

The Causative in Indonesian

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Abstract

In the Principle and Parameter approach, the Indonesian suffix –kan can be treated as an inflection that functions to create a causative relation between the arguments which the verb takes. Along with the treatment, the voice affixes (Vc) meng-, di-, and ter- also heads a phrase, a Voice Phrase (VcP), and a verbal sentence in Indonesian, which really has the status of a Complementizer Phrase (CP), has a VcP as its main element. Vc may take a VP or any other phrase category including a Causative Phrase (CsP) headed by the suffix –kan as its complement. A CsP can also become the complement or adjunct or a VP or another category phrase which becomes the complement of a VcP. The analysis of the suffix –kan as an inflection can explain the similarity of the pairs of sentences which are syntactically similar and have the same meaning, solve the problem of meaning which usually accompanies the discussion of the suffix, and explain the production of Indonesian sentences which contain the suffix –kan. Furthermore, the study may also provide insights for English and Indonesian course designers to develop materials which can present the topic clearly and for Indonesian and English translators to arrive at a good translation equivalent.

Keywords: *transformation grammar; causative phrase; suffix –kan, causative relation; complement; adjunct*

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Introduction

Indonesian is very rich in the use of the suffix *-kan* to show its numerous meanings. The various uses of the suffix may pose significant problems to Indonesian learners who are learning English and use English in the communication as well as English speakers to communicate in Indonesian. A thorough discussion of the suffix may provide insights to both English and Indonesian course designers

to develop learning materials for English and Indonesian students. It may also provide insights to translators to translation Indonesian sentences which uses a *-kan* verb in the predicate.

The suffix *-kan* in Indonesian is often analyzed as a derivational affix which functions to form new words. The suffix may form a new verb from another category or a new verb from another verb. The verbs

mengencangkan 'to tighten' and *menguangkan* 'to cash' are said to be formed from the adjective *kencang* 'tight' and the noun *uang* 'money' respectively with the suffix *-kan* in combination with the active voice prefix *meng-*. The verb *membelikan* 'to buy something for somebody' and *mengambilkan* 'to get something for somebody' are said to be formed from *membeli* 'to buy something' and *mengambil* 'to get something' with the suffix.

The analysis, however, fails to capture the syntactic similarity between the pairs of sentences (1) and (2) and (3) and (4).

- (1) Susan tidur.
Susan \emptyset -sleep
'Susan slept.'
- (2) Ibu menidurkan Susan.
Mom act-sleep-Cs Susan
'Mom lullabied Susan.'
- (3) Ibu membeli boneka.
Mom act-buy doll
'Mom bought a doll.'
- (4) Ibu membelikan Susan boneka.
Mom act-buy-Cs Susan doll
'Mom bought Susan a doll.'

Sentences (1) and (2) are similar in that the meaning of (1) is contained in (2), and sentence (3) is similar to sentence (4) in that the action which Mom did in (3) is contained in (4). The similarity which exists between the sentences in each pair only lies in the verb stem *tidur* 'sleep' in (1) and (2), and in the verb stem *beli* 'buy', the subject *ibu* 'mom', and the direct object *boneka* 'doll' in (3) and (4). The verb in (2) is formed by adding the active prefix (*act*) and the suffix *-kan* to the verb *tidur* 'sleep', and the verb in (4) is formed by adding the suffix *-kan* to the verb *membeli* 'buy.'

The suffix *-kan* occurs in various contexts. Son & Cole (2008) identify four different constructions with *-kan*. The suffix can occur with adjectives and inchoative verbs, with benefactives, as with an NP as the goal of a preposition, and with ditransitive verbs. In all occurrences of *-kan*, Sneddon (1996) identifies two basic functions, namely to mark an object as patient and to mark an object as a beneficiary.

The different contexts also show different

meanings. Moeliono & Dardjowidjojo (1988) identify four major meanings of *-kan*: (i) expressing an action which the stem shows like in *melakukan* 'to do' and *membicarakan* 'to discuss', (ii) causing something or somebody to become like what the stem shows like in *membebaskan* 'to free' which is derived from *bebas* 'free' and *menghabiskan* 'to finish' which is derived from *habis* 'finish', (iii) putting something or somebody in a location as expressed by the stem like in *merumahkan* 'to put somebody into a house or to discharge' which is derived from *rumah* 'house', and *memenjarakan* 'to put somebody into a jail or to jail' which is derived from *penjara* 'jail', and (iv) doing something for somebody else like in *membelikan* 'to buy something for somebody' and *menjualkan* 'to sell something for somebody'.

The various functions and meanings which *-kan* have is the result of the analysis which treats the suffix as a derivational suffix. The analyses above and also the analysis which Kaswanti Purwo (1995 & 1997) give, however, cannot explain the presence of the various meanings.

The analysis of the suffix *-kan* as an inflection can solve the problems which the analysis of the suffix as a derivation fails to solve. In the Principle and Parameter approach, the suffix *-kan* becomes the head of a causative phrase or a CsP. The analysis can show the syntactic similarity of sentences like in (1) - (4) and explain how the core meaning of Cs, that is 'causative', can be identified in various sentence patterns.

The Principle and Parameter (PP) approach as discussed in Chomsky (1981), Radford (1988), Haegeman (1991), Haegeman and Guéron (1999), and Dwijatomoko (2002; 2020) was used instead of the newer approach in transformational grammar (Chomsky 1995, Seuren 2004, Radford 2004). In the PP approach, a sentence is analyzed as a complementizer phrase (CP) which takes an inflection phrase (IP) as its complement, which in turn takes a verb phrase (VP). Different from their theory, however, the subject of a sentence is not generated as the specifier of *I*. Following Haegeman and Guéron (1999) and Zagana (2002), a sentence subject is generated

as the specifier of V.

