THE CATEGORIAL SYSTEM IN CONTEMPORARY INDONESIAN: NUMERALS

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0 INTRODUCTION

The present paper deals primarily with numerals from a syntactic point of view. Thus the morphology of numerals (see Verharp 1984a:17-19) as well as loans for numerals (see Jones 1984:6) will be treated here only insofar as necessary for the matter in hand, and/or insofar as Verhaar (1984a) and Jones (1984) need supplementation.

1.0 CARDINAL NUMERALS

According to form, cardinal numerals may be free lexemes (1.1), periphrastic forms, affixes, or precategorials (1.2).

1.1 Free lexemes

The 'one' to 'nine' integers are free lexemes. The integers 'one' through 'seven' are dyssyllabic (satu 'one'; dua 'two'; tiga 'three'; empat 'four'; lima 'five'; enam 'six'; tujuh 'seven'); the last two, three syllables (delapan 'eight'; sembilan 'nine'). Of these nine numerals one has a bound form: both satu and se- are 'one'.

1.2 Affixes, precategorials, and periphrastic forms

"Se-" as 'one' does not alternate with satu when prefixed to "precategorical" numerals (for the postulation of "precategorical", see Verhaar 1984a and [NN-1]) of :puluh 'ten' :belas 'between ten and twenty [with 'ten' as base]': :ratus 'hundred', but it does alternate when prefixed to :ribu 'thousand' and :juta 'million' (see (1)). Se-, however, is not prefixed to "precategorical" numerals for higher multiple of 1,000,000 (see (2)). The periphrastic forms are a combination of a basic numeral and a precategorical form (see (3)).

(1) a. sepuluh; *satu puluh 'ten'
b. sebelas; *satu belas 'eleven'
c. seratus; *satu ratus 'one hundred'
d. seribu; satu ribu 'one thousand'
e. sejuta; satu juta 'one million'
(2) a. satu miliyar; *semilyar
   'one billion'

b. satu trilyun; *setrilyun
   'one trillion'

(3) a. dua belas
   '12'

b. tiga puluh satu
   '31'

c. empat ratus lima
   '405'

d. enam ribu tujuh
   '6,007'

e. dua juta tiga ribu empat ratus lima puluh enam
   '2,003,456'

For 10,000 and 100,000, archaic forms are se-laksa and se-keti, respectively. In contemporary Indonesian sepuluh ribu is used instead of selaksa and seratus ribu is used instead of seketi.

2 ORDINAL NUMERALS

Cardinal numerals are prefixed with ke- to form ordinal numerals: kesatu 'first' (also: pertama); kedua 'second'; ketiga 'third'; ketiga puluh lima 'thirty fifth'; etc. Pertama 'first' was at one time integrally borrowed from Sanskrit (prathama), so that diachronic evidence speaks against isolating per- as a prefix (for per- with numerals, see 4; 7.1). Synchronously, however, such a reanalysis is valid, because of the adverb pertama-tama 'in the first place'; per- may now be considered as a prefix, because of "backformation" (Verhaar 1984a:18). Pertama can also be a base for forming a di- verb: dipertamakan 'be made first', but not *dikesatukan.

3 NUMERAL ADJUNCTS

For expressing numeral adjuncts the word kali is added to the right of the number: satu kali/sekali 'once'; dua kali 'twice'; tiga kali 'three times'; lima kali 'five times'; etc. The same rule applies for ordinal numerals: pertama kali 'the first time' (*kesatu kali is out): kedua kali 'the second time'; keempat kali 'the fourth time'; etc. The same also holds for sekian: sekian kali 'umpteen time'; kesekian kali 'the umpteenth time'.

When preceded by untuk yang or untuk or yang, ordinal numeral adjuncts are obligatorily suffixed with -nya, to impart emphasis to its being definite.

(4) a. Di dalam persidangan itu, waktu pertama kali ditanya, ia
   menyangkal, dan waktu kedua kali ditanya, ia masih me-
   nyangkal juga, tetapi waktu ditanya (untuk) (yang)
   ketiga kalinya ia akhirnya mengaku.
   'In the court, when he was queried for the first time,
   he denied, and he was queried for the second time, he
   still denied, but when he was queried for the third
   time, he finally admitted his guilt.'

b. Elly Pycal untuk ketiga kalinya menjadi juara dunia
   kelas super terbang IBF, ketika ia mengalahkan Chang Tae
   Il [....] Pertama kali Elly merebut juara dunia dari
   Judo Chun, lalu dari Cesar Polanco.
   'Elly Pical for the third time became the world
Champion of super-flyweight, when he defeated Tae Il [....] The first time Elly won the championship was from Judo Chun, then from Cesar Polanco.'

- c. Ini (untuk) (yang) pertama kalinya dia ke Bali.
  'This is for the first time he is in Bali.'

The reduplicated form sekali-sekali is not to be confused with sekali-kali; the former is 'once in a while' (Dia sekali-sekali merokok. 'He smokes once in a while.') the latter is 'at all [+ neg.]' (Jangan sekali-kali merokok! 'Don't smoke at all!'). Sesekali can be used interchangeably with sekali-sekali.

Sekalipun is not to be confused with sekali pun; the former is a conjunction synonymous with meskipun 'although' (see [NN-3]), the latter is synonymous with satu kali pun 'even once [in negative clauses].'

(5) a. Sekalipun belum pernah ke luar Jawa, ia tahu banyak tentang wilayah itu.
  'Although he has never left Java, he knows a lot about the area.'

b. Sekali pun belum pernah ia ke luar Jawa.
  'He hasn't even once left Java.'

4 FRACTIONS

The denominator of fractions is formed by prefixing per-, and the numerator is prepended to the denominator: satu perdua/seperdua '1/2, a half' (also: setengah, separuh, but NOT: *satu tengah, *satu paruh); tiga perdua '3/2'; satu pertiga/sepertiga '1/3'; etc. When a fraction follows an integer, no connector (e.g. dan 'and') is needed; thus, dua (*dan) setengah 'two and a half'; dua sepertiga 'two and one third'; etc.

5 DISTRIBUTIVE NUMERALS

For forming distributives, the cardinal numeral follows masing-masing 'each', but, when the order is inverted, the use of a pause is obligatory, to mark the boundary between the two constituents (see (a) and (b) of (6) and (7)). Instead of the periphrastic form of (6a, b) and (7a, b), the reduplicated form of the cardinal numeral can also be used (see (c) of (6) and (7)).

(6) Belikan saya kertas merah, kuning, dan hijau
a. masing-masing satu (lembar).
   b. satu (lembar) */(//) masing-masing.
   c. satu-satu.
     'Buy me red, yellow, and green paper, one a piece.'

(7) Fotokopikan ini,
   a. masing-masing (halaman) satu kali.
   b. satu kali */(//) masing-masing (halaman).
   c. satu-satu.
     'Xerox this, one copy each.'

The reduplicated form of cardinal numerals (e.g. satu-satu, dua-dua, etc.) can also mean 'in a group of [number]' or '[number] by [number]'. Ber- can be prefixed to all reduplicated cardinal numerals, except to
satu-satu (thus, (*ber-)satu-satu). Expressions with this reduplicated form are synonymous with \textit{[number] demi [number]} or \textit{[number] per [number]}.

(8) Masuklah \{a. (ber)dua-dua. \}
    \{b. dua demi dua. \}
    \{c. dua per dua. \}
    'Please come in two by two/in twos.'

6 NUMERICAL LOANS

Sanskrit numerals for lower denominations, from one to ten, excluding six and nine, are used in a number of expressions. (The ordinal \textit{pertama} 'first' is also borrowed from Sanskrit.)

(9) \textit{esa, eka}
    'One' \textit{(Skt. eka)}
    \textit{Tuhan yang Maha Esa}
    'The supremely One God'
    \textit{Eka Dasa Warsa}
    'Ten Year Anniversary'

(10) \textit{dwi}
    'two' \textit{(Skt. dvi-)}
    \textit{Sang Dwi Warna}
    'the two colors' \textit{(the Indonesian flag)}

(11) \textit{tri}
    'three' \textit{(Skt. tri)}
    \textit{Tri Dharma Perguruan Tinggi}
    'the three principles of universities'

(12) \textit{catur}
    'four' \textit{(Skt. catur)}
    \textit{catur tunggai}
    'four but one (four leaders, but one leadership)'

(13) \textit{panca}
    'five' \textit{(Skt. panca)}
    \textit{Panca Sila}
    'The Five Principles'

(14) \textit{sapta}
    'seven' \textit{(Skt. sapta)}
    \textit{Sapta Marga}
    'The Seven Ways' \textit{(military principles)}

(15) \textit{asta}
    'eight' \textit{(Skt. asta)}
    \textit{asta brata}
    'the eight virtues and personalities [of the Hindu (Java) king]'

(16) \textit{dasa}
    'ten' \textit{(Skt. dasa)}
    \textit{dasa sila}
    'the ten virtues'
    \textit{dasa warsa}
    'decade'

Sanskrit numerals have also been used for numbers above one thousand up to one million, although their meaning has already shifted from the original. This modified meaning is the same as it was used during the Old
Javanese period (thus, it is best described as borrowed through Old Javanese): **lakṣa '10,000'** (Skt. *lakṣa '100,000'; Old Jav. '10,000'); **keti '100,000'** (Skt. *koti '10,000,000'; Old Jav. '100,000'); **juta '1,000,000'** (Skt. *ayuta '10,000'; Old Jav. *yuta '1,000,000'). Of these three, lakṣa and keti are already archaic, and instead of selakṣa and seketi, sepuluh ribu and seratus ribu, respectively, are used.

Ganda is borrowed from Skt. *gana* 'count; counting', and is found in the following compounds: **makna ganda** 'double meaning'; *(ber)*lipat ganda 'to multiply many times'; **pergandaan sepuluh** 'outcome of counting n x 10'; **pemain ganda** 'double players'; **ganda putra** 'men doubles'; **ganda putri** 'women doubles'; **ganda campuran** 'mixed doubles'.

From Old Javanese numerals, **tunggal 'one'** and **windu 'eight'** are borrowed: **pemain tunggal** 'single player'; **caion tunggal** 'one (ONLY) candidate'; **anak tunggal** 'the/an only child'; **ulang tahun ke-satu windu** 'eight-year-anniversary'; **ulang tahun lima windu** 'forty (five times eight) year anniversary'. A mixture of Sanskrit and Old Javanese loanwords is found in the following compounds: **dwitunggal** 'two but one' (referring to the leadership of Soekarno-Hatta); **panca windu** 'forty (five times eight) years'; **tritunggal** 'three but one'.

Dutch/English loan numerals are for numbers higher than those borrowed from Sanskrit and Old Javanese; and for the following expression: **fifti-fifti 'fifty-fifty', which is synonymous with sepuluh-sepuluh 'half-half'. Consider the list below.

- **milyun (from Br./Am. million)**
  
  '1,000,000' (but **juta**, from Skt. is more often used)

- **bilyun (from Am. billion)**
  
  '1,000,000' (**milyar** (from Br. milliard) is also used)

- **trilyun (from Am. trillion)**
  
  '1,000,000,000' (000)

From **juta** derives **jutawan**, which is synonymous with milyuner and mil-yarder, to refer to 'a wealthy person'.

Dutch/English loans appear in a number of names of weights and measures. Some of them, however, are translated into Indonesian; e.g. **kaki** 'foot/feet', **persegii 'square'** (meter persegi 'square meter').

Kilo is both a measure of weight (shortened from kilogram) and of distance (shortened from kilometer), but there is no *kilo persegi* (shortened from kilometer persegi); cf. also (27f), below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LENGTH</th>
<th>WEIGHT</th>
<th>CUBIC MEASURE</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kilometer</td>
<td>kilometer</td>
<td>meter kubik</td>
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<tr>
<td>meter</td>
<td>meter</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>centimeter</td>
<td>centimeter</td>
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<td>decimeter</td>
<td>decimeter</td>
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<td>millimeter</td>
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<td>yard</td>
<td>yard</td>
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<td>inch</td>
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<tr>
<td>mile</td>
<td>mile</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaki</td>
<td>foot/feet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kila</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AREA</th>
<th>LIQUID MEASURE</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kilometer persegi</td>
<td>square kilometer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hektar</td>
<td>hectare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>are</td>
<td>acre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meter persegi</td>
<td>square meter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAPER SIZE</th>
<th>LIQUID MEASURE</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>quarto</td>
<td>gallon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>folio</td>
<td>liter</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
QUANTITY

gros (Du. gros; Eng. gross)
lusin/dosin (Du. dozijn; Eng. dozen)
dos (Du. doos; Eng. small box)
pak (Du. pak; Eng. package)
rim (Du. riem, but not Ind. rim, derives from Arabic rizma, i.e. 500 sheets of paper)

There is a quantity measurement for clothing, i.e. kodi 'twenty pieces' of which the origin is not clear (perhaps from Javanese). There are some Latin-derived numerals (through Dutch/English): menyanyi duet/trio/kwartet 'to sing in two/three/four'; bermain piano satu oktaf.

While until the late 60s most loanwords which have cognate forms in Dutch and English were in fact loans from Dutch rather than from English, lately a tendency has grown to take English rather than Dutch for the source language. This tendency has arisen from the fact that more educated Indonesians now know English rather than Dutch, and that tendency has been supported by language planners in the government. For example, prosen 'percent' (Du. procent) and prosentase 'percentage' used to be frequent but now persen (Eng. percent) and persentase (Eng. percentage); the previously more common tradisioni (Du. traditioneel) is now tradisional (Engl traditional). These are treated rather in detail in Verhaar 1984a.

7 INTEGRAL AND ELLIPTICAL PRONUNCIATION OF ORDINALS; ORTHOGRAPHY

No connectives (e.g. dan 'and') are needed to form compound numerals; the full pronunciation is listed in (a); the elliptical one in (b). The pronunciation of phone numbers, house numbers of streets, license numbers of cars, numbers of ID cards, etc. follows pattern (b).

(17) a. dua puluh tiga
   'twenty three'
seratus satu
   'one hundred and one'
dua ratus lima puluh
   'two hundred (and) fifty'
lima ratus lima puluh
   'five hundred (and) five'
seribu sembilan ratus lima puluh satu
   'nineteen hundred (and) fifty one'

   b. dua tiga
   '23'
satu nol satu
   '101'
dua lima nol
   '250'
lima lima lima
   '555'
satu sembilan lima satu/sembilan belas lima satu
   '1951'

   A hyphen is used to connect pairs of numbers, either in words or in figures.

(18) a. dalam dua-tiga tahun mendatang
   b. dalam 2-3 tahun mendatang
   'in two or three years (from now)'

   Other compounds are found in telling time. There is, however, in this regard, a difference between Indonesian and Malaysian.
Indonesian | Malaysian
---|---
'o' clock | jam/pukul | pukul/*jam
04:30 setengah lima | (half-five) | empat setengah | (four-half)
| empat tiga puluh | (four-thirty) | empat tiga puluh
04:15 empat (lebih/lewat) seperempat | (four-(more)-a quarter) | empat suku | (four-a quarter)
| empat lima belas | (four-fifteen) | empat lima belas
04:45 empat (lebih/lewat) tiga perempat | (four-(more)-three quarters) | kurang sesuku, pukul | (less-a quarter, o' clock-five)
| lima *(kurang) seperempat | (five-less-a quarter) | empat empat puluh lima | (four-forty five)
| empat empat puluh lima | (four-forty five) |
04:35 setengah lima *(lebih) lima | (a half-five-more-five) | empat tiga puluh lima
| empat tiga puluh lima | (four-thirty five) |
04:25 setengah lima *(kurang) lima | (a half-five-less-five) | empat dua puluh lima
| empat dua puluh lima | (four-twenty five) |

Numeral compounds consisting of a basic number and a "precategorial" numeral are orthographically written in two words; thus, dua belas 'twelve'; tiga puluh 'thirty'; empat ratus 'four hundred'. With decimal points, the word koma 'comma' or the symbol "." are used instead of titik 'point' or the symbol ""; thus, dua koma lima [2,5] 'two point five [2.5]'; tiga koma satu [3,1] 'three point one [3,1]; Rp 4,300,50 'four thousand three hundred rupiah and fifty cents'. For writing ordinal numerals, either Arabic or Roman numbers can be used; ke and a hyphen is used with Arabic numbers, but not with Roman numbers: abad ke-7 'seventh century'; but: abad VII 'seventh century'. In pronunciation it is possible to leave out ke- when the numerals follow the nouns listed in (58), below (section 12.1).

8 REDUPLICATION

Pertama can be reduplicated, and the reduplicated form (pertama-tama) can either be a sentence adverb or a noun attribute. Reduplication is optional when the numeral is a noun attribute. As a sentence adverb, the reduplicated form is optional when it opens an enumeration (20), but it is obligatory elsewhere (19). The use of reduplication in a noun attribute (21) is for emphasis.

(19) Pertama-tama saya ingin memperkenalkan diri. Kemudian saya ingin [...]
'First I would like to introduce myself. Then I would like to [...]'
(20) **Pertama(-tama), saya ingin [....] Kedua, saya ingin [....]
Ketiga, saya ingin [....]**
'First, I would like to [....] Second, I would like to [....] Third, I would like to [....]'

(21) **Dialah yang pertama(-tama) saya kenal di sini.**
'She is the first person I knew here.'

Kedua, ketiga, etc. cannot be reduplicated in the sense of pertama in (19) through (21). They can be reduplicated in the sense of (23), with -nya added obligatorily, and ke- being optional. The use of ke-, however, is obligatory when the cardinal numeral is not reduplicated; this form is interchangeable with the reduplicated form (thus, instead of (ke)dua-duanya in (23a, b), keduanya can also be used). The reduplicated form can only be used substantively, never attributively; when used attributively, the numeral is not reduplicated (22c, d).

(22) a. *kedua-duanya orang itu
b. *ketiga-tiganya buku itu
c. kedua orang itu
   'the two persons'
d. ketiga orang itu
   'the three books'

   'They have two children. The two of them have been married.'
b. Anak mereka, *(ke)dua-duanya* sudah kawin.
   'As for their children, the two of them have been married.'
c. Tinggal empat. Kalau kamu tidak mau, saya akan membeli *(ke)empat-empatnya*
   'There are four left. If you don't want to, I'd like to buy the four of them.'

Of all cardinal numbers, only satu is reduplicated with -nya added obligatorily: satu-satunya. This reduplicated form is always used attributively, either to the left or to the right of its principal. As post-nominal attribute, satu-satunya (24b) may not be preceded by yang.

(24) a. Dia satu-satunya dokter di sini.
b. Dia dokter satu-satunya di sini.
   'She is the only physician here.'

Without -nya, all cardinal numbers can be reduplicated (see also section 5), and the reduplicated form can only be used substantively, never attributively. When it quantifies a unique argument, the reduplicated numeral quantifies that argument (whether agent or patient), but when it is found with a two-place or a three-place verb, the reduplicated numeral refers to the patient argument only.

   'Go out one by one.'
b. Ambillah empat-empat.
   'Give them four each.'
c. Berilah (mereka) empat-empat.
   'Give them four each.'
d. Berikanlah (kepada mereka) empat-empat.
   'Give them four each.'

The reduplicated form in (25a) is synonymous with satu per satu or satu demi satu, while the reduplicated form in (25b-d) is synonymous with masing-masing empat ('each-four').

"Precategorical" numerals, except belas, can be reduplicated, with
ber- prefixed obligatorily. Instead of the reduplicated form in (26), one can also use the nonreduplicated form with suffix -an: thus, instead of berpuluh-puluh, one can also use puluhan.

\[(26)\]

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>perpuluh-puluh</td>
<td></td>
<td>'tens of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>beratus-ratus</td>
<td></td>
<td>'hundreds of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>beribu-ribu</td>
<td>rupiah</td>
<td>'thousands of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>berjuta-juta</td>
<td></td>
<td>'millions of'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>bermilyar-milyar</td>
<td></td>
<td>'billions of'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Reduplication with ber- can also be used to quantify weight, measures, etc., but this is more likely with monosyllabic or dyssyllabic words; words with three or four syllables tend to drop one of their syllables in order to be dyssyllabic (27f), or to have a partial reduplication (27g, h).

\[(27)\]

<p>| | | | |</p>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>bermil-mil jauhnya</td>
<td></td>
<td>'the distance is as many as miles'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>berton-ton beratnya</td>
<td></td>
<td>'the weight is as many as tons'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>berkuintal-kuintal beratnya</td>
<td></td>
<td>'the weight is as many as quintals'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>bermeter-meter panjangnya</td>
<td></td>
<td>'the length is as many as meters'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>?berkilometer-kilometer jauhnya</td>
<td></td>
<td>'the distance is as many as kilometers'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>berkilo-kilo</td>
<td></td>
<td>'[length/weight] as many as kilometers/kilograms'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>berkilo-kilometer panjangnya</td>
<td></td>
<td>'the length is as many as kilometers'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h.</td>
<td>berkilo-kilogram beratnya</td>
<td></td>
<td>'the weight is as many as kilograms'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unlike the reduplicated form in (26), which is synonymous with the -an form, the reduplicated form in (27) is not. Of all the standard measurements, however, only the dyssyllabic forms and measurements other than those of distance (see (28c) and (29b)) may have the -an form (28). Both kilometer and kilogram can be dyssyllabicized (into kilo), but kiloan can only be read as 'per kilogram', and not 'per kilometer'. For the monosyllabic forms of measurements to have the -an form they have to be reduplicated (29).

\[(28)\]

<p>| | | | |</p>
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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>membeli {lusan/meteran/literan}</td>
<td></td>
<td>'to buy {per dozen/per meter/per liter}'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>*kilograman/kilometeran</td>
<td></td>
<td>'per kilogram/per kilometer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>kiloan</td>
<td></td>
<td>'per kilogram' (*'per kilometer')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>*tonan/graman/milan</td>
<td></td>
<td>'per ton/per gram/per mile'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[(29)\]

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>menjual {ton-tonan/gram-graman}</td>
<td></td>
<td>'to sell {per ton/per gram}'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>Ongkos sewa mobil ini dibayar mil-milan.</td>
<td></td>
<td>'The rent of this car is counted per mile.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[9\] NUMERAL QUESTION WORDS

Numerical question words are: berapa? 'how many?' (cardinal); keberapa? 'how many-eth' (ordinal); berapa kali? 'how many times'; and berberapa? 'how many [as a group]?'. These are exemplified below.
(30) a. **Berapa** umurmu?
    age-your
    'How old are you?'

b. **Berapa** anakmu?
    child-your
    'How many children [do you have]?

c. **Berapa** uangmu?
    money-your
    'How much money [do you have]?

(31) A: **Kamu** anak keberapa?
    you child
    'How is your ranking in birth?

B: **Anak** ketiga.
    child
    'The third (born) child.'

(32) **Berapa** kali sehari obat ini harus diminum?
    time a day medicine this must di-drink
    'How many times a day should I take this medicine?

(33) A: **Berberapa** mereka datang kemarin?
    they come yesterday
    'In a group of how many [persons] did they come yesterday?'

B: Bertujuh.
    ber-several
    '[They came] in a group of seven [people].'

The question word berapa is exclusively for numbers; thus, a possible answer for tahun berapa? 'what year?' is 1951, while tahun apa? 'what year?' is, say, 'the year of the rat [Chinese calendar].'

The word beberapa 'a few' is not a question word, but an indefinite numeral (see section 11).

10 NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS

The various kinds of numeral classifiers used in contemporary Indonesian are not as abundant as they were in older Malay; on this development, see [NN-4]. The most commonly used classifiers are orang [+HUMAN], ekor [-HUMAN; +ANIMATE], and buah [-ANIMATE] for formal Indonesian, biji [-ANIMATE] for informal (colloquial) Indonesian. While sebuah can be used for both concrete and abstract nouns, suatu can only be used for abstract nouns (36b); for more on suatu, see Kaswanti (1984a:69-70). For a number of concrete nouns, categorizations, in terms of (for example) shape, size, determine the choice of the kind of classifier used (38).

(34) seorang mahasiswa
    'a student'
    satu (orang) mahasiswa
    'one student'
    tiga (orang) mahasiswa
    'three students'

(35) seekor kuda
    'a horse'
    satu (ekor) kuda
    'one horse'
    lima (ekor) kuda
    'five horses'
(36) a. sebuah rumah
    'a house'
satu (buah) rumah
    'one house'
tujuh (buah) rumah
    'seven houses'
b. sebuah/suatu pertanyaan
    'a question'

(37) A: Ada pensil/cangkir/telur/kertas?
    'Do you have pencils/cups/eggs/paper?'
B: Mau berapa biji?
    'How many "pieces" do you want?'

(38) a. sebelah mata/tangan/telinga [for things in pairs]
    se-half-cut eye hand ear
    'a(n) eye/hand/ear'
b. sebutir telur/jagung/mangga [for round things]
    se-grain egg corn mango
    'a(n) egg/corn/mango'
c. sehela/selembar kertas/daun/papan [for flat [not
    se-piece paper leaf board too large]
    'a piece of paper/leaf/board' things]
d. sebidang tanah/kebun/sawah [for flat [large]
    se-patch land garden wetfield things]
e. sebilah pisau/pedang/jarum [for sharp things]
    se-blade knife sword needle
    'a knife/sword/needle'

1.0 INDEFINITE NUMERALS

Indefinite numerals may be distinguished as substantival and attributive; these are discussed in 11.1 and 11.2, respectively.

11.1 SUBSTANTIVAL INDEFINITE NUMERALS

This topic has been dealt with in Kaswanti (1984a:69-70), and is summarized here, with some amplification and further explication.

Seseorang 'somebody, someone' and sesuatu 'something' are not always parallel in their syntactic distribution. For one thing, itu can follow sesuatu, but not seseorang (39), segala can precede sesuatu, but not seseorang (40). For another, seseorang loses its first syllable when negated (i.e. tak seorang pun 'nobody'), but sesuatu does not (i.e. tak sesuatu pun 'nothing') (41); the same holds when bukan 'not(t)' precedes the two indefinite numerals in question (44). But the two negative compounds share two things in that, first, they can only be in initial position (see (42) and (43)) (note that yang in such cases is optionally possible, and then in fact constitutes a cleft construction); second, the negative marker has to precede the predicate and may not follow it. While the interrogative-derived indefinite pronoun siapa pun can be used in (g) of (42), the indefinite pronoun apa pun cannot in (g) of (43).
(39) a. Ia belajar keterampilan 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.'

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

(40) Segala sesuatu yang dikatakannya selalu menarik.
   'Everything he says is always interesting.'

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

b. Tak sesuatu pun (yang) menarik perhatiannya.
   'Nothing (at all) interested her.'

(42) a. Saya mengenal tak seorang pun di sini.
    Saya tak mengenal seorang pun di sini.

b. *Saya mengenal tak siapa-siapa/tak siapa pun di sini.

b. Saya tak mengenal siapa-siapa di sini.

c. Saya tak mengenal siapa pun di sini.

d. Tak seorang pun (yang) saya kenal di sini.

e. Tak siapa pun (yang) saya kenal di sini.


h. 'I know nobody here.'

(43) a. Saya memperoleh tak sesuatu pun dari kuliahnya.
    Saya tak memperoleh sesuatu pun dari kuliahnya.

b. *Saya memperoleh tak apa-apa/tak apa pun dari kuliahnya.

c. Saya tak memperoleh apa-apa dari kuliahnya.

b. Saya tak memperoleh apa pun dari kuliahnya.

d. Tak sesuatu pun (yang) saya peroleh dari kuliahnya.

e. *Tak apa pun (yang) saya peroleh dari kuliahnya.

f. *Tak apa-apa saya peroleh dari kuliahnya.

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

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

Segala sesuatu is different from segala sesuatunya in that the former is "impersonal", or "general", while the latter is "personal", or "individual".

(45) Segala sesuatu yang kamu beli harus dilaporkan.
   'All things you bought have to be reported.'

(46) a. Ia mempercayakan segala sesuatunya kepada saya.
   'He entrusted me with everything.'

b. Beri tahu saya apabila segala sesuatunya telah beres.
   'Do let me know when all of those things [which are of our concern] are in order.'

Salah satu 'one of [a number of things]' can either be [+HUMAN] or [-HUMAN]; it can be in parallel distribution with salah seorang 'one of [a number of people]', but *salah sesuatu does not exist. Tak satu pun 'not even one' can also be both [+HUMAN] and [-HUMAN].
(47) Pilihlah salah satu di antara ini.  
'Choose one of these.'

(48) a. Salah satu/Salah seorang di antara kita harus pergi.  
'One of us has to leave.'

b. Salah satu/Salah seorang harus menjadi pemimpin.  
'One of us has to become the leader.'

(49) a. Tak satu pun (yang) menarik perhatiannya.  
'Not a single thing interested her.'

b. Tak satu pun [di antara mereka] (yang) mau datang.  
'Not even one [of them] is willing to come.'

11.2 Attributive indefinite numerals

Beside seorang and suatu, other indefinite numerals are seekor, sebuah, sebutir, etc. (on numeral classifiers; see section 10, and for further treatment [NN-1]. Semua/sekalian/segala 'all', seluruh/segenap/seantero 'the whole, setiap/sembarang 'every, any' sejumlah/sementara 'a number of', banyak 'many/much/a lot', beberapa/sedikit 'a few, a little', sebagian 'a part of'. Some of these will be described in this subsection, others in section 12.

Searang is attributive for humans, seekor for animals, and both sebuah and suatu for inanimates. Suatu can only be attributive to abstract nouns (e.g. suatu persoalan 'a problem'), while sebuah can be both for abstract (sebuah persoalan 'a problem') and concrete nouns (sebuah kursi 'a chair'). There are numerous other classifiers for concrete nouns (see section 10, and [NN-1]).

Semua/sekalian/segala 'all' differ from one another in the following respects. Semua and sekalian can be both modifiers to the left (of nouns) and modifiers to the right (of (plural) personal pronouns), while segala can only be a modifier to the left (of nouns). Segala can be attributive to sesuatu (see (40) and (45)), while semua and sekalian cannot.

Semantically, semua is 'all' in its neutral sense, sekalian is 'all' in the sense of 'a large unit' and is only for animates, and segala is 'all' labeled as signifying 'varieties' (and macam/jenis 'kind' are more likely to follow segala).

(50) a. semua

   [anak]  [children]
   [kertas]  ['paper']
   [topi]  ['hats']
   [bangsa]  ['nations']
   [warga]  ['people']
   [bidang]  ['fields']
   [umur]  ['ages']

b. Sekalian

   [*anak]  ['children']
   [*kertas]  ['paper']
   [*topi]  ['hats']
   [*bangsa]  ['nations']
   [makhluk]  ['creatures']
   [*bidang]  ['fields']
   [*umur]  ['ages']

c. ahli dalam segala (macam) bidang

   'expert in all kinds of fields'

d. film untuk segala umur

   'a film for any kind of ages'

(Sekalian in colloquial Indonesian often functions as an adverb: 'at the same time'; e.g. Nanti kita ambil sekalian. 'And then we take those at the same time.'
Seluruh/segenap/seantero 'the whole' differ from one another in the following respects. Semantically, seluruh is 'the whole' in its neutral sense as between "collective" and "individual". segenap is 'the whole' with a "collective" sense and is for animates, while seantero is 'the whole' for inanimates and is exclusively for location nouns.

(51) a. seluruh
[ bangsa ]
[ penduduk ]
[ binatang ]
[ tumuhu-tumuhu ]
[ hutan ]
[ daerah ]
[ dunia ]
'the whole
[ nations']
[ people']
[ animals']
[ plants']
[ forest']
[ area']
[ world']

b. segenap
[ bangsa ]
[ penduduk ]
[ binatang ]
* [ tumuhu-tumuhu ]
* [ hutan ]
* [ daerah ]
* [ dunia ]
'the whole
[ nations']
[ people']
[ animals']
[ plants']
[ forest']
[ area']
[ world']

c. seantero
* [ bangsa ]
* [ binatang ]
* [ tumuhu-tumuhu ]
[ wilayah ]
[ daerah ]
[ dunia ]
[ angkasa ]
'the whole
[ nations']
[ animals']
[ plants']
[ region']
[ area']
[ world']
[ sky']

Setiap can be glossed either as 'every' (52a) or as 'any' (52b). Sembarang, however, corresponds to English any, although negation is not necessary (e.g. (53b)) (as would also be true of English: Any book will do).

(52) a. Setiap hari ia datang.
(every-day-he-come)
'He comes every day.'

b. Setiap orang yang lewat harus membayar.
(any-person-LIG.-pass-must-pay)
'Any one who passes here has to pay (toll).'

(53) a. Turutlah segala perintahku; yang kita buru bukan 
sebarang lawan.
'Obey all my orders; those we are pursuing now are not
just any opponents.'

b. Lebih baik kuberikan kepada sebarang orang di jalan 
daripada kepadanya.
'I would rather give this to any person in the
street than to him.'

Beberapa, sejumlah, and sementara are loosely synonymous: 'some, a
number of'. Sejumlah is more noncommittal in regard to the total number
than beberapa; the former would be comparable with 'the majority', while
the latter would not. Sementara is subject to a number of constraints.
Stylistically, it is limited to "report language" (media language: state-
mements by government agencies); semantically, it cannot be used in an
"exclusive" sense (**hanya) sementara + NP); syntactically, it cannot be
used in non-Subject positions, and in Subject positions, it is confined to
indefinite NPs.
Sementara orang pihak karyawan mengatakan bahwa [.....]

'Some people parties employees said that [.....]

Ternyata hanya sejumlah *sementara beberapa* karyawan saja yang mogok

'It turned out that only a number of/a few employees joined the strike.'

Sejumlah *Sementara Beberapa* perwira yang terlibat telah dihukum mati.

'A number of/a few officers who were involved were sentenced to death.'

Akhirnya, sejumlah *sementara beberapa* karyawan itu dipecat.

'In the end that number of/that few employees were kicked out.'

12.0 SYNTAX OF NUMERALS

The syntactic aspects of numerals are conveniently described in the following order: possible positions and attributive use (12.1), predicative use (12.2), floated numerals (12.3), and modifiers of numerals (12.4).

12.1 Possible positions and attributive use of numerals

Cardinal numerals can be both to the left or to the right of their principals (see, also, Verhaar (this volume), section 13.1). The different positions may either have different meanings or similar meanings; the former is described in this section, and the latter in 12.3.

With nouns listed in (58), numerals whose form is cardinal have a "cardinal reading" only when they are to the left of their principals (column A). When they are to the right of their principals (column B), they have an "ordinal reading". With the rest of the nouns, the two possible positions do not have different readings; both dua buku and buku dua mean 'two books'. And with multiplicative numerals, only one position is possible, i.e. the postposed position: rangkap dua/tiga/[etc.] 'in two/three/[etc.] copies'.

(58)   (A)          (B)
     Lima kelas  kelas lima
     'five classes'  'class five'
     Lima lantai  lantai lima
     'five floors'  'fifth floor'
The "ellipsis" of ke- in the numerals of column B might be influenced by orthography, i.e. they are more likely to appear in figures (e.g. halaman 5 'page 5', instead of halaman kelima 'page five').

Ordinal numerals, however, can only be to the right of their principals, optionally preceded by yang. Yang is obligatory when the ordinal is extended to the right (e.g. it is tagged with the determiner itu), as exemplified by (59) (for further discussion on this, see Verhaar (this volume)). When numerals with ke- precede the principal, they cannot have an "ordinal reading" (60).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>lima tingkat</th>
<th>tingkat lima</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'five levels'</td>
<td>'level five'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lima jilid</td>
<td>jilid lima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'five volumes'</td>
<td>'fifth volume'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lima halaman</td>
<td>halaman lima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'five pages'</td>
<td>'page five'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lima abad</td>
<td>abad lima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'five ages'</td>
<td>'fifth century'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lima nomor</td>
<td>nomor lima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'five numbers'</td>
<td>'number five'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lima pelajaran</td>
<td>pelajaran lima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'five lessons'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(59) a. Ia anak (yang) kedua.
'She is the second child.'

b. Anak *(yang) kedua laki-laki.
'The second child is a boy.'

(60) Kedua anak itu suka berenang.
'The two/Both children like to swim.'

Forms like kedua(-dua)nya 'both/the two of them', ketiga(-tiga)nya 'the three of them' can only occur to the right of the principal, whereas forms like berdua, bertiga, etc., which are used with pronouns (unlike kedua, ketiga, etc., with nouns) can be floated (see 12.3). Forms like berdua, bertiga, etc. cannot modify nouns attributively (compare (62) and (63)).

(61) Tono dan Tini, kedua(-dua)nya tinggal di Kampung Melayu
*Kedua(-dua)nya Tono dan Tini tinggal di Kampung Melayu.
'Tono and Tini, both of them live in Kampung Melayu.'


b. Berdua mereka selalu bersepeda.

c. Mereka selalu bersepeda berdua.
'The two of them always go by bike together.'


b. *Berdua Tono dan Tini selalu bersepeda.

c. Tono dan Tini selalu bersepeda berdua.
'Tono and Tini always go by bike together.'

The expressions mereka berdua and keduanya, i.e. 'the two of them', convey different meanings. Compare (64) and (65).

(64) Mereka berdua suka berkelahi.
'The two of them like to quarrel [against one another].'

(65) Keduanya suka berkelahi.
'The two of them like to quarrel [not necessarily with one another].'

In addition to their attributive use (for the predicative use, see 12.2), cardinals can also be used as "principals", such as in the following phrases:
(66) a. persis/tepat lima  
'exactly five'
b. hampir seratus  
'almost one hundred'
c. (jauh) lebih dari tujuh  
'(much) more than seven'

Definite cardinal numerals can be independently used (either in subject position (67) or in object position (68)), but of all indefinite numerals (see 11.2), only semua 'all', sebagian 'some of', beberapa 'a few, some', banyak 'many/much/a lot', sedikit 'a little' can be used independently. As a prepositional "object", cardinal numerals cannot be used without the formative mention of their quantified nouns (69), but the quantifiers semua, sebagian, and beberapa can. Dropping of the quantified nouns in all of these cases is possible when the nouns are anaphorically mentioned or understood in their context.

(67) a. Lima tidak hadir.  
'Five didn't come.'
b. Tidak hadir lima. [inversion]

(68) Dia memerlukan enam.  
'She needs six.'

(69) untuk delapan *(tempat duduk)  
'for eight seats'

(70) a. semua  
'b. sebagian  
c. beberapa  
d. *banyak  
e. *sedikit  

[70] ada di sini.  
'c. Some of them are here.'

(71) Ada  
'There is/are

a. semua.  
b. sebagian.  
c. beberapa.  
d. banyak.  
e. sedikit.

(72) Dia membeli  
'He bought

a. semua.  
b. sebagian.  
c. beberapa.  
d. banyak.  
e. sedikit.

(73) untuk  
'(just) for

a. semua  
b. sebagian  
c. beberapa  
d. *banyak  
e. *sedikit

(73) (saja)'  

(74) a. sebagian daripadanya  
'some parts of it'
b. beberapa daripadanya  
'some of it'

The quantifiers sebagian, beberapa can be used as "principals", e.g. in the following phrases.

(74) a. sebagian daripadanya  
'some parts of it'
b. beberapa daripadanya  
'some of it'

As an attribute, banyak cannot be used, either prenominally or postnominally, when the entire phrase has a determiner; for such, the form sebanyak (of which se- is "equative" (see also Verhaar 1984a), not synonymous with satu 'one') is used instead of banyak, and sebanyak can only be postnominal. Compare (75) and (76).
(75) Ada **banyak anak** di desa itu.  
'There are a lot of children in that village.'

(76) a. **banyak anak itu**  
b. **anak banyak itu**  
c. **anak sebanyak itu**  
d. **sebanyak anak itu**  
'those many children'

(77) Jeruk yang sebanyak/*banyak itu mau diapakan?  
'What are you going to do with that many lemons?'

When the head is indefinite (without a determiner), the possible positions of **banyak** relative to its head have the following constraints. In one-place-verb constructions, like (75), **banyak** can only be prenominal. In two-or-three-place-verb constructions (see (79) below) **banyak** can be either prenominal or postnominal. With (nonclassifying) **orang 'person'**, preposed and postposed **banyak** each has its own gloss; **banyak orang** means 'a lot of people', **orang banyak** means 'public' (compare (80) and (81)).

(78) Ada **anak banyak** di desa itu. [cf. (75)]

(79) a. Mereka mempunyai **banyak anak/anak banyak**.  
'They have a lot of children.'  
b. Dia membeli **banyak buku/buku banyak** di toko itu.  
'He purchased a lot of books in that bookstore.'  
c. Bahan itu mengandung **banyak air/air banyak**.  
'That stuff contains a lot of water.'

(80) **Banyak orang/*Orang banyak** suka makanan ini.  
'A lot of people like this food.'

(81) Ia tidak berani berbicara di depan **banyak orang/orang banyak**.  
'He doesn't dare to speak in front of many people/public.'

In declaratives **banyak** and sedikit can be either in pronominal or in postnominal position. In imperatives, however, the postnominal position is out for **banyak**. To be postnominally wellformed, **banyak** must be reduplicated (83b). **Banyak/sedikit** in imperatives are more of an adjunct than a (noun) attribute; the reduplicated **banyak** is only possible in imperatives (83b), not elsewhere (82b).

(82) a. **Sayur itu memerlukan sedikit garam/garam sedikit**.  
'That soup needs a little salt.'  
b. **Sayur itu memerlukan banyak garam/garam banyak**.  
'That soup needs a lot of salt.'

(83) a. **Tambahkan sedikit garam/garam sedikit!**  
'Add salt a little!'  
b. **Tambahkan {banyak garam!**  
\[garam \text{ *banyak!} \]
\[garam \text{ banyak-banyak!} \}

'Sedikit-sedikit is synonymous with sedikit demi sedikit 'little by little' (cf. dua-dua/dua demi dua/dua per dua, see Section 5), but *sedikit per sedikit does not exist. **Banyak**, however, can only be reduplicated; *banyak demi banyak and *banyak per banyak are not wellformed.

Attributively, both sedikit and beberapa can either occur prenominally or postnominally, but with sedikit, the principals can only be noncount nouns, while with beberapa, count nouns. Compare (84) and (85). Unlike beberapa, sedikit can also be verbal (86a) or adjectival modifier (86b).
(84) a. beberapa (buah) buku
   'a few books'
b. buku beberapa (buah)
   'a few books'  
c. beberapa *(lembar) kertas
   'a few pieces of paper'
d. kertas beberapa *(lembar)
   'a few pieces of paper'

(85) a. sedikit gula
   'some sugar'
b. gula sedikit
   'some sugar'
c. sedikit uang
   'some money'
d. uang sedikit
   'some money'

(86) a. tersenyum sedikit
   'to smile a little (bit)'
b. lebih tinggi sedikit
   'a little bit taller'

Unlike banyak, semua can only occur to the left of the principal, in attributive constructions type (87) and (88) (I consider Verhaar's (this volume) example (115), reprinted here as (88b), as ungrammatical). While semua has more restrictions (in comparison with banyak, see (79), for example) as "phrasefloated" quantifiers, both semua and banyak are "clausefloated" quantifiers (see 12.3).

(87) a. Semua majalah harus dibakar.
    'All magazines have to be burnt.'

(88) a. semua majalah itu
    'all those magazine'

(89) a. Semua ayamnya menghasilkan telur.
    'All his chickens lay eggs.'

The different order of numeral classifier may affect the referentiality of the principal (see Verhaar (this volume), Section 13.1). In (90), below, the noun is indefinite and nonreferential, with preposed seekor, but it is indefinite and referential, with that quantifier postposed.

(90) a. ada seekor kuda
    'there is a horse [indefinite, nonreferential]' 
b. ada kuda seekor
    'there is a horse [indefinite, referential]'

12.2 Predicative use of indefinite numerals

Cardinal numerals can be predicative, in equational constructions, and so are some indefinite numerals (beberapa 'a few', banyak 'many/much/a lot', and sedikit 'a little'). Consider (91), with SV order, and (92), with VS order. These three indefinite numerals, when preceded by hanya 'only' or masih 'still', call for cleft constructions (with the obligatory presence of yang). Note in (92) that the place of the pause with beberapa is not the same as that with banyak and sedikit. With beberapa, masih cannot be used, and tinggal is used instead (for the difference between
masih and tinggal, see [NN-2]). Note the optionality or obligatoriness of the pause in (92).

(91) Anaknya lima/beberapa/banyak/sedikit.
'She has five/some/many/[not many] children.'

(92) [a. Hanya beberapa orang /**/]
b. Tinggal beberapa orang /**/]
c. Masih banyak /**/ orang
[d. Hanya sedikit *//**/ orang
[e. Tinggal sedikit *//**/ orang

*(yang) mau menanami
sawahnya.

[a. only a few people
b. still a few people (left)
c. still many people
d. only few people
e. still a few people

'There are [who are]

willing to till their rice fields.'

12.3 Floated numerals

Numerals are "phrase-floated" (see 12.1), although not with nouns listed in (54), while indefinite quantifiers can be "phrase-floated" as well as "clause-floated".

As "phrase-floated" quantifiers, banyak is comparable to semua (see 12.1), except in constructions where banyak is in clause initial position (like (93)); in such constructions banyak is predicative, not attributive, and the use of yang is obligatory (note the optionality or obligatoriness of the pause in (93)). Banyak is "phrase-floated" elsewhere (e.g. in (79); (79b) is repeated here as (94b)), in a case where semua is not. Semua is "phrase-floated" only when the principal has determiner -nya (compare (94) with (99a, b)). Whether or without the principal having such a determiner, semua can be "clause-floated", but, there is at least one restriction for semua to be "clause-floated" when the principal has no determiner -nya. In such constructions semua can be "clause-floated" when the principal is contrastive (see (95d) and (96)). The possibility of being "clause-floated", however, is out in a two-place-verb construction (compare (96c) and (97c)); in such constructions semua modifies the noun close to it (e.g. buku 'book' in (98b)). Note (un)grammaticalness in (98a) and (98b) depending on reading.

(93) a. Banyak /**/ mahasiswa yang naik sepeda setiap hari.
b. Mahasiswa *//**/ banyak yang naik sepeda setiap hari.
c. Mahasiswa yang naik sepeda *//**/ banyak setiap hari.
d. Mahasiswa yang naik sepeda setiap hari *//**/ banyak.

'A lot of students ride a bike every day.'

(94) a. Dia membeli banyak buku/buku banyak di toko itu.

'She purchased a lot of books in that bookstore.'
b. Dia membeli semua buku/buku semua di toko itu.

'He purchased all books in that bookstore.'

(95) a. Semua mahasiswa dilarang merokok.
b. *Mahasiswa semua dilarang merokok.
c. *Mahasiswa dilarang merokok semua.

'No students are allowed to smoke.'
d. Mahasiswa dilarang merokok semua, sedangkan dosen tidak.
   'No students are allowed to smoke, but teachers are.'

(96) a. Semua mahasiswa Universitas Katolik dilarang merokok.
   b. *Mahasiswa Universitas Katolik semua dilarang merokok.
   c. Mahasiswa Universitas Katolik dilarang merokok semua.
   'All students of Catholic Universities are not allowed to smoke.'

(97) a. Semua mahasiswa Universitas Katolik membeli buku itu.
   b. *Mahasiswa Universitas Katolik semua membeli buku itu.
   c. *Mahasiswa Universitas Katolik membeli buku itu semua.
   'All students of Catholic Universities bought that book.'

   'All students bought that book, but teachers didn't.'
   b. Mahasiswa membeli buku itu semua, sedangkan dosen tidak.
   'Students bought all those books, but teachers didn't.'

(99) a. Semua ayamnya menghasilkan telur.
    b. Ayamnya semua menghasilkan telur.
    c. Ayamnya menghasilkan telur semua.
    'All his chickens lay eggs.'

Semuanya, instead of semua, can also be used in (99b) and (99c), but then the construction is a truncated one in (100). Seluruhnya, but not segalanya, can also be in such a truncated clause (101), although the -nya form of the three constituents can also be in nontruncated clauses (102). -nya, however, is optional with semua, but obligatory with seluruh and segala in (102).

(100) a. Ayamnya *(/) semua menghasilkan telur.
    b. Ayamnya *(/) menghasilkan telur semua.
    'As for his chickens, all of them lay eggs.'

(101) Permintaannya *(/) semua/seluruhnya/*segalanya ditolak.
    'His requests, all of them/[the whole of them] are rejected.'

(102) a. Semua(nya)/Seluruh*(nya)/Segala*(nya) gagal.
    'All of them/The whole of them/The whole thing failed.'
    b. Harus kauserahkan semua(nya)/seluruh*(nya)/segala*(nya).
    'You have to hand them all/the whole of them/the whole thing over.'

In addition to banyak, sedikit and berdua can also be "clause-floated" (see (103) and (104)). Berdua, however, cannot be "phrase-floated; the pause is obligatory in (104b), but there is no such a pause in (104a).

(103) a. Bahan ini mengandung sedikit air.
    b. Bahan ini mengandung air sedikit.
    c. Bahan ini sedikit mengandung air.
    'This stuff contains a little water.'

(104) a. Mereka berdua selalu bersepeda ke sekolah.
    b. Berdua *(/) mereka selalu bersepeda ke sekolah.
    c. Mereka selalu bersepeda ke sekolah berdua.
    'Both of them always ride on a bike to go to school.'
Banyak and sedikit can have modifiers both to the left (e.g. agak sedikit 'quite a little') and to the right (e.g. banyak sekali 'very much/many'). The presence of such modifiers does not affect the possibility of their being "clause-floated", as exemplified below.

(105) Usaha itu
   \begin{itemize}
   \item a. agak banyak menghasilkan uang.
   \item b. menghasilkan agak banyak uang.
   \item c. menghasilkan uang agak banyak.
   \end{itemize}

'That enterprise yields quite a lot of money.'

(106) Usaha itu
   \begin{itemize}
   \item a. banyak sekali menghasilkan uang.
   \item b. menghasilkan banyak sekali uang.
   \item c. menghasilkan uang banyak sekali.
   \end{itemize}

'That enterprise produces very much money.'

Sebagian can be "phrase-floated", provided that the noun which it quantifies in addition to its being referential is contrastive. Otherwise postnominal position of the quantifier is not grammatical (107b). Sebagian cannot be "clause-floated" (107c), and it cannot have -nya either (cf. semua, seluruh, and segala in (100) through (102)). Compare also (107) and (95); sebagian is less easily "phrase-floated", in comparison with semua.

(107)  a. Sebagian ayamnya menghasilkan telur.
       'Some of his chickens lay eggs.'

       b. Ayamnya sebagian menghasilkan telur *(sebagian tidak).
          'Some of his chickens lay eggs, some do not.'

       c. Ayamnya menghasilkan telur *sebagian.

12.4 Modifiers of numerals

Cardinal and (predicative) indefinite numerals can have modifiers. Some modifiers are used with cardinals only (see (108) through (115)). Some with indefinite numerals only (see (122) through (124)), and some with either (see (116) through (121)).

Sampai, a modifier to numerals, should not be confused with the (intransitive) verb sampai 'to arrive', or the preposition sampai 'until; up to' (sampai sekarang 'until now'; dari atas sampai ke bawah 'from top to bottom'; dari satu sampai tujuh 'from one to seven'). As a modifier, sampai can be separated from the (numeral) principal (i.e. seratus 'one hundred'); thus, instead of B2 in (108), one can also say Saya kira seratus tidak akan sampai (I-think-one hundred-not-will-reach).

Genap is 'even', and ganjil is 'odd', but genap can also mean 'complete', as exemplified in (109), and ganjil 'strange'. Compare the "collective" sense of segenap 'the whole' in (51), above.

The phrases in (110a) are synonymous with the -an forms: dua ratusan tahun vs kira-kira/sekitar dua ratus tahun 'around two hundred (years)'; but the use of kira-kira/sekitar is optional in the following phrase: (kira-kira/sekitar) tahun tujuh puluhan 'in the seventies'. Note here that -an can only apply to "precategorial" numerals (:puluh, :belas, :ratus, :ribu, etc.).

Lebih 'more' can precede or follow the numeral (111), but kurang 'less' can only precede. Note that dari is obligatorily used when Lebih and kurang are used in the sense of (111) and (112), respectively. When dari is dropped, the phrases have different meanings (104); construction (113b) can be grammatical, with this different sense (114b), but then kurang is predicative, not attributive (and the pause preceding it is mandatory).

Persis/tetap 'exact, precise' can both precede and follow the cardinals (115). Cardinals and quantifiers sedikit, beberapa, sebagian, banyak can precede lagi, but while the phrases in (116) can be sentential (e.g. as
a short answer to a question), banyak lagi must be in enumeration, and sebagian lagi must be correlative with a previous use of sebagian.

All the five modifiers (baru 'only [and there might be more]', hanya 'only [and that's it]', masih 'still', sudah 'already', tinggal 'still ... left') can precede cardinals and the quantifier sedikit 'a little'. With banyak 'a lot', the use of modifiers with "diminutive" sense (baru, hanya, tinggal) is out.

Some modifiers precede banyak and sedikit (see (120), (121), (123)), and some follow them (122). The modifier cukup 'enough', however, can precede only banyak, but not sedikit.

(108) A: Apakah yang datang akan sampai seratus?
   Qu-W LIG. come will arrive 100
   'Those who come, are they going to reach a hundred?'

   B1: Ya, saya kira bisa sampai seratus.
      yes I think can reach 100
      'Yes, I think they can reach a hundred.'

   B2: Saya kira tidak (akan) sampai seratus.
      I think no(t) will reach 100
      'I think they won't reach a hundred.'

(109) Belum genap lima puluh; jadi, bis ini
      not yet complete fifty thus bus this
      belum bisa berangkat.
      not yet can leave
      'The number has not reached fifty [which is the maximum number of passengers it can have]; so this bus cannot leave yet.'

(110) a. [kira-kira/sekitar] dua ratus
      'around two hundred'

   b. [kurang lebih/lebih kurang] dua ratus
      'more or less two hundred'

(111) a. lebih *(dari) tiga ratus
      'more than three hundred'

   b. tiga ratus lebih
      'more than three hundred'

(112) a. kurang *(dari) lima ratus
      'less than five hundred'

   b. *lima ratus kurang
      'less than five hundred'

(113) a. lebih lima ratus
      'five hundred too much; an excess of five hundred'

   b. kurang lima ratus
      'five hundred short'

(114) a. (kalau) lima ratus *(///) lebih
      '(if) five hundred that's too much'

   b. (kalau) lima ratus *(///) kurang
      '(if) five hundred, that's too little'

(115) a. [persis/tepat] jam tujuh
      b. pukul tujuh [persis/tepat]
         'exactly seven o'clock; seven o'clock sharp'

   c. jumlahnya [persis/tepat] lima
   d. jumlahnya lima [persis/tepat]
      'the number is exactly five'

(116) a. dua lagi
      'two more'
b. sedikit lagi
   'a little bit more'
c. beberapa lagi
   'a few more'

(117) a. [...] dan cukup banyak lagi [e.g. in enumeration]
   ' [...] and quite a lot more'
b. [...] sebagian hilang dan sebagian lagi dicuri orang
   ' [...] part of it was gone and another part was stolen'

(118) [a. baru ] [b. hanya ]
    c. masih [d. sudah ]
    e. tinggal

(119) [a. baru ] [b. hanya ]
    c. masih
    d. sudah
    e. tinggal [beberapa]

(120) [a. *baru ] [b. *hanya ]
    c. masih
    d. sudah
    e. *tinggal

(121) [a. baru ] [b. hanya ]
    c. masih
    d. sudah
    e. tinggal [sedikit]

(122) [banyak/sedikit] {sokali/}
    [nenar ]
    'very much/little'

(123) [a. agak ] [b. kurang ]
    c. lebih
    d. sangat

(124) cukup {banyak/*sedikit}
    'quite a lot'

Sampai as a modifier to numerals may be used absolutely, for example
in Tidak sampai! 'It's not that much!' Note that this example is
negative; *Sampai! 'It is that much.' is not wellformed, but it could be
when correlated with tidak sampai (125).

(125) A: Tidak akan sampai seratus, saya kira.
    'There won't be as many as one hundred, I think.'
    'Right. Not that many.'
B2: Sampai (saja); mungkin malah lebih dari seratus.
    'Oh, It's one hundred alright, may be even more.'

13 SOME IDIOMS IN MATHEMATICS

There are no fewer than four words for 'number' in Indonesian: angka, bilangan, jumlah, nomor. Angka is 'number' as written (126) and also
'rate' (as in angka kematian bayi 'the mortality rate of infants'; but: laju inflasi 'inflation rate', for laju connotes the liability of (rapid change), bilangan is 'number' as used in arithmetic and mathematics (127), jumlah is 'number' as used in the sense of total (quantity) (128), and nomor is 'number' in consecutive order (129). Nomor plus integer as an attribute is often equivalent to the corresponding ordinal numeral (129e).

(126) a. angka Arab
   'Arabic number'
b. angka Romawi
   'Roman number'
c. angka-angka statistik
   'Statistical numbers'
d. Petinju itu hanya menang angka tipis.
   'That box fighter only won with a thin score.'
e. Dia mendapat angka/nilai merah di dalam matematika.
   'She got a red mark in mathematics.'
f. Angka dua di papan tulis itu terlalu kecil.
   'Number "two" on that blackboard looks too small.'

(127) a. Dua adalah bilangan genap, tiga bilangan ganjil.
   'Two is an even number, three an odd number.'
b. 2, 3, 4, dst. adalah bilangan utuh/bulat, 1/2, 2/3,
   3/4, dst. adalah bilangan pecahan.
   '2, 3, 4, etc. are integers, 1/2, 2/3, 3/4, etc. are fractions.'

(128) a. sejumlah orang
   'A number of people'
b. Kami tidak tahu berapa jumlah orang di dalam rumah
   itu.
   'We have no idea what the number of people is in that
   house.'
c. di dalam jumlah yang besar
   'In a great number'

(129) a. nomor urut
   'Sequence number'
b. nomor-nomor itu tidak urut
   'The numbers are not in the right order'
c. nomor kartu identitas
   'Identity card number'
d. Dia tinggal di Jalan Pacar Nomor 67.
   'He lives at Pacar Street Number 67.'
e. Dia petinju terbaik nomor dua.
   Dia petinju terbaik kedua.
   'He is the second best boxer.'

For fractions, the numerator is pembilang and the denominator is penyebut. Selisih is the outcome of 'minus' (3 adalah selisih antara 6 dan 3); see (133)). Some other basic expressions in mathematics are listed below.

(130) akar 16 sama dengan 4
   '√16=4'

(131) a. 4 pangkat 2 sama dengan 16
   4 kuadrat sama dengan 16
   '4²=16'
b. 2 pangkat 3 sama dengan 8
   '2³=8'
14 NUMERALS IN COMPOUNDS AND IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS

Numerals used in some compounds and in some idiomatic expressions are listed below.

(141) a. satu sama lain
   'one another'
b. Yang satunya mana?
   'Where is the other one?'
c. antara yang satu dan yang lain
   'between one and another'
d. Kami sudah satu hati.
   'We have come to an agreement.'
e. Mati satu tumbuh seribu.
   [slogan in the war for Independence]
   'If one dies, a thousand will come up.'

(142) a. titik dua
   'colon'
b. tiada duanya
   'no other two; the only one'
c. dua sejoli
   'two persons in love; two lovers'
d. Aminah kini sudah berbadan dua.
   'Aminah now is pregnant.' [lit. has-two-bodies]
e. Organisasi kita ini berkedua dua.
   'This organization of ours has two leaders.'
   [lit. has-two-heads]
f. Dia manusia berlidah dua, jangan mempercayainya.
   'He is a person of two tongues; don't trust him.'

(143) a. segi tiga
   'triangle'
b. tiga sekawan
   'a group of three [intimate] friends'
c. Masuk tiga keluar empat. (get in-three-get out-four)
   'What one earns is less than what one spends.'
d. setali tiga uang
   'just the same [one tali=25 cents; three uang=25 cents]'
   'It's six of one and half a dozen of the other.'
e. memasang langkah tiga
   'be ready in combat (with the enemy)'
f. peringatan tiga hari
   'commemoration of death [after three days].'

(144) a. segi empat [four-angles]
   'quadrangle'
b. empat persegi panjang
   'rectangle'
c. simpang empat
   'a four-way-intersection'
d. empat penjuru dunia
   'all four points of the compass'
   [lit. four-directions-of-the-world]
e. pertemuan empat mata
   'a two-person-meeting'
   [lit. meeting-four-eyes]

(145) a. segi lima
   'pentagon'
b. simpang lima
   'a five-way intersection'
c. pedagang kaki lima
   'side road vendors'
d. sembahyang lima waktu
   'the five times [a day] of Moslem prayer'

(146) segi enam
   'hexagon'

(147) a. pusing tujuh keliling
   'excruciatingly painful headache'
   [lit. head-ache-seven-rounds/circles]
b. berada di langit ketujuh
   'to be in the seventh heaven'
c. peringatan tujuh hari
   'commemoration of death [after seven days]'
d. peringatan tujuh bulan
   'seven months [of pregnancy ritual']

(148) sudah mengenal delapan penjuru angin
   'already know everything'
   [lit. already-know-eight-direction-wind, i.e. north, northeast, east, southeast, south, southwest, west, northwest]

(149) Negeri Sembilan
   '[name of one of the states in Malaysia]'
   [lit. country-nine]

(150) a. kesebelasan Indonesia
   'Indonesian (soccer) team'
b. celaka dua belas
   'all kinds of bad luck'
   [lit. misery-twelve]
c. celaka tiga belas
   'all kinds of bad luck'
   [lit. misery-thirteen; Dutch loan]
d. upacara tujuh belasan
   'celebration of Republic of Indonesian independence day [17 August 1945]'
e. peringatan empat puluh hari
   'commemoration of death
   [after 40 days]' 

f. angkatan empat lima
   'generation born around 1945 [the year of Indonesian
   Independence]'

g. peringatan seratus hari
   'commemoration of death [after 100 days]'

h. Pikirannya berbalik seratus delapan puluh derajad.
   'He changed his mind completely.'
   [lit. change-180-degrees]

i. peringatan seribu hari
   'commemoration of death [after 1000 days]'

j. mengambil langkah seribu
   'to run as fast as possible'
   [lit. take-step-1000]

k. seribu satu macam
   'many kinds'
   [lit. 1001-kinds]

l. beribu-ribu terima kasih
   'thousands of thanks'

m. beribu-ribu maa
   'thousands of pardons'

LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

/ (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 [NN-n] references (see below)

Am.
American English

:beli
Precategorial form

Br.
British English

Du.
Dutch

Eng.
English

Ind.
Indonesian

Jav.
Javanese

LIG
ligature

[NN-n]
(double N + number, all enclosed in brackets): see below, last
bibliography

Qu-W
question word

Skt.
Sanskrit

*(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 in 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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