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Volume 4
THEMATIC VARIATION

Amran Halim
Lois Carrington
S.A. Wurm
eds

Department of Linguistics
Research School of Pacific Studies
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Research School of Pacific Studies
The Australian National University
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INTRODUCTION

The Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics was held in Bali, Indonesia, in January 1981. Amran Halim, as Conference Organiser, and Stephen Wurm, as OCICAL committee member (now its Chairman) and as General Editor of Pacific Linguistics publications, decided that in addition to the Proceedings volume which would be published in Jakarta, a selection of the conference papers should be published, largely for the international readership, by Pacific Linguistics.

Three of the series of four volumes appeared in 1982: the first is Currents in Oceanic, the second Tracking the travellers; they deal with reconstructions, language movements, phonological changes and related areas of linguistics. The third volume, Accent on variety, includes many of the more interesting papers in sociolinguistics which were offered at TICAL. This volume, the fourth and final, is Thematic variation. It was intended, when the series was first planned, that volume four would include papers of syntactic, morphological and similar interest. This it does, but there is a bonus! Initially, the plan outlined at the Bali conference was for Pacific Linguistics to publish only papers which had been presented in English at TICAL. However, changing times and emphases, and the noted upsurge of interest in linguistic work in the Indonesian area, led us to agree that a small selection of the papers in Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Malaysia should indeed be published by Pacific Linguistics. This we have done; some follow upon the theme of volume four, although the greater number are in fact complementary to that of volume three. We welcome, nonetheless, the opportunity to publish a representative sample of the many excellent papers available.

Our thanks are due, for helpful comments and services, to C.L. Voorhoeve, Marit Kana, D.P. Tampubolon, Bamhang Kaswanti Purwo and Yohanni Johns, and especially to Elvina Tamsin. Manlio Pancino's mapping skills are once again much appreciated, as are the excellent efforts of our typesetters including, for the final section, Ling Matsay.

AMRAN HALIM
Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa
Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Jakarta

LOIS CARRINGTON
Department of Linguistics
Research School of Pacific Studies
Australian National University, Canberra

S.A. WURM
Department of Linguistics
Research School of Pacific Studies
Australian National University, Canberra
THE CONTRIBUTORS

NATALIA F. ALIEVA is Senior Research Fellow in the Department of Linguistics, Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences, Moscow

AZHAR M. SIMIN is Deputy Dean and Professor of Linguistics in the Department of Malay Literature at the Universiti Kebangsaan in Bangi, Malaysia

WAYAN BAWA is Senior Lecturer in dialectology at Udayana University, Bali, Indonesia

JOEL BRADSHAW received a Ph.D. from the University of Hawaii in 1982. He is now a Fulbright Scholar at the University of Bucharest, Romania, studying linguistic convergence

ALICE CARTIER is maître-assistant at the University of Paris V (Université René Descartes) where she is teaching theories of syntax and sociolinguistics

TERRY CROWLEY is coordinator of the Pacific Languages Unit of the University of the South Pacific, Vila, Vanuatu

SOENJONO DARDJOWIDJOJO, Professor and Chairman of the Department of Indo-Pacific Languages, University of Hawaii, 1970-83, is currently Vice-President for Academic Affairs, Atma Jaya University, Jakarta

RALEIGH FERRELL is Professor of Linguistics and Cultural Anthropology in the Assemblies of God Graduate School, Springfield, Missouri

RABINRANAT HARDJADIBRATA is Lecturer in Indonesian Language at Monash University, Melbourne

MARIT KANA is Technical Resources Coordinator for the UNCEN-SIL Project, Universitas Cenderawasih and the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Jayapura, Irian Jaya.

BAMBANG KASWANTI PURWO is Senior Lecturer in General Linguistics at the Catholic University of Atma Jaya, Jakarta; currently he is on a year's fellowship at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey

KEITH McCUNE has recently defended his doctoral dissertation in Indonesian submorphemics at the University of Michigan

TAMSIN MEDAN was the Senior Lecturer in Linguistics at IKIP Medan, North Sumatra, until his death early in 1983

CLAIRE MOYSE-FAURIE is a Researcher in the Oceanic Department, Languages and Civilisations of Oral Tradition Laboratory, at the National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS), France
I GUSTI NGURAH BAGUS is Professor of Cultural Anthropology, Udayana University, Bali

FRANÇOISE OZANNE-RIVIERRE is a Researcher in the Oceanic Department, Languages and Civilisations of Oral Tradition Laboratory, at the National Center for Scientific Research (CNRS), France

RAMELAN is Professor and Head of the Department of Language and Community Service at IKIP Semarang, Java

SRI WULAN RUJIATI MULYADI is a member of the Department of Indonesian Studies, Faculty of Letters, at the University of Indonesia, Jakarta

SOEDJARWO is Senior Lecturer in Indonesian Linguistics in the Faculty of Letters of Diponegoro University, Semarang, Central Java

DENDY SUGONO is on the editorial staff of the National Center for Language Development, Jakarta

IGNATIUS SUHARNO is a lecturer in the Department of Education and Culture, Faculty of Arts, Universitas Sebelas Maret, Surakarta, Java

MICHAEL R. THOMAS has recently returned to the United States after several years' research and teaching in the Western Pacific. He is currently the director of program development for Achievement Systems, a Texas-based research and educational institution

HENNY LOMBAN TICOALU is a Lecturer in Linguistics in the University of Sam Ratulangi, Manado, North Sulawesi, and is currently taking further studies at the University of Indonesia, Jakarta

E.M. UHLENBECK is Professor of Javanese Language and Literature at the University of Leiden

JOHN W.M. VERHAAR is Professor of Linguistics at Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington

HUSEIN WIDJAJAKUSUMAH is Senior Lecturer in Sociolinguistics at the University of Padjadjaran in Bandung, Indonesia

YEOH CHIANG KEE is a Senior Lecturer in Linguistics and Chairman of the Pusat Pengajian Ilmu Kemanusiaan, Universiti Sains Malaysia
Location of language areas referred to by the authors
1. FOCUS AND INTENTIVE AFFIXES

The Paiwan (Formosa/Taiwan) Focus verbal affix system may be summarised as follows:

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<th>ASPECTS</th>
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<td>Neutral 'Present'</td>
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<tr>
<td>AF (agent/actor)</td>
<td>/m/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OF (object/goal/patient)</td>
<td>-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RF (spatial-temporal locus/ indirect object/beneficiary referent)</td>
<td>-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IF (instrument/cause/motivation/origin)</td>
<td>si-</td>
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From another perspective we may perceive, interacting with and intersecting this Focus system, a system of voice-like affixes indicating varying degrees of intent or volition on the part of actor or patient. These Intentive affixes may be arranged on a continuum of intention/non-intention.

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It will be seen that two of these Intensive affixes, /m/ and si-, are also part of the Focus affix system. The Intensive affixes carry roughly the following volitional associations:

- **ki-** [INTENTIONAL] get/do for oneself; cause to occur to or be done to oneself
- **pa-** [INTENTIONAL] cause/do action directed away from oneself (may or may not involve a secondary agent)
- **/m/** [VOLITIONALLY AMBIGUOUS] do/be agent of action
- **si-** [VOLITIONALLY AMBIGUOUS] be instigator/actor/beneficiary/instrument of action; do action (in one of these roles)
- **ma-** [NON-INTENTIONAL] be object/recipient of action (usually involves outside agent); be in a state of
- **sa-** [NON-INTENTIONAL] occur/experience something unexpectedly or suddenly

Paradigmatic examples of Paiwan Intensive affixes used with different types of verb stem are (cf. Ferrell, 1982):

- **kaq** understand, know about
  - **ki-kaq** (undertake to) learn about
  - **pa-kaq** cause understanding; inform someone
  - **k/m/kaq** understand, know about
  - **si-kaq** instigate/benefit from/be instrument of understanding
  - **ma-kaq** be came known about
  - **sa-kaq** learn/be learned about unexpectedly
lan\(\text{ada}\)  *hear*  
ki-lan\(\text{ada}\)  listen to (willingly); obey  
pa-lan\(\text{ada}\)  tell to someone; cause hearing to occur  
l/ma-lan\(\text{ada}\)  hear  
si-lan\(\text{ada}\)  be reason/instrument of the occurrence of hearing something  
ma-lan\(\text{ada}\)  be(come) heard; be audible  
sa-lan\(\text{ada}\)  hear unexpectedly  

qara\(\text{\textalpha}\)  *lie on back*  
pa-qara\(\text{\textalpha}\)  lay someone on back  
sa-qara\(\text{\textalpha}\)  fall flat on back  

adYuq  *leave behind*  
ki-adYuq  remain behind (voluntarily)  
pa-adYuq  cause something to be left behind  
l/ma-adYuq  leave something behind (intentionally)  
ma-adYuq  be(come) left behind  

gut\(\text{\textalpha}\)gut\(\text{\textalpha}\)  *scratch*  
ki-gut\(\text{\textalpha}\)gut\(\text{\textalpha}\)  scratch oneself (to relieve itch)  
pa-gut\(\text{\textalpha}\)gut\(\text{\textalpha}\)  be itchy; cause scratching  
g/ma-gut\(\text{\textalpha}\)gut\(\text{\textalpha}\)  scratch (when itching); to weed field  
ma-gut\(\text{\textalpha}\)gut\(\text{\textalpha}\)  be(come) scratched (for itch); ready for weeding  
si-gut\(\text{\textalpha}\)gut\(\text{\textalpha}\)  cause scratching; be used for scratching  
sa-gut\(\text{\textalpha}\)gut\(\text{\textalpha}\)  be scratched unexpectedly  

The derivational nature of these affixes can be seen by the way in which they can be stacked up, giving great flexibility to the language:

patsay  *die*  
/m/atsay  die [note suppletive form]  
ki-patsay  kill oneself (voluntarily), commit suicide  
pa-patsay  kill someone  
si-patsay  be deadly; be instrument/cause/beneficiary of a death  
ma-patsay  cause someone to kill someone else  
ba-pa-k\(\text{\textalpha}\)i-patsay  to get someone to kill someone else  
si-pa-ki-patsay  to cause someone to cause someone else to kill himself  

As will be surmised from the foregoing examples, it is erroneous to consider pa- to be the 'causative' affix in Paiwan: causation in the sense of the involvement of a secondary agent is far from being the most common function of this affix. Furthermore, with many verb bases the affixes /m/ and si- may involve the occurrence of secondary agents as well, as seen in foregoing examples. In many verbs, the pa- form indicates merely a somewhat stronger degree of deliberation than with /m/; often, free variation appears to be involved, and even any earlier distinction of deliberateness is no longer felt:
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In some verbs no /m/ form is found at all; some common examples are:

- **pa-qatsi**: kill/cause someone to kill, by cutting
- **pa-vay**: give
- **pa-tsun**: see; look at

Additional examples of /m/ carrying a 'causative' meaning are:

- **ma-dYi4aq**: be(come) rusty [dYi4an rust, corrosion]
- **dY/m/i4aq**: cause something to become rusty
- **ma-dYi4ak**: be(come) fond of
- **dY/m/i4ak**: cause someone to become fond of a person/object/place; [in its Nominal sense: object/person/place which one has become fond of]
- **ma-kalu**: fall (from a height)
- **ki-kalu**: let oneself fall/be dropped
- **k/m/alu**: cause something to fall (as, fruit from tree)

Similarly, while ma- generally marks stative verbs ('adjectives') on the one hand and the passive (or better, potential passive) of transitive verbs on the other, there are numerous instances where ma- represents volitional gradation rather than non-active voice:

- **ki-si-lidY**: slide, scoot (as on buttocks) [wilfully]
- **s/m/i1idY**: (ibid.) [intent unspecified]
- **ma-si-lidY**: (ibid.) [unintentionally]

The Instrumental affix si- is most interesting in that its association with the instrument, cause, motivation, or origin of an action potentially identifies it semantically not only with the literal instrument or secondary agent, but also with either the logical agent or the logical object of specific verbs, as in the following examples:

- **vaik**: go, leave [irregular; has no /m/ AF form]
- **si-vaik**: (1) IF: be instrument/cause/origin(ator) of action
  (2) go on behalf of someone else
  (3) be (something which must be) taken along

- **k/m/avu4**: beg
- **si-kavu4**: cause someone to beg (be reason for or instigator of begging)
- **t/m/alam3**: to plant (tuber or sprout)
- **si-talam**: (ibid.) (= be human-instrument of planting)
- **q/m/aza4**: frighten someone (as, an apparition)
- **si-qaza4**: (ibid.); be frightful

**t/m/eadak**: insert something into something else as an adornment

**pa-tedak**: (ibid.)

**t/m/utu**: suckle [tutu breast]

**pa-tutu**: (ibid.)

**k/m/ulaluu**: play flute [kuala flute]

**pa-kulalu**: (ibid.)

**ki-tavala**: respond, reply to

**pa-tavala**: (ibid.)

**t/m/avala**: (ibid.)

**q/m/abu**: submerge something

**pa-qabu**: (ibid.) [cf. sa-qabu be submerged involuntarily/drown]

**dY/m/ivits**: reach (for), attain

**pa-dYivits**: (ibid.)

**sa-dYivits**: (ibid.) [unexpectedly]
But:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{b/n/uras} & \quad \text{cause liquid to spew out} \\
\text{si-bures} & \quad \text{be (liquid that is) spewed out} \\
\text{ts/maiŋ} & \quad \text{tether/tie/fasten} \\
\text{si-tsaiŋ} & \quad \text{be (what is) tied/tethered} \\
\text{d/y/m/apas} & \quad \text{blow with breath} \\
\text{si-pa-d'apas} & \quad \text{cause blowing to occur: (1) be reason for blowing} \\
& \quad \text{(2) be object of blowing}
\end{align*}
\]

Among other things, the foregoing illustrations of the uses of various affixes should serve notice on us as to the extremely tricky nature of assigning 'meaning' to verbs and affixes in Austronesian languages strictly from the point of view of our own, outside semantic presuppositions—which we seem to suppose represents semantic objectivity at a universal level.

The Instrumental Focus is notoriously unstable in its representation in various Austronesian languages, and is said to have disappeared altogether in a number of them. The semantic slipperiness of this 'fourth focus' (see Dahl 1978), with its potential for confusion or merger with both agent and object as well as (literal) instrument, may well provide a clue as to why, in languages apparently moving away from the 'classical' Austronesian four-focus-marking system, the Instrument Focus seems to be first to go.

This Intensive affix system is very productive in Paiwan, and considerable colour is given to Paiwan discourse by playing upon the emotional impact of intent/non-intent contrasts such as that between ma- and sa-, /m/ and pa-.

In Paiwan, Focus appears to be used in discourse (primarily?) to introduce new information. That is, the Focus inflection of the verb indicates that the in-focus Noun Phrase—even where the latter is deleted—is the focal point of new information or a new aspect of the discourse. I believe that one of the difficulties impeding Austronesianists' efforts to come to grips satisfactorily with the discourse-level functions of Focus, is that this overlap or criss-crossing of affixes employed in both the Focus system and other systems, such as the one I have tentatively called 'Intensive' in this paper, may not be restricted to Paiwan alone but may underly other languages' syntactic system as well.

2. INTENT IN OTHER AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES

An obvious question at this point is whether the Intensive affix system herein described is a development peculiar to Paiwan, or whether it may represent an inheritance from earlier proto-language(s), or even Proto-Austronesian. A search for truly comparable comparative data in other Austronesian languages is frustrating, in that few sources get into the subtleties of intent and volition. It goes without saying that all human languages must have ways of expressing volition and intent; the question is whether there is discoverable in Austronesian languages some commonality of overt syntactic marking to achieve this.

Tagalog, as described by Schachter and Otanes (1972), shows an analogous concern with intent. Major affixes which are roughly comparable to the Paiwan ones discussed in this paper include:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mag-} & \quad \text{Agent Focus; appears to not co-occur with non-AF affixes;}
& \quad \text{indicates \textit{deliberate action} (Schachter and Otanes 1972:289)}
\end{align*}
\]
Agent Focus; appears to not co-occur with non-AF affixes; indicates casual action (Schachter and Otanes 1972:292)

*i- (i-pagi, etc.) Instrument Focus/'Causative' Focus/'Benefactive' Focus (Schachter and Otanes 1972:311ff., 319)

*ma-, maka- Ability verbs; involuntary action verbs (co-occur with all non-AF affixes except -in (Schachter and Otanes 1972:330)

*mag- (usually: + reduplication) Intensive verbs; frequent, prolonged, or purposeful action (Schachter and Otanes 1972:337)

*magkanda- (etc.) Accidental or involuntary action verbs. (Schachter and Otanes 1972:342)

Superficially, at least, Tagalog mag- as indicating deliberate action appears to be roughly comparable to Paiwan ma-; Tagalog /um/ compares with Paiwan /m/ in being somewhat non-deliberate; Tagalog i indicating 'Causative Focus' and 'Benefactive Focus' as well as 'Instrument Focus' seems to have many semantic features in common with the cognate Paiwan si-, although Schachter and Otanes do not discuss deliberateness of action in connection with this affix; Tagalog ma-/maka- indicating ability/involuntary action is comparable to Paiwan ma-; and Tagalog magkanda- and related forms function similarly to Paiwan sa-, indicating accidental or involuntary action. It will be noted that of the affixes listed here, most are cognate between Tagalog and Paiwan. There are obvious differences, for example where Tagalog ma- co-occurs with various non-Agent Focus affixes, while Paiwan ma- does not so co-occur. 6 Tagalog magkanda- and related forms, on the other hand, are obviously not cognate with Paiwan sa-, but do function very similarly.

The presence of interrelated affixation systems for Focus and Intent in Paiwan, a Formosan language, and apparently in Tagalog, a Philippine one, suggests that these crisscrossing systems may probably represent inherited features of whatever proto-language was common to (at least some) Formosan and Philippine languages. According to several scholars, the Formosan languages in general may represent a single, early offshoot of Austronesian; to the extent that this may be true, it is worth investigating the possibility that an overlapping Focus and Intensive affixational system may have been a feature of Proto-Austronesian itself.

The aim of this communication is to call attention to the phenomenon of volition/intent in Paiwan verbal syntax, and to request the assistance of colleagues working in other Austronesian areas in order to examine comparatively this potentially important aspect of Austronesian syntax.

NOTES

1. Focus in Austronesian languages is a sentence-level, overt marking system whereby the predicate obligatorily undergoes derivational affixation to identify with one of a restricted number of possible semantic aspects of the happening (typically agent, goal, temporal/spatial specificity or location, instrument/motivation). Strictly speaking, Austronesian Focus is not topicalisation of one of the overt NP's of the sentence, but rather of one of the restricted number of underlying semantic-role categories which NP's may fulfill with reference to specific verbs. This semantic-role focus is indicated by the obligatory Focus inflection on the verb;
INTENT AND VOLITION IN PAIWAN AND TAGALOG VERBS

the occurrence of an overt NP identifying or explicating the in-focus element is optional. If such an identificational NP does occur in the sentence, it is marked by an equational Construction Marker (CM=) or by whatever other copula-like linking device the particular language uses in strictly equational sentences. Typically, as is the case in Paiwan, all other NP’s in the sentence are marked simply as being non-equational vis-a-vis the focussed verb, except that the Agent NP may be indicated by the genitive/partitive marker (CMgen). In addition to being marked by non-equational devices, NP’s of time and place may be preceded by preposition-like specifiers (in Paiwan these may be considered to be actually conjunct verbs). Focus is independent of emphasis. NP’s in the sentence may be given, e.g., primary or secondary emphasis (typically by such devices as preposing), whether or not the sentence contains a so-called 'in-focus NP' which is equated to the focussed verb. Conversely, if an 'in-focus NP' does occur, it will not necessarily be the NP marked for emphasis.

2. The affixes most commonly used in connection with focus upon a direct object in Paiwan are: ma- indicating primarily potential for being done, -an indicating that the action is actually being done to the object, and /in/ indicating that it has already been done. This oversimplification, however, fails to note that there is a syntactic distinction made between the relation of agent and action in -an and ma- forms, respectively. In the former, the genitive/partitive Construction Marker nua marks the agent, as is true with all other non-AF sentences; in the latter, uniquely, the agent is indicated to be an ancillary referent by the non-specific (non-equational and non-genitive/partitive) Construction Marker tua:

(a) taraŋ-an a tsautsau nua tsəmas
    protect-OF CM= person CMgen spirits
    the spirits are protecting the person

(b) ma-taraŋ a tsautsau tua tsəmas
    PASSIVE-protect CM= person CM# spirits
    the person is protected by the spirits

3. The stem talaŋ something which is planted/plantable is itself the object.

4. In this regard, note that the Paiwan Construction Markers a and tua do not in themselves directly indicate definiteness or indirectness (cf. Naylor 1978:412). Inasmuch as the CM= a marks the in-focus NP, which tends to indicate 'new' information in the discourse, the a- marked NP would frequently be translated as indefinite in English. However, since tua is then used to mark all other NP’s in the sentence, whether these involve 'new' or 'old' information, there is no direct equivalence with definiteness as indicated by English the or a(n).

5. I have no competence in Tagalog, nor have I had opportunity in preparing this communication to confer with native Tagalog speakers regarding these assumptions. My only reference has been Schachter and Otanes (1972), who bear no blame if I have misread their work.

6. Amis (Formosan) appears to resemble Tagalog, as opposed to Paiwan, in the co-occurrence of ma- with a full set of Focus affixes.

7. Comparison with Indonesian ter- also comes to mind here.
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WURM, S.A. and Lois CARRINGTON, eds
The topic of this paper is the syntactic behaviour in Javanese of two syntactic function words: sing and olehe, together with their equivalents in polite and colloquial speech and the forms with pronominal suffixes such as olehku and olehmu and their krama-counterparts.

Traditionally sing and olehe are treated in different parts of the grammar. Here a unified treatment will be proposed. A full description will not be attempted here, as such a description would go well beyond the scope of a conference paper. Instead I will concentrate on the main features of the constructions in which these syntactic function words enter, explain their basic similarities and differences, and finally I will try to show how they fit into more general characteristics of Javanese sentence structure.

Since our topic is a syntactic one, it presupposes a certain theoretical syntactic framework which itself must be part of a more general conception of language. Linguists from Herman Paul onwards have correctly understood that there cannot be language description without a theory, but there is also no language description without data. Therefore something has to be said both about the theory adopted and the data used before I can begin with my exposé of the sing- and olehe-constructions.

As to the general theory underlying my syntactic work, its main principles may be summarised under the following six headings.

(1) Linguistics is the empirical study of speech and language. This statement implies positively that the analysis of the act of speech (including the interpretative activity of the hearer) is considered to be a prime concern of linguistics. To understand language one must first of all ask, how it is used and what are the main factors which are responsible for the fact that what the speaker wants to convey is by and large understood by the hearer. Negatively, that a competence/performance distinction or a rigorous separation of langue and parole is not part of our conception, and that (consequently) something like competence is not viewed as a primary goal of linguistic study.


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(2) Linguistics is concerned with the study of a form of purposive activity by which humans interact and communicate. This statement implies positively: (a) acceptance of linguistics as an autonomous science, (b) the necessity of knowing the content of communication and its social context; and negatively: (a) rejection of the assumption that language can be described as a formal system, (b) rejection of one-sided views of linguistics either as part of (cognitive) psychology, or as part of sociology.

(3) Linguistics is concerned with the study of lingual signs. This statement emphasises positively that semantics is a central domain of linguistics, and negatively (a) that there is no room in our conception for a surface/deep structure dichotomy, (b) that there is no linguistic meaning divorced from linguistic form.

(4) Linguistics is concerned with the study of open systems, fundamentally different from any artificial language. Characterisation of a language as a code is misleading, both because of its structure and because of the way it is used.

Every language is structured in such a way that it gives every native speaker the means for productive and creative use within a framework of obligatory syntactic, morphological, and phonological rules. The syntactic rules allow combinatorial semantic freedom, the morphological rules describe productive procédés available to every speaker, and word meaning is a form of knowledge that can be creatively used in various ways (e.g. metaphor). Every language is a functional structure of which obligatoryness and freedom are design features.

(5) Language is always used in conjunction with extralingual information from different sources. The speaker assumes that the hearer will be able to infer from the linguistic information inherent in what the speaker says, and from the extralingual sources at the hearer's disposal, what the speaker wants to convey to him. Conversely, the hearer always assumes that the speaker wants to convey something to him, and that the speaker apparently believes that he, the hearer, is able to determine what this is.

(6) Linguistic structure has a dual character: in every act of speech one finds the simultaneous presence of two, and not more than two, fundamentally different correlative units: words and sentences.

Sentences are universally characterised by the presence of two components or layers: the intonational and the phatic component. The phatic layer contains minimally one word, in most cases more than one. Words are characterised by having three aspects: a phonic, a semantic, and a grammatical aspect. All further distinctions to be made are integrated within this word-sentence framework.

It is within this general framework that the study of syntax is conceived. Given the central place allotted to word and sentence, it is not surprising that the two fundamental concepts of syntax are word group and sentence segment.

Grouping of words into larger units and these in turn into more complicated structures takes place in all languages, but the rules for grouping are of course not at all identical: they are largely language specific. The central function of the grouping of words into larger wholes is a cognitive one: it brings about interaction of the meanings of the words combined. The result of this semantic interaction depends on the semantic type of the words united (appellative + appellative, appellative + deictic word, deictic word + deictic word). By the rules of grouping the referring capacity of a language is
enormously increased as, by grouping, a very large number of ad hoc units can be made without putting too much strain on the memory of the speakers. With a limited lexicon at their disposal, they can refer to a multitude of things in extralingual reality, by combining those lexical elements according to the rules of their language.

As to segmentation, that is, the articulation of sentences into syntagmatically functioning segments, this is also a universal phenomenon, but this does not imply of course that every single sentence is segmented, just as it is not necessary that every sentence contains word groups. Sentence segments are characterised, like the sentence, by the simultaneous presence of an intonational and a phatic component. The latter minimally contains one word, but many consist of quite complicated word groups. Segmentation fulfils a function quite different from grouping. Basically this function concerns the way the information inherent in the sentence is presented. Some parts can be highlighted, others put in the background, still others added as an afterthought or intercalated within segments. For examples I have to refer to Uhlenbeck 1975.

As word group and sentence segment are the basic units of syntax, full understanding of a sentence can only be reached if one is able to determine its segmentation and the word grouping it contains. One has to bear in mind that the syntactic descriptive task is not exactly the same for word groups and sentence segments. The general principle which governs grouping is obligatory: it is only rarely that one finds optional phenomena. This means that the suitable descriptive format here is a description by rule. In general everything in language which is obligatory, is amenable to strict rule. However, as to segmentation, one finds that the general principle is freedom within a large but limited set of segmental permutations. There appear to be few absolute constraints, in most cases there are only preferred sequences and others which are less likely to occur, but are rarely absolutely excluded. From the point of view of the speaker, one may say that this segmentation device that he has at his disposal is a very subtle instrument for presenting what he has to say in slightly different manners and with different emphases. It is here that the distinction between topic and comment operates, a distinction which — as I showed already in my short Javanese grammar of 1941 — is indispensable for any account of the Javanese syntactic facts.

It is perhaps not superfluous to add that neither a constituent analysis of the type introduced by Neo-Bloomfieldian linguistics, nor the familiar concepts of traditional grammar such as subject, predicate, object and the like, are adopted in the syntactic approach advocated here. All other distinctions used in the following sections derive from other provinces of Javanese grammar, notably phonology, morphophonemics, and morphology, which have been the object of earlier studies.

About the data I will be very brief. The data to be used in linguistic research are all forms of speech. They include: instances of actual language use in the language community, data derived from linguistic interviews, from carefully controlled experiments, from written sources, from speech errors, from translations, from mistakes made in the study of foreign languages, from literary use, from cases of aphasia, from language acquisition by children and by foreigners. This implies: no blind reliance on data produced by the linguist in his capacity of native speaker of the language, reluctance to accept so-called intuitions as data, and in general a serious concern with the empirical data.
As to the Javanese data used in my research on the sing- and olehe-constructions, they are of two kinds. Those collected either by myself or by Mrs Siti Sundari Tjitosubono Sudaryanto from written sources, that is from a large variety of more or less recent novels and newspapers, and from interviews with a number of Javanese informants, the oldest being Mr J. Soegiarso, the youngest Mr I. Supriyanto. I am grateful for their assistance and their patience. It goes without saying that the information on sing- and olehe-constructions found in grammatical treatises has been used, including the research report on the functions of the suffix -e and of sing in the Javanese sentence presented to the Gadjah Mada University by Mrs Siti Sundari in 1976.

2. In order to be able to clarify the role played by sing- and olehe-constructions in relation to the topic-comment distinction, it is necessary first to furnish some factual information about (1) the syntactic function words themselves and their equivalents, (2) the internal composition of sing- and olehe- groups, and (3) the valency of these groups, that is their possibilities to take part in larger constructions.

As to their internal structure, there is an important difference between sing, kang and their krama-counterpart ingkang on the one hand, and olehe, enggone and their krama-counterpart anggenipun on the other hand. This difference results from the opposition between the latter three function words and the function words with a pronominal suffix of the first and second person (olehku, olehu etc.). It is this opposition which makes olehe/enggone/anggenipun into polymorphemic words, while sing/kang/ingkang are monomorphemic.

Apart from this difference, there are striking similarities syntactically. Sing and olehe and their equivalents including their krama-counterparts and the abbreviated forms lehe, le, gone, and genipun have in common that they are always the first member of a word group. By themselves they cannot function as the phatic component of a sentence. As they cannot be combined with a preceding word, they never occupy a final position in a sentence.

Both sing and olehe (and their equivalents) regularly combine with (1) adjectives and adjectival phrases, (2) verbs and verbal phrases, and (3) demonstrative pronouns of the mengkene- and mrene- series, and pronominal phrases with these pronouns. There is an important common constraint: they cannot combine with the so-called irrealis-forms, that is the modal forms with either the suffix -a, -ana, or -akna or with imperatives with suffix -en. I will return to this remarkable constraint later on in this paper.

Between sing and olehe and the following adjective, verb, or pronoun, no other words can intervene except auxiliaries, including negations or combinations of them, while in those cases in which the preceding sentence or phrase provides a sufficiently clear context, the adjective, verb, or pronoun may be omitted with only the auxiliary being retained (e.g. Martini ora bisa mbukak brangkas, olehe bisa sawise dikandhani wadine muter kuncine Martini was not able to open the safe, she could do so (only) after she was told the secret of the turning of the keys).

Although largely similar, the combinability of sing and olehe with following words is not quite identical. There are two differences: sing and its equivalents regularly combine with numerals, while its krama-counterpart ingkang combines with a limited number of nouns which are either titles (ingkang bupati) and with the krama-inggil kin words of the nuclear family (ingkang eyang). However, it should be stressed that ingkang in such groups plays a quite different role than sing with an adjective, verb, pronoun or numeral. Therefore
one may say, that apart from these few special cases, following nouns cannot combine either with sing or olehe, again a common characteristic which asks for an explanation.

As to the valency of the sing- and olehe-groups themselves, here again there are striking similarities.

First of all these groups may become part of larger word groups as they combine with preceding nouns:

(1) Wangsulan mau dudu wangsulan kang diarep-arep dening Padiyem. 
That answer was not the answer which Padiyem had wished.

(2) Sunarto, Prapti lan Mariam kang ora ngerti babar pisan perkara mesin
Sunarto, Prapti, and Mariam who did not know anything about
monitor padha melu-melu ngrubung Indra anggone ndandani mesin.
cars, all surrounded Indra while he repaired the engine.

with following demonstrative pronouns of the iki-series (sing lunga iku, olehe lunga iku) and with words such as mau and kabe (e.g. sing lunga iku kabe mau
all those aforementioned people who went away, olehe lunga iku mau that afore-
mentioned going away of him). However, there appears to be an important
difference in frequency of use. Groups of nouns with following olehe-groups seem to be rare in proportion to the very common combinations of nouns with following sing-groups. Also this difference asks for an explanation.

In the second place sing- and olehe-groups may form the phatic component of a sentence segment:

(3) Amat / sing dipangan / sega. 
Amat, what he had eaten, (was) rice.

(4) Mariam / anggone nangis / isih durung mendha. 
Mariam, her weeping had not yet become less

Sentences such as these which consist of three segments, are common and occur in a great variety.

Finally sing- and olehe-groups may form the phatic component of a sentence. This is only possible in two special cases, characterised by an exclamatory intonation and by severe constraints as to the composition of the word group: (1) only sing and olehe themselves, but neither their respective equivalents kange and enggone nor their krama-counterparts can participate in them; (2) only adjectives, but not verbs or pronouns can form the second member of the group.

The sing + adjective case is well known. In Javanese grammars it is usually called the modal imperative. It may occur with imperative verb forms (tulisen sing becik write it well) and also with olehe-groups (sing seru le hmu nyebul blow hard), but it also may occur all by itself without any additional words: sing rikat do it quickly!

The second case, in which groups consisting of olehe + adjective form the phatic component of the sentence, is not mentioned in grammars, although it occurs quite often, especially in informal speech. Examples are:

(5) Supini nglirik Nany, teka le modheren!
Supini glanced at Nany, how modern she looked!

(6) Hem, olehuu anggak!
H'm, how arrogant you are!
(7) Kok le mantep lan kenceng!
   How determined and serious he is!

(8) Wadhuh kok olehe ampuh tenan!
   O my, what strong powers he has!

Given the emotional exclamatory value of this construction, it is not surprising that one often, but not always, finds it preceded by interjections or in combination with emotional-affective words like kok and teka. Adjectives belonging to the elative category are often used in the construction (le ap'ik how very beautiful!, le cilik how very small!), instead of the common adjective.

3. Segmented sentences of which the first segment contains an olehe- or sing-group are very common:

   (9) Anggenipun ngupados pawitan arta / angel.
       To find initial capital in cash is difficult.

This sentence consists of two segments separated by a potential pause before angel. At this segmental border the demonstrative pronoun punika that, may be (and often is) inserted, which then exerts a kind of summarising and separating function: to find initial capital, that is difficult. The first segment is the topic of the sentence. It contains the information which the speaker assumes to be known to the hearer, while the final segment consisting of angel together with its intonation contour is comment, containing the information concerning the topic expected by the speaker to be new to the hearer.

This sentence with anggenipun contrasts with the following bisegmental sentence without anggenipun:

   (10) Ngupados pawitan arta / angel.
       To find initial capital in cash is difficult.

The difference between (9) and (10) is that in (9) a relation is established with a person or persons either mentioned in a previous sentence or given in the speech situation, while in (10) no such relation is present.

The construction with sing, although fully comparable with the olehe-constructions of (9), is not quite identical with it as to this outside relationship. In the following sentence which belongs to the same bisegmental type:

   (11) Ingkang ngupados pawitan arta / rekaos.
       Those who try to find initial capital in cash experience difficulties.

no outside relation is established the way it is in (9), but one might nevertheless say that the ingkang-segment presupposes a kind of selection from a wider group of people just like buku sing kandel the thick book(s) presupposes a selection from a larger set of books, contrasting with buku kandel thick book(s), in which no such selection is presupposed. Apart from this, there is a semantic difference between (9) and (11), which correlates with the appropriateness of angel in (9) and of rekaos in (11). In (9) a statement is made about the action of finding initial capital, while in (11) a statement is made about certain people who are said to perform this action.

Next to the bisegmental sentence type in which the topic precedes the comment there is an equally common sentence type in Javanese which is characterised by the presence of two topics, a primary and a secondary one.
Examples of this sentence type are:

(12) Ti yang dagang / anggenipun ngupados pawitan arta / angel.
    for merchants it is difficult to find initial cash capital

(13) Wong tuwane Slamet iku / panguripane / adol iwak segara.
    the parents of Slamet, they make their living by selling seafish

(14) Buku olah-olah punika / ingkang sade / Bale Pustaka
    cookbooks, Bale Pustaka has (them) for sale

All these sentences consist of three segments with potential pauses between them. The final one is the comment, while the first segment indicates the primary or main topic of the sentence, as the speaker wants to say something about merchants in (12), about the parents of Slamet in (13), and about cookbooks in (14). That this is really so becomes clear by inspection of wider multisentential contexts, such as:

(15) Dewi Rukmawati anggone ana ing pratapan gunung Titisari ora
    Dewi Rukmawati was not yet a long time in the hermitage on the
    lawas, banjur antuk sasmitaning Hyang kang mahawisesa.
    Titisari-mountain, when she got a sign from the Almighty.

(16) Suwe lehku mikir, nanging ora oleh wangsulan sing maton,
    For a long time I pondered, but I did not get a reliable answer,
    malah mung mundhak bingung.
    I even became only more confused.

In (15) it is necessary for the correct interpretation of the final part of the sentence that Dewi Rukmawati is taken as the agens of antuk, while in (16) the speaker is to be taken as the agens of oleh wangsulan as well as of mundhak bingung. This is in accordance with the general principle of topic-preservation which operates in Javanese texts, as the language does not possess the anaphoric mechanism which is present in other languages and which fulfils a similar function of cohesion.

In a more narrow sense, however, the second segments of (12), (13) and (14) are also topics. It is about them and not about the first segment that the final segment, the comment, provides new information. The first and the second segments have in common that they both contain information that is presented by the speaker as known to himself and to the hearer. All segments which have as their phatic component an olehe- or sing-construction contain known information. The only exception to this general rule is formed by the special constructions of olehe and sing with an adjective mentioned above. For them the opposite is true. They contain always new information, and this is why these and only these olehe- and sing-groups may function as the sole phatic component of a sentence.

If one compares (12) with (9), one observes that the difference between the two sentences resides in the fact that in (12) a relation is established not with something outside the sentence as in (9), but with something within the sentence itself, that is with the primary topic. The nature of the relationship between primary and secondary topic can only be defined in a very broad sense. It appears from the inspection of a large number of sentences that no more can be said than that the relation is one of specification. The secondary topic indicates the specific aspect or the specific part of that which is indicated by the primary topic about which new information is to be provided.
by the comment. If it is characteristic for this sentence type that two entities (things, persons, German: Sachverhalte) are brought into a relation of further specification, then one may expect that the phatic components of these topics are nouns or nominal groups. In general Javanese syntax seems to have a marked preference for nominal and nominalised expression. This implies a frequent use of segmented sentences with plural topics loosely related to each other, and with one single comment, in which much is left to the interpretation of the hearer. This also implies that the language must have at its disposal the means to convert verbs and verbal phrases into nouns or nominal groups: the functions of sing and olehe are in the first place to be understood from this point of view.

In addition, it may now perhaps also be understood why verb forms with the suffixes -a, -ana, -akna and imperatives, and in general all forms with a general and unspecified modal value (adjectives or pronouns with -a) do not combine with sing and olehe. These syntactic function words are devices for creating nouns or nominal phrases to be used in segments which provide solid, shared cognitive ground on which the ensuing new information of the comment is to be attached. Forms which possess a value of uncertainty are not likely to function in such groups.

As the sentences (12) - (14) show, the relation between the first and the second segment is not expressed by the same means: in (2) it is expressed by anggenipun, in (13) by the suffix -(n)e, while it remains implicit in (14). To a certain extent there is complementary contribution, which makes it possible to consider sing- and olehe-constructions as part of one syntactic mechanism. The construction with sing is only used for making either the agent or the patient of the verb or verbal phrases into a noun or nominal phrase to serve as a secondary (or primary) topic, while olehe serves the purpose of making the verb or verbal phrase itself into a noun or nominal phrase. The procedure with the suffix -(n)e is largely restricted to nouns and adjectives. However, the complementary distribution is not complete. There are competing constructions as the following sentences show:

(17) Sepure / olehe mangkat / jam pira?
(17a) Sepure / mangkat / jam pira?

Both sentences may be translated as: the train, its departure is at what hour? There is no clear semantic difference between the two sentences. The construction of (17a) which is only possible with active verbs without a suffix, is probably the more modern one of the two. In general there seems to be a tendency to expand the use of the suffix -(n)e. In substandard speech of the 'forties one could already find forms such as kecepenge his arrest, his being apprehended, but they remain very unusual.

There are also two semantically very similar constructions with an adjective:

(18) Simin / olehe lara / wis pitung dina.
(18a) Simin / laran / wis pitung dina.

which may be both translated as: Simin has been ill for seven days. However, there is no reason to assume that (18a) represents a more recent type than (18). I am inclined to suppose that rather the converse is true.
4. In 3. some common types of segmented sentences have been briefly discussed in order to show the role played by sing- and olehe-groups in them, when they are the phatic component either of a primary topic or of a secondary one. This permitted the conclusion that sing and olehe can be seen as two complementary devices for topicalisation. It also appeared that at the same time they ought to be viewed as devices for nominalisation. In this section more has to be said about this nominalising function as there are many non-segmented sentences in which sing- and olehe-groups may occur having no other function than to make nouns or nominal phrases mostly out of verbs and verbal phrases and of adjectives and adjectival phrases as the following examples show:

(19) Ibune mbanjurake olehe ngendika.
    Mother went on speaking.

(20) Yen wis tekan wektune anggonmu janji, kowe ya kudu mulih.
    When the moment has come that you have reached the end of your life,
    (then) you have indeed to go.

(21) Bareng Suryatinah eling saka anggone semaput mau, awake
    When Suryatinah regained consciousness from her faint, her body
    was soaking wet.

(22) Tulisane ora ketara dening ndhredhege olehe nyekeli pilpen.
    His writing was not clear because of the shaking of his hand which
    held the fountain-pen.
    (lit. because of the shaking of his holding the fountain-pen)

(23) Bab olehmu seneng lungan bengi iku, aku wis ora perlu aweh pitutur.
    About the fact that you like to go out in the evening, about that
    I do not have to warn you any more.

(24) Sing dikarepake bu Sidin ora liya supaya sedulure uga bisa
    what mother Sidin wanted was nothing else than that for her
    ditukokake omah.
    brothers also a house could be bought.

(25) Siraehe sing nunnggang remuk.
    The head of the driver was smashed.

(26) Tumrap sing durung mengku kulawarga prakara iku durung
    For those who have not yet a family, this question has not
    dadi pikiran.
    become a matter of thought.

In some cases the relationship normally established by anggone is no longer present:

(27) Saupama aku iki olehe golek cadhongan bisa gampang,
    Suppose that I could easily find my daily portion,
    mesthi wae aku ora susah nyambut gawe.
    then I would certainly not have to take the trouble of working.
Because of my being fascinated by the sight of the beauty of that girl who was bathing, I had even forgotten that I was sitting on a high rock.

It is even possible that proper names and nouns are combined with such nominalised phrases. There are two possible positions for them: either immediately after the function word or after the entire nominalised phrase:

(29) Anggenipun Sudarsa nimbangi pantun, margi angsal welingan saking juragan kathah.

(29a) Anggenipun nimbangi pantun Sudarsa, margi etc... That Sudarsa was weighing rice was because he got orders from many customers.

There does not exist any semantic difference between those two constructions which are only found in postwar texts. Both contain one single topic and in this respect they are different from the segmented sentence with double topic, which was and still is the more common one:

(30) Sudarsa / anggenipun nimbangi pantun / margi etc...

If, however, olehe- or sing-groups are combined with preceding nouns, they again fulfil the specialisation-function which they also have in the sentences with double topics as sentence (2) shows. Other similar examples are:

(31) Pangandikane bapak Gde Okaputra anggone mituturi akun isih cumengkling ana kupingku. What father Gde Okaputra had said to me when he warned me, was still ringing in my ears.

(32) Sawijining wartawan ... Semaput ... bareng nyumurupi kepriye polahe para dhokter anggone cekat-ceket nandangi operasi mripat mau. the physicians did while quickly performing that eye-operation.

(33) Ibune, wis pira lawae anakmu anggone lunga? Mother, how long is it that your son left? (lit. how long is the time of your son's leaving)

The constructions with sing and olehe discussed in the preceding sections are by no means the only ones found in present-day Javanese. Because of the strong influence of Indonesian syntax, itself influenced by Dutch, sing/kang/ingkang has gone a long way to becoming a relative pronoun comparable to Indonesian yang and Dutch die, while olehe/anggone/anggenipun has become more and more a pure nominalisation device. In general Javanese syntax seems
to move away from its previous preference for segmented sentences filled with nominal or nominalised phatic material. I cannot do more here than present some recent constructions:

(34) Saka tanah Jawa menyang negara Landa, ngliwati pelabuhan
From Java to Holland, how many big ports one passes,
kang gedhe-gedhe pira, aku ora apal, sing aku isih kelingan iya iku...
I do not know by heart, those which I still remember are...

(35) Mung sabab sing aku ora cocog anane wanita dadi lid guminterad...
Only the reason that I do not approve that women become members of the city-council...

Constructions with a noun or transposed noun with suffix -(n)e immediately after sing are even more common:

(36) Kancaku sapasinaon kang wong tuwane asli saka Jawa,
My schoolmates whose parents came from Java,
olehe basa mlipis banget.
spoke very fine krama.

(37) - mesthi sugih kuwanuhan lan pasaduluran, mbokmenawa malah ana
- certainly (he had) plenty of acquaintances and relations, perhaps
kang becike ngungkuli sedulure dheewe.
even who were closer than his own brothers.

(38) Durung mukmin sapa wonga kang tresnane mring sasama durung bisa
Not yet a true believer is he whose love for his fellow men cannot
madhani nggonge tresna marang dhiri pribadhi, iku dhawuhe nabi kita.
yet equal his love for himself, that is what our prophet says.

In such relative clauses with sing, olehe is often found immediately after sing:

(39) ... sepisan, yaiku kang anggone dadi botoh jalaran kanggo nuruti
... in the first place, namely those who have become gamblers
hawanapsu kasrakahane.
because of their giving in to their passion of greed.

(40) Neng papranang prajurit sing le maju tanpa duga kira,
On the battlefield, soldiers who attack without prudence,
mesthi nemu kacilakan.
certainly will meet with defeat.

However, if the group with olehe within the sing-clause is complex, one generally prefers to have the order reversed, with the olehe-group taking final place within the clause:

(41) Ora ming wonga sing rekasa olehe golek pangan wae sing bingung.
Not only all those who have trouble finding (their daily) food
(are the ones) who are in disarray.
6. The material discussed in the preceding sections allows the following four conclusions to be drawn:

(1) The syntactic procédé's of topicalisation, nominalisation and segmentation — still quite insufficiently known — are indispensable for arriving at an understanding of the role played by the syntactic function words *sing* and *olehe* and their equivalents.

(2) The *sing*- and *olehe*-constructions have so much in common that they should be described in close connection with each other.

(3) For a full description of the *sing*- and *olehe*-constructions it is necessary to take into account the rapid changes in syntactic structure that have taken place since about 1940 probably under the direct influence of Indonesian and the indirect influence of Dutch.

(4) Our present limited understanding of *sing*- and *olehe*-constructions proves the fruitfulness of our approach to syntax in which preferential rules are admitted.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

**SITI SUNDARI TJITROSUBONO SUDARYANTO**


**UHLENBECK, E.M.**


BACKGROUND

The meN- and di- prefixed verbs in Bahasa Indonesia have traditionally been analysed in terms of voice. MacDonald 1976:49-50 is one who holds such a view:

The prefix meN- forms verbs, which may be either transitive or intransitive ... The characteristic of verbs of this type is that they emphasize the actor rather than the action or the object ... The di- form emphasizes the action or the object of the action rather than the actor.

Later he adds (p.146):

In the singly transitive sentence, the object of the active sentence becomes the subject of the passive sentence. The subject of the active sentence becomes the agent of the passive sentence. The active verb loses its prefix meN-, and this is replaced by the prefix di-.

As an illustrative example of this active/passive pair, he gives (p.146):

(1) Dia mem-beli buku itu.
    he     buy     book that
    He bought the book.

(2) Buku itu di-beli oleh dia.
    book that buy by him
    The book was bought by him.

More recent studies have shown there may be more than voice indicated by these prefixes — at least for certain dialects of Bahasa Indonesia (from now on referred to as BI).1

Steve Wallace has analysed the verbal prefixes of one dialect of Bahasa Indonesia — Jakarta Malay. He gives conclusive evidence that the traditional analysis of these prefixes as indicating voice categories only is insufficient, and that categories of aspect and mode are involved, in addition to voice. The

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basic formal dichotomy in Jakarta Malay is between verbs prenasalised with η-
and those without the nasal (either no prefix or di-, depending upon the person
of the agent) — corresponding with BI meN- and di- or φ, respectively. The
nasal forms carry meanings of actor-focus, generic activity, imperfective aspect
and non-indicative mode. The non-nasal forms, in contrast, indicate notions of
goal-focus, specific act, perfective aspect, and indicative mode. He summarises
all these related notions under the terms abstract for the η- forms and
concrete for the non-nasal forms.

He illustrates these two categories with the following examples (p.13), in
which the unprefixd form exhibits "realizable execution", while the prefixed
form "unrealized intention":

(3) guc mau ajak bapa?
I going to invite father
' I'm going to invite Father (to play chess).

(4) guc mau ajak di ni malam
I going to invite her this night
' I was going to invite her (out for a date) tonight.

At the end of his paper Wallace suggests that a similar analysis may hold
for standard BI. But, he cautions, "an analysis of one variety cannot be
applied in every particular to another variety".

Paul Hopper (1977) has taken a different viewpoint in analysing verbal
affixation in 19th century Classical Malay. Preferring to look at verbs in
terms of their function in discourse, he found that:

in Malay narrative language, kinetically new events
which are highly relevant to the storyline are marked
by suffixing the particle lah to the verb. In such
sentences, the verb generally appears in the initial
position. This initial verb is without the prefix
meng-, which, when attached to lexically specified
verbs, denotes "active voice" (actually a neutral
distribution of information over the sentence). If the
verb is transitive and is in the key narrative function,
it is invariably in some form of the passive (1977a:17).
( emphasis my own - M.A.K.)

The following passage (1977a:17) illustrates this foregrounding function
of -lah verbs:

(5) Kemudian KELIHATAN-LAH babi hutan tiga ekur di-tepi pantai.
Then were seen three wild pigs on the edge of the shore.
Maka TURUN-LAH orang sekochi PERGI MENGAMBIL ayer.
And the crewmen disembarked and went to fetch water.
Maka apabila MASOK-LAH ka-dalam hutan, maka BERTEMU-
And when they entered the forest, they ran
LAH dengan Jakun. Maka apabila ia MELIHAT orang DATANG,
into a Jakun. And when he saw the men coming,
maka LARI-LAH ia masok hutan...
he ran off into the forest...
The verbs with -lah indicate those events which are foregrounded — that is, they move the narrative forward. The other verbs serve to provide background information to the highlighted verbs.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the use of meN- and di- verbs in Modern Standard Bahasa Indonesia written narrative, in order to discover which analysis — the traditional analysis in terms of voice, one which includes voice, aspect or mode, a pragmatic, discourse-oriented one, none of these, or a combination of them — best accounts for the data. I have drawn my material from two novels, both written in the second half of the 20th century. Below I examine the three main possibilities in turn.

THE VERBAL PREFIXES AS INDICATORS OF VOICE

Hopper describes voice as "the encoding in syntax and verbal morphology of the marked sentence topic". As a general rule, in BI di- verbs have object as topic, while meN- verbs have unmarked topic or subject as topic. There are several constructions in BI which constrain the selection of either the subject or the object as topic. For instance, relative clauses are introduced with yang which, that, which must be the topic of the relative clause. When yang is the subject of the verb, it takes the meN- prefix; when yang is the object of the verb, the verb must have di-. Thus, in the sentences below, the verbal prefixes must be as they are:

(6) 'Kasih saya beras dua liter', kata-nya pada anak Baba Tan
    give me rice two litre say he to child Baba Tan
    yang MEN-JAGA wa ru ng. (Lubis, p.9)
    who guard stall
    'Give me two litres of rice', he said to the child of Baba Tan
    who was guarding the food stall.

(7) Di tangan kanan-nya se-buah tongkat dari dahan nangka
    in hand right his a stick from branch jackfruit
    yang baru DI-PATAH KAN. (Lubis, p.8)
    that just break off
    In his right hand was a stick from a jackfruit branch which he
    had just broken off.

The frequent usage of di- verbs in constructions such as (7) above could well be one of the reasons that di- verbs have frequently been considered to be stative verbs. As relative clauses generally function to describe rather than to narrate, they do carry a notion of stativity in many cases. However, as we will see later, this is not the only function of di- verbs.

Another syntactic construction which dictates the choice of the object as topic is when the subject of a verb is either unknown, indefinite ('someone, something', etc.), self-evident from the context, or when the author/speaker wishes not to mention the subject (as is often the case with a first person subject). In such cases the verb must occur with di-, as meN- cannot be used without a subject. This is not peculiar to BI. In fact, Labov and Weiner (1977) state that underlying sentences with non-specific subjects are the chief source of agentless passives in English.
(8) Di Bekasi dia DI-TAHAN. DI-TURUN -KAN dari kereta api. in Bekasi he arrest get off from train
DI-BAWA ke markas se-buah laskar. Di sana barang dagang-bring to post a army. there goods trade
nya DI-PERIKSA. (Lubis, p.71)
his examine
In Bekasi he was arrested. He was taken off the train,
brought to an army post, and there his goods were searched.

(9) Se-orang yang harus DI-KASIHAN-I, dan karena itu a person who should pity and because of that
harus DI-SAYANG-I dan DI-LINDUNG-I. (Lubis, p.86)
should love and protect
A person who should be pitied, and because of that, should be loved and protected.

(10) Hati -nya amat marah. DI-TAMBAH pula dengan rasa men-
his very angry add also with feeling
dongkol dalam hati -nya sejak pagi, karena kopi -nya annoy in heart his since morning because coffee his
kurang gula. (Lubis, p.19)
lack sugar
He was very angry. Added to an annoyed feeling inside him
since morning, because there was no sugar for his coffee.

Sentence (8) above is an example in which the author prefers not to mention
the subject of the various actions, as the context makes it clear that it is
the Japanese soldiers being talked about. The subject of (9) is indefinite:
someone should pity, love and protect him. In (10) there is no real subject —
indeed, one would be hard-pressed to come up with a corresponding active at all.

Jespersen (1965:168) mentions two other frequent uses of the passive: "the
passive turn [voice] is preferred if one takes naturally a greater interest in
the passive than in the active subject" and "the passive turn may facilitate the
connexion of one sentence with another". He gives the following as examples of
these two usages in English:

(11) The house was struck by lightning.

(12) He rose to speak and was listened to with enthusiasm by the
great crowd present.

Certainly the interest element, as in (11) above, is present in some BI
uses of the passive. However, this does not explain sentences such as (13) and
(14) below in which the active object is not even fronted, yet the verb has di-
The interest, apparently, is more on the verb (or the activity for which it
stands) rather than on either the subject or the object.

(13) Guru Isa mina korek api dan di depan pen-jaga sekolah
teacher Isa ask for match and in front guard school
itu DI-BAKAR-NYA surat Hazil. (Lubis, p.72)
that burn he letter Hazil
Isa asked for a match and in front of the school guard he
burnt Hazil's letter.
DI-HAPUS-NYA dengan tangan-nya peluh yang ber-titik-titik
wipe he with hand his sweat that drip
berat di kening dan pelipis-nya. (Lubis, p.44)
heavy on eyebrow and eyelid his
With his hand he wiped the sweat which was dripping
heavily on his eyebrows and eyelids.

A desire to "facilitate the connexion of one sentence or clause with another" may be a stronger reason for using the passive in BI. Same-subject sequences such as the following, in which all verbs after the first are in the passive, are extremely common:

Ayah datang MENY-(S)ORONG ember tempat 'panen'.
father come push bucket place harvest

DI-AMBIL-NYA batang kayu dari tangan Teguh, lalu ikan itu
take he pole wood from hand Teguh, then fish that

DI-ANGKAT-NYA tinggi-tinggi dan DI-TUNJUK-KAN ke-pada
raise he high and show he

ibu -ku. (Dini, p.32)
mother my

Father came and pushed the 'harvest' bucket aside. He
took the wooden pole from Teguh, raised the fish high,
and showed it to my mother.

Although meN- verbs could be used in the example above, di- is more felicitous, perhaps because it allows a reduction of the given information he from a full pronoun dia or ia to a suffix -nya after the verb.

To sum up this section briefly, the syntactic category of voice is involved in the selection of meN- and di- verb forms. The author/speaker chooses meN- when he wants to give no special consideration to any of the noun phrase constituents. Selection of di- verbs, on the other hand, makes the object or action the sentence topic. In some constructions the choice of one verb form over another is an automatic one, as in examples (6) to (10) above. In other cases, either verb form is possible. The author/writer's selection may, in those cases, be guided more by semantic considerations of aspect and mode. We will look at those next.

THE VERBAL PREFIXES AS INDICATORS OF ASPECT AND MODE

The primary aspectual dichotomy in language occurs between perfective and imperfective. Comrie (1976:16) distinguishes these in the following way:

"perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation; while the imperfective pays essential attention to the internal structure of the situation". The imperfective can be further subdivided into categories such as habitual, continuous, non-progressive and progressive.

In BI the di- verbs are more likely to be given a perfective interpretation than their corresponding meN- verbs, which are more aspectually neutral (and, as it turns out, more neutral in nearly every way). As such they are similar to the non-nasal and nasal prefixes, respectively, in Jakarta Malay.
The aspectual nature of these prefixes becomes evident upon examination of their co-occurrence with certain aspectual words. For example, in the 40 examples of the progressive aspect marker sedang in the process of which occur in the two novels, it occurs with di- only four times, and three of those are in relative clauses, where the grammar constrains the selection of di- over meN-. The only odd one, (16) below, has an indefinite subject.

(16) Tidak jauh dari sana, ber-bagai benih bayam dan tanam-an lain SEDANG DI-SIAPKAN. (Dini, p.60)

Not far from there various seed k.o. spinach and plants were being readied.

There are 21 examples of sedang with ber- or unaffixed verbs. The remaining 15 examples of sedang occur with meN-. Three are in relative clauses. The remaining 12 are exemplified by the following:

(17) Ketika dia SEDANG MEM-BUKA baju -nya di kamar, Fatimah masuk ke kamar tidur dari dapur ... (Lubis, p.78)

when he in process open clothes his in room As he was taking off his clothes in the bedroom, Fatimah entered from the kitchen...

(18) Guru Isa SEDANG MEM-BACA koran di warung di Gang Jaksa. (Lubis, p.104)

teacher Isa in process read newspaper in stall in alley Jaksa Isa was reading a newspaper in a stall on Jaksa Street.

The stative aspect marker masih still is usually used with adjectives or stative verbs, such as terasa and kelihatan, or the existential ada. However, it does occur with finite verbs as well – 6 times in my data with meN- and only once with di-. These figures indicate that both meN- and di- verbs tend to be dynamic, rather than static, verb forms. Examples occur below.

(19) Sedangkan rambut-ku waktu itu MASIH DI-POTONG pendek, mudah di-sikat untuk mem-bersih-kan-nya. (Dini, p.43)

whereas hair my time that still cut short easy brush for clean it As at that time my hair was still cut short, it was easy to brush and keep clean.

(20) Guru Isa MASIH ME-LIHAT terus pada-nya. (Lubis, p.111)

teacher Isa still look continuous at him Isa was still looking at him.

Though the small number of examples makes it difficult to draw any conclusions as to a di-/meN- difference here, I would point out the unusual use of the verb potong in sentence (19) above. Here it is used in a stative sense, in contrast to its usual dynamic, active meaning – thus allowing the masih+di-combination. melihat in (20), on the other hand, does not need any special interpretation to render it a continuous meaning: still looking at.
Another clue to the aspectual nature of these verbal prefixes is found in their occurrence with reduplicated verbs. "Reduplication of a verb root usually adds a connotation of variety, multiplicity or randomness" (MacDonald 1976:35) – an imperfective notion associated with iterativeness. Sixty-nine examples of meN- + V-V are found in just one of the novels studied, while only 17 examples of di- + V-V are found in the two novels together. Four of these examples are in the expressions tidak disangka-sangka unexpectedly and dibikin-bikin far-fetched, which have no meN- equivalents. Six others are found in relative clauses, where the grammar prevails to require di- verb forms. Two have indefinite subjects, leaving only six in which the author had a true choice between the two verb forms. The following examples show both meN- and di- with duplicated verb stems. Both are imperfectives, though this is not the usual meaning for di- verbs, which, in this case, 'need' the reduplication to make them imperfective. The meN- verbs, on the other hand, do not require a reduplicated verb stem for an imperfective interpretation.

(21) Tubuh lemah, dan rasa hendak muntah MEM-(P)ERAS-MERAS

body weak and feeling want vomit squeeze

perut -nya. (Lubis, p.113)

stomach his

His body was weak and nausea was squeezing his stomach.

(22) Surat itu DI-REMAS-REMAS-NYA, kemudian dia ber-diri,

letter that squeeze he later he stand

pergi mem-(p)anggil pen-jaga sekolah. (Lubis, p.72)

go call guard school

He crunched up the letter, then stood up and went to call the school guard.

The perfective nature of di- verbs is perhaps best seen when they are used in sequence:

(23) Selesai makan, rantang DI-ATUR dan DI-KEMAS-I.

finish eat food carrier arrange and pack

Sisa-sisa nasi DI-JADI-KAN satu. Wadah yang kosong DI-

leftovers rice make one bowl that empty

BAWA Heratih ke pancur-an untuk se-keder DI-BILAS-I,

bring Heratih to tap for just rinse

agar tidak ada sisa nasi kering yang akhir-

so that not there is leftover rice dry which in end

nyaa me-lekat dan sukar DI-BERSIH-KAN. Bungkus-an

stick and difficult clean bundle

makan-an seperti lemperr dan lain-lain-nya DI-MASUK-KAN

food like k.o. rice and others put in

ke dalam rantang yang kosong... (Dini, p.47)

to inside food container that empty

When they were finished eating, the rantang was stacked and filled. The leftover rice was put together. The empty bowl was brought by Heratih to the tap to be rinsed off, so that there would be no dry rice sticking to it and hard to get off. The food bundles, such as lemperr, etc., were put into the empty rantang.
Each event signalled by a di- verb form is perfective — viewed as a whole without internal structure. As is usual with sequences of perfectives, each action is viewed as completed before the next begins. Sequences of meN- verbs, on the other hand, would not necessarily receive that interpretation and could be interpreted as simultaneous or partially overlapping events.

I have made two other observations in regard to aspect and the BI verbal prefixes. The first is that only the meN- forms are used as non-finite verbs. Di- forms, on the other hand, are always finite. Examples of the non-finite meN-, such as the following sentence, are common:

(24) Pem-bantu kami men-(t)olong MENG-ANGKAT-KAN bakul ke helper our help lift basket to
punggung, sedangkan si pen-jual itu meng-ikat-kan ujung back while seller that tie end
selendang-nya di dada. (Dini, p.13)
shawl her on chest
Our servant helped lift the basket to her back, while
the vendor tied the ends of her shawl around her chest.

The other observation concerns the use of these prefixes with the complete markers sudah and telah already. In my data sudah was used much less frequently than telah but more frequently in direct quotations. It generally occurred with an adjective or the existential verb ada. Occurrences with either di- or meN- forms are rare. Verb phrases with sudah thus have the meaning X state/situation already existed. Telah was used more than twice as often as sudah and generally with a meN- or di- prefixed verb. Such verbs are complete, perfective verbs; combined with telah they mean X action already happened. Significantly, di- forms outnumber meN- forms in constructions with telah, thus indicating their tendency towards a perfective interpretation. The sentences below illustrate verb phrases with sudah and telah:

(25) Sampai di tempat kakek, hari SUDAH gelap. (Dini, p.58)
arrive at place grandfather day already dark
It was already dark when we arrived at Grandfather's.

(26) Se-buah mej a panjang TELAH DI-ATUR penuh piring a table long already arrange full plate
dan kobok-an. (Dini, p.66)
and finger bowl
A long table was already set with plates and finger bowls.

(27) Ayah TELAH MEM-BERI pe-tunjuk ke-pada saudara- father already give instruction to brothers and
saudara-ku. (Dini, p.38)
sisters my
Father had already given instructions to my brothers and sisters.

I have found little in my data to correspond with the modal-like properties which Wallace found in Jakarta Malay verbal prefixes — that is, the contrast between actual, accomplished, factual, certain action and intended, potential, attempted, tentative, doubtful action. The following pairs of sentences show no such semantic difference; in each case the verbs represent real, accomplished events.
Dua orang serdadu yang ter-baring di tanah di depan bioskop dengan segera DI-ANGKUT ke dalam mobil ambulans. theatre with hurry carry to inside ambulance

(Tubis, p.97)
Two soldiers who were lying on the ground in front of the movie theatre were quickly put into the ambulance.

Tidak lama kemudian mobil Palang Merah Indonesia tiba, not long later auto cross red arrive

dan MENG-ANGKUT orang-orang yang luka, dan anak yang carry people who wound and child who tewas itu. (Tubis, p.11)

Not long afterwards an Indonesian Red Cross truck came and picked up the wounded people and the dead child.

DI-HAPUS-NYA dengan tangan-nya peluh yang ber-titik-titik wipe him with hand his sweat that drip

berat di kening dan pelipis-nya. (Tubis, p.44)

heavy on eyebrow and eyelid his

With his hand he wiped the sweat which was dripping heavily on his eyebrows and eyelids.

Tukang beca yang sedang meng-hirup kopi -nya worker k.o. cart that in process sip coffee his

yang panas, MENG-HAPUS mulut-nya dengan lengan kiri-nya which hot wipe mouth his with sleeve left his

yang hitam dan kotor, dan ber-kata... (Tubis, p.8)
which black and dirty and say
The beca driver who was sipping his hot coffee wiped his mouth with his left sleeve, which was black and filthy, and said...

Notions of mode in modern BI rely on sentential syntax more than verb morphology. The modal auxiliaries such as hendak, ingin and mau want, desire and bisa, dapat be able, can, may be the result of influences from Western languages which Jakarta Malay, being an in-group language, presumably did not undergo to the same degree as the trade language did. Interestingly, the can modals show no preference for di- or meN-, while the want, desire ones show strong preference for meN-:

Manusia Indonesia sebagai gerombolan DAPAT DI-JAJAH people Indonesia as group can colonise

oleh Belanda lebih dari 350 tahun. (Tubis, p.37)
by Netherlands more than year

The Indonesian people as a group could be colonised by the Netherlands for more than 350 years.

Gerombolan pun hanya dapat ber-gerak karena ada group even only can move because there are individu-individu yang DAPAT MENG-ANGKAT diri mereka di individuals who can raise self their
atas gerombolan-gerombolan itu. (Lubis, p.37)
above groups those
A group can only move because there are individuals who can
raise themselves above the groups

(34) Sebentar ter-lintas dalam kepala Guru Isa HENDAK
not long enter inside head teacher want
MEM-(P)ELUK isteri-nya. (Lubis, p.30)
embrace wife his
Suddenly the desire to embrace his wife flashed through
Guru Isa's mind.

(35) Dia tidak INGIN MENG-UNGSI. (Lubis, p.79)
he not want evacuate
He did not want to evacuate.

Thus, there is obviously some element of modality in the verbal prefixes, but only in combination with syntax. More needs to be researched along this line.

THE VERBAL PREFIXES AS INDICATORS OF FOREGROUNDING AND BACKGROUNDING

This phenomenon is related to the notion of aspect discussed in the previous section, as there is a uniform tendency in language for perfective aspect to be used in the foreground of a narrative and for imperfective aspect to be used in the background of a narrative (Hopper 1977a:23). On the sentence level, the use of meN- verbs to background information is evidenced in example (17) above, where While he was taking off his clothes (sedang membuka) sets the stage for Fatimah's entrance into the bedroom. But on the discourse level it is difficult to find any clear indicators of backgrounding and foregrounding.

The present-day usage of the clitic -lah is as a perfective aspect marker, but it is not used as an indicator of foregrounded information — unlike Classical Malay. Hence, it may be used in imperatives and in disambiguating verbs which have two possible interpretations, perfective and imperfective. For example, duduklah dia could only mean he sat down, while dia duduk or duduk dia could mean either he sat down or he was sitting.

In an attempt to discover the modern equivalent(s) of -lah for foregrounding events, I had two of the selections in Hopper's articles rendered into modern BI. The verbs of the modern rendition are placed alongside the original verbs in Chart 1.

Several points are noteworthy here. First of all, the use of the clitic -lah is greatly reduced in modern BI from a total of 16 to four. When it is used it is clearly not a foregrounding device, although its meaning is not clear. It appears to mark a verb when all the information in the sentence is new: "Datanglah sebuah perahu Siam" (A Siamese ship arrived); "Datanglah seorang Melayu" (A Malay arrived). Second, the number of passives is decreased in the modern rendering, from 15 to 12, though this decrease is not significant. This would help to confirm Hopper's estimation that, whereas Classical Malay had up to 70-80 per cent passives, modern BI has only 15-30 per cent. Finally, there is no single verb form which is used in place of the -lah construction to mark foregrounded information. Sometimes the -lah is simply omitted (tersenyum), sometimes the verb takes on a ber- (berlari), once it is replaced with the ke- 'adversative' passive (keheranakan), and at times the verb stem is replaced completely (mendinggal). A di- verb is never used to replace a -lah verb in these passages.
Thus, if all languages possess some grammatical means of indicating certain parts of a discourse to be more prominent than others (though I'm not sure anyone has proposed this as a universal), and if in BI verb morphology clearly does not have this function, then that leaves sentential syntax as the means of signalling foregrounding in BI narrative. Just what those syntactic cues are, however, I cannot yet say.

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Chart 1
CONCLUSIONS

a. A multifactor approach to verbal affixes. To answer the question posed at the beginning as to the meaning of the verbal prefixes in modern BI, we would have to say, "all of them, but some more than others". It is clear that some sort of multifactor meaning must be attached to these prefixes. It is not sufficient to say that BI verbal prefixes indicate voice. At least the notion of aspect is also carried by these prefixes, as has been demonstrated in this paper.

The speaker/writer of a language must have certain means of doing things with his language. He must have a way of making certain items sentence topic, he must have some way of distinguishing different kinds of action, he must have some device for highlighting certain parts of a narrative, etc. Formerly, linguists have often looked for different forms, each of which would handle one of these different functions. But it is clear from this study that, for BI at least, and no doubt for many other languages, the 'world' is not divided up in this way and several functions are bundled together in a single form. I would also suggest that, as I have shown to be true in BI, these different functions handled by a single form do not all carry the same weight. Also, a single function, such as progressive aspect or backgrounding, may be borne by more than one form.

b. The direction of language change in Bahasa Indonesia. It appears that the language is moving in the direction of carrying less information in the verb, and more in the sentential syntax. This would account for the development of auxiliaries to handle modalities and the loss of the pun-lah construction to mark foregrounded information in narratives.

c. The ways in which different dialects of a single language may vary. There are clearly different categories signalled by the verbal prefixes in the Jakartan and the standard variants of Bahasa Indonesia. Part of this may be due to the different type of data used in the studies (Wallace based his analysis on taped conversations), but it is not known how much, if at all, this difference skews the results.

NOTES

1. For purposes of this paper, I am considering the Jakartan variety of Bahasa Indonesia (generally referred to as Jakarta Malay), the standard form of the language, as well as the mid-nineteenth century version from which both Bahasa Indonesia and Bahasa Malaysia descended, as dialects of a single language. This is a more loose use of the term 'dialect' than usual.

2. My thanks to Ken Gregerson for his stimulating ideas and to Danielo Ajamiseba, Martha Reimer and Linda Jones for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper.
3. The literature upon which this analysis is based included the following:
Nh. Dini, Sebuah lorong di kotaku; Mochtar Lubis, Jalan tak ada ujung.

4. For example, Chung (1976) says, "The canonical passive [with di-] has the
meaning of a typical passive: it is semantically stative".

5. In the data used for this paper, meN- prefixed verbs outnumber di-
prefixed verbs by approximately four to one.

6. The evidence for their being non-finite is that they cannot occur with
temporal or aspectual markers such as telah, sedang, etc.

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©1983 Pacific Linguistics and/or the author(s). Online edition licensed 2013 CC BY-SA 4.0, with permission of PL. aseanlangs.org initiative.
1. General linguistics still has but a poor knowledge of the grammatical structures of the Austronesian (AN) languages. 'Malay'¹ (in the broad sense) has undoubtedly been the most widely used and fully described among the AN languages. It is useful to see to what degree Malay can be treated as a typical representative of the AN family.

2.1 Linguists of the past have made a great number of really positive and astute discoveries of theoretical value. Their work is still useful for us in spite of its shortcomings from the modern point of view. It is true that in exotic languages they were often seeking structures, forms and categories familiar to Europeans (finite and non-finite, person, mood and tense forms of verbs, number and case of nouns etc.). In our times we can to some degree give new judgments about which of their conclusions are correct and correspond to the facts in AN languages, and which are not.

On the other hand, these former writers have pointed out to us which phenomena of those known to European linguistics are absent in exotic languages. This information, negative as it is, has now attained its positive value.

Possessing all this previously collected knowledge plus modern linguistic approaches and methods, it has become possible to begin, step by step, to penetrate into and formulate the specific features of the AN languages.

2.2 There is another happy circumstance promoting comparative linguistic work in the AN linguistic sphere nowadays – the possibility of wide mutual contact and exchange between scholars of different countries and different spheres of interest. The ICAL conferences give brilliant evidence of this fact.

Now, as the countries of AN stock mostly have their own national states, possibilities exist for uniting different branches of AN linguistics. This was one of the essential purposes of the 1981 TICAL conference, as clearly outlined in the conference documents.


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3. To penetrate from the general linguistic point of view into the specific character of such an exotic language family as Austronesian is by itself an extremely complicated task. If we try to reveal this character limiting ourselves to the material of only one language—even a well-described one and even with the help of the modern scientific approach to language as a system—still in most cases we are destined to failure. Such could be the case since the conceptions and notions of Western linguistics would exercise too strong an influence on many a researcher. The danger lies in the fact that these conceptions and notions on the one hand are very elaborate and on the other hand are most ordinary and seemingly plain and natural.

Therefore the systematic approach to a single language should be optionally combined with the analysis of corresponding phenomena in different cognate languages.

I would like to produce one example to illustrate the point. In Indonesian the verbal suffixes -kan and -i among their other functions play the role of a morphological means of differentiated expressing of verb-noun object relations. The fact could hardly ever be revealed and explained from the data of the Indonesian language itself. I found myself able to formulate this peculiarity of Indonesian only after I had studied the specific verbal system of Tagalog, with its multiple passive forms and the peculiar rules of their selection (see below, 4.3).

4.1 After these preliminary remarks we can return to the subject of the paper. It is not my intention to discuss once more the already well-known features of AN' languages relevant to structural typology in general. My intention is only to put forward those features relevant to grammatical structure which I have investigated myself, these being for a long time the object of my interest.²

It is necessary to define what is meant here by the structural features of the AN type. I don't see any way of determining them better than saying that these are the features which are common to AN languages but cannot be considered universal properties of any language.

4.2 One of the most general peculiarities of the AN type, explaining many others, is the specific character of interconnection between lexical and grammatical levels in general. I would dare to say that the absence of a clear-cut borderline between the lexical and grammatical spheres in an AN language is a quality of principle and not accidental separate phenomena which are encountered in many languages.

In the Malay language the said character of interconnection of levels can be seen in the following:

(a) The Malay root-morphemes act not only as stems of derived words but, quite usually, as plain words by themselves; therefore one and the same material unit belongs to the morphological and lexical levels.³

(b) The main means of word-derivation—affixation and reduplication—are used on both levels. One and the same affix in one case fulfills a derivative function, in another case a grammatical function, in the third case the two functions altogether, syncratically: the difference depends upon the class of the root-morpheme. Three corresponding examples: batu + meN > membatu; taruh + meN > menaruh; potret + meN > memotret. To a greater or lesser degree
this syncretism is to be seen in all verbal affixes (only verbs have formal grammatical categories, i.e. of voice and transitivity), in Malay as well as in other Western Austronesian languages. A grammatical verbal form here is generated in one act of affixation, and not in a many-graded process such as in agglutinative languages of Altaic stock (Turkish, Mongolian). In the latter a verbal (or noun, or adjective) word-base is generated first by adding certain derivative suffixes to a root and then different suffixes conveying grammatical meanings are added to produce a complete word-form. This makes the essential difference between the Indonesian and Altaic types of agglutination.

We must admit that, in describing AN languages, a tradition spontaneously has emerged and has been maintained, which correctly reflects the said objectival peculiarity of word-derivation: in the manuals and grammars of different AN languages all means of word-derivation are described in a separate part of a book beyond connection with grammar proper, each model of many-morphemed words (or each affix or each way of reduplication) being described with its various 'meanings'.

(c) The proximity of lexical and grammatical levels specific to AN-type can be also seen in the character of grammatical categories. Several grammatical meanings (number, tense, aspect, voice, case, degrees of comparison) are expressed by mixed, either morphological or lexical means. One Malay example: to express reciprocity of action morphological (tuduh-menuduh, bertuduh-tuduhan) or lexical (saling menuduh) means can be used.

(d) Word-compounding as a way of producing new lexical units is very productive in certain AN languages with a high degree of analytism (Malay, Javanese, Acehnese, Cham, Polynesian). It cannot be considered as a particular AN feature, since many other analytical languages have it as well. But here, in Malay for instance, the word-compounding is present in the form, which makes it difficult again to distinguish between grammatical and lexical phenomena: such units as besi berani, ilmu bumi, ibu kota, being facts of lexics, are at the same time in their structure usual syntactical (i.e. grammatical) formations (word groups).

I think that this peculiarity of word-compounding allows us to distinguish between two categories of compound (containing two or three root-morphemes) lexical units. The first category includes such compound words (composed words, composites) which are formally identical with free syntactical word groups, but have lost their freedom: they are not produced for a concrete speech sentence, with arbitrary selecting synonyms, but are reproduced as lexical units with given components and meaning, already existing in the language (for example, in the meaning of geography we must use ilmu bumi and not ilmu tanah or ilmu benua, in the meaning of parents we may not use manusia tua or orang berumur panjang instead of orang tua). Some of these units are idiomatic, but it is not an obligatory criterion: many of them are quite transparent semantically; there are a lot of terms among them.

The second category, compound words proper, includes three groups of bi-componential lexical units: (a) asyntactical (bumi putera); (b) with at least one bound morpheme (swapraja, mahasiswa); (c) affixed (ketidakadilan, menandatangani).

Presumably there is some other evidence as to the proximity of lexical and grammatical levels in the AN language, but what is outlined above, I hope, will make the idea sufficiently clear.
4.3 In the AN languages (especially in Western AN) the morphology, in so far as it exists, has developed mainly in the verbal sphere. And in this sphere, the meanings which are rendered by affixation are mostly those connected with verb-noun relations: case meanings, after Fillmore, subject (=doer) and object (=goal) relations of the verb, in my terminology. The voice category must be admitted to be the nuclear grammatical category of the verb which reflects subject-object relations. With the voice category the problem of transitivity, of rendering action-object relations, is connected. To express object relations affixes, morphological means of realisation, are also used. And there are at least two types of morphology serving these relations in the AN languages.

In the first type of which the Malay language is representative the verbs are divided into transitive and intransitive (on the base of capacity to produce di-forms). The category of transitivity in Malay includes two opposite meanings; causative-transitive and applicative-transitive, with the possibility of neutralisation. The first meaning is usually expressed by the verbal suffix -kan, the second one by the suffix -i, so the opposition of the contensive object relations corresponds to the opposition of formal suffixed markers. The voice relations are expressed by such verbal prefixes as meN, di-, ber-, ter-. Therefore we see in Malay two sets of markers: prefixes for voice and suffixes for transitivity. Such languages as modern and old Javanese, Sundanese, Balinese, Madurese, Bugis and Makassar can be classified with Malay in this respect.

This type stands in contrast to the other represented by the Tagalog (and other Philippine) and Malagasy languages. This second type is characterised by use of passive-voice forms (which are usually more than one and sometimes, as in Tagalog, amount to six) for differentiating the object relations of verbs. It means that a passive voice formative is selected according to the object relation which is to be expressed in the given sentence. Transitivity is not expressed by a special affix neither in an active nor in a passive construction, and the whole problem of verbal transitivity is to be decided here in quite a different (i.e. negative) way.5

4.4 The last AN type feature which I wish to mention here is the use of possessive-type constructions in the sphere of subject-object relations. This problem is naturally connected with the above-mentioned voice category, more precisely with the particular ways of building voice constructions and their evolution.

This peculiarity can be formulated as the important role of a special syntactical type—possessive—in the AN languages. The term 'syntactical type' is used in the context of 'the syntactical typology' which is based on ways of expressing subject-object relations in a sentence, taking into account the nominal, and verbal, and pronominal morphology, as well as their semantics and functioning.

In speaking of a language of possessive syntactical type the notion 'possessive structure' acquires a new dimension. A nominal word group with possessive meaning (a qualified noun plus a possessive pronoun or a substantive attribute) is also given a new dimension: besides expressing the fact that an object belongs to its owner, such a word group expresses also that an action belongs to its doer (agent). The doer of an action is expressed by a possessive attribute, in the same way as the subject of possession. The nucleus of the relevant word combination is a word with verbal meaning (either a word with
formatives of verbal categories, or a root-word without any formatives). As a result, the interrelation between the verb category and the noun category is entirely peculiar, while possessive pronouns are used on a larger scale so as to include the functions of indirect agential forms of personal pronouns. The formally uniform syntactical structure is divided from a semantic point of view into variants: (1) the object (substance) possessive structure and (2) the process possessive structure. If the process possessive structure forms the predicate group, then this must be regarded as an indication of the possessive syntactical type of the language in its most clear-cut form.

Malay has such a way of forming passive sentences in which the agent is indicated by the third person pronominal enclitic -nya or by a noun complement, which are in no way different from possessive attributes; examples are:

Buku ini sudah dibaca { nya anak. Compare: buku { nya anak

In modern Malay there are different prepositions introduced in transforms of the above sentences:

dibaca oleh { nya anak, buku daripada { nya anak

As a result, there is only a vague propinquity remaining between an agential complement and a possessive attribute, and it would be impossible to reveal its roots on the basis of the Malay material taken by itself. It can only be facilitated by the general theoretical concept of the possessive type and examples from such languages as Tagalog (cf. Section 3). In Tagalog the unity of object and process variants of the possessive structure has a graphic character.

In modern standardised forms of Malay — Indonesian and Malaysian — which have developed to acquire the features of a nominative language, possessive structures have become infrequent and are mostly used in the sphere of nominalisation. Nevertheless, the Austronesian character of Malay is sufficiently evident in these phenomena.

5. Concluding this survey of the AN-type features in Malay, we may indicate that the AN features are to be found in the synthetic-morphological sphere of the language. Therefore the Malay language can be considered to be a typical representative of the AN structure type only to a definite degree — in so far as it has synthetic morphology. But Malay has lost many of the AN synthetic forms and developed instead of them new, analytic constructions. The analytism in general cannot be attributed to the AN structure-type. It is a product of evolution, and that was an evolution in contact with different languages.

Among contemporary AN languages there are some which are highly analytical; but the analytical systems, for example, of a Polynesian language and of the Cham language are of quite different character.

The analytical structures of Malay should be investigated specially. For instance, such a characteristic analytic feature of modern Indonesian and Malaysian as the differentiated use of prepositions to express non-local relations is usually attributed to European influence, but I should call to mind also the strong Arabic influence in this sphere, while the prepositional functioning of verbs (as melawan, melalui) is evidently an areal feature.
Being now to a degree acquainted with languages of Indo-China such as Cham, Vietnamese, Khmer. I must agree with many linguists who have pointed out precisely this direction for the research of typological and genealogical proximity.

The languages of Indo-China, belonging to different genealogical stocks, were from ancient times involved in contacts and mutual exchange. Especially it is true of such languages as Vietnamese, Khmer, Cham, Jaray, some Thai idioms. Alongside the existing hypothesis of genealogical kinship (as Austric, Austro-Thai) a question may be put about their convergent evolution in a kind of a language-union (Sprachbund) such as the Balkan union. It seems to me that there should be and already can be summed up a set of features at all levels which are common to a number of languages and therefore make a linguist think about a specific analytical language type in this area.\(^6\)

The following are some features of analytism in Malay which make it similar to the languages of Indo-China and which, I think, have not previously been listed together.

(a) the use of lexical units for grammatical purposes;
(b) the significant weight of word-compounding in generating new lexical units;
(c) the proximity of adjectives to verbs (not to nouns) in the system of word-classes;
(d) the syntactical model of O-S-V order as an equivalent for passive construction.

NOTES

1. From the purely linguistic point of view it is convenient to use the term 'Malay' as embracing: the old Malay language ('classic'), different Malay dialects of past and present, modern Indonesian and Malaysian standard languages.

2. This paper summarises my work on Indonesian grammar and typology. The work is present in detailed form, with relevant bibliography, in the following publications: Alieva 1970, 1975, 1978 and 1980.

3. More than that, the Malay root-morphemes on the basis of their distributive and reduplicative abilities are being divided into grammatical classes which are similar but do not coincide with the word-classes. Such root-morpheme classification has been carried out by A. Hassan in his 1974 monograph, also in our collective Grammar of the Indonesian language (Alieva et al. 1972), and in my 1975 monograph. But such division of morphemes into classes cannot be considered to be an AN-type feature.

4. I would insist on this, especially in view of Wolff's approach distinguishing only two phenomena: derivation and inflection.
5. Semantically the case categories in both types have much similarity which is analysed in Wolff (1981). From this analysis follows that several non-case, aspectual meanings are explicitly expressed in the active verb in a language of Tagalog type, while in the Malay-type morphology the passive markers (as ter-, ke-an) specially express them.

6. I have merely touched upon the problem of the Indo-Chinese language-union, in the paper presented to TICAL; while this paper was in press, I have tried to realise my intention, and have written a short article on the Cham language in connection with a language-union in this area — with possibly a full bibliography on the problem (Alieva 1982).

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ON THE SYNTAX OF yang IN INDONESIAN

John W.M. Verhaar, S.J.

INTRODUCTION

The particle yang in Indonesian (and older Malay) has, in the past, been duly treated by grammarians, but it does not look as if yang has been discussed much within a framework that has notable relevance across languages, or even fits more naturally into a more holistic view of Indonesian (and Malay) syntax. What has been noted about yang has been mainly two characteristics: first, that it may link an attribute to a noun, notably 'adjectival' (as distinct from 'nominal') attributes; second, that one of these attributes is the relative clause. In dealing with the latter construction, grammarians have often dubbed yang a 'relative pronoun'. I will not now review earlier treatments of yang (Kaswanti 1981 has a brief survey), for those treatments have, on the whole, not focussed on the larger syntactic issues I am addressing myself to in the present paper. But most of those earlier descriptions have been sound enough, especially in that they affirmed the basic 'sameness' of yang, no matter whether it relativises or not, even though that 'sameness' has been largely implicit in those descriptions. On the other hand, the description of yang as a 'relative pronoun' has not, on the whole, been one of principle in regard to the 'pronominal' character of yang, and this name has been given to yang perhaps rather thoughtlessly. One recent example of such thoughtlessness appears in my own paper on alienable and inalienable possession in Indonesian (Verhaar 1978). In any event, in the present paper I will argue, among other things, that yang is not pronominal.

More particularly, I want to go into that 'sameness' I mentioned: yang linking any (non-nominal) attribute to a head noun (as well as a few nominal ones). Also, I shall discuss the use of yang without a head, as well as the 'definitising' character of yang in that use, and in some other syntactic constructions. Then I will discuss yang as only one particular kind of 'ligature', different from those which are genuine (relative) pronouns. Next I will consider what conditions must be fulfilled for yang to relativise a noun; those conditions will be shown to be of three kinds, all of them involving some particular kind of 'co-referentiality' with the head. I will then briefly develop the nature of those co-referentiality conditions as rather close to
those obtaining for participial attributes, in languages that have them.
Finally, I will raise some questions about non-restrictiveness of certain types
of yang clauses.

Most of these discussions concern relative clauses. But first I propose
to go into the basic 'sameness' of relativising and non-relativising yang.
This I will do in the following section.

HIERARCHICAL 'SAMENESS' OF yang AS A 'LIGATURE'

What all uses of yang have in common is that this particle 'welds' a 'head'
and an attribute together, except, of course, for 'headless' yang, which I will
discuss in the next section. This 'welding' function of tiny particles of
various forms, in linking attributes to nouns, has been known for a long time
to linguists as widely occurring in a number of Austronesian languages. The
first study (to my knowledge) which has placed the description of such noun
phrases in a perspective more widely relevant across languages (with the
ambition even to reveal language universals of attributive structure), is a
portion (Chapter 2) of Foley's dissertation on Austronesian syntax (Foley
1976; more succinctly restated in Foley 1980). The principal thesis Foley advances
is that of what he calls the 'bondedness hierarchy' controlling the use of
those particles, which he calls 'ligatures'. Since that thesis checks out
almost perfectly for Indonesian (which is not in Foley's sample), I will review
Foley's hypothesis here briefly.

As is well known in Philippine studies, many languages in that nation use
a variety of 'ligatures' in noun phrases. Here follow some examples from
Tagalog, in (1) through (4) (Foley 1980)

(1) mataba-ng maruno-ng tao
    fat  LIG wise  LIG man
    fat, wise man

(2) marami-ng bata
    many  LIG child
    many children

(3) kulay ni-iyon
    colour LIG that
    that colour

(4) a- ng babae-ng nag-babasa na-ng diyaryo
    TP LIG woman LIG AF IMP read  P LIG newspaper
    the woman reading a newspaper

(LIG = ligature; TP = topic marker; AF = actor focus; IMP = imperfect;
P = patient). The ligature here connects a noun with one or more adjectives
((1)), or with a quantifier ((2)), or with a deictic ((3)), or with a relative
clause ((4)). The form varies: -ng, -ni, and there are others. Foley
distinguishes nominal attributes (which he says are not relevant to his
hypothesis; however, I will show that to a certain extent they are), from
'non-nominal' ones, adjectival, therefore, which he calls 'adjuncts'; and he
distinguishes seven kinds of such 'adjuncts', which may be seen listed in
Figure 1 (numbering of the levels is mine), reflecting also a hierarchy of
'bondedness'.
The hierarchy is from high (level 7) to low (level 1), and the lower one gets down the hierarchy, the more some syntactic formative device becomes necessary to hold noun and attribute together. Going down the hierarchy, at just which level the ligature becomes necessary depends on each particular language and is a language-specific matter. However, what is valid across language is that, if a ligature is necessary at level Z, such that Z is the highest level, in that language, at which the ligature is used, then it will be necessary also at all levels below Z. Negatively, according to Foley's hypothesis, no language will have a 'gap' level-wise in ligature use below Z; and above Z, no level will employ the ligature. Tagalog is a good example of a language that has a ligature even at level 7. Therefore, all other levels require it.

Foley's sample comprises the following languages: Tagalog, Palauan, Ilocano, Toba Batak, Tolai, Wolio, and Malagasy. Figure 2 maps the use of ligatures in those languages, showing that the bondedness hierarchy is valid at least for them.

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Figure 2: Ligatures in the languages of Foley's sample

The 'gaps' at level 2 are only apparent: none of these languages, except Palauan and Wolio, have participles in their verbal system. Wolio alone lacks the ligature with participle attributes, but there that lack is no gap, since only level 1 has a ligature there. Finally, Malagasy is relevant in that at level 1 it may have a ligature (izay), but it appears to be optional, hence it is not ticked off in Figure 2. I will not reproduce Foley's data here, nor, in particular, the forms ligatures may take in the different languages. Those forms are all of the kind that cannot be assigned any 'categorial' status; that
is to say, no specific word class membership can be assigned to them. Also, 
these ligatures lack 'argument' status: they do not 'fill' any such 'slots' as 
'subject', 'object', etc., as arguments to the verb, not even lower level 'slots' 
like those of attributes. Furthermore, the only sequential rule that holds for 
these ligatures is that they must be in between noun and attribute, and the 
sequential order that controls those constituents is therefore irrelevant. The 
bondedness hierarchy is, in other words, neutral as between left-hand or right-
hand position of the attribute in respect to the head noun. (In fact, in 
Foley's form of Figure 1, the attribute is to the left; I have placed it to the 
right, for convenience' sake, because that is the order in Indonesian, which 
language is rigidly VO, also infraclausally.)

Foley does not make much of the 'categorial' status (or, rather, the lack 
of it), of the ligatures. That issue would be irrelevant for the point he is 
making, which is supposed to be valid across languages, and which therefore 
obtains also for those ligatures which do have categorial status: for relative 
pronouns, in languages that have them. In English, for example, at all levels 
higher than 1, bondedness is enough for the noun phrase to hold together without 
a ligature of any kind. Foley shows that such bondedness, without any linking 
device, may be destroyed by right-extraposition of an attribute, making the 
phrase ungrammatical, while such an extraposition is still wellformed when 
there is such a device. Consider Foley's examples, here numbered (5) and (6)

(5) the book over there near John which was given to me

(6) *the book over there near John given to me

In both examples the attribute (which was) given to me is extraposed, but in (6) 
extraposition triggers unwellformedness because there is no ligature in this 
language, at level 2, that of the participle, whereas there is at level 1, that 
of the relative clause.

Foley's bondedness hierarchy hypothesis is well verified for Indonesian, 
for the ligature yang. At level 7 (on one particular interpretation of that 
level) it is forbidden; at levels 6 through 3, it is optional; finally, at 
level 1, it is obligatory. (Level 2 should be ignored, as Indonesian has no 
particiles.) I now propose to substantiate this briefly.

According to traditional analysis, Indonesian has no article. The 
determiner itu that is deictic wherever it does not function as a topic marker 
(a point I cannot discuss here). With itu, it would seem that yang is optional, 
as may be seen in (7)

(7) mej a (yang) itu
    table LIG that
    that table

However (as Kaswanti 1982 points out), the deicticity of itu is of two kinds: 
'endophoric' (utterance-internally; i.e. merely anaphorically); and 'ectophoric' 
(referring to something utterance-external: 'deictic' in a more widely used 
sense). It is, on the strength of the examples taken from Foley's sample, 
straightforward to consider level 2 of his hierarchy as only 'ectophorically' 
deictic. It matters little whether the 'endophoric' use of itu in Indonesian 
.is called an 'article' or not, but, considering several characteristics of 
articles in languages that have them, that would hardly be an esoteric label. 
For testing purposes of the bondedness hierarchy for Indonesian let me call the 
'endophoric' use of itu that of an 'article', of level 7, therefore. Then, 
consider Kaswanti's examples (8) and (9).
(8) buku (yang) itu
   book LIG the
   the (aforementioned) book

(9) buku (yang) itu
   book LIG that
   that book (over there)

Phrase (8) exemplifies the 'article' use of yang, and it is forbidden. In phrase (9), which represents the (ectophorically) deictic use of yang, it is optional.

Phrases of levels 5 through 3 are found in (10) through (14)

(10) alat (yang) mana?
   tool LIG which?
   which tool?

(11) kursi (yang) empat [...]
   chair LIG four
   four chairs

(12) anak (yang) banyak [...]
   child LIG many
   many children

(13) rumah (yang) indah
   house LIG beautiful
   beautiful house

(14) pohon (yang) besar
   tree LIG big
   big tree

At all these levels, yang is optional, although optionality depends on other constraints more generally (on which see below), and on constraints of a quite particular nature for (definite and indefinite) quantifiers. A few words must be said on the quantifier problem first, because more general principles are involved.

I merely recall first a few general principles about quantifiers which are generally known. The first is that of 'floating quantifiers'. In many languages, quantifying constituents, even in NP form, may well-formedly take various positions sequentially (in a language like Japanese they may even become either 'nominal' or 'adverbia1' depending upon sequential position) within the entire clause. Also, in languages with a rigid sequential order, 'attributive' quantifiers may (unlike all other attributes) freely either precede or follow the head noun (even when accompanied by numeral classifiers; the classifier then stays with the quantifier). Indonesian is such a language: one may say kursi empat (buah) (chair four NUM.CL) four chairs, but in this case without a ligature. In Javanese, which also has this permutation possibility, there could be a ligature in the former case: lima-ng kursi five chairs; and kursi lima (these expressions are not interchangeable, but their difference does not affect the point being made here). In a number of languages where this permutation is possible, right-hand position makes the entire phrase definite, left-hand position indefinite (Greenberg 1978:284). In Indonesian the construction with yang is possible, but only with that definiteness, on condition definitising itu follows, or some other definitiser (hence the brackets in (11) and (12)), but then, interestingly, yang is obligatory. I call this interesting for a special reason: obligatory yang itself is often definitising (see below).
Kaswanti and Sudaryanto (pers. comm.), who suggested to me some of the data of this section, inform me that that phrase (12), anak yang banyak may be due to interference from Javanese (anak sing akeh; sing is one of the ligatures in Javanese), but that X yang banyak *(itu) (with itu, again, obligatory) has X such that anak seems not to be a member of it. The examples they give have as members of X kelompok group, bagian part, portion, tumpukan pile: all of them 'collective' nouns, so X might be just that. However, the interest of such data is that Indonesian often 'collapses' a 'group' with any 'member' or 'part' of that group: in se-genap warga, for example (se- is one, genap is whole, and warga is member) what is signified is (from a 'translationese' standpoint, to be sure) a mixture of the whole membership and each member.

Quantifiers raise special problems for the linguist in many languages. Foley 1976 also has problems with them, in direct relevance to his 'bondedness hierarchy' hypothesis. The trouble with quantifiers is that they sometimes seem to behave like nouns, sometimes like non-nominal attributes, and this is important to Foley because his hypothesis is supposed to be valid only for the non-nominal attributes which he calls 'adjuncts', and not for the noun + noun constructions, which, Foley claims, have no ligatures. They do, however, in Indonesian, and I will return to this below.

The complications with quantifiers apart, and ignoring special constraints holding for other levels as well (see below), it appears that at levels 5 through 3 yang is optional.

Finally, at level 1, that of the relative clause, yang is obligatory; consider (15)

(15) Orang *(yang) datang terlambat tidak boleh masuk
  person LIG come late not may enter
  Those who are late may not enter

where yang is indispensable. There are some instances, however, of standing phrases of high phrasal compactness where relativising yang may be omitted, as in (16)

(16) Rumah-nya di-rampas oleh orang tak di-kenal
  house-his PM plunder by person not PM know
  His house was plundered by person(s) unknown

(PM = passive marker), but such phrases are not numerous, though some may be of comparatively high text frequency.

It appears, then, that Indonesian yang confirms the bondedness hierarchy hypothesis, but also that the Indonesian data may refine that hypothesis. There is first the deixis distinction discussed above, the possible application of which to the languages of Foley's sample and to other languages is likely to produce new rules. However, probably the single most promising analysis would be that of the 'optionality' of ligatures. For example, does it really make no difference in Malagasy whether or not relativising clauses are introduced by izay? My own hunch is that the answer would be negative; I have never yet encountered examples of true 'free variation' except phonemically.

In any event, the optionality problem for Indonesian yang is important. To call yang 'optional' is not to say that its use or non-use is merely 'free variation'. An exhaustive discussion of this problem would probably be lengthy, and I will here only note a few points which are of some interest.
First of all, some phrases already 'welded' together because of their semantic content, which cannot be explained from mere attribution, cannot have yang. Examples are found in (17) (Fokker 1951:186)

(17) ilmu pasti *(science certain) mathematics
    sekolah menengah *(school middle) High School
    jalan buntu *(road blocked-up) dead end street
    gunung ber-api *(mountain PREFIX-fire) volcano

Also, yang may emphasise the attribute, either for the sake of contrast or non-contrastively, as in (18) (Fokker 1951:187)

(18) murid *(yang) bodoh
    pupil *(yang) unintelligent
    unintelligent pupil

or in (19)

(19) Saya suka rumah *(yang) besar, bukan rumah *(yang) kecil
    I like house *(yang) big, not house *(yang) small
    I like a big house, not a small one

but this presupposes that the phrase concerned cannot be 'close' enough without yang, which it sometimes can, e.g. in (20), even though there is an obvious contrast (Sudaryanto, pers. comm.)

(20) Bukan apel *(yang) merah ke sukaan-nya, melainkan apel *(yang) hijau
    not apple *(yang) red liking his but apple *(yang) green
    What he likes is not red apples, but green apples

where yang could easily be dispensed with. Furthermore, yang is obligatory with extrapoosed attributes, as in (21) and (22) (Fokker 1951:188)

(21) bini-nya *(yang) bijaksana
    wife- his *(yang) prudent
    his prudent wife

(22) ibu -nya *(yang) tua
    mother- his *(yang) old
    his old mother

(Fokker distinguishes various constructions, which, however, all fit one species, due to extraposition, which he does not mention.) Finally, when the attribute itself is composed, either serially ((23)), or because the adjective has an adverbial coconstituent ((24)), yang is likewise obligatory (Fokker 1951:189):

(23) anak *(yang) rajin dan pandai
    child *(yang) industrious and intelligent
    industrious and intelligent child

(24) kalimat *(yang) kurang jelas
    sentence *(yang) less clear
    not-so-clear sentence

and sometimes yang is obligatory because the 'same' phrase without yang already has a specified meaning, as in (24) and (25) (Fokker 1951:189)

(25) orang *(yang) tua
    person *(yang) old
    old man/woman [orang tua parents]
where the phrases in brackets are of the kind illustrated in (17), above.

It seems necessary to add that, though contrast entails emphasis, emphasis need not necessarily be contrastive. For example in (27)

(27) hasil *(yang) bagus
result LIG beautiful
*a terrific result

It is not at all necessary that the result be contrasted with a disappointing result. Emphasis, of course, by its very nature, 'loosens' the 'bondedness' of noun and attribute, since the attribute tends to be, of itself, semantically what it is syntactically: 'subordinated'. For example, in English, as in many other languages, emphasised attributive adjectives are stressed. This will be easier when the head noun has already been mentioned, but when there is a first-time occurrence, in the discourse, of a head noun, the 'main' stress on the emphasised adjective may well be watered down to something like 'even stress'.

It is, for example, somewhat difficult to emphasise good in a good car in case car falls out of the blue as a new saliency point in the discourse; and the speaker may well resort to relativisation (a car that is really good) for the sake of emphasising the attribute, in effect needing a ligature (that).

