

Possessive Predicate Constructions in Indonesian

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Preface

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Linguistics at the University of Tokyo. This graduation thesis has profited greatly from the help, support, advice and comments of linguistics professors, Austronesian experts, and a number of friends. Most of all, my gratitude is due to my supervisor, Professor Hayasi, for lots of ideas and comments. I feel I should also direct my gratitude towards Professor Tsunoda, for giving me the inspiration to write about ‘possession’. If I did not take his class in summer 2009, I would not have realized that Indonesian has many possessive predicate constructions.

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List of Abbreviations

In this paper the following abbreviations have been used:

| | |
|---------|---|
| 1, 2, 3 | First, second, and third Person |
| -an | Suffix <i>-an</i> , its function is explained in 7.3.3 |
| APP | Applicative suffix: <i>-i</i> , <i>-kan</i> |
| AT | Agent-Trigger prefix: <i>meN-</i> |
| ber- | Prefix <i>ber-</i> , its functions are described in 7.3.1 |
| CL | Classifier |
| COP | Copula |
| DP | Discourse Particle |
| EXCL | Exclusive |
| EXIST | Existential verb |
| FOC | Focus particle: <i>-lah</i> |
| HI | High variety of Indonesian (formal Indonesian) |
| IMP | Imperative |
| INCL | Inclusive |
| LI | Low variety of Indonesian (informal Indonesian) |
| LOC | Locative preposition: <i>di</i> and <i>pada</i> |
| NEG | Negative |
| NOM | Nominalizer |
| NP | Noun Phrase |
| =nya | Enclitic <i>=nya</i> , its functions are described in 7.2.2 |
| PERF | Perfective aspect |
| PL | Plural number |

PROG Progressive aspect

PT Patient-Trigger prefix: *di-*

QP Question particle: *-kah*

RE Reduplication

REL Relativizer: *yang*

SG Singular number

TOP Topic marker

VP Verb Phrase

Clitics are indicated by an equals sign (=)

Bound morphemes are indicated by a hyphen (-)

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1. Introduction

‘Possession’ is universal in language. We perceive that ‘somebody’ has ‘something’ and we realize this ‘thought’ usually through language sounds. We often say “*I have no time*”, “*He has a car*”, “*Do you have a brother?*” etc. in our everyday communication. We can not encode this ‘possession’ concept directly to sounds without a language system as the connection between them.

The way of encoding this ‘possession’ concept varies according to languages. English has, for example, three verbs which function as possessive predicates. We say “*You have a car*”, “*You own a car*” or “*You possess a car*”; “*I have a brother*” but not “*I own a brother*”; and “*He has pimples*” but not “*He possesses pimples*”. While in Chinese only one verb can function as a possessive predicate.

The problem of how each language system encodes the notion of ‘possession’ in each different way has been investigated in many Western (Indo-European) languages. In other language families, however, such as the Austronesian language family, this process of encoding the notion of ‘possession’ is not yet completely understood.

Despite this problem being very important for descriptive grammarians as well as learners of Indonesian, few studies have dealt with possessive constructions in Indonesian. This paper will look at the possessive predicates in Indonesian. The problem of how Indonesian encodes the ‘possessive’ notion in various types of possessive predicate construction will be discussed from various aspects.

Factors contributing to the functional differentiation of the possessive predicates in constructions are examined in this paper, i.e. the morphosyntactic environment, semantics, pragmatics, and the register. The results can be broadly divided into two areas: first, the register and the relation between the objects possessed and the

‘(in)alienability’ notion play important roles in the encoding process. Secondly, I hypothesize that the enclitic =*nya* functions as an ‘inalienability marker’ in the possessive construction with the existential verb *ada* and the ‘inalienable’ objects.

The encoding of ‘possession’ has a close relation with the objects that are possessed (possessee) in many languages. There are objects that are ‘inherent’ or ‘inseparable’ from the subject who possesses (possessor), such as ‘head’, ‘heart’ etc. We call these objects as ‘inalienable’ objects. On the other hand, there are objects that are ‘transferable’ or ‘separable’ from the possessor, such as ‘book’, ‘car’ etc. We call these objects as ‘alienable’ objects. However, the distinction/classification of ‘inalienable’ and ‘alienable’ objects depends on the societies and cultures (Sneddon 2009:7). This paper examines this ‘(in)alienability’ notion in Indonesian. The relation between the possessee and the ‘(in)alienability’ notion plays an important role in encoding the ‘possessive’ notion in Indonesian.

The possessive construction with the existential verb *ada* has the sense of ‘availability of the possessee at a certain point in time’ and ‘temporary possession’. However, this construction can also express the sense of ‘having inalienable objects’ or ‘permanent possession’. In this case, I found that the ‘inalienable’ object must be attached to =*nya* regardless of the ‘person’ and ‘number’ of the possessor. I hypothesize this =*nya*, which originally functions as a third singular pronominal enclitic, as an ‘inalienability marker’, marking a very close relationship between the possessor and the possessee.

These results are important for linguists who are dealing with ‘Possession’ and/or ‘(In)alienability’, Indonesian learners who are having troubles with various types of possessive predicates, and for Indonesian linguists. The ‘new’ function of =*nya* which I hypothesize in this paper is one of the problems left for study in the future.

2. Overview of Indonesian

2.1 Basic Data

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, the fourth most populous nation in the world, as the sole official national language¹ and as the common language for hundreds of ethnic groups living there². In Indonesia 22.8 million people speak Indonesian as their first language, while more than 140 million speak it as their second language (Data from Ethnologue).

2.2 Phonology

I refer to Alwi et al. (2000:55-80) for phonetics and phonology in Indonesian. Six phonemes are in the Indonesian vowel system: /i/, /e/, /ə/, /a/, /o/, and /u/; orthographically <i>, <e> for /e/ and /ə/, <a>, <o>, and <u>. The allophones are: [i], [ɪ], [e], [ɛ], [ə], [a], [o], [ɔ], [u], [ʊ]. There are also three diphthongs, phonemically: /ay/, /aw/ and /oy/; orthographically <ai>, <au>, and <oi>. Twenty two phonemes are in the Indonesian consonant system: /p/, /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/, /g/, /c/, /j/, /f/, /s/, /z/, /ç/, /x/, /h/, /m/, /n/, /ɲ/, /ŋ/, /r/, /l/, /w/, /y/; orthographically <p>, , <t>, <d>, <k>, <g>, <c>, <j>, <f>, <s>, <z>, <sy>, <kh>, <h>, <m>, <n>, <ng>, <ny>, <r>, <l>, <w>, <y>, and the allophones amount to twenty seven. /c/ and /j/ are alveolo-palatal affricatives. /k/ can be a glottal stop word-finally. The possible syllable structures are: V, VC, CV, CVC, CVCC,

¹ It is stated in Section XV, article 36 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia (*Undang-Undang Dasar Negara Republik Indonesia Tahun 1945 Bab XV Pasal 36*) that the language of the state is “bahasa Indonesia” (*Bahasa Negara ialah Bahasa Indonesia*).

² See Alwi et al. (2000:1-2).

CVCCC, CCV, CCVC, CCCV, CCCVC, and CCVCC.

2.3 Morphosyntax

Morphosyntactically, Indonesian is an agglutinative SVO language. Tense, number, gender and case morphemes do not have an important role in the grammar system. Indonesian has many affixes (prefixes, suffixes, circumfixes and unproductive infixes) for derivation of nouns, adjectives, adverbs, numbers and verbs. When affixes combine with roots or stems, a number of phonetic/phonological alternations through morphophonemic processes occur.

2.4 Spelling System

The present-day official Perfected Spelling (*Ejaan yang Disempurnakan*)³ is used for the spelling system in this paper. Example sentences from sources using the former spellings – the Ophuijsen Spelling and Soewandi Spelling – are changed to the Perfected Spelling. Indonesian words, phrases and examples are presented in italics in certain circumstances in order to make them easier to distinguish from English words.

2.5 Linguistic Varieties

The Indonesian language is a diglossic language. Indonesian has the High variety, which is based on Riau Malay of northeast Sumatra and the Low variety, which is based on the colloquial variety in Jakarta – the capital city, the centre of the mass media and the melting-pot of people from different cultural backgrounds in Indonesia – (see Map 1).

³ Before the Perfected Spelling (*Ejaan yang Disempurnakan*), which was announced officially in 1972, there were Van Ophuijsen Spelling (1901) and Soewandi Spelling (1947). For the details, see Alwi et al. (2000:16), Sneddon (2003:128), Anwar (1980:82-95), and Jones (1978:vii).

The High variety – also called *bahasa resmi* ‘official language’, *bahasa formal* ‘formal language’ or *bahasa baku* ‘standard language’ – has the status of the language of government, law, administration, formal situations, mass media, literature and education. Sneddon (2003:9) states that the development of the High variety began from the decision of the Dutch authorities in Indonesia in the 19th century. The Dutch authorities ordered that Malay-language education would use High Malay or Riau Malay, the style having evolved in Classical Malay literature⁴. On the other hand, the Low variety – also called *bahasa (percakapan) sehari-hari* ‘daily (conversational) language’, *bahasa informal* ‘informal language’ or *bahasa takbaku* ‘non-standard language’ – is used in colloquial speech, magazines for urban youths, popular literature, popular songs, films, television serials, and variety shows on television. The prestige Low variety – Sneddon (2006) calls this as ‘Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian’ – has emerged in the speech of the educated middle-class people in Jakarta, which is developing into a standard colloquial variety of the language.

Each variety mentioned above seems to have its own phonology, morphology, syntactical and lexical systems but the reality is, as is stated by Sneddon (2006:ix), that while one can make a statement of formal Indonesian which omits any reference to the purely informal variety, the reverse is not possible. Even in the most informal social settings some elements of formal speech will at times occur.

Besides the formal and informal varieties of Indonesian, regional languages and/or ethnic languages also play a role in the diglossic situation in Indonesia (see Table 1). However, only informal Indonesian or ‘Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian’ will be mentioned as the Low variety in this paper.

⁴ See also Alwi et al. (2000:12, 15).



Map 1. The Location of The Origin of The High and The Low Varieties in Indonesia (Source: <http://www.geographicguide.net/asia/indonesia.htm>, with additional information)

Table 1. Diglossic Situation in Indonesia

| | |
|--|-------|
| Formal Indonesian (based on Riau Malay) | High |
| Informal Indonesian (Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian) | Low 1 |
| Regional languages | Low 2 |
| Ethnic languages, languages spoken at home | Low 3 |

In this paper, formal Indonesian or the High variety of Indonesian is abbreviated to HI and informal Indonesian or the Low variety of Indonesian is abbreviated to LI. The difference between HI and LI is, for example, for addressing the first singular person pronoun *saya* is used in HI, while in LI *aku*, *gue*, or *gua*; suffix *-kan* in HI, while in LI *-in*. In each example sentence, I tried to add information about the variety (HI or LI) mainly based on my intuition as a native speaker.

2.6 The Sample

The examples of phrases and clauses (constructions) in HI are drawn from:

1. *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia Daring* – an internet site of *Kamus besar bahasa Indonesia* ‘A comprehensive dictionary of the Indonesian language’ –
2. Alwi et al. (2000)
3. several Indonesian reference grammars such as Sneddon (1996)
4. previous works about possession in Indonesian such as Hopper (1972)
5. Indonesian textbooks such as Liaw (2004)
6. newspaper articles uploaded to the Internet – *KOMPAS.com*.

For LI constructions, examples are drawn from:

1. discourse transcriptions in Sneddon (2006)
2. previous works about possession in Indonesian such as Alieva (1992)
3. Indonesian textbooks such as Liaw (2004).

Precise sources will be given at the end of each example. Finally, examples are also drawn from my own language experience and are checked with my Indonesian friends as mentioned in ‘Preface’. Also, the gloss and translation of each construction are drawn directly from the sources if they are provided in the sources, if not, I made the gloss and translation.

3. Outline of The Constructions within The Scope of This Paper

3.1 Nominal Predicate Constructions

In a ‘Nominal Predicate’ clause with two NPs, NP1 functions as the subject and NP2 functions as the predicate in the construction; thus the main semantic content of the predicate is realized in a NP.

Indonesian has three ways to make a nominal predicate clause. The most common way or the ‘unmarked’ way for both HI and LI is to place the two NPs side by side with no copula in between, as in Subject-Complement sentences such as (3-1) and (3-2). The second way is with a copula⁵ intervening the two NPs, as in HI sentences such as (3-3), (3-4), and (3-5). The third way is to make NP2 focused (with the focus particle *-lah*⁶) and to put no copula, as in a HI sentence like (3-6). The focused NP (NP2) is always located in the beginning of the construction and is the predicate, while the following NP (NP1) is the subject.

In the discourse, NP1 is the old information and NP2 is the new information.

(3-1) Dia guru saya. (HI)

3SG teacher 1SG

‘S/he is my teacher.’ (Alwi et al. 2000:351, own translation)

⁵ There are at least three copulas (*adalah, ialah, merupakan*) used in nominal predicate clauses in Indonesian. The copula *adalah* is derived from the existential verb *ada* ‘to exist’ and the focus particle *-lah*. The copula *ialah* is derived from the third singular pronoun *ia* ‘s/he’ and the focus particle *-lah*. The last one, *merupakan*, is derived from a noun *rupa* ‘form, figure, appearance, sort’, Agent-Trigger prefix *me-* and Applicative suffix *-kan*; thus the original meaning is ‘to form, to shape, to constitute’. For more details, see Alwi et al. (2000:351), Hopper (1972:130-132) and Liaw (2004:191-192). Yap (2007:20) notes that the copulas *adalah* and *ialah* are more commonly seen in formal writing and appear to be of relatively recent origin.

⁶ Sneddon (1996:261) calls *-lah* as a ‘predicative marker’ and a ‘foreground marker’.

- (3-2) Ini temen gue. (LI)
 this friend 1SG
 ‘This is my friend.’ (own data)
- (3-3) Pemberhentian se-orang karyawan **adalah** masalah biasa. (HI)
 dismissal one-CL employee COP matter common
 ‘The dismissal of an employee is a common matter.’ (Alwi et al. 2000:351, own translation)
- (3-4) Bahasa Negara **ialah**⁷ Bahasa Indonesia. (HI)
 language country COP language Indonesia
 ‘The language of the state is bahasa Indonesia.’ (The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, Section XV, 36th article)
- (3-5) Kebijakan Pemerintah itu **merupakan** langkah penting. (HI)
 policy government that COP step important
 ‘That government policy is an important step.’ (Alwi et al. 2000:340, own translation)
- (3-6) Orang itu-**lah** tukang kebun kami. (HI)
 person that-FOC gardener 1PL.EXCL
 ‘It is that man who is our gardener.’ (Hopper 1972:130)

⁷ The third person singular pronoun *ia*, as has been explained before, is the source of copula *ialah*. The first and the second person can not precede *ialah*. The third person singular pronoun *ia* is also the source of the third singular pronoun (3SG) enclitic =*nya* and the relative clause marker *yang*.

3.2 Locative Predicate Constructions

An obligatory locative phrase with a locative preposition (abbreviated to LOC) *di* or *pada*⁸ forms the core part of the locative predicate construction in Indonesian. The existential verb *ada* ‘to exist’ is optional in locative predicate constructions. In HI, the prefix *ber-* can be attached to the existential verb *ada*, deriving an intransitive verb *berada*, which has the same meaning as the verb *ada*, as in (3-8). The existential verbs *ada* and *berada* here have the syntactic similarity with the copulas *adalah*, *ialah*, and *merupakan* in the sense that they may be absent in the construction.

