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## Applicatives in Standard Indonesian

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## Applicatives in Standard Indonesian

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This study deals with applicative constructions in Standard Indonesian. Following a survey of the syntactic and semantic features of these applicative constructions mainly based on the criteria that Peterson (2007) suggests, a further characterization will be made with special attention on how to interpret the distribution of the two applicative suffixes *-i* and *-kan*, each of which has multiple functions.

**Key words:** Standard Indonesian, applicative verbs, locative verbs, benefactive verbs, instrumental verbs

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### 1. Introduction

Standard Indonesian has two applicative suffixes, that is, *-i* (locative and recipient) and *-kan* (instrumental and benefactive). Examples (1)–(4) show verbs with their suffixes that are cited from Sneddon (1996) and their corresponding basic constructions.

(i) Instrumental verb (-*kan* suffixed form)

(1)a *Dia memukul anjing dengan tongkat.*  
 3 AV.hit dog with stick  
 'He hit the dog with a stick.'

(1)b *Dia memukul-kan tongkat pada anjing.*  
 3 AV.hit-APPL stick at dog  
 'He used the stick to beat the dog with.' (Sneddon 1996: 78)

(ii) Benefactive verb (-*kan* suffixed form)

(2)a *Pelayan mengambil segelas air.*  
 waiter AV.take a.glass.of water  
 'The waiter took a glass of water.'

(2)b *Pelayan mengambil-kan tamu segelas air.*  
 waiter AV.take-APPL guest a.glass.of water  
 'The waiter brought the guest a glass of water.' (Sneddon 1996: 80)

(iii) Locative verb (-*i* suffixed form)

(3)a *Dia menanam padi di sawah=nya.*  
 3 AV.plant rice at ricefield=3  
 'He planted his field with rice.'

(3)b *Dia menanam-i sawah=nya dengan padi.*  
 3 AV.plant-APPL ricefield=3 with rice  
 'He planted his field with rice.' (Sneddon 1996: 91)

(iv) Recipient verb (-*i* suffixed form)

(4)a *Ayah mengirim uang kepada saya.*  
 father AV.send money to 1SG  
 'Father sent me money.'

(4)b *Ayah mengirim-i saya uang.*  
 Father AV.send-APPL 1SG money  
 'Father sent me money.' (Sneddon 1996: 90)

Sentences (1)b, (2)b, (3)b, and (4)b, fulfill the general condition of applicative constructions, in that the semantic roles that are coded by a peripheral constituent (prepositional phrase) in the corresponding basic constructions ((1)a, (2)a, (3)a, and (4)a) are coded as a core constituent (an NP without case marking) in these constructions.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 presents a survey of the syntactic and semantic features of these applicative constructions, mainly based on the criteria that Peterson (2007) suggests. Section 3 contains a further characterization focusing on explanations for the role that the two applicative suffixes *-i* and *-kan* play.

## 2. Survey of the applicative constructions in Standard Indonesian

Peterson (2007) suggests several criteria that characterize applicative constructions cross-linguistically, which are summarized in the following three points:

- (1) Syntactic property of applicative constructions (2007: 2, 51–63)
- (2) Optionality/obligatoriness of the construction (2007: 45–49)
- (3) Semantic distribution of the applicative markers (2007: 40–45, 64–65)

In this section, we attempt to characterize the applicative constructions in Standard Indonesian, based on Peterson's criteria listed in (1)–(3).

### 2.1. Syntactic properties of applicative constructions

#### 2.1.1. Mono-/ditransitivity of applicative constructions

As Peterson (2007: 2) suggests, languages differ in terms of whether applicativization simply results in a rearrangement of argument structure, with the resultant construction remaining monotransitive or causes an increase in valency, forming ditransitive constructions.

Applicativization in Standard Indonesian exhibits both patterns, depending on the type of applicative object.

##### (a) Monotransitive type

Among the four types of applicative constructions introduced in section 1, those with a locative verb and an instrumental verb are of the monotransitive type. Here, the original objects are “demoted” to a peripheral constituent, introduced with a preposition that indicates its case role.

