

PHRASE SYNTAX IN CONTEMPORARY INDONESIAN:

NONNOMINAL PHRASES

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0 INTRODUCTION

0.0 Introduction

Phrase syntax may be conveniently divided into two main types: **noun phrases**; and **nonnominal phrases**. The former is by far the more complex type of the two, and has been treated in my other paper in this volume. Nonnominal phrases are rather less complex, and in fact are here only a convenient "class" comprising all phrases not nominal; that is to say: **prepositional phrases**; **adjectival phrases**; and **adverbial phrases**.

There is no principled reason why we could not include in this group also "verbal phrases"; however, these are better analyzed in the perspective of clause syntax (see [KK-8]); and, in more detail, in Verhaar 1984b, where verbs are analyzed according to their "valency" in Predicate-plus-Argument structure.

Examples of prepositional phrases in Indonesian would be: kepada orang itu 'to that man'; tanpa jaminan 'without guarantee'; bagi semua peserta 'for all participants'. Of adjectival phrases: lebih tinggi daripada temannya 'taller than his friend'; amat kaya 'very wealthy'; sama besarnya dengan yang itu 'as big as that one'; baik hati 'kind-hearted'; cukup dalam 'rather deep'. Finally, of adverbial phrases: dengan cepat 'quickly'; amat lambat 'very slow(ly)'. -- These examples are not exhaustive and may serve here as preliminary illustrations.

However, to distinguish adequately among these phrase types, some more general principles should be briefly established, mainly expositively, to show some background for the treatment of data in the present paper. This will be done in the remainder of the present section.

0.1 "External" and "internal" grammar of phrases

The "internal" grammar ("grammar" here meaning morphemics and syntax combined) of a phrase is the grammatical organization that phrase has without regard for its place and function the **entire phrase as a whole** has **within a more extensive (linear) grammatical organization**. In contrast, that place or function of the phrase within that larger structure may be called the "external" structure of the phrase.

A few examples may clarify this distinction, and the need for it for the purposes of this paper. The adjectival phrase berat sekali 'very heavy' consists "internally" of the adjective berat 'heavy' and the "degree" modifier sekali 'very'. However, for this "internal" structure it makes no difference whether it functions attributively (peti yang berat sekali 'a very heavy box') or predicatively (Peti ini adalah berat sekali 'This box is very heavy'). The predicative or attributive use of berat sekali would be this phrase's "external" structure. Below, there will be occasion only rarely to deal with the "external" structure (or

"valency") of adjectival phrases.

Things are rather different, however, with prepositional phrases. Consider the phrase kepada adiknya 'to his (younger) brother/sister'. "Internally", it is a prepositional phrase. "Externally", however, it may have to be treated as a "noun phrase", e.g. in Saya memberikan hadiah kepada adiknya 'I gave a present to his younger sister', in the sense that kepada adiknya in this clause is an Argument, which happens to be marked for its "dative role" by the preposition kepada. "Internally", therefore, the preposition kepada is the "governor", and adiknya the "governee": a dependent constituent, therefore. In contrast, "externally", in the example just now, there is nothing "dependent" about adiknya, and kepada is merely a (dative) "role" marker, much as a case ending in some other language would be such a marker. The expression "prepositional phrase", then, will in the present paper be taken according to its "internal" structure only. (Compare with this my other paper in this volume, which treats noun phrases both according to their "internal" and according to their "external" structures.)

Adverbial phrases, finally, when considered according to their "external" structure, may be of different types. For example, pada saat itu 'at that point in time' would invariably be an adjunct "externally"; in contrast, saat itu could be synonymous with pada saat itu and thus be an adjunct, but it could also be an Argument, e.g. Subject, as in Saat itu adalah saat yang tepat 'That moment is the right moment'. Below we will consider adverbial phrases only according to their "internal" structure. Thus, saat itu is not an adverbial phrase "internally", though it could be an adjunct (and in that sense "adverbial" in an "external" sense). As it happens, Indonesian may have adverbial phrases consisting of a preposition plus adjective, as in dengan cepat ('with quick') 'quickly'. These could be considered as "prepositional" phrases if one were to take the position that the coconstituent (cepat) is a nominalization -- an analysis which would be arguable. However, I will not take the "nominalization" view (which would run into other difficulties), and consider phrases of the type dengan cepat 'quickly', as adverbial phrases, for the purposes of this paper.

Among "phrases" I include the type that could be considered strictly "monolexical", as with, e.g., kepada-nya (to 3) 'to him', in which the pronoun is cliticized, because for the purposes of this paper a too strict distinction between morphemics and syntax does not seem useful. In contrast, reduplications which are adverbial (e.g. cepat-cepat 'very quickly') are better treated as reduplications; see [KK-9].

0.2 "Principals" and "coconstituents"

As in the "internal" grammar of noun phrases the noun is the "head" or "principal", and the attribute is the "modifier", likewise nonnominal phrases have a "principal" and a "modifier". For prepositional phrases, the preposition is the principal; its "Object", the modifier. The principal of an adjectival phrase is the adjective; of the adverbial phrase, the adverb. In all these cases, the coconstituent may be called the modifier.

