

Possessive Verbal Predicate Constructions in Indonesian*

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Abstract

This paper deals with verbal predicate constructions used to express 'possession' in Indonesian¹ (both 'formal Indonesian'² and 'Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian'³). In Moeljadi (2010), I stated that there are eight possessive verbal predicate constructions in Indonesian, i.e. *X memiliki Y*, *X mempunyai Y*, *X punya Y*, *X ada Y*, *X ada Y=nya*, *X ber-Y*, *X ber-Y-kan Z*, and *X Y-an* (*X* represents 'possessor', *Y* represents 'possessee' or 'possessum', and *Z* represents a complement.). The analysis of how Indonesian encodes one 'possession' concept to more than one constructions shown above has mainly been based on intuition as a native speaker of Indonesian. The conclusion is that the 'register' and the '(in)alienability' notion play important roles in the encoding process. I previously analyzed this based on intuition in Moeljadi (2010), but this time I conducted interviews in 2010 and 2011 in order to make an objective analysis. The data I got from those interviews were then analyzed using cluster analysis. I conclude that (i) only five constructions, i.e. *X memiliki Y*, *X mempunyai Y*, *X punya Y*, *X ada Y*, *X ber-Y*, can be regarded as encoding the meaning of 'possession', (ii) one construction, i.e. *X ber-Y*, has a special characteristic and takes a different kind of possessee, and (iii) whether the possessor is singular, plural, the first, second, or third personal pronoun, the acceptability of the constructions does not change.

1. Examples of possessive verbal predicate constructions in Indonesian

Here are some examples of possessive verbal predicate constructions in Indonesian noted in previous studies (Hopper 1972: 137-140 and Alieva 1992: 15-19):

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¹ Indonesian, which is called *bahasa Indonesia* by its speakers, is a Malayic language of Western Malayo-Polynesian branch of Austronesian language family and spoken mainly in the Republic of Indonesia, as the sole official national language and as the common language for hundreds of ethnic groups living there (Alwi et al. 2000: 1-2). Morphosyntactically, Indonesian is an agglutinative VO language. Tense, number, gender, and case morphemes do not have any important role in the grammar system. The present-day official Perfected Spelling (*Ejaan yang Disempurnakan*) is used in this paper.

² the High variety of Indonesian –also called *bahasa resmi* 'official language', or *bahasa baku* 'standard language' – is based on Riau Malay of northeast Sumatra (Alwi et al. 2000: 12, 15).

³ the Low variety of Indonesian –also called *bahasa informal* 'informal language', or *bahasa takbaku* 'non-standard language' – is based on the colloquial variety in Jakarta (Sneddon 2006).

- (1) a. Eka **me-milik-i**⁴ lima kemeja batik, ...
AV-MILIK-APP five shirt
'Eka has five batik shirts, ...' (*Busana Batik Bisa Dikemas Tak Terlalu Formal* in KOMPAS.com 2009/10/01, own translation)
- b. Adi **mem-punya-i**⁵ banyak uang.
AV-PUNYA-APP many money
'Adi has a lot of money.' (own data)
- c. Gue⁶ **punya**⁷ dua orang kakak perempuan.
ISG PUNYA two CL older.sibling female
'I have two elder sisters.' (Sneddon 2006: 199)
- d. Ia **ada**⁸ anak banyak.
3SG EXIST child many
'S/he has many children.' (Hopper 1972: 139)
- e. Rumah ini **ada** beranda=**nya**⁹.
house this EXIST verandah=NYA
'This house has its verandah.' (Alieva 1992: 16)
- f. Pendapat=**nya** tidak **ber**¹⁰-dasar.
opinion=NYA NEG ber-basis
'His opinion has no basis.' (Sneddon 1996: 111)
- g. Botol ini **ber-isi-kan** obat.
bottle this ber-content-APP medicine
'This bottle contains medicine.' (Sneddon 1996: 111)

⁴ The verb *memiliki* is derived from the root *milik*. The word *milik* comes from the Arabic word *m-l-k* (*milk*), and has the sense 'property' (Jones 1978: 57, xxxi). Wehr (1979: 1082) notes that the word *milk* has the sense 'property, possessions, goods and chattels, fortune, wealth; estate; landed property, real estate' and the plural form *amlāk* has the sense 'possessions (=colonies); lands, landed property, estates'.

The verb *mempunyai* is derived from the root *punya*, which originally consists of (*em*)*pu* and =*nya* and is morphologically complex. The morpheme (*em*)*pu* is from the old Javanese word *empu* (*mpu*, *ampu*, *pu*) which has the main meaning 'distinguished person, "master", "lord"; often, but by no means exclusively, of religious persons (brahmins and others) and is attached to a proper or categorical noun "sir", "lord", "master", "the honorable or reverend"' (Zoetmulder 1982: 1149). It is also glossed as 'ancient title for scholars, poets, outstanding artists, master craftsmen' (Home 1974: 168).

¹⁹ *Gue* is often used in Colloquial Jakarta Indonesian, while *aku*, which has the same meaning as *gue*, is neutral, used in both informal and formal Indonesian.

Hopper (1972: 138) states that *punya* is losing, or has already lost, its original connection with the root (*em*)*pu*, and in all varieties of Malay, including Indonesian, is analyzed as the colloquial equivalent of *mempunyai*.

⁸ The existential verb *ada* derives the copula *adalah* in a nominal predicate construction. An existential predicate construction requires *ada* obligatorily, while in a locative predicate construction *ada* is optional. For the details, see Moeliadi 2010: 22-29.

⁹ The enclitic =*nya* is originally from the third person singular pronoun *ia* and has the original function as the third person singular pronominal enclitic.

¹⁰ The functions of *ber-* are explained in 3.3.

2. Previous studies

Hopper (1972: 137-140) states that in formal written Indonesian, *mempunyai* has come into general use which corresponds to most usages of English *have* in the sense of 'to own' or 'to possess'. He argues that its function is so close to that of the Western European verbs of having as to be clearly modeled on these verbs. Like *mempunyai*, *punya* serves as a general equivalent of Western *have*-like verbs. *Ada* is said to bear the same relation to *punya*, as *have* does to *own* in English.