##### Locative construction

- (5) (= (3)b) *Dia menanam-i sawah=nya dengan padi.*  
 3 AV.plant-APPL ricefield=3 with rice  
 ‘He planted his field with rice.’ (Sneddon 1996: 91)

##### Instrumental construction

- (6) (= (1)b) *Dia memukul-kan tongkat pada anjing.*  
 3 AV.hit-APPL stick at dog  
 ‘He used the stick to beat the dog with.’ (Sneddon 1996: 78)

##### (b) Ditransitive type

The remaining two applicative verb types, recipient and benefactive, form ditransitive constructions. Here, both the original object and the applicative object occur as NPs without case marking.

##### Recipient applicative object with -i suffixed verb

- (7) (= (4)b) *Ayah mengirim-i saya uang.*  
 father AV.send-APPL 1SG money

‘Father sent me money.’ (Sneddon 1996: 90)

Benefactive applicative object with *-kan* prefixed verb

(8) (= (1)b) *Pelayan mengambil-kan tamu segelas air.*

waiter AV.take-APPL guest a.glass.of water

‘The waiter brought the guest a glass of water.’ (Sneddon 1996: 80)

### 2.1.2. Properties of applicative objects

The manner in which an applicative object is treated differs syntactically among languages, and Peterson (2007: 51–63) uses this fact as one of the parameters that he claims distinguish applicative constructions; in some languages, an applicative object displays all the properties of a monotransitive direct object, while in other languages, it does not do so. In Standard Indonesian, an applicative object acquires all the properties of objects in unmarked mono-transitive constructions.

Standard Indonesian has two transitive constructions: actor-voice (glossed as AV) and undergoer voice (glossed as UV); an applicative construction may occur in both voice constructions.

Examples given above are all actor-voice sentences, for the verb is marked with the AV prefix *meN-* (*N* indicates a nasal that is homorganic to the initial sound of its base). As is expected from the label, in this construction, the actor NP functions as a subject; it is characterized as an NP without case marking that canonically occurs before a verb in a simplex clause. Here, the object is characterized by its unmarked form (without case marking) as well as its position immediately after the verb. In a ditransitive type with two candidates for object (non-actor NPs), it is only the applicative object that may immediately follow the verb, and therefore, can be considered an object; the word order in which the base object directly follows the verb is not permitted.

(9) \**Ayah mengirim-i uang saya.*

Father AV.send-APPL 1SG money

(Intended meaning) ‘Father sent me money.’

(10) \**Pelayan mengambil-kan segelas air tamu.*

waiter AV.take-APPL a glass of water guest

(Intended meaning) ‘The waiter brought the guest a glass of water.’

Examples (11)–(14) show the undergoer voice that corresponds to (5)–(8), respectively. There, the NP that semantically corresponds to the applicative object in the actor voice is the first option to be treated as a subject.

(11) *Sawah=nya di-tanami-i=nya dengan padi.*

Ricefield=3 UV-plant-APPL=3 with rice

‘He planted his field with rice.’

- (12) *Saya di-kirim-i uang oleh Ayah.*  
 1SG UV-send-APPL money by father  
 ‘Father sent me money.’
- (13) *Tongkat=nya di-pukul-kan=nya pada anjing.*  
 Stick=3 UV-hit-APPL=3 at dog  
 ‘He used the stick to beat the dog with.’
- (14) *Tamu itu di-ambil-kan segelas air oleh pelayan.*  
 guest that AV.take-APPL a.glass.of water by waiter  
 ‘The waiter brought the guest a glass of water.’

In the ditransitive type, the base object is the second option as a subject. It may not serve as a subject when the applicative object appears in the construction; (12)b and (14)b are not grammatical sentences.

- (12)b \**Uang di-kirim-i saya oleh Ayah.*  
 money UV-send-APPL 1SG by father  
 (Intended meaning) ‘Father sent me money.’
- (14)b \**Segelas air itu di-ambil-kan tamu itu oleh pelayan.*  
 a.glass.of water that UV-take-APPL guest that by waiter  
 (Intended meaning) ‘The waiter brought the guest a glass of water.’

However, the applicative object may be omitted if its referent is clear from the context, and in that case, it may stand as the subject; (12)c and (14)c are grammatical sentences.

- (12)c *Uang itu di-kirim-i oleh Ayah.*  
 money that UV-send-APPL by father  
 ‘Father sent that money (to him/her/them).’
- (14)c *Segelas air itu di-ambil-kan oleh pelayan.*  
 glass of water that UV-take-APPL by waiter  
 ‘The waiter brought the glass of water (for him/ her/ them).’

