

A DESCRIPTION OF BASIC CLAUSE STRUCTURE IN SUNDANESE

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1. Introduction

Sundanese is spoken by over 36 million people, most of whom live in west Java. It is a member of the Sundic group of the western Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian family. This paper outlines the various constructions found in the simple sentence in Sundanese. It derives from my doctoral dissertation (Hanafi 1997).

2. Transitive clauses

A typical transitive clause contains a verb bearing a nasal prefix. In (1) the root of the verb is *teunggeul* and the nasal prefix has replaced the initial consonant. In this and other examples I have indicated the root in brackets to the right of the example.

- (1) *Éti? neunggeul Uka? ku sapu? [N-teunggeul]*
Eti ACT.beat Uka with broom
'Eti hits Uka with a broom.'

The normal order is subject-verb-direct object-adjunct as in (1). However, it is also common for the subject to occur at the end of the clause, followed by the particle *téh*, as in (2).

- (2) *Neunggeul Uka? ku sapu? Éti? téh.*

These examples also illustrate another characteristic of Sundanese: that core participants (S, A & P) are encoded as noun phrases and other participants as prepositional phrases. The designation of the preverbal noun phrase as subject in sentences like (1) is justified on the grounds that this noun phrase can be identified with the sole argument of a one-place predicate in terms of position.

The putative subject also controls number marking on the verb, but this is not a particularly strong argument for establishing the subject, since in the passive the agent controls number marking (see section 6). Number is marked by an infix *-ar-* or *-al-* on both the head of the controlling noun phrase, and on the verb.

- (3) *Tahanan k-al-abur ti panjara?*
prisoner PL-escape from jail
'Prisoners escape from the jail.'
- (4) *B-ar-udak ngad-al-ahar jagong kuring [N-d-al-ahar]*
PL-child ACT-PL-eat corn 1SG
'Children ate my corn.'

A small number of two-place verbs can appear either with or without the nasal prefix. These verbs are *pesen* 'to order, book', *jajap* 'to bring, see off', *pasang* 'to play, set up', *dahar* 'to eat', *udud* 'to smoke' and *tunggu?* 'to look after'. Whether or not the nasal appears makes no difference to the other grammatical properties of the construction. For example:

- (5) *B-ar-udak p-ar-asang Nalo? [p-ar-asang]*
PL-child PL-play Nalo
'Children play Nalo (gambling)?'

While verbs such as *pasang* can appear in the passive, there are a few two-place verbs that do not take the nasal prefix and have no passive counterpart. These are *dagang* ‘to sell’, *tumpak* ‘to ride’, *ucul* ‘to spend’, *boga?* ‘to have’, *balanja?* ‘to shop’, *maén* ‘to play’ and *lalajo?* ‘to watch’. The verb *boga?* ‘to have’ is illustrated in (6).

- (6) *Arom boga? mobil anyar*
 Arom have car new
 ‘Arom had a new car.’

3. Intransitive clauses

Some intransitive verbs take the nasal prefix more typical of transitive verbs. This means that there is a split between intransitive verbs taking a nasal prefix, and other intransitives, including non-verbal predicates, taking no prefix. There is also a third group of intransitives marked by a prefix *di-*. These are derived from noun stems and mostly refer to wearing something: *sabuk* ‘belt’, *disabuk* ‘wear a belt’; *kaos* ‘T-shirt’, *dikaos* ‘to wear a T-shirt’. This split raises the question of whether there is any evidence for an unaccusative-unergative dichotomy, where unaccusative predicates are those having an underlying patient while unergative verbs are those with an underlying agent (Perlmutter and Postal 1984).

