Plural infix *-ar-* in Sundanese

FURIHATA Masashi (Institute of Global Studies, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)

Asako Shiohara (ILCAA, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies)

This study deals with the plural infix *-ar-* in Sundanese. This infix typically is attached to verbal bases and indicates plurality (e.g., *d-ar-iuk* 'to sit (plural agent)'< *diuk* 'to sit', *d-ar-atang* 'come (plural agent)' < *datang* 'come', *b-ar-odas* 'white (of plural entities)' < *bodas* 'white', *t-ar-iis* 'cold (of plural entities)'< *tiis* 'cold'). Here, we will attempt to answer the following three questions.

(i) With which constituent does the infix exhibit agreement in undergoer voice, grammatical subject or agent? There is no consensus among the previous studies on this point; Müller-Gotama (2001: 20-21) implies that the infix indicates the subject's plurality, while Hardjadibrata (1985: 15) states that it indicates a 'multiactant', that is, more than one agent. But they both do not give examples of undergoer voice (UV), which should be crucial to this discussion. Robins (1959: 368) argues that the *-ar-* infixed verb concords to subject (N_1, in his term), but gives Sentence (a), in which *-ar-* indicates plural agent in UV clause, as one of the exceptions. (He gives example (1), as UV (passive in his term) counterpart of (2).)

(1) *beas*   *gɤs*   *di-b-ar-ɤli*   *ku*   *uraŋ*
     rice   already   UV-ar.buy   by   1PL
     'Rice has been bought by us'.

Cf. (2)   *uraŋ*   *gɤs*   *m-ar-ɤli*   *beas*
             1PL   already   AV-ar.buy   rice
             'We have been buying rice'.

(ii) As Robins (1959) suggests, the indication of plurality by *-ar-* is not obligatory. So, in which situation does the infix occur? Are there any semantic conditions in which it occurs/ tends to occur?

(iii) The suffix may occur with other than verbal base (e.g., *b-ar-udak* 'children' < *budak* 'child', *m-ar-aneh* 'you' < *maneh* 'you all'). Does this type of derivation occur just idiosyncratically with a limited number of bases, or does it occurs regularly with some semantic types of base?

This study is mainly based on elicitational sessions with Sundanese consultants in Tokyo, but novels written in Sundanese have also been used as a source, in particular to find an answer to question (ii) above.

References

Hardjadibrata, R.R. 1985. *Sundanese language; Syntax*. Canberra: Department of Linguistics. Research

School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.

Müller-Gotama, Franz. 2001. *Sundanese*. München : LINCOM Europa.

Robins, R. H. 1959. Nominal and Verbal Derivation in Sundanese. *Lingua* 8. pp. 337-369.