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ROGER G. TOL

SOME ORDER IN ORDERING: NOTES ON *SURUH*-CONSTRUCTIONS IN 17TH-CENTURY MALAY*

Introduction

In 17th-century Malay *suruh*-constructions a key role is played by the form of the second verb. It is this verb that determines the construction in general, and the form of the first verb and the semantic function of some of the constituents of the construction in particular.

Hasan menyuruh Ali memanggil Fatimah, "Hasan orders Ali to call Fatimah", is one example out of several of the possible types of *suruh*-construction. The diversity of the morphological phenomena connected with the two verbs that form the nucleus of this construction and the mobility of the latter's constituents render these constructions rather complex. Furthermore, *suruh*-constructions seem to belong to those syntactical devices that have undergone change in the course of time. A detailed comparative description of these constructions may allow us to gain an important insight into the development of Malay syntax. As a first step, this case-study attempts to provide a basic description of *suruh*-constructions from the 17th century. For the linguistic usage in the surviving manuscripts of that period represents the oldest stage of Malay that furnishes sufficient material to serve as a basis for linguistic research. From among the many traditional Malay texts we must be careful to select those that faithfully reflect 17th-century linguistic usage. This implies that we should use strictly only texts that have been handed down in 17th-century manuscripts. Consequently we have to leave out of consideration texts such as the *Sejarah Melayu*, which undoubtedly, on the basis of philological/historical evidence, originated in the 17th century or earlier but have been handed down to us only in relatively recent copies (mostly 19th-century). If we take into account the Malay tradition whereby the copyist was at the same time co-author,

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these relatively recent copies are most likely to have been adjusted linguistically to the usage of the copyists' time.

For practical reasons I have used as corpus for my investigation (for which see the list of sources used at the end of this article) only those text editions that are based on manuscripts from the 17th century, with the restriction that only prose works have been consulted, the language of poetic works like *syair* being determined largely also by rhyme and/or metre. With the exception of *HMH*, which, contrary to the editor's stated intention (*HMH*:91), constitutes a newly "created" hybrid text, each of these editions is based on a single manuscript. In cases where other manuscripts have been used as well, the Apparatus Criticus of the relevant work was consulted in order to reconstruct the original reading of the 17th-century manuscript(s) (in practice, this was mainly the case with *HMH*).

Not only is the dating of these texts certain, but also (in most cases) their place of origin: the majority are Acehnese in origin.

I I have deliberately restricted my choice to constructions with *suruh*, leaving out of consideration other imperative verbs such as *titah*, "to speak (of a king), to command", etc., because these verbs do not have the same morphological valence and therefore do not behave in the same way. For example, the form *menitah* does not occur, the *meN*-form of this verb always taking the suffix *-kan*, viz *menitahkan*. *Titah* for that reason belongs to a different category from *suruh*, so that the inclusion of *titah* in the present discussion would hardly suit our purposes.

It should be added that the texts do not indicate the existence of any semantic difference between *suruh* and *suruhkan*. Rather, semantic differentiation is effected by the sentence structure: if there is a second verb present, *suruh(kan)* assumes the meaning "to order"; if there is no such second verb, it has the meaning "to send", and is mostly followed by an object like *utusan*, "messenger".

II 'A *menyuruh* B *memanggil* C' is a schematic example of a simple *suruh*-construction. Any such *suruh*-construction contains two verbs, V1 and V2, of which V1 is always *suruh* (*menyuruh*, *disuruh*). In addition the following constituents may occur, without prepositions:

- a) Actor 1, i.e. the actor of V1
- b) Recipient 1 = Actor 2, i.e. the Recipient of V1, who is at the same time the Actor of V2¹
- c) Goal 2, i.e. the Goal of V2.

For the sake of clarity I will use the following symbols for these latter constituents:

- Actor 1 : A
- Recipient 1 = Actor 2: B
- Goal 2 : C

A is either known from the context or is explicitly mentioned in the construction.

B is sometimes irrelevant, in other cases unknown, and for that reason is often not present in the construction.

C may occur only with a transitive V2.

III The quest for order in seemingly chaotic phenomena, which in linguistics is the attempt to discover the rules that govern linguistic usage, in many ways resembles the search for the clues that will solve the puzzle of Rubik's magic cube: in either case one does not know how or where to start. A variety of starting-points also presents itself as regards the object of the present study. So one might approach the analysis of the construction in terms of the number of its constituents, of the form of V1, or of the sequence of the constituents. Descriptions from these different points of departure proved unsatisfactory to me, however, as the regularities – if there were any at all – turned out to be extremely complex. Only after adopting the approach that will be described below did a clear regularity of the phenomena emerge. That is why preference has been given to this approach.