## 2.2. Optionality/obligatoriness of the construction

This is the parameter that is applied if an applicative constructions has alternative oblique instantiations for the applicative object (Peterson 2007: 45). If the applicative construction has an alternative, it is called optional and if it does not, it is called obligatory. As shown in the pairs of (1)–(4) in Section 1, the applicative constructions in Standard Indonesian are optional, as they all have alternative constructions.

With the existence of semantically nearly equivalent constructions, an issue arises as to the role of the applicative constructions and what the motivations are for the choice of a spe-

cific applicative construction. Although it is beyond the scope of this study to fully investigate this issue, the choice is probably related to the fact that the applicative object is treated as a subject in undergoer voice. Like subjects in numerous other languages, the subject in Standard Indonesian often indicates the topic. Therefore, when the referent of an applicative object (location, recipient, beneficiary, and instrument) is the topic of the given proposition, an applicative construction would be used.

Subjects are also given special treatment in complex clauses. First, in this language, it is only the subject that can be relativized. Example (15) is a transitive sentence in the actor voice, in which the actor NP is the subject.

- (15) *Ayah mengirim uang kepada orang itu.*  
 father AV.send money to person that  
 ‘Father sent money to that person.’

It is only the subject that can be relativized by this construction.

- (16) *Ayah yang mengirim uang kepada orang itu*  
 father REL AV.send money to person that  
 ‘Father who sent money to that person’

Neither an object (theme NP) nor recipient NP can be relativized by this construction. Examples (17) and (18) are not grammatical.

- (17) \**Uang yang Ayah mengirim kepada orang itu*  
 money REL father AV.send to person that  
 (Intended meaning) ‘The money that the father sent to that person’

- (18) *Orang yang Ayah mengirim uang (kepada)*  
 person REL father AV.send money (to)  
 ‘Father who sent money to that person’

Example (19) is a transitive sentence in the undergoer voice in which the theme NP, which corresponds to the object of the actor voice, is the subject.

- (19) *Uang itu di-kirim oleh Ayah kepada orang itu.*  
 money that UV-send by father to person that  
 ‘Father sent that money.’

It is only the subject that can be relativized by this construction, as in (18).

- (20) *Uang yang di-kirim oleh Ayah kepada orang itu*  
 money REL UV-send by father to person that  
 ‘The money that father sent to that person’

Neither actor NP nor recipient NP can be relativized by this construction. Examples (21) and (22) are not grammatical.

- (21) \**Ayah yang di-kirim uang kepada orang itu*  
 Father REL UV-send money to person that  
 (Intended meaning) ‘Father who sent money to that person’
- (22) \**Orang yang di-kirim uang oleh Ayah (kepada)*  
 person REL UV-send money by father (to)  
 (Intended meaning) ‘The person to whom my father sent money’

A recipient NP can be relativized only by an applicative construction in undergoer voice, the only construction in which it is the subject. Compare (23), a simplex applicative construction in which the recipient NP is the subject, and (24), a relative clause based on (23).

- (23) *Orang itu di-kirim-i uang oleh Ayah.*  
 person that UV-send-APPL money by father  
 ‘Father sent that person money.’
- (24) *Orang yang di-kirim-i uang oleh Ayah*  
 person REL UV-send-APPL money by father  
 ‘Person who was sent money by Father’

Second, it is only the subject of the subordinate clause that can be a target of the deletion in an equi-construction. In a *mau* ‘want’ construction, when the subject of the matrix clause is co-referential to the recipient of the subordinate clause, an applicative construction in the undergoer voice, that has a recipient subject, is the only choice used in the subordinate clause.

- (25) *Dia mau di-kirim-i uang oleh Ayah=nya.*  
 3 want UV-send-APPL money by father=3  
 ‘He wants to be sent money by his father.’

In this case, the base situation cannot be used in the subordinate clause.

- (26) \**Dia mau di-kirim uang oleh Ayah=nya (kepada).*  
 3 want UV-send money by father=3 (to)  
 (Intended meaning) ‘He wants to be sent money by his father.’

