking.'

Gopnyan gi-ingat

'He remembers.'

Gopnyan gi-dong.

'He stands.'

b. *Gopnyan rhit.*

'He fell.'

Gopnyan lham.

'He drowned.'

Gopnyan gadoh bɨklam.

'He disappeared last night.'

Bom bɨritoh.

'The bomb exploded.'

Jih mate.

'He (younger) died.'

Toba Batak (described by Percival 1981) has both 'conjugated' (3.62a) and 'non-conjugated' (3.62b) verb stems:

3.62a.	<i>maŋ-arop</i>	'to hope'		
	<i>bar-si</i>	'to sneeze'		
	<i>mar-gatti</i>	'to change plans'		
b.	<i>masuk</i>	'to arrive'	<i>habaŋ</i>	'to fly'
	<i>sahat</i>	'to arrive'	<i>taŋis</i>	'to weep'
	<i>huddul</i>	'to sit'	<i>laŋ</i>	'to go'
	<i>peut</i>	'to fall'	<i>ro</i>	'to come'
	<i>borhat</i>	'to depart'	<i>sala</i>	'to be wrong'

Both adjectives and non-conjugated stems, but not conjugated stems, may be used in the 'factive', which takes the *pa-* prefix and carries the meaning 'to cause something to be, make someone be':

3.63	<i>balga</i>	'large'	<i>pabalga</i>	'to enlarge'
	<i>bukka</i>	'open'	<i>pabukka</i>	'to open'
	<i>bekkkuk</i>	'bend'	<i>pabekkkuk</i>	'to bend something'
	<i>labbat</i>	'slow'	<i>palabbat</i>	'to slow something'
	<i>mate</i>	'die'	<i>pamate</i>	'to kill'
	<i>naek</i>	'rise'	<i>panaek</i>	'to promote'

These data from Acehnese and Toba Batak are similar to the Bahasa Indonesia data in many ways. All show a morphological unaccusative–unergative split (indicated by absence vs presence of a prefix, respectively). In addition, Toba Batak is like Bahasa Indonesia in forming transitive constructions meaning 'X make Y (Verb)' from unaccusative bases only. Thirdly, the meanings of the unaccusative verbs in the three languages are very similar.

Not all Austronesian languages show this distinction, however. Gibson (1980:26, 27) says she finds no evidence for such a distinction in Chamorro.

We can conclude from the data in this section that the unaccusative–unergative dichotomy which I have been describing is not restricted to Bahasa Indonesia alone among Austronesian languages. That Austronesian languages show this feature, thus adding to the already-attested evidence from a multitude of language families, gives added weight to the idea that the dichotomy is universal.

3.4 Dowty's verb classification system

In this Chapter I am proposing a syntactic classification of intransitive verbs in Bahasa Indonesia. I have brought forth several kinds of evidence in favour of this notion. But such evidence in favour of a syntactic analysis does not preclude the possibility of a semantic analysis of the same data. In this section I examine one proposal for a semantic analysis.

A number of verb classification systems have been proposed in an attempt to define the universals of verbal systems in the world's languages. A recent attempt is that of Dowty (1979), who, following Vendler, proposes four classes of predicates: states, achievements, activities, and accomplishments.

State predicates are the simplest, consisting logically of predicate' (x). A state is generally non-agentive and has no stated starting point or ending point. Examples include the predicates *know*, *believe*, *have*, *desire*, and *love*.

Achievements consist of a state plus the logical operator BECOME. They are thus inchoatives. The prototypical achievement is the predicate *die*, whose logical structure is BECOMENOT *alive*' (x). Other examples include *recognise*, *spot*, *find*, and *lose*.

Activities contain the operator DO, which supplies the notion of a controlling agent. A syntactic test which distinguishes activities from states and achievements in English is that the former, but not the latter, may felicitously occur with the adverbs *studiously* and *carefully*. Dowty cites as examples of activities the predicates *run*, *walk*, *swim*, *push a cart*, and *drive a car*.

Accomplishments are complex changes of state, in which some activity causes some state or achievement to come about. The logical structure of accomplishments thus contains the connective CAUSE. Also generally agentive, though not necessarily so, accomplishments differ from activities in having a termination point. Examples include *paint a picture*, *make a chair*, *deliver a sermon*, *draw a circle*, and *recover from an illness*.

Languages employ different means of encoding these semantic classes. Some, such as English, provide almost no morphological clues to a verb's classification. The single form *break*, for instance, is both an achievement ('become broken') and an accomplishment ('cause to become broken'). Some other languages systematically show these differences by morphological means.

One of this latter group of languages is Tagalog, discussed by Foley and Van Valin (1984). They show that in Tagalog there is a fundamental dichotomy between activities, on the one hand, and all other predicate types on the other. Activities, which are always volitional, and which therefore contain DO in their logical structures, take either the infix *-um-* or the prefix *mag-*. (These affixes have other functions besides indicating activities.) Tagalog examples include the intransitive predicate *takbo* 'run', and the transitives *kain* 'eat', *agaw* 'grab', *dala* 'carry', *bigay* 'give' and *luto* 'cook'.

An activity may be made into an accomplishment by prefixing *mag-* to the root by a regular derivational process.

All Tagalog predicates which are not activities may be listed in the lexicon simply as a state or as some derivative of a state. More permanent states are unprefixated. Examples include *pagod* 'tired', *tulog* 'asleep', and *basag* 'broken'. More transitory states receive the *ma-* prefix: *ma-ganda* 'beautiful', *ma-bilis* 'fast', and *ma-pait* 'bitter'.

Achievements (those with the logical structure BECOME' (x)) are regularly derived from states. Permanent states with no prefix receive *ma-* as achievements, while transitory states with *ma-* receive *-um-* as achievements. Examples are *matay* 'dead', *ma-matay* 'die', *pagod* 'tired', *ma-pagod* 'become tired', *ma-buti* 'good', *b-um-uti* 'become good, improve', and *ma-laki* 'big', *l-um-aki* 'increase'.

Accomplishments (with the connector CAUSE) are also regularly derived from states. Transitory states with *ma-* take *mag-* + *pa-*. Permanent states with no prefix, like activity predicates, take *mag-* alone to form accomplishments. Examples include *mag-pa-buti* 'improve', *mag-pa-pula* 'redden', *mag-basag* 'break', and *mag-puno* 'fill'.

To summarise, a state such as *buti* 'good' takes *ma-* as a simple state, *-um-* as an achievement ('improve' (intr.)), and *mag-pa-* as an accomplishment ('improve' (tr.)). *Basag* 'broken', on the other hand, takes a zero prefix as a simple state, *ma-* as an achievement ('break' (intr.)), and *mag-* as an accomplishment ('break' (tr.)).

As a system, Bahasa Indonesia falls in between the morphological indeterminacy of English and the derivational regularity of Tagalog. State predicates in Bahasa Indonesia,

including simple adjectives, are prefixless. Non-adjectival states such as *sayang* and *cinta* 'love', *tahu* 'know', and *percaya* 'believe' are also prefixless.

For a minority of these states, achievements are derived by the prefixation of *meN-*: *mem-bulat* 'become round', *me-merah* 'redden', *meng-gelap* 'become dark', *men-(t)ipis* 'become thin', and *men-(t)inggi* 'become tall'. For some state predicates, the corresponding achievement is identical in form: *mati* 'be dead, die'. For still others, the achievement can only be expressed by some periphrastic means, with one of the verbs *buat*, *bikin*, or *jadikan*, all meaning 'make'.

Bahasa Indonesia activities show no consistent morphological form. Most intransitive activities receive *ber-*: *ber-jalan* 'walk', *ber-lari* 'run', and *ber-bicara* 'speak'. Other intransitive activities take *meN-* (*men-(t)ari* 'dance') or zero (*terbang* 'fly', *pergi* 'go'). Transitive activities in the active voice take *meN-*: *mem-bawa* 'carry', *mem-beri* 'give', and *me-masak* 'cook'.

Accomplishments, which are always transitive, take *meN-* in the active voice: *mem-buat kursi* 'make a chair', *mem-bawa khotbah* 'deliver a sermon', and *mem-bunuh* 'kill'. A regular derivational process derives accomplishments from states and some activities. The suffix *-kan* forms causatives from adjectival states (but not¹⁶ the class of cognitive states including the meanings 'love', 'know', 'believe'): *mem-baik-kan* 'improve', *me-merah-kan* 'redden', *mem-(p)ecah-kan* 'break'. This formation is not limited to states; some activities may also be made into accomplishments: *men-jalan-kan* 'make go', *me-lari-kan* 'make run', *men-duduk-kan* 'make sit'.

These last facts point out the essential difference between a semantic classification of the Bahasa Indonesia verbal system, such as Dowty's, and a syntactic classification, such as the one the Unaccusative Hypothesis suggests. The transitive–unaccusative–unergative trichotomy of Relational Grammar crosscuts Dowty's semantic classification. Most states are unaccusatives, but some activities are also unaccusatives – *masuk* 'enter', *ber-jalan* 'walk', and *datang* 'come', to mention a few. Some lexical items are simultaneously states and activities: *duduk* 'be sitting, sit down', *tidur* 'be sleeping, go to sleep'. These are invariably syntactic unaccusatives.

Statement of the rule which forms causatives, or accomplishments, is much simpler in a syntactic analysis than in a semantic one. In a semantic analysis, accomplishments are formed from most states and some activities by the suffixing of *-kan*. The particular predicates which undergo this process would have to be specified in the lexicon, since they possess no common semantic characteristic. In the syntactic analysis presented in this study, the rule can be stated very simply: Accomplishments with *-kan* are formed on unaccusative bases only.

Statement of the rule for forming nominalisations in Bahasa Indonesia would encounter the same difficulties. In a semantic analysis, states and some activities would receive the *peN-* *-an* form, while other activities would not. For example, *pendatangan* 'coming' and *perjuangan* 'fight' are both formed on activity bases. Nevertheless, they have different nominalised forms. Under a syntactic analysis, these facts are accounted for simply by the fact that the two verb bases have different initial grammatical relations.

¹⁶ Joseph Grimes has pointed out (pers.comm.) that cognitive states often form a special class cross-linguistically. Foley and Van Valin (1984:48-50) discuss perception and cognition verbs separately from regular states or conditions, since they have two arguments (locative and theme) rather than just one (patient). It appears that in Bahasa Indonesia these verbs exhibit a number of differences with both their semantic and syntactic counterparts.

These facts also point out the incorrectness of the Universal Alignment Hypothesis. This hypothesis claims that meaning alone determines initial grammatical relations. Under this hypothesis, all activities ought to be syntactic unergatives, since activities are performed by controlling agents, the prototypical subjects. That there are 'leaks' of activity predicates into the unaccusative class in Bahasa Indonesia demonstrates that each language is free to select its own sets of unaccusative and unergative predicates.

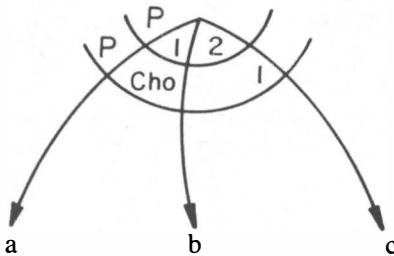
4 Advancements to subject

4.1 Introduction

The Passive, more than any other feature of Bahasa Indonesia grammar, has provoked controversy. There are two basic questions at issue here. Does Bahasa Indonesia have a Passive in the Indo-European sense? And, if it does, does it have more than one rule of Passive?

One reason there has been so much disagreement about the notion of Passive in Bahasa Indonesia is that there has been no consensus as to what a Passive is. Relational Grammar offers an explicit definition of a Passive: A Passive is a 2-1 advancement from a transitive stratum. The relational diagram below shows the essential features of a Passive:

4.1



With this definition we can make an empirical decision as to whether a particular construction is or is not a Passive.

It is unfortunate for Bahasa Indonesia and other non-Western languages that their earliest investigators were Europeans who tended to compare all linguistic systems with their own. Such linguo-centrism has contributed to the misconceptions about Bahasa Indonesia that still persist today.

The first question above is posed for a number of reasons. The Bahasa Indonesia construction (which I will go ahead and call 'Passive' for the sake of brevity, without committing myself at this point to an analysis) does not involve a form of the predicate 'BE' (in fact, Bahasa Indonesia does not even have a copular verb), nor does it carry an adjectival or stative meaning,¹ both of which features characterise many Indo-European Passives.

¹ Chung (1976b:61) says the Bahasa Indonesia Passive is semantically stative. But in Kana (1983) I provide evidence against this. In written discourse, the Passive is most often used to describe a sequence of kinetic events performed by a single actor. Bahasa Indonesia Passives, then, are anything but 'Passive' semantically. In fact, they are more 'active' than actives.

Another source of the questions about the existence of a Passive in Bahasa Indonesia is the fact that the language has no case, which, if it existed, would make an active–passive distinction more obvious. Also, one of the Passive subtypes in Bahasa Indonesia requires its initial 1 (or, in more traditional terms, its Passive agent) to be present. This is certainly an unusual requirement cross-linguistically. One final contributor to the general confusion is the high percentage of Passive forms which occur in natural discourse. We have come to expect actives to be in the majority, as is the case in Western languages.

For those who deny that Bahasa Indonesia has a Passive, how do they analyse the construction in question? Hiorth (1976), in a review of different opinions about this construction, mentions that many just avoid using the terms ‘active’ and ‘Passive’ altogether. Teeuw, Hiorth reports, uses the terms ‘agent-directed’ and ‘goal-directed’ forms for active and Passive, respectively. Others prefer to call the ‘Passive’ construction some sort of object focus. Some (Thomas 1980; Naylor 1978) mean this in the sense of Philippine-type focus systems. Others (Samsuri 1977; Legge 1971) do not define their use of the term ‘focus’. It is not clear to me, from these descriptions, just how a Passive differs from object focus, either syntactically or pragmatically. I do not wish to get into that debate here. Relational Grammar provides a strict definition of Passive against which a particular construction may be compared. According to this definition, Bahasa Indonesia does have a Passive.

The second question above has to do with the fact that, providing Bahasa Indonesia does have a Passive, there are seemingly two separate constructions which may be termed Passives. Chung (1976b) labels one a ‘canonical Passive’, the other an ‘object preposing’ construction, but finally concludes that both are Passives. However, because of some rather minor differences between them, such as alleged incomplete identity of the verbs which govern the two constructions, she claims there are two separate Passive rules in Bahasa Indonesia.

My conclusion, for which I give evidence in this chapter, is that not only does a Passive construction exist in Bahasa Indonesia, but there is only a single rule of Passive in the language.

Below, in 4.2–4.5, are examples of the controversial sentence types. The examples in 4.2 exemplify Chung’s ‘canonical Passive’. The patient is sentence-initial, the verb is prefixed with *di-*, and the third person agent is either cliticised to the verb (*-nya*) or is in a prepositional phrase (*oleh + -nya* ‘by him’). In sentences represented by example 4.2c, the first and second person pronominal agents are postposed, and the verb receives *di-*. These sentences are generally unacceptable.

- 4.2a. *Pintu itu di-buka-nya.*
 door that 3PER-open-him
 ‘The door was opened by him.’
- b. *Pintu itu di-buka oleh-nya / oleh Heri.*
 door that 3PER-open by-him / by Heri
 ‘The door was opened by him/Heri.’
- c. **Pintu itu di-buka (oleh) engkau.*
 door that 3PER-open (by) you
 ‘The door was opened by you.’

The examples in 4.3 exemplify Chung’s ‘object preposing’ construction. The patient is sentence-initial and the pronominal agent is bound to the verb. This may be one of the clitic

forms (*kau-* ('you') or *ku-* ('I')), or it may be a full form (*saya* or *aku* 'I', *engkau* or *kamu* 'you', *dia* 'he', *mereka* 'they'). The full forms are also said to be bound to the verb since nothing may intervene between them and the verbs in the formal language, though this is not true in informal registers. No *di-* prefix may occur with the object preposing. Instead, the verb receives no prefix.

4.3a. *Pintu itu dia buka.*
 door that he open
 'The door was opened by him.'

b. *Pintu itu kau-buka.*
 door that you-open
 'The door was opened by you.'

The examples in 4.4 are similar to those in 4.2 and 4.3, but with the elements in reverse order. In 4.4a the patient NP is placed after the verb of the canonical Passive rather than in front of it. Similarly, in 4.4b the patient NP is placed after the verb prefixed with the agent pronoun. (To call this an example of object preposing seems strange.) For this set of examples, in which the patient NP is not sentence-initial, it is not immediately clear whether we have sentences which are active or Passive.

4.4a. *Di-buka-nya pintu itu.*
 3PER-open-him door that
 'The door was opened by him./He opened the door.'

b. *Kau-buka pintu itu.*
 you-open door that
 'The door was opened by you./You opened the door.'

The examples in 4.5 exemplify sentences with an active word order, but with a bare verb stem. The *meN-* prefix is missing, both with a third person agent (a.) and with a second person agent (b.). Again, one can ask about these sentences whether they are active or Passive, and why they differ from more standard constructions:

4.5a. *Dia akan buka pintu itu.*
 he will open door that
 'He will open the door.'

b. *Engkau akan buka pintu itu.*
 you will open door that
 'You will open the door.'

In this chapter I demonstrate that, given the Relational Grammar definition of a Passive above, Bahasa Indonesia does indeed have a Passive. Further, it has just one Passive, as the differences between the two constructions are so minimal as not to require separate rules of Passive.

I begin by examining the two constructions, the canonical Passive and the object preposing construction, in section 4.2. I provide evidence there that the initial direct objects of the corresponding actives are final subjects in both types, while the initial subjects are final chômeurs. In section 4.3, I look at the sentences illustrated in example 4.4 above, in which the initial direct object follows, rather than precedes, the Passive verb. In section 4.4, I examine those sentences exemplified in 4.5, which are similar to active sentences, but lack

the *meN-* prefix. In section 4.5, I briefly investigate the claim that Bahasa Indonesia is an ergative language. Finally, section 4.6 is an overview of Passives in other Western Austronesian languages.

4.2 The canonical Passive and the object-preposing construction

4.2.1 A proposal for a single analysis

I propose here that the canonical Passive and the object-preposing construction are in fact variants of a single construction. In the Passive, Bahasa Indonesia verbs are obligatorily preceded by their initial 1s. Either the pronominal clitic or the full pronoun, but not both, may occur in this position. The first person pronouns are the clitic *ku-* (example 4.6a), or any of the full pronouns *aku*, *saya*, 'I', *kami* 'we exclusive', or *kita* 'we inclusive' (4.6b). The second person pronouns are the clitic² *kau-*, either of the full second person pronouns *engkau* or *kamu* 'you' (4.6c), or any of a large number of terms of address (4.6d). The third person initial 1s include the clitic *di-*, either of the full third person pronouns *dia*, *ia* 'he, she' or *mereka* 'they' (4.6e, f), or a name (4.6g). Other third person nouns are not allowed (4.6h) in formal Bahasa Indonesia.

- 4.6a. *Pintu itu ku-buka.*
I
- b. *Pintu itu saya buka*
I
- c. *Pintu itu engkau buka.*
you
- d. *Pintu itu Ibu buka.*
Mother
'The door was opened by you (said to a woman).'
- e. *Pintu itu dia buka.*
he
- f. *Pintu itu mereka buka*
they
- g. *Pintu itu Ali buka.*
- h. **Pintu itu orang itu buka.*
person that

In addition, when the underspecified clitic *di-* is used for third person, the identity of the third person may be further specified by a nominal following the verb. This nominal may be a full pronoun (4.7a) or the reduced pronoun *-nya* (4.7b). The preposition *oleh* 'by' may optionally occur with a pronoun (4.7c, d), a name (4.7e), or another third person nominal (4.7f). If the nominal is separated from the verb, *oleh* is obligatory (4.7g). First and second

² I said in Chapter 2 that *-mu* was the clitic form of the second person pronoun. *-mu* is the objective clitic, used for direct objects, objects of prepositions, and possessors. *Kau-* is the special clitic form of the second person pronoun used in the Passive.

person pronouns are incompatible with *di-* (4.7h, i). Frequently, when the initial 1 is either unknown or unimportant, *di-* is not further specified at all.

These facts are represented in the examples below:

- 4.7a. *Pintu itu di-buka dia.*
 door that 3PER-open him
- b. *Pintu itu di-buka-nya.*
 3PER-open-him
- c. *Pintu itu di-buka (oleh) dia.*
 by him
- d. *Pintu itu di-buka (oleh) mereka*
 them
- e. *Pintu itu di-buka (oleh) Ali.*
- f. *Pintu itu di-buka (oleh) orang itu.*
 person that
- g. *Pintu itu di-buka kemarin oleh orang itu.*
 yesterday
- h. **Pintu itu di-buka (oleh) saya.*
 me
- i. **Pintu itu di-buka (oleh) engkau.*
 you

This proposal accounts for many of the characteristics of these examples. It explains, first of all, why first and second person initial subjects cannot occur in the so-called canonical Passive: these pronouns and *di-* are mutually exclusive members of a single paradigm. They differ with each other only in person.

It likewise explains why the full pronouns *saya*, *aku*, *engkau*, *kamu*, *dia*, and *mereka* may not be separated from their verbs by modals, aspectuals, negatives, and so forth, in the object preposing. Under this proposal, they function much like verbal prefixes, in that they are strictly ordered with respect to the verb, just as prefixes are. The fact that they cannot receive stress (Cumming 1984) also suggests their similarity to verbal prefixes. The positions of the initial 1s are the same for both types – that is, preverbal.

An alleged reason for classifying the canonical Passive as a separate construction from the object-preposing construction was that the initial 1 of the former was optional, while the initial 1 of the latter was obligatory. However, no such difference exists under the analysis presented here. If *di-* is considered to be an affix showing third person agreement, then the initial 1 is obligatory for the canonical Passive as well as for the object preposing, for it is represented by *di-*.

One might assume that the *di-* prefix, because of its similarity to the *dia* pronoun, is historically derived from *dia*. Just as *engkau* was shortened to the clitic *kau-* and *aku* became *ku-*, so *dia* became *di-*. However, this is an incorrect³ assumption. Hopper (1979:148) claims that the source of *di-* is *ni-*, the general Passive marker for all persons in Sriwijaya Malay, a

³ Shibatani (1985) is one who makes this wrong assumption. He does not state the basis for his claim.

precursor of modern Bahasa Indonesia.⁴ Wolff (pers.comm.) says *dia* came into Bahasa Indonesia from Javanese. In either case, it cannot be supported that *di-* is historically derived from *dia*.

No matter what the origin of *di-*, it has come to be an indicator of third person initial 1 in the Passive, as if it were derived from *dia*.

From this point on, I refer to Chung's canonical Passive as 'They' Passive (because of its third person initial subjects), and her object preposing construction as 'We' Passive (because of its first and second person initial subjects). Though they are a single construction, I will have occasion to refer to them separately.

This analysis clearly accounts for most of the so-called differences between the two constructions, but does not so obviously account for one remaining difference, which concerns the definiteness of the initial 2. Indefinite patients with 'They' Passive are sometimes acceptable (4.8a and 4.9a), although definite patients are preferable, while indefinite patients with 'We' Passive are judged unacceptable (4.8b and 4.9b):

4.8a. ?*Meja di-pegang oleh anak perempuan.*

table 3PER-hold by child female

'A table was held onto by the girl.'

b. **Meja sudah saya pegang.*

table already I hold

'A table was held onto by me.'

4.9a. *Se-orang laki-laki di-bunuh-nya.*

a-person male 3PER-kill-him

'A man was killed by him.'

b. **Se-orang laki-laki akan saya bunuh.*

a-person male will I kill

'A man will be killed by me.'

This difference may be related to the analysis just presented. Languages tend to avoid advancing indefinite NPs, which usually represent new information. At the same time, languages tend to avoid putting first and second person pronouns into *chômeage*, as those two persons are always given in the universe of discourse, and are therefore definite. It may be the combination of these two factors – that is, advancing an indefinite while putting into *chômeage* a first or second person pronoun – which makes the sentences in 4.8b and 4.9b unacceptable.⁵

4.2.2 Evidence in favour of a passive analysis

I am proposing that the b. sentences below are derived from the active sentences in a. by advancement of the direct object to subject:

4 An anonymous referee has noted the controversial nature of Hopper's proposal, and offers another possibility: *di + ia > dia*.

5 This possibility was suggested to me by Carol Rosen.

- 4.10a. *Dia mem-buka pintu itu.*
'He opened the door.'
- b. *Pintu itu di-buka-nya.*
'The door was opened by him.'
- 4.11a. *Engkau mem-buka pintu itu.*
'You opened the door.'
- b. *Pintu itu engkau buka.*
'The door was opened by you.'

Under this analysis, the initial direct objects of the active sentences are the final subjects of their corresponding Passives, while the initial subjects are final *chômeurs*.

The advanced direct object NP has all the properties of subjects discussed in Chapter 2. First of all, it can be questioned by fronting with *yang* (4.12 and 4.13), it can be clefted (4.14 and 4.15) and relativised (4.16 and 4.17):⁶

- 4.12a. *Apa yang di-buka-nya?*
what COMP 3PER-open-him
'What was opened by him?'
- b. *Apa yang kau-buka?*
what COMP you-open
'What was opened by you?'
- 4.13a. *Siapa yang di-bunuh harimau?*
who COMP 3PER-kill tiger
'Who was killed by the tiger?'
- b. *Siapa yang kau-bunuh?*
who COMP you-kill
'Who was killed by you?'
- 4.14a. *Pintu itu-lah yang di-buka-nya.*
door that-TOP COMP 3PER-open-him
'That door is what was opened by him.'
- b. *Pintu itu-lah yang ku-buka.*
door that-TOP COMP I-open
'That door is what was opened by me.'
- 4.15a. *Orang itu-lah yang di-bunuh harimau.*
person that-TOP COMP 3PER-kill tiger
'That person is the one who was killed by a tiger.'
- b. *Orang itu-lah yang ku-bunuh.*
person that-TOP COMP I-kill
'That person is the one who was killed by me.'

⁶ The English glosses for the examples which follow are meant to convey my Passive analysis of the Bahasa Indonesia sentences. In many cases, the English sentences are awkward. In actual discourse, many Bahasa Indonesia Passives would be translatable by English actives.

- 4.16a. *Saya men-(t)utup pintu yang di-buka-nya.*
 I meN-close door COMP 3PER-open-him
 'I closed the door that was opened by him.'
- b. *Saya men-(t)utup pintu yang kau-buka.*
 I meN-close door COMP you-open
 'I closed the door that was opened by you.'
- 4.17a. *Kami meng-(k)ubur orang yang di-bunuh itu.*
 we.EXC meN-bury person COMP 3PER-kill that
 'We buried the man that was killed.'
- b. *Kami meng-(k)ubur orang yang ku-bunuh itu.*
 we.EXC meN-bury person COMP I-kill that
 'We buried the man that was killed by me.'

Another sign of its final 1-hood is the fact that the advanced direct object takes the subject form of the third person pronoun:

- 4.18a. *Ia di-bunuh harimau.*
 he 3PER-kill tiger
 'He was killed by the tiger.'
- b. *Ia saya bunuh.*
 he I kill
 'He was killed by me.'
- 4.19a. *Ia di-temu-i-nya di pasar.*
 he 3PER-meet-IO-him in market
 'He was met by him in the market.'
- b. *Ia saya temu-i di pasar.*
 he I meet-IO in market
 'He was met by me in the market.'

It does not, on the other hand, take the objective forms of pronouns (once again, in the examples below, the clitics are placed after the verb, in order to avoid the cross-linguistically unusual positioning of clitics sentence-initially):

- 4.20a. **Di-bunuh nya harimau.*
 3PER-kill he tiger
 'He was killed by the tiger.'
- b. **Saya bunuh nya.*
 I kill he
 'He was killed by me.'
- 4.21a. **Di-temu-i-nya mu di pasar.*
 3PER-meet-IO-him you in market
 'You were met by him in the market.'
- b. **Saya temu-i mu di pasar.*
 I meet-IO you in market
 'You were met by me in the market.'

- 4.22a. **Di-lihat ku tadi malam.*
 3PER-see I last night
 'I was seen last night.'
- b. **Kau-lihat ku tadi malam.*
 you-see I last night
 'I was seen by you last night.'

Only final 1s can be deleted in Equi NP clauses. In the constructions under discussion here, the initial direct object NP is deletable in Equi NP clauses – both those governed by verbs such as *mau* 'want', and purpose complements with the *untuk* complementiser (see Chapter 8 for a discussion of Equi NP constructions):

- 4.23a. *Dia mau di-antar-kan ke kota.*
 he want 3PER-take-TRAN to city
 'He wants to be taken to the city.'
- b. *Dia mau saya antar-kan ke kota.*
 he want I take-TRAN to city
 'He wants to be taken by me to the city.'
- 4.24a. *Saya mem-bawa surat itu untuk di-baca-nya.*
 I meN-bring letter that for 3PER-read-him
 'I brought the letter to be read by him.'
- b. *Saya mem-bawa surat itu untuk kau-baca.*
 I meN-bring letter that for you-read
 'I brought the letter to be read by you.'

I demonstrate in Chapter 7 that only subjects may be raised. The initial direct object of the constructions under discussion here, after being advanced to subject, may be raised to the direct object relation of transitive matrix verbs which govern raising to object:

- 4.25a. *Saya kira pintu itu di-kunci-nya.*
 I think door that 3PER-lock-him
 'I thought the door was locked by him.'
- b. *Saya kira pintu itu telah kau-kunci.*
 I think door that already you-lock
 'I thought the door was already locked by you.'

This NP can also be raised to the direct object relation of intransitive matrix verbs which govern raising to direct object. Only final 1s can be raised (as will be shown in Chapter 7).

- 4.26a. *Pintu itu sulit (untuk) di-tutup.*
 door that difficult for 3PER-close
 'The door is difficult to be closed.'
- b. *Pintu itu sulit (untuk) saya tutup.*
 'The door is difficult to be closed by me/for me to close.'
- 4.27a. *Orang itu mudah (untuk) di-lihat.*
 person that easy for 3PER-see
 'That person is easy to be seen.'

- b. *Orang itu mudah (untuk) saya lihat.*
 'That person is easy to be seen by me/for me to see.'

To summarise this section thus far, in Passives the initial direct object holds the following properties of subjects in Bahasa Indonesia: it can be questioned, clefted, and relativised; it can be replaced by the subject form but not the object form of pronouns; it is deletable in Equi NP clauses; and it can be raised. 'They' Passive and 'We' Passive are thus identical with regard to the subject properties of their clause-initial nominals.

My conclusion is that the clause-initial nominals in both Passives are the final subjects of their respective constructions. Next we look at the relational status of the agent, or initial 1.

The initial 1 in a Passive cannot be questioned with *yang* (examples 4.28 and 4.29), clefted (4.30 and 4.31), or relativised (4.32 and 4.33):

- 4.28a. **Siapa yang pintu itu di-buka (oleh)?*
 'Who was the door opened by?'
 b. **Siapa yang pintu itu buka?*
 'Who was the door opened by?'
- 4.29a. **Siapa yang orang itu di-bunuh (oleh)?*
 'Who was that person killed by?'
 b. **Siapa yang orang itu bunuh?*
 'Who was that person killed by?'
- 4.30a. **Dia-lah yang pintu itu di-buka (oleh).*
 'He is the one who the door was opened by.'
 b. **Aku-lah yang pintu itu buka.*
 'I am the one who that door was opened by.'
- 4.31a. **Harimau-lah yang orang itu di-bunuh (oleh).*
 'A tiger is what that man was killed by.'
 b. **Aku-lah yang orang itu bunuh.*
 'I'm the one that that man was killed by.'
- 4.32a. **Saya me-lihat orang yang pintu di-buka (oleh).*
 'I saw the man whom the door was opened by.'
 b. **Saya me-lihat dia yang pintu itu buka.*
 'I saw him whom that door was opened by.'
- 4.33a. **Mereka meng-(k)ejar harimau yang Ali di-bunuh (oleh).*
 they meN-chase tiger COMP Ali 3PER-kill (by)
 'They chased the tiger whom Ali was killed by.'
 b. **Mereka meng-(k)ejar dia yang Ali bunuh.*
 they meN-chase him COMP Ali kill
 'They chased him whom Ali was killed by.'

This NP cannot be replaced by the subject pronoun *ia* in the 'They' Passive (4.34a, 4.35a). However, in the 'We' Passive, *ia* may be substituted for the initial 1 (4.34b, 4.35b):

- 4.34a. **Pintu itu di-buka (oleh) ia.*
 b. *Pintu itu ia buka.*
 'The door was opened by him.'
- 4.35a. **Orang itu di-bunuh (oleh) ia.*
 b. *Orang itu ia bunuh.*
 'That man was killed by him.'

My explanation for the b. sentences above is that, if the immediately preverbal slot in the Passive is reserved for the initial 1, then it is to be expected that the form of the initial 1 should be among the forms allowed to occur in that slot. Therefore, *ia*, along with *dia* and *di-*, may occur in the initial 1 slot in the Passive.

The initial 1 may be replaced by clitic forms of the pronouns, *-nya* for the 'They' type (4.36a), and *ku-*, and *kau-*, for the 'We' type (4.36b). Clitic forms are restricted to non-subjects.

- 4.36a. *Pintu itu di-buka (oleh)-nya/di-buka-nya.*
 'The door was opened by him.'
- b. *Pintu itu ku/kau-buka.*
 'The door was opened by me/you.'

The initial subject of a Passive is not deletable in Equi NP constructions:

- 4.37a. **Dia mau orang itu di-bunuh (oleh) (Ø).*
 'He wants that man to be killed by him.'
- b. **Aku mau orang itu (Ø) bunuh.*
 'I want that man to be killed by me.'
- 4.38a. **Ali me-marah-i-nya untuk orang itu*
 Ali meN-angry-IO-him for person that
di-hakim-i (oleh) (Ø).
 3PER-punish-IO (by)
 'Ali scolded him in order for that person to be punished by him.'
- b. **Saya me-marah-i-nya untuk dia (Ø) hakim-i.*
 I meN-angry-IO-him for him punish-IO
 'I scolded him in order for him to be punished by me.'

Only final subjects are eligible for raising. The initial subject in a Passive cannot be raised, as these ungrammatical attempts to raise initial subjects show:

- 4.39a. **Saya kira harimau dia di-bunuh (oleh).*
 'I think the tiger he was killed by/he was killed by the tiger.'
- b. **Saya kira engkau dia bunuh.*
 'I think you he was killed by/he was killed by you.'
- 4.40a. **Dia sulit untuk pintu itu di-buka (oleh).*
 'He is difficult for the door to be opened by.'

- b. **Dia sulit untuk pintu itu buka.*
 'He is difficult for the door to be opened by.'

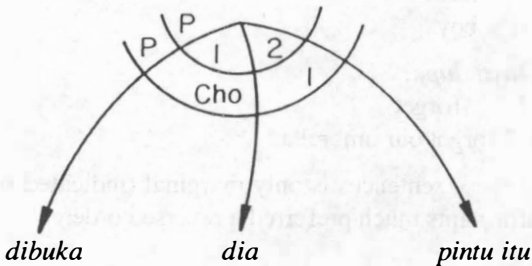
4.41a. **Orang itu mudah untuk dia di-lihat (oleh).*
 'That man is easy for him to be seen by.'

- b. **Kami mudah untuk dia lihat.*
 'We are easy for him to be seen by.'

We see, then, that the initial subject retains none of the subject properties in either 'They' Passive or 'We' Passive, with the exception of the subjective pronoun *ia* occurring in the 'They' Passive. I conclude from this that these nominals are not the final subjects. Instead, they are final *chômeurs*.

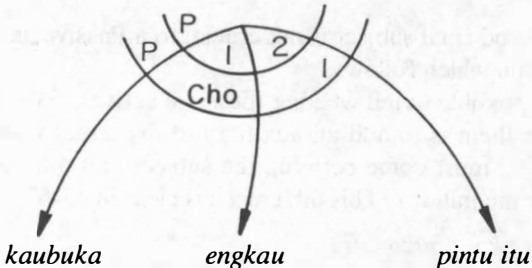
The relational diagrams that follow show the identical relational structures of these two Passive subtypes:

4.42



Pintu itu di-buka-nya.
 'The door was opened by him.'

4.43



Pintu itu kau-buka.
 'The door was opened by you.'

4.2.3 One Passive or two?

I have already stated my conclusion that there is but one rule of Passive, and have shown that this analysis accounts for several of the apparent disparities between the two subtypes. In this section I answer Chung's major argument in favour of a two-Passive analysis.

Chung (1976b:77) claims that the two rules are governed by different verb classes, though the two classes largely overlap: "Many verbs of emotion, realisation, and knowledge allow Object Preposing, but are marginal or ungrammatical in the Canonical Passive". As examples

of this verb type she gives *suka* 'like', *percaya* 'believe', *tahu* 'know', *lupa* 'forget'. *Cinta* and *sayang*, both meaning 'love', though not listed by her, belong in the same class. These verbs were mentioned in the previous chapter as often being exceptional in nature, in Bahasa Indonesia and cross-linguistically.

I maintain that these verbs are not transitive in the first place, but rather they are intransitive verbs which take either an initial indirect object or an initial locative. Whenever this nominal is advanced to 2, the verb is suffixed with *-i*. See section 8.2.2.2 on Bahasa Indonesia 'Pseudo-Transitives' for a full discussion of my analysis of these. I will not repeat my arguments here.

Since these clauses are not transitive at any level, it is to be expected that they cannot be passivised. Why, then, are the sentences below, which are like 'We' Passives in form, acceptable?

- 4.44a. ?*Anak lelaki itu saya suka.*
 child male that I like
 'That boy I like, I like that boy.'
- b. ?*Payung kami saya lupa.*
 umbrella our.EXC I forget
 'Our umbrella I forgot, I forgot our umbrella.'

First of all, the acceptability of these sentences is only marginal (indicated by the question marks). Most of my informants much preferred a reversed order:

- 4.45a. *Saya suka anak lelaki itu.*
 'I like that boy.'
- b. *Saya lupa akan payung kami.*
 'I forgot our umbrella.'