Consider also attributes to 'heads' that are 'heads' only syntactically but not semantically, as is the case with numeral classifiers. A comfortable pair of shoes will get by, but a fat head of cattle will not; this is because the paratactic relationship conflicts with the semantic relationship.

I will assume, for the moment, that the use or non-use of yang where it is 'optional' from a purely 'formal' point of view is almost certainly a matter of bondedness also, weak or strong respectively, and therefore perhaps also distinguishable hierarchically. It would be worth while to test this for languages having ligatures of a morphemically free form (as is the case with Indonesian yang); this would entail expanding Foley's sample, most ligatures of which are morphemically bound.

'REPLACIVE' yang

I borrow the term 'replacive' from Downing 1978, where it is used to characterise relative clauses without a 'head'. I apply it, then, to any noun phrase with yang which has no 'head', no matter whether the phrase is a relative clause or belongs to some higher level of the bondedness hierarchy. Since yang is frequently used without a head, it merits some discussion here, but it is doubtful if this use of yang is still that of a 'ligature'. Indeed, we may well be concerned here with something specific for Indonesian, as compared to the languages of Foley's sample, the ligatures in which are morphemically bound and can therefore not stand alone.

It appears that all occurrences with yang at different levels of the bondedness hierarchy may occur without a head, given a suitable context. Consider examples (9) through (15), which illustrate those levels. It would be easy to find contexts where those examples might read: yang itu (i.e. for (9), not for (8)); yang mana?; yang empat [...]; yang banyak [...]; yang indah; yang besar; yang datang terlambat. The context would be such that the head has been mentioned before, or at least is situationally clearly presupposed. Thus,
also in (19), rumah may be left out in its second occurrence on the strength of the first; or in both occurrences on the strength of a previous occurrence. Yang used replacively is invariably obligatory.

It is important to note that replacive yang replaces the noun fully, in that replacive yang may even be preceded by a preposition, which it would otherwise never take. This is quite normal at all levels, but with some complications at level 1. Thus, the headless phrases given just now may become prepositional phrases of one form or another: dengan (with) yang itu; untuk (for) yang mana?; tanpa (without) yang empat itu: with that one; for which one?; without those four (ones); etc. Replacive yang phrases may occur in all argument positions, except those which are obligatorily pronominal (on which see below).

As noted, for level 1 there are some problems with replacive yang. Consider (28)

(28) ?Kepada yang tidak mau ikut akan di-sajikan acara lain
   - ?LIG not want follow will PM offer program other
   To those who do not want to come along some other entertainment
   will be offered

The yang clause is yang tidak mau ikut. Some speakers would prefer to have a head there, e.g. mereka they (or some appropriate noun), and to them Kepada mereka yang tidak mau ikut would be better. Some very careful speakers, however, approve of (28) as it stands. The problem seems to be greater when the head is inanimate, as in (29)

(29) ??Tentang yang sudah kalian pelajari akan ada ujian
    - ?LIG already you [PL] study will be examination
    About what you have already studied there will be an examination

and many speakers would want to have an appropriate head there, such as bahan subject matter, or simply the pronominal antecedent apa what, so that the result would be: Tentang bahan/apa yang sudah [...]. However, the doubtful wellformedness of (29) may simply be due to the cacophony of the two -ang/ clusters in tentang yang; according to Sudaryanto (pers. comm.) headless yang in (29) would be all right if the preposition were not tentang but, for example, mengenai about, concerning, because that would avoid the cacophony. This may well be so; another reason might be that mengenai is really a verbal form (from kena (be) hit, prefixed with men- and with a focus ending -i). However, about relativising headless yang after a verb some more analysis would have to be done.

In (28) and (29), the gloss LIG is preceded by a question mark, as I consider the 'ligature' status in them (as well as in any headless yang phrase) doubtful. One reason for my doubt is that, of course, it is difficult to consider yang as linking an attribute to a noun that is not there; however, it would not be wholly unreasonable to assume that there is a zero noun, which of course would be a real constituent, albeit in zero form, and would not be the same as there being no head at all. More importantly, however, headless yang is invariably 'definitising', even though what is being definitised may be something generic. In contrast, yang with a head need not necessarily be definite, even though it often is. The matter is of some importance, so I want to devote a separate section to it.
Yang AS DEFINITISER

Replacive yang raises some syntactic questions, which may be given some more relevance across languages if confined to relative clauses alone. For example, in English, headless relative clauses are possible only with what, and it does not seem outlandish to recognise in that indefiniteness some diachronic relation with the interrogative origin of that pronoun, but not with which or who, as illustrated in (30) through (32)

(30) What you cannot do will be done by others
(31) *Which you cannot do will be done by others
(32) *Who you cannot phone we will visit

but when 'definiteness' is taken out of the latter two, by adding -ever, the results are wellformed, as in (33) and (34)

(33) Whichever you cannot do I will take care of
(34) Whoever cannot help should let us know

(on condition, of course, that which- is used adjectivally, i.e. with anaphoric deletion of the head). Even what, already pretty much indefinite in (30), is made even more so by adding -ever, as in (35)

(35) Whatever you cannot do will be done by others

Or, alternatively, the head may be 'attracted' into the relative clause itself, with the relative pronoun as its attribute (except with who, which is invariably substantival), as in (36) and (37)

(36) Whatever job you cannot do will be done by others
(37) Whichever job you cannot do will be done by others

and, although 'indefiniteness' in (37) and (33) is restricted in that which-selects from a limited number of jobs, yet within that limited number there is no definiteness of any kind. 'Attractions' like these may also be found in Classical Latin, as in (38) (for which I am indebted to Eceizabarrena, Sophia University)

(38) Quam quisque novit artem, in hac se exerceat
RP everyone know ART in this self exercise
Let everyone who knows an art practise it

(I suspect that such 'attractions' are triggered by the OV to VO change that carries the change from prenominal relative clauses to postnominal ones.)

In contrast, replacive yang clauses in Indonesian invariably 'definitise' whatever it is that is modified by the attribute, and indefiniteness will preclude the use of yang. Consider (39)

(39) Yang miskin perlu di-tolong
?LIG poor necessary PM help
Those who are poor must be helped

In (39), the reference is not to all the poor, but to those who are poor in one particular group that is (contextually) well defined. On the reading that all the poor must be helped (whoever, wherever) (roughly, therefore, equivalent to the reading of English the poor, without a following noun), (39) would be deviant, and instead of yang the collective determiner kaum would have to be used; Kaum miskin [...] . The speaker of (39) has the poor members of one
particular group in mind, and those poor members are identifiable; I have tried to convey that idea of definiteness by the gloss those who are poor. According to Kaswanti (pers. comm.) yang in (39) is even contrastive, i.e. in contrast to those (in the group) who are not poor.

Apart from replacive yang, some instances of yang with an antecedent have yang as necessarily definite. This is certainly so with deictics, interrogatives, for obvious semantic reasons (the interrogative, of course, inquires after a definite [...] ), and with quantifiers (as discussed above). With adjectives, whenever contrastive. But there is a special problem with lain other, as pointed out by Kaswanti, in examples (40) and (41) (I have changed the latter slightly)

(40) Berhubung tempat ini akan di-bersihkan, sebaiknya kita because place this will PM clean it-is-best we [INCL]
     pindah ke tempat (^yang) lain
     transfer to place LIG other
     Because this room is going to be cleaned, we had better move to some other place

(41) Tempat (^yang) lain itu sudah tidak kosong lagi; padahal place LIG other that already not empty again nevertheless
     tempat itu tadi masih kosong
     place that just-now still empty
     That other room is no longer free; but just now it still was

In (40), yang is forbidden because the other place the speaker wants to go to is not definite in his mind; any other place will do, provided it is available for use. In contrast, in (41), yang is obligatory because the speaker is now talking about one particular room. Perhaps there should be a special rule for lain, which is idiosyncratic among adjectives in that it may either follow or precede the head noun; or, perhaps, if placed to the left of the noun, it is not an adjective but an indefinite numeral (other = more). I will not go into this problem now, for there are still other problems with lain which would have to be solved first (and would take me too far afield), notably when to use, or not to use, -nya after lain in postnominal position. To unravel all this would easily take a whole paper.

One characteristic of yang in Indonesian is that it may connect two nouns, which is what Foley (1976) says a ligature never does. First, a few examples, in (42) and (43)

(42) orang (^yang) profesor itu
     person LIG professor that
     that man, the professor

(43) adik- mu (^yang) tentara itu
     (younger) brother you LIG soldier that
     your brother, the soldier

One may occasionally hear the opinion that this use of yang is not 'correct' Indonesian, and that it is an innovation through the influence of the 'article' in languages like Dutch and English. However (as argued in Verhaar 1980 and Kaswanti 1981), the credentials of yang between nouns in older Malay are impeccable, and there seems to be no need to blame interference. But yang here does have something in common with the article in languages like English or Dutch (as well as with other languages having definite articles), i.e. its
'definitising' function (symbolised by the in the glosses above), making a unique identification by way of an apposition. This type of yang, given a suitable context, may also be used replacively, in such phrases as yang profesor itu and yang tentara itu. Here yang not only 'definitises' semantically, but also becomes a 'determiner' syntactically, and thus becomes virtually an attribute. Since that does not seem to be characteristic of yang before a non-nominal attribute (with or without a head) even where it is definitising (which it must be if used replacively), it is doubtful whether yang between nouns can be called a 'ligature' at all; hence, again, a question mark to LIG in the gloss.

This is perhaps the place for a short digression on Foley's claim (1976) that 'ligatures' (in his interpretation of that term, which would certainly include Indonesian internominal yang) are tied to the specific relations obtaining between noun plus 'adjunct', and not to those (often non-specific ones) between noun plus noun. Foley's main point here seems to be a semantic one. In his view, the difference between a noun phrase with a non-nominal attribute and one with a nominal attribute is that, while in the former the semantic relation is basically determined by the attribute, in the latter there may be all sorts of semantic relations, not dependent on the attributive noun alone. What Foley refers to is the multiple semantic relations that may hold between the nouns in phrases like Myron's statue (i.e. a statue symbolising Myron, or made by Myron, or owned by Myron, etc.) or John's present (i.e. a present given by John, or to John, etc.) (Foley 1976:79-80).

What Foley feels he has to explain is that sometimes a phrase of the form noun + ligature + noun seems to be counterevidence to the assumption that noun + 'adjunct' and noun + noun are basically different, among other things in that, supposedly language-universally, noun + noun does not need a ligature of any kind. He adduces evidence from Chinese and Trukese to show that the exceptions to that rule are only apparent; however, that part of his reasoning is hard to evaluate as he gives no data. He discusses also numeral 'adjuncts', which, because of the property of many languages that they have numeral classifiers, may then take the form of (numeral plus) noun (i.e. the classifier) plus noun. I would like to say that, semantically, the numeral classifier noun is not the 'head', even though, in a sense, it might be called that purely syntactically. This is why "a fat head of cattle is not well formed, as I noted above in a slightly different context. But what is (to me) most interesting is how Foley deals with noun + ligature + noun in Palauan, where, for example, we may observe (44) (Foley 1976:84)

(44) a ?erm- ek el babi
   ART animal 1SG LIG pig
   my animal, the pig

having the ligature el in between nouns. The issue here is that there is an apposition. I do not know Palauan, but the language is OV, and my bet is that the gloss of (44) is not my animal, the pig but the pig, my animal: that is to say not the pig, but my animal is the apposition! The reason for my hunch is that that is the way OV languages deal with 'appositions': the quotes I use here are 'scare quotes', for OV languages do not really have 'appositions', if by 'appositions' be meant paratactic, and not hypotactic, co-constituents to nouns. Consistent OV syntax cannot have any (unambiguously) non-restrictive attributes, a point to which I will return below, in regard to relative clauses. Appositions are (normally) non-restrictive. Thus, in Japanese, in (45)
(45) tomodachi no Tanaka-san
friend SM HON
Mr Tanaka, my friend

has what would be the head in the English equivalent such as that appearing in
the gloss as an attribute, a subordinated (or hypotactic) constituent, therefore
(SM = subordination marker; no in possessive constructions marks the possessor,
but here, of course, there is no question of a possessive relationship). There
is no non-restrictiveness here. English sometimes reverses nouns (i.e. 'head'
and 'attribute') in the way comparable to the construction of (45), as in (46)

(46) a gem of an idea [i.e. "an idea which is (like) a gem"]
a prince of a fellow [i.e. "a fellow who is (like) a prince"]
a hell of a problem [i.e. "a problem which is (like) hell"]
(double quotes symbolise paraphrases rather than glosses).

Now, Foley is concerned to have a ?ermek in (44) as an 'adjunct'. His
argument is that it has to be (even though it looks like a noun in all respects
that matter), since the ligature el is used. But that rather begs the question.
The argument has become circular. It is not that the 'nominal' character of
attributive nouns cannot be in doubt, especially in Indonesian, in which
language nouns may be rather 'squishy', as pembroso and pengecut in (47) and (48)
(Fokker 1951:191)

(47) orang (yang) pembroso
person LIG spendthrift
(a) spendthrift

(48) laki-laki (yang) pengecut
male LIG faint-hearted
(a) faint-hearted man

are, witness the optionality of yang. However, no such interpretation is
possible for ?ermek in (44).

Clearly there are still many problems with the language-universal
properties of noun + noun phrases. Foley's semantic analysis is probably
basically sound. Perhaps, then, both 'definiteness' and the kind of syntax
involved (i.e. OV for alleged 'appositions') must be brought to bear to arrive
at a better view. For such a view I consider Foley's approach as a substantial
beginning.

LIGATURES ACROSS LANGUAGES; yang AS 'CONNECTIVE'

It is time to return to indubitable ligatures. What has been established,
among other things, by the verification of Foley's 'bondedness hierarchy' for
Indonesian yang is the basic 'sameness' of this particle at all levels of the
hierarchy at which it occurs, a property which, negatively, entails a lack of
word class membership (or 'categorial status') of this particle and its
inability to 'fill' a functional 'argument' position within the relative clause
itself (lack, that is, of 'argument status'). This, evidently, makes yang
different from relative pronouns, which, as pronouns, have both categorial and
argument status. Since, therefore, yang is not a pronoun, let me call yang as
a relative clause introducer a 'connective' (following Downing 1978). The term
'ligature', then, I maintain as a generic term, comprising pronominal ligatures
as well as those of the 'connective' type.
Some of the differences between pronominal ligatures and connective ones are known. More particularly, relative pronouns invariably introduce the relative clause (henceforth: RC), and the RC has to be postnominal if so introduced. In contrast, prenominal RC's (which occur typically in OV languages) never have relative pronouns. It is not true, however (despite Downing's statement to the contrary: Downing 1978:394) that prenominal RC's never even have any connective either: Palauan, which is OV in structure and has prenominal RC's, links those RC's to the (postsequent) head with the connective el or l, and this connective is typically positioned at the end of the RC and immediately preceding the head. I have not hunted for other languages having the same structural characteristics of RC's, but there seems to be no reason to assume that Palauan is extraordinary in this regard.

The argument status of relative pronouns (RP's) in a language like English is well known, and I exemplify a few typical cases of its argument distribution in (49) through (54)

(49) the man WHO came yesterday
(50) the sales clerk WHOM I saw last week
(51) the girl (TO) WHOM Charles gave the ring
(52) the fool THAT he was
(53) (looking like) a baseball player, WHICH he appeared to be
(54) the accountant WITH WHOM she went over the records

In (49), who is the subject of the RC; in (50), whom is the direct object; in (51), (to) whom is the indirect object; in (52) that is the 'nominal part of the predicate' (restrictive, in this case); in (53), which is the same (but non-restrictively); finally, in (54), with whom is an 'adjunct', of the exocentric type, with whom as the head within that type.

Now, in contrast, consider the Indonesian phrases in (55) through (59)

(55) tamu yang datang terlambat
    guest LIG come late
    the guest who was late
(56) pembantu yang mengejar tugas ini
    helper LIG accomplish task this
    the employee who does this job
(57) *orang yang saya mengundang
    person LIG I invite
    the man I am inviting
(58) *teman kepada yang saya menjelaskan masalah ini
    friend to LIG I explain problem this
    the friend to whom I explained this problem
(59) *teman yang saya menjelaskan masalah ini kepada-nya
    friend I explain problem this to him
    the friend to whom I explained this problem

First, let me assume (incorrectly, but just for the sake of argument) that yang in these phrases has argument status. On that assumption, grammaticalness and ungrammaticalness of (55) through (59) could be explained up to a certain extent. That is to say, yang in (55) and (56) would be the 'subject' of the RC; in (57), yang would be the 'object' but in prepredicate position, which is invariably
impossible in this language, so that ungrammaticalness would be 'explained'. Phrase (59) would not be wellformed, for yang would be an 'indirect object', which is equally impossible in this language in prepredicate position; and the pronominal copy at the end of the phrase would not restore the balance. The ungrammaticalness of (58), however, could not be 'explained' on similar grounds, for it would be quite possible to consider kepada yang as not necessarily an 'indirect object': it could also be a peripheral constituent in the RC, so that argument status would not come in at all, or at least it would fail to explain why yang could not have a preposition (kepada) with it. (In fact, headless yang can, so why not here?)

However, rejection of the argument status of yang on typological grounds is more convincing. These grounds are well known (especially for Philippine languages), and I may state them here briefly. In this typology, the principal constraint on RC's is that the focus marking on the verb in the RC (let me call this the 'relative verb', or RV) should be such that the head of the RC is the 'target' of that focus. Thus, in (56), mengerjakan is marked for the 'agent' focus (by the 'prenasalisation' men-), and pembantu is that 'agent'. In (55), datang, which happens to be monomorphic, is unmarked for focus, but the one who comes is still the guest. In contrast, the focus marking in (57) through (59), where the RV's have the same prenasalisation as the RV in (56), is 'targeted' on saya, not orang or teman; therefore, these three phrases are not wellformed. This rule of focus marking on the head could, in itself, be expressed by saying that the ligature yang must invariably be the 'subject' of the RC. However, in most languages of the typology under review here, the ligatures under discussion here are not only bound forms morphemically, but the constituents to which they have been 'welded' have, in some instances, not even independent existence as constituents: a good example is Tagalog ang, whose division into a-ng makes sense in that -ng is a recurrent item in various argument positions of nouns having a ligature in that language; but for a- to be separated in that language makes no sense synchronically, since it never occurs independently, or, for that matter, with any other ligature. That Indonesian yang happens to be morphemically free makes no difference to its essential sameness with the ligatures of Tagalog, and of many related languages, in regard to its essentially non-argument character. That in effect rules out the 'explanation' of yang as necessarily the 'subject' of the RC.

This stated, let me now develop a theoretical framework for relativising yang, in a manner that has some relevance across languages, and may be the framework within which a step forward may be made to more knowledge of yang within a view that has reasonable relevance across languages. As I am now dealing with RC's with a head, let me speak about that head, or antecedent, first. Across languages, the head of a RC is known to have various properties. First, the head may be considered according to the place it takes in the clause in which it is an argument, or a peripheral constituent. (That clause may itself be a main clause, or a subclause: it makes no difference for the point being discussed here.) Let me call the head considered from that angle the 'main clause head' (MCH). Second, the head may be considered as part of the noun phrase which consists of head plus RC; considered from that angle, the head is 'proleptic' in regard to the RC, and let me call it the 'proleptic head' (PH). (Of course, I deal here only with an antecedent head, not with heads relativised prenominally; Indonesian has only antecedent heads of RC's.)

About the MCH I may be brief. Any full noun NP, whether nuclear or extranuclear in its own clause, may be relativised in Indonesian. Among full pronouns, only those that are preposed Agentives, with no possibility of interposition of
any other constituent between pronominal Agentive and verbal form, preclude relativisation, no matter whether the pronoun is cliticised or not (on this, see Verhaar forthcoming).

For the PH, however, there are a number of characteristics relevant to Indonesian, statable as at least three different forms of 'co-referentiality', which I shall discuss now.

Yang CLAUSES AND CONDITIONS OF CO-REFERENTIALITY

Any RC, first of all, that has a head is tied to that head by some form of 'co-referentiality', in the sense that, in any language, a RC is, as Kuno has phrased it, "a statement about its head noun" (Kuno 1976). Markings of RC's across languages, according to Downing (1978), are mainly of three kinds. The first is that of pronominal ligatures, or RP's. The second is that of a 'connective' ligature, of the type found in a number of Austronesian languages, as discussed above. The third is some special marking on the RV in some languages; the marking is syntactically wholly different from both the relative pronoun and the connective, but it is irrelevant for the matter in hand here. The interested reader may be referred to Downing (1978).

The question now arises how the PH differs according to relativisation introduced by a RP, or by a connective. Let me call the PH relativised by a RP (actually, also by relative adverbs, a point to which I will return), the 'delegating head' (DH). That is, such a DH 'delegates' the argument position it will take within the RC by co-reference to the RP. In other words, the DH is itself neutral as to the position of its 'representative', the RP, in the argument structure in the RC: the DH 'delegates' that position to the RP. Phrases (49) through (54), above, illustrate this: in each of those, the RP who, whom, etc. takes its own argument position in the RC, unrelated to whatever relation the RV might have to the head. Such a relation is not direct, but only indirect, through the RP, to which the DH delegates the RC-internal argument position. What is more, the RP may even be a hypotactically aligned part of an argument to the RV, as shown in a phrase like (60)

(60) the sales clerk WHOSE wallet she found on the counter

where whose is not an argument to the RV found, but just an attribute to the object NP (wallet) of the RV. (This 'delegation', therefore, may even be one to a lower hierarchical level.) Since I will be mentioning two other co-referentiality conditions in what follows, giving them names, I might as well label the one discussed here, calling it 'delegating co-referentiality condition' (DCC), but I shall not have occasion to deal with it any more except once or twice rather in passing.

In contrast, the head of a RC marked by a connective (like yang) does not 'delegate' anything to the connective, which cannot have any argument status. Inevitably, then, the co-referentiality is one between the focus of the RV and the head as its 'target'. Let me call this condition the 'focus co-referentiality condition' (FCC). It is the condition discussed in regard to examples (55) through (59) above.

However, not all RC's in Indonesian are characterised by the FCC, and there is yet a third condition. Consider (61) through (70)

(61) Guru ini yang anak-nya meninggal, [...] 
   teacher this LIG child-his die 
   This teacher, whose child died, [...]
(62) Pembantu yang sapu-nya hilang [...] 
janitor LIG broom-his disappear 
The janitor whose broom has disappeared [...] 

(63) Saya mau membeli rumah itu, yang atap-nya di-bongkar 
I want buy house that LIG roof-its PM tear-down 
I want to buy that house, (the one) of which the roof has been torn down 

(64) Saya mau membeli rumah itu, yang di-bongkar atap-nya 
gloss same as in (63) 

(65) *Guru ini, yang meninggal anak-nya [...] 
[see (61)] 

(66) *Pembantu yang hilang sapu-nya [...] 
[see (62)] 

(67) Teman yang sudah lama saya ingin menjelaskan masaalah ini 
friend LIG already long I want explain problem this 
kepada-nya [...] 
to him 
The friend to whom I have already wanted for a long time to explain this problem [...] 

(68) *Anak yang dua hari yang lalu Ali memukul-nya itu 
child LIG two day LIG past [name] beat him that/the 
tetangga saya 
neighbour I 
The boy that Ali beat two days ago is my neighbour 

(69) Anak yang sudah sering kali Ali memukul-nya itu 
child LIG already often time [name] beat him that/the 
tetangga saya 
neighbour I 
The boy that Ali has beaten already so often is my neighbour 

(70) Ini merupakan soal yang sudah lama kita ingin 
this be problem LIG already long we [INCL] want 
membicarakan-nya 
discuss it 
This is a problem that we have already wanted to discuss for a long time 

In sentences (61) through (66) may be observed the second form of co-referentiality, which I call the 'possessor's pro-form co-referentiality condition' (PPCC). In contrast, the co-referentiality condition illustrating the third kind is found in (67) through (70), and I label it the 'delayed pro-form co-referentiality condition' (DPCC). Let me now discuss these types briefly. 

What makes the PPCC different from the DCC is that in the PPCC the head of the RC is not the focus of RV marking. Instead, in the PPCC-controlled RC, a possessive pro-form -nya which is co-referential with the head is at the same time such that the possessee is the (formative!) subject of the RC: anak in (61), sapu in (62), atap in (63), anak in (65), and sapu in (66). I have skipped (64), in which the RC has no formative subject. The subject, which
normally is preverbal in Indonesian, but which may under certain conditions be postverbal, must be preverbal in RC's. It is because the subject is postverbal in (65) and (66) that these sentences are not wellformed; their wellformed sequence is that of (61) and (62) respectively. In other words, in this type of RC, permutation of subject and predicate in the RC is forbidden. Why, then, is such a permutation allowed in (64)? The reason is that, there, the possessee is inalienably possessed by the possessor, i.e. the roof by the house: if the roof is torn down, then the house itself is, at least in part, being torn down. Such 'inalienability' is not found in (61) and (62): the child's death does not entail the father's death, and for the broom to disappear is not the same as for the janitor to disappear. However, the permutation of possessor and possessee in (64) does not cause the subject to move to postverbal position. Instead, the RC in (64) does not have a subject any more than do RC's controlled by the DCC, and the only difference between (64) and (55)-(56) is that (64) has a pro-form, while (55)-(56) do not. In conclusion, it seems that the constraints for the PPCC are that the possessee must be the subject in the RC, in preverbal position, and that that argument may become postverbal (and lose subjecthood in the process) only when the possession relation is inalienable. The permutation is possible on the basis of a similar permutability in main clauses (Verhaar 1978; in that paper I still, naively, accorded to yang argument status, without using that term; indeed the entire issue had not occurred to me then).

The DPCC is mysterious (to me), and deserves more study; I am indebted to Kaswanti for drawing my attention to data which I now try to explain with the DPCC constraint. In (67), the co-referentiality is between the head (teman) and the postverbal -nya, which is in direct object position. Note how close (67) is to (59), which, nevertheless, is not wellformed! Kaswanti has analysed the difference between those two phrases as follows (Kaswanti 1981). He says that (59) is ungrammatical, basically because the (what I call) FCC has not been met. In contrast, though that condition is not met in (67) either, that phrase has a modal verb modifier not found in (59). Kaswanti's example is actually not (67) (of which otherwise he approves; pers. comm.), but (70), which has a similar modal modification to the RV. (In Verhaar 1978 I doubted the well-formedness of (70), misled as I must have been by phrases of the type of (59).) Examples (68) and (69) I also borrow from Kaswanti (1981), and the well-formedness evaluation is his. Note the verbal modification in (68), which is not wellformed, is merely one of time (dua hari yang lalu), and not 'modal' as in (70). For whatever my command of Indonesian is worth, I have some difficulty 'feeling' sudah sering kali in (69) as 'modal', but the problem may be just the term, and an 'aspectual' interpretation ('iterative') is certainly not far-fetched: Ali has the habit of beating the child.

While 'modals' may well be relevant in some such way as Kaswanti suggests in allowing (69) and (70), what seems to me to be subject to no doubt at all is that the (comparative) length of the RC must be a highly operative factor in whatever makes the DPCC apply. It is for this reason that I have called this type of co-referentiality the 'delayed' one, since the pronominal copy comes at the very end of the RC, which is what cannot happen if the PPCC applies (except by coincidence, as in (64), because of the inalienability permutation, in a RC which is very short). Perhaps the 'delayed' pro-form, in RC's of greater length, is triggered by a characteristic of all yang clauses: that they are wellformed as main clauses simply by cutting off yang. This stamps yang clauses as considerably more 'paratactic' with the head than can be the case in pronominally introduced RC's in languages that have that type of RC's. This is, of course, assuming that there is a whole gamut of intermediate possibilities between
wholly paratactic and wholly hypotactic relationships, a point to which I will return once more below. Such an assumption would rather straightforwardly explain the DPCC in clauses of this type, for then the 'delayed' pro-form would be closer to the kind of pro-form we find in a more loosely knit discourse structure. The RC then becomes rather a sort of 'afterthought'.

PARTICIPIAL ATTRIBUTES AND CO-REFERENTIALITY

I have said that yang clauses are subject to certain co-referentiality constraints, especially that of 'focus' (FCC). It can hardly be a coincidence that a similar co-referentiality constraint seems to hold for participial structures in languages that have participles. Consider (71) through (78), the first three of which are taken from Schwartz (1976:529), and the others from Downing (1978:395):

(71) The boys [¢throwing stones at the dog] ran away
(72) *The stones [the boys throwing ¢ at the dog] hit the car
(73) *The dog [the boys throwing stones at ¢] went mad
(74) people paying money
(75) *money people paying
(76) damage-causing winds
(77) "wind-causing damage

The point Schwartz makes (in dealing with Ilocano, which has the same characteristics of FCC for RC's as does Tagalog and Indonesian) is that we may observe a similar constraint of co-referentiality in participial attributes in English: (71) is all right because the 'source' of the action expressed in throwing is co-referential with the boys as the head of the entire phrase, while in (72) and (73) there is no such co-referentiality. The point Downing makes is somewhat different from mine, but his data well illustrate the point I am making here.

Apparently, only relativisations of DH's are such that the relativisation can be made on the basis of an entirely independent argument structure of the RC, with the co-referentiality functional load wholly on the pronominal character of the ligature as anaphoric. RC's with RP's are perhaps much more hypotactic in regard to their heads, language-universally, than are RC's with connectives like Indonesian yang, which seems to be more comparable, 'tactically', to participial attributes of the kind illustrated. This is perhaps also the reason why attributes higher on the bondedness hierarchy scale can be co-ordinated with those lower on that scale, in Indonesian, with only a single yang introducing both, as in (78)

(78) orang yang baik dan bisa dipercaya
   person LIG good and can be-trusted
   (a) good and trustworthy person

where baik is an adjective and bisa dipercaya a RC. The gloss given illustrates the co-ordination of the two attributes; another gloss, equally correct as far as glosses go, shows the difference with English, i.e. a good person (*and) who can be trusted. The adjective level (level 3 of the hierarchy; see Figure 1, above) is probably the highest that can be combined in co-ordination with level 7, that of a RC, in this language, as appears from the ungrammaticalness of (79)
Language-universally, such comparisons raise tantalising questions: perhaps RC's (at least those introduced by yang; on other RC's in this language, see below) in Indonesian, assuming there is a language-universally valid 'average' of the bondedness hierarchy, are closer to some level in between those of adjectives and participles? Or, inversely, Indonesian adjectives like baik would, on such an 'average' scale, be closer to (finite) verbs in a language like English, in grammatical organisation?

RELATIVE CLAUSES AND NON-RESTRICTIVENESS

The distinction between 'restrictive' and 'non-restrictive' RC's is well known and needs no explanation here. Let me symbolise these types as RRC and NRRC.

I believe (though I have never heard or seen it stated) that prenominal RC's are necessarily restrictive. I have yet to see counterevidence to this assumption. Indeed, this may almost be expected a priori: a NRRC is like some kind of 'afterthought', and, if one were to have that prenominally, one would have to have it, so to speak, by way of 'forethought'. In any event, there are indications of a syntactic nature. For example, in Japanese, where all RC's are prenominal, the topic marker wa cannot normally appear, and the 'subject' marker ga must be used instead (if there is a 'subject' in the RC at all): to introduce a new topic in a RC is, of course, to have a NRRC. Another test would be to try to introduce a 'sentence adverb' like incidentally into a RC in this language: this appears impossible. Needless to say, even OV languages have ways around such constraints, by way of parenthetical clauses, or certain arrangements of topic chains, or in general in 'afterthought' anacolutha, which surely are possible, at least colloquially, in all languages. In fact, such 'afterthought' structures, and right-extraposed formations more generally, are probably the explanation why some very rigidly OV languages have postnominal RC's (as, for example, in Persian). But such developments trigger changes from OV to VO syntax; indeed, they are those changes.

My purpose in making these fairly general comments is a special one. The impossibility of having prenominal NRRC's (or, for that matter, any unambiguously non-restrictive attribute) in OV syntax constitutes an 'asymmetry' with VO syntax, where NRRC's are definitely possible. Thus, 'left-branching' and 'right-branching' syntax are not in all respects one another's 'mirror image'. I mentioned, in passing, another 'asymmetry' above: the apparent impossibility of having 'paratactic' attributes, i.e. 'appositions', in OV phrase syntax. In contrast, such appositions are a common feature of VO organisation of grammar.

I have called the typical VO 'asymmetry' as compared to OV the "expansion to the right" (Verhaar 1980), and I wish to summarise the major points here. The theory is based on the use of 'copies', of which the best-known type is that of pro-forms. I hypothesise that most pro-forms are anaphoric, and that prophoric forms are relatively rare, unless followed by an 'afterthought topic' (He went away - the king), and perhaps largely confined to hypotactic constructions (After he; left, Frank; began to reconsider; compare with this *He; left, and Frank; began to reconsider). More generally, pro-forms have, in a number of languages exceeding chance frequency, been transferred from 'topic
agreement' to 'subject agreement', a development which is well known (e.g. Givón 1976). However, I wish to suggest that such pro-forms are more typical of VO syntax than of OV syntax; compare (80) with (81), from Indonesian and Japanese respectively

(80) Sekolah itu // halaman-nya luas
    school TM // its grounds are large
    This school // its grounds are large

(81) Ano gakkoo wa // gurando ga hiroi desu
    that school TM grounds SM large PoMa
    That school // its grounds are large

(TM = topic marker; SM = subject marker; PoMa = politeness marker; itu in (80)
 is not deictic; // = functional pause). Note that (80) has the pro-form -nya;
in contrast, (81) has no pro-form; ga is not anaphoric. The reason for the
difference is clear: the possessor in (80) (sekolah) is to the left of the
possessee (halaman), which is all right in the interclausal relationship that a
topic has to the rest of the sentence, but not intraclausally, so that the
sequential order balance has to be restored, with -nya, placing the possessor to
the right. In (81), however, where intraclausally the possessor would have to
be to the left anyway, its interclausal position to the left does not require a
pro-form to restore the balance intraclausally. Of course, the kind of topic
agreement illustrated in (80) is not the same kind as that which gives rise to
agreement on the verb, but its discourse role is nevertheless significant. (I
would suspect that verbal agreement would be rare in verb-initial languages, but
I have not researched that in any depth.) What is important, for my topic, in
(80) is that we are looking here at the 'intraclausalisation' of an interclausal
relationship, and this is exactly what happens when topic-comment becomes
subject-predicate.

Taking off from that kind of process, what I wish to suggest is that the
pro-forms discussed here are not the only 'copies' which are typical of 'after-
thought' follow-ups in speech, and, more particularly, that VO syntax has special
strategies for this not found in OV syntax. (Again, of course, speakers of OV
languages can also add 'afterthoughts' and then 'intraclausalise' them, but
then, to the extent that such strategies become prevalent, they will deviate
from OV alignment, and develop towards VO organisation of the grammar.)
Consider the many verbs in Indonesian which, although they are already fully
transitive, still add (optionally) prepositions as transitional forms from V to
O: menguraikan (tengat) to explain (about); membenci (akan) to hate (in regard
to); membedakan (antara) to distinguish (between); menjelaskan (mengenai) to
clarify (concerning); etc. These transitional prepositions are 'semantic copies'
of what is already fully contained, lexically, in the verb, even though it is
not necessarily the entire semantic content of the verb that is being 'copied'.
A similar 'semantic copying' may be observed in certain verb serialisations in
this language (actually, mengenai in the last example is a verbal form): jatuh
cara gurun to fall to be scattered; terpentang guling-guling to be flung away
to roll away; uujanya menambahkan he answered added; etc. (resp. to fall in
great numbers; to be flung rolling away; he added in reply); also, a similar
'copying' may be observed in demi untuk for-the-sake-of for-the-purpose-of;
amat sangat very very; pun pula also also; etc. The preposition dari of may
often be placed between possesssee and possessor, even though that sequential
order is already enough to express possession: rumah (dari) Pak Ahmad Mr
Ahmed's house, and dari even may become daripada: rumah (dari padda) Pak
Ahmad. But perhaps the most interesting instances of such semantic 'copying' are found in
expressions of the type illustrated in (82)
of which there are many. The optional forms are all nouns, and they 'copy', in terms of lexical semantic content, part of the semantic content of the first noun. What is characteristic of such phrases in regard to their syntactic organisation is that a step-by-step IC analysis will not work. The opening noun is certainly the head, the closing one is certainly the attribute. The optional noun is certainly the head of the closing noun, but it is not an attribute to the opening noun. In fact, barring coincidences (because of context), the opening noun plus the optional noun together make no sense, and to the extent that they might, they would not be paraphrases of the expressions including the closing noun.

The very form of nominal attributes in VO syntax has characteristics not found (to my knowledge) in OV alignment. Consider a phrase like the flowers on the table; once we know that is a phrase, we know, of course, that on the table is the attribute (or prepositional form). But such an attribute could also be an adjunct of place in a sentence: for example, I saw the flowers on the table is ambiguous; either the table was the place where I saw the flowers, or the flowers are, attributively, identified as those on the table. It is characteristic for OV syntax that such ambiguities cannot occur there, as illustrated by (83) and (84), from Japanese

(83) Teebulu no ue de wa hana o mimasu
    table of top on TM flower OM see
    On the table I see the flowers

(84) Teebulu no ue no hana o mimasu
    AM
    I see the flowers on the table [on the table as attribute]

(TM = topic marker; OM = object marker; AM = attribution marker). In (83), de marks what precedes it as an adjunct (wa follows it to present it as topic); in contrast, (84) has no (its second occurrence, after ue) as an attribution marker (no may also be just of, but hardly as occurring after ue; for a test to this, see Verhaar 1980:61; however, that issue does not affect the point being made here). Japanese distinguishes sharply between attributes and adjuncts; the former are invariably marked with the postposition no, which places the attribute in a clearly hypotactic relation to the head (no matter what the semantic relation between the two nouns), and adjuncts have place, time, etc. markers.

I suggest that the reason for attribution markings in a way identical with that of adjunct markers is not a coincidence, and is essentially tied to VO syntax, i.e. with the attribute to the right. Adjuncts are peripheral constituents which, unless fronted for topicalisation reasons, are added on to the argument structure of the verb, to the right; such 'extranuclear' constituents can then easily be 'intranuclearised', in that they become attributes to arguments of the nuclear structure. Once this process has
established results, then of course such time-or place-marked attributes may be attached to any noun, nuclear or not. But the origin is that of an afterthought which is then admitted into the core structure of the clause.

I believe this general characteristic of VO syntax is the appropriate basis for understanding non-restrictiveness of RC's. Of course, NRRC's are genuine attributes, but their relations to their heads are much less 'hypotactic' than is the case with RRC's. In English, for example, a NRRC has opening who or which more as and he/she/they and as and this/[etc.] than as a co-referential introduction to a 'limiting' attribute which identifies uniquely. This is a language-universal characteristic of non-restrictive attributes in general, and such attributes are uniquely characteristic of VO syntax, as compared to OV syntax.

Indonesian yang clauses are not different, and confirm the general hypothesis just phrased. Both RRC and NRRC are possible, and the difference may appear, in appropriate context, in the place of the determiner. Compare phrases (85) and (86)

(85) teman saya itu // yang datang kemarin
friend I DET LIG come yesterday
that friend of mine // who came yesterday

(86) teman saya yang datang kemarin itu
friend I LIG come yesterday DET
that friend of mine who came yesterday

(DET = determiner; actually, depending on context, itu in (85) and (86) could also be a topic marker; // = functional pause). Itu appears before the NRRC, and follows the RRC; the NRRC is an 'afterthought', which does not affect the determiner of teman saya; whereas the RRC is an integral part of the phrase determined by itu. (Exactly the same analysis obtains, mutatis mutandis if itu is topic marker.)

Relativising yang is not itself a 'copy', or part of a 'copy', of the antecedent, since only pronominal ligatures, but not connective ones, could be that. Nevertheless, yang 'codes' the 'copy' element of whatever the co-referential element is (depending on whether the FCC, the PPCC, or the DPCC applies). Yang is, in discourse communication, the signal for the hearer that something is going to be added, as a 'statement' about the noun immediately preceding it. Before giving examples illustrating this, let me show an analogous characteristic in adverbial relativisations in this language. Compare the last example of (82), here repeated as (87), with (88)

(87) ruang (tempat) rapat
room place meeting
meeting room

(88) ruang *(tempat) kami mengadakan rapat itu
we [EXCL] hold the room where we will hold the meeting

In (87), tempat is optional, a partial semantic 'copy' of ruang. In contrast, in (88), tempat is obligatory (for the same reason relativising ruang (just as where is in English, as in the gloss to (88))). Note that even tempat obeys the bondedness hierarchy for Indonesian: at level 1, that of the RC, it is obligatory, as in (88), whereas at the higher level illustrated in (87), that of a phrase, it is optional. It is, of course, difficult to assign a level 'number' to the (87) phrase, since Foley's bondedness hierarchy does not provide
for noun + noun; nevertheless, an attribute which is not clausal must be higher than one that is clausal, as in (88). Tempat in (88) differs from yang only in that the head (ruang) 'delegates' its involvement in the RC to a 'proxy', i.e. tempat, and in so far there is a measure of 'analogy' with pronouns introducing a RC. But the analogy is very limited: relativising tempat can only be 'adverbial' in the internal structure of the RC, and cannot be an argument to the RV (as can all genuine relative pronouns), like 'subject' (see (89)), or 'object' (see (90)).

(89) *ruang tempat merupakan tempat baik untuk rapat
   room place be place good for meeting
   the room which is a good place for the meeting

(90) *ruang tempat saya mempersiapkan untuk rapat
   prepare
   the room which I prepared for the meeting

In (89), tempat functions as the 'subject' of the RC, but tempat, being peripheral to the argument structure of the RC, cannot be that. Hence it cannot be the 'object' either, which is why (90) is not wellformed. (Of course, an object cannot be prepredicate in this language anyway.) Note that relativising tempat has this in common with relativising yang that both are 'peripheral' in the argument structure of the RC, although the difference between the two is that tempat as a relativiser is at least adverbial in its relation to the argument structure of the RV, whereas yang is not even that. In other words, while tempat does the 'copying' (it is co-referential with the antecedent), yang only codes the 'copying' (yang only 'signals' some kind of co-referentiality between head and the RC it introduces).

As place is relativised, so also time. Compare (91) and (92)

(91) jam (waktu) kerja
   hour time work
   working hours

(92) selama jam-jam *(waktu) kamu bekerja
   during hour-RED you work
   during the hours when you worked

(RED = reduplication; I have a persistent feeling that relativising waktu can only relate to the past; this may have to be verified). The (91) phrase is of the (82) type, and strictly parallel to (87): waktu in it is a semantic 'copy', and it is optional. In contrast, in (92), waktu is obligatory, and all that has been said about the syntactic properties of tempat in (88) holds also for waktu in (92).

Now consider the following examples with yang clauses, (93) through (96)

(93) Saya mau membeli rumah itu, maksud saya yang atapnya dibongkar
   meaning I
   I want to buy that house, I mean the one of which the roof has been torn down [see (63), above]

(94) Sebaiknya kamu membaca lagi buku ini, yang saya kira ada di perpustakaan pusat, (yang) barangkali akan sangat membantu-mu
   it-is-best you read again book this LIG I think be in
   library centre LIG probably will very help you
You'd better read this book once more, which I think is in the Main Library, and which will probably help you very much in preparing yourself for the examination next month.

I should like to introduce you to my brother, who, as I already said yesterday, may be able to help you.

The PLN (power company) named a sum, namely 15 million Rupiah, which, as it turned out after there had been consultation with the people, it would be impossible to collect.

Sentence (93) is the same as (63), except for the addition maksud saya I mean, which makes the following yang clause a NRRC beyond any doubt; it could even be argued that yang thereby becomes 'replacive'. Sentences (94) and (95) are from Kaswanti (pers. comm.). Note that there are two yang's in each sentence, the second occurrence of which is optional, and it seems that a speaker would tend to use it to the extent (s)he feels that a topic rather remotely to the left needs to be picked up again; non-use of the second yang, of course, shows how almost perfectly paratactically such afterthoughts can be added on; in (95), the first yang clause is not even finished before a second yang may be used to ensure continuity of the entire afterthought, continuity of which, in this instance, may be threatened by the parenthetical seperti sudah saya katakan. Note also that serial RC's can be conjoined without any overt co-ordination device such as dan and, a device which a language like English would need at least before the last of the series, as illustrated in (97)

(97) Let me introduce you to my brother, who, incidentally, was a student at Harvard, (and) (who) is a famous physicist now, *(and) (who) will probably be able to help you

where the RP is optional, but not co-ordinating and before the last serialised RC. In Indonesian, dan is normally also needed before the last item of an enumeration, but not before the last RC in a serialisation of RC's. I regard this as typical for the 'paratactic' nature of NRRC's in this language. Finally, (96) (which I found in a newspaper, Kompas, 23 January, 1981, page XII, col.3), first introduces a NRRC with yang, and then (after an embedded clause [setelah ... masyarakat]) picks up the head a full phrasal form again (biaya itu), with anaphoric itu! The interesting feature here is that, if (relativising) yang were to be replaced by (co-ordinating) dan and, the entire sentence would
be perfectly well-formed (according to some, even better). It may be said that
(96) is rather colloquial (as are (93), (94), and (95)), and prescriptively
minded (Indonesian) linguists would (as I have heard from themselves) like to
turn down a sentence like (96). Whatever one's ideas may be about the relation
between formal and informal Indonesian, it is certain that a sentence like (96)
is perfectly in line with the typology of this language.

Again, note how the paratactic strategies illustrated in RC's in a
consistently VO language like Indonesian are also uncharacteristic of a VO
language like Japanese, where interclausal co-ordination is virtually
impossible, and where CLAUSE + and + CLAUSE is out; this language does not even
have a word for English and. The preceding clause is invariably in strict
hypotactic relation to the following clause in a composite sentence, and the
latter is strictly 'main' clause. Such OV syntax cannot accommodate afterthoughts
except anacolutically. And its syntax lacks the features due to 'intracausalisation'
of interclausal relationships, and those due to the 'intranuclearisation'
of peripheral constituents.

In conclusion, perhaps a word or two must be said about interrogatives
functioning as relativisers in Indonesian. One may find siapa, which is normal
as interrogative pronoun (who?), in RC-introducing capacity; likewise, one may
find di mana (which normally means where?) used as would English relativising
where. The consensus among linguists is that these uses of interrogatives as
relatives are due to interference from Dutch and English. This is probably true.
Nevertheless, one may venture the tentative prediction that such relative use
of interrogatives may gain the day in the long run. My reason for thinking so
is not that I feel such interference is necessarily insuperable, but that the
interfering languages themselves have gone through the same process. Relatives
in many languages that have them have been derived from interrogatives, at least
in part (another part would be derivation from demonstratives, probably
originally used for 'topic agreement' in the 'comment'). These derivations are
so widely spread that they might develop in a language like Indonesian also.
The reason for such developments may well be the increasing role of written and
more formal language, in the history of the language. Sociolinguistically,
written language tends to be organised more along hypotactic lines, spoken
language more along paratactic lines. This itself has, I believe, very little
to do with a language having VO or OV syntax. VO syntax will develop its own
devices for parataxis, but OV does the same interclausally; in spoken Japanese,
for example, what would be a complicated multiple embedding 'period', is often
colloquially broken down into topic strings, which may go quite a long way
before the main clause makes its appearance. That, too, of course, is parataxis.
What characterises paratacticisation in VO syntax is that it is largely intra-
clausal, and continues to characterise spoken language.
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ANAPHORIC MARKERS IN INDONESIAN TEXTS
Keith McCune and Azhar M. Simin

0. INTRODUCTION

Ever since reading the important work of Dardjowidjojo (1979) on the anaphoric markers se-, nya, and itu, the present authors have been wondering how to supplement the description found in that article, in order to account for certain exceptions. This paper shall attempt to describe:

(a) conditions for the use of se- which will explain why some non-familiar NP's in a discourse are not marked with se-,
(b) conditions for the use of -nya which will explain why some inferable NP's are not marked with -nya, and
(c) conditions for the use of itu (and ini) which will explain why some previously mentioned NP's are not marked with itu or ini.¹

The three determiners will be treated in the following order: part 1 deals with se-, part 2, -nya, and part 3, ini and itu. Part 4 is a brief discussion of the use of these markers in certain literary devices.

1. CONDITIONS FOR THE USE OF se-.

1.0 Introduction

Se-, as used here, is an abbreviation for the form se- + classifier. (In this study, s(u)atu has been included as a variant of the se- option, although in fact there are important differences between se- and s(u)atu one which must be taken up in future analysis.²

Non-familiar entities in texts (that is, those not assumed to be familiar to the reader by either presence in the situation, prior mention, inference or general knowledge) tend to be marked with se- only when the encoding NP is performing one of two overlapping functions: either creating a discourse referent, or measuring singular quantity. Otherwise, non-familiar NP's are normally left non-determined.

1.1 Conditions for the use of se-.

1.1.0 Introduction

The three determiners se-, -nya, and itu will be treated in the following order: part 1 deals with se-, part 2, -nya, and part 3, ini and itu. Part 4 is a brief discussion of the use of these markers in certain literary devices.

1.1.1 Conditions for the use of se-.

(a) Conditions for the use of se- which will explain why some non-familiar NP's in a discourse are not marked with se-.

(b) Conditions for the use of -nya which will explain why some inferable NP's are not marked with -nya, and

(c) Conditions for the use of itu (and ini) which will explain why some previously mentioned NP's are not marked with itu or ini.

The three determiners will be treated in the following order: part 1 deals with se-, part 2, -nya, and part 3, ini and itu. Part 4 is a brief discussion of the use of these markers in certain literary devices.


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1.1 Creating a discourse referent

Karttunen (1968) has described two categories of indefinite nominals in English which do not create discourse referents: (a) indefinite, non-specific predicate nominals and (b) indefinite nominals dominated by negation or an irrealis modality. An NP has created a discourse referent if a subsequent reference to the same entity can take a marker of definiteness, such as the English the, or a pronoun.) The reason Karttunen gives for the properties that these NP's exhibit in texts is that they are non-specific, not really referring to an individual. The speaker does not normally have an individual in mind in such cases.

Creation of a discourse referent is probably a condition for se-. Thus, many non-familiar, unmarked NP's in Indonesian fit into Karttunen's categories of non-specific NP's. Under type (a), we will consider not only equative clauses but also comparisons. Under type (b) we will look at negations, conjectures and requests. In addition we will look at (c) nominals in adverbial constructions.

1.1.1 Descriptive NP's

Indefinite predicate nominals in equative clauses, since they merely encode membership in a class, tend to be unmarked. This is true in the following four examples:

(1) Kalau perempuan itu mata-mata, maka ia adalah sebagian dari musuh yang pernah mencincang kawan-kawanku di pinggir sungai Progo. (K - see SOURCES OF DATA, p.98.)
If the woman were a spy, then she was part of the enemy that had hacked my comrades to pieces on the bank of the River Progo.

(2) Aku dulu ingin jadi pelukis dan menggambar tubuh-tubuh yang bagus.
I used to want to be an artist and draw beautiful bodies.

(3) Aku menjadi benci kepada diriku sendiri, ... Aku pengecut! (K)
I begin to hate myself... I was a coward!

(4) Dikejar-kejar oleh Belanda selama empat bulan ini ia lebih merupakan beban yang menghambat kaki untuk melarikan diri dari maut. (K)
Being chased by the Dutch for these four months, she was more a burden weighing down my feet in my fleeing from death.

This is the normal pattern for nominal predicates. Like indefinite predicate nominals, the scope of a comparison (the NP following the word meaning like) is unmarked in most cases:

(5) Sedangkan daun-daun yang kering, luruh menghampiri tanah seolah permadani. (H)
And the dry leaves completely covered the ground like a carpet.

(6) Apapu la suara berdengung seperti meninabob o. (H)
Moreover the sound hummed like a lullaby.

In these instances, an unmarked nominal represents the compared-with entity, and this indeed is the most common pattern. The reason is that in most comparators, only the class is relevant, and thus no individual is referred to.
The two examples below are exceptions to this norm: the compared-with entity is marked with se-. However, as we shall see in these examples, se- is appropriate because some kind of individuality is, in fact, established.

(7) Dan Jim tiba-tiba memegang dahinya, matanya ditejukkannya. Mula-mula dia kelihatan seperti seorang aktor yang lupa menghafal dialog yang mesti dikuasainya...

And suddenly Jim grabbed his forehead, and closed his eyes. At first he looked like an actor who has forgotten to memorise a dialogue he ought to know by heart...

In this case the author is not merely indicating a set, as he is in (5) or (6), but is creating the image of a particular individual. He is pointing out a similarity between two individuals, for each of which he intends the reader to establish mental 'files' or 'addresses'. The latter terms, drawn from computer science, denote centres in memory to which information may subsequently be directed. Such information appears in the rather long relative clause. The reader is given a brief 'life history' of the compared-with NP. These relative clauses then, reflect the establishment of the individuality which seems to be a requisite for introducing an entity with se-. Again, in (8) below,

(8) Dan aku sudah bosan kepada perempuan ini. Selama ia bunting ini ia rupanya seperti satu luka yang membusuk yang membara yang memualakan perutku. (K)

And I was already tired of this woman. As long as she was pregnant she seemed like a foul, festering, nauseating wound.

One is presented with more than mere membership in the set 'wound': considerable detail is provided, enough to imagine this particular wound rather vividly.

1.1.2 Negative and irrealis modes

When a non-familiar entity falls under the scope of a negative, in narrative use, it tends to be unmarked. The following excerpts demonstrate this tendency.

(9) Di dalam perjoangan tidak ada soal nilai dan kehormatan, kecuali kejantanan dan penghindaran dari maut. (K)

In war there is no question of values or respect, except for masculinity and escape from death.

(10) Tidak pernah ada mata-mata dapat lolos hidup-hidup dari tanganku. (K)

There was never a spy that could escape from my hands with his life.

(11) Ketika keesokan harinya si Kabayan pergi ke hutan, ia tidak melihat perempuan. (H)

The next day when Kabayan went to the forest, he didn't see any woman.

(12) Tetapi keesokan harinya, ketika dinihari mertuanya membangunkan si Kabayan, ia tak mendapat jawaban. (M)

But the next day, when at dawn his father-in-law came to wake up Kabayan, he got no answer.

Non-familiar entities mentioned in conjectures also usually fail to create a discourse referent. In (13) and (14), the speakers present hypothetical conditions. (13) portrays an imagined and unlikely situation, while (14) is a pseudo-conditional generalisation.
"Ya, tetapi bagaimana kalau nanti ada orang yang menanyakan nama Bapak kepadaku? Bukanakah jelek kalau aku tak bisa menjawab?" (M)
"Yes, but what if someone (or: a person) asks me your father's name? Wouldn't it be awful if I couldn't answer?"

Tetapi ketika ia lagi duduk di bawah sebatang kelapa, dilihatnya seekor tetinggi lagi berjalan dengan kakinya yang beribu-ribu itu. Kalau ada barang yang menyentuh tubuhnya, segera binatang itu menggulingkan badan menjadi bulat seperti roda (H)
But when he was sitting under a coconut tree, he saw a centipede walking with its thousands of legs ... If something touched its body, the animal immediately rolled its body up round like a wheel.

(A more literal translation of orang and barang might be person and thing.)
The examples below highlight the result of a hypothetical condition.

(Begitu pula kalau mengerjakan ladang, ia tak pernah meminta bantuan menantunya. Ia tahu, tentu akan ada-ada saja alasan si Kabaylan untuk mengelakkan perkerjaan. (M)
So if he worked in his field after that, he never asked for his son-in-law's help. He knew Kabayan would surely have an excuse to avoid working.

Finally, one example shows an unmarked nominal in a prediction.

Aku mendengar desing-desing yang menyayat-nyayat lagi udara, lalu bunyi seperti kipas besi yang berputar-putar. Tanda peluru akan dekat jatuhnya. (K)
I heard a whistling sound tearing the air again, then a sound like an iron propeller whirling. That meant that a shell was about to land nearby.

Like conjectures, requests involve a semantic 'maybe'. Thus, one would expect them to follow the same pattern of non-marking of the NP, as indeed is true of (17) and (18):

Malam itu juga aku bangunkan Pak Merto yang rumahnya kupakai menginap itu, minta pinjam sarung dan dengan kain itu di tanganku aku masuk ke biliknya. (K)
That night I woke up Pak Merto whose house I was using for lodging, and asked to borrow a sarong and with that cloth in my hand, entered her room.

"Peggy, my love. Aku butuh penjelasan. Kenapa kau tidak jadi datang?" (D)
"Peggy, my love. I need an explanation. Why didn't you come?"

At the time of mention, the entities mentioned have not yet materialised, and in this sense, they remain irrealis.\(^\text{10}\)

However, as will be shown in section 1.2 of this paper, this principle is overridden in many requests quoted in Secangkir kopi dan sepotong donat. The reason may be that these requests are all food-orders in a restaurant, in which specification of quantity is important. Quantification, not individualisation, would then be the purpose of the use of se-.
1.1.3 Adverbials

Non-familiar NP's tend to be non-determined in adverbial phrases of manner. This can be seen in the following data:

(19) Istrinya bisa dijaksih mengerti. Kemudian perlahan-lahan, dengan suara gemetar karena takut kena tullah, suaranya berdesis menjawab: "Guto." (M)  
He was able to make his wife understand. Then slowly, with a voice trembling for fear of being struck by some catastrophe, she whispered her answer: "Guto."

(20) Aku melangkah maju dan menangkap tangannya, hendak menyeretnya ke luar. Ia membelalak kepada ku dengan pandangan meminta-minta... (K)  
I stepped forward and caught her hand, intending to drag her outside. She stared at me with an imploring look...

However, se- can occur in a manner phrase:

(21) Kemudian dengan satu tarikan yang sebat dan tegas dengan lipstick dilukiskannya satu gambaran jantung yang besar di kaca itu. Dan dengan gerakan yang sama tegas dan sebatnya ditariknya satu lukisan panah yang dengan garangnya menebus jantung yang besar itu. (D)  
Then with a quick, sharp jerk she drew with her lipstick a picture of a big heart on the mirror. And with a move just as sharp and quick she sketched a drawing of an arrow piercing cruelly through that big heart.

This example is made even more interesting by the fact that the second clause contains a parallel phrase without se-. 11

1.2 Measuring singular quantity

Se- is required when the quantity 'one' must be specified.

(22) ... urat sarafku yang selalu tegang selama perjoangan ini masih menangkap bunyi tambakan meletup di kejauhan. Mungkin di Jenggotan satu kilometer dari sini, tempat menetap pasukan Sumarjo. ... my nerves, which had always been tense while I was in this war could still catch the sound of shooting in the distance. Perhaps in Jenggotan, one kilometre from here, where Sumarjo's division was staying.

An extension of the measuring function of se- is its use for emphatic negation: the idea of 'not even one'.

(23) Tapi tidak seorangpun yang berani bergerak. (D)  
But no one dared to move.

(24) Tak seorangpun manusia dilihatnya. (M)  
He didn't see a single person (or: anyone).

Specification of quantity however, is apparently not always crucial in conversation. Note the two following restaurant orders:
"Oh, the usual, Peggy. Coffee and a cruller." (D)

"Peggyyyyy, another cup of coffee and a macaroon donut." (D)

Since the location of se- is exactly switched in these two requests, it seems that in this setting quantity is assumed to be singular, unless stated otherwise.

In informal contexts at least, se- can be omitted when quantity is recoverable without it. In Si Kabayan pergi ke hutan, there are three occasions where Kabayan's meeting of some new thing in the forest is reported first by the author to the reader, and then by Kabayan to his mother-in-law. (27) describes his encounter with a beehive, (28) with a deer, and (29) with a beautiful woman.

... Maka terpeganglah olehnya daun yang sudah kuning. Sambil megerutu, dilempanyanya, lalu diinjak-injak sampai hancur. Kemudian ditengokkannya kepalanya ke atas. Maka nampak olehnya sebuah sarang lebah yang amat besar pada dahan yang paling rendah...

"Ya, tetapi apakah kau tidak menemukan apa-apa, sehingga pulang bertangan hampa?"

"Ada sarang lebah saya temukan..." (H)

... Then he found he was holding a yellowed leaf. Grumbling, he threw it down and trampled it into powder. Then he turned his head to look up. And he saw a very large beehive on the lowest branch...

"Yes, but didn't you find anything - is that why you've come home empty-handed?"

"I found a beehive..."

Kabayan no longer knew the way to the beehive he had seen the day before. But in a rather dense thicket he saw a deer sleeping under the shelter of a tree...

When he got home, his mother-in-law asked:

"Kabayan, what did you find in the forest?"

Si Kabayan answered lazily:

"There was a deer. He was sleeping..."

Tatkala ia berjalan di jalan-tempuhan yang merupakan lorong dalam hutan, kebetulan dari arah depan ada seorang perempuan cantik yang sedang menuju ke arah si Kabayan. Melihat ada yang berjalan ke arahnya, si Kabayan berkata dalam hati: "Ini dia!"...

Ketika ia tiba di rumah, mertuanya bertanya:

"Apa yang kau temui di hutan, Kabayan, maka mukamu pucat tak berdarah seperti itu?"

Jawab si Kabayan singkat:

"Ia mati kutcakak." 

"Apa yang mati kau tombak?"

Si Kabayan: "Perempuan itu."

Mertuanya: "Perempuan yang mana?"

Si Kabayan: "Tadi waktu saya di hutan ada perempuan. Lalu saya lakukan pesan Emak. Ia saya tombak, mati..." (H)
When he was walking along the alley that penetrated the forest, by chance from the other direction there was a beautiful woman coming toward him. Seeing there was someone coming toward him, Kabayan said to himself: "This is it!"... when he got home, his mother-in-law asked:

"What did you find in the forest, Kabayan, to make your face all pale like that?"

Kabayan answered curtly:
"Something I speared to death."
"What did you spear to death?"
Kabayan: "The woman."
His mother-in-law: "What woman?"
Kabayan: "When I was in the forest a while ago there was a woman. Then I did what you said to do. I speared her; she died..."

In (27) and (29) the author's first mention of the beehive and the woman takes se-, while Kabayan's does not. On the other hand, in (28), both the author and Kabayan use se-.

The explanation for this pattern may be as follows. Given certain grammatical contexts, se- is used less in informal conversation than in literary writing. Kabayan, unlike the author, omits se- whenever the quantity 'one' is recoverable without it. Thus, sarang can remain non-determined because it is the nature of wild beehives to occur alone. However, since deer can appear in pairs or even larger groups, it is helpful to clarify the quantity of deer by adding seekor. As for the woman, quantity is recoverable in that case because of the immediately preceding conversation.

2. CONDITIONS FOR THE USE OF -nya

2.0 Introduction

The NP-marker -nya encodes either (a) possession by, or (b) inference from some entity previously mentioned or present in the situation, or (c) both possession and inference. However, the converse is not true. Specifically, it is not true that inferability is always encoded with -nya.

2.1 Inference and possession

As background, let us begin by giving examples of the three uses of NP-marker -nya described above. First, -nya can represent possession when inference is not operative. (For heuristic reasons, 'possession' here will be defined in terms of English possession.)12 An instance of this is seen in the very moving opening scene of Tur's Yang hitam. First, the reader gradually learns that the main character is blind. He then reads:

(30) Ia merubah letak Duduknya. Dan roda-roda keretanya bergesekan pada asnya. Ia mengeluhi lagi. Mengeluhi lagi. Mengeluhi lagi. Di saat ia tidak tidur, ia harus duduk di kursi kereta itu... (Y)
He changed his position. And the wheels of his chair rubbed against the axle. He sighed again. Sighed again. Sighed again. When he wasn't sleeping, he had to sit in this wheelchair...

In this case the underlined NP is possessed by the man. It is not, however, inferable; on the contrary, the wheelchair comes as a surprise.
Secondly, -nya can mark nominals that are inferable from, but not possessed by, a previously mentioned entity.

(31) Tiba di markas sudah petang dan malamnya aku suruh dia meniduri bilik di sebelahku. Di luar Darso menjaganya, berbaring di ruang tengah. Hawanya dingin dan tengah malam aku terganggu ...(K)

When we arrived at headquarters it was already afternoon, and that night I ordered her to sleep in the room beside mine. Outside, Darso was guarding her, sleeping in the middle room. The weather was cold and at midnight I was disturbed...

The two underlined NP's above, malamnya that night and hawanya the weather illustrate this point. Malam is inferable as a member in the sequence suggested by petang afternoon. And of course every time and place is characterised by some kind of weather (hawa). But neither of these NP's would be appropriately translated with a possessive, in English: its night, its weather.

Thirdly, -nya sometimes marks nominals that stand in both a possessive and an inferential relation to the antecedent.

(32) Jonggrangan ialah dukuh yang lebih ke atas lagi mendekati gunung Sumbing. Penghuninya jarang ... (K)

Jonggrangan was the next highest, a village even higher up towards Mt Sumbing. The/Its inhabitants were few...

The reader can infer the presence of inhabitants from normal expectations about villages: the village has inhabitants (dukuh itu ada penghuni). The underlined NP is both inferable and possessable.

2.2 Inference without -nya

Having established this background, we now shall proceed to our main point. Some inferable entities in texts are marked with itu rather than -nya. Consider excerpt (33) below:

(33) Langit hijau di mukaku. Hari sudah subuh waktu itu. (K)

The sky was green in front of me. At that time it was already dawn.

The underlined NP is inferable in the sense that every state must by natural necessity obtain at some time. Then why is the NP marked with itu, rather than -nya? This case seems very similar to hawanya the weather in (31): every time and place must have some kind of weather just as certainly as every state must occur during some time. Yet the former inference is represented by -nya, while the latter is not. (One might ask, conversely, how the effect would differ if in (31) the underlined NP's were changed to malam itu and hawa itu.) It seems likely in this case that the explanation lies in a property of certain general nouns denoting the time and place of an event (such as waktu time, ketika point in time, saat moment and tempat place). These nouns are used with demonstratives (itu or ini) to create deictic anchors for the cohesion of a text. This anchoring effect could not be achieved with the mere marking of inference by -nya.

Apparently inferable entities are also marked with itu rather than -nya when the inference is based on what Schank (1975) calls a 'script'. Scripts are our expectations that a given social activity will imply certain steps, props, goals and roles. This is seen in the following two examples:
(34) Sudah banyak kali aku menjatuhkan hukuman. Orang itu kusuruh membikin lobang sebesar dia... (K)

Many times I had pronounced the death sentence. I would order the person to make a hole as big as himself...


But this time it was really quite satisfying. Usually there was some haggling beforehand. Always these money negotiations. He felt that mentioning money always spoiled the pleasure later. He preferred paying more, as long as the woman didn't go bargaining as though it were merely business.14

Since both of these excerpts describe activities whose scripts require a second participant, even the initial mention of that second participant (the condemned in (34), the female consort in (35)) has inferred status.

The hypothesis being presented here is that roles inferred from scripts take itu, not -nya. One might present as counterevidence example (32), where the inhabitants (penghuninya) are inferable from a 'village script' and yet do not take -nya. However, that case is too ambiguous to be a valid counterexample, since the -nya in that NP could be attributed to possession rather than to inference.15

Thus we must introduce the first modification of our hypothesis. An entity inferable by script is marked with itu rather than -nya when it is not construed as possessable by the antecedent.

A further qualification of the hypothesis may be in order, in light of the following data. If a performer were extremely late for a concert in Indonesia, and the manager of the hall came out on stage, an irate member of the audience might shout:

(36) "Mana orangnya?"

"Where's the man?"

This intuitive data might be more satisfying if supported by material in a larger text, and yet the difference of marking between this last example and (34) should be accounted for. It may be that itu is used to more completely integrate the inferred entity into the discourse. This seems to be the case in (34) and (35), where the two underlined NP's represent (a class of) participants with whom the main participant is fully interacting.16

3. CONDITIONS FOR THE USE OF itu AND ini

3.0 Introduction

Four constraints of varying strengths seems to determine whether a demonstrative (itu or ini) is used to mark an NP (as opposed to no demonstrative).17

To these, in order to convey their relative degrees of strength, one can assign rough numerical values, as shown below:

1. Exophoric Reference: +3
2. Non-restrictive Modifier: +3
3. Prior Mention: +1
Of course these values do not have hard and fast predictive significance, nor are they computed by careful countings. Instead, they are a rough representation of the frequency of correlation of a given NP property with the use of demonstratives. They also indicate which constraints override others. An NP with a positive score (21) after all values are added is likely to be marked by a demonstrative. Each of the four constraints will be described in turn.

3.1 Exophoric reference

This term is taken from Halliday and Hasan (1976). Fillmore (1975) was getting at the same idea when he opposed gestural and symbolic deixis (which require a knowledge of speaker's time and place for comprehension) to anaphoric deixis. Exophoric reference or gestural/symbolic deixis, then, deals with space and time.

Two examples of this occurrence from the data show that the exophoric constraint operates independently of the endophoric (prior mention) constraint.

(37) "Jangan bawa koja itu!" teriaknya. (H)
"Don't take that pouch!" he shouted.

(38) Aku tertarik kepada langit biru, kepada seni, kepada mimpi. Seperti orang yang doyan madat. Tetapi kesukaan lama itu tampak dari waktu sekarang ini sebagai kelemahan yang kecut. (K)
I was attracted to the blue sky, to art, to dreams. Like an opium addict. But that old fondness looks, from the present time, like a cowardly weakness.

Neither of the underlined NP's has been mentioned before as such in the text. Rather, the demonstrative is used to point in space (37) or time (38). This constraint has a high ranking, because gestural/symbolic deixis seems to always use a demonstrative.

3.2 Non-restrictive modifier

A non-restrictive modifier is a modifier encoding properties that are:
(a) not essential or defining: these properties "can be changed without changing the meaning of the proposition", and (b) not identificational: not answering a presupposed question "which one?" Thus, the purpose of such modifiers is not primarily to enable the reader to single out the correct member of the set denoted by the head noun, but rather to supplement the reader's understanding of some referent.

The following example shows that the non-restrictive modifier condition operates independently of exophoric reference and prior mention.

(39) Kagum si Kabayan melihat tanduk rusa yang panjang bercabang-cabang itu. Ia menilik dengan teliti. Lalu teringat akan pesan mertuanya. Maka diambilnya koja yang tersandang di bahunya itu. Dari dalamnya dia keluarkan obor dan kayu api. (H)
Amazed, Kabayan looked at the deer's long, branching antlers. He studied it carefully. Then he remembered his mother-in-law's instructions. So he took the pouch slung at his shoulder. From inside it he got out a torch and some firewood.
Since the pouch at this point is not familiar by previous mention, inference or general knowledge; and since the author is not pointing to it in the extra-textual situation, we conclude that the factor conditioning the itu is the presence of the non-restrictive modifier. To see the non-restrictiveness of this relative clause, compare it to the relative clause in (7). In the former case, it is not likely that the modifier is intended to distinguish this pouch from some other pouch competing for the reader's attention. On the other hand, the modifier in (7) encodes an essential identificational property: it answers the question "what kind of actor?"

Two other examples will illustrate that the non-restrictive modifier condition is not only independent of prior mention and exophoric reference (since these NP's have neither property), but also overrides the non-bounded reference condition (to be explained in section 3.4).

(40) Ketika keesokan harinya si Kabayan pergi pulae ke hutan, ia tidak melihat perempuan. Tetapi ketika ia lagi duduk di bawah sebatang kelapa, dilihatnya seekor tetinggi lagi berjalan dengan kakinya yang beribu-ribu itu. (H)
The next day, when Kabayan went to the forest again, he didn't see any women. But while he was sitting under a coconut tree, he saw a centipede walking with its thousands of feet (or: its feet, which were thousands).

(41) Taksiranku ia sudah berumur 20-21 tahun. Tapinya tubuhnya yang penuh itu, ia rupanya lebih tua lagi. (K)
By my guess she was 20-21 years old. But because of her full-figured body, she looked even older.

A person's body is certainly a unique entity, and hence non-bounded, (see section 3.4), and yet the demonstrative occurs. It is because of such data as (41) that the non-restrictive modifier constraint is assigned a positive value greater than the negative value of the non-bounded reference constraint.

However, a few non-restrictive modifiers are not followed by demonstratives.

(42) Aku sempoyangan jatuh ke muka. Tanganku yang mencari tumpuan tersenggol oleh tepi meja dan pistolku terpelanting dari tanganku. (K)
I stumbled and fell forward. My hand, which was looking for support, was bumped by the edge of the table, and my pistol flew out of my hand.

(43) Ketika aku sampai di halaman, aku masih mendengar ia berteriak: "Aku akan mati, mas. Aku akan matiiii!!" Aku dapat membayangkan mulutnya yang berkerinyut-kerinyut tegang. (K)
When I reached the garden, I could still hear her shouting: "I'll die. I'll die!" I could picture her mouth, all wrinkled up tight.

These two examples are included to show that the constraint as now formulated is not exceptionless. The following properties of the NP's involved would not explain why the demonstratives mark the first pair (40) and (41), but not the second, (42) and (43). First, of the second pair of NP's, each is previously mentioned, while neither of the other pair is. If anything, this would lead us to expect the opposite result. Secondly, in each pair there is one NP at the end of its sentence, and one non-final NP. Thus, syntactic position is not the same.
One might posit (based on these data alone) that only modifiers containing information thematic in the story would condition the demonstrative. The fact that the centipede has an unusual appearance, and that Sulina is attractive, are rather important themes in the stories: attributes which command the attention of the main characters in each story, and determine the direction of the plot. The same cannot be said of the 'searching' or 'wrinkling' of (42), and (43). These are minor details by comparison. In a similar vein, the modifiers in the first pair denote inherent attributes; those in the second denote accidental ones.

Sometimes the non-restrictive modifier constraint seems to be motivated by communicative expedients related to parsing: the clarification of a modifier's scope or the closure of a heavy NP. Two good examples of the need to clarify a modifier's scope are:

(44) Tak syak lagi! Benar ada orang yang memanggil namanya. Tetapi siapa? Segera ingatannya lari kepada mahluk-mahluk galb yang menghuni Pasir Muncang. *Kepalanya yang tiba-tiba menjadi* berat seribu kali itu ditolehkannya ke arah kuburan keramat yang tak jauh dari tempatnya berladiang. (M)

*There could be no more doubt!* Someone really was calling his name. But who? Immediately his memory flew to the mysterious creatures that haunted Pasir Muncang. He turned his head, which suddenly grew a thousand times heavier, toward the graveyard shrine not far from where he was farming.

(45) Malam itu juga aku bangunkan Pak Merto yang rumahnya kupakai menginap itu minta pinjam sarung dan dengan kain itu di tanganku aku masuk ke biliknya. "Ini selimut. Jangan mengerang lagi!" geramku, sambil melemparkan sarung itu di atas bale-bale di sampingnya. (K)

*That night I woke up Pak Merto, whose house I was using for lodging, and asked to borrow a sarong, and with the cloth in my hand entered her room. "Here's a blanket. Quit moaning!" I growled, throwing the sarong onto the cot beside her.*

In both cases, itu makes it clear that the NP's last modifier is part of the preceding nominal, not of the following predicate. Otherwise in (44) it might appear that the man turned his head a thousand times, and in (45) that the house was being used for the purpose of borrowing sarongs.

In any case these parsing conditions would apply to only a part of the NP's with non-restrictive modifiers. It may be that the desire for a demonstrative after a non-restrictive modifier can be explained using Foley's (1976) Bondedness Hierarchy. Foley's idea is that the more weakly an NP-margin (article, number, adjective, gerund, clause) is bound to its head, the more it needs a marker to make the unity of the NP explicit. Since a non-restrictive modifier is less essential to its head than is a restrictive modifier (in the ways described at the beginning of 3.2), the demonstrative may be a kind of compensating strategy. The demonstrative may be used to emphasise that all material preceding it, even though it is only supplementary, belongs to the last head noun.
3.3 Prior mention

A demonstrative is used when an entity has been mentioned earlier in the discourse, with two qualifications: (a) This excludes cases where no discourse referent was created, that is, under conditions outlined in part 1.1 above. (b) The 'givenness' marked by a demonstrative also includes cases of inferability that cannot be construed as possessive, as described in part 2.1 above. Some examples of this constraint are shown below.

(46) Si Kabayan tidak tahu lagi jalan ke tempat sarang lebah yang kemaren dilihatnya. Tetapi di sebuah semak yang agak rimbun, dilihatnya seekor rusa lagi tidur di bawah naungan pohon. Rusa itu tidur seperti bangkai. (H)
Kabayan no longer knew the way to the beehive he had seen the day before. But in a rather dense thicket he saw a deer sleeping under the shelter of a tree. The deer was sleeping like a corpse.

Prior mention also includes time-units; as seen in (45): malam itu that night. In addition, prior mention takes in 'extended reference': the nominal expression of what was previously presented in non-nominal form.

"Kalau memang mata-mata mengapa tidak ditembak saja!" tegurku kepada anak buahnya, yang melaporkan kejadian itu kepadau... (K)
Mawardi had met her in Bandongan. At that time the Dutch soldiers had just left that place. This woman was a stranger in that village, so she was taken prisoner. She said she had just come from town to follow her father who had fled to the mountains a month before. Mawardi didn't believe her and took her along as a prisoner wherever the division moved.
"If she's really a spy why don't you just shoot her!" I chided his man, who had reported this event to me...

In (47), the antecedent constitutes an entire paragraph, whereas in (48), it is a clause.

(48) Waktu malam di gunung Sumbing sangat dinginnya. Hawa dingin itu... (K)
Night on Mt Sumbing is extremely cold. The cold air...

These are just a few of the most common kinds of previously mentioned entities in texts.

3.4 Non-bounded reference

This term denotes exhaustive reference to an entire set, such that there is no need to draw a conceptual boundary around any one member or subset. Unlike the preceding three factors, this one tends to condition the non-occurence of a demonstrative. This type of reference comprises two subtypes: non-specific and unique. Non-specific reference can be either mass reference (where the set has no distinct members) or generic (where all members are referred to). Unique reference is the case where the set contains only one member relevant to the universe of discourse.
3.4.1 Non-specific reference

Mass reference is the non-count status of a particular NP at a particular point in a text; it is not the intrinsic degree of countability of the head noun considered 'in isolation'. Thus, the underlined NP's in (49) and (50) below are mass references, while in (51) and (52) this is not the case, even though the head nouns of all four NP's might be listed in a dictionary as non-count.

(49) Aku tak mungkin meninggalkan pasukan dan kembali ke kota. Itu berarti penghianatan kepada perjoangan dan penghianatan harus dibayar dengan nyawa. (K)
   I couldn't leave my division and go back to town. That would mean treason against the struggle, and for treason one must pay with one's life.

(50) Di dalam perjoangan tidak ada soal nilai dan kehormatan kecuali kejantanan dan perghindaran dari maut.
   Dan aku sudah bosan kepada perempuan ini... Dikejar-kejar oleh Belanda selama empat bulan ini ia lebih merupakan beban yang menghambat kaki untuk melarikan diri dari maut. (K)
   In war there is no question of value or respect except for masculinity and escape from death.
   And I was already tired of this woman... Being chased by the Dutch for these four months, she was more a burden, weighing down my feet in my fleeing from death.

(51) Malam itu malam gelap... Aku merasa aman dalam gelap itu. Aku merasa satu dengan kegelapan. Aku gelapan sendiri. Aku telah memilih kegelapan ini... (K)
   It was dark night... I felt at peace in the dark. I felt one with darkness. I was darkness itself. I had chosen this darkness.

(52) "Kanon Belanda beraksi!" terkilat dalam kepalaku. Dan secepat pikiranku itu terdengar peluru meletus. Blarr!
   "The Dutch are firing their cannons!" flashed into my head. And as soon as that thought came to me (or: as fast as that thought of mine) I heard a shell explode. Blarr!27

Generic reference is reference to all members of a set, as in

(53) Seni hanya tersisa bagi perempuan dan orang-orang lemah. Perempuan tidak punya watak. (K)
   Art is only left for woman and weak men. Women have no character.

Both of these kinds of non-specific reference — mass and generic — are constraints against the use of a demonstrative, which — as examples (49), (50), and (53) show — override prior mention. Hence the numerical value of -2 is assigned to this constraint to override the +1 value of prior mention.

3.4.2 Unique reference

The concept of unique reference, needed to explain the absence of demonstratives in certain previously mentioned NP's, is actually somewhat different from, or more elaborate than, various earlier treatments in the literature. For example, one can begin with Cartier's insight that an account of definite markers requires some appeal to uniqueness, to nominals which "refer to one and the same thing in the natural world of both speaker and hearer". In extending this definition to cover more data, we have found the need to rethink both "speaker or hearer" and "world".
It turns out that the person for whom an entity's uniqueness is defined can be not only speaker or hearer, but also a third person, for example a participant in a narrative. When the narrator in H says in (54):

(54) Hutan tak begitu jauh tempatnya. (H)

*The forest* wasn't very far away.

it is not in his world or the reader's that the forest is unique, but in the world of the chief character, Kabayan. Kabayan is the relevant experiencer.

In addition, the concept of "world" must be re-cast to include "worlds" of varying durations, changing scenes and situations, as well as the changing perspectives of the experiencer. Uniqueness can be thought of as a continuum from permanently unique to non-unique. Some permanently unique entities are those which are unique in nature: matahari *sun*, langit *sky*, bumi *earth*. Under most circumstances, each of these nouns has only one possible referent. Another kind of permanently unique entity consists of those which are unique for each person:

(55) Aku dulu ingin jadi pelukis dan menggambar tubuh-tubuh yang bagus. Tapi ibuku mentertawakan aku...
    Tapi ibu tetap tak mau percaya.... (K)
    *I used to want to be an artist and to draw lovely bodies. But my mother laughed at me... But mother kept on not believing.*

(56) Tawanan Mawardi bernama Sulina... Taksiranku ia sudah berumur 20-21 tahun. Tapi karena tubuhnya yang penuh itu ia rupanya lebih tua lagi... Bajunya lurik, amat rapat potongannya dengan **badannya**.
    (K)
    *Mawardi's prisoner was named Sulina... By my guess she was around 20-21 years old. But because of her full-figured body she looked even older... Her blouse was made of lurik, cut to fit quite snugly with her body.*

Notice that in these last two examples, the uniqueness of the underlined NP overrides its prior mention, such that no demonstrative is used. The same is true of all the unique entities cited here.29

Other entities are unique in some long-standing situation. This is true (as pointed out by Cartier, this volume) of many location NP's:

(57) Setelah menggiskis matanya yang terasa berat mengantuk itu, si Kabayan berjalan ke arah dapur... Lantaran kekenyangan, kantukpun datang. Maka pergi pula ia dari **dapur** ke... **biliknya**. (H)
    *After rubbing his eyes, which feel heavy with sleepiness, Kabayan walks toward the kitchen... Since he is quite full, weariness comes over him. So he goes from the kitchen to... his room.*

(58) "Aku tak tahan lagi", gerutu perempuan itu selalu. "Engkau bawa aku ke kota!"
    Aku tidak menjawab. Aku tidak perlu menjawab... Aku tidak mungkin menyinggalkan pasukan dan kembali ke kota. Itu berarti pengkhianatan kepada perjoangan dan pengkhianatan harus dibayar dengan nyawa. (K)
    *"I can't stand it any more!" she always grumbles. "Take me to town!"
    I don't answer. I don't need to answer... I can't leave my division and go back to town. That would mean treason against the struggle, and for treason one must pay with one's life.*
These underlined NP's denote the one salient member of the given set. For instance, in (58), the question "which city" does not arise. The intended city is the one nearby, the one with which the experiencer has the most dealings.

Other entities have a unique status limited to a situation of shorter duration. Some locations have this status. A clear example is markas headquarters in a story about guerillas whose headquarters is continually moving:

(59) "Turut sekarang juga!" bentakkku sambil mendahului dia ke luar. Darso, ajudanku, telah siap menjaganya dari belakang dengan mausernya. Kami bertiga berjalan kembali ke posku...
   Tiba di markas sudah petang ... (K)
   "Come on now!" I snapped, walking out ahead of her. Darso, my adjutant, was guarding her from behind with his mauser. The three of us walked back to my post...
   When we arrived at headquarters it was already afternoon...

Certain props may have the same kind of status.

(60) Ketika aku sampai ke pintu, ia sedang berbaring melingkar di atas bale-bale...
   ... Mataku menelan lagi garis-garis tubuhnya yang menggelombang dengan lemasnya dari lengannya, pinggangnya, lalu menyusup ke gelap pangkuannya. Pandangannya sepi sesepi nyala api di meja.
   "Ke luar!" perintahku parau...
   Ia bangkit dari baringnya dengan ragu-ragu.
   "Ke luar!" seruku, kini lebih tegas. Ia belum percaya dan memandang dengan geramnya ke arah senjata di tanganku. Ia menggenggah kepalanya. Tidak! Sambil menangkupkan diri lagi ke bale-bale...
   Aku seret dia dari bale-bale ... Ia jatuh ke tanah dan mencoba melawan dengan mengaitkan tengannya kepada kaki meja.
   ... Aku sempoyongan jatuh ke muka. Tanganku yang mencari tumpuan tersenggol oleh tepi meja dan pistolku terpelempar dari tanganku. Meja bergoyang dan tiba-tiba ruang kamar itu menjadi gelap gulita. (K)
   When I got to the door, she was lying restlessly on her cot...
   ... My eyes devoured once again the lines of her body that undulated in a supple way from her arms, her waist, and disappeared in the darkness around her loins. Her gaze was as empty as the flame on the table.
   "Out!" I ordered hoarsely...
   She got up from her bed in confusion.
   "Out!" I ordered, this time more sharply.
   She didn't believe me yet and looked at the weapon in my hand.
   ... She shook her head. No! And she threw herself back onto the cot...
   I dragged her from the cot. She fell to the floor and tried to resist by hanging onto the table leg...
   ... I stumbled forward. My hand, which was groping for support, banged against the edge of the table and my pistol was knocked out of my hand. The table wobbled and suddenly the room was pitch black.  

Even though the woman in this passage has been as nomadic as the guerillas, and has slept in many rooms, at this point in the story she has (according to normal expectations), one cot and one table. Similarly, an Indonesian officer may be expected to be using no more than one pistol at a time.

An example of extremely short-term uniqueness is seen in the following excerpts. In (39), when Kabayan has espied the deer, we read:
(61) Lalu teringat akan pesan mertuanya.
Then he remembered his mother-in-law's instructions.

The pesan message refers to his mother-in-law's instructions to burn the bottom of what he found in the forest. Later in the story we see the following:

(62) Tetapi si Kabayan sangat patuh akan pesan mertuanya. Ia tak menghiraukan ajakan orang-orang itu. Menolehpun tidak. (H)
But Kabayan was very obedient to his mother-in-law's instructions. He didn't pay any attention to the people's invitation. He didn't even turn his head.

However, at this point in the story, pesan mertuanya refers to a different message: the instruction to ignore what he found in the forest.

On each occasion, the pesan message refers to a different instruction, and yet at each point when it is referred to, that piece of advice has unique status in Kabayan's consciousness. It is as though each cycle in the story wipes out the relevance or awareness of the preceding advice.

However, there are a number of cases where the same entity is viewed from two different perspectives. Within the close or involved perspective, the entity has unique status, but within the distant or detached perspective, the same entity no longer has unique status. Consider the following examples:

(63) Maka diambilnya koja yang tersandang di bahunya itu. Dari dalamnya dia keluarkan obor dan kayu api. Sementara menyapakan obor, si Kabayan repot. Ia tak tahu bagaimana menaruh koja. Untuk menyandang-kannya pula, ia merasa kepaland. Maka disangkutkannya koja itu pada sebuah cabang tanduk rusa itu. (H)
Then he took the pouch that was slung at his shoulder. From inside it he got out a torch and some firewood. While he was getting the torch ready, he had too much to do. He didn't know where to put the pouch down. He didn't feel he could sling it back on his shoulder. So he hung the pouch on a branch of the deer's antlers.

(64) Keesokan harinya tatkala si Kabayan pergi pula ke hutan, ia...
Then the next day when Kabayan went to the forest again, he was carrying a spear of his father-in-law's...

Melihat ada yang berjalan ke arahnya, si Kabayan berkata dalam hati: "Ini dia!"
Seeing that someone was coming towards him, Kabayan said to himself: "This is it!

Lalu tombakpun disiapkan. Matanya tajam mengawasi perempuan itu, supaya jangan lari. Ketika sudah dekat, segera si Kabayan memperkam tombak ke arah perempuan itu. Tombak mengena dengan jitu... Maka dia cabut tombak itu dari tubuh kurbannya. (H)
The next day when Kabayan went to the forest again, he... was carrying a spear of his father-in-law's...

Seeing that someone was coming towards him, Kabayan said to himself: "This is it!" Then he got the spear ready. His eyes watched the woman keenly, so she wouldn't escape. When she was close, he immediately threw the spear toward her. The spear hit home... Then he pulled the spear from the body of his victim.

In both of these cases, while the instrument is under the agency of Kabayan, it is unmarked. Then, when it leaves his control, it takes itu. Hanging the pouch on the deer's antler is a loss of control—the deer subsequently runs off with it. At the moment of Kabayan's throwing the spear, he is still exercising control; later, the spear is outside of his sphere of influence. It is as though itu signals a new distance between experiencer and object, which overcomes the object's uniqueness.
Two other examples of this change in distance and perspective come from the narrator's abandoning of Sulinah in K:

(65) Aku bangun dari baringku dan melangkah ke pintu.
"Engkau pergi ke mana, mas!" tanya perempuan celaka itu dengan cemas.
Aku tak menjawab.
"Aku akan mati mas, kalau engkau tinggalkan!" ancamnya ke arahku ketika aku sudah sampai ke pintu. Seolah-olah ia sudah merasai maksudku. Tetapi aku berjalan terus dan menutup pintu di belakangku tanpa menoleh kepadanya...
"Sulinah! Sulinah!" teriakku, tetapi suaraku tinggal tersekat di tenggorokanku. Aku masih melihat dia sempoyongan melepaskan diri dari pintu itu lalu melangkah ke muka...

I got up from where I had been sleeping and stepped toward the door.
"Where are you going!" asked the tragic woman anxiously.
I didn't answer.
"I'll die if you leave!" she threatened in my direction when I had reached the door, as though she'd already guessed my plan. But I kept walking and closed the door behind me without turning toward her...
"Sulinah! Sulinah!" I shouted, but my voice stuck in my throat. I could still see her stumbling, freeing herself from the door, then stepping forward.

In this sequence, the door of his hut is referred to three times as he is making the decision to abandon his village and his female companion: when he steps toward the door, gets to the door, and closes the door. Here it is called pintu, since he is close to it and involved with it. The fourth reference, however, is pintu itu, because the door is being viewed from a distance, as the narrator tries to return to this hut during a bombing.

The second entity which undergoes a change of perspective and distance, and hence of uniqueness, is the village. In this case the pattern is not manifested so neatly, as apparently some other factors are at play.

(66) Jonggrangan ialah dukuh yang lebih ke atas lagi mendekati gunung Sumbing... Malamnya aku dengan Darso berjaga-jaga di pinggir desa...
Aku turun dari dukuh itu dan berjalan melalui jalan setapak dan tanggul...
Seperti terkejar-kejar aku kembali melintas tanggul dan jalan setapak menuju ke dusunku. Benturan peluru meriam yang jatuh menggegerkan bumi di bawah kakiku... Dua puluh langkah lagi, sepuluh langkah, lima langkah lagi dari batas desa! Sampai di pagar bambu aku jatuh tertelungkup kepayahan. Di muka tampak olehku halaman dan kampung dukuh itu ...

Jonggrangan was a village higher up towards Mt Sumbing... That night Darso and I were on guard duty at the edge of the village... I went down from the village and walked past the footpath and the dike...
As though I were being chased, I ran back past the dike and the footpath toward my village. The crash of falling cannon shells shook the ground under my feet... Twenty more steps, ten steps, five more steps to the edge of the village! When I got to the bamboo fence I fell headlong with exhaustion. Ahead, I could see the gardens and the homes of the village.
Basically the same pattern governs (66) as (63)-(65): the non-determined form correlates with closeness, and the use of itu, with distance. However, between the narrator's initial separation (departure from dukuh itu) and his final separation (watching helplessly at a distance from dukuh itu) falls an intervening period. During this period, the absence of any demonstrative with 'village' suggests the following: the narrator's desire to be close to the village overrides the fact of his physical distance.

The very fact that a demonstrative functions as shown in (63)-(66), shows an interesting interpenetration of exophoric and endophoric usage, of pointing beyond the discourse and pointing within the discourse. If the analysis here is correct, then this is a phenomenon akin to free (or direct) indirect discourse, a merging of viewpoints of narrator and participant, of speaker's deixis and actor's deixis. That is, the narrator is employing itu not merely anaphorically, but in such a way as to parallel the deictic usage that would appear in direct quotation of the actor's thoughts.

This kind of change of perspective and hence of uniqueness can also involve NP's of more permanently unique status. Consider the example below:

(67) Setelah selesai makan, si Kabayan berangkat ke hutan. Hutan tak begitu jauh tempatnya. Orang-orang kampung kalau hendak mencari kayu, buah-buahan ataupun berburu pergi ke hutan itu. (H) "After he finished eating, Kabayan left for the forest. The forest wasn't very far away. The people of the village, if they wanted to look for wood or fruit or to hunt, went to that forest.

In the first two underlined NP's, the author is speaking of the forest that needs no singling-out, because it is the single salient candidate in the neighbourhood of his story. However, the third reference to the same forest sets that forest up in contrast to others, taking a more objective view, implying that there are other forests for other villages. Even entities that are normally considered permanently unique can be viewed from both perspectives. Consider the following reference:

(68) "Pagi ini engkau mau apa, cokelat atau marmalade?" tanya Fatma. Suryono memandang padanya, dan berkata, "Wah, alangkah baiknya ibu ini. Aku mau selapis mentega, dilapis dengan kiju yang diiris tipis, dan di atas kiju selapis marmalade, dan kemudian..." Suryono menyentuh kaki Fatma di bawah meja, dan Fatma tertawa kecil kesenangan. "Engkau anak jahat, kurang ajar sama ibu sendiri", katanya. (S) "What do you want this morning, chocolate or marmelade?" asked Fatma. Suryono looked at her, and said, "My, how nice this mother is. I'd like a layer of butter, covered with thinly sliced cheese, and over the cheese a layer or marmalade, and then..." Suryono nudged Fatma's foot under the table, and she giggled with pleasure. "You naughty boy - bad manners, and with your own mother", she said.

Fatma is referred to here as ibu ini this mother; Suryono is viewing her, perhaps in comparison with other mothers. Because he is playing the role of a judge, less involved than a child, the normal uniqueness of ibu is suspended. (This is not difficult for him, since Fatma is his step-mother and he is involved with her in an adulterous affair.)

Now that the concept of uniqueness has been sufficiently broadened to include these varying degrees of permanence, what remains outside the category?
For one thing, the vast majority of animate, common nouns in a text are non-unique. Perhaps the explanation is that normally, inanimate entities constitute the background against which animate entities move. Thus, at any point an additional woman or sergeant might be added to the story, but probably another bed will not be added to the scene, nor is an officer likely to produce a second pistol. (We are dealing here with normal expectation.)

Of course, there are animate entities that do have unique status of both permanent (e.g. ibu in (55)) and temporary duration. For an example of the latter, consider:

(69) Mawardi menemukannya di Bandongan ... Katanya ia baru datang dari kota mau menyusul babaknya ... Mawardi tak percaya dan dibawanya sebagai tawanan ke mana saja pasukan bergerak ...
Tawanan Mawardi bernama Sulinah. (K)

Mawardi had met her in Bandongan ... She said she had just come from the city to follow her father ... Mawardi didn't believe her, and took her as a prisoner everywhere the troop moved ...

Mawardi's prisoner was named Sulinah.

Here, it is already clear beforehand that Mawardi has only one prisoner.

It has probably been obvious throughout this discussion that uniqueness is related to relevance. One further implication of this connection is that an entity may count as unique if in fact there is more than one member of the set present, but the difference between members is irrelevant. Even for second mention, tanganku my hand is normally used instead of tanganku itu because the question "which hand?" is rarely relevant. Thus, practically speaking, tanganku is unique. 34

4. THE MARKERS AND LITERARY EFFECTS

Also of interest are the various creative ways in which these nominal markers can be applied by authors to achieve certain effects. For instance, the distribution of se-, since it is an 'introducer', can reflect the overall structure of a story. The narratives we examined showed se- to be reinforcing both cyclical and climactic narrative structures. In two folk tales by Asip Rosidi, cycles were marked by recurrences of se-. In Si Kabayan pergi ke hutan, each form of rezeki or fortune that Kabayan discovers is marked with se-, as is the setting in which the 'fortune' is located. Cyclicity is also marked by se- in the other folktale, Si Kabayan dengan mertuaunya, although somewhat differently. It is not concrete objects, but units of time, that are marked with se- (e.g. Pada satu hari one day). This emphasis on cycles of time matches the agricultural theme of the story.

A more linear narrative progression, cumulative movement toward a single peak, is supported by the significantly increased frequency of se- during the climax of Kejantanan di Sumbing. This may be one of the author's means of quickening the pace by a rapid flow of newly introduced individuals, all clamoring for attention but none of them dwelt on for very long.

Another creative use of the determiners is in pretending that the reader has less or has more information about some entity than is really the case. These two strategies may be called, respectively, defamiliarisation (Stacy's (1977) rendering of the Russian formalists' term ostranenie) 35 and by analogy, prefamiliarisation. In defamiliarisation, a previously mentioned entity,
presented from a new perspective, appears with se-, as though the narrator were disavowing his prior knowledge of it. For instance, in the climax of *Kejantanan di Sumbing* the author watches the bombing of the hut where his female companion Sulinah is staying. He portrays her from a great psychological distance during this event:

(70) ... Meriam berdentum-dentum di kejauhan.
Tiba-tiba aku melihat sesosok tubuh berpapah-papah ke luar dan bertelekan dengan seluruh badannya pada tiang pintu...
"Sulinah! Sulinah!" teriakku... (K)
... Cannons were booming in the distance.
Sudden I saw a figure leaning out with all its weight against the doorpost...
"Sulinah! Sulinah!" I shouted...

Although in fact the underlined nominal refers to a very prominent character in the story, the narrator does not establish the connection. In this way, perhaps it is debatable whether the narrative persona (the 'I' of the tale) is portraying himself here as genuinely ignorant about the identity of the 'figure'. This usage could also plausibly be viewed as a self-conscious means of imparting his altered perceptions during the bombing. In either case, the use of se- heightens the effect.

Prefamiliarisation is pretending the opposite: that the reader is already familiar with some entity, when in fact he is not. -nya is used in this way to anticipate the 'seduction' of the narrator in K.

(71) Aku menjadi geram. Aku merunduk akan merenggutnya ke luar dengan sekeras tenagaku. Tetapi kemudian aku tak jelas lagi bagaimana mulanya. Aku rupanya tersandung pada kaki perempuan itu... Aku belum tersadar dari terkejutku, ketika perempuan itu merangkul aku.

(K)
I got angry. I stooped to pull her outside with all my might. But then, it's not clear any more how it started (or: what its/the beginning was like). It seems I stumbled and fell at her feet... I hadn't yet recovered from my surprise, when she embraced me.

A similar prefamiliarising use of itu causes a small-scale communication breakdown in excerpt (29) above (repeated here for convenience). Here Kabayan speaks as though his mother-in-law were already aware of the woman he met. In fact she is not, and she reacts accordingly:

(72) "Apa yang kau temui di hutan, Kabayan, maka mukamu pucat tak berdarah seperti itu?"
Jawab si Kabayan singkat:
"Ia mati kutombak."
"Apa yang mati kautombak?"
Si Kabayan: "Perempuan itu."
Mertuanya: "Perempuan yang mana?"
Si Kabayan: "Tadi waktu saya di hutan ada perempuan..." (H)
"What did you meet in the forest, Kabayan, to make your face all pale like that?"
Kabayan answered curtly:
"Something I speared to death."
"What did you spear to death?"
Kabayan: *The woman.*
His mother-in-law: "What woman?"
Kabayan: "When I was in the forest a while ago there was a woman..."
5. SUMMARY

In summary, the conditions on the use of the three markers se-, -nya and itu seem to be as follows:

Se- has two primary (overlapping) uses: creating a discourse referent and measuring one. Since it is used in creating discourse referents, it does not normally mark those non-familiar nominals which do not refer to individuals, and hence do not create discourse referents. Such nominals tend to occur in the following kinds of constructions: descriptive NP's (in equatives and comparison, unless the author does intend the NP to somehow create an individual or identity in the reader's mind), under negation or irrealis modality (negatives, conjectures, requests) or in adverbial constructions. It is also used to indicate singularity, being optional in conversation when quantity is recoverable.

The NP-marker -nya encodes possession, inference or, in some cases, both. However, inference is expressed by itu rather than -nya when the inferable entity is either (a) the time or place of an event, or (b) inferred from a script (as for instance, a required role) and not construed as possessive.

The use of the demonstratives itu and ini seems to be conditioned by four factors, which have relative strengths approximated by the following numerical values: (a) exophoric reference: +3; (b) non-restrictive modifier: +3; (c) prior mention: +1; and (d) non-bounded reference: -2. An NP with a positive score will tend to be marked with a demonstrative. The non-restrictive modifier condition may be motivated by a desire to clarify syntactic parsing or to compensate for low NP bondedness.

Non-bounded reference (a property correlating with absence of demonstrative) is comprised of non-specific (generic or non-count) reference and unique reference. The latter property is subject to the following principles: The uniqueness of an entity can be anchored to any relevant experiencer (speaker, hearer, or a third person), and to 'worlds' of varying durations. A given entity's uniqueness status can change with the perspective of, distance from, or relevance to the experiencer.36

Finally, these markers can enter into various literary effects. Se-, as an introducer, can reflect cyclical or climactic narrative structures. The three markers can also be used in defamiliarisation and prefamiliarisation.

NOTES

1. Prince (1979) posits three major categories of 'familiar' entities: inferable, evoked (present either in the preceding discourse or the extralinguistic situation) and 'unused'. Section 3.4 of this article touches on the latter.

