

# VERBS, VALENCE AND VOICE IN BALINESE, SASAK AND SUMBAWAN

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

This paper is concerned with three apparently closely related languages of eastern Indonesia belonging to the Western Malayo-Polynesian group<sup>1</sup>:

- Balinese, primarily spoken on the island of Bali
- Sasak, spoken on Lombok, immediately to the east of Bali<sup>2</sup>, and
- Sumbawan, spoken on the western half of Sumbawa island to the immediate east of Lombok

In this paper I examine the distribution of verbs and of verbal alternations in Balinese, Sasak and Sumbawan, looking in particular at two areas:

- the so-called nasal and oral (or zero) verb constructions found with one-, two- and three-place predicates; and
- valence-changing processes, especially passive, causative, and applicative.

For the nasal/oral contrast I will show that there is a cline from Balinese where it is most clearly of syntactic relevance, to Sumbawan where it is entirely semantically driven. Interestingly, Sasak stands both syntactically and geographically between these two languages, with a further division within Sasak dialects between northern-eastern dialects that are more similar to Balinese and central-southern that share some characteristics with Sumbawan. For valence-changing processes Balinese shows the richest range of types, and Sumbawan has only a limited causative, with no passive or applicative. Again, Sasak shows a dialectal split mid-way between these two.

It is only by detailed cross-linguistic and cross-dialectal study that the subtle differences between the languages and dialects can be discovered. Hopefully too this can assist us in determining the genetic relationships of these three languages, which are said in the literature to be close relatives (Blust 1993, Grimes 1992, Aron 1990).

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<sup>1</sup> Sasak data for this study comes from Herman Suheri, Edi Suhaidi, Lalu Dasmara, Ispan Junaidi, Syahdan, Sudirman, Yon Mahyuni, Nur Ahmadi and Khairul Paridi, to whom I am extremely grateful for their patience and willingness to teach me Sasak. I gratefully acknowledge financial support from the Australian Research Council, the University of Melbourne, Frankfurt University and the Deutcher Akademischer Austauschdienst. A number of the ideas in this paper arose from collaborative research with Bernd Nothofer, Asako Shiohara, Simon Musgrave, Mary Ellen Jordan, and Anthony Jukes, none of whom can be held responsible for errors I have made in putting their ideas to work.

<sup>2</sup> Sasak is spoken in a number of dialect forms, differing lexically and morpho-syntactically in complex ways. For this study, data comes from Ngenó-Ngené, Menó-Mené, and Meriaq-Meriku dialects.

## 2. Nasal and oral verbs

### 2.1 Balinese

Balinese has one-place (intransitive) verbs that take a single argument pre-verbal NP, two-place verbs that take an Agent and Patient, and three-place verbs that take an Agent Theme and Goal. In the following discussion I will use the abbreviations S for the single argument of a one-place verb, A for the Agent-like argument of a two-place verb, and P for the remaining argument of a two-place verb.

One-place verbs in Balinese show a split (Arka 1998) between unergative verbs that typically take a prefixed nasal, and unaccusative verbs that do not. The basic distinction in Balinese intransitives is that volitional verbs, verbs of emission, and manner of motion verbs are all unergative, while states and directed motion verbs are unaccusative. The following examples from Arka 1998 illustrate the contrast:

Unaccusative	<i>ulung</i>	‘fall down’	Unergative	<i>negak</i>	‘sit’
	<i>teka</i>	‘come		<i>nyongkok</i>	‘squat’
	<i>mulih</i>	‘go home’		<i>ngeliling</i>	‘roll’
	<i>pungkat</i>	‘collapse’		<i>ngendih</i>	‘flare’
	<i>mati</i>	‘dead’		<i>manjus</i>	‘bathe’

Balinese two-place (and three-place) predicates occur as either oral (zero) verbs with the order Patient-Verb-Agent, or as nasal verbs (taking a nasal prefix) with the order Agent-Verb-Patient, as in (Artawa, Artini and Blake 1997, Arka 1998):

(1) Putu tepukin tiang ditu  
Putu see 1sg there  
‘I saw Putu there.’

(2) Tiang nepukin Putu ditu  
1sg n-see Putu there  
‘I saw Putu there.’

The Patient of a nasal verb can be definite, as in (Artawa, Artini and Blake 1997):

(3) *Cai ngedengang gambaran-e ka guru-ne*  
2SG N-show picture-DEF to teacher-DEF  
‘You showed the picture to the teacher.’