Since the relative order of verb and final subject is not crucial to a Passive analysis, I will consider both orders in the discussion which follows.

In the sentences above it is not possible to tell whether these are actives, 'We' Passives, or neither. One way to disambiguate them is to add an auxiliary or aspectual word. In active sentences auxiliaries and aspectuals must come between the subject and the verb, while in Passives these words must precede the initial 1. This difference is clear in 4.46:

- 4.46a. *Saya sudah mem-buka pintu itu.*
 I already meN-open door that
 'I already opened the door.'
- b. *Pintu itu sudah saya buka.*
 'The door has already been opened by me.'

If the negative *tidak* is added to the sentences in 4.44 and 4.45 above, it is added in the preverbal position, as for active sentences:

- 4.47a. ?*Anak lelaki itu saya tidak suka.*
 'That boy I don't like.'
- b. ?*Payung kami saya tidak lupa.*
 'Our umbrella I didn't forget.'

- 4.48a. *Saya tidak suka anak lelaki itu.*
'I don't like that boy.'
- b. *Saya tidak lupa akan payung kami.*
'I didn't forget our umbrella.'

The pronoun test is also available here. If *anak lelaki itu* in 4.44a and 4.45a can be substituted with the subject pronoun *ia*, this would suggest this constituent is a subject, and the construction is therefore a Passive. However, when the subject pronoun *ia* is substituted for *anak lelaki itu*, the sentence is ungrammatical:

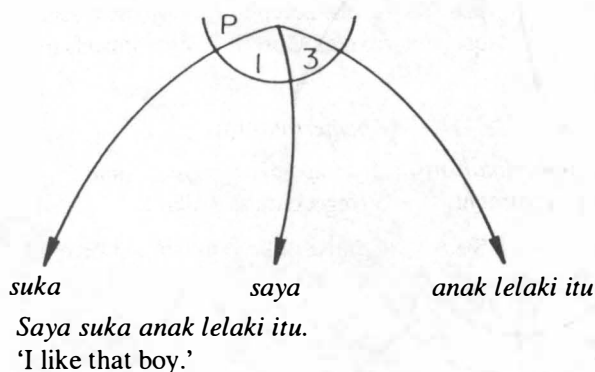
- 4.49a. **Ia saya suka.*
- b. **Saya suka ia.*

Because *ia* is not substitutable for *anak lelaki itu* in 4.44a and 4.45a, the sentences in 4.44 and 4.45 cannot be Passives.

We can conclude, then, that this set of verbs does not constitute an argument in favour of two Passive rules, because, far from revealing a discrepancy between the 'two Passives', these verbs are equally incompatible with both the 'We' and the 'They' Passive types.

My analysis of this set of examples as active sentences with a 3 or a Locative is represented in the relational diagram below:

4.50



Because *suka* is intransitive,⁷ the 3 relation following it optionally drops its preposition; there can be no confusion with a 2. For transitive verbs which take a 3, such as *kirim* 'send', the preposition is obligatory when the 3 does not advance, in order to avoid confusion with the 2.

The 3, like the 3s of transitive verbs, may advance to 2 (see Chapter 5); the verb registers this advancement with *-i*:

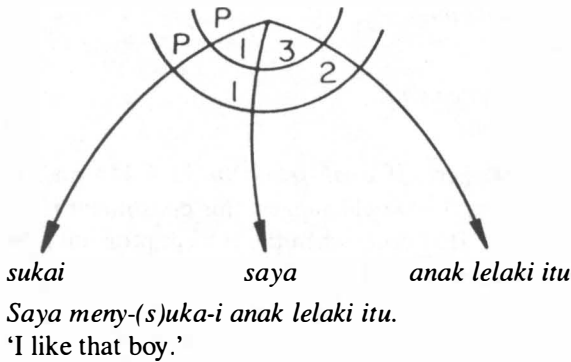
⁷ These verbs appear to contradict my findings in Chapter 3 about unergatives. There I claim that verbs with unergative initial strata are always prefixed with either *ber-* or *meN-*. *Suka* is unergative, but cannot take either of those prefixes. This difference in the two verb classes is a difference in valences. The verb *bekerja* 'work', for instance, has a valence of 1 (2). The valence of *suka*, on the other hand, is 1 3. The only way it can have a 2 is by advancing the 3 to 2. Therefore, a more precise statement of the morphology of intransitive verbs is:

Verbs with a valence of 1 (2) are prefixed with *ber-* or *meN-*.

Verbs with a valence of (1) 2 are generally unprefixes, but for a minority of verb bases, are prefixed.

Verbs with a valence of 1 3 are unprefixes.

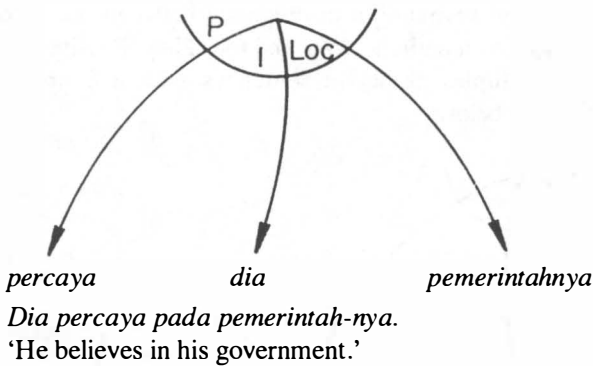
4.51



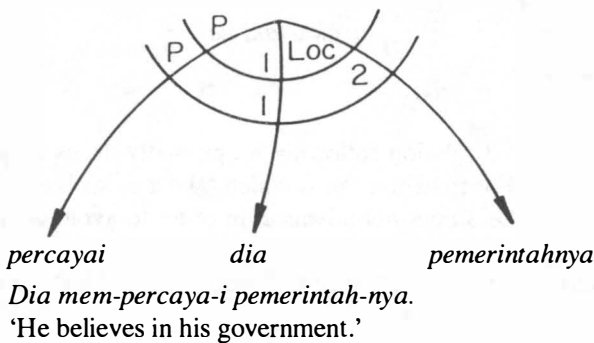
The final 2 is eligible for further advancement to subject.

Other verbs take an initial Locative which, unlike an indirect object, is inanimate.⁸ Like an indirect object, however, its advancement is registered on the verb⁹ with *-i*:

4.52



4.53



⁸ With transitive verbs, both 3-2 and Locative-2 Advancements are recorded on the verb with *-i*. We could possibly assign a single grammatical relation (such as Goal) that included both 3s and Locatives. This is not desirable, however, for two reasons. In their unadvanced forms, the two take different prepositions. In addition, when they advance to 2, the 2-chômeurs of the two kinds of Advancements are marked differently. See Chapter 5 for more details on these operations. Since both 3s and Locatives are needed on syntactic grounds for transitive verbal bases, I presume that both relations are likewise needed for intransitive verbal bases.

⁹ *Percaya* is one of a class of exceptional verbs in Bahasa Indonesia whose initial voiceless stop fails to delete following the morphophonemic change in the *meN-* prefix. *Punya* 'possess' is another exception (*mem-punyai* 'own').

It is interesting to note that the English gloss of these sentences uses the preposition 'in', which is also primarily an indicator of a locative relation.

The verb *lupa* 'forget' takes *-kan* in its advanced form. I have no explanation for the *-kan*, which normally indicates Benefactive- or Instrument-2 Advancement. All the other verbs in this class take *-i* when advancement to 2 occurs from either the indirect object or the Locative relation. See Chapter 8 for further discussion of this set of verbs.

There are many verbs which take nominal complements which are not direct objects. Instead, the verb and its complement together form a single constituent, somewhat like object incorporation in other languages. Neither 'They' Passive nor 'We' Passive is allowed with this set of verbs, since there is no direct object to advance to 1. They include *belajar* 'study', *main* 'play', *berbahasa* 'speak (a language)', and *naik* 'get on, ride (a vehicle)'. The examples below show that Passives are not allowed on these verbs:

- 4.54a. *Sri bel-ajar ilmu hukum.*
Sri INTR-study science law
'Sri is studying law.'
- b. **Ilmu hukum di-belajar/di-ajar Sri.*
'Law is being studied by Sri.'
- c. **Ilmu hukum dia belajar/ajar.*
'Law is being studied by her.'
- 4.55a. *Kita naik taxi ke Jayapura.*
we.INC get.on taxi to Jayapura
'We rode a taxi to Jayapura.'
- b. **Taxi di-naik ke Jayapura.*
'A taxi was taken to Jayapura.'
- c. **Taxi kita naik ke Jayapura.*
'A taxi was taken by us to Jayapura.'

This last example is not helped by making the sentence-initial NP definite:

- 4.56 **Taxi itu kita naik ke Jayapura.*
'That taxi was taken by us to Jayapura.'

Note that the *meN-* prefix does not occur on these verbs. It would be expected to occur, however, if the postverbal nominal were a direct object.

I do not have any real explanation for these. It has been suggested to me (by Joseph Grimes, pers.comm.) that the non-referentiality of the postverbal NP may be one factor which makes it unsuitable as a direct object. So, for example, in 4.55 above, there is no actual taxi being talked about. However, if the taxi in 4.55a is referred to by name (many taxis in Indonesia are named), the complement is then certainly referential; but it still cannot be passivised. Also, non-referential direct objects are possible in the language:

- 4.57 *Dia men-cari mobil baru.*
he meN-look.for car new
'He is looking for a new car.'

Chung lists another set of verbs which, according to her, allow Canonical Passive but not Object Preposing. These include *percayai* 'believe (trans)' and *rusak* 'destroy'. These two

verbs are very different from each other. *Percayai*, as mentioned previously, is a transitive verb with a final direct object which has advanced from a 3 or Locative relation and should, therefore, be eligible for both 'They' Passive and 'We' Passive. Chung's example of *percayai* with 'We' Passive (her example 4.66a, repeated below in 4.58a) is judged ungrammatical because the negative *tidak* interposes between the agent and the verb, and not because *percayai* is incompatible with Object Preposing. If the order of the negative and the agent is reversed, the sentence is acceptable (4.58b), and her argument disappears:

- 4.58a. **Tetangga kami saya tidak percayai.* (after Chung)
 neighbour our.EXC I not believe
- b. *Tetangga kami tidak saya percaya-i.*
 neighbour our.EXC not I believe-TRAN
 'Our neighbour was not believed by me.'

As for the verb *rusak*, this is an ordinary unaccusative predicate in its unaffixed form, meaning 'destroyed'. As an unaccusative, it cannot be passivised. The expected transitive form is *rusakkan*, but *merusak* is the usual transitive form. My informants accept *rusak* in both the 'We' Passive (4.59a) and the 'They' Passive forms (4.59b):

- 4.59a. *Mobil itu kita rusak.*
 car that we.INC destroy
 'The car was destroyed by us.'
- b. *Mobil itu di-rusak mereka*
 'The car was destroyed by them.'

The grammaticality of 4.59a destroys another of Chung's arguments in favour of two Passive rules.

Thus we see that Chung's claim that 'We' Passive is a verb-governed rule, and so constitutes a rule separate from the 'They' Passive rule, which is not verb-governed, does not stand up to close examination.

There are some Bahasa Indonesia verbs which may occur only in the active. Neither type of Passive may occur with these predicates. *Punyai* 'have, own' is one of these:

- 4.60a. *Mereka mem-punya-i mobil ini.*
 they meN-have-TRAN car this
 'They own this car.'
- b. **Mobil ini di-punya-i mereka.*
 'This car is owned by them.'
- c. **Mobil ini mereka punya-i.*
 'This car is owned by them.'

Sarumpaet (1980) points out that the modal *dapat* 'can, be able' can be used with verbs of any voice, while the modal *mampu* 'be able, capable' is used only with active voice verbs, either transitive or intransitive. Once again, 'They' Passive and 'We' Passive work identically in not allowing *mampu*:

- 4.61a. *Barang itu dapat di-tinggal-kan di sini.*
 things those can 3PER-leave-TRAN here
 'Those things can be left here.'

- b. *Barang itu dapat kau-tinggal-kan di sini.*
 things those can you-leave-TRAN here
 'Those things can be left by you here.'
- 4.62a. **Barang itu mampu di-tinggal-kan di sini.*
 'Those things can be left here.'
- b. **Barang itu mampu kau-tinggal-kan di sini.*
 'Those things can be left by you here.'

My proposed analysis of this difference is that *mampu* is an Equi verb which semantically requires an animate final subject. Passive, which generally advances an inanimate initial 2 to 1, is therefore not allowed in the downstairs clause. *Dapat* does not have such an animacy restriction. In fact, as I mention in Chapter 8, *dapat* is an adverb which modifies the head of a verb phrase, and not an Equi verb at all.

This difference in analysis between *dapat* and *mampu* is not as important as the fact that, for *mampu*, both 'We' Passives and 'They' Passives work the same, as is shown in the examples in 4.62. This supports my claim that there is but one rule of Passive in Bahasa Indonesia.

Next we turn our attention to imperatives for evidence that there is only one rule of Passive. Imperative verbs are often marked with *-lah*, which Wolff (1980) calls a 'softener', to make the force of the imperative less harsh. Active transitive verbs with *meN-* are not allowed in positive imperatives (examples 4.63 and 4.64), though *meN-* may optionally occur in negative imperatives (4.65 and 4.66):

- 4.63 **Mem-baca-lah buku itu.*
 meN-read-TOP book that
 'Read that book!'
- 4.64 **Me-masak-lah telur itu.*
 meN-cook-TOP egg that
 'Cook that egg!'
- 4.65 *Jangan (mem-)baca buku itu.*
 'Don't read that book!'
- 4.66 *Jangan (me-)masak telur itu.*
 'Don't cook that egg!'

That this is not just a constraint against the *meN-* prefix occurring in positive imperatives is shown by the examples below, which have an intransitive verb with a *meN-* prefix in the imperative. These sentences are fine:

- 4.67 *Me-nyanyi-lah!*
 'Sing!'
- 4.68 *Men-(t)ari-lah!*
 'Dance!'

These examples also demonstrate that the initial 1 of unergatives is deleted in imperatives.

For verbs with transitive initial strata, only the Passive form may occur in imperatives. For both 'They' Passive and 'We' Passive it is the initial 1 (the agent) which may be deleted (example 4.69). The unprefixing verb stem in a. is an example of a 'We' Passive with the

second person initial 1 deleted; the verb prefixed with *di-* in b. exemplifies a 'They' Passive; c. exemplifies a negative Passive, with the prohibition word *jangan* 'don't', in which the agent is retained. The final 1 (*buku itu*) may follow or precede the verb.

- 4.69a. *Baca-lah buku itu!*
'Read that book!'
- b. *Buku itu di-baca-lah!*
'Read that book!'
- c. *Jangan kamu baca buku itu!*
'Don't read that book!'

Both types of imperatives above are directed towards a second person. The difference is that b., with the form of a third person Passive, is less direct and, therefore, more polite.

Unaccusative predicates may delete their initial 2s in imperatives, as in the b. examples below:

- 4.70a. *Duduklah kamu!*
- b. *Duduklah!*
'Sit down!'
- 4.71a. *Masuklah kamu!*
- b. *Masuklah!*
'Come in!'

The correct generalisation for the deleted nominal in imperatives is therefore:

Delete the nominal with the highest initial grammatical relation in imperatives.

This rule is optional, as the nominal with the highest initial grammatical relation does not have to delete. It is more often retained in negative imperatives (see example 4.69c above). Another piece of evidence that these imperatives are Passives, besides their morphology, is the fact that the initial 2 (*buku itu* in the examples above) cannot be replaced by the clitic *-nya*. This indicates that it is not a final 2.

- 4.72a. **Baca-nya-lah!*
'Read it!'
- b. **Di-masak-nya-lah!*
'Let him cook it!'
- 4.73a. **Cari-nya-lah!*
'Look for him!'
- b. **Di-cari-nya-lah!*
'Let him look for him!'

The examples above point out the similarity between the two constructions under discussion here: both types of Passive delete initial 1s in the imperative (example 4.69), and neither allows the cliticisation of the initial 2 in the imperative (4.72) – because it is the final 1 in each case.

One final way in which 'They' Passive and 'We' Passive constructions work the same is in regard to ellipsis in conjoined sentences. The final subject of both constructions may be

deleted in the second of two conjoined clauses (examples 4.74 and 4.75). Example 4.75b shows that there does not have to be a second occurrence of the initial 1 (*kita*), either. A sentence with a 'They' Passive and a 'We' Passive may even be conjoined, with the second of the final subjects deleted (4.76):

- 4.74a. *Lantai itu telah di-sapu dan di-pel.*
 floor that already 3PER-sweep and 3PER-wash
 'The floor has been swept and washed.'
- b. *Lantai itu telah ku-sapu dan ku-pel.*
 floor that already I-sweep and I-wash
 'The floor has already been swept and washed by me.'
- 4.75a *Banyak yang di-rasa-kan dan di-alam-inya.*
 much COMP 3PER-feel-TRAN and 3PER-nature-TRAN -him
 'Much has already been felt and experienced by him.'
- b. *Banyak yang telah kita rasa-kan dan alam-i.*
 'Much has already been felt and experienced by us.'
- 4.76 *Lantai telah di-sapu mereka dan mereka cuci.*
 floor already 3PER-sweep they and they wash
 'The floor has been swept and washed by them.'

To sum up this section, I have demonstrated that there is no evidence in favour of two rules of Passive in Bahasa Indonesia. There is no difference in the verbs which allow the two constructions – the same verbs either allow or disallow both constructions. The modal *mampu* cannot occur with either of the constructions, but only with actives with animate final subjects; both constructions occur in imperatives and in each type the nominal with the highest initial grammatical relation is deleted; and both delete their final subjects in conjoined clauses. I thus conclude that there is only one rule of Passive in Bahasa Indonesia.

Realisations differ only minimally. 'They' Passive, but not 'We' Passive, allows an optional additional postverbal specification of its third person 1-chômeur.

4.3 Passive verb followed by Initial 2: What is it?

We now turn to those sentences in which the normal word order of final subject — Passive verb is reversed:

- 4.77a. *Di-buka-nya pintu itu.*
 3PER-open-him door that
 'The door was opened by him.'
- b. *Kau-buka pintu itu.*
 you-open door that
 'The door was opened by you.'

These contrast with ordinary active clauses (*Dia membuka pintu itu. Engkau membuka pintu itu.*) as well as with ordinary Passive clauses (*Pintu itu dibukanya. Pintu itu kaubuka.*).

The question that must be answered here is: What is the relational structure of sentences such as these? Are they Passives, with the initial 2 (*pintu itu*) as final 1? In favour of this is

their Passive morphology. Are they actives with some sort of de-focused or non-topic subjects? The fact that *pintu itu* follows the verb would favour such an active analysis.

The kinds of evidence to which we can appeal to decide this issue are limited. This is because it is necessary for the initial 2 to stay in its postverbal position, in order to distinguish these sentences from the regular Passives examined in the previous section. Therefore, we cannot test the grammatical relation of *pintu itu* by movement operations such as questions, clefts, or relative clauses. Nor can we test by deletion operations or by raising operations.

At least one test is still available – pronominal substitution. However, when the postverbal NP is replaced by *ia*, the sentence is only marginally acceptable. It seems strange to stick a final subject, and especially a pronominal one, in sentence-final position, the normal spot for new information, in a language whose basic word order is S V O.

- 4.78a. ?*Di-pukul-nya ia.*
'He was hit by him.'
- b. ?*Ku-pukul ia.*
'He was hit by me.'
- 4.79a. ?*Di-lihat-nya ia.*
'He was seen by him.'
- b. ?*Kau-lihat ia.*
'He was seen by you.'

I really cannot substantiate with syntactic evidence my opinion that these are Passives. Instead, I appeal to verb morphology to provide the evidence that is not available from our usual tests. Since these examples clearly have Passive morphology, and I know of no other examples of syntactically active¹⁰ sentences carrying typically Passive morphology, I conclude they are Passives.

These examples show us, for one thing, that word order in Bahasa Indonesia is not fixed, though few would disagree that the language has a basic word order. For another thing, the examples in 4.77 above give evidence that the initial 2 need not occur in preverbal position in a Bahasa Indonesia Passive.

I would suggest that the difference between these and regular Passives is not a syntactic one at all (by this I mean the two have identical relational structures), but rather a pragmatic one. Since this is not a study of pragmatics in Bahasa Indonesia, I am not prepared to state with certainty under what conditions the inverted form of the Passive would be used. The inverted forms appear to put emphasis or focus on the verb, rather than on any of its nominal arguments. Cumming (1984) claims that one of the functions of predicate-initial word order in general is a continuous theme function. A subject follows the verb when its referent has been previously mentioned in the discourse. This feature characterises Right Dislocation in many languages, and is often accompanied by lower intonation on the dislocated element, indicating old information. The structures in 4.77 could be Right Dislocations in Bahasa Indonesia, but I have not investigated this possibility.

Relational Grammar is a syntactic theory. It is not a theory of semantics or pragmatics. Therefore, a Relational Grammar analysis of Bahasa Indonesia syntax can only answer the

¹⁰ As I noted earlier, Bahasa Indonesia Passives are often best translated as English actives. Therefore, any appeal to meaning to decide the question here would only confuse the issue.

question, What is its structure? The answer to the question, When is it used? belongs to the realm of pragmatics, though it builds on the answers which Relational Grammar supplies.

4.4 Initial 1-transitive verb root-initial 2: What is it?

Next we look at another construction which bears similarities to the 'We' Passives examined above in that the verb has no prefix. This construction looks like a regular active transitive clause, but the verb does not have its usual *meN-* prefix:

- 4.80a. *Sunarjo buka pintu itu.*
'Sunarjo opened the door.'
- b. *Saya buka pintu itu.*
'I opened the door.'

Once again we must ask what is the relational structure of these sentences. Are they yet another type of Passive? Are they active sentences in which *meN-* may optionally be deleted?

Chung (1978) examines these constructions, which she terms 'stem sentences', and arrives at the conclusion that they are active.

In support of an active analysis of these sentences is the fact that between the subject and the verb there may occur a tense-aspect marker or modal auxiliary, an order which can occur only in active sentences:

- 4.81 *Dia akan buka pintu.*
'He will open the door.'

The subject pronoun *ia* may be substituted for the preverbal NP, but not the postverbal one:

- 4.82a. *Ia akan lihat saya.*
'He will see me.'
- b. **Saya akan lihat ia.*
'I will see him.'

The target of Equi in these sentences is the preverbal nominal, a fact which indicates its final 1 relation:

- 4.83 *Dia mau buka pintu.*
'He wants to open the door.'

The preverbal nominal may be deleted in relative clauses (example 4.84), fronted in questions (4.85) and in focus constructions (4.86), and raised in ascension constructions (4.87):

- 4.84 *Saya men-dapat-kan orang yang buka keranjang itu.*
I meN-find-TRAN person COMP open basket that
'I found the person who opened the basket.'
- 4.85 *Siapa yang buka itu?*
who COMP open that
'Who opened it?'

- 4.86 *Dia-lah yang buka keranjang itu.*
 he-TOP COMP open basket that
 'He is the one who opened the basket.'
- 4.87 *Saya meng-(k)ira dia buka keranjang.*
 I meN-think he open basket
 'I think he opened the basket.'

Each of these tests above supports an active¹¹ analysis.

Chung's conclusion that these are actives is supported by Anderson (1983). He shows that the presence and absence of *meN-* is subject to sociolinguistic variation. The more informal the speech situation, the more likely that the *meN-* prefix will be dropped. He provides figures for interlocutors of varying familiarity that are reproduced here as Table 1:

Table 4.1: The sociolinguistic variation of *meN-*

	STRANGER	CO-WORKER	FRIEND	FAMILY
<i>meN-</i> prefix	79%	39%	50%	33%
versus				
no prefix	21%	61%	50%	67%

Cumming (1984:11) concurs with these results: "This variation is apparently stylistically rather than syntactically conditioned, with the *meng-* form being more formal".

Thus the presence vs absence of the *meN-* prefix is sociolinguistically determined and not syntactically determined. The clauses in question are therefore active, and not Passive at all.

4.5 Bahasa Indonesia as an ergative language

Cartier (1979) and Tchekhoff (1980) have both suggested that Bahasa Indonesia is an ergative language. According to Dixon (1994:21), Tchekhoff presents a non-standard use of the term 'ergative' – that is, where the agent has special marking and the object and the verb receive no special marking.

An example of the evidence Cartier offers is the fact that, of the agents and patients in both active and Passive sentences, only the Passive agent (the 1-chômeur, in Relational Grammar vocabulary) is morphologically marked (with *oleh*).

¹¹ One other test which we would like to be able to use as evidence here does not give the expected result. That is the use of the clitic form of the pronominal direct object. Sentences such as the following are ungrammatical:

**Dia lihat-nya kemarin.*
 'He saw him yesterday.'

In every other type of finally transitive sentence that I am aware of, the direct object can be cliticised to the verb. I propose that this is not allowed to occur when the verb's *meN-* prefix is missing, in order to avoid a double reduction. Both the dropping of the prefix and the cliticisation of the pronominal direct object are types of reduction, dependent on both the social context and the discourse context. It appears that the language does not countenance two such reductions in a single clause.

She also discusses the construction *kupukul dia* 'I hit him, he was hit by me' (similar examples were discussed in section 4.3 above). She claims this sentence is active. The 'object' *dia* cannot cliticise to *-nya*:

- 4.88 **Ku-pukul-nya*.
'I hit him, he was hit by me.'

In this it is similar to intransitive clauses, whose single term cannot cliticise:

- 4.89a. *Dia datang*.
'He came.'
- b. **Datang nya*.

According to Cartier, this shows that a transitive object patterns with an intransitive subject.

However, I have claimed above that sentences such as *kupukul dia* are Passive, not active, based on morphology and the fact that *dia* can (perhaps) be replaced by *ia*. Therefore, *dia* is not an object, but a subject, and this constitutes an argument in favour of a nominative–accusative analysis of Bahasa Indonesia and against an ergative analysis.

Further, in uncontroversial cases, the pronominal forms of intransitive and transitive subjects are identical. These forms are opposed to the forms used in all other syntactic positions (direct object, object of preposition, possessive). Though the so-called ergative NP has a unique marking (that is, the preposition *oleh*), its pronominal form is not unique – it patterns with all other non-subjects.

I could expand my critique here by adding evidence that a number of syntactic processes in Bahasa Indonesia (question, relative clause, and cleft formation, Equi, and Ascension) all apply to final 1s of both transitives and intransitives. The ergative analysis predicts that these processes, on the other hand, should be sensitive either to the final transitive 1 (but not to the final intransitive 1), or to the final transitive 2 and the final intransitive 1 (but not to the transitive 1).

Evidence that 'final 1' is the important relation in these processes is found elsewhere in this work. The fronting processes of questions, relative clauses, and clefts are discussed in Chapter 2; Ascensions are discussed in detail in Chapter 7; and Equi is discussed in Chapter 8.

Verhaar (1988) also analyses as ergatives some of the constructions which I have discussed here. He claims that formal Bahasa Indonesia has accusative syntax, while the informal style has ergative syntax, providing a "sociolinguual split" similar to Samoan. The pragmatic function of the ergative is to topicalise the object.

It is true that Bahasa Indonesia Passives are used much more frequently than English Passives. But this in itself is no grounds for positing an ergative analysis. It is simply a fact of Bahasa Indonesia grammar and pragmatics which sets it apart from Passives in Indo-European languages.

4.6 The function of *meN-*

Since I am not including a separate chapter on active sentences, I will insert here my findings on the prefix *meN-*. It has usually been described as indicating either active verbs (as opposed to Passive) or transitive verbs. Neither of these designations is totally accurate, since it also occurs on some intransitives, which do not have active and Passive voices.

The following generalisations can be made about *meN*-:

- i. It may (but need not) occur on the verb of all finally transitive clauses.
- ii. It never occurs in Passive clauses.
- iii. Some intransitive verbs, mostly unergatives, also take this prefix.
- iv. Verbs with final relations of 1 and 3 do not receive *meN*-.

These facts can be summarised in relational terms as follows:

Condition on *meN*- prefixation (tentative):

MeN- is prefixed to a verb

- a) whose initial 1 is also its final 1, and
- b) which has an optional or obligatory 2 in its valence.

When there is an obligatory 2, the use of *meN*- is open to sociolinguistic variation. In Chapter 8 I will modify this condition.

The only exceptions to this statement are those *meN*- prefixed intransitives which are unaccusatives, whose final 1s are their initial 2s. Among those I have discovered are: *mengalir* 'flow', *mendarat* 'land', *melompat* 'jump', and *menyeberang* 'cross'. (These are discussed further in Chapter 3.) These same verbs would also be exceptions to the other rules generally given for the function of *meN*-. In fact, all *meN*-prefixed intransitives would be exceptions. Under my analysis, however, only this minor class is exceptional.

4.7 Passives in other Western Austronesian languages

In this section I briefly discuss Passives in the languages of the Philippines, with the purpose of demonstrating that Bahasa Indonesia Passives bear both differences and similarities with their near Western Austronesian neighbours.

The notion of subject has been much discussed in regard to Austronesian languages and, by extension, the notion of Passive has also been examined.

In the languages of the Philippines, one nominal of every clause is singled out for special attention by the syntax. This NP is said to be 'in focus'. Verbal affixes indicate which NP of the clause is in focus. The in-focus NP bears special case marking or has a special pronominal form. The question often raised is, Is this focused NP the subject? Or is the actor-agent the subject? Both? Neither?

When the agent is the focused nominal, there is no question as to which NP is the subject. However, when the focused nominal is not the agent, the two nominals share the usual properties of subjects (Keenan 1976b). In general, only the focused NP can be relativised and can launch floating quantifiers. But the agent retains its position immediately following the verb in most Philippine languages (unless it is fronted) and, according to Keenan (1976b), a derived subject is more likely to acquire subject position than it is to acquire coding or behavioural properties of subjects. The agent is the missing NP in Equi constructions and it controls reflexivisation. The focused NP can be reflexivised and often must be definite – properties which are unusual for subjects cross-linguistically.

These facts have been handled differently by linguists working in different theories. For Relational Grammar, these facts pose no special problem, since it is possible for initial and final subjects to possess separate properties. So the agent (for predicates which take an agent) is the initial subject; the in-focus nominal is the final subject. When the in-focus NP is the initial 2, the construction is a Passive.

Mulder and Schwartz (1981) maintain that the languages of the Philippines need not choose the actor/agent as initial 1. Rather, they have several options for initial 1. Therefore, under their analysis, a clause with a non-agent/actor as final subject is not a Passive; it is a simple active clause with a single stratum.

Schachter (1976) concludes from these Philippines facts that the notion of subject is not a linguistic universal, since no single NP may be identified as subject in these languages.

In Sama, a Philippine language studied by Walton, and discussed in Foley and Van Valin (1984), there is a Passive construction which is separate from plain object-focus constructions. The Passive has an extra *-i-* morpheme, in addition to the zero prefix indicating object focus. Also, in the Passive, but not in the plain object-focus forms, the 1-chômeur is marked by *uk*. The 1-chômeur may be freely omitted in Passive constructions, but not in the plain object-focus constructions. On both morphological and syntactic grounds, then, Passives differ from plain object-focus constructions in Sama. Foley and Van Valin suggest that this may be true throughout the languages of the Philippines, though in most it is not so obvious as it is in Sama.

The constructions which Relational Grammar identifies as Passives in Philippine languages differ from Passives in Bahasa Indonesia. First, there is no good evidence for a Philippines-type focus system in Bahasa Indonesia. Thomas (1980) and Naylor (1978) propose that *-kan* and *-i* indicate secondary focus when the verb is prefixed with *meN-* (that is, when it has actor focus), and that they indicate primary focus when the verb is prefixed with *di-* (that is, when it has non-actor focus). The notion of 'secondary' focus, to my knowledge, has not been discussed for Philippine languages. This analysis of Bahasa Indonesia therefore diverges from the focus analyses for the Philippine languages. Bahasa Indonesia verbal suffixes are indicators of advancements to 2, as I will show in the next chapter. It thus cannot be maintained that *-kan* and *-i* figure into any focus system in Bahasa Indonesia, leaving *meN-* and *di-* to possibly indicate actor and non-actor focus, respectively. To say that Bahasa Indonesia has two focus types is equivalent to saying it has an active and a Passive. A focus analysis has no advantages.

Bahasa Indonesia Passive subjects need not always be definite – at least not for 'They' Passives, though 'We' Passives appear to prohibit indefinite subjects. The clause-initial position is taken by the final subject, not the initial subject. The initial 1 retains only some control properties of subjects. (Control is discussed in Chapter 8.) In particular, in verb-governed Equi, a non-final 1 may not act as controller. For non-verb-governed Equi, on the other hand, initial 1s are among the possible controllers. In each of these ways Bahasa Indonesia Passives differ from Passives in most Philippine languages.

Foley and Van Valin present Cena's arguments that, in Tagalog, object-focus constructions are the unmarked (in the Praguean sense) focus type, since they have a wider distribution. In Bahasa Indonesia, on the other hand, the Passive (at least the 'They' Passive) is more marked than the active. The Passive agent may take a preposition. The *di-* prefix is never deletable, while the *meN-* prefix may be deleted under certain sociolinguistic conditions. The Passive requires its agent to be cliticised to the verb. To my knowledge, there are no Bahasa Indonesia verbs which may occur in the Passive only, but there are verbs which may occur in the active only (these are discussed in section 4.2.3 above).

These facts indicate the more marked nature of Bahasa Indonesia Passives in relation to actives, in that they have more restrictions on them. My conclusion is that, although Bahasa Indonesia and the languages of the Philippines are all Western Austronesian languages, they differ considerably in their clausal syntax.

5 *Advancements to direct object*

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter we look at Advancements to direct object in Bahasa Indonesia. A variety of grammatical relations may advance to 2. Chung (1976a) has discussed Benefactive-2 and 3-2 Advancements, grouping them together as 'Dative'. I propose that Bahasa Indonesia also has Instrument-2 and Locative-2 Advancements. While the latter types exhibit some different features from the former types, I provide evidence that they are Advancements to 2 nevertheless. Below I discuss each type in turn.

This chapter is an important one to our complete understanding of Bahasa Indonesia grammar. The different Advancements to be discussed here all relate to the verbal suffixes *-i* and *-kan*. These are perhaps the least understood and most poorly described aspects of the language. The analysis presented here offers a step out of this confusion.

5.2 Benefactive – direct object Advancements

English has a rule, called Dative Movement in transformational tradition, which includes both Benefactive-2 and 3-2 Advancements. An example of Benefactive-2 Advancement in English is given below:

- 5.1a. *Mary bought a convertible for Tom.*
- b. *Mary bought Tom a convertible.*

The Benefactee, *Tom*, bears the final Benefactive relation in sentence 5.1a., as indicated by the preposition *for*. In 5.1b., *Tom* is the direct object, shown by its postverbal position and lack of preposition.

Chung (1976a) has discussed similar constructions in Bahasa Indonesia. While my conclusions are very similar to hers, some of her information is in error, and I correct that information in this section.

The rule of Benefactive-2 Advancement in Bahasa Indonesia relates pairs of sentences such as the following:

- 5.2a. *Heri mem-buat meja makan itu untuk saya.*
Heri meN-make table eat that for me
'Heri made the dining table for me.'

- b. *Heri mem-buat-kan saya meja makan itu.*
 Heri meN-make-BEN me table eat that
 'Heri made me the dining table.'
- 5.3a. *Ibu me-masak nasi goreng-nya untuk teman saya.*
 Mother meN-cook rice fried-the for friend my
 'Mother cooked the fried rice for my friend.'
- b. *Ibu me-masak-kan teman saya nasi goreng-nya.*
 Mother meN-cook-BEN friend my rice fried-the
 'Mother cooked my friend the fried rice.'

In the first sentence of each pair, the transitive verb is immediately followed by the direct object. The Benefactee is in a prepositional phrase following the direct object. In the second sentence of each pair, the verb is suffixed¹ with *-kan*, and the Benefactee, without its preposition, follows immediately. The original direct object is at the end of the sentence. The prepositions *bagi*, *buat* and *guna*, all meaning 'for', may replace *untuk* in the examples.

Below I present evidence that the Benefactive of the b. examples is the final 2, and that the initial 2 is **not** a final 2. To determine these facts, we appeal to the characteristics of 2s discussed in Chapter 2.

5.2.1 Evidence that the Benefactive is final 2

The immediate postverbal position is the normal position for direct objects, and this is the position of the advanced Benefactive. Also, direct objects are prepositionless in Bahasa Indonesia; this feature also characterises the advanced Benefactive.

Pronominal direct objects may be cliticised to the verb. As the examples below indicate, the advanced Benefactive pronoun may be cliticised² in the same way.

- 5.4 *Heri mem-buat-kan-nya meja makan itu.*
 Heri meN-make-BEN-him table eat that
 'Heri made him the dining table.'
- 5.5 *Ibu me-masak-kan-nya nasi goreng-nya.*
 Mother meN-cook-BEN-him rice fried-the
 'Mother cooked him the fried rice.'

The non-clitic subject pronoun *ia* 'he, she' cannot occur in this position:

- 5.6 **Ibu me-masak-kan ia nasi goreng-nya.*
 Mother meN-cook-BEN him rice fried-the
 'Mother cooked him the fried rice.'

Finally, the advanced Benefactive may be advanced further to the subject relation:

¹ In section 5.2.3, I discuss cases in which *-kan* is suffixed in the absence of Advancement.

² As Verhaar (1984b) notes, and as my informants have confirmed, only third person advancees may cliticise. That is, **membuatkanku* 'make (for) me', and **memasakkanmu* 'cook (for) you' are disallowed. I cannot explain this unusual fact. The third person clitic *-nya* and full pronouns, however, can occur in these positions.

