

The Indonesian verbal suffix *-nya*

Nominalization or subordination?

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ABSTRACT

The suffix *-nya* is one of the most frequent and polysemic suffixes in Indonesian. It can provide definite determination and topicalization. The “Verb-*nya*”, which often appears in a topicalized subject Noun Phrase (NP), is generally labelled as a deverbal noun. Nevertheless, many syntactic constraints set it apart from Indonesian deverbal nouns. “Verb-*nya*” must be complemented by a NP, which can easily be reconstructed as a former subject: a sentence is topicalized and thus becomes a noun clause, generally the subject of the main clause Verb Phrase (VP). I argue that “Verb-*nya*” is a subordinate noun clause, almost always conveying causality. This causal noun clause, an innovation in formal written Indonesian (especially in the media), seems to fill a “gap”: the impossibility of beginning a sentence with a subordinating morpheme (‘that’, ‘because’).

KEYWORDS

Indonesian, Bahasa Indonesia, suffix *-nya*, nominalization, causality, aspect, noun clause, topic.

INTRODUCTION

In this paper, I examine a pattern which is becoming increasingly frequent in written Indonesian: a verb is suffixed with *-nya* and seemingly promoted as the head of a noun phrase (NP). At first sight, the compound “Verb-*nya*” is a deverbal noun, which often appears in a topicalized subject NP. This pattern also occurs, less frequently, within object noun phrases and prepositional phrases. However, the specific syntactic constraints that restrict the use of “Verb-*nya*” compared to nouns, lead us to question its status as a deverbal noun. Moreover, the tendency to use “Verb-*nya*” to express a cause, and its complex aspectual features, set it apart from other Indonesian nominalization

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devices. In the first section, I will define what exactly "Verb-*nya*" represents, among the wide range of possibilities for *-nya*, one of the most frequent and polysemic suffixes in Indonesian. The second and third sections respectively examine the *-nya* suffixation applied to intransitive and transitive verbs. Section 4 appraises the syntactic constraints of the "Verb-*nya*" pattern. Finally, Section 5 clarifies its aspectual features, and challenges the claim that "Verb-*nya*" pattern is a nominalization.

1. AN OVERVIEW OF THE SUFFIX -NYA

In Indonesian, the suffix *-nya* appears in a wide range of syntactic structures, making it one of the most familiar and puzzling morphemes in Indonesian. Surprisingly, Englebretson (2003) was, to my knowledge, the first linguist to propose a broad analysis of *-nya*, extremely frequent in his colloquial Indonesian corpus. He dealt mainly with the "epistemic *-nya* constructions", while the pattern "Verb-*nya*", analysed as a nominalization device, is evoked only in a few lines (Englebretson 2003: 168). Yap (2011) focuses on the wide use of *-nya* expressing the speaker's subjectivity, especially in Malay (which differs slightly from Indonesian). Arka (2011) shows that *-nya* has implications regarding modality, finiteness, and TAM (Tense-Aspect-Modality); I will further discuss the aspectual dimension of this suffix.

In this section, I will describe various uses of *-nya*. Most of them are related to the main point of this paper, the pattern "Verb-*nya*".

1.1 FROM 3RD PERSON PRONOUN TO DEFINITE DETERMINER

The suffix *-nya* mostly occurs as 3rd person possessive determiner or 3rd person pronoun, successively illustrated in the following example:¹

- (1) *Mobil -nya masih baru tetapi dia men-jual -nya*
 car -3SG.POSS still new but 3SG AV- sell- -3SG
 'His/Her car is still new but he/she sold it.'

The 3SG personal pronoun *-nya* may have an object function and play the role of a Patient, like the second *-nya* in example (1), be the head of a prepositional phrase (PP), example (2), or play the role of an Agent in Undergoer Voice,²

¹ Glossing: APPL: applicative; ATL: atelic; AV: actor voice; UV: undergoer voice; AUV: accidental undergoer voice; CAUS: causative; DEM: demonstrative; DET: determiner; EXCL: exclusive; INCL: inclusive; INTM: intermediated; NOM: nominalizer; PERF: perfective; IMPF: imperfective; STAT: stative; REL: relative; POSS: possessive; PRN: proper noun; SG: singular; PL: plural. For all abbreviations used in the text see also the list at the end of the paper.

² We avoid the "Active versus Passive" terminology, which is more appropriate to European languages. Indonesian has "symmetric voices", as argued by Himmelmann (2005), because none of the voices may be considered as the transformation of the other one; moreover Undergoer Voice is almost as frequent as Actor Voice. Actor Voice is marked by a verbal nasal prefix, *men-* (AV) hence "Agent *men*-V Patient", while Undergoer Voice is marked by the prefix *di-* (UV), hence "Patient *di*-V (Agent)" or *ter-* (AUV, accidental/non-voluntary). Another pattern, often said to be an alternative "passive form", bound to 1st and 2nd persons, actually results

example (4).

- (2) *Saya ber- terima kasih kepada -nya*
 1SG ATL- receive give to -SG
 ‘I am grateful to him/her.’

Arka (2011: 81) also evokes “verbs of saying and feeling”,³ to which the subject pronoun *-nya* adds a “past reference”, and gives the following example:

- (3) *‘Siapa itu?’ tanya =nya.*
 Who that ask =nya
 ‘“Who is that?” he asked./ #he will ask.’

- (4) *Rumah itu di- jual -nya (kepada Anwar)*
 house DET UV- sell -3SG (to PRN)
 ‘He/She sold this house (to Anwar).’ Literally: ‘This house was sold by him/her (to Anwar).’

The Undergoer Voice structure *di-V-nya* (UV-V-3SG), example (4), is typical of classical Malay narrative texts, where it conveys an aoristic aspect. It is far less in use in contemporary Indonesian novels, and can be heard only in formal speech.⁴

There is a clear-cut syntactic distinction: in the Undergoer Voice, the 3SG pronoun *-nya* refers to an Agent, while in the Actor Voice it refers to a Patient. This suffix may also appear as head of a PP. In other words, *-nya* is always oblique, while the personal pronoun *ia* 3SG is always subject, and *dia* 3SG may be used in any case.⁵ However, Yap (2011: 644-646) signals a handful of puzzling examples which seem to contradict this rule, and indeed some paradoxical expressions where *-nya* seems to refer to 2SG rather than 3SG.

In Indonesian, a noun complementation expressing a possession (or genitive) relation needs no linking morpheme: the “possessed”, whether a noun or a pronoun, is simply placed to the left of the “possessor”. However in colloquial Indonesian, sentences such as example (6) are quite common:

from the fronting of an oblique argument (generally the object), which entails the absence of any verbal prefix and the inseparability of subject and verb: “Patient Agent Ø-V”.

³ In direct speech, these verbs entail subject inversion (that is “quoted speech” V S), as in French.

⁴ Englebretson (2003: 169) observes that “there are no examples of this structure in [his] corpus [of colloquial Indonesian conversation]”.

⁵ Another distinction between these 3SG personal pronouns is of a semantic nature: *ia* and *dia* represent humans, while *-nya* may refer to humans, animates or inanimates. Note also that *-nya* may refer to a plural person, hence 3PL, although the pronoun *mereka* 3PL is increasingly preferred in standard and colloquial Indonesian.

- (5) *Saya suka rumah Lina Saya suka rumah -nya*
 1SG like house PRN 1SG like house -3SG.GEN
 'I like Lina's house.' 'I like her house.'
- (6) *Saya suka rumah -nya Lina*
 1SG like house -nya PRN
 'I like Lina's house.'

One could analyse "-nya" in example (6) as the genitive 3rd person pronoun *-nya*, redundant (cross-referenced) with the noun referring to the possessor, that is, in *rumah-nya Lina* 'Lina's house', *-nya* and *Lina* would be co-referential. We believe rather that this *-nya* is a definite determiner;⁶ in Indonesian, it is perfectly possible to find a possessive determiner and a definite determiner (SPEC) within the same NP. The constraint is that *-nya* must not be separated from the specified head noun or core NP (head noun plus adjective).

- (7) *Rumah itu. Rumah -nya Rumah biru -nya*
 house DET house -DET/3POSS house blue -DET/3POSS
 'This house' 'This/his house' 'This/his blue house'
- (8) *Rumah -nya itu. *Rumah itu -nya *Rumah Lina -nya*
 house -nya DET house DET -nya house PRN -nya
 'This/his house' 'This house' 'house of Lina'

In sum, beside the canonical use of *-nya* as a broad representative of 3rd person (possessive determiner or oblique pronoun), this suffix may also behave as a definite determiner. Englebretson (2003) labels this particular use of *-nya* "identifiability marker"⁷ and points out that it tends to mark referents which are identifiable not by the immediate speech context or by anaphora, but through a wider context, involving the shared cultural and pragmatic knowledge of the speakers.

Although possessive and determinative meanings of *-nya* are often mingled, the subject NP in example (9) should be understood as 'the restaurants in Indonesia' rather than 'Indonesia's restaurants'.

- (9) *Di Indonesia, restoran -nya selalu ramai.*
 in Indonesia, restaurant -DET always crowded
 'In Indonesia, the restaurants are always crowded.'

The definite determiner *-nya* may be considered as a further grammaticalization

⁶ Also labelled "ligature *-nya*", see Arka (2011: 79).