Methodology

The object of the study on the Indonesian suffix *-kan* in this paper is Indonesian sentences which has the suffix in the predicate verb. The sentences studied are generated from the internal (I-) language (Chomsky, 1981) of the researcher. I-language is the language which exists in the mind of the speaker, and sentences in I-language are present in their d(eep)-structures. A d-structure is the configuration of elements which a head requires and is converted into the s(urface)-structure to meet the morphological and syntactic rules with the application of some transformation (T-) rules. (Chomsky, 1981; Radford, 1988; Haegeman, 1991; Haegeman & Gueron, 1999).

The formation of d-structure and s-structure follows the X-bar theory (Chomsky, 1981; Radford, 1988; Haegeman, 1991; Haegeman & Gueron, 1999). In the X-bar theory, (i) a phrase of any category (XP) branches into another phrase which functions as a specifier and X' or the the intermediate level of X, (ii) X' branches to another X' and another phrase as an adjunct which comes after the head or an attribute which comes before the head, and finally (iii) X' branches to X as the head and another phrase as its complement. Adjunction and attribution processes are recurrent.

The data used for the analysis in this paper are sentences which contain the suffix *-kan* in its various functions and meanings. The d-structures of the sentences in I-language are, then, identified, and the rules which form the d-structures are explained.

To justify the correctness of the rules and theories in this paper the principle of acceptability is used. A rule or theory is good or correct *if and only if* it produces an acceptable sentence, and any rule or theory which produces an unacceptable sentence is refuted.

To present the d-structure of a sentence, brackets will be used. The d-structure of the phrase XP, the configuration below is used.

(5) [_{XP} YP₁ X' [_{X'} X' YP₂ [_{X'} YP₃ X' [_{X'} X YP₄]]]]

The d-structure reads '(i) the phrase XP branches into YP₁ as the specifier and X', (ii) X' branches into another X' and YP₂ as the adjunct, (iii) X' then branches into YP₃ as the attribute and another X', and finally (iv) X' branches into X as the head and YP₄ as the complement.

To ease the discussion, the sentences are numbered in parenthesis consecutively from the introduction to the discussion. Thus, the sentences are sometimes only referred with their number.

Results and Discussion

The discussion in this paper falls into two major parts namely the need of a Causative Phrase (CsP) and functions of the CsP.

The Need of CsP

Along with the analysis of the suffix *-kan* as an inflection, the Indonesian voice affixes are also analyzed as inflections and head voice (Vc) phrases. A Vc may take a verb phrase (VP), a noun phrase (NP), an adjective phrase (AP), a prepositional phrase (PP), or a phrase headed by a relational suffix *-kan*, *-i*, or *-per* as its complement. Due to the limited space, the nature of Vc as an inflection will not be discussed here.

The status of Cs as an inflection which heads a phrase can be seen in sentences like (6) and (7).

- (6) Ibu menidurkan Susan.
Mom act-sleep-Cs Susan
'Mom lullabied Susan.
- (7) Susan tidur.
Susan Ø-sleep
'Susan slept.'

Sentence (6) is different from (7) in that (6) contains a phonologically realized Vc, Cs, and the NP *ibu* and whereas (7) does not. The presence of Cs in (6) also enables the presence of the NP *ibu*. The NP *ibu* does not come from inside the VcP for a Vc does not require any argument (NP). Study (8) and (9) below.

- (8a) Ibu membeli kue.
 Mom act-buy cake
 'Mom bought a cake.'
- (8b) meng- [VP ibu beli kue]
- (9a) Rita membaca surat dari
 Rita act-read letter from
 temannya.
 friend her
 'Rita read a letter from her friend.'
- (9b) meng- [VP Rita baca surat dari
 temannya]

In (8) and (9), it can be seen that Vc does not take a specifier. Vc takes the VP [VP ibu beli kue] 'mom buy a cake' in (8) and [VP Rita baca surat dari temannya] 'Rita read a letter from her friend' in (9). In (8) *kue* 'a cake' is the complement of *beli*, and *ibu* 'mom' is the specifier. In (9) *surat dari temannya* 'a letter from her friend' is the complement of *baca* 'read', and *Rita* is the specifier. In both (8) and (9), Vc does not take a specifier. Returning to (2), if the NP *ibu* is not a specifier of Vc and is not an element of the VP [Susan tidur] 'Susan sleep', then *ibu* is the specifier of Cs. The structure of (2) is therefore like the following.

- (10) [VCP - [Vc' meng- [CSP ibu [Cs' -kan [VP Susan tidur]]]]]

CsP is the complement of Vc. Cs takes the VP [Susan tidur] as its complement and the NP *ibu* 'mom' as its specifier.

Structure (10) is the d-structure of (2) or the configuration which all the heads in the sentence require. The d-structure then undergoes some transformations to satisfy some morphological and syntactic requirements of Indonesian and form the s-structure. The transformations, however, will not be discussed in this paper.

The ability of Cs to take an NP can be supported further with sentences like (11) and (13).

- (11) Ibu membelikan Rita boneka.
 Mom act-buy Cs Rita doll
 'Mom bought Rita a doll.'
- (12) Ibu membeli boneka.
 Mom act-buy doll
 'Mom bought a doll.'
- (13) Hardi membuatkan saya kopi.