In my opinion there are two important factors at work here that both stress the key function of the second verb in *suruh*-constructions:

- a) The presence or absence of B in the construction. If B is mentioned, then V2 is prefixed with the active verb prefixes *meN-* or *ber-*, as follows:

- (1) Maka anak raja empat itupun menyuruhkan
 pt A: child king four that-pt V1: order
 hulubalangnya empat orang dengan balatentaranya
 B: officer-their four person with army-their
 menungguhi jalan raya itu
 V2: guard C: road main that

“The four princes ordered their respective officers with their army to guard the main road”
 (HSR:152)

- (2) Maka sultanpun menyuruhkan segala hulubalang dan
 pt A: sultan-pt V1: order B: (plur) officer and
 segala rakyat berengkap
 (plur) militia V2: equipped

“The sultan ordered his officers and soldiers to get ready”
 (HA:78)

- b) The prefixing of V2.
 (i) In relation to B – with unprefixing V2, there is no B mentioned without a preposition:

- (3) Maka disuruhnya palu genderang
 pt V1: be-ordered-A: he V2: beat C: signal-drum
 "The drums were ordered by him to be beaten" (HMH:208)
- (ii) In relation to the suffixing of V1 – unprefixed V2 co-occurs only with non-suffixing V1. So if the second verb is unprefixed, then the first verb appears always as *menyuruh*, *disuruh* or *suruh*, never as *menyuruhkan*, *disuruhkan* or *suruhkan*, as in (3) and:
- (4) Maka Sri Ramapun menyuruh ambil
 pt A: Sri Rama-pt V1: order V2: take
 kelembak
 C: (k.o. fragrant wood)
 "Sri Rama ordered that *kelembak* should be fetched" (HSR:180)

These rules cannot be reversed, e.g.:

- (5) Lalu Zamanjadi menyuruh mengambil angkatan
 then A: Zamanjadi V1: order V2: take C: fleet
 "Then Zamanjadi ordered that a fleet should be fetched"
 (HTH:161)

This particular exemplary sentence shows that there exist:

- ad a) constructions with prefixed V2, but without a B,
 ad b) (i) constructions without B but with prefixed V2,
 ad b) (ii) constructions with unsuffixed V1, but with prefixed V2.

So, schematically, the situation is as follows:

$$\begin{array}{lcl} +B & \longrightarrow & meN-/ber-V2 \\ \emptyset-V2 & \longrightarrow & \emptyset B \text{ and } V1-\emptyset \end{array}$$

These rules will be discussed in some detail in section VI.

IV Proceeding from the form of V2, the possible configurations of the nucleus of the construction can be enumerated as follows:

- 1.a menyuruh meN-V2²
- b (i) disuruh meN-V2
- (ii) kusuruh meN-V2³
- c suruh meN-V2
- 2.a menyuruh di-V2⁴
- b (i) disuruh di-V2
- (ii) kusuruh di-V2
- c suruh di-V2
- 3.a menyuruh V2⁴
- b (i) disuruh V2
- (ii) kusuruh V2
- c suruh V2

Here *a* constitutes the subject-focus forms of V1, which focuses mainly on A;

b contains the object-focus forms of V1, which do not focus mainly on A. Where A is the third person, the *di*-form of V1 is used. If A is a first or second person, it is indicated by an enclitic preceding the basic form of V1 (i.e. *suruh*);

c represents the imperative forms of V1.

V The frequency of the above (sub)categories is not the same. Examples of category 2. in particular, that is, constructions with a passive second verb, are extremely rare, if not non-existent. The remaining categories are fairly well represented. The majority of the constructions are classifiable under categories 1.a, containing cases such as *menyuruh memanggil*, and 3.b, including cases as *disuruh panggil*.

My 17th-century material was found to contain a few hundred examples of *suruh*-constructions, of which only a small percentage can be presented in this study. For purely practical reasons, no attempt has been made to treat the material statistically. Rare or unique cases are nevertheless marked as such.

VI In this section the various types of the construction under discussion will be presented and discussed in the order as given in section IV. In order to give an idea of the variety within the different (sub)categories, the discussion will be illustrated with quite a number of examples. Special attention will be given to:

- 1) the sequence of the constituents,
- 2) the mention or non-mention of constituent B,
- 3) the suffixing with *-kan* of V1.

