

<sup>10</sup> *nevevisie* is considered a causative form here because of the existence of the basic verb *vea* meaning 'to be on fire', e.g. *motito novea* 'The forest burns/is on fire.'

<sup>11</sup> Complement is defined structurally as a sister node with the verb, adjunct is a sister node with the verb phrase. Muli, our consultant, said that 16b<sub>1</sub> is used to answer the question "Where did the action take place?", and 16b<sub>2</sub> answers the question "What took place?". It appears that the speaker's intention decides what category the prepositional phrase should be!

<sup>12</sup> The extension /k/ has been identified in the literature as a stativizing, or potential, marker. It occurs in intransitive sentences. It is different from the /w/ construction in that it describes an instantaneous event/process and/or potentiality. The following forms illustrate this function: *kona* 'to see', *konaka* 'to be visible'; *kosoma* 'to read', *kosomeka* 'to be legible'; *Kavoli atomea savone* 'Kavoli uses soap', *savone otomeka na metoke* 'The soap uses up fast' (the soap is used up fast).

<sup>13</sup> Alternatively, we can suppose that temporal complement is zero-marked, because there is absence of *ne*, which is usually a sign of intransitive use of a verb.

<sup>14</sup> This fact is even more evident in \**Mosia aadia* 'Mosia shot' and *Mosia newadia* 'Mosia shot'. The grammaticality of the second form is accounted for by the presence of *ne*. In English, transitivity is sometimes by-passed in context. Take for example: 'He raised the rifle and shot'. Though 'shot' is transitive, the sentence is grammatical.

<sup>15</sup> The morpheme *li*, or *il*, *el* ... appears to be marking pathway in sentences where the English translation would require 'through', 'around', 'along', ... In some way then, manner adjuncts are also incorporable!

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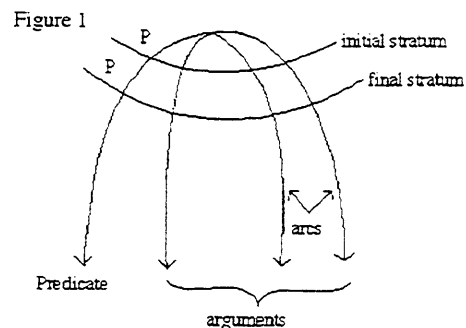
## VERBAL AFFIXATION AND GRAMMATICAL RELATIONS IN MODERN STANDARD INDONESIAN\*

ERIN SHAY

1. INTRODUCTION. The theory of Relational Grammar (RG), developed chiefly by Perlmutter and Postal in the early 1970s, posits that syntactic phenomena across languages can be accounted for in terms of a small set of universal grammatical relations. The set of relations recognized in RG consists of the following undefined primitives: Subject, Direct Object, Indirect Object (collectively called terms) and an open set of Oblique relations that includes Benefactive, Locative, Instrumental, Recipient and others. Terms are assigned the following hierarchy:

|             |               |                 |          |
|-------------|---------------|-----------------|----------|
| (1) Subject | Direct Object | Indirect Object | Obliques |
| 1           | 2             | 3               |          |

Every basic clause contains a Predicate (P), usually a verb, which 'governs' the nominals in the clause. Predicates assign grammatical relations to their dependent nominals in a fairly straightforward way on the basis of semantic roles such as Agent, Patient, Recipient, Benefactive and Locative. Clauses are represented by 'stratal diagrams' that depict only the predicate and its terms, ignoring phrasal substructure and linear order.



'Revaluations,' which in RG replace transformations as the means of showing relationships (though not necessarily ordered relationships) between related pairs of utterances, are read from the top (initial) stratum to the bottom (final) stratum. Through revaluation, for example, an initial 2 (i.e. a nominal assigned to the Direct Object slot in the initial stratum) might 'advance' (become a 1) or 'retreat' (become a 3 or an Oblique) in some stratum below the initial stratum.

