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► **To cite this version:**

Henri Chambert-Loir. The particle pun in modern Indonesian and Malaysian. Archipel, 2019, 98, p. 177-237. <10.4000/archipel.1361>. <halshs-03128701>

HAL Id: halshs-03128701

<https://shs.hal.science/halshs-03128701v1>

Submitted on 25 Feb 2022

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Études interdisciplinaires sur le monde insulindien

98 | 2019

Varia

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Electronic version

URL: <https://journals.openedition.org/archipel/1361>

DOI: 10.4000/archipel.1361

ISSN: 2104-3655

Publisher

Association Archipel

Printed version

Date of publication: 3 December 2019

Number of pages: 177-238

ISBN: 978-2-910513-82-5

ISSN: 0044-8613

Electronic reference

Henri Chambert-Loir, "The particle *pun* in modern Indonesian and Malaysian", *Archipel* [Online], 98 | 2019, Online since 11 December 2019, connection on 21 September 2021. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/archipel/1361> ; DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/archipel.1361>

This text was automatically generated on 21 September 2021.

Association Archipel

The particle *pun* in modern Indonesian and Malaysian

La particule *pun* en indonésien et malaisien modernes

Henri Chambert-Loir

INTRODUCTION

- 1 This article aims to analyse the functions and values of the particle *pun* in modern Indonesian and Malaysian, using quantitative evidence based on a corpus built for this purpose.
- 2 The particle *pun* is much less used in modern language than it was in ancient literature. The differences between modern and classical Malay are not only of frequency but of function too. *Pun* is only one particle in the system of Malaysian-Indonesian grammar and one understands that it cannot receive more than a summary treatment in handbooks. But the result is a treatment that is insufficient or even neglectful and often misleading. It transpires that the analysis of the functions and meanings of *pun* depends largely on the intuition and impressions of the various authors. The oldest grammars (Werndly, Marsden, Favre, Ophuijsen, and even Fokker and Mees) say virtually nothing about *pun*. It is also the case with some modern ones, particularly the two official standard books *Tata Bahasa Baku Bahasa Indonesia* (1993) and *Tatabahasa Dewan* (2008). Paradoxically, Stevens & Schmidgall-Tellings's bilingual dictionary (2004) gives a better analysis of *pun* than some grammars.
- 3 This work on *pun* was undertaken following the finding that *pun* was treated not only inadequately but incorrectly in existing textbooks. This article aims to provide an exhaustive analysis of *pun*, which could be useful for future textbooks. This standpoint may have to be justified though. Many people—linguists or plain locutors of Indonesian and Malaysian—have the feeling that the functions and meanings of *pun* are clear and well known. Let's see how *pun* is described in the seven main textbooks presently available.

- 4 The major English language grammar of Indonesian gives this basic definition of *pun*: “Particle *pun* acts as a focusing adjunct in some of its functions. It can also act like a linking adjunct, as discussed in section 2.222. Whatever its function, *pun* always follows the subject of the clause and acts to emphasise it.” (Sneddon et al., 2010: 237). This statement is twice incorrect: *pun* does not always follow the subject of a clause; *pun* does not always act to emphasise it—far from it. In the official Indonesian grammar (*Tata Bahasa Baku Bahasa Indonesia*, 1988: 248) the (minimalist) paragraph on *pun* starts with this statement: “The particle *pun* is only used in declarative clauses” (*Partikel pun hanya dipakai dalam kalimat berita*), which is equally incorrect. According to the official Malaysian grammar (*Tatabahasa Dewan*, 2010) *pun* has only one function, to put emphasis on a phrase, which again is most incorrect. The defective treatment of *pun* in the two official grammars is reflected in the comparative book of Hasan Alwi (2013), which contains no specific paragraph on *pun* and reports no particular difference in its use in Indonesian and Malaysia, while the opposite is amply demonstrated below.
- 5 Lombard (1977) has a very short paragraph on *pun*, in which two of its meanings are exemplified. Steinhauer (2005) has the merit of not mentioning emphasis; *pun* is described (in sections 17.8, pp. 441-3; 19.10, pp. 511-3; and 20.18, pp. 574-6) as mainly concessive and sometimes comparative. *Pun* is not treated in Grangé (2015, despite two allusions, pp. 126, 194-5). The only decent treatment of *pun* is found in Asmah (2014: 188-192), which ignores the syntactic functions of *pun* but mentions its four meanings under the names *persamaan*, *waktu*, *kepastian* and *tolak ansur* or *tokokan*.
- 6 The major function of *pun*, according to these textbooks, is to mark emphasis (it is *pun*’s only function according to TBBBI and TBD). But the notion of emphasis is eminently unclear: it actually means indexing a word in a sentence and assigning it a place or a meaning that can be multifarious. The general opinion is that *pun* “can be attached to any element of the sentence” (as explicitly formulated in Lombard, 1977: 157), which is not entirely true: no textbook investigates the subject, whereas it will be demonstrated below that a few categories of words are not compatible with *pun*. No textbook describes the syntactic functions of *pun* either (although TBD signals that *pun* can affect a predicate): can *pun* modify an object, a patient, a circumstantial clause? No one knows.
- 7 According to the analysis below *pun* can add four meanings to a sentence, viz. comparison, sequence, indefiniteness, and concession. The way the six handbooks record those meanings (under various designations) is summed up in the following diagram:

	Sneddon	TBBBI	TBD	Asmah	Lombard	Steinhauer
emphasis	*	*	*	*		
comparison	*			*	*	*
sequence				*		
indefiniteness				*		
concession	*			*	*	*

- 8 Most of the time *pun* functions at the text level, that is, over several clauses, not only one. This has been clearly established for classical Malay by authors like Ajamiseba, Goddart, Cumming and others, and it is equally valid for the modern varieties of the language. To borrow the definition of Asmah (1993: 166), *pun* is a “supra-clause word,” that is, “a word the use of which is only clear in the relationship between clauses” (“*kata supraayat, ... kata yang penggunaannya hanya jelas dalam hubungan antara ayat*”). We will see examples of *pun* in one clause only, but in the majority of those cases too, the said clause refers to a linguistic given, either mentioned in a preceding clause or implicit. An example of *pun* in an isolated clause is often unintelligible because its meaning only appears in comparison with the preceding clause or clauses. For instance, *la pun curiga* can mean either “He too was suspicious,” or “Even he was suspicious,” or again “He became suspicious,” depending on the context.
- 9 This article is in no way a historical study. However, I will occasionally cite examples from the “classical” period (roughly, pre-20th century), since some of the major functions of modern-day *pun* have existed since the early days of the Malay written tradition. Some of the “classical” examples are borrowed from the Malay Concordance Project, an extremely precious electronic resource for searching classical Malay texts (see Bibliography). By the early days of the Malay written tradition I mean the Jawi tradition. Arlo Griffiths (personal communication, May 2018) draws my attention to the fact that “the word *pun* is unattested in Old Malay, which suggests it may be a relatively late entry into the language.”
- 10 Malaysian and Indonesian differ in their standard and even more in their colloquial forms, and it is clear that the use of *pun* in the two languages shows differences. (Singapore Malay is only represented by one title in the corpus used here. It is assumed that Singapore Malay is identical with Malaysian, but this would need to be substantiated.) Goddart (2001), whose examples are mainly from colloquial Malaysian, aptly advises his readers: “It would be unwise to extrapolate the findings of this study to Bahasa Indonesia” (p. 57 fn.). However, the basic uses of *pun* are common to the two languages and can be formulated in terms valid for Indonesian as well as Malaysian, except when
- specified otherwise. Differences are not only found between Indonesian and Malaysian, but also between the various registers of both languages.
- 11 I have not endeavoured to encompass all the registers that have existed in Indonesian and Malaysian (they would need to be identified first). This study takes into account three Indonesian registers (standard, Jakartanese, Chinese Malay) and three Malaysian ones (standard, colloquial, youth language). No text in Malaysian regional dialects (Kedah, Terengganu, etc.) has been taken into account. However, some regional words, understood by everyone, are found in modern colloquial Malaysian; a few will be found in some examples below, e.g. [323].
- 12 In Indonesia, in rural areas, people mainly speak local languages which are mutually unintelligible (Javanese, Sundanese, Bugis, etc.), so that, in broad terms, Indonesian—the national language—is mainly spoken in urban context. In this regard, the majority of the population currently uses a variant of the standard language (*bahasa baku*, *bahasa resmi*), which presents with this standard a very diverse variation from one group to another according to various parameters (ethnic origin, social background, age, education). A fraction of the urban population, mainly young people, and more

especially in Jakarta, employs a dialect of standard Indonesian, commonly known as Jakartanese, which is described in J. Sneddon's book *Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian* (2006). This idiom strongly influences the informal varieties of Indonesian spoken by the majority of the population; it is not, however, the main informal register, neither is it the only source of informal words in the informal registers, so that the notion of Indonesian diglossia (see Sneddon, 2003, 2006) is actually much debatable.

- 13 In addition, informal varieties of Indonesian are not used systematically or even densely in any book; neither are Jakartanese and bahasa Betawi (with some exceptions like S.M. Ardan and Firman Muntaco). Some authors of novels for the young public use a greater or lesser number of words belonging to these various registers, but one always remains within the framework of the standard language comprehensible by everyone. Popular emblematic novels such as those of Motinggo Boesje, Hino Minggo, Arswendo Atmowiloto, Yudhistira Ardi Noegraha, Ashadi Siregar, Eddy D. Iskandar, Remy Sylado, and Putu Wijaya have, so to speak, no slang character.
- 14 The novels of Teguh Esha dedicated to the adventures of Ali Topan, a boy of the capital's bourgeoisie in revolt against his family background and in search of love (the definition also fits the Arjuna of Yudhistira), contain dialogues in Jakartanese and in *prokem* slang (it is in the second of these novels, *Ali Topan Detektif Partikelir* [1978], that Teguh Esha introduced *prokem* into Indonesian literature), as well as, in the narration, a certain number of words borrowed from these two idioms and from a familiar register, and this fraction of the vocabulary, maybe 10 or 15%, is enough to give these novels a particular, very original touch, which some will call vulgar, but the remaining 85% are in usual literary Indonesian.
- 15 A work such as *Otobiografi Sengkuni* by Pipit Rochijat Kartawidjaja (2006) uses an eccentric vocabulary (partly borrowed from Jakartanese, *bahasa gaul* and Javanese) and a fanciful orthography (archaic or invented), in the context of a perfectly conventional grammar. In summary, it is impossible to obtain representative specimens of colloquial Indonesian through written sources.
- 16 As for the Indonesian "slangs" used by urban youth (and which could be compared to the Malaysian youth language below), namely *bahasa prokem*, *bahasa gaul*, *bahasa alay* or *bahasa milenium*, these are in fact only very limited stocks of vocabulary.
- 17 The situation is very different in Malaysia. In rural areas, people speak Malay dialects (not different languages). Standard Malaysian is mainly spoken in cities. Its use, however, is limited to very formal situations, and is much more restricted than that of standard Indonesian.
- 18 The Malay spoken daily in Malaysian towns and cities by the majority of the population is very different from the standard Malaysian of schools, textbooks, and grammars: it is a clearly different variety, which is perfectly identified by the locutors and commonly called *bahasa percakapan*, but with many varieties from one to another linguistic milieu or situation. This informal Malaysian is ignored by linguistic studies and textbooks, but part of its vocabulary is recorded in the standard Malaysian dictionary, the *Kamus Dewan*.
- 19 A precious source in this regard is the column *Mewah Bahasa* by Nor Hisham Osman (professor of linguistics at University Malaya) in the newspaper *Berita Harian* through the years 2008-2015. These daily very short articles, probably more than 2,000 in number, are made of dialogs (accompanied from time to time with explanatory notes)

that illustrate the confusions that may raise from the different meanings of a word in various idioms, mainly the standard *bahasa baku* and one of the Northern dialects. In addition to the specific interest of this type of comparison, these articles constitute a valuable collection of dialogs in informal Malay—artificial dialogs admittedly but written by an author most aware of idiomatic distinctions. I used 84 of these articles (accessible on Facebook), representing about 34,000 words.

- 20 There also exists, in urban Malaysia, a sort of slang (“sort of” because there is nothing secret about it) that does not have a name and can be referred to as a “youth language” (see Hoogervorst, 2015). My examples of colloquial Malaysian are taken from three sources: from the column *Mewah Bahasa*, from novels (notably by A. Samad Said and Shahnnon Ahmad) in which everyday popular language is used, and from recent popular novels (notably published by Fixi publisher in Petaling Jaya), which use a great amount of “youth language.”
- 21 In Malaysia, *sastra indie* (the term *indie*, directly borrowed from English, is used in Malaysia as well as in Indonesia, and is defined as “non-mainstream”) is a recent genre promoted by some publishers (e.g. Fixi, Dubook, and Lejen). Essentially, it is made of novels written by young authors about the milieu of urban young bourgeois, especially students. The linguistic characteristic of these novels is the use of a colloquial idiom in a sufficiently strong proportion so that the novels are difficult to understand to someone familiar with the standard register only. Unlike Indonesia, the colloquial register is therefore accessible in dozens of novels.
- 22 The difference between Malaysian and Indonesian from the point of view of their idiomatic registers is spectacularly illustrated by the Indonesian translation of the Malaysian novel *Gantung* by Nadia Khan (original edition 2013, translation 2016). This is a real translation, and it was necessary because the original, massively written in the idiomatic register of young Malaysian city dwellers of the 2010s, is difficult to understand for most Indonesian readers. The translation is not devoid of wrong or clumsy renderings, but it is interesting and effective, as it manages to transpose, sentence by sentence, the idiom of the original into the common register of current Indonesian novels intended for a young audience, the idiom of the *novel remaja*. And it is striking that, while the Malaysian version is written in a register radically different from the standard Malaysian, the Indonesian version is written in a form of standard Indonesian flavoured with some idiomatic vocabulary and usages.
- 23 Another variety of Indonesian is the register known as Chinese Malay. A particular situation of diglossia prevailed around 1900, of which the two extreme registers were the “High Malay,” that of the literature in *Jawi*, symbolically identified as the literary Malay of the Riau court, on the one hand, and the “Low Malay,” conceived as the language of inter-ethnic communications, on the other hand. Each of these two registers actually contained several varieties. The Dutch, who were concerned with standardization for the needs of administration and education, were promoting High Malay, which would indeed be at the origin of the national language. Low Malay had, however, acquired a literary status in some newspapers and magazines, as well as fiction books, which were mostly produced and run by Chinese people living in Indonesia, whose vehicular was Low Malay. Due to this predominance of Chinese actors, this written variety of Low Malay has been called Chinese Malay, but Claudine Salmon (1981) has established that it was actually the language spoken at the time in the big cities of Java, without distinction of ethnic origin. Tom Hoogervorst (2017) has

shown that, in a few specific sectors, the Chinese used a large number of words of Chinese origin, but this does not affect Salmon's analysis of the literary language: in broad terms, Javanese writers like Mas Marco Kartodikromo or Semaoen used the same language as their Chinese colleagues. This Low Malay ceased to exist with the Second World War, but it is attested in a very important written production: several thousand titles published between 1870 and 1940.

- 24 The specific Indonesian or Malaysian identity of the examples quoted below will be indicated throughout the paper. The period considered represents about a century, the publications being used as sources lying between 1912 and 2017. The beginning of the 20th century corresponds, very roughly, to a stage in the evolution of both languages, when the progress of education, printing, press and governmental policy lead to a certain standardization.
- 25 Indonesian and Malaysian have certainly evolved considerably during that time, but it is possible and useful to consider the period as a whole: it seems to me preferable to treat the way in which Indonesians and Malaysians use their national language rather than limit oneself to the two standard registers (the Indonesian of the Badan Bahasa in Jakarta and the Malaysian of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka in Kuala Lumpur), which represent only a portion, and even a minor one, of the linguistic reality. On the other hand, describing Indonesian and Malaysian uses together amounts to sketching a comparison between the two languages, which highlights what brings them together and what differentiates them, and which also suggests possible evolutions: we will see some uses of *pun* exclusively limited to Malaysian; they are not attested for Indonesian in my corpus, even though they exist potentially. (The fact that *pun* has evolved in a spectacular way in Malaysian during the last decades, as illustrated below, shows that a similar development in Indonesian is plausible.)
- 26 In order to base my analysis on a linguistic corpus representative of the various kinds of writings that would be able to produce quantitative data, I have examined the following sources: a) for Indonesian: 139 articles from *Kompas* newspaper (May–June 2016, about 275,000 words), 10 issues of the magazine *Tempo* (between July 2015 and June 2016, about half a million words), 48 novels and collections of short stories, four memoirs, one essay and one university thesis published across a century (more than two and a half million words); b) for Malaysian: the database of the Kuala Lumpur Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka website (*Konkordans DBP, Akhbar dan Sastera*, i.e. literary and journalistic texts), the column *Mewah Bahasa*, fifteen novels, two memoirs and three comics published between 1938 and 2015 (approximately one million words). I also used several examples read or heard randomly during the gestation period of this article. In total a corpus of more than four million words has been consulted. However, not all sources were scrutinized with the same rigor and an early attempt to quantify the results in order to produce statistics had to be abandoned.
- 27 The size of the corpus guarantees its validity, but it may be necessary to specify that, apart from all the Malaysian novels and some “Chinese Malay” and Indonesian novels which have been read in full, this corpus consists mainly of texts available in pdf versions. This means that, for the most part, the corpus does not consist of works selected according to criteria established on a theoretical basis, but depends on the hazards of the internet. It is precisely thanks to this mass of documents, that can be consulted quickly, in a systematic and repetitive way, that a very large number of occurrences of *pun* could be taken into account.

- 28 It should be noted that, whereas some pdf documents are mechanical reproductions of published books and therefore reliable as to their content, others have been reproduced in more error-prone ways, or have been retyped, and may therefore contain differences with the original text, including punctuation, spelling and sentence splitting. It is not impossible that this type of error affects one or the other examples quoted here.
- 29 When quoting Indonesian and Malaysian sources (novels, newspapers, magazines, etc.), I respect the spelling of the sources, including the very idiosyncratic spelling of “Chinese Malay” novels. It happens however that, except for the latter, Indonesian novels first published before the spelling reform of 1972 have been consulted in later editions, the spelling of which had been modernised. In order to avoid confusion, I modernised myself the few examples extracted from Pramoedya’s *Bukan Pasar Malam*. All the examples quoted below come from original, most of them written, Indonesian and Malaysian sources. Examples quoted with quotation marks are lines of dialog. References to the sources of the examples are collected in the bibliography at the end of the article. They are divided into two sections (Indonesian and Malaysian) and quoted in the text according to a code that indicates their language and date of publication (e.g. “I-1968” refers to an Indonesian book published in 1968; when several books have been published the same year, these are numbered, e.g. “M-2011-4” is the fourth Malaysian book published in 2011). In order to underscore the difference between the number of a quote and the number of its source, the latter is printed in italics between brackets, while the former is printed in roman between square brackets (e.g. “[319] Memang inilah Baginda pun. (M-1997)” means that the quote no. 319 comes from title no. M-1997).
- 30 I will first examine the syntactic functions of *pun* and then its semantic values (what sense does the particle bring to the discourse?)

I. THE FUNCTIONS OF *PUN*

- 31 A formal observation imposes a clear dichotomy in the description: *pun* is used either as an isolated particle or in combination with one of about 30 other words in set forms of the type *adapun*, *sebenyarpun*, etc.

1. *Pun* as a particle

- 32 In its isolated form, *pun* can have two different functions: as clitic particle or as conjunction, placed respectively after and before the component it determines (A and B below), whereas in the form of compounds, *pun* forms conjunctions modifying a clause or establishing the relation between two clauses.