⁷ Englebretson (2003: 161) quotes Chafe (1994: 93): "To put it simply, an identifiable referent is one the speaker assumes the listener will be able to identify".

of the possessive determiner, as suggested by Yap (2011: 647). It is particularly frequent in colloquial Indonesian; it can determine common nouns of course, but also pronouns and even proper nouns, as illustrated in examples (10) and (11).

- (10) *Restoran -nya baru. Saya -nya yang malas.*
 restoran -DET new 1SG -DET REL lazy
 ‘The restaurant is new.’ ‘It is I who is lazy.’

- (11) *Hendra di mana? Hendra -nya di mana?*
 NPR at which NPR -DET at which
 ‘Where is Hendra?’ ‘Where is this Hendra again?’

The suffix *-nya* also forms numerous discourse adverbs, labelled “epistemic *-nya* constructions” by Englebretson (2003: 170-185) or “evidentiality” by Arka (2011: 83).

- (12) *Nyata -nya, sains me- milik -i dinamika -nya sendiri.*
 be.real -nya, science AV- posses -LOCK dynamics -3SG.POSS alone
 ‘In point of fact, science possesses its own dynamic.’

Arka (2011: 82) also describes “modal nominalization”:

- (13) *Harus =nya kamu datang*
 must =nya 2SG come
 ‘You should have come’

Other usages of *-nya* include adverbialisation:

- (14) *Sedikit -nya 8.000 perawat ber- demo di depan DPR.*
 be.few -nya 8.000 nurse ATL- demonstrate at front PRN
 ‘At least 8.000 nurses are demonstrating in front of the House of Representatives.’

Englebretson (2003) proposes a fine grained analysis of these constructions, and Yap (2011) shows that “epistemic *-nya* constructions” and adverbialization, which occur in contexts such as expressing an opinion, making a judgment or giving advice, reflect the subjectivity of the speaker, see examples (12) to (14). I will not elaborate on this particular semantic facet of *-nya* in this paper.

1.2 IDENTIFYING THE ‘VERB-NYA’ PATTERN

The possessive determiner *-nya* is suffixed to a noun, thus cannot be confused with the “Verb-*nya*” pattern. The problem arises when *-nya* is affixed to a verb: is it a 3rd person subject pronoun, or another kind of morpheme (that I will provisionally label “definite determiner”)? The 3SG pronoun *-nya* always plays

a semantic role, either Patient, example (1), or Agent,⁸ examples (4) and (15).

- (15) *Alasan kami di- tolak -nya*
 reason 1PL.POSS UV- refuse -3SG
 'Our justification was rejected by him.'

In the Undergoer Voice, the pronoun *-nya* is of course optional, because the Agent can be omitted or referred to by a noun phrase,⁹ as illustrated by example (16).

- (16) *Alasan kami di- tolak. / di- tolak (oleh) M.A.*
 reason 1PL.EXCL UV- refuse UV- refuse (by) PRN
 'Our justification was rejected. / rejected by the Supreme Court.'

On the other hand, the "Verb-*nya*" pattern occurs in a non-verbal phrase which behaves like a noun phrase (NP), where *-nya* is a mere linking morpheme and plays no semantic role, example (17).

- (17) *Alasan di- tolak -nya banding Hartono memang wajar.*
 reason UV- refuse -DET appeal PRN actually lawful
 'The reason of the rejection of Hartono's appeal is actually lawful.'

In (17), the morpheme *-nya* does not refer anaphorically to any noun or NP, while without *-nya*, the sentence would be ungrammatical. The striking syntactic divergence between the uses of *di-tolak-nya* in examples (15) and (17) is represented in the two following constituent-based trees (Figures 1 and 2):

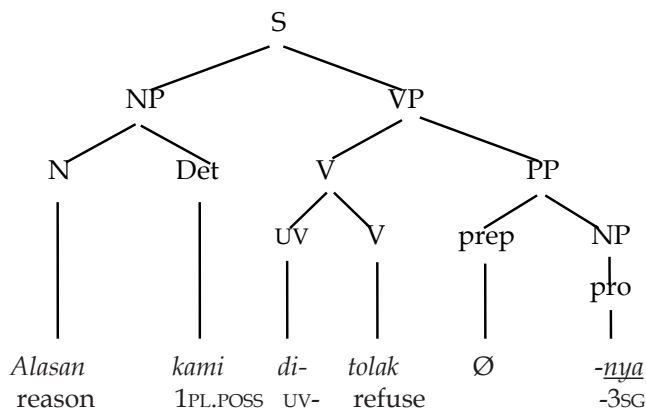


Figure 1. Representation of the constituent-based tree in Example 15.

⁸ Furthermore, in a PP this personal pronoun can play a Beneficiary role, example (2), among other roles such as location.

⁹ Obviously, *-nya* is not a cross reference or agreement morpheme, which would be a hapax rule for Indonesian.

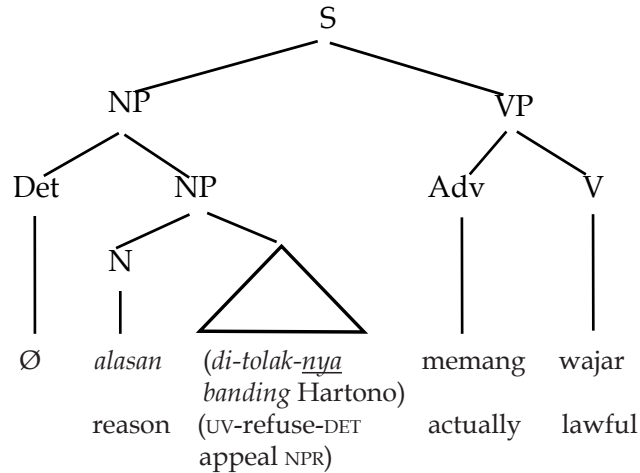


Figure 2. Representation of the constituent-based tree in Example 17.

Another salient difference between *-nya* 3SG pronoun and *-nya* “definite determiner” is that the compound “Verb-*nya*” must be complemented by a NP. Without this complementation, phrases with “Verb-*nya*” would become ungrammatical, or lead back to the interpretation of *-nya* as a 3SG pronoun, see example (18).

- (18) *Alasan di- tolak -nya memang wajar.*
 reason uv- refuse -3SG actually lawful
 ‘The reason it was rejected by him is actually lawful.’

A complementation as in example (17) (that is, ‘the fact that Hartono’s appeal has been rejected’) indicates that “Verb-*nya*” and its complement can be inserted as a whole into a NP, complementing its head noun. (That is *alasan* ‘reason’). At first sight, this syntactic function of “Verb-*nya*” and its complement is a NP, if we consider “Verb-*nya*” as a deverbal noun. An alternative analysis will be suggested in Section 5.

As noticed by Kaswanti Purwo (2008), the “Verb-*nya*” pattern, usually regarded as deverbal nominalization, is one of the salient innovations of present-day standard Indonesian. I could not find a single example of this pattern in classical texts, mostly literary, from the database *Malay Concordance Project*, Proudfoot (2008). The “Verb-*nya*” pattern is increasingly frequent in standard written Indonesian, especially in the media, and more generally in any formal written text, including ‘serious’ blogs and administrative or legal texts. Malaysian (contemporary Malay spoken in Malaysia) seems less concerned by this innovation, but this needs to be verified. While this trend seems to be affecting all kinds of formal and written texts in Indonesian, it remains unusual in conversations, which is not surprising: oral discourse avoids long and complex sentences. Most of my examples were gathered

from online Indonesian media between 2008 and 2014. I shall now examine examples of this pattern, applied to various verb categories, before analysing its syntactic features.

2. INTRANSITIVE VERBS SUFFIXED BY -NYA

2.1 STATIVE VERBS

This “Verb-*nya*” pattern is restricted to gradable stative verbs,¹⁰ as pointed out by Steinhauer (2008). I found no examples of this pattern such as **betulnya*, **berkeluarganya* or **baharinya*, formed respectively on the non-gradable stative verbs *betul* ‘be exact’, *berkeluarga* ‘be married’¹¹ and *bahari* ‘be maritime’.

Stative verbs suffixed by *-nya* occur in Noun Phrases, either subject or object, and Prepositional Phrases. These syntactic contexts will be examined successively.

2.1.1 SUBJECT NOUN PHRASE

- (19) *Mahal -nya pendidikan di Indonesia*
 be.expensive -nya education in Indonesia
me- rupa -kan dampak dari pasar bebas.
 AV- shape -APPL impact from market free
 ‘The expensiveness of education in Indonesia is a consequence of the free market.’

- (20) *Tinggi -nya inflasi meny- (s)ebab -kan nilai*
 be.high -nya inflation AV- cause -APPL value
Rupiah men- (t)urun.
 Rupiah AV- decrease
 ‘The height [high rate] of inflation causes (that) the value of Rupiah to decrease.’

Roughly 90% of the occurrences of *mahalnya* ‘the expensiveness’ and 80% of *tingginya* ‘the height’ gathered from online media contents appear in this type of structure, as head of a subject NP. This results from the topicalization of a stative verb, that is, *mahal* ‘be expensive’ in *pendidikan mahal* ‘education is expensive’ fronted as *mahal-nya pendidikan* ‘the expensiveness of education’, or

¹⁰ In the traditional Indonesian grammar terminology, stative verbs are labelled *adjektiva*.