2. Besides this perhaps unfortunate inclusion, the present analysis makes the following exclusion: that of se- when followed by a non-classifier, e.g. sebentar, secepat.
3. In fact, Karttunen (1968) mentions indefinite predicate nominals in passing, referring to the passage in Bach's "Nouns and noun phrases" (Bach 1968:103-106) where he says that indefinite predicate nominals do not refer to an individual by themselves. In fact, says Karttunen, one must further qualify this: indefinite and non-specific predicate nominals. Under irrealis modes, he says, discourse referents can be created, but they tend to be short-lived, since subsequent references to the same entity can occur only under the same modality.

4. In an earlier draft of this paper, these three kinds of constructions were called 'offstage constructions' because in them the narrator does not bring an entity onto his 'stage' to include it in the events of the story.

5. Morpheme glosses are omitted because they would make the already lengthy examples unwieldy, and it seems that for the purposes of this analysis a free translation will serve. More information about Indonesian structure is retained or noted where crucial.

6. However, there is an exception: the first sentence of Si Kabayan pergi ke hutan:

   (73) Si Kabayan seorang pemas. (H)
       Kabayan was a sluggard.

   The predicate nominal in (73) encodes a permanent, and unquestioned attribute of Kabayan. By contrast, the unmarked predicate nominals in (1)-(4) represent contingent, hypothetical attributions.

7. The construction below with sebagai as is similar to a true comparison, and also tends to take a non-determined nominal:

   (74) Kalau ia tidak bunting oleh aku, ia pun akan bunting oleh anggota pasukan lain di gunung ini, dan mungkin sekali oleh Mawardi yang menawanya dulu sebagai mata-mata. (K)
       If she hadn't got pregnant by me, she would've got pregnant by someone else in the division here on this mountain, quite possibly Mawardi who first caught her as a spy.

8. The status of these exceptional nominals may be like those nominals under irrealis modality which nonetheless do create (short-lived) discourse referents. Subsequent reference to the same entity is indeed possible as long as the discourse remains in a hypothetical key.

9. We have said that se- tends to create an individuality, while non-familiar NP's with no determiner refer to a class only. From this it may follow that, under negation, se- involves the negation of some individual, particular, or secondary characteristics, while unmarked non-familiar NP's represent complete negation of a class. This might provide an interpretation for the NP underlined below.

   (75) Sebentar kemudian jam berdenting sepuluh kali dan satu pagi yang sempurna di New York dalam "Fluffy Donut" Coffee House akan tidak begitu "beautiful" lagi, sebab jam sepuluh berarti "jamgopi" ... sampai jam sebelas. Dan sesudah itu hari bukan lagi pagi dan "Fluffy Donut" bukan lagi satu warung kopi. (D)
Then the clock chimed ten times and a peaceful morning in New York at the "Fluffy Donut" Coffee House was about to become no longer quite so "beautiful", since ten o'clock means "coffee time"... till eleven o'clock. And after that it's not morning any more and the "Fluffy Donut" isn't a coffee shop any more.

If the word satu were eliminated from the last sentence of (75), the meaning would be that at eleven o'clock the shop became, say, a discotheque or a gymnasium. That is, the scope of the negative bukan, when paired with a non-determined NP, is the entire class "coffee-shop". On the other hand, with satu as it appears here, the sentence means only that certain particular or secondary features of coffee-shopness have been lost; such as the serving of coffee and donuts.

10. Karttunen says that indefinite NP's in questions and requests are normally interpreted as non-specific. In addition, requests are semantically similar to the class of sentences Karttunen describes in his appendix: those containing verbs like want, need, etc. What these verbs share, he says, is the ability to take an existive or possessive clause complement; e.g. "I need (to have) a hammer".

11. It is not clear why the first of these two manner phrases uses se- (in this case, satu). What is clear is that it would be awkward to use se- in the following, parallel phrase, since the newness encoded by se- is incompatible with the givenness of sama just as (lit. the same), and of -nya, which also points to some kind of antecedent.

12. Choosing the English grammar of possession as a basis for the comparison with the function of -nya is simply an attempt to avoid the circularity of defining a thing in terms of itself. Two potential sources for a more thorough analysis of the possessive role of -nya are: (a) the list of Recoverably Deletable Predicates in Levi (1978) and (b) the list of functions of the Greek genitive in Beekman and Callow (1974).

13. There are also cases of non-determined inferable entities:

(76) Baru bangun 'ku terus mandi. Jangan lupa menggosok gigi. As soon as I get up I bathe and don't forget to brush my teeth.

(77) Aku berjalan ke arah bilik Sulinah. Ketika aku sampai ke pintu, ia sedang berbaring... (K) I walked toward Sulinah's room. When I came to the door, she was lying...

The non-marking in (77), according to Dardjowidjojo, would be a result of the 'non-nuclear' position of the NP: it is neither subject nor direct object.

14. Note that both (34) and (35) have generic quality which may affect the choice of determiner.

15. The same response applies to the apparent counterexample in Purwo (1978):

(78) Saya masuk ke sebuah restoran. Pelayannya cantik-cantik. I went into a restaurant. The/their waitresses were good-looking.
16. A certain interpretation of the NP underlined below gives rise to interesting speculations about other functions of -nya.

(79) "Bapak belum melihat perempuannya!" sahutnya seraya memandang ke arahku dengan penuh arti. (K)

"Sir, you haven't seen (a) what a woman she is/ (b) the woman/ (c) his (Mawardi's) woman!" he answered, giving me a meaningful look.

Of the three translations for perempuannya, (c) is the simplest: possessive. (b) is based on inference. But (a) is inspired by the idea of emphatic nominalisation, which is exemplified in the following two sentences:

(80) Waktu malam di gunung Sumbing sangat dinginnya. (K)

Night on Mt Sumbing is extremely cold.

(81) "Wah, alangkah baiknya ibu ini. (S)

"My, how nice this mother is."

Morphologically, these underlined words resemble such undisputed nominalisations as adanya existence and tingginya height, even though they do still behave in a way that seems to be non-noun in translation, like the quotative expressions katanya, sahutnya, etc. But the -nya nominalisations of degree adjectives are often emphatic in function. This flavour may carry over to perempuannya in (79). Perempuan in this setting may be somewhat predicate-like; at least its morphology is deverbal.

17. Although itu is the more frequent, ini can be used in many similar ways, with respect to the constraints outlined in this chapter. Thus they are treated together here. Also, use of demonstratives with pronouns and proper names will be bracketed as a special case, and not treated here.


19. The word 'modifier' is used because the use of the relative ligature yang may not be a requisite.

20. As for the view that demonstratives give closure to heavy NP's, no proposed definition of 'heaviness' (such as number of words or clauses) really accounts for the data. However, it would be interesting to examine those patterns of reference and modification which create the impression that Indonesian texts contain greater nominal redundancy than English texts.


22. (a) The prior mention constraint appears to subsume and even outdo certain other explanations that initially seemed plausible. For example, the data examined for this paper do not support the view that one of the conditioning factors in the use or non-use of a demonstrative is the case, subjecthood or topichood of the NP.

One explanation in terms of case which initially seems plausible is that demonstratives do not occur in locative or instrumental NP's. Another hypothesis that does not seem necessary or satisfying is that subjects take demonstratives more than other NP's.

While locatives may in fact correlate negatively and subjects positively with demonstratives, it appears that once the four principles proposed here are taken fully into account, there is no explanatory work left over, which case, subjecthood, or word order can solve. We have encountered in
texts no data for which subjecthood would be the only explanation. However, Dardjowidjojo states that generic and uniquely salient nominals have the option of taking itu, in subject position only.

Verhaar (personal communication) has talked about itu having one function as a topic marker. One piece of evidence he offers in support of this claim is that the topic marker itu can co-occur with the phoric itu, e.g.

(B2) **Orang itu itu sikit terus.**

*As for that man, he is sick all the time.*

Since, (as with Dardjowidjojo's hypothesis) we simply have encountered no data of this kind so far, we trust that the prior mention constraint will handle all the other NP's which Verhaar might prefer to call instances of the topic marker. (Topics, like subjects, tend to be previously mentioned.) Of course, the validity of both of these hypotheses remains for us as an empirical question. Probably both are accurate, but we have not yet seen the need for them in describing the written texts in our corpus.

(b) An earlier draft of this paper was overreacting to the idea that prior mention completely explains the (non-exophoric) use of demonstratives. It overreacted by completely throwing out prior mention as a conditioning factor. But in fact, the distribution of ini and itu can be much more effectively explained if one assumes that prior mention does correlate with these determiners.

An additional problem with the analysis proposed in that earlier draft is that it attributed to itu certain negative functions, e.g. the prevention of a generic interpretation. For one thing, this creates the analytical difficulty of second guessing what might have been interpreted generically if the demonstrative had been omitted. Moreover, it seems counterintuitive to attribute such preventive meanings to any morpheme, even a function word. When a writer uses the word *father*, it carries a positive impact of its own, and is not used merely to discourage the reader from thinking *mother*.

23. Or later, in the case of cataphoric reference. Our data do not happen to include this possibility.

24. This term comes from Halliday and Hasan (1976).

25. This concept is outlined by Acton (1977) for English article usage.


27. One problematic NP for the non-count reference hypothesis is the following example, which seems to be specific and yet is not marked:

(B3) *Aku melihat di berjongkok di dalam air dan badannya sudah tidak berbaju lagi.*  
*(K)*

*I saw her stooping in the water, and already her body was unalohed.*

28. Dardjowidjojo distinguishes as a basis for leaving certain NP's unmarked, uniqueness (e.g. bulan *moon*) and 'unique saliency' (e.g. raja *king*). Likewise, Cartier (this volume) posits such a class of NP's with two main subgroups: locations and groups of people. (This list is expanded in the present analysis.) Prince (1979) has also described a similar class of NP's: those referring to 'unused' entities. These are present in long-term memory of the speaker and hearer, but are not inferable from or evoked by the linguistic or extralinguistic context.
29. Dardjowidjojo gives examples of generic and unique references marked with *itu*, in which the *itu* serves to mark the entire construction as a clause rather than an NP:

(84) Harimau itu binatang.
*The tiger is an animal.*

(85) Bulan itu bagus.
*The moon is beautiful.*

It happens that no clauses of the kind occur in our data.

30. Concerning the temporarily unique entity *baringnya her bed* in (60), it should be said that uniqueness and grammatical possession overlap, but only partially. The unique *matahari sun* is not possessive, and the possessive *pikiranku itu that thought of mine* in example (52) is not unique.

31. (a) This is in contrast to the status of *sarong* in (45). In that passage, the sarong he is taking to Sulinah must be distinguished from the one he is wearing.

(b) Two nominals deviate from this tendency. Although they would seem to have (temporarily) unique status, they take *itu*. (The first one appears with a fuller context in (60).)

(86) Tanganku yang mencari tumpuan tersenggol oleh tepi meja dan pistolku terpelanting dari tanganku. Meja bergoyang dan tiba-tiba ruang kamar itu menjadi gelap gulita. (K)
*My hand, which was groping for support, banged against the edge of the table and my pistol was knocked out of my hand. The table wobbled and suddenly the room was pitch black.*

(87a) Sinar pagi ... menerangi kelokan sungai tempat mandi. Aku melihat dia berjongkok di dalam air dan badannya sudah tidak berbaju lagi... Aku tetap tegak di pinggir kali itu, ketika ia memungut pakaiananya ...
(K)
*Morning sunbeams ... had lit up the bend in the river where people bathed. I saw her stooping in the water, and already her body was unclothed ... I stood right there on the bank of the river, while she picked up her clothes...*

The narrator later regrets the morning's lost opportunity:

(87b) Mengapa perempuan itu tidak kubunuh tadi di kali? (K)
*Why didn't I kill that woman today at the river?*

One possible explanation for the unexpected *itu* in (86) is the 'emotive' function posited by Lakoff (1974), as in the English exclamation: "And can you imagine — that crazy room went pitch black!"

(87) presents an even more serious problem, since it exactly reverses the perspective hypothesis formulated here. When the object is close, *itu* appears, and when the object is distant, the noun is unmarked. It may be that *itu* is not used in (87b) because it would imply something false: that only that river was an appropriate place to kill Sulinah.

32. The possibility that perspective, and hence uniqueness can change may explain some of the variation Cartier encounters in the definiteness marking of singular, specific, concrete objects (especially when each mention uses the same lexeme).
33. (a) It is also true that the change to hutan itu occurs when the forest has become, for the first and only time in the text, a discourse topic in itself (at the opening of a brief digression about the forest). This is not, however, what Verhaar intends by 'topic', since the NP is not in sentence-initial position. (See note 22a).

(b) A similar contrast obtains between gunung (whatever mountains are nearest to a given participant, and thus seen as unique in his world) and gunung ini (which always refers to Mt Sumbing) in K.

34. A similar NP is mataku which can mean my eyes, where duality is irrelevant.

35. Ostranenie is also translated as the device of making strange, estrangement or dishabitation. It involves the "accurate notation of phenomena without any concern for their meaning" (Stacy 1977).

36. It is worth noting that there are similarities between (a) the factors governing uniqueness of entities in a text, (b) the factors governing sectioning or paragraphing in a text, and (c) the factors that can constitute basic cohesion systems for texts. All three lists include place, time, person and perspective. (a) is treated in this paper, (b) is surveyed in McCune (1980), (c) is touched on in Givón (1979), and has been elaborated on by Becker (personal communication).

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(Y) Yang hitam: Pramudya Ananta Tur

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THE REDUCTIVE SYSTEM OF AN INDONESIAN DIALECT:  
A STUDY OF IRIAN JAYA CASE  
Ignatius Suharno

1. INTRODUCTION

The Irian dialect of Indonesian is one of a great number of dialects constituting Bahasa Indonesia. As with any other language name, Bahasa Indonesia is an ambiguous denomination: it is used generically as well as specifically. The latter use is clearly stated in the Indonesian Constitution, which states that the state, i.e. official, language is Bahasa Indonesia. Inevitably, the constitutional accommodation is for the standard variety only. As far as Stewart's classification (Stewart 1968:531-545) goes, the Irian variety is also autonomous. As such, it is a dialect as well as a vernacular. Thus, using his abbreviations, we might as well call it a VD.

A study of the variety reveals that there are formal differences between it and the standard Indonesian. One of the significant differences which seems to be shared among non-standard varieties of Indonesian is the reduction characteristic of the dialect but not of the standard type (see Kridalaksana 1975).

The reductive characteristics are reflected in the phonology, morphology, and syntax. The phonological trait involves, among other things, omission of certain vowels and consonants, and in some cases also lowering of certain vowels. The morphological peculiarity is manifested by the use of phonemes not normally used in the standard variety, loan forms, and local entries, which generally reflect a cultural contribution. The use of grammatical markers in a way not known in the standard variety makes it distinct from the former.

This paper is a restatement of a previous study (Suharno 1978). There are only a few other descriptions of the subject, namely Roosman (1977), Silzer (1978), and Samaun (1979). The paucity of interest in the dialect is interesting, because due to the linguistic heterogeneity of Irian Jaya the dialect had been accepted as a lingua franca long before Bahasa Indonesia as the state language was introduced in the province. The role of the dialect as an introductory bridge to the use of standard forms is thus significant, if not beneficial.
2. THE DIALECT vs THE STANDARD VARIETY

Krida laksana (1975) outlined several features of standard Indonesian, a language which serves as a medium of communication in a context that is official, technical, public, and formal. His elaborations, however, were limited to grammatical and lexical differences. These function constraints seem to fit in with the criteria of the standard variety as the state language. It is also questionable whether there are any Indonesians who use the standard variety at all times.

The dialect under study is spoken in Jayapura, the provincial capital of Irian Jaya. It is spoken every day by the older generation as well as the younger generation of Irianese. In some cases the children's mastery of the dialect is better than their mastery of the first language of their parents.

2.1 Phonology

2.1.1 High vs low

Where a higher vowel is predominant in a standard variety form, a lower vowel of the dialect tends to occur.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{i vs e} & \quad \text{kasih vs kase} \quad \text{give} \\
\text{u vs o} & \quad \text{labih vs lebe} \quad \text{more} \\
\text{u vs o} & \quad \text{tau vs tao} \quad \text{know} \\
\text{a vs a} & \quad \text{sana\textsuperscript{a} vs sana\textsuperscript{a} \quad happy} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(1) kasih vs kase
give
(2) labih vs lebe
more
(3) bikin vs beken
make
(4) tau vs tao
know
(5) lombut vs lombo
soft
(6) sana\textsuperscript{a} vs sana\textsuperscript{a}
happy
(7) sadikit vs sadeke
little bit

2.1.2 Schwa in standard Indonesian vs other vowels of dialect

In initial and interconsonantal positions, where schwa would occur in the standard variety, e, e, or, less frequently, o would occur in the dialect.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{e vs e} & \quad \text{mas vs emas} \quad \text{gold} \\
\text{e vs e} & \quad \text{bearsama vs bersama} \quad \text{together} \\
\text{e vs e} & \quad \text{berat vs berat} \quad \text{heavy} \\
\text{a vs a} & \quad \text{ten\textsuperscript{a} vs ten\textsuperscript{a}} \quad \text{calm} \\
\text{a vs a} & \quad \text{gade vs gode} \quad \text{big} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(8) mas vs emas
gold
(9) bearsama vs bersama
together
(10) berat vs berat
heavy
(11) ten\textsuperscript{a} vs ten\textsuperscript{a}
calm
(12) gade vs gode
big

2.1.3 Diphthong in standard Indonesian vs simple vowel

The dialect utilises no diphthong. Where a diphthong occurs in a word of standard variety, a simple vowel nearest to the glide of such a diphthong takes its place in the dialect word.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a vs a} & \quad \text{kau vs ko} \quad \text{you} \\
\text{e vs e} & \quad \text{kalau vs kalo or kalu} \quad \text{if} \\
\text{e vs e} & \quad \text{saudara vs sodara or sudara} \quad \text{brother} \\
\text{a vs a} & \quad \text{sampai vs sampe} \quad \text{until} \\
\text{a vs a} & \quad \text{pantai vs pante} \quad \text{beach} \\
\text{a vs a} & \quad \text{pakai vs pake} \quad \text{use} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(13) kau vs ko
you
(14) kalau vs kalo or kalu
if
(15) saudara vs sodara or sudara
brother
(16) sampai vs sampe
until
(17) pantai vs pante
beach
(18) pakai vs pake
use
2.1.4 The standard h vs φ of the dialect in word-initial position

Where h occurs in word-initial position in the standard Indonesian, a zero may be substituted in the dialect.

(19) hutan vs utan or utan forest
(20) hari vs ari day
(21) hilang vs ilang disappear
(22) hancur vs ancor shattered
(23) habis vs abes finished

2.1.5 Fluctuation of h and φ in word-final position

Where in the standard variety h occurs in word-final position, a zero may be substituted in the dialect. On the other hand, where standard Indonesian has an open syllable, the dialect may add h to this syllable. In the writing of many of our informants, this fluctuation is frequently reflected by the use of h when it should not be there and the absence of it when it should be.

(24) jauh vs jau far
(25) mudah vs muda easy
(26) gigih vs gigi persistent
(27) kasih vs kasi give

but

(28) muda vs mudah young
(29) sewa vs sewah hire
(30) gigi vs gigih tooth
(31) suka vs sukah like

Sometimes the fluctuation may result, to speakers of standard Indonesian, in misunderstanding:

(32) Ia melawan dengan giginya He fought with his teeth.

because the standard Indonesian expression would be:

(33) Ia melawan dengan gigihnya He fought persistently.

2.1.6 Fluctuation of n and η in word-final position

Where n occurs in word-final position in the standard variety, the dialect substitutes η in the same position. On the other hand, though less frequently, where η occurs word finally in standard Indonesian, the dialect uses n in the same position. This is also reflected in writing.

(34) asin vs asiq salty
(35) makan vs makan eat
(36) lain vs laen different

but

(37) malayan vs malayan float
(38) binatan vs binatan animal
(39) asiq vs asin strange, foreign

Again, as in 2.1.5, the semantic change resulting from this fluctuation may produce an unexpected effect:
(40) Dorang ditangka dan *diasinkan
vs the standard Indonesian sentence:
(41) Dia ditangkap dan diasinkan
*He was seized and banned*

2.1.7 Omission of t, k, and l

For some standard Indonesian words that end in t, k, or l, the dialect equivalents omit these consonants. This is sometimes also reflected in writing.

(42) baik vs bae  *good*
(43) sedikit vs sadeke or sadiki  *little bit*
(44) mamanggil vs mamangi  *call*
(45) tidak vs tida  *not*
(46) laut vs lau or lao  *sea*

2.1.8 Fluctuation of f and p

Where standard Indonesian uses p in intervocalic position, the dialect may, in some words and for some speakers, use f.

(47) kepala vs kekala  *head, chief*
(48) lapar vs lafar  *hungry*

Among some informants, fluctuation of p with b also occurs:

(49) baragu (SI) vs peregu (D)  *in groups*
(50) paroraṇ (SI) vs btororaṇ (D)  *individually*

Among some other informants, fluctuations of r and l; and p, t, k with b, d, and g respectively also occur.

2.2 Morphology

In a number of words derived from standard Indonesian, there is a tendency to reduce their size to smaller and simpler forms for easier articulation.

(SI)      (D)      (D)
(51) sudah vs su or so  *already*
(52) pergi vs pigi or pi  *go*
(53) ankau vs ko  *you*
(54) puna vs puṇ or pu  *have, own*

Some of the pre-reduction forms may not be acceptable standard Indonesian forms:

(SI)      (D)      (D)
(55) *kita oraṇ  kitoraṇ or kitaŋ  *we*
(56) *dia oraṇ  doranaļ or doṇ  *he, she, they*

For standard Indonesian speakers, the following sentence will mean *Where is the coffee?*:

(57) kopimana

while it really means: *Where are you going?*
2.3 Lexicon

There are many vocabulary items that are unique to the dialect. These lexical items are of three types: those that are distinct because of cultural difference; those that are loan words; and those independent innovations or loan words which have undergone semantic change. Only a limited number of those words can be found in such a standard dictionary as Poerwadarminta (1976).

2.3.1 Culturally unique words

(58) forna  sago bread mould  
(59) maitua  wife  
(60) mambruk  crown pigeon  
(61) matoa  kind of fruit  
(62) koteka  penis gourd  
(63) nokë  string bag  
(64) paitua  the boss, husband  
(65) urip  king of bird  
(66) mayari  try to find a mate  
(67) sekan  plaited armband  
(68) seman  outrigger  
(69) kabila  chest

2.3.2 Loan words

(70) petatas (Latin)  sweet potato  
(71) pace (Dutch)  guy, Mister  
(72) roksoe (Dutch)  bad, unlucky  
(73) tripan (Indonesian)  sea cucumber  
(74) sombar (Ambon)  shade  
(75) triton (Latin)  conch shell

2.3.3 Loan words with semantic change

(76) matajalan  intersection (D); observer, lookout (SI)  
(77) tempo  early (D); time, period (SI)  
(78) kmuka  earlier (B); (go, come, etc.) to the front (SI)  
(79) langar  meet, overtake (D); violate, collide (SI)  
(80) bapa ade  uncle (D); phrase non-existent in SI  
(81) bapa mantu  father-in-law (D); phrase non-existent in SI  
(82) spolo lagi saprampa  fifteen minutes to ten (D); non-existent in SI  
(83) balabo  park (for a car), stop, rest (D); bælabuh  cast anchor (SI)

2.4 Grammar

One of the most salient features of the dialect in contrast to standard Indonesian is its tendency to omit such verbal prefixes as bær- and -maN-. When it does occur, however, the prefix bær- tends to be reduced to ba- or, less frequently, ba-

The dialect also employs prefix ta- to express an adjective or a verb, which in standard Indonesian may be expressed by the use of different prefixes, i.e. tær- and bær-.
In many other cases the dialect tends to use words that would be redundant in standard Indonesian, where a syntheitical construction is preferred. Still in other cases words that would function differently in standard Indonesian are used in the dialect to mark certain types of sentences or clauses. Word order unlike that in standard Indonesian is sometimes also used in the dialect.

2.4.1 Omission of prefixes

The omission of prefixes, and sometimes also suffixes, in the dialect qualifies it as a non-standard Indonesian (Kridalaksana 1975:15). There is no way to predict which ber- or maN- verb construction tends to undergo the omission. One of the most frequently used verbs is bilaQ say in such constructions as doräQ bilaQ he, she they, we say: mama bilaQ mother says, where standard Indonesian would use ia bärkata and ibu bärkata or ibu mañatakan. Other prefixes, e.g. di-, tar-, are sometimes also omitted.

Examples:

(84) a. siapa yaQ piara itu binataQ (D)
    b. siapa yaQ mämëlihara binataQ itu (SI)
   Who owns those animals?
(85) a. saya rasa sädë batul (D)
    b. saya marasa sädëh batul (SI)
   I really feel sorry.
(86) a. ini tög sampah ukuran raksasa tara bisa akta dua oraQ (D)
    b. tög sampah ukuran raksasa ini tidak bisa diänkat oleh dua oraQ (SI)
   This huge garbage bin cannot be moved by two men.

2.4.2 The use of ta-

(87) a. rodaña mase taputar (D)
    b. rodaña masih bårputer (SI)
   The wheel is still spinning.
(88) a. doräQ tabale dan lia itu ruma (D)
    b. dia bårbalik dan mälihat rumah itu (SI)
   He turns around and sees the house.
(89) a. macam tataruga tabale (D)
    b. sapartë kura kura tarbalik (SI)
   like a tortoise turned upside down

2.4.3 Phrasal markers

Such words as ada be, beken make, kasi give, and puña have, own are among the most frequently used to mark certain dialect phrases.

2.4.3.1 The word ada

This word is inserted between subject and the verb related to it. The phrasal verb it forms expresses a progressive aspect.
2.4.3.2 The word beken

This word is used in the dialect before another word to form a phrasal verb. The standard equivalent is normally expressed by a synthetical construction.

(92) a. doraŋ beken mati itu mētār (D)
    b. mareka mamatikan mētār itu (SI)
        They stopped the engine.

(93) a. jaŋ beken abes itu papeda (D)
    b. jaŋan habiskan papeda itu (SI)
        Don't finish up the sago porridge.

2.4.3.3 The word kasi

This word is used before another word to form a causative phrasal verb. The standard equivalent is a verb of synthetical construction.

(94) a. doraŋ kasi nai itu baraŋ (D)
    b. mareka manaiikkan baraŋ itu (SI)

(95) a. jaŋ kasi tinggal sampe tamba takaruan
    b. jaŋan ditingalkan sampai menjadi tidak karuan
        Do not leave it, lest it should go wild.

2.4.3.4 The word puña

The word puña is sometimes used after an adjective or words or phrases which function as such. It is used as an emphasis.

(96) a. ini dari luar nagrī puña (D)
    b. ini dari luar nagrī (SI)
        This is from overseas.

(97) a. dia puŋ bau tarə bae puña (D)
    b. baũna tidak baik (SI)
        It smells bad.

2.4.4 Clause type markers

The dialect employs certain words to mark certain type of clauses or sentences. These words have different functions in standard Indonesian. Some of these are sudah (SI) already, which is never shortened to so or su (cf. 2.2); baru (SI) new, just, still; and trus (SI tərus) go on, continue.
2.4.4.1 The word **sudah**

This word is used as an imperative marker or, in some cases, an emphatic marker. Used in this way, it always occurs at the end of an utterance.

(98) a. ko pi sudah (D)
   b. pergilah kau (SI)
      Go away.

(99) a. itu sudah (D)
   b. ya itulah dia (SI)
      That's really it.

2.4.4.2 The word **baru**

This word is used as a contradictive marker. It occurs at the end of the clause or sentence it marks.

(100) a. tara laku baru mau stelstel lagi (D)
   b. sudah tidak baik masih bargaya juga (SI)
      Despite (her) poor performance, she still put on airs.

(101) a. so cape baru disuru pi dipasar (D)
   b. sudah capai masih juga disuruh perginya kapasar (SI)
      Despite (my) being tired, I have to go to the market.

2.4.4.3 The word **trus**

This word is used at the end of a clause or sentence to mark a completive aspect.

(102) a. dia pi trus (D)
   b. dia sudah perginya (SI)
      He has already gone.

2.4.5 Word order

2.4.5.1 The word of a possessive construction in standard Indonesian is Head + Poss. The word order in the dialect is Poss + puṇa + Head.

(103) a. dorang pu buku (D)
   b. bukuṇa (SI)
      His book.

(104) a. dia puṇ doī (D)
   b. duitna (SI)
      His money.

2.4.5.2 The word order of a definitive construction in standard Indonesian is Head + Det. The dialect word order is Det + Head.

(105) a. itu orang (D)
   b. orang itu (SI)
      that man

(106) a. ini rumah (D)
   b. rumah ini (SI)
      this house
2.4.5.3 The word order of a standard Indonesian sentence is S-V-O. Some of the informants tend to express sentences in S-O-V order.

(107) a. sayah ini mau minum (D)
    b. saya mau minum ini (SI)
    *I like to drink this.*

2.5 Sample text

The following is a sample text of the dialect, an article published in a local weekly. It is followed by a standard Indonesian equivalent and an English translation. The article is a social jab written by the editor.

**JAYAPURA PUNG CERITA: NENE DORKAS BICARA BAHASA SETENGAH-SETENGAH**

Waktu Nene Dorkas keluar negeri dia pung bahasa lancar sekali. Tetapi waktu dia pulang kembali ke kitong pung tanah ini, eeh..., dia pung bicara so laen lagi.

Waktu dia turun dari taxi dan mau bayar, dia mulai bilang "how much", (berapa harganya?) Sopir bilang: "Cuma seratus saja ibu". Nene Dorkas mulai balas lagi: "Maar ik punya uang besar, tien duizend (sepuluh ribu)". Sopir taxi keget lalu bicara sandiri diam: "Ibu ini, tadi baru bilang pake bahasa Inggris, sekarang dia bilang dengan bahasa laen, macam bahasa Belanda kah! Mungkin dia pung tete orang Inggris dengan nene orang Belanda, tetapi dia pung bentuk sama saja dengan orang Indonesia".

Kemudian dia kasi kembali nene Dorkas pung uang: "Terima kasi bu." Tante Dorkas balas: "Tankyu (terima kasih)".

Panumpang taxi dengan sopir pung keget, teng mulai bilang, waktu taxi su bajalang. "Kalau bicara bahasa itu jangan setengah2" "dan kalau mau bicara bahasa luar negeri itu, bicara buat orang luar negeri saja, kitorang ini orang Indonesia, baru dia kira kitong orang luar negeri lagi." Lalu satu orang penumpang mulai tambah lagi: "Iyo, dia sendiri orang Indonesia asli baru bikin diri macam keturunan luar negeri kah. Rupanya dia pung mental Indonesia tara tau bagemana. Tara laku baru mau stel-stel lagi!!"

(Berita Karya, January 24, 1977, p.3).

**CERITERA DARI JAYAPURA: NENEK DORKAS BERBAHASA SETENGAH-SETENGAH**

Waktu Nenek Dorkas pergi ke luar negeri bahasa Indoneisiannya lancar sekali. Tetapi waktu dia pulang ke tanah air kita ini, eeh..., lagaknya sudah lain.


Kemudian dia memberikan uang kembali kepada Nenek Dorkas: "Terima kasih Bu." Tante Dorkas menjawab: "Tankyu."

orang Indonesia, tetapi dikerpanya orang asing?" Lalu seorang penumpang menambahkan: "Ya, dia sendiri orang Indonesia tetapi berlagak seperti orang asing. Bagaimana mental Indoneziannya? Sudah tidak baik masih berlagak juga."

**JAYAPURA STORY: GRANDMA DORKAS SPEAKS INCONSISTENTLY**

When Grandma Dorkas went overseas, she spoke Indonesian fluently. But when she returned home, her language was different.

When she got off a taxi and wanted to pay her fare, she asked in English: "How much?" The driver said: "Only one hundred, Ma'am". Grandma Dorkas continued, in Dutch: But I have large cash here, ten thousand." The driver was surprised and said to himself: "This woman had just spoken in English, now she was speaking in... was it Dutch? Perhaps her grandfather was English and her grandmother was Dutch, but she looks Indonesian all right."

Then he gave her the change and said, in Indonesian: "Thank you, Ma'am." Aunt Dorkas answered, in English: "Thank you."

The other passengers and the driver were startled. They began talking when the car started running again. "When you speak, speak consistently. Use a foreign language to foreigners only. We are all Indonesians, yet she spoke to us in a foreign language." Another passenger added: "Yes, she is an Indonesian, but acted like a foreigner. I don't know what has happened to her Indonesian self-respect. It was bad, but she put on airs anyway."

**3. CONCLUSION**

It seems that, except for the cultural contribution and influences of the local Irian languages, there are consistent formal differences between the Irian dialect and the standard Indonesian. In view of the fact that the dialect has functioned as a lingua franca for a long time and that it is the first language for an increasing number of the young generation, it will not only tend to last for a long time to come, but it also deserves serious attention and further research. The need seems even more urgent if it is correct to assume that the dialect, and not the numerous unrelated local languages, presents less interference for the acquisition of the standard Indonesian.

The unique characteristics of the dialect may have resulted from the interference of the specific ethnic language properties. The characteristics are mostly reflected in the simplification of the dialect forms, very probably to facilitate expression. Other characteristics which seem difficult to identify except in a list are mostly local and cultural contributions.
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SUBJECT CASE MARKERS AND WORD ORDER IN NEW CALEDONIA AND LOYALTY ISLANDS LANGUAGES

Claire Moyse-Faurie
Françoise Ozanne-Rivierre

1. INTRODUCTION

The comparative study of Oceanic languages, which began with phonological reconstruction, has widened its scope in recent years to include word order and syntactic typology. For the New Caledonia and Loyalty Islands languages, Haudricourt (1971:393) proposed that an original verb-initial word order developed into the diverse orders found in the modern languages. Against the background of this hypothesis we have undertaken a study of a more detailed aspect of the syntax of this group of languages, the markings of subject nominals, not only from a typological point of view but with the aim of ascertaining the origin of the markers themselves. In the present paper, we present a survey of subject marking and word order in New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands, along with relevant information on verb classes, transitivity, and determination, all of which play a role in the morphosyntax of subject marking.

The languages of New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands show considerable typological diversity, both in phonology (Haudricourt 1971) and in syntax. On the basis of word order, we can distinguish four major groups among the New Caledonia and Loyalty Islands languages (cf. map):

1. VOS unmarked word order languages, with an embedded subject person-marker in the verb phrase (languages of the North, of the Centre, and of the South as far as (and including) Ajië; one language of the Loyalty Islands: Iaai of Uvea). The embedded person-marker is retained in topicalised SVO sentences.

2. A small transitional group (South: Xâråcuù, Tîrî, Xârågurè) where two orders are found: VOS as in the first group, or SVO without subject person-marker in the verb phrase, as in type 3. The texts available in these languages are insufficient for syntactic study.

3. SVO word order languages without embedded person-marker in the verb phrase (languages of the extreme South). Since these languages have no subject marker, they will not be discussed further here.
4. Mixed-order languages with tense dependent case marking and no embedded person-marker in the verb phrase (the other two languages of the Loyalty Islands: Drehu and Nengone).²

In New Caledonia languages with a VOS word order, nominal subjects may be preceded by a case marker. In some languages, this marker is always required. In others, its presence is correlated with various factors, e.g. type of verb (transitive or intransitive) or type of nominal subject (proper or common noun, animate or inanimate). Thus, we find languages with an accusative type (e.g. Aje), or an ergative type (e.g. Kumak), or with a split ergative (e.g. Nemi). Unlike the subject-final languages cited by Keenan (1978), none of these languages has a passive.

Besides their different uses, the subject markers are formally quite different; this makes their etymology very puzzling and leads us to consider that they have several different origins. In languages of the North, the subject markers may take the possessive suffixes for each person and seem to have a lexical origin. In languages of the Centre, as in Cémuhi,³ one of the markers seems to be a relic of an old personal article.

In the Loyalty Islands, the situation is clearer, at least for one marker found in all three languages: hne-, which has an attested lexical origin ('place of, result of an action') and appears mainly in past tense sentences. However, Nengone has another subject marker of uncertain origin.

We shall present separately the languages of New Caledonia and of the Loyalty Islands. Before dealing with the problem of case marking, we shall give the main grammatical features of these languages.

2. VOS WORD ORDER NEW CALEDONIA LANGUAGES

The grammatical structures of these languages show many similarities in verb phrase constituents, word order, determination (head + modifier), transitivity and treatment of the subject.

The main divergences are in the number of pronominal series distinguished in each language, and in the nominal subject case markers.

We shall present the main outlines of these different points.

2.1 Active clause structure and word order

2.1.1 The structure of an active clause is:

1. intransitive verb : sV ((sm) S)
2. transitive verb : sV (-tr) (O) (sm S)⁴

These two formulae show that:

- the verb phrase includes at least a verb base preceded by an embedded pronominal subject marker which agrees in person and generally in number with the nominal subject.
- some transitive verbs carry a transitive suffix which is deleted when the object is a pronoun or a proper noun (cf. 2.7.1.2).
- the expression of nominal subject and object is always optional. Transitive verbs, as will be seen in the presentation of verb classes, are always 'oriented', and refer to a determined object, even when the nominal object is not present (cf. 2.7).
- the nominal subject may be introduced by a case marker and when both nominal object and subject are present, the least marked word order is VOS.
1640

NEW CALEDONIA

Poum

 Yaleyu

 Balade

case

correla

Yuang;

ejive

Twizi

 Ylanghoma

 Tieh

Pinpréhouen

 Tole

 Voh-kone

dialects

 Pwamei

 Pwambe

 Pasic

 Sija

 Nwelou

New Caledonia and Loyalty Islands languages

SVO word order

VOS word order

LOYALTY ISLANDS

faga uvea

mixed word order and tense dependent case marking

0 100 km

MAP 1: New Caledonia and Loyalty Islands languages
The octopus runs after the rat.
(Haudricourt 1963:28)

The two women took the child.

The two women opened the oven.
(Rivierre: Textes inédits)

Two girls from Boeua stay to listen to the sound of the flute.
(Leenhardt 1932:190)

KUM (3) i ko vine ea ciixa
he/run after/rat/sm/octopus/
The octopus runs after the rat. (Haudricourt 1963:28)

NEM (4) yelu am u fe vi hyaok ru maali hhook
they du/ass/perf/take/the/child/sm/the du/woman/
The two women took the child.

JAW (5) delu ra u pwia di knek (w)e delui hnemo
they du/ass/perf/open/the/oven/sm/the du/woman/
The two women opened the oven.

CEM (6) lē cē mwo ā-lik tāi (w)ō lēpwō-jē
they/pull/again/the-def/rope/sm/these/
These men pull the rope again. (Rivierre: Textes inédits)

AJI (7) curu bōri to pwërê mērê dō xi-e na deo xe boeua
they du/then/stay/listen/sound/flute/of-him/sm/two girls/from/Boeua/
Two girls from Boeua stay to listen to the sound of the flute.
(Leenhardt 1932:190)

2.1.2 As shown in these examples, the tense/aspect markers usually follow the preverbal pronominal subject. Other terms may be placed before or after the verb. The expanded formula of a verb phrase is in most languages:

s+(asp)+(adv)+V+(adv)+(-tr)and/or(o)+(loc)+(again)+(dir)

KUM (9) na u phee-yo da-me
I/perf/take-you/up-come/
I brought you up.

NEM (10) ye am u pmwai bwari-ek
he/ass/perf/do/well-him/
He treated him well.

CEM (11) cā cā pēe-ěn daa-mwo-be
he/perf/take-him/up-again-come/
He brought him up again.

2.2 Topicalisation

2.2.1 The least marked word order is VOS, but in all of these languages we may find a VSO word order, for emphasis or contrast. However, the preferred position of the topic is before the verb phrase, with or without a topic marker.

Thus, the subject may be topicalised by fronting, as may any other direct or indirect object complement (already mentioned, or known), or adverbial complement: (giving a temporal or spatial framework in which the action takes place).

JAW (12) phwâvo khōôk xe ra hma-ra-mwa khoe keli di paik
as for/heron/he/ass/arrive-up-again/once more/spear/the/stone
As for the heron, he climbs again to spear the stone.

(13) phwâvo le gaahwaak delu ra hen
as for/in/morning/they du/ass/go/
In the morning, they go.
NEM (14a) pmwavo (ru) vi hnook kaavo o ye tena veli thon hago
as for/(sm)/the/woman/Kaavo/and/she/hear/the/sound/flute/
As for the woman Kaavo, she hears the sound of the flute.

(14b) maali hnook // yelu am ta-me
the du/woman///they du/ass/go up-come/
The two women, they come climbing up.

(15) pmwavo kavuagoa // wo u kaa-ek
as for/Kavuagoa///I/perf/kill-him/
Kavuagoa, I killed him.

(16) vi naana ne do // ye u thebii bwa-n ru kavuagoa
the/mother/of/you//he/perf/break/head-hers/sm/Kavuagoa/
Your mother, Kavuagoa broke her head.

CEM (17) 3 lepuwə ajje n-ə kə le abe
topic/the masc pl/brother-my/and/they/come/
My brothers, they come. (Rivierre:208)

AJI (18) pani-na, wc, na vi-rru
mother-my/'pause'/she/sew/
My mother, she sews. (Fontinelle:193)

2.2.2 All these topicalised complements, except the adverbial ones (13), leave
behind them a pronominal copy: pronominal subject marker (12) (14) (17) (18),
pronominal object (15), possessive suffix (16).

In Cêmuha (17), the subject case marker (w) is also the topic marker and
the topic is always followed by a co-ordinate clause introduced by ka.

In the other languages, the subject marker does not function as a topic
marker. It never appears at the beginning of the sentence, before a subject
(or other element) topicalised by fronting. In Nemi, the subject marker ru may
appear (although it is usually dropped) with a topicalised subject after the
optional topic marker pmwavo (14a). Perhaps this is because the topic marker
has a verbal origin (pmwa do, vo with the result that).

2.3 Determination and possessive constructions

In harmony with the VOS word order, the order of determination is
Head + Modifier.

In possessive constructions, we can generally distinguish between an
inalienable possession (head + possessive suffix or noun phrase) and an alienable
possession (head + preposition + possessor).
Eatable (or drinkable) possession
appears in most languages as an appositional phrase, where the thing eaten (or
drunk) is a specifier of the generic noun which precedes it. These classifiers
belong themselves to the inalienable noun class (cf. 2.3.4).

2.3.1 Inalienable possession

KUM (19) shii-n

hand-his/

shii ciiixa

hand/octopus/

his hand

the octopus' tentacle
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NEM (20) bwa-ŋ
   head-his/
   his head
   bwa vi hnoop
   head/the/woman/
   the woman's head

CEM (21) pũnĩ-ŋ
   head-his/
   his head
   pũnĩ ē tɔomwɔ
   head/the/woman/
   the woman's head

AJI (22) pani-na
   mother-my/
   my mother
   pani manu
   mother/Manu/
   Manu's mother

2.3.2 Alienable possession (or other nominal determinant marked by a preposition)

KUM (23) kuvic
   yam
   kuviy i e
   yam/of/him
   his yam

NEM (24) kuuk
   yam
   kuuk ne ek
   yam/of/him/
   his yam

CEM (25) ámó
   pole
   ámó te-n
   pole/to-his/
   his pole
   cínú
   illness
   cínú kó-ŋ
   illness/on-my/
   my illness

AJI (26) baike
   bag
   baike ri-na
   bag/of-me/
   my bag
   baike i mareko
   bag/of/Mareko/
   Mark's bag

2.3.3 Juxtaposed determination

KUM (27) álɔ ak
   child/male/
   boy
   mwa hwooc
   house/trap/
   trap-oage

NEM (28) da ceek
   spear/wood/
   wooden spear
   bwek hnoop
   flying/fox/woman/
   female flying fox

CEM (29) élẹ mágát
   basket/shrimp/
   shrimp basket; basket of shrimp
   bwélé ba-ącũut
   war club/piece-wood/
   wooden war club

AJI (30) baike kwije
   bag/banana/
   bag full of bananas
   jyaari wi?
   child/male/
   boy
2.3.4 Appositional determination

As mentioned above, appositional phrases are used in several languages to designate the food (and sometimes the drink) possessed: classifier (inalienable) + specifier.\(^6\)

KUM (31) caa-n kuvic
  starch-y food-his/yam/
  his yam (to eat)

NEM (32) caa-n kuuk
  starch-y food-my/yam/
  my yam (to eat)

CEM (33) ni ē-pu căāmwó
  the neut pl/starchy food-our du incl/banana/
  our bananas (to eat)

  ā uu-m nōonī
the neut/salad-your/spinach/
your spinach (to eat) \(\text{(Rivierre:167)}\)

2.4 Prepositions of lexical origin

These languages have very few true prepositions. It is mostly inalienable nouns which are used instead.

Thus, in Kumak, shii-n his hand is used to indicate the goal:

KUM (34) ōda-me shii-n clumb up-come/hand-his
  climb up towards him

(35) khaabwe shii-n
  say/hand-his/
  say to him

In Nemi, hi-n his hand is used to indicate the beneficiary (36), dai-n his back
  gives tai-n behind him (37):

NEM (36) na hi-n
give/hand-his/
give to him

(37) hen tai-n
go/behind-his/
go behind him

In Cêmuhâ, the preposition te-n, which introduces the possessor (cf. 25),
also indicates the addressee or the beneficiary, and clearly comes from an
inalienable noun dē-n his property, his goods:

CEM (38) ā mwà te-n
  the/house/to-his/
  his house
These data showing the lexical origin of some prepositions are to be kept in mind, for we will see that in several languages of the North, the subject markers which introduce the lexical subject may also take the possessive suffixes as pronominal substitutes for the subject.

2.5 Possessed verbs

Finally, in several of these languages, we find a small group of subjective or psychological verbs which take the same possessive suffixes as inalienable nouns. Their nominal origin is clear, but they differ from nouns in that they may function by themselves as complete statements:

KUM (41) aua-n  he wants, his will

NEM (42) ñame-n  he wants, his heart
neu-n  he dreams, his dream  <  nep  dream
made-n  he is hungry  <  manet  starvation

CEM (43) nimé-n  he wants, his will
niü-n  he dreams, his dream
méné-n  he is hungry  <  ménét  starvation

2.6 Transitivisation

Active verbs are transitive or intransitive. Some intransitive verbs may be transitivised by adjunction of a suffix (or by flexion of the final vowel). Semantically, as often in Oceanic languages, the object may be the patient, the source, the place or the accessory. The transitive suffixes are:

(44) KUM : -i, -e, -(i)li, or flexion a > e
NEM : -i, or flexion a > e
CEM : -i, -h
AJI : -i, -ri (occasionally -ru)

Transitivisation is very productive. Some pairs are given below as examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KUM (45)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ap</td>
<td>laugh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phaxat</td>
<td>defecate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jak</td>
<td>measure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zap</td>
<td>run away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naxaxa</td>
<td>be afraid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEM (46)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cora</td>
<td>climb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tnoon</td>
<td>run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naan</td>
<td>laugh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cila</td>
<td>ask questions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guna</td>
<td>steal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.7 The transitive verb and its different types of object

Transitive verbs are always 'oriented', that is, the action they express is always aimed at a determined object.

When no object is present, it means that the object is inanimate and known from the context; this is a form of pronominalisation.

The nominal object, when determined, is not included in the verb phrase, is never introduced by a case marker, and is not recalled in the verb phrase by a co-referent pronominal marker (cf. 2.7.1).

Finally, when the object is not determined, it may be incorporated in the verb phrase (2.7.2).

2.7.1 Marked or unmarked transitive verbs

We can distinguish two types of transitive verbs: those which always keep the same form whatever the category of the object (49), and those which show a flexional derivation before proper nouns or pronominal objects (final vowel flexion in Kumak; loss of the transitive suffix in Nemi and Cemuhi). When the object is a determined common noun, however, inflected verbs keep their transitive suffix (50).

2.7.1.1 Unmarked transitive verbs

(49) KUM phee take sth, take it phee-na take me
NEM fe take sth, take it fe-ek take him
CEM né put sth, put it né-ê put him
AJI rhû see sth, see it rhû-e see him

2.7.1.2 Marked transitive verbs

(50) KUM axe see sth, see it axe âlô see the child
NEM kaai hit sth, hit it kaai vi hyaok hit the child
CEM âlThî see sth, see it âlThî a éwâ see the child

(Rivierre: 252-257)

(Fontinelle: 284-286)
We may mention that in Cemuhi there is a complex system of articles. A distinction is made between a series of 'personifying' articles (feminine and masculine) and a series of 'neuter' articles. The noun phrase: 'personifying article' + noun always functions as a proper noun or pronoun, and when serving as an object, it undergoes the same process of 'proper noun incorporation' involving the loss of the verb suffix (51).

CEM (51) ə əlį 1u tōomwō
he/see/the du fem/woman/
He sees the two women.

The distinction made in Cemuhi between personifying and neuter articles is essential for it conditions the choice of the subject case marker (cf. 78).

2.7.2 Nominal object incorporation

In New Caledonian languages, as in many Oceanic languages, the nominal object may be incorporated in the verb phrase. No insertion is then possible between the verb and its incorporated object; they form together an intransitive verb phrase.

In Cemuhi, object incorporation involves the loss of the article (52).
In Paici, the verb is reduced to its first syllable (54).
In Nemi, either the verb is reduced (53a), or the article is lost (53b).
In Ajié, it seems that there is only loss of the transitive suffix (55).

CEM (52) wólį a Tkuū spear/the/fish/ to spear the fish wólį-Tkuū spear-fish to spearfish
NEM (53a) kaai vi nuk hit/the/fish/ to hit the fish ka-nuk hit-fish
(53b) kneli vi nuk spear/the/fish/ to spear the fish kneli-nuk spear-fish to spearfish
PAI (54) tā ĭ ārawēe spear/the/fish/ to spear the fish tā-ārawēe spear-fish to spearfish
AJI (55) tuu-ri kamo? grab-tr/man/ to grab the man tuu kamo? grab/man/ to seize people (Fontinelle:285)

We have tried to show above the main common features of these languages. Now we come to two points on which they diverge: the number of distinct series of pronouns, and the subject markers.

2.8 Pronominal series

All New Caledonia languages distinguish between singular, dual and plural forms of pronouns, and, with first person dual and plural, between inclusive and exclusive forms. But they differ in the number of distinct series used for the different functions.
Kumak, for example, distinguishes four series of pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KUM (56)</th>
<th>embedded subject</th>
<th>object</th>
<th>possessive</th>
<th>free form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-η</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>-co/-yo</td>
<td>-yo</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>co</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>ye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Haudricourt 1963:8)

Nemi and Cēmuhi distinguish two more series: one series of stative pronouns suffixed to stative verbs, which excludes the presence of embedded subject pronouns in the verb phrase, and one series of locative pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CEM (57)</th>
<th>embedded subject</th>
<th>object</th>
<th>possessive</th>
<th>stative</th>
<th>locative</th>
<th>free/focal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>-ē</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-η</td>
<td>-jo</td>
<td>-eo</td>
<td>wāeo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>-gō</td>
<td>-ko</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-go</td>
<td>gō</td>
<td>wāgō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>-ē</td>
<td>-ēη</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-naη</td>
<td>-ēη</td>
<td>wēēη</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Rivierre:61)

Paici and Ajië have only three series of pronouns; object and possessive pronouns are identical:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AJI (58)</th>
<th>embedded subject</th>
<th>object/possessive</th>
<th>free/focal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>-ηa</td>
<td>gēna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>ge</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>gēi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>-e/-ē/-ə</td>
<td>cē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Fontinelle:154-156)

2.9 Noun phrase subject case markers

We have already mentioned that with active verbs, the nominal subject is recalled in the verb phrase by a co-referent pronominal subject. The nominal subject itself may be introduced by a case marker whose form and use differ from one language to another.

In this section, we shall present some examples of the diversity of subject case marking.

2.9.1 Ergative case marking: Kumak (Far North)

2.9.1.1 In Kumak, the case marker *ē* appears only before the subjects of transitive verbs (e.g. 59). Subjects of intransitive verbs are unmarked (60):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KUM (59)</th>
<th>trans.</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>axe on</th>
<th>ea</th>
<th>vine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>he/see/sand/sm/rat/</td>
<td>The rat sees the sand.</td>
<td>(Haudricourt 1963:28)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(60)</td>
<td>intr.</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>cap</td>
<td>vine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>he/flee/rat/</td>
<td>The rat flees.</td>
<td>(idem)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, as in many Polynesian languages, we find case marking of an ergative type on the noun phrase.

However, if we consider the embedded pronouns in the verb phrase, we find an agreement of an accusative type. Thus, we can identify the nominal which agrees in person and number with the embedded pronominal marker of the verb phrase as the syntactic subject, for both transitive and intransitive verbs (61a, 61b).
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KUM (61a) trans. la u ogi-na na la-bai
they/perf/leave-me/sm/they-there/
They abandoned me. (Haudricourt 1963:14)

(61b) intr. me la tu mâålic roven
and/they/go down/bird/all/
And all the birds go down. (Haudricourt 1963:13)

2.9.1.2 Comments on the case marker ea: this marker is realised either ea or a.
Leenhardt (1946:30) stated that it could be followed by possessive suffixes,
whatever the person involved: ea-n I, ea-m you, ea-n he. Twenty years later,
Haudricourt (1963:8) found the same marker, but only before nouns or
demonstrative pronouns.

We have not found any other language with ergative case marking, that is
among languages already described or on which we have unpublished documents.

2.9.2 Accusative case marking: e.g. Ajië (South)
2.9.2.1 In Ajië, the subject case marker is na. This marker is obligatory
before every kind of subject, with both transitive and intransitive verbs (62),
(63):

(62) trans. na kâi falawa na kamâ?
he/eat/bread/sm/man/
The man eats the bread.

(63a) intr. cere kooy na (para) cyaarî
they/play/sm/(pl)/child/
The children play. (Fontinelle:313)

(63b) na do kanî na ma?u
it/really/grow/sm/yam/
The yam grows well. (Fontinelle:193)

2.9.2.2 In this language, case markers and agreement are of nominative/
accusative type. Here are the languages which present the same case marking
type:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>language</th>
<th>subject case marker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Koné dialects:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hmwaveke</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hmwaëke</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haeke</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Languages of the south:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ajië</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arhö</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arhâ</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orowe</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neku</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nerë</td>
<td>na / ne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Between these two types (Ajië on one side, Kumak on the other), we find a
variety of intermediate states, of which we shall only give a few examples.
2.9.3 Split ergative: e.g. Nemi (North)

2.9.3.1 In Nemi, the case marker ru comes before the subject, animate or inanimate, of a transitive verb and the animate subject (only) of an intransitive (65a), (65b), (65c). The inanimate subject of an intransitive verb is not marked (66).

NEM (65a) trans. (animate subject):

```
yelu fe vi hyaok ru maali hnook
they du/take/the/child/sm/the du/woman/
The two women take the child.
```

(65b) trans. (inanimate subject):

```
ye teve-ek ru vi davec
it/carry-her/sm/the/flood/
The flood carries her away.
```

(65c) intr. (animate subject):

```
ye ta-me ru vi hnook
she/climb-come/sm/the/woman/
The woman comes climbing up.
```

(66) intr. (inanimate subject):

```
ye ta-me vi davec
it/mount-come/the/flood/
The flood mounts.
```

2.9.3.2 Most languages of the North present this type of case marking. But note, first, that the case markers are not the same in each language, and second, that some markers may take the possessive suffixes, whereas others may only introduce the free/focal pronouns.

However, all the case markers are generally embedded in the interrogative pronoun who?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>language</th>
<th>subject case marker</th>
<th>who?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yâlayu (Balade)</td>
<td>wa +</td>
<td>ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caac</td>
<td>we +</td>
<td>we-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jawe</td>
<td>(w)e +</td>
<td>we-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pwaamei</td>
<td>thu / thuu +</td>
<td>thuu / thuu-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pwapwâ</td>
<td>du</td>
<td>duu-te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pije</td>
<td>lu</td>
<td>thuu / thuu-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nemi (Temala)</td>
<td>ru</td>
<td>thuu / thuu-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nemi (East coast)</td>
<td>ru</td>
<td>rhuu / rhuu-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fwâi</td>
<td>ru</td>
<td>rhuu / rhuu-de</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The + sign means that the case marker may take the possessive suffixes.

2.9.3.3 Discussion:

In several languages, the pronominal substitute of the nominal subject is the free/focal pronoun:

```
NEM (68) ye ta-me ru vi hnook
she/climb-come/sm/the/woman/
The woman comes climbing up
```
But in several neighbouring languages, these pronominal substitutes are the possessive suffixes, for all persons.

Thus, in Jawe, the subject case marker (w)e, which has the same distribution as the Neni ru, presents the flexions of inalienable possessed nouns before the possessive suffixes: o-ŋ I, (w)e-m you, (w)e-n he. 9

JAW (70) xe ta-me (w)e di hnemo
she/climb-come/sm/the/woman/
The woman comes climbing up.

(71) xe ta-me (w)e-n
she/climb-come/sm-her (possessive form)/
She comes climbing up.

(72) jo juu he-mwa-me (w)e-m
you/really/go-again-come/sm-your/
You are coming back.

(73) mo gaa pwe i 0-ŋ nei khêk
I/prog/open/sm-my/this/oven/
I am going to open this oven.

The situation is the same in Pwaamei where the subject marker thu, original form of the subject markers du, lu and ru (67), takes either the possessive suffix or the free/focal pronouns; the choice appears to be completely free: thuu-ŋ or thuu doŋ I, thuu-m or thuu jo you, thuu-n or thuu dak he.

PWA (74) a ta-me thu ve daahma
he/climb-come/sm/the/chief/
The chief comes climbing up.

(75) a ta-me
he/climb-come/
(thuu-n
sm-his (possessive)/

thuu dak
sm-he (free form)/

He comes climbing up.

However, in all of these languages, the pronominal topic coming at the beginning of the sentence is always the free form pronoun:

NEM (76) yek /// ye ta-me
he/he/climb-come/
As for him, he comes climbing up.

JAW (77) dek /// xe ta-me
he/he/climb-come/
As for him, he comes climbing up.

In conclusion, it seems to us that the use of the possessive suffix after the subject marker is archaic in languages of the North. We have already said that Leenhardt noted flexions for the Kumak ea subject marker: ea-ŋ I, ea-m you, ea-n he. Nowadays, the subject markers we (Caac, Jawe) and thu (Pwaamei) still take the possessive suffixes, and we may suppose that, as for many prepositions of these languages, the subject markers have a lexical origin, which we cannot trace at present.
2.9.4 Languages of the Centre: Cemuhi and Paicî

2.9.4.1 In Cemuhi, the situation is still more complex. We find two subject markers: (w) and ne/na.10

The (w) marker appears before proper nouns, and before common nouns preceded by 'personifying articles' (cf. note 7). This marker is obligatory whether the verb is transitive or intransitive (78a), (78b).

CEM (78a) trans.  ₋pee-ɛnɛ œ iki
she/take-him/sm/Ike/
Ike takes him.

(78b) intr.  lu mœ œ lũpwɔ apulíp
they du/stay/sm/the du masc/man/
The two men stay.

The ne/na marker appears before common nouns preceded by the neuter article. It is not obligatory, and, when it appears, it indicates clearly an emphasis on the active nature of the subject. More frequent with transitive verbs, the ne/na marker is still never obligatory (cf. 79a, 79b).

J.-C. Rivierre (1980:186) insists on its role as focus marker:

CEM (79a) trans.  ₋kɔʊ ũnɛ-hî ə a mû na ə tɛlt
it/pres/burn-tr/the neut/country/sm/the neut/sun/
The sun burns the country.

(79b)  ₋paaí ə a mû ə cínú
it/invoke/the neut/country/the neut/disease/
The disease invades the country.

(80) intr.  ₋kɔ̱ (na) ə ewà
he/pres/cry/(sm)/the neut/child/
The child cries.

(81) intr.  ₋tũpwɔ ə áčehi-n
it/fall/the neut/fruit-its/
Its fruit falls.  (Rivierre:187)

In Paicî, we only find one subject marker, wa, before proper nouns, and before common nouns preceded by 'personifying articles' whether the verb is transitive or intransitive (82a) and (82b):

PAI (82a) trans.  ṛu cäō ɪ gɔɔ wa tũpedu ɛpɔ
they du/see/the/crab/sm/the du masc/child/
The two boys see the crab.

(82b) intr.  ṑcõcõ wə dũi
he/go out/sm/Dui/
Dui goes out.

There is no subject marker before common noun preceded by neuter articles (83a) and (83b).

PAI (83a) trans.  ṑpà ɪ nãkébwɔ ɪ ɛpɔ
he/take/the/basket/the/child/
The child takes the basket.

(83b) intr.  ṑi ɪ ɛpɔ
he/cry/the/child/
The child cries.
2.9.4.2 The subject markers ($w$) and $wa$

The ($w$) marker has many functions in Cèmuhi:

($w$)$^1$: subject marker before proper nouns and nouns preceded by personifying articles, cf. (78).

($w$)$^2$: marker incorporated in free/focal pronouns (cf. 57), and in the interrogative pronoun $w$ who?

($w$)$^3$: proper noun predicate marker:

CEM (84) $\bar{5}$ îké This is Ike.

($w$)$^4$: proper noun (or noun preceded by personifying articles) topic marker:

- subject topic: cf. (17);
- object topic:

CEM (85) $\bar{5}$ pā cā ʔt-ʔ kā $\bar{e}$ cētē-ɛŋ $\bar{e}$ pā $\mathfrak{wà}$

As for his father, the child catches him up. (Rivierre:208)

- possessor topic:

CEM (86) $\bar{5}$ pā nā-ʔ kā cībû $\bar{a}$ nā-ʔ

As for his son, he has a swollen belly. (Rivierre:209)

($w$)$^5$: marks appositional proper nouns:

CEM (87) $\bar{e}$ ʔtū wūpū $\mathfrak{wà}$ nājī $\bar{e}$ āpōμwūidē $\bar{e}$ āpōμpe $\mathfrak{wà}$

He finds the two brothers Apwamwiide and Apwapice. (Rivierre:185)

Should we interpret these as several accidentally homophonous particles?

This is not impossible, but we may also suppose that some of the above functions are derivative: ($w$)$^2$ and ($w$)$^3$ are predicate markers, and the appositive use of ($w$)$^5$ probably comes under the same function.

On the other hand, topics are always followed by a co-ordinate clause introduced by $\mathfrak{k}$a (cf. 17, 85, 86), and the topic marker ($w$)$^4$ could also derive from the predicate marker: This is $X$ and ...

This construction is quite different from the emphatic one which is marked by relativisation (with a deictic):

CEM (88) $\bar{5}$ îké ŋnā $\bar{e}$ âbē

It is Ike who is coming.

In conclusion, the ($w$) marker in Cèmuhi seems to have two essential functions: subject marker and pronominal or proper noun predicate marker.

The Paicî $\mathfrak{wà}$ marker (J.-C. Rivierre, personal communication) has the same functions that the Cèmuhi ($w$) has. But it can also, optionally, precede proper noun (or personified NP) complements. The use of $\mathfrak{wà}$ before the object (89) or before other complements (90) is associated with semantic emphasis.

PAI (89) $\bar{e}$ cō $\bar{e}$ $\mathfrak{wà}$ bō $\mathfrak{wà}$ dūt

Dūt sees Bwae.
We may note that:

- WA is obligatory before every proper noun subject, whereas it is optional as an emphatic marker.
- As an emphasis marker, WA has always a mid tone; as a subject marker, however, it does not have a specific tone but always a lower tone than the one of the preceding syllable: compare (91a), (91b) and (91c).

PAI (91a) e mé wā dūī
he/come/sm/Dui/
Dui comes.

(91b) e cōpwō wā dūī
he/go away/sm/Dui/
Dui goes away.

(91c) gō tīmwū (wā) dūī
I/catch/(emph)/Dui/
I catch Dui.

It seems reasonable to suppose that the two markers (w)ō (Cemacs) and WA (Paci) have the same origin, i.e. an ancient personal article.

We may compare the function of these markers with the function of the personal article of other Oceanic languages. Pawley (1972:100) notes several languages of the south-east Solomons where the a marker occurs before 'personal names and kinship terms denoting a specific person in focal and subject positions'. Closer to New Caledonia, J. Lynch (personal communication) points out that in Aneityum, the only VOS language of Vanuatu, the subject marker a is also incorporated in free/focal pronouns.

2.9.4.3 The subject marker ne

If the marker (w)ō comes from an ancient personal article, we might be tempted to interpret the subject marker ne (found also as na in languages of the South (cf. 64) as a reflex of the Oceanic common noun article *nā.

We have seen that in Paci, however, there is no subject marker before common nouns; and in Cemacs the function of the marker ne is not parallel to that of (w)ō:

- it is only a facultative emphasis marker before subjects with neutral articles (79)-(81);
- it never introduces common noun predicates: articles are used instead:

CEM (92) a mwā
the/house/
This is a house.

Finally the ne / na marker has many homonyms in all these languages (deictic, locative ...) and it seems difficult now to decide definitely on its origin.
2.10 Conclusion

This presentation shows the complexity of reconstruction of the subject markers in New Caledonia languages. These languages diverged a long time ago, as their wide phonological diversity proves. The grammatical morphemes have changed (and diverged) at a faster rate than the lexical stock. Presently, we are not able to propose a satisfying explanation which can account for the variety in form and use of these subject markers. However, we may consider two possible origins for some of these markers:

- an ancient personal article in Cemuhî and Païci, where the (w)ə and wʔ markers function as an 'identity presentative';

- a lexical origin in languages of the North, where the subject marker behaves like an inalienable noun.

We know that other Oceanic languages resemble the languages of northern Caledonia in having verbal structures with a postposed subject marked by possessive suffixes (e.g. Santa Cruz, north-western Solomons [M. Ross, personal communication at the TICAL Conference]).

Should we interpret these facts as parallel innovations from nominalised verbal structures, or as the trace of more ancient common phenomena? A systematic study of subject case markers in all the Oceanic languages would perhaps help to answer this question.

3. LOYALTY ISLANDS LANGUAGES

3.1 Main common features

The languages of the Loyalty Islands are classified by Grace (1955) on the basis of lexicostatistics as a subgroup of Oceanic separate from that of the New Caledonia languages.

Grammatically, however, Iaai of Uvea shows similarities with the northern languages of New Caledonia (VOS word order, embedded subject pronouns in the verb phrase, distinct series of pronouns).

In this section, we will examine the three Loyalty Islands languages together, emphasising their similarities with respect to categories, verb classes, transitivity and the presence of a subject marker hne-.

3.1.1 First, we may note that the verb/noun opposition is more restricted in these three languages than in languages of New Caledonia. Many words may be either verbs or nouns depending on their syntactic context: with nominal particles, they function as nouns, with verbal ones, they function as verbs. Thus, the role of the particles is predominant, since for a large part of the lexicon they determine the function of the words. However, the verb/noun opposition does exist, as some words are always verbs, and cannot become nouns without derivation.

We have said that the particles have an important role: in Nengone, for example, the anteposition of a definite particle is sufficient to nominalise a verb phrase, without really affecting its internal structure:
NEN (93) ci hmi ke bon
pres/pray/sm/he/

He prays.

(94) roi kore ci hmi bon
good/sm + the/pres/pray/he/

His prayer (going on) is good.

(95) roi kore hmi ni bua
good/sm + the/prayer/of/you/

Your prayer is good.

Sentence (93) is nominalised in (94) and becomes the subject by the simple anteposition of the definite subject marker kore (replacing the subject marker ke). In sentence (95), hmi functions as a noun: it has no aspect marker and is determined by a possessor NP.

3.1.2 Verb classes and transitivity

3.1.2.1 Verbs are either stative or active. Stative verbs in Iaai take a separate series of pronouns. However, in all three languages, they admit a causative transitivisation:

(96) IAA gaan tall oo-gaan-ο to honour
DRE tu tall a-του-ν to honour
NEN hma tall a-hma-ν to honour

Active verbs are either transitive or intransitive:

- Intransitive verbs may be invariably intransitive, or transitivisable. Many nouns may function as transitive verbs with the same formal marks of transitivisation. Examples of invariably intransitive verbs:

(97) IAA cihga to sneeze
DRE Toṭesī to yawn
NEN ice to climb up

Transitivisable verbs or nouns:

(98) IAA ci to lean cæ to support sth
walak to play walak-ο to play with sth
ieτα to be repentant leτα-α to regret sth
mokuτ to lie, to sleep mokul-εε to lie on, to brood (egg)
αιν ο a straw αινε to cover sth with straw

DRE ᵛντω to spit ᵁντω-εε to spit sth, to spit on sth
hūdα to lean hūdα-ν to support, to maintain sth
kalaim to wash one's hands kalaim-εε to wash one's hands with sth
maτ to be glad maτ-ιν to be glad of sth
faγ toft fist faγ-εε to hit s.o. with the fist
alaamek eye alaamek-εε to look at

NEN cum to be on the watch cum-οον to watch sth
hue to go hu-οον to go along sth, to go on
niav bad, the evil niav-ν to harm s.o.
hele knife hel-οον to cut sth with a knife
Transitivity markers present various and often complex forms. As in New Caledonia languages, transitivity covers a large semantic field: the object is the patient, the place, the source or the accessory.

--- Transitive verbs

Some verbs are always transitive, that is, their meaning includes the possibility of having an object, even if it is not necessarily present.

(99) IAA kot to hit wo to see hom to take
     DRE fe to open xen to eat  sk to pick up
     NEN ridi to hit cue to bring cin to gather with the hands

3.1.2.2 Possessed verbs

Loyalty Islands languages also provide a small series of subjective, psychological or locative verbs which must take a possessive suffix or a possessive determination:

(100) IAA e wee-k I want e wee-m you want e wee-ŋ he wants
     haie-n he says bili-ŋ he is the last hne-ŋ he stays
     DRE hwa-ŋ I must, my duty fni-ŋ I say hwaa-ŋ I come from
     ad-a-ŋ I want, my will
     ad ne la ite fge kuci-xen
duty/def/pl/woman/prepare-food/
Women must prepare the food.
     NEN ala-iego pa-go
I want I must

3.1.2.3 Verbal flexions depending on the object

The object is never introduced by a case marker. However, it may change the form of the verb, depending on whether it is a pronoun or a proper noun, a determined common noun, or incorporated in the verb phrase.

Transitive or transitivised verbs generally present three forms:

-- a determined form, if the object is a determined common noun (or when no object is expressed), that is, if the object may take articles. A determined nominal object is always optional, and does not necessarily immediately follow the verb:

\[ V \text{ det: } + ((\text{article}) + 0) \]

IAA (101) ame kot jee wanakat
     he+pres/hit det/the pl/child/
He hits the children.

DRE (102) aŋeic a humuŋ la puaka
     he/pres/kill det/the/pig/
He kills the pig.

NEN (103) inu ci huoon ore lene
     I/pres/go on det/the/road/
I take this road.
- an undetermined form which requires the presence of a nominal object, without particles, and immediately following the verb. The nominal object is incorporated in the verb phrase:

\[ V \text{ undet} + O \]

IAA (104) ame xuc - bü
   he+pres/hit undet-flying fox/He hunts flying fox.

DRE (105) aŋeic a humu - puaka
   he/pres/kill undet-pig/
   He kills pigs, he is a pig killer.

NEN (106) i nu c i hu 1 eqan
   I/pres/go on undet-main road/
   I take main roads.

The phrase \( V \text{ undet} + O \) may function as an intransitive verb phrase, and may itself be transitivised again.\(^{13}\)

- a personal form if the object is a pronoun or a proper noun, necessarily present after the verb:

\[ V \text{ pers} + \text{pronoun/proper noun} \]

IAA (107) ame kuc - u
   he+pres/hit pers-you/
   He hits you.

DRE (108) aŋeic a humu8i - wamo
   he/pres/kill pers-Wamo/
   He kills Wamo.

NEN (109) ci kemeno = bua
   pres/fear pers-you/
   Someone fears you, you are feared.

These are the main features concerning verbal classes and transitivity. The grammaticalised opposition between pronouns and proper nouns on the one hand and common nouns on the other which affects the form of transitive verbs, recurs elsewhere in the language; it affects determination, and the flexions undergone by prepositions, subject markers included.

We now present separately active clause structures, determination, and the specific derivation involving the subject marker hne- for each of the three Loyalty Islands languages.

Finally we will try to give an overall picture of the uses of subject markers in these languages.

3.2 Iaai

3.2.1 Three features differentiate Iaai from the other two languages, and group it with languages of northern New Caledonia:

- there is a pronominal subject embedded in the verb phrase;
- the pronominal subject is itself embedded in the tense/aspect marker.
There are four series of pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(111)</th>
<th>subject</th>
<th>object</th>
<th>possessive</th>
<th>free/focal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plain form</td>
<td>embedded</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1s</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>oge/-ip-</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u-</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-n/-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.2 Word order and subject marker

VOS is the unmarked word order. The object is never preceded by any mark. Nor is the nominal subject, except occasionally in past tense transitive sentences.

(112) intr. ame walak wanakat
he+pres/play/child/
The child plays.

(113) trans. ame kot wanakat 3aan
he+pres/hit/child/chief/
The chief hits the child.

(114) trans. past tense
aa kuu-na (hne-n) kame-n
he+past/hit-me/(sm-his)/father-his/
His father hit me.

However, if the object is a nominal and the subject is introduced by hne-n, then the object must be topicalised by fronting:

(115) wanakat // aa kot hne-n 3aan
child//he+past/hit/sm-his/chief/
The chief hit the child.

The subject marker hne-n is an optional mark of emphasis on the agent in past tense sentences. It only appears with common noun (hence 3rd person) subjects; thus there is no choice of pronominal flexion.

3.2.3 Determination

The order of determination is the same in all New Caledonian and Loyalty Islands languages. However, Iaai has developed a complex system of determination when the head is an alienable noun and the modifier human; this system recalls the eatable or drinkable possession seen in New Caledonia. But in Iaai it is very productive. Surprisingly, this system is not found in Drehu and Nengone.
Juxtaposed determination:

(116) uma weto  
tag oŵic  
*house/stone/  
basket/banana/  
house made of stone  
basket full of bananas*

When the head is an inalienable noun, it keeps its inherent possessive suffix if the modifier is a common noun (117), but loses it if the modifier is a proper noun (118):

(117) caa-n  əaan  
caaa-k  
*foot-his/chief/  
the chief's foot  
foot-my  
my foot*

(118) caa-poou  
Poou's foot

When the head is an alienable noun, and the modifier non-human, two prepositions may be used: en (destination) and ip (origin):

(119) tag en oŵic at en hnei  
basket/prep/banana/  
man/prep/country/  
basket for bananas  
inhabitant of a country  
fao in meno  
tea in hu  
horn/prep/cattle/  
rope/prep/boat/  
cattle horn  
boat rope

If the head is an alienable noun, and the modifier human, then an appositional phrase is necessary, consisting of a classifier which shows the kind of possession or the category of the thing possessed followed by possessive suffixes. The classifier used for this appositional determination may be an inalienable noun (120), an alienable noun (121), a verb (122) or even a preposition (see 3.2.4, (124)).

(120) anî-n his thing is used for general possession:  
anî-k koko my yam  
anî-m əaan your chief  
anî-n meic his fire  
*a-n his food is used for eatable possession:  
a-k koko my yam (to eat)  
a-n jeeü his provisions  
bele-n his drink is used for drinkable possession:  
bele-n kaiə his water (to drink)  
(121) uma house used for dwelling possession:  
umwe-k uma my house  
umwe-k ito my round hut  
*hu boat used for embarcation possession:  
huu-k hu my boat  
huu-k galu my canoe*

(122) hleq to warm oneself by the fire  
hlogu-k meic my fire (to heat myself)
3.2.4 Derivation

We only present one type of derivation here, which involves the use of the subject marker hne-.

Some verbs may be nominalised by the prefix hna- place of, result of an action:

(123) mokut to sleep, to lie hna-mokut bed
  ünküme to think hna-ünküme the thought
  op to build hna-op building, construction

The modifier of a noun with the prefix hna- is always preceded by the preposition hne- (which we found as a subject marker in some past tense transitive clauses):

(124) hna-k hna-ünküme my thought
     hna-m hna-ünküme your thought
     hne-n hna-ünküme his thought
     hna-ünküme hne-n əaan the chief's thought

3.2.5 Conclusion

The preposition hne- in Iaai is only occasionally a subject marker. However, it is used in the determination of nouns prefixed by hna-.

Its lexical origin is clear: his place, he stays. Most of the prepositions have lexical origins, and the majority of these take the possessive suffixes:

(125) upi-n near him, at his place < his body
     hnimęka-n in front of him < his face
     ho-n above him, on him < his top

3.3 Drehu and Nengone

Drehu and Nengone differ from Iaai in the following points:

- They have no embedded subject pronouns in the verb phrase. As the presence of a nominal subject or object is optional, as in Iaai (except in Drehu in the present and future tenses), the lack of an embedded subject pronoun leads to basically impersonal verb phrases.

DRE (126) kola xen meci he
  prog/eat/ die/perf/
  s.o. is eating sth s.o. is dead

NEN (127) ci ule ci mane wenore hna begil
  pres/see/ pres/cry/because/past/punish/
  s.o. sees sth s.o. cries because (he) was punished

- The number of series of pronouns is reduced. We may note that this functional reduction of pronouns is counterbalanced by an extraordinary profusion of honorific and speaker-specific pronouns. The free form may be used everywhere, except for the object where a short form is found in the first and second person singular, and except for possessives of the first person (singular, dual and plural), where archaic possessive suffixes may replace the free form pronouns:
We find no appositional determination (possessive classifier + specifier).

3.4 Drehu

3.4.1 The word order and the presence or absence of the subject marker depend on the tense.

Three types of structure are found in Drehu.

3.4.1.1 SVO word order in the present-aoristic and future tenses, with transitive or intransitive verbs (130):

(130) intr. la nêk̂nât a elê
  the/child/pres/go up/
  The child goes up.

trans. la nêk̂nât a lep la kuli
  the/child/pres/hit/the/dog/
  The child hits the dog.

This structure necessarily includes a nominal or pronominal subject, which comes before the verb phrase.

3.4.1.2 VOS word order in the progressive and perfect tenses. With an intransitive verb, the optional subject follows the verb and is generally unmarked (131).

(131a) kola elê la nêk̂nât
  prog/go up/the/child/
  The child is going up.

(131b) tâhwa ha la dooxu
  arrive/perf/the/chief/
  The chief has arrived.

With a transitive verb, the direct object follows the verb; the subject is preceded by the subject marker and comes last (132). Both are optional:

(132) kola lep la kuli hne-ne la nêk̂nât
  prog/hit/the/dog/sm-of/the/child/
  The child is hitting the dog.
The subject marker remains when the direct object is not present:

(133) kola lep hne-ne la nekŋnat
prog/hit/sm-of/the/child/
The child is hitting sth.

Thus we have an ergative construction:

\[
\begin{align*}
V \text{ intr.} & + S \\
V \text{ trans.} & + O + \text{sm} + S
\end{align*}
\]

3.4.1.3 VOS unmarked word order with past tense. An SVO word order, with
topicalised subject, is quite frequent, especially with pronominal subjects.

The subject marker is compulsory whether the verb is transitive or
intransitive and whether the subject is animate or inanimate (134).

(134a) hna elë hne-ne la nekŋnat
past/go up/sm-of/the/child.
The child went up.

(134b) hna xep hne-ne la he
past/go ashore/sm-of/the/boat/
The boat went ashore.

(134c) hna lep la kuli hne-ne la nekŋnat
past/hit/the/dog/sm-of/the/child/
The child hit the dog.

3.4.1.4 We do not interpret this construction as a passive, as was done by
Tryon (1968):

- the actants cannot be expressed in any other way with past tense;
- there is no possible inversion of the syntactic roles, and no possible verbal
  flexion. Verbs are transitive or intransitive. The transitives, in particular,
  are always transitive in sense, whether the subject and object appear or not.
Thus, for example (135):

(135) hna qeuŋ la uma
past/burn/the/house/
does not mean the house burnt but someone (or something) burnt the house.
The agent can always be added (136):

(136) hna qeuŋ la uma hne-ne la aŋ
past/burn/the/house/sm-of/the/man/
The man burnt the house.

3.4.1.5 In Drehu, the subject marker is also the instrumental marker. When
both subject and instrument appear in a past sentence, the subject automatically
precedes the instrument:

(137) hna lep la kuli hne-ne la nekŋnat hne-ne la sine-singe
past/hit/the/dog/sm-of/the/child/im-of/the/piece of-wood/
The child hit the dog with a stick.
3.4.1.6 The subject marker takes the archaic first person possessive suffixes:

(138) hna lep la kuli hne-ŋ
past/hit/the/dog/sm-my/
I hit the dog

Thus, the subject marker has three flexions:

(139) hne- + possessive suffixes of first person
hne-ŋ + 2nd and 3rd person pronouns, and proper nouns
hne-ŋe + common nouns

Its lexical origin is clear, and the same as in Iaai: place of. In Drehu also, other prepositions of lexical origin take the first person possessive suffixes:

(140) hu-ŋ on me, above me < hun to be above, the top of
hu-ŋe on him, above him
hu-ŋe la ət on the man, above the man
hwẽmek-ŋ in front of me < hwẽmek face
ezi-ŋ near me < ezi the side of
huŋ-ŋ behind me < huŋ the back

3.4.2 Determination: always head + modifier

Juxtaposed determination:

(141) uma etc gutu ɗahman
house/stone/ poultry/male/
house made of stones cock

Inalienable possession:

The head is an inalienable noun (ex. penŋ-ŋ custom), it keeps its inherent determiner when the modifier is a common noun (142a), drops it when the modifier is a first person pronoun (142b) and replaces it with an -i suffix when the modifier is a 2nd or 3rd person pronoun or a proper noun (142c).

(142a) penŋ-ŋ la ŋŋ̄
custom-of/the/country/
the custom of the country

(142b) penŋ-hun
custom-our pl excl
our custom

(142c) penŋ-i aŋeic
custom-of/him/
his custom

Alienable possession:

The head is an alienable noun (e.g. huliwa work), the modifier is either suffixed to it (first person pronouns only (143a), or introduced by the preposition i (2nd or 3rd person pronoun, or proper noun, 143b), or by the preposition ne (common noun, 143c).

(143a) huliwa-ŋ
work-my
my work
We may note that in Drehu this same preposition ne is used for modifiers indicating the origin or the destination (144), whereas in Iaai there are two different prepositions (119).

3.4.3 Derivation

As in Iaai, the prefix hna- is a nominalising prefix with the same meaning: place of, result of an action. But note that in Drehu, hna is also the past tense marker.

Nouns prefixed by hna- may have an agentive complement introduced by the subject marker hne-:

3.4.4 Conclusion

The main originality of Drehu is its active structure whose constituents are marked differently depending on the tense: obligatory subject with no marker in present and future tenses, subject of transitive verbs marked in progressive and perfect tenses, all subjects marked in the past tense. The Drehu subject marker hne- is the same as in Iaai, but its utilisation is wider, and it can introduce pronominal or proper noun subjects also.

3.5 Nengone

Structures with active verbs:

The object generally follows the verb and is unmarked, even when it is topicalised:

(147) ci ule ore retok ore lene // inu ci huoon
pres/see/the/chief/ the/road//I/pres/go on-tr/
Someone sees the chief, I am taking the road.
the chief is seen.
3.5.1 The subject may appear in three different ways:

A. the subject comes before the verb phrase, without a preposition:

(148) ore du ci ruu lu
the/sun/pres/set/down/
The sun is setting.

(149) ore retok co ule ore tho\'o
the/chief/fut/see/the/field/
The chief will see the field.

(150) ore eat hna a-ireku-ni ore icuhma
the/army/past/caus-run away-tr/the/enemy/
The army made the enemy run away.

B. the subject comes after the verb phrase (present, perfect or future) introduced by the subject marker:

\(\text{ke}\) if the subject is a pronoun
\(\text{kei}\) if the subject is a proper noun or a personalised noun
\(\text{kore}\) if the subject is a noun (the subject marker integrates the definite article ore).

(151) ci ruu lu kore du
pres/set/down/sm+the/sun/
The sun is setting.

(152) co ule kore retok ore tho\'o
fut/see/sm+the/chief/the/field/
The chief will see the field.

(153) ha ed kore wata-go
perf/break up/sm+the/leg-my/
My leg is broken.

(154) phina lu kei dua
arrive/down/sm/grasshopper/
The grasshopper comes down.

C. In the past tense, the subject (whether before or after the verb phrase) is introduced by the agent marker hne-i, which takes either the first person possessive suffixes, or -i + 2nd or 3rd person pronoun or proper noun, or -nore + common noun.

(155) hna lani hne-i neno
past/change the subject/am-of/Nengo/
Nengo changed his subject of conversation.

(156) hne-gu hna rue
am-my/past/do/
I have done it.

(157) hna kaan hne-nore ta dua
past/eat/am-of the/some/grasshopper/
Some grasshoppers have eaten sth.
3.5.2 We will try to explain the different uses of these three different ways of expressing the subject.

We do not know the semantic difference between A and B. However in the neighbouring languages, anteposition of the subject is generally a topicalisation, and we may suppose that this is the case in Nengone. We do not know if these two structures have always coexisted, or if one is more archaic.

In the texts of Père Dubois (1975), on which the present sketch is mainly based, structure B appears to be more frequent. In any case, it is more grammaticalised, in the sense that it is obligatory in certain grammatical contexts.

3.5.2.1 Hence, the subject marker ke/kei/kore appears necessarily:

- when the subject follows the verb phrase.

Compare (a) and (b) in (158), (159) and (160):

(158a) ore du ci ruu lu
the/sun/pres/set/down/
The sun sets.

(158b) ci ruu lu kore du
pres/set/down/sm+the/sun/
The sun sets.

(159a) bon ha ci sere
he/perf/pres/suffocate/
He suffocates.

(159b) ha ci sere ke bon
perf/pres/suffocate/sm/he/
He suffocates.

(160a) kicine ha taño
Kicine/perf/die/
Kicine is dead.

(160b) ha taño kei kicine
perf/die/sm/Kicine/
Kicine is dead.

- after the presentatives (which probably have a verbal origin):

(161) ome kore retok
here is/sm+the/chief/
Here is the chief.

(162) ome ke bon
here is/sm/he/
Here he is.

(163) numu nene kore hna-eloon hne-i retok
there is/power/sm+the/curse/am-of/chief.
The curse of the chief is powerful. (Dubois:229)
— after interrogative pronouns when they are placed at the beginning of the clause.

Compare (a) and (b) in (164), (165), (166) and (167):

(164a) nubo la
    you/who?/
    Who are you?

(164b) la ke nubo
    who?/sm/you/
    Who are you?

(165a) caca o
    daddy/where?/
    Where is daddy?

(165b) o kei caca
    where?/sm/your/
    Where is daddy?

(166a) ore wine banene
    the/seedlings/what for?/
    What are the seedlings for?

(166b) banene kore wine
    what for?/sm+the/seedlings/
    What are the seedlings for?

(167a) ore ruace ri tʰoʰo ci whane hőqaele
    the/work/in/field/pres/begin/when?/
    When does the work in the fields begin?

(167b) hőqaele kore ci whane ore ruace ri tʰoʰo
    when/sm+pres/begin/the/work/in/field/
    When does the work in the fields begin?

— after the numerals, whatever are their function in the clause:

(168) ka bon hna hnapoo-n rewe kore rue aicahman rue karetin
    and/she/past/give birth-tx/two/boy/two/twin/
And she gave birth to two boys, twins. (Dubois:66)

(169) sa kore kacen
    one/sm+the/hour/
    one hour

— it is present when the verb is omitted in the introduction of direct discourse:

(170) plain form     ci cedi ke bon ko
    pres/answer/sm/he/that/
    He answers:

(171) elliptic form   ke bon ko
    sm/he/that/
    He (says):

This elliptic form is the only case where we found the subject marker at the beginning of a sentence.
3.5.2.2 Let us look now at structure C: the marker hne- emphasises the agentivity of the subject.

Nowadays, it is also the instrumental marker (the ancient specifically instrumental marker o noted by Dubois is no longer used). It appears as a subject marker mainly (only?) in past tense sentences, (172)-(175), and in subordinate clauses, (176)-(178).

(172) hna kuru lo hne-i du
past/rise/up/am-of/sun/
The sun has risen. (Dubois:163)

(173) ha as hna kakaa-n hne-i guacecegow
past/finish/past/eat-tr/am-of/Guacecegow/
Guacecegow has finished eating sth. (Dubois:247)

(174) hne-i buic hna se i cerethi
am-of/they/past/bathe/at/Cerethi/
They have bathed at Cerethi. (Dubois:64)

(175) hne-gu hna ruaba-a-n
am-my/past/clean-tr/
I have cleaned sth.

(176) buic ci a-ehne-ni ore ruace hne-i buic hna rue
yey/pres/caus-be visible/tr/the/work/am-of/them/past/do/
They show the work they have done. (Dubois:124)

(177) ...wenore hna a-taño-ni bon hne-nore ci-ikuša
...because/past/caus-die-tr/him/am-of/the/jealousy/
...because jealousy has killed him. (Dubois:185)

(178) nidi seseko kore ciboretan hna ñye hne-i buic
very/true/sm+the/news/past/bring/am-of/they/
The news that they brought is true.

The agent marker may also appear when the object is topicalised:

(179) ka ore rawa ni bo // deko co uraa-n hne-i buic
and/the/land/of/you/neg/fut/admire-tr/am-of/they/
And they will not admire your land. (Dubois:30)

We have seen above that the marker hne- may function as a subject marker. However, in intransitive clauses where a subject is already present, the noun phrase introduced by hne- has an instrumental function:

(180) bon ha taño hne-nore du
he/perf/die/im-of/the/sun/
He died because of the sun.

And compare (a) and (b) in (181):

(181a) intr. hna a-dee-kore nod hne-i Žotuane
perf/to be destroyed/sm+the/country/im-of/Jotruane/
The country is destroyed because of Jotruane.

(181b) trans. hna a-dee-ni ore nod hne-i Žotuane
past/caus-be destroyed-tr/the/country/am-of/Jotruane/
Jotruane has destroyed the country.
The hne-agent marker may occur before interrogative pronouns, giving the clause a past tense meaning:

(182) hne- i la
   am-of/who?/
   Who did that?

(183) hna hnapo hne- i la
   past/give birth/am-of/who?/
   Who has given birth?

The origin of this marker is lexical. In Nengone, hne still functions as a verb with the meaning of to stay, to be in a place:

(184) ka nene ci hne ri hna-meneñ
   and/mummy/pres/stay/in/staying-place/
   and mother stays in the house

and hnen as an inalienable noun:

(185) ri hnen me sa
   in/place of/stative marker/one/
   in one place

It takes the archaic possessive first person suffixes, as do some other prepositions of lexical origin:

(186) se-n at someone's place  se-gu  at my place
     se-i bon  at his place
     se-nore retok  at the chief's place

     coo-n the back of  coo-go  behind me

3.5.3 Determination

Determination in Nengone is about the same as in Drehu: first person possessives are suffixed to the head:

(187) yele-go  my name
     rawa-hne  our du excl land

The preposition (n)i comes before 2nd and 3rd person pronoun or proper noun:

(188) yelen i bon  his name  (yelen name inalienable noun)
     mma ni bo  your house  (mma house alienable noun)

and the preposition nore before a common noun:

(189) mma nore  nom
     house/of the/man/
     house of the man

3.5.4 Derivation

As in Iaai and Drehu, there is a nominalising prefix hna- (which is, as in Drehu, also the past tense marker); it is very productive:
(190) meneŋ to live in hna-meneŋ staying-place
kol to defecate hna-kol excrement
icie to disobey hna-icie disobedience
θalo to disembark hna-θalo arrival, disembarkation
cara to fall hna-cara fall

Nouns prefixed by hna- may take a modifier which must be introduced by the marker hne-:

(191) ri guhnen ore hna-cara hne-nore caac
in/place/of/the/fall/am-of the/spear/
At the place where the spear fell. (Dubois:83)

ore hna-θamahae hne-i kazeniri
the/urine/am-of/Kazeniri/
Kazeniri's urine

ka hna ca³uben ore hna-icie hne-i remama ni bon
and/past/punish/the/disobedience/am-of/older brothers/of/him/
The disobedience of his older brothers was punished. (Dubois:307)

4. CONCLUSION

We have presented the different syntactic contexts in which the subject case markers may appear in New Caledonia and Loyalty Islands languages.

We will conclude with some hypotheses concerning word order and the origin of these case markers.

4.1 It seems reasonable to suppose that VOS, the unmarked word order, found in the majority of New Caledonia and Loyalty Islands languages, was the original order of the common proto-language. In the languages of the transitional southern group, where the two orders are found, the VOS word order is apparently residual, and the SVO word order is becoming dominant.

If the unmarked word order of POC were SVO, as proposed by Pawley (Pawley and Reid 1979), then it would be necessary to interpret the structural similarity between Fijian and Polynesian on the one hand (Central Pacific group, cf. Pawley 1972), and the languages of New Caledonia on the other, as resulting from parallel development. Such an hypothesis could not be sustained unless we could uncover some internal reason explaining the shift of the subject after the verb phrase in these two groups. Is it not more likely that these languages have retained the verb-initial order of Austronesian and that the transition to SVO word order found in many Oceanic languages corresponds to a later development resulting from automatic topicalisation of the subject? Similar evolutions are found in known verb-initial groups: many Polynesian outliers have changed to an SVO word order. Clark (1976:39) cites examples from Ellice dialects (Nanumea, Vaitupu) where SVO word order appears occasionally.

4.2 Subject markers in New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands have at least three different origins.

The Loyalty Islands languages themselves present two subject markers:
- one, hne-, has a lexical origin and emphasises the agentivity of the subject; its use is correlated with the past tense, and with the presence of the
nominalising prefix \textit{hna-} \textit{place of, result of an action} from which it is probably derived. This nominalising prefix \textit{hna-} is formally identical to the past tense marker in Nengone and Drehu.

\textit{The other, ke-}, is only found in Nengone, and only appears when the subject is postposed to the verb phrase.

What is the relation between the Loyalty Islands subject markers and those of New Caledonia?

First we may compare the subject markers of some northern New Caledonia languages with the Loyalty \textit{hne-} marker: all take the possessive pronouns as substitutes for the nominal subject. We know that in the 'Philippine type' languages, the oblique case forms of pronouns which represent the agent in non-agent focus sentences are the same as the possessive forms. We may suppose that these languages of New Caledonia have preserved an archaic use of the possessive suffixes along with the forms themselves which are the reflexes of the Austronesian suffixes \textit{\textcircled{-ku}/\textcircled{-mu}/\textcircled{-n\texttilde{a}}} as they have preserved the verb-initial order.

Secondly, we may compare the distribution of the Nengone \textit{ke-} with that of the subject marker of the southern (excluding the extreme southern) languages. We have seen that in Ajie, for example, the subject marker \textit{na} is always present when the subject comes after the verb phrase, but never when it is topicalised by fronting. In the transitional southern group, we find the same phenomenon. These subject case markers do not take the possessive suffixes; in origin they were perhaps deictics or prepositions.

A third possible origin for the subject marker is the personal article, as exemplified by the Cemuhî (\textit{w})\textcircled{c} Paici \textit{wa} marker. Paici shows how a personal article may become the subject marker for proper nouns, its presence being optional and emphatic before non-subject proper noun NPs, while it has become obligatory before a subject proper noun NP. Cemuhî can be taken to show the next stage in the process, with the (\textit{w})\textcircled{c} marker appearing only before proper noun or personified noun phrase subjects.

\textbf{NOTES}

1. We would like to thank Boyd Michailovsky for his help in improving our first translation of this paper.

2. Data given in this paper comes from two sources:
   - from the authors' personal documents, published or not; in this case no source is given.
   - from other authors: when published, the sources are given in parentheses. For Cemuhî and Paici, unpublished manuscripts of J.-C. Rivierre have been used. For Nengone, most of our data come from unpublished manuscripts of Père Dubois, except for some personal data collected with an informant who stayed in Paris in 1980.
   In both cases, for published documents, see the references.

3. Paici and Cemuhî are tonal languages. Most of the grammatical particles do not have a specific tone but take the tone of the preceding syllable. In this paper, only regular tones are noted.
4. Abbreviations used in this paper are:

- **adv**: adverb
- **am**: agent marker
- **asp**: aspect
- **ass**: assertive aspect
- **caus**: causative
- **def**: definite
- **dir**: directional:
  - towards the speaker,
  - away from the speaker
- **du**: dual
- **emph**: emphasis marker
- **excl**: exclusive
- **fem**: feminine
- **fut**: future
- **im**: instrumental marker
- **incl**: inclusive
- **loc**: locative marker: upwards, downwards, transversely
- **masc**: masculine
- **neut**: neuter
- **o**: pronominal object
- **pl**: plural
- **perf**: perfect
- **prep**: preposition
- **prog**: progressive aspect
- **s**: embedded pronominal subject
- **sm**: subject case marker
- **tr**: transitive marker
- **V**: verb

5. The alienable vs inalienable opposition is somewhat arbitrary and quite grammaticalised. Parts of the body, parts of a whole, kinship terms and some generic nouns (food, drink) are usually inalienable nouns. But for some words, the semantic distinction is not clear and is not transposable from one language to the other. In Ajië, for instance father is alienable but mother is inalienable whereas in Nemi both are inalienable nouns.

6. Food or drink classifiers used for possession come from specific verbs depending on the kind of food or drink.

   **NEM**
   - Cani to eat starches ca-n his portion of starchy food
   - Hwai to eat bark hwaan-n his portion of bark
   - Huli to eat sugar cane hule-n his portion of sugar cane
   - Hwii to eat meat hwie-n his portion of meat
   - Knuduk to drink (cold) knudoo-n his cold drink
   - Felo to drink (hot) feloo-n his hot drink

   Few other classifiers are found. In Nemi, for example, nai-n his child is used to indicate possession of domestic animals: nai-n hyalek his hen. But we will see that in Iaai (Loyalty), classifiers are numerous (120)-(122).

7. Cemuhi has developed a peculiar system of articles, some of which indicate gender. Most nouns may take the neuter articles (general meaning); human, animate (or animated) nouns may take personifying articles, which are feminine or masculine:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>neuter</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>ńi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feminine</td>
<td>ē</td>
<td>ńū</td>
<td>ńē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masculine</td>
<td>pā</td>
<td>ńūpwo</td>
<td>ńēpwo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   Examples:
   - ā łáwā the child
   - ē łáwā the girl
   - pā łáwā the boy
   - ā ̀acùò the tree
   - ē ̀acùò the (woman) tree (mythical person) (Rivierre: 144)

9. When the first or second person subject pronouns are introduced by the subject marker, they are always emphatic or contrastive, and generally placed after the verb phrase before the object.

10. The ne/na alternation is phonetically conditioned: na appears before the vowel a, ne elsewhere.

11. Here are the most frequent transitivity markers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IAA</th>
<th>suffix -ə</th>
<th>(most frequent)</th>
<th>vowel flexion + final consonant flexion:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>belək</td>
<td>to cultivate</td>
<td>belək-ə</td>
<td>to cultivate sth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walak</td>
<td>to play</td>
<td>walək-ə</td>
<td>to play with sth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DRE</th>
<th>suffix -n/-ə</th>
<th>with or without lengthening of the final vowel:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tulu</td>
<td>to make measurements</td>
<td>tulu-ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pehna</td>
<td>to shoot with a bow, a bow</td>
<td>pehnaa-ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>menu</td>
<td>mistake</td>
<td>menuu-ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kano</td>
<td>to make a round</td>
<td>kano-ə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEN</th>
<th>lengthening of the final vowel + suffix -n:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hnapo</td>
<td>to give birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruaba</td>
<td>to clean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kua</td>
<td>to drink</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12. Main verbal flexions due to nominal object incorporation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IAA</th>
<th>vowel flexion</th>
<th>vowel flexion + pre-aspiration or fricativisation of the initial (trace of reduplication):</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>leə</td>
<td>to burn</td>
<td>leuə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>təa</td>
<td>to plant(tree)</td>
<td>təaə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

vowel flexion + pre-aspiration or fricativisation of the initial (trace of reduplication): |

| kap | to receive | kapə | to receive |
| la | to search | laə | to search |
| an | to eat | anə | to eat |
undetermined form = intransitive form:
ơt to cook, cooking pot ơl-ơ to cook sth
ơt koko to cook yams

undetermined form = personal form:
det form: degec undet/pers form: digic to throw away, to neglect
det form: së undet/pers form: sii to cut

DRE flexion of the final vowel:
amɛ amɛ to put down
θɛ θi to break
kuca kuci to build

internal vowel alternation:
hwaادة hweede to say kapa kepe to receive

η/i alternation:
den δei to hear
den δei to hit with the fist
wan wai to observe

undetermined form = intransitive form:
tulu to make measurements tulu-θ to measure, to weigh
tulu ono to weigh coconuts

undetermined form = personal form
det form: xom undet/pers form: xomi to take
det form: hmitaan undet/pers form: hmitaa miit to vomit meat
                           hmitaa ajeic to vomit on him

In Nengone, incorporation occurs but has not been described.

13. Here are examples of transitivisation of verb phrases with a nominal incorporated object:

IAA ame xauxaü-hnãam ame xauxaü-hnãam-ơ ke xumwah
he+pres/drum undet-palm/ he+pres/drum undet-palm-tr/a/song/
he applauds he applauds a song

DRE eni a fi la iingen eni a fi-tim
I/pres/sprinkle/the/flower/ I/pres/sprinkle-water/
I sprinkle the flower. I sprinkle water.

eni a fi-tim-in la iingen
I/pres/sprinkle-water-tr/the/flower/
I sprinkle water on the flower.

14. For example, in Xəràgərə:

ni wà toa ɲɛ a kamuru ná
he/perf/arrive/sm/the/man/there/
The man has arrived.

a kamuru ná wà toa
the/man/there/perf/arrive/
The man has arrived.
MARKERS & WORD ORDER IN NEW CALEDONIA & LOYALTY IS

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Sundanese, to a lesser extent Javanese and Madurese, has a large array of 'anticipatory' words which lend a kind of 'verbal interjection' to colour and intensify the meaning of descriptives. They are both verbs as well as adjectives. The present paper is aimed at not only describing the form and function of this prolific word class, but also to classify their usage, with given examples of these anticipatory verbal intensifiers in context, and to list them for further study in Sundanese syntax. The present paper is based on both dictionary (Coolsma 1913, Satjadrabt 1948, LBSS 1976) as well as on contextual scanning of written materials found in Kanjikutundang (Rosidi and Sutiasumarga 1963), an anthology of Sundanese short stories.