A. Clitic particle

- 33 A clitic particle is a particle that is placed either after (enclitic) or before (proclitic) the word or the phrase it modifies, but, contrary to an affix, remains syntactically independent from it. The functions of *pun* as a clitic particle belong to two categories:
- 34 a) enclitic *pun* is placed after a noun-phrase which it qualifies as topic of a clause; *pun* is a topic marker; it can follow almost all categories of words; all types of documents

considered, this function of *pun* represents the majority of *pun* uses in modern language;

35 b) *pun* proclitic modifies the whole following clause, the relation of which with the preceding clause it determines.

36 But before describing the functions of *pun* we have to consider the way we ascertain what element of a sentence is indexed by *pun*. Surprisingly, this is not always easy. Common wisdom has it that the word indexed by *pun* is the noun phrase, or even the word, that precedes it, but this is not always the case. Here are two examples, one Indonesian and one Malaysian:

[1] Bahkan sangat ceroboh sehingga walaupun ada buku yang dipinjam, aku tidak pernah mencatat siapa meminjamnya. Juga sebaliknya. Jika aku meminjam buku pun, aku sering lupa mengembalikannya. (I-2011-1) ☞ I was even very neglectful, so that if a book was borrowed, I never noted down who borrowed it. And vice-versa. If I borrowed a book, I often forgot to return it.

37 Does *pun* indexes the conditional clause (*jika aku meminjam buku pun*) or the preceding word (*buku*) only? This is determined by the context. Let's consider the following statement (derived from the previous one): *Orangnya sangat jujur, sehingga kalau meminjam barang milikku sekecil apa pun, selalu dikembalikannya. Aku sebaliknya. Jika aku meminjam buku pun, aku sering lupa mengembalikannya.* ☞ *He was perfectly honest, so that if he borrowed the smallest thing from me, he always gave it back. I was the reverse, etc.* The comparison of the two statements make clear that the subject of the opposition, which is what *pun* underlines, is not the same: in the first quote it is the act of borrowing (and *pun* indexes the conditional clause), while in the second one it is the object borrowed (and *pun* indexes the word *buku*).

38 [2] Budak-budak muda di situ pun turut ketawa juga. (M-1961) ☞ The youngsters there joined the laughing too.

39 Does *pun* index the subject (*Budak-budak muda di situ*) or the locative adverbial phrase (*di situ*)? This again is determined by the context, which indicates that it is not the place that is underlined, but the people, so that *pun* indexes the subject.

A.1. Word categories indexed by *pun*

40 *Pun* can index most parts of speech: nouns, names, pronouns, intransitive verbs, transitive verbs, nominalised adjectives, adjectives, prepositions, conjunctions, negations, adverbs, aspectual markers, classifiers, the auxiliary *ada*, and maybe more. Clearly excepted from construction with *pun* are classifiers, interjections and particles. Moreover, the use of *pun* with some categories is much more frequent than others, some have limitations (e.g. the only preposition marked by *pun* is *sampai*, the only conjunctions are *tapi/tetapi* and *melainkan*), and some are more frequent in Indonesian (e.g. preposition) or Malaysian (e.g. negations, aspectual markers, the auxiliary *ada*). To assert that *pun* can qualify any word or part of speech is clearly unsatisfactory.

A.1.1. Nouns, including substantives [3, 4], names [5, 6] and nominalised adjectives [7, 8]

41 [3] Pintu pun dibuka dari dalam. (I-1999) ☞ The door was opened from the inside.

42 [4] Rambut pun tidak pernah bersikat. (M-2010) ☞ My hair was never brushed.

43 [5] “Kalo Mama pergi, Mona poen ikoet.” (I-1934-1) ☞ (Little Mona speaking) If Mum goes, I'll go too.

44 [6] Kemudian Klender *pun* nampaklah dari jendela kereta itu. (I-1951-2) ^{FB} Then Klender [a place] became visible from the window of the carriage.

45 [7] Dingin *pun* kini membuat tubuhnya menggigil. (I-1978-1) ^{FB} The cold was now making his body shiver.

46 [8] Yang mustahil *pun* jadi tak mustahil. (M-1978) ^{FB} The impossible was becoming possible.

A.1.2. Pronouns

In modern idiomatic Malaysian, it may happen that the pronoun is foreign, as in [11].

47 [9] “Aku tahu karena aku *pun* pernah jadi anak muda” (M-1978) ^{FB} I know because I have been young myself.

48 [10] Orang tua itu ketawa dan dia *pun* ketawa sama... (M-1961) ^{FB} The old man laughed and he laughed with him.

49 [11] “No celebration tu satu hal, wish I *pun* tak, lepas I dah bagi hint kat dia!” (M-2011-4) ^{FB} (A girl about her birthday, which her boyfriend didn’t celebrate) No celebration is one thing, I didn’t expect any, but I had given him a hint.

A.1.3. Verbs, both intransitive [12, 13] and transitive [14, 15], this last category being extremely rare.

50 [12] Hayati tak menjawab. Menangis *pun* tidak. (I-1938-3) ^{FB} Hayati didn’t answer. She didn’t cry either.

51 [13] Bermadu *pun* tak apalah. (M-1997) ^{FB} Being a second wife doesn’t matter.

52 [14] “Tak mungkin kau bisa memutuskan jala itu. Dibakar *pun* tak bisa.” (I-1986-3) You won’t be able to tear this net apart. Not to burn it either.

53 [15] Tak ada yang berani menyerang. Bahkan mendekati *pun* tidak. (I-1986-3) ^{FB} Nobody dared to attack. Not even to approach.

A.1.4. Adjectives

This use represents an exception and seems to be even rarer in Indonesian than Malaysian.

54 [16] Ia anak yang soleh dan cukup terpelajar. Miskin*pun* tidak, karena orangtuanya punya sawah dan kebun buah-buahan. (I-1977) ^{FB} He was a pious and well educated kid. Not poor though, as his parents owned rice fields and orchards.

55 [17] Benda tak kelakar *pun* dia mau gelak. (M-2011-4) ^{FB} Even about non funny jokes he was ready to laugh.

A.1.5. Preposition

The corpus provided two examples only, both Indonesian and both with the preposition *sampai*.

56 [18] Dia malu sebab memang dia memendam taksiran ke Ali Topan, dari dulu sampai *pun* sekarang, setelah mereka sama-sama lulus dan tidak satu sekolah lagi. (I-1978-2) ^{FB} She was embarrassed because she secretly had a crush on AT from the beginning until now, after they passed the exam and were not in the same school any more.

57 [19] Rupanya dalam sistim komunis, segala sesuatunya diatur langsung dari Moskwa (pusat), bahkan sampai *pun* soal kursi dalam pesawat. (I-2008-1) ^{FB} In the communist system apparently everything is directly organised from Moscow (the center), even down to the question of seats in a plane.

A.1.6. Conjunctions

- 58 The conjunctions are *tapi/tetapi*, sometimes echoing *bukan saja* in the previous clause, and exceptionally *melainkan*. Most of the examples come from the novel *Atheis* (1949), which also provides a few *tapi pun juga*.
- 59 [20] Handoko ada satoe anak moeda jang amicaal dan seneng bergaoelan, hingga boekan sadja iapoenja leeraar-leeraar, tetapi poen ia poenja kawan-kawan di dalem itoe sekolahan ada taroh sympathie padanja, ia disoeika dan disajang. (*I-1938-1*) [20] Handoko was a friendly and sociable young fellow, so that not only his teachers but also his school-mates had sympathy for him; he was liked and appreciated.
- 60 [21] Sungguh perempuan aneh dia, pikirku, bukan saja bebas tapi pun merokok pula. (*I-1949*) [21] She is indeed a strange woman, I thought, not only is she free, but she even smokes as well.
- 61 [22] Tapi bukan terhadap buku-buku cabul demikian saja Ayali memperingatkan aku itu, melainkan pun juga terhadap buku-buku tentang agama Kristen yang banyak disebarkan oleh Zending dan Missie, yang bisa merusak imanku sebagai umat Muhammad. (*I-1949*) [22] It is not only against such obscene books that Ayali warned me, but also against books about Christian religion that were widely distributed by the Catholic and Protestant missions and could damage my faith as a member of Mohammed's community.

A.1.7. Negations

All my examples are Malaysian. Of the four negations (*tidak, bukan, belum, jangan*), only the negative imperative *jangan* is not modified by *pun*. It may happen that *tidak pun* in a clause echoes *tidak* in the previous one [23], but this is exceptional. In common usage, *tidak pun* only concerns one clause [24]. *Tidak pun* can be located at the beginning [25] or at the end [26] of a clause, and *tak pun* alone can constitute a clause [27]. *Tidak pun* and *jika tidak pun* are also found in Malaysian academic publications [28, 29]. *Pun* can qualify other negations: *tidak pernah* [30], *bukan* [31] and *belum* (the latter will be dealt with together with aspectual auxiliaries). *Pun* qualifying a negation did exist in classical Malay [32].

- 62 [23] ... dan anggapan orang menjadi lebih buruk lagi, bila dua hari selepas itu Nahidah tidak pulang lagi ke rumahnya, dan tidak pun datang ke tempat kerjanya. (*M-1961*) [23] And people's opinion got even worse when two days later Nahidah didn't come home and didn't go to her working place either.
- 63 [24] F tidak berkata apa-apa. Tidak pun tidak. Ya pun tidak. (*M-1997*) [24] (F is Fidah, the narrator) I didn't say anything. Neither no. Nor yes. (With a nice style effect in *tidak pun tidak*.)
- 64 [25] Tidak pun perkara itu menjadi kontroversi seperti yang dialami oleh... (*M-1990-1*) [25] Neither did this issue became a controversy as had been experienced by...
- 65 [26] ... ibulah yang kerja siang malam sedangkan bapa tidak pun. (Shahnon Ahmad, *Ibu adalah pentafsir & Sungai (dua buah novella)*, 1995, in *M-1990-2*) [26] It is mother who works day and night, while father does not.
- 66 [27] “—Tak tahan dahlah. — Tak pun... Gibbs mula nak mencadangkan. — Tak pun apa?” (*M-2013*) (A girl in a car states she won't stand the whole ride without being able to relieve herself) — I won't stand it. — Sure not... Gibbs started making plans. — Not what?

- 67 [28] ... tidak menghiraukan, atau barangkali tidak pun mengetahui (M-2016) ☞ pay no attention, or perhaps not even know.
- 68 [29] ... sekurang-kurangnya satu (jika tidak pun lebih) (M-2016) ☞ at least one (if not more).
- 69 [30] ...untuk menunjukkan parti itu tidak pernah pun melakukan kesilapan. (M-1990-1) ☞ In order to show that the party never made mistakes.
- 70 [31] Bahasa Melayu tidak lagi diberikan keutamaan, malah bukan pun sebagai bahasa kedua tetapi disingkirkan ke tahap ketiga ... (M-1990-1) ☞ Malay was not given priority any more, not even as a second language, but it was relegated to the third rank.
- 71 [32] “Jikalau tiada pun beta dipanggil...” (Sulalat al-Salatin, Abdul Rahman Haji Ismail ed., 1998: 286) ☞ Even if I am not called.

A.1.8. Adverbs

Of time [33-35], manner [36-38] and quantity [39-40], and the expressions *ini pun, itu pun* [41-43].

- 72 [33] Sore itu pun Marni membersihkan beras sambil menangis. (I-1980) That evening too, Marni rinsed the rice while crying.
- 73 [34] “Dulu pun aku pernah bersumpah takkan memaafkanmu...” (I-1986-1) ☞ In the past I did swear not to forgive you.
- 74 [35] Semalam pun mereka sudah beritahu. (M-1978) ☞ They gave notice yesterday.
- 75 [36] Soedewo itoe agaknja poen bernapsoe, kerna... (I-1938-1) ☞ Soedewo was apparently furious because...
- 76 [37] “Sudahlah, Zainab, ingatlah akan dirimu, kelak engkau, demikian pun saya, ditimpa oleh penyakit lain.” (I-1938-2) ☞ Calm down, Zainab, think of yourself, or you—and me as well—will catch another disease.
- 77 [38] Berebut-rebut gitu pun... (M-1961) ☞ Fighting like this.
- 78 [39] “— Kae bilang, itoe djalanan di belakang tembok pekaranganmoe ada meneroes ka sana?” — “Ja, toewan, dan sedikitnja poen djalanan itoe ada lebih pendek ampat kilometer”. (I-1913) ☞ You said that road behind the wall of your garden leads there? Yes Sir, and it is shorter by at least four kilometers.
- 79 [40] Entah mengapa Kamarul asyik kemaruk KFC. Walhal bukannya dia gemar sangat pun makan ayam. (M-2011-1) ☞ It’s not clear why Kamarul was crazy about KFC, whereas he didn’t like eating chicken that much. (The construction *sangat pun* is frequent in Malaysian popular novels.)

80 N.B. The expressions *ini pun, ni pun, itu pun*

- 81 Apart from their function as demonstrative pronouns or adjectives (*buku ini, rumah itu, ini yang saya cari, itu suatu alat dapur*), *ini* and *itu* also have an adverbial meaning (a rare but common use, ignored in most textbooks), when they replace (and may be the abbreviation of) adverbial phrases such as *dengan ini, bersama ini, sekarang ini, waktu itu*. They have the meaning of “now, here is, there is”. Here are two examples, both recent Malay popular novels : “Ini nak habaq mai kat hang” (Jahanam) ☞ Here, I want to give you some news, and “... ni sampai angkat pun... tak sedar” (Awak) ☞ Now, I am carrying her, she doesn’t awake.
- 82 All my examples are Malaysian, but this usage also exists in Indonesian: the artificial examples: *Ini saya bawa buku yang kamu minta*, “Here, I am bringing the books you asked

for”; *Itu ada tiga rumah*, “There, there are three houses”, have been approved by Indonesian locutors. Here is an actual example with *tuh*: “Tuh mam, dipuji tuh.” (Topan) ☞ Look darling, a compliment for you.

83 In this function, *ini*, *ni* and *itu* can be qualified by *pun*. The expressions *ini pun* and *itu pun* seem to be found only in Malaysian. The examples below come from Shahnnon Ahmad’s novel *Sutan Baginda* [41, 42] and from one recent Malaysian popular novel [43].

84 [41] “Ini pun F ada di sini.” (M-1997) ☞ (F is Fidah, the narrator) Look, I’m here.

85 [42] Itu pun Fidah datang untuk membuka kitab. (M-1997) ☞ There I came to open the book.

86 [43] “Sorry lah, Leya. Busy sikit. Ni pun ada masa terluang sikit, tu yang datang jumpa you.” (M-2011-4) ☞ Sorry, Leya. I was a bit busy. Now, I have some time free, that’s why I come to see you.

A.1.9. Numerals

Most examples regard the unity (*satu*, *sebuah*) in negative clauses (*tidak...satu pun*, *sebuah pun...tidak*, see [245-247]), while this category seems to be potentially productive: the following artificial examples: *dua pun cukup*, “two is enough”, *lima pun boleh*, “five is allowed”, *seratus pun jadi*, “a hundred will do”, have been approved by Indonesian locutors. [44, 45] are rare examples with numerals other than ‘one’.

87 [44] “Jangankan lima, Sarindhri, bahkan sepuluh pun aku akan membunuhnya.” (I-2017) ☞ Not just five, Sarindhri, even ten I will kill them.

88 [45] Tanam pokok kelapa dua batang pun dah tutup semua kawasan. (M-1978) ☞ If we planted two coconut trees only, there would be no place left.

A.1.10. Aspectual markers

This usage too is uniquely Malaysian. The words concerned are *telah*, *sudah*, *belum*, and only regard the past. The most frequent is *sudah pun*. In rare cases, *sudah pun* echoes a first *sudah* or *telah* (*sudah... sudah pun*) and underscores an accumulation [46, 47], but most of the time the *pun* of *sudah pun* marks an accentuation and adds very little, if any, nuance of meaning to *sudah*: it mainly has an aesthetic function [48]. *Sudah pun* is also found in academic publications [49]. The abbreviated form *dah pun* also occurs [50, 51]. The construction *dah-X-dah pun*, with the variants *ndah-X-dah pun* and *dah sudah pun*, represent a special case, specific to recent colloquial Malaysian [52-54]. This use of *pun* is modern. Still, according to the Malay Concordance Project, out of 70 ancient Malay prose texts, *sudah pun* crops up once in the *Sulalat al-Salatin* [55] and eight times in the *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* [56].

89 [46]: Ramli dan keluarganya telah menunaikan sembahyang dan sudah pun makan malam ketika mereka terdengar ketukan di pintu. (M-1979) ☞ Ramli and his family had performed the prayer and had also eaten their dinner when they heard a knock at the door.

90 [47] “sudah dirumikan, sudah pun diterjemahkan” (Academic talk, Kuala Lumpur, May 2016) ☞ It has been transcribed in Roman characters and it has also been translated.

91 [48] Husin mendekati Naelah yang sudah pun gadis sekarang. (M-2005) ☞ Husin went to Naelah, who was grown up by then.

92 [49] Kata-kata ini secara tidak langsung menunjukkan bahawa jabatan Laksamana itu sudah pun wujud ketika nama gelar Hang Tuah direka. (M-2016: 153) ☞ These words

indirectly show that the charge of Laksamana already existed when the title Hang Tuah was invented.

- 93 [50] “Dah pun baik.” (M-1961) 𐄂 He is already better.
- 94 [51] “Dia dah pun cuba buat kacau beberapa kali.” (M-2013) 𐄂 She already tried a few times to make a mess.
- 95 [52] “Dia tak tahu yang aku dah lalui dah pun fasa berkabung untuk dia.” (M-2013) 𐄂 She doesn’t know that my period of mourning for her is totally finished.
- 96 [53] “Ndah ngaku tunang dah pun, tinggal nak buat majlis je.” (M-2011-4) 𐄂 The engagement has been announced, what’s left to do is to prepare the wedding.
- 97 [54] “Tengah makan tadi ni... (...) Dah sudah pun!” (M-2011-3) 𐄂 I was eating... I have finished now.
- 98 [55] Tiada sempat orang Singapura mengeluari lagi, segala rakyat Jawa sudah pun naik mengepung kota Singapura itu, (*Sulalat al-Salatin*, cf. MCP) 𐄂 The Singaporeans didn’t have a chance to launch an attack outside that the Javanese forces had already assaulted the walls of the city.
- 99 [56] maka Istafaninus pun berkata dalam hatinya, ‘Wah, sudah pun malam, baiklah aku berhenti di sini dahulu’... (*Hikayat Amir Hamzah*, cf. MCP) 𐄂 Then Istafaninus thought, “Ah, it is night already, I had better stay here.”

100 The second combination is *telah pun* [57]. It is also used in academic publications, e.g. several times in (M-2016). According to the Malay Concordance Project *telah pun* is found in a single ancient text out of seventy, i.e. the *Hikayat Amir Hamzah* [58].

- 101 [57] “Hari yang ditunggu telah pun tiba.” (M-2015-1) 𐄂 The expected day finally arrived.
- 102 [58] Sebelum surat Raja Nusyirwan sampai kepada Raja Aziz, Mukbal Hulab telah pun keluar daripada negeri Mada’in. (*Hikayat Amir Hamzah*, cf. MCP) 𐄂 Before Raja Nusyirwan’s letter reached Raja Aziz, Mukbal Hulab had already walked out of Mada’in country.

Finally, *belum pun* is quite frequent [59] and sometimes combine with *sudah* [60]. The small corpus of Malaysian texts posted on the site Konkordans DBP, in the sections Teks Akhbar and Teks Sastera, offers 140 examples of *sudah pun*, 2 of *dah pun*, 48 of *telah pun*, and 10 of *belum pun* (out of 2,100 occurrences of *pun*).

