SUNDANESE: A SYNTACTICAL ANALYSIS

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

This study was begun when teaching Sundanese to Honours students in the Department of Indonesian and Malay, Monash University, in 1975. A mimeographed course of some 22 lessons was then produced as a Basic Course of Sundanese, adhering closely to modern linguistic principles of the day.

During the years between 1975 - 1979, this writer felt the inadequacy of existing literature written in English on Sundanese. Most of the articles and treatises heavily emphasise the phonological and morphological levels. Thus, although of some use, they fail to provide studies at phrasal, clausal and sentential levels. Furthermore, they are text materials of a very limited type.

The aim of this work is to fill this gap by providing a syntactical study of Sundanese at the phrasal, clausal and sentential levels, with a brief discussion at word level. There is no intention, however, for the study to be exhaustive.

I would like to express my thanks to J.P. Sarumpaet, who patiently went through all the points discussed and gave stimulating and critical suggestions.

Hatur nuhun.

R.R. Hardjadibrata

ABBREVIATIONS

A	Agent	Cond Sent	Conditional Sentence
A Bit Cl Rt	Active Biintransitive Clause Root	Conf	Confirmative
		Conj	Conjunction
A Bt Cl Rt	Active Bitransitive Clause Root	Conseq Sent	Consequential Sentence
Acc	Accompaniment	Contrafact Sent	Contrafactual Sentence
Ac P	Accompaniment Phrase	CNP	Coordinated Noun Phrase
Ad	Adjunct	Coor	Coordinative
Add Sent	Additive Sentence	Coord Sent	Coordinative Sentence
Adj	Adjective	Correl Sent	Correlative Sentence
Adv	Adverb		
Ag	Agentive	C Adj P	Compound Adjective Phrase
Ag P	Agentive Phrase		
Ag Mar	Agentive Marker	CVP	Compound Verb Phrase
A I Cl Rt	Active Intransitive Clause Root	Dem P	Demonstrative Phrase
Alt Sent	Alternative Sentence	DC	Dependent Clause
Antithet Sent	Antithetical Sentence	Des	Descriptive
		Det	Determiner
ASt Cl Rt	Active Semitransitive Clause Root	Dir P	Directive Phrase
		Dirq Sent	Direct Quotative Sentence
A T Cl Rt	Active Transitive Clause Root	Dur	Durative
A Tt Cl Rt	Active Transitive Clause Root	Eff Sent	Effective Sentence
atr	active transitive	EM	Emphatic Marker
atv	active transitive verb	EMP	Emphatic
Aux	Auxiliary verb	Emp Cl	Emphatic Clause
		Emp Cl Rt	Emphatic Clause Root
Ben	Benefactive	Eq Cl Rt	Equative Clause Root
Ben P	Benefactive Phrase	Ev Cl	Eventive Clause
bitv	biintransitive verb	evv	eventive verb
btv	bitransitive verb	exv	existive verb
C Adj P	Compound Adjective Phrase	Fact Sent	Factive Sentence
Caus P	Causative Phrase	Fut	Futurative
Caus Sent	Causative Sentence		
CM	Comparative Marker	Inch M	Inchoative Marker
Comp	Comparative	Indirq Sent	Indirect Quotative Sentence
Conc Sent	Concessive Sentence		

Intj Cl	Iterjective Clause	Q	Quotative
Intj St Cl	Interjective Stative Clause	Q	Quotative Base
		Quantcard	cardinal quantifier
Imp Cl	Imperative Clause	Quantcoll	collective quantifier
imv	inperative verb	Quant-	
		distrib	distributive quantifier
Loc	Locative	Quantord	ordinal quantifier
Loc N	Locative Noun	Quantset	Set quantifier
Loc P	Locative Phrase		
Loc W	Locative Word	RDC	Relative Dependent Clause
Man W	Manner Word	Rel	Relator
Mar	Marginal	Rel Pro	Relative Pronoun
Mod	Modifier	RM	Relative Marker
MP	Manner Phrase	Rel TCl Rt	Relative Transitive Clause Root
MW	Manner Word		
		RR	Relator Related
N-	homorganic Nasal	Rest	Restriction
Non Cl	Non Clausal		
NP	Noun Phrase		
Nuc	Nucleus	S	Subject
N-tpl	Nominal term of address pluraliser	Sc	Scope
		SDC	Sequential Dependent Clause
P	Predicate	Seq Dep	
pbtv	passive bitransitive verb	Sent	Sequential Dependent Sentence
P Bt Cl Rt	Passive Bitransitive Clause Root	Sim P	Similative Phrase
		Sim Sent	Simple Sentence
PC	Predicate Complement	SM	Sentence Marker
Pers N	Personal Noun	s.o.	someone
Pn	Personal noun	Spec	Specifier
Possess	Possessive	Sta	Stative
Prep	Preposition	Stmt	Statement
Proh M	Prohibitive Marker	s.t.	something
pstv	passive semitransitive verb	St Cl	Stative Clause
ptr	passive transitive	Temp P	Temporal Phrase
P Tr Cl Rt	Passive Transitive Clause Root	Temp Sent	Temporal Sentence
		Temp W	Temporal Word
PTt Cl Rt	Passive Tritransitive Clause Root	ttv	tritransitive verb
		tv	transitive verb
pttv	passive tritransitive verb		
		U	Undergoer
ptv	passive transitive verb	v	verb
Pur P	Purposive Phrase	VP	Verb Phrase
Pur Sent	Purposive Sentence		

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.0 General background

Sundanese is one of the chief languages spoken in the island of Java, one of the major islands of Indonesia. It is spoken in the area of West Java, known to the Sundanese as 'Pasundan', the lands of the Sunda people. The central and eastern part of the island are predominantly populated by Javanese speaking people and, to a limited extent by Madurese speaking people particularly in the area of the northern coast of East Java and in the island of Madura. Like the national language, Bahasa Indonesia, Sundanese linguistically belongs to the Western Group of Austronesian languages.

Although the national language is Indonesian, 26 million[1] out of the 140 million of Indonesia's population are Sundanese speakers. After Javanese, it is the second largest language spoken in Indonesia. It is thus quite an important language among the Austronesian languages. Due to the proximity to Central Java and strong Javanese cultural influence over centuries, Sundanese and Javanese are closely related. Dyen's lexicostatistical study (1965:26) places Sundanese under the Javo-Sumatran Hesion.

Sundanese functions as a mother tongue to the Sundanese ethnic group. It also serves as a lingua franca, namely a means for inter-ethnic communication within the region of West Java. And as such, it is the language of instruction in the first three years of primary school in rural areas of the region (see map on p.2). It also serves as a medium for the preservation of Sundanese culture in general.

There have been some detailed grammatical descriptions of Sundanese published since the last decades of the nineteenth century. Most of the earlier grammars of Sundanese were written by grammarians such as S. Coolsma (1873); H.J. Oosting (1884); J. Kats and Soeriadiradja (1929); L.A. Lezer and L. Borst (1931) published before 1942 in Indonesia; S.H. Hodson's (1952), the only Sundanese grammar written in English was published after the Pacific War; E. Soeapradja and I. Adiwidjaja (1930) and Momon Wirakusumah and I. Buldan Djajawiguna (1969); both before and after the war. All these grammars were written along the lines of traditional Greek and Latin grammars, with a preponderance of morphology as the main focus of attention and very limited, if any at all, attention on syntax.

1

MAP OF WEST JAVA

Legend:
- Sundanese speaking area
- Javanese speaking area
- Jakarta-Malay speaking area
- Banten-Javanese speaking area
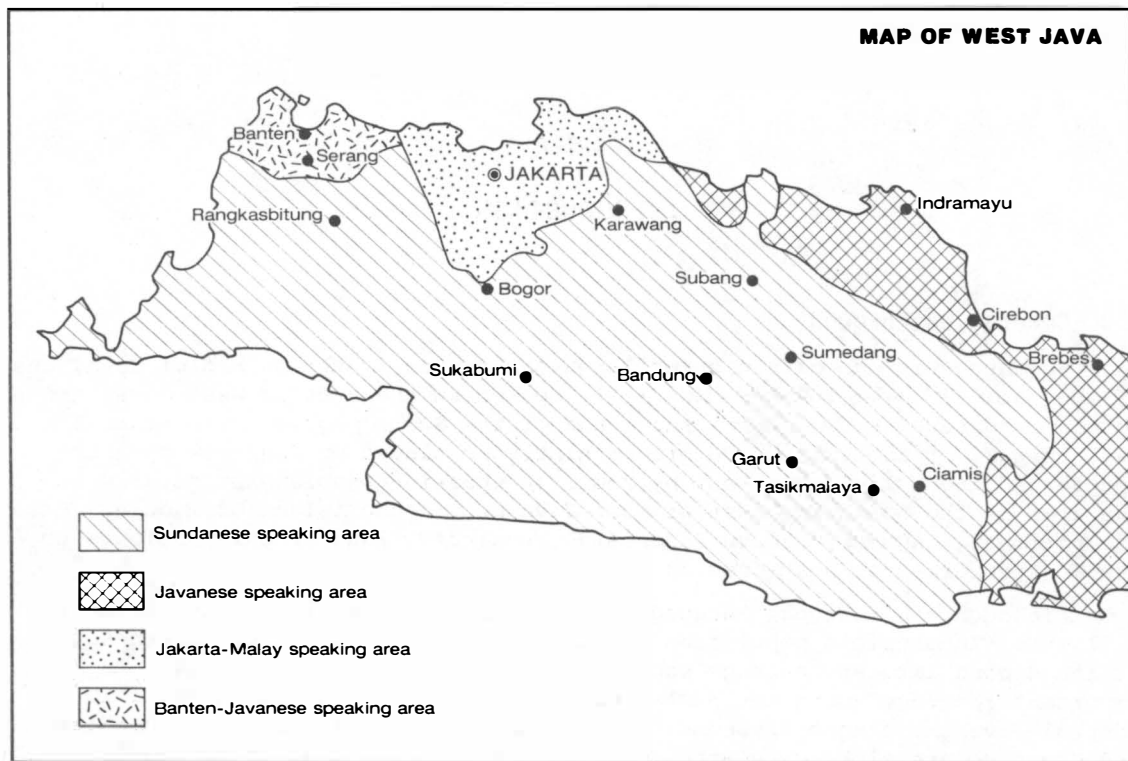
Only R.H. Robins (1953a; 1953b; 1959; 1968) used a method of modern structural description. His work was followed by B. Van Syoc (1959) and Rukmantoro Sumukti Hadi (1969) on phonology and morphology. With the possible exception of Robins's 'Formal divisions in Sundanese', all are rather basic and leave much to be desired in their description of the sentence structure of Sundanese. It is only recently, under the aegis of the National Centre for Language Development, that descriptions based on modern structural principles have begun to appear: Alam Sutawidjaja et al. (1977, 1978) and Abud Prawirasumantri, Ahlan Husen and Elin Syamsuri (1979) on morphology and syntax are examples of linguistically based studies. Except for this latter study, descriptions of morphology and syntax are rather of a general nature.

Publications of value to the present study are Robins 1953a, etc. and Prawirasumantri, Husen and Syamsuri 1979. Their work is listed in the bibliography. Of particular value is Robins's (1959) 'Nominal and verbal derivation in Sundanese' and his 'Formal divisions in Sundanese' (1953), but of especial importance is the work done by Prawirasumantri, Husen and Syamsuri (1979). Although Prawirasumantri's aim is to describe the morphology of the Sundanese verb, it not only provides useful information on the morphological characteristics of the verbs under study but also presents syntactical evidence which is of some benefit to this study.

Of the standard dictionaries available, J. Rigg (1862); S. Coolsma (1913); R. Satjadibrata (1948); the *Lembaga basa jeung sastra Sunda* (Institute for Sundanese language and literature)(1976), Satjadibrata and Coolsma are reliable, but as far as up-to-date information is concerned the *Lembaga basa jeung sastra Sunda* is more useful. Rigg's dictionary is only of historic value as it is the only Sundanese-English dictionary to date available.

1.1 Data analysed

The language analysed in this work is primarily the personal speech of the writer, who was born, bred and educated in Bandung. This speech is verified against the speech of informants who come from the Bandung area. All these informants are mostly multilinguals, speaking Sundanese as their mother tongue at home, and Indonesian outside the home. Some of them also speak other languages such as Dutch, English, German and French. The material for analysis is further supplemented with written texts published in 1980/1981. The aim is to analyse standard Sundanese[2].

Like Javanese[3], Sundanese has various speech levels used to indicate a fine shade of relative rank between speakers. A speaker of 'high' rank in the social ladder uses a 'lower' hence less respectful but more intimate form of speech to his subordinate or to a younger person. In turn, the subordinate and the young would use the 'higher' level which is more respectful, less intimate and a socially distancing form of speech:

There are five levels of speech[4]:

1. basa luhur (lemes pisan)   *very refined* ⎫
2. basa lemes   *refined*   ⎬ *lemes*
3. basa panengah   *middle*   ⎭

4. basa kasar   *coarse*; and ⎫ *kasar*
5. basa kasar pisan   *very coarse* ⎭

These levels are eventually dichotomised into simple *lemes* and *kasar*[5]: the first three are subsumed under *lemes* and the last two would come under *kasar*.

In familiar speech between close friends and in the intricacies of family life, there are preset codes of speech behaviour in Sundanese. In this study, the *kasar* speech level of standard Sundanese is chosen, as the *lemes* level is historically a later development, an influence of Javanese court culture in West Java from the late seventeenth century onwards (see Ajatrohaedi 1971:730). The basic structural patterns are to be found in both the *kasar* and *lemes* levels, the *lemes* employing more 'oblique' patterns. Thus, on the whole, the difference at clause and sentence level is lexemic more than anything else. Furthermore, it is an established fact that the use of the *lemes* level is relatively limited when compared with the majority of speakers. To quote Ajatrohaedi "the lemes level is only limited to the spoken language, whereas the written language (the language of newspapers, magazines, books, etc.) used the *ordinary* language, i.e. *kasar* language" (1971:742).

1.2 Theoretical approach

Before electing the use of the tagmemic model for this study, other possibilities are first considered. They, however, are found to be inadequate for the analysis of Sundanese.

My decision to opt for the use of the tagmemic model is based on the following:

Bloomfield's structuralist view, although in many ways a pioneering departure from the traditional grammars which observe language as a logical rather than a linguistic phenomenon, is inadequate for our purposes. In dealing with the language unit, he does not go further than the sentence, "when a linguistic form occurs as part of a larger form, it is said to be an *included position;*

otherwise it is said to be in *absolute position* and to constitute a *sentence*" (1933:170). The view of the sentence as in island on its own is also expressed by Hockett, another structuralist, when he said that "A *sentence* is a grammatical form, a constitute which is not a constituent" (1958:199).

Chomsky in his *Aspect of the theory of syntax* (1965), while emphasising syntax as the underlying base of linguistic analysis, pushed meaning into the background. He, therefore, had to employ awkward transformational procedures in order to differentiate surface structure variations.

To the case grammarians Fillmore (1968, (1971); Chafe (1970); Anderson (1971); Cook (1971) logic seems to be the primary preoccupation when they looked at sentences. They argued the centrality of verbs and considered that all predicates are verbal in character (Chafe 1970:96; Fillmore 1971:37). This writer is of the opinion that, apart from the verbal, there are other types of non-verbal predicates. Lexicase grammarians such as Starosta (1971a, 1971b, 1971c, 1973a, 1973b, 1974, 1975), still detached the sentence from the behavioural context in which it occurs, which makes their approach inadequate also.

Thus in this study the tagmemic approach is followed as it is the least inadequate for the analysis of Sundanese[6].

Tagmemics rightly regards language as an integral part of human behaviour and should be analysed within that context. It lends itself with the combination of function and filler slot to the inclusion of a rightful semantic component. The concept of various levels (morpheme, word, phrasal, clausal, sentential etc.), makes it possible to single out a particular level of constructions for consideration without the exclusion of that level from the wider context. Furthermore, the fourcell tagmemic model provides a more holistic study of the grammatical, the relational as well as the sememic aspects of language. These are the reasons for the election of the four-cell tagmemic model for this study Modifications are made to accomodate Sundanese grammatical peculiarities.

Following Pike and Pike's (1977) grammatical hierarchy, the following chart may be drawn up.

MEANING	MINIMUM UNIT	EXPANDED UNIT
Social Interaction	Exchange/Dialogue	Conversation
Theme Development	Paragraph/Sentence Cluster	Monologue
Proposition	Clause	Sentence
Term	Word	Phrase
Lexical Package	Morpheme	Morpheme Cluster

As our main concern is with Sentence and Clause level construction, with some discussion at Phrase and Word Level, Pike and Pike's chart is here adapted as follows for our purpose:

LEVEL	MINIMUM UNIT	EXPANDED UNIT
Proposition	Clause	Sentence
Term	Word	Phrase

Pike and Pike's four-cell array tagmeme represents grammatical and sememic relationship in the upper and the lower row respectively. The left column corresponds to the notion of slot-role relationship and the right column to the notion of class-category relationship.

slot	class
role	cohesion

Pike and Pike believe that an integration of both analytical as well as representational notation should be expressed as linguistic units which are 'composite of form and meaning' (Pike 1967:500) and that they give dimensional reality to nodes of a tree or to the constituents of a formula (Pike and Pike 1976:31). Role encodes various situational or semantic cases, features such as actor undergoer (patient), scope (which include inner locative goal and some experiencer), benefactee, etc. Cohesion encodes certain agreement features, e.g. number between subject and predicate in English or number and gender in many Romance languages. Another feature used in connection with cohesion are the terms *governs* and *governed by*. In English, number in subject governs number within predicate, conversely the predicate is governed by the number of the subject. Grammatical cohesion can be defined as follows: when the semantic category (number, gender, animateness, etc.) has grammatical reflex in such a way that two or more grammatical units are marked for this category, this is what Pike and Pike refer as grammatical cohesion. In other words, when the form of one grammatical unit is affected by another grammatical unit, this is called grammatical cohesion. In Sundanese, cohesion encodes features of transitivity at clause level.

Following this four-cell array tagmeme, the proposition level of a Sundanese sentence such as shown below may be analysed by means of the following formula:

Sanggeus salakina datang manéhna gancang mirun seuneu
after husband her come she quick light fire
After her husband arrived, she quickly lit the fire

1. Temp Sent = + $\dfrac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Temp}} \Big| \dfrac{\text{Temp SDC}}{-}$ + $\dfrac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Sta}} \Big| \dfrac{\text{Ind Decl Cl}}{-}$

2. Temp SDC = + $\dfrac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Rel}} \Big| \dfrac{\text{Temp M}}{\text{>RR>}}$ + $\dfrac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Temp}} \Big| \dfrac{\text{It Cl Rt}}{\text{>RR>}}$

3. It Cl Rt = + $\dfrac{\text{S}}{\text{Ag}} \Big| \dfrac{\text{NP}}{-}$ + $\dfrac{\text{P}}{\text{Stmt}} \Big| \dfrac{\text{itva}}{-}$

4. NP = + N + N

5. Ind Decl Cl = + $\dfrac{\text{S}}{\text{Ag}} \Big| \dfrac{\text{N}}{-}$ + $\dfrac{\text{P}}{\text{Stmt}} \Big| \dfrac{\text{VP}}{-}$

6. VP = $\dfrac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Adv}} \Big| \dfrac{\text{Adj}}{-}$ + $\dfrac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Stmt}} \Big| \dfrac{\text{itvc}}{-}$

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N      = salaki
       = -na        (possessive suffix)
       = manéhna  (personal noun)
itva   = datang
itvc   = mirun seuneu
adv    = gancang (adjective)
TempM = sanggeus
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1.4 Spelling and specifications

This study conforms to the new standard spelling system in Bahasa Indonesia introduced in 1972. This conformity is evident in all recent publications in Sundanese, such as in the *Kamus umum basa Sunda* (General Sundanese dictionary) (1975) and in the *Sistem morfologi kata kerja bahasa Sunda* (Morphological system of Sundanese verbs) (1979), particularly in respect to the *pepet* symbol for the *schwa* vowel which is now abandoned. On the other hand, the unmarked accented /e/ now gets the acute symbol. Both publications are published by prestigious institutions and therefore we may expect them to use the standard spelling.

Points worth noting are:

a) e stands for /ə/
b) é stands for /e/
c) eu stands for /ɣ/
d) The glottal stop, which occurs both in morpheme initial as well as morpheme final, and also in morpheme medial position between inter-syllabic with the same vowel is represented by the letter q. The phrase teu qayaq is spelled teu aya and the word hoqok is spelled hook.
e) affixes are spelled as affix equivalents, the construction di-pang-meuli-keun *to be bought for the benefit of someone*, is spelled dipangmeulikeun.

The above spelling convention will be employed throughout. Paradicmatic segmentation will be used only when construction under focus of attention is being examined.

Phonemic notations, whenever required, are provided in slanted bars /../. The prefixes, the infixes and the suffixes are indicated by a hyphen (-); after the prefix, in between the first phoneme and the second phoneme for the infix, and before the suffix. The complex verb dipangnyarokotkeun *to be taken by* (multi actant) *for someone* could thus be di-pang-ny-ar-okot-keun. Asterisks (*) are used to indicate uncommon or unacceptable constructions.

CHAPTER II

WORD LEVEL CONSTRUCTION

2.0 Introduction

The notion in tagmemics on grammatical hierarchy is that it is thought of as a list of units arranged in levels. Before embarking on the main focus of this study, namely the syntax of Sundanese at Clause and Sentence level, a brief survey and discussion will be undertaken of constructions at the lower levels: word level construction in this chapter and phrase level in Chapter III.

2.1 Definition

A word can be described as a construction containing one or more morphemes which can occur in isolation and which fills a slot on the phrase or clause level. It is a syntagmeme of low hierarchical order, ranking below such a syntagmeme as the phrase but higher than the constructions such as stem (Longacre 1964:101). Potentially, it is a minimum normal unit in a reply slot of an exchange in normal non-hesitant speech (Pike and Pike 1977:22-23; 111ff). It is also a unit which meets the criteria. Words may also be simultaneously sentences, exclamations, greeting words such as in the case of wilujeng *good luck*; éy *yuk*; duh *gosh*; etc.

2.2 Word formation

At the word level, word constructions are composed of one or more morphemes. A single morpheme is manifested by a root or stem. A derivational morpheme is a root plus an affix (or affixes). In some cases the root has no independent semantic position, i.e. no meaning of its own. Some single morphemes are: aya *to exist*; imah *house*; diuk *to sit*; bersih *clean*; isuk *tomorrow*.

Derivational morphemes are: ngadiukan *to sit on*, from the single morpheme diuk, and the following paradigm from that same root pangdiukan *seat*; ngadiukkeun *to seat someone*; mangadiukankeun *to occupy a seat for someone*; didiukan *to be occupied (of a seat)*; dipangadiukankeun *to be occupied for someone*; etc.

The derivation of words in Sundanese is by affixation, reduplication and compounding. The most predominant word formation made is affixation.

2.3 Word types

Adiwidjaja (1951) classified four types of Sundanese words:

1. kecap sesebutan *nominals* such as imah *house*; meja *table*; korsi *chair*;
2. kecap gaganti ngaran *pronominals* such as kuring *I*; manéh *you*; ieu *this*;
3. kecap katerangan *adverbials* such as getol *diligent*; sangsara *inpoverished*; leumpang *walk*; dua *two*; and
4. kecap pagawéan *verbals* such as ngadiukan *to sit on something*; nutupkeun *to close something*; ngali *to dig*.

Momon Wirakusumah (1969) classified Sundanese words into twelve types:

1. kecap barang *nouns* e.g. orok *baby*; budak *child*; lurah *village (administrative) head*;
2. kecap pagawéan *verbs* e.g. leumpang *to walk*; nulis *to write*; meuleum *to roast*;
3. kecap sipat/kaayaan *adjectives/statives* e.g. bodas *white*; tiis *cold*; jangkung *tall*;
4. kecap sulur or kecap gaganti *pronouns* e.g. déwék *I*; itu *that*; saha *who*;
5. kecap bilangan *numerals* e.g. hiji *one*; loba *many*; kahiji *the first*;
6. kecap katerangan *adverbials* e.g. tarik *loud, fast*; pisan *very*; meueusan *somewhat*; rada *rather*;
7. kecap pangantét *prepositions* e.g. di *at, on*; ti *from*; ku *by*;
8. kecap panyambung *conjunctions* e.g. tapi *but*; lantaran *because*; sanajan *even though*;
9. kecap sandang *articles* e.g. Dina hiji poé ... *Once upon a time* ...;
10. kecap anteuran *interjections* e.g. aduh *ouch*; emh *hmm*;
11. kecap panganteb *emphatics* e.g. téh; mah; téa[7]
12. kecap panganteur pagawean *verbal anticipators* e.g. nyah rét; koréjat[7]/

Neither Adiwidjaja nor Wirakusumah elaborate on their formal characteristics, either morphologic or syntactic characteristics in their word division. On the verb they merely stated that it is a word that has the property of an undergoer or is affected by an action (Adiwidjaja 1951:72) or a work indicating actions (active or passive), even though the actor does not show any action or has the property of being affected or being the undergoer (Wirakusumah 1969:38). He stated further that the formal characteristic of the Sundanese verb is not as clear as in Indo-European languages, as Sundanese words do not have inflections indicating tense or number. Thus it is sometimes difficult to decide whether the verb nangtung *to stand* should be regarded as a verb or an adjective. The difference between a verb and an adjective is that adjectives normally have three levels of comparative degree, e.g. jangkung *tall*; jangkungan *taller*; and pangjangkungna *tallest*; whereas verbs do not have these properties. Nangtung, *nangtungan and *pangnangtungna does not exist.

Robins (1953a; 1959) classified Sundanese words into (1) nominals; (2) verbals; and (3) particles. Adjectives are subsumed under verbals and subclassified together with intransitives. Words that are sometimes convenient to designate as adverbs may be assigned in part to the class of particles and in part to a syntactically restricted subclass of nouns (Robins 1959:342). Van Syoc (1959) sets out diagnostic frames for the recognition of the four classes: (1) verbs; (2) nouns; (3) adjectives; and (4) particles.

In this study we will classify the Sundanese words into five classes: the Noun Class; the Verb Class; the Adjective Class; the Adverb Class and the Particle Class. This classification will also be the basis for clause and sentence level constructions. Each may or may not have subclasses.

2.3.1 The noun class

Nouns in general can be a single morpheme or consist of multiple morphemes. Some examples of single morpheme nouns are samak *mat*; imah *house*; ranjang *bed*; gambar *picture*; etc.

Multiple morpheme nouns are derived from single morpheme nouns or some other form classes through the process of affixation, reduplication and compounding.

2.3.1.1 Affixation

The following affixes are used: ka-; mang-; mi-; pa-; pang-; pra-; pri-; pari-; -um-; -in-; -ar/a/-; -an; -eun and -keun with a root. The following are some examples with their meanings.

Prefixed nouns

1.1	ka + verb root:	nyaho	*to know*	kanyaho	*knowledge*
		resep	*to like*	karesep	*hobby, liking*
		hayang	*to want*	kahayang	*desire*
1.2	ka + adjective	sieun	*to be afraid*	kasieun	*fear*
		kurang	*to be lacking*	kakurang	*lack, need*
		wani	*to be daring*	kawani	*daring*
1.3	ka + numeral	hiji	*one*	kahiji	*first*
		dua	*two*	kadua	*second*
		tujuh	*seven*	katujuh	*seventh*
2.1	pa + verb base:	ménta	*to ask*	paménta	*request*
		meuli	*to buy*	pameuli	*purchase*
		nyiuk	*to dip*	panyiuk	*ladle*
2.2	pa + noun:	tali	*rope*	patali	*connection*
		idin	*permission*	paidin	*permission*
3.1	pang + noun:	rapet	*to glue*	pangrapet	*glue*
		déngé	*to hear*	pangdéngé	*hearing*
		hampura	*to forgive*	pang(h)ampura	*forgiveness*
3.2	pang + noun:	jawab	*answer*	pangjawab	*answer*
		hulu	*head*	panghulu	*Muslim leader*
4.	pi + verb:	unjuk	*to tell*	piunjuk	*answer*
		welas	*to have pity*	piwelas	*pity*
		tuduh	*to show, to inform*	pituduh	*guidance, information*

Suffixed nouns

1.1	Verb root + an:	hatur	*offer*	haturan	*offering proposal welcome*
		anggit	*to compose*	anggitan	*composition writings of*
		omong	*to talk*	omongan	*word, saying*
		robah	*to change*	robahan	*amendment*

1.2 Noun + an:

hatur	*offer*	haturan	*offering, proposal, welcome*
isuk	*tomorrow*	isukan	*the next day*
dua	*two*	duaan	*in twos*

2. Verb root + eun:

titah[8]	*order*	titaheun	*errand boy, messenger*
seuseuh	*to launder*	seuseuheun	*laundry*
kumbah	*to wash*	kumbaheun	*things to be washed (dishes)*

Infixed nouns

noun + -ar-:

budak	*child*	barudak	*children*
manéh	*you*	maranéh	*you all*

Simulfixed nouns

1.1 ka + verb root + an + verb base:

dahar	*to eat*	kadaharan	*food*
terang	*to make, clear*	keterangan	*certificate, identification*
percaya	*to trust*	kepercayaan	*trustee*

1.2 ka + adjective + an:

agung	*big*	keagungan	*greatness*
adil	*just*	keadilan	*justice*
beunghar	*rich*	kebeungharan	*wealth*

1.3 ka + noun + an:

luar	*outside*	kaluaran	*exported goods*
wadana	*district head*	kawadanaan	*district head office*
camat	*subdistrict head*	kacamatan	*subdistrict office*

1.4 In some cases, nouns ending in -u and -i undergo the *sandhi* process to become -on and -én endings respectively:

ratu	*king*	*ka-ratu-an	karaton	*palace*
bupati	*regent*	*ka-bupati-an	kabupatén	*regency*
putri	*princess*	*ka-putri-an	kaputrén	*women's quarters (in the palace)*

2.1 pa ± N + verbal root + an:

saré	*to sleep*	pasaréan	*bed*
linggih	*to sit*	palinggihan	*throne*
layar	*to sail*	palayaran	*voyage*
sumput	*to hide*	panyumputan	*hide-out*
tanggeuh	*to support*	pananggeuhan	*protector*

2.2 pa ± N + adjective + an:

adil	*just*	pangadilan	*law court*

3.1 pi + noun + an:

anak	*anak*	pianakan	*womb*
gunung	*child*	pigunungan	*mountain range*
lembur	*village*	pilemburan	*a group of villages, rural area*

3.2 pi + verbal base + eun:

indit	*to go*	piinditeun	*time of departure*
datang	*to come*	pidatangeun	*time of arrival*
balik	*to go home, to return*	pibalikeun	*time to return*

4.1 pi + adjective + eun:

bener	*correct*	pibenereun	*the appropriate thing*
salah	*wrong*	pisalaheun	*the wrong thing*
ngaco	*chaotic*	pingacoeun	*chaos*

4.2 pi + noun + eun:

alamat	*sign*	pialamateun	*portent*
baju	*clothes*	pibajueun	*material for clothing*
salaki	*husband*	pisalakieun	*future husband*

2.3.1.2 Reduplication

Nominal reduplication is a morphological process, in which the base or a derived word may be partially or fully reduplicated. There are three types of reduplication for the noun class (1) full reduplication, e.g. jalma *man*; jalma-jalma *men*; samak *mat*; samak-samak *mats*; kertas *paper*; kertas-kertas *papers*; (2) partial reduplication of the initial syllable or the root + suffixation, e.g. imah *house*; iimahan *a doll's house*; imah-imahan *not a real house, a fake house*; kembang *flower*; kekembangan *all kinds of flowers*; kembang-kembangan *fake flowers*; and (3) intervocalic reduplication, e.g. tulang *bone*; tulang-taléng *bones*; etc.

Pluralisation of nouns is generally arrived at by means of reduplication. In some cases reduplication has a noun-forming derivational function (Robins 1959:367) e.g. kuda *house*; kuda-kuda *roof beam, trestle*; kaca *glass*; kaca-kaca *gateway*; saha *who*; saha-saha *whoever*; hiji *one*; hiji-hiji *one by one*. There are a few nouns which are pluralised by the use of the infix -ar- or -al-, e.g. budak *child*; barudak *children*; or having a separate lexical form for singular and plural, e.g. kuring *I* and urang *we* (Robins 1959:367-368).

2.3.1.2.1 (a) Full reduplication

In the following examples the reduplicated form often brings a semantic shift between the base and the reduplicated form. In the shift the following aspects are elicited: similarity, variety, diminution.

awun	*horizon*	awun-awun	*Universe*
kaca	*glass*	kaca-kaca	*gateway*
kisi	*loom*	kisi-kisi	*trellis*
kuda	*horse*	kuda-kuda	*roof beam, trestle*
nyai	*title for a young girl*	nyai-nyai	*a woman kept by a foreigner*
aki	*grandfather*	aki-aki	*old man*
nini	*grandmother*	nini-nini	*an old woman*

adén	*title for a young man*	adén-adén	*man turned tiger*
umbul	*a vice regent*	umbul-umbul	*banner*
kotak	*a block of ricefield*	kotak-kotak	*a chequered material*
balé	*building*	balé-balé	*couch*

2.3.1.2.1 (b) Full reduplication + an

| kembang | *flower* | kembang-kembangan | *fake flowers* |
| imah | *house* | imah-imahan | *make-believe house* |

2.3.1.2.2 Partial reduplication ± an

Reduplication of the first syllable, in some cases the nasal of the first syllable, in some cases the nasal of the first syllable is dropped, e.g. kembang becomes kekembangan; some have nasals added to the first syllable, e.g. bolong-bongbolongan; in some there is no nasalisation when the initial syllable is reduplicated, e.g. mobil-mobilan and some have the initial reduplication without the -an suffix.

kembang	*flowers*	kekembangan	*all kinds of flowers*
tangkal	*tree*	tatangkalan	*all kinds of trees*
bolong	*hole*	bongbolongan	*solution to a problem, opening*
céléng	*wild pig*	céngcéléngan	*savings box, piggy bank*
mobil	*car*	momobilan	*toy car*
imah	*house*	iimahan	*a doll's house*
beureum	*red*	beubeureum	*egg yolk*
bodas	*white*	bobodas	*egg white*

In some cases the final vowel through the process of *sandhi* becomes -an; -on; and -én/-ɛn/

basa	*language*	babasan	*proverb*
laku	*action, journey*	lalakon	*activity, event*
wani	*daring*	wawanén	*courage*
gedé	*big*	gegedén	*VIP*

2.3.1.2.3 Intervocalic reduplication

tulang	*bone*	tulang-taléng	*bones*
opak	*rice flour crackers*	opak-apék	*all kinds of rice flour crackers*
wajit	*glutinous rice sweets*	wujut-wajit	*all kinds of glutinous rice sweets*

2.3.1.3 Nominal compounding

A compound may be endocentric or exocentric. A compound is endocentric when it belongs to the same substitution class.

Endocentric compounds may be serial if both members are nuclei, otherwise they are attributive.

Serial endocentric compounds contain two members each of which appear as nouns and the meaning is collective.

indung bapa   *(mother and father) parents*
aki buyut   *(grandfather and great-grandfather) ancestors*
anak incu   *(child and grandchild) descendants*

Attributive nominal compounds are those where one of the members is an attribute. There are two types of attribute: syntactic and asyntactic. Syntactic compounds are those where the nucleus is followed by the attribute, whereas asyntactic compounds are those where the attribute precedes the nucleus.

Syntactic compounds are as follows:

indung ké̇sang   *(mother, perspiration) a kind of skin rash*
konci panto   *(key, door) a door key*
sapu nyéré   *(broom, palm leaf) a palm leaf rib broom*
kurung manuk   *(cage, bird) bird cage*

Asyntactic compounds are given below:

amis mata   *(sweet, eye) a small tree bearing fruit*
beureum panon   *(red, eye) a bloodshot eye*
hampang birit   *(light, buttock) a willing person*
laér gado   *(far, chin) a person who always wants to keep up with the Joneses*

2.3.2 The verb class

Like nouns, verbs can also be composed of single or multiple morphemes. Some examples of single morpheme verbs are leumpang *to walk*; diuk *to sit*; dongko *to stoop*; cingogo *to squat*; hudang *to wake up*; saré *to sleep*; seuri *to laugh*; datang *to come*; dahar *to eat*; balik *to go home*; luncat *to jump*; etc. The single morpheme verbs all belong to intransitives.

Multiple morpheme verbs[9] are formed by using affixes or a combination of affixes with transitive and intransitive verbal bases.

2.3.2.1 Intransitives

Intransitives are those active verbs that have no object and no corresponding passive. The following formula shows the clause construction, which includes an intransitive predicate.

$$\text{IClRt} = \quad + \quad \frac{S}{A} \left| \text{NP} \right. \quad + \quad \frac{P}{\text{Stmt}} \left| \text{itv} \right.$$

The Intransitive Clause Root (IClRt) consists of a Subject tagmeme (S) manifesting a Noun Phrase (NP) functioning as the Agent (A) and the Predicate Tagmeme (P) which manifests a Verb (V), stating a proposition or Statement (Stmt) and is represented by an intransitive class of verb (itv).

Intransitive verbs have derived and non-derived forms. The non-derived forms are the single morpheme intransitive verbs and the derived forms are the multiple morphemes.

2.3.2.1.1 Single morpheme intransitives

There are a small number of these single morpheme intransitives such as:
diuk *to sit*; cicing *to stay*; dahar *to eat*; saré *to sleep*; seuri *to laugh*; imut *to smile*; ceurik *to cry*; indit *to go*; tumpak *to ride*; etc.

2.3.2.1.2 Multiple morpheme intransitives

The multiple morpheme intransitives may be prefixed, suffixed or infixed.

2.3.2.1.2.1 Prefixed intransitives:

ba₁-	stative	juang		bajuang	*to struggle*
		gerak		bagerak	*to move*
ba₂-	reciprocal	dami		badami	*to confer, to discuss*
		gilir		bagilir	*to take turns*
barang-	multifactive	barang	*all kinds of*	barangtanya	*to ask all kinds of things*
				barangbeuli	*to buy all kinds of things*
				barangdahar	*to eat all kinds of things*
di-[10]	stative	gawé	*work, job*	digawé	*to work*
		baju	*clothes*	dibaju	*to dress*
		kacamata	*glasses*	dikacamata	*to wear glasses, bespectacled*
ma-	stative	gawé	*work, job*	magawé	*to plough the rice-field*
N-	stative	igel		ngigel	*to dance*
		abdi		ngabdi	*to serve*
		pasantrén	*Koranic school*	masantrén	*to study the Koranic laws*
nga-	stative	gebrét		ngagebrét	*to pour (of rain)*
		dunga		ngadunga	*to pray*
		layung		ngalayung	*to have an evening stroll*
pa-	reciprocity	amprok	*to meet*	paamprok	*to come across someone unexpectedly*
		adu	*to collide*	paadu	*to collide with one another*
		teuteup	*to gaze*	pateuteup	*to gaze at one another*
pada N-	multiactant	pelong	*to stare*	pada melong	*to be stared at by everyone*
		carék	*to rebuke*	pada nyarék	*to be rebuked by everyone*
		pariksa	*to examine*	pada mariksa	*to be examined by everyone*

si-[11]	stative, reflexive	deku	*knee*	sideku	*to kneel*
		beungeut	*face*	sibeungeut	*to wash one's face*
		banyo	*water*	sibanyo	*to wash one's hands*
silih	reciprocity, alternant	surung	*to push*	silihsurung	*to push one another*
		genti	*to change, to replace*	silihgenti	*to do things in turn*
		gebug	*to hit*	silihgebug	*to hit one another*
ti-	accidental, non-volitive	tajong	*to kick*	titajong	*to stumble*
		banting	*to smash*	tibanting	*to be smashed against something accidentally*
		jongklok		tijongklok	*to fall over*
		teuleum	*to dive*	titeuleum	*to drown*
		solédat		tisolédat	*to slip*
		balik	*to go home*	tibalik	*to tople over*
ting-	simulfactive	gerendeng	*mumbling*	tinggerendeng	*to mumble*
		jorélat	*darting*	tingjorélat	*to dart around*
		karetip	*twinkling*	tingkaretip	*to twinkle about*

2.3.2.1.2.2 Suffixed intransitives

-an[12]	have the qualities of	cai	*water*	caian	*to contain water, watery*
		uyah	*salt*	uyahan	*to contain salt, salty, salinate*
		késang	*perspiration*	késangan	*to perspire*

2.3.2.1.2.3 Infixed intransitives

Some of the bases have -ar- infix (with -al- and r- or ra- as their allomorph) as a pluraliser, indicating more than one agent.