¹¹ However, the string *ber-V-nya* may well occur, especially when the suffix *-nya* conveys a possessive meaning (3SG.POSS or 3PL.POSS) within a NP encompassing a nominal complementation. For instance *tempat* ‘place’, *kumpul* ‘gather’ > *tempat berkumpulnya mahasiswa* ‘the students’ meeting place’. The suffix *-nya* applies to the NP head and its complement as a whole: {*tempat berkumpul*}-*nya mahasiswa*, a structure similar to *organisasinya mahasiswa* ‘the students’ organisation’. Some ambiguous examples remain puzzling, such as *teman* ‘friend’ > *bertemannya mereka* ‘their friendship’, or, as pointed out by Kaswanti Purwo (2008: 3), *berkumpulnya para pekerja* ‘the gathering of workers’.

tinggi ‘be high’ in *inflasi tinggi* ‘inflation is high’ fronted as *tinggi-nya inflasi* ‘the height of inflation’. Subsequently, the noun which was subject in the original sentence, for example, *pendidikan* ‘education’ or *inflasi* ‘inflation’ is demoted and becomes the complement of the “Verb-nya” compound.

A few stems prefixed by the atelic prefix *ber-* behave like gradable stative verbs and may also be suffixed with *-nya*.

- (21) *Ber- kurang -nya vitamin C akan meng- akibat -kan*
 ATL- less -nya vitamin C will AV- consequence -APPL
kulit men-(t)ua dengan cepat
 skin AV-be.old with be.fast
 ‘A reduction of vitamin C entails that the skin will get older fast.’
 ‘The fact that vitamin C lessens entails that the skin will get older fast.’

2.1.2 OBJECT NOUN PHRASE

Some stative verbs may occur as the head of an object NP, although this is not common. This means that fronting is an optional context for “Verb-nya”, which must still be complemented by a NP.

- (22) *Bapepam akan selidik -i mahal -nya*
 PRN will investigate -APPL be.expensive -nya
harga akuisisi BUMI Angga Aliya.
 price purchase PRN
 ‘The Bapepam will investigate the expensiveness of BUMI Angga Aliya purchase price.’

- (23) *Gubernur Jakarta meny- (s)esal -kan kurang -nya*
 Governor Jakarta AV- regret -APPL less -nya
pasok -an gas.
 supply -NOM gas
 ‘The Governor of Jakarta regrets the shortage of natural gas supply.’

2.1.3 PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE

Some stative verbs suffixed by *-nya* may also become the head of a prepositional phrase. They generally occur in argumentative speech, usually preceded by prepositions such as *karena* ‘because’ and/or verbs expressing causality.

- (24) *Harga minyak me- lonjak karena sedikit -nya cadangan AS.*
 price oil AV- jump because be.few -nya stock PRN
 ‘The price of oil jumps because of the smallness of US stocks.’

However, I found a few examples where this pattern is compatible with PPs localizing the event in time, for example, *di tengah bersemi-nya N* ‘during the

germination of N' from *semi* 'germinate'. When the main clause verb is in Undergoer Voice, there are also examples of "Verb-nya" as head of an agentive PP, which may be introduced by *oleh* 'by', example (25), or simply juxtaposed paratactically, example (26).

(25) *Semua itu di- per- parah oleh buruk -nya aturan.*
 all DET UV- CAUS- be.grave by be.bad -nya regulation
 'All this is aggravated by the fact that the regulation is bad.'

(26) *Hal itu di- picu banyak -nya penduduk*
 problem DET UV- trigger be.a.lot -nya inhabitants
Jakarta yang ber- libur di Bandung.
 PRN REL ATL- holiday at PRN
 'This problem is triggered (by) the large numbers of people from Jakarta who spend holidays in Bandung.'

The "Verb-nya" pattern is mainly linked to the expression of causal relations, and this specialization calls into question the status of "Verb-nya" as a mere nominalization device, as will be discussed later.

2.2 INTRANSITIVE DYNAMIC VERBS

2.2.1 NOMINALIZATION OF BARE INTRANSITIVE VERBS

As Steinhauer (2001: 597) notes, if we consider the Indonesian dynamic verbs, transitive verbs may be affixed with the "definite determiner" *-nya* only if they are in the Undergoer Voice, while intransitive dynamic verbs (which cannot be in the UV) may be suffixed with *-nya*, either on their bare form (stem) or after having been prefixed with *meN-*, as will be shown in 2.2.2. Dynamic intransitive verbs in their bare form, when suffixed by *-nya*, always express completed events. This is especially the case for verbs of motion:

<i>turun</i>	'to descend'	>	<i>turun-nya</i>	'the fall / decrease of'
<i>bangun</i>	'to rise'	>	<i>bangun-nya</i>	'the rise of'
<i>masuk</i>	'to enter'	>	<i>masuk-nya</i>	'the entry (the fact of coming in)'
<i>jatuh</i>	'to fall'	>	<i>jatuh-nya</i>	'the fall, the drop of'
<i>datang</i>	'to come'	>	<i>datang-nya</i>	'the arrival of'

(27) *Masuk -nya organisasi asing di Aceh di-*
 enter -nya organization foreign in UV- PRN UV-
harap -kan mem- beri -kan kejelasan [...]
 hope -APLL AV- give -APLL transparency
 'The entry/access of foreign organizations into Aceh will hopefully bring transparency [...]'

Other intransitive dynamic verbs suffixed by the determinative *-nya* include:

<i>mati</i>	‘to die, to be dead’	>	<i>mati-nya</i>	‘the death (the fact that ... is dead)’
<i>lahir</i>	‘to be born, to appear’	>	<i>lahir-nya</i>	‘the birth (the fact that ... was born)’
<i>timbul</i>	‘to appear, to arise’	>	<i>timbul-nya</i>	‘the appearance, the emergence’
<i>padam</i>	‘to switch off, to extinguish’	>	<i>padam-nya</i>	‘the extinction/putting out (of fire, lights)’

The “Verb-*nya*” pattern frequently occurs as head of the Subject NP, but may also appear within an Object NP, for instance *matinya* ‘the fact that something dies’ in example (28).

- (28) *Perubahan iklim meny- (s)ebab -kan mati -nya*
 change climate AV- cause -APPL die -nya
terumbu karang.
 coral reef
 ‘Climate change causes the death of coral reefs.’

As already underlined, this “Intransitive Verb-*nya*” string must be complemented by a NP.

2.2.2 NOMINALIZATION OF AFFIXED INTRANSITIVE VERBS

It may seem odd that intransitive dynamic verbs should generally be prefixed with *meN-*, labelled “Actor Voice” prefix, because intransitive verbs do not undergo voice alternation. However, in this context, *meN-* signals dynamism and autonomous change,¹² rather than voice. Intransitive dynamic verbs prefixed by *meN-* and suffixed by *-nya* are always atelic verbs, illustrating a progressive and uncompleted change or motion, for example, *menurun* ‘to decrease’ from *turun* ‘to descend’. Interestingly, for some intransitive dynamic verbs, two competing patterns of suffixation with the “definite determiner” *-nya* are found:

<i>turun</i>	‘to descend’	>	<i>turun-nya</i>	‘the descent, the decrease (completed)’
<i>men-(t)urun</i>	‘to decrease’	>	<i>men-(t)urun-nya</i>	‘the decrease (still ongoing at the moment of reference)’

This important aspectual feature will be discussed in Section 5. Most intransitive dynamic verbs can be suffixed according to the pattern *meN-Verb-*

¹² The change is no longer autonomous when the verb is suffixed by the causative/factitive/benefactive *-kan*. For instance, *men-(t)urun* ‘to decrease’, *men-(t)urun-kan* ‘to put down, to make something lower’.

nya, and a few of them may also occur without the prefix, that is, Ø-Verb-*nya*.

<i>lonjak</i>	'to bounce'	>	<i>me-lonjak</i>	'to jump'
		>	<i>me-lonjak-nya</i>	'the sharp rise'
		>	* <i>lonjak-nya</i>	
* <i>rosot</i> ¹³		>	<i>me-rosot</i>	'to decline'
		>	<i>me-rosot-nya</i>	'the deterioration'
		>	* <i>rosot-nya</i>	

These *meN-Verb-nya* compounds express change and progress, their process type is "dense" (see note 19). The same Aktionsart (inherent aspect) is found in verbs whose stem is a stative verb, transformed into dynamic verbs through the prefix *meN-*:

<i>besar</i>	'be big, tall'	>	<i>membesar</i>	'to grow'
		>	<i>membesarnya</i>	'the growth, the expansion'
<i>tinggi</i>	'be tall, high'	>	<i>meninggi</i>	'to increase'
		>	<i>meningginya</i>	'the (ongoing) increase'
<i>panas</i>	'be hot, warm'	>	<i>memanas</i>	'to warm up'
		>	<i>memanasnya</i>	'the warming'
<i>buruk</i>	'be bad'	>	<i>memburuk</i>	'to worsen'
		>	<i>memburuknya</i>	'the worsening'
<i>luas</i>	'be wide'	>	<i>meluas</i>	'to widen'
		>	<i>meluasnya</i>	'the extension, the widening'
<i>kuat</i>	'be strong'	>	<i>menguat</i>	'to strengthen'
		>	<i>menguatnya</i>	'the strengthening'
<i>lemah</i>	'be weak'	>	<i>melemah</i>	'to weaken'
		>	<i>melemahnya</i>	'the weakening'
<i>tua</i>	'be old'	>	<i>menua</i>	'to get/grow old'
		>	<i>menuanya</i>	'the ageing'

A more accurate translation of the "Verb-*nya*" patterns above would be periphrastic: 'the fact that ... is ...-ing', for instance *meluasnya banjir* 'the fact that the flood is extending'.