Alieva (1992: 15-19) mentions that Malay verbs such as *-punyai* 'to have' and *-miliki* 'to have, to possess' are special possessive verbs with their proper voice forms, but all of them belong to modern educated speech and are secondary in origin, i.e. they are originally not Indonesian words. *Punya*, which is common in everyday speech, is not primary either. Instead of clauses with a lexeme 'to have', the following two synthetic clause models –the one with pronominal clitics, the other with verb-deriving prefixes– can be considered as the primary forms or the basis of possessivity in Malay:

1. real topic clauses with *ada* + possessive noun phrase. In this clause, a possessor noun phrase in the initial position is cross-referenced by a pronominal enclitic and the possessive meaning disappears from *ada*, being expressed in the possessive noun phrase, as in example (1e).
2. clauses with predicates expressed by *ber-* verbs (also *ber-kan* verbs) are a real and original device for rendering the meaning 'to have, to possess', but in a peculiar, synthetic form. The relation between the possessor and the possessed object are both expressed in a sentence by one and the same word.

Alieva (1992: 19) also notes that these two kinds of clauses are prevalent in texts, while the special verbs, though rather differentiated in meaning and capable of voice alternation, are used only rarely.

Concerning clauses with *ada*, Alieva (1992: 15-16) states that the verb *ada* 'to be' as in example (1d) can itself express the meaning 'to have' (but not 'to own', 'to possess'). In an *ada* sentence, possession is expressed through the idea of existence, and the meaning 'to have' is secondary to the meaning 'to be, to exist'. An *Ada* sentence can be analyzed as having possessor topics in the initial position (possessors in focus) that can be omitted without the effect of ellipsis. Thus, *ada* is more likely related to the following noun phrase which acts as a grammatical subject.

In Moeljadi (2010: 34), I found that there are eight possessive verbal predicate constructions in Indonesian which can be classified into three groups based on the form of the main verb as follows (see Figure 1) (X represents 'possessor', Y represents 'possessee' or 'possessum', and Z represents a complement):

- I. Constructions with possessive verbs: (1) X *memiliki* Y, (2) X *mempunyai* Y, (3) X *punya* Y
- II. Constructions with the existential verb *ada*: (4) X *ada* Y, (5) X *ada* Y=*nya*
- III. Constructions with denominal affixes: (6) X *ber-Y*, (7) X *ber-Y-kan* Z, (8) X *Y-an*

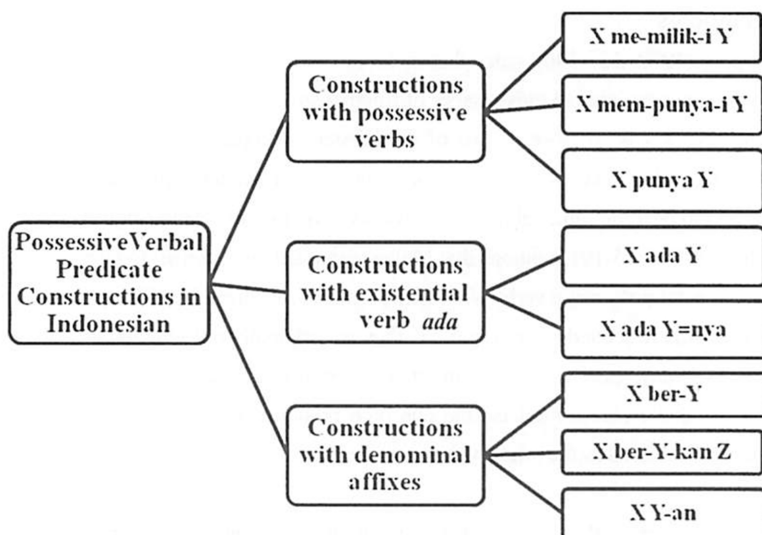


Figure 1. The division of possessive verbal predicate constructions in Indonesian according to Moeljadi 2010 (X=possessor, Y=possessee/possessum, Z=complement)

The characteristic of each construction and the examples are briefly mentioned in the next section. Based on my intuition as a native speaker of Indonesian, I concluded that the register (i.e. the formal and informal varieties of Indonesian), and the '(in)alienability'¹¹ notion (see Table 1 and Table 2) play important roles in the encoding process (Moeljadi 2010: 93-102). In addition, I hypothesized that the enclitic =*nya* in *X ada Y=nya* functions as an 'inalienability marker'. However, it has later become clear that the '(in)alienability' notion is merely useful to explain the difference between *X ada Y* and *X ada Y=nya*. Instead of '(in)alienability', a new criterion is needed to explain why different constructions choose different possesseees.

Table 1. Result of analysis of possessive verbal predicate constructions in Indonesian (Moeljadi 2010: 93)

Parameters Constructions		Possessive predicate		Possessee (Y)		
		H/L variety	Passivization and imperative	Pers.Pron Pers.Proper Names	Alienable (see Table 2)	Inalienable (see Table 2)
possessive verbs	X memiliki Y	H	+	+	+	+
	X mempunyai Y					
	X punya Y					
existential verb <i>ada</i>	X ada Y	L	-	-	-	-
	X ada Y=nya				-	-
denominal affixes	X ber-Y	H	-		+	+
	X ber-Y-kan Z				-	
	X Y-an	L			-	

¹¹ Objects that are 'inherent' or 'inseparable' from the possessor, such as *head*, *heart*, are called 'inalienable' objects. On the other hand, objects that are 'transferable' or 'separable' from the possessor, such as *book*, *car*, are called 'alienable' objects.