1.a (*menyuruh meN-V2*)

- (6) Jika hamba duduk menjadi khalifah, niscaya alpa
 if [A]: I sit be(come) caliph surely neglect
 daripada menyuruhkan berbuat baik
 as-regards V1: order V2: do good

“If I were to become caliph, I’d surely be lax in giving orders about good conduct” (HMH:150)

- (7) Maharaja Rawanapun datang (. . .) lalu memberi titah
 [A]: king Rawana-pt come then give word
 menyuruh berbuat perarakan
 V1: order V2: make C: processional-car

“King Rawana came (. . .) and ordered a processional car to be made” (HSR:145)

- (8) Suaminya menyuruh ia mesyuarat dengan dua
 A: husband-her V1: order B: she V2: confer with two

ekor burungnya itu
(clasfr) bird-her that

"Her husband ordered her to take counsel with those two birds of hers" (HBB:219)

- (9) Dengan seketika itu juga rajapun menyuruh
with same-moment that too A: king-pt V1: order

memanggil segala raja-raja
V2: call C: (plur) kings

"At that very moment the king ordered that the other kings be summoned" (HSR:139)

- (10) Maka raja Syah Mahmudpun menyuruh orang
pt A: king Syah Mahmud-pt V1: order B: person

menga(m)bil gajah
V2: take C: elephant

"King Syah Mahmud ordered someone to fetch an elephant" (HA:69)

- (11) Haruskah aku menyuruhkan dikau berbuat kebaktian
proper-pt A: I V1: order B: you V2: do C: piety

"Is it proper for me to order you to perform acts of piety?" (Burda:48)

- (12) Maka maharaja Rawana menyuruh membuat lung
pt A: king Rawana V1: order V2: make C: coffin

besi pada segala pandai
iron to B: (plur) craftsman

"King Rawana ordered the blacksmiths to make an iron coffin" (HSR:147)

- (13) Maka dilihat oleh kapitan Hitu dari kapal lalu
pt be-seen by [A]: captain Hitu from ship then

menyuruh turun kepada orang itu
V1: order V2: disembark to B: person that

"When it was seen from his ship by the captain of Hitu, he ordered the man to disembark" (HTH:191)

Sequence

(6)-(11). The sequence of the constituents here is *A meN-V1 B meN-V2 C*. This is in conformity with the fact that subject-focus forms are usually preceded by the subject, and compulsorily followed by the object.

(12)-(13). Sometimes B is mentioned at the end of the construction. It is then marked by the preposition *(ke)pada*, viz. *A meN-V1 meN-V2 C (ke)pada B*.

1.b (i) (*disuruh meN-V2*)

- (14) Maka disuruhkan ayahanda baginda sultan itu
 pt V1: be-ordered A: father B: majesty sultan that
 mengaji
 V2: recite-the-Koran

"His majesty the sultan was ordered by his father to recite the Koran" (HA:115)

- (15) Maka disuruhnya dua orang
 pt V1: be-ordered-A: he B: two person
 berkuda
 V2: ride-on-horseback

"Two persons were ordered by him to ride on horseback" (HMH:157)

- (16) Maka perempuan tuha itupun disuruhnya pergi
 pt B: woman old that-pt V1: be-ordered-A: he V2: go
 "The old woman was ordered by him to go" (HBB:227)

- (17) Maka disuruh ia masuk oleh amīr
 pt V1: be-ordered B: he V2: enter by A: commander
 al -mu'minīn Usman ke Madinah
 the faithful Usman to Medina

"He was ordered by Usman, the Commander of the Faithful, to enter Medina" (HMH:153)

- (18) Maka oleh amīr al -mu'minīn Umar disuruh
 pt by commander the faithful Umar be-ordered
 panggil bendahari maka oleh baginda Umar
 call [B]: treasurer pt by A: majesty Umar
 disuruh membuka pintu khazanah
 V1: be-ordered V2: open C: door treasury

"It was ordered by Umar, the Commander of the Faithful, that the treasurer should be called. Thereupon Umar ordered him to open the door of the treasury" (HMH:139)

- (19) Maka pada ketika itu disuruh penghulu
 pt at moment that V1: be-ordered A: headman

pendekar Johan °Alam belayam pedang
fighter B: Johan °Alam V2: brandish C: sword

“At that moment Johan °Alam was ordered by the chief fighter to brandish a sword” (HA:151)

