THE CATEGORIAL SYSTEM IN CONTEMPORARY INDONESIAN: PRONOUNS

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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-1] and [BB-2].

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 *si* with them. Then, demonstrative pronouns (along with the modifiers *begini/begitu*, and *sini/situ/ sana*) 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 *ku* 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, *patik*, (*hamba*) *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 *kubaca* 'I read') and postposed *-ku* (as in *membenciku* '(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

The are three forms of the second person pronoun singular: *engkau*, *kau*, and *kamu*; and two bound forms: preposed *kau-* (as in *kaubaca* 'you read'), and postposed *-mu* (as in *membencimu* '(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 *menciumnya* '(to) kiss him/her/them'). The free plural form is *mereka* . (In Malay, *mereka* is fairly recent.)

There is no nonhuman third person pronoun (like *it* in English) in Indonesian. For the way to (re)identify non-humans 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, **menyenangi dia* 'to like it' would be unacceptable (*menyenangi dia* [not *ia*, see *2.2.2*, below] would mean 'to like him/her').

The plural form *mereka* 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, expecially in poetry.

The forms *dia* and *ia* are interchangeable before verbs: *ia/dia tidur* 'he slept'; *ia/dia bernyanyi* '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/*ia* 'his book'; *memukul dia/*ia* 'to hit her'; *bersama dia/*ia* 'with him'.

Only *dia*, not *ia*, can be used when introducing a cleft construction: *Dialah/*ialah yang salah, bukan kamu* 'She is the one who is wrong, not you'; *Entah kamu entah dia/*ia 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 *adalah*, 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 menang.* [Cleft]
         'It is he who won.'

As predicate, *dia* is selected instead of *ia*: *Inilah dia/*ia!* 'This is him!; *Pencurinya 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:

Not included in the diagram are (regional) first person forms like *beta*, *gue* (1.6), second person forms like *saudara*, *tuan* (1.2 and 3), and terms of address with pronominal use like *bapak*, *ibu* (1.7).

	singular	plural	exclusive	inclusive
1st person	*aku, daku, saya*		*kami*	*kita*
2nd person	*engkau, kau, dikau, kamu, anda*	*kamu (sekalian), kalian*		
3rd person	*ia dia, beliau*	*mereka (sekalian)*		

	bound form	
	preposed	postposed
1st person	(sg.) *ku-*	(sg.) *-ku*
2nd person	(sg.) *kau-*	(sg./pl.) *-mu*
3rd person		(sg./pl.) *-nya*

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 *semau 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 *semau saya* (*semauku*, *semau aku*) in informal Indonesian. Indonesian speakers with a Minangkabau background will use *awak* rather than *kita*; they would, for ex-

ample, 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 Manadonese background. For a further description of regional variants, see [BB-4].

1.7 Sociolingual 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 agentive—if any—; see Verhaar 1984a and 1984b) is used rather than the "ordinary" *∅-* form of the verb: *Diangkat, jangan diseret!* (*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 *bapak* '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 *bapak* or *ibu*, in speaking to his elder.

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 **Kulah (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 mengetahuinya?*

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 possessee noun cannot have the possessor 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 *engkau*: *bukumu, buku kau/kamu/*engkau* '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) saya/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.

2   *GRAMMATICAL CONSTRAINTS ON PERSONAL PRONOUNS*

2.0   *Introduction*

The use of personal pronouns, used independently or possessively, is subject to a number of grammatical constraints which are most conveniently treated under the following headings: possessive constructions (2.1); verbal constructions (2.2); and prepositional constructions (2.3).