- 103 [59] Maka sudahlah dengan kehendak Tuhan Rabal’alamin kerana belumpun berapa jauh mereka itu masuk ke dalam hutan, hujanlah hari dengan lebatnya siang dan malam... (M-1938) 𐄂 Such was the will of God because they had not yet penetrated any distance into the forest that it started raining by day and by night.
- 104 [60] Dalam kapal terbang ini, belum pun sempat duduk, penumpangnya sudah berubah warna dan buluh; 90 peratus sudah menjadi Arab dalam erti pakaian. (M-1974) 𐄂 In this plane we hadn’t sat down that the passengers had changed altogether; 90% of them had become Arabs in the way they dressed.

A.1.11. The auxiliary *ada*

This is exceptional and only found in Malaysian.

- 105 [61] Dan kalau ada pun yang mengambil berat tentangnya tidaklah pula menguntungkan. (M-1961) 𐄂 And even if some people cared about it, that was still of no profit.

- 106 [62] “Tadi pagi, waktu Aziz memanggil namanya tak ada *pun* Pak Hassan menjawab.” (M-1979) ☞ (Aziz talking) When I called his name earlier this morning there was no answer from Pak Hassan.

A.2. Syntactic categories qualified by *pun*

- 107 The syntactic categories qualified by *pun* are subject, predicate, object, circumstantial expressions, circumstantial clauses of time, or concessive and conditional clauses.

A.2.1. Subject as topic

A.2.1.1. General conventions

Qualifying of subject is, statistically, the most frequent use of *pun*.

Pun qualifies the subject of a clause, while indicating the relation of this clause with the preceding one. The relation can be a comparison, a temporal sequence or a concession (see section II).

Pun qualifies a noun phrase, either one word [63] or a noun and its expansion [64].

- 108 [63] Bumi dan seisinya seakan sedang tidur. Langit *pun* sepi... (I-1980) ☞ The earth and everything on it were as if asleep. The sky was quiet too.

- 109 [64] Di Banjar sekolah gratis sampai SMA. Berobat ke puskesmas *pun* tak bayar, (Tempo, 160509, n.p.) ☞ In Banjar school is free until senior high school. To be treated at the public health center people don't pay either.

In most cases where *pun* qualifies a subject, it is either a single noun [65] or a noun followed by a very short [66] or relatively short [67] expansion:

- 110 [65] Kapal *pun* bertolaklah. Angin *pun* bertiuplah dan daratan makin jauh juga, dan kami *pun* sampailah di tengah lautan besar, berlayar menuju tanah air kami.... (I-1925) ☞ The ship started to move. The wind blew,

the shore drifted away, and we reached the open sea, sailing towards our mother country.

- 111 [66] Hal yang kutakutkan *pun* terjadi: telepon berdering. (I-2004) ☞ What I feared happened : the phone rang.

- 112 [67] Itoe Gowa Batoe ternjata ada mendjadi tempat pamoedja'an dari sanak koelawarganja Lie Insian, kerna aboe dari maitnja si tjantik poenja iboe *poen* tersimpen di sito. (I-1934-2) ☞ That Stone Cave had become a place of devotion for Lie Insian's relatives because the ashes of the body of the mother of the pretty one were kept there. The expansion may be more substantial [68]. It can even be long and complex [69, 70]. This usage seems to be more frequent in the press than in literary works.

- 113 [68] “Memang dulu seorang Wak Becak yang aku naik becaknya *pun* berkata begitu.” (M-1961) ☞ Indeed, some time earlier a pedicab driver whose pedicab I used had said so. (The topic marked by *pun* is not the pedicab or the action of using one, but the identity of the person who said something, that is, the whole phrase *seorang Wak Becak yang aku naik becaknya*.)

- 114 [69] Di benoea Azia Timoer dan Selatan Timoer poen telah terdjadi djoega beberapa perobahan. Itoe djazirat jang menghoeboengken Bima, poelo-poelo Soenda Ketjil, Java dan Sumatra mendjadi satoe dengen darat-besar Azia, *poen* telah terpetja djadi bebrapa potong. (I-1929) ☞ On the continent of East and Southeast Asia, changes had taken place too. The peninsula that incorporated Bima, the small Sunda Islands, Java and Sumatra

into the Asiatic sub-continent—was dislocated into several parts. (The subject is the phrase *Itoe djazirat darat-besar Azia.*)

- 115 [70] Dari segi penggunaan istilah, seperti ‘pertuturan’ (peringatan, salasilah), ‘manggusta’ (manggis), ‘karas bandan’ (kelengkapan alat tulis), ‘bizurai’ (wizurai), dan beberapa yang lain, serta ketepatan menentukan nama hari bagi tarikh 12 Rabi’ul-awal tahun Dal awal Hijrah 1021, sebagai hari Ahad, *pun* menunjukkan ketuaan usianya. (*M-2016*: 51) ¶ The use of specific terms, such as *pertuturan* (chronicle, genealogy), *manggusta* (mangosteen), *karas bandan* (writing tool), *bizurai* (viceroy), and a few others, as well as the correct way of determining the name of the day corresponding to the 12th of Rabi’ul-awal of the year Dal awal of A.H. 1021 as a Sunday, [all this] shows its old age. (In this sentence *pun* indicates that the subject together with its complements consists of the 37 preceding words.)

This function already existed in classical Malay:

- 116 [71] Sebermula tatkala itu anak Hang Jebat yang bernama Tun Kadim yang disuruh oleh Tun Teja pergi ke Inderapura kepada bapanya Bendahara Seri Buana itu *pun* ada mengikut Bendahara. (*Hikayat Hang Tuah*, p. 466) ¶ As it happens, at that time Hang Jebat’s son named Tun Kadim who had been ordered by Tun Teja to go to her father Bendahara Seri Buana in Inderapura—was among the Bendahara’s followers. (*Pun* indicates that the subject together with its complements consists in the 21 preceding words.)

In these examples, the function of *pun* is not to place emphasis on the subject, but to delimit it, to establish its cohesion. In [72] the clause would be ambiguous without the particle *pun*; *pun* serves to make clear that the subject of the clause is the whole phrase *segala perbuatan dengan yang membuat*.

- 117 [72] ... segala perbuatan dengan yang membuat *pun* satu (Wan Mohd Dasuki, 2010: 412, quoting an ancient manuscript) ¶ all actions are one with the actor.

Examples of this pattern are common in all types of sources: Indonesian and Malaysian, press and literature, including literature in colloquial language. Cummings (1991: 85) in this regard speaks of dislocation. Properly speaking, there is dislocation when a constituent of a sentence is enunciated, isolated, at the head (or end) of the sentence, as a topic, and then expressed again in the form of a pronoun: “This book, I found it in the attic.”, “That boy, he was so bright.” In the Indonesian and Malaysian examples quoted above, the topic is not recalled by a pronoun. Nevertheless, in the case of subjects so long that they require a reminder (other words than *pun* can be used, like *itu*, *juga*, *pula*, *sebenarnya*, etc.), there is indeed a pause after the subject; some authors have this feeling when they place a comma between this long subject and the predicate, and they always place it before *pun*, as in [69, 70] above. Since the subject is not recalled by a pronoun, there is no dislocation but topicalization. But cases of dislocation are also found, as in:

- 118 [73] Tidak saja mengorbankan kesenangan diri, harta dan kekayaan, akan tetapi menjual kehormatannya sendiri *pun* banyak orang yang bersedia melakukannya. (*I-1975*) ¶ Not only sacrificing one’s comfort, wealth and property, but selling one’s own honour, many people are prepared to do it.

An Indonesian author of Sundanese origin, in a similar construction, uses the Sundanese word *mah* instead of *pun*, as indeed *mah* can have the same function in Sundanese (see Müller-Gotama, 1994).

- 119 [74] Tapi yang pertama membagi-bagi masyarakat menjadi aréna perjuangan kelas mah Karl Marx dan Frederick Engels. (Rosidi, 2015: 23) 𐄂 But the first who divided society and made it the arena of class struggle are Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

It should be noted that this function of *pun* is related to two other uses of this particle, that of coordinating conjunction introducing a clause in modern Indonesian and marginally in Malaysian (see the section CONJUNCTION), and that of coordinating conjunction in classical Malay (see Chambert-Loir, 2018).

The components that can be subjects marked by *pun* are noun words of the following types: nouns, names, pronouns, nominalised intransitive verbs, and adjectives, as well as declarative clauses (below). *Pun* can qualify the subject of an active clause, as in the examples above, or a passive one (i.e. the patient). The latter case seems to be mostly Malaysian [75], even though example [76] is Indonesian.

- 120 [75] “Jangankan lembu, kambing pun kami tak kuasa hendak membeli dan memeliharanya.” (M-1979) 𐄂 Don’t mention oxes; even goats we can’t buy and keep.

- 121 [76] Sumurpun kuperiksa. (I-1951-2) 𐄂 Even the well I inspected it.

The subject qualified by pun has often already been mentioned in the text, be it in the previous clause [77] or several clauses earlier [78]. This is what is conventionally called the “resumptive” function of *pun*. The subject can also be part of the extra-linguistic givens of the story, such as an element implied by the context [79] or a universal concept [80]. However, pun can also introduce an unknown subject [81].

- 122 [77] Di kandang, ular itu cenderung melingkar. Ular itu tumbuh cepat. Ular itu pun rupanya cepat belajar. (I-2000-1) 𐄂 In a cage snakes tend to coil. They grow fast. They learn fast as well, apparently.

- 123 [78] Pada soedara-prampoewan jang toewa, njonja baron de Garennes, graaf Maximilien ada koerang soeka, dan melinken ada bertemoe djarang-djarang sadja, jaitoelah dari sebab adatnja ada beda tertaloe banjak satoe dari lain. Njonja baron de Garennes itoe poen ada sedikit olo-olo dan angkoeh. (I-1913) 𐄂 The Earl Maximilien didn’t like his elder sister, the Baroness de Garennes, very much and scarcely met her, because their habits differed too much. The Baroness was rather scornful and arrogant.

- 124 [79] Kabar tentang derita yang dialami Zahid ini tersebar ke seantero kota Kufah. Angin pun meniupkan kabar ini ke telinga Afirah. (I-2008-4) 𐄂 The news about Zahid’s pain spread out to the whole town of Kufa. The wind brought it to Afirah’s ears. (The wind has not been mentioned before, but it is a natural element of a town. Moreover, the image used here is a common trope.)

- 125 [80] Kita dapat menulis buku-buku penuh dengan perumpamaan-perumpamaan seperti itu. Surat kabar pun dapat meracuni kita, seperti tulisannya W dan V.H. (I-1918) 𐄂 We can write books full with such comparisons. Newspapers also can poison our life, like the writings of W and V.H. (Newspapers have not been mentioned before, but they are an inherent part of social life.)

- 126 [81] “... Dengan armada semacam itu ayam pun berani menyerbu Malaka.” (I-1995) 𐄂 With such an armada even chicken would dare to attack Malacca.

Pun emphasizes the transition to a new independent clause, whose subject may be the same or different from the subject of the preceding clause. *Pun* is used to give a rhythm to the succession of actions performed by the various characters, and thus to mark the flow of the story (see Temporal Sequence below). Such was the main function of *pun* in

classical Malay, a very common use of which was in the combination of three elements: the adverb *maka* locating the clause in the thread of the story, the particle *pun* marking the subject, and the suffix *-lah* marking the predicate or predicate-complement, as in [82].

- 127 [82] Setelah hari siang maka Ratu Melayu pun bangunlah basuh muka. Setelah sudah mandi maka persantapan pun diangkat oranglah. (*Hikayat Hang Tuah*, cf. MCP) ㉔ After daybreak the Malay king got up and washed his face. After he had bathed a meal was served.

In a construction, that is apparently very rare and seems typical of colloquial Malaysian, the subject (together with its complement) qualified by *pun* is placed after the predicate:

- 128 [83] “Tak ada orang marah pun!... Tak ada orang kata pun!...” (M-2007) ㉔ Nobody is angry, nobody says anything.

A.2.1.2. Declarative clause as subject

- 129 The sentence is composed of a declarative clause, which acts as subject, and a predicate. *Pun* marks the subject and acts as a pivot between these two components. This seems more common in Malaysian, particularly its colloquial register, than in Indonesian. In [85] the same sentence without *pun* (*F sudah berada di rumah kerana tidak berada di pub*) would consist of a main clause (*F sudah berada di rumah*) and a circumstantial dependent clause (*kerana tidak berada di pub*). The introduction of *pun* between these two clauses imposes a caesura, and a break of intonation, which transforms the meaning of the sentence: the information is not any more that F is at home, but that it is for a particular reason.

- 130 [84] “Setelah dewasa beranjak tua aku sadar bahwa kita lahir pun bukan karena keputusan kita. ...” (I-2012) ㉔ When growing older I realised that we are not born out of our own choice.

- 131 [85] F sudah berada di rumah pun kerana tidak berada di *pub*. (M-1997) ㉔ (F is Fidah, the narrator) If I was at home, it’s because I was not at the pub.

- 132 [86] “Aku bagi skrip pun, sebab terdesak.” (M-2013) ㉔ If I gave the script, it’s because I was under pressure.

A.2.2. Patient

- 133 [87] Ia pun dikeluarkan oleh guru, kerana tiada pernah mengunjungi sekolah lagi. (I-1936-1) ㉔ And then he was expelled by the teacher because he never went to school anymore.

- 134 [88] “Daerah kita itu pun aku tahu pasti, mBok. Ke ruang tengah dan depan saja aku belum pernah.” (I-1987) ㉔ That area of ours I know well, my girl. To the middle and front rooms only I have never been.

A.2.3. Predicate

- 135 Can *pun* qualify a predicate? Most textbooks suggest, by their silence on the subject, that this is not the case. However, the standard grammar of Malaysian *Tatabahasa Dewan* (3rd edition, 2008: 262), which may have the most minimalist treatment of *pun*, states that *pun* can qualify a predicate as well as a subject, with the example: *Mereka ada pun di sini*, “They are here”.

- 136 *Pun* qualifying a predicate doesn’t seem to have been used in classical Malay, even though [89] is a puzzling example from a 17th-century text.

- 137 [89] “Maka kami ditinggalkan pun akan kawal negeri Samutera” (*Hikayat Aceh*, p. 82) 𐄂 It is to guard the country of Samutera that we have been left behind.
- 138 In Indonesian, this usage is rather rare, but it is found, for instance, in the works of Tio Ie Soei (*Djodo? Nasib?*, 1923), Anak Ponorogo (*Gila Mentega*, 1938), Achdiat Karta Mihardja (*Atheis*, 1949), Asmaraman S. Kho Ping Hoo (*Bu Kek Siansu*, 1973), Mochtar Lubis (*Harimau, Harimau!*, 1975), Pramoedya Ananta Toer (*Gadis Pantai*, 1987; *Arus Balik*, 1995), and Ajip Rosidi (*Hidup tanpa Ijazah*, 2008)—see [90-92]—so that it is clearly accepted usage. This marking of the predicate (and/or its complement) together with an inversion of the subject often results, specially in Indonesian, in the topicalization of the predicate [90-93] and can even go with an effect of dislocation [94]. In both cases *pun* acts as the pivot of the clause.
- 139 In Malaysian, *pun* qualifying a predicate is found in novels tagged as classics, like the works of Ishak Haji Muhammad (*Putera Gunung Tahan*, 1938), A. Samad Said (*Salina*, 1961), Shahnon Ahmad (*Seluang*, 1978; *Sutan Baginda*, 1997) and Anwar Ridwan (*Hari-Hari Terakhir Seorang Seniman*, 1979), as well as in Kassim Ahmad’s memoir (*Universiti Kedua*, 2010); see [95, 96]. This use of *pun* has of late become very frequent in Malaysian, especially in colloquial language, to such a point that in recent Malaysian popular novels, notably in *Bukan Hanya Sesaat (M-2011-2)* and *Awak Pengantin Saya! (M-2014-1)*, the instances of *pun* qualifying a predicate are innumerable; see [97, 98]. This use of *pun* is also found, albeit rarely, in modern academic idiom, see [99]. Most examples in the corpus regard verbal predicates, the only exceptions (exemplified here in [103, 108-110]) being clauses.
- 140 [90] ... iaorang djadi tiada bisa bertjampoer-gaoel lagi, hanja ketemoe poen ampir tiada ... (*I-1923*) 𐄂 They couldn’t frequent each other anymore and even almost never met.
- 141 [91] “Ya, orang kebanyakan seperti sahaya inilah, bekerja berat tapi makan pun hampir tidak.” (*I-1987*) 𐄂 (A female servant talking) Yes, commoners like me, we work hard but almost do not eat.
- 142 [92] Berubah pun airmukanya tidak. (*I-1995*) 𐄂 His expression didn’t even change.
- 143 [93] Jangankan mengucapkan selamat pagi, melirikpun tidak dia. (*I-1977*) 𐄂 Let alone saying hello, she didn’t even have a look for him.
- 144 [94] Jangankan mengembalikan, memberi tahu bagaimana nasib terjemahan itu pun tidak pernah mereka lakukan. (*I-2011-1*) 𐄂 Let alone returning it, even informing about the fate of that translation they did not.
- 145 [95] Satu kali keliling, dua kali tiga kali hingga tujuh kali keliling juga tertangkap bahkan terpegangpun tidak oleh Tuan Robert akan perempuan muda itu... (*M-1938*) 𐄂 After one round, two, three rounds up to seven rounds, Mister Robert had not caught the girl yet, he had not even touched her.
- 146 [96] Sedari tadi dia tidak menyentuh pun mayat itu. (*M-1979*) 𐄂 Since the beginning he had not even touched the corpse.
- 147 [97] “Bukan buruk pun rupa dia. Hensem kot.” (*M-2013*) 𐄂 She is not bad looking. Pretty even.
- 148 [98] “Maryam tak cakap pun nak datang pagi.” (*M-2011-2*) 𐄂 (Maryam talking) I didn’t say anything about coming in the morning.

- 149 [99] Sifat seksual Tuah tidak pernah disentuh pun oleh pencipta hikayat ini (Muhammad 1990: 215) ☞ The sexual side of [Hang] Tuah is never alluded to by the author of the story.
- 150 This use of *pun* is often accompanied by the positioning of *pun* at the end of very short sentences. The following examples [100–104] come from recent popular novels, with the exception of the first (from *Salina*, 1961), which shows that this idiomatic form is not that recent. This construction can be found with positive, negative and interrogative sentences, the predicate of which can be a verb or an adjective, and can be expressed in English [103] or in slang [104]. One example comes from a comic [102].
- 151 [100] “Ha, pandai pun.” (M-1961) ☞ Ah, you’re clever!
- 152 [101] “Mana kenal pun?” (M-2011-2) ☞ How would I know [her]?
- 153 [102] “Bila masa kau pernah masak, nenek tak pernah tengok pun.” (M-2011-3) ☞ (An old woman to her grand-child) When did you ever cook? I never saw you.
- 154 [103] “— Entah. Aku rasa macam something wrong somewhere.” — “Kau dengan Dian dulu pun laki-bini dan aku pun rasa macam something wrong somewhere. Macamana? — “Memang something wrong somewhere pun. She left me for a homo.” (M-2015-2) ☞ — I don’t know. I have the feeling that there is *something wrong somewhere*. — You and Dian were married in the past, and I too have the feeling that there is *something wrong somewhere*. What do you mean? — Well indeed there was *something wrong somewhere*. She left me for a homo.
- 155 [104] “Tak berbaloi pun.” (M-2015-2) ☞ It’s not worth it.
This use of *pun* has produced new expressions like *betul pun*, *tak kisah pun*, *tahu pun*, *takde pun*, *tak tanya pun*, *tu jelah pun*, illustrated in [105–108].
- 156 [105] “Padahal saya tak kisah pun.” (M-2015-2) ☞ Whereas I don’t care.
- 157 [106] “Hah, betul pun seperti kata kambing itu...” (M-1961) ☞ Ah, it’s true what the goat said...
- 158 [107] “— Darah yang mengalir di tubuh ni darah pendekar la, Andi! — Tak tanya pun!” (M-2008) ☞ — The blood flowing in this body is the blood of a fighter, Andi. — I didnt ask!
- 159 [108] Tu jelah pun. (M-2015-2) ☞ That’s all there is. (With the combination of *-lah* and *pun*.)
Pun can also modify a predicate together with its complement:
- 160 [109] “Panggil namaku pun bapak tak sudi lagi.” (I-1987) ☞ Even calling my name you don’t want to do it anymore.
- 161 [110] “Memohonkan ampun pun aku takkan sanggup – sekalipun kau bohong!” (I-1995) ☞ To ask for forgiveness I can’t, even if you lie.

