

Focus on Topic:

**Information Structure in the Formal Variety of
Indonesian**

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Unless otherwise acknowledged in the text, this sub-thesis represents the original research of the author

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Acknowledgments

This thesis is, to some extent, a demanding reward. It is reward because writing a thesis is the privilege of students who obtain at least a distinction average grade in the one-year coursework in the College of Arts and Social Sciences. At the same time, it is truly demanding because it is not easy to write a thesis at the Australian National University. Passion, persistence and determination are absolutely required to make it excellent academic work.

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I would like to dedicate this thesis to *bahjata nafsi*, Thohiroh Muhammadun. She is a caring mother who not only encourages her children to pursue education whatever it takes, but also teaches her children what she believes to be the most important value in life: that getting a good education is equal to getting happiness, that education is the most basic need: anything else can wait, she said, but education cannot.

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Finally, Anais Nin put precisely what I want to say to sum up the experience of writing a thesis at ANU “we write to taste life twice, in the moment and in retrospect”.

“Where it can be shown that structures serve a particular function, that is a valuable discovery” (Chomsky, 1975:58)

"The functional linguist's concern with the diversity of competing grammatical structures is comparable, *mutatis mutandis*, to the ecologist's concern with the diversity of organisms...If ecology focuses on the interaction of organisms and their environments, the study of information structure focuses on the interaction of sentences and their contexts. It addresses the fundamental question of why there are so many kinds of sentence structures" (Lambrecht, 2004:9)

Abstract

The correlation between form and function is the subject of a huge debate in linguistics. This thesis studies this correlation by investigating sentences (utterances) and their formal features, as in using language, people not only think about what to say – the *informative* content, but also how to order it – the structure. The study is a piece of research into the relationship between units of information conveyed in sentences and their morpho-syntactic devices (constructions, constituents and domains). It deals with important concepts in information structure such as topic, focus, topicalization and focalization.

The data I use are the formal variety of Indonesian obtained from three political speeches on *Pancasila*. The data are categorized into canonical and non-canonical constructions, as the two have different information structure. In the former construction, a *linguistic truism*, that topic precedes focus, is argued to be relevant. It is also argued that *conspiracy of syntax* in the construction prevents new information from being placed in sentence initial position. On the other hand, in the latter, a different information structure is very likely to occur.

Basing the analysis on Lambrecht (1994), on the one hand, I argue that in canonical constructions, topics strongly correlate to subjects. Only a few instances in the data show that subject is not topic. When this is so, they either refer to focus with the type ‘argument focus’ structure or refer to a part of a focused constituent with the type ‘sentence focus’ structure. On the other hand, I argue that in non-canonical sentences there are two constructions under scrutiny: word order restructure (preposing) and passive construction. I argue that their information structure is predictable to some extent. First, in preposing, NP object and PP is topicalized while VP and AdjP predicates are focalized. In addition, the preposed intransitive VP *ada* is used to show that subject and predicate are focused in a presentational sentence. Next, in *yang* sentences, the predicate may be topicalized or focalized, depending on the context where they occur. Second, in passive type 1, the subject is assigned either aboutness topic, continuing topic or new topic. If the VP predicate is preposed, it is part of the focused constituent. In passive type 2, the object is fully topicalized.

I conclude that the correlation between, (i) subject and topic in canonically ordered constructions of formal Indonesian, (ii) different types of topic and subjects in passive type 1, and (iii) object and topicalization in passive type 2, are all predictable, rather than accidental or random. This, however, does not negate the possibility of individual variation by the language user. On the contrary, I draw no conclusion about the relationship between preposed predicate and focalization in the non-canonical construction. Thus, at this point, the conclusion is tentative and further research is required.

Abbreviations

1	: First Person
2	: Second Person
3	: Third Person
ACT	: Active
ADJ	: Adjective
AdjP	: Adjectival Phrase
ADR	: Address Term
ADV	: Adverb
ART	: Article
CIRC	: Circumfix
CONJ	: Conjunction
COP	: Copula
DEF	: Definiteness Marker
DEM	: Demonstrative
EXCL	: Exclusive Pronoun
FUT	: Future
INCL	: Inclusive Pronoun
INTR	: Intransitive
NEG	: Negation
NMLZ	: Nominalization
NP	: Noun Phrase
OBJ	: Object
OSV	: Object Subject Verb
PASS	: Passive
PL	: Plural
PP	: Prepositional Phrase
PREP	: Preposition
PRO	: Pronoun
PROG	: Progressive
PRT	: Particle
POSS	: Possessive
PST	: Past
Q	: Question Marker
QUAN	: Quantity
REDUP	: Verb Reduplication
REL	: Relative
SG	: Singular
SV	: Subject Verb
SVO	: Subject Verb Object
TR	: Transitive Verb
VP	: Verb Phrase
VS	: Verb Subject

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction to Information Structure

People convey messages to others by using language in context and such use is called discourse. Discourse is structured in certain ways to be meaningful so that people understand each other. In other words, speakers create expressions based on linguistic rules and as a result interlocutors comprehend the expressions and give relevant responses. On the one hand, the structure of discourse is related to syntactic rules in which discourse is categorized as being grammatical or ungrammatical (Gee, 1999:29). On the other hand, discourse is pragmatically structured based on information it carries implying that discourse cannot be judged from the formal features that it has. As an example, the object might be preposed to the initial position of a sentence for a particular pragmatic effect, and structuring discourse this way cannot be considered wrong (Winkler, 2012:73; Lambrecht, 1994:339). Such word order restructuring is discussed in the scope of information structure (Halliday, 1967:200).¹ Information structure concerns how information in discourse is packaged and how a particular syntactic structure is used in a particular context while another structure is avoided (Ward and Birner, 2006b:153).

All sentences and utterances have an information structure (Lambrecht, 1994:338). Two sentences may convey the same idea, but they may be structured very differently. Thus, the very basic problem to be addressed in information structure is the question “why do speakers of all languages use different grammatical structures under different communicative circumstances to express the same idea?” (Lambrecht, 1994:i). Because different information structure roles such as ‘topic’ and ‘focus’ are expressed with different formal devices, the analysis of information is centered on the comparison of semantically equivalent but formally and pragmatically divergent sentence pairs called allosentences, such as active vs passive, canonical vs topicalized, and canonical vs preposed or dislocated (Lambrecht, 1994:6).

With regard to information structure in Indonesian, there are three important things to note. First, information structure is one of the linguistic key topics which is, together with other pragmatic-related notions, rather understudied (Kridalaksana,

¹ According to Lambrecht (1994:2), Halliday (1967:200) was the first linguist who used the term ‘information structure’ in referring to word order restructure for pragmatic reasons.

² The most studied linguistic topics are within the area of morphology and syntax, whereas

2002:12).² Thus, further linguistic research is needed. Second, in the few studies which have been conducted, the existing claims are unsatisfactory, in the sense that they do not integrate information structure analysis in written and oral discourse and that their claims are to some extent contradictory.³ Third, the sociolinguistic context of Indonesian is complex because (i) many regional languages are spoken as a native language and (ii) Indonesian as the national language is not the first language⁴ for many of its speakers (Ebing, 1997:121). This linguistic situation creates complexities for research because speakers from different ethnic backgrounds will be very likely to be influenced by their mother tongue in using Indonesian. Thus, careful selection of the data is very important for a linguistic analysis. Some findings of linguistic studies in Indonesian are restricted only to the particular dialect they describe and cannot be applied to other dialects, let alone be considered relevant to standard Indonesian (Ebing, 1997:25).⁵ There is no study of information structure in Indonesian based on a modern standard or formal variety⁶ in its spoken and written forms in which the language is used in its communicative context.⁷

This thesis is therefore an investigation of information structure using the formal variety of Indonesian to study the correspondence of information units with syntactic constituents. The phenomena under consideration are topic-related such as different types of topic, correspondence of topic and subject, topicalization; and focus-related,

² The most studied linguistic topics are within the area of morphology and syntax, whereas phonology and pragmatics attract little interest from Indonesian scholars (Kridalaksana, 2002:12).

³ For example, the claims of Poedjosoedarmo (1986) that particular pitch contours are associated with information structure categories contradict the claims of Halim (1974). Kardana (2013) argued them both, claiming that information structure exists in both written and spoken discourse and they are marked differently. Chapter 2 of this thesis will present more information about these studies.

⁴ The total number of speakers of Indonesian is about 220 million, according to Ethnologue (<http://www.ethnologue.com/statistics/country>; accessed 1/11/2014). However, the number who speak it as a first language is only 23.2 million. This is few, compared with a regional language such as Javanese for which the number of 'first language' speakers is 84.3 million (<http://www.ethnologue.com/statistics/size>). This means that there are more non-first language speakers of Indonesian than there are first language speakers of Indonesian.

⁵ Ebing (1997:24) defined the standard variety as a "pronunciation which does not show regional accents". Ebing (1997:23) carried out a phonetic analysis in standard Indonesian to "make an explicit model for Indonesian intonation" by using data from educated speakers from Riau because they are native speakers and do not have regional dialects. The study, as Ebing explains, was conducted because some claims from previous research cannot be applied to the Indonesian language in general but only to particular dialects (Ebing, 1997:27–28).

⁶ In this research, following Sneddon et al. (2010), three registers in the language (formal, informal and standard) are acknowledged; these are elaborated in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

⁷ Information structure analyses using artificial data and those using free flowing discourse have been shown by Hedberg and Sosa (2011) to generate different claims. Hence, this study uses data from within a communicative context.

such as type of focus, focus structure, and focalization. The texts to be studied are three videos of political speeches of 30 minutes each. All the speeches have the same theme; they talk about five principles (called *Pancasila* in Indonesian).⁸ The texts were prepared and the speeches were delivered by the three politicians themselves.

As there are different theories conceptualizing information structure in the literature, in which different terms are used to label categories, and some theories apply only to spoken, or only to written discourse,⁹ this thesis will implement Lambrecht's theory in which information structure is considered as sentence grammar (Lambrecht, 1994:31). Lambrecht took an integrative approach to the theory of Information structure. His approach integrates function and form by involving syntax, semantics and pragmatics to conceptualize information structure (Lambrecht, 1994:5). Lambrecht (1994:11) argued that the theory cannot be claimed either as formalism or as functionalism. More importantly information structure can be found in all types of discourse, spoken and written, and all types of sentences, including requests and questions (Lambrecht, 1994: 55, 283).

1.1 Lambrecht's Theory of Information Structure

Information structure is not just partitioning information into given and new (Halliday, 1967:200) or a particular way of packaging of such information (Chafe, 1976:28), but it is more of a component of sentence grammar in which "propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with lexico-grammatical structures" (Lambrecht, 1994:5). As part of grammar, it is "formally manifested in aspects of prosody, in specific grammatical markers, in the form of (particularly nominal) constituents, in the position and ordering of such constituents in the sentence" (Lambrecht, 1994:6). Thus, based on the theory, "what syntax does not code, prosody does, and what is not coded by prosody may be expressed by morphology or the lexicon" (Lambrecht, 1994:31).

Information structure has three different but related categories: propositional content (presupposition and assertion), pragmatics categories (topic and focus) and

⁸ *Pancasila* (which literally means five principles – 'panca' means five and 'sila' means principle) is the ideology of Indonesia, consisting of five values as the basis of way of life for the people of Indonesia (Latif, 2011).

⁹ Halliday's (1967) theory of information structure, for example, applies only to spoken discourse. On the other hand, Steedman (2000) uses different categories and definitions of information structure, but does not consider information structure as sentence grammar.

grammar structure (topic and focus domains) (Lambrecht, 1994:334). The following is the elaboration of those categories.

1.1.1 Presupposition and Assertion

Information is not conveyed through lexical items, Lambrecht (1994:209) argues, but it is expressed through propositions (Lambrecht, 1994:50). Propositions convey information by relating new propositions to old ones (Lambrecht, 1994:51). Information is a communicative act by which speakers increase the knowledge of hearers by adding a new proposition (Lambrecht, 1994:54). New information is therefore made up of a combination of old and new propositions (Lambrecht, 1994:51). For this conceptualization, Lambrecht (1994:51) introduces the terms ‘presupposition’ and ‘assertion’.

Every sentence requires a presupposition (Lambrecht, 1994:64) and in every utterance there must be an assertion (Lambrecht, 1994:60). Presupposition and assertion are propositions that coexist in the same sentence (Lambrecht, 1994:57). These are defined as follows:

- A. Presupposition: “the set of propositions lexico-grammatically evoked in an utterance which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or believes or is ready to take for granted at the time of speech” (Lambrecht, 1994:52)
- B. Assertion: “the proposition expressed by a sentence which the hearer is expected to know or believe or take for granted as a result of hearing the sentence uttered” (Lambrecht, 1994:52)

The defining feature of a presupposition as defined in (A) is “lexicogrammatically evoked”. This means that the proposition must be formally evoked in the sentence and that any assumption of a speaker which does not have a formal manifestation is irrelevant to the analysis of information structure (Lambrecht, 1994: 55). This is shown in (1).

1. I finally met the woman who moved in downstairs

This example contains the following propositions, as stated in Lambrecht, (1994:55–56):

- (i) the addressee can identify the female individual designated by the definite noun phrase.

- (ii) someone has moved in downstairs from the speaker.
- (iii) one would have expected the speaker to have met that individual at some earlier point in time.
- (iv) the addressee is aware of the referents of the pronouns ‘I’ and ‘who’ at the time these pronouns are uttered.
- (v) the proposition expressed by the sentence is construable as relevant information about the referent ‘I’; the proposition expressed by the relative clause is construable as relevant information about the referent of ‘who’.

The five propositions (i-v) above are the shared knowledge between speaker and hearer that is formally manifested in example (1). The proposition (i) is evoked by “the”, while (ii) is evoked by the relative clause introduced by “who”. On the other hand, the proposition (iii) is evoked by the adverb “finally”. The last two propositions are evoked from the pronouns “I” and “who” which are prosodically unaccented.

Assertion, as defined in (B), it is simply considered a proposition which adds to what is already presupposed in the utterance (Lambrecht, 1994:54). Example (1) thus has the following assertion, as stated in Lambrecht (1994:56):

- (vi) taking for granted the propositions in (i) through (v) above the speaker has now met the individual in question.

To sum up, it is clear that based on Lambrecht (1994), what is called old and new in the study of information structure merely corresponds to the mentally represented propositions (Lambrecht, 1994:49–58). The old proposition is called the presupposition while the new one is called the assertion.

1.1.2 Topic and Topicalization

This thesis focuses on two major information structure roles, namely topic and focus. Here, topic is not the element that comes first in a sentence, but it is “the thing which the proposition expressed by the sentence is about” (Lambrecht, 1994:117-8). Hence topic in the theory is related to aboutness as shown in an English example in (2).

2. The children went to school

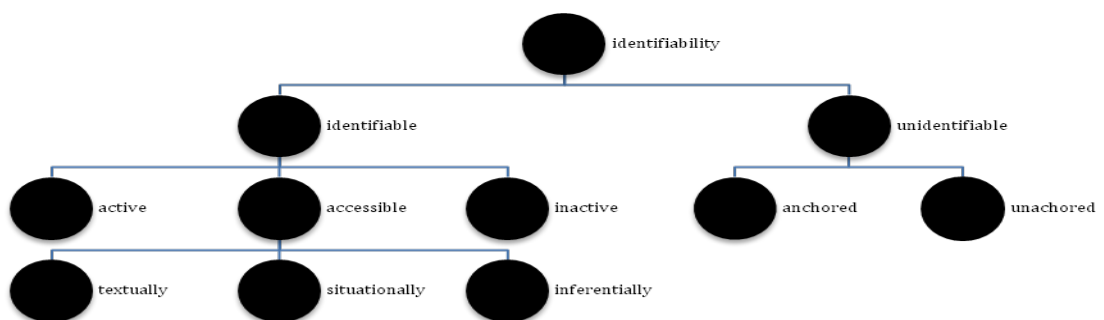
To determine which is the topic in (2), several things must be considered in analyzing it, such as the context, the communicative intention of the speaker in making the statement and the state of mind of the addressee with respect to the referent ‘the children’ (Lambrecht, 1994:120). Following are the four possible contexts of sentence (2), as stated in Lambrecht (1994:121) (contexts shown in brackets).

- a. (What did the children do next?) The children went to SCHOOL
- b. (Who went to school?) The CHILDREN went to school
- c. (What happened?) The CHILDREN went to SCHOOL
- d. (John was very busy that morning) after the children went to SCHOOL, he had to clean the house and go shopping for the party

It is only in context (a) that the NP subject ‘children’ is a topic (Lambrecht, 1994:121). The reason is that in (a) the proposition evoked by the verb phrase ‘went to school’ is about the referent ‘the children’. The other forms (b–d) have different contexts which prevent the NP subject from being topical.

Lambrecht (1994:127) among others argues that a topic must be referential. If a referent is introduced for the first time into discourse, it is called ‘unidentifiable’ or ‘new’ (Lambrecht, 1994:105). This ‘new’ topic is coded as an indefinite NP in several languages such as ‘a guy’ in an English phrase ‘a guy in the schoolyard’ (van Valin & Lapolla, 2007:200). This new referent ‘a guy’ can also be introduced by anchoring it to a more identifiable referent, thus ‘a guy’ becomes ‘a guy I know from school’ and this referent is called anchored within the discourse (van Valin & Lapolla, 2007:200). On the other hand, if a referent is already introduced, when it is called ‘identifiable’, it must be activated by means of one of the three levels of activation (Lambrecht, 1994:106). It is active if it is in the current focus of consciousness; it is inactive if it is in the hearer’s long term memory; and it is accessible, if it is textually, situationally or inferentially available by means of its existence in the physical context (Lambrecht, 1994:109). Chart 1 below summarizes these explanations.

Chart 1. Referent and Identifiability



Further, Lambrecht (1994:165), building on Prince’s (1981) familiarity scale and Chafe’s (1987) activation states, proposes a scale of topic acceptability as shown in chart 2.

Chart 2. Referent and Acceptability Scale

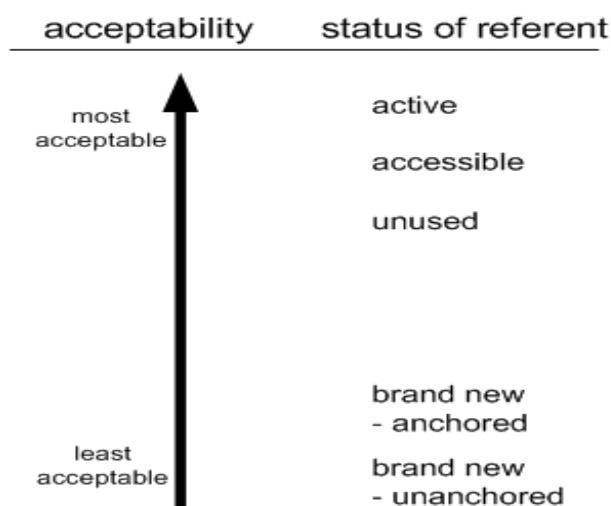


Chart 2 shows the relative acceptability of topics based on their mental status. The preferred mental status of a topic is one which is active and which is about the current proposition. Least acceptable is a brand-new unanchored topic.

In unmarked constructions, the topic is the subject of the sentence. Thus, in SVO-based languages “the subject of a sentence will be interpreted as its topic...unless the sentence contains morphosyntactic, prosodic, or semantic clues to the contrary” (Lambrecht, 1994:136). The subject may be non-topical (Lambrecht, 1994:137) and the topic may instead correspond to non-subject constituents in sentences. Topical non-subjects can be made into topics through a topicalization strategy in which “a non-subject constituent is marked as a topic expression by being placed in the sentence-initial position normally occupied by the topical subject”, as shown in example (3) below (Lambrecht, 1994:147).

3. Why am I in an up mood? Mostly it’s a sense of relief having finished a first draft of my thesis and feeling OK at least about the time I spent writing this. The product I feel less good about.

In the last sentence in (3) the NP ‘the product’ is the object; it is made the topic by being preposed into initial position. Thus the non-subject constituent ‘the product’ is the topic through a topicalization strategy.

In short, summarizing the above elaboration of the concept of topic, a topic corresponds to a referent which exhibits three properties: a) it is easily accessible; b) it is presupposed to ‘exist’; and c) it is seen as what the proposition expressed by the

utterance is about. In addition, a topic tends to be the subject of the sentence in canonically ordered constructions.

1.1.3 Focus and Focus Structure

Focus is “the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition” (Lambrecht, 1994:213). Thus, focus is a portion of an utterance where presupposition and assertion differ from each other (Lambrecht, 1994:58). In other words, focus is the element of information that is added to the presupposition and cannot be taken for granted at the time of speech (Lambrecht, 1994:206–7). However, focus cannot be considered as the complement of topic because a focus must be present in any utterance while a topic may be absent (Lambrecht, 1994:206). Consider the following focus examples (4) and (5), taken from Lambrecht (1994:207–213).

4. Q: Where did you go last night?

A: I went to the movies

Presupposition: ‘speaker went to x’

Assertion: ‘x= the movies’

‘New Information’: ‘the place I went to last night was the movies’

Focus: the movies

5. Mitchell urged Nixon to appoint Carswell

Presupposition: ‘x urged Nixon to appoint Carswell’

Assertion: ‘x = Mitchell’

‘New Information’: the set of individuals that urged Nixon to appoint Carswell

Focus: Mitchell

In (4), the question is the context for the answer. Here, the focus of the utterance is NP ‘the movies’. In (5), the context is not provided in the question, as it is a single declarative sentence. Here, the focus is the proper name ‘Mitchell’.

Focus has a particular domain that is called ‘focus structure’. It is the association of a particular information structure with a particular morpho-syntactic or intonational structure (Lambrecht, 1994: 222). The same applies to topic (Lambrecht, 1994:127). Their syntactic constituents can be identified with the assistance of intonation in spoken discourse, and of morphology and syntax in written discourse (Lambrecht, 1994:6). However, the focus domain must be the constituents whose denotata are capable of producing assertions when added to presuppositions. These constituents are VP, AdjP,

NP, PP, AdvP and sentence (Lambrecht, 1994:215). It is thus impossible for lexical categories to be in such a domain.

There are three focus structures, each corresponding to a different communicative function (Lambrecht, 1994:132, 222). The first is called predicate-focus structure where the predicate is the focus and the subject is the presupposition along with other topical elements if any (Lambrecht, 1994:226). This structure is regarded as the unmarked order. The second is argument-focus which serves to identify missing arguments for a presupposed open proposition (Lambrecht, 1994: 229–230). The third is called sentence-focus structure, which reports an event or presents a totally new discourse and does not make reference to old propositions (Lambrecht, 1994:233). In this structure, focus extends to subject and predicate. The following sentences (6),(7),(8) are examples of these three structures, taken from Lambrecht (1994:226–233).

6. My car broke DOWN

Presupposition: ‘speaker’s car is a topic for comment x’

Assertion: ‘x = broke down’

Focus: ‘broke down’

Focus domain: VP

7. My CAR broke down

Presupposition: ‘speaker’s x broke down’

Assertion: ‘x=car’

Focus: ‘car’

Focus domain: NP

8. My car broke down

Presupposition: -

Assertion: ‘speaker’s car broke down’

Focus: ‘speaker’s car broke down’

Focus domain: S

Sentence (6) is an example of a predicate focus structure in which the focus domain is the VP while (7) is an example of argument focus in which the NP is the focus domain. Example (8) illustrates the largest syntactic domain which focus can have, that of the whole sentence ‘My car broke down’.

1.2 Data and Methodology

For this thesis, I analyzed three speeches delivered by three different Indonesian politicians. These speeches talk about Pancasila, the ideology of Indonesia. It consists

of five values as the basis of way of life for the people. They are in order: belief in the divinity of God, just and civilized humanity, the unity of Indonesia, democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives, and social justice for all of the people of Indonesia (Latif, 2011). Pancasila is essential for Indonesia because the country is not a religion-based entity although Muslims are dominant, however it is not secular either and neither socialist nor capitalist. Indonesia is essentially defined and governed by Pancasila.