- 5.7 *Saya di-buat-kan meja makan itu oleh Heri.*
 I 3PER-make-BEN table eat that by Heri
 'I was made the dining table by Heri.'
- 5.8 *Teman saya di-masak-kan nasi goreng-nya.*
 friend my 3PER-cook-BEN rice fried-the
 'My friend was cooked the fried rice.'

These contrast with sentences in which the Benefactive is advanced to 1 without first being advanced to 2. Such sentences are ungrammatical:

- 5.9 **Saya di-buat meja makan itu (untuk) oleh Heri.*
 I 3PER-make table eat that for by Heri
 'I was made the dining table (for) by Heri.'
- 5.10 **Teman saya di-masak nasi goreng-nya oleh Ibu (untuk).*
 friend my 3PER-cook rice fried-the by Mother (for)
 'My friend was cooked the fried rice by Mother (for).'

Since only direct objects, and not obliques, may be made the subject of a Passive, the sentences in 5.7 and 5.8 provide firm evidence of the 2-hood of the Benefactives prior to passivisation.

In summary, the advanced Benefactives bear the following characteristics of direct objects: they are prepositionless, immediately postverbal, may be replaced by the pronominal clitic *-nya*, but not by *ia*, and may be advanced to subject in a Passive. My conclusion, then, is that the Benefactives of examples 5.2a and 5.3a are the final direct objects of the corresponding b. examples.

5.2.2 Evidence that the initial 2 is not final 2

The Stratal Uniqueness Law predicts that, if the Benefactive in examples 5.2b and 5.3b is the final 2, then the initial 2 does not bear the 2 relation in the final stratum. Evidence given below indicates this to be the case.

The initial 2, like final 2s, is prepositionless. However, it follows the Benefactive rather than the verb, the postverbal position being held by the Benefactive.

Also, the initial 2 cannot be advanced to subject in sentences with an advanced Benefactive. This is shown in the examples below, in which the initial 2 in preverbal position and the *di-* prefix indicate that Passive has occurred, while the *-kan* suffix and the prepositionless Benefactee (*saya* 'me') indicate that the Benefactive has advanced to 2.

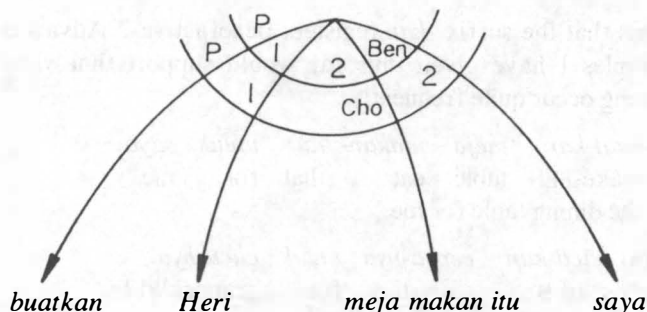
- 5.11 **Meja makan itu di-buat-kan saya oleh Heri.*
 table eat that 3PER-make-BEN me by Heri
 'The dining table was made (for) me by Heri.'
- 5.12 **Nasi goreng-nya di-masak-kan saya oleh Ibu.*
 rice fried-the 3PER-cook-BEN me by Mother
 'The fried rice was cooked (for) me by Mother.'

Evidence from the case of the pronominal substitute cannot be appealed to, since a non-possessive pronoun cannot immediately follow a full NP in Bahasa Indonesia.

My conclusion is that the initial direct object is a final chômeur. The only property which the initial 2 shares with final 2s is that it is prepositionless. In regard to every other property of direct objects, however, the initial 2 shows itself to be other than a final 2. It is fairly common cross-linguistically for final 2s and 2-chômeurs to be marked alike. For example, in German, Slovenian, and Latin the final 2-chômeur is marked with the accusative case (Perlmutter and Postal 1984a).

The following relational structure represents the sentence *Heri membuat saya meja makan itu* 'Harry made me the dining table':

5.13



There are a number of transitive verbs which allow Benefactive-2 Advancement. These include:

5.14	<i>beli</i>	'buy'	<i>jahit</i>	'sew'
	<i>baca</i>	'read'	<i>tunggu</i>	'wait for'
	<i>buat</i>	'make'	<i>curi</i>	'steal'
	<i>ketik</i>	'type'	<i>saji</i>	'serve'
	<i>bayar</i>	'pay for'	<i>panggil</i>	'call'
	<i>cari</i>	'look for'	<i>pegang</i>	'hold'
	<i>gambar</i>	'draw'	<i>tutup</i>	'close'
	<i>masak</i>	'cook'	<i>minta</i>	'ask for'
	<i>buka</i>	'open'	<i>tulis</i>	'write'
	<i>ambil</i>	'take'	<i>bawa</i>	'bring'
	<i>pilih</i>	'choose'	<i>jual</i>	'sell'
	<i>cuci</i>	'wash'	<i>isi</i>	'fill'

Not all transitive verbs which semantically permit Benefactives allow those Benefactives to advance to 2. The verb *gendong* 'carry' is one of many which do not (example 5.15). Nor do most intransitive verbs which semantically permit Benefactives allow Benefactive-2 Advancement (5.16). Some exceptions to this are mentioned in Chapter 4. The difference between those verbs that do allow Benefactive-2 Advancement and those that do not has nothing to do with semantics. Rather, some verbs have certain optional relations in their valences that others do not have. This difference in valences has syntactic effects.

5.15a. *Dia meng-gendong bayi untuk saya.*
 he meN-carry baby for me

b. **Dia meng-gendong-kan saya bayi.*
 he meN-carry-BEN me baby
 'He carried the baby for me.'

- 5.16a. *Dia me-nyanyi untuk pacar-nya.*
 he meN-sing for girlfriend-his
- b. **Dia me-nyanyi-kan pacar-nya.*
 he meN-sing-BEN girlfriend-his
 'He sang for his girlfriend.'

5.2.3 The role of the suffix *-kan*

Chung (1976a) claims that the suffix *-kan* registers Benefactive-2 Advancement on the verb. Indeed, the examples I have given thus far would support that view. However, sentences like the following occur quite frequently:

- 5.17 *Heri mem-buat-kan meja makan itu untuk saya.*
 Heri meN-make-BEN table eat that for me
 'Heri made the dining table for me.'
- 5.18 *Ayah mem-baca-kan cerita-nya untuk cucu-nya.*
 father meN-read-BEN story-the for grandchild-his
 'Father read the story for his grandchild.'

That is, the *-kan* suffix may occur even when the Benefactive has not advanced. Further, it may occur when the Benefactive NP is not even made explicit. This is often true in imperatives, in which it is presupposed that the command is to be carried out for the benefit of the speaker:

- 5.19 *Tolong beli-kan dua liter beras.*
 help buy-BEN two litre rice
 'Please buy (me) two litres of rice.'
- 5.20 *Ambil-kan buku saya.*
 take-BEN book my
 'Take my books (for me).'

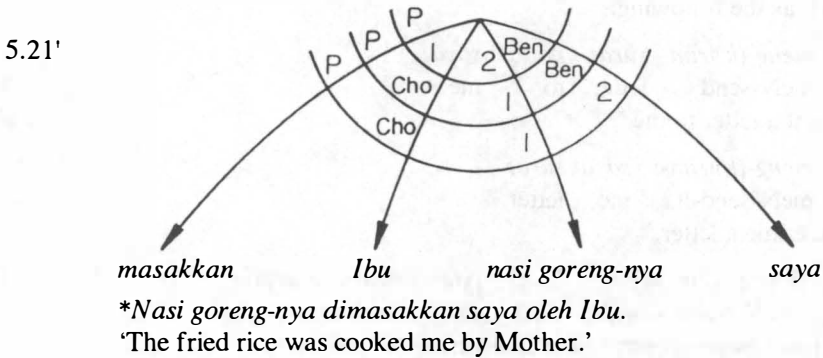
There is disagreement among linguists as to the acceptability of examples such as 5.17–5.20 above. Chung considers them unacceptable. Li Chuan Sui (1976:60) states that the co-occurrence of the suffix *-kan* and the Benefactive prepositional phrase "is wrong". In such cases, he says, the suffix must be dropped. Walker (mentioned in Verhaar 1978) disagrees, maintaining their acceptability. Wolff (1980) says these are not at all abnormal. Verhaar claims that these constructions are due to interference from the Javanese suffix *-aken*.

My informants were quite happy to accept these sentences. Therefore, *-kan* is **not** an indicator of Benefactive-2 Advancement. It would be more accurate to say that, for the class of verbs listed in example 5.14, *-kan* registers the presence of a Benefactive in a verb's argument structure, regardless of whether the Benefactive is final subject, final direct object, final oblique, or not mentioned explicitly at all. When the Benefactive is a final oblique, the *-kan* is optional. Otherwise, it is obligatory.

The Benefactive cannot advance to 2 after Passive has occurred, as the following example shows:

- 5.21 **Nasi goreng-nya di-masak-kan saya oleh Ibu.*
 rice fried-the 3PER-cook-BEN me by Mother
 'The fried rice was cooked (for) me by Mother.'

The example above is superficially identical to 5.12, which was meant to exemplify the fact that the 2-chômeur in a clause with Benefactive-2 Advancement cannot advance to 1. It is ungrammatical by reason of a universal principle that says a chômeur cannot advance. Sentence 5.21, on the other hand, exemplifies that a Benefactive cannot advance to 2 once Passive has operated. Unlike 5.12, this sentence does not violate any universal principles. It would have the relational structure below:



This would be a case of what are called 'intersecting Advancements' in Relational Grammar. These are constructions in which a nominal with grammatical relation X advances in one stratum, and in a later stratum another nominal advances to that same grammatical relation X. Languages differ with regard to whether they allow intersecting Advancements. It appears from the ungrammaticality of 5.21 that Bahasa Indonesia does not allow them, either with initial Benefactives or with initial indirect objects, which I will exemplify in Section 5.3.

It seems that, in some ways, the language is set up to **allow** such constructions. This is because Advancements to 1 are registered as prefixes or proclitics, while Advancements to 2 are registered as suffixes or enclitics. There is therefore no morphological clash here. Nor is any general principle of the theory violated.

My explanation for the ungrammaticality of 5.21 is a pragmatic one. I propose that there is a conflict between *di-* and *-kan* in such sentences. The prefix *di-* focuses attention on the final 1 (*nasi goreng-nya* 'the fried rice'), while *-kan* focuses attention on the Benefactive constituent (*saya* 'me'), whether or not it is advanced. When the final 1 is the Benefactive, all is fine. But when the final 1 is the initial 2, the two affixes are working in opposite directions.

5.3 Indirect object – direct object Advancements

English has a number of 3-place verbs whose indirect objects may be advanced to direct object.

- 5.22a. *The man gave a watch to his son.*
 b. *The man gave his son a watch.*

5.23a. *She showed the way to the child.*

b. *She showed the child the way.*

The English verbs *teach*, *sell*, and *send* are also in this category. These differ from the Benefactive examples in 5.1 above in that the preposition of the unadvanced examples is *to* rather than *for*. The same types of evidence given in the previous section in support of a Benefactive-2 Advancement analysis in English are also applicable to the examples above in support of a 3–2 Advancement analysis. The initial indirect object is a final direct object, as evidenced by its lack of a preposition and its immediate postverbal position.

In Bahasa Indonesia, indirect object – direct object (3–2) Advancement accounts for sentence pairs such as the following:³

5.24a. *Joe meng-(k)irim surat pada saya.*

Joe meN-send letter to me
'Joe sent a letter to me.'

b. *Joe meng-(k)irim-i saya surat.*

Joe meN-send-IO me letter
'Joe sent me a letter.'

5.25a. *Isak meng-ajar ilmu bumi pada murid-murid.*

Isak meN-teach science earth to students
'Isak teaches geography to the students.'

b. *Isak meng-ajar-i murid-murid ilmu bumi.*

Isak meN-teach-IO students science earth
'Isak teaches the students geography.'

In the first sentence of each pair, the initial 3 is in a prepositional phrase, with *pada* 'to', at the end of the sentence.⁴ The initial 2s are *surat* 'letter' and *ilmu bumi* 'geography'. The verb is without a suffix (though, as I mention later, a *-kan* suffix is possible). In the second sentence of each pair, the initial 3 has no preposition, immediately follows the verb, the verb has an *-i* suffix, and the initial 2 is sentence-final.

Below I first provide evidence that the initial 3 is the final 2 of the b. examples. Then I argue that the initial 2 is not a final 2.

5.3.1 Evidence that the initial 3 is final 2

The advanced indirect object shows both the position immediately after the verb and the form without a preposition characteristic of direct objects. In addition, it may, like all direct objects, be cliticised to the verb:

5.26 *Joe meng-(k)irim-i-ku surat.*

Joe meN-send-IO-me letter
'Joe sent me a letter.'

³ The advanced form of *mengajar* 'teach' only optionally takes *-i*. In other words, the form *mengajar* is ambiguous between 'teach (something)' and 'teach (someone)'.

⁴ The preposition *kepada* 'to' can also mark an unadvanced 3.

- 5.27 *Isak meng-ajar-i-nya ilmu bumi.*
Isak meN-teach-IO-him science earth
'Isak teaches him geography.'

On the other hand, the non-clitic subject pronominal form *ia* may not be substituted for the initial indirect object:

- 5.28 **Joe meng-(k)irim-i ia surat.*
Joe meN-send-IO him letter
'Joe sent him a letter.'
- 5.29 **Isak meng-ajar-i ia ilmu bumi.*
Isak meN-teach-IO him science earth
'Isak teaches him geography.'

Finally, the initial 3 may be advanced to subject from the direct object relation:

- 5.30 *Saya di-kirim-i surat oleh Joe.*
I 3PER-send-IO letter by Joe
'I was sent a letter by Joe.'
- 5.31 *Murid-murid ku-ajar-i ilmu bumi.*
students I-teach-IO science earth
'The students are taught geography by me.'

Indirect objects cannot be advanced directly to subject:

- 5.32 **Saya di-kirim surat (pada) oleh Joe.*
I 3PER-send letter to by Joe
'I was sent a letter (to) by Joe.'
- 5.33 **Murid-murid ku-ajar ilmu bumi (pada).*
students I-teach science earth (to)
'The students are taught geography (to) by me.'

To sum up this section, the advanced indirect object has the following characteristics of direct objects: it takes postverbal position; it is prepositionless; it may be replaced with a clitic pronoun; and it may be advanced to subject. My conclusion, then, is that the b. sentences in 5.24 and 5.25 are examples of 3-2 Advancement.

5.3.2 Evidence that the initial 2 is final 2-*chômeur*

In the a. sentences of 5.24 and 5.25, the direct objects possess all the properties of direct objects discussed in Chapter 2. However, in the b. sentences these same properties are taken over by the advanced 3s. The original 2 still lacks a preposition, but it no longer immediately follows the verb.

The pronoun substitution test is not available here. If an attempt is made to replace the initial 2 with *-nya*, this clitic will be interpreted as a possessive on the preceding nominal, the advanced 3:

- 5.34 **Ibu meng-(k)irim-i nenek-nya.*
 Mother meN-send-IO grandmother-him/her
 'Mother sent grandmother him/her.'
 Usual reading: 'Mother sent his/her grandmother (something).'

Even the full pronoun *dia* cannot be substituted for the initial 2, since a non-possessive pronoun cannot immediately follow a full NP in Bahasa Indonesia. This same constraint is true for English as well:

- 5.35 **Ibu meng-(k)irim-i nenek dia.*
 Mother meN-send-IO grandmother him
 *'Mother sent grandmother him.'

The initial 2 of these constructions may not be reflexivised with either *diri* 'self' (5.36b) or *dia sendiri* 'him himself, her herself' (5.36c). This shows that the nominal is neither a final 2 nor a final oblique.

- 5.36a. *Mia mem-beri-(kan) diri-nya pada laki-laki itu.*
 Mia meN-give-TRAN self-her to man that
 'Mia gave herself to that man.'
- b. **Mia mem-beri laki-laki itu diri-nya.*
 Mia meN-give man that self-her
 'Mia gave the man herself.'
- c. **Mia mem-beri laki-laki itu dia sendiri.*
 Mia meN-give man that she herself
 'Mia gave the man herself.'

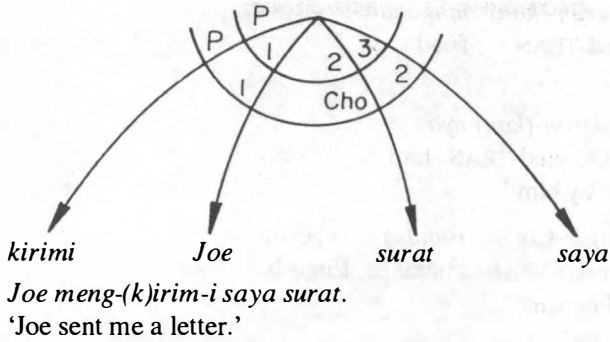
Finally, the initial 2 cannot be advanced to subject by the rule of Passive once the 3 has advanced to 2:

- 5.37 **Surat itu di-kirim-i saya oleh Joe.*
 letter that 3PER-send-IO me by Joe
 'The letter was sent me by Joe.'
- 5.38 **Ilmu bumi di-ajar-i murid-murid oleh Isak.*
 science earth 3PER-teach-IO students by Isak.
 'Geography is taught the students by Isak.'

The sentences in 5.37 and 5.38, like 5.12 and 5.21 discussed earlier, have two possible relational structures. First, they can be examples of attempts to advance a 2-chômeur to subject after 3-2 Advancement has occurred. Such a structure violates a universal principle, since chômeurs cannot advance. Second, they can exemplify attempts to advance a 3 to 2 following the operation of Passive. As I said for the earlier examples, no universal principle is violated, but rather there is a language-specific constraint against intersecting Advancements. Once again, I propose that these are disallowed because of the perceptual conflict created by *di-* and *-i* on the same verb, when it is not the 3 that is final 1.

To summarise this section, the initial direct object of 3-2 Advancement sentences retains only the prepositionless form of final direct objects, but no other properties of theirs. My conclusion is that these nominals are final chômeurs. The examples we have been looking at may be represented by the following relational structure:

5.24b'



Other three-place verbs besides *kirim* 'send' and *ajar* 'teach' which also take initial 2s and 3s and allow 3-2 Advancement include the following:

- 5.39 *beri* 'give'
 pinjam 'borrow, lend'
 antar 'bring, send'

Since geminate *i* vowels are not permitted in Bahasa Indonesia, either within a single morpheme or across morpheme boundaries, it is possible that *beri* is a combination of *beri* 'give' + *-i*, rather than **berii*.

The monotransitive verb *pinjam* means 'borrow'. When occurring with an indirect object which is not advanced, the verb must be suffixed with *-kan* and means 'lend' (that is, 'borrow to' = 'lend'). When the 3 is advanced, the *-kan* is dropped and *-i* is suffixed. The meaning is still 'lend'.

5.40a. *Saya mem-(p)injam uang dari Bank Eksim.*
 I meN-borrow money from Bank Exim
 'I borrowed money from the Exim Bank.'

b. *Bank Eksim mem-(p)injam-kan uang pada saya.*
 Bank Exim meN-borrow-TRAN money to me
 'The Exim Bank loaned money to me.'

c. *Bank Eksim mem-(p)injam-i saya uang.*
 Bank Exim meN-borrow-IO me money
 'The Exim Bank loaned me money.'

The verb *pinjam* differs from the others in this class, such as *kirim* 'send', in that the form suffixed with *-kan* is the only proper form of the verb when the indirect object is not advanced.

In the sentence pairs below, *-kan* is added in parentheses to the active examples, where its use is optional. In the Passive examples, *-kan* is generally preferred. Only *kirim* can occur in the Passive without *-kan*. For the most common 3-place predicate *beri* 'give', the suffixing of *-kan* in these sentences is easily explained. Since the regular verb form is indistinguishable from the form after 3-2 Advancement has occurred (both are *beri*), the *-kan* signals that 3-2 Advancement has not occurred. Though the other verbs in this class do not have this same homophony, it could be that the suffixing of *-kan* on them is an overt signal that 3-2 Advancement has not occurred.

- 5.41a. *Dia meng-(k)irim-(kan) makanan.*
 he meN-send-TRAN food
 'He sent food.'
- b. *Makanan di-kirim-(kan)-nya.*
 food 3PER-send-TRAN -him
 'Food was sent by him.'
- 5.42a. *Agus meng-ajar-kan Bahasa Inggris.*
 Agus meN-teach-TRAN language English
 'Agus taught English.'
- b. *Bahasa Inggris di-ajar-(kan) Agus.*
 language English 3PER-teach-TRAN Agus
 'English was taught by Agus.'
- 5.43a. *Dia mem-beri-(kan) uang pada anak itu.*
 he meN-give-TRAN money to child that
 'He gave money to the child.'
- b. *Uang di-beri-kan-nya pada anak itu.*
 money 3PER-give-TRAN-him to child that
 'Money was given by him to the child.'
- 5.44a. *Mereka meng-antar-(kan) saya.*
 they meN-bring-TRAN me
 'They brought me.'
- b. *Saya di-antar-kan mereka.*
 I 3PER-bring-TRAN them
 'I was brought by them.'

5.4 Instrument-2 and Locative-2 Advancements

The two types of Advancements discussed in the previous sections have already been analysed as Advancements by Chung (1976a). I have offered nothing substantially new to her analysis. In this section, however, I discuss two Advancements that have not been dealt with before. Though these differ superficially from the other Advancements to 2, there is good evidence that they are Advancements nevertheless.

In the sentence pairs below, the Locative NP of the a. examples has been advanced to 2 in the b. examples:

- 5.45a. *Dia men-(t)ulis di dinding.*
 he meN-write on wall
 'He wrote on the wall.'
- b. *Dia men-(t)ulis-i dinding.*
 he meN-write-LOC wall
 'He wrote on the wall.'

5.46a. *Petani itu men-(t)anam di ladang-nya.*
 farmer that meN-plant in field-his
 'The farmer planted in his field.'

b. *Petani itu men-(t)anam-i ladang-nya.*
 farmer that meN-plant-LOC field-his
 'The farmer planted his field.'

In each b. sentence above, the Locative constituent is in immediate postverbal position, it has no preposition, and this is accompanied by the suffixation of *-i* on the verb. These facts are very similar to the facts of 3-2 Advancement.

Similarly, the pairs below illustrate that Instrument NPs⁵ in Bahasa Indonesia may advance to direct object.

5.47a. *Pem-buru itu men-(t)embak dengan bedil-nya.*
 NOM-hunt that meN-shoot with rifle-his
 'The hunter shot with his rifle.'

b. *Pem-buru itu men-(t)embak-kan bedil-nya.*
 NOM-hunt that meN-shoot-INST rifle-his
 'The hunter shot his rifle.'

5.48a. *Dia men-(t)ikam dengan pisau-nya.*
 he meN-stab with knife-his
 'He stabbed with his knife.'

b. *Dia men-(t)ikam-kan pisau-nya.*
 he meN-stab-INST knife-his
 'He stabbed/thrust his knife.'

5.49a. *Kita mem-(p)ukul dengan tongkat-nya.*
 we.INC meN-hit with stick-the
 'We hit with the stick.'

b. *Kita mem-(p)ukul-kan tongkat-nya.*
 we.INC meN-hit-INST stick-the
 'We hit (with) the stick.'

In each b. sentence above, the Instrument immediately follows the verb without its preposition, and the suffix *-kan* appears on the verb. Once again, these facts are reminiscent of the facts discussed in the section on Benefactive-2 Advancement.

What makes these examples unique is the fact that the 2-chômeurs are marked differently from the way they are marked in the other Advancements. In the Benefactive-2 and 3-2 Advancements, 2-chômeurs are prepositionless; in what I am proposing to be Locative-2 Advancements, the 2-chômeur is marked with *dengan* 'with', and in what I am proposing to be Instrument-2 Advancements, the 2-chômeur is marked with *pada* 'to'.

⁵ Another Bahasa Indonesia verb which belongs in the same class as these is *ikat* 'tie'. There are no doubt others, though I find Verhaar's (1984b:38) statement that the language has "at least several hundred" of such Instrumental constructions hard to believe.

Note the examples below⁶ which are the same as 5.45 and 5.47 above, with an added initial direct object.

- 5.50a. *Dia men-(t)ulis nama-nya di dinding.*
 he meN-write name-his on wall
 'He wrote his name on the wall.'
- b. *Dia men-(t)ulis-i dinding dengan nama-nya.*
 he meN-write-LOC wall with name-his
 'He wrote his name on the wall.'
- 5.51a. *Pem-buru itu men-(t)embak harimau-nya dengan bedil-nya.*
 NOM-hunt that meN-shoot tiger-the with rifle-his
 'The hunter shot the tiger with his rifle.'
- b. *Pem-buru itu men-(t)embak-kan bedil-nya pada harimau-nya.*
 NOM-hunt that meN-shoot-INST rifle-his to tiger-the
 'The hunter shot his rifle at the tiger.'

Attempts to remove the prepositions from these 2-chômeurs are judged to be ungrammatical:

- 5.52 **Dia men-(t)ulis-i dinding nama-nya.*
 he meN-write-LOC wall name-his
 'He wrote his name on the wall.'
- 5.53 **Pem-buru itu men-(t)embak-kan bedil-nya harimau-nya.*
 NOM-hunt that meN-shoot-INST rifle-his tiger-the
 'The hunter shot his rifle at the tiger.'

What is needed here is some evidence that would prove the initial 2 relation of *nama-nya* in 5.50b and *harimau-nya* in 5.51b. With evidence of this kind, we would have to admit that they are final 2-chômeurs, and that these constructions are indeed Advancements to 2, since 2-chômeurs can arise only by Advancement to 2.

I have found such evidence in nominalisations. As I discussed in Chapter 3, one way of forming nominalisations in Bahasa Indonesia is to affix *peN-* *-an* to the verb base. When affixed to a transitive verb base, the NP which follows the nominalisation is the initial 2 of the corresponding transitive sentence. For example, *acara* 'ceremony' and *buku* 'book' are the initial 2s of *buka* 'open' and *baca* 'read', respectively:

- 5.54 *Pem-buka-an acara di-laku-kan cepat.*
 NOM-open ceremony 3PER-do-TRAN fast
 'The opening of the ceremony was done quickly.'

⁶ These examples are analogous to the well-known English sentences *Bill loaded hay on the truck* and *Bill loaded the truck with hay*. I suspect that the Bahasa Indonesia examples, like their English counterparts, exhibit an attendant change in meaning with Advancement. That is, in 5.50b he covered the wall with his name, instead of writing it once, as in 5.50a. And in 5.51b the hunter does not necessarily hit his target, while in 5.51a he does. In other words, the advanced nominal is more greatly affected by the action of the verb than is the unadvanced nominal. I have not studied the semantics of these sentences at all.

- 5.55 *Pem-baca-an buku meny-(s)enang-kan dia.*
 NOM-read book meN-happy-TRAN him
 'Reading the book made him happy.'

When the transitive verb in sentences such as *Dia menulis dinding dengan nama* 'He wrote on the wall with his name' is nominalised, it is *nama-nya* (5.56b), not *dinding* (5.56c) which follows the nominalisation. Since only the initial 2 is eligible to occur in this position, this constitutes evidence that *nama-nya* is an initial 2.

- 5.56a. *Dia men-(t)ulis-i dinding dengan nama-nya.*
 he meN-write-LOC wall with name-his
 'He wrote on the wall with his name.'
- b. *Pen-(t)ulis-an nama-nya di-laku-kan cepat.*
 NOM-write name-his 3PER-do-TRAN fast
 'Writing his name was done quickly.'
- c. **Pen-(t)ulis-an dinding di-laku-kan cepat.*
 NOM-write wall 3PER-do-TRAN fast
 'Writing on the wall was done quickly.'
- 5.57a. *Petani men-(t)anam-i ladang-nya dengan jagung.*
 farmer meN-plant-LOC field-his with corn
 'The farmer planted his field with corn.'
- b. *Pen-(t)anam-an jagung akan terlambat.*
 NOM-plant corn will late
 'Planting corn will be late.'
- c. **Pen-(t)anam-an ladang-nya akan terlambat.*
 NOM-plant field-his will late
 'Planting his field will be late.'

The same phenomenon occurs with the examples with Instruments. Only the patient NP, the initial 2 (*rusa* in 5.58b, *musuh* in 5.59b), not the Instrument, can follow the nominalisation. These nominals therefore must be initial 2s.

- 5.58a. *Pem-buru men-(t)embak-kan bedil-nya pada rusa.*
 NOM-hunt meN-shoot-INST rifle-his to deer
 'The hunter shot his rifle at the deer.'
- b. *Pen-(t)embak-an rusa di-larang di-sini.*
 NOM-shoot deer 3PER-prohibit at-here
 'Shooting deer is prohibited here.'
- c. **Pen-(t)embak-an bedil di-larang di-sini.*
 NOM-shoot rifle 3PER-prohibit at-here
 'Shooting rifles is prohibited here.'
- 5.59a. *Dia men-(t)ikam-kan pisau-nya pada musuh-nya.*
 he meN-stab-INST knife-the to enemy-his
 'He stabbed the knife into his enemy.'

- b. *Pen-(t)ikam-an musuh di-lihat polisi.*
 NOM-stab enemy 3PER-see police
 'Stabbing of the enemy was seen by the police.'
- c. **Pen-(t)ikam-an pisau-nya di-lihat polisi.*
 NOM-stab knife-the 3PER-see police
 'Stabbing of the knife was seen by the police.'

These examples provide solid evidence that we are dealing with instances of Advancement here. If these were not Advancements, there would be no way to explain the initial 2 relation of the NP in the prepositional phrases *dengan nama*, *dengan jagung*, *pada rusa*, and *pada musuhnya*.

While it may not be efficient for a language to have two different means of marking a single relation, it is apparently not that unusual. Postal (1981) and Legendre (1986) offer a similar analysis to mine for the French verb meaning 'present' and others.

Channon (1982) discusses English sentence pairs like *Our firm supplies coats to the army* and *Our firm supplies the army with coats*. His aim is to account for the occurrence of *with* as a marker of 2-chômeurs. He agrees with Perlmutter and Postal's statement that the side effects of 3-2 and Benefactive-2 Advancements may not be uniform. However, rather than being properties of individual lexical items, unusual side effects are correlated with subclasses defined by syntactic and semantic properties. Channon's conclusion is that *with* occurs as the chômeur marker when 3-2 Advancement applies to a verb which is subcategorised for an obligatory Beneficiary and an optional 3. The *with* thus signals that the natural candidate for advancement, the Beneficiary, has been passed over in favour of the 3.

This analysis would not work for Bahasa Indonesia, since the verbs with the idiosyncratic side effects have only one possible candidate for Advancement to 2. Still, it illustrates my contention that the Bahasa Indonesia constructions discussed in this section are not so unusual from a cross-linguistic perspective.

5.5 Advancements on intransitive verb bases

There is one more use of *-i* which needs to be discussed here. That is its use on noun or intransitive verbal bases. I have already mentioned that *-kan* can occur on transitive verbs formed from intransitive verb bases. The suffix *-i* can also make intransitives into transitives. These verbs are different from the ones suffixed with *-kan*, in that, in general, the direct object which follows *-i* is semantically a Locative or Goal. Examples of these abound. Below is a sampling with different types of bases.

(i) Adjective Bases

- 5.60a. *Guru marah kepada murid -nya.*
 teacher angry to student-her
- b. *Guru me-marah-i murid-nya.*
 teacher meN-angry-IO student-her
 'The teacher is angry at her students.'
- 5.61a. *Saya takut pada orang itu.*
 I afraid to person that

- b. *Saya men-(t)akut-i orang itu.*
 I meN-afraid-IO person that
 'I am afraid of that person.'

(ii) Prefixless Intransitive Bases

- 5.62a. *Saya cinta pada kamu.*
 I love to you
- b. *Saya men-cinta-i kamu.*
 I meN-love-IO you
 'I love you.'
- 5.63a. *Anak itu masuk ke dalam gua.*
 child that enter to inside cave
- b. *Anak itu me-masuk-i gua.*
 child that meN-enter-LOC cave
 'The child entered the cave.'

(iii) Prefixed Intransitive Bases

- 5.64a. *Presiden Amerika ber-diam di Rumah Putih.*
 president America INTR-live in house white
- b. *Presiden Amerika men-diam-i Rumah Putih.*
 president America meN-live-LOC house white
 'The American president lives in the White House.'
- 5.65a. *Dia ber-bohong pada ibu-nya.*
 he INTR-lie to mother-his
- b. *Dia mem-bohong-i ibu-nya.*
 he meN-lie-IO mother-his
 'He lied to his mother.'

(iv) Noun Bases

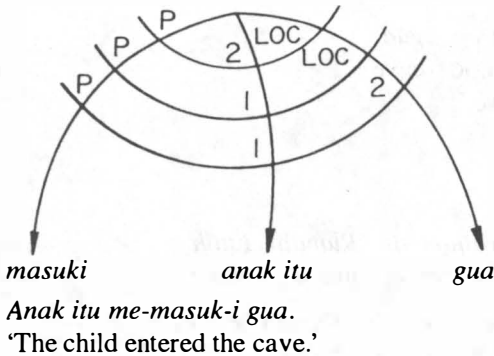
- 5.66a. *Dokter mem-beri obat pada orang sakit.*
 doctor meN-give medicine to person sick
- b. *Dokter meng-obat-i orang sakit.*
 doctor meN-medicine-IO person sick
 'The doctor treated the sick people.'
- 5.67a. *Pendeta mem-beri nasihat pada saya.*
 pastor meN-give advice to me
- b. *Pendeta me-nasihat-i saya.*
 pastor meN-advice-IO me
 'The pastor advised me.'

All of the pairs above are synonymous pairs (with regard to their truth value, though certainly the nuances of meaning differ), one intransitive with a Locative or Goal prepositional phrase and the other transitive with a Locative or Goal direct object.

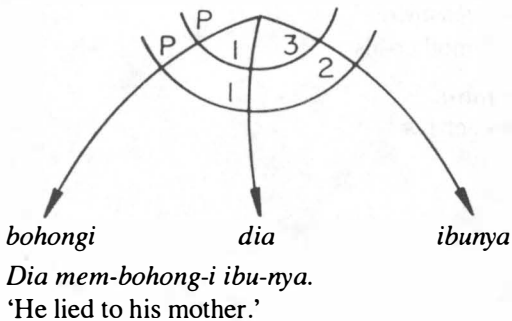
These examples also differ from the transitive bases with *-i* in that the b. verbs above do not exist without *-i*. For example, in 5.64b above, **mendiam* is not a word. It needs the suffix to make it complete. This contrasts with ditransitives such as *mengirim* 'to send' which are acceptable alone without a suffix.

These suffixes are easily explained if these sentences are analysed as 3-2 or Locative-2 Advancements.⁷ This not only accounts for the *-i*, which also registers 3-2 and Locative-2 Advancements on transitive bases; it also explains the fact that *meN-* cannot occur without *-i*, since, as I have pointed out elsewhere (section 4.6 of Chapter 4), *meN-* cannot occur on a verb which has no 2, either optional or obligatory, in its valence. A valence of 1 and 3 does not meet the condition for *meN-* prefixing. The diagrams below represent my analysis:

5.63b'



5.65b'



7

It is not clear whether examples such as 5.63, 5.64, and 5.65 above should be considered 3-2 or Locative-2 Advancements. For transitive verb bases, the two types of advancement exhibit different properties, thus substantiating my positing the distinct types. However, in the examples with no initial 2, there is no 2-chômeur to help us decide the question.

Since both 3-2 and Locative-2 Advancements exist anyway, I prefer to consider those examples with an inanimate goal as examples of Locative-2 Advancement, and those with an animate goal as 3-2 Advancement. Some verbs would take only a Locative (*berdiam* 'dwell', for example); others would take only a 3 (*berbohong* 'lie') and others (such as *takut* 'be afraid') would take either a Locative or a 3.

The language imposes a number of restrictions on these structures. First of all, as example 5.63b' shows, Unaccusative Advancement precedes Locative/3–2 Advancement. The reverse order would be impossible, as LOC-2 Advancement would put the initial 2 into *chômeage*, which would then be unavailable for Advancement to subject. Second, for intransitive verb bases which take an optional nuclear term (that is, those with a valence of either 1 (2) or (1) 2), Advancements cannot occur when both nuclear terms are selected for the initial stratum. That is, a sentence with a predicate which has an intransitive base and with an initial stratum of 1 2 LOC/3 does not allow Advancement of the oblique constituent. The verb is suffixed with *-kan* rather than *-i*. This same restriction is not true of regular ditransitive verbal bases, such as *beri* 'give' and *kirim* 'send', which have a valence of 1 2 3, and allow 3–2 Advancement.

5.6 To advance or not to advance

It is not the purpose of this investigation to discover the pragmatic or discourse conditions under which Advancements occur. Nevertheless, a few thoughts on the subject would be appropriate here.

Wallace Chafe and Otto Jespersen, writing about so-called double-object constructions in English, mention factors which determine the use of this construction. Chafe (1970:151) says that the position of the beneficiary "depends largely on whether or not it conveys new information in the sentence". A beneficiary which has been previously mentioned or is present in the universe of discourse would tend to be advanced.

Jespersen (1965:163) claims there is a growing tendency in English to make the indirect object into the subject. This is due to the fact that the formal difference between datives and accusatives has been lost in English, and that there is an 'emotional' tendency to put human nominals in front of non-human ones:

5.68 *The girl was promised an apple.*

5.69 *He was awarded a gold medal.*

This 'emotional' or, in more current terminology (Kuno 1976), 'empathy' factor probably determines not only Advancement of the 3 to 1, but of Benefactive to 1 as well.

Givon (1984) claims that Bahasa Indonesia works much like English in the pragmatics of Dative Shifting. He says a wealth of evidence supports the notion that Dative Shifting in English is essentially a discourse-pragmatic device. The subject of a sentence is its primary topic. The other nominals in the sentence vie for the secondary topic, or direct object, status. The NP selected is the one that is most topical. Previously mentioned nominals, for example, are more topical than NPs that are being given first mention. A pronoun is more topical than a full noun.