- (20) Kerana dilihatnya istiḍād mereka itu (. . .)
because be-seen-he potentiality [B]: they that

maka disuruhnya berbuat °ibādat
pt V1: be-ordered-A: he V2: do C: act-of-devotion

“As he sees their potentialities (. . .) he is ordering them to perform acts of devotion” (Sy:323)

- (21) Maka maharesi disuruhkan betara Indra
pt B: sage V1: be-ordered A: (title) Indra

menunggui tasik
V2: guard C: lake

“The sage was ordered by betara Indra to guard the lake” (HSR:197)

Sequence

B does not have a fixed position, but occurs in the following positions:

di-V1 A B meN-V2 C (14, 15, 19)

B di-V1 A meN-V2 C (16, 20, 21).

If A does not immediately follow V1, it is marked by *oleh*, viz.:

di-V1 B meN-V2 oleh A (17)

B oleh A di-V1 meN-V2 (18).

1.b (ii) (*kusuruh meN-V2*)

- (22) Mari kita suruh berbuat sebuah lung
let A: we V1: order V2: make C: one-clasfr coffin

besi
iron

“Let us give orders for an iron coffin to be made” (HSR:147)

- (23) Mana kera kecil yang kita suruhkan menyapu
where monkey little B: that A: we V1: order V2: sweep

“Where is the little monkey we ordered to sweep?” (HSR:189)

- (24) Aku kamu suruh bersetia
B: I A: you V1: order V2: be-loyal

“You ordered me to be loyal” (HMH:164)

- (25) Sekarang orang itu hamba suruhkan pergi⁵
 now B: person that A: I V1: order V2: go
 "Now I order that man to go" (HSR:194)
- (26) Hai Sri Rama, jika aku tiada kausuruh
 oh Sri Rama if B: I not A: you-V1: order
 menyembah, maulah aku hidup
 V2: submit-to want-pt I live
 "Oh, Sri Rama, if you will not order me to submit to you, I want to live" (HSR:157)
- (27) (Hai Sri Rama, jika aku tiada kausuruh menyembah, maulah
 aku hidup) jika kausuruh menyembah.
 [B]: I live if A: you-V1: order V2: submit-to
 engkau, matilah aku
 C:you die-pt I
 "(Oh, Sri Rama, if you will not order me to submit to you, I want to live), but if you order me to do so, I'd rather die" (HSR:157)
- (28) Hai Hanuman . . . hendak kusuruh melihat
 oh [B]: Hanuman intend A: I-V1: order V2: see
 Sita Dewi
 C: Sita Dewi
 "Oh, Hanuman, . . . I want to order you to look for Sita Dewi" (HSR:185)

Sequence

The constituents have fixed positions, as follows: (B) A-V1 meN-V2 C.

I.c (suruh meN-V2)

This formation is not frequent, except in L/H, where it is used as the equivalent of "let".

- (29) Ya Bilal! Pergi engkau panggilkan olehmu
 oh Bilal go you call by-[A]: you
 sahabatku keempatnya suruh masuk ia
 companion-my four-the V1: order V2: enter B: they
 "Bilal! Go and call my four companions, (and) tell them to come in" (HMH:126)
- (30) Maka suruh pula kejuruan yang dari Portugal
 pt V1: order then B: expert that from Portugal

itu memacu kuda
that V2: spur C: horse

“Then order the Portuguese horseman to set spurs to his horse”
(HA:140)

- (31) Maka titah maharaja Rawana: suruh minta
pt word king Rawana V1: order V2: ask-for
kain pada Sita Dewi⁶
C: cloth at Sita Dewi

“King Rawana spoke: ‘Order (someone) to ask Sita Dewi for cloths’ ”
(HSR:190)

In this category 1, where the second verb has active verb prefixes, B is mentioned in most cases, or is known from the context. But there are also examples of constructions without any B (especially under 1.a, namely 6, 7, 9, 22 and 31).

1.c, only occurring with transitive V2, is not important for the constructions under 1.

It is remarkable that, except in 1.c⁷, V1 is apparently free to occur with or without the suffix *-kan*. It is not clear to me whether there is any syntactical rule underlying this feature. Probably *suruh* and *suruhkan* may be considered as being synonymous in this category.

2. (*di*-V2)

These formations are extremely scarce⁸. Only the following two cases have been found.