Table 2. The relation between possessee (Y) and (in)alienability in Indonesian (extracted from Moeljadi 2010: 98-99)

ALIENABLE			INALIENABLE			
X memiliki Y, X mempunyai Y, X punya Y						
			X ber-Y, X ber-Y-kan Z			
X ada Y			X ada Y=nya		X Y-an	Clothes etc. worn on the body
Event, Temporary property	Social relation, Belongings (movables), Nonspecific referents	Acquired attribute, Private property (immovables), Kinship roles	Body-parts, Part-whole relationship, General nature	Substance attached to a narrow area	Substance attached to a wide area	
<i>acara</i> 'event' <i>rapat</i> 'meeting' <i>tes</i> 'test' <i>demam</i> 'fever'	<i>teman</i> 'friend' <i>buku</i> 'book' <i>anjing</i> 'dog' <i>sesuatu</i> 'something'	<i>hak</i> 'right' <i>ibu</i> 'mother' <i>rumah</i> 'house' <i>uang</i> 'money'	<i>mata</i> 'eye' <i>atap</i> 'roof' <i>nama</i> 'name' <i>khasiat</i> 'efficacy'	<i>karat</i> 'rust' <i>uban</i> 'gray hair' <i>jerawat</i> 'pimples' <i>janggut</i> 'beard'		<i>pakaian</i> 'clothes' <i>kacamata</i> 'glasses' <i>senjata</i> 'weapon' <i>selimut</i> 'blanket'

3. Possessive verbal predicate constructions in Indonesian

3.1 Constructions with possessive verbs *memiliki*, *mempunyai*, and *punya*

X memiliki Y and *X mempunyai Y* can be passivized as in example (2c) and (2f) and can be changed to imperative as in (2d) and (2g)¹². Personal pronouns and personal proper names can be the direct object in *X memiliki Y* as in (2b) but not in *X mempunyai Y* as in (2e). *X punya Y* cannot be passivized, and there is no imperative construction with it, as in (2i). It cannot take personal pronouns or personal proper names as the direct object, as in (2h). *X memiliki Y* and *X mempunyai Y* tend to appear in formal Indonesian, while *X punya Y* tends to appear in informal Indonesian (see also footnote 7).

- (2) a. Dia ingin **me-milik-i** tas=ku
 3SG want AV-MILIK-APP bag=1SG
 'S/he wants to possess my bag.' (own data)
- b. Aku ingin **me-milik-i**=mu, Indah.
 1SG want AV-MILIK-APP=2SG
 'I want to possess you, Indah.' (own data)
- c. Enam Model Jeans yang Harus **Di-milik-i**
 six type jeans REL must UV-MILIK-APP
 'Six Types of Jeans which Must Be Owned' (a title of an article in *KOMPAS.com* 2009/10/29)

¹² *Memiliki* is changed to *dimiliki* in passive and *milikilah* in imperative. *Mempunyai* is changed to *dipunyai* in passive and *punyailah* in imperative, but some consultants do not accept *punyailah*.

- d. **Milik-i-lah** anak yang banyak.
MILIK-APP-IMP child REL many
'Have many children.' (*Lagu Kesunyian di Penghujung Hari* in *KOMPAS.com* 2009/08/29)
- e. * **Orang gila itu ingin mem-punya-i=ku.**
person crazy that want AV-PUNYA-APP=1SG
'That crazy person wants to possess me.' (own data)
- f. **Hak untuk meng-ekspresi-kan diri di-punya-i** oleh setiap orang.
right to AV-expression-APP self UV-PUNYA-APP by every person
'The right to express oneself is possessed by everyone.' (own data, based on Sneddon 2006: 208)
- g. ? **Punya-i-lah** impian!¹³
PUNYA-APP-IMP dream
'Have a dream!' (own data)
- h. * **Gua pingin punya elu.**
1SG want PUNYA 2SG
'I want to possess you.' (own data)
- i. * **Punya-lah** impian!
PUNYA-IMP dream
'Have a dream!' (own data)

3.2 Constructions with the existential verb *ada*

The existential verb *ada*, which functions as the predicate of the existential (*X ada* 'X exists', *ada X di Y* 'there is X in Y') and locative constructions (*X ada di Y* 'X is in Y'), also functions as the predicate of the possessive verbal predicate constructions (*X ada Y*, *X ada Y=nya*). These constructions (*X ada Y*, *X ada Y=nya*) do not have passive and imperative counterparts and cannot take personal pronouns and/or proper names as Y. Both constructions tend to appear in informal Indonesian.

- (3) a. **Saya ada** uang untuk mem-beli ini.
1SG EXIST money to AV-buy this
'I have money to buy this.' (Alieva 1992: 15)
- b. **Lu ada** kunci=nya?
2SG EXIST key=NYA
'Do you have the key?' (own data)
- c. (while looking at a photo which has been modified)
Kok gua **kagak ada** mata=nya **di** foto ini?
DP 1SG NEG EXIST eye=NYA LOC photo this
'Why don't I have eyes in this photo?' (own data)

My analysis was that the possessors in *X ada Y* are alienable and the possessors in *X ada*

¹³ In Moeljadi (2010), I regarded that this imperative sentence was acceptable but later I found that some consultants do not accept this imperative sentence with *punyailah*.

Y=*nya* are inalienable (i.e. body-parts, part-whole relationship, general nature, and substance attached to a narrow area) (see Table 2). Thus, I hypothesized that *=nya* functions as an 'inalienability marker'. However, later I found that it is not significant to differentiate between X *ada* Y and X *ada* Y=*nya* (see Section 5).

3.3 Constructions with denominal affixes *ber-*, *ber-...-kan*, *-an*

Three denominal affixes, prefix *ber-*, circumfix *ber-...-kan*, and suffix *-an*, denominalize Y so that Y becomes a verbal predicate in each construction. Sneddon (2009: 137) calls this phenomenon as 'predicativization' and notes that it is a process which results in a reanalysis of the categorical and syntactic status of the phrase which contains the possessee. This predicativized possessee phrase is regarded as essentially 'property-indicating' or 'adjectival'. A predicativized possessee phrase can be directly translated into *moneyed*, *red-nosed*, *wide-eyed* etc.