- Hardi act-make Cs I coffee
 'Hardi made me coffee'
- (14) Hardi membuat kopi.
 Hardi act-make coffee
 'Hardi made coffee.'

Sentences (11) is different from (12) in the presence of Cs and the NP *Rita*. Similarly, sentence (13) is different from (14) in the presence of Cs and the NP *me*. It can be said, therefore, that the presence of Cs in (11) and (13) enables the occurrence of *Rita* and *me* respectively, or that *Rita* in (11) and *me* in (13) are an element of a phrase which Cs heads.

The Functions of CsP

As a phrase, a CsP can become the complement of a Vc, the complement of a lexical item, and an adjunct of a lexical item. The various meanings which Cs may show, which Alwi, et. al (2000) give, is due to the function of the CsP.

Complement of Vc

A CsP can become the complement of a Vc. In (15) and (16) below, CsP becomes the complement of Vc.

- (15a) Ronny menghabiskan uangnya.
 Ronny act-finish Cs money his
 'Ronny used up all his money.'
- (15b) [VCP - [Vc' meng- [CSP Ronny [Cs' -kan [VP uangnya habis]]]]]
- (16a) Mereka merobohkan rumah-rumah itu.
 they act-fall Cs house house
 the
 'They pulled down all the houses.'
- (16b) [VCP - [Vc' meng- [CSP mereka [Cs' -kan [VP rumah-rumah itu roboh]]]]]

In (15), Cs takes the NP *Ronny* as the specifier and the VP [uangnya habis] 'his money - to finish' as its complement. In (16), Cs takes the NP *mereka* 'they' as the specifier and the VP [rumah-rumah itu roboh] 'the houses - fall down' as its complement.

The characteristics of Indonesian verbs which can become the complement of a CsP which becomes the complement of a Vc can be identified. The verbs *habis* 'finish' and *roboh*

'fall down' occur with a zero form of Vc. They have the feature of [+zero form of Vc]. Study these sentences.

- (17a) *Uangnya habis untuk judi.*
 money his finish for gamble
 'All his money was used up for gambling.'
- (17b) [_{VP} - [_{Vc} Θ- [_{VP} *uangnya habis untuk judi*]]]
- (18a) *Rumah itu roboh kemarin.*
 house the fall down yesterday
 'The houses fell down yesterday.'
- (18b) [_{VP} - [_{Vc} Θ- [_{VP} *rumah itu roboh kemarin*]]]

The verbs *habis* 'finish' and *roboh* 'fall down' do not semantically select or s-select a complement or have the feature [-complement]. In a VP, they only s-select a specifier. In (17) *habis* 'finish' occurs with *uangnya* 'his money' as the specifier and *untuk judi* 'for gambling' as

an adjunct. In (18), the verb *roboh* 'fall down' occurs with *rumah-rumah itu* 'the houses' as the specifier and *kemarin* 'yesterday' as an adjunct.

All verbs which have the features [+zero form of Vc, -complement] head a VP which can become the complement of Cs in a sentence. Of the 58 verbs with a [+zero form of Vc] in the list verbs have the feature of [-complement] (Moeliono & Darwjowidjojo, 1998), 11 verbs have the feature of [+complement]. As presented in Table 1, thirty four of the verbs with [-complement] can occur as the head of a VP which can become the complement of Cs, and 13 verbs cannot occur with Cs.

Table 1
The Occurrence of Bare Verbs with CsP

	[+COMPLEMENT]	[-COMPLEMENT]
[+CAUSATIVE]	ikut 'follow', ingat 'remember', ingin 'want', jadi 'become', kenal 'be acquainted', lupa 'forget', minta 'ask', minum 'drink', mohon 'request', percaya 'believe', tunduk 'obey'	ada 'exist', bangkit 'rise', bangun 'get up', datang 'come', diam 'remain', duduk 'sit', gagal 'fail', gugur 'die', habis 'finish up', hadir 'present', hidup 'alive', hilang 'get lost', hinggap 'perch', jatuh 'fall down', karam 'sink', kasih 'like', keluar 'get up', mati 'die', muncul 'appear', mundur 'move back', naik 'rise', patah 'break', pindah 'move', pulang 'go home', putus 'break', rebah 'fall flat', roboh 'fall down', rugi 'lose', sadar 'aware', sakit 'ill', sampai 'until', sayang 'be affectionate', selesai 'be completed', sesak 'be pressed', sesat 'get lost', surut 'ebb', tampak 'appear', tampil 'appear', tanggal 'drop down', tenggelam 'sink', terbang 'fly', terbit 'appear', terjun 'fall down', tidur 'sleep', timbul 'pop up', tinggal 'stay', tumbang 'fall down', tumbuh 'grow up', turun 'go down', yakin 'confident'
[-CAUSATIVE]	benci 'hate', cinta 'love', hendak 'intend', luput 'miss', mangkir 'not come', mau 'want', mulai 'start', punya 'have', singgah 'stay', tahu 'know', turut 'join'	pergi 'go', pingsan 'fall unconscious', semaput 'be unconscious', tiba 'arrive', usai 'be finished'

The verbs *ada* 'exist' and *bangkit* 'rise up' in the list, for example, have the [-complement] feature. They can head a VP which can become

the complement of Cs like in (19) and (20).