From what we have seen so far, we could suppose that one of the motivations for the choice of an applicative construction is to express propositions that cannot be expressed by base constructions, such as those given in examples (24) and (25).



### 2.3. The semantic roles of applicative objects and their applicative markers

The semantic role of an applicative object varies among languages. According to Peterson (2007: 40), the most common semantic role of an applicative object is recipient and/or beneficiary/maleficiary; however, there are several languages in which the role of an applicative object is not limited to these roles. In Standard Indonesian, as shown above, locative and instrumental objects are observed, in addition to the two ‘default’ types.

Peterson (2007) also points out other semantic parameters that are related to applicative markers. They can be summarized as (a) and (b) below.

(a) Whether a language has distinct applicative markers according to the semantic role of the applicative object.

In a few languages, each applicative construction is marked by distinct verbal morphology, an example of which is Hakha Lai (Tibeto-Burman, Western Burma), which has seven applicative markers that distinguish semantic roles of applicative objects (Peterson (2007: 40–45)). In other languages, the morphological indicator of the construction may not change form with the semantic role of the applicative object. Peterson suggests that several Bantu languages, such as Kichaga (Tanzania), that have only one applicative marker are of this type.

It seems that, in Standard Indonesian, the two systems co-exist. As seen in the previous sections, there are two applicative markers, each of which indicates two separate semantic roles of applicative objects, forming two different constructions corresponding to them. Peterson (2007: 44–45) implies that this type of ‘multiple applicative’ may be analyzed as the default type and the other as non-default type(s), but this hypothesis cannot be applied to the distribution of the applicative markers in Standard Indonesian as it is difficult to judge which marker of the two as well as which function of each marker is the default. We will return to this issue in the following sections.

(b) Whether the applicative marker is exclusively used as an applicative marker or if it sometimes acts as a marker of other effects.

As an example of the latter situation, Peterson (2007: 64) provides examples of applicative/causative isomorphism. The applicative marker *-kan* in Standard Indonesian is a case in point; it functions as a causative marker (Sneddon 1996: 70), essentially, when the base is an intransitive verb. Example (27) is an intransitive construction with an intransitive verb *bersih* ‘clean’, and example (28) is a causative construction with a corresponding *-kan* suffixed verb *mem-bersih-kan* (AV-clean-CAUS).

(27) *Kamar ini sudah bersih.*  
 room this already clean  
 ‘This room is clean.’

(28) *Siti sudah mem-bersih-kan kamar ini*  
 Siti already AV-clean-CAUS room this  
 ‘Siti has cleaned this room.’

The behavior of *-kan* observed here, essentially functioning as an applicative marker on a transitive base, but as a causative marker on an intransitive base, conforms to the cross-linguistic tendency that this type of marking exhibits (Peterson 2007: 64–66). Nevertheless, *-kan* may function as a causative marker on only a restricted number of transitive bases. (Sneddon 1996: 74–76).

- (29)a *Wanita itu men-cuci pakaian saya*  
 woman that AV-wash clothes 1SG  
 ‘That woman washes my clothes.’
- (29)b *Saya men-cuci-kan pakaian pada wanita itu.*  
 1SG AV-wash-KAN clothes at woman that  
 ‘I have my clothes washed by that woman.’
- (30)a *Saya men-minjam buku saya.*  
 1SG AV-borrow book 1SG  
 ‘Ali borrowed my book.’
- (30)b *Saya men-minjam-kan buku saya kepada Ali*  
 1SG AV-borrow-KAN book 1SG to Ali  
 ‘I lent my book to Ali.’

The number of transitive verbs that can be the base of causative *-kan* is limited, and the resultant causative verb often indicates a causative situation that includes the transfer of things. Some examples are given below.

- |              |              |                  |   |
|--------------|--------------|------------------|---|
| <i>minum</i> | ‘drink’      | <i>minum-kan</i> | ‘cause (object) to be drunk, give (object) to be drunk’ |
| <i>sewa</i>  | ‘rent, hire’ | <i>sawa-kan</i>  | ‘rent out, lease out’                                   |
| <i>jahit</i> | ‘sew’        | <i>jahit-kan</i> | ‘have (object) sewn’                                    |

Another type of isomorphism is observed in Standard Indonesian; the applicative suffix *-i* functions as an iterative marker for some bases. (Sneddon 1996: 94–95).