None of these three constructions can be passivized. The suffixal part *-kan* in the X *ber*-Y-*kan* Z construction triggers the presence of an obligatory noun complement (Z) as in example (4c) and (4d). As for the X *ber*-Y construction it may take an optional noun complement which specifies Y as in example (4a) and (4b). Both X *ber*-Y and X *ber*-Y-*kan* Z tend to appear in formal Indonesian, while X Y-*an* tends to appear in informal Indonesian.

According to Alwi et al. (2000: 139) and Sneddon (1996: 62-63), the prefix *ber-* with a nominal base has one of the following meanings:

1. 'to have', e.g. *beratap* 'to have a roof' (< *atap* 'roof'), *beristri* 'to have a wife' (< *istri* 'wife')
2. 'to use, to wear, to operate', e.g. *bersepeda* 'to ride a bicycle' (< *sepeda* 'bicycle'), *berbaju* 'to wear a shirt' (< *baju* 'shirt')
3. 'to produce', e.g. *bertelur* 'to lay eggs, to spawn' (< *telur* 'egg'), *berkeringat* 'to sweat' (< *keringat* 'sweat')
4. 'reciprocal, indicating that two people stand in the same relationship to each other', e.g. *berteman* 'mutual friends' (< *teman* 'friend'), *bertetangga* 'mutual neighbours' (< *tetangga* 'neighbour')
5. 'to engage in the activity specified by the base', e.g. *berpiknik* 'to picnic' (< *piknik* 'picnic'), *berperang* 'to wage war' (< *perang* 'war')

Unlike in Moeljadi (2010: 78), where I discussed not only the first, but also the second and the third meanings mentioned above, here I discuss only the first meaning, i.e. 'to have', because in the second and the third meaning, although the result is 'Y is attached to X', the sense of 'possessive' is not included. For example in X *bersepeda* 'X rode a bicycle', the bicycle may not be of X.

Regarding the X Y-*an* construction, Sneddon (1996: 53) states that from some noun bases *-an* derives adjectives, meaning 'having many [base], containing many [base]' or 'suffering from [base]' as in example (4e) and (4f).

(4) a. Dia sudah ber-istri.

3SG PERF ber-wife

'He already has a wife.' (Alwi et al. 2000: 142)

- b. Dia sudah ber-istri orang Minang.
3SG PERF ber-wife person
'He already has a Minang person as his wife.' (Alwi et al. 2000: 142)
- c. * Dia sudah ber-istri-kan.
3SG PERF ber-wife-APP (Alwi et al. 2000: 142)
- d. Dia sudah ber-istri-kan orang Minang.
3SG PERF ber-wife-APP person
'He already has a Minang person as his wife.' (Alwi et al. 2000: 142)
- e. Orang itu uban-an.
person that grey.hair-an
'That person is grey-haired.' (lit: 'That person has lots of grey hair.') (own data)
- f. Pipi lu jerawat-an.
cheek 2SG pimple-an
'Your cheek is pimples.' 'Your cheek is covered with many pimples.' (own data)

4. Overview of research conducted in summer 2010 and spring 2011

Interviews were held in 2010 and 2011 in order to make an objective analysis of possessive verbal predicate constructions in Indonesian. Those interviews were held in Tokyo in June 2010 (abbreviated as 2010a in Table 3), in Malang, East Java in September 2010 (abbreviated as 2010b in Table 3), and in Jakarta in March 2011. The consultants who participated in interviews in 2010 were from different backgrounds (as for age, place of birth, and mother tongue) while all the consultants who participated in interviews in March 2011 were around the same age and natives of Jakarta. See Table 3 for the backgrounds of consultants.

To make sample sentences to be judged, forty-one nouns¹⁴ were chosen as possessors and various nouns, including personal pronouns¹⁵ as possessors. They were combined and inserted in eight possessive verbal constructions mentioned in Section 3. For example, *saya* (1SG) *memiliki buku* 'book', *Anda* (2SG) *memiliki buku*, *dia* (3SG) *memiliki buku*, *saya mempunyai buku*, *Anda mempunyai buku*, *dia mempunyai buku*, *gua* (1SG) *punya buku*, *kamu* (2SG) *punya buku*, *dia punya buku*, *saya memiliki teman*

¹⁴ Those forty-one nouns are as follows: *mata* 'eye', *jantung* 'heart', *ekor* 'tail', *bunga* 'flower', *dinding* 'wall', *ibu* 'mother', *kakek* 'grandfather', *mertua* 'father-in-law/mother-in-law', *kakak* 'elder brother/sister', *adik* 'younger brother/sister', *suami/istri* 'husband/wife', *anak* 'child', *hak* 'right', *nama* 'name', *khasiat* 'efficacy', *karat* 'rust', *uban* 'gray hair', *jerawat* 'pimples', *janggut/jenggot* 'beard', *keringat* 'sweat', *pakaian* 'clothes', *kacamata* 'glasses', *senjata* 'weapon', *selimut* 'blanket', *buku* 'book', *rumah* 'house', *uang* 'money', *anjing* 'dog', *sesuatu* 'something', *teman* 'friend', *pacar* 'girlfriend/boyfriend', *dokter pribadi* 'personal doctor', *penyakit* 'disease', *flu* 'flu', *demam* 'fever', *pertanyaan* 'question', *acara* 'event', *rapat* 'meeting', *pesta* 'party', *tes* 'test', and *bagian dalam yang kosong* 'empty space'.

¹⁵ Those various nouns are: (i) personal pronouns: *saya/aku/gua/gue* (1SG), *Anda/kamu/lu* (2SG), *dia* (3SG), *kami/kita* (1PL), *kalian* (2PL), *mereka* (3PL), and (ii) *rumah ini/itu* 'this/that house' for *dinding* 'wall', *obat ini/itu* 'this/that medicine' for *khasiat* 'efficacy', *besi ini/itu* 'this/that steel' for *karat* 'rust', *binatang ini/itu* 'this/that animal' for *jantung* 'heart' and *ekor* 'tail', *tanaman ini/itu* 'this/that plant' for *bunga* 'flower', and *kotak ini/itu* 'this/that box' for *bagian dalam yang kosong* 'empty space'. I consider nouns in (ii) to be included in the third personal pronouns. If those nouns are considered acceptable in certain constructions, I judge that the first and the second personal pronouns are also acceptable in those constructions. In the interviews in 2010, I saw no difference between singular and plural personal pronouns as possessors in possessive predicate constructions. However, in the interviews in 2011, I realized a slight difference between singular and plural personal pronouns as possessors. I input the data (values) for cluster analysis but then I found that there is no reason to divide possessors into singular and plural number, as well as to divide possessors into first, second, and third personal pronouns (see Figure 6).