A.2.4. Object

- 162 Can *pun* qualify an object? It is generally admitted that *pun* is only used after a noun if it is a subject; see Sneddon: “Whatever its function, *pun* always follows the subject of the clause and acts to emphasise it” (2010: 237). However, *pun* qualifying objects is found in modern novels. Most of the examples I have found come from very recent popular Malaysian novels [114–115], which therefore represent a new trend in the colloquial register. But this is not an innovation: the same pattern is found in older Malaysian books (regarded as classics): *Meniti Kala* by Arena Wati (1974); *Seluang* (1978,

[112]) and *Baginda* (1997, [113]) by Shahnnon Ahmad; as well as two even older Indonesian novels: *Djodo? Nasib?* by Tio Ie Soei (1923 [111]) and *Tenggelamnya Kapal Van der Wijck* by Hamka (1938).

163 [111] Sasoeatoe orang jang liat koeda itoe poen tiada poetoenja memoedji djoega. (I-1923) ☞ Anyone seeing that horse would keep praising it.

164 [112] Hendak lunjur kaki pun tak habis. (M-1978) ☞ He couldn't even extend his legs.

165 [113] Ada kalibernya pun tokoh itu. (M-1997) ☞ This person has some calibre.

166 [114] “Kalau betul ada orang buang, abang tak kisah nak korek tong sampah pun.” (M-2011-2) ☞ If somebody really threw it away I am ready to dig into the garbage bin.

167 [115] “Kita tak nampak akak pun.” (M-2011-1) (A little girl to an older one) ☞ We can't see you.

A.2.5. Beneficiary

168 [116] “Apalagi orang sebagi ia iang terkenal dalem kalangan pergaoelan, dan banjak menderma sama berbagi perkoempoelan di ini kota, dan pada Hoedjin-Siotjia Hwee poen goena kaperloean bikin tennisband ia derma f 500 roepia!” (I-1934-2) ☞ Even more a man like him, well know in society and who makes donations to various associations in the town, who even gave 500 guilders to the Ladies and Damsels Association in order to build a tennis court.

A.2.6. Circumstantial expressions

169 Of time, place, manner, quantity, agency, goal, and attribution as follows.

A.2.6.1. Of time

170 Such expressions are potentially infinite in number.

171 [117] Seperti halnya Dilam, pada saat itu pun Marsusi ingin segera pulang. (I-1985) ☞ Like Dilam, at that very moment Marsuni wanted to go home quickly.

172 [118] Raya dulu pun bapa tak beli apa-apa. (M-1978) ☞ For the last Idul Fitri, Dad didn't buy anything.

A.2.6.2. Of place

173 [119] “Mak Base, banyak orang memuji-muji negeri Padang, banyak orang berkata bahwa agama Islam masuk kemari pun dari sana.” (I-1938-3) (Mak Base is a character in the story) Mak Base, many people praise the Padang country, many say that Islam was introduced to this very place from there.

174 [120] Dari al-Baqarah saja pun enam ayat. (M-1997) From the Sura al-Baqarah alone came six verses.

A.2.6.3. Of manner

175 [121] “Ah, tanpa pekasih pun orang akan senang tidur bersama Srintil.” (I-1982) ☞ Ah, even without a love potion men will want to sleep with Srintil.

176 [122] Abdul Fakar melepaskannya segera dengan tidak bersebab pun. (M-1961) ☞ Abdul Fakar let him go immediately without any reason.

A.2.6.4. Of quantity

I found examples in Malaysian sources only, mainly in recent popular novels. All examples refer to three kinds of expressions. The first one is *paling...pun*, “at most” [123]. The second one is *paling tidak pun*, “at least,” and its derivatives *paling tak pun* and

paling-paling tak pun [124]. The third expression, with a very similar meaning, is *ada tak ada pun* with the variants *ada tidak ada pun*, *ada tidak pun*, in the sense of *paling-paling*, *paling sedikit*, *kalaupun ada*, “at least, if at all” [125]. It is used in several of Shahnnon Ahmad’s works. In the comics magazine *Gila-Gila* (Kuala Lumpur) the expression *Ye tak ye jugak* (“yes or no, in either case, anyway”) is used with the same meaning. The literal meaning of *ada tak ada pun* is “if there is/was any, be there any or not”, which can be glossed either “at least” or “at most:”

[123] Rouk bagi masa paling lewat pun 3 hari untuk Liya menghubunginya. (M-2015-2) [123] Rouk had given three days at most for Liya to contact him.

[124] “— Awak harapkan apa sebenarnya? — Paling tidak pun awak ucap selamat tinggal.” (M-2014-2) [124] — What did you expect exactly? — At least, that you say goodbye.

[125] Kalau bukan rumah Fatah, rumah siapa lagi. Ada tak ada pun rumah Suud. Kalau tak Fatah, Suud. Kalau tak Suud, Fatah. (M-1978) [125] If not Fatah’s house, whose house then? Definitely Suud’s. If not Fatah, then Suud. If not Suud, then Fatah.

A.2.6.5. Of agency

177 [126] “Tentang pakerdja’ankoe akoe soedah oeroes beres dengan madjikankoe, dari siapa poen telah dapetken poedjian agar lekas loeloes dan dapetken apa jang akoe kahendakin.” (I-1938-1) [126] Regarding my work I organised everything with my boss, from whom I received praise and the hope that I soon obtain my diploma and get everything I wish.

178 [127] Memang benar apa yang dikatakan oleh Rahmat pun. (M-1997) [127] What Rahmat said is indeed true.

179 [128] Mata angin tak dapat ditentukan karena matahari tak tampak lagi. Karena itu pun dia puas menyerahkan pada Wak Katok untuk menentukan arah yang harus mereka ambil. (I-1975) [128] It was impossible to know the directions of the compass because the sun was not visible anymore. For that reason he was happy to leave to Wak Katok to decide the direction they had to take.

A.2.6.6. Of goal

180 [129] Untuk mencuci pun, Udin Bego membawa sabun sendiri... (I-1994) [129] Even to wash clothes Udin Bego brought his own soap.

181 [130] “Taruh celah gigi pun tak cukup!” (M-1961) [130] (About the food equivalent to a small amount of money) It would not be enough to fill a gap between teeth.

A.2.6.7. Of attribution

182 [131] “Oh, nasibku, nasibku. Sedang kepada setan pun tak kuharapkan nasib yang demikian.” (I-1974-2) [131] Oh, my fate, my fate! To the devil himself I wouldn’t wish such a fate.

A.2.7. Circumstantial clauses

183 [132] Setelah meraih gelar Magister pun kami masih hidup susah... (I-2008-4) [132] Even after having obtained the master’s degree, our life was still difficult.

184 [133] “Sekarang ini sahaja Inah dah tak dipedulikannya, sekarang di waktu Inah beri dia makan minum, jaga dia, belikan dia pakaian ini pun dibuatnya Inah macam anjing.” (M-1961) [133] (A friend addressing Inah) At this very moment he doesn’t care about you; now, at the time you feed him, you take care of him, you buy him clothes, he treats you like a dog. (Pun marks the clause *sekarang di waktu Inah ... pakaian ini*.)

A.2.8. Conditional clauses

- 185 The conditional clauses marked by *pun* begin with a conditional conjunction (*kalau*, more rarely *jika*) and end with *pun*. This is more frequent in Malaysian than in Indonesian. The conditional conjunction can be elided [137, 138]. The expressions *jika tidak pun* and *kalau tidak pun* (“if not, if ever not, even in the reverse case”) constitute clauses with elision of subject and verb [139]. One step further, the expression can be reduced to *tak pun*, which alone constitutes a concessive clause (“even in the reverse case”) [140, 141]. In colloquial Malaysian, the expression *kot ye pun*, apparently very recent, has replaced an older one, *kalau ya pun*, which originally meant “if indeed, if any”, but has switched to mean “whatever, anyway” [142, 143]. *Kot ye pun* is used (in Nadia Khan’s novels in particular) in the sense of *bagaimanapun juga* (“whatever the case”) and *kalaupun benar* (“even if it is true”) [144, 145].
- 186 [134] Di sekolah itu hijab adalah seragam wajib. “Tapi biasanya cuma pakai di sekolah, ya, habis itu dilepas. Kalau pakai pun, poni rambut masih kelihatan.” (*Tempo*, 140728) ^{FB} *Hijab* is part of the mandatory uniform in school. “But usually it is used in school and taken off outside. Even if still used the bang of hair is still visible.”
- 187 [135] “Kalau berpeluang melanjutkan pelajaran ke luar negeri pun, janganlah dilepaskan.” (*M-1961*) ^{FB} If you have the opportunity to study abroad, don’t miss it.
- 188 [136] Kalau adapun, pada umumnya makmum tidak komen atau tidak bising-bising. (*M-2007*) ^{FB} Even if it was the case, the devotees didn’t make any comment and remained silent.
- 189 [137] Datang terima. Tak datang pun tak apa. (*M-1978*) ^{FB} (About an expected baby) If it comes it will be welcome. If it doesn’t, no problem.
- 190 [138] “Engkau tak nak bagi pun tetap aku ambil bawak balik” (*M-2014-2*) ^{FB} (About money) Even if you don’t give it to me, I will still take it and carry it away.
- 191 [139] “Saya kejutkan pula; siapalah tahu kalau-kalau Hilmy endak pergi sekolah hari ini. Kalau tidak pun dah terlanjur bangun ni, baiklah bangun saja. Kopi dan roti pun dah siap,” kata Nahidah. (*M-1961*) ^{FB} (A mother to her son, Hilmy) “So, I woke you up; who knows, you might want to go to school today. Even if you don’t, now that you’re awake, you’d better get up. Coffee and bread are ready,” said Nahidah.
- 192 [140] “Tak pun, biar I teman you tidur kat bilik you...” (*M-2013*) ^{FB} Even if not, I think I should sleep in your room and keep you company.
- 193 [141] “— Hidup you ni... boleh buat novel tau, Mir,” ujar Jun. — “Tulah pasal. Tak pun nanti you buat dokumentari pasal I,” aku mengusik. (*M-2011-4*) ^{FB} — “This life of yours, it could be turned into a novel, you know, Mir,” said Jun. — “That’s the point. If not, you make a documentary about me,” I joked.
- 194 [142] “Ha, kalau ya pun nantilah dahulu.” (*M-1961*) ^{FB} Ah, even in that case, not right now.
- 195 [143] “Mira, ajak kawan tu naik dulu kalau ye pun.” (*M-2011-4*) ^{FB} Mira, tell your friend to come in anyway.
- 196 [144] “Kot ye pun abah, habiskan la jawab salam tu dulu.” (*M-2011-4*) ^{FB} Even if your are my father, you could answer my greeting first.
- 197 [145] Kot ye pun minah ni dah makan umpan aku, takkan daring sangat. (*M-2013*) ^{FB} Even if this girl has eaten my bait, she can’t be that bold.

B. Coordinating conjunction

- 198 *Pun* as a clitic particle still has another function, much rarer, which has been ignored by grammarians so far, even though it is found throughout the 20th c. in Indonesian and marginally in Malaysian. This is when *pun* functions as a coordinating conjunction, either inside a clause, or between two clauses. In the first case (B.1.) *pun* links two components of the clause, which are circumstantial complements.
- 199 In the second case *pun* functions in a sentence made of two independent clauses, being placed at the head of the second, which is separated from the first by a dot or a comma. Several cases arise:
- 200 a. *Pun* marks the noun phrase subject of the second clause (B.2.).
- 201 b. *Pun* marks the whole second clause, which is an independent declarative clause (B.3.), whose subject is different from (B.3.1.) or identical with (B.3.2.) that of the main clause.
- 202 c. *Pun* marks the whole second clause, which is a dependent clause, either circumstantial (of aspect or place, or indicating a recipient, a cause or a manner, B.4.1.–6.), or conditional (B.5.).
- 203 The dictionary of Stevens & Schmidgall-Tellings actually mentions this use of *pun*, but defines it as “preceding the subject,” with the example *Pun perkara pencurian berkurang juga dalam bulan ini*, “Besides, thefts have decreased this month,” which is actually incomplete and cannot be analysed without knowing the preceding sentence.
- 204 As this function of *pun* has remained unnoticed so far, I will give more examples than in other sections. It may be noted that among the 32 examples below, only seven are Malaysian, but they come from seven different sources. *Pun* as a conjunction is certainly less common in Malaysian than in Indonesian.
- B.1. *Pun* coordinates two components of a clause
- 205 The two components are circumstantial complements. *Pun* introduces the second one.
- 206 [146] Tidak dilihatnya yang demikian di Tuban, pun tidak di Jepara. (I-1995) 𐄂 He didn't see the like in Tuban, nor in Jepara.
- B.2. *Pun* proclitic marks the subject of a clause
- 207 That subject is different from the subject of the preceding clause, and presents a similarity with it. Exceptions to this sense of similarity are the uses of *pun begitu*, which can, on the contrary, introduce an opposition, a contrast; *pun begitu* as a compound word will be described in the section 2. *Pun in compounds below*. [150] is an exceptional example in which pun introduces a clause that has no parallel in the preceding clauses. It is sometimes difficult to determine whether *pun* qualifies the subject of the second clause or the clause itself. However, in [149], it is clear that *pun* qualifies and topicalizes the subject, as evidenced by the comma after it.
- 208 [147] Tempat kadoedoekannya Nederlandsch-Indische Jaarbeurs dipili di Bandoeng. Poen Technisch Hooge Shool diboeka di Bandoeng. (I-1923) 𐄂 Bandung was chosen as a place for the annual fair. The Technical University too was opened in Bandung.
- 209 [148] Roesdi poenja kepala moelai poesing. / Ia berdiam bebrapa waktoe dengan prilakoe sebagi orang jang mendadak disoelap mendjadi batoe oleh djin atawa hantoe djahat. / Poen Enden Enok boeat bebrapa sa'at tinggal diam. (I-1937) 𐄂 Roesdi started to feel dizzy. He remained immobile for a while, looking like he had suddenly been

magically petrified by a jinn or a malevolent ghost. [His wife] Enden Enok too remained immobile for a while.

210 [149] Ratusan warga Tionghoa, Melayu, Sawang dan orang-orang bersarung bermuram durja dan berlinangan air mata melepas kepergian Lao Mi. Pun aku, sukar menahan air mataku. (I-2008-2) ㉟ Hundreds of Chinese, Malay and Sea people, as well as people dressed in sarongs showed a sour face and cried when celebrating the disparition of Lao Mi. I too found it difficult to repress my tears.

211 [150] “Buyung! Mengapa Tuban lima hari terlambat datang?”. Dalam simpuhnya Raden Kusnan menjawab: “Ampun, Kakanda Aji, pun yang menentukan keberangkatan bukanlah patik. Tidak lain dari ayahanda sendiri Gusti Adipati Tuban.” (I-1995) ㉟ “Buyung! Why is Tuban [i.e. Tuban’s fleet] five days late?” From his humble position Raden Kusnan replied: “Forgive me, lord Aji, I am not the one who decides departure. It is none other than your father, the Lord of Tuban.”

B.3. Pun qualifies a second independent clause

B.3.1. The subject of the second clause is different from that of the first

212 The meaning is that of a similarity between the actions of the two clauses. *Pun* has the meaning of *demikian pula*, *begitu juga*, “in the same way, likewise.” In exemple 151, *pun* is followed by *pula*, so that the conjunction used is the combination *pun pula*, “moreover, furthermore.” The source is Mas Marco Kartodikromo’s short novel *Student Hidjo* (1918), which contains no less than eight examples of *pun* as a conjunction, in seven of which *pun* introduces a clause with a different subject. In six of those examples the conjunction *pun* is followed by *pula*. In another novel of 1949, we find *pun juga* used with the same meaning [151].

213 Malaysian examples are rather rare [157, 158]; in the first of them the pallelism between the two clauses is one of contrast.

214 [151] Terangnya lampu-lampu listrik di *Kebun Raja* laksana terangnya matahari. Lebih-lebih penerangan malam itu dibantu oleh beberapa sinar berlian yang dipakai oleh para bangsawan dan saudagar. Pun pula *subang*-nya Raden Ajeng Biru yang harganya f.2000,- turut menerangi Sriwedari. (I-1918) ㉟ The light of the electric bulbs in the botanical garden was as bright as the sun. Moreover the night lighting was enhanced by the radiance of several jewels worn by nobles and merchants. And so did Raden Ajeng Biru’s earrings, which were worth 2000 guilders, contribute to illuminate the Sriwedari garden.

215 [152] Hatiku berontak, ketika Rusli menguraikan hal itu, tapi entahlah, aku tidak mau mendebatnya, seakan-akan sudah ada prasangka padaku, bahwa jika pun aku mendebatnya, Rusli toh sudah bersedia dengan jawabannya. Pun juga, oleh karena berkali-kali Rusli menegaskan, bahwa “kita harus pandai meneropong soal-soal hidup itu dengan akal dan pikiran yang bebas lepas.” (I-1949) ㉟ My heart was upset when Rusli elaborated on this, but well, I didn’t want to argue with him, as if I had the feeling that, if I argued, he was ready with an answer. And also because Rusli had said many times that ‘we must master the art of scrutinizing life matters with a totally free spirit’.

216 [153] Tidak jarang kelapa yang telah terkumpul dicuri orang dengan mudah. Pun tidak mudah mereka itu menjaga orang yang masuk ke dalam kebun. (I-1936-1) ㉟ Not rarely, did thieves find it easy to steal the coconuts they had collected. Neither was it easy for them to watch the people who entered the orchard. (Despite the apparent contrast

between *mudah* and *tidak mudah*, the similarity lies in the difficulty the owners of the orchard have to protect their property.)