(29)	<i>Me-</i>	<i>luas</i>	<i>-nya banjir</i>	<i>lumpur</i>	<i>ber-</i>	<i>dampak</i>
	AV-	be.wide	<i>-nya flooding</i>	mud	ATL-	impact
	<i>terhadap</i>	<i>ekonomi</i>		<i>Surabaya.</i>		
	toward	economy		PRN		

'The extension of the mud flooding is having an effect on Surabaya's economy.'

¹³ The stem *rosot* is never used without affixation.

Intransitive dynamic verbs prefixed by *meN-* which do not involve progressivity can also be affixed by *-nya* in its “definite determiner/topicalizer” meaning, as in example (30), but cannot be the head of a NP, so example (31) is not acceptable.

(30) *Huh, kelamaan me- lamun -nya, aku harus lekas mandi.*
 huh too.long AV- daydream -DET, 1SG must quick bath
 ‘Huh, this daydreaming was too long, I must have a bath quickly.’

(31) **Me- lamun -nya sopir meng- akibat -kan kecelakaan itu.*
 AV- daydream -nya driver AV- cause -APPL accident DET
 ‘The driver’s daydreaming caused this accident.’

Why is “Verb-*nya*” barred¹⁴ in example (31), while the same surface structure is perfectly acceptable in example (29)? The “Verb-*nya*” pattern, head of a NP, is linked to the expression of causality, as pointed out in Sections 2.1.3 and 2.2.1. Verbs that express motion, change, and progressivity in gaining or losing a property (*dense* type of process) are liable to convey cause or consequence: they trigger an effect, or are triggered under some factors. Conversely, *compact* processes (Activities in Vendler’s terminology),¹⁵ for instance *melamun* ‘to daydream’ are homogeneous (similarity between all points of the process); nothing is supposed to change. This may be the reason why they are not compatible with the “Verb-*nya*” pattern, whose core feature is to convey causal information.

3. TRANSITIVE VERBS SUFFIXED BY -NYA

In order for the “Verb-*nya*” pattern to apply to transitive verbs, these must be in the undergoer voice, that is, passivized with *di-* (UV) or *ter-* (AUV). In other words, the Actor Voice is not compatible with the “Verb-*nya*” pattern.

(32) **Pasar Taiwan men- (t)olak -nya cabai Indonesia*
 market PRN AV- refuse -nya chilli PRN
mem- (p)ukul usaha ekspor cabai.
 AV- hit business export chilli
 ‘(the fact that) The Taiwan market rejects Indonesian chilli hits the chilli export business hard.’

The reason for this impossibility probably lies in the fact that when a sentence begins with S *meN-V-nya*, the listener will immediately interpret *-nya* as a 3rd

¹⁴ Example (31) must be rearranged, for instance *Ada kecelakaan karena sopir melamun* ‘There was an accident because the driver was daydreaming.’ A verb like *melamun* ‘to daydream’ may also play the syntactic role of a NP subject, as in *Melamun dapat mengakibatkan kecelakaan* ‘Daydreaming may cause accidents’.

¹⁵ See Vendler 1967.

person object pronoun 'him/her/it', corresponding to the standard Actor Voice structure SVO, as in *Saya menolaknya* (1SG reject 3SG) 'I reject it'.

Moreover, the verb suffixed with *-nya* in the undergoer voice must be fronted. As a consequence, the NP referring to the Patient cannot appear in its usual preverbal position, example (33), and must be placed between the "Verb-*nya*" and the optional Agent, as in example (34).

- (33) **Cabai Indonesia di- tolak -nya oleh pasar Taiwan*
 chilli PRN UV- refuse -nya by market PRN
mem- (p)ukul usaha ekspor cabai.
 AV- hit business export chilli
 '(the fact that) Indonesian chilli is rejected by the Taiwan market hits the chilli export business hard.'

- (34) *Di- tolak -nya cabai Indonesia oleh pasar Taiwan*
 UV- refuse -nya chilli PRN by market PRN
mem- (p)ukul usaha ekspor cabai.
 AV- hit business export chilli
 '(the fact that) Indonesian chilli is rejected by the Taiwan market hits the chilli export business hard.'

Literally: 'Rejected in Indonesian chilli by Taiwan market hits hard the business of exporting chilli.'

As already noted for intransitive verbs, the "Verb-*nya*" pattern applied to transitive verbs must be complemented, for instance by the NP *cabai Indonesia* 'Indonesian chilli' in example (34). A structure like S *di-V-nya* as in example (33) would lead to an interpretation of *-nya* as a 3rd person pronoun '(by) him/her/it', referring to the Agent, as illustrated by example (35):

- (35) *Cabai Indonesia di- tolak -nya.*
 chilli PRN UV- refuse -3SG
 'Indonesian chilli is rejected by him/her.'

Alternatively, a verb may be in the "accidental undergoer voice" (so-called "accidental passive" or "agentless passive"), signalled by the prefix *ter-*, before it occurs in a "Verb-*nya*" pattern.

- (36) *Ter- dampar -nya paus di pantai Trisik*
 AUV- strand -nya whale at beach PRN
meng- heran -kan warga se- tempat.
 AV- amaze -APPL people same- place
 'The fact that a whale is aground at Trisik beach amazes local people.'
 Literally: 'Stranded is a whale at Trisik beach amazes local people.'

To sum up, the patterns *di-Verb-nya* (UV- Transitive Verb *-nya*), *ter-Verb-nya* (AUV- Transitive Verb *-nya*) and more generally all “Verb-nya” patterns imply that the NP begins with this string, followed by a complement NP, and optionally by a PP. Most frequently, the “Verb-nya” pattern occurs as head of the subject NP, as schematized below:

- [Intransitive Verb₁ *-nya* NP (PP)] Verb₂ ...
 [UV-Transitive Verb₁ *-nya* NP (PP)] Verb₂ ...

However, an UV-Verb-*nya* pattern may also occur as the head of an object NP, example (37):

S Verb₁ [UV-Transitive Verb₂ *-nya* NP (PP)]

- (37) *Persyaratan mutu yang sangat ketat meny- (s)ebab -kan*
 Norm quality REL very strict AV- cause -APLL
di- tolak -nya cabai Indonesia.
 UV- refuse *-nya* chili Indonesia.
 ‘Quality norms that are very strict caused the rejection of the Indonesian chilli.’

Again, this pattern is linked to the expression of a causal relation. Moreover, within the main clause, causal verbs often occur, for example, *menyebabkan* ‘to cause’ as in example (37). This causal feature can also be observed when “UV-Verb-*nya*” occurs as head of a prepositional phrase (PP). This PP is often fronted, in accordance with the standard cause-consequence order:

- (38) *Dengan di- tolak -nya banding oleh M.A., Martias*
 With UV- refuse *-nya* appeal by PRN PRN
tetap di- hukum 1,5 tahun penjara.
 still UV- condemn 1,5 year jail
 ‘Following the rejection of the appeal by the Supreme Court, Martias is still sentenced to 1.5 years in jail.’
 Literally: ‘With is rejected appeal by the Supreme Court...’

Other prepositional phrases whose head is a “UV-Verb-*nya*” involve the morphemes *karena* ‘because’, *dengan* ‘with’, *maka* ‘therefore’, *sehingga* ‘as a result’, and *setelah* or *sesudah* ‘following, afterwards’, all within a sentence expressing a causal relation.

4. “VERB-NYA” PATTERN: A NOMINALIZATION?

The “Verb-*nya*” pattern is usually considered as a deverbal nominalization. The problem is that this so-called deverbal noun remains highly predicative, and does not share some essential features with Indonesian common nouns.

Before looking at its syntactic properties, a thorough examination is needed of the suffix *-nya* in its role as determiner and topicalizer.

4.1 *-NYA* AS DETERMINER/TOPICALIZER

In Section 1.1 the suffix *-nya* has been described as a very polysemic morpheme. Besides its uses as oblique pronoun or genitive linker, it may be described not only as an "identifiability marker", see Englebretson (2003: 161-162), but more widely as a definite determiner and/or a topicalizing morpheme. Genitive interpretation can be ruled out, when for instance an apposition occurs between the first person *saya* and *orang-nya* 'the person', example (39), where obviously *-nya* cannot be interpreted as a 3rd person pronoun or a possessive determiner cross-referencing a 1SG subject.

- (39) *Saya orang -nya manis, ramah, baik hati dan*
 1SG person *-nya* sweet polite good heart and
tidak sombong.
 NEG proud
 'As a person I am sweet, polite, good-hearted, and not proud.'

This kind of topicalization may also concern proper nouns and personal pronouns, as in examples (10), (11), and (40).

- (40) *Pacar -ku ingin me- nikah, saya -nya yang*
 friend -1SG.POSS desire AV- marry 1SG *-nya* REL
tidak mau.
 NEG want
 'My boyfriend wishes to marry, it's me who doesn't want to.'

Moreover, the definite determiner *-nya* plays a part in the "information packaging" of the sentence: it indicates where the topic is located. Stative verbs suffixed with *-nya* are commonly fronted (that is, a classic means of topicalization), carrying emphatic or exclamative meaning in a nominal sentence.