-ar-	multiactant	diuk	*to sit*	dariuk	*to sit* (plural agent)
		dahar	*to eat*	dalahar	*to eat* (plural agent)
		ajleng	*to jump*	rajleng	*to jump* (plural agent)

The infixes -in- and -um- are of Javanese origin. The -in- infix has no significance other than stylistic elegance particularly in *lemes* form.

-in-	panggih	*to meet with, to come across*	pinanggih	*to come across to experience*
	ganjar	*to reward*	ginanjar	*to be rewarded*
	wangun	*to arrange, to compose*	winangun	*to be composed*

The infix -um- has two meanings, one as stative of an action and the other as similative.

-um-	stative	rasa	*to feel*	rumasa	*to admit (to)*
		gantung	*to hang*	gumantung	*to depend on*
		deuheus	*close*	dumeuheus	*to appear before one's superior*

-um-	similative	gedé	*big*	gumedé	*to be conceited*
		kasép	*handsome*	kumasép	*to be affected; to pretend to be handsome*
		santana	*lesser noble*	sumantana	*to behave like a lesser noble*

2.3.2.2 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs are defined as those verbs that have active and passive forms, which yield such clause construction:

$$\text{ATClRt} \quad = \quad + \quad \frac{S \mid NP}{A \mid} \quad + \quad \frac{P \mid atv}{Stmt \mid} \quad + \quad \frac{Ad \mid NP}{U \mid -}$$

with a possible transformation into:

$$\text{PTClRt} \quad = \quad + \quad \frac{S \mid NP}{U \mid -} \quad + \quad \frac{P \mid ptv}{Stmt \mid} \quad + \quad \frac{Ad \mid prep.ku\text{-}}{A \mid}$$

An active transitive clause root construction (ATClRt) consists of three tagmemes: the Subject tagmeme (S) manifesting a Noun Phrase (NP) acting as the Agent (A); the Predicate tagmeme (P) manifesting a Verb (V), functioning as a proposition (Stmt) with a verb of the active transitive class (atv) and the Adjunct tagmeme (Ad) having the role of an Undergoer (U) manifesting a Noun Phrase (NP) as the receiver or the undergoer of that action. The transformation of that formula reads as follows: the Subject tagmeme (S) manifesting a Noun Phrase (NP) with the role of Undergoer (U) in the passive transitive Clause root (PTClRt); the Predicate tagmeme (P) manifests a verb of the passive transitive class (ptv); and the Adjunct tagmeme (Ad) manifests an agentive preposition ku *by* with the respective Noun (Phrase) as the agent of that passive clause. The active clause:

> Kuring meuli baju
> *I   buy   clothes*
> *I buy clothes.*

has the passive transformation of:

> Baju   dibeuli   ku kuring
> *clothes be bought by I*
> *The clothes are bought by me.*

Unlike intransitives, transitives are multiple morphemes. The bulk of transitives are represented by nasalised forms of the root. A large number of the transitive verb roots are precategorial, but with secondary prefixation roots from other word classes are possible. The morphophonemic process is summarised here:

1. Roots whose initial consonant is p, t, k, c or s appear with the corresponding nasal consonant as initial m, n, ng and ny, e.g.:

m-	paksa	- maksa	*to force*
n-	tulis	- nulis	*to write*
ng-	kirim	- ngirim	*to send*
ny-	cokot	- nyokot	*to fetch*
	seungeut	- nyeungeut	*to light (a fire)*

2. Roots whose initial consonant is other than those mentioned under 1. above are prefixed by nga-, e.g.:

bukbak		ngabukbak	to clear land
dongéng	story	ngadongéng	to tell a story
ganggu		ngaganggu	to bother someone
jual		ngajual	to sell
lamun	if	ngalamun	to daydream
naha	why	nganaha-naha	to recriminate
nyaho	to know	nganyahokeun	to be thoughtful, understanding
ngeunah	nice	ngangeunahkeun	to please someone
rasa	feeling	ngarasa	to feel
wujud	shape	ngawujud	to take shape
yuga	creation	ngayuga	to procreate, to beget
hina	lowly, insignificant	ngahina	to insult

3. Roots with zero initial consonant (in phonetic transcript indicated as a glottal ?) replace this by ng-, e.g.:

atur	ngatur	to regulate, to organise
injeum	nginjeum	to borrow
omong	ngomong	to say
érét	ngérét	to draw, to pull by a rope
eunteung *mirror*	ngeunteung	to look in a mirror
endog *egg*	ngendog	to lay an egg
unghak	ngunghak	to be rude to one's superior

4. A small number of verbs which begin with a plosive b, d, j and g take nasals homorganic with the initial consonant of the base rather than using the the prefix nga-

béré	méré	to give
bawa	mawa	to bring
deuleu	neuleu	to see
jieun	nyieun	to make
gégél	ngégél	to bite

Transitive verbs will be discussed in the following pages under the headings Active and Passive. Each heading will deal with the various ways of affixation together with the accompanying nasalised prefixation.

2.3.2.2.1 Active transitives

There are two types of transitives, non-derived and derived transitives. The non-derived transitives are those verbs whose roots have a basic transitive meaning and when prefixed with a nasalised homorganic convey an active transitive verbal notion. The derived transitive verbs are those words belonging to other word classes, which are either prefixed, suffixed or confixed to form the stem of the derived verbs and when prefixed with homorganic nasals similarly convey an active transitive verbal notion as do the non-derived transitives.

2.3.2.2.1.1 Non-derived prefixed transitives

m-	bawa	mawa	*to bring*
	paké	maké	*to wear*
	pénta	ménta	*to ask*
n-	ténjo	nénjo	*to see*
	tawar	nawar	*to bargain*
	teunggeul	neunggeul	*to hit, to strike*
ng-	omong	ngomong	*to talk*
	inum	nginum	*to drink*
	urus	ngurus	*to look after*
ny-	cokot	nyokot	*to fetch*
	seuseuh	nyeuseuh	*to launder*
	jieun	nyieun	*to make*
nga-	jaga	ngajaga	*to guard against*
	hina	ngahina	*to insult*
	babuk	ngababuk	*to hit*

2.3.2.2.1.2 Derived prefixed transitives

The prefix pi- is attached to the root and nasalisation occurs after that. Similarly the double prefixes pi + ka- are attached to the root and the resultant base is nasalised:

pi-	éling	*to be conscious*	piéling	miéling	*to commemorate*
	hatur		pihatur *news*	mihatur	*to inform*
	gawé		pigawé	migawé	*to work on something*
pi + ka-	hayang	*to want*	pikahayang	mikahayang	*to desire*
	ngéwa	*to be averse to*	pikangéwa	mikangéwa	*to dislike*
	sieun	*afraid of*	pikasieun	mikasieun	*to fear*

2.3.2.2.1.3 Derived suffixed transitives

-an₁ [locative]	asup *to enter*	asupan	ngasupan	*to put in, to enter into*
	omong *word*	omongan	ngomongan	*to advise*
	tanya [precat]	tanyaan	nanyaan	*to propose*
-an₂ [iterative]	usap [precat]	usapan	ngusapan	*to stroke repeatedly*
	ténjo [precat]	ténjoan	nénjoan	*to look at*
	tinggang [precat]	tinggangan	ninggangan	*to pummel*
-keun [causative]	saré *to sleep*	sarékeun	nyarékeun	*to bring someone to sleep*
	tanya	tanyakeun	nanyakeun	*to enquire*
	Sunda *Sundanese*	sundakeun	nyundakeun	*to translate into Sundanese*

2.3.2.2.2 Passive transitives

There are two types of passive, one prefixed and the other confixed.

2.3.2.2.2.1 Prefixed transitives

We have under this category the volitive prefixed passive di- and the non-volitive prefixed passive ka-. The latter can also indicate accidental (non-intentional) or abilitive aspects:

di-	volitive	bawa [precat]	dibawa	*to be brought*
		tawar [precat]	ditawar	*to be bargained for*
		inum	diinum	*to be drunk*
		jaga	dijaga	*to be watched*
		jieun	dijieun	*to be made*
ka-	non-volitive	bawa	kabawa	*accidentally brought in or able to bring in*
		inum	kainum	*accidentally taken (of drinks or medicine), or able to drink up*
		cokot	kacokot	*accidentally taken (of things)*
		teunggeul	kateunggeul	*accidentally hit*
		tempo	katempo	*can be seen, visible*
		rasa	karasa	*can be felt*
		déngé	kadéngé	*can be heard, audible*
		jaga	kajaga	*can be watched*

The above passives may have the -ar- or -al- infix attached, thus having a multi-agentive aspect.

di + ar/al-	bawa	dibarawa	*to be brought (by everyone)*
	tawar	ditalawar	*to be bargained for (by everyone)*
	inum	diarinum	*to be drunk (by everyone)*
ka + ar/al	bawa	kabarawa	*accidentally brought in or able to be brought in (by everyone)*
	inum	kaarinum	*accidentally brought in or able to be drunk up (by everyone)*
	tempo	katarempo	*can be seen by everybody, visible to everyone*
	déngé	kadaréngé	*can be heard by everyone, audible to everyone*

2.3.2.2.2.2 Confixed passives

There are two types of confixed passives: (1) the di + pang - keun, di + pang + N - an + keun; and (2) the ka - an, ka - eun and ka - keun:

1. di + pang + N - keun   causative benefactive

jieun - nyieun *to make* - pangnyieunkeun - dipangnyieunkeun
                    to be made for the benefit of someone

cokot - nyokot *to fetch* - pangnyokotkeun - dipangnyokotkeun
                    to be fetched for the benefit

```
     tulis - nulis   to write      - pangnuliskeun - dipangnuliskeun
                                      to be written for the benefit of someone

     di + pang + N - + an + keun   causative benefactive iterative

     téang - néangan  to look for - pangnéangankeun - dipangnéangankeun
                                      to be looked for the benefit of someone
                                      repeatedly

     cokot - nyokotan  to fetch   - pangyokotankeun - dipangnyokotankeun
                      repeatedly     to be fetched repeatedly for the benefit
                                      of someone
```

2. a. ka + noun + an:

hujan	*rain*	kahujanan	*caught in the rain*
beurang	*daylight*	kabeurangan	*caught by daylight, late*
ubar	*medicine*	kaubaran	*able to be treated*

  b. ka + verb root + an:

diuk	*to sit*	kadiukan	*accidentally sat upon*
datang	*to come*	kadatangan	*have someone come unexpectedly*
nyaho	*to know*	kanyahoan	*accidentally found out*

  c. ka + verb root + eun:

jeueung	*to see*	kajeueungeun	*can be visualised*
ténjo	*to see*	katénjoeun	*can be seen, visible*
déngé	*to hear*	kadéngéeun	*can be heard, audible*

  d. ka + noun + eun:

rasa	*feeling*	karasaeun	*to be felt*
harti	*meaning*	kahartieun	*to be understood*

  e. ka + noun + keun:

béja	*news*	kabéjakeun	*to be reported*
gambar	*picture*	kagambarkeun	*can be described*
carita	*story*	kacaritakeun	*to be told*

  f. ka + verb base + keun:

surung	*to push*	kasurungkeun	*to be pressed by*
jurung	*to urge*	kajurungkeun	*to be urged by*
bawa	*to bring*	kabawakeun	*to be influenced by*
tulis	*to write*	katuliskeun	*to be written on*
sangga	*to hand over*	kasanggakeun	*to be handed over to*
kocap	*to be told*	kakocapkeun	*it was said*
catur	*to say, to tell*	kacaturkeun	*it was said, it was told*

Among these verbal forms, some are productive and some are less productive.

The productive forms are: (1) prefixed verbs such as barang-; di₁-; di₂-; ka-; N-; pa-; pada-; silih-; ti-; ting-; (2) suffixed verbs such as -an₁; -an₂; -an₃; -keun; (3) infixed -ar-; and (4) the confixed verbs such as pangN-keun; sa-keun; di-ar-an; di-keun; ka-an; and ka-keun.

The less productive forms are: (1) verbs with the prefix ba-; ma-; si-; (2) verbs with the suffix -i; (3) verbs with the complex prefix ka+pi-.

2.3.2.3 Verbal reduplication

There are verbs formed by reduplication of nouns, adjectives or verbal roots. We can distinguish three types of reduplication: 1. reduplication; 2. partial reduplication, and 3. intervocalic reduplication.

2.3.2.3.1 Verbal reduplication:

a. Formed from nouns:

imah	*house*	imah-imah	*to set up house, be married*
kuda	*horse*	kuda-kuda	*to take up a fighting stance*

b. Formed from verbs:

garo	*to scratch*	garo-garo	*to scratch and scratch*
ganti		ganti-ganti	*to take it in turns*

c. Formed from derived verbs:

ngudag	*to chase*	ngudag-ngudag	*to keep on chasing*
nyusul	*to follow*	nyusul-nyusul	*to keep on following*
nunggu	*to wait*	nunggu-nunggu	*to keep on waiting*

2.3.2.3.2 Verbal partial reduplication

There are two types of partial reduplication, one where the initial syllable of the root is partially reduplicated and the other is where the root only is reduplicated or the nasalised root is reduplicated:

a. The initial syllable of the root is reduplicated:

béja	*news*	bébéja	*to inform, to tell*
godeg	*to shake one's head*	gogodeg	*to shake one's head repeatedly*
kumpul	*to assemble*	kukumpul	*to collect something continuously*

b. The prefix nga + reduplicated root:

ngagudag	*to burst into flames*	ngagudag-gudag	*bursting into flames, licking with flames*
ngadago	*to wait*	ngadago-dago	*to keep on waiting*
ngabanjel	*to support*	ngabanjel-banjel	*to keep on supporting*

c. Reduplicated root + eun:

bisaeun	*to be able to*	bisa-bisaeun	*ever to be able to do things*
bogaeun	*to possess*	boga-bogaeun	*ever able to have things*

d. Derived reduplicated nasalised root + keun:

mereketkeun	*to restrain (oneself)*	mereket-mereketkeun	*to keep on restraining oneself*
nurunkeun	*to lower*	nurun-nurunkeun	*to keep lowering*
ngadukeun	*to fight off*	ngadu-ngadukeun	*to keep fighting people off*

e.   The prefix di + reduplicated root:

diriung	*to be surrounded*	diriung-riung	*to crowd, to swarm over*
dipikir	*to be thought about*	dipikir-pikir	*to thing about carefully*
ditawar	*to be bargained for*	ditawar-tawar	*to keep on bargaining*

f.   The prefix ka + reduplicated root:

kaseuit	*to be hurt*	kaseuit-seuit	*to be hurt all over again*
luli		kaluli-luli	*to be forgotten*

2.3.2.3.3 Verbal intervocalic reduplication:

imut	*to smile*	umat-imut	*to smile subtly*
lieuk	*to turn one's head*	luak-lieuk	*to keep looking around*
cabak	*to touch*	cubuk-cabak	*to touch everything*

2.3.2.4 Compound verbs

There are two types of compound verbs, the base or unaffixed compound verbs, the base or unaffixed compound verb and the affixed compound verb[13].

2.3.2.4.1 Unaffixed compound verbs

The unaffixed compound verbs may be formed in the following manner:

1. intr. verb + noun   mandi *to take a shower* + getih *blood*;
    mandi getih *to fight*

2. intr. verb + tr.verb: usul *to suggest* + pariksa *to examine*;
    usul pariksa *to interrogate*

3. intr.verb + [precat]:   tepung *to meet* + lawung *to bring quarelling parties together in order to hear what they have to say*; tepung lawung *to bring together*

4. tr.verb + [precat]:   ayun *to swing* + ambing *to swing*;
    ayun ambing *rockabye baby*

5. [precat] + noun: ulung *roll up one's sleeves to get involved* + tangan *hands*; ulung tangan *to meddle*

6. tr. verb + noun: olah *to cultivate* + raga *physique*;
    olah raga *to play sport*

7. tr.verb + tr.verb: kutuk *to curse* + gendeng *to swear*;
    kutuk gendeng *to keep on cursing*

8. [precat] + int.verb: unjuk *to show* + uninga *to know*;
    unjuk uninga *to inform*

9. [precat] + tr.verb: ucang *to swing one's feet* + anggé *to use*;
    ucang anggé *to playfully swing a small child on one's feet*

2.3.2.4.2 The affixed compound verbs

There are ten types of affixed compound verbs. The structure of the basic forms of affixed compound verbs are as follows:

1. pass. verb + adjective (the adjective can be regarded as adverbial in the compound): e.g.
   e.g. diteureuy *to be swallowed* + buleud *round*; diteureuy buleud *swallowed whole*

2. base verb + noun: e.g. dibéjér *to be broken* + béas *rice*; dibéjér béaskeun *to clarify*

3. particle + particle: e.g. lur *to free* + jeun *to allow*; dilur jeunkeun *to be neglected*

4. tr. verb + intr. verb: e.g. beuweung *to swallow* + utah *to vomit*; dibeuweung diutahkeun *to think carefully*

5. tr. verb + tr. verb: e.g. jual *to sell* + meuli *to buy*; jual meuli *to buy and sell*

6. noun + noun: e.g. tulak *cross-bar* + cangkéng *waist*; nulak cangkéng *to stand with arms akimbo*

7. verb base + intr. verb: e.g. wedal *birth* + sila *to sit cross-legged*; medal sila *to leave, to avoid*

8. intr. verb + intr. verb: e.g. usik *to move* + malik *to turn around*; ngusik malikkeun *to impel, to move*

9. noun + numeral: e.g. nomer *number* + dua *two*; nganomer duakeun *to relegate*

10. verbal stem + verbal stem: e.g. gulang *precategorial word* + gapér *precategorial word*
    ngagulang gapérkeun *to turn over and over, to manhandle (e.g. the sick)*.

2.3.3 The adjective class

Most of the adjective class are single morphemes. Multiple morphemes are limited to those with homorganic nasals N-, those with the suffix +an; +eun; those with the initial syllabic reduplication +eun; and those with the infix -um-.

Single morpheme adjectives are beunghar *rich*; hadé *good*; pantes *appropriate*; murah *cheap*; etc.

The multiple morphemes are ngeusi *well built*; daékan *willing*; koloteun; *mature*; bubudakeun *childish*; guminter *pretentious*; gumeulis *affected*.

All single morpheme adjectives in the positive degree can be made comparative by adding the +an suffix, e.g. murah *cheap*; murahan *cheaper*. The comparative marker leuwih *more* can be used for both multiple and single morpheme adjectives co-occurring with the particle tibatan *than* for the comparative degree, e.g. leuwih hade tibatan *better than*; leuwih daekan tibatan *more willing than*.

The superlative degree is indicated with the adjectival confix pang-na for both single and multiple morphemes, e.g. pangmurahna *the cheapest*; panghadéna *the best*; pangdaékanna *the most willing*.

When an adjective functions as a modifier to a noun, the relative marker anu or nu is optional, e.g. buku heubeul or buku anu heubeul *the old book*. The use of the relative marker is preferred when the adjective is farther away from the nucleus noun, e.g. buku bacaan budak nu babari *a simple children's reading book*; *buku bacaan budak babari may have an ambiguous meaning, i.e. *a simple child's reading book*[14].

2.3.4 The adverb class

Adverbs may consist of one or more than one morpheme. Some single morpheme adverbs are kungsi *ever*; mindeng *often*; langka *seldom*.

Multiple morpheme adverbs are usually formed by adding the clitic -na or the suffix -eun, e.g. biasana *usually*; sigana *apparently*; hareupeun *in front of*; luhureun *on top of*; a reduplication is also used like ujug-ujug *suddenly*; buru-buru *quickly* etc. The more complex adverbs will be discussed in the chapter on the phrase.

2.3.5 The Particle Class

There are five Particle Classes. Each may or may not have its own sub-class. We will look at particles in relation to their function in syntax.

2.3.5.1 Prepositions function as relaters in relater-related constructions.

2.3.5.2 Conjunctions function as introducers of sequential dependent sentences.

2.3.5.3 Interrogatives function as transformers of non-interrogative clause or sentence constructions into interrogative ones.

2.3.5.4 Quantifiers set out the number or the amount of the preceding or the following elements.

2.3.5.5 Markers mark form classes of various sorts. They may take the form of clitics, but they may also be independent words.

2.4 Word classification

In section 2.2 we discussed the formation of words. This section will discuss the rationale for this classification. The first consideration is the syntactic aspect. Words are classified according to their syntactic behaviour in relation to other words with which they can co-occur. The second consideration is the semantic feature, as in many cases different semantic features of a word bring about a variation in its syntactic behaviour.

2.4.1 The Noun Class

The Noun Class is subclassified into seven subclasses.

2.4.1.1 Common nouns

Two sub-subclasses can be subsumed under this section. Countable nouns such as samak *mat*; ranjang *bed*; méja *table*; pagawéan *work*; kalakuan *behaviour* is one, and the other includes those uncountable nouns such as guludug *thunder*; cai *water*; awang-awang *atmosphere*; etc.

The main bulk of the noun class belongs to the common noun subclass and they function in various sorts of nominal as well as non-nominal constructions.

2.4.1.2 Locative nouns

There are four sub-subclasses of the locative noun subclass.

The first one, symbolised as $LocN_1$, consists of the word dieu *here*; dinya *there*; and ditu *yonder*. $LocN_1$ manifests the nucleus tagmeme of the locative phrase $LocP_1$.

The second subclass, $LocN_2$, consists of the words luhur *top*, and jero *the inside*. $LocN_2$ manifests the locative margin tagmeme of $LocP_2$ and $LocP_3$.

The third sub-subclass, $LocN_3$, consists of words such as handap *bottom*; hareup *front*; tukang *back*; gigir *side*; etc. $LocN_3$ manifests the locative margin tagmeme of $LocP_2$ and $LocP_3$. The contrast between $LocN_2$ and $LocN_3$ is that the absence of $LocN_2$ from the locative phrase does not always change the meaning of the phrase. This does not hold with $LocN_3$.

The fourth sub-subclass, $LocN_4$, includes place names such as Bandung, Bogor, Tasik, Jakarta etc. $LocN_4$ manifests the locative nuclear tagmeme of $LocP_2$ and $LocP_3$. In some constructions it can function as the subject or object, thus filling those slots. A number of nouns can also be included in this sub-subclass by virtue of their locative semantic feature, and behave syntactically as the place-names above. Words such as mobil *car*; imah *house*; gedong *building*; sakola *school*; etc.

2.4.1.3 Personal nouns

Personal nouns are: kuring *I*; kuring saréréa *we*; manéh *you*; maranéh *you*; (plural); manéhna *he* or *she* and maranéhanana *they*. The label PersN is used for personal nouns. PersN manifests the following tagmemes: subject, object, topic of a topic comment syntagmeme, possessive in a marginal tagmeme of the Noun Phrase (NP), nucleus tagmeme of an Accompaniment Phrase (AcP), nucleus tagmeme of a Benefactive Phrase (BenP), nucleus tagmeme of a Purposive Phrase (Purp), nucleus tagmeme of a Causative Phrase (CausP), nucleus tagmeme of a Similative Phrase (SimP), nucleus tagmeme of the Directive Phrase (DirP) and nucleus tagmeme of the Agentive (Ag).

Under personal nouns we also include proper nouns such as Rusdi, Tati, Euis, etc.; kinship terms when used both as terms of address and terms of reference such as aki *grandfather*; nini *grandmother*; abah or bapa *father*; ema or ibu *mother*; ua *uncle* or *aunt* (older brother or older sister of parents);

emang *uncle* (younger brother of parents); bibi *aunt* (younger sister of parents); and titles such as juragan *master* or *mistress*.

2.4.1.4 Determiners

The determiner subclass has two sub-subclasses. The first sub-subclass, Det_1, consists of three members ieu *this, these*; éta *the, that, those*; and itu *that, those* (a distance away from the speaker). Both éta, ieu and itu function as demonstrative pronoun Éta and ieu also function as determiners of noun phrases.

The second one, Det_2, consists of two members téh *the* and téa *the one I have mentioned*. Traditionally the two Det_2 types are classified as *emphatic marker*, but as it functions as a determiner of noun phrases it is included under this class. Normally both Det_1 and Det_2 types are used, e.g. buku éta téh *the book (in question)*. Det_1 and Det_2 manifest the marginal tagmeme of a Noun Phrase (NP) and also a Temporal Phrase (TemP).

Only the Det_1 type can function as a subject and object tagmeme, Det_2 only manifests as the marginal tagmeme of a Demonstrative Phrase (DemP) and Det_2 never stands independently.

2.4.1.5 Specifiers

The specifier is a subclass of nouns which specify a noun. Words such as keclak *a drop*; comot *a pinch*; leunjeur *a pole (-like object)*; lambar *a piece, a sheet*; etc. Measurement also comes under this category such as kilo *kilogram*; léter *litre*; oz *100 grams* etc. Based on the words we subsumed the specifiers fall into two subtypes: $Spec_1$ for such words as pasang *pair*; potong *a piece*; siuk *a scoop*; siki *a piece* and $Spec_2$, to include words of measurement of various sorts, such as léter *litre*; tumbak *3.77m*; bau *land measurement the equivalent of 7096.50 square metres*. Contrast between the two is that subtype $Spec_1$ can be used optionally whereas $Spec_2$ is obligatory. Except for the more traditional ones, as given above, the tendency now is to drop the use of $Spec_1$, and use the quantifier instead.

2.4.1.5 Temporal

The temporal subclass can be subdivided into eight sub-subclasses. The first, $TempW_1$, consists of words such as ayeuna *now*; engké *later*; bieu *just now*; isuk *tomorrow*; kamari *yesterday*; harita *that time* etc.

The second sub-subclass, $TempW_2$, consists of jam or pukul *hour*; tanggal *date* and tahun *year*. $TempW_2$ is manifested in the temporal nuclear tagmeme of $TempP_1$, temporal marginal tagmeme of $TempP_3$, and temporal nuclear tagmeme of $TempP_9$.

The third sub-subclass, $TempW_3$, consists of poé/powé/ *day*; malem *night* and bulan *month*. $TempW_3$ manifests tagmemes as in the temporal margin of $Temp_2$, $TemP_4$, $TempP_5$ and nucleus of $TempP_9$.

The fourth sub-subclass, $TempW_4$, consists of sekon *second*; minggu *week*; and jaman *period*. They are manifested as the nuclear tagmeme of $TempP_6$ and $TempP_9$.

The fifth sub-subclass, $TempW_5$, consists of mangsa and waktu both meaning *time*. $TempW_5$ manifests the nuclear tagmeme $TempP_7$.

The sixth sub-subclass, $TempW_6$, consists of the names of the days such as Senén *Monday*; Salasa *Tuesday*; Rebo *Wednesday*; etc., and names of the months such as Januari *January*, Pébruari *February*, Maret *March*; etc. $TempW_6$ manifests the nuclear tagmemes of $TempP_4$, $TempP_9$, and the marginal tagmeme of $TempP_2$.

The seventh sub-subclass, $TempW_7$, consists of isuk *morning*; beurang *daytime*; soré *evening* and peuting *night*. $TempW_7$ manifests the marginal tagmeme of $TempP_1$, $TempP_4$ and the nuclear tagmeme of $TempP_5$.

The eight sub-subclass, $TempW_8$, consists of awal *beginning*; tengah *middle*; ahir *end*. $TempW_8$ manifests the marginal tagmemes of $TempP_2$ and $TempP_3$.

The above nouns can function nominally as any other nouns, and therefore are able to fill nominal slots as subject and object.

2.4.1.7 Manner

A limited number of nouns function as nuclei of the Manner Phrases. These nouns are satria *knight*; duduluran *brotherly spirit*; wangunan *structure* etc. These nouns, labelled Mw_2, manifest as the nuclei of the Manner Phrase MP_2.

An even smaller number, Mw_3, consist of words such as sumanget *spirit*; kahayang *will*; pitulung *help*; etc. Mw_3 manifests the manner nuclear tagmeme of MP_3.

2.4.2 The Verb Class

The Verb Class is subdivided into seven subclasses. In general verbs manifest the head tagmeme of the Verb Phrase (VP).

2.4.2.1 Intransitive

All intransitives are subsumed under the label P_1. There are four sub-subclasses of intransitive discussed here[15].

The first sub-subclass, given the label itva includes such verbs as diuk *to sit*; saré *to sleep*; sibeungeut *to wash one's face*; diajar *to learn*; ngiuhan *to take shelter*; ngeusi *to charge (battery)*; masantrén *to study Islamic teachings*; etc. Itva manifests the predicate tagmeme P_{1a}.

The second sub-subclass, itvb, consists of words such as dieusi *to contain*; mangrupakeun *to constitute*; etc. The difference between itva and itvb is that the latter can occur with a nominal whereas the former cannot. Itvb manifests the predicate tagmeme P_{1b}.

The third sub-subclass, itvc, consists of a limited number of verbs such as ngomong *to say*; nyarita *to tell*; mikir *to think* etc. Itvc manifests the predicate tagmeme P_{1c}.

The fourth sub-subclass, itvd, consists of a very limited number of verbs such as indit *to go*; datang *to come*; cicing *to stay* etc. Itvd manifests the predicate tagmeme P_{1d}.

2.4.2.2 Biintransitive

This subclass includes a large number of verbs. The difference between the intransitive and biintransitive is that the latter has participant scope whereas the former has not. This subclass is labelled bitv. Bitv manifests the predicate tagmeme P_2.

2.4.2.3 Transitive

Although it has a variety of morphological composition, there is only one subclass of transitive verbs such as meuli *to buy*; ngajual *to sell*; neangan *to find*; nukeurkeun *to exchange*; neunggeulan *to hit (repeatedly)*; ngajauhan *to avoid*; etc. The transitive is labelled vt and it manifests the predicate tagmeme P_2.

2.4.2.4 Bitransitive[16]

The bitransitive consists of such verbs as mangmeulikeun *to buy something for someone*; mangyokotkeun *to fetch something for someone*; mangirimkeun *to send something for someone*; manginjeumkeun *to borrow something for someone*; etc. The bitransitive is labelled ibtv and it manifests the predicate tagmeme P_3.

2.4.2.5 Tritransitive

The transitive verbs are limited to some verbs such as mangméntakeun *to ask something for someone* or some such verbs of the mang-keun type. It requires he participation of participant tagmemes such as Agent, Undergoer, Scope and Benefactive. The tritransitive verb is labelled ttv. Ttv is manifested in the predicate tagmeme of P_4.

2.4.2.6 Semitransitive

A limited number of verbs belong to this subclass. It consists of verbs such as dahar *to eat*; nginum *to drink*; nulis *to write*; maca *to read* etc. This verb is labelled stv. Stv manifests the predicate tagmeme P_5.

2.4.2.7 Passives

The subclasses tv, btv, ttv and stv can be made passive through morphological and syntactical processes. Stv can be made passive if the object is present within the clause. We thus have dibayar *to be paid* from tv mayar *to pay*; dipangmayarkeun *to be paid (by someone else)*; dipangméntakeun *to be asked for (by someone else)* from ttv mangméntakeun *to ask something for someone else*; and ditulis *to be written* from nulis *to write*. The respective passives are therefore labelled as ptv, pbtv, pttv and pstv. Ptv manifests the predicate tagmeme P_{10}. Pbtv manifests the predicate tagmeme P_{11}. Pbtv manifests the predicate tagmeme P_{11}. Pttv manifests the predicate tagmeme P_{12}. Pstv as it requires an object to passivise, can be subsumed under P_{10}.

2.4.2.8 Existensive

There are only two members of this verb subclass, aya *to exist* and its negative euweuh *not exist*. It is labelled exv. Exv manifests the predicate tagmeme P_6.

2.4.2.9 Eventive

There is only one member of this verb subclass, hujan *rain*. It will be labelled evv. Evv manifests the predicate tagmeme P_7.

2.4.2.10 Imperative

The tv, btv and ttv can be made imperative through morphological and/or syntactic processes. The itv retains its prefixes in imperative form; tv, btv and ttv, however, drop the homorganic N- or the prefix nga-. Thus itv verbs such as digawé *to work* or sibeungeut *to wash one's face* have the same forms in Imperative Clauses. The verb mayar *to pay*; mangmayarkeun *to pay something for someone* and mangméntakeun *to ask something for someone* belonging to the tv, btv and ttv respectively, become bayar *pay*; pangmayarkeun *pay (for me)* and pangméntakeun *ask (for me)* in Imperative Clauses. The imperative is labelled imv. Imv manifests the predicate tagmeme P_{13}.

2.4.2.11 Auxiliaries

Finally, there is a finite number of this subclass of verb. Based on their precedence in the structure of the Verb Phrase we have three sub-subclasses. The first sub-subclass, Aux_1, consists of three members arék *will*; eukeur *in the process of* and enggeus *already*. The second sub-class Aux_2, consists of one member kudu *must, have to*. The third sub-subclass is divided into two: Aux_{3a} consists of two members bisa *an* and meunang *may*; Aux_{3b} consists of resep *to like*; beuki *to like, have a passion for*; hayang *to desire*; daék *to want*.

All these auxiliaries manifest the pre-marginal tagmeme of the verb phrase VP in that order except Aux_{3a} does not co-occur with Aux_{3b}.

2.4.3 The Adjective Class

There are four subclasses of the Adjective Class.

2.4.3.1 Adjective subtype 1

Adj_1 represents the biggest number of the Adjective Class, such as alus *good*; goréng *bad*; bodo *stupid*; tiis *cold (to the touch)*; tiris *cold (to feel)*; kotor *dirty*; etc. Adj_1 manifests the predicate tagmeme P_{8a}.

2.4.3.2 Adjective subtype 2

Adj$_2$ consists of a limited number of adjectives such as nyeri *painful hurt*; alus *good*; etc. Adj$_2$ can be followed by a nominal construction, and manifest a predicate tagmeme P$_{8b}$.

2.4.3.3 Adjective subtype 3

Adj$_3$ consists of a small number of adjectives such as pinter *good (at)*, *clever (at)*; wani *brave*; sieun *afraid*; etc. Adj$_3$ can be followed by a verbal construction and manifests the predicate tagmeme P$_{8c}$.

2.4.3.4 Adjective subtype 4

Any adjectives above plus the clitic -na come under Adj$_4$. Adj$_4$ manifests the predicate tagmeme P$_{14}$.

2.4.4 The adverb class

This class is syntactically too insignificant to warrant any classification. It will however be discussed under the Manner Phrase tagmeme in Section 3.8.4.

2.4.5 The particle class

There are sub-subclasses of this particle class each with or without a sub-subclass of its own.

2.4.5.1 Prepositions

There are nine sub-subclasses of the preposition subclass. Each may have further subclassifications. The following are the nine subclasses with their semantic features:

Prep 1. :	a. di	(locative, temporal)
	b. ka	(locative, directive, temporal)
	c. ti	(locative, directive, temporal)
	d. dina	(locative, temporal)
	e. kana	(locative, directive)
	f. tina	(locative, directive)
	g. dinu	(locative)
	h. kanu	(locative, directive)
	i. tinu	(locative, directive)
	j. nepi	(locative, temporal)
Prep 2. :	a. bari	(manner)
	b. tanpa	(manner, instrumental)
	c. kalawan	(manner)
	d. sacara	(manner)
	e. maké	(instrumental)
	f. ku	(instrumental, agentive)

```
Prep 3. : a. keur                    (purposive)
          b. jang                    (purposive)
          c. pikeun                  (purposive)

Prep 4. : ku                         (agentive)

Prep 5. : perkara                    (descriptive)

Prep 6. : a. sanggeus, sabada        (temporal, locative)
             saméméh
          b. ti barang, ti semet     (temporal)
             ti seret
          c. waktu, wanci            (temporal)
          d. sawatara                (temporal)
          e. sajeroning              (temporal)

Prep 7. : a. saperti                 (similative)
          b. lir                     (similative)

Prep 8. : lantaran, sabab            (causative)

Prep 9. : nepi, semet, seret         (temporal, locative)
```

Prepositions manifest relater tagmemes of the phrases indicated by the semantic features within the parentheses given.

2.4.5.2 Conjunctions

There are eleven sub-subclasses of the conjunction subclass. Each may or may not have its own subclassification. The sub-subclasses with their semantic features given under their headings are as follows:

Temporal = Conj 1

a.	sanggeus, sabada, saméméh	*after, before*
b.	ti barang, ti semet, ti wangkid	*since*
c.	waktu	*when*
d.	sabot, sawatara	*while*
e.	sajeroning, enggoning, satungtung, salila	*during*

Conditional = Conj 2

a.	lamun, saupama	*if*
b.	asal	*provided*

Purposive = Conj 3

supaya, ngarah	*in order to*

Concessive = Conj 4

sanajan	*although*

Contrafactual = Conj 5

lir, kawas, siga	*as if*

Similative = Conj 6

a.	saperti	*like, as*
b.	lir	*like*

Causative = Conj 7

      sabab, lantaran   *because*

Effective = Conj 8

      nepi ka   *(such a way) that*

Factive = Conj 9

      padahal   *whereas, in fact*

Resultive = Conj 10

      ku sabab éta,
      ku lantaran éta   *therefore*

Quotative = Conj 11

      yén   *that*

Another group of conjunctions are syntactically different and are classified under Coordinatives and abbreviated as Coor. Coor consists of the words such as jeung *and*; tapi *but*; atawa *or* etc.

2.4.5.3 Interrogatives

There are four sub-subclasses of the interrogative subclass.

The first one, Int$_1$, consists of the words saha *who* and naon *what*. Int$_1$ manifests the subject and object tagmemes.

The second sub-subclass, Int$_2$, consists of di mana *where (at)*; ka mana *where (to)*; ti mana *where (from)*; nu mana *which*; manifesting locative tagmemes, and iraha *when*; and kumaha *how* manifesting temporal and manner tagmemes.

The third sub-subclass, Int$_3$, consists of a single member sakumaha or sabaraha *how many, how much*. Int$_3$ functions as a modifier of a noun in interrogative sentences.

The fourth one, Int$_4$, consists of two members, ku naon and naha both meaning *why*. Int$_4$ manifests the marginal causative tagmeme in interrogative sentences.

2.4.5.4 Quantifiers

There are five sub-subclasses of the quantifiers. The first sub-subclass, Quantcard, consists of the words such as hiji *one*; dua *two*; tilu *three*; etc.

The second sub-subclass, Quantord, consists of the words kahiji *the first*; kadua *the second*; katilu *the third*; etc.

The third one, Quantcoll, is divided into two: Quantcoll$_1$ consists of the words loba *many, much* and sagala *all*; and Quantcoll$_2$ consists of consists of sakabéh *all* and saréréa *each*.

The fourth sub-subclass, Quantdistrib, consists of one single word, unggal *every*.

The fifth one, Quantset, consists of the words tiluan *in group of three, in threes*; opatan *in a group of four, in fours*.

All quantifiers, except for the fifth one, can manifest the quantitative tagmeme of the noun phrase syntagmeme. Quantset only quantifies $Pron_1$.

2.4.5.5 Markers

The markers have a different syntactic function. The markers are classified according to the headings given:

Question Marker (QM) transforms the non-interrogative sentence into an interrogative one. There is only one single member, naha. In many cases intonation alone marks an interrogative sentence.

Emphatic Marker (EM) transforms a non-emphatic word into an emphatic one. EM consists of the following words: téh, téa, mah and atuh. The first three also function as phrasal markers (Mar.Phras).

Comparative Marker (CM) consists of $Comp_1$ leuwih *more* or kurang *less*; and $Comp_2$ tibatan *than*. The superlative of Comp is Superlative bound form pang-na.