Unmarked verbs include verbs with patient-theme subjects such as *labuh* ‘to fall’, *rubuh* ‘to collapse’, *bedah* ‘to leak’, some verbs of bodily emanation such as *ki?ih* ‘to urinate’, some verbs of motion such as *kaluar* ‘to go out’ and some verbs of position such as *diuk* ‘to sit’. Together with non-verbal predicates they would appear to be candidates for an unaccusative class. Intransitive verbs with a nasal prefix include *taék/naék* ‘to climb up’ and *impi?/ngimpi?* ‘to dream’, which have agent or agent-like arguments, but also some verbs such as *gubrag/ngagubrag* ‘to fall down’ that would appear to have patient/theme subjects.

With respect to Indonesian, Kana (1986) shows that the effect of forming derived verbs with *-kan* is to produce a causative from a putative unaccusative and an applicative from a putative unergative. Applying this test in Sundanese with the suffixes *-keun* and *-an* I found that most, but not all, unmarked verbs were unaccusative. In (12) we have the unmarked verb *hudang* ‘to wake up’. When we add the suffix *-keun*, we derive a causative where the S of the base verb corresponds to the P of the derived verb. The derived transitive verb takes the nasal prefix like all regular transitive verbs.

- (7) a. *O?o? hudang beurang*
 Oo wake up daytime
 ‘Oo wakes up late.’
- b. *A?a? ngahudang-keun O?o? [N-hudang-keun]*
 Aa ACT.wake up-TRAN Oo
 ‘Aa wakes up Oo.’

This correspondence holds for most unmarked intransitives. However, there are some exceptions, such as *ki?ih* ‘to urinate’, where the effect of adding *-keun* is to derive a verb where the A of the derived verb corresponds to the S of the base verb.¹

¹ See Austin 1997 for an analysis of Australian data.

- (8) a. *Dodo? ki?ih di tukang*
 Dodo urinate in back
 ‘Dodo urinates at the back of the house.’
- b. *Dodo? ngi?ih-keun getih [N-ki?ih-keun]*
 Dodo ACT.urinate-TRAN blood
 ‘Dodo urinates blood.’

With the nasal prefixed verbs, some show the S=A correspondence, while a larger number show the S=P correspondence. There is no good fit between the morphological distinction and the behaviour of verbs with respect to the S=P/S=A distinction. However, one-place verbs derived with *di-* are consistent: all of these show an S=P correspondence. Consequently there is little evidence for an unergative-unaccusative distinction in Sundanese.

4. Non-verbal predicates

As can be seen in the following examples, nouns, prepositional phrases and adjectives can serve as predicates, as well as verbs.

- (9) *Kuring guru?*
 1SG teacher
 ‘I am a teacher.’
- (10) *Budak di kamar*
 child in room
 ‘A child is in a room.’
- (11) *Euis ka Garut*
 Euis to Garut
 ‘Euis goes to Garut.’
- (12) *Suminta? beunghar*
 Suminta rich
 ‘Suminta is rich.’
- (13) *Manéhna? seuri?*
 3SG laugh
 ‘S/he laughs.’

5. Subjectless sentences

The verb *aya?* ‘to exist’ and its negative counterpart *euweuh* ‘not to exist’ occur in constructions where the patient/theme argument, which we would expect to be the subject, occurs immediately after the verb.

- (14) *Aya? mobil di garasi?*
 exist car in garage
 ‘There is a car in the garage.’

However, there is evidence that the post-verbal argument is in fact an object. First of all there is its position. Secondly there is the fact that it fails to control number agreement. Compare (15), where the argument of *aya?* occurs in preverbal position and controls number agreement and (16) where the postverbal argument does not control agreement:

(15)a. *B-ar-udak ar-aya? di perpustakaan*
 PL-child PL-exist in library
 ‘The children are in the library.’

b. **B-ar-udak aya? di perpustakaan*
 PL-child exist in library
 ‘The children are in the library.’