- (41) *Berat -nya kopor itu!*¹⁶
 heavy *-nya* suitcase DET
 'How heavy this suitcase is!
 Literally: 'The heaviness of this suitcase!'
- (42) *Mahal -nya solar sekarang!*
 expensive *-nya* gas.oil now
 'How expensive is diesel oil now!
 Literally: 'The expensiveness of gas oil now!'

Kaswanti Purwo (2008: 2) notes that “the deverbal nominalization with *-nya* (for example, *naiknya*) [‘the rise’] may be in competition with the earlier (equivalent?) noun formation (for example, *kenaikan*) [‘the increase’] but the two are not interchangeable”. In effect, the role of *-nya* as topicalizer in the “Verb-*nya*” pattern can be opposed to various nominalization devices in Indonesian, for instance the confix *ke-* *-an*, which does not place any emphasis on the action depicted by the deverbal noun. For instance, the intransitive dynamic verb *datang* ‘to arrive’ can be nominalized as *kedatangan* ‘arrival, coming’.

(43) *saya datang ke Holland* → *ke- datang -an saya ke Holland*
 1SG arrive to PRN NOM- arrive -NOM 1SG to PRN
 ‘I came to Holland’ ‘my arrival in Holland’

(44) *saya datang ke Holland* → *datang -nya saya ke Holland*
 1SG arrive to PRN arrive -nya 1SG to PRN
 ‘I came to Holland’ ‘the fact that I came to Holland’

In example (44), the “Verb-*nya*” pattern signals that the ‘arrival in Holland’ is the topic, which will be further commented on. It is foregrounded, usually standing for the cause of forthcoming events, or important circumstances for the following events.

(45) *Datang -nya saya ke Holland, justru mau*
 arrive -nya 1SG to PRN precisely want
meng- hadir -i upacara pemberian penghargaan.
 AV- present -LOC ceremony offering award
 ‘The (reason why) I came to Holland was precisely to attend an award ceremony.’

On the other hand, the deverbal noun *kedatangan* ‘arrival, coming’ usually doesn’t prompt comments, and is likely to be followed by time and location information. Moreover, the “Verb-*nya*” pattern conveys aspect, an issue I will return to in Section 5.

4.2 SYNTACTIC CONSTRAINTS OF “VERB-NYA” PATTERN

The “Verb-*nya*” pattern does not share some essential syntactic features of common nouns in Indonesian. I will examine a series of syntactic constraints, dealing with determination, negation, interrogation, relative clauses, adverbs of degree and aspect markers.

¹⁶ Example quoted from Steinhauer (2001: 597).

4.2.1 DETERMINATION

The Indonesian definite determiners *ini* 'this' and *itu* 'that' are placed at the end (the right-most position) of the NP. This definite determination is optional for NPs headed by the "Verb-*nya*" pattern.

- (46) *Tinggi -nya angka golput (itu) harus men- jadi*
 high -*nya* number abstention (DET) must AV- become
buah pikiran.
 fruit thought

'The (this) height [high level] of abstention must become food for thought.'

It seems that the "Verb-*nya*" pattern itself never undergoes definite determination, as may be the case for a deverbal noun, but this is hard to demonstrate, precisely because this pattern requires to be complemented (it is always the head of a NP). Numeral and indefinite determiners, which must be placed at the beginning of the NP, highlight the difference between "Verb-*nya*" and a deverbal noun such as *penolakan* 'refusal, rejection', from the verb stem *tolak* 'refuse, reject'.

- (47) *Tiga/ Beberapa penolakan permintaan...*
 Three/ some refusal demand
 'Three/Some refusals of the application'

- (48) **Tiga/ *Beberapa di- tolak -nya permintaan...*
 Three/ some UV- refuse -*nya* demand
 '*Three/*Some (fact that) the application is rejected'

"Verb-*nya*" does not behave like a noun with respect to determination. This is possibly because the suffix *-nya* already acts as a definite determiner, which blocks any further determination.

4.2.2 NEGATION

Whenever a "Verb-*nya*" pattern retains negation, it will be expressed by the predicative negation morpheme *tidak*, and not by the nominal negation morpheme *bukan*. For instance, the deverbal noun *penolakan* 'refusal, rejection', from the verb stem *tolak* 'refuse, reject', will be preceded by *bukan*, as opposed to *ditolaknya* 'the fact that ... is rejected', which is negated by *tidak*.

- (49) *Itu *tidak/ bukan penolakan permintaan kami.*
 DET NEG/ NEG refusal demand 1PL.EXCL.POSS
 'This is not a rejection of our request.'

- (50) *Tidak/ *Bukan di- tolak -nya impor cabai di Taiwan*
 NEG/ NEG UV- refuse -nya import chilli in PRN
men- jadi kabar gembira bagi petani Indonesia.
 AV- become news happy for farmers PRN
 ‘The fact that chilli importation to Taiwan is not rejected is great news for Indonesian farmers.’

This apparent paradox, and others to come, shows that this “Verb-nya” pattern conserves basic predicate features. The predicative negation morpheme *tidak* also applies to this pattern when the verb is dynamic intransitive, example (51), and/or when it the head of an object NP, example (52).

- (51) *Tidak masuk -nya anggota para KPU itu karena khawatir.*
 NEG enter -nya member DET PRN DET because worry.
 ‘(The fact that) the Election Board members did not attend is because they were worried.’
- (52) *Masalah ini bisa ber- dampak tidak di-*
 problem DET can ATL- impact NEG UV-
angkat -nya mereka pada rekrutmen PNS
 raise -NOM 3PL at recruitment civil.servant
 ‘This problem may entail (that they will) not be appointed through the civil servant recruitment procedure.’

4.2.3 COORDINATION

Two “Verb-nya” patterns can be coordinated by *dan* ‘and’ or *atau* ‘or’ as follows:

- (53) *Yang mem- (p)utus -kan di- terima atau di-*
 REL AV- decide -APPL UV- accept or UV-
tolak -nya gugatan istri hanyalah hakim agama.
 refuse -nya complaint wife only judge religion
 ‘The only one who settles on whether the wife’s complaint is received or rejected is the religious judge.’
- (54) *Mahal dan langka -nya kayu mem- buat*
 expensive and rare -nya wood AV- make
orang me- lirik bahan lain.
 people AV- consider stuff other
 ‘The high price and the scarcity of wood makes people consider other materials.’
 Literally: ‘Expensive and rare of the wood makes people consider ...’

Interestingly, the suffix *-nya* encompasses the coordinated verbs, for instance example (53) {*diterima atau ditolak*}-*nya* ‘that is received or rejected’ and example (54) {*mahal dan langka*}-*nya* ‘that is expensive and rare’. The strings *diterima-nya* *atau ditolak-nya* and *mahal-nya dan langka-nya* would be judged clumsy and unidiomatic, though not ungrammatical. In other words, it seems that instead of suffixing each one of the verbs, the serial construction is suffixed as a whole: {Verb and Verb}-*nya*, then complemented as a whole by a NP.

Conversely, coordinated deverbal nouns must be affixed independently, on each stem, for instance *penerimaan atau penolakan* ‘acceptation or refusal’: *peN-(t)erima-an atau peN-(t)olak-an*. Again, the “Verb-*nya*” pattern differs from Indonesian deverbal nouns.

4.2.4 COMPLEMENTATION

As we have seen in example (18) and others, the “Verb-*nya*” pattern must be complemented by a NP. This complement originates from a demoted subject NP, as illustrated in example (55).

- (55) *Terumbu karang mati* → *Mati -nya terumbu karang*
 coral reef die die -nya coral reef
 ‘coral reefs die’ ‘the death of coral reefs’
 Literally: ‘the (fact that) die coral reefs’

The complement NP head referent is often inanimate, because “Verb-*nya*” is generally used in argumentative discourse, dealing with social or scientific issues for instance. As already mentioned above, causal relations are the favoured context for this pattern.

However, the complement NP may be either a proper noun or a personal pronoun, with a human referent, for instance *kami* ‘we’ (1PL.EXCL) in example (56):

- (56) *Masuk -nya kami ke pasar ritel sudah*
 enter -nya 1PL.EXCL to market retail PERF
di- aku -i pesaing.
 UV- admit -APPL competitor
 ‘The fact that we engaged in the retail market is acknowledged by our competitors.’

The “Verb-*nya*” pattern can also occur as a non core argument in a NP, complementing a head noun. For instance, in example (57), *datangnya tsunami* ‘the surge of the tsunami’ complements the head noun *trauma* ‘trauma’.

- (57) *Trauma datang -nya tsunami tidak bisa begitu*
 trauma come -nya tsunami NEG can so
saja hilang dari penduduk Aceh.
 simply disappear from inhabitant PRN
 ‘The trauma of the surge of the tsunami cannot fade away so easily for Aceh people.’

Even when occurring as a non-core argument, the “Verb-nya” pattern must be complemented. In Indonesian, this constraint does not apply to nouns: they are optionally complemented by a NP. This again leads us to doubt that “Verb-nya” is a nominalization pattern.