Balinese also has passive construction marked by the prefix *ka-* where the omissible agent occurs in a prepositional phrase following *antuk* or *teken*, as in (Artawa, Artini and Blake 1997, Arka 1998):

(4) *Gumi-ne ka-prentah (antuk/teken bangsa gelah)*  
country-DEF PASS-govern by people own  
‘The country is governed (by our own people)’

The nasal verb is required in clause linkage where an Agent NP is being anaphorically elided (as in relativisation of an A, zero anaphora of A in a complement clause etc – see Artawa 1994, Artawa, Artini and Blake 1997, Arka 1998). An example involving relative clauses (from Artawa 1994 135-137) is:

- (5) *Emeng-e* [ane gugut cicing] gelem  
 Cat-DEF [REL bite dog] sick  
 'The cat[which the dog bit] is sick.'
- (6) *Emeng-e* [ane ngugut cicing-e] galak  
 cat-DEF REL N-bite dog-DEF fierce  
 'The cat[which bit the dog] is fierce.'

For complement clauses (Artawa 1994: 146) we have:

- (7) Ia demen tunden cai mai  
 3sg like ask 2sg here  
 'S/he likes to be asked to come here by you.'
- (8) Ia demen nunden cai mai  
 3sg like n-ask 2sg here  
 'S/he likes to ask you to come here.'

Note that Balinese has no clitic pronouns, except for third person enclitic =a which only occurs with oral verbs to code the Agent (it can double an Agent, however in such a case Arka 1998, 1999 argues that the construction is passive).

## 2.2 Sumbawan

Basic clause organisation of Sumbawan is a head-marking structure given by Shiohara 2000 as follows:

- (9) (negator) (auxiliary verb) (pronoun(for A/S)) verb (noun/pronoun(for P))

A pronominal clitic (for A/S) optionally occurs immediately before the verb, with one exception noted below. Examples include(10) and(11).

- (10) *Ku=lalo*  
 1SG=go  
 'I go.'
- (11) *Nene=lalo*  
 2pl=go  
 'You(pl.) go.'

The third person proclitic *ya= '3'* may be attached only to a transitive verb to cross-reference A, never to an intransitive verb, and its occurrence/absence depends on the relative order of the verb and the Agent. We find *ya= '3'* is optionally attached to the verb if the Agent does not precede the predicate, that is, if the Agent follows the predicate (where it occurs as part of a PP following *ling*), for example (12) and (13), or if the Agent is absent, for example (14).

- (12) *Ya=inúm kawa=nan ling=Nya=Amin*  
 3=drink coffee=that by=Mr.=Amin
- (13) *Kawa=nan ya=inúm ling=Nya=Amin*  
 coffee=that 3=drink by=Mr.=Amin
- (14) *Kawa=nan ya=inúm*  
 coffee=that 3=drink

Note that *ya=* ‘3’ cannot be attached to the verb if the Agent precedes the predicate; compare(15) and(16).

- (15) *Nya=Amin inúm kawa=nan*  
 Mr.=Amin drink coffee=that
- (16) \**Nya=Amin ya=inúm kawa=nan*  
 Mr.=A. 3=drink coffee=that

As Shiohara 2000 notes, Sumbawan also has nasal verb alternates of two-place verbs; however, these are **intransitive** and can never occur with a Patient NP (the Patient must always be understood as non-specific and cannot be interpreted as definite or anaphoric). Consequently, the clitic *ya=* is never found with nasal verbs, nor is the Agent ever marked with *ling*. Syntactically, there are two types of correspondence between sentences with a basic transitive verb and those with a nasal verb: A=S, and P=S.

[1] A=S pattern

In the vast majority of verbs, the A of a basic transitive verb corresponds to the S of a nasal verb, as in:

Basic Two-place Verbs	Nasal Verbs
<i>inum</i> ‘to drink’	<i>nginom</i> ‘to drink’
<i>udit</i> ‘to smoke’	<i>ngudit</i> ‘to smoke’
<i>tunung</i> ‘to grill’	<i>nunung</i> ‘to grill’
<i>siong</i> ‘to roast’	<i>nyiong</i> ‘to roast’
<i>seru</i> ‘to fry’	<i>nyeru</i> ‘to fry’
<i>samong</i> ‘to answer’	<i>nyamong</i> ‘to answer’

A pair of examples is:

- (17) *Nya=Amin udit roko=nan*  
 Mr.=Amin smoke cigarette=that  
 ‘Mr. Amin smokes the cigarette.’
- (18) *Nya=Amin ngudit*  
 Mr.=Amin n-smoke  
 ‘Mr. Amin smokes.’