- 217 [154] “Dingin ya,” kata Kartini, sambil menggigil. Tangannya membenar-benar kain kepalanya. Pun aku sekarang merasa dingin. (*I-1949*) ☞ “It’s cold, isn’t it,” said Kartini, shivering. She tidied her head-scarf up. Now I was feeling cold too.
- 218 [155] Setelan salah satu bas yang dimainkan oleh mereka bergeser sedikit dari seharusnya. Pun menumpuk empat bas (ditambah Shadu Rasjidi) pada satu lagu tampaknya bukan ide bagus. (*Tempo*, 160404) ☞ The tuning of one of the basses they were playing was slightly different from what it should be. And putting four basses together (in addition to Shadu Rasjidi) in one song was probably not a good idea either.
- 219 [156] Orang gaji kami itu tak banyak bercakap. Suruh balik, dia balik. Suruh tunggu, dia tunggu. Pun aku suruh Pak Jabar datang malam itu supaya ada juga orang lelaki dalam rumah. (*M-1997*) ☞ Our employees didn’t say much. If told to go back, they went back. If told to stay, they stayed. And so, I ordered Jabar to come that night, so that there would be a man in the house.
- 220 [157] Sudah kubilang tidak boleh demikian. Pun mereka tak mau dengar. (Colloquial Malaysian in university context, Kuala Lumpur, early 2016) ☞ I told them this was not allowed, but they would not listen.
- 221 [158] Kirimkan kepada kami. Pun tidak ada masalah. (Colloquial Malaysian in university context, Kuala Lumpur, early 2016) ☞ Send it to us, it is no problem.
- 222 The examples above go back to the early 20th century. We don’t know how much earlier this use of *pun* might be. It seems that the following example, which may date back to the 17th century, belongs to this category:
- 223 [159] Maka Amir Haji di negeri Mesir dan negeri Syam pun membawa emas dan perak berpuluh-puluh belakang unta akan musara orang isi Mekkah dan Madinah pun terlalu banyak rakyat datang daripada kedua buah negeri itu... ☞ Then the pilgrimage chiefs of Egypt and Syria were bringing dozens of camel-loads of gold and silver as supply for the population of Mecca and Medina, and people from those two countries had also come in great numbers (*Hikayat Hang Tuah*, Singapore manuscript RRARE 398.209595 HIK; the *Hikayat* dates from the end of the 17th c., but this undated manuscript might be from the end of the 19th century. In the same place the (quasi standard) edition of Kassim Ahmad (p. 499) has the following variant with the same meaning: *Maka Amir Haji di negeri Mesir dan negeri Syam pun membawa emas dan perak berpuluh-puluh belakang unta akan musara orang isi Mekkah dan Madinah itu, terlalu banyak rakyat datang [daripada] kedua buah negeri itu....*).
- B.3.2. The subject of the second clause is identical with that of the first
- 224 The meaning is that of an accumulation; *pun* has often the meaning of *bahkan*, *malah*, *juga* (“even, moreover”). By causing a sharp caesura, *pun* places emphasis on the second clause. There are two possibilities, perhaps of equal frequency: either the subject is elided [160–163] or it is not [164–166].
- 225 [160] Badjoenja ada dari tjita moerah jang pake kembang-kembang warna idjo jang sabagian soedah loentoer, sedeng saroengnja ada batikan Tanahabang, jang berharga moerah, poen soedah toea dan goerem. (*I-1929*) ☞ His shirt was made of a cheap kind of chintz decorated with green flowers that had partly faded, while his sarong was a batik from Tanahabang, which was cheap and was also old and overworn.

- 226 [161] Gadis Pantai menyusul merebahkan diri di ambin. Pun sebentar kemudian terlelap. (*I-1987*) [161] The Girl of the Beach too lied down on the platform. A moment later she was asleep.
- 227 [162] Proyek ini mengolah data dalam kapasitas besar. Pun menyangkut banyak nama pejabat penting. (*Tempo*, 160502) [162] This project processes data with high capacity. It also involves the names of many important officials.
- 228 [163] “— Kau kenal Saidi Silat? — Kenal. Kenapa? — (...). Kau kenal Usman Urut? — Pun kenal. Pun kenal. Kenapa?” (*M-2015-3*) [163] — Do you know Saidi Silat? — I do. Why? — Do you know Usman Urut? — I know him too. I know him too. Why? (Another Malaysian example. The clause introduced by *pun* is reduced to a predicate, while the two parallel clauses are separated by a third.)
- 229 [164] Handoko dapatken salaris tjoekoep, hingga tiap-tiap boelannja boekan sadja ia dapat memberi oelang pada berdoea orang toeanja, poen ia dapat mengoempoelken di Spaarbank. (*I-1938-1*) [164] Handoko received sufficient wages, so that every month he could not only give money to his parents, but also gather some at the Savings Bank.
- 230 [165] “keraton mempersilakan pemerintah menggunakan tanah keraton untuk perkantoran. Tidak dipunggut sewa,” kata Hadiwinoto. / Pun tanah keraton untuk kampus Universitas Gadjah Mada di Bulaksumur. (*Tempo*, 150817). [165] (In Yogyakarta, during the war, after the Dutch had left the city) “The palace invited the government to use palace land for its offices. No rental fee was charged,” says Hadiwinoto. The same happened for the palace land used for the campus of Gadjah Mada University in Bulaksumur.
- 231 [166] Dan aku sendiri berdoea (kata orang doa orang yang baru pulang dari haji makbul) semoga pada tahun yang lain, kalau kami pergi haji lagi, aku akan terbang dengan kapal terbang MAS sendiri, dan tidak akan kelaparan dan kehausan lagi dalam penerbangan. Pun aku berdoea juga, semoga pada tahun yang lain, kalau pergi haji lagi, Tabung Haji sudah teratur organisasinya dan pegawainya sudah pandai bekerja. (*M-1974*) [166] As for me, I prayed (people say that prayers from people who just come back from the Hajj are granted) that, if we were to make the pilgrimage again another year, I would fly the national company and would not starve and be thirsty during the flight. I also prayed that, if I were to make the pilgrimage again another year, the Hajj Bureau would be organised and its employees competent. (One rare Malaysian example—but the author, Arena Wati, born in Makassar, obtained his whole education in Indonesia.)

B.4. Pun introduces a circumstantial clause

B.4.1. A temporal clause

- 232 [167] Nov juga bisa menekan seluruh perasaannya dengan menyebutkan sebagai Bapak, pun saat hanya berdua. (*I-1994*) [167] Nov could repress all her feelings by calling him Bapak, even when they were by themselves.
- 233 [168] “Setelah diperiksa, Nurhadi membantah terlibat kasus korupsi tersebut. Pun ketika ia ditanya ihwal surat perintah penyelidikan atas namanya.” (*Tempo*, 160314). [168] When he was interrogated Nurhadi denied having been involved in that corruption case. Even when asked about the inquiry warrant on his name.
- 234 [169] Ia hanya di Bali, di Bali, dan di Bali! “Di sini, di pelosok mana pun, selalu ada matahari. Ini surga! Di sini saya merasa menjadi manusia,” katanya. Pun sampai akhirnya sang maut menjemput. (*Tempo*, 160328) [169] He [the painter Arie Smit] remained in Bali, in Bali and in Bali! “Here, in every corner, there is always sun. This is paradise!

Here I feel like a human being,” he said. And this up to the very day when finally death came to fetch him.

B.4.2. A locative clause

235 [170] “Ini juga dialami negara lain, termasuk Cina. Pertumbuhan ekonomi mereka dulu 12 persen, tapi sekarang turun jadi 5 persen. Pun di India, angkanya turun menjadi 10-11 persen.” (*Tempo*, 150928) ☞ This has been experienced by other countries, including China. Their economic growth used to be up to 12 per cent, but now it has dropped to 5 per cent. In India too, the figure dropped to 10-11 per cent.

236 [171] “Kopi mandailing Sumatera mengenalkan saya pada cita rasa kopi sesungguhnya. Pun kepada tangan-tangan perempuan yang terlibat di balik prosesnya.” (*Kompas*, 160511) ☞ The *mandailing* Sumatra coffee introduced me to the real taste of coffee. And to the hands of the women who are behind its fabrication.

B.4.3. A clause designating a beneficiary

237 [172] Siap tugasannya itu, divedok pula sayur... pun untuk Nurul. (*M-2014-1*) ☞ When she had finished she took a ladle of vegetables... also for Nurul.

B.4.4. A clause designating a cause

238 [173] Dahulu dia dimarahi oleh Farid sebab Maryam. Kini Vanessa pula naik angin padanya, pun sebab Maryam juga. (*M-2011-2*) ☞ In the past he had been scolded by Farif because of Maryam. Now Vanessa also was angry at him, again because of Maryam.

B.4.5. A clause designating manner

239 [174] Saya bangun, dan di bawah kedengaran langkah kaki dan sepatu orang-orang, yang pun sebagai saya, berlomba datang ke masjid. (*I-1951-1*) ☞ I got up. I could hear downstairs the steps of feet and shoes of the people who, just like me, were hurrying to the mosque. (*Pun sebagai saya* is an interpolated clause, distinct from *yang*, but the juxtaposition *yang pun* still has a strong stylistic effect.)

240 [175] Di siang hari, Warno Viktor tak berminat kepada mereka, pun dalam keadaan setengah mabuk. (*I-1994*) ☞ During the day Warno Viktor didn't pay attention to them, even when he was half drunk.

B.5. Pun introduces a conditional clause

241 [176] “Tapi sesuaikanlah itu dengan kenyataan, bahwa di dunia ini segala-gala selalu berubah, selalu berganti, selalu bergerak? Jadi pun apabila andaikata ‘heilstaat’ atau ‘kerajaan Tuhan’ itu sudah tercapai, tidakkah hal itu pun hanya untuk sementara saja, sebab harus mengalami pula hukum undang-undang alam “selalu berganti, selalu berubah” itu? (*I-1949*) ☞ But is this in accord with the fact that everything in this world constantly changes, transforms, moves? So, if ever that theocratic state, that kingdom of God, is realised, won't it be ephemeral as well, because it will have to undergo the natural law of perpetual change and transformation?

242 [177] “Kamu tetap bisa, pun kalau kamu ingin menanganinya sendiri dari awal.” (*I-1994*) ☞ You can still do it, even if you want to handle it from the beginning.

2. Pun in compounds

A. Types of compounds

- 243 There are about 30 compound words formed with *pun* and other words, especially conjunctions. Today, most of them are written as one word (*adapun*, *sekalipun*, etc.), although some are written in two (*mana pun*, *andai pun*, etc.), and some are written in both ways (*apapun/apa pun*, *betapapun/betapa pun*, *belumpun/belum pun*). Regarding this inconsistency, I endeavoured to always respect the spelling of the sources. Before the 1972 spelling reform *pun* was consistently written attached to the previous word. *Pun* often does not modify the meaning of the conjunction it indexes (*meskipun*, *ataupun* and *andaipun* have the same meaning as *meski*, *atau* and *andai*), but in many cases as well the compounds created with *pun* have a meaning different from that of the basic word (e.g. *adapun*, *sekalipun*, *lagipun*, *bagaimanapun*, etc.).
- 244 These compounds act mainly as conjunctions, but they belong to various syntactic categories. Each compound functions according to its syntactic category, but a specific case has to be mentioned, that of *adapun* causing topicalization or even dislocation. Topicalization can affect a subject [178], a patient [179], a declarative clause [180], a circumstantial clause [181] and certainly more categories. Dislocation is illustrated in [182].
- 245 Semantically, the compounds are of three kinds: introducing a comparison or parallelism (*adapun*, *ataupun*, *lagipun*, *maupun*), indefiniteness (*apa pun*, *bagaimanapun*, *berapa pun*, *betapapun*, *bila pun*, *kapan pun*, *mana pun*, *siapa pun*, *tak...se-X pun*, *tak sedikit pun*, *tak sekalipun*), or concession (*andaipun*, *apapun*, *bagaimanapun*, *betapapun*, *biarpun*, *bilapun*, *jikapun*, *kalaupun*, *kendatipun*, *kot ye pun*, *meskipun*, *se-X pun*, *sekalipun*, *sungguhpun*, *walaupun*).
- 246 These three categories will be considered in paragraphs 1, 3, and 4 of section II below, according to the meaning they add to the clause they modify. But first, we will examine an expression (*pun begitu*) which is relatively common and should perhaps be considered as a compound too.
- 247 [178] Adapun menghitung kelapa itu sesudah kebun habis dipetik. (I-1936-1) [178] As for counting the coconuts, it is done when all in the plantation have been picked.
- 248 [179] Adapun gelar keningratan Oom Baron itu jangan dikira dari Barat. Ia asli masukan mokap: “Barongsai,” jelasnya. (I-2006) [179] (Oom is the name of the narrator ; it is used as a substitute of the first person personal pronoun) Regarding my nobility title *baron*, don’t think it comes from the West. It is a pure invention of my mother: *Barongsai* to be precise.
- 249 [180] “Ada pun aku tidak tinggal di rumah sembahyang, walau sudah berdinding dan berpintu, tunggulah, lain waktu kalian akan tahu lebih baik.” (I-1995) [180] Why didn’t I stay in the prayer house, even though it now had walls and a door, wait a while, you will know more some time.
- 250 [181] Adapun harga kambing, dam, atau akikah tadi, jika di pasar hanya 20 real, syekh bisa menolong membelikan “karena Allah” 30 real. (I-1951-1) [181] About the cost of the aforementioned goats, fines and shaving, if it is only 20 reals in the market, the shaikh can help buy them, “in the name of God,” for 30 reals.

- 251 [182] “Adapun tentang Rodriguez, kemenakan Saudara Cortez, tentara Tuban telah membunuhnya.” (I-1995) ¶ As for Rodriguez, the nephew of Cortez, Tuban’s army had killed him.

B. *pun begitu*

- 252 The phrases *begitu pun* and *demikian pun* do not have the status of compounds; they simply have the additional meaning of their two components and have the same meaning as *begitu juga*, *demikian pula*, “similarly, in the same way.” In [185] the two phrases *begitu pun* and *demikian pula* alternate.
- 253 [183] Seperti itoe soesoenan batoe dan kajoe jang tida teratoer begitoepoen batin manoesia masih banjak koesoet. (I-1936-2) ¶ Just as a messy heap of stones of wood pieces, the human human heart too is much confused.
- 254 [184] Tetapi jam kerjanya lebih ringan, letak tempatnya lebih dekat, juga lebih mudah ditempuh. Demikian pun ada jaminan sosialnya. (I-2000-2) ¶ But the working hours are lighter, the place is closer and easier to access. Moreover there is social security.
- 255 [185] Namun, perspektif Kementerian Ketenagakerjaan tentu tidak sama. ... Demikian pula dari Kementerian Perindustrian... Begitupun Kementerian Perdagangan. (Kompas, 160601) ¶ However, the perspective of the Ministry of Manpower is certainly not the same. Same thing with the Ministry of Industry. Likewise the Ministry of Commerce.
- 256 On the contrary, the reverse phrases *pun begitu* and *pun demikian*, which to my knowledge have so far been entirely ignored in scholarship on Malay, have become compounds expressing either a contrast (with the same meaning as *meskipun begitu*, *meskipun demikian*, “in spite of this, however, yet”) [186], or, less frequently, a similarity, in the same way as *begitu pun* above [187]. Those two phrases seem much more common in Malaysian than in Indonesian, even though the two examples below are Indonesian. The Konkordans DBP website, Teks Akhbar (1,500 occurrences of *pun*) gives 14 examples of *pun begitu*, with the same meaning as *meskipun begitu*, at the beginning of a sentence, that is, expressing a contrast.
- 257 [186] Sebagai penyuka fotografi, aku menikmati foto-foto orang lain, diunggah oleh orang lain, tentang obyek apa saja. Pun begitu, ada kenikmatan tersendiri memandangi foto hasil karya sendiri, atau ada aku dalam sebuah suasana berbeda – terposting di tempat semestinya. (Facebook, Indonesian writer, April 2016) ¶ As a photography amateur I enjoy pictures made by other people, posted by other people about anything. Yet, there is a special pleasure in looking at my own pictures, or pictures with me in a different atmosphere, posted in the right place.
- 258 [187] “Hubungan antara penderita tuberkulosis dewasa dan anak juga bukan merupakan penyebab signifikan. Penelitiannya menunjukkan, meski berstatus orang tua dan anak, tak mesti anak bakal lebih gampang tertular. Pun demikian hubungan kekerabatan yang cukup jauh, tak berarti bakal lebih terproteksi.” (Tempo, 150810) ¶ The relationship between an adult and a child both suffering from tuberculosis is not a significant cause either. Research shows that even if they are parent and child, it is not necessarily the case that the child will be more easily contaminated. Likewise, a distant kinship relation doesn’t mean a greater protectedness.
- 259 The normative work of Ismail Bin Dahaman (2016: 492-4) analyzes about a hundred Malay coordinating conjunctions—excluding *pun*, which only intervenes in eight

compounds: *lagipun*, *sungguhpun*, *meskipun*, *biarpun*, *kendatipun*, *ataupun*, *mahupun*, *walaupun*, *kalaupun*, *sekalipun*.

- 260 The author claims that the expressions *pun begitu* and *pun demikian* (in which *pun* is an “adverb”), in the sense of either *sungguhpun begitu* or *meskipun demikian*, although frequent in the media, are incorrect if they express a concession (*biar*, *kendati*, *meski*, etc. should be used instead of *pun*), see [188], but correct if they suggest a similarity [189]. This prescriptive stance goes against the evidence of the corpus, but it might have an influence on future usage.
- 261 [188] Penjenayah itu dibelenggu dengan rantai besi pada tiang tengah di dalam bilik kurungan itu. Pun begitu, dia akan terus mencari helah untuk melepaskan dirinya.” (Ismail Bin Dahaman, 2016). ☞ The criminal was tied with an iron chain to the middle pillar of the cell. However, he will still look for tricks to release himself. (As it is concessive, the construction is deemed “incorrect.”)
- 262 [189] Penjenayah itu dibelenggu dengan rantai besi pada tiang tengah di dalam bilik kurungan itu. Pun begitu, pemuda yang bersubahat dengannya menerima nasib yang sama.” (Ismail Bin Dahaman, 2016). ☞ The criminal was tied with an iron chain to the middle pillar of the cell. Likewise, his young friend received the same treatment. (As it expresses a similarity, the construction is deemed “correct.”)

II. THE SEMANTIC VALUES OF PUN

- 263 Let’s now evaluate the semantic function of *pun*. We have seen that *pun* can qualify one component of a single clause, but (isolated or as element of a compound) *pun* more generally works at the level of two clauses and defines the relation between them, according to four nuances: comparison, temporal sequence, indefiniteness, concession. The compounds (about 30) are distributed according to these different nuances, but some of them appear in several categories.

1. Comparison

A. Enclitic particle

- 264 *Pun* is often used in the second of two consecutive clauses, to show some parallelism: similarity, identity, or progression.
- A.1. Similarity
- 265 [190] Langit ada terang sekali, dan dari sebab di itoe waktoe masih pagi, belun ada poekoel anam, angin poen ada sedjoek. (I-1912) ☞ The sky was very bright, and as it was still morning, not yet six o’clock, the wind was cool.
- 266 [191] Bukan hanya peraturan yang berubah-ubah, putusan pengadilan atas sengketa dagang pun kerap tak adil (Tempo, 160208) ☞ It is not only that regulations change, but court verdicts on commercial cases are often unfair too.
- 267 This use of *pun* was more frequent in classical Malay and could run over several clauses, like the seven occurrences in the following example:
- 268 [192] Maka tatkala Perkasa ‘Alam jadi itu halilintar pun memelah dan kilat pun sabungmenyabung dan guruh pun terlalu ‘azamat dan bumi pun bergerak selaku-laku gempa dan hujan pun rintirintir dan angin pun taufan hingga jadi gelap gulita, hingga tiada

berkenalan seorang kepada seorang dan air pun terlalu amat besar (*Hikayat Aceh*, p. 118) ☞ When Perkasa Alam [Iskandar Muda] came to the world, thunderbolts criss-crossed the sky, lightnings exploded in succession, the thunder was deafening, the earth trembled as in an earthquake, rain fell faintly, a storm obscured the sky to the point that people could not recognize each other, and the tide was at its highest. (Another example with nine occurrences of *pun* is found in the same text, p. 116.)

A.2. Identity

269 [193] Sasoedah berdiam sasaat, Fabien berkata sambil tondjolken kapala ka loewar kareta: / “Kita ada di manatah sekarang?” / Rocambole poen sondolken kapalanja ka loewar kareta. (*I-1912*) ☞ After a moment of silence Fabien said while leaning out of the carriage: Where are we now? Rocambole too leaned out of the carriage.

270 [194] “Oh, Karman, aku tahu kau tak pernah menginginkan perpisahan. Aku pun tidak, tetapi kita telah berpisah sekarang.” (*I-1980*) ☞ Oh, Karman, I know you never wanted a breakup. Neither did I, but we are separated now.