- 2.a (32) Lagi aku suruh⁹ orang beta
furthermore A: I V1: order B: person I
dijualkan kamu semuanya
V2: be-sold you C: all-it

“Furthermore, I shall order my people to sell all kinds of things to you”
(L/H:40)

- 2.b (33) Maka disuruh raja kanak-kanak itu
pt V1: be-ordered A: king C: children that
dipanggil
V2: be-called

“It was ordered by the king that the children be called”
(HSR:162)

3.a (*menyuruh* V2)

- (34) Maka Syah ^cAlampun sukacita, maka antusan
pt [A]: Syah ^cAlam-pt glad pt [C]: envoy

itupun dikaruniai persalinan dan memeri titah
that-pt be-bestowed robes-of-honour and give word

menyuruh panggil
V1: order V2: call

"Syah ^cAlam felt happy, bestowed robes of honour on the envoys
and gave orders for them to be called" (HA:137)

- (35) Maka sultan itu (...) menyuruh urapkan bau-bauan
pt [A]: sultan that V1: order V2: rub C: perfumes

kepada tubuh baginda itu
to body majesty that

"The sultan ordered that his body should be rubbed with
perfumes" (HA:111)

- (36) Maka sultan ^cAlipun pada ketika itu jua menyuruh
pt A: sultan ^cAli-pt at moment that too V1: order

pasang bedil
V2: put-in-use C: cannon

"At that moment sultan ^cAli ordered that the cannon should be
fired" (HA:76)

- (37) Maka tuanputeripun menyuruh kanak-kanak itu
pt A: princess-pt V1: order C: children that

bawa ke hadapan Mandudari
V2: bring to facing Mandudari

"The princess ordered the children to be brought before Man-
dudari" (HSR:145)

- (38) Maka Sri Ramapun menyuruh sandar Bali
pt A: Sri Rama-pt V1: order V2: support C: Bali

Raja pada Sugriwa
Raja to B: Sugriwa

"Sri Rama ordered Sugriwa to prop Bali Raja up" (HSR:180)

Sequence

The usual order seems to be: *A meN-V1 V2 C* (35, 36). This same order is retained in the unique case of (38), where B is mentioned marked with *pada*.

The two remaining examples also represent unique cases, namely:

(A) (C) *meN-V1 V2* (34)

A meN-V1 C V2 (37).

3.b (i) (*disuruh* V2)

- (39) Lalu dilihat maharesi Kala sebuah lung besi.
 then be-seen [A]: sage Kala [C]: one-clasfr coffin iron
 Maka disuruh panggul
 pt V1: be-ordered V2: carry
 "Then the sage Kala saw an iron coffin and ordered that it should be carried" (HSR:147)
- (40) Maka Umar Alipun membawa Umar Sa^cd Maisum
 pt Umar Ali-pt bring [C]: Umar Sa^cd Maisum
 kepada Muhammad Hanafiyyah, maka disuruh
 to Muhammad Hanafiyyah pt V1: be-ordered
 Muhammad Hanafiyyah sulakan
 A: Muhammad Hanafiyyah V2: impale
 "Umar Ali took Umar Sa^cd Maisum to Muhammad Hanafiyyah, who gave orders for him to be impaled" (HMH:220)
- (41) Maka disuruhnya perbuat pada suatu
 pt V1: be-ordered-A: he V2: make at a
 tempat sebuah balai perhentian
 place C: a-clasfr building stop(ping-place)
 "Orders were given by him to erect a rest-house somewhere" (HA:68)
- (42) Surat yang disuruh raja persembahkan
 letter C: which V1: be-ordered A: king V2: present
 "The letter which was ordered by the king to be presented" (Sh:125)
- (43) Maka bunga di bakul itu disuruhnya
 pt C: flower in basket that V1: be-ordered-A: he
 bawa
 V2: bring
 "Orders were given by him for the flowers in the basket to be taken" (HSR:144)
- (44) ... tiada juga ia mau datang, maka
 not too [C]: he wish come pt
 disuruh bunuh oleh maharaja Rawana
 V1: be-ordered V2: kill by A: king Rawana
 "... but he refused to come. So he was ordered by king Rawana to be killed" (HSR:149)