A nominal that is a term (1, 2 or 3) in an early stratum and later loses its term status is called a 'chômeur' (or is said to have been put 'en chômage') and is marked with a circumflex. A chômeur lacks some of the grammatical properties of the corresponding term: it fails to control agreement on the verb and it occupies a peripheral, optional position in the clause (Blake 1990). The kinds of revaluations that may occur across languages and the restrictions on these revaluations are termed 'relational laws'.

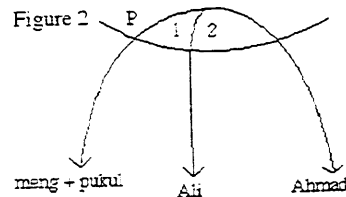
Because stratal diagrams ignore linear order and subphrasal structure, RG analysis provides an uncluttered view of the fundamental relationships between predicates and their arguments. This view is useful for both intralinguistic and cross-linguistic analysis of certain syntactic phenomena. The purpose of this paper is to show that RG analysis can provide a principled account of the behavior of certain predicates in Modern Standard Indonesian. This paper does not claim

that a syntactic analysis is sufficient for a thorough discussion of Indonesian verbs. While Indonesian verbs may be placed neatly into classes on the basis of morphology, their behavior within these classes is highly lexicalized. The goal of this paper is to discuss the initial grammatical relations of representative clauses of each of the morphological classes and to examine the broad differences between these classes, not to provide an exhaustive account of the semantic and syntactic variations that occur within each class. Grammatical judgments are those of an educated native Indonesian speaker from Yogyakarta.

The following assumptions apply in this study:

- (2) Every clause has a predicate and a 'trigger' argument that determines the morphological affixation on the predicate (Cumming, to be published).
- (3) The only argument that can serve as the trigger of a Patient-Trigger (PT) clause, to be discussed below, is the argument that appears in the Direct Object position in the final stratum (the 'final 2') of the corresponding Agent-Trigger (AT) clause.
- (4) If an argument can serve as the trigger of a PT clause, this is sufficient evidence that that argument is a final 2 in the corresponding AT clause.
- (5) Although it will be argued below that PT clauses do not completely correlate with passive clauses, the passive voice will be used in the English glosses because English has no direct equivalent of the PT form.

2. AGENT-TRIGGER CLAUSES. Indonesian roots take a variety of verbal affixes which determine, in conjunction with semantic limitations, the argument structure of the clause. The prefix *meng-* or one of its phonologically conditioned variants generally makes the root an active verb. *Meng-* verbs typically appear in Agent-Trigger clauses, which always have SVO word order and thus the canonical form: Agent *meng-*Verb Patient. In a stratal diagram depicting an AT clause, the Agent (A) is assigned the initial grammatical relation 1 while the Patient (P) is assigned an initial 2, thus ex. 6 is represented by Figure 2:



- (6) *Ali memukul Ahmad.*  
 Ali AT-hit Ahmad  
 'Ali hit Ahmad.'

3. PATIENT-TRIGGER CLAUSES. In Patient-Trigger clauses, the Patient triggers the verb morphology. While PT clauses are the syntactic obverse of AT clauses, there is evidence that AT-PT pairs should not be viewed as the active- and passive-voice counterparts of the same utterance. Cumming 1991 argues on the following grounds that the PT form is not equivalent to the passive voice as it is characterized cross-linguistically:

- (7) a. The AT/PT distinction functions differently from the active/passive distinction in a language like English.
- b. Some PT form clauses are highly transitive and have a highly topical agent.
- c. In many ways PT clauses are syntactically and morphologically more flexible and less restricted than AT clauses.

