THE CATEGORIAL SYSTEM IN CONTEMPORARY INDONESIAN: PRONouns

Bambang Kaswanti Purwo
Universitas Katolik Atma Jaya, Jakarta
Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton

0 INTRODUCTION

In the present series of preliminary studies, the categorial system is treated, among other things, as part of syntax (with some information on the morphemics of each category, in so far as not yet contained in Verhaar 1984a, and excepting what will be contained in [BB-11]). Therefore, after an inventory of pronouns, it will be mainly the morphemic and syntactic constraints obtaining for pronouns that will be treated in the present paper. Since the present paper will be concerned also with the syntax of verbs, reference to Verhaar 1984b is in order. Another topic naturally relevant to pronouns is deixis, on which see [BB-12].

Given the nature of the subject matter to be covered in the present article, it seems most convenient to have a format which gives an inventory of personal pronouns first (1), including in that section also possessive pronouns (1.9). Then, section 2 will deal with grammatical constraints on these pronouns; section 3 will describe the use of some nouns that may be used pronominally; section 4 deals with reduplication of these pronouns, as well as about the use of *i with them. Then, demonstrative pronouns (along with the modifiers begini/begitu, and *ini/*itu/+ana) are treated in section 5; interrogative pronouns, in section 6; relative pronouns, in section 7; indefinite pronouns, in section 8; and, finally, reflexive pronouns, in section 9.

1 INVENTORY OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS

1.0 Introduction

Personal pronouns in Indonesian may be classified according to the following coordinates: singular; plural; exclusive; inclusive. The first two apply only to second and third person; the last two, only to first person plural. See the diagram in 1.5, below. It is of some importance to note here that a number of Austronesian languages lack the third person plural personal pronoun; e.g., Javanese, which language lacks also a special exclusive form for first plural. For the treatment of occasional interference in Indonesian due to such cognate languages, see 1.6.

There is not really a separate class "possessive pronouns" in Indonesian, since pronominal possession is expressed merely by the attributive use of personal pronouns; this is treated in 1.9.

Sections 1.1 through 1.3 describe first, second, and third person forms of personal pronouns; section 1.4 deals with the special forms daku, dikau, and dia. Regional variants are treated in 1.6; sociolingual and dialectical variants, in 1.7; finally kau and kau as free forms are discussed in 1.8.

1.1 First person

There are two free forms of first person: aku and saya. In older Malay, satik, (kamba) sahaya (from which Contemporary saya derives) (literally 'servant', 'slave') were used for first person (and belonged then, therefore, to the category of pronominal "nouns"); see 3, below. The first person pronoun has two bound forms, i.e. preposed ku- (as in kubaoa 'I read') and postposed -ku (as in memben- oku '(to) hate me'). First person exclusive is kami; inclusive, kita. The former is also used as "editorial" we', as well as in "elevated" style, for aku/ saya.

1.2 Second person

There are three forms of the second person pronoun singular: engkau, kau, and kamu; and two bound forms: preposed kau- (as in kau baoa 'you read'), and postposed -mu (as in membenemu '(to) hate you'). Second person plural is either (periphrastically) kamu sekalian; or kalian. Note that the bound form -mu may be either singular or plural.

The pronoun anda merits separate mention. It was coined in the late 50s of this century; at first its use was largely
limited to advertisements, then it came to be used in radio and TV broadcasts. In the 70s its use has increased greatly, along with saudara (see 3, below). The address tuan (see 3, below) which used to be the way to address, in a formal setting, persons perceived to be of higher status, is now almost exclusively used to address foreigners (males; not necessarily but usually a white person), but anda has now begun to be used for that particular form of address also.

1.3 Third person

For the singular of third person, dia and ia are most neutral in regard to the social status of the person referred to, while beliau is honorific. In bound form there occurs -nya, for both singular and plural (as in menunyannya 'to kiss him/her/their'). The free plural form is mera-ka. (In Malay, mera-ka is fairly recent.)

There is no nonhuman third person pronoun (like it in English) in Indonesian. For the way to (re)identify nonhumans in discourse context, see [BB-2]. While ia/dia is rather rare in reference to nonhumans (it occurs in highly educated writing styles), the bound form -nya may indicate both human and nonhuman, either as verbal or prepositional Objects. There are, however, some subtle constraints to the human/nonhuman reference of -nya in the two constructions, in part, of course, because of the lexical content of the verb or preposition in question. Thus while dengannya may mean 'with him/her' or 'with it', tentangnya would most likely be 'concerning him/her' only ('concerning it' would more likely read as tentang (hal itu); while memandangnya could be read as either 'to look at him/her' or 'to look at it', mengundangnya would naturally have -nya refer to a human: '(to) invite him/her', whereas melakukannya would mean '(to) do it'. As mentioned, an alternative for nonhuman -nya would be (hal itu; on this see [BB-2].

Since the late 70s ia/dia has come to be increasingly used by educated (Westernized) writers (e.g. in magazines like Prisma or Tempo) as a nonhuman third person pronoun; in spoken Indonesian, however, that is still uncommon. In written language there are constraints: dia/ia can occur, for nonhumans, only in Subject, not Object, position: e.g. ia/dia harus mengalami [...] 'it [i.e. that thing] has to undergo [...]'; on the other hand, 'meneyanggeli dia' 'to like it' would be unacceptable (meneyanggeli dia [not ia, see 1.1.1, below] would mean 'to like him/her').

The plural form mera-ka never refers to nonhumans.

1.4 Daku, dikau, dia

The forms aku, engkau, and ia have the variants daku, dikau, and dia. Some Indonesian grammar books (e.g. Mees 1950:259-260) explain the presence of /d/ in these forms (in older Malay) as due to final /n/ in the preceding word (akan daku, dengan daku). This, however, is not the whole story since in older Malay texts one may also find phrases like sama dia, where the previous word does not end in /n/. In contemporary Indonesian, while dia is found alongside of ia, daku and dikau are found only in literary style, especially in poetry.

The forms dia and ia are interchangeable before verbs: ia/dia tidur 'he slept'; ia/dia berm anya 'she sang'; ia/dia membaca 'he read'; ia/dia baca 'she read'. In contrast, in postposed position to either verb, noun or preposition, only dia is acceptable: Buku dia/tia 'his book'; memakuk dia/ia 'to hit her'; bersama dia/tia 'with him'.

Only dia, not ia, can be used when introducing a cleft construction: Dialah/ia- lah yang salah, bukan kamu 'She is the one who is wrong, not you'; Entah kamu entah dia/tia yang salah tidak merupakan soal bagiku 'Whether it is you or he who is wrong I don't care'. In older Malay, however, one may occasionally find ia with the emphatic particle -lah. (Note that, in contemporary Indonesian, ialah may be synonymous with ialah, a copula, therefore, not a pronoun, a use of ialah not found in older Malay; see [BB-3].)

Only dia, not ia, is found in the "absolute" use of this pronoun:

(1) A: Siapa yang menang?
   'Who won (the game)?)'
B: Dia/*ia.
   'He (did)'.
(Or: Yang menang dia/*ia.
   'The one who won is he'.)

Dialah/ialah yang men- nang. [Cleft]

'It is he who won.'

As predicate, dia is selected instead of ia: Ini lah dia/*ia 'This is him!'; Penenun- nya dia/*ia 'The thief is he.' Special focus of the pronoun is given by placing it in Predicate position (as new information). Also, dia, not ia, is required whenever that pronoun is found with any constituent not a verb: Mengapa dia? 'Why she?'; Siapa dia? 'Who is she?'; Bukan dia 'It's not him'; Dia saja, jangan saya 'Vote for him, not me!'; Itu dia 'That's her!'
1.5 Diagram of personal pronouns

The classification of the Indonesian personal pronouns may be charted as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>exclusive</th>
<th>inclusive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>aku, daku,</td>
<td></td>
<td>kami</td>
<td>kita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>saya</td>
<td>kamu (sekalian),</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kalian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>engkau, kau,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dikau, kamu,</td>
<td>kamu (sekalian),</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>anda</td>
<td>kalian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>ia dia, beliau</td>
<td>mereka (sekalian)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.6 Regional variants

First language background may influence the choice of some personal pronouns rather than another in Indonesian. Javanese speakers are more likely to use kamu rather than engkau or kau (a Javanese second person form of intimacy is kowé); in contrast, Batak speakers tend to use engkau or kau rather than kamu, for the Batak cognate hamu is used to address someone of higher status.