4.2.5 EQUATIONAL STRUCTURE

This test is inspired by Arka (2011: 84). *Adalah* is a copula, whose usage is narrow and specific, compared to the verb “to be” and its equivalents in European languages. *Adalah* is bounded to equational structures and conveys definitions: status or profession of a person, meaning of a word, comparison. Any isolated noun can be defined through *adalah*, example (58), but this is possible for “Verb-nya” only when complemented, example (60).

- (58) *Pen- (t)olak -an adalah per- buat -an*
 NOM- refuse -NOM be NOM- do NOM-
men- (t)olak.
 AV- refuse
 ‘Refusal means the action of refusing.’

- (59) **Di- tolak -nya adalah...*
 UV- refuse -nya be...
 *‘The fact that is refused means...’

- (60) *Di- tolak -nya cabai Indonesia adalah proteksionisme.*
 UV- refuse -nya chilli PRN be protectionism
 ‘The fact that Indonesian chilli is rejected means protectionism.’

The whole NP headed by “Verb-nya” may be defined or characterized via *adalah*, but not the string “Verb-nya” alone, which behaves differently from common nouns.

4.2.6 RELATIVE CLAUSE

Another essential syntactic feature of nouns that the “Verb-nya” pattern does not share is that it cannot be expanded by a relative clause introduced by *yang*, as illustrated by example (62).

- (61) *Pen- (t)olak -an yang di- umum -kan ...*
 NOM- refuse -NOM REL UV- announce -APPL
 'The rejection which has been announced ...'
- (62) ? *Di- tolak -nya yang di- umum -kan ...*
 UV- refuse -nya REL UV- announce -APPL
 '*That is rejected which has been announced ...'
 or 'He refuses what has been announced ...'

The second translation of example (62) is, however, correct if we interpret *-nya* as 3SG pronoun, hence UV-refuse-3SG 'She/He refuses', literally 'refused by her/him'.

As we have already pointed out, the "Verb-*nya*" pattern must be complemented by a NP which originates from a subject NP. This NP complement function cannot be filled by a relative clause deprived of any antecedent.

4.2.7 INTERROGATION

The "Verb-*nya*" pattern is not compatible with an interrogative structure, as illustrated by example (64).

- (63) *Kapan pen- (t)olak -an cabai mem- (p)ukul usaha?*
 When NOM- refuse -NOM chilli AV- hit business
 'When did the rejection of the chilli hit the business?'
- (64) **Kapan di- tolak -nya cabai mem- (p)ukul usaha?*
 Whe UV- refuse -nya chilli AV- hit business
 'When did the fact that chilli is rejected hit the business?'

Only one fronting movement is possible in a sentence, hence we cannot have simultaneously a *wh*-movement (marked by an interrogative morpheme) and the fronting of an object NP (becoming the head of the subject NP). This is probably why the "Verb-*nya*" pattern cannot follow interrogative morphemes such as *kapan* 'when', *kenapa* 'why', *di mana* 'where', *untuk apa* 'what for', etcetera.

4.2.8 RESILIENCE OF ADVERBS OF DEGREE AND ASPECT-MOOD MARKERS

The "Verb-*nya*" pattern can retain adverbs of degree. For instance, sentence (65), when fronted as in example (66), will conserve the adverb *makin* 'increasingly', to the left of "Verb-*nya*".

- (65) *Harga kayu makin mahal.*
 price wood increasingly expensive
 'The price of wood is more and more expensive.'

- (66) *Makin mahal -nya harga kayu mem- buat orang*
 increasingly expensive -nya price wood AV- do people
me- lirik bahan lain untuk struktur atap rumah.
 AV- consider stuff other for structure roof house
 ‘The increasing price of wood makes people consider other materials for the house roof frames.’

The adverbs that can be found in these structures are mainly adverbs of high-degree (for example, *terlalu* ‘too much’). Another feature showing that “Verb-nya” remains highly predicative lies in the fact that the predicate may retain some aspect or mood markers.¹⁷ The continuative aspect marker *masih* in example (67) remains to the left of “Verb-nya” in example (68).

- (67) *Harga suku cadang masih tinggi.*
 price piece reserve still high
 ‘The price of spare parts is still high.’

- (68) *Masih tinggi -nya harga suku cadang men- jadi*
 still high -nya price piece reserve AV- become
alasan tarif tak bisa turun.
 reason price NEG can descend
 ‘[The fact that] the price of spare parts is still high becomes the reason why the cost cannot decrease.’

Obviously, a noun could not be complemented by a degree adverb or an aspect marker, unless this noun was used predicatively;¹⁸ another indication that “Verb-nya” is closer to a verb than to a nominal.

There is no room here to deal with other syntactic features of the “Verb-nya” pattern. For instance, when formed on a transitive verb, therefore with the *di- / ter-* undergoer voice, “Verb-nya” can retain the agent complementation introduced by *oleh* ‘by’, see examples (34) and (38). Furthermore, the “Verb-nya” pattern can be pronominalized, generally by *itu* ‘that, this’.

To sum up, “Verb-nya” is definitely not a deverbal noun, because it remains highly predicative, and does not share essential features of Indonesian deverbal nouns.

5. ASPECTUAL AND SYNTACTIC FEATURES OF “VERB-NYA” PATTERN

It has gone almost unnoticed, except by Arka (2011), that the “Verb-nya” pattern retain aspectual features of its verb, because, as said above, it remains highly predicative. These aspectual features are originate not only from the

¹⁷ We are grateful to Bambang Kaswanti Purwo for this remark.

¹⁸ For instance *Iwan masih guru* (PRN still teacher) ‘Iwan is still teacher’ or *Kamu pelucu banget* (2SG joker very) ‘You are really a joker’.

verb's Aktionsart, but further develop through sophisticated rules, involving valency and voice.

These complex aspectual features set "Verb-*nya*" pattern apart from deverbal nouns affixed by *peN-*-*an* and *ke-*-*an*. Having ruled out the hypothesis of the "Verb-*nya*" pattern as a nominalization device, I will finally offer an alternative syntactic analysis.

5.1 VERBAL SUFFIX -*NYA* AND ASPECT

Arka (2011: 81) has highlighted that "verbs of saying" suffixed by *-nya* 3_{SG} convey, in the absence of a time adverb or aspect marker, a "past temporal reference", as in example (3): *tanya* 'ask' > *tanya-nya* 'he/she asked', and not 'He/she asks'. Moreover, even without any aspectual marker, the "Verb-*nya*" pattern includes an aspectual meaning under certain valency conditions. As shown in examples (43) to (45), the intransitive dynamic verb *datang* 'to arrive' can be nominalized as *kedatangan* 'arrival, coming', while *datangnya* 'the fact that (someone) came' not only signals that the 'arrival' is the topic, but also implies that this process is completed. Let us compare "Verb-*nya*" pattern with the "competing" nominalization confix *peN-*-*an*:

<i>turun</i>	'to descend, to decrease'	>	<i>turun-nya</i>	'the descent' (something has decreased, and is seen as stable at the moment of reference)
		>	<i>men-(t)urun-nya</i>	'the decrease' (something is decreasing at the moment of reference)
		>	<i>pen-(t)urun-an</i>	'the decrease' (something has decreased, is decreasing or may decrease in the future)

These deverbal nouns,¹⁹ or whatever they are, could be translated as 'the fall, the drop, the descent, the decrease'; their difference in meaning reflects the aspect of the process they refer to, as I have tried to illustrate by a paraphrase. The distinction rests on the respective Aktionsarts (inherent aspect) of *turun* and *menurun*. *Turun* 'descend, get down' can be seen as an accomplishment (the descent or decrease is a discrete,²⁰ completed event), while *menurun* 'descend, get down' is atelic, dense and not completed at the time of reference. In effect,

¹⁹ There are some other nominalization patterns on the stem *turun* 'to descend, to decrease', which are not relevant here, for instance *turunan* 'way down', *keturunan* 'descendants, lineage, heredity'.

²⁰ Following the Théorie des Opérations Enonciatives, as developed by Culioli (1999), a *discrete* type of process means that this process is undividable and telic, for instance *to die*, *to win* (it recalls Vendler's *Achievement* Aktionsart). A *dense* type of process means it can be divided, and no final boundary is intended, for instance *to walk*. Finally, *compact* processes correspond to *States* in Vendler's terminology, but also to any atelic *Activity*, for instance *he repairs chairs* if it refers an usual occupation. Culioli's categories also apply to nouns (countable/uncountable referents for instance).

the “Verb-*nya*” pattern does not automatically mark a perfective aspect; it interferes with the inherent aspect (Aktionsart) of the verb stem.

Let us consider intransitive verbs. On a stative verb stem, the Ø- *-nya* pattern simply indicates a state as in *tinggi* ‘high’ > *tinggi-nya* ‘the height’.²¹ For intransitive dynamic verbs, the Ø- *-nya* pattern indicates a perfective aspect as in *turun-nya* ‘the decrease (completed)’, while the *meN-* *-nya* pattern generally specifies a progressive (imperfect, uncompleted) process, as in example (29) and (69).

- (69) *Men-* (t)*urun -nya ekspor akan mem- per- buruk*
 AV- descend -*nya* export will AV- INTM- bad
neraca perdagangan.
 balance commerce
 ‘The fact that exports are decreasing will worsen the balance of commerce.’