A PT clause may have verb-second or verb-initial word order. Since the former is more common in Modern Indonesian, the PT clauses discussed in this paper will have SVO word order. PT clauses are formed by fronting the Patient of the corresponding AT form and changing the inflection of the verb stem. Verbal morphology depends on the nature of the Agent in the clause, as follows:

- (8) a. If the Agent is a full NP, the verb stem takes the prefix *di-* and the Agent NP follows the verb. The Agent may optionally be introduced by the Agentive preposition *oleh*.
- b. If the Agent is a 1st or 2nd person pronoun, the verb stem takes no prefix and the pronominal agent is expressed in one of two ways:
  - (i) as the proclitic form *ku-* (1st person) or *kau-* (2nd person), which is prefixed to the verb, or
  - (ii) as a full 1st- or 2nd-person pronoun, which must precede and be inseparable from the bare verb stem (must act, in other words, like a proclitic).
- c. If the Agent is a 3rd-person pronoun, the verb takes the prefix *di-* and the Agent pronominal is expressed in one of two ways:
  - (i) as the 3rd person enclitic *-nya*, suffixed to the verb, or
  - (ii) as a full 3rd-person pronoun, which must follow and be inseparable from the *di-*-prefixed verb (must act like an enclitic).
- d. If there is no overt Agent ('agentless PT form'), the verb simply takes the prefix *di-*.

For purposes of the following analysis, it will be assumed that the grammatical relation status of the Agent in 8a-c is the same regardless of person and regardless of whether the Agent is expressed via full NP, full pronoun or cliticized pronoun. It will also be assumed that the agentless PT form has an Agent in its initial stratum. Under these assumptions, the PT forms of 9-10 may be diagrammed as in Figs. 3-4, where '1' represents the final chômeur status of the initial 1:

Figure 3

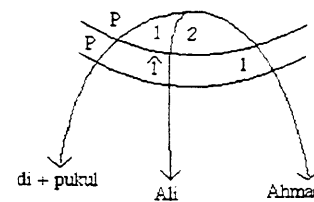
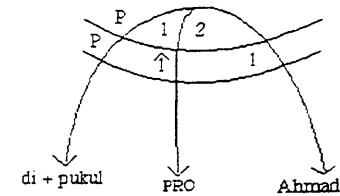


Figure 4

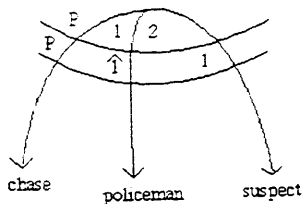


- (9) *Ahmad dipukul Ali.* (10) *Ahmad dipukul.*  
 Ahmad PT-hit Ali Ahmad PT-hit  
 'Ahmad was hit by Ali.' 'Ahmad was hit.'

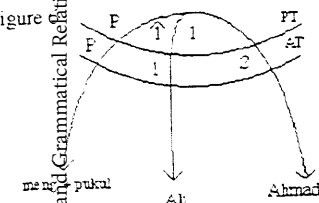
The stratal diagram in ex. 9, whose initial stratum is identical to the final stratum of the AT form in Figure 2, reflects the RG analysis of the canonical passive in English, see Fig. 5:

- (11) Active (=initial stratum): The policeman chased the suspect.  
 Passive: The suspect was chased by the policeman.

Figure 5



It might be argued that the structure of the PT form in Fig. 3 is properly represented by Fig. 6. However, there are several theory-internal arguments for choosing Fig. 3 over Fig. 6. For one, the Agent argument in the final stratum of ex. 11 has several characteristics typical cross-linguistically of chômeurs: it is optional in the clause (witness the possibility of the agentless PT clause); it does not control verb morphology; and it may be optionally marked by an Agentive preposition. A second argument is that Fig. 6 violates both the Motivated Chômeur Law, which states that a term may be put en chômeur only if it is ousted from its term status by the advancement of another relation, and the Chômeur Advancement Ban, which says that a relation may not advance once it has been put en chômeur.



The position of this paper is that Fig. 3 provides the more principled account of the relationship between AT and PT forms as well as the derivation of PT clauses, and that an RG analysis of AT-PT forms superficially reflects that of Active-Passive pairs in English. It is not the purpose of this paper, however, to argue for viewing PT clauses as completely analogous with passive clauses; it is taken as given that there are historical and discourse-related reasons for not doing so.