In the discourse, the ‘located’ NP is the old information and is usually definite, as in (3-7), (3-8), and (3-9), or generic, as in (3-10). On the other hand, the NP which is in the locational phrase contains new information.

- (3-7) Ayah (**ada**) **di** kantor. (HI, LI)
father EXIST LOC office
‘Father is in the office.’ (Sneddon 1996:264)

- (3-8) Ia (**ber**)**ada pada** suatu gubuk. (HI)
3SG EXIST LOC a hut
‘He is in a hut.’ (Kähler 1965:144, own translation)

- (3-9) a. Buku=*nya* **di** atas meja. (LI)
book=*nya*⁹ LOC on table

⁸ *pada* is a HI locative preposition. In LI, it is hardly ever used.

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. But here, *=nya* functions either as a definite marker or as a 3SG possessive enclitic. For the details of the functions of *=nya*, see 7.2.2.

‘The/her/his book is on the table.’ (own data)

b. Buku itu **ada di** atas meja. (HI, LI)

book that EXIST LOC on table

‘That book is on the table.’ (own data)

c. Buku itu **berada di** atas meja. (HI)

book that EXIST LOC on table

‘That book is on the table.’ (own data)

(3-10) Harimau **ada di** hutan. (HI, LI)

tiger EXIST LOC forest

‘Tigers are in the forest.’ (own data)

(3-11) **Ada pada** kapal itu seseorang. (HI)

EXIST LOC ship that someone

‘Someone is in that ship.’ (own data)

(3-12) a. **Di** Jakarta-**lah** ia. (HI)

LOC Jakarta-FOC 3SG

‘It is in Jakarta where he is.’ (Kähler 1965:150, own translation)

b. **Di** Jakarta-**lah** ia **berada**. (HI)

LOC Jakarta-FOC 3SG EXIST

‘It is in Jakarta where he is.’ (own data, based on example (3-12a))

(3-13) Fasilitas Wi-fi cuman **di** sini **ada=nya**. (LI)

facility Wi-fi only LOC here EXIST=*nya*¹⁰

‘As for Wi-fi facility, it is only here.’ (own data)

(3-14) Harimau **di** hutan **ada=nya**, bukan¹¹ **di** laut. (LI)

tiger LOC forest EXIST=*nya*¹² NEG LOC sea

‘As for tigers, they are in the forest, not in the sea.’ (own data)

3.3 Existential Predicate Constructions

The ‘Existential Predicate’ construction requires an obligatory existential verb *ada* ‘to exist’ with or without the locative phrase. The NP which ‘exists’ can be placed before or after the existential verb *ada*. The NP which is placed before the existential verb should be the old information and the NP which is located after the existential verb should be the new information in the discourse.

(3-15) Tuhan **ada**. (HI, LI)

God EXIST

‘God exists.’ (Sneddon 1996:263)

¹⁰ Here the enclitic *=nya* functions as a nominalizer. For the details of the functions of *=nya*, see 7.2.2.

¹¹ There are two negation words in general: *bukan* (HI, LI) and *tidak* (HI). Basically, *bukan* negates nouns, while *tidak* (or *kagak*, *nggak*, *ngga*, *gak*, *ga* in LI) negates verbs and adjectives.

¹² *=nya* functions as a nominalizer here.

- (3-16) Hantu itu **ada**. (HI, LI)
 spirit TOP EXIST
 ‘Spirits exist.’ ‘There are such things as spirits.’ (Hopper 1972:134)
- (3-17) Orang itu masih **ada**. (HI, LI)
 person that still EXIST
 ‘That person still exists.’ ‘That person is still alive.’ (own data)
- (3-18) * Seseorang **ada**.
 Somebody EXIST
 ‘Somebody exists.’ (own data)
- (3-19) **Ada** hantu. (HI, LI)
 EXIST spirits
 ‘There are spirits.’ (Hopper 1972:134)
- (3-20) a. **Ada** se-orang tamu. (HI, LI)
 EXIST one-CL guest
 ‘There is a guest.’ (Alwi et al. 2000:364, own translation)
- b. * **Ada** tamu itu.
 EXIST guest that
 ‘There is that guest.’ (Alwi et al. 2000:364, own translation)

(3-21) **Ada** koran **di** meja. (HI, LI)

EXIST newspaper LOC table

‘There is a newspaper on the table.’ (Sneddon 1996:264)

(3-22) * **Ada** pencuri itu **di** halaman.

EXIST robber that LOC garden

‘There is that robber in the garden.’ (Alwi et al. 2000:364, own translation)

(3-23) a. **Ada** pondok **di** kaki bukit itu. (HI, LI)

EXIST hut LOC foot hill that

‘There is a hut at the foot of that hill.’ (Hopper 1972:133)

b. **Di** kaki bukit itu **ada** pondok. (HI, LI)

LOC foot hill that EXIST hut

‘At the foot of that hill, there is a hut.’ (Hopper 1972:134)

One of the differences between the locative predicate and the existential predicate construction in Indonesian can be stated in discourse-pragmatic terms. In locative sentences, the location, i.e. the locative phrase, is regarded as the new information or the focus, and hence it is obligatory. In contrast, the element which exists in the existential predicate construction functions as the focus and obligatory. Thus, in locative predicate constructions the existential verb *ada* can either be non-existent or be existent, interchanged with *berada* without difference in meaning while in existential predicate constructions this is impossible. Table 2 summarizes the word orders in affirmative of the three constructions mentioned above.

Table 2. The Word Orders in Affirmative of Nominal Predicate Constructions, Locative Predicate Constructions, and Existential Predicate Constructions in Indonesian

| Nominal Predicate Constructions | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------|------------------|----|--------------|-----------|
| [NP] | (COP) | [NP] | | [NP] | |
| | | [NP]-FOC | | | |
| Locative Predicate Constructions | | | | | |
| [NP] | (EXIST) | [LOC [NP]] | | [NP] | |
| | (EXIST) | [LOC [NP]] | // | [NP] | |
| | | [LOC [NP]]-(FOC) | | [NP] | (EXIST) |
| [NP] | // | [LOC [NP]] | | | EXIST=nya |
| Existential Predicate Constructions | | | | | |
| [NP] | EXIST | | | | |
| ([LOC [NP]]) | EXIST | [NP] | | | |
| | EXIST | [NP] | // | ([LOC [NP]]) | |
| ↓ | | ↓ | | ↓ | |
| Old | | New | | Old | |

*[NP] ([LOC [NP]]) EXIST

[...] = *phrase*

(...) = *optional*

// = *pause*

Old = Old Information

New = New Information

COP = **adalah**/ialah/merupakan

FOC = -lah

LOC = **di**/pada

EXIST in LOCATIVE = **ada**/berada

EXIST in EXISTENTIAL = **ada**

4. Overview of ‘Possessive Expression’ in Indonesian

4.1 Basic Notion

In ‘Possessive Expression’ basically there are two entities (NPs) that take part in and “in contact” or correlate each other, i.e. a possessor or NP1 (hereafter X) and a possessed item or NP2 (hereafter Y), which also can be called a possessee or a possessum. X dominates Y, and thus X has a higher status than Y.

Everyone will agree that the following example is a ‘real’ possession.

(4-1) John has a car.

However, I assume that not everyone will agree that examples from (4-2) to (4-6), which look similar to (4-1), express ‘possession’.

(4-2) I have a brother.

(4-3) He has pimples.

(4-4) They have a party.

(4-5) You have a sore throat.

(4-6) This house has four windows.

Example (4-1) above is a ‘core’ or a ‘prototypical’ possession. Stassen (2009:15) formulates the characteristics of prototypical ‘Possessive Expression’ as follows:

A prototypical case of possession is characterized by the presence of two entities (the possessor and the possessee) such that

a) the possessor and the possessee are in some relatively enduring¹³ locational¹⁴

¹³ Taylor (1989) in Stassen (2009:12) notes that the prototypical possessive relation is to be viewed as holding for an enduring length of time: ‘possession has no conceivable temporal limit’ and ‘the relationship of possession is a long-term one, measured in months or years rather than in minutes or seconds’. Thus, the prototypical possessive relation is ‘Permanent’, compared with ‘Temporary Possession’ which can be characterized in terms of availability at a certain point in time (Stassen 2009:19).

¹⁴ Stassen (2009:11) remarks as follows: “X and Y share the same space and are in ‘Contact’. The

- relation, and
- b) the possessor exerts control¹⁵ over the possessee (and is therefore typically human).

Authors in many previous studies, such as Heine (1997) and Stassen (2009), state that generally there are two ways of encoding the ‘Possessive Expression’; the relation of possession between the possessor (X) and the possessee (Y) can either be encoded in a phrase, i.e. ‘Attributive (or Adnominal) Possession’¹⁶, as in English “*John’s car*”, or in a clause, i.e. ‘Predicative Possession’, as in English “*This car belongs to John*” and “*John has a car*”.

4.2 The Definition of Possessive Predicate Construction in This Paper

The domain of ‘Possessive Expression’ is divided into two subdomains, the one is encoded in a phrase and the other is encoded in a clause, according to the nature of Indonesian linguistics (see Figure 1). ‘Possessive Expression’ which is encoded in a clause – ‘Predicative Possession’ – is mainly divided into two constructions. Heine (1997) calls these constructions as ‘Belong-construction’ and ‘Have-construction’. In this paper I do not call the first construction as ‘Belong-construction’ since in Indonesian there is no verb that represents ‘to belong’. I call this construction ‘Nominal Predicate Possession’ instead. The second construction – ‘Have-construction’ – is called ‘Verbal Predicate Possession’ instead, and this construction will be the focus of this paper.

notion of ‘space’ intended here should be taken to include not only ‘concrete’ or ‘physical’ space, but also more abstract extentions like ‘mental space’ or ‘sphere of influence’.

¹⁵ Stassen (2009:14) notes that it is the possessor that determines the whereabouts of the possessee and generally determines what happens to it, and it is the possessor who is the decisive factor in continuing or terminating the possessive relation with the possessee.

¹⁶ This construction is called as ‘Attributive Possession’ in this paper.

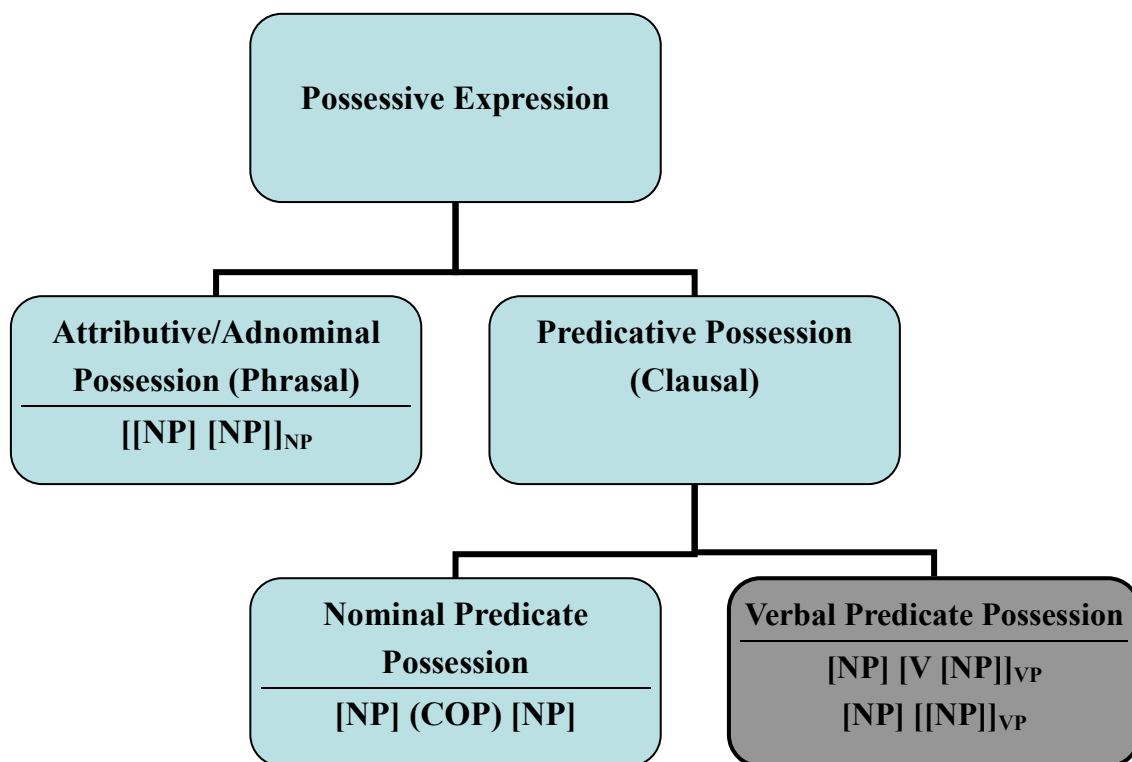


Figure 1. The Division of ‘Possessive Expression’ in Indonesian

This paper deals with both the ‘prototypical possession’ mentioned above as well as the ‘peripheral possession’ as shown in examples from (4-2) to (4-6).

Since the ‘(in)alienability’ notion is a ‘socio-cultural’ concept (Stassen 2009:7), I decide to gather as many types of nouns as I can as examples in this paper. Those various types of nouns include ‘body-parts’ such as: ‘head’, ‘mouth’ etc.; ‘abstract nouns’ such as: ‘thought’, ‘use’, etc.; ‘kinship roles’ such as: ‘mother’, ‘sister’; ‘social relation’ such as: ‘friend’, ‘neighbour’; ‘belongings’ such as: ‘car’, ‘book’ etc., and so on. I regard ‘body-parts’ as the core part of ‘inalienable’ nouns and ‘belongings’ as the core part of ‘alienable’ nouns.

Examples of each construction are presented in the following subsections.

4.3 Phrase Level (Attributive Possession)

Attributive Possession consists essentially of two NPs connected to one another in a specific way, creating a phrase (NP) which expresses possession. There are many constructions of Attributive Possession in Indonesian, the unmarked one can be formulated as “Y X” with nothing between, as in (5-1).

- (5-1) rumah kita (HI, LI)
house 1PL.INCL
‘our house’ (own data)

4.4 Clause Level (Predicative Possession)

4.4.1 Nominal Predicate Possession

Possessive notion can also be expressed through ‘Nominal Predicate Construction’¹⁷, which is a clausal construction with NP as the predicate. The construction can be formulated as “Y (COP) NP X”, the NP between Y and X has the sense ‘property’, as in (6-1a).

- (6-1a) Tanah ini adalah **milik**¹⁸ negara. (HI)
land this COP property country
‘This land is the country’s property.’ ‘This land belongs to the country.’ (own data)

¹⁷ See 3.1 for the explanation of ‘Nominal Predicate Construction’.

¹⁸ The word *milik* comes from the Arabic word *m-l-k* (*milk*), has the sense ‘property’ (see Jones, Russell 1978:57,xxx). 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’. In this paper, *milik* is glossed as ‘property’.

4.4.2 Verbal Predicate Possession

Verbal Predicate Possession is the theme of this paper. Verbal Predicate Possession is a clausal construction expressing possession with VP as the predicate. In Indonesian this type of possessive construction can be encoded in three ways based on the main verb in VP: ‘constructions with possessive verbs’, ‘constructions with the existential verb *ada*’, and ‘constructions with the denominal affixes’.

The constructions with possessive verbs can be formulated as “**X memiliki Y**” as in (7-1); “**X mempunyai Y**” as in (7-17); and “**X punya Y**” as in (7-29). The constructions with the existential verb: “**X ada Y**” is illustrated in (7-44) and “**X ada Y=nya**” in (7-67). The constructions with the denominal affixes can be formulated as “**X ber-Y**” as in (7-86); “**X ber-Y-kan Z**”¹⁹ as in (7-111); and “**X Y-an**” as in (7-119).