'friend', *dia mempunyai teman*, *gue (1SG) punya teman*, *gue ada teman*, *besi ini 'this steel' memiliki karat 'rust'*, *besi ini mempunyai karat*, etc. Eighteen consultants were asked to answer whether each of the sentences with different combinations of a possessee, a possessor, and a possessive verbal construction is (i) usual and acceptable, (ii) slightly unusual but still acceptable, or (iii) unusual and strange, i.e. unacceptable.

Table 3. Backgrounds of consultants

Consultant	Sex	Age	Place of birth	Mother language	Time of interview	Place of interview
A	Male	21	Jakarta	Indonesian, Hokkien mixed	2010a	Tokyo
B	Male	35	Long Iram, East Kalimantan	Indonesian, Banjar	2010a	Tokyo
C	Female	23	Jakarta	Indonesian	2010a	Tokyo
D	Male	23	Malang, East Java	Peranakan	2010b	Malang
E	Male	16	Balikpapan, East Kalimantan	Indonesian	2010b	Malang
F	Female	17	Pasuruan, East Java	Javanese	2010b	Malang
G	Female	16	Surabaya, East Java	Peranakan	2010b	Malang
H	Female	17	Kediri, East Java	Javanese, Indonesian	2010b	Malang
I	Female	16	Bogor, West Java	Indonesian, Banjar	2010b	Malang
J	Female	21	Jakarta	Indonesian	2011	Jakarta
K	Female	21	Jakarta	Indonesian, Hakka	2011	Jakarta
L	Male	22	Jakarta	Indonesian	2011	Jakarta
M	Female	21	Jakarta	Indonesian, Hakka mixed	2011	Jakarta
N	Female	21	Jakarta	Indonesian	2011	Jakarta
O	Female	20	Jakarta	Indonesian, Sundanese mixed	2011	Jakarta
P	Female	21	Jakarta	Indonesian, Cantonese mixed	2011	Jakarta
Q	Female	20	Jakarta	Indonesian, English	2011	Jakarta
R	Female	21	Jakarta	Indonesian	2011	Jakarta

Each sentence was given values as follows: one point if it is considered to be usual, 0.5 points if it is slightly unusual, and zero if it is unusual and strange. The data (values) were then counted and analyzed using the cluster analysis (Nagata 2001: 174-179). Each construction was compared to other seven constructions. The Euclidean distance was calculated as the index of the similarity or the 'distance' between each construction and the others. For example, if, according to one consultant, *saya* (1SG)

memiliki 'friend' is acceptable (1 point), *gua punya teman* is unacceptable (0 point), *saya memiliki buku* 'book' is acceptable (1 point), and *gue punya buku* is acceptable (1 point), the Euclidean distance between *memiliki* and *punya* is one, as follows:

$$\sqrt{(1-0)^2 + (1-1)^2} = 1$$

The Euclidean distance for every pair of constructions was calculated (see Table 4) and finally the constructions were clustered into groups, as in Figure 2.

Table 4. Distance between constructions

	X me- miliki Y	X mem- punyai Y	X punya Y	X ada Y	X ada Y=nya	X ber-Y	X ber- Y-kan Z
X mempunyai Y	12.1861						
X punya Y	14.2741	12.5599					
X ada Y	25.1247	25.0948	23.8328				
X ada Y=nya	37.6962	37.9605	38.396	41.5			
X ber-Y	36.9425	36.7185	36.7083	41.1096	33.9595		
X ber-Y-kan Z	43.8292	43.715	44.6794	45.1968	38.8909	38.9198	
X Y-an	56.8177	56.8221	56.8551	56.4225	46.7039	43.1799	46.8748

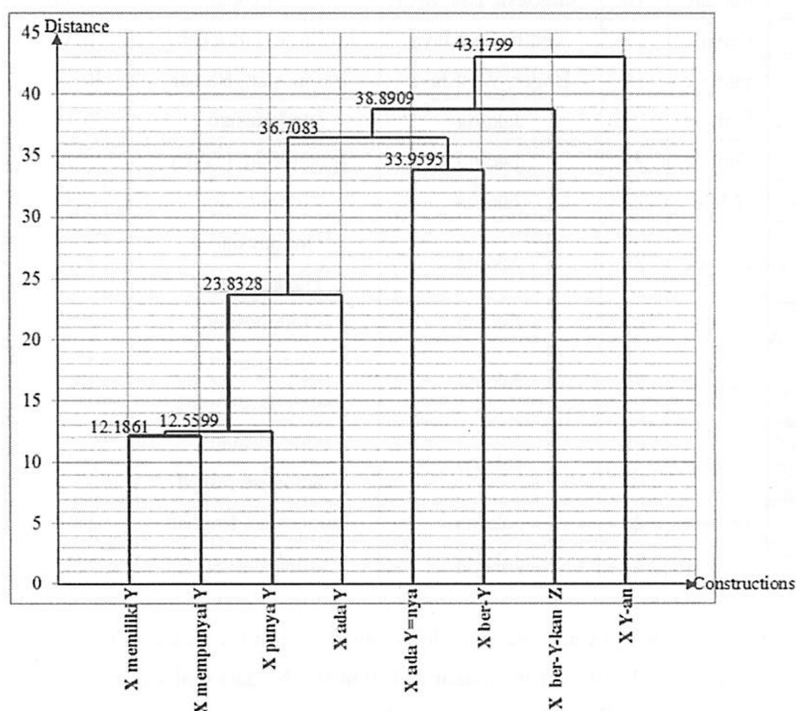


Figure 2. A dendrogram illustrating the clustering of possessive verbal predicate constructions (see Table 4)