For transitive verbs, which must be in the Undergoer Voice before being suffixed by *-nya*, a perfective aspect is conveyed:

- (70) *Di-* *tolak -nya cabai Indonesia mem- (p)ukul ...*
 UV- refuse -*nya* chilli Indonesia AV- hit
 ‘The fact that Indonesian chilli has been rejected hits [...]’
- (71) *Pen-* (t)*olak -an cabai Indonesia mem- (p)ukul ...*
 NOM- refuse -NOM chilli Indonesia AV- hit
 ‘The rejection of Indonesian chilli hits [...]’

The *di-* *-nya* affixation signals that the process is completed. On the other hand, with *peN-* *-an*, example (71), we have no information about the completion of the process; in other words it remains “aspect neutral”. The same aspectual opposition appears between *ter-* *-nya* (*ter-*: accidental undergoer voice) and the nominalization confix *peN-* *-an* :

- (72) *Ter-* *dampar -nya paus ...* *Pen-* *dampar -an paus*
 AUV- strand -*nya* whale NOM- strand -NOM whale
 ‘The fact that a whale has been stranded.’ ‘The stranding of a whale.’

Interestingly, the “Verb-*nya*” pattern must be consistent with time reference and aspect markers. The perfective aspect indicated by “UV-Verb-*nya*” is incompatible with events situated in the future, or with imperfective aspect markers. In the following example, relating the assassination of a famous workers’ union leader during a flight to Amsterdam in 2004, this

²¹ This “state of things” is, however, topicalized, and will be commented on, or regarded as the cause of forthcoming events.

tragic event is anticipated before its completion, therefore the "Verb-nya" pattern is inappropriate.

(73)	Pen-	(t)awar	-an	untuk	duduk	di	kelas	bisnis
	NOM-	propose	-NOM	for	sit	in	class	business
	men-	jadi	langkah	pertama	*di-	bunuh	-nya/	pem-
	AV-	become	step	first	UV-	kill	-nya/	nom-
	bunuh	-an	Munir	yang	akan	di-	laku	-kan
	kill	-NOM	PRN	REL	will	UV-	commit	-APPL
	oleh	Pollycarpus.						
	by	PRN						

'The suggestion that he should sit in business class was the first step towards the assassination of Munir that was to be perpetrated by Pollycarpus.'

There is a clear-cut aspectual opposition between "Verb-nya" and *peN-*-*an*, for example, *bunuh* 'kill' > *dibunuhnya Munir* 'the fact that Munir has been killed' versus *pembunuhan Munir* 'the murder of Munir', the last being indifferent as to whether the event is completed or not. This is why both are acceptable in examples (74) and (75).

(74)	Kita	belum	tahu	motif	di-	bunuh	-nya	Munir.
	1PL	not. yet	know	motive	UV-	kill	-nya	PRN

'We still don't know the reason why Munir was murdered.'

(75)	Kita	belum	tahu	motif	pem-	bunuh	-an	Munir.
	1PL	not. yet	know	motive	NOM-	kill	-NOM	PRN

'We still don't know the motive for Munir's murder.'

Testing the compatibility between aspect markers and the "Verb-nya" pattern confirms the aspectual meaning of *-nya*. Aspect interpretation varies with two factors: the valency of the verb (transitive/intransitive) and the voice marking (Actor Voice *meN-*/Undergoer Voice *di-* or *ter-*/no voice prefix \emptyset). In what follows (see Table 1) I will test only three aspect markers: *sudah* (perfective), *sedang* (imperfective, 'be V-ing'), and *akan* (uncertain/future).

Verb valency and voice	Compatibility of “Verb-nya” ²² with aspect markers	Aspect conveyed by “Verb-nya”
<u>Stative verbs</u> ²³ Ø-V-nya	<i>tinggi</i> ‘be high’ > <i>tinggi-nya</i> ‘the height, the fact that ... is high’ <i>sudah</i> /* <i>sedang</i> /* <i>akan tingginya</i>	STAT
<i>meN-V-nya</i>	<i>besar</i> ‘be big’ > <i>mem-besar-nya</i> ‘the growth, the increase (not completed)’ * <i>sudah</i> /* <i>sedang</i> /* <i>akan membesarnya</i>	IMPF
<u>Intransitive dynamic verbs</u> Ø-V-nya	<i>turun</i> ‘to go down’ > <i>turun-nya</i> ‘the decrease (completed)’ <i>sudah</i> /* <i>sedang</i> /* <i>akan turunnya</i>	PERF
<i>meN-V-nya</i>	<i>turun</i> ‘to go down’ > <i>men-(t)urun-nya</i> ‘the decrease (current, not completed)’ <i>sudah</i> / <i>sedang</i> <i>akan menurunnya</i>	IMPF
<u>Transitive verbs</u> <i>di-V-nya</i>	<i>bangun</i> ‘to put up, build’ > <i>di-bangun-nya</i> ‘the fact that ... is built’ <i>sudah</i> /? <i>sedang</i> /* <i>akan dibangunnya</i>	PERF
<i>ter-V-nya</i>	<i>pilih</i> ‘to choose’ > <i>ter-pilih-nya</i> ‘the choice (completed)’ <i>sudah</i> /* <i>sedang</i> / * <i>akan terpilihnya</i>	PERF

Table 1. Three aspect markers: *sudah*, *sedang*, and *akan*.

For intransitive verbs which do not require voice marking, the picture is contrasted. Stative verbs will remain stative within the “Verb-nya” pattern, but the perfective marker *sudah* shifts to perfect aspect, more accurately the perfect of result.²⁴ For instance, *tingginya* ‘the height, the fact that ... is high’ > *sudah tingginya* ‘the fact that ... became high’. Conversely, intransitive dynamic verbs will become perfective through the “Verb-nya” pattern, for instance *turun* ‘to go down’ > *turun-nya* ‘the decrease (completed)’, and the addition of the perfective marker *sudah* does not modify the aspect.²⁵

On a stative verb stem, *meN-* indicates an imperfective aspect, for instance *besar* ‘be big’ > *mem-besar* ‘to grow, increase, swell’. The “Verb-nya” pattern, that is, *mem-besar-nya* ‘the growth, the fact that (something) increases’ does not modify this aspect, and no aspect marker can be added; even *sedang* (IMPF)

²² All the “Verb-nya” displayed in this column must be complemented by a NP, a noun or a pronoun.

²³ Stative verbs are of course intransitive. The stative verb *tinggi* should be translated as ‘be high’ rather than ‘high’.

²⁴ Following Comrie (1976: 56-58) who gives the following definition of the “perfect of result”: “a present state is referred to as being the result of some past situation”.

²⁵ The marker *sudah* is an aspect and mood marker. In this example, while the aspect is already perfective, *sudah* conveys mood: the event was expected or feared by the speaker. For a detailed account of *sudah* and other aspect-mood markers in Indonesian, see Grangé (2013).

is barred, perhaps because it would be redundant.

On an intransitive dynamic verb, while *meN-* leads to an imperfective aspect interpretation, for instance *turun* 'go down' > *men-(t)urun* 'decrease', the "Verb-*nya*" pattern will not alter this aspectual meaning, and remains surprisingly compatible with any aspect marker.

For transitive verbs, the system is simpler. They must be in the Undergoer Voice (*di-* or accidental undergoer voice *ter-*) and their suffix *-nya* is compatible with the aspect marker *sudah*. This is consistent with the fact that "UV-Verb-*nya*" refers to completed events, and conveys a perfective aspect. On the other hand, the Actor Voice prefix *meN-* seems to neutralize the default aspectual meaning of *-nya*.

Moreover, when a perfective aspect is signalled by *-nya*, this will also lead to the localization of the event in the past, if no other indication of time is available in the context. For this reason, example (76) is to be interpreted as 'the coral died because of this condition', and (77) as 'the coral usually dies in this condition'.

- (76) *Per- ubah -an iklim meny- (s)ebab -kan mati*
 NOM- change -NOM climate AV- cause -APPL die
-nya terumbu -terumbu karang.
-nya coral -PL reef
 'Climate change entailed the death of the coral reefs / that the coral reefs died.'

- (77) *Per- ubah -an iklim meny- (s)ebab -kan ke-*
 NOM- change -NOM climate AV- cause -APPL NOM-
mati -an terumbu -terumbu karang.
 die -NOM coral -PL reef
 'Climate change entails the death of coral reefs.'

To sum up, the nominalization and "Verb-*nya*" patterns can be classified according the aspect they convey by default (see Table 2).

Verb stem \ Aspect	Stative aspect	Imperfective aspect	Perfective aspect
stative verbs	Ø-V- <i>nya</i>	<i>meN-V-nya</i>	
intransitive dyn. verbs		<i>meN-V-nya</i>	Ø-V- <i>nya</i>
transitive verbs (Undergoer Voice only)			<i>di-V-nya</i> <i>ter-V-nya</i>

Table 2. The nominalization and Verb-*nya* patterns.

The confixes *peN-* *-an* or *ke-* *-an* are mere nominalization devices: the deverbal nouns they form behave syntactically as bare common nouns, and do

not convey any particular aspectual information. The verbal suffix *-nya* is relevant to the expression of aspect, which differentiates it even more from nominalization.

It is noticeable that under the “Verb-*nya*” pattern, transitive verbs always indicate perfective aspect. This is probably because “UV-Verb-*nya*” and its complement generally refer to the cause (see Sections 2.1.3 and 2.2.1), while the consequence is expressed by the following VP. Logically, the cause precedes the consequence, which implies the completion of a causal event before the consequence occurs.