(7-1) Eka **me-milik-i**²⁰ 5 kemeja batik, ... (HI)

Eka AT-property-APP 5 shirt batik

‘Eka has 5 batik shirts, ...’ (*Busana Batik Bisa Dikemas Tak Terlalu Formal* in KOMPAS.com 2009/10/01, own translation)

¹⁹ ‘**Z**’ is a ‘Complement’ (Sneddon 1996:110) which functions to specify Y.

²⁰ The verb *memiliki* is derived from *milik* (see footnote 18).

(7-17) Adi **mem-punya-i**²¹ banyak uang dan juga banyak teman. (HI)

Adi AT-owner-APP many money and also many friend

‘Adi has a lot of money and also friends.’ (own data)

(7-29) Gue **punya**²² dua orang kakak perempuan. (LI)

1SG owner two CL older.sibling female

‘I have two elder sisters.’ (Sneddon 2006:199)

(7-44) Ia **ada**²³ anak banyak. (LI)

3SG EXIST child many

‘S/he has many children.’ (Hopper 1972:139)

(7-67) Rumah ini **ada** beranda=**nya**²⁴. (LI)

house this EXIST verandah=**nya**

‘This house has its verandah.’ (Alieva 1992:16)

²¹ The verb *mempunyai* is derived from the root *punya*, which itself consists of (*em*)*pu* and *=nya* and is complex morphemically. The origin of the root *punya* is from an 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 (brahmans and others) and joined to a proper or categorical noun (“sir”, “lord”, “master”, “the honorable or reverend” (Zoetmulder 1982:1149), ‘ancient title for scholars, poets, outstanding artists, master craftsmen’ (Horne 1974:168). Yap (2007:11) notes that Classical Malay texts show frequent use of *empunya* as a lexical noun meaning ‘master, owner’ and eventually increasingly as a lexical verb *mempunyai* ‘to own, to possess’. In this paper, *punya* is glossed as ‘owner’, giving respect to its original meaning.

²² 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*. Yap (2007:11) also notes that the use of *punya* is now largely restricted to colloquial Malay (and Indonesian also).

²³ The existential verb *ada* here, although expresses possession, is glossed ‘EXIST’, exactly the same as in Locative Predicate Constructions in 3.2 and in Existential Predicate Constructions in 3.3.

²⁴ *=nya* here is a set with *ada* and has the relation with (in)alienability notion in Indonesian (see 7.2.2). The other functions of *=nya* are stated in 7.2.2.

(7-86) Pendapat=nya tidak **ber**-dasar. (HI)

opinion=nya NEG ber²⁵-basis

‘His opinion has no basis.’ (Sneddon 1996:111)

(7-110) Negara itu **ber**-senjata-**kan** bom nuklir. (HI)

country that ber-weapon-APP bomb nuclear

‘That country is armed with nuclear weapons/has nuclear weapons.’ (lit: ‘That country has nuclear bombs as weapons.’) (Sneddon 1996:110)

(7-118) Orang itu uban-**an**. (LI)

person that grey.hair-an²⁶

‘That person is grey-haired.’ (lit: ‘That person has lots of grey hair.’) (own data)

The following sections (Section 5 to Section 7) describe more detailed information of each construction.

²⁵ The functions of *ber-* are explained in 7.3.1.

²⁶ See 7.3.3 for the function of *-an*.

5. Attributive Possession

There are many ways to express ‘Attributive Possession’ in Indonesian. The most common, ‘unmarked’ construction can be formed by placing X immediately after Y as in (5-1) and (5-2) and can be formulated as “**Y X**”.

(5-1) rumah kita (HI, LI)

house 1PL.INCL

‘our house’ (own data)

(5-2) mobil teman Marni (HI, LI)

car friend Marni

‘Marni’s friend’s car’ (Sneddon 1996:144)

“**Y=nya X**”. The other way is with =nya²⁷, which has a function as a ligature here. A ligature =nya can occur immediately after Y as in (5-3), (5-4), (5-5) and (5-6).

(5-3) ibu=nya Suparjo (LI)

mother=nya Suparjo

‘Suparjo’s mother’ (Sneddon 1996:146)

²⁷ As has been mentioned in footnote 9, =nya is originally from the third person singular pronoun *ia* and has the original function as the third person singular pronominal enclitic. Here, we can see that the meaning has been extended from 3SG in (5-3) to 3PL in (5-4), then to 2SG as in (5-5) and finally to 1SG as in (5-6). In this case, the function of =nya has changed from 3SG enclitic to a mere ligature. For the other functions of =nya, see 7.2.2.

(5-4) Gua bingung gitu loh, konsep=**nya** dia orang. (LI)

1SG confused thus DP concept=**nya** 3PL

‘I’m confused about their concept.’ (Sneddon 2006:69)

(5-5) buku=**nya** elu (LI)

book=**nya** 2SG

‘your book’ (own data)

(5-6) tas=**nya** gue (LI)

bag=**nya** 1SG

‘my bag’ (own data)

“**Y dari(pada) X**”. The third way is with *dari(pada)*²⁸ ‘from’ which can occur Y and before X as in (5-7), (5-8), (5-9) and (5-10).

(5-7) guru **dari** guru saya (HI)

teacher from teacher 1SG

‘my teacher’s teacher’ (Sneddon 1996:145)

(5-8) sebagai “Kaichoo” (ketua) **dari** “Dokuritsu Zyunbi Tyoosakai” (HI)

as Kaichoo chairman from Dokuritsu Zyunbi Tyoosakai

‘as “Kaichoo” (chairman) of the “Dokuritsu Zyunbi Tyoosakai”’ (Macdonald and Soenjono 1967:141)

²⁸ *pada* is a locative preposition (see 3.2 and footnote 8). Here *pada* may be attached to *dari* ‘from’, forming *daripada* ‘from’. *Daripada* can replace *dari* in examples (5-7) until (5-9).

(5-9) kesatuan tanah air **dari** seluruh rakyat Indonesia (HI)
union land water from all people Indonesia
'a union of the native lands of all the peoples of Indonesia' (Macdonald and Soenjono 1967:141)

(5-10) Ayah **dari(pada)** ayah=nya orang Madura. (HI, LI)
father from father=nya²⁹ person Madura
'The father of his father is a Madurese.' (Liaw 2004:153, 158)

“X **punya** Y”³⁰. X may precede Y, separated by *punya*³¹, as in (5-11), (5-12), (5-13) and (5-14).

(5-11) Jaga-jaga kau **punya** barang³²! (LI)
look after 2SG owner stuff
'Look after your stuff!' (Yap 2007:11)

²⁹ The function of =*nya* here is as a third person singular (3SG) possessive pronominal enclitic.

³⁰ This attributive possession construction 'X punya Y' is similar as the verbal predicate possession construction 'X punya Y' (see 7.1.3). The way how to differentiate is by their function in a construction (attributive possession 'X punya Y' is a phrase while predicative possession 'X punya Y' is a clause), the situation in the discourse, and the intonation.

³¹ The possessive verb *punya*, whose origin has been explained in footnote 21, here functions as a genitive marker. It has gone through many paths of grammaticalization, having the function as a genitive marker in the final stage.

³² Without knowing the intonation and the situation in the discourse, *kau punya barang* can be interpreted either as a clause meaning 'You have stuff' or as a phrase meaning 'your stuff'.

(5-12) Jangan sentuh! Ini kan bukan lu **punya** barang³³. (LI)

NEG touch this DP NEG 2SG owner stuff

‘Don’t touch! This is not your stuff.’ (own data)

(5-13) Apa sih yang ada dalam program lu **punya** studio, gitu? (LI)

what DP REL³⁴ EXIST inside program 2SG owner studio thus

‘What is there in the program of your studio?’ (Sneddon 2006:68)

(5-14) Kalau saudara-saudara mem-buka saya **punya** dada, dan me-lihat saya **punya**

if 2PL AT-open 1SG owner chest and AT-see 1SG owner

hati, ...

heart

‘If you open my chest and look at my heart, ...’ (Macdonald and Soenjono 1967:139)

“**Y milik X**”, “**Y punya X**”, “**Y kepunyaan X**”. Other than the constructions above, Indonesian also has constructions with a noun that originally means ‘property’, i.e. *milik*, a noun that originally means ‘owner’, i.e. *punya*, and *kepunyaan*, which is derived from *punya*. These nouns – *milik*, *punya*, and *kepunyaan* – also play a role in the ‘Nominal Predicate Possession’ which is described in the following section.

³³ The same as in footnote 32, without knowing the intonation and the situation in the discourse, *lu punya barang* can be interpreted either as a clause meaning ‘You have stuff’ or as a phrase meaning ‘your stuff’.

³⁴ *Yang* generally precedes a relative clause. However, *yang* may precede adjectives too. Sneddon (1996:146) states that *yang* plus adjective construction is actually an instance of a relative clause.

(5-15) a. mobil **milik** Amir (HI)

car property Amir

‘Amir’s car’ (lit: ‘a car of Amir’s property’) (own data)

b. mobil **milik** Amir itu (HI)

car property Amir that

‘that Amir’s car’ (lit: ‘that car of Amir’s property’) (own data)

(5-16) baju **punya** dia (LI)

shirt owner 3SG

‘her/his shirt’ (lit: ‘shirt of her/his property’) (own data)

(5-17) Saya sudah mem-baca buku cerita **kepunyaan** mereka itu. (HI)

1SG PERF AT-read book story property³⁵ 3PL that

‘I have read their storybook.’ (lit: ‘I have read that storybook of their property.’) (own data)

The details of these ‘Attributive Possession’ constructions won’t be discussed further in this paper.

³⁵ In this paper, *kepunyaan* is simply glossed as ‘property’. As it is stated above, *kepunyaan* is a derived form from *punya*, which has the original meaning ‘owner’ (see footnote 21). Sneddon (1996:36) notes that the affix *ke-...-an* has a function as a ‘having to do with (base)’.

6. Nominal Predicate Possession

In Nominal Predicate Possession, each construction contains two NPs: ‘Y’ and ‘X’s property’, with copula *adalah*, *ialah*, or *merupakan* may be inserted between ‘Y’ and ‘X’s property’, but not always, as in a ‘Nominal Predicate Construction’ (see 3.1). The nouns such as *milik*, *punya*, and *kepunyaan*, which are explained in the previous section, become the head in NP which contains X. Thus, X is a dependent. Semantically the construction can be paraphrased “Y is included in X’s property”. Y is the old information in the discourse and is usually definite.

(6-1) Tanah ini merupakan **milik** negara. (HI)

land this COP property country

‘This land is the country’s property.’ ‘This land belongs to the country.’ (own data)

(6-2) Mobil itu **milik** Amir. (LI)

car that property Amir

‘That car belongs to Amir.’ (lit: ‘That car is Amir’s property.’) (own data, based on example (5-15))

(6-3) Dia **milik** gue. (LI)

3SG property 1SG

‘S/he is mine.’ (lit: ‘S/he is my property.’) (own data)

(6-4) Yang itu bukan **punya** elu. (LI)

that.one NEG owner 2SG

‘That one is not yours.’ (lit: ‘That one is not your property.’) (own data)

(6-5) Kucing ini (adalah/ialah) **kepunyaan** Bapak Adi. (HI)

cat this (COP) property Mr. Adi

‘This cat belongs to Mr. Adi.’ (lit: ‘This cat is Mr. Adi’s property.’) (own data)

Since ‘Nominal Predicate Possession’ is not the focus of this paper, it won’t be discussed further.

7. Verbal Predicate Possession

7.1 Constructions with Possessive Verbs

Three possessive verbs, i.e. *memiliki*, *mempunyai*, and *punya*, become the predicates in each construction (*X memiliki Y*, *X mempunyai Y* and *X punya Y*). Among this three verbs, *memiliki* and *mempunyai* are derived from the possessive nouns we dealt with in the previous sections, i.e. *milik*³⁶ and *punya*³⁷. The suffix *-i* is an applicative suffix; thus, *milik-i* and *punya-i* exhibit all the properties of prototypical transitive verbs: they have both active form with the agent-trigger prefix *meN-*³⁸ and the passive forms with the patient-trigger prefix *di-*.

The degree of transitivity decreases as follows: *memiliki*, *mempunyai* > *punya*. The possessive verbs *memiliki* and *mempunyai* have all of the features of transitive verbs. However, comparing with *memiliki*, *mempunyai* has a ‘special’ feature: neither personal pronoun nor personal proper names can be the direct object/patient. The verb *punya*, not having the applicative suffix *-i* and the agent-trigger prefix *meN-*, can appear in a construction without an object/patient and cannot be changed to passive. Moreover, *punya* may modify a NP as in examples from (7-41) to (7-43).

All of the three constructions have ‘Permanent Possession’ sense, i.e. X possesses Y permanently or in a long-term (years or months). The relation between X and Y is alienable as well as inalienable. If Y is inalienable, especially for ‘Body-parts’, in its relation to X, Y cannot appear alone in the construction as in (7-6a)³⁹, it can

³⁶ See footnote 18 for the origin of *milik*.

³⁷ See footnote 21 for the origin of *punya*.

³⁸ The capital N here means ‘Nasal’, the first phoneme of the root undergoes nasalization.

³⁹ Tsunoda (1995:619) uses the term ‘everyone’-type possession, i.e. the possession of the possessee concerned is usual, normal or typical for a given possessor in a given situation. For example, possession of just eyes, hair, legs.

appear alone, i.e. not modified by adjectives etc, if the information is new as in (7-6d) or has a special meaning as in (7-36) or if X has a general sense or ‘generic’ as in (7-6e), if not, it should be modified as in (7-6b), (7-22), (7-82b) or has the sense ‘more than usual, unique’ as in (7-6c).

X memiliki Y and *X mempunyai Y* tend to appear in HI, while *X punya Y* tends to appear in LI⁴⁰.

7.1.1 X memiliki Y

The construction ‘X memiliki Y’ has a similar characteristic of ‘Have-Possessive’ (Stassen 2009:62) which may be stated as follows: the construction contains a transitive predicate, the possessor NP (X) is constructed as the Subject/Agent, and the possessee NP (Y) is constructed as the Direct Object/Patient.

This construction can be passivized as in (7-9) and (7-10), can be changed to imperative as in (7-11), (7-12) and (7-13), personal pronouns and personal proper names can be the direct object/patient as in (7-8) and (7-11).

(7-1) Eka **me-milik-i** 5 kemeja batik, ... (HI)

Eka AT-property-APP shirt batik

‘Eka has 5 batik shirts, ...’ (*Busana Batik Bisa Dikemas Tak Terlalu Formal* in KOMPAS.com 2009/10/01, own translation)

(7-2) Dia **me-milik-i** sesuatu di dalam kopor. (HI)

3SG AT-property-APP something LOC inside suitcase

‘S/he has something in the suitcase.’ (own data)

⁴⁰ See footnote 22.