The three speeches have a particular angle in discussing Pancasila. The first speech is by the third president of Indonesia, BJ Habibie, in which he talked about the re-actualization of the values of *Pancasila* for the social life of Indonesia. The video was downloaded from YouTube, the script is taken from his personal website.¹⁰ The second speech is by the fifth president of Indonesia, Megawati Soekarno Putri, in which she talked about the history and the role of *Pancasila* in relation with the experience of her father, Soekarno, as the first President of Indonesia and the conceiver of *Pancasila*. The video was also downloaded from YouTube while the script was obtained from Scribd.¹¹ The third speech is by the sixth president of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono in which he talked about the challenge of implementing *Pancasila* in the future. The video was also downloaded from YouTube and the script obtained from the official website of the Indonesian president.¹² To make the data for the analysis as accurate as possible, the downloaded scripts were checked against the videos. If discrepancies were found, the scripts used in this thesis were supplemented with the spoken version in accordance with the videos.

The three speeches have been chosen as the data for this study for several reasons. First, these speeches were delivered at an official state event, the commemoration of the birth of *Pancasila*. Thus, all three employed the formal variety of Indonesian in rigorous ways: grammatically correct, sequentially coherent and morpho-syntactically complex. Such speeches are prepared carefully with official scripts before final delivery by the speaker. Thus, there will be two related datasets, text and audio, which can be analyzed separately. The two are distinct because the

¹⁰ <https://habibiecenter.or.id/detilurl/id/117//Pidato.BJ.Habibie.Dalam.Peringatan.Hari.Lahir.Pancasila>.

¹¹ <https://www.scribd.com/doc/121805269/Pidato-Mantan-Presiden-Megawati-Soekarno-Putri-Dalam-Rangka-Peringatan-Hari-Lahirnya-Pancasila-1-Juni-2011-download>.

¹² <https://www.presidentri.go.id/index.php/pidato/2011/06/01/1645.html>. I accessed the site on July 2014. However, after the inauguration of Joko Widodo as the 7th President of Indonesia on October 20th 2014, the site can no longer be accessed. Previously, the content of the site was specific to Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono who led the Government for 10 years. The site remains inaccessible.

identification of information structure in the former uses different strategies and markers from those in the latter. Also, in terms of theme of the speeches, the three speeches are related to each other. They are all about *Pancasila*, the ideology of Indonesia. Thus, in terms of referents and propositions, the key aspects for identifying topic and focus in discourse are (a) referents which are always situationally or inferentially accessible and (b) presupposed propositions that relate one speech to the other. In summary, the three speeches were selected because they represent the formal variety of the language; exist as two types of dataset which are inter-related. In this study, the audio data will not be analysed. The main reason for this is because the speakers come from different ethnic backgrounds, and thus they have different vernaculars as their native language. As a result, these differences inherently influence and interfere in the way they speak the national language, Indonesian.

Before the analysis, the data were coded in Microsoft Excel. Initially, the individual sentences of the scripts were categorized under three different labels, namely 'word order', 'predication' and 'clauses and voices'. Any constructions consisting of subject and predicate, regardless of whether they were dependent or independent clauses, were counted as a single set of data. Word order is important in coding such data because canonical constructions and non-canonical ones are very likely to convey different information structures. This applies as well to voice, because Indonesian has active constructions and two types of passive. Next, the essential information on topic and focus was also coded in the spreadsheet in the form of the type of topic or focus expressed in the subject of each construction. With the information structure roles of the subjects identified, it was then easier to identify the information structure roles of predicate and adjunct. Another important coding task was identification of the status of individual referents and propositions. Knowing the information status of referents and propositions in any particular sentence made it easier to allocate the particular pragmatic categories of subjects and their respective predicates.

The analysis in this thesis is based on Lambrecht (1994). Hence, I will apply the theory-specific concepts of his framework such as the different categories of topic, including aboutness topic, new topic, continuing topic, primary and secondary topic and contrastive topic, as well as different types of focus structure, topicalization, and focalization.

1.3 Overview of the Thesis

The organization of this thesis is as follows.

Chapter 2 provides the historical and sociolinguistic background of the Indonesian language, its registers (formal, informal and standard), its grammar, and a discussion of the three previous studies on information structure in Indonesian.

Chapter 3 presents the analysis of information structure in canonically ordered constructions. It begins with the elaboration of different types of topic and focus presented by Lambrecht (1994), followed by the description of the relevant data within the three speeches in my dataset. Next, I discuss the information structure roles of subjects in different canonical constructions. Afterwards, I discuss the pragmatic category of pronoun *nya* and its antecedent in two-clauses constructions. I summarize my claims at the end of the chapter.

Chapter 4 presents the analysis of information structure in non-canonically ordered construction, preposing. In the beginning, topicalization and focalization will be briefly explained, followed by the description of the relevant data within the speeches. Next, I will discuss the preposed constituents NP, VP, AdjP and PP. The discussion of preposed *yang* and its nominalized relative clause is presented in a separate subsection. I will provide the summarized analysis of preposed constituents at the end of the chapter.

Chapter 5 presents the analysis of information structure in passive constructions. It begins with a brief introduction to the information structure of passive constructions in an SVO language, English, and previous claims about its role in Indonesian. Next, I present the data description of passive constructions within the speeches. I then discuss the pragmatic categories of passive type 1, argument reversal, patient-less passive and passive type 2. The final subsection summarizes the arguments made based on the data analysis.

Chapter 6 provides some concluding remarks on the whole analysis presented in chapters 3, 4 and 5. Next, I point to some limitations of this research. Finally, I provide suggestion for future research on information structure in the formal variety of Indonesian.

CHAPTER 2

The Indonesian Language and Information Structure

The focus of this chapter is on information structure in Indonesian, starting with an overview of the socio-political origin and development of Indonesian – the language. This is followed by a description of the grammatical features of the language including word order and passive construction. All this together sets the background for the following discussion on information structure in Indonesian. Towards the end of this chapter, three previous works on information structure are brought forward to expose the research gap.

2.1 The Indonesian Language

Indonesian, or *Bahasa Indonesia*, is the national language of Indonesia. It is an Austronesian language, and, more specifically, belonging to the Malayic subgroup of Western Malayo-Polynesian (Tadmor, 2009:791). Historically, the language was used as a cultural device to unite hundreds of local ethnic groups in Indonesia who have had their own particular vernacular languages (Kridalaksana, 2002:x). Since the independence of the Republic of Indonesia in 1945, the language has assumed and maintained the status of sole official and national language (Sneddon, 2003:6). Immediately after 1945, the language underwent fundamental standardization¹³ and soon after modern Indonesian originated from this process.¹⁴

However, unlike what a few believed, the standardization of modern Indonesian is based on the literary language tradition of the royal courts of Riau-Johor and southern Sumatra, rather than on the pidgin versions of Malay which were spoken at that time in the market and trading ports of the archipelago (Sneddon, 2003:15). Together with royal Malay as the standard for the then emerging language, Indonesian had also succeeded in

¹³ The very first standardization process began in 1917 through the Balai Pustaka publishing house which was set up by the Dutch to publish books and stories written in *baku* (formal) variety (Quinn, 2001:xi).

¹⁴ The most important dates in the development of the modern Indonesian language are the years 1928 and 1945. In 1928, Indonesian youth gathered in the so-called Jakarta, making an historical oath called *Sumpah Pemuda* whereby they pledged to have one unifying language, called *Bahasa Indonesia*. The language refers to the Malay that was spoken as a native language in Malacca in the west to the Moluccas and Tidore in the east. Outside of its native-speaking regions, the language is used as lingua franca by people from different language backgrounds such as Javanese, Sundanese and others (Dardjowidjojo, 1967:8). It was politically chosen because the majority of Indonesians use the language. At that time, the language had limited vocabulary in some areas such as ‘politics’, ‘technology’ and ‘science’ and therefore there were plans to further develop the language but there was no significant progress. In 1945 Indonesia gained independence which marked the turning point in the history of the language.

expanding its vocabulary and semantic pool. It does this through enrichment from other languages. Indonesian borrowed everyday words mostly from Javanese and Sundanese; an enormous number of scientific and political words from English; words related to religion from Arabic and Sanskrit; and many others from Chinese, Persian, Portuguese, Dutch and Japanese (Dardjowidjojo, 1967:12–20). At present, according to Ethnologue, Indonesian is spoken by about 220 million people.¹⁵

Indonesian has formal, informal and standard varieties (or styles). I will briefly outline the socio-linguistic situation and speech communities of each style.

The formal style, considered to have higher prestige, is used in education, government, business, law and journalism (Sneddon, 2003:9). It is characterized by the use of a full range of affixes and “diverse vocabulary with a high incidence of esoteric terms from foreign” or classical languages (Quinn, 2001). Kridalaksana (2010:4) provides more details, citing nine characteristics of the style, including the use of conjunctions like *karena* and *bahwa* consistently, the use of prefix *me-* and *ber-* and the consistent use of particles like *-kah* and *-pun*. For many Indonesians, access to this style begins with elementary schooling. It is anticipated that early learning in this style allows its mastery as the language of science, civilization and technology (Sneddon, 2003:10). Moreover, being proficient in using the formal style is the mark of a person’s level of education (Sneddon, 2003:10). This means, on the one hand, that some people may succeed, on the other hand, that others may feel alienated by the formal style because they do not have access to a good education (Sneddon, 2003:10).

The informal style, also called *bahasa sehari-hari*, is the language of home and social interaction. It is used “at the expense of regional languages” (Sneddon, 2003:10). The reason is that this style is prominent in use in large cities like Jakarta, Palembang and Medan, where people from different language backgrounds meet and interact, forcing them to speak only with their informal Indonesian. In addition, the situation is that their children are sent to school and they speak with their classmates in Indonesian. In such circumstances, it is said that their regional language will be lost from the family in about three generations (Sneddon, 2003:11).

The informal style has different characteristics from the formal one; to the extent that we can speak of a general contrast between formal and informal styles (Quinn, 2001: xii). The informal style is characterized by the dropping of certain affixes such as the prefix *ber-* and by borrowing of idioms from Javanese and other regional languages

¹⁵ <http://www.ethnologue.com/statistics/country>. The *Ethnologue: Languages of the World* website is a comprehensive reference work cataloging all of the world’s known living languages.

(Quinn, 2001: xii). It is also indicated by the use of particles like *dong*, *deh*, *sih* and components borrowed from vernaculars such as the Jakartan verbal suffix *-in* and the Javanese first person pronoun *tak* (Quinn, 2001:xii). Part of the informal style is the *prokem* slang of Jakarta¹⁶, which started out as a secret language of street kids and thugs and has now entered the stylish speech of teenagers throughout the country (Prathama and Chambert-Loir, 1990:6–7). This *prokem* enriches the lexical repertoire of the informal style with words such as *bokap* (father), *doi* (she/he) and *ogut* (I) (Quinn, 2001:xii).

The standard register refers to any varieties which are considered regular and prestigious in both formal and informal styles (Sneddon, 2003:11). Thus the terms ‘standard’ and ‘formal’ will be differentiated in the context of Indonesian in this research. For example, a prestigious variety of informal Indonesian has emerged in the speech of the Jakarta middle class, which is now developing into a standard style. Other than in Jakarta, Sneddon (2003:12) argues that it is highly likely that in the near future, standard varieties of both formal and informal language will exist in many cities as has already happened in other languages.

2.1.1 Indonesian Grammar: Word Order and Passive Construction

Indonesian is an SVO language. Depending on what the centre of predication is, canonical constructions in the language are named differently. Sentences (9) and (10) are examples of ‘verbal clauses’ because the center of predication is the verb – *berlari* and *membeli* respectively (Kridalaksana, 2008:128). In (9), the verb is intransitive, in (10) the verb is transitive.

9. *Orang itu ber-lari.*
 person DEM.that INTR-run
 ‘That person runs.’ (Kridalaksana, 2008:127–128. My translation)

10. *Ia mem-beli beras.*
 3SG ACT-buy uncooked.rice
 ‘He buys rice.’ (Kridalaksana, 2008:127–128. My translation)

Further, Indonesian has four other canonical constructions. The first is the ‘nominal

¹⁶ *Prokem* was coined from *preman* ‘thug’ by dropping the final syllable and applying the infix *ok*. Historically, *prokem* has begun to be used by criminals in prison and on the streets (Prathama & Chambert-Loir, 1990). Usage of ‘*prokem*’ is similar to ‘*cant*’ in English and ‘*argot*’ in French (Prathama & Chambert-Loir, 1990:5), so that now any ‘secret’ language used by social groups to communicate with each other is also called *prokem* in Indonesian linguistics; an example is a secret language used in the United States that has been well documented by Sumaryono (1996).

clause’ as illustrated in (11), in which the NP *istriku* is the predicate; hence the clause is called nominal.

11. *Dia istri-ku.*

3SG wife-POSS

‘She is my wife.’ (Kridalaksana, 2008:128. My translation)

The second is the ‘quantity clause’ as in example (12). Here, the predicate is *dua* which refers to quantity.

12. *Kucing saya dua.*

cat 1SG.POSS QUAN.two

‘My cats are two.’ (Sneddon et al., 2010:243. Translation amended¹⁷)

The third is the ‘adjective clause’ as in (13), in which the predicate is an adjective phrase *harus dingin*.

13. *Minuman itu harus dingin.*

drink DEM.that must ADJ.cold

‘That drink must be cold.’ (Sneddon et al., 2010:244)

The fourth is the ‘prepositional clause’ as in (14), in which the predicate is a prepositional phrase *dengan pacarnya*.

14. *Dia dengan pacar-nya sekarang.*

3SG PREP.with girlfriend-PRO now

‘He is with his girlfriend now.’ (Sneddon et al., 2010:246)

Overall, Indonesian has five canonical constructions for which the name is determined by the predication center.¹⁸

The following are non-canonically ordered sentences in Indonesian. Sentence (15) illustrates the fronting of a predicate. In this example, the predicate *cantik sekali* is put at the initial position in the VS word order, with the VP consists of an adjectival phrase.

15. *Cantik sekali gadis itu*

ADJ.beautiful ADV.very girl DEM.that

¹⁷ The translation of example (12) is amended for a technical reason that is to give uniformity of interlineal glossing abbreviation in the translation. The abbreviation used in the original translation of (12) is different to the one used in this thesis which is comprehensively listed in page (iv). The same reason for amendment applies to several other examples in this chapter.

¹⁸ The terminologies for clauses as ‘verbal’, ‘nominal’, ‘quantity’, ‘adjective’ and ‘prepositional’ are from Sneddon et al., (2010:242–246) and Kridalaksana (2008:128).

‘That girl is very pretty’ (Sneddon et al., 2010:266)

Example (16) is the preposing of patient or object into initial position. Here, the object *buku ini* is preposed in a passive type 2 construction.

16. *Buku ini tidak akan kami baca.*
book DEM.this NEG FUT.will 1PL.EXCL TR.read
‘This book will not be read by us.’ (Sneddon et al., 2010:258)

Sneddon et al., (2010:266) argues that in non-canonical construction, the rule of thumb is that the longer a subject, the more likely it is to follow the predicate, as in (17). In this example, the long subject *alat-alat yang menarik* is in sentence-final position following the predicate *tersedia*.

17. *Sekarang di toko tuan Ong ter-sedia*
now PREP.instore mister Ong INTR-available

alat-alat yang menarik.
tool-PL REL.which interesting

“Now in Mr Ong’s store are available implements which attract the attention of villagers visiting the town.” (Sneddon et al., 2010:267. Translation amended)

With regard to transitivity, Indonesian has an active construction and two types of passive. As an agglutinative language (Quinn, 2001:vii), affixation can play a significant role in marking which construction is which (Kridalaksana, 2008:52–53). If the verb of a sentence is prefixed by *meN-* or *ber-*, it is usually an active construction, as in example (18) below. In (18), the verb *membaca* has prefix *me-*, indicating that it is an active construction.

18. *Budi mem-baca buku itu.*
budi ACT-read book DEM.that
‘Budi reads that book.’ (Tadmor, 2009:803. Translation amended)

However, if the verb is prefixed by *di-* or *ter-*, it is passive type 1 construction as in examples (19) and (20) below. In (19), the verb *dibaca* has prefix *di-*, indicating that it is a passive type 1 construction. Example (20) is similar to (19) in that the verb is prefixed, but this time the prefix is *ter-* in *terinjak*.

19. *Buku itu di-baca Budi.*
book DEM.that PASS-read Budi
‘That book is read by Budi.’ (Tadmor, 2009:803. Translation amended)

20. *Buku itu ter-injak oleh ku.*
 book DEM.that PASS-step PREP.by OBJ.me
 ‘That book was stepped on by me.’ (Kridalaksana, 2008:53. My translation)

On the other hand, if the verb of a sentence has no prefix and the patient is located in sentence-initial position, followed by agent and verb, it is a typical passive type 2 construction, as in (21) below. Here, the patient *dia* is put at the beginning of the sentence while the verb *jemput* has no prefix.

21. *Dia kami jemput.*
 3SG 1PL.EXCL TR.pick
 ‘He was met by us.’ (Sneddon et al., 2010:258)

Finally, if the verb of the sentence does not have such prefixes, the construction could be passive or active, depending on the transitivity of the verb as shown in examples (22) and (23) below. The verb *makan* in (22) is transitive, having the object *pisang* while the verb of (23) is intransitive *mandi*.

22. *Tuti makan pisang.*
 tuti TR.eat banana
 ‘Tuti is eating bananas.’ (Tadmor, 2009:809)

23. *Anak-nya mandi.*
 Child-PRO.POSS INTR.bath
 ‘His child is bathing.’ (Sneddon et al., 2010:253)

2.2 Information Structure in Indonesian

As has been established already in the Introduction, Indonesian discourse is understudied and its workings require further investigation. The focus of linguistic studies in Indonesian is mainly on syntax and morphology and relatively little attention has been devoted to phonology and pragmatics, and unfortunately none at all is given to the study of the lexicon (Kridalaksana, 2002:12). For example, while prosody and its communicative functions have been extensively studied in European languages, little research on it has been conducted on Indonesian prosody, although Stack (2005:168) argues that intonation plays a significant role in different contexts. One of the reasons is that, according to Sneddon (1996:5), “it is felt that a description of higher levels would not be perceived by many users as having the practical value of lower-level analysis”. Nevertheless, it is thought that a study of Indonesian discourse structure would be a worthwhile linguistics project in the future (Sneddon, 1996:5).

2.2.1 Previous Work on Information Structure in Indonesian

There are three important studies in information structure in Indonesian that are relevant to this thesis. The first is by Halim (1974) in which an in-depth investigation of the relation between syntax and intonation was conducted, including the analysis of information structure, using the terms ‘topic’ and ‘comment’. Halim adopts Halliday’s (1967) perspective where topic is defined as a segment of sentence which is given, assumed or known, and comment as the element which contains a novel point of information (Halim, 1974:42–43) as shown in (24).

24. *Rumah itu pintu-nya baru.*
house DEM.that door-PRO new
‘That house has a new door.’ (Halim, 1974:151. Translation amended)

The noun phrase *rumah itu* in this context is already known to the interlocutors, hence it is the topic, while the noun phrase *pintunya baru* is new information and unknown to them, hence it is the comment. In a simple transitive sentence like (24), there is only one comment. However Halim (1974:42) argues that it is very likely that a sentence has more than one comment and even more than one topic.

In Halim’s study, where the primary data were obtained from the author and his wife as native speakers (Halim, 1974:16), it is claimed that the phenomena of topic and comment could be accounted for only by means of intonation (Halim, 1974:152). Information structure is not marked by syntax because “the word order of a sentence may remain constant, while the topic-comment relations change” (Halim, 1974:144). Using Trager and Smith (1951) to annotate prosody¹⁹, the study claimed that there are particular contours for topic and comment. Topic is specified by contour 233_r if preceding the comment, and by contour 211_f if following the comment. The comment is prosodically signaled by the nuclear contour 231_f if it follows the topic, but by 232_f if it precedes the topic (Halim, 1974:144-5). This is shown in examples (25) and (26), taken from Halim, which have the same surface structure but different information structure. In (25), the sentence has two topics, namely *dia* and *kemarin* and one comment *berangkat ke Amerika*. The first topic has contour 233_r because it precedes the comment and the second has contour 211_f. The comment precedes the second topic and hence it has 232_f.

¹⁹ The symbol convention used by Halim is: ‘1’ means low pitch, ‘2’ mid pitch, ‘3’ high pitch, # final pause, / non-final pause, subscript _f means falling contour, subscript _r means rising contour (Halim, 1974:18).

25. *Dia berangkat ke Amerika kemarin.*

233_r/ 2- 3 2_f/ 211_f #

‘Speaking of him, yesterday he left for America’ (Halim, 1974:145. Translation amended)

In (26), there are also two topics and one comment with exactly the same contours as in (25), although they have different topic contents: *dia berangkat* and *ke Amerika* and comment content: *kemarin*.

26. *Dia berangkat ke Amerika kemarin.*

2- 33_r/ 2- 3 2_f/ 211_f #

‘Speaking of departures, yesterday, it was to America’ (Halim, 1974:145. Translation amended)

The two examples above, along with the remaining data in his study, show that topic-comment structures are only possible to be identified by intonation and not by word order.

However, using different data, two studies after Halim (1974) brought forward contrastive claims. First, Halim’s claim of a particular pitch contour is contradicted by the findings of Poedjosoedarmo’s study (1986) based on Halliday (1967). Poedjosoedarmo proposed different pitch contours to be explicated in the next paragraph. Second, Kardana (2013) refuted Halim’s claims that information structure in Indonesia is signaled only by prosody, and advocates that morpho-syntactic structure also plays an important role.

The second study by Poedjosoedarmo (1986) claims that pitch contour precisely corresponds to the units of information.²⁰ Adopting Halliday’s theory of information structure, Poedjosoedarmo (1986:14) argued that there are three information units in Indonesian. The first is a focal unit which corresponds to what the speaker believes to be the most informative. The second is an anticipatory unit, which is considered “relatively important,” containing “information which is old or given but whose

²⁰ Her study was a response to Chung’s study on Indonesian sentences (1976, 1979) in which Chung classified four types of sentences in Indonesian: (1) an active sentence in which the verb is prefixed with such as *me-* in *memukul* (to hit), (2) canonical passive where the verb has prefix *di-* in *dipukul* (was hit), (3) non-canonical passive in which the verb is without affix, and appears in its base form such as *pukul* (hit), and (4) a stem sentence in which the verb is not affixed but structurally similar to an active sentence. Chung concluded that there were two phenomena in Indonesian which require further investigation: the choice between active and passive transitive verb forms and ‘subject shifting’, i.e., when the subject is moved from its canonical order to final position. For Poedjosoedarmo (1986), subject shifting is a concept that fits into information structure and it is marked by intonation.

relationship to the rest of the clause is not deducible from previous information given in the text” (Poedjosoedarmo 1986:7). The third is a supplementary unit in which the information conveyed is considered unimportant. It is then claimed that Indonesian has three tones in which each pitch contour is associated with a particular unit of information: rising corresponds to the anticipatory unit, rising-falling to focal, and flat to supplementary (Poedjosoedarmo, 1986:6–7).

In its application, a sentence obligatorily contains one focal unit while anticipatory and supplementary units may be absent (Poedjosoedarmo, 1986:6). It is possible for a sentence to have multiple anticipatory and supplementary units, but there is never more than one focal unit. Poedjosoedarmo (1986:6) argues that if an anticipatory unit is present, it must precede the focal unit, and the supplementary unit must follow the focal, as shown in example (27). In (27), the most important information is *bapaknya mas Tono*, shown by the rising falling contour while the least important is *guru saya itu*, signaled by a flat contour. This example shows the ordering of information units in Indonesian, as anticipatory *e*, *ternyata* comes at the beginning followed by focal unit *bapaknya mas Tono* and supplementary unit *guru saya itu*.