2.1 Possessive constructions

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 -*nya*: *Anjing sayalah yang menyalak paling keras* 'It is my dog which barked the loudest' (?*anjingkulah*); *Anjing kaulah/kamulah yang berlari paling lambat* 'It is your dog that ran the slowest' (?*anjingmulah*); *anjing dialah yang makan paling banyak* 'It is his/her dog which ate the most' (*anjingnyalah*). (*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 (cliticized) *possessor*, but the *possession*, it is possible to have cliticized 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, *sekalian* cannot be added to it: *anjingmu sekalian*. While personal pronouns used independently may take periphrastic form (*kita semua* 'we all', 'all of us'; *kamu semua/sekalian* 'all of you'; *mereka semua/sekalian* 'all of them'), they cannot as possessors: *anjing kita semua/sekalian*, *anjing kamu semua/sekalian*, *anjing mereka semua/sekalian*. Instead of *anjing kamu sekalian*, *anjing kalian* 'your [pl.] dog' is used. The periphrastic forms are out also with *kepunyaan*: thus instead of *kepunyaan kamu sekalian*, *kepunyaan kalian* is the appropriate form.

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); *di-* verbs (2.2.1.3); verbs with preposed pronominal agentives (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: *membujuk-ku/aku/saya* '(to) persuade me'; *membujuk-mu/kamu/engkau/kau* '(to) persuade you'; *membujuknya/dia/*ia* '(to) persuade him/her/them'.

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/kau/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:

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: *7.0*, (b), but that article is right in noting the constraints on nonthird enclitics 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 men-|-i* verbs (like *menghadiahi* '(to) give (as present) to'; *menyodori* '(to) hand [something] to'). But free forms seem to be preferred for pronominal Patients with iterative *men-|-i* verbs (like *memukuli* '(to) hit repeatedly'; *melempari* '(to) throw [something] repeatedly').

With *men*-RED verbs (like *membujuk-bujuk* '(to) persuade constantly'; *mencari-cari* '(to) search for [something] steadily') the nonthird bound enclitic is out, while with *men*-COMPOUND verbs (like *memberi tahu* '(to) let [someone] know'; *mengganti 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 agentives, 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 enclitic *-nya*: *dibeli 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*: *dibeli (oleh) dia*, but only when the agentive has some emphasis in context.

2.2.1.4 *Verbs with preposed pronominal agentives*

While postverbal position of agentives with *di-* verbs is only for third person (*2.2.1.3*), all personal pronouns can be *preposed* pronominal agentives. With the verb *memberi*, for example, the paradigm is

as follows: *saya/aku/ku-beri; engkau/kau/kamu/kau-beri; ia/dia beri*. Third person is either (en)cliticized to the verb *2.2.1.3*, or (along with *all* persons) (pro)-cliticized to the left of the verb; see also Verhaar 1984b. The preposed position is permitted also for nouns used pronominally (see *3.2*, below): [....] *seperti yang Bapak katakan tadi* (as father say earlier) '[....] as you said earlier'.

Although free preposed agentives in these constructions are morphemically free (as in *saya/aku beri*; hence the space orthographically), they are nevertheless "syntactically bound", i.e. inseparable from the verb form. That is, constituents such as negation (*tidak* 'not'), or adjuncts 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 $\emptyset$ forms (with morphemically free preposed pronouns), and the *ku-/kau-* forms; for that distinction, see Verhaar 1984a and 1984b.)

2.2.1.5 *Imperatives*

Intransitive imperatives (like *menyeberang!* '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. *jangan mengundang saya/aku/-ku/*[*etc.*] 'don't invite me/[etc.]') take morphemically free Patients, including pronouns, but these, therefore, cannot be cliticized. The same is true for $\emptyset$- imperatives: their Patients, including pronoun Patients, must be morphemically free: *Pukul saya/aku/*-ku* 'Hit me!'; *Pukul dia/*-ia/*-nya* 'Hit him/her!'. (Note that the reading 'Hit it!' is out, since *dia* is exclusively human.)

Agent pronouns with imperatives occurred 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 Contemporary Indonesian only as deliberate archaisms.