- (31) *Dia men-cium pacar=nya.*  
 3 AV-kiss girlfriend=3  
 ‘He kissed his girlfriend.’
- (32) *Dia men-cium-i pacar=nya.*  
 3 AV-kiss-ITR girlfriend=3  
 ‘He kissed his girlfriend repeatedly/a number of times.’
- (33) *Mereka akan menebang pohon di depan rumah=nya.*  
 3PL will AV.chop.down tree at before house=3  
 ‘They chopped down the tree in front of their house.’

- (34) *Mereka akan menebang-i pohon di sekitar rumah=nya.*  
 3<sub>PL</sub> will AV.chop.down-ITR tree at around house=3  
 ‘They chopped down the trees around their house.’

Also, considering the function of *-kan*, it should be noted that for some bases, the occurrence of the suffix *-kan* causes no syntactic and semantic effects. Sneddon (1996: 84) provides the following verbs as examples of ‘optional’ *-kan*.

Optional *-kan* verbs

- *lempar/lempar-kan* ‘throw’
- *tuang/tuang-kan* ‘pour’
- *antar/antar-kan* ‘accompany’
- *beri/beri-kan* ‘give’
- *titip/titip-kan* ‘entrust’
- *sembang/sembang-kan* ‘contribute’
- *kirim/kirim-kan* ‘send’
- *rusak/rusak-kan* ‘damage’
- *sebut/sebut-kan* ‘mention’

Example (35) shows *lempar/lempar-kan* ‘throw.’ In this case, the attachment of the suffix *-kan* causes no semantic and/or syntactic change.

- (35) *Saya me-lempar (-kan) batu ke arah anjing*  
 1 AV-throw-kan stone to direction dog  
 ‘I threw a stone in the direction of the dog.’

In the following section, an attempt to interpret the semantic distribution of the two applicative markers *-i* and *-kan* in Standard Indonesian, will be made.

### 3. Roles of the two applicative suffixes

#### 3.1. Multi functionality of *-i* and *-kan*

As mentioned in Section 2.3, the two applicative markers of Standard Indonesian, *-i* and *-kan* have the functions listed below.

- The functions of *-kan*

- (i) benefactive applicative marker
- (ii) instrumental applicative marker
- (iii) causative marker
- (iv) optional use

- The functions of *-i*

- (i) locative applicative marker
- (ii) recipient applicative marker
- (iii) iterative marker

### 3.2. Previous studies on the multi-functionality of *-kan*

Among the multi-functionality of these markers, that of *-kan* has been examined by several recent studies. There are two approaches as follows, in addition to that of traditional grammars such as Sneddon (1996), which simply lists the functions.

- (i) ‘One unified function’ approach
- (ii) ‘Plural separate functions’ approach

The ‘one unified account’ approach is the position taken by Cole and Son (2004) and Son and Cole (2008). Cole and Son (2004) suggest a syntactic account that postulates ‘licensing of a new argument in the argument structure that is not licensed syntactically by the base verb’ as a function of *-kan*. Although this function covers most of the uses of the suffix *-kan*, the attachment of the suffix *-kan* does not necessarily cause the change of argument structure as we saw in the previous section (see (35) as an example of optional *-kan*). More importantly, ‘licensing of a new argument’ is not an exclusive property of *-kan*. The suffix *-i*, when used as an applicative marker, exhibits a similar syntactic effect with a number of bases.

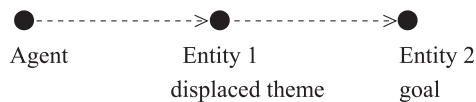
Son and Cole (2008) is a semantic account that argues that *-kan* is the morphological reflex of the RESULT head. This analysis, again, seems to enable a unified semantic account for most of the uses of *-kan*, but this is not an exclusive property of *-kan*. The suffix *-i*, when used as an applicative marker, exhibits a similar semantic property with a number of bases.

The ‘plural separate functions’ approach is Kroeger’s (2007) position, postulating three separate functions for *-kan*.

- Type 1: Morphosyntactic function
  - (i) Benefactive applicative marker
- Type 2: Morphosemantic function
  - (ii) Instrumental applicative marker
  - (iii)a Causative marker for transitive base
  - (iv) Optional uses
- Type 3: Category changing function
  - (iii)b Causative marker for intransitive base

He points out that both functions, (ii) instrumental applicative and (iii)a causative for transitive base, share the feature of causing a semantic change by which the resultant verb obtains the logical structure that can be represented as [CAUSE-BECOME-AT], expressing the idea that one participant causes another to undergo a change of location.

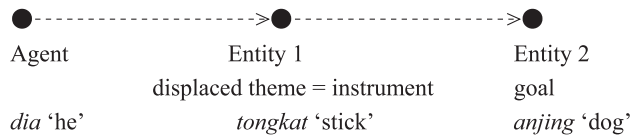
The logical structure [CAUSE-BECOME-AT] can be depicted by Figure 1.<sup>1)</sup>



**Figure 1** Semantic structure of type 2 *-kan* suffixed verbs

The situation shown in example (36) (= (1)b), an instrumental applicative construction, can be depicted on Figure 2 in the following way.

- (36) *Dia memukul-kan tongkat pada anjing.*  
 3 AV.hit-APPL stick at dog  
 ‘He used the stick to beat the dog with.’ (Sneddon 1996: 78)



**Figure 2** Semantic structure of sentence (36)

As Son and Cole (2008) suggest, despite the traditional label that the suffix *-kan* has been given, it does not introduce instruments of all kinds. Therefore, expressions such as sentence (37), ‘add up with an abacus’, or sentence (38), ‘weigh with a scale’, are not permitted. It is only an NP for instruments that is displaced or moved by the action that a *-kan* verb takes.

- (37) \**meng-hitung-kan sempoa*  
 AV.add.up-APPL abacus  
 ‘add up with an abacus’
- (38) \**menimbang-kan dacing*  
 AV.weigh-APPL scale  
 ‘weigh with a scale’

This fact supports Kroeger’s supposition on the function of the suffix *-kan*, introduced above.

Next, we examine cases in which *-kan* is used as a causative marker for a transitive base. As mentioned in the previous section, this type of causative verb often indicates a ‘transfer of things’, exemplified by sentence (39) (= (29)b). This situation can be depicted by Figure 3 in the following way.

- (39) *Saya men-cuci-kan pakaian pada wanita itu.*  
 1SG AV-wash-kan clothes at woman that  
 ‘I have my clothes washed by that woman.’



**Figure 3** Semantic structure of sentence (39)

Kroeger (2007) also suggests that some cases of optional *-kan* can be explained by the fact that their base originally has the logical structure of [CAUSE-BECOME-AT], and the motivation of the suffixation of *-kan* to these bases is to indicate that they have the same logical structure as the two types of *-kan* suffixed verbs discussed above, that is, the applicative instrumental verbs and the causative verbs with a transitive base.

Among the optional *-kan* suffixed verbs shown in the previous section, the following two types may be considered as sharing the logical structure of [CAUSE-BECOME-AT].

(1) Move x to y

- *lempar/lempar-kan* ‘throw’
- *tuang/tuang-kan* ‘pour’

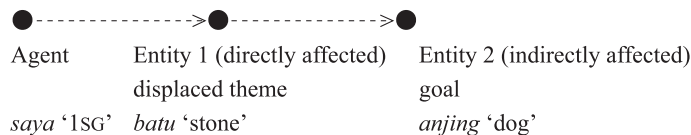
(2) Transfer x to y

- *antar/antar-kan* ‘accompany’
- *beril/beri-kan* ‘give’
- *titip/titip-kan* ‘entrust’
- *sembang/sembang-kan* ‘contribute’
- *kirim/kirim-kan* ‘send’

Sentence (40) (= (35)) is an example of a Type (1) verb *lempar/lempar-kan* ‘throw.’

- (40) *Saya me-lempar (-kan) batu ke arah anjing*  
 1 AV-throw-kan stone to direction dog  
 ‘I throw a stone at the dog.’

The situation expressed by this example can be depicted as shown in Figure 4.



**Figure 4** Semantic structure of sentence (40)

Sentence (41) is an example of Type (2) verb *beril/beri-kan* ‘give.’

- (41) *Dia memberi(-kan) buku itu*  
 3 AV-give-kan book that  
*kepada adik-nya*  
 to younger sibling-3  
 ‘He gave the book to her younger sister.’

