

# AFFIXATION IN CONTEMPORARY INDONESIAN

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## 0 INTRODUCTION

0.0 The present paper, like most of the others in this Series, is a preliminary study for a complete description of contemporary Indonesian that is meant to be used as a reference work. That is to say, a work organized so as to present information, as complete as possible, about this language.

As a consequence, division of subject matter must be along rather strict lines. In the present case, much that would be relevant to an adequate understanding of affixation in Indonesian must be relegated to other studies. For example, verbal circumfixes in this language would be much better understood if the valence of the verbs concerned were worked out as well, as also if the role of syntax of such verbs, and a number of discourse-pragmatic issues connected with that type of verbs, such as promotion of nonaccusative Objects to Direct Object position were included. Yet such problems are not treated in the present paper, simply because other papers in this Series will deal with them. Eventually, of course, in the reference work, appropriate cross-references will be supplied, and indexes appended.

The focus of the present paper will, then, look fairly narrow: sheer morphemics. Nevertheless, this very limitation offers the possibility of being very nearly complete, an objective almost impossible to obtain in papers with more holistic focus. Obviously, such a completeness is worth while for its own sake, and adequate understanding of this language will eventually profit by it.

To give an idea about what would be relevant to a more holistic approach to the present topic, we are introducing a reference format indicated by "[XX-1]", "[XX-2]", etc.<sup>1</sup>

In a list found in note 1, these XXs will be identified as the titles of articles to appear later in this Series; without authors, for the time being, since our work is team work, with the

division of labor subject to change. The names of our associates are to be listed in the "Acknowledgments".<sup>2</sup>

The rules for morphophonemic changes will be presupposed, and will be referred to (rather than elaborated) in a few passages where they trigger potential ambiguities (10.3; 10.5; 10.6) [XX-8].

For derivational affixes, rules of derivability and (non)productivity (a huge subject in itself, [XX-1]) will be ignored, in favor of a mere inventory of derivational affixes.

For paradigmatic rules, reference is made to [XX-2]; for their place in the categorial system, to [XX-4]. Again, only an inventory of paradigmatic affixes is our objective.

0.1 By "affixation" here is meant the morphemic process that has some specific relationship to categorial membership of the lexeme affected by the process (in paradigmatic affixation) or of the lexeme resulting from it (in derivational affixation). Thus, for example, certain paradigmatic affixations operate on verbs, others on nouns, others again on adjectives; again, certain derivational affixations result in verbs, others in nouns, others again in adjectives.

This working definition of "affixation" excludes two species of nonlexical bound morphemes: first, particles like *-kah*, *-lah*, and *(-)pun*, because these particles attach themselves to various words without regard for their categorial membership; second, the so-called "partial reduplications", such as *le-* in *lelaki*, or *te-* in *tetamu*, which likewise lack such a category-bound relationship. For these two classes of particles, see [XX-3].

0.2 Affixes are profitably distinguished as "paradigmatic" and "derivational". Paradigmatic affixes do not change the lexical identity of the bases affected (so that their selectivity to categorial membership

is in the base form affected). For example, *-ku* 'my', *-mu* 'your [sg/pl]', and *-nya* 'his/her/its/their' suffixed to nouns, for possession, do not affect the lexical identity of the nouns affected (10.0 (a); 10.1); neither do encliticized objects to verbs (7.0 (b); 7.2).

In contrast, derivational affixes do change lexical identity. For example, the circumfix *pen-|-an* changes the immediate derivational origin verb with *men-* (*-kan/-i*) into a noun (10.0 (c); 10.3). Though a change of categorial membership through affixation is a good test for change of lexical identity, the former is not a necessary condition for the latter; for example, from *pemimpin* 'leader' may be derived, by *ke-|-an* circumfixation, *kepemimpinan* 'leadership', which is lexically distinct from *pemimpin*, even though both lexemes are nouns.

0.3 Rules for derivation are "ordered" rules. For example, *pembangunan* 'construction' is "directly" derived from *membangun* 'to build', which is in turn "directly" derived from *bangun* 'to rise'; *pembangunan*, then, could be said to derive from *bangun*, but only "indirectly". Similarly, we can say that the "immediate" base for *pembangunan* is *membangun*, and that the "immediate" base for *membangun* is *bangun*, which, therefore, is the "mediate" base of *pembangunan*. Rules of ordering are developed elsewhere [XX-1]. Here we merely establish a terminology to make the inventory of affixes in derivation descriptively more convenient.

The ultimate base of any derived affixed form has, therefore, no affixes, though it may well be polymorphemic for nonaffixational reasons. For example, the ultimate (and only, or "immediate") base of *bersusah-payah* 'to worry, to do laboriously' is the polymorphemic *:susah-payah* (on the ":", see below), a "reduplication", as it happens [XX-3], which does not itself have a derivational base any more.

A monomorphemic base may be "free" (a "stem") or "bound" (a "root"); such a bound "root" may be called a "precatatorial" [XX-4], "pre-" referring to the stage in the derivational history in which no categorial membership can be assigned. Indonesian has several thousands of such precatatorial forms; standard examples: *:keluh* 'complain'; *:basuh* 'wash'; *:gincir* 'slip'. One problem in the descriptions of precatatorials that should be mentioned here is that it is impossible to say, at least in certain instances, "on which side" (i.e. right or left) the form is "bound". For example, while *:keluh* is precatatorial, its bound form is not consistently symbolized as either *-keluh* or *keluh-*, since either prefixation or suffixation may make it "free": as in *mengeluar* 'to complain' or *keluhnya* 'complained he'. We propose as a solution to this symbolization problem the use of a colon (also italicized) to

the left of the precatatorial. Glosses for precatatorials will be given without 'to' if the most appropriate gloss is verbal. It should be noted that, although many monomorphemic forms are precatatorials, not every precatatorial is necessarily monomorphemic; for example, *:gincir* plus infix *-el-* (2) results in *:gelincir*, which is still precatatorial, and needs *ter-* (7.0 (g) and (h); 7.7; 7.8) to be "free", and then in a verb (*ter-gelincir* 'to slip').

0.4 Rules for paradigmatic processes are "unordered". That is to say, while one may assume, for practical reasons of convenience, a certain paradigmatic form as the "principal" member of the paradigm, e.g. *membangun* 'to build', rather than any of the other paradigmatic forms of this particular verb (*dibangun*, *dibangunnya*, *kubangun*, *kaubangun*, *Ø-bangun!*, *membangunnya*), and while there may even be certain characteristics of such a form which make it a more ready candidate to be the "principal" (e.g. *membangun*, rather than any other paradigmatic member of this verb, derives from *bangun*), yet a certain "order" rather than any other "order" among all the paradigmatic members cannot be argued for on any grounds. However, one might consider *membangun* (rather than other paradigmatic forms) as the form where derivational status and paradigmatic membership "converge". But even this is not general, since some *ter-* forms, for example, derive from nonaffixed bases, rather than from *men-* forms (7.8).

It will be convenient, henceforth, to call the "principal" member of a paradigm its "citation form".

## 1 CLASSIFICATION OF AFFIXES

1.0 Indonesian affixes may be distinguished according to four classes: prefixes; suffixes; infixes; and circumfixes (which are also called "confixes" or "ambifixes"). The following is an example of each class: *men-* in *mendukung* 'to support' is a prefix; *-an* in *utusan* 'emissary' is a suffix; *-em-* in *gemetar* 'to tremble' is an infix; and *men-|-i* in *menduduki* is a circumfix. (Vertical slashes separate the beginning and end of circumfixes; note that we follow standard conventions in using the diagonal slash for alternative forms or glosses.)

A circumfix is not identical with prefix-plus-suffix. Thus, while *men-|-i* in *menduduki* 'to occupy' is a genuine circumfix, *men-* plus *-i* in *mengulangi* 'to repeat' is not, because the suffix *-i* in this verb is "iterative" (6.1), and is thus different from the "locative" "focus ending" that is part of the circumfix *men-|-i* in *menduduki* (5.0; 5.1).

Similarly, *membengkaknya* 'the swelling' does not contain a "circumfix" \**men-|-nya* (which does not exist in Indonesian), since IC analysis of this form yields first *membengkak* 'to swell' and *-nya* '[nominalizer]' (10.0 (a); 10.2), and only in the second step *men-* and *bengkak* 'swollen'.

However, once this principle is firmly established, we may often conveniently use the term "prefix" where in fact we are concerned with the first portion of a circumfix. A good example is *men-*: most *men-* verbs have much in common, no matter whether *men-* is the first portion of a circumfix, or a genuine prefix. It would be cumbersome to have to use, in such cases, such expressions as "prefix or first portion of circumfix". Similarly, the *-kan* of *men-|-kan* may be described in many ways without always having to indicate it as the "second portion of the confix *men-|-kan*": it may then simply be called a "suffix". "Ending" may be a way out when there is ambiguity.

1.1 Among the prefixes in Indonesian we postulate  $\emptyset$ - (zero) for certain forms, most frequently certain paradigmatic forms of transitive verbs. For a full justification of this zero, see [XX-2]. Basically, if the zero were not postulated, for example in transitive imperatives such as *bacalah!* 'read it' (the exclamation mark symbolizes the imperative), analytically  $\emptyset$ -*bacalah!*, the description could not differentiate the precatatorial form, which is bound, from the imperative, which is free; or, as in the above example, *:bacalah* and  $\emptyset$ -*bacalah!*. Other such examples would be the " $\emptyset$ - 'passives'" (7.0 (f); 7.6).

For the same reasons the  $\emptyset$ - must be postulated in compounds of which one of the components is a precatatorial form, as in *tanda baca* 'punctuation symbols' (analytically: *tanda  $\emptyset$ -baca*) (16). However, *this  $\emptyset$ -* is derivational, not paradigmatic.

1.2 The following principles, most of them practical, will facilitate an orderly listing and discussion of affixes:

(a) It seems most convenient first to list all affixes according to the four classes of prefix, suffix, infix, and circumfix, with subdivisions, for each of them, according to categorial membership. This will be done in 1.3.

(b) Infixes (which are all wholly unproductive in this language) will be treated according to their forms, without categorial membership as a first rank basis of division. They will be treated in 2.

(c) Various affixes will be discussed according to the categorial membership of their bases, for paradigmatic affixation; and according to the cate-

gorial membership of their results, for derivational affixation; in 3 through 14.

(d) Numerals are most conveniently treated as a whole, although they overlap categorially (for example, ordinals are adjectival); in 15.

(e) Zero affixes as to be postulated (as derivational) for the description of certain compounds are the reason for treating those compounds separately; in 16.

(f) It seems most convenient to treat affixes of foreign origin separately; in 17 through 20.

1.3 Affixes indigenous to Indonesian may be listed according to the prefix-suffix-infix-circumfix classification, and in each class according to categorial membership of the base for paradigmatic affixation and of the result for derivational affixation. The subscripts "1" and "2" distinguish affixes according to their paradigmatic and derivational character respectively. When an affix form is ambiguous in regard to paradigmatic and derivational status, both subscripts are added: "1,2". But the "1,2" subscript is entered only for verbs, i.e. for *men-* and *memper-* forms, because those may be considered as both derivations and paradigmatic citation forms. (*Ber-* and *ke-|-an* verbs have no other paradigmatic alternates apart from the *ber-* and *ke-|-an* forms themselves.) For nouns, only "1" or "2" has been subscripted, not "1,2", though strictly speaking nouns have other paradigmatic forms apart from the form listed, i.e. the possessive and determinative suffixes of (b) (i).

(a) Prefixes may be distinguished according to the following categories:

- (i) Verbs: *men*<sub>1,2</sub>; *memper*<sub>1,2</sub>; *di*<sub>1</sub>; *diper*<sub>1</sub>;  $\emptyset$ <sub>1</sub>;  $\emptyset$ -*per*<sub>1</sub>; *ku*<sub>1</sub>; *kuper*<sub>1</sub>; *kau*<sub>1</sub>; *kauper*<sub>1</sub>; *ter*<sub>1</sub>; *teper*<sub>1</sub>; *ber*<sub>2</sub>; *bersi*<sub>2</sub>; *mer*<sub>2</sub>; *man*<sub>2</sub>.
- (ii) Nouns: *pen*<sub>2</sub>; *pemer*<sub>2</sub>; *per*<sub>2</sub>; *pe*<sub>2</sub>; *ke*<sub>2</sub>; *peri*<sub>2</sub>; *mer*<sub>2</sub>; *men*<sub>2</sub>.
- (iii) Adjectives: *se*<sub>2</sub>; *ter*<sub>2</sub>; *men*<sub>2</sub>; *man*<sub>2</sub>.
- (iv) Prepositions: *se*<sub>2</sub>; *men*<sub>2</sub>; *ber*<sub>2</sub>.
- (v) Conjunctions: *se*<sub>2</sub>.
- (vi) Numerals: *se*<sub>2</sub>; *ke*<sub>2</sub>; *per*<sub>2</sub>; *ber*<sub>2</sub>;  $\emptyset$ <sub>2</sub>.
- (vii) Adverbs: *se*<sub>2</sub>.
- (viii) Compounds:  $\emptyset$ <sub>2</sub>.

(b) Suffixes may be broken down into the following classes:

- (i) Verbs:  $-ku_1$ ;  $-mu_1$ ;  $-nya_{a1}$ ;  $-nya_{b1}$ ;  $-i_2$ .
- (ii) Nouns:  $-ku_1$ ;  $-mu_1$ ;  $-nya_1$ ;  $-nya_2$ ;  $-an_2$ ;  $-(a)nda_2$ .
- (iii) Adjectives:  $-an_2$ .
- (iv) Adverbs:  $-an_2$ ;  $-nya_2$ .
- (v) Prepositions:  $-ku_1$ ;  $-mu_1$ ;  $-nya_1$ .
- (vi) Numerals:  $-an_2$ ;  $-nya_2$ .
- (vii) Conjunctions:  $-kan_2$ .

(c) Circumfixes may be listed as follows:

- (i) Verbs:  $men-|-kan_{1,2}$ ;  $men-|-i_{1,2}$ ;  $memper-|-kan_{1,2}$ ;  $memper-|-i_{1,2}$ ;  $di-|-kan_1$ ;  $di-|-i_1$ ;  $diper-|-kan_1$ ;  $diper-|-i_1$ ;  $\emptyset-|-kan_1$ ;  $\emptyset-|-i_1$ ;  $\emptyset-per-|-kan_1$ ;  $\emptyset-per-|-i_1$ ;  $ku-|-kan_1$ ;  $ku-|-i_1$ ;  $kuper-|-kan_1$ ;  $kuper-|-i_1$ ;  $kau-|-kan_1$ ;  $kau-|-i_1$ ;  $kauper-|-kan_1$ ;  $kauper-|-i_1$ ;  $ter-|-kan_1$ ;  $ter-|-i_1$ ;  $teper-|-kan_1$ ;  $teper-|-i_1$ ;  $ber-|-kan_2$ ;  $ber-|-an_2$ ;  $ke-|-an_2$ .
- (ii) Nouns:  $ke-|-an_2$ ;  $pen-|-an_2$ ;  $per-|-an_{a2}$ ;  $per-|-an_{b2}$ ;  $pemer-|-an_2$ ;  $pe-|-an_2$ ;  $ka-|-an_2$ ;  $ka-|-en_2$ .
- (iii) Adverbs:  $se-|-nya_2$ .
- (iv) Conjunctions:  $se-|-nya_2$ ;  $men-|-kan_2$ .

(d) Infixes are three:  $-el_-2$ ;  $-er_-2$ ; and  $-em_-2$ ; and one appearing in two items only:  $-in_-2$ .

Of all these, infixes are exemplified first (2); then verbs (3 through 9), nouns (10), adjectives (11), prepositions (12), adverbs (13), conjunctions (14), numerals (15), and compounds (16).

## 2 INFIXES

2.0 Indonesian has three infixes of relatively high text frequency, i.e.  $-el_-$ ,  $-er_-$ , and  $-em_-$ . One other infix, occurring only in a single instance, is  $-in_-$ .

2.1 Categorially, the bases of these infixations are two: precategorials and nouns. Results are precategorials, nouns, and verbs [XX-1].

It is hard to distinguish the semantic content of  $-el_-$ ,  $-er_-$ , and  $-em_-$ , and it is easier to say what they have in common: features of iterativeness, intensity, and duration. Verbs with these infixes, to put it negatively, are not "punctual".

These three infixes invariably follow the initial consonant of the base: *gerigi* 'serrated', from *gigi* 'tooth'; *:gelincir* 'skid', from *:gincir* 'skid'; *:kelupas* 'peel off', from *:kupas* 'peel'; *gemetar* 'to tremble', from *:getar* 'tremble'.

The infix  $-in_-$  (which derives from the Javanese passive infix  $-in_-$ ), occurs, so far as we are aware, only in *kesinambungan* 'connectedness, relation', which can be broken down into *:sinambung* and nominalizing *ke-|-an*, while *:sinambung* can be broken down into passive  $-in_-$  and *:sambung* 'connect'.

## 3 MEN- VERBS

3.0 By "men- verbs" here are meant all verbs beginning with *men-*, no matter whether *men-* is a simple prefix or initial portion of a circumfix (i.e. *men-* either in  $men-|-kan$  or in  $men-|-i$ ). By far most verbs are transitive, and highly productively so (of confixed *men-* verbs this is true of all except just three or four), while a notable minority of *men-* verbs are intransitive, slightly productively so.

The bases of *men-* verbs are varied categorially: precategorials, nouns, verbs, adjectives [XX-1]. The results are overwhelmingly verbs, but some are nonverbs (10.0 (f); 10.6; 11.0 (c); 11.3; 12.0 (b); 12.2); here, only the verbs are treated.

3.1 Examples of transitive verbs are: *membangun* 'to build'; *mendidik* 'to educate, to bring up'; *menduduki* 'to occupy'; *menyembelihkan* 'to slaughter for [someone]'; *mendirikan* 'to erect, to found'; *memukul* 'to batter'.

Some reduplicated *men-* verbs have *men-* preceding the first base: *membakar-bakar* 'to keep on burning [something]'; *menulis-nulis* 'to keep writing'. Others have *men-* preceding the second occurrence of the base form (with a variety of semantic characteristics; see [XX-1]): *tukar-menukar* 'to exchange'; *pukul-memukul* 'to hit one another'; *tulis-menulis* 'to write, to practice writing'.

Examples of intransitive *men-* verbs are: *membengkak* 'to swell'; *mendarat* 'to land'; *melaut* 'to sail'; *memutih* 'to become white'; *membesar* 'to grow big'; *menyeberang* 'to cross over'; *menyalak* 'to



bark'; *mengalah* 'to yield'.

Only very few circumfixed *men-* verbs are intransitive: *merupakan* 'to be [COP]'; *mencukupi* 'to be sufficient'; *memadai* 'to be sufficient'.

Some transitive verbs may also be used intransitively: *membuka* 'to open [without apparent agent]'; *menutup* 'to close [without apparent agent]'. The possibility of such intransitive use is a lexical characteristic of a number of *men-* verbs, with consequences, to be sure, for verb valence and thus for syntax [XX-5], and it should not be confused with the "diathetical" possibility (of any transitive verb) to be used antipassively, without Object ([XX-6], [XX-7]).

3.2 *Men-* prefixation is often called "prenasalization" (i.e. of the base) in Indonesian studies. The term is convenient in that it covers prenasalizations other than *men-*, i.e. the type that may be called (we suggest) "nonsyllabic", in contrast to *men-* which adds a full syllable to the base and may therefore be called "syllabic". Nonsyllabic prenasalization is relevant to Indonesian because of interference from languages (such as Javanese) and (Malay) dialects (such as Jakartanese), all of which have nonsyllabic prenasalization often (Jakartanese) or invariably (Javanese); as well as because of some isolated items in Indonesian itself, apart from interference. This may be described in more detail as follows:

(a) Some of the nonsyllabically prenasalized forms occurring in Indonesian are due to interference from such languages as Javanese, and from such dialects as Jakartanese, and are, in Indonesian, decidedly nonstandard. However, one may hear them frequently in Informal Indonesian. Examples are: *nyewa* 'to rent' (standard: *menyewa*); *ngopi* 'to drink coffee' (standard: *mengopi*); *nyimpan* 'to save' (standard: *menyimpan*); *nonton* 'to watch' (standard: *menonton*); *ngebut* 'to speed, to go too fast' (standard: *mengebut*). In some instances these prenasalizations differ from standard Indonesian not only in being nonsyllabic, but also in applying morphophonemic rules obtaining in the language of origin but not in Indonesian; thus, *nyetak* 'to print' (standard: *mencetak*, not *\*menyetak*) owes its morphophonemic form to Javanese ([XX-8]).

(b) In Formal Indonesian, some nonsyllabically prenasalized verbs are rather of the "fossilized" type, and are not in every instance unambiguously identifiable as prenasalized forms purely synchronically. More practically, however, some of them are synchronically relevant indirectly because of some derivational complications. One example is *mimpi* 'to dream', which is related to *impian* 'dream [noun]', through the precategorial *:impi* 'dream', of which then *mimpi* may be seen as the nonsyllabically prenasalized form. (In Javanese 'to dream' is *ngimpi*, which

argues a base *:impi* in that language.) A 'dreamer' is either *pemimpi* or *pengimpi*, both attested. The form *\*memimpi* does not exist, but *mimpikan* does; forms like *kuimpikan* 'I dreamt' (suggesting the base *:impi*) occurs alongside of *kumimpikan* (base: *mimpi*). Another example is *minta* 'to ask, to request'; historically there was a base *:pinta*, which now occurs only in *pintanya* 'asked he' (after a direct request), and cannot be found as *\*dipinta(nya)*. Similarly, *mohon* 'to ask, to request' in earlier Malay had the base *:pohon*, which is now found only in *pohonnya* 'asked he' (after a direct request), and cannot now take the form of *\*dipohon(nya)*. For *minta* and *mohon* also the forms *meminta* and *memohon* are used: see 3.2 (d).

A few other verbs should be noted here. The verb *minggir* 'to pull over [intr.] (to the side of the road)' is rather informal language, but is used so frequently even by careful speakers that it is relevant here; the strictly standard *meminggir* is rarely used. These forms are clearly related, also synchronically, to *pinggir* 'side (of the road)'. Then there is *ngantuk* (strictly standard: *mengantuk*) 'to nod off (in sleep)', with the base *:kantuk*, as may be concluded from *terkantuk* 'falling asleep'. From the form *omong* 'to chat', there is derived *ngomong* 'to chat', which is decidedly nonstandard; however, the expression *ngomong-ngomong* 'incidentally [as a sentence adverb]' is, though distinctly colloquial, not clearly substandard.

A final example should be noted. From the precategorial *:erti* 'understand', there is derived (in keeping with morphophonemic rules for syllabic prenasalization) *mengerti* 'to understand; all "passives", however, retain *meng-*: *dimengerti* 'be understood'; *kumengerti* 'I understand'; etc. (For those "passives", see 7.0 (c), (d), (e), (f); 7.3; 7.4; 7.5; 7.6.) However, the deverbal action noun is *pengertian* 'understanding' not *\*pemengertian*. See [XX-8].

(c) A special pair is *mundur* 'to withdraw [intr.]' and *maju* 'to progress, to proceed'. These (standard!) forms are related to reconstructible *:undur* and *:aju* respectively, and these precategorials are the bases of *mengundurkan* 'to withdraw [tr.], to move [tr.] backward' ("passive": *diundurkan*; *diundur*, without *-kan*, means 'be postponed'; but the active *\*mengundur* is not found as a transitive verb) and of *mengajukan* 'to propose, to bring forward' ("passive": *diajukan*). In *memajukan* 'to move [tr.] forward', however, the base is *maju*; in contrast, no such derivation in the case of *mundur* (*\*memundurkan*) is possible. Though all this does not present a convincing argument that the initial nasals in *mundur* and in *maju* are necessarily instances of nonsyllabic prenasalization, and would not in any case be a wholly ad hoc solution, and, since such special pairs, with their derivations, should have some place in the treatment of

affixation, the present section seems to be as good as any for it.

In addition, *mudik* 'to go upstream' is related to *:udik*, which still occurs in compound forms such as *orang udik* 'people in the interior' (analytically: *orang Ø-udik* (16)).

(d) Four verbs may be mentioned as similar in several respects: *makan* 'to eat'; *minum* 'to drink'; *minta* 'to request'; *mohon* 'to request'. For further particulars on *minta* and *mohon*, see 3.2 (b). All four verbs, however, also have syllabically prenasalized forms: *memakan*; *meminum*; *meminta*; *memohon*. Note that the latter forms may have encliticized Objects (-*nya* would be the obvious one): *memakan-nya*; etc. In contrast, the nonsyllabically prenasalized forms, though they certainly can have Objects (e.d. *makan roti* 'to eat bread'; *minta uang* 'to ask for money'; etc.), cannot have them in encliticized form: *makan(\*nya)*; *minum(\*nya)*; *minta(\*nya)*; *mohon(\*nya)*; all of this following the general rule explained in 7.2.

3.3 Instead of *men-*, the prefix *man-* occurs in two items: *manunggal* 'to be united with', and *mandiri* 'to stand on its own feet, to be independent'. The *man-* form of the suffix is due to Javanese interference. Nevertheless, at least *manunggal* (from *tunggal* 'one, only') may be said to be (now) standard Indonesian, since it occurs in a much-promoted principle in Indonesian domestic politics, i.e. in *ABRI yang manunggal dengan rakyat* 'the Armed Forces which are united with the people of Indonesia'. *Mandiri*, which may be called an adjective as well as a verb (11.3), is also established in current use by now. (The form *\*mendir*, from *diri* 'self', is nonexistent.)

*Mer-* is found in: *meruap* 'to give off steam' (*uap* 'steam'), and in (the Javanese loan) *mertamu* 'to go for a visit'.

#### 4 MEMPER- VERBS

4.0 All *memper-* derived forms are verbs, transitive, causative. *Memper-* may be a genuine prefix, or the initial part of a circumfix. The bases of *memper-* verbs not circumfixed are nouns, adjectives, or numerals; the bases of circumfixed *memper-* verbs are either precatentials or nouns [XX-1]. *Memper-* verbs, prefixed or circumfixed, are becoming increasingly productive.

4.1 Examples of *memper-* verbs are: *memperbanyak* 'to multiply, to duplicate'; *mempertinggi* 'to make higher'; *mempertiga* 'to multiply by three'; *mempersatukan* 'to

unify'; *memperistri* 'to marry [said of a male]'; *memperingatkan* 'to warn, to caution'; *memperingati* 'to commemorate'.

#### 5 CIRCUMFIXES WITH MEN- AND MEMPER-

5.0 Circumfixes deriving *men-* verbs and *memper-* verbs are *men-|-kan* and *men-|-i*; *memper-|-kan* and *memper-|-i*. The *-kan* and *-i* endings are "role markers", i.e. they assign the relevant role to the NP in Direct Object position, immediately after the verb (i.e. in the "active"). (It should be noted that, for some *men-* verbs, but for no *memper-* verbs, there is an "iterative" *-i* suffix which is not a "role marker"; see 6. below.) See [XX-5].

While a role marker *-i* marks only one role, i.e. the "locative" (5.1), the "role marker" ending *-kan* may mark any of four distinctive roles, though rarely more than one for each base. See 5.2 below.

5.1 The role marker *-i* is locative, i.e. it assigns locative role meaning to the Direct Object NP. (That "locative" role is frequently figurative.) Examples are: *menduduki* 'to sit on, to occupy'; *menjatuhi* 'to make [something] fall on [someone/something]'; *memperingati* 'to commemorate'; *menghormati* 'to confer honor on, to honor'. It seems that locative *-i* cannot be added to stems already ending in *-i*: thus *membenci* 'to hate' was, in earlier Malay, *membencii*, but that form has dropped out of the language.

5.2 The role marker *-kan* belongs to five semantic species:

(a) Benefactive: *membelikan* 'to buy for'; *menyembelihkan* 'to slaughter for'; *menjualkan* 'to sell for'; *membukakan* 'to open for'. The Direct Object NP has the benefactive role; the NP after that, the accusative role. These are three-place verbs.

(b) Instrumental: *memukulkan* 'to use [something] to beat'; *menembakkan* 'to use [something] to shoot [at something]'. The Direct Object NP has the instrumental role; the NP after that, the accusative role. These verbs are three-place verbs.

(c) Dative-accusative: *menjahitkan* 'to entrust [something] for sewing [to someone]'; *mereparasikan* 'to entrust [something] for repair [to someone]'; the Direct Object NP refers to the things caused to be done by someone else; the following ("dative") NP, to the person entrusted with the job. These verbs are three-place verbs.

(d) Accusative-causative: *memperlakukan* 'to treat [something/someone] [like/as something/someone]'. The Direct Object

NP is the thing caused to be done by the Subject. These verbs vary in valence: two-place or three-place; either is possible with *memperlakukan*. The verb *memperlakukan* 'to cause [something] to become valid', is a two-place verb.

(e) Noncausative: *menganjurkan* 'to propose'; *merindukan* 'to long for'; *mengenakan* 'to put on [clothes]'. The term "noncausative" should be interpreted as opposed to (c) and (d) of 5.2, from which categories they clearly differ. However, the term "noncausative" should not be understood here merely in its own terms, since, after all, there is a measure of "causativity" in any transitive verb. See [XX-1] and [XX-5].

All *memper-* verbs with *-kan* belong to (d); (a) through (c) are exclusively *men-* verbs; some *men-* verbs belong to (d).

It should be noted that in *ter-* (and *teper-*) forms of circumfixed verbs, the role marker (*-kan* or *-i*) is often dropped; see 7.7.

## 6 MEN- VERBS WITH "ITERATIVE" -I

6.0 Some *men-* verbs, not circumfixed, may have a derivational suffix (not the final portion of a circumfix!) *-i*, which is conveniently called "iterative" *-i*. This *-i* is not a role marker of any kind.

All such "iterative" *-i* verbs derive from the corresponding *men-* form; no *memper-* verbs have the "iterative" *-i* suffix; see [XX-1].

6.1 The label "iterative" for these *-i* verbs is appropriate for a great number of such verbs: *memukul*i** 'to hit repeatedly'; *menggigiti* 'to bite repeatedly'; *menampari* 'to slap over and over again'; and many more. However, the *-i* suffix may be "intensive" rather than "iterative": thus *menciumi*, though it may mean 'to kiss repeatedly', may also mean 'to kiss [once, but with great reverence, or affection]', and would, in that case, be distinct from *mencium* with the meaning of 'to kiss [rather perfunctorily]'. Similarly, though *mengulang* 'to repeat', is already transitive, *mengulangi* may have the connotation of the special significance of the (single) repetition. Also, the *-i* suffix may have the connotation that the Patient is affected in multiple ways at once, rather than iteratively in time: *seluruh badannya ditusuki dengan pisau-pisau* 'his entire body was hit by (all) those knives [in one instant]'.

## 7 PARADIGMATIC AFFIXES WITH MEN- VERBS AND MEMPER- VERBS

7.0 *Men-* verbs and *memper-* verbs have various kinds of paradigmatic affixation:

(a) *Men-* and *memper-* mark the "active" voice, focusing on the agent (for intransitive verbs, on "actor" or "experiencer"); this includes the imperative, but only for intransitive verbs, or transitive verbs used intransitively.

(b) Both *men-* and *memper-* verbs, when transitively used and prenasalized, may have the Direct Object suffixes *-ku* 'me', *-mu* 'you [sg/pl]', and *-nya* 'him/her/it/them', under certain constraints.

(c) *Di-* (for *men-* verbs) and *diper-* (for *memper-* verbs) is for "passives", focusing on the patient; *di-*, in either case, may do extra duty as anaphoric agentive.

(d) *Ku-* '[1 sg]' and *kau-* '[2 sg]' (for *men-* verbs) as well as *kuper-* and *kauper-* (for *memper-* verbs) are agentive prefixes in "passives".

(e) With *di-* "passives", the agentive suffix *-nya* '[3 sg/pl]' may be attached.

(f) The  $\emptyset$ - (zero) prefix (for *men-* verbs) and  $\emptyset$ -*per-* prefix (for *memper-* verbs) is for imperatives of transitives, as well as for "passives" with preposed pronominal agentives that are morphemically free.

(g) *Ter-* (for *men-* verbs, i.e. transitive ones) and *teper-* (for *memper-* verbs) is the marker for the "passives" where the agent is unknown, irrelevant, or devoid of deliberateness (the "accidental" "passive").

(h) *Ter-* with intransitive *men-* verbs and with monomorphemic verbs marks the "accidental" aspect (the "accidental" intransitive).

Prefixes (a) through (h) are to be treated in detail in 7.1 through 7.8.

A few notes here are in order:

(i) This section 7 deals with paradigmatic affixes, and only with those of *men-* and *memper-* verbs. No section in the present paper deals *exclusively* with paradigmatic alternation of any other verbs or nonverbs. Among those, nouns have paradigmatic affixes (for possession; and for a determiner: 10.0 (a); 10.1)), but those are more conveniently treated along with derivational affixes yielding nouns. The same obtains for prepositions, in regard to enclitic Objects: 12.0 (a); 12.1. Finally, *ber-* verbs (8) have only one member of the paradigm, i.e. the *ber-* form, while monomorphemic verbs are ignored in the present paper, since the only paradigmatic member apart from the citation form is *ter-*. Therefore, this section 7 is the only section dealing *exclusively* with paradigmatic affixation.

(ii) Listing paradigmatic affixation of these *men-* and *memper-* verbs of necessity gives only a partial and rather poor picture of the full extent of verbal paradigms in this language. For example, *-nya*



of *dibacanya* 'he read/was read by him' is listed, but nothing is said in this section about what may be called "periphrastic" members of the "syntactic" paradigm, such as: *dibaca olehnya* 'was read by him' (*oleh* is 'by', and is often optional), or *dibaca oleh murid* 'was read by the pupil'; and so forth. For such a "syntactic" paradigm, see [XX-5], in great detail. Again, the present paper merely identifies and describes affixation (0.0).

(iii) The terms "active" and "passive" in 7.0, and elsewhere in this paper, have been enclosed in quotation marks as "scare quotes". That is to say, these "passives" are often ergatives, and the "actives" are often antipassives; see [XX-5] and [XX-6]. For the purposes of identification of affixes, however, these diathetical problems are largely irrelevant, except in one or two cases, such as "passive" *di-* which is also pronominal-anaphoric (where that "passive" is invariably an ergative); these cases will be briefly identified as such below, with repeated reference to [XX] sources.

(iv) The prefix *memper-* is, of course, more adequately analyzed as uniting the presasalization *men-* plus *-per-*; and similarly with alternates for *men-*, in *diper-*, *kuper-*, *kauper-*, *Ø-per-*, and *teper-*. This would identify minimally *men-*, *di-*, *ku-*, *kau-*, *Ø-*, and *ter-*; and, in each of them, *-per-*. In this manner, one would also avoid having, say, the pronominal preposed agentives *kuper-* and *kauper-*, where obviously, *-per-* is not pronominal.

However, for us to observe that kind of consistency would raise a number of descriptive problems. First, all grammars of Indonesian distinguish *men-* and *memper-*, and none that we know of would call them all "*men-* verbs", with *-per-* added for some, and so it seems better to follow descriptive tradition in this regard. Second, *memper-* verbs, semantically and syntactically, have special characteristics it would be artificial to ascribe to *-per-* (in combination with *men-*). Third, in the "consistent" analysis just reviewed *-per-* would have to be called an "infix", which would be a wholly ad hoc classification. In short, though the search for "minimal contrasts" has its own logic, it seems better, in the present case, to ignore it.

7.1 As noted before, the *men-* prefix may be regarded as derivational in regard to the base, and as paradigmatic in regard to the other paradigmatic alternates. Only the latter concerns us here. A similar note obtains for *memper-*.

Whereas transitive *men-* verbs mark the imperative with *Ø-* (and *memper-* verbs, with *Ø-per-*) (7.6), intransitive imperatives are marked with *men-*: *menyeberang!* 'cross over (to the other side)!'; *mengalah!* 'accept your loss, give in!'. Imperatives of transitive verbs used intransitively likewise have *men-*: together with *Ø-tulis(lah)!* 'write it!', there is *menulislah!* 'Write, get on with your writing!'.

Negative imperatives of intransitive *men-* verbs do not entail any difference in affixation as compared to affirmative imperatives, i.e. *men-* is obligatory: *jangan menyeberang!* 'don't cross over!'; *jangan mengalah!* 'don't give in!'.

Negative imperatives of transitive verbs do not differ from their affirmative counterparts either, in that a high degree of transitivity will trigger *Ø-* prefixation; and a low degree, *men-*. That *men-* prefixation for negative imperatives of transitive verbs is much higher in text frequency than *men-* formed affirmative imperatives (and of this there seems to be no doubt), is understandable on the general principle that transitivity in negative utterances is lower than in affirmative ones: *jangan baca!* 'don't read it!'; *jangan membaca!* 'don't (just sit there and) read!'. For *memper-* verbs: *jangan perbanyak!* 'don't duplicate it!'; *jangan memperbanyak!* 'don't do any duplicating (now)!'.

7.2 The Direct Object suffixes with *men-* and *memper-* verbs are *-ku* 'me'; *-mu* 'you [sg/pl]'; *-nya* 'him/her/its/them': *dia mengundangku* 'he invites me'; *dia mengundangmu* 'she invites you'; *saya mengundangnya* 'I invite him/her/them'. Negative imperatives do not, however, follow this rule, as will be explained in a moment, below. It is only with (syllabically) prenasalized forms that pronominal enclitics as Objects may be attached; see 7.4 and 7.6.

Whether or not in certain forms (such as *mimpi*, *mundur*, *maju*, *makan*, *minum*, *minta*, *mohon*; see 3.2 (b) through (d)) the phonemically nasal consonant to the left can be considered as a (nonsyllabic) "prenasalization", what is certain is that *-ku*, *-mu*, or *-nya* for Object cannot be affixed to them. This holds also for nonsyllabic prenasalization in instances due to interference from Javanese or Jakartanese (3.2 (a)); indeed neither in Javanese nor in Jakartanese can there be any enclitic Object pronoun with these forms.

Negative imperatives of transitive verbs taking *men-* can have Objects, like any transitive *men-* verb, but, unlike all other transitive *men-* constructions, that Object cannot be encliticized: *jangan memukul aku* 'don't hit me' (\**jangan memukulku*); *jangan membaca koran itu* 'don't read that newspaper' (\**jangan membacanya*).

Given the presence of *men-/memper-*, also circumfixed verbs can take *-ku*, *-mu*, and *-nya* for Object enclitics: *Ali sudah memperhatikannya* 'Ali has already given it his attention'; *aku mengenangkanmu dalam doa* 'I remember you in my prayers'; *istrinya menghormatinya* 'his wife holds him in great honor'. However, with the focus ending *-kan*, only third person *-nya* is possible according to the following rules: (see 5.2, (a) through (d)).

(i) With benefactive *-kan*, only third person *-nya* is possible: *aku membelikannya rokok* 'I bought him cigarettes' is well formed, but *dia membelikan(\*ku)/*



*membelikan(\*mu) rokok* 'he bought me/you cigarettes' is not; though free, nonclitic, pronouns, in such constructions, are all right: *dia membelikan aku/kamu rokok*.

(ii) With instrumental *-kan*, only third person *-nya* is possible, and similarly with the dative-causative *-kan*. The reason for this is not far to seek: instruments (which take Direct Object position with instrumental *-kan* verbs) and the things entrusted to others for some job (which take the same position with dative-causative *-kan* verbs) cannot be [+Human], and therefore exclude first and second person. Examples, for instrumental *-kan* verbs: *saya memukulkannya pada anjing* 'I used it [e.g. a cane] to hit the dog'; *dia menembakkannya pada musuhnya* 'he used it [e.g. a bullet] to shoot it at his enemy'; for dative-causative *-kan* verbs: *Ahmad mereparasikannya pada bengkel di seberang* 'Ahmad had it [e.g. his car] repaired at the shop across the road'; *saya menjahitkannya pada tailor* 'I had it [e.g. the coat] made by the tailor'. (note: *tailor: sic.*)

Only accusative-causative *-kan* verbs can have both third and nonthird encliticized pronouns in Direct Object position: *dia memperlakukanmu sebagai musuh* 'he treats you as an enemy'.

7.3 The *di-* form (for *men-* verbs) and *diper-* form (for *memper-* verbs) has been dubbed "passive". Here, however, a distinction between passive and ergative is, exceptionally (for a purely morphemic description of the paradigm), needed for the *di-* form.

If the *di-* form belongs to an ergatively organized construction, the agent must be third person, and is obligatorily present; however, if that agent does not appear as *-nya* (or in fully nominal form, for that matter), it is anaphorically contained in the prefix *di-*.

If, in contrast, the *di-* form occurs in an accusatively organized construction (as a genuine "passive", therefore), the agent is optional (i.e. if there is no *-nya* or a fully nominal agent, the *di-* prefix is still not anaphorically pronominal), it is third person unless some other discourse-pragmatic strategy overrides the normal animacy hierarchy impediment to nonthird agents. For an elaborate analysis of these issues: [XX-5; XX-6].

Examples: *Dia tertipu! Dikira betul!* 'He was taken in! He (actually) thought it [i.e. some story] was true!' would, in almost any context, be an ergative construction, highly transitive, with deleted Object (in  $\emptyset$  [for 'it', i.e. the story] *dikira betul*); *di-* is then anaphorically referential to *dia* in the preceding clause. Or: *buku yang dibeli sebelumnya* '(the) books that had been bought previously' where *di-* is a genuine "passive"; because of the backgrounded nature of the construction, low transitivity, occurrence

in a subclause, it would be almost impossible for this phrase to occur in ergative organization, and, therefore, for *di-* to be pronominally anaphoric; note also there is thus no agent for *dibeli*.

Though, as noted, nonthird agentives of genuine passive *di-* forms are possible, they never occur enclitically, and their use is therefore of no concern here.

7.4 *Ku-* and *kau-* (for *men-* verbs) and *kuper-* and *kauper-* (for *memper-* verbs) are 1sg and 2sg prefixed pronominal agentives for "passives", alternating, in what appears to be no more than free variation, with the morphemically free (but syntactically bound: see 7.6) preposed use of *aku* and (*eng*)*kau*, preposed to (and inseparable from) the  $\emptyset$ - + base form of the "passive" base (for *memper-* verbs:  $\emptyset$ -*per-*). Examples: *kubaca* 'I read' (alternating with *aku*  $\emptyset$ -*baca*); *kuperbuat* 'I committed' (alternating with *aku*  $\emptyset$ -*perbuat*); *kaulakukan* 'you did' (alternating with (*eng*)*kau*  $\emptyset$ -*lakukan*); *kauperisteri* 'you married' (alternating with (*eng*)*kau*  $\emptyset$ -*peristeri*). (Depending on construction, these glosses may have to include an Object: 'you read it'; 'you committed it [i.e. that act]'; 'you did it'; 'you married her'.)

7.5 The *di-* passives can only have one, i.e. third sg or pl enclitic, agent: *-nya*. It, or a fully nominal agent, is optional in genuine passives, and in ergative *di-* constructions as well, in the latter case not because the agent itself is optional but because then the prefix *di-* itself is pronominally anaphoric (7.3). Examples: *dibelinya* 'he bought, was bought by him'; *diperlakukannya* 'he treated, was treated by him'; *didudukinya* 'they occupied, was occupied by them'; *dibelikannya* 'she bought (for), was bought by her (for)'; *dipukulkannya* 'he used [...] to beat, [...] was used by him to beat'.

7.6 The  $\emptyset$ - prefix, postulated for reasons briefly set forth in 1.1, occurs in the paradigms of *men-* verbs (and as  $\emptyset$ -*per-* for *memper-* verbs), in two classes of members of the paradigm: in transitive imperatives; and in "passives" with preposed pronominal agentives in morphemically free form.

Examples of the former: *baca(lah)!* 'read it!'; *perbanyaklah!* 'duplicate it!'; *duduki(lah)!* 'occupy it!'; and so forth. Analytically:  $\emptyset$ -*baca(lah)!*;  $\emptyset$ -*perbanyak(lah)!*;  $\emptyset$ -*duduki(lah)!*

Examples of the latter: *kami lakukan* 'we did [it], [it] was done by us'; *dia pertinggi* 'he made [it] higher'; *mereka duduki* 'they occupied [it]'. The preposed agentives, though morphemically free, are

syntactically bound, i.e. they are inseparable from the Ø- form of the base. They are first, second or third person, including also a number of "vocative" nonpronominal forms of address; on all of those, see [XX-5].

A complication arising from interference from Javanese must be briefly noted here. As has been indicated above, in order for any "active" to have the enclitic Direct Object *-nya*, it is obligatory for the verb to be prenasalized (*men-* or *memper-*) (7.2). Negatively, then, it may here be noted that no Ø- form, whether imperative or "passive", can have an Object in *-nya* form (the "passive" with an Object would then, of course, be an ergative). All this follows directly from the relevant passages above. For example, one cannot have *\*bacanya(lah)!* 'read it!'; or *\*kami lakukannya* 'we did it'; and so forth. However, from Javanese speakers one may frequently hear expressions like *nanti saya tutupnya* 'I'll close it in a minute' or *nanti saya belinya* 'I'll buy it in a moment'. These constructions are decidedly not standard Indonesian. The Javanese equivalent of Indonesian *-nya* is *-(n)e* (the /n/ being used only after a vowel), and it is parallel to Indonesian possessive *-nya* (10.1 (a); 10.1), but *not* to Indonesian Object *-nya*: Javanese *-(n)e* cannot be attached as Object to a verb. It can, however, be a marker of the speaker's (and no one else's!) intention to do something: what is known in Javanese grammar as "propositive" *-né*. Hence expressions like *nanti saya belinya/tutupnya*. It is very easy to show that this *-nya* cannot be an "Object" to the verb even by reanalysis. Javanese speakers of Indonesian will follow the rules of their first language by observing two constraints: first, such clauses be only first person; second, the future can only be future semantically. Thus, no Javanese speaker will say, in Indonesian, *nanti dia beli-(\*nya)* 'he'll buy it in a moment', and neither *tadi saya tutup(\*nya)* 'I closed it a moment ago': no nonfirst, and no nonfuture.

7.7 *Ter-* (for *men-* verbs) and *teper-* (for *memper-* verbs) plus base serve as "passives" where the agent is unknown, or irrelevant, or devoid of deliberateness: the "accidental" *ter-/teper-* form, as "passive". Examples: *terbakar* '(to be) accidentally burnt'; *tergilas* '(to be) accidentally run over/crushed'; *terlihat* '(to be) visible'; *tertekan* '(to be) under stress'; *terlewati* '(to be) passed by by mistake'.

According to complicated rules which will be set forth elsewhere [XX-2], these *ter-/teper-* forms, if belonging to the paradigm of a circumfixed verb, may drop the *-kan* or *-i* role marker ending. Thus while in *terlewati* (from *melewati* 'to pass by') the role marker ending *-i* is retained, that same ending does not occur

in *terhormat* (from *menghormati* 'to honor'; there is no such verb as *\*menghormat*) 'honored'. Similarly, *tertinggal* '(to be) (unintentionally) left behind' is the *ter-* form of *meninggalkan* 'to leave behind' (*meninggal* does exist, but it means 'to die'). On the other hand, *mengendalikan* 'to bridle' yields *terkendali\*(kan)*.

7.8 *Ter-* may also paradigmatically alternate with *men-* in intransitive *men-* verbs: *ternganga* 'to have one's mouth wide open'. Or *ter-* may be a paradigmatic member of monomorphemic verbs: *tertidur* 'to fall asleep', *terjatuh* 'to fall down (accidentally)'; *tergelincir* 'to slip'. The citation forms are: *tidur* 'to sleep'; *jatuh* 'to fall'; *:g(el)incir* 'slip'.

## 8 BER- VERBS

8.0 The prefix *ber-* derives various categories from the base forms, but only a few of them nonverbs (15.0 (d); 15.4); most are verbs, which may be subclassified as:

(a) Verbs with *ber-* as genuine prefix; these are again subdivided as:

- (i) Action verbs.
- (ii) Stative verbs.
- (iii) Reflexive verbs.

(b) Circumfixed *ber-* verbs; subdivisible into:

- (i) *Ber-|-an* verbs, of two kinds:
  - (x) Reciprocals.
  - (y) Other.
- (ii) *Ber-|-kan* verbs.

(c) *Bersi-* verbs:

*Ber-* verbs of all kinds derive from a variety of bases according to categorial membership of those bases: [XX-1]. Though *ber-* verbs may seem to have complements and therefore look as if they have a measure of transitivity, a more appropriate analysis of such *ber-* phrases shows that the base itself is phrasal. Thus *beristri dua* 'to have two wives', derives from *ber-* + *istri dua*; *bertukaran cincin* 'to exchange rings', is *ber-|-an* + *:tukar cincin*, with *:tukar* "inside" and *cincin* "outside" the circumfixation, rather than *bertukaran* + *cincin*. Many *ber-* verbs, however, cannot have a complement, such as *bercukur* 'to shave (oneself)'.

The subclasses (a) through (c), and their subordinate classes, must now be described and exemplified in 8.1 through 8.4.

8.1 Verbs, noncircumfixed, with *ber-* have a fairly wide variety of semantic

content. Some have subjects that are "actors": *berjuang* 'to struggle'; *bere-nang* 'to swim'; *berjalan (kaki)* 'to go (on foot)'. Others are merely stative: *berhuruf* 'to have letters' (e.g. *berhuruf tiga* 'to have three letters'); *beristri* 'to be married [said of a male]'. The test to distinguish them is not merely the analysis of semantic content, but also the possibility of having *ber-* derived *per-*-*-an* action nominals: thus *perjuangan* 'struggle' is well formed (from *berjuang*), but *\*peristri*, or *\*perhurufan*, is not; [XX-1].

Some *ber-* verbs are reflexive: *ber-sisir* 'to comb one's hair'; *bercukur* 'to shave (oneself)'; *berbedak* 'to powder one's face'.

8.2 *Ber-*-*-an* verbs are of two kinds: reciprocal, and nonreciprocal. Examples of reciprocal verbs: *bertukaran (cincin)* 'to exchange (rings)'; *bersurat-suratan* 'to exchange letters, to correspond (with one another)'; *berpukul-pukulan* 'to exchange blows, to hit one another'.

The nonreciprocal *ber-*-*-an* verbs often have a meaning of 'being all over the place', or 'involving great quantities'; examples: *berguguran* 'to fall (in great numbers)'; *berlumuran (darah)* 'to bleed all over, to be all covered (with blood)'; *berserakan (dia atas meja)* 'to be spread out/scattered all (over the table)'; *(burung-burung) berterbangan* '(all kinds of birds) were flying around'.

8.3 The *-kan* ending of *ber-*-*-kan* verbs is semantically not always clear, as may appear from the virtual equivalence, semantically, of *berisi air* and *berisikan air* 'to contain water'; *bersendi (pada)* 'to have [X] for principle/corner stone', beside *bersendikan (pada)*; *beralas (pada)* 'to be founded on', beside *beralaskan (pada)*; etc.

In a number of such expressions, however, *-kan* is obligatory: *berlengkapkan senjata* 'to be fully armed'; *bersenjatakan pedang* 'to be armed with a sword'. Older Malay seems to have more of such *ber-*-*-kan* formations, not all of which, however, are now in the vocabulary of most speakers of Indonesian; an example is *berpakaikan jubah kebesaran* 'to be resplendent in [his] robes'.

8.4 A few verbs add *-si-* to *ber-*, before the base: *bersikeras* 'to be hard (in one's purpose)'; *bersimaharajalela* 'to do whatever one pleases (in a position of authority)'; *bersitegang* 'to quarrel (over)'.

## 9 *KE-*-*-AN* VERBS

9.0 *Ke-*-*-an* verbs are passive in meaning, and cannot be considered, consistently, as paradigmatic alternates of the *men(-|-kan/-i)* verbs derived from the same base. For this position, see [XX-1]. Briefly, since these *ke-*-*-an* verbs are semantically related to different *men-* verbs, i.e. "adversative" *men-*-*-i* verbs in a number of instances, and to certain "non-adversative" *men-* verbs of various kinds, it would be artificial and *ad hoc* to consider these *ke-*-*-an* verbs as paradigmatic alternates, since such "alternations" would hold only for a limited number of verbs.

These *ke-*-*-an* verbs have a variety of syntactic constructions, according to valence, and other characteristics, none of them of any concern here; concerning these, see [XX-5].

There are, then, the two classes mentioned:

- (a) Adversative verbs.
- (b) Nonadversative verbs.

These must now be treated in 9.1 and 9.2.

9.1 Examples of adversative *ke-*-*-an* verbs are: *ketimbunan (reruntuhan)* 'to be hit/covered (by debris)'; *kecurian* 'to have [something] stolen from one'; *kecopetan* 'to be pickpocketed'; *kemasukan (setan)* 'to be possessed (by the devil)'; *ketutupan (kabut)* 'closed in (by fog)'; *kedatangan (tamu)* 'to have unexpected guests'.

These verbs are called "adversative" because the referent of the Subject NP undergoes some adverse event.

9.4 The nonadversative *ke-*-*-an* verbs are few, though most of them are of high text frequency; most of them are associated with some kind of knowledge, or lack thereof. Examples: *ketahuan* 'to be known'; *kelihatan* 'to be seen'; *kedengaran* 'to be heard'; *kelupaan* 'to be forgotten'; *ketinggalan* 'to be (unintentionally) left behind'.

## 10 NOUNS

10.0 Nouns have a few paradigmatic alternates for possession and determination; all the other affixes in nouns are derivational. Such nouns derive from a variety of bases according to categorial membership; see [XX-1]. For syntactic functioning of nouns, see [XX-9].



The affixes concerned may be classified conveniently as follows:

(a) Paradigmatic ones, i.e. the possessive suffixes *-ku* 'my'; *-mu* 'your'; *-nya* 'his/her/its/their'; and the (non-possessive) determiner *-nya* 'the'. For syntactic constraints on such cliticized possessives, see [XX-15].

(b) "Concrete" nominalizing *-nya*; "abstract" nominalizing *ke-|-an* (*ka-|-en* and *ka-|-an* in some derivations); and *per-|-an* for a number of nouns from "abstract" to "concrete".

(c) The prefixes *pen-* and *pemer-*, forming actor nouns, derived from *men-* verbs and *memper-* verbs respectively; and the confixes *pen-|-an* (from *men-* verbs), and *per-|-an* or *pemer-|-an* (from *memper-* verbs), all forming action nouns.

(d) Passive-nominalizing *pe-*.

(e) *Per-* in actor nouns derived from *ber-* verbs; and *per-|-an* in action nouns and state nouns derived from *ber-* verbs.

(f) Nominalizing *ke-*, *pe*, and *pe-|-an*; nominalizing *peri-*; and nominalizing *mer-* and *men-*.

(g) Nominalizing *-an*.

(h) Honorific *-(a)nda*.

Each of these must now be discussed briefly, in 10.1 through 10.8

10.1 Paradigmatic affixes in nouns are possessive *-ku* 'my'; *-mu* 'your'; *-nya* 'his/her/its/their': *rumahku* 'my house'; *keberangkatanmu* 'your departure'; *penanggalannya* 'his/her/its/their calendar'; *manfaatnya* 'its usefulness'.

While these possessive suffixes are all determiners, there is one determiner suffix that is not possessive, i.e. *-nya* 'the/this/that': *in di mana mobilnya?* 'where is that car?', *-nya* may make *mobilnya* refer to a car which speaker and hearer have (in context or not) identified, without any implication, or even relevance, as to who may be its owner.

10.2 Nominalizing affixes, deriving nouns from various categories, are of three kinds: those with *-nya*, rather "concrete" semantically in most instances; the confix *ke-|-an*, more "abstract"; and *per-|-an* (not deriving from *ber-* verbs), for "abstract" to "concrete", depending on the noun.

Examples with *-nya*: *membengkaknya* 'the swelling'; *bengkaknya* 'the swelling'; *tingginya* 'height'; *letaknya* 'position'. This *-nya* may be anaphorically possessive apart from being nominalizing: *kampus ini letaknya di sebelah utara* 'as to the campus, that is on the north side'; *-nya* is anaphoric in respect to *kampus*. But in *letaknya kampus itu* 'the position of the campus', *-nya* is not possessive. Since *:letak* is precategory, we may be sure the *-nya* is nominalizing. Precategoriality is crucial here as a test, for in

*anaknya Pak Ali* 'the child of Mr Ali', the *-nya* cannot be a nominalizer (since *anak* is already a noun), and is merely a "ligature" between the possessee-head and the possessor-attribute; see [XX-10].

Nominalizing *-nya* forms nouns which do not admit of additional affixation paradigmatically. Thus *cepatnya* 'speed' cannot have, as alternates, *cepatnya(\*ku)* 'my speed', etc.

The "concreteness", semantically, of *-nya* nominalizations is easily tested in certain pairs: *kecepatan* 'speed (in general)'; *cepatnya* '[someone's] speed (at a given moment)'; *tingginya* is often 'height' in continuity with the ground, while *ketinggian* would be 'altitude' of an aircraft in flight. *Rendahannya meja* 'the lowness of the table' contrasts with *kerendahan hati* 'humility (of heart)'.

Thus the more "abstract" nature of *ke-|-an* has already been introduced; *ketinggian* and *kerendahan* have already been illustrated; other examples: *kebingungan* 'confusion, embarrassment'; *keindahan* 'beauty'; *kepemimpinan* 'leadership'; *keibuan* 'motherliness'; *kesulitan* 'difficulty'.

*Per-|-an* may be "abstract" in meaning: (*Departemen*) *Perindustrian* '(Ministry of) Industry'; (*dunia*) *perfilman* '(the world of) motion pictures'; *permasalahan* 'set of (related) problems'. For "concrete" meanings, an example could be *perapian* 'fire [in the kitchen; for cooking]'.

Of Javanese origin, but now fully incorporated in the standard language, are two nouns: one with *ka-|-en*: *kabupaten* 'regency district' (*bupati* 'district head'); and one with *ka-|-an*: *kelurahan* (now also frequently found as *kelurahan*) '(lower) district' (*lurah* 'head of (lower) district'; a *kelurahan* is part of a *kabupaten*).

10.3 *Pen-* actor nouns are derived from *men-* verbs, while *pemer-* actor nouns derive from *memper-* verbs. Action nouns derived from *men-* verbs are circumfixed with *pen-|-an*, while those derived from *memper-* verbs are either (more traditionally, and still productively) circumfixed with *per-|-an*, or (more recently, and also productively in certain instances) with *pemer-|-an*. On constraints, see [XX-1].

Note that actor nouns are invariably prefixed, while action nouns are invariably circumfixed. This is the case no matter whether the immediate verbal origin of those nouns is prefixed or circumfixed. Thus *pemuatan* 'loading' derives either from *memuatkan* 'to load [goods on to a vehicle]' or from *memuati* 'to load [a vehicle with goods]'. Similarly, *peringatan* means 'warning', i.e. if derived from *memperingatkan* 'to warn', and 'commemoration' if derived from *memperingati* 'to commemorate'. As for actor nouns, *pemuat* may mean 'person/equipment loading [goods on to a vehicle]', or 'person/equipment loading [the vehicle with goods]'. For some morphophonemic exceptions, like

*pengrumahan*, see [XX-8].

To the examples of actor nouns may be added: *pengurus* 'manager'; *pengajar* 'teacher'; *pelamar* 'applicant'; *perintis* 'pioneer'; *pemersatu* 'unifier'. Lately *pemer-* actor nouns have become more productive than they used to be; one may now encounter: *pemerbanyak* 'multiplier, duplicator', and similar formations, especially if they are names of instruments or equipment; *pemertiga* 'the factor 3', and even (encouraged by the language development experts) *pemerhati* 'attentive person'.

Other action nouns: *pengurusan* 'management'; *pengajaran* 'teaching'; *pelamaran* 'application'; *pendaftaran* 'enrollment'; *pendudukan* 'occupation (by force)'. As noted, the action nouns derived from *memper-* verbs have traditionally been formed by *per-*|-*an* circumfixation: *persatuan* 'unification'; *perbanyakkan* 'multiplication, duplication'; *perdebatan* 'discussion (by way of debate)'. Some of these may be ambiguous as to causative or noncausative meaning, i.e. in case there are both *memper-* verbs and *ber-* verbs from which they might be derived. Thus *persatuan* means 'unification' if derived from *mempersatukan*, but it means 'unity' if derived from *bersatu* 'to be one' (8.1; 10.5). It may have been this kind of ambiguity that has led, on the analogy of the *pemer-* actor nouns, from *memper-* verbs, to *pemer-*|-*an* action nouns (rather than the more traditional *per-*|-*an* action nouns), simply to disambiguate action nouns from stative nouns. Hence, of very recent coining, and gaining currency, formations like: *pemerbanyakan* 'multiplication, duplication'; *pemerbendaan* 'reification'.

Some *pen-*|-*an* nouns are not "action" nouns properly speaking, but signify rather the place of the action: *pembaringan* 'resting place'; *pencucian* 'laundry place'; *penenunan* '(weaving) loom'. There are a few dozen more, and some of this class could also be used as genuine action nouns. For details, see [XX-1]. One *pen-* noun is not an actor noun: *penyakit* 'illness, disease' (from *sakit* 'ill, sick').

10.4 A passive nominalizing prefix *pe-* has traditionally existed only in very few words, the most frequently used in Contemporary Indonesian being *pesuruh* 'emissary' (i.e. someone who is being ordered to go somewhere; *menyuruh* is 'to order'). The "passive" interpretation is historically incorrect, and is presented here as rather straightforward synchronically, as is shown by new formations deliberately coined (and gaining currency), based on that "passive" reanalysis. An example is *petatar* 'someone being upgraded (in a course); upgradee'. The action noun *penataran* 'upgrading' (from *menatar* 'to upgrade', which in its turn is itself a loan from Javanese, i.e. from :*tatar*), has led to *penatar* 'the teacher/instructor in upgrading courses', and this in turn has

led to *petatar* 'upgradee', now widely used in circles organizing such upgrading courses.

The potential productivity of this "passive" *pe-* formation is severely limited by morphophonemic rules, seeing that *pe-* as distinct from *pen-* presupposes that there is a nasal, while *pen-* derivations from *men-* verbs with bases beginning with /l/ or /r/, already leave only *pe-* in the actor noun. For example, *pelantik* 'inaugurator' (from *melantik* 'to inaugurate, to install') is not now available for \*'inauguree'.

10.5 In two derivations from *ber-* verbs, *per-* prefixation forms the actor noun; while *per-*|-*an* circumfixation forms the action noun or stative noun: *pelajar* 'pupil, student'; *perenang* 'swimmer' (note, however, that *perenang* could also be considered as derived from *merenangi* 'to swim in', as in *perenang laut* 'someone who swims in the sea'); *pelajaran* 'lesson, class'; *perwujudan* 'appearance, shape'; *persoalan* 'problem'.

Some of these formations may be homonymous or even "neutralized". For example, *persoalan* may have no fewer than three derivational origins: first, from *bersoal* 'to discuss (a problem), to ask', as in the present section; second, from *mempersoalkan* 'to discuss (as a problem)' (10.3); third, from *soal* 'problem, question' (10.3).

Note also *peserta* 'follower', from *beserta*, which occurs rather rarely as a verb ('to go with'), and more normally as a preposition ('together', optionally followed by *dengan* 'with'); see 12.2.

10.6 A number of nouns are derived by the prefixes *ke-* and *pe-*, most of them semantically [+HUMAN]: *ketua* 'chairperson, head' (*tua* 'old'); *kehendak* 'will, desire' (*hendak* 'to desire, will'); *pemalas* 'lazy-bones'; *pemalu* 'shy person'.

While there seems to be no problem about the analysis of the *ke-* nouns, the prefix *pe-* is more problematic; first, for diachronic reasons (the original *pa-* in earlier Malay has had an extremely complicated history, and a great deal of interference from other indigenous languages has triggered some more); second, and more relevantly, even synchronically, as may appear from the following examples. Though *pelaut* 'sailor' may be seen as deriving (directly) from *laut* 'sea', it could be analyzed also as deriving from *melaut* 'to put out to sea, to sail', simply because morphophonemic rules (see [XX-8]) would preclude nasal /N/ in *pe-* (because the base begins with /l/). Similarly, *pejalan*, instead of being derived (directly) from *jalan* 'road', could be seen as deriving from *berjalan* 'to walk', with /r/-loss (since an /l/ occurs in the base; see [XX-8]), even though the verb *berjalan* does

have /r/, in spite of the /l/ in the base; similarly: *pelari* 'runner' (*lari* or *ber-lari* 'to run').

Other *pe-* derivations, however, must be considered as distinct from some *pe-* as a morphophonemic alternate of *pen-*. *Pemalu*, for example, cannot be analyzed as deriving from *memalukan* 'to embarrass', since in that case *pemalu* would have to mean \*'an embarrassing person', while in fact it means 'an embarrassed person' (and considering that \**memalu* does not exist). An exceptional case is *penakut* 'coward', which, at least from a semantic point of view, must be analyzed as derived from *takut* 'to be afraid', even though *pen-* has the nasal /n/, for if (as the morphemic form might suggest) *penakut* is the action noun derived from *menakutkan* 'to frighten', then *penakut* would have to mean \*'someone who frightens [someone else]', which it does not. On the other hand, \**petakut* is nonexistent.

To finish with some other obvious *pe-* examples: *petugas* 'officer in charge' (no /r/, while *bertugas* 'to be in charge' does have /r/, and the base does not contain either /r/ or /l/); *petani* 'farmer' (*bertani* 'to farm'); *pejuang* 'fighter' (*berjuang* 'to fight'). On the other hand, phonemic /pə/ is readily seen as a morphophonemic alternate of *per-* in *pekerja* 'worker' (*bekerja* 'to work'); *perenang* 'swimmer' (*berenang* 'to swim').

*Pe-*|-*an* (not nasalized, not a deverbal action noun) is found in a few words, e.g. *pekarangan* 'yard'.

What may be an older form of *per-* survives in the prefix *peri-*, which for convenience' sake may be classified in this section: *peribahasa* 'proverb' (*bahasa* 'language'); *perikemanusiaan* 'humane-ness' (*manusia* 'human being'; *kemanusiaan* 'humaneness'); the older \**peribumi* (now no longer in use) has become *pribumi* 'indigenous'. Historians are not, however, in agreement about the origin of this *peri-*, and it is not unusual to find , even nowadays, orthographically separated from the base: *peri kemanusiaan*, *peri hal* (or *perihal*) 'concerning [some topic of official correspondence]'.

The prefixes *men-* and *mer-* are found (in free variation) in *mertua* and *mentua*, each of which means 'father/mother-in-law'.

10.7 A great number of nouns are derived, from precategorials as well as from a variety of categories ([XX-1]), by the suffix *-an*. It would seem that a number of them might be considered as adjectives, rather than as nouns, but we will argue that they are nouns which may be used attributively so that they have more in common with adjectives than do other nouns: see [XX-11]. Also, a number of *-an* derivations are numerals, and will be exemplified in the numerals section (15.0 (c); 15.3); there is, however, a related use of *-an* in nonnumerals, see (h), this section.

Words derived by *-an* suffixation are perhaps best subclassified according to semantic features, as follows:

(a) There are a few *-an* nouns which do not differ appreciably from their base nouns: *kelompok* and *kelompokan* 'group' would be one example, but native speakers we have consulted have included a few of the (b) items in the present group.

(b) An *-an* noun signifies magnification of the meaning of the derivational origin: *laut* 'sea', *lautan* 'ocean', or at least something like 'the open sea' (for 'ocean' there is the word *samudera*); *darat* 'land [as opposed to 'sea']', *daratan* 'plain'; *ruang* 'room', *ruangan* '(large) room'; *gugus* 'group', *gugusan* 'group [of islands]', or 'constellation [of stars]'. Some *-an* nouns signify a metaphorical application of the meaning of the base noun: *duri* 'thorn', *durian* '[kind of] fruit [with "thorn-like" pins on the skin]'; *rambut* 'hair', *rambutan* '[kind of] fruit [with hairy skin]'.

(c) A reduplicated noun of origin takes *-an* to signify a collective meaning which at the same time suggests variability: *kaleng* 'can, tin', *kaleng-kalengan* 'all kinds of cans'; *pohon* 'tree', *pohon-pohonan* 'all kinds of trees'; *batu* 'stone, rock', *batu-batuan* 'all kinds of stones, rocks'; *rumput* 'grass', *rumput-rumputan* 'all kinds of grass'.

(d) A reduplicated noun of origin takes *-an* to signify some kind of "imitation" of the referent of the original noun: *anak* 'child', *anak-anakan* 'doll'; *mobil* 'car', *mobil-mobilan* 'toy car'; *kuda* 'horse', *kuda-kudaan* 'rocking horse'.

(e) The *-an* noun signifies the instrument for doing the action implied in the base: *garisan* 'ruler' (*garis* 'line'); *ayunan* 'seesaw' (: *ayun* 'seesaw'); *timbangan* 'scales' (: *timbang* 'weigh').

(f) Nouns ending in *-an* signify the place where the action implied in the base takes place: *tumpuan* 'stepping stone'; *landasan* 'runway'; *punggahan* 'loading birth'.

(g) The *-an* may nominalize the base, in the manner of the *pen-*|-*an* circumfixation for action nouns (10.0 (c); 10.3), but with the 'action' feature "bleached": *didikan* 'education'; *pimpinan* 'leadership'; [also] 'head, leader'; *balasan* 'revenge'; *cobaan* 'effort'.

(h) The *-an* suffix forms "passive" nouns: *gigitan* (*nyamuk*) '(a mosquito's) bite [i.e. the effect on the one bitten]'; *titipan sepeda* 'the storing [i.e. the being stored] of the bicycle'; *angkutan barang* 'transportation [i.e. the being transported] of the goods'.

The "bleaching" of the semantic 'action' feature leads to a measure of "neutralization" of the 'active' vs 'passive' opposition, so that some of these *-an* nouns are open, analytically, to their characterization as belonging to (g), above.

Another problem with these *-an* nouns, especially in attributive position, is that they may look like being open to



assignment to the adjective category. For example, in *barang angkutan* 'goods to be [or having been] transported', it may seem appropriate to assign adjectival status to the *-an* form; similar examples: *pakaian cucian* 'clothes for laundering'; *barang buatan Jepang* 'Japanese-produced goods'. However, in [XX-10] it will be argued that these *-an* forms are much more appropriately described as nouns. Some of these "passive" *-an* forms, however, are indeed adjectives; see 11.0 (d); 11.4.

(i) In *-an* words like *kiloan* 'per kilo', *literan* 'per liter' the *-an* suffix is "distributive", the way *-an* may also be used in numerals (15.0 [g]; 15.7[iv]). There are arguments for considering these as nouns, and accordingly we are including them here.

10.8 The suffix *-(a)nda*, i.e. with initial /a/ often dropped after consonants, is used in what might be called "honorific" words: *ibunda* 'mother' (also *Bunda* in *Bunda Maria*, Catholic name for 'Our Lady'); *ayanda* or *ayahanda* 'father'; *ananda* 'child'; *adinda* '(younger) brother/sister'; *baginda* 'majesty'. These words are very formal, and require an appropriate context.

## 11 ADJECTIVES

11.0 Affixes in derived adjectives may be classified as follows:

(a) For degrees of comparison, there are "equative" *se-* and "superlative" *ter-*, both in Formal Indonesian; in Informal Indonesian there is a "comparative" as well as an "inclinalational" *-an*.

(b) There are *se-* adjectives derived from nonadjectives.

(c) There are a few adjectives with *men-* (and with *man-*).

(d) Some "passive" *-an* derivatives are adjectives rather than nouns; and some *-an* adjectives relate to periodicity.

Adjectives in this language have no paradigmatic affixation. However, that is assuming that affixation for degrees of comparison are derivational, not paradigmatic. That is indeed our position, and our reasons for it would take too long to set forth here. Briefly, however, the following may be stated. Comparatives and superlatives are, in phrase structure syntax, governing constituents (as are also "equatives"), and it seems more consistent descriptively to assign them to affixation making a governor out of what would, without the affixation, be a governee, and to derivational rather than paradigmatic status. See [XX-1; XX-12].

For bases, categorially, and constraints on productivity, in the derivation of adjectives, see [XX-1].

The classes (a) through (d) must now be treated, in 11.1 through 11.4

11.1 Examples of adjectives with equative *se-* are: *setinggi* 'as high as'; *sebesar* 'as big as'; *selebar* 'as wide as'; etc. The "standard" follows without any marking [XX-11]: *setinggi langit* 'as high as the heavens'; *sebesar rumah* 'as big as a house'; etc.

*Ter-* derivatives are superlatives: *tertinggi* 'highest'; *terendah* 'lowest'; *terkaya* 'wealthiest'.

These affixations are characteristic of Formal Indonesian; comparatives are periphrastic, not affixational: *lebih kaya* 'wealthier'; etc.; *lebih* is 'more'.

In Informal Indonesian, the suffix *-an* is a frequent device (through interference from the Jakarta dialect) for forming the comparative: *terangan* 'brighter'; *murahan* 'cheaper' (sometimes in the sense of 'of inferior quality'). The *-an* suffix may also be "inclinalational", to express that something is "inclined" to be X (X being what the adjectival base expresses): *bosanan* 'easily bored'; *cemburuan* 'inclined to be jealous'; *sakit-sakitan* 'often ill'.

11.2 *Se-* adjectives, not derived from adjectives, and differing also from the *se-* class of 11.1 in that no "comparative" (as degree of comparison) is implied, are exemplified in: *sesuai* 'appropriate, in keeping with', from *:suai* 'fit'; *seimbang* 'balanced, in balance [with]', from *:imbang* 'balance'; *setempat* 'in (that) place, in the same place', from *tempat* 'place'; *serumah* 'in the same house', from *rumah* 'house'.

Some grammarians like to see *sembarang* 'any' as derived from *barang* 'no matter what'; *sendiri* '(one)self', from *diri* 'self', and *sempurna* 'perfect', from *purna* 'complete' (with intrusive /m/, /n/, and /m/ respectively), but it is doubtful whether that makes sense synchronically, with the exception, perhaps, of *sendiri*. (*Sempurna*, however, has been integrally borrowed from Sanskrit, and it is hard to prove reanalysis as suggested, since in fact, in Indonesian, *purna-* occurs only as a borrowed prefix, not as a base; see 18.0 (b); 18.2.

11.3 Though most derivations with *men-* are verbs (see 3, above), a few are adjectives: *menyeluruh* 'total', from *seluruh* 'whole'; *menengah* 'middle' (notably in *sekolah menengah* 'secondary school'), from *tengah* 'half, middle'; *membiara* 'religious [i.e. living a life of vows]'; *menyejarah* 'historical' (from *sejarah* 'history'); *mendatang* 'forthcoming'.

One such adjective has (through Java-

nese) *man-* rather than *men-*: *mandiri* 'independent', from *diri* 'self'.

11.4 Most *-an* derivations of the "passive" kind are nouns, with perhaps more "merging" with adjectival categoriality than in most nouns; see 10.7 (h). Some of these "passive" *-an* forms, however, are never used as nouns and cannot be interpreted in any other way than as adjectives. Consider the following *-an* forms used as attributes: (*buku*) *bacaan* '(book of) readings'; (*pakaian*) *cucian* '(clothes for) laundering'; (*barang*) *angkutan* '(goods for) transportation'; all of these *-an* forms may also be used independently: *bacaan* 'reading (material)'; *cucian* 'laundry'; *angkutan* 'transportation'. However, some of these *-an* forms can only occur as (adjectival) attributes to nouns (and those are the examples of the present class): (*permata*) *curian* 'stolen (jewel)'; (*anak*) *asuhan* '(a child) raised [i.e. a child one has brought up]'; (*budak*) *belian* '(servant) bought [i.e. 'slave']'. These *-an* forms can never be used as nouns.

Some *-an* adjectives are "periodic" in meaning: (*majalah*) *bulanan* 'monthly (magazine)', from *bulan* 'month'; (*buku*) *harian* 'diary [i.e. 'daily (book)']', from *hari* 'day'; (*cuti*) *tahunan* 'annual (vacation)', from *tahun* 'year'; (*upah*) *mingguan* 'weekly (pay)', from *minggu* 'week'. Some of these *-an* adjectives become nouns through ellipsis: *mingguan* 'weekly (magazine)'; *harian* 'daily (paper)'. However, with other nouns not related to the media, such use as nouns is not wellformed.

## 12 PREPOSITIONS

12.0 Prepositions may have the following affixations:

(a) Paradigmatic affixes, for Object, i.e. *-ku* 'me'; *-mu* 'you'; and *-nya* 'him/her/it/them'.

(b) The derivational affixes *se-*, *men-*, *ber-*, and *ter-*.

Prepositions in Indonesian are actually compounds in some forms: *di atas*; *dari bawah*, etc., the first component being itself a preposition (*di*; *dari*); and the second component a precategorial or a preposition: *:atas*; *:bawah*; *kepada* (orthographically one word) 'to [a person]'; etc. They are, in keeping with tradition for Malay and Indonesian, simply considered as prepositions.

Classes (a) and (b) are exemplified in 12.1 and 12.2.

12.1 The Object suffixes *-ku*, *-mu*, and *-nya* are cliticized to the preposition: *di atasku* 'above me'; *sesudahmu*

'after you'; *sebelumnya* 'before that'.

There are constraints here, however (*\*diku*; *\*kenya*, etc.), for which see [XX-15], [XX-16].

12.2 The prefix *se-* may generate prepositions from adjectives: *selama* 'during'; *sehabis* 'after (completion of)'; and from adverbs: *sebelum* 'before'; *sesudah* 'after'.

Some *men-* forms function as prepositions: *mengenai* 'concerning, about'; *menurut* 'according to'; they are formations of the same syntactic valence as some *-ing* forms in English, like *seeing (that)*; *considering*, etc.

A *ber-* form of a preposition is *berserta* 'together (with)', followed optionally by *dengan* 'with'. (*Beserta* may also be a verb: 'to go with'.)

A *ter-* preposition is *terhadap* 'in regard to'.

## 13 ADVERBS

13.0 Four affixations may form adverbs:

(a) The prefix *se-*, from a variety of forms.

(b) The suffix *-an*, from an adjective base (often reduplicated).

(c) The suffix *-nya*, for various kinds of adverbs.

(d) The circumfix *se-| -nya*, for adverbs of manner.

These will be exemplified in 13.1 through 13.4. A final note is found in 13.5.

13.1 The prefix *se-* produces, from a variety of forms, adverbs: e.g. *semoga* 'may [i.e. an "optative" adverb]'; *sedemikian* 'in this manner'; *sedapat mungkin* 'in so far as is possible'; *sekuat tenaga* 'with all [one's] strength'; *seketika* 'at once, that very instant'.

13.2 The suffix *-an* may be added to a reduplicated form, resulting in adverbs: *mati-matian* 'with great effort, at all costs' (*mati* 'dead'); *terus-terusan* 'constantly, without letup' (*terus* 'direct, straight'); *terang-terangan* 'straightforwardly, honestly' (*terang* 'clear, bright'); *mudah-mudahan* 'hopefully' (*mudah* 'easy').

13.3 Through *-nya* suffixation, adverbs may be derived: *kiranya* 'presumably' (*kira* 'think'); *rasanya* 'perhaps' (*rasa* 'feel'); *makanya* 'for that very reason, that's why' (*maka* is a particle with a meaning in between English 'so' and 'and');

*sebelumnya* 'before, previously', *sesudahnya* 'afterwards, later'.

13.4 Finally, the circumfix *se-|-nya* forms adverbs of manner, signifying a preeminent degree, from adjectives, simple or reduplicated, or from verbs *sebaiknya* 'preferably'; *sebaik-baiknya* 'in the best possible manner'; *secepatnya* 'as fast as possible'; *sedapatnya* 'in so far as possible'.

13.5 Technically it would be possible to decompose deictic adverbs like *begini* 'in this manner', *begitu* 'in that manner', and deictic precategoryals like *:sini* 'here', *:situ* 'there [2nd person]', and *:sana* 'there [3rd person]' by isolation of *ini* 'this' and *itu* 'that' (but *:sana* would be problematic). However, the functional load would be so light as to make the affixes almost ad hoc. In any case, these words are better treated in [XX-15].

## 14 CONJUNCTIONS

14.0 Conjunctions may be derived in two ways:

(a) Through *se-* prefixation, as with prepositions.

(b) Through *se-|-nya* circumfixation, either to form "irrealis" conjunctions, or to combine with any of a small set of verbs to form conjunctionalized verbs, to introduce subclauses.

(c) Through *men-|-kan* circumfixation, for one item.

(d) Through *-kan* suffixation, for one item.

These are exemplified in 14.1 through 14.4.

14.1 Some conjunctions are formatively identical with prepositions of the *se-* type (12.0 [b]; 12.2): *sebelum* 'before'; *sesudah* 'after'; they introduce subclauses. (Not all *se-* prepositions are homonymous with conjunctions; e.g. *sewaktu* is exclusively a conjunction.)

14.2 Circumfixation by *se-|-nya* forms irrealis conjunctions, introducing clauses whose predicate is counterfactual: *seandainya* 'if [IRR]'; *sekiranya* 'if (hopefully) [IRR]'.

A small set of monomorphemic verbs (*pulang* 'to go home'; *kembali* 'to return'; *sampai* 'to arrive') takes *se-|-nya* circumfixation to form conjunctionalized verbs (or verbalized conjunctions, if that

term is preferable), introducing a subclause. The conjunction itself, because it contains a verb, is thus a nonfinite verbal subordinate of the clause it introduces, as well. Examples: *sepulanganya* 'after going home'; *sekembalinya* 'after coming back'; *sesampainya* 'after arriving'.

14.3 From *lain* 'other', may be derived, through *men-|-kan* circumfixation, the conjunction *melainkan* 'but [correlative with a preceding negative clause]'; see [XX-14].

14.4 From the adverb *sedang* '[durative]' (as in *dia sedang bekerja* 'he is working') may be derived, through *-kan* suffixation, the conjunction *sedangkan* 'while [concessive]' (*sedang* may also be a conjunction, concessive, like *sedangkan*).

## 15 NUMERALS

15.0 As noted earlier (1.2 (d)), numerals, for the purpose of making an inventory of affixes, are most conveniently described together, even though categorially they are not all the same; for example, ordinal numerals are adjectival, while cardinal numerals, as quantifiers, may be "floated".

The affixation in numerals may be itemized as follows:

(a) *Se-* is prefixed to certain cardinals as the multiplier 'one' (and to *:belas* as the counter 'one').

(b) *Se-* multiplies, by 'one', numeral classifiers.

(c) *Se-* serves as the numerator 'one' for fractions.

(d) With indefinite numerals *se-* is "equative".

(e) The prefix *:per-* forms denominators of fractions.

(f) Cardinals prefixed by *ke-* are, in postnominal position, ordinals; in prenominal position, "collective" cardinals; the latter may take anaphoric *-nya*, for third singular or plural.

(g) The suffix *-an* with numerals may carry a variety of meanings.

(h) The prefix *ber-* with certain numerals indefinitely multiplies the numeral of the base.

(i) Precategorical numerals may be postulated as being prefixed with  $\emptyset$ - when compounded by multipliers.

(j) The suffix *-nya* is found with *satu* 'one'.

(k) *Ber-*, *men-*, and *memper-* verbs (circumfixed or noncircumfixed) may be formed from certain numerals, and may take all other paradigmatic affixations available for such verbs.

These items will now be discussed, in 15.1 through 15.11.



15.1 Cardinals with :*puluh* 'ten'; :*belas* 'between ten and twenty [with 'ten' as base]'; :*ratus* 'hundred'; :*ribu* 'thousand'; and :*juta* 'million' (all of them precategoryals) may take *se-* 'one' as multiplier in all but :*belas*, with which *se-* is a counter 'one': *sepuluh* 'ten'; *sebelas* 'eleven'; *seratus* 'one hundred'; *seribu* 'one thousand'; *sejuta* 'one million'. This *se-* may be replaced by ("free") *satu* 'one' with :*ribu* and :*juta* (*satu ribu* 'one thousand'; *satu juta* 'one million'), but not with the others (\**satu puluh*; \**satu belas*; \**satu ratus*). Note that :*lusin* 'dozen', may take either *satu* or *se-*: *satu lusin/selusin* 'one dozen'.

All *se-* cardinals may become the base for *ke-* numerals: *kesebelas*; *kese-ratus*; etc.); see 15.6.

15.2 *Se-* multiplies, by 'one', numeral classifiers: *sepucuk surat* 'a/one letter' (:*pucuk* is the classifier); *sebuah meja* 'a/one table' (*buah* is the classifier); *sebiji mata* 'a/one eye(ball)' (*bi*); *seorang pegawai* 'an employee' (*orang*); etc. For these classifiers, see [XX-9]. *Seorang* is exceptional in that it may mean 'someone', in which case another *se-* may be prefixed: *seseorang*.

15.3 *Se-* serves as the numerator 'one' for fractions: *sepertiga* 'one-third'; *seperduabelas* 'one-twelfth'; *seperseratus* 'one-hundredth'. For the prefixation of the denominator :*pertiga*, :*perduabelas*, etc., see 15.5. The numerator *se-* may be replaced by ("free") *satu* 'one': *satu pertiga*; *satu perduabelas*; etc., except for *setengah* 'one half' (\**satu tengah*).

15.4 With indefinite numerals, *se-* is "equative": *sebanyak* 'equally many/much'; *tidak seberapa* 'not all that many/much'. See 11.1.

15.5 The prefix :*per-* forms denominators of fractions, for denominators higher than 'two': :*pertiga* 'third'; :*perempat* 'fourth'; etc. Such :*per-* forms are precategoryals, and need, in morphemic composition, "free" numerators like *satu* 'one', *dua* 'two', etc. (*satu pertiga* 'one-third'; *dua perseratus* 'two-hundredths'; etc.), but *satu* may be replaced by *se-*: *sepertiga* 'one-third'; *sepertiga belas* 'one-thirteenth'; *sepertiga ribu* 'one three-thousandth'; etc., as noted in 15.3. On *per-tama*, see 15.6.

15.6 Ordinal numerals are prefixed with *ke-*: *kesatu* 'first' (also: *pertama*); *kedua* 'second'; *ketiga* 'third'; *ketigapuluh enam* 'thirty-sixth'; etc. These, like all attributes, follow their "principals": *buku keempat* 'fourth book'; *acara ketujuh* 'seventh item [of agenda, e.g.]'; etc. *Pertama* 'first' was at one time integrally borrowed from Sanskrit, so that diachronic evidence speaks against isolating *per-* as a prefix; synchronically, however, such a reanalysis is valid, because of the adverb *pertama-tama* 'in the

first place'; *per-* may now be considered as a prefix, because of "backformation".

The "same" *ke-* forms may also precede their "principals" (as do cardinal numerals (see, however, [XX-17]), and then these *ke-* forms are (cardinal) "collective" numerals: *keempat buku itu* 'those four books'; *ketujuh acara ini* 'these seven [agenda] items'. In certain constructions, however ([XX-17]), such "collective" cardinals may be "floated" (like other cardinals): *mereka kelimanya* 'they, in a group of five', in which case they take *-nya*.

Ordinal *ke-* is also found with *kese-kian* 'umpteenth'; and a "collective" cardinal *kesemuanya* 'all of them' (floatable) takes *-nya* obligatorily.

15.7 The suffix *-an* in numerals may have various meanings:

(i) With :*puluh*, :*ratus*, :*ribu*, :*juta*, *-an* may signify indefinite multiples of their base: *puluhan* 'tens of'; *ratusan* 'hundreds of'; *ribuan* 'thousands of'; *jutaan* 'millions of'. With :*belas*, i.e. in *belasan* the meaning is 'between ten and twenty': *anak belasan* 'teenager'; *belasan hari* 'more than ten days, a week or two'.

(ii) With definite multipliers of :*puluh*, :*ratus*, :*ribu*, :*juta*, the suffix *-an* indicates an estimate, close to the base: *dua ratusan* 'about two hundred'; *tiga ribuan* 'around three thousand'; this formation is used especially if the estimate is likely to be (somewhat, or much) over the number of the base ('in the two hundred/three thousand bracket'). Note: *tahun duapuluhan (abad ini)* 'the twenties (of this century)'.

(iii) With :*ratus*, :*ribu*, and *sepuluh ribu* (which are denominations of Rupiah banknotes), the suffix *-an* may signify totals in these denominations: *uang ratusan* 'money in notes of one hundred'; *jumlah ribuan* 'total of one thousand notes'; *pembayaran dengan sepuluh ribuan* 'payment with ten thousand notes'. These *-an* forms identify units of totals of money, and denominations in notes are an obvious case; however, these totals need not be in quantities of notes or coins. If someone for some reason were to sort money in piles of, say, three thousand Rupiahs, he would refer to the result of his sorting as (*uang*) *tiga ribuan* 'the (piles of) three thousand'.

(iv) The suffix *-an* is often used to identify some conventional standard of quantity. This is not necessarily the case only in numerals (about *literan*, *kiloan*, see 10.7 [i]), but some numerals take this *-an* also: *lusinan* 'per dozen'; *ratusan* 'per hundred'; etc. Clearly, this use of *-an* is closely related to that of *-an* numerals of (iii) of the present section.

(v) The suffix *-an* added to *satu*, in *satuan*, means 'unit'; it seems that *duaan* means 'unit of two'.

15.8 Indefinite multiples of :*ratus*, :*ribu*, :*juta* may be formed also by pre-

fixing these bases with *ber-*, with the base optionally reduplicated: *beratus-* (*-ratus*) '(in the) hundreds'; *beribu(-ri-bu)* '(in the) thousands'; *berjuta(-juta)* '(in the) millions'.

15.9 A consistent description profits by postulation of derivational  $\emptyset$ - (zero) as a prefix for the precategorial numerals (*:ratus*; *:ribu*; etc.) whenever combined with a nonaffixational form, and this also holds for *:per-* denominators of fractions. Morphemically, such constructions are compounds; see 16.

15.10 The suffix *-nya* is found with *satu* 'one', deriving *satunya*, as in *satunya itu* 'that one'; and in *satu-satunya*, an adjective, '(the) only (one)', as in *naskah satu-satunya* 'the only document'.

15.11 From numerals there may be formed *ber-*, *men-* and *memper-* verbs (circumfixed and noncircumfixed): *berdua* 'to be together [i.e. two persons]'; *mendua (hati)* 'to be of two minds'; *menduai* 'to add one [of something] to make two'; *menduaskan* 'to make two [of something], to multiply by two'; *berduaan* 'to be together [i.e. two persons]'.

Cardinals preceded by *memper-* are problematic, in that they may represent *men-* + a *:per-* denominator of a fraction, or *memper-* + cardinal. *Memperdua*, for example, is given the glossaries 'to divide by two' and 'to multiply by two' in different dictionaries; *mempertiga* is listed only as 'to divide by three' never as '\*to multiply by three'. It should be noted, however, that *memperbanyak* is only 'to multiply', never '\*to divide into many parts' (of course, there is no such "denominator" as *:perbanyak*). In general, the 'division' reading is always correct, and for multiplication *kali* 'time(s)' may be added to the cardinal number, but then the circumfixation *men-|-kan* must be used to derive the appropriate verb: *mendua-kalikan* 'to multiply by two'; *mentigakalikan* 'to multiply by three'.

Transitive verbs with cardinals as basic forms may have paradigmatic alternates in the usual manner: *kuduhkan*; *kau-pertiga*; *diperduai*; etc.

## 16 ZERO IN COMPOUNDS

Precategorials, whenever apparently occurring "freely", are usefully analyzed as being prefixed by  $\emptyset$ - (zero), to avoid *ad hoc* descriptions. While the general principle underlying this descriptive postulate must be discussed in detail elsewhere ([XX-5]; [XX-13]), it may be briefly set forth here as follows.

Precategorial status of a lexeme needs some other constituent as closely connected with it as possible, for such a lexeme to have categorial status, i.e. to be concretely used in structural context. Formative affixes are the most

obvious devices for this. When, however, we find precategorials not apparently (i.e. formatively) affixed, we will have to postulate  $\emptyset$ - in order not to ignore the "bound" status of precategorials, which are characteristic of this language. Obvious examples are transitive imperatives of *men-* verbs derived from precategorial bases; thus  *baca!* 'read it' must be analyzed as  $\emptyset$ - *baca!*, as polymorphemic, therefore, if one is not to ignore data which include *:baca* as a precategorial lexeme; see 7.6. The same holds for those verbal "passives" with morphemically free preposed pronominal agentives, as in *kami lakukan*, *saya baca*, etc., which analytically appear as *kami  $\emptyset$ -lakukan* and *saya  $\emptyset$ -baca*.

Such zeros are postulated also for such compounds as *daya  $\emptyset$ -juang* 'fighting power'; *daya  $\emptyset$ -beli* 'purchasing power'; and similar nominal compounds with one component derived from a precategorial, but in this case derivationally, not paradigmatically. Verbal compounds of this kind are:  $\emptyset$ - *kirim surat* 'to send a letter';  $\emptyset$ - *cari untung* 'to seek profit';  $\emptyset$ - *tukar cincin* 'to exchange rings'; etc. The Objects in these compounds are "incorporated" Objects, with all the characteristics of such Objects: inseparable from the verbal form, indefinite, unquantifiable, etc. Since the verbal component cannot be a precategorial (but in themselves *:kirim*, *:cari*, and *:tukar* are), the zero prefix is postulated to keep description consistent.

The same analysis underlies compound numerals, such as *tiga  $\emptyset$ -puluh*; *sembilan  $\emptyset$ -ribu*; *dua  $\emptyset$ -pertiga*; etc.

## 17 AFFIXES IN LOAN WORDS

By "loan words" here is meant words borrowed by Indonesian from foreign languages; by "foreign" we mean languages outside Indonesia. That is to say, "loans" from languages in Indonesia, in so far as they have brought affixes into the language, are not here considered as loans. In any event, many affixes in Indonesian have gone through a complicated history involving other languages and other dialects within the country; they may be considered as "indigenous" and "Indonesian" as a consequence. In a rare case an affix is still identifiable as not Indonesian but Javanese, i.e. *man-* (rather than *men-*), as noted in 3.3; and this also has been included among the Indonesian affixes.

On the other hand, affixes from foreign languages which have entered earlier Malay and Contemporary Indonesian vary rather widely in their degree of "indigenization". The first donor language that comes to mind here is Sanskrit: its influence is very old, and some of the Sanskrit words that have become Indonesian have affixes that have merged in compli-

cated ways with originally Malay ones, so that now for all practical purposes they are indigenously Indonesian; those, then, will not be treated either in what follows, in favor of an almost purely synchronic descriptive approach. To a lesser degree, that obtains also for some Arabic suffixes.

Our criterion for identifying affixes in Indonesian, in words that have been borrowed from foreign languages, is their isolability, either because of the size of the sample and the possibility of identification of the nonaffixational part of the lexemes concerned, or because the originally lexical content of the "affix" can no longer be identified in Indonesian. For example, we count as prefixes a number of Sanskrit morphemes which were originally numerals, but cannot be so considered, from a synchronic point of view, in Indonesian. In other words, those original numerals have now in their Indonesian form "bleached" to affix status.

Identification of affixes is sometimes made more complicated for morphophonemic reasons. As in the previous sections of this paper, however, we will assume those morphophonemic rules to be known.

The following languages are known to have been donor languages for loans in Indonesian: Sanskrit, Persian, Hindi, Tamil, Arabic, Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese, Dutch, and English. It seems, however, that for the borrowing of affixes only Sanskrit, Arabic, Dutch, and English are relevant. Therefore, subsequent descriptions will be subdivided according to these four languages, in 18 through 21.

A final note may be in order here. The status of affixes in foreign loans is often hard to determine. Consider the loans *protestan* 'protestant' (Dutch: *protestant*) and *protes* 'protest' (Dutch: *protest*). Note that the donor language must be Dutch, not English, since both *protestan* and *protes* have the word accent on the penultimate, which is where it is in Dutch, but not in English. (The final /t/ in both loans is dropped due to phonotactic rules of Indonesian.) Can one now, in *protestan*, postulate a "suffix" -an? Purely analytically this seems possible, but it is highly doubtful if Dutch *protestant* is, by native speakers, associated with *protest*, from which, of course, diachronically it derives. If, then, it seems far-fetched to postulate a "suffix" -ant in Dutch *protestant*, even though Dutch has many other -ant suffixes, then it would be overly "analytical" to postulate a "suffix" -an (in *protestan*) in Indonesian, which lacks almost entirely other such -an "endings". Is -ator in *diktator* 'dictator' (Dutch: *dictator*) a "suffix"? True, Indonesian also has *dikte* 'dictation' (Dutch: *dictée*), so again purely analytically such a "suffix" could be postulated. It seems much more realistic, however, to assume that *diktator* and *dikte* are not "associated" to the extent that high functional load is sug-

gested, of such "affixes" (which then would have to include a "suffix" -e for *dikte*!).

In short, the criterium is "functional load", combined with text frequency. We have here opted for a relatively high functional load requirement for the identification of loan affixes, especially from the Dutch. Inevitably, some of the choices made may strike some of our readers as somewhat arbitrary.

## 18 AFFIXES OF SANSKRIT ORIGIN

18.0 The following affixes of Sanskrit origin may be identified in Indonesian:

(a) Those deriving from numerals, all of them prefixes: *eka*- 'one'; *dwi*- 'two'; *tri*- 'three'; *catur*- 'four'; *panca*- 'five'; *sapta*- 'seven'; *asta*- 'eight'; *dasa*- 'ten'.

(b) Other prefixes: *adi*-; *antar*-; *awa*-; *loka*-; *maha*-; *pasca*-; *pra*-; *purba*-; *purna*-; *serba*-; *su*-; *tan*-; *tuna*-; *swa*-.

(c) Suffixes: -a/-i; -wan/-wati; -man.

These will be treated in 18.1 through 18.3.

18.1 A number of prefixes in Indonesian loans from Sanskrit may be identified; they were numerals in the donor language, but never function as such *independently* in Indonesian. Examples are: *ekamatra* 'unidimensional'; *dwiwarna* 'two-colored'; *dwifungsi* 'double function' (traditionally ascribed to the Indonesian Armed Forces, in *dwifungsi ABRI*, i.e. for defense and for the people); *dwitunggal* 'two-in-one, biune'; *tritunggal* 'triune'; *trimatra* 'three-dimensional'; *triwangsa* [archaic] 'the three castes [of Hinduism]'; *triwulan* 'three months, quarter'; *caturtunggal* 'quadriune, four-in-one'; *Pancasila* 'the Five Principles (underlying the Indonesian Constitution)'; *pancamarga* 'the five ways (i.e. of proving the existence of God)'; *pancanegara* 'the five states'; *saptadharma* 'the seven obligations'; *saptamarga* 'the seven ways'; *astakona* 'octagon'; *dasawarsa* 'decade'.

There seem to be no loans with prefixes of Sanskrit origin for 'six' (Sanskrit *ṣaṣ*); dictionaries list the "numeral" *nawa* (Sanskrit for) 'nine', but only as archaic, and not as a prefix.

Most of these loanwords are recent. *Pancasila* dates back (in its present meaning) to the late forties, after Indonesia had become independent as a nation; *dwifungsi* may be recognized as recent because of the modern loanword *fungsi* 'function', proving also the productivity of the lexemes with Sanskrit prefixes; *pancamarga* is a recently coined term with the meaning of 'the five ways' (*quinque*



*vīae*) to prove the existence of God according to Thomas Aquinas. Others are older. The productivity of words with Sanskrit affixes is increasing, mainly in academic and government circles, as will appear also in 18.2 and 18.3.

18.2 Examples of Sanskrit-derived prefixes which are nonnumeric, are as follows: *adikodrati* 'supernatural'; *adiduniawi* 'other-wordly, transmundane'; *antarpulau* 'inter-island'; *antarbenua* 'intercontinental'; *antarbangsa* 'international'; *mengawabaratkan* 'to de-Westernize, to deoccidentalize'; *lokakarya* 'workshop'; *mahasiswa* '(university) student' (*siswa* 'pupil'); *mahaguru* 'professor'; *maharaja* 'emperor'; *mahabesar* 'huge, highly exalted'; *mahabaik* 'infinitely good'; *pasca-sarjana* 'postgraduate'; *prasangka* 'prejudice'; *prakarsa* 'initiative'; *prakata* 'foreword'; *prasejarah* 'prehistory'; *purbakala* 'ancient times'; *purnawirawan* 'retired officer (of the Armed Forces)'; *serbaguna* 'multipurpose'; *serbabisa* 'versatile'; *serbasalah* 'wrong in everything'; *su-* is of high frequency in Javanese proper names (like *Sukarno*, *Suharto*, *Sudirman*) and countless other formations with *su-*, which, at least onomastically, means 'good'; *tansubjek* 'without subject [grammatically]'; *tanaktor* 'without actor'; *tunawisma* 'homeless'; *tunanetra* 'blind'; *tunasusila* 'immoral, indecent'; finally, *swa-* is found in *swadaya* 'self-help'; *swakarsa* 'spontaneous'; *swatantra* 'autonomy'; *swasembada* 'self-supporting'. Sanskrit *sva-* 'own [3sg]', underlying the Indonesian *swa-* prefix, underlies also the Indonesian word *swasta* 'private' [as opposed to 'public']', but it does not seem descriptively meaningful to isolate, from a synchronic point of view, the *swa-* in *swasta* as a "prefix".

It may be asked whether *:tata* 'order' should not be listed here as a prefix, since it never occurs alone and is of Sanskrit origin. It appears in such words as *tata bahasa* 'grammar', *tata buku* 'book-keeping'; *tata tertib* 'discipline, order'. We prefer not to recognize prefixation here, for a variety of reasons. First, *:tata* is rarely joined, orthographically, with the following word, and, though in principle orthography is usually considered as no appropriate basis for linguistic analysis, in actual fact sociolingually the influence of orthography on the native speaker's lingual consciousness is hard to deny. Second, in a compound like *tata tertib*, *tertib* is an adjective and, since *tata tertib* is a noun, that would make it necessary to ascribe to the "prefix" a nominalizing quality; but for this there seems to be no reasonable basis. Third, in contrast to a great number of Sanskrit loans (lexical or affixational), *:tata* is not recognizable as of Sanskrit origin (as it fits so wholly in phonotactic word structure in Indonesian) for those without the special knowledge required for that

recognition. For all these reasons, it seems more appropriate not to include *:tata* among "affixes".

18.3 The suffixes *-a* (for masculine) and *-i* (for feminine) alternate in a number of Sanskrit loan words: *putra* 'son'; *putri* 'daughter, princess'; *siswa* '(male) pupil'; *siswi* '(female) pupil'; *saudara* '(male) relative'; *saudari* '(female) relative'. While there is no synchronically recognizable "host" of these alternations (i.e. there is no such lexeme as *\*saudar*), another Sanskrit loan affix alternates for masculine/feminine within the suffix: i.e. as *-wan* and *-wati*: *sastrawan* 'man of letters'; *wisatawan* 'tourist'; *jutawan* 'millionaire'; *cendekiawan* 'intellectual [noun]'; *wartawan* 'journalist'; *sukarelawan* 'volunteer'; *peragawan* '(male) fashion model'; *peragawati* '(female) fashion model', *tokowan* 'shopkeeper'. Many *-wan* nouns do not seem to have *-wati* alternants, but nothing would seem to stand in the way of those being formed whenever needed.

The formation is productive, as appears in *tokowan* (*toko* 'shop' is a Chinese loan). Other formations: *Gamawan/Gamawati* 'student/teacher at the Gadjah Mada University [in Yogyakarta, Central Java; Gama is an acronym for this University]'; *usahawan* 'business man'; etc.

There are only a few adjectives with *-wan* (and they have no *\*-wati* 'alternants!'): *rupawan* 'handsome, beautiful'; *hartawan* 'wealthy'; *setiawan* 'faithful'.

The suffix *-man* is found in *seniman* 'artist' (*seni* 'art').

## 19 AFFIXES OF ARABIC ORIGIN

19.0 A number of affixes in Contemporary Indonesian derive from Arabic, which language has been the second most influential donor, after Sanskrit (also chronologically), before the more recent influence of Dutch and, to a lesser degree, of English.

Arabic influence, language-wise, is intimately connected with the introduction of the Islam religion to Indonesia. One consequence of this is that there are far more Indonesians who have (at least a rudimentary) knowledge of Arabic than there are who know some Sanskrit; this entails a higher level of consciousness, among speakers of Indonesian, of the Arabic origin of Arabic loans, with a measure of such consciousness also for loan affixes from Arabic. This naturally would make identification of affixes of Arabic origin synchronically more relevant.

The number of affixes from Arabic is fairly small. We ignore here inter-/pre-/post-consonantal vowel changes common to paradigmatic and derivational processes in

Semitic languages, including Arabic, even though such vowel changes are also very much in evidence in Indonesian, in Arabic loan words: the root *s-l-m*, for example, shows up in such Arabic loan words as *salam* 'greeting', *Muslim* 'Muslim', *Islam* 'Islam', *selamat* 'well-wishing'; or *h-k-m* in *hukum* 'law', *hakim* 'judge', *mahkamah* 'court'. Whatever their morphemic status in Arabic, it would be anachronistic to assign them affixational status in Indonesian.

With this in mind, we may identify the following affixes borrowed from Arabic:

(a) The prefix *al-*, equivalent to a determiner.

(b) The suffixes *-in* (masculine, plural) and *-at* (feminine, singular); the suffix *-ah* (feminine singular); and the adjectivalizing *-iah* and *-i*.

These affixes are exemplified in 19.1 and 19.2

19.1 The prefix *al-*, originally in Arabic, is an "article" or "determiner". It has been borrowed integrally with the head noun in numerous words appearing frequently across languages as in (in Indonesian form): *alkohol* 'alcohol'; *aljabar* 'algebra'; *alkali* 'alkali'. However, on this basis alone, there would perhaps not be sufficient ground for postulating *al-* as a prefix, seeing that *\*kohol*, *\*jebat*, and *\*kali* (in this sense) are not identifiable morphemes. However, in this language, *al-* is uniquely identifying in *AlKoran* (or *Alquran*) 'the Koran'; in *Alkitab* 'Holy Scripture'; and in *alhasil* 'the result (of all this)', *almarhum* 'the late, deceased', *Almasih* 'the Messiah', as well as in other longer expressions of Arabic origin, such as *alhamdulillah* 'praise be to God'. It seems then that *al-* is identifiable as a prefix in these and in other Arabic loan words in Indonesian.

19.2 The plural suffix *-in* (masculine) is added to such items as *Muslim*: *Muslimin* 'the Muslims'; to *hadir*: *hadirin* 'those present'. Non-Muslims might say *kaum Muslim* (*kaum* is a collective particle) 'the Muslims', where Muslims might prefer *kaum Muslimin*; however, an expression like *para hadirin* (*para* is a collective particle) 'those present' has near-universal currency. The feminine ending (also plural), i.e. *-at* seems to be more limited to Muslim speakers of Indonesian: *Muslimat* 'Muslim women'; *hadirat* 'those (women) present'.

The suffix *-ah* occurs as a feminine ending in a few words: *syarifah* '(female) descendant of the Prophet' (from *syarif* '(male) descendent of the Prophet'); *dalalah* '(female) go-between' (from *dalal* '(male) go-between'); *almarhumah* 'the late, deceased [feminine]' (cf. *almarhum* 'the late [masculine]'). This *-ah* suffix

is wholly unproductive.

The adjectivalizing suffixes are *-iah*, and *-i*. Examples: *ilmiah* 'scientific'; *harafiah* 'literal'; the former derives from *ilmu* 'science', the latter from *huruf* 'letter'; so there is also internal vowel change, which, however, it would be too much *ad hoc* to recognize synchronically as affixational. The *-iah* ending, however, seems to be productive: *alamiah* 'natural' (from *alam* 'nature').

Examples of *-i*: *abadi* 'everlasting' (*abad* 'century') *badani* 'bodily' (*badan* 'body'); *gerejani* 'ecclesiastical' (*gereja* 'church'); *kodrati* 'essential' (*kodrat* 'essence'); *hakiki* 'essential' (*hakekat* 'essence'); *falsafi* 'philosophical' (*fil-safat* 'philosophy'); *rohani* 'spiritual' (*roh* 'spirit'); *duniawi* 'worldly' (from *dunia* 'world'). Some of these adjectives (like *abadi*) have been borrowed directly from Arabic, i.e. in their adjectival form. In others, the internal vowel change testifies to direct Arabic origin, even for the adjective. Note the "intrusive" consonant, e.g. /w/ in *duniawi* (already present in the Arabic original), or /n/ in *gerejani* (*gereja*, however, is a Portuguese loan). The *-i* suffix, then, may be considered to be productive enough for it to be identified as a derivational suffix also synchronically in Contemporary Indonesian.

## 20 AFFIXES OF DUTCH (AND ENGLISH) ORIGIN

20.0 For a full treatment of loan words in Indonesian with Dutch and English as donor languages, we would have to distinguish between these two languages. For affixes, however, it is more convenient to treat these languages together, because the Dutch and English originals of the affixed forms all derive, without a single exception so far as we are aware, from Graeco-Latin sources, mostly through French. From the examples given below, it would appear that, where Dutch and English sources are etymologically compatible (as they almost invariably are), the immediate source is nearly always Dutch rather than English. (In this regard Indonesian differs rather significantly from Malaysian.)

A few examples may illustrate the above point. In Indonesian *ateis* 'atheist' (Dutch: *atheist*), the accent tends to be on the last syllable, which is where it is in Dutch, though not in English. Also, in Indonesian words ending in *-asi* (as in *sublimasi* 'sublimation', or *spekulasi* 'speculation') the ending *-asi* is because in Dutch the ending is *-atie* (*sublimatie*; *spekulatie*), with the *t* pronounced as /s/, with no loan influence from English *-ation*.

All this is hardly surprising, given the Dutch influence in pre-independence

Indonesia, compared with which the influence of English has been minor. On the other hand, the influence of English-speaking nations has been on the increase lately, with more speakers now familiar with English than with Dutch. For affixation, however, this has so far made little difference, and changes of adjectivalizing *-is* (from Dutch *-isch*) to *-ik* (more in keeping with English *-ic(al)*) has for the most part been the consequence of language standardization efforts from above, rather than of spontaneous changes due to foreign influence.

Affixes in these loan words may be listed as follows:

(a) Prefixes: *a-*; *anti-*; *de-*; *dia-*; *dis-*; *eks-*; *in-*<sub>1</sub>; *in-*<sub>2</sub>; *inter-*; *intro-*; *kon-*; *kontra-*; *neo-*; *non-*; *ob-*; *per-*; *pre-*; *pro-*; *se-*; *sub-*; *super-*.

(b) Suffixes: *-al*; *-ase*; *-asi*<sub>1</sub>; *-asi*<sub>2</sub>; *-at*<sub>1</sub>; *-at*<sub>2</sub>; *-ering*; *-if*; *-ik*<sub>1</sub>; *-ir*<sub>1</sub>; *-ir*<sub>2</sub>; *-is*<sub>1</sub>; *-is*<sub>2</sub>; *-isasi*; *-isme*; *-itas*; *-itét*; *-lôgi*; *-naut*; *-si*<sub>1</sub>; *-si*<sub>2</sub>; *-sida*; *-ur*.

These will now be described, in 20.1 and 20.2. The order will be alphabetical, as in (a) and (b), except for a few items in (b), in 20.2, because it is more convenient to treat a few affixes together, out of alphabetical order.

20.1 Examples of prefixation: For *a-*: *ateis* 'atheist' (contrast: *teis* 'theist'). For *anti-*: *antikomunis* 'anti-communist'; *antipemerintah* 'anti-government'. For *de-*: *deduksi* 'deduction' (contrast: *induksi* 'induction'; *produksi* 'production'); *devaluasi* 'devaluation'. For *dia-*: *diameter* 'diameter'; *diafragma* 'diaphragm'; *diagnosa* 'diagnosis'. For *dis-*: *disinformasi* 'disinformation'; *diskriminasi* 'discrimination'; *dislokasi* 'dislocation'; *distribusi* 'distribution'. For *eks-*: *eksplisit* 'explicit' (contrast: *implisit* 'implicit'); *eksportir* 'exporter' (contrast: *importir* 'importer'; the contrast is also found in the verbs *ekspor* 'to export' vs *impor* 'to import'). For *in-*<sub>1</sub> (negative *in-*): *intransitif* 'intransitive' (contrast: *transitif* 'transitive'); *insubordinasi* 'insubordination'. For *in-*<sub>2</sub> (other): *implisit* 'implicit' (contrast: *eksplisit* 'explicit'); *informasi* 'information'; *indikasi* 'indication'; *indoktrinasi* 'indoctrination'. For *inter-*: *interlokal* 'long distance [for telephone]' (contrast: *lokal* 'local'); *internasional* 'international' (contrast: *nasional* 'national'). For *intro-*: *introspeksi* 'introspection' (contrast: *inspeksi* 'inspection'; however, for this the indigenous word *penilikan* is more usual); *introdusir* 'introduce'. For *kon-*: *komponen* 'component' (contrast: *eksponen* 'exponent'); *konfirmasi* 'confirmation' (contrast: *informasi* 'information'); *komposisi* 'composition'. For *kontra-*: *kontradiksi* 'contradiction'; *kontrarevolusioner* 'counterrevolutionary'. For *neo-*: *neokolonialisme* 'neocolonialism';

*neologisme* 'neologism'. For *non-*: *non-agresi* 'nonaggression'; *nonaktif* 'inactive'; *nonblok* 'nonbloc'; *nonpribumi* 'not indigenous [noun or adjective]'. For *ob-*: *objek* 'object' (contrast: *subjek* 'subject'); *objektif* 'objective'; *obduksi* 'obduction'. For *per-*: *permisi* 'permission'/'excuse me' (contrast: *komisi* 'commission'); *persen* 'percent(age)'. For *pre-*: *preventif* 'preventive' (contrast: *intervensi* 'intervention'). For *pro-*: *produksi* 'production' (contrast: *reduksi* 'reduction'; *obduksi* 'obduction'); *proklamasi* 'proclamation'. For *re-*: *rekonstruksi* 'reconstruction'; *reboisasi* or *reboasasi* 'reforestation'. For *sub-*: *subjektif* 'subjective'; *sub-komisi* 'sub-committee'. For *super-*: *superlatif* 'superlative'; *supersonis* 'supersonic' (contrast: *subsonis* 'subsonic').

To identify a loan affix, it is not sufficient for the affix found in the donor language (as an affix) to have, somehow, survived the transfer to the recipient language, it must also be identifiable as an affix in the recipient language. Hence, some contrastive forms have been given above. But the functional load is in many examples low, and it depends on how high or low one places the functional load threshold whether one would want to identify more, or fewer, prefixes than has been done here. For prefixes like *a-*, *de-*, and *neo-* the functional load is indeed very low, and one may expect such loans to be replaced, later on, by indigenous forms, or to be retained, but then reanalyzed as monomorphemic forms.

20.2 Examples of suffixation: For *-al*: *kolonial* 'kolonial' (contrast: *koloni* 'colony'); *(inter)nasional* 'international'. For *-ase* (from Dutch *-age*, itself from French *-age*): *spionase* 'espionage'. For *-asi*<sub>1</sub>, deriving from Dutch *-atie* (accent on ultimate): *demokrasi* 'democracy'; *birokrasi* 'bureaucracy'; *diplomasi* 'diplomacy'. These *-asi*<sub>1</sub> words are almost invariably accented on the ultimate, following the accent in Dutch. However, since Indonesian does not have the stressed syllable organization found in Dutch (and English), the difference between *-asi*<sub>1</sub> and *-asi*<sub>2</sub> (see next item) is beginning to get neutralized with a number of speakers giving penultimate accent also to *-asi*<sub>1</sub> words like *demokrasi*, etc. Note that it is possible to analyze *-asi*<sub>1</sub> as consisting of *-at*<sub>1</sub> (see below), and *-si*<sub>2</sub> (see below). For *-asi*<sub>2</sub>, deriving from Dutch *-atie* (accent on the penultimate; deriving in turn from French *-(t)ion*, cf. English *-(t)ion*): *deklarasi* 'declaration'; *sublimasi* 'sublimation'; *spekulasi* 'speculation'. For *-at*<sub>1</sub>, deriving from Dutch *-aat* (which in turn derives from French *-at*): *diplomat* 'diplomat'; *birokrat* 'bureaucrat'; *demokrat* 'democrat'. For *-at*<sub>2</sub>, deriving from Dutch *-aat* (but without an *-atie* expansion; cf. English *-ate*): *direktorat* 'director-ate'. The *-isasi* suffix (Dutch: *-isatie*)



is found in: *aklimatisasi* 'acclimatization'; *kondomisasi* '[Government sponsored] program of birth control [through the use of condoms]'; *betonisasi* 'the covering [of roads, etc.] with concrete'; *kaderisasi* 'cadre formation'. For *-ering*: *riolering* 'sewerage'; *detasering* 'detachment [of troops]'. For *-if*, from Dutch *-ief* (in turn from French *-if*): *introspektif* 'introspective'; *informatif* 'informative'. For *-ik*, from Dutch *-iek* mostly forming nouns and just a few adjectives: *simpatik* 'nice, engaging'; *semantik* 'semantics'; *statistik* 'statistics'. However, *-ik* is now increasingly used to replace *-is<sub>1</sub>* (see next item). For *-is<sub>1</sub>*, from Dutch adjectivalizing *-isch* (which in Dutch is pronounced with final /s/): *statistis* 'statistical'; *semantis* 'semantic'; *optimistis* 'optimistic'; *pesimistis* 'pessimistic'; *logis* 'logical'; *idealists* 'idealistic'; *komunistis* 'communist [adj.]'; and numerous others. The use of the adjectivalizing *-ik* for *-is<sub>1</sub>*, as in (e.g.) *idealistik* 'idealistic', *semantik* 'semantic', and the like is clearly modeled on the English *-ic*. What has triggered this is a standardization of terms (especially for scientific and near-scientific terms and the recommendation to make English rather than Dutch the donor language for such adjectives, as far as suffixation is concerned. What favors such recommendations is that a decreasing number of speakers of Indonesian know Dutch, and an increasing number know English. However, the process is complicated by two factors. First, the complicated *-ic/-ical* distribution in English (e.g., now, for some, *logis* becomes *logik*, even though the English adjective is *logical*, and *logic* is the noun; in fact for the noun Indonesian still uses the Dutch word *logika*). Second, because of continuing Dutch influence, many *-ik* words (like *semantik*, *statistik*; see above) are nouns, while now the "same" forms are beginning to be used as adjectives; thus, *semantik* is becoming an adjective, but there seems to be no replacement, in this shift, for *semantik* as a noun. For *-is<sub>2</sub>*, from Dutch *-ist*, for nouns: *ateis* 'atheist'; *komunis* 'communist', *sosialis* 'socialist'; *idealists* 'idealist'; these nouns are accentuated on the ultimate, as they are in Dutch; a prominent example is *Pancasilais* 'someone supporting the Pancasila [foundation of the Indonesian Constitution]'. In exceptional instances, the accent is distinctive for the difference between *-is<sub>1</sub>* and *-is<sub>2</sub>*: *orgánis* 'organic' vs *organís* 'organist'. For *-il*: *profesionil* 'professional'; *informil* 'informal'; etc. The Dutch origin is *-eel* (as in *professioneel*, *informeel*), and its English analogue, *-al*, is beginning to show its influence: *informal*, *profesional* are wholly acceptable. Dutch, however, also has *-aal* (analogue of English *-al*), as in Dutch *koloniaal*, hence Indonesian *kolonial*

(see above), and it may be some time before the distribution, in Indonesian, of *-il* and *-al* stabilizes, almost certainly, though probably not exhaustively, from *-il* to *-al*, and probably not at all from *-al* to *-il*, if present tendencies are any indication. For *-isme* (from Dutch *-isme*): *organisme* 'organism'; *komunisme* 'communism'; *optimisme* 'optimism'; this suffix is somewhat productive, as appears from *sukuisme* 'tribalism' (*suku* 'tribe' is indigenous). For *-ir<sub>1</sub>*, from the Dutch infinitival *-eren* (in turn derived from French verbs in *-er*): *:tolerir* 'tolerate'; *:internir* 'put in jail'; *:generalisir* 'generalize'; these are all precategoryals, and need *men-* for verbal use (in some instances: *men-|kan*). For *-ir<sub>2</sub>*, from Dutch nominal *-eur* (itself from French *-eur*): *kontrolir* 'inspector'; *importir* 'importer'; *eksportir* 'exporter'. Some of the words of this class of (Dutch) origin, however, take *-ur* in Indonesian (next item). For *-ur*, same origin as *-ir<sub>2</sub>*: *direktur* 'director'; *redaktur* 'editor'. For *-itet* (from Dutch *-iteit*): *universitet* 'university', which seems to be the only example, and that is superseded (since the nineteen fifties) by the (Latinized) form *-itas*: *universitas*. For *-logi*, from Dutch *-logie* (which is a conflation of two suffixes in the French original): *sosio-logi* 'sociology'; *teologi* 'theology'; *antropologi* 'anthropology'; etc. For *-naut*: *astronaut* (or *astronot*) 'astronaut'; *kosmonaut* (or *kosmonot*) 'cosmonaut'. Although these words exist also in Dutch, their borrowed Indonesian form is probably directly from English. For *-si<sub>1</sub>*, derived from Dutch *-tie* (in turn from French *-(t)ion*, cf. English *(t)ion*): *refleksi* 'reflection'; *inspeksi* 'inspection'; *rehabilitasi* 'rehabilitation'. For *-si<sub>2</sub>*, from Dutch *-tie*, with accent on the ultimate (in turn from French *-tie*, cf. English *-cy*): *demokrasi* 'democracy'; etc. This *-si<sub>2</sub>* is actually the same as the ending of *-asi<sub>1</sub>* (see above), and it is mentioned here only because there is some support for an analysis with *-si<sub>2</sub>* rather than with *-asi<sub>1</sub>*, only analytically-descriptively, however (since, for example, there are also *demokrat* 'democrat'; *diplomat* 'diplomat', in which *-at* is *-at<sub>1</sub>* [see above]); but no different data are involved. Finally, for *-sida*: *insektisida* 'insecticide'.

For these suffixes, too, functional load differs widely. In particular, the *-ase* formations are extremely rare, and wholly nonproductive; so is *-ering*; while *-itet* largely remains a historical curiosity (since in the beginning of independent Indonesia the University of Indonesia, now *Universitas Indonesia*, was still called *Universitet Indonesia*, and survives as such in older records).

#### NOTES

1. Forthcoming papers are referred to as "[XX]" in the present volume. Definite assignment

to specific authors has not yet been made, but the topics themselves have been decided on.

- [XX-1] "Morphemic derivation in Contemporary Indonesian".
- [XX-2] "Paradigmatic alternation in Contemporary Indonesian".
- [XX-3] "Morphemic reduplication in Contemporary Indonesian".
- [XX-4] "The categorial system in Contemporary Indonesian: precategoryals".
- [XX-5] "The categorial system in Contemporary Indonesian: verbs" (this volume).
- [XX-6] "Verbal diathesis in Contemporary Indonesian".
- [XX-7] "Clause syntax in Contemporary Indonesian: degrees of transitivity".
- [XX-8] "Morphophonemic processes in Contemporary Indonesian".
- [XX-9] "The categorial system in Contemporary Indonesian: nouns".
- [XX-10] "Nominal phrases in Contemporary Indonesian: types of attributes".
- [XX-11] "The categorial system in Contemporary Indonesian: adjectives".
- [XX-12] "Government-determined phrase syntax in Contemporary Indonesian".
- [XX-13] "Morphemic composition in Contemporary Indonesian".
- [XX-14] "The categorial system in Contemporary Indonesian: conjunctions".
- [XX-15] "The categorial system in Contemporary Indonesian: pronouns".
- [XX-16] "The categorial system in Contemporary Indonesian: presuppositions".
- [XX-17] "The categorial system in Contemporary Indonesian: numerals".

2. The present paper is only a small part of a comprehensive project, for which I work in a team, to whose members I am greatly indebted. These members are: C.D. Grijns (Leiden); Russell Jones (London) whose recent work has been an invaluable source for me especially for sections 17ff; Bambang Kaswanti (Princeton; Jakarta); Harimurti Kridalaksana (Jakarta); Richard McGinn (Athens, Ohio); Anton M. Moeliono (Jakarta); D.J. Prentice (Leiden); H. Steinhauer (Leiden); Sudaryanto (Yogyakarta); J. de Vries (Leiden). This paper owes much to each of them. I alone am responsible for errors.

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#### SYMBOLS USED

(vertical slash): to separate initial and final portions of circumfixes.

- / (diagonal slash): to separate alternatives in cited data, or in their glosses; and in formulations in the body of the text.
- : (colon, in italics, at the beginning of a cited form): to mark precategoryal forms.
- ! (exclamation mark, in italics, after cited forms and, in roman, at the end of glosses): to mark the imperative (except where the utterance is obviously an exclamation, nonimperative).
- [ ] (brackets): to enclose clarifications not part of the expressions in which they have been inserted.
- COP Copulative word, verbal or non-verbal.
- \*(X) (asterisk outside parentheses): to symbolize that X is obligatory, not optional.
- (\*X) (asterisk inside parentheses): to symbolize that X as an insertion is prohibited.
- (X) (parentheses): to mark X as optional.
- [+Z] (brackets, with "plus" mark inside): to symbolize that semantic feature Z is present.

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The following items are selective. I have used many published sources over the years, and am not conscious any more of a number of them. Partly as a consequence of this, and because much in this paper, even though some of it is found in handbooks, is due to original data research, the bibliography below looks somewhat heterogeneous, and in some instances serves only a limited purpose. The Javanese grammars, for example, have merely been cited as sources of the term "propositive". The Hopper and Thompson article underlies understanding, in my paper, of "transitivity" and (in part) of "ergativity". Some positions taken in the present paper are in opposition to what one may find in standard handbooks, but I have not referred to them, to keep the paper as little controversial in tone as possible.

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