A.3. Progression

271 In addition to establishing a comparison, *pun* can add a nuance of crescendo, progression: the second term is not only similar to the first, it is, in a way, of a higher degree. The crescendo can be expressed by the combinations *jangan...pun*, *bukan saja... pun*, *tak hanya... pun*, and (in Malaysian) *usahkan... pun*, as in [196–198].

272 [195] “Anak kaoe tida poenja, familie poen tida poenja.” (*I-1937*) ☞ You don’t have children, you don’t even have a family.

273 [196] Persaingan antarpengusaha batik kala itu konon amat sengit. Menurut beberapa pengusaha batik lasem, anak atau sanak keluarga pun tak mengetahui teknik pencampuran warna yang digunakan, terutama untuk jenis warna khas batik lasem, seperti merah darah ayam (*getih pitik*) yang tersohor itu. (*Kompas*, 160625) ☞ Competition among batik entrepreneurs at that time was reputedly very fierce. According to some entrepreneurs of batik lasem, even children or relatives did not know the color mixing techniques used, especially for the type of color typical of batik lasem, such as the famous chicken-blood red (*getih pitik*).

274 [197] “Jangankan seorang dosen, pemerintah pun akan saya gugat kalau tak berjalan pada keadilan dan kebenaran.” (*I-1974-1*) ☞ Don’t mention a teacher, I will sue the government itself if it doesn’t go for justice and truth.

275 [198] Tak hanya rakyat jelata, politisi serta media pun terbelah dengan kekuatan yang relatif berimbang. (*Kompas*, 160625) ☞ Not only the common people, politicians and the media too were split with forces relatively in balance.

276 [199] Tetapi di sini, di imigresen, usahkan untuk berhujah, untuk bertanya pun tidak boleh. (*M-1974*) ☞ But here, at Immigration, never mind arguing, even asking questions is not allowed.

B. Compounds: *adapun*, *ataupun*, *lagipun*, *maupun*/*mahupun*

277 ADAPUN (*ada* + *pun*) is used at the beginning of a clause to introduce a topic, always in relation with a preceding clause, the relation being some kind of parallelism or comparison. *Adapun* always introduces a subject different from that of the preceding clause. Journalists make a great use of this adverb.

- 278 [200] Sejak peluncurannya tahun lalu di Jakarta, sedikitnya 6.000 pemilik kendaraan bergabung dengan Grab, perusahaan Malaysia yang berbasis di Singapura. Adapun jumlah anggota Go-Jek lebih fantastis... (*Tempo*, 160321) ☞ Since its launching last year in Jakarta, at least 6,000 vehicle owners have joined Grab, a Malaysian company based in Singapore. As for the number of members of Go-Jek, it is more amazing...
- 279 ATAUPUN (*atau* + *pun*) can be used as an emphatic form of *atau* [201], or after *atau* alone (X atau Y ataupun Z, “X or Y or again Z”) [202].
- 280 [201] Ada penonton yang menyaksikannya dan merasakan dampaknya ke dalam hidup mereka, sejenak ataupun lama. (*I-2011-2*) ☞ There are spectators who saw it and felt its effect on their life, for an instant or a long while.
- 281 [202] Maka kemuncak ini bolehlah dikatakan menjadi tiang atau pasak ataupun sebagai payung kepada tanah Semenanjung yang terbilang ini. (*M-1938*) ☞ So this peak may be said to be the pole or the stake or the umbrella of this glorious Peninsula.
- 282 LAGIPUN seems to be used in Malaysian only. This is probably the most frequent comparison conjunction in that language, where it has the meaning commonly expressed with *lagipula* in Indonesian, “moreover.” The Konkordans DBP website, Teks Sastra section (600 occurrences of *pun*), gives 25 examples of *lagi pun* in the sense of *lagipula*.
- 283 [203] Kalau tidak boleh terus ke Riyadh, Madinah dulu pun tidak mengapa. Lagipun Azad ada di sana. (*M-2005*) ☞ If she couldn’t go straight to Riyadh [to study], a stay in Madinah first would also be alright. Especially as Azad was already there.
- 284 MAUPUN also conveys a notion of comparison or alternation. It can be used by itself [204] or in combination with *baik* [205], and very exceptionally in the alternative form *baik pun...atau* [206].
- 285 [204] Pada masa Orde Lama maupun Orde Baru hal itu tak pernah terjadi. (*Kompas*, 160621) ☞ During the Old Order as well as the New Order that had never happened.
- 286 [205] “Bagaimana pendapat Tuan Regent mengenai perkara *associatie* (percampuran dengan bangsa asing), baik mengenai masalah pekerjaan maupun masalah perkawinan?” tanya *Controleur* kepada Regent. (*I-1918*) ☞ “What is your opinion about the association question (the mixing with people of foreign origin), from the point of view of work as well as that of marriage?”, asked the *Controleur* to the Regent.
- 287 [206] “... kaeo tida ada poenja soedara, baek poen soedara betoel atawa soedara misan.” (*I-1929*) ☞ You don’t have any relatives, either real brother or sister, or in-laws.

2. Temporal Sequence

- 288 This is specific of *pun* as enclitic particle indicating the succession of actions, the flow of the narrative, its evolution in time. It should be noted that *pun* marks no emphasis. The sequence can be obvious [207, 208] or simply suggested [208, 209]. Often *pun* marks not only a sequence, but also a consequence, a causality [209, 210].
- 289 [207] Ketika itulah saya naik haji. Dari pelabuhan Belawan saya telah belayar menuju ke Jeddah menumpang kapal “Karimata.” Empat belas hari lamanya saya terkatungkatung di dalam lautan besar. Pada hari kelima belas sampailah saya di pelabuhan Jeddah, pantai Laut Merah itu. Dua hari kemudian saya pun sampai ke Mekah tanah suci kaum Muslimin sedunia. (*I-1938-2*) ☞ That’s when I went on the pilgrimage. From

the port of Belawan I sailed to Jeddah aboard the ship “Karimata.” During fourteen days I was tossed on the great ocean. On the fifteenth I arrived at Jeddah, on the shores of the Red Sea. Two days later I finally was in Mecca the holy land of the Muslims of the whole world.

- 290 [208] Beberapa menit setelah berlayar, datanglah ombak setinggi 4-6 meter menghantam kapal. Kapal pun terombang-ambing di tengah laut. Pada empasan ketiga, kapal pun langsung terbalik dan tenggelam. (*Kompas*, 160624) [208] A few minutes after setting sail a wave came, 4-6 meters high, and hit the boat. Then the boat started tossing about, and at the third blow it capsized and sunk.
- 291 [209] Dan bila dongengnya telah selesai, ia bangun melihat ke atas ranjang. Dan dilihatnya Gadis Pantai telah tertidur senang di atas kasurnya yang empuk. Ia pun mengucap kepada Allah, karena telah terbebas dari tugas hari itu dengan hasil yang bisa menyenangkan Bendoro. (*I-1987*) [209] And when the fairy tale was over, she stood up looking at the bed. And she saw that the Girl of the Beach had fallen asleep on her soft mattress. She then thanked God, because she was free from the task of the day with results that could please the master.
- 292 [210] “Keringat kita, kita teteskan di atasnya dan panen pun jadi.” (*I-1995*) [210] “We pour our sweat over it, then harvest comes.
- 293 [211] Berhari-hari makan dengan daging ayam, keringat pun bau ayam. (*I-2008-1*) [211] After eating chicken meat for several days, sweat ends up smelling of chicken too.
- 294 [212] Jika negara maju melemah, perekonomian global pun akan tertekan. (*Kompas*, 160625) [212] If developed countries weaken, the global economy too will be depressed.

3. Indefiniteness

- 295 There is no example with *pun* as enclitic particle: *pun* introduces this connotation only via the following compounds: *apa pun*, *bagaimanapun*, *berapa pun*, *betapapun*, *bila pun*, *kapan pun*, *mana pun*, *siapa pun*, *tak se-X pun*, *tak sedikit pun*). We will see two other uses of *apa pun* and *betapapun* under Concession below. Indefiniteness concerns four categories: quantity, place, time, and totality (generalization).

A. Quantity

- 296 BERAPA PUN can qualify a word or a phrase (“in whatever quantity,” [213]) or stand by itself (“however much,” [214]). The compound can be split [215].
- 297 [213] Pukul berapa pun pencinta alam datang sebelum melakukan pendakian, akan selalu diterima oleh Pak Kliwon dengan tangan terbuka. (*I-2011-1*) [213] At whatever time nature lovers come before climbing, they will always be welcome by Mr. Kliwon with open arms.
- 298 [214] “Saya katakan tak ada uang atas perjanjian tersebut. Berapa pun.” (*Tempo*, 140804) I say there has been no money [paid] for this contract. None.
- 299 [215] Walau berapa banyak ditebang pun... (*M-1978*) [215] However many had been chopped down.
- 300 BETAPAPUN, is used before a nominalized adjective [216], a verb [217], an adjective [218] or a declarative clause [219]. It can be split [220].

- 301 [216] Oleh sebab itu, betapa pun sejuaknya, kami suami isteri mandi dua kali sehari... (M-1974) [Ⓔ] For that reason, however cold it was, we—husband and wife—did bathe twice a day.
- 302 [217] Upasara sudah tak ada. Betapapun menyakitkan dan sulit diterima, akan tetapi itulah kenyataannya. (I-1986-3) [Ⓔ] Upasara was gone. However painful and difficult to accept, such was the reality.
- 303 [218] Jadi sesuatu yang gaib yang mungkin tak terlawan oleh daya manusia biasa, betapapun tinggi ilmunya seperti Wak Katok. (I-1975) [Ⓔ] So, something mysterious that was perhaps unchallenged by the power of an ordinary human, however high his learning like Wak Katok.
- 304 [219] Betapapun perempuan Dukuh Paruk hidup dalam dunianya yang tersendiri, naluri mereka yang ingin beroleh keturunan sama dengan perempuan-perempuan lain. (I-1982) [Ⓔ] However much Dukuh Paruh's women lived in a world by itself, their instinct to wish for offsprings was the same as other women.
- 305 [220] Kini ada orang yang betapa gagahnyapun telah berlaku kurang ajar. (I-1973) [Ⓔ] Today there are men who however brave they may be behave rudely.

B. Place

- 306 The compound MANA PUN (with the Malaysian variant MANA-MANA PUN), “wherever” [221], which can be split [222].
- 307 [221] Di kampungnya ke mana pun ia pergi dan di mana pun ia berada yang tercium hanya satu macam bau: amis tepian laut. (I-1987) [Ⓔ] In her village, wherever she went and wherever she was, all one could smell was one odour only: the fishy smell of the coast.
- 308 [222] ... tapi Nirwan tidak pernah kelihatan di mana-mana pub pun. (M-1997) [Ⓔ] But Nirwan was never to be seen in any pub at all.

C. Time

- 309 APA PUN with a word indicating time.
- 310 [223] Saat apa pun, kau melaporkan padaku. (I-1986-3) [Ⓔ] At any moment, you report to me.
- 311 BILA PUN (with variants BILA MANA PUN, BILA-BILA PUN and BILA-BILA MASA PUN) is mainly Malaysian, although [224] is Indonesian (from a Minangkabau author). We will see, under Concession (2.4.2.), an Indonesian use of *bila pun* with a different meaning.
- 312 [224] Tetapi meskipun dia diusir, hatinya tetap dan teguh, sebab ada seorang perempuan – menurut keterangannya sendiri – yang telah memberi bujukan kepadanya, yang telah berjanji akan menunggunya, bila pun masanya dia pulang. (I-1938-3) [Ⓔ] But even though he was expelled, his heart was firm and steadfast, for there was a woman—according to his own explanation—who had coaxed him; she had promised to wait for him, whenever he would come home.
- 313 [225] Soalan itu memang sampai bila pun aku tidak dapat melupakannya. (M-1997) [Ⓔ] That question, never ever will I be able to forget it.
- 314 [226] Aku akan menghormati orang bila mana pun dan di mana pun, kalau sememangnya dia atau mereka tahu apakah erti kehormatan orang lain. Tetapi aku

tidak akan menghormati orang, di mana pun dan bila-bila pun, jika orang itu atau mereka memang orang yang tidak tahu adat dan tidak mahu menjaga maruah orang lain. (M-1974) 𐄂 I will respect people whenever and wherever, as long as he or they know what it means to respect others. But I will not respect people, anytime or anywhere, if he or they don't know politeness and don't want to respect the dignity of others.

315 [227] Dia akan menunggu seruan dan panggilan keramat itu. Panggillah bila-bila masa pun. Segala persiapan telah ada. (M-2005) 𐄂 She would wait for the sacred call. Call any time! Everything is ready.

316 KAPAN PUN, “whenever; anytime”

317 [228] “Tidak ada hal menarik yang ingin saya dengar hari ini, besok, bulan depan, tahun depan, atau kapanpun...” (I-1999) 𐄂 There is nothing I want to hear today, tomorrow, next month, next year, or anytime.

318 [229] Soalnya, Hasan adalah nama “pasar,” dalam artian di mana pun, kapan pun, dan siapa pun tidak dilarang menggunakan nama itu. (I-2011-1) 𐄂 The fact is that Hasan is a “market” name in the sense that anywhere and at any time, nobody is forbidden to use it.

D. Totality, generalization

A number of compounds are used, in positive clauses to express totality, and in negative clauses to express total absence.

D.1. Positive clauses

319 Three compounds: *apa pun*, *siapa pun*, *mana pun*. Each one can be split.

320 APA PUN (also APA-APA PUN in Malaysian) can function as a demonstrative adjective qualifying a noun with the sense of “whatever”; in this function it can be placed before [230], after [231], or around [232] that noun; it can also modify an adjective if used in combination with the prefix *se-* (se-X...apa pun) [233]. *Apa pun* can also function as an indefinite pronoun, meaning “anything” [234, 235].

321 [230] Apa pun tuduhannya, biarlah! (I-1978-1) 𐄂 Whatever the accusation, let it be!

322 [231] Persoalannya bagiku ialah, dalam keadaan apa pun, pada musim apa pun, di tempat mana pun, dalam iklim apa pun, aku perlu mandi dua kali sehari. (M-1974) 𐄂 The problem for me is, under any circumstances, in any season, in any place, in any climate, I need to take a bath twice a day.

323 [232] ...dalam apa-apa bentuk jua pun. (M-1990-1) 𐄂 In whatever form.

324 [233] Dia merasa paling tahu arti uang. Sekecil apapun, itu harus diperlakukan dengan hormat. (I-1999) 𐄂 He feels he perfectly knows the meaning of money. No matter how small, it should be treated with respect.

325 [234] Ayam-ayam yang hanya mengangguk-angguk, mematuk-matuk apapun yang diberikan kepada mereka, sampai kelak Kiamat memotong leher mereka. (I-2012) 𐄂 Chickens who just nod, peck whatever is given to them, until Doomsday cuts their throats. (As a metaphor for people without personality.)

326 [235] Katakanlah apa saja pun, F sedia memberikannya... (M-1997) 𐄂 (F is Fidah, the narrator) Whatever you may say, I was ready to give it to him...

327 MANA PUN (and YANG MANA PUN) means “any, whatever.”

- 328 [236] Manapun versi yang lebih benar, yang jelas pada sore itu Ibu Sati telah membuktikan kata-katanya. (I-2004) ☞ Whatever version was closer to the truth, it was clear that Mrs. Sati had proved her words that evening.
- 329 [237] Tarikh baru bisa dimaklumkan, nama baru bisa diterima umum, tapi senantiasa akan ada endapan dari masa lampau dalam peristiwa revolusioner yang mana pun. (I-2011-2) ☞ A new date can be understood, a new name can be accepted by everyone, but there will always be a trace from the past in any revolutionary event.
- 330 SIAPA PUN means “whoever.”
- 331 [238] Siapa pun dia, biarpun mengantungi ijazah S3 dari mana pun, dengan pengalaman kerja nol tahun, sebagai pegawai negeri sipil dapat dipastikan akan merangkak dari golongan IIIa. (I-2011-1) ☞ Whoever he is, no matter from where he holds a PhD, with zero years of work experience, as a civil servant it is certain that he will crawl from Group IIIa.

D.2. Negative clauses

- 332 In addition to the three compounds above, there are multiple constructions on the model TAK/TIDAK...SE-X PUN, of which *tidak sedikit pun* and *tidak sekalipun* are fixed variants. In combination with the minimal quantifiers *satu*, *se-* and *sedikit*, as well as *mana pun*, this construction expresses the total absence of something.
- 333 TAK/TIDAK...APA PUN. As in positive clauses, *apa pun* can modify a noun with the meaning “not any, not a single one” [239, 240], or function as a demonstrative pronoun, meaning “nothing, not anything” [241].
- 334 [239] Hanya ada nasi dingin. Dan tidak ada lauk apa pun juga. Maka nasi dingin itulah yang kuhidangkan kepada Pram. Dia makan nasi itu dengan mentéga. Telur pun tak ada. (I-2008-1) ☞ There was only cold rice. And no side dishes whatsoever. So, I served that cold rice to Pram. He ate it with margarine. There was not even an egg. (Ajip Rosidi receives the visit of Pramoedya Ananta Toer, who has not eaten for three days.)
- 335 [240] Kita tidak yakin bahawa Tuah merasa apa-apa perasaan jujur pun apabila dia berkata... (Muhammad, 1990: 209) ☞ We can't ascertain that [Hang] Tuah has any feeling of honesty when he says...
- 336 [241] Ayah tidak pernah bertanya apapun tentang bagian hidupku yang berhubungan dengan perempuan. (I-2012) ☞ Dad never asked me anything about the part of my life related to women.
- 337 TIDAK...MANA PUN, BUKAN...MANA PUN qualifying a noun mean “not any, none” [242], but in Malaysian can also qualify adjectives with the meaning “not at all” [243].
- 338 [242] - ... dunia internasional telah bersepakat tidak meladeni permintaan uang dari lanun mana pun. (Tempo, 160509, p. 28) le monde international est convenu de n'accepter de demande d'argent de quel pirate que ce soit.
- 339 [243] “Bukan jauh mana pun.” (M-2011-2) ☞ It's not far at all.
- 340 TAK/TIDAK SE-X PUN, TIDAK SATU PUN, with variants with other negations, mean “not a single one” [244, 245]. *Sebuah* may be used as an exceptional variant of *satu* [246]. Set phrases like *tidak sesuatu pun*, *tidak seorang pun*, *tidak sepatah kata pun* [247, 248] are part of this pattern. Those constructions usually modify a noun phrase but can also, exceptionally, modify a verb [249].