In this language, in prepositional phrases, the principal may be a "periphrastic" preposition, like di atas 'above', dari bawah 'from below'. It will be more convenient not to consider these prepositions as "phrasal" in themselves, for various reasons. First, such periphrastic prepositions are perhaps better characterized as compounds rather than phrases, in that :atas, :bawah, etc. are most aptly considered as "precategoryals" (the colon to the left symbolizes precategoryal status) -- as will be more fully explained in [KK-1], [KK-4], and [KK-10]. Second, within prepositional phrases the periphrastic prepositions do not behave differently from simple prepositions, for all practical purposes of the description of such phrases. Third, di + :atas/:bawah/[etc.], or dari + [ditto], etc. are not in themselves (i.e. if used "absolutely") prepositional phrases (even if

"phrases" were to be taken to include compounds), since in their "absolute" use they would be adverbial: di atas means 'on top'; dari bawah 'from below'. They are, however, not treated as "adverbial" phrases below, simply because they are more appropriately dealt with as compounds.

0.3 "Government"

The present subsection is fairly theoretical, but its practical relevance for treatment below is, though somewhat marginal, of some importance, if only for the sake of exposition.

Traditionally, the notion of "government" has been applied in mainly three ways: [i] to a verb, in regard to an Object; [ii] to a preposition, in regard to its "Object"; [iii] to a comparative, in regard to its "standard".

The [i] notion of government is not relevant to this paper, which does not deal with "verb phrases". The [ii] and [iii] notions do apply, but need to be expanded, for the [i] through [iii] tradition seems arbitrarily tied to the study of SAE language, with their case systems for all three. I am not aware of any proposal to extrapolate the notion of "government" from its applicability to languages involving case systems, except for such a proposal in Sudaryanto 1983. As for Indonesian, which lacks nominal case, it seems consistent and straightforward to apply the notion of "government" in other ways. For example, governors like verbs, prepositions/postpositions, and comparatives still have definable semantic "roles" in their constituents, which, also, have characteristic sequential places in any language. Moreover, such sequential "rules" show "infraclausal harmony" (Sudaryanto's term) already pointed out earlier (e.g. Lehmann 1973), across languages in greater frequency than can be due to chance. In short, "government" can be expanded as a notion so that it applies also to a language like Indonesian, in terms of sequential order rules, and semantic characteristics of governor and governee.

0.4 Preview

Below, then, the following will be treated:

- [a] prepositional phrases;
- [b] adjectival phrases; and
- [c] adverbial phrases.

These will be discussed in sections 1, 2, and 3, respectively.

1 PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES

1.0 Introduction

In many languages, there is considerable overlap of prepositions and verbs. Indonesian is no exception: entirely nonverbal prepositions would be di 'on', 'at', kepada 'to', etc. Close-to-verbal are, e.g., mengenai or menyangkut 'concerning', bersama 'together with'. For an account of the choices made here, see [KK-4].

Prepositional phrases may be subdivided as:

- [a] preposition + noun (or noun phrase);
- [b] preposition + headless yang modifiers;
- [c] preposition + pronoun (or pronominal phrase).

As noted earlier, dengan + adjective is better classified as an

adverbial phrase, and therefore does not figure in the present section. Furthermore, untuk + verb (much like English (in order) to + infinitive) is better not regarded as having untuk as a preposition; see [KK-3].

1.1 Preposition + noun (or noun phrase)

This construction appears to present no special problems. Consider the following examples:

- (1) kepada kepala desa
'to the village headman'
- (2) tanpa kesulitan
'without difficulty'
- (3) bagi semua orang yang menyediakan tenaga
'for all those who want to join in the job'
- (4) mengenai hal itu
'concerning that matter'
- (5) demi kemakmuran rakyat
'for (the sake of) the prosperity of the people'

Note that the prepositional Object may be a single noun (as in (2)), or single noun plus a determiner (as in (4)), or a noun phrase (as in (1) and (5)), which (in (3)) takes the form of an antecedent (orang) plus a relative clause (yang [....]). No further comments seem to be called for on this type of prepositional phrase.

1.2 Preposition + "headless" yang modifier

For "headless" yang phrases, see my other paper, this volume, sect. 19.1. They are of the type yang tidak mau datang [....] 'those who do not want to come [....]'. The question here is whether such phrases may be preceded by prepositions. Consider the following examples (see also examples with daripada in 2.3.1, below):

- (6) dengan yang itu
'with that one (over there)'
- (7) untuk yang mana?
'for which one?'
- (8) tanpa yang empat itu
'without those four (ones)'
- (9) Kepada yang tidak mau ikut akan disajikan acara lain.
'To those who do not want to come along some other entertainment will be offered.'
- (10) Tentang yang sudah kalian pelajari akan ada ujian.
'About what you have already studied there will be an examination.'

As noted in my other paper (this volume), sect. 19.1, there seems to be no problem about prepositions governing "headless" yang phrases, except perhaps for reasons of euphony in tentang yang [....] in (10); some speakers may want to create a head apa: apa yang 'what(ever)', which is

what they may want to do anyway when the yang-introduced constituent is a clause (as in (9) and (10)).

1.3 Preposition + pronoun

For more general descriptive purposes, the preposition + pronoun phrase is, of course, a subclass of the preposition + noun phrase class. With pronouns, however, there are some special constraints; these are discussed in Kaswanti 1984b, on which I draw in part. Included below are examples of pronouns cliticized to prepositions.