In actual printed English narrative, Givon points out, the overwhelming tendency is for dative and benefactive objects to shift to direct object. This is no doubt a consequence of the fact that dative and benefactive objects tend to be human, or at least animate, while other objects, such as locatives, do not. Human/animate NPs are normally more topical than non-human/non-animate NPs.

5.7 *-kan* and *-i*: proposed rules

In this section I offer single rules for the functions of each of these suffixes. I begin with *-i*, the simpler of the two.

As I have shown, *-i* occurs on a verb which undergoes either 3–2 Advancement or Locative-2 Advancement, regardless of whether the verb base is transitive or intransitive. The rule below summarises this dual function:

Condition on *-i* Suffixation:

A verb is suffixed with *-i* when it undergoes 3–2 or Locative-2 Advancement.

The *-kan* suffix is more complex. It occurs obligatorily in the following situations: Benefactive-2 Advancement, Instrument-2 Advancement, and on transitive verbs formed on intransitive bases. Below I schematically represent each of these possibilities. The upper line in each pair is the verb with its arguments; the lower line gives the relations of some stratum, which determine the suffixing of *-kan*:

5.70	V	1	2	(BEN)
	V- <i>kan</i>	1	Chô	2
5.71	V	1	2	(INST)
	V- <i>kan</i>	1	Chô	2
5.72	V	1	(2)	
	V- <i>kan</i>	1	2	
5.73	V	(1)	2	
	V- <i>kan</i>	1	2	

What these have in common is not an Advancement, but rather a situation in which an optional element in the verb's valence⁸ is a nuclear relation (1 or 2) in some stratum.

Condition on Obligatory *-kan* Suffixation:

A verb obligatorily receives *-kan* when a nominal bearing an optional relation in its valence is a nuclear term in some stratum.

⁸ I am taking the position here that relations such as Benefactive and Instrument are part of a verb's subcategorisation. For the Bahasa Indonesia verbs with Instruments (those meaning 'stab', 'hit', and 'shoot', for example), the Instrument is a necessary part of the verb's meaning. For those Bahasa Indonesia verbs that take Benefactives (see the list in example 5.14), their meanings do not seem to demand a Benefactive NP. However, we need some way of distinguishing transitive verbs such as *beli* 'buy', which allow Benefactive-2 Advancement, and other transitive verbs such as *gendong* 'carry', which do not.

An alternative treatment to the one being offered here would be to say that the lexical entry for *beli*, but not for *gendong*, has a specification [+Benefactive-2 Advancement]. But that would necessitate a more complicated statement of the condition on *-kan* suffixation than the one I am proposing. It would instead have to be stated as a disjunction: A verb obligatorily receives *-kan* when a Benefactive or Instrument advances to 2 or when an optional relation in the verb's valence is a nuclear term in some stratum.

My proposal thus has the advantages of a simpler statement on *-kan* suffixing; it distinguishes verbs that undergo Advancement of a Benefactive or Instrument from those that do not without an *ad hoc* [+rule] feature, and it accounts for the syntactic similarities of Instruments, Benefactives, and Locatives, with 3s. No one would disagree with the inclusion of 3s in the argument structures of ditransitive verbs; yet in Bahasa Indonesia 3s function in a way parallel to these other relations. That parallelism is only natural if all four relations are possible members of a verb's valence. Verhaar (1984b:36) takes a similar position to mine here, saying the Benefactive and Instrumental *-kan* constructions "all have three-place verbs".

This condition does not account for the optional uses of *-kan*. They seem to be different, as their optionality attests. *-kan* optionally occurs on transitive verbs with an unadvanced Benefactive or an unadvanced 3. This can be stated in the following way:

Condition on Optional *-kan* Suffixation:

A transitive verb optionally receives *-kan* when its Benefactive or 3 does not advance.

Statement of the rules in this way, that is in terms of grammatical relations, avoids the necessity of referring to the various meanings of the suffixes (for example, saying that *-kan* can have benefactive, instrumental, and causative meanings), along with the different verb bases which go with each meaning. The meanings themselves are a natural consequence of the conditions as stated. That is, a Benefactive, Instrumental, or Locative NP, when advanced, still keeps its original semantic role function. Thus, the meanings normally associated with the verbal suffixes in traditional descriptions of the language are actually the semantic role meanings of their direct objects. An unaccusative verb is suffixed with *-kan* when its optional 1 occurs along with the obligatory 2. The 'causative meaning' of *-kan* really lies in the fact that the 2 retains its semantic role in the transitive and the intransitive; the transitive has an additional 1, or causer. The suffix only registers that the optional 1 relation is a nuclear term.

5.8 Other approaches to these constructions

I wish to look briefly at Dative Movement within Role and Reference Grammar, developed by Foley and Van Valin (1984), since they make specific reference to this rule in Bahasa Indonesia. According to this theory, grammatical relations such as subject and direct object are not primitives. The properties of subjects are divided between the notions of actor and pivot. A pivot, according to Foley and Van Valin (1984:110), is "the NP of a syntactic construction which is crucially involved in it; i.e. it is the NP around which the construction is built". In English the subject NP is the pivot of several different constructions: only subjects are deleted in Equi, in participial relativisation (e.g., *the woman scolding the policeman*, in which *the woman* is deleted as subject of *scolding*), and in coordinate structures; only subjects are raised out of subordinate clauses into matrix clauses. In order for an undergoer (as opposed to an actor) to be the target of any of these operations, it must first be presented as 'subject' by the rule of Passive.

In Bahasa Indonesia syntactic subjects serve as pivots even more often than in English. As in English, the rule of Passive functions to allow the semantic undergoer to be pivot. Passives, as were discussed in the previous chapter, operate on direct objects only. Non-core arguments such as indirect objects and obliques may not be advanced directly to the subject relation.

Foley and Van Valin discuss the way Bahasa Indonesia allows non-core arguments to become pivots. This is by means of what I have been calling Advancement to 2 rules. The *-kan* suffix (as well as *-i*, though they don't mention it) indicates that a non-core argument has been brought into the predicate's core. Once a part of the core, a Dative or Benefactive argument (to their list I add Locative and Instrumental arguments as well) may be presented as the pivot through the rule of Passive. Bahasa Indonesia is thus less restrictive than some languages in allowing arguments other than the undergoer to be pivot.

Givon (1984) discusses the functions of the *-i* and *-kan* suffixes in his article on Dative Shifting. Bahasa Indonesia is one of many VO languages which has a grammaticalised Dative Shifting process. This has several effects: movement of the NP to the direct object position, loss of original case marking, and coding of the verb with the semantic role of the 'promoted' object.

When a nominal other than the accusative is made the direct object, and its original preposition/postposition is lost, the hearer or reader needs some way of recovering the semantic role of that NP. This is what Givon refers to as the 'case recoverability problem'. The *-kan* suffix on the verb tells the hearer or reader that the promoted object has the Benefactive case role, while the *-i* suffix indicates the Dative case of the promoted object. In this view, then, these suffixes function primarily on the pragmatic level.

The focus system in Philippine languages operates in a similar fashion. The primary topic, or subject, of a sentence is indicated by the case marker on the nominal. The verb is coded with an affix which indicates the semantic role (agent, dative, locative, and so on) of that primary topic, though there is underspecification of the semantic role, since only four affixes are available to indicate more than four roles.

English, on the other hand, exhibits no such verb coding.⁹ Because there is no verb coding, the rule of Dative Shifting is limited to a small set of verbs, whose selectional restrictions include a dative or benefactive NP which is a conscious human participant, semantically distinct from the accusative object. The case recoverability problem is therefore resolved in English strictly by the semantics of its verbs.

The theory of Role and Reference Grammar and Givon's functional approach provide a complementary, functional explanation for the syntactic facts I have presented in this chapter and the previous one. Advancements to direct object and Advancements to subject happen for pragmatic reasons. Discourse considerations such as coreferential nominals in separate clauses and factors such as definiteness and givenness determine these Advancements. Such considerations are outside the direct domain of Relational Grammar, though it has a contribution to make to functional and discourse studies.

⁹ An anonymous referee has pointed out that English does have the vestiges of verb coding in the *be-* prefix: *He moaned about his fate. He bemoaned his fate.*

6 *Ke- -an Adversatives and Clause Union*

6.1 Introduction to the *ke- -an* construction

Bahasa Indonesia has a verbal construction which is formed by affixing the discontinuous morpheme¹ *ke- -an* to a verbal base. This derived form has been labelled an “Adversative Passive” (Cartier 1978) and an “Accidental Passive” (Junus 1971).

Although it does not possess the usual Passive morphology, *ke- -an* is referred to as a ‘Passive’ by these authors because of the general semantic notion that the construction’s ‘subject’ (I use this term pretheoretically for the preverbal nominal) is an involuntary undergoer or affectee rather than an actor or agent. In this, then, it shares some semantic features of the subject of the true Passive. And since what the undergoer undergoes is usually harmful or unpleasant, these ‘Passives’ are considered ‘adversative’ or ‘accidental’.

A homonymous morpheme *ke- -an* also derives nouns and adjectives in Bahasa Indonesia. These different functions are sorted out by the hearer by the fact that each holds a different position in the sentence. I restrict my attention here to the verbal constructions. The examples which follow are all verbal. The English glosses attempt to capture the flavour of the adversity of the events the clauses describe.

- 6.1 *Saya kehujuanan.*
I AFFECT.rain
‘I got caught in the rain, got rained on.’
- 6.2 *Ali kematian anak.*
Ali AFFECT.die child
‘Ali had a child die (on him).’
- 6.3 *Anak itu ketinggalan di hutan.*
child that AFFECT.stay in forest
‘The child got left in the forest.’
- 6.4 *Orang itu kecurian sepeda.*
person that AFFECT.steal bicycle
‘That person had a bicycle stolen.’

¹ The two parts *ke-* and *-an* form a single affix rather than a prefix–suffix combination, since *ke-* does not exist alone as a prefix.

- 6.5 *Hal itu kedengaran oleh kami.*
 matter that AFFECT.hear by us.EXC
 'That matter got overheard by us.'

Notice that in examples 6.1 and 6.3 there is only one non-oblique nominal, that in preverbal position, while in 6.2 and 6.4 there is also a nominal in the immediate postverbal position. In example 6.5 the postverbal nominal is in a prepositional phrase with *oleh* 'by', the marker of third person 1-chômeurs in 'They' Passives.

No syntactic analysis of these constructions has, to my knowledge, ever been given. Previous treatments have been primarily classifications of the different *ke- -an* constructions, based on either the category of the base (noun, adjective, or verb), the category of the derived form (noun, adjective, or verb), as in Junus (1971), or the category of the postverbal element (agent, complement, or zero), as in Hiorth (1976).

In this chapter I propose an analysis of the *ke- -an* verbal construction. I suggest that it represents Clause Union, which is a two-predicate structure, the outer predicate being the abstract predicate AFFECT ADVERSELY or BEFALL. The construction's final relations are: 1 PREDICATE (CHÔMEUR). I present various arguments that support this analysis.

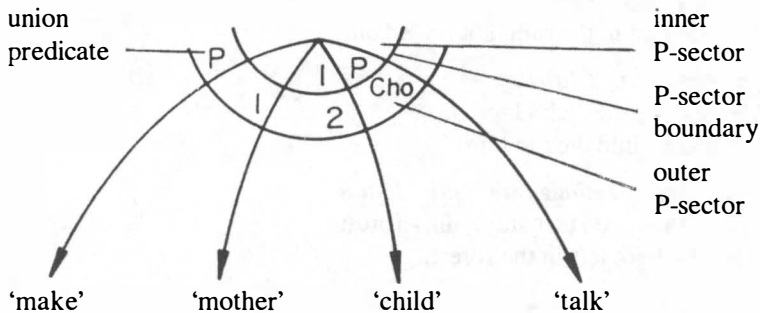
I begin this presentation with a discussion of Clause Union in universal grammar.

6.2 The rule of clause union

A great deal of Relational Grammar literature has been devoted to the topic of Clause Unions in general, and Causative Clause Unions in particular. As originally formulated, Clause Unions are constructions which, in their initial structures, have a clause embedded under a matrix Clause. In the final stratum all the dependents of the embedded or 'downstairs' clause are also final dependents of the matrix or 'upstairs' clause.

The theory of Clause Union presented here is Davies and Rosen's (1988) revision of that original formulation. According to them, Unions are monoclausal rather than biclausal, differing from other clauses in having distinct successive predicates. The diagram below represents a generalised (that is, it represents no particular language) Clause Union with the meaning 'Mother made the child talk', with the various parts of the structure labeled:

6.6



The initial stratum, corresponding to the embedded clause of the original formulation, contains the 'inner P' and its initial grammatical relations. All the strata preceding the union predicate and its set of grammatical relations are called the 'inner P-sector'. The first stratum

which follows the inner P-sector is called the 'union stratum'. Elements bearing relations in the union stratum are a union P (which, in the case of Causative Unions, is a causative predicate), the nominal arguments which it initialises (that is, the arguments in its valence to which it assigns a thematic role), as well as the nominals already initialised by the preceding P. The union stratum, plus all subsequent strata, constitute the 'outer P-sector'. Its final stratum is also the final stratum of the clause.

The predicate of the inner P-sector is put en chômage in the union stratum, to avoid a violation of the Stratal Uniqueness Law (which, under this revised formulation, must be extended to prevent more than one predicate relation in any single stratum). Providing the union predicate initialises a 1 relation, the final 1 of the inner P-sector may revalue to 2 or 3 across the P-sector boundary, or it may not revalue at all, depending on a language-specific rule. The other nominal arguments of the inner predicate follow the regular rules of clause structure. That is, they retain their relations across the P-sector boundary, unless the Stratal Uniqueness Law would be violated, in which case they would be chômeurs.

The initial stratum relations (1 and P) are the initial relations of 'child' and 'talk', respectively. In the typical Union with an unergative inner P-sector, the P-final 1 of the inner P-sector ('child') revalues as a 2 in the Union stratum. The outer predicate 'make' initialises a 1 ('mother') and also takes a P-chômeur in its valence. It is this P-chômeur which, in effect, sets a union predicate apart from other single-term predicates. A predicate with a 1 and a P-chômeur in its valence can have other relations (such as 2 and 3) in its P-initial stratum, having inherited those relations from the inner P-sector. A predicate with only 1 and no P-chômeur in its valence could not have extra relations such as a 2 or 3 in its initial stratum.

Davies and Rosen point out a number of ways in which their revision simplifies the earlier formulation. For one thing, it eliminates the Union relation, which was the relation borne by the embedded predicate in the union stratum, in favour of the P-chômeur relation. The fact that the inner P bears the chômeur relation in the union stratum is a natural consequence of a slightly amended form of the Stratal Uniqueness Law, which prohibits more than one identical term or predicate relation in a single stratum. The Motivated Chômage Law, which originally was formulated to allow a nominal to acquire the chômeur relation only when another nominal acquires its previous relation, must also be amended slightly to apply to the predicate relation as well. Thus the P-chômeur relation is a consequence of the same universal laws of clause structure which determine that a 1 bears the chômeur relation in a later stratum in which a 2 advances to 1. No extra *ad hoc* relation must be added to the machinery of the theory.

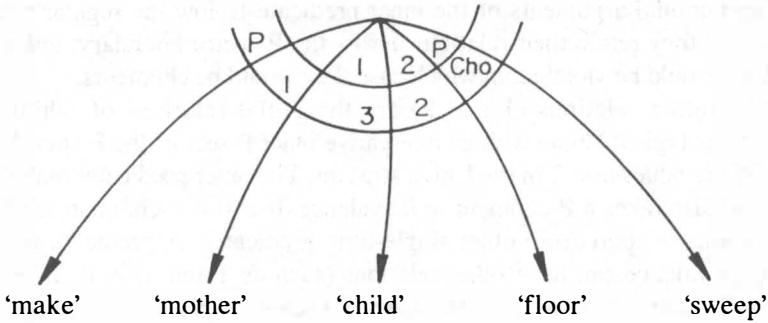
The Final 1 Law, which states that every clause must have a final 1, appeared to be exempt from applying to the downstairs clause of a Union in the earlier version of Clause Union. However, the Law remains intact if Unions are monoclausal rather than biclausal. Even if, in a particular Union construction, the inner P-final stratum has no 1, this does not constitute a violation of the Final 1 Law, because it is not the final stratum of the clause. Languages differ with regard to whether they require the inner P-sector to have a final 1 or not. Bahasa Indonesia is one language which does not always have an inner P-final 1.

Another problem with the earlier model of Unions was the fact that, in all cases, only downstairs nominals, never upstairs nominals, were put into chômage in the union stratum. Yet there was no clear reason why this should be so. In a monoclausal analysis, however, this is no longer a puzzle. By the normal laws of clause structure, the relations of the inner predicate are put into chômage by the union nominal in the union stratum to avoid a violation of the Stratal Uniqueness Law and the Motivated Chômage Law.

Davies and Rosen provide empirical arguments for their analysis in addition to these, and other, theory-internal ones. Languages with rules which refer to more than one stratum are given simpler analyses under this formulation. Bahasa Indonesia does not have any such multistratal rules. Therefore, both formulations of Clause Union can adequately account for its Union constructions. The Davies and Rosen proposal, however, does it in a simpler and less *ad hoc* way.

When the stratum just before Union is transitive, its 1 most often (but by no means necessarily) revalues as a 3. Most languages in which transitive 1s revalue as 3 would indicate the final 3 relation by syntactic means, such as case-marking or verb agreement. The diagram below presents the generalised structure of a Union with the meaning ‘Mother made the child sweep the floor’.

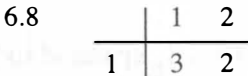
6.7



It is also possible for the inner P-final 1 to acquire the 2 relation in the union stratum. Or, if the language does not sanction revaluation, the P-final 1 acquires the *chômeur* relation in the union stratum.

In both examples 6.6 and 6.7 we see that the predicate of the inner P-sector is a *chômeur* in the union stratum, motivated by the P relation of the union predicate ‘make’. Often the P and the P-*chômeur* fuse into a single lexical predicate, with the P-*chômeur* supplying the verb stem and the P an affix. This is not necessarily the case, however. When the two retain their identity as separate lexical items, the final P, rather than the P-*chômeur*, generally receives the inflectional morphemes. (Tzotzil, in which both Ps carry agreement morphemes, is an exception.)

A short notation represents the facts in 6.7 in an abbreviated form:

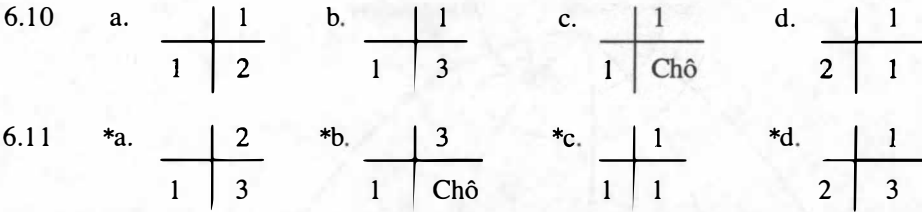


The 1 in the lower left quadrant represents the relation of the union nominal, e.g. the ‘causer’ in a Causative Union. The relations above the horizontal line represent the P-final relations of the inner P-sector. Those below the horizontal line are those of the union stratum (that is, the P-initial stratum of the outer P-sector).

Davies and Rosen have proposed the Union Revaluation Law, which strictly limits the class of possible Unions. Stated informally, the Law states:

- 6.9 A nominal can revalue to a term relation across a P-sector boundary only if:
- a. it is a P-final 1 of the inner P-sector, and
 - b. there is a distinct 1 in the union stratum.

This law allows the structures in 6.10 below, while disallowing those in 6.11:



The well-formed examples in 6.10 above illustrate revaluation of the inner P-final 1 to 2 (a.), to 3 (b.), no revaluation (c.), and no revaluation with a union P which initialises a 2, rather than a 1 (d.).

The examples in 6.11 are ill-formed for a number of reasons. Since only 1s may revalue, revalued 2s (a.) and revalued 3s (b.) create impermissible networks; diagram c. violates the Stratal Uniqueness Law; and d., with a 2 relation in the union stratum, violates part b of the Union Revaluation Law. In combination with 6.10d., it represents the claim that a no-revaluation Union is the only possibility with an unaccusative union predicate. The 2 and 3 relations in 6.11 a and 6.11 b could revalue if they advanced to 1 prior to Union.

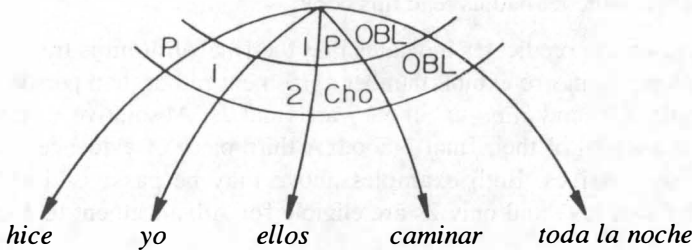
Below I exemplify Clause Unions from Spanish and Chamorro.

First a Spanish example (data is from Aissen and Perlmutter 1983):

6.12 *Los hice caminar toda la noche.*
 'I made them walk all night.'

The 1 of unergative inner P-sectors in Spanish revalues as a 2. The accusative pronoun *los* shows its final 2 relation. This sentence has the following structure:

6.12'



The predicate *hacer* 'make' initialises a 1, here *yo*. The inner P-sector is unergative, with *ellos* 'they' as its P-initial 1. In the union stratum, *caminar* 'walk' bears the *chômeur* relation, while *ellos* bears the 2 relation by a language-specific rule. The final stratum (which is equal to the outer P-final stratum) is therefore transitive.

Spanish transitive subjects revalue as 3s under Union:

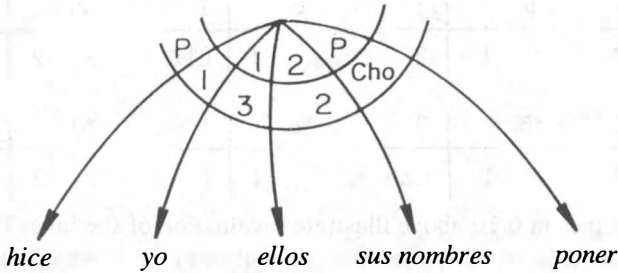
6.13 *Les hice poner sus nombres en la lista.*
 'I made them put their names on the list.'

The final 3 relation of the inner P-final 1 is indicated by its dative clitic *les* '(to) them'. An accusative clitic may not occur instead:

6.14 **Los hice poner sus nombres en la lista.*

The relational diagram below represents the structure of 6.13:

6.13'



That *sus nombres* is a final dependent of *hice* is evidenced by the fact that its pronominal clitic² attaches to *hice* and not to *poner*:

- 6.15a. *Se los hice poner en la lista.*
- b. **Les hice ponerlos en la lista.*

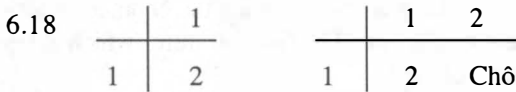
Chamorro (data from Gibson 1980) provides some evidence in favour of a different type of causative. Inner P-final 1s of both intransitive (example 6.16) and transitive (6.17) clauses revalue as 2s:

6.16 *In na' -kati i neni.*
 1PL.ERG CAUS-cry the.ABS baby
 'We made the baby cry.'

6.17 *Ha na' -taitai hām i ma'estru ni esti na lebbli.*
 3SG.ERG CAUS-read us.ABS the teacher OBL this book
 'The teacher made/let/had us read this book.'

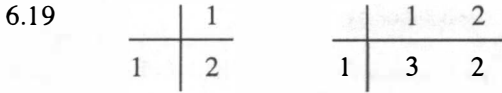
Ergative agreement on the predicates indicates that the final stratum is transitive; finally intransitive predicates in Chamorro exhibit number agreement rather than person agreement. *Neni* 'baby' in example 6.16 and *hām* 'us' in 6.17 are final 2s. Absolutive case marking on those two nominals is a signal of their final 2-hood. A third piece of evidence for their final 2-hood is provided by passives. Both examples above may be passivised by advancing respectively 'the baby' and 'us', and only 2s are eligible for Advancement to 1 in a Passive construction.

Chamorro has the following Union structures:



The intransitive structure above is similar to the Spanish structure diagrammed on the left below, while the transitive above differs from the transitive Spanish structure on the right below, because the two languages have selected different options for revaluing their transitive 1s:

² A rule in Spanish requires the dative clitic *les* to have the form *se* when followed directly by the accusative clitic *los*. That is, **les los hice* becomes *se los hice*, as in 6.15a.

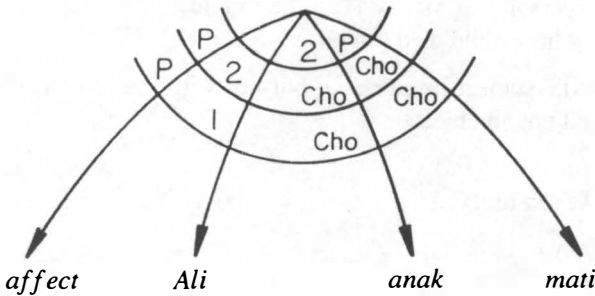


6.3 Clause Unions in Bahasa Indonesia

The rule of Clause Union in Bahasa Indonesia is different from those just discussed, as well as from nearly all other Clause Unions mentioned in the literature, in that it is not a Causative Union. The abstract union predicate is AFFECT ADVERSELY or BEFALL rather than CAUSE. It often provides the semantic flavor of a malefactive. My hypothesis is that its relational valence is 2 and P-chômeur. Evidence in support of this will follow shortly. The other relations in the union stratum follow from universal principles of clause structure.

I propose the structure represented in the relational diagram below for example 6.2 above, which is repeated here.

6.2'



Ali kematian anak.
 Ali AFFECT.die child
 'Ali had a child die on him.'

Mati 'to die' is an unaccusative predicate which takes an initial 2, as Chapter 3 showed. The 2, *anak* 'a child', cannot revalue to another term relation in the union stratum, as only 1s may revalue across P-sector boundaries. However, the Stratal Uniqueness Law keeps it from bearing that 2 relation if there is another 2 relation in the same stratum. Since *Ali* is a 2, then *anak* must be a chômeur in the union stratum. In the final stratum the Union 2 advances to 1, satisfying the Final 1 Law.

Below I present arguments which support this analysis. I begin (section 6.3.1) with evidence for the final relations of the clause. Next (section 6.3.2) I discuss the claim that *Ali* is initialised by the union predicate as a 2, rather than a 1. Indeed, if it were initialised as a 1, this would have undesirable consequences. Following that (section 6.3.3), I discuss the restrictions on inner predicates allowed by Bahasa Indonesia. In particular, I indicate that only unaccusative and transitive predicates are eligible to serve as inner predicates in Union constructions, and then only a small subset of transitive predicates. In this same section, I also demonstrate that Bahasa Indonesia does not revalue its inner P-final 1. This confirms Davies and Rosen's claim that these Unions can't have revaluation, since the union P has no 1. Finally, I provide evidence in favour of a two-predicate analysis (section 6.3.4.).

6.3.1 Evidence for final relations

My claim is that the preverbal nominal in *Ali kematian anak* 'Ali had a child die on him' is a final 1, while the postverbal nominal is a final chômeur. Here we must call on our tests for termhood, discussed in Chapter 2.

Ali meets the tests for final 1-hood. It is prepositionless and preverbal. It may be questioned by fronting with *yang* (example 6.20), clefted (6.21), and relativised (6.22):

- 6.20 *Siapa yang kematian anak?*
 who COMP AFFECT.die child
 'Whose child died (on him)?'
- 6.21 *Ali-lah yang kematian anak.*
 Ali-TOP COMP AFFECT.die child
 'It is Ali whose child died (on him).'
- 6.22 *Saya me-lihat orang yang kematian anak.*
 I meN-see person COMP AFFECT.die child
 'I saw the person whose child died (on him).'

Ali may be replaced with the subject pronoun *ia*, but not with the clitic form *-nya*. This indicates that it is a subject and not an object.

- 6.23 *Kematian anak, ia.*
 'He had a child die (on him).'
- 6.24 **Kematian anak, nya.*
 'He had a child die (on him).'

The preverbal nominal is eligible for Ascension (see Chapter 7 for a further treatment of Ascensions) into a transitive clause:

- 6.25 *Ali di-kira-nya kematian anak.*
 Ali 3PER-think-him AFFECT.die child
 'Ali is thought by him to have had a child die (on him).'

The Equi test is not available for these constructions, since they are non-volitive, and the rule of Equi Deletion, at least in Bahasa Indonesia, necessarily involves volitive predicates ('want to', 'try to', 'force to', and those that take purpose complements).

The preverbal nominal thus has the following properties of final subjects: preverbal position, no preposition, subject pronominal form, ability to be a target of fronting operations, and ability to ascend.

The postverbal nominal, on the other hand, is not a final subject. It cannot be questioned by fronting with *yang*, clefted, or relativised:

- 6.26 **Siapa (yang) Ali kematian?*
 who COMP Ali AFFECT.die
 'Who died on Ali?'
- 6.27 **Anak-nya-lah yang Ali kematian.*
 child-his-TOP COMP Ali AFFECT.die
 'It was his child that died on Ali.'

- 6.28 **Saya me-lihat anak-nya yang Ali kematian.*
 I meN-see child-his COMP Ali AFFECT.die
 'I saw the child who died on Ali.'

Nor can the postverbal nominal be pronominalised with *ia*:

- 6.29 **Ali kematian ia.*
 'Ali had him die (on him).'

Like final direct objects, this nominal has no preposition and is in postverbal position. But while final 2s can be cliticised, this nominal cannot:

- 6.30 **Ali kematiannya.*
 'Ali had him die (on him).'

Also, if this nominal were a final 2, then the verb ought to take the *meN-* prefix as do other final transitive predicates, but *meN-* may not be prefixed to the verb base, nor may *meN-* co-occur with *ke- -an*:

- 6.31a. **Ali memati anak-nya.*
 b. **Ali meng-(k)ematian anak-nya.*

Further, if *anak* were a final 2, then it ought to be possible to passivise these sentences. However, passivised versions are not allowed. What we see, then, is that the postverbal NP behaves like a 2 in regard to its position and its case, but like a non-2 in terms of cliticisation, transitive verb morphology, and eligibility for Advancement. These are the very properties which characterise 2-chômeurs (as was seen in Chapter 5 on Advancements to 2). My conclusion is therefore that the postverbal NP in *ke- -an* constructions such as in examples 6.2 and 6.4 is a 2-chômeur. Again, this is the relation claimed in my analysis, in which *anak* of 6.2' is an inner P-final 2, and a chômeur in the union stratum.

For examples such as 6.5, the postverbal nominal is preceded by *oleh*, the regular marker of 1-chômeurs in Passives. Its position following the verb is identical to that of 1-chômeurs as well. These facts indicate that, for a subset of *ke- -an* constructions, the final relation of the postverbal nominal is 1-chômeur. An explicit relational network for this set of examples comes up in section 6.3.3.6.

6.3.2 Evidence for the initial 2-hood of the union nominal

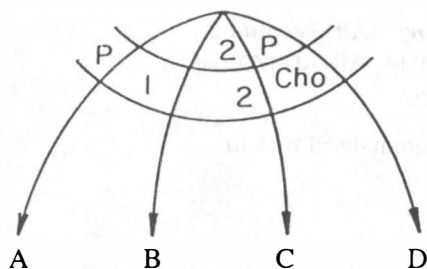
There are very few tests for initial termhood in Bahasa Indonesia. So on what basis do I posit a P-initial 2 relation for *Ali* instead of an initial 1?

All that was said in the previous section provides enough evidence to make any alternative analysis untenable. That is, I have shown that an inner initial 2, if distinct from the union nominal, must end up as a 2-chômeur. It does not have any of the properties of a final 1, final 2, or 1-chômeur.

This final 2-chômeur relation is a natural consequence if the union predicate initialises a 2 instead of a 1.

If, on the other hand, the union predicate initialised a 1 rather than a 2, then Clause Union would make the 2 of the inner P-sector a 2 in the union stratum:

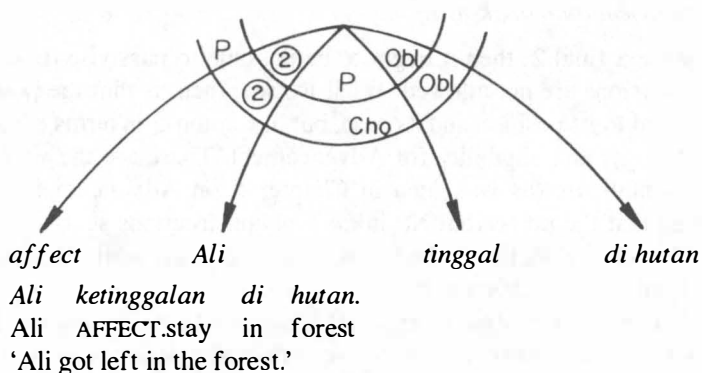
6.32



But, as I have said, the inner-P 2 does not have the properties of a final 2. This structure would also give a transitive stratum, and the conditions would be met for *meN-* to occur on the predicate, but this never happens. Also, there should be a corresponding Passive, and there is none. The union nominal is always the final 1 of these constructions. These clearly undesirable consequences motivate positing initial 2-hood for the initialised NP of union predicates.

Another bit of evidence comes from sentences in which a single nominal is an argument of both Ps. With the union P initialising a 2, we get the following partial structure:

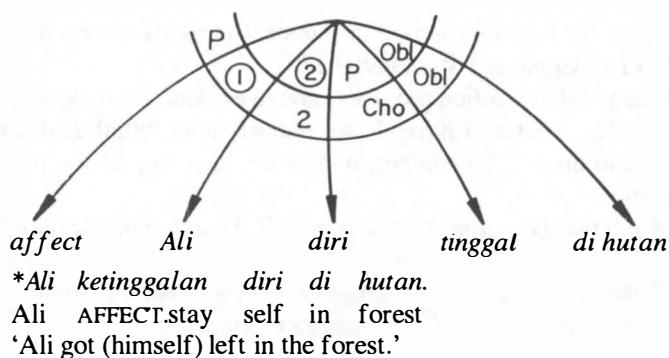
6.33



The circles mark the NPs initialised by their predicates. In the example above, we say that *Ali* is 'reinitialised', that is, it receives a thematic role from both the inner and the outer Ps.

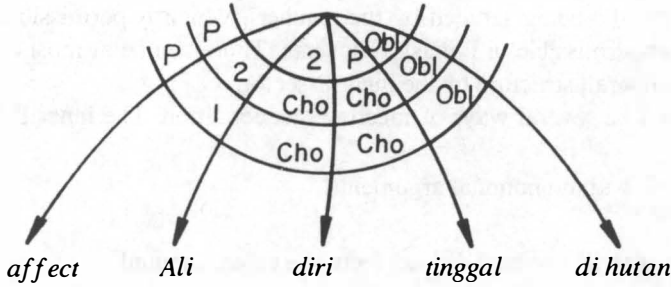
If, on the other hand, the union predicate initialised a 1, *Ali* would head both a 2 and a 1, and the conditions would be met for a reflexive in the union stratum. The partial diagram below represents this possibility. Such a sentence, however, is ungrammatical.

6.34



One could argue that my analysis with a union P-initial 2 still makes possible a structure like the following, with a reflexive in the inner P-sector:

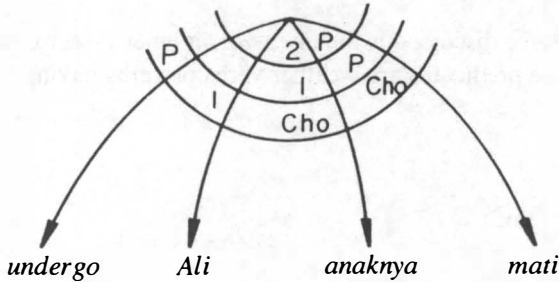
6.35



The reflexive pronoun *diri* would be put en chômage in the union stratum by the union nominal, and would have a final relation of 2-chômeur. However, as example 5.36b indicates, the reflexive pronoun *diri* cannot be put en chômage. Therefore, my analysis correctly predicts the ungrammaticality of example 6.34.

An alternative analysis to the one being proposed here would be to posit an abstract predicate UNDERGO, which has a valence of 1 and P-chômeur. The inner P-sector would contain 2-1 Advancement prior to Union. The final relations would be: 1 PREDICATE (1-CHÔMEUR) PREDICATE-CHÔMEUR as in:

6.36



This is undesirable, however, because 1-chômeurs in Bahasa Indonesia usually receive the preposition *oleh* 'by', and *oleh* cannot occur in this sentence:

6.37 **Ali kematian oleh anaknya.*

In summary, my analysis with an initial 2 relation accounts for various facts: the failure of these constructions to look or act like transitives, the impossibility of reflexivisation, the fact that a single nominal sometimes gets one thematic role and sometimes it gets two, and how 1- and 2-chômeurs arise in postverbal position instead of a 2. I have demonstrated how positing a Union 1 cannot account for these same facts in any obvious way.

6.3.3 Restrictions on the inner P-sector

There may be a maximum of only two overt, non-oblique nominals participating in these Union constructions in Bahasa Indonesia. The final 1, as I have said, originates as a 2 in the union stratum (or, in some cases, it originates in the inner P and carries through as a 2 in the union stratum). The other, the final 2-chômeur, originates as a 2 in the inner P-sector. It is

not possible to have additional NPs, such as a 1-chômeur, 2, 3, or 3-chômeur (obliques are allowed) in the surface sentence. This prohibition is not required by the theory; rather it is a restriction the language imposes on itself. So, for example, a sentence with the meaning 'Mary suffered her child's being scolded by the teacher', which is permissible in Japanese (see section 6.4), is impermissible in Bahasa Indonesia. There can be at most only one overt nominal added to the overall structure by the inner P-sector.