**4. INTRANSITIVE VERBS.** Indonesian verbal roots and some nominal roots may take one of two intransitive prefixes, *ber-* and *ter-*. The use of these prefixes and their effect on the meaning and argument structure of the stems to which they are attached is highly lexicalized. Here, only the more common uses and meanings of the two prefixes will be analyzed, chiefly in comparison with their transitive counterparts.

**4.1. THE BER- PREFIX.** May be added to many intransitive verbal roots with no change in meaning. The prefix also may be added to nouns, forming an intransitive verb with the meaning, 'to have (Noun)' or 'having (Noun)'. A *ber-* predicate usually implies volition on the part of its subject, who is generally more Actor than Undergoer. Occasionally a Patient is implied, but it is rarely overtly represented. Exceptions are phrases like *berbahasa Indonesia* 'to speak

Indonesian'. Here, however, the complement *Indonesia* may be analyzed as an adverbial modifying 'speak', as in 'to speak in the Indonesian manner/like an Indonesian'.

Since volition and control are defining characteristics of the notion Agent, the argument of a typical *ber-* predicate may be tentatively assigned an initial 1. The validity of this assignment can be tested syntactically.

**4.2. BER- AND MENG-.** Many *ber-* verbs have counterparts taking the *meng-* prefix. Generally, the effect of replacing a *ber-* prefix with a *meng-* prefix is to add an argument, namely a Direct Object or 2. The single argument of the *ber-* verb is preserved as the Agent (1) in the corresponding transitive clause:

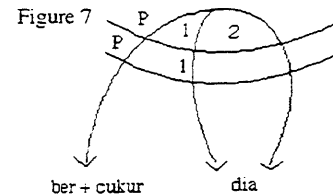
- (12) *Saya berteriak.*  
 I BER-shout  
 'I shout.'

- (13) *Saya meneriaki adik saya.*  
 I AT-shout-at brother my  
 'I shout at my brother.'  
 (The use of the suffix *-i* will be discussed below.)

Many *ber-* predicates are reflexive in meaning, though they do not call for an overt reflexive pronoun. Following Rosen 1981 (as discussed in Blake 1990), reflexive *ber-* clauses may be analyzed as having a coreferential initial 1 and 2, as in Figure 7.

When a reflexive *ber-* predicate is made into a *meng-* predicate, the argument that served the *ber-* predicate as both initial 1 and initial 2 is preserved as the Agent and an overt 2 with a second referent is added:

- (14) *Dia bercukur.* (15) *Dia mencukur pasiennya.*  
 he BER-shave he AT-shave patient-his  
 'He shaves (himself).' 'He shaves his patient.'



**4.3. BER- ARGUMENTS AND PT CLAUSES.** If the 'preserved' subject argument of a *ber-* predicate cannot serve as the trigger of its corresponding PT clause without a change in semantic roles, this may also be taken as evidence for the initial 1-hood of the original *ber-* subject:

- (16) *Kami bernyanyi.* (17) *Kami menyanyikan lagu itu.* (18) *Lagu itu dinyanyi oleh kami.*  
 we BER-sing we AT-sing melody the melody the PT-sing by us  
 'We are singing.' 'We are singing the melody.' 'The melody is being sung by us.'

(The use of the suffix *-kan* will be discussed below.)

Since the initial 1 of the *ber-* clause in 18 is preserved as the initial 1 of the AT clause in 19 and as the 1-chômeur in 20 but not as the trigger of the PT clause in 21, the test provides evidence that the single argument of the *ber-* clause is an initial 1.