- (45) Semuanya itu disuruh oleh baginda Umar
 C: all that V1: be-ordered by A: majesty Umar
 dikeluarkan
 V2: take outside
 "All of it was ordered by his majesty Umar to be taken outside"
 (HMH:139)
- (46) Maka oleh amīr al -mu'minīn Umar
 pt by A: commander the faithful Umar
 disuruh panggil bendahari
 V1: be-ordered V2: call C: treasurer
 "Orders were given by Umar, the Commander of the Faithful, for
 the treasurer to be called"
 (HMH:139)
- (47) Maka oleh baginda Umar disuruhnya panggil
 pt by A: majesty Umar V1: be-ordered-A: he V2: call
 pula saudaranya keduanya
 too C: sister-his both-his
 "It was ordered by his majesty Umar that his two sisters be called
 as well"
 (HMH:136)
- (48) Maka oleh amīr al -mu'minīn Umar anak
 pt by A: commander the faithful Umar C: child
 raja Kisri Hurman Syah disuruhnya bawa
 king Kisri Hurman Syah V1: be-ordered-A: he V2: bring
 ke hadapannya
 to front-his
 "It was ordered by Umar, Commander of the Faithful, that Prince
 Kisri Hurman Syah be brought before him"
 (HMH:136)
- (49) Maka disuruhnya pada menterianya bunuh
 pt V1: be-ordered-A: he to B: minister-his V2: kill
 perempuan itu
 C: woman that
 "His ministers were ordered by him to kill the woman" (W:153)

Sequence

It seems necessary to mention A immediately following *di-V1* in this construction. Cases such as (39) (*di-V1 V2*) were rare in our corpus, except where A was marked with *oleh* (44, 46). In this subcategory the nucleus appears to be *di-V1 A V2*, with C either preceding or following this nucleus:

C di-V1 A V2 (40, 42 and 43)

di-V1 A V2 C (41)

C di-V1 V2 oleh A (44)

C di-V1 oleh A V2 (45)

oleh A di-V1 V2 C (46)

oleh A di-V1 A V2 C (47)

oleh A C di-V1 A V2 (48).

B is never mentioned, except in the unique case of (49), where it is marked with *pada*, viz. *di-V1 A pada B V2 C*.

3.b (ii) (*kusuruh V2*)

- (50) Mari juga Sita Dewi kita suruh lihat adakah
 let then C: Sita Dewi A: we V1: order V2: see be-pt
 hayatnya atau tiadakah
 life-her or not-pt

“Let us give orders to see if Sita Dewi is alive or not” (*HSR*:182)

- (51) Segala bunga inilah sebulan sekali juga tiada
 C: (plur) flower this-pt one-month one-time too not
 dapat tiada hamba suruh hantarkan
 can not A: I V1: order V2: send

“I ordered these flowers to be sent each month without exception”
 (*HSR*:197)

- (52) Engkau kusuruh anugerahi emas
 C: you A: I-V1: order V2: present gold

“I order that you be presented with gold” (*HMH*:212)

- (53) Niscaya kusuruh isap susuku kepada
 surely A: I-V1: order V2: suck C: breast-my to
 tuanhamba
 B: you

“Surely I would order you to suck my breast” (*HSR*:188)

- (54) Maka darah Usman bin Affan itu tuanhamba
 pt C: blood Usman bin Affan that A: you
 suruh tuntutan kepada hamba
 V1: order V2: demand to B: I

“You ordered me to demand the blood of Usman bin Affan”
 (*HMH*:161)

Sequence

(50)-(52): *C A-V1 V2*.

B may occur at the end of the construction, and is marked with

kepada, viz. C A-V1 V2 kepada B (54), or A-V1 V2 C kepada B (53).

3.c (*suruh* V2)

This subcategory, like 1.c, is not very frequent.

- (55) Suruh keluarkan Zain al-Abidin
V1: order V2: take-outside C: Zain al-Abidin

“Order Zain al-Abidin to be taken outside” (HMH:202)

- (56) Suruh luaskanlah jalan ini
V1: order V2: widen-pt C: road this

“Order this road to be widened” (HMH:232)

- (57) Jikalau Sri Rama gagah suruhlah ikut aku
if [B]: Sri Rama brave V1: order-pt V2: follow C: I

“If Sri Rama is a brave man, then order him to follow me”
(HSR:157)

As regards the constructions with unprefix V2 listed under 3.a and 3.b, A always seems to be explicitly mentioned in them. Since this same feature is found in 1.b, we may conclude that *disuruh* always co-occurs with an explicitly mentioned A. An A that does not directly follow *disuruh* has to be introduced by the actor-marker *oleh*. Even where A does occur immediately after *disuruh*, *oleh* is sometimes found as well, possibly to add emphasis to A.