A priori there could be several ways of meeting this condition. The inner P-final stratum may be:

- a) just a predicate, with no nominal arguments.
- b) unergative.
- c) unaccusative, with its nominal distinct from the union nominal.
- d) unaccusative, with its nominal reinitialised by the union P.
- e) transitive, with one of its nominals left unspecified.
- f) transitive, with one of its nominals also bearing the initial Union 2 relation.
- g) multiattached, with a single nominal heading two distinct arcs.

Five of these seven possibilities³ for the inner P-sector are found in Bahasa Indonesia Unions. I examine each possibility, a)–f), in turn in sections 6.3.3.1–6.3.3.6 below.

6.3.3.1 *Predicate only*

The first construction type to be discussed is the one with an inner P-sector predicate only and no nominal argument. These predicates are weather verbs or verbs having to do with the time of day:

- 6.38 *Saya kehujanan.*
I AFFECT.rain
'I got caught in the rain.'
- 6.39 *Dia kemalaman.*
he AFFECT.night
'He was overcome by night.'
- 6.40 *Ibu kesiangan.*
Mother AFFECT.midday
'Mother was caught by daylight (i.e. she was late).'

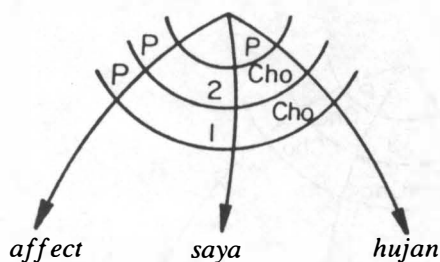
These predicates do not ordinarily take a nominal in regular, single predicate sentences, so their occurrence without an argument in the inner P-sectors of the examples above is entirely expected:

- 6.41 *Hujan.*
'It's raining.'
- 6.42 *Sudah malam.*
'It's already night.'

3 Since Bahasa Indonesia reflexives are not multiattached constructions, g) is not a possibility for Bahasa Indonesia and will not be further considered here. Possibility b), though non-existent, will be discussed with the others.

These have the following structure:

6.38'



Saya ke-hujan-an.
 I AFFECT.rain
 'I got caught in the rain.'

6.3.3.2 Unergatives

No inner P-sector unergatives are allowed in these *ke-* *-an* constructions. The sentences below are formed on verb bases from the unergatives listed in Chapter 3, and all are ungrammatical:

- 6.43 **Saya ketangisan anak.*
 I AFFECT.cry child
 'I was affected by a child's crying.'
- 6.44 **Wanita itu kegurauan suami-nya.*
 woman that AFFECT.joke husband-her
 'The woman endured her husband's joking.'
- 6.45 **Dia kekeluhan tetangga.*
 he AFFECT.complain neighbour
 'He suffered a neighbour's complaints.'
- 6.46 **Mereka pekerjaan para buruh.*
 they AFFECT.work PL labourer
 'They were affected by the labourers' work.'
- 6.47 **Sri kebicaraan pe-muda.*
 Sri AFFECT.speak NOM-young
 'Sri endured a young man's speaking.'

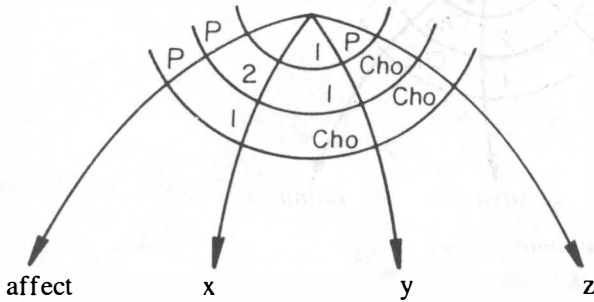
Nor can unergative bases occur with a termless union P, one without an extra union nominal. The example below, which is ungrammatical, is representative of such attempts:

- 6.48 *Ali ketangisan.*
 Ali AFFECT.cry
 'Ali happened to cry, cried involuntarily.'

I know of no reason why unergatives should be excluded from *ke-* *-an* constructions. There seems to be nothing that falls out from other principles, either universal or language-specific. (See section 6.4 for a comparison of Bahasa Indonesia and Japanese in this regard.) It is not the case that there can be no P-final 1 in the inner P-sector, since Unions

with transitive predicates have P-final 1s in their inner P-sectors. The following structure ought to be possible, but is not:

6.49

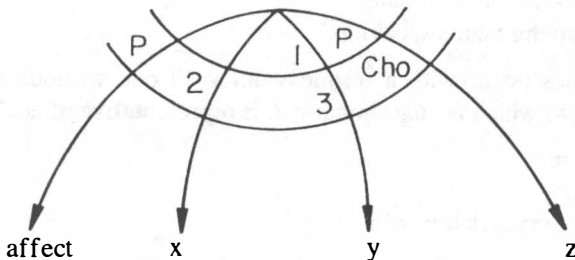


The diagram above closely resembles other Adversative Unions in the language. Nevertheless, sentences with this structure never occur. Nominal *y* in example 6.49 above is a *l*-chômeur and might therefore be expected to receive *oleh*-marking. However, *oleh* cannot occur with any *ke-* *-an* constructions formed on intransitive bases. The examples with unergatives in 6.43 to 6.47 above are equally ungrammatical with *oleh*:

- 6.50 **Saya ketangisan oleh anak.*
'I was affected by a child's crying.'
- 6.51 **Wanita itu kegurauan oleh suaminya.*
'The woman endured her husband's joking.'
- 6.52 **Dia kekeluhan oleh tetangga.*
'He suffered a neighbour's complaints.'
- 6.53 **Mereka pekerjaan oleh para buruh.*
'They were affected by the laborers' work.'
- 6.54 **Sri kebicaraan oleh pemuda.*
'Sri endured a young man's speaking.'

If we were to assume that Davies and Rosen's Union Revaluation Law (given above in example 6.9) were incorrect, and that inner P-final 1s could revalue when there was a 2 in the union stratum, the following structure, with the inner P-final 1 revaluing to 3, should then be possible:

6.55



However, the sentence **Saya ketangisan pada anak* 'I was affected by a child's crying', with *anak* as final 3, and marked as such by the preposition *pada* 'to', bears little

resemblance to any actual Bahasa Indonesia sentence. We therefore gain nothing by assuming that Davies and Rosen are wrong. Since no matter which way we try to construct such a Union, we always get an ungrammatical sentence, I conclude that the inner P-final stratum of a Bahasa Indonesia Union cannot be unergative.

This restriction appears to be specifically against finally unergative inner P-sectors. As we will see later (section 6.3.3.6), other possible structures with non-initial unergative inner P-sectors are also prohibited.

6.3.3.3 *Unaccusatives with the nominal distinct from the union nominal*

In Chapter 3 I showed that unaccusative bases can be distinguished from unergative bases on a number of independent grounds. In this section I show that all the one-place predicates which are allowed in the inner P-sectors of Unions are initially unaccusative. Each of the examples below has an initial 2 which is not identical to the union nominal (the 'affectee'). The corresponding independent clauses are given for each example:

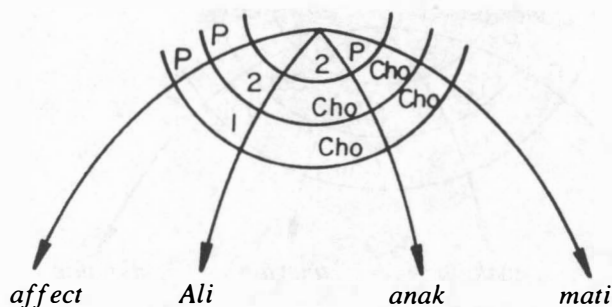
- 6.56a. *Ali kematian anak.*
 Ali AFFECT.die child
 'Ali had a child die (on him).'
- b. *Anaknya mati.*
 'His child died.'
- 6.57a. *Saya kedatangan tamu.*
 I AFFECT.come guest
 'I got a visit from a guest.'
- b. *Seorang tamu datang.*
 'A guest came.'
- 6.58a. *Dia kehilangan sahabat.*
 she AFFECT.lost friend
 'She lost a friend, had a friend get lost.'
- b. *Sahabat saya hilang.*
 'My friend is lost.'
- 6.59 a. *Mobil itu kejatuhan batu.*
 car that AFFECT.fall rock
 'The car got fallen on by a rock.'
- b. *Batu-nya jatuh.*
 'The rock fell.'
- 6.60a. *Rumah itu kemasukan pen-curi.*
 house that AFFECT.enter NOM-steal
 'The house got entered by a thief.'
- b. *Pencuri masuk.*
 'A thief entered.'

- 6.61a. *Pem-(p)erintah kekurangan pegawai.*
 NOM-govern AFFECT.lack employee
 'The government lacks employees.'
- b. *Pegawai kurang.*
 'There are not enough employees.'
- 6.62a. *Musa ketinggalan sapu tangan-nya.*
 Moses AFFECT.stay cloth hand-his
 'Moses (accidentally) left his handkerchief.'
- b. *Sapu tangan-nya tinggal.*
 'His handkerchief stayed behind.'
- 6.63a. *Kota itu kebanjiran sungai.*
 city that AFFECT.flood river
 'The city got flooded by the river.'
- b. *Sungai-nya banjir.*
 'The river flooded.'
- 6.64a. *Indonesia kelebihan pen-duduk.*
 Indonesia AFFECT.more NOM-sit
 'Indonesia is over-populated.'
- b. *Penduduk lebih.*
 'There are more residents.'
- 6.65a. *Orang Irian ketularan peny-(s)akit malaria.*
 person Irian AFFECT.spread NOM-sick malaria
 'The Irianese are suffering a malaria epidemic.'
- b. *Peny-(s)akit malaria men-(t)ular di Irian Jaya.*
 NOM-sick malaria meN-spread in Irian Jaya
 'Malaria is spreading in Irian Jaya.'
- 6.66a. *Orang barat kejangkitan peny-(s)akit amoeba.*
 person west AFFECT.spread NOM-sick amoeba
 'Westerners are suffering an amoeba epidemic.'
- b. *Peny-(s)akit amoeba ber-jangkit di mana-mana.*
 NOM-sick amoeba INTR-spread everywhere
 'Amoeba is spreading everywhere.'

The last two examples above deserve special comment. The intransitive verb forms each take a prefix, and prefixed intransitives are normally members of the unergative class. However, on the basis of their occurrence in the 'Sleeping Class' of transitive-intransitive sentence pairs, I have classified *menular* and *berjangkit* as unaccusatives. This classification is confirmed by these examples above, in which they pattern with unaccusatives in Union constructions, rather than with unergatives.

The relational diagram below represents these structures:

6.56'



Ali kematian anak.
 'Ali had a child die (on him).'

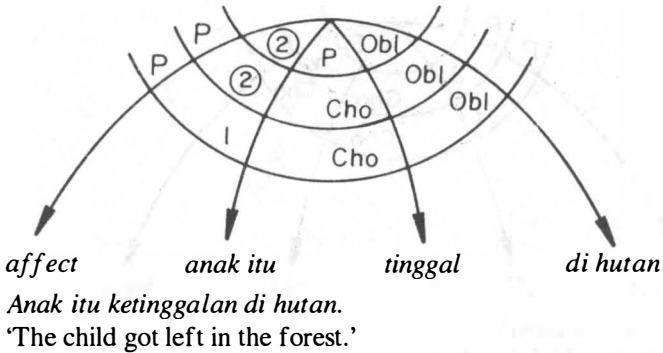
6.3.3.4 Unaccusatives with a reinitialised nominal

The following examples also have an initially unaccusative inner P-sector predicate, but its 2 is also the initial 2 of the union P (the 'affectee'), so the surface clause has no postverbal NP that is not contained in a prepositional phrase. The corresponding independent unaccusative clauses are also given:

- 6.67a. *Anak itu ketinggalan di hutan.*
 child that AFFECT.remain in forest
 'The child got left in the forest.'
- b. *Anak itu tinggal di hutan.*
 'The child stayed in the forest.'
- 6.68a. *Yusuf kelaparan.*
 Joseph AFFECT.hungry
 'Joseph was overcome with hunger.'
- b. *Yusuf lapar.*
 'Joseph is hungry.'
- 6.69a. *Saya kedinginan waktu selesai ber-(r)enang.*
 I AFFECT.cold when finish INTR-swim
 'I was (overcome with) cold when I had finished swimming.'
- b. *Saya dingin.*
 'I am cold.'
- 6.70a. *Guru kami ketiduran tadi pagi.*
 teacher our.EXC AFFECT.sleep earlier morning
 'Our teacher overslept this morning.'
- b. *Guru kami tidur.*
 'Our teacher slept.'

The relational diagram below represents the structure of this type of Union:

6.67'



This structure differs from the previous one in that example 6.56' has separate nominals in the two P-sectors while 6.67' has a single nominal serving as an argument to each P and receiving the thematic role that each P characteristically assigns to its P-initial 2 (this is what is known as reinitialisation). Therefore, *anak itu* has two semantic roles: it is the patient of *tinggal* 'stay'; it is also the adverse affectee of the union predicate. Only the inner predicate acquires a new relation in the union stratum – it acquires the chômeur relation.

6.3.3.5 Transitives with unspecified subjects

An initially transitive stratum in the inner P-sector is allowed to add at most one nominal to the structure of *ke-*-*an* sentences. Therefore, either one of the inner nominals must be unspecified or else one of the nominals must be identical to the 2 of the union P.

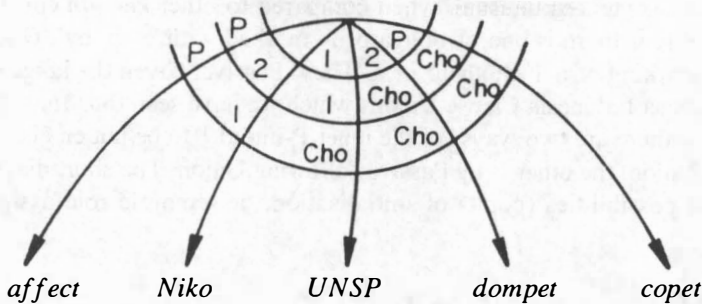
Only the transitive 1 is ever left unspecified, though I see no reason why the 2 could not be. To my knowledge, there are only two transitive verbs that take unspecified subjects in the inner P-sector of *ke-*-*an* constructions. They are *curi* 'to steal', and *copet* 'to pickpocket'. These are exemplified below:

6.71 *Saya kecurian sepeda.*
 I AFFECT.steal bicycle
 'I had a bicycle stolen.'

6.72 *Niko kecopetan dompet.*
 Niko AFFECT.pick wallet
 'Niko had a wallet stolen.'

These verbs, *copet* and *curi*, are never used intransitively. If they were, these examples could be collapsed with the unaccusative examples of section 6.3.3.3. That would offer the satisfaction of eliminating an entire category of Union constructions with only two members. Yet such a pleasant prospect must be rejected, considering that these verbs are always and only transitives. The relational diagram below represents the structure of this set of examples:

6.72'



The inner-P 1, which is unspecified, necessarily continues into the union stratum (it cannot revalue – see example 6.9) and is subsequently put en chômage by *Niko*, the Union initial 2, by the rule of Passive. The initial 2, *dompet*, is a 2-chômeur in the union stratum. Otherwise, two 2s would occur in the union stratum, thus violating the Stratal Uniqueness Law. The unspecified nominal is not overt. Thus the surface form has just one postverbal NP, though there are two nominal chômeurs in the final stratum.

6.3.3.6 Transitives with a nominal identical to the union nominal

Next we look at examples in which the inner P-sector initial 2 is identical to the Union 2 (the ‘affectee’). Though these examples have a meaning somewhat different from the sentences we have been looking at – in particular, the final subject need not be a sentient animate being and the adverse nature of the situation is not so apparent – they are easily accounted for by extending the analysis we have already been using.

There are only three transitive verbs (again, to my knowledge) which occur in this construction – *lihat* ‘see’, *dengar* ‘hear’, and *dapat* ‘find’. The monoclausal Passive is given with each example below:

- 6.73a. *Hal itu kedengaran oleh kami.*
 matter that AFFECT.hear by us.EXC
 ‘That matter got overheard by us.’
- b. *Hal itu kami dengar.*
 ‘That matter was heard by us.’
- 6.74a. *Ali kelihatan oleh saya.*
 Ali AFFECT.see by me
 ‘Ali got seen by me.’
- b. *Ali saya lihat.*
 ‘Ali was seen by me.’
- 6.75a. *Pen-curi itu kedapatan oleh polisi.*
 NOM-steal that AFFECT.find by police
 ‘The thief got found by the police.’
- b. *Pencuri itu di-dapat-i oleh polisi.*
 ‘The thief was found by the police.’

What makes these sentences unusual, when compared to other *ke- -an* constructions, is that the initial inner 1, if there is one, is obligatorily marked with *oleh* 'by'. *Oleh* has as its usual function the marking of a 1-chômeur of a 'They' Passive. Given the language-specific characteristic of Bahasa Indonesia Clause Unions which we have seen thus far – that is, final 1 is Union-initial 2 – there are two ways for the inner P-initial 1 to be put en chômeur: one is by Passive prior to Union, the other is by Passive following Union. The short diagrams below represent these two possibilities (points of initialisation, or semantic role assignment, are circled):

6.76	police	thief	
	① Chô	② 1	Initial Inner-P Stratum
	Chô	②	Union Stratum
	Chô	1	Unaccusative Advancement

6.77	police	thief	
	① 1	② ②	Initial Inner-P Stratum
	Chô	1	Passive

In example 6.76 the inner P-sector is passivised prior to Union. The initial 1 is a final 1-chômeur by virtue of this Passive. The inner P-final 1 ('thief'), because it is the union nominal, appears only once. But this structure violates the Union Revaluation Law (6.9), as the inner P-final 1 revalues, though there is no Union 1 to motivate that revaluation.

In example 6.77 no Passive occurs prior to Union. The transitive predicate unionises with the union predicate, then Passive occurs, giving a 1 and a chômeur in the final stratum. These relations are identical with the final relations of the first analysis, but no universal law is violated by 6.77. Therefore, 6.77 is the preferred analysis.

If Passive were allowed to occur on these initially transitive clauses, then the clauses with unspecified subjects should also be able to undergo passivisation prior to Union. The initial 2 would advance to 1 and then acquire the chômeur relation following Passive in the outer P-sector:

6.78	<i>Niko</i>	<i>Unsp</i>	<i>dompet</i>	
	②	① Chô	② 1	Initial Stratum
	②	Chô	1	Union
	1	Chô	Chô	Passive

Dompét should be marked with *oleh*, since it is a final 1-chômeur. However, the following sentence is ungrammatical:

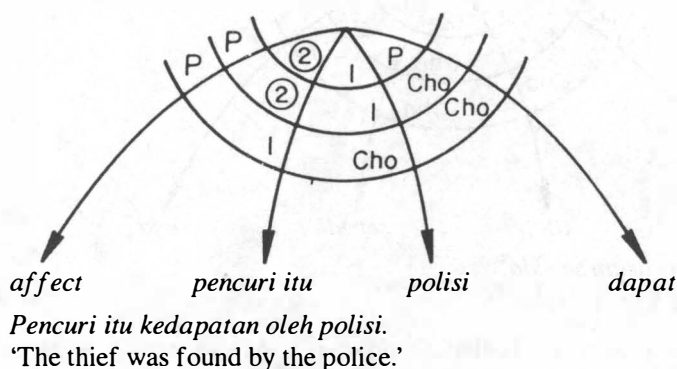
- 6.79 **Niko kecopetan oleh dompet.*
'Niko got a wallet stolen.'

Its ungrammaticality indicates that the structure in example 6.78 is not allowed in Bahasa Indonesia. On empirical grounds, then, inner clauses with unspecified subjects may not undergo Passive prior to Union. And we conclude from this that Passive is never allowed to occur in the inner P-sector.

A third argument against the inner Passive is that, following passivisation, the resultant structure is unergative. But Bahasa Indonesia does not allow Unions on initially unergative clauses. It would be possible for a language to prohibit initial unergatives in the inner-P sector of a Union, while allowing non-initial unergative inner P-final strata. However, such a restriction would be strange. It is more likely that the language prohibits all inner P-final unergatives, both initial and non-initial.

Based on this evidence, I propose that 6.77 is the correct analysis for the examples in 6.73–6.75. The relational diagram below represents them:

6.75'



Oleh 'by' occurs both here and in other Passives. It marks a 1-chômeur in each case. In Passives of non-Union constructions, the use of the preposition *oleh* is optional when the 1-chômeur immediately follows the verb; but in these Union constructions its use is obligatory, even though it immediately follows the verb.⁴

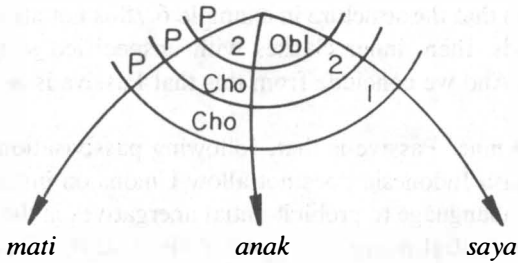
6.3.4 Evidence for a two-predicate structure

I have not yet given any evidence in favour of a two-predicate structure for *ke- -an* constructions, even though I have all along assumed the correctness of this analysis.

A possible competing analysis for these constructions is a clause with a single predicate in which the final 1 bears some oblique relation (which I will call the 'affectee' relation) in the initial stratum, which then advances first to 2 and then to 1. The relational diagrams below represent this competing analysis:

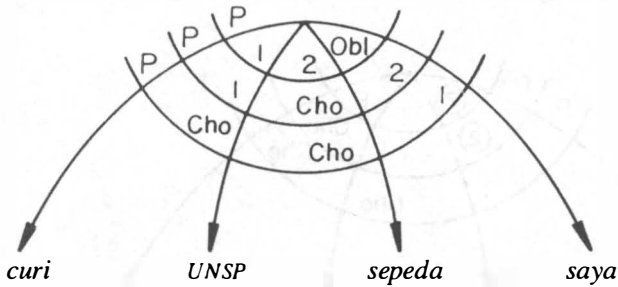
4 A sentence related to the ones being examined in this section is *Mereka kedapatan berciuman* 'They were found kissing'. If this were considered as a type of Union, then it would have three predicates. Though the theory could probably be expanded to include such sentences, I am not prepared to handle them in the present study.

6.80



Saya kematian anak.
 'My child died.'

6.81



Saya kecurian sepeda.
 'I had a bicycle stolen.'

A problem with this analysis is that Oblique-2-1 Advancement would have to be obligatory, since the oblique relation never shows up on the surface. Yet no other Advancements in Bahasa Indonesia are obligatory.

Also, Advancement occurs, regardless of the verb the oblique occurs with. Under the Union analysis, the union predicate 'AFFECT' requires the 2 it initialises to advance to 1. It is not uncommon for a predicate to govern a particular grammatical operation. For example, in languages with Inversion, certain predicates govern 1-3 Demotion. For an oblique constituent to govern such revaluations is highly unusual.

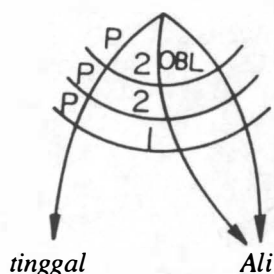
Argument structure provides another piece of evidence. The final 1 of *ke-* *-an* constructions, except in cases of reinitialisation, is not an argument of the verb. For instance, in *Ali kematian anak*, *Ali* is not an argument of *mati* 'die'. One could possibly posit a possessor–possessed relationship between *Ali* and *anak* and analyse these as some type of Possessor Ascension. However, in other examples such as *Mobil itu kejatuhan batu* 'That car had a rock fall on it', 'the car' cannot be said to be the possessor of 'a rock'. *Saya kehujan* 'I got caught in the rain' is another convincing example of a *ke-* *-an* construction in which there is no possessor–possessed relationship. The Possessor Ascension solution is thus ruled out.

Not only must an adequate analysis account for the extra NP, it must also account for the special semantics of these constructions. The difference in meaning between *Ali tinggal di hutan* 'Ali stayed in the forest' and *Ali ketinggalan di hutan* 'Ali got left in the forest' can only be a function of the *ke-* *-an* morphology.

If we were to try to posit a non-Union analysis that would account for this difference, we would have to resort to some very *ad hoc* (for Bahasa Indonesia) machinery. For example, to

account for its two thematic roles, *Ali* would be initially multiattached, bearing both a 2 and an 'affectee' oblique relation in the initial stratum

6.82



Since Bahasa Indonesia does not allow final multiattachment, the initial multiattachment must be taken care of somehow. This multiattachment could be 'resolved' by a cancellation of the 'affectee' relation. (Such a cancellation accounts for the reflexive clitic *se* in Italian.) Subsequently, the 2 would advance to 1 by Unaccusative Advancement, giving a final 1 relation for *Ali*.

Yet since there are no final multiattachment constructions in the language, it would be unusual for it to have initial multiattachment. Also, oblique relations are not known to be cancelled in any other construction. A Union analysis demands no such special apparatus. It must stipulate only that there is an abstract predicate meaning 'AFFECT ADVERSELY', which is a union P that initialises a 2, and that that 2 must advance to 1. Everything else about these constructions is automatic, given the broader principles already independently motivated for all clauses.

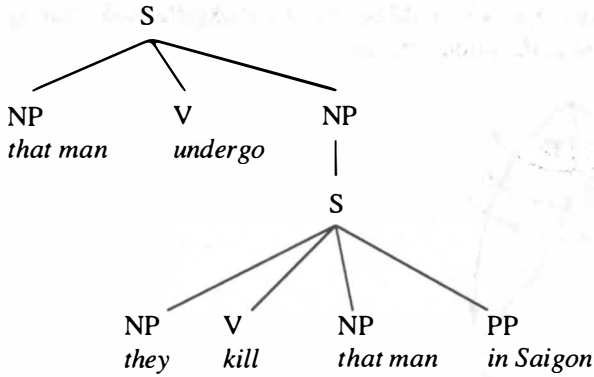
6.4 Adversative Passives cross-linguistically

Clark (1974) suggests that Adversative Passives may be an areal feature of East and Southeast Asia. She describes constructions similar to the one in Bahasa Indonesia in Japanese, Vietnamese, Thai and Lao, Mandarin, and Cambodian. These languages represent a number of diverse language families; the inclusion of Bahasa Indonesia in the language list adds the Austronesian family to those in which Adversative Passives are found.

Working in a transformational framework, Clark proposes a biclausal underlying structure for these constructions. The higher predicate UNDERGO has the feature (+Submissive). Its subject is (+Dative), which refers to deep case rather than surface case. The embedded S often contains an underlying NP which is coreferential with the matrix subject. This NP deletes by the rule of Equi-NP Deletion.⁵ The sentence meaning 'That man was killed (by them) in Saigon' has the following generalised underlying structure in these languages:

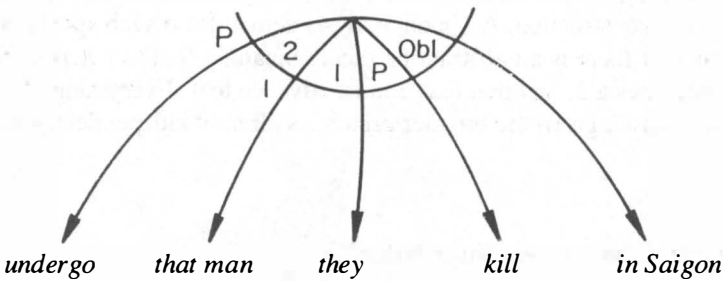
5 This is a generalised description of these constructions in several languages. Not all languages would require coreferentiality, for example.

6.83



A series of transformational rules, including Passive and predicate raising, gives the desired surface structure. This deep structure could easily be put into a partial relational diagram in which 'that man' is initialised by both the inner P ('kill') and the union P ('undergo'). I am not sure whether the union P would initialise a 1 or a 2, though I strongly suspect that all Adversative Unions will turn out to have a 2 for the initial relation of the union nominal:

6.83'



Keenan (1976a) briefly mentions an adversative-type construction in Malagasy, another Austronesian language, in a section on Possessor Ascension. In Possessor Ascension in Malagasy, the possessor of a subject raises into subject position, while the originally possessed noun moves into the surface VP. He gives the following examples to show that this operation does not require inalienable possession. In b. *Rabe* has raised to become the subject of the clause:

6.84a. *Nianjera ny tranon-dRabe.*
 fell the house of-Rabe
 'Rabe's house fell down.'

b. *Nianjera trano Rabe.*
 fell house Rabe
 'Rabe had his house fall.'

Keenan suggests that there perhaps must be an 'affective' relation between the ascended nominal and the predicate. For this reason, b. below is rejected:

6.85a. *Mihira ny zanan-dRabe.*
 sings the child of-Rabe
 'Rabe's child is singing.'

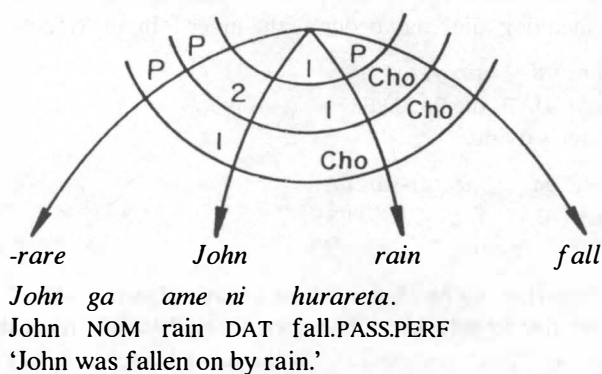
- b. **Mihira zanaka Rabe.*
sings child Rabe

I suggest here that, if Malagasy examples with meanings such as ‘The car had a rock fall on it’ could be found, a Possessor Ascension analysis would be ruled out, and a Union analysis would be a likely possibility. I note here that the verb meaning ‘fall’ allows this construction, while the verb meaning ‘sing’ does not. Verbs with these meanings in Bahasa Indonesia are unaccusative and unergative, respectively, and only the former enters into Union constructions. It appears, then, that if these indeed are Adversative Unions in Malagasy, then they observe the same restrictions against inner unergatives as do Unions in Bahasa Indonesia.

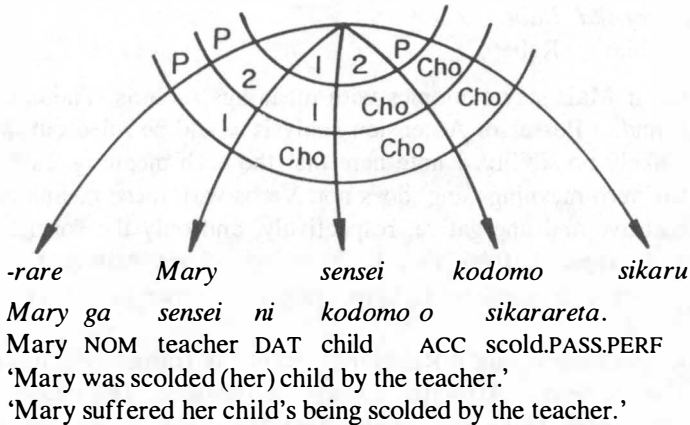
Dubinsky (1985), operating within a Relational Grammar framework, has proposed a Union analysis of what he terms ‘Affective Unions’ in Japanese. The union predicate is realised as the morpheme *-rare*. This often has an adversative meaning, but that meaning can be overridden by the meaning of the inner P. Dubinsky prefers to assign *-rare* a more general meaning of ‘happen to’. The affectee is the initial 2 of the union stratum. Union of the two P-sectors with no revaluation of the inner 1 results in a transitive union stratum. Following Passive, the clause’s final relations are 1 and 1-chômeur, while the other inner dependents retain their initial relations. Case marking is consistent with these final relations. Dubinsky demonstrates that several syntactic phenomena follow from general rules of Japanese under this analysis.

The Japanese examples and associated relational diagrams below exemplify Dubinsky’s Affective Unions with inner unergative predicates (example 6.86) and with inner transitive predicates (6.87). Unaccusatives are prohibited from occurring in Japanese Affective Unions.

6.86



6.87



The so-called 'Passive' verbal morpheme *-rare* is, under this analysis, an inflection that marks Clause Unions with the 'happen' predicate. Both 'direct' Passives and affective constructions are Unions with this same union P; therefore both receive *-rare* marking.

Both the differences and the similarities between this Japanese construction and the Bahasa Indonesia *ke-* *-an* construction are noteworthy. First of all, Japanese allows an inner P-sector whose various nominals are both specified and not identical to the nominal initialised by the union P, while Bahasa Indonesia allows the union P to inherit at most one specified nuclear term from the inner P-sector. Second, Japanese permits only unergative intransitives (as well as transitives) to form the inner P-sector, while Bahasa Indonesia allows only unaccusative intransitives along with transitives. The Japanese facts are illustrated in the following pair of sentences. In Japanese 'die' is unergative, while 'faint' is unaccusative. Of these two, only the predicate meaning 'die' may occur as the inner P in an Affective Union:

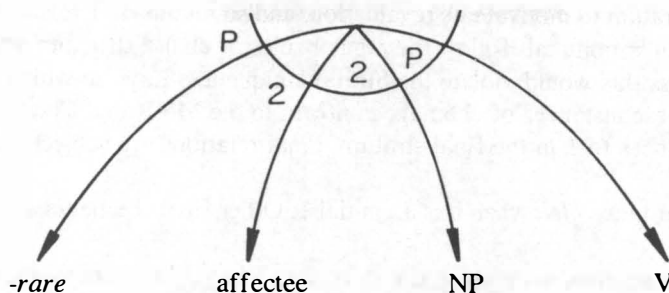
6.88 *John ga Mary ni sinareta.*
 John NOM Mary DAT die.PASS.PERF
 'John suffered Mary's dying.'

6.89 **John ga Mary ni kizetsu-sareta.*
 John NOM Mary DAT faint-PASS.PERF
 'John suffered Mary's fainting.'

Dubinsky provides an explanation of this. He maintains that in Japanese the Final 1 Law applies not only to clauses, but also to individual P-sectors. Every P-sector must have a final 1 in Japanese. This means that an initial unaccusative in the inner P-sector would advance to 1 in that sector's final stratum. The relations in the union stratum would be 1 and 2. Following Passive, the clause's final relations would be 1 and 1-chômeur. But this structure violates the 1-Chômeur Initiality Law⁶ which states that a 1-chômeur must head a 1-arc in the initial stratum. The following diagram represents the impermissible structure in Japanese:

6 Dubinsky prefers the 1-Chômeur Initiality Law to an alternate proposal, the 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law (Perlmutter and Postal 1984b), which says that there cannot be more than one Advancement to 1 in a single clause, on the grounds that the former is more economical and need not refer to entire relational networks. The Japanese construction discussed here actually violates both of these laws.

6.90



In Bahasa Indonesia, on the other hand, clauses must have a final 1, but P-sectors need not. Therefore, an initial unaccusative in the inner P-sector does not advance prior to Union. It subsequently is put in *chômeur* by the Union 2.

A Union analysis accounts for the case-marking facts in the two languages. The differences and similarities in the syntactic behaviour of the nominals that take *ni* in the two Japanese constructions are accounted for under Dubinsky's analysis. In both the direct Passive and the Affective Union, *ni* marks the final 1-*chômeur*. Phenomena which are sensitive to 1-*chômeur*hood, such as Subject Honorification, relativisation, and cleft formation, attest to their identical final relations. However, other phenomena point to the differences in the *ni*-marked nominals in these two constructions. The Reflexive Antecedence Condition, for example, requires that the antecedent of a reflexive must be a P-final 1 or an experiencer or causer. Only the *ni*-marked nominal in an Affective Union meets this condition, while the final 1-*chômeur* of a direct Passive does not. It is not clear how these differences could be accounted for in an analysis which regards both direct Passives and Affective Unions as single-predicate monoclausal structures.

In Bahasa Indonesia the similarities between the nominal that takes *oleh* in both the Passive and the *ke- -an* construction are accounted for by the fact that, in the latter type, a Passive occurs in the final stratum. Therefore, the rule of *oleh*-marking can be stated simply:

Oleh marks 1-*chômeurs*.

At the same time, the fact that the verb of the Passive gets prefixed with *di-* (for third person initial 1s) and the verb of the Union gets *ke- -an* is a consequence of the fact that the first has a single predicate and the latter two successive predicates. That is, we can easily create a rule stating the conditions for *ke- -an* affixation:

ke- -an signals the presence of the 'AFFECT' predicate.

6.5 Summary

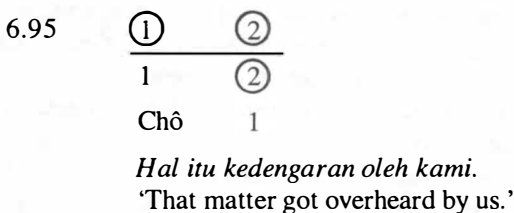
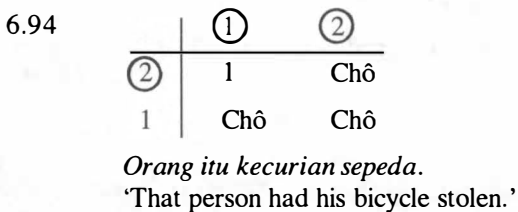
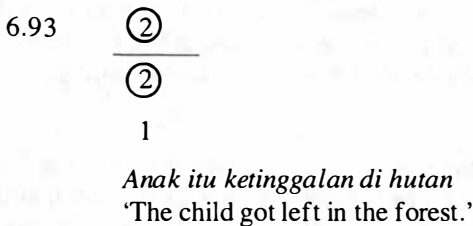
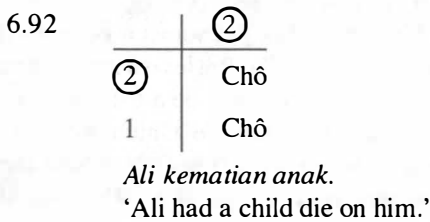
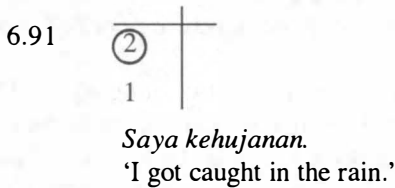
Bahasa Indonesia, like many other Asian languages, has an 'Adversity Passive', whose meaning generally expresses an unfortunate happening to a person or thing. In Bahasa Indonesia these constructions are Clause Unions whose structure is an inner predicate, with its nominal arguments, and an outer P, AFFECT ADVERSELY or BEFALL, and the nominal argument it initialises as a 2. The valence of this predicate is 2 and P-*chômeur*.