- 341 [244] Tak mengira seujung rambut pun, bahwa aku akan mendapat undangan semacam itu dari mulutnya. (I-1949) ☞ Not with a single tip of hair [on my head] expecting that I would get such an invitation from his mouth.
- 342 [245] “Satu kerja rumah pun, dia tak tahu buat.” (M-2014-1) ☞ He can’t do any kind of domestic work.
- 343 [246] Akan tetapi dia tidak melihat sebuah pun perahu di pantai Pulau Neraka. (I-1973) ☞ But he did not see a single boat on the beach of Neraka Island.
- 344 [247] Tahap ini adalah tahap praanalisis karena belum ada sesuatu pun yang dituliskan... (I-2011-3) ☞ This stage is a pre-analysis stage because nothing has been written yet.
- 345 [248] Tak seorang pun nampak. (I-1995) ☞ There was nobody in sight.
- 346 [249] Karena itu selintas pun tak masuk dalam ingatan Buyung sesuatu pikiran tak baik terhadap perempuan itu. (I-1975) ☞ Because not even a flash of a negative thought about that woman ever entered Buyung’s mind.
- 347 TIDAK SEDIKIT PUN, “not the least,” qualifies a noun [250] or a verb [251].
- 348 [250] Ia tak punya keraguan sedikit pun tentang itu. (I-2012) ☞ He had not the slightest hesitation about it.
- 349 [251] Tidak mengira sedikit pun bahwa dia punya urusan dengan polisi. (I-2000-1) ☞ They had no idea they would have anything to do with the police.
- 350 TAK/TIDAK...SEKALIPUN
- 351 *Tak...sekalipun* (with the variants *tak pernah...sekalipun* and *tanpa...sekalipun*) can mean “not once” [252] or “not the slightest” [253].
- 352 [252] Belum pernah sekalipun aku mendengar Mpret menyebutkan nama aslinya. (I-2004) ☞ Not even once did I hear Mpret say his real name.
- 353 [253] Tak ada kesempatan untuk membela diri sekalipun. (I-1994) ☞ There was no chance whatsoever to defend himself.
- 354 TIDAK...SIAPA PUN, “no one” [254]. The construction can be reversed [255]. *Tidak* can be replaced by other negations [256, 257].
- 355 [254] “Ningrat Jawa tak mengenal kesetiaan dan kecintaan pada apa dan siapa pun, juga tidak pada anak-anak sendiri.” (I-1995) ☞ Javanese nobility know no loyalty and no love for anything and anyone, not even for their own children.
- 356 [255] “Eh, nanti dulu! Siapa pun tidak boleh mengganggunya!” bentak Thian-tok. (I-1973) ☞ “Hey, wait a minute! No-one can bother him!”, snapped Thian-tok.
- 357 [256] Apa saja Gadis Pantai mau, asal tanpa pengawasan siapapun. (I-1987) ☞ Anything would suit the Girl of the Beach, as long as it was without any supervision.
- 358 [257] Di sini, Idayu, kau bukan pujaan siapa pun. (I-1995) ☞ Here, Idayu, you’re nobody’s idol.

4. Concession

- 359 In the present context, concession means either a counter-expectation (borrowing Cumming’s terminology), namely a contradiction between a fact that occurred or might

occur and the consequences that might be expected, or a restriction to what has just been said.

A. Enclitic particle

- 360 *Pun* indicates that a situation is so extreme that: 1) even an exceptional event or being could be involved [258, 259], 2) even an unreal condition could not prevent it [260, 261], 3) one can be surprised at its consequences [262, 263]. Most clauses starting with *itu pun* or *ini pun*, in which *ini* and *itu* are demonstrative pronouns, are concessive [264, 265].
- 361 [258] “Ada *pekasihnya pun* akan saya makan” (I-1986-2) Even if there were a love charm I would eat it.
- 362 [259] Anak dalam perut *pun* boleh mendengar azan dari madrasah. (M-1978) Even a child in the womb could hear the call to prayer from the school.
- 363 [260] ... bahkan untuk memaku papan-papan itu *pun* keluarga ini tak punya uang. (I-2005) this family had no money even to nail the boards.
- 364 [261] “Tanpa kamu minta *pun* kami terus mendoakanmu siang dan malam, anakku.” (I-2008-4) Even if you don’t ask for it, we will continue to pray for you day and night, my child.
- 365 [262] “Hai, dah bawak keluar pergi fancy dinner *pun* masih cakap macam tu lagi?” (M-2011-4) Hey, he invited you to a fancy dinner, and you still talk like that?
- 366 [263] “Aku kenal kau dua hari *pun* dah tahu.” (M-2011-1) Even though I know you just two days, I got it.
- 367 [264] ...hanya satu-dua orang di sana yang mempunyai sawah, *itu pun* tak seberapa luas. (I-1986-1) only one or two people there have rice fields, [and] even those are not that large.
- 368 [265] “Anakku berjumlah empat belas orang, tetapi hanya dua yang laki-laki. *Itu pun* seorang di antaranya meninggal ketika masih kecil.” (I-1985) I have fourteen children, but only two are boys. Even so, one of them died as a child.
- 369 In example [260] above, *pun* is associated with the conjunction *bahkan*. Both words add similar meanings to the sentence and serve to complement each other. One or the other could be deleted without altering the meaning of the whole, even though in the case of some long sentences *bahkan* helps indicating the concessive meaning from the start, as in [266, 267]. *Pun* can be associated with *malah* or *malahan* in exactly the same way, as in [268, 269]. In one exceptional example [270] the conjunction used is the combination *bahkan pun juga*, the three components of which have the same meaning.
- 370 [266] Bahkan Masjid Raya yang indah, yang dapat dibanggakan oleh tanah air Indonesia kepada muslimin lain negeri, *pun* telah nampak tanda tidak terurus lagi. (I-1951-1) Even the Great Mosque [in Medan] of which our motherland Indonesia could be proud in front of the world, it was obviously not maintained anymore.
- 371 [267] Orang biasa bepergian di kota Jakarta dengan naik sepéda. Bahkan pada hari Ahad pergi berenang ke pantai Cilicing, Tanjung Priuk *pun* orang naik sepéda. (I-2008-1) People used to move around Jakarta on bicycle. Even on Sundays, to go to Cilicing beach near Tanjung Priuk, they would use a bike.
- 372 [268] Kami banyak bersama. Sepak bola di alun-alun, main gundu di pekarangan orang, memungut buah kenari yang banyak tumbuh di tepi jalan raya, selalu kami bersama.

Malah sakit pun pernah bersama-sama, sebab terlalu banyak makan rujak Guga bersama-sama. (I-1949) 𐄂 We were often together. Playing football on the square, playing marbles in someone's yard, picking the cananga nuts that grew abundantly on the road side, we did everything together. It even happened that we were sick together, after having eaten too much of Guga's fruit salad together.

373 [269] Malah ayat-ayat dalam Surah asy-Syams dan Surah al-Qadr pun aku suruh Sutan hafal... (M-1997) 𐄂 I even made Sutan learn the verses of the Sura asy-Syams and al-Qadr by heart.

374 [270] Tapi ya, biarpun menjengkelkan, diam-diam harus kuakui juga, bahwa Rusli itu, memang ternyata lebih banyak pengalaman dan pengetahuannya tentang soal-soal hidup daripadaku, bahkan pun juga tentang soal-soal agama, yang dipandangnya hanya salah satu daripada bentuk-bentuk kehidupan yang banyak ragamnya itu. (I-1949) But yes, however frustrating, I had to admit to myself that Rusli had indeed more experience and more knowledge about life than me, even about religious matters which he regarded as no more than one of the many aspects of existence.

B. Compounds

375 *Pun* is appended to a dozen other words to form conjunctions used to introduce concessive clauses. This is recorded in all handbooks. Appended to the concessive conjunctions *andai* (*andaikan, andaikata, seandainya*), *bagaimana*, *betapa*, *biar*, *bila*, *jika*, *kalau*, *kendati*, *meski*, *sekiranya* and *walau*, *pun* produces compounds (*andaipun, biarpun*, etc.) with the same meaning. With *apa* (and *apa-apa*), *sekali* and *sebenarnya*, *pun* forms compounds with new meanings. (We have seen two different uses of *apa pun* and *betapapun* under the heading Indefiniteness above.) The combinations *jika pun*, *kot ye pun* and *se-X pun* also produce concessive clauses.

376 We often find combinations of various compounds, most commonly split, e.g. WALAU... APA... PUN, WALAU...SEKALIPUN, WALAU...APA...SEKALIPUN, MESKI...SEKALIPUN, BIAR BAGAIMANAPUN, KALAU...SEKALIPUN, JIKA...SEKALIPUN, see [266–268]:

377 [271] Cadas itu keras untuk dihantam meski dengan ujung bambu runcing sekalipun. (I-2008-5) 𐄂 The stone was hard to hit, even with the tip of a sharpened bamboo.

378 [272] Hidup 12 tahun di dalam penjara telah menyebabkan budinya kasar, tidak mengenal kasihan, tak pernah kenal akan arti takut, walau kepada Tuhan sekalipun. (I-1938-3) 𐄂 Living 12 years in prison has made him rude, merciless, and fearing nothing, even God.

379 [273] Tempat makan juga sudah pasti, walau macam mana pun hidangannya. (M-1974) 𐄂 The eating place also was fixed, whatever the food would be.

380 ANDAIPUN and SEANDAINYA PUN introduce conditional clauses.

381 [274] Akan tetapi seandainya pun mereka berangkat sekarang, keadaan mereka tetap berbahaya... (I-1975) 𐄂 But even if they leaved now, their situation was still dangerous.

382 APA PUN and APA-APAPUN, placed at the head of a clause and sometimes followed by a comma, have the meaning of *bagaimanapun*, *bagaimanapun juga*, “in any case, anyway, whatever the case may be.” This use seems to be more frequent in Malaysian than Indonesian. The Konkordans DBP website, Teks Sastra section (600 instances of *pun*) gives 24 examples of *apa pun* in this sense.

- 383 [275] “Apapun harus sekolah, begitu.” (Sneddon, 2006: 219) ☞ Anyhow, going to school is mandatory, that’s it.
- 384 [276] Apa pun, yang pasti, oleh-oleh dari Melaka pastinya menarik. (M-1990-1) ☞ Anyhow, for sure, gifts from Melaka are certainly appealing.
- 385 [277] “Apa-apa pun dia dah jadi isteri kau.” (M-2011-2) ☞ Whatever, she is your wife now.
- 386 There are also a number of expressions constructed with the verb *jadi*, all meaning “whatever happens, whatever the case may be”: *apa jadi pun*, *apa nak jadi pun*, *walau apa jadi pun*, *walau apa jadi sekalipun*, *biar apa jadi pun*, *kalau jadi apa-apa pun*, *kalau apa jadi pun*, *kalau nak jadi apa pun*, *kalau apa-apa terjadi pun*, *jadilah apa pun*. These expressions are mostly colloquial Malaysian:
- 387 [278] Apa-apa jadi pun, dia tetap mama Amir. (M-2011-4) ☞ (A man to his son Amir) Whatever the case may be, she still is your mother.
- 388 BAGAIMANAPUN can function as an adverb, either by itself [279] or in locutions like *biar bagaimanapun* [280], *bagaimanapun juga* [281] and *walau bagaimanapun* [282] with the meaning of “in any case.” It can also introduce a clause with the meaning “whatever way” [283] or qualify a noun, often a nominalised adjective, with the meaning “whatever” [284], or an adjective [285].
- 389 [279] Karena, bagaimana pun, sejarah selalu merujuk kepada suatu perjalanan atau perkembangan. (I-2011-1) ☞ Because, anyhow, history always refers to a journey or development.
- 390 [280] Biar bagaimanapun, itu tak boleh terjadi. (I-1986-3) ☞ In any case, it may not happen.
- 391 [281] “Tapi bagaimana pun juga, kesabaran ini ada batasnya.” (I-2008-3) ☞ Yet whatever, my patience has limits.
- 392 [282] Walau bagaimanapun Halimah menulis juga begitu banyak poskad. (M-1974) ☞ In spite of all this, Halimah wrote so many postcards.
- 393 [283] Bagaimanapun engkau katakan kau jatuh cinta kepada Paris, tetapi kau tak bisa mengingkari bahwa kau punya tanah air. (I-1968) ☞ You may say that you have fallen in love with Paris as much as you want, but you can’t ignore that you have a motherland.
- 394 [284] Bagaimanapun indahnyanya, harus dilupakan. (I-1978-1) ☞ No matter how beautiful, it must be forgotten.
- 395 [285] Tanduk ini mengandung racun yang tak dapat ditahan oleh kekebalan yang bagaimana kuat pun dan kini dalam kemarahannya, dia hendak mengajar pemuda ini dengan tanduk rusa ini! (I-1973) ☞ This horn contains a poison against which the strongest immunity cannot protect, and now because of his anger, he is about to teach this young man with this deer horn!
- 396 BETAPAPUN (and BETAPAPUN JUGA) can be used by themselves as adverbs modifying an independent clause (“in any case, anyway”) [286, 287] or a circumstantial clause “however much” [288].
- 397 [286] Namun, seperti angin, mata tentu saja bisa berubah arah—meski begitu, betapapun, konvensi membaca dari kiri ke kanan dan atas ke bawah masih menjadi kebiasaan yang mengikat. (I-2011-3) ☞ However, like the wind, the eye can of course

change direction. In spite of this, nevertheless, the convention of reading from left to right and top to bottom is still a binding habit.

- 398 [287] Betapa pun juga, kami mensyukuri apa yang kami dapat. (M-1974) ☞ Nevertheless, we were grateful for what we got.
- 399 [288] Betapapun aku tidak suka menerima perlakuan Srintil, tetapi aku berlalu. (I-1982) ☞ No matter how much I dislike Srintil's attitude, I'm gone.
- 400 BIARPUN, "even though," introduces a concessive clause [289]. It can be split [290].
- 401 [289] Jarang-jarang Ayah mengemukakan sesuatu pertanyaan, dan biarpun banyak bertanya "bukan?", atau justru karena banyak bertanya "bukan?", Haji Dahlan sangat lancar bicaranya, seperti seorang guru yang masih hafal pelajarannya. (I-1949) ☞ Father rarely formulated a question, and, even though he often asked "Isn't it?", or precisely because he often asked "Isn't it?", Haji Dahlan spoke profusely, like a teacher who still knows his subject by heart.
- 402 [290] "Sebab itu, saya datang kemari melepaskanmu pergi, dan biar engkau pergi sejauh-jauhnya pun, namun jiwamu telah dekat dengan jiwaku." (I-1938-3) ☞ For that reason, I came here to let you free, and however far you may go, your soul is close to mine.
- 403 BILA PUN, BILAPUN. We have seen this form among the markers of indefiniteness. *Bila pun* can also be used, very exceptionally, in the sense of *jika pun*, "even if".
- 404 [291] Tidak seorang pun di Dukuh Paruk mempunyai kalender. Bila pun ada tak seorang pun di sana bisa membaca bahwa waktu telah berjalan sampai pada tahun 1964. (I-1985) ☞ No one in Dukuh Paruk owned a calendar. Even if somebody had owned one, nobody would have been able to read that time had run until 1964. (With three occurrences of *pun* in 26 words.)
- 405 JIKA PUN, "even if," introduces a conditional clause.
- 406 [292] Jika pun masalah teologi masuk agenda, mereka hanya memfokuskan pada persamaan-persamaan sebagai bahan pertukaran pemikiran. (*Kompas*, 160504) ☞ Even if theological problems are on the agenda, they [the actors of interreligious dialog] limit the focus to the similarities [between religions] as a material for exchanging ideas.
- 407 KALAU PUN, "even if," introduces a conditional clause:
- 408 [293] Perang (atau kekerasan) punya batas. Ia akan berakhir, betapapun panjang rentang waktunya. Kalaupun berlanjut, ia tak bisa menjawab segala soal. (I-2011-2) ☞ War (or violence) has its limits. However long it can last, it will end. Even if it goes on it can't solve all problems.
- 409 KENDATIPUN, "even if," introduces a concessive clause:
- 410 [294] Kendatipun suku bunga turun drastis, investasi tak kunjung menaik. (*Kompas*, 160614) ☞ Even though interest rates are dropping dramatically, investment still doesn't rise.
- 411 KOT YE PUN. As we have seen above, this recent Malaysian colloquial expression can mean *bagaimanapun juga*, "whatever the case."
- 412 [295] "Dia faham la kalau Gibbs risaukan Ray, tapi kot ye pun jangan la spoil mood." (M-2013) ☞ He understood that Gibbs was worried about Ray, but still, don't spoil the mood.

- 413 MESKIPUN, “even though,” introduces a concessive clause. It is one of the most commonly used compounds in all categories of sources. It can, exceptionally, be split [297].
- 414 [296] Meskipun terbakar ludes, ingatan akan kejadian Mei 1998 memang hampir tak membekas di Slipi Jaya... (*Kompas*, 160514) [29] Although it has been burned to the ground, the memory of the May 1998 incident hardly left a trace in Slipi Jaya.
- 415 [297] “Hanya satu harus anak hati-hati dalam hidup ini,” katanya melanjutkan, “jangan terlalu percaya pada orang, meski kawan sendiri pun.” (*I-1975*) [29] There is only one thing you children should be careful about in this life, he continued, don’t trust people too much, even your own friends.
- 416 SE-X PUN, SE-X-X-PUN, SE-X APA PUN, “even as ... as,” qualify adjectives.
- 417 [298] Begitu makin panas, saya minta qariah membaca Surat Ar-Rahman. Semarah apa pun ulama, mendengar lantunan surat itu pasti luluh. (*Tempo*, 180403) [29] It was becoming more and more tense, to the point I asked a Qur’an reader to recite the Sura Ar-Rahman. However angry were the ulamas, they would calm down when hearing the sura.
- 418 [299] Secilik-cilik F ini pun, pernah juga menelan dan mengunyah kepala jerung. (*M-1997*) [29] (F is Fidah, the narrator) As small as I may be, I do have eaten and digested the head of a shark.
- 419 SEKALIPUN has two different uses. First, as a conjunction located before the component it modifies, with the meaning of *meskipun*, *biarpun*, “even though”. This component is most often a declarative clause [300], but it also can be a circumstantial clause [301], a noun [302], an adjective [303], a verb [304], or an adverb [305]. Second, as an adverb located after the component it modifies. This component can be: a) a circumstantial clause, either concessive [306] or conditional [307], b) a noun phrase [308], c) an adjective, modified by *sekalipun* alone [309] or in the combination *yang paling X sekalipun* [310].
- 420 [300] “Sekalipun anak-anak pesantren NU sekolah ke Timur Tengah, pemikiran mereka tidak akan berubah menjadi keras atau radikal, sebab mereka selalu kembali pada karakter pesantren yang mendasari pola pikir mereka sejak awal.” (*Kompas*, 160509) [29] Even if pupils of NU *pesantren* study in the Middle East, their thinking will not turn violent or radical, because they always return to the *pesantren* character that underlies their mindset from the beginning.
- 421 [301] Biarpun sudah banyak perubahan padaku sejak berkenalan dengan Rusli dan Kartini, namun ketika mendengar ucapan Anwar itu aku tidak bisa mengekang perkataan “audzubillah” itu, sekalipun cuma dalam hati. (*I-1949*) [29] Even though I had changed considerably since I had met Rusli and Kartini, still when I heard Anwar’s words I could not repress the word “audzubilla” [I take refuge with God], though only in my heart.
- 422 [302] Orang tua-tua pada mengelus dada – bagaimana bisa seorang anak, sekalipun raja, bisa berkata begitu kasar terhadap ibunya, melalui orang-orang lain? (*I-1995*) [29] The elders were stroking their chest—how can a child, even a king, be so rude to his mother through others?
- 423 [303] Tegalpandan masih tergolong gunung, sekalipun tidak tinggi betul. (*I-2000-1*) [29] Tegalpandan is classified as a mountain, even though it is not really high.