(16)a. *Aya? b-ar-udak di perpustakaan*
 exist PL-child in library
 ‘There are children in the library.’

b. **Ar-aya? b-ar-udak di perpustakaan*
 PL-exist PL-child in library
 ‘There are children in the library.’²

The third point is that while a subject can float a quantifier, the postverbal NP in the existential construction can not. In (17a) the quantifier *kabéh* occurs in front of *barudak* and in (17b) it follows. In (17c) it floats to a position following the verb. It cannot float to clause-final position (17d).

(17)a. *Kabéh b-ar-udak ar-aya? di mobil*
 all PL-child PL-exist in car
 ‘All the children are in the car.’

b. *Barudak kabéh araya? di mobil*

c. *Barudak araya? kabéh di mobil*

d. **Barudak araya? di mobil kabéh*

With existential *aya?*, however, a quantifier *kabéh* occurs immediately after the nominal (18a) and it cannot float away from the nominal it quantifies. It cannot occur in sentence-final position (18b). It cannot precede the postverbal NP (18c), nor occur in sentence-initial position (18d). Note that the verb is not inflected with the *ar-* prefix.

(18)a. *Aya? b-ar-udak kabéh di sawah*
 exist PL-child all in ricefield
 ‘All the children are in the ricefield.’
 (lit. ‘There are all the children in the ricefield.’)

b. **Aya? barudak di sawah kabéh.*

c. **Aya? kabéh barudak di sawah.*

d. **Kabéh aya? barudak di sawah.*

6. Passive constructions

6.1 The *di-* passive

Sundanese has a passive marked by a prefix *di-* that is superficially similar to the English passive. For example:

² There is one complication. In polar interrogatives there is agreement with the postverbal NP: *Ar-aya? b-ar-udak?* ‘Are there children?’

(19)a. *Yaya? najong anjing [N-tajong]*
 Yaya ACT.kick dog
 ‘Yaya kicked a dog.’

b. *Anjing di-tajong ku Yaya?*
 dog PASS-kick by Yaya
 ‘The dog was kicked by Yaya.’

c. *Anjing ditajong.*

In the passive the object of the active construction shows up as the subject and the subject of the active construction appears in a prepositional phrase marked by *ku* (19b), or is omitted (19c). This is analogous to what we find in English, but note that while the passive is marked with *di-*, the active is marked by the nasal prefix. Both constructions have morphological marking.

If the passive Agent is a third person noun or full pronoun, the preposition may be omitted (20c).

(20)a. *Manéhna? ngabakakak hayam [N-bakakak]*
 3SG ACT.roast chicken
 ‘S/he roasted a chicken.’

b. *Hayam di-bakakak ku manéhna?*
 chicken PASS-roast by 3SG
 ‘The chicken was roasted by him/her.’

c. *Hayam dibakakak manéhna?*

A third person enclitic pronoun with the form =*na?*, glossed 3SG, is possible.³ This is demonstrated in (21).

(21)a. *Alwi? ngaheumheum premén [N-heumheum]*
 Alwi ACT.suck hard candy
 ‘Alwi sucked a hard candy.’

b. *Premén di-heumheum=na?*
 hard candy PASS-suck=3SG
 ‘The hard candy was sucked by him.’

First person singular Agents are common in Sundanese passives. With a first person Agent the preposition is obligatory (22b). An unmarked Agent is not possible in (22c).

(22)a. *Kuring malédog anjing [N-balédog]*
 1SG pelt dog
 ‘I pelted a dog.’

b. *Anjing di-balédog ku kuring*
 dog PASS-pelt by 1SG
 ‘The dog was pelted by me.’

c. **Anjing dibalédog kuring.*

³ Kaswanti Purwo (1988: 206) incorrectly claimed that the *di-*verb with enclitic third person is not found in Sundanese.

Second person Agents also occur in the *di*-passive, but usually only in the imperative with the modal auxiliary *kudu* ‘must’ (glossed MODal) preceding the verb.