In more colloquial forms of Contemporary 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 kepada-ku/aku/saya!* (ask to me) and *Bertanyalah kepada-nya/dia/*ia* (ask 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-*, *∅-*, 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/saya* 'with me'; *denganmu/kau/engkau/kamu* 'with you'; *dengannya/dia/*ia* 'with him/her'), while others permit only the free form (*tanpa saya/aku/*-ku* 'without me'; *tanpa kau/engkau/kamu/*-mu* 'without you'; *tanpa dia/*ia/*-nya* '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'
bersama 'together with'
kepada 'to'
sekitar 'around'
terhadap 'to, towards'
untuk 'for'

B
berkat 'due to'
buat '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 mé, I am a Muslim.'

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

(6) *engkau/kamu ini/itu*
    'as for yóu'

(7) *(d)ia/mereka ini/itu*
    'as for him/them'

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

(9) *kami yang mujur 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/mereka semua/sekalian*
     'you/they all', 'all of you/them'

Note that *(kalau) saya (itu)* is possible (i.e. with *itu* rather than *ini*) ('as for me'), but there *itu* is not a demonstrative pronoun, but a "topic marker"; see 5.2, below.

The collocability of personal pronouns with deictics *ini/itu* also occurs in possessive constructions, in which case it can be said that they have double determiners: *rumahku ini* (house-my this) 'this house of mine'; *rumah saya itu* (house-my that) 'that house of mine', etc. In such a construction the deictics *ini/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 fend 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) *Mereka/*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

3.0   Introduction

Age and social status are the most likely to be the two clearly perceivable determining factors for the choice of the deferential and nondeferential personal pronouns. Certain sets of nouns are pronominally used to fill in the empty slots where "common" personal pronouns are found unsuitable to express various delicate differences of reverence in terms of age and social status. Kinship terms are employed pronominally as a stock for the choice of

layers of age variants, and terms of profession for the choice of degrees for social status variants. These nouns, which basically are third person, are used either as first or second person (i.e. a case of "deictic reversal"; see [BB-9]. Kinship terms used pronominally are, for example: *Bapak* 'father', *Ibu* 'mother', *Kakak* 'older sibling', *Adik* 'younger sibling', *Anak* 'son/daughter'. Terms of profession which are used pronominally are, for example: *Lurah* 'village headman', *Profesor* 'professor', *Dokter* 'medical doctor', *Guru* 'teacher'. Beside kinship terms and terms of profession, proper names can also be used pronominally (see also Verhaar 1984b).

3.1   The distribution of short forms

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

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 Tini, 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/Mam!'

Both the short and the full form of kinship terms can also be combined with terms of profession: *Bapak/Pak/Ibu/Bu lurah, 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 wellformed 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)

(21) *Sudah berapa kali Ibu mengingatkan? Tini selalu lupa.*
'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 wellformedly 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)/ *Kak 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 widely 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.

4   REDUPLICATION 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 reduplicable 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 improperly, 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 enrolled 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 yesterday.'

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 nonpronouns *begini* and *begitu* (5.4), and *sini/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 (aformentioned) 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 *iku/kaé* 'that'.) It is important that demostrative *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 dikerjakannya 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 Begini/begitu

Deictic modifiers related to *ini/itu* are *begini* and *begitu*. While *ini/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) *dihina 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*); *begitu* 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) *Harganya begitu/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 adverbially 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 *bilamana?* 'when?', *bagaimana?* 'how?', and so forth: *apa(kah)?*; *siapa(kah)?*; *bilamana(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 *apa_ii* as *apa_i*.

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: *apa_i*; and *apa_ii*. *Apa_i* is a qualifier, nonpronominal, introducing a yes/no question; it may have *-kah* attached to it: *apakah*. *Apa_ii* is an Argument (or non-Argument NP) in a WH-question, meaning 'what?'; it, too, may take *-kah*, but not clause-finally.

Apa_i can only be in clause-initial position. *Apa_ii* may be used either sub-

stantively or attributively; when used sub-
stantively, it may take clause-initial or
clause-final position (or at least final
in the nuclear group of verb + Argument(s)).
When apa_{ii} 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$_i$(kah) kota ini tenang?*
'Is this town placid?'