- 424 [304] Sekalipun kalah dan dikalahkan dia pernah melawan! (I-1995) [E] Although beaten and defeated, it has fought!
- 425 [305] Sekalipun agak terlambat, baru pada pemerintahan Joko Widodo disadari betapa pentingnya membangun kilang. (Kompas, 160624) [E] Although rather late, it is only during the government of Joko Widodo that people realized the importance of building a refinery.
- 426 [306] Yang menarik ketika aku diajak berjalan-jalan ke Hyde Park, tempat orang boleh berkata semaunya, memaki siapa saja bahkan menghujat Tuhan sekalipun – tidak akan ada polisi yang menangkap. (I-2008-1) [E] What was interesting, when I was invited to take a walk to Hyde Park, where people may say whatever they want, abuse anyone and even defame God—no police will arrest them. (The accent on *boleh* belongs to Ajip Rosidi's personal spelling.)
- 427 [307] Sebagai pedagang yang biasa masuk-keluar kampung daerah rawan antara hutan dengan hutan, mereka telah terlatih berkelahi jika dihadang kawanan perampok bersenjata sekalipun (I-1999) [E] As merchants used to go in and out villages of the dangerous zones situated between forests, they were trained in fighting, even if they were blocked by armed robbers.
- 428 [308] Periksa saja peristiwa-peristiwa sejarah sejak masa kolonial, dari Perang Diponegoro sampai Peristiwa Tanjung Priok di masa Orde Baru. Bahkan, pemberontakan Darul Islam sekalipun, semua itu merupakan protes terhadap ketidakadilan. (Kompas, 160513) [E] Just consider historical events since colonial times, from the Diponegoro War to the Tanjung Priok incident during the New Order. Even the Darul Islam rebellion, all of them were protests against injustice.
- 429 [309] Tapi pada awal révolusi, ketika aku sudah bersekolah, Mang Pulung mengajarkan “penca setrum,” yaitu anak-anak yang tidak pandai silat sekalipun, kalau diberinya “aliran” melalui tangannya yang direntangkan arah kepala anak tersebut, akan segera bersilat dengan cekatan. (I-2008-1) [E] But at the beginning of the revolution, when I was in school, Uncle Pulung taught the “electric *penca*,” that is, children without any skill in *penca*, if given “current” though his hand stretched in the direction of their head, would soon be skillful at performing it.
- 430 [310] Peminta-minta yang paling sengsara sekalipun akan mencoba juga sedapat mungkin memperpanjang hidupnya, sedang hidupnya telah begitu getir dan pahit. (I-1975) [E] Even the most miserable beggars will try to extend their existence as long as possible, even though their lives are so harsh and bitter.
- 431 SEKIRANYA...PUN introduces a conditional clause.
- 432 [311] Sekiranya mereka berdarah ningrat pun, kalau dewa-dewa telah berkenan, mereka akan mendengarkannya juga. (I-1995) [E] Even if they were of noble blood, with the permission of the gods, they would listen to him as well.
- 433 SUNGGUHPUN, “even though,” at the beginning of a clause, can modify a verbal clause [312, 313] or an adverb [314].
- 434 [312] Laki-laki itu mengeluh dan roboh tak dapat bangkit kembali karena dia telah terkena totokan istimewa yang membuat tubuhnya lumpuh sungguhpun dia masih dapat melihat dan mendengar. (I-1973) [E] The man groaned and collapsed, unable to rise again, because he had been hit by a special knock that made his body paralyzed, even though he could still see and hear.

- 435 [313] *Sungguhpun* hari sudah berupa petang tetapi yang sebenarnya pada masa itu baharu saja pukul sebelas pagi. (M-1938) ☞ Even though it looked like late afternoon, at the time it was in fact only eleven o'clock in the morning.
- 436 [314] *Sungguh pun* begitu, agama tak perlu menjadi asas kenegaraan formal karena kondisi sosio-politik nasional yang beraneka ragam, yang terangkum dalam frasa “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika”. (Kompas, 160602) ☞ Nevertheless, religion does not need to become a formal state principle because of the diverse national socio-political conditions, which are summarized in the phrase “Unity in Diversity”.
- 437 *WALAU PUN*, “even though”, is one more concessive conjunction placed at the beginning of the clause it qualifies [315] which can be reduced to a predicate [316].
- 438 [315] *Walaupun* telah wujud sains dan teknologi, pengetahuan manusia terbatas dan sedikit. (M-2010, the first sentence of the book) ☞ Even though science and technology exist, human knowledge is minim and limited.
- 439 [316] *Walaupun* bingung, kuputuskan untuk bersikap sama. (I-2002) ☞ Even though confused I decided to act the same way.

5. A Matter of Style

- 440 Style is not a grammatical question, so that it is not discussed in the studies referenced here, even though it is not ignored. Cumming (1991: 106-7), for instance, refers a few times to the role of aesthetics over syntactic choices. But it has to be underscored that the stylistic function of *pun* is fundamental. *Pun* is often used, in written as well as oral language, to give a sentence a certain look and hence to produce a certain effect. This is apparently what Marsden already had in mind when he wrote: “*Pun* is annexed indifferently to words in all the parts of speech, seeming to be generally expletive and to serve only for giving roundness to the phrase, as *kami pun suka*, we are pleased...” (1812: 100).

A. The aesthetics of *pun*

- 441 In the magazine *Tempo*, *pun* is only used by certain authors in certain texts and never by others, except perhaps in negative constructions (*seorang pun tidak ada* ☞ *there is no one* ; *sedikit pun tidak* ☞ *not in the least*), and even in those constructions, *pun* is often replaced today by *saja* (*seorang saja tidak ada*, *sedikit saja tidak*). The use of *pun* is thus (also) a matter of style.
- 442 Lewis (1947: 238, 242-3), who has a very short paragraph on *pun*, is one of the rare authors who approach this aspect. She classifies *pun* together with *juga*, *pula*, *-lah* et *-tah* in the category “Balance words”: “A *pula*, a *pun*, a *juga* frequently colours a whole sentence.” (p. 238) “In written Malay, *pun* is often used as a partner to *-lah*, to effect a nice balance, which turns a bold statement of fact into a considered utterance” (p. 243). This is followed by the example *Ia pun mati-lah*, “Then he died”, where *pun* certainly has a syntactic function according to the (unknown) context, but it is clear that the difference between *Ia mati* and *Ia pun matilah* is also partly or even mainly stylistic.
- 443 In Sneddon’s example (2010, 271), *Dan penonton menyambut dengan tepuk tangan yang meriah. Kemudian layar pun tutuplah* ☞ *And the audience applauded (our performance) with*

*cheerful clapping. Afterwards the curtain closed, the function of pun (in the combination pun...-lah) is not emphasis (to underline the word layar) but to mark the sequence of events, and to give the sentence a specific style, that is, a touch of classical language, reminiscent of old textbooks of literature: the effect would be totally different, and the sentence inelegant, if we had only *Kemudian layar tutup* or *Kemudian layar tutuplah*.*

444 The distribution of the diverse categories of *pun* in the various categories of sources show that there are as many differences between one novel and another as between novels as a whole and the *Tempo* magazine, that is, the use of *pun* cannot distinguish a style, which would be that of literature, from another, which would be that of printed media.

B. *Pun* at the end of a clause

445 It can happen that compounds built on *pun* are located at the end of a clause. This is relatively common with compounds inducing indefiniteness (*apa pun, mana pun...*) as in the following examples:

446 [317] “Mereka yang demikian menyebutkan dirinya modern. Tetapi semangat modern yang sebenarnya, semangat yang menyebabkan orang Barat dapat menjadi mulia, tiada diketahui mereka sedikit jua pun.” (I-1936-3) ☞ Such people call themselves modern. But the real modern spirit, the spirit that makes Westerners able to be respectable, they don’t have the slightest idea what it is.

447 [318] Tidak ada setitik cahaya pun. (I-1974-2) ☞ There was not even a fleck of light.

448 On the contrary one does not find in Indonesian a clitic *pun* at the end of a clause. A recent phenomenon, which seems to be peculiar to colloquial Malaysian, is the positioning of a clitic *pun* at the end of a clause or sentence as a result of inversion of the subject or elision of the predicate. The effect is surprising compared to standard grammar. We have seen several examples of *pun* at the end of sentence in § 1.1.2.2. (*pun* qualifying predicates). We will see in the following examples that *pun* gives more and more the impression of functioning as an adverb. Example [319] comes from a 1997 novel by Shahnnon Ahmad, where this use is common.

449 [319] Memang inilah Baginda pun. (M-1997) ☞ Indeed, this is Baginda.

450 [320] “Tak ada masalah pun.” (M-2011-2) ☞ There has been no problem.

451 The effect is even more striking when *pun* qualifies a pronoun subject whose predicate is elided [321, 322]. This pattern is also found in interrogative sentences [323]. In [324] the clause is reduced to an affirmation suffixed by *-lah*, followed by *pun*.

452 [321] “— Jadi termasuk akulah? (...) — Ya, engkau pun.” (M-1961) ☞ — So, including me? — Yes, you too.

453 [322] “— Aku tak suka. — Aku pun.” (M-1961) ☞ — I don’t like it. — Neither do I.

454 [323] “— Bukan kata awak seorang. Tamai lagi — Awak pun?” (M-2014-2) ☞ — Not just you. Many others. — You too?

455 [324] Ye la pun. (M-2009) ☞ Yes, of course. (The expression is derived from *ya-lah pun*.)

456 The two colloquial locutions *awak ni pun* and *hang ni pun*, with again elision of a predicate, mean “you fool!, look at you!, you’re one of a kind!”:

457 [325] “McD dengan KFC kan sebelah-menyebelah, awak ni pun.” (M-2014-2) ☞ McD and KFC are side by side, you idiot!

- 458 [326] “Enjin hybrid mana bunyi, hang ni pun.” (M-2014-2) ☞ A hybrid engine doesn’t make noise, moron!
- 459 The construction *itulah-X-pun* or *inilah-X-pun*, placed at the end of a clause, which is found twelve times in Shahnnon Ahmad’s novel *Baginda* (1997), represents a special case: *pun* can qualifie the subject, the agent or the patient:
- 460 [327] Aku sedia memberikannya kerana itulah peranan aku pun. (M-1997) ☞ I’m willing to give it because such is my role.
- 461 [328] Memang itulah yang diucapkan oleh Sutan pun. (M-1997) ☞ Indeed, this is what Sutan said.
- 462 In the same novel, the number of clauses terminated by *pun* is exceptionally high (at least 34 occurrences out of a total of 447 instances of *pun*); they usually belong to one of the following three constructions: *itulah-X-pun*, *memang-X-pun* and *negation-X-pun*. Shahnnon Ahmad is a stylist capable of completely changing style from one novel to the next. In another novel, *Seluang Menodak Baung*, published twenty years earlier (1978), there is not, if I am not mistaken, a single instance of *pun* at the end of a clause, and the occurrences of *pun* are half as many (0.65 % of the number of words) as in *Baginda* (1.37%). When Shahnnon Ahmad successively uses, on the same page, two almost identical formulations [329, 330], differentiated by the place of the predicate *tak apa/tak mengapa* at the beginning or the end of a sentence, the stylistic effect obtained is due to the position of *pun*.
- 463 [329] Tak apa kalau Utan sampai dulu pun. (M-1997, p. 93) ☞ It’s okay if Utan arrives first.
- 464 [330] Tapi kalau Sutan sampai dulu pun tak mengapa. (M-1997, p. 93) ☞ But if Sutan arrives first it’s okay.

CONCLUSION

- 465 Before drawing the conclusions of this study, it may be useful to give some precise quantitative data on the various uses of *pun*. For Indonesian sources, the data were collected in 14 novels, 1 autobiography and 2 press media, all published between 1923 and 2015, while for Malaysian sources, the data were collected in 10 novels and 2 autobiographical texts, published between 1938 and 2016. In Indonesian, the proportions are as follows: the average percentage of *pun* occurrences in a total of words is 0.34%, with a minimum 0.04 and 0.13 (respectively *Mateng dalem Tangisan* by Ong Ping Lok, 1936, and *Raden Adjeng Moerhia* by Njoo Cheong Seng, 1934), and a maximum 0.76 and 0.75 (respectively *Bintang Dini Hari* by Maria A. Sardjono, 2000, and *Catatan Acak-Acakan* by Ayatrohaedi, 2011).
- 466 For Malaysian, the average is 0.64%, with a minimum 0.26 and 0.29 (respectively *Meniti Kala* by Arena Wati, 1974, and *Budak Hostel Otaknya Sewel* by Hasrul Rizwan, 2015), and a maximum 1.67 and 1.37 (respectively *Salina* by A. Samad Said, 1961, and *Sutan Baginda* by Shahnnon Ahmad, 1997).
- 467 These figures are based on a small part only of the corpus and need to be confirmed, but what they do show seems accurate: first, *pun* is used much more frequently in Malaysian than in Indonesian; secondly, in both languages the variation between one text and another is very large.

- 468 More detailed statistics on a few texts illustrate the variety of uses according to periods, genres and authors.
- 469 *Arus Balik* by Pramoedya Ananta Toer (1995) is one of the longest texts in the corpus: 235,000 words. It contains 1,142 occurrences of *pun*, that is, 0.48% of the words, a score above the average (0.34) but far from the maximum (0.76). A very large majority of these occurrences are composed of compounds (49.6% of the total) and subject markers (38.8%). The compounds are mostly of the type *tak...se...pun*. The other categories (each less than 4%) include *pun* as predicate marker and *pun* as conjunction.
- 470 In the rare published texts in Bahasa Betawi (Ardan, 2007; Muntaco, 2006), the frequency of *pun* is very low: for Ardan, 5 occurrences (4 compounds and 1 subject marker) in 11,500 words (i.e. 0.04%); for Muntaco, 11 occurrences (3 compounds and 8 subject markers) in 5,400 words (i.e. 0.2%).
- 471 *Catatan Acak-Acakan* by Ayatrohaedi (2011), which is a very long text (154,000 words) and the work of a linguist, is one of the Indonesian texts in which the proportion of *pun* is the highest (0.75%); we find that *pun* clitics are about as numerous as *pun* included in compounds: 565 and 586 respectively.
- 472 For informal Malaysian, 84 articles of the column *Mewah Bahasa*, with a total of 34,000 words have been examined. They contain 297 occurrences of *pun* (0.87%), a high proportion. Of these 297 occurrences, the vast majority mark a subject (36%), a subject clause (4%), or a predicate (18.5%). Compounds are relatively rare (15.5%). Thus, this specimen of spoken Malaysian recorded in a written source suggest the importance of the enclitic *pun*, the relative insignificance of compounds, the absence of *pun* as a conjunction, and the tendency to use *pun* at the end of the sentence with an almost adverbial value.
- 473 To sum up, this article studies the particle *pun* in Indonesian and Malay for about a century (the examples date from 1912 to 2017), based on a body of several million words covering six different idioms of these two languages.
- 474 In a first part, the syntactic functions of *pun* are analyzed. The uses of *pun* as an isolated particle are considered separately from the compound words containing the particle *pun*. In its isolated form, *pun* can have two different functions: as a clitic particle or as a conjunction, placed respectively after and before the component it determines, whereas in the form of compounds, *pun* forms conjunctions modifying a clause or establishing the relation between two clauses. There are about thirty compounds; many can be split and many are used in combination with other functional words.
- 475 As an enclitic particle, *pun* can index most but not all parts of speech as is often surmised: classifiers, interjections and particles cannot be indexed by *pun*, while some other categories present all sorts of specificities and exceptions. Even in its most common use as a subject marker, *pun* is shown to have a special, neglected, function, i.e. to index and delimit long and complex subjects. In many cases *pun* causes the topicalization, and even sometimes the dislocation of the subject.
- 476 *Pun* can also act as a conjunction, a function that has been ignored by all grammars and handbooks of Indonesian and Malay so far, even though it is found throughout the 20th c. in Indonesian and marginally in Malaysian. As such *pun* can function either inside a clause, to link two components of the clause, or in a sentence made of two independent clauses, being placed at the head of the second. In that latter case, it can either mark the subject of the second clause or the whole clause.

- 477 The second part of the article surveys the four semantic values of *pun*: comparison, temporal sequence, indefiniteness, and concession. The first and the fourth of these values are caused by the enclitic particle and compounds alike, whereas the second value is the result of the enclitic particle only, and the third of compounds only.
- 478 Thus, all uses of *pun* have been accounted for, but there still is one more dimension of *pun* that does not depend on syntax or semantics: its stylistic effect. The stylistic function of *pun* is actually fundamental. *Pun* is often used, in written as well as oral language, to give a sentence a certain look and hence to produce a certain effect. Among many examples, it can be observed that in recent colloquial Malaysian, an enclitic *pun* is placed at the end of a clause or sentence as a result of inversion of the subject or elision of the predicate.
- 479 Malaysian, and particularly its colloquial register, has undergone spectacular developments in the use of *pun* during the last few decades. Among the novelties are the use of *pun* in a sentence reduced to a subject or a predicate, the frequency of the use of *pun* qualifying a predicate, and the use of *pun* at the end of a clause. One also sees that *pun* often functions at the level of a unique clause and that it tends to lose its syntactic function at the level of the sentence to fulfill the role of an adverb.
- 480 Only a few uses of *pun* are exclusively reserved to some “marginal” register of Malaysian or Indonesian (colloquial Malaysian or Sino-Malay, for instance). This justifies the choice made at the outset of this essay to describe the particle *pun* in all Indonesian and Malaysian registers for which written evidence is available.
- 481 Given the significant size of the corpus taken into account here, it may be claimed that all uses of *pun* have been inventorized and described. A much smaller but better composed corpus would actually have been sufficient. Much work remains to be done, however: to analyze the development of usage of *pun* over a century, to distinguish genres or styles (*pun* clitic with predicates and objects, as well as *pun* conjunction, are not used by everyone), to take into account more oral material, to include material from Brunei Malay, to quantify the various types of uses of *pun*, to investigate the Malay of the 19th century and so on. Limited as it is, this article shows that the particle *pun* has been considerably renewed in modern language compared to classical Malay and is today very widespread and extremely dynamic. I rest my case *pun*.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

- 482 I wish to thank Tom Hoogervorst for reading through an early draft of this article, Sander Adelaar for his precious questioning of various interpretations therein, and Arlo Griffiths for taking the time and trouble to revise thoroughly my Franglish. Words fail me to express my gratitude to Jérôme Samuel who has followed the evolution of this essay from the beginning and has commented upon various successive versions of it across several years; without his help this article would never have reached its final stage. However, he and the other scholars mentioned above are not responsible for the views expressed above or for any mistake they may contain. I would like to warmly thank also Ade Pristie Wisandhani, Diah Novitasari, Seno Gumira Ajidarma, as well as the publishers Pax Benedanto and JJ Rizal, for their assistance in acquiring and processing pdf versions of Indonesian novels. The documentation for this article was mainly collected during the time I was a guest research fellow at the Academy of Malay

Studies, University of Malaya. I wish to thank the Academy for its hospitality and both Prof. Nor Hisham Osman and Prof. Zahir Ahmad for sharing valuable information about the variety of Malay idioms.

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ABSTRACTS

The particle *pun* in modern Indonesian and Malaysian receives a minimalist treatment in grammars and handbooks. The common view is that *pun* marks the subject of a clause and gives it emphasis. The role of *pun*, in fact, is much more complex. This article describes the word categories with which *pun* can be combined, the syntactic functions of *pun* (including the modifying of predicates and objects, as well as acting as conjunction between clauses), and the variety of meanings that *pun* and its derivatives (some 25 of them: *adapun*, *andaipun*, ... *sungguhpun*) give the discourse, that is, comparison, temporal sequence, indefiniteness, and concession. The corpus of texts that has been used encompasses the main idioms used, mainly in written form, in Indonesia and Malaysia from the early 20th century to the early 21st.

La particule *pun* en indonésien et malaisien modernes fait l'objet d'un traitement minimaliste dans les grammaires et les manuels. L'opinion commune est que *pun* marque le sujet d'une proposition et le met en valeur. Le rôle de *pun*, en fait, est beaucoup plus complexe. Cet article décrit les catégories de mots avec lesquelles *pun* peut être combiné, les fonctions syntaxiques de *pun* (y compris l'indexation de prédicats et d'objets, et en tant que conjonction entre deux propositions), ainsi que la diversité des significations que *pun* et ses dérivés (environ trente : *adapun*, *andaipun*, ... *sungguhpun*) donnent au discours, à savoir comparaison, séquence temporelle, indéfinition et concession. Le corpus de textes cités englobe les principaux idiomes utilisés, principalement sous forme écrite, en Indonésie et en Malaisie du début du XX^e siècle au début du XXI^e siècle.

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