(7-3) Orang kaya itu **me-milik-i** tanah di pedesaan. (HI)

person rich that AT-property-APP estate LOC rural.area

‘That rich person owns an estate in a rural area.’ (own data)

(7-4) Ia sudah tidak **me-milik-i** orang tua lagi. (HI)

3SG PERF NEG AT-property-APP parents again

‘S/he doesn’t have parents anymore.’ (KBBI Daring, own translation)

(7-5) Apa-kah engkau **me-milik-i** sahabat? (HI)

what-QP 2SG AT-property-APP close.friend

Do you have a close friend? (own data)

(7-6) a. * Anjing saya **me-milik-i** hidung. (HI)

dog 1SG AT-property-APP nose

‘My dog has a nose.’ (own data)

b. Anjing saya **me-milik-i** hidung yang panjang. (HI)

dog 1SG AT-property-APP nose REL long

‘My dog has a long nose.’ (own data)

c. Anjing saya **me-milik-i** hidung yang sangat sensitif. (HI)

dog 1SG AT-property-APP nose REL very sensitive

‘My dog has a very sensitive nose.’ (own data)

d. Binatang yang hidup di hutan itu ternyata **me-milik-i** tanduk. (HI)

animal REL live LOC forest that revealed AT-property-APP horn

‘It is revealed that that animal which lives in the forest has a horn.’ (own data)

e. Manusia **me-milik-i** mata, hidung, dan mulut. (HI)

human AT-property-APP eye nose and mouth

‘Human being has eyes, nose, and mouth.’ (own data)

(7-7) Gua tau banyak cewek **me-milik-i** banyak kepinteran. (LI)

1SG know many girl AT-property-APP many cleverness

‘I know that lots of girls have many abilities.’ (Sneddon 2006:168)

(7-8) Aku ingin **me-milik-i=mu**, Indah. (HI)

1SG want AT-property-APP=2SG Indah

‘I want to possess you, Indah.’ (own data)

(7-9) Rumah ini **di-milik-i=nya** sejak dua tahun lalu. (HI)

house this PT-property-APP=⁴¹nya since two year ago

‘This house is owned by him since two years ago.’ (own data)

(7-10) 6 Model Jeans yang Harus **Di-milik-i** (HI)

type jeans REL must PT-property-APP

‘6 Types of Jeans which Must Be Owned’ (a title of an article in KOMPAS.com)

⁴¹ =*nya* here functions as a third singular pronominal enclitic.

2009/10/29, own translation)

(7-11) **Milik-i(-lah⁴²)** aku! (HI)

property-APP(-IMP) 1SG

‘Possess me!’ (own data)

(7-12) **Milik-i-lah** anak yang⁴³ banyak. (HI)

property-APP-IMP child REL many

‘Have many children.’ (*Lagu Kesunyian di Penghujung Hari* in KOMPAS.com

2009/08/29, own translation)

(7-13) **Milik-i(-lah)** segera HP terbaru ini! (HI)

property-APP(-IMP) soon handphone newest this

‘Have this newest mobile phone soon!’ (own data)

(7-14) China **me-milik-i** lebih banyak penduduk Muslim di-banding Suriah.

China AT-property-APP more many people Muslim PT-compare Syria

‘China has more Muslim people compared with Syria.’ (*Seperempat Penduduk*

Dunia Orang Muslim in KOMPAS.com 2009/10/08, own translation) (HI)

⁴² *-lah* here is different from *-lah* in footnote 5 and 6 (see 3.1). Sneddon (1996:328) states that in writing and formal speech *-lah* is optionally added to the verb in imperative constructions.

⁴³ As mentioned in footnote 33, in Indonesian grammar, adjectives are frequently preceded by *yang*. The *yang* plus adjective construction is actually an instance of a relative clause (Sneddon 1996:146). Thus, here, *yang* is glossed as ‘REL’.

(7-15) Survei tersebut **me-milik-i** margin kesalahan lebih kurang 2,6 persen. (HI)

survey that AT-property-APP margin error more less percent

‘That survey has approximately 2.6 percent of margin of error.’ (*Warga AS Dilarang Buka Facebook* in KOMPAS.com 2009/10/09, own translation)

(7-16) Se-bulan terakhir, penjualan ponsel yang **me-milik-i** fasilitas

one-month last sale cellular.phone REL AT-property-APP facility

koneksi ke jejaring sosial Facebook banyak di-cari warga. (HI)

connection to network social Facebook many PT-search people

‘For the last one month, many cellular phones, which have connection facility to a social network, Facebook, are looked for by people.’ (*Di Samarinda Ponsel Murah yang Miliki Fasilitas Facebook Laris Manis* in KOMPAS.com 2009/09/12, own translation)

7.1.2 X mempunyai Y

The construction ‘X mempunyai Y’ also has a similar characteristic of ‘Have-Possessive’ (Stassen 2009:62). The difference between *X memiliki Y* and *X mempunyai Y* is, as has been mentioned above, personal pronouns cannot be the direct object/patient in *X mempunyai Y* as in (7-25) and (7-28).

(7-17) Adi **mem-punya-i** banyak uang dan juga banyak teman. (HI)

Adi AT-owner-APP many money and also many friend

‘Adi has a lot of money and also friends.’ (own data)

(7-18) Anak-anak itu masih **mem-punya-i** nenek dan kakek. (HI)

child-RE that still AT-owner-APP grandmother and grandfather

‘Those children still have grandmothers and grandfathers.’ (own data)

(7-19) a. Dulu dia tidak **mem-punya-i** apa-apa. (LI)

past 3SG NEG AT-owner-APP anything

‘In the past, s/he did not have anything.’ (own data)

b. Sekarang dia **mem-punya-i** mobil mewah. (LI)

now 3SG AT-owner-APP car luxurious

‘Now s/he has a luxurious car.’ (own data)

(7-20) Setiap orang itu **mem-punya-i** hak untuk meng-ekspresi-kan diri=nya

each person TOP AT-owner-APP right to AT-expression-APP self=nya⁴⁴

dengan berbage macam cara. (HI, LI⁴⁵)

with various sort way

‘Everyone has the right to express themselves in various ways.’ (Sneddon

2006:208)

(7-21) Mereka **mem-punya-i** kadar kepedulian yang bisa di-ungkap-kan dalam

3PL AT-owner-APP degree care REL can PT-express-APP in

⁴⁴ =*nya* functions as a 3SG possessive enclitic for *setiap orang* ‘everyone’ here.

⁴⁵ Sneddon (2006:198) notes in this discourse transcription that the language of the consultant is in some ways more formal than that of most other young consultants recorded.

berbagai cara gitu. (HI, LI⁴⁶)

various way thus

‘They have the same level of concern, which can be expressed in different ways.’ (Sneddon 2006:208)

(7-22) Kera **mem-punya-i** ekor panjang yang guna=nya untuk men-jaga
monkey AT-owner-APP tail long REL use=nya⁴⁷ for AT-maintain

keseimbangan kalau me-manjat. (HI)

balance if AT-climb

‘The monkey has a long tail whose purpose is to maintain his balance if he is climbing.’ (Macdonald and Soenjono 1967:193)

(7-23) a. Bagi mereka perkataan tua, kuno, kolot **mem-punya-i**
for 3PL saying old conservative old-fashioned AT-owner-APP

arti yang jelek,
meaning REL bad

b. sedangkan perkataan muda, baru, modern **mem-punya-i** kekuatan
on.the.contrary saying young new modern AT-owner-APP power

⁴⁶ See footnote 42.

⁴⁷ The function of =nya here is as a 3SG possessive enclitic for *ekor panjang* ‘long tail’.

yang menggembirakan. (HI)

REL encouraging

‘For them, the old-fashioned, conservative, old sayings has bad meanings, while the modern, new, young sayings has an encouraging power.’ (cited from *S. Takdir Alisyahbana. 1953. Puisi Baru. ‘Puisi baru sebagai pancaran masyarakat baru’. Pustaka Rakyat N. V. in Kähler 1965:203, own translation*)

(7-24) Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI) me-nyata-kan bahwa Jakarta
institute science knowledge Indonesia AT-clear-APP that Jakarta

tidak **mem-punya-i** potensi men-jadi episentrum atau pusat gempa. (HI)

NEG AT-owner-APP potential AT-become epicenter or center earthquake

‘The Indonesian Institute of Sciences (LIPI) stated that Jakarta does not have the potential to become an epicenter or the center of an earthquake.’ (*Jakarta Tidak Mempunyai Episentrum Gempa* in KOMPAS.com 2009/10/06, own translation)

(7-25) * Orang gila itu ingin **mem-punya-i**=ku.

person crazy that want AT-owner-APP=1SG

‘That crazy person wants to possess me.’ (own data)

(7-26) Hak untuk meng-eksprisi-kan diri **di-punya-i** oleh setiap orang. (HI)

right to AT-expression-APP self PT-owner-APP by every person

‘The right to express oneself is possessed by everyone.’ (own data, based on

example (18))

(7-27) **Punya-i-lah** impian! (HI)

owner-APP-IMP dream

‘Have a dream!’ (own data)

(7-28) * **Punya-i-lah** aku!

owner-APP-IMP 1SG

‘Possess me!’ (own data, based on example (10))

(7-25) and (7-28) will be grammatical if *milik* replaces *punya*.

7.1.3 X punya Y

Comparing with the two possessive verbs in the previous constructions – *memiliki* and *mempunyai* – *punya* in *X punya Y* cannot be regarded as a real transitive verb. *Punya* cannot be passivized, no imperative construction as in (7-39), cannot take personal pronouns or personal proper names as the object/patient (Y) as in (7-38), and can appear in the discourse without Y if Y is already clear or known to both speaker and hearer as in (7-40).

(7-29) Gue **punya** dua orang kakak perempuan. (LI)

1SG owner two CL older.sibling female

‘I have two elder sisters.’ (Sneddon 2006:199)

- (7-30) Aku belum pengen **punya** cowok. (LI)
 1SG not.yet want owner boyfriend
 ‘I don’t want to have a boyfriend yet.’ (Sneddon 2006:106)
- (7-31) Bayi ini masih belum **punya** nama. (LI)
 baby this still not.yet owner name
 ‘This baby still does not have a name yet.’ (own data)
- (7-32) Tiap orang **punya** pendapat sama pemikiran yang beda-beda. (LI)
 every person owner opinion and thought REL different-RE
 ‘Every person has different opinion and thought.’ (own data)
- (7-33) Tajir bener lu, **punya** dua rumah ama tiga mobil. ck ck ck. (LI)
 rich really 2SG owner two house and three car (tongue click)
 ‘How rich you are! You have two houses and three cars.’ (own data)
- (7-34) Dinda pasti seneng deh **punya** pacar kayak Bule. (LI)
 Dinda certainly happy DP owner steady like Bule
 ‘I bet Dinda would be happy to have a boyfriend like Bule.’ (Sneddon
 2006:239)
- (7-35) Dia nggak **punya** apa-apa gitu ya. (LI)
 3SG NEG owner anything thus DP
 ‘He had absolutely nothing else.’ (Sneddon 2006:220)

(7-36) Jadi-lah perempuan yang menarik, maksud dalam artian, tunjuk-kan
become-IMP woman REL attractive mean in meaning show-APP

bahwa lu tu **punya** otak, nggak cuman **punya** *body*. (LI)

that 2SG TOP owner brain NEG just owner body

‘Be an attractive woman, meaning show that you have a brain (intelligence),
not just a body (beauty).’ (Sneddon 2006:174)

(7-37) Sementara kalo anak-anak di daerah mungkin ya keliatan=*nya* biasa aja,
while if kid-RE LOC region perhaps DP look=*nya*⁴⁸ ordinary just

tapi **punya** sesuatu yang luar biasa di belakang yang biasa. (LI)

but owner something REL extraordinary LOC behind REL usual

‘Whereas kids in the provinces perhaps just look ordinary, but actually they
have something that’s extraordinary behind their ordinary appearance.’

(Sneddon 2006:169)

(7-38) * Gua pingin **punya** elu.

1SG want owner 2SG

‘I want to possess you.’ (own data)

(7-39) * **Punya**(-lah) impian!

owner(-IMP) dream

‘Have a dream!’ (own data, based on example (25))

⁴⁸ Here *=nya* is as a marker of evidentiality.

(7-40) (own data) (LI)

A: (a) Elu **kagak punya** barang=*nya* kan?

2SG NEG owner thing=*nya*⁴⁹ DP

‘You don’t have that stuff, do you?’

B: (b) **Punya**, gua **punya**.

owner 1SG owner

‘I have, I do have it.’

Punya, unlike *memiliki* and *mempunyai*, may modify a NP and has the sense ‘having enough things for living, rich’ as in the following examples from (7-41) to (7-43).

(7-41) Dia orang **punya** ato orang ga **punya?**(LI)

3SG person owner or person NEG owner

‘Is s/he is a rich person or a poor person?’ (own data)

(7-42) Kehidupan=*nya* tuh kehidupan, kehidupan miskin gitu. Kehidupan **nggak**

life=*nya*⁵⁰ TOP life life poor thus life NEG

punya. (LI)

owner

‘His life was a poor one; a life with nothing.’ (Sneddon 2006:221)

⁴⁹ =*nya* functions as a definite marker here.

⁵⁰ =*nya* functions as a 3SG possessive enclitic here.

(7-43) Dia baru lulus, baru selesai, datang ke Jakarta, keadaan masih nggak **punya**

3SG just pass just finish come to Jakarta condition still NEG owner

tapi kita ikut nebeng, gitu yah? (LI)

but 1PL.INCL follow join thus DP

‘He’d just graduated, he’d just finished (his military service) and come to Jakarta. He was still in an impoverished state but we lived with him at his expense.’ (Sneddon 2006:220)

7.2 Constructions with The Existential Verb *Ada*

The existential verb *ada*⁵¹, which plays a role in Nominal Predicate, Locative, and Existential Predicate Constructions (see Section 3), functions as a predicate in Verbal Predicate Possession. Possessive construction with *ada* has two forms: *X ada Y* and *X ada Y=nya*⁵². Unlike constructions with possessive verbs above, these constructions do not have the features of transitive constructions at all, i.e. they do not have passive and imperative constructions. They also cannot take personal pronouns and/or proper names as Y.

We should notice that *X ada Y* is quite different from *X ada Y=nya*. *X ada Y* emphasizes the situation of ownership/the availability at a certain point in time as in example (7-62) to (7-64) and (7-66); hence, it tends to obtain the sense of ‘Temporary Possession’. However, ‘kinship roles’ as in (7-44) is always ‘Permanent’. On the other

⁵¹ *Berada* (see Section 3.2) can not replace *ada* in possessive constructions.

⁵² The function of *=nya* here is very special. I remark this ‘special’ function as an ‘inalienability marker’ (see 7.2.2).

hand, *X ada Y=nya* has the sense of ‘Permanent Possession’. We may conclude that the reason is because *Y* in *X ada Y* is ‘somehow’ alienable, while in *X ada Y=nya* is inalienable, in relation to *X*.

Both of the constructions generally tend to appear in LI. *X ada Y* which emphasizes ‘the availability of the possessee at a certain point in time’ and ‘temporary possession’ may appear in HI.

7.2.1 **X ada Y**

The construction *X ada Y* has the same features of ‘Topic Possessive’ and ‘Double Subject Possessive’⁵³ in many linguistic works. Stassen (2009:58) formulates the characteristics of ‘Topic Possessive’ as follows: “the construction contains a locative/existential predicate, the possessee NP is constructed as the Grammatical Subject of the predicate, and the possessor NP is constructed as the Sentence Topic, i.e. an item which has a specific semantic function, namely, ‘to constitute the frame of reference with respect to which the main clause is either true (if a proposition) or felicitous (if not)’, of the sentence.”

Stassen (2009:58) states that the possessor NP (*X*) indicates the ‘Setting’ or ‘Background’ of the sentence, and its function can be stated by English phrases such as *given X, as for X, with regard to X, speaking about X, as far as X is concerned*, etc. Thus, the standard form of the Topic Possessive can be represented as: *(As for) X, Y is/exists*. Alieva (1992:16) also states that the omissibility of NP preceding *ada* (*X*) shows that *ada* is more likely related to the following NP (*Y*) which act as grammatical subjects (see 3.3). However, it should be noted here that not all *X* can be omitted. Example (7-64) would be ungrammatical without *X*, unless the order of *Y* and *ada* is

⁵³ Seiler (1983:60) in Stassen (2009:59)

interchanged.

Identical to *punya*, *ada* can appear in the discourse without Y if Y is already clear or known to both the speaker and the hearer as in (7-57b), (7-57c), (7-58b), (7-60b). The emphasis of the availability of the possessee at a certain point in time can be seen clearly in (7-57d). The sense of ‘Temporary Possession’⁵⁴, i.e. the situation of the ‘possession’ is very short in time, can be seen in (7-62). This construction can also express the state of ‘having’ an event, work, etc. which is usually ‘temporary’ as in (7-58a), (7-58c), (7-59), or a disease, as in (7-60) and (7-61). I regard ‘events’ and ‘temporary diseases’ as ‘Temporary Possession’.

(7-44) Ia **ada** anak banyak. (LI)

3SG EXIST child many

‘S/he has many children.’ (Hopper 1972:139)

(7-45) Saya **ada** se-buah rumah. (LI, HI)

1SG EXIST one-CL house

‘I have a house.’ (Hopper 1972:139)

(7-46) Saya **ada** mobil baru. (LI, HI)

1SG EXIST car new

‘I have a new car.’ (Liaw 2004:239)

⁵⁴ Stassen (2009:19) notes that cases of Temporary Possession can be characterized in terms of availability at a certain point in time. The relation of contact between the possessor and the possessee here is regarded as accidental, not necessarily permanent. On the other hand, during the time span in which the relation holds, the possessor can be said to exert control over the possessee, so that temporary possession resembles alienable possession.

- (7-47) Gua **ada** banyak musuh. (LI)
 1SG EXIST many enemy
 ‘I have many enemies.’ (own data)
- (7-48) Saya tidak **ada** uang. (LI, HI)
 1SG NEG EXIST money
 ‘I don’t have any money.’ (Sneddon 1996:264)
- (7-49) Ia belum **ada** isteri. (LI)
 3SG not.yet EXIST wife
 ‘He does not have a wife yet.’ (Alieva 1992:15)
- (7-50) Aku ada **anjing** di rumah. (LI)
 1SG EXIST dog LOC house
 ‘I have a dog at home.’ (own data)
- (7-51) Bambang **ada** banyak buku di rumah. (LI)
 Bambang EXIST many book LOC house
 ‘Bambang has many books at home.’ (Liaw 2004:2)
- (7-52) Kami **ada** alat buat me-motong=nya. (LI, HI)
 1PL.EXCL EXIST instrument to AT-cut=nya⁵⁵
 ‘We have an instrument to cut it.’ (Alieva 1992:15)

⁵⁵ =nya functions as a 3SG pronominal enclitic here.

(7-53) Oleh sebab itu-lah tiap-tiap negara **ada** hak untuk me-mentu-kan itu.
 by reason that-FOC every-RE country EXIST right for AT-fix-APP that
 ‘That’s why every country has the right to prescribe that.’ (Kähler 1965:158,
 own translation) (HI)

(7-54) Kayak=nya elu **ada** sesuatu yang di-sembunyi-in. (LI)
 like=nya⁵⁶ 2SG EXIST something REL PT-hide-APP
 ‘It seems that you have something that is hidden.’ (own data)

(7-55) A: [Gimana pun, // mereka tuh masih **ada** hubungan ama elo. (LI)
 however even 3PL TOP still EXIST relationship with 2SG
 ‘Because no matter what, they (your parents) still have a relationship with
 you.’ (Sneddon 2006:250)

(7-56) Selain dari gue adalah manusia yang sudah se-taun *single* dan tidak
 apart from 1SG COP person REL already one-year single and NEG

ada prospektif untuk ke mana-mana lagi, gue umur dua puluh dua taun,
 EXIST prospects for to anywhere more 1SG age twenty-two year

 gue lahir di Jakarta. (LI)
 1SG born LOC Jakarta
 ‘Apart from the fact that I’m a human being who’s been single for a year and

⁵⁶ =*nya* functions as an epistemic marker here.

has no prospects of going anywhere, I'm 22 years old and I was born in Jakarta.' (Sneddon 2006:198-199)

(7-57) (Sneddon 2006:241) (LI)

C: (a) ...Ee elo sekarang masi .. masi .. masi **ada** *feeling* nggak ama dia,
2SG now still still still EXIST feeling NEG with 3SG

gitu

thus

[Nggak?

NEG

'Do you still have some feelings for her, or not?'

B: [Nggak-lah. // Gua nggak mau.

NEG-DP 1SG NEG want

'Of course not. I don't want her anymore.'

C: [*Swear?*

'Do you swear that?'

A: [(b) Nggak mau apa nggak **ada**? // Nggak mau ma nggak **ada**

NEG want or NEG EXIST NEG want and NEG EXIST

beda loh!

different DP

‘You don’t want her or you don’t have feelings anymore? ‘Don’t want’
and ‘Don’t have’ are different, you know.’

B: Ngga, ngga mau. Ngga mau.

NEG NEG want NEG want

‘No, I don’t want her. I don’t want her.’

A: (c) Tapi masih **ada**? // Berusaha meng-...

but still EXIST try

‘But do you still have feelings? Or are you trying to ...’

B: Iya, ya, begitu.

yes yes thus

‘Yes, that’s it.’

[a beggar comes asking for money]

A: (d) Eh, **ada** cepekan?

EXIST one.hundred

‘Hey, do you have any coins?’

[indistinct, as they look for something for the beggar]

(7-58) (own data) (LI)

A: (a) Elu **ada** acara ga besok?

2SG EXIST event NEG tomorrow

‘Do you have something to do tomorrow?’

B: (b) **Ada** sih. (c) Gua **ada** rapat besok. Napa?

EXIST DP 1SG EXIST meeting tomorrow why

‘Yes, I do. I have a meeting tomorrow. What’s up?’

(7-59) (own data) (LI)

A: (a) **Ada** kerjaan ga, lu sekarang?

EXIST temporary.work NEG 2SG now

‘Do you have something to do now?’

B: Lu ga liat apa. (b) Gua **ada** banyak PR sama harus belajar.

2SG NEG see what 1SG EXIST many homework and must study

‘See. I have a lot of homework and I must study.’

(c) Besok gua **ada** tes matematika.

tomorrow 1SG EXIST test mathematics

‘Tomorrow I have a math test.’

(7-60) Elu **ada** demam ya. Badan lu panas banget. (LI)

2SG EXIST fever DP body 2SG hot very

‘You have a fever. Your body temperature is so hot.’ (own data)

(7-61) Gua **ada** flu sama sakit tenggorokan, mesti ke dokter. (LI)

1SG EXIST flu and sick throat must to doctor

‘I have the flu and a sore throat, have to go to the doctor.’ (own data)

(7-62) (own data) (LI)

A: (a) Lu **ada** ga jas buat ke pesta besok?

2SG EXIST NEG suit for to party tomorrow

‘Do you have a suit to go to the party tomorrow?’

B: (b) **Ada**. Tapi bukan punya gua. Gua baru pinjem dari temen.

EXIST but NEG owner 1SG 1SG just borrow from friend

‘I do. But not mine. I have just borrowed from my friend.’

(7-63) (own data) (LI)

A: (a) Lu **punya** gak mobil?

2SG owner NEG car

‘Do you have a car?’

B: (b) Gak **punya** sih. (c) Tapi gua **ada** mobil. Tuh! Mobil pinjaman sih.

NEG owner DP but 1SG EXIST car that car borrowed DP

‘I don’t have a car actually. But now I have it. See! A rental car.’

(7-64) (own data) (LI)

A: (a) Lu **ada** barang=*nya*?

2SG EXIST thing=*nya*⁵⁷

‘Do you have the stuff?’

B: (b) **Ada**. Nih! Gua baru dapet kemarin.

EXIST this 1SG just get yesterday

‘Yes. Here you are! I’ve just got it yesterday.’

Examples from (7-44) to (7-57c) above can be paraphrased with *punya*. However, *punya* can not replace *ada* in examples from (7-57d) to (7-62) since *punya* does not have the sense of ‘Temporary Possession’. Macdonald and Soenjono (1967:249-250) presents the following examples (7-65) and (7-66) to prove that *ada* has a ‘Temporary Possession’ sense, compared with *punya*, which has a ‘Permanent Possession’ sense⁵⁸.

(7-65) Saya **punya** rumah. (LI)

1SG owner house

‘I own a house, but I do not necessarily have it immediately available for my use.’ (Macdonald and Soenjono 1967:249)

⁵⁷ =*nya* functions as a definite marker or 3SG possessive marker here (cf. *X ada Y=nya* in 7.2.2).

⁵⁸ *Memiliki* and *mempunyai* have the sense of ‘Permanent Possession’ too.

(7-66) Saya **ada** rumah. (LI)

1SG EXIST house

‘I have a house at my disposal, though I do not necessarily own it.’ (Macdonald and Soenjono 1967:250)

Also Alieva (1992:15) states that in some lexically restricted clauses the verb *ada* can itself express the meaning ‘to have’ (but not ‘to own’, ‘to possess’).

7.2.2 X **ada** Y=**nya**

The most distinguished characteristic in this construction, compared with the previous construction *X ada Y*, is the enclitic =*nya* which is attached after Y. The functions of this enclitic =*nya*, which have been known at the present time, according to Sneddon (2006:34-43)⁵⁹, Yap (2007:7-11), and Englebretson (2003:157-185), are as follows:

1. As a third person pronominal enclitic as in (7-9), (7-52)
2. As a possessive pronominal enclitic, especially for the third person as in (3-9a), (5-10)
3. As an optional ligature or linker which links possessives to the possessors as in (5-3) to (5-6)
4. As a definiteness marker, which marks the person or thing as definite even if only

⁵⁹ Sneddon (2006:34) remarks as follows: “The functions of =*nya* are many and varied and are not entirely well-understood. For some functions there is considerable variation in usage between different people. In many cases there is ambiguity in that the particular usage of =*nya* could be placed in several of the categories below.”

assumed in the particular context, or ‘identifiability marker’—an identifiable referent being ‘one the speaker assumes the listener will be able to identify’, and as an emphasiser to nouns, proper names and pronouns as in (3-9a)

5. As an emphasiser to word classes other than nouns (e.g. *mahalnya* ‘so expensive’)
6. As a marker of the topic in a topic-comment clause as in (7-71).
7. As a nominalizer. Comparing with nominalizer *yang*, which focuses on an argument (e.g. *yang makan* ‘the one who is eating’), nominalizer *=nya* is able to focus on the predicate (e.g. *makan=nya* ‘his eating’) (Yap 2007:8).
8. As an adverbial marker (adverbializer). Englebretson (2003:170-171) in Yap (2007:8) states that enclitic *=nya* often combines with various lexical items to form adverbials such as *biasanya* ‘normally, usually’ (< *biasa* ‘normal’), *akhirnya* ‘finally’ (< *akhir* ‘end’), *sayangnya* ‘pitiably’ (< *sayang* ‘pity’).
9. As a stance/epistemic marker: mental/emotional attitude, speaker assessment of interactional relevance to ongoing discourse, and marker of evidentiality (Englebretson (2003:172-185) in Yap (2007:9)) as in (7-37).

X ada Y=nya is similar to, what Stassen (2009:70-79) calls as a ‘Possessor indexing on the possessee’. Stassen (2009:70-71) remarks as follows: “...while in the standard versions of the major types the possessor is encoded only once, by means of a full noun phrase, ...we have pronominal indexing of the possessor. Such a pronominal index takes the form of ‘a possessive pronoun’ or ‘a possessive affix on the possessee NP’.” Stassen (2009:71) also notes that this phenomenon is especially popular among languages with a Topic Possessive, such as Austronesian languages⁶⁰. However, unlike

⁶⁰ Stassen (2009:71-72) presents examples as follows:

(1) Toba Batak (Austronesian, West Indonesian)

the other Austronesian languages, Y is always attached to =*nya* in *X ada Y=nya* regardless of the ‘person’ and ‘number’ of Y.

We may suppose that =*nya* in the possessive construction *X ada Y=nya* here has the function as a marker of the topic in a topic-comment clause as in (7-71) but we may hypothesize that =*nya* in this construction has the function of ‘inalienability marker’. The reasons are: first, Y in *X ada Y=nya* is always inalienable in relation to X, second, examples as in (7-64) and (7-81d) are grammatical only if *Y=nya* has the sense ‘that Y’ or ‘her/his Y’; these constructions are ‘*X ada Y*’ although they seem to be ‘*X ada Y=nya*’ because of the presence of =*nya*.

However, similar to *X ada Y*, *ada* in *X ada Y=nya* can appear in the discourse without X and Y if X and Y are already clear or known to the speaker and the hearer as in (7-78b).

We should pay attention to Y. If Y is inalienable, especially for ‘Body-parts’⁶¹, in its relation to X, Y cannot appear alone in the construction as in (7-68a), (7-69a), Y can appear alone, i.e. not modified by adjectives etc, if the information is new as in (7-72) or has a special meaning as in (7-80) or if X has general sense or ‘generic’ as in (7-75a) and (7-82a), if not, Y should be modified as in (7-68b) or has the sense ‘more than usual, unique’ as in (7-67), (7-69b), (7-70).

Ia begu Ón tòlu ború-na.
 TOP spirit EXIST three daughter-his
 ‘The spirit had three daughters.’ (Percival 1981:101)

(2) Toradja (Austronesian, East Indonesia)
 Tau se’e re’e baula-nja
 people these be buffalo-their
 ‘These people have buffaloes.’ (Adriani 1931:344)

(3) Mangap-Mbula (Austronesian, West Oceanic)
 Nu kom kini i-mbot
 2SG.NOM your food 3SG-stay
 ‘Do you have any food?’ (Bugenhagen 1995:381)

⁶¹ See footnote 39.

(7-67) Rumah ini **ada** beranda=**nya**. (LI)

house this EXIST verandah=**nya**

‘This house has its verandah.’ (Alieva 1992:16)

(7-68) a. * Rumah ini **ada** dinding=**nya**. (LI)

house this EXIST wall=**nya**

‘This house has walls.’ (own data)

b. Rumah ini **ada** dinding beton=**nya**. (LI)

house this EXIST wall concrete=**nya**

‘This house has a concrete wall.’ (own data)

(7-69) a. *Kuda saya **ada** mata=**nya**. (LI)

horse 1SG EXIST eye=**nya**

‘My horse has eyes.’ (Alwi et al. 2000:124, own translation)

b. Kuda saya **ada** belang=**nya**. (LI)

horse 1SG EXIST stripe=**nya**

‘My horse has stripes.’ (Alwi et al. 2000:214, own translation)

(7-70) (while looking at a photo which has been modified)

Kok gua kagak **ada** mata=**nya** di foto ini? (LI)

DP 1SG NEG EXIST eye=**nya** LOC photo this

‘Why I don’t have eyes in this photo?’ (own data)

(7-71) a. Lha ya semua orang mata=*nya* kan **ada** putih=*nya* gitu. (LI)

DP DP all person eye=*nya*⁶² DP EXIST white=*nya*⁶³ thus

‘Everyone’s eyes have whites in them.’ (lit: ‘As for all people, their eyes have whites.’) (Englebretson 2003:159)

b. Lha ya semua orang mata=*nya* kan **ada** bagian putih=*nya* gitu. (LI)

DP DP all person eye=*nya* DP EXIST part white=*nya* thus

‘Everyone’s eyes have a white part in them.’ (lit: ‘As for all people, their eyes have a white part.’) (own data, based on example (7-71a))

c. * Lha ya semua orang mata=*nya* kan **ada** bagian putih. (own data)

(7-72) Gue baru tau sekarang kalo ikan paus **ada** paru-paru=*nya*. (LI)

1SG just know now if fish whale EXIST lungs=*nya*

‘I have just known that whales have lungs.’ (own data)

(7-73) Alat ini **ada** guna=*nya*. (LI)

instrument this EXIST use=*nya*

‘This instrument is useful.’ (lit: ‘This instrument has its use.’) (Alieva 1992:15)

(7-74) a. Perbandingan itu **ada** benar=*nya*. (LI)

comparison that EXIST true=*nya*⁶⁴

⁶² =*nya* functions as a marker of the topic *semua orang*.