[2] P=S pattern

Shiohara’s data yielded only six pairs in which the P of a basic transitive verb corresponds to the S of a nasal verb.

### Basic Two-place Verbs

*paning* ‘to give a bath’

*selam* ‘to sink’

*putar* ‘to turn[something]

*péngko* ‘to change the direction of[animals such as horse]’

*sompo* ‘to make[someone] ride on shoulders’

*pamong* ‘to smell’

### Nasal Verbs

*maning* ‘to take a bath’

*nyelam* ‘to dive’

*mutar* ‘to spin’

*méngko* ‘to change the direction of oneself’

*nyompo* ‘to ride on[someone’s] shoulders’

*mamong* ‘to stink’, i.e. ‘to emit an unpleasant odour’

A pair of examples is:

(19) *Ina=nan paning todé=nya*  
mother=that give a bath child=3  
‘The mother gives her child a bath.’

(20) *Todé=nan maning*  
child=that n-take a bath  
‘The child takes a bath.’

### 2.3 Sasak

As in Balinese and other western Indonesian languages, verbs in Sasak may be sub-categorised as one-place, two-place or three-place, depending on the number of arguments they select. One-place verbs show the familiar unaccusative-unergative split, with unaccusatives being unmarked and generally indicating states or directed motion. Unergative verbs all take a nasal prefix (realised as a homorganic nasal before voiced consonants, as a homorganic nasal replacing voiceless consonants, or as the velar nasal *ng* before vowels and *l*) and generally describe volitional actions, emissions or manner of motion verbs. The members of the two classes do not correspond exactly to those of the two classes in Balinese (as Ahmadi 1996 notes), but the following is a representative list<sup>3</sup>:

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<sup>3</sup> Interestingly dialects of Sasak differ according to whether particular intransitive verbs are unergative or unaccusative. Thus Ngenó-Ngené has *ngigel* ‘dance (unergative)’ while Menó-Mené has *jógét* ‘dance (unaccusative)’.

Unaccusative	<i>teriq</i>	‘fall down’	Unergative	<i>nangis</i>	‘cry’
	<i>dateng</i>	‘come		<i>ngònòng</i>	‘swim’
	<i>pelai</i>	‘run’		<i>ngemòs</i>	‘smile’
	<i>gulung</i>	‘roll’		<i>ngleget</i>	‘shiver’
	<i>uléq</i>	‘return’		<i>ngutaq</i>	‘vomit’
	<i>sakit</i>	‘be ill’		<i>mandiq</i>	‘bathe’

For a one-place verb (or a non-verbal predicate) the usual word order is for the single argument of the verb to precede it, as in<sup>4</sup>:

(21) *Amaq=ne sakit*  
 father=3 ill  
 ‘His father is ill.’ (Ng)

(22) *Acòng inó berari*  
 dog that run  
 ‘That dog runs’ (Ng)

Two-place and three-place verbs occur in two construction types, as in Balinese: the zero-verb (or oral verb) construction, and the nasal-verb construction, marked by a nasal prefix. In Menó-Mené and Meriaq-Meriku the nasal construction is extremely rare, and can only be used when the Patient is non-referential. In Ngenó-Ngené all transitive verbs can occur in both construction types, as in:

(23) *Aku balé beli*  
 1SG house buy  
 ‘I buy a house’ (Ng)

(24) *Aku mbeli balé*  
 1SG N.buy house  
 ‘I buy a house’ (Ng)

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<sup>4</sup> Dialect abbreviations follow each example: Ng for Ngenó-Ngené, Mn for Menó-Mené, and Mr for Meriaq-Meriku.

In addition to the nasal prefix, these constructions differ in word order: the Patient-like argument must precede the zero verb (normally with the Agent-like argument before it), and the Agent must precede the nasal verb (with the Patient after the verb). There is also a difference in focus in these clauses with emphasis falling on the preverbal argument. Consultants sometimes translate (23) as “It is a house that I buy” and (24) as “As for me, I buy a house”. In addition, the zero verb can be used as an imperative in Sasak, but the nasal verb cannot (unlike Balinese where there is a contrast in the imperative: the nasal verb is used when the Patient is non-specific; see Artawa, Artini and Blake 1997). The Agent of a zero verb may follow the verb in Ngenó-Ngené Sasak, but this is highly marked, and impossible for a third person pronominal agent (compare Balinese where the usual order with zero verbs is for the Agent to follow the verb). Alternatively, the Agent can be expressed as the object of the preposition *isiq* (also used to mark the Agent in a passive construction – see below), and follow the verb in a prepositional phrase, as in:

- (25) *Balé*        *beli*        *isiq*        *lóq*        *Ali*  
house        buy        by        ART        Ali  
‘Ali bought a house’ (Ng)

The nasal prefixed verb is syntactically required when anaphoric linkage with omission of Agent of the two-place or three-place verb is required, as in Balinese (see 2.1 and examples (5) and (6) above). Thus, in relativisation in Ngenó-Ngené Sasak, the relative clause must contain a gap that is co-referential with the head noun; this can be an S or a P with a zero verb (see also Austin 1999 for further details and exemplification). Examples are:

- (26) *Kanak*        [*siq*        *berari*]        *inó*  
child        REL        run        that  
‘That child who is running’ (Ng)
- (27) *Buku*        [*siq*        *mèq=beli*]        *inó*  
book        REL        2=buy        that  
‘That book which you buy’ (Ng)

If the relativised NP is in A function within the relative clause then the nasal construction must be used, as in:

- (28) *Dengan*        [*siq*        *mbeli*        *buku*]        *inó*  
man        REL        N.buy        book        that  
‘That man who bought a book’ (Ng)
- (29) \**Dengan*        [*siq*        *beli*        *buku*]        *inó*  
man        REL        3SG=N.buy        book        that  
‘That man who bought a book’ (Ng)

The structure of two-place predicates in Menó-Mené and Meriaq-Meriku Sasak is somewhat different. Here the usual word order is Agent Verb Patient for both zero-verb and nasal-verb constructions. In addition, relative animacy is an important factor. When the Agent NP is inanimate it must be expressed in an *isiq* phrase after the verb, as in:

- (30) *Mu=n*        *téóp*        *kelambi=nó*        *isiq*        *angin*  
FOC=3        blow        shirt=that        by        wind  
‘The wind blew the shirt away.’ (Mn)

When the Agent is third person animate and the Patient is first or second person, then a passive construction must be used (see also examples (39) and (40) below). When the Agent is third person animate and the Patient is also third person (animate or inanimate) then the *isiq* phrase must be used to code the Agent, as in:

- (31) *Mu=n jelóq kelambi=nó isiq inaq*  
 FOC=3 dry in sun shirt=that by mother  
 ‘Mother dried the shirt in the sun.’ (Mn)
- (32) *Yaq=n gitaq kanak-kanak=nó isiq Herman*  
 FUT=3 see reduplicated-child=that by Herman  
 ‘Herman will see the children.’ (Mn)

The nasal verb in these dialects is used when the Patient-like argument is non-referential and in this construction the Patient can be omitted. The Patient of a zero verb cannot be left unexpressed. Consider the following examples:

- (33) *Kanak=nó jangke=n pancing mpaq/lévang/léndóng*  
 child=that PRES=3 catch fish/frog/eel  
 ‘The child is catching fish/frogs/eels.’ (Mn)
- (34) *Kanak=nó jangke=n mancing mpaq/lévang/léndóng*  
 child=that PRES=3 N.catch fish/frog/eel  
 ‘The child is catching fish/frogs/eels.’ (Mn)
- (35) *Kanak=nó jangke=n mancing*  
 child=that PRES=3 N.catch  
 ‘The child is catching (fish).’ (Mn)
- (36) *Ie mace*  
 3 N.read  
 ‘He is reading (a book).’ (Mn)

The nasal verb is not required for clause combination in Menó-Mené and Meriaq-Meriku dialects; any core NP (S, A, or P) can be omitted under co-reference. Thus we find relative clauses such as the following (note that a nasal verb would be required in the corresponding Ngenó-Ngené construction):

- (37) *Basóng [saq kókóq=k uiq]=nó berelòng putéq*  
 dog REL bite=1SG yesterday=DEM tail white  
 ‘The dog that bit me yesterday has a white tail’ (Mn)

wo-place zero verbs in Sasak are passivised by the addition of the prefix *te-* to the verb root (see further below for passives of applicatives). The Patient precedes the passive verb and the Agent (if expressed) follows, preceded by the preposition *isiq* ‘by’, as in:

- (38) *Aku te-pantòk isiq lóq Ali*  
 1SG PASS-hit by ART Ali  
 ‘I was hit by Ali’ (Ng)