Until 1957, Sundanese grammarians refer to this term as kecap anteruan or 'anticipatory words', to include all words that we refer to as interjections as well as the verbal interjections that are now known as kecap panganteur pagawe an or what we designate as 'anticipatory verbal intensifiers'. These words are jung in anticipation of the verb nangtung; bray for the adjective caang; jèbet for the verb neunggeul; bërbët for the verb lumpat; and gantawang used in conjunction with the verb nyarekan. These words are used particularly in idiomatic usage, although they are also used in written language. In colloquial usage these words would be jung nangtung (and) up he stands; bray caang (and) then it cleared up; jèbet neunggeul wham (he) hits him; bërbët lumpat (and) away he ran and gantawang nyarekan (he) started reprimanding.

Morphologically these anticipatory verbal intensifiers may be monosyllabic such as bul, bus, lèp, lës, etc., disyllabic such as cèdok, habëk, heab, gamplëng, gaprük, etc. or multisyllabic — normally consisting of three to four syllables such as baragadal, barakatak, bërbët, cëlëgdëg, jorojoy, kusiwël, although this four syllable type would be fewer in number. Overall monosyllabic anticipators predominate over the other forms. As these anticipators evoke a sense of onomatopoeia for certain actions, all sounds are fairly well represented, ranging from the more voiced to the lesser voiced or sonorous sounds depending upon the nature of the meaning or perception evoked. Some sounds of the more sonorous consonants are represented by bul, bus, jor, brol, and the more frictionless sounds like sot, sok, sor, lës, ret, etc.
The monosyllabic anticipators are usually of the V(0), VC (am), CVC (jor) CVCV (bruk) or CCVC (brêk) types. Where they have two initial consonant clusters, the second consonant is almost always a liquid, either l or r and in one instance the semivowel y, e.g. bl in bluk, br in brêk, by in byar, pl in plong, pr in prak, dr in drêl, tr in tret, jlêng in jrut, cl in clêg, cr in creng, sr in srog (Fokker 1953:19).

The disyllabic ones are the CVVC (heab), CVVCV (cédok), CVCCVC (gêbugu) and the CVCCCVVC (kêncpling). All of these types are fairly well represented in other word classes, except for the CVCCVC, where we would have expected to include homorganic sounds; oddly enough most of these anticipators have stops in combination with liquids only, such as gêjlog, gêbrug and kêplok. Perhaps it is not so surprising as those words are interjectionary in character that the least sonorous sounds of nasals are absent. Homorganics only occur with the CVCCCVVC types in words such as gamplêng, gonjrang, kêncling, kêncreng, kêntreueng and sêmpring. Again, the second consonant in the second syllable is almost always a liquid, either l or r, as is the case with the monosyllabic anticipators.

Of the multisyllabics, the three-syllable anticipator predominates both in the number of words as well as in the number of types. Of the trisyllabic ones, the following are fairly represented CVCCVCV (burulu) and CVCCVCV (daradad) and to a lesser extent the VCCCV (orolo), just the one type; CVCCVC (kêçlak); CVCCCVCCV (gantawang), just the one type; CVCCVCVC (barabak) CVCCVCVC (gedeblug); CVCCVCV (rongheap), just the one type and CVCCVCVC (sâlongkrong). As for the four-syllable one, there is only one type, the CVCCVCVCCV (ceuleukeuteuk).

The first to make an observation of this word class was J. Rigg (1862). He refers to them simply as 'idiomatic expressions'. In the introduction to his Dictionary of the Sunda language of Java, he observes and distinguishes the importance of this word class, although his description of them appears to be rather flippant, by saying that "they were a remnant of a very crude and aboriginal state of the language" (1862:1), but by the same token what he writes is almost tantamount to saying that they are 'proto' words. For a layman, he observes the great significance of these 'anticipatory' words as "they give strength to the expression ... and indicate a precise line of conduct of action" (1862:1). It is S. Coolsm (1873:85-89) who describes them in linguistic terms used at the time and gives a good description of these anticipators. He categorises these words as zegwoordelijke interjecties or verbal interjections. He states that these have the form of an interjection, therefore they should be regarded as such, and should be considered as onomatopoeia only in the widest sense of the meaning. He argues that at one time both these groups of words may have been onomatopoeic, and the difference between them comparatively easy to discern. The interjectionary onomatopoeic words remain as they were, no more than interjections. The anticipatory interjections, on the other hand, because of their applicability, in the course of time have had their meanings expanded. They have also undergone changes in function with the result that they are now also used as imperatives to the actions that these words evoke. These in themselves indicate that they can also be described as predicates of actions or states that we observe with a subject. The similarity shared between the two is the onomatopoeia of certain sounds or of certain actions, while with verbals their similarity is the action they evoke. As predicate-evoking actions, they also describe actions or states that we observe in the subject. As interjections, they are followed by verbals, where they must be regarded as the image of the action or state, while as verbals they act independently. Notwithstanding these, there are differences between the two
word classes, because while verbals are the descriptions of the actions or a state in themselves, the meaning of the verbal interjections indicates the coming into that particular state, the process toward that particular action. Coolsmma further adds that we must observe that many of these words are the root of verbals, but the verbals do not come into being by way of the present formation. They are also very rarely made into verbs through normal nasalisation process as is the case mostly with verbal roots and bases. Coolsmma sums up his observations by saying that they are pronounced as interjections, in other words they are uttered with an exclamatory intonation.

Until the early 1880s most work carried out on Sundanese grammar was done by non-linguists, such as Rigg and Coolsmma, a planter and a Bible translator respectively. It was only then that Oosting (1884:146-149), considered as a fully-fledged grammanian, was the first to write a full length grammar on Sundanese. However, he did not elaborate more than what had already been said by Coolsmma a decade earlier. Oosting speaks of these words, as Coolsmma did, simply as interjecties or tusschenwerpsels, or 'interjections'. He subsumes under interjections, onomatopoeia to include words of exclamations, of feelings or perceptions as well as words that can be perceived by our senses. The frequent use of the words gives something lively and vivid to the Sundanese language. Perhaps an additional remark he has made is that these interjections are expressions of a more or less successful action to illustrate or depict something that is going to be expressed by verbs following them. Such an interjection, used in conjunction with a verbal, and therefore belonging to or part of that particular verbal, is what is known as a verbal interjection for that verbal. Henceforth, these words are known as zegwoordelijke interjecties or verbal interjection. Both Kats (1929) and Lezer (1931) accepted this classification and use them in their Sundanese language textbooks. This terminology is then adopted by Hodson (1952) in the only Sundanese language textbook in English.

Sundanese grammarians use kecap anteuran or anticipatory words to include all words from simple interjections to verbal ones — our present 'anticipatory verbal intensifiers'. In 1957, they distinguish between these two by classifying the true interjections as kecap anteuran and the verbal ones as kecap pangan teur pagawean. The LBSS dictionary gives the following definition of kecap anteuran: words evoking or exclaming feelings or onomatopoeia such as aduh ouch; euleuh gee, gosh; ambu ings heavens; deredet ratatat; neng-neng-ning ding-ning-ning, etc. Kecap pangan teur pagawean on the other hand is defined as a term to intensify the intention of a speaker when using such words as gek (and he sits) down; jung (and) away (he goes); bray (and the clouds clear) up or (the day) breaks; reup (and the face) turns (red) or (darkness) falls, etc. In other words, they are used for affective purposes.

The term 'anticipatory verbal intensifier' for these kecap pangan teur pagawean is most appropriate as these words prepose the verbals. The term anticipatory is self-explanatory, as it anticipates a word (in this case a verbal) and intensifier is so used because these words intensify the meaning of the verbals. Those words subsumed under kecap anteuran would therefore be appropriately classified under interjections, to include both exclamations as well as onomatopoeias.

The following sentences will illustrate the various functions of these anticipatory verbal intensifiers, which we will henceforth refer to as anticipators, and which are capitalised in the structure.
Manehna JUNG in dit he went off.

Off he went.

"Manehna in dit JUNG he went off.

Manehna TRET nulis surat he then write letter.

He then writes a letter.

TRET manehna nulis surat then he write letter.

Then he writes a letter.

"Manehna nulis TRET surat he write then letter.

TRET manehna nulis surat TRET he write letter then.

Surat teh TRET ditulis ku manehna letter the then be written by him.

He then wrote the letter.

TRET surat teh ditulis ku manehna then letter the be written by him.

He then wrote the letter.

"Surat teh ditulis TRET ku manehna letter the be written by him.

"Surat teh ditulis ku manehna TRET letter the be written by him then.

Seuneu teh PÈS pareum fire the suddenly be extinguished.

The fire suddenly went out.

PÈS seuneu teh pareum suddenly fire the be extinguished.

Suddenly the fire went out.

"Seuneu teh pareum PÈS fire the be extinguished suddenly.

(5a) (Beungeutna) REUP geuneuk, RAY pias (face his) turn red, turn pale.

(His face) suddenly turns red, and then (it) turns pale.

(5b) REUP (beungeutna) geuneuk, RAY (beungeutna) pias turn (face his) red turn (face his) pale.

(His face) suddenly turns red, (then it) suddenly turns pale.

(5c) *(Beungeutna) geuneuk REUP, (beungeutna) pias RAY (face his) red turns (face his) pale turns.
Sentences 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 clearly indicate the position of the anticipators in respect to their verbals. In normal circumstances they precede the predicate as is illustrated in 1a, 2a, 3a, 4a and 5a, or in other instances the anticipators precede the subject 1b, 2b, 3b, 4b and 5b. They definitely cannot follow the verb, as given in the asterisked sentences — 1c, 2c, 2d, 3c, 3d, 4c and 5c.

It is possible to place the anticipator after the verbal, normally with a pause between the verbal and the anticipator. But in that way, it then elicits a different meaning, as the anticipator is used independently, thus —

Manehna indit // JUNG?
you go then (won't you)?
You'll go, won't you?

In this case, the anticipator stands independently, as an imperative, almost coaxing the agent to go.

When anticipators are used, these words conjure certain images related to their respective verbals, be it a state or an action, e.g. jung may evoke the idea of getting up and preparing to go, hence it is used with jung nangtung and up he stands or with jung indit and off or away he goes. So does the anticipator tret which brings to mind the idea of starting to jot something down. Tret anticipates the verb predicate, which, depending upon the focus of the sentence, may either be the active or the passive of tulis to write as in tret nulis or tret ditulis. The anticipator tret evokes an image of scratching either of a pen or a pencil or even a piece of chalk on the blackboard. In sentences 4 and 5, the anticipators precede the adjectival predicate — i.e. pês pareum (4) and reup geuneuk and ray pias (5). The anticipator pês indicates the sudden and unexpected state of the extinguishing of a fire or lamp while at the same time creating an inchoate effect to the verbal. One can generally assume that with the aid of these anticipators the speaker tries to bring the image of a certain action or state across to the person spoken to as if he, the hearer, experiences the action or state himself. The anticipator reup not only anticipates the word geuneuk, red of face when angry, but it can also be used in conjunction with peureum, to close one's eyes when going to sleep, as well as poek for the coming of darkness. Although all of them have different meanings, they all share a common basic idea of darkness or being dark, in geuneuk, getting dark red in the face, seeing darkness when closing one's eyes in peureum, and the darkness itself in the case of poek not to mention the sound associations that this word invokes with the respective verbals. In most cases, these anticipators have a one-to-one basis with the verbals as is the case with ray which is only used with pias, pale. Ray brings forth the image of turning pale to those hearing the word uttered. In fact, the anticipators reup and ray in the expression reup geuneuk, ray pias, are almost always used to describe someone getting angry as if at one time he gets red in the face with anger, and at another turns pale because of extreme anger but feels, because of some unmitigating circumstances, unable to give vent to the anger welling up inside him. Some verbs, particularly the more common ones, may have more than one anticipator. The verb cium to kiss has four different anticipators: ceot, cêlêngok, cêlêpot and ngok. In these cases each anticipator gives different perceptions in the way the kissing is done, in ceot nyium, the anticipator ceot gives the idea of a passionate kiss. In cêlêpot nyium, cêlêpot brings into mind a longer passionate kiss, whereas in cêlêngok nyium, cêlêngok assumes a friendly, smacking kiss, while in ngok nyium, the anticipator ngok has the meaning of giving
a friendly, almost timid peck. Another verb lumpat to run has nine: bělēnŷeng, bērebêt, běrēngběng, bělēcēt, děrēgdēg, gěrēgdēg, tēŋ, sēbrut and tērēlēng. Bělēnŷeng brings into mind the idea of running fast like an arrow, bērebêt evokes the idea of running with hard pounding feet on the ground. Běrēngběng is a combination of bělēnŷeng and bērebêt in the sense that someone is running fast with heavy pounding feet; bělēcēt, of running away and able to elude the pursuers; děrēgdēg conjures the idea of accelerating after a slow start, gěrēgdēg is a variant of děrēgdēg; tēŋ, of running for a long time, whereas sēbrut brings in an idea of running with great gusto and tērēlēng of a child still unsure of his steps.

Anticipators are not always used in conjunction with a verbal. In fact some function as verbal predicates to describe a movement as well as actions or state that one observes with a subject. This is particularly used in daily conversation, but seldom in written text. To a Sundanese speaker the use of both the anticipator and its respective verbal is that with the former he tries to conceive or illustrate what he has in his mind's eye and then states it with the respective verb. The close affinity between the anticipators and the verbs is such that the shift in function of these anticipators as predicatives or verbal substitutes is not unusual. One uses these quite freely in speech and it is quite clear what they mean.

The following will illustrate anticipators functioning as verbal substitutes.

(6a) Manēh teh can JUNG keneh?
you EMPHATIC not go still
You still haven't gone.

(7a) Kuring rek PRAK, tapi can aya idin bangunana.
I going to start but not yet have permit building-the
I was going to start, but I haven't got the building permit yet.

(8a) Bapanā geus PLONG bae, ari anak awewena geus father-her already relieved just when child his already
kawin mah
married EMPH
The father felt relieved when his daughter got married.

(9a) Amun geus JĒP, kakara dijak
when already quiet only then be asked
When you are quiet, then (I'll) ask you (to come along).

(10a) Kardi mah tara daekeun CUL kana pagaweana
Kardi EMPH never want leave with work-his
Kardi never likes to leave his work (undone).

(11a) Manēhna teu daekeun POK
he not want speak
He doesn't want to speak.

(12a) Budak teh LĒP kabawa caah
child EMPH drown carried flood
The child drowned carried away by the flood.

(13a) Tukang warung teh teu kaur KOP, aya bae nu ngaganggu. 
keeper stall EMPH not opportunity eat there is just who interrupts. 
The stallkeeper hasn't got the chance to eat, there is always someone interrupting.
 ANTICIPATORY VERBAL INTENSIFIERS IN SUNDANESE

(14a) Acan TOP, geus dipenta deui
not yet taken already asked again
I haven't even taken it yet, he asked for it back today.

(15a) Acan BRO mah moal waka indit
not yet put EMPH will not TIME go
(So long as) he hasn't given the money, I won't go.

(16a) Budak teh teu daekeun DUG, sakieu geus peutingna
child EMPH not want sleep although already night
The child does not want to sleep, although it is already late.

The independence of anticipators such as dug (6a), prak (7a), plong (8a), jęp (9a), cul (10a), pok (11a), lęp (12a), kop (13a), top (14a), bro (15a) and dug (16a) indicate that they can be used separately as verbal predicates, and as such they can also be used as short imperatives in colloquial speech as given below:

(6b) JUNG atuh!
go then
Go then!

(8b) PLONG atuh!
relieved then
Be relieved then! (to oneself)

(10b) CUL heula!
leave first
Leave it (for the moment)

(12b) LĚP!
dive
Dive!

(14b) TOP!
take
Take it!

(16b) DUG atuh!
sleep then
Go to sleep then!

All these anticipators such as jung (6b), prak (7b), plong (8b), jęp (9b), cul (10b), pok (11b), lęp (12b), kop (13b), top (14b), bro (15b), and dug (16b) are short peremptory commands to someone to carry out an action that these words represent.

Another aspect of anticipators is that they engender the commencement of some action, the coming into being of that particular state or situation. Most of these anticipators, apart from connotating some sort of intensity, all share the inchoative nature in common. In fact, when translating these anticipators, they are best rendered by way of their inchoative nature, e.g. jung nangtung up he stands, bray caang and it started to light up or dawn is breaking, lěs leungit and it suddenly disappears, etc.

Finally, some of these anticipators are onomatopoeic in character as we have indicated earlier in the paper.

From the above discussion and after careful examination of anticipators listed in the appendix, we are in a position to make the following conclusions based on semantic as well as functional considerations:
(i) That the great majority of these anticipators are employed to intensify and evoke a degree of vividness to a description of some event;

(ii) that some of these anticipators, mostly of the monosyllabic type, can be described as a verbal substitute, hence functioning as a predicate of an action or a state;

(iii) that some of these anticipators, particularly the monosyllabic ones, lend themselves as short commands;

(iv) that the great majority of these anticipators indicate the commencement of some action, and can be considered as inchoatives; and

(v) that many of these anticipators are onomatopoeias of an action or state.

Based on the above conclusions, we have therefore categorised each of the anticipators listed in the appendix with Roman numerals indicating that the respective anticipator may function as: (i) intensifier, (ii) verbal substitute, (iii) imperative, (iv) inchoative and (v) onomatopoeia. Many of the anticipators may exhibit all the above functions, some, in fact the majority, only function as intensifier as well as inchoatives.

NOTES

*Grateful acknowledgement is given to Monash University Outside Studies Programme under which scheme I was able to complete and present this paper.

1. Discussions with well-known Sundanese educators and linguists at IKIP Bandung. Robins (1968) subsumed this word class under the general heading of particles.

2. Personal communication with Dr. Yus Rusyana of IKIP Bandung saying that a decision was made by a committee on Sundanese Grammar to differentiate the two types of words, i.e. the interjections and anticipators. This was adopted by LBSS (1976:11) when they published the dictionary in 1976.

3. After considerable discussion with colleagues around the campuses of Melbourne, J.P. Sarumpaet of the University of Melbourne suggested the term 'anticipatory' for this word class, which I gratefully accept, and herewith I acknowledge his contribution.

4. I was not aware of M.A. Salmun's statement. This is an oversight which should not have been made in a work like this considering his stature in Sundanese circles. He is quoted by Mariati (1979:394-396) as saying that anticipators also precede nominals. Salmun refers to it as sandisora, sound gemination. If that is the case, then the title of my paper is a misnomer. However, one could argue that in the case of dur bèdu, the verbal is missing in the sense that the whole statement could or should have been dur bèdu (disada) and the drums sounded or freely rendered at the time the call to prayers sounded, or at the time the sound of drums rumbled; dor bêgil (dibèkaskeun), and a shot was fired; neng loceng (disada), and the clock chimed; cruk pacul (ngacecruk), and the sound of the hoe thudded, etc. One can take the argument even further, saying that
in the case of these nominal anticipators, if I can put them under this heading, the subjects are always inanimate. In fact these nominal anticipators can be classified in the same category as the adjectival anticipators, i.e. most of the anticipators with adjectives have an inanimate or non-agentive subject.

c.f. 1. (Beungeutna) REUP geuneuk
   *His face turns red (with anger).*

   2. (Poena) BRAY caang
   *The day grew light or dawn broke.*

   3. (Caina) TEP panas
   *The water turns hot (to touch).*

   4. (Leungeunna) CĒP tiis
   *His hand is cold (to touch).*

   5. (Seuneuna) PĒS pareum
   *The fire went out.*

   6. (Lampuna) PES pareum
   *The lights went off.*

With this argument in mind, I therefore limit myself to the verbal rather than the marginal cases such as dur, dor, cruk which in my case will be categorised under the interjections.

**APPENDIX**

**A LIST OF ANTICIPATORY VERBAL INTENSIFIERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AM dihuapkeun</th>
<th>BAR diamparkeun</th>
<th>BARABAY ngēdat</th>
<th>BARABAT nyaritakeun</th>
<th>BARAGADAL ditaranjang</th>
<th>BARAKBAK katingal</th>
<th>BARANANG caang</th>
<th>BARANYAY kilat</th>
<th>BAT ngēmbat</th>
<th>BAY ngambay</th>
<th>BEH kapanggih</th>
<th>BĒK dahar</th>
<th>BĒLĒČEN ditaranjang</th>
<th>BĒLĒČĒT lumpat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i ii iiii iv v</td>
<td>i iv v</td>
<td>i iv</td>
<td>i iv</td>
<td>i iv</td>
<td>i iv</td>
<td>i iv</td>
<td>i iv</td>
<td>i iv v</td>
<td>i iv v</td>
<td>i ii iiii iv v</td>
<td>i ii iii iv</td>
<td>i iv</td>
<td>i iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and he swallowed a mouthful</td>
<td>it was then spread...</td>
<td>and it stretches in a straight line (of condensation or falling star in the sky)</td>
<td>and he began to tell a story</td>
<td>and flung his clothes off till he was naked</td>
<td>and behold a vista of ...</td>
<td>and the light grew bright</td>
<td>and lightning flashed</td>
<td>and there the road stretches on endlessly</td>
<td>and there it dangles</td>
<td>and there it was</td>
<td>and he started to eat</td>
<td>off went his clothes naked</td>
<td>and away he escaped</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BELEDAG mestol  i ii iii iv v  bang he shoots (with a pistol)
BELEDUG bitu  i ii iii iv v  Boom! It exploded
BELEGEDEG nanjeur  i iv  and a pall of smoke rises
BELEKUK mebes  i iv v  and he sank down to ...
BELENGEB bete  i iv  and it cracked open
BELENYEH seuri  i iv  and he broke into a grin
BELENYEH lumpat  i iv  tearing away, he ran fast
BELESAT lepas  i iv v  and swiftly flew the arrow
BELESEK mebes  i iv v  and he sank down to
BELESUR lepas  i iv v  and the arrow flew off
BELETEK peupeus  i iv v  and cracked, it broke (into pieces)
BELETOK peunggas  i iv v  and crack, it broke off
BELETUK bucet  i iv v  and (the boil) burst open; and he ejaculated
BELENAIK dihuapkeun  i iv v  and he gobbled a mouthful
BELENAI dalaungkeun  i iv  and he flung it away
BENG indit  i iv  and he went off far away
BER hibær  i iv v  and away they all fluttered and flew
BEREBET lumpat  i iv  and he ran away fast
BERENGBENG lumpat  i iv  and he ran away
BRESSEL meřejeł  i iv  and it oozed out
BRESSET bijil  i iv  and it flowed down thickly
BREYER ngarulehan  i iv  they all ran for shelter
BES dibešeskeun  i ii iii iv v  and he forced it in
BET potong  i iv v  crack, it broke in two
BIER mabur  i iv  and away he escaped
BIUR mabur  i iv  and (the flock) ran away
BLAK nangkarak  i iv v  and he fell on his back
BLAK dibuka  i iv v  and he opened it wide
BLEK labuh  i iv v  and he fell down with a thud
BLES nublês  i ii iii iv v  and he stabbed him up to the hilt
BLUG labuh  i ii iii iv v  and he fell down with a dull thud
BLUK nyuuh  i iv v  and she flung herself down in submission
BLUK nangkuban  and there he fell on his face
BLUS asup  i ii iii iv v  and he got in
BOROBOT bêdah  i iv v  and (the dam) gave way with a roar
BOROSOT modol  i iv v  and he started to defecate
and they proceeded to eat
and they set out on a journey
and it opened up
dawn breaks, or, and it becomes light
and suddenly rain poured down
and there I caught a glimpse of ...
and he fell ill
the string snapped in two
and the birds flapped away
and he stuffed it in
and he stuffed it in
and he stuffed it in
and he gave loads of money
and she gave birth
and he put it down in a heap
and he slammed the door shut
and the crowd moved off
and they proceeded to play
and he jumped in to have a shower
smoke billowed
and he went in surreptitiously
and they all dispersed helter skelter
and it began to ooze out
and people moved out in numbers
and the crowd dispersed
and (the ripe fruit) fell (in numbers)
and he tipped everything out
and there he defecates
and he slipped it in
it then grew light
and he put it down
and he put it down
and he put it away
and he climbed up
and he climbed up, up he went
putting his feet down, he stepped on ...
putting his feet down, he stepped on...

with deference he paid homage

and there it is gobbled up

and he mounted

and he stood up rudely

raising himself, he stood awkwardly

and he kissed her passionately

and the tyres went flat

and he stuck in on the ground

and he got hold of

laying his hand, he seized him

and he started hiccupping

and he slammed on the brakes hard

and it started to bloom

and he ate ravenously

and he proceeded to kiss her passionately

and an insect stung

and he had a stiff erection

and it gets cold (when touching cold things)

and he broke wind

and there it pours

click, he turned the light on

crushing, (the beast) broke the bones

(stronger than the previous one)

and (he) burst out laughing

and (he) burst out laughing

and off he went

and (she) broke into a giggle

and the birds started chirping noisily

and he mounted

and then it perched

and he flicked it away

and it fell

and he sat down

and he jumped out
CLOK datang  i   iv  v  and he blew in out of nowhere
CLUNG dikunclungkeun  i   iv  splash, he was thrown in the water
COK dipacok  i   iv  and the snake bit him
COP bogoh  i   iv  and she grew to like it
COR dikocorkeun  i  ii  iii  iv  v  and he turned the water on
COROCOS diasupkeun  i   iv  v  and he immersed the hot iron in the water
COS disuntik  i  ii  iii  iv  v  and he was inoculated
CRENG dibayar  i  ii  iii  iv  v  and he paid cash
CRET ngising  i  ii   v  and the birds shat
CRENK digawe  i  ii   iv  and he started to work
CRENK kawin  i   and he got married
CROT nyiduh  i  ii  iii  iv  v  and he spat out
CRUB ancrub  i  ii  iii  iv  v  and he got in the water
CUL ditinggalkeun  i  ii  iii  iv  and he abandoned it
CUL dipiceun  and he threw (chucked) it away
CUR dicicikeun  i  ii  iii  iv  v  and she poured it out
CUR dieurihkeun  and she poured it over
CUR dibanjur  and she began to hose it up
CUR dileob  and she started to scald ...  and the rain came pouring down
CUR hujan
DARADAD nyaritakeun  i   iv  v  and he proceeded to tell
DÈG ngadègkeun  i  ii  iii  iv  and there he puts up a house
DÈK digawe  i  ii  iii  iv  and he started working
DÈR perang  i  ii  iii  iv  v  and war broke out
DÈRG DÈG lumpat  i   iv  v  tearing away, he ran
DÈS pinggës  i   iv  and the branch broke
DOR dibèkaskeun  i  ii  iii  iv  v  bang, a shot was fired
DUG sare  i  ii  iii  iv  v  and he lay down to sleep
GABLÈS nublès  i   iv  v  and there he stabbed
GABRÈS ditëwèk  i   iv  v  and there he cut
GABRUG ngaranargul  i   iv  v  and there he embraced
GAIJLÈNG luncat  i   iv  and he swung over and took a leap
GALANTANG nyarita  i   iv  and he began to speak
GAMPLÈNG nampiling  i   iv  and he 'clobbered' him
GANTAWANG nyarekan  i   iv  v  and he started reprimanding
GAP nyabak  i   iv  and he reached out
GAPLOK nyabok: iv and he 'clobbered' him
GAPRUK ditewak: iv and he grabbed hold of
GAUK ceurik: iv and she cried loudly
GAUR ngagaur: iv and the animal roared
GAWAWAK nyarekan: iv and he proceeded to abuse
GĚBLAY keupat: iv and she walked swaying sensuously
GĚBLUG labuh: iv and he fell with a dull thud
GĚBUT tibeubeut: iv and he fell heavily on the ground
GĚCRUK macul: iv and he proceeded to hoe
GĚCOS ditojoskeun: iv and there he stabbed ...
GĚDEBLUG labuh: iv and he fell with a heavy thud
GĚDOR diteumbrag: iv bang, he knocked it down
GĚDUG nutu: iv and she started pounding
GĚDUK tidagor: iv bang, he hit his head ...
GĚJLIG indit: iv and away he went angrily; and he went off in a huff
GĚJOS ditubleskeun: iv and he stabbed him
GĚJRET pejet: iv splat, it crumpled to
GĚK diuk: iv and down he sat
GĚL dikadek: iv snap, he chopped it off
GĚLEBER hibër: iv and the birds flew off
GĚLEGER bitu: iv boom, it erupted with a loud rumbling
GĚLENCENG lesot: iv and the wheel came off its axle
GĚLEŠER maju: iv and it swung into motion
GĚLETÈK caah: iv and water rises to a flood
GĚLETUK tidagor: iv and bang he hit his head
GĚLÈTRUK tidagor: iv (as above)
GĚLEYÈR maju: iv and the train swung into motion
GĚN ditagënkeun: laying the pan on the fire, to cook
GĚNYÈNYÈNG dibawa: iv and with a tug, the fish caught the line
GĚNYÈNYÈNG nyanggut: and he felt something dragging the line
GĚP ngegel: iv and (the dog) bit hard
GĚR pasea: iv and they began quarrelling
GĚR seuri: and he burst out laughing
GĚR surak: and the crowd cheered
GĚRÈDÈG lumpat: iv and he ran with all his might
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sundanese</th>
<th>Intensifier</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GERES Kelipit</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>whittling he cuts its throat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEREWEG nyarekan</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and she started abusing in a high-pitched voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GES pinggès</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and it broke in two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEULEUYEUNG maju</td>
<td>iv v</td>
<td>and it swung into motion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEULEUYEUR maju</td>
<td>iv v</td>
<td>(as above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEWEWEK nyarekan</td>
<td>iv v</td>
<td>and she started abusing in a high-pitched voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEWEWEK nggegel</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>putting its teeth on it, the dog bit hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOCRAK dibayar</td>
<td>iv v</td>
<td>and he threw down the money, to pay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOG cingogo</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and there he squatted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOK pangghi</td>
<td>ii iii iv v</td>
<td>and he came to meet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOLOKGOK dicicikeun</td>
<td>iv v</td>
<td>with a gurgling sound he poured it out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOLOSOR dibikeun</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>he took it and gave it away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOLOYOH sare</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>he stretched and went to sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GONJANG dibayar</td>
<td>iv v</td>
<td>and he paid in cash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOREHEL manggihan</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and there I found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GOREHEL nimu</td>
<td></td>
<td>(as above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GORONJANG dibayar</td>
<td>iv v</td>
<td>and he paid in cash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GUBRAG tiguling</td>
<td>iv v</td>
<td>and it rolled over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GUR hurung</td>
<td>iv v</td>
<td>it burst in flames</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GURUDUG ngaliwat</td>
<td>iv v</td>
<td>and the carriage rumbled along</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GURUJAG datang</td>
<td>iv v</td>
<td>making a commotion, he came in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GURUTAK datang</td>
<td>iv v</td>
<td>(as above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GUTRUT nulis</td>
<td>iv v</td>
<td>and away he wrote with zeal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HABÈK neunggeul</td>
<td>iv v</td>
<td>with a thud, he thumped him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HEAT ngadek</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>swish he swung his machete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HEAT numbuk</td>
<td></td>
<td>thud, he butted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HEKAK dahar</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and he sat down to a meal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HING ceurik</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and she broke into tears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIUK nagelèbug</td>
<td>iv v</td>
<td>and the wind blew with such a force</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIUS ngahiliwir</td>
<td>iv v</td>
<td>and a light breeze blew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOL datang</td>
<td>iv v</td>
<td>and (there) he turned up!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOS paeh</td>
<td>ii iii iv v</td>
<td>and he dropped dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JÈBLUS dibui</td>
<td>iv v</td>
<td>and he was thrown in jail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JÈBÈT neunggeul</td>
<td>iv v</td>
<td>and he gave him a thump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JÈBOT neunggeul</td>
<td>iv v</td>
<td>(as above, but stronger)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
JEBUL datang  i  iv  and (there) he came out of nowhere
JEDAK tidagor  i  iv v  bump, he hit his head
JEDED neunggeul  i  iv v  and he hit him
JEDOD neunggeul  i  iv v  (as above, but stronger)
JEDUD dicabut  i  iv v  and he pulled with a quick tug
JEDUD pegat  snap, it broke in two
JEGOG ngagogog  i  iv v  and the dog started barking
JEGUG ngagugug  i  iv v  (as above)
JEGUR hurung  i  iv v  and it burst in flames
JEKEK ngadek  i  iv v  whack, he chopped it
JEKEK neunggeul  and he hit him
JEKOK nonjok  i  iv v  and he threw a punch
JELEBE neunggeul  i  iv v  and thump, he hit him hard
JEP jempe  i ii iii iv  and silence reigned
JEPLOK manah  i  iv v  with a thud, he let go the arrow
JEPLOK nancěb  with a thud the arrow pierced
JEPUK murag  i  iv v  and down it fell
JEPRET dikonci  i  iv v  turning the keys, he locked the door
JEPROT něnggěl  i  iv v  with a thud it pierced
JEPROT manah  with a thud, he let go the arrow
JEPRET pěgat  i  iv v  and the string broke in two
JETOT nonjok  i  iv  and he threw a punch
JIG indit  i ii iii iv  away he went
JELEG nembongan  i  iv  and there it suddenly appeared
JLENG lunca t  i ii iii iv  he swung his legs and jumped out
JLIG turun  i  iv v  and he got off angrily
JLOG anjog  i  iv  and there he arrived at his destination
JOG anjog  i  iv  (as above)
JOL datang  i ii iii iv  and he popped in our of nowhere
JOR mantog  i ii iii iv  go on, get out of my sight
JOS nyolok  i ii iii iv  and he poked, making him angry
JOS nojos  and he pierced it
JRĖL ngajuru  i  iv  and (the horse) foaled
JROT nyiduh  i  iv v  and he spat out a mouthful
JRUT tuturubun  i  iv v  and there he goes downhill in a hurry
and there he jumped down
and he proceeded to ...
poking, he thrust ...
and he got up
and he got down
and he climbed up the steps
pow, he gave him a slap
and he mounted ...
and he slashed the ...
and suddenly the bird picked with its beak
and he spat out
and away he hoed
and he ate greedily
and laying his hand on the thing, he got hold of it
and laying hands on him, he seized him
and there he is (of a child) smoking a cigarette
and there she collapsed and fell unconscious
and it flapped away
and he started smoking
and without knowing he divulged
and he flung it away
and she broke into a smile
without saying a word, he went away
and he paid there and then
and she proceeded to weave
and he chopped it with a single blow
with a death rattle he fell dead
bubbles escaping he drowned
in the twinkling of an eye it disappeared
tying it down, he made a knot
pouncing on him, he seized him
pouncing on him, he got hold of him
and he gobbled the food down like an animal
and he cracked it open
and he gave a rap with his knuckles
and they broke out laughing
and he flung it away
and the boat floated away
and he carried the child on his back
go on, get it
and he woke up with a start
and there he is, back again
putting down his pen he jotted down
and she flung herself down in submission
and he got up slowly
and he came leisurely into view
and he came with a fuss
and he groped for money in his pocket
and he passed by
and suddenly he forgot
and he came with a fuss
and he stuck out his tongue
and he was overcome by a headache
and the boat swung away
and it floated away
and down he dived
and it disappeared into thin air
and he sneaked off
and a long column marched past
and it melted
and there she drooled
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sundanese Phrase</th>
<th>Intensifier</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LÉYE ditincak</td>
<td>i, iv</td>
<td>putting his foot down, he crushed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOD ngagèdean</td>
<td>i, iv</td>
<td>and the child grew big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOD ngajangkungan</td>
<td>i, iv</td>
<td>and the child grew taller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOGODOR bijil</td>
<td>i, iv</td>
<td>and there it stuck out of the hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOL ngélol</td>
<td>i, iv</td>
<td>and there he turned up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOL nongtot</td>
<td></td>
<td>and there it appeared out of the hold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOS indit</td>
<td>i, i, i, iv</td>
<td>off he went</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LUK ngéluk</td>
<td>i, iv</td>
<td>and down it drooped; and he bowed down disconsolately</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LUNG dialungkeun</td>
<td>i, iv</td>
<td>and he flung it away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LUR ditinggalkeun</td>
<td>i, iv</td>
<td>and there he left it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MÉG handeueul</td>
<td>i, iv</td>
<td>and a feeling of regret came over him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NÉG harènèg</td>
<td>i, iv</td>
<td>and there I was feeling startled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEUT hudang</td>
<td>i, iv</td>
<td>and there he got up leisurely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGÈK ceurik</td>
<td>i, iv, v</td>
<td>there he cried</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGENG ceurik</td>
<td>i, iv, v</td>
<td>(as above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGÈK ngabètèm</td>
<td>i, iv</td>
<td>suddenly not a word was said</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGÈK teu patanya</td>
<td>i, iv, v</td>
<td>and suddenly they didn’t talk to each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGOK nyium</td>
<td>i, i, i, iv,v</td>
<td>and he gave her a peck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGONG disada</td>
<td>i, i, i, iv,v</td>
<td>and suddenly it gave a sound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGONG nèmbang</td>
<td>i, i, i, iv,v</td>
<td>and suddenly she sang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NYAH beunta</td>
<td>i, iv</td>
<td>and he opened his eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NYAT dijait</td>
<td>i, iv</td>
<td>and she took the pan out of the fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NYAY ngaburinyay</td>
<td>i, iv</td>
<td>and a flash of lightning strikes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NYÈD nyanggut</td>
<td>i, iv</td>
<td>and he felt something tugging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NYEH imut</td>
<td>i, iv</td>
<td>and she broke into a smile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NYÈN imut</td>
<td>i, iv</td>
<td>(as above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NYOD ngenyod</td>
<td>i, iv</td>
<td>and down it sagged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NYOT uudad</td>
<td>i, iv</td>
<td>and he started to smoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NYUD nyanggut</td>
<td>i, iv</td>
<td>with a tug he caught (the fish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O utah</td>
<td>i, iv, v</td>
<td>and there he vomited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OROLO utah</td>
<td>i, iv, v</td>
<td>(as above, but stronger)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PARALAK nyaritakeun</td>
<td>i, iv, v</td>
<td>and he proceeded to tell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAT sapat</td>
<td>i, iv</td>
<td>and it is completely cut off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEK lampahkeun</td>
<td>i, i, i, iv</td>
<td>go ahead and do it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEK rasakeun</td>
<td>i, i, i, iv</td>
<td>eat your heart out!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and she fainted
and he stuck it on
and a bad smell suddenly exuded
and a nice smell suddenly exuded
and it flew off
and he trembled
and suddenly it went out
and there he died
and suddenly it stopped
and it broke in two
and the thread broke
chop, he cut it through
and he stayed away a long time
and there it stuck (on the wall)
and there it was a yard wide open
opening his mouth, he spoke
and he started unbuckling
and it slipped off
and it came off
and he started to eat
and he began to study
and he started to work
and he broke wind
snap, it broke in two
and they got to meet
and he got married
and they proceeded to play
and they filed for divorce
and it broke in two
and there he was coming into view
and there it was (visible)
and the plane took off
and he let it go
and he got away
and there (the debt) is settled
and everyone asked all about it
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<th>Action</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<td>RAGOT garēlut</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and they got into a fight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAGOT pasea</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and they got into an argument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAONG naranya</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv v</td>
<td>and they all began to ask</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAP dangdan</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and he began to dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAS ingēt</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and suddenly he remembered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAY pias</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and he turned pale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REANG careurik</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and they all cried loudly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RĒD dibeungkeut</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv v</td>
<td>and it was tied down tightly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RĒG eureun</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and then he stopped; and it came to a standstill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RĒG ngarandēg</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and he paused a moment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RĒGĒYENG dipanggul</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and they all carried it off on their shoulders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RĒGOT nginum</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>with great gulps he drank it up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RĒKĒTĒK dibeungkeut</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv v</td>
<td>pulling the ropes tightly, he tied a knot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RĒKĒTĒK ditalian</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and he tied him down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RĒMUS didahar</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv v</td>
<td>crushing it, the dog ate it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RĒNG jaradi</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and (weeds) started to grow all over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RĒP repeh</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and (the crying) subsided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RĒP jēmpe</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and all went quiet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RĒT baed</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and he became angry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RĒT dibeungkeut</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and he tied it down tight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RET ngareret</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and he glanced at him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RĒY ngewa</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and he was disgusted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RĒY sēbēl</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and he felt sick (of it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RĒY nirisan</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and he became feverish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REUP geuneuk</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and it became dark; it got dark; it grew dark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REUP poek</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and she closed her eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REUP peureum</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and he carried it off on his shoulder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RIGIDIG dipanggul</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and the crowd thronged about</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROB ngarogrog</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and he came breathlessly in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RONGHEAP datang</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and he drank it down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROT diinum</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and a desire overcame him; and he was overcome by desire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROY hoyong</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and he defecated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RUKUTUK ngising</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv v</td>
<td>and he defecated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RUMPUYUK ngaluuh</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>iv</td>
<td>and she fell in a heap</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
RUP dirimbunang and it was then covered over
RUP dirungkup and he flung the net
RUT ngising and he defecated
SEBRENG nyingsring and he blew his nose
SEBRENG mēsat pēdang swiftly he pulled his sword
SĒBRET lumpat and he ran like mad
SĒD ngeser and he moved aside
SĒDUT hitut and he broke wind
SĒG dipikiran and he started thinking about it
SĒGRUK ceurik and she sobbed away
SĒK sare and he fell asleep
SĒK paeh and he dropped dead
SĒLĒWEG diteuruy and he gobbled it down
SĒMPRING digunting and snip, he cut it off with the scissors
SĒMPRUNG pēgat and it broke with a twang
SEOT mudun and it went downhill
SĒP disēlapkeun and he shoved it in
SĒP disēsepkeun and he shoved it in
SĒR ngisēr and he moved aside
SĒR ngisēr and he moved aside
SĖR panas hate and he got annoyed
SĒR nyongkab and anger welled up
SERELEK dibuka and he opened the curtain
SEREPET mēsat gobang and he unsheathed his sword
SEUG dipikiran start thinking about
SĒWUR diawurkeun and he spread it out
SIĒT nyambēr the hawk swooped down and seized
SIĒT nonjok he swung punching him
SIĒT nēwēk he swung and stabbed
SIRIWIK nyabēt rushing over, he took a swing at it
SOK ditunda and he put it down
SOL nyengsol and there it stood askew
SOLONGKRONG munjungan with humility he paid homage
SOLOYONG maju and it swung into motion
SOR nyodo-keun stretching his hands, he passed it
SOT dilesotkeun and he let it go
SRĒK paantēl and they are touching
and it moved forward
and he got in
and she shoved it in
and he gulped it down
(as above)
and he set it alight
and he set fire to
with a jerk, it came to a halt

and he grew suspicious

and he got up and walked

and there he ran

and it got hot

overcome by fear, he started shaking

and he clambered up a tree

and there he ran

tearing away, he ran

and it broke off (of twigs)

and there the child followed with short swift steps

rapping it, he gave a knock

and he proceeded to pick it up; laying his hands on it, he picked it up

and he came in suddenly

and away he wrote

with heart pumping

and he took it without a word; taking it, he carried it away

and he split the wood in two

and it's torn

and she stuffed it in; and he guzzled it down

and she relieved herself

and he spread it around
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DEMPWOLFF’S DESCRIPTION OF VERB SERIALISATION IN YABEM

Joel Bradshaw

INTRODUCTION

Otto Dempwolff is far better known for his historical and comparative work than for his descriptive and theoretical contributions. However, the work to which he devoted his last efforts before he died (on 27 November 1938) was a grammatical description of Yabem, an Austronesian (AN) language adopted and spread by the Lutheran mission as a lingua franca in the Morobe area of Papua New Guinea. His Grammatik der Jabem-Sprache auf Neuguinea appeared in 1939. Overshadowed on the one hand by the completion of his Vergleichende Lautlehre in 1938, and on the other by the World War, Dempwolff’s grammar has received far less recognition than it deserves. The only review of it I have been able to find is a brief notice by Heimo Kremsmayer in the Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes in 1941.1 The grammar of Yabem presents a challenge, both to historical/comparative and to descriptive/theoretical linguistics; Dempwolff’s description is not just a valuable record but also an impressive achievement.

Yabem is primarily known for its phonemic tone and its verb morpho-phonemics. Its equally interesting syntax has been almost entirely ignored. After brief discussion of the two better-known phenomena, this paper will examine Dempwolff’s treatment of one of the most striking aspects of Yabem syntax – verb serialisation.2

This paper is aimed at several audiences. For the consideration of linguists interested in theory and description, it looks at how Dempwolff chose to describe a language that is typologically deviant from an AN as well as a European point of view. For the benefit of linguists interested in comparison to determine typological and historical relationships among languages, it presents a reasonably full range of examples of verb serialisation in Yabem. But perhaps most of all this paper is an appreciation of a much-neglected work by a distinguished predecessor, a work which I have found very useful in my own research. This paper will have served its purpose if it does no more than to entice more linguists to look more closely at Dempwolff’s description of Yabem.

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Tone: Yabem is one of the very few AN languages to exhibit tonal distinctions. In his foreword to Dempwolff's grammar, Heinrich Zahn (1939:v) claims that Dempwolff was the first to suggest that the many homographs in the data collected by Zahn and the other early missionaries might be due to tone. (Dempwolff had already had considerable experience with African tone — and click — languages.) Dempwolff later (1936) observed correlations between Yabem tones and obstruent voicing in other New Guinea languages and speculated that tone might be more widely distributed in local AN languages. In 1949, Capell suggested that Yabem tone might reflect obstruent voicing contrasts as far back as Proto-AN. However, new evidence from closely related non-tonal languages now seems to indicate that "phonemic tone is a relatively recent and independent innovation of Yabem" and its tonal congeners (Bradshaw 1979a:189).

Oral/nasal alternation: Another feature of Yabem that has caused some comment is the morphophonemic alternation between oral and prenasalised obstruents in verb roots. Here Yabem is in less exclusive company. Similar alternations are found in many AN languages. It has been suggested by Biggs (1965:384-385), Pawley (1972:118,120), and others that oral/nasal alternation served a grammatical function in Proto-Eastern Oceanic — and, by extension, Proto-Oceanic (POC) — but then fossilised in most languages, leaving a large residue of irregular oral/nasal grade correspondences among Oceanic languages. Languages in which such alternations are grammatically productive provided evidence for reconstructing this feature in POC. Yabem was a star witness. However, Lynch (1975) has called this assumption into question and has presented evidence that oral/nasal alternations arose independently in many of these languages as a result of the reduction and assimilation of one or the other of the independently reconstructible verbal prefixes *na or *ma. Again, Yabem yielded prime evidence. So, it now appears that Yabem oral/nasal alternation, like Yabem tone, is innovative and of relatively recent origin.

DEMPWOLFF'S APPROACH TO GRAMMAR

Yabem syntax is also innovative and, from an AN point of view, as exotic as tone. Perhaps its most interesting feature is the use of finite verbs where other languages employ adverbs, prepositions, or conjunctions. Similar phenomena, under the general label of 'verbal serialisation', are quite common in West Africa and have caused much debate among linguists working within generative frameworks. Dempwolff's rather different approach, in particular his avoidance of structural preconceptions, sidesteps much of that debate without significantly diminishing the quality of his description.

Dempwolff was writing his grammar at the request of New Guinea missionaries. In 1933 he had helped Zahn get started on a practical textbook for teaching Yabem (Zahn 1939:vi). In 1938 he was called on again, this time to produce a 'scientific' grammar that would provide a theoretical synthesis to complement Zahn's textbook. His goal was thus to give educated European readers a coherent and comprehensive picture of the peculiar Geist of the Yabem language. Zahn's textbook would handle the mechanical details.

Dempwolff considered Yabem the hardest to describe of all the Melanesian languages he had encountered (Zahn 1939:v). Finding no suitable grammars on which to model his description, he cast aside traditional European grammatical frameworks and adopted a highly individual approach, outlining his theoretical assumptions as he went along. The result is a first-class 'notional' grammar
organised on 'psychological' and functional, rather than structural, principles. His concern to persuade his readers to abandon their traditional preconceptions about grammar may have led him sometimes to overemphasise the differences between the 'psychology' of Yabem and that of European languages. But it also caused him to take great care to make his own assumptions clear and explicit.

An exposition of two of his most basic assumptions prefaces the section of his grammar dealing with the lexical categories (Wortlehre) of Yabem. After listing mismatches between European and Yabem categories, he concludes (p.11):

A presentation of Yabem lexical categories according to traditional frameworks actually prevents one from correctly grasping the psychology of this language and from gaining entry into the to us strange "Sprachgeist".

Thus we will attempt here to start with the thought patterns peculiar to Yabem and to make psychology the basis of the grammatical description (his emphasis).

Diese Darstellung der Wortlehre des Jabôm nach traditionellem Schema verhindert geradezu, die Psychologie dieser Sprache richtig zu erfassen und sich in den uns fremden "Sprachgeist" hineinzufinden.

Dadurch wird hier versucht, von der dem Jabôm eigentümlichen Denkweise auszugehen und die Psychologie zur Grundlage der grammatischen Darstellung zu machen.

Dempwolff thus rejects both traditionalism and structuralism.

SERIALISATION AND LEXICAL CATEGORIES

What is a verb? Dempwolff does not describe verb serialisation all in one place. He integrates different aspects of it into the overall fabric of his description. However, when these various threads are extracted and pulled together, they form a clear pattern. The place to begin is with the nature of the category 'verb'.

Whenever Dempwolff introduces a new formal category of Yabem, he provides a notional framework for it. This notional frame acts as a bridge between the formal representation of that notion in familiar languages and its formal representation in unfamiliar Yabem. Dempwolff maintains a consistent distinction between formal, language-specific categories (Vorstellungen) and notional, language-independent categories (Begriffen). Vorstellungen are formal conceptual categories which find expression in one-to-one correspondence with particular grammatical categories or constructions. Begriffen are informal conceptual categories which may find expression in a variety of ways, cross-cutting different grammatical classes and constructions. 'Events' comprise a formal category (Vorstellungs-Gruppe) in Yabem which is in one-to-one correspondence with the grammatical category 'verb'. 'Possession', on the other hand, is a notional category (Begriff) which underlies several different grammatical constructions.

Dempwolff asserts that all mental impressions (Sinnessedindrücke) can be divided among three formal categories (Vorstellungens-Gruppen): thing, event, and property. In Yabem, as in many other languages, the word classes noun, verb, and adjective are the linguistic expression of these conceptual categories (p.11). Mental impressions that change quickly in time fall into the category of 'events' (Geschehnisse), and the denotations of such conceptions
(Vorstellungen) form the word class 'verb'. In Yabem the initiator (Urheber) of every event is indicated by means of a 'subject prefix'. The presence of a subject prefix and inflection for mode (either realis or irrealis) is obligatory on all Yabem verbs. Yabem verbs thus parallel the 'finite verbs' of European languages (p.12).

So, membership in the class 'verb' is determined by formal, language-specific criteria: inflection for subject and mode. But the label for the class is notional and cross-linguistic: verbs in Yabem by and large denote the kinds of phenomena that verbs in more familiar languages denote, phenomena which change quickly in time and which, for reasons that may have nothing to do with language, we consider to be 'events'.

Introduction to serialisation: After defining the verb, Dempwolff describes the inflections in more detail. Because of the complex morphophonemics, he finds it useful to arrange the verbs into five conjugational classes — on the basis of morphology rather than psychology, he points out (p.12). But as soon as he discusses the conjugations, he returns immediately to psychology with an introduction to verb serialisation (p.17):

The formal representations of several events, usually only two, can be united into a new representation, just as representations are made more precise in German by prefixes in "weichen, ausweichen" ('to give way, to make way for') ...

To do this, full verbs are placed one after the other, e.g. ... sêbac sêsp 'they have capsized, they have gone down = they have sunk' ...

(Die Vorstellung mehrerer Geschehnisse, meistens nur zweier, können zu einer neuen Vorstellung zusammen-gfasst werden, ähnlich wie im Deutschen durch Vorsilben Vorstellungen präzisiert werden in "weichen, ausweichen"...

Dazu werden volle Verbalformen hintereinander gestellt, z.B. ... sêbac sêsp sie sind gekentert, sie sind hinabgegangen = sie sind versunken ...)

The initial examples all involve directionals and seem designed to allow his readers to start with easy constructions whose meanings resemble those of prefixed verbs in German and other European languages."

```
tapi  tamêq
1+2-ascend 1+2-come
we (incl) climb up here (to my abode)

api  awac
lpl-ascend lpl-go.to.you
we (excl) climb up there (to your abode)

tapi  taja
1+2-ascend 1+2-go
we (incl) climb up there (to a place which has no relation either to you or to me)
```
Case relations: There is an interlude before serialisation is mentioned again. After a few more remarks about the verb, Dempwolff turns to the other formally defined word classes of Yabem: noun and adjective. Then follows a discussion of notionally related phenomena which Dempwolff inserts under the heading 'pronouns'. It deals with such matters as independent and affixed pronouns, the rich demonstrative system, and question words. Serialisation immediately reappears, however, as soon as Dempwolff turns to another set of notionally related phenomena: relations of place, time, quantity, and circumstance (Angaben über Ort, Zeit, Menge, und Umstand). As usual, he provides a notional introduction (p.33):

One portion of mental impressions can be notionally grouped together as indications of place. Most languages have special word classes for these. In German there are a number of so-called locative adverbs, as "oben, unten" ('above, below') ... and alongside them a group of prepositions, as "über, unter" ('over, under') ... which serve to associate a noun with a locative notion.

Yabem has not yet reached this stage of development. Place is usually indicated by means of verbal or nominal expressions, so that recasting one's thoughts to fit the strange Sprachgeist is especially difficult here.

In this section, Dempwolff does not primarily concern himself with syntactic serialisation. Instead, he addresses the question of how Yabem renders such notions as location, time, quantity, comparison, instrument, motive, accompaniment and privation. If nominal, prepositional, or affixal as well as verbal constructions are used to indicate particular relations, they are all discussed together under the appropriate notional heading.

However, very early in his discussion (p.33) Dempwolff does introduce an important syntactic distinction between same subject (Subjekts-Gleichheit) and different subject (Subjekts-Verschiedenheit) serial constructions. In same subject constructions, the subject of the earlier verb remains the subject of the later verb. In different subject constructions, the object of the earlier verb becomes the subject of the later verb. This distinction is especially important with locatives, but it appears in other functional categories as well. Examples follow.

Same subject serial constructions:

sêjanda moc sêmoa gwêc
3pl-hunt bird 3pl-stay sea
They hunted birds out at sea.
They'll sail out to sea.

Come here to me.

**Different subject serial constructions:**

tasëwa ṭop ènèc malacùŋ
1+2-pour.out betel.lime 3sg-lie village-plaza
We'll pour out the betel lime in the village plaza.

daë ṭaŋ ěpi bau
1+2-pull canoe 3sg-ascend shore
We'll pull the canoe up on the beach.

jasòm bìŋ èndëŋ lau
1sg-say word 3sg-reach people
I'll say something to the people.

Another important element of Dempwolff's analysis of serialisation is implicit throughout this section. He keeps meaning, function, and grammatical category separate. Often a verb with a particular shape will appear in a variety of different functions and in a variety of different grammatical constructions. Dempwolff cross-references the various appearances of each such verb and clearly considers each function it performs, and each construction it appears in, to derive from the core meaning of the verb. He does not, on structural grounds, set up several different but homophonous verbs. Nor does he, on functional grounds, assign different labels, such as adverb or preposition, to morphological verbs. It is merely an artifact of the notional manner in which he chose to organise his description that he is forced to describe different facets of a single verb in several different places. The following example will illustrate his method.

The verb -wìŋ is first introduced in section 48, "Locatives for persons" (Ortsgangsangaben für Personen), of the chapter on lexical categories. Dempwolff gives its basic meaning (Grundbedeutung) as 'to be in the presence of someone' (in Anwesenheit von jmd. sein), and notes that it can often be rendered by the verb 'to accompany' (jmd. begleiten), or simply by the prepositions 'with' (mit) or 'by, with, at, among' (bei). (He directs the reader's attention to further discussion of its comitative function in another section of the grammar.) In its purely locative function, -wìŋ can be used either by itself in a sentence, or as an adjunct to a verb of rest (verb of position) in a same subject construction (p.35):

jāwìŋ amàć
1sg-accompany 2pl-COLL
I will be among you.

eŋ gēmoa gēwìŋ lauò
3sg 3sg-stay 3sg-accompany people-female
He stayed with the women.

Further discussion of -wìŋ is deferred until section 54 "The presence or absence of things in relation to other things" (Der Begriff der Anwesenheit oder Abwesenheit von Dingen in bezug auf andere; p.46). Section 54a begins:
Presence is expressed in Yabem chiefly by means of the verb stem -wiŋ 'to be with something, to accompany s.o.', which thus assumes a comitative function. (Compare 48a, where its locative function with persons is expounded.)

(Die Anwesenheit wird im Jabem zunächst durch den Verbalstamm -wiŋ (2) "mit etwas sein, jmd. begleiten" ausgedrückt, der also ein komitative Funktion übernimmt. (Vgl. §48a, wo seine lokative Funktion für Personen dargelegt ist.))

Examples of comitative -wiŋ are:

kasîŋ i gawîŋ teoczâc
1sg-catch fish 1sg-accompany older.brother-1sg-COLL
I caught fish with my older brothers.

tînoc geno bôc gêwîŋ mo
mother-1sg 3sg-cook pig 3sg-accompany taro
My mother cooked pig with taro.

sejôŋ buc gêwîŋ
3pl-collect areca.nut 3sg-accompany
They collected areca nuts as well (at the same time).

Dempwolff considers these all to be instances of the same verb performing the same grammatical function (as an adverbial modifier), but in different grammatical constructions. Further discussion of its adverbial role continues in section 72d (p.71) of the chapter on syntax. To that chapter we now turn.

SERIALIZATION AND SYNTAX

The domain of syntax: Dempwolff begins his chapter on Yabem syntax with a statement that is remarkable considering the fact that he is describing a serial verb language:

While it was necessary to deviate from traditional European grammatical models to represent the lexical categories of Yabem, the syntax falls easily into the familiar categories. (p.57)

(Während für die Wortlehre des Jabëms eine vom Schema der europäischen Schulgrammatik abweichende Darstellung erforderlich war, lässt sich die Satzlehre an die uns gelMfUige Einteilung leicht anschliessen.)

He is able to make such a statement because he adopts a functional, rather than structural, approach to syntax. The reasoning behind his approach is carefully laid out and is worth presenting.

Sentences as expressions of psychological propositions can be divided according to content into statements, questions, and commands.

They can be divided according to structure into simple, expanded, and conjoined sentences.

The intellectual basis of every proposition is the partition of a complex content-of-consciousness into a given, to which the speaker links his message, that is, the subject; and the new, to which he draws attention
(or, in the case of questions, the unknown which he wishes to know), that is, the predicate. These two discourse constituents, which must occur in every normal sentence, suffice to form simple sentences.

The capacity of human consciousness is restricted, to be sure, but it still permits the elaboration of both subject and predicate. From such elaboration arises the expanded sentence.

These expansions form new constituents according to the word classes they modify: to the verb belong objects, adverbs, and others; to the noun, appositives, attributives, and so forth.

To the extent that such elaborations do not suffice to accommodate the entire, complex content-of-consciousness, new sentential structures are added, forming a conjoined sentence.

In addition to the propositional content of the sentence, there is also the involvement of the speaker's attitude, which can manifest itself especially in the accentuation of individual parts of the sentence. (p.57)

(Sätze als der Ausdruck psychologischer Gedanken-Gliederung haben zum Inhalt Aussagen, Fragen oder Aufforderungen.

Ihrem Umfang nach unterscheidet man einfache, erweiterte und zusammengestellte Sätze.

Die intellektuale Grundlage jeder Gedankengliederung ist die Zerlegung eines komplexen Bewusstseins-Inhaltes in ein Bekanntes, an das der Redende sein Mitteilung anknüpft, das Subjekt, und in das Neue, auf das er aufmerksam machen will (oder bei der Frage in das Unbekannte, das er wissen will), das Prädikat. Diese beide Redeteile, die in keinem normalen Satz fehlen dürfen, genügen, um einfache Sätze zu bilden.

Die Bewusstseins-Breite des Menschen ist zwar beschränkt, aber sie erlaubt doch, sowohl das Subjekt als auch das Prädikat zu erläutern. Durch solche Erläuterungen entsteht der erweiterte Satz.

Diese Erläuterungen bilden neue Redeteile, die sich nach den Wortarten richten, welche durch sie erläutert werden: zum Verbum gehören Objekte, Adverbi en u.a., zum Nomen Apposition, Attribut u.dgl.

Sofern solche Erläuterungen nicht genügen, um den ganzen komplexen Bewusstseins-Inhalt unterzubringen, werden neue Satzbildungen angegliedert, so dass ein zusammengestellter Satz aufgebaut wird.

Neben der intellektualen Grundlage der Gedankengliederung ist im Satz der Affekt beteiligt, der sich besonders in der Hervorhebung einzelner Satzteile äussern kann.)

Dempwolff then discusses simple, expanded, and conjoined sentences in turn. Serialisation occurs in all three types.
Simple sentences: Among the sentence types which Dempwolff considers to be simple are those "in which several subjects occur with the same predicate, or several predicates occur with the same subject" (p.66; his emphasis). Into this category fall same subject serial verb constructions, which build a single event-representation out of several verbs (die eine Geschehnisvorstellung aus mehreren aufbauen; p.67). Dempwolff gives the following examples:

- **eŋ kêsélêŋ gêmuŋ**
  3sg 3sg-travel 3sg-precede
  He goes in advance.

- **aôm ôsô ômôêŋ mè**
  2sg 2sg-enter 2sg-come or
  Are you going to come in?

- **ôéc ôna**
  2sg-? 2sg-go
  Clear off! (scher dich fort!)

- **Lasala gêmac gêc**
  Lazarus 3sg-sick 3sg-lie
  Lazarus lay sick.

- **ŋapalê kêtan gêngôn àndu**
  boy 3sg-cry 3sg-sit house
  The boy sits in the house and cries.

Several verbs with the same subject may also be joined by mè or or ma and then. The conjunction ma is only used when one wishes to indicate a temporal succession (eine zeitliche Folge; p.67) between two events, as in:

- **aèc tana ma talic**
  1+2 1+2-go and, then 1+2-see
  We'll go (there) and see.

Expanded sentences: In treating expanded sentences, Dempwolff, as usual, gives precedence to verbs. Adverbial expansions are discussed before adnominal ones. In normal Yabem word order, adverbials follow the verbs they elaborate upon (p.68). Some of Dempwolff's examples follow:

**Locatives:**

- **eŋ kêpê moc kêkô òndoc**
  3sg 3sg-shoot bird 3sg-stand where
  Where did he shoot birds?

- **ŋapalêô êngôn êwini asa**
  child-female 3sg-sit 3sg-accompany who
  Who shall the girl sit beside?

**Comitatives:**

- **lùcô kêtan gêwîn òë**
  cross.sibling-1sg-female 3sg-cry 3sg-accompany 1sg
  My sister cried with me.

- **tînoc génô bóc gêwîn mó**
  mother-1sg 3sg-cook pig 3sg-accompany taro
  My mother cooked pig with taro.
Directionals:

biŋsú gēmu gēmēŋ lōm atom
missionary 3sg-return 3sg-come school not
The missionary didn't come back to the school.

ŋačleŋ tētulu gēŋ sēndēŋ aēśc sēmēŋ
visitor 3pl-trade thing 3pl-reach l=2 3pl-come
The visitors will come over here and do some trading with us.

lau sē waŋ āŋga sāleŋ kēsa gēmēŋ
people 3pl-pull canoe from forest 3sg-arise 3sg-come
The people pulled the canoe (log) up here out of the forest.

Resultatives:

sēpa katapa kētu poalic
3pl-hew board 3sg-become crooked
They cut the boards crookedly.

kom gējac intēna nālēŋō kēsa
rain 3sg-hit road slippery 3sg-arise
The rain made the road slippery.

Motives (with the suffix -nā for, of):

bickwāŋ luàgēc sējanda tāuŋ kētu lānipnā
black, cockatoo two 3pl-persecute selves 3sg-become sea.almond-for
Two black cockatoos are fighting over sea almonds.

Nipkētuc gējac Kekec kētu pāpīnā
N. 3sg-hit K. 3sg-become paper-for
Nipketu hit Keke over (because of) the book.

These sentences all contain serialised verbs performing an adverbial function. This function remains constant in spite of the fact that both same subject and different subject constructions are involved. The clash between structure and function is especially strong in the resultative expansions. Strictly (that is, formally) speaking, the resultatives modify the preceding object NP. They elaborate upon the condition of the patient affected by the action. But the resulting condition is inextricably connected to the nature or intensity of the action. So the resultatives also have an adverbial role. Dempwolff compromises on this problem and calls them "substitutes for adverbials" (Ersatz fur Adverbi en; p.73).

Conjoined sentences: Dempwolff's discussion of conjoined sentences begins immediately with a summary of the types of verb serialisation in Yabem. By this time Dempwolff has introduced enough different facets of verb serialisation that he can now offer a fuller picture without overwhelming his readers. He begins (p.81):

The simplest kind of conjoined sentence is the serial sentence without formants [conjunctions]. It resembles the sentence type consisting of several verbal predicates with the same subject ... and differs only insofar as now different subjects have also to be considered.

All kinds of messages, that is, statements, questions, and commands, can be conjoined in such constructions and, from a grammatical point of view, it is often hard
to decide whether several independent sentences or a serial sentence is present.

From a psychological point of view, however, each serial sentence contains a single thought structure.

(Die einfachste Art eines zusammengestellten Satzes ist der Reihe nsatz ohne Formantien; er schliesst sich an die Konstruktionen von Sätzen mit mehreren verbalen Prädikaten zu gleichem Subjekt... an und unterscheidet sich davon nur dadurch, dass nunmehr auch verschiedene Subjekte berücksichtigt werden.

Dabei können alle Arten von Mitteilungen, d.h. Aussagen, Fragen und Aufforderungen zusammengestellt werden, und - grammatisch betrachtet - ist es oft schwer zu entscheiden, ob mehrere selbständige Sätze oder ein Reihe nsatz vorliegt.

Psychologisch betrachtet aber liegt in jedem Reihe nsatz eine Gedankengliederung vor.)

Dempwolff does not make explicit what criteria he uses to determine that the serial sentence has a semantic unity that distinguishes it from a string of independent sentences. However, he would probably agree with more recent analysts of serialisation who hold that the parts of a serial sentence "all refer to subparts or aspects of a single overall event" (Lord 1973:269).

Dempwolff distinguishes five types of serialisation, not all of them mutually exclusive:

(1) a type in which the subjects of all the verbs in a construction are the same (the same subject type);
(2) a type in which the object of an earlier verb becomes the subject of a later one (the switch subject type);
(3) a type in which the subject of a serialised verb has indefinite reference and the object is a time word (the ambient subject or time expression type);
(4) a type in which a later verb elaborates upon the event described by an earlier verb (the verbal subject or adverbial type); and, finally,
(5) a type in which two clauses are simply juxtaposed.

I shall exemplify and discuss each in turn.

(1) The same subject type: We have already noted that Dempwolff treats same subject constructions as simple sentences (pp.66-67). He does not further mention them here.

(2) The switch subject type: In switch subject serial constructions a word which appears as object in the first clause functions as subject in the second, without being repeated or replaced by a pronoun (p.81).

oto nêm papia èmbacné
2sg-write GEN-2sg paper 3sg-finish.up
Write your letter to the end.

bóc saleña sen aèålca jangom gebacné
pig bush-of 3pl-eat 1pl-GEN maize 3sg-finish.up
The forest pigs ate up our maize.

ôkásôp épì màsac atom
2sg-spit 3sg-upon floor not
Don't spit on the floor.
Let's eat taro with fish.

Give me some pork.

The missionary gave us a new book.

Although they may have different subjects, all the verbs in these and other serial constructions agree in inflection for mode. This accounts for the two different shapes of the verbs glossed 3sg-finish-up and 3sg-reach in the examples provided.

(3) The time expression type: Somewhat similar to the switch subject type, Dempwolff says, is the use of -(n)dëŋ to move toward a target for time expressions (p.82):

Kolengjam looked after the pig during the rainy season.

I'll return to the village before noon.

"Since the subject of this diminutive clause [dieser kleinen Sätzen] has no relation to any word in the main clause [Hauptsatz], it is understandable that its position is not fixed, and that it often begins the sentence" (p.82):

The ship will come on the morrow (in the as yet unrealised daylight). (p.41)

Dempwolff neglects to remind his readers here that the words denoting the basic parts of the day in Yabem are themselves verbal (pp.39-43) and function the same way time phrases with -(n)dëŋ do. In some cases they may even appear in conjunction with -(n)dëŋ.

Verbal time expressions always have 3rd person singular subjects but they agree with the other verbs in the serial construction with regard to mode inflection.
The adverbial type: Next to be considered are those constructions in which verb forms inflected for 3rd person singular appear to form adverbial expansions (p.82):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ato} & \quad \text{bin} \quad \text{njum} \quad \text{esa} \\
& \quad 2\text{pl-write word good} \quad 3\text{sg-arise} \\
& \quad \text{Write well!} \\
\text{opa} & \quad \text{katap} \quad \text{etu} \quad \text{wapi} \\
& \quad 2\text{sg-hew board} \quad 3\text{sg-become thin} \\
& \quad \text{Cut the board thin.}
\end{align*}
\]

Into this category also fall two constructions in which the adverbial VP ends in a postposition. One of these postpositions explicitly marks adverbs. The other is postposed to purposive modifiers, whether those modifiers are nominal or verbal.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kom} & \quad \text{gêjac} \quad \text{ênô kêtôm} \quad \text{béc} \quad \text{gêmoa} \\
& \quad \text{3sg-hit true 3sg-match day-ADV} \quad \text{3sg-stay} \\
& \quad \text{It rained hard all day. (béc = day as measurement)} \\
\text{tamoc} & \quad \text{gêmac} \quad \text{êndu kêtôm} \quad \text{lau tonan} \quad \text{gê} \quad \text{gêmoa} \\
& \quad \text{father-1sg 3sg-sick dead 3sg-match people those-ADV} \\
& \quad \text{My father died just the way those people did.} \\
\text{gajam} & \quad \text{dange gêduc} \quad \text{amâc} \quad \text{kêtu} \quad \text{gê} \quad \text{tonan} \quad \text{gê} \\
& \quad \text{1sg-do thanks 3sg-reach 2pl-COLL 3sg-become thing this-for} \\
& \quad \text{I have thanked you for this thing.} \\
\text{e} & \quad \text{ê} \quad \text{kêtu} \quad \text{kêna} \quad \text{aê} \quad \text{kêtu} \quad \text{aôm} \\
& \quad \text{3sg 3sg-ask 1sg 3sg-become 2sg-for} \\
& \quad \text{He asked me about you.}
\end{align*}
\]

One might also wish to transfer to this category those time expressions which follow other verbs in a serial construction. One could then redefine the preceding four types of serialisation according to the nature of the subjects of the various verbs in a serial string.

1. **Same subject:** The subject NP of a non-initial verb is recoverable and is identical to the initial subject NP of the string.

2. **Switch subject:** The subject NP of a non-initial verb is recoverable and is identical to the object NP of an earlier verb in the string.

3. **Ambient subject:** The subject NP of the initial verb (or two) in a string is not uniquely recoverable; the subject prefix is always 3rd singular and apparently indexes the general situation at the time of the event to be described.

4. **Verbal subject:** The subject NP of a non-initial verb in a string is not uniquely recoverable; the subject prefix is always 3rd singular and apparently indexes the earlier VP(s) in the string.

(5) **Simple juxtaposition:** The type which I have put last, Dempwolff actually mentions first. The simplest case of serialisation, he says, is that in which we would insert a linking and (und) (p.81). He then provides three problematic examples without further elaboration and moves on to the more formally defined types.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mocsan} & \quad \text{âm la} \quad \text{ngwa gêmac} \quad \text{êndu, aê} \quad \text{asun} \quad \text{en} \\
& \quad \text{Fruitbat old 3sg-die dead 1pl 1pl-bury 3sg} \\
& \quad \text{Old Fruitbat died and we buried him.}
\end{align*}
\]
Tami sēŋi nip masē sēmēŋ, aēāc ajam ḍoli
T. 3pl-ship coconut dry 3pl-come lpl 1pl-make purchase
The Tamis brought (by boat) dry coconuts and we bought them.

gamēŋ ʒəmajaŋ kaiŋ teŋ, kom oc ēnac
place dark kind one rain likely 3sg-hit
It's unusually dark; it looks like it's going to rain.

Here, more than anywhere else in his discussion of serialisation, Dempwolff fails to be explicit. On strictly formal criteria, these sentences may not be instances of serialisation at all. 'True' serialisation is distinguished by the absence of any clause boundary markers. If the comma in Dempwolff’s transcription represents a real intonation break, then that break acts as a boundary marker. However, it may be that Dempwolff’s comma marks an ambiguous intonational transition from one perceived clause to the other. In my own data from Numbami, a serialising language closely related to Yabem, I have a comparable case without any intonation boundary:

kole te te imande mayomoni
man one TOPIC 3sg-die 1pl-bury
One of the men died and we buried him.

(The first te is stressed; the second unstressed. Dempwolff’s comma may mark the kind of intonational transition that the semicolon in the previous sentence marks.) This kind of serialisation is far from being the simplest.

A more subtle, and perhaps more notional, analysis of serialisation is needed to deal with such cases. One might argue, for instance, that the second clause incorporates a referent from the first clause as its topic. Topic maintenance and topic incorporation (see Keenan and Schiefelin 1976) seem to be cohesive relationships that parallel the same subject and switch subject relationships between serialised verbs. One might also look for identity of case role relationships across the two clauses. It is possible, for instance, to argue that the Patient NP is the same across each respective pair of clauses. (There is no morphological distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs in Yabem. 'To hit' can be transitive in other circumstances and even here it implies that something — the 'place' (general environment) perhaps — was hit by the rain.)

An even more subtle analysis might enumerate differences in the degree to which the three Yabem examples cohere. In the 'darkness and rain' example, for instance, a full noun appears in subject position in the second clause. The other two second clauses begin with the pronoun aēāc, which may be there primarily to distinguish two homophonous subject prefixes: first person plural exclusive and second person plural, both a-. The darkness and rain example also differs from the others in juxta posing a stative and an active clause, the former describing an already realised aspect of the coming event, the latter an as yet unrealised aspect of it. The other examples each juxtapose two realis verbal clauses. This sort of multicriterial approach to serialisation would seem to be a profitable line of future investigation. (I am currently developing such an approach in my own analysis of serialisation in Numbami.)
Verbal subordinating conjunctions: A discussion of Yabem serialisation would not be complete without mention of two subordinators that are morphological verbs. One introduces time clauses; the other introduces a variety of clause types.

The time clause subordinator is the same verb used in serialised time expressions: -(n)dên (to move) toward, at. It is always inflected for 3rd person singular but is irrealis if the clause indicates a future time and realis if the clause indicates past time. Two of Dempwolff's (p. 89) examples follow:

- gedêñ bômbôm sëmoa Butawên, nañ tinoc kêkôc âe
  3sg-at whites 3pl-dwell B. then mother-1sg 3sg-bear 1sg
  When the whites were living at Butaweng, I was born.
- ëndêñ  naïc gêmac teñ ênèc malac lau têtañ tañiboÂ
  3sg-at man 3sg-die one 3sg-lie village people 3pl-sing mourning
  If there is a dead man in the village, that's when we sing the mourning ritual.

The other subordinator can take the full range of subject prefixes in some constructions, only 3rd singular in others. It only occurs with realis inflection for mode except when it introduces conditional clauses. Dempwolff considers its basic meaning to be 'to think, mean, intend' (p. 90), but I have chosen to gloss it 'say' on the basis of parallels in closely related languages (and also for the sake of brevity). In constructions in which the prefix is not immutably 3rd singular, I provide a separate gloss for the prefix. Otherwise I gloss the realis form 'says' and the irrealis 'say'. Examples of its varied uses (from pp. 90–92) follow.

Desideratives (with irrealis, same subject complement):
- aôm gôbe ëción aëåc mè
  2sg 2sg-say 2sg-join 1pl or
  Do you want to come with us?

Purposives (with irrealis, same subject complement):
- aôm gômën gôbe ënsêñ aëåc su mè
  2sg 2sg-come 2sg-say 2sg-destroy 1pl FINISH or
  Have you come to destroy us?
- ñwë teñ kësa gêmën gôbe êtë bu
  woman one 3sg-arise 3sg-come 3sg-say 3sg-draw water
  A certain woman came up to draw water.

Purposives (with irrealis, switch subject complement):
- ëlc, gôbe okêm ëngunç aôm atom
  2sg-see says thorn 3sg-pierce 2sg not
  Look out so the thorn doesn't stick you.
- kiap kêsakïn lau, gôbe sënî nê wàba sëna Bukawac
  kiap 3sg-send people says 3pl-ship GEN-3sg cargo 3pl-go B.
  The patrol officer sent people to take (by sea) his cargo to Bukawac.
Reason clauses (with realis complement):

kédonwaga kèsôm aëâc gebe aëâc angoŋ ŋaŋen atom
3sg-teach-doer 3sg-scall lpl says lpl 1pl-sit still not
The teacher scolded us for not sitting still.

Quotatives (no restrictions on complement):

aëâc tasam Anôtô gebe tameni
1+2 1+2-call God says father-1+2
We call God our father.

Bucgeo kèsôm gebe ènac ŋapalèò
B. 3sg-say says 3sg-hit child-female
Bugeao said he would kill the girl.

Conditionals (with irrealis complement):

kom èmbe ènac ma dangôŋ àndu
rain say 3sg-hit and.then 1+2-sit house
If it rains, we stay home.

galoc èmbe talac, oc tatap gwèc sec sa
now say 1+2-sail likely 1+2-find sea bad up
If we sail now, we'll probably run into bad weather.

CONCLUSION

During the period when AN historical and comparative linguists concentrated almost exclusively on phonology, Dempwolff's grammatical description provided a valuable record of a phonologically deviant language. Due to the relative completeness of that record, recent works (Lynch 1975, Bradshaw 1979a) have been able to reconstruct aspects of Yabem's phonological history and relate it to that of other AN languages. Though the phonological history of Yabem is far from being solved, Dempwolff's grammar now provides a new challenge. It presents a rather full account of a syntactically deviant language. How and why did Yabem become such a thoroughgoing serial verb language?

In 1941, Kremsmayer considered the description of Yabem tone to be the most significant contribution of Dempwolff's grammar. Dempwolff himself, however, seems to have been particularly impressed with the special place of verbs and verb serialisation in Yabem. He describes verbs before nouns, adverbial expansions before adnominal ones. He repeatedly mentions serialisation and discusses it first when he turns to strategies for conjoining sentences.

Among the strengths of Dempwolff's analysis are: his extensive data base and rich exemplification; the careful organisation and step-by-step development of his exposition — his awareness of his audience, in other words; his avoidance of traditional grammatical preconceptions and explicit presentation of his own assumptions; his awareness of distinctions among meaning, function, and structure, and between notional and formal criteria, without wishing to exclude any of them.

There are, of course, weak points. His organisation makes for a good deal of repetition and requires extensive cross-referencing. He also shares a failing not uncommon among those describing serialisation. He does not make explicit enough the conditions under which two or more VPs can be serialised, and under
which they may not be serialised. Even with these weaknesses, however, Dempwolff's is one of the best accounts of serialisation I have read, and it is a good starting place for further work on serialisation in the languages of New Guinea and elsewhere. I have suggested a few modifications of his framework and have outlined some areas which might well repay future investigation.

NOTES

1. A more recent announcement (Wilson et al. 1967) of a project to translate a dozen of Dempwolff's works into English makes no mention of the Grammatik der Jabem-Sprache. A translation of this work would be both useful and timely. Yabem tone, verb serialisation, and differential treatment of animate and inanimate, generic and specific nouns would be of interest to an audience wider than that of German-reading Melanesianists. Unfortunately, my knowledge of German is insufficient to the task.

2. This research was supported in part by National Science Foundation grant no. BNS 75-19451 to the University of Hawaii Oceanic Comparative Linguistics Project. I am grateful to Frank Lichtenberk, Pete Lincoln, George Grace, and Stan Starosta for suggesting improvements in both the presentation and the translation from German. I alone am responsible for the deficiencies that remain.

3. The description of Yabem tone is considered by Kremsmayer to be the most important contribution of Dempwolff's grammar. Kremsmayer goes on to suggest that, because drum communication is hard to imagine in other than tone languages (Trommelsprache ist schwer denkbar ohne Tonsprache), more tone languages would turn up in the South Pacific where, as in Africa, drum-signalling is widely attested.

4. Lynch cites Zahn (1940) as his source of Yabem data. Zahn and Dempwolff collaborated closely, the former producing a pedagogical grammar, the latter providing the theoretical underpinnings.

5. The Wortlehre chapter begins like this (p.11):

The meanings of Yabem root words and word stems belong in the lexicon.

The function of the grammar is first to analyse the psychology of the words and their formants, and then to synthesise a presentation of that analysis.

We shall here dispense with an account of the toilsome process by which all involved contributed to the analysis of Yabem, and shall aim instead to describe clearly the grammatical synthesis.

In this undertaking, the familiar patterns of European school grammars proved inadequate. To be sure, the word classes noun, verb, and adjective are also found in Yabem. But the noun has no grammatical gender, only partially has number, and, if one can speak of cases at all, they are completely different from what we expect them to be. It is true that Yabem verbs are conjugated, but they have no passive and no tense, instead only peculiar modes. The adjective in Yabem lacks any comparative. The demonstrative pronouns have not so much a locational relation
to the speaker as a very general correlation to first, second, and third person. The word classes adverb, preposition, and conjunction of our languages are only partly reflected in Yabem; their meanings are often rendered in a totally different manner, frequently by verbs.

(Die Bedeutung der Grundwörter und der Wortstämmen des Jabem gehört in das Lexikon.
Aufgabe der Grammatik ist es, die Psychologie der Wörter mit ihren Formantien zunächst analytisch zu erschliessen und dann synthetisch zu ordnen.
Hier wird darauf verzichtet, den mühsamen Weg zu schildern, den die analytische Erschliessung des Jabem allen Beteiligten bereitet hat; es wird vielmehr erstrebt, die synthetische Ordnung der Grammatik übersichtlich darzustellen.

6. Lyons (1965:210, 234) is particularly helpful in clarifying the important distinction between the extensional definition of a grammatical class in terms of formal criteria and the intensional definition of the core of that class by reference to notional categories. The same article also first drew my attention to Jespersen's (1924:55) distinction between 'formal' and 'notional' approaches to grammar.

7. Dempwolff briefly mentions another type of construction which corresponds even more closely to German and English verb + particle combinations:

   Another way in which event representations are altered is by means of special particles, e.g. sa upward, sic downward, ökwì around. These belong more in the lexicon than in the grammar. (p.17)

   (Eine andere Art der Umbildung von Geschehnis-Vorstellungen erfolgt durch besondere Partikeln, z.B. durch sa nach oben, sic nach unten, ökwì herum. Diese gehören mehr in das Lexicon als in die Grammatik.)

However, they are mentioned again later in the grammar (pp.52-53) when he discusses adverbials:
The label adverb is especially merited in Yabem by a number of particles that only occur in combination with verbs, and then behind both the verb and any following object. They unite the formal representation of the event designated by the verb with another formal representation that verges on being a notional one in a manner similar to the way in which we use in German the particles "her" and "hin", "auf" (=open) and "zu" (=closed).

(Die Bezeichnung Adverbien verdienen im Jabem ganz besonders eine Anzahl von Partikeln, die nur in Verbindung mit Verben vorkommen, und zwar hinter der Verbalform und auch hinter einem ihr folgenden Objekt. Sie verknüpfen die Vorstellung des Geschehnisses, das die Verbalform bezeichnet, mit einer anderen Vorstellung, die auf der Grenze zu einem Begriff steht in ähnlicher Weise, wie wir im Deutschen unsere Partikeln "her" und "hin", "auf" (=offen) und "zu" (=geschlossen) gebrauchen.)

A similar class of resultative particles is found in a number of other Morobe area AN languages (Bradshaw 1979:15-18). The following are some of Dempwolff's (1939:53) examples from Yabem:

sêômac  lazê
3pl-laugh opened
They broke out in laughter.

kamoa  gêc  gamê ngauc
cobweb  3sg-lie place covered
Cobwebs covered up the place.

êôsêôc  sênâm  awê nga tôô
3pl-COLL 3pl-make mouth-3pl fastened
They will remain silent.

kêliô  tau  siô
3sg-forgot self disconnected/loose
He forgot himself.

sêjac  bu  tulu  kêsêp  låclu
3pl-strike water apart 3pl-descend cup
They poured water out into a cup.

ôkac  ka  ôkwi
2sg-turn tree around
Turn the tree around.

ôôôô  gêngic  su
cloth 3sg-rip finished
The cloth is all ripped up.

eôôôô  gêmac  êndu
3sg 3sg-sick/die dead
He died.
8. In Yabem orthography, a circumflex indicates a raised mid vowel, a grave accent indicates an unpredictable low tone, and an acute accent an unpredictable high tone. I have followed the orthography of Dempwolff's examples, even where it is somewhat inconsistent with regard to the predictability of one tone or the other. The segmental phonemes of Yabem are summarised in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveopalatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
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<td>Voiceless obs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Voiced obs.</td>
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<td>(n)s</td>
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<td>Nasals</td>
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The realis-irrealis distinction is ignored in morpheme glosses of Yabem verbs. (Dempwolff does not supply morpheme-by-morpheme glosses though he frequently offers literal translations in parentheses.) Generally, however, past tense in the free translation indicates that the verbs in a particular serial verb string are realis; future tense indicates irrealis, as does an imperative.

I have used hyphens to separate English glosses where they correspond to separate Yabem morphemes, and I have linked English glosses with a dot (.) when the glosses translate a single Yabem morpheme.

9. What Dempwolff apparently means by this is that statements, questions, and commands may all be rendered in serial constructions. His grammar provides many such examples. I doubt very much that he means to imply that a single serial construction may contain, for instance, both a statement and a question. If that is what he means, then he fails to provide any examples of such constructions.

10. The use of -ŋo to say in Numbami parallels almost exactly the use of -(m)be in Yabem. The major difference is that Yabem has a separate verb, -sôm to say, scold, denoting the action of speaking itself. Numbami -ŋo covers the range of both Yabem verbs. In Iwal (Davidson and Davidson 1976), another closely related language, -nei to say introduces quotes and ginei 3sg-say introduces conditional clauses. The Buang languages (Hooley 1970, Lauck 1976) have a probably cognate form (-)bê, whose range of usage parallels that of Yabem -(m)be. The Buang form is sometimes a verb, sometimes an uninflected particle, depending upon the function and/or dialect in which it occurs. For parallels in many unrelated languages, see Lord 1976.
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JAVANESE INDICATIVE AND IMPERATIVE PASSIVES

Ramelan

0. INTRODUCTION

It is a remarkable fact that there are numerous characteristics common to the rules of all the world's languages called linguistic universals, which include passivisation. This is indicated by a special verb form: in English by the discontinuous morpheme /be ...-en/, in Javanese by passive prefixes added to the verb stem.

Javanese passive verb forms distinguish subtle differences of meaning. In the indicative mood the passive prefix expresses the agent of the action /ta?-/ 'first person', /ko?-/ 'second person', and /di-/ third person'; so /ta?tules/ written by me, /ko?tules/ written by you, /ditules/ written by him or her.

Additional meanings may be added by using such suffixes as /-i/ or /(-?)ake/ to express frequentative and benefactive meanings respectively. So, /ta?tulisi/ means written many times by me, and /ta?tulesake/ written by me for someone.

In the imperative mood, passive is marked by the suffix /an/, so /tulisan/ be written. Frequentative and benefactive meanings are expressed by the suffix /-ono/ and /-no/ respectively: /tulisono/ be written many times, /tulesno/ be written for another person.

When the suffix /-i/ or /(-?)ake/ is added to an intransitive verb such as /lunghoh/, the meaning is respectively 'directive' and 'causative', and so the verb becomes transitive and can be passivised: /lungho/ to sit (intransitive), but /lunghuhil/ to sit on (transitive), /dilunghoh/ to make someone sit, /dilunghoakel/ be made to sit.

The passive prefix /ka/ indicates accidental action, so /ka?tules/ means be written by accident.

In literary style, the passive prefix /ka-/ or the passive infix /-in-/ may be used instead of the ordinary passive prefix /di-/ with similar meaning, so /katules/ = /tinules/ = /ditules/ be written.

Passive reciprocity is expressed in written language by reduplicating the verb stem and inserting the infix /-in-/ into the second verb: /tabo?- tinoabo?/ be reciprocally slapped. However, the active form i.e. /tabo?- tabo?an/ to slap each other is more common in conversation.

References:
1. THE JAVANESE LANGUAGE

Javanese is spoken in Central Java and the greater part of East Java by about 45 million people. It is also spoken by Javanese families who live in the other parts of Indonesia, such as Jakarta and the new resettlement areas on the outer islands.

Indonesian is the official national language used in the administration and as a medium of instruction at school throughout the country, including Central and East Java, where Javanese is spoken as a native tongue. In these areas Javanese as a local language may be used as the medium of instruction in the kindergarten and the three lowest grades of the elementary school. From the fourth grade on, Indonesian is used as the medium of instruction, whereas Javanese is taught only as an ordinary subject twice a week in the higher classes of the elementary school and the Junior High School. In the Senior High School the language is not taught at all. Its status in the curriculum is thus superseded by Indonesian, and even by English in the High School since this foreign language is taught four to five times a week. This accounts for the deteriorating mastery by students of some aspects of the language, namely the Javanese writing system and the higher levels of speech of the language.

As the language is not intensively taught at school, the present generation of Javanese-speaking people do not read and write the Javanese characters any more. The language is taught by using the Roman alphabet for the convenience of the students. There are no publications printed in Javanese characters available for sale so that in the near foreseeable future Javanese people will become alienated from certain speech levels of the language, and their writing system.

Javanese consists of at least three levels of speech, the so-called Ngoko level of speech used to talk to one's equal, the Krama level of speech used with strangers or people the speaker wants to respect or to keep at a distance, and the Krama Inggil used with people the speaker highly respects. The three speech levels differ from each other especially in the vocabulary, whereas the order of arranging the morphemes and words is the same. The following is a comparison between the three levels of speech:

(1) Ngoko : deke arep mangan sega†
     \[ \begin{array}{cccc}
     1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
     \end{array} \]

(2) Krama : piyambakipun bade neda sekul
     \[ \begin{array}{cccc}
     1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
     \end{array} \]

(3) Krama Inggil: panjenenganipun bade dahar sekul
     \[ \begin{array}{cccc}
     1 & 2 & 3 & 4 \\
     \end{array} \]

For the daily language of communication among friends the Ngoko is commonly used, and consequently it is this level of speech which is most widely used. On the other hand, the Krama is specially used by the older generation in society. There is reason to believe that with the language situation as it is now, some day the young generation will not speak the Krama any more, just like the Javanese speakers who live in Paramaribo, the former Dutch colony in Latin America.

†Examples are written here in Javanese orthography. When later letters are enclosed between slanting lines, they are phonetic symbols.
Like Indonesian or Malay, Javanese is a member of the Austronesian language family. It is not surprising, therefore, that there are many similarities between the two languages in terms of their vocabulary, phonology, morphology, and syntax. Because of these close similarities, Javanese-speaking people in general have no difficulty learning Indonesian. But those who have not attended school, especially in the country, do not understand Indonesian, and speak only Javanese for daily communication.

The similarities in grammar can be seen especially in the word order of the basic sentence structures. A sentence usually consists of two parts: a subject and a predicate. A noun or noun phrase commonly functions as subject, while for predicate we can have a noun (phrase), adjective (phrase), prepositional phrase, numeral (phrase), verb (phrase). The following are examples of Javanese and Indonesian sentences with English translation:

(4) Sidin kancaku : Sidin teman saya  
Sidin is my friend.

(5) Sidin lara : Sidin sakit  
Sidin is ill.

(6) Sidin nang omah : Sidin di rumah  
Sidin is at home.

(7a) Sidin lungguh : Sidin duduk  
Sidin sits.

(7b) Sidin mbedil asu : Sidin menembak anjing  
Sidin shoots a dog.

When a verb in the predicate is transitive as in (7b) above the sentence can be passivised — as in English — by permuting the object and subject, passivising the verb form, and adding the preposition dening or by before the permuted noun to indicate the agent, though it is mostly deleted in conversation. In English, however, the preposition by indicating the doer of the action is obligatory and can never be left out. Again, Javanese and Indonesian show great similarities in passivisation, besides differences which are found in written style.

At a glance Javanese and English look similar in passivising a sentence as can be seen from the passivisation rule above and the following illustration:

(8) Ašu dibedil (dening) Sidin: A dog is shot by Sidin

However, Javanese passivisation expresses more subtle differences in meaning as will be explained below.

2. PASSIVE SENTENCES IN JAVANESE

2.1 Subtle meanings in Javanese passives

It is interesting to note that languages the world over share certain characteristics, which are usually called linguistic universals. For example, each language has what is called 'mood' by grammarians, that is the form assumed by a verb (either by inflection or with the help of auxiliaries) for indicating the mode or manner in which the action or state denoted by the verb is conceived by the mind (Nesfield 1947:57). Sentences which express statements of facts are said to be in the 'indicative mood', sentences to express orders or to ask people to do something in the 'imperative mood', and sentences to express suppositions or unrealities in the 'subjunctive mood'. In addition, each language has certain devices to express negation, to ask questions, or to indicate whether someone performs or undergoes an action, called active or passive sentences. There is probably some truth in what transformational
grammarians say, that languages are basically the same in their deep structures to express various meanings, while the differences are found only in the ways they are manifested in their surface structures.

Active-passive relationship, sometimes called 'voice', seems to be universal since it is found in many languages. The following examples are taken from languages belonging to two different language families, viz. the Indo-European and Austronesian language families.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVE</th>
<th>PASSIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(9) English : He closes the door.</td>
<td>The door is closed (by him).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11) Indonesian : ia menutup pintu.</td>
<td>Pintu ditutup (olehnya).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In active sentences, the subject of the sentence i.e. the noun or noun-phrase: he in (9), hij in (10), ia in (11), deke in (12) performs the action indicated by the verb, while in passive sentences the subject of the sentence: the door in (9), de deur in (10), pintu in (11), or lawang in (12) undergoes the action. The passive meaning of the verb is signalled by a special form of the verb, in English, for instance, by the discontinuous passive morpheme /be ...-en/ or the auxiliary be and the past participle form of the verb (e.g. be closed), while in Javanese by the passive prefix /di-/ followed by the verb stem (ditutup). Passive sentences are used in English and Javanese, especially when there is no need to specify the performer of the action, and more attention is being paid to the result of the activity. That is why the agentive noun is not usually expressed in a passive sentence as can be seen from the examples cited above. In English and Javanese, active sentences are transformed into passive ones in a similar way as can be seen from sentences (9) and (12) above. The object of the active sentence is made the subject of the passive sentence, so the two nouns are permuted; passivisation of the verb form in English is done by adding the discontinuous passive morpheme /be ...-en/, while in Javanese by adding one of the passive affixes /taʔ-/ , /kaʔ-/ , /di-/ , /ka-/ , /-in-/. To indicate the performer of the action, if this is deemed necessary, a function word is placed before the agentive noun: the preposition by in English, and dening in Javanese. Javanese differs from English or any other language of the Indo-European family in that passive verb forms also express other subtle differences of meaning such as the performer of action, frequency of activity, benefaction, accidentality and the mood of the sentence. Consequently, a description of Javanese passive sentences will include the following:

1. the mood of the passive: whether indicative or imperative
2. the agent of the action: whether the 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person
3. other meanings which can be labelled as frequentative, benefactive, accidentality, and reciprocity
4. the way of transitivising intransitive verbs to enable them to take an object, thus allowing passivisation.
2.2 Passive in the indicative mood

2.2.1 Passive prefixes indicating agents

Javanese passives are, in general, distinguished into indicative and imperative passives; in the former there is a distinction on the basis of the agent of the action, i.e. 1st person, 2nd person, and 3rd person. In the imperative mood there is of course, no passive verb form with 1st or 3rd person as agent, since a sentence in this mood is always addressed to the 2nd person, which automatically functions as the subject of the sentence.

A sentence in the indicative mood expresses a statement about facts. Naturally not all sentences in the indicative mood can be passivised. Only those which meet certain requirements, i.e. those containing transitive verbs and taking an object, can be changed into passive sentences. The following, though representing the basic sentences in Javanese, cannot be changed into passive as they do not meet the requirements.

(13) Deke guru
he a teacher

(14) Deke sregep
he diligent

(15) Deke nang omah
he at home

(16) Bukune lima
his books five

(17) Deke lunga
he goes

The following sentences, however, can be changed into passive, since the verb takes an object, thus it is transitive:

ACTIVE passed

(18) Aku mbedil manuk Manuk takbedil
I shoot a bird a bird is shot by me

(19) Kowe mbedil manuk Manuk kokbedil
you shoot a bird a bird is shot by you

(20) Deke mbedil manuk Manuk dibedil
he/she shoots a bird a bird is shot by him/her

In the transformed sentence, the object of the active becomes the subject of the passive sentence. The passive verb form consists of a passive prefix and a verb stem. What passive prefix is used depends on the subject of the active sentence.

The passive prefix for
/aku/ I is /ta?-/ or /da?-/, the former being more colloquial
/kowe/ you is /ko?-/
/De?e/ he, she is /di-/ or /ka-/ , the latter only used in literary style.
Passivising an active verb is done by isolating the verb stem, i.e. by taking away the nasal prefix,\(^4\) thus /mba\(\theta\)ēl/ to shoot becomes /b\(\theta\)ēl/, and then the passive prefix is added to it, resulting in the construction /ta\(\theta\)b\(\theta\)ēl/, /k\(\theta\)b\(\theta\)ēl/, and /di\(\theta\)ēl/. This is the reason why mention is always made of the agent or doer of the action, although in passive sentences, attention is paid more to the undergoer and the action itself. This is especially characteristic of Javanese — and also Indonesian — but certainly not of English.

Identifying a verb stem is not always as easy as in the examples above, because sometimes it may undergo a loss of consonant. Basically the nasal prefix /N-/ is assimilated with the first consonant of the verb stem, but when the consonant is voiceless such as /p, t, T, c, s, k/, this consonant is lost. Knowledge of the morphophonemic rules, as illustrated below, is accordingly prerequisite for the proper identification of a verb stem.

The point of articulation of /N-/ is conditioned by the first sound of the verb stem, which can be explained as follows:

1. /N-/ is assimilated with voiced stops
   
   /N-/ + /balan/ \rightarrow /mbalan/ to throw
   /N-/ + /damu/ \rightarrow /ndamu/ to blow
   /N-/ + /DuDo?/ \rightarrow /nDuDo?/ to dig
   /N-/ + /jupo?/ \rightarrow /\jupu?/ to take
   /N-/ + /garu/ \rightarrow /ngaru/ to plough

2. /N-/ is assimilated with voiceless sounds, which are later lost
   
   /N-/ + /piker/ \rightarrow /miker/ to think
   /N-/ + /tules/ \rightarrow /nules/ to write
   /N-/ + /TuTo?/ \rightarrow /nuTo?/ to hit
   /N-/ + /cawan/ \rightarrow /\nawan/ to branch off
   /N-/ + /sawan/ \rightarrow /\nawan/ to look at
   /N-/ + /karan/ \rightarrow /\naran/ to compose
   /N-/ + /wedan/ \rightarrow /\medan/ to have hot drink

3. /N-/ is represented by /\/ anywhere else (before /r/, /\/, vowels)
   
   /N-/ + /ramp\(\epsilon\)/ \rightarrow /\nramp\(\epsilon\)/ to rob
   /N-/ + /li\(\epsilon\)/ \rightarrow /\li\(\epsilon\)/ to roll up
   /N-/ + /isi?/ \rightarrow /\isi?/ to fill
   /N-/ + /olah/ \rightarrow /\olah/ to process
   
   etc.

On the basis of the above rules, the verb stem can be identified from an active prenasalised verb. Care should be taken, however, in dealing with homophonous forms such as /\nawan/, which may derive from two different verb stems /cawan/ and /sawan/. But such ambiguities can be solved from context e.g.

(21) aku nyawang kowe : I gaze at you

(22) dalar-e nyawang : the road branches off

\(^4\)To indicate the activity of the subject — except for certain words — verbs in Javanese generally take a nasal prefix, which can be symbolised by the morphophoneme /N/.
Attention should also be paid to verbs beginning with the velar nasal prefix ng- /ŋ-/ , because the verb stem may either begin with a voiceless velar stop or a vowel. For instance in seeing a prenasalised verb like /narang/ we wonder whether the stem is /karaŋ/ or /araŋ/. This cannot be decided on unless we know the meaning, which can be checked with an informant, or judged from context:

(23) deke ngarang buku : he composes (writes) a book

The hearer will judge that /narang/ must derive from the verb stem /karaŋ/ compose, since /araŋ/ meaning scarce is out of place here.

After getting familiar with the morphophonemic rules above, it will not be difficult to passivise active verbs with nasal prefix, i.e. identify the verb stem by taking away the nasal prefix /N-/ , and then add any of the passive prefixes /ta?- , ko?- , di-/ , whichever is appropriate. In written style the passive prefix /di-/ may sometimes be replaced by the passive prefix /ka-/ or the passive infix /-in-/ . So these forms have the same meaning /ditules/ = /katules/ = /tinules/ to be written, with the difference that the first is colloquial, while the last two forms are literary.