Phrasal Marker (Mar.Phras) consists of $Mar.Phras_1$ téh, téa which defines the phrase and $Mar.Phras_2$ mah, which contrasts the thing said.

Imperative Marker (Im.M) consists of four subclasses. They are $Im.M_1$ mangga *please*; $Im.M_2$ punten *excuse me*; $Im.M_3$ hayu *let's*; is found in Imperative Sentences.

Prohibitive Marker (Proh.M) consists of the word ulah *do not*, the negative imperative. Proh.M is found in Prohibitive Sentences.

Interjective Marker (In.M) consists of the words ku, tada teuing, kacida or naker. In.M is found in Interjective Clauses.

Inchoative Marker (Inch.M). There are nine subclasses of the Inchoative Marker. The Sundanese language is unique as far as this class is concerned, its members amounting to 450 in number[17]. The first subclass, $Inch.M_1$, is the punctiliar, Inch.M. It consists of words such as sajoleun *right at the time (of arrival)*; sajungeun *right at the time (of going home)*; piameun *right at the time (to eat)*; pipokeun *right at the time (of speaking)*.

The second subclass, $Inch.M_2$, is the *momentaneous* Inch.M. It consists of barang gok *at the time of*; barang crub *at the time of*; etc.

The third subclass, $Inch.M_3$, is the *frequentative* Inch.M. It consists of blug-blugan *time and time again (associated with falling)*; key-keyan *time and time again (associated with laughing)*; etc.

The fourth subclass, $Inch.M_4$, is the *simulfactive* Inch.M. It consists of barang + $Inch.M_4$, such as barang gék ..., sor ... *at the time of (sitting down), something (was offered)*.

The fifth subclass, $Inch.M_5$, is the *inactive* Inch.M. It consists of kuniang *slowly (in waking up)* in opposition to the *active* Inch.M. koréjat *with a start (he woke up)*; goloyoh *slowly (in going to sleep)* in contrast to the active reup *and (he fell asleep)*; etc.

The sixth subclass, $Inch.M_6$ is the *completive* Inch.M. It consists of blug bae *and there (he fell)*; jleng bae *and there (he jumped)*; etc.

The seventh subclass, Inch.M$_7$, is the *augmentative* Inch.M. It consists of words such as bér-béran *and wider and wider (it spreads)*; bro-broan *and more and more (he gave)*; etc.

The eighth subclass, Inch.M$_8$, is the *diminuative* Inch.M. It consists of such words as hos-hosan *and it's getting increasingly faint (of speech)*; les-lesan *and gradually (the crying) subsides.*

The ninth subclass, Inch.M$_9$, is the *momentaneous completive* Inch.M. It consists of such words as saberengbengna *as soon as (he ran)*; sacorna *as soon as (the water flows)*; etc.

All the above inchoative markers (Inch.M) are found in Verbal Phrases indicating inchoative aspect.

By itself it also functions as an imperativiser (see Hardjadibrata 1983: 159 and Fatimah Djajasudarma 1980:6).

Relative Marker (RM) consists of the word anu or nu *who, which, that.* RM is found in Embedded Sentences as the Relative Dependent Clause (RDC).

Sentence Marker (SM) consists of the following words: sabalikna *on the contrary*; Insya Allah *God willing* or mun pareng *if it comes to pass*; malahan *but, but rather.* SM indicates the relationship between the sentence to which it is attached and the preceding sentence or sentences.

CHAPTER III

PHRASE LEVEL CONSTRUCTION

3.0 Review

We have discussed in Chapter II the formation of words as well as their classification into Nouns, Verbs, Adjectives, Adverbs and Particles.

In this chapter we are going to discuss the fillers that make up the clause. The discussion will concentrate on the internal structure of these fillers. We will first describe the nuclear tagmemes and then later we will proceed to the marginal ones.

3.1 Definition of a phrase

A phrase is described as potentially two or more words which fill a slot in the Clause at Clause Root level. It generally consists of one or more nuclei. The nucleus may be modified by one or more words, which may include embedded phrases, clauses or sentences. In contrast to a clause, a phrase is non-propositional (see Longacre 1964:74; Elson and Pickett 1967:73; Pike and Pike 1977:23-24).

3.2 The subject tagmeme

A subject tagmeme can be manifested by any of the following fillers.

3.2.1 Proper names, personal nouns

Personal nouns can function as a subject. Pers N can be modified by an emphatic marker, functioning as a determiner, a Quantifier, Quantcoll$_2$ (see 2.4.5.4) or a Quantifier, Quantset. These modifiers post-modify the personal noun.

Proper names are not commonly modified, although occasionally an emphatic marker, functioning as a determiner, or a particle si can be included. The emphatic marker post-modifies the proper name, whereas the particle si precedes it. Alternatively the particle as well as the determiner can be used.

Both proper names and personal nouns can also be modified by a reflexive
marker sorangan.

(1) Kuring téh   anak   Pak   Saban
    I   [Mar Phras] child   Mr   Saban
    I am Mr Saban's child

(2) Manéh sorangan ulah   sok   jalir jangji
    you   self   [Mar Proh] always   break promise
    You yourself mustn't always break promises

(3) Kuring tiluan   geus   mutuskeun moal   indit
    I   three[Quantset] *already decide   not   go*
    The three of us have already decided not to go

(4) Tati téh   putuna   Ua   Cimaragas
    Tati [Mar Phras] grand-daughter[poss] *uncle Cimaragas*
    Tati is the grand-daughter of our uncle from Cimaragas

(5) Rusdi ngahoeun pisan naon nu   kudu digawékeunana
    Rusdi know   really what which   must be done
    Rusdi knows very well what he must do

(6) Si Kosim can   balik   kénéh?
    Kosim   not yet return still
    Hasn't Kosim come back yet?

(7) Maranéhna saréréa kudu malayar pajeg fiskal
    they   all   must pay   tax   fiscal
    They all must pay fiscal tax

(8) Si Maryam téh   teu daékeun   pindah ka kota
    Miriam   [Mar Phras] not want(3rd psn) *move   to city*
    Miriam does not want to move to the city

3.2.2 Determiners

A Det$_1$ (for examples see 2.4.1.4) determiner can be a subject of a
sentence. It can be modified by a Det$_2$ determiner or by a Quantcoll$_2$.

(9) Ieu   leuwih alus tibatan itu
    this more   good than   that
    This is better than that

(10) Éta téh   urut pamajikanana
     that [Mar Phras] ex   wife   his
     That is his ex wife

(11) Ieu kabéh kudu dipikiran   asak-asak
     this all   must be thought about ripe
     All this must be considered carefully

3.2.3 Quantifiers

Only Quantcoll and Quantset (for examples see 2.4.5.4) can function as a
subject of a sentence.

(12) Tiluan   daratang ka dieu
Three[Quantcoll] *come   to here*
Three people came here

(13) Kabéh kudu nalurut aturan
all   must follow   rule
All must follow rules

3.2.4 Interrogative words

Only Int₁ type of interrogatives can function as a subject of a sentence.

(14) Saha nu   jadi Presidén Indonesia?
who   which be   president Indonesia?
Who is the President of Indonesia?

(15) Saha nu   indit ka Ustrali?
who   which go   to Australia
Who went to Australia?

(16) Naon nu   keur   dipikiran ku manéhna
what which in the process be thought by him
What is he thinking about?

3.2.5 Nominalised verbs and adjectives

When a verb or an adjective functions as a subject, it is usually nominalised. Nominalisation is either by morphological or syntactic processes. A verb or an adjective can syntactically function as a nominal when followed by a Det or the nominalising particle -na.

The following are clauses, normally descriptives, with nominalised forms:

(17) Nyusunna   hésé   béléké
compile the difficult extremely
The compilation is extremely difficult

(18) Ngomong mah   babari, digawé mah   hésé
speak   [Mar Phras] easy,   work   [Mar Phras] difficult
Speaking is easy, working is difficult

(19) Geringna parna
ill the   serious
The illness is serious

3.2.6 Relative dependent clauses

Another means of nominalising is manifested in an RDC construction[18]:

(20) Nu   teu panuju jeung peraturan ieu kudu   kaluar
that not agree. with regulation this have to go out
Those who do not agree with this regulation must resign

(21) Nu   néangan harti   kecap dina kamus   kudu tabah
Those look for meaning word   in   dictionary must familiar

heula kana rupa-rupa rékaan
first in   various   derivation
Those looking for the meaning of words in the dictionary must be
familiar first with the various derivatives

(22) Nu   sok   nananyakeun   téh   pamajikanana
that always ask[iterative] [Mar Phras] *wife   his*
The one who keeps on asking is his wife

(23) Urang sorangan nu   kudu nangtukeun jalanna   nagara
we   alone   who must decide   path the state
We ourselves who must decide the course of the state

The existence of a nominal or Int₁ in an RDC makes it into a nominal construction. The construction becomes the subject of the clause.

(24) Alesan-alesan anu   nganggap kasusastraan Sunda   sabada
reason(s)   that consider literature   Sundanese after

perang keur   ngalanglayung, babakuna   mah
war   in the process decline   particularly

didasarkeun kana dua sabab
be based   on   two cause
The arguments that consider post-war Sundanese literature is
declining, particularly is based on two factors.

(25) Saha nu   teu panuju jeung peraturan   ieu   kudu kaluar
who   the one who not agree   with   regulation this must go out
Whoever does not agree with this regulation must resign

3.2.7 Noun or noun phrase NP

The noun phrase is a sequence of two or more words filling the definition in section 3.1 with the added stipulation that the nuclei are nouns or pronouns and margins are other nouns, adjectives or embedded phrases, clauses or sentences. Marginal tagmemes that modify the nucleus tagmemes may prepose or postpose them. To facilitate labelling the modifiers, we will refer to them as pre-marginal and post-marginal modifiers. Apart from the above discussions given in sections 3.2.1 to 3.2.6, the subject tagmeme can be manifested by a noun or noun phrase. There are eight noun phrase types in Sundanese. The following is a formula that makes up the structure of a noun phrase.

Formula 1a

$$
NP_{1a} = \pm \frac{Mar}{Quant} \left| \begin{matrix} Quantcoll \\ Quantdistrib \\ Quantcard \end{matrix} \right. \pm \frac{Mar}{Specifier} \left| \begin{matrix} \emptyset \\ \emptyset \\ Spec\ 1 \end{matrix} \right. + \frac{Nuc}{Item} \left| N \right.
$$

$$
\pm \frac{Mar}{Item} \left| \frac{N}{-} \right. \pm \frac{Mar\quad Adj\ 1\text{-}3}{Qual\qquad -} + \frac{Mar}{Possess} \left| \begin{matrix} Noun \\ Pers\ N \\ - \end{matrix} \right.
$$

$$
\pm \frac{Mar}{Rest} \left| RDC \right. \pm \left(+ \frac{Mar\quad RDC}{Rest\qquad -} \right)^{n} \pm \frac{Mar}{Mar\ Phras} \left| \frac{Det_2}{-} \right.
$$

The nuclear tagmeme of the noun phrase is manifested by a noun. Two marginal tagmemes precede the nucleus, i.e. the Quantifier, Quant, and the Specifier, Spec. The two morphemes are in isomorphic relationship. The occurrence of Quantcoll and Quantdistrib does not require a specifier after it. Quantcard, however, may be followed by $Spec_1$. Some examples are given below.

(26) loba   paménta
      ±Mar:Quantcoll   +Nuc:Noun
      many   *request*
      many requests

(27) unggal   paménta
      ±Mar:Quantdistrib   +Nuc:Noun
      every   *request*
      every request

(28) lima   paménta
      ±Mar:Quantcard   +Nuc:Noun
      five   *request*
      five requests

(29) lima   leunjeur   awi
      ±Mar:Quantcard   ±Mar:$Spec_1$ +Nuc:Noun
      five   *stick*   *bamboo*
      five sticks of bamboo

A noun can follow the nucleus noun as margin. Another marginal tagmeme is a descriptive tagmeme, Des. Des is manifested by the Adjective types 1, 2 and 3. A marginal possessive (Poss) tagmeme can follow Des. Poss is filled by a Pronoun or Proper Name. The two DC tagmemes filled by RDC must occur together, although both are optional. These two tagmemes may be repeated indefinitely[19]. Finally, a phrase marker tagmeme, Mar Phras, can close the construction as a margin. Mar Phras is filled by Det_2.

The above formula can generate a phrase of infinite length. Here are some examples:

(30) loba   mahasiswa   swasta   asing   maranéhana
      Quantcoll   Nuc:N   Mar:N   Des   Poss
      many   *student*   *private*   *foreign*   *they*

      nu   diajar   ka   dieu   téh
      DC   [Mar Pras]
      who   study   to   here
      their many foreign private students who studied here

(31) unggal   mahasiswa   swasta   asing   maranehana
      Quantdistrib   Nuc:N   Mar:N   Des   Poss
      each   *student*   *private*   *foreign*   *they*

      nu   diajar   ka   dieu   téh
      DC   [Mar Phras]
      who   study   to   here
      each of their private foreign students who studied here

(32)   semén   nu   dijual di toko nu   ngasupkeun
Nuc:N DC   DC
cement which be sold in shop which import

bahan-bahan nu   hargana nyekék rakyat
              DC
materials   which price it choke   people

nu   geus   sangsara téh
DC   [Mar Phras]
who already suffer
the cement which is sold at the shop which imports (building)
materials whose price chokes the people who already suffered

(33)   jaman Jepang, nu   nyangsara, nu   ngaripuhkeun
                      DC   DC
period Japanese which oppress   which cause trouble
the troublesome, oppressive, Japanese period

(34)   manusia militér nu   pinuh ku   kawani   nu   nyaho
                    DC   DC
human   military who full with bravery who know

naon hartina berjuang
what meaning struggle
a military being (who is) imbued with courage who understands
the significance of a struggle

(35)   budak nu   geus   dimumulé   kalawan sabar
             DC
child who already be brought up with   patience

nu   dipikanyaah saumur   hirupna téh
DC   [Mar Phras]
who be loved   as long as the age life his
a child who had been brought up patiently (and) who had been
loved so much

The following phrase is also generated by the same formula 1a:

(36)   loba mahasiswa swasta   urang nu   anyar
many student   private us   who new
many of our new private students

The internal structure of the DC consists of a subject filled by nu and a predicate filled by anyar. The predicate filler tagmeme is an adjective, making the DC a descriptive type of clause. If the nuclear tagmeme is already modified by another marginal tagmeme, particularly if the margin is recursive, the preferred phrase would be 36, rather than 37 below

(37)   loba mahasiswa swasta anyar urang

where the adjective anyar is shifted before the Poss tagmeme, and fills the Des tagmeme. Although this is a simpler form, speakers prefer the complex structure of nu. Thus the following phrases can be used:

(38)   mobil kuring nu   anyar instead of mobil anyar kuring
car   I   which new   car   new   I
my new car   my new car

(39) kaméja kuring nu   bodas   instead of   kaméja bodas kuring
     shirt   *I*   *which* *white*   *shirt* *white* *I*
     my new shirt   *my new shirt*

(40) imah   manéhna nu   butut   imah   butut manéhna
     house *he*   *which* *old*   *house* *old* *he*
     his old house   *his old house*

In usage, Poss phrases like the following are also found:

(41) buku   boga   manéhna
     book *have* *him*
     his book

(42) pamaréntah   boga   rakyat
     government *have* *people*
     people's government

(43) pagawéan   boga   kuring
     work   *have* *me*
     my work

The internal structure of (41)-(43) takes the form of a noun followed by the
verb boga and followed by a pronoun, kinship term or another noun. The verb
and the following pronoun, kinship term or another noun constitute a unit that
cannot be separated, particularly when the nucleus is implied. Thus we can
have the following phrases:

(44) boga   manéhna
     have *him*
     his

(45) boga   rakyat
     have *people*
     people's

(46) boga   kuring
     have *I*
     mine

The above phrases are formulated as follows:

Formula 1b

$$NP_{1b} = + \frac{Nuc \mid N}{It \mid} \pm \frac{Mar \mid Adj\ 1\text{-}3}{Des \mid} \pm \frac{Mar \mid Poss\ P}{Poss \mid}$$

$$\pm \frac{Mar \mid RDC}{Rest \mid} \pm \left(\frac{Mar \mid RDC}{Rest \mid} \right)^{n} \pm \frac{Mar \qquad \mid Det_2}{Mar\ Phras \mid}$$

The difference between NP_{1b} and NP_{1a} is not only in the position of the Poss
tagmeme, but also in the different kinds of fillers. The Poss tagmeme in NP_{1b}
is filled by a possessive phrase with an internal structure comprising a verb,
boga *have*, followed by a Personal noun, kinship word or proper noun. The two
elements form a unit.

The third Noun Phrase is a pre-marginal modified one, represented by the
following formula:

Formula 1c

$$NP_{1c} = \pm \left(+ \frac{Mar \mid Quantcard}{Quant \mid} + \frac{Mar \mid Spec_2}{Quant \mid} \right) + \frac{Nuc \mid N}{It \mid} \pm Post\ margin$$

The two tagmemes, Quant and Spec, preceding the nuclear N are optional. If one is to occur, both must occur together. Quant is filled by Quantcard and Spec is filled by $Spec_2$. The following are some examples:

> (47) dua   liter béas   anyar
>   *two   litre rice   new*
>   *two litres of new rice*

> (48) opat   méter kaén   balacu
>   *four   metre cloth calico*
>   *the four metres of calico material*

> (49) tilu   kilo   gula   beureum kuring
>   *three kilo   sugar red   my*
>   *my three kilos of palm sugar*

The fourth Noun Phrase is an appositive Noun Phrase, where it has a pre-peripheral tagmeme and a nuclear noun tagmeme followed by an appositive which is also nuclear, as is represented in the following formula:

> *Formula 1d*

$$NP_{1d} = + \frac{Nuc}{Item} \,\Big|\, NP \quad + \quad \frac{Nuc}{Item} \,\Big|\, NP$$

> (50) Pasundan,   tanah urang nu   héjo   lémbok
>   *Sunda land land   our   which green thriving*
>   *the Sunda lands, our prosperous homeland*

> (51) pangawasa, para ménak nu   nangtukeun
>   *authority   all   noble who   decide*
>   *the rulers, the nobles who decide*

> (52) Ali,   tukang   cukur
>   *Ali   artisan   cut hair*
>   *Ali, the barber*

> (53) Yuhana, pangarang Sunda   nu   kapopohokeun
>   *Yuhana   writer   Sundanese who   forgotten*
>   *Yuhana, the forgotten Sundanese writer*

The appositive tagmeme has nucleus tagmemes sharing the same modifier. It bears the 1 1 intonation pattern and is not a paratactic arrangement of the Noun Phrase.

The fifth Noun Phrase consists of a nucleus tagmeme, followed by a marginal tagmeme, then followed by a marginal tagmeme, thus:

> (54) jaman   harita nu   sakitu weritna   téh
>   *period then   which so   insecure*[Nominaliser] [Mar Phras]
>   *those insecure times*

> (55) taun   kamari nu   dipupustén téh
>   *year   yester which be revered* [Mar Phras]
>   *those revered yester years*

> (56) wanci   kiwari   nu   kacida   majuna   téh
>   *time   present which extremely progressive* [Mar Phras]
>   *this very progressive present age*

The nucleus of (54)-(56) is filled by temporal noun subtypes (2)-(8), and the filler of a marginal noun is a temporal of subtype 1.

The above phrases (50)-(52) are formulated as follows:

Formula le

$$NP_{1e} = + \frac{Nuc}{It} \Big| \overline{Temp\ W\ 2\text{-}8} \pm \frac{Mar}{It} \Big| \overline{Temp\ W\ i} \pm \frac{Mar}{Rest} \Big| RDC$$

$$\pm \left(\frac{Mar}{Rest} \Big| RDC \right)^n + \frac{Mar}{Mar\ Phras} \Big| \overline{Det_2}$$

Np_{1e} is also a manifestation of a Temporal tagmeme. The syntactic relation within the sentence syntagmeme will show it.

The sixth Noun Phrase consists of a nucleus filled by a term of address and a marginal noun filled by a quantifier followed by a DC tagmeme filled by an RDC. The term of address includes words such as para sadérék; para kanca; para ibu and the marginal word is limited to that of sadaya *all*.

(57) para sadérék
all   brother
brothers

(58) para kanca sadaya
all   friend all
friends

(59) ibu-ibu sadaya
lady   all
ladies

The formula is given below:

Formula lf

$$NP_{1f} = + \frac{Nuc}{It} \Big| \overline{N\text{-}tpl} \pm \frac{Mar}{Quant} \Big| \overline{Quant} \pm \frac{Mar}{Rest} \Big| RDC$$

The seventh Noun Phrase consists of a Marginal tagmeme manifested by Quantcard, Quantord, or Quantdistrib, followed by a noun, followed by a marginal tagmeme filled by Quantcard or Quantdistrib. Other marginal tagmemes are similar to NP_{1a}, or NP_{1d}. The following is the formula for:

Formula lg

$$NP_{1g} = \pm \frac{Mar}{Quant} \left| \begin{array}{c} Quantcard \\ Quantord \\ Quantdistrib \end{array} \right. + \frac{Nuc}{In} \Big| N \pm \frac{Mar}{Quant} \left| \begin{array}{c} Quantcard \\ Quantdistrib \end{array} \right.$$

The above formula generates the following phrases:

(60) kaca   tujuh
Nuc:N   Quantcard
page   seven
page seven

(61) tujuh   kaca
Quantcard Nuc:N
seven   page
seven pages

(62) unggal   mahasiswa katilu
     Quant   Nuc:N   Quantord
     every   student   third
     every third student

(63) katilu mahasiswa nu   daratang kamari   téa
     Quant   Nuc:N   DC   [Mar Phras]
     third   student   who come(pl) *yesterday*
     the three students who came yesterday

(64) mahasiswa katilu   nu   datang kamari   téa
     Nuc:N   Quantord DC   [Mar phras]
     student   third   who   come   yesterday
     the third student who came yesterday

(65) katilu   mahasiswa kadua   téa
     Quantord   Nuc:N   Quantord [Mar phras]
     third   student   second
     the three second (year) students

(66) opat   jelema katilu
     Quantcard Nuc:N   Quantord
     four   man   third
     four of the third men (i.e. *four men who are each the third in a group*)

The eighth Noun Phrase consists of a nucleus followed by a prepositional phrase. The internal structure of the Prepositional Phrase consists of a preposition followed by a Noun Phrase.

Formulated, the eighth Noun Phrase is as follows:

Formula 1h

$$NP_{1h} = + \frac{Nuc \mid N/Pn}{It \mid} \pm \frac{Mar \mid Prep\ Ph}{RR \mid}$$

The following phrases are generated from the above formula:

(67) rahayat di   désa
     Nuc:N   Prep PH
     people   in   village
     village people

(68) katunggulan dina   hiji beungkeutan nu   tohaga
     Nuc:N   Prep Ph
     unity   within   one   bond   which   strong
     unity within a strong bond

(69) surat kabar jeung   majalah
     Nuc:N   Prep Ph
     newspaper   with   journal
     newspapers and journals

(70) dokuméntasi keur   anak incu
     Nuc:N   Prep Ph
     record   for   descendant
     records for posterity

(71) mangsa-mangsa samémeh perang mah
      Nuc:N   Prep Ph   [Mar Phras]
      time   before   war
      the period before the war

(72) kasusastraan Sunda   sabada   perang
      Nuc:N   Prep Ph
      literature   Sundanese after   war
      post-war Sundanese literature

Ambiguity may occur when a nucleus tagmeme is followed by a prepositional
phrase. Distinction between one expression and another may be made by the
use of specific intonation pattern and also by means of certain permutation.
Phrases 67-72 should have a 2 3 3 intonation pattern if they are to function
as a modifier to the nominal nucleus. A pause after the nucleus will change
the meaning. The prepositional phrases cannot be permuted to places where
peripheral tagmemes can occur without altering the meaning.

     Consider the following:

(73) Rahayat di désa   ngarasa teu kabagian hasil   kamerdikaan
      people in village feel   not obtain   result independence
      *The village people feel that they missed out on their share of
      independence*

(74) Manéhna meunang béja ti   rahayat di désa   yén
      he   get   news from people   in village that

      maranéhanana ngarasa teu kabagian hasil   kamerdikaan
      they   feel   not obtain   result independence
      *He received news from the people in the village that they felt
      left out of the fruits of independence*

The prepositional phrase in (73) is such that the preposition is considered to
be the modifier, whereas in (74) the prepositional phrase is positioned as a
peripheral tagmeme and therefore in function and meaning is a prepositional.

     Discussions so far do not include ambiguities of interpretation that may
occur in Formulae 1a – 1h. If we consider NP_{1a} for example, we may see that
the marginal tagmemes are optional and therefore are open to interpretations
as is evident in the following examples:

(75) paménta guru   nu anyar[20]
      Nuc:N   Mar:N DC

(76) mobil guru   nu beureum
      Nuc:N Mar:N DC

A native speaker's reaction to the semantic features of the above phrases may
be different, although structurally they are similar, i.e. both consist of
Nucleus nouns, modified by marginal nouns and DC. However, the descriptive
anyar *new* in (75) may be interpreted as (75a) *the request of the new teacher*
or (75b) *the request of the new teacher*. So does Phrase (76), which may mean
two different things: (76a) *the car of the red teacher* or (76b) *the red car of
the teacher*. Of course the semantic features of bereum *red* would make the
interpretation of the first less likely than the second. Notwithstanding the
possible interpretations, a native speaker's reaction would be in terms of (76b)
rather than (76a).

If the Relative Marker nu in phrases (75) and (76) is deleted, the following sequence is noted: Nucleus noun, Marginal noun, Descriptive and the resultant phrase:

(77) paménta guru anyar

(78) mobil guru beureum

Unless there is the possibility of a *red teacher*, in contrast say to a *white teacher*, (78) makes it into a stative type of clause[21]. Phrase (77) is usually interpreted as *the request of the new teacher*. Should this be the case, this phrase cannot be considered as generated by formula 1, because the Des tagmeme filled by anyar is not a modifier of the nucleus tagmeme paménta but rather the modifier of the marginal tagmeme guru.

To avoid ambiguities of this nature, the tendency is to alter the word order by placing the Des tagmeme before the second nominal, and to add, optionally, the preposition ti for (79) and the relative marker nu for (80). We thus have the following:

(79) paménta anyar (ti) guru
      request new   from teacher
      the new request of the teacher

(80) mobil beureum (nu) guru
      car   red   which teacher
      the red car of the teacher

Two noun phrases can be coordinated. The coordination may be paratactic, coordinative, or both. The resultant form is a coordinated phrase. The following are some examples:

(81) tatangga   anyar kuring,   anak-anakna   jeung pamajikan kuring
      NP   NP   coord NP
      neighbour new   I   children their   and   wife   I
      my new neighbours, their children and my wife

(82) mobil ieu   atawa mobil éta
      NP   coord NP
      car   this   or   car   that
      this car or that one

(83) imah   boga indungna   jeung tanah boga bapana
      NP   coord NP
      house have mother his and   land   have father his
      his mother's house and his father's land

Phrases (81)-(83) give both paratactic as well as conjunctive coordination. Using the symbol NP for any noun phrase, the following formula can be drawn up:

Formula 2

Coor NP = + # NP # ± # NP #^{n} + (± Conj:coord + # NP #)

Formula 2 generates coordinated phrases which are paratactically or coordinatively connected, or both.

The nucleus tagmeme can also be coordinated. Paratactic coordination results in recursive occurrence of the tagmeme. If it is followed by a modifier, such as a DC, the whole syntagmeme becomes ambiguous.

```
(84)  kolot,  budak,  lalaki,  jeung awéwé nu    daratang
      Nuc:N   Nuc:N   Nuc:N    coord Nuc:N DC
      adult   children man      and   woman who   came
      adults, children, men and women who came
```

The DC of (84) may be a modifier of the immediately preceding Nuc N or a modifier of all four Nucleus nouns![22] Only context will tell which one it is.

Similarly coordinated Nucleus nouns followed by a marginal noun as modifier can also become ambiguous. Consider the following phrases:

```
(85)  hak     jeung kawajiban   guru
      Nuc:N   coord Nuc:N        Mar:N
      right   and   obligation  teacher
```

```
(86)  karajinan   jeung kabinangkitan Sunda
      Nuc:N       coord Nuc:N          Mar:N
      handicraft  and   art           Sundanese
```

The Nucleus noun in (85) and (86) may be a modifier of the coordinated Nuc N, or only the immediately preceding Nuc N. Thus (85) and (86) may mean, respectively,

```
(85)  a.  the rights and obligations of the teacher
      b.  the rights of the teacher and the obligations of the teacher
```

```
(86)  a.  handicrafts and art of the Sundanese
      b.  handicrafts of the Sundanese and the art of the Sundanese
```

Ambiguities also arise if a coordinated Nuc N is preceded by a Quantifier. The following phrase will illustrate:

```
(87)  dua     aturan      jeung patokan   anggota
      Quant   Nuc:N       coord Nuc:N     Mar:N
      two     regulation  and   guideline member
```

The Quantifier of (87) may modify the first Nuc N aturan, or act as a modifier to the rest of the tagmemes aturan jeung patokan anggota. Phrase (87) may mean:

```
(87)  a.  the members' two regulations and guidelines
      b.  the members' two regulations and the members' two guidelines
```

The Phrase Marker tagmeme Mar Phras, may also make the preceding tagmemes ambiguous. Consider the following phrase:

```
(88)  pangaruh  kasusastraan  ieu
      Nuc:N     Mar:N         [Mar Phras]
      influence literature    the
```

The Mar Phras, ieu can modify the marginal noun, kasusastraan or the nucleus noun together with the marginal noun, and ieu functions as a demonstrator rather than a determiner. The second meaning is slightly different. Phrase (88) can thus mean:

```
(88)  a.  the influence of this literature
      b.  the literature's influence
```

The following are brief statements on the other Nominal tagmemes, which do not significantly indicate any departure from what we have described above on Nominal Phrases.

3.3 The Undergoer tagmeme

There is no great internal structure difference between the fillers of the Undergoer tagmeme and those of the Subject tagmeme. There may, however, be one which is more predominant than the other. For example, nominalised verbs and adjectives have a more restricted situational circumstance.

3.4 The Scope tagmeme

Almost all of the fillers for the Subject tagmeme may also be fillers of the Scope tagmeme, with the possible exception of the word naon and the nominalised verb or adjective.

3.5 The Predicate Complement tagmeme

Fillers which manifest the Predicate Complement tagmeme will be dealt with at clause level construction.

3.6 The Predicate tagmeme

The predicate in Sundanese can be a verb or a non-verb. The non-verb can also be nominal as well as stative adjective. The description of the Predicate tagmeme will proceed according to the subscript attached to it.

3.6.1 Intransitive Predicate P_1

The intransitive Predicate P_1 is the predicate tagmeme of the intransitive clause in formula 3. In its simplest form the filler is a single element verb, labelled itv. In section 2.4.2.1 we have mentioned that there are four types of Intransitive Clauses with a particular type of predicate filler for each. The predicate fillers are P_{1a}, P_{1b}, P_{1c} and P_{1d} and are manifested by itva, itvb, itvc and itvd as the nucleus. The following are clauses with single element verbs, labelled itva.

  (89) Manéhna balik
        He   goes home

  (90) Kuring digawé
        I   work

The predicate tagmeme, P_{1a}, can also be modified by a pre-margin or a post-margin. Below is a description of its internal structure.

The verb of a Verb Phrase functions as the nucleus. It can be preceded immediately by an array of auxiliary verbs formulated in Section 2.4.2.11 where Aux_1 precedes Aux_2, and Aux_2 precedes Aux_3. Theoretically the occurrence of all these Auxiliaries is quite possible, but practically it is quite rare in actual usage.

The verb can also be pre-modified by an Inchoative Marker, Inch M, which has an inchoative meaning[23].

(91)   Kuring meunang indit
              Aux_{3a}
        I   *may*   *go*
        I may go

(92)   Kuring daék   indit
              Aux_{3b}
        I   *want*   *go*
        I want to go

(93)   Manéhna kudu digawé
               Aux_2
        he   *must* *work*
        He must work

(94)   Manéhna kudu daék   digawé
              Aux_1 Aux_{2b}
        he   *must* *want*   *work*
        He must want to work

(95)   Urang rék   kudu   digawé
            Aux_1 Aux_2
        we   *will* *have to* *work*
        We will have to work

(96)   Urang rék   kudu   bisa digawé
            Aux_1 Aux_2 Aux_3
        We will have to be able to work

The verbal negative henteu or teu *not* is rather unique in relation to the verb phrase[24]. In order to negate, we must post-modify the whole verb phrase, i.e. teu or henteu must precede Aux_1, e.g.

(97)   Kuring rék   indit
              Aux_1
        I   *go*
        I will go

(98)   Kuring teu   rék   indit
             Neg_1 Aux_1
        I   *not*   *will*   *go*
        I will not go

(99)   Manéhna kudu indit
               Aux_2
        He   *must* *go*
        He must go

(100) Manéhna teu kudu indit
              Neg_1 Aux_1
        he   *not*   *must* *go*
        He doesn't have to go

(101) Urang bisa indit
             Aux_3
        we   *can*   *go*
        We can go

(102) Urang teu bisa indit
          Neg$_1$ Aux$_3$
we   not   can   go
We cannot go

When the negator is placed other than before Aux$_1$, it only negates the immediately following tagmeme, as in:

(103) Kuring rék teu indit
           Aux$_1$ Neg$_1$
I   will   not   go
I will 'not go' - I will stay

(104) Kuring kudu teu indit
            Aux$_2$ Neg$_1$
I must 'not go' - I must refrain from going

(105) Kuring bisa teu indit
           Aux$_3$ Neg$_1$
I   can   not   go
I can 'not go' - I don't have to go

Neg$_1$ can co-occur with all auxiliaries, in any position within the phrase. However, the longer the phrase the more important it is for the negator to be placed immediately before the negated constituent. The following are examples:

(106) Manéhna teu rék kudu indit
            Neg$_1$ Aux$_2$ Aux$_3$
he   not   will   must   go
He will not have to go

(107) Manéhna rék teu kudu indit
            Aus$_1$ Neg$_1$ Aux$_2$
he   will   not   must   go
He will not be obliged to go

(108) Manéhna rék kudu teu indit
            Aux$_1$ Aux$_2$ Neg$_1$
he   will   must   not   go
He will have to stay

(109) Manéhna teu rék kudu daék indit
            Neg$_1$ Aux$_1$ Aux$_2$ Aux$_3$
he   not   will   must   want   go
He will not have to want to go

In the circumstances that Neg$_1$ can occur more than once, the preference would probably be towards a different construction. The following examples show phrases where Neg$_1$ occurs more than once:

(110) Manéhna teu rék teu daék indit
            Neg$_1$ Aux$_1$ Neg$_1$ Aux$_3$
he   not   will   not   want   go
He will not 'not want' to go - He will want to go

(111) Manéhna teu rék teu badami
            Neg$_1$ Aux$_1$ Neg$_1$
he   not   will   not   discuss
He will not not discuss - He will discuss

```
(112)  Manéh  teu   kudu  sanggup     teu    indit
              Neg₁  Aux₁  Aux₃        Neg₁
       you    not   must  be willing  not
       You don't have to be willing to not go - You don't have to be
       obliged to stay put
```

The positioning of Neg₁ in phrases (110)-(112) are both, semantically as well as syntactically, significant as can be seen in the translation.

One member of Aux₁ enggeus or geus *already* in many ways behaves like an adverb and in other cases functions as a modifier of verb phrases. This word together with another word, deui *again* behave like adverbs.

Enggeus or geus can occur before or after Aux₁, Aux₂ and Aux₃, and when it does, no significant change of meaning takes place. Thus, (113) and (114) are semantically identical to (113a) and (114a).

```
(113)  Manéhna  geus      rék   indit
       he       already   will  go
       He is about to leave
```

```
(114)  Manéhna  geus      kudu  indit
       he       already   must  go
       He should have gone
```

```
(113a)  Manéhna  rék geus  indit
```

```
(114a)  Manéhna  kudu geus    indit
```

To refer to an action which is expressed and is expected to take place but has not occurred yet, the negator can or acan *not yet* is used instead of teu geus or teu enggeus.

The dual function of the word geus or enggeus, presents problems in formulating the verb phrase on account of its overlapping function as a verb modifier. To facilitate the formulation, the word geus or enggeus can be regarded as an adverb, although it is somewhat different from the other adverbs within the syntagmeme.

The word deui shows some affinity with geus within a verb phrase. It occurs after the verb, though not necessarily immediately after the nucleus verb. This is especially the case with transitive verbs. In fact, the post-marginal deui does not necessarily follow immediately after the nucleus verb in P_{1b}, P_{1c} and P_{1d} type predicates. It is P_3 which does not necessarily follow immediately after the verb. The following are examples of the P_{1a} type phrases:

```
(115)  Manéhna  badami    deui
       he       consult   again
       He consulted again
```

```
(116)  Manéhna  digawé  deui
       he       work    again
       He works again
```

```
(117)  Kuring  sibeungeut     deui
       I       wash one's face  again
       I washed my face again
```

(118) Kuring indit deui
       I   go   again
       I go again

On the basis of the above we can now establish the formula for pre- and post-modifiers.

Formula 3a

$$VP_{1a} = \pm \frac{Mar}{Adv}\Big|Neg\ 1 \pm \frac{Mar}{Adv}\Big|Aux\ 1 \pm \frac{Mar}{Adv}\Big|Neg\ 1 \pm \frac{Mar}{Adv}\Big|Aux\ 2$$

$$\pm \frac{Mar}{Adv}\Big|Neg\ 1 \pm \frac{Mar}{Adv}\Big|Aux\ 3 \pm \frac{Mar}{Adv}\Big|Neg\ 1 \pm \frac{Nuc}{Stmt}\Big|itva$$

$$\pm \frac{Mar}{Adv}\Big|deui$$

Formula 3a shows that Neg_1 can occur anywhere before the nucleus itva. The modifier deui follows the nucleus verb. Basically the main difference between one verb phrase and another lies in the type of filler in the nuclear tagmeme.

Formula 3b

$$VP_{1b} = \pm \text{ Pre-marginal} + \text{Nuc v : itvb } ((+PC_1))$$

$$\pm \text{ Post-marginal}$$

(119) Pak Rusdi kaluar   kota deui
       Mr   Rusdi go out   town again
       Mr Rusdi is out of town again

(120) Kuring tumpak kapal udara deui
       I   ride   ship   air   again
       I travelled by plane again

(121) Manéhna rék   diajar basa   Inggris deui
       he   will learn   language English again
       He will learn English again

Formula 3c

$$VP_{1c} = \pm \text{ Pre-marginal} + \text{Nuc : itvc} \pm \text{Post-marginal } ((PC_2))$$

(122) Kuring teu rék   ngomong deui   yén   manéhna ngaco
       I   not going to   say   again that he   confused
       I am not going to say again that he is confused

(123) Manéh kudu nyarita deui   ka juragan   istri   yén
       you   must talk   again to employer female that

       kuring rék   datang
       I   will come
       You must tell the lady of the house again that I am coming

(124) Urang kudu mikir deui   yén urusan   ieu   teu sapira
       we   must think again that business this not much
       We must reconsider whether this business is of no account (of no importance)

Formula 3d

$$VP_{1d} = \pm \text{ Pre-marginal} + \text{Nuc : itvd} \pm \text{Post-marginal } ((+PC_3))$$

(125) Kuring rék   nanya deui iraha pidatangeun
       I   going to ask   again when   coming

       adi   maneh
       younger brother   you
       I am going to ask again when your younger brother is coming

(126) Kuring moal   nanya deui ka mana maneh indit
       I   not going ask   again to where you   go

       tadi   peuting
       just now   night
       I am going to ask again where you were last night

(127) Manéh kudu bisa nanya deui ku naon sastra
       you   must able ask   again by what literature

       Sunda   ngalanglayung
       Sundanese   decline
       *You must be able to ask again why Sundanese literature has
       declined*

Formula 3e

   VP $_e$ = ± Pre-marginal + Nuc : itve ± Post-marginal ((+PC₄))

(128) a. Manéhna teu inget   deui ka anak   pamajikanana
           he   not remember again to child   wife   his

       b. Manéhna teu inget   ka anak   pamajikanana deui
           he   not remember to child wife   his   again
           He does not remember his wife and child any more

(129) a. Kuring kakara gok   paamprok deui jeung manéhna
           I   just   [Inch M] meet   again with   him

       b. Kuring kakara gok   paamrok jeung manéhna deui
           I   just   [Inch M] meet   with   him   again
           I have just come to see him again

Formula 3f

   VP $_f$ = ± Pre-marginal₂ + Nuc : itvf ± Post-marginal₂((+P$_{PP}$))

(130) a. Lanceukna   matuh deui di Bandung
           older brother his settle again di Bandung

       b. Lanceukna   matuh di Bandung deui
           older brother his settle in Bandung again
           His older brother settles in Bandung again

(131) a. Adina   rék   datang deui ti
           younger brother his going to come   again from

           luar   nagri
           outside country

       b. Adina   rék   datang ti   luar
           younger brother his going to come   from outside

           nagri   deui
           country again
           His younger brother is coming back again from overseas

Formula 3g

$$VP_{1g} = \pm \text{ Pre-marginal}_2 + \text{Nuc : ka-an } ((PC_1)) \pm \text{Post-marginal}_2$$

(132) Imahna   kaasupan   bangsat deui
house his be entered thief   again
His house got burgled again

(133) Manéhna geus   teu kaédanan salaki   deui
she   already not be crazed husband again
She is not heartbroken any more

Thus the Post-marginal modifiers in clauses (128) and (129) can occur before or after PC₄.

3.6.2 Biintransitive predicate P₂

Biintransitive predicate P₂ is basically a predicate P₁. The only exception is that biintransitives are used at clause level when the predicate manifesting P₂, cooccurs with a reference. The reference is the Scope.

3.6.3 Transitive predicate P₃

Transitive predicate P₃ is the predicate tagmeme of the transitive clause of formula 6. In its simplest form the filler of P₃ is a single verb called transitive.

(134) Létjén   Awaluddin kudu nyusun rarancang
lieutenant general Awaluddin must devise plan

tindakan-tindakan
activities
Lieutenant General Awaluddin must devise action programmes

(135) Urang saréréa kudu ngabéla bebeneran
we   all   must defend   truth
We must all defend the truth

P₃, like P₁, can also be pre- or post-modified, except that unlike P₁, in the case of Post-margin, the occurrence of the post-modifier is dependent upon the length of the undergoer. The longer the post modifier, the more likely it is to occur immediately after the predicate.

(136) Manéhna nulis deui   catetan kuliahna
he   write again note   lecture his
He rewrote his lecture notes

(137) Manéhna nulis catetan kuliahna   deui
he   write note   lecture his again
He wrote his lecture notes again

(138) Bapana   meuli deui   imah
father his buy   again house
His father bought a house again

(139) Bapana   meuli imah deui
      father his buy   house again
      His father bought a house again

The following is the formula for VP$_3$:

Formula 6

    VP$_3$ = ± Pre-marginal + Nuc : atv ± Post-marginal ± ((U:NP))

3.6.4 Bitransitive predicate P$_4$

In its simplest form, the filler of the P$_4$ predicate is btv. Pre- and post-modification can also apply to the verb, but the post-marginal does not occur unless it has a + S + P + U + Sc[25]. Sentences (140)-(142) are more common:

(140) Manéhna teu rék   mangjualkeun deui imahna keur Hasan
      he   not going to sell for s.o. again house   for Hasan
      He is not going to sell a house again for Hasan

(141) Manéhna kudu daék mangnéangankeun deui pagawéan keur
      he   must want to look for s.o. again work   for

      adina
      younger brother his
      He must be willing to find work again for his younger brother

(142) Manéh teu kudu ngingetan deui perkara éta ka kuring
      you   not must remind   again matter that to me
      You don't have to remind me again of that matter

The following sentences (140a)-(142a) are also possible, but rarer:

(140a) Manéhna teu rék   mangjualkeun deui Hasan imah
      he   not going to sell for s.o. again Hasan house
      He is not going to sell a house again for Hasan

(141a) Manéhna kudu daék mangnéangankeun deui adina
      he   must want to look for s.o. again younger brother his

      pagawéan
      work
      He must be willing to find work again for his younger brother

(142a) Manéh teu kudu ngingetan deui kuring perkara éta
      you   not must rimind   again me   matter that
      You don't have to remind me again of that matter

3.6.5 Tritransitive predicate P$_5$

The predicate filler of the Tritransitive clause in its simplest form is the tv or btv. The difference is that the tritransitive has five participant tagmemes, one more than the bitransitive and two more than the transitive clauses.

3.6.6 Semitransitive predicate P$_6$

The predicate of a semitransitive P$_6$ is the stv. This predicate can similarly be pre- or post-modified as for P$_3$. The position of the Post-marginal$_2$ depends on the presence or absence of an object. Since a semitransitive takes no object, the VP$_6$ is similar to VP$_3$[26]:

3.6.7 Existive predicate P$_7$

The existive predicate P$_7$ is manifested by two verbs exv, aya *to exist* and euweuh *to not exist*. Exv can be pre- or post-modified. The Post-marginal$_2$ can occur either after the verb or after the subject tagmeme.

(143) Rék   aya   deui   salametan
      going to exist again communal feast
      There is going to be another communal feast

(144) Geus   euweuh   deui   béngsin
      already not exist   again petrol
      There is no more petrol

(145) Ayeuna aya   deui   aturan   anyar
      now   exist again regulation new
      There is now another new regulation

(146) Ayeuna geus   euweuh   listrik   deui
      now   already not exist electricity again
      There is no electricity any more now

(147) Ayeuna teu rék   aya   latihan   deui
      now   not going to exist exercise again
      There are not going to be exercises any more now

In formula form, the fillers of P$_7$ are as follows:

Formula 7

$$\text{VP}_7 \; = \; \pm \; \text{Pre-marginal}_2 \; + \; \text{Nuc} : \text{Exv} \; \pm \; \text{Post-marginal}_2 \; ((+\text{S}))$$

3.6.8 Eventive predicate P$_8$

The eventive predicate P$_8$ is manifested by a small number of meteorological events, evv, (see section 2.4.2.9), e.g. hujan *to rain*; girimis *to drizzle*; raat/raqat/ *to stop raining*; caah/caqah/ *to flood*.

(148) Geus   rék   hujan deui
      already going to rain   again
      It is going to rain again

(149) Teu rék   girimis deui
      not going to drizzle again
      It is not going to drizzle again

(150) Can   raat   kénéh
      not yet stop rain still
      It still hasn't stopped raining

P$_8$ may also be filled by an adjective and the fillers manifesting the pre- and post-marginal tagmemes are similar to those in section 3.6.9.

(151) Tiris pisan poé ieu
       cold   very   day this
       It is very cold today

(152) Kamari   mah   teu pati tiris teuing
       yesterday [Mar Phras] *not too   cold   extremely*
       Yesterday wasn't too extremely cold

The formula for the two filler classes of P$_8$ are as follows:

Formula 8:

   VP$_8$ = ± Pre-marginal$_2$ + Nuc:evv ± Post-marginal$_2$

Formula 9:

   Adj P$_8$ = ± Pre-marginal$_2$ + Nuc:Adj ± Post-marginal$_2$

3.6.9 Stative predicate P$_9$

The stative predicate has three sub-types labelled P$_{9a}$; P$_{9b}$; P$_{9c}$. P$_9$ is manifested by Adjective$_1$, Adjective$_2$ and Adjective$_3$.

The general internal structure of the predicate is that it can be pre-modified by a Pre-marginal$_2$. A comparative marker, Comp$_1$, -an or leuwih or a superlative, Sup, pang-na or paling can also follow Mod$_3$ of Pre-marginal$_2$. Comparative marker, Comp$_2$, tibatan can re-occur after the adjective nucleus. Both Comp$_1$ and Comp$_2$ are in isomorphic relation, i.e. the latter cannot co-occur without the first.

In formula form the Adjective Phrase, Adj P$_a$, is as follows:

Formula 10a

$$\text{Adj P}_{9a} = \pm \text{ Pre-marginal}_2 + \overset{\displaystyle\frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Mod}_{\text{Adj 1}}}}{} \left| \overset{\begin{array}{c}\text{Comp 1}\\ \text{Sup}\end{array}}{} \right|^{\pm} + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Sta}} \left| \text{Adj} \right.$$

$$\pm \ \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Mod}_{\text{Adj 10}}} \left| \begin{array}{c}\text{Comp 2}\\ \emptyset\end{array} \right.$$

This formula generates the following phrases:

(153) teu leuwih hadé tibatan
       not more   good than
       not better than

(154) geus   jangkungan
       already   taller
       already taller

(155) pangpinterna
       cleverest
       the cleverest

```
(156)  teu   kudu  leuwih  bodas
       not   must  more    white
       not have to be whiter
```

The second sub-type of the Adjective Phrase has an adjective as nucleus. This nucleus can be pre-modified by a Pre-marginal$_2$. The adverb rada *rather, somewhat* can follow Mod$_3$ of the Pre-marginal$_2$. The adverbs pisan *very*; kabina-bina *exceedingly* or teuing *too* can occur after the nucleus adjective. The following is the formula for the Adjective Phrase.

Formula 10b

$$\text{Adj P}_{9b} = \pm \text{ Pre-marginal}_2 \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Mod}_{\text{Adj 2}}} \left| \text{<rada/pati>} \right. + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Sta}} \left| \text{Adj} \right.$$

$$\pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Mod}_{\text{adj 11}}} \left| \text{<pisan/teuing/deui>} \right.$$

The above sub-type of Adjective Phrase generates the following phrases:

```
(157)  rada     hésé
       rather   difficult
       rather difficult
```

```
(158)  gampang  pisan
       easy     very
       very easy
```

```
(159)  teu  pati²⁷ geulis    teuing
       not  so     beautiful too
       not so very beautiful
```

```
(160)  teu  rék   hésé       pisan
       not  will  difficult  very
       will not be very difficult
```

```
(161)  teu  rek   cageur  deui
       not  will  well    again
       will not be well again
```

To clarify the rather complex formula, both Pre-marginal$_2$ plus Mod$_{\text{adj}_1}$ in formula 10a are here referred to as 'Pre-marginal$_{3a}$' and Mod$_{\text{adj}_{10}}$ as 'Post-marginal$_{3a}$'. Pre-marginal$_2$ and Mod$_{\text{adj}_2}$ will be referred to as 'Pre-marginal$_{3b}$' and Mod$_{\text{adj}_{11}}$ as 'Post-marginal$_{3b}$'.

The predicate tagmeme P$_{9a}$ may take the form of the following Adjective Phrase.

Formula 10a

$$\text{Adj P}_{9a} = \pm \text{ Pre-marginal}_2 + \text{Nuc:Adj}_1 \pm \text{Post-marginal}_3$$

The nucleus, filled by Adj$_1$, produces the following phrases:

```
(162)  Rusdi  teu    leuwih  pinter  tibatan  Hasan
       Rusdi  not    more    clever  than     Hasan
       Rusdi is no more clever than Hasan
```

(163) Hajatna   kacida   rongkah   pisan
       feast the extremely   extravagant   very
       The feast was exceedingly extravagant

(164) Manéhna geus   teu bisa leuwih jangkung deui
       he   already not able more   tall   again
       He will not be able to grow taller any more

The predicate tagmeme P_{9b} is minimally manifested by Adj_2. The Adjective Phrase Adj P_{9b} consists of a nucleus tagmeme, optionally pre-modified by Pre-marginal$_{3b}$. If there is a predicate complement PC_1, it must occur before Post-marginal$_{3b}$. It yields the following formula:

Formula 10b

$$\text{Adj } P_{9b} = \pm \text{ Pre-marginal}_{3b} + \text{Nuc:Adj}_2((+PC_1)) \pm \text{Post-marginal}_{3b}$$

The following phrases are generated by this formula:

(165) Manéh teu rék nyeri beuteung deui
       you   not will pain stomach   again
       You will not have a stomach ache any more

(166) Kabayana   leuwih beureum euceuy tibatan kabaya Tati
       bodice her more   red   glowing than   bodice Tati
       Her bodice is more glowing red than Tati's

(167) Kaméjana   paling bodas ngeplak di kantor
       shirt his [sup] white snow   in office
       His shirt is the most spotless white in the office

The predicate tagmeme P_{9c} is minimally manifested by Adj_3. Pre-marginal$_3$ can precede the nucleus tagmeme. Post-marginal$_{3a}$ must occur after PC_5, but Post-marginal$_{3b}$ must occur after the nucleus tagmeme.

(168) Kuring teu rék leuwih wani tunyu-tanya tibatan manéhna
       I   not will more   brave ask around   than   him
       I will not be braver to ask things than my friend

(169) Manéhna tara sieun pisan ngedalkeun pikiranna
       he   never afraid very express   thought his
       He never is very afraid to express his thoughts

(170) Adina   geus   leuwih pinter ngitung tibatan
       younger brother his already more   clever count   than

       lanceukna
       older brother his
       His younger brother is already better at arithmetic than his older brother

Because of the structure the fillers of P_{9c} should be divided into two sub-formulae.

Formula 10c1

$$\text{Adj } P_{9c1} = \pm \text{ Pre-marginal}_3 + \text{Nuc:Adj}_3((PC_5)) \pm \text{Post-marginal}_{3a}$$

Formula 10c2

$$\text{Adj } P_{9c2} = \pm \text{ Pre-marginal}_3 + \text{Nuc:Adj}_3 \pm \text{Post-marginal}_{3b}((+PC_5))$$

3.6.10 Equative predicate P_{10}

As the filler of the equative predicate P_{10} is manifested by a nominal, the internal structure of the predicate is the same as that of a NP (see pp. 37-38).

(171) Eusi   karung téh   saratus kilo béas anyar
      content *sack* [Mar Phras] *hundred kilo rice new*
      The content of that sack is a hundred kilos new rice

(172) Nu ka dieu téh   loba mahasiswa swasta urang
      who to here [Mar Phras] *many student   private us*

      nu anyar
      who new
      Those who came here are many of our new private students

(173) Ieu   kaméja bodas nu   kuring
      this shirt   white which I
      This is my white shirt

3.6.11 Passive transitive predicate P_{11}

The passive sentence has three subtypes, represented by the formulae 11a - 11c, the last being a special case. In their basic forms, P_{11} takes the form of a single element verb. The nucleus tagmeme of P_{11} may be pre- or post-modified by Pre-marginal$_2$ and Post-marginal$_2$ respectively.

There is no syntactic change involved with the occurrence of pre-marginal$_2$ before the nucleus P_{11a} and when the post-marginal occurs, it comes immediately after the nucleus and the Ag follows the post-marginal.

In formula form P_{11a} is as follows:

Formula 11a

   VP_{11a} = ± Pre-marginal$_2$ + Nuc:ptv ± post-marginal

The above formula generates the following examples:

(174) Kaéndahan basa   buhun rék   dihirupkeun   deui   ku
      beauty   language old   will be established again by

      urang Sunda
      people Sundanese
      *The beauty of the old language will be re-established by the
      Sundanese people*

(175) Usaha   neangan sarta nafsiran   jiwa   Sunda   buhun
      effort   find   and   to interpret spirit Sundanese old

      kudu bisa   disaluyukeun deui   jeung kahirupan kiwari
      must be able be adapted   again with   life   today
      *Efforts to find and to interpret the old Sundanese spirit must
      be able to be adapted again to today's life*

(176) Aturan   ieu   rék   dipikiran   deui   ku kuring isukan
      regulation this will be thought   again by I   tomorrow
      This regulation will be re-considered by me tomorrow

Predicate tagmeme P_{11b} is morphologically and semantically different from P_{11a} but syntactically similar. Thus in formula form, it is similar to VP_{11a}, except that it is represented by a different passive verb. The following sentences will illustrate the differences:

(177)   Bajuna   geus   kabawa   deui   ku manéhna
        clothes his already accidentally taken again by   him
        His clothes were accidentally taken again by him

(178)   ... yen   di   Cianjur kabéjakeun deui aya   nu
          that in   Cianjur be reported again exist who

        jual meuli   ténder
        buy and sell tender
        ... that in Cianjur it was reported again there is (a case)
        of buying and selling of tenders

(179)   sieun   kajeueungeun deui   ku   batur
        afraid can be seen   again by   others
        afraid to be discovered again by others

Predicate tagmeme P_{11b} is similarly modified as P_{11a-b}, however, post-marginal$_2$ must come after PC_1. The following are examples of this subtype:

(180)   Indungna   geus kapalingan duit   deui
        mother his has   be stolen   money again
        His mother had her money stolen again

(181)   Manéhna teu rék   kapalingan duit
        he   not will be stolen   money
        He will not have his money stolen

In formula form, P_{11b} is as follows:

Formula 11b

$$VP_{11b} = \pm \text{ Pre-marginal}_2 + \text{Nuc:<ka-an>}((PC_1)) \pm \text{Post-marginal}_2$$

3.6.12 Passive bitransitive predicate P_{12}

In its simplest form Predicate P_{12} takes the form of pbtv. The post-marginal$_2$ may however occur either before or after the Undergoer, U. The formula is given below as follows:

Formula 12

$$VP_{12} = \pm \text{ Pre-marginal}_2 + \text{Nuc:pbtv} \pm \text{Post-marginal}_2 + ((+U))$$

The formula generates teh following examples:

(182)   Tati rék   dipangmeulikeun   deui imah ku
        Tati will be bought for the benefit again house by

        salakina
        husband her
        Tati's husband will buy a house again for her

(183)   Kuring rék   dipangméntakeun deui   duit   ku manéhna
        I   will be asked for   again money by   him
        His younger brother will find me a house again

(184) Ku adina   kuring rék   dipangnéangankeun
       by younger brother his   I   will be looked for

       imah deui
       house again
       His younger brother will find me a house again

3.6.13 Passive tritransitive predicate P₁₃

Predicate₁₃ is similar to P₁₂, except that P₁₃ has one more participant in the clause:

(185) Hasan rék   dipangméntakeun deui   duit   ti   dununganna
       Hasan will be asked for   again money from boss   his

       ku Rusdi
       by Rusdi
       Hasan will have his money asked for from his boss by Rusdi

3.6.14 Imperative predicate P₁₄

P₁₄ is normally manifested by imv. Imv can only be pre-modified by some Inchoative Markers, Inch M., and post-modification depends on which type of verb manifests the predicate tagmeme. For further description see Section 4.2.2.10 on Clause Level Construction.

The formula for this predicate is as follows:

Formula 13

$$VP_{14} = \pm \text{ Mar : Inch M } + \text{ Nuc : imv } \pm \text{ Post-marginal}_2$$

(186) Cokot deui   duit   téh!
       get   again money [Mar Phras]
       Get the money again!

(187) Cing   pangnyokotkeun   baju!
       please fetch (st for me) clothes
       Please fetch the clothes for me!

(188) Hayu   urang migawé deui   pagawéan!
       let's us   do   again work
       Let's do the work again!

(189) Prak   gawékeun!
       [Inch M] work
       Start work on it!

3.6.15 Interjective predicate P₁₅

Minimally the manifestation of the Interjective Predicate P₁₅ takes the form of Adj₁ or Adj₄. The internal structure of Adj₄ consists of an adjective plus the clitic -na.

P$_{15}$ fillers take pre-marginal ku for Adj$_1$, kacida for Adj$_4$ and the post-marginal naker for Adj$_1$. To a limited extent pisan can be used with ku or kacida and Adj$_1$, but not with naker.

(190) Ku   hésé   nyusun   buku téh!
       extremely difficult compile book [Mar Phras]
       How extremely difficult it is to compile a book!

(191) Kacida   alusna   pamandangan ti   dieu!
       extremely beautiful   scenery   from here
       How extremely beautiful the scenery is from here!

(192) Kacida   beurat pisan tanggungan   urang téh!
       extremely heavy very responsibility us [Mar Phras]
       How extremely heavy our responsibility is!

(193) Babari naker   ari ngomong mah!
       easy   extremely if talk [Mar Phras]
       How extremely easy it is if we talk!

In formula form the above sentences would have to be divided into two, Adj P$_{15b}$ and Adj P$_{15b}$.

Formula 14a

$$\text{Adj P}_{15a} = +\ \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Mod adj}}\left|\begin{array}{l}\text{<ku>}\\\text{<kacida>}\end{array}\right. +\ \text{Nuc}\left|\begin{array}{l}\text{Adj 1}\\\text{Adj 4}\end{array}\right. \pm\ \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Mod adj 1}}\left|\text{<pisan>}\right.$$

Formula 14b

$$\text{Adj P}_{15b} = +\ \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Sta}}\left|\text{Adj 1}\right. \pm\ \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Mod adj}}\left|\text{<naker>}\right.$$

3.6.16 Emphatic predicate P$_{16}$

P$_{16}$, the Emphatic Predicate, is manifested as a nominal. Therefore the modification pattern follows those of nominal constructions. It should be noted that the Emphatic Particle, nya, téh, téa or mah is obligatory. Except for nya, it is always positioned at the end of the nominal construction. An example of a single element predicate is to be found in (194), where the emphatic particle precedes the head or follows after the head or both. When the predicate manifests in a noun which is already modified as in (195), then the particle occurs after the final word in the construction, not after the predicate nucleus.

(194) Nya   pamingpin nu   nangtukeun hirup di lemah cai
       [EMP] *leader   who decide   life in land water*
       It is the leaders who make decisions on life in our homeland

(195) Nya   pamingpin nu   nangtukeun hirup di lemah cai
       [EMP] *leader   who decide   life in land water*

       téh   nu kudu nanggung
       [EMP] *who must be responsible*
       It is the leaders making decisions on life in our homeland
       who must take responsibility

The predicate fillers discussed above, manifesting as a predicate tagmeme can be recursive, coordinated or both. As all the predicate fillers may be a Nominal Phrase, Verbal Phrase or an Adjectival Phrase, different formulae are given. For Nominal Phrases, see section 3.2.

Below are the formulae for Compound Verbs and Adjectival Phrases.

Formula 15

$$\text{CVP} \; = + \text{\# VP \# } \pm \text{ \# VP \#}^n + (+\text{Con} : \text{Coord} + \text{\# VP} \quad \text{\#)}$$

Formula 16

$$\text{CAdj P} = + \text{\# Adj P \# } \pm \text{ \# Adj P \# } + (+\text{Con} : \text{Coord} + \text{\# Adj P \#)}$$

VP in formula 15 stands for any type of Verbal Phrase. Adj P in formula 16 stands for any Adjectival Phrase.

Both formulae generate paratactically or coordinately linked phrases, or both. The following are some examples:

(196)   Mun jelema teu daék digawé, teu daék diajar teu
if person not want work not want learn not

      daék tatanya ...
want ask
If a person doesn't want to work,(doesn't want) to study,
(doesn't want) to ask questions ...

(197)   Urang kudu daék maca, mikir jeung nulis
we must want read thing and write
We must be eager to read, think and write

(198)   Pamajikanana geulis lenjang jeung démplon
wife his beautiful slim and well-proportioned
His wife is beautiful, slim and well-proportioned

3.7 The agentive tagmeme

The agentive tagmeme is manifested by the marker ku *by*. Ag consists of the agentive marker tagmeme Ag Mar filled by ku and followed by the agentive nucleus filled by a Nominal Phrase.

The formula for the agentive is as follows:

Formula 17

$$\text{Ag} \; = \; \pm \text{ Ag Mar} : \text{ku } + \text{ Nuc ag} : \text{NP}$$

The other nuclear tagmemes such as QM, IM, Im M and Con will be discussed separately at Clause and Sentence level. Our attention will now shift to the marginal tagmemes.

3.8 The marginal tagmemes

We have discussed in detail the internal structure of nucleus tagmemes in sections 3.2 - 3.7. This section deals with the marginal tagmemes. There are nine marginal tagmemes: Temporal, Locative, Purposive, Manner, Accompaniment, Instrumental, Similative, Causative and Directive.

3.8.1 The temporal tagmeme

In its basic form, a Temporal tagmeme is filled by a single word, Temp W_1. Some of these Temp W_1 are: ayeuna *now*; engké *later*; bieu *just now*; isuk *tomorrow*; pagéto *day after tomorrow*; kamari *yesterday*; mangkukna *day before yesterday*; cikénéh *a minute ago*. Some are found in phrase form such as: isuk-isuk *in the morning*; soré-soré *in the late afternoon* or *early evening*; sakeudeung deui *in a minute*; kamari ieu *day before yesterday* etc.

(199) Sakeudeung deui manéhna ogé datang
    moment   again he   also come
    He will come in a minute

(200) Manéhna tara balik   soré-soré
    he   never come home in the late afternoon
    He never comes home in the late afternoon

(201) Manéhna indit bieu
    he   go   just now
    He just left

Time words can also function as the nucleus of Temporal Phrases. See section 2.2.16 for the list of time words.

All Temporal Phrases are introduced by a preposition. See section 2.4.5.1 for a full listing of prepositions. The following is a list of the prepositions which can be used in Temporal Phrases.

Prep 1	a.	di	*at*		Prep 6	a.	sanggeus	*after*
	b.	ka	*to*			b.	sabada	*after*
	c.	ti	*from*			c.	samémeh	*before*
	d.	dina	*in*			d.	waktu	*when*
	j.	nepi	*until*			e.	wanci	*when*
	h.	semet	*up to*			f.	sawatara	*while*
Prep 3	a.	keur	*for*			g.	sabot	*while*
	b.	jang	*for*			h.	sajeroning	*while*
	c.	pikeun	*for*			i.	enggoning	*while*

There are nine subtypes of Temporal Phrases, Temp P. The first subtype is as follows:

Formula 18a

$$\text{Temp P}_1 = \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Rel}}\left|\begin{array}{l}\text{Prep 1a,b,c,d}\\\text{Prep 6a,c}\end{array}\right. + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Temp}}\left|\text{Temp W2}\right. \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Quant}}\left|\overset{+}{\overline{\text{Quantcard}}}\right.$$

$$\pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Temp}}\left|\overline{\begin{array}{c}\text{Temp W7a,v,c,d}\\\varnothing\\\varnothing\end{array}}\right. \pm \left(\frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Rest}}\left|\text{RelTClRt}\right. + \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Mar Ph}}\left|\text{Det}\right.\right)$$

The maximum number of Temporal Phrase in subtype 1 is six tagmemes which consists of the marginal tagmeme as relator, the nucleus tagmeme Temp W_2, the Quantifier tagmeme Quantcard, the marginal tagmeme, the Dependent Clause tagmeme DC, and the Phrase marker tagmeme Mar Phras. The Relator is optional, manifesting preposition subtype 1a,b,c,d and in the case of j, in isomorphic relation to b and c with g or preposition subtype 6a,c. The nucleus tagmeme

is obligatory. This is manifested by time words Temp W$_{2a,b,c}$. After the Quant tagmeme a marginal tagmeme can optionally occur. This tagmeme is filled by Temp W$_{7a,b,c,d}$. The nucleus fillers and those of the marginal tagmemes are in isomorphic relation.

Formula 18a generates phrases (202)-(209), but not (210)-(214). It should be noted that the Quantifiers manifesting Quant are semantically identical with (1)-(31) for Tem W$_{2b}$ and from (1)-(12) for Temp W$_{2a}$.

(202) dina pukul opat soré
       at strike four late afternoon
       at four in the afternoon

(203) taun hareup
       year front
       next year

(204) saméméh pukul dua beurang
       before strike two afternoon
       before two in the afternoon

(205) ti semet tanggal 28 ieu
       from up to date 28 this
       since the 28th

(206) taun tukang
       year back
       last year

(207) sanggeus pukul sapuluh
       after strike ten
       after ten o'clock

(208) nepi ka jam salapan
       until to hear nine
       until nine o'clock

(209) saméméh tanggal hiji Maret
       before date one March
       before the first of March

(210) * dina jam

(211) * ti semet jam peuting

(212) * ti taun

(213) * saméméh tanggal

(214) * ti taun isuk

Formula 18b

$$\text{Temp P}_2 = \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Rel}} \Bigg| \begin{array}{l} \text{Prep 1a,c,d,j} \\ \text{Prep 6a,b} \end{array} + \left(\left(\pm \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Temp}} \Bigg| \text{Temp W8} \right) \right.$$

$$+$$

$$\left. + \left(\pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Temp}} \Bigg| \text{Temp W 3b} \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Temp}} \Bigg| \text{Temp W6b} \right) \right) \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Mar Phras}} \Bigg| \text{Det 2}$$

The similarity between Temp P₁ and Temp P₂ is that it is introduced by the same fillers. The difference is that the remaining tagmemes are optional. The nucleus here is not the tagmeme as such but the choice of a particular tagmeme within the double parentheses. The first marginal must be followed by at least one of the tagmemes within the single parentheses. Only then can the Mar Phras occur optionally. Should Temp W₃ occur only within the single parentheses, the Mar Phras must obligatorily be present. Formula 18b generates phrases (215)-(221), but not (222)-(224).

(215)   dina panungtungan bulan Januari téh
        at   *end*   *month* *January* [Mar Phras]
        at the end of the month of January

(216)   panungtungan Pébruari
        end   *February*
        (at) the end of February

(217)   ti   semet bulan Mei
        from *up to* *month* *May*
        since the beginning of May

(218)   saméméh bulan April
        before   *month* *April*
        before the month of April

(219)   pertengahan bulan
        middle   *month*
        in the middle of the month

(220)   ti   bulan ieu
        from *month* *this*
        from this month

(221)   sanggeus Agustus
        after   *Agustus*
        after August

(222)   * ti semet panungtungan

(223)   * ti bulan

(224)   * saméméh bulan

Time Words are basically nouns. As such they can also be modified as any other nouns. Temp W₆ᵦ, juxtaposed at the end of the phrase, may also be modified by an RDC. RDC is not included in the formula, as it only modifies the Nucleus tagmeme, and not the whole phrase. On the other hand, the inclusion of the Mar Phras does not only modify Temp W₆ alone, but it can also modify the whole phrase. The phrase

(225)   dina panungtungan bulan Mei nu   kakara kaliwat téh
        at   *end*   *month* *May* *which* *just*   *passed* [Mar Phras]

is modified by an RDC nu kakara kaliwat. However, it only modifies the immediately preceding noun Mei, while Mar Phras téh may or may not modify it. This aspect is to be found in many other phrase types.

Formula 18c

$$\text{Temp}_3 = \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Rel}} \left| \frac{\begin{array}{c}\text{Prep la,c,d}\\ \text{Prep 6a,b}\end{array}}{} \right. + \left(\left(\pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Temp}} \right| \text{Temp W8} \right.$$

$$+$$

$$+ \left(\pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Temp}} \right| \text{Temp W2C} \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Quant}} \left| \frac{\begin{array}{c}\text{Quantcard}\\ \text{Quantcoll}\end{array}}{} \right) \right) \pm \frac{\begin{array}{c}\text{Mar}\\ \text{Mar}\\ \text{Phras}\end{array}}{} \left| \text{Det 2} \right.$$

The Relator tagmeme of Temp P_3 is similar to that of Temp P_1. One of the tagmemes of the double parentheses must occur. The tagmeme manifested by Temp W_8 cannot occur without having at least one of the two tagmemes in the single parentheses to occur. Mar Phras can optionally close the construction. If the tagmeme Temp W_{2C} and one of the double parentheses occur, Mar Phras must obligatorily be present. Formula 18c would generate phrases such as (226)-(228), but not (229)-(230).

(226) dina   panungtungan   taun   1982   téh
       at   end   year   1982   [Mar Phras]
       at the end of 1982

(227) sanggeus   pertengahan   taun   1981   téh
       after   middle   year   1981   [Mar Phras]
       after the middle of 1981

(228) dina   taun   éta   téh
       at   year   that   [Mar Phras]
       during that year

(229) * dina taun

(230) * dina panungtungan

Formula 18d

$$\text{Temp } P_4 = \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Rel}} \left| \frac{\begin{array}{c}\text{Prep la,c,j}\\ \text{Prep 6a,b}\end{array}}{} \right. \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Temp}} \left| \frac{\begin{array}{c}\text{Temp W3a}\\ \text{Temp W3c}\end{array}}{} \right. + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Temp}} \left| \text{Temp W 6} \right.$$

$$\pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Temp}} \left| \frac{\begin{array}{c}\text{Temp W 7a,b,c,d}\\ \emptyset\end{array}}{} \right. \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Rest}} \left| \text{RDC} \right. \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Mar Phras}} \left| \text{Det 2} \right.$$

The Relator of Temp P_4 is similar to Temp P_1. The nucleus tagmeme is manifested by Temp W_{6a}. The nucleus is preceded and followed optionally by marginal tagmemes manifested respectively by Temp W_{3ac} and Temp $W_{7a,b,c,d}$. The two sets of fillers are in isomorphic relation. Two other tagmemes, DC and Mar Phras, optionally close the construction.

Phrases generated by formula 18d are (231)-(234), but not (235)-(236):

(231) semet   poé   Senén   beurang   téh
       since   day   Monday   afternoon   [Mar Phras]
       since Monday afternoon

(232) Rébo   peuting nu   bakal datang
Wednesday evening which about come
next Wednesday evening

(233) Saptu   peuting
Saturday   evening
Saturday evening

(234) malem Saptu
night Saturday
Saturday evening

(235) * malem Saptu peuting

(236) * malem Saptu isuk

Formula 18e

$$\text{Temp P}_5 = \pm \left(\pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Rel}} \left| \begin{array}{l} \text{Prep 1c} \\ \text{Prep 1j} \end{array} \right. + \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Rel}} \left| \begin{array}{l} \emptyset \\ \text{Prep 1b} \end{array} \right. \right) + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Temp}} \left| \text{Temp W 7} \right.$$

$$\pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Fut}} \left| \text{<-na>} \right. \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Mar Phras}} \left| \text{Det 2} \right.$$

The Relator of Temp P$_5$ is marginal and is manifested by Prep$_{1c}$ and Prep$_{1j}$. Prep$_{1j}$ is in isomorphic relation with Prep$_{1b}$. A marginal Futurative tagmeme, Fut, follows the nucleus and is filled by the particle -na. Mar Phras filled by Det optionally closes Temp P$_5$. The following phrases are generated by Formula 18e.

(237) ti   isuk
from   morning
from morning

(238) isukna
morning [Fut]
the following morning

(239) beurangna
day [Fut]
the following day

(240) nepi ka isuk
till   to morning
till morning

Formula 18f

$$\text{Temp P}_6 = \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Rel}} \left| \begin{array}{l} \text{Prep 1a,c,j} \\ \text{Prep 6a,b} \end{array} \right. + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Temp}} \left| \text{Temp W4} \right.$$

$$+ \left(\pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Temp}} \left| \text{Temp W1} \right. \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Mar Phras}} \left| \text{Det 2} \right. \right)$$

The Relator tagmeme of Temp P$_6$ is similar to that of Temp P$_1$. The nucleus tagmeme filled by Temp W$_4$ follows Rel. At least one of the two tagmemes which follow the nucleus must be present, although individually they are optional.

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These tagmemes are the non-nucleus manifested by Temp W_1, and Mar Phras filled by Det_2[28]. This formula generates phrases (241)-(243), but not (244)-(245).

(241) di jaman harita téh
at time then [Mar Phras]
at that time

(242) minggu kamari
week yesterday
last week

(243) menit ieu
minute this
this minute

(244) * jaman

(245) * ti jaman

Formula 18g

$$\text{Temp } P_7 = \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Rel}} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{Prep la,c,j} \\ \text{Prep 6a,b} \end{array} \right. + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Temp}} \left| \text{Temp W5} \right.$$

$$+ \left(\pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Temp}} \left| \text{Temp Wl} \right. \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Mar Phras}} \left| \text{Det 2} \right. \right)$$

The Relator tagmeme of Temp P_7 is the same as that of Temp P_1. The nucleus tagmeme is filled by Temp W_5. The nucleus tagmeme must be followed by a Mar Phras which can either be filled by a Det or an NP. It should be noted that when Mar Phras is manifested by NP, the nucleus of the NP must have durative semantic features. This excludes phrases such as (246) and (251).

(246) sémét harita téh
since that time [Mar Phras]
since that time

(247) dina jaman kumawasa penjajah
during period power colonialist
during the colonial period

(248) dina waktu révolusi
during time revolution
during the revolutionary period

(249) dina mangsa paceklik
during time hard
during hard times

(250) * dina jaman imah téh

(251) * samémép waktu pangajaran

Both imah *house* in (250) and pangajaran *lesson* in (251) are nouns with no durative semantic connotation.

Formula 18h

$$\text{Temp } P_8 = + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Rel}} \left| \text{Prep 6} \right. + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Det}} \left| \text{Det l} \right. \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Mar Phras}} \left| \text{Det 2} \right.$$

Temp P$_8$ consists of a nucleus Relator filled by Prep$_6$, followed by a nucleus tagmeme filled by Det$_1$. The following are some examples:

(252) waktu éta téh
       time   that [Mar Phras]
       at that time

(253) sawatara éta téh
       while   that [Mar Phras]
       meanwhile

(254) sajeroning éta téh
       during   that [Mar Phras]
       during that time

Formula 18i

$$
\text{Temp P}_9 = \pm \begin{array}{c|l} \text{Mar} & \text{Prep 3a} \\ \hline \text{Rel} & \text{Prep 6e} \end{array} \pm \begin{array}{c|l} \text{Mar} & \text{Comp} \\ \hline \text{Qt} & \end{array} + \begin{array}{c|l} \text{Nuc} & \text{Quantcard} \\ \hline \text{Quant} & \end{array}
$$

$$
+ \begin{array}{c|c} \text{Nuc} & \text{Temp W} \begin{array}{c}2\\3\\4\\6\end{array} \\ \hline \text{Temp} & \end{array} \pm \begin{array}{c|c} \text{Mar} & \text{deui} \\ \hline \text{Fut} & \end{array} \pm \begin{array}{c|c} \text{Mar} & \text{lilana} \\ \hline \text{Dur} & \end{array}
$$

Temp P$_9$ is marginally related by the Relator tagmeme filled by Prep$_{3a}$ or Prep$_{6a}$. A marginal quantitative Qt can follow the Relator and be filled by the comparative words Comp, leuwih ti *more than* or kurang ti *less than*. The quantifier tagmeme Quant must occur before the nucleus and be filled by Quantcard. The nucleus is filled by Temp W$_2$, Temp W$_3$, Temp W$_4$ and Temp W$_6$. Futurative tagmeme Fut, filled by deui, can occur after the nucleus. The marginal durative tagmeme can close the construction. Rel is mutually exclusive with Fut and with Dur. Fut is mutually exclusive with Dur.

Phrases generated by Formula 18i are (255)-(260), but not (261)-(263).

(255) sajeroning leuwih ti   tilu   taun
       during   more   than three year
       for more than three years

(256) leuwih ti   tilu   taun lilana
       more   than three year long its
       for more than three years

(257) kurang ti   dua poé
       less   than two day
       less than two days

(258) lima poé deui
       five day more
       five more days

(259) keur   dua   jameun
for   two   hour
for two hours

(260) sajeroning   dua   jam
during   two   hour
within two hours

(261) * sajeroning lima minggu lilana

(262) * sajeroning tilu poé deui

(263) * dua jam deui lilana

3.8.2 The locative tagmeme

See section 2.4.1.2. The locative tagmeme can be subgrouped under several subtypes. The components that make up Locative Phrases, Loc P, are as follows:

Loc W_1 —   dieu, dinya, ditu

Loc W_2 —   a.   luhur, jero
                   b.   luhureun

Loc W_3 —   a.   handap, hareup, tukang, gigir
                   b.   handapeun, hareupeun, tukangeun, gigireun

Loc W_4 —   Bandung, imah, lomari, mobil

$Prep_1$ —   a.   di
                 b.   ka
                 c.   ti
                 j.   nepi

Formula 19

$$\text{Loc } P_1 = + \left(\pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Rel}} \begin{bmatrix} \text{Prep lj} \\ \emptyset \end{bmatrix} \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Rel}} \begin{bmatrix} \text{Prep lb} \\ \text{Prep la,b,c} \end{bmatrix} \right) + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Loc}} \, \Big| \, \text{Loc W 1}$$

The Locative Phrase sub type 1, Loc P_1, requires an obligatory Relator tagmeme, followed by a nucleus tagmeme filled with Loc W_1. One of the Relators within the parentheses should at least occur. The first Rel is filled by $Prep_{1j}$ and the second Rel is filled by $Prep_{1a,b,c}$. The fillers of the two tagmemes are in isomorphic relation.