First language/dialect forms of personal pronouns are occasionally used by speakers of "in"-groups, in colloquial speech. First person beta may often be heard among speakers of Ambonese and Kupang Malay speaking Indonesian. (Beta is also found in Indonesian literary works, especially poems. In older Malay beta was used by kings when conversing with their peers. In Contemporary Malay of Malaysia beta is used by kings to refer to themselves.) The word gué or gua (of Hokkien Chinese origin; see Russell Jones, this volume) is commonly used by speakers of Indonesian with a Jakarta dialect background; the expression semua gué 'to do something' according to one's own desires (no matter what others might say or how they will react) is more frequent than semua saya (*semaku, *semau aku) in informal Indonesian. Indonesian speakers with a Minangkabau background will use awak rather than kita; they would, for example, say orang awak 'our own people' rather than orang kita; or, di tangan awak 'in our own hands', rather than di tangan kita. Kita, rather than kami, is occasionally used by speakers of the Jakarta dialect. Kitorang (contraction of kita orang 'we people'), rather than kita, is heard among speakers of Indonesian with a Manado-Indonesian background. For a further description of regional variants, see [BB-4].

1.7 Sociolinguistic and dialectical variants

The choice of one personal pronoun form rather than another, besides being determined by vernacular background, may also be conditioned by the social relationships between the speech act participants. These forms will be listed below, with some brief comments only; for an extensive treatment of them, see e.g. Kridalaksana 1974.

In an asymmetrical relationship, when a person is conversing with his/her respected hearer/elder, aku is used rather than saya. Between intimates both aku and saya can be used. Aku is marked for intimacy, saya is not.

The pronouns engkau, kau, kamu are used to address someone who is younger or lower in status, or someone with whom the speaker is intimate. A common practice among intimates, however, is to use the
hearer's proper name (without title or kinship terms added to the name); this use of names is especially common among children (when addressing their peers of parents), as it is in many languages; and by younger people or courting couples. Or one can leave out pronouns or names altogether, leaving the first or second person slot blank (as in a number of other languages), as in Mau ke mana? (want to-where?) ('Where are you going?'). The suppression of second person pronouns is also a strategy to avoid marking the social status of the hearer, especially in doubtful cases (e.g. first encounters).

Another strategy is the "indirectness" of address in the use of third person pronouns, but only in the bound form -nya, and that only possessively: Di mana rumahnya? (in where house-his/her) 'Where is his/her YOUR house?'. The same strategy is found in imperatives of transitives, where the di- form of the verb (which has third person agentic—if any—; see Verhaar 1984a and 1984b) is used rather than the "ordinary" 0-form of the verb: Diangkat, jangan diseset! (di-lift-up, not di-drag) 'Lift it up, don't drag it!'

Both anda and saudara can be used as formal second person pronoun, but these forms cannot be used to address someone who is much older than the speaker; instead, then address forms like babak 'father', or ibu 'mother' are more appropriate (see 3.1 and 3.2, below). When two speech participants are of the same status (e.g. both are University Professors), but of rather different age, it is inappropriate for the younger one to use anda or saudara, but it is appropriate for the older one to do so. In such a relationship the older one (but not the younger one) will occasionally use you (the English pronoun); the younger one then uses babak or ibu, in speaking to his elder.

1.9 Possessive pronouns

As noted, this language does not have a separate class of "possessive" pronouns, but personal pronouns may be used possessively; attributively, therefore, but substantively so (not adjectivally); a test to this interpretation is that the possessive noun cannot have the possessive pronoun linked to it by yang (see [BB-12]). However, these pronouns, when used possessively, have encliticized forms: -ku (kepalaku 'my head'), -mu (kepalamu 'your head'), and -nya (kepalanya 'his/her/its/their head'). For first person singular, the bound form is obligatory for the pronoun having a bound form (i.e. -ku for aku); saya, however, has no bound form: kepala saya/aku 'my head'; for second person singular, all forms, free or bound, are wellformed, except oengkau: bukumu, buku kau/kamu/oengkau 'your book'; see also 2.1, below; for third person singular, apart from -nya, dia, but not ia, is wellformed as possessor: bukunya, buku dia/ia; -nya may be either singular or plural, as noted. Syntactic reasons for selecting free rather than bound possessors are explained in 2.1, below.

As noted, possessor pronouns are attributes that cannot be introduced by yang: buku (yang) saja/kamu/dia/kami/kita/kalian/mereka, but the use of yang with the so-called "periphrastic" possessives is common practice for speakers with Javanese for their first language; they are inclined to say buku yang kepunyaan saya rather than buku kepunyaan saya, buku milik saya, or buku punya saya (which are all perfectly wellformed). A constraint on the kepunyaan form of periphrastic possessive is that only -nya (and not any other possessive) can be attached to it; punya and milik can be followed only by free possessors, in these periphrastic constructions.

1.8 Ku and kau as free forms

The second person kau may be a free form as well as a bound form, in contrast to first person (-)ku(-), which occurs as a free form only highly exceptionally.
Thus kaulah (yang [.....]) 'You are (the one who [.....]) is wellformed, while *Ku- lah (yang [.....]) "I am the one (who [.....])" never is. In literary works, especially poems, one may, however, come across ku as a free form: Kini ku tahu "Now I know!"; Jika ku mahir 'If only I am capable'. In a few informal expressions ku may occur as a free form, e.g. Mana ku tahu? 'How would I know?', where the "standard" form would be Bagaimana saya dapat mengetahui yang?"
While pronominal possessors frequently appear in bound form, yet when Cleft is applied to the entire possessive construction, free forms of possessors are preferred over -ku, -mu, and -na: Anjing sa[yelah] yang m'naylah paling keras 'It is my dog which barked the loudest' (?*anjingku-lah); Anjing kaulah/kamulah yang berlari paling lambat 'It is your dog that ran the slowest' (?*anjinngmulah); anjing dialalah yang makan paling banyak 'It is his/her dog which ate the most' (?*anjingnyalahl). (Aku, engkau, and ia as possessors here are already out for other reasons; see 1.4 and 1.9, above.) The reason for this constraint is not far to seek: encliticized possessors are hard to emphasize; however, whatever the degree of wellformedness of -ku and -mu in these constructions, -nya is definitely illformed in any case. However, if what is emphasized is not the (encliticized) possessor, but the possession, it is possible to have encliticized possessors in a clefted noun phrase: ANJINGKU/-mu/-nyalah yang kena mobil, bukan KUCINGKU/-mu/-nya! 'It is my/your/his/her DOG, not my/your/ his/her/CAT which the car ran after!'

Although -mu may signify a plural as well as a singular possessor, sekalial cannot be added to it: *anjingmu sekalial. While personal pronouns used independently may take periphrastic form (kita semua 'we all', 'all of us'; kamu semua/sekalial 'all of us'; mereka semua/sekalial 'all of them'), they cannot as possessors: *anjing kita semua/sekalial, *anjing kamu semua/sekalial, *anjing mereka semua/sekalial, *anjing kalian 'your [pl.] dog' is used. The periphrastic forms are out also with kepunyaan: thus instead of *kepunyaan kamu sekalial, kepunyaan kalian is the appropriate form.

### 2.1 Possessive constructions

### 2.2 Verbal constructions

#### 2.2.0 Introduction

The place of personal pronouns as Arguments to the verb is varied, according to the verbal paradigm, both the "morphemic" paradigm (in which pronouns are cliticized; see Verhaar 1984a), and the "periphrastic paradigm" (in which pronouns may be free; see Verhaar 1984b). The following distinguishes between cliticizable pronouns (2.2.1), and noncliticizable pronouns (2.2.2).

#### 2.2.1 Cliticizable pronouns

There are four types of verbs to which bound pronominal forms may be attached: verbs of saying (2.2.1.1); men- and memper-verbs (2.2.1.2); dit-verbs (2.2.1.3); verbs with preposed pronominal agents (2.2.1.4); and imperatives (2.2.1.5).

##### 2.2.1.1 Verbs of saying

Some verbs of saying have a unique morphemic form not to be found in other verbs; these follow direct quotation (see also Verhaar 1984b).

(2) "[....]", katanya "[....]", he said/said he.'

and are found in constructions conveying punctuality of action (see [BB-5]). For expressing 'What did he say?', the construction Apa katanya? is used rather than Apa yang dia katakan?, which, though wellformed, would have to satisfy more special requirements of the discourse environment. Note that the katanya construction looks like a simple possessive construction, but that there are special constraints on it not found in possessive constructions (see 1.9; 2.1); notably, the free pronoun is not wellformed here: Kata *dia/*kamu/*kau/*saya. Nominal forms, however, are possible in these constructions, provided they are anaphoric or otherwise already known as participants in the discourse: Apa kata si Dul? 'What did Dul say?' "[....]", kata abangnya "[....]", said his brother.'

#### 2.2.1.2 Men- and memper-verbs

All personal pronouns, bound or free (except ia (1.4)), can, as Patients, be placed after (transitive) men-verbs: membuju-kku/aku/saya '(to) persuade me'; membuju-kmu/kamu/engkau/kau '(to) persuade you'; membuju-nya/dia/ia '(to) persuade him/her/each'.

With memper-verbs, however, first and second person bound forms (-ku and -mu) are out as "Patients": mempersunting aku/saya/*-ku '(to) have me as wife/husband'; mempersunting engkau/kamu/*-mu '(to) have you as wife/husband'; third person cliticization, however, is all right: mempersunting-nya/dia/ia '(to) have her as wife'.

With men-[-kan and memper-[-kan verbs, nonthird bound pronominal enclitics are not wellformed.

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membukakan-nya/*-mu/*-ku pintu *(to) open
the door for him/*you/*me'; meninggalkan-
nya/*-mu/*-ku *(to) abandon him/*you/*me;
memperlakukan-nya/*-mu/*-ku *(to) treat him/
*you/*me.

(Note that, in this respect, Verhaar
1984a is in error: 7.2. (b), but that ar-
ticle is right in noting the constraints
on nthrid concitics for benefactive verbs
(7.2, (i)) and for instrumental verbs (7.2,
(ii)). See also Verhaar 1984b, 6.4, rule
(252).)

There seem to be no constraints on
free or bound forms of Patient pronouns
(except *'ia for locative nen-|'-i verbs
(like menghadiah)* (to give (as present)
to'; menyodori *(to) hand [something] to').
But free forms seem to be preferred for
pronominal Patients with iterative nen-|'-i
verbs (like memukul *(to) hit repeatedly';
melempari *(to) throw [something] repeated-
ly').

With men-RED verbs (like membuju
bu'uk *(to) persuade constantly'; mengari-
cart *(to) search for [something] steadi-
ly') the third third bound concitic is out,
while with men-COMPOUND verbs (like membe-taku *(to) let [someone] know'; menganti
rugi *(to) pay a debt to', only free forms
can be used, in all three persons.
Finally, in negative imperatives
(which require men- prefixation), only free
pronouns as Patients are admissible: Jangan
memukul aku/saya/*-ku! 'Don't hit me!';
Jangan memukul dia/*'ia/*-nya! 'Don't hit
him/her!'.

2.2.1.3 Di- verbs

Only third person can be the postposed
pronominal agent of di- forms of verbs; it
should be noted here, however, that there are
di-constructions without postposed
agents, in which the di- prefix itself is
pronominally anaphoric; see Verhaar
1984b:56-57, section 6.9. Apart from those,
however, the rule just mentioned prevails: dibelinya 'be bought by him/her/them'.
The preposition oleh 'by' may take the en-
clitical -nya: dibi olehnya 'be bought by
him/her/them' (the plural may be mereka:
dibeli (oleh) mereka 'be bought by them').
In colloquial Indonesian dia (but not ia)
may be used, with or without oleh: dibi-
eli (oleh) dia, but only when the agentive has
some emphasis in context.

2.2.1.4 Verbs with preposed pronominal
agents

While postverbal position of agents
with di- verbs is only for third person
(2.2.1.3), all personal pronouns can be
preposed pronominal agents. With the
verb memberi, for example, the paradigm is
as follows: saya/aku/ku-beri; engkau/kau/
ku/mu/beri; ia/ia/beri. Third person
is either (en)criticized to the verb 2.2.
1.3, or (along with all persons) (pro-
criticized to the left of the verb; see
also Verhaar 1984b. The preposed position
is permitted also for nouns used pronomi-
nally (see 3.2. below) e.g. nonya saperti
yang Bapak katakan tadi (as father say
earlier) '[... as you said earlier'.

Although free preposed agents in
these constructions are morphemically free
(as in saya/aku/beri; hence the space ortho-
graphically), they are nevertheless "syn-
tactically bound", i.e. inseparable from
the verb form. That is, constituents such
as negation (tidak 'not'), or adjectives of
time (e.g. selalu 'always') must be to the
left of the pronominal agentive, not after
it: Dia sudah saya beri buku (he-I-already-
give-book) is wellformed, but *Dia saya
sudah beri buku is not (see Verhaar 1984b).
(In the above no distinction has been
made between the Ø forms (with morphem-
ically free preposed pronouns), and the ku/
kau- forms; for that distinction, see
Verhaar 1984a and 1984b.)

2.2.1.5 Imperatives

Intransitive imperatives (like menye-
berang! 'cross over!') must have men-, and,
since no Agent occurs with them, they do
not take any Argument, pronominal or not.
Negative transitive imperatives (e.g. ja-
ngan mengundang saya/aku/kw/[etc.]
'don't invite me/[etc.]) take morphemically free
Patients, including pronouns, but these,
therefore, cannot be criticized. The same
is true for Ø imperatives: their Patients,
including pronom Pronouns, must be mor-
phemically free: Puluk saya/aku/*-ku 'Hit
me!'; Puluk dia/*'-ia/*-nya 'hit him/her!'.
(Note that the reading 'Hit it!' is out,
since dia is exclusively human.)

Agent pronouns with imperatives oc-
curred regularly in older Malay, after
the verb, and introduced by oleh: Tangkaplah
olehmu Sang Tomo, hai Bima (seize-lah
by you ST) 'Seize Sang Tomo, will you, oh
Bima!'. Such constructions occur in Con-
temporary Indonesian only as deliberate
archaisms.

In more colloquial forms of Contem-
porary Indonesian, ber-verbs may drop ber-
in the imperative, and then the preposition
Complement also loses the preposition, but,
if pronominal, only in free form: Tanya
saya/aku/*-ku! 'Ask me!'; Tanya dia/*'-ia/
*'-nya! 'Ask him/her!'. More formally these
constructions would read Bertanyalah kepa-
da-ku/kw/aku/ayo (as to me) and Bertanyalah
kepada-nya/dia/*'ia (as to him/her).
2.2.2 Noncliticizable pronouns

Pronoun Arguments are invariably free, both morphemically and syntactically, when they are Agents of men- (and memper-) verbs in their prenasalized forms and of ber- verbs as well as of monomorphemic verbs. Also, Patients of di-, ø-, and kau- forms are free both morphemically and syntactically.

Such Agents are syntactically free in that they may have appropriate constituents between them and their verbs, such as negation (tidak), or other adverbs (e.g. jarang); saya/aku jarang membaca 'I seldom read'; kamu/engkau jarang membaca 'you seldom read'; dia/ia tidak pergi 'he is not leaving'.

Examples of the Patients mentioned:
Saya/aku tidak diterima 'I am not accepted';
kamu/engkau tidak mereka terima 'you are not accepted by them', 'you, they do not accept'; dia/ia tidak kuterima 'I did not accept her'.

For all these, see also Verhaar 1984b.

2.3 Prepositional constructions

All personal pronouns can be attached to prepositions, except ia (see 1.4). Some prepositions allow both bound and free forms (denganku/aku/syia 'with me'; dengannya/ku/engkau/kamu 'with you'; dengannya/ia/i 'with him/her'), while others permit only the free form (tanpa saya/aku/ku 'without me'; tanpa kamu/engkau/kamu/ku 'without you'; tanpa dia/ia/i 'without him/her'). Prepositions which behave like the former are listed in column A, and those which follow the pattern of the latter are listed in column B.

(3)

A

bagi 'for, to'
berama 'together with'
kepada 'to'
sekitar 'around'
terhadap 'to, towards'
untuk 'for'

B

berkat 'due to'
but 'for'
demi 'for the sake of'
kecuali 'except'
mengenai 'as, like'
selain 'beside'
seperti 'as, like'
tentang 'about'

Mengenai can be both a preposition and a verb; as a verb it can take the bound form (e.g. mengenainya 'to hit him/her'; it follows the rule of men- in 2.2.1.2), but as a preposition it cannot. (Note the conjunction sepertinya 'as if' (due to Javanese interference), in which -nya is not a pronoun.)

Antara 'between' and karena 'because of' can take the third person bound form but not the first and second (*antaraku/*antaramu; *karenaku/*karenamu). The bound form -nya in karenanya refers to nonhuman nouns ('because of it'), and the free form dia refers to humans: karena dia 'because of him/her' (see also [BB-17]).

2.4 Pronouns with attributes; generic nature of third person

Personal pronouns may, under severe constraints, have attributes. First person may have ini 'this', second person may have either ini or itu 'that'; all pronouns may have yang attributes; ber- numerals may follow plural pronouns (without yang); finally, semua 'all' can follow all plural pronouns, but sekalian 'all' can follow only kamu and mereka.

(4) Saya ini Islam.
'As for me, I am a Muslim.'

(5) Lelaki macam apa saya ini?
'What kind of man am I?'

(6) engkau/kamu ini/itu
'as for you'

(7) dia/merdeka ini/itu
'as for him/them'

(8) saya yang kecil ini
'as for me, who am (so) short'

(9) kami yang muda ini
'as for us [excl.], who are so lucky'

(10) dia yang gemuk itu
'as for him, who is so fat'

(11) kami (*yang) berdua
'the two of us [excl.]'

(12) kita (*yang) berempat
'the four of us [incl.]'

(13) mereka (*yang) berlima
'the five of them'

(14) kami/kita semua/*sekalian
we [excl.]/we [incl.] all',
'all of us [excl.]/us [incl.]'

(15) kamu/merdeka semua/*sekalian
'you/they all', 'all of you/them'
Note that (kalau) saya (itu) is possible (i.e. with itu rather than inti) ('as for me'), but there itu is not a demonstrative pronoun, but a "topic marker"; see 5.2, below.

The colloccability of personal pronouns with deictics inti/itu also occurs in possessive constructions, in which case it can be said that they have double determiners: rumahku inti (house-my this) 'this house of mine'; rumah saya itu (house-my that) 'that house of mine', etc. In such a construction the deictics inti/itu do not modify the personal pronouns, but they go with the head noun; personal pronouns as possessives cannot have a modifier (cf. mereka semua 'they all', but rumah mereka semua 'the house of them all'; see 2.1).

A final note on genericity of third person personal pronoun is in order. We may take off from English he who [e.g.] cannot send for himself needs help, where he who is "generic" in that it may refer to any person; in English, the same is true of they who [...]. In contrast, in Indonesian, dia/ia cannot be generic, but mereka can, and also orang, in either case only when relativized, except for (indefinite) orang as Agents with di-verbs. (Orang may also function as an indefinite possessive.)

(16) Nereka/*dia yang datang terlambat harus menunggu di luar. 'They who/he who are/is late must wait outside.'

(17) Orang/mereka/*(d)ia yang bersalah harus dihukum. 'They/people who/he who are/is guilty must be punished.'

(18) Hal itu tidak disukai orang. 'People don't like that.'

(19) *Orang tidak menyukai hal itu. 

(20) Ini mobil orang, bukan mobilku sendiri. 'This is someone else's car, not mine.'

3 PRONOMINAL USE OF SOME NOUNS

3.1 The distribution of short forms

By "short" forms of nouns pronominally used are meant forms like Pak (long form: Bapak), Bu (Ibu), Rak (Kakak), Dik (Adik), Nak (Anak); see Verhaar 1984b. These examples are those of kinship terms, and the usage of those short forms is frequent. Less frequent are short forms of professional names such as Dok (Dokter), Prof (Professor).

In pronominal use, terms of profession do not go with proper names, but kinship terms (both the full form and the short form) can be combined with personal names: Bapak/Pak Sastra, Ibu/Bu Narti; for kinship terms other than these two the use of short form plus proper name is more likely: Kak Budi, Dik Titi, Nak Jaka.

The short form of terms of profession like Prof and Dok can stand by itself, and their usage is restricted to a less formal but asymmetrical relationship. The short form of kinship terms, however, is not appropriate, in pronominal use, without a proper name added to it. The short form can be used alone, non pronominally, i.e. when used vocatively: Betul, Pak/Bu 'You're right, Sir/Mami'.

Both the short and the full form of kinship terms can also be combined with terms of profession: Bapak/Pak/Ibu/Bu luhak, Bapak/Pak/Ibu/Bu guru. Kinship terms like Kakak, Adik, Anak are very unlikely to be combined with terms of profession.

3.2 Syntactic constraints

We may distinguish three different kinds of use of these nominal pronouns: (i) in "free" position, i.e. not cliticized, as NPs to the verb; (ii) as possessors, in possessive constructions; (iii) in inseparability from Ø- forms of verbs. In (i) and (ii), long forms can be used with or without proper name, while the short forms can be used only with the proper name; in (iii), only the long form, but without the proper name, is considered well-formed by all, while both long and short form plus proper name are frowned on by careful
speakers (though one does find such phrases in colloquial speech); the short form without proper name is never heard.

Consider the following examples; for (i):

    'How many times have I ['mother'] reminded you Tini ['daughter']. You [Tini] always forget.'

(22) Bapak/Pak *(Kuncoro)* setuju?
    'Do you [Mr Kuncoro] agree?'

(23) Ya, Bapak setuju.
    'Yes, I agree.'

(24) Pak Darto mau minum apa?
    'What would you [Mr (Su)darto] like to drink?'

(25) Bu *(Laksmi)* sudah melihat film
    "Master of the game"?
    'Have you [Mrs Laksmi] already seen the film "Master of the game"?'

(26) [.....], seperti yang dikatakan Ibu/*Bu kemarin.
    '[.....] as you [Madam] said yesterday.'

For (ii):

(27) Apakah ini buku Bu/Ibu Hartini?
    'Is this your book?'

(28) Saya mendukung rencana Bapak/Pak Daryanto.
    'I support your plan [Mr (Su)daryanto]!'

Note that (27) and (28) could also have a third person possessor reading ('Is this Mrs Hartini's book?': 'I support Mr (Su)daryanto's plan.'). Note also that (even on the third person reading) in (27) Bu could not be used without the name, while Ibu is well-formedly used without the proper name.

Finally, for (iii):

(29) [.....], seperti yang Ibu
    (*Hartini)/*Bu katakan kemarin.
    '[.....], as you said yesterday.'

(30) Hal ini sudah Kakak (*Tini)/
    *Pak laporkan minggu yang lalu.
    'This matter you already reported last week.'

3.3 Third for second person

The pronominal use of some nouns for second person is realized both in formal and informal setting. When saudara or the zero pronoun fall short of conveying deference, the pronominal forms (e.g. Bapak, Ibu) are used. Between the two university professors, where one is younger and the other is much older, it is appropriate for the older professor to address his colleague with either anda/saudara or kinship terms plus proper names, or proper names alone, but the younger professor can only address his older colleague with kinship terms plus proper names or kinship terms alone. The use of terms of profession in such a "quite" symmetrical relationship is ruled out. The term of profession is used in another kind of relationship, e.g. a student to a professor.

3.4 Third for first person

The pronominal use of some nouns for first person is restricted in informal setting and in an intimate relationship, e.g. in family circles or family-like situation, like in kindergartens. This pronominal use for first person is less frequent compared to its use for second person.

Teachers in kindergartens, for example, along with the use of saya, are more likely to refer to themselves as pak guru (for male teacher) or as bu guru (for female teacher). Unlike the form for second person, the form for first person never occurs with a full form of kinship terms.

The use of kinship terms alone (in full forms, not in short forms, see 3.1) is preferred within kin ties, although it is not exclusive for such a bond. For someone to refer to oneself with the appropriate kinship term he is to take into account the age (and sometimes sex) difference between himself and his addressee, to fit with the "real" kinship ties.

While the use of proper name alone is a common practice by children at the preschool age, this pattern of usage is widespread in fashion among teenagers. They are also more likely to refer to themselves with their proper name, instead of saya, when speaking to someone with whom they are in intimate relationship.

4Reduplication of Personal Pronouns; the Use of SI

4.0 Introduction

Personal pronouns may be reduplicated, like some other categories, but under rather stringent constraints (4.1); also, the use of si with personal pronouns calls for a brief discussion.
4.1 Reduplicated forms of personal pronouns

In all three persons, personal pronouns may be reduplicated. The reduplicated forms are saya-saya, kami-kami and kita-kita for first person, kamu-kamu for second; beliau-beliau and mereka-mereka for third; other personal pronouns cannot be reduplicated.

For all of these except mereka, reduplication conveys a derogatory connotation; for mereka, reduplication conveys emphasis, and it is used only in cleft constructions. Consider the following examples:

(31) Mengapa hanya saya-saya yang why only I RED LIG
    diberi tugas yang berat ini! be-given task LIG heavy this

    'Why is it always (poor) me
that gets this job!'

(32) Saya(*-saya) pasti akan I RED certain will
datang besok! come tomorrow

    'I will certainly be coming
tomorrow!'

(33) Kamu-kamu itu yang tidak you RED that LIG not
    mempunyai aturan, bukan have regulations not
    kami! we [excl.]

    'It was you who behaved im-
properly, not us!'

(34) Jangan berbuat gaduh di sini, not make noise in here
    beliau-beliau sedang rapat!
    he [HON] RED PROGR meeting

    'Don't make any noise here,
those big shots are having
a meeting!'

(35) Kami-kami ini yang we (excl.) RED this LIG
    selalu kena tegor terus, always hit reprimand continu-
yang lain tidak pernah. ally the others never

    'We are always reprimanded,
but they never are.'

(36) Kalau murid kita gagal, if pupil our (incl.) fail
    kita-kita ini yang akan we (incl.) RED this LIG will
    disalahkan. be blamed for

    'If our pupils fail, we are
the ones who will be blamed.'

(37) Mereka-mereka yang belum they RED LIG not-yet
    terdaftar harap lekas
    registered please quickly
    mendaftarkan diri.
    register self

    'Those who haven't been en-
rolled yet should fill out the
form soon.'

(38) Saya melihat mereka(*-mereka) I see them
di pasar kemarin. in market yesterday

    'I saw them in the market yester-
day.'

4.2 Marking of personal pronouns with si

Of the two determiners with humans, si and sang (see Kaswanti 1984a,[BB-1], [BB-2]), only si is used with personal pronouns, and only with aku and dia. Consider the following examples:

(39) si aku/*saya [a term used in
    ART. 1st sn. psychology]

    'the ego'

(40) Di mana si dia/*ia?
    in where ART. 3rd sn.

    'Where is your [idle/lover/
"better half"]?'

5 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS; AND BEGINI/ BEGITU, SINI/SITU/SANA

5.0 Introduction

The demonstrative pronouns ini and itu can be distinguished as "substantive" (5.1); and "attributive" (5.2); demonstrative itu can be reduplicated (5.3).

It is convenient to treat here also the demonstrative nonpronomouns begini and begitu (5.4), and sin/iti/situ/sana (5.5).
5.1 Substantive ini/itu

Substantive ini 'this'/itu 'that' may take all Argument and non-Argument NP positions in the clause. When they are in preverbal Subject position, a pause is optional, but when such clauses are interrogative, the pause is out. As postverbal Subjects, however, ini and itu require a pause before them. In non-Subject position (including non-Argument positions, e.g. as Object) or after a preposition, there are, in general, no notable constraints, except in a few expressions. Consider:

(41) Ini/itu (///) rumah saya.  
'This/that is my house'.  
('As to this/that, that is my house.')

(42) Ini/itu(///) apa?  
'What's this/that?'

(43) Rumah Ali (///) ini/itu.  
'Ali's house is the one right here/over there.'

(44) Dia suka membeli ini/itu.  
'She likes to buy this/that.'

(45) tentang ini/itu  
'about this/that'

(46) oleh karena itu/*ini  
'therefore'

(47) Dengan ini/*itu, rapat saya bubarkan.  
'Herewith, I adjourn the meeting.'

5.2 Attributive ini/itu; the topic marker itu

As attributes, ini/itu behave like all attributes: they occur to the right of the head noun; if there are more attributes, ini/itu may be found at any level of the immediate/mediate constituency, but in such a way that the rightmost attribute (if other than ini/itu) must be introduced by the ligature yang. Ini/itu themselves may be introduced by yang, with the only exception of endophoric itu.

(48) rumah ini/itu  
'this/that house'

(49) rumah (yang) ini/itu  
'this/that house ['that' = that one over there'; i.e. itu is exophoric]

(50) rumah (*yang) itu  
'that (aforementioned) house'  
['that' is anaphoric; itu is endophoric]

(51) rumah (*yang) mahal ini/itu  
'this/that expensive home'

(52) rumah *ini/itu *(yang) mahal  
'this/that expensive home'

(53) Rumah ini/itu *(yang) mahal!  
'It's this/that home that is (so) expensive!'

Note that (52), as a phrase, is ungrammatical but as a clause (53) is acceptable (with Cleft). For endophoric/exophoric itu, see Kaswanti 1984a, [BB-2] and [BB-12].

Itu, but not ini, can be (clause) topic marker. (Interestingly, the Javanese parallel as topic marker is (i)ki, which demonstratively would mean 'this', not itu/kas 'that'.) It is important that demonstrative itu and the topic marker itu not be confused. Consider:

(54) Rumah itu (///) mahal sekarang.  
'That house is expensive now.'

(55) Rumah *(///) itu mahal sekarang.  
'Houses are expensive now.'

Note that the pause which follows attributive itu is optional; in contrast, before the topic marker itu, there is an obligatory pause. The topic marker itu may be due to interference from Javanese.

The topic marker itu, when marking a nonnoun, e.g. an adverb, for topicality, precedes the (obligatory) pause:

(56) Kemarin itu *(///) dia datang.  
'Yesterday, he came.'

Note, finally, that both demonstrative itu and the topic marker itu may be used "together", but on condition that a pause intervenes:

(57) Rumah itu *(///) itu mahal sekarang.  
'That house is expensive now.'

5.3 Reduplication of itu

Itu may be reduplicated, both in substantive and attributive use, and then it conveys a pejorative connotation. The word saja may follow the reduplicated itu to add more emphasis. Consider:

(58) Mengapa hanya itu-itu (saja) yang dikerjakan selama ini?  
'Why is that all he has done in all that time?'

(59) Ia berbicara mengenai persoalan itu-itu (saja) dari tadi.  
'He kept talking about the same problem over and over again.'
5.4 Deictic modifiers related to inti/itu are begini and begitu. While inti/itu are attributive to noun, begini/begitu can be modifiers either to nouns, adjectives, or verbs. When begini/begitu modifies nouns, they may be preceded by yang; as a modifier to adjectives, begini/begitu may either precede or follow the adjective, but if that adjective is itself attributively used, it plus begini/begitu must be introduced by yang. Finally, when begini/begitu modifies a verb, then it must follow the verb. Consider:

(60) mobil (yang) begini/begitu 'a car like this/that'
(61) rumah *(yang) begini/begitu
    murah 'a house this/that inexpensive'
(62) rumah *(yang) murah begini/begitu
    'a house this/that inexpensive'
(63) dîhina begini/begitu
    'to be mocked like this/like that'

Except with nouns, begini/begitu indicates a degree. When an excessive degree is indicated (with adjectives), however, only begitu, not begini, can be used. From the point of view of clause (rather than phrase) syntax, begitu would be more normally used to modify adjectives used predicatively (rather than attributively); begini would then be synonymous with sedemikian, and in the case of either adverb sehingga ('that') is correlative to the right. Like sedemikian, 'excessive' begitu can only precede the adjective:

(64) Harinya begini/sedemikian mahal sehingga tidak ada yang mau membeli. 'The price is so high that no one wants to buy it.'

5.5 Sini/situ/sana

Sini, situ, sana are first, second, and third demonstratives. They can be used attributively; also, they can be used adverbially, preceded by the prepositions di 'to(wards)', or dari 'from'. A synonym of sini is mari, but it must be used with the preposition ke, and not with any other preposition. Without prepositions, sana! can be used adverbia in imperative constructions connotating a strong order. Consider:

(65) orang sini
    'people in this area'
(66) orang sana
    'people in that area'
(67) di sini/ di situ/ di sana
    'here/ there (by you)'/ (over) there'
(68) ke sini/ ke situ/ ke sana
    'here [i.e. 'to this place']/ there [i.e. 'to that place
    (by you)']/ there [i.e. 'to that place (over there)']
(69) dari sini/ dari situ/ dari sana
    'from here/ from there [i.e. from that place (by you)']/ from there [i.e. from that place (over there)']
(70) ke mari [also spelled kemari]
    'here [i.e. 'to this place']'
(71) Pergi sana!
    'Go away, there!'
(72) Sana, mandi!
    '(Go) there, take a bath!'

6 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

6.0 Introduction

Interrogatives in Indonesian, apart from being marked by a rising intonation at the end of the clause, may also be marked, optionally, by -kah (see also [BB-13]). This is true of all interrogatives, not only pronominal ones, like apa? 'what?' and siapa? 'who?', but also of interrogative adverbs like bilaman? 'when?', bagaimana? 'how?', and so forth: apa(kah)?; siapa(kah)?; bilaman(kah)?: and so forth. In short, with all WH-words. However, those interrogative adverbs are better treated elsewhere (see [BB-8]), with the exception of what is below distinguished from apa1 as apa.

In the following subsections, then, I will discuss apa? (6.1); siapa? (6.2), and mana? (6.3).

6.1 Apa

Apa represents two different question words: apa1; and apa2. Apa1 is a qualifier, nonpronominal, introducing a yes/no question; it may have -kah attached to it: apakah. Apa1 is an Argument (or non-Argument NP) in a WH-question, meaning 'what?'; it, too, may take -kah, but not clause-finally.

Apa1 can only be in clause-initial position. Apa1 may be used either sub-
stantively or attributively; when used substantively, it may take clause-initial or clause-final position (or at least final in the nuclear group of verb + Argument(s)). When apa is used attributively, the noun phrase in which it is an attribute may be either in clause-initial or clause-final position. Consider:

(73) Apa (kah) kota ini tenang?
   'Is this town placid?'

(74) Apa (kah) warna sepatu Bagu?
   Warna sepatu Bagu apa kah?
   'What is the color of Bagu's shoes?'

(75) Itu apa kah? / Apa itu?
   'What's that?'

(76) Itu orang apa kah? / Orang apa itu?
   — Orang Amerika.
   'What kind of man is that?' — 'An American.'

(77) Kamu memasak ikan itu dengan apa kah?
   'What recipe did you cook the fish?'

(78) Majalah apa kah? / Itu maja-
   lah apa kah?
   'What (kind of) magazine is
   that?'

Note that all apa clauses just now are equational: no verb is involved. With verbs, the following rule obtains: Intransitive verbs (including semitransitive, i.e. those that cannot take Object -nya; see Verhaar 1984b:29, sub 1.2) as well as transitive verbs in the men-form, can have the apa NP only to the right of the verb; in contrast, the $-, di-, and ku-/ kau- forms of transitive verbs can have the apa NP either clause-initially or clause-finally, but, when the position is clause-initial, the apa NP must be Cleft (i.e. followed by yang). Consider:

(79) Kamu mau menjadi apa kalau
     sudah besar?
   'What do you want to be when you're grown-up?'

(80) Dia tahu apa? [ 'Apa yang dia
     tahu?]
   'What does she know?'

(81) Mereka selalu minum apa?
     [ 'Apa yang mereka selalu mi-
     num?]
   'What do they always drink?'

(82) Si Dul memerlukan apa? [ 'Apa
     yang si Dul memerlukan?]
   'What did Dul need?'

(83) Apa yang diperlukan si Dul?
   'What did Dul need?'

(84) Lalu kamu disuruh [berbuat apa]
     oleh [sama] dia?
   'What did he ask you (to do)
     then?'

(85) Lalu apa yang dia/meraka/be-
     liau [etc] katakan?
   'Afterwards what did he/she/ he [HON] [etc] say?'

(86) Lalu apa yang kaambil? / kau
     mengambil apa?
   'Then what did you take (away)?'

Note that (83) would not allow of rightmost position of apa (*Diperlukan si Dul apa?), while (84) would not allow of leftmost po-

position of apa (notice the preposition oleh 'by' is used in formal Indonesian, whereas sama 'by' in informal Indonesian). Finally, note that, for (81), clause-initial apa would be all right, if the construction is Apa yang selalu mereka minum?, but then minum would, analytically, be $-minum, and therefore the kind of construction exem-

plified in (85); see Verhaar 1984b:29, sub 1.2).

The reduplicated form apa-apa is an indefinite pronoun, see 8.2, below.

6.2 Siapa

While apa is [-HUMAN] (except when used attributively; see (74)), siapa is [+HUMAN]. Note, however, that nama siapa? may mean both 'whose name?' and 'what name [of a human]?' (see [BB-12]). With attributive apa the semantic relation from apa to head noun is nonpossessive, whereas that of attributive siapa to the head is pos-

sessive. Consider the following examples:

   'Child what 'A kitten.'

   'Whose child? — 'Dul's child.'

(89) Siapa nama anda? / Nama anda si-
     apa?
   'What is your name?'

(90) Nama apa yang anda pakai seba-
     gai penulis?
   'What name do you use as a
     writer?'

(91) Nama siapa yang anda pakai seba-
     gai penulis?
   'Whose name do you use as a
     writer?'

As appears from (89), siapa (like apa) may be either in initial or final position in the clause, in equational constructions. The other rules given above, immediately following (79), also obtain for siapa:
(92) Si Dul membeni siapa? ['Siapa yang si Dul membeni?]
    'Who is it that Dul hates?'

(93) Siapa yang dipanggil si Dul?
    'Who is it that Dul calls?'

As with apa, siapa, too, may take prepositions, and may then be found clause-initially or clause-finally:

(94) Kamu pergi dengan siapa?/Dengan
    siapa kamu pergi?
    'Whom did you go with?'

Reduplicated siapa-siapa is an indefinite pronoun (on which see § 2.2, below).

6.3 Mana

Mana may be either an attribute or a qualifier. As an attribute, mana is of two kinds, both syntactically and semantically. Mana₁ asks for one out of a limited number (English which?), mana₂ asks about a place (of origin). When a phrase containing attributive mana has a yang clause for one of its attributes, mana₁ is introduced, optionally, by the ligature yang, no matter whether mana is used absolutely (i.e. without a head), or attributively (i.e. with a formative head). When there is no yang clause as an added attribute, mana₁ is introduced, obligatorily, by yang. Consider the following examples, illustrating these rules for mana₁:

(95) Buku (yang) mana *(yang) kamu
    suka?
    'Which book do you like best?'

(96) (Yang) mana *(yang) kamu suka?
    'Which one do you like best?'

(97) (yang) mana?
    'Which book?'

Note that the obligatory (second) yang in (95) and (96) is due to Cleft, and the obligation of yang is due simply to Cleft being obligatory. Note also that (97) is not a clause, but a phrase, which is out in the Cleft construction exemplified in (95), but which could be used in any non-Subject position:

(98) Dia pilih buku *(yang) mana?
    [Object]
    'Which book did he choose?'

(99) Yang dipilih itu buku *(yang) mana?
    [Predicate]
    'Which is the book he picked?'

Mana₂ is never introduced by yang; consider (100), which is a shorter form of (101), and is similar to orang apa? in the sense that it, too, may trigger the same reply, e.g. Orang Jepang. Orang mana?, however, focuses the question locatively, whereas orang apa? focuses the question according to "group" (e.g. nationality). Consider:

(100) Orang *(yang) mana? -- Orang
    Jepang.
    'Where is that man from?' --
    'From Japan.'

(101) Orang dari mana? -- (Orang)
    dari Jepang.
    'Where is that man from?' --
    'From Japan.'

Note that the phrases of (100) and (101) function clausally, and they could occur, as Predicates, in verbless equational clauses, as in Dia itu orang *(yang) mana?, but in no other grammatical relation.

As a qualifier, mana is preceded by the prepositions di, ke, or dari, the use of the latter two being obligatory. As for di, its being used or not used spells a subtle connotation: with di, mana assumes that the speaker assumes the addressee knows the answer to the question about location. Consider:

(102) Buku saya di mana? / Di mana
    buku saya?
    'Where is my book?'

(103) Buku saya mana? / Mana buku
    saya?
    'Where is that book [you borrowed from me]?'

(104) Dia ke mana? / Ke mana dia?
    'Where is he going?'

(105) Dia dari mana? / Dari mana dia?
    'Where is she from?'

Note the freedom to give (di)/ke/dari mana? either at the beginning or at the end of the clause.

The reduplicated expressions di mana-mana, ke mana-mana are indefinite adverbs, and the discussion of their properties does not belong here.

7 RELATIVE PRONOUNS

7.0 Introduction

Most relativizations in Indonesian are constructed with the ligature yang; but yang is not pronominal, and has therefore no argument status. Therefore, one could not have, wellformedly, constructions like the following:

(106) Orang *(kepada yang (saya menga-
    takan hal itu [.....]),'
    'The man to whom (I said this
    [.....]).'
8 INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

8.0 Introduction

Indefinite pronouns in Contemporary Indonesian may be classified conveniently according to their derivational origin; some are derived from numerals (§.1); others, from interrogatives (§.2).

8.1 Numerals-derived indefinite pronouns

Suatu is an attributive indefinite pronoun for nonhumans; seorang, for humans, also attributive. The analogous substantive pronouns are: sesuatu; and sesorang. Suatu is used with abstract nouns; for concrete nouns, se- plus the nominal (and, in this case, also numeral) classifier buah is used. Seorang is in fact also se- plus the classifier orang. For concrete nouns denoting nonhumans, there are in fact a number of other classifiers, prefixed with se-, which are available (e.g. biji, puuk, bilah, and a number of others: they will be treated in [BB-14]); the numeral prefix se- (as well as the other numerals exceeding 'one', in their use with numeral classifiers) are to be treated fully in [BB-15]; see also Verhaar 1984a:17-19 (section 15), where they are treated merely from the point of view of affixation. The expression sesuatu, for concrete nouns, is certainly the most generalizing, as classifiers go.

Sesuatu can have itu as a (determining) attribute, but sesorang cannot; instead of *sesorang itu the appropriate expression is: orang itu. Furthermore, sesuatu can have the "universalizing" sesuatu to its left, while sesorang cannot. The expression salah suatu can be used (attributively only) for both humans and nonhumans; salah seorang, only for humans. Finally, the particle pun may, "concessively", follow sesuatu (or satu 'one') for nonhumans, and seorang (not 'sesorang) for humans. (However, when the emphatic negative bukan precedes sesuatu or seorang, pun does not follow.)

Consider:

(113) suatu persoalan — suatu kejadian
'a problem' 'a happening'

(114) seorang pendeta — seorang maha
's a (religious) minister' 'a student'

(the glosses are 'a'; however, 'some' would come very close in many contexts; therefore, suatu/seorang are not readily comparable to "indefinite articles" in a language like English).
These are some examples of other nominal classifiers.

Ia belajar ketramplian itu untuk menapaki sesuatu, dan untuk menapaki sesuatu itu diperlukan latihan bertahun-tahun. 'He is learning that skill to achieve something, and to achieve that something he needs years of training.'

Di kampung itu ada sesorang yang aneh. Orang itu jarang keluar rumah. 'There lives someone who is weird in that village. That man rarely leaves his home.'

Segala sesuatu yang dikatakan-nyanya selalu menarik. 'Everything he says is always interesting.'

Pilihlah salah satu di antara ini. 'Choose one of these.'

Salam satu / salah seorang di antara kita harus pergi. 'One of us has to leave.'

Salam satu / salah seorang harus menjadi pemimpin. 'One has to become the leader.'

Tak sesuatu pun / Tak satu pun menarik perhatiannya. 'Nothing at all interested her.'

Tak seorang pun datang 'Nobody came (at all).'

Bukan sesuatu yang luar biasa. '(It) isn’t anything spectacular.'

Dia bukan seorang yang sesuai untuk pekerjaan seperti itu. 'He is not someone who is suitable for such a job.'

It is important to consider the syntactic place of these indefinite expressions in the clause. On the whole, indefinite Subjects in this language are not wellformed, whereas indefinite Objects (e.g. sesuatu (itu) in (117)) or nominal Predicates (e.g. sesuatu in (125) and seorang in (126) are grammatical. The exception to this non-Subject rule is the one found widely across languages, i.e. the postverbal Subject of "presentative" constructions (e.g. sesorang, after ada, in (118)). In (120) and (121) we find exceptions to the non-Subject rule for indefinites, and perhaps the reason for their wellformedness is that salah satu/salah seorang are, in context, referential even though indefinite.

§2 Interrogatives-derived indefinite pronouns

This kind of indefinite pronouns occurs in various forms: (i) as reduplications (apa-apa; siapa-siapa); (ii) unreuplicated, preceded by "generalizing" barang (barang apa; barang siapa); (iii) unreuplicated, with the ("concessive") particle pun following; (iv) unreuplicated, followed by "generalizing" saja (apa saja; siapa saja).

(i) is used in negative constructions; (ii), in affirmative constructions; (iii) and (iv), in both affirmative and negative constructions.

Consider:

Barang apa / Apa saja / Apa pun / "Apa-apa "(yang) berbau supaya diaingkirkkan. 'Everything that/Whatever smells badly should be discarded.'

Barang siapa / Siapa saja / Siapa pun / "Siapa-siapa "(yang) beraalah harus dihukum. 'Everyone/Anyone who/whoever is guilty should be punished.'

Dia tidak tahu apa pun / apa-apa / *barang apa / *apa saja 'He does not know anything.'

Mereka tidak mengenal siapa pun / siapa-siapa / *barang siapa / *siapa saja di sini. 'They don’t know anyone here.'

Apa saja / *Barang apa / *Apa pun / *Apa-apa "(yang) kaubeli? 'Just what did you buy [out of what is on sale]?'

Siapa saja / *Barang siapa / *Siapa pun / *Siapa-siapa "(yang) datang? 'Who came [of all those who had been invited]?'

Note that the reduplicated form occurs only in negative clauses. However, clauses which are not syntactically negative, but imply negation semantically, may have the reduplicated form, as illustrated by the following:

70
dates discussion of diri. Diri is often followed by personal pronouns or pronominal clitics, in either reflexive and non-reflexive use, and this use will be treated in 9.1. There is also to be considered the difference between diri and sendiri ('self', 'alone'), to be discussed in 9.2.

9.1 Diri: personal pronoun or pronominal clitic

Diri may be followed by a personal pronoun or pronominal clitic, but in such a way that the clitical form is preferred when there is one: diriku (but not diri-aku, although diri saya is acceptable) dirimu (rather than *diri kamu or *diri engkau); dirinya (rather than *diri dia/ta); diri kita; diri kami; *diri kalian; diri mereka. Dirinya can also be used for third person plural.

There is an expression in which diri is not followed by any pronominal form: seorang diri 'all alone [sg, l, 2, or 3]' There are also some forms, either nouns or verbs, which take diri without any pronominal forms attached; for nouns: bela diri 'self defense'; bukti diri 'self identification'; harga diri 'self esteem'; nama diri 'proper name'; for verbs, see list (141). The verbs of (14c) can take diri either with or without pronominal form; the latter list is somewhat more productive than the former.

(141) (men)bunuh diri 'to kill oneself'
berdiam diri 'to keep quiet/silent'
mendaran diri 'to escape, to run away'
meloloskan diri 'to flee (freeing oneself [from something])'
lupa diri 'to get carried away'
minta diri 'to ask permission to leave, to take one's leave'
tahu diri 'to behave oneself'

(142) membela diri(nya) 'to defend oneself'
menghukum diri(nya) 'to punish oneself'
melindungi diri(nya) 'to protect oneself'
mempersudah diri(nya) 'to make oneself young, healthy'
merendahkan diri(nya) 'to humble oneself'
menahan diri(nya) 'to control oneself, to check oneself'
menjauhkan diri(nya) 'to keep oneself far from'

9 REFLEXIVE PRONOUNS

9.0 Introduction

The closest gloss, in English, to Indonesian diri is 'self'. Diri, therefore, is not strictly speaking a "reflexive pronoun", as it is not a pronoun any more than English self, and as sometimes it is not reflexive. However, the present study perhaps most conveniently accommo-
Note also the following:

(143) (*mem)bela diri *(nya) 'physical] self defense'
    membela diri(nya) 'to defend oneself'
    pembelaan diri 'self defense [in court]'

(144) (mem) bunuh diri *(nya) 'to kill oneself'
    *pembunuhan diri [there's no such expression for 'suicide']

(145) (mem) minta diri *(nya) 'to take one's leave'
    *permintaan diri [there's no such expression for 'leave-taking']

Bunuh diri may be either nominal, as in (145), or verbal, as in (146):

(146) Dia melakukan bunuh diri. 'She committed suicide.'
(147) Dia berusaha bunuh diri. 'He attempted suicide.'

Similarly, bela diri is a nominal expression.

Verbal phrases like lupa diri, tahu diri, minta diri, bunuh diri are phrases with Object incorporation. As is known from a wide range of data across languages, incorporated Objects are indefinite; they are, of course not "indefinite" here (since diri in these expressions is coreferential with the Subject of each of these phrases), but at least formally, by the obligatory absence of -nya, the "indefiniteness" criterion is satisfied. These expressions are parallel, in regard to Object incorporation, to phrases like cuoi tangan 'to wash one's hands', cari untung *(itu) 'to seek profit'; etc.; see Verhaar 1984b; and [BB-16].

The use of diri, with or without a pronominal form attached, with prepositions (as prepositional "Objects", therefore) is to be noted also, as well as diri + pronominal form as possessors, in possessive phrases. As prepositional Objects, and as possessors, the addition of the pronominal form is obligatory. As possessors diri + pronominal form may be replaced by sendiri, provided the possessee is marked for possession. Furthermore, there is one expression in which the preposition has, through attrition, become kan.

Consider:

(148) tentang diri*(nya) 'concerning oneself'
    terhadap diri*(nya) 'in regard to oneself'

Reflexive dirinya (as also dirinya sendiri, see 9.2, below) cannot be in Agent relation to the verb, and it can only take the Patient relation to the verb. This, of course, is hardly surprising, considering the property of "reflexives", whatever the form in different languages, across languages: it is in Patient relationship that the Agent becomes "reflexive". By "verb" here is meant the "main" verb: thus, when in Equi the Subject of the "lower" verb is "raised", by being also the Patient of the "higher" verb, then in regard to the "lower" verb dirinya (sendiri) may be in Agent relationship; but even then a non-Agent relationship to the lower verb is more prominent. Consider:

(151) [...] timbul hasratnya untuk [...] Akan tetapi diahakannya dirinya.
    '[...] he felt the urge to [...] But he controlled himself.'
(152) Jangan membaiarkan dirimu dihanyutkan oleh pikiran seperti itu.
    'Don't let yourself be obsessed by such an idea.'
(153) ia menganggap dirinya lebih baik daripada orang lain.
    'He considered himself better than other people.'
(154) Dirinya sendiri senantiasa diperalahkannya.
    'He always blames himself.'

Note that the Equi constructions (152) and (153) do not have, without more ado, a "raised" "Subject" which is indisputably an Agent. (152) dirimu is the Patient in regard to dihanyutkan (as it is also the Patient to the "higher" verb membaiarkan). In (153), the "raised" "Subject" diri nya is not the Subject of a transitive verb, but of a predicative nominal construction. It may be asked whether Contemporary Indonesian can have a "raised" "Subject" as a reflexive, such that that "Subject" is also an Agent. One could have, of course, a sentence like Dia merelakan diri(nya) *(untuk) melepaskan semua ota-otaunya dulu 'He got to the point where he let go all the ideals he had had before'; but then, in such a sentence, the degree of "Agency" is low (considering the verb, melepaskan),
and untuk is obligatory.

Finally, it is important to note that the forms diriku and dirimu need not be reflexive, and may (like English myself, yourself, etc.) be merely emphatic:

(155) Si Dul banyak menulis buku tentang diriku/dirimu/diri Bung Karno.
'Dul wrote 'many books about my/your/Mr (Su)karno's personal life.'

9.2 Dirì vs sendiri

Apart from the emphatic use of diri + pronominal form as in (155), Indonesian distinguishes, unlike English, the emphatic sendiri from reflexive diri. As an emphatic pronoun (neutral as between first, second, and third person) sendiri may be "floated":

(156) Saya sendiri pun dapat membeli buku itu. 'I myself can buy that book.'

(157) Saya pun dapat membeli sendiri buku itu.

(158) Saya pun dapat membeli buku itu sendiri. 'I can buy that book myself.'

Diri and sendiri may be joined (in that order) to make reflexive pronouns emphatic:

(159) Dia senantiasa memperolehkan dirinya sendiri. 'He always blames himself.'

(160) Dirinya sendiri senantiasa diperolehannya. [= (154)]

As noted, this reflexive (and, in this case, also emphatic) phrase may take clause-initial or clause-final position, provided it is a Patient Argument.

As noted earlier, in possessive constructions, the reflexive possessor may take two forms, as illustrated by the two phrases persoalan dirinya and persoalannya sendiri; in short, diri may take possessive -nya, but sendiri cannot. (Note, however, the prepositional phrase dengan sendirinya, below.) Consider the following examples:

(161) Akan tetapi menjual kehormatan-nya sendiri pun banyak orang beraedta melakukan nya. 'But to sell one's own self-respect is something many people are willing to do.'

(162) Hidupnya adalah hidupnya sendiri. 'His life is his own life.'

(163) Ya, memang begitu lah kemauan dirinya.
'Yes, indeed, that was his own will.'

(164) Itu memang kamaauannya sendiri, tidak perlu kita ikut mencampuri. 'That was indeed his own will, and we shouldn't interfere with that.'

Note that pun precludes the N + dirinya construction, as (161), and, since pun has a 'concessive' connotation and therefore marks a contrast, it appears that the N + -nya sendiri construction is more contrastive (as indicated also in (164), where the person's own will is contrasted with possible interference) than the N + dirinya construction.

With stative or (intransitive) "eventive" verbs, sendiri, placed clause-finally, may mean 'of its own accord', 'independently', automatically, and is then synonymous with dengan sendirinya:

(165) Kipas angin ini nanti dapat mati sendiri. 'This fan will later turn itself off (automatically).'

The Subject of such a clause is typically nonhuman. With human Subjects, clause-final sendiri triggers at least two different readings:

(166) Si Dul datang sendiri / dengan sendirinya. 'Dul will come of his own accord.' [e.g. without having been invited]

(167) Si Dul datang sendiri / seorang diri / sendirian.
'Dul will come by himself.' [e.g. without being picked up/being accompanied by others]

Finally, sendirinya may be reduplicated (sendiri-sendiri) for added emphasis; the Agent must then be plural (see also [BB-12]):

(168) Jangan bertindak sendiri-sendiri. 'Don't act on your own.'

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SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS USED
/
(diagonal slash): to separate alternatives in cited data or glosses;
and in formulations in the body of the text
//
(double slash): functional pause
[ ]
(brackets): to enclose clarifications not part of the expressions of
digit (+ digit) divisions; to enclose semantic features; and to
enclose [BB-] references (see below)
ART
article
[BB-n]
(double B + number, all enclosed in brackets): see below, last bibliog-
raphy
excl.
exclusion
HON
honorfics
incl.
inclusive
LIG
ligature
pl.
plural
PROGR
progressive
ps.
person
RED
reduplication
sg.
singular
*(X)
(asterisk outside parentheses): to symbolize that whatever X stands
for is obligatory, not optional; if "*(X)" opens a sentence, the symbol
is ambiguous, as between: [a] the entire sentence, with the "X" as
optional, as deviant; and [b] the sentence as deviant only without
"X". Only [b] is relevant here.
(*X)
(asterisk inside parentheses): to symbolize that whatever X stands
for is forbidden in this context
(X)
(parentheses): to mark whatever X stands for as optional in this context

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[BB-16] "Object incorporation in Contemporary Indonesian"
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