2.2.2 Passives with frequentative and benefactive meanings

The passive verb forms explained above such as /di?isi/ to be filled or /ta?tules/ to be written by me may be called 'simple passive', because the verb form consists of only a passive prefix and a verb stem. Sometimes, however, additional meanings may be added by using the suffixes:

(1) /-i/ , which alternates with /-ni/ after vowels, and expresses the meaning of 'high frequency', thus called 'frequentative', e.g.

/di?isi/ to be filled many times
/ta?tulisi/ to be written by me many times

(2) /-ake/ which alternates with /-?ake/ after vowels and expresses the meaning of benefaction for/by other people, thus called 'benefactive', e.g.

/di?ise?ake/ to be filled for/by someone
/ta?tulesake/ to be written by me for someone

The verb stems to which the frequentative and benefactive suffixes are attached undergo the following morphophonemic changes:

(1) when the verb stem ends in a close or half-close, and half-open vowel: /i, e/, /u, o/, /a/, it is lowered to /ɛ/, /o/, and /a/ respectively, e.g.

/di?isi/ + /-i/ → /di?iseni/ to be filled many times
/di?isi/ + /-?ke/ → /di?ise?ke/ to be filled for someone
/dibaDe/ + /-i/ → /dibaDe?eni/ to be guessed many times
/dibaDe/ + /-?ke/ → /dibaDe?ke/ to be guessed for someone
/dituku/ + /-i/ → /ditukoni/ to be bought many times
/dituku/ + /-?ke/ → /dituko?ke/ to be bought for someone
/diparo/ + /-i/ → /diparoni/ to be halved many times
/diparo/ + /-?ke/ → /diparo?ke/ to be halved for someone
/diperso/ + /-i/ → /dipersani/ to be looked at many times
/diperso/ + /-?ke/ → /dipersa?ke/ to be looked for by someone
(2) When the verb stem contains the vowel /a/ in both the penultimate and ultimate syllables provided that the latter is an open syllable, both vowels are replaced by /a/ before the frequentative or benefactive suffix:

/dikalɔ/ + /-i/ + /dikalani/ to be often looped
/dikalɔ/ + /-ke/ + /dikalake/ to be looped for/by someone

If the last syllable is closed /TɔTɔ/ hit on the head, there is no morphophonemic change.

(3) When the verb ends in a closed syllable with a half-close vowel /e, o/, the vowel is raised to /i, u/ before the frequentative suffix /-i/ only:

/di?ires/ + /-i/ + /di?iris/ to be cut many times
/dikaro?/ + /-i/ + /dikaru/ to be dredged many times

but:

/di?ires/ + /-ke/ + /di?ireske/ to be cut for/by someone

When the verb ends in /h/ e.g. /sugoh/ offer food/drink to a guest the consonant /h/ is dropped

/disugoh/ + /i/ + /disugui/

(4) Otherwise, the normal form as found in isolation is used, e.g.

/dipEnE?/ + /-i/ + /dipEnE?i/ to be climbed many times
/dikaraQ/ + /-ke/ + /dikaraje/ to be composed for/by someone

In order to indicate much higher frequency in the action the verb stem is reduplicated: /ditules/ be written, but /ditules-tules/ or sometimes /ditules-tulisi/ be continuously written. When a feeling of 'dislike' is implied, the verb stem is reduplicated and there is vowel change in the first verb stem i.e. the vowel in the ultimate syllable of the first verb stem is changed into /a/, while the vowel in the penultimate syllable, if any, is raised to /o/ when it is an open vowel /a/ or a half-open back vowel /o/; but the second verb stem is unchanged e.g.

/ditules/ + /ditules-tules/ be written continuously
/di?ires/ + /di?iras?-ires/ be cut continuously
/dicct/ + /dicat-cct/ be painted continuously
/diwwo/ + /diwoca-wo/ be read continuously
/di?ambu/ + /di?omba-?ambu/ be smelled continuously

The verb stem used with the 1st person passive prefix /ta?-/ is an important passive marker. When the nasal active prefix /N-/ is added to the verb stem, for instance /ta?-/ + /N-/ + /tules/ + /ta?nules/, the meaning is, of course, active indicating 'determination' or 'volition'. Consider the following:

(24) /ta?tules/ is written by me
(25) /ta?nules/ I'm going to write

There is another passive verb form consisting of the 1st person passive prefix /ta?-/ and the suffix /-e/, indicating the meaning of 'determination':

/tajupu?e buku iku/ or 
/buku iku ta?jupu?e/ I am determined to take that book
The three passive verb forms are as follows:

(a) simple passive /-e/ : /ta?jupu?e/
(b) benefactive passive /-ne/ : /ta?jupo?ne/
(c) frequentative passive /-an+/ +e/ : /ta?jupu?ane/

When the verb ends in a vowel (open syllable) another suffix /-an/ is added before the suffix /e/ for (c) above

/da? + tampo + an + an + e/ + /da?tampanane/ I am determined to receive it oftentimes.

Not all verbs in Javanese take the nasal prefix /N-/ to indicate active voice. There are verbs which maintain their stem or base forms in their active voice such as:

/waroh/ see /kru?u/ hear
/tuku/ buy /jajan/ buy refreshments
/sa?an/ like /lali/ forget
/sa?et/ hate /ento?/ get

The following is an example for such a verb used in a sentence:

**ACTIVE**

(26) /aku tuku buku/ I buy book

**PASSIVE**

/buku ta?tuku/ book is bought by me

With verbs of perception or emotion, the active form is more common, while the passive form is seldom used. Thus the passive counterparts of the following active sentences are anomalous and never used:

**ACTIVE**

(27) /De?e waroh sapi/ he sees cow

**PASSIVE**

/*sapi diwaroh/ cow is seen by him

(28) /*aku kru?u kabar/ I hear news

**PASSIVE**

/kabar ta?kru?u/ news is heard by me

Instead, the passive of an emotive verb is formed by adding the suffix /-i/, which is normally used with intransitive verbs to make them transitive such as in /lungho/ to sit, but /dilunghu/ to be sat on, so:

**ACTIVE**

(29) /aku sa?an kaca?/ I like peanuts

**PASSIVE**

/kaca? ta?sa?anji/ peanuts are liked by me

When the object has the semantic feature /*human/, the preposition /karo/ with is used before it in the active, or the active prefix /N-/ is used together with the suffix /-i/ mentioned above

(30) /aku sa?an karo Siti/ I like with Siti

(31) /aku sa?an karo Siti/ I like with Siti

It is probably for this reason that the suffix /-i/ is said to have a directive function i.e. to cause the meaning of a verb, especially an intransitive verb, to be directed towards an object, in other words, to transitivise intransitive verbs.
2.2.3 Passive with intransitive verbs

Basically an intransitive verb cannot be changed into passive because it does not take any object to be made the subject of the passive sentence. But as has been pointed out in the previous section, an intransitive verb can be made transitive with the help of the suffix /-i/, called 'directive', or also the suffix /-(?)ake/, which may be called 'causative' for the reason explained below. These morphemes are homonymous with the frequentative and benefactive suffixes, which are added to transitive verbs presented before.

Consider the uses of the directive and causative suffixes /-i/ and /-(?)ake/ with intransitive verbs as used in active and passive sentences below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVE</th>
<th>PASSIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(32) /aku lungoh/</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/I sit</td>
<td>/kursi ta?lunguh/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(33) /aku ηlunguhi kursi/</td>
<td>/kursi tsu?lunguh/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/I sit on chair</td>
<td>chair is sat on by me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(34) /kowe ηlungohke bayi/</td>
<td>/bayi ko?lungohke/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/you cause to sit baby</td>
<td>baby is made to sit by you</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples of intransitive verbs which can be thus conjugated are, for instance, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB STEM</th>
<th>VERB STEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/turu/</td>
<td>/lungh/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sleep, lie</td>
<td>go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tib/</td>
<td>/ta?jes/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/fall</td>
<td>/weep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lor/</td>
<td>/wije?/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/be ill</td>
<td>/wash hands/feet</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTE: There are exceptions to the morphophonemic rules of the active prefix /N-/ as mentioned in (2.2.1) above, since the allomorph /m/ is also found before vowels in the active voice. But with directive and causative suffixes /-i/, /-(?)ake/, the form /ŋ/ is used. Consider the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB STEM</th>
<th>ACTIVE</th>
<th>PASSIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/?ungah/</td>
<td>/mungah/ up (intr)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/climb (trans)</td>
<td>/di?ungahi/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/?ungahke/</td>
<td>cause to rise (trans)</td>
<td>/-di?ungahke/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same rules apply to the following:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/?uDon/</td>
<td>go down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/?ambu/</td>
<td>smell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/?ereng/</td>
<td>be in slanting position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/?elen/</td>
<td>be conscious</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.4 Accidental passives

When someone or something undergoes an action by accident, that is the performer does not do the action on purpose, Javanese makes use of the so-called 'accidental passive', which is signalled by the accidental passive prefix /ke-/. The agent implied is always the third person, as can be seen from the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVE</th>
<th>PASSIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(35) /wɔŋ mbɔDel mano?/</td>
<td>/mano? dibɔDel/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>someone shoots bird</td>
<td>bird is shot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(36) /wɔŋ mbɔDel mano?/</td>
<td>/mano? kabaDεl/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>someone shoots bird</td>
<td>bird is shot by accident</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The accidental passive prefix /ka-/ undergoes a loss of the vowel /a-/ when added to verb stems beginning with a vowel:

/ka + ir es/ + /ki res/ ; ka + antəm/ + kəntəm
/ka + unta l/ + /kuntal/ be accidentally swallowed

It has been pointed out earlier that in literary Javanese the passive prefix /di-/ may be replaced by the passive prefix /ka-/> without altering the meaning, so /dibaDe1/ to be shot has the same meaning as the passive form /kabaDe1/ to be shot. But if the prefix /ka-/ is used instead of /ka-/ as in /kabaDe1/, the meaning of accidentality is expressed i.e. the action is done by accident. The prefix /ka-/> is limited to literary usage, whereas /kə-/ i.e. the accidental passive is used both in literary as well as in colloquial language.

When the verb is intransitive and later transitivised by the directive suffix /-i/-, the accidental prefix /ka/ must be used with the suffix /-/ani/ thus /kə...-ani/ here may be called a confix, forming a discontinuous morpheme, for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVE</th>
<th>PASSIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/De?e ŋlunguhi buku/</td>
<td>/bukune kələnguhi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he sits on book</td>
<td>the book is sat on accidentally</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|                        | not ə/kələnguhi/

2.2.5 Reciprocal passive

Reciprocal action is expressed in Javanese by the reduplication of the verb stem and certain affixes depending on the voice of the verb. The reciprocal passive verb is signalled by reduplicating the verb stem and inserting the infix /-i/-, which alternates with /-iŋ/- before vowels, into the second verb stem as in the following examples:

/tabə?/ to slap        /tabə?-tinabə?/ be reciprocally slapped
/?antəm/ punch         /?antəm?-?inəntəm/ be reciprocally punched
/balaŋ/ throw          /balaŋ-binaŋaŋ/ be reciprocally thrown

The reciprocal passive verb form is especially used in written form, while the reciprocal active verb form is used in both spoken and written language. The active reciprocity is signalled by reduplicating the verb stem and adding the suffix /-an/ to the last verb stem. The reciprocal passive examples above can be changed into reciprocal active verb forms as follows:

/tabə?-tabə?an/ to slap each other
/?antəm?-antəmən/ to punch each other
/balaŋ-balaŋaŋ/ to throw (something) at each other

2.3 Passive in the imperative mood

2.3.1 Active vs passive sentences in indicative and imperative

Although passivity is universally found in most languages in which the grammatical subject undergoes the action as expressed by the verb, imperative passive is uniquely found in Javanese. The imperative passive form might be found in English, but it is probably not commonly used in speech. A form like be hanged is also a 'passive imperative', but it is hardly ever used in everyday speech (unless as an expletive!).
In Javanese, however, passive imperative verb forms are normally used in everyday speech. Before examining the formal features of imperative passive verb forms, let us compare sentences in the indicative mood and imperative mood to see how they differ from each other in their forms. As we know, indicative sentences are statements about facts, while imperative sentences express orders or requests. If the indicative passive is marked by the passive prefixes /da?- , ta?- , ko?- , di- , ka- , ka- + verb stem, the imperative passive, on the other hand, is signalled by a verb stem + any of the imperative passive suffixes /-en, -no, -ono/. The following is a comparison between indicative active (IND A) and imperative active (IMP A).

(38) IND A: /kowe njup? buku/
     you take book

(39) IMP A: /(kowe) njup?o buku/
     (you) take book!

An imperative active verb in Javanese is signalled by the suffix /-o/, together with the activising nasal prefix /N-/ when required. Like in any other language, including English, the 2nd person subject is deleted or understood. Brusque commands are expressed by using the verb stem only e.g. /jupo?/, but it sounds too commanding or peremptory.

A distinction is also made between the indicative passive (IND P) verb form and an imperative passive (IMP P) verb form as indicated by the following comparison:

(40) IND P: /buku iku ko?jupo?/
     book that is taken by you

(41) IMP P: /buku iku jupu?en/
     book that be taken (by you)

Since the order of subject and predicate in Javanese is rather flexible, it is also possible to say:

(42) /jupu?en buku iku/
     be taken book that

2.3.2 Markers of imperative simple passive

An indicative passive verb form is marked, as explained earlier, by any of the passive prefixes + verb stem:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IND PASSIVE PREFIX</th>
<th>VERB STEM</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>da?- or ta?-</td>
<td>jupo?</td>
<td>take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko?-</td>
<td>tules</td>
<td>write</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-</td>
<td>buka?</td>
<td>open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>c?lo?</td>
<td>steal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka-</td>
<td>?ires</td>
<td>cut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
On the other hand, the imperative passive verb form is marked by a verb stem + the suffix /-an/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VERB STEM</th>
<th>IMPERATIVE PASSIVE SUFFIX</th>
<th>MEANING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jupo?</td>
<td>-an</td>
<td>be taken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tules</td>
<td></td>
<td>be written</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buka?</td>
<td></td>
<td>be opened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palu</td>
<td>-nan</td>
<td>be hammered</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isi</td>
<td></td>
<td>be filled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toto</td>
<td></td>
<td>be arranged</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So the imperative passive suffix has two allomorphs:

/-an/ after verb stems ending in consonants
/-nan/ after verb stems ending in vowels

as can be seen from the above examples.

The verb stems before the imperative passive suffix undergo an internal modification of the last open vowel as follows:

- half-close vowel /e, o/ in ultimate closed syllables are changed into close vowels /i, u/ respectively:
  - /jupo?/ take /jupu? -an/
  - /tules/ write /tulis -an/

- half-open back vowel /u/ in penultimate and/or ultimate open syllables is changed into mid open vowel /a/ e.g.
  - /gawo/ bring + /gawa/ 
  - /kalo/ catch with a loop + /kala/ 
  - /para/ divide + /paral/ 
  - /suda/ reduce + /sudal/ 

Since passivisation has to do with the transformation of an active sentence into a passive one by making the object of the active sentence the subject of the passive counterpart, the implication is that the verb must be of the transitive type. Consequently, intransitive verbs cannot take the imperative passive suffix /-an/. An intransitive verb like: /lunço/ to go cannot be changed into /lunçoanen/, but it can take the active imperative suffix /-i/, thus /lunço/ go! or the imperative causative passive /lunçañeno/ make someone go.

2.3.3 Frequentative and benefactive passive in the imperative

It has been stated before that besides the active nasal prefix /N-!/ or the passive prefixes /da?-, ta?-, ka?-, di-, ka-, ka-/!, which can be added to verb stems, at the same time the frequentative or continuative suffix /-i/ and the benefactive suffix /-(!)ake/ can also be added, for example

**ACTIVE VERB**

/mbalan/ to throw

/mbalanji/ to throw frequently

/mbalanke/ to throw for someone

**PASSIVE VERB**

/dibalaq/ to be thrown

/dibalaqji/ to be frequently thrown

/dibalaqke/ to be thrown for someone
The frequentative and benefactive meanings of verbs are also found with imperative active verbs as well as imperative passive verbs as can be seen from the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IMPERATIVE ACTIVE</th>
<th>IMPERATIVE PASSIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(43) /kowe/ njupu?o paku iku/</td>
<td>(a) /paku iku jupu?on/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(you) take nail that</td>
<td>nail that be taken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) /jupu?on paku iku/</td>
<td>be taken nail that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(44) /kowe/ njupon?o paku iku/</td>
<td>(a) /paku iku jupon?o/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(you) take (for someone) nail that</td>
<td>nail that be taken (for someone)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) /jupon?o paku iku/</td>
<td>be taken (for someone) nail that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(45) /kowe/ njupu?ono paku iku/</td>
<td>(a) /paku iku jupu?ono/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(you) take (many times) nails those</td>
<td>nail that be taken (many times)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) /jupu?ono paku iku/</td>
<td>be taken (many times) nail that</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

So the imperative passive, like the indicative passive, can be divided into three types:

1. the simple imperative passive : /jupu?on/  
2. the benefactive imperative passive : /jupon?o/  
3. the frequentative imperative passive : /jupu?ono/  

The simple imperative passive suffix morpheme /-on/ has two allomorphs:

1. /-a n/ after verb stems ending in consonants:  
   /tules + an/ → /tulis + an/ be written  
   /jupo? + on/ → /jupu? + an/ be taken  
   /untal + an/ → /untal + an/ be swallowed  
2. /-nan/ after verb stems ending in vowels:  
   /paku + on/ → /paku + nan/ be nailed  
   /isi + an/ → /isi + nan/ be filled  
   /toto + an/ → /tata + nan/ be arranged

The verb stem to which the suffix /-on/ is added undergoes some morphophonemic changes, especially in the last vowel, in the same way as has been stated in the preceding section. The benefactive imperative passive suffix /-no/ alternates with /?-no/, the former being used after verb stems ending in consonants, and the latter being used after verb stems ending in vowels, while the preceding verb stem which ends in a vowel undergoes some morphophonemic changes as can be seen from the following examples:

verb stems ending in consonants do not undergo any changes:
   /tules + no/ → /tulesno/ be written for someone  
   /jupo? + no/ → /jupo?no/ be taken for someone  
   /untal + no/ → /untalno/ be swallowed for someone

verb stems ending in vowels undergo the following vowel changes:

the close and half-close back vowels /u, o/ are changed into the half-open back vowel /o/
   /u, o/ → /o/ e.g. /paku + ?no/ → /pakano/ be nailed for someone  
   /paro + ?no/ → /parano/ be halved for someone
the close and half-close front vowels /i, e/ are changed into the half-open front vowel /ɛ/

/i, e/ → /ɛ/ e.g. /isi + ?no/ → /ist?no/ be filled for someone
/rene + ?no/ → /ren?no/ be taken here for someone

the half-open back vowel /o/ is changed into the central open vowel /a/
/
+a/ e.g. /toto + ?no/ → /tata?no/ be arranged for someone

The frequentative imperative passive suffix /-on/ - like the simple imperative suffix /-an/ - has two allomorphs:

(1) /-on/ after verb stems ending in consonants: e.g.
/tules + on/ + /tulisono/ be written many times
/jupo? + on/ + /jupu?ono/ be taken many times
/untal + on/ + /untalonono/ be swallowed many times

(2) /-on/ after verb stems ending in vowels: e.g.
/paku + on/ + /pakonoono/ be nailed many times
/isi + on/ + /istonoono/ be filled many times
/toto + on/ + /tatonono/ be arranged many times

The verb stems undergo morphophonemic alternation with regard to the ultimate and penultimate vowels in closed and open syllables in the same way as explained on page 205:

half-close vowels /e, o/ in ultimate closed syllables become close vowels /i, u/: e.g.
/jupo? + on/ + /jupunoono/ be written many times
/tules + on/ + /tulisonono/

half-open vowel /o/ in penultimate and/or ultimate open syllables become /a/ e.g.
/toto + on/ + /tatonono/

close vowels /i, u/ in ultimate open syllable become half-open vowels /e, o/ respectively. e.g.
/isi + on/ + /isonoono/ to be filled many times
/tuku + on/ + /tukonoono/ to be bought many times

3. CONCLUSION

In conclusion it can be summarised that passivisation is most probably a universal feature found in all languages the world over. Passivisation is usually marked by the conjugation of the verb, to which affixes are added: in English, passivity is marked by the discontinuous morpheme /be ...-en/, consisting of the auxiliary be plus past participle inflection, suffixed to the verb stem. In Javanese, it is signalled by one of the passive prefixes /ta?- , ko?- , di- , ka- , ka-/ or the infix /-in-/ added to the verb stem.

However, besides the simple passive, Javanese also expresses various meanings such as the doer of action, frequentative or directive meaning, benefactive or causative meaning, accidentality, and reciprocity. As a consequence, those meanings have to be described in the grammar of the language.

Since Javanese is a member of the Austronesian language family, those different meanings might be expressed in the other members of the language
family as well. At least in Indonesian, some of those meanings, though not all of them, are signalled by the use of different prefixes.

This paper is not claimed to be an exhaustive treatment of the Javanese passive since some exceptions may have escaped the attention of the writer. He will therefore, be happy to receive questions and criticisms from the readers for the improvement of the analysis.

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1. INTRODUCTION

In my paper presented at our last conference (1978c), I pointed out that the approach to the study of morphology as first advocated by Halle (1973) and expanded and revised by Aronoff (1976) encountered serious problems when applied to languages such as Indonesian. At that time I presented the derivation of nouns. The present paper will concentrate on the formation of verbs.

Halle suggests that morphology be viewed as consisting of three distinct components: (1) a list of morphemes (LM), (2) word formation rules (WFRs), and (3) a filter. The LM contains three types of entries, namely, roots, affixes, and what Halle calls 'stems'. These entries are in the form of sequences of phonetic segments with some grammatical information. Thus, for the morpheme write in English we must provide the information that says that it is a verbal root, a member of the 'non-Latinate' group, and that it follows a strong verbal conjugation rule. The affixes include forms such as en-, -tion, and -ity. Within Halle's theoretical framework, the LM must also contain the stems so that forms such as vacant, brother, and believe can be derived by postulating rules of the type /STEM + ant/ N, /STEM + ther/ N, /be + STEM/ Y. The stems should be appropriately marked so that a given stem can be substituted only in certain frames and not in others (1973:10). Presumably, there would be a set of indexed stems for forms such as -va-, -bro-, and -be-.

The WFRs specify how the items in the LM are to be arranged to form potential words in the language. Following the phonotactic rules of English, forms such as *blick and *arriv ation would be generated by the WFRs, but *branyak and *ndlopong would not.

Since words, once accepted in the lexicon, often develop idiosyncrasies, the output of the WFRs must be sorted out so that only actual words will be permitted to pass. Halle postulates three types of idiosyncrasies: (1) semantic, (ii) phonological, and (iii) for want of a better term, I called it 'actual' in my 1978c paper.

Semantic idiosyncrasies are those related to peculiarities in the area of meaning; phonological idiosyncrasies are those in the area of phonology. 'Actual' idiosyncrasies pertain to facts in language in which a form should
occur but actually does not. Forms such as *arrival, *refusation, *derival, and *describal are not found in English, although arrival, refusal, derivation, and description are.

The mechanism to prevent the formation of the above forms is the filter. Any form which passes the filter will be stored in what we know as Dictionary. Thus, arrival, refusal, derivation, and description will be stored in the Dictionary, but their starred counterparts above will not.

Although in general Aronoff's work can be considered as an amplification of Halle's, there is one significant difference that must be pointed out here. Unlike Halle's theory which is morphemically based, Aronoff's is word-based, that is, his WFRs cannot operate on anything less than a word, a word here being defined as that without an inflection. In another work Aronoff classifies his definition by saying that the term 'word' in the theory is synonymous with the term 'lexeme' (1979:116). By implication the major difference between Halle's and Aronoff's theories lies in the fact that Aronoff's component in which bases are stored, similar to Halle's LM, does not contain such stems as va- and bro-. Both, however, agree that the principle of recognisability, and not that of meaningfulness, must be used to define a morpheme. In Aronoff's words a morpheme is "a phonetic string which can be connected to a linguistic entity outside that string" (1976:15).

The argument in my 1978c paper basically covers the following points. First, to consider a phonetic string a morpheme simply on the basis of its recognisability in certain contexts disregards the well-established view, which I believe is still correct, that says that for any communicative form to be considered a language there must exist a relationship between a signifiant and a signifie. Native speakers recognise the relationship through intuition. No native speakers of English, except some in linguistics, would consider vacant and brother bimorphic. Similarly, no native speakers of Indonesian would consider haluan bow, percaya to believe and semangat spirit bimorphic simply because these words have what appear to be the affixes -an, per- and se- respectively.

My second argument pertains to Aronoff's requirement that the WFRs cannot operate on anything less than a word (1976:22). The data in nominal derivation for Indonesian show that we have bases upon which the WFRs must operate and yet they are less than words: juang something to do with struggling, henti something to do with stopping, and anjur something to do with suggesting.

If a WFR is now permitted to operate on a base which is less than a word, and if we leave out Halle's stems, the LM will only consist of roots and affixes. My third argument is that the roots must be subcategorised into bound and free roots to accommodate bound forms such as juang as well as free forms such as datang to come. Related to this argument is our difficulty in meeting Aronoff's requirement for a base to bear "syntactic subcategories, selectional features, lexically governed entailments, and presuppositions" (1976:48). Bases such as juang do not even have a syntactic category and independent meaning let alone syntactic subcategories, selectional features, etc.

My fourth and last argument is that the concept of blocking, that is a mechanism to block the occurrence of form such as *arrival, does not explain but rather states idiosyncrasies found in language.

In Section 2 I present the formation of verbs in Indonesian to support my earlier arguments and claims. Section 3 is a discussion, and Section 4 a conclusion.
2. THE LANGUAGE

2.1 The bases

At the outset we can say that there are two types of roots in Indonesian which are used as bases for forming verbs: (i) those to which we can assign syntactic categories and independent meanings without having to add an affix. We have called this type the free roots; and (ii) those whose syntactic categories and independent meanings can be identified only after certain affixes have been added. These are the bound roots. Examples for (i) are marah to be angry, darat (a piece of) land, and kerja to work, and for (ii) are aju, alih, selenggara, and temu. As far as meanings are concerned the most we can say about (ii) is that these forms have something to do with putting forward, moving, holding, and meeting respectively (henceforth: 'VERB+ing').

On the basis of the types of roots above, we have basically two verb forms: (1) those which can stand alone unaffixed, labelled here as V₁, and (2) those which can or must take affixation, V₂. This type is subdivided into three subgroups: V₂a, consisting of verbs whose bases are free roots and requiring affixes; V₂b, consisting of verbs which can take affixes; and V₂c, consisting of verbs whose bases are bound roots and requiring affixes. Examples:

V₁: datang to come
tiba to arrive
percaya to believe
duduk to sit
mengerti to understand

V₂a: mendarat to land
bersepeda to ride a bicycle
melebar to become wide
menari to dance
bertelor to lay an egg

V₂b: membaca to read³
merestui to bless
berjalan to walk
membersihkan to clean
bekerja to work

V₂c: mengajukan to put forward
menyelenggarakan to hold (parties) menemui to meet with
bersua to meet
mengalihkan to shift

Of all the verbs in V₁ tiba to arrive, as far as my present research goes, seems to be the only word in the language which can be considered as, to borrow Jackendoff's terminology (1975:648), a singleton, that is a form which belongs to only one syntactic category. The rest of the verbs in V₁ can be used as bases to form other verbs. From datang and duduk, for instance, we can have mendaratkan to bring in, mendarang to approach, mendarang to come (poetic), kedarangan to get visited by, berdatangan to come (plural subject), and mendudukkan to seat, and menduduki to occupy, respectively.

Since the bases for V₂a and V₂b are free roots, one might wonder why they are separated. There are three reasons for this. First, the forms in V₂b still function as verbs without meN- or beR-, but those in V₂a do not. Thus, sentence (1) is acceptable, but (2) is not.

(1) Kapalterbang itu sudah mendarat.
   plane the already land
   The plane has landed.
Pak Blo' on suka baca komik.
Mr like read comic
Mr Blo' on likes to read comics.

(2) Kapalterbang itu sudah darat.
Second, in the imperative form the prefix beR in V2a must be retained. In V2b the retention is optional. We can have (3) and (4), but not (5).

(3) BERtelorlah sekarang!
   lay egg now
   Lay an egg now!

(4) BEkerjalah dengan baik!
   work with good
   Work well!

(5) *Telorlah sekarang!

Third, in informal style the prefix, a portion of the prefix, or a substitute of some sort must be retained in V2a but not in V2b. We can have (6) but not (7).

(6a) Gua MENdarat jam 3.
   I land hour
   I landed at 3.

(6b) Gua Ndarat jam 3.
   I landed at 3.

(6c) Ayam gua udah BERtolar.
   chicken I already lay egg
   My chicken has laid an egg.

(6d) Ayam gua udah Nelson,
   My chicken has laid an egg.

(6e) Gua mau baca koran.
   I want read newspaper
   I want to read a newspaper.

(6f) Kamu jalan ke sekolah?
   You walk to school
   You walk to school?

(7a) *Gua darat jam 3.

(7b) *Ayam gua udah telor.

Notice the meN- in (6a) becomes n- in (6b) and beR- in (6c) becomes n- in (6d) with the following t- assimilated. Notice also that baca and jalan in (6e-f) need no prefixes since they are members of V2b.

2.2 Affixes and their combination with bases

There are prefixes and suffixes to form verbs in Indonesian. The prefixes are meN- (with its di- passive counterpart), (mem)per-, beR, and teR-. The suffixes are primarily -kan and -i but occasionally also -an. In addition to these affixes, there is the prefix ke- which must occur with -an to form verbs.

The prefixes meN- (mem)per-, and teR- can occur with the suffix -kan or -i, and beR- with -kan or -an. Below are the details of these combinations.
2.2.1 The meN- verbs

If we postulate three hypothetical sets A, B, and C to represent respectively the verbs formed from meN+BASE, meN+BASE+kan, and meN+BASE+i, and these three sets intersect, we have seven subsets:

1. $M_1 = \{x : x + \text{meN+BASE}\}$.\(^5\) Examples:
   - membantu to help
   - memberontak to rebel
   - meninjau to visit
   - mencaci to swear
   - menduga to guess

2. $M_2 = \{x : x + \text{meN+BASE+kan}\}$. Examples:
   - membicarakan to discuss
   - membubarkan to abolish
   - mengajukan to put forward
   - membuktikan to prove
   - menghidangkan to present

3. $M_3 = \{x : x + \text{meN+BASE+i}\}$. Examples:
   - mengepulai to head
   - mengawasi to supervise
   - menangani to tackle
   - mengadili to administer justice
   - mengingkari to renege

4. $M_4 = \{x : x + \text{meN+BASE+kan}\}$. Examples:
   - membeli(\text{kan}) to buy (for someone)
   - menjurus(\text{kan}) to direct (X) (to)
   - menyewa to rent
   - menyewakan to rent out

5. $M_5 = \{x : x + \text{meN+BASE+i}\}$. Examples:
   - mencium(\text{i}) to kiss (repeatedly)
   - menampar(\text{i}) to slap (repeatedly)
   - menyelam to dive
   - menyelami to penetrate
   - menghias(\text{i}) to decorate

6. $M_6 = \{x : x + \text{meN+BASE+[kan]}\}$. Examples:
   - memarahkan to anger
   - menjatuhkan to fall on
   - memerishkan to put in order
   - memperihal to scold
   - menampar to slap
   - menyelam to dive
   - menyelami to penetrate
   - menghias to decorate

7. $M_7 = \{x : x + \text{meN+BASE+[kan]}\}$. Examples:
   - mengambil to take
   - mengambilkan to take for someone
   - mengambil(\text{i}) to take (repeatedly)
   - menyerahkan to surrender
   - menyerahkan to entrust (Y with X)
   - menyerahkan to entrust

There are approximately 1425 bases\(^6\) in Indonesian which belong to the meN- set. Of this total 21% are found in $M_1$, 29% in $M_2$, 9% in $M_3$, 21% in $M_4$, 4% in $M_5$, 6% in $M_6$, and 10% in $M_7$. Looking at the percentages above we can see that the suffix -kan (in $M_2$ and $M_4$) is almost four times as many as the suffix -i (in $M_3$ and $M_5$).

Several characteristics of the verbs in this set I have found so far are:

(1) Verbs with only the prefix meN- in any of the above subsets can be transitive or intransitive: membeli to buy, menyerah to surrender.

(2) Except for merupakan to constitute, all verbs with -kan are transitive: menjatuhkan to topple, membelikan to buy for someone.\(^7\)

(3) Except for mencukupi to suffice, memenuhi to fulfill, memadai to be sufficient, and menyerupai to resemble, all verbs with -i are transitive.
(4) If meN+BASE alone does not occur in the language, the addition of -kan or -i will make the resultant verb monotransitive (one object): "mengerja, mengerjakan to do, "merestu, merestui to bless.

(5) If meN+BASE is intransitive, the suffix -kan or -i changes the status to monotransitive: melebar to become wide, melebarkan to widen (X), mendekat to come close, mendekati to approach.

(6) If meN+BASE is monotransitive, the suffix -kan changes the status to bitransitive (two objects): membeli to buy, membelikan to buy for someone. In some cases the meaning is unique: menyewa to rent, menyewakan to rent out.

(7) If meN+BASE is monotransitive, the suffix -i will retain the monotransitive status: mencium to kiss, menciumi to kiss repeatedly.

The most common meanings of the suffix -kan are causative and benefactive, the former most often found in (5) and the latter in (6) above. The productivity of the suffix often leads to uncertainty among native speakers. The acceptability of causative forms such as melebarkan to widen (X), and meluaskan to expand often makes native speakers wonder if forms such as "mencantikkan are acceptable or not. Witness the awkwardness of (8) and the less awkwardness of (9).

(8) ??Bang Alwi mencantikkan kota Jakarta
   Mr. Alwi 'beautify' city Jakarta

(9) ?Kota Jakarta dicantikkan lagi dengan pepohonan di jalan2 besar
city Jakarta 'beautified' further with trees on streets big

In the case of the benefactive -kan, if an activity can be performed only by oneself, the -kan seems improbable: menghibur to entertain, menghina to humiliate, but "menghiburkan and "menghinakan. On the other hand, if the activity can be done on behalf of someone else, there is a tendency for -kan to be on the acceptable side: "menggugatkan to claim for someone, "menilpulkan to telephone for someone, "melamarkan to propose for marriage for someone.8

The most common meanings of the suffix -i are locative and repetitive, the former having no specific locus and the latter most often found in group (7) above. In the event that an action is semantically repeatable, there is a tendency for the -i verb to be acceptable. This is especially true among the speakers whose vernacular has the repetitive -i suffix. Forms such as "menyembahi to worship repeatedly, "menahani to arrest (Xs), "menolaki to refuse (Xs) are not rejected by many speakers.

Although the membership in M1-7 is mutually exclusive, there are a few verbs which can belong to more than one subset without a semantic difference. The verbs memindah-memindahkan and menghias-menghias mean to move and to decorate respectively.

2.2.2 The (mem)per- verbs

Except for the irregularity of its form, the (mem) here is the same as the meN- we discussed in 2.2.1. I will consider this group as memper- from now on.

Since memper- can occur with -kan and -i, there should theoretically be seven subsets again here. The fact of the matter is that memper- does not seem to occur with -i or -{kan}. We have, therefore, only five subsets:
1. $P_1 = \{ x : x + \text{memper+BASE} \}$. Examples:
   - memperbanyak \textit{to multiply}
   - memperbudak \textit{to consider (X) a slave}
   - mempermudah \textit{to make easier}

2. $P_2 = \{ x : x + \text{memper+BASE+kan} \}$. Examples:
   - memperbincangkan \textit{to discuss}
   - mempermainkan \textit{to make fun of (X)}
   - memperbandingkan \textit{to compare}

3. $P_3 = \{ x : x + \text{memper+BASE+i} \}$. Examples:
   - memperbaru i \textit{to renew}
   - memperbaiki \textit{to improve}
   - memperlengkap i \textit{to equip}
   - mempersenjatai \textit{to arm}

4. $P_4 = \{ x : x + \text{memper+BASE+kan} \}$. Examples:
   - memperisteri( kan) \textit{to marry (a woman)}

5. $P_5 = \{ x : x + \text{memper+BASE+[kan]} \}$. Examples:
   - memperingatkan \textit{to remind}
   - memperingati \textit{to commemorate}

There are ninety bases in Indonesian which can take memper-. Of this total 48% are found in $P_1$, 46% in $P_2$, 4% in $P_3$, 1% in $P_4$, and 1% in $P_5$. All the members of $P_{3-5}$ are listed in (3-5) above.

There are approximately forty other bases of which the status is, in my judgement, uncertain. These include forms such as $?*$mempertipis, $?*$memperkosong, $?*$mempersedikit, and $?*$memperbinikan. Since the predominant meaning of memper- plus an adjective base is \textit{to make more (Adjective)}, one might wonder why native speakers are not too comfortable with the first two verbs above to produce the meanings \textit{to make more tipis=thin}, \textit{to make more kosong=empty}, respectively. Similarly, we have memperbanyak and memperisteri( kan), but we question $?*$mempersedikit and $?*$memperbinikan to mean \textit{to reduce} and \textit{to marry (a woman)} respectively.

There are also cases in which the verbs sound natural in the passive but awkward in the active form. Thus, diperbuat to be done and diperumpamakan to be made as an example for are natural but $?*$memperbuat and $?*$memperumpamakan are at best questionable.

In cases in which the base is verbal, there is a tendency for the memper- verbs to be in 'rivalry' with the meN-kan verbs. In some cases there is a difference in meaning: mempermainkan \textit{to make fun of (X)}, meNmainkan to play, mempertaruhkan to bet, menaruhkan to place, mempertunjukkan to present (a show), menunjukkan to point out, memperpanjang to extend (visa, etc.), memanjakan to lengthen. In some other cases the pairs are semantically the same: memperbandingkan-membandingkan to compare, mempere dagangkan-mendagangkan to deal in (X), memperdebatkan-mendebatkan to debate.

2.2.3 The beR- verbs

The beR- set B has only three subsets:

1. $B_1 = \{ x : x + \text{beR+BASE} \}$. Examples:
   - beragama \textit{to have a religion}  
   - berkawan \textit{to have friends}  
   - bersua \textit{to meet}  
   - berduri \textit{to have thrown}  
   - berdansa \textit{to dance}  
   - bergegas \textit{to be in a hurry}
2. $B_2 = \{ x : x + \text{beR+BASE+kan} \}$. Examples:

berdasar(\text{kan}) \text{ to be based on} \quad \text{berisi(\text{kan}) to contain}
bermandi(\text{kan}) \text{ to be bathed in} \quad \text{beratap(\text{kan}) to have a roof made of}

3. $B_3 = \{ x : x + \text{beR+BASE+an} \}$. Examples:

berjatuhan \text{ to fall (plural subject)} \quad \text{bepergian \text{ to travel}}
beberbangan \text{ to fly around (plural)} \quad \text{beberdatangan \text{ to come (plural) subject}}

There are approximately 700 bases belonging to $B_1$ and the list may be open-ended. So far I have found only eight bases belonging to $B_2$ and four to $B_3$. In addition to the examples given in 2 for $B_2$, we have beralas(\text{kan}) \text{ to have a padding made of}, beristeri(\text{kan}) \text{ to have a wife from}, berlandas(\text{kan}) \text{ to have a foundation made of}, and berlapis(\text{kan}) \text{ to be coated with}.

There is also tendency to replace the forms in $B_2$, especially if the base is nominal, with a totally different construction. Instead of saying (10), people often say (11).

(10) Pak Gombloh beristerikan orang Minang.
Mr married to person Minang
Mr Gombloh is married to a Minang woman.

(11) Pak Gombloh isterinya orang Minang.
Mr wife his person Minang

With regard to the membership in $B_3$, one must be cautious here in determining whether a beR+BASE+an form is indeed formed from the simufix beR-an plus a base in the middle or from beR- plus a base which is already suffixed with the nominal marker -an. The criterion to be used is as follows: a beR-an is to be considered a simufix if the form BASE+an by itself cannot stand alone as a word. Bepergian, berjatuhan, beberbangan, and berdatangan meet the above criterion since *pergian, *jatuhan, *terbangan, and *datangan cannot stand as words in the language. On the other hand, forms such as berhalangan to be unable to do something, beranggapan to assume, berserakan to be scattered, and berlumur to be stained with, are excluded from $B_3$, because the prefix beR- is attached to bases which are already nominalised by the suffix -an. The forms halangan, anggapan, serakan, lumuran are nominals capable of standing alone in the language. These words, therefore, belong to $B_1$.

Although the possessive meaning of beR- is the most common and can be used with newly acquired concepts or words such as diskusi discussion, and asimilasi assimilation, there seems to be a constraint which prevents the formation from being totally productive. Forms such as *berayam and *bersapi to mean to have chickens and to have cows respectively are 'unusual' at best. Witness the strangeness of (12).

(12) ?Dia tidak berayam / bersapi
he not have chicken have cow

The constraint is also found where the meaning of beR- is to make use of (BASE) or to produce (BASE). Although we have forms such as bersepeda to ride a sepeda=\text{bike} and bertelor to produce telor=\text{egg} we question *berbis and *berbuku to respectively mean to ride a bis=\text{bus} and to produce or write buku=books.
2.2.4 The teR-verbs

The data for the teR- verbs are not quite complete yet, but from what we have gathered so far teR- can also occur with -kan and -i, but the combination is restricted to five subsets. teR- does not seem to occur with ±[\text{kan}] or with ±[\text{i}]. Therefore, there are only five subsets.

1. \(T_1 = \{x : x + \text{teR+BASE}\}\). Examples:
   - termasuk to include
   - termakan to be eaten unintentionally
   - tertinggal to be left unintentionally
   - terletak to lie

2. \(T_2 = \{x : x + \text{teR+BASE+kan}\}\). Examples:
   - terselesaikan to be finished
   - tersampaikan to be deliverable
   - tersembuhkan to be curable
   - terabaikan to be neglected

3. \(T_3 = \{x : x + \text{teR+BASE+i}\}\). Examples:
   - terpenuhi to be fulfilled
   - terimbangi to be balanced

4. \(T_4 = \{x : x + \text{teR+BASE±kan}\}\). Examples:
   - terlempar(kan) to be unintentionally thrown to/from
   - terkabul(kan) to be fulfilled
   - terarah(kan) to be directed
   - terpikir(kan) to be thought

5. \(T_5 = \{x : x + \text{teR+BASE±i}\}\). Examples:
   - terluka(i) to be wounded
   - tersaling(i) to be rivaled
   - terselimut(i) to be covered
   - ternoda(i) to be stained

Although the number of bases for these verbs is still unknown, it seems that \(T_1, T_2,\) and \(T_4\) have the most members, and \(T_5\) has the least. This is consistent with our previous statement which says that in the M set we have more verbs with -kan than -i.

Since teR- in general can be considered as some kind of passive form for meN-, it is logical to assume that members in the M set are convertible into T. We have indeed forms such as menyelesaikan to finish, memenuhi to fulfill, melempar(kan) to throw as well as terselesaikan to be finished, terpenuhi to be fulfilled, and terlempar(kan) to be thrown. However, if we look at our data more carefully, we will see that the logic fails to apply in all cases. We have for instance, membanggakan to be proud of, mendasarkan to base, but at least question ?*terbanggak an, ?*terdasarkan. We also have cases in which the M verbs require the presence of a suffix, but the T counterparts must be without it. We have membuktikan to prove, meletakkan to place, and meninggalkan to leave, which are members of M, but the T counterparts are without the suffix -kan: terbukti proven, terletak located, and tertinggal to be left unintentionally.

In another situation we have verbs belonging to M which require the presence of a suffix, but the suffix becomes optional in T. The M counterparts of all the examples in \(T_5\) above, for instance, must have the suffix -i, and yet this suffix is optional in T: melukai to hurt, menyangi to rival, menyelimiti to cover (with blankets), menodai to stain. There is no situation in which the teR- verb adds a suffix not found in the meN- counterpart. In other words, since menduga to guess belongs to \(M_1\), the subset with no suffix, we can predict that *terdugakan and *terduga do not occur in the language, although terduga does.
2.2.5 The ke-an verbs

As far as the occurrence of the affix ke-an with a base is concerned, there is only one subset, K, of which the members are formed by the formula ke+BASE+an. There are approximately forty-five bases in the language which belong to this set. Some examples: kebakaran to be caught on fire, kebanjiran to be flooded, kehabisan to run out of, and kebingungan to be confused.

Of this total, seven give us the impression that they are not formed by the simulfix ke-an, but rather by the prefix ke- added to a base already suffixed with -an. These seven verbs are kebagian to get a portion of, kebingungan to be confused, kecurian to be stolen, kelupaan to forget, ketakutan to be frightened, ketiduran to fall asleep, and ketumpahan to be splashed with. The forms bagian a part, bingungan a confusion, curian stolen (X), lupaan to forget easily, takutan to get scared easily, tiduran to lie around, and tumpahan things that one pours do indeed occur, but the verbal meanings of the ke-an counterparts are not deducible from the addition of ke- to the BASE+an alone. Nowhere do we find ke- which encompasses all the meanings given above. It is obvious that these verbs must be treated in the same way we treat kebakaran, kebanjiran, kehabisan, etc.

As far as syntactic collocations are concerned, nineteen of those in K permit no nouns occurring after them. Some of these verbs are kebakaran to be caught on fire, keberatan to object, kesakitan to suffer from pain, and kecapaian to feel tired. Nineteen verbs, on the other hand, allow nouns to occur. Some examples: kebanjiran to get flooded, kekurangan to lack, kentinggalan to be left behind by (X). The other seven members require the presence of a noun. Some examples: kedatangan to get visited by, kejatuhan to be struck by a falling (X), kemasukan to get infiltrated by.

2.2.6 Summary on affixation

The combinatorial possibilities of the prefixes and the suffixes are summarised in Chart 1. The sign 'x' means 'possible' and '-' 'impossible'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>meN-</th>
<th>memper-</th>
<th>beR-</th>
<th>teR-</th>
<th>ke-</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
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<td>x</td>
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<td>+kan</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chart 1

2.2.7 Intersection among verbal sets

From 2.2.1 – 2.2.6 one may get the impression that the membership in the sets M, F, B, T, and K is mutually exclusive. This is, however, not the case. Many of the bases are shared by more than one set. Section 2.2.7.1 presents the intersection between M and B, and Section 2.2.7.2 between T and K.
2.2.7.1 The intersection of M and B

In this section I will discuss all of the subsets of M but only subset B₁ of set B. We recall that certain bases can or must occur with an affix or affixes in order to become verbs. Bantu helping must take only meN- but kepala a head must take also -i in order to function as verbs: membantu to help and mengepala to head. On the other hand, the base asal place of origin must take beR- to form a verb: berasal to originate.

Despite this mutual exclusiveness, there are many bases which can occur with different affixes. If we now set up a Venn diagram for the M subsets and superimpose on it subset B₁, we will have seven new subsets. These are:

1. \( BM₁ = \{x : x + \text{beR/meN+BASE}\} \). Examples:
   - berlatih to practise
   - berburu to hunt
   - berlantai to have a floor

2. \( BM₂ = \{x : x + \text{beR+BASE or meN+BASE+kan}\} \). Examples:
   - bekerja to work
   - bercerai to be divorced
   - berhenti to stop

3. \( BM₃ = \{x : x + \text{beR+BASE or meN+BASE+i}\} \). Examples:
   - berair to contain water
   - berlindung to take a shelter

4. \( BM₄ = \{x : x + \text{beR+BASE or meN+BASE+kan}\} \). Examples:
   - berbuat to behave
   - membuatkan to make for someone
   - menjumlah to total

5. \( BM₅ = \{x : x + \text{beR+BASE or meN+BASE+i}\} \). Examples:
   - berbohong to lie
   - membohongi to deceive
   - mengulang to repeat

6. \( BM₆ = \{x : x + \text{beR+BASE or meN+BASE+\{kan\}}\} \). Examples:
   - berjalan to walk
   - menjalani to endure
   - menggambarkan to describe

7. \( BM₇ = \{x : x + \text{beR+BASE or meN+BASE+\{kan\}}\} \). Examples:
   - bercampur to be mixed
   - menggambarkan to describe

These subsets can be seen in diagram 1.

As stated earlier, there are approximately 700 bases which can occur in B₁. Of this total, 300 are found also as members of M. The percentages are as follows: 11% in BM₁, 40% in BM₂, 16% in BM₃, 16% in BM₄, 1% in BM₅, 8% in BM₆, and 8% in BM₇. Notice again here that bases which occur with -kan, that is, those in BM₂ and BM₄, comprise more than 50%.

We know from 2.2.1 that a verb formed by meN+BASE can be intransitive. Since all beR- verbs are also intransitive, the question that immediately arises is: how do we form an intransitive verb? More specifically, what criteria do we use to determine which affix is to be selected to form this type...
Diagram 1: beR- and meN-

of verb? If we are given the base kering, how do we know that this base must take meN- and not beR- whereas kerja must take beR- and not meN- to produce mengering to dry and berkerja to work and discard at the same time the forms "berkering and "mengerja.

Although there does not seem to be a general criterion for all the verbs in BM, there are some generalisations that help us understand how these two sets of affixes operate. First, if the base is an adjective, it can occur only with meN-, resulting in an inchoative verb. We have mengering above and mengecil to become small, menguning to become yellow, etc., but not "berkering, "berkecil, and "berkuning respectively. Second, either prefix attached to a verbal base reiterates the verbal status of the resultant form. This being the case, the prefix loses its function and, therefore, can be deleted in informal Indonesian. We have, for instance, berkerja to work, berlari to run, membeli to buy, and menjual to sell as well as the informal forms kerja, lari, beli, and jual. Third, if a base takes either beR- or meN- (with or without a suffix), it almost always produces a difference in meaning, syntax, or both. Berlatih and melatih given in BM1 are semantically and syntactically different.
The difference between berburu and memburu, also in BM1, is more subtle. Although both can be glossed as *to hunt*, the beR-form indicates a generic action, whereas the meN-counterpart refers to a specific one. This can be seen from the acceptability of (13-15) and the rejection of (15) where the presence of the classifier seekor contradicts the generic nature of berburu.

(13) Mereka berburu rusa.
    they hunt deer
    They go deer-hunting.

(14) Mereka memburu rusa.
    they hunt deer
    They are hunting a deer.

(15) Mereka memburu seekor rusa.
    they hunt CLASS deer
    They are hunting a deer.

(16) *Mereka beburu seekor rusa.

There are two, or possibly three, bases which can take beR- or meN- with no semantic or syntactic difference. These are nyanyi, kembang, and bekas. The verbs bernyanyi-menyanyi, berkembang-mengembang, and berbekas-membekas mean *to sing, to develop, and to leave a trace* respectively.

2.2.7.2 The intersection of K and T sets

While some people believe that ke-an and teR- are too close to each other to warrant a separate treatment, the similarity is in fact much more restricted. Out of the forty-five ke-an verbs, only six can occur with teR- with no semantic or syntactic difference. These bases are: bakar, dengar, lihat, racun, tidur and tinggal. There are four other bases which can belong to the sets K and T, but they show a semantic or syntactic difference: bagi, dapat, masuk and tumpah. Terbagi *to be divided* and kebagian *to get a portion of* are not only different in meaning but they also require different syntactic operations.11 We must also note here that the bases which can also occur in K are only those that belong to T1.

Naturally we have bases which can occur with teR- but not with ke-an, and vice versa. We have, for instance, terbangun *to be awakened*, terbuka *to be opened*, but not *kebangunan* (as a verb), and *kebukaan*. On the other hand, we have kedatangan *to be visited by* and kehilangan *to lose* but not *terdatang* and *terhilang*.

2.2.8 More intersections

If we look again at our Chart 1 in 2.2.6, we can see that in order to obtain a total picture of verbal information in Indonesian, we must take a column and contrast it with the other columns in the chart. Charts 2, 3, 4, and 5 represent progressively these contrasts with the signs 'x' and '-' indicating, as before, 'possible' and 'impossible'.

From the charts we can see which intersections are possible in the language. If we look at Chart 2, for instance, and read memper+∅ across, we will see that there are memper+∅ bases which can also occur with meN+∅, meN+kan, mentkan, meN+[kan], and meN+[kan], but not with meN+i and MeN+i. Examples: memperhambat-menghambat, mempermudah-memudahkan, memperkecil-mengecil-mengecilkan, memperberat-memberatkan-memberati, and memperdalam-mendalam-mendalamkan-mendalam.
## Chart 2: Intersections of M with P, B, T, and K

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<tr>
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<th>meN+φ</th>
<th>meN+kan</th>
<th>meN+i</th>
<th>meN±kan</th>
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## Chart 3: Intersections of P with B, T, and K

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<th>memper+i</th>
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## Chart 4: Intersections of B with T and K

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<th>beR+an</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>ke-an</td>
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SOME PROBLEMS IN THE THEORY OF GENERATIVE MORPHOLOGY

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Chart 5: Intersections of T with K

If we read meN+φ down, we will see that meN+φ bases can only co-occur with memper+φ, beR+φ, teR+φ, teR±kan, and ke-an. Examples: menghambat-memperhambat, membentuk-berbentuk, mengira-terkira, menjawab-terjawab(ken), mencopet-kecopetan.

Although I have not found a base which can take all of the prefixes, there are bases which can take four: melihat to see, memperlihatkan to show, terlihat can be seen, and kelihatan can be seen; mendengar to hear (as well as mendengarkan to listen), memperdengarkan to present (a song, etc.), terdengar can be heard, and kedengaran can be heard.

As mentioned before, there is one base in Indonesian which takes no affixes at all. This base is tiba to arrive. There is not even a noun to be derived from this base.

3. DISCUSSION

3.1 The list of morphemes

On the basis of the existence of a relationship between a significant and a signifié, I would treat forms such as halaman page, pegawai worker, perduli to care, percaya to believe, kecuali except, and semangat spirit as monomorphic forms. They will be listed in the LM as well as in the Dictionary. There is nothing we gain by treating them as bimorphic forms.

As I suggested in 1978c, the LM should contain both free and bound roots. The words used as evidence at that time were juang struggling, anjur suggesting, and temu meeting. If we look at our data in Section 2 more carefully, we will see that the existence of bound roots is widespread among the verb sets.

In the M set, for instance, we have roots such as jurus leading, pancar radiating, and lolong howling which have no syntactic or semantic independence. These roots must take affixes to become verbs: menjurus to lead or be specific, menjuruskan to lead (X), memancar to radiate, memancarkan to radiate (X), melolong to howl. They must also take affixes to become other syntactic forms in the language: jurusan direction, pancaran radiation, and lolongan (a) howling. Still in the M set, we have the roots aju forwarding, alic redirecting, and selenggara carrying out which are not found anywhere without affixation, verbal or nominal.

In the P set the roots bincang discussing and silah requesting (X to do Y), for instance, behave in the same way as jurus, pancar, etc. In the B set we have roots such as sua meeting, gegas hurrying, and dentum booming which must take beR- to become verbs: bersua to meet, bergegas to hurry, and berdentum to boom. In the T set we have, for instance, belalak opening (one's eyes) wide and lampias taking (X) out on which must be affixed to become words: terbelalak widely opened (of eyes), terlampiaskan to be the victim of. And finally in the K set the roots jangkit becoming infected with and tular (same meaning) cannot stand alone in any syntactic construction.

We see from the examples above that in addition to free roots and affixes we also have bound roots that must be accommodated somewhere. It is only logical that LM is the place for such forms.
3.2 The word formation rules

One peculiarity about a WFR which distinguishes it from a phonological rule is that it must be permitted to operate on its own output. In order to derive the noun refusal in English we must allow the WFR to operate on refuse which itself is an output of a WFR. Given the Indonesian noun pemberontakkan rebellion and the verb memberontak to rebel, we must first determine whether the noun is derived from the verb, or vice versa. As I stated in 1978c, the principle of economy and generality will be maintained, if the verbs are derived first.

Suppose that we agree now to derive the verbs before the nouns. A problem immediately arises in the verb formation where a base is shared by more than one affix. Obviously, a choice must be made either (1) to select a basic verb and form the other related verbs transformationally, (2) to select a basic verb from which other related verbs are formed through the WFRs, or (3) to form all the verbs sharing the same base simultaneously.

If there were syntactic and semantic consistencies between a chosen basic verb and its other related verbal forms, the first choice would be ideal. We would be able to set up a class of basic verbs and form the rest of the verbs sharing the same bases through transformation. The corollary of this solution would be that the Dictionary would contain only basic verbs. If for the base lihat we choose lihat to see as the basic verb, we will only have this verb in the Dictionary. The rest of the verbs, melihat to see, memperlihatkan to show, terlihat can be seen, and kelihatan can be seen would be formed through transformation. The same is true with verbs from other sets or subsets. If we postulate jatuh to fall as the basic verb, we will form the verbs menjatuhkan to topple, menjatuh to fall on (X), berjatuh to fall (plural subject), and kejatuh to be struck by a falling (X) through transformation.

The problem with the above approach is that there is no syntactic and semantic consistency. In the P set, for instance, while the predominant meaning of memper- attached to an adjective base is to make more (Adjective), thus producing forms such as memperbaiki to make more baik=good, we do not have memperbetuli or memperusaki to mean to make more betul=correct and to make more rusak=damaged. As stated in 2.2.2, the acceptance of forms such as memperbanyak to make more banyak=many to multiply, and the uncertain status of mempersedikit to make more sedikit=less; to reduce create a problem for a transformational approach.

The second choice, which uses a WFR to form verbs from a basic verb, has an advantage over the first in that a WFR is not required to be applicable to all types of bases. One problem that remains to be solved pertains to the choice of the basic verb from which other verbs sharing the same base are to be formed. Given the free root jatuh, which of the following verbs are to be chosen as basic: jatuh to fall, menjatuhkan to topple, menjatuh to fall on (X), kejatuh to be struck by a falling (X), or berjatuh to fall (plural subject)?

Native speakers' intuition on what is basic can in fact be explained in terms of what Marchand calls 'semantic dependence': the word that is dependent on the content of the other pair member is necessarily the derivative (1964: 244). We can see here that the meaning of the verb jatuh above is inherent in the rest of the verbs with the same base.

The second criterion is economy. If we were to choose any of the affixed verbs as basic, we would have to set up two rules to form the rest of the verbs. One type of rule is to delete the affixes from the chosen basic verb in order
to form a non-affixed verb. Suppose we choose menjatuhkan as basic, we have to delete meN- and -kan to get jatuh. Another type of rule is to replace the affixes with other affixes. To form berjatuhkan, for instance, we must replace meN- and -kan with beR- and -an.

Semantic dependence and economy, which, from another angle, are synonymous with simplicity, seem to justify our selecting the unaffixed form as our basic verb. The WFRs to form these verbs are applicable to those I have labelled as V\textsubscript{1}, V\textsubscript{2a}, and V\textsubscript{2b}. In the case of V\textsubscript{2b} we may have to add the feature/+informal/ to the bases to accommodate the fact that these bases, with proper or no suffixes, can stand alone in informal style.

The proposed solution above, however, stumbles when applied to the bases under V\textsubscript{2c} in which the unaffixed forms are bound roots. In order for the base temu meeting, for instance, to become a verb it must take an affix or affixes: menemukan to find, menemui to meet with, mempertemukan to make (X) meet (Y), or bertemu to meet (by chance). Since by definition no form having a status less than a word is to be listed in the Dictionary, the bases in V\textsubscript{2c} cannot be listed. This leaves us with two choices: (1) to form a verb and use it as our basic verb to form the rest of the related verbs, and (2) to form all the verbs simultaneously.

Unlike the case with the free roots we have just discussed, the bound roots have a special problem. We have no syntactically and semantically independent unaffixed form to use as the base. Therefore, we are compelled to select an affixed form as our basic verb and form the rest afterward. Here we stumble on having to make a choice arbitrarily. Even if we are able to say that there is a semantic ground that ties all the temu verbs together, namely, all of these verbs have something to do with meeting or finding, there does not seem to be non-arbitrary ground to support our claim that bertemu, for instance, is basic.

Our second choice, the simultaneous formation, seems to offer a better solution since we do not have to make an arbitrary commitment as to which verbs are basic and which are derivative. The interrelatedness of the verbs in the Dictionary is still maintained by the same base which the verbs share.

In view of the cases presented in this section, especially those which involve the formation of verbs from bound roots such as temu, juang, sua, etc., we are compelled to refute Aronoff's contention that the base upon which a WFR operates must be a word. Cases from V\textsubscript{2c} clearly indicate that Indonesian has roots which are less than words and yet must be used as bases to generate verbs.

If we agree now that the base upon which a WFR operates does not have to be a word, we must also discard Aronoff's requirement that the base bear syntactic subcategories, selectional features, lexically governed entailments, and presuppositions. Bases of this type do not even have syntactic categories and independent meanings, let alone syntactic subcategories, selectional features, etc. They acquire all of these features after a WFR has been applied.

3.3 The Filter

We have just concluded that for Indonesian, and very likely also other languages in Indonesia, there must be two types of verb formation: (1) that which selects a basic verb and forms the rest of the related verbs by means of a WFR, and (2) that which forms all the verbs sharing the same base simultaneously.
A general problem in the formation of a syntactic category is that we often have to observe certain constraints for our rules. In English, for instance, we can derive nouns from verbs by using the suffix -tion or -al to obtain derivation, observation, arrival, and refusal. Note, however, that we do not have "derivation, "observation, "arrival, and "refusal, despite the possibility of recitation-recital, proposition-proposal, and approbation-approval.

In Indonesian we have similar cases. We can set up a rule that covers most, but not all, cases. Attempts have been made (Dardjowidjojo 1971, 1977, 1978b; Tampubolon 1977a (1983), 1977b), for instance, to use semantic features to form one type of verbs from another. Tampubolon recently (1977b) used inchoative and causative features to form process and action verbs from a state verb. Using the state verb lebar to be wide he forms melebar to widen inchoatively and melebarkan to widen (X) causatively.

Looking at the inchoative and causative processes in Indonesian as a whole, we are indeed able to say that these processes are very general, and yet we have cases in which the rule cannot be applied for no apparent reason. The state verbs cantik beautiful, indah beautiful, kaya rich (Tampubolon 1977b:29) and many others are questionable as process verbs ?mencantik, ?mengindah, and ?mengaya despite the logic and availability of the semantic and syntactic slots for them. The most we can say about the causative process is that they are very productive, and yet we still question the acceptability of forms such as ?mencantikkan, ?mengindahkan, and ?mengayakan to mean to beautify, to beautify, and to enrich respectively, at least in contemporary Indonesian.

The problem on productivity is not limited to the inchoative and causative processes. We discussed in 3.2 the unacceptability of memperbutuli, memperusaki, etc. Membership in the K set also shows a constraint. While the predominant meaning of ke-an is adversative and unexpected, thus giving us the verbs kercunun to suffer from racun=poison; get poisoned, kecopetan to suffer from a copet=pocket; to get your pocket picked, and kedatangan to get visited by unexpectedly, we at least question ?kegranatan to suffer from a granat=grenade; get blown up by a grenade, ?kegarongan to suffer from a garong=robber; get robbed, and ?kepergian to be left by unexpectedly. We expect sentences such as (17a) to be as acceptable as (17b), but apparently this is not the case, at least in contemporary Indonesian.

(17a) Dia kepergian kekasihnya.
    she left by sweetheart her
    Her sweetheart left her.

(17b) Dia kematian kekasihnya.
    she died by sweetheart her
    Her sweetheart died.

In the B set as discussed in 2.2.3 we also have peculiarities. We have forms such as bersepeda to ride a sepeda=bike and bertelor to produce/lay a telor=egg but question ?berbis and ?berbuku to mean to ride a bis=bus and to produce a buku=book respectively.

In some cases there may be an explanation for the non-occurrence of certain lexical items. In the case of the process verbs formed from their state counterparts we find that the inchoative process competes with a syntactic construction in which the inchoativity is manifested in the form of a lexical item, jadi to become, which is applicable to all and any state verbs.
We can, therefore, have jadi lebar to become wide; to widen as well as jadi cantik to become beautiful, jadi indah to become beautiful, and jadi kaya to become rich.

The causative verbs ?mencantikkan, ?mengindahkan, and ?mengayakan are rivalled by a syntactic construction of the form bikin (X) (BASE). This leads us to accept sentences such as (18) but at best question (19).

(18) Tanam2an itu bikin kota Jakarta cantik.
    plants the make city beautiful
The plants make Jakarta beautiful.

(19) ?Tanam2an itu mencantikkan kota Jakarta.

In the P set the the meaning to make more (BASE) can also be expressed by bikin (X) lebih (BASE). We have memperbesar to enlarge, memperbanyak to multiply, bikin lebih besar to enlarge, bikin lebih banyak to multiply, as well as bikin lebih rusak to make (X) worse, bikin lebih sedikit to make (X) less, and bikin lebih kosong to make (X) more empty.

The meanings to possess and to make use of in the B set are rivalled by punya+BASE and pakai/naik+BASE. Thus, while we do not have or question forms such as ?bersapi, ?berayam, ?berbis, ?berdelman, we have punya sapi to have a cow, punya ayam to have a chicken, naik/pakai bis to ride a bus, and naik/ pakai delman to ride a horse-drawn wagon.

The K and T sets show an interesting phenomenon. We recall that the membership, thus also productivity, is very limited. Suppose we have a situation in which an adversative and unexpected event, such as the entering of a devil into a child's body, happens. We can say:

(20) Dia kemasukan setan.
    he penetrated by devil
    He is possessed by a devil.

However, if this same child adversatively and unexpectedly eats a handful of kapok, we cannot say:

(21) *Dia kemakanan kapuk
    he eat kapok
A possible explanation for this case is that there is a rival form, termakan, which is found in the language. Thus, (21) is rendered as (22)

(22) (Segumpal) kapuk termakan dia.
    handful kapok eaten he
    A handful of kapok was eaten (adversatively) by him.

The presence of kemakanan along with termakan is presumably considered redundant.

While the above explanation seems logical, the fact of the matter is that we do have evidence which is contradictory. As we can see from 2.2.7.2, the existence of a ke-an form does not necessarily preclude a teR- form. We have ketinggalan-tertinggal, kebakaran-terbakar, kedengaran-terdengar etc. with members of each pair having the same meaning.

Even if we had an explanation for all of the idiosyncrasies mentioned above, one problem still remains unsolved, namely, why within a certain set only certain roots are permitted to become words, while other roots with the same semantic features are not? Why do we have melebar, bersepeda, memperbaiki,
kedatangan, but not ?*mencantik, ?*berdelman, ?*memperbetuli, and ?*kepergian as their parallel forms? Related to this group of unacceptable forms are those which are rejected simply because the affixational choice is unacceptable. I am referring to forms such as ?*mengamali, ?*merestukan, ?*mengerja, ?*terselesai, etc. By a sheer intuition the bases amal, restu, kerja, and selesai belong, in addition to any other subsets, to the subsets M2, M3, B1, and T2 respectively. Therefore, amal must take meN-kan, restu meN-i, kerja beR, and selesai teR-kan.

A distinction must be made here between these two groups. The first group, which includes not only forms such as ?*mencantik but also forms such as ?*menggugatkan, ?*berayam, etc., constitutes an accidental gap within the verbal system. As a corollary, it would not be too surprising to see these forms used in the future or used now by people from certain parts of Indonesia or for certain purposes. For cross reference purposes, I will call this group Reject One, R1. The second group, where ?*mengamali, ?*merestukan, etc. are found, is more systematic in the sense that their affixational affiliation is some kind of 'pre-determined'. This group will be labelled R2.

Since a WFR generates all the potential words in the language, it generates not only those verbs in VI and in the sets M, P, B, T, and K, but also those in R1 and R2. The potential and the actual words must be separated and this is done by a mechanism we have called Filter. For nominal derivation, I suggested that we set up some kind of 'coarse' and 'fine' screens so that we will be able to prevent forms such as ?*perhargaan from passing the Filter and allow not only forms such as pertandingan a (sport) match, but also ?*penandian act of putting one team against another. I believe that we can do the same for verbs. Those under M, P, B, T, and K plus those in VI will be generated and stored in the Dictionary. Those under R1 should also be generated, but perhaps we should add a feature such as /-common/ to distinguish them from the verbs now in use. Those under R2 should be blocked.

Together with the WFRs the Filter must also attach the semantic idiosyncrasies to the verbs which will be stored in the Dictionary. Verbs such as memohon to request, kehilangan to lose, bertemu to meet, menemui to meet with, and mengawini to marry, for instance, must be idiosyncratically specified. Memohon can only be from a person lower in status than the one to whom the request is directed. Kehilangan must be marked in such a way that the thing lost must belong to the person losing it. Bertemu and menemui must be so marked that the former bears the semantic idiosyncrasy /-volition/ while the latter /+volition/. The verb mengawini is somewhat complicated. Under normal circumstances this verb must be specified in such a way that the patient noun bear the feature/+ female/. This is to allow sentences such as (23) and prevent, or perhaps discourage, (24),

(23) Yasin akan mengawini Siti.
    Yasin will marry Siti
    Yasin will marry Siti.

(24) Siti akan mengawini Yasin.
    Siti will marry Yasin.

where Yasin is a male and Siti a female. Admittedly, if Siti is such a well-known figure as, say, Elizabeth Taylor, (24) is probably all right.

Phonological idiosyncrasies must be observed. The verbs menterjemahkan to translate and mencuci to wash for instance, often retain the t and the c after the prefix meN-, deviating from the normal phonological rule of
Indonesian. The verb mempunyai to possess, despite its frequency of occurrence, retains the p after meN- and drops the suffix -i in informal style. The dropping of the suffix is not seen anywhere else in the language.

Halle presents only three types of idiosyncrasy as represented above. It seems necessary to add a fourth category to handle syntactic idiosyncrasies. In Indonesian, as in many other languages, there are verbs which occur only in certain types of syntactic constructions. As stated before in 2.2.1 the verb merupakau is not transitive. Consequently, it cannot be passivised. We can indicate this fact with a feature such as */passive/.

On the other hand, we also have verbs which occur naturally in a passive construction. We recall the verbs diperbuat and diperumpakan from 2.2.2. The verbs dibeginkan to be done this way, dibegitukan to be done that way, dipenjarakan to be imprisoned, dipidatokan to be delivered as a speech, and dinakali to be teased are more natural than their active counterparts ?membeginkan, ?membegitukan, ?memenjarakan, ?memidatokan, and ?menakali. Verbs of this type should be marked */passive/.

Let us now return to the occurrence and non-occurrence of certain lexical items to which we alluded before. Halle briefly touches on this matter and states that it is the content of the Dictionary which more or less determines what words can be generated (1973:10). The fact that English has forms such as arrival and confusion precludes the possibility of the occurrence of *arrival and *confusal. As Halle himself admitted, this cannot be the whole explanation since we have cases such as recital-recitation, transmittal-transmission, etc. Another problem with Halle's explanation is that in order for us to say that X precludes Y we must assume that X must have existed before Y. This is not only difficult to prove, especially in less documented languages, but also runs into contradiction. In the case of Indonesian nominals, as stated in my 1978c article, if we say that forms such as *perperiksaan, *pemenditaan, and *perselesai do not occur simply because we have pemeriksaan investigation, penderitaan suffering, and penyelesai solution, we must assume that the latter have existed in the language before the former. Even if this statement can be proven, we have no way, except by reversing the statement, of explaining why percobaan an attempt, permintaan a request, and perlawan opposition occur instead of *pencobaan, *pemintaan, and *pelawanan especially when we know that all of them are derived from the meN- verbs.

We have the same problem with our verbal formation. We cannot say that *mengamalkan, *memenuhkan, and *terdatang(i) do not occur because we have mengamalkan to put into practice, memenuhki to fulfill, and kedatangan to get visited by without running into the same difficulty. We have, for instance, just the opposite cases: the bases restu, aju, and tutup must take meN-i, meN-kan, and teR-, but not meN-kan, meN-i, and ke-an respectively: merestui to bless, mengajukan to put forward, and tertutup closed, but not *merestukan, *mengajui, and *ketutupan.

Aronoff's mechanism, called blocking, which says that the non-occurrence of one form is due to the simple existence of another (1976:43) encounters the same problem. Occasionally we do have an explanation for some of our cases, as we stated before, but the explanation fails to encompass all cases. We still do not know, for instance, why only certain bases can become verbs while others with the same features cannot.

Until otherwise proven, I believe that we can only describe, but not explain, this phenomenon in language.
3.4 The Dictionary

The criteria which Chomsky uses to determine which nouns are to be listed in the lexicon are: (1) the regularity of form, (2) the regularity of meaning, and (3) the absence of the internal structure of a noun phrase (1972:16). I believe that two, (1) and (2), of the above criteria can be used also for verbs.

Since none of the verbs in Indonesian meet the above requirements, we must list all of the verbs in the Dictionary. Our Dictionary will, therefore, contain (a) singleton forms such as tiba, (b) unaffixed forms such as datang, and (c) affixed forms such as mendatang, mendatangkan, etc., and (d) uncommon forms such as ?menggugatkan. Forms under (d) may have to be marked /-common/ to indicate their uncertain status.

4. CONCLUSION

In view of the evidence we have from our verbal formation, I believe that while Halle's and Aronoff's theories are very promising, they need to be revised. I propose the following changes: (1) Halle's List of Morphemes should be limited only to affixes and roots which have a significant and significant relationship. This excludes forms such as va- and bro- from the list; (2) the roots in the LM must be split into free and bound roots to accommodate forms such as datang as well as sua; in the case of a bound root it is not possible to assign a syntactic category, let alone subcategories, selectional features, presuppositions, etc.; (3) the base upon which a WFR applies does not have to be a word; otherwise, there is no way we can generate verbs such as bersua, memperjuangkan, etc. which are formed from the bound roots sua and juang, respectively; (4) the Filter must be so constructed that it will let go forms here labelled as R1: ?menggugatkan, ?mencantik, etc.; and (5) it may be necessary to set up a fourth idiosyncrasy for peculiarities in syntax.

NOTES

1. This paper is the first preliminary report of an ongoing project on "The lexicon of Indonesian" funded by the University of Hawaii Office of Research Administration. The data are taken primarily from Poerwadarminta's Kamus umum Bahasa Indonesia with entries added or deleted as deemed necessary. We do not always agree with Poerwadarminta's assignment of affixes.

2. The terms 'to form' and 'formation', rather than 'derive' and 'derivation', are used here to generate one verb from another.

3. I believe that the grouping of baca under V2a is more defensible than that taken by Verhaar (1978:13) who considers this word as being a bound form.

4. The so-called infixes such as -el-, -em-, and -er- are so unproductive and well blended with the base as to deserve no morphological treatment in this paper.

5. Read "M is the set of all x's such that x is formed from ..." The signs "+" and "±" mean obligatory and optional respectively.
6. Since this paper is preliminary in nature and the data have not been subjected to final scrutiny, the figures throughout this paper should not be considered absolute. The percentage figures, however, are not expected to change very much.

7. Verbs such as menyenangkan to please, menguntungkan to be profitable may appear without an object. This is true only if the 'hidden' object is the speaker himself or people in general. Otherwise, the object must be explicitly given.

8. The boundary between a rejected form and a questionable one is sometimes hard to draw. See the R₁ and R₂ distinction in 3.3.

9. I am not sure what to do with forms such as berdekan to be near to each other and berjauhan to be far from each other. They normally occur as some kind of complements to the predicate verb: Mereka tinggal berdekan they live near each other where tinggal functions as the sentence verb.

10. The same classification was erroneously reported in Dardjowidjojo 1977.

11. Excluded from this category are forms such as terdahulu first and kedahuluan to beat to the punch where the former is not a verb.

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Sandra Chung (1976) refers to the Indonesian verbal constructions of (1)a–f and (1)g–n as canonical passive and object preposing respectively.²

(1) a. `dibel`
   b. `dibel (oleh) Ali`
   c. `dibelinya`
   d. `dibel olehnya`
   e. `dibel (oleh) dia`
   f. `dibel (oleh) mereka`
   g. `kubel`
   h. `saya beli`
   i. `kaubel`
   j. `kamu beli`
   k. `kami beli`
   l. `kita beli`
   m. `{dial beli}`
   n. `{mereka beli}`

Chung's attempt to describe the distinction between the two 'passive' constructions has been discussed elsewhere (Kaswanti Purwo 1981). This paper is an attempt to see the difference between constructions like (1)a–f and (1)g–n; the former is postposed agentive, and the latter is preposed agentive construction. In order to understand these two constructions I am taking the following steps. I want to distinguish the context in which the `dibelinya` construction is used as opposed to the `dial beli` construction type. My examples will be mainly from third person passive, since unlike first and second person passive, the third person passive can be either preposed or postposed. The second step is examining Classical Malay. By investigating Classical Malay from the 16th and 19th century I find mutually exclusive contexts for the use of preposed and postposed third person passive. This gives me insights into the special contextualisation of the different usage of each of the two constructions in modern (written) Indonesian. There are also differences between construction (1)c and the other di- constructions (canonical passive), but they will not be the central issues here.³
There have been various theories concerning the di- form. It has been proposed that verbal di- originated from the preposition di (Tendeloo 1901, Spat 1931; noted in Emeis 1945:161ff.), from the pronoun dia (Van Ophuijjsen 1915; noted in Haaksma 1933:1979), and from the reflexive diri (Haaksma 1933:170). The first theory leads to the interpretation of di-+-+nya (di-stem-nya) as a nominal rather than a verbal construction, -nya being possessive (Van der Tuuk 1971:122; noted in Verhaar 1978:15). The historical validity of the theories constructed by those grammarians is not the concern of the present paper. I would rather examine the third person 'passive' construction in its syntactic context. The data include modern Indonesian texts as well as the colloquial Malay of the 16th century and classical Malay texts of the 15th and 19th centuries.

There are various di- constructions in the Malay text of the 15th century (Hikayat Pandawa Lima):

(2) oleh + agent + di+-+-nya
Maka senjata itu pun patah. Maka oleh Maharaja Gatotkhacha ditikam-nya dengan sa-kali tikam Sang Ayuda pun mati. (HPL 124)

(3) di+-+-nya + oleh + agent
Maka Sang Dasta Jama di-sindir-nya oleh Sang Setyaki kata-nya,"[...]
(HPL 129)

(4) di+-+-nya + agent
[...] kerana kakak Bima ini bukan mendengar kata barang sedikit, kata-nya juga yang di-dengar-nya orang. (HPL 175)

(5) di+-+-nya
Maka Sang Bima pun segera mengambil Parikasti itu lalu di-bawa-nya berjalan menuju ka-negeri Astinapura itu. (HPL 193)

(6) di+-+ olehnya
Maka di-panah oleh Dangyang Drona kena Maharaja Mangaspati lalu mati. Sa-terlah di-lihat oleh-nya Maharaja Mangaspati akan Maharaja Derpa Daya pun tampil pula. (HPL 127)

(7) oleh + agent + di+-
Maka oleh Maharaja Salya di-uraikan sanggul Dawi Satyawati. (HPL 150)

(8) di+-+ oleh + agent
Sa-terlah di-dengar oleh Betara Krishna kata Sang Rajuna itu, maka Betara Krishna memegang cakra-nya. (HPL 120)

(9) di+-+ agent
[...] akan serta Maharaja Karna itu pun di-anugerahi baginda juga persalin sa-lengkap-nya dan [...]. (HPL 130)

(10) di+- (without agent)
Maka Maharaja Durvudana dan segala raja² Korawa pun meshuarat berkata² membicharakan pekerjaan perang. Maka di-bicharakan tiada ada orang lain yang dapat melawan Sang Bima dan Sang Rajuna melainkan [...]. (HPL 130)

Of these nine constructions only six can be found in modern Indonesian, namely (5), through to (10).⁴ What is worth noting here is that the dia + zero verb constructions (like (1)m) cannot be found in the narrative Hikayat Pandawa Lima (15th century) nor in Sedjarah Melaju (19th century),⁵ while in the conversations in 16th century Malay compiled by Frederick de Houtman (Lombard ed. 1970) there are dia + zero verb constructions instead of di+-+-nya constructions.⁶
The difference between a narrative context (i.e. an indirect speech act) and a non-narrative context (i.e. a direct speech act) is probably one of the factors which determines the choice between $\text{dik} -\text{+} -\text{nya}$ in the first and $\text{dia} +$ zero verb in the second context.

According to Yeoh Chiang Kee (personal communication) the $\text{dia} +$ zero verb is not acceptable in modern written Malay, but it is acceptable in spoken language. In Indonesian, however, the two constructions are found in written language (of writers like Mochtar Lubis, Pramoedya Ananta Toer, Marga T.) as well as in spoken language. I haven't examined the written and spoken language thoroughly, but the data I have collected so far show that the two constructions are not always interchangeable.

Under certain circumstances there is a restriction to the choice of one instead of the other: $\text{dik} -\text{+} -\text{nya}$ is not acceptable in performatives (in the sense of Austin 1962, quoted from J.R. Ross 1970:222ff.) like (11) and (12).

(11) 
| Hal itu harus \{$\text{dikerjakannya}$\} sekarang \{$\text{dia kerkakan}$\} | He must do that now (that has to be done by him now). |

(12) 
| Saya minta hal ini supaya \{$\text{dikerjakannya}$\} dengan segera \{$\text{dia kerkakan}$\} | I request that this be executed by him soon. |

Austin's definition of performative sentences, as quoted by Ross (1970:222) is as follows:

Performative sentences must have first person subjects and usually have second person direct or indirect objects [...]. they must be in the present tense, [...]. (italics mine)

The direct speech act as the context for the $\text{dia} +$ zero verb constructions is similar to Austin's restrictions on performative sentences; it is characterised by first and second person. The indirect speech act (the narrative context), on the other hand, is characterised by third person. In such a context $\text{dik} -\text{+} -\text{nya}$ constructions mark a successivity of actions (see Verhaar 1978; Kaswanti Purwo 1981b) or continuity of topic (Becker, personal communication), as can be seen in the following examples.

(13) Kali Lusi melintang bagian bagian kota Blora yang sebelah selatan river encircle half part town which side south [...]. Dan air yang mengalir damai itu tiba-tiba berpusing- and water which flow peacefully that suddenly turn round pusing dan mengamuk gila. Diseretinya rumpun-rumpun bambu di and do amuck madly. DI-carry away-NYA banks bamboo in sepanjang tepi [...]. Digugurnya tebing-tebing dan along edge DI-wash away-NYA banks and diseretinya beberapa bagian ladang penduduk. DI-sweep away-NYA some parts fields people

The Lusi River encircles half of the southern section of Blora. [...]. And the water which had flowed peacefully, suddenly churns madly. Clumps of bamboo along the banks are carried away [...]. The banks are destroyed by it and the fields of the local people are swept away.
Johnny muncul dengan nasi goreng-nya. Diletakkannya kursi yang
appear with rice fried his DI-place-NYA chair which
dibawannya ke dekat Siska. Diangkatnya piring adik-
DI-carry along-NYA to close DI-lift-NYA plate younger sister-
nya dari lantai dan diberikannya pada-nya.
his from floor and DI-give-NYA to her
Johnny appeared with his fried rice. He placed the chair (which he
had been carrying) close to Siska. He raised Siska's plate from the
floor and gave it to her.

A comparison between first person + meN- verb and first person + zero verb
constructions goes to show that an opposition between narrative and non-
narrative verbal aspect in a language like Indonesian deserves consideration.
Compare the following examples, where the zero verb is grammatical in (15), but
ungrammatical in (16).

(15) Saya {mendoakan} supaya kamu menang nanti.
I pray in order that you win later
I pray that you will win.

(16) Saya {mendoakan} supaya kamu menang, tetapi ternyata
I pray in order that you win but it turns out
kamu kalah.
you lose
I prayed that you would win, but you lost.

The activity described in the zero verb (15) is related to the present time
(the time which involves the presence of the speaker). The time of speaking
and the time to which the zero verb refers coincide. With the meN- verb (16)
the speaker's involvement in the activity described is (already) a past event;
it does not coincide with the time of speaking.

Another comparison between meN- verb and zero verb constructions yields
another characteristic of personal pronoun + zero verb which differs from the
di+-+nya construction. The following examples help illustrate the
difference.

(17) Kalau waktu itu aku bisa mengatakannya, pastilah kuucapkan bahwa
if time that I can speak certainly I say that
sesungguhnya bunda [...] (Pramoedya Ananta Toer 43)
in fact mother
If I could have spoken then, I would certainly have said that in
fact mother [...] 

(18) Kalau waktu itu dia bisa mengatakannya, pastilah {dia katakan}
if time that he can speak certainly
bahwa sesungguhnya [...] 
that in fact
If he could have spoken then, he would certainly have said that [...] 

The di+-+nya construction cannot be foregrounded, for such a context the
dia + zero verb is used instead (18). The contrast between dia + zero verb and
dia+-+nya constructions is also noticeable in the following comparison:
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(19) Tidak sedikit yang sudah ia lakukan bagi Nusantara kita yang not little which already he do for our which
tercinta ini. (Kompas 14 June 1980, IV)
beloved this
It is not little, what he has done for our beloved country
(Nusantara).

(20) Dan sebenarnya pula, apakah sungguh dosa yang telah dilakukannya
and actually really sinful which already DI-do-NYA
itu. (Mochtar Lubis 109)
that
And actually, was what he did really sinful?

In (19) the construction dia + zero verb co-occurs with sudah, whereas in (20)
the construction di-+-+ nya co-occurs with telah. While telah is more likely
to be used as a background (and in past narration), sudah is more likely to
be used as a foreground (and in historical present); for further discussion on
telah and sudah see Kaswantani Purwo (1979). It is tempting to suspect that
there is a similar opposition between sudah and telah on the one hand and
between dia + zero verb and di-+-+ nya on the other hand, but further
investigation is needed before any conclusion is made.

An inquiry into languages related to Indonesian (and Malay) which also
have the verbal di- construction — such as Sundanese, Javanese, Toba Batak
and Lampung — might help clarify the difference between the dia + zero verb
and the di-+-+ nya construction, even though of these four languages, only
Lampung has the equivalent di-+-+ nya construction (i.e. di+-+-ni), and
none of the four have the equivalent dia + zero verb construction. Despite
this shortcoming for a comparative study, there could be, I suggest, a pair of
forms which also contrasts in ways similar to the contrast between dia + zero
verb and di-+-+ nya in Indonesian; there is, however, such a contrast in
Javanese. Consider the following pair of constructions in Javanese: tak jupuk
(personal pronoun + zero verb) and olêhku njupuk (olêh + possessive pronoun +
verb); let us call the former construction 1 (Cl, for short) and the latter
construction 2 (C2, for short); below the Javanese is the Indonesian
translation with the English gloss.

(21) Montor iki {{*tak tuku
olêhku tuku}} (rong taun kepungkur)
regalung yuta; saiki yen kowê gelem tukua rong yuta.
Mobil ini saya beli (dua tahun yang lalu) seharga tiga juta;
car this I buy two year which past price three million
sekarang kalau kau mau belilah dengan harga dua juta.
now if you want buy with price two million
This car I bought for three million rupiahs (two years ago); now, if
you want, buy it for two million.

(22) Montor iki sidanê tak tuku rega telung yuta.10
Mobil ini akhirnya saya beli seharga tiga juta.
car this finally I buy with price three million
I finally bought this car for three million.

The difference between Cl (tak tuku) and C2 (olêhku tuku) is concerned
with temporal deixis also. Cl cannot be used to refer to a certain point in
a past event (21); for such a context C2 must be used instead. The act of
buying the car in (21) is new information to the hearer, and C2 is used in this context. If the information is old (in the sense that the hearer already shares the knowledge of buying the car) C1 would be used (22). That C1 has something to do with old information is supported by the fact that the subject constituent in C1 is more likely to be deleted, and modals such as wis already, durung not yet may co-occur with the verb (23).

(23) \[ \text{wis} \ \text{durung} \ \text{tak jupuk.} \quad \text{I have \{already\ not yet\} taken it.} \]

The co-occurrence of the modals with the zero verb (23) shows that the time described is anchored in the speaker, and thus the verb is not narrative. It is different from the time described by the verb in (21) where it refers to the time mentioned in the utterance. The verbal aspects which differ with respect to the contrast between (direct) deictic relation and (indirect) non-deictic relation to the speaker is perhaps a characteristic of languages like Indonesian and Javanese.

In conclusion, the contrast between the two Indonesian 'passives' distinguished by Chung (i.e. the canonical passive and the object preposing), is describable in terms of the syntactic contexts in which they occur. A construction like dibelinya (1)c occurs in a narrative context (indirect speech act), while a construction like dia beli (1)m occurs in a direct speech act (non-narrative context). The former is characterised by the first person and can be a discourse tool for foregrounding, whereas the latter is characterised by the third person (i.e. it may refer to the time mentioned in the discourse) and cannot be foregrounded.

The distinctions I have been trying to describe between a construction like dia beli and a construction like dibelinya is similar in some respects to the one between the English present perfect and past perfect, respectively. The present perfect is most frequently used in a direct speech act (it is deictically anchored in the speaker), whereas the past perfect is most frequently used to mark a sequence of past events, i.e. a narrative context (where the speaker, or the writer, is not the anchorage).

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NOTES

1. For the lack of any better term, I am using the term 'aspect' in a broader sense; I would rather use 'verbal force' or 'verbal act' instead, but they sound a bit strange. By 'verbal aspect' here I mean how the verb most frequently expresses the relationship of the speech participants. 'Aspects' should not thus be understood in the sense of how the verb is
marking the sequence of events, as it is generally used to refer to the
description of verbs in Indo-European languages.

The term 'passive' used in this paper should not be understood in a
strictly Indo-European sense. The difference between such constructions
in a language like Indonesian and in Indo-European languages has been
discussed elsewhere (Kaswanti Purwo 1982).

2. By her term canonical passive Chung refers to verbal di- constructions
followed by third person as well as first and second person agentive.
Verbal di- constructions in the Indonesian data under study only have
third person as the agentive constituent. For an account on third person
restriction on verbal di- constructions see Verhaar (1978) and Kaswanti
Purwo (1982).

3. Construction (1)a dibeli is different syntactically from the other di-
constructions (1)b–f in that it has no formative agentive constituent.
Construction (1)a itself has three subtypes, as can be seen in (i)–(iii).

(i) Akhir-akhir ini sering diberitakan dalam surat kabar ibu kota

(ii) Dan bunda mengambil daku dan diletakkan di pangkuannya.

(iii) a. Jangan diambil.
   b. Tapi keinginanku untuk bertemu dengan ayah tak dapat
ditahan-tahan lagi. Dan aku pun membantah bunda.
   c. Sanip, kawan kami, luka di pahanya, dan darah di pahanya[...]
   Jika Sanip ditinggalkan, kami khawatir dia akan dipaksa
   oleh pasukan Belanda menunjukkan tempat persembunyian kami.
   Apa yang mesti dilakukan? (Mochtar Lubis 102)

Provisional ratings by Gonda (1949:349ff.) show that agentless di- passives
in older Malay are in the minority (quoted from Verhaar 1978:17). Gonda's
further investigation shows that di- forms without an agent are used
increasingly in modern Malay, as an equivalent of Indo-European impersonal
passives (e.g. It is said etc.). While it is tempting to see that such
di- forms are due to interference from languages such as Dutch or English,
Verhaar noted that there are di- forms which are due to Javanese influence;
they are imperatives semantically, and could never have an added agent.
Here Verhaar is referring to constructions like (iii)a; such a construction
he calls 'absolute' di- passives. Kaswanti Purwo (1982) refers to
constructions like (iii)a–c as examples of deictic reversal; (iii)a is a
reversal of third for second person, (iii)b,c are a reversal of third for
first person. There is another constraint on agentless di- constructions
like (iii)a: the subject constituent (whose role is objective) cannot be
formative unless it is preceded by a pause (see (iv)); this formative
constituent is to be considered as an 'afterthought' topic.

(iv) a. Jangan diambil // buku itu!
   not DI-take // book that
   b. Dinaikkan // bendera itu!
   DI-lift // flag that
   Don't take the book! Raise the flag!

If the subject constituent is foregrounded, instead of the di- verb, the
zero verb is used (v):
While the di- construction in (iii) cannot have an agentive constituent added to it, and the di- construction in (i) can only have a generic noun (like orang) as its agentive constituent, the di- construction in (ii) is different in that it is anaphorically related to the preceding discourse; the other two are not. It is worth pursuing further whether there may be or may not be a constraint on the deletion of the anaphoric -nya in co-ordinative clauses like (ii) — since the deletion can either occur at the first mention (vi) or the second mention (vii) — but I haven't thoroughly investigated this issue yet.

(vi) Bunda mengangkat daku, diayunkan, kemudian digendongnya. (Pramoedya Ananta Toer 41)

(vii) Bunda mengusap air mataku dengan ujung kebayanya. [...] Dikeluarkannya uang setengah sen dari lipatan amben dan diulurkan padaku. (Pramoedya Ananta Toer 15-16)

4. There is an interesting 'redundancy' in constructions (2) — (4): oleh + agent and pronominal agent. One possible explanation of this is to regard -nya as a pronominal copy (Kaswanti Purwo 1982). It is quite probable that the di-+ -nya construction (which cannot be found in related languages having the verbal di- such as Sundanese, Javanese, Toba Batak) was being developed around the time of Classical Malay.

The phenomenon of 'redundancy' is more noticeable in (viii):

(viii) Maka oleh Sang Bima, Sang Dursasana itu di-tekan-nya serta di-chekehkan-nya Oleh Sang Bima. (HPL 138)

Givón's (1976) findings might shed light on the explanation of the 'redundancy' in (2) — (4); he has convincingly argued that the traditional view of grammatical agreement (between subject (or object) and the verb) as a redundant, predictable, automatic feature of languages is both unjustified and unfortunate.

5. Furthermore, while the third person plural pronoun cannot be found in Hikayat Pandawa Lima, it can be found in Sedjarah Melaju and Hikajat Abdullah (19th century). Even though mereka can be found in the Classical Malay texts of the 19th century, phrases like dia orang semuanja can still be found also (ix).

(ix) Dan lagi katanja: "Nanti sedikit hari lagi banjak kawan-kawan sahaja mau datang. Dia orang semuanja nanti beladjar bahasa Melaju. (HA 126)

However, mereka cannot be found in verbal constructions like (1)f dibeli (oleh) mereka and (1)n mereka beli.

6. Beside the dia + zero verb construction, in Frederick de Houtman's Malay conversations text there are third person 'passives' like:

(x) di+-+ dia
Itu lah Nachoda Gudjerat, jang baru datang dengan kapal dia, jang dibawa dia ngadap pada Radja. (Lombard ed. 1970:18)

(xi) di+-+ agent
(xii) di+- (without an agent)
Kapal kita baru di buat tatkala beta dari sana.
(Lombard ed. 1970:152)

The construction di+-+ dia (Like x) is commonly heard in spoken Indonesian; some Indonesian linguists (among others, Amran Halim, personal communication) consider this construction to be non-standard Indonesian.

7. In marking the successivity of actions, di+-+nya is correlative (see Kaswanti Purwo 1982) to the preceding verb (which is the non-di- verb). Like -nya, which is anaphorically bound to the preceding NP, the di- verb is also dependent; it can never occur as the first in a line of successive actions (cf. Mees 1953:192ff.).

That the construction di+-+nya is semantically active is noted — among others — by Fokker (1951:69). Perhaps it is in this connection that di+-+nya is syntactically different from the other di- constructions. The di- constructions are more likely to have a subject constituent with a determiner (cf. Soenjonono Dardjowidjojo 1978). A nominal without a determiner, however, is acceptable in di+-+nya constructions (xiii).

(xiii) Babu itu melihat air yang berkilaun kena sinar api dapur.
Kemudian diambilinya abu, disiramkan pada air kencing dan [...]
(Pramoedya Ananta Toer 25)

Another characteristic of this kind of di+-+nya (there may be a di+-+nya which does not mark successivity of actions, but I haven't discovered it yet) is that the subject constituent is more likely to be either deleted or to have a fixed position, i.e. occur to the right of the verb. Verhaar (1978:18), however, noted that subjects of passives can have a fixed position only in imperative constructions.

8. The background and foreground terminology here is used in the sense of Pollack (1976:298), which I quoted from Hopper (1977). Pollack calls them arrière-plan and premier-plan, respectively. Becker (1979) refers to them as ground and figure, respectively.

9. The 'passive' (non-nasalised verbal) construction in Javanese is exemplified in (xiv), whereas the olèh + possessive pronoun + verb construction is exemplified in (xv); the stem jupuk means to take. (Javanese has more unaffixed verbs than Indonesian; among others is tuku to buy.)

(xiv) 1st person: tak jupuk
       2nd person: kok jupuk
       3rd person: dijupuk (dhèwèkè)

(xv) 1st person: olèhku njupuk
       2nd person: olèhmu njupuk
       3rd person: olèhé njupuk

10. The older Javanese grammarians (like C.C. Berg 1937; H.N. Kiliaan 1919) describe the Javanese tak (or dak) as propositive, where they hypothesise that tak originated from the Malay word hendak. Unlike those grammarians Slametmuljana (1964:80-81) hypothesises that tak originated from the Champa word for first person pronoun dhalak.

tak, however, is not always propositive; it is propositive only in constructions (xvi) – (xviii); in constructions (xix) – where it is tak + zero verb – tak is not propositive. The verb in (xvi) is intransitive, whereas the verb in (xvii) – (xix) is transitive.
The opposition between old information (shared prior knowledge and experience of the speaker and hearer) and new information (no speaker–hearer shared knowledge) can also be seen in the difference between the determiner -nya and itu in Indonesian (see Kaswanti Purwo 1978).
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STRATEGIES OF THE DEFINITE/INDEFINITE PATIENT IN PASSIVE SENTENCES
Alice Cartier

C. INTRODUCTION

The rules of definiteness and indefiniteness, especially of the surface subject (patient) in passive sentences in Indonesian are still unclear. According to Chung (1975:62) the patient may be a definite or an indefinite noun, whereas according to Dardjowidjojo (1978:108) it is necessarily marked definite unless used generically. Thus, for the latter author, unmarked patients in the following active sentences (1a, 2a) such as meja table, panci saucepan, etc. — which are indefinite — must be changed into definite by adding itu, in the corresponding passive sentences (1b, 2b).

(1) a. anak perempuan itu me-megang MEJA
   the girl touched a table

(1)b. MEJA {itu} di-megang oleh anak perempuan itu
   the table is touched by that girl

(2) a. orang itu me-nutup PANC! 
   that man covered a saucepan

(2)b. panci {itu} di-nutup oleh orang itu
    that saucepan is covered by that man

The unmarked patient in the following sentence is generic:

(3) PENJAHAT $ harus$ di-hukum
    criminals have to be punished

The present paper is an attempt at casting a closer look into the matter in the hope of discovering some of the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic conditions of the patient as a surface subject of passive sentences.

Contrary to Chung's interpretation of example (1b) (= Chung's example 9a) — considering the patient as accepting an indefinite — but in accordance with Dardjowidjojo's opinion, I claim that the patient of passive sentences can both be definite or indefinite when not a generic noun. We will see that different
strategies are used by these two kinds of surface subjects. The reason why only passive sentences are taken into consideration is the fact that they seem to tolerate a wide list of nouns as patient.

I postulate not only markers but also the word order to be important devices to express definite or indefinite in both functions, subject or object, of the nouns in simple sentences. In languages such as Indonesian where the canonical word order is \( N(P)_1 - V - N(P)_2 \), the \( N(P)_1 \), at the left of the verb expresses definite whereas the \( N(P)_2 \), at the right of the verb, expresses 'normally' indefinite (cf. 1a-b, 2a-b). Thus, in Indonesian the subject normally denotes definite whereas the object is indefinite, even when these two \( N(P) \)'s (in their basic position) are unmarked. Notice, however, that the semantic properties of some lexical items (the lexical rule) can block the application of the word-order rule. Some object-nouns can refer to things unique (cf. Dardjowidjojo 1980: sections 3.2.2, 3.3.1): in this case they may denote definite even when they are unmarked. Compare the following examples (a) and (b).

\[
\begin{align*}
(4)a. & \quad \text{dia tiap hari mem-berihkan HALAMAN / DAPUR / JALANAN } \phi \\
& \quad \text{he every day meN-clean-CAUS yard kitchen street}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(4)b. & \quad \text{dia tiap hari mem-bel i buku / surat kabar / daging } \phi \\
& \quad \text{he every day meN-buy book newspaper meat}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(5)a. & \quad \text{dia mem-buka / meN-nutup pintu / jendela } \phi \\
& \quad \text{he meN-open meN-close door window}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(5)b. & \quad \text{dia men-dapat hadiah } \phi \\
& \quad \text{he meN-obtain price}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(6)a. & \quad \text{dia ke-mati-an anak } \\
& \quad \text{he KE-AN dead child}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(6)b. & \quad \text{dia ke-mati-an ayah } \\
& \quad \text{he KE-AN dead father}
\end{align*}
\]

Definite nouns indicating e.g. localities (4a) governed by causative verbs implying 'cause to work' are not marked when they refer to one and the same thing in the natural world of both the speaker and the hearer. Other types of nouns in combination with other types of verbs can also refer to one and the same thing (5a). A noun such as hadiah \textit{price} in the sentence (5b) is ambiguous: it can either be definite (if there is only one price) or indefinite (when some prices are available). Sometimes two nouns in combination with one and the same verb can be definite (6b) or indefinite (6a). The last three cases are examples of situations fixed by pragmatic conditions. Some nouns, whatever their function (subject or object), cannot appear unmarked: for instance nouns referring to human beings (terms of address and professional names excepted), to parts of the body or family relations (such as isteri \textit{wife}, putera \textit{son}, etc.) and many abstract nouns.

This paper will try to treat the word-order rule in detail but will only superficially touch the lexical rule. In the first section I shall deal with
the definite markers, in the second I shall discuss the unmarked definite subject, in the third the strategies of the indefinite subject and in the fourth the subject in relativised sentences.

We have seen that the problem of definiteness/indefiniteness (note 5) and of genericness (note 1) may also depend on the (matrix) verb. Since these types of verbs have not been listed it is not yet possible to take them into account systematically in this paper.