- (23) a. *Manéh kudu maca? novél! [N-baca?]*
 2SG MOD ACT.read novel
 ‘You must read a novel!’
- b. *Novél kudu di-baca? ku manéh!*
 novel mod PASS-read by 2SG
 ‘The novel must be read by you!’³

If the passive Agent is unexpressed, the Patient subject may either precede (23c) or follow the verb (23d). If it follows the verb, it must be marked as definite with *-na?* (glossed DEFinite).

- c. *Novél kudu di-baca?!*
 novel MOD PASS-read
 ‘The novel must be read!’
- d. *Kudu di-baca? novél-na?!*
 MOD PASS-read novel-DEF
 ‘(You) must read the novel!’
- e. **Kudu dibaca novél!*

With a handful of verbs referring to the actions of animals, the animal Agent is obligatory and is normally unmarked:

- (24) a. *Oray macok Mémét [N-pacok]*
 snake ACT.bite Mémét
 ‘A snake bit Mémét.’
- b. *Mémét di-pacok oray*
 Mémét PASS-bite snake
 ‘Mémét was bitten by a snake.’

Other verbs that behave like this are:

<i>dikorowot ucing</i>	‘scratched by a cat’
<i>dipatil lélé</i>	‘attacked by a fresh water catfish’
<i>digogog anjing</i>	‘barked at by a dog’
<i>disuruduk bagong</i>	‘butted in the back by a boar’
<i>diténjrag kuda?</i>	‘kicked by a horse’
<i>dilegleg oray</i>	‘swallowed by a snake’
<i>diseureud nyiruan</i>	‘stung by a bee’
<i>dihakan maung</i>	‘eaten by a tiger’

As we saw above, there is subject-verb number agreement in the third person. However, in the passive it is the Agent that controls the number marking. For example:

- (25) a. *B-ar-udak n-ar-akol-an bedug éta? [N-(t)-ar-akol-an]*
 PL-child ACT-PL-beat-it large drum DEF
 ‘Children kept on beating the large drum.’

³ Note the subject is interpreted as definite.

- b. *Bedug éta? di-t-ar-akol-an ku b-ar-udak*
 large drum DEF PASS-PL-beat-it by PL.child
 ‘The large drum was repeatedly beaten by the children.’

The *-ar-* infix on the N-verb registers its agreement with the Agent *barudak* ‘children’ and the *-an* suffix, glossed IT, is an iterative suffix. The *-ar-* infix on the *di-*passive verb shows the passive Agent, not the Patient subject, to be an agreement controller (25b).

6.2 The passive construction with *pada*

Where the verb is preceded by *pada*, which indicates collective activity, the passive retains the nasal prefix of the active, so there is no morphological indication of the passive:

- (26) a. *Pulisi? pada ngagebug bangsat éta? [N-gebug]*
 police COLL ACT.beat thief DEF
 ‘The police beat the thief.’
- b. *Bangsat éta? pada ngagebug ku pulisi?.*
 thief DEF COLL ACT.beat by police
 ‘The thief was beaten by the police.’

6.3 The accidental passive with *ka-*

The prefix *ka-* marks an accidental passive. If the passive Agent is non-human, it is normally unmarked in an accidental passive construction, whereas the human passive Agent is registered by the preposition *ku*.

- (27) *Amir ka-géléng mobil*
 Amir PASS-hit car
 ‘Amir got hit by a car.’
- (28) *Aos ka-tajong ku Si Uka?*
 Aos PASS-kick by ART Uka
 ‘Ali got kicked by Uka.’

The passive Agent in the *ka-*construction can be omitted.

- (29) *Amir kagéléng.*
 (30) *Aos katajong.*

6.4 The adversative passive with *ka-an*

Sundanese has an adversative passive formed with the confix *ka-an*.

- (31) *A?a? ka-rubuh-an saung [ka-rubuh-an]*
 Aa PASS-collapse hut
 ‘Aa got (his) hut collapsed on him.’

6.5 The passive construction with the auxiliary *beunang*

Beunang is an auxiliary verb which precedes the lexical verb, as in (32a). It takes the nasal prefix along with the lexical verb.