Predicates without nominal arguments, unaccusatives, unaccusatives whose nominal is reinitialised by the union P, transitives with an unspecified subject, and transitives whose 2s are identical to the Union 2 may form the inner P-sector when there is reinitialisation. The inner 1, if there is one, cannot revalue in the union stratum because of the lack of a distinct

1-arc in the union stratum to motivate its revaluation, and so retains its 1 relation in the union stratum. The other inner nominals follow the regular rules of clause structure and retain their initial relations unless this would violate the Stratal Uniqueness Law, in which case they go into chômage and these instances of chômage conform to the Motivated Chômage Law. The initial Union 2 advances to 1 in the final stratum. Final relations are subject only or subject and chômeur.

The final chômeur takes *oleh* when it is an initial 1. Other final chômeurs are 2-chômeurs, and do not take *oleh*.

The short diagrams below summarise the structures I have discussed in this chapter. As before, the circles indicate those nominals which are initialised by the P in their P-sector.



These constructions, which do not accept unergatives in the inner P-sector, constitute further evidence for the unaccusative–unergative distinction discussed in Chapter 3. Though I cannot explain the prohibition against unergatives in the inner P-sector, the fact that there is a definite split between unergatives and unaccusatives in this regard supports my analysis that there is a syntactic unergative–unaccusative distinction in Bahasa Indonesia.

7 Ascensions

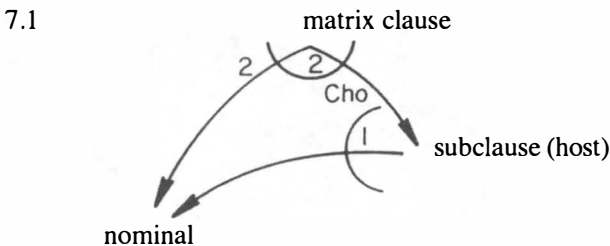
7.1 Introduction

In the next two chapters we look at biclausal constructions in Bahasa Indonesia, in which a nominal of the embedded clause bears a relation in some stratum of the matrix clause. These are what are called in Role and Reference Grammar ‘core junctures’, since the cores of two predicates are joined. This chapter deals with Ascensions. The following chapter deals with Equi constructions.

According to Relational Grammar, Ascensions, referred to as ‘Raisings’ in earlier generative tradition, are constructions in which a nominal of the embedded clause bears a non-initial grammatical relation in the matrix clause.

Bahasa Indonesia has two general types of Ascensions. One is an Ascension into a transitive clause, the other an Ascension into an intransitive clause.¹

The partial relational diagram below presents the crucial properties of Ascensions in Bahasa Indonesia:



This diagram shows that a 1 (as I will prove, it need not be an initial 1), which is in an embedded clause, bearing an initial 2 relation in the matrix clause, ascends to bear a 2 relation in the matrix clause. It thus satisfies the Relational Succession Law. The embedded clause is consequently put en chômage to avoid a violation of the Stratal Uniqueness Law.

¹ Ascensions in Relational Grammar are usually referred to in one of two ways: either in terms of the grammatical relation the ascended NP bears in the first matrix stratum in which it has a relation (thus, Ascension to 1 or Ascension to 2); or in terms of the initial relation of the host (that is, the embedded clause) – thus, Ascension from a 1 host or Ascension from a 2 host. These labels are notationally equivalent since, by the Relational Succession Law, the ascended NP bears the relation of the host out of which it ascends. However, as will be clear later, both types in Bahasa Indonesia are Ascensions to 2 from a 2 host. Therefore these usual labels do not distinguish the types. For this reason I have resorted to a non-traditional set of labels.

In what follows, I first discuss Ascensions into transitive clauses (section 7.2), and then Ascensions into intransitive clauses (section 7.3). For each type I provide evidence that only final 1s may ascend, that the ascended NP is the 2 of the matrix clause in the ascension stratum, and that the ascended nominal 'originates' in the embedded clause, or 'host' in Relational Grammar terms. Lastly, I discuss restrictions on the embedded clauses of each of these constructions.

7.2 Ascensions into transitive clauses

In this type of construction the initial stratum of the matrix clause has a predicate, a nominal 1, and a clausal 2. The verbs which govern these Ascensions in Bahasa Indonesia are all verbs of thought.

English has a number of verbs which govern Ascension of a subject into the matrix clause, including some verbs of thought and cognition:

7.2 *I expect Robert to buy a dog.*

7.3 *I believe him to have come.*

7.4 *We acknowledged him to be king.*

The accusative case of the ascended NP (*him* in examples 7.3 and 7.4) gives evidence of its final 2 relation in the matrix clause. Notice that in English the embedded clause requires a non-finite verb.

This class in Bahasa Indonesia includes the verbs² *duga* 'presume', *kira* 'guess', *sangka* 'think, suppose', *anggap* 'consider', *rasa* 'feel', and *pikir* 'think'.

These verbs take *bahwa* 'that' as a complementiser when Ascension, which is optional, does not occur. Notice the following pairs:

7.5a. *Saya meng-anggap bahwa dia bodoh.*
I meN-consider that he foolish
'I consider that he is a fool.'

b. *Saya meng-anggap dia bodoh.*
'I consider him (to be) a fool.'

7.6a. *Saya pikir bahwa orang itu telah me-laku-kan ke-salah-an.*
I think that person that already meN-do-TRAN NOM-wrong
'I think that that person has made a mistake.'

b. *Saya pikir orang itu telah me-laku-kan kesalahan.*
'I think that person to have made a mistake.'

In each b. example, the final complement subject (*dia* and *orang itu*, respectively) ascends to bear the direct object relation in the matrix clause. The complementiser can no longer occur:

7.7 **Saya meng-anggap dia bahwa bodoh.*
'I consider him (to be) a fool.'

² These verbs are called 'co-transitive' by Dardjowidjojo (1978), because they take both a direct object and a clausal complement in their surface structures.

- 7.8 **Saya pikir orang itu bahwa telah me-laku-kan kesalahan.*
 'I think that person to have made a mistake.'

The example in 7.6b shows that the downstairs clause may be finite (indicated by *telah* 'already'). Thus these Bahasa Indonesia Ascensions do not have the same restrictions against finiteness in the complement clause as do English Ascensions, which require infinitives in the embedded clause.

The distinction between finiteness and non-finiteness is a crucial one in Bahasa Indonesia biclausal constructions, as I will discuss later. Throughout this study I take the stand that the tense/aspect³ markers *sudah*, *telah*, both meaning 'already', and *akan* 'will' are indicators of finiteness. They relate the time of a clause's action to some fixed present. They are found in independent clauses, as well as in some dependent clauses. These tense/aspect markers are not obligatory; most clauses occur without any of them. The context usually provides a clause's time reference. What I am calling a finite clause is one which allows a tense/aspect marker, whether it has one or not. Non-finite clauses, on the other hand, are those which prohibit the occurrence of such markers.

Below are examples of some of the other verbs in this class, in both their unascended and ascended forms:

- 7.9a. *John McEnroe me-rasa bahwa dia di-hasut.*
 John McEnroe meN-feel that he 3PER-incite
 'John McEnroe feels that he was incited.'
- b. *John McEnroe me-rasa diri-nya di-hasut.*
 John McEnroe meN-feel self-his 3PER-incite
 'John McEnroe feels himself to have been incited.'
- 7.10a. *Saya meng-(k)ira bahwa dia pandai.*
 I meN-guess that he clever
 'I think that he is clever.'
- b. *Saya meng-(k)ira dia pandai.*
 'I think him to be clever.'
- 7.11a. *Dia tidak meny-(s)angka bahwa saya begitu berani.*
 he not meN-suppose that I so brave
 'He didn't suppose that I was so brave.'
- b. *Dia tidak meny-(s)angka saya begitu berani.*
 'He didn't suppose me to be so brave.'
- 7.12a. *Mereka men-duga bahwa saya akan datang hari ini.*
 they meN-presume that I will come day this
 'They presumed that I would come today.'
- b. *Mereka men-duga saya akan datang hari ini.*
 'They presumed me to be coming today.'

³ These words serve primarily to mark aspectual distinctions. However, because they have implications for time reference, I have chosen to label them as 'tense/aspect markers'.

7.2.1 Evidence that the ascended NP bears the matrix 2 relation

I am claiming that a nominal ascends from the downstairs (= embedded) clause into the upstairs (= matrix) clause. There is good evidence that this nominal is a 2 in the matrix clause in some non-initial stratum. First of all, word order indicates the final 2-hood of this nominal, as immediate postverbal position is the normal one for 2s. Second, the ascended nominal may be substituted with the clitic forms of pronouns, like all other 2s.

- 7.13 *Saya meng-anggap-nya bodoh.*
 I meN-consider-him foolish
 'I consider him a fool.'

The ascended NP can be reflexivised, a regular property of direct objects:

- 7.14 *Mereka me-rasa diri-nya mujur.*
 they meN-feel self-their lucky
 'They felt (themselves) lucky.'

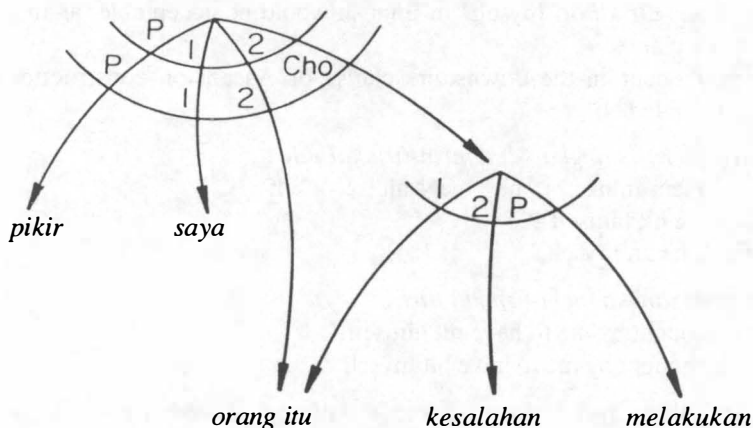
Finally, the ascended nominal is eligible for advancement⁴ to subject:

- 7.15 *Saya di-anggap tidak bisa ber-bicara.*
 I 3PER-consider not can INTR-speak
 'I was considered not to be able to speak.'

We see from the data above that a downstairs nominal ascends to the 2 relation of the upstairs clause, as evidenced by its pronominal form, word order, and its ability to be reflexivised and advanced to subject.

The relational diagram below represents the structure of 7.6b.

7.16



The claim that a nominal ascends from an embedded clause into a matrix clause does not imply that its downstairs relation is erased. (In fact, the theory does not allow this, since a relational network cannot be changed.) On the contrary, the downstairs relation is maintained. For instance, in the example above, *orang itu* bears both a final 2 relation upstairs and a final 1 relation downstairs.

⁴ Some of the verbs in this class cannot be passivised. For example, there is no **dipikir*, though there is an active *pikir* 'think'.

7.21a. *Saya meng-(k)ira mereka saling men-cium.*
 I meN-think them each.other meN-kiss
 'I thought them to have kissed (each other).'

b. **Mereka meng-(k)ira saya saling men-cium.*
 'They thought me to have kissed each other.'

Some languages have double representation of the ascended nominal, one in each clause in which it bears a final relation. Bahasa Indonesia, like English, has single representation, with only the matrix clause showing an overt form of the nominal. The data above provide sufficient evidence, however, that the ascended NP bears two final relations.

7.2.2 Only downstairs final 1s may ascend

I have not yet discussed which downstairs relations are eligible for Ascension. All the examples I have given so far show Ascension of the final downstairs 1. It may be the final 1 of an unaccusative (example 7.5b), an unergative (7.15), a transitive (7.6b), or a Passive (7.9b).⁶

What about the Ascension of other relations, such as final 2s, 3s, and Benefactives? It turns out that biclausal constructions have the same restrictions as do monoclausal constructions, which allow only subjects to be fronted in questions, relative clauses, and clefts. Only subjects may ascend into transitive clauses. The examples below illustrate unsuccessful attempts to raise final 2s (7.22), 3s (7.23), and Benefactives (7.24):

7.22 **Saya meng-anggap buku itu dia mem-baca(-nya).*
 I meN-consider book that he meN-read it
 'I consider that book for him to have read (it).'

7.23 **Orang itu meng-(k)ira diri-nya pacar meng-(k)irim surat (pada).*
 person that meN-think self-her sweetheart meN-send letter to
 'That person thinks herself for her boyfriend to have sent a letter (to).'

7.24 **Kami meng-anggap mereka dia mem-buat kue (untuk).*
 we.EXC meN-consider they he meN-make cake for
 'We consider them she made a cake (for).'

It is not the case that these particular nominals cannot ascend. They can as long as they are first advanced to subject of the downstairs clause, which strengthens the observation that Ascension involves only 1 ascending to 2. The sentence in 7.24 above is repeated below, but with the Benefactive as downstairs final subject. While perhaps not a good Bahasa Indonesia sentence, it is at least marginally acceptable if, when spoken, there is a pause between *menganggap* and *mereka*, and it is definitely superior to 7.24.

⁶ Hudson (1976) discusses three different kinds of Raising: 1) topicalisation, adverb-preposing, and wh-movement (including relativisation); 2) tough-movement (what I am calling 'Ascension into an Intransitive Clause'); and 3) subject-raising (what I am calling 'Ascension into a Transitive Clause'). The last two, but not the first, are verb-governed operations. All have a similar structure, in which a nominal (the raised element) is a daughter of both the matrix and the subordinate clauses. It is not unusual, then, that in Bahasa Indonesia, question formation, relativisation, clefting, and raising all exhibit the same characteristic of being restricted to final subjects.

- 7.25 ?*Kami meng-anggap mereka di-buat-kan kue.*
 ‘We consider them to have been made a cake.’

To sum up this section, Bahasa Indonesia has constructions in which an embedded final 1 ascends to bear the 2 relation in a transitive matrix clause, thereby putting the embedded clause en chômege. The ascended nominal bears a final 1 relation in the downstairs clause and, in the upstairs clause, may be a final 2, or, if advanced by Passive there, may end up as a final 1 (as in example 7.15).

An alternative analysis to the one offered here is given by Foley and Van Valin (1984). They do not recognise Raising or Ascension as a rule of grammar. Rather, those constructions termed Ascensions in this study, and Raisings in traditional transformational literature, are seen to be two-predicate constructions which share an argument in their core structures. These two claims differ significantly. The Ascension analysis claims that, for a verb such as *anggap* ‘consider’, the ascended NP is not one of its initial arguments, and, therefore, *anggap* does not subcategorise for the ascended nominal. Foley and Van Valin, on the other hand, are maintaining that the shared argument (my ‘ascended NP’) belongs to the argument structure of both matrix and embedded verbs.

Bahasa Indonesia potentially offers a way of choosing between these alternative solutions. As I mentioned in Chapter 3, nominalised transitive verbs, when occurring with an additional argument, occur with the initial 2. If *anggap* in its nominalised form were to take the ‘ascended NP’ as its additional argument, then that would be evidence against my claim that it is an ascended NP and in favour of an alternate claim on the order of Foley and Van Valin’s. In other words, if, associated with a sentence such as

- 7.26 *Saya meng-anggap dia bodoh.*
 ‘I consider him a fool.’

there were a nominalisation **penganggapan dia* meaning ‘the consideration of him’, then my Ascension analysis would be called into question. However, neither *anggap* nor any of the other verbs in the same class have such nominalised forms. This fact lends some support to my analysis, though my argument is weakened by the fact that not all non-raising transitive verbs have nominalised forms with *peN-* *-an* (*gigit* ‘bite’, **penggigitan*). Therefore, the absence of nominalised forms for this verb class cannot be taken as absolute proof that they do not have an initial 2; it only suggests that this is so.

7.3 Ascensions into intransitive clauses

English has a construction known as ‘Tough Movement’ which is governed by intransitive verbs such as *tough*, *easy*, *hard*, and *impossible*. In unascended clauses, the dummy ‘it’ bears the final 1 relation in the matrix clause (example 7.27). Sentences in 7.28 show the downstairs 2 bearing the final 1 relation in the matrix clause. The downstairs 2 has ascended into the matrix clause and bears the final 1 relation upstairs.

- 7.27a. *It is easy to find diamonds here.*

b. *It is impossible to hate him.*

- 7.28a. *Diamonds are easy to find here.*

b. *He is impossible to hate.*

The examples below (from Frantz 1981:26) illustrate English's liberality in allowing Ascension of objects of prepositions.

7.29 *This subject is hard to deal with.*

7.30 *Some topics are impossible to avoid wanting to skip over.*

However, English does not permit the Ascension of subjects⁷ with this set of verbs:

7.31 **Diamonds are easy to be found here.*

7.32a. **He is impossible to be hated.*

b. **He is impossible to hate others.*

Some of the predicates controlling Ascension into intransitive clauses in Bahasa Indonesia are *sukar*, *sulit*, *susah* ('difficult'), *mudah*, *gampang* ('easy'), *enak* ('delicious, pleasant'), and *patut* ('proper, fitting').

Each of these predicates is basically an adjective. This claim is based on the fact that each can modify a noun both attributively and predicatively, and each can be modified by the comparative *lebih* 'more'.

I claim in Chapter 3 that Bahasa Indonesia adjectives have unaccusative initial strata. This is based on the fact that adjectives are prefixless, like other unaccusatives.

A characteristic of unaccusatives is that, when transitivised, they have a causative meaning, the transitive 2 bearing the same semantic role as the initial 2 of the corresponding intransitive. The predicates above can all be transitivised and have a causative meaning:

7.33a. *Ke-hidup-an-nya susah.*
NOM-live-his difficult
'His life is difficult.'

b. *Peristiwa itu meny-(s)usah-kan ke-hidup-an-nya.*
incident that meN-difficult-TRAN NOM-live-his
'That incident made his life difficult.'

7.34a. *Baca-an itu mudah.*
read-NOM that easy
'That reading is easy.'

b. *Guru me-mudah-kan baca-an itu.*
teacher meN-easy-TRAN read-NOM that
'The teacher simplified the reading.'

The three predicates meaning 'difficult' all enter in to the Adversative construction with *ke-* *-an*, as do many other unaccusatives, but no unergatives.

The facts above lead to the conclusion that these matrix verbs are unaccusative, i.e. they take an initial 2 rather than an initial 1. When that 2 is a nominal, it undergoes Unaccusative Advancement to bear the final 1 relation in the clause. When the initial 2 is a clause, we may assume that it likewise undergoes Unaccusative Advancement if Ascension has not occurred.

⁷ English has another class of raising predicates, in which a downstairs 1 ascends. This class includes *seem*, *tend*, *happen to*, and *be likely*. These meanings are handled in Bahasa Indonesia by adverbs, so it has no corresponding Ascensions.

At this point I know no way of testing this assumption, since Bahasa Indonesia verb morphology does not indicate Unaccusative Advancement.

Below are examples of these predicates with clauses as their final subjects, from which Ascension has not taken place. The 'for to' complementiser *untuk* optionally connects the matrix predicate with its clausal subject. The clausal subject is extraposed and the topic clitic *-lah*, which is optional, attaches to the verb in its marked sentence-initial position.

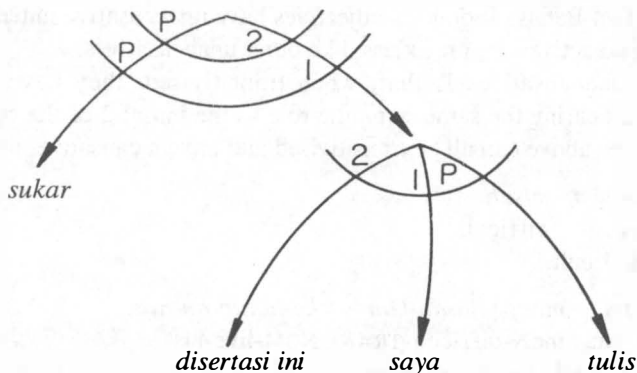
7.35 *Sukar-(lah) untuk saya men-(t)ulis disertasi ini.*
 difficult-TOP for I meN-write dissertation this
 'It is difficult for me to write this dissertation.'

7.36 *Gampang-(lah) untuk dia mem-beli mobil baru.*
 easy-TOP for he meN-buy car new
 'It is easy for him to buy a new car.'

Notice that, though the English translations require a dummy 'it' as final subject, Bahasa Indonesia does not take a dummy.

The sentences without an ascended nominal above have the following relational structure:

7.35'



Sukarlah untuk saya men-(t)ulis disertasi ini.
 'It is difficult for me to write this dissertation.'

Below are examples of Ascensions from initial structures like the one above, one example for each governing verb. In each case the *untuk* complementiser is optional.

7.37 *Disertasi ini sukar (untuk) saya tulis.*
 dissertation this difficult for I write
 'This dissertation is difficult for me to write.'

7.38 *Mobil baru gampang (untuk) di-beli-nya.*
 car new easy for 3PER-buy-him
 'A new car is easy for him to buy.'

7.39 *Per-buat-an-nya sulit (untuk) di-mengerti.*
 NOM-act-his difficult for 3PER-understand
 'His action is hard to understand.'

7.40 *Buku ini susah (untuk) saya baca.*
 book this difficult for I read
 'This book is hard for me to read.'

- 7.41 *Pesawat itu mudah (untuk) di-terbang-kan.*
 airplane that easy for 3PER-fly-TRAN
 'That airplane is easy to fly.'
- 7.42 *Tanah Toraja enak (untuk) di-kunjung-i*
 land Toraja pleasant for 3PER-visit-LOC
 'Toraja land is pleasant to visit.'
- 7.43 *Acara ini patut (untuk) kita hadir-i.*
 ceremony this fitting for we.INC attend-LOC
 'This ceremony is fitting for us to attend.'
 'For this ceremony it is fitting that we attend.'

7.3.1 Only final 1s may ascend

Chung (1976b:68) calls the rule which creates these constructions 'Derived Subject Raising', claiming that only passive subjects are eligible for Ascension. All the examples above show Ascension of downstairs passive subjects. However, sentences like the following (both unelicited) have been found:

- 7.44 *Orang laki-laki itu sukar untuk men-jalin relasi.*
 person male that difficult for meN-set.up relationship
 'For that man it was difficult to set up relationships.'
 (lit.) 'That man was difficult to set up relationships.'
- 7.45 *Dia mudah untuk men-dapat-kan langganan.*
 he easy for meN-find-TRAN customer
 'For him it is easy to find customers.'
 (lit.) 'He is easy to find customers.'

In each of these sentences, the final upstairs 1 is clearly the downstairs initial and final 1, as indicated by the *meN-* prefix on the downstairs verb.

My conclusion thus far is that final 1s may ascend. It remains to be shown that **all** final 1s may ascend, not just 1s of active and passive downstairs clauses. The examples below illustrate downstairs unergative clauses (7.46 and 7.47), downstairs unaccusative clauses (7.48 and 7.49), and downstairs clauses with *ke-* *-an* Adversatives (7.50 and 7.51).

- 7.46 *Perempuan itu sulit (untuk) be-kerja.*
 woman that difficult for INTR-work
 'For that woman it is difficult to work.'
 (lit.) 'That woman is difficult to work.'
- 7.47 *Dia gampang (untuk) me-nyanyi.*
 he easy for meN-sing
 'For him it is easy to sing.'
 (lit.) 'He is easy to sing.'
- 7.48 *Kapal itu sulit (untuk) tenggelam.*
 ship that difficult for sink
 'For that ship it is difficult to sink.'

- 7.49 *Anak meng-(k)antuk itu gampang (untuk) tidur.*
 child meN-sleepy that easy for sleep
 'For the tired child it is easy to sleep.'
- 7.50 *?Mobil itu mudah (untuk) ke-jatuh-an batu.*
 car that easy for AFFECT-fall rock
 'For the car it is easy to get fallen on by a rock.'
- 7.51 *?Anak itu gampang (untuk) ke-tinggal-an di hutan.*
 child that easy for AFFECT-stay in jungle
 'For the child it is easy to get left in the jungle.'

Notice the marginal nature of examples 7.50 and 7.51, as indicated by the question marks. Even less acceptable are attempts to raise final 1s which have advanced from the Benefactive (7.52) or the 3 (7.53) relation:

- 7.52 *??Dia gampang (untuk) saya buat-kan kue.*
 he easy for I make-BEN cake
 'For him it is easy to be made a cake for by me.'
- 7.53 *??Saya sukar (untuk) di-kirim-i surat.*
 I difficult for 3PER-send-IO letter
 'For me it is difficult to be sent letters.'

These same restrictions on the downstairs clause apply to Ascensions into transitive clauses as well. Notice in section 7.2.2 that the NP ascending into a transitive clause is either the initial 1 or 2 of a transitive, or the initial 1 or initial 2 of an intransitive.

It appears, then, that Bahasa Indonesia imposes a limit on the career path of ascended nominals. This limit can be stated in the following way:

The nominal which ascends into the matrix clause must be the downstairs final 1 and either the downstairs initial 1 or the downstairs initial 2.

This rule permits Ascension out of active transitive, passive, unergative, and unaccusative clauses. It disallows Ascension out of clauses which have undergone 3-2-1 or Benefactive-2-1 Advancement.

As stated above, the rule is ambiguous as to whether it allows *ke-* *-an* Unions in the downstairs clause. The final 1 of a Union (the 'affectee') is an initial 2 in its P-sector, but not necessarily an initial 2 of the clause. Only in cases of reinitialisation does the final 1 also bear a nuclear term relation in the clause's initial stratum. In most cases, the final 1 bears no relation at all in the initial stratum of the clause. Since Ascensions with downstairs Unions are marginally acceptable, I will leave this ambiguity in the rule. Presumably some speakers (those allowing 7.50 and 7.51) would interpret 'initial' to mean 'P-initial', while others (those disallowing 7.50 and 7.51) interpret 'initial' to mean 'clause-initial'.

Next we must look at nominals bearing final relations other than 1. Are they also eligible for Ascension? The examples below illustrate attempts to raise final 2s (7.54 and 7.55), final 3s (7.56 and 7.57), and final Benefactives (7.58 and 7.59). All are ungrammatical:

- 7.54 **Disertasi ini sukar untuk saya men-(t)ulis.*
 dissertation this difficult for I meN-write
 'This dissertation is difficult for me to write.'

- 7.55 **Mobil baru gampang untuk dia mem-beli.*
 car new easy for he meN-buy
 'A new car is easy for him to buy.'
- 7.56 **Saya sukar untuk dia meng-(k)irim surat (kepada).*
 I difficult for he meN-send letter to
 'I am difficult for him to send letters (to).'
- 7.57 **Anak itu enak untuk kami mem-beri hadiah (kepada).*
 child that pleasant for we.EXC meN-give gift to
 'That child is pleasant for us to give gifts (to).'
- 7.58 **Orang itu patut untuk dia mem-bawa koper (untuk).*
 person that fitting for he meN-bring suitcase for
 'That person is fitting for him to carry a suitcase (for).'
- 7.59 **Perempuan itu sulit untuk kita me-masak kue (untuk).*
 woman that difficult for we.INC meN-cook cake for
 'That woman is difficult for us to make a cake (for).'

My final conclusion as to which NP is eligible for Ascension into an intransitive clause can be stated as follows:

Final 1s which are initial 1s or 2s may ascend into intransitive clauses.

7.3.2 Evidence of final upstairs 1-hood

Because Unaccusative Advancement advances the ascended NP from 2 to 1, thus satisfying the Final 1 Law, there is no direct evidence for its 2-hood in the ascension stratum. We can infer that the final 1s are 2s in a previous stratum because we know on independent grounds that predicates such as *sukar* and *mudah* take initial 2s and because of the Relational Succession Law.

The ascended nominal is a final upstairs subject. It can be relativised (example 7.60), questioned with *yang* (7.61), and clefted (7.62):

- 7.60 *Saya men-cari buku yang gampang untuk di-baca.*
 I meN-seeK book COMP easy for 3PER-read
 'I am looking for a book that is easy to read.'
- 7.61 *Apa yang gampang untuk di-baca?*
 what COMP easy for 3PER-read
 'What is easy to read?'
- 7.62 *Buku itu-lah yang gampang untuk di-baca.*
 book that-TOP COMP easy for 3PER-read
 'That book is what is easy to read.'

The ascended nominal can take the subject pronominal form *ia*:

- 7.63 *Ia sulit untuk di-mengerti.*
 he difficult for 3PER-understand
 'He is difficult to understand.'

Finally, the ascended NP, as a subject, can be raised to the direct object relation of a still higher raising predicate:

- 7.64 *Buku ini di-anggap gampang (untuk) di-baca.*
 book this 3PER-consider easy for 3PER-read
 ‘This book is considered to be easy to read.’

We see, then, that the initial nominals in these constructions have the properties of subjects mentioned in Chapter 2. My conclusion is that they are final 1s in the matrix clauses and, by inference, they ascend to the direct object relation in the ascension stratum.

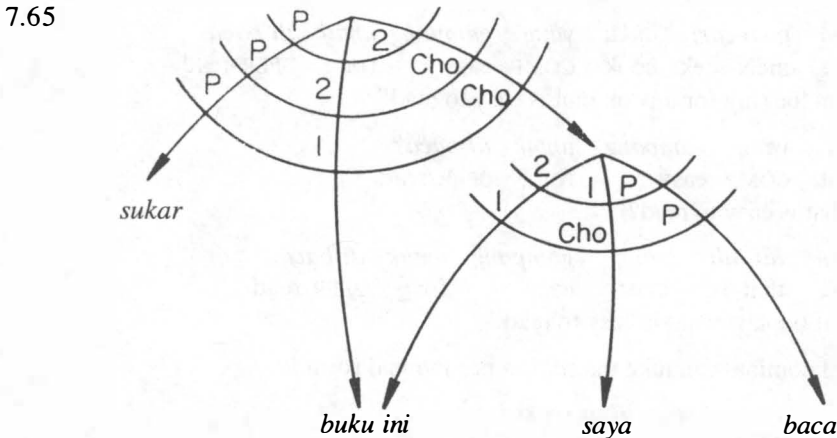
7.3.3 Evidence for a biclausal source

So far I have been assuming that the upstairs final 1 originates in the downstairs clause. It might be thought that it does not originate there at all, but rather bears a relation in the matrix clause in its initial stratum. My position is that this nominal does not bear an initial relation in the matrix clause, but only in the downstairs clause.

Selectional restrictions on the downstairs predicate provide evidence that the final upstairs 1 does indeed have its source in the embedded clause. While *?orang itu sukar* can possibly receive an interpretation (‘that man is difficult’), **orang itu sukar (untuk) dibaca* ‘that man is difficult to be read’ is impossible because *orang itu dibaca* ‘that man is read’ is impossible.

Similarly, **dia gampang (untuk) saling menolong* ‘he is easy to help each other’ is impossible simply because the embedded predicate *saling menolong* ‘help each other’ requires a plural subject, which *dia* is not. *Mereka gampang saling menolong* ‘they are easy to help each other’, on the other hand, is fine. It should be evident, then, that the embedded clause is the source of the matrix-final 1.

The relational diagram below represents the constructions we have been looking at in 7.37–7.64. It possesses the common features of Ascensions into an intransitive clause: initial unaccusativity of the matrix predicate, advancement to subject in the downstairs clause (this is a common, but not an essential, feature), Ascension of the downstairs final 1 to the 2 of the matrix clause, and upstairs Unaccusative Advancement.



Buku ini sukar (untuk) saya baca.
 ‘This book is difficult to be read by me.’

7.4 Conclusion

Bahasa Indonesia has two types of Ascensions. One, Ascension into a Transitive Clause, is governed by verbs of thought such as *anggap* 'consider'. In the initial stratum these verbs have a clausal 2. If Ascension does not occur, the complementiser *bahwa* connects the two clauses. Only the final 1 of the embedded clause may ascend. It ascends to the 2 relation of the matrix clause.

The other type of Ascension I label 'Ascension into an Intransitive Clause'. The governing verbs are adjectives such as *sulit* 'difficult'. These are unaccusative predicates which take an initial 2. If Ascension does not take place, the embedded clause advances to 1 by Unaccusative Advancement and the complementiser *untuk* connects the matrix and embedded clauses. Only the final 1, but not necessarily a derived 1, of the embedded clause may ascend. It ascends to the 2 relation of the matrix clause and then advances to 1 by Unaccusative Advancement.

8 *Equi constructions*

8.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the second type of biclausal construction in Bahasa Indonesia – those known in the older literature as Equi-NP constructions. According to Relational Grammar (see Legendre 1986), Equi constructions are characterised by initial multiattachment, in which a single nominal bears a grammatical relation in the initial strata of both the matrix and the embedded clauses. Bahasa Indonesia, like many languages, resolves this multiattachment by omitting the NP's representation in the embedded clause.

I include here a discussion of these constructions in Bahasa Indonesia for a number of reasons. Aside from Gibson (1978), I know of nothing in print about Equi constructions in Bahasa Indonesia. Grammatical relations, both of the matrix controller and of the target, are relevant to Equi constructions. And, finally, they involve the notion of control, which has been much discussed in the linguistic literature.

Bahasa Indonesia has several types of Equi constructions: 2-controlled Equi, governed by verbs of persuasion; 1-controlled Equi, governed by a class of verbs with meanings such as 'try'; complements with the *untuk* complementiser and other adverbial complements. The last two types are not verb-governed.

As I will show, each type observes the same constraint on what may serve as the target of Equi – only final subjects are eligible. This fact is noteworthy, since most languages of the Philippines restrict Equi to initial subjects, rather than to final subjects. Several relations in the matrix clause, on the other hand, can control Equi.

Below I discuss each of the Equi types in turn. For each I give evidence that only the downstairs final 1 may be an Equi target. I also demonstrate the restrictions on the relation of the controlling nominal. Finally, I comment on whether the downstairs clause of each Equi type is finite or infinite. These facts will allow me to state a generalisation on the distribution of *untuk* in Equi constructions.

8.2 Verb-governed Equi

8.2.1 2-controlled Equi

English has sentences such as the following:

8.1 *Bill persuaded Jane to leave him.*

8.2 *Ann forced her son to eat his food.*

This class of verbs also includes *discourage*, *advise*, *incite*, *encourage*, *authorise*, *exhort*, and *convince*. All have meanings in which the action expressed in the matrix clause helps to bring about (or, with *discourage*, to prevent) the action expressed in the subordinate clause. In each case the empty subject of the embedded clause is coreferential with the matrix direct object.

In Bahasa Indonesia this class of verbs takes either a simple nominal 2, or a clausal complement plus a nominal 2 which is also an argument of the embedded clause. Only in this latter case are the conditions for Equi, which is optional, met. When Equi does not occur, the complementiser *supaya* or *agar* 'so that' connects the two clauses. When Equi does occur, the complementiser *untuk* 'for to' optionally connects the two clauses.

The following is a partial list of the verbs in this class, which I label 'verbs of persuasion': *suruh* 'order', *minta* 'request', *ajak* 'invite', *paksa* 'force', *buat* 'make', *bikin* 'make', *tuntut* 'demand', *sebabkan* 'cause', *biarkan* 'allow', *dorong* 'encourage', *nasehati* 'advise', *ijinkan* 'permit', *akibatkan* 'result in', *perbolehkan* 'allow', and *jadikan* 'make'. Notice the following pairs of synonymous sentences, which are representative of the class. The a. examples show these verbs with clausal complements, in which Equi has not applied. Though all the examples show the ambiclausal nominal represented downstairs only, it can also be represented upstairs or in both clauses. The b. examples are Equi constructions, with the ambiclausal nominal represented upstairs only. In these, downstairs representation is impossible. The complementiser *untuk* is optional in the b. examples.

- 8.3a. *Ia meny-(s)uruh supaya saya pulang.*
 he meN-order so.that I go.home
 'He ordered (that) I go home.'
- b. *Ia meny-(s)uruh saya (untuk) pulang.*
 'He ordered me to go home.'
- 8.4a. *Saya meng-ajak supaya ia pergi bersama.*
 I meN-invite so.that he go together
 'I invited (that) he go along.'
- b. *Saya meng-ajak ia (untuk) pergi bersama.*
 'I invited him to go along.'
- 8.5a. *Mereka mem-biar-kan supaya orang men-curi garam.*
 they meN-allow-TRAN so.that people meN-steal salt
 'They allowed (that) people steal salt.'
- b. *Mereka mem-biar-kan orang (untuk) men-curi garam.*
 'They allowed people to steal salt.'
- 8.6a. *Apa yang meny-(s)ebab-kan supaya ia men-(t)angis?*
 what COMP meN-cause-TRAN so.that he meN-cry
 'What caused (that) he cry?'
- b. *Apa yang meny-(s)ebab-kan ia (untuk) men-(t)angis?*
 'What caused him to cry?'

- 8.7a. *Ia meng-ijin-kan supaya aku ber-bicara.*
 he meN-permit-TRAN so.that I INTR-speak
 'He permitted (that) I speak.'
- b. *Ia meng-ijin-kan aku (untuk) ber-bicara.*
 'He permitted me to speak.'

In the English glosses of the examples above, we see that the clause in which Equi applies must have a non-finite verb. Bahasa Indonesia observes the same restriction. (See Chapter 7 for my definition of nonfiniteness in Bahasa Indonesia.) Tense/aspect words cannot occur in the downstairs clause when Equi has applied and the complementiser is *untuk*:

- 8.8 **Ia meny-(s)uruh saya untuk akan pulang.*
 he meN-order I for.to will go.home
 'He ordered me to (will) go home.'
- 8.9 **Ia meng-ijin-kan kami untuk telah ber-bicara.*
 he meN-permit-TRAN us.EXC for.to already INTR-speak
 'He permitted us to have spoken.'