For the same reason *-nya* may be added to *disuruh* in cases where A is already marked with *oleh* (47, 48). These features are not restricted to *suruh*-constructions. Actor-marking by means of *oleh* is common in modern Malay. The occurrence of both *oleh* and *di-V-nya* together, however, seems typical of traditional Malay, where it can be found in all kinds of object-focus verbal forms.

As is evident from the examples given under 3 (3.c excepted), a *suruh*-construction with a non-prefixed V2 cannot contain a B, unless the latter is marked with the preposition (*ke*)*pada* (38, 49, 53, 54); in which case it is not structurally included in the construction. To summarize, the occurrence of B (without any preposition) within a *suruh*-construction is a decisive factor with regard to the use of prefixed or non-prefixed V2. Any *suruh*-construction containing such a B will obligatorily have a V2 with an active verb prefix.

Another conclusion that can be drawn is that V1 here is not free to combine with *-kan*. In other words, a *suruh*-construction with a non-prefixed V2 requires a non-suffixed V1, i.e. always *suruh*, never *suruhkan*¹⁰. If V2 has active verb prefixes, both *suruh* and *suruhkan* may occur.

In the introduction a historical change was suggested in connection with

suruh-constructions. Because the contemporary material has not yet been sufficiently investigated, I can only touch upon this matter very briefly. Modern *suruh*-constructions appear at first glance to display some clear differences with the older ones. One difference, for example, is that in contemporary *suruh*-constructions there seems to be no need for an explicit mention of A where *disuruh* is used. Constructions such as *anak-anak disuruh panggil* ("the children were ordered to be called") are quite common nowadays. The traditional counterpart of this example would be something like *anak-anak disuruhnya panggil* or *anak-anak disuruh raja panggil*.

Another difference is that the suffix *-kan* after *suruh* seems to have disappeared completely. We may speculate that, as in the 17th century *suruh* and *suruhkan* were obviously considered as being synonymous, there was no reason to retain the suffix, which ultimately resulted in its disappearance.

Now that we have entered the modern period, we may as well cast a brief look in the future with regard to what remains to be done about the *suruh*-constructions. Firstly, the older material, 17th-century Malay, needs to be further investigated. The research here should mainly be focused on the grammatical function of the respective constituents of the construction. The reason why no mention of this has been made in this paper is that I believe that an inventory of the constituents and their sequence must precede grammatical analysis. This being done, one should then investigate in what way semantic functions such as those of Actor and Recipient also have a grammatical function in the construction. Secondly, the same approach might next be used for the analysis of modern *suruh*-constructions so that the results may be compared in an accurate way. I believe that such a comparison will make a fruitful contribution to the study of Malay syntax.

NOTES

- 1 There is a theoretical possibility of Recipient 1 *not* simultaneously being Actor 2 (cf. "I gave orders to Bill for Jenny to take away the ashtray"), but no examples of this have been encountered in the data.
- 2 This sub-category includes intransitive V2's that have no *meN*-equivalent such as *masuk* (**memasuk*), and also the at that time sometimes transitive *ber*-forms (of which *per-* is the passive equivalent) (cf. R. Roolvink, 'The passive-active *per-/ber-//per-memper*-correspondence in Malay', *Lingua* 15 (1965), pp. 310-37).
- 3 Including *kausuruh* etc. (1st and 2nd person).
- 4 In these categories (2 and 3) V2 is always transitive.
- 5 It seems probable that *hamba* and *sahaya* may have been subject to different semantic developments, resulting in the curious circumstance that "my slave" in traditional Malay is expressed by the words *sahaya hamba* (e.g. *HMH*:146, 1.6) and in modern Malay by *hamba saya*.
- 6 *Minta* is to be considered as being prefixed, its non-prefixed form being *pinta*.
- 7 This may be a coincidence, due to lack of data.

- 8 English, however, requires a comparable construction in cases where B is absent, e.g. "He ordered the children to be called".
- 9 As *menyuruh* does not occur in L/H (there are, in fact, hardly any *meN*-forms to be found in L/H, cf. p. 11), I have classified this example under 2.a.
- 10 Only one exception to this rule has been found, namely *hendaklah kamu suruhkan bacakan khutbah* ("you order the *khutbah* to be read" *HMH*:202).

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