(74) *Apa$_{ii}$(kah) warna sepatu Badu?
Warna sepatu Badu apa$_{ii}$(*kah)?*
'What is the color of Badu's
shoes?'

(75) *Itu apa$_{ii}$?/ Apa$_{ii}$ itu?*
'What's that?'

(76) *Itu orang apa$_{ii}$?/ Orang apa$_{ii}$
itu? — Orang Amerika.*
'What kind of man is that?' —
'An American.'

(77) *Kamu memasak ikan itu dengan
apa$_{ii}$?*
'With what recipe did you cook
the fish?'

(78) *Majalah apa$_{ii}$ itu?/ Itu maja-
lah apa$_{ii}$?*
'What (kind of) magazine is
that?'

Note that all apa_{ii} clauses just now are
equational: no verb is involved. With
verbs, the following rule obtains: In-
transitive 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_{ii} NP *only* to the *right* of the
verb; in contrast, the *∅-*, *di-*, and *ku-/
kau-* forms of transitive verbs can have
the apa_{ii} NP either clause-initially or
clause-finally, but, when the position is
clause-initial, the apa_{ii} 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 $\begin{bmatrix} berbuat\ apa \\ apa \end{bmatrix}$
$\begin{bmatrix} oleh \\ sama \end{bmatrix}$ dia?*
'What did he ask you (to do)
then?'

(85) *Lalu apa yang dia/mereka/be-
liau [etc.] katakan?*
'Afterwards what did he/they/
he [HON] [etc.] say?'

(86) *Lalu apa yang kauambil?/ 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-
sition of *apa* (notice the preposition *oleh*
'by' is used in formal Indonesian, whereas
sama 'by' in informal Indonesian). Final-
ly, 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 attri-
butive *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:

(87) *Anak apa? — Anak kucing.*
child what 'A kitten.'

(88) *Anak siapa? — Anak si Dul.*
'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 se-
bagai 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 membenci siapa?* [*Siapa yang si Dul membenci?*]
'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 *8.2*, 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. *Mana$_i$* asks for one out of a limited number (English *which?*), *mana$_{ii}$* asks about a place (of origin). When a phrase containing attributive *mana* has a *yang* clause for one of its attributes, *mana$_i$* 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, *mana* itself is introduced, obligatorily, by *yang*. Consider the following examples, illustrating these rules for *mana$_i$*:

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

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

(97) *buku *(yang) mana?*
'which book?'

Note that the obligatory (second) *yang* in (95) and (96) is due to Cleft, and the obligatoriness 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?'

Mana$_{ii}$ 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 mengatakan hal itu [....]).*
'The man to whom (I said this [....]).'

(107) *Alat *dengan yang (saya mela-kukan pekerjaan ini [....]).*
'The tool with which (I did this this job [....]).'

However, under certain constraints, *yang* may be used with the proposition extraposed to the right, in the relative clause, and followed by a pronominal copy of the antecedent:

(108) *Masalah ini, yang sudah lama kami ingin membicarakannya, [....].*
'This problem, which we had already wanted to discuss for a long time, [....].'

On those constraints, see [BB-12]. But, even in a construction like (108), *yang* is not pronominal, and has no Argument status.

7.1 *Siapa, mana*

The only genuine relative pronouns in Indonesian are, as in many other languages, derived from interrogatives, but have developed so recently that, from a "standard" point of view, they are still being frowned upon. Consider:

(109) *?Orang dengan siapa mereka sering bekerja sama itu saha-bat saya.*
'The man with whom they often work together is my friend.'

A similar development has brought in *mana* as a relativizer; as in:

(110) *?Rumah di mana dia berkelahi dengan saya sudah dijual.*
'The house in which/where he quarreled with me was already sold.'

It is more usual to use *tempat* as a locative relativizer: *Rumah tempat dia [....]* 'The house in which/where he [....]'.
The recent relativization of interrogatives is also reflected in examples like the following:

(111) *?Alat dengan mana saya [....].*
'The tool with which [....].'