27. E, *ter-nyata* *bapak-nya* *mas Tono*, *guru* *saya* *itu*
 hi, INTR-turns father-PRO, ADR Tono, teacher 1SG.POSS DEM
 ‘Hi, it turns out that Tono’s father is my teacher.’ (Poedjosoedarmo, 1986:5.
 Translation amended).

However, there are two problems with this study. Firstly, the data of the study is not taken from naturally occurring speech in which case as data to support the argument it must be taken to be as unreliable as Hedberg and Sosa (2011) showed for similar artificial data in English used to support claims concerning pitch accent. Secondly, the analysis applied in that study is based on Halliday (1967) who claims that information structure only exists in speech and not in text, a claim which is rejected by linguists such as Davies (1994:199), Banks (1999:4), Gussenhoven (1984:12) and Lambrecht (1994).

In the third study, Kardana (2013) investigates how information units are marked in oral and written discourse. In that study, topic is defined as given information and focus as new information. Kardana (2013:131) claims that there are four strategies to mark how information is given and thus becomes topic in Indonesian. First, is the use of definite markers such as *-nya*, *si* and *sang* as shown in example (28) where the phrase *si pembuat onar* is old, thus topic, marked by the marker *si*.

28. *Si pembuat onar sudah datang.*
 ART maker trouble PST come
 ‘The trouble maker has come.’ (Kardana, 2013:122. Translation amended)

Second, is the use of demonstrative pronouns such as *itu* and *ini* as in example (29). Here, the phrase *kue ini* is given information because of the pronoun *ini* which follows it.

29. *Kue ini bisa di-makan.*
 cake DEM.this can PASS-eat
 ‘This cake can be eaten.’ (Kardana, 2013:124. Translation amended)

Third, is the use of focusing adjuncts such as *hanya*, *cuma* and *saja* as shown in example (30), where the noun *ibu* is old information because the focusing adjunct *hanya* only modifies the verb phrase *membeli sayur* which then becomes new information.

30. *Ibu hanya mem-beli sayur.*
 mother only ACT-buy vegetable
 ‘Mother only bought vegetable.’ (Kardana, 2013:129. Translation amended)

The fourth strategy is a non-canonical construction as shown in example (31). Here the noun *ayah* is given because it is postposed to the final position, while the verb phrase *sedang minum kopi* is the new information which is structurally preposed and made focus because of its significance to the hearer’s correct understanding the utterance.

31. *Sedang minum kopi ayah.*
 PROG.being drink coffee father
 ‘The father is drinking coffee.’ (Kardana, 2013:130. Translation amended)

However, Kardana’s study focuses more on the givenness of noun phrases and the grammatical role and positions of particles rather than on how topic and focus are marked in the language itself. The study needs to be analyzed further because the claims are questionable, at least to my intuition as a native speaker. For example, Kardana’s (2013:121) claim that if a phrase or other syntactic constituent does not use one of the four markers above, then the information is new and could be considered as focus or the most informative part of sentence is questionable. This claim cannot be applied to example (28), as the noun phrase *si pembuat onar* cannot be automatically considered as a topic merely because of the definite article *si* that makes the phrase definite. This is because definiteness does not define topic and the relationship between form and

function in information structure is not straightforward (Lambrecht, 1994:79, 164–5, 260–1).

In relation to this thesis, Kardana's study is interesting because it acknowledges the presence of information structure categories in written Indonesian, unlike those of Halim (1974) and Poedjosedarmo (1986). As this thesis will analyze information units in written discourse, Kardana's study will be a very helpful.

In sum, to the best of my knowledge, there is no study of information structure in written discourse in the formal variety of Indonesian using a single theoretical framework to provide a comprehensive description of its marking system, its syntactic constituents and the correspondence of information units in text and speech with syntactic constituents. In addition, Lambrecht's (1994) theory offers new perspectives on information structure as it has never been used as an analytical framework in linguistic studies of Indonesian. Therefore, this thesis aims to fill this research gap and to contribute to the discussion of information structure in Indonesian linguistic literature.

CHAPTER 3

Canonically Ordered Constructions

In this chapter I discuss the information structure of the canonically ordered constructions in the scripts of the three speeches. The language variety in the speeches is formal Indonesian, which is obligatorily used in state ceremonies. The event at which the speeches were delivered was the commemoration of the birth of *Pancasila*, held on 1 June 2011 in the Parliament House of Indonesia (also called *Gedung Nusantara IV*, DPR /MPR RI).

The analysis of the speeches centers on the notion of canonicity. Lambrecht (1994) didn't give an explicit definition but I assume from the use in his book that canonical constructions are unmarked constructions, representing the norm and the rules provided by the grammatical system of a language itself. Non-canonical constructions would then be information-structurally marked constructions, in Lambrecht terms, allosentences which alternate with canonical sentences such as active vs passive, subject-accented vs predicate accented, canonical vs clefted and canonical vs topicalized (Lambrecht: 1994:6). Within the context of Indonesia, as an SVO language, canonical is an active sentence in which "the normal or standard order of constituents in a clause is subject + predicate. In a transitive verbal clause, the normal order is subject + predicate + object. If there are two objects the normal order is subject + verb + primary object + secondary object" (Sneddon et.a.l, 2010:265).

The organization of this chapter is as follows. First, I discuss the different types of topics and foci based on Lambrecht (1994). Second, I present and elaborate on five types of topics and two kinds of foci that are found in the canonical sentences within the data. Third, I analyze constructions with pronoun *nya* and its multiple topics. Finally, I present a summary of the analysis.

3.1 Background: Types of Topic and Focus

There are two main arguments in Lambrecht (1994) with regard to topic: it is what is being talked about and it tends to correlate with the subject in canonically ordered constructions. Topic in Lambrecht (1994) is the pragmatic category that has the defining feature of 'aboutness'. In other words, "a referent is interpreted as the topic of a proposition if in a given situation the proposition is construed as being about this referent, i.e. as expressing information which is relevant to and which increases the addressee's knowledge of this referent" (Lambrecht, 1994:131). Because of the

“preponderance of topic-comment sentence type and the strong correlation between subject and topic” (Lambrecht, 1994:136), Lambrecht (1994:131) claims that in English and in some other languages he studied, subjects are unmarked topics.

There is, however, no one-to-one correspondence between subject and topic. Subject is not identical with topic and vice versa. It is therefore argued that in languages with SVO word order “the subject of a sentence will be interpreted as the topic . . . unless the sentence contains morphosyntactic, prosodic or semantic clues to the contrary” (Lambrecht, 1994:136). As a result, subjects may be non-topical (Lambrecht, 1994:137) and topic may correspond to non-subject constituents in accent-initial sentences (Lambrecht, 1994:118). Topical non-subject arguments can be morphosyntactically constructed through topicalization in which “a non-subject constituent is marked as a topic expression by being placed in the sentence-initial position normally occupied by the topical subject” (Lambrecht, 1994:147).

The above definition of topic offered by Lambrecht (1994) concerns its aboutness sense. Thus, the aboutness topic can be used as an umbrella term for different types of topics in the theory. Particularly, Lambrecht (1994:118) said that “I will use topic as a cover term for all types of topic expression and I will make additional distinctions in morphosyntactic rather than pragmatic terms”. However, at the same time, in his book Lambrecht also discusses several other types of topic such as continuing topic (Lambrecht, 1994:132).

Information structure, i.e. the ordering of topic and focus, is related to coherence of discourse. There is no information flow without coherence. In the formal variety of Indonesian under investigation here, sentences must be structured and sequenced coherently to be meaningful. How the information is ordered in speeches will affect the audience’s comprehension. Specifically, in order for such speeches to be coherent, continuing topics are essential and they are constructed through the use of (i) the same subjects having a role as topics in sentences (ii) pronoun(s) referring to topic(s) in previous sentence(s) (Lambrecht, 1994:132). If a brand new referent is to be used in a speech for the first time, when it is called topic promotion, the speaker must alert his audience by, for example, using a different grammatical structure (Lambrecht 1994:178). ‘Promoted topic’, as it will be called henceforth, is pragmatically used “not to predicate a property of an argument but to introduce a referent into a discourse, often (but not always) with the purpose of making it available for predication in subsequent discourse”, usually via presentational constructions and dislocation (Lambrecht, 1994:177). Thus, it is linguistically interesting to see how politicians achieve coherence

in their speeches by ordering units of political information, in terms of referents and propositions, to meet their goals and the needs of the audience.

Other than aboutness, continuing and ‘promoted’ topics, Lambrecht (1994) also acknowledges other types, either by defining them, by giving examples or by citing another’s explanation. One of these other types is contrastive topic in which “two active topic referents...are contrasted with one another” (Lambrecht, 1994:124). For example, two pronouns, ‘she’ and ‘he’, in the following sentences are contrasted: “I saw Mary and John yesterday. She says hello but he is still angry at you” (Lambrecht, 1994:124, 291). Then there is new topic, defined as “the new coding of an active or accessible referent as a topic expression” (Lambrecht, 1994:353, 183). In this thesis, the term ‘new topic’ will be used for a referent which has been a topic in the previous discourse but has been separated from the current sentence by different referent(s) occurring in intervening sentence(s) and then re-introduced as a topic in a new sentence. The different referents deactivate the previous topic, thus it needs to be re-activated (Lambrecht, 1994:50). Thus, a new topic is not a topic with a brand new referent, as that strategy would not be allowed on the basis of the Topic Acceptability Scale. Moreover, there is also a scene-setting topic, which is defined by borrowing Chafe’s (1976) explanation as “an element which sets a spatial, temporal or individual framework within which the main predication holds . . . such as certain adverbial phrases which are often found in sentence initial position across languages” (Lambrecht, 1994:118).²¹ Finally, in the particular context where multiple topics exist, Lambrecht (1994) acknowledges primary and secondary topics. The two types are illustrated briefly in an example “the product I feel less good about” which is analyzed by Lambrecht (1994:147) as follows.

“The subject I is topical because the whole passage in (4.22), including the last sentence, is about the letter-writer and his feelings. We may call it the PRIMARY TOPIC. But the last sentence, in addition to conveying information about the writer, is also intended to convey information about the product (i.e. the thesis) in relation to the writer. The reader learns as a fact about the product that the writer is not happy with it. We may call the thesis a SECONDARY TOPIC” (Lambrecht, 1994:147).

Based on this explanation, a primary topic is implicitly said to be the subject of the sentence, while a secondary is the topic which does not occupy the subject position.

²¹ Although citing Chafe (1976), Lambrecht does use the scene-setting topic in the book (1994) and gives an example several times such as at (1994:125–126) and (1994:294).

Primary topics, in addition, can also occur with scene-setting topics (Lambrecht, 1994: 126).

Other than topic, the second major category of information structure is focus, which Lambrecht (1994:213) defines as “the semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition”. Other than calling it assertion, the focus in this study is also rephrased as ‘new proposition’, ‘new information’, ‘relevant information’, ‘information which cannot be taken for granted at the moment of the speech’, ‘significant information’, ‘unpredictable information’, ‘unrecoverable proposition’ and ‘information which is added to’. Specifically, focus has three types, as explained in chapter 1. The first is predicate-focus in which the predicate is the focus of utterance while the subject is the topic (Lambrecht, 1994:226). The second is argument-focus in which the subject NP is focused and serves to identify missing arguments for presupposed open propositions (Lambrecht, 1994: 229-230). The third is sentence-focus to report an event in which the subject of the utterance is the participant, called event-reporting (Lambrecht, 1994:124) or to present a totally new referent into the discourse, called presentational (Lambrecht, 1994:143). In this third structure, focus extends to subject and predicate. Focus can also go together with scene-setting topics (Lambrecht, 1994:126).

Finally, I reiterate the definition of information structure in Lambrecht (1994) before starting my analysis. Information structure is “that component of sentence grammar in which propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with lexicogrammatical structures in accordance with mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information in given discourse contexts” (Lambrecht, 1994:5).

The following analysis of information structure in the scripts concentrates on particular grammatical markers in formal Indonesian, the position and ordering of syntactic constituents in the scripts and on complex grammatical constructions (Lambrecht, 1994:6).

3.2 Data of Canonically Ordered Constructions

In Indonesian, sentences are ordered canonically in several ways. Based on the data of formal Indonesian in the three speeches, there are two types of canonical word order constructions, namely subject-verb phrase (SV) and subject-verb phrase-object (SVO). The verb phrase in SV word order can take the shape of an intransitive verb (VP, called SV1 in this thesis), nominalized clause or noun phrase (NMLZ, called SV2),

prepositional phrase (PP, called SV3) and adjectival phrase (AdjP, called SV4).²² Chart 3 shows the distribution for the mentioned constructions in the three speeches.

Chart 3. Distribution of Canonical Constructions

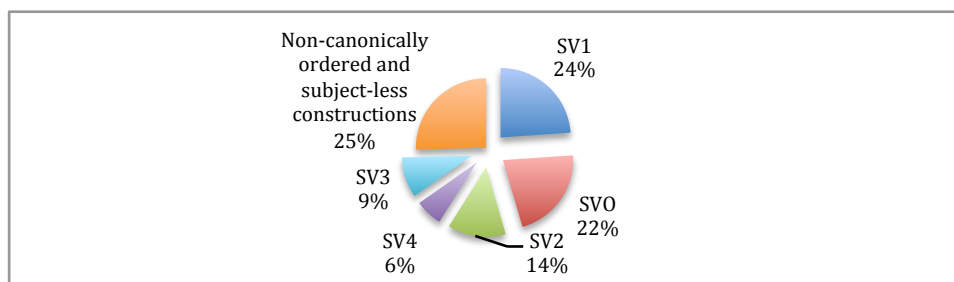


Chart 3 shows the dominance of canonically ordered constructions over non-canonically ordered and subject-less constructions. Table 1 below illustrates them quantitatively. The table shows that the most used canonical structures in formal Indonesian are verbal clauses SV1 and SVO, with 102 and 92 occurrences respectively. These are followed with 57 occurrences by nominal constructions (SV2) where the predicate is either a noun, a noun phrase or a nominalized clause. The least preferred constructions in the formal speeches seem to be prepositional phrase predicates (SV3) and adjective phrase predicates (SV4), with 40 and 27 occurrences respectively.

Table 1. Word Order of Canonical Constructions

No	Canonical Construction	Number of Occurrences
1.	SV1	102
2.	SVO	92
3.	SV2	57
4.	SV3	40
5.	SV4	27

3.3 Subjects, Topics and Foci in Canonical Constructions

For formal Indonesian, I argue that in the canonical word order of the written texts of the three speeches, subjects are the topics if not signalled otherwise by semantic clues.²³

²² Passive constructions will be included in the non-canonically ordered constructions, discussed in Chapter 5. SV1 refers to any sentences in which the predicate is an intransitive verb, SVO in which the predicate is a transitive verb, SV2 in which the predicate is a noun phrase or nominalized clause, SV3 in which the predicate is a prepositional phrase and SV4 in which the predicate is an adjective or adjectival phrase. In the last three constructions, copula *adalah* and *ialah* may be involved. Its presence is however grammatically optional.

By semantic clues, I refer to the mental representation of the referents and the propositional content of the proposition which are strongly determined by the sentence context. This claim is in accordance with Lambrecht's argument of the role of semantics in structuring information (1994:136) and of context in having strong significance in doing so (1994:120): "in order to determine whether an entity is a topic in a sentence or not, it is often necessary to take into account the discourse context in which the sentence is embedded".

The data set analyzed in this thesis presents clear evidence for this statement. 75% of the data are constructions with canonical word order in which the subject is the topic in 54% of the data. On the contrary, the subject is not topical in just 19% of the data. Chart 4 which follows illustrates this finding.

Chart 4. The Pragmatic Categories of Sentence Subject

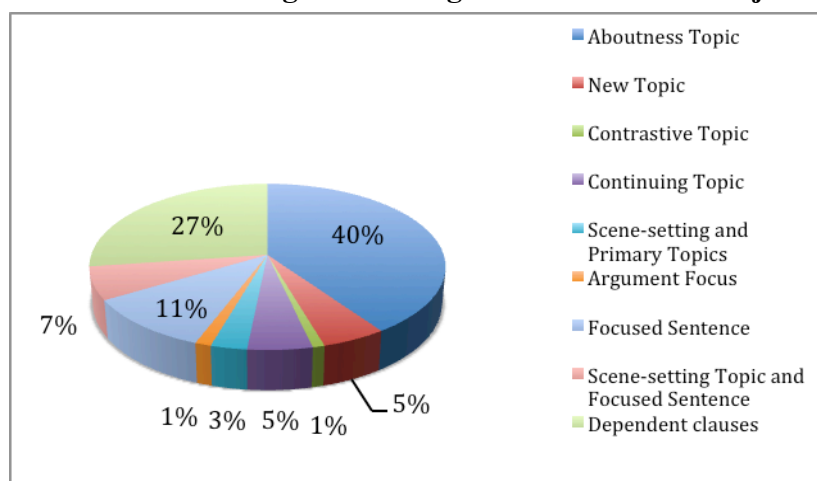


Chart 4 gives information about the possible pragmatic categories of subjects in formal Indonesian. Firstly, it shows that if the subject represents the topic, it must be classified under one of these five types of topic: aboutness, new, contrastive, continuing or primary topic. Scene-setting topics do exist in the analyzed data, but it is impossible for this type to occur independently in an utterance, as those topics always accompany a primary topic. The aboutness topic is the most frequent topic type (40% of the data), followed by continuing and new topics (both 5%). The least frequently occurring types in canonical constructions are the primary topic (3%) and the contrastive topic, (1%). Secondly, if on the other hand the subject is not the topic, then it is either focused in the argument focus structure, (1% of the canonical data cases), or focused along with the predicate in the sentence focus structure (18% of canonical data cases).

²³ The role of morpho-syntactic marking in information structure will be discussed separately in chapter 4 and chapter 5.

The first and the most dominant topic type is aboutness. Example (32) below describes how it looks like in the data. In this SV construction, the NP *krisis ini* is the subject of the sentence while the VP *terjadi karena luruhnya kesadaran akan keragaman* is the predicate. *Krisis ini* is referentially active because it refers to the NPs *fenomena fanatisme kelompok, penolakan terhadap kemajemukan, tindakan terror* which were discussed in the previous sentence. This is not a ‘new’ unit of information. On the other hand, the proposition *terjadi* and its following expression are not found in the preceding discourse and the speaker chooses to add the relevant information to the NP *krisis ini*. This proposition provides information which is required by the NP *krisis ini*. Since the proposition talks about the NP, it is thus the aboutness topic for the predicate focus.

32. *Krisis ini terjadi karena luruh-nya kesadaran akan keragaman.*
 crisis DEM.this happen because drop.DEF awareness PREP.of
 diversity.

‘The crisis happens because of the decrease in awareness of diversity’ (Habibie).

Another type of topic in the data is the new topic where ‘new’ refers to the ‘new activation’ of a referent, as illustrated in (33). Within this SV construction, the noun *Pancasila* is the subject of the sentence while the intransitive verb *tenggelam* is the head of the predicate. *Pancasila* in example (33) is referentially accessible, thus topic.

33. *Pancasila seolah-olah tenggelam dalam pusaran sejarah masa lalu yang tak lagi relevan untuk di-serta-kan dalam dialektika reformasi.*
 pancasila CONJ.as.if sink PREP.in whirlpool history NP.past
 REL-which NEG-not again relevant PREP.for PASS-include-CIRC
 PREP.in dialectics reformation.

‘Pancasila was sunk, as it were, in the whirlpool of history which was no longer relevant to a reformed dialectic’ (Habibie).

To determine the type of topic for *Pancasila* in (33), its context must be paid attention to, supplied here by the two preceding, related sentences. In particular, note that *Pancasila* in (33) is the new topic because (i) it is the topic in the previous sentence (34); and (ii) the two examples, (33) and (34), are separated by a sentence having a

different topic, shown in (35). In (34), the predicate is *kini berada* and the subject *Pancasila* is the topic. In (35), the NP subject *pertanyaan ini* has the AdjP predicate *penting dikemukakan*. *Pertanyaan ini* is the topic of (35) which separates the topic *Pancasila* in example (34) from the other topic *Pancasila* in example (33).

34. *Dimanakah Pancasila kini ber-ada?*
 Q.where pancasila now ACT-exist?
 ‘Where is *Pancasila* now? (Habibie).’

35. *Pertanyaan ini penting di-kemuka-kan.*
 question DEM.this important PASS-pose-CIRC
 ‘This question is important to be posed’ (Habibie).

The third type in the data is a continuing topic as shown in the example (36) below. In (36), the NP *Pancasila* is the subject of the sentence and referentially, it has active mental representation in the hearer’s mind, thus becoming the topic. The predicate *seolah hilang* and its following expression cannot be predicted at the moment of the speech. Hence, it is the most important information within the sentence that is added to the referent *Pancasila*. Therefore, it is the focus. In particular, *Pancasila* in (36) is the continuing topic because it is also the topic in the previous sentence, which was example (33) above.

36. *Pancasila seolah hilang dari memori kolektif*
 pancasila CONJ.as.if INTR.lose PREP.from memory collective
bangsa.
 nation

‘Pancasila was, as it were, lost from the collective memory of the nation’ (Habibie).

Another topic type which occurs in the data is contrastive topic as in the following example (37). The two pronouns in these two SV constructions, *beliau* and *kita*, are in contrast with each other. In addition, *hidup di abad 20* and *di abad 21* are two predicates which carry relevant information about the two pronominal subjects. *Beliau* in the first sentence refers to *Soekarno*, while *kita* refers to the speaker and includes the audience. Their referential statuses are both identifiable: the former is active while the latter is situationally accessible. They are contrasted in the sense that the two (i) represent two different sociopolitical periods: the first referent, *beliau*, lived in the twentieth century and conceived the ideological concept of the nation called *Pancasila* while the second referent, *kita*, lives in the twenty-first century and only witnessed the

first referent's visionary view; and (ii) provide different contributions to the nation: *beliau* predicts that there is great destruction of humanity, which will be part of human life in the twentieth to twenty-first century, in the form of capitalism and imperialism and for this *beliau* prepare *Pancasila* for the whole nation. *Kita* only witness his true prediction and even misinterpret him that *Pancasila* is purely for unifying Indonesia. In fact, according to the speaker of (37), it is more than for unification, as it is also aimed at preventing such great destruction. The two subjects, *beliau* and *kita*, are thus two contrastive topics.

37. *Beliau* *hidup* *di* *abad 20,* *kita*
 2SG INTR.live PREP.in century 20 1PL.INCL

sekarang *di* *abad 21.*
 now PREP.in century 21

‘He lives in 20th century, while we live in 21st century’ (Megawati).

The last topic type in the data is the primary topic that is always accompanied by a preceding scene-setting topic. Example (38) below illustrates this type in its context. In (38), the most important unit of information *sangat relevan dengan problematika bangsa saat ini* is lexically encoded in the AdjP, which serves as predicate of the sentence. The predicate is a new and relevant unit of information which is added to the subject, the nominalized clause *menyegarkan kembali empat pilar tersebut*. The referent of this subject is textually accessible from the previous discourse, as the four pillars in the clause refer to *Pancasila*, *NKRI*, *UUD 1945* and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. The subject is the topic. However, the rejuvenation of those pillars is specific only in scenes (a) when discontinuity of understanding of history happens, and (b) when Indonesians are in the era of change, and as a consequence *Pancasila* needs rejuvenation. This is thus the scene-setting topic. Because there are two topics in (38), one of them must be the primary topic and it is the subject.