- (32) a. *Kuring meunang nyium Nyi Odah [N-cium]*
 1SG MOD (ABIL) ACT.kiss Nyi odah
 ‘I can kiss Nyi Odah.’

Example (32b) is the passive equivalent:

- b. *Nyi Odah beunang di-cium ku kuring*
 Nyi Odah MOD (ABIL) PASS-kiss by 1SG
 ‘I kissed Nyi Odah.’ (lit. ‘Nyi Odah could be kissed by me.’)

There is also a construction in which *beunang* and the lexical verb take the nasal prefix, but where the patient/theme is the subject and the Agent is expressed by a noun phrase immediately following the verb:

- (33) *Kuda? éta? meunang meuli? kuring [N-beuli?]*
 horse DEF MOD (PERFV) ACT.buy 1SG
 ‘I bought the horse.’

Note that *meunang* has a perfective sense in this construction, rather than an abilitative one as in (32).

In this construction the preverbal NP appears to be subject and this is confirmed in that it can be relativised. In Sundanese, as in many other western Malayo-Polynesian languages, only subjects can be relativised by the major strategy, which in Sundanese is a gap strategy.

7. Advancements

As in other western Malayo-Polynesian languages, it is possible for a variety of participants that are expressed in prepositional phrases to find alternative expression as core noun phrases in derived constructions. In Relational Grammar these derived constructions would be characterised in terms of the advancement of an indirect object or an oblique to direct object. In Lexical Functional Grammar, and more widely, these derived constructions are referred to as applicatives. In Sundanese, a location, instrument, beneficiary, recipient, and to some extent a source and a destination, can be expressed as a direct object and as the subject of a passive. A summary of the morphological marking associated with these possibilities is presented in Table 1.

Semantic role	Applicative affixes
Locative	-an
	Ø (unmarked)
Instrumental	-keun
	-an (with intransitives)
	-keun
Benefactive	pang-keun
	Ø (unmarked)
	Ø (unmarked)
Recipient	-an
	-keun
Source	-an
	-an
Destination	-an

Table 1. *The Sundanese Applicatives*

7.1 Advancement of the locative

An ‘inner locative’, that is a locative that gives the location of the patient/theme, rather than the setting for the action as a whole, can be advanced. This advancement is normally

registered on the verb with the suffix *-an*. Example (34) illustrates the advancement with an intransitive verb and (35) illustrates the advancement with a transitive verb.

In (34a) the locative is expressed via a prepositional phrase. In (34b) the locative is expressed as a direct object. Note that the verb now bears the nasal prefix associated with transitive verbs.

- (34)a. *Ira?* *cicing* *di* *imah-na?* *Rahmat*
 Ira stay in house-3SG.POSS Rahmat
 ‘Ira lives in Rahmat’s house.’
- b. *Ira?* *nyicing-an* *imah-na?* *Rahmat*
 Ira ACT.stay-APPL house-3SG.POSS Rahmat
 ‘Ira occupies Rahmat’s house.’

In (35) the basic verb is transitive. The effect of the advancement is to displace the existing object which is now marked by a preposition. In Relational Grammar the displaced object would be described as a *chômeur*. Note that the preposition *ku*, which marks instrumental obliques, does not have its instrumental meaning (‘by means of’) here.

- (35)a. *Patani?* *melak* *lauk* *di* *sawah* *[N-pelak]*
 farmer ACT.plant fish in ricefield
 ‘A farmer breeds fish in the ricefield.’
- b. *Patani?* *melak-an* *sawah* *ku* *lauk*
 farmer ACT.plant-APPL ricefield with fish
 ‘A farmer breeds fish in the ricefield.’

The advancee can be promoted to subject via the passive, as in (36a). Note that the Agent of the passive is marked by *ku* and the original object, which was displaced by the advancement of the locative and marked by *ku*, is now unmarked. As one would expect, the displaced object of the derived verb cannot become the subject (36b).