5. Result and discussion

The overall data obtained from the consultants' judgements and the findings in the cluster analysis lead to the following four results. First, the hypothesis proposed in Moeljadi (2010), arguing that *=nya* functions as the 'inalienability' marker, is not the case. *X ada Y=nya* construction can be divided into three groups and can be included in *X ada Y*. In the first group, *=nya* functions as a definite marker and it should appear within a context. For example,

- (7) a. Dia **ada** buku. 'S/he has a book.' (own data)
 3SG EXIST book
 b. Dia **ada** buku=*nya*. 'S/he has the book.' (own data)
 3SG EXIST book=NYA

Included in this group are possessee (Y) such as: *teman* 'friend', *buku* 'book', *anjing* 'dog', *rumah* 'house', *uang* 'money', *pakaian* 'clothes', *kacamata* 'glasses', *senjata* 'weapon', and *selimut* 'blanket'.

In the second group, *=nya* may appear without a context. For example,

- (7) c. Gue udah **ada** istri. 'I already have a wife.' (own data)
 1SG PERF EXIST wife
 d. Gue udah **ada** istri=*nya*. 'I already have a wife.' (own data)
 1SG PERF EXIST wife=NYA

Included in this group are possessee (Y) such as: *mata* 'eye', *dinding* 'wall', *nama* 'name', *kehasiatan* 'efficacy', *karat* 'rust', *uban* 'gray hair', *jerawat* 'pimples', *janggut/jenggot* 'beard', *penyakit* 'disease', *jantung* 'heart', *ekor* 'tail', *bunga* 'flower', *ibu* 'mother', *kakek* 'grandfather', *mertua* 'father-in-law/mother-in-law', *kakak* 'elder brother/sister', *adik* 'younger brother/sister', *suami/istri* 'husband/wife', *pacar* 'girlfriend/boyfriend', *anak* 'child', *dokter pribadi* 'personal doctor', and *bagian dalam yang kosong* 'empty space'.

In the third group, the construction with *=nya* is not acceptable.

- (7) e. Mereka **ada** rapat. 'They have a meeting.' (own data)
 3PL EXIST meeting
 f. * Mereka **ada** rapat=*nya*.
 3PL EXIST meeting=NYA

Included in this group are possessee (Y) such as: *acara* 'event', *rapat* 'meeting', *pesta* 'party', *tes* 'test', *demam* 'fever', *sesuatu* 'something', and *flu* 'flu'. Thus, *X ada Y=nya* can be included in *X ada Y* and here I may say that the hypothesis Moeljadi (2010) states that *=nya* functions as an 'inalienability marker' is not correct.

Secondly, in spite of formal similarity, the constructions *X ber-Y* and *X ber-Y-kan Z* differ from

each other, because the former accommodates many nouns as the possessee (Y), whereas the latter accepts as Y much fewer nouns, such as *anak* 'child', *pacar* 'girlfriend/boyfriend', *suami/istri* 'husband/wife', *ibu* 'mother', *adik* 'younger brother/sister', *kakak* 'elder brother/sister', *mertua* 'father-in-law/mother-in-law', *kakek* 'grandfather', *ekor* 'tail', *mata* 'eye', and *dinding* 'wall'. Comparing with X *ber*-Y, the number of nouns which are considered to be acceptable to fill the Y position in X *ber*-Y-*kan* Z is very few. The sense of 'possessives' in X *ber*-Y-*kan* Z is expressed in *ber*-Y-*kan* but it requires an argument (Z) which is a hyponym or attribute of Y. On the other hand, in the X *ber*-Y construction, Z is an adjunct, see example 4. Thus, while *uban* 'grey hair' is acceptable in *saya* (1SG) *beruban*, it is not acceptable in *saya berubankan* ... because it is difficult to regard something as the hyponym or the attribute of *uban*. X *ber*-Y-*kan* Z is also considered as not a typical possessive predicate construction because it requires an argument, which is not a possessee; thus 'presupposes' a relationship of possession, rather than 'establishes' one. Generally, a possessive verbal predicate construction establishes a relationship of possession (Dixon 2010: 265).

Thirdly, the construction X Y-*an* should be considered a peripheral member of the possessive predicate construction, because only *jenggot* 'beard'-*an*, *jerawat* 'pimples'-*an*, *uban* 'gray hair'-*an*, and *karat* 'rust'-*an* have the possessive meaning. X Y-*an* has a very unique meaning and restrictions that make it different from a typical possessive verbal predicate construction as well. From the forty-one nouns mentioned in footnote 14, X Y-*an* construction is acceptable with the following nouns: *pacar* 'girlfriend/boyfriend', *teman* 'friend', *jantung* 'heart', *penyakit* 'disease', *keringat* 'sweat', *selimut* 'blanket', *kacamata* 'glasses', *jenggot* 'beard', *jerawat* 'pimples', *uban* 'gray hair', and *karat* 'rust'. According to the consultants I interviewed, *pacaran* and *temanan* have the meaning 'reciprocal, indicating that two people stand in the same relationship to each other'. Thus, it is acceptable to say *kita* (1PL) *temanan*, or *gue* (1SG) *temanan sama* (with) *dia* (3SG) but *gue temanan* (without *sama* ...) is unacceptable. *Jantungan* has a special meaning 'suffer from heart disease'. *Penyakitan* means 'often get sick'. *Keringatan* means 'sweating so much'. *Selimutan* and *kacamataan* have the meaning 'to wear...'. Thus, only *jenggotan*, *jerawatan*, *ubanan*, and *karatan* have the meaning 'having many ...'. I regard X Y-*an* as peripheral to the domain of possessives in Indonesian.

So far, we can take into account that X *ada* Y=*nya*, X *ber*-Y-*kan* Z, and X Y-*an* are not real possessive verbal constructions. Having excluded X *ada* Y=*nya*, X *ber*-Y-*kan* Z, and X Y-*an* as possessive verbal constructions, X *memiliki* Y, X *mempunyai* Y, X *punya* Y, X *ada* Y, and X *ber*-Y can be roughly clustered into two groups: X *memiliki* Y, X *mempunyai* Y, X *punya* Y, X *ada* Y in one group and X *ber*-Y in another group (see Figure 3).