38. *Karena* *jaman* *terus* *ber-ubah* *yang* *kadang*
 PREP.because time always INTR-change REL.which sometimes

ber-dampak *pada* *terjadi-nya* *diskontinuitas* *memori* *sejarah*
 INTR-affect PREP.on happening-DEF discontinuity memory history

maka *men-yegar-kan* *kembali* *empat* *pilar* *tersebut* *sangat*
 so TR-rejuvenate-CIRC back four pillars PRO.those ADV.very

relevan *dengan* *problematika* *bangsa* *saat* *ini.*

relevant PREP.with problem nations moment PRO.this

‘Because the times are changing, which sometimes leads to discontinuity in the memory of Indonesian history, rejuvenating those four pillars is very relevant to solving the current problems of the nation (Habibie).’

The five types of the topical subjects, however, can be in different syntactic constituents within different Indonesian sentences in the data. I have shown previously that topics can be noun phrases such as *krisis ini* and *pertanyaan ini* in (32) and (35), or nouns *Pancasila* as in examples (33), (34) and (36). Finally, topics can also be pronouns as in *beliau* and *kita* in (37), and prepositional phrases and nominalized clauses as in (38). Other than these, the topical subject can also be a proper name, preceded by an address term, as shown in example (39). Sentence (39) shows the often-used nominal construction in formal Indonesian in which the copula *adalah* links the proper name subject *Bung Karno* to the NP predicate *pejuang, pemikir dan juga penggali Pancasila*. In this context, the speaker wanted to talk about a prominent person named *Soekarno* who is called *Karno* with an address term *Bung*.²⁴ The subject is active and becomes the topic of (39). The predicate *pejuang* and other subsequent NPs add significant information about the person. The predicate gives attributes to *Bung Karno* as the fighter for his country, thinker of his era and also the conceiver of the ideology of Indonesia, *Pancasila*. The predicate is the focus of (39).

39. *Bung Karno adalah pejuang, pemikir, dan juga penggali pancasila.*
ADR.bung karno COP fighter thinker and also digger pancasila
‘Bung Karno is a fighter, thinker and conceiver of *Pancasila* (Yudhoyono).’

On the other hand, if the subjects of the constructions are not topic, then, based on the data, there are two possibilities. The first is that the subject is the focus, in an argument focus structure. Example (40) below illustrates the subject as the focus of the utterance. The AdjP predicate *sangat terkait erat dengan peran dan pemikiran besar Bung Karno* is already presupposed. In other words, it is already mentioned and discussed in the previous context. Thus, it is called a ‘presupposed open proposition’ which semantically requires an argument to make it a complete and informative utterance. As the remaining element of the sentence (40) is the subject, the subject is necessarily the required

²⁴ Bung roughly means *abang* or ‘brother’, an intimate address term for male persons, according to KBBI, the official dictionary of formal Indonesia (Tim Penyusun, 2008:235). In the context of Indonesian independence, however, it is a very specific term with ‘affectionate’ meaning used to address the nationalist fighters in the era of revolution or 1940s like Soekarno (thus Bung Karno), Hatta (thus Bung Hatta), Sjahrir (thus Bung Sjahrir) and Soetomo (thus Bung Tomo) (Wardaya, 2008:29).

missing argument. Here, the subject is the nominalized clause *bahwa* which is referentially unidentifiable. There is no discussion about the content of this clause in the preceding context. The clause is the unidentifiable referent which is added to the presupposed proposition in the predicate. Thus, it is the focus of sentence (40).

40. <i>Bahwa</i>	<i>di-jadikan-nya</i>	<i>Pancasila</i>	<i>sebagai</i>	<i>dasar</i>		
NMLZ.that	PASS-make-DEF	Pancasila	PREP.as	foundation		
<i>dan</i>	<i>ideologi</i>	<i>negara</i>	<i>sangat</i>	<i>ter-kait</i>	<i>erat</i>	<i>dengan</i>
and	ideology	state	ADV.very	INTR-related	closely	PREP.with
<i>peran</i>	<i>dan</i>	<i>pemikiran</i>	<i>besar</i>	<i>bung Karno.</i>		
role	and	thought	big	ADR karno.		

‘The making of Pancasila as foundation and ideology of the State is very much related to the role and great thought of Bung Karno’ (Yudhoyono).

The second possibility is that the subject along with its predicate is focused in a sentence-focus structure, as shown in sentence (41). In (41), the aim of the SVO construction is to inform the audience of an event in which the speaker was one of the participants. It is neither to tell what the subject is about nor what the propositional content in the predicate is. The subject (*kami*=‘we.EXCL’) refers to people who were present at the venue and the rest of the propositional content of the sentence does not elaborate on this ‘we’. In addition, the VP predicate *melaksanakan pertemuan konsultasi* and the subsequent expressions are brand new units of information and they are unidentifiable with regard to the previous discourse. There is no information about ‘the consultative meeting and the implementation of the four pillars’ given yet. Thus, the utterance is linguistically purposed to inform the audience about a particular meeting held in the past by a few people who were also sitting as audience when the speech was delivered. The meeting resulted in something that will be a part of information in the subsequent sentences. Indeed, it is contextually justified. According to the data, the meeting concluded that, (a) there are several possible ways to implement four pillars of Indonesia which is subsequently discussed in the next sentences, and (b) that all parties agreed that *Pancasila* needs to be rejuvenated. Such results were talked about in the next sentences after (41). Sentence (41) is thus called an event reporting type in which the focus covers the entire subject and predicate. The subject is thus not topic.

41. <i>Kami</i>	<i>me-laksana-kan</i>	<i>pertemuan konsultasi</i>	<i>dengan</i>	<i>agenda</i>
-----------------	-----------------------	-----------------------------	---------------	---------------

IPL.EXCL TR-do-CIRC meeting consultation PREP.with agenda

utama implementasi empat pilar kehidupan ber-negara, Pancasila
 main implementation four pillars life INTR-state pancasila

undang-undang dasar 1945, NKRI, dan Bhinneka Tunggal Ika.
 constitution-PL fundamental 1945, NKRI and bhinneka tunggal ika

“We have held consultative meeting with the main agenda to discuss the implementation of four pillars of the Indonesian way of life, namely *Pancasila*, *UUD 1945* (the 1945 constitution), *NKRI* (the Republic of Indonesia), and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity) (Yudhoyono).”

Another type of event reporting is also present in the data. The significant difference consists in the presence of a scene-setting topic that precedes the SVO construction. Example (42) below illustrates this type of topic. In (42), the sentence starts with the scene-setting topic *1 June 2011* as the precise date when the speaker spoke to the audience about *Pancasila*. In addition, the subject of the sentence is the speaker *saya* and it is not what is being talked about in (42). The speaker wanted to tell the audience about his action of emphasizing and elaborating the values of *Pancasila* as the solution for the current and the future problems of Indonesia. Such action is lexically encoded in the VP *menggarisbawahi* and the NP object *apa yang sudah dikemukakan banyak kalangan*. Although the object sounds semantically like an old unit of information, in fact, the referent of the object is not mentioned yet, at least in the speech of this speaker. There is no discussion about ‘what has been told’ whatsoever in the speaker’s speech, although its referent is situationally accessible. Thus, the speaker wanted to tell the audience what he is going to do *menggarisbawahi* and what he is going to talk about *apa yang sudah dikemukakan banyak kalangan* from a different angle. The next sentences, after the utterance of example (42) prove this – because they discuss how to restore the values of *Pancasila* for tackling the problem of the nation from a particular angle. Thus, the subject of the utterance is not the topic as the whole sentence is focused. The focus covers the entire proposition and the referent, and it is preceded by a scene-setting topic in the form of a date, *1 June 2011*.

42. *Pada refleksi Pancasila 1 Juni 2011 saat ini, saya ingin*
 PREP.on reflection Pancasila 1 June 2011 moment DEM.this 1SG want

men-ggarisbawah-i apa yang sudah di-kemuka-kan
 TR-underline-CIRC what REL.which PST PASS-express-CIRC

banyak kalangan.
 many people

‘In today’s reflection on *Pancasila*, 1 June 2011, I would like to emphasize and explain what has been expressed by many people about *Pancasila* and other pillars of the nation’ (Habibie).

Overall, the focus domain in these examples is either (i) the subject as in argument focus as in example (40), or (ii) subject and predicate in sentence focus as in examples (41) and (42), or, finally, (iii) the predicate as it is implicitly understood in examples (32–39).

3.4 The Pronoun *-nya* and Multiple Topics

The marker *-nya* is a very specific part of Indonesian grammar. It can occur in canonical and non-canonical constructions. It has three essential functions: (i) to indicate the definiteness of the noun to which it is attached, (ii) as a third person possessive pronoun referring to human, inanimate nouns and non-human animate, and (ii) to act as a ligature before a noun, showing that the noun following it is the possessor of the constituent to which *-nya* is attached (Sneddon et al., 2010:155).²⁵ Regardless of its function, *-nya* occurs frequently in the three speeches. The data are illustrated in table 2 below.

Table 2. Occurrence of *-nya*

No.	Function of <i>-nya</i>	Number of occurrences
1	<i>-nya</i> used for definiteness and ligature	40
2	<i>-nya</i> as pronoun in complement and dependent clauses	18
3	<i>-nya</i> as pronoun in a construction with single clause	17
4	<i>-nya</i> as pronoun in a construction with dependent and main clauses	2

This table shows that *-nya* occurs very often for definiteness and ligature, 40 occurrences. The use of it as pronoun occurs almost equally, with 37 occurrences in total: 17 times in a single independent clause, 18 times in complement and dependent clauses and only twice in a constructions consisting of two clauses.

I argue that in the analyzed data, a difference in construction entails a difference in pragmatic function. In other words, only *-nya* having pronominal function is related

²⁵ The examples given are: (i) *Kalau mau makan, nasinya di lemari* – thus *nasinya* means definite *nasi* (the rice) (Sneddon et al., 2010:155) (ii) *saya sudah membacanya* – where *-nya* refers to an inanimate noun, namely *buku* (the book) (Sneddon et al., 2010:172) (iii) *anaknya guru kami* – where *guru* is the possessor of *anak* (Sneddon et al., 2010:150).

to information structure. In addition, this *-nya* must occur in a sentence with two clauses. Only in such constructions is the antecedent topicalized. If the pronominal *-nya* occurs in a single-clause construction, it does not show topicalization for its antecedent but merely anaphoric referencing, as shown in example (43). In this SVO construction, the pronoun *-nya* is attached to the NP *pandangan*, referring to the NP subject *Bung Karno*. Thus, *pandangannya* means *pandangan Bung Karno*. *Pandangannya* is the NP object of the transitive VP *menyampaikan*.

43. *Bung Karno men-yampai-kan pandangan-nya tentang*
 ADR Karno TR-convey-CIRC view-POSS PREP.about

fondasi dasar Indonesia merdeka
 foundation fundamental Indonesia Independent

‘Bung Karno conveyed his views on the fundamental foundation of independent Indonesia (Habibie).’

In (43), the antecedent of *-nya*, *Bung Karno*, is not topicalized because (i) it acts as the subject of the single SVO clause (the term topicalization in Lambrecht (1994) only applies to non-subject constituents), and (ii) it is already the topic of the sentence and thus cannot be topicalized. Hence, *-nya* does not indicate any relationship in terms of information structure roles to its antecedent. This *-nya* is merely for anaphoric referencing.

There are two pieces of evidence showing that the *-nya* antecedent is topicalized in two-clause constructions and the two are canonically ordered. One of them is shown in (44). In example (44), the main clause is SVO *negara harus mencegah dan menindaknya* where *-nya* becomes the object of transitive verb *menindak*. Its antecedent is in the dependent clause *apabila pemikiran itu dimanifestasikan dalam tindakan nyata* which is placed before the SVO main clause. This non-subject antecedent is topicalized because (i) referent of the NP *pemikiran itu* is accessible from preceding sentences and (ii) it is what the proposition in the predicate of the main clause in (44) is talking about.

44. *Kecuali apabila pemikiran itu di-manifestasi-kan*
 except if thought PRO.that PASS-implement-CIRC

dalam tindakan nyata yang ber-tentang-an dengan
 PREP.in action real REL.which INTR-contradict-CIRC PREP.with

konstitusi, undang-undang dan aturan hukum lain,
 constitution constitution-PL and rule law other

negara harus men-cegah dan me-nindak-nya.
state must TR-prevent and TR-act-PRO

‘Except if the thought is manifested in an action which violates the constitution and the rule of law, the Government must prevent it and take action on it (Yudhoyono).’

Another piece of evidence is the construction with two clauses (45) below. Here, the main clause is SVO *Pancasila akan menyertai perjalanannya* in which the NP *Pancasila* is the subject and the remainder is the predicate. *-Nya* and the attached constituent is the object of the transitive VP *menyertai*. Its antecedent is *Indonesia*, which is part of the dependent clause *sepanjang Indonesia masih ada*. Thus, *perjalanannya* means *perjalanan Indonesia*. The antecedent is topicalized because (i) referentially *Indonesia* is identifiable from the context of the speech, as it has been already mentioned in the previous sentence, and (ii) the proposition of the sentence, encoded in the predicate of main clause in (45), is talking about *Indonesia*, which is part of the dependent clause.

45. *Sepanjang Indonesia masih ada, Pancasila*
so long as Indonesia ADV.still INTR.exist Pancasila

akan menyertai perjalanannya.
FUT.will TR-accompany-CIRC trip-PRO

‘As long as Indonesia exists, *Pancasila* will accompany its existence’ (Habibie).

There are two things to note from the *-nya* construction in (44) and (45). First, the topicalized antecedents and other constituents in the dependent clauses can also be considered as scene-setting topics. In (44), the scene is the whole dependent clause *kecuali apabila pemikiran itu dimanifestasikan dalam tindakan nyata* while in (45) it is the whole clause *sepanjang Indonesia masih ada*. As scenes specific to the main clauses, the two cannot be predicted from the preceding context. What can be predicted is just the respective NPs *pemikiran itu* and *Indonesia* which are contained in them. Second, since the topicalized constituents in (44) and (45) are outside the main clauses, the subjects of the two examples above are not assigned a topic or focus category yet. Lambrecht (2004:147) argues that if a non-subject is topicalized, the subject might not lose its topicality but instead may retain it. Applying that argument to the two sentences, I would argue that the two speakers talked not only about ‘illegal actions’ and *Indonesia*, but also, to some extent, about what is being lexically encoded in the two subjects *Negara* and *Pancasila*. Therefore, the two subjects are also the topics. In sentences with multiple topics, one constituent must be the primary topic and the other

must be the secondary topic. In sentence (44), the primary topic is *negara* and the secondary topic is *pemikiran itu dimanifestasikan dalam tindakan nyata*. On the other hand, in sentence (45), the primary topic is *Pancasila* and *Indonesia* is the secondary topic.

To sum up this section, some examples have been analyzed and it has been shown that: (i) *-nya* indicates its antecedent as being topicalized in the constructions with two clauses; and (ii) in *-nya* construction, the subject does not lose its topicality, but retains it. Thus, in such constructions, the sentence has two topics which both relate to the propositional content of the respective sentence.

3.5 Summary

To sum up this chapter, it has been described and shown firstly that most of the data (75%) are canonically ordered constructions with the following word orders: SVO and SV where the VP is either an intransitive verb, NMLZ, AdjP or PP. Secondly, most of the subjects are topics, as shown in 54% of the data. Thirdly, subjects may not be the topic of an utterance. Fourth, in constructions with two clauses where *-nya* occurs, the antecedent is topicalized. The details of the analysis can be summarized and illustrated briefly in table 3 below.

Table 3. Information Structure in Canonical Constructions

No.	Arguments	Information Structure Categories	Constituents
1	Subject is the topic	Aboutness, continuing, new, contrastive and primary topics	Pronoun, proper noun, noun phrase and nominalized clause
2	Subject is not the topic	Argument focus	Noun phrase
		Sentence focus	Sentence
		Sentence focus preceded by scene-setting	Sentence with prepositional or adverbial phrases precedes it
3	The antecedent of <i>-nya</i> is topicalized if it is not in the main clause in which <i>-nya</i> occurs	Topicalization and multiple topics	Noun and clause

Based on the table, if subjects are topics, they correlate with different types of topics namely aboutness topic, continuing topic, new topic, contrastive topic and also primary topic which is preceded by a scene-setting topic. All topics can take the form of constituents such as pronoun, single noun, proper noun, full noun phrase and also

nominalized clause. And if these types of constituent are not the topic, they show one of two pragmatic functions, either: (a) the subject is the focus in argument focus structure or (b) the subject and the predicate are focused, with or without a scene-setting topic. The focus role can also take the form of different types of constituent just as the topic can. In the case of focus, the constituent concerned is either a noun phrase or a sentence. Finally, what we can say about *-nya* is that it must be in constructions with two clauses before it can mark its antecedent as being topicalized.

CHAPTER 4

Non-canonical Construction: Preposing

This chapter discusses information structure of a non-canonically ordered construction, namely preposing, in Indonesian. The discussion includes topicalization, focalization and continuing topics and is based on the same data. The organization of the chapter is as follows. I firstly discuss the theoretical assumption of information structure related to the non-canonical constructions. This is followed by the analysis of the non-canonically ordered constructions, concentrating on preposing of NP, VP, AdjP and PP. Next, the analysis of preposing of the predicate of the *yang* construction will be presented. I close the chapter by presenting a summary of the analysis of the non-canonical constructions discussed.

4.1 Background: Topicalization and Focalization

In English, which has been the focus of many more works on the analysis of information structure than Indonesian, non-canonically ordered constructions are found to have particular pragmatic functions. For example, according to Ward and Birner (2006b:158–162), left dislocation is used to present new information while preposing is used to preserve the order according to a rule that ‘old information precedes new’. In addition, Ward and Birner (2006b:163–168) also argue that postposing is employed to introduce new units of information such as in existential *there*-sentences, while right dislocation is to place the old information at sentence final position. As Indonesian is an SVO language like English, it is therefore interesting to see how in its formal variety non-canonical constructions correlate with units of information.

‘Topicalization’ is a grammatical term which according to Lambrecht (1994:31) is “commonly used with reference to syntactic constructions in which an object noun phrase whose canonical position is after the verb appears in clause-initial position before the subject”. In a broader sense, however, the topicalized constituent is not only the NP object, but it can also be other constituents. As Lambrecht (1994:147) says “a non-subject constituent is marked as a topic expression by being placed in the sentence-initial position normally occupied by the topical subject”. The term ‘non-subject’ in the last quote is more general and covers predicate verb phrases and predicate adjectival phrases. In Lambrecht (1994), topicalization may also be used in referring to focalization. Thus, depending on the context, the “topicalized” constituent can stand not only “in topic relation” but also “in focus relation to the proposition” expressed by the

given sentence. Therefore, Lambrecht (1994:343) states, “my basic distinction between topical and focal fronted non-subject constituents is rather crude”.

In this thesis, however, topicalization will be treated differently from focalization. Because topic must be referential, the topicalized constituent must be referential as well. According to (Lambrecht, 1994:75), such a constituent is syntactically

“...expressed in ARGUMENT (including adjunct) categories such as noun phrases, pronouns, various kinds of tensed or non-tensed subordinate clause and certain adverbial phrases. They cannot normally be expressed in phrases which serve as predicates. Predicates by definition do not denote discourse referents but attributes of, or relations between, arguments. For example a finite verb phrase cannot play an argument role in a sentence unless it is made into a referential expression by being ‘nominalized’”

Based on this, it is theoretically unlikely that VP predicates are topicalized. In addition, what will be topicalized must be mentally identifiable: either active, accessible or unused. On the other hand, there is no specialised discussion of focalization in Lambrecht (1994). Hence, with the assistance of the context, I will make the assumption that a focalized constituent is (i) any proposition that is not presupposed and (ii) if it is an argument, it is mostly unidentifiable: either a brand new referent or new but anchored. Focalized constituents may refer to different focus structures (Lambrecht, 1994). They may be referring to predicate focus structure when the preposed constituent is focused, or they may refer to sentence focus structure if the preposed constituent and the other constituents within a sentence are focused.

Finally, it is very important to note that topicalization and focalization relates to the Topic Acceptability Scale that has been elaborated in Chapter 1. The scale can also be reformulated under a single principle “do not introduce referent and talk about it at the same time” (Lambrecht, 1994:185).

4.2 Data of Non-canonical Constructions

As in the canonically ordered sentences, some constructions in Indonesian can also be ordered non-canonically in different ways as shown in chart 5 below. For the formal Indonesian data in the speeches, there are two non-canonical constructions, namely, passive constructions and verb phrase-subject (VS). In the latter the VP can take the form of an intransitive verb (VS1), an adjectival phrase (AdjP, called VS2) or a nominalized clause (NMLZ, called VS3).²⁶

²⁶ VS1 is a construction in which the intransitive verb is preposed, regardless of the type of the subject. VS2 is a sentence where the adjective or adjectival phrase predicate is placed in the

Chart 5. Distribution of Non-canonical Constructions

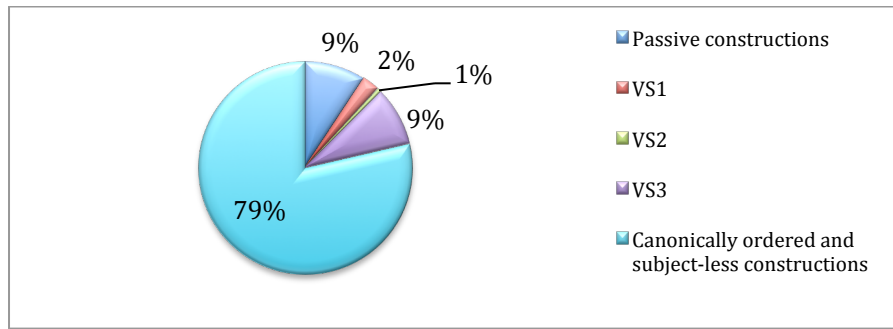


Chart 5 shows that the occurrence of non-canonical constructions in the speeches is not dominant, occupying only 21% of the data, compared to 79% of canonically ordered and subject-less constructions. Of the 21% non-canonical, the passive constructions together with VS3 word order dominate with 9% each, followed by VS1 and VS2, with 3% and 1% respectively. Table 4 below shows their descending frequency of occurrence.

Table 4. Word Order of Non-canonical Construction

No.	Canonical Construction	Number of Occurrences
1.	Passive constructions	39
2.	VS3	38
3.	VS1	11
4.	VS2	3

Table 4 shows that although passive and VS3 occur in the same percentage, the former occurs slightly more frequently than the latter (39 versus 38 occurrences).

4.3 Preposing: NP, AdjP, VP and PP

The data show that there are four preposed constituents in formal Indonesian, namely, the noun phrase object (NP), the verbal predicate (VP), the adjectival predicate (AdjP) and the prepositional phrase (PP). Preposing within the data reveals several different

initial position of the sentence. VS3 is a sentence in which the noun phrase or nominalized clause predicate is fronted and the subject is postposed, regardless of the constituent of the subject. OSV with transitive and ditransitive verbs are constructions for passive type 2 in formal Indonesian. In type 2 passives, preposed patients in the thesis will be called ‘object’ and at the same time ‘patient’, although for example Sneddon et al. (2010:256) calls them subject. This is by following Chung (1976:60, 83) who stated “in what follows I will refer to this construction as object preposing”.

pragmatic functions, depending partly on the type of the preposed constituent but mainly on the context in which they occur.

The first way of preposing non-subject constituents is by moving the patient or the superficial object into initial sentence position, as illustrated in the following example (46).²⁷ Here, the prefix-less transitive verbs are *revitalisasikan* and *realisasikan*. The two arguments are *Pancasila*, as the patient and the pronoun *kita*, as the agent. Here, the NP *Pancasila* is the preposed object.

46. *Pancasila harus kita revitalisasi-kan dan aktualisasi-kan.*
 Pancasila must 1PL.INCL revitalize-TR and actualize-TR
 ‘We must revitalize and actualize *Pancasila* (Yudhoyono).’

Referentially, the object *Pancasila* is actively identifiable because it is discussed not only by the speaker of this sentence, but also by the previous speakers, as it is the big theme of the event where the speeches were delivered. On the other hand, the expression after the object provides a new proposition which adds relevant information to the object. There is no discussion in the preceding context about this proposition. *Kita revitalisasikan dan aktualisasikan* is thus the focus of sentence (46). Since the proposition is talking about the object, it is the aboutness topic of sentence (46). The patient, which is the object, is topicalized while the agent is part of the focused constituent.