The prepositions di 'on', 'at' and ke 'to(wards)' cannot take pronominal Objects at all, whether free or as enclitics. If there are such Objects, pada is used rather than di; and kepada rather than ke; both may take pronouns in free form or as clitics. To a lesser extent, daripada, rather than dari, is used when the Object is pronominal; for a more detailed description, see [KK-4]. Dari, however, tends to have free rather than cliticized pronouns, whereas daripada takes both free and cliticized pronominal Objects. (Note that kepada dan daripada must be one word orthographically, in contrast to all other periphrastic prepositions, like di atas, dari bawah.)

The following prepositions can take pronouns either in free or in cliticized form: dengan 'with'; bagi 'for'; bersama '(together) with'; kepada 'to'; sekitar 'around'; terhadap 'in regard to'; untuk 'for'.

In contrast, only free form pronouns are wellformed with: berkat 'thanks to', 'owing to'; buat 'for'; demi 'for (the sake of)'; kecuali 'except'; mengenai 'concerning' (but the verb mengenai 'to hit' may have a cliticized Object); selain dari 'apart from'; seperti 'as', 'like'; tentang 'concerning'.

Finally, as noted, di and ke cannot have pronominal Objects at all.

The periphrastic prepositions consisting of di/ke plus atas/bawah/depan/belakang/balik cannot take cliticized first and second person pronouns (*-ku and *-mu respectively), but the third person (s/p) -nya is wellformed: di atasnya 'on top of it' (but not *di atas(-ku/-mu) 'on top of me/you'; ke bawahnya 'to (the place) underneath it'; etc.

The preposition karena 'because of' can only have third -nya in clitic form, and all other pronouns must be free.

All pronouns, except ia, may follow eligible prepositions; for ia, dia is used. Here are examples, in addition to those given:

- (11) pada(-ku/-mu/-nya) (*di(-ku/-mu/-nya))
'with me/you/him(/her/it)'
- (12) kepada(-ku/-mu/-nya) (*ke(-ku/-nya))
'to me/you/him(/her/it)'
- (13) daripada(-ku/-mu/-nya) (*dari(-ku/-mu); ?dari-nya)
'(from/of) me/you/him(/her/it)'
- (14) dengan aku/saya/(eng)kau/kamu/*ia/dia/kami/kita/kalian/mereka
'with me/me/you/you/him(/her/it)/us [excl./incl.] y'all/them'
- (15) dengan(-ku/-mu/-nya)
'with me/you/him(/her/it/them)'
- (16) untuk(-ku/-mu/-nya)
'for me/you/him(/her it/them)'
- (17) tanpa (aku/kamu/dia/*ia) (*tanpa(-ku/-mu/-nya))
'without me/you/him(/her/it/them)'

- (18) tentang (aku/kamu/dia/*ia) (*tentang(-ku/-mu/-nya))
'concerning me/you/him(/her/it/them)'
- (19) di atas (aku/saya/engkau(/[etc.])) (di atas(-nya/*ku/*-mu))
'on (top of) me/me/you(/etc.)'
- (20) dari bawah (aku/saya/[etc.]) (dari bawah (-nya/*-ku/*-mu))
'from below me/me/[etc.]'
- (21) karena (aku/kamu/[etc.]) (karena(-nya/-ku/*-mu))
'because of me/you/[etc.]'

2 ADJECTIVAL PHRASES

2.0 Introduction

Adjectival phrases are of various types, which we may here distinguish as follows:

- [a] adjectives modified by "qualifiers";
- [b] adjectives modified by nouns of "inalienable" possession;
- [c] equatives, comparatives, and superlatives, with their "standards";
- [d] adjectives with adverbial "degree" modifiers;
- [e] adjectives with "measurement" modifiers; and
- [f] adjectives with "respect" modifiers.

Some of these classes overlap somewhat with some others; all will be discussed in 2.1 through 2.6 respectively.

2.1 Adjectives modified by "qualifiers"

The notion "qualifier" I borrow from clause syntax, where, following Lehmann 1973, I take it to comprise the following modifiers to the verb: negatives; interrogatives; causatives; reflexives; reciprocals; and modals. (They will be treated in [KK-5] mainly for what unites them all: sequential order regularities.) In phrases, qualifiers comprise only **negatives**; **reflexives**; and **modals**.

The negatives may (but need not) take bound morphemic form; the reflexives either take only the form diri, or diri with a prepositional form (in the former case, the phrases concerned may be considered also as compounds, depending upon one's analytic views); finally, modals take phrasal form only, together with their adjectival principals.

As is well-known, in VO languages (clausal) qualifiers are typically preverbal; e.g. in (22)

- (22) Apakah dia tidak mau main sepak bola?
'Doesn't he want to play football?'

all three qualifiers, interrogative, negative, and modal precede the verb. In nonnominal phrases, too, the modifier precedes the adjective, except for reflexive modifiers, as will be illustrated below (but for diri this holds also for clausal order, though not for ber-).