- (19a) Anna mengadakan pesta.
Anna act-exist Cs party
'Anna held a party.'
- (19b) [_{VcP} - [_{Vc'} meng- [_{CsP} Anna [_{Cs'} -kan [_{VP}
pesta ada]]]]]
- (20a) Ucapannya membangkitkan
words his act-rise up Cs
semangat para siswa.
spirit pl. students
'His words raised the students' spirit.'
- (20b) [_{VcP} - [_{Vc'} meng- [_{CsP} ucapan [_{Cs'} -kan [_{VP}
semangat para siswa bangkit]]]]]

In (19) *ada* 'exist' forms a VP [*pesta ada*] 'a party - to exist', and the VP becomes the complement of Cs with *Anna* as specifier. In (20) *bangkit* 'rise up' forms a VP [*semangat para siswa bangkit*] 'the students' spirit - to rise up', and the VP becomes the complement of Cs with *ucapannya* 'his words' as the specifier.

Cs may also take a VP which has the feature of [+zero form of Vc]. The verb *baring* and *singkir* can occur with the Vc *ber-* and *meng-* respectively, but they can also head a VP which becomes the complement of Cs. Study the following sentences.

- (21) Rudi ber-baring di rumput.
Rudi act-lie down on grass
'The child lied down on the grass.'
- (22a) Mereka membaringkan anak itu
di rumput.
they act-lie down Cs child the
on grass
'They lay down the child on the grass.'
- (22b) [_{VcP} - [_{Vc'} meng- [_{CsP} mereka [_{Cs'} -kan [_{VP}
anak itu baring di rumput]]]]]
- (23) Prajurit-prajurit itu menyingkir.
soldier soldier the act-run
'The soldier ran away.'
- (24a) Mereka menyingkirkan prajurit-
they act-run Cs soldier soldier the
prajurit itu.
'They sent the soldiers away.'
- (24b) [_{VcP} - [_{Vc'} meng- [_{CsP} mereka [_{Cs'} -kan [_{VP}
prajurit-prajurit itu singkir]]]]]

In (21) the sentence contains a VcP [*anak itu berbaring di rumput*], and in (22), the complement of Cs is the VP [*anak itu baring di rumput*] 'the child - to lie on the grass' and the specifier is *mereka* 'they'. In (23) the sentence

contains a VcP [*prajurit-prajurit itu menyingkir*] 'the soldiers ran away', and in (24) the complement of Cs is the VP [*prajurit-prajurit itu singkir*] 'the soldiers - to run away' and the specifier is *mereka* 'they'.

The ability of Cs to take a VP as its complement is not limited to a VP which has the feature [-complement]. A verb which s-select a PP as its complement may also head a VP which becomes the complement of Cs. Study the following sentences.

- (25a) Saya mengingatkan Joko akan
tugasnya.
I act-remember-Cs Joko of
task his
'I reminded Joko his tasks.'
- (25b) [_{VcP} - [_{Vc'} meng- [_{CsP} saya [_{Cs'} -kan [_{VP}
Joko ingat pada tugasnya]]]]]
- (26a) Linda mengenalkan saya pada
Linda act-know-Cs I to
teman-nya.
friend his
'Linda introduced me to her friend.'
- (26b) [_{VcP} - [_{Vc'} meng- [_{CsP} Linda [_{Cs'} -kan [_{VP}
saya kenal pada temannya]]]]]

The complement of Cs in (25) is the VP [*Joko ingat pada tugasnya*] 'Joko - to remember his tasks'. In the VP, *pada tugasnya* 'of his tasks' is the complement of *ingat* 'remember', and *Joko* is the specifier. In (26), the complement of Cs is the VP [*saya kenal pada temannya*] 'I - to know at his friend'. *Pada temannya* 'at his friend' is the complement of *kenal* 'know', and *saya* 'I' is the specifier. Both *ingat* 'remember' and *kenal* 'know' take a PP as their complement. Other verbs which s-select a PP as their complement and which can head a VP as the complement of Cs are *aju* 'propose', *alih* 'to change', *sanding* 'sit close to', *ingat* 'remember', dan *tunduk* 'to obey'.

A verb which s-selects an NP as its complement can also head a VP which becomes the complement of Cs. In (27) and (28) below the heads of the VPs are the verbs *tembak* 'to shoot' and *pukul* 'to hit', which both can take an NP as their complement.

- (27a) Ia menembakkan pistolnya ke
he act-shoot-Cs pistol his to
udara.
air

- 'He shot his pistol to the air.'
- (27b) [_{VCP} – [_{Vc'} meng- [_{CsP} polisi itu [_{Cs'} –kan [_{VP} pistolnya tembak ke udara]]]]]
- (28a) Ia memukulkan patung itu ke
he act-strike-Cs statue the to
kepala perampok itu.
head robber the
'He struck the statue to the robber's
head.'
- (28b) [_{VCP} – [_{Vc'} meng- [_{CsP} ia [_{Cs'} –kan [_{VP} patung itu pukul kepala perampok itu]]]]]

The complement of Cs in (27) is the VP [pistolnya tembak ke udara] 'the gun – to shoot –at the air', and the complement of Vs in (28) is the VP [patung itu pukul kepala perampok itu] 'the statue – to strike – to the robber's head'.

To become the head of a VP which can function as the complement of Cs, the verbs *tembak* 'shoot' and *pukul* 'strike' have to undergo a semantic process, call it a semantic reconstruction. The verbs *tembak* 'to shoot' and *pukul* 'to strike' s-select an NP which has the [+human] feature as its specifier and an NP as its complement. In (27) the specifier of *tembak* 'shoot' and *pukul* 'to strike' are the NPs *pistolnya* 'his pistol' and *patung itu* 'the statue' which have a [-human] feature. Such NPs usually occur as the complement of a PP which become an adjunct to show an instrument like *dengan pistolnya* 'with his gun' and *dengan patung itu* 'with the statue'. Furthermore, the NPs which usually becomes a complement functions an adjunct introduced with *ke to*', namely *ke udara* 'to the air' and *ke kepala perampok itu* 'to the robber's head'.