The second way of preposing non-subject constituents is by moving the VP from the post-subject slot into the initial position of the sentence. This serves to signal sentence-focus structure in which a new entity or a brand new referent is introduced into the speech for the first time, through the use of an existential construction. Based on the data, such a construction is achieved only with one verb, namely the intransitive²⁸ *ada* as illustrated in the example (47) below where the VP *ada* precedes the NP subject *sejumlah penjelasan*.

47. *Ada sejumlah penjelasan mengapa Pancasila seolah*
 INTR.exist number explanation why Pancasila CONJ.as

²⁷ Further details of preposed patients will be discussed in the next chapter. Preposing of this kind is part of the passive type 2 construction. Note that by the word ‘superficial is meant that calling the patient the object also acknowledged are the three basic principles of the passive: subject creating (Chung, 1976:63), clause binding (Chung, 1976:74) and rule-governing (Chung, 1976:76).

²⁸ The preposed transitive verb (VP) will be discussed separately in the next chapter on the passive construction.

lenyap dari kehidupan kita.
 ADJ.lost PREP.from life 1PL.INCL.POSS

‘There are a number of explanations why *Pancasila* was as if lost from our life’
 (Habibie).

This subject *sejumlah penjelasan* however is not the topic of this sentence as, in terms of referent, it is brand new and the Topic Acceptability Scale of Lambrecht (1994) does not allow such a referent to be topical. Contextually, the subject is introduced for the first time, so that subsequent sentences can use it as their topic. Here is what happens in the data. The sentences after (47) use it as part of the topics. Thus, the preposed *ada* is used to introduce a new referent into the speech and to make sure that the whole construction conveys a brand new proposition. The sentence contains information that is never mentioned previously in the speech. The aboutness topic is absent, although the sentence subject is present. The construction (47) is called sentence focus structure as the focus covers both subject and predicate. The verb *ada* functions as the presentational device, similar to English presentational ‘there’.

The verb *ada* used in example (47) can also be negated. In this case, the negation marker *tidak* is used and the VP still functions to introduce a new referent into the speech. Example (48) illustrates this argument. In (48), the subject is the NP *alternatif lain* which is moved to sentence final position. The verb *ada* is preposed and negated with *tidak*, both are the predicate. The referent of the subject *alternatif lain* is unidentifiable in the context of the speech. Thus, it is not allowed to be topical. The whole sentence contains new propositional information since it has no referential relationship with any preceding sentence. The entire sentence is focused and although negated, the verb ‘*ada*’ is still presentational.

48. **Tidak ada alternatif lain.**
 NEG.no INTR.exist alternative other

‘There are no other alternatives in terms of ideologies’ (Yudhoyono).

On the other hand, the verb *ada* can also be used canonically in SV order. However, based on the data, the verb is no longer used for presenting new referents. Instead, it carries the meaning of possession and is semantically similar to the verb *mempunyai* (to possess, to have). Hence, the subject is likely to be the topic, unless the context says otherwise. Example (49) below illustrates this type of *ada*. In (49), the verb *ada* is negated with *tidak*, as in example (48). The difference between the two is their sentence position. In (49) *tidak ada* is left in its canonical position, i.e., after the subject *gerakan*

dan paksaan semacam itu. The subject *gerakan* has been discussed in the preceding sentence, so its referent is mentally active for the audience. Its active status is also indicated by the pronoun *itu*.

49. *Gerakan dan paksaan semacam itu tidak ada tempat*
 movement and coercion sort PRO.that NEG INTR.exist place
di bumi Indonesia.
 PREP.in earth Indonesia

‘That sort of movement and coercion will never be allowed in Indonesia’
 (Yudhoyono).

The verb *ada* here has a different meaning from the verb *ada* in the previous two examples. Here it means *mempunyai* ‘to have, to possess’. The predicate literally says ‘doesn’t have a place in Indonesia’. The proposition evoked in the predicate is new in relation to the previous sentence. Thus, the predicate is the focus. Since the proposition in the predicate is talking about the subject, the subject of (49) is the aboutness topic.

The third way of preposing non-subject constituents is by moving the AdjP predicate from its canonical position within the VS construction to the initial sentence position. This is called focalization and it is shown in the example in (50) below. Here the subject is a nominalized clause (NMLZ) *mempersatukan rakyat Indonesia*, with transitive VP *mempersatukan* and NP object *rakyat Indonesia*. This clause however is preceded by the AdjP *sulit sekali* which acts as the predicate, with *sekali* being the intensifying adverb for the adjective *sulit*.

50. *Sulit sekali saudara-saudara memper-satu-kan rakyat Indonesia*
 difficult ADV.very brother-PL TR-unite-CIRC people Indonesia
itu jikalau tidak di-dasar-kan atas Pancasila.
 DEM.that if NEG.not PASS-based-CIRC PREP.on Pancasila

‘Without *Pancasila*, uniting the people of Indonesia will be very difficult, ladies and gentlemen’ (Yudhoyono).

Considered referentially, the subject is mentally active, because it occurs in the speaker’s previous sentence. The postposed subject is acting as the topic of (50) as, other than being active, it is what is being talked about by the predicate. The predicate, on the other hand, introduces a new unit of information because ‘the difficulties’ has never before been mentioned in the speech. Thus, the preposed predicate is the focus of the utterance.

The fourth way of preposing non-subject constituents is by fronting the PP in a VS construction. It is used to topicalize the preposed constituent as it has a referent which is either active or accessible. This is illustrated in (51), where the construction consisting of the predicate *masih banyak* and subject *pekerjaan rumah* is preceded by a PP *guna menjawab harapan diatas*.

51. *Guna men-jawab harapan di atas, masih banyak*
 PREP.for TR-answer hope PREP.above still many
pekerjaan rumah yang harus kita selesai-kan.
 work home REL.which must 1PL.INCL finish-TR

‘To realize that hope, there are many domestic problems that we must solve first’
 (Megawati).

Referentially, this PP is active as the three preceding sentences discuss the head of the PP, *harapan di atas* (hope). The PP refers to the absence of what Soekarno expects Indonesia to be, that is “sovereign in politics, independent in economy and genuine in culture” *Indonesia yang berdaulat di bidang politik, berdiri di atas kaki sendiri di bidang ekonomi, dan berkepribadian dalam bidang kebudayaan*. On the other hand, the proposition expressed by the predicate cannot be taken for granted at the time of the speech and the referent of the subject is brand new. Thus, the predicate is focused and since the proposition it contains talks about the preposed PP, it is the aboutness topic of this sentence (51).

However, there is a difference between the topicalized PP in (51) and the scene-setting topic, which is also a PP, discussed in chapter 3. The PP thus can become either of the two depending on its context. As Sneddon et al. (2010:241) argue, in Indonesian PPs or “adjuncts are rarely essential to a construction”. However, in terms of information structure, sentence (51) and the remaining examples show that the PP can be very essential to a construction when it is referentially accessible and connects the sentence in which the PP occurs to the previous discourse. In this case, the absence of a PP will disturb the coherence of the preceding and following sentences. In (51) for example, the PP is essential as the removal of it will make the sentence unacceptable on the basis of Lambrecht (1994) because (i) the sentence will consist of totally new units of information and they are not presentational or event-reporting type, and (ii) the Topic Acceptability Scale does not allow this to happen. Thus example (51) without the PP cannot be uttered out of the blue, as, if so, it will be infelicitous from the point of view of Lambrecht’s (1994) information structure. Hence, this PP is the PP which is

preposed and topicalized. On the other hand, the PP is likely to be the scene-setting topic in the initial position of the sentence when it indicates “a spatial, temporal or individual framework within which the main predication holds” (Chafe, 1976:50, cited in Lambrecht, 1994:118). Thus such a PP does not have to connect the sentence in which it occurs to the previous discourse. What connects the sentence to the previous discourse is its referent subject or its propositional predicate. This has been explained in chapter 3.

Overall, the examples (46), (47), (48), (50) and (51) are clear evidence of topicalizing and focalizing non-subject constituents; they show that sentence focus structure in formal Indonesian is effected without involving morphological markers or particles. In fact, the data show that such word order restructuring can also involve the particle *lah*.

The particle is commonly called a predicative marker because it is often used to foreground the predicate (Sneddon et al., 2010:270). However, it also may be used to emphasize the meaning of the constituent it is attached to in canonically ordered sentences. Thus, there is no automatic correspondence between the constituents to which *lah* attaches and a function of topicalization or focalization. Regardless of its functions, however, the particle *lah* must be attached to the first element of the phrase or clause predicate. Example (52) below shows the use of the particle in a phrase within an SV construction. In (52), the predicate is *mesti religius*, with *mesti* as the first part with attached *lah*. Here the particle *lah* is not used to foreground the predicate as it still occurs after the NP subject *kehidupan masyarakat*.

52. *Kehidupan masyarakat mesti-lah religius dan bukan sekuler.*
 life society surely-PRT religious and NEG.not secular
 ‘The life of society is certainly religious and not secular’ (Yudhoyono).

With regard to the information structure of (52), the subject *kehidupan masyarakat* is the topic as its referent is inferably accessible from the framing of the word *Indonesia*. The subject is what is being talked about by the predicate. The predicate, on the other hand, is the proposition containing important and relevant information that is added to the subject. There is no discussion on ‘being not secular but must be religious’. This is the focus. Thus, there is no focalization in this example where *lah* is used in a canonical construction.

So how is the particle *lah* used for topicalizing and focalizing non-subject constituents? The data shows that the particle *lah* must be used within non-canonically ordered constructions to function so. Used for focalizing, it is acceptable in formal

Indonesian to put the particle in a VS construction where the VP is an AdjP, as in example (53). Here the AdjP *sangat penting*, containing the intensifying adverb *sangat* and the adjective *penting*, is attached with the particle *lah*, acting as the predicate for the subject of the *bahwa* clause *bahwa Pancasila itu*.

53. ***Sangat-lah penting*** dan merupakan keharusan bahwa
 very-PRT important and INTR.become necessity NMLZ.that

pancasila itu tidak bisa di-lepas-kan dalam
 pancasila DEM NEG can PASS-free-CIRC PREP.in

kesejarahan dengan Bung Karno.
 history PREP.with ADR Karno

‘That historically *Pancasila* must be associated with *Bung Karno* is very important and necessary (to be taught)’ (Megawati).

The Referent of the *bahwa* clause in (53) is textually accessible as it is already evoked in the preceding sentences. The predicate however is unidentifiable and it cannot be taken for granted at the time this sentence is uttered. There is no discussion whatsoever about being *penting* and *keharusan*. The predicate is thus the focus in example (53) and the preposed AdjP is focused. Since the proposition in the predicate is talking about the *bahwa* clause, it is thus the aboutness topic of (53).

In addition, *lah* can also be attached to the fronted intransitive VP to focalize the preposed constituent. This is illustrated in the example (54) where *muncul* is an intransitive verb and the particle *lah* is attached to it (thus *muncullah*). It acts as the predicate for the subject *demistifikasi dan dekonstruksi Pancasila*.

54. ***Muncul-lah*** demistifikasi dan dekonstruksi Pancasila
 appear-PRT demystification and deconstruction Pancasila

yang di-anggap-nya sebagai simbol.
 REL.which PASS-consider-PRO as symbol

‘The demystification and deconstruction of Pancasila which was associated as the symbol of (political regime) appeared’ (Habibie).

In (54), the subject is referentially active because it has been talked about in the preceding utterance. Contrariwise, the VP predicate contains unpredictable information in the word *muncullah*, which is new and acts as the focus of the sentence (54). The preposed constituent is thus focalized. Since the VP is talking about the subject, it is the aboutness topic of (54).

To sum up this section, it has been shown that preposing in the sample data has three information-structural functions. First, preposing topicalizes the non-subject constituent with or without the assistance of the particle *lah*. The fronted constituents may be NP or PP. Second, preposing focalizes the non-subject constituents in the form of VP and AdjP predicates. Third, preposing shows sentence focus structure with the use of presentational *ada*. This strategy is used to present a brand new referent where the focus domain covers the entire subject and predicate. Sentences of this kind are focused and the topic may be absent, following Lambrecht (1994) or the topic is not explicitly stated, following Erteschik-Shir (2007).

4.4 Preposing: *Yang* and the Nominalized Relative Clause

Yang has several functions in Indonesian sentences (Djenar, 2003:47-48), and it also determines the type of the clause in which *yang* occurs (Sneddon et al., 2010:291). Loosely speaking, there are more than 55 data of this construction in the three speeches.²⁹ Two sentences ((55) and (56)) from the speeches are excerpted below to show the functions of *yang* in the formal variety of Indonesian. The two sentences have something in common: *yang* and the nominalized clause (NMLZ) that follow them. However, they differ in the order of the *yang* and its clause. In (55), *yang* occurs in sentence initial position which is regarded as its canonical construction and it acts as the subject. The NP *Ibu Sinta Nuriah* is the predicate of this example. It is classified under the SV word order, with a NMLZ VP. There are several examples of this construction in the data and they occur less frequently than the structure in (56) (see table 5 below).

55. *Yang saya hormat-i Ibu Sinta Nuriah.*
 NMLZ.which 1SG respect-TR mother sinta nuriah
 ‘The one whom I respect Ibu Sinta Nuriah’ (Yudhoyono).

On the other hand, sentence (56) is different in that the *yang* and the clause are put at the final position of the sentence and *yang* acts as the subject. Its predicate *hadirin* is preposed. This ordering is the non-canonical construction of such *yang*.

56. *Hadirin yang saya mulia-kan.*
 attendee NMLZ.who 1SG honor-TR

²⁹ ‘This number doesn’t separate sentences in which *yang* is used for focalizing and sentences in which *yang* has other functions. *Yang* can be used to replace the word ‘*orang*’, meaning ‘person’, and it also can be used as a grammatical connector that means something like English ‘which’, ‘who’ and ‘whom’. Such *yang* is in its ordinary use in Indonesian grammar (Djenar, 2003:47). ‘*Yang*’ which functions as a focalizer is the one whose clause acts as the subject of a sentence in a particular context which is shown in table 5.

‘Attendees who I honor’ (Yudhoyono).

In Indonesian grammar, (56) and similar constructions are also called ‘identifying clause’ (Sneddon et al., 2010:291). The reason is that the propositional content within *yang* and its clause is usually been mentioned in the previous sentence and it is semantically presupposed (Sneddon et al., 2010:291). Thus, being presupposed means that it is very likely that the nominalized clause is topical (Lambrecht, 1994), and thus it makes way for the predicate to be the focus in such constructions. For such preposed constituents to be the focus, Chung (1976:80) agreed and argued “subjects and direct objects can be focused by a rule which moves them to the left and separates them from the rest of the sentence with *jang*”.³⁰

Table 5 below shows the proportion of the data that contain *yang* constructions and their quantitative distribution in the three speeches, be it within VS or SV word order.

Table 5. Occurrence of *Yang* and *-lah*

No	Clause	Canonically ordered	Non-canonically ordered
1	SV and VS construction with ‘ <i>yang</i> and its nominalized clause’	17	38
2	VS construction with the particle <i>-lah</i> used in the predicate	N.A.	4
3	VS construction without ‘ <i>yang</i> ’ involved in the construction	N.A.	2
4	‘ <i>Yang</i> and its nominalized clause’ in non VS /SV constructions	2	N.A.

As table 5 shows, there are 38 ‘identifying clauses’. I propose that such constructions are not merely used to focalize the preposed constituent, as Sneddon et.al. (2010:291) implied and Chung (1976:80) argued, but they also topicalize non-subject constituents. Regardless of which function is applied, it can be used in two different ways: by attaching the particle *lah* to the preposed predicate (4 occurrences), and without using such a particle (34 occurrences). Example (57) shows how it is used without the

³⁰ *Jang* is the old spelling of *yang*. The focus definition of Chung (1976) and Lambrecht (1994) may differ, as does the term presupposition in Sneddon et al., (2010) and Lambrecht (1994).

particle. The NP *hadirin sekalian* is the predicate and preposed without the assistance of morphological marker *lah*.

57. *Hadirin sekalian yang saya hormat-i.*
 attendee all NMLZ.who 1SG respect-TR
 ‘To the attendees whom I respect’ (Yudhoyono).

The referent of predicate *hadirin sekalian* in example (57) is situationally accessible. It refers to the whole audience who is sitting and listening to the speech being delivered. It is also what is being talked about by the following subject. Thus, this predicate is topicalized. On the other hand, the NMLZ subject *yang saya hormati* is unidentifiable. In the opening of formal speeches, there is an introductory part consisting of initial remarks to acknowledge the presence of distinguished people. Such a remark can be conveyed in terms of pride ‘the X whom I am proud of’ (*yang saya banggakan*), of honor ‘the X to whom I pay honor’ (*yang saya muliakan*), of admiration ‘the X whom I admire’ (*yang saya kagumi*), of respect ‘the X whom I respect’ (*yang saya hormati*) and other similar remarks. This flexibility means that at the time the predicate *hadirin* is uttered, the specific referent will not be clear. The subject in example (57) is therefore the focus. The same analysis applies to example (55) above, which will be rewritten here as (58) as an example of argument focus structure.

58. *Yang saya hormat-i Ibu Sinta Nuriah.*
 NMLZ.who 1SG respect-TR mother Sinta Nuriah
 ‘The one whom I respect Ibu Sinta Nuriah’ (Yudhoyono).

In this canonical order, the referent of NP predicate *Ibu Sinta Nuriah* is situationally accessible. She is present in the venue when the sentence is being uttered. Therefore the predicate is the topic of (58). The subject, the nominalized clause, is unidentifiable yet, as it is possible for her to be given *yang saya banggakan* or *yang saya kagumi*. It is thus the focus of example (58).

If a particle is to be used for such a function, the particle must be *lah*, and it is only *lah* which is used in the non-canonical order of this construction within the three speeches. This is exemplified in (59) where the particle *lah*, the predicative marker, is attached to the pronoun *itu*, signalling that the pronoun is reversed from its canonical position.

59. *Itu-lah yang kita laku-kan sekarang ini,*
 PRO-PRT NMLZ.which 1PL.INCL do-TR now DEM.this

me-masti-kan *kontrak-kontrak baru itu* *benar dan adil.*
 NMLZ.TR-assure-CIRC contract-PL new DEM.that correct and fair

‘That is what we are doing now, assuring that the new contracts are correct and fair’
 (Yudhoyono).

The pronoun *itu* is the predicate of (59) and it is *referentially unidentifiable*. The predicate is a brand new referent and although it is in the form of the pronoun, it does not refer anaphorically to previous phrases. This pronoun does however refer to the nominalised clause which is postposed, namely *memastikan kontrak-kontrak baru itu benar dan adil*. Therefore *itulah* is the preposed predicate which is focalized in a right dislocated construction. The aim of such a construction is to “be used as an implicit request from the speaker to the hearer to put the propositional information on hold” (Lambrecht, 1994:203) until the rightmost constituent is uttered. On the other hand, the subject, *yang* and the clause, is the topic of (59). In terms of reference, it is situationally accessible. *Yang kita lakukan sekarang ini* refers to the action being done by Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the speaker of (59) who was the incumbent president at the time the speech was delivered. It is the president’s duty to do what was required to tackle the nation’s problems. This includes what the Government did in the case of assuring contracts in (59).

One thing to note in analysing the construction in (59) is that we are not only concerned with the preposed predicate but also right dislocation, as the pronoun *itu* is co-referential with the rightmost constituent in the sentence, that is, the NMLZ *memastikan*. According to Lambrecht (1994:181-4), who called it right detachment, this peculiar syntactic construction is employed to show the very old proposition at the final sentence and calls it the anti topic constituent (ATOP). In other words this constituent is not focalized. Ward and Birner (2006b:168) argue similarly, namely that in English right dislocated very old information is moved to the end of the sentence. However, since in (59) the dislocated constituent is focused and contains a new proposition, the analysis is different from the existing theories. Since there is only one example of such a construction, the possible reason is that the speaker changed the content of the prepared script by adding this sentence on the stage. Thus, the structure of this sentence looks very different from the others and it disturbs the coherence of the preceding and following sentences. There is no doubt that it occurs in the data, as although the downloaded script has this expression (59), it is uttered in the video without the speaker reading the texts for about one minute. This possibility is also supported by Lambrecht’s statement (1994:182) these “detachment constructions are often considered

substandard or at least inappropriate in formal registers”. The other possibility is that it is a real phenomenon in the formal variety of Indonesian. I will leave the analysis of sentence (59) inconclusive, as I do not have sufficient data for strengthening this argument.

Moreover, with the particle *lah* being applied, it is also possible to use non-pronominal forms as the predicate of such constructions, as it is in the following example (60). Here, the particle *lah* is attached to the NP *ideologi* which is acting as the predicate for the NMLZ subject *yang menjadi motif sekaligus penjaga harapan*.

60. ***Ideologi-lah*** *yang menjadi motif sekaligus penjaga*
 ideology-PRT REL.which become motive and keeper

harapan bagi rakyat-nya.
 hope PREP.for people-PRO

‘It is ideology which becomes the motive and the hope for the people of Indonesia’
 (Megawati).

The NP subject *ideologi* is referentially active as it has just been mentioned in the preceding sentence. *Ideologi* is topicalized by being preposed. It is the continuing topic because the preceding sentence has the same topic although it is ordered canonically. On the other hand, the nominalized clause subject is unidentifiable. There is no discussion or mention of it in the previous context, thus it is a new unit of information. The subject of (60) is the focus, as it provides important information about the NP subject. The speaker prefers to talk about ‘the ideology’, which is lexically encoded in the NP predicate, rather than about the brand new referents “the motive and the hope of the Indonesian people”, which is encoded in the particle *yang* and its clause.

To sum up this section, it has been shown that *yang* and the nominalized relative clause can be ordered canonically and also preposed. In addition, the constituent of the predicate in the *yang* construction can be a single noun, pronoun and or a noun phrase. Canonically ordered, the subject in the form of the particle *yang* and its nominalized clause are interpreted as the focus. By preposing the predicate, however, this construction is used to topicalize the non-subject constituent and also to focalize the predicate, with or without the assistance of the particle *lah*. Thus *lah* in a *yang* construction is also used to topicalize non-subject although it functions as the predicative marker. Therefore, there is no correspondence between the particle and the focalizing strategy.

4.5 Summary

With regard to the relationship between particular morpho-syntactic devices and information structure, there are two important non-canonical constructions in the formal variety of Indonesian which have been discussed in this chapter. Each of them has particular pragmatic functions. Table 6 summarizes all of the constructions, their functions and their syntactic domains.

Table 6. Information Structure of Preposing

No	Constructions	Arguments	Constituents
1	Preposing	Topicalization and focalization	NP object, AdjP predicate, VP predicate and PP adjunct
		Showing sentence focus structure with the presentational verb <i>ada</i>	The whole sentence (subject and predicate)
2	Identifying clause (<i>yang</i> and its nominalized relative clause)	Topicalizing and focalizing the predicate of the clause, with or without the particle <i>lah</i>	NP, a noun and pronoun

This table shows the details of the pragmatic functions of non-canonical constructions in structuring the information flow within the formal variety of Indonesian. Preposing is a strategy used for topicalization, focalization and also for signaling sentence structure based on the four constituents NP, AdjP, VP and PP. The non-canonical *yang* clause is used for topicalizing and focalizing the inverted predicate.

CHAPTER 5

Non-canonical Construction: Passive Type 1 and 2

This chapter discusses another type of non-canonical construction in the three speeches, namely the passive construction. They are considered non-canonical because of the following semantically-based reason: the patient of the action verb is preposed while the agent, if mentioned, is postposed. In principle, Indonesia has two passive constructions. As in the previous chapters, the data for the analysis are taken from the scripts of the three speeches. The chapter is organized as follows. Firstly, I discuss previous work on passive constructions in Indonesian grammar and theoretical perspectives on their information structure. Secondly, I analyze the passive type 1, followed by the analysis of argument reversal and the patient-less passive. Thirdly, I analyze the passive type 2. Finally, I present a summary of the analysis.