(112) *Kami tidak bersedia untuk ber-buat hal seperti itu, ?hal mana pasti akan mengecewakan dia.*
'We are not willing to do a thing like that, which will certainly disappoint her.'

In (111) *mana* relativizes, pronominally, the antecedent *alat*. In (112), however, *hal mana* is the (pronominally) relativiz-ing phrase whose antecedent is a *whole clause* (*Kami [....] seperti itu*); see [BB-12].

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 (*8.1*); others, from interrogatives (*8.2*).

8.1 *Numerals-derived indefinite pronouns*

Suatu is an attributive indefinite pronoun for nonhumans; *seorang*, for humans, also attributive. The analogous substantival pronouns are: *sesuatu*; and *seseorang*. *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*, *pucuk*, *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 *sebuah*, for concrete nouns, is certainly the most generalizing, as classifiers go.
Sesuatu can have *itu* as a (determining) attribute, but *seseorang* cannot; instead of **seseorang itu* the appropriate expression is: *orang itu*. Furthermore, *sesuatu* can have the "universalizing" *sega-la* to its left, while *seseorang* cannot. The expression *salah satu* can be used (attributively only) for both humans and nonhumans; *salah seorang*, only for humans. Finally, the particle *pun* may, "concessive-ly", follow *sesuatu* (or *satu* 'one') for nonhumans, and *seorang* (not **seseorang*) for humans. (However, when the emphatic negative *bukan* precedes *sesuatu* or *seorang*, *pun* does not follow.) Consider:

(113) *suatu persoalan — suatu keja-dian*
'a problem'   'a happen-ing'

(114) *seorang pendeta — seorang ma-hasiswa*
'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).

(115) *sebuah almari — sebuah rumah*
'a cabinet' — 'a house'

(116) *secarik kertas — sebutir te-lur — seekor burung*
'a piece of paper' — 'an egg' — 'a bird'

(these are some examples of other nominal classifiers).

(117) *Ia belajar ketrampilan itu untuk mencapai sesuatu, dan untuk mencapai sesuatu itu diperlukan latihan bertahun-tahun.*
'He is learning that skill to achieve *something*, and to achieve *that something* he needs years of training.'

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

(119) *Segala sesuatu yang dikatakan-nya selalu menarik.*
'*Everything* he says is always interesting.'

(120) *Pilihlah salah satu di antara ini.*
'Choose *one* of these.'

(121) *Salah satu / salah seorang di antara kita harus pergi.*
'*One* of us has to leave.'

(122) *Salah satu / salah seorang ha-rus menjadi pemimpin.*
'*One* has to become the leader.'

(123) *Tak sesuatu pun / Tak satu pun menarik perhatiannya.*
'*Nothing* (at all) interested her.'

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

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

(126) *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 *se-orang* 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. *seseorang*, 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.

8.2 Interrogatives-derived indefinite pronouns

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

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

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

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

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

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

(132) *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:

(133) *Kalau ada apa-apa, lekas telepon saya.*
'If *anything* happens, call me immediately.'
[assumption: nothing is likely to happen]

Here follow some more examples of negative sentences with reduplicated *apa-apa* and *siapa-siapa*:

(134) *Dia bukan apa-apa.*
'He is not important at all.'

(135) *Hal itu tidak apa-apa.*
'That doesn't matter (at all).'

(136) *Dia bukan siapa-siapa.*
'He is *nobody*. (He is a mere cipher.)'

(137) *Tak sesuatu pun / *Bukan apa-apa (yang) dapat merisaukan dia.*
'*Nothing* can disturb her.'

(138) *Tak/Tidak ada *(yang) dapat merisaukan dia.*
'There's nothing that can disturb her.'

(139) *Tak seorang pun / *Bukan siapa-siapa (yang) menolong mereka.*
'Nobody helped them.'

