

## Causative-Applicative-Transitivizing Markers in Sundanese, Madurese and Javanese: A Diachronic Perspective

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Like many other languages across the archipelago, the languages of the Javansphere typically possess one or more *CAT markers*: suffixes or enclitics whose range of functions includes those of Causative, Applicative and Transitivity. Several of these CAT markers are phonological look-alikes of the form  $(V)CV(n)$  where *C* represents a velar stop (*k* or *g*), e.g. Sundanese *kin*, Madurese *agi* and Javanese *ake* (Central Javanese Ngoko) and *akən* (Central Javanese Kromo). This paper examines the etymologies of these forms, and argues that in spite of their phonological resemblances, they derive from different diachronic sources, involving at least the following two paths of grammaticalization: (a) dative > CAT; and (b) 'give' > CAT.

The Sundanese CAT marker *kin* is argued to be related to the dative marker *ka*; however, the relationship between the two forms is archaic, resulting from a process of dative-to-CAT grammaticalization that took place in a language ancestral not only to Sundanese but also to proto-Malayic and other Western Malayo-Polynesian languages. Thus, Sundanese *kin* and *ka* are argued to be cognate with the corresponding forms in Malayic languages such as, for example, Pontianak Malay *kan* and *kə*.

In contrast, the Madurese CAT marker *agi* does not seem to come from the same source: the change from *k* to *g* would be unexpected, as would the presence of the high vowel *i*. Instead, Madurese *agi* is most likely derived from *bagi* 'give', through a process of 'give'-to-CAT grammaticalization that is commonly attested throughout the region, as, for example, in Kuala Lumpur Malay, where it also involves the same form *bagi*. The loss of the initial labial *b* also represents a natural phonological process plausibly associated with grammaticalization.

The CAT forms in Javanese present a more complex picture involving considerable dialectal variation and a multiplicity of forms associated with various inflectional features. Amidst this diversity, however, two Central Javanese forms stand out as potentially related to the Sundanese and Madurese forms: Ngoko *ake* and Kromo *akən*. Three possible sources suggest themselves for these two forms: (a) borrowing from Malay; (b) inheritance from the same archaic source as the corresponding forms in Sundanese and Malayic; and (c) grammaticalization from a source related to Central Javanese *ke'i* 'give', in a development parallel to that of Madurese. This paper argues tentatively for the latter possibility, pointing to a striking resemblance between the Javanese forms and those in Mentawai, where the same form *ake?* functions both as CAT marker and as content word 'give'.