- (36)a. *Sawah* *di-pelak-an* *lauk* *ku* *patani?*
 ricefield PASS-plant-APPL fish by farmer
 ‘The ricefield was used to breed fish by the farmer.’
 (lit. ‘The ricefield is planted with fish by the farmer.’)
- b. **Lauk* *di-pelak-an* *sawah* *ku* *patani?*

With a few verbs derived from noun bases there is no registration of the advancement. In (37) the root of the verb is a noun *garu?* ‘a harrow’. The nasal prefix shows the derivation of a verb from a noun.

- (37)a. *Kuring* *ngagaru?* *di* *sawah* *kamari?* *[N-garu?]*
 1SG ACT.harrow in ricefield yesterday
 ‘I harrowed in the ricefield yesterday.’
- b. *Kuring* *ngagaru?* *sawah* *kamari?*
 1SG ACT.harrow ricefield yesterday
 ‘I harrowed the ricefield yesterday.’

7.2 Advancement of the instrumental

The following example illustrates the advancement of an instrumental to direct object. The advancement is registered by the suffix *-keun* (38b). The displaced object can be marked by *kana?* ‘to’, as in this instance, or by *ka* ‘to’.

(38)a. *Aʔaʔ nakol pakuʔ étaʔ ku paluʔ [N-takol]*
 Aa ACT.hit nail DEF with hammer
 ‘Aa hits the nail with a hammer.’

b. *Aʔaʔ nakol-keun paluʔ kanaʔ pakuʔ étaʔ*
 Aa ACT.hit-APPL hammer to nail DEF
 ‘Aa used a hammer to hit the nail.’

Confirmation that the advancee is a direct object is provided by the fact that the advancee can be further advanced to subject via the passive (39a). As expected, the displaced object cannot be made subject (39b).

(39)a. *Paluʔ di-takol-keun ku Aʔaʔ kanaʔ pakuʔ étaʔ*
 hammer PASS-hit-APPL by Aa to nail DEF
 ‘The hammer was used by Aa to hit the nail.’

b. **Pakuʔ étaʔ di-takol-keun paluʔku Aʔaʔ.*

7.3 Advancement of the benefactive

With intransitive verbs, the advancement of a beneficiary to direct object is marked by the suffix *-an*.

(40)a. *Manéhnaʔ hirup keur kaluargaʔ-naʔ*
 3SG live for family-3SG.POSS
 ‘S/he earns a living for her/his family.’

b. *Manéhnaʔ ngahirup-an kaluargaʔ-naʔ*
 3SG ACT.live-APPL family-3SG.POSS
 ‘S/he earns a living for her/his family.’

With a transitive verb, the advancement is marked by *-keun*, which also serves as a marker of causatives (see example (7) above). Note that the effect of advancing a beneficiary with a transitive verb is different from the advancement of a locative or instrumental in that the original object remains as a noun phrase, giving a double object construction.

(41)a. *Udiʔ mukaʔ pantoʔ keur kuring [N-bukaʔ]*
 Udi ACT.open door for 1SG
 ‘Udi opens the door for me.’

b. *Udiʔ mukaʔ-keun kuring pantoʔ*
 Udi ACT.open-APPL 1SG door
 ‘Udi opens the door for me.’

The beneficiary object can be promoted to subject (41c), but the patient/theme object cannot (41d):

c. *Kuring di-bukaʔ-keun pantoʔ ku Dédéʔ*
 1SG PASS-open-APPL door by Dede
 ‘I had the door opened by Dede for me.’
 (lit. ‘I was opened the door by Dede for me.’)

d. **Pantoʔ dibukaʔkeun kuring ku Dedeʔ.*

The advancement of a beneficiary to direct object can also be registered on the verb by the combination of the prefix *pang-* and the suffix *-keun*. Note that the nasal prefix appears with the confix.