**4.4. BER- AND -KAN.** The suffix *-kan* frequently has the effect of adding an argument, namely

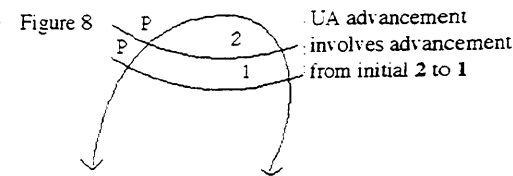
Direct Object (2), to a clause. 'Transitivizing *-kan*' is often added to verbal roots that can take *ber-* but cannot, for idiosyncratic or semantic reasons, be made transitive by the use of *meng-*. The *-kan* suffix also may occur with *ber-* roots that can take the *meng-* prefix. In these cases, *-kan* typically has the effect of promoting the Beneficiary from Oblique to 2. In any case, the use of *-kan* allows the new 2 argument to be promoted to final 1 by means of the PT form. If it can be shown that the argument of a *ber-* predicate is preserved as Agent of the corresponding *-kan* form (whether or not *meng-* co-occurs with *-kan*), and that the added argument may subsequently trigger the PT form, this is evidence for initial 1-hood of *ber-* subjects:

- (19) *Saya berbelanja di Pasar Minggu.*  
I BER-shop in market Sunday  
'I shop in the Sunday market.'
- (20) *Saya belanjakan uang saya di Pasar Minggu.*  
I spend-KAN money my in market Sunday  
'I spend my money in the Sunday market.'
- (21) *Uang saya dibelanjakan di Pasar Minggu.*  
money my PT-spend-KAN in market Sunday  
'My money is spent in the Sunday market.'
- (22) *?Saya dibelanjakan di Pasar Minggu.*  
I PT-spend-KAN in market Sunday  
'?I am being shopped for in the market Sunday.'
- (23) *Kami berbicara.*  
we BER-talk  
'We are talking.'
- (24) *Kami membicarakan buku itu.*  
we AT-discuss-KAN book the  
'We are discussing the book.'
- (25) *Buku itu dibicarakan kami.*  
book the PT-discuss-KAN we  
'The book is being discussed by us.'
- (26) *\*Kami dibicarakan buku itu.*  
PT-discuss-KAN book the  
'We are being discussed by the book.'

While ex. 22 is marginally grammatical, it is clear that the Agenthood of *saya* has not been preserved from ex. 19 to ex. 22. It is apparent that the root *belanja* has at least two different lexical entries, 'to spend' in ex. 19-21, and 'to shop for' in ex. 22. When the lexical meaning is held consistent, so is the Agenthood (i.e. initial 1-hood) of the *ber-* subject.

**4.5. THE *TER-* PREFIX.** In contrast with *ber-*, the prefix *ter-* chiefly forms intransitive verbs expressing non-volitional actions in which the single argument of the verb is more Undergoer than Actor. *Ter-* verbs also are used in resultative clauses, or so-called agentless passives, in which the *ter-* predicate represents the state which the single argument NP has reached as a result of some outside agency (Wouk 1980). It will be argued here that the single argument of a typical *ter-* clause is not an initial 1 but an initial 2, and that many *ter-* verbs fall into the class of

intransitive verbs known in RG as Unaccusative (UA) predicates. UA predicates are defined in RG as intransitive predicates in which the initial stratum contains a 2 but no 1, and the 2 advances to 1 in the final stratum, as shown in Fig. 8. The single argument of a UA predicate is generally held to have properties more like the object of a transitive clause than the subject (Agent) of a transitive clause.



The UA status of a large class of *ter-* predicates will be argued on the following grounds:

- (27) a. The semantic role of the NP argument of the prototypical *ter-* predicate, as described above, is congruent with that of the single argument of the prototypical UA predicate in that it is more like an Undergoer than an Actor.  
b. The NP argument of a prototypical *ter-* predicate has the primary defining characteristic of a UA predicate, which is that its syntactic behavior is similar to that of the Patient of a transitive verb.

Following is a list of some *ter-* predicates and their English glosses:

- (28)
- |                   |                                       |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>terlihat</i>   | 'to see unintentionally'              |
| <i>tertinggal</i> | 'to forget/accidentally leave behind' |
| <i>terbuka</i>    | 'to be opened/open by accident'       |
| <i>tertutup</i>   | 'to be closed'                        |
| <i>terkunci</i>   | 'to be locked out'                    |
| <i>terpaksa</i>   | 'to be forced'                        |
| <i>terjadi</i>    | 'to happen'                           |
| <i>terkena</i>    | 'to be struck'                        |
| <i>terbau</i>     | 'to smell/scent (something)'          |
| <i>tertarik</i>   | 'to be drawn (to something)'          |
| <i>terpakai</i>   | 'to be used/worn'                     |
| <i>teringat</i>   | 'to remember'                         |

In a native speaker's judgment, each of these predicates implies a lack of volition on the part of the subject. This intuitive characterization can be tested syntactically.