The situation expressed by example (41) can be depicted in Figure 5.

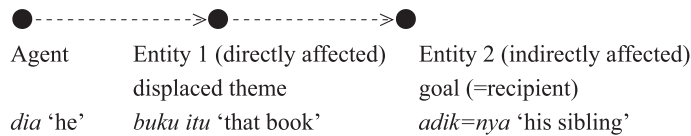


Figure 5 Semantic structure of sentence (41)

Kroeger (2007) settles separate categories for each of the other functions of *-kan*, the (i) benefactive applicative and the (iii)b causative with an intransitive base, but these two functions cause an increase in valency and so it would be more appropriate to group them together into one category.

Whichever analysis is used for these two functions, it is clear that Kroeger's 'separate plural function approach' is more appropriate than the unified function approach, in that it provides a unified and exclusive explanation of some of the functions of *-kan*.

### 3.3. Accounts for the multi-function of *-i*

The function of the other applicative marker, *-i*, can be interpreted by a system similar to the morphosemantic function of *-kan* dealt with in the previous section. We could say that *-i* marked applicative constructions, namely locative verbs and recipient constructions that have the same logical structure of [CAUSE-BECOME-AT], as shown in Figures 6 and 7. The only difference is the semantic role of the object as goal, instead of displaced theme.

Locative applicative

- (42) (= (3)b) *Dia menanami-i sawah=nya dengan padi.*  
 3 AV.plant-APPL ricefield=3 with rice  
 'He planted his field with rice.' (Sneddon 1996: 91)

Recipient applicative

- (43) (= (4)b) *Ayah mengirim-i saya uang.*  
 Father AV.send-APPL 1SG money  
 'Father sent me money.' (Sneddon 1996: 90)

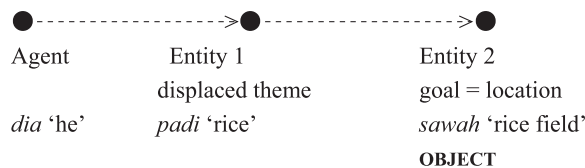
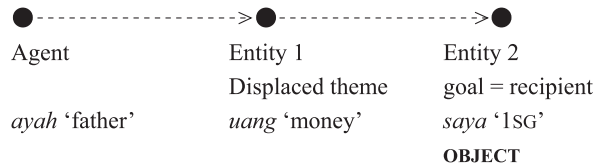


Figure 6 Semantic structure of sentence (42)

We have thus far attempted to explain the multiple functions of the applicative suffixes *-kan* and *-i* listed at the beginning of 3.1, and suggested that some of the functions may be unified.



**Figure 7** Semantic structure of sentence (43)

- The functions of *-kan*

- (A) Morphosemantic function (Koreger (2007)) (Indication of a logical structure [CAUSE-BECOME-AT])
  - (ii) instrumental applicative marker
  - (iii)a causative marker for transitive bases
  - (iv) optional use
- (B) Valency-changing function
  - (i) benefactive applicative marker
  - (iii)b causative marker for intransitive bases

- The functions of *-i*

- (A) Morphosemantic function (Indication of a logical structure [CAUSE-BECOME-AT])
  - (i) locative applicative marker
  - (ii) recipient applicative marker
- (B) Other function
  - (iii) iterative marker

### 3.4. Two types of applicative constructions in Standard Indonesian

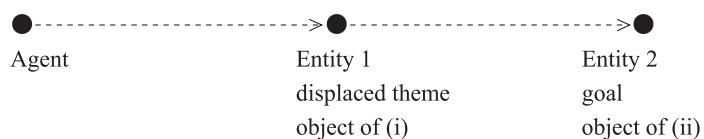
Now, we consider the entire applicative system of this language. Based on the classification above, the functions of applicative markers may be grouped into the following two categories.

- (A) Morphosemantic applicatives
  - (i) instrumental applicative construction (marked by *-kan*)
  - (ii) locative/recipient applicative construction (marked by *-i*)
- (B) Valency increasing applicative
  - (i) benefactive applicative construction marked by *-kan*

As mentioned in 3.3, two constructions in the categories (A) ((i) instrumental applicative construction (marked by *-kan*) and (ii) locative/recipient applicative construction (marked by *-i*)) share the logical structure of [CAUSE-BECOME-AT]. The difference between the two constructions is that in (i), the object is a displaced theme while in (ii), the object is a goal (see Figure 8).