(140) *Tak/Tidak ada *(yang) menolong mereka.*
'There was no one who helped them.'

Note that (138) and (140) do not contain indefinite pronouns; they are "presentative", negative constructions, and obligatorily Cleft, so that *yang* is obligatory. In contrast, (137) and (139) *may*, but *need not*, be Cleft: *yang* is optional; *tak* is used, obligatorily, rather than **tidak*; *bukan* is out: *bukan*-negated NPs may occur only as Predicates, as illustrated by (134) and (136).

Finally, note that all the reduplicated indefinite pronouns in the block (127) through (132) *must* be Clefted if they are Subjects.

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-

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/ia*); *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, 1, 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 (142) can take *diri* either with or without pronominal form; the latter list is somewhat more productive than the former.

(141) *(mem)bunuh diri* 'to kill oneself'
berdiam diri 'to keep quiet/silent'
melarikan 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'
mempermuda diri(nya) 'to make oneself younger'
merendahkan diri(nya) 'to humble oneself'
menahan diri(nya) 'to control oneself, to check oneself'
menjauhkan diri(nya) 'to keep oneself far [from]'

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Note also the following:

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

(144) *(mem)bunuh di-*
*ri(*nya)*   'to kill one-
                        self'
*pembunuhan diri [there's no
                        such expres-
                        sion for
                        'suicide']

(145) *(me)minta di-*
*ri(*nya)*   'to take one's
                        leave'
*permintaan diri [there's no
                        such expres-
                        sion 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 core-ferential with the Subject of each of these phrases), but at least *formally*, by the obligatory absence of *-nya*, the "in-definiteness" criterium is satisfied. These expressions are parallel, in regard to Object incorporation, to phrases like *cuci 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* + pro-nominal form as possessors, in possessive phrases. As prepositional Objects, and as possessors, the addition of the pro-nominal 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 di- 'in regard to
ri(nya)*   oneself'

bagi diri(nya)* 'for oneself'
kepada diri(nya)* 'to oneself'

(149) *persoalan diri*(nya)* 'his own
                                 problem'
persoalannya sendiri 'his own
                                 problem'

(150) *tidak sadarkan di-*
ri(nya)   'unconscious'

tidak sadar akan
diri(nya)*   'unconscious'

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, consider-ing 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 ditahannya*
dirinya.
'[....] he felt the urge to
[....]. But he controlled him-
self.'

(152) *Jangan membiarkan dirimu diha-*
nyutkan 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*
dipersalahkannya.
'He always blames himself.'

Note that the Equi constructions (152) and (153) do not have, without more ado, a "raised" "Subject" which is indubitably an Agent. (152) *dirimu* is the Patient in re-gard to *dihanyutkan* (as it is also the Patient to the "higher" verb *membiarkan*). In (153), the "raised" "Subject" *dirinya* is not the Subject of a transitive verb, but of a predicative nominal construction. It may be asked whether Contemporary Indo-nesian 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 cita-citanya 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 *Diri 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 mempersalahkan dirinya sendiri.*
> 'He always blames *himself*.'

> (160) *Dirinya sendiri senantiasa dipersalahkannya.* [= (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 kehormatannya sendiri pun banyak orang bersedia melakukannya.*
> '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 begitulah kemauan dirinya.*
> 'Yes, indeed, that was his *own* will.'

> (164) *Itu memang kamauannya 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 (intranstive) "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.'

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 bibliography
excl.	exclusive
HON	honorifics
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-5]	"Discourse preagmatics in Contemporary Indonesian: foreground, background, and verbal aspect"
[BB-6]	"Morphemic reduplication in Contemporary Indonesian"
[BB-7]	"The categorial system in Contemporary Indonesian: adverbs"
[BB-8]	"Clause syntax of Contemporary Indonesian: qualifiers and the 'placement principle'"
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[BB-12]	"Phrase syntax in Contemporary Indonesian: noun phrases"
[BB-13]	"Nonaffixational morphemic processes in Contemporary Indonesian"
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