**4.6. *TER-* AND *MENG-*.** *Ter-* predicates, like *ber-* predicates, have no AT or PT forms, but some stems that take *ter-* can also take *meng-* to form active transitive predicates. If it can be shown that the single argument of a *ter-* clause is coreferential with the initial 2 of the corresponding transitive clause, this will be taken as evidence for the initial 2-hood of the *ter-* subject.

- (29) *Pintu tertutup.*  
door TER-close  
'The door was closed.'

- (30) *Saya menutup pintu.*  
I AT-close door  
'I closed the door.'
- (29) *Pintu ditutup saya.*  
door PT-close I  
'The door was closed by me.'
- (30) \**Pintu menutup saya.*  
door AT-close me  
'\*The door closed me.'
- (1) *Sungai itu terseberangi.*  
river this TER-ford  
'The river is fordable/may be forded.'
- (2) *Kami menyeberangi sungai itu.*  
we AT-ford river this  
'We ford the river.'
- (3) *Sungai itu diseberangi (oleh) kami.*  
river this PT-ford (by) us  
'The river was forded by us.'
- (4) \**Kami diseberangi sungai itu.*  
we PT-ford river this  
'\*The river forded us.'
- (5) *Cangkul saya terkena batu.*  
hoe my INTR-strike stone  
'My hoe was struck by a stone.'
- (6) *Batu mengena cangkul saya.*  
stone AT-strike hoe my  
'A stone struck my hoe.'
- (7) ?*Cangkul saya dikena oleh batu.*  
hoe my PT-strike by stone  
'My hoe was struck by a stone.'
- (8) *Cangkul saya mengena batu.*  
hoe my AT-strike stone  
'My hoe struck a stone.'

Examples 29-32 and 33-36 demonstrate that the single argument of the *ter-* predicate is coreferential with the initial 2 of the corresponding AT form and may be used as the trigger of the corresponding PT form. The grammaticality of 39 is questionable because, in a native speaker's judgment, a greater degree of volition is required of the Agent of the PT form than of the Agent of an AT form, so 'stone' may serve as Agent of the AT form but not of the PT form. Nevertheless, 39-40 show that the argument of the *ter-* predicate cannot serve as the trigger of the corresponding AT clause without losing its original semantic role.

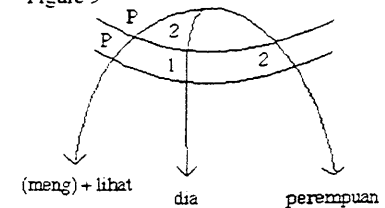
There are cases in which the *ter-* argument appears to be preserved as the 1 of the corresponding AT clause:

- (41) *Perempuan itu terlihat olehnya sedang mandi.*  
woman the TER-see by-him while bathe  
'He happened to see the woman bathing.'
- (42) *Dia melihat perempuan yang mandi.*  
he AT-see woman who bathe  
'He saw the woman bathing.'
- (43) *Bapak teringat akan bulan maduinya.*  
father TER-remember about moon honey  
'Father recalls his honeymoon.'
- (44) *Bapak mengingat akan bulan maduinya.*  
father AT-remember about moon honey  
'Father remembers (reminds himself of) his honeymoon.'

Though the subject of ex. 41 appears to have been preserved as the Agent of ex. 42 and has the semantic role of Experiencer in both examples, a native speaker perceives a crucial difference between the two in that the *meng-* verb in ex. 42 entails volition on the part of its subject. For this reason, the stratal diagram for ex. 42 is posited to be ex. 43, where the preserved *ter-* subject is an initial 2 promoted to 1 and where the presence of the *meng-* prefix marks this promotion and the addition of an object (2).