Each group has its own category of possessee and we can see that X *ber*-Y, has a special characteristic and takes a different kind of possessee (see Figure 4 and Figure 5). I regard that this is because the prefix *ber*-, attached to the possessee, connects the possessor and possessee more directly than possessive verbs and the existential verb, which intervene between the possessor and possessee. Moreover, the prefix *ber*- plus possessee has the sense 'property-indicating' or 'adjectival'.

Lastly, I also clustered the possessors in Figure 6 and the consultants in Figure 7. I would like to mention in passing that the person of the possessor does not affect the acceptability of sentences in the possessive predicate construction. I found that there is no reason to divide possessors into singular and

plural number, as well as to divide possessors into first, second, and third personal pronouns. The clustering of consultants shows us an interesting fact that the consultants can be roughly clustered into two groups: the ones who are natives of Jakarta and the others who are not.

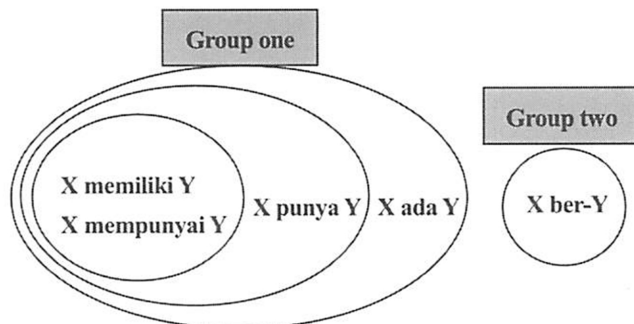


Figure 3. Clustering of *X memiliki Y*, *X mempunyai Y*, *X punya Y*, *X ada Y*, and *X ber-Y*

<i>X memiliki Y</i>	+++	++	+
<i>X mempunyai Y</i>	+++	++	+
<i>X punya Y</i>	+++	++	+
<i>X ada Y</i>	+++		+
<i>mata</i> 'eye'	<i>khasiat</i> 'efficacy'		
<i>jantung</i> 'heart'	<i>janggut/jenggot</i> 'beard'		
<i>ekor</i> 'tail'	<i>pakaian</i> 'clothes'		
<i>bunga</i> 'flower'	<i>kacamata</i> 'glasses'		
<i>dinding</i> 'wall'	<i>senjata</i> 'weapon'		
<i>ibu</i> 'mother'	<i>selimut</i> 'blanket'		
<i>kakek</i> 'grandfather'	<i>buku</i> 'book'		
<i>mertua</i> 'father-in-law'	<i>rumah</i> 'house'	<i>acara</i>	<i>karat</i> 'rust'
mother-in-law'	<i>uang</i> 'money'	'event'	<i>uban</i> 'gray hair'
<i>kakak</i> 'elder brother/sister'	<i>anjing</i> 'dog'	<i>pertanyaan</i>	<i>rapat</i> 'meeting'
<i>adik</i> 'younger brother/sister'	<i>sesuatu</i> 'something'	'question'	<i>jerawat</i> 'pimples'
<i>teman</i> 'friend'	<i>pacar</i> 'girlfriend/boyfriend'		<i>tes</i> 'test'
<i>suami/istri</i> 'husband/wife'	<i>dokter pribadi</i> 'personal doctor'		
<i>anak</i> 'child'	<i>penyakit</i> 'disease'		
<i>hak</i> 'right'	<i>bagian dalam yang kosong</i>		
<i>nama</i> 'name'	'empty space'		
			<i>flu</i> 'flu'
			<i>demam</i> 'fever'
			<i>keringat</i> 'sweat'

Figure 4. Continuum of possesseees in group one (+++: considered acceptable by around 17-18 consultants, ++: considered acceptable by around 11-17 consultants, +: considered acceptable by around 4-11 consultants)

Considered acceptable by 17-18 consultants	Considered acceptable by 14-16 consultants	Considered acceptable by 10-13 consultants	Considered acceptable by 4-9 consultants	Considered acceptable by 0-3 consultants	(not having possessive meaning)
<i>hak</i> 'right' <i>mata</i> 'eye' <i>dinding</i> 'wall' <i>khasiat</i> 'efficacy' <i>karat</i> 'rust' <i>uban</i> 'gray hair' <i>jerawat</i> 'pimples' <i>janggut</i> 'beard' <i>ekor</i> 'tail' <i>bunga</i> 'flower' <i>suami/istri</i> 'husband/wife'	<i>nama</i> 'name' <i>penyakit</i> 'disease' <i>jantung</i> 'heart' <i>uang</i> 'money'	<i>ibu</i> 'mother' <i>kakek</i> 'grandfather' <i>kakak</i> 'elder brother/sister' <i>adik</i> 'younger brother/sister' <i>anak</i> 'child'	<i>mertua</i> 'father-in-law/ mother-in-law' <i>pacar</i> 'girlfriend/ boyfriend' <i>rumah</i> 'house' <i>bagian dalam</i> <i>yang kosong</i> 'empty space'	<i>pertanyaan</i> 'question' <i>acara</i> 'event' <i>rapat</i> 'meeting' <i>tes</i> 'test' <i>demam</i> 'fever' <i>flu</i> 'flu' <i>buku</i> 'book' <i>anjing</i> 'dog' <i>sesuatu</i> 'something' <i>dokter pribadi</i> 'personal doctor'	<i>pesta</i> 'party' <i>teman</i> 'friend' <i>pakaian</i> 'clothes' <i>kacamata</i> 'glasses' <i>senjata</i> 'weapon' <i>selimut</i> 'blanket' <i>keringat</i> 'sweat'

Figure 5. Continuum of possesseees in group two (X ber-Y)