Formula 19 generates the following phrases (264)-(268), but not (269)-(274).

(264) nepi   dieu
till   here
up to here

(265) nepi   ka   dieu
till   to   here
as far as here

(266) di dieu
in here
(in) here

(267) ti   dinya
from   there
from there

(268) ka ditu
to   over there
to (over) there

(269) * nepi di dieu

(270) * nepi di dinya

(271) * nepi di ditu

(272) * nepi ti dieu

(273) * nepi ti dinya

(274) * nepi ti ditu

Formula 20

$$\text{Loc P}_2 = + \left(\pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Rel}} \middle| \text{Prep 1j} \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Rel}} \middle| \text{Prep 1a,b} \right) + \left(\pm \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Loc}} \middle| \text{Loc W 2b,3b} \right.$$

$$\left. \pm \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Loc}} \middle| \begin{matrix} \emptyset \\ \text{Loc W 4} \end{matrix} \right)$$

Loc P_2 requires obligatory Relator tagmeme Rel, followed by a nuclear tagmeme. At least one of the two Rel tagmemes must be present. The first Rel is filled by Prep_{1j} and the second Rel is filled by $\text{Prep}_{1a,b}$. At least one of the nuclear tagmemes must be present. If both are used, the first nucleus is filled either by Loc W_{2a} or Loc W_{3a} only, or Loc W_{2b} or Loc W_{3b}.

The second nucleus is filled by Loc W_4. Loc W_4 can be modified as any normal noun. The formula generates phrases (275)-(281), but not (282)-(285).

(275) nepi ka luhureun tangga
till   to   top of   stairs
as far as the top of the stairs

(276) nepi ka Bandung
till   to   Bandung
as far as Bandung

(277) nepi ka luhur
till   to   top
as far as the top

(278) di imah
at   house
at the house

(279) di luhur
at   top
at the top

(280) ti   tukangeun imah
from behind   house
from behind the house

(281) di handapeun tangkal
at under   tree
under the tree

(282) * nepi ka luhur jambatan

(283) * di handap imah

(284) * ti tukang panto

(285) * ka handapeun

Basically Loc W₂ and Loc W₃ are place nouns. Their role in a Locative
Phrase is rather unique as together with Prep₁ₐ,ᵦ they are considered as a
single unit, to make up a new 'Preposition', thus making them more specific.
When translated, Loc W₂ is often considered as not distinctive. Consider the
following examples:

(286) a. Duit téh aya dina méja
The money is on the table

b. Duit téh aya dina luhureun méja
The money is on the table

(287) a. Duit téh dina lomari
The money is in the cupboard

b. Duit téh dina jéro lomari
The money is in the cupboard

Although in many cases both are regarded as similar, there is a distinct
difference between the two. Compare for example the following:

(288) Manéhna aya di imah
he   be   at house
He is at home

(289) Manéhna aya di jéro   imah
he   be   at inside house
He is in the house

Sentence (288) is different from (289), in the sense that the former
means that he is at home, but does not necessarily mean inside the house,
whereas the latter means that he is inside the house, not outside, or behind
the house. While (286a) and (287a) are often understood as identical with
(287b) and (287b), (288) and (289) are not. The reason for this has often to
do with the semantic features of a table or of a cupboard, a table for its
'flatness of surface' and a cupboard for its 'inner space' meaning which often
leads people to consider dina méja and dina luhureun méja or dina lomari and
dina jéro lomari as being the same. But if different location is required,
which has nothing to do with 'surface flatness' of a table or the 'inner space'
of a cupboard, then Loc W₃ᵦ must be used. Thus di handapeun meja *under the
table* or di hareupeun méja *in front of the table*. Similarly with lomari, if
the object is other than in the inside of a cupboard, Loc W₃ᵦ must be used,
di gigireun lomari *beside the cupboard*, di tukangeun lomari *behind the cupboard*,
di luhureun lomari *on top of the cupboard*, etc.

Formula 21

$$\text{Loc P}_4 \quad = \quad + \quad \frac{\text{Mar} \mid \text{Prep la}}{\text{Rel} \mid \text{RR}} \quad + \quad \frac{\text{Nuc} \mid \begin{array}{c}\text{Pron}\\\text{Prop.Name}\end{array}}{\text{Loc} \mid \text{RR}}$$

Loc P_4 consists of an obligatory Relator tagmeme Rel filled by Prep_{1a}, followed by a Locative nucleus tagmeme filled by a Pronoun or a Proper Name.

(290) Duit téh   aya di kuring
      money [Mar Phras] *is   at me*
      The money is with me

(291) Buku téh   aya di Hasan
      book [Mar Phras] *is   at Hasan*
      The book is with Hasan

(292) Mobil téh   aya di batur   manéhna
      car [Mar Phras] *is   at friend   his*
      The car is with his friend

3.8.3 The purposive tagmeme

There are two types of Purposive tagmemes of which the components are:

         Prep_3 - a. keur
                            b. jang
                            c. pikeun

Formula 22

$$\text{Pur P}_1 \quad = \quad + \quad \frac{\text{Mar} \mid \text{Prep 3a,b,c}}{\text{Rel} \mid \text{>RR>}} \quad + \quad \frac{\text{Nuc} \mid \text{NP}}{\text{Loc} \mid \text{>RR>}}$$

The Purposive Phrase, Pur P_1, consists of an obligatory Relator tagmeme, Rel, filled by $\text{Prep}_{3a,b,e}$, followed by an obligatory purposive nucleus tagmeme filled by a nominal phrase, NP.

(293) keur salah sahiji mahasiswa
      for   one   of   student
      for one of the students

(294) jang adina   nu   leutik
      for   younger brother who small
      for his small brother

(295) pikeun kasenangan dirina
      for   pleasure   self[Poss.Past]
      for his own pleasure

      pikeun Dewi nu   geus   kapopohokeun
      for   Dewi who   already   forgotten
      for Dewi who was already forgotten

Formula 23

$$\text{Pur P}_2 \quad = \quad + \quad \frac{\text{Mar} \mid \text{Prep 3a}}{\text{Rel} \mid \text{>RR>}} \quad + \quad \frac{\text{Nuc} \mid \text{VP}}{\text{Sta} \mid \text{>RR>}} \quad \pm \quad \frac{\text{Mar} \mid \text{N}}{\text{U} \mid}$$

Pur P$_2$ consists of an obligatory Relator tagmeme Rel filled by Prep$_{3a}$, followed by purposive nucleus tagmeme manifested by a Verb Phrase (VP). An Undergoer U or complement may or may not be present depending upon the kind of verb filling the predicate tagmeme.

(297) Manéhna teu boga duit keur balanja
     he   *not have money for spend*
     He hasn't got any money to spend

(298) ... loba kénéh alesan-alesan pikeun ngeuweuhkeun atawa
       many still reasons   for   obviate   or

        sakurang-kurangna ngabaékeun kana hasil sastra Sunda
        at least   neglect   to   result literature Sundanese
        ... there are still many reasons to obviate or at least neglect the literary work in Sundanese

(299) ... patlot beureum sayagi keur nyorétan nu salah
       pencil red   ready for cross out which wrong
       ... a red pencil ready to cross out the mistakes

(300) ... henteu unggal sastrawan ngora Sunda meunang
       not   every literati young Sundanese have

        kasempetan pikeun neuleuman sarta maca hasil sastra
        opportunity for immerse and read result literature

        Sunda
        Sundanese
        ... not all young Sundanese literati have the opportunity to study and read Sundanese literary works

The nucleus of Pur P$_2$ in sentence (297) is an intransitive verb subtype a where no object or complement is present. The nuclei of (298)-(300) are transitive, and thus they are followed by objects.

3.8.4 The manner tagmeme

There are many types of Manner tagmemes. The first one will be labelled Man W$_1$. It consists of words such as biasana *usually*; geus *already*; kungsi *ever*; langka *seldom*; mindeng *often*; salilana *forever*; sok *always*; etc. More frequently these words occur between subject and predicate, although their occurrence in other positions, either at the beginning of a clause or at the end, is not infrequent.

Ngan and baé, both meaning *only*, should be treated separately, as both are sometimes used together to give more emphasis. Ngan pre-modifies a noun, a verb, or an adjective. Baé post-modifies the noun, the verb and the adjective. Any given nominal, verbal or adjectival phrase, may fit these two words in certain positions. One can regard the occurrence of these words as a verb of manner when modifying a verb.

The following are some examples:

(301) Manéhna sok datang ka dieu
     he   always come to here
     He always comes here

(302) Sakapeung manéhna néang kuring
sometimes   he   visit me
Sometimes he visits me

(303) Imahna   ngan hiji
house his only one
He has only one house

(304) Imahna   hiji baé
house his one only
He has only one house

(305) Imahna   ngan hiji baé
house his only one   only
He has only one house (after all these years)

Manner tagmemes can also take a phrase form. The components that make up
manner phrases are as follows:

Prep$_2$: a. kalawan, kalayan   Adj 1-3: sadar, teuneung, pageuh
        b. tanpa   Man W$_2$: lalaki, satria, duduluran
        c. sacara   Man W$_3$: kabungahan, pangorbanan

Part: sa-
      -na

Formula 24a

$$\text{Man } P_1 = \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Rel}} \left| \begin{array}{l} \text{Prep 2a,c} \\ \text{>RR>} \end{array} \right. \pm \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Des}} \left| \begin{array}{l} \text{(Adj 1-3)} \\ \text{>RR>} \end{array} \right.$$

Manner Phrase Man P$_1$ consists of an obligatory Relator filled by Prep$_{2a,c}$ and
followed by an obligatory nucleus manner tagmeme manifested by Adj$_{1-3}$. The
adjective can be reduplicated.

(306) Pangaruh   basa   jeung alam-pikiran   Indonésia
influence   language   and   nature thought Indonesia

lain kudu disingkahan tapi kudu disanghareupan
not must be avoided but must be faced

kalawan teuneung ludeung
with   brave   unafraid
The influence of Indonesian and western ways of thinking
must not be avoided, but must be faced courageously and firmly

(307) Upama dibaca   kalayan telik, lalakon Arjuna Sasrabahu
if   be read with   care   story   Arjuna Sasrabahu

téh   pohara   luhurna
[Mar Phras] *extremely high*
If read carefully, the story of Arjuna Sasrabahu is extremely
profound

(308) Carita pantun téh   bener-bener némbongkeun
story lyrical [Mar Phras] truly   show

kabinangkitan urang Sunda
art   people Sundanese
The lyrical poem truly shows the art of the Sundanese people

(309) ... supaya *sacara* *sadar* milu netepkeun ukuran
     that *manner* *conscious* *take part* *decide* *standard*

kasusastran Sunda anu kiwari masih kacida samarna
literature *Sunda* *which* *today* *still* *extremely* *vague*
... in order that people consciously take part in deciding
the standard of Sundanese literature which today is still
extremely vague

Formula 24b

$$\text{Man P}_2 = + \frac{\text{Mar} \mid \text{Prep 2c}}{\text{Rel} \mid \text{>RR>}} + \frac{\text{Nuc} \mid \text{Man W2}}{\text{Man} \mid \text{>RR>}}$$

Man P$_2$ is obligatorily introduced by the Rel tagmeme filled by the Prep$_{2c}$, followed by nucleus tagmeme filled by Man W$_2$.

(310) Sajak jeung dangding *sacara* *wangunan* duanana
     poetry *and* *lyrical verse* *manner* *form* *both*

ogé nyampak dina dunya kasusastran sabada perang
also *appear* *in* *world* *literature* *after* *war*
In form both poetry and lyrical verse also appeared in the
post-war literary works

(311) Ieu téh kudu dibéréskeun *sacara* duduluran
     this [Mar Phras] *must* *be settled* *manner* *family*
This (matter) must be settled in a family manner

(312) Urang kudu wani nyanghareupan kasusah *sacara* *lalaki*
     we *must* *dare* *face* *trouble* *manner* *man*
We must dare face trouble like a man

Formula 24c

$$\text{Man P}_3 = + \frac{\text{Mar} \mid \text{Prep 2a,b}}{\text{Rel} \mid \text{>RR>}} + \frac{\text{Nuc} \mid \text{Man W3}}{\text{Man} \mid \text{RR}} + \frac{\text{Mar} \mid \begin{array}{l}\text{Pn} \\ \text{Adj 1-3} \\ \text{Noun}\end{array}}{\text{Des} \mid \text{>RR>}}$$

Man P$_3$ is obligatorily introduced by the Rel tagmeme which is filled by Prep$_{1a,b}$, followed by a nuclear tagmeme filled by Man W$_3$ and followed obligatorily by a descriptive tagmeme, Des, filled by a Pers. noun, Adj$_{1-3}$ or a Noun. The noun must be able to function as a Possessor of Man W$_3$.

(313) Putusan rapat téh ditarima *kalayan*
     decision *meeting* [Mar Phras] *be accepted* *with*

sora buleud
voice *round*
The decision was accepted unanimously

(314) Kamerdikaan téh dibeuli *kalayan* pangorbanan gedé
     freedom [Mar Phras] *be bought* *with* *sacrifice* *big*
Freedom was attained with great sacrifice

(315) Tanpa kahayang gedé moal maju-maju
     without *will* *great* *will not* *progress*
Progress is not achieved without a great will

(316) Kalayan pitulung kuring manéhna bisa datang ka dieu
       with   *help*   *I*   *he*   *can* *come* *to* *here*
       With my help he was able to come here

Formula 24d

$$\text{Man } P_4 = + \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Man}} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{<sa>} \end{array} \right. + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Des}} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{Adj } 1\text{-}3^2 \\ \hline \text{Aux } 2\text{-}3^2 \end{array} \right. + \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Man}} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{<na>} \\ \hline \emptyset \end{array} \right.$$

Man P_4 is obligatorily introduced by the Rel tagmeme na, followed obligatory nucleus tagmeme filled either by Adj_{1-3} or Aux_{2-3}. These fillers must be duplicated. The obligatory manneriser tagmeme, Man, filled by na follows the nuclear tagmeme.

(317) **Sakurang-kurangna** urang kudu aya   ihtiar
       at least   *we*   *must* *exist* *effort*
       At least we must make an effort

(318) Perkara ieu   téh   **sabisa-bisa**   kudu
       matter *this* [Mar Phras] *as much as o.can*   *must*

       dipikiran   asak-asak
       be thought *carefully*
       This matter must be considered as carefully as possible

(319) Manéh téh   teu   bisa nitahan   jelema **sawenang-wenang**
       you   [Mar Phras] *not* *can* *command* *people* *as one pleases*
       You cannot arbitrarily command poeple do things

(320) **Saelat-elatna** bayaran téh   kudu   geus
       at the latest   *pay*   [Mar Phras] *must* *already*

       dibagikeun   saméméh abis   bulan
       be distributed *before* *finish* *month*
       *The pay must be distributed at the latest before the end of
       the month*

Formula 24e

$$\text{Man } P_5 = \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Rel}} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{Prep } 2a,c \end{array} \right. + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Des}} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{Adj } 1\text{-}3^2 \end{array} \right. + \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Man}} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{<an>} \end{array} \right.$$

Man P_5 is optionally introduced by the Rel tagmeme filled by $Prep_{2a,c}$, followed obligatorily by the nucleus tagmeme filled by a manneriser tagmeme filled by an:

(321) Manéhna **ambek-ambekan** mikeun duit   téh
       he   *angrily*   *give* *money* [Mar Phras]
       Angrily he gave the money

(322) Nu   lalajo   surak   **ambal-ambalan**
       who *watch* *applaud* *loudly*
       The spectators applauded loudly

Formula 24f

$$\text{Man } P_6 = \pm \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Rel}} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{Prep } 2 \end{array} \right. + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Man}} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{<teu>} \end{array} \right. + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Des}} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{Adj } 1\text{-}3^2 \\ \hline \text{Vit}^2 \end{array} \right.$$

Man P$_6$ is optionally introduced by the Rel tagmeme filled by Prep$_2$, followed by an obligatory tagmeme filled by teu, followed obligatorily by reduplicated Adj$_{1-3}$ or itv.

(323) Teu eureun-eureun manéhna digawé nepi ka peuting
incessantly   *he*   *work*   *till*   *to*   *night*
He incessantly worked until late at night

(324) Teu éra-éra manéhna nginjeum duit ti sasaha
unashamedly he   *borrow*   *money*   *from*   *everyone*
Unashamedly he borrowed money from everyone

(325) Manéhna teu kireum-kireum ngabohong ka dununganana
he   *unflappable*   *lie*   *to*   *master his*
He unflappably lied to his employer

(326) Teu sieun-sieun maung téh   disampeurkeun ku manéhna
unflinchingly   *tiger* [Mar Phras] *be approached by him*
He unflinchingly approached the tiger

Formula 24g

$$\text{Man P}_7 \;=\; +\; \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Des}} \left| \begin{array}{l} \text{Init redup Adj 1-3} \\ \text{Inch M}^2 \end{array} \right. \;+\; \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Man}} \left| \text{<an>} \right.$$

Man P$_7$ is obligatorily formed by a nucleus tagmeme filled by an initial partial reduplication of Adj$_{1-3}$ or duplication of Inch M, followed by the Manner tagmeme filled by an:

(327) Adina   bébéakan ngajual rajakayana
younger brother his completely sell   *wealth his*

pikeun ngadu
for   *gamble*
His younger brother sold all his property to support his gambling

(328) Indungna tutuluyan   gering kapapaténan
mother his continuously sick   *suffering from bereavement*

salakina
husband her
His mother became increasingly bedridden with the bereavement after the death of her husband

(329) Manéhna dagang mobil leuleutikan
he   *sell*   *car*   *small scale*
He sells cars on a small scale

(330) Bapana   brobroan méré duit ka adina   nu
father his increasingly give money to brother his who

bungsu
last born
His father is giving more and more money to his youngest brother

3.8.5 The accompaniment tagmeme

The Accompaniment Tagmeme takes the phrase form, with the possible exception of sorangan *alone*. Only one type exists.

Formula 25

$$\text{Acc P} = + \frac{\text{Mar} \mid \text{Prep 2a}}{\text{Rel} \mid \text{>RR>}} + \frac{\text{Nuc} \mid \text{Pers N} \atop \text{NP}}{\text{Acc} \mid \text{>RR>}}$$

(331) Manéhna indit ka Bandung jeung adina
     he   go   to Bandung with   younger brother his
     He went to Bandung with his younger brother

(332) Kuring badami jeung manéhna
     I   confer with   him
     I conferred with him

3.8.6 The instrumental tagmeme

The Instrumental Tagmeme is always in phrase form. It is introduced by an obligatory introducer tagmeme Rel filled by $\text{Prep}_{2b,c}$, and followed by an obligatory instrumental nucleus tagmeme. The nucleus of the NP must semantically bear inanimate features. In formula form, the Inst P is as follows:

Formula 26

$$\text{Inst P} = + \frac{\text{Mar} \mid \text{Inst Prep}}{\text{Rel} \mid \text{RR}} + \frac{\text{Nuc} \mid \text{NP}}{\text{Inst} \mid \text{RR}}$$

(333) Urang teu bisa nangtukeun dangding maké ukuran
     we   not can decide   lyrical prose with standard

     sorangan
     own
     We cannot judge the lyrical prose by our own standards

(334) Kuring ngeureut bawang ku péso
     I   cut   onion with knife
     I cut the onions with a knife

(335) Loba anu bingung ku aturan pamaréntah anu anyar
     many who confused with regulation government which new
     There are many people who are confused by the new government regulation

(336) Manéhna indit ka Jakarta maké mobil kuring
     he   go   to Jakarta with car   I
     He went to Jakarta in my car

3.8.7 The similative tagmeme

As with the Instrumental Tagmeme, the Similative Tagmeme is also in phrase form. It is introduced by the Rel filled by Prep_7 saperti, siga or lir, and followed by a similative nucleus tagmeme manifested by a nominal phrase NP. Formulated, the Similative Tagmeme is as follows:

Formula 27

$$\text{Sim P} = + \frac{\text{Man} \mid \text{Prep 7a,b,c}}{\text{Rel} \mid \text{>RR>}} + \frac{\text{Nuc} \mid \text{NP}}{\text{Sim} \mid \text{>RR>}}$$

(337) Anakna   nyeplés siga manéhna
child his   look   like   him
His child looks like him

(338) ... ngadadak layu lir tangkal nu   ditigas sirung
*   suddenly wilt like tree   which nip   bud*
... suddenly wilted like a tree nipped in the bud

(339) Korsi téh   kudu dijieun saperti nu   dina gambar
chair [Mar Phras] must be made as   which in   picture

ieu
this
The chair must be constructed as the one in this picture

3.8.8 The causative tagmeme

The Causative Tagmeme is always in phrase form. It is obligatorily introduced by Rel filled by Prep 8, sabab and lantaran and followed by the nuclear causative tagmeme filled by a nominal phrase NP. The Causative Tagmeme is formulated as follows:

Formula 28

$$\text{Caus P} \quad = \quad + \quad \frac{\text{Mar} \mid \text{Prep 8}}{\text{Rel} \mid \text{>RR>}} \quad + \quad \frac{\text{Nuc} \mid \text{NP}}{\text{Caus} \mid \text{>RR>}}$$

(340) Lantaran kapapaténan anakna   manéhna jadi   gélo
because   death   child her she   become insane
Because of the death of her child she became insane

(341) Manéhna cilaka sabab   laku lampahna
he   trouble because behaviour his
He got into trouble because of his behaviour

(342) Manéhna gagal lantaran soal   ieu baé
he   fail   because   matter this only
He failed because of this matter only

3.8.9 The directive tagmeme

The Directive Tagmeme is different from Locative Tagmeme in terms of possible substitutions. The Directive Tagmeme Dir P consists of an obligatory Rel which isfilled by $\text{Prep}_{lb,c,e,f,h,i}$ and followed by an obligatory directive nuclear tagmeme filled by a nominal phrase NP. The formulated form of the Directive Tagmeme is as follows:

Formula 29

$$\text{Dir P} \quad = \quad + \quad \frac{\text{Mar} \mid \text{Prep lb,c,e,f,h,i}}{\text{Rel} \mid \text{>RR>}} \quad + \quad \frac{\text{Nuc} \mid \text{NP}}{\text{Dir} \mid \text{>RR>}}$$

(343) Manéhna ngomong ka kuring yén adina   teu salah
he   say   to me   that brother his not guilty
He said to me that his brother is not guilty

(344) Tati nyicikeun cai   kana poci
       Tati pour   water into teapot
       Tati poured water into the teapot

(345) Rusdi rék   indit kanu kawinan
       Rusdi will go   to   marriage
       Rusdi is going to a wedding celebration

(346) Kuring narima duit ti   manéhna
       I   receive money from him
       I received money from him

(347) Kuring nyokot duit tina lomari
       I   take   money out of cupboard
       I took the money out of the cupboard

(348) Pamajikanana kakara balik tinu hajat
       wife his   just   return from party
       His wife had just returned from a party

Some confusion may arise in sentences where the scope may be transferred into the position after the Undergoer by adding the preposition ka. To illustrate, consider the following sentences:

(349) Manéhna nuduhkeun panyawadna   ka kuring
       he   show   criticism his to me
       He showed his criticism to me

(350) Manéhna ngedalkeun panyawadna   ka kuring
       he   utter   criticism his to me
       He expressed his criticism to me

On the surface both sentence structures may lead us to believe that they are similar, but upon close examination ka kuring of sentence (349) is a transferred Scope whose kernel sentence is Manéhna nuduhkeun kuring panyawadna. Sentence (350), on the other hand, is in itself a kernel (transitive) sentence, and the phrase ka kuring cannot be transposed into the position between the verb and the Undergoer, e.g. *Manéhna ngedalkeun kuring panyawadna. Moreover, in sentence (349) ka cannot be substituted by the preposition geusan *for*, whereas in sentence (350) it can.

CHAPTER IV

CLAUSE LEVEL CONSTRUCTION

4.0 Introduction

We have discussed in the previous chapter the internal structure of both nucleus and marginal tagmemes at the phrase structure level, the filler tagmemes for the Subject(S), the Predicate(P), the Adjunct(Ad), Scope(Sc) as well as the marginal tagmemes such as the Locative(Loc), Manner(Man), the Temporal(Temp) and other phrases. This chapter will now deal with the next grammatical hierarchy, one of the two main objectives of this work, namely the Clause Level Construction.

4.1 Definition of a clause

A clause is a construction that fills a slot at sentence level. It is a minimum unit in which a proposition is stated. A clause says something about terms, represented by lower hierarchy units such as the word or the phrase which is or are parts of a statement, question, command or wish (Pike and Pike 1977:21; 24ff; 35ff; 257ff).

4.1.1 Clause identification and clause classification

A clause construction is determined as a clause when it satisfies the following criteria: (1) when it fills a slot at sentence level; (2) when it includes one and only one predicate. In Sundanese the predicate is manifested by sixteen possible forms (see 3.6 above).

A clause defined in such a way may be classified under two general categories: (1) independent and (2) dependent. An independent clause does not have a dependent marking tagmeme preceding it, while a dependent clause is preceded by one tagmeme.

Both independent and dependent clauses will be examined in this chapter.

4.1.2 Nucleus and marginal tagmemes

Clause tagmemes are either nucleus or marginal.

Tagmemes that are governed by the predicate or to which a predicate may be focussed are considered nucleus. Tagmemes whose occurrences are never governed by a predicate and which are never obligatory are considered marginal.

The participants of Sundanese clause root tagmemes are the Subject(S), the Predicate(P), the Undergoer(U), the Scope(Sc) and the Adjunct(Adj)[29]. All nucleus tagmemes, except for the predicate which is always obligatory, are non-obligatory in relation to certain syntagmemes.

A clause root, or a minimum clause is a proposition, in which a term, whether expressed or only implied, is part of a statement, question, command or wish or perhaps a request or suggestion. Clause margins add to the clause root certain optional modifiers such as time phrases, locative phrases, etc.

The marginal tagmemes are the Temporal(Temp), the Locative(Loc), the Purposive(Pur), the Manner(Man), the Accompaniment(Acc), the Instrumental(Ins), the Similative(Sim), the Causative(Caus), and the Directive(Dir).

4.2 Clause types

In Sundanese an independent clause is any string of tagmemes which includes two grammatical centres, namely an obligatory Subject tagmeme and an obligatory Predicate tagmeme. Thus, in the clause

> Manéhna   leumpang
> *he   walk*
> *He is walking*

manéhna *he* manifests the Subject tagmeme, and leumpang *walk* manifests the Predicate tagmeme, which in this case is verbal. In the clause

> Manéhna   pinter
> *he   clever*
> *He is clever*

manéhna *he* manifests the Subject tagmeme and pinter *clever* manifests the stative Predicate tagmeme of a non-verbal stative clause, whereas in the clause

> Kuring   guru
> *I   teacher*
> *I am a teacher*

kuring *I* manifests the Subject tagmeme and guru *teacher* manifests the nominal Predicate tagmeme of the non-verbal equative clause. The obligatory Subject tagmeme, if not expressed in the immediate clause must, of course, be present in the immediate non-linguistic context, or in the proximate linguistic context.

There are basically two independent clause types: verbal and non-verbal clauses. Verbal clauses are distinguished from the non-verbal clauses by the presence of a verbal predicate as an obligatory tagmeme. Moreover, in a verbal clause we find a relationship as the focus of attention in a subject. It is either an actor, an undergoer, a scope or an adjunct. These relationships are absent in a non-verbal clause.

4.2.1 Verbal clauses

Independent verbal clauses may be expanded by the addition of the marginal tagmemes of Time, Locative, Purposive, Manner, Accompaniment, Instrumental, Similative, Causative, Directive, Negative and Interrogative. These additions, however, do not create new clause types. Nucleus clauses may also be varied by permutation, but neither does this result in a new clause type. Verbal clauses may be subcategorised into active intransitive, active biintransitive, active transitive, active bitransitive, active tritransitive and active semitransitive. Except for the active intransitive and the active semitransitive, all clauses have corresponding passive transitive, passive bitransitive and passive tri-transitive clauses. In this work, however, all verbal clauses (except Existive and Eventive Clauses) are active clauses, unless they are explicitly termed passive.

All transitive clauses are different from the other clauses in that: (1) the transitives have an agreement pattern with the verb: all have active nasalised transitives; (2) the actor of the active transitive, active bitran-sitive, active tritransitive, and active semitransitive clauses is the subject of these clauses; and (3) the transitive clauses have normal imperative clauses; i.e. they normally do not take the nasalised active prefix.

The formulae below will show the difference between intransitive, biintransitive, transitive, bitransitive, tritransitive and semitransitive clauses.

Formula 1 (Intransitive): $+ S + P$

Formula 2 (Biintransitive): $+ S + P_2 + Sc$

Formula 3 (Transitive) $+ S + P_3 + U$

Formula 4 (Bitransitive): $+ S + P_4 + Sc + U$

Formula 5 (Tritransitive): $+ S + P_5 + Ben + U + Sc$

Formula 6 (Semitransitive): $+ S + P_6 \pm U$

4.2.1.1 Intransitive clauses

Active intransitive verbal clauses are constructions which constitute two nuclear tagmemes. A noun or pronoun functions as a filler of the nucleus slot of a noun phrase. The noun phrase, in turn, functions as a filler of a subject slot. The intransitive verb refers to lexical constructions which function as fillers of the nucleus slot of an intransitive verb phrase (P_1) (see section 3.6.1 above). The intransitive verb phrase, P_1, in turn functions as a filler of a predicate slot in the clause construction. In intransitive verbal clauses, lexical constructions of verbs occur with an obligatory intransitive slot filled by a prefixed or zero affixation[30]. P_1 is manifested by itva, itvb, itvc and itvd (see section 3.6.1). When the predicate is manifested by itva, the predicate is labelled P_{1a}. A clause with P_{1a} as a predicate does not have an object. Thus when formulated the clause is as follows:

Formula 1a

$$AICIRt_a \;=\; + \;\frac{S}{Ag}\;\Big|\;\frac{N}{}\; + \;\frac{P_{1a}}{Stmt}\;\Big|\;\frac{itva}{}$$

Clauses generated by this formula are as follows:

(351) Manéhna méngkol
       he   turn
       He made a turn

(352) Leungeunna pacekel-cekel
       hand their hold one another
       They are holding hands

(353) Sorana   satengah tingharéwos
       voice their half   whisper
       They speak in a half whisper

(354) Manéhna mah   tetep micinta
       he   [Mar Phras] still love
       He still loves her

(355) Salambar eunteup
       a piece   fall
       A piece (of leaf) fell

(356) Kuring teu kungsi papanggih deui
       I   not once   see   again
       I have not seen him

Formula 1b

$$\text{AIClRt}_b = + \frac{S \mid N}{Ag \mid} + \frac{P_{1b} \mid \text{itvb}}{\text{Stmt} \mid}$$

The difference between Formula 1a and 1b lies in the predicate tagmeme of the clause. The predicate of AIClRt$_{1b}$ may manifest VP$_{1b}$ (see section 3.6.1). What distinguishes an intransitive from a transitive clause is that an intransitive has no object. As objects are represented by nominals, the logical assumption is that nominals should not follow an intransitive verbal predicate. However, when we observe the following clauses, that is not the case.

(357) Manéhna tumpak mobil
       he   ride   car
       He rode in a car

(358) Émbér téh   dieusi   cai
       bucket [Mar Phras] contain   water
       The bucket contains water

Clause (357) has an intransitive tumpak *to ride on* followed by a nominal construction mobil *car*. So does clause (358) dieusi *to have the contents of* with cai *water* as a nominal construct following the verb. In spite of their structural similarity, the manifestations of the verb tumpak *to ride* and the nominal mobil *car* do not have any bearing on the structural relationship of a transitive verb such as nyokot *to collect* and its nominal mobil. This conclusion would rule out (357) and (358) as transitive clauses.

To clarify even further the function of the nominal, compare (357) and (358) with the following:

(359) Manéhna nulak cangkéng
       he   stick waist
       He stood arms akimbo

There are several observations we can draw from the above clauses. In (357) and (358) the nominals are in no fixed relation to the verb. In (357) it can be readily replaced by kapal *ship*; kapal udara *aeroplane*; oplét *communal taxi*; karéta *train*; beus *bus*, and in (358) with béas *rice*; béngsin *petrol*; keusik *sand* and gula *sugar*. Moreover, there is no change to the structural relationship between the verb and the nominal. The loose relationship between the verb and the nominal makes it possible to modify the nominal without affecting its structural bond. The expression tumpak mobil *to ride in a car* can readily be expressed with tumpak mobil anyar *to ride a new car*, where anyar *new* modifies the preceding noun mobil.

Neither of the above phenomena is present in clause (359). The only nominal possible is cangkéng *waist*. Furthermore modification is only possible with the whole phrase and the only type of modifier is of the adverbial class, nulak cangkéng harita *stand akimbo then*. We cannot modify the nominal by itself.

Further examples of these are found in the following clauses:

(360) Pamajikanana mirun seuneu
       wife   his   light   fire
       His wife lit the fire

(361) Pak Hasan keur   nandang   kasusah
       Mr Hasan in the process of experience   difficulty
       Mr Hasan is having problems

(362) Rusdi bijil   késang
       Rusdi emerge perspiration
       Rusdi was perspiring

Clause (360) is similar to (359), as the only possible complement to follow the predicate is seuneu *fire*. No modification is possible to the complement either (e.g. *mirun seuneu leutik), and the only modification possible is with the whole phrase and the type of modification possible is of the adverbial class: mirun seuneu bieu *lit the fire just then*.

Clauses (361) and (362) are similar to (357) in that in both clauses, the complement can be replaced by other words such as nandang kanyeri *is suffering* or nandang kasedih. *is sad*.

One particular clause that can be subsumed under those generated by Formula 1b is the verb mangrupa or mangrupakeun *to constitute* as in:

(363) Ieu   parobahan téh   saenyana mah   mangrupa
       this   change   [Mar Phras] actually [Mar Phras] constitute

       hudangna deui   jiwa   aktif   tur kréatif   anu
       awakening again spirit active and creative   which

       baheula   kapibanda ku karuhun   Sunda
       previously possess   by ancestor Sundanese
       *This change actually constitutes the reawakening of the active
       and creative spirit which our Sundanese ancestors possessed
       in the past*

(364) Lagu-lagu Cianjuran mah   mangrupakeun hasil   kreasi
      songs   Cianjuran   [Mar Phras] constitute   result creation

      jiwa   Sunda   anu   jembar sarta   asli
      spirit Sundanese which rich   as well as original
      Cianjuran songs constitute a creative product of a rich and
      original Sundanese spirit

The morphological composition of mangrupa or mangrupakeun is that of an
intransitive verb. Although in some cases the suffix -keun is considered to
be a transitivising suffix, this one cannot be regarded as a transitive verb.
The verb mangrupa or mangrupakeun has no passive transform.

Based on the above arguments we can safely say that clauses (357)-(358),
(361)-(362), and (363)-(364) are different from clauses (359)-(360). The
relation between (357)-(358), (361)-(362) and (363)-(364) indicate the same
clausal structure and that the nominal following the predicate is that of a
Predicate Complement, PC, type, whereas (359)-(360) should be considered as a
unit, classified under compound verbs. Thus (359)-(360) would come under a
clause with a P_{1a} predicate.

The third subtype of the intransitives manifests P_{1c} and may have VP_{1c}
filling the predicate tagmeme. Clauses of this type must be followed by a
dependent clause of the quotative sequential type. This predicate complement
is labelled PC_2.

The formula is given here as follows:

Formula 1c

$$\text{AIClRt}_c \ = \ + \ \frac{S \mid N}{\text{Ag} \mid} \ + \ \frac{P_{1c} \mid \text{itvc}}{\text{Stmt} \mid}$$

(365) Alona   ngomong yén   indungna   hayang balik
      nephew his   say   that mother his want   go home
      His nephew said that his mother wanted to go home

(366) Manéhna nyarita yén   saréréa   nyarahoeun rasiahna
      he   tell   that   everyone know   secret his
      He told (me) that everyone knew his secret

The fourth subtype of intransitives manifests P_{1d} and may have VP_{1d}
filling the predicate tagmeme and has only one member, nanya *to ask*. The
intransitive requires an obligatory complement.

The clause is formulated as follows.

Formula 1d

$$\text{AIClRt}_d \ = \ + \ \frac{S \mid N}{\text{Ag} \mid} \ + \ \frac{P_{1d} \mid \text{itvd}}{\text{Stmt} \mid}$$

Formula 1d yields the following clauses:

(367) Manéhna nanya naon sababna kuring teu datang
      he   ask   what reason   I   not come
      He asked me why I didn't come

(368) Kuring nanya iraha manéhna rék   diajar di   luar   nagri
      I   ask   when   he   will learn   in   outside country
      I asked (him) when he will go for studies overseas

(369) Bapana nanya kumaha carana ménta visa
father his ask how method ask visa
His father asked how to obtain a visa

(370) Indungna nanya ka mana manéhna indit tadi
mother his ask to where he   go just now
His mother asked where he went just then

It will be noted that the difference between Formulae lb, lc and ld is in the fillers that make up the predicate tagmeme and the fillers of the predicate Complement P_{1d} manifests itvd.

The last of the intransitive subtypes is itvf which optionally occurs within the clause when there is a prepositional phrase. Itvf is represented by cicing *to live*; datang *to come* and indit *to go*. Unlike other predicates, itvf is not obligatory provided the prepositional phrase tagmeme is present within the clause. If itvf is absent, the prepositional phrase tagmeme is present within the clause. If itvf is absent, the prepositional phrase becomes the predicate tagmeme.

Because of the optional nature of itvf, this clause is formulated as follows:
Formula lf

$$\text{AIClRt}_f \; + \; + \; \frac{S\;|\;N}{Ag\;|} \; + \; \frac{P_{1f}\;|\;\text{itvf}}{\text{Stmt}\;|} \; + \; \frac{P_1\;|\;P_{PP}}{RR\;|}$$

The above formula reads: the verb predicate itvf is optional, but the P_{PP}, the predicate tagmeme filled by a prepositional phrase, is obligatory. If the predicate is present, the predicate assumes its predicate function, thus making the P_{PP} a non-predicate.

The following examples are clauses given in pairs, without having any semantic change.

(371) a. Kuring indit ka Bandung
   I   go to Bandung

  b. Kuring ka Bandung
    I   to Bandung
    I went to Bandung

(372) a. Manéhna cicing di Tasik
   he   live in Tasik

  b. Manéhna di Tasik
    he   in Tasik
    He lives in Tasik

Included under this subtype are the following clauses:

(373) Duit téh   keur manéhna
money [Mar Phras] *for he*
The money is for him

(374) Kiriman téh   ti abah manéh
parcel [Mar Phras] *from father you*
The parcel is from your father

(375) Sangu goréng téh   jang kuring
rice fry [Mar Phras] *for I*
The fried rice is for me

4.2.1.2 Biintransitive clauses

Biintransitive clauses are those clauses manifesting P_2 predicates, in which the agent acts in reference to something. The reference is the Scope.