The fact that both the surface syntactic structure and the semantic notion of volition are necessary to characterize the relationship between ex. 41 and ex. 42 argues that syntactic tests alone are not sufficient for a complete description of the argument structure associated with the various affix classes; see Fig. 9.

Figure 9



5. *-i* AND *-kan*. Two more transitivity affixes, the suffixes *-i* and *-kan*, typically have the effect of altering the argument structure of the predicates to which they are attached by adding, promoting or rearranging grammatical relations. The following analysis deals with grammatical relations in some common types of *-i* and *-kan* clauses.

5.1. *-kan* WITH INTRANSITIVE PREDICATES. When *-kan* is added to a noun, a resultative predicate or a verb of motion, the suffix frequently preserves the single argument of the unsuffixed predicate as Patient of the suffixed predicate and adds an Agent. It will be assumed here, following the generalization subscribed to in RG and elsewhere, that the initial argument of a resultative verb or verb of motion is more Undergoer (initial 2) than Actor (initial 1). From this it may be concluded that the primary function of 'transitivity *-kan*' is to add an Agent. The presence of *-kan* often requires the use of either *meng-* or *di-* to signal whether the resultant transitive clause is AT or PT:

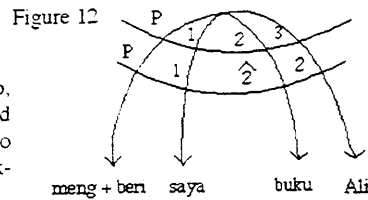
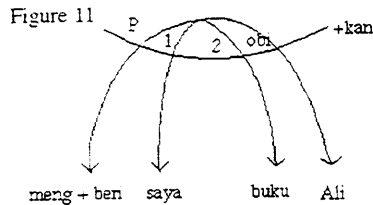
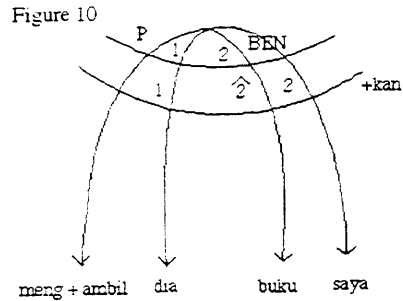
- (45) *Teh sudah habis.*  
tea already finished  
'The tea is already gone.'

- (46) *Kami sudah menghabiskan teh.*  
we already AT-finish-KAN tea  
'We already finished the tea.'
- (47) *Dia mau kembali ke toko buku itu.*  
he want return to store book that  
'He wants to return to that bookstore.'
- (48) *Dia mengembalikan bukunya ke toko buku itu.*  
he AT-return-KAN book-the to book store that  
'He wants to return the book to that bookstore.'
- (49) *Isteri saya lahir di Amerika.*  
wife my born in Amerika  
'My wife was born in America.'
- (50) *Isteri saya melahirkan di Amerika.*  
wife my give birth in Amerika  
'My wife had a child in America.'

**5.2. -KAN WITH TRANSITIVE PREDICATES.**

When *-kan* is added to a predicate that is inherently transitive, the suffix often has the effect of promoting the Beneficiary from initial Oblique to final 2, see Fig. 10:

- (51) *Dia mengambil buku itu untuk saya.*  
he AT-get book the for me  
(*untuk* marks Beneficiary)  
'He got the book for me.'
- (52) *Dia mengambilkan saya buku itu.*  
he AT-get-KAN me book the  
'He got me the book.'

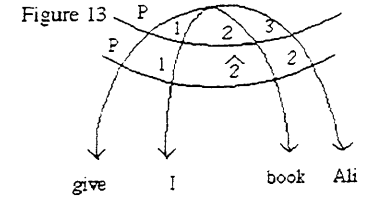


When *-kan* is added to a ditransitive predicate that requires a Theme and a Recipient, the presence of the suffix signals that the Theme is the final 2 and the Recipient is an Oblique, see Fig. 11.