Recall that in Menó-Mené and Meriaq-Meriku Sasak the passive is required whenever a third person Agent acts on a first or second person Patient, as in:

- (39) *Mu=k te-gitaq isiq Ali*  
 FOC=1SG PASS-see by Ali  
 ‘I was seen by Ali’ (Mn)
- (40) *\*Mu=n gitaq=k isiq Ali*  
 FOC=3 see-1SG by Ali  
 ‘Ali saw me’ (Mn)

Three place-verbs in Sasak are of two types: basic and derived. Basic three-place verbs such as *bèng* ‘give’ or *badaq* ‘tell’ take an Agent, a Recipient and Theme. Three-place applicative verbs may also be derived from two place verbs by the addition of a suffix, which introduces a beneficiary (or in Ngenó-Ngené, some other peripheral role) into the situational frame. These are discussed in detail under valence changing processes below.

The syntax of three-place verbs is an area of some difference within the dialects of Sasak. In Ngenó-Ngené both nasal and zero construction three-places occur: the Agent must precede the nasal verb and the Beneficiary/Recipient plus Theme must follow, in that order. With zero verbs either Beneficiary/Recipient or Theme can precede the verb, or both can follow. Examples of three-place zero verbs are:

- (41) *Sekenóq inó badaq amaq-ne aku*  
 matter that tell father-3SG I  
 ‘I told that matter to his father’ (Ng)
- (42) *Amaq-ne badaq sekenóq inó aku*  
 father-3SG tell matter that I  
 ‘I told that matter to his father’ (Ng)

The corresponding nasal construction is seen in:

- (43) *Aku mbadaq amaq-ne sekenóq inó*  
 I N.tell father-3 matter that  
 ‘I told his father that matter’ (Ng)

Three-place verbs can be passivised and either the Recipient or the Theme can occur as subject of the passive, as in:

- (44) *Amaq-ne te-badaq sekenóq inó isiq aku*  
 father-3SG PASS-tell matter that by I  
 ‘His father was told that matter by me.’ (Ng)
- (45) *Buku inó te-bèng adi-ng=ku isiq lóq Ali*  
 book that PASS-give yB-LINK=1SG by ART Ali  
 ‘That book was given to my younger brother by Ali.’ (Ng)
- (46) *Adi-ng=ku te-bèng buku inó isiq lóq Ali*  
 yB-LINK=1SG PASS-give book that by ART Ali  
 ‘My younger brother was given that book by Ali.’ (Ng)

In Menó-Mené and Meriaq-Meriku dialects only three-place zero verb constructions are found; here the order is Agent Verb Recipient Theme, if the Agent is first or second person, as in:

- (47) *Yaq=k aku bèng Ali buku=nó*  
 FUT=1SG I give Ali book=that  
 ‘I’ll give that book to Ali.’ (Mn)

Note that the Agent is typically represented as an enclitic on the auxiliary while the Recipient is coded by an enclitic on the verb:

- (48) *Yaq=m bèng=k kèpèng*  
 FUT=2 give-LINK=1SG money  
 ‘Will you give some money to me?’ (Mn)

If the Agent is third person and the recipient is also third person then the Agent will appear in a postposed prepositional phrase introduced by *isiq*, as in:

- (49) *Mu=n bèng inaq kelambi isiq Hèrman*  
 FOC=3 give mother shirt by Herman  
 ‘Did Herman give mother a shirt?’ (Mn)

If the Agent is third person and the Recipient is first or second person then a passive is required, as in:

- (50) *Aku te-bèng buku isiq kanak=nó*  
 1SG PASS-read book by child=DEM  
 ‘The child gave the book to me.’

Three-place nasal verbs are not possible in Menó-Mené and Meriaq-Meriku since the Recipient cannot be non-specific; the following is thus ungrammatical:

- (51) \**Yaqk mbèng Ali buku*

### 3. Valence-changing processes

Verbal valence and the number and types of arguments taken by a predicate can be changed by various derivational processes that are typically coded by affixation to the verb root. In Balinese and Sasak we find passive (exemplified above) that reduces valence, and causative and applicative that increase valence. Sumbawan has only a limited causative construction.

#### 3.1 Balinese

Increase in the number of verbal arguments is achieved by a regular process in Balinese. There are both causative constructions (which add an agent to the verb’s predicate-argument frame) and applicative constructions (where a beneficiary, locative, instrument or other role is added as a direct object of the derived verb). Both causative and applicative involve the addition of a suffix *-ang* to the verb root; causative of transitive verbs requires the addition also of a prefix *pa-*. There is a second locative applicative of intransitive and transitive verbs that is marked by the suffix *-in*.

Causative and applicative are illustrated in the following examples taken from Artawa 1994:

## 1. Causative:

### (a) intransitive verbs:

<i>ulung</i> 'fall'	<i>ulung-ang</i> 'to make something fall'
<i>mulih</i> 'go home'	<i>mulih-ang</i> 'to send someone home'

### (b) transitive verbs (limited set):

<i>tandu</i> 'cultivate'	<i>pa-tandu-ang</i> 'to let someone cultivate something'
<i>kadas</i> 'care for'	<i>pa-kadas-ang</i> 'to have s'one care for s'thing'

## 2. Applicative

### (a) intransitive verbs:

<i>teka</i>	'to come'	<i>teka-in</i>	'to visit someone'
<i>demen</i>	'to like'	<i>demen-in</i>	'to like something'
<i>ulung</i>	'to fall'	<i>ulung-in</i>	'to drop s'thing on'

### (b) transitive verbs:

#### (i) Source

<i>silih</i>	'to borrow'	<i>silih-in</i>	'to borrow from'
<i>jemak</i>	'to take'	<i>jemak-in</i>	'to take from'
<i>tagih</i>	'to get'	<i>tagih-in</i>	'to get from'

#### (ii) Locative

<i>pula</i>	'to plant'	<i>pula-n-in</i>	'to plant in'
<i>beli</i>	'to buy'	<i>beli-in</i>	'to buy in'

#### (iii) Instrumental

<i>bedbed</i>	'to tie'	<i>bedbed-ang</i>	'to tie with'
<i>sikut</i>	'to measure'	<i>sikut-ang</i>	'to measure with'

#### (iv) Benefactive

<i>beli</i>	'to buy'	<i>beli-ang</i>	'to buy for'
<i>jemak</i>	'to take'	<i>jemak-ang</i>	'to take for'

Notice that nasal constructions with these derived verbs as well as oral ones are possible. I do not know if passives also occur.

## 3.2 Sumbawan

Sumbawan has no verbal suffixes and only a limited use of the prefix *sa-* which derives transitive (two-place) predicates from intransitive predicates by adding an Agent (the old S appears as a Patient NP), eg. *matí* 'to die' *sa-matí* 'to kill'. Verbs formed with *sa-* have no corresponding nasal verb.

## 3.3 Sasak

In Sasak there are two ways that the basic argument structure of a verb can be increased: *causatives* which add an Agent argument, and *applicatives* which add a non-Agent (typically beneficiary) to a two-place verb and promote it from oblique status to function like the Goal argument of a three-place verb.

Causatives and applicatives are constructed in quite different ways in the different dialects of Sasak. We discuss Ngenó-Ngené and Menó-Mené separately.

### 3.3.1 Ngenó-Ngené

In Ngenó-Ngené both causatives and applicatives are coded by the addition of a suffix to the basic verb root. For one-place verbs the suffix *-ang* is added to the verb root, deriving a two-place verb whose Patient corresponds to the single argument of the root (the causee), as in<sup>5</sup>:

<i>butung</i>	‘stand’	<i>butung-ang</i>	‘make stand’
<i>teriq</i>	‘fall’	<i>teriq-ang</i>	‘make fall’
<i>tindóq</i>	‘sleep’	<i>tindóq-ang</i>	‘make sleep’
<i>dateng</i>	‘come’	<i>dateng-ang</i>	‘make come’

For two-place verbs, both the suffix *-ang* and a prefix *pe-* are added to the verb root to make it causative. In the resulting verb the Patient corresponds to the Patient of the root and the Agent of the root (the causee) is expressed as a Locative (preceded by the preposition *léq*), as in:

- (52) *Mòntòr=nó pe-singgaq-ang=ku léq ie isiq aku*  
 car=DEF PE-borrow-ANG=1SG at him by 1SG  
 ‘I let him borrow the car.’ (Ng)

The second valence increasing operation which applies to two-place verbs is the applicative. There are two applicatives in Ngenó-Ngené, one coded by the suffix *-ang* and one coded by the suffix *-in*. The *-ang* applicative derives a three-place verb whose Goal NP is semantically a benefactive, goal, instrument, or source. The introduced NP typically precedes the (zero) verb and an unmarked Patient follows the verb (if the applied NP is an instrument then the Patient must take a preposition, either *aning* ‘to’ or *léq* ‘in’). Consider these examples (noting the difference in the function of the verbal enclitic):

Benefactive:

- (53) *Ante beli-ang=ku buku siné*  
 2 buy-APPL=1SG book this  
 ‘I bought you this book’ (Ng)

Locative:

- (54) *Lemari=nó ku=tòlòq-ang buku*  
 cupboard=DEF 1SG=put-APPL book  
 ‘I will put in the cupboard the book’ (Ng)

Source:

- (55) *Ie singgaq-ang=ku buku*  
 3 borrow-APPL=1SG book  
 ‘I borrowed from him the book’ (Ng)

Instrument:

- (56) *Parbal ku=taliq-ang léq uman=ku*  
 dressing 1SG=tie-APPL on wound=1SG  
 ‘I tied the dressing on the wound’ (Ng)

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<sup>5</sup> See also Ahmadi 1996

The following example from the texts collected by Hooykaas (1948)<sup>6</sup> shows that the applied object can be any semantic role, here the entity of concern with a psychological predicate (see also example (63) where it is the topic of concern with a verb of locution):

- (57) *Amaq=ne siq léq rau ngimpi, impi-ang=ne*  
 father =3 REL in unirrigated.field N.dream dream-APPL=3  
*buaq keléndé=ne*  
 fruit watermelon=3  
 ‘Their father who was in the field dreamt, he dreamt about his watermelon fruit.’  
 (Amaq Walu, 30) (Ng)

The applied NP in all these examples has all the syntactic properties of a three-place verb Goal NP. Of special interest in Ngenó-Ngené Sasak is the fact that, like Balinese, a single affix *-ang* is used to code *both* causative (with one-place verbs) and applicative (with two-place verbs).

It is possible to form passive and nasal verb sentences from these applicatives — the passive applicative takes *-ang* plus the prefix *te-*, as in<sup>7</sup>:

Passive Benefactive Applicative:

- (58) *Ante te-beli-ang buku siné*  
 2 PASS-buy-APPL book this  
 ‘You were bought this book’ (Ng)

Passive Locative Applicative:

- (59) *Lemari=nó te-tòlòq-ang buku isiq aku*  
 cupboard=DEF PASS-put-APPL book by 1SG  
 ‘The cupboard will be put in the book by me’ (Ng)

Passive Source Applicative:

- (60) *Ie te-singgaq-ang buku isiq lóq Ali*  
 3 PASS-borrow-APPL book by ART Ali  
 ‘He was borrowed from the book by Ali’ (Ng)

Passive Instrument Applicative:

- (61) *Parbal te-taliq-ang léq uman=ku isiq lóq Ali*  
 dressing PASS-tie-APPL on wound=1SG by ART Ali  
 ‘The dressing was tied with on my wound by Ali’ (Ng)

In the nasal applicative construction the verb takes a nasal prefix plus the *-ang* suffix and is preceded by the Agent. Following the verb will be the applied NP and the Patient/Theme in that fixed order. Applicative verbs thus behave exactly like underived three-place predicates. An example of a nasal benefactive applicative is:

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<sup>6</sup> These texts are in Ngenó-Ngené and have been retranscribed, glossed and translated into English by Herman Suheri (see Suheri, Jukes and Austin 1999, Austin, Jukes and Suheri 2000).

<sup>7</sup> Note that passive locative applicatives and passive source applicatives do not have felicitous translations in English.

- (62) *Aku ku=mbeli-ang ante buku siné*  
 1SG 1SG=N.buy-APPL 2 book this  
 ‘I bought you this book’ (Ng)

A textual example for Hooykaas (1948) is the following:

- (63) *Jari amaq Walu be-terus lèkaq uléq*  
 become father Walu BE-then walk return  
*se-dateng=ne léq balé=ne be-terus be-ketuan léq seninaq=ne*  
 when-come=3 LOC house=3 BE-then BE-ask LOC wife=3  
*ngetuan-ang anak=ne mbé aning=ne*  
 N.ask-APPL child=3 where to=3  
 ‘Amaq Walu then walked home; when he got to his house, he questioned his wife asking about his children and where they had gone.’ (Amaq Walu, 038) (Ng)

Ngenó-Ngené Sasak also has a locative applicative construction (as in Balinese) indicated by suffixing *-in* to the two-place verb; this introduces a locative argument as the Goal with the old Patient being expressed like the (unmarked) Theme of a three-place verb. Examples are:

<i>talet</i>	‘to plant’	<i>talet-in</i>	‘to plant in’
<i>ganjel</i>	‘to wedge’	<i>ganjel-in</i>	‘to wedge in’
<i>tòlòq</i>	‘to put’	<i>tòlòq-in</i>	‘to put in’
<i>taròq</i>	‘to bet’	<i>taròq-in</i>	‘to bet on’

A sentential example is (Ahmadi 1996:75):

- (64) *Lemari inó tòlòq-in petugas inó buku*  
 cupboard that put-APPL worker that book  
 ‘The worker put books into the cupboard.’ (Ng)

A textual example from Hooykaas (1948) is:

- (65) *Lóq Te-iwóq-iwóq te-ketuan, pire isiq=ne*  
 ART name-orphan PASS-ask how.many by=3  
*gen taròq-in manòk=ne*  
 FUT bet-APPL chicken=3  
 ‘The Orphan was asked how much he would bet on his chicken.’ (Anak Iwóq, 032) (Ng)

As with the *-ang* applicative, there is also a passive locative applicative *te-V-in*, and a nasal locative applicative *N.V-in*. These function syntactically like the passive and nasal *-ang* applicatives discussed above. A textual example of a passive locative applicative from Hooykaas (1948) is:

- (66) *Malik*    *te-tantang*    *Lóq*    *Te-iwóqiwóq*    *manuk=ne*  
 again    PASS-challenge    ART    name-orphan    chicken=3
- gen*    *te-musuh-in*    *isiq*    *manuk*    *duwé-n*    *Datu*  
 FUT    PASS-match-APPL by    chicken    property-LINK    King
- ‘Again the Orphan was challenged to have his chicken matched against a chicken belonging to the King.’ (Anak Iwoq, 41) (Ng)

### 3.3.2 Menó-Mené and Meriaq-Meriku

In central-southern Sasak causatives of one-place and two-place verbs are formed by prefixing *pe-* to the root. One-place verbs become two-place (adding an Agent); two-place verbs remain two-place (the Patient of the two-place root is expressed as a locative PP in the derived causative construction). This is quite different from Ngenó-Ngené where underived Patient keeps its core status and the underived Agent is demoted to locative adjunct status. Examples are (see also Jordan 1998:149, Koch 1998:164):

One-place:

<i>téndòq</i>	‘to sleep’	<i>pe-téndòq</i>	‘to put to sleep’
<i>lampaq</i>	‘to walk’	<i>pe-lampaq</i>	‘to move’
<i>kécelep</i>	‘to sink’	<i>pe-kécelep</i>	‘to drown’

Two-place:

<i>gitaq</i>	‘to see’	<i>pe-gitaq</i>	‘to show’
<i>kenal</i>	‘to know’	<i>pe-kenal</i>	‘to introduce’

Menó-Mené has applicative constructions derived from two-place verbs (the resulting verb acting like a three-place verb); however, only benefactive applicatives are possible. The beneficiary must be cross-referenced on the verb by a portmanteau applicative-agreement morpheme:

1sg	- <i>angk</i>
1pl	- <i>at</i> ~ - <i>ant</i>
2	- <i>am</i>
3	- <i>an</i>

An example is:

- (67) *Mu=k*    *beli-am*    *buku=nó*  
 FOC-1SG    buy-APPL:2    book=this  
 ‘I bought you this book.’ (mn)

If the beneficiary is topicalised then the verb cannot carry a clitic agreeing with it and must instead occur in the third-person applied form. The following topicalised passive is an example:

(68) *Aku saq te-beli-an buku isiq kanak=nó*  
 1SG REL PASS-buy-APPL:3 book by child=this  
 'It is me who was bought a book for by this child.' (Mn)

Notice that there is nothing corresponding to the *-in* locative applicative in Menó-Mené Sasak.

#### 4. Conclusion

Our preliminary close study of the syntax and semantics of apparently similar constructions in Balinese, Sasak and Sumbawan reveals subtle differences between the three languages and also differences between dialects within Sasak. There is a cline of syntax from Balinese in the west to Sumbawan in the east through Sasak such that we find decreasing evidence for syntactic importance of the nasal construction, and reductions in range of verbal valence-changing processes as we move east. There are corresponding differences in the clitic pronominal systems of the three languages from west to east, with Balinese showing only a limited third-person clitic while Sumbawan is fully head-marking with clitics for all S and A. These eastern-most Western Malayo-Polynesian languages thus show complexities of syntax not previously reported, and reveal some of the ways that apparently closely related languages can differ and yet be the same.



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