- (42) a. *Uꞑus ngudag langlayangan keur Iꞑis [N-udag]*
 Uus ACT.chase kite for Iis
 ‘Uus chases a kite for Iis.’
- b. *Uꞑus mang-ngudag-keun Iꞑis langlayangan*
 Uus ACT-chase-APPL Iis kite
 ‘Uus chases a kite for Iis.’

7.4 Advancement of the recipient

In Sundanese there are alternative constructions available for various 3-place verbs which include a recipient in their valency. In one construction the recipient is marked by the preposition *ka* ‘to’. The other possibility is a double object construction, where the recipient noun phrase precedes the patient/theme noun phrase, and would appear to be the direct object by the passive test. In other words, the situation is analogous to what we find in English. However, there are differences in morphology with different verbs.

With *paparinkeun* ‘to give something to someone’ the *-keun* suffix is dropped in the double object construction. This means that the double object construction is unmarked and raises the question of whether it is not a basic construction rather than a derived one.

- (43) a. *Juhanaꞑ maparinkeun jeruk ka Euis [N-paparinkeun]*
 Juhana ACT.give mandarin to Euis
 ‘Juhana gives a mandarin (orange) to Euis.’
- b. *Juhanaꞑ maparin Euis jeruk*
 Juhana ACT.give Euis Jeruk
 ‘Juhana gives Euis an orange.’

With the following verbs the suffix *-an* replaces *-keun*: *sérénkeun* ‘to assign something to someone’, *injeumkeun* ‘to lend something to someone’ and *séwaꞑkeun* ‘to lease something to someone’ and *suapkeun* ‘to feed’.

- (44) a. *Guruꞑ nyérénkeun tugas ka murid [N-sérénkeun]*
 teacher ACT.assign task to pupil
 ‘The teacher assigns a task to the students.’
- b. *Guruꞑ nyérén-an murid tugas*
 teacher ACT.assign-APPL pupil task
 ‘The teacher assigns the students a task.’
- (45) a. *Manéhnaꞑ nginjeumkeun sapédah ka*
 3SG ACT.borrow.CAUS bicycle to
kuring [N-injeum-keun]
 1SG
 ‘S/he lends a bicycle to me.’
- b. *Manéhnaꞑ nginjeum-an kuring sapédah*
 3SG ACT.borrow-APPL 1SG bicycle
 ‘S/he lends me a/her bicycle.’

- (46) a. *Manéhna? nyéwa?keun motor ka kuring* [N-séwa?-keun]
 3SG ACT.lease.CAUS motor bike to 1SG
 ‘S/he leases a motor bike to me.’
- b. *Manéhna? nyéwa?-an kuring motor*
 3sg act.lease-appl 1sg motor bike
 ‘S/he leases me a motor bike.’
- (47) a. *Entin ngahuapkeun sangu?ka orok-na? [N-suap-keun]*
 Entin act.eat.caus rice to baby-3sg.poss
 ‘Entin feeds some rice to her baby.’
- b. *Entin ngahuap-an orok-na? sangu?*
 Entin act.eat-appl baby-3sg.poss rice
 ‘Entin feeds her baby with rice.’

With *jual* ‘to sell’ the suffix *-an* is used.

- (48) a. *Éri? ngajual baju? ka Éli? [N-jual]*
 Eri act.sell cloth to Eli
 ‘Eri sells a cloth to Eli.’
- b. *Éri? ngajual-an Éli? baju?*
 Eri act.sell-appl Eli cloth
 ‘Eri sells Eli a cloth.’

With the verb *sogok* ‘to bribe’ there are alternative constructions with no marking on the verb in either one. In (49a) the recipient is marked by *ka* ‘to’. In (49b) the recipient is encoded as a direct object, and the entity offered as a bribe is marked by the preposition *ku*. It is a moot point whether *ku* is marking a *chômeur*, or whether it should be interpreted as simply marking means. It may be that we should simply recognise alternative encodings, rather than considering one construction derived from the other.

- (49) a. *O?on nyogokapel ka Téli? [N-sogok]*
 Oon act.bribe apple to Teti
 ‘Oon offers apples as a bribe to Teti.’
- b. *O?on nyogok Téli? ku apel*
 Oon ACT.bribe Teti with apple
 ‘Oon bribes Teti with apples.’

7.5 Advancement of the destination

Although the role of destination cannot generally be advanced, advancement is possible with *anjang* ‘to visit’, where it is marked with *-an*.

- (50) a. *Ceu? Yuyun nganjang ka indung-na? [N-anjang]*
 Hon Yuyun ACT.visit to mother-3SG.POSS
 ‘Yuyun visits her mother.’ (lit. ‘Yuyun visits to her mother.’)
- b. *Ceu? Yuyun nganjang-an indung-na?*
 Hon Yuyun ACT.visit-APPL mother-3SG.POSS
 ‘Yuyun visits her mother.’

There is a similarity with a recipient, in that the target of the visiting is a sentient being, rather than a geographical destination.

7.6 Advancement of the source

Sundanese has constructions that could be considered to advance a source to subject. These can be found with verbs such as *mancur* ‘to spout’, *ngucur* ‘to pour’, *untung* ‘to profit’, *makmur* ‘to prosper’, *turun* ‘to descend’ and *kaluar* ‘to go out’. *Ngucur* and *mancur* are nasal verbs derived from precategory bases and take the N-prefix, whereas *untung*, *makmur*, *turun* and *kaluar* are basic verbs. All of these verbs are unaccusative by the test discussed in section 3.

(51)a. *Cai?* *mancur* *tina?* *pancuran* [*N-pancur*]
 water ACT.spout from waterspout
 ‘Water spouts from a waterspout.’

b. *Pancuran* *mancur-keun* *cai?*
 waterspout ACT.spout-APPL water
 ‘A waterspout spouts water.’

(52)a. *Getih* *ngucur* *tina?* *raheut* [*N-kucur*]
 blood ACT.pour from slash wound
 ‘Blood pours from a slash wound.’

b. *Raheut* *ngucur-keun* *getih*
 slash wound ACT.pour-APPL blood
 ‘A slash wound pours blood.’

(53)a. *Pamaréntah* *untung* *tina?* *hasil* *pajeg*
 government profit from income tax
 ‘The Government profits from tax incomes.’

b. *Hasil* *pajeg* *nguntung-keun* *pamaréntah*
 income tax ACT.profit-APPL government
 ‘Tax incomes profit the Government.’

(54)a. *Rejeki?* *turun* *ti* *Gusti?*
 good fortune descend from God
 ‘Good fortune descends from God.’

b. *Gusti?* *nurun-keun* *rejeki?*
 God ACT.descend-APPL good fortune
 ‘God sends down good fortune.’

In the (a) sentences, the subjects are *cai?* and *getih* and the sources are expressed via prepositional phrases introduced by *tina?* ‘from’. In the (b) sentences, on the other hand, what was the source in the (a) sentences now appears as the subject, and the former subject is expressed as the object.

As has been noted above, the suffix *-keun* marks a causative in some contexts, and the advancement of an oblique to direct object in others. It is possible to see the (b) sentences here as reflecting the advancement of a source to subject. However, cross-linguistically such an advancement is most unusual. An alternative is to consider that the (b) sentences are causatives where the participant that is conceived of as a source in the (a) sentences is now conceived of as an agent and encoded as the subject of a causative verb. This seems most likely in (54) where the source of the (a) sentence appears as an agent in the (b) sentence.

8. Summary

Sundanese has a structure not dissimilar from that of Javanese and Indonesian-Malay. The basic clause structure is subject [verb (object) (adjuncts)]. There is a variety of applicative constructions which feed the passive, and allow a wide variety of roles to be expressed as subject.

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