- (53) *Saya memberikan buku itu kepada Ali.*  
I AT-gave-KAN book the to Ali  
(*kepada* marks Recipient)  
'I gave the book to Ali.'

When *-kan* is not present on the ditransitive verb, the Recipient is the final 2 and the Theme is mapped onto 2. The advancement of Recipient from initial 3 to final 2 is marked by the absence of the Recipient-marking preposition *kepada*, see Fig. 12.

- (54) *Saya memberi Ali buku itu.*  
I AT-give Ali book the  
'I gave Ali the book.'



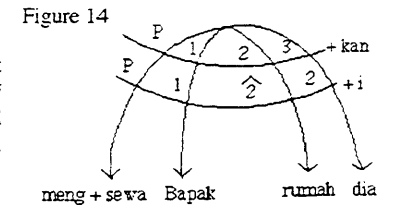
Example 54 reflects the RG analysis of dative movement, which RG defines as 3-2 advancement, in English, see Fig. 13.

- (55) *I gave the book to Ali.*  
*I gave Ali the book.*

In Indonesian, as in English, the absence of a preposition marking the Recipient as an Oblique indicates that 3-2 advancement has occurred and that the Recipient is a final 2.

**5.3. THE -i SUFFIX.** The suffix *-i* also has the prototypical effect of mapping an Oblique argument, usually a Locative, onto 2. In the absence of *-i*, the Locative may be marked by the preposition *ke*. When *-i* is present, *ke* does not appear. The use of *-i*, like *-kan*, often requires a *meng-* or *di-* prefix:

- (56) *Saya datang ke bapak saya.*  
I go to father my  
'I went to my father.'
- (57) *Saya datang-i bapak saya.*  
I go-to father my  
'I went to my father.'
- (58) *Saya maklum bahwa dia ingin datang.*  
I aware that he want come  
'I am aware that he wants to come.'
- (59) *Saya memaklumi soal dia.*  
I AT-aware-of problem his  
'I understand his problems.'



When *-i* appears on a ditransitive predicate that requires both a Theme and a Recipient, the effect of *-i* is to map the Recipient onto 2. This may be compared with the effect of using *-kan* with the same predicate, see Fig. 14.

- (60) *Bapak menyewakan rumah itu kepada dia.*  
father AT-rent-KAN house the to him  
'Father rents that house to him.'
- (61) *Bapak menyewai dia rumah itu.*  
father AT-rent-to him house the  
'Father rents him that house.'

This use of *-i* suggests that the predicate *memberi* in ex. 54 may have the underlying form

*meng-beri-i*. This would allow the *-i* suffix in both 54 and 61 to mark the promotion of Recipient from initial Oblique to final 2, just as the *-kan* suffix in both 53 and 60 marks the mapping of Theme onto initial 2. The initial stratum in all cases is the more inflected form, since a preposition is required to mark the Oblique prior to its advancement to term status.

6. CONCLUSION. While the initial and final grammatical relations of a given predicate are far from completely predictable from affixation alone, evidence suggests that some of the common uses of Indonesian verb morphology may be categorized and characterized in terms of the primitive grammatical relations posited by Relational Grammar. The position of this paper is not to argue for an inflexible characterization of morphological classes and their grammatical relations but to suggest that certain grammatical relations are typically associated with certain verbal affixes. It is also not the purpose of this paper to suggest that a syntactic analysis is a complete account of verbal affixation in Modern Standard Indonesian. The way in which verbal affixation and argument structure interact must ultimately be viewed within a larger framework, in which the realization in a given clause of the 'typical' relations discussed above is seen as a function of the semantic meaning of the root and its arguments, the degree of 'frozenness' or idiomaticity of the affixed form, and the degree to which both the root and the affix are productive in the language.

#### NOTE

\*The data on which this paper is based were elicited from an educated native speaker of Javanese and Modern Standard Indonesian, who was raised in Djakarta. All of the speaker's grammaticality judgments were based on usage in Modern Standard Indonesian.

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