Similar to *tembak* 'to shoot' and *pukul* 'to strike', the verbs *gores* 'to scratch', *hantam* 'to hit', *todong* 'to aim a gun', and *tusuk* 'to stab' can also head a VP which becomes the complement of Cs. The verbs should also undergo a semantic reconstruction to occur in the position.

The verb *minum* 'to drink' and *sewa* 'to rent' can also become the head of a VP which becomes the complement of Cs. Study (29) and (30) below.

- (29a) Ibu meminumkan obat itu pada

- mom act-drink-Cs drug the to
Diana.
Diana
'Mom made Diana drink the medicine.'
- (29b) [_{VCP} – [_{Vc'} meng- [_{CsP} ibu [_{Cs'} –kan [_{VP} Diana minum obat itu]]]]]
- (30a) Pak Hardi menyewakan
rumahnya pada orang
asing.
Mr. Hardi act-rent – Cs house
the to person foreign
'Mr. Hardi rent out his house to a
foreigner.'
- (30b) [_{VCP} – [_{Vc'} meng- [_{CsP} pak Hardi [_{Cs'} –kan [_{VP} orang asing sewa rumah itu]]]]]

The complement of Cs in (29) is the VP [Diana minum obat itu] 'Diana – to drink – the medicine', and the complement of Cs in (30) is the VP [orang asing sewa rumah itu] 'the foreginer – rent – the house'. The VP in (29) and (30) does not undergo a semantic reconstruction, but the NP *Diana* in (29) and the NP *orang asing itu* 'the foreigner' in (30) do not receive a syntactic case in their base position and they cannot move to any place where they can be assigned a case. They can get a nominative case when they occupy the specifier position of Vc. The position is occupied by *ibu* in (29) and *pak Hardi* 'Mr. Hardi' in (30), which are the specifiers of *-kan*. The preposition *pada* 'at' is, therefore, inserted to save the NPs, and then the new PPs become adjuncts. This process may be called an *NP lowering*.

CsP as a complement of Vc can also take AP as its complement. The complement of Cs in (31) and (32) is an AP.

- (31a) Mereka meremehkan tim lainnya.
they act-worthless-Cs team other
'They underestimate the other teams.'
- (31b) [_{VCP} – [_{Vc'} meng- [_{CsP} mereka [_{Cs'} –kan [_{AP} tim-tim lainnya remeh]]]]]
- (32a) Pemerintah menghijaukan
government act-green-Cs
daerah kering itu.
area dry the
'The government reforest the dry
area.'
- (32b) [_{VCP} – [_{Vc'} meng- [_{CsP} pemerintah [_{Cs'} –kan [_{AP} daerah kering itu hijau]]]]]

The complement of Cs in (31) is the AP [*tim-tim lainnya remeh*] 'other tem – worthless'. In the AP, *remeh* 'worthless' is the head, and *tim-tim lainnya* 'the other teams' is the specifier. In (31), the complement of Cs is the AP [*daerah kering itu hijau*] 'the dry area – green'. In the AP in (32), *hijau* 'green' is the head, and *daerah kering itu* 'the dry area' is the specifier.

Cs may also take an NP as its complement. In (33) and (34) below, the complement of Cs is an NP.

- (33a) Pak Ahmad menuangkan ceknya.
 Mr. Ahmad act -money-Cs check his
 'Mr. Ahmad cashed his check.'
- (33b) [_{VCP} - [_{Vc'} meng- [_{CSP} mereka [_{Cs'} -kan [_{NP} ceknya uang]]]]]
- (34a) Bu Martamenyekolahkan
 Ms. Marta act-school-Cs
 anaknya di Tarakanita.
 kid her in Tarakanita
 'Ms. Marta sent her kid to study in
 Tarakanita.'
- (34b) [_{VCP} - [_{Vc'} meng- [_{CSP} mereka [_{Cs'} -kan [_{NP} anaknya sekolah di Tarakanita]]]]]

The complement of Cs in (33) is the NP [*ceknya uang*] 'his check – money', and the complement of Cs in (34) is the NP [*anaknya sekolah di Tarakanita*] 'her kid – school in Tarakanita'. In (33) the head of the NP is the noun *uang* 'money', and *ceknya* 'his check' is the specifier. In (34), *sekolah* 'school' is the head of the NP, and PP *di Tarakanita* 'in Tarakanita' is an adjunct, and *anaknya* 'her kid' is the specifier.

Another category which can become the complement of Cs is a PP. Study sentence (35) and (36) below.

- (35a) Mereka mengekemukakan
 they act - to front - Cs
 pendapatnya.
 opinion his
 'They expressed his opinion.'
- (35b) [_{VCP} - [_{Vc'} meng- [_{CSP} mereka [_{Cs'} -kan [_{PP} pendapatnya ke muka]]]]]
- (36a) Polisi itu mengeluarkan
 policeman the act-to-out-Cs
 pistolnya.
 pistol his
 'The policeman took out his pistol.'
- (36b) [_{VCP} - [_{Vc'} meng- [_{CSP} polisi itu [_{Cs'} -kan

[_{PP} pistolnya keluar]]]]]

The complement of Cs in (35) is the PP [*pendapatnya ke muka*] 'his opinion – to front'. In the PP, *ke* 'to' is the head, *muka* 'front' is the complement of *ke* 'to', and *pendapatnya* 'his opinion' is the specifier. In (36), the complement of Cs is the PP [*pistolnya keluar*] 'his pistol – to - out', in which *ke* 'to' is the head, the NP *luar* 'out' is the complement, and the NP *pistolnya* 'his pistol' is the specifier. *Ke luar* 'to – out' as a head – complement construction is often written as a word *keluar* 'go out' and is considered as a verb.