1. SOME DEFINITE MARKERS

Generally speaking the Indonesian language has at its disposal a set of definite markers for common nouns: demonstratives, two kinds of prefix (si and ke + numeral) and possessives (Soemarmo 1975, Dardjowidjojo 1980, McCune and Simin pp.71-100, this volume). Inasmuch as I am more interested in the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic conditions of marked and unmarked definite or indefinite subjects than in producing an exhaustive list of markers, I shall only present the most widely used markers: demonstratives and possessives.

1.1 Demonstratives

The two demonstrative particles ini this and itu that, the, are used as definite markers for animate and inanimate nouns (cf. 1b, 2b).

1.2 Possessives

As in other languages, in Indonesian a NP consisting of a noun plus a pronoun, a term of address or a proper noun expresses definite.

(7)a. buku saya / ayah / Tuti di-pinjam oleh Toto
    book my father Tuti di-lend by Toto
    my/father's/Tuti's book is lent out to Toto

When the possessive consists of a common noun the demonstrative ini or itu is compulsory.

(7)b. buku orang {itu} di-pinjam
    the book of the/that man is lent out

Parts of the body, inalienable nouns do not tolerate well demonstratives, but prefer possessives; thus rambut/gigi/kepala-nya his hair/teeth/head are more natural than rambut/gigi/kepala itu that hair/tooth/head.

The NP [noun + possessive] can be preceded by the complex [numeral + classifier]:

(8)a. se—jilid buku saya di—hilang-kan
    one volume book my di—lose -CAUS
    a book of mine/one of my books is lost

In fact we have here a form wherein the preposition dari, located between the classifier and the noun is deleted.

(8)b. se—jilid (dari) buku saya

In this case the definite noun expresses plural.
2. UNMARKED DEFINITE Nouns

I shall treat cases in which the use of none of the above markers is required. I shall not take into consideration nouns denoting natural phenomena such as hujan rain, gerimis drizzling, etc. or celestial phenomena such as matahari sun, i.e. inherently definite, nor abstract nouns such as kekuasaan authority, kejahatan criminality, penyakitan illness, etc., the unmarked forms of which express generic. I shall especially take into account countable nouns.

2.1 Unmodified nouns

I shall examine here some types of nouns which in their unmodified form can function as definite passive subject.

2.1.1 Nouns metaphorically denoting human personalities

Nouns such as majelis council, panitia committee, pemerintah government, perwakilan delegation, kabinet cabinet, penduduk population, etc. referring to collectivities and nouns referring to institutions such as universitas university, sekolah school, gereja church, keresidenan residency, etc. can be used in the metaphoric sense of personalities representing the institution denoted by the noun. Nouns of this type can be used as definite subject of passive (and of non-passive) sentences without the presence of a definite marker.

(9) majelis/panitia/ gereja di-beritahu pelapor bahwa usul-nya di-terima
council committee church di-make known report that proposal-his di-accept
the council/committee/church is informed/notified that their proposal is accepted

They are used when both the speaker and the hearer are concerned by one and the same collectivity or its representation.

2.1.2 Nouns referring to localities

(10) perpustakaan/kantor/ sekolah di-tutup/ perbesarkan
the library/ the office/ the school is closed/enlarged

This example can only be understood in a situation where both the speaker and the hearer have in mind one and the same library, office, school, etc. Other nouns liable to be used as definite passive subject when unmodified: pabrik factory, setasian station, stadion stadium, museum museum, kedutaan embassy, kewedanaan residence of the district chief, kementerian ministry, alun-alun city-square, perkuburan cemetery, etc. Some other nouns have to be modified or marked in order to function as definite passive subjects: for instance tempat place, kota town, desa village, lapangan field, square, park, etc. The exact reasons for this constraint are not very clear. But we could say intuitively, that contrary to nouns of the first type those of the second type convey a general meaning. Thus, one of the constraints seems to be the consequence of some semantic properties of the lexical items.
We may deduce that, in fact, two kinds of conditions have to be fulfilled in order to form a definite subject such as that of example (10): (i) semantic conditions which are determined by the lexical items (the lexical rule) and (ii) pragmatic conditions. Pragmatically, the passive subject must refer to a place unique in the world to both the speaker and the hearer. From the socio-linguistic point of view we may find nouns referring to unique places in the town or village where both the speaker and the hearer are living, but also to nouns referring to places which are unique to these two people only (or to the social group they belong to). This is one of the reasons why nouns which may refer to non-unique localities such as kedai shop, restoran restaurant, halaman yard, teater cinema, apotik pharmacy, etc. can appear as definite passive subjects without being marked.

2.1.3 Nouns referring to concrete objects and animals

Examples such as (1a) and (2a) may be correct when the definite character of the subject can be deduced from the context preceding the subject of the passive sentence.

(11) Sampai di pinggir se-buah kali, andong berhenti. Karena tidak arrive at side a-CLASSIF river carriage stop because NEG ada jembatan, KUDA φ di-tuntun oleh kusir be bridge horse di-guide by coachman (When we) arrived at the side of a river, the andong stopped. Because there was no bridge the horse was guided by the coachman.

(12) Kami ada se-orang pembantu. Sambil mem-batik, ibu me-nanyak an-nye apa SANTAN φ sudah di-siapkan, DAGING φ sudah di-rebus, NASI φ sudah di-tanak, dan se-baga i-nya. We had a helper. While doing batikwork, mother asked her whether the santan(-sauce) was prepared, the meat (and) the rice boiled, etc.

Example (11) describes a situation wherein the horse pulling the coach is compelled to change its action. Example (12) describes a household situation wherein the mother and her helper are implicated. We can deduce from the context that the presupposition is that the helper knows that she has to prepare a meal and how to prepare it. Example (13) describes what happened to the window before and after the change of weather.
Only nouns denoting specific names of animals and concrete objects can be used in the way of the capitalised subjects of examples (11-13). Nouns denoting very general denomination of animals such as binatang animal, or of concrete objects such as barang thing, alat instrument, bahan material, etc. do not seem to be used as definite (passive) subjects without modifier or definite marker.

(14) Kami semua men-coba me-nangkap ikan. Toto me-nangkap se-ekor. 
Kami men-try we all meN-try men-catch fish Toto menN-catch one-CLASSIF 
Begitu sampai di rumah, IKAN φ / BINATANG {itu} di-emasuki ke ke=that 
so arrive at home fish animal that di-put inside at 
dalam ember yang di-penuhi air inside basin RELAT di-fill up water 
All of us tried to catch (a) fish(es). Toto caught one. As soon as (he) arrived home, (he) put the fish/that animal in a basin filled up with water.

It seems to me, that only a noun already mentioned can be used unmarked; there is even a constraint against its synonym.

(15) Ibu men-cari kaleng untuk kue-kue kering. Di lemari di dapur masih se-buah. BELIK {itu} / KALENG φ di-bersihkan kitchen still one-CLASSIF tin-can that tin-can di-clean 
baik-baik, lalu kue-kue kering di-masuki di-dalam-nya dengan rap i well then cakes dry di-put in in-inside-it with neat 
Mother looked for a tin-can for the biscuits. (There) was still one in the cupboard in the kitchen. (She) cleaned thoroughly the tin-can and put the biscuits neatly inside.

Thus, conversely, patients in passive sentences must be complemented by a demonstrative when instead of mentioning a noun appearing in a prior sentence (13), another noun is selected, that is a noun conveying a more general meaning (14) or a synonym (15). The pronoun -nya has to be used, when a noun referring to an object which is part of another object already mentioned. When one refers to the wheels of the coach instead of the horse -nya is compulsory. This is one of the reasons why -nya may be added to the underlined nouns in example (12). In this case, these three nouns have to be considered as elements of an above-mentioned dish. -nya could also be added to kuda horse (11) if, for the speaker, kuda is part of the andong coach (cf. S. Dardjowidjojo 1980 for more details). This is one of the reasons why parts of the body or family relations (i.e. inalienable nouns) and abstract nouns such as pikiran idea, opinion, hati mind are usually modified by -nya.

(16) saya tidak me-nkenali lagi buyut, karena rambut {nya} 
I not meN-recognise again great-grandfather because hair his 
tidak di-sisir dan gigi {nya} tidak di-gosok 
not di-comb and tooth not di-brush 
I did not recognise great-grandfather any more, because he did not comb his hair and did not brush his teeth.
STRATEGIES OF THE DEFINITE/INDEFINITE PATIENT IN PASSIVE SENTENCES

(17) Sulaiman biasanya pergi sendiri, tetapi hari ini isteri
Sulaiman usually go out alone but day this wife

Sulaiman used to go alone, but today he brought his wife.

(18) Siti demikian bingung sehingga pikiran
Siti so confused that mind

Siti was so confused that she was not in control of her mind any more.

2.1.4 Contexts prior to the passive sentence

The noun used as an unmarked definite subject is tolerated only if it occurs in an earlier context under the following conditions.

(a) It must refer to a specific noun. When this noun is generic, the patient in the following sentence will also be generic.

in Africa all information di-give-to by-means-of tom-tom

Genderang di-buat dari balok yang di-beri lubang di
tom-tom di-make of beam (wooden) RELAT di-give hole in
dalam-nya inside it

In Africa all news is given by means of the tom-tom. A tom-tom is made out of a wooden beam which has a hole in it.

(b) It must refer to a singular noun. If we had for instance beberapa several or tiga three, etc. instead of se a (not one) in example (14, 15) (i.e. the second sentence) the following passive sentence (i.e. the third sentence) would not be correct.

(c) This noun can refer to a definite (13) but cannot be marked by itu. If, instead of ku-tutup jendela I closed the window (13), we had ku-tutup jendela ITU I closed that window and, instead of me-nangkap ikan caught a fish (14), we had me-nangkap ikan ITU caught that fish, the passive sentences in the two examples would be unacceptable.

2.2 Modified nouns

A NP consisting of a noun modified by another noun (or a nominal phrase) or by a verb (verbal phrase) can function as definite subject without being marked. We will see that common nouns conveying a general meaning such as tempat place, negeri country, etc. (cf. note 6) may also function as head. The NP's have two types of structures: they either immediately follow the head or are separated from it by the relativiser yang which, who. In this section NP's of the first type will be studied, whereas relativised NP's will be treated in section 4.
2.2.1 Head + modifier

Some nouns cannot occur without a modifier, for instance angkatan
generation, force, badan group, juru technician of, kepala head of, etc.

(20) juru {arsip} / kepala {rombongan}
{berita} / {kantor} {di-kritik / di-puji}
{*φ, *itu} {*φ, *itu}

(21) technician {archives} / head {group}
{news} / {office} {di-criticise di-praise}
{phil.} {head of the} {group}
{journalist} / the {office} has been
criticised/praised

(a) The more general the meaning of a noun the more often it occurs as the
head of a NP, for instance rupa form, appearance, suasana atmosphere,
environment, tanda sign, upacara ceremony, daftar list, register, etc.

(b) Some nouns in combination with their modifier (and a generic verb) denote
a generic when the NP is not marked by itu, for instance orang man, nilai
value, appraisal, mutu quality, grade, etc.

(21)a. orang perempuan (di bebarapa masyarakat) tidak di-hargai
person feminine in several society not di-value
women are not valued (in some societies)

(21)b. orang perempuan ITU tidak di-hargai
person feminine that not di-value
that woman is not valued

(c) Some other nouns do not have this possibility (even when governed by a
generic verb), for instance, cara way, manner, ciri characteristic, pokok base,
pusat centre, isi content, etc. + a modifier. Whatever their function, subject
or object, the modifier must be marked by a definite (unless contrasted to
another modifier in, for instance, a disjunctive co-ordination).

(22)a. isi buku {itu} / cara perkawinan {merek}
content book (that) way marriage their
di-hargai
the content of / their way of marrying is esteemed

2.2.2 Compounds

Nouns denoting concrete objects such as surat letter, mesin machine, meja
table, etc. may enter into composition with their modifier (noun, adjective or
(un-) prefixed verb). They can be unmarked in their function as definite
subjects of passive sentences (23a), but as definite objects they have sometimes
to be marked (23b).

(23)a. surat tercatat/ kawin/ undangan/ kabar (sudah) di-terima
letter registered marriage invitation news already di-receive
(we) received the registered letter/marriage certificate/
invitation/newspaper
(23)b. dia (sudah) menerima surat tercatat KAMU/Kawin- NYA
he already menerima receive letter registered your marriage his
undangan KAMU/kabar ITU
invitation your news that
he received your registered letter/his marriage certificate/your
invitation/that newspaper

In the following sentences, unmarked subjects are definite (24a) whereas unmarked
objects are indefinite (24b) or ambiguous (24c).

(24) a. mesin hitung/tik di-gunakan/di-bersih-kan/di-beli/
machine calculate/type di-use di-clean CAUS di-buy
di-sediakan oleh Parman
di-supply by Parman
the calculator/typewriter is used/cleaned/bought/supplied by Parman.

(24) b. Parman mem-bersih-kan/mem-beli mesin hitung/tik
Parman cleans the calculator(s)/typewriter(s) /buys a calculator/
typewriter

(24) c. Parman meng-gunakan / me-nyediakan mesin hitung/tik
Parman used/supplies a (the) calculator/typewriter

Thus, the lexical rule interferes at the object level, but not at the subject
level.

The head of a compound can be a noun such as tempat place, rumah house, etc. which are generally marked in order to function as definite subject.

(25) tempat {"post"} / sampah di-ganti / di-bersih-kan
place trash di-change di-clean CAUS
the trash-can is changed/cleaned

(26) rumah {? "sakit"} di-tutup / di-buka
di-close di-open
the hospital is closed/opened

2.2.3 Proper names

The head and modifier may constitute together a proper name. The modifier
is sometimes a proper name but the head is generally a common name which may
belong to nouns needing a marker when denoting a definite subject. Proper
names denote a definite without being marked.

(27) pasar {Glodok} / taman {Indonesia Indah} (tiap hari) di-bersihkan
dua kali
two time
dua kali
two time
di-bersihkan
di-clean
di-clean
di-clean
di-clean
di-clean
di-clean
di-clean
di-clean
di-clean
di-clean
di-clean

the {Glodok} market/the garden Beautiful Indonesia is cleaned
twice (a day)
2.3 Plural nominal nouns

The plural, expressed by means of reduplication, denotes a definite subject even when unmarked. The noun may refer to inanimate as well as animate.

(28) botol-botol di-isi dengan minuman
   bottles di-fill with drink
   the bottles are filled with drinks

(29) kursi-kursi di-naik-kan ke atas meja
   chairs di-raise to on table
   the chairs are put on the table

(30) anak-anak/orang-orang di-kumpulkan ke dalam ruang baca/haruskan
   berdiri
   stand up
   the children/the people are gathered into the reading-room/obliged to
   stand up

(31) burung-burung di-gusah dengan kipas
   birds di-chase-away with fan
   the birds are chased away with a fan

Some plural nouns - denoting small things and supposed to be used in some quantity - are usually not reduplicated.

(32) (pada waktu udara cerah) KRUPUK / *KRUPUK-KRUPUK di-keringkan
   at time weather clear shrimp chips di-dry
   (when it was nice weather) (we) dried the shrimp chips

(33) PERMEN / ? PERMEN-PERMEN di-bagi pada anak-anak
   candies di-distribute to children
   the candies are distributed to the children

(34) (sebelum di-rebus) KENTANG / *KENTANG-KENTANG di-kupas
   before di-boil potatoes di-peel
   before they are boiled, the potatoes are peeled

3. INDEFINITE NOUNS

3.1 Quantifier + noun

The addition of a quantifier to the noun is compulsory. The quantifier - an indefinite numerative or a construction consisting of a numeral followed by a classifier - precedes the noun.

(35) se-orang/ semua pencuri ter-tangkap
   a (one) CLASSIF all thief ter-catch
   a (one)/all thieves got arrested

The subject of this construction gives more precise information about the number (from one to all) belonging to a limited group already mentioned. Thus, example (35) could be preceded by a sentence such as: rumah kakak ke-datang-an BEBERAPA PENCURI several thieves got into my brother's house.

In this construction the subject can be made definite by the addition of itu. This happens when the number of things (animals/men) previously mentioned is equivalent to the number expressed by the subject. If the plural noun in the
prior context is either unmodified or modified by an indefinite numerator, then the passive subject modified by se-tiap/tiap-tiap every or semua all can be marked by itu.

(36) rumah kakak ke-datang-an BEBERAPA pencuri. semua/se-orang pencuri ITU ter-tangkap
house brother KE—AN come several thief all one-CLASSIF

Several thieves got into my brother's house. All of them (lit. all those thieves) got arrested.

The NP se-orang pencuri itu this one thief would only be correct if the indefinite classifier at the left (se-orang) occurs also in the prior context.9

3.2 Existential constructions

I call existential constructions those constructions which may assume the structure [Loc-V-N(P)]. In these constructions (i) the subject is moved to the right of the verb. (ii) A locative introduced by the preposition di at (-motion) or dari from is added at the left of the verb. (iii) The use of the quantifier is optional. Existential constructions give answers to 'where' and 'from where' questions. They are rarely accompanied by the agent. Since these sentences are locative-oriented, they cannot include any agitative verb (in the true sense of the term) such as the passive form of bi-transitive, causative or i-suffixed verbs. They can only have verbs indicating a state or 'appearance'.

(37) di Balai Agung di-eda-kan (suatu) upacara
in institution great di-organise a ceremony
a ceremony takes place in the Town Hall

(38) di atas meja di-sediakan (se-piring) nasi, dan (beberapa piring)
at upon table di-prepare a (one) plate rice and several plate sayuran
vegetables
a dish of rice and several dishes of vegetables are ready on the table

(39) dari jauh ke-dengar-an/ter-dengar (beberapa) tembakan
from far KE—AN hear ter-hear several shot
several shots are heard (coming) from far away

There are in fact two types of constructions: examples (37, 38) are illustrations of the first type and example (39) of the second type.

3.2.1 Some constraints of Type I sentences

Only verbs indicating a state can function as predicate. Here are a few examples: ter-bentang spread out, ter-baring lying, ter-bangun is rising, ter-simpan kept, ter-pegang held, ter-gantung hanging, ter-dapat available, ter-letak located, placed (cf. also Tang Tjia-Han 1960:139). They admit a locative preposed by di but not by dari. Thus, the preposition dari cannot substitute di in examples (37, 38). The indefinite subject (referring to a concrete object) may appear without being modified by a quantifier.

(40) di atas meja operasi ter-baring anak/ orang perempuan
at upon table operation ter—lie child person feminine
a child/a woman is lying on the operation table
Those referring to items conveying a general meaning (section 2.1.2) generally need to be modified or (and) quantified.

(41) di atas papan tulis ter-tulis huruf {Arab} \[? \phi \} / \text{beberapa} \} \text{word} \\
(on the black-board is (are) written (an) Arabic letter(s)/several words)

(42) di lapangan ini ter-letak \{se-buah\} \text{rumah} \\
(at field this ter-lie \{a(one)-CLASSIF\} house \\
a house is located in this field)

(43) di muka-nya ter-bayang senyuman/rasa \{takut\} \\
(on her face is floating a smile/(her) anxiety)

This constraint is nullified in the plural. Thus, the examples (41) and (42) are well-formed if respectively the unmarked huruf, kata and rumah are reduplicated.

3.2.2 Some constraints of Type II sentences

Verbs denoting 'appearance' (of something or somebody) function as predicate in these sentences. Some are affixed by ter- or ke-(an) such as ke-lihat-an/ter-lihat \text{seen}, ke-dengar-an/ter-dengar \text{heard}; some other verbs are not passivised but are intransitive verbs such as keluar \text{go out}, muncul \text{appear}, timbul \text{arise}, appear, tampak \text{seen}, etc. They admit a locative complement preposed by dari or di at the left of the verb. The addition of a quantifier (or a modifier) is compulsory in the case of some nouns.

(44) dari jauh ke-lihat-an \{se-buah\} \text{rumah/desa/ bangunan/ one-CLASSIF} \\
(from far away KE-AN see \{\} \text{house village construction} \\
gedung building \\
a house/village/construction/building is seen from far away

(45) \{dari \} \text{belakang ter-dengar jeritan/keluhan/suara \{orang menangis\} \\
from behind ter-hear cry moan voice \{\} \text{man cry} \\
\{dari \} \text{at \} \\
a cry/moan/somebody's crying is heard (coming) from behind

This lexical constraint is only limited to the singular, not the plural.

3.2.3 Indefinite subject in \text{[S - V - Loc]} 

The application of the word order \text{[S - V - Loc]} to the existential constructions involves the introduction of ada at the left of the subject. The predication of the subject by ada requires the relativisation of the sentence. Relativisation implies the following conditions: (i) The relative is at the right of the noun. (ii) The relativised noun in the embedded phrase is deleted. (iii) The marker of relativisation is yang. Thus, the following sentence (46a) becomes such as in (46b).
(46)a. pencuri ter-tangkap
thief ter-catch

(46)b. ada pencuri ter-tangkap
be thief ter-catch

Sentence (46b) has to be relativised:

(46)c. ada pencuri yang ter-tangkap
(there) is a thief who got arrested

In this construction the quantifier is optional:

(46)d. ada (se-orang) pencuri yang ter-tangkap
a (one)-CLASSIF

In this construction quantifiers such as semua/segala all, tiap-tiap every, each, cannot be added. This is because the subject in this construction contains new information: it is not mentioned before.

4. RELATIVISED CONSTRUCTIONS

The purpose of this section is to show that the two constraints (word-order and lexical rules) apply also (i) to the dislocated subject in cleft sentences and (ii) to both subjects and objects modified by an embedded relative clause.

4.1 Dislocated subject

The dislocated subject is stressed because it is contrasted with another subject. Both the word-order and the lexical rules are not applied in the same way as in sections 2 and 3.

(a) The contrasted unmarked subject is a definite if it refers to a profession or a locality.

(47) maha'siswa/pem'bantu yang di-panggil, bukan juru 'tulis/'buruh
student helper RELAT di-call NEG clerk worker
it is the student/the helper who is called, not the clerk/the worker

(48)a. perpustakaan yang di-tutup, bukan universitas
library RELAT di-close NEG university
it is the library which is closed, not the university

(b) The unmarked subject refers to an indefinite, if it is a noun denoting an animate or a concrete object or a part of the body. In the first case the noun must be contracted with another species of animates or with a human being.

(49)a. setan/macan yang ter-tangkap, bukan gajah/orang
devil tiger RELAT ter-catch NEG elephant man
it is a devil/a tiger which got caught, not an elephant/a man
(49). orang dewasa yang di-cari, bukan anak
adult RELAT look for NEG child
it is an adult who is looked for, not a child

(c) When the unmarked subject denotes a family relation or an abstract noun such as pikiran idea, opinion, hati mind, the definite marker is required.

(50). a. isteri-nya yang di-panggil, bukan anak- nya
wife his RELAT call not child his
it is his wife he called, not his child

(50). b. pikiran-nya yang tidak di-kuasai, bukan mind his RELAT NEG dominate not
it is his mind he did not control, not

(d) When the subject is an abstract noun, the absence of a definite marker presents a generic.

(51). kelemahan yang di-cela, bukan kejahatan
weakness RELAT blame not criminality
it is weakness which is blamed not criminality

4.2 Embedded relativised clauses

The following examples show cases wherein the subject (example b) and the object (example a) are embedded relativised clauses. The word-order and lexical rules are applied to the object in the same conditions as in the case of the unmodified object (cf. section 0). This means that if the unmodified object expresses an indefinite, the object modified by a relative clause will also be indefinite. Correspondingly, the definiteness of an object will be preserved by the presence of a relative clausal modifier.

(52). Siti me- ngambil (se-buah) rantang yang kosong
Siti men-take a(one) CLASSIF pail RELAT empty
Siti is taking an empty pail

(53). Siti mem-buka pintu yang tadi di-tutup oleh Parman
Siti men-open door RELAT just-now di-close by Parman
Siti opens the door which just now has been closed by Parman

The modified subject expresses a definite. The definite subject in the passivised sentences of (52a) and (53a) is unmarked.

(52). b. rantang yang kosong di-ambil (oleh) Siti
pail RELAT empty di-take by Siti
the empty pail is taken by Siti

(53). b. pintu yang tadi di-tutup Parman di-buka (oleh) Siti
doors RELAT just now di-close Parman di-open by Siti
the door closed by Parman just now is opened by Siti

The lexical rule does not interfere in the above examples, because the subject noun denotes a concrete object. In other cases, the subject noun prefers the presence of the definite marker itu, especially when the noun is a term of address or a professional denomination, an animate (human/animal) or a locality.
STRATEGIES OF THE DEFINITE/INDEFINITE PATIENT IN PASSIVE SENTENCES

(54) ayah/ buruh yang sedang bercukur {itu} di-panggil makan
father worker RELAT DURAT shave that di-call eat
father/the worker who is shaving is called for breakfast

(55) orang (perempuan/asing)/anak yang ter-tangkap {itu} di-lepaskan lagi
man feminine foreign child RELAT ter-catch that di-free again
the man/woman/foreigner/child who got arrested is free once more

(56) perpustakaan/hotel yang di-tutup {itu} ke-kurang-an tenaga
library hotel RELAT di-close that KE—AN lack personnel
the library/hotel which is closed is lacking staff

When the subject noun denotes parts of the body, family relations or presents an abstract noun, it is followed by a possessive. However the presence of the definite marker itu at the right of the relative clause is still preferred.

(57) bahu- nya yang sudah di-operasi {itu} sekarang di-obati
shoulder his RELAT already di-operate that now di-treated
the shoulder which has been operated on is now medically being treated medically

(58) isteri-nya yang sedang masak {itu} di-panggil
wife his RELAT PROGR cook that di-call
his wife who is cooking is called

(59) kelemahan-nya yang dahulu di-cela {itu} sekarang di-puji
weakness his RELAT formerly di-blame that now di-praise
his weakness which formerly was blamed is now praised

5. CONCLUSIONS

I hope to have shown the importance of both the word-order rule and the lexical rule to the realisation of the definite and the indefinite. We can draw the following conclusions: (i) The N(P) at the left of the verb expresses definite, (ii) at the right of the verb indefinite when unmarked (or accompanied by a numeral + classificator). (iii) The lexical rule can interfere and governs the constraints of the different types of nouns. (a) The definite marker is compulsory for nouns denoting parts of the body, family relations and some abstract nouns, but is optional to nouns denoting some localities or metaphorically human personalities. (iv) Certain pragmatic conditions can strengthen the word-order rule. These conditions enable some subject nouns — especially those referring to concrete objects and plural nouns — to occur unmarked at the left of the verb as definite nouns. (v) Many nouns require a modifier to appear as unmarked definite subjects. (vi) Pragmatics — helped by some syntactic and semantic conditions — can also violate the word-order rule: they enable the indefinite subject to take the position at the left of the verb. (vii) The presence of a relative clause modifies the lexical rule since the definite marker itu is required (or preferred), unless the head denotes a concrete object.
NOTES

1. The genericness of penjahat in example (3) is very probably due to the influence of harus which seems to be able to be used generically (cf. Chafe 1970, S. Dardjowidjojo 1980).

2. For instance in the following sentence-types:

   (i) $N_{DEF} - ADJ \quad gadis \{itu\} \quad \text{cantik}$
       that girl is pretty

   (ii) $N_{DEF} - V - N_{INDEF} \quad pura \{itu\} \quad \text{berhias ukiran} \{\#itu\}$
       that temple is decorated with carvings

3. This paper will not deal with sentences such as buku, ku-bel i the book, I bought (it) but only with di-, ter- or ke-(-an) verb sentences

4. The word-order rule is not applicable to topicalised objects such as celaan in the following sentence:

   (akan) celaan, ibu tidak meng-indahkan-nya
   as to criticism mother NEG meN- pay attention-it
   critics, mother does not pay attention to them

5. The definiteness or indefiniteness of the object might be dictated by the verb, for instance in example (5a); cf. also section 2.1.3.

6. Some nouns denoting e.g. a location require a modifier: wilayah territory, negeri country, negara state, medan field (in, for instance, battlefield), gelanggang arena, forum, etc.

7. Thus, Chung's example (9a) (= our example 1b) in Chung (1975:62) is correct in the sense that its subject expresses definite.

8. In fact, itu the in the generic sense (cf. Dardjowidjojo 1980: section 3.2.1) may be added to genderang in the passive sentence.

9. Chung's example (9d) in Chung (1975:62): sepuluh dollar sudah dibayar kepada tukang rumput oleh saya ten dollars were already paid to the gardener by me is incorrect to me. This example necessarily expresses a definite, therefore itu has to be added. Such a sentence could be an answer to the question: apakah sepuluh dollar itu sudah dibayar? are the ten dollars already paid? These ten dollars contains old information; the quantity mentioned corresponds exactly to the quantity presupposed or referred to a prior mentioned NP. Ten dollars could refer to an indefinite in a cleft sentence such as sepuluh dollar yang sudah ku-bayar kepada tukang rumput it was ten dollars I paid to the gardener.


11. Itu in these cases (examples (54-59)) seems to refer to the whole NP, but this hypothesis needs to be tested further, towards verification.
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DEVELOPMENT OF A PAAMESE TRANSITIVE SUFFIX

Terry Crowley

1. INTRODUCTION

The language which is the subject of this paper is called Paamese (in the absence of any indigenous name for either the language or its speakers). Paamese is spoken by about 4000 people, mostly living on the island of Paama in the Republic of Vanuatu (formerly the New Hebrides Condominium). The language is an Austronesian language of the Oceanic branch. Within Pawley's suggested Eastern Oceanic subgroup of the Oceanic branch, Paamese has been assigned to the North Hebridean subgroup, as illustrated in the diagram below (Pawley 1972):

```
        OCEANIC
           /  \
         /    \   ?
EASTERN OCEANIC

SOUTH-EAST SOLOMONS

NORTH HEBRIDEAN-CENTRAL PACIFIC

NORTH HEBRIDEAN

CENTRAL PACIFIC

FIJIAN

POLYNESIAN
```

Subgrouping below the level of Proto-North Hebridean is not yet clear, though Tryon (1976) has made some tentative suggestions based on lexicostatistics and phonological innovation. Pawley himself suggests a two-way split between North Hebridean-Banks on the one hand, and Central Hebridean on the other, though it is not absolutely clear from the criteria he uses to which subgroup Paamese should be assigned.

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2. OCEANIC TRANSITIVE MARKING

In the present paper, the intention is to describe a process of syntactic reanalysis that is currently taking place in Paamese at the clause structure level. The reanalysis that is taking place involves the development of a new derivational process whereby an intransitive clause can be made transitive. Before we go on to actually look at this change in Paamese, we will need to look at the transitive marking of other Oceanic languages, and its history in Paamese.

As is well known to all Oceanic specialists, one of the most characteristic features of Oceanic languages is the presence of two so-called transitive suffixes, derived from the Proto-Oceanic forms *-Ci and *-Caki(ni) in which the symbol C represents a thematic consonant. (Note that with a small number of verbs like *dogo hear and *kite see, the *-Ci suffix probably had a *-∅ variant.) These suffixes marked different case or role relations between the verb and its direct object. Some verbs could select either suffix, while others were compatible with only one. The determining factors were probably semantic (Pawley 1973). This process probably does not need to be illustrated here; for examples, refer to Pawley (1973) or any general description of Oceanic syntactic typology or history.

Paamese, along with some other Oceanic languages of Melanesia, it would also appear, has lost the original *-Caki(ni) suffix altogether, and retains *-Ci in only a rather small number of residual forms. The result is that, in modern Paamese, there are about five attested transitive/intransitive pairs of verbs distinguished by the suffix -si, a further five distinguished by -ti, and a large number (possibly a couple of dozen) distinguished by the suffix -ni. Those intransitive verbs which have corresponding transitive forms in -ti are given below, with their transitive forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tau defecate</td>
<td>tau-ti defecate on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siho have diarrhea</td>
<td>siho-ti defecate on with runny faeces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sii fart</td>
<td>sii-ti fart on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kahi make pudding</td>
<td>kahi-ti make into pudding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luva free, undone</td>
<td>luva-ti release, undo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and those which have corresponding transitive forms in -si are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tangi cry</td>
<td>tangi-si bewail, cry for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hela step</td>
<td>hela-si step on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mea urinate</td>
<td>mea-si urinate on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hau carry</td>
<td>hau-si carry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ua hit</td>
<td>ua-si hit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, some of those transitive/intransitive pairs distinguished by the presence or absence of -ni are presented:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>saki do</td>
<td>saki-ni cause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umo work</td>
<td>umo-ni do</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saa give</td>
<td>saa-ni give</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soo throw</td>
<td>soo-ni throw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tio push</td>
<td>tio-ni push</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tivi throw down</td>
<td>tivi-ni throw down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hite speak</td>
<td>hite-ni say</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(and a limited number of others).
It should also be noted that many of these intransitive roots have a very restricted distribution. Some only ever occur in reduplicated forms, e.g.

kahi-ahi *make pudding*  \hspace{1em}  hela-hela *step*  \hspace{1em}  mea-me *urinate*

The root luva *free, undone* only ever occurs with the residual stative derivative prefix ma- to give the morphologically complex form ma-luva. Most of the remaining intransitive roots only occur in a particular kind of verbal adjunct construction, in which only the final root in the series of adjuncts makes a transitive/intransitive distinction, e.g.

\begin{verbatim}
(1) Naso  \hspace{1em}  lāti.1
na-soo \hspace{1em}  lāti-e
1sg.realis.\text{throw}  \hspace{1em}  \text{outwards}.3sg
\end{verbatim}

I threw it out.

Of the intransitive forms listed above, only tau *defecate*, siho *have diarrhoea*, sīi *fart*, tangi *cry* and umo *work* are found in the normal syntactic slots occupied by any other intransitive verb. The overall effect of the restriction of the syntactic function of these intransitive verb roots is to make this syntactic process even less productive than it would appear to be from the forms given above.

(It should also be noted that there is a single transitive/intransitive pair that is possibly related by a morpheme that may be derived from an earlier *'-Ca ki(ni), with the regular loss of *'-k in Paamese:)

\begin{tabular}{l|l}
Intransitive & Transitive \\
\hline
usa *rain* & usa-\text{ini} *rain on.*
\end{tabular}

The particular nature of the semantic relationship between an object and a transitive verb with -si/-ti/-ni is difficult to describe. As mentioned above there are only five pairs of verbs that can be semantically contrasted by being used in intransitive and transitive constructions. It would appear that in all cases, there has been considerable lexicalisation in the derived verb. So, compare for example the meanings of the following sentences:

\begin{verbatim}
(2) Kai mutau en tirausis onen.
kaie mutau eni tirausise one-ne
3sg 3sg.realis.\text{defecate}  spatial shorts possessive.3sg
He defecated on his shorts.

(3) Kai mutaut tirausis onen.
kaie mutau-ti tirausise one-ne
3sg 3sg.realis.\text{defecate}.\text{trans} shorts possessive.3sg
He shit his shorts.
\end{verbatim}

in which the first sentences suggests either deliberately defecating onto a pair of shorts, while the second explicitly expresses the idea that the actor accidentally defecated while wearing shorts. This verb, and the second verb in this class given above, is frequently used reflexively:

\begin{verbatim}
(4) Konetautik!
ko-ne-tau-ti-ko
2sg.potential.\text{defecate}.\text{trans}.2sg
Look out or you'll shit yourself!
\end{verbatim}

A second example however, shows that this kind of relationship is not general for this class of verbs. Compare:
They are crying.

They are crying for some peanuts.

where we have the transitive and intransitive forms of the form tangi cry, and a semantic relationship of a quite different kind.

3. OUTLINE OF PAAMESE CLAUSE STRUCTURE

The word order of Paamese is rigidly S-V-O (except that as in many Oceanic languages, any post-verbal noun phrase can be fronted to the left of the subject if a pronominal trace is left to mark the syntactic function of the unmarked fronted noun phrase). Noun phrase roles that are not expressed as subjects or objects are expressed mostly by means of prepositionally marked noun phrases following the object, or following the verb in the case of intransitive clauses. (Some syntactically peripheral roles are also expressed by constructions resembling possessive constructions, but they will not be further mentioned in the present paper.)

There are five prepositional forms in Paamese: eni, teni, rani, veni and mini. These mark nine distinct cases. The marking for each of these cases by the five prepositions depends on the semantic category of the noun phrase, as shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Human</th>
<th>Non-human</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. punctual dative</td>
<td>mini</td>
<td>mini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. areal dative</td>
<td>veni</td>
<td>veni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. causal</td>
<td>eni/veni</td>
<td>eni/veni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. purposive</td>
<td>eni</td>
<td>eni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. relative</td>
<td>teni</td>
<td>teni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. ablative</td>
<td>rani</td>
<td>rani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. spatial</td>
<td>eni</td>
<td>eni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. referential</td>
<td>mini</td>
<td>eni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. oblique</td>
<td>eni</td>
<td>eni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The semantic range covered by each of these cases is outlined below, with examples.

There are two morphologically distinct cases that we would want to call dative in that they express some kind of goal or physical effect upon an entity, these being the 'punctual' and 'areal' datives. The punctual dative differs from the areal dative in that while the former expresses an actual direct physical effect upon the goal, the latter expresses a more indirect, distant effect upon the goal, e.g.

I gave him my radio (such that he took it and it became his).
Onomo possessive.2sg film.too lsg.realis.give.trans.3sg ar.dat
Rei Kalimo.
Rei Kalimoo
Ray Gallimore
I delivered your film to Ray Gallimore's too (though I didn't necessarily give it to him personally).

The causal indicates the cause or reason for which an event takes place, e.g.

Rovan'ian ven molatin kail.
ro-va-ani-ani veni molatine kaile
lpl.incl.immediate.eat.redup caus person pl
Let's eat in honour of these people.

The purposive expresses the general idea that the agent of an action is engaged in some motion towards a goal or indulges in the activity with the intention of doing something to that entity, e.g.

Kai mai enau.
kaie mai eni-nau
3sg 3sgr.realis.come purposive.lsg
He came to (get) me.

The relative expresses something as a particular characteristic of some event or entity, e.g.

Kai vas ten siisel.
kaie vasu teni siisele
3sg 3sgr.realis.give birth relative road
She gave birth to the road (i.e. she gave birth to an illegitimate child).

The ablative case expresses basically the idea of motion or location away from an entity, e.g.

Eas dupas ran ahang.
easu dupasu rani ahango
smoke 3sgr.realis.smoky ablative fire
The smoke is rising up from the fire.

The spatial case expresses a wide range of semantic roles relating to the spatial orientation of an entity. Most commonly, it expresses the location at which an event takes place, e.g.

Nadetengairil en atano.
na-detengairilu eni atano
lsg.realis.kneel spatial ground
I kneeling on the ground.

Semantically, the referential case is rather limited, expressing the entity in mind when an action is performed, e.g.

Sai mum tetohoni min Morasi.
Saie muumo tetohoni-e mini Morasi
Sai 3sgr.realis.do imitate.3sg ref Morasi
Sai did it in imitation of Morasi.
The oblique is a case with a very wide range of semantic functions about which very little generalisation can be made except that it often indicates the entity involved in an event either as a product or instrument essential to that event. It very commonly marks instrumental, as in:

(15) Naduvon aman en ahis.  
na-duvo-nV amanu eni ahisu  
1sg.realis.shoot.common bird oblique rifle  
I shot the bird with a rifle.

Examples of other roles marked by the same case are:

(16) Avis e kai en meteisau.  
a-vise-e kaile eni meteisau  
3pl.realis.call.proper 3pl oblique skilled man  
They call themselves 'meteisau'.

(17) Ateli evil en ara.  
atellī evilike eni ara  
basket 3sg.realis.full oblique lychee  
The basket is full of lychees.

(18) Tirausis onak mariso enik.  
̃tirausise ona-ku marisoo eni-ko  
shorts possessive.lsg 3sg.realis.big oblique.2sg  
My shorts are too big for you.

The identically marked oblique and spatial cases can be clearly distinguished syntactically. When the case-marked noun phrase is shifted or deleted by some syntactic process, and leaves an anaphoric trace, the nature of the trace that is left differs for oblique and spatial noun phrases. With oblique noun phrases, the trace is marked as a regular pronominal suffix attached to the preposition eni, e.g.

(19) Alalin voiāus apar kati  
a lahi nV voiāaus-se a-pare kati-e  
3pl.realis.carry.common rope.only 3pl.realis.tie tightly.3sg  
eni  
eni-e  
oblique.3sg  
They just took some rope and tied it up with it.

On the other hand, with spatial noun phrases, the trace left is in the form of the suffix -ene (with no pronominal marking), which attaches itself as a clitic to whatever constituent immediately precedes the shifted or deleted noun phrase, e.g.

(20) ̃Toose onom paterik tovuelien.  
̃toose ono-mo paterike tovueli-ene  
torch possessive.2sg battery 3sg.realis.none.spatial  
As for your torch, there are no batteries in it.

Contrast the grammaticality of these sentences with the clear ungrammaticality of the following:

(21) ̃Alalin voiāus apar katiēn.  
a-lahi-nV voiāaus-se a-pare kati-e-ene  
3pl.realis.carry.common rope.only 3pl.realis.tie tightly.3sg  
(22) ̃Toos onom paterik tovuel eni spatial  
̃toose ono-mo paterike tovueli eni-e  
torch possessive.2sg battery 3sg.realis.none spatial.3sg
4. DEVELOPMENT OF A TRANSITIVE SUFFIX

4.1 Ambiguity of -ni constructions

It can be seen from the preceding section that the preposition eni has the widest range of functions of all the prepositions, marking, as it does, the following cases:

(i) referential, with non-human nouns
(ii) oblique
(iii) spatial
(iv) purposive, with human nouns
and (v) causal

There is one other important fact in the behaviour of eni which distinguishes it from all the other prepositions, and that is the fact that it optionally becomes attached to the preceding constituent (whatever that may be) as a clitic, with the form -ni, e.g.

(23) Navîsainîk
    en
    na-vîsiï-ni-ko
    lsg.realis.teach.tr.2sg oblique French

(24) Navîsakinon
    Verânîs.
    na-vîsiï-ni-ko-ni
    lsg.realis.teach.tr.2sg.oblique French
    I am teaching you French.

Although -ni in (24) is phonologically part of the preceding word, it is syntactically part of the following phrase.

Given the fact that the basic constituent order in Paamese is S-V-O, one very commonly encountered clause frame is that in which there is an intransitive verb with a noun phrase in one of the above cases marked by eni (which will often have the clitic form -ni, attached to the preceding intransitive verb). Superficially therefore, the intransitive verb carrying the clitic -ni appears to have the same form as a transitive verb with an object, e.g.

(25) Nagul
    en
    na-gulu eni atâsi
    lsg.realis.swim spatial sea

(26) Nagulun
    en
    na-gulu-ni eni atâsi
    lsg.realis.swim.spatial sea
    I swam in the sea.

The status of the clitic -ni as a cliticised case marker rather than a verbal derivational suffix can easily be established by its behaviour in different constructions.

For instance, there is a suffix -tei which expresses the partitive, as illustrated by the following sentences:

(27) Asuv
    kai
    vaselûstei
    minik.
    asuvo kaie va-selusi-tei miniko
    chief 3sg 3sg.immediate.speak.part punctual dat.2sg
    The chief would like to have a word with you.

(28) Mâdei
    raiis.
    ma-ani-tei
    lsg.immediate.eat.part rice
    I would like to eat some rice.
The partitive is also obligatorily marked on verbs carrying the negative prefix *ro-*, e.g.

(29) Asuv kai varoselūstei minik.
    asuvo kaie va-ro-seluusi-tee mini-ko
    chief 3sg 3sg.immediate.negative.speak.part punctual dat.2sg
    The chief would not like to speak to you.

This partitive suffix is a final order inflectional suffix, following the few derivational suffixes in Paamese verbal morphology (e.g. the residual transitive suffixes mentioned above), and also following inflectional pronominal object suffixes, e.g.

(30) Inau naromutauttei tirausis.
    inau na-ro-mutau-ti-tee tirausise
    lsg lsg.realis.negative.defecate.trans.part shorts
    I didn't shit my shorts.

(31) Inau narolesikotei.
    inau na-ro-lesi-ko-tee
    lsg lsg.realis.negative.see.2sg.part
    I didn't see you.

When sentences (25) and (26) are negated, and the verb is inflected with the partitive suffix -tei, we find that the form -ni attaches itself as a clitic to the -tei, and does not occupy the slot of a derivational suffix. Thus:

(32) Narogulutei en atasi.
    na-ro-gulu-tee eni atasi
    lsg.realis.negative.swim.part spatial sea

(33) Narogulutein atasi.
    na-ro-gulu-tee-ni atasi
    lsg.realis.negative.swim.part.spatial sea
    I didn't swim in the sea.

Thus, while the affirmative sentences (25) and (26) appear to be structurally ambiguous between being analysed as intransitive with a cliticised preposition attached, and a transitive construction with an unmarked object, in the negative form, the intransitive structure is clearly revealed.

A second piece of evidence can be found in the behaviour of -ni when it is used to mark a spatial noun phrase. From the preceding discussion, it will be remembered that eni/-ni marks a wide range of cases, one of which is the spatial case. It will also be remembered that when a spatial noun phrase is referred to anaphorically, this is marked by the form -ene, which is attached as a clitic to the immediately preceding constituent. If we shift the noun phrase atasi sea in (25-26) to the sentence-initial topic slot, the correct form is:

(34) Atasi naguluen.
    atasi na-gulu-ene
    sea lsg.realis.swim.spatial
    As for the sea, I swam in it.

The fact that the following sentence is ungrammatical:

(35) *Atasi naguluni.
    atasi na-gulu-ni-e
    sea lsg.realis.swim.-ni.3sg

indicates that -ni is clearly still being treated in (26) as a cliticised preposition, despite the superficial ambiguity between this construction and a transitive verb construction.
4.2 Reanalysis of -ni

The status of -ni as a cliticised form of the multifunctional case marker eni is currently undergoing reanalysis in Paamese. We have already seen that the productivity of the Proto-Oceanic clause-level process of promoting syntactically peripheral noun phrases to the syntactically nuclear slot of object has been lost with the loss of the *Ci- and *-Cak i(ni) suffixes. One might, therefore, expect speakers to devise some kind of means for promoting a noun phrase into a position of syntactic prominence.

The ambiguity of such constructions in some environments, as we have already seen, provides an obvious possibility for reanalysis as a transitive construction. The preposition eni marks such a wide range of semantic functions (i.e. five separate cases), that it could not be reasonably argued that speakers are operating with a general semantic role here; rather, speakers presumably regard these various functions of eni as involving homonymy. The development of yet another function for -ni would therefore not destroy or radically alter any neat system, as the system was already apparently quite vague and asymmetrical.

Possibly another important motivation in this reanalysis is the fact that of the few examples of verbs with transitive markers still attested, most of these in fact use the marker -ni. Perhaps by reanalysing the clitic -ni as a derivational suffix, speakers are trying to reassert the full productivity of a morphological process they feel to be not quite dead, but still marginally productive.

Thus, reanalysis is taking place such that the cliticised preposition -ni merges functionally with the residual transitive suffix -ni. While it is not possible to decide from the surface form in the affirmative whether the cliticised -ni is functioning as an oblique case marker or as a suffix to promote non-patient noun phrases to the syntactically nuclear object slot, there can necessarily be no semantic contrast in the affirmative. In the negative however, the contrast is clear as the -ni will appear either in the derivational or clitic slots, and speakers do accept that there is a semantic contrast between transitive and intransitive forms. In the transitive form, the idea expressed is that the action of the predicate involves only the expressed object, e.g.

(36) Kai vange en vuas.
     kaie vangee eni vuasi
     3sg 3sg.realis.pregnant oblique pig

(37) Kai vangeen vuas.
     kaie vangee-ni vuasi
     3sg 3sg.realis.pregnant.oblique pig
     She conceived a piglet.

but:

(38) Kai rovangetei vuas.
     kaie ro-vangee-ni-tei vuasi
     3sg 3sg.realis.negative.trans.pregnant.part pig
     She didn't conceive a piglet.

(39) Kai rovangetei en vuas.
     kaie ro-vangee-tei eni vuasi
     3sg 3sg.realis.pregnant.part oblique pig
The contrast therefore seems to be that negation negates the entire proposition in a transitive clause, but only the object of the proposition in the intransitive clause.

While it is commonly the case that in Oceanic languages with a morphologically marked transitive/intransitive contrast, there is a difference in meaning related to the definiteness of the object noun phrase, this is not the case in Paamese. Compare the difference in meaning between (38) and (39-40) for instance, with the difference between the Fijian forms below:

(41) E gunu wai na gone.
   3sg drink water art child
   The child drinks water.

(42) E gunu-v-a na wai na gone.
   3sg drink.trans.3sg art water art child
   The child drinks the water.

The use of -ni as a transitivising suffix promoting oblique noun phrases from the syntactically peripheral prepositional phrase slot to the syntactically nuclear object slot is widely accepted by speakers of Paamese, and there is a great deal of consistency in speakers' judgements of grammaticality and of semantic distinctions between transitive and intransitive pairs of sentences. Although eni and its clitic form -ni also mark other cases, speakers are much more hesitant about accepting noun phrases in these other cases when they are promoted to the object slot in the same way. Occasionally, speakers can be heard using forms such as:

(43) Naroguludei atas.
    na-ro-gulu-ni-tei atas;
    1sg.realis.negative.swim.trans.part sea
    I didn't swim in the sea.

but many speakers would regard this as a mistake and offer (32) and (33) as a correction, indicating that for them, the -ni is still only a cliticised preposition. There are no speakers who will accept sentences with objects promoted in this way from the prepositionally marked purposive, referential and causal cases. So, for instance, sentence (10) can be negated as:

(44) Kai rōmaiteinau.
    kaie roo-mai-tei-ni-nau
    3sg 3sg.realis.negative.come.part.purposive.lsg
    He didn't come to (get) me.

but never as:

(45) *Kai rōmainatei.
    kaie roo-mai-ni-nau-tei
    3sg 3sg.realis.negative.come.trans.lsg.part
5. PARALLELS IN OTHER OCEANIC LANGUAGES

While most Oceanic languages have retained in a fairly intact form the original system of transitive suffixes, there is a number of Melanesian Oceanic languages which have apparently lost these suffixes. In this section, we will look at a small number of other such languages for which syntactic data is available, in which there has been some kind of syntactic reanalysis in some way paralleling the developments we have been looking at for Paamese.

5.1 Big Nambas

The language of the Big Nambas people of north Malekula in Vanuatu has been described in Fox (1979). Fox actually makes no reference to transitive suffixes of any kind in his grammar. This language would appear to have lost the Proto-Oceanic transitive suffixes in the same way as Paamese. It is impossible to say whether this indicates a close degree of relationship between Paamese and Big Nambas within the North Hebridean subgroup, as distinct from other North Hebridean languages such as Mota which have retained the original system, or whether the loss took place independently in the two languages.

In Big Nambas, there is a small number of prepositions marking the syntactically peripheral cases as in Paamese. The preposition with the widest range of semantic functions as a/an- (which may not be cognate with the Paamese preposition eni), marking as it does the locative, allative, instrumental and dative roles, e.g.

(46) I-l’ak a nadepl.2 3sg.realis.sit on ground
He sat on the ground.

(47) I-tu su lua a lip’ah. 3sg.realis.give bone pig to dog
He gave the pork bone to the dog.

(48) I-rp-i a nai. 3sg.realis.hit.3sg inst stick
He hit him with a stick.

(49) M-a-tu an-r. 2sg.irrealis.give to.3pl
Don’t give it to them.

Fox nowhere speaks of any means of deriving transitive from intransitive verbs in his grammar. There is, however, one example attested in which there is a formally intransitive verb with a following a/an- phrase of the following type:

(50) I-utakm an-i. 3sg.realis.spoil ? 3sg
He spoiled it.

in which the preposition appears to be marking a patient role, and not any of the roles mentioned above. This example almost exactly parallels the Paamese:

(51) Gareni.
gaare-ni-e 3sg.realis.spoil.trans.3sg
He spoiled it.
in which the -ni transitivises the intransitive root kaare spoil, be inconsiderate, be rude. We have no access to the evidence, however, by which the the Big Nambas an- in (50) is treated as a separate word rather than as a derivational suffix. However, it seems to be clear that it is developing new functions not specifically noted by Fox, i.e. the marking of patient noun phrases where there is an associated actor, but where the verb is formally intransitive. This clearly represents an earlier stage through which Paamese could have passed in its reanalysis of eni/-ni.

5.2 Lonwolwol

The Lonwolwol language is spoken on West Ambrym, and has been described by Paton (1971). (This grammar also suffers from certain deficiencies, particularly the fact that the transcription system that is used appears to be phonetic rather than phonemic. Consequently, for typographical convenience, the confusing array of vowels will be reduced to a five vowel system. While recognising that this is probably misleading, it would probably also be misleading in another sense to give the purely phonetic forms.)

The commonest preposition in Lonwolwol is ne/e (which appears to be not cognate with Paamese eni and Big Nambas a/an). The allomorph e occurs after words ending in 1, while the allomorph ne occurs elsewhere. Paton (1971:83) describes ne/e as "the preposition of general reference", and it is used to mark the following functions:

(i) referential:

(52) Te horo ne lesu.
3sg speak about Jesus
He spoke about Jesus.

(ii) relative:

(53) duan bogon ne wilan
custom all relative dancing
all the customs to do with dancing

(54) ral e halkuan
word relative salvation
the word of salvation

(iii) possessive:

(55) vere ne er
land possessive us
our land

(iv) locative:

(56) Nam du ne or Ambrim.
1sg live locative place Ambrim
I live on Ambrym.

(v) allative:

(57) Te van ne or Olal.
3sg go allative place Olal
He went to Olal.
(vi) instrumental:

(58) Tetae tan ne benbenu.
3sg hoe ground instrument hoe
He hoed the ground with a hoe.

(vii) passive agent:

(59) Sise bogon temaen ne ngae.
thing all made by him
All things were made by him.

Apart from the extremely wide functional range of ne/e as a preposition, Paton (1971:85) also notes that it is used as a "means of which many intransitive verbs become transitive". In Lonwolwol, verbs are almost always either specifically transitive or intransitive. To change transitivity, ne/e is used as a suffix. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ie wake up</td>
<td>iene awaken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te look</td>
<td>tene look for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geh work</td>
<td>gehne build</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naknak ready</td>
<td>naknakne prepare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gel do shopping</td>
<td>gele buy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(It should also be noted that a small number of verbs has a transitive suffix -he. The origin and significance of this is unclear, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>reng cry</td>
<td>renghe cry for, bewail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teba sweep</td>
<td>tebahe sweep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta chop</td>
<td>tahe chop</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few others also take -te:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Transitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ho arrive</td>
<td>hote arrive at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tangro come loose</td>
<td>tangrote loosen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It could be that these are related to the Paamese residual transitive markers -si/-ti, as h appears to correspond in Lonwolwol to Paamese s quite regularly, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lonwolwol</th>
<th>Paamese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oh</td>
<td>ausa rain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuh</td>
<td>tisi write</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vih</td>
<td>ahisi banana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha</td>
<td>asaa what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vih</td>
<td>ehise how many</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The situation in Lonwolwol resembles very much that of Paamese. We have an 'unmarked' case-marking preposition being 'captured' by an intransitive verb to create a genuine transiti vising suffix on the verb. The interesting point is that the developments in Lonwolwol and Paamese would appear to be independent, as the preposition that undergoes reanalysis in each case appears to be unrelated. If we add to this the possibility of a third independent case of the same kind of change in Big Nambas, then our interest is increased.
6. CONCLUSION

This paper began as an attempt to describe the changes taking place in modern Paamese, whereby a new transitive suffix is developing out of a preposition that followed an intransitive verb. A number of possibly independently occurring changes of a similar type can be seen in other languages, and we have looked at Big Nambas and Lonwolwol.

Is there any general significance that we can attach to these facts? Perhaps one interesting point to come out of the discussion is the indirect support it provides for the development postulated for the history of Proto-Oceanic clause-level grammar by Pawley and Reid (1979). They are trying to account for the reconstructed clause structure of Proto-Oceanic, and to reconcile this with the reconstructed Proto-Philippines type clause structure, to produce a plausible Proto-Austronesian structure out of which the two apparently different constructions could have naturally evolved.

For Proto-Austronesian, they propose the following structure:

(i) There were two prepositions, *i and *aken, marking the location and accessory cases respectively.

(ii) There were four 'passive' constructions, with the verb being marked by different affixes, and the subject being in one of a number of different semantic relationships to the verb, according to the particular nature of this affix.

Pawley and Reid suggest that in Proto-Oceanic, the following two innovations took place:

(i) The 'passive' constructions were lost altogether. The original passive morphemes are retained only as nominalising affixes (sometimes residually).

(ii) The prepositions *i and *aken were 'captured' by the verb as the suffixes *-Ci and *-Cakî(ni) (with an associated shift in the morpheme boundary). This is quite plausible, they argue, given the verb and prepositional phrase order reconstructed for Proto-Oceanic.

What possible motivation could there have been for this syntactic reanalysis to take place? Not all languages, after all, have undergone these kinds of changes. Pawley and Reid themselves point out that in Toba Batak, these original prepositions have maintained a dual function as prepositions and as verbal suffixes. The essential features of those 'retaining' languages versus those which are 'reanalysing' are that the latter are precisely those in which the original passive options have been lost. The presence of a passive is clearly not a universal feature of human languages. Many Oceanic languages, for instance, have no such syntactic feature. However, one could argue, from the nature of the changes that are taking place in languages which have lost the passive, that there is some kind of structural pressure to create some kind of syntactic process whereby a syntactically peripheral noun phrase can be promoted to either the subject or object slot fairly freely. If a language loses this option, for whatever reason, then some kind of syntactic reanalysis can be expected to take place to fill the 'gap'.

The parallel between this series of developments and the developments in Paamese and Lonwolwol (and possibly Big Nambas) is fairly clear. What would be interesting is to see to what extent we can maintain these generalisations about the motivations for these syntactic reanalyses by comparing large numbers of languages.
NOTES

1. Paamese phonology is quite complex, with underlying forms that differ markedly from the surface forms. In the examples in this paper, we give the surface forms first in ordinary type, and the underlying forms are then given in capitals, directly beneath these forms. In the surface forms, the macron indicates vowel length, and the digraph ng represents a velar nasal.

2. The symbol p in Big Nambas represents the phonemically distinctive apicolabial stop.

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PAWLEY, Andrew  


PAWLEY, Andrew and Lawrence A. REID  

TRYON, D.T.  
1. INTRODUCTION

Sawai is an Austronesian language with approximately 15,000 speakers in south-central Halmahera, Maluku Utara, Indonesia. Dialects of Sawai are spoken in coastal villages from Mafa in the south to Patani in the east, and include Weda, Kobe, Peplis, Lelilef, and Gemaf, to name some of the larger villages. In addition to its use on the coast, Sawai is one of the languages spoken in Lukolamo, about five kilometres up the Kobe River. Although virtually all the people in Lukolamo speak Sawai, they also speak Tobelo (possibly a non-Austronesian language) and almost half identify themselves as Tobelo people.

Indonesian is spoken by all the people in this area, and many have a good knowledge of Tobelo and Buli as well, and a few can also speak Tidorean, Makian, and even Ternatean.

The data on Sawai presented here were collected in Kobe between July 1978 and June 1979. Kobe is recognised by local people as the centre of the Sawai area and is thought to be the most conservative village in terms of language and culture.

The economy of the people of Kobe is based on small-scale horticulture and fishing. Sago is the staple, with cassava, sweet potatoes, corn, leafy and leguminous vegetables and fruit also important in the diet. Fish and shellfish are the major sources of protein, but wild pig and deer are also taken. The small-scale cash economy is dominated by copra production, but the cultivation of cloves and chocolate is becoming more common and they may even supplant copra as the major cash crop in the distant future.

Although Kobe is outside the mainstream of government modernisation efforts, the use of Indonesian in schools, churches, and administrative matters has already led to extensive borrowing in Sawai. While the vocabulary has been affected, however, the syntactic system of Sawai remains quite distinct. In fact, the Indonesian spoken in the area is noticeably influenced by Sawai sentence patterns and would be an interesting topic for future linguistic study.
2. DESCRIPTION

There are seven pronouns in Sawai consisting of first, second, and third person singular and plural, with the first person plural split as in Indonesian between inclusive and exclusive forms. These pronouns and their glosses are provided below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>ite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au</td>
<td>ame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>meu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The occurrence of the above pronouns in various grammatical positions in Sawai sentences is common, but their use in the particular environment considered here is not obligatory. Omission of the pronoun itself in this situation is possible because of the existence of pronominal verbal prefixes. Unlike the pronouns themselves, the pronominal prefixes may not be omitted, as indicated in the following sentences:

1. (Ya) k - pak niwe pa. I 1SG climb coconut NEGATIVE I don't climb coconut trees.
2. (Au) m - pak niwe pa. You 2SG climb coconut NEGATIVE You don't climb coconut trees.
3. (I) n - pak niwe pa. He/she/it 3SG climb coconut NEGATIVE He/she/it doesn't climb coconut trees.
4. (Ite) t - pak niwe pa. We (INCL) 1PL (INCL) climb coconut NEGATIVE We (INCL) don't climb coconut trees.
5. (Ame) k - pak niwe pa. We (EXCL) 1PL (EXCL) climb coconut NEGATIVE We (EXCL) don't climb coconut trees.
6. (Meu) f - pak niwe pa. You all 2PL climb coconut NEGATIVE You all don't climb coconut trees.
7. (Si) r - pak niwe pa. They 3PL climb coconut NEGATIVE They don't climb coconut trees.

From the above it is seen that each optional pronoun is represented by a pronominal prefix regardless of whether the pronoun itself is included in the sentence. Further, each pronominal prefix is unique, with the exception of the first person singular and first person plural exclusive prefix k-.

With the addition of the sentences below it is seen that the pronominal prefixes may also represent the person of noun phrases (NP) other than pronouns in what is assumed to be the same environment.

8. Ai womo n - pun yao enje. wood end 3SG hit dog that The piece of wood hit the dog.
(9) Ngennan \textit{n-} \textit{fa-} \textit{gis} \textit{ya}.
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{sun} & 3PL cause \textit{burn} \\
\textit{The sun} & burned \textit{me}.
\end{tabular}

Clearly, the pronominal prefixes identify or agree with the person of particular NPs in sentences 1-9 above regardless of whether or not they are actually pronouns. In so doing they indicate that the NP identified by the prefix stands in a unique relationship with the verb in that sentence. The third person singular pronominal prefix in sentence 9 indicates that it is the \textit{sun} rather than \textit{I} which stands in this relationship. Thus, the prefixes are not merely agreement particles, but are grammatical markers.

3. ANALYSIS

In sentences 1-9 NPs in a particular grammatical role are singled out by the pronominal verbal prefixes. In the English glosses these NPs are subjects, and it is reasonable to assume that their role in the corresponding Sawai sentences may be analogous, though not necessarily identical. In languages which are syntactically governed by a case system (e.g. the Indo-European languages) the subject of the sentence is identified through the cases for which the NPs are marked. This restricted, syntactic definition of the subject is not well suited for a description of the NPs under consideration in Sawai.

NPs in Sawai and in other Austronesian languages are not syntactically marked for membership in particular cases. If the term 'subject' is to be used then it must be with a greatly generalised syntactic definition, or it must be based on semantic considerations. The syntactic and semantic imprecision which may allow comparisons of 'subjects' in languages as different as Sawai and English makes it useless for an internal syntactic study such as this, so the term 'subject' will not be employed here in favour of its Austronesian analogue: the focal noun phrase.

Sawai, like other Austronesian languages, is syntactically describable in terms of what is commonly referred to as the Focus System. In this system NPs are grammatically marked as being either focal or non-focal regardless of any real or imagined semantic case membership, and the focused NP/verb pair is grammatically marked for one of a restricted number of semantic orientations by a verbal affix. Within this system the focal NP, regardless of the orientation of the NP/verb pair, is found in a somewhat similar environment to and may have a similar role as the subject in Indo-European languages.

Given the above, three assumptions might be made for the role of the pronominal prefixes in sentences 1-9. First, the pronominal prefixes might mark the focal NP through agreement in person; second, it might be suggested that the prefixes mark one of the foci of Sawai sentences; or third, they might mark a particular class of NPs (such as the actor or agent) regardless of the focus.

The latter suggestion is untenable as will be seen through an examination of the sample sentences below, but it is also very unlikely on the basis of comparative information from other focus languages. It will be remembered that there are commonly four types of focal relationships expressed in Austronesian languages: Actor Focus (AF), in which the focus of the NP/verb pair is oriented toward an actor/action relationship; Goal Focus (GF), in which the orientation is goal, object, or patient/action; Instrument Focus (IF), in which the orientation is instrument, cause, or reason/action; and Referent Focus (RF), in which the orientation is temporal or spatial specificity/action. Importantly,
in a focus language the non-focal NPs are not grammatically marked for any of these roles, but are only marked as being non-focal. Hence, marking a NP the same regardless of whether it is focal or non-focal, as was suggested above, is not consistent with the governing syntactic system.

The suggestion that the pronominal prefixes mark a particular focus is also unsupported, as is shown below through the consideration of sentences with a different focus to that of 1-9.

(10) Ngenengan n- fa - m - gis ya.
    sun 3SG CAUS GF burn I
    The sun burned me.

(11) Ya k - m - gis o ngenengan.
    I 1SG GF burn #A sun
    I was burned by the sun.

Sentence 1-9 are in Actor Focus, while sentences 10 and 11 are in Goal Focus; that is, the verb has been marked in the latter (by the -m- infix) to show that the orientation of the focal NP/verb pair is on their object, patient, or goal/action relationship. Regardless of the shift in focus, though, the pronominal prefix consistently marks the focal NP. Note that the non-focal NP in sentence 11, logically a non-focal actor, is grammatically marked by the particle o.

In sentence 11 the Goal Focus orientation is obvious because of the ability to gloss the sentence accurately in English. In sentence 10, on the other hand, the English gloss makes sun appear to be an actor (semantically) as it does in 9 where it is marked as an actor syntactically. The meanings of sentences 9 and 10 are in fact quite different as the grammatical markers indicate. While in 9 the meaning is accurately reflected in the gloss, in 10 it is the sun’s being made to burn which is in focus, the actor (if conceptually necessary) is unspecified, and I was merely affected by the event. As an aside, this is quite a popular construction in Sawai for describing many accidental events, as a comparison of 12 and 13 will indicate.

(12) Au m - fa - gis fos.
    you 2SG CAUS burn rice
    You burned the rice.

(13) Au m - fa - m - gis fos.
    you 2SG CAUS GF burn rice
    You burned the rice.

Sentence 12 is a clear statement of who caused the rice to be burned. It is in Actor Focus and you are identified by the pronominal prefix as the actor. Because of its bluntness sentence 12 would not normally be used in conversation, instead sentence 13 would be chosen to express the event. 13 is in Goal Focus, with you the object, patient, or goal so that the connotation of the sentence is that you were made to burn the rice by circumstances beyond your control. In the latter sentence, you are in a sense quite blameless and unspecified circumstances may be considered the ‘actor’.

To return to the original question of what is marked by the pronominal prefixes, it is obvious from AF sentences 1-9 and 12, and GF sentences 10, 11, and 13 that it is the focal NP which is indicated by the pronominal prefix regardless of the focus. The focus of the sentence is indicated by another set of verbal affixes, / marking AF and the -m- infix marking GF.
4. CONCLUSION

This brief look at the pronominal prefixes in Sawai is not intended to be an in-depth study of the Sawai syntactic system, but rather an initial examination of the system through one of its parts. Although limited in scope, these superficial observations allow a glimpse of several interesting facets of the focus system in Sawai.

For example, an examination of the sentences presented here reveals that the focal NP in Sawai is commonly the initial NP in the sentence. This seems to be true of the language as a whole although preposing non-focal NPs is allowed in order to emphasise them. This is quite unlike many focal languages, in which the word order is relatively free, but the reasons for this apparent rigidity are as yet unknown.

A second interesting point is that non-focal actors are seldom expressed in Sawai sentences. Examples such as 11 are quite rare, and when they do occur the non-focal actor is consistently marked with the particle 0 (hence its gloss). Because of this absence it first appeared that Sawai contained only 'active' sentences. With further study, however, and an understanding of the implications of constructions like 9-10, and 12-13, it is apparent that as in the case of Indonesian an active/passive syntactic dichotomy is not sufficient for the description of Sawai sentences. There are clearly too many alternatives for such a generalisation to be particularly meaningful.

In conclusion, the syntactic organisation of Sawai can be economically described through use of the Focus System framework which has been developed for other Austronesian languages. Within the framework of this system a set of grammatical particles indicating the focal and non-focal NPs is expected as well as a set of verbal affixes to indicate the particular focus. In Sawai it has been shown that the pronominal prefixes undoubtedly mark the focal NPs while the non-focal NPs may be shown in other studies to be marked quite differently. In addition, although the four-focus system common to many Austronesian languages has not been described in Sawai, two foci (AF and GF) have been discussed and the remaining ones will be presented in more complete syntactic studies. Through this work, and future ones on little-known but important groups of Austronesian languages, it is hoped that investigators will soon be able to approach the construction of a syntactic model of Austronesian languages as a whole.

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Preface

Indonesian has always been called a democratic language. It does not have any special forms to indicate linguistic levels as those in Javanese.

Is this democratic attitude in our present-day Indonesian also shown in Malay classical literature, especially in its manuscripts? Research carried out on several manuscripts shows that Malay literature does not have this democratic attitude. This fact can be understood if we bear in mind that Malay literature was a product of a period when feudalism was still powerful.

Similarly, some of our present-day vocabulary, e.g. nouns, personal pronouns, adjectives and verbs, reflects this social hierarchy of former times. This paper will restrict itself to an examination of personal pronouns found in a number of manuscripts.

The manuscripts chosen for my research on the personal pronouns are 17th century manuscripts, i.e. the *Hikayat Sri Rama* [The story of Sri Rama] (AI: see Achadiati Ikram 1978), the *Hikayat Indraputra* [The story of Indraputra] (RM: see Rujiat Mulyadi 1980), the *Sejarah Melayu* [The Malay annals] (S&T: see Situmorang and Teeuw 1952) and the *Bustan as-Salatin* [The garden of kings] (G: see Grinter 1979; I: see Iskandar 1966 and J: see Jones 1974).  

Out of the 23 manuscripts extant on the *Hikayat Sri Rama*, MS Laud Or. 291, preserved in the Oxford Bodleian Library, is one of the oldest manuscripts, dated 1633 (Achadiati Ikram 1980). Out of the 30 manuscripts extant on the *Hikayat Indraputra*, HS 124, one of the manuscripts preserved in the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde (The Royal Institute for Language and Anthropology), Leiden, is dated 1700 (Rujiat Mulyadi 1980). Besides the data collected from these two groups of manuscripts, additional data are drawn from the *Sejarah Melayu*, edited by Situmorang and Teeuw (1952), and from Sutadi's thesis (1969). The *Sejarah Melayu* edited by Situmorang and Teeuw is based on the one issued by Abdullah bin Abdulkadir Munsyi in Jawi script in Singapore in 1831. Bearing in mind that this is based on 'history', we might assume that Abdullah's edition does not deviate too much from the adaptation done by the Bendahara Paduka Raja, known as Tun Sri Lanang, in 1612. Data from the *Bustan as-Salatin* are collected from Grinter's dissertation (1979) and the editions of...
Iskandar (1966) and Jones (1974). The Bustan as-Salatin, consisting of seven chapters, contains many stories which can be used as models for kings. None of the manuscripts extant originates from the 17th century. However, I think the data on personal pronouns found in the editions of Grinter, Iskandar and Jones do not deviate too much from those found in the manuscripts of Nuruddin ar-Raniri. It is thought that ar-Raniri started to write this great work during the reign of Sultan Iskandar Thani of Aceh (1637-1641).

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Books on Indonesian grammar show that the Indonesian personal pronouns are divided on the basis of the following pattern: (a) first person singular and plural, (b) second person singular and plural and (c) third person singular and plural.

Personal pronouns for the first person are words used to refer to the speaker. Personal pronouns for the second person refer to the one(s) we are speaking to and personal pronouns for the third person refer to the one(s) we are speaking about. The choice of words used for the first, second and third persons, either singular or plural, depends on the social status, age, intimacy and the number of speakers on each side.

Personal pronouns for the first person

Aku and saya are usually listed as personal pronouns for the first person singular in the books on grammar. The plural forms are kita and kami. In addition, there are a number of words referring to the first person which are usually mentioned as pseudo personal pronouns (kata ganti semu or kata ganti yang tak sebenarnya).

Investigation shows that, apart from aku and saya, there are many other words which function as personal pronouns for the first person in our classical literature. In this paper the investigation is restricted to the Hikayat Sri Rama, the Hikayat Indraputra, the Sejarah Melayu and the Bustan as-Salatin.

In Table 1, I have listed words referring to the first person found in the four works already mentioned.

| SINGULAR² | HSR | HI | SM | BSG | BSI | BSJ | PLURAL | HSR | HI | SM | BSG | BSI | BSJ |
|-----------|-----|----|----|-----|-----|-----|---------|-----|----|----|-----|-----|-----|---------|
| aku       | +   | +  | +  | +   | +   | +   | kami    | +   | +  | +  | +   | +   | +   | +       |
| beta      | +   | +  | +  | .²  | .³  | +   | +       | kita  | +   | +  | +  | +   | +   | +   |
| diri      | -.² | -  | -  | +   | +   | +   | kita kedua | +   | -  | -  | -   | -   | -   |
| fakir     | -.³ | -  | +  | +   | +   | +   | kita sekalian | +   | +  | -  | -   | -   | -   |
| hamba      | +   | +  | +  | +   | +   | +   | kita sekalian | +   | +  | -  | -   | -   | -   |
| kita      | .²  | .³ | .³ | -   | -   | -   | +       | patik sekalian | +   | +  | +  | +   | +   | +   |
| kula      | .³  | -  | -  | +   | +   | +   | +       | patik semua | +   | +  | +  | +   | +   | +   |
| patik     | +   | +  | +  | +   | +   | +   | +       | sida sekalian | +   | +  | +  | +   | +   | +   |
| menira    | .²  | +  | +  | .³  | +   | +   | +       | +   | +  | +  | +   | +   | +   |
| sahaya    | .³  | -  | -  | +   | +   | +   | +       | +   | +  | +  | +   | +   | +   |
| sida      | +   | +  | +  | +   | +   | +   | +       | +   | +  | +  | +   | +   | +   |
Before I start to discuss personal pronouns for the second person, I would like to draw attention to several words in Table 1.

Aku is frequently used in our manuscripts. On the other hand, sahaya—which in Indonesian becomes saya—is only found in the Sejarah Melayu.

Aku and beta are used when the speaker considers himself equal to the counterpart. These words are also used when emotion is involved in the conversation. For instance, on occasions when people are very nice to others, with each other, and when the speaker wants to arouse pity.

Setelah raja menengar khabar itu raja pun amarah lalu bertitah, "Jika aku tiada menyerang Negeri Biruhasyapurwa, bukan aku laki-laki dan bukan aku anak Bramaraja." (AI:116)

When the king heard that news, he got angry and said "If I don't attack the country of Biruhasyapurwa, I am not a man and I am not the son of Bramaraja."

Hai nenekku, akulah yang bernama Indraputra... sebab aku datang kemari karena aku diterbangkan merak emas... (RM:261)

Hi granny! I am the one who is called Indraputra... the reason why I am here is that I have been flown by the golden peacock...

Bukannya Sagusadana, beta kera... Apatah daya beta karena tiada diajar ibu hamba memanjat. (AI:216)

I am not Sagusadana, I am an ape... What can I do since I was not taught to climb by my mother.

Baharulah sekarang beta bertemu dengan orang mencuri! (RM:531)

It is only now that I find a woman who steals!

The word diri for the first person is always followed by hamba or -ku.

Tuanku, apabila hamba menyebut nama Allah taala, maka lupalah hamba akan diri hamba. (G:104)

My Lord, if I mention the name of God the Almighty, I sure will forget myself.

The word fakir, used to refer to oneself both by the adaptor and the writer, is found only in the Sejarah Melayu and the Bustan as-Salatin.

Setelah itu maka dimulai fakirlah hikayat setengah daripada segala raja-raja yang bertapa... (G:87)

Thereafter I start the story which is also dealing with kings who live ascetic lives...

Setelah fakir menengar demikian jadi beratlah atas anggota fakir... (S&T:1)

Having heard that, my hands and legs became stuck...

The word hamba in its derived forms—as seen from the meaning of this word—generally places the speaker in a lower position than the one he is speaking to.

Maka semhah Rawana, "Jikalau hamba kerajaan demikian dianugrahakan Allah subhanahu wa taala, maka hamba perbuat segala perbuat yang salah... dibinasakan Allah pulang hamba dengan seribu kutuk." (AI:102)

Rawana said, "If God The Almighty presented me with such a kingdom and I had done bad deeds... God could destroy and punish me with a thousand curses..."
The man who strikes the gong came to see the minister and said, "I have been striking the gong for almost forty days ..."

In some cases, however, it is not unusual to find the word hamba used by a speaker who is higher in social status or older in age.

Maka sahut Balikasya, "Hai cucuku raja di keinderaan, sanya engkau cahaya mataku, akan bapamu buah hatiku. Apa kehendak ayahanda jikalau negeri hamba ini pun dikehendaki oleh Maharaja Rawana, sekarang hamba persembahkan dengan segala bala tentaranya." (AI:132)

Balikasya answered, "Hi my grandson in the land of indras, you really are the light of my eyes, your father is the song of my heart. What should I do, if this country is also be asked for by King Rawana; I will give it to him with the whole army."

Maka segala menteri itu pun berhimpun kepada perdana menteri musyawarat ... Maka ujar perdana menteri, "Ada hamba mendengar daripada nenek moyang hamba taktala itu hamba lagi kecil..." (RM:266)

All the ministers came together with the prime minister for a meeting ... The prime minister said, "I had heard from my ancestors when I was a child ..."

The word kita is used either in singular or in plural form. As the word hamba, kita can be used to lower the status of the speaker towards the one(s) he/she is speaking to. Besides, the word kita is also used by those who are higher, either in social status or age, towards those who are lower.

Surat dari bawah cerpu raja ... bahwa kita dengar Raja Malaka raja besar, sebab itulah maka kita hendak bersahabat dan berkasih-kasihan dengan Raja Malaka ... (S&T:138)

The letter of His Highness ... as we hear that the King of Malaka is a great king, that is why we want to become friends and love the King of Malaka ...

Maka titah Sultan Alauddin, "Katuhui olehmu tuan-tuan sekalian ... jikalau kita mati ... si Muhammad inilah rajakan oleh bendahara akan ganti kita..." (S&T:203)

King Alauddin said, "Let this be known by all of you ... if I die ... crown him by the bendahara to replace me as king."

Unlike hamba and kita — which have two possibilities in their usage — patik always places the speaker lower than the one he is addressing.

Bermula maka dayang-dayang itu pun ... berdatang sembah, "Ya tuanku, tiada la mau kembali patik panggil abantara itu." (RM:320)

First the maidens came ... and said, "My lord, that abantara does not want to return, (although) I have asked him to do so."
The commander said to the King of Pahang, "I really did kill my nephew, Sri Akar Raja, but I did not let people do anything more to him."

The same as patik, the words kula, menira, sahaya, and sida or sinda are used to make the speaker lower in status towards the addressee(s). The words kula, menira and sahaya are found only in the Sejarah Melayu whereas the word sida is found only in the Hikayat Sri Rama.

After Sang Aji Jayaningrat became King of Majapahit, the tapper came in to see him and said, "Why don't you keep your promise to me?"

Ki mas Jiwa answered, "All right, if you were a king."

"Who has cut down (the trees in) my very holy field?"

Badang answered, "I have done it."

"Whatever you say, I will obey...
I don't want to have anybody else as a master but you."

It is already mentioned that kita, as found in the Sejarah Melayu, can also be used in the plural sense and often followed by a reference to the number of people, e.g. kita kedua, kita semua and kita sekalian.

In the same way, kami often becomes kami sekalian. That may also happen to other words such as patik and sida which become patik sekalian, patik semua and sida sekalian.

Kami in old manuscripts is always used in the plural sense as in the Hikayat Sri Rama, the Hikayat Indraputra, the Sejarah Melayu and the Bustan as-Salatin. In this case it is different from kita which can also be used in the singular form.
Personal pronouns for the second person

There are many words in classical manuscripts which are used to refer to the second person. Engkau, kamu and kamu sekalian are usually mentioned in our books on grammar. Other words are usually classified as pseudo personal pronouns (kata ganti semu or kata ganti orang tak sebenarnya).

In all the four groups of manuscripts (the Hikayat Sri Rama, the Hikayat Indraputra, the Sejarah Melayu and the Bustan as-Salatin), words7 which could be classified as personal pronouns for the second person8 are as follow.

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<th>SINGUL R</th>
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<th>PLUR L</th>
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Encik and sampean appear only in the Sejarah Melayu. Encik is used by two speakers of a similar social status, whereas sampean is used by someone lower in status or in age towards someone more superior.

Maka orang Haru pun dekatlah; maka kata Tung Isap, "Orang kaya, marilah kita mengamuk!" Maka kata Sri Bija Diraja, "Sabar dahulu encik, belum ketikanya." (S&T:192)

So the people of Haru are approaching; Tung Isap said, "My lord, let us run amok." Sri Bija Diraja answered, "Have patience (you), the time hasn't come yet."

Maka sembah Pau Gema, "Mana titah tiada patik lalu; jikalau patik tiada mati, segera juga patik menghadap sampean andika betara." (S&T:175)

Pau Gema said, "I will carry out whatever you command me. If I do not die, I will immediately see Your Royal Highness."

Engkau and kamu are used in a conversation between two people equal, or considered equal, in social status and between two speakers of whom one is higher in social status than the other.

Maka sabda hadarat yang mahamulia kepada kejuruan pandai emas dan kejuruan pandai suasa, "Kamu salup raja nisyam itu dengan emas bepermata...!" (I:61)

His Highness said to the goldsmith and bronze-smith, "Plate that big tomb with gold and diamonds..."

Maka kepung orang itu, sekuasa kamu lawan, jangan lagi kamu taksir melawan orang itu ... (AI:109)

Surround that man, fight him with all your strength, do not think how hard it is to fight that man ...
Maka kata Sri Rama, "Hai Jagini, berdirilah engkau ..."
Maka kata Jagini, "Hai Sri Rama, berdirilah engkau dahulu!"
(AI:150-151)
Sri Rama said, "Hi Jagini, stand up ... Jagini answered "Stand up first!"

Among all the personal pronouns referring to the second person, only engkau is used to refer to God.11 In all the four groups of manuscripts, the word engkau in this sense is found only in the Bustan as-Salatin.

Ya Tuhanku, Engkau juga mengetahui bahwasanya hamba-Mu tiada memohonkan ke hadirat-Mu suatu daripada dunia akan bahagiannya diriku ... Engkau jua sebaik-baik menganugerahi rezeki hamba-Mu. (G:100)
O my God, only You know that Your servant does not ask for something in this world for his own property. Only You endow Your humble servant with the best of luck.

Diri which refers to the second person can stand on its own. In this sense diri is followed by tuan, or its derived forms, and -mu.

Maka ujar tuan putri kepada bidadari yang keenam,
"Pergilah diri pula minta baju kita ..."(RM:301)
And so said the princess to the sixth nymph, "Please go to fetch our garments ..."

Hai Raja Rawana, ngapa maka tuanbamba melakukan diri tuan demikian? (AI:143)
Hi Rawana, why have you done this to yourself?

Hai Ibrahim ibn Adham, apabila tuanbamba duduk serta orang pilihan dan segala fakir, maka jadikan diri tuanbamba upama bumi ... (J:18)
O Ibrahim ibn Adham, when you sit with the chosen ones and the fakirs, make yourself like the earth ...

Jadikan dirimu dalam dunia seperti dagang ... dan bilangkan dirimu itu daripada orang isi kubur. (G:104)
Make yourself the one that roams this world and put yourself among the dead.

The word tuan is usually used in a conversation between two persons equal in status. Tuan can also be used by someone higher in social status in his conversation with someone lower.

Maka kata Indraputra kepada tuan putri Mengindra Sari Bunga, "Baik tuan bersalin pakaian." (RM:531)
Indraputra said to Princess Mengindra Sari Bunga, "It is better to change your garments."

Apabila Sri Rama duduk, maka Berdana Citradana pun datang sujud lalu berdatang sembah ... Maka kata Sri Rama akan Berdana Citradana, "Ngapa maka tuan berkata demikian ..."(AI:181)
When Sri Rama sat down, Berdana Citradana gave him his homage and said ... Sri Rama then answered Berdana Citradana, "Why do you say that ..."

Only in its derived forms the word tuan is used to honour the one spoken to, i.e. tuanbamba, tuanku, duli yang dipertuan and paduka duli tuanku.
In the plural form, kamu is usually linked with the words kedua, sekalian or semua.

The use of the plural form of kita, referring to the second person, is only found in the Bustan as-Salatin as seen in the following example.

Maka tatakal dibaca sahifah itu, maka hadarat yang mahamulia pun mengucap syukurlah lalu dikurniai persalin akan Paduka Raja dan akan empat orang hulubalang itu. Maka sabda yang mulia, "Hendaklah kita mengiring kami ke Negeri Pasai!" (I:53)
When the epistle was being read to His Highness, he was happy and bestowed garments upon Paduka Raja and the four commanders. Then His Highness said, "Accompany me to the country of Pasai."

Personal pronouns for the third person

Ia, dia and (sekalian or segala) mereka are usually mentioned as personal pronouns for the third person in books on Indonesian grammar. Although they are not used as much as those of the second person, there is also a number of words used to refer to the third person, usually called pseudo personal pronouns (kata ganti semu or kata ganti yang tak sebenarnya). Personal pronouns for the third person in the manuscripts of the Hikayat Sri Rama, the Hikayat Indraputra, the Sejarah Melayu and the Bustan as-Salatin are listed in the following table.

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<th>TABLE 312</th>
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<td>PLURAL</td>
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Ia and dia are frequently used in manuscripts, either to refer to persons or things. In the four groups of manuscripts, ia and dia are also used to refer to persons high in social status.

Bahwa yang pertama-tama mengempukan Kerajaan Aceh Darussalam itu Sultan Ali Mugayat Syah. Adalah ia kerajaan pada Hijrah sembilan ratus tiga belas tahun. Ialalah yang pertama-tama masuk agama Islam ... dan ialalah yang terlalu perkasa ... (I:31)
The first king who reigned the Kingdom of Aceh Darussalam was Sultan Ali Mugayat Syah. He became king on the year nine hundred and thirteen. He was the first to convert to Islam ... and he was the almighty ... 

Hatta ... maka datanglah sebuah kapal ... Serta ia berlabuh, maka turunlah makhudm dari kapal itu, sayid Abdul Azis namanya, lalu ia sembahyang di pantai Melaka itu. Maka heranlah segala orang melihat dia ... (S&T:82)
One day ... a ship was approaching ... When it anchored, the captain descended from that ship. His name was Abdul Azis and he prayed on the beach of Malaka. Everybody was astonished to see him ...
The singular form of the third person pronoun is also used to refer to God. Dia is only used in the Bustan as-Salatin and only for translations of the Koran and the traditions.

Kembali lah kamu kepada Tuhan kamu ... dan berbuat amallah kamu akan Dia ... (G:145)
Return to your God ... and carry out good deeds for Him ...

Barang siapa mengasihi akan sesuatu, maka perbanyakinya menyebut akan Dia. (G:105)
Those who love (Him) should mention His name repeatedly.

Diri referring to the third person singular usually does not stand alone.

Maka ia berkata-kata ... "Demikianlah rupa raja itu hamba lihat." Maka ujar temannya, "Sungguhlah kata diri itu."
Maka Indraputrapun tersenyum mendengar kata segala anak-anak raja itu. (RM:349-350)
Then he said ... "The King I saw looked like that (person).
His friend said, "It is true what he said." Indraputra smiled when he heard the princes talking.

From the collected data about personal pronouns found in the Hikayat Sri Rama, the Hikayat Indraputra, the Sejarah Melayu and the Bustan as-Salatin, we can see that the word kita appears as personal pronoun for the first person singular and plural. It is also used for the plural form of the personal pronoun referring to the second person.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS IN THE COURSE OF TIME, 17th – 20th CENTURIES

What kind of changes do we have in our personal pronouns since the beginning of the 17th century? Are the frequently used personal pronouns in the past – especially those found in the Hikayat Sri Rama, the Hikayat Indraputra, the Sejarah Melayu and the Bustan as-Salatin – still very much used in our present Indonesian?

Personal pronouns singular

Among the personal pronouns listed in Table 1, only aku and saya – originating from sahaya – are still used in Indonesian. Recently, kita – which is found in the dialect of Minahasa – is also used as a personal pronoun for the first person in non-formal conversations. Hamba and patik are still used in narrating old literature. Beta is not used in Indonesian, except in a small part of modern poetry and in Ambonese dialect. Other words, i.e. diri, kula, patik, menira and sida are no longer used in Indonesian.

Kami, referring to the first personal singular, is not listed in Table 1. The reality is that now kami is frequently used to denote the singular form of the first person. In many cases, kami replaces saya in formal occasions.

Among the personal pronouns referring to the second person listed in Table 2, only engkau, kamu and tuan are still used in Indonesian. Engkau is still used to refer to God and it is often shortened into kau. Encik, diri, and sampean are not used any more.

Anda, a new word to communicate with the second person, has been coined in the last few decades.
Among the pronouns in Table 3, only diri is not used in Indonesian any more. Ia and mostly dia are still used to refer to God.

Beliau is not found in any of the four kinds of manuscripts. Instead of ia or dia, beliau is used to honour the third person.

Personal pronouns plural

Among the personal pronouns listed in Tables 1, 2 and 3, only kami, kita and mereka, denoting the plural form, are still found in Indonesian. Usually berdua, semua or sekalian are added to stress the number of persons involved.

Lately kalian becomes frequently used to denote the plural form of the second person.

NOTES

1. Quotations taken from other editions, which are still in the old spelling, are changed into the new spelling.

2. For the singular form of the personal pronouns, only words which appear in its basic form are listed.

3. A dot (.) in Tables 1, 2, and 3 means there are no such words in the manuscripts.

4. A plus (+) in Tables 1, 2, and 3 means the words can be found in the manuscripts.

5. Kinship terms used to refer to the first person, are frequently found in the Hikayat Sri Rama, the Hikayat Indraputra, the Sejarah Melayu and the Bustan as-Salatin. These words are (paduka) adinda, ayahanda, anakanda, (paduka) anakda, ibunda, (paduka) kakanda, and nenekku.

6. Besides hamba in Table 1, there are some derived forms like diperhamba (sekalian), yang diperhamba, hambamu, hamba-Mu, hamba tuan, and hamba tuanku.

7. Daku which never acts as a subject usually refers to the first person.

8. Kinship terms are frequently used to refer to the second person too. Among others are abang, (paduka) adinda, anakanda, (paduka) anakda, anakk (kedua), duli, duli paduka, (paduka) ayahanda, anak cucuku, bapa hamba, bapaku, bunda, ibuku, cucuku, (paduka) kakanda, manda, paman, nenekku.

9. Tuan in Table 2 — sometimes also written as tuhan — is found in several derived forms, such as tuanhamba, tuanku, (duli) yang dipertuan, (paduka) duli tuanku, tuanhamba sekalian, (segala) tuan-tuan sekalian, sekalian tuan-tuan.

10. Besides the derived forms of certain words and kinship terms, other nouns denoting the function and the social status of the person we are speaking to are also used, e.g. bendahara, laksamana, orang kaya, sri maharaja, tuan putri. Words to denote intimacy as saudaraku are also found.

11. Dikau is also used to refer to God in all the four groups of manuscripts.
12. Kinship terms used to refer to the third person are e.g. (paduka) adinda, ayahanda (bunda), anakanda, (paduka) anakda, anak da kedua, bapamu, bunda, (paduka) kakanda, and nenekda.

Besides kinship terms, nouns denoting the function and the social status of the third person are also used, e.g. bendahara, laksamana, and tuan putri.

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PUSAT PEMBINAAN DAN PENGEMBANGAN BAHASA

RUJIATI MULYADI, Sri Wulan

SITUMORANG, T.D. and A. TEEUW

SUTADI, J.B.

ZAIN, Sultan Muhammad
PERILAKU SUFIKS VERBA DIALEK OSING
Dendy Sugono

1. PENDAHULUAN


DENDY SUGONO


Di dalam tulisan-tulisan yang telah dibuat orang terdahulu, ternyata tidak terdapat pembicaraan perilaku sufiks verba dalam kata dan perilaku kata yang bersufiks itu dalam klausa. Oleh karena itu, tulisan ini mencoba membicarakan perilaku sufiks verba dialek Osing yang bersifat melengkapi tulisan-tulisan terdahulu.

2. RUANG LINGKUP DAN MASALAH

Berdasarkan ciri-ciri kontras di dalamnya, akar klausa dapat dibedakan menjadi akar klausa bebas (independent clause root) dan akar klausa terikat (dependent clause root) dan dapat juga dibedakan atas akar klausa deklaratif (declarative clause root), akar klausa interrogatif (interrogative clause root) dan akar klausa imperatif (imperative clause root) (Pike dan Pike 1977:39).

Dengan asumsi bahwa kontruksi bebas (independent construction) lebih dasar daripada variasi terikat (dependent variety) (Pike dan Pike 1977:39), pembicaraan perilaku sufiks verba dialek Osing di dalam kertas kerja ini dibatasi hanya pada verba di dalam akar klausa bebas. Di antara akar klausa deklaratif, interrogatif, dan imperatif dipilih akar klausa yang memperlihatkan ciri kontras verba yang ditandai oleh perbedaan sufiks. Akar klausa yang jelas-jelas menunjukkan ciri kontras verba-nya ialah akar klausa deklaratif dan akar klausa imperatif, sedangkan akar klausa interrogatif memperlihatkan persamaan verba dengan akar klausa deklaratif. Oleh karena itu, pembicaraan ini dibatasi pada verba dalam akar klausa deklaratif dan verba dalam akar klausa imperatif.

Kedua jenis akar klausa itu memperlihatkan ciri kontras yang ditandai oleh sufiks pada verba pengisi slot predikatnya.

Masalah pokok yang dibicarakan di dalam kertas kerja ini dituangkan dalam bentuk pertanyaan-pertanyaan berikut.

a. Dalam konstruksi manakah sufiks verba dapat hadir?
b. Bagaimanakah perilaku sufiks verba dalam kata?
c. Bagaimana pula perilaku kata yang bersufiks verba itu dalam akar klausa?

Adakah perubahan kelas ke-5ransitifan dengan kehadiran sufiks verba?

3. KERANGKA TEORI

Teori yang dipakai sebagai dasar analisis sufiks verba dialek Osing dalam kertas kerja ini adalah teori tagmemik yang dikemukakan oleh Kenneth L. Pike dan Evelyn G. Pike dalam bukunya Grammatical analysis.

Menurut Pike dan Pike (1977:21), tataran hirarki gramatika suatu bahasa dari yang paling tinggi sampai pada yang paling rendah meliputi (a) percakapan (conversation), (b) dialog minimum (exchange), (c) monolog, (d) paragraf atau gugus kalimat (sentence cluster), (e) kalimat, (f) klausa (clause), (g) frase (phrase), (h) gugus morfem (morpheme cluster), dan (i) morfem.
Pembicaraan perilaku sufiks verba tidak dapat dipisahkan dari masalah ketransitifan dalam akar klausa karena ketransitifan adalah ciri kohesi antarkonstituen di dalam akar klausa dan kohesi ketransitifan itu menguasai jumlah dan jenis konstituen dalam akar klausa (Pike dan Pike 1977:41). Oleh karena itu, perlu dibicarakan masalah ketransitifan dalam akar klausa sebelum kita memasuki pembicaraan perilaku sufiks verba dialek Osing.

Menurut Pike dan Pike (1977:39-47), di dalam akar klausa—bahasa Inggris—terdapat enam jenis ketransitifan, yaitu (a) akar klausa dwitransitif (bitransitive clause root), (b) akar klausa transitif (transitive clause root), (c) akar klausa dwitransitif (bi-intransitive clause root), (d) akar klausa intransitif (intransitive clause root), (e) akar klausa dwiequatif (bi-equative clause root), dan (f) akar klausa equatif (equative clause root). Pembagian keenam jenis ketransitifan itu didasarkan pada ciri-ciri kontras dalam akar klausa.


(e) Akar klausa dwiequatif, misalnya, (9) iyane ketok dihime ambika dia tampak semen kepada kamu (iyane dia merupakan subjek-item dan ambika dengan kamu merupakan adjung-skop) dan (10) Banyune kepangan nggoyi isi punecis buat saya (banyune ati gyo merupakan subjek-item dan nggoyi isi punecis merupakan adjung-skop). (f) Akar klausa equatif, misalnya, (11) anak isi punWis dadi Wong anak saya sudah menjadi orang (anak isi punecis saya merupakan subjek-item) dan (12) Lare iku ayu temenan anak itu cantik sekali (lare iku anak itu merupakan subjek-item).

Di dalam analisis tagmemik, seperti terlihat pada contoh-contoh itu, akar klausa dwitransitif mempunyai unsur pelaku, penderita, dan skop; akar klausa transitif mempunyai unsur pelaku dan penderita; akar klausa dwitransitif mempunyai unsur pelaku dan skop; akar klausa intransitif mempunyai unsur pelaku saja; akar klausa dwiequatif tidak mempunyai unsur pelaku—subjek-item—tetapi mempunyai unsur skop; akar klausa equatif tidak mempunyai unsur pelaku—subjek item—dan tidak mempunyai unsur skop. Dalam hubungan dengan akar klausa dwiequatif dan equatif, kedua klausa itu tidak mempunyai slot predikat tetapi mempunyai slot komplemen (complement) sebagai sifat subjek (character of subject). Supaya tampak jelas enam jenis akar klausa itu, berikut ini dimuat bagan yang dikemukakan oleh Pike dan Pike (1977:44).
Setelah dilakukan klasifikasi ketransitifan dalam akar klausa, dilakukan klasifikasi verba ke dalam kelas ketransitifan. Sesuai dengan fungsinya di dalam akar klausa, verba diklasifikasi ke dalam enam jenis ketransitifan, yaitu (a) dwitransitif, (b) transitif, (c) dwiintransitif, (d) intransitif, (e) dwi-equatif, dan (f) equatif.


4. SUFIX VERBA DIALEK OSING

Di dalam dialek Osing terdapat enam sufix verba. Dalam konstruksi verba indikatif terdapat dua sufix, yaitu (a) sufix -i dan (b) sufix -aken, sedangkan dalam konstruksi verba imperatif terdapat empat sufix, yaitu (c) sufix -a, (d) sufix -en, (e) sufix -ana, dan (f) sufix -na. Berikut ini dibicarakan satu demi satu enam sufix itu beserta perilakunya, baik perilaku sufix verba maupun perilaku verba yang bersufiks itu dalam akar klausa.