In formula form, biintransitive clauses can be expressed as follows:

Formula 2

$$\text{ABitClRt} = + \frac{\text{S} \mid \text{N}}{\text{Ag} \mid} + \frac{P_2 \mid \text{bitv}}{\text{Sta} \mid} + \frac{\text{Ad} \mid \text{Loc}}{\text{Sc} \mid}$$

The clauses generated by Formula 2 are as follows:

(376) Manéhna diajar di Bandung
      he   study   in Bandung
      He studies in Bandung

(377) Manuk téh   hiber ka kalér
      bird [Mar Phras] *fly   to north*
      The bird flies to the north

(378) Seni téh   ulah   gumantung kana duit
      Art [Mar Phras] *do not   depend   on   money*
      Art should not depend on money

(379) Kulawargana bubuara di Sukabumi
      family his   settle in Sukabumi
      His family settled in Sukabumi

(380) Jalan téh   nyanghareup ka wétan
      road [Mar Phras] *face   to east*
      The road leads to the east

(381) Tanjung téh   nyorok   ka laut
      promontory [Mar Phras] *juts out to sea*
      The promontory juts out into the sea

4.2.1.3 Transitive clauses

Transitive clauses refer to constructions which constitute two nuclear tagmemes and an optional nominal object as the Undergoer in active transitive verb clauses. The transitive clause manifests a P_3 predicate. P_3 manifests an active transitive verb which functions as a filler of the nucleus slot in active transitive verb phrases. The verb phrase functions as a filler of a predicate in the clause construction and it can be followed by an undergoer slot filled by a nominal phrase. This type of lexical construction occurs with an obligatory activiser slot filled by a nasal prefix (see also section 2.3.2.2).

The lexical construction mawa *to bring* is a transitive verb. In an active transitive clause construction, a nominal undergoer can follow the transitive verb and occurs with a nasal prefix N- (in this case, the variant m-).

The following formula illustrates the active transitive clause.

Formula 3

$$\text{ATClRt} = + \frac{\text{S} \mid \text{P}}{\text{A} \mid} + \frac{P_3 \mid \text{tv}}{\text{Stmt} \mid \text{Tr}} + \frac{\text{Ad} \mid \text{N}}{\text{U} \mid}$$

If we compare Formulae la, 2 and this formula, we note the following. Whereas in Formula la there is no Undergoer, in 2 we have a Scope. The significant difference of Formula 3 is the existence of the Undergoer. Not only is the nucleus of the verb phrase morphologically different in Formula 3, the existence of the participating tagmemes makes it distinctive. Also Formula 3 has a corresponding passive transitive form, while Formulae la and 2 do not have corresponding passives.

Thus, Formula 3 generates the following clauses:

(382) Kabudayaan daérah téh   ngipuk   bibit perpecahan
       culture   *region* [Mar Phras] *nurture* *seed*   *discord*
       The regional cultures nurture the seed of discord

(383) Urang kudu daék ngabéla bebeneran
       we   *must* *want* *defend*   *truth*
       We must be willing to defend the truth

4.2.1.4 Bitransitive clauses

Active Bitransitive Clauses refer to constructions with two objects. This type has two members. $ABtClRt_a$ has nominal tagmemes, the Scope and the Undergoer following the predicate. $ABtClRt_b$ has the Benefactive and Undergoer following the predicate[31].

The passive of the first Bitransitive Clause type has Scope as filler of its Subject tagmeme, whereas the Second type has the Benefactive as filler of the Subject tagmeme.

$ABtClRt_a$ has predicate tagmemes P_{4a} manifested by verbs with a nasal prefix and a suffix -an, nginjeuman *to lend*; ngiriman *to send*; nyérénan *to assign* or verbs with a nasal prefix and a suffix -keun, nganteurkeun *to accompany* or simple verbs with nasals, e.g. méré *to give*.

The formula for the $ABtClRt_a$, can be drawn up as follows:

Formula 4a

$$ABtClRt_a = + \frac{S \mid N}{A} + \frac{P_{4a} \mid btv}{Sta} + \frac{Ad \mid N}{Sc} + \frac{Ad \mid N}{U}$$

The following clauses are thus generated:

(384) Guru   méré murid buku
       teacher *give* *pupil* *book*
       The teacher gave the pupil a book

(385) Pak Arkiam ngiriman alona   duit
       Mr Arkiam *send*   *nephew his*   *money*
       Mr Arkiam sent his nephew some money

(386) Dosén   nyérénan mahasiswa tugas
       lecturer *assign*   *student*   *task*
       The lecturer assigns the students a task

The second type, the $ABtClRt_b$, has a P_{4b} predicate tagmeme manifesting verbs with benefactive meaning of the confix pang - keun type.

The ABtClRt$_b$ is formulated as follows:

Formula 4b

$$\text{ABtClRt}_b \ = \ + \ \frac{S \mid N}{A \mid} \ + \ \frac{P_{4b} \mid \text{btv}}{\text{Sta} \mid} \ + \ \frac{\text{Ad} \mid N}{\text{Ben} \mid} \ + \ \frac{\text{Ad} \mid N}{U \mid}$$

The following are examples of Active Bitransitive Clause Root type b:

(387)　Rusdi　mangnyokotkeun　　　Déwi　duit
　　　　Rusdi　draw s.t. for s.o.　Dewi　money
　　　　Rusdi drew some money for Dewi

(388)　Kuring　mangmeulikeun　　　pamajikan　mobil
　　　　I　　　buy s.t. for s.o.　wife　　　car
　　　　I bought my wife a car

(389)　Salim　mangnyieunkeun　　　anakna　　langlayangan
　　　　Salim　make s.t. for s.o.　child his　kite
　　　　Salim made his son a kite

The examples of clauses generated by Formulae 4a and 4b may have the following permutations:

(384a)　Guru　　méré　buku　ka　murid
　　　　　teacher　give　book　to　pupil
　　　　　The teacher gave a book to the pupil

(385a)　Pak Arkiam　ngirimkeun　duit　ka　alona
　　　　　Mr Arkiam　send　　　money　to　nephew his
　　　　　Mr Arkiam sent some money to his nephew

(386a)　Dosén　　nyérénkeun　tugas　ka　mahasiswa
　　　　　lecturer　assign　　task　to　student
　　　　　The lecturer assigns task to the students

We note that some morphological change occurs when some permutation takes place as well as a change in the positions of the Undergoer and the Scope. The Undergoer immediately follows the predicate while a directive is required for the Scope.

Permutations of the second type of ABtClRt$_b$ follow a different course. Thus we have the following:

(387)　a.　Rusdi　nyokot　duit　keur　Déwi
　　　　　　Rusdi　draw　　money　for　Dewi

　　　　b.　Rusdi　mangnyokotkeun　　　duit　keur　Déwi
　　　　　　Rusdi　draw s.t. for s.o.　money　for　Dewi
　　　　　　Rusdi drew some money for Dewi

(388)　a.　Kuring　meuli　mobil　keur　pamajikan
　　　　　　I　　　buy　　car　　for　wife

　　　　b.　Kuring　mangmeulikeun　　　mobil　keur　pamajikan
　　　　　　I　　　buy s.t. for s.o.　car　　for　wife
　　　　　　I bought a car for my wife

(389)　a.　Salim　nyieun　langlayangan　keur　anakna
　　　　　　Salim　make　　kite　　　　for　child his

　　　　b.　Salim　mangnyieunkeun　　　langlayangan　keur　anakna
　　　　　　Salim　make s.t. for s.o.　kite　　　　　for　child his
　　　　　　Salim made a kite for his child

Two observations can be made of the permutations taking place above. We may have a simple transitive followed by the Undergoer and the benefactive relator is required preceding the beneficiary. Alternatively the Benefactive verb is retained, but again it is followed by the Undergoer, a benefactive, relator and the beneficiary.

This phenomenon can be seen in the passive transforms of both types of Bitransitive Clauses (see 4.2.3.2. below).

4.2.1.5 Active tritransitive clauses

Statistically speaking the occurrence of this clause is fairly minimal. Active Tritransitive Clauses are those involving four participant tagmemes, the Agent, the Undergoer, the Scope and Benefactive. These clauses have active benefactive verbs which function as fillers of the nucleus slot in active bene-factive verb phrases. The verb phrase functions as a filler of a predicate in the clause construction and can be followed by the Undergoer, the Scope and the Benefactive slots. These slots are all filled by nominal objects. This type of lexical construction again occurs with an obligatory activiser slot filled by a nasal prefix and a benefactive confix pang - keun or the complex confix pang - an + keun.

The lexical construction of mangmentakeun *to ask for something for the benefit of someone* is an active benefactive transitive verb. In an active tritransitive clause construction three nominal objects can follow the active benefactive transitive verb and the verb occurs with the nasal prefix N- (in this case the variant m-) and the confix pang - keun.

This verb has a corresponding passive tritransitive clause with the passive prefix di- and the confix pang - keun, and the form is dipangméntakeun *to be asked something for someone* (see 4.2.3.3 below).

In formula form, the active tritransitive clause can be rendered as follows:

Formula 5

$$\text{ATtrClRt} \ = \ + \ \frac{\text{S} \mid \text{N}}{\text{A} \mid} \ + \ \frac{\text{P}_5 \mid \text{btv}}{\text{Stmt} \mid} \ + \ \frac{\text{Ad} \mid \text{N}}{\text{Ben} \mid} \ + \ \frac{\text{Ad} \mid \text{N}}{\text{U} \mid}$$

$$+ \ \frac{\text{Ad} \mid \text{prep P}}{\text{Sc} \mid}$$

This formula generates the following clauses:

(390) Rusdi mangméntakeun   adina   pagawéan
       Rusdi ask s.t. for s.o. younger brother his job

       ka dununganana
       to boss his
       Rusdi asked for a job from his boss for (the benefit of) his
       younger brother

(391) Titahanna   mangmawakeun   manéhna duit   ka kantor
       employee his bring s.t. for s.o. he   money to office
       His employee brought money to the office for him

(392) Rusdi mangjualkeun   Hasan mobil ka Déwi
       Rusdi sell s.t. for s.o. Hasan car   to Dewi
       Rusdi sold the car to Dewi for the benefit of Hasan

4.2.1.6 Semitransitive clauses

An Active Semitransitive Clause differs from the Transitive Clause in that
it has no Object as Undergoer. It has the same predicate filler as the transi-
tive and the intransitive. The participant Subject as Actor can occur in an
Intransitive Clause. However, if we consider the canonical transitive as a set
to consist of SPU and the canonical intransitive as a set to consist of SP, and
both considered as two separate sets, then the semitransitive can be regarded
as either a transitive or an intransitive because structurally it satisfies
both. This, however, can create semantically incongruous clauses. Consider
the following clauses:

(393) *Manéhna hudang   jelema
       he   be awake man

(394) *Manéhna nyokot
       he   take

It is obvious that both are, to native speakers, nonsensical clauses. The verb
hudang in (393) is clearly a canonical intransitive, therefore it cannot have
an object, whereas nyokot in (394) belongs to the canonical transitive, and
should therefore require an object.

A formula should be created to accommodate the semitransitive clause which
satisfies both transitive as well as intransitive characteristics. This means
that a semitransitive should be classified as a separate class and have a pre-
dicate P_6 manifested by stv. If an object occurs with the semitransitive, the
clause must be considered as a transitive; conversely if the object is absent,
we must regard the clause as an intransitive.

The formula can be drawn up as follows:

Formula 6

$$\text{AStClRt} = + \frac{\text{S} \mid \text{N}}{\text{Ag} \mid} + \frac{P_6 \mid \text{stv}}{\text{Stmt} \mid} \pm \frac{\text{Ad} \mid \text{N}}{\text{U} \mid}$$

The following are some examples of semitransitive clauses:

(395) Manéhna nginum
       he   drink
       He is drinking

(396) Manéhna nginum susu
       he   drink   milk
       He drinks milk

(397) Rusdi keur   maca
       Rusdi in the process of   read
       Rusdi is reading

(398) Rusdi keur   maca surat kabar
       Rusdi in the process of   read newspaper
       Rusdi is reading a newspaper

4.2.1.7 Existive clauses

Existive Clauses express the existence or the non-existence of a Subject. They can be rendered in English as 'there is an X in the garden' or 'there is not an X in the garden', where X is the Subject. The predicate tagmeme is filled by P7 manifesting exv such as aya *there is* and euweuh *there is not*.

The following is the formula for an Existive Clause.

Formula 7

$$\text{ExCl} \quad = \quad + \quad \frac{P_7}{Ex} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{<aya>} \\ \text{<euweuh>} \end{array} \right. \quad + \quad \frac{S}{It} \left| N \right. \quad \pm \quad \frac{Rel}{RR} \left| Prep \; P \right.$$

The above formula generates the following clauses:

(399) Aya   jelema di luar
exist man   at outside
There is a man outside

(400) Euweuh   béngsin di kota
not exist petrol in city
There is no petrol in the city

(401) Aya   nu digawé di imah
exist who work   at house
There is someone working at home

(402) Euweuh   nu ngajaga di kantor
not exist who watch   in office
There is no one minding the office

It should be noted that the existive verb, exv, should not be confused with the intransitive verb aya *to be* as for example in the following clauses:

(403) Manéhna aya di imah
he   be at home
He is (at) home

(404) Bapana   aya di Bandung
father his be in Bandung
His father is in Bandung

These clauses would come under the intransitive clause of Formula la.

4.2.1.8 Eventive clauses

Eventive Clauses have P7 as predicate, manifested by meteorological words such as hujan *to rain*; girimis *to drizzle* or P9 manifested by Adj1 related to climatic conditions such as tiris *cold*; panas *hot*; ceudeum *overcast*; lénglang *bright*.

Eventive Clauses have no subject.

The following is the formula for Eventive Clauses:

Formula 8

$$\text{EvCl} \quad = \quad + \quad \frac{P_8}{Ev} \left| \begin{array}{c} \text{Ev} \\ \text{Adj}_1 \end{array} \right.$$

(405)   Hujan
      rain
      It is raining

(406)   Ceudeum
      overcast
      It's overcast

In polite conversation we normally add an auxiliary such as keur *in the process of*; rék *will, going to*; and geus *has already*.

4.2.2 Non-verbal clauses

Non-verbal clauses have non-verbal predicates. There are two main types of non-verbal clauses: Stative and Equative. Non-verbal clauses have two nuclear tagmemes, a subject tagmeme manifesting a noun or personal noun functioning as a filler of a nucleus slot in a noun phrase and a predicate tagmeme which may have as nucleus an adjective predicate, P_9 (in a Stative Clause) and a nominal predicate, P_{10} (in an Equative Clause). Marginal tagmemes as described above (see section 3.8) may also be added to each clause.

4.2.2.1 Stative clauses

Stative Clauses are clauses with a stative predicate P_9 manifesting adj_{1-4} as fillers. Adjectives are different from verbs in that the former are not affixed for voice[32]. Unlike verbs, they may only be affixed for degree[33] — positive, comparative or superlative — as well as plurality. They also participate in exclamatory constructions where verbs do not. Statives are however used in causative constructions[34] after some derivational change.

Two clause types form the stative construct. The first, the Stative Clause, has two obligatory tagmemes: a Subject and a stative Predicate. The Predicate is affixed or modified for degree or plurality. An optional comparative tagmeme occurs when the stative is affixed to express the comparative degree[34]. This tagmeme, considered to be nuclear, is absent in all verbal clauses, and its presence is an indication of a Stative Clause. The second type is the Interjective Clause. As this type is a transform of the Stative Clause, it will be discussed under Clause Mode below.

The stative clause has three subtypes, labelled as subtype a, b and c.

The constituents in a Stative Clause of type a are an obligatory Subject and an obligatory Predicate, P_{9a}. This predicate manifests Adj_1. The difference between P_{9a} and P_{1a} is in the type of filler manifesting the predicate. P_{9a} has adjectives, whereas P_{1a} takes intransitive verbs. Apart from this, there is also a difference in the type of modifiers for the two different predicates[35].

P_{9a} also includes clauses which are compound adjectives.

The followingis a formulated example of stative clause type 9_a:

Formula 9a

$$StCl_a \;=\; + \; \frac{S}{It} \;\Big|\; + \; \frac{P_{9a}}{Sta} \;\Big|\; Adj_1$$

(407) Budak   téh   bageur
child   [Mar Phras] *well behaved*
The child is well behaved

(408) Pagawéanana alus
work   *his*   *good*
His work is good

(409) Jelema téh   laér   gado
man   [Mar Phras] *stretch* *chin*
The man always wants to keep up with the Joneses

(410) Salakina   hampang birit
husband her *light*   *buttock*
Her husband is energetic

(411) Pamanna   gedé hulu[36]
uncle his *big*   *head*
His uncle is arrogant

The second subtype of the stative clause consists of an obligatory Subject, obligatory Predicate and an obligatory Predicate Complement. The predicate, P_{9b}, is manifested by Adj_2. The Predicate Complement, PC_1, can be filled by nominals and adjectivals.

In formula form, the second subtype is as follows:

Formula 9b

$$StCl_b = + \frac{S \mid N}{It \mid} + \frac{P_{9b} \mid Adj_2}{Sta \mid}$$

This formula generates the following clauses:

(412) Pamajikanana nyeri huntu
wife   *his*   *ache*   *tooth*
His wife has a toothache

(413) Kabayana   héjo   pucuk   cau
bodice her *green* *shoots* *banana*
Her bodice is banana-shoot green in colour

(414) Kaméjana bodas ngeplak
shirt his *white* *spotless*
His shirt is spotless white

The third subtype of the stative clause consists of a Predicate P_{9c} manifesting Adj_3. In contrast to the second subtype, the Predicate is followed by a Predicate Complement PC_5, a verb which may or may not have an object or objects.

The formula for this subtype is given as follows:

Formula 9c

$$StCl_c = + \frac{S \mid N}{It \mid} + \frac{P_{9c} \mid Adj_3}{Sta \mid}$$

(415) Adina   pinter masak
sister his *clever* *cook*
His sister is good at cooking

(416) Rakyat wani ngorbankeun jiwana
people dare sacrifice soul their
The people have the courage to sacrifice their lives

(417) Manéhna sieun nyanghareupan kasusah
he afraid face difficulty
He is afraid to face difficulties

(418) *Manéhna alus masak
she good cook

There is a limited number of Adj$_3$ filling as P$_{9C}$. Clause (418) cannot be used in this manner, alus therefore does not belong to Adj$_3$.

4.2.2.2 Equative clauses

Equative Clauses contrast with Verbal and Stative clauses in that the predicate P$_{10}$ is filled by a nominal construction. P$_{10}$ differs from P$_{1a}$ and P$_{9a}$ in terms of their class filler and its type of modifier. P$_{10}$ is negated by Neg$_2$, lain.

The equative clause is formulated here as follows:

Formula 10

$$\text{EqClRt} = + \frac{S}{It} \Big| N + \frac{P_{10}}{Eq} \Big| NP$$

The following are clauses generated by the above formula:

(419) Alesan nu kahiji saenyana mah lain alesan
reason which first actually [Mar Phras] *not reason*

anu bisa ditarima
which can be accepted
The first reason is actually not a valid one

(420) Ieu usaha téh saenyana mah gambaran
this effort [Mar Phras] *actually* [Mar Phras] *illustration*

hundangna deui jiwa Sunda dina alam kahirupan
awakening again spirit Sundanese in realm life

kiwari
today
This effort is actually an illustration of the reawakening of Sundanese spirit in today's life.

4.2.3 Passive clauses

Passive Clauses are transforms of Active Clauses. They refer to constructions with two nuclear tagmemes and an optional agentive tagmeme. These constructions have passive verbs which function as fillers of the nucleus slot in passive transitive verb phrases. This type of lexical construction occurs with an obligatory passiviser prefix di- or ka-. The prefix di- denotes a

volitive passive and the prefix ka- a non-volitive passive. Both verb phrases function as fillers of Predicate P_{11} slots in clause constructions and can optionally be followed by an Adjunct slot filled by an agentive phrase taking the form of prepositional ku *by* and the agentive nominal.

The lexical construction dibawa *to be brought* is a passive transitive verb. In a passive transitive clause construction, a nominal, the Undergoer, is the Subject of the clause and is followed by a Predicate tagmeme which consists of a passive verb or a verb phrase with the passive verb as the nucleus filler of that phrase. Dibawa *to be brought* is a volitive passive and kabawa *to be taken accidentally* or *to be able to take* is a non-volitive passive.

To see the differences between active and passive clauses, consider the following examples:

(421)   Manéhna mawa   buku
        he   bring book
        He brings a book

(422)   Buku   téh   dibawa   ku manéhna
        book [Mar Phras] *be brought* *by* *he*
        The book was brought by him

(423)   Buku   téh   kabawa   ku manéhna
        book [Mar Phras] *be brought* *by* *he*
        The book was accidentally brought by him or
        He managed to bring the book

If we compare the constituent tagmemes of clauses (421), (422) and (423), we find the following manéhna - personal noun, mawa/dibawa/kabawa - verb, buku - noun, téh - phrasal marker and ku - agentive marker. We also notice the following changes in the syntax. In (421) we observe that the personal noun precedes the verb and that the noun follows the predicate. In (422), the order of tagmemes are changed. The noun is now positioned before the verb and it is modified by a phrasal marker, Mar Phras, and the personal noun is positioned after the verb preceded by the agentive marker ku. The most significant difference is the construction of the verb: in 421 it is mawa and in (422) it is dibawa. Clause (422) shares common features with (423), except for its verb structure, which in this case is kabawa instead of dibawa.

It is these different features that tagmemics recognise between two tagmemes as being different. The differences are based on (1) word order, (2) the structure of the verb and (3) the functions performed by the personal noun and the noun. These clauses have been given various names, such as Subject Focus, Object Focus, Associate Focus and Referent Focus. Most important, however, are the differences mentioned above. We have here used the traditional term 'passive'.

4.2.3.1 Passive transitive clause

In the preceding section we have seen that the passive predicate tagmeme belongs to the passive transitive predicate P_{11a} and P_{11b} manifested by ptv_a and ptv_b which take the prefix di- and ka-.

In formula form, clause (422) can be rendered such:

Formula 11a

$$\text{PTClRt}_a \quad = \quad + \quad \frac{S \mid N}{U \mid} \quad + \quad \frac{P_{11a} \mid \text{ptv}_a}{\text{Stmt} \mid} \quad \pm \quad \frac{\text{Ad} \mid \text{AgP ku}}{\text{Ag} \mid}$$

The subject of the passive transitive clause root, PTClRt_a, has a semantic meaning of an undergoer. The Predicate, P_{11a}, is a passive predicate morphologically distinct in its structure. It bears a semantic meaning of volitive passive. The optional agentive functions as the doer of the action. P_{11a} may be filled by VP_{11a} (see section 3.6.11).

Clause (423) is formulated as follows:

Formula 11b

$$\text{PTClRt}_b \quad = \quad + \quad \frac{S \mid N}{U \mid} \quad + \quad \frac{P_{11b} \mid \text{ptv}_b}{\text{Stmt} \mid} \quad \frac{\text{Ad} \mid \text{AgP ku}}{\text{Ag} \mid}$$

The subject and adjunct tagmemes of Formula 11b share the same features as those in Formula 11a, the only significant difference being the passive predicate which is distinctly different in structure to P_{11a} and bears the meaning of a non-volitive passive. P_{11b} may be filled by VP_{11b} (see section 3.11).

4.2.3.2 Passive bitransitive clauses

Passive Bitransitive Clauses are transforms of Active Bitransitive Clauses. There are two types of Passive Bitransitive Clauses, here labelled as PBtClRt_a and PBtClRt_b.

Passive Bitransitive Clause type *a* consists of a Scope as the Subject, whereas Passive Bitransitive Clause type b takes a Benefactive to fill the Subject slot.

The following type *a* Bitransitive Clauses

(424) Guru   méré murid buku
       teacher give pupil book
       The teacher gave the pupil a book

(425) Par Arkiam ngiriman anakna   duit
       Mr Arkiam send   child his money
       Mr Arkiam sent his child some money

(426) Dosén   nyérénan mahasiswa pagawéan
       lecturer assigns   student   work
       The lecturer assigns the students some work

have the following passive transforms:

(424a) Murid dibéré   buku ku guru
        pupil be given   book by teacher
        The pupil was given a book by the teacher

(425a) Anakna   dikiriman   duit ku Pak Arkiam
        child his   be sent to money by Mr Arkiam
        His son was sent some money by Mr Arkiam

(426a) Mahasiswa disérénan   pagawéan ku dosén
        student   be assigned work   by lecturer
        The students were assigned some work by the lecturer

In (424a), (425a) and (426a) we can see that the only tagmeme which can
be transposed to the Subject slot in the passive is the Scope. Because of the
presence of both Scope and Undergoer, Formula 11 is not applicable to these
clauses. Another formula needs to be drawn up for this clause.

Formula 12a

$$\text{PBtClRt}_a \;=\; + \;\frac{S \mid N}{Sc \mid} \;+\; \frac{P_{12a} \mid btv}{Stmt \mid} \;+\; \frac{Ad \mid N}{U \mid} \quad \frac{Ad \mid ku}{Ag \mid}$$

The Passive Bitransitive Clause Root consists of an obligatory Subject,
the Scope manifested by a noun, an obligatory Predicate P_{12a} manifested by a
bitransitive verb and an Adjunct, the Undergoer of the action manifested by a
noun and the optional Agent.

If the Undergoer of (424) becomes the Subject of this passive clause, not
only does it require a preposition but a verb change also takes place and the
directive Scope is required. Note in the following transformation of (424),
(425) and (426).

(424b) *Buku dibéré ku guru ka murid

(425b) Duit   dikirimkeun ku Pak Arkiam ka anakna
        money be sent   by Mr Arkiam   to child his
        Some money was sent by Mr Arkiam to his son

        Pagawéan disérénkeun ku dosén   ka mahasiswa
        work   be assigned by lecturer to student
        Some work was assigned by the lecturer to the students

In (424b) we see that the transformation resulted in an unacceptable
clause. In order to maintain this structure and retain its semantic aspect a
different verb dibikeun *to be given* is used. Thus the following is the accept-
able clause.

(424b) Buku dibikeun ku guru   ka murid
        book given   by teacher to pupil
        The book was given by the teacher to the pupil

In (425b) and (426b), however, we see the passive verb followed by an agentive
relater, the agent and the directive scope. The suffix in a passive verb is
-keun, and the directive preposition is ka. This rules out the following
clauses as unacceptable, as the passive verbal suffix semantically denotes a
locative meaning, whereas it should take the form of a benefactive passive.

(425c) *Duit   dikiriman   ku Pak Arkiam ka anakna
        money be sent to by Mr Arkiam   to child his

(426c) *Pagawean disérénan   ku dosén   ka mahasiswa
        work   be assigned to by lecturer to student

The type *b* Bitransitive Clauses

(427)   Guru   mangnyokotkeun   Déwi duit
        teacher draw s.t. for s.o. Dewi money
        The teacher drew some money for (the benefit of) Dewi

(428) Kuring mangmeulikeun   pamajikan mobil
       I   buy s.t. for s.o. wife   car
       I bought a car for my wife

(429) Salim mangnyieunkeun   anakna   langlayangan
       Salim make s.t. for s.o. child his kite
       Salim make a kite for his child

have the following passive transforms:

(427a) Déwi dipangnyokotkeun   duit   ku   guru
        Dewi be drawn for s.o. money   by   teacher
        Dewi had some money drawn for her by the teacher

(428a) Pamajikan dipangmeulikeun   mobil ku   kuring
        wife   be bought for s.o. car   by   I
        I bought a car for my wife

(429a) Anakna   dipangnyieunkeun langlayangan ku Salim
        child his be made for s.o. kite   by Salim
        Salim made a kite for him

As for Bitransitive Clause type *a*, another formula also needs to be drawn up for this clause.

Formula 12b

$$\text{PBtClRt}_b \;=\; + \;\frac{S}{\text{Ben}}\left|\frac{}{}\right.\!N \;+\; \frac{P_{11b}}{\text{Stmt}}\left|\frac{}{}\right.\!\text{btv} \;+\; \frac{\text{Ad}}{\text{U}}\left|\frac{}{}\right.\!N \;\pm\; \frac{\text{Ad}}{\text{Ag}}\left|\frac{}{}\right.\!N$$

Unlike type *a*, this clause has a Benefactive for the obligatory Subject, manifesting a noun, an obligatory Predicate P_{12b} manifested by a bitransitive verb and an Adjunct, Undergoer of the action manifested by a noun and the optional agent.

If the Undergoer of (427a), (428a) and (429a) becomes the subject of the passive, a preposition indicating a Benefactive is required for the Benefactive, thus the following clause is posited.

(427b) Duit   dipangnyokotkeun ku guru   keur Déwi
        money   be drawn for s.o. by teacher   for   Dewi
        The teacher drew some money for Dewi

(428b) Mobil dipangmeulikeun   ku kuring keur pamajikan
        car   be bought for s.o. by I   for   wife
        I bought a car for my wife

(429b) Langlayangan dipangnyieunkeun ku Salim keur anakna
        kite   be made for s.o. by Salim for   child his
        Salim made a kite for him

We can see that the passive transform with this type of arrangement requires the preposition keur (also pikeun and jeung) and a shift in the position of the Benefactive object. There is, however, no syntactic change to the verb except for the normal replacement of the active nasal prefix N- by the passive prefix di-.

4.2.3.3 Passive tritransitive clause

We have stated in Section 4.2.2.5 that this type of clause is statistically minimal in occurrence. The following are examples:

(430) Kuring mangméntakeun   Déwi duit ti dununganana
       I   ask for the benefit of Dewi money from boss her
       I ask for some money from her boss for the benefit of Dewi

The passive transform is:

(431) Déwi dipangméntakeun   duit ku kuring ti
       Dewi be asked for the benefit of money by I   from

       dununganana
       boss   her
       I asked for some money from her boss for Dewi

The formula for the Passive Tritransitive can be drawn up as follows:

Formula 13

$$\text{PTtClRt} \ = \ + \ \frac{\text{S} \mid \text{N}}{\text{Ben} \mid} \ + \ \frac{\text{P}_{13} \mid \text{pttv}}{\text{Stmt} \mid} \ + \ \frac{\text{Ad} \mid \text{N}}{\text{U} \mid} \ + \ \frac{\text{Ad} \mid \text{kuN}}{\text{Ag} \mid}$$

$$+ \ \frac{\text{Ad} \mid \text{Prep tiN}}{\text{Sc} \mid}$$

4.2.4 Special verbal clauses

There is a special clause with the verbal ka-an confix. They are verbs like katiisan, kaleungitan, kadatangan, kapaehan, kahuruan, etc. Morphologically they are the same but syntactically they have to be separated into three groups.

The first one has a meaning of 'affected by a phenomenon shown by the base'. Consider the following clauses:

(432) Barudak   kahujanan
       children affected by rain
       The children were caught in the rain

(43) Kuring kabeurangan
       I   affected by daylight
       I overslept

(43) Pamajikan kuring katiisan
       wife   I   affected by cold
       My wife felt the cold

If we look at the internal structure of the clauses, we can see that (432)-(434) are no different from intransitive clauses of type *a*. The only difference is the morphological composition of the verb, which is syntactically insignificant.

The second type of verb has the same confix, but the base, to which this confix is attached, is intransitive. The following are examples:

(435) Manéhna kaleungitan duit
       he   lose   money
       He had the misfortune of losing some money

(436) Si Warsih kaasupan sétan
       Warsih   come in   satan
       Warsih had the misfortune of being possessed by the devil

(437) Kaméja kuring kacakclakan mangsi
       shirt   I   drip on   ink
       My shirt was stained by ink

The difference between (432)-(434) and (435)-(437) is in the number of tagmemes in the underlying structure manifested in (435)-(437). The constituents consist of a Subject, a Predicate and an Undergoer. However, upon closer examination the nominal following the Predicate is not an Undergoer as such, as an Undergoer implies transformation into a passive construction. The following analysis of (435), taken to represent (435)-(437), will show why the Undergoer does not function as such. The verb kaleungitan is the predicate of the subject manéhna. The base of kaleungitan is shared by the nominal duit.

(435) a. Manéhna kaleungitan (something)

       b. Buku leungit

Clause (435a) only takes kaleungitan whereas (435b) takes only the base leungit. The constructions can be illustrated as follows:

(435) c. S P_x
                    $\searrow$ S Px PC$_1$
       d. S P_y

The subscript x represents the verb in full form whereas the subscript y represents the base form only. The combined clause of (435c) and (435d) results in SP_x followed by a nominal, here referred to as PC$_1$. The PC is not the Undergoer, as an Undergoer implies a capability of being used in a passive clause.

Among the clauses so far described only those of the subtype *b* are structurally similar to intransitives. But the internal structure of both types are different. The following formula is drawn up for the first and second types of this special verb clause.

Formula 14a

$$\text{AIClRt}_f = + \frac{S}{Ag} + \frac{P_{1f} \quad \langle ka\text{-}an\rangle}{Stmt} + \frac{Nuc \quad N}{PC_1}$$

The formula reads as an Active Intransitive Clause Root type f consisting of an obligatory Subject, an obligatory Predicate P_{1f} and an obligatory Predicate Complement PC$_1$. P_{1f} is different from P_{1b}, as P_{1f} has the manifestation of the verb ka-an whereas P_{1b} has itvb. Moreover, the two are syntactically different. PC$_1$, a nominal, can become the subject in the structure.

The third type are those which can be followed by an Agentive tagmeme. The following are examples:

(438) Bajuna   kadiukan ku kuring
       clothes his sit on   by I
       I sat on his clothes by mistake

(439) Kosim kaédanan ku awéwé
       Kosim infatuate by girl
       Kosim is infatuated with a girl

This type, however, is the same as that of the PtClRt and should not be regarded as a confix, but a primary derivation of a verbal with the suffix -an plus the secondary non-volitive ka- prefix. Thus, this clause may have a predicate with ka- plus -an as well as with a di-an. The following is an example:

(438) a. Baju   kadiukan   ku kuring
           clothes be sat on accidentally by I
           I sat on the clothes by mistake

       b. Baju   didiukan   ku kuring
           clothes be sat on   by I
           I sat on the clothes

This type should therefore be subsumed under P_{11a}.

The fourth type is represented by the verb kapalingan[37] *having the misfortune of something stolen.*

(439) Manéhna kapalingan mobil
       he   steal   car
       He had his car stolen

We can see that the underlying structure of the above clause is as follows:

(439) a. Manéhna kapalingan (something)
               S P_x

       b. Mobil dipaling
             S P_z

The difference between the first two types of verbal ka-an is that P_x is manifested by ka + root + an only, whereas P_z in (439b) is manifested by a passive di- prefix plus a root. This type represents a verb belonging to the transitive class.

Syntactically in terms of its relation, (439) can be categorised under passive transitive clauses, with the following formulation:

Formula 14b

$$\text{PtClRt}_b = + \frac{S}{Ag} \Big| \frac{N}{} + \frac{P_{11b}}{Stmt} \Big| \frac{<\text{ka-an}>}{} + \frac{PC_1}{Comp} \Big| \frac{N}{}$$

4.3 Clausal modes

Mode is 'the psychological atmosphere of an action as interpreted by the speaker' (Nida 1946:168). The variables of mode are: the declarative or indicative, the interrogative, the imperative, the interjective and the emphatic. Syntactically mode refers to the transformability of the kernel clause. A table to provide an overview of types and mode is given below. The vertical axis represents the type of clauses and the horizontal axis refers to the mode.

Sundanese clause matrix						
TYPE			MODE				
			Decl.	Int.	Imp.	Intj.	Emp.
INDEPENDENT	VERBAL	iCl	x	x	x	-	x
		biCl	x	x	x	-	x
		tCl	x	x	x	-	x
		btCl	x	x	x	-	x
		ttCl	x	x	x	-	x
		stCl	x	x	x	-	x
		exCl	x	x	x	-	-
		evCl	x	x	x	-	-
	NON-VERBAL	staCl	x	x	x	x	x
		eqCl	x	x	-	-	-

The symbols in the table are to be read as follows: on the horizontal axis, Decl - Declarative, Int - Interrogative, Imp - Imperative, Intj - Interjective, Emp - Emphatic, and on the vertical axis, iCl - intransitive Clause, biCl - biintransitive Clause, tCl - transitive Clause, btCl - bitransitive Clause, ttCl - tritransitive Clause, stCl - semi-transitive Clause, exCl - existive Clause, evCl - eventive Clause, staCl - stative Clause, and eqCl - equative Clause.

4.3.1 Declarative clauses

The ten types of clauses as given in the formulae in the preceding sections are of the basic type. Hence they are active declarative, stative declarative, equative declarative and passive declarative clauses. Declarative clauses are kernel clauses from which all other modes of clauses to be discussed in the following sections are derivable.

4.3.2 Interrogative clauses

Clauses generated by formulae 1 - 13 are declarative. Formulae 1 - 6 generate active declarative clauses, formulae 9 - 10 generate stative and equative declarative, and formulae 11 - 13 the passive declarative, which is the transform of the active declarative clause.

There are three types of interrogatives in Sundanese; the affirmative interrogative, the confirmative interrogative and the content interrogative.

4.3.2.1 Affirmative interrogatives

The affirmative interrogative clause is of the yes/no type and needs to be answered with 'yes' or 'no'.

An affirmative interrogative may be derived from any of the declarative types. The derivation is carried out by way of certain transformational rules.

There are two ways to secure such a derivation. The first one is by retaining the same word order of the declarative clause, but by replacing the 2 3 1 declarative intonation by a 2 1 3 interrogative intonation.

In the formula for the affirmative interrogative, the symbol ClRt represents any declarative clause. The following is the formula for the first type of interrogative.

Formula 15a

$$\text{IntCl}_a = + \frac{\text{Nuc} \mid \text{ClRt}}{Q_{ia} \mid} + \frac{\text{Nuc} \mid 213}{\text{Inton} \mid}$$

Formula 15a consists of a declarative clause, followed by an obligatory intonation manifested by 2 1 3.

(440)   2   1   3
Urang rék indit
we will go
Are we going?

(441)   2   1   3
Budak téh   can   sibeungeut
child [Mar Phras] not yet wash one's face
Hasn't the child washed his face yet?

(442)   2   1 3
Saréréa kudu pasini
all must agree
Must everyone agree?

(443)   2   1   3
Manéhna nulak cangkéng
he stuck waist
Did he stand with arms akimbo?

(444)   2   1   3
Urang saréréa kudu mayar pajeg fiskal
we all must pay tax fiscal
Do we all have to pay exit permit tax?

(445)   2   1   3
Manéhna mangyieunkeun   pamajikanana imah anyar
he make s.t. for s.o. wife his house new
Did he build his wife a new house?

(446)   2   1 3
        Manéhna maca
        he   read
        Did he read?

(447)   2   1   3
        Aya   pangajaran basa   Sunda
        exist lesson   language Sundanese
        Are there Sundanese lessons?

(448)   2 1 3
        Girimis
        drizzling
        Is it drizzling?

(449)   2   1   3
        Indungna   gering parna
        mother his ill   serious
        Is his mother seriously ill?

(450)   2   1   3
        Lanceukna   hakim di Bandung
        older brother his judge in Bandung
        Is his older brother a judge in Bandung?

We can thus see that by adding one tagmeme, namely the intonation, we have transformed the declarative into an interrogative of the affirmative type.

Another way of transforming the declarative into the affirmative interrogative is by simply adding the question marker naha at the beginning of the clause. Irrespective of the use of intonation pattern 2 3 1 or 2 1 3, preposing the question marker naha changes the declarative into an interrogative.

The formulation of the second subtype of affirmative interrogative is as follows:

Formula 15b

$$\text{IntCl}_b \ = \ + \ \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Qia}} \ \frac{\text{<naha>}}{} \ + \ \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Stmt}} \ \frac{\text{ClRt}}{}$$

The formula consists of an obligatory interrogative tagmeme manifested by a question marker, QM, naha, followed by a declarative clause.

The following are examples:

(442a) Naha saréréa kudu pasini?
        QM   all   must agree
        Do all have to agree?

(445a) Naha manéhna mangnyieunkeun   pamajikanana imah   anyar?
        QM   he   make s.t. for s.o. wife   his   house new
        Did he build a new house for his wife?

4.3.2.2 Confirmative interrogatives

The confirmative interrogative is derived from the declarative clause by adding a negativiser Neg$_1$ henteu *not* or Neg$_2$ lain *not*, or Neg$_3$ moal *will not* or Neg$_4$ acan *not yet*.