However, when Equi does not apply, and the complementiser is *supaya*, the future marker *akan* is allowed (example 8.10). Past tense markers, however, are not possible (8.11), because the past downstairs is semantically incompatible with the persuasion predicate upstairs:

- 8.10 *Ia meny-(s)uruh saya supaya saya akan pulang.*
 'He ordered (that) I go home.'
- 8.11 **Ia meng-ijin-kan kami supaya kami telah ber-bicara.*
 'He permitted (that) we have spoken.'

8.2.1.1 *Equi versus Ascension*

On the surface these Equi examples look very similar to the examples of Ascension into a Transitive Clause, discussed in the previous chapter. However, I am analysing these as 2-controlled Equi rather than Ascension based on three facts. First, the verbs of persuasion, but not the verbs of thought, can take a nominal 2.¹

- 8.12 *Dia meng-ajak anak-nya.*
 'She invited her child.'
- 8.13 **Dia meng-(k)ira anak-nya.*
 'She thought her child.'

Second, for the verbs of persuasion, when the embedded clause is passivised, the meaning changes. For the verbs of thought, the meaning remains constant.²

¹ It is possible for a verb such as *kira* to take a direct object like *itu* 'that', where *itu* stands for an entire clause: *dia mengira itu* 'she thought that'. However, what is significant here is that *anak-nya*, which can serve as the direct object in an ascension construction (*Dia mengira anaknya disiksa* 'She thought her child to have been tortured'), cannot occur as a direct object on its own.

² This argument goes back to Chomsky's (1965:22) *Aspects of the theory of syntax*.

- 8.14a. *Dia mem-(p)aksa dokter untuk mem-(p)eriksa Tete.*
 he meN-force doctor for.to meN-examine Tete
 'He forced the doctor to examine Tete.'
- b. *Dia mem-(p)aksa Tete untuk di-periksa dokter.*
 'He forced Tete to be examined by the doctor.'
- 8.15a. *Saya meng-(k)ira dokter mem-(p)eriksa Tete.*
 'I think the doctor examined Tete.'
- b. *Saya meng-(k)ira Tete di-periksa dokter.*
 'I think Tete was examined by the doctor.'

My analysis explains this difference. *Paksa* is subcategorised for a 1 and a nominal 2 and initialises both relations. For this reason a sentence with *dokter* as initial 2 (8.14a) will have a different meaning from one with *Tete* as initial 2 (8.14b). *Kira*, on the other hand, does not subcategorise for a nominal 2, nor does it initialise the nominal that appears as its 2. It gets its 2 from the embedded clause. Therefore the meaning of the sentence is not affected by the voice of the downstairs clause.

A final piece of evidence which supports divergent analyses for these two classes of verbs comes from attempts to passivise the matrix clauses. Verbs of thought should not be able to undergo 2-1 Advancement, unless Ascension has operated first. If Ascension has not occurred, there is no nominal 2 to advance. Predictably, sentence 8.16b is unacceptable:

- 8.16a. *Mereka meng-(k)ira bahwa dokter itu mem-(p)eriksa Tete.*
 'They think that the doctor examined Tete.'
- b. **Dokter itu mereka kira bahwa mem-(p)eriksa Tete.*
 'The doctor is thought by them that he examined Tete.'

For verbs of persuasion which take both a nominal 2 and a clausal complement, however, the matrix 2 can be advanced even when downstairs *Equi* does not apply, since the source of the 2 is the matrix clause:

- 8.17a. *Mereka mem-(p)aksa dokter itu supaya dia mem-(p)eriksa Tete.*
 'They forced the doctor so that he examine Tete.'
- b. *Dokter itu mereka paksa supaya dia mem-(p)eriksa Tete.*
 'The doctor was forced by them so that he examine Tete.'

We can conclude, then, that the class of persuasion verbs governs 2-controlled *Equi*, while the class of thought verbs governs Ascension.

8.2.1.2 Restrictions on controllers and targets

Only the upstairs 2 may control *Equi* in sentences with verbs of persuasion. In the example below, the subject of *pulang* can only be *kami*, never *ia*:

- 8.18 *Ia mem-(p)aksa kami untuk pulang.*
 he meN-force us.EXC for.to go.home
 'He forced us to go home.'
 *'He forced us (for him) to go home.'

Further, it is the initial 2, rather than the final 2, which is the controller, as attested by sentences in which the matrix initial 2 advances to 1. Again, the subject of *pulang* can only be *kami*:

- 8.19 *Kami di-paksa-nya untuk pulang.*
 we.EXC 3PER-force-him for.to go.home
 'We were forced by him to go home.'

The target of Equi in these constructions is the downstairs final 1. It may be the final 1 of an active transitive (example 8.14a), a Passive (8.14b), an unergative (8.20), or an unaccusative (8.21 and 8.22):

- 8.20 *Teman-nya datang dan meng-ajak-nya ber-canda.*
 friend-his come and meN-invite-him INTR-joke
 'His friend came and invited him to joke around.'
- 8.21 *Tidak se-orang-pun wartawan di-ijin-kan masuk.*
 not a-person-even reporter 3PER-permit-TRAN enter
 'Not even a single reporter was permitted to enter.'
- 8.22 *Anak itu kamu buat takut.*
 child that you make afraid
 'That child was frightened by you.'

Final 2s (8.23), 3s (8.24), and Benefactives (8.25) are not eligible Equi targets:

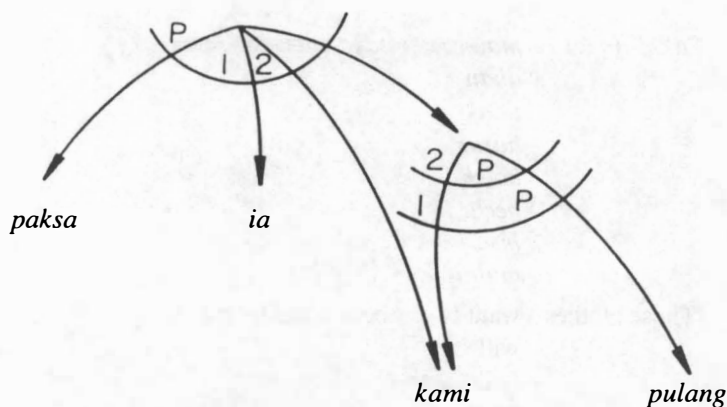
- 8.23 **Ia mem-(p)aksa itu untuk saya meng-ambil-(nya).*
 he meN-force that for.to I meN-take-it
 'He forced that for me to take (it).'
- 8.24 **Pen-curi mem-(p)aksa diri untuk kami mem-beri-kan uang (kepada).*
 NOM-steal meN-force self for.to we.EXC meN-give-TRAN
 money to
 'The thief forced himself for us to give money (to).'
- 8.25 **Sri me-minta Tete untuk ibu-nya mem-baca cerita (untuk).*
 Sri meN-request Tete for.to mother-her meN-read story for
 'Sri requested Tete for her mother to read a story to.'

However, these relations can be Equi targets once they are advanced to 1. The meanings of such sentences are rather odd, because it is most natural for the one being persuaded to be the agent/actor of the downstairs verb, rather than the Benefactee or the indirect object:

- 8.26 *Sri me-minta Tete untuk di-baca-kan cerita.*
 'Sri requested (for) Tete to be read a story.'

The relational diagram below represents the structure of sentences with 2-controlled Equi:

8.27



Ia mem-(p)aksa kami untuk pulang.
 'He forced us to go home.'

8.2.2 1-controlled equi

8.2.2.1 Adverbs and Equi governors in Bahasa Indonesia

In Bahasa Indonesia it is not obvious which preverbal elements in a verb phrase are simple adverbials and which are Equi-governing verbs. There is no formal distinction between *Dia sudah pergi* 'He already went' and *Dia mau pergi* 'He wants to go'. The English infinitive clearly points out the Equi construction; Bahasa Indonesia does not have that advantage. In what follows I demonstrate that there are syntactic differences between adverbs and Equi-governing verbs which allow us to distinguish them.

Bahasa Indonesia preverbs express desiderative mood (*mau, ingin, kepingin, and hendak*, all meaning 'want'), tense/aspect (*sudah* 'already', *akan* 'will', *telah* 'already', *pernah* 'ever'), negation (*tidak* 'not', *belum* 'not yet'), deontic modality (*mesti, harus* 'should'), permission (*boleh* 'may'), necessity (*perlu* 'need'), and other meanings as well (*suka* 'like').

These preverbs occur between subject and verb in regular active clauses (example 8.28), and before the passive verb (with its bound initial 1) in passive clauses (8.29):

8.28 *Dia mau berangkat besok.*

akan
tidak
harus
boleh
perlu
bisa
mulai

'He wants to leave tomorrow.'
 will
 (will) not
 must
 may
 needs to
 can
 begins to

- 8.29 *Pakai-an itu mau akan saya cuci.*
tidak
harus
boleh
perlu
bisa
mulai
- 'Those clothes want to be washed by me.'
 will
 (will) not
 must
 may
 need to
 can
 began to

There are other words which may occur preverbally in active clauses (8.30), but may not occur in Passives (8.31):

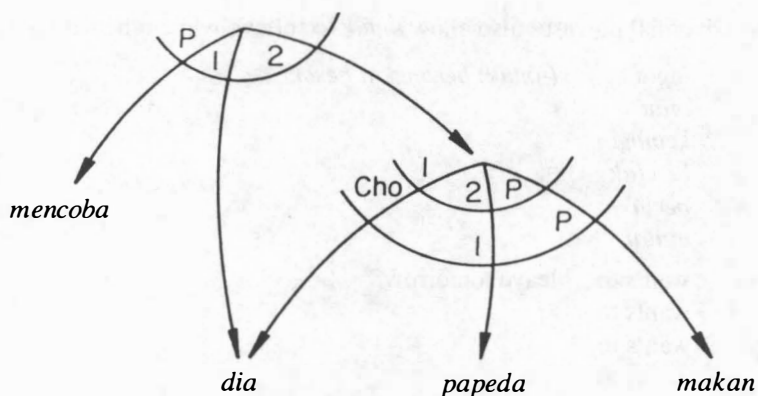
- 8.30 *Dia mencoba men-cari teman-nya.*
berusaha
bermaksud
- 'He tried to look for his friend.'
 tried to
 intended to
- 8.31 *Teman-nya *mencoba di-cari-nya.*
**berusaha*
**bermaksud*
- 'His friend tried to be looked for by him.'
 tried to
 intended to

The examples in 8.31 above are not helped by passivising both verbs in the predicate. In fact, *berusaha*, *bermaksud* and *mencoba* cannot be passivised: **Temannya di-coba dicarinya* 'His friend was tried to be looked for by him.'

In active clauses, it is impossible to distinguish these two classes of preverbal elements. However, they are distinguished by their distribution in Passives. The second group cannot be used in the Passive, while the first (those in examples 8.28 and 8.29) can.

My proposal is that the preverbal elements in example 8.30 are Equi-governing verbs, while those in 8.28 and 8.29 are simple adverbs which modify their verb head. Under this analysis, the Passive facts can be explained quite easily. As I show later in this section, only final 1s are possible Equi targets. If a transitive clause is embedded under an Equi verb such as *mencoba* 'try', with the initial 1s multiattached, and the downstairs clause undergoes Passive, the final downstairs relation of the multiattached nominal is 1-chômeur, rather than 1. Thus it is no longer a suitable Equi target. The following construction is therefore not allowed in Bahasa Indonesia:

8.32

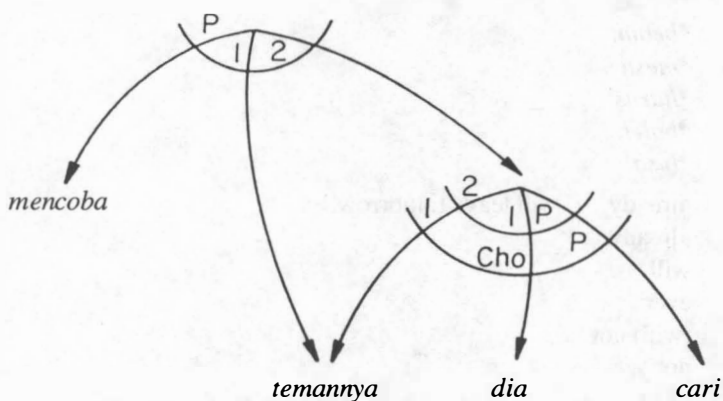


**Dia mencoba untuk papeda di-makan-nya.*

'He tried for sago pudding to be eaten by him.'

Nor is it possible for the initial 1 of *mencoba* to be multiattached to the initial 2 of the downstairs clause. Following downstairs Passive, the upstairs 1 and the downstairs final 1 would be multiattached. However, such structures are also ungrammatical:

8.33



**Teman-nya mencoba di-cari-nya.*

'His friend tried to be looked for by him.'

This prohibition against downstairs Passive is restricted to the matrix verbs *mencoba*, *berusaha*, and *bermaksud* (and, no doubt, to a few others). Examples to be given later (examples 8.57–8.58) show downstairs Passive with different matrix verbs. Adverbial preverbs do not have these same restrictions, as is shown in example 8.29 above.

In addition to the above facts, *mencoba*, *bermaksud* and *berusaha* optionally allow the complementiser *untuk* to intervene between them and the main verb. This is a second diagnostic of 1-controlled Equi verbs:

8.34 *Dia mencoba (untuk) men-cari teman-nya.*
berusaha
bermaksud

'He tried to look for his friend.'
 'He tried to
 intended to

Some of the adverbial preverbs also allow *untuk* to follow, while others do not allow it:

8.35a. *Dia ingin (untuk) berangkat besok.*

*mau
kepingin
hendak
perlu
mulai*

'He wants to leave tomorrow.'

wants to
wants to
wants to
wants to
needs to
begins to

b. *Dia *sudah untuk berangkat besok.*

**telah
*akan
*pernah
*tidak
*belum
*mesti
*harus
*boleh
bisa

'He already will leave tomorrow.'

already
already
will
ever
(will) not
not yet
must
has to
may
can

The grammaticality of these two groups of clauses does not change if the downstairs clause is a passive:

8.36a. *Dia ingin untuk di-perhatikan.*

'He wants to be noticed.'

b. **Dia sudah untuk di-perhatikan.*

'He has already been noticed.'

Notice that these groups do not divide neatly between modals and non-modals, since the necessity modal *perlu* allows *untuk*, while the deontic modality markers *harus* and *mesti* do not allow *untuk*.

We saw in the previous section that for the verbs of persuasion *untuk* is a sign of Equi. It is found in biclausal constructions, but never in monoclausal constructions (except when it

serves as a preposition). It does not occur with the adverbial preverbs because they are modifiers of their heads, not separate predicates. For the Equi governor class, however, the occurrence of *untuk* is expected.

These distributional criteria give us three categories of preverbal elements: those that are adverbs only, those that are Equi-governors only, and those that are both adverbs and Equi governors.

These facts are presented in Table 8.1:

Table 8.1: Adverbs and Equi governors

	Adverbs	Equi governors	Both
Occur in passives	+	-	+
May be followed by <i>untuk</i>	-	+	+
Examples	<i>sudah, tidak, mesti, boleh, akan, bisa</i>	<i>mencoba, berusaha, bermaksud</i>	<i>ingin, mau, perlu, mulai</i>

Morphological facts provide further support for this 3-way distinction. Adverbs do not allow any affixation, while Equi governors do. Verb affixation in Bahasa Indonesia is determined by grammatical relations – the *di-* prefix signals a 2–1 Advancement, *-i* a 3–2 Advancement, and so forth. Adverbs do not have arguments; only their predicate heads bear the P relation and have valences. Because adverbs have no valences, they cannot carry affixes. The Equi governors, on the other hand, may take affixes when they do not function as Equi verbs. This is because they do have valences and nominals bear grammatical relations to them. For example, *ingin* ‘want’ can register Advancement to 2 with the suffix *-i*, but only in a monoclausal structure. This set of verbs is discussed in section 8.2.2.2.

This lack of affixation on adverbs also rules out the possibility that they are union predicates. In some languages, such as Spanish, certain modals are union predicates (Aissen and Perlmutter 1983). But if this were so in Bahasa Indonesia, and if Advancements occurred in the modals’ P-sector, the modals would be the likely candidates for affixation, not the predicates in the inner P-sector. The Union hypothesis must therefore be rejected.

A final observation about these preverbal elements is that, when they occur in sequence, the adverbs precede the Equi governors (examples 8.37 and 8.38), and those that are solely adverbs precede those that are both adverbs and Equi governors (8.39).

- 8.37 *Obed sudah ber-usaha be-kerja.*
Obed already INTR-try INTR-work
‘Obed has tried to work.’
- 8.38 *Retna boleh men-coba masuk.*
Retna may meN-try enter
‘Retna may try to enter.’
- 8.39 *Se-orang mesti ingin di-wawancara-i.*
a-person must want 3PER-interview-TRAN
‘A person must want to be interviewed.’

These facts are explainable if we assume that the adverb modifies the highest predicate. In a monoclausal construction, it modifies the single P. In a biclausal Equi construction, it modifies the Equi-governing P. The members of the adverb class include *sudah* 'already', *tidak* 'not', *mesti* 'must', *boleh* 'may' *akan* 'will', *bisa* 'can', *harus* 'has to', and *mulai* 'begin'.

Next, I concentrate on the two Equi governor classes.

8.2.2.2 *Bahasa Indonesia 'pseudo-transitives'*

Stephens (1970) discusses a group of Bahasa Indonesia verbs which he labels 'pseudo-transitive'. These include many of the adverbs which are also Equi-governing verbs. He points out that these may be followed by a verb, but also may be followed by an object or by a preposition plus an object. Each has a corresponding transitive verb, with one of the suffixes *-i* or *-kan*. He supplies no explanation for the anomalous behaviour of these verbs.

This class includes the verbs *suka* 'like', *percaya* 'believe', *tahu* 'know', *lupa* 'forget', *ingin* 'want', *cinta* 'love', and *sayang* 'love'. The examples below show *ingin* and *suka* followed by a verb (8.40), followed directly by a noun (8.41), followed by preposition plus noun (8.42) and, in their transitive forms, followed directly by a noun (8.43):

8.40a. *Saya ingin berangkat besok.*
I want leave tomorrow
'I want to leave tomorrow.'

b. *Dia suka makan papeda.*
he like eat sago.pudding
'He likes to eat sago pudding.'

8.41a. *Saya ingin baju itu.*
I want dress that
'I want that dress.'

b. *Saya suka orang itu*
I like person that
'I like that person.'

8.42a. *Saya ingin akan baju itu.*
to
'I want that dress.'

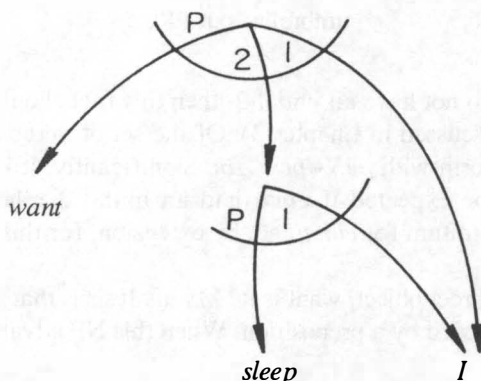
b. *Saya suka pada orang itu.*
to
'I like that person.'

8.43a. *Saya meng-ingin-i baju itu.*
'I want that dress.'

b. *Saya meny-(s)uka-i orang itu.*
'I like that person.'

This class of verbs, in English and other languages as well, when followed on the surface by a verb, is presumed to have a clause as initial 2. For example, the relational diagram below is given by Frantz (1981:48) for the English sentence *I want to sleep*.

8.44



This diagram claims that English *want* is a transitive verb, both initially and finally.

That may be so in English, but in Bahasa Indonesia, it is not so clear, because of this verb class's behaviour in single predicate constructions. There is good evidence that these are not transitive verbs. The prefix *meN-*, which occurs on all other transitive active verbs, cannot occur with these:

- 8.45a. **Saya meng-ingin orang ini.*
'I want this person.'
- b. **Saya meny-(s)uka anak lelaki itu.*
'I like that boy.'

The postverbal nominal, when pronominalised, cannot be cliticised to the verb, indicating it is not a final 2:

- 8.46a. **Saya (meng)-ingin-nya.*
'I want it/him.'
- b. **Dia (meny)-(s)uka-nya.*
'He likes it/him.'

Nor can the postverbal noun be advanced to subject³ by Passive:

- 8.47a. *Baju itu *di-ingin-nya.*
'That dress is wanted by him.'
- b. *Makanan itu *di-suka-nya.*
'That food is liked by him.'

Each of the ungrammatical examples above in 8.45–8.47, however, may be made grammatical if the transitive suffix *-i* is added.

A preposition may intrude between one of these verbs and its 'object', something which is impossible for direct objects, but normal for oblique relations.

³ I mention in Chapter 4 that these verbs can marginally appear in sentences which look like 'We' Passives. However, these are actually instances of a preposed oblique constituent occurring without its preposition.

8.48a. *Saya suka akan/kepada anak lelaki itu.*
 I like to child male that
 'I like that boy.'

b. *Saya lupa akan/kepada/pada payung kami.*
 I forget to umbrella our.EXC
 'I forgot our umbrella.'

If, as I am claiming, these verbs do not have an initial 2, then this fact should show up in the form of their nominalisations (discussed in Chapter 3). Of the set of verbs listed above, only *cinta* 'love' has a nominalised form with *peN-/per-* *-an*. Significantly, it is *percintaan*, and not **pencintaan*, which would be expected if *cinta* had an initial 2 relation. This is evidence against an initial transitive stratum for *cinta* and, by extension, for this entire set of verbs.

If the postverbal nominal is not a direct object, what is it? My analysis is that it is an initial 3 or Locative which is optionally preceded by a preposition. When this NP advances to 2, the verb is suffixed with⁴ *-i*.

Some verbs in this class, such as *perlu* 'need' and *mau* 'want', do not allow a preposition to interpose between them and the 3 or Locative. These are simply exceptions to the generalisation that final 3s and Locatives are preceded by a preposition. Such exceptional information would need to be lexically specified.

This analysis explains why the postverbal nominal does not behave like a 2 with regard to cliticisation, *meN-* prefixation, passivisation, and nominalisations: it cannot if it is an initial 3 or Locative. Once it advances to 2, as in example 8.43, however, it is eligible for cliticisation, and the verb is eligible for *meN-* prefixation, and passivisation.⁵ Notice that the Condition on *meN-* Prefixation which I stated in section 4.6 is upheld by these data. By way of review, that condition states that *meN-* is prefixed to a verb (with a few exceptions) whose initial 1 = its final 1 and which has either an optional or obligatory 2 in its valence. Since verbs like *suka* and *lupa* have no initial 2, either optional or obligatory, *meN-* cannot be prefixed to them.

However, *meN-* does occur when the 3 or Locative NP is advanced to 2. My condition must therefore be amended slightly to account for these possibilities:

8.49 Condition on *meN-* Prefixation (Revised)

MeN- is prefixed to a verb

a) whose final relations are 1 and 2

or

b) whose initial 1 is also its final 1, and

c) which potentially takes an initial 2.

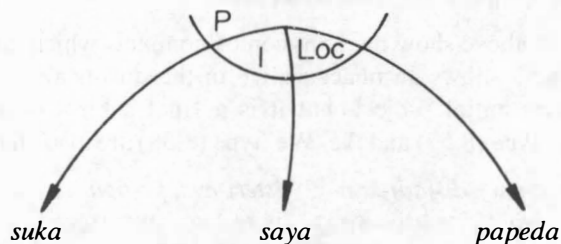
⁴ *Lupa* 'forget' takes *-kan* instead of *-i* in its Advancement form. I assume this indicates that the postverbal nominal is an initial Benefactive. However, the correctness or incorrectness of this assumption does not affect my main point here, which is that these verbs do not have initial 2s.

⁵ Rosen (pers.comm.) has pointed out to me that the meanings of the 'pseudo-transitive' verbs discussed in this section are the very ones which govern syntactic phenomena such as Inversion, Antipassive, and 2-3 Retreat in many languages. I pointed out in Chapter 3 the semantic peculiarity of these verbs as well, as noted by Grimes and by Foley and Van Valin. It seems that more investigation could reveal some interesting generalisations about these, where now we just have a host of facts collected by people working within a multitude of frameworks.

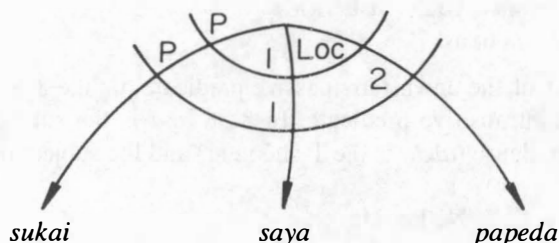
Unergatives (some) and final transitives (all) receive *meN-*, while unaccusatives, Passives, and verbs with final relations of 1 and 3 without 2 do not.

I thus propose⁶ the following structure for the sentences *Saya suka papeda* and *Saya menyukai papeda* 'I like sago pudding':

8.50



8.51



8.2.2.3 *Equi controllers and targets*

We are now ready to look at constructions in which the initial 3 of the class of verbs which are both adverbs and *Equi* governors is a clause.

Below are some examples of 1-controlled *Equi* with these verbs:

8.52 *Pe-rawat hendak me-mandi-kan-nya.*
 NOM-care.for want meN-bathe-TRAN-him
 'The nurse wanted to bathe him.'

8.53 *Mereka ingin sekali sembuh.*
 they want very healed
 'They very much wanted to recover.'

8.54 *Rasmi tidak mau men-jadi isteri-nya ke-tiga.*
 Rasmi not want meN-be wife-his ORD-three
 'Rasmi did not want to become his third wife.'

When there is multiattachment – that is, when the two clauses share a nominal – the downstairs nominal cannot appear, either in full or in pronominal form:

⁶ See section 4.2.3 for further discussion on these constructions.

- 8.55 *Perawat hendak *perawat me-mandi-kan-nya.*
**dia*

'The nurse wanted the nurse/her to bathe him.'

- 8.56 **Mereka ingin sekali mereka sembuh.*

'They very much wanted for them to recover.'

Examples 8.52 and 8.54 above show the omission of nominals which are both initial and final subjects. Example 8.53 shows an unaccusative in the downstairs clause; its subject *mereka* is not a downstairs initial subject, but it is a final subject. Downstairs passive subjects, of both the 'They' type (8.57) and the 'We' type (8.58) are also eligible Equi targets:

- 8.57 *Rasmi tidak mau di-jadi-kan isteri-nya ke-tiga.*
Rasmi not want 3PER-be-TRAN wife-his ORD-three
'Rasmi did not want to be made his third wife.'

- 8.58 *Apa yang ingin anda tanya-kan?*
what COMP want you ask-TRAN
'What do you want to ask?'

In 8.57 *Rasmi* is final 1 of the downstairs passive predicate, unlike 8.54, where *Rasmi* is final 1 of the downstairs intransitive predicate. In 8.58 *apa* is the subject of the Passive *tanyakan* in the downstairs clause (*anda* is the 1-chômeur) and the subject of the matrix verb *ingin* as well.

Final direct objects are not eligible Equi targets:

- 8.59 **Saya mau dia me-lihat (∅).*
I want he meN-see
'I want him to see (me).'
- 8.60 **Pria tidak ingin isteri-nya meny-(s)aing-i (∅).*
men not want wife-their meN-compete-TRAN
'Men don't want their wives to compete (with them).'

Nor are indirect objects (8.61) or Benefactives (8.62) eligible targets:

- 8.61 **Saya suka dia meng-(k)irim surat kepada (∅).*
I like he meN-send letter to
'I like him to send letters to (me).'
- 8.62 **Niko mau anak-nya mem-buat-kan kue untuk (∅).*
Niko want child-his meN-make-BEN cake for
'Niko wants his child to make a cake for (him).'

The four unacceptable sentences above are all acceptable when the ambiclausal nominal is first advanced to subject of the downstairs clause:

- 8.63 *Saya mau di-lihat-nya.*
'I want to be seen by him.'
- 8.64 *Pria tidak ingin di-saing-i isteri-nya.*
'Men don't want to be competed against by their wives.'
- 8.65 *Saya suka di-kirim-i-nya surat.*
'I like to be sent letters by him.'

- 8.66 *Niko mau di-buat-kan kue oleh anak-nya.*
 'Niko wants to be made a cake by his child.'

These facts lend support to my earlier analysis of Advancements to subject of initial Benefactives, indirect objects, and direct objects. My claim about the final subjecthood of the clause-initial nominal in 'We' Passives is also supported (see example 8.58 above).

8.2.2.4 Evidence for a biclausal analysis

If, as I am proposing, these constructions are biclausal, then we would expect there to be some evidence that the ambiclausal nominal bears relations in both clauses. That the ambiclausal nominal, though omitted from surface representation, bears an initial downstairs relation is clear from examples with a downstairs reflexive. Since reflexives must find their antecedents within the same clause, the antecedent of *diri, dia*, must be the downstairs I:

- 8.67 *Dia ingin men-(t)ampil-kan diri.*
 he want meN-step.forward-TRAN self
 'He wants to put himself forward.'

Selectional restrictions provide additional evidence that the omitted nominal retains its downstairs relation. A sentence such as **Orang itu ingin dipasang* 'That man wants to be installed' (as of an appliance) is unacceptable for the same reason that **Orang itu dipasang* 'That man was installed' is unacceptable.

One could still perhaps maintain that the upstairs predicates are simply adverbs, and that there are not two clauses at all. However, when no nominal is shared, it is clear that there are two clauses, as the same complementisers which occur in other biclausal constructions may occur with them:

- 8.68 *Rachman ingin supaya saya pergi.*
 Rachman want so.that I go
 'Rachman wants that I go/wants me to go.'
- 8.69 *Mereka hendak agar kami me-nikah.*
 they want so.that we.EXC meN-marry
 'They want that we marry/want us to marry.'

When there is a nominal in common, the complementiser *untuk* may optionally occur between the two clauses:

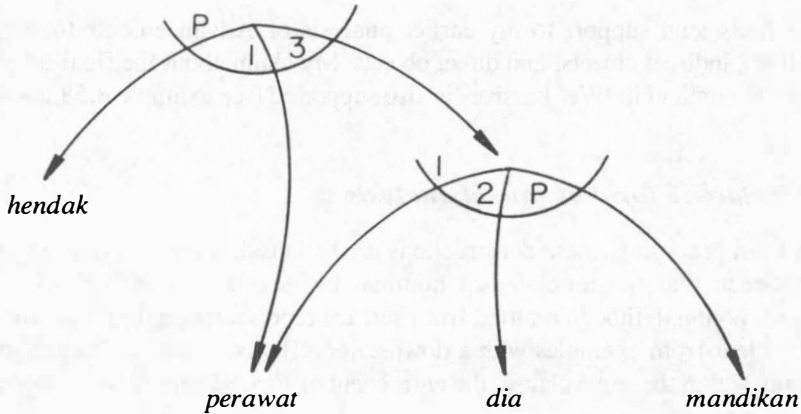
- 8.70 *Rachman ingin untuk pergi.*
 'Rachman wanted to go.'
- 8.71 *Mereka hendak untuk menikah.*
 'They want to marry.'

A final piece of evidence in favour of a biclausal structure comes from negatives. Normally Bahasa Indonesia sanctions only one negative per clause. However, two negatives may occur in the constructions under discussion here.

- 8.72 *Dia tidak ingin tidak me-nikah.*
 he not want not meN-marry
 'He doesn't want not to marry.'

The relational diagram below presents the structure I am positing for these constructions:

8.73



Perawat hendak me-mandi-kan-nya.
 'The nurse wanted to bathe him.'

Notice that the fact that the embedded clause is not a final 2 accounts for the fact that it cannot be advanced to the subject relation of the matrix verb:

- 8.74a. **Perawat me-mandi-kan-nya di-hendak(nya).*
 b. **Untuk perawat me-mandi-kan-nya di-hendak(nya).*
 'For the nurse to bathe him was wanted (by her).'

This contrasts with other types of clausal complements, which are initial 2s, and may be advanced:

- 8.75a. *Ia meng-umum-kan bahwa harga beras akan di-naik-kan.*
 he meN-announce-TRAN that price rice will 3PER-rise-TRAN
 'He announced that the price of rice would be raised.'
 b. *Bahwa harga beras akan di-naik-kan di-umum-kan-nya.*
 'That the price of rice would be raised was announced by him.'

Or, with an extraposed subject:

- 8.76 *Di-umum-kan-nya bahwa harga beras akan di-naik-kan.*
 'It was announced by him that the price of rice would be raised.'

8.2.2.5 Finiteness restrictions in the downstairs clause

The downstairs clauses of these Equi constructions do not allow tense/aspect markers:

- 8.77 **Perawat hendak akan me-mandi-kan-nya.*
 will
 'The nurse wants to will bathe him.'

- 8.78 **Mereka ingin sekali sudah sembuh.*
 already
 'They very much want to already be recovered.'
- 8.79 **Saya suka akan makan papeda.*
 'I want to will eat sago pudding.'

In the following section on *untuk* complements, I will discuss non-finite clauses in Bahasa Indonesia, and make a generalisation about them and the distribution of *untuk*.

Equi constructions are treated quite differently by the theories of Relational Grammar and Government and Binding. According to Relational Grammar, a single nominal initially bears a relation in two clauses, one embedded in the other, and in the embedded clause it bears the final subject relation. The embedded multiattached NP is omitted from surface realisation.

According to Government and Binding, on the other hand, an empty category PRO is generated in the base – therefore, there is no deletion. Subjects in Bahasa Indonesia are governed by the tense of their verbs. (Bahasa Indonesia has no verb agreement). A tenseless verb cannot govern its subject, so an overt nominal is not possible as subject of a non-finite verb.

PRO is controlled by the subject of the matrix verb; from that subject the referential meaning of PRO is recoverable. The matrix verbs discussed in this section would be marked in the lexicon as [+subject control]. Those discussed in the previous section on 2-controlled Equi would be marked [+object control].

8.3 Non-verb-governed Equi

8.3.1 Equi in *untuk* purpose complements

Gibson (1978) discusses purpose complements⁷ in Bahasa Indonesia. She observes that the 'for to' complementiser *untuk* is prohibited from being followed by a full sentence. The subject is obligatorily absent. There are, she claims, two ways to meet this restriction: by Derived Subject Raising (what I have called in Chapter 7 'Ascensions into Intransitive Clauses') and by Equi. The first operation moves a derived subject⁸ embedded under adjectives such as *susah* 'difficult' into the matrix clause. The second rule obligatorily deletes the subject of the embedded clause under identity with a matrix NP.

In this section I examine Equi in purpose complements introduced by *untuk*. Unlike the type of Equi discussed in the previous sections, Equi in purpose complements is not verb-governed. Any matrix verb is possible, except that purpose complements require a matrix verb which involves the notion of agency.

Only final 1s may be targets for Equi:

⁷ I have chosen to carry on Gibson's term 'complements', in this section and the next, even though they are more adjunct-like in that they are usually optional and not verb-governed. I do not believe the complement-adjunct distinction is a clear-cut one, in English or in Bahasa Indonesia. In some cases (such as example 8.84), the *untuk* clause is obligatory.

⁸ As I mentioned in Chapter 7, both initial 1s and derived 1s are eligible for ascension into clauses governed by *susah* and other such adjectives. This fact was not recognised by Gibson or Chung.

- 8.80 *Dia pergi ke Indonesia untuk me-lihat saya.*
 he go to Indonesia for.to meN-see me
 'He went to Indonesia to see me.'
- 8.81 *Gigi di-antar untuk men-(t)emu-i Presiden Habibie.*
 Gigi 3PER-take for.to meN-meet-TRAN President Habibie
 'Gigi was taken to meet President Habibie.'

Neither direct objects (8.82) nor indirect objects (8.83) are allowable targets:

- 8.82 **Mereka meng-antar Gigi untuk saya men-(t)emu-i (Ø).*
 they meN-take Gigi for.to I meN-meet-TRAN
 'They took Gigi for me to meet (her).'
- 8.83 **Anjing datang untuk saya mem-beri makan (kepada) (Ø).*
 dog come for.to I meN-give eat to
 'The dog came for me to feed (him).'

According to both Gibson (1978) and Chung (1976b), possible controllers of Equi in *untuk* complements are restricted to initial subjects and direct objects which are also final subjects or final direct objects. This allows for passive subjects, as well as nominals which are initial and final subjects, and nominals which are initial and final direct objects. The examples above exemplify control by a final active subject (8.80) and a final passive subject (8.81). The examples below exemplify control by a final direct object.

- 8.84 *Saya tidak mem-beli bir untuk di-minum Robert.*
 I not meN-buy beer for.to 3PER-drink Robert
 'I didn't buy beer for it to be drunk by Robert.'
- 8.85 *Gereja mem-bantu pasang-an itu untuk mem-(p)ecah-kan masalah-nya.*
 church meN-help pair-NOM that for.to meN-break-TRAN
 problem-the
 'The church helped the couple solve the problem.'

However, possible controllers are not restricted to final subjects and final direct objects. Both 1-chômeurs (example 8.86) and 2-chômeurs (8.87) are eligible controllers:

- 8.86 *Untuk mem-(p)ecah-kan masalah itu di-tempuh-nya berbagai jalan.*
 for.to meN-break-TRAN problem that 3PER-go.through-him
 various road
 'In order to solve that problem, various roads were taken by him.'
- 8.87 *Mereka meng-(k)irim-i wanita itu surat ter-sebut untuk di-baca-nya.*
 they meN-send-IO woman that letter ADJ-mentioned for.to
 3PER-read-her
 'They sent the woman the afore-mentioned letter to be read by her.'

Nor can the restriction be stated in terms of 1s and 2s (initial or final), alone. Possessives are also eligible controllers (example 8.88):

- 8.88 *Saya minta bantu-an anda untuk men-(t)anya-kan kepada Nitya.*
 I request help-NOM your for.to meN-ask-TRAN to Nitya
 'I'm requesting your help to ask Nitya.'

3s (8.89) and Benefactives (8.90) are only marginal controllers.