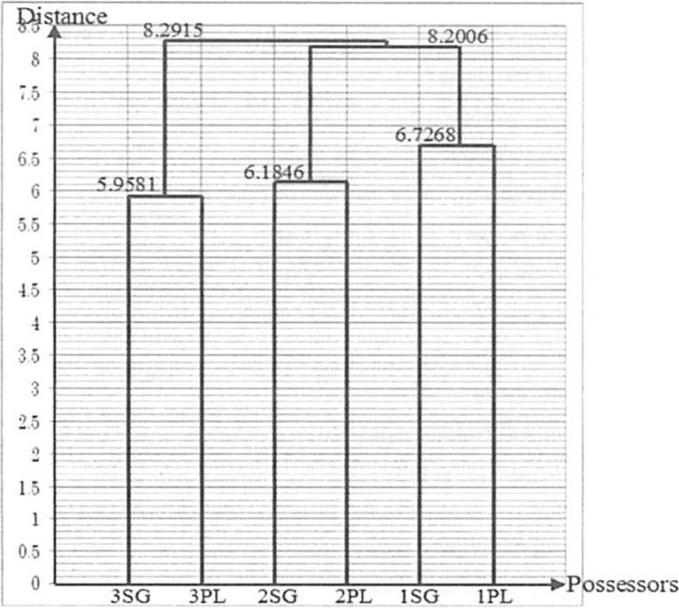


Figure 6. A dendrogram illustrating the clustering of possessors

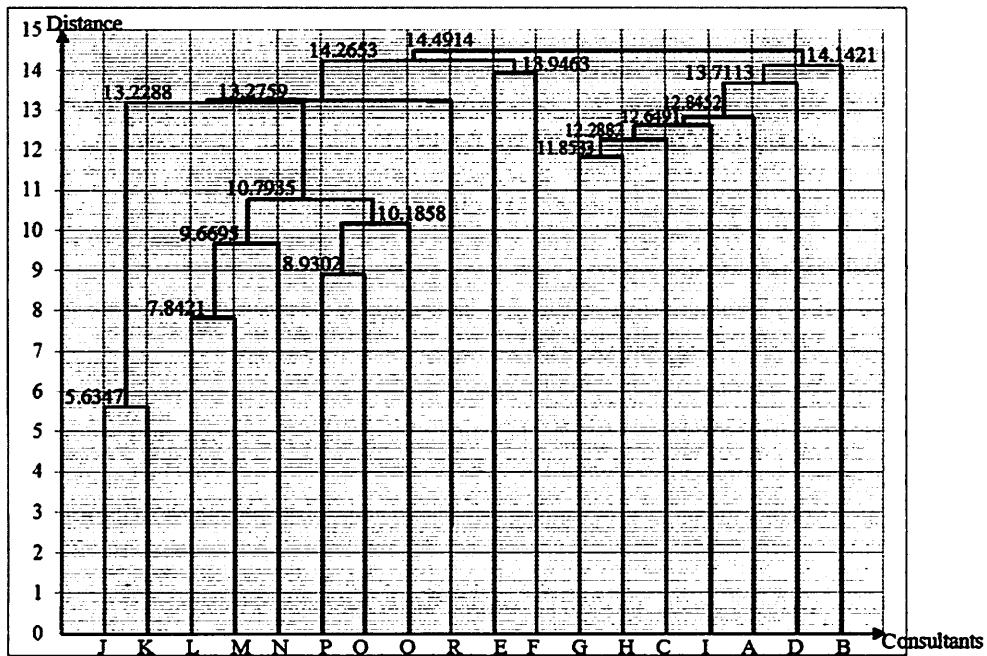


Figure 7. A dendrogram illustrating the clustering of consultants

6. Conclusion

As discussed in Section 5, we may conclude that:

1. *X ada Y=nya*, *X ber-Y-kan Z*, and *X Y-an* cannot be regarded as typical possessive verbal predicate constructions. Thus, only five constructions, i.e. *X memiliki Y*, *X mempunyai Y*, *X punya Y*, *X ada Y*, *X ber-Y*, can be regarded as 'possessives' in Indonesian.
2. One construction, i.e. *X ber-Y*, has a special characteristic and takes a different kind of possessee.
3. Singular, plural, first, second, and third personal pronouns of the possessor do not affect the acceptability of the constructions.

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 : First, second, and third person
 APP : Applicative suffix
 AV : Actor voice prefix
 CL : Classifier
 COP : Copula
 DP : Discourse particle
 EXIST : Existential verb
 IMP : Imperative
 LOC : Locative preposition

NEG : Negative
 PERF : Perfective aspect
 PL : Plural number
 REL : Relativizer
 SG : Singular number
 UV : Undergoer voice prefix
 '=' indicates a clitic boundary
 '-' indicates a bound morpheme boundary

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インドネシア語の所有動詞述語構文

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キーワード：インドネシア語、所有、クラスター分析

要旨

インドネシア語の所有動詞述語構文について、その使い分けの条件や法則性、傾向（形態論、統語論、意味論の側面）を考察する。Moeljadi (2010)では、インドネシア語に8つの所有動詞述語構文（*X memiliki Y*, *X mempunyai Y*, *X punya Y*, *X ada Y*, *X ada Y=nya*, *X ber-Y*, *X ber-Y-kan Z*, and *X Y-an*）¹⁶があると述べ、母語話者としての内省で分析し、レジスターと '(in)alienability' が所有を表わす動詞述語の使い分けに重要な役割を担っていると主張した。主に内省で分析した Moeljadi (2010) に対して、筆者は2010年及び2011年に調査を行い、より客観的に分析を試みた。その調査から得られたデータはクラスター分析で分析した。結論としては、(1) 5つの構文（*X memiliki Y*, *X mempunyai Y*, *X punya Y*, *X ada Y*, *X ber-Y*）だけが所有構文として見做され、(2) *X ber-Y* は他の4つの構文に比べて、違う特性を持っており、違う所有物をとる。最後に、(3) 所有者の人称による構文の違いが現れない。

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¹⁶ X, Y, Z はそれぞれ「所有者」、「所有物」、「補語」を表わす。