Consider these data:

- (23) orang nonpribumi; negara nonblok; orang tunawisma
'nonindigenous people; nonbloc nations; homeless people'

- (24) cara yang tidak sehat; makalah yang kurang baik
'un unhealthy manner; 'an unsatisfactory paper'
- (25) bangga-diri; sadar diri; mawas diri
'proud of oneself; conscious of oneself; introspective'
- (26) sadar akan diriku; puas tentang dirinya (sendiri)
'conscious of myself; satisfied about herself'
- (27) orang-orang yang kiranya setuju
'people who are likely to agree [with s.t.]'
- (28) buruh yang rupa-rupanya tidak puas
'workers who may not be satisfied'

The negative qualifiers non- and tuna- are "realized" only in bound form, as illustrated in (23), Tidak is found in (28), while kurang (lit. 'less', often euphemistically used for 'not') appears in (24). "Absolute" diri is found in (25); it is wellformed only with a few adjectives (and determination of them + diri as compounds rather than phrases is possible). Reflexive qualifiers which are **themselves phrasal** are more frequent (productively so); (26) illustrates two. Phrasal qualifiers invariably follow the principal.

For negatives bukan is more emphatic than tidak, which in turn is a stronger form of negation than kurang. Modal qualifiers are more varied: apart from kiranya and rupa-rupanya (in (27) and (28)), there are others, like rasanya 'presumably'; barangkali 'probably'; mungkin 'possibly', 'perhaps'.

2.2 Adjectives modified by nouns of "inalienable" possession

Adjectives may be modified by nouns denoting referents which are inalienably possessed by the referent of the pronoun that the adjective is attributed to or predicated of. To illustrate this, data are more conveniently given in sentences. Consider the following (Verhaar 1978; some are added, others are changed):

- (29) Dia (*//) sakit kaki(nya).
'He has a sore foot.'
- (30) Temannya (*//) angkuh hati(nya).
'His friend is arrogant [lit. proud of heart].'
- (31) Tiang ini (*//) sama tingginya (dengan atap rumah).
'This pole is equally high (as high as the roof of the house).'
- (32) Orang itu (*//) agak aneh pikirannya.
'That man is strange in his way of thinking.'
- (33) Tempat ini (*//) enak pemandangannya.
'This place has a beautiful view [i.e. is pleasing in regard to the view].'
- (34) Orang ini (*//) sudah lanjut usianya.
'This man is already old [i.e. advanced in age].'

An analysis of what these sentences have in common is called for. The Subjects are: dia; temannya; tiang ini; orang itu; tempat ini; orang ini. All these NPs are, apart from being Subjects, also possessors, i.e. of: kaki; hati; tingginya; pikiran, pemandangan; usia. The -nya is a resumptive device, or a "copy", of the possessor NP (in tingginya, -nya is both a nominalizer and possessive, resumptive -nya). Note, therefore, that the

Subjects of these sentence are not kaki; hati; tingginya; pikiran; pemandangan; or usia: those nouns are modifiers to the adjectives to their left: sakit; angkuh; sama; aneh; enak; and lanjut. This analysis presupposes a reading in which there is no pause (symbolized as "(*//)"): these sentences are single-clause sentences.

On the other hand, such pauses are certainly possible. If they are there, we have two-clause sentences: the first a "truncated clause" (on which see [KK-6]), as an introductory "topic", and the rest a single clause. However, if we read each of (29) through (34) with such a pause ("*(//)"), then each may be compared with the other member of a pair, in which the possessee is "alienably" possessed. Consider:

(35) (Kalau) dia *(//), sakit ayahnya.
'As for her, her father is ill.'

(36) (Kalau) temannya *(//), sudah rusak barangnya.
'As for his friend, his things are destroyed.'

Compare (35) with (29), and (30). In (35) and (36), the pause is obligatory: each of them is a two-clause sentence, because the ayah is not "inalienably" possessed by dia, i.e. when the ayah is ill, that does not necessarily make the son ill. In contrast, in (29), for the person's foot to be in pain is for him to be in pain. Similarly, in (36), for the friend's things to be destroyed is not the same as for the friend to be "destroyed"; in contrast, in (30), for the friend's heart to be proud is the same as for the friend to be proud.

Therefore, in the examples of alienable possession, as in (35) and (36), dia and temannya are "topics" as well as possessors, but they are not the Subjects of the entire sentence — which indeed consists of two clauses. (Note that the Subject in (35) and (36) is clause-final, and that therefore the only reading of those sentences is one in which ayah and barang is already "old information".)

In (35) and (36), therefore, the adjectives sakit and rusak do not have the following noun (ayahnya; barangnya) for their "modifiers": these nouns are Subjects, with those adjectives as their Predicates. In contrast, in (29) through (34), the final noun (kaki(nya), hati(nya), etc.) is the "modifier" of the preceding adjective; and that final noun can be a modifier only because it is "inalienably" possessed. (It is not just the predicative adjectives which may have a noun of inalienable possession attached to them; for this, see Verhaar 1977.)

The adjectival phrases with inalienable modifier nouns are, as noted, characterized by the resumptive possessive clitic -nya: usually obligatorily attached, but in some expressions optionally, as in (29), (30), and (34). I suggest optionality is motivated by a very high degree of inalienability (as one would expect for body parts, or someone's age); however, this point perhaps deserves some more research. Only third person pronominal copies are permitted; thus the following would not be wellformed with -ku or -mu:

(37) Saya sakit kaki(*-ku).
'I have a sore foot.'

(38) Kamu sudah lanjut usia(*-mu).
'You are already old.'

and so when -nya is out by reason of a first or second person possessor, the entire clause could be deviant:

(39) *Saya sama tinggi(*-ku/-nya) dengan kamu.
'I am as tall as you.'

(40) *Kamu agak aneh pikiran(*-mu/-nya).
'You have strange thoughts.'

and the appropriate constructions would be: Kamu dan saya sama tingginya

(where -nya is all right because of mixed personhood); and Pikiranmu agak aneh.

Note, finally, that the resumptive pronoun, where wellformed, must be "bound": the free pronoun is out (Dia sakit kaki (*dia)).

So far I have discussed adjectival phrases with inalienable modifiers, in which the entire phrase is predicatively used. The only other position phrases of this type can take is an attributive one, within a noun phrase -- and such that the attribute is obligatorily introduced with the ligature yang. Consider (the adjectival phrase is marked in bold type):

(41) rumah yang sudah rusak atapnya
'the house whose roof has already collapsed'

(42) orang yang sakit kakinya
'the man with the sore foot'

(43) *orang yang sakit majikannya
'the man whose employer is ill'

Note that in such constructions the adjectival phrase (functioning attributively in a noun phrase) is wellformed only if the modifier to the adjective is a noun inalienably possessed. Hence (41) and (42) are all right, while (43) is not.

2.3 Equatives, comparatives, and superlatives, with their "standards"

2.3.0 Introduction

As has been set forth in 0.3, the notion of "government" is taken to include also sequential order. The obvious example here is the comparative as governor, being followed by the "standard" as governee. Also, the governee has a "marker", such as the ablative case in Latin (eo maior [3:ABL great:COMP] 'greater than he'), or than in English (lower than the wall) -- that "marker" in Indonesian being dari(pada): lebih tinggi dari-pada adiknya 'taller than his younger brother'. It is consistent, then, to say here that daripada adiknya is "governed" by lebih tinggi, in two ways: there is that "marker"; and the "standard" must follow the comparative.

I take it for granted here that the comparative itself is, in Indonesian, phrasal: lebih 'more' + adjective; and thus the comparative itself is an adjectival phrase, of the type treated in 2.4, below.

The expansion of the notion of government as described in 0.3, above, justifies our saying that there are also superlative phrases; that is, so long as the superlative is "relative", i.e. in yang paling besar {dari/di antara} semua orang 'the greatest of/among all men'. Dari, or di antara, is the "marker" of the "standard", whose sequential position is to the right of the superlative.

Another type of adjectival phrase falling within the expanded notion of "government" is the "equative" phrase, as e.g. setinggi langit 'as high as the heavens', in which the "equative degree" of the adjective is marked by se-, with the standard unmarked, except by its obligatorily sequential position to the right of the adjective.

This said, I propose to discuss:

- [a] positive and negative comparatives, with standard;
- [b] positive and negative superlatives, with standard; and
- [c] positive and negative equatives, with standard.

These are treated in 2.3.1, 2.3.2, and 2.3.3, respectively.

2.3.1 Positive and negative comparatives, with standard

The adjective in Indonesian is modified (for "degree", see 2.3, below) with lebih 'more' for the positive comparative, and with kurang 'less' for the negative comparative. The standard is marked, in either case, by dari or daripada 'than'; the former is somewhat more colloquial than the latter, but not distinctly substandard. The positive comparative invariably implies a standard, though it does not have to follow the comparative if it is understood in the context. This is also true of the negative comparative. However, kurang modifying an adjective may also be a (mild) **negation**, as explained above (see 2.1; and (24) for an example), in which case we do not have a comparative but simply an "unmarked" form of the adjective, though negated.

The standard may be any appropriate noun phrase, including "headless" yang phrases (see 1.2, above).

Consider the following data:

- (44) Kuliah ini lebih jelas daripada kuliah lainnya.
'This class is clearer than the other classes.'
- (45) Pertunjukan tadi lebih profesional daripada yang kemarin.
'That performance just now was more professional than the one yesterday.'
- (46) Mobil Jepang adalah kurang mahal daripada mobil Amerika.
'Japanese cars are less expensive than American cars.'

Positive comparatives are illustrated in (44) and (45); a negative comparative, in (46). The comparative markers may themselves become phrasal for "degree" by preposing jauh ('far') to lebih/kurang: jauh lebih besar 'far greater', 'much greater'; jauh kurang mahal 'much less expensive'. (The equivalent of English much, i.e. banyak, cannot be used in Indonesian as such a reinforcer of degree.) A "measurement reinforcer" like dua puluh kali 'twenty times' may be used with positive comparatives (dua puluh kali lebih mahal 'twenty times more expensive'), but seems to be unusual with negative comparatives: ?dua puluh kali kurang besar 'twenty times smaller' is "odd", and it is better to use the positive comparative of the antonym, as is also possible in English: dua puluh kali lebih kecil 'twenty times smaller'.

(Note that the adverbial compound kurang lebih 'more or less' is not used with adjectives, but with quantifying expressions like numerals; e.g. kurang lebih dua ribu 'approximately two thousand'.)

The "absolute" comparatives (which have no standard at all) found in many languages (e.g. Latin maior 'rather large') are not found in Standard Indonesian; but they are in the Jakarta dialect, by -an suffixation, e.g. in murahan 'rather cheap' (murah 'cheap' + -an); terangan 'rather bright' (terang 'bright [of light]'). On this see Verhaar 1984a: 15, sect. 11.1; see also Muhadjir 1981:57, sect. 6.7.1; and Muhadjir 1984:109, sect. 6.3.1. Note, however, that such -an comparatives, in this dialect, may also be "relative" rather than "absolute", having a standard introduced by dari; the relative use of these -an forms is also distinctly nonstandard in Indonesian.

Another substandard comparative feature of the Jakarta dialect is heard rather more often in (colloquial) Indonesian, i.e. the **unmarked** adjective form, in a **comparative** meaning, and such that the standard is implied in a choice, whose (nominal) form must be to the right of the adjective:

- (47) Yang enak mana: nasi atau bubur?
'Which is nicer: rice or porridge?'
- (48) Yang enak bubur.
'Porridge (is nicer).'

in which (48) is a response to (47). Note the different word order in Standard Indonesian (for (47)): Bubur yang lebih enak; -- note: lebih; and the different word order (and yang for Cleft).

2.3.2 Positive and negative superlatives, with standard

The positive superlative is marked either by the prefix ter- or by preposing paling 'most'; the ter- prefix is out for negative superlatives, and paling tidak must be used. (Note that the adverbial phrase paling tidak not in the "superlative" function means 'at least'.)

The standard of the negative superlative is dari (rarely: daripada), di antara 'among', 'between', or some other prepositional expression, such as locative di 'on', 'in', 'at'.

"Absolute" superlatives such as occur in many languages (e.g. English most interesting on the reading of 'very interesting', or Latin maximus 'very great') are not found in Indonesian (which for that purpose uses (ter)amat 'very', 'highly'). Therefore with Indonesian superlatives, a standard is always possible, though it may be lacking because it is known in context. Consider:

- (49) Gedung ini adalah gedung (yang) tertinggi (di kota).
'This building is the highest building (in town).'

- (50) Pak Kaji dulu orang yang terkaya di antara semua orang di perusahaan tersebut.
'Mr. (Su)kaji was at one time the wealthiest of all those in the company I mentioned.'

- (51) Yang paling enak dari semua makanan yang tersedia adalah nasi goreng.
'The most tasty dish of what is offered is fried rice.'

- (52) Yang paling tidak enak di restoran ini adalah ikan.
'The least tasty food in this restaurant is the fish.'

Note the various standard markers: di; di antara; dari. Example (49) has the parentheses to symbolize optionality of the standard -- in case that is already old information.

2.3.3 Positive and negative equatives, with standard

Both the positive and the negative equative is (for the "equation" part) marked with se-: e.g. se-indah 'equally beautiful'; se-tinggi 'equally high'; the standard is unmarked, follows the equative immediately, and may be absent if known from the context. There are no "absolute" equatives, in the nature of the case (except for tidak seberapa; see below). The positive as such is unmarked; the negative is marked with tidak. The positive equative may have the se- adjective further determined by measurement modifiers. Consider:

- (53) Tidak ada rak buku setinggi itu.
'There's no bookcase that high.'

- (54) Salju kini sudah setinggi lutut orang.
'The snow is now knee-high'.

- (55) Matahari itu adalah ratusan kali sebesar planet kita ini.
'The sun is hundreds of times as big as this planet of ours.'

- (56) (uang saya yang) tidak sebanyak itu
'(my money which) doesn't amount to that much'

The standards are, respectively: itu; lutut orang; planet kita ini; itu; they are unmarked except by sequential position; all standards are nominal, in the nature of the case. In (55), the measurement modifier ratusan kali modifies se-, and, through it, sebesar. Note tidak in (56). In (53) through (55) the phrases function clausally; (56) is a mere phrase, to illustrate that tidak is not a clausal modifier and that its "scope" is limited to the phrase.

(Note the expression tidak seberapa 'not all that much', which, like its gloss in English, is used "absolutely" only; see also Kaswanti (this volume).)

2.4 Adjectives with "degree" modifiers

The examples so far already contain some degree modifiers for adjectives, among which are the comparative and superlative markers lebih, kurang, and paling; another is agak 'rather'.

These degree modifiers may be distinguished according to their sequential position. Most only precede the modifiee: lebih 'more'; kurang 'less'; agak 'rather'; amat 'very'; teramat 'very-very', 'highly'; terlalu 'too'; cukup 'enough', 'sufficiently' (and, by way of understatement, 'rather' or 'very').

Others may either precede or follow the modifiee: sangat 'very': (periphrastic and semantically reduplicative: amat sangat 'very-very'; never: *sangat amat); sedikit 'a little', 'somewhat' (sedikit must follow the adjective if and only if agak precedes: agak + adjective + sedikit 'a bit', 'somewhat').

Others again can only follow the modifiee: sekali 'very'; benar or betul 'very' [lit. 'truly'] (if these precede the adjective, they are clausal modifiers). It could be argued that belaka 'merely' and semata-mata [ditto] are "degree" modifiers to adjectives, with the connotation 'all', 'wholly' (provided they follow the adjective); when these adverbs precede, they are mostly clause modifiers. Consider:

- (57) agak mahal; amat rendah; {terlalu/terlampau} jauh
'rather expensive'; 'very low'; 'too far'
- (58) (sangat payah/payah sangat); ((amat/sangat) sedih)/(sedih (amat/sangat))
'very tired (indeed)'; 'terribly sad'
- (59) (sedikit sakit/sakit sedikit); agak sakit sedikit
'a little indisposed'; 'rather under the weather'
- (60) indah sekali; pahit benar; marah betul
'very beautiful'; 'really bitter'; 'really angry'
- (61) jahat belaka; sukar semata-mata
'just (really) bad'; 'just (really) difficult'

2.5 Adjectives with "measurement" modifiers

There would be pros and cons to the position that "measurement" modifiers (modifying adjectives expressing a quantity of some sort) are a subclass of the "respect" modifiers treated in 2.6, below. For all practical purposes, however, it is more convenient to deal with the "measurement" modifiers separately.

Adjectives signifying measurable quantities may be "unmarked" adjectives, comparatives, or equatives; none of these can be (phrasally) negative (though the clause in which the phrase occurs may be negated normally).

The measurement modifier itself is a nominal phrase, with the noun (signifying the unit of measurement) deletable if understood from previous discourse. The modifier follows the unmarked adjective, precedes or follows the comparative, and precedes the equative. With equatives, the only measurement noun is kali 'times [as a multiplier]'.

Consider (only the modifier appears in bold):

- (62) lebar tiga meter; tinggi enam inci
'five meters wide'; 'six inches high'
- (63) tiga meter lebih lebar; lebih lebar tiga meter
'three meters wider'; 'wider by three meters'
- (64) lima kali sebesar yang ini; dua kali setinggi itu
'five times as big as this one'; 'twice as high as that one'

As noted, none of such phrases can be negated phrasally; compare:

- (65) (papan) yang tidak sampai tiga meter lebarnya
'(a board) that isn't three meters wide [i.e. it is less]'
- (66) (dos) yang tidak sampai lima kali sebesar ini
'(a box) that isn't five times as big as this one [i.e. it is less]'

Note that what is "qualified" by tidak in (65) is sampai 'to reach', 'reaching'; sampai, in its turn, is modified by tiga meter, which in its turn is modified by lebarnya. Lebar-nya is a (deadjectival) noun, and the entire construction is not an adjectival but a nominal phrase, which it would be also if not negated, as in (67)

- (67) Papan ini tiga meter lebarnya.
'This board is three meters wide.'

which has lebarnya as a noun modifier of "inalienable" possession, on which see my other paper in this volume, sect. 1.4; note the difference, clause-wise, with "(in)alienability" in adjectival phrases discussed in sect. 2.2, above: in (65), above, the clause is relative, and no choice between "(*//)" and "*(/)" is possible -- it has to be the former: no pause.

In short, the only way to negate measurement-modified adjectival phrases is to convert them into the type illustrated by (67), and then negate (clausally) that: the negation modifies the Predicate sampai.

Negation of the equative kali-modified adjectival phrases is done by introducing sampai, and negating that (a Predicate); but in this case the adjectival phrase is not changed into a nominal one: there is still sebesar ini, as shown in (66).

In conclusion, measurement-modified comparatives cannot be negated (phrasally) either, and the negation must be clausal; compare (68) with (63):

- (68) Papan ini bukannya lebih besar tiga meter.
'It is not the case that the board is three meters wide.'

where bukannya is an emphatic negative, whose scope is the Predicate, i.e. lebih besar tiga meter, without being part of that phrase.

2.6 Adjectives with "respect" modifiers

2.6.0 Introduction

By "modifier of 'respect'" is meant here the type of modifier to an adjective which signifies in **what respect** the state, quality or property signified by the adjective is being applied to the noun to which the adjective belongs (attributively or predicatively). Examples in this paper so far already contain several types of such "respect" modifiers: those of equatives, comparatives, and superlatives (see 2.3 above); modifying nouns of "inalienable" possession (see 2.2, above); and, as noted earlier, there could be some reason to include here also the "measurement" modifiers treated in 2.5. All these, however, it has seemed more convenient to deal with under those separate headings. The following, however, deserve treatment at this point:

- [a] prepositional modifiers of "respect";
- [b] verbs as modifiers of "respect"; and
- [c] unmarked nominal modifiers of "respect".

These must now be treated in 2.6.1 through 2.6.3, respectively.

2.6.1 Prepositional modifiers of "respect"

It seems that a fairly large variety of prepositional phrases may serve as modifiers to adjectives, signifying the "respect" in which these adjectives obtain semantically. Consider the following examples (with the "respect" phrase in bold):

- (69) Dia jujur dalam hal ini.
'She is honest in this (regard).'
- (70) Bu Kamil adalah terkenal di bidang kimia.
'Mrs. Kamil is very well-known in the field of chemistry.'
- (71) Bubur itu adalah sehat untuk anak-anak kecil.
'Porridge is healthy for small children.'
- (72) Rumah itu dekat pada mesdjid, dan jauh dari kantor pos.
'The house is close to the mosque, and far from the post office.'

The "respect" function is clear: a person may be honest, or wellknown, in one respect though not in another; and so forth with the other examples. (Note that pada in (72), but not jauh, is optional.)

It may appear, however, that those "respect" modifiers are not necessarily modifiers to the adjective concerned (jujur; terkenal; etc.); or to the adjective all right, but then to the adjective as the **Predicate** of the entire clause. That is, they could be "extranuclear" constituents in the entire clause, so that, e.g., Dalam hal ini dia jujur 'In this (respect) she is honest' is as wellformed as is (69). The obvious comment here, however, is that the respect modifier may be clausal as well as phrasal (no matter whether the "respect" phrase is clause-initial or not -- that would be a matter of topicalization). Thus, each of (69) through (72) would be ambiguous, as between phrase-"respect" and clause-"respect". This no doubt because such prepositional "respect" modifiers are not unambiguously "bonded" to the adjective as phrase principal. The ambiguity would be similar to that in English I saw the flowers on the table, as meaning that the table was the place where I saw the flowers, or that it was the flowers which were on the table that I saw, not others.

2.6.2 Verbs as modifiers of "respect"

Di-passives (of men- verbs), as well as ber- verbs, may modify adjectives phrasally, once again signifying the "respect" in which the adjectives are to be interpreted semantically. The di- forms may have untuk (preposed), optionally; untuk is not used for modifying ber- verbs. Consider:

- (73) pantas (untuk) dihargai; enak dipandang; enak dikunyah
'worthy to be honored'; 'beautiful to behold'; 'tasty to nibble at'
- (74) pandai berbahasa Tionghoa
'good in (speaking) Chinese'

2.6.3 Unmarked nominal modifiers of "respect"

There are a fair number of phrases of this type, many of them idiomatically "frozen", some also characterized by "inalienable" possession of the modifier's referent. Consider:

- (75) wajib pajak; mabuk (laut/udara); panjang tangan
'taxable'; 'seasick/airsick'; 'prone to theft' [lit. 'long of hand']
- (76) buta huruf; pendek kata; tamat akademi
'illiterate' [lit. 'blind for letters']; 'in short' [lit. 'short of words']; 'graduated from the academy'
- (77) sembuh penyakit kulit; mahir bahasa Jepang
'cured of skin disease'; 'fluent in Japanese'

For "inalienability", compare panjang tangan with sakit kaki (see 2.2, above).

3 ADVERBIAL PHRASES

3.0 Introduction

On adverbs as a class in the categorial system of Indonesian, see [KK-7]. On the whole, while some adverbs can never be adjectival (notably adverbs of time, such as besok 'tomorrow', jarang 'rarely', sering 'often'), and while certain adjectives can only be adverbial when reduplicated (e.g. cepat-cepat 'quickly'), on the whole adverbs are in form indistinguishable from adjectives in this language.

Phrases which are adverbial internally may be classified as follows:

[a] dengan + adjective

[b] secara + adjective

thus ignoring phrases which may be adverbial "externally"; e.g. hari ini 'today', is externally adverbial, but internally nominal; or pada hari ini 'today', which is "internally" a prepositional phrase. As noted earlier, it seems better not to consider the adjective in [a] and [b] phrases as a nominalization, so that these dengan and secara phrases cannot count as prepositional, which indeed in many other ways they are not.

These two classes are now treated in 3.1 and 3.2, respectively.

3.1 Dengan + adjective

Consider:

- (78) dengan { baik/bersih/cepat/cermat/gesit/giat/lancar/lelap/mudah/rajin/sempurna/tekun/teliti }
'well/cleanly/quickly/accurately/adroitly/actively/smoothly/
indolently/easily/industriously/perfectly/perseveringly/
accurately'

The following adjectives cannot be adverbialized with dengan: aneh 'strange'; benar 'true'; bodoh 'stupid'; canggung 'insecure'; curiga 'suspicious'; hebat 'impressive'; lucu 'funny'; nakal 'mischievous'; pandai 'smart'; parah 'seriously wounded'; pasti 'certain'; salah 'wrong'; tentu 'certain'.

Both lists, those that can take dengan and those that cannot (but can take secara), are closed lists. The examples here are not exhaustive for either list.

3.2 Secara + adjective

It seems most straightforward to break down the se-cara + adjective type of phrase into cara ('manner') + adjective first, and then into se- + the entire rest. That is to say, a nominal phrase like cara mudah 'easy manner/fashion' would be adverbialized by prefixation of se-. Examples

- (79) secara mudah; secara lucu; secara bodoh
'easily'; 'humorously'; 'stupidly'

or: 'in an easy fashion', 'in a humorous manner'; 'in a stupid way'.

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FORTHCOMING PAPERS IN THE PRESENT SERIES: [KK] REFERENCES

The code in the present paper is [KK-x], in which "x" is consecutively numbered. These articles have been definitely decided upon, though some of them have not been definitely assigned to a particular associate of the Preliminary Studies project yet.

- [KK-1] "The categorial system in Contemporary Indonesian: Precategorials"
- [KK-2] "Clause syntax in Contemporary Indonesian: Sequential order and infraclausal harmony"
- [KK-3] "The composite sentence in Contemporary Indonesian: Sentence and clause"
- [KK-4] "The categorial system in Contemporary Indonesian: Prepositions and conjunctions"
- [KK-5] "Clause syntax in Contemporary Indonesian: 'Qualifiers' and the 'placement principle'"
- [KK-6] "The composite sentence in Contemporary Indonesian: 'Truncated clauses'"
- [KK-7] "The categorial system in Contemporary Indonesian: Adverbs"
- [KK-8] "Clause syntax in Contemporary Indonesian: Predicate structure"
- [KK-9] "Morphemic reduplication in Contemporary Indonesian"
- [KK-10] "Morphemic composition in Contemporary Indonesian"