4.1 Suffix -i

Sufiks -i terdapat dalam empat macam konstruksi verba indikatif, yaitu (i) sufix -i berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₁ atau akar nomina₁, (ii) sufix -i berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₂, (iii) sufix -i berkombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif, dan (iv) sufix -i berkombinasi dengan akar adjektival₁.
4.1.1 Sufiks -i terdapat pada verba indikatif dengan konstruksi:
+N- AkrVT₁/AkrN₁ ±-i atau AkrVT₁/AkrN₁ ±-i, seperti: (13) ngambungi menciumi,
(14) ngeceti mengecati, (15) cethuti cubiti, dan (16) pakoni pakui. Di dalam
verba indikatif terdapat juga konstruksi: (17) ngambung mencium, (18) ngecet
mencecat, (19) cethut cubit, dan (20) paku paku. Sufiks -i yang berkombinasi
dengan akar verba transitif₁ (13, 15) atau akar nominal₁ (14, 16) berperan
sebagai penanda aspek (repetitif). Verba indikatif yang bersufiks -i (13-16)
ataupun verba yang tidak bersufiks -i (17-20) realisasinya di dalam akar klausa
memerlukan unsur pelaku dan penderita, seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S-Pel</th>
<th>P-Sta</th>
<th>Ad-Pend</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>wong iku ngambungi putune (N-ambung -i) orang itu menciumi cucunya cium orang itu menciumi cucunya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>iyane ngeceti gledhegan (N- cet -i) dia mengecati gerobak cat dia mengecati gerobak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>isun sing ngambung iyane (N- ambung -i) saya tidak mencium dia cium saya tidak mencium dia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S-Pend</th>
<th>Ad-Pel</th>
<th>P-Sta</th>
<th>Ko-Apos</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(15)</td>
<td>lare iku dicethuti emake (cethut -i) anak itu dicubiti ibunya cubit anak itu dicubiti ibunya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>pagere isun pakoni (paku -i) pagarnya saya pakui paku pagarnya saya pakui</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>iyane isun cethut (cethut) dia saya cubit cubit dia saya cubit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pada contoh-contoh itu terlihat bahwa verba yang bersufiks -i ataupun verba
yang tidak bersufiks -i termasuk kelas transitif. Hal itu berarti bahwa sufiks
-i tidak mengubah kelas ketransitifan dan kehadirannya dalam konstruksi verba
transitif indikatif bersifat tak wajib. Sufiks -i itu tidak dapat disulih
dengan sufiks lain. Verba transitif indikatif yang bersufiks -i itu dapat
dirumuskan sebagai berikut:

(a) VTIndAkt = + LInt |<N->| Int | AkrVT₁ | AkrN₁ | ± LInt |<--i> | PenAkt - | Pred - | PenAsp - (13, 14, 17, 18)
(b) VTIndPas = + LInt | AkrVT₁ | AkrN₁ | ± LInt |<--i> | Pred - | PenAsp - (15, 16, 19, 20)
4.1.2 Sufiks -i terdapat pada verba indikatif dengan konstruksi: +N- +AkrVT₂ +i atau +AkrVT₂ +i, seperti (21) nyilihi meminjamī, (22) nguwehi memberi, (23) kirimi kirimī, dan (24) silihi pinjamī. Di dalam verba indikatif terdapat juga konstruksi (25) nyilih meminjam, (26) ngirim mengirim, (27) kirim kirim, dan (28) silih pinjam. Sufiks -i yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₂ berperan sebagai pendwittransitif; keanggotaan akar verba transitif₂ amat terbatas. Verba indikatif yang bersufiks -i itu realisasinya di dalam akar klasa memerlukan unsur pelaku, penderita, dan skop seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

\[
\text{S-Pel} \quad \text{P-Sta} \quad \text{Ad-Sk} \quad \text{Ad-Pend}
\]

(21) Pak Guru nyilihi isun buku (N- silih -i)
   pak guru meminjam saya buku pinjam
   Pak Guru meminjam saya buku

(22) Embah nguweh Mamat klambi (N- uweh -i)
   nenek membiri Mamat baju beri
   Nenek memberi Mamat baju

(23) Emak isun kirimi pecis (kirim -i)
   ibu saya kirimi uang kirim
   Ibu saya kirimi uang

(24) iyane rika silihi sepedah baen (silih -i)
   dia kamu pinjam sepeda saja pinjam
   dia kamu pinjam sepeda saja

Verba indikatif yang tidak bersufiks -i (25-28) realisasinya di dalam akar klasa memerlukan unsur pelaku dan penderita saja, seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

\[
\text{S-Pel} \quad \text{P-Sta} \quad \text{Ad-Pend}
\]

(25) isun nyilih buku (N- silih)
   saya meminjam buku pinjam
   saya meminjam buku

(26) Bapak ngirim pecis (N- kirim)
   ayah mengirim uang kirim
   ayah mengirim uang


\[
(a) \quad \text{VDTIndAkt} = \frac{\text{LInt} \quad <N> \quad \text{Int} \quad \text{AkrVT₂} \quad \text{LInt} \quad <\text{-i}>}{\text{PenAkt} \quad - \quad \text{Pred} \quad - \quad \text{Pendw} \quad <\text{-aiken}>} \quad (21, 22, 29, 30)
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{S-Pel} & \quad \text{P-Sta} & \quad \text{Ad-Pend} \\
(33) & \quad \text{bute klapa ngrubuh umah} \quad (N- \text{rubuh -i}) & \\
& \quad \text{pohonnya kelapa merobohi rumah} \quad \text{roboh} & \\
& \quad \text{pohon kelapa itu merobohi rumah} & \\
(34) & \quad \text{genteng iku nebluki isun} \quad (N- \text{tebluk -i}) & \\
& \quad \text{genteng itu menjatuh ki saya} \quad \text{jatuh} & \\
& \quad \text{genteng itu menjatuh ki saya} & \\
(35) & \quad \text{elere rika lungguhi} \quad (lungguh -i) & \\
& \quad \text{kipasnya kamu duduki} \quad \text{duduk} & \\
& \quad \text{kipas itu kamu duduki} & \\
(36) & \quad \text{ploncone isun turoni} \quad (turu -i) & \\
& \quad \text{tempat tidurmya saya tiduri} \quad \text{tidur} & \\
& \quad \text{tempat tidur itu saya tiduri} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

Verba yang tidak bersufiks -i (37-39) realisasinya di dalam akan klausa memerlukan unsur pelaku saja seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{S-Pel} & \quad \text{P-Sta} \\
(38) & \quad \text{lare iku lungguh} \quad (lungguh) & \\
& \quad \text{anak itu duduk} \quad \text{duduk} & \\
& \quad \text{anak itu duduk} & \\
(39) & \quad \text{iyane turu} \quad (turu) & \\
& \quad \text{dia tidur} \quad \text{tidur} & \\
& \quad \text{dia tidur} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

Pada contoh-contoh itu terlihat bahwa verba yang tak bersufiks -i termasuk kelas intransitif, sedangkan verba yang bersufiks -i termasuk kelas transitif. Hal itu berarti bahwa sufiks -i mengubah kelas ketransitifan, yaitu mengubah intransitif menjadi transitif; kehadirannya di dalam konstruksi verba transitif indikatif bersifat wajib. Sufiks -i itu dapat disulih dengan sufiks -aken, seperti (40) ngrubuhaken merobohkan, (41) neblukaken menjatuhkan, (42) lungguhaken dudukkan, dan (43) turokaken tidurkan. Verba transitif indikatif yang bersufiks -i atau -aken itu dapat dirumuskan sebagai berikut.

S-Pel P-Sta Ad-Pend

(44) Paman ngresiki dongkar (N- resik -i)
mana membersihkan delman bersih

(45) bulane madhangi pesisir (N- padhang -i)
bulannya menerangi pantai terang
bulan itu menerangi pantai

S-Pend Ad-Pel P-Sta

(46) isun rika petengi (peteng -i)
saya kamu gelapi gelap
saya kamu tutupi

(47) sepedhahe isun resiki (resik -i)
sepedanya saya bersihkan bersih
sepedanya saya bersihkan

Beberapa contoh itu memperlihatkan bahwa verba yang bersufiks -i termasuk kelas transitif. Hal itu berarti bahwa sufix -i mengubah kelas ketransitifan, yaitu menjadikan transitif; kehadirannya di dalam konstruksi verba transitif indikatif bersifat wajib. Sufiks -i dalam konstruksi itu tidak dapat disulih dengan sufix lain. Verba transitif indikatif yang bersufiks -i itu dapat di­rumuskan sebagai berikut.

(a) VTIndAkt = + LInt | <N-> | Int | AkrAdj1 | LInt | <-i> | (44, 45)
   PenAkt - | Pred - | Penr -

(b) VTIndPas = + Int | AkrAdj1 | LInt | <-i> | (46, 47)
   Pred - | Penr -
4.2 Sufiks -aken

Sufiks -aken terdapat dalam empat macam konstruksi verba indikatif, yaitu (i) sufiks -aken yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif atau akar nominal, (ii) sufiks -aken yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif2, (iii) sufiks -aken yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif, dan (iv) sufiks -aken yang berkombinasi dengan akar adjektiva2.

4.2.1 Sufiks -aken terdapat di dalam verba indikatif dengan konstruksi:
+\text{N}+\text{AkrVT}/\text{AkrN}+\text{-aken} atau +\text{AkrVT}/\text{AkrN}+\text{-aken}, seperti: (48) nggawaken membawakan, (49) ngecetaken mengecatkan, (50) juwutaken ambilkan dan (51) paculaken cangkul. Di dalam verba indikatif terdapat juga konstruksi: (52) nggawa membawa, (18) ngecet mengecat, (53) juwut ambil, dan (54) pacul cangkul. Sufiks -aken yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif, (48, 50) atau akar nominal, (49, 51) berperan sebagai pendwitransitif. Verba indikatif yang bersufiks -aken itu realisasinya di dalam akar klausu memerlukan unsur pelaku, penderita, dan skop seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

\begin{align*}
\text{S-Pel} & \quad \text{P-Sta} & \quad \text{Ad-Pend} & \quad \text{Ad-SK} \\
(48) & \quad \text{Salamun nggawaken pacul Kakek} & (N- & \text{gawa -aken}) \\
& \quad \text{Salamun membawakan cangkul Kakek bawa} \\
(49) & \quad \text{iyane ngecetaken umahe Embah} & (N- & \text{cet -aken}) \\
& \quad \text{dia mengecatkan rumahnya nenek cat} \\
& \quad \text{dia mengecatkan rumah Nenek} \\
\text{S-Pend} & \quad \text{Ad-SK} & \quad \text{Ad-Pel} & \quad \text{P-Sta} & \quad \text{Ko-Apos} \\
(50) & \quad \text{klamble Nanang isun juwutaken} & (juwut -aken) \\
& \quad \text{bajunya Nanang saya ambilkan ambil} \\
(51) & \quad \text{sawah Embah dipaculaken Kabul} & (pacul -aken) \\
& \quad \text{sawahnya nenek dicangkul Kabul cangkul} \\
& \quad \text{sawah Nenek dicangkul Kabul}
\end{align*}

Verba yang tidak bersufiks -aken (52, 18, 53, dan 54) itu realisasinya di dalam akar klausu memerlukan unsur pelaku dan penderita saja. Oleh karena itu, verba itu termasuk kelas transitif, sedangkan verba yang bersufiks -aken termasuk kelas dwitransitif. Dengan demikian, sufiks -aken mengubah kelas ke-transitifan, yaitu mengubah transitif menjadi dwitransitif; kehadirannya dalam konstruksi verba dwitransitif indikatif bersifat wajib. Sufiks -aken itu tidak dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain. Verba indikatif yang bersufiks -aken itu dapat dirumuskan sebagai berikut.

\begin{align*}
\text{VDTIndAkt} = & \quad + \quad \frac{\text{LInt}}{\text{PenAkt}} + \frac{\text{N->}}{\text{Int}} + \frac{\text{AkrVT}}{\text{Pred}} + \frac{\text{Akr}}{\text{Pendw}} + \frac{\text{AkrN}}{\text{<-aken}>} + (48, 49) \\
\text{VDTIndPas} = & \quad + \quad \frac{\text{Int}}{\text{Pred}} + \frac{\text{AkrVT}}{\text{Akr}} + \frac{\text{LInt}}{\text{Pendw}} + \frac{\text{AkrN}}{\text{<-aken}>} + (50, 51)
\end{align*}
4.2.2 Sufiks -aken terdapat pada verba indikatif dengan konstruksi: +N- +AkrVT₂ -aken atau +AkrVT₂ -aken seperti contoh (29, 30, 31, dan 32) dalam pembicaraan sufix -i (lihat 4.1.2). Sufiks -aken yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif berperan sebagai pendwitransitif. Sebagaimana verba yang bersufiks -i pada konstruksi itu, verba yang bersufiks -aken realisasinya di dalam akar klausa memerlukan unsur pelaku, penderita, dan skop. Oleh sebab itu, verba itu termasuk kelas dwitransitif. Dalam hal itu sufiks -aken mengubah kelas ketransitifan, yaitu mengubah transitif menjadi dwitransitif; kehadirannya dalam konstruksi verba dwitransitif indikatif bersifat wajib. Rumus verba dwitransitif indikatif bersufsiks -aken ini sama dengan rumus verba dwitransitif indikatif yang bersufsiks -i dengan konstruksi yang sama, yaitu sebagai berikut.

(a) VDTIndAkt = \[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{PenAkt} & \text{Pred} & \text{LInt} \\
\text{<N-\ Int} & \text{AkrVT₂ \ LInt} & \text{<-i> \ <-aken>}
\end{array}
\]
\[ (29, 30) \]

(b) VDTIndPas = \[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{Pred} & \text{Pendw} & \text{LInt} \\
\text{Int} & \text{AkrVT₂} & \text{<-i> \ <-aken>}
\end{array}
\]
\[ (31, 32) \]

4.2.3 Sufiks -aken terdapat pada verba indikatif dengan konstruksi: +N- +AkrVI -aken atau +AkrVI -aken, seperti contoh (40, 41, 42, 43) dalam pembicaraan sufix -i (lihat 4.1.3). Sufiks -aken yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif berperan sebagai pentransitif. Verba indikatif yang bersufiks -aken realisasinya dalam akar klausa memerlukan unsur pelaku dan penderita. Oleh karena itu, verba yang bersufiks -aken dalam konstruksi itu termasuk kelas transitif. Dalam hal itu sufiks -aken mengubah kelas ketransitifan, yaitu mengubah intransitif menjadi transitif; kehadirannya di dalam konstruksi verba transitif indikatif bersifat wajib. Rumus verba yang bersufiks -aken ini sama dengan rumus verba yang bersufiks -i dalam konstruksi yang sama karena sufiks -aken dan sufiks -i dalam konstruksi ini dapat saling bersulih. Jadi, rumus verba yang bersufiks -aken sebagai berikut.

(a) VTIndAkt = \[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
\text{PenAkt} & \text{Pred} & \text{LInt} & \text{AkrVI \ LInt} \\
\text{<N-\ Int} & \text{<-i> \ <-aken>}
\end{array}
\]
\[ (40, 41) \]

(b) VTIndPas = \[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{Pred} & \text{Pendw} & \text{LInt} \\
\text{Int} & \text{AkrVI} & \text{<-i> \ <-aken>}
\end{array}
\]
\[ (42, 43) \]

Sufiks -aken dalam konstruksi itu (55-58) mengubah kelas ketransitifan, yaitu menjadikan transitif; kehadirannya dalam konstruksi verba transitif indikatif bersifat wajib. Sufiks -aken itu tidak dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain. Verba transitif indikatif yang bersufiks -aken itu dapat dirumuskan sebagai berikut.

\[
(a) \quad \text{VTIndAkt} = + \frac{\text{LInt} \quad \text{<-aken>}}{\text{PenAkt}} + \frac{\text{Int} \quad \text{AkrAdj}_2 \quad \text{LInt} \quad \text{<-aken>}}{\text{Pred} \quad \text{Penr}} \quad (55, 56)
\]

\[
(b) \quad \text{VTIndPas} = + \frac{\text{Int} \quad \text{AkrAdj}_2 \quad \text{LInt} \quad \text{<-aken>}}{\text{Pred} \quad \text{Penr}} \quad (57, 58)
\]

4.3 Sufiks -a

Sufiks -a terdapat dalam dua macam konstruksi verba imperatif, yaitu:
(i) sufiks -a yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif atau akar nomina\textsubscript{1} dan (ii) sufiks -a yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif. Verba imperatif bersufiks -a itu adalah verba yang tidak bersufiks di dalam konstruksi indikatif (lihat 4.1.1).

4.3.1 Sufiks -a terdapat pada verba imperatif aktif dengan konstruksi: +N- +AkrVT/AkrN\textsubscript{1} +-a, seperti (59) nggawaa membawalah, (60) njuwuta mengambililah, dan (61) macula mencangkullah. Sufiks -a yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif (59, 60) atau akar nomina\textsubscript{1} (61) berperan sebagai penanda imperatif. Realisasi verba imperatif itu dalam akar klausanya memerlukan unsur penderita seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{P-Per} \\
\text{Ad-Pend}
\end{array}
\]

(59) nggawaa sangu kang akeh \quad (N- gawa -a)
membawalah bekal yang banyak bawa
membawalah bekal yang banyak
(60) macula sawah kang kulon (N- pacul -a)
mencangkullah sawah yang barat cangkul
mencangkullah sawah sebelah barat


\[
\text{VTImpAkt} = + \frac{\text{LInt}}{\text{PenAkt}} <\text{N-} > + \frac{\text{AkrVT}}{\text{Pred}} \frac{\text{AkrN}_1}{\text{PenImp}} + \frac{\text{LInt}}{\text{Pred}} <\text{-a}> \quad (59, 61)
\]

4.3.2 Sufiks -a terdapat pada verba imperatif dengan konstruksi: +N- +AkrVI +a atau +AkrVI +a, seperti: (62) mlayua berlarilah, (63) tangia bangunlah, dan (64) menyanga pergilah. Sufiks -a yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif (62-64) berperan sebagai penanda imperatif. Verba imperatif yang bersufiks -a itu realisasinya di dalam akar klausa tidak memerlukan unsur penderita, seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

P-Per
(62) mlayua tah (N- playu -a)
berlarilah
berlarilah
(63) tangia tah solung (tangi -a)
bangunlah dulu bangun
bangunlah dulu
(64) menyanga tah dhewek (menyang -a)
pergilah sendiri pergi
pergilah sendiri


(a) VIImp = + \frac{\text{LInt}}{\text{PenAkt}} <\text{N-} > + \frac{\text{Int}}{\text{Pred}} \frac{\text{AkrVI}_1}{\text{PenImp}} + \frac{\text{LInt}}{\text{Pred}} <\text{-a}> \quad (62)

(b) VIImp = + \frac{\text{Int}}{\text{Pred}} \frac{\text{AkrVI}_2}{\text{PenImp}} + \frac{\text{LInt}}{\text{Pred}} <\text{-a}> \quad (63, 64)
4.4 Sufiks -en

Sufiks -en hanya terdapat pada satu macam konstruksi verba imperatif, yaitu terdapat pada verba imperatif pasif dengan konstruksi: AkrVT/AkrN₁ +en seperti: (65) gawanen bawalah, (66) juwuten ambillah, dan (67) paculen cangkullah. Sufiks -en itu hanya dapat berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif atau akar nominal, dan berperan sebagai penanda imperatif. Verba imperatif yang bersufiks -en itu adalah verba yang tidak bersufiks dalam konstruksi indikatif (lihat 4.1.1) dan juga verba transitif yang bersufiks -a dalam konstruksi imperatif aktif (lihat 4.3.1). Realisasi verba imperatif yang bersufiks -en itu di dalam akar klausu memerlukan unsur penderita, seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c|c}
\text{VTImpPas} & \text{Pred} & \text{Int} & \text{AkrVT} & \text{AkrN₁} & \text{LInt} <\text{en}> \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]


4.5 Sufiks -ana

Sufiks -ana terdapat dalam empat macam konstruksi verba imperatif, yaitu: (i) sufiks -ana berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₁ atau akar nominal₁, (ii) sufiks -ana berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₂, (iii) sufiks -ana berkombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif, dan (iv) sufiks -ana berkombinasi dengan akar adjektiva₁. Verba imperatif yang bersufiks -ana adalah verba yang bersufiks -i di dalam konstruksi indikatif (lihat 4.1.1 - 4.1.4).

4.5.1 Sufiks -ana terdapat pada verba imperatif dengan konstruksi: +N- +AkrVT₁/AkrN₁ +-ana atau +AkrVT₁/AkrN₁ +-ana, seperti: (68) njuwutana mengambililah, (69) nggawanana membawailah, (70) juwutana ambillah, dan (71) paculana cangkulilah. Sufiks -ana yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₁ (68-70) atau akar nominal₁ (71) berperan sebagai penanda aspek (repetitif) sekaligus sebagai penanda imperatif (lihat 4.1.1). Realisasi verba imperatif yang bersufiks -ana itu di dalam akar klausu memerlukan unsur penderita, seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.
Pada contoh itu terlihat bahwa verba imperatif yang bersufiks -ana itu termasuk kelas transitif dan kehadirannya dalam konstruksi verba imperatif bersifat wajib. Sufiks -ana ini tidak dapat disulih dengan sufix lain. Verba transitif imperatif yang bersufiks -ana itu dapat dirumuskan sebagai berikut.

(a) VTImpAkt = \[ LInt \langle N \rangle + P AkrVT_1 AkrN_1 \] + LInt \langle -ana \rangle \] (68, 69)  
\[ \text{PenAkt} - \quad \text{Pred} - \quad \text{PenImp} - \]

(b) VTImpPas = \[ Int AkrVT_1 AkrN_1 \] + LInt \langle -ana \rangle \] (70, 71)  
\[ \text{Pred} - \quad \text{PenImp} - \]

4.5.2 Sufiks -ana terdapat pada verba imperatif dengan konstruksi: +AkrVT_2 + -ana, seperti: (72) silihana pinjamolah, (73) kirimana kirimolah, dan (74) uwehana bertilah. Sufiks -ana yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif berperan sebagai pendwitransitif sekaligus sebagai penanda imperatif (lihat 4.1.2). Realisasi verba imperatif yang bersufiks -ana itu dalam akar klausau memerlukan unsur penderita dan skop, seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

(72) isun silihana buku tahi (silih -ana)  
saya pinjamolah buku  
pinjamolah saya buku  
Emak kirimana pecis (kirim -ana)  
ibu kirimolah uang  
kirimolah Ibu uang  
Mamat uwehana klambi (uweh -ana)  
Mamat berilah baju  
berilah Mamat baju

\[
\text{VDTImImpPas} = \frac{\text{Int}}{\text{Pred}} + \frac{\text{AkrVT}_2}{-} + \frac{\text{LInt}}{\text{Pendw}} + \frac{\text{Penr}}{\text{PenImp}} - \text{<-ana>} \quad (72-74)
\]

4.5.3 Sufiks -ana terdapat pada verba imperatif dengan konstruksi:
+AkrVI +-ana, seperti: (75) lungguhana dudukilah, (76) turonana tidurilah, dan (77) dandanana perbaikilah. Sufiks -ana yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif (75-77) itu berperan sebagai pentransitif sekaligus sebagai penanda imperatif (lihat 4.1.3). Realisasi verba imperatif yang bersufiks -ana itu dalam akar klausa memerlukan unsur penderita, seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

S-Pend  P-Per
(75) sikile lungguhana kakinya dudukilah (lungguh -ana)
dudukilah kakinya
(76) umahe turonana rumahnya tidurilah tidur (turu -ana)
tidurilah (bermalam) rumahnya
(77) pagere dandanana pagarnya perbaikilah menghias diri
perbaikilah pagar itu


\[
\text{VTImImpPas} = \frac{\text{Int}}{\text{Pred}} + \frac{\text{AkrVI}}{-} + \frac{\text{LInt}}{\text{Penr}} + \frac{\text{Penr}}{\text{PenImp}} - \text{<-ana>} \quad (75-77)
\]

4.5.4 Sufiks -ana terdapat pada verba imperatif dengan konstruksi:
+AkrAdj₁ +-ana, seperti: (78) resikana bersihkanlah (79) padhangana terangilah. Sufiks -ana yang berkombinasi dengan akar adjektiva₁ berperan sebagai pentransitif sekaligus sebagai penanda imperatif (lihat 4.1.4). Realisasi verba imperatif yang bersufiks -ana itu dalam akar klausa memerlukan unsur penderita seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

(78) dongkare resikana delmannya bersihkanlah berih
berikhanlah delman itu
jalan padhangana terangilah terang

\[ \text{VTImpPas} = \frac{\text{Int}}{\text{Pred}} + \frac{\text{AkrAdj}}{\text{Penr}} + \frac{\text{LInt}}{-\text{PenImp}} \] (78, 79)

4.6 Sufiks -na

Sufiks -na terdapat dalam empat macam konstruksi verba imperatif, yaitu (i) sufiks -na yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif1 atau akar nominal, (ii) sufiks -na yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif2, (iii) sufiks -na yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif, dan (iv) sufiks -na yang berkombinasi dengan akar adjektif2. Verba imperatif yang bersufiks -na adalah verba yang bersufiks -aken dalam konstruksi verba indikatif (lihat 4.2).

4.6.1 Sufiks -na terdapat pada verba imperatif dengan konstruksi:
+\text{AkrVT}1/\text{AkrN}1 + -na, seperti (80) gawakna bawakan, (81) juwutna ambilkan, dan (82) cetna catkan. Sufiks -na yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif1 atau akar nominal berperan sebagai pedwitransitif sekali-gus sebagai penanda imperatif (lihat 4.2.1). Verba imperatif yang bersufiks -na realisasinya di dalam akar klausa memerlukan unsur penderita dan skop seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

\[ S - \text{SK P-Per Ad-Pend} \]

(80) Bapak gawakna klambi kang anyar (gawa -na)
ayah bawakan baju yang baru bawa
ayah bawakan baju baru

(81) isun juwutna koran iku (juwut -na)
saya ambilkan surat kabar itu ambil
saya ambilkan surat kabar itu

(82) umahce Embah cetna (cet -na)
rumahnya nenek catkan cat
catkan rumah Nenek


\[ \text{VDTImpPas} = \frac{\text{Int}}{\text{Pred}} + \frac{\text{AkrVT}1}{\text{Pendw}} + \frac{\text{AkrN}1}{\text{PenImp}} + \frac{\text{LInt}}{-\text{PenImp}} \] (80-82).
4.6.2 Sufiks -na terdapat pada verba imperatif dengan konstruksi \( +\text{AkrVT}_2 +\text{-na} \), seperti (83) silihna pinjamkan, (84) kirimna kirimkan. Sufiks -na yang ber kombinasi dengan akar verba transitif berperan sebagai pendwitransitif sekali gus sebagai penanda imperatif (lihat 4.2.2). Verba imperatif yang bersufiks -na itu realisasinya di dalam akar klausa memerlukan kehadiran penderita dan skop seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{S-Pend} & \text{P-Per} & \text{Ad-Sk} \\
\text{(83)} & \text{sepedhahe silihna isun (silih -na)} \\
& \text{sepedanya pinjamkan saya pinjam} \\
& \text{sepeda itu pinjamkan saya} \\
& \text{pecise kirimna Emak (kirim -na)} \\
& \text{uangnya kirimkan ibu kirim} \\
& \text{uang itu kirimkan Ibu}
\end{array}
\]


\[
\begin{align*}
\text{VTImpPas} &= + & \frac{\text{Int AkrVT}_2}{\text{Pred}} & + & \frac{\text{LInt}}{\text{Pendw PenImp}} & <\text{-na}> \\
& & & & & (83, 84)
\end{align*}
\]

4.6.3 Sufiks -na terdapat pada verba imperatif dengan konstruksi \( +\text{AkrVI} +\text{-na} \), seperti: (85) rubuhna robohkan dan (86) turokna tidurkan. Sufiks -na yang ber kombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif berperan sebagai pentransitif sekali gus sebagai penanda imperatif (lihat 4.1.3). Verba imperatif yang bersufiks -na itu realisasinya di dalam akar klausa memerlukan unsur penderita, seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{S-Pend} & \text{P-Per} \\
\text{(85)} & \text{gubuge rubuhna (rubuh -na)} \\
& \text{dangauyna robohkan roboh} \\
& \text{robohkan dangau itu} \\
& \text{adheke turokna (turu -na)} \\
& \text{adiknya tidurkan tidur} \\
& \text{tidurkan adik}
\end{array}
\]


\[
\begin{align*}
\text{VTImpPas} &= + & \frac{\text{Int AkrVI}}{\text{Pred}} & + & \frac{\text{LInt}}{\text{Penr PenImp}} & <\text{-na}> \\
& & & & & (85-86)
\end{align*}
\]
4.6.4 Sufiks -na terdapat pada verba imperatif dengan konstruksi: +AkrAdj2 + -na, seperti (67) jerokna dalamkan dan (88) terusna teruskan. Sufiks -na yang berkombinasi dengan akar adjektiva2 berperan sebagai pentransitif sekaligus sebagai penanda imperatif (lihat 4.2.4). Verba imperatif yang bersufiks -na itu realisasinya di dalam akar klausa memerlukan unsur penderita seperti terlihat pada contoh berikut.

\[(87)\] sumure jerokna tah (jeru -na) sumanya dalamkan lah dalam dalamkanlah sumur itu
\[(88)\] cerita rika terusna (terus -na) cerita kam teruskan terus lanjutkan ceritamu


\[
VTImpPas = \frac{\text{Int} \quad \text{AkrAdj} \quad \text{LInt}}{\text{Pred} \quad - \quad \text{Penr} \quad \text{PenImp}} \quad \text{<-na> (87, 88)}
\]

5. KESIMPULAN

Di dalam dialek Osing terdapat enam sufiks verba. Dalam konstruksi verba indikatif terdapat dua sufiks, yaitu: (a) sufiks -i dan (b) sufiks -aken, sedangkan dalam konstruksi imperatif terdapat empat sufiks, yaitu: (c) sufiks -a, (d) sufiks -en, (e) sufiks -ana, dan sufiks -na.

5.1 Sufiks -i

Sufiks -i terdapat dalam empat macam konstruksi verba indikatif dengan perilaku masing-masing sebagai berikut.

5.1.1 Sufiks -i yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif\(_1\) atau akar nomina\(_1\) merupakan penanda aspek (repetitif); dalam hal itu sufiks -i tidak mengubah kelas ketransitifan.

5.1.2 Sufiks -i yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif\(_2\) merupakan pendwitransitif, yaitu mengubah transitif menjadi dwitransitif; sufiks -i dalam hal itu dapat disulih dengan sufiks -aken.

5.1.3 Sufiks -i yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif merupakan pentransitif, mengubah intransitif menjadi transitif; sufiks -i dalam konstruksi itu dapat disulih dengan sufiks -aken.
5.1.4 Sufiks -i yang berkombinasi dengan akar adjektiva1 merupakan penransitif, menjadikan transitif; sufiks -i dalam konstruksi itu tidak dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain.

5.2 Sufiks -aken

Sufiks -aken terdapat dalam empat macam konstruksi verba indikatif dengan perilaku masing-masing sebagai berikut.

5.2.1 Sufiks -aken yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif1 atau akar nomina1 merupakan pendwitransitif, mengubah transitif menjadi dwitransitif, sufiks -aken dalam konstruksi itu tidak dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain.

5.2.2 Sufiks -aken yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif2 merupakan pendwitransitif, mengubah transitif menjadi dwitransitif; sufiks -aken dalam konstruksi itu dapat disulih dengan sufiks -i.

5.2.3 Sufiks -aken yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif merupakan penitransitif, mengubah intransitif menjadi transitif; sufiks -aken dalam konstruksi itu dapat disulih dengan sufiks -i.

5.2.4 Sufiks -aken yang berkombinasi dengan akar adjektiva2 merupakan penitransitif, menjadikan transitif; dalam hal itu sufiks -aken tidak dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain.

5.3 Sufiks -a

Sufiks -a terdapat dalam dua macam konstruksi verba imperatif, yaitu (1) sufiks -a yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif atau akar nomina1 dan (2) sufiks -a yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif merupakan penanda imperatif (aktif); sufiks -a tidak mengubah kelas ketransitifan. Verba imperatif yang bersufiks -a adalah verba yang tidak bersufiks dalam konstruksi indikatif.

5.4 Sufiks -en

Sufiks -en hanya terdapat dalam satu macam konstruksi verba imperatif, yaitu berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif atau akar nomina1 yang merupakan penanda imperatif (pasif); sufiks -en tidak dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain dan tidak mengubah kelas ketransitifan. Verba imperatif yang bersufiks adalah verba yang dalam konstruksi imperatif aktif bersufiks -a.
5.5 Sufiks -ana

Sufiks -ana terdapat dalam empat macam konstruksi verba imperatif dengan perilaku sebagai berikut. Verba imperatif yang bersufiks -ana adalah verba yang dalam konstruksi indikatif bersufiks -i.

5.5.1 Sufiks -ana yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₁ atau akar nominal₁ merupakan penanda aspek (repetitif) sekali gus sebagai penanda imperatif; sufiks -ana dalam konstruksi itu tidak dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain.

5.5.2 Sufiks -ana yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₂ merupakan pendwitransitif sekali gus sebagai penanda imperatif; sufiks -ana dalam konstruksi itu dapat disulih dengan sufiks -na.

5.5.3 Sufiks -ana yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif merupakan penransitif sekali gus sebagai penanda imperatif; sufiks -ana dalam konstruksi itu dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain.

5.5.4 Sufiks -ana yang berkombinasi dengan akar adjektiva₁ merupakan penransitif sekali gus sebagai penanda imperatif; sufiks -ana dalam konstruksi itu tidak dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain.

5.6 Sufiks -na

Sufiks -na terdapat dalam empat macam konstruksi verba imperatif dengan perilaku sebagai berikut. Verba imperatif yang bersufiks -na adalah verba yang dalam konstruksi indikatif bersufiks -aken.

5.6.1 Sufiks -na yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₁ atau akar nominal₁ merupakan pendwitransitif sekali gus sebagai penanda imperatif; sufiks -na dalam konstruksi itu tidak dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain.

5.6.2 Sufiks -na yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba transitif₂ merupakan pendwitransitif sekali gus sebagai penanda imperatif; sufiks -na dalam konstruksi itu dapat disulih dengan sufiks -ana.

5.6.3 Sufiks -na yang berkombinasi dengan akar verba intransitif merupakan penransitif sekali gus sebagai penanda imperatif; sufiks -na dalam konstruksi itu dapat disulih dengan sufiks -ana.

5.6.4 Sufiks -na yang berkombinasi dengan akar adjektiva₂ merupakan penransitif sekali gus sebagai penanda imperatif; sufiks -na dalam konstruksi itu tidak dapat disulih dengan sufiks lain.
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**Lambang**

- ± = wajib
- < > = kelas morfem

**Terminologi**

- Adjung: adjung (adjunct)
- Akar: akar (root)
- Akar Adj 1: akar adjektiva (pemberian label angka Arab -1 atau -2 untuk keperluan pembedaan adjektiva satu dengan yang lain, yang mempunyai perilaku lain dalam pembicaraan sufiks verba dialek (Oising)
- Akar Adj 2: akar adjektiva 2
- Akar Klausa: akar klausa (clause root)
- Akar Nomin: akar nomin
- Akar VI: akar verba intransitif (intransitive verb root)
- Akar VT: akar verba transitif (transitive verb root)
- Aparat: apositif (appositive)
- DEq: dwiequatif (bi-equative)
- DI: dwiintransitif (bi-intransitive)
- DT: dwitransitif (bitransitive)
- Eq: equatif (equative)
- I: intransitif (intransitive)
- Int: inti (nucleus)
- Ko: komplemen (complement)
- LInt: luar inti (margin)
- N-: prefiks nasal
- N1: nomina 1
- Pel: pelaku (actor)
- PenAkt: penanda aktif (active marker)
- PenAsp: penanda aspek (aspect marker)
- Pend: penderita (undergoer)
- Pendw: pendwitransitif
- PenImp: penanda imperatif (imperative marker)
- Penr: penransitif (transitiviser)
- Per: perintah (command)
- Pred: predikat (predication)
- S: subjek (scope)
- Sk: skop (scope)
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SUDARYANTO


SUDJITO dkk.

SUGONO, Dendy

SUHARNO, Ignatius dan Kenneth L. PIKE

SOETOKO dkk.

TAMPUBOLON, D.P.

TRAVIS, E.

UHLENBECK, E.M.
AYAT AKTIF, KELAINAN AYAT AKTIF ATAU AYAT PASIF?

Yeoh Chiang Kee

1. PENGANTAR

Hingga hari ini saya dapati masih ada beberapa golongan ahli bahasa yang tidak bisa membedakan ayat aktif daripada ayat pasif* dengan baik terutama sekali ayat-ayat yang urutan katanya hampir sama, misalnya, ayat-ayat seperti di bawah ini.

(1) a. Saya memukul (meng+pukul) budak itu.
   b. Saya pukul budak itu.

Ahli bahasa seperti Chung (1976) yang menggunakan urutan kata sebagai hujahnya telah cuba menerangkan bahawa ayat (1a) dan ayat (1b) di atas ini adalah ayat-ayat aktif kerana kedua-dua ayat itu memperlihatkan urutan kata yang sama, yaitu Frasa Nama1 Kata kerja - Frasa Nama2. Perbezaan yang jelas kelihatan di antara dua ayat itu hanya pada ayat (1b) yang kata kerjanya kekurangan imbuhan awalah /meng+/ yang dianggapnya sebagai satu penanda optional. Manakala ahli bahasa seperti Hassan (1974) berpendapat bahawa kata kerja aktif dalam bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia adalah paling neutral sekali serta tidak semestinya berpenanda. Jadi, menurut pendapat ahli bahasa golongan yang kedua ini, ayat seperti (1b) di atas ini tidak lain daripada satu kelainan ayat aktif (1a).

1.1 Tujuan

Tujuan saya membentangkan kertas kerja ini ialah untuk menunjukkan bahawa hipotesis-hipotesis yang dibuat oleh ahli bahasa seperti Chung (1976) dan Hassan (1974) ini adalah salah. Saya akan cuba menunjukkan bahawa sebenarnya ada perbedaan sintaksis di antara ayat (1a) dan ayat (1b) walaupun struktur permukaan kedua-dua ayat ini kelihatan hampir identikal.
2. KETIDAKHARUSAN (OPTIONALITY) PENANDA AKTIF

Dalam kajian saya mengenai sintaksis bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia saya dapti apa yang dikemukakan oleh kedua-dua golongan ahli bahasa berkenaan dengan ke-
tidakharusan penanda aktif pada kata kerja aktif adalah kurang tepat dan tidak boleh diterima. Alasannya ialah kerana ayat-ayat seperti (2) dan (3) di bawah ini tidak bisa dianggap sebagai ayat-ayat aktif yang gramatis dalam bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia.

(2) *Orang itu puluk budak itu.
(3) *Saya telah puluk budak itu.

Kalau benar sebagaimana dikatakan mereka, yaitu kata kerja aktif dalam bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia adalah paling neutral serta tidak berkehendakkan sebarang penanda, maka sudah tentu ayat (2) dan (3) dianggap gramatis. Tetapi tidak begitu pula halnya. Kesalahan ayat (2) dan (3) boleh dipertalkan dengan ketidakhadiran penanda aktif pada kata kerjanya. Jadi, untuk membetulkan ayat-ayat yang salah itu, bolehlah kita imbuhkan sahaja imbuhan awalan /meng+/, penanda aktif, kepada kata kerjanya supaya ayat-ayat itu ditukar menjadi (2′) dan (3′).

(2′) Orang itu memukul (meng+puluk) budak itu.
(3′) Saya telah memukul (meng+puluk) budak itu.

Dengan ini maka bolehlah dengan mudah sahaja kita sangatkan pendapat yang mengatakan bahawa kata kerja aktif dalam bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia adalah paling neutral serta tidak berpenanda.

3. URUTAN KATA

Memang tidak boleh kita nafikan bahawa urutan kata dasar dalam bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia adalah Frasa Nama1 - Kata kerja - Frasa Nama2. Pendek kata, subjek mendahului predikat (Subjek - Predikat), tetapi kita harus sedar akan kelonggaran urutan kata dalam bahasa Malaysia. Tidak seperti bahasa Inggris yang mempunyai urutan kata yang agak rigid, yaitu subjek harus selalu mendahului predikat, bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia mempunyai urutan kata yang agak longgar sedikit kerana kerap kali kita tersua dengan ayat-ayat yang memperlihatkan urutan kata songsang seperti (4b) - (6b).

(4) a. Budak itu sedang membaca buku.
   Subjek Predikat
 b. Sedang membaca buku budak itu.
   Predikat Subjek

(5) a. Budak itu selalu menangis.
   Subjek Predikat
 b. Selalu menangis budak itu.
   Predikat Subjek

(6) a. Gadis itu cantik sungguh.
   Subjek Predikat
 b. Cantik sungguh gadis itu.
   Predikat Subjek
Adanya ayat-ayat songsang seperti (4b) - (6b) mungkin disebabkan oleh adanya rumus sintaksis yang dikenali sebagai Rumus Inversi Subjek-Predikat (Subject-Predicate Inversion Rule) dalam bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia. Ayat-ayat songsang seperti yang di atas ini tidak terdapat dalam bahasa Inggeris kerana ayat-ayat songsang seperti (7b) - (9b) dianggap salah.

(7) a. The child is reading a book.
Subjek Predikat
b. *Is reading a book the child.
Predikat Subjek

(8) a. The child always cries.
Subjek Predikat
b. *Always cries the child.
Predikat Subjek

(9) a. The lady is very beautiful.
Subjek Predikat
b. *Is very beautiful the lady.
Predikat Subjek

Dengan adanya Rumus Inversi Subjek-Predikat yang membolehkan konstituen subjek dan konstituen predikat saling bertukar tempat, kita telah boleh membuat satu kesimpulan bahawa urutan kata tidak bisa digunakan sebagai satu kriteria yang baik untuk menentukan ragam sesuatu ayat. Jadi, dengan ini, jelaslah bahawa hipotesis yang digunakan oleh Chung (1976) untuk menentukan ragam ayat dalam bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia juga mempunyai tanda-tanda keraguan dan tidak dapat diterima.

Kelemahan hipotesis Chung (1976) dan Hassan (1974) telah menyebabkan kita menaruh kesangsian terhadap ragam ayat (1b) yang selama ini sudah dianggap mereka sebagai ayat aktif. Ada kemungkinan besar bahawa ragam ayat (1b) itu berbeda daripada ragam ayat (1a) sebab kata kerja ayat (1b) tidak berpenanda aktif, yaitu imbuhann awalan /meng+/ . Kalau benar hal ini, tampaknya, dalam kes ini, imbuhkan awalan /meng+/ dapat memainkan peranan yang agak penting dalam penentuan ragam sesuatu ayat. Sungguhpun begitu, kita masih tidak dapat mengatakan dengan penuh keyakinan bahawa ayat (1b) itu sebenarnya ayat pasif selagi kita belum mengetahui dengan lebih mendalam apa sebenarnya ayat pasif itu.

4. CIIRI-CIRI PASIF YANG BERSIFAT UNIVERSAL

Mengikut teori nahu hubungan (relational grammar) yang dikemukakan oleh Johnson (1977) aspek pasif yang bersifat universal itu dapat dirumuskan sebagai (10).

(10) Passive (in relational terms) \(^3\) (DO \(\rightarrow\) S)

a. \(DO(A, V_1) \rightarrow SU(A, V_1)\)

b. \(SU(B, V_1) \rightarrow X(B, V_1)\)

Rumus pasif (10) boleh kita interpretasikan sebagai (10a) menerangkan bahawa frasa nama A yang mempunyai hubungan objek langsung (DO) dalam ayat aktif ditukar menjadi subjek (SU) dalam ayat pasif, dan (10b) menerangkan bahawa frasa
nama B yang mempunyai hubungan subjek (SU) dalam ayat aktif menjadi frasa nama X-rated yang tidak mempunyai sebarang hubungan objek langsung atau subjek dalam ayat pasif. Frasa nama X-rated ini boleh disamakan dengan kategori chomeur yang dicadangkan oleh Perlmutter dan Postal (1977).

Satu lagi teori yang berkaitan rapat dengan teori nahu hubungan, yaitu teori yang memeringati rangkaian hubungan (relational network) harus kita kaji. Mengikut teori rangkaian hubungan yang dikemukakan oleh Perlmutter dan Postal (1977) ciri pasivisasi (pemasifan) yang bersifat ada dua seperti di bawah ini.

(11) A direct object of an active clause is the (superficial) subject of the 'corresponding' passive.

(12) The subject of an active clause is neither the (superficial) subject nor the (superficial) direct object of the 'corresponding' passive.

(11) dan (12) boleh juga diilustrasikan dengan gambarajah yang dipermudahkan seperti (13).

(13)

Mengingat Perlmutter dan Postal (1977), gambarajah (13) yang dipermudahkan itu boleh kita terangkan sebagai satu rangkaian hubungan yang mempunyai tiga lengkuk (arc) dan dua lapisan (stratum). Lengkuk kiri menggambarkan lengkuk predikat, lengkuk tengah menggambarkan lengkuk frasa nama dan lengkuk kanan menggambarkan satu lengkuk frasa nama yang lain. Lapisan 1 melambangkan ayat aktif manakala lapisan 2 melambangkan ayat pasif. Angka 1 dan angka 2 yang terdapat pada lengkuk frasa nama itu berturut-turut melambangkan subjek (Term 1) dan objek langsung (Term 2), sedangkan angka 1 yang bertanda v-kecil terbalik di atasnya itu melambangkan Chômeur-subjek (Subject-Chômeur) mengikut teori nahu hubungan. Berdasarkan maklumat yang diberi di atas ini, gambarajah (13) juga boleh diinterpretasikan sebagai menyatakan bahawa rumus pasif bukan sahaja berkemampuan menaikkan taraf objek langsung (Term 2) dalam ayat lapisan 1 kepada subjek (Term 1) dalam ayat lapisan 2 tetapi juga berkemampuan menjatuhkan FN yang bertaraf subjek (Term 1) dalam ayat lapisan 1 kepada Chômeur-Subjek (Subject-Chômeur) dalam ayat lapisan 2.

Walaupun cara dan bentuk penyampaian yang digunakan oleh Johnson (1977) dan Perlmutter dan Postal (1977) itu berbeda, tetapi aspek pasif universal yang penting yang hendak dikemukakan oleh mereka itu adalah, pada hakikatnya, sama, yaitu dari segi sintaksis rumus pasif bisa menaikkan FN yang bertaraf objek langsung dalam ayat aktif ke taraf subjek dalam ayat pasif. Dengan perkataan lain, boleh juga kita sifatkan rumus pasif sebagai Rumus Penciptaan Subjek (Subject-Creation Rule).
5. UJIAN KESUBJEKAN (TESTS OF SUBJECTHOOD).

Untuk mengetahui bahawa sesuatu frasa nama itu berstatus subjek atau tidak, kita harus menggunakan berbagai-berbagai ujian sintaksis yang bisa diterapkan kepada frasa nama yang bertaraf subjek sahaja. Hanya ujian-ujian semacam inilah yang akan membantu kita menentukan sama ada ayat-ayat seperti (1a) dan (1b) itu dua ayat yang berbeda atau tidak dari segi struktur sintaksisnya.

5.1 Rumus Pindahan (Movement Rule)


(14) Budak itu sedang membaca suratkhabar.
(15) *Suratkhabar budak itu sedang membaca.
(16) Sedang membaca suratkhabar budak itu.

Kesalahan ayat (15) jelas menyatakan bahawa selagi sesuatu frasa nama itu mempunyai hubungan objek langsung maka tidak bisalah diceraikan daripada konstituen predikat dan kemudian didekapan. Sekatam semacam ini boleh sekarang kita terapkan ke atas (1a) dan (1b) untuk mengetahui kalau ada terdapat perbedaan sintaksis di antara kedua-dua ayat itu. Untuk memudahkan rujukan kita, ayat-ayat (1a) dan (1b) akan saya tulis kembali sebagai (17a) dan (17b).

(17) a. Saya memukul budak itu.
   a'. Budak itu saya memukul.
   b. Saya pukul budak itu.
   b'. Budak itu saya pukul.

Kenyataan bahasa FN budak itu dalam ayat (17a) tidak boleh dipindah ke depan ayat itu sebagaimana dinyatakan oleh ayat (17a') dan bahawa FN budak itu dalam ayat (17b) bisa didekapan untuk menghasilkan ayat (17b') yang gramatis menunjukkan bahawa FN budak itu dalam ayat (17a) dan FN budak itu dalam ayat (17b) berbeda dari segi hubungan sintaksis.

Sebagaimana saya terangkan dahulu bahawa kalau sesuatu FN tidak dibenarkan bercerai daripada konstituen predikat, maka FN itu tetap mempunyai hubungan objek langsung dalam klausa itu, sementara FN yang sama daripada klausa lain boleh dipindah ke depan klausa maka FN itu tidak lagi mempunyai hubungan objek langsung dalam klausa itu. Jadi, dengan kenayataan ini, dapatlah kita mengatakan dengan penuh kayakinan bahawa dari segi sintaksis ayat (17a) berbeda dari pada ayat (17b) walaupun kedua-dua ayat itu mempunyai urutan kata yang hampir-hampir sama. Oleh kerana FN budak itu dalam ayat (17b) dapat didekapan, maka sudah tentu hubungan sintaksisnya dalam ayat itu tidak lagi merupakan hubungan objek langsung tetapi subjek.
Dengan menggunakan Rumus Pindahan (Movement Rule), kita telah berjaya memperlihatkan bahawa, dari sudut sintaksis, (17a) tidak sama dengan (17b) dari segi ragam ayatnya. Menurut teori rangkaian hubungan, (17a) merupakan ayat lapisan 1 yang masih mempunyai subjek saya dan objek langsung budak itu manakala (17b) sudah merupakan ayat lapisan 2 yang tidak lagi mempunyai objek langsung sebab objek langsungnya yang asal itu FN budak itu sudah dinaikkan tarafnya ke subjek walaupun kehadirannya masih terletak di akhir ayat. Pendek kata (17a) ayat aktif dan (17b) ayat pasif.

5.2 Rumus Soal (Question Rule)

Satu lagi ujian kesubjekan yang boleh kita gunakan untuk menentukan ragam gramatis ayat-ayat (1a) dan (1b) ialah Rumus Soal. Lazimnya, di antara FN yang bertaraf 'Term', hanya Term 1 sahaja yang bisa disoal. Ini dapat kita saksikan dalam ayat-ayat di bawah ini.

(18) a. Engkau memukul budak itu.
   a'. Engkaukah (yang) memukul budak itu?
   a". *Budak itukah (yang) engkau memukul?

(18) b. Engkau pukul budak itu.
   b'. *Engkaukah (yang) pukul budak itu?
   b". Budak itukah (yang) engkau pukul?

Ayat-ayat (18a) dan (18b) adalah berturut-turut selaras dengan ayat-ayat (1a) dan (1b). Ayat (18a) yang selaras dengan ayat (1a) itu mempunyai dua FN, yaitu engkau dan budak itu yang bertaraf 'term', FN engkau bertaraf Term I dan FN budak itu bertaraf Term II sementara ayat (18b) mempunyai hanya satu FN budak itu yang bertaraf 'term'. FN Engkau yang terdapat dalam ayat (18b) itu tidak lagi bertaraf 'term' tetapi sudah diturunkan tarafnya dari taraf subjek ke taraf Chômeur-Subjek yang juga tidak bisa disoal lagi. Kalau kita bandingkan ayat (18a') dengan ayat (18a") kita dapati hanya FN engkau yang bertaraf subjek Term I sahaja yang bisa disoal, sementara FN budak itu yang bertaraf objek langsung itu tidak bisa disoal. Perbandingan di antara ayat-ayat (18b') dan (18b") pula memperlihatkan keadaan yang agak berbeda. Kita dapati frasa nama yang bisa mengalami Rumus Soal ini bukan puna FN engkau, tetapi FN budak itu. Ini adalah kerana dalam ayat (18b) yang bertaraf subjek semasa (current subject) itu bukan lagi FN engkau, tetapi FN budak itu. FN engkau dalam ayat (18b) itu sudah dijatuhkan tarafnya ke Chômeur-Subjek akibat daripada Rumus Pasif.

Keadaan yang sama akan berlaku kalau Rumus Soal ini kita terapkan kepada ayat (1a) dan (1b) yang akan saya tulis kembali sebagai (19a) dan (19b).

(19) a. Saya memukul budak itu.
   a'. Sayakah (yang) memukul budak itu?
   a". *Budak itukah (yang) saya memukul?

(19) b. Saya pukul budak itu.
   b'. *Sayakah (yang) pukul budak itu?
   b". Budak itukah (yang) saya pukul?

Kesalahan ayat (19a") dan ayat (19b") masing-masing mengilustrasikan bahawa FN yang bertaraf objek langsung dan FN yang bertaraf Chômeur-Subjek tidak bisa mengalami Rumus Soal, dan kenyataan bahawa ayat (19a') dan ayat (19b") dianggap gramatis menunjukkan bahawa FN yang bertaraf subjek sahaja (tidak mengira subjek itu subjek asal seperti FN Saya yang terdapat dalam
ayat (19a) atau subjek terbitan (derived subject) seperti FN budak itu yang terdapat dalam ayat (19b) yang bisa mengalami Rumus Soal. Rumus Soal ini telah meyakinkan kita lagi bahawa memang ada perbedaan sintaksis khususnya ragam ayat di antara ayat (1a) dan (1b).

5.3 Rumus Relativisasi (Relativisation Rule)

Mengikut Hiaraki\(^6\) Pendekatan yang bersifat universal (Universal Accessibility Hierarchy) yang dikemukakan oleh Keenan dan Comrie (1977), FN yang paling mudah direlatifkan ialah FN Subjek dan FN yang paling sukar direlatifkan ialah FN Objek Partikel Perbandingan (Object of Comparative Particle). Di antara dua kedudukan FN yang keterlaluan ini terdapat pula beberapa FN seperti objek langsung, objek tak langsung, objek oblik dan FN milik yang mungkin tidak dapat direlatifkan dengan secara langsung yang mesti dengan secara sistematik dinaikkan tarafnya kepada satu taraf FN yang boleh direlatifkan dengan secara langsung dalam kes ini, FN subjeklah yang saya maksudkan. Hal yang sama terdapat dalam bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia dan ini dapat kita saksikan dalam contoh-contoh di bawah ini.

(20) a. Orang itu akan memukul budak itu.
   a'. Orang yang akan memukul budak itu sudah ditangkap.
   a". *Budak yang orang itu akan memukul itu sudah ditangkap.

Gramatisnya ayat (20a') menunjukkan bahawa FN subjek boleh direlatifkan dengan secara langsung dan tidak gramatisnya ayat (20a") menerangkan bahawa objek langsung tidak boleh direlatifkan dengan secara langsung dalam bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia. Akan tetapi, kalau FN budak itu dalam ayat (20) itu kita naikkan dahulu tarafnya daripada taraf objek langsung kepada taraf subjek dengan menggunakan rumus pasif seperti yang terdapat dalam ayat (21a) atau (21a') itu, maka bolehlah FN budak itu sekarang direlatifkan dengan secara langsung supaya menghasilkan ayat (22).

(21) a. Budak itu akan dipukul (oleh) orang itu.
   a'. Akan dipukul (oleh) orang itu budak itu.
(22) Budak yang akan dipukul (oleh) orang itu sudah ditangkap.

Terdapatnya dua bentuk kelainan ayat pasif seperti yang dinyatakan oleh ayat (21a) dan ayat (21a') jelas menerangkan bahawa dalam bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia urutan kata dalam ayat tidak begitu 'rigid'. Subjek sesuatu ayat tidak semestinya selalu hadir di awal ayat, tetapi boleh juga diletakkan di akhir ayat seperti yang terdapat dalam ayat (21a'). Oleh kerana ayat (21a') bisa dianggap sebagai satu kelainan ayat pasif, maka sudah tentu berdasarkan alasan sintaksis yang sama, kita juga boleh mengatakan bahawa ayat (1b) itu sebenarnya bukan ayat aktif, tetapi satu kelainan ayat pasif.

5.4 Rumus Pengguguran FN Yang Sama (Equi-NP Deletion)

Ujian kesubjekan yang terakhir yang hendak saya gunakan untuk membuktikan bahawa ayat (1b) itu sebenarnya berbeda daripada ayat (1a) ialah Rumus Pengguguran FN yang sama. Rumus ini adalah satu rumus sintaksis yang bersifat 'cyclic' yang menggugurkan FN Subjek ayat sematen jika didapati FN itu sama dengan FN yang terdapat dalam ayat matriks. Bagaimana rumus ini bertindak dapat dilihat dalam contoh-contoh ayat di bawah ini.
Perbandingan di antara ayat-ayat (23a) dengan (23a") dan (24a) dengan (24a") jelas menunjukkan bahasa Rumus Pengguguran FN yang sama itu sudah bertindak sehingga dalam ayat-ayat permukaan (surface structures) tidak terdapat lagi FN subjek ayat-ayat sematan yang sama dengan FN dalam ayat-ayat matriks. Hal ini dapat kita lihat dalam ayat (23a") dan ayat (24a"). Perbandingan di antara ayat-ayat (25a) dengan (25a") pula memperlihatkan bahawa Rumus Pengguruan FN yang sama tidak dapat bertindak sebab FN dalam ayat sematan yang sama dengan FN dalam ayat matriks itu tidak bertaraf subjek. Jadi, jelas kelihatan bahawa rumus sintaksis ini hanya dapat bertindak ke atas FN dalam ayat sematan yang bertaraf subjek sahaja.

Menerapkan ujian kesubjekan yang sama ini ke atas ayat (1a) dan (1b) kita akan mendapat hasil berikut.

**Ujian ke atas ayat (1a)**

(26) a. [Saya mahu [saya memukul budak itu]]
   \[\text{Am} \quad \text{As} \quad \text{As} \quad \text{Am}\]
   a'. *Saya mahu saya memukul budak itu.
   a". Saya mahu memukul budak itu.

(27) a. [Budak itu_1 mahu [saya memukul budak itu_1]]
   \[\text{Am} \quad \text{As} \quad \text{Am}\]
   a'. Budak itu_1 mahu saya memukulnya_1.

**Ujian ke atas ayat (1b)**

(28) a. [Saya mahu [Saya pukul budak itu]]
   \[\text{Am} \quad \text{As} \quad \text{As} \quad \text{Am}\]
   a'. *Saya mahu pukul budak itu.
   a". Saya mahu saya pukul budak itu.
   atau
   Saya mahu budak itu saya pukul.

(29) a. [Budak itu_1 mahu [Saya pukul budak itu_1]]
   \[\text{Am} \quad \text{As} \quad \text{As} \quad \text{Am}\]
   a'. *Budak itu_1 mahu saya pukulnya_1.
   a". Budak itu mahu saya pukul.
Kesalahan ayat (26a') boleh dikaikatan dengan sebabnya bahawa FN Subjek saya dalam ayat sematannya yang sama dengan FN Subjek saya dalam ayat matriks itu tidak digugurkan sementara kesalahan ayat (28a') pula boleh disebabkan oleh pengguguran FN saya dalam ayat sematannya yang sudah tidak lagi bertaraf subjek. Tidak grammatsinya ayat (29a') adalah kerana kegagalannya menggugurkan FN budak itu yang kini sudah bertaraf subjek semasa dalam ayat sematannya yang sama dengan FN budak itu dalam ayat matriks.

Semua ini dapat kita saksikan dengan lebih jelas lagi kalau kita bandingkan ayat (26a') dengan ayat (26a''), ayat (28a') dengan ayat (28a'') dan ayat (29a') dengan ayat (29a''). Kenyataan bahawa rumus sintaksis ini bisa diaplikasikan ke atas ayat (26a'') dan tidak bisa diaplikasikan ke atas ayat (28a'') menunjukkan bahwa FN saya yang terdapat dalam ayat (1a) itu bertaraf subjek manakala FN yang sama yang terdapat dalam ayat (1b) itu sudah tidak lagi bertaraf subjek walaupun kehadirannya masih tetap di awal ayat sebab taraf sintaksis asalnya sudah dijatuhkan ke taraf Chômeur-subjek akibat rumus pasif; dan kenyataan bahawa rumus sintaksis yang sama tidak dapat bertindak dalam ayat (27a'), tetapi dapat bertindak dalam ayat (29a'') menunjukkan bahawa FN budak itu yang terdapat dalam ayat sematannya (27a) itu bertaraf objek langsung manakala FN yang sama yang terdapat dalam ayat sematannya (29a) itu sudah bertaraf subjek semasa walaupun kehadirannya masih tetap di akhir ayat sematannya. Perbedaan hubungan nahu yang kita dapat pada FN saya dan FN budak itu yang masing-masing terdapat dalam ayat (1a) dan ayat (1b) telah membolehkan kita mengatakan dengan lebih tegas lagi bahawa, pada hakikatnya, ayat (1a) adalah berbeda daripada ayat (1b) dari segi ragam ayatnya.

6. PENUTUP

Dalam bahagian 2 saya telah menunjukkan bahawa pendapat yang mengatakan kata kerja aktif dalam bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia adalah paling neutral serta tidak semestinya berpenanda adalah kurang tepat dan tidak boleh diterima; dan dalam bahagian 3 pula saya menyatakan bahawa urutan kata tidak bisa digunakan sebagai satu dasar untuk menentukan ragam ayat sebab dalam bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia urutan kata tidak 'rigid'.

Yang paling baik untuk menentukan ragam sesuatu ayat ialah rumus-rumus sintaksis seperti ujian-ujian kesubjekan yang saya gunakan dalam bahagian 5.1 sehingga bahagian 5.4, sebab hanya melalui ujian-ujian kesubjekan seperti Rumus Pindahan (Movement Rule), Rumus Soal (Question Rule), Rumus Relativisasi (Relativisation Rule) dan Rumus Pengguguran FN Yang Sama (Equi-NP Deletion Rule) baharalah dapat kita tentukan dengan baik serta dengan penuh keyakinan sama ada ragam sesuatu ayat itu berbeda atau tidak dengan ragam satu ayat yang lain. Dalam kertas kerja saya yang serba ringkas ini saya telah berkesempatan mengilustrasikan, melalui rumus-rumus sintaksis yang tersebar di atas ini bahawa ayat (1a) berbeda daripada ayat (1b) dari segi ragam ayatnya sungguh membandingkan urutan kata yang hampir-hampir identikal. Ayat (1a) yang mempunyai subjek dan objek langsung dan kata kerjanya berpenanda aktif /meng*+/ sudah tentu tidak dapat kita nafikan sebagai ayat aktif, manakala ayat (1b) yang sudah saya tunjukkan dengan berbagai cara mempunyai hanya subjek yang berbeda (bekas objek langsung ayat (1a)) serta kata kerjanya sudah tidak berpenanda aktif lagi harus dianggap sebagai ayat pasif. Ini adalah selaras dengan aspek pasif yang bersifat universal, yaitu subjek langsung ayat aktif dijadikan subjek ayat pasif.
Terdapatnya satu ayat dalam bentuk ayat (lb) adalah kerana ayat itu ayat terbitan (mengikut teori rangkaian hubungan (relational network) ayat ini harus kita anggap sebagai ayat lapisan 2) yang sudah mengalami dua rumus sintaksis, yaitu rumus pasif yang bersifat 'cyclic' dan Rumus Inversi Subjek-Predikat yang bersifat 'non-cyclic'. Proses penerbitan ayat (lb) dapat saya terangkan seperti berikut.

Pertama kita mesti ada satu ayat aktif seperti di bawah ini sebagai 'input'-nya.

(30) a. Saya memukul budak itu.

Kemudian kita terapkan rumus pasif ke atas ayat (30a) supaya ayat pasif (ayat lapisan 2) seperti (30a') dapat kita terbitkan.

(30) a'. Budak itu saya pukul.

Ayat (30a') ini merupakan satu ayat pasif yang memperlihatkan urutan kata biasa. Untuk menyongsangkan ayat (30a') kita harus menggunakan Rumus Inversi Subjek-Predikat. Aplikasi Rumus Inversi Subjek-Predikat ke atas ayat (30a') akan menerbitkan ayat (30a")

(30) a". Saya pukul budak itu.

Jadi, supaya lebih tepat lagi, ayat (lb) atau ayat (30a") harus kita anggap sebagai satu ayat pasif songsang dan bukan ayat aktif atau kelainan ayat aktif sebagaimana dikemukakan oleh Chung (1976) dan Hassan (1974).

CATATAN

* Terjemahan bahasa Inggeris dari judul kertas kerja ini adalah 'Is it an active, a variant of an active or a passive?'. Kertas kerja ini telah diterbitkan sebelumnya dalam Dewan Bahasa 25/5:53-66, 1981.


2. Dari segi struktur, ayat (3) yang salah ini adalah identikal dengan ayat ayat yang tidak gramatis di bawah ini.

   (1) *Surat itu aku akan tulis.
       (Zain 1958:42)

   (2) *Ayam itu saya telah tangkap.
       (Alisjahbana 1976:42)

   Yang berbeda hanya statistika ayat sahaja. Ayat-ayat yang tidak gramatis di atas ini memperlihatkan urutan kata biasa manakala ayat (3) yang salah itu memperlihatkan urutan kata songsang. Kalau tidak disongsangkan, ayat (3) yang salah itu tetap salah juga, misalnya:

   (3) a'. *Budak itu saya telah pukul.

4. *Chômeur* ialah perkataan Prancis yang bermaksud 'unemployed' dalam bahasa Inggeris dan dalam bidang sintaksis bahasa Malaysia/Indonesia, mungkin kita bisa menganggapnya sebagai satu kategori FN yang tidak lagi 'sensitive' kepada rumus-rumus sintaksis yang bersifat 'cyclic'. Lazimnya satu FN dijatuhkan tarafnya kepada taraf *chômeur* apabila tarafnya 'dirampas' oleh satu FN lain akibat rumus 'cyclic', misalnya, Rumus Pasif dan Rumus Peng-objekan (*Objectivisation Rule*).

5. *Term* adalah satu istilah yang apda peringkat awalnya, digunakan oleh ahli bahasa nahu hubungan untuk menyatakan FN yang mempunyai hubungan subjek, objek langsung dan objek tidak langsung. Subjek dinyatakan sebagai *Term I*, objek langsung sebagai *Term II* dan objek tidak langsung sebagai *Term III*.


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YEOH Chiang Kee dan FARID M. ONN

ZAIN, Sutan Muhammad

© Wayan Bawa

Dalam hubungannya dengan pendekatan komparatif linguistik, penulis sangat tertarik untuk meneliti kaitan DJ dengan bahasa-bahasa Nusantara lainnya, terutama hubungan DJ dengan BB.

Dilihat dari segi kosa kata, baik van der Tuuk maupun Hans Kähler tidak menyangka bahwa BB memberikan sumbangan dalam kosa kata DJ. Dalam kaitannya dengan sumbangan tersebut, apakah BB menyumbangkan kepada DJ hanya terbatas pada bidang kosa kata saja; dengan kata lain, apakah tidak mungkin DJ juga menerima sumbangan dari BB dalam bentuk unsur-unsur bahasa lainnya seperti unsur morfologi.

Banyak sarjana berpendapat bahwa peminjaman kosa kata memiliki frekuensi yang lebih tinggi dari unsur-unsur bahasa lainnya, tetapi di lain pihak tidak pula dapat disangkal bahwa unsur-unsur bahasa lainnya juga dapat dipinjam dalam proses kontaknya dua bahasa seperti yang dijelaskan secara panjang lebar oleh Uriel Weinreich (1979, Cet. 9).

Dengan dasar pikiran tersebut di atas, penulis menduga bahwa sufiks [-in] dan simulfiks [N-(-)in] yang terdapat dalam DJ juga merupakan unsur-unsur yang dipinjam dari BB.

Dengan meminjam cara kerja komparatif linguistik, yaitu memperbandingkan keda afiks tersebut di atas, terutama mengenai bentuk, arti, dan fungsi yang terdapat dalam DJ dan BB, penulis mengharapkan dugaan tersebut di atas terjawab.

Pembuktian dari sudut ilmu bahasa, misalnya, tentang asal-usul penutur DJ, di samping perlunya diselusuri bahasa-bahasa Nusantara yang mana saja, terutama yang memiliki kemungkinan kontak dengan DJ, memiliki sufiks [-in] dan simulfiks [N-(-)in].

Mengingat masalah-masalah terurai di atas, dalam bahasan berikutnya perlu diungkapkan secara berurutan hal-hal sebagai berikut.
1. Latar belakang penutur DJ;
2. Bahasa-bahasa Nusantara (yang memiliki kemungkinan kontak dengan DJ) yang memiliki sufiks [-in] dan simulfiks [N-(-)in]; dan
3. Perbandingan mengenai bentuk, arti, dan fungsi keda afiks tersebut antara yang terdapat dalam DJ dan yang ada dalam BB.

2. LATAR BELAKANG PENUTUR DIALEK JAKARTA
2.1 Wilayah dan Penutur

Menurut Muhajir (1977), daerah DJ merupakan pulau bahasa di pulau Jawa. Sebutan yang demikian masuk akal karena wilayah DJ seperti sebuah pulau dengan dibatasi oleh bahasa lainnya dan laut. Sebelah barat dan selatan dibatasi oleh bahasa Sunda, di sebelah timur oleh sebuah dialek bahasa Jawa (?), dan di

Dari sumber yang sama diperoleh juga keterangan bahwa ketika Jan Pieterzoon Coen tahun 1619 menguasai Jakarta, Jakarta dibersihkan. Jakarta hanya dibiarankan dihuni oleh orang Cina serta berbagai suku bangsa lainnya, yang diperluhan oleh Belanda untuk peningkatan usaha perdagangan. Pada saat inilah didatangkan budak-budak yang berasal terutama dari pulau Bali dan Sulawesi Selatan.


2.2 Bahasa


Menurut perhitungan penulis, dari sekitar 1.000 buah kata kepala yang dilampirkan dalam disertasi Muhajir (1977), sekitar 250 buah kata kepala yang sama atau yang mungkin berasal dari kosa kata bahasa Bali. Kalau jumlah kata-kata tersebut depersentasekan, maka kata-kata yang sama atau yang mungkin berasal dari kosa kata BB, yang dipergunakan oleh DJ, berjumlah sekitar 25%. Seandainya persentase tersebut mencakup pada seluruh kosa kata yang dipergunakan dalam DJ, maka unsur-unsur kosa kata yang berasal dari bahasa-bahasa selain BB akan menunjukkan angka menjadi 75%. Tentunya jumlah persentase tersebut akan jauh lebih rendah, seandainya dibagi sama rata oleh tujuh bahasa lainnya yang membentuk kosa kata DJ seperti yang dikatakan oleh Hans Kähler di atas.

Kiranya perhitungan persentase untuk masing-masing bahasa yang memberikan sumbangan dalam bidang kosa kata kepada DJ tidaklah semudah di atas. Akan tetapi, yang jelas, dari data lain, yaitu kamus Dialek Jakarta susunan Abdul Chaer (1976), penulis juga menemukan kosa kata yang persentasenya cukup tinggi yang berasal atau sama dengan unsur-unsur kosa kata BB.

3. BAHASA-BAHASA NUSANTARA (YANG MEMILIKI KEMUNGUINAN KONTAK DENGAN DIALEK JAKARTA) YANG MEMILIKI SUFIKS [-in] DAN SIMULFIKS [N-( )-in].

Sejauh penelitian penulis, sampai saat ini, penulis hanya menemukan tiga buah bahasa Nusantara yang mempunyai sufiks [-in] dan simulfiks [N-( )-in]. Ketiga bahasa tersebut adalah: (1) bahasa Bali, (2) bahasa Sasak, dan (3) dialek Jakarta.¹

Jika diperhatikan dari latar belakang penutur DJ, terutama suku bangsa yang berbaur menjadi satu, kemudian membentuk penutur DJ (lihat Tabel I), ternyata bahasa Sasak memiliki kemungkinan yang sangat kecil atau sama sekali tidak melakukan kontak dengan DJ. Demikian pula, jika dilihat dari wilayah penutur kedua bahasa tersebut (bahasa Sasak di pulau Lombok dan DJ di daerah Jakarta-Raya dan sekitarnya), kedua bahasa tersebut sulit melakukan kontak.
Mengingat kemungkinan tersebut di atas, pada uraian berikutnya, penulis hanya akan membicarakan tentang sufiks [-in] dan simufiks [N-( )-in] yang terdapat dalam BB dan DJ. Selanjutnya, akan dibicarakan secara berurutan mengenai bentuk, arti, dan fungsi kedua afiks tersebut di atas, baik yang terdapat dalam BB maupun yang ada dalam DJ.

### Tabel 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Penduduk kota Betawi dan daerah pinggiran</th>
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<td>'Mardijkers'</td>
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</tbody>
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1. Termasuk 5.000 penduduk Jawa dan Sunda di luar tembok benteng.
2. Termasuk sejumlah kecil orang Timor.

### 3.1 Bahasa Bali

#### 3.1.1 Bentuk


Menurut penelitian penulis (Bawa 1980), bentuk sufiks yang kedua tersebut di atas, pada beberapa tempat di Bali, terutama di Bali Selatan, memiliki bentuk yang lain variasinya, yaitu [-?in]. Bentuk alomorf sufiks [-in] akan terjadi jika sufiks itu dilekatkan pada morfem dasar yang diakhiri oleh fonem vokal,
sedangkan pelekatian sufiks itu pada morfem dasar yang diakhiri oleh fonem konsonan akan tetap berbentuk seperti sufiks aslinya.

Contoh-contoh pelekatan morfem sufiks [-in] pada morfem dasar yang diakhiri oleh fonem vokal:

2. *gede* [gade] + [-in] → *gedenin* [gadenin] diperbesar
3. *aba* [abə] + [-in] → *abanin* [abanin] bawakan
5. *nyonyo* [ñoño] + [-in] → *nyonyonin* [ñoño nin] disusui

Bentuk-bentuk tersebut di atas, di beberapa tempat di Bali akan menjadi (1) [isi?in], (2) [gade?in], (3) [aba?in], (4) [guyu?in], dan (5) [ñoño?in], dengan catatan bunyi glotal stopnya memiliki intensitas yang bervariasi.

Contoh-contoh pelekatan sufiks [-in] pada morfem dasar yang diakhiri oleh fonem konsonan:

7. *barak* [baraχ] + [-in] → *barakin* [baraχ in] dimerahi

Khusus untuk morfem dasar yang diakhiri dengan fonem vokal /ə/, jika mendapat sufiks [-in] akan terjadi peluluhan atau sandi, misalnya:


### 3.1.2 Arti


a. menyatakan perbuatan berulang-ulang seperti yang di katakan oleh morfem dasar, misalnya:

12. *jagur* [jagur] *pukuli* → *jagurin* [jagur in] pukuli
13. *sigit* [sigit] *cubit* → *sigin* [sigin] dicubit

b. melakukan perbuatan seperti disebutkan oleh morfem dasar misalnya:

14. *tanam* [tanam] *tanam* → *tanamin* [tanamin] ditanami
15. *jemak* [jamak] *ambil* → *jaman* [jamak in] diambil

c. memberi yang dikatakan oleh morfem dasar, misalnya:

16. *kulit* [kulit] *kulit* → *kulitin* [kulitin] dikuliti
17. *gula* [gula] *gula* → *gulain* [gulain] diberi gula

d. menimbulkan atau menyebabkan seperti yang disebutkan oleh morfem dasar misalnya:
(18) jejeh [jəjəh] takut — jejehin [jəjəhin] menyebabkan takut
(19) genit [gənit] gatal — genitin [gənitin] menyebabkan gatal
e. melakukan upacara atau perbuatan seperti yang disebut oleh morfem dasar, misalnya:
(20) oton [oton] hari kelahiran — otonin [otonin] melakukan upacara oton
(21) telu bulan [təlu bulan] (umur) tiga bulan — telu bulanin [təlu bulanin] melakukan upacara tiga bulan
f. dibuat lebih, misalnya:
(22) gede [gəde] besar — gedenin [gədenin] dibuat lebih besar

3.1.3 Fungsi
Ditinjau dari segi fungsi, sufixs [-in] BB memiliki fungsi sebagai berikut:
1. memverbalkan jenis kata nominal dan ajektival; lihat contoh nomor (1) dan nomor (3) di atas;
2. memverbalkan jenis kata partikel, khususnya yang masuk jenis kata tanya, misalnya:
   (23) kuda [kudə] berapa — kudanin [kudanin] dibagi berapa
   (24) kija [kijə] ke mana — kijanin [kijanin] dipindahkan ke mana
Simuliks [N-( )-in] dalam BB memiliki bentuk-bentuk sebagai berikut:
   a. [m-( )-in], misalnya:
      (25) puyeng [puyəŋ] pusing — muyegin [muyəgin] memusingkan
      (26) belog [bəlog] bodoh — məlogin [məlogin] berbuat seperti orang bodoh
   b. [n-( )-in], misalnya:
      (28) degag [dagag] sambong — negagin [negagin] menyumbongi
   c. [ŋ-( )-in], misalnya:
      (29) kenyel [kəŋəl] letih — ngenyelin [ŋəŋəlin] meletihkan
      (30) gelut [gəlut] gelut — ngelutin [ŋəlutin] menggelut
      (31) opek [opək] swasana sesak — ngopekın [ŋəpəkin] menyesakkan nafas
   d. [n-( )-in], contoh-contohnya:
      (32) soleh [soleh] aneh — nyolehin [ŋəlehin] berbuat aneh-aneh
      (33) calep [calep] suka minta-minta — nyalepin [ŋəlepin] berbuat suka minta-minta
      (34) jegeg [jəgeg] cantik — nyegegin [ŋəgegin] mengungguli kecantikan yang lain
Adapun arti yang ditimbulkan oleh pemakaian simulfiks \[N-( )-in\] adalah sebagai berikut:

a. menyebabkan atau membuat jadi; lihat contoh nomor (25);

b. berbuat seperti yang dikatakan morfem dasar; lihat contoh nomor (26);

c. melakukan pekerjaan berkali-kali; lihat contoh nomor (27) dan (28);

d. menyatakan lebih (superlatif); lihat contoh nomor (34).

Fungsi simulfiks \[N-( )-in\] dalam BB adalah memverbalkan ajektival yang masuk ke dalam golongan kata sifat. Lihat contoh nomor (25)-(34).

3.2 Bahasa Sasak

Bahasa Sasak, yaitu bahasa ibu suku bangsa Sasak yang mendiami pulau Lombok; juga memiliki sufiks \[-in\] dan simulfiks \[N-( )-in\] (lihat catatan kaki¹). Akan tetapi, dalam kesempatan ini tidak akan penulis bicarakan mengingat bahwa kemungkinan kedua afiks itu yang ada dalam DJ, berasal dari bahasa Sasak sangat jauh.

Peminjaman unsur-unsur bahasa yang satu oleh bahasa lainnya hanya mungkin disebabkan oleh pergaulan yang intim antarpenutur kedua bahasa. Dalam kaitannya dengan ini, seperti yang dikatakan oleh Castles mengenai struktur penutur DJ (lihat Tabel I), tidak didapatkan penutur DJ termasuk suku bangsa Sasak.

3.3 Dialek Jakarta


Dalam pembicaraan berikutnya akan dibicarakan secara berurutan mengenai bentuk, arti, dan fungsi kedua afiks tersebut yang terdapat dalam DJ.

3.3.1 Bentuk

Sufiks \[-in\] dalam DJ memiliki dua macam variasi bentuk. Pertama, tetap berbentuk seperti bentuk sufiks aslinya, yaitu \[-in\]. Bentuk yang kedua, sufiks tersebut mengalami alomorf.

Sufiks \[-in\] tetap berbentuk seperti bentuk aslinya, jika sufiks tersebut dilekatkan pada morfem dasar yang diakhiri oleh fonem konsonan. Misalnya:

(35) ambil [ambil] + \[-in\] — ambilin [ambilin] ambilkan

(36) sakit [sakit] + \[-in\] — sakit-sakitin [sakit-sakitin] menyakitkan

Bentuk yang kedua memiliki beberapa variasi bentuk, bergantung dari macam fonem vokal yang dilekat oleh sufiks tersebut. Bentuk-bentuknya dapat disebutkan seperti di bawah ini:

a. jika fonem /E/ yang mengakhiri morfem dasar yang dilekat oleh sufiks maka fonem itu akan berubah menjadi arkhfonem /A/. Misalnya:

3.3.2 Arti

Arti sufiks [-in] dalam DJ antara lain dapat disebutkan sebagai berikut:

a. menyebabkan atau membuat jadi, misalnya:
   (43) Babè lagi betulin arloji. Bapak sedang memperbaiki arloji;
   (44) Emak lagi benerin baju ayè. Ibu sedang memperbaiki baju saya.

b. menyatakan imperatif, misalnya:
   (45) Tulung ambilin guè tu koran. Tolong ambilkan saya koran itu;
   (46) Doain dong supayè guè selamet. Doakan supaya saya selamat.

c. menyatakan dibuat lebih, misalnya:

d. menyatakan intensitas, misalnya:
   (48) Tulung liat-liatin tu anak-anak yè. Tolong lihat-lihat anak-anakmu;
   (49) Kalo ngomong amè diè, sakit-sakitin ati ajè. Kalau berbicara dengan dia, menyakitkan hati saja.

3.3.3 Fungsi

Fungsi sufiks [-in] dalam DJ dapat dikatakan sebagai berikut:

a. memverbalkan jenis kata yang berasal dari kata sifat, misalnya, contoh nomor (43), (44), dan nomor (47) di atas;

b. tetap membentuk verbal dari jenis kata yang berasal dari jenis kata kerja, misalnya, contoh nomor (45) dan (48) di atas.

Adapun tentang bentuk, arti, dan fungsi simulfiks [N-( )-in] dalam DJ, seperti dirumuskan oleh Muhajir, secara ringkas dapat diuraikan seperti di bawah ini.

Bentuk simulfiks [N-( )-in] dalam DJ, dari sumber tersebut di atas, dapat diketahui empat macam variasi:
Menurut Abdul Chaer, arti simulfiks \([N-(\ ))-in]\) sejajar dengan simulfiks \([m-(\ ))-kan]\) dan \([m-(\ ))-i]\) dalam bahasa Indonesia. Macam-macam arti simulfiks tersebut adalah sebagai berikut:

a. membuat jadi, misalnya:

(65) Tu orang nakutin guè. *Orang itu membuat saya menjadi takut.*

b. melakukan kerja untuk orang lain, misalnya:

(66) Die mbawain guè ikan ayam. *Dia membawakan saya ikan ayam.*

c. membawa, misalnya:

(67) Tu kucing ngelarlin ikan. *Kucing itu membawa lari ikan.*

d. melakukan kerja yang disebut oleh fonem dasar, misalnya:

(68) Die lagi ndiriin rume di Bekasi. *Dia sedang mendirikan rumah di Bekasi.*
Jika morfem dasarnya diulang, artinya akan menjadi antara lain sebagai berikut:

a. membuat atau menyebabkan jadi lebih, misalnya:
   
   (69) Kite nggebolé njelèk-njelèkin orang. Kita tidak boleh menjelèk-
        jelekkkan orang.

b. menyatakan dilakukan berkali-kali, misalnya:
   
   (70) Diè lagi mbacok-mbacokin tu kayu. Dia sedang menetak-netak kayu.

Adapun fungsi simulfiks [N-( )-in] adalah untuk memverbalkan baik jenis kata nominal maupun ajektival.

Dalam kaitannya dengan fungsi simulfiks tersebut di atas, dapat ditunjukkan contoh-contoh seperti di bawah ini:

a. dari jenis kata nominal;
   
   (71) satu [satu] — nyatuin [ñatuin] mendamaikan

b. dari jenis kata ajektival;
   
   (72) jelek [jelEk] — nyelèk-nyelèkin [ñøelEk-ñølekin] menjelèk-
        jelekkan
   

4. PERBANDINGAN TENTANG BENTUK, ARTI, DAN FUNGSI SUFIK S [-in] DAN SIMULFIKS [N-( )-in] DALAM DIALEK JAKARTA DENGAN YANG TERDAPAT DALAM BAHASA BALI

Dalam pembicaraan berikutnya secara berturut-turut penulis akan memperbandingkan kedua macam afiks tersebut di atas yang terdapat dalam DJ dengan yang ada pada bahasa Bali.

4.1 Sufiks [-in] dalam dialek Jakarta dan bahasa Bali

4.1.1 Bentuk

Dari pemerian tentang sufix [-in] yang terdapat dalam DJ dan BB pada bagian 3. di atas, dapat dibuat dengan perbandingan tentang sufix tersebut yang terdapat dalam DJ dengan yang ada dalam BB, seperti terlihat pada Tabel 2, berikut.

Dengan memperhatikan cara kerja Mary R. Haas (1978:34-35), bentuk sufix tersebut aslinya adalah sufix [-in]. Variasi di Bali lebih banyak daripada yang diketemukan dalam DJ.
4.1.2 Arti

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sufiks</th>
<th>Artinya</th>
<th>Contoh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-in (DJ)</td>
<td>1) menyebabkan jadi; 2) menyatakan imperatif; 3) dibuat lebih; dan 4) menyatakan intensitas</td>
<td>betulin (43)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-in (BB)</td>
<td>1) menyebabkan jadi; 2) menyatakan imperatif; 3) dibuat lebih; 4) menyatakan intensitas; dan 5) melakukan perbuatan atau upacara seperti yang disebutkan kata dasar</td>
<td>jejehin (18)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ternyata dalam bidang arti pun sufiks \([-\text{in}\)]\) pada kedua bahasa tersebut memiliki persamaan. Hanya arti yang kelima dalam bahasa Bali masih tetap bertahan sampai saat ini karena mengandung makna yang khusus dan tetap dipergunakan sampai saat ini.

4.1.3 Fungsi

Baik dalam DJ maupun dalam BB, sufiks \([-\text{in}\)]\) berfungsi untuk memverbalkan jenis kata yang masuk kelompok nominal dan ajektival. Contoh-contohnya dapat dilihat kembali pada bagian 3 di atas.

Dari segi bentuk, arti, dan fungsi ternyata sufiks \([-\text{in}\)]\) yang terdapat dalam DJ hampir sama dengan bentuk, arti, dan fungsi sufiks itu yang terdapat dalam BB. Perbedaan yang muncul merupakan variasi dari yang ada, misalnya, perbedaan yang ada pada bentuk serta arti—merupakan suatu hal yang wajar dalam perkembangan bahasa.

Dari segi persamaan-persamaan tersebut, timbul dua macam masalah yang perlu mendapat jawaban, yaitu apakah DJ berinduk pada bahasa Bali atau meminjam beberapa unsur bahasa Bali termasuk unsur sufiks \([-\text{in}\)]\).

Kemungkinan yang pertama merupakan hal yang tidak mungkin karena DJ merupakan salah satu dialek bahasa Melayu, sedangkan bahasa Bali merupakan kelompok bahasa Bali-Sasak-Sumbawa. Kemungkinan yang kedua lebih mungkin karena bahasa Bali dalam hubungan tersebut meminjamkan beberapa unsur bahasa, termasuk sufiks \([-\text{in}\)]\) kepada DJ.

4.2 Simulfiks \([N-(\ )-\text{in}]\) dalam dialek Jakarta dan bahasa Bali

Dari pemering tentang simulfiks \([N-(\ )-\text{in}]\) yang terdapat dalam DJ dan BB pada bagian 3 di atas, dapat dibuat bagan perbandingan antara simulfiks \([N-(\ )-\text{in}]\) yang terdapat dalam DJ dan yang ada dalam BB seperti terlihat pada bagan berikut ini.
4.2.1 Bentuk

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Simulfiks</th>
<th>Variasi bentuk</th>
<th>fonem awal morfem dasar</th>
<th>Contoh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DJ</td>
<td>[N-( )-in]</td>
<td>p dan b</td>
<td>manganlin(50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[n-()-in]</td>
<td>t dan d</td>
<td>naktin(52)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[n-()-in]</td>
<td>s dan j</td>
<td>nyeberangin(55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[n-()-in]</td>
<td>b, l, d, j, k, g, a, E,</td>
<td>ngebandelin(62)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[n-()-in]</td>
<td>k, g, a, E, o</td>
<td>ngelekin(56)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[n-()-in]</td>
<td>k, g, a, E, o</td>
<td>ngapain(74)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[n-()-in]</td>
<td>k, g, a, E, o</td>
<td>ngendain(62)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[n-()-in]</td>
<td>k, g, a, E, o</td>
<td>ngolehin(75)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BB</td>
<td>[N-()-in]</td>
<td>p dan b</td>
<td>musingin(25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[n-()-in]</td>
<td>t dan d</td>
<td>niukin(27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[n-()-in]</td>
<td>s dan j</td>
<td>nyeuhin(76)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[n-()-in]</td>
<td>s dan j</td>
<td>menyebabkan biru(77)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[n-()-in]</td>
<td>s dan j</td>
<td>menyebabkan sakit(79)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[n-()-in]</td>
<td>s dan j</td>
<td>ngesokin(80)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[n-()-in]</td>
<td>s dan j</td>
<td>menyebakkan(79)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dalam bahasa Bali, simulfiks \([N-(\text{-})-in]\) jika digabungkan dengan morfem dasar yang diawali dengan konsonan, akan selalu mengalami peluluhan (perhatikan contoh-contoh pada bagan tersebut di atas).

Mengingat data tersebut di atas, simulfiks \([N-(\text{-})-in]\) pada DJ belum terpadu sepenuhnya karena peluluhan hanya terjadi dengan morfem dasar yang diawali oleh konsonan tajam.

4.2.2 Arti

Arti simulfiks \([N-(\text{-})-in]\) dalam DJ dan BB seperti dijelaskan pada bagian 3. di atas, dapat digambarkan seperti pada bagan di bawah ini.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sufiks</th>
<th>Artinya</th>
<th>Contoh</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DJ ([N-(\text{-})-in]) (morfem dasar diulang)</td>
<td>1) membuat jadi; 2) melakukan pekerjaan untuk orang lain; 3) membawa; dan 4) melakukan pekerjaan yang disebut morfem dasar; 5) membuat jadi atau menyebabkan lebih; dan 6) menyatakan berkali-kali dilakukan</td>
<td>(\text{nakutin}) (65) (\text{mbawain}) (66) (\text{nelariin}) (67) (\text{ndiriin}) (68) (\text{nyelèk-nyelèkin}) (69) (\text{mbacok-mbacokin}) (70)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BB ([N-(\text{-})-in])</td>
<td>1) memberi yang dikaitkan oleh morfem dasar; 2) memasang yang dikatakan morfem dasar; 3) menyebabkan seperti yang dikatakan morfem dasar; dan 4) membuat jadi lebih</td>
<td>(\text{ngulitìn}) (29) (\text{musingin}) (25) (\text{ngenitìn}) (30) (\text{nalemin}) (28)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Artinya yang muncul pada bentuk-bentuk yang tidak luluhan seperti pada nomor (66), (67), dan (68) merupakan arti yang tidak ada dalam bahasa Bali. Hal ini mungkin dikarenakan bahwa bentuk itu memang merupakan bentukan baru yang belum luluhan sepenuhnya sehingga membentuk arti yang tidak sama dengan bentukan yang ada dalam BB.
4.2.3 Fungsi

Fungsi simulfiks [N-(- )-in], baik yang terdapat dalam DJ maupun yang ada dalam BB, berfungsi untuk memverbalkan jenis kata nominal dan ajektival. Contoh-contohnya seperti yang tampak pada nomor (29) dan (30) untuk BB serta contoh nomor (71), (72), dan (73) untuk DJ.

5. KESIMPULAN

Berdasarkan pembahasan pada pembicaraan sebelumnya, dapatlah dibuat kesimpulan sebagai berikut:

1. Pembuktian dari segi pemerian bentuk, arti, dan fungsi sufiks [-in] dan simulfiks [N-(- )-in] yang terdapat dalam DJ, ternyata memiliki persamaan-persamaan dengan kedua afiks tersebut yang ada dalam BB;
2. Pada tahun 1815 (lihat Tabel 1), penutur DJ terdiri dari 7.720 orang yang berasal dari suku bangsa Bali. Jumlah tersebut merupakan jumlah terbesar di antara suku bangsa pembentuk penutur DJ. Oleh karena itu, diperkirakan bahasa orang Bali yang mereka gunakan dari daerah asalnya (Bali) akan memiliki pengaruh yang cukup besar;
3. Pengaruh BB terhadap DJ dalam bidang kosa kata sangat tinggi, yaitu sekitar 25% (?);
4. Pengaruh bahasa lain yang juga memiliki sufiks [-in] dan simulfiks [N-(- )-in], yaitu bahasa Sasak terhadap DJ belum dapat dibuktikan;
5. Satu-satunya bahasa yang mempengaruhi DJ dalam bidang sufiks [-in] dan simulfiks [N-(- )-in] tidak lain adalah BB.

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PERANAN BAHASA INDONESIA VARIETAS JAWA BARAT DALAM PROSES PEROLEHAN BAHASA INDONESIA OLEH ANAK-ANAK YANG BERBAHASA PERTAMA BAHASA SUnda DI KOTA BANDUNG

Husein Widjajakusumah

BAHASA INDONESIA DAN BAHASA SUNDA

Bahasa Indonesia dan bahasa Sunda adalah dua bahasa dari rumpun Austronesia yang sekarang di Jawa Barat sedang berkontak secara intensif, apalagi di kota Bandung sebagai ibu kota propinsi ini. Seperti diketahui, bahasa Indonesia adalah bahasa persatuan, bahasa resmi kenegaraan, dan bahasa nasional bangsa Indonesia yang sekarang berjumlah lebih dari 140.000.000 jiwa, sedangkan bahasa Sunda di Jawa Barat dipergunakan oleh kurang lebih 22.000.000 jiwa. Setelah bahasa Jawa, bahasa Sunda adalah bahasa daerah yang nomor dua besar jumlah pemakainya di Indonesia; dengan demikian merupakan bahasa yang cukup penting di antara bahasa-bahasa rumpun Austronesia.


Kontak bahasa antara bahasa Indonesia dan bahasa Sunda tersebut di atas memegang peranan penting dalam proses perolehan bahasa Indonesia oleh anak-anak yang berbahasa pertama bahasa Sunda. Adapun varietas bahasa Indonesia yang terutama berperan dalam proses ini adalah bahasa Indonesia varietas Jawa Barat, yang akan dideskripsikan ciri-cirinya khasnya secukupnya di bawah nanti.

MASYARAKAT DWIBAHASA INDONESIA-SUNDA DI KOTAMADYA BANDUNG


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HUSEIN WIDJAJAKUSUMAH

kota ini terdapat banyak pendatang yang dalam pergaulannya dengan penduduk asli mempergunakan bahasa Indonesia, yang dahulu oleh penduduk Bandung dikenal sebagai bahasa Melayu.

Dengan demikian, di kota ini bahasa Indonesia bertemu ataupun berkontak dengan bahasa Sunda, dan dalam kontak itu timbul para dwibahasawan Sunda-Indonesia yang merupakan anggota-anggota masyarakat dwibahasa tersebut di atas.

Pengaruh bahasa Indonesia di kota Bandung makian lama makin kuat. Pemerintahan, ketentaraan, kepolisian, sekolah-sekolah dan perguruan tinggi, partai politik, dunia perusahaan, media massa, dan lain-lain, terutama mempergunakan bahasa Indonesia.

Menurut pengalaman sehari-hari yang kami dapat sebagai penduduk kota ini, dan berdasarkan hasil penelitian yang kami lakukan mengenai bahasa Indonesia dan bahasa Sunda di Bandung (Widjajakusumah 1976 dan 1980) diperoleh gambaran bahwa masyarakat bahasa di kota ini bersifat majemuk, yaitu terdiri dari orang-orang yang pada dasarnya hanya mempergunakan bahasa Sunda antara sesamanya dalam kehidupan mereka, orang-orang yang dwibahasa Sunda-Indonesia, ialah mereka yang biasa mempergunakan bahasa Sunda dan bahasa Indonesia antara sesamanya, dan orang-orang yang hanya mempergunakan bahasa Indonesia dalam kehidupan sehari-harinya.

Kelompok yang disebut pertama terdiri dari rakyat jelata yang bahasa pertamanya bahasa Sunda, biasanya berpendidikan dan berstatus sosial-ekonomi rendah. Di samping itu, dalam kelompok ini terdapat pula orang-orang dengan pendidikan dan status social yang lebih tinggi; biasanya mereka termasuk generasi yang agak tua.


Kelompok ketiga hanya pandai berbahasa Indonesia, tidak pandai dan tidak biasa mempergunakan salah satu bahasa daerah.

Di samping ketiga kelompok ini ada sejumlah relatif kecil orang-orang Indonesia yang di samping pandai berbahasa Indonesia, Sunda, dan atau bahasa daerah lain, juga pandai berbahasa asing.


Bahasa Indonesia baku dipergunakan dalam suasana resmi keindonesiaan atau pun kenegaraan, misalnya, dalam suasana dinas di kantor, dalam perkuliahan di universitas, dan dalam pelajaran-pelajaran di sekolah-sekolah.

BI Jabar dipergunakan dalam suasana santai sehari-hari terutama suasana keindonesiaan, misalnya, oleh para mahasiswa dan pelajar berbagai suku di luar perkuliahan dan di luar kelas, oleh para tetangga, di pasar, di toko-toko tempat diperlukannya pemakaian bahasa Indonesia antara anggota-anggota berbagai suku.


Kebanyakan orang Sunda di Kota ini mempergunakan bahasa Sunda dengan sesamanya dalam bidang dan suasana apabila dirasakan tidak perlu mempergunakan bahasa Indonesia. Tidak jarang pula ada orang non-Sunda mempergunakan bahasa Sunda dengan orang Sunda. Kadang-kadang ada orang non-Sunda mempergunakan bahasa ini dengan orang non-Sunda dalam peristiwa bicara apabila ada orang Sunda.

Sejak mulai adanya BI Jabar, orang-orang yang berbahasa pertama bahasa Sunda pun tidak jarang mempergunakan kode ini antara sesamanya, terutama dalam peristiwa bicara apabila ada orang lain yang dianggap tidak dapat atau tidak mempergunakan bahasa Sunda.

Kebiasaan ini makin lama makin kuat sehingga sekarang ini di kota Bandung banyak orang Sunda yang biasa mempergunakan BI Jabar antara sesamanya sekalipun tidak ada orang lain dalam peristiwa bicaranya.


Di samping itu, bahasa Indonesia juga lebih intensif dipergunakan di daerah dalam kota daripada di daerah pinggiran kota karena di daerah dalam itu terdapat lebih banyak penduduk yang non-Sunda jika dibandingkan dengan di daerah pinggiran. (Widjajakusumah 1980:24,26).

CIRI-CIRI UTAMA BAHASA INDONESIA VARIETAS JAWA BARAT

BI Jabar mempunyai beberapa ciri utama yang membedakannya dari bahasa Indonesia baku. Ciri-ciri ini merupakan pengaruh dari bahasa Sunda dan ada juga pengaruh dari bahasa Melayu Jakarta.
Pengaruh-pengaruh ini terutama terdapat di bidang ucapan dan intonasi. Ada pula pengaruh di bidang morfologi, sintaksis, semantik, dan kosa kata.

Di bidang ucapan fonem segmental dan intonasi, yang paling jelas terdengar adalah pengaruh di bidang ucapan vokal yang dalam bahasa Sunda tidak mengenal varians-variannya seperti yang, misalnya, terdengar dalam bahasa Jawa atau bahasa Melayu di Sumatra Timur. Dengan demikian tidak ada varians-variannya vokal yang disebabkan oleh tinggi rendahnya vokal yang bersangkutan.

Dalam bahasa Sunda vokal /i/ dan /u/ selalu merupakan vokal atas, vokal /e/ dan /o/ selalu merupakan vokal tengan-bawah sehingga diucapkan [ɛ] dan [ɔ].

Dengan demikian, misalnya, kata piring selalu diucapkan [piŋ]; pirin diucapkan [gʊŋ] dan tidak pernah [gʊŋ] atau [gʊŋ]. Demikian juga, misalnya, kata sore selalu diucapkan [sœɾɛ], dan tidak pernah [sœɾe].

Mengenai konsonan, /b/, /d/, dan /g/ pada posisi akhir tetap diucapkan [b], [d], dan [ɡ], tidak pernah [p], [t] dan [k]. Demikian pula /k/ pada posisi akhir selalu diucapkan [k] dan tidak pernah sebagai letupan glotal [ʔ].

Dengan demikian, misalnya, kata sebab selalu diucapkan [sœbəb], dan tak pernah [sœbap]; abad selalu diucapkan [abad] dan tidak pernah [abat]; bedug selalu diucapkan [bœdu] dan tidak pernah [bœduk], anak selalu diucapkan [anak] dan tidak pernah [anaʔ].

Selain itu, /y/ pada diftong turun selalu diucapkan [i] sehingga, misalnya kobo selalu diucapkan [kœboj], dan tidak pernah [kœbo].

Ada kecenderungan untuk mengucapkan diftong turun au dan ai dalam bahasa Indonesia baku menjadi [ɔw] dan [ɛy] dalam BI Jabar sehingga, misalnya, kata kacau diucapkan [kacœw], dan kata pantai diucapkan [panɛy].

Dalam ucapan vokal pada posisi akhir dalam suku kata terbuka terdapat pula pengaruh bahasa Sunda, yaitu penambahatan [ʔ] atau [h] tanpa mengubah arti. Dengan demikian, misalnya:

/satu/ sering diucapkan [satuʔ]
/apa/ sering diucapkan [apaʔ]
/ini/ sering diucapkan [iniʔ] atau [inih]
/itu/ sering diucapkan [ituʔ] atau [ituh]

Pengaruh intonasi bahasa Sunda pada BI Jabar besar sekali; kalau kita mendengar BI varietas ini dari Jawa dan fonem-fonem segmentalnya, tak terdengar jelas, kita mengira bahwa kode yang terdengar itu adalah bahasa Sunda.

Di bidang morfologi pengaruh bahasa Sunda pada BI Jabar adalah terutama jarang dipergunakannya awalan me- pada bentuk dengan nasalisasi sebagai ciri kata kerja aktif, dan juga jarang dipergunakannya awalan ber-. Selain itu, awalan me- dalam posisi tertentu didanti oleh awalan no-, Dengan demikian, dalam BI Jabar, misalnya, sering terdengar ngambil alih-alih mengambil, jalan alih-alih berjalan, ngedorong alih-alih mendorong, dan lain-lain.

Hal-hal lain mengenai interferensi di bidang morfologi dari bahasa Sunda ke dalam BI Jabar ini dapat kita temukan dalam karya Rusyana (1975:84 dst.).

Di bidang sintaksis pengaruh bahasa Sunda pada BI Jabar adalah terutama pemakaian bentuk di- pasif ditambah oleh pada persona pertama, kedua, dan ketiga, pemakaian kombinasi morfosintaksis dike-kan, dan pemakaian beberapa partikel. Dengan demikian, kita dapat mendengar, misalnya, dibawa oleh saya;
dibeli oleh kamu; diambil oleh dia, dikeibukan oleh saya. (Diberikan pada ibu oleh saya, dibawa pada ibu oleh saya). Dikedihkan oleh kamu. Dikesanakan saja. Selanjutnya:

Rumahnya teh bagus sekali. (Rumahnya 'tuh bagus sekali).

Saya mah/sih engga bisa datang. (Saya sth tak bisa datang).

Jangan begitu atuh. (Jangan begitu dong).

Ini buku yang kemaren tea. (Inilah buku yang kemarin itu. Bandingkan tea dengan kae dalam bahasa Jawa).

Pengaruh di bidang semantik tidak banyak, misalnya: Mana yang kamu?, artinya: Mana kepunyaan kamu?, Partikel yang dalam bahasa Sunda diterjemahkan nu, tetapi nu juga berarti kepunyaan. Contoh lain lagi:

Tuh di tinggi, artinya: Itu di atas.

Kata tinggi dan atas kedua-duanya diterjemahkan dengan kata luahr dalam bahasa Sunda. Oleh karena itu, terjadilah kesalahan seperti yang diuraikan di atas.

Pengaruh di bidang kosa kata disebabkan oleh pemakaian kata-kata khas Sunda atau yang mempunyai konotasi tertentu yang tak ada ekivalennya dalam bahasa Indonesia, atau disebabkan oleh karena seseorang tidak tahu suatu kata Indonesia, misalnya, Dulu orang Sunda banyak yang memakai bendo (ikat kepala); Sekolah kamu kalau maen kasti selalu keok (kalah betul); Si Kabayan diajak ke sawah mitohanya (merduanya).

Di samping pengaruh-pengaruh dari bahasa tersebut di atas, dalam BI Jabar terdapat pengaruh dari bahasa Sunda yang kebetulan ada juga dalam bahasa Melayu Jakarta, misalnya ucapan kata saja menjadi aja atau ajah; kata sudah menjadi udah; kata sama menjadi ama. Juga penggantian kata oleh menjadi sama.


PERANAN BI VARIETAS JAWA BARAT DALAM PEROLEHAN BAHASA INDONESIA

Di bawah ini kami akan mencoba membiarkan peranan BI Jabar ditinju secara sosiolinguistik dalam perolehan bahasa Indonesia sebagai bahasa kedua oleh anak-anak yang berbahasa bahasa Sunda di Kotamadya Bandung.

Sejalan dengan pendapat Lado (1964:38), yang kami maksudkan dengan memperoleh bahasa kedua adalah pada dasarnya memperoleh kemampuan untuk mempergunakan struktturnya dalam rangka perbendaharaan kata yang umum dalam kondisi komunikasi normal antara penutur asli pada kecepatan percakapan biasa.


Bahasa Indonesia yang didapatnya secara formal adalah bahasa Indonesia varietas Jawa Barat, yang bukan hanya diperoleh di luar sekolah, tetapi juga di sekolah di luar kelas dari teman-teman. Para guru pun dalam suasana santai di luar kelas kadang-kadang mempergunakan kode ini di samping bahasa Indonesia baku dan bahasa Sunda.
Seperti dikatakan di atas pemakaian BI Jabar di kota Bandung dalam belasan tahun terakhir ini makin bertambah intensif. Makin banyak keluarga Sunda yang pada dasarnya lebih banyak mempergunakan kode ini daripada bahasa Sunda dalam kehidupan mereka sehari-hari, juga di rumah antara suami isteri, orang tua dan anak, antara saudara dengan saudara.

Ada dua faktor utama yang menyebabkan hal ini, yaitu sebagai berikut.

1. Makin banyaknya orang non-Sunda yang datang dan menetap di Bandung.
2. Pemakaian BI Jabar dirasakan lebih praktis daripada bahasa Sunda karena dalam bahasa Sunda terdapat tingkat-tingkat bahasa (undak-usuk) sedangkan dalam BI Jabar tidak ada hal ini.

Orang-orang non-Sunda yang datang dan menetap di Bandung membawakan bahasa Indonesia dalam berbagai posisi dan peran, terutama sebagai rekan, teman sekolah, dan tetangga. Dalam posisi itu mereka sering ada dalam peristiwa bicara antara orang-orang Sunda, yang karena tenggang rasa lalu mempergunakan bahasa Indonesia antara mereka sendiri.

Dalam rangka perolehan bahasa Indonesia oleh anak yang berbahasa pertama bahasa Sunda hal ini dirasakan di sekolah antara teman-teman, di daerah ke- tetanggaan terutama di daerah-dalam kota, dan di rumah terutama pada kalangan atas.

Pemakaian bahasa Indonesia varietas Jawa Barat di kalangan Sunda yang banyak mempergunakannya juga disebabkan karena kode ini membebaskan mereka dari pilihan antara bentuk kasar dan bentuk halus yang harus mereka lakukan kalau mereka mempergunakan bahasa Sunda.

Seperti kita ketahui, dalam bahasa Jawa pada dasarnya ada dua tingkat bahasa, yaitu krama dan ngoko (Bandungkan Clifford Geertz dalam Fisher 1968: 282) yang dapat diperluas menjadi tiga, bahkan delapan tingkat (Uhlenbeck 1976: 442, 443). Demikian pula dalam bahasa Sunda ada dua tingkat lemes (halus) dan kasar yang dapat diperluas menjadi tiga, bahkan lima tingkat, iaitu: (1) kasar sekali, (2) kasar, (3) halus yang digunakan dalam hubungan dengan orang yang menghormati, (4) halus yang digunakan dalam hubungan dengan orang yang dihormati, dan (5) halus sekali.

Karena adanya tingkat-tingkat bahasa ini, kalau orang berbicara dalam bahasa Sunda, seperti juga dalam bahasa Jawa, maka ia harus selalu memperhatikan hubungan-hubungan status sosial antara ia sebagai pembicara dengan yang diajak bicara, dan dengan yang dibicarakan. Demikian juga ia harus memperhatikan hubungan itu antara yang diajak bicara dengan yang dibicarakan. Dalam rangka hubungan-hubungan itu ia juga harus memperhatikan adanya orang ketiga. Di samping itu, unsur intim dan kurang intim, hormat dan kurang hormat antara yang bersangkutan juga memainkan peranan penting.

Ini semua harus secara pantas diekspresikan dalam tingkat-tingkat bahasa yang digunakan, yang melibatkan pemakaian berbagai kata untuk satu pengertian. Sebagai contoh, seorang isteri berkata pada suaminya di dekat mertuanya bahwa anak pembantunya sudah ingin makan: "Anak si bibi tos hoyongen neda". Ia mempergunakan bahasa halus pada suaminya karena ada mertuanya. Kalau tak ada mertuanya itu ia akan mempergunakan bahasa kasar (yang dapat juga disebut bahasa wajar) pada suaminya itu sebagai tanda intimitas, dan akan berkata: "Anak si bibi geus hayangeun dahar".

Kalau ia berbicara tentang anak Pak Bupati, atasan suaminya, ia akan berkata: "Putra Pa Bupati tos palayeun tuang". Hal ini terjadi kalau ia tidak
yakin bahwa tidak ada orang ketiga yang mendengar. Kalau tak ada orang ketiga, bergantung pada perasaan hormatnya pada Pak Bupati ketika ia berbicara, ia akan berbicara dengan bahasa halus atau dengan bahasa kasar pada suaminya tentang anak atasannya yang ingin makan itu.

Dapat dimengerti bahwa orang harus berhati-hati berbicara dalam bahasa Sunda agar jangan sampai ada pihak-pihak yang merasa kurang dihargai, atau sebaliknya, agar jangan sampai terlalu meninggikan seseorang yang menurut hubungan posisi sosial itu tak pantas ditinggikan seperti itu.

Sebelum penggunaan bahasa Indonesia secara intensif di kalangan dwibahasa Sunda-Indonesia di Bandung, penggunaan bentuk-bentuk halus dalam bahasa Sunda oleh orang-orang yang berbahasa pertama bahasa Sunda berjalan secara otomatis karena sudah dibiasakan sejak kecil, kecuali mungkin dalam peristiwa bicara apabila salah seorang pesertanya telah mencapai kenaikan cepat di tangga sosial, misalnya kalau anak-anak yang sudah mulai dewasa berbicara dengan seorang bekas pembantu rumah tangga yang menjadi istri seorang yang cukup terhormat. Dalam hal ini anak-anak itu akan ragu-ragu dalam pemilihan bentuk kasar dan bentuk halus ketika berbicara dengan wanita itu.

Keraguan semacam ini menjadi lebih nyata setelah bahasa Indonesia, terutama varietas Jawa Barat, masuk lebih intensif ke dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Hal ini disebabkan karena kode ini memberikan kemungkinan untuk mengambil jalan tengah, jalan netral, tak usah memilih-milih antara bentuk kasar dan bentuk halus.

Hal ini dapat didengar dari alih kode dari bahasa Sunda ke bahasa Indonesia dalam kehidupan sehari-hari, atau dari pemakaian kata-kata Indonesia dalam bahasa Sunda. Dengan masuknya bahasa Indonesia dalam kehidupan sehari-hari orang Sunda di Bandung, maka kadang-kadang pemakaian bentuk kasar dalam bahasa Sunda dirasakan terlalu kasar, sedangkan pemakaian bentuk halus dirasakan terlalu halus.


Penggantian kata-kata Sunda yang memaksakan orang memilih bentuk halus dan kasar oleh Indonesia sering sekali dilakukan oleh anak-anak muda yang sebenarnya ingin mempergunakan bahasa Sunda kasar sebagai tanda intimitas dan kesetiakawanan, tetapi khawatir akan dianggap terlalu kasar. Misalnya: Urang make heula, yu, (Kita makan dulu, yu) alih-alih Urang tuang heula, yu. Untuk mempergunakan bentuk halus Urang tuang heula, yu, terasa tidak pantas karena terlalu halus untuk dipergunakan antara sesama teman karib, apalagi di antara para pemuda.

Untuk memberikan gambaran yang lebih jelas mengenai peristiwa-peristiwa bicara yang membawa bahasa Indonesia, terutama varietas Jawa Barat, pada anak yang berbahasa pertama bahasa Sunda di Bandung, di bawah ini akan diberikan lukisan peristiwa-peristiwa kebahasaan yang dapat dilihat dalam rangka etnografi bicara (Dell Hymes 1962, dalam Fishman 1968:101) atau dalam rangka sosiolinguistik yang memperhatikan: Siapa yang mempergunakan, varietas apa dari bahasa apa, kepada siapa, kapan, dan mengenai apa (Fishman 1970:2).
Kita ambil sebuah keluarga Sunda yang terdiri dari suami isteri dan empat orang anak. Yang sulung anak perempuan di kelas dua Sekolah Menengah Pertama (SMP), yang kedua anak lelaki di kelas lima Sekolah Dasar, yang ketiga anak perempuan di Taman Kanak-kanak, dan yang bungsu anak lelaki yang baru berumur dua tahun. Ayah mereka adalah pegawai negeri tingkat menengah, ibunya tidak bekerja kecuali sebagai ibu rumah tangga.

Pada suatu pagi mereka bangun, ayahnya memasang radio transistor mendengarkan warta berita pagi dalam bahasa Indonesia baku. Selesai warta berita penyiar memutar lagu-lagu pop dengan banyak komentar dalam bahasa Indonesia varietas Jawa Barat yang didengarkan oleh ketiga anak yang akan pergi ke sekolah sambil mereka mempersiapkan diri untuk berangkat.

Percakapan di rumah pada dasarnya mempergunakan bahasa Sunda, tetapi anak sulung yang di SMP itu kalau menceritakan keperluannya di sekolah atau menyampaikan pesan guru sering mempergunakan kalimat-kalimat atau frase-frase dalam BI Jabar. Mendengar anaknya mempergunakan BI itu ayahnya pun kadang-kadang menjawabnya dalam kode itu.


Ibu mereka sambil membantu anak yang duduk di Taman Kanak-kanak kadang-kadang mempergunakan kalimat-kalimat atau frase-frase BI yang ia tahu sering dipergunakan di Taman Kanak-kanak itu, misalnya: Tidak boleh nakal, di samping Teu kenging nakal, atau Duduknya yang manis; tempat makanan, tempat minuman, dan lain-lain yang dalam bahasa Sunda adalah: Calik na sin e atau Bu ng na sin e, tempat makanan; tempat keda ran, tempat leueuteun atau tempat inumeun, bergantung pada apakah dikatakan dalam tingkat halus atau kasar. Pemakaian kalimat atau frase dari dunia Taman Kanak-kanak dalam BI oleh ibu itu menghindarkannya untuk memilih antara bentuk halus dan bentuk kasar, di samping pembiasaannya anak pada bahasa Indonesia yang menjadi bahasa pengantar di Taman Kanak-kanak.

Di sekolah suasana kebahasaan pada dasarnya adalah bahwa dalam pelajaran di kelas dipergunakan bahasa Indonesia baku, kecuali dalam pelajaran bahasa daerah yang dalam hubungan ini bahasa Sunda merupakan bahasa pengantar. Akan tetapi, di kelas dipergunakan juga bahasa Indonesia varietas Jabar kalau guru ingin menyampaikan sesuatu secara santai atau ingin lebih dekat pada suasana anak-anak, misalnya, kalau ia menegur atau memuji anak. Untuk maksud ini kadang-kadang dipergunakan juga kata, frase, atau kalimat Sunda.


Sampai batas tertentu penggunaan BI Jabar memberikan rasa intimitas antara orang-orang Sunda seperti mereka mempergunakan bahasa Sunda kasar tanpa mendapat sosial 'terlalu kasar'. Di samping itu, penggunaan BI Jabar itu membebaskan mereka dari satu pendapat sosial lainnya, ialah 'eksklusif Sunda'. Akan tetapi, penggunaan BI Jabar alih-alih bahasa Sunda meminta sedikit banyak pengorbanan rasa kesundaan, yang bagi banyak kaum intelektual Sunda di Bandung tampaknya tidak merupakan pengorbanan yang terlalu besar.

Sesampai di rumah, anak-anak tersebut di atas melihat-lihat surat kabar tingkat propinsi dalam bahasa Indonesia yang cukup baik, tetapi yang mempunyai rubrik kecil dalam bahasa Indonesia Jawa Barat, dan yang juga teratur memampikan karikatur dengan komentar dalam kode ini. Kedua-duanya sering dibaca oleh anak-anak itu karena singkat, lucu, dan karena kode yang dipergunakannya begitu dekat dengan variasi bahasa Indonesia yang biasa mereka pergunakan sehari-hari.

Selain koran itu, ada pula koran mingguan dalam bahasa Sunda yang bahasanya sering memperlihatkan pengaruh bahasa Indonesia atau bahasa Melayu Jakarta, yang juga sering dibaca oleh anak-anak.


Malam hari siaran TV mengekspos mereka lagi terhadap bahasa Indonesia dan kadang-kadang juga terhadap kode ini yang sangat dipengaruh oleh bahasa Melayu Jakarta, yang mempunyai banyak persamaan dengan BI Jabar.

Demikianlah dalam kehidupan sehari-hari anak-anak yang berbahasa pertama bahasa Sunda di kota Bandung ini banyak sekali diekspos terhadap BI Jabar dan boleh dikatakan secara bermain-main memperoleh kode ini.
Ada beberapa kejadian penting dalam siklus satu tahun di mana anak yang berbahasa pertama bahasa Sunda di Bandung dengan intensif sekali diekspose terhadap BI Jabar ini, yaitu, misalnya, kegiatan-kegiatan berbagai perlombaan di masyarakat setempat dalam rangka perayaan 17 Agustus, kegiatan sekitar mesjid di bulan puasa dan lebaran, perayaan naik kelas di Sekolah Dasar, dan lain-lain.


Setelah memperoleh kode ini mereka akan terus mempergunakan BI Jabar dalam situasi-situasi yang pantas untuk pemakaianannya, sedangkan mereka akan mempergunakan BI baku dalam situasi-situasi yang menuntut kode ini sebaiknya digunakan.

Dari seluruh uraian di atas dapat disimpulkan bahwa BI Jabar di kota Bandung adalah sebagai berikut.

1. Membantu diterimanya BI sebagai sarana komunikasi dalam kehidupan sehari-hari;
2. Dalam lingkungan intelektual Sunda tertentu sering dipergunakan di rumah, dan dengan demikian mengakrabkan anak sejak kecil kepada BI;
3. Merupakan bahasa-antara dalam perolehan bahasa Indonesia baku oleh anak-anak yang berbahasa pertama bahasa Sunda;
4. Membebaskan orang dari rasa eksklusifisme Sunda dan mendekatkannya pada suasana keindonesiaan, tetapi masih memberikan warna kesundaan dalam peristiwa-peristiwa bicara;
5. Merupakan salah satu cara untuk memperlihatkan identitas diri sebagai orang Indonesia, khususnya orang Indonesia terpelajar dan sebagai orang kota, dan

Dalam rangka kita membicarakan peranan BI Jabar dalam perolehan bahasa Indonesia oleh anak-anak yang berbahasa pertama bahasa Sunda di kota Bandung ini, yang paling penting adalah kesimpulan ad.2 dan ad.3.

Meskipun penggunaan BI Jabar pada umumnya merupakan faktor kuat dalam perolehan bahasa Indonesia oleh anak-anak yang bersangkutan, tetapi satu segi yang negatif dalam hal ini adalah masuknya pengaruh bahasa Sunda melalui BI Jabar ini di dalam bahasa Indonesia anak-anak itu.

Masih harus difikirkan langkah-langkah apa yang harus diambil agar anak-anak yang tak dapat dielakkan dari exposure terhadap bahasa Sunda dalam kehidupan sehari-hari memperoleh bahasa Indonesia baku yang baik dan benar sesudah dan di samping mereka memperoleh BI Jabar.
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RAYFIELD, J.R.


RUSYANA, Yus


TIM PENELITIAN JURUSAN BAHASA DAN SASTRA INDONESIA FAKULTAS SASTRA UNIVERSITAS PADJADJARAN

HUSEIN WIDJAJAKUSUMAH

UHLENBECK, E.M.

WEINREICH, U.

WIDJAJAKUSUMAH, H.
INTERFERENSI LEKSIKAL BAHASA MALAYU MANADO PADA
PENGGUNAAN BAHASA INDONESIA OLEH PEJABAT DAN
AGEN MEDIA MASSA DI SULAWESI UTARA

Henny Lomban Ticoalu

1. PENDAHULUAN

Bahasa Malayu Manado telah dipakai oleh penduduk Manado yang terdiri dari berbagai kelompok etnis asal Sulawesi Utara dan para pendatang suku bangsa lain yang berdomisili di ibu kota Propinsi Sulawesi Utara, Manado sejak beberapa abad yang lalu.

Sungguhpun beberapa kelompok etnis Sulawesi Utara seperti Minahasa, Gorontalo, Sangir Talaud, dan Bolaang Mongondow masih mempergunakan bahasa ibu antaranggota kelompok etnisnya masing-masing, bahasa Malayu Manado itu dipergunakan secara merata dan meluas untuk keperluan komunikasi antarteman sejawat, anggota keluarga, pembantu rumah, pedagang, bahkan dengan pejabat dan petugas negara dan seluruh lapisan masyarakat dalam beberapa aspek kegiatan dan lingkungan tertentu di Manado. Malah kenyataan menunjukkan bahwa bahasa Manado yang pada beberapa generasi sebelumnya berfungsi sebagai *lingua franca* dan merupakan bahasa perolehan kedua dari penduduk Manado, kini telah menjadi bahasa pertama dari sebagian besar penduduk, terutama anak-anak yang dilahirkan di Manado.

Dengan adanya penentuan bahasa persatuan nasional, yaitu bahasa Indonesia yang telah dihayati sejak 1928 dan perumusannya dituangkan pada Undang-undang Dasar 1945, Bab XV, Pasal 36, maka bahasa Indonesia sesuai fungsi dan kedudukannya menempati beberapa lingkungan pemakaian tertentu, sedangkan bahasa Malayu Manado tetap dipakai berdampingan dengan bahasa etnis. Jadi, ketiga-tiganya dipakai dalam aspek kegiatan dan lingkungan yang berbeda oleh individu masyarakat multilingual ini.

Bahasa Indonesia dan bahasa Malayu Manado yang berasal dari satu sumber, yaitu bahasa Malayu ternyata mempunyai banyak persamaan di samping perbedaannya dalam struktur bentuk, bunyi, leksikon, dan konstruksi kalimat. Sehubungan dengan bahasa sumber, dikemukakan dalam disertasi Husen Abas (1978:60-61) bahwa bahasa Malayu yang mulanya dipakai oleh penduduk di Kepulauan Riau dan Selat Malaka itu merupakan salah satu bahasa Austronesia yang sangat cepat diterima dan diserap oleh suku bangsa Austronesia di daerah lain karena mempunyai lebih banyak persamaan daripada perbedaan dengan bahasa suku bangsa Austronesia lainnya.

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Situasi inilah yang mendorong perluasan bahasa Malayu di daerah-daerah lain sehingga bahasa Malayu merupakan bahasa perhubungan atau *lingua franca* antarsuku-suku bangsa di Kepulauan Nusantara terutama dalam domain perdagangan maritim antarpulau, sejak Kerajaan Sriwijaya di abad ke-7 AD. Walaupun pada permulaannya hanya dipakai oleh 10% penduduk Indonesia, tetapi fungsinya sebagai alat perhubungan inilah yang mungkin lebih menguatkan dasar pengangkatan bahasa Malayu sebagai bahasa persatuan nasional bangsa Indonesia. Selain berkedudukan sebagai bahasa nasional, bahasa Indonesia juga merupakan bahasa negara yang berfungsi sebagai: (1) bahasa resmi kenegaraan, (2) bahasa pengantar di dalam dunia pencidikan, (3) alat perhubungan pada tingkat nasional untuk kepentingan perencanaan dan pelaksanaan pembangunan nasional serta kepentingan pemerintahan, (4) alat pengembangan kebudayaan, ilmu pengetahuan dan teknologi.

Untuk mengukuhkan fungsi dan kedudukan bahasa Indonesia telah dilaksanakan kebijaksanaan politik bahasa nasional yang ditujukan untuk menghindari kekaburan fungsi dan kedudukannya antara bahasa nasional, bahasa daerah, dan bahasa asing, seperti yang ditegaskan Amran Halim (1975:20-21).

Pembedaan fungsi dan kedudukan bahasa memungkinkan mengatur masuknya unsur-unsur baru dari bahasa-bahasa lain itu sedemikian rupa sehingga hanya unsur-unsur yang benar-benar dibutuhkan untuk memperkaya bahasa Nasional kita sajalah yang kita terima. Meniadakan sama sekali masuknya unsur-unsur bahasa lain ke dalam bahasa Indonesia tidak mungkin dilakukan oleh karena adalah suatu kenyataan bahwa apabila dua bahasa atau lebih dipergunakan di dalam masyarakat yang sama, maka terjadilah apa yang disebut kontak bahasa, yang mau tidak mau mengakibatkan terjadinya hubungan timbal balik dan saling mempengaruhi.

Untuk membina dan mengembangkan bahasa Indonesia sesuai dengan fungsi dan kedudukannya dilaksanakan usaha pembahuan yang terus-menerus di bidang ejaan, istilah, dan tata bahasa.

Sementara itu, bahasa Malayu sebagai bahasa perhubungan sejak permulaan abad ke-161 telah dikristalisasi dengan unsur-unsur bahasa daerah pemakai di Manado dan tetap berkembang secara alamiah, yang oleh masyarakat penuturnya disebut dan diidentifikasi sebagai bahasa Malayu Manado.

Bahasa Malayu Manado bila diklasifikasi menurut Stuwart (dalam Joshua Fishman, 1968), jika ditinjau dari segi sintak dan pemakaian dalam konteks bahasa non-Malayu, yaitu hanya memiliki vitalitas, tetapi tidak mempunyai standardisasi, otonomi, dan kesejajaran identik dengan suku. Penggolongan yang sering dipakai pada publikasi populer, yaitu dialek Manado, mungkin ditinjau dari klasifikasi genetis bahasa Malayu dan penyebarannya—tetapi sesuai dengan fungsi dan kedudukan yang dirumuskan Politik Bahasa Nasional—Bahasa Malayu Manado termasuk ke dalam bahasa daerah walaupun bukan bahasa etnis.

Ditinjau dari segi struktur leksikonnya, bahasa Malayu Manado yang sudah dikodifikasi terbanyak menyatu unsur non-Malayu; namun, yang dominan adalah unsur Malayunya yang sebagian besar homofon dan homonim dengan leksikon bahasa Indonesia. Persamaan unsur leksikal dalam kedua bahasa ini tampak lebih besar jumlahnya terdapat pada leksim yang terdiri dari morfem bebas, sedangkan pada morfem terikat sebagian dipengaruhi oleh struktur grammatikal kedua bahasa yang berbeda. Adanya persamaan dan perbedaan itu adalah karena kedua bahasa itu berasal dari satu sumber, yang kini telah berbeda kedudukan dan fungsinya sehingga mendorong kecenderungan saling mempengaruhi antara bahasa Malayu
INTERFERENSI LEKSIKAL BMM PADA PENGGUNAAN BI

Manado dan bahasa Indonesia pada pemakai masyarakat bilingual/multilingual di Sulawesi Utara. Masalahnya sampai sejauh mana gejala saling mempengaruhi ini menimbulkan interferensi yang menurut Uriel Weinreich (1968), dapat menyebabkan penyimpangan ketidak lazim dalam salah satu bahasa dwibahasawan?

Untuk ini telah diadakan penelitian gejala interferensi bahasa Malayu Manado pada pemakaian bahasa Indonesia untuk kepentingan pembukaan dan pengembangan bahasa nasional yang menurut Amran Halim (1975:3) dapat dilakukan dengan cara memanfaatkan metode, teknik, dan hasil yang dicapai dalam sosiolinguistik. Gejala interferensi difokuskan pada studi interferensi leksikal dalam kontak bahasa untuk mengkaji konsepse Weinreich mengenai implikasi pergeseran makna yang ditemukan dalam unsur leksikal yang homofon dan homonim pada bahasa-bahasa yang genetis dan kultural berkerabat (Weinreich 1968).

Berapakan luas interferensi yang dapat terjadi pada dwibahasawan/multi-bahasawan pejabat pemerintah dan agen media massa yang luas pengaruhnya dan besar wibawanya ketika berkomunikasi dengan menggunakan bahasa nasional pada waktu membicarakan masalah kepentingan perencanaan, pelaksanaan pembangunan nasional, serta kepentingan pemerintahan?

Metode yang dipakai dalam penelitian ini adalah gabungan teknik pengumpulan dan analisis data ilmu sosial dan ilmu bahasa yang disebut sosiolinguistik.

Pemilihan sasaran populasi penelitian diprioritaskan kepada pejabat pemerintah karena di samping guru, alim ulama, dan kaum cendekiawan, mereka termasuk golongan pembina pendapat umum yang cepat dicontoh massa.

2. INTERFERENSI LEKSIKAL DAN IDENTIFIKASI POLA SUBSTITUSI


Menurut hemat penelitian tinjaun pertama adalah pada latar belakang situasi pemakaian kedwibahasasan/multibahasasan yang mengadakan kontak bahasa, kemudian melihat motivasi atau sebab dalam struktur bahasa yang dikorelasikan dengan faktor-faktor luar bahasa, dan yang penting adalah akibat yang ditimbulkan terhadap norma bahasa yang dipakai dalam hal ini bahasa Indonesia. Peminjaman dapat terjadi pada ekabahasawan dan biasanya disebabkan oleh kebutuhan baik dalam struktur leksikon yang belum ada padanannya dan medan diferensiasi semantik, juga oleh faktor luar bahasa seperti faktor prestise.
Pengaruh unsur pinjaman pada norma bahasa dalam hal ini leksikon akan memperkaya perbendaharaan bahasa itu jika benar-benar diperlukan, tetapi sebaliknya, jika unsur-unsur itu tidak diperlukan akan menyulitkan pembakuan bahasa.

Interferensi selalu terjadi pada dwibahasawan yang membawa kedua bahasanya dalam kontak. Paksaan dari kedua sistem atau struktur bahasa yang sekaligus diketahui menyebabkan dwibahasawan itu mengidentifikasikan bunyi, kata, atau makna dari bahasa perolehan pertama dengan menyamakannya pada bahasa perolehan kedua yang sedang dipakainya. Dalam data penelitian ini terdapat realisasi interferensi leksikal pola substitusi lebih besar jumlahnya dari pola importasi. Melihat unsur-unsur importasi dari bahasa Malayu Manado yang dipindahkan pada pemakaian bahasa Indonesia, semuanya mempunyai padanannya dalam bahasa Indonesia. Oleh karena itu, dapatlah disimpulkan bahwa unsur-unsur tersebut bukan unsur pinjaman karena tidak didasari oleh alasan kebutuhan (need-filling) pada faktor dalam bahasa. Faktor penyebab dan pendorong terjadinya interferensi pola leksikal importasi adalah faktor luar bahasa, yaitu adanya toleransi yang besar dari sasaran populasi akan bahasa campuran (BI dan BMM) yang dirasa lebih mempertaut hubungan pembicara dengan lawan bicara sesuai generalisasi opini wawancara terarah. Ini diperkuat oleh data penelitian yang hanya menemukan pola impor:asi pada wacana lisan (dalam pidato dan jawaban wawancara terarah), sedangkan pada wacana tertulis yang diketemukan hanya pola interferensi leksikal substitusi.

2.1 Identifikasi pola substitusi

Dikaitkan dengan hipotesis Weinreich mengenai pergese ran makna yang dapat terjadi pada dua bahasa sesaial dan sekerabat, yang memiliki unsur leksikal homofon dan homonim, maka di bidang leksikal dwibahasawan mengidentifikasikan leksim bahasa perolehan kedua (dalam hal ini bahasa Indonesia) yang sedang dipakainya, sama dengan makna dan urutan leksikal yang ada pada bahasa perolehan sebelumnya, yaitu Malayu Manado, sedangkan makna dan pola urutan leksikalnya telah berbeda.

Pengaruh atau akibat yang ditimbulkan pada bahasa yang digunakannya, dalam hal ini bahasa Indonesia, adalah penyimpangan atau ketidaklayakan dalam norma leksikal yang dapat mengacaukan komunikasi, yaitu salah tafsir makna dari lawan bicara. Jadi, bukan sekedar penambah atau pergantian unsur yang indentifikasi- kasinya lebih mudah disadari setelah melihat ketidaklayakan yang hadir (token of interference) pada suatu bahasa yang dipakai. Pada interferensi leksikal pola substitusi, ketidak lazim yang hadir pada norma bahasa, sukar diidentifikasikan dan dipisahkan terutama pada unsur-unsur yang homofon dan homonim yang ada pada kedua bahasa repertoar dwibahasawan. Jadi, faktor penyebab dalam struktur bahasa adalah kesuakan memisahkan kedua bahasa karena persamaan bunyi dan bentuk leksikon, sedangkan faktor luar bahasa yang terutama adalah tingkat penguasaan kedua bahasa yang berbeda dan juga didorong oleh faktor sosiobudaya yang akan dibahas dalam bab berikut.

Adapun tingkat penguasaan bahasa Indonesia yang kurang memadai dan kurangnya kesempatan dan pembiasaan menggunakan bahasa ini lebih mendorong dwibahasawan untuk tidak dapat memisahkan kedua bahasa secara sempurna. Seperti pendapat Weinreich bahwa unsur-unsur bahasa yang tidak standar lebih sering diambil/dipindahkan daripada unsur bahasa standar yang dalam fungsinya tidak mencakup ragam bahasa hari-hari. Yang sangat menarik perhatian penulis adalah meneliti masalah berikut. Apakah bahasa standar dalam hal ini bahasa Indonesia, yang
dipakai sesuai dengan fungsi dan kedudukannya, dipakai dalam semua ragam komunikasi resmi itu lebih berpotensi untuk mengganti idiom yang bergeser dari-pada bahasa yang tidak standar (Weinreich 1968:107). Untuk itulah maka pola interferensi leksikal substitusi diutamakan dalam analisis ini.

2.1.1 Contoh data interferensi substitusi

(1) sudah akan Menurut Bapak Lahay upgrading pamongpraja sudah akan
Hum.XI/75 memulaikan programnya di kantor Bupati Gorontalo.
(2) kita Kemudian sesudah kita pindah ke sekolah Malayu kita
R. 2016 sudah mempelajari bahasa Indonesia.
(3) banyak-banyak Bagi mereka banyak-banyak itu cuma menjadi lambang.
R. 2007
(4) taruh kira Kebetulan saya suka taruh kira itu soal-soal demikian.
R. 2005
(5) serta Serta Presiden pakai, kita semua pakai istilah itu.
R. 2024
(6) untuk mau Untuk mau cari identitas, itulah masalahnya.
R. 1022
(7) rupa Rupa almarhum kalau pergi ke sana cepat menyesuaikan
deri.
R. 1006
(8) kurang Kadang-kadang istilah itu kurang diambil dari bahasa
lain.
(9) saya Majalah itu juga jual di stasion.
(10) bikin biasa Saya menganjurkan kalau di desa bikin biasa bicara
dengan bahasa daerah.
R. 1011
(11) kasih masuk Dia sempat kasih masuk kata-kata Malayu Manado dalam
R. 2015 nyanyian mereka.
(12) itu (1) Itu, itu disebut diafragma.
R. 2024
(13) itu (2) Itu pamong desa itu mesti begitu.
R. 2020
(14) itu dia Kira-kira dinamakan apa itu dia.
R. 1014
(15) ini Ini Manado ini, dulu sebenarnya wilayah Tombulu.
R. 1019
(16) baik Wanita cuma ada lebih 300, baik bukan laki-laki yang
Dt. Pid. lebih.

2.2 Identifikasi pola substitusi

Leksim yang mengalami substitusi sesuai konteks data adalah berupa sebagai berikut.
1. Leksim yang baik dalam bahasa Indonesia maupun bahasa Maluyu Manado terdapat buni bentuk yang sama (homonim dan homofon), tetapi maknanya telah bergeser.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R</th>
<th>Bunyi dan bentuk</th>
<th>Makna</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BMM</td>
<td>BI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>itu</td>
<td>/itu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2024</td>
<td>serta</td>
<td>/serta/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1017</td>
<td>jaga</td>
<td>/jaga/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1006</td>
<td>kurang</td>
<td>/kurang/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Leksin dan kesatuan leksikal dalam bahasa Indonesia dan bahasa Maluyu Manado yang mempunyai bentuk dan buni hampir serupa dan makna hampir sama, tetapi pemakaianannya dalam BI sesuai dengan konteks data kurang lazim.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R</th>
<th>Bentuk dan buni</th>
<th>Pola substitusi</th>
<th>Pola yang lazim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BI</td>
<td>BMM</td>
<td>BI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>banyak-banyak</td>
<td>/banya-banya/</td>
<td>banyak-banyak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>rupa</td>
<td>/rupa/</td>
<td>rupa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dt. Pid.</td>
<td>bae</td>
<td>/bae/</td>
<td>baik</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Leksim dan kesatuan leksikal yang dalam BI dan BMM mempunyai bentuk, buni yang tidak serupa, dan pemakaian pola itu dalam BI merupakan salinan/terjemahan dari pola urutan BMM.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R</th>
<th>Bentuk dan buni</th>
<th>Pola substitusi</th>
<th>Pola yang lazim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BMM</td>
<td>BI</td>
<td>BI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2021</td>
<td>somo</td>
<td>/so:mo/</td>
<td>sudah makan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1022</td>
<td>for mo</td>
<td>/for mo/</td>
<td>untuk mau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Leksim dan kesatuan leksikal yang dalam BI dan BMM mempunyai bentuk dan buni sama, tetapi pemakaian pada BI sudah bergeser.
5. Leksim dan kesatuan leksikal yang dalam BI dan BMM mempunyai sama bentuk, bunyi dan makna yang sama, tetapi pemakaian pada BI dianggap tidak baku.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R</th>
<th>Bentuk dan bunyi</th>
<th>Pola substitusi</th>
<th>Pola yang lazim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BI</td>
<td>BMM</td>
<td>BI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2021</td>
<td>ini</td>
<td>/ini/</td>
<td>ini - X - ini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1019</td>
<td>itu</td>
<td>/itu/</td>
<td>itu - X - itu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1014</td>
<td>itu dia</td>
<td>/itudia/</td>
<td>-- itu dia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dalam konteks data penelitian, interferensi terjadi karena hal-hal berikut.

1. Terdapatnya leksim BM dan BMM yang mempunyai sama bentuk dan bunyi tetapi berbeda makna sehingga dwibahasa wan menggunakan itu pada BI dengan menyamakannya dengan makna dalam BMM.
   Contoh: kita; serta.

2. Terdapatnya leksim dan kesatuan leksikal dalam BI dan BMM yang mempunyai bentuk, bunyi, dan satu makna yang sama, tetapi dwibahasa wan menggunakan dalam BI sesuai pola urutan leksikal BMM. Penggunaannya dalam BI menjadi berganda dan leksim pindahan itu dapat ditiadakan.
   Contoh: itu (1); ini; itu dia.

   R. 2024 Itu, pamong desa itu mesti begitu.
   Pamong desa itu musti begitu.

   R. 1019 Ini Manado ini, dulu sebenarnya wilayah Tombulu.
   Menado ini, dulu sebenarnya wilayah Tombulu.

   R. 1014 Kira-kira dinamakan apa itu dia?
   Kira-kira dinamakan apa itu?

3. Terdapatnya leksim BI dan BMM yang mempunyai bentuk, bunyi, dan satu makna yang sama, tetapi dalam BMM terdapat beberapa makna yang lain sehingga dwibahasa memakai unsur leksikal itu dengan makna khusus BMM.
   Contoh: jaga; itu; kurang.
   Kata jaga dalam BI bermakna 1. tidak tidur, bangun
   2. berkawal, menunggui supaya selamat
   (Poerwadarminta:392).
Dalam BMM mempunyai makna no.2
Contoh: Sapa itu da jaga pa dia?
       Siapa yang menjaganya?
Makna lain dalam BMM, yaitu selalu, biasa, setiap kali.
       R. 1006 Majalah itu jual di stasiun.
       Majalah itu biasa dijual di stasiun.
Kata itu pada BI bermakna sebagai kata penunjuk bagi benda (waktu, hal)
yang jauh (Poerwadarminta:390). Dalam BMM mempunyai makna BI.
Contoh: Itu, baju sana manyala sekali.
       Baju itu sangat menarik.
Makna lain dalam BMM, yaitu menyatakan keterangan (kata keterangan) seperti
yang.
Contoh: Tu kita da bilang itu so butul kwag.
       Yang saya katakan itu benar adanya.
       R. 2024 Itu, itu disebut diafragma.
       Itu yang disebut diafragma.
Kata kurang pada BI bermakna (1) tidak cukup, (2) untuk menyatakan bilangan
sedikit, (3) tidak atau belum sama dengan yang seharusnya, (4) perbandingan
(5) sedikit, (6) sesuatu yang tidak ada, (7) tidak cukup, tidak banyak, dan
(8) sesuatu yang tidak ada (belum lengkap).
Dalam BMM yang bermakna seperti BI adalah no. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, dan no. 7,
Contoh: Tu aer di parigi so kurang
       Air di perigi sudah kurang
       Tu anak tu dia so jadi kurang ajar
       Anak itu sudah kurang ajar.
Makna lain dalam BMM, yaitu sering, terus-terusan.
       R. 1006 Kadang-kadang istilah itu kurang
       diambil dari bahasa lain.

4. Terdapatnya kesatuan leksikal yang mempunyai bentuk dan bunyi yang tidak
serupa, tetapi dalam pemakaian BI merupakan salinan/terjemahan dari pola
kesatuan leksikal BMM dengan pembagian dan urutan seperti pola leksim BMM.
Contoh: sudah akan; untuk mau.
Dalam BI kesatuan leksikal sudah akan kurang lazim urutannya dalam konteks
secara terpisah, kata sudah bermakna (1) selesai, (2) habis, (3) telah
lalu, (4) telah (menyatakan perbuatan telah jadi), (5) memang demikian
(Poerwadarminta 1972). Kata akan pada BI bermakna: (1) kata perangkai
untuk menghubungkan kata kerja dan sebagainya, (2) mengenai, (3) untuk,
(4)  untuk menyatakan sesuatu yang hendak terjadi, hendak.
Dalam BMM kesatuan leksikal somo menyatakan sesuatu yang akan dilaksanakan
segera (inchoatif).
Contoh: Kita somo pulang.
       Saya akan segera pergi.
       R. um. XI/75 Menurut Bapak Lahay upgrading pamongprajagelombang
       V tahun 1975 sudah akan memulaikan.
       akan segera
Bentuk untuk umum dalam BI kesatuan leksikal kurang lazim urutannya. Secara terpisah kata untuk bermakna: (1) bagian, (2) disediakan, (3) digunakan, (4) bermaksud; mau bermakna: (1) sungguh, (2) hendak, (3) akan, (4) kehendak/maksud.

Dalam BMM kata formo menyatakan akan, untuk.

Contoh: kita da perlu doi formo bayar SPP.

Saya perlu uang untuk membayar SPP.

5. Terdapatnya leksim dan kesatuan leksikal dalam BI dan BMM yang bentuk serupa dan bunyi hampir sama serta medan makna yang sama, tetapi unsur-unsur BMM sudah mengalami perluasan semantik sehingga dwibahasawan menggunakan dalam BI.

Contoh: banyak-banyak; taruh kira; baik.

R. 2007 Terdapatnya bagi mereka banyak-banyak itu cuma menjadi lambang.

R. 1006 Rupa almarhum, kalau pergi ke sana cepat menyesuaikan diri.

Seperti Dt. Pid. Wanita cuma ada lebih 300, baik bukan laki-laki yang lebih.

R. 2007 Terdapatnya bagi mereka banyak-banyak itu cuma menjadi lambang.

R. 1006 Rupa almarhum, kalau pergi ke sana cepat menyesuaikan diri.

6. Terdapatnya kesatuan leksikal dan leksim dalam BI dan BMM yang mempunyai sama bentuk, bunyi yang hampir serupa, dan makna yang sama, tetapi penggunaan pola leksikal itu pada BI dianggap nonstandar/tidak baku pada masa sekarang karena pada BMM hanya terdapat pola kesatuan leksikal pada morfem-morfem yang tidak mengenal imbuhan dengan makan gramatikal yang mendukung makna referensial unsur leksikal tersebut, maka penyusun menggolongkannya ke dalam interferensi leksikal. Pemakaian pada BI yang dianjurkan adalah konstruksi sintetis melalui imbuhan pada kata dasar, sedangkan yang analitis dianggap nonstandar.

Kata kasih sebagai leksim yang merupakan morfem bebas bermakna: (1) berasa atau perasaan sayang, (2) memberi, (3) membiarkan supaya. Dalam BMM kasih/kase bermakna seperti yang tertulis pada bagian 2 dan 3 dan tidak mengenal makna no.1. Dalam konteks data bentuk kasih masuk menyatakan membuat menjadikan supaya masuk. Substitusi dengan imbuhan afiksasi dengan makna gramatikal yang sama dengan kata kasih yang tertera dalam nomor (3) adalah dengan konfiks pada kata masuk.

R. Dia sempat kasih masuk kata-kata Malayu Manado dalam nyanyian mereka.

Dia sempat me-masuk-kan kata-kata Malayu Manado dalam nyanyian mereka.

Bentuk bikin biasa dalam BI kata bikin bermakna: (1) membuat, (2) kadang-kadang; awalan memper-pengganti me-kan (Poewaradarminta:189).

Pada BMM bikin/beking, bermakna seperti BI no. 1. Kesatuan leksikal bikin biasa pada BI dan BMM bermakna membuat supaya.

3. INPLIKASI NONLINGUISTIK

Beberapa faktor di luar struktur bahasa atau nonlinguistik yang harus dikaitkan dengan masalah interferensi yang terjadi pada masyarakat dwibahasawan menurut penjabaran Uriel Weinreich adalah sebagai berikut.
a. Kelancaran dan keahlian seseorang mengenai bahasa secara umum dan kesanggupannya memisahkan kedua bahasa itu masing-masing;

b. Keahlian dalam bahasa masing-masing secara relatif;

c. Cara belajar setiap bahasa;

d. Sikap terhadap masing-masing bahasa secara khusus ataupun secara kelompok;

e. Pemilihan topik bagi orang yang diajak berbicara dalam pemakaian setiap bahasa;

f. Jumlah/besarnya kelompok dwibahasa dan kesatuan perpecahan dalam subgrup anak kelompok yang memakai satu atau bahasa lain sebagai bahasa ibu;

g. Fakta-fakta demografi:

h. Hubungan sosial dan politik antara anak kelompok dan sebagainya;

i. Kelaziman dwibahasawan akan ciri-ciri bahasa dari beberapa subgrup;

j. Sikap bersama terhadap masing-masing bahasa baik bahasa asli ataupun yang berstatus imigrasi;

k. Sikap terhadap kebudayaan masing-masing kelompok masyarakat;

l. Sikap terhadap kedwibahasaan;

m. Toleransi dan ketidaktoleransi terhadap bahasa campuran dan pemakaian bahasa tuturan yang tidak lazim/salah; dan

n. Hubungan antara kelompok bilingual dan masing-masing dari dua kelompok bahasa yang berada dalam lokasi perbatasan (Weinreich 1968:3-4).

Di samping itu, perlu ditinjau fungsi dan kedudukan bahasa-bahasa dalam kelompok masyarakat bilingual dengan memperhitungkan faktor pendorong dan perintang interferensi dalam kontak bahasa seperti wilayah geografis, kelompok bahasa asli, kelompok kultural, agama, ras, seks, umur, status sosial, jabatan penduduk kota urban atau pinggiran, dan sebagainya. Masalah pokok yang melingkari analisis ini, yaitu: Sejauh manakah faktor luar bahasa (sosiokultural, psikologis, dan politis) merupakan latar belakang pendorong dan perintang gejala interferensi bagi dwibahasawan?

Untuk keperluan ini telah dicoba membuat generalisasi kelompok berdasarkan persentase realisasi interferensi seorang dwibahasawan dikaitkan dengan salah satu indikator nonlinguistik sesuai dengan yang dianjurkan ilmu sosial.

Kategori yang ditentukan mencakupi latar belakang sosiobudaya responden dwibahasawan/tribahasawan yang dikelompokkan sesuai dengan generalisasi jawaban wawancara terarah, yaitu meliputi perolehan bahasa pertama, kelompok etnis, pendidikan, cara belajar bahasa, status jabatan, umur, toleransi, dan sikap terhadap masing-masing bahasa dan bahasa campuran.

Mengenai wilayah geografis kelompok suku/etnis responden adalah berasal dari empat kabupaten/daerah administratif tingkat II, yang mewakili empat daerah budaya propinsi Sulawesi Utara, yaitu Gorontalo; Bolaang Mongondow; Minahasa; dan Sangir Talaud. Hubungan sosial politik ekonomi antara empat kelompok etnis adalah karena mereka tinggal dalam satu wilayah propinsi dan menyebabkan mereka sering berkumpul dan menetap di ibu kota Propinsi Sulut Manado, yang menjadi sasaran lokasi penelitian ini.

Pemilihan responden kantor gubernur tingkat propinsi dan kantor wilayah penerangan tingkat propinsi sebagai sasaran populasi adalah melihat volume subkelompok etnis yang jumlahnya seimbang dan dianggap representatif mewakili penentuan sampel pilihan. Adanya toleransi yang sama dari wakil-wakil kelompok etnis tersebut terhadap bahasa Malayu Manado untuk keperluan komunikasi intim dan informal (sesuai dengan fungsi dan kedudukannya) pada domain-domain tertentu merupakan dasar penyeraanagan perlakuan untuk meneliti gejala interferensi dalam kontak bahasa dwibahasawan/tribahasawan di Manado.
Melalui penerapan beberapa teknik pengumpulan data dan analisis data ilmu sosial, seperti pengamatan, wawancara terarah, daftar pertanyaan langsung, dan ilmu statistik telah dapat dilaksanakan pengukuran korelasi luasnya interferensi dwibahasa yang disebabkan faktor struktur bahasa dengan dorongan atau rintangan faktor luar bahasa. Implikasi kecenderungan interferensi dapat dilihat dalam tabel-tabel seperti di bawah ini.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tabel I: Nilai tengah interferensi dari 46 responden kantor penerangan dan kantor gubernuran</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kantor Penerangan</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tampak pada tabel di atas besar jumlah nilai tengah interferensi menunjukkan angka yang sama antara pejabat/petugas kantor gubernur dan pejabat/petugas penerangan yaitu dengan jumlah \( N \) sama dan terdiri dari kelompok etnis, perolehan bahasa, umur, dan tingkat pendidikan yang berbeda-beda.

Gejala interferensi dilihat dari lingkungan jawatan adalah sama; pejabat dan petugasnya secara merata cenderung menghasilkan jumlah interferensi yang sama. Kedua jawatan/instansi tersebut, tentu mempunyai pejabat dan petugas yang banyak berkesempatan untuk berkomunikasi dengan masyarakat, baik dalam medium tertulis maupun medium lisan, dan dalam gejala interferensi akibat kontak bahasa realisasi berarti interferensi dari pejabat/petugas dalam jumlah \( N \) kurang lebih sama.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tabel 2: Nilai tengah interferensi sesuai dengan tingkat pendidikan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kantor Penerangan</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tingkat Pendidikan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonakademis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akademis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tingkat pendidikan hanya dibagi dalam dua kelompok, yaitu kelompok nonakademis dan kelompok akademis. Dari tabel di atas terdapat kecenderungan bahwa jumlah interferensi lebih besar terjadi pada petugas nonakademis daripada yang akademis (identitas B.A, + Drs.). Hal ini mungkin disebabkan materi dan kesempatan lebih lama belajar dalam pendidikan akademis sehingga lebih memantapkan penguasaan bahasa Indonesia dan mengakibatkan bahwa kelompok penutur tersebut lebih dapat memisahkan kedua bahasa itu. Setidak-tidaknya kenyataan itu menbenankan pernyataan Weinreich:
For the purpose of understanding and predicting language influences the fact that one of the languages is used in the education system, if any is therefore of great importance what the school achieves as a conservatory agency in language development is however not accidental but part of a broader cultural setting with its specific prevailing attitudes on language purity.

| Tabel 3: Nilai tengah interferensi sesuai dengan kelompok etnis |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| Kantor Penerangan | Kantor Gubernur |
| Kelompok etnis | % | N | % | N | Total % | Total N |
| Minahasa | 3,4 | 15 | 3,5 | 15 | 3,4 | 30 |
| Gorontalo | 1,7 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 2,4 | 7 |
| Sangir | 4,5 | 4 | - | - | - | 4 |
| Bolaang Mongondow | 4,7 | 1 | 3,2 | 2 | 3,4 | 3 |
| Minahasa + Campur | - | - | 2,7 | 2 | - | 2 |
| | | | | | 23 | 23 | 46 |

Dari tabel di atas ternyata bahwa kecenderungan terjadi interferensi dalam ujaran tidak memperlihatkan perbedaan yang besar antara kelompok anak suku di Sulawesi Utara, kecuali Gorontalo sungguhpun bahasa Malayu Manado dipakai lebih banyak pada kelompok suku Minahasa.


Dari tabel 4 berikut ternyata kecenderungan interferensi tampak persentase terbanyak terjadi pada kelompok yang bahasa perolehan pertamanya, yaitu bahasa Malayu Manado bersama Minahasa (1). Perolehan bahasa pertama Malayu Manado, Gorontalo, Sangir Talaul, cenderung menunjukkan persentase yang seimbang, sedangkan perolehan bahasa pertama dalam Malayu lain (Malayu tangan Magelang + Malang) dan kelompok yang sudah dibekali bahasa Indonesia ditambah bahasa daerah setempat memperlihatkan persentase interferensi rendah.

Hal yang menarik yang tampak dalam tabel 4 adalah bahwa kelompok yang mempunyai dua perolehan bahasa sekaligus, yaitu Malayu Manado dan Minahasa cenderung mengalami interferensi lebih banyak daripada yang hanya satu. Weinreich (1968:88) mengemukakan bahwa adanya diversifikasi dialek dan adanya fungsifungsibahasa yang tidak sama menyebabkan sikap tak acuh yang mendorong interferensi.
Tabel 4: Nilai tengah interferensi sesuai dengan perolehan bahasa pertama

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kantor Penerangan</th>
<th>Perolehan Bahasa pertama</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Total %</th>
<th>Total N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kantor Penerangan Kantor Gubernur</td>
<td>Malayu Manado</td>
<td>4,7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2,3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3,1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gorontalo</td>
<td>3,6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sangir Talaud</td>
<td>3,9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minahasa</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4,3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4,1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Malayu lain</td>
<td>1,5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1,5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1,5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Malayu Manado + Minahasa</td>
<td>3,4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4,2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bolaang Mangondow</td>
<td>4,7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3,2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3,7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bahasa Indonesia + Bahasa Daerah setempat</td>
<td>0,8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2,3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1,5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tabel 5: Nilai tengah interferensi sesuai dengan umur

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kantor Penerangan</th>
<th>Umur</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Total %</th>
<th>Total N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kantor Penerangan Kantor Gubernur</td>
<td>21 - 30 tahun</td>
<td>4,1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4,7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4,4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31 - 40 tahun</td>
<td>4,8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3,4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4,1</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>41 - 50 tahun</td>
<td>2,6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3,3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>51 - 60 tahun</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1,6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Date tabel 5 di atas ternyata bahwa kecenderungan interferensi dalam ujuran pada umur yang lebih muda persentasenya lebih besar. Jumlah interferensi jelas secara bertingkat, yaitu lebih tua usia lebih kurang terjadi interferensi. Dengan kata lain, makin tua usia terpendek makin sanggup memisahkan bahasa repertoirenya. Hal ini mungkin disebabkan oleh pengalaman memakai BI dalam bertugas lebih banyak, sedangkan ditinjau dari latar belakang perkembangan.
bahasa Indonesia justru sebaliknya. Responden yang berumur 50-60 tahun kurang memperoleh dasar pelajaran BI dalam pendidikannya, sedangkan mereka yang men-
dapat pendidikan mulai tahun lima puluhan terutama sesudah tahun enam puluhan
pengajaran BI di sekolah makin berkembang. Namun, tampak kecenderungan bahwa
kesempatan dan jabatan memegang peranan dalam penguasaan BI sehingga responden
yang masih muda dan masih baru dalam jabatannya cenderung membuat interferensi
lebih banyak.

4. KESIMPULAN DAN SARAN

4.1 Kesimpulan

Dalam penelitian ini dapat dibuktikan adanya interferensi sebagai salah
satu gejala saling pengaruh, yaitu dari bahasa Malayu Manado pada penggunaan
bahasa Indonesia akibat kontak bahasa pada individu masyarakat multibahasaan/
dwibahasaan di Sulawesi Utara.

Pergeseran makna dan urutan leksikal pada leksikon yang homonim dan homofon
dalam kedua bahasa, yaitu BMM dan BI yang berkerabat dan satu sumber sesuai
dengan hipotesis dapat ditemukan melalui identifikasi interferensi leksikal
pola substitusi.

Interferensi leksikal terutama pola substitusi dapat mempengaruhi norma
bahasa Indonesia di bidang leksikal karena penggunaannya dapat mengacaukan
komunikasi dan menyebabkan salah tafsir makna. Penemuan ini menguatkan kon-
sepsi Weinreich bahwa interferensi adalah gejala penyimpangan bahasa dan bukan
sekedar penambahan atau peminjaman.

Diakibatkan dengan tujuan politik bahasa nasional antara lain usaha pem-
binaan, pengembangan, dan standardisasi istilah dan tatabahasa, yaitu penentuan
ciri-ciri standar, maka interferensi leksikal dalam penggunaan bahasa Indonesia
di Manado merupakan suatu sumber data.

Beberapa teknik pengumpulan data dari ilmu sosial seperti pengamatan,
wawancara terarah, dan perhitungan statistik yang digabungkan pada teknik
analisis bahasa cukup efektif dalam menyimpulkan dan menyarankan tentang:
(a) implikasi faktor pendorong dan perintang interferensi leksikal dalam
struktur bahasa dan luar bahasa.
(b) luasnya kehadiran (token) interferensi leksikal dalam individu masyarakat
dwibahasaan dalam wacana tulisan dan lisan.
(c) pengaruh dalam norma bahasa dan implikasinya untuk kepentingan ilmu bahasa,
perencanaan bahasa, dan komunikasi pembangunan.

4.2 Saran

Untuk kepentingan penguasaan dan pembinaan bahasa Indonesia khususnya bagi
pejabat pemerintah sebagai agen komunikator yang berkesempatan menyebarluaskan
bahasa Indonesia perlu diberikan penataran atau kursus BI, misalnya, dalam
peningkatan administrasi pemerintahan atau diberikan persyaratan yang menentu-
kan di dalam pengembangan ketenagaan. Khusus untuk komunikator media massa
seperti wartawan dan penyiar lebih diintensifkan penataran bahasa Indonesia
dalam penataran jurnalistik atau kursus tersendiri.
Mengingat masalah bahasa Indonesia adalah masalah kepentingan segenap lapisan masyarakat pemakainya, perlu diintensifkan pelajaran BI bukan saja pada lembaga pendidikan tetapi juga di luar lembaga pendidikan, malahan perlu dipikirkan cara-cara yang mendorong masyarakat secara merata untuk mencari kesempatan lebih banyak memakai bahasa Indonesia selain dalam forum resmi. Dalam penelitian ini dijumpai kecenderungan bahwa yang mempunyai kesempatan lebih lama dan lebih sering memakai BI lebih berhasil memisahkan BI daripada memakai bahasa daerah.

Di lain pihak dalam usaha menyempurnakan bahasa Indonesia sebagai alat komunikasi persatuan untuk integritas nasional bangsa agar dirasa lebih komunikatif lebih dapat menyatakan perasaan, pikiran, dan keinginan secara tepat yang melibatkan hubungan sosial budaya yang serasi oleh seluruh insan Indonesia, terasa kebutuhan untuk memperkaya bahasa Indonesia dengan unsur-unsur bahasa daerah yang intim, menyentuh perasaan, dan memperkuat hubungan terutama dalam ragam lisan.

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BAHASA MINANGKABAU, DI SEBELAH ATAU DI BAWAH BAHASA MELAYU? SUATU STUDI PENDAHULUAN BERDASARKAN PENELITIAN DIALEKTLOGIS

Tamsin Medan


Dari pandangan linguistik komparatif inilah dipertanyakan hubungan antara bahasa Minangkabau (selanjutnya disingkat menjadi BMK) dan bahasa Melayu (selanjutnya disingkat menjadi BML) dalam kertas kerja ini. Apakah BMK kekerabatannya dengan BML (kedua-duanya seperti adanya kini) menurut jajaran horizontal (bersaudara) ataupun menurut jenjang vertikal (di bawah dialek BML) seperti tersebut pada judul di atas.


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2.1 Fonem BMK

Fonem BMK terdiri dari fonem vokal dan konsonan serta diftong. Vokal (V) ada enam buah; selanjutnya, lihatlah tabel berikut ini.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tabel 1: Fonem-fonem BMK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Depan Tidak Bulat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tinggi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sedang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rendah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diftong (D) ada enam buah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merendah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meninggi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tinggi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konsonan (K) ada sembilan belas buah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dasar Ucapan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Letusan (tak bersuara)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Letusan (bersuara)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Geseran</td>
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<td>Nasal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sampingan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Getaran</td>
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<tr>
<td>Luncuran</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Vokal /i/ direalisasikan sebagai [i, ī], vokal /e/ sebagai [e, ē], vokal /a/ sebagai [a, ā] (a = agak ketengah sedikit), vokal /ê/ sebagai [ê], vokal /o/ sebagai [o dan ō], dan /u/ sebagai [u dan ū].

Diftong BMK, selain mempunyai 'glide' w dan y, juga a, yakni sebagai bunyi ikutan bunyi vokal. Diftong merendah /ia/ dan /ua/ mempunyai realisasi yang beragam, yakni /ia/ sebagai [i, ī, ī, ia, i, E, Eå] dan /ua/ sebagai [uē, uē, ua, ūo, u, ō, ca]. Diftong BMK ini hanya terdapat pada posisi akhir sebuah kata dasar dan fonem kedua dari akhir sebuah kata dasar. Kalau terdapat pada posisi yang disebutkan terakhir ini maka fonem akhir kata dasarnya itu hanyalah /ø/, /q/, /h/, dan di TP tertentu bunyi [R].

Konsonan /t/ di beberapa TP direalisasikan sebagai [t] dan /r/ sebagai [R], tetapi perbedaannya itu tidak fonemis. Semua konsonan tersebut dapat menduduki posisi awal dan tengah dengan catatan bahwa /q/ hanya terdapat sebelum vokal sebagai suatu keotomatisan, dan pada posisi tengah hanya terdapat pada beberapa kata tertentu. Konsonan /w, n, y, ŋ, q, h/ dapat menduduki posisi akhir, tetapi konsonan /s, c, j, ň, k, g/ tidak terdapat pada posisi akhir.

Tingkah laku konsonan lain pada posisi akhir terlihat sebagai berikut.

a. Konsonan /p/, /b/, /t/, hanya terdapat pada nama orang dan kata pinjaman; namun, hal ini tidaklah di semua TP. Juga hal yang sama untuk /l/;

b. Konsonan /m/ hanya terdapat pada posisi akhir tetapi tidak di semua TP bila didahului oleh vokal /a/;

c. Konsonan /r/ pada posisi itu hanya di TPI yang direalisasikan sebagai [r], di beberapa TP diftong BMK ini sebagai [R], tetapi di sebagian TP tidak didengar;

d. Konsonan /d/ hanya di TP 25 dalam kata yang terbatas (mengenai titik pengamatan ini lihat peta Lampiran 2).

2.2 Data fonetik fonologi BMK dibandingkan dengan data fonetik/fonologi BML/BI

Bila data fonetik/fonologi BMK di atas dibandingkan kepada BML/BI dapat dicatat hal-hal sebagai berikut.


(1) Diftong /ia/ berpadanan dengan /-il, -ir, -er, -er/ pada suku kata terakhir BML/BI. Di samping itu, juga berpadanan dengan vokal /i/ dan /e/ pada suku kata akhir yang ditutup oleh /q, /η/, dan /h/. Kita yakin bahwa hal ini berkaitan juga dengan PAN-nya termasuk yang lainnya; jadi, bukan antara BML/BI dengan BMK, tetapi sama terkait induknya.

(2) Diftong /ua/ berpadanan dengan /-ol, -ul, -or, -ur/ pada suku kata terakhir BML/BI. Di samping itu, juga berpadanan dengan vokal /o/ dan /u/ pada suku kata akhir yang ditutup oleh /q, /η/, dan /h/.

(3) Diftong /uy/ BMK berpadanan dengan /-up, -ub, -ut, -ud, -us/ pada posisi akhir kata dasar BML/BI, tetapi diftong itu tidak merata terdapat di semua TP. Di TP yang tidak terdapat diftong /uy/ berpadanan pula dengan vokal /u/. Dengan kata lain, kata yang berkeasalan sama antara BML/BI dan BMK (di tempat yang tidak terdapat diftong /uy/) yang berfonem */p, b, t, d, s/ pada posisi akhirnya, pada BML/BI tetap seperti asalnya, tetapi pada BMK fonem tersebut lebur. Berikut ini kita turunkan contoh distribusi ketiga diftong yang kita bicarakan di atas dengan padanannya dalam BML/BI.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diftong</th>
<th>Distribusi dalam BMK</th>
<th>Padanan dalam BML/BI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ia/</td>
<td>qayia, li(h)ia, bayia</td>
<td>qair, lehEr, bayar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kaniaŋ, gorian, qadiq</td>
<td>kēniŋ, gorEn, qadiq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cukia, turiah, putiah</td>
<td>cuŋkil, torEn, putih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ua/</td>
<td>qikua, dapua, cindua</td>
<td>qekor, dapur, cendol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kaua, qiduan, qaguan</td>
<td>kaul, hiduŋ, qeguŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>duduaq, guruah</td>
<td>duduq, guruh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/uy/</td>
<td>qiduyq/qiduŋ, sujuyq/sujuq</td>
<td>hiduŋ, sujud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>luruyq/luruq, qambuyq/qambuh</td>
<td>lurut, hēmbus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tabel 2: Contoh distribusi diftong khusus BMK

c. Baik konsonan BML/BI maupun konsonan BMK jumlahnya seimbang. Hanya saja konsonan /x/, /f/, /s/, dan /z/ yang dalam BML/BI terdapat dalam kata pinjaman, tetapi dalam BMK menyesuaikan diri dengan sistem bunyinya. Misalnya, /xabar, fikir, jarat, zaman/ (BML/BI); /kaba, pikia, syarēq, saman (BMK)

Konsonan /p, b, t, d/ pada posisi akhir kata BML/BI yang berkeasalan sama dengan BMK, maka konsonan tersebut berpadanan dengan /q/ dalam BMK. Hal yang sama antara /s/ pada posisi serupa dalam BML/BI berpadanan pula dengan /h/ dalam BMK. Misalnya: /qatap, sēbab, takut, pokad, manis/ dalam BML/BI berpadanan dengan /qatap, sēbab, takut, pokad, manis/ dalam BMK.
2.3 Morfologi


1. /-E/ terdapat di 15 TP (terbanyak), misalnya, rumahnya, qagaqE agaknya;
2. /-a/ terdapat di 3 TP, misalnya, rumahnya, qagaqE agaknya;
3. /-o/ terdapat di 4 TP, misalnya, rumo, qagaqo;
4. /-no/ terdapat di 2 TP, misalnya, rumano, qagaqno.
5. /-ño/ terdapat di 5 TP, misalnya, rumahño, qagaqño.

Bila dilihat daerah pakai bentuk (5) ini (bentuk yang sama dengan BML/BI) umumnya terdapat di daerah rantau (perluasan wilayah Minangkabau). Dapat diduga bahwa di dalam BMK refleksi *ŋa bukan /-ño/. Bila kini kaum terpelajar memakai bentuk /-ño/, agaknya itu merupakan bentuk morfem BML/BI yang diminangkabaukan. Melihat luas penyebarnya, bentuk /-E/ merupakan bentuk morfem terikat kata ganti persona ketiga tunggal BMK yang datang dari bentuk protonya.

2.4 Kosa kata

Bidang kosa kata penelitian dialektologi itu menampilkan 816 konsep. Dari konsep itu diperoleh sebanyak 415 berian yang berbeda. Dalam konsep itu terdapat juga padanan 200 kosa kata Swadesh.

Untuk melihat sejauh mana hubungan BMK dengan BML/BI di bidang kosa kata ini, kita pergunakan padanan kosa kata Swadesh untuk perhitungan leksiko-statistik. Cara yang kita tempuh ialah mengumpulkan semua kosa kata berbeda padanan daftar Swadesh itu dari setiap TP, kecuali dari TP 25 karena TP 25 mempunyai beda yang besar dari TP lain kendatipun tidak sampai membentuk beda bahasa sendiri menurut perhitungan leksikometri, yang tidak memperlihatkan turunan yang sama dengan padanan BML/BI.

Dalam hal ini, sebua kosa kata dipandang berbeda dari BML/BI apabila a) tidak ada berian yang sama atau terlihat kebersamaannya dengan kosa kata BML/BI; b) ada berian yang sama dengan BML/BI tetapi terdapat pula berian berbeda di TP itu dan masih dipakai (biasanya oleh orang tua-tua atau orang yang belum berpendidikan agak tinggi atau yang tidak sering bepergian); dan c) tidak terdapat berian konsep padanan daftar Swadesh itu di TP tersebut.

Dengan cara seperti di atas ditemui kosa kata berbeda padanan daftar Swadesh itu seperti terlihat berikut ini.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>BML/BI</th>
<th>BMK</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>BML/BI</th>
<th>BMK</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>subiran/pangubêr</td>
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<td>bâbíqaq</td>
<td>90.</td>
<td>apa</td>
<td>aa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91.</td>
<td>bila</td>
<td>pangopan</td>
<td>92.</td>
<td>di mana</td>
<td>di maa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ternyata dari tabel di atas terlihat perbedaan kedua bahasa itu sebesar kurang lebih 56%. Sebetulnya masih banyak perbedaan kosa kata yang lain, tetapi frekuensi pemakaian kosa kata yang telah amat berkurang karena didesak oleh kosa kata yang berkeasalan sama dengan BML/BI karena di sebagian TP terdapat kecenderungan bahwa kosa kata lama (BMK) dipandang agak kasar. Dengan kata lain, dapat disebutkan bahwa masih ada sekitar 56% kosa kata BMK yang masih tetap bertahan sampai saat sekarang kendatipun pengaruh BML/BI telah semakin terasa. Sebaliknya, kosa kata khusus BMK juga telah banyak turut memperkaya khasanah kosa kata BML/BI.


4. Sejauh yang diketahui BMK memang belum mempunyai tradisi tulisan. Pengenalan terhadap tulisan sejajar dengan pengenalan BML melalui ejaan Arab-Melayu dan kemudian ejaan van Ophuysen. Oleh karena itu, mudah dimengerti mengapa seorang putra Minangkabau bila akan berbahasa tulisan (sudah tentu orang terpelajar) menggunakan BML/BI. Sampai kini hal ini masih terasa, kendatipun telah mulai tampak kegiatan tulis-menulis dalam BMK tersebut.

5. Berikut ini kita coba melihat bentuk rekonstruksi PAN tentang kosa kata yang langsung terlihat refleksinya ke dalam kedua bahasa itu. Yang kita pilih beberapa refleksi PAN yang tidak terlihat bersamaan di antara BML/BI dan BMK.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAN</th>
<th>Inggris</th>
<th>BML/BI</th>
<th>BMK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*qinaʔ</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>unaq ibu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>bungkam</td>
<td>aneq bernafas</td>
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<td>*ênëb</td>
<td>quiet</td>
<td>beñis ganas</td>
<td>aneq tenang, diam</td>
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<td>wife</td>
<td>bagus</td>
<td>bini isteri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*bënît</td>
<td>angry</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>banj(h) marah</td>
</tr>
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<td>*bagus</td>
<td>beauty</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>house</td>
<td>balay rumah</td>
<td>balay pekan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*buêk</td>
<td>hair</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>abuaq rambut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>eat</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>camuaq/cama makan/ raku</td>
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<td>*/cs/u/Nñ/uR</td>
<td>burn</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>suñu bakar</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>tu(h)ua kering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*wiríʔ</td>
<td>left</td>
<td>kiri</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Wurm dan Wilson 1975)

Table di atas memperlihatkan bahwa BMK merefleksikan beberapa kosa kata PAN berbeda dari kosa kata yang direfleksikan oleh BML/BI.

Refleksi fonem PAN dalam kedua bahasa itu juga terdapat beberapa perbedaan. Sebagai contoh dapat kita kemukakan fonem *ê (pepet). Dalam BML/BI refleksinya adalah /ê/ dan pada suku kata terakhir adalah /a/ (Nothofer 1975:202). Dalam BMK refleksinya adalah /a/ atau /o/ (peta Lampiran 3); dan pada suku kata terakhir terdapat beberapa perubahan, misalnya, sebelum *s, *t, dan *g, refleksinya /e/; dan sebelum *p dan *b refleksinya /o/. Misalnya:
I Propinsi Aceh
II Propinsi Sumatra Utara
III Propinsi Riau
IV Propinsi Sumatra Barat
V Propinsi Jambi
VI Propinsi Sumatra Selatan
VII Propinsi Bengkulu
VIII Propinsi Lampung

I Propinsi Aceh
II Propinsi Sumatra Utara
III Propinsi Riau
IV Propinsi Sumatra Barat
V Propinsi Jambi
VI Propinsi Sumatra Selatan
VII Propinsi Bengkulu
VIII Propinsi Lampung

--- Daerah Penelitian
-- Batas Propinsi

LAMPIRAN 1: Peta pulau Sumatra

LAMPIRAN 2: Peta daerah penelitian
LAMPIRAN 3: Peta vokoia [a] dan [o] tabu 'tebu' (506)

LAMPIRAN 4: Peta morfem terikat /-ño/ qagaño 'agaknya'
Tabel 5: Korespondensi fonem *ê

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAN</th>
<th>BML/BI</th>
<th>BMK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*malês</td>
<td>malas</td>
<td>malêh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*lêmês</td>
<td>lemas</td>
<td>lamêh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*/t/êmpêt</td>
<td>tempat</td>
<td>tampêq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*dêkêt</td>
<td>dekat</td>
<td>dakêq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*lalêq</td>
<td>lalat</td>
<td>lalêq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*put'eg</td>
<td>pusat</td>
<td>puseq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ha(n)dêp</td>
<td>hadap</td>
<td>adoq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ha'lêp</td>
<td>harap</td>
<td>aroq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ênép</td>
<td>denar</td>
<td>daña</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*dêNêy</td>
<td>tanam</td>
<td>tanam/tanam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Wurm dan Wilson 1975)


CATATAN

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Dalam bahasa Jawa, di samping kata yang menyatakan perbuatan seperti "lungguh duduk, tangi bangkit, dan lunga pergi" ada unsur kosa kata lain yang memberikan gambaran lebih lanjut mengenai perbuatan tersebut. Perbuatan duduk, bangkit, atau pergi dilukiskan dengan rangkaian bunyi yang dapat membayangkan gambaran dalam angan-angan mengenai bagaimana perbuatan itu dilaksanakan.


Dalam bahasa Jawa sebenarnya bukan hanya kata kerja saja yang diikuti oleh unsur kosa kata seperti itu. Kata-kata keadaan seperti sepil sepi, padhang terang, resik bersih, ayu aantik, dan lemug gemuk sering pula diikuti oleh kata yang menggambarkan sifat atau keadaan tersebut menjadi: sepil marung, padhang njingglang, resik gumining, ayu think-think, dan lemug ginak-ginuk. Bahkan kita jumpai unsur kosa kata serupa itu dalam rangkaian kata seperti sewengi mbethethet semalam suntuk, sedina laya sehari penuh, dan siji ndhil hanya dua, loro selo hanya dua, tidak lebih.


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atau nangis mingseg-mingseg atau nangis ngglolo, ngguyu nggleges atau ngguyu cekakakan, sepi mamring atau sepi nyenyet, ayu thinik-thinik atau ayu moblong-moblong. Demikianlah gambaran mengenai gerak atau keadaan dari kata kerja atau kata sifat itu dapat bermacam-macam.


Kata kerja dan kata sifat seperti kemrungsung, mbesengut, mbrengengeng, ndheprok, gembroboys, mentheng-mentheng, dan ngloko memang berdiri sendiri tidak ter:kat kepada kata kerja atau kata keadaan. Kemrungsung menggambarkan perasaan yang tidak tenang dan terburu-buru, mbesengut menggambarkan wajah yang masam, mwerengut, mbrengengeng menggambarkan tangis yang berkepanjangan, ndheprok artinya duduk bersimpuh, gembroboys menggambarkan keadaan gerah sehingga keringat bercucuran, mentheng-mentheng dikatakan untuk bisul yang tengah mengeras dan panas, dan ngloko dikatakan untuk semangat yang mengendur.

Kata-kata semacam itu jumlahnya tidak sedikit dalam bahasa Jawa. Contoh lain, misalnya, njrebabah, kemricik, klewa-klewa, kelim-klecem, cekakakan, bedigas, dan yabyaban.

Di samping itu, masih ada lagi kata-kata yang menggambarkan bunyi, gerak, dan keadaan, yang didahului oleh partikel pengantar mak [ma?] dan pating [pating]. Partikel mak mengantar kata-kata peniru bunyi atau yang membayangkan gerak. Misalnya, mak dor, mak gedebuk, mak jegaging, mak jranthal.

Partikel pengantar pating diikuti oleh peniru bunyi, gambaran tentang gerak atau keadaan juga, hanya bunyi gerak dan keadaan yang digambarkan itu banyak dar: ber macam-macam, contohnya: pating cruwet, pating glodag, pating bilulung, pating sliver, dan sebagainya.

Jadi, ada lima macam unsur kosa kata yang emotif-ekspresif dalam bahasa Jawa. Pertama ialah kata-kata yang mengikuti kata-kata yang menyatakan per:buatan, kedua kata-kata yang mengikuti dan menjelaskan kata sifat atau kata keadaan, ketiga kata-kata emotif-ekspresif yang berdiri sendiri yang berupa kata kerja atau kata sifat, keempat kata-kata yang didahului partikel pengantar mak, dan kelima kata-kata yang didahului partikel pating.

Unsur kosa kata emotif-ekspresif yang mengikuti dan menjelaskan kata-kata yang menyatakan perbuatan ada yang hanya terdiri dari satu suku kata saja, misalnya, teka dog, lungguh srog, ngadeg nyat, mati pet, murub byar, lunga prung, ilang lap, mlebu bleng, turu les, dan mena blak. Ada yang terdiri dari dua suku kata, misalnya, mlebu bledeng, lunga klepat, mlyau brabat, ngguyu nggleges, nangi nggriyeng, tangi gregah, ngome glenggeng, uden nggrejeh, njogot mleter, dan sindhen nggenggeng. Yang terdiri dari tiga suku kata, misalnya, sila nggadhepes, muji ndreminil.

Kata-kata emotif-ekspresif yang mengikuti dan menjelaskan kata sifat atau keadaan ada yang terdiri dari dua suku kata, misalnya, sepimamring, padhang njingglang, peteng ndhethet, adhem njekut, pait ngetheg, teles klebes, abang mbiranang, cilik menggil, dan lemu mbleneg. Ada juga yang terdiri atas tiga suku kata, misalnya, garing mekingking, resik gumrinjing, dan panas sumelet.

Kata-kata emotif-ekspresif yang mengikuti kata keadaan ada juga yang ber-bentuk ulangan, misalnya, ayu thinik-thinik, endhek ipel-ipel, ijo royo-royo, lemu ginak-ginuk, omba ngoblah-oblah, esuk uthung-uthung, dan kebak mencep-mencep.

Kata-kata emotif-ekspresif yang berdiri sendiri yang berupa kata kerja atau kata sifat mempunyai keragaman bentuk yang hampir sama dengan kata kerja dan kata sifat. Unsur kosa kata tersebut dapat kita bedakan menjadi beberapa macam yaitu yang berawalan senga u, yang mendapat sisipan -u m-, yang berupa bentuk ulang, dan yang mendapat akhiran -an.

Kata-kata emotif-ekspresif yang berdiri sendiri yang berawalan sengau contohnya: mbesengut, mbrengkelo, methothok, metangkring, mbededheg, mencereng, njrebabah, mekungkung, ngececeg, ngendhanu, nyrekel, mrekengkong, nrecel, ngrembuyung, dan nggedangkrang.

Yang mengandung sisipan -um- contohnya: kemranyas, kemricik, semrepet, semrawut, kemruckuk, gembrobyos, sembrribit, kemruwet, kemriyek, dumrojog, kemrungsung, kemrumber, kemremes, kemripik, dan kemrosak.


Ulangan dengan variasi vokal dapat kita bedakan menjadi beberapa macam, yaitu variasi [a + i, a + e, a + e, a + a, a + u, a + o, dan a + o]. Kemudian unsur yang diulang itu dapat berupa satu suku kata, dua suku kata, atau tiga suku kata.

1. Bentuk ulang dengan variasi vokal [a + i]
   a. Unsur yang diulang satu suku kata, misalnya:
      - thak-thik
      - nak-nik
      - sak-sik
      - dhak-dhik
   b. Unsur yang diulang dua suku kata, misalnya:
      - kelap-kelip
      - kethap-kethip
      - glenak-glenik
      - uwak-uwik
      - mobat-mabib
      - moyak-mayik
      - plirak-plrik
      - clila-clili
      - morat-marit
      - montang-manting
c. Unsur yang diulang terdiri atas tiga suku kata, misalnya:
   - pethitha-pethithi
   - pendelak-pendelik
   - gendhulak-gendhulik
   - sengkoyak-sengkayik
   - kethuwal-kethuwil

2. Bentuk ulang dengan variasi [a + e]
   a. Unsur yang diulang terdiri atas dua suku kata, misalnya:
      - mencla-mencle
      - egla-egle
      - pietra-pletre
      - lera-lere
   b. Unsur yang diulang terdiri atas tiga suku kata, misalnya:
      - peteta-petete
      - pececa-pecece

3. Bentuk ulang dengan variasi [a + e]
   a. Unsur yang diulang terdiri atas satu suku kata, misalnya:
      - mak-mek
      - pak-pek
      - mas-mes
      - mbak-mbek
   b. Unsur yang diulang terdiri atas dua suku kata, misalnya:
      - klemak-klemek
      - mewak-mewek
      - lomah-lameh
      - rowak-rowek
   c. Unsur yang diulang terdiri atas tiga suku kata, misalnya:
      - pethentang-pethentheng
      - cewewak-cewewek

4. Bentuk ulang dengan variasi [a + a]
   a. Unsur yang diulang satu suku kata, misalnya:
      - pat-pet
      - pras-pres
      - plak-plek
      - sat-set
      - cak-cek
      - prak-prek
      - bat-bet
      - mak-mek
b. Unsur yang diulang terdiri atas dua suku kata, misalnya:
   - klecem-klecem
   - mencap-mencep
   - mesem-mesem
   - klesat-kleset
   - uget-uget
   - klesar-kleser
   - uwag-uweg

C. Unsur yang diulang terdiri atas tiga suku kata, misalnya:
   - cethethak-cethethek
   - gendhelak-gendhelek

5. Bentuk ulang dengan variasi [a → u]
   a. Unsur yang diulang terdiri atas satu suku kata, misalnya:
      - blas-blus
      - bas-bus
      - byar-byur
      - sar-sur
      - blang-blung
     
   b. Unsur yang diulang terdiri atas dua suku kata, misalnya:
      - kompal-kampul
      - nyomak-nyamuk
      - grothal-grathul
      - soat-saut
      - modhal-madhul
      - senthak-senthuk
     
   c. Unsur yang diulang terdiri atas tiga suku kata, misalnya:
      - gedebag-gedebug
      - cenuk-cenunuk
      - pecuca-pecucu

6. Bentuk ulang dengan variasi [a → o]
   Yang ada hanya yang unsur ulangannya terdiri atas dua suku kata, misalnya:
   - clewa-clewo
   - lena-leno
   - gela-gelo

7. Bentuk ulang dengan variasi [a → o]
   a. Unsur ulangan yang diulang terdiri atas satu suku kata, misalnya:
      - sak-sok
      - nyah-nyoh
     
   b. Unsur yang diulang terdiri atas dua suku kata, misalnya:
      - plorak-plorok
      - glogak-glogok
      - sengak-sengok
      - petag-petog
c. Unsur yang diulang terdiri atas tiga suku kata, misalnya:
   pethothak-pethothok
   jedhodhag-jedhodhog

Unsur kosa kata emotif-ekspresif yang mengandung akhiran -an contohnya:
bedigasan, pencilakan, picicilan, byayakan, yabyaban, cekikikan, cekakaken,
jlalatan, pendarangan, penthalitan, dan jlegjlegen.

Peniru bunyi dan penggambaran gerak dengan partikel pengantar mak dapat
kita bedakan menjadi peniru bunyi dan penggambaran gerak.
Partikel mak yang diikuti kata peniru bunyi contohnya: mak dhor, mak bred,
mak pyur, mak bel, mak pletheg, mak jegur, mak krompyang, mak grobyak, dan
mak gedebug.
Partikel pengantar mak yang diikuti kata-kata yang menggambarkan gerak misalnya:
mak brol, mak greg, mak nyes, mak plong, mak jranthal, mak bedhengus,
mak gedabig, mak jegagig, mak gandhel, dan mak kentoniting.

Unsur kosa kata emotif-ekspresif yang didahului partikel pengantar pating
juga dapat dibedakan menjadi dua macam, yaitu peniru bunyi dan pelukisan gerak.
Bedanya dengan kata-kata ekspressif yang diantar dengan partikel mak ialah bahwa
pating dengan kata-kata yang mengikutinya itu meniru bunyi atay menggambarkan
gerak yang banyak atau bermacam-macam.

Kata-kata peniru bunyi yang didahului oleh pating contohnya: pating cruwet,
pating clebung, pating glodhag, pating jlerit, pating jlegur, pating kraek,
pating brengok, pating kryek, pating grobyak, dan pating krosak.

Kata-kata yang menggambarkan gerak contohnya: pating bilulung, pating
sliwer, pating kruntel, pating glebyar, pating klepyur, dan pating grandhul.
Berbeda dengan mak, partikel pengantar pating dapat mengantarkan kata-kata yang
menggambarkan keadaan, misalnya, pating besak, pating cronget, pating
cromplong, pating cruwil, pating jenggeleg.

Adanya unsur kosa kata yang emotif-ekspresif dalam bahasa Jawa ini merupakan
gejala yang menarik. Dengan unsur kata semacam itu suatu tuturan menjadi
lebih plastis.

Uhlenbeck (1978) dalam beberapa karangan telah membahas beberapa kata
kerja yang tidak termasuk kata kerja yang pokok (peripheral verbs) dalam bahasa
Jawa yang mempunyai nilai ekspresif-emotif. Sebagai unsur kosa kata, meskipun
ada yang sudah tercatat dalam kamus, tetapi kata kerja tersebut, seperti juga
kata-kata yang dibicarakan di sini, termasuk unsur tambahan atau unsur pinggiran
(peripheral).

Uhlenbeck membeda-bedakan kata kerja tersebut menjadi tiga macam, yaitu
cara kerja yang berbentuk kata ulang, kata kerja dengan awalan pating [patiŋ],
dan kata kerja yang berawalan mak [maʔ].

Kata kerja yang berupa kata ulang dengan alternasi vokal itu menurut
Uhlenbeck pada umumnya menyatakan "a repeated action combined with irritation
or annoyance and in general a certain pathos on the part of the speakers".

Mengenai bentuk pating dan mak, Uhlenbeck (1978:141) menyatakan sebagai
berikut:
The semantic values of the two categories (i.e. the maq-forms and the patiŋ-forms) are quite different. Combinations with patiŋ- always imply the presence of a plural subject. They signal that a plurality of subjects partake in the action indicated by the rootmorpheme in different ways, in various places or in various degrees of intensity (141).

Mengenai bentuk mak selanjutnya Uhlenbeck mengatakan sebagai berikut.

Maq-forms always have a strong phonaesthetic and onomatopoeic character. They indicate a sudden, unexpected occurrence of a sound, a vivid movement or a swiftly executed action or process (141).

Rangkaian bunyi yang merupakan tanda dalam bahasa itu biasa dikatakan bahwa hubungannya dengan makna yang ditandainya bersifat arbitrer. Tidak ada ketentuan bahwa suatu rangkaian bunyi tertentu harus menandai makna tertentu; tidak ada hubungan tertentu antara tanda dengan yang ditandai.

Hal tersebut tidak berlaku untuk kata-kata emotif-ekspresif dalam bahasa Jawa yang dibicarakan dalam kertas kerja ini. Unsur kosa kata tersebut bukan hanya menandai atau melambangkan melainkan meniru, membayangkan, melukiskan, dan menyarankan hal yang ditandai atau yang dilambangkannya. Dalam hal ini hubungan antara tanda dan yang ditandai tidak sekedar arbitrer.

Unsur kosa kata yang emotif-ekspresif ini memberikan sumbangan yang besar bagi pengungkapan gagasan atau pengalaman secara plastis. Di pihak lain penggunaan unsur kosa kata ini dapat mengurangi kelu gasan dan kecendekiaan tuturan.

Kebutuhan akan pengungkapan yang ekspresif-evokatif atau yang 'kena' memang sering timbul di kalangan penutur bahasa Indonesia yang berbahasa pertama bahasa Jawa. Di kalangan mereka itu sering kita dengar ucapan sebagai berikut.

Saya masih belum sreg.
Sekarang sudah plong.
Mesinnya masih thok-cer.
Rasanya kok kurang nges.


Kata-kata emotif-ekpresif yang ada pada umumnya sulit diterjemahkan itu, memang bukan hanya merupakan bahan telaah ilmu bahasa, melainkan juga ilmu gaya bahasa atau stilistika.
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POERWADARMIITA, W.J.S.

TINA HARTINI ISKAQ

UHLENBECK, E.M.

---

1. PENDAHULUAN

Makalah yang penulis sajikan ini dapat dikatakan sebagai lanjutan dari studi terdahulu mengenai peribahasa Bali (Bagus dkk. 1980). Pada waktu meneliti aspek tersebut antara lain penulis jumpai istilah paribasa yang sepanjang pengetahuan penulis tidak ada padanannya dalam bahasa Indonesia. Walaupun para ahli bahasa Bali berbeda pendapat mengenai jangkauan pengertiannya, tetapi di antara mereka ada kesamaannya, yaitu bahwa apa yang menjadi pokok pembicaraan (raos ngempelin) dalam makalah ini adalah termasuk di dalamnya (Bagus dkk. 1980).


Dalam masyarakat Bali raos ngempelin sebagai suatu istilah telah mempunyai makna yang agak lain. Namun, tampak hubungan dengan pengertian di atas. Menurut hemat penulis raos ngempelin dapat diartikan suatu bentuk permainan bahasa yang berdasarkan kemenduaan makna (ambiguitas).


itu dipakai dalam masyarakat. Oleh karena itu, raos ngempelin tidak akan dipandang sebagai satu peristiwa linguistik semata melainkan akan dihubungkan dengan komponen-komponen lainnya seperti, latar belakang, partisipan, situasi, dan jenis data (lisam, tertulis).


Adapun data yang dipakai sebagai dasar analisis ini, selain data yang telah dikumpulkan oleh peneliti-peneliti terdahulu, dipergunakan pula data yang dikumpulkan oleh penulis sendiri. Data tersebut pada dasarnya ada yang diambil dari data tertulis yang dikumpulkan oleh para peneliti utama dari para filolog dan data lisan pihak ahli antropologi yang umumnya diangkat dari kehidupan sehari-hari di dalam masyarakat.

2. STRUKTUR


Sebagai telah diuraikan di atas bahwa dalam menganalisis masalah permainan bahasa ini penulis akan bertitik tolak dari fungsi pemakaian, yaitu bagaimana partisipan itu secara cerdik memanipulasi unsur dan relasi bahasa untuk mencapai tujuannya dalam hal ini untuk memunculkan kemenduaan makna/ambiguitas sehingga kalimat itu dapat diartikan berlainan. Agar pemanipulasi tersebut dapat dilihat lebih renik, maka hal itu akan dibahas secara terperinci dalam tiga aspek pembidangan, yaitu (1) aspek fonetik dan fonologi, (2) aspek morfologi dan sintaksis, dan (3) aspek leksikal.

2.1 Aspek fonetik dan fonologi


(1) Ka ki ja? (kasar)
Kalimat di atas karena dimanipulasii dapat berarti,
   a. Akan ke mana?
   b. Datuk di mana?
Kalimat itu dalam arti (a) biasanya dipakai untuk menyapa seseorang apabila berjumpa di tengah jalan. Kalimat itu adalah kalimat dalam bentuk nonbaku, dalam bentuk baku akan diucapkan, bakal kija? Namun, dalam situasi santai cukup diucapkan seperti di atas dan biasanya agak cepat sehingga kedengarannya menjadi kaki ja? Dalam ucapan yang demikian kalimat ini dapat diartikan seperti (b) karena kata kaki datuk dan ya di mana (kata ja adalah kependekan dari kata diaja). Oleh karena itu, dalam laporan itu diterangkan juga bahwa lawan bicara lalu menjawab pertanyaan itu dengan jawaban Di semae Di kuburan (kata turunan semae adalah bentuk nonbaku berupa dialek, bentuk bakunya adalah semane). Maksud jawaban ini adalah menyatakan bahwa datuknya itu telah meninggal dan sekarang ada di kuburan.

(2) Ulat keto, da campah-campahina ia, kaden anak belog, dugase di Sasak ia nukangin. (kasar)
   a. Walaupun demikian, dia itu jangan dianggap enteng, dikira ia bodoh, waktu di Sasak ia menjadi tukang (menjalankan pekerjaan tukang).
   b. Walaupun demikian, dia jangan dianggap enteng, dikira ia bodoh, waktu di Sasak ia masih tinggal di timur (maeusaha sebelah timur Bali).

Dalam kalimat di atas yang dimanipulasi itu adalah kata nukangin menjadi tukang. Kata turunan ini berasal dari kata dasar tukang tukang mendapat awalan nasal (N-) dan akhiran -in sehingga artinya menjalankan pekerjaan sebagai tukang.

Kata di atas dapat juga dibaca dengan cara terpisah, yaitu dengan memindahkan tekanan ke suku kata pertama sehingga kata turunan itu menjadi dua kata ialah nu masih dan kangin timur.

(3) Ada buin semah lu nyidadang molongin kau. (kasar)
   a. Ada lagi semut yang dapat melubangi tempurung.
   b. Ada lagi tupai betina yang dapat melubangi tempurung.

Sama halnya dengan contoh kalimat (2) di atas, yaitu dengan cara memindahkan tekanan kata akan mengakibatkan pula arti yang lain. Yang dimanipulasi dalam kalimat (3) ini adalah kata semah lu sejenis semut, dan dengan memindahkan tekanan, kata/morfem bebas itu dapat menjadi dua kata (morphem bebas), yaitu semal tupai dan lu betina.

2.2 Aspek morfologi dan sintaksis

Pertama manipulasi dalam bidang morfologi dapat diberikan contohnya sebagai tersebut di bawah ini.

(4) Lasan mati, padang idup makelo. (kasar)
   a. Lebih ikhlas mati, dibandingkan dengan hidup lama.
   b. Kadal mati, rumput hidup lama.

Dalam kalimat di atas ada dua kata yang dimanipulasi, yaitu lasan dan padang. Dalam arti (a) kata lasan adalah kata turunan yang dibentuk dari kata dasar las ikhlas dan mendapat akhiran -an. Akhiran -an di sini adalah akhiran untuk menyatakan perbandingan sehingga kata turunan itu mengandung arti komparatif, sedangkan yang kedua adalah kata padang, yang dalam hal ini juga merupakan kata turunan yang dibentuk dari kata pada sama yang mendapat akhiran -ang dan -kan³.
Dalarn' arti yang kedua, kata lasan adalah bentuk nonbaku kata lelasan kadal, sedangkan kata padang bermakna rumput. Dengan adanya manipulasi itu, kalimat di atas dapat diartikan sebagai (b) tersebut di atas.

(5) Daweg punika dados ida anoman ring titiang. (alus)

Sama halnya dengan kalimat di atas, kalimat ini pun jika dimanipulasi dapat berarti sebagai berikut.

a. Waktu itu beliau adalah lebih muda daripada saya.

b. Waktu itu beliau jadi Anoman bersama saya.

Kalimat tersebut di atas, dapat menimbulkan kemenduaan makna karena kata anoman dalam arti kalimat yang pertama adalah kata turunan yang dibentuk dari kata sifat anom pada akhiran -an. Mengetahui arti akhiran -an di sini sama dengan arti akhiran -an sebagai yang disebutkan dalam kalimat (4) di atas, sedangkan dalam arti kedua, kata anoman adalah nama tokoh dalam wira-carita Ranayana, yaitu Anoman.

(6) Saking ungkur pakantenane ida sampun tua ruyud, wawu awas saking arep nguda peceh. (alus)

Kalimat di atas dapat diartikan sebagai berikut.

a. Dari belakang beliau itu kelihatannya sudah tua renta, baru diperhatikan dari depan masih kanak-kanak.

b. Dari belakang beliau itu kelihatannya tua renta, baru diperhatikan dari depan kenapa ada tahi mata.

Kalimat di atas dapat ditafsirkan mendua karena ada kata nguda peceh yang dapat dipandang sebagai kata majemuk yang artinya kanak-kanak, amat muda dan kalau kata itu diucapkan dengan memindahkan tekanannya pada kata nguda akan berarti kenapa, peceh akan berarti tahi mata.

(7) Pagaeniane matumpuk-tumpuk di Badung kranane iaisaing maan mai. (kasar)

Kalimat di atas dapat diartikan sebagai berikut.


b. Pekerjaannya bersanggama saja di Badung/Denpasar karena itu ia tidak datang ke mari.

Yang dimanipulasikan dalam kalimat di atas adalah kata ulang matumpuk-tumpuk. Kata turunan ini berasal dari kata tumpuk lapis dua, tumpuk. Untuk menunjukkan bahwa pekerjaannya itu banyak, lalu kata itu diulang sehingga mendapat arti (a) amat banyak/bertumpuk-tumpuk dan (b) bersanggama.

Mengetahui aspek kalimat akan diambil dari contoh yang sudah terkenal yang berasal dari Geguritan Sampik yang di antara syairnya ada yang mengandung permainan bahasa yang dianggap menimbulkan kemenduaan makna. Kalimat itu diucapkan oleh sang putri bernama Ni Nyonyah Ingtai kepada kekasihnya I Babah Sampik yang berisi perjanjian agar pada hari yang telah ditetapkan oleh Ni Nyonyah Ingtai, I Sampik datang meminangnya. Syair tersebut memakai tembang Durma sebagai berikut.'
(8) "Ne dewa sane jalanin Beli luas,
ingetang da ngengsapin
telu pitu nemnem patpat,
dadua kutus dina melah,
yaneng kasep Beli nampi,
janten anak lian,
elingang sumpunang lali."

Inilah hari yang baik untuk Kanda lakukan (melamar),
ingatlah hendaknya jangan dilupakan,
tiga tujuh enam empat,
dua delapan hari yang baik,
bila Kanda terlambat menerima,
pastilah ada orang lain,
ingatlah hal itu jangan dilupakan.

Yang menjadi masalah penafsiran adalah kapankan pelamaran dilaksanakan. Dalam hal ini ada dua penafsiran, yaitu (a) ada yang tiga puluh hari dan (b) ada yang sepuluh hari. Hal itu didasarkan pada kalimat sebagai yang tercantum dalam baris ketiga dan keempat. Kalimat-kalimat itu dipperdendek sedemikian rupa karena tuntutan patokan dari puisi tradisional Bali yang disebut pada lingsa (banyaknya baris, suku kata dalam tiap baris akhir, dan banyaknya suku kata tiap baris). Maksud Ni Nyonyah Ingtai adalah sepuluh hari lagi, tetapi I Sampik mengartikannya tiga puluh hari lagi.

Hal itu jelas dari umpanan Ni Nyonyah Ingtai kepada kekasihnya I Sampik yang terlambat datang sebagai yang termaksud dalam syair dengan pupuh Ginada sebagai tersebut di bawah ini.

(9) "Ping telu ngorahang dasa
dina
janjin titiang ring Beli,
kaden Beli bin abulan,
tigang dasa lamin ipun,
Beli kasep ngalih titiang,
belog gati,
nampi munyi tuara naward,

Tiga kali mengatakan sepuluh hari,
janjiku pada Kanda,
Kanda kira sebulan lagi,
tiga puluh hari lamanya,
kanda telah terlambat melamarku,
Kau sangat dangu,
menerima pesan tak mengerti.

Karena terjadi salah paham mengenai makna kalimat di atas sehingga I Sampik merasa dirinya ditipu (cangkika) oleh Ni Nyonyah Ingtai.

2.3 Aspek leksikal

Sudah dapat diduga dari uraian di atas bahwa dalam aspek leksikal ini akan didapati pula banyak kata yang dapat dimanipulasi. Dalam hal ini adalah kata-kata yang homonim. Untuk jelasnya akan diberikan contohnya sebagai berikut.

(10) Api mati, icang lajar kema. (kasar)

Kalimat di atas dapat berarti:

a. walaupun mati, saya akan ke sana.
b. api mati, saya akan ke sana.

Yang dimanipulasi dalam kalimat di atas ialah kata api. Kata api dalam bahasa Bali dapat mempunyai arti dua, yaitu (1) walaupun (sebagai kata tugas) dan (2) api (sebagai kata benda).
(11) Tiang masih keto, ulat belog-belogan, jumlah pasti tiang dadi guru.

(alus madia)

Sama halnya dengan kalimat lainnya yang dibahas terdahulu, kalimat (11) tersebut di atas pun dapat berarti:

a. Saya demikian juga, walaupun tidak begitu pandai, di rumah pasti jadi guru.

b. Saya demikian juga, walaupun tidak begitu pandai, di rumah pasti dipanggil ayah.

Dalam kalimat di atas yang dimanipulasi adalah kata guru. Kata guru dalam hal ini dapat berarti guru dan juga ayah dalam arti alus madia yang dipakai terutama dalam lingkungan lapisan tertentu dalam masyarakat Bali.

3. FUNGSI


Dalam obrolan yang penuh senda gurau seperti itu untuk menambah kehangatan suasana kadangkala pula disertai dengan petikan jenis peribahasa yang di Bali disebut wewangsalan sebagai berikut.
Salak di kawanan
ketimun di kanginan,
galak ne luane,
kimud ne nuane.

Salak di sebelah barat,
mentimun di sebelah timur,
berani yang perempuan,
malu yang laki-laki.

Di samping itu, sebagaimana contoh yang terurai di atas, kadangkala permainan bahasa itu dapat juga dipakai untuk memperdaya/menipu kawan, bahkan kekasih yang sangat dicintai. Hal ini dalam bahasa Bali seperti telah disebut di atas disebut nyangkik atau nyanggit. Sebagai contohnya diambil dari jawaban I Sampik kepada ayahnya yang menceritakan bahwa ia merasa diperdaya oleh Ni Nyonyah Ingtaí sebagai tercatus dalam untaian syair berikut ini (puh Sinom).

"Lacur san Bapa mapianak,
mati titiang kena kecangkik,
baan Ni Ingtaí Nyonyah,
penter ngalahang muani,
akal liu dueg mamunyi,
goba jegeg sami luung,
nguciwayang isin jagat,
depang di gumine dini,

nika Bapa apang sida."

Sungguh malang Ayahanda mempunyai anak
anak seperti saya ini,
mati saya karena terpedaya,
oleh Ni Nyonyah Ingtaí,
pandai menaklukan laki-laki,
akalnya banyak pandai bersilat lidah,
rupa cantik semuanya serasi,
mengalahkan isi dunia,
terutama dalam lingkungan masyarakat
di sini,
dia unggul,
Ayahanda, usahakanlah biar dia dapat
diperoleh.

dengan contoh-contoh di atas jelas bahwa hakikat permainan bahasa itu adalah mengandung kelucuan sehingga tidak mengherankan permainan bahasa itu sering dipakai dalam seni sastra dan seni pertunjuan, terutama pada waktu obrolan antarpanakawan. Dengan demikian, jelaslah bahwa fungsi pemakaian permainan bahasa dalam adegan tersebut adalah untuk menciptakan/menimbulkan suasana lucu sehingga mendapat sambutan yang hangat dari para penonton.

4. KESIMPULAN DAN SARAN

Walaupun penelitian ini belum mendalam benar, tetapi dari uraian di atas dapat ditarik kesimpulan beberapa hal sebagai terurai di bawah ini.

(1) Untuk memunculkan kemenduaan makna, hal itu dapat dimanipulasikan dengan:
  a. menyatakan ucapan sehingga terbentuk homonim;
  b. memindahkan tekanan sehingga terbentuk dua kata;
  c. menafsirkan makna kalimat; dan
  d. memanfaatkan kata-kata yang homonim.

(2) Mengenai fungsi raos ngempelin dalam masyarakat dapat berupa sekedar untuk melucu; dan di samping itu, dapat pula dipakai memperdaya/menipu orang lain.
(3) Berdasarkan fungsinya sebagai terurai pada (2) raos ngempelin itu dapat dipakai untuk meningkatkan mutu karya seni baik seni sastra maupun seni pertunjukan.

Seperti ternyata dari uraian di atas walaupun telah ada dilakukan penelitian mengenai bentuk permainan bahasa, tetapi secara menyeluruh belum tuntas benar. Oleh karena itu, masalah tersebut perlu diselidiki lebih lanjut sehingga hasil penelitian itu akan merupakan sumbangan antara lain ilmu linguistik, ilmu sosiolinguistik, ilmu filsafat, ilmu kesusastraan, ilmu seni drama, dan ilmu antropologi.

CATATAN

2. Sebagai suatu istilah kata ini tidak terdapat dalam kedua kamus sebagai yang tersebut dalam catatan 1.
3. Dalam tingkat alus termasuk juga alus madia.
7. Teks tersebut diambil dari teks sebagai yang diterbitkan oleh Susrama, tetapi terjemahannya menurut terjemahan penulis sendiri.

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