The last category which can become the complement of Cs is a NumP. The complement of Cs in (37) is the NumP [*beberapa kelompok kecil itu satu*].

- (37a) Ia menyatukan kelompok-kelompok
 he act-one-Cs group group
 kecil itu.
 small the
 'He united the small groups.'
- (37b) [_{VCP} - [_{Vc'} meng- [_{CSP} ia [_{Cs'} -kan [_{PP} beberapa kelompok kecil itu satu]]]]]

In the NumP, the head is *satu* 'one', the specifier is the NP *kelompok-kelompok kecil itu* 'the small group'.

Except a preposition, all the types of the head of the phrase which become the complement of Cs has the characteristic of [-complement]. The verbs *habis* 'finish' and *roboh* 'fall down', the adjectives *remeh* 'worthless' and *hijau* 'green', and the nouns *uang* 'money' and *sekolah* 'school' have the feature [-complement].

As has been said earlier, the core meaning of Cs is 'causative'. When a CsP becomes the complement of a Vc, the construction means that the person or thing as expressed by the specifier of Cs does something so that the action or state as expressed by the phrase which becomes the complement of Cs happens. Such a meaning appears in (38) – (43).

- (38a) Ia menggagalkan perampokan itu.
 he act-fail Cs robbery the
 'He failed the robbery.'
- (38b) [_{VCP} - [_{Vc'} meng- [_{CSP} ia [_{Cs'} -kan [_{VP}

- (39a) perampokan itu gagal]]]]]
Ia menundukkan semua
he act-surrender Cs all
penantangya.
challenger his
'He conquered all his challengers.'
- (39b) [_{VP} - [_{Vc'} meng- [_{CSP} ia [_{Cs'} -kan [_{VP}
semua penantangya tunduk]]]]]]
- (40a) Ahmad menyewakan sepeda
Ahmad act-rent Cs bicycle
pada turis.
to tourist
'Ahmad rent out bicycles to tourists.'
- (40b) [_{VP} - [_{Vc'} meng- [_{CSP} Ahmad [_{Cs'} -kan [_{VP}
turis sewa sepeda]]]]]]
- (41a) Pemerintah membekukan
government act -freeze Cs
hubunganya dengan Afganistan.
relation its with Afganistan
'The government froze its relation
with Afganistan.'
- (41b) [_{VP} - [_{Vc'} meng- [_{CSP} pemerintah [_{Cs'} -
kan [_{AP} hubungannya dengan
Afganistan beku]]]]]]
- (42a) Ia menjadwalkan pertemuan itu
he act- schedule Cs meeting the
pada hari Rabu.
at day Wednesday
'He scheduled the meeting on
Wednesday.'
- (42b) [_{VP} - [_{Vc'} meng- [_{CSP} ia [_{Cs'} -kan [_{NP}
pertemuan itu jadwal pada hari
Rabu]]]]]]
- (43a) Ia menyatukan kedua paragraf itu
he act-one Cs two paragraphs the
'He combined the two paragraphs.'
- (43b) [_{VP} - [_{Vc'} meng- [_{CSP} ia [_{Cs'} -kan [_{PP}
kedua paragraf itu satu]]]]]]

In all the sentences, Cs has a causative meaning.

Complement of Additive per-

A CsP may also become the complement of *per-*, call it *additive* or *Adt* which also functions as an inflection. In (44) and (45) below, the CsP becomes the complement of *Adt*.

- (44a) Mereka mempermasalahkan
they act- Adt problem Cs
pertemuan itu.
meeting the
'They questioned the meeting.'

- (44b) [_{VP} - [_{Vc'} meng- [_{AdtP} mereka [_{Adt'} per-
[_{CSP} mereka [_{Cs'} -kan [_{NP} pertemuan itu
masalah]]]]]]]]
- (45a) Ia mempertemukan kedua
he act- Adt meet Cs two
pemuda itu.
youngsters the
'He arranged the meeting of the two
youngsters.'
- (45b) [_{VP} - [_{Vc'} meng- [_{AdtP} ia [_{Adt'} per- [_{CSP} ia
[_{Cs'} -kan [_{VP} kedua pemuda itu
temu]]]]]]]]

In (44) Cs has the NP [pertemuan itu masalah] 'the meeting - problem' as its complement. In (45) Cs has the VP [kedua pemuda itu temu] 'the two youngsters - to meet' as the complement.

Cs in a CsP which becomes the complement of *Adt* also has a causative meaning. In (44) they did something so that the meeting became a problem, and in (45) he did something so that the two young people met.

Complement of Verb

Some verbs which takes a PP as their complement may also take a CsP as their complement. The verbs *lupa* in (46) and *ingin* in (47) take a CsP as their complement.

- (46a) Rudi melupakan tugasnya.
Rudi act-forget Cs task his
'Rudi forgot his tasks on purpose.'
- (46b) [_{VP} - [_{Vc'} meng- [_{VP} Rudi [_{V'} lupa [_{CSP}
Rudi -kan tugasnya]]]]]]
- (47a) Mereka menginginkan uangnya.
they act-want- Cs money his
'They want his money.'
- (47b) [_{VP} - [_{Vc'} meng- [_{VP} mereka [_{V'} ingin [_{CSP}
mereka -kan uangnya]]]]]]

The complement of *lupa* 'forget' in (46) is the CsP [Rudi -kan tugasnya] 'Rudi -Cs - his task'. Cs in the phrase takes the NP *tugasnya* 'his task' as the complement, and the NP *Rudi* as the specifier. In (47), the verb *ingin* 'want' takes the CsP [mereka -kan uangnya] 'they Cs his money' as the complement. In the CsP, the NP *uangnya* 'his money' is the complement of Cs, and the NP *mereka* 'they' is the specifier.

The presence of *Rudi* as the specifier of Cs in (46) and *mereka* 'they' as specifier of Cs in (47) is justifiable because Cs can take a specifier. Just like when a CsP becomes the complement of a Vc, Cs can also take a specifier when it becomes the complement of a verb. The NPs are then deleted in the same as an NP which becomes the specifier of a VP like in (48).

- (48a) Saya ingin membeli bunga.
 I want act-buy flower
 'I want to buy flowers.'
- (48b) [_{VP} - [_{Vc} meng- [_{VP} saya [_V ingin [_{VP} - [_{Vc} meng- [_{VP} saya beli bunga]]]]]]]]

In (48) both *ingin* 'want' and *beli* 'to buy' have the NP *saya* 'I' as the specifier, but the specifier of *beli* is later deleted because it is the same as the specifier of *ingin* 'want'. Similarly, *Rudi* in [*Rudi* -kan tugasnya] 'Rudi Cs his task' and *mereka* 'they' in [*mereka* -kan uangnya] 'they Cs his money' are also deleted because they are the same as the specifier of *lupa* 'forget' and *ingin* 'his money' respectively.

The verbs *dengar* and *ajar* which takes an NP as their complement may also take a CsP as its complement. The verbs *dengar* 'hear' in (49) and *ajar* 'study' in (50) take a CsP as its complement.

- (49a) Saya mendengarkan musik.
 I act-hear Cs music
 'I listen to music.'
- (49b) [_{VP} - [_{Vc} meng- [_{VP} saya [_V dengar [_{CsP} saya -kan musik]]]]]]
- (50a) Ia mengajarkan teori itu pada mahasiswa semester 5.
 he act-teach Cs theory the to student semester 5
 'I taught the theory to the students of semester 5.'
- (50b) [_{VP} - [_{Vc} meng- [_{VP} ia [_V [_V ajar [_{CsP} ia -kan teori itu] pada mahasiswa semester 5]]]]]]

The complement of *dengar* 'to hear' in (49) is the CsP [*saya* -kan musik] 'I -kan music', and the complement of *ajar* 'to teach' in (50) is the CsP [*ia* -kan teori itu] 'he - kan the theory'. If a verb *s*-selects both an NP and a CsP as its complement, the NP which becomes the complement of the verb is the same as the NP

which becomes the complement of Cs. Compare (49) and (50) with (51) and (52) respectively.

- (51a) Saya mendengar musik.
 I act-hear music
 'I heard music.'
- (51b) [_{VP} - [_{Vc} meng- [_{VP} saya dengar musik]]]]
- (52a) Ia mengajar teori itu pada mahasiswa semester 5.
 he act teach theory the to student semester 5
 'He taught the theory to the student of semester 5.'
- (52b) [_{VP} - [_{Vc} meng- [_{VP} saya ajar teori itu pada mahasiswa semester 5]]]]

The complement of *dengar* 'hear' in (51) and the complement of *ajar* 'teach' in (52) are *musik* 'music' and *teori itu* 'the theory' respectively. The complement of Cs in (49) is also *musik* 'music', and the complement of Cs in (50) is also the *teori itu* 'the theory'.

The choice of a CsP as a complement instead of a PP or an NP adds a new meaning to the meaning of the verb. Study sentences (53) and (54) below.

- (53a) Anna lupa pada beberapa teman lamannya.
 Anna forget at some friends old her
 'Anna forgets some of her old friends.'
- (53b) Anna melupakan beberapa teman lamanya.
 Anna act-forget-Cs some old her
 'Anna forgets some of her old friends.'
- (54a) Rita mendengar musik.
 Rita act-hear music
 'Rita heard music.'
- (54b) Rita mendengarkan musik.
 Rita act-hear Cs music
 'Rita listened to music.'

The forms *lupa* 'forget' and *mendengar* 'hear', which have a PP and an NP respectively as the verb complement, show an unintentional action, whereas the forms *melupakan* 'forget' and *mendengarkan* 'listen', which have a CsP as the verb complement show an intentional

action. The 'intention' meaning appears because the forms also carry a causative meaning.

Adjunct of Verb

A CsP may also become an adjunct of a verb which s-selects an NP as its complement. The verb *beli* 'to buy' and the verb *baca* 'to read', for example, take an NP as their complement. Study (55) and (56) below.

- (55a) Rita membeli baju.
 (55b) [_{VC}P - [_{VC}' meng- [_{VP} Rita beli baju]]]
 act - Rita buy dress
 'Rita bought a dress.'
 (56a) Ibu membaca cerita.
 (56b) [_{VC}P - [_{VC}' meng- [_{VP} ibu baca cerita]]]
 act- Mom read story
 'Mom read a story.'

The complement of *beli* 'to buy' in (55) is *baju* 'a shirt', and the complement of *baca* 'to read' in (56) is *cerita* 'a story'. A CsP can be added to the VP in (55) and (56) as an adjunct to form (57) and (58) respectively.

- (57a) Rita membelikan Hardi baju.
 (57b) [_{VC}P - [_{VC}' meng- [_{VP} Rita [_V' [_V' beli baju] [_{CSP} Rita -kan Hardi]]]]]
 act- Rita buy dress Rita Cs
 Hardi
 'Rita bought Hardi a shirt.'
 (58a) Ibu membacakan Joko cerita.
 (58b) [_{VC}P - [_{VC}' meng- [_{VP} ibu [_V' [_V' baca cerita] [_{CSP} ibu -kan Joko]]]]]
 act- Mom read story
 Mom Cs Joko
 'Mom read Joko a story'

The Csp [Rita -kan Hardi] is an adjunct of *beli* 'buy' in (57), and the CsP [ibu -kan Joko] is the adjunct of *baca* 'read' in (58).

A CsP which becomes an adjunct of a verb

which s-selects an NP as its complement shows a benefactive meaning. It shows that the agent does the action for the person as indicated by the complement of Cs. In (57) Rita bought a shirt for Hardi, and in (58) Mom read a story for Joko.

As has been discussed above, the general meaning of the suffix *-kan* or Cs is 'causative'. The meaning may vary slightly in the context. It can show a pure causative meaning, an intentional meaning, or a benefactive meaning. It shows a pure causative meaning when a CsP becomes the complement of a Vc or Adt, an intentional meaning when a CsP becomes a complement of a verb, and a benefactive meaning when it becomes an adjunct of a verb.

The occurrence of a CsP as a complement of a Vc, Adt, or verb or the adjunct of a verb is determined by the semantic feature of the verb or the lexical item which becomes the head of the phrase with which Cs is to be attached. A CsP becomes a complement of a Vc and Adt if the verb or lexical item has the feature of [-complement] like *habis* 'finish', *roboh* 'fall down', *jatuh* 'fall down', *kecil* 'small', *uang* 'money', and *satu* 'one', (ii) if the verb has the feature of [+PP/complement] like *ingat* 'remember' and *lupa* 'forget', or (iii) if the verb can undergo a semantic reconstruction like *tembak* and *tusuk* or an NP lowering like *minum* 'drink' and *sewa* 'rent'. A CsP becomes the complement of a verb if the verb can take a PP or an NP as a complement. The verbs which can take a CsP as their complement are only *lupa* 'forget', *ingin* 'want', *dengar* 'hear', and *lihat* 'see'. Finally, a CsP can become an adjunct of a verb if the verb can take an NP as its complement. The distribution of a CsP can be summarized in Table 2.

Table 2
The Functions of the Casative Cs

No.	Functions	Syntactic Features	Examples
1.	Complement of Verb	+Verb -COMPLEMENT	<i>bangkit</i> 'rise up', <i>datang</i> 'come', <i>tidur</i> 'sleep', <i>habis</i> 'finish', <i>roboh</i> 'fall down', <i>jalan</i> 'walk', <i>alir</i> 'flow'
		+Verb +PP/Complement	<i>aju</i> 'put forward', <i>alih</i> 'change', <i>sanding</i> 'sit/stand close to'
		+Verb +NP/Complement + Semantic Reconstruction	<i>tembak</i> 'shoot', <i>tulis</i> 'write', <i>gores</i> 'scratch', <i>pukul</i> 'hit'
		+Verb +NP/ Complement +Semantic Reconstruction	<i>minum</i> 'drink', <i>ajar</i> 'study/learn', <i>sewa</i> 'rent', <i>pinjam</i> 'borrow'
		-Verb	<i>sakit</i> 'sick', <i>lebar</i> 'wide', <i>buku</i> 'book' <i>rumah</i> 'house', <i>satu</i> 'one', <i>ke tengah</i> 'to the middle', <i>ke muka</i> 'to the front'
2.	Complement of Vc	+Verb +NP/Complement +NP lowering	<i>dengar</i> 'hear'
		+Verba +FP/Complement	<i>lupa</i> 'forget', <i>perlu</i> 'need', <i>ingin</i> 'want'
3.	Adjunct of Verb	+Verb +PP/ Complement	<i>percaya</i> 'believe'
		+Verb +NP/ Complement	<i>ambil</i> 'take', <i>beli</i> 'buy', <i>buat</i> 'make', <i>baca</i> 'read', <i>masak</i> 'cook', <i>bawa</i> 'bring', <i>buka</i> 'open'

From the table, it can be seen that CsP has three functions namely as the complement of V, a complement of Vc, and the adjunct of V. The three different functions explain the three different meanings which occur with a *-kan* verb in Indonesian.

Conclusion

The treatment of the Indonesian affix *-kan* as an affix which head a phrase (CsP) can solve the problems which appear in the discussion of the affix as a derivation which functions to form new verbs. The theory can explain the different meanings which the affix seems to show. The different meanings appear because of the different syntactic function which the affix performs. Furthermore, the theory can also explain the syntactic similarity which pairs of Indonesian sentences show.

For the discussion of the *-kan* suffix to be useful for practical purposes, further studies need to be conducted. A study on the comparison Indonesian sentences with the different uses of the suffix and their equivalents in English will be useful for learning and teaching purposes, and a study on the translation of Indonesian sentences with *-kan* may provide helps to translators.

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