⁶³ It seems that =*nya* here functions as a nominalizer, but it does not. A similar construction can be seen in (7-71b).

‘That comparison has validity.’ (Macdonald and Soenjono 1967:250)

b. Perbandingan itu **ada** ke-benar-an=**nya**. (LI)

comparison that EXIST NOM-true-NOM=**nya**

‘That comparison has validity.’ (own data, based on (66a))

c. * Perbandingan itu **ada** ke-benar-an. (own data)

(7-75) a. Segala sesuatu **ada** awal dan akhir=**nya**. (LI)

all something EXIST beginning and end=**nya**

‘Everything has its beginning and end.’ (own data)

b. * Segala sesuatu **ada** awal=**nya** dan akhir=**nya**. (LI)

all something EXIST beginning=**nya** and end=**nya**

‘Everything has its beginning and end.’ (own data)

(7-76) Air jernih gak **ada** bau sama rasa=**nya**. (LI)

water pure NEG EXIST smell and taste=**nya**

‘Pure water does not have smells and tastes.’ (own data)

(7-77) ...bahwa sistem-sistem falsafah tidak **ada** lagi arti dan guna=**nya**.

that system-RE philosophy NEG EXIST again meaning and use=**nya**

‘...that the systems of philosophy no longer had any meaning or use to them.’

⁶⁴ We may suppose that =*nya* here functions as a nominalizer, but this is not true. A similar construction can be seen in (7-74b).

(Macdonald and Soenjono 1967:167)

(7-78) (own data) (LI)

A: (a) Obat ini masih **ada** khasiat=**nya** ga sih?

medicine this still EXIST efficacy=**nya** NEG DP

‘Is this medicine still efficient or not?’ (lit: ‘This medicine still has its efficacy or not?’)

B: (b) Kayak=**nya** masi **ada** deh.

like=**nya**⁶⁵ still EXIST DP

‘It seems that it is still efficient.’ (lit: ‘It seems that it still has the efficacy.’)

(7-79) (own data) (LI)

A: (a) Bayi=**nya** udah **ada** nama=**nya** belum?

baby=**nya**⁶⁶ PERF EXIST name=**nya** not.yet

‘Does the baby have a name or not?’

B: (b) Belum **ada** nama=**nya** deh kayak=**nya**.

not.yet EXIST name=**nya** DP like=**nya**⁶⁷

‘It seems that it doesn’t have a name yet.’

⁶⁵ =*nya* functions as an epistemic marker here.

⁶⁶ =*nya* functions as a definite marker here.

⁶⁷ =*nya* functions as an epistemic marker here.

(7-80) Dia udah **ada** umur=**nya**. (LI)
3SG PERF EXIST age=**nya**
'S/he is old.' (lit: 'S/he already has age.')

(7-81) a. Masalah ini pasti **ada** solusi=**nya**. (LI)
problem this sure EXIST solution=**nya**
'This problem must have solutions.'

b. * Masalah ini pasti **ada** solusi. (own data)

c. Gue **ada** solusi nih. (LI)
1SG EXIST solution DP
'I have a solution.'

d. Gue **ada** solusi=**nya**. (LI)
1SG EXIST solution=**nya**⁶⁸
'I have the solution.'

The relation between X and Y is relative, it can be regarded as alienable as in (7-82b) or inalienable as in (7-82a).

(7-82) a. Langit **ada** bintang=**nya**. (LI)
sky EXIST star=**nya**
'The sky has stars' 'Speaking about the sky in general, there are stars in the

⁶⁸ =*nya* functions as a definite marker here.

sky.’ (own data, based on example (72) in Zeitoun (1999:28))

b. Lihat! Langit=nya **ada** bintang. (LI)

see sky=nya⁶⁹ EXIST star

‘See! The sky has stars.’ (The speaker is looking up at the sky while uttering the sentence) (own data, based on example (72) in Zeitoun (1999:28))

c. Langit **punya** bintang yang jumlah=nya ribuan. (LI)

sky owner star REL amount=nya⁷⁰ thousands

‘The sky has thousands of stars.’ (own data)

In (7-82a), the speaker assumes that the sky always has stars; thus, the sky and stars are considered inalienable by the speaker, while in (7-82b), the speaker emphasizes that the sky at that time has stars; thus, the speaker considers that the relation between sky and stars is alienable.

7.3 Constructions with The Denominal Affixes

Three denominal affixes: ‘prefix *ber-*’, ‘combination of prefix *ber-* and applicative suffix *-kan*’, and ‘suffix *-an*’, denominalize Y so that Y becomes a verb and a predicate in each construction (*X ber-Y*, *X ber-Y-kan Z* and *X Y-an*). Sneddon (2009:137-207) calls this phenomenon as ‘Predicativization’. Sneddon (2009:137) also notes that ‘Predicativization’ is a process that results in a reanalysis of the categorical

⁶⁹ =*nya* functions as a definite marker here.

⁷⁰ =*nya* functions as a marker of the topic *bintang* ‘star’. *Jumlah bintang ribuan* becomes *Bintang jumlah=nya ribuan*.

and syntactic status of the phrase which contains the possessee. This possessee phrase comes to be reanalyzed as the predicate of a possessive construction that has the possessor as its subject. This predicativized possessee phrase is regarded as essentially ‘property-indicating’ or ‘Adjectival’. A predicativized possessee phrase can be likened as *moneyed, red-nosed, wide-eyed* etc.

All the three ‘predicativized possessee’ constructions in Indonesian (*X ber-Y, X ber-Y-kan Z* and *X Y-an*) cannot be passivized. The applicative suffix *-kan* triggers the presence of an obligatory noun complement (in the following is represented as *Z*). *X ber-Y* may take an optional noun complement which specifies *Y*. We can conclude that the difference between *X ber-Y (Z)* and *X ber-Y-kan Z* lies on the optionality of *Z*.

All of the three constructions have a ‘Permanent Possession’ sense. The relation between *X* and *Y* is always inalienable in *X Y-an*, inalienable and alienable⁷¹ in *X ber-Y* and *X ber-Y-kan Z*. The notion of inalienability in these constructions is rather different from the notion of inalienability in the constructions with possessive verbs and the existential verb. *X* and *Y* in ‘constructions with the denominal affixes’ are ‘integrated’; thus, if *Y* is an article of clothing, it is an item of clothing that is worn on *X*’s body as in (7-90), (7-92), not the one in a wardrobe etc.⁷² Moreover, *Y* can function as an adjective, in the sense that *Y* can modify *X* to form a modified NP as in (7-103) and (7-104).

If *Y* is inalienable, especially for ‘Body-parts’⁷³, in its relation to *X*, *Y* cannot appear alone in the construction as in (7-91), it can appear alone, i.e. not modified by adjectives etc, if *Y* has a special meaning as in (7-100) or if *X* has a general sense or

⁷¹ See Section 8.

⁷² Tsunoda (1995:578) notes that “clothing” worn and attached to the body are physically (and probably psychologically as well) very close to the possessor, and they are almost body parts.

⁷³ See footnote 39.

‘generic’ as in (7-94), if not, it should be modified as in (7-92), (7-103), (7-117) or has the sense ‘more than usual, not common, unique’ as in (7-93).

X ber-Y and *X ber-Y-kan Z* tend to appear in HI, while *X Y-an* tends to appear in LI.

7.3.1 X ber-Y (Z)

Alwi et al. (2000:95) states that prefix *ber-* with NP as the base constructs an intransitive verb with optional complement. Alwi et al. (2009:139) and Sneddon (1996:62-63) explain that prefix *ber-* with a nominal root has one of the following meanings:

1. ‘to have’, e.g. *beratap* (< *atap* ‘roof’), *beristri* (< *istri* ‘wife’), *beranak* (< *anak* ‘child’), *berhalangan* (< *halangan* ‘obstacle’), *berkeinginan* (< *keinginan* ‘desire’), *bercita-cita* (< *cita-cita* ‘ambition, dream’)
2. ‘to use, to wear, to utilize, to make use of, to work, to operate’, e.g. *bersepeda* (< *sepeda* ‘bicycle’), *berbedak* (< *bedak* ‘face powder’), *berlayar* (< *layar* ‘sail’), *berladang* (< *ladang* ‘field’), *berkereta api* (< *kereta api* ‘train’)
3. ‘to produce’, e.g. *bertelur* (< *telur* ‘egg’), *berkata* (< *kata* ‘word’), *beranak* (< *anak* ‘child’), *bersuara* (< *suara* ‘voice’), *berbunyi* (< *bunyi* ‘sound’), *berkokok* (< *kokok* ‘cackle’), *berkeringat* (< *keringat* ‘sweat’)
4. ‘reciprocal, indicating that two people stand in the same relationship to each other’, e.g. *berteman* (< *teman* ‘friend’), *bertetangga* (< *tetangga* ‘neighbour’)
5. ‘to engage in the activity specified by the base’, e.g. *berpiknik* (< *piknik* ‘picnic’), *berpesta* (< *pesta* ‘party’), *berperang* (< *perang* ‘war’)

However, this prefixation sometimes constructs verbs that should be correct, but in fact cannot be accepted, e.g. *?berbus* (< *bus* ‘bus’), *?berpekerjaan* (< *pekerjaan* ‘work’)

The first, second and third function mentioned above will be discussed in this paper. The second and the third function will be discussed only if the result is ‘Y is attached to X’ as in (7-90) and (7-102).

Examples (7-101), (7-103), (7-104) show us that *ber-Y* functions as an adjective; it can be preceded by ‘very’ as in (7-101) and it does not need a relativizer *yang* to modify X as in (7-103) and (7-104). Examples (7-106) and (7-107) show us that Z is optional.

(7-83) Tanah ini tak **ber-tuan**. (HI)

estate this NEG ber-master

‘This estate does not have its owner.’ ‘This estate is not possessed by anybody.’

(own data)

(7-84) Orang miskin tidak **ber-harta**. (HI)

person poor NEG ber-property

‘Poor people do not have property.’ (Liaw 2004:82)

(7-85) Surat itu tidak **ber-alamat**. (HI)

letter that NEG ber-address

‘The letter did not have an address.’ (Liaw 2004:82)

(7-86) Pendapat=*nya* tidak **ber-dasar**. (HI)

opinion=*nya*⁷⁴ NEG ber-basis

‘His opinion has no basis.’ (Sneddon 1996:111)

⁷⁴ =*nya* functions as a 3SG possessive enclitic here.

- (7-87) Anak ini tidak **ber-ibu** bapak lagi. (HI)
 child this NEG ber-mother father again
 ‘This child doesn’t have father and mother anymore.’ (Kähler 1965:111, own translation)
- (7-88) Sudah terang memang, Minah belum **ber-suami**. (HI)
 PERF clear indeed Minah not.yet ber-husband
 ‘It is clear that Minah does not have a husband yet.’ (cited from *Rijono Pratikto*. ‘Putusan’ in *Zenith*, Nr.4 in Kähler 1965:215, own translation)
- (7-89) Saya tidak **ber-uang** untuk mem-bayar barang itu. (HI)
 1SG NEG ber-money to AT-pay thing that
 ‘I have no money to pay for the goods.’ (Liaw 2004:82)
- (7-90) Orang itu **ber-pakaian** me-nurut bangsa Barat. (HI)
 person that ber-clothes AT-follow nation Western
 ‘That person is wearing clothes according to the Western custom.’ (Kähler 1965:160, own translation)
- (7-91) * Kucing saya **ber-mata** dan **ber-mulut**. (HI)
 cat 1SG ber-eye and ber-mouth
 ‘My cat has eyes and moth.’ (own data)

(7-92) Dia **ber**-kepala gundul dan **ber**-baju biru. (HI)
3SG ber-head shaved and ber-shirt blue
'He has a shaved head and is wearing a blue shirt.' (own data)

(7-93) Orang itu **ber**-tubuh raksasa. (HI)
person that ber-body giant
'The man has a huge body.' (Liaw 2004:114)

(7-94) Semua ikan **ber**-insang dan **ber**-sisik. (HI)
all fish ber-gills and ber-scales
'All fishes have gills and scales.' (own data)

(7-95) Rumah=*nya* **ber**-nilai sepuluh juta rupiah. (HI)
house=*nya*⁷⁵ ber-value ten million rupiah
'His house is valued at ten million rupiahs.' (Liaw 2004:114)

(7-96) a. Dia **ber**-nama Ali. (HI)
3SG ber-name Ali
'He is named Ali.' (lit: 'He has a name Ali.') (Sneddon 1996:64)

b. * Dia **ber**-nama. (own data, based on example (7-96))

(7-97) Botol itu **ber**-isi air putih. (HI)
bottle that ber-content water white

⁷⁵ =*nya* functions as an 3SG possessive enclitic here.

‘That bottle contains drinking water.’ (Alwi et al. 2000:340, own translation)

(7-98) Mereka **ber**-pengalaman. (HI)

3PL ber-experience

‘They are experienced.’ (Alieva 1992:15)

(7-99) Awas, dia **ber**-senjata! (HI)

careful 3SG ber-weapon

‘Careful, he’s armed!’ (Sneddon 1996:111)

(7-100) Anak=mu tidak **ber**-otak. (HI)

child=2SG NEG ber-brain

‘Your child is stupid/not clever.’ (lit: ‘Your child does not have a brain’)

(KBBI Daring, own translation)

(7-101) Kamus baru itu sangat **ber**-guna. (HI)

dictionary new that very ber-use

‘The new dictionary is very useful.’ (Liaw 2004:51)

(7-102) Anak itu **ber**-keringat. (HI)

child that ber-sweat

‘That child is sweaty.’ (own data)

(7-103) Meja (yang) **ber**-kaki empat itu **ber**-debu. (HI)

table (REL) ber-leg four that ber-dust

‘That four-legged table is dusty.’ (lit: ‘That table, which has four legs, has dust’) (own data)

(7-104) Orang tua **ber-kacamata** itu nampak=*nya* orang (yang) **ber-pendidikan**. (HI)
person old ber-glasses that visible=*nya*⁷⁶ person (REL) ber-education
‘That old person who is wearing glasses looks like an educated person.’ (own data)

Examples (7-105) and (7-68b) show us one of the differences between *X ber-Y* and *X ada Y=nya*.