The formula for this clause is:

Formula 16

$$\text{IntCl} \; = \; + \; \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Stmt}} \bigg| \text{ClRt} \; + \; \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Conf}} \bigg| \begin{array}{l} \text{<henteu>} \\ \text{<lain>} \\ \text{<moal>} \\ \text{<acan>} \end{array}$$

The following are some examples:

(451) Manéh téh   rék indit, lain?
       you   [Mar Phras] *will go   not*
       You are going, aren't you?

(452) Mobil téh   geus   dibeuli ku manéhna, lain?
       car   [Mar Phras] *already be bought by he   not*
       The car had been bought by him, had it not?

(453) Pamajikanana geulis pisan, lain?
       wife   his   pretty very   not
       His wife is very pretty, isn't she?

Clauses (451)-(453) are normal declarative clauses with a (213) terminal intonational contour, and followed by Neg$_2$, the use of Neg$_2$ makes the clause interrogative.

The other type is an alternative confirmative interrogative using Neg$_2$, Neg$_3$, Neg$_4$. The following are some examples:

(454) Imah téh   rék dibeuli moal?
       house [Mar Phras] *will be bought not*
       Are you or aren't you going to buy the house?

(455) Imah téh   rék dibeuli atawa henteu?
       house [Mar Phras] *will be bought or   not*
       Are you going to buy the house or not?

(456) Imah téh   geus   dibeuli acan?
       house [Mar Phras] *already be bought not yet*
   *Have you or haven't you bought the house yet?*

4.3.2.3 Content interrogative clauses

The content interrogative clause expects a response which contains specific information. The declarative clause is transformed by replacing the subject, predicate or object or the peripheral tagmemes with a question marker to the clause. The question marker Int, manifested by naon *what* can function as a Subject, Predicate, or Object. The following are some examples.

(457) Manéh meuli naon?
       you   buy   what
       What are you buying?

(458) Naon nu   dibeuli   ku manéh?
       what which be bought by you
       What did you buy?

The interrogative clause in (457) is transformed by naon, which functions both as interrogativiser as well as an object content interrogative clause.

If the question marker functions as the subject in the syntagmeme, there is a syntactic change involved, making it into an equative type, and relativisation occurs. Clause (458) can be analysed as follows:

```
        Naon  nu  dibeuli  ku  manéh?
              S      P      Ag
              |_____|

        S                    P
```
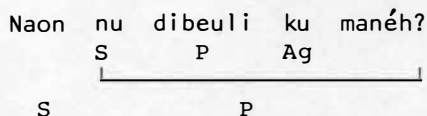
The shift from the object position into the subject results in a transform from an active into a passive construct. Relativisation resulted in nominalising the clause with a relative dependent clause.

The same procedure is also applicable to the other members of interrogative subclass Int, saha *who*.

(459) Manéh neangan saha?
       you   look for who
       Who are you looking for?

(460) Saha nu diteangan   ku manéh?
       who who be looked for by you
       Who are you looking for?

When Int_1 replaces the subject tagmeme, a syntactic change occurs. The subject replaced by Int_1 is followed by a nominalised predicate in the form of a relative dependent clause. Thus the following examples:

(461) Saha nu néangan buku téh?
       who who look for book
       Who (is the one who) is looking for the book?

(462) Naon nu nyababkeun kamunduranna?
       what which cause   decline the
       What (is the thing which) caused the decline?

Int_1 can also be used to modify a nucleus noun making the whole syntagmeme interrogative.

(463) Manéhna mawa buku naon?
       he   bring book what
       What book did he bring?

       Buku naon nu dicokot ku manéhna?
       book what which be taken by he
       What book did he take?

The second subclass, Int_2, consists of di mana *where(at)*, ka mana *where(to)*, ti mana *where(from)*, nu mana *which* replacing the locative tagmeme, iraha *when* the temporal tagmeme and kumaha *how*, the manner tagmeme.

(465) Urang téh   rék indit ka mana?
       we   [Mar Phras] will go   to where
       Where are we going?

(466) Urang rék nginjeum duit ti mana?
       we   will borrow   money from where
       Where are we going to borrow the money (from)?

(467) Manéh téh   cicing di mana?
       you   [Mar Phras] *stay   at where*
       Where are you staying?

(468) Urang téh   rék meuting   di hotel mana?
       we   [Mar Phras] *will spend the night at hotel which*
       In which hotel are we going to spend the night?

(469) Kumaha urang indit ka kantor?
       how   we   go   to office
       How do we go to the office?

(470) Iraha urang rék ngalaman   kamakmuran?
       when   we   will experience prosperity
       When are we going to enjoy prosperity?

Int$_3$ is represented by sabaraha *how much, how many* and sakumaha *how big, what size.*

(471) Manéh boga duit   sabaraha?
       you   have money how much
       How much money have you got?

(472) Sabaraha hiji imahna?
       how many   unit house his
       How many houses has he got?

(473) Sakumaha gedéna?
       how big   size
       How big is it?

Sabaraha occurs with temporal nouns such as jam *hour*, tahun *year*, relating to time duration. Thus sabaraha jam *how many hours*; sabaraha tahun *how many years*; sabaraha may also post modify the noun to form the following jam sabaraha *what time*; tahun sabaraha *what year* etc.

Int$_4$, to consist of ku naon or naha *why* replaces the peripheral causative tagmeme.

(474) Ku naon urang teu maju-maju?
       by what we   not progressing
       Why aren't we progressing?

(475) Naha, manéh teu nerangkeun ka kuring?
       why   you   not explain   to I
       Why didn't you explain to me?

4.3.3 Imperative clauses

Except for the equative, all declarative clauses are transformable into imperative clauses. The imperative differs from the declarative because of (1) a difference in the predicate tagmeme, (2) the optional occurrence of the second personal noun, or proper names or terms of address, (3) intonation, and (4) the optional use of the imperative tagmeme. There are five types of imperative clauses.

The first type consists of an optional imperative marker IM$_1$ cing or cik, pék, mangga *please* or Im$_2$ punten *excuse me* followed by an obligatory predicate. An obligatory object or complement may also occur depending on the predicate.

The first type of imperative clause can be formulated as follows:

Formula 17a

$$\text{ImClRt}_a \;=\; \pm\; \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Imp}}\left|\begin{array}{c}\text{IM}_1\\ \text{IM}_2\end{array}\right| \;+\; \frac{\text{P}_{14}}{\text{Com}}\left|\,\text{v}\,\right| \;\pm\; \frac{\text{Ad}}{\text{U}}\left|\,\text{N}\,\right| \;\pm\; \frac{\text{S}}{\text{Ag}}\left|\,\text{N}\,\right|$$

An Imperative Clause type a consists of an optional imperativiser tagmeme filled by IM_1 and IM_2, followed by an obligatory predicate P_{14} and an obligatory Undergoer or complement depending on the filler of the predicate tagmeme. Basically, all an imperative is the predicate tagmeme. In fact Inchoative Markers can function as imperatives, e.g. prak *start*, kop *eat it*, top *take it*, sok *put it down*, lung *throw it over*, jung *go*, etc. (see 2.4.5.5, also Hardjadibrata 1983:159, Fatimah Djajasudarma 1980:6).

The following are some examples:

(476) Cing tuduhkeun!
please show
Please show it to me!

(477) Pék cokot!
please take
Please take it!

(478) Gawekeun tugas téh!
work on task [Mar Phras]
Get on with the job!

(479) Tumpak beus ti alun-alun eureun di Cicadas!
ride bus from city square stop at Cicadas!
Take a bus from the city square, and get off at Cicadas!

(480) Panganggeuskeun pagawéan téh
complete s.t. for me job [Mar Phras]
Finish the job for me!

(481) Cing sibeungeut ka ditu!
please wash one's face to there
Please go and wash your face!

(482) Cing pangméntakeun resép ka Dr Hasan!
please ask s.t. for me prescription to Dr Hasan
Please get me a prescription from Dr Hasan!

The following observations can be made. All the constructions illustrated above are verbal. Transitive and non-transitive sets of verbs are represented, but not equative and stative clauses. Transitives, including bitransitives drop the nasal prefix, whereas non-transitives retain their prefixes. The subject tagmeme can optionally be present. They often manifest the second personal nouns, to include terms of address and proper names functioning as a second person.

The Imperative Clause type *b* consists of an obligatory imperativiser followed by a passive declarative clause.

The formula is as follows:

Formula 17b

$$\text{ImpClRt}_b = + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Imp}}\bigg|\text{IM}_2\bigg| + \frac{\text{S}}{\text{U}}\bigg|\text{NP}\bigg| \pm \left(+ \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Proh}}\bigg|\text{<ulah>}\bigg| \right)$$

$$+ \frac{\text{P}_{14}}{\text{Stmt}}\bigg|\text{ptv}\bigg| \pm \frac{\text{Ad}}{\text{Ag}}\bigg|\text{kuN}\bigg|$$

Here are some examples:

(483) Cing   ieu mobil téh   dikumbah!
       please this car   [Mar Phras] be washed
       Please wash this car!

(484) Mobil téh   ulah dikumbah!
       car   [Mar Phras] not   be washed
       Don't wash the car!

(485) Baju   téh   ulah diseuseuh ku   manéh!
       clothes [Mar Phras] not   be washed by   you
       Don't you wash these clothes!

(486) Cing   kuring dipangmeulikeun prangko!
       please I   be bought for   stamp
       Please buy some stamps for me!

(487) Duit téh   ulah diawur-awur
       money [Mar Phras] not   be wasted
       Don't waste money!

(488) Cing duit téh ulah diawur-awur!
       Please don't waste any money!

Clauses (483)-(488) may be introduced by either IM$_2$ *cing* or Mar Proh *ulah*, or both. The imperativiser IM$_2$ precedes the clause and is followed by the Undergoer, the Prohibitive Marker and the Predicate. The Prohibitive Marker and the predicate may directly be transposed and follow the introducer IM$_2$:

(488) a. Cing duit téh ulah diawur-awur!

       b. Cing ulah diawur-awur duit téh!

Imperative Clause type *c* is introduced by the Prohibitive Marker *ulah do not* followed by an active declarative clause. The formula is as follows.

Formula 17c

$$\text{ImpClRt}_c = \pm \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Imp}}\bigg|\text{<ulah>}\bigg| + \frac{\text{P}_{14c}}{\text{Stmt}}\bigg|\text{atv}\bigg| + \frac{\text{Ad}}{\text{Sc}}\bigg|\text{N}\bigg| + \frac{\text{Ad}}{\text{U}}\bigg|\text{N}\bigg|$$

Here are some examples:

(489) Ulah maca buku cabul   éta   manéh!
       not   read book pornographic that you
       Don't you read that pornographic book!

(490) Ulah maca buku cabul!
       not   read book pornographic
       Don't read pornographic books!

(491) Ulah nyangka kuring teu nyaho!
       not   guess   I   not know
       Don't think I don't know!

(492) Ulah ngiriman Rusdi buku cabul!
       not   send   Rusdi book pornographic
       Don't send Rusdi pornographic books!

(493) Ulah bedegong manéh!
       not   impudent you
       Don't you be impudent!

(494) Ulah aya   kamiskinan di dieu!
       not   exist poverty   in here
       Let there be no poverty here!

The following observations can be made of clauses (489)-(494). If required a subject can be present. It can precede or follow the clause. The subject is the second personal noun or an equivalent term of address. The prohibitive marker, Mar Proh is obligatory. It should also be noted that a stative clause, (493), can be made imperative. This includes the existensive clause, (494). The predicate does not change morphologically in the process of imperativisation.

Except for the transposition of the Subject, this type of clause is similar to a normal declarative clause.

The last of the verbal Imperative Clauses, type *d*, consists of an obligatory imperative tagmeme filled by IM₄ ingkeun or keun *let* followed by an obligatory imperative relator sina *so that*, and followed by a declarative clause. The formula is as follows:

Formula 17d

$$\text{ImClRt}_d \;=\; \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Imp}}\left|\frac{\text{IM}_4}{}\right. \;+\; \frac{\text{Rel}}{\text{Imp}}\left|\frac{<\text{sina}>}{}\right. \;+\; \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Com}}\left|\frac{\text{ClRt}}{}\right.$$

Here are some examples:

(495) Keun sina   indit!
       let   so that go
       Let him go!

(496) Keun sina   diajar!
       let   so that learn
       Let him study!

(497) Keun manéhna nganggap kuring jelema teu bener!
       let   he   regard   I   man   not right
       Let him regard me as unreliable man!

(498) Keun sina   digawékeun ku sorangan!
       let   so that be done   by alone
       Let him do it by himself!

(499) Keun buku cabul   téh   sina   dibaca
       let   book pornographic [Mar Phras] so that be read

       ku bapana!
       by father his
       Let his father read the pornographic book!

We can observe that all the clauses, (495)-(499), except for (497), become complex in structure employing sina *so that* for both the active as well as passive declarative clauses.

We have seen that almost all Imperative Clauses are verbal declarative clause transforms. The question is whether stative clauses can be tranformed into imperatives. In Sundanese there is a marker sing *be, do* which is the abbreviated form of masing. In fact the imperative marker for derived verbs is sina *let, make*, e.g. sina papanggih *let them meet (each other)* which is traceable to masingna or masing *let, be, made to*. It is interesting to note that sing *be, do* only occurs with statives, e.g. sing bageur *be good*, sing géde wawanén *be bold*, sing geulis *be pretty*, sing adil *be just*, sing sarua *be equal* etc. Based on these observations we may include the stative imperative clauses under this category. We can formulate it as follows:

Formula 18

$$\text{ImClRt}_{St} = + \frac{\text{Nuc} \;|\; ^{IM}\text{St}}{\text{Imp} \;|\;} + \frac{\text{P} \;|\; \text{Adj}_{1-3}}{\text{Sta} \;|\;} \pm \frac{\text{S} \;|\; \text{N}}{\text{It} \;|\;}$$

(500) Sing alus nulisna!
       make good writing the
       Write neatly!

(501) Sing bageur manéh!
       be   behave you
       Behave yourself!

(502) Sing lega   imahma!
       make extensive house the
       Make the house as large as possible!

(503) Sing wani   ngalawanna!
       be   daring opposing it
       Be daring in opposing it!

4.3.4 Interjective clauses

Interjective Clauses are by definition exclamatory. Two interjective tagmemes exclusively used in this clause are the obligatory ku *how* and the obligatory tada teuing *how extremely* preceding the predicate and an obligatory particle -na attached to the predicate.

There are various types of Interjective Clauses. The first type has an obligatory tagmeme ku *how* before the stative Predicate. This type can be formulated as follows:

Formula 19a

$$\text{IntjStCl}_a = + \frac{\text{Rel} \;|\; <\text{ku}>}{\begin{array}{l}\text{Excl} \;|\;\\ \text{InM} \;|\;\end{array}} + \frac{\text{P} \;|\; \text{Adj}_{1-3}}{\text{Sta} \;|\;} + \frac{\text{S} \;|\; \text{N}}{\text{It} \;|\;}$$

$$+ \frac{\text{Mar} \qquad |\; \text{Det}_2}{\text{Mar Phras} \;|\;}$$

The following are examples:

(504) Ku   alus   imah téh!
      how beautiful   house [Mar Phras]
      How beautiful the house is!

(505) Ku   bodas ngeplak   kaméja téh!
      how   white spotless shirt [Mar Phras]
      How spotlessly white the shirt is!

(506) Ku   wani ngorbankeun jiwa rakyat téh!
      how   dare sacrifice   soul people [Mar Phras]
      How courageous those people are to sacrifice their lives!

The following clause is unacceptable; ku can only be followed by an adjective without the nominalising -na

(507) *Ku alusna   imah   téh!
      How beautiful the   house [Mar Phras]

The other type has an obligatory tagmeme tada teuing *how extremely* preceding the predicate and an obligatory nominalising particle -na attached to the predicate.

This type is formulated as follows:

Formula   19b

$$\text{IntjStCl}_b = + \frac{\text{Rel}}{\begin{array}{c}\text{Excl}\\\text{InM}\end{array}} \bigg| \text{<tada teuing>} + \frac{\text{P}}{} \bigg| \text{Adj}_{1-3}$$

$$+ \frac{\text{S}}{\text{It}} \bigg| \text{N} + \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Mar Phras}} \bigg| \text{Det}_2$$

The following is an example with tada teuing:

(508) Tada teuing alusna   imah   téh!
      how   too   beautiful   house [Mar Phras]
      How extremely beautiful the house is!

Conversely in comparison to (507), the following clause is unacceptable:

(509) *Tada teuing alus imah téh!

The third type has an obligatory tagmeme kacida *exceedingly* positioned before the predicate and an obligatory nominalising particle -na attached to the predicate. It is formulated as:

Formula 19c

$$\text{IntjStCl}_c = + \frac{\text{Rel}}{\text{InM}} \bigg| \text{<kacida>} + \frac{\text{P}}{\text{Sta}} \bigg| \text{Adj}_{1-3} + \frac{\text{S}}{\text{It}} \bigg| \text{N}$$

$$+ \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Mar Phras}} \bigg| \text{Det}_2$$

Examples are:

(510) Kacida   alusna   imah   téh!
      extremely   beautiful   house [Mar Phras]
      How beautiful the house is!

As with (509), the following clause is unacceptable:

(511) *Kacida alus imah teh!

The last type has an obligatory tagmeme naker *very* following the predicate. This is formulated as follows:

Formula 19d

$$\text{IntjStCl}_d = + \dfrac{\text{P} \mid \text{Adj}_1}{\text{Sta} \mid} + \dfrac{\mid \text{<naker>}}{\text{InM} \mid} + \dfrac{\text{S} \mid \text{N}}{\text{It} \mid}$$
$$+ \dfrac{\text{Mar} \qquad \mid \text{Det}_2}{\text{Mar Phras} \mid}$$

The following are examples with a corresponding unacceptable clause:

(512) Alus   naker   imah   téh!
       beautiful very   house [Mar Phras]
       How beautiful the house is!

(513) *Alusna naker imah téh!

4.3.5 Emphatic clauses

All declarative clauses, except for the existive, eventive and equative, are transformable into Emphatic Clauses by the positioning of nya *indeed*[38] at the beginning of the clause and optionally pisan *very* immediately after the subject.

The following formula can be drawn up for the Emphatic Clause.

Formula 20

$$\text{EmpClRt} = + \dfrac{\text{P} \mid \text{<nya>}}{\text{Emp} \mid} + \dfrac{\text{S} \mid \text{N}}{\text{Ag} \mid} \pm \dfrac{\text{Mar} \mid \text{<pisan>}}{\text{Emp} \mid} + \dfrac{\text{Nuc} \mid \text{RDC}}{\text{Rest} \mid}$$

Here we turn the declarative clauses (514)-(516) into the emphatic (517)-(519).

(514) Kuring kudu   nangtukeun   saha-sahana
       I   must   decide   who it is
       I must decide who to select

(515) Dasar-dasar éta   nangtukeun bébas henteuna
       principles   that   decide   free   not
       These principles decide whether we are free or not

(516) Manéhna nganggap kuring jelema teu   bener
       he   regard   I   man   not   true
       He ragarded me as an unreliable man

(517) Nya   kuring pisan   nu   kudu   nangtukeun   saha-sahana
       [Emp] *I*   [Emp] *who must   decide   who it is*
       It was I who must decide who to select

(518) Nya   dasar-dasar éta   pisan   nu   nangtukeun bébas henteuna
       [Emp] *foundations   that* [Emp] *which determine   free   not*
       It is these very principles which determine whether we are free or not

(519) Nya   manéhna nu   nganggap kuring jelema teu bener
     [Emp] *he*   *who consider I   man   not true*
     It was he who regarded me as an unreliable man

4.4 Dependent clauses

The clauses discussed in sections 4.2 and 4.3 are independent. They do
not contain relator tagmemes marking dependency that bind them to the preceding
or following clause. These clauses can also initiate speech in stimulus
utterances.

Dependent clauses are those clauses that are marked by dependent markers
indicating a syntactic relationship with the tagmemes which precede or follow
them. Dependent clauses may be sequential or relative.

4.4.1 Sequential dependent clauses

A sequential dependent clause consists of an independent clause preceded
by a relator marking dependency. The manifestation of the dependent marker is
the conjunction, Conj., as listed in section 2.4.5.2. The dependent clause is
marginal, it is therefore optional. As such, it can be replaced by a single
tagmeme. Sequential dependent clauses, abbreviated SDC, may precede or follow
the independent clause. The relator of a dependent clause functions as a
marker only.

The following examples illustrate how the declarative clauses (520)-(523)
can be transformed into the dependent clauses (520a)-(523a):

(520) Bapana   dines di Jakarta
     father his serve in Jakarta
     His father works in Jakarta

(521) Anakna   teu sanggup nebus   hutangna
     child his not able   redeem debt his
     His son is unable to pay his debts

(522) Manéhna anak Gupernur
     he   son   Governor
     He is the son of the Governor

(523) Bapana   kudu mayar kurugianana
     father his must pay   loss the
     His father must pay for the loss

(520a) Waktu bapana   dines di Jakarta ...
      when father his serve in Jakarta ...
      When his father worked in Jakarta ...

(521a) Mun anakna   teu sanggup nebus   hutangna ...
      if child his not able   redeem debt his ...
      If the son is unable to pay his debts ...

(522a) Sanajan   manéhna anak Gupernur ...
      even though he   child Governor ...
      Even though he is the son of the Governor ...

(523a) Sabab   bapana   kudu mayar kurugianana ...
because father the   must pay   loss   the
Because the father must pay for the loss ...

A sequential dependent clause (SDC) therefore consists of an obligatory relator followed by an independent clause.

But for a few exceptions, all clauses formulated in this chapter may be transformed into dependent clauses.

To give an overall view of dependent clauses, a diagram is provided. The vertical line lists the dependent markers based on their semantic features. The horizontal line represents the internal structure of the declarative clauses. Where the conjunction and the declarative clause intersect, the resultant clause is designated accordingly, e.g. Temporal Sequential Dependent Clause, abbreviated to Temp.SDC.

Sequential Dependent Clauses										
Declarative Conjunction	iCl	biCl	tCl	btCl	ttCl	stCl	exCl	evCl	stCl	eqCl
1. Temporal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
2. Conditional	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3. Purposive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
4. Concessive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
5. Contrafactual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6. Similative	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
7. Causative	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
8. Effective	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
9. Factive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
10. Consequential	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
11. Quotative	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

The following are examples of sequential dependent clauses:

(524) Waktu manéhna diajar basa   Sunda ...   (Temp.SDC)
when   he   learn   language Sundanese
When he was learning Sundanese ...

(525) Asal   kuring disadiakeun   imah ... (Cond.SDC)
provided I   be provided with   house
On the condition that a house is provided for me ...

(526) Supaya   teu disada ... (Purp.SDC)
so that   not give a sound
So that it does not creak ...

(527) Sanajan   manéhna loba cabakeun ogé ... (Conc.SDC)
even though   he   lots manage   too
Even though he has many things to do ...

(528) ... siga   nu   keur   bingung (Contrafact.SDC)
as if who in the process confused
... as if he was confused

(529) Saperti geus   disebut   di luhur ... (Simil.SDC)
       as   already be mentioned at above
       As I have mentioned above ...

(530) Lantaran duitna   teu mahi ...
       because   money the not enough
       Because the money is not sufficient ...

(531) ... nepi ka   kuring teu dahar-dahar acan (Eff.SDC)
       as a result I   not eat[EMP]   even
       ... as a result I did not even have time to eat

(532) ... padahal   urusanana   mah   babari (Fact.SDC)
       while in fact business the [Mar Phras] easy
       ... while in fact the matter is easy

(533) ... ku sabab éta manéhna teu datang (Conseq.SDC)
       that is why   he   not come
       ... that is why he did not come

(534) ... yén manéhna rék indit deui (Quot.SDC)
       that he   will go   again
       ... that he will go again

A full description of dependent clauses will be discussed at sentence level construction, under non-simple sentences in Section 5.2.2.1.

4.4.2 Relative dependent clauses

The other type of dependent clause is the Relative Dependent Clause abbreviated here as RDC. RDC is introduced by a relative marker, RM, anu or nu *who, which, that*. The function of the RM is to act as the subject of the dependent clause. It does not, however, function as a subject when the subject is possessed. A single tagmeme can replace an RDC.

The following will illustrate how relativisation takes place. Clauses (536) and (537) can be embedded into clause (535) to produce sentences (538) and (539).

(535) Guru   pindah ka Bandung
       teacher move   to Bandung
       The teacher moved to Bandung

(536) Guru   nampiling Rusdi
       teacher slap   Rusdi
       The teacher slapped Rusdi

(537) Rusdi nampiling guru
       Rusdi slap   teacher
       Rusdi slapped the teacher

(538) Guru   nu nampiling Rusdi pindah ka Bandung
                 RDC
       teacher who slap   Rusdi move   to Bandung
       The teacher who slapped Rusdi moved to Bandung

(539) Guru   nu   ditampiling ku Rusdi pindah ka Bandung
                RDC
teacher who be slapped by Rusdi move   to Bandung
The teacher whom Rusdi slapped moved to Bandung

nu nampiling Rusdi in (538) and nu ditampiling ku Rusdi in (539) are RDC. If we consider the internal structure of the RDC in (538), the RM nu replaces the subject of (536) and becomes the subject of the dependent clause. The latter part of the clause is active declarative as indicated by the predicate filler nampiling.

As the RM nu of (539) replaces guru, the resultant clause involves a passivisation of the RDC predicate filler. The undergoer of (537) is transposed to become the subject of the RDC. Accordingly the passive predicate filler is followed by an agentive marker ku and the agent.

The formula for the RDC in sentence (538) is as follows:

Formula 21a

$$RDC_a \;=\; +\; \frac{S}{\text{It.Rltr}}\Big|\frac{<nu>}{} \;+\; \frac{P}{\text{Stmt}}\Big|\frac{\text{atv}}{} \;\pm\; \frac{U}{\text{It}}\Big|\frac{N}{}$$
$$\phantom{RDC_a \;=\; +\; \frac{S}{\text{It.}}}\text{Ag}\Big|$$

whereas in sentence (539) is as follows:

Formula 21b

$$RDC_b \;=\; +\; \frac{S}{\text{It.Rltr}}\Big|\frac{<nu>}{} \;+\; \frac{P}{\text{Stmt}}\Big|\frac{\text{ptv}}{} \;\pm\; \frac{\text{Ad.}}{\text{Ag}}\Big|\frac{\text{kuN}}{}$$
$$\phantom{RDC_b \;=\; +\; \frac{S}{\text{It.}}}\text{U}$$

Relative Dependent Sentence subtype c is somewhat different. It consists of an obligatory tagmeme filled by a RM, followed by a subject tagmeme filled by a possessed nominal, followed by a predicate which may be active or passive, and may be followed by an undergoer, depending on the filler filling the predicate. A passive predicate tagmeme would, of course, result in an agentive tagmeme filling the undergoer slot.

The following will illustrate how relativisation occurs with clauses having a possessed nominal.

(540) Tentara geus   kaluar
army   already   to withdraw
The soldier had already resigned (from the army)

(541) Anakna   nampiling guru
child his slap   teacher
His son slapped the teacher

(542) Anakna   ditampiling ku guru
child his be slapped by teacher
His son was slapped by the teacher

Clause (541) can be embedded into Clause (540) to produce sentence (543) and clause (540) and (542) can be embedded to produce (543a), thus:

(543) Tentara nu anakna   nampiling guru   geus   kaluar
army   who child his slap   teacher already to withdraw
The soldier whose child slapped the teacher had already resigned

(543a) Tentara   nu   anakna   ditampiling ku guru   geus
        army   *who* *whild his* *be slapped* *by* *teacher* *already*

        kaluar
        to withdraw
        The soldier whose child was slapped by the teacher had
        already resigned

Relative Dependent Sentences of subtype *c* can be formulated as follows:

Formula 21c

$$RDC_C = + \frac{Ad}{Rest}\Big|\frac{<nu>}{-} + \frac{S}{Posses}\Big|\frac{NP}{-} + \frac{P}{Stmt}\Big|\frac{\begin{array}{c}atv\\ptv\end{array}}{-} + \frac{Ad}{\begin{array}{c}U\\Ag\end{array}}\Big|\frac{\begin{array}{c}NP\\ku\,NP\end{array}}{-}$$

The difference between RDC type *a* and type *b* is that in RDC_C the relative marker nu is simply used as a dependent marker, whereas in type *a* and type *b* it functions as the subject.

The RDC marks the subject and functions as a modifier. Thus the RDC in (538), (539), (543) and (543a) functions both as subject modifier as well as subject marker.

We have referred in section 3.2.6 to the fact that an RDC is a nominal, therefore it can function as a subject.

CHAPTER V

SENTENCE LEVEL CONSTRUCTION

5.0 Introduction

In Chapter IV we dealt with clause level construction. In this chapter we will deal with the sentence. The Sentence Level Construction is a level in the grammatical hierarchy above the clause level and below the paragraph and discourse levels. The paragraph and discourse levels are outside the scope of this work.

5.1 Definition and classification

A sentence is an independent clause initiating a cognitive part of a conversation, or a propositional unit combining clause with clause into an initiating single independent unit, or a maximum reply, or exclamation, or greeting (Pike and Pike 1977:21ff; 255ff)[39]. A sentence may therefore consist of one independent clause or one independent clause with one or more dependent clauses, and fills a slot at the sentence cluster level. A sentence clause, made up of a single independent sentence, may be expandable by the addition of other clauses. Phonetic pauses help to distinguish sentence and clause final breaks. The length of the clause pause is in general shorter than the sentence final pause.

Based on the number of clauses that a sentence contains or whether an utterance is a clause or something less than a clause, we can classify Sundanese sentences into two general types: major sentences and minor sentences[40].

A major sentence contains one or more clauses (see Chapter 4.1 for the definition of a clause) or words joined by introducers or sentence level connectors while a minor sentence manifests something less than a clause, such as a word or a phrase without an introducer or sentence level connector.

Major sentences can be further classified into simple and non-simple sentences. A simple sentence is a construction with an overall structure of a single clause. It is the simple filler of a sentence nucleus, referred to by Pike and Pike (1977:257) as sentence root. A non-simple sentence is a construction whose underlying structure contains constituents that do not fill clause level slots. On the surface, the non-simple sentence contains two clauses joined by an introducer or a sentence level connector. A clause complex as the nucleus filler of a sentence is what Pike and Pike (1977:257) call a sentence stem. The sentence stem may be complex or compound.

A complex sentence is constructed in such a way as to have an independent clause as the marginal base.

A compound sentence is a construction with two or more independent clauses linked together by a coordinator.

Pike and Pike (1977:258-260) use the terms coordinate and non-coordinate for compound and complex sentences respectively.

The analysis of non-simple sentences here is based on the following criteria: (1) different means of linkage between the stem (presence or absence of a relator or connector): (2) different permutational restrictions; (3) different distribution of a link word when a permutation takes place; (4) absence or presence of a given tagmeme; and (5) different number of tagmemes.

Permutation is defined here as a linear order of the tagmemes different from the order given in the original formula. At sentence level, permutation simply involves a transposition of sentence bases.

The sentence construction types in Sundanese are here given in diagram form:

Sentence construction types	
MAJOR SENTENCE	MINOR SENTENCE
1. Simple Sentence	2.1 Greetings
2. Non-simple Sentence	2.2 Vocatives & Interjectives
2.1 Sequential Dependent Sentence	2.3 Fragment Sentences

2.1.1 Temporal
        2.1.2 Conditional
        2.1.3 Purposive
        2.1.4 Concessive
        2.1.5 Contrafactual
        2.1.6 Similative
        2.1.7 Causal
        2.1.8 Effective
        2.1.9 Factive
        2.1.10 Consequential
        2.1.11 Quotative	

2.2 Coordinative Sentence	

2.2.1 Additive (Cumulative)
        2.2.2 Adversative
        2.2.3 Alternative
        2.2.4 Correlative	

5.2 Major sentence types

The different construction types at sentence level are to be discussed here in the following order: (1) definition of the particular sentence type; (2) formula (reading), and (3) examples.

Fillers for the sentence slot here are in terms of clause type, although some slots may manifest a word or phrase.

5.2.1 Simple sentences

A simple sentence (Sim.Sent.) or sentence root has an overall structure of a single clause. It consists of a nucleus sentence base slot filled by a Declarative Clause (Dec.Cl.). The base slot can also be filled by any one of the following derivatives of the Declarative Clause: the Interrogative Clause (Int.Cl.), the Imperative Clause (Imp.Cl.), the Interjective Clause (Intj.Cl.), the Emphatic Clause (Emp.Cl.). All simple sentences have an intonation contour, filled by a 2 3 1 Interrogative which is filled by a 2 1 3 intonation contour. As these types of clauses have been discussed in the previous chapter, we shall now deal with non-simple sentences or the sentence stem, i.e. a sequence of clauses which may fill a sentence nucleus (see Pike and Pike 1977:275ff) and minor sentence types, such as greetings, interjectives, vocatives and fragment sentences.

5.2.2 Non-simple sentences

Non-simple sentences are those sentences composed of more than one clause. They may consist of two or more clauses, depending on their interclausal relations, making them either independent or dependent of other clauses[41]. In turn the dependent clause may be sequentially or relatively dependent to the other clause.

5.2.2.1 Sequential dependent sentences

A sequential dependent sentence consists of two clauses, an independent clause and a sequential dependent clause (SDC)[42]. Both are bases that make up a compound sentence. The sequential dependent clause has a relator tagmeme preceding the clause. The dependent clause may precede or may follow the independent clause. If the bases of the sentence are represented by an x for the first proposition and a y for the second, in a Sequential Dependent Sentence the relator slot is manifested by Conj.[43] In a Coordinative Sentence, however, the connector slot is manifested by a coordinator (Coord.)[44].

The structure of a sequential dependent sentence therefore consists of an Independent Declarative Clause, or its derived clause forms, followed by a Dependent Clause which is subordinated to the Independent Declarative Clause. It is formulated as follows:

$$\text{Seq.Dep.Sent} = + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Statement}} \left| \begin{array}{l} \text{Ind.Decl.Cl} \\ \text{Int.Cl} \\ \text{Imp.Cl} \\ \text{Intj.Cl} \\ \underline{\text{Emp.Cl}} \end{array} \right. + \frac{\text{Mar}}{} \left| \text{SDC} \right.$$

It can be permuted by fronting the marginal slot thus:

$$\text{Seq.Dep.Sent} = + \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Sub}} \left| \text{SDC} \right. + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Statement}} \left| \begin{array}{l} \text{Ind.Decl.Cl} \\ \text{Int.Cl} \\ \text{Imp.Cl} \\ \text{Intj.Cl} \\ \underline{\text{Emp.Cl}} \end{array} \right.$$

The structure of a Coordinative Sentence consists of two or more independent clauses linked together by a coordinator and is formulated as follows:

$$\text{Coord.Sent.} = + \frac{\text{Nuc}_1}{\text{Coord}} \left| \text{Ind.Cl} \right. + \left(+/\pm \frac{\text{LK}}{\text{Coord}} \left| \text{Coord.Conj.} \right. \right.$$

$$+ \frac{\text{Nuc}_2}{\text{Coord}} \left| \text{Ind.Cl} \right. \right)^n$$

Coordinative Sentences are by their nature highly permutable, except where there are logical sequential restraints. The n reads that the part enclosed by the parentheses may be repeated for an unspecified number of times but not an infinite number of times. The symbol $+(+/\pm)$ indicates that the link is optional; in this context, optional only before the last nucleus. It may however, if the speaker so desires, occur before other nuclei. It must then occur before all of them.

The functional units in the Sequential Dependent Sentences are the Sentence roots, which are the bases and the relator slot. The relators are listed in Section 2.4.5.2. On the basis of these relators sentences can be classified into: the Temporal, the Conditional, the Purposive, the Concessive, the Contrafactual, the Similative, the Causal, the Effective, the Factive, the Consequential and the Quotative. We will now discuss these eleven types of Sequential Dependent Sentences.

5.2.2.1.1 Temporal sentences

A temporal sentence consists of two clauses which constitute the bases of the temporal sentence. An independent clause which may be declarative, imperative, interjective, interrogative, or emphatic serves as the nucleus of the Temporal Sequential Dependent Sentence, followed by a marginal dependent clause of a Temporal SDC. As a sentence margin, the Temporal Clause may simply be replaced by temporal words. The Temporal Clause is introduced by a relator represented by Conj$_1$ manifesting sanggeus *after*; samémeh *before*; ti semet *since*; waktu *when*; sabot *while*; sajeroning *during*; salila or satungtung *as long as* and any declarative clause (for declarative clauses see clauses formulated in Chapter IV).

The temporal sentence bases are permutable. The introducers occur in initial sentence position, followed by the dependent declarative base and the relator slot manifested by four types of relators: (1) whether the action expressed in the first base takes place before the one expressed in the dependent base; or (2) whether the action expressed in the first base takes place after the one expressed in the dependent base; or (3) whether the action expressed in the first base takes place in precise concurrence with the one expressed in the dependent base; or (4) whether the action expressed in the first base takes place within the period in which the action expressed in the dependent clause also occurs.

A temporal sentence is formulated as follows:

Formula 1

$$
\text{Tem.Sent.} = \; + \; \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Statement}} \; \left|\begin{array}{l} \text{Ind.Decl.Cl} \\ \text{Int.Cl} \\ \text{Imp.Cl} \\ \text{Intj.Cl} \\ \text{Emp.Cl} \end{array}\right| \; + \; \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Temporal}} \; \left|\, \text{Tem.SDC} \right.
$$

The following are examples:

(544) Manéhna sarapan   sanggeus dangdan
      he   have breakfast   after   to dress
      He had breakfast after dressing

(545) Manéhna maca surat kabar, saméméh indit ka kantor
      he   read letter news   before   go   to office
      He read the letter before going to the office.

(546) Manéhna cicing di mancanagara, ti   semet
      he   stay   at overseas,   from to

      adina   asup   tentara
      younger brother his enter army
      He has lived overseas since his younger brother joined the army

(547) Naha Rusdi diajar di Bandung, waktu manéhna dines
      QM   Rusdi study   in Bandung, when   he   serve

      di Jakarta téh?
      in Jakarta [Mar Phras]
      Was Rusdi studying in Bandung, when he was working in Jakarta?

(548) Nya kuring pisan nu   kudu ngurusan   anak   pamajikanana
      Emp. I   very   who must look after child wife   his

      sabot manéhna aya di Amérika téh!
      while he   be   in Amerika [Mar Phras]
      It was I who had to look after his wife and child, while he was in the United States!

(549) Anteurkeun barudak   ka sakola, sajeroning manéh
      bring   children to school, while   you

      ngadagoan juragan istri   balanja!
      wait   master   female shopping
      Bring the children to school while you wait for the mistress to finish her shopping!

(550) Manéhna digawé di kantor pajeg, satungtung bapana
     he   *work*   *in* *office* *tax,*   *as long as*   *father his*

       masih jumeneng
       still live
       He worked in the taxation office as long as his father was
       still alive

(551) Ku keukeuh hayang nuturkeun, sajeroning salakina
     how insist *want*   *follow*   *during*   *husband her*

       digawé di leuweung
       work in forest
       How insistent she was wanting to be with her husband during
       his stint in the jungle

(552) Salila manéhna aya di dieu, kuring moal
     as long as he   *exist at here I*   *will not*

       nincak golodog ieu deui
       step threshold this again
       As long as he is still here, I am not going to set foot in
       this house ever

5.2.2.1.2 Conditional sentences

A conditional sentence, as the name implies, expresses a condition and a consequence. The nucleus slot may be filled by an independent clause, which may be declarative, interrogative, imperative or interjective, and a marginal dependent clause of the Conditional SDC. The conditional clause is introduced by a relator, represented by Conj$_2$ manifesting lamun or mun *if* and asal *provided that* followed by any declarative clause which usually expresses a reality or saupama *if, supposing* followed by any declarative clause when referring to an irreality. It should be noted that lamun or mun sometimes is followed by a clause expressing irreality.

The following is the formula for a conditional sentence and examples follow for illustration.

Formula 2

$$\text{Cond.Sent} = + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Statement}} \left| \begin{array}{l} \text{Ind.Decl.Cl} \\ \text{Inter.Cl} \\ \text{Imp.Cl} \\ \text{Intj.Cl} \end{array} \right. + \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Conditional}} \left| \text{Cond SDC} \right.$$

(553) Kuring daék nulungan, lamun manéh nurut paréntah kuring
     I   *want help*   *if*   *you*   *obey order*   *I*
     I will be prepared to help, if you follow my orders

(554) Kuring daék pindah, asal disadiakeun imah
     I   *want move*   *provided be set aside house*
     I am willing to move, on the condition that a house is provided

(555) Saha nu daékeun ngagawékeun, mun loba teuing aturanana?
     who who willing work on   *if many too*   *regulation*
     Who is willing to do it, if there are too many regulations?

(556) Beuli baé buku téh   asal   ulah   leuwih
      buy   just   book [Mar Phras] provided do not more

      ti   dua ratus   rébu!
      from two hundred thousand (rupiah)
      Just buy the book, provided it doesn't exceed two hundred
      thousand rupiah!

(557) Nya   bapana   nu kudu mayar, mun anakna   teu
       Emph   *father his who must pay   if   child his not*

      sanggup nebus
      able   redeem
      It is his father who must pay if the child is unable to redeem it

(558) Ku hésé   méréskeunana, mun teu keyeng mah
      how difficult to settle it if   not keen   [Mar Phras]
      How difficult it is to settle this if people are not too keen

(559) Barang téh   moal   dibikeun, mun lain ka baraya
      article [Mar Phras] will not be given if   not   to relative
      I would not have given the article, if we were not related

(560) Tanah téh   moal   dibikeun, mun lain ka sobat
      land   [Mar Phras] will not be given if   not   to friend

      mah
      [Mar Phras]
      The property would not be sold, if it weren't to a friend

(561) Korsi téh   tangtu   potong, saupamana manéhna
      chair [Mar Phras] certain break   if   he

      diuk di dinya
      sit   in   there
      The chair would certainly break, if he was to sit on it

(562) Rusdi tangtu   datang, saupamana manéhna diondang
      Rusdi certainly come   if   he   be invited
      Rusdi would have come, if he was invited

5.2.2.1.3 Purposive sentences

A purposive sentence contains reference to purpose or objectives. The nucleus slot may be filled by an independent clause, which may be declarative, interrogative, imperative and emphatic followed by a clause margin of a purposive SDC. The purposive clause is introduced by a relator tagmeme of the Conj₃ type manifesting pikeun *(in order) to*; ngarah, sangkan or supaya *in order to, so that*, followed by the dependent clause.

The following is the formula for a purposive sentence.

Formula 3

				Ind.Decl.Cl		
				Inter.Cl		
				Imp.Cl		
Pur.Sent	=	+	Nuc	Emp.Cl	+	Mar Pur.SDC
			Statement			Purposive

Here are some examples:

(563) Éngsél   panto   téh   diminyakan,   supaya   teu
hinge   door   [Mar Phras]   be oiled   so that not

disada
give a sound
The door hinge should be oiled, so that it doesn't creak

(564) Lomari   téh   tonggéngkeun,   ngarah   babari
cupboard [Mar Phras]   tilt   so that easy

ngasupkeunana!
put in it
Tilt the cupboard so that it is easy to carry it in

(565) Pamaréntah   ngadegkeun   puskesmas,   pikeun
government   set up   public health clinics to

nyumponan   kaperluan   keséhatan   rakyat
fulfil   need   health   people
*The government sets up public health clinics to fulfil the
health needs of the people*

(566) Kumaha   méréskeunana,   supaya   hérang   caina   beunang
how   settle it   so that clear   water the   get

laukna
fish the
*How does one settle the matter, so that one can get what one
wants without upsetting things!*

(567) Daendels   meredih   ka   pihak   Banten,   sangkan
Daendels   press the matter   to   side   Banten   in order to

ngirimkeun   rahayatna   pikeun   nyieun   palabuhan   di
send   people their   to   make   harbour   in

wewengkon   basisir   Ujung Kulon
area   coast   Ujung Kulon
*Daendels pressed the Bantenese to send their people to build
a harbour in the coastal area of Ujung Kulon*

5.2.2.1.4 Concessive sentences

A concessive sentence states that something is possible or something may
be done, notwithstanding the presence of a limiting circumstance or condition.
It may also state that something is not possible despite favourable conditions.

The concessive sentence consists of a nucleus concessive slot filled by
either declarative, interrogative, imperative, interjective or emphatic clause
base, a marginal relator slot filled by sanajan *even though, even if* and a
nucleus circumstance slot filled by a declarative, an emphatic or a negative
clause.

The formula for this sentence type can be drawn up as follows:

Formula 4

$$\text{Cond.Sent} = \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Statement}} \left|\begin{array}{l}\text{Ind.Decl.Cl}\\\text{Int.Cl}\\\text{Imp.Cl}\\\text{Intj.Cl}\\\text{Emp.Cl}\end{array}\right| + \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Concessive}}\left|\text{Conc.SDC}\right.$$

The following are some examples:

(568) Manéhna keukeuh hayang indit, sanajan dicarék
     he   insist want go   even though be prohibited

      ku kolotna
      by parents his
      He insisted on going, even though his parents prohibited him

(569) Rusdi mah   lulus baé, sanajan ujian
     Rusdi [Mar Phras] pass just even though examination

      hésé   ogé
      difficult also
      Rusdi always passes, even though the examination is quite
      difficult

(570) Anggeuskeun pagawéan téh,   sanajan loba cabakeun ogé!
     finish   job   [Mar Phras] even if many manage   too
     Finish the job, even if you have many things to do!

(571) Nya   kuring pisan nu ngurus sagalana, sanajan teu
     [Emp] I   very who arrange everything even if not

      sanak teu baraya!
      child not relative
      It was I who arranged everything, even if I was not related
      to them!

(572) Pamajikanana geulis   pisan, sanajan   rada   begang ogé
     wife his beautiful very even though rather thin   also
     His wife is very beautiful, even if she is rather thin

(573) Ku pendék pisan awéwé téh,   sanajan   maké
     how short very woman [Mar Phras] even though wear

      sapatu jéngké
      shoes   tiptoe
      How short the woman is, even if she is wearing high-heeled shoes

(574) Tong diladénan   jelema téh,   sanajan
     do not be accommodating person [Mar Phras] even if

      nyalutak ogé!
      provoke   also
      Do not oblige that man, even if he provokes you!

(575) Nya   manéhna nu   kudu nganggeuskeun imah   téh
       [Emp] *he*   *who* *must* *finish*   *house* [Mar Phras]

       sanajan lain pikacabakeunana!
       even if *not* *task*   *his*
       It was he who must finish the building of the house, even if
       it was not his duty!

5.2.2.1.5 Contrafactual sentences

A contrafactual sentence refers to the non-factuality of a situation or
an action. The presupposition is indicated by the connector tagmeme repre-
sented by Conj$_5$.

The contrafactual sentence consists of a nucleus factual slot filled by
either a declarative, interrogative, imperative, interjective or emphatic base,
a marginal relator slot filled by lir, kawas, siga or jiga *as if* and a marginal
contrafactual slot filled by a declarative clause.[45]

The formula for the Contrafactual Sentence can be drawn up as follows:

Formula 5

$$
\text{Contrafact.Sent} = + \left. \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Statement}} \right| \begin{array}{l} \text{Ind.Decl.Cl} \\ \text{Inter.Cl} \\ \text{Imp.Cl} \\ \text{Intj.Cl} \\ \text{Emp.Cl} \end{array} \Bigg| + \left. \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Contrafact}} \right| \text{Contrafact.SDC}
$$

Here are some examples:

(576) Manéhna taya   tangan pangawasa, lir   nu   dipupul bayu
       he   *not have* *hand*   *strength*   *as if* *who* *be blown* *wind*
       He had no strength, as if he had been blown down by the wind

(577) Naha buku téh   mani kumel,   kawas meunang mulung
       why *book* [Mar Phras] *so* *crumpled* *as if* *obtain* *pick*

       tina   carangka runtah baé?
       out of *bin*   *rubbish* *just*
       Why is the book so crumpled, as if it had been picked up out
       of a rubbish bin?

(578) Hudangkeun si Ocim téh   kawas raja baé saré
       wake up   *Ocim* [Mar Phras] *like* *king* *just* *sleep*

       téh[46]
       [Mar Phras]
       Wake up Ocim; he sleeps in as if he were a king!

(579) Ku   geulis   awéwé téh   kawas putri   turun
       how *beautiful* *girl* [Mar Phras] *as if* *goddess* *come down*

       ti   kahiangan!
       from *heaven*
       How beautiful the woman is, as if she is a goddess who has come
       down from heaven!

```
(580)  Tangkal  téh          layu,  lir   ditigas  sirungna
       tree     [Mar Phras]  wilt   as if cut      bud it
       The tree wilted, as if it had been nipped in the bud
```

5.2.2.1.6 Similative sentences

A similative sentence is one in which two dissimilar conditions or actions are paired because they possess one point of similarity or because they are metaphorically similar. The introducer is represented by a relator of the Conj$_6$ type.

A similative sentence consists of a nucleus clause which may be declarative, interrogative, imperative, interjective or emphatic and a marginal clause introduced by a relator lir, kawas, siga or jiga which function as a metaphoric comparison to the nucleus clause.

The formula and the examples given below serve as an illustration:

Formula 6

```
                                | Ind.Decl.Cl |
                                | Inter.Cl    |
                                | Imp.Cl      |
                Nuc        | Intj.Cl  |      Mar          | Sim SDC
Simil.Sent = +  ─────────  |─────────── + ────────────── |─────────
                Statement  |                 Similative   |
```

```
(581)  Manéhna  ngajentul  baé,  siga  bueuk  beunang  mabuk
       he       stand      just  like  owl    got      strike
       He just stood there, like a struck down owl
```

```
(582)  Naha  belet-belet  teuing  silaing  téh          kawas  cai
       why   stupid       very    you      [Mar Phras]  as if  water

       dina  daun   taleus  baé
       in    leave  taro    just
       Why are you so stupid, as if nothing ever leaves an impression
       on you
```

```
(583)  Tong     ngarémeh   dahar   téh;         kawas  hayam  keur
       do not   drop crumbs eat     [Mar Phras]  as if  chook  being

       diparaban  baé!
       fed        just
       Don't drop crumbs when you eat; you behave like an animal
       being fed!
```

```
(584)  Ku   kokomoan  dahar  téh,         kawas  kokoro  manggih
       how  greedy    eat    [Mar Phras]  as if  pauper  come across

       mulud
       ceremonial feast
       How greedily you eat, like a pauper invited to a banquet
```

5.2.2.1.7 Causal sentence

A causal sentence contains utterances which state a fact or an event together with a cause for their occurrence. The introducer is represented by a relator of Conj$_7$ type.

A causal sentence consists of a marginal or nucleus effect slot base, which may be declarative, interrogative, imperative, interjective or emphatic, and a marginal cause slot filled by sabab or lantaran *because* and a dependent clause which may be declarative, interrogative, interjective, imperative or emphatic.

The formula and the accompanying examples below serve as an illustration:

Formula 7

$$\text{Caus.Sent} = + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Statement}} \begin{vmatrix} \text{Ind.Decl.Cl} \\ \text{Inter.Cl} \\ \text{Imp.Cl} \\ \text{Intj.Cl} \\ \text{Em.Cl} \end{vmatrix} + \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Causal}} \begin{vmatrix} \text{Caus.SDC} \end{vmatrix}$$

(585) Kabéh   pada   nyaraho ka Rusdi, sabab
       all   [verbal pluraliser]   *know*   *to* *Rusdi* *because*

       manéhna jadi   kapala bagian   kauangan
       he   *be*   *head* *section* *finance*
       Everyone knows Rusdi, because he is the head of the finance section

(586) Manéhna kapaksa   balik   leuwih gancang, lantaran
       he   *be forced* *go home* *more* *quick*   *because*

       bekelna   geus   rék   béak
       reserves his *already* *will* *finish*
       He was forced to go home sooner, because his money was about to run out

(587) Anggeuskeun pagawéan téh   sabab   geus   nepi
       finish   *job*   [Mar Phras] *because* *already* *reach*

       ka waktuna
       to *time its*
       Finish the job, because you are already nearing the deadline

(588) Saha nu   nanyakeun téh,   sabab   euweuh   nu
       who *who* *ask*   [Mar Phras] *because* *not exist* *who*

       badami   rék   datang?
       confer *will* *come*
       Who was the person enquiring, because there was no appointment for someone to come?

(589) Ku   gampang nitah mah,   sabab   teu   kudu
       how *easy*   *order* [Mar Phras] *because* *not* *must*

       ngaluarkeun tanaga
       expend   *effort*
       How easy it is to issue orders, as you yourself do not have to do anything

(590) Nya   nyusahkeun barudak   ogé   manéh téh,   sabab
       [Emp] *bother*   *children* *too* *you* [Mar Phras] *because*

       loba   teuing pikacabakeunana!
       much *too*   *manage*
       It is indeed bothersome for the children because they will have too many things to handle!

5.2.2.1.8 Effective sentences

The eighth type of sequential dependent sentence is the effective sentence. This subtype expresses a result or a consequence of an action or an event. In the sentence a sequence of time is involved. The event usually precedes the result. The relator tagmeme in an effective sentence is purposive and not conditional. It bears the meaning of *so that*. In many cases the second base is manifested by a predicative only, the subject serving for both the first and second clauses.

The effective sentence consists of a nucleus event slot filled by a declarative clause, an imperative clause, an emphatic clause or an interjective clause, a relator slot filled by Conj$_8$ manifesting nepi ka *so that* and a marginal result slot filled by a declarative clause, an emphatic clause or a negative clause.

The effective sentence can be formulated as follows:

Formula 8

$$\text{Eff.Sent} = + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Statement}} \left| \begin{array}{l} \text{Ind.Decl.Cl} \\ \text{Inter.Cl} \\ \text{Imp.Cl} \\ \text{Intj.Cl} \end{array} \right. + \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Effective}} \left| \text{Eff.SDC} \right.$$

(591) Kuring indit rurusuhan, nepi ka teu kaburu
I go in a hurry as a result not have time

sarapan-sarapan acan
breakfast not yet
I left in a hurry, as a result of which I didn't even have time to have breakfast

(592) Budak gering téh teu kaburu diubaran
child sick [Mar Phras] not have time be treated

nepi ka paéhna
so that die he
The sick child did not have time to be treated as a result of which he died

(593) Geus baé ngarudetkeun kolot, nepi ka kapaksa
already just upset parents so that be forced to

kudu mindahkeun deui ka sakola séjén
must transfer again to school other
What you just did upset your parents, as a result of which they were forced to transfer you again from one school to another

(594) Bakat ku rusuh, nepi ka teu kaburu mandi-mandi acan!
so how hurry so that not opportunity bathe not
I was in such a hurry, that I did not even have time to have a bath!

(595) Badak Sunda téh diboroan, nepi ka
rhinocerus Sondaicus [Mar Phras] be hunted so that .

méh béakna
almost finished
The Javanese rhino has been so continually hunted that it is almost extinct.

(596) Téangan, nepi ka kapanggih!
       look for so that be found
       Seek until you find them!

(570) Ku   geulis awéwé téh   nepi ka pada
       how pretty woman [Mar Phras] *so that* [Plural Marker]

       barogoh!
       love[pl]
       The woman is so pretty that everybody falls in love with her!

5.2.2.1.9 Factive sentences

A factive sentence contains a factual statement in contradiction to a nucleus statement. The nucleus slot may be filled by an independent clause. The factive clause margin is introduced by a relator tagmeme of the Conj$_9$ type manifesting padahal *while in fact, whereas.*

The following is the formula for the factive sentence and examples are given as illustration:

Formula 9

Fact.Sent =	+	Nuc	Ind.Decl.Cl Int.Cl Intj.Cl	+	Mar	Factive SDC
		Statement			Factive	

(598) Manéhna geus   balik,   padahal   pagawéanana can
       he   already go home while in fact work his   not yet

       bérés
       complete
       He had already gone home, while in fact he had not yet completed his work

(599) Haténa   mah   geus   panteng hayang buru-buru
       heart the [Mar Phras] *already firm   want   quick*

       indit, padahal   teu boga duit   sagowéng-gowéng acan
       go   while in fact not have money a single penny   not yet
       I was determined to leave immediately while in fact I did not even have a penny on me

(600) Barudak   téh   bingung   malikiran beubeunangana,
       children [Mar Phras] *confused think   result*

       padahal   soalna   mah   babari
       while in fact   problem the [Mar Phras] *easy*
       The children were bewildered in trying to find a solution while in fact the problem was easy

5.2.2.1.10 Consequential sentences

A consequential sentence contains a clause stating a reason, followed by another clause stating the consequence. The nucleus slot stating a reason is filled by an independent clause, followed by a consequential clause margin

introduced by a relator tagmeme of the Conj$_{10}$ type. The conjunction manifests
the phrase ku sabab éta or ku lantaran éta *because of that, therefore.*

The following is the formula for the consequential sentence:

Formula 10

$$\text{Conseq.Sent} = + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Reason}}\left|\frac{\begin{array}{c}\text{Ind.Decl.Cl}\\ \text{Emp.Cl}\end{array}}{} \right. + \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Conseq.}}\left|\text{Conseq.SDC}\right.$$

(601) Manéhna kahujanan,   ku sabab éta   manéhna
       he   *got rained on* *because of that* *he*

       kabeurangan
       overtaken by daylight
       He was caught in the rain, because of that he was late

(602) Pagawéanana can   anggeus kénéh, ku lantaran éta kuring ambek
       work his   not yet finish   still   that is why   I   angry
       His work is not finished yet, that is why I am angry

(603) Nya   bapana   pisan nu   ngontrog,
       [Emp] *father his   very who come to reprimand*

       ku lantaran éta manéhna sieuneun
       that is why   he   afraid
       It was his father who came to reprimand, that was why he was
       afraid

5.2.2.1.11 Quotative sentences

There are two types of quotative sentences, the direct quotative and the
indirect quotative.

5.2.2.1.11.1 Direct quotative sentences

A direct quotative sentence consists of clauses that may be joined in
juxtaposition without a relator tagmeme. The bases are permutable, but some
permutation is also applicable to the predicate of the quote base. A direct
quotative sentence consists of a quote base (Q) filled by any sentence and an
obligatory quotative base (QB) filled by a declarative, imperative, interroga-
tive, interjective or emphatic clause. The verb ngomong *to say;* nyarita *to
tell;* nanya *to ask;* ngajawab *to answer;* nyarek *to forbid;* nyentak *to snarl;* or
ngageungeureuhkeun *to criticise* manifests the verb of a quotative base in the
direct quotative sentence.

The direct quotative sentence is formulated here as follows:

Formula 11a

$$\text{Dirq.Sent} = + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Statement}}\left|\text{Ind.Decl.Cl}\right. + \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Quotative}}\left|\frac{\begin{array}{l}\text{Ind.Decl.Cl}\\ \text{Int.Cl}\\ \text{Imp.Cl}\\ \text{Intj.Cl}\\ \text{Emp.Cl}\end{array}}{}\right.$$

The following are some examples:

(604) Manéhna   ngomong: "Kuring rék   indit isuk"
he   say   I   will   go   tomorrow
He said: "I will go tomorrow"

(605) Rusdi nyarék: "Tong   indit isuk   ari rék   hujan
Rusdi forbid: do not go   tomorrow if   will rain

mah!"
[Mar Phras]
Rusdi said: "Do not go tomorrow if it is going to rain!"

(606) Indungna   nanya: "Iraha rék   indit?"
mother his ask   when   will go
His mother asked: "When will you be going?"

(607) Manéhna ngageunggeureuhkeun: "Ku   bedegong-bedegong
he   reprimand   how impudent

teuing si Kosim téh!"
very   Kosim
He said: "How extremely impudent Kosim is!

(608) Bapana   ngagorowok: "Nya   saha deui nu   nebus
father his shout   [Emp] who   again who redeem

hutang téh!"
debt   [Mar Phras]
His father shouted: "Who exactly is going to pay your debts?"

5.2.2.1.11.2 Indirect quotative sentences

An indirect quotative sentence has the structure of a simple sentence. The quotative base may manifest a subject, predicate complement or an object. The relator tagmeme $Conj_{11}$ manifesting yén *that* is obligatory.[47]

The indirect quotative sentence is formulated as follows.

Formula 11b

Indirq.Sent = +	Nuc Statement	Ind.Decl.Cl	+	Mar Quotative	Quot.SDC

The following are examples:

(609) Manéhna nyarita yén adina   rék   datang poé ieu
He   tell   that brother his will come   day this
He said that his brother was coming today

(610) Kuring nyaho yén pamajikanana geus   dipirak
I   know   that wife his   already be divorced
I know that he divorced his wife

(611) Yén   manehna gedé hulu geus   teu bireuk deui
that he   big   head already not strange again
That he is arrogant is no news to anyone

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5.2.2.2 Coordinative sentences

A coordinative sentence is a head-head construct, consisting of two, or more than two, bases: Cl_1 and Cl_2 joined by an interclausal link word of a coordinating, Coor., Type. The structure of a Coordinative Sentence is: Coor.Sent. = $Cl_1 + Cl_2 + Cl_3$. The bases may or may not be permuted.

There are four types of Coordinative Sentences: 1) Additive (or Cumulative) Sentences: 2) Antithetical Sentences; 3) Alternative Sentences; and 4) Correlative Sentences.

Functional units in the coordinative sentences are the sentence bases and the connector slot.

5.2.2.2.1 Additive (cumulative) sentences

An additive sentence consists of two bases or more linked together by a coordinator to fill the sentence nucleus. The link words for additive sentences manifests jeung *and*, katut *as well*. The internal structure of an Additive Sentence is formulated as follows.

Formula 12

$$\text{Add.Sent} = + \frac{\text{Nuc}_1 \mid \text{Ind.Cl}}{\text{Coor.} \mid} + \left(+/\pm \frac{\text{Lk} \qquad\qquad \mid \text{Coor.Conj.}}{\text{Coordinative} \mid} \right.$$
$$+ \left. \frac{\text{Nuc}_2 \mid \text{Ind.Cl}}{\text{Coor.} \mid} \right)^n$$

In most cases Sundanese additive sentences have a zero link word and are coordinated by mere juxtaposition of the clauses, accompanied by a specific intonation pattern.

The following are examples:

(612) Bapana   macul, indungna   nyangu
       father his hoe   mother his boil rice
       His father hoed, and his mother boiled rice

(613) Kuring balik,   manéhna indit
       I   go home he   go
       I came home, and he went

(614) Adina   dagang, bapana   mokrol
       younger brother his   trade   father his works as a solicitor

       jeung indungna   ngajar
       and   mother his teach
       *His younger brother deals in goods, his father works as a
       solicitor and his mother teaches*

5.2.2.2.2 Antithetical sentences

Antithetical sentence consists of two opposing bases, a thesis as the first proposition and an antithesis as the second proposition linked together by an adversative tapi *but*; sabalikna *on the other hand*. Anthithetical sentences compare contrasting qualities possessed by two different subjects.

The qualities contrasted may be positive versus negative, or a lower degree versus a higher degree or antonyms.

The first part of the antithetical sentence consists of a nucleus thesis slot filled by a declarative clause, emphatic clause or an imperative clause, and an obligatory connector slot filled by tapi *but*; sabalikna *on the other hand*; or balikanan *on the contrary*, followed by a nucleus antithetical slot filled by a declarative slot or an interjectionary clause.

The formula and the examples for antithetical sentences are as follows:

Formula 13

$$\text{Antithet.Sent} = + \frac{\text{Sent.Nucl.}}{\text{Proposition}} \Big| \text{Prop.Cl}$$

$$+ \frac{\text{Sent.Link}}{\text{Coordination}} \Big| \text{Marker of Contrast}$$

$$+ \frac{\text{Sent.Nucl}}{\substack{\text{Antithetical} \\ \text{Proposition}}} \Big| \substack{\text{Antonymous} \\ \text{Prop.Cl}}$$

The bases are permutable only with cases where the declarative or interjectionary sentences manifesting the bases are statives:

(615) Indungna   mah   tegep,   tapi bapana   goréng
      mother his [Mar Phras] *attractive but father his bad*

      patut
      looking
      His mother is attractive, but his father is ugly

(616) Kuring teu datang ka rapat, tapi adi   indit
      I   not go   to meeting but younger brother go
      I did not go to the meeting, but my younger brother did

(617) Alesan euweuhna   buku ciptaan   sastrawan Sunda   ngora
      reason absence the book creation literati Sundanese young

      anu kaluar   saenyana mah   lain masalah kasusastran,
      who come out actually [Mar Phras] not problem literature

      tapi masalah penerbitan ...
      but problem publication
      The reason for the absence of books written by young Sundanese
      writers, is actually not a literary issue, but is a problem of
      publication ...

(618) Nya   kuring pisan nu nerangkeunana,   tapi manéhna
      [Emp] *I   very who give explanation but he*

      nu ngagawékeunana
      who work   it
      It was I who gave the explanation, but he was the one who
      actually carried it out

(619) Buku téh   bisa diinjeum   ku manéh, tapi kudu
      book [Mar Phras] *can be borrowed by you   but   must*

      dipulangkeun isuk
      be returned tomorrow
      You can borrow the book, but you must return it tomorrow

(620) Lanceukna   mah   pinter sabalikna
      older brother his [Mar Phras] *clever on the contrary*

      adina   mah   rada   belet
      younger brother his [Mar Phras] *rather slow*
      His older brother is intelligent, on the other hand his younger
      brother is rather slow on the uptake

5.2.2.2.3 Alternative sentences

An alternative sentence offers a proposition and then presents an alter-
native. Although it may contain two opposing ideas, unlike the antithetical
sentence, an alternative proposition is offered. The sentence consists of a
nucleus proposition slot filled by a declarative sentence, an affirmative
interrogative sentence or an interjective sentence a nucleus connector slot
filled by atawa *or*. The nucleus alternative slot which follows is filled by
a declarative or interjective sentence.

The formula of the alternative sentence is as follows:

Formula 14

$$\text{Alt.Sent} = +\ \frac{\text{Sent.Nucl}}{\text{Proposition}}\ \Big|\ \text{Prop.Cl}$$

$$+\ \frac{\text{Sent.Link}}{\text{Coordination}}\ \Big|\ \frac{\text{Marker of}}{\text{Alternative}}$$

$$+\ \frac{\text{Sent.Nucl}}{\text{Alternative Proposition}}\ \Big|\ \frac{\text{Alternate}}{\text{Prop.Cl}}$$

The following are examples:

(621) Kuring tetep di dieu atawa manéhna kaluar
      I   remain at here or   he   go out
      I remain here or he resigns

(622) Naha saung téh   rék dikenténgan atawa rék
      is/are hut [Mar Phras] *will be rooftiled or   will*

      dihateupan?
      be thatched
      Is the hut going to be covered with roof tiles or is it going
      to be thatched?

(623) Naha manéhna ditaékkeun pangkatna atawa manéhna dipindahkeun?
      is/are he   be raised   rank his or   he   be transferred
      Is he going to be promoted or is he going to be transferred?

In some cases most of the second base is deleted except for the negative, e.g.

(624) Naha   Rusdi téh   rék   indit atawa moal?
      is/are Rusdi [Mar Phras] *will go   or   will not*
      Is Rusdi going or not?

5.2.2.2.4 Correlative sentences

A correlative sentence involves proportionality of one base with the other base. Each base implies conditional propositions which are correlated to one another. The correlative coordinator manifests the phrase beuki ... beuki ... *the more ... the more ... .*

Correlative sentences are only limited to clauses with stative predicates.

The correlative sentence can be formulated as follows:

Formula 15

$$\text{Correl.Sent} = + \left(+ \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Correl}} \middle| \text{<beuki>} + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Stmt}} \middle| \text{Ind.Decl.Cl}_1 \right)$$
$$+ \left(+ \frac{\text{Mar}}{\text{Correl}} \middle| \text{<beuki>} + \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Stmt}} \middle| \text{Ind.Decl.Cl}_2 \right)$$

The following are examples:

(625) Beuki   loba   jelema nu   dialajar, beuki
      the more numerous   people who study   the more

      hésé   ngatur   daptar pangajaranana
      difficult   arrange list   lesson the
      *The more numerous are the people studying, the more difficult
      it is to arrange the timetable*

(626) Beuki   jero urang diajar, beuki   saeutik kanyaho
      the more deep we   learn   the more   little   knowledge

      urang
      we
      The deeper we study, the less we know about it

(627) Beuki   pageuh   nyekel kana agamana,   beuki
      the more steadfast hold   onto religion his the more

      tutulung   ka sasama
      helpful   to fellow
      *The more steadfastly he holds on to his beliefs, the more helpful
      he is to his fellow men*

5.3 Minor sentence types

There are three subtypes of minor sentences: 1) greetings; 2) vocatives and interjectives; and 3) fragment sentences.

5.3.1 Greetings

Greetings consist of a nucleus non-clausal base slot filled by a phrase followed by a nucleus intonation slot filled by a final intonation contour.

The following is the formula for greetings:

Formula 16

$$\text{Greeting Sent.} \quad = \quad + \quad \frac{\text{Nucl}}{\text{Non.Cl.}} \left| \frac{\text{Phrase}}{} \right.$$

Some examples are:

(628) Wilujeng enjing!
good   morning
Good morning!

(629) Punten?
excuse
Anybody home?

(630) Nepi ka isuk   nya!
till to tomorrow yes
Till tomorrow then!

(631) Mangga atuh!
please then
Goodbye then!

(632) Énggal-énggal teuing?
quick   very
Do you really have to go now?

5.3.2 Vocatives and interjectives

Manifestations of vocatives in Sundanese are 1) proper names; 2) kinship terms, those normally used in direct address;[48] 3) classificatory terms; and 4) second personal noun (in emphatic cases).

The formula for vocatives and the examples are as follows:

Formula 17

$$\text{Voc.Sent.} \quad = \quad + \quad \frac{\text{Nuc}}{\text{Non.Cl}} \left| \frac{\text{Word}}{} \right.$$

(633) Rusdi!
Rusdi
Rusdi!

(634) Mang! (short for Emang)
uncle
Uncle!

(635) Jang! (short for Ujang)
sonny
Sonny!

(636) Nyai!
lass
Young lady!

(637) Néng! (short for Enéng)
lass
Young lady!

(638) Cép! (short for Kasép *handsome*)
young man
Young man!

(639) Manéhna!
Dad (or *Mum*) (of wife to husband or husband to wife)
Dad! (or *Mum!*)

Interjectives are normally short and expressive. They are usually used to express strong emotional feelings of pain, shock, disbelief, enthusiasm as shown in the examples below:

(640) Ah!
Well!

(641) Ey!
Hey!

(642) Iy!
Yuk!

(643) Kurang ajar!
lack learning
Impudent bastard!

(644) Aduh!
Ouch!

(645) Hayoh!
Come on!

(646) Hoyah!
My foot!

(647) Ih!
Hey!

5.3.3 Fragment sentences

A fragment sentence is one that may be considered dependent but in the sense that it is a response to an initiating speech uttered previously. It is not dependent in the way that we can link it with the initiating speech as is the case with SDC or RDC. A fragment sentence does not have a dependent marker, and is non-clausal, and as such does not have a sentence-like structure.

The following are stimulus sentences as the initiating speech:

(648) Naha manéhna geus indit?
QM *he already go*
Is he already gone?

(649) Naha manéh boga duit?
    QM   *you*   *have* *money*
    Do you have some money?

(650) Iraha manéhna kawin?
    when   *she*   *marry*
    When did she get married?

(651) Kumaha nyieun kuéh?
    how   *make*   *cake*
    How does one make a cake?

(652) Dimana cicing téh?
    where   *live*   [Mar Phras]
    Where do you live?

(653) Tukeurkeun duit téh!
    change   *money* [Mar Phras]
    Change the money!

The following are fragment sentences in response to the above sentences:

(648) a. Enggeus
       already
       Yes, he is

     b. Acan
       not yet
       Not yet

(649) a. Enya
       yes
       Yes, I do

     b. Henteu
       no
       No, I don't

(650) a. Tadi
       just then
       Just now

     b. Teu nyaho
       not know
       I don't know

     c. Kamari
       yesterday
       Yesterday

(651) a. Kieu
       this way
       In this way

     b. Kitu   tuh!
       like that *there*
       That way!

(652) a. Cicadas
       Cicadas
       Cicadas

(652) b. di Cicadas
in Cicadas
In Cicadas

c. di dinya di Cicadas
in there in Cicadas
There, in Cicadas

(653) a. ké dagoan
later wait
Wait a moment

b. Embung!
not want to
I don't want to!

c. Heug!
all right
All right!

NOTES

1. As reported in *Kujang* (1982:1), one of the few remaining Sundanese weekly papers, the population of West Java is 27,311,074 of which 99% are ethnic Sundanese speaking Sundanese language in their everyday life. The census of 1977 puts the population of West Java at 24,288,178.

2. The Bandung dialect is recognised as the Sundanese language standard, because this area is the administrative, educational as well as cultural centre of Sundanese civilisation. Other dialects spoken in the area of West Java are Banten, Bogor, Cianjur, Ciamis, Cirebon, Pamanukan and Sumedang. See also Satjadibrata (1954:1), and Uhlenbeck (1964:9).

2. See Geertz, Clifford (1960), Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo (1968), and Uhlenbeck (1976). I am inclined to agree with Uhlenbeck rather than with Geertz on one dimensional series of levels. However, suffice it to say that levels depend on the relative social position of the speaker. He or she can 'talk up' or 'talk down' to someone relative to the position in his or her life and not according to a rigid system that Geertz leads us to believe. Uhlenbeck rightly stated that the use of levels of speech is a "much more dynamic affair than has been generally assumed".

4. Satjadibrata, R. (1943). See also Eringa (1949:51-56), also Ajatrohaedi (1970:782).

5. These forms of speech could be compared to 'formal standard', informal standard' and 'informal non-standard' in English, except that in Sundanese the speech levels have crystallised into socially determined levels of speech.

6. For recent studies in Indonesian languages based on four-cell array tagmemes see Sudaryanto's 'Types of Javanese clause root' and R. Sterner, I. Suharno and K.L. Pike's 'Experimental syntax applied to the relation between sentence and sentence cluster in Indonesian' in I. Suharno and K.L. Pike (eds) *From Baudi to Indonesian, studies in linguistics*, 95-117. Irian Jaya: Cendrawasih University, S.I.L., 1976.

8. Unlike in Indonesian this word does not stand independently.

9. Multiple morpheme verbs are derived either from single morpheme verbs or from some other classes. Unlike adjectives, verbs cannot be made comparative, and when functioning as a modifier to a noun they take the relative marker anu or nu *who*, *which*, *that*.

10. This is not a passive di- as will be explained on p.19.

11. The stative and reflexive prefix si- is distributionally restricted to some eight words.

12. This suffix is an intransitive suffix. It is not a transitive locative or iterative suffix. See p.19.

13. Semantically we can regard compounds as idiomatic expressions or as figures of speech.

14. The distinctive difference between the two phrases is discussed even on p.45.

15. See Section 3.6.1 for further discussion.

16. Robins (1968) refers to this type of verb as ditransitive. Abud Prawirasumantri et al. (1979) found no such type of verb in their analysis. However, in terms of their participant tagmeme on syntax, we can classify verbs as transitive, bitransitive or even tritransitive.

17. For a description of this word class, see Hardjadibrata (1983), and also Fatimah Djajasudarma's research report (1980) of which the above classifications used are hers.

18. This construction will be dealt with in Section 4.4.2.

19. A full description of Relative Dependent Clause constructions will be given in Chapter Four, Section 4.4.2.

20. We have not considered here pauses between the nucleus and its modifier, which may disambiguate the meaning of the two phrases. Thus, in order to carry the sense of 75a, the phrase would be read as paménta//guru nu anyar, and to render 75b, it reads paménta guru//nu anyar. The same would apply to phrases 76a and 76b.

21. See Chapter IV, Section 4.2.2.1.

22. For a detailed discussion on ambiguity in coordinated constructions see Dik (1968).

23. See Chapter II, Section 2.4.5.5.

24. Neg$_1$ often functions as a prefix similar to the English morpheme {IN-} as in 'inactive'; 'impure', etc. This is found in abstract nominals of the ka-an type, as in kateungeunahan *dissatisfaction*; kateubérésan *irregularity*.

25. See this Chapter, section 3.3 and 3.4.

26. Some grammarians would refer to semitransitive as intransitives.

27. Unlike rada, the adverb pati *so*, *too* is always in isomorphic relation with the negative pre-marginal teu *not*, thus teu pati *not so*, *not too*.

28. The co-occurrence of Temp W$_4$ and Temp W$_1$ in formula 18f may result in semantic incongruities with such unacceptable phrases as *jaman soré-soré.

29. I prefer to use these terms for participants in a Clause Root to Soedaryanto's application of D.L. Bee's use of 'peaks' for predicates, 'onsets' and 'codas' for subject and object.

30. See sections 2.3.2.1.1, 2.3.2.1.2.1, 2.3.2.1.2.2 and 2.3.2.1.2.3.

31. In traditional grammar the Undergoer is known as the Direct Object or the Accusative, and the Benefactive as the Indirect Object or the Dative. Pike and Pike (1977:43) refer to the meaning of 'actor' the one who acts out the action of the verb. The Undergoer is an item upon which the actor acts, and the Scope is the direction or goal toward which or away from which the action is directed.

32. Nida (1957:168) refers to voice as 'the relationship of the participants to the action'.

33. See sections 2.3.3 and 3.6.9 above.

34. Some ambiguity may take place here between the 'inflected' adjective gedéan *bigger* and the causative imperative gedéan *make it bigger*, but context will clear up the ambiguity.

35. See sections 3.6.1 and 3.6.9 above.

36. It will be noted that many compound adjectives are semantically idiomatic in character.

37. The only other verb which can be used similarly is kacopétan as in manéhna kacopétan duit *he had his money picked from his pocket*.

38. Etymologically this particle is traceable back to enya *indeed, truly, verily*.

39. Pike (1967:441-442) refers to the sentence as in portmanteau relation with clause. In other words a clause is simultaneously a sentence. However, the potential expansion types of each are different and require separate distributional matrices. The clause expands in terms of satellite tagmemes of time, manner, location etc., whereas the sentence expands by the addition of further clauses in coordinate or subordinate relations. Longacre (1964:125) asserts that the sentence may consist of a single clause, but goes on to say that the sentence may also consist of patterned combination of clauses or of a clause fragment. Furthermore, the sentence tends to be more independent as indicated by introducing or closing particles as well as by features of intonation and pause. In addition, sentence structures semantically express affirmation, quotation, conditional propositions, balance, antithesis and chronological or logical sequences and sometimes question and command. In a later publication (1970:783) Longacre characterises the difference between the clause and the sentence as that between predicate calculus (clause) and statement calculus (sentence).

40. Bloomfield (1933:171) and Hockett (1958:200) refer to major sentences as favourite or full sentences as opposed to minor sentences, which are completive or exclamatory.

41. Pike (1967:442-444) and Longacre (1964:130) refer to non-simple sentences as complex and compound sentences, but Pike and Pike (1977:258-260) use coordinate and non-coordinate stem.

42. See Chapter IV, Sections 4.2 and 4.3 for independent and 4.4 for dependent clauses.

43. For a list of conjunctions see Section 2.4.5.2.

44. See also Section 2.4.5.2.

45. It will be noted that there are great similarities between the use of these relators here with their use in Similative Sentences under Section 5.2.2.1.6.

46. Sentence (577) and (578) may appear like coordinative sentences, but they are definitely sequential dependent because without the relators, they are independent simple sentences.

47. In spoken usage, with appropriate phrasing, yén can be deleted in sentences (609)-(611).

48. Normally the monosyllabic.

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