The aspectual features of the “Verb-*nya*” pattern may be linked to two problems outlined above. Firstly, among the stative verbs, this pattern only applies to gradable stative verbs, as noticed by Steinhauer (2008), see Section 2.1. Secondly, intransitive dynamic verbs that do not express progressivity never occur within this pattern; for instance *melamun* ‘to daydream’ can be suffixed by *-nya* as a definite determiner, but cannot be topicalized, as head of a NP or clause, see examples (30) and (31). In both cases, it appears that the “Verb-*nya*” pattern cannot apply to homogenous processes (compact processes), but only to discrete and dense processes. A forthcoming event is triggered by “Verb-*nya*”, because the state of affairs changes, for instance something becomes more and more expensive, or warmer and warmer (stative gradable verbs, intransitive verbs prefixed by *meN-*), for example *tinggi-nya* ‘the height, the fact that ... is high’ and *men-(t)urun-nya* ‘the decrease’. A progressive change in the state of things is depicted, as a prelude to a consequence. On the contrary, non-gradable stative verbs, for instance *bahari* ‘be maritime’, or verbs which do not involve any change between the beginning and the end of the process, for instance *melamun* ‘to daydream’, seem less apt to trigger a consequence.

5.2 “VERB-NYA” PATTERN: A SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

As we have seen above, the “Verb-*nya*” pattern has little to do with nominalization, and retains many predicative features. This pattern allows to topicalize a “circumstance” that will be further commented on, or a cause followed by its consequence. It often reflects the promotion of a causal PP to either a subject NP or an object NP. See for instance the transformation of sentence (78) into sentence (79).

- (78) *Usaha ekspor cabai di-pukul karena pasar Taiwan*
 business export chilli UV- hit because market PRN
men-(t)olak cabai Indonesia.
 AV- refuse chilli PRN
 ‘The chilli export business is hit hard because Taiwan’s market rejects Indonesian chilli.’

Extracted from the PP *karena pasar Taiwan menolak cabai Indonesia* ‘because

Taiwan's market rejects Indonesian chilli', the string *pasar Taiwan menolak cabai Indonesia* is fronted and promoted as the new subject NP:

- (79) *Di- tolak -nya cabai Indonesia oleh pasar Taiwan*
 UV- refuse *nya* chilli PRN by market PRN
mem- (p)ukul usaha ekspor cabai.
 AV- hit business export
 'The rejection of Indonesian chilli by Taiwan's market hits the chilli export business hard.'

Rather than a nominalization device, it would be more accurate to regard the "Verb-*nya*" pattern as a subordinate clause (dependent clause). Syntactically, it behaves like a NP, but if we consider that the verb remains predicative (not a deverbal noun), it should be considered as a noun clause expressing cause. This "noun causal clause" does not begin with a subordinating morpheme (like *bahwa* 'that'). However, it would be ungrammatical to begin a sentence with a noun clause introduced by *bahwa* 'that':

- (80) **Bahwa Rupiah men- (t)urun (itu) me- rugi -kan*
 that PRN AV- go.down DET AV- harm -APPL
ekonomi Indonesia
 economy PRN
 *'That Rupiah falls harms the Indonesian economy.'

It is also impossible to begin the sentence with a causal adverbial clause, introduced by *karena* 'because'. But through the "Verb-*nya*" pattern, it becomes easy to topicalize the 'cause', in the form of a causal noun clause.

- (81) *Men- (t)urun -nya Rupiah me- rugi -kan*
 AV- go.down -nya PRN AV- harm -APPL
ekonomi Indonesia.
 economy PRN
 'The fact that Rupiah falls harms the Indonesian economy.'

The compulsory complement NP of "Verb-*nya*" originates from a former subject. Intransitive and transitive sentences will be transformed into subordinate noun clauses as follows (S stands for Subject, V for verb, O for object):

SV → [V-*nya* S]

SVO → [UV-V-*nya* S PP], where PP is the demotion of O

We have seen that the suffix *-nya* has a wide scope, and as a definite

determiner, can topicalize any noun, NP or even verb. It does the same for a clause. Within the “Verb-nya” pattern, the verbal suffix *-nya* may be considered as a subordinating morpheme, labelled “Sub” in the constituent-based tree (here S stands for Sentence), illustrating example (81), see Figure 3.

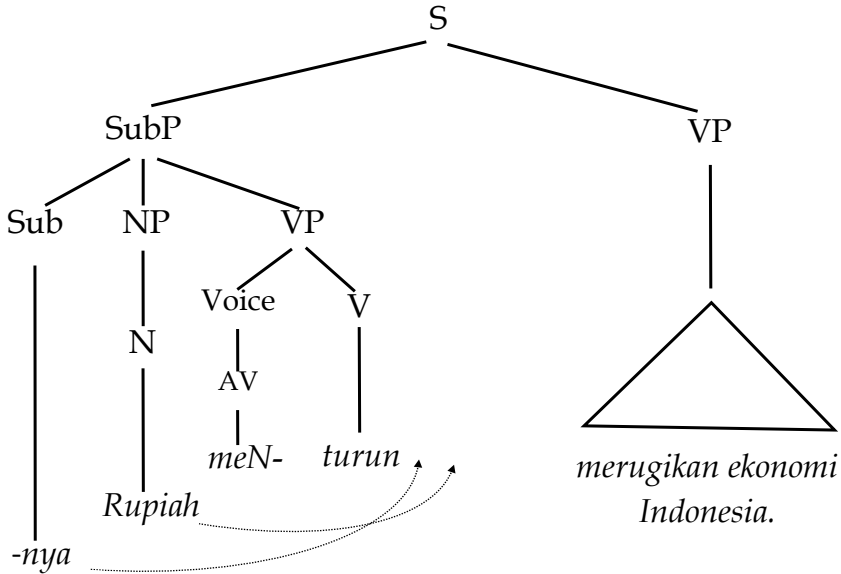


Figure 3. The constituent-based tree of example 81.

The verbal suffix *-nya*, if we regard it as a subordinating morpheme, cannot be placed at the beginning of the noun clause. It “moves” to the right of the verb, in a position where we could not find its homonymous 3_{SG} pronoun *-nya* ‘he/she’. Another noticeable movement is the subject inversion within the noun clause, that is *Rupiah* in example (81), which must move to the right of *Verb-nya*. Subject inversion is, however, frequent in Indonesian with verbs of saying, for instance *jawab-nya* ‘he answered’. Therefore, *Rupiah* in example (81) should still be regarded as the subject NP within the noun clause.

Considering the sentence as a whole, a subordinate noun clause can occupy the same functions as a NP. This is the case with the “Verb-nya” noun clause: although very often subject (and topic) of the sentence, it also occurs as an object or within a PP, and may be pronominalized.

The “Verb-nya” pattern is an innovation in Indonesian, which occurs mostly in written, formal Indonesian. Journalists, administrative officers, and report writers are extremely fond of this pattern. Apparently, it “fills a gap” in Indonesian syntax, which does not allow sentences beginning by subordinating morphemes like ‘that’ or ‘because’.

6. CONCLUSION

The "Verb-*nya*" pattern is a new trend in Indonesian, increasingly frequent in formal written Indonesian today, especially in the media. It is traditionally labelled as a nominalization device, a claim that is challenged in this paper. Syntactic tests (determination, negation, coordination, complementation, relatives, etcetera) show that "Verb-*nya*" behaves very differently from nouns; the Indonesian nominalization confixes *ke-* *-an* and *peN-* *-an* form deverbal nouns that are syntactically very close to plain, unaffixed nouns.

If "Verb-*nya*" is not a nominalization, what is it? Using the general ability of *-nya* to topicalize a NP, a SV or SVO sentence can be topicalized, and become a subordinate noun clause. This *-nya* noun clause is very often fronted and stands for the subject, but other functions are possible: object or PP.

The "Verb-*nya*" pattern, or *-nya* noun clause, has two important characteristics: causal and aspectual features. The information provided in this noun clause will either be commented on, or trigger a consequence, especially when this clause is fronted. But even within a PP, the "Verb-*nya*" pattern still expresses cause; it can be labelled a causal noun clause.

Aspect is also conveyed, under specific syntactic constraints, and *-nya* interacts with the Aktionsart (inherent aspect) of the verb. Depending on the valency of the verb, on its voice prefix (*meN-* actor voice, *di-* or *ter-* undergoer voice, or none of them), and excluding homogenous (non-gradable or non-progressive) processes, "Verb-*nya*" can signal stative, perfective or imperfective aspect.

This causal noun clause seems to fill a "gap" in Indonesian syntax: the impossibility of beginning a sentence with a subordinating morpheme (*bahwa* 'that', *karena* 'because').

ABBREVIATIONS USED

APPL	: applicative
ATL	: atelic
AUV	: accidental undergoer voice
AV	: actor voice
CAUS	: causative
DEM	: demonstrative
DET	: determiner
EXCL	: exclusive
GEN	: genitive
IMPF	: imperfective
INCL	: inclusive
INTM	: intermediated
NOM	: nominalizer
NP	: noun phrase

O	: object
PERF	: perfective
PL	: plural
POSS	: possessive
PP	: prepositional phrase
PRN	: proper noun
REL	: relative
S	: subject
SG	: singular
STAT	: stative
TAM	: Tense-Aspect-Modality
UV	: undergoer voice
V	: verb
VP	: verb phrase

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