(7-105) Rumah ini **ber-dinding** beton. (HI)
house this ber-wall concrete
‘This house is concrete-walled.’ (own data)

(7-68b) Rumah ini **ada** dinding beton=*nya*. (LI)
house this EXIST wall concrete=*nya*
‘This house has a concrete wall.’ (not all the walls in this house is made of concrete) (own data)

(7-106) a. Waktu itu kami tidak **ber-senjata**. (HI)
time that 1PL.EXCL NEG ber-weapon
‘At that time, we were not armed.’ (Alwi et al. 2000:141, own translation)

⁷⁶ =*nya* functions as an epistemic marker here.

b. Waktu itu kami tidak **ber-senjata** pistol. (HI)

time that 1PL.EXCL NEG ber-weapon pistol

‘At that time, we didn’t have pistols as our weapon.’ (Alwi et al. 2000:141, own translation)

(7-107) a. Dia sudah **ber-istri**. (HI)

3SG PERF ber-wife

‘He already has a wife.’ (Alwi et al. 2000:142, own translation)

b. Dia sudah **ber-istri** orang Minang. (HI)

3SG PERF ber-wife person Minang

‘He already has a Minang person as his wife.’ (Alwi et al. 2000:142, own translation)

‘Alienable’ possessive constructions as in (7-84), (7-87), (7-88), (7-89), (7-98), (7-107) can be paraphrased with *ada*. ‘Inalienable’ possessive constructions as in (7-83), (7-85), (7-86), (7-101) can be paraphrased with *ada ...=nya*. ‘Clothes etc. worn on the body’ sentences as in (7-90), (7-99) can not be paraphrased with *ada* or *ada ...=nya*. The difference between *X ber-Y*, *X punya Y*, and *X ada Y* with Y having the sense of ‘clothes’ is presented in the following examples.

(7-108) a. Dia **ber-baju** batik. (HI)

3SG ber-shirt batik

‘S/he is wearing a batik shirt.’ (own data)

b. Dia **punya** baju batik. (LI)

3SG owner shirt batik

‘S/he has a batik shirt.’ (own data)

c. Dia **ada** baju batik. (LI, HI)

3SG EXIST shirt batik

‘S/he has a batik shirt at this time, though s/he does not necessarily own it.’

(own data)

7.3.2 X ber-Y-kan Z

Alwi et al. (2000:95,141-142) states that the suffix *-kan* of *ber-Y-kan* is always optional. However, the syntactic nature of predicates *ber-Y* and *ber-Y-kan* is different. As explained above, without suffix *-kan*, a *ber-* derivational verb can be followed by a nominal complement optionally. On the other hand, with suffix *-kan* attached, there must be a nominal complement after the derivational verb. This construction has the general meaning ‘X has Z as Y’. Example (7-114) shows us that *ber-Y-kan Z* may modify X and functions as an adjective.

(7-109) a. Waktu itu kami tidak **ber-senjata-kan** pistol. (HI)

time that 1PL.EXCL NEG ber-weapon-APP pistol

‘At that time, we were not armed with pistol.’ ‘At that time, we didn’t have pistols as our weapon.’ (Alwi et al. 2000:141, own translation)

b. * Waktu itu kami tidak **ber-senjata-kan**. (HI)

time that 1PL.EXCL NEG ber-weapon-APP

‘At that time, we were not armed.’ (Alwi et al. 2000:141, own translation)

(cf. example (7-106) above)

(7-110) Negara itu **ber-senjata-kan** bom nuklir. (HI)

country that ber-weapon-APP bomb nuclear

‘That country is armed with nuclear weapons/has nuclear weapons.’ (lit: ‘That country has nuclear bombs as weapons.’) (Sneddon 1996:110)

(7-111) a. Dia sudah **ber-istri-kan** orang Minang. (HI)

3SG PERF ber-wife-APP person Minang

‘He already has a Minang person as his wife.’ (Alwi et al. 2000:142, own translation)

b. *Dia sudah **ber-istri-kan**. (HI)

3SG PERF ber-wife-APP

(Alwi et al. 2000:142)

(cf. example (7-107) above)

(7-112) Dia **ber-istri-kan** gadis tetangga=nya. (HI)

3SG ber-wife-APP daughter neighbour=nya

‘He takes his neighbour’s daughter as wife.’ (Liaw 2004:95)

(7-113) Filsafat Indonesia **ber-dasar-kan** Pancasila. (HI)

philosophy Indonesia ber-base-APP Pancasila

‘The philosophy of Indonesia is based on Pancasila.’ (lit: ‘The philosophy of Indonesia has Pancasila as a base.’) (Sneddon 1996:110)

(7-114) Se-orang perempuan cantik **ber-kalung-kan** mutiara masuk ke dalam. (HI)

one-CL woman beautiful ber-necklace-APP pearl enter to inside

‘A beautiful woman wearing a pearl necklace went inside.’ (own data)

(7-115) a. Botol ini **ber-isi** obat. (HI)

bottle this ber-content medicine

‘This bottle contains medicine.’ (Sneddon 1996:111)

b. Botol ini **ber-isi-kan** obat. (HI)

‘This bottle contains medicine.’ (Sneddon 1996:111)

Examples (7-116) and (7-117) compare *X ber-Y*, *X ber-Y-kan Z*, *X ada Y=nya*, and *X memiliki Y* (also *X mempunyai Y*, *X punya Y*).

(7-116) a. FIS **ber-anggota** lima belas ribu orang. (HI)

FIS ber-member fifteen thousand CL

‘FIS has fifteen thousand (people as) members.’ (Sneddon 1996:111)

b. FIS **ber-anggota-kan** lima belas ribu orang. (HI)

‘FIS has fifteen thousand (people as) members.’ (Sneddon 1996:111)

c. FIS **ada** anggota=**nya** lima belas ribu orang. (LI)

‘FIS has fifteen thousand members.’ (own data, based on (7-116a,b))

d. FIS **me-milik-i** anggota lima belas ribu orang. (HI)

‘FIS has fifteen thousand members.’ (own data, based on (7-116a,b))

e. FIS **me-milik-i** lima belas ribu orang anggota. (HI)

‘FIS has fifteen thousand members.’ (own data, based on (7-116a,b))

Example (7-117c) shows that the ‘tile roof’ and the ‘bamboo wall’ are just a part of the tiles and walls in that house. Example (7-117c) can be paraphrased as in (7-117d). Examples (7-117a), (7-117b) and (7-117e) are similar in the sense that the tile roof and the bamboo wall cover the entire house.

(7-117) a. Rumah Sucipto **ber**-atap genting dan **ber**-dinding bambu. (HI)

house Sucipto ber-roof tile and ber-wall bamboo

‘Sucipto’s house has a tile roof and bamboo walls.’ (Sneddon 1996:111)

b. Rumah Sucipto **ber**-atap-**kan** genting dan **ber**-dinding-**kan** bambu. (HI)

‘Sucipto’s house has a tile roof and bamboo walls.’ (Sneddon 1996:111)

c. Rumah Sucipto **ada** atap genting sama dinding bambu=**nya**. (LI)

house Sucipto EXIST roof tile and wall bamboo=**nya**

‘Sucipto’s house has a tile roof and a bamboo wall.’ (own data, based on (7-117a,b))

d. Rumah Sucipto **ada** atap genting=**nya** sama **ada** dinding bambu=**nya**. (LI)

‘Sucipto’s house has a tile roof and a bamboo wall.’ (own data, based on (7-117a,b))

e. Rumah Sucipto **me-milik-i** atap genting dan dinding bambu. (HI)

‘Sucipto’s house has a tile roof and bamboo walls.’ (own data, based on (7-117a,b))

7.3.3 X Y-an

This construction generally means ‘X produces many Y’ and usually has a negative sense. Y, which is attached to suffix *-an*, becomes a predicative verb in this construction, has a restriction. Generally, Y should be a large amount of (normally unpleasant) substance which comes out from inside part of X to the most of the outside (surface) part of X. For X itself and/or for the person who speaks about X, Y is a kind of nuisance. Thus example (7-127c) is ungrammatical since ‘dust’ does not come from the inner part of the chair, instead it comes from the outside part.

Sneddon (1996:53) states that with some noun bases *-an* derives adjectives, meaning ‘having many [base], containing many [base]’ or ‘suffering from [base]’. We should notice that *sangat* ‘very’ may not modify *Y-an* although *Y-an* is an adjective since *Y-an* has already the sense of ‘very’, ‘many’. Instead of ‘very’, modifying adverbs such as *agak* ‘rather’ and *sedikit* ‘a little’ may modify *Y-an* as in (7-119).

Y-an functions as an adjective as in (7-122), (7-123) but unlike *ber-Y(-kan)*, Y cannot be modified (the presence of the complement Z is impossible). The similarity

between *X Y-an*, *X ber-Y(-kan) (Z)* and *X ada Y=nya* is the domain ‘inalienability’. *Y* should be ‘inalienable’ in these constructions. However, *X Y-an*, *X ber-Y(-kan) (Z)* and *X ada Y=nya* are different in the area on which *Y* and *X* are stuck with each other. *X Y-an* covers a wider area than *X ada Y=nya* while *X ber-Y(-kan) (Z)* covers both wide and narrow area. The difference of these constructions can be seen in examples (7-126), (7-127) and (7-128).

In examples (7-123), (7-124), *Y* has the sense ‘clothes etc. worn on the body⁷⁷’, but not always, as in (7-125). The reason why NP like ‘clothes etc. worn on the body’ can appear in *Y-an* is yet unknown.

(7-118) Orang itu uban-**an**. (LI)

person that grey.hair-an

‘That person is grey-haired.’ (lit: ‘That person has lots of grey hair.’) (own data)

(7-119) Besi ini agak karat-**an**. (LI)

iron this rather rust-an

‘This iron is rather rusty.’ ‘This iron has not much rust’ (own data)

(7-120) Gua jerawat-**an** sama ketombe-**an**. (LI)

1SG pimple-an and dandruff-an

‘I am suffering from acne and dandruff.’ ‘I have a lot of pimples and dandruff.’

⁷⁷ Clothes etc. which is worn on the body is a material which comes from the outside part, covering the (inner part of the) body. In Javanese, a Malayo-Polynesian language which is spoken mainly in Central and Eastern Java in Indonesia, the notion of ‘having clothes etc. worn on the body’ and ‘having plenty of unpleasant substance in a wide surface of an area’ may be expressed with *X Y-an* without exception.

(own data)

(7-121) Gue suka buah duri-**an** sama rambut-**an**. (LI)

1SG like fruit thorn-an and hair-an

‘I like durian⁷⁸ and rambutan⁷⁹.’ (own data)

(7-122) Orang tua uban-**an** itu bokap=**nya** Ardi. (LI)

person old grey.hair-an that father=**nya**⁸⁰ Ardi

‘That grey-haired, old man is Ardi’s father.’ (own data)

(7-123) Anak laki-laki (yang) kacamata-**an** itu adik gua.(LI)

child male (REL) glasses-an that younger.sibling 1SG

‘That boy who is wearing a glasses is my younger brother.’ (own data)

(7-124) Dia lagi selimut-**an** di atas tempat tidur. (LI)

3SG PROG blanket-an LOC on place sleep

‘S/he is covered with a blanket on the bed.’ (own data)

(7-125) * Lu dasi-**an** gak waktu di pesta kemarin?

2SG tie-an NEG time LOC party yesterday

‘Did you wear a tie in the party yesterday?’ (own data)

⁷⁸ *Durian* is the name of a thorny, thick skinned fruit.

⁷⁹ *Rambutan* is the name of a fruit with hair on its skin.

⁸⁰ =*nya* functions as a ligature here.

(7-126) a. Meja ini **ber-lumut**.

table this ber-moss

‘This table is mouldy.’ (own data)

b. Meja ini **ada lumut=nya**.

table this EXIST moss=nya

‘(A part of) this table is covered with moss.’ (own data)

c. Meja ini **lumut-an**.

table this moss-an

‘This table is covered with moss.’ ‘This table is mouldy.’ (own data)

d. * Meja ini **mem-punya-i lumut**. (own data)

e. * Meja ini **ada lumut**. (own data)

(7-127) a. Kursi ini **ber-debu**.

chair this ber-dust

‘This chair is dusty.’ (own data)

b. Kursi ini **ada debu=nya**.

chair this EXIST dust=nya

‘(A part of) this chair is covered with dust.’ (own data)

c. * Kursi ini **debu-an**.

‘This chair is mouldy.’ (own data)

d. * Kursi ini **me-milik-i** debu. (own data)

e. * Kursi ini **ada** debu. (own data)

(7-128) a. Pipi lu **ber-**jerawat.

cheek 2SG ber-pimple

‘Your cheek is pimples.’ (own data)

b. Pipi lu **ada** jerawat=**nya**.

cheek 2SG EXIST pimple=nya

‘(A part of) your cheek is covered with pimples.’ (own data)

c. Pipi lu jerawat-**an**.

cheek 2SG pimple-an

‘Your cheek is pimples.’ ‘Your cheek is covered with many pimples.’ (own data)

d. * Pipi lu **punya** jerawat. (own data)

e. * Pipi lu **ada** jerawat. (own data)

8. Discussion: The Relation between Verbal Predicate Possession and The (In)alienability Notion in Indonesian

We see that morphosyntactic environment, the ability of the construction to be passivized and/or to be changed to imperative, the semantic features of Y ([+Personal Pronoun], [+Alienable], [+Inalienable]), and the register/varieties (HI or LI) play important roles from various examples of verbal predicate possession in Section 7. They are the parameters in deciding the difference of those various constructions (see Table 3). Only *X ada Y* tends to obtain the sense ‘availability of the possessee at a certain point in time’ and ‘Temporary possession’ since Y in *X ada Y* is always alienable.

Table 3. Possessive Predicate Constructions in Indonesian

| Parameters Constructions | H/L Variety | Passivization and Imperative | Y | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------|------------------------------------|--|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| | | | PERS. PRON Personal Proper Names | Alienable (see Table 4) | Inalienable (see Table 4) |
| X memiliki Y | H | + | + | + | + |
| X mempunyai Y | | | | | |
| X punya Y | L | - | - | - | - |
| X ada Y | | | | | |
| X ada Y=nya | H | - | - | - | + |
| X ber-Y (Z) | | | | | |
| X ber-Y-kan Z | | | | | |
| X Y-an | L | | | - | |

Table 3 shows us that the (in)alienability notion and the register determine the difference of the possessive predicate constructions. Let us focus on the (in)alienability notion.

Constructions with possessive verbs, i.e. *X memiliki Y*, *X mempunyai Y* and *X punya Y* can be classified into one group. Y in these constructions cover a wide range of alienable and inalienable nouns, such as *kemeja* ‘shirt’ (7-1), *sesuatu* ‘something’ (7-2), (7-37), *tanah* ‘estate’ (7-3), *orang tua* ‘parents’ (7-4), *sahabat* ‘close friend’ (7-5), *hidung* ‘nose’ (7-6), *tanduk* ‘horn’ (7-6d), *mata* ‘eye’ (7-6e), *mulut* ‘mouth’ (7-6e), *kepintaran* ‘cleverness’ (7-7), *rumah* ‘house’ (7-9), (7-33), *jeans* ‘jeans’ (7-10), *anak* ‘child’ (7-12), *HP* ‘handphone’ (7-13), *penduduk* ‘people’ (7-14), *margin kesalahan* ‘margin of error’ (7-15), *fasilitas* ‘facility’ (7-16), *uang* ‘money’ (7-17), *teman* ‘friend’ (7-17), *nenek* ‘grandmother’ (7-18), *kakek* ‘grandfather’ (7-18), *apa-apa* ‘anything’ (7-19a), (7-35), *mobil* ‘car’ (7-19b), (7-33), *hak* ‘right’ (7-20), (7-26), *kadar kepedulian* ‘level of concern’ (7-21), *ekor* ‘tail’ (7-22), *arti* ‘meaning’ (7-23), *potensi* ‘potential’ (7-24), *impian* ‘dream’ (7-27), *kakak* ‘older sibling’ (7-29), *cowok* ‘boyfriend’ (7-30), *nama* ‘name’ (7-31), *pendapat* ‘opinion’ (7-32), *pemikiran* ‘thought’ (7-32), *pacar* ‘steady’ (7-34), *otak* ‘brain’ (7-36), *body* ‘body’ (7-36), and *barang* ‘thing, stuff’ (7-40).