- 8.89 *?Dia meng-(k)irim buku itu pada saya untuk mem-baca-nya.*
 he meN-send book that to me for.to meN-read-it
 'He sent the book to me (for me) to read it.'

- 8.90 *?Dia mem-beli-kan buku itu bagi saya untuk mem-baca-nya.*
 he meN-buy-BEN book that for me for.to meN-read-it
 'He bought the book for me (for me) to read it.'

Bahasa Indonesia speakers disagree in their acceptance of these sentences. In both examples 8.89 and 8.90, it is preferable to passivise the subordinate clause (*untuk saya baca*), with the 2 (*buku itu*) as controller. It is strange that a language would accept a possessive as a controller, while not accepting a 3 or Benefactive. These examples show that the restriction on controllers of Equi in *untuk* complements cannot be stated simply. Eligible controllers include final 1s, 2s, 1-chômeurs, 2-chômeurs, possessives, and, marginally, 3s and Benefactives.

Untuk purpose complements do not allow tense/aspect markers, but do allow modals such as *bisa* 'can, be able':

- 8.91 *Dia datang ke Indonesia untuk bisa me-lihat saya.*

*akan

*sudah

'He came to Indonesia to be able to/will/already see me.'

- 8.92 *Dia pergi untuk bisa bermain.*

*akan

*sudah

'He went to be able to/will/already play.'

Similarly, *untuk* complements which are not purpose complements, such as those which modify a head noun, allow modals, though tense/aspect markers are still prohibited:

- 8.93 *Isteri tidak di-beri ke-empat-an untuk *sudah*

*akan

dapat

wife not 3PER-give NOM-opportunity for.to already

will

be able

meng-(k)embang-kan diri-nya.

meN-develop-TRAN self-her

'Wives aren't given an opportunity to already/will/be able to develop themselves.'

This prohibition against tense in the downstairs clause is expected, given the distribution of *untuk* in other constructions discussed previously. By way of review, there are two types of ambiclausal nominals in Bahasa Indonesia: initial (Equi) and non-initial (Ascension). Both types of Equi, the verb-governed type and the purpose type, allow the *untuk* complementiser (though it is optional in the verb-governed type). The downstairs clause in each Equi type

must be non-finite, as evidenced by the fact that it does not allow the tense/aspect markers *sudah*, *telah* and *akan*.

As for Ascensions, I have discussed two distinct types. Ascension into an intransitive clause with verbs like *susah* 'difficult' optionally takes *untuk* and requires a non-finite downstairs clause. Ascension into a transitive clause is governed by verbs of thought, which do not allow *untuk* and do permit finite downstairs clauses.

We see, then, that occurrence of the complementiser *untuk* corresponds in each case with non-finite complements. Another way to state this is (in terms of Government and Binding theory) to say that clauses with PRO (the empty subject) may be introduced with *untuk*.

I conclude this section with a discussion of the other uses of *untuk*, to show that it has other functions besides its use in Equi constructions. It may serve as a preposition, with the meaning 'for the sake of, for the purpose of':

8.94 *Hadiah ini untuk-mu.*
prize this for-you
'This prize is for you.'

8.95 *obat untuk sakit perut*
medicine for sick stomach
'medicine for stomach ache'

As mentioned in Chapter 5, *untuk* is one of the prepositions which may introduce unadvanced Benefactive NPs (example 8.96). Rarely, it introduces unadvanced indirect objects (8.97):

8.96 *Dia mem-beli buku untuk adik-nya.*
he meN-buy book for younger.sibling-his
'He bought a book for his younger sibling.'

8.97 *Kain itu saya kirim untuk ibu.*
cloth that I send to Mother
'That cloth I sent to Mother.'

Untuk may introduce a clause which modifies a noun head:

8.98 *uang untuk mem-beli beras*
money for.to meN-buy rice
'money for buying rice'

8.99 *laci untuk meny-(s)impan surat cinta*
drawer for.to meN-keep letter love
'drawer for keeping love letters'

The sentences in 8.98 and 8.99 above are examples of what Government and Binding labels 'arbitrary control', in which the controller is not a specific nominal in the matrix. The understood subject (PRO) is arbitrary, which in English can be translated as 'one'.

Finally, there is a class of transitive verbs which take obligatory *untuk* complements:

8.100 *Mereka mem-(p)utus-kan untuk me-nikah.*
they meN-definite -TRAN to meN-marry
'They decided to marry.'

- 8.101 *Mary me-rencana-kan untuk mem-beri-kan permata-permata kepada*
 Mary meN-plan-TRAN to meN-give-TRAN gems to
putra-nya.
 son-her
 'Mary planned to give the gems to her son.'

The *untuk* complements in examples 8.100 and 8.101 above are not purpose complements. Rather, they have more of a factitive role, giving the result of the activity expressed by the matrix verb. The clausal complements are part of the valences of the matrix verbs – in this also these sentences differ from the purpose complements looked at earlier. However, the same restrictions characterise both types – the final downstairs subject is an obligatory Equi target (in the sentences above, the controller is the upstairs 1) and the downstairs clause is non-finite. Thus, whether or not a complement clause is part of a verb's subcategorisation is irrelevant to the use of *untuk*. The same is true in English: the verbs *plan* and *decide* take infinitival complements, while non-subcategorised purpose complements are also expressed with infinitives.

The downstairs clause may be finite, provided that the complementiser *bahwa* is used. These sentences are not examples of Equi, because the downstairs subject must occur in them. Notice the possibility of tense/aspect in the downstairs clauses in the examples below:

- 8.102 *Mereka mem-(p)utus-kan bahwa mereka akan me-nikah.*
 they meN-definite-TRAN that they will meN-marry
 'They decided that they would marry.'
- 8.103 *Mary me-rencana-kan bahwa dia akan mem-beri-kan*
 Mary meN-plan-TRAN that she will meN-give-TRAN
permata-permata kepada putra-nya.
 gems to son-her
 'Mary planned that she would give the gems to her son.'

8.3.2 *Equi in other adverbial clauses*

A final type of Equi to be examined here occurs in adverbial clauses in which the dependent clause may have one of several functions, including temporal (introduced by, for example, *sesudah* 'after', *sebelum* 'before', or *sambil* 'while'), causal (introduced by *karena* or *sebab* 'because'), manner (introduced by *dengan* 'with' or *tanpa* 'without'), or reason (introduced by the sensory verbs *melihat* 'seeing' or *mendengar* 'hearing'). These categories are not meant to be exhaustive.

This type of Equi is similar to Equi in *untuk* purpose clauses in a number of ways. Both apply to subjects only. Neither is verb-governed. The possible controllers are nearly the same for both types. The examples below illustrate control by the final matrix 1 (8.104), final 2 (8.105), final 3 (8.106), final 1-chômeur (8.107), final 2-chômeur (8.108), and Possessive (8.109). Of these relations, final 3s are questionable controllers in purpose complements; the rest are acceptable controllers in purpose complements as well.

- 8.104a. *Sambil men-dekat-kan mulut-nya ke telinga-ku, dia*
 while meN-close-TRAN mouth-his to ear-my he
mem-bisik-kan kata-kata itu.
 meN-whisper-TRAN words that
 'While putting his mouth up to my ear, he whispered the words.'
- b. *Sambil ber-main, gadis itu jatuh.*
 while INTR-play girl that fall
 'While playing, the girl fell.'
- 8.105 *Karena tidak me-lihat ke kiri dan ke kanan, mobil itu*
 because not meN-see to left and to right car that
mem-bentur Amir.
 meN-strike Amir
 'Because (he) didn't look to the left or right, the car struck Amir.'
- 8.106 *Mem-(p)erlu-kan buku-buku untuk sekolah, kamus itu*
 meN-need-TRAN books for school dictionary that
di-kirim pada saya.
 3PER-send to me
 'Needing books for school, the dictionary was sent to me.'
- 8.107a. *Tuju-an per-kawin-an sudah di-tetap-kan oleh Allah*
 aim-NOM NOM-marry already 3PER-fix-TRAN by God
pada waktu men-cipta-kan manusia.
 at when meN-create-TRAN mankind
 'The purpose of marriage was determined by God when (He) created mankind.'
- b. *Masalah itu hendaknya kita hayati dengan tidak*
 problem that should we.INC want-TRAN with not
me-lupa-kan disiplin iman.
 meN-forget-TRAN discipline faith
 'That problem should be desired by us without forgetting the discipline of faith.'
- 8.108 *Amir di-beri hadiah itu sesudah di-beli di toko.*
 Amir 3PER-give gift that after 3PER-buy in store
 'Amir was given the gift after (it) was bought at the store.'
- 8.109 *Me-lihat ada orang mem-baca koran, hati saya sudah*
 meN-see there.is person meN-read newspaper heart my already
ber-debar-debar.
 INTR-throb
 'Seeing a person reading a newspaper, my heart was pounding.'

Notice that example 8.107b exemplifies a Passive in the superordinate clause, in which the 1-chômeur (*kita*) controls Equi in the subordinate clause. Also, the examples show that the absent nominal need not be an initial 1; it may be the final 1 of an unaccusative clause (8.104b) or of a Passive (8.108).

One may ask how it is possible to recover the identity of the omitted nominal, when nearly any matrix nominal may be the controller. In most cases, there is no ambiguity. Generally there is only one likely candidate for controller in the matrix, depending on the meaning of the sentence. It is when the matrix clause has a human 3 that there is most potential for ambiguity, because then there may be two human NPs upstairs. However, in those examples I have found, the initial 3 is final upstairs 1 and the initial 1 is omitted completely. With only the initial 2 and initial 3 NPs upstairs, one human and one not human, the possibility of ambiguity in interpreting the downstairs missing subject is diminished. This is the case in 8.108 above, as in the sentence below:

- 8.110 *Saya di-kirim-i kamus itu, karena tidak di-pakai-nya lagi.*
 I 3PER-send-IO dictionary that because not 3PER-use-him again
 'I was sent the dictionary because (it) wasn't being used by him any more.'

Because of the semantics of the sentence, the subject of *dipakainya* 'be used' must be the inanimate NP *kamus itu* 'the dictionary', the upstairs initial 2 and final 2-chômeur. This is because only a dictionary, and not 'I' can 'be used', in the usual sense of that word. Ambiguity is therefore avoided.

One obvious way in which purpose complements and adverbial clauses differ is that the latter are not introduced by *untuk*. In light of my conclusion in the last section that *untuk* introduces non-finite clauses with PRO as subject, we naturally would wonder about the possibility of tense in adverbial clauses. In all the examples given so far, the subordinate clauses have no explicit tense/aspect markers. However, for at least a subclass of these clauses, a tense/aspect marker is possible:

- 8.111 *Karena sudah menang dalam per-tanding-an, hadiah*
 because already win in NOM-compete prize
di-beri-kan pada Amir.
 3PER-give-TRAN to Amir
 'Because (he'd) already won in the competition, the prize was given to Amir.'
- 8.112 *Saya di-kirim-i kamus itu, karena tidak akan*
 I 3PER-send-IO dictionary that because not will
di-pakai-nya lagi.
 3PER-use-him again
 'I was sent the dictionary, because (it) would not be used by him again.'

In contrast to clauses introduced by *untuk*, clauses introduced with *karena* are tensed and may take an overt subject. These examples thus indirectly support my analysis of *untuk* as a signal of Equi.

8.4 The problem of control

In the previous sections I have stated the facts of control – with verbs such as *mau* 'want', only subjects (which, for this class of verbs, are both initial and final) may control Equi; only initial 2s may control Equi with verbs such as *paksa* 'force'; and a wider range of grammatical relations may control Equi in non-verb-governed Equi.

A better statement could perhaps be made in semantic terms. Foley and Van Valin (1984) have made such a proposal. According to them, the control properties of a verb depend on the illocutionary act it denotes. Their semantic theory of control in English is summarised as follows: Undergoer control is a feature of both causative verbs (such as *force*, *persuade*, *convince*) and directive speech-act verbs. These latter are a subclass of verbs of saying which, according to Searle, are attempts by the speaker to get the hearer to act. They include *invite*, *order*, and *tell*. That 'undergoer' and not 'direct object' is the correct notion here is shown by active-passive pairs with these verbs. The controller is consistently the undergoer, whether it holds the subject relation (b. examples below) or the direct object relation (a. examples below):

- 8.113a. *Ann forced George to eat his food.*
 b. *George was forced by Ann to eat his food.*
- 8.114a. *They invited her to attend the party.*
 b. *She was invited by them to attend the party.*

Foley and Van Valin go on to say that all verbs not falling into either of these two categories have actor control. For English this would include commissive verbs such as *promise* and *vow* (which, again according to Searle, are illocutionary acts performed to commit the speaker to some future action). The Passive test could also be applied here to demonstrate the preference of this claim over one stated in terms of grammatical relations.

In my Ascension analysis of verbs of thought, there is no control problem – the ascended NP (the 2 of finally active matrix clauses, the 1 of finally passive matrix clauses) is coreferential with the empty NP in the embedded clause.

For Bahasa Indonesia Equi verbs such as *mau* there is no control problem either, since they are single-argument structures and therefore only one NP is available as possible controller – the subject/actor. For verbs of persuasion, in which there are two possible candidates, it is the undergoer/initial 2, rather than the actor, which is the controller.

However, for Equi constructions which are not verb-governed, the controller possibilities are numerous: final 1, 2, 1-chômeur, 2-chômeur, Possessive, and, marginally, 3 or Benefactive. The notion of 'undergoer' is insufficient to account for control in these constructions. Several distinct semantic roles – agent, theme, patient, recipient/goal – rather than one of the generalised semantic roles, would need to be listed to adequately account for all the possible controllers. The advantages of such a semantic theory of control over a syntactic theory, stated in terms of grammatical relations, are not obvious. Non-verb-governed control still awaits an adequate theory.

9 Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

In this final chapter I set out what I believe to be the most significant contributions of this study. I have divided them into corrections of earlier works, contributions of analysis, implications for the theory of Relational Grammar, and applications to the teaching of Bahasa Indonesia. In the sections that follow I address each of these in turn.

9.2 Corrections of earlier works

The articles by Sandra Chung on Bahasa Indonesia, particularly the one on object-creating rules, did a great deal toward putting the theory of Relational Grammar forward and demonstrating its applicability to a non-Indo-European language. At the time Chung did her research, Relational Grammar was still a nascent theory, just beginning to emerge from its transformational roots. She was able to convincingly demonstrate that certain rules, such as Dative in Bahasa Indonesia, cannot be accounted for if stated in terms of linear order and dominance; such rules must be stated in terms of grammatical relations. The theory in its present form is the product of several years of serious endeavor on the part of many linguists like Chung.

However, several of the points Chung makes in her articles, as well as some of her major conclusions, need revising. To begin with, she claims (1976a:229), that both subjects and direct objects in Bahasa Indonesia may be relativised. This claim has been repeated by others, such as Keenan and Comrie (1977), who drew on Chung's work. Others have disputed this claim. Yeoh (1977) says that Keenan and Comrie's example below is unacceptable:

- 9.1 *Ali bunuh ayam yang Aminah sedang me-makan.*
Ali kill chicken COMP Aminah continuous meN-eat
'Ali killed the chicken that Aminah was eating.'

Soemarmo (1970) agrees that the head noun of a relative clause cannot be identical with the object of the embedded clause.

Chung based her conclusion on less clear examples, such as 9.2, in which the relative clause is actually a 'We' type Passive, which is superficially more similar to an active clause than it is to a 'They' Passive.

- 9.2 *Ikan yang saya masak untuk Ali tidak enak rasa-nya.*
 fish COMP I cook for Ali not good taste-its
 'The fish that I cooked for Ali didn't taste good.'

Chung claims that the relative clause of 9.2 and Object Preposing are produced by separate operations. I have demonstrated (Chapter 2) that in clear, uncontroversial cases, direct objects cannot be relativised. It is true that an initial 2 may be eligible for relativisation, but only by virtue of its final 1 relation, not because of its 2 relation.

In Chung's (1976b) analysis of Bahasa Indonesia Passives, she correctly concludes that the so-called 'object-preposing' constructions are a type of Passive. She then goes on to say that there are actually two rules of Passive in the language, due to some minor differences between them, such as incomplete identity of the verbs to which each applies. I have shown (Chapter 4) that these alleged differences are only apparent, and not real. In fact, the two Passive subtypes are in complementary distribution, according to the person of the initial 1, except for the case of third person initial 1s, which may occur with either subtype.

One of the differences between these two constructions, according to Chung (1976a:231), is that only pronouns may occur as 1-chômeurs in the 'object preposing' construction. But it is very clear that names and kinship terms, which in Bahasa Indonesia often function like pronouns, also may occur. This error contributed to her wrong conclusion about relativisation.

Chung (1976a:223) says that one of the properties that distinguishes direct objects from indirect objects and obliques is that only the former can be reflexivised with *diri*. The other relations are reflexivised only with a personal pronoun plus *sendiri* 'oneself'. In a footnote she admits that some speakers allow indirect objects and oblique NPs to be reflexivised with *diri*. However, a difference still remains, in that these, but not direct objects, require *sendiri*. In my research I found a difference in the way in which these various relations are reflexivised (Chapter 2), but a different difference from the one Chung describes. That is, direct objects must be reflexivised with *diri*, while other relations, including indirect objects, obliques, and possessives, allow Reflexivisation with *diri*, but may also be reflexivised with regular personal pronouns, plus *sendiri*.

Chung (1976a:234) mentions in her article on Dative that verbs which signal Dative with either *-i* (such as *kirim* 'send') or \emptyset (*bayar* 'pay') optionally occur with *-kan* when Dative does not apply, but that "verbs that take *-kan* when Dative has applied normally do not allow it otherwise".

However, I have found several examples (discussed in Chapter 5) of these latter cases which she says do not normally occur. A correct generalisation as to the function of *-kan* must have all the facts straight. In Chapter 5, I have given two generalisations: *-kan* is obligatorily attached to a verb which has an optional relation in its valence which, at some stratum, is a nuclear term. *-kan* is optionally affixed to a verb base when it has a final unadvanced Benefactive or 3 relation.

What I call Ascension into an Intransitive Clause, Chung (1976b) terms "Derived Subject Raising". As her label suggests, her analysis provides for the Raising of derived subjects into clauses with verbs such as *sukar* 'difficult'. However, I have also encountered unelicited examples of an initial 1 being raised in this context (discussed in Chapter 7). Clearly these are less common, but they do occur and a thorough grammar of Bahasa Indonesia should mention their existence.

One final point I wish to make in this section has to do with controllers of Equi in complements introduced with *untuk*. Chung (1976a:228) says that only nominals which are

initial 1s or 2s and final 1s or 2s (including a passive subject) are eligible controllers. Gibson (1978) appears to concur. However, I have demonstrated (in Chapter 8) that nearly any NP in the matrix clause is an eligible controller – final 1s and 1-chômeurs, final 2s and 2-chômeurs, Possessives, and, marginally, 3s and Benefactives.

One of my motivations for undertaking this study was to try to set straight the facts of Bahasa Indonesia grammar. Too frequently it has been misrepresented in print, by Chung and others. I hope that the points made above have accomplished that purpose.

9.3 Contributions of analysis

My analysis of various constructions in Bahasa Indonesia form the heart of this thesis. Many of these constructions had been previously described; but few had been analysed – that is, no structure had been proposed which explained their syntactic behaviour. For example, a description might say that *-i* is suffixed to verbs A, B, and C with meaning ‘X’ and it is suffixed to verbs D, E, and F with meaning ‘Y’. But this says nothing about what else happens in the clause to accompany the suffixation. Nor does it explain why *-i* never has meaning ‘Y’ on verb B. A proper analysis answers these questions.

For example, Dardjowidjojo (1978) lists verb bases for which *-kan* has a benefactive meaning. He then (pp.243–244) discusses the causative usage of *-kan* and says that the bases may be adjectives or intransitive verbs. But, as I have pointed out (in Chapter 3), not all intransitive verb bases receive a causative meaning when *-kan* is added. Only unaccusative bases qualify.

Descriptions that miss this point are not explanatory or helpful to the unaware learner, who, without this key to the situation, must rely on rote memory alone to keep the forms and meanings straight. My generalisation on the use of *-kan* covers a) transitives formed on intransitive bases (both unaccusatives and unergatives), b) Benefactive- and Instrument-2 Advancements, and c) ditransitives with an unadvanced 3 or unadvanced Benefactive.

Because of the groundwork laid by Chung, my analyses of Advancements to 2 and Advancements to 1 are not new; they are simply refinements of what she had done. In regard to Advancements to 2, I have gone beyond Dative-2 Advancement (her term which encompasses both 3–2 and Benefactive-2 Advancements) to include Instrument-2 and Locative-2 Advancements as well. These two constructions had never been given a syntactic analysis, one that explains why certain verbs receive the same suffixes which indicate Benefactive-2 and 3–2 Advancements. Once they are analysed as advancements themselves, this fact is no longer troublesome. In addition, the fact that a verb such as *tikam* ‘stab’ plus *-kan* is followed by the Instrument NP rather than the thing stabbed and a verb such as *tanam* ‘plant’ plus *-i* is followed by the Locative NP rather than the thing planted is also a natural consequence of my analysis. Bahasa Indonesia word order rules refer to final grammatical relations; therefore, a Locative or Instrument NP which bears the final 2 relation will automatically occupy the immediate postverbal position.

In a similar fashion, traditional grammars of Bahasa Indonesia usually mention the three morphological possibilities for intransitive verbs: *ber-*, *meN-*, or \emptyset -. But inevitably no analysis follows. The distinction between unprefixes and prefixed intransitives is, as I have shown (in Chapter 3), not an arbitrary one. There is a syntactic difference between them. The unprefixes intransitives have unaccusative initial strata. This statement checks out for all prefixless bases. The vast majority of prefixed intransitives, on the other hand, have

unergative initial strata; only a few (including *berjalan* 'walk', *mengalir* 'flow', *berbaring* 'lie down', and *melompat* 'jump') have unaccusative initial strata.

Support for this analysis comes from the fact that these two classes behave very differently with regard to other phenomena, just as would be expected given their different initial relations. For example, when a 1 is added to an unaccusative verb, the verb receives *-kan*, and the meaning of the new form is 'X make Y [to verb]'. This causative meaning is a natural consequence of the fact that the initial 2 retains its semantic role properties in both the transitive and the intransitive. On the other hand, when a 2 is added to an unergative verb, the verb receives *-kan*, and the meaning of the new form is unpredictable from the meaning of the intransitive verb. This consistent behaviour of transitive–intransitive pairs is not peculiar once it is seen that there is a syntactic distinction in the bases.

Another construction which is tied up with the unaccusative–unergative distinction is nominalisations. Grammars of Bahasa Indonesia link the *per-* *-an* circumfix to *ber-* prefixed bases and the *peN-* *-an* circumfix to *meN-* prefixed bases (that is, those with initial transitive strata). This generalisation completely ignores the large class of prefixless bases. As I have shown (in Chapter 3) these pattern 100% on the side of transitives, and receive *peN-* *-an*. This is a natural consequence of my unaccusative analysis, since unaccusatives and transitives are alike in both having an initial 2, a feature which unergatives do not share. Although I cannot say that all initially unergative verbs take *per-* *-an*, since there are some exceptions, any explanation or description is going to have to deal with these exceptions. The advantage of my analysis is the generalisation it allows me to make about initially unaccusative verbs, which is without exception.

Another contribution of this study is my analysis of *ke-* *-an* Adversatives as Unions. These constructions have been the object of some research before. Junus (1971) did what was mainly a classification of the various constructions with *ke-* *-an*, and Dardjowidjojo (n.d.) did a semantic analysis using Chafe's model. No syntactic analysis had been done previous to this one.

I am sure some people will be worried by my positing an abstract predicate 'AFFECT ADVERSELY' or 'BEFALL' as part of this analysis – memories of Generative Semantics. Actually, I could have avoided this by saying the morpheme *ke-* *-an* is the union predicate (just as *-rare* is the union predicate in Japanese). This solution did not really satisfy me, however, so I kept the abstract analysis. Nevertheless, these constructions do have a generally consistent adversative meaning which must be accounted for somehow.¹ Also, the explanatory value of the analysis must not be overlooked by those who dislike abstract

¹ Bahasa Indonesia has a verb *kena* 'to be struck'. It is used in a number of idiomatic expressions with words bearing a variety of semantic roles. Some examples include:

<i>kena denda</i> (fine)	'to be fined'
<i>kena emas</i> (gold)	'to be bribed'
<i>kena marah</i> (anger)	'to be reprimanded'
<i>kena tembak</i> (shoot)	'to be shot'
<i>kena fitnah</i> (slander)	'to be slandered'

The meanings all denote some adverse happening. Because of the similarities, both in form and in meaning, between *kena* and *ke-* *-an* adversatives, I suspect a historical connection. I have not investigated this hypothesis. However, if the adversatives with *ke-* *-an* originated as expressions with *kena*, and later merged with an already existing morphological form *ke-* *-an* with a different function, then the abstract predicate I am positing may not be so abstract after all, but only obsolete.

predicates. The fact that the postverbal nominal in these constructions is not eligible to exhibit normal postverbal NP properties such as passivisation and cliticisation is explained by the fact that it is a final 2-chômeur, rather than a final 2. Also, in examples such as *Ali kematian anak* 'Ali had a child die on him', *Ali* is not an argument of *mati* 'die'. Its presence in the clause must be accounted for in some way. My analysis of these as Unions, which have two predicates with their own arguments, takes care of this anomaly.

The Adversative analysis also lends support to my unaccusative analysis. Only a restricted number of predicates occur in the Adversative. A few have initial transitive strata; most are intransitives. In every case the intransitive is a member of the unaccusative class, never of the unergative class. Under an analysis (or no analysis at all) which failed to provide for this dichotomy, this fact would be an unexplained peculiarity of the language. However, as I have indicated (Chapter 6), that is not the case at all. Semantically it would appear to be fine to have a sentence such as **Dia kebohongan suaminya* 'She was adversely affected by her husband's lying'. But *berbohong* 'lie', an unergative, cannot occur in an Adversative. Though I have no explanation for this fact, I have been able to make this generalisation, which, in itself, advances our understanding of Bahasa Indonesia syntax.

Some strong support for my analysis of Bahasa Indonesia Adversatives as Unions comes from very similar constructions in Japanese. Dubinsky (1985) has also analysed Japanese Adversatives as Unions. They resemble Bahasa Indonesia Adversatives in that both union predicates initialise a 2 for a similar reason. It is an interesting fact that, cross-linguistically, the only two Union constructions that have been analysed as having initial 2s, rather than initial 1s (as in Causative Unions), are Adversatives. This is perhaps not surprising when one considers that the causer in a causative construction is an initiator, an agent, as are typical 1s. However, the one affected by some adverse circumstance is not an initiator, but a victim or patient, as are typical 2s. It could well turn out to be a universal that all adversative Union predicates initialise a 2. These two analyses should stimulate further study into Adversatives as a cross-linguistic phenomenon.

A final point which I wish to mention here is the use of the complementiser *untuk* in biclausal constructions. Under my analysis, *untuk* is a signal of Equi. The subject of the complement clause it introduces is always absent, under identity with some matrix nominal. *Untuk* optionally occurs in 2-controlled Equi (with governing verbs such as *paksa* 'force') and in 1-controlled Equi (with governing verbs such as *ingin* 'want'). Its use is obligatory in purpose complements. In each case, *untuk*-introduced complement clauses are non-finite. For Bahasa Indonesia I define finiteness as the ability to take tense/aspect markers. When a clause does not permit a tense/aspect marker, then it is non-finite.

The restriction on finiteness in *untuk* complements is to be expected, given the Government and Binding notion of the empty category PRO. PRO is found in the subject position of English infinitivals. An overt subject may not appear in this position because there is no tense (or verb agreement) in the clause to govern the subject. The same is true in Bahasa Indonesia, in which there is no verb agreement at all, and tense/aspect cannot occur in *untuk* complements. Therefore, they must lack an overt subject.

I would prefer to call my discussions of Ascensions and Equi constructions 'classifications' or 'descriptions' rather than analyses or explanations. This is because my primary aim has been the modest but needed one of sorting out Ascensions from Equi constructions, and the various subtypes from one another. There is nothing new or startling in those analyses as such, since Ascensions and Equi constructions are phenomena found in nearly all languages, and I can offer nothing new to the theory behind them.

Gibson (1978) and Chung (1976b) have both dealt with what I call 'Ascension into an Intransitive Clause', what they label 'Derived Subject Raising', and what in transformational literature has been termed 'Tough Movement'. What characterises it is the fact that a final downstairs subject, derived or not, ascends into an intransitive clause containing one of a small class of adjectivals such as *sukar* 'difficult'. Since this class of verbs is unaccusative, the ascended nominal bears a 2 relation in the ascension stratum.

I call the other Ascension type 'Ascension into a Transitive Clause' to emphasise the fact that the downstairs final subject ascends to bear the 2 relation of the upstairs transitive predicate. This class of predicates includes verbs such as *kira* 'think'. I have supplied (Chapter 7) several pieces of evidence in favour of an Ascension analysis for both types.

In Chapter 8 on Equi I distinguish between 2-controlled Equi (with verbs such as *paksa* 'force'), 1-controlled Equi (with verbs such as *ingin* 'want'), and Equi in which any matrix nominal may be the controller. This last class, which is also not verb-governed, is divided into purpose complements with *untuk* and other adverbial complements similar to English participials. In each type for which *untuk* is the complementiser, the complement clause is required to be non-finite.

9.4 Implications for the theory of Relational Grammar

Throughout this study I have used the theory of Relational Grammar as a tool to bring understanding of the inner workings of Bahasa Indonesia grammar. I have not applied it slavishly or assumed its correctness in every detail.

Nevertheless, I have found no serious flaws in the theory through applying it to Bahasa Indonesia. It appears to adequately cover all the aspects of the language which have to do with grammatical relations.

This is not to say, however, that Relational Grammar can account for all of the facts of the language. It is a syntactic theory with limited scope. As such it cannot be, and has never claimed to be, a complete theory of grammar. Still, it is able to handle phenomena outside its area of concentration in a derivative fashion.

There are various aspects of Bahasa Indonesia grammar that have not been mentioned here, because the theory has nothing to say about them directly. In general, the morphological system of Bahasa Indonesia verbs has been discussed and explanations of many known facts have been offered. Nevertheless, there are still certain morphological forms which must go untouched: the difference between nominalisations with *per-/peN-* *-an*, those with *ke-* *-an*, and those with *-an*; the comparison of adjectives with *ter-*; the function of the topicaliser *-lah*; and the placement of the interrogative marker *-kah*.

Another morpheme I have not mentioned is the verbal prefix *ter-*, which forms verbs with a passive meaning expressing an involuntary action. "The connotation of *ter-* in its involuntary meaning is not so much that the agent was unwilling to do the action: the verb is merely noncommittal or not interested in whether or not the agent wanted to do the action" (Wolff 1980:220). It attaches mostly to transitive bases, and also to some unaccusative bases.²

² The unaccusative bases to which *ter-* attaches include:

<i>ter-bangun</i>	'awaken'
<i>ter-duduk</i>	'sat down'

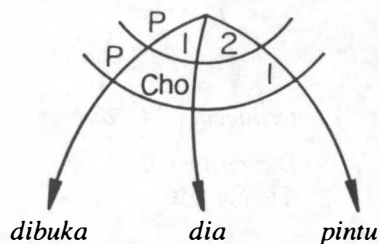
The resulting deverbal adjective has a passive or participial meaning:

- 9.3a. *mem-buka* 'to open'
 b. *di-buka* 'be opened'
 c. *ter-buka* 'opened'
- 9.4a. *men-(t)ulis* 'to write'
 b. *di-tulis* 'be written'
 c. *ter-tulis* 'written'

These *ter-* forms differ semantically from regular passives: the former are accidental or non-volitive, while the latter describe volitive and purposed actions. Because of their accidental nature, these *ter-* constructions are often grouped together with *ke-* *-an* adversatives in descriptions of Bahasa Indonesia grammar.

Syntactically, passives and *ter-* deverbal adjectives formed on transitive bases have identical relational structures: both are 2-1 Advancements from a transitive (9.5a and b):

9.5a.



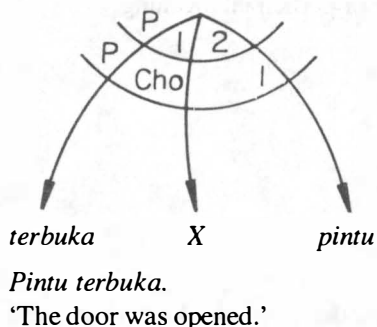
Pintu dibuka dia.

'The door was opened by him.'

<i>ter-jatuh</i>	'fallen'
<i>ter-tidur</i>	'fallen asleep'
<i>ter-masuk</i>	'including'
<i>ter-lepas</i>	'freed'
<i>ter-tidur</i>	'fallen asleep'
<i>ter-masuk</i>	'including'
<i>ter-lepas</i>	'freed'
<i>ter-tinggal</i>	'left'
<i>ter-pecah</i>	'broken'
<i>ter-lompat</i>	'jumped'
<i>ter-nyata</i>	'obvious'
<i>ter-diam</i>	'become speechless'
<i>ter-ingat</i>	'be reminded'
<i>ter-pencar</i>	'borne'
<i>ter-benam</i>	'buried'
<i>ter-diri</i>	'consisted'

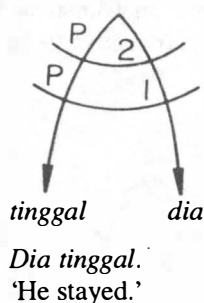
I could have used the *ter-* construction as another test for unaccusatives, as no unergatives take *ter-*. However, the examples are so few I decided not to. Notice the word *terlompat*, which supports my contention (see Chapter 3) that *melompat* is unaccusative, though prefixed.

b.

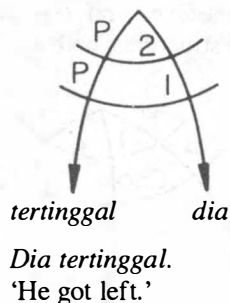


Ter-affixed unaccusative bases have the same relational structure as regular unaccusatives which have undergone Unaccusative Advancement:

9.6a.



b.



Semantic notions must be appealed to in order to adequately account for the differences above, since there are no syntactic differences. For that reason, I have not gone into *ter*- in this study, which is strictly syntactic.

Other areas have also not been touched on: the semantics of reduplication, the rules of personal address, including pronominal usage, and the use of prepositions and verb-preposition combinations, to name a few. An obvious area for which Relational Grammar has no direct input is that of discourse. Topics such as aspect in discourse, definiteness, reference tracking, and linkage and cohesion cannot be included in a study such as the present one.

I am not saying, however, that the present study is irrelevant to discourse-oriented studies. Word-order studies, such as the one by Cumming (1991), may be carried out to discover, for instance, the discourse factors which determine a non-subject constituent's occurring in sentence-initial position. This type of research must be built on studies like the present one, which clearly define what is the subject in different kinds of constructions. Though the two types of research have different foci, in reality they are complementary.

9.5 Applications to the teaching of Bahasa Indonesia

Believing that good pedagogy rests on correct analysis, I have frequently thought, as I worked on this research, of how each new insight might make the teaching of Bahasa Indonesia grammar a simpler task.

Verb morphology, especially the usage of *-kan* and *-i*, is the bane of students of Bahasa Indonesia. With the analysis offered here, the problems could diminish. *-i* occurs on a verb base which is followed immediately by its indirect object, or by a Locative NP, both without their prepositions. *-kan* is more complicated, but its usage can still be stated quite succinctly: *-kan* occurs obligatorily on a verb base which is immediately followed by a Benefactive or an Instrument, both without their prepositions, and on transitive verbs formed on intransitive bases. When the intransitive base is not prefixed, the transitive verb has the meaning 'X make Y [to verb]'. *-kan* occurs optionally when an unadvanced indirect object or an unadvanced Benefactive is in the same clause.

There is no need to memorise lists of verbs which take *-kan* meaning 'causative', those with *-kan* meaning 'benefactive', those verb stems which can take either *-kan* or *-i*, those which take only *-i*, and so forth.

Emeis (1950:99) suggests that a dictionary must be used in order to know how to use the causative *-kan*. The prefixless intransitives are among the most commonly used verbs in the language, and are therefore learned early and learned well. If the students are taught the generalisation that affixing *-kan* to the members of this class forms causative verbs, there is no need to use a dictionary or to memorise long lists. In effect, only one thing (that is, whether an intransitive verb takes a prefix or not) needs to be learned, instead of two (whether an intransitive verb takes a prefix or not, plus which verb roots have a causative meaning when affixed with *-kan*). Those unaccusatives which take a prefix in the intransitive still must be learned separately. But they form a smaller class than those that are productive. And all language learning must be based on the productive patterns of the language.

Another common problem for students of Bahasa Indonesia is the Passive. The subtype with *di-* is less of a problem because of its similarity to English (I am speaking about native English speakers learning Bahasa Indonesia). The other subtype, however, seems unlike anything ever encountered before. Students often invert the auxiliary and the 1-chômeur, following the active pattern, and the verb may be incorrectly prefixed with *meN-*. If students can be helped to see that there is really one Passive only, then there need be no confusion. They can follow the *di-* pattern for both subtypes:

- 9.7 NP (AUX) *di* -V stem (*oleh y*)
 NP (AUX) *saya* - V stem
kamu
 etc.

As I have pointed out earlier, the Passive construction in Bahasa Indonesia is used much more frequently than is the English Passive, and in many cases the best translation of a Bahasa Indonesia passive sentence is the English active. Students ought to have these facts pointed out to them, but they should not be tripped up by them.

I do not wish to suggest that this study can bring clarity to every area of Bahasa Indonesia grammar. As I have already pointed out, only some areas are pertinent to the theory of Relational Grammar. Also, unproductive aspects of the language cannot be learned by any rule. But I do contend that some of the long-standing obstacles to proper learning of Bahasa Indonesia may eventually be a thing of the past.

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