In this system, the function of *-kan* and *-i* is considered to be specifying the referent of





**Figure 8** Displacement of objects in *-kan* vs *-i* constructions

the undergoer NP in the specific logical structure. This function is similar to what Givón (2001) calls ‘verb coding of case role.’

According to Givón, the semantic role of the participants is normally encoded on nouns (i.e., as a case form), but in some languages, such as the Philippine languages, it may be encoded on verbs. Cross-linguistically, this function of the suffix *-kan* can be considered as one instance of this phenomenon.

#### 4. Conclusion

In this study, we have dealt with applicative constructions in Standard Indonesian, marked by the suffix *-kan* or *-i*. In Section 2, a survey of the syntactic and semantic features of these applicative constructions was given, based primarily on the criteria that Peterson (2007) suggests; their features can be summarized as follows.

(1) Syntactic property:

(a) Monotransitive or Ditransitive

There are two types of syntactic change that applicativization may cause: rearrangement of argument structure and increase in valency (Peterson 2007: 2). Applicativization in Standard Indonesian exhibits both patterns, depending on the type of the applicative object. Thus, both monotransitive and ditransitive constructions are observed.

(b) Property of applicative object

In some languages, an applicative object displays all the properties of a monotransitive direct object, while in other languages it does not do so (Peterson 2007: 51–63). In Standard Indonesian, an applicative object acquires all the properties of objects in the unmarked monotransitive construction.

(2) Optionality or obligatoriness of the construction:

This is the parameter related to applicative constructions having alternative oblique instantiation for the applicative object (Peterson 2007: 45). If the applicative construction has an alternative form, it is called optional; if it does not, it is called obligatory. In the pairs of sentences (1)–(4) in Section 1, applicative constructions in Standard Indonesian are optional, as they all have alternative constructions.

(3) Semantic role of the applicative object and the corresponding applicative markers:

In Standard Indonesian, locative and instrumental objects are observed in addition to

recipient benefactive objects, which are considered to be the two ‘default’ types, cross-linguistically (2007: 40).

Other semantic parameters that Peterson notes are related to the applicative markers, as summarized in (a) and (b) below.

- (a) Whether a language has distinct applicative markers according to the semantic role of the applicative object

In some languages, each applicative construction is marked by distinct verbal morphology, while in other languages, the morphological indicator of the construction may not change form with the semantic role of the applicative object (Peterson (2007: 40–45)).

In Standard Indonesian, the two systems co-exist. It has two applicative markers, each of which indicates two separate semantic roles of applicative objects, forming two different constructions corresponding to them (See 2.1). Peterson (2007: 44–45) implies that this type of ‘multiple applicative’ may be analyzed as the default type and the other as a non-default type(s), but this hypothesis cannot be applied to the distribution of the applicative markers in Standard Indonesian as it is difficult to judge which marker of the two as well as which function of each marker is the default here.

- (b) Whether the applicative marker is exclusively used as an applicative marker, or if it sometimes acts as a marker of other effects

Standard Indonesian belongs to the latter case. Both applicative markers are multi-functional.

In Section 3, we attempted to explain the isomorphism observed by demonstrating the two types of Standard Indonesian applicative constructions: (i) ‘verb coding of case role’, in which both of the markers *-kan* and *-i* are involved, and (ii) increase in valency, in which only *-kan* is involved. This study doesn’t provide any explanation for the double functions of *-kan* ((i) and (ii) above) and *-i* (applicative and iterative, see 2.3). With regard to the two functions of *-kan*, Kroeger (2007) gives a hypothesis that *-kan* may have two separate historical sources, based on the data in some languages of Sulawesi. We may consider a similar hypothesis for the multi-function of *-i*. These issues will be the scope of further studies; to clarify these points, diachronic studies on Malay and detailed observation on the data of historically related languages will be needed.

## Abbreviations

1	first person	3	third person	AV	actor voice
APPL	applicative	CAUS	causative	PL	plural
REL	relativizer	SG	singular	UV	undergoer voice

## Note

- 1) A conceptualization of the transitive situation similar to this figure is proposed by Croft (1991: 185) as a “Causal Chain).

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