Y in *X ada Y* is ‘alienable’ such as: *anak* ‘child’ (7-44), *rumah* ‘house’ (7-45), *mobil* ‘car’ (7-46), *musuh* ‘enemy’ (7-47), *uang* ‘money’ (7-48), *istri* ‘wife’ (7-49), *anjing* ‘dog’ (7-50), *buku* ‘book’ (7-51), *alat* ‘instrument’ (7-52), *hak* ‘right’ (7-53), *sesuatu* ‘something’ (7-54), *hubungan* ‘relationship’ (7-55), *prospek* ‘prospect’ (7-56), *feeling* ‘feeling’ (7-57a), and *cepekan* ‘coin’ (7-57d). Y may also be ‘eventual/temporary’ such as: *acara* ‘event’ (7-58a), *rapat* ‘meeting’ (7-58c), *kerjaan* ‘temporary work’ (7-59a), *PR* ‘homework’ (7-59b), *tes* ‘test’ (7-59c), *jas* ‘suit’ (7-62a), *mobil* ‘car’ (7-63a), *barang* ‘thing, stuff’ (7-64), *rumah* ‘house’ (7-66); ‘a disease’ such

as: *demam* ‘fever’ (7-60), *flu* ‘flu’ (7-61), *sakit tenggorokan* ‘sore throat’ (7-61).

X ada Y=nya covers most of the ‘inalienable’ nouns, such as *beranda* ‘verandah’ (7-67), *dinding* ‘wall’ (7-68), *belang* ‘stripe’ (7-69), *mata* ‘eye’ (7-70), *janggut* ‘beard’ (7-72), *kumis* ‘mustache’ (7-72), *guna* ‘use’ (7-73), (7-77), *kebenaran* ‘truth’ (7-74), *awal* ‘beginning’ (7-75), *akhir* ‘end’ (7-75), *bau* ‘smell’ (7-76), *rasa* ‘taste’ (7-76), *arti* ‘meaning’ (7-77), *khasiat* ‘efficacy’ (7-78a), *nama* ‘name’ (7-79), *umur* ‘age’ (7-80), *solusi* ‘solution’ (7-81a), *bintang* ‘star’ (7-82a).

X ber-Y (Z) and *X ber-Y-kan Z*, regardless of the presence of *Z*, can be classified into one group. *Y* in these constructions cover a wide range of nouns such as: *tuan* ‘master’ (7-83), *harta* ‘property’ (7-84), *alamat* ‘address’ (7-85), *dasar* ‘basis’ (7-86), (7-113), *ibu* ‘mother’ (7-87), *bapak* ‘father’ (7-87), *suami* ‘husband’ (7-88), *uang* ‘money’ (7-89), *pakaian* ‘clothes’ (7-90), *kepala* ‘head’ (7-92), *baju* ‘shirt’ (7-92), (7-108), *tubuh* ‘body’ (7-93), *insang* ‘gills’ (7-94), *sisik* ‘scales’ (7-94), *nilai* ‘value’ (7-95), *nama* ‘name’ (7-96), *isi* ‘content’ (7-97), (7-115), *pengalaman* ‘experience’ (7-98), *senjata* ‘weapon’ (7-99), (7-106), (7-109), (7-110), *otak* ‘brain’ (7-100), *guna* ‘use’ (7-101), *keringat* ‘sweat’ (7-102), *kaki* ‘leg’ (7-103), *debu* ‘dust’ (7-103), *pendidikan* ‘education’ (7-104), *dinding* ‘wall’ (7-105), (7-117), *istri* ‘wife’ (7-107), (7-111), (7-112), *kalung* ‘necklace’ (7-114), *anggota* ‘member’ (7-116), and *atap* ‘roof’ (7-117).

X Y-an has a strict function in possessive predicate notion. *Y* in this construction is always ‘inalienable’ such as: *uban* ‘grey hair’ (7-118), *karat* ‘rust’ (7-119), *jerawat* ‘pimple’ (7-120), *ketombe* ‘dandruff’ (7-120), *lumut* ‘moss’ (7-126). *Y* may be ‘clothes etc. worn on the body’ such as: *kacamata* ‘glasses’ (7-123), *selimut* ‘blanket’ (7-124). *Y* has the sense ‘substance attached to a wide region’.

By examining Y in each construction, finally, we can summarize the relation between the possessee (Y) and (in)alienability notion in Indonesian (see Table 4). However, a problem of determining the inalienable and the alienable subdomains is found. I consider ‘Kinship roles’, ‘Private property’, and ‘Acquired attribute’ as ‘Alienable’ since, first, it is easier to explain that Y in *X ada Y* belongs to ‘Alienable’ and thus, Y in *X ada Y=nya* belongs to ‘Inalienable’; than to explain that *X ber-Y*, *X ber-Y-kan Z* belongs to ‘Inalienable’. The second reason is because ‘Alienable’ (except ‘Kinship roles’) tends to obtain the sense ‘availability of the possessee at a certain time’ and ‘Temporary possession’. The division of the alienable and the inalienable subdomains here is not the same as the ‘Possession Cline’ in Tsunoda (1995).

The notion of ‘(In)alienability’ in Indonesian can be divided as follows:

1. Inalienable

1. **‘Body parts/part-whole relationship’, ‘General Nature/Quality’** consist of nouns denoting body parts (*otak* ‘brain’, *mata* ‘eye’, *kaki* ‘leg’, *ekor* ‘tail’ etc.), a part of a whole thing (*dinding* ‘wall’, *atap* ‘roof’ etc.), and the inherent features (*nilai* ‘value’, *dasar* ‘base’, *guna* ‘use’ etc.). The constructions *X memiliki Y*, *X mempunyai Y*, *X punya Y*, *X ber-Y*, *X ber-Y-kan Z*, and *X ada Y=nya* are used to encode the possession of ‘body parts/part-whole relationship’ and ‘general nature/quality’.
2. **‘Substance attached to an area’** consists of substance which is attached to an area such as *karat* ‘rust’, *lumut* ‘moss’, *jerawat* ‘pimples’ etc. This group can be divided into two groups according to the width of the area on which the substance is attached to.
 - a. **‘Substance attached to a narrow area’**. The ‘possession’ of ‘substance

attached to a narrow area' can be encoded through the constructions *X ber-Y*, *X ber-Y-kan Z* and *X ada Y=nya*.

b. **'Substance attached to a wide area'**. The 'possession' of 'substance attached to a wide area' can be encoded through the constructions *X ber-Y*, *X ber-Y-kan Z* and *XY-an*.

3. **'Clothes etc. worn on the body'**⁸¹ includes clothes, accessories, weapon etc. worn on the body such as *baju* 'shirt', *kacamata* 'glasses', *senjata* 'weapon' and so on. This type of 'possession' can be only encoded through *X ber-Y* and *X ber-Y-kan Z*.

2. Alienable

1. **'Kinship roles', 'Private property (immovables)', 'Acquired attribute'** consist of family members (*ibu* 'mother', *kakek* 'grandfather', *suami* 'husband' etc.), private property/immovables (*rumah* 'house', *tanah* 'estate' etc.), acquired attribute (*hak* 'right', *pendapat* 'opinion', *pemikiran* 'thought' etc.). The constructions *X memiliki Y*, *X mempunyai Y*, *X punya Y*, *X ber-Y*, *X ber-Y-kan Z*, and *X ada Y* are used to encode the 'possession' of 'kinship roles', 'private property (immovables)' and 'acquired attribute'.

2. **'Social relation', 'Belongings (movables)', 'Nonspecific referents'** consist of social relation (*teman* 'friend', *tetangga* 'neighbour' etc.), belongings/movables (*mobil* 'car', *alat* 'instrument', *anjing* 'dog' etc.), and nonspecific referents (*sesuatu* 'something', *apa-apa* 'anything'). The constructions *X memiliki Y*, *X mempunyai Y*, *X punya Y*, and *X ada Y* are used to encode the 'possession' of 'social relation', 'belongings (movables)', and 'nonspecific referents'.

⁸¹ See Tsunoda (1995:578).

Table 4. The Relation between The Possessee (Y) and (In)alienability in Indonesian

| ALIENABLE | | | | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|---|---|--|---------------------------------------|---|
| | X memiliki Y, X mempunyai Y, | | | | | |
| | | | | X ber-Y, | | |
| X ada Y | | | | | | |
| Event, Temporary property | Nonspecific referents | Belongings (movables) | Social relation | Kinship roles | Private Property (immovables) | Acquired Attribute |
| <i>acara</i> 'event' | <i>sesuatu</i> 'something' | <i>kemeja</i> 'shirt' <i>jeans</i> 'jeans' | <i>sahabat</i> 'close friend' | <i>orang tua</i> 'parents' | <i>tanah</i> 'estate' <i>rumah</i> | <i>kepintaran</i> 'cleverness' |
| <i>rapat</i> 'meeting' | <i>apa-apa</i> 'anything' | <i>HP</i> 'handphone' | <i>teman</i> 'friend' | <i>anak</i> 'child' <i>nenek</i> | 'house' <i>uang</i> | <i>hak</i> 'right' <i>potensi</i> |
| <i>kerjaan</i> 'temporary work' | | <i>mobil</i> 'car' <i>barang</i> 'thing, stuff' | <i>kakak</i> 'older sibling' <i>cowok</i> | 'grandmother' <i>kakek</i> 'grandfather' | 'money' <i>harta</i> 'property' | 'potention' <i>pendapat</i> 'opinion' |
| <i>PR</i> 'homework' | | <i>buku</i> 'book' <i>alat</i> | 'boyfriend' <i>pacar</i> | <i>ibu</i> 'mother' <i>bapak</i> | | <i>pemikiran</i> 'thought' |
| <i>tes</i> 'test' <i>demam</i> 'fever' | | 'instrument' <i>anjing</i> 'dog' | 'steady' <i>musuh</i> 'enemy' | 'father' <i>kakak</i> 'older sibling' | | <i>prospek</i> 'prospect' <i>pengalaman</i> |
| <i>flu</i> 'flu' <i>sakit teng- gorokan</i> 'sore throat' | | | 'neighbour' <i>tetangga</i> | <i>istri</i> 'wife' <i>suami</i> 'husband' | | 'experience' <i>pendidikan</i> 'education' |

| INALIENABLE | | | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| X punya Y | | | | |
| X ber-Y-kan Z | | | | |
| X ada Y=nya | | | X Y-an | |
| General Nature, Quality | Body-parts, part-whole relationship | Substance attached to a narrow area | Substance attached to a wide area | Clothes etc. worn on the body |
| <i>guna</i> 'use' | <i>hidung</i> 'nose' | <i>jamur</i> 'mildew, mould' | | <i>pakaian</i> 'clothes' |
| <i>arti</i> 'meaning' | <i>tanduk</i> 'horn' | <i>karat</i> 'rust' | | <i>baju</i> 'shirt' |
| <i>nama</i> 'name' | <i>mata</i> 'eye' | <i>uban</i> 'gray hair' | | <i>dasi</i> 'necktie' |
| <i>khasiat</i> 'efficacy' | <i>mulut</i> 'mouth' | <i>lumut</i> 'moss' | | <i>kacamata</i> |
| <i>nilai</i> 'value' | <i>ekor</i> 'tail' | <i>jerawat</i> 'pimples' | | 'glasses' |
| <i>harga</i> 'value' | <i>belang</i> 'stripe' | <i>ketombe</i> 'dandruff' | | <i>kalung</i> 'necklace' |
| <i>bentuk</i> 'shape' | <i>otak</i> 'brain' | <i>keringat</i> 'sweat' | | <i>stoking</i> 'stocking' |
| <i>bau</i> 'smell' | <i>badan, tubuh</i> 'body' | <i>kumis</i> 'mustache' | | <i>kerudung</i> 'scarf' |
| <i>rasa</i> 'taste' | <i>kepala</i> 'head' | <i>janggut</i> 'beard' | | <i>jam tangan</i> |
| <i>dasar</i> 'base, basis' | <i>kaki</i> 'leg' | <i>bulu</i> 'fur' | | 'wristwatch' |
| <i>identitas</i> 'identity' | <i>atap</i> 'roof' | <i>duri</i> 'thorn' | | <i>senjata</i> 'weapon' |
| <i>karakter</i> 'character' | <i>dinding</i> 'wall' | <i>kudis</i> 'scabies' | | <i>taplak</i> |
| <i>kebenaran</i> 'truth' | <i>beranda</i> 'verandah' | <i>debu</i> (* <i>debu</i>) 'dust' | | 'tablecloth' |
| <i>kebangsaan</i> 'nationality' | <i>tuan</i> 'master, owner' | <i>taplak</i> (* <i>taplakan</i>) 'tablecloth' | | <i>selimut</i> 'blanket' |
| | <i>anggota</i> 'member' | | | |

3. **‘Event’ and ‘Temporary property’** consist of ‘event’ (*acara* ‘event’, *rapat* ‘meeting’, *tes* ‘test’ etc.) and ‘temporary possession, disease’ (*kerjaan* ‘temporary work’, *mobil pinjaman* ‘rental car’, *flu* ‘flu’ etc.). This type of ‘possession’ can be encoded only through *X ada Y*.

If the object possessed is a personal pronoun or personal proper names, *X memiliki Y* is the only construction which can encode such ‘possession’. I regard the ‘Body-parts, part-whole relationship’ and ‘General nature, quality’ as the prototype of ‘Inalienable’; ‘Belongings (movables)’ as the prototype of ‘Alienable’.

We should consider that the relation between *X* and *Y* is relative to the knowledge the speaker has as in example (7-82) and as noted in Sneddon (2009:7), the (in)alienability concept depends on the cultures.

Possessive predicate constructions with possessive verbs tend to have the sense ‘Permanent Possession’. Also, constructions with affixes tend to have the sense ‘Permanent Possession’ because of its ‘integration’. Constructions with the existential verb are rather ‘special’ here, we should separate this construction into two groups: with *=nya* or not. If the construction with the existential verb is with *=nya* (and automatically with inalienable nouns), the construction tends to have the sense ‘Permanent Possession’, if not, the construction tends to have the sense ‘availability of the possessee at a certain point in time’ and ‘Temporary Possession’. In this case, I hypothesize the function of *=nya* as an ‘inalienability marker’ in verbal predicate possession with the existential verb.

However, there are problems left for studies in the future:

1. What is the correlation between Nominal Predicate Construction, Locative Predicate Construction, Existential Predicate Construction, and Possessive Predicate Construction in Indonesian (synchronously or diachronically)?
2. What is =*nya*? Does =*nya* really function as an ‘inalienability marker’ in *X ada Y=nya*? Does this function have correlations with the other functions which are already known?
3. The nature of ‘*Ada*’ constructions. As we know, ‘*Ada*’ plays important roles in many constructions discussed in this paper.

9. Conclusion

This paper looks at the possessive predicates in Indonesian. The problem of how Indonesian encodes the ‘possessive’ notion in various types of possessive predicate construction has been discussed.

Factors contributing to the functional differentiation of the possessive predicates in constructions have been examined. The results are: first, the register and the relation between the objects possessed and the ‘(in)alienability’ notion play important roles in the encoding process, and secondly, I hypothesize that the enclitic =*nya* in the construction *X ada Y=nya* functions as an ‘inalienability marker’ in the possessive construction with the existential verb *ada* and the ‘inalienable’ objects.

These results are important for linguists who are dealing with ‘Possession’ and/or ‘(In)alienability’ notion, Indonesian learners who are having troubles with various types of possessive predicates, and for Indonesian linguists. The ‘new’ function of =*nya*, which I hypothesize, is one of the problems left for study in the future.

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