5.1 Background

Indonesian grammar has two types of passive, as was explained briefly in chapter 2. Passive type 1 is characterized by the use of a prefix *di* on the verb of the predicate in which the object of the sentence is preposed to initial position becoming its subject (Sneddon et al., 2010:255). Type 1 thus is an SV construction. If the agent is mentioned, it is usually signaled by *oleh* and placed in sentence final position. Its presence, however, is optional and can be deleted without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence. In this thesis, type 1 with the presence of *oleh* will be called argument reversal, following Ward and Birner (2006b:169) in their analysis of passive construction with explicit ‘by’ in English. On the other hand, passive type 2 is characterized by the presence of the patient in the initial position of the respective sentence, and then labeled as object.³¹ The patient is directly followed by an agent and its transitive verb (SV) in an OSV construction. It is also possible in the same word order to have two objects with a ditransitive verb. Any semantic modification to passive type 2 can only be put in between the patient and the SV, where the SV remains unchanged and unmodified (Sneddon et al., 2010:256–258).

Although Lambrecht (1994:6) admits that passive constructions play a pragmatic role in information structure, he offers no special discussion of active vs. passive constructions nor of passive constructions in general. In SVO languages like

³¹ As it is explained in chapter 4, following Chung (1976:60, 83) the preposed patient of passive type 2 in the thesis will be temporarily labelled the preposed object, although for example Sneddon et al. (2010:256) call it subject.

English, in which the passive construction is similar to the Indonesian type 1, according to Ward and Birner (2006b:173), the passive affects the status of the units of information, “the preverbal argument must be at least as familiar within the discourse as is the postverbal argument”. Thus, according to Ward and Birner (2006a:311–312), there are two pragmatic orders of passives in English. The first order occurs with old familiar preposed and postposed constituents while the second requires both the two constituents to be new. It is also possible however to have a passive which “places relatively familiar information before relatively unfamiliar information” (Ward & Birner, 2001:131). If the agent is not mentioned, the context will determine the topicality or focality of the patient, although it is argued “the preverbal NP is not constrained to represent discourse-old information, that is to say, it is not subject to the constraint on a single canonical constituent” (Ward & Birner, 2006a:312). New information can thus be placed in the initial position of a passive construction.

On the other hand, Indonesian passive type 2 constructions are usually associated with topicalization. Quoting Chung (1976:83), “we can conclude then that object preposing and the canonical passive must be identified as separate syntactic rules. Indonesian therefore has two passives: a canonical passive and a passive with the surface form of an object topicalisation”.

5.2 Data Showing Passive Construction

The percentage of active voice versus passive voice constructions is given in chart 6 below.

Chart 6. Distribution of Passive Construction

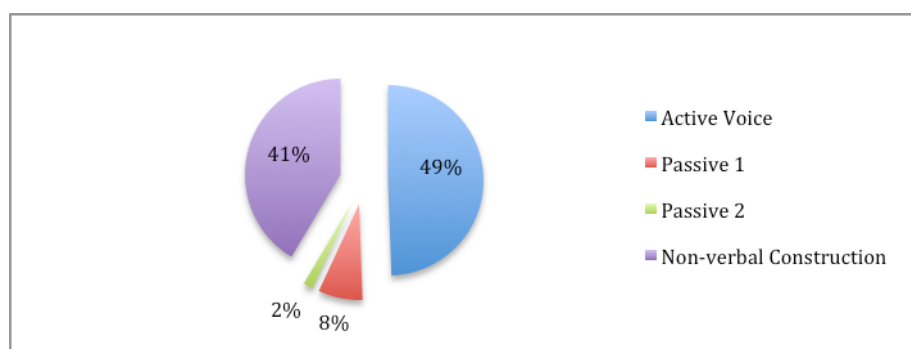


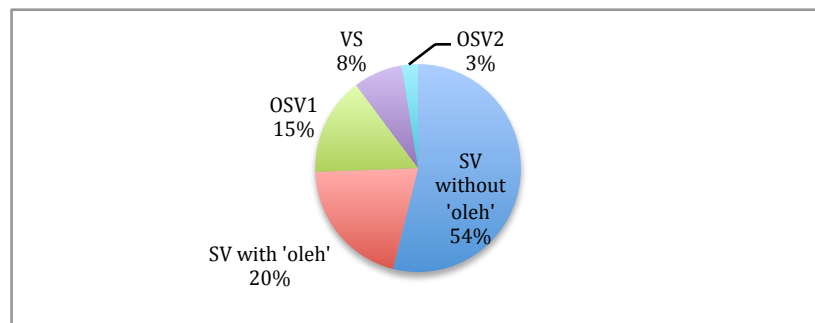
Chart 6 gives precise information that the passive type 1 occurs more frequently than passive type 2: in fact four times more frequently (8% vs 2%). A more detailed quantitative distribution of the two passive constructions in the three formal speeches is given in the following table 7, which gives the raw number of occurrences for each type.

Table 7. Occurrence of Passive Construction

No	Type	Independent and Main Clauses	Dependent clauses
1	Passive 1	21	11
2	Passive 2	6	1

The distribution of the different word order of the passive constructions within the formal variety can be seen in detail in the following chart 7. The chart shows that SV is clearly dominant with 54%, followed by argument reversal with 20%. Although in SV order and in argument reversal the subject structurally looks as though it is occupying the canonical position, the same applies to the verbal predicate. They are categorized as non-canonical because of a semantic reason: the patient argument is in the reverse order. Next in terms of frequency of occurrence is OSV1 where the VP is transitive (15%). The least popular word orders are VS constructions where the transitive verb is preposed, and OSV2 where the VP is ditransitive, with 8% and 3% respectively. With regard to information structure, I argue that the two types of passive have different pragmatic functions.

Chart 7. Word Order of Passive Construction



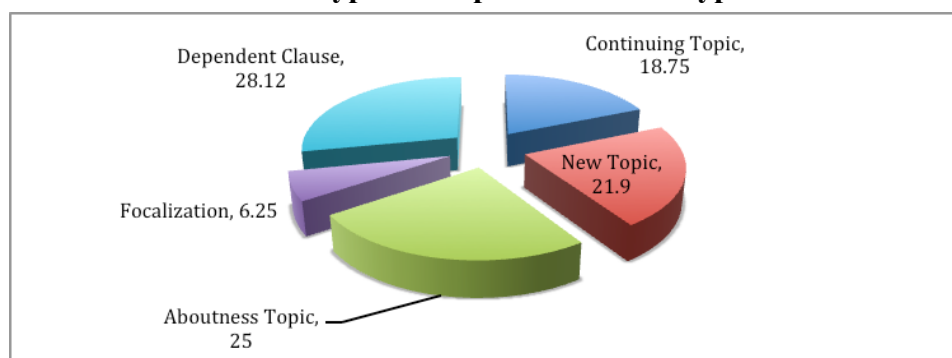
5.3 Passive Type 1: Topics and Focalized Predicate

In type 1, although the patient is promoted to the subject of the sentence, the effect with regard to their information structure is functionally subtle. Can such a patient subject be considered as the topic of the respective sentence? If so, is it a continuing topic? If it is a continuing topic, do all the data show this type consistently? To answer such a difficult question, we would require appropriate data with the accompanying contexts.

I argue that in passive constructions type 1, the subject of the sentence is not focalized, but it shows a different type of topic. However, if the verbal predicate of

these constructions is proposed it is clearly focalized. This argument is nicely illustrated in the following chart 8.

Chart 8. Types of Topics in Passive Type 1



There are four types of topic shown for passive type 1 in the data. In descending order of their occurrence, they are aboutness topic (25%), new topic (21.9%), continuing topic (18.75%), and focalization, if the verb is preposed (6.25%). Other than these four, there is no other function performed by this passive in the data.

Based on the data, it is justifiable to say that passive type 1 can be used to show topic continuity, with the subjects of previous sentences and becomes the topic of the following sentence. This function can be seen in example (61) where the NP *survei BPS ini* takes on the semantic role of patient and is moved to the initial position of sentence, becoming the subject. The referent of this subject is mentally active and the subject is thus the topic. The proposition of (61), encoded in the predicate *dilaksanakan*, is new and unpredictable, as it has never been discussed previously. Thus, it is the focus of this sentence.

61. *Survei BPS ini di-laksana-kan pada tanggal 27-29 Mei 2011.*
 survey BPS DEM.this PASS-do-CIRC PREP.in date 27-29 May 2011
 ‘This survey was conducted in 27-29 May 2011’ (Yudhoyono).

To determine the particular type of topic of the subject, I present two sentences which precede (61), shown in (62) and (63). In sentence (62) the word *survei* is introduced to the speech for the first time through an event-reporting sentence in which the subject and its predicate are focused. Thus, (62) is a topic-less construction. In sentence (63), the referent of the NP subject *survei ini* is mentally active and this NP becomes the topic for the sentence. Because *survei* is already introduced to the speech in (61), and is made the topic of (62), it also continues as the topic in (63), *survei* in (63) is thus called a continuing topic within such a context.

62. *Saya telah me-minta BPS untuk me-laku-kan survei*
 1SG PST TR-ask BPS PREP.for TR-do-CIRC survey

tentang apa dan bagaimana rakyat kita
 PREP.about what and how people 1PL.INCL.POSS

me-mandang Pancasila sekarang ini.
 TR-perceive pancasila NP.nowadays

‘I have asked BPS to conduct a survey on what and how our people perceive Pancasila nowadays’ (Yudhoyono).

63. *Survei ini penting sebelum kita*
 survey DEM.this important PREP.before 1PL.INCL

me-mentu-kan kebijakan, strategi, dan cara-cara yang efektif
 TR-decide-CIRC policy strategy and way-PL REL.which effective

dalam me-laksana-kan revitalisasi Pancasila nanti.
 PREP.in TR-do-CIRC revitalization Pancasila later

‘This survey is important before we decide the policies, strategies and effective ways of revitalizing Pancasila in the near future’ (Yudhoyono).

One thing to note is that although (61) and (63) have the same topic, they have different constructions. The former is a passive while the latter is an active construction. Through the ordering of the referent and the proposition in (61), the speaker wants to tell the audience about the survey, and not about the institution that conducts it. It is made passive because the agent is textually known, *BPS*, an official institution that manages statistics, shown in sentence (62). If (61) is to be made active, it might be contextually inappropriate since the conductor of the survey is not important to the speech. Instead, what is needed for such a speech is the survey and its result. Therefore, (61) is passivized. Among the total data of passive type 1 in the independent and main clauses, only six of them show these continuing topics.

The other apparent function of the passive type 1 is to re-establish the topic of the previous sentence to be the topic of the following sentence, not as a continuing topic but as a new topic. The difference between the two topics is the existence of constructions that separate or split the two sentences. The former is not split by another sentence, while the latter is. Hence, a sentence having its subject as a new topic is separated by intervening sentences from the previous sentence containing the same topical subject. This type of topic occurs seven times in the data, including one shown

in (64) below. Here, the NP *Pancasila* is the subject and is referentially active, thus the topic.

64. *Pancasila di-posisi-kan* *sebagai* *alat penguasa*
 pancasila PASS-put-CIRC PREP.as tool ruler

melalui *monopoli pemaknaan.*
 PREP.through monopoly interpretation

‘Pancasila is used by the Government as the ideological apparatus through the monopoly of interpretation’ (Habibie).

To determine what particular type of topic this subject is, the three preceding sentences were checked. I found that *Pancasila* is also the topic of the very first sentence of the three. Contextually, two sentences separated (64) from the first of the three. The NP *Pancasila* is re-established from the previous discourse by a passive type 1 construction. The subject of (64) is thus called new topic.

If, for example, sentence (64) is converted into an active construction, the appropriate agent and subject would be *orde baru*, as in the history of Indonesia only that regime held any hegemony of interpretation. However, *orde baru* would be a brand new referent if applied, and, based on the Topic Acceptability Scale, it cannot be made the topic of the sentence. Moreover, *orde baru* would not be textually related to the topic of the previous sentences. Thus, such an agent is not appropriate as the topic of (64). That is why sentence (64) is passivized.

Another function of type 1 is to make a referent that has been activated in the subordinate clause of a previous sentence the topic of the current sentence. This is called aboutness topic, as shown in example (65). The subject of (65) is the NP *jiwa yang berhasrat merdeka*. The referent of the noun *jiwa* is accessible as it has been mentioned, and thus activated, in the preceding discourse. This *jiwa* is what the proposition encoded in the predicate *tak mungkin dikekang-kekang* talks about. Hence, it is the aboutness topic of (65). On the other hand, the predicate is a new proposition in the sentence; as it has never been mentioned in the context. It is thus focus for such an aboutness topic.

65. *Jiwa yang* *ber-hasrat merdeka* *tak*
 soul REL.which INTR-desire independent NEG.not

mungkin di-kekang-kekang.
 possible PASS-repress-REDUP

‘A soul who wants to obtain independence is impossible to be repressed’
(Megawati).

Contextually, if (65) is converted into an active construction, the agent is textually available, the NP *pemerintah balatentara Jepang*. However, it is made passive. I suggest that it is passivized because the context makes the available agent appropriate to be concealed. There is no point in revealing the agent with regard to the overall content of the preceding and following sentences. Its absence does not affect the coherence of the related sentences.

On the other hand, the aboutness topic is also constructed by making the object or complement of the preceding sentence the topic of the current construction, as shown in (66) below. In this example, the pronominal subject *itu* refers to the object of the previous sentence, which was ‘activities that potentially violate Indonesian law’. The referent of this pronoun is mentally active. Next, the pronoun is given additional information or a new proposition *tidak dibenarkan*, which is lexically encoded in the verbal predicate and acts as the focus for (66). Since pronominal *itu* is what is being talked about by this proposition, it is thus the aboutness topic.

66. *Itu tidak di-benar-kan.*
PRO.that NEG.not PASS-justify-CIRC
‘It cannot be justified’ (Yudhoyono).

If sentence (66) and the remaining examples with the same functions are changed into active constructions, the subjects of them will not be related to the content of the preceding sentences, and not even related to the previous discourse in general. In fact, such changes will probably cause irrelevant sentences to appear. This is why they are passivized. In the data, there are eight examples showing this type of topic. Relative to other functions, it is the most frequent function of the passive type 1 in the three speeches.

Regarding the allosentences (active vs. passive), examples (61), (64), (65) and (66) above are passivized for two major reasons. Firstly, the agent is textually known but the context allows such a sentence to be passivized. Secondly, the agent is not mentioned at all in the speech, thus unidentifiable, for some reason. Hence, if the agent is evoked, it disturbs the coherence of the uttered sequence of sentences. Based on the mentioned examples and the data, I suggest that what matters to the speakers in these speeches is not the agent nor the patient of the verb in the passive above, but the

coherence of discourse itself. How to achieve this coherence depends on the sentence and its context. If a passive construction is available to create coherence, then it will be used. If after the use of a passive, an active construction is thought to create coherence, then it will be used. So, there is no rule of active constructions following active and passive following passive. What matters most in such speeches is discourse coherence.

On the other hand, passive type 1 can also be *non-canonical*, having VS word order, when the verbal predicate is preposed. In this case, I argue that the verbal predicate is part of the focus. There are two examples in the data to support this claim. In the first one, in (67), the preposed prepositional phrase (PP) refers to an accessible referent, as just discussed in the three preceding sentences. Meanwhile, the verbal predicate *diperlukan* and the subject *reaktualisasi* is propositionally new to the speech. The PP is thus topical as it is propositionally connected to the previous sentence. The focus of this example is sentential and the verbal predicate is part of it.

67. *Dengan terjadi-nya perubahan tersebut,*
 PREP.with happening-DEF change PRO.that

di-perlu-kan reaktualisasi nilai-nilai Pancasila.
 PASS-require-CIRC reactuation value-PL Pancasila

‘Because of those changes, it is necessary to re-actualize the values of Pancasila’
 (Habibie).

Another example of a similar construction but without the presence of a PP is example (68). This sentence introduces brand new referents *mistifikasi dan ideologisasi pancasila* and a new proposition which is expressed in the predicate *harus diakui*. There is no discussion of these referents and propositions in the previous context. Because of the absence of any relation with the previous sentence, the speaker in this example is aiming to report what happened in the past, called an event-reporting sentence. Sentence (68) is typically uttered out of the blue and always independent in terms of referential connections with the preceding discourse. Although the subject is present, the topic is absent in this example. The subject is focused and the verbal predicate is also part of a sentential focus.

68. *Harus di-aku-i di masa lalu memang terjadi*
 must PASS-admit-CIRC PREP.in moment past indeed happen

mistifikasi dan ideologisasi pancasila secara sistematis, terstruktur
 mystification and ideology pancasila PREP.in systematic structured

dan massif.
and massive.

‘It must be admitted that mystification of Pancasila as ideology happened systematically, structurally and on a massive scale in the past’ (Habibie).’

To sum up the discussion of passive type 1, there are different functions of this type in the formal variety of Indonesian based on the data from the three speeches. The subject of the passive signals the existence of an aboutness topic, new topic, or continuing topics and if there is preposing in the construction, the verbal predicate is part of the focused constituent.

5.4 Argument Reversal: Identifiable Referents

In passives type 1, sometimes the agent is overtly expressed. In Indonesian, this is indicated by the preposition *oleh* followed by an agent NP. Within the speeches, there are eight sentences of this kind. I argue that in argument reversal, the patient is topical and that the patient and the agent must both be referentially identifiable. Thus it is not allowed for the referent of the agent to be brand new while the referent of the patient is active or accessible, and vice versa. Consider the following example (69) as a first piece of evidence for my claim. In (69), the first argument, the patient, is *kerusakan yang hebat pada kemanusiaan* which is referentially accessible because it has been activated in the previous sentence. The second argument, the agent, is *Bung Karno*, indicated by the preposition *oleh*. The referent of this agent is textually accessible, and the two are both identifiable. In addition, the preposed patient is the topic of (69) as the predicate *pernah disampaikan* and the following expression are new propositions which talk about the patient. Although the predicate contains the accessible referent *Bung Karno*, its proposition contains new units of information because the whole of its meaning cannot be predicted from context.

69. *Kerusakan yang hebat pada kemanusiaan tersebut pernah*
destruction REL.which massive PREP.on humanity DEM.that PST

di-sampai-kan oleh bung Karno sebagai bagian
PASS-convey-CIRC PREP.by ADR Karno as part

dari manusia yang ber-ada di abad 20.
PREP.from human REL.which INTR-live PREP.in century 20

‘The massive destruction of humanity has been presented by Sukarno as being part of life in the 20th century’ (Megawati).

A second piece of evidence in support of this argument is example (70), where the patient *keempat pilar itu* is referentially active, indicated by the presence of the pronoun *itu*. It has been activated in the preceding sentence. The referent of the agent *para founding fathers* is accessible, especially after the mention of *Soekarno* by the speaker. Here the two are both identifiable referents. Like (69), the topic in this example (70) is the patient as the remaining constituent conveys a new proposition that talks about the patient. As in (69), although the predicate of (70) contains an accessible referent, the agent *para founding fathers*, its whole meaning is still unpredictable and thus focused.

70. *Keempat pilar itu sebenarnya telah lama di-pancang-kan*
 four pillar DEM.that actually PST old PASS-anchor-CIRC

ke dalam bumi pertiwi oleh para founding fathers
 PREP.into earth mother PREP.by PL founding fathers

kita di masa lalu.
 IPL.INCL.POSS PREP.in moment past.

‘The fourth pillars has been conceived and implemented in Indonesia by our founding fathers’(Habibie).

5.5 Patient-less Passive

On the other hand, if the agent is mentioned within a sentence and the patient is not expressed, the agent is focused and conveys new information. With the context shown in the form of a question as illustrated in (71) below, the following example (72) shows the evidence for my claim. In (71), the question part *yang seharusnya melaksanakan edukasi dan sosialisasi pancasila* is presupposed, and thus it is the topic of (71). In addition, a topic of this kind is possible to be removed in such a context. The candidate of focus in (71) corresponds to *siapa* ‘who’. Thus, the question (71) fundamentally requires focus in the answer.

71. *Siapa yang seharusnya me-laksana-kan edukasi*
 Q.who REL.which must TR-do-CIRC education

dan sosialisasi Pancasila?
 and socialization Pancasila?

‘Q: who must be responsible for educating and socializing in relation to *Pancasila*?’ (Yudhoyono).

In (72) below, the sentence which answers the question in (71) does not contain what is being questioned at all. The topic is not mentioned again in (72) because it is

contextually inferable. The expression is a totally new unit of information and thus sentential focus. The agent *oleh para guru dan dosen* in (72) is part of the focused constituent.

72. 43% *men-jawab* *sebaiknya di-laksana-kan* *oleh*
43% TR-answer best PASS-do-CIRC PREP.by

para guru dan dosen.
PL teacher and lecturer

‘43% answer that it is best to be done by teachers and lecturers’ (Yudhoyono).

Example (73) is similar to example (72) in having the same context. In (73), along with deletion of the understood topic *yang seharusnya melaksanakan edukasi dan sosialisasi pancasila*, the VP of (73) is also ellipsed, that is, the understood *menjawab*. Sentence (73) conveys a new proposition, as there is no discussion about the content of this sentence whatsoever in the preceding sentences. The sentence is all focused and the agent *tokoh masyarakat* is part of the focused constituent.

73. 28% *oleh* *tokoh masyarakat.*

28% PREP.by figure society

‘28% answer that it is better to be done by prominent figures in society’
(Yudhoyono).

Although there are only a few examples of this patient-less type of passive in my data, they all show that the agent is part of the sentence focus.

5.6 Passive Type 2: Topicalization and Multiple Topics

With regard to passive type 2 construction, I argue that these constructions are pragmatically used as a strategy to topicalize non-subject constituents that are either active or accessible in the discourse. This is the sole function of the passive type 2 with regard to information structure. Passive type 2 is never used as a strategy to show continuing topics, unlike the passive type 1. This conclusion is based on 100% of the data of passive type 2. However, this topicalization strategy does not necessarily mean that the subject will lose its topicality, as we saw occurs in relation to the construction with the pronoun *-nya* and its antecedent in chapter 4. Therefore, multiple topics can occur in passive type 2 constructions. Example (74) below shows that the object in passive type 2 is topicalized, acting as the secondary topic while the subject acts as the primary topic of the sentence. In (74), the preposed NP *hal itu* is the object of the transitive verb *sampaikan* and the subject *Bung Karno* is placed in between them.

74. *Hal itu Bung Karno sampaikan pada acara*
 thing DEM.that ADR karno convey-TR PREP.on event
peringatan ulang tahun Pancasila.
 commemoration NP.Birthday Pancasila

‘That statement was given by *Bung Karno* on the event of commemorating the birthday of *Pancasila*’ (Yudhoyono).

Referentially, the NP *hal itu* refers to the presupposed proposition which was discussed in the preceding sentence, namely, ‘the difficulty of unifying Indonesian people’ that was briefly expressed in Soekarno’s historical statement *sulit sekali saudara-saudara mempersatukan rakyat Indonesia itu jikalau tidak didasarkan atas Pancasila*. The referent of the preposed NP is thus mentally active and topicalized. In addition, the referent of the subject of (74) *Bung Karno* is also accessible. With regard to the proposition *sampaikan*, it is also what is being talked about. It is the aboutness topic of (74). Hence, there are two topics in this example. *Hal itu* is the secondary topic and *Bung Karno* is the primary topic. Quoting Lambrecht (1994:148), “a sentence containing two or more topics, in addition to conveying information about the topic referents, conveys information about the relation that holds between them as arguments in proposition”. Therefore, by the predicate *sampaikan*, we are informed that there are two related referents acting as arguments for it and also acting as the subject and the object of it.

From examination of the data, I found out that it is rare to have two topics in a passive type 2. One of those rare pieces of evidence is shown in (74) above. It seems that there is a particular context where two topics can occur, that is, when there is no semantic modification inserted between the patient and the SV. Such modification can be various such as using a modal to signify suggestion. The passive data mostly show the existence of semantic modification where the constituent after the patient is always the focus, as shown in (75). The example has the object *pendapat dan aspirasi* which is preposed, while the SV, the subject *kita* and the transitive verb *perhatikan* are in sentence final position. The expression *mestilah* is placed between the patient and the SV. *Mestilah* is semantic modification signifying the certainty mood of the speaker.

75. *Pendapat dan aspirasi rakyat seperti itu mesti-lah*
 opinion and aspiration people like DEM.that must-PRT
kita per-hati-kan.
 IPL.INCL TR-pay.attention-CIRC

‘We must pay attention to the people’s opinion and aspiration’ (Yudhoyono).’

The object of (75) is referentially active as mentioned above. The rest of the sentence, *mestilah kita perhatikan*, is a proposition which conveys unpredictable information with regard to the context in which (75) occurs. It provides relevant information about the NP object *pendapat dan aspirasi*. It is thus focused. Since the proposition talks about the referentially active object, the object is the topic of example (75). The speaker wanted to tell the audience that he was concerned with the opinion of the people, which was lexically encoded in the NP patient *pendapat dan aspirasi*, rather than with themselves as the policy makers, lexically encoded in the subject *kita*.

Ditransitive verbs can occur in passive type 2 constructions where the primary object is preposed while the secondary object is postposed, as shown in sentence (76). The VP *jadikan* is ditransitive, with the preposed nominal phrase *penjelasan tersebut* serving as the patient and the primary object and *sebuah pegangan* is the secondary object, which is postposed.

76. *Penjelasan tersebut hendak-lah dapat kita*
explanation DEM.that should-PRT can 1PL.INCL

jadi-kan sebuah pegangan.
make-TR ART.a guidance

‘We should make that explanation a guide’ (Megawati).

The NP object *penjelasan tersebut* refers to the statement *pengakuan yang diberikan justru terletak dalam asas dan pengertiannya, yang tetap sebagai dasar filsafat Negara Republik Indonesia...bukan pada bentuk formilnya* (‘that the very substance of *Pancasila* is not the order of the five values, but it is rather the underlying principle and its philosophical foundations’). Referentially, the object is active, as it has just been discussed in the preceding sentence. In between this object and the SV *kita jadikan*, the sentence is modified with the modal *hendaklah*, signalling that the speaker is making a suggestion to the audience to use the ‘explanation’ as ‘guidance’. The expression *hendaklah kita jadikan sebuah pegangan*, has a proposition that cannot be taken for granted at the moment the sentence is uttered. This expression is the focus of (76). Since the proposition in the expression is talking about the object, the object is the topic. Here, the speaker wants to tell the audience about *penjelasan* and adds relevant information in the form of a suggestion that is significantly placed in the final position of the sentence.

5.7 Summary

To sum up this chapter, it is argued that the passive constructions type 1 and 2 have different functions. This is illustrated in table 8 below.

Table 8. Information Structure of Passive Construction

No	Constructions	Arguments	Constituents
1.	Passive type 1	(1) The patient indicates aboutness topics, continuing topics and new topics. (2) If the predicate is preposed, it is part of the focused constituents	Noun, pronoun, nominal phrase and verbal phrase
2.	Argument reversal (Passive type 1 with the preposition 'oleh')	(1) The preposed argument must not be newer than the postposed argument. The two must be identifiable.	Noun phrase and nominalized clause
3.	Passive type 2	(1) Topicalizing the semantic patient	Noun and nominal phrase

This table shows that in the formal variety of Indonesian, such constructions can be used to show (a) aboutness topics, continuing topics and new topics for type 1; (b) sentence focus structure if the verbal predicate of type 1 is preposed; and (c) topicalizing non-subject elements in the passive type 2. In addition, in argument reversal, in which the agent is explicitly stated, patient and agent must both be mentally identifiable.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

In general, this thesis is an investigation of the relation between form and function in language. Specifically, it is a study of information structure based on the analysis of three written speeches in the formal variety of Indonesian. The study investigates the relationship between units of information conveyed in sentences and their morpho-syntactic constructions, constituents and domains. It deals with topic, focus, topicalization and focalization – key terms in the study of information structure. Data on formal variety of Indonesian is obtained from three political speeches on *Pancasila*, the ideology of Indonesia, delivered by three former Indonesian presidents on June 1 2011, in the Indonesian Parliament House. The three speakers are Baharuddin Jusuf Habibie, the 3rd President, Megawati Soekarno Putri, the 5th President and Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, the 6th President. They were the keynote speakers in the event of commemorating the birth of *Pancasila*. They spoke about *Pancasila* from three different angles, but nevertheless the speeches have one theme in common: they were delivered on the same stage, to the same audience, and during the same event, thus they are related to, and provide context for, each other.

I used Lambrecht's (1994) information structure theory as theoretical framework. In particular, I used the three following concepts for a more comprehensive and better understanding of information structure in the data. Firstly, presupposition and assertion, which relate to the propositions; secondly, identifiability and activation which relate to the referents; and, thirdly, topic and focus which inform the relation between referents and propositions. These three concepts coexist, as in determining the topicality and focality of constituents within sentences, referents and propositions are essential terms in a discussion. In the theory, there are several different topic types, namely, aboutness topic, new topic, continuing topic, contrastive topic, scene-setting topic, primary topic and secondary topic, with the first being the prototypical type. In addition, I have treated three different focus structures and their corresponding syntactic domains. First, argument focus in which the subject is the focus while the predicate is the topic. Second, predicate focus in which the subject is the topic and the predicate the focus. Third, sentence focus where both subject and predicate are focused and the topic may be absent. The three structures represent the three types of foci studied in this thesis.

The discussions within the study are classified under two categories: canonically ordered and non-canonical constructions. The former is represented by 75%

of the data while the latter is 21% only. The former has two word orders: SVO and SV where the VP can be intransitive VP, PP, AdjP and NMLZ while the latter have different word orders in different categories, preposing (VS and OSV) and passive constructions (SV, VS and OSV).

The analysis of information structure in canonically ordered sentences turns out to generate interesting findings. The main argument from Lambrecht (1994) in relation to such constructions is that the subject tends to be topical. This study finds that subjects show a strong tendency to be the topic of the sentences with 54% of the data backing this claim. There are four types of topics in the canonical construction, namely aboutness topic, new topic, contrastive topic and primary topic. In the remaining data, 19%, the subject of the sentence is focused, constituting only 1% of the data. The subject and the predicate are also focused in 11% of the data. In 7% of the data, the scene-setting topic may also precede a focused sentence.

In addition, in canonical constructions with two clauses where the pronoun *-nya* occurs, the antecedent is topicalized as long as it occurs outside the main clause. In this construction the subject of the sentence becomes the primary topic, and the topicalized antecedent becomes the secondary topic. The topicalized constituent along with the dependent clause can also be regarded as a scene-setting topic. Unfortunately, there are not sufficient data with this construction within the three speeches to enable firm conclusions to be drawn. The pronoun *-nya* is used more frequently as a referencing device in which the antecedent is not topicalized because it is already a topical subject.

In non-canonically ordered constructions involving preposing and passive constructions, the analysis of information structure is subtler. With regard to these constructions, the main argument of Lambrecht (1994) is that the subject is not topical if it is indicated by morpho-syntactic, semantic and prosodic clues and by the context. In my data, the subject may be topical but it may not occur in such constructions but in the two major syntactic constructions below.

Firstly, in preposing particular constituents, the NP object and PP are topicalized. Also, preposing serves to focalize VP and AdjP predicates. Moreover, the presentational verb *ada* when used non-canonically presents new information, in which a brand new referent is introduced to the speech for the first time. This places the subject and predicate in focus. In addition, in *yang* constructions, the predicate may be topicalized or focalized, depending on the context, and here, the use of the particle *-lah* does not automatically affect its focal status.

Secondly, passive constructions have different pragmatic functions. In type 1 passives, the patient argument moved to the initial position of the sentence is assigned an aboutness topic, continuing topic or new topic. If the predicate of the passive type 1 is preposed, the transitive VP becomes part of the focused constituent. If the agent argument is mentioned in this passive type, then the patient argument and agent argument must be both identifiable. No argument is allowed to be newer than the other argument. On the other hand, in the passive type 2, the entire patient argument is topicalized. The subject may retain its topicality if there is no modification in between the patient argument and the SV constituents.

At this stage, for the formal variety of Indonesian represented in the scripts of the three speeches, I argue that there is a strong tendency for a relationship to exist between topic and subject in the canonically ordered sentences, between passive type 1 constructions and different types of topic for its subject and between passive type 2 and topicalization. There is, however, no conclusive statement possible in terms of regularity of focalization with regard to non-canonical constructions. On the one hand, it is certain that preposed *ada* is always used for presenting new referents in a presentational sentence. On the other hand, the particle *-lah* even when it is being used as a foregrounding device does not necessarily indicate the attached constituents as being focalized. Finally, in the formal variety of Indonesian, quoting Ward and Birner (2006a:313), the analysis between form and function is summed up as: “the correlation of form and function is not entirely predictable, but as we have shown, it is subject to strong and reliable correlations that hold across a wide range of construction types”.

There are some limitations to this study. The data, from which my arguments are derived, are restricted. First, the data are obtained from the three speeches for which scripts have been already prepared and which the speakers read aloud. The data are not *superficial* (constructed) because each speech is in its communicative context; however, the data is *not naturally occurring*, although it is very likely for the speakers to change the scripts of the speeches on the stage. Second, only part of the formal variety of Indonesian is represented in the data of this study, namely political discourse in three speeches. Impromptu political speeches in the style of Soekarno, the 1st president of Indonesia, or Abdurrahman Wahid, the 4th president, may have different information structure. The same applies to speeches in non-political discourse such as in economics and religious sermons. Therefore, all the arguments and claims within this thesis are limited to the above types of data. They are not (yet) generalizable to different data within the formal variety of Indonesian which is very broad.

For future analyses of information structure in Indonesian, especially of the formal variety, there is a suggestion that comes to my mind. A more robust and comprehensive information structure analysis would be achieved if two types of data, text and audio, would be treated equally and analysed in parallel. Since this thesis only analyzes the scripts, it is suggested that future studies should add analysis of the oral data in order to compare written with oral versions of the speeches. It would be very interesting to discover what kinds of topicalization and focalization devices oral speech uses, how pitch contour compares to the morpho-syntactic markers and word order restructuring. Thus, such a study could present (i) a comprehensive description of information structure in the written and spoken discourse; and (ii) a sketch grammar of formal Indonesian with regard to the ordering of units of information (referent and proposition). Finally, such study would also offer a deeper insight in relation to the following question, “why do speakers of all languages use different grammatical structures under different communicative circumstances to express the same idea?” (Lambrecht, 1994:i).

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Data for the Study

BJ Habibie Script and Video

<http://habibiecenter.or.id/detilurl/id/117//Pidato.BJ.Habibie.Dalam.Peringatan.Hari.Lahir.Pancasila>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WTkg5AFdsFU>

Megawati Soekarnoputri Script and Video

<https://www.scribd.com/doc/121805269/Pidato-Mantan-Presiden-Megawati-Soekarnoputri-Dalam-Rangka-Peringatan-Hari-Lahirnya-Pancasila-1-Juni-2011-download>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KwngPoEwgcg>

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono Script and Video

<https://www.presidentri.go.id/index.php/pidato/2011/06/01/1645.html>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T3Mo25f3c7w>

Indonesian language statistics

<https://www.ethnologue.com/statistics/country>.

<https://www.ethnologue.com/statistics/size>.

Appendices

Transcripts of the Three Speeches
(supplemented in the brackets with the spoken versions as recorded in the videos)

Appendix 1: Transcript of Baharuddin Jusuf Habibie's Speech

(Bismillahirrahmanirrahim).

Assalamualaikum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh.

Salam sejahtera untuk kita semua.

Yang terhormat Presiden Republik Indonesia, Bapak Dr Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (bersama Ibu).

Yang terhormat Presiden Republik Indonesia yang ke-5, Ibu Megawati Soekarnoputri.

Yang terhormat (Wakil Presiden dan) Para Mantan Wakil Presiden.

Yang terhormat Pimpinan MPR dan Lembaga Tinggi Negara lainnya.

Bapak-bapak dan Ibu-ibu para anggota MPR yang saya hormati, serta seluruh rakyat Indonesia yang saya cintai.

Hari ini, tanggal 1 Juni 2011, enam puluh enam tahun lalu, tepatnya 1 Juni 1945, di depan sidang Badan Penyelidik Usaha-usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia (BPUPKI), Bung Karno menyampaikan pandangannya tentang fondasi dasar Indonesia Merdeka yang beliau sebut dengan istilah Pancasila sebagai *philosophische grondslag* (Bahasa Belanda itu) -dasar filosofi-, atau sebagai *weltanschauung* (Bahasa Jerman itu) -pandangan hidup- bagi Indonesia Merdeka. Selama enam puluh enam tahun perjalanan bangsa, Pancasila telah mengalami berbagai batu ujian dan dinamika sejarah sistem politik, sejak jaman demokrasi parlementer, era demokrasi terpimpin, era demokrasi Pancasila hingga demokrasi multipartai di era reformasi saat ini. Di setiap jaman, Pancasila harus melewati alur dialektika peradaban yang menguji ketangguhannya sebagai dasar filosofis bangsa Indonesia yang terus berkembang dan tak pernah berhenti di satu titik terminal sejarah.

Sejak 1998, kita memasuki era reformasi. Di satu sisi, kita menyambut gembira munculnya fajar reformasi yang diikuti gelombang demokratisasi di berbagai bidang. Namun, bersamaan dengan kemajuan kehidupan demokrasi tersebut, ada sebuah pertanyaan mendasar yang perlu kita renungkan bersama: Dimanakah Pancasila kini berada? Pertanyaan ini penting dikemukakan. Karena sejak reformasi 1998, Pancasila seolah-olah tenggelam dalam pusaran sejarah masa lalu, yang tak lagi relevan untuk disertakan dalam dialektika reformasi. Pancasila seolah hilang dari memori kolektif bangsa. Pancasila semakin jarang diucapkan, dikutip, dibahas dan apalagi diterapkan baik dalam konteks kehidupan ketatanegaraan, kebangsaan maupun kemasyarakatan. Pancasila seperti tersandar di sebuah lorong sunyi justru di tengah denyut kehidupan bangsa Indonesia yang semakin hiruk-pikuk dengan demokrasi dan kebebasan berpolitik.

Mengapa hal itu terjadi? Mengapa seolah kita melupakan Pancasila?

Para hadirin yang berbahagia.

Ada sejumlah penjelasan, mengapa Pancasila seolah lenyap dari kehidupan kita. Pertama, situasi dan lingkungan kehidupan bangsa yang telah berubah baik di tingkat domestik, regional maupun global. Situasi dan lingkungan kehidupan bangsa pada tahun 1945, enam puluh enam tahun yang lalu, telah mengalami perubahan yang amat nyata

pada saat ini, dan akan terus berubah pada masa yang akan datang. Beberapa perubahan yang kita alami antara lain: (1) terjadinya proses globalisasi dalam segala aspeknya (2) perkembangan gagasan hak asasi manusia (HAM) yang tidak diimbangi dengan kewajiban asasi manusia (KAM); (3) lonjakan pemanfaatan teknologi informasi oleh masyarakat, di mana informasi menjadi kekuatan yang amat berpengaruh dalam berbagai aspek kehidupan, tapi juga yang rentan terhadap manipulasi informasi dengan segala dampaknya. Ketiga perubahan tersebut telah mendorong terjadinya pergeseran nilai yang dialami bangsa Indonesia, sebagaimana terlihat dalam pola hidup masyarakat pada umumnya, termasuk dalam corak perilaku kehidupan politik dan ekonomi yang terjadi saat ini. Dengan terjadinya perubahan tersebut, diperlukan reaktualisasi nilai-nilai Pancasila agar dapat dijadikan acuan bagi bangsa Indonesia dalam menjawab berbagai persoalan yang dihadapi pada saat ini dan yang akan datang, baik persoalan yang datang dari dalam maupun dari luar. Keblumbersome kita melakukan reaktualisasi nilai-nilai Pancasila tersebut menyebabkan keterasingan Pancasila dari kehidupan nyata bangsa Indonesia. Kedua, terjadinya euphoria reformasi sebagai akibat dari traumatisnya masyarakat terhadap penyalahgunaan kekuasaan di masa lalu yang mengatasnamakan Pancasila. Semangat generasi reformasi untuk menanggalkan segala hal yang dipahaminya sebagai bagian dari masa lalu dan menggantinya dengan sesuatu yang baru, berimplikasi pada munculnya amnesia nasional (audiens bertepuk tangan, berhenti sebentar, lalu pidato dilanjutkan) tentang pentingnya kehadiran Pancasila sebagai *grundnorm* (itu bahasa Jerman) -norma dasar-, yang mampu menjadi payung kebangsaan yang menaungi seluruh warga yang beragam suku bangsa, adat istiadat, budaya, bahasa, agama dan afiliasi politik. Memang, secara formal, Pancasila diakui sebagai dasar negara, tetapi tidak dijadikan pilar dalam membangun bangsa yang penuh problematika saat ini.

Sebagai ilustrasi misalnya, penolakan terhadap segala hal yang berhubungan dengan Orde Baru, menjadi penyebab mengapa Pancasila kini absen dalam kehidupan berbangsa dan bernegara. Harus diakui di masa lalu memang terjadi mistifikasi dan ideologisasi Pancasila secara sistematis, terstruktur dan massif yang tidak jarang kemudian menjadi senjata ideologis untuk mengelompokkan mereka yang tak sepaham dengan pemerintah sebagai tidak Pancasilais atau anti Pancasila. Pancasila diposisikan sebagai alat penguasa melalui monopoli pemaknaan dan penafsiran Pancasila yang digunakan untuk kepentingan melanggengkan kekuasaan. (audiens bertepuk tangan, pidato berhenti sejenak). Akibatnya, ketika terjadi pergantian rezim di era reformasi, muncullah demistifikasi dan dekonsepsi Pancasila yang dianggapnya sebagai simbol, sebagai ikon dan instrumen politik rezim sebelumnya. Pancasila ikut dipersalahkan karena dianggap menjadi ornamen sistem politik yang represif dan bersifat monolitik sehingga membekas sebagai trauma sejarah yang harus dilupakan.

Pengaitan Pancasila dengan sebuah rezim pemerintahan tertentu, menurut saya merupakan kesalahan mendasar. Pancasila bukan milik sebuah era atau ornamen kekuasaan pemerintahan pada masa tertentu. Pancasila bukan representasi sekelompok orang, golongan atau orde tertentu. Pancasila adalah dasar negara yang akan menjadi pilar penyangga bangunan arsitektural yang bernama Indonesia. Sepanjang Indonesia masih ada, Pancasila akan menyertai perjalanannya. Rezim pemerintahan akan berganti setiap waktu dan akan pergi menjadi masa lalu, akan tetapi, dasar negara akan tetap ada dan tak akan menyertai kepergian sebuah era pemerintahan.

Para hadirin yang berbahagia.

Pada refleksi Pancasila 1 Juni 2011 saat ini, saya ingin menggarisbawahi apa yang sudah dikemukakan banyak kalangan. Yakni perlunya kita melakukan

reaktualisasi, restorasi atau revitalisasi nilai-nilai Pancasila dalam kehidupan berbangsa dan bernegara, terutama dalam rangka menghadapi berbagai permasalahan bangsa masa kini dan masa datang. Problema kebangsaan yang kita hadapi semakin kompleks, baik dalam skala nasional, regional maupun global, memerlukan solusi yang tepat, terencana dan terarah dengan menjadikan nilai-nilai Pancasila sebagai pemandu arah menuju hari esok Indonesia yang lebih baik. Oleh karena Pancasila (itu) tak terkait dengan sebuah era pemerintahan, termasuk Orde Lama, Orde Baru dan orde manapun, maka Pancasila seharusnya terus menerus diaktualisasikan dan menjadi jati diri bangsa yang akan mengilhami setiap perilaku kebangsaan dan kenegaraan, dari waktu ke waktu. Tanpa aktualisasi nilai-nilai dasar negara, kita akan kehilangan arah perjalanan bangsa dalam memasuki era globalisasi di berbagai bidang yang kian kompleks dan rumit. Reformasi dan demokratisasi di segala bidang akan menemukan arah yang tepat manakala kita menghidupkan kembali nilai-nilai Pancasila dalam praksis kehidupan berbangsa dan bernegara yang penuh toleransi di tengah keberagaman bangsa yang majemuk ini. Reaktualisasi Pancasila semakin menemukan relevansi di tengah menguatnya paham radikalisme, fanatisme kelompok dan kekerasan yang mengatasnamakan agama yang kembali marak beberapa waktu terakhir ini. Saat infrastruktur demokrasi terus dikonsolidasikan, sikap intoleransi dan kecenderungan mempergunakan kekerasan dalam menyelesaikan perbedaan, apalagi mengatasnamakan agama, menjadi kontraproduktif bagi perjalanan bangsa yang multikultural ini. Fenomena fanatisme kelompok, penolakan terhadap kemajemukan dan tindakan teror kekerasan tersebut menunjukkan bahwa obsesi membangun budaya demokrasi yang beradab, etis dan eksotis serta menjunjung tinggi keberagaman dan menghargai perbedaan masih jauh dari kenyataan. Krisis ini terjadi karena luruhnya kesadaran akan keragaman dan hilangnya ruang publik sebagai ajang negosiasi dan ruang pertukaran komunikasi bersama atas dasar solidaritas warganegara. Demokrasi kemudian hanya menjadi jalur antara bagi hadirnya pengukuhan egoisme kelompok dan partisipasi politik atas nama pengedepanan politik komunal dan pengabaian terhadap hak-hak sipil warganegara serta pelecehan terhadap supremasi hukum. Dalam perspektif itulah, reaktualisasi Pancasila diperlukan untuk memperkuat paham kebangsaan kita yang majemuk dan memberi jawaban atas sebuah pertanyaan: akan dibawa ke mana biduk peradaban bangsa ini berlayar di tengah lautan zaman yang penuh tantangan dan ketidakpastian? Untuk menjawab pertanyaan itu, kita perlu menyegarkan kembali pemahaman kita terhadap Pancasila. Dan dalam waktu yang bersamaan, kita melepaskan Pancasila dari stigma lama yang penuh mistis bahwa Pancasila itu sakti, keramat dan sakral, yang justru membuatnya teralienasi dari keseharian hidup warga dalam berbangsa dan bernegara. Sebagai suatu tata nilai luhur, *noble values*, Pancasila perlu diaktualisasikan dalam tataran praksis yang lebih membumi sehingga mudah diimplementasikan dalam berbagai bidang kehidupan.

Para hadirin yang berbahagia.

Sebagai ilustrasi, contoh, kalau sila ke-5 Pancasila mengamanatkan terpenuhinya "keadilan sosial bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia", bagaimana implementasinya pada kehidupan ekonomi yang sudah mengglobal sekarang ini? Kita tahu fenomena globalisasi mempunyai berbagai bentuk, tergantung pada pandangan dan sikap suatu negara dalam merespon fenomena tersebut. Salah satu manifestasi globalisasi dalam bidang ekonomi, misalnya, adalah pengalihan kekayaan suatu Negara ke Negara lain, yang setelah diolah dengan nilai tambah yang tinggi, kemudian menjual produk-produk ke mancanegara, sedemikian rupa sehingga rakyat harus "membeli jam kerja" bangsa lain. Ini adalah penjajahan dalam bentuk baru, neo-colonialism. Atau dalam pengertian sejarah kita, suatu VOC (adalah singkatan bahasa Belanda) -Verenigde Oostindische Companie- dengan baju baru. Implementasi sila ke-5 untuk menghadapi

globalisasi dalam makna neo-colonialism atau "VOC-baju baru" itu adalah bagaimana kita memperhatikan dan memperjuangkan "jam kerja" bagi rakyat Indonesia sendiri, dengan cara meningkatkan kesempatan kerja melalui berbagai kebijakan dan strategi yang berorientasi pada kepentingan dan kesejahteraan rakyat. Sejalan dengan usaha meningkatkan "Neraca Jam Kerja" tersebut, kita juga harus mampu meningkatkan "nilai tambah" berbagai produk kita agar menjadi lebih tinggi dari "biaya tambah". Dengan ungkapan lain, *value added* harus lebih besar dari *added cost*. Hal itu dapat dicapai dengan peningkatan produktivitas, daya saing dan lapangan kerja untuk sumberdaya manusia di Indonesia dengan mengembangkan serta menerapkan ilmu pengetahuan dan teknologi yang didorong oleh kebutuhan pasar global dan pasar domestik. Pasar domestik nasional harus, saya garis bawahi, harus menjadi pendorong utama.

Dalam forum yang terhormat ini, saya mengajak kepada seluruh lapisan masyarakat, khususnya para tokoh dan cendekiawan di kampus-kampus serta di lembaga-lembaga kajian lain untuk secara serius merumuskan implementasi nilai-nilai Pancasila yang terkandung dalam lima silanya dalam berbagai aspek kehidupan bangsa dalam konteks masa kini dan masa depan. Yang juga tidak kalah penting adalah peran para penyelenggara Negara dan pemerintahan untuk secara cerdas dan konsekuen serta konsisten menjabarkan implementasi nilai-nilai Pancasila tersebut dalam berbagai kebijakan yang dirumuskan dan program yang dilaksanakan. Hanya dengan cara demikian sajalah, Pancasila sebagai dasar Negara dan sebagai pandangan hidup akan dapat 'diaktualisasikan' dalam kehidupan kita. Memang, reaktualisasi Pancasila juga mencakup upaya yang serius dari seluruh komponen bangsa untuk menjadikan Pancasila sebagai sebuah visi yang menuntun perjalanan bangsa di masa datang sehingga memposisikan Pancasila sebagai solusi atas berbagai macam persoalan bangsa. Melalui reaktualisasi Pancasila, dasar negara itu akan ditempatkan dalam kesadaran baru, semangat baru dan paradigma baru dalam dinamika perubahan sosial politik masyarakat Indonesia.

Para hadirin yang saya hormati.

Oleh karena itu, saya menyambut gembira upaya Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat yang akhir-akhir ini gencar menyosialisasikan kembali empat pilar kebangsaan yang fundamental: Pancasila, UUD 1945, Bhinneka Tunggal Ika dan Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia (NKRI). Keempat pilar itu sebenarnya telah lama dipancangkan ke dalam bumi pertiwi oleh para founding father kita di masa lalu. Akan tetapi, karena jaman terus berubah yang kadang berdampak pada terjadinya diskontinuitas memori sejarah, maka menyegarkan kembali empat pilar tersebut, sangat relevan dengan problematika bangsa saat ini. Sejalan dengan itu, upaya penyegaran kembali juga perlu dilengkapi dengan upaya mengaktualisasikan kembali nilai-nilai yang terkandung dalam keempat pilar kebangsaan tersebut. Marilah kita jadikan momentum untuk memperkuat empat pilar kebangsaan itu melalui aktualisasi nilai-nilai Pancasila sebagai *weltanschauung*, yang dapat menjadi fondasi, perekat sekaligus payung kehidupan berbangsa dan bernegara.

Dengan membumikan nilai-nilai Pancasila dalam keseharian kita, seperti nilai ketuhanan, nilai kemanusiaan, nilai persatuan, nilai permusyawaratan dan keadilan sosial, saya yakin bangsa ini akan dapat meraih kejayaan di masa depan. Nilai-nilai itu harus diinternalisasikan dalam sanubari bangsa sehingga Pancasila hidup dan berkembang di seluruh pelosok nusantara. Aktualisasi nilai-nilai Pancasila harus menjadi gerakan nasional yang terencana dengan baik sehingga tidak menjadi slogan politik yang tidak ada implementasinya. Saya yakin, meskipun kita berbeda suku, agama, adat istiadat dan afiliasi politik, kalau kita mau bekerja keras, kita akan menjadi

bangsa besar yang kuat dan maju di masa yang akan datang. Melalui gerakan nasional reaktualisasi nilai-nilai Pancasila, bukan saja akan menghidupkan kembali memori publik tentang dasar negaranya tetapi juga akan menjadi inspirasi bagi para penyelenggara negara di tingkat pusat sampai di daerah dalam menjalankan roda pemerintahan yang telah diamanahkan rakyat melalui proses pemilihan langsung yang demokratis.

Saya percaya demokratisasi yang saat ini sedang bergulir dan proses reformasi di berbagai bidang yang sedang berlangsung akan lebih terarah manakala nilai-nilai Pancasila diaktualisasikan dalam kehidupan berbangsa dan bernegara.

Demikian yang bisa saya sampaikan.

Terima kasih atas perhatiannya.

(Selamat Berjuang!)

Wassalamualaikum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh.

Appendix 2: Transcript of Megawati Soekarno Putri's Speech

Assalamualaikum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh.
Salam Sejahtera untuk kita semua.

(Perkenankanlah saya menyampaikan salam nasional Indonesia.)
(Merdeka!!!)

Puji syukur kehadiran Allah *subhanahu wata'ala* atas segala rahmat dan hidayah-Nya sehingga pada hari ini, kita dapat berkumpul di gedung Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Republik Indonesia guna memperingati 66 Tahun Pidato Bung Karno di depan sidang Badan Penyelidik Usaha-Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia atau yang disingkat BPUPKI pada 1 Juni 1945 atau yang telah kita kenal sebagai hari lahirnya Pancasila.

Peringatan ini sungguh menggembirakan bagi saya, bukan hanya dalam kapasitas sebagai Presiden Republik Indonesia kelima, ataupun sebagai Ketua Umum Dewan Pimpinan Pusat Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan, namun juga, sebagai seorang warga bangsa, yang mencintai negeri ini. Mengapa? Karena di tengah-tengah krisis ideologi yang melanda bangsa ini, dan di tengah kegamangan kita melihat masa depan, Pancasila kembali menghadirkan diri sebagai pelita besar bagi kita semua dan sebagai perekat bangsa. Sebagai salah satu bukti, bahwa Pancasila mampu tetap menjadi perekat bangsa, yaitu suatu pergantian kekuasaan, pada periode 1998 – 2004, telah terjadi 4 kali pergantian kepemimpinan nasional, tetapi Bangsa Indonesia tetap masih bersatu. Sama halnya dengan apa yang terjadi masa-masa pada krisis yang lalu, Pancasila hadir sebagai solusi kebangsaan.

Saudara-saudara sebangsa dan setanah air.

Berbicara tentang Pancasila, tidak bisa tidak, kita mesti berbicara tentang Bung Karno, bukan karena beliau Bapak saya, tetapi justru sebagai penggali Pancasila dan sekaligus sebagai Proklamator Bangsa. Karena itulah, dengan penuh kerendahan hati, saya ingin mengajak setiap warga bangsa, terutama para pemimpin bangsa untuk mengkontemplasikan rentang panjang benang merah alur pikiran Bung Karno melalui suatu perjuangan yang dilakukan oleh Beliau sejak masih muda, termasuk ketika dipenjara dan dibuang ke pengasingan. Dialektika perjuangan politik dan pemikiran ideologis Bung Karno telah muncul sejak berusia 15 tahun ketika bersekolah di HBS Surabaya dan tinggal di rumah tokoh pergerakan nasional, HOS Tjokroaminoto. Eksistensi Beliau sebagai pemikir pejuang dan pejuang pemikir tidak pernah berhenti, meskipun telah berulang kali dibuang, keluar masuk penjara sebagai tahanan politik Pemerintah Belanda. Antara lain di penjara Banceuy, penjara Sukamiskin, Bandung (pada tahun) 1929-1931; (dibuang) ke Ende Flores (pada tahun) 1934-1938; (lalu ketika setelah merdeka, dibuang, sebelum merdeka dibuang) ke Bengkulu (tahun) 1938-1942; dan setelah kemerdekaan, (dibuang lagi) ke Berastagi dan Prapat Sumatera Utara (tahun) 1948; (lalu) ke Mentok, Bangka 1949 bersama para tokoh pejuang bangsa lainnya. Hal-hal seperti ini sudah lama tentunya tidak kita dengar, sebagai salah satu warga bangsa maupun bangsa Indonesia).

Saudara-saudara sekalian sebangsa dan setanah air.

Perjuangan panjang disertai pemikiran yang berakar dari sanubarinya rakyat Indonesia bukan datang begitu saja. Tetapi seperti yang saya katakan sebelumnya, maka gagasan dari sebuah bangsa merdeka dan bagaimana kehendak menjadikan sebuah bangsa itu menjadi kenyataan untuk merdeka, telah lama dipikirkan oleh Bung Karno. Hal ini nampak, ketika Bung Karno menyampaikan pledoinya yang sangat legendaris di pengadilan pemerintah kolonial, yang dikenal dengan Indonesia Menggugat. Dengan demikian, menarik benang merah dari keseluruhan gagasan pikiran-pikiran Bung Karno, sangatlah penting dan merupakan keharusan bahwa Pancasila itu, tidak bisa dilepaskan dalam kesejarahan dengan Bung Karno. Penegasan ini diperlukan untuk menghindarkan bangsa ini dari cara berpikir instan, bahkan seolah-olah mengandaikan Pancasila sebagai produk sekali jadi, yang jauh dari proses perenungan dan steril dari dialektika sejarah panjang masyarakat Indonesia. Hal lain yang sangat penting, guna menghindarkan keraguan sebagian pimpinan bangsa yang masih tetap menempatkan Beliau di sudut gelap, dan abu-abu dari sejarah bangsanya sendiri, sehingga akibatnya membuat sosok Bung Karno terasa asing di hadapan sebagian warga bangsanya sendiri.

Saudara-saudara sebangsa dan setanah air.

Sebagaimana telah kita ketahui bahwa pada tanggal 29 Mei sampai dengan 1 Juni 1945, BPUPKI telah melaksanakan sidang yang pertama kalinya, dengan agenda membahas tentang Beginsel atau dasar dari sebuah Negara Indonesia Merdeka yang hendak didirikan. Marilah kita mencoba merenungkan, dengan bertanya, mengapa Bung Karno dapat menguraikan dasar Indonesia Merdeka tersebut secara lisan dengan baik dan lancar? Hal ini sesuai dengan kesaksian Dr. Radjiman Wedyodiningrat, Ketua BPUPKI dalam Kata Pengantar buku “Lahirnya Pancasila” tahun 1947. Saya petik “Buku lahirnya Pancasila ini adalah buah stenografisch verslag dari Pidato Bung Karno yang diucapkan dengan tidak tertulis dahulu dalam sidang pertama pada tanggal 1 Juni 1945 ketika sidang membicarakan apa yang akan menjadi Dasar Negara kita sebagai penjelmaan dari angan-angannya”. Sudah barang tentu, kalimat-kalimat sesuatu pidato yang tidak tertulis dahulu, kurang sempurna tersusunnya. Tetapi yang paling penting ialah isinya. Bila kita pelajari dan selidiki sungguh-sungguh lahirnya Pancasila, ternyata ini adalah suatu Demokratisch Beginsel. Suatu Beginsel yang menjadi dasar Negara kita, yang menjadi dasar hukum ideologi negara kita. Suatu Beginsel yang meresap dan berurat berakar dalam jiwa Bung Karno, dan yang telah keluar dari jiwanya secara spontan, meskipun kalau kita imajinasikan, sidang pada waktu itu tidak terbayangkan di bawah ancaman yang keras dari Pemerintah bala tentara Jepang. Memang, jiwa yang berhasrat merdeka, tak mungkin dikekang-kekang.

Saudara-saudara sekalian sebangsa dan setanah air.

Mari kita dengar pula pendapat Prof. Mr. Drs. Notonagoro, Guru Besar Universitas Gajah Mada pada saat Pidato pemberian gelar Doktor Honoris Causa kepada Bung Karno. (Beliau supaya diketahui mempunyai gelar doctor honoris causa sebanyak 23 buah, mendapatkan tanda jasa dari 2 paus, 2 paus. Bayangkan 2 paus untuk kerja beliau bagi kemanusiaan. Tidak pernah dicabut suatu gelar yang sangat istimewa dari Nahdlatul Ulama. Silahkan nanti tanya kepada Nahdlatul Ulama, apakah gelar tersebut sudah dicabut buat beliau). Tanggal 19 September 1951 di Yogyakarta, beliau mengatakan, bahwa pengakuan terhadap Bung Karno sebagai Pencipta Pancasila dan 1 Juni 1945 sebagai Hari Lahirnya Pancasila bukan terletak pada urutan sila Pancasila yang berbeda dengan urutan sila Pancasila sebagaimana terdapat dalam alinea ke-4 Pembukaan UUD 1945. Pengakuan yang diberikan justru terletak dalam asas dan pengertiannya, yang tetap sebagai dasar filsafat Negara Republik Indonesia. Bukan pada

bentuk formilnya, akan tetapi sifat materiil yang dimaksudkannya. Penjelasan tersebut hendaknya dapat kita jadikan sebuah pegangan. Bahwa peringatan Hari Lahir Pancasila ini bukannya untuk merubah sila-sila Pancasila yang termaktub dalam Pembukaan UUD 1945, yang telah kita sepakati dengan final sebagai Konstitusi Negara Indonesia, tetapi justru untuk memberikan makna filosofis akan sifat materiil dari Pancasila itu sendiri.

Saudara-saudaraku sebangsa dan setanah air.

Penerimaan atas pidato 1 Juni 1945 oleh keseluruhan anggota BPUPKI sangat mudah dimengerti mengapa Pancasila diterima secara aklamasi. Hal ini bukan saja karena intisari dari substansi yang dirumuskan Bung Karno memiliki akar yang kuat dalam sejarah panjang Indonesia, tapi nilai-nilai yang melekat di dalamnya melewati sekat-sekat subyektivitas dari sebuah peradaban dan waktu. Oleh karenanya, Pancasila dengan spirit kelahirannya pada tanggal 1 Juni 1945, bukan sebatas konsep ideologis, tetapi ia sekaligus menjadi sebuah konsep etis. Contoh pesan etis ini terlihat jelas. Dalam suatu contoh, dalam pelantikan Menteri Agama, tanggal 2 Maret 1962, Bung Karno memberikan wejangan pada KH. Saifuddin Zuhri yang menggantikan pada waktu itu KH. Wahib Wahab sebagai Menteri agama. Kutipannya "Saudara adalah bukan saja tokoh dari masyarakat agama Islam, tetapi saudara adalah pula tokoh dari bangsa Indonesia seluruhnya". Pesan etis ini menjadi sangat penting guna mengakhiri dikotomi Nasionalisme dan Islam yang telah berjalan lama dalam politik Indonesia. Demikian juga, Pancasila pernah disalahtafsirkan semata-mata sebagai suatu konsep politik dalam kerangka membangun persatuan nasional. Padahal, persatuan nasional yang dimaksudkan oleh Bung Karno adalah untuk menghadapi kapitalisme dan imperialisme sebagai penyebab dari "kerusakan yang hebat pada kemanusiaan". Saya berharap, memang tidak mungkin pada pidato ini yang sangat singkat, untuk menjelaskan pikiran pikiran beliau yang begitu baik dan begitu banyak. Kerusakan yang hebat pada kemanusiaan tersebut pernah disampaikan oleh Bung Karno sebagai bagian dari manusia yang berada di abad 20. Beliau hidup di abad 20, kita sekarang di abad 21. Bayangkan, kini yang berada di abad 21 dan terbukti. Bahwa apa yang diprediksikan ternyata sangat visioner dan jauh kedepan, kini menjadi kebenaran dan fakta sejarah. (Silahkan saudara-saudara baca kupasan Kompas tanggal 23 Mei dan 25 Mei 2011).

Saudara-saudara sebangsa dan setanah air.

Dari sinilah kita mengerti, dalam suatu alur pikir Bung Karno yang termaktub di dalam yang disebut Trisakti, pidato trisakti (1964), yang digagas melalui perjuangan untuk mewujudkan Indonesia yang berdaulat di bidang politik, berdiri di atas kaki sendiri di bidang ekonomi, dan berkepribadian dalam bidang kebudayaan. Pertanyaannya, Apakah cita-cita di atas terlampau naif untuk dapat dicapai bangsa ini? Apakah kita tidak boleh bercita-cita seperti itu? Salahkah jika sebagai bangsa memiliki cita-cita agar dapat berdaulat secara politik? Saya merasa pasti dan dengan tegas kalau kita bisa bersuara lantang akan mengatakan bahwa kita semua akan menyatakan tidak. Bukankah sekarang kita merasakan ada kebenarannya, bahwa dalam mencukupi kebutuhan pangan antara lain energi, dan didalam melindungi segenap bangsa dan seluruh tumpah darah Indonesia, kita merasa tidak lagi berdaulat sepenuhnya. Karena itulah, hal yang lebih penting melalui peringatan Pancasila 1 Juni ini, bukanlah terletak pada acara seremoni belaka, tetapi kita letakkan pada hikmah dan manfaat bagi bangsa ke depan untuk menghadapi berbagai tantangan jaman yang kian hari semakin kompleks. Bagi saya, peringatan kali ini, mestinya merupakan suatu jalan baru, jalan ideologis, untuk mempertegas bahwa tidak ada bangsa besar jika tidak bertumpu pada suatu ideologi yang mengakar dari nurani rakyatnya. Mari kita bisa memberikan contoh

negara seperti Jepang, Jerman, Amerika, Inggris, dan Republik Rakyat Tiongkok, sekarang ini menemukan kekokohnya pada fondasi ideologi yang mengakar kuat dalam budaya masyarakatnya. Sebab ideologi menjadi alasan, sekaligus penuntun arah sebuah bangsa dalam meraih kebesarannya. Ideologilah yang menjadi motif sekaligus penjaga harapan bagi rakyatnya. Memudarnya Pancasila di mata dan hati sanubari rakyatnya sendiri, telah berakibat jelas, yakni negeri ini kehilangan orientasi, jati diri, dan harapan. Tanpa harapan, negeri ini akan sulit menjadi bangsa yang besar karena harapan adalah salah satu kekuatan yang mampu memelihara daya juang sebuah bangsa. Harapan yang dibangun dari sebuah ideologi akan mempunyai kekuatan yang maha dahsyat bagi sebuah bangsa dan harapan merupakan pelita besar dalam jati diri bangsa.

Guna menjawab harapan di atas, masih banyak pekerjaan rumah yang harus kita selesaikan. Sebab Pancasila akan dinilai, ditimbang, dan menemukan jalan kebesarannya melalui jejak-jejak tapak perjuangannya sendiri. Perjuangan setiap pemimpin dan rakyat Indonesia sendiri. Perjuangan agar Pancasila bukan saja menjadi bintang penunjuk, tetapi menjadi kenyataan yang membumi. Tanpa itu, kita akan terus membincangkan Pancasila, tetapi tidak mampu membumikannya dan melaksanakannya hingga akhirnya kita terlelap dalam pelukan Neo-kapitalisme dan Neo-imperialisme, serta terbangunnya Fundamentalisme yang saat ini menjadi ancaman besar bagi bangsa dan negara kita. Demikian pula, Pancasila tidak akan pernah mencapai fase penerimaan sempurna, secara sosial, politik, dan budaya oleh rakyatnya, justru ketika alur benang merah sejarah bangsa dalam perjalanan Pancasila dilupakan oleh bangsanya, dan dipisahkan terus dengan penggalinya sendiri.

Inilah salah satu tugas sejarah yang harus segera diselesaikan. Demikian pula halnya dengan persoalan sumber rujukan. Ketika kita menyatakan Pancasila menjadi sumber dari segala sumber hukum Negara kita, pertanyaan yang menohok bagi kita adalah, ketika para penyelenggara negara dan pembuat Undang-undang harus merujuk, dokumen apakah yang bisa digunakan oleh mereka sebagai referensi tentang Pancasila? Pancasila yang bukan terus diperbincangkan, tetapi referensi Pancasila yang membumi. Pertanyaan tersebut sangat-sangat sederhana, tetapi saya berkeyakinan, dalam kurun 13 tahun alam reformasi ini, menunjukkan kealpaan kita semua terhadap dokumen penting sebagai rujukan Pancasila dalam proses ketatanegaraan kita. Bukan Pancasila yang harus diperbincangkan, tetapi referensi Pancasila yang membumi yang kita butuhkan.

Saudara-saudaraku sebangsa dan setanah air.

Pada kesempatan ini, saya ingin memberikan apresiasi kepada lembaga Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Republik Indonesia (MPR RI) yang telah bersusah payah dalam memproses di dalam mensosialisasikan Empat Pilar Kehidupan Berbangsa dan Bernegara, yaitu sosialisasi Pancasila sebagai dasar dan ideologi Negara, UUD Negara Republik Indonesia tahun 1945 sebagai Konstitusi Republik Indonesia, Negara Kesatuan Republik Indonesia sebagai bentuk final Negara, dan Bhinneka Tunggal Ika sebagai sistem sosial bangsa Indonesia. Saya menghimbau kepada segenap bangsa Indonesia, hendaknya tugas mulia sosialisasi dan institusionalisasi Empat Pilar Kehidupan Berbangsa dan Bernegara tersebut, tidak hanya menjadi tanggung jawab Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Republik Indonesia (MPR RI), tetapi juga menjadi tanggung jawab lembaga-lembaga Negara lainnya, baik di tingkat pusat maupun daerah dan juga dilakukan oleh segenap komponen bangsa. Khusus kepada lembaga-lembaga negara yang bertanggung jawab pada penyelenggaraan sistem pendidikan nasional, untuk dapat memastikan kembali agar mata pelajaran ideologi Pancasila beserta

penggalinya dapat diajarkan dengan baik dan benar, mengikuti benang merah sejarah bangsa di setiap jenjang pendidikan anak didik kita.

Saudara-saudara sekalian sebangsa setanah air.

Sebelum mengakhiri pidato ini, saya ingin menyampaikan kembali sedikit cuplikan lagu yang begitu indah, yang disampaikan oleh almarhum Franky Sahilatua, sahabat saya, dalam syair Pancasila Rumah Kita.

Pancasila rumah kita
Rumah untuk kita semua
Nilai dasar Indonesia
rumah kita selamanya

Untuk semua keluarga menyatu
untuk semua saling membagi

Pada setiap insan
sama dapat...sama rasa...
oh Indonesiaku
oh Indonesiaku.

Selamat Memperingati 66 tahun lahirnya Pancasila.
Terima Kasih.
Wassalamualaikum Warahmatullahi Wabarakatuh.

Appendix 3: Transcript of Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's Speech

Bismillahirrahmanirrahim.
Assalamualikum Wr Wb.
Salam sejahtera untuk kita semua.

Yang saya hormati Bapak Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie, Presiden RI ketiga.

Yang saya hormati Ibu Megawati Soekarnoputri, Presiden RI kelima.

Yang saya hormati Bapak Taufiq Kiemas Ketua MPR RI beserta para pimpinan lembaga-lembaga negara dan segenap anggota MPR RI, DPR RI, dan DPD RI.

Yang saya hormati saudara wakil presiden RI beserta para menteri dan anggota Kabinet Indonesia Bersatu II.

Yang saya hormati bapak Try Soetrisno, Bapak Hamzah Haz dan Bapak Mohammad Jusuf Kalla.

Yang saya hormati Ibu Sinta Nuriah Abdurrahman Wahid dan Ibu Karlina Wirahadi Kusumah, beserta para tokoh-tokoh nasional, para pimpinan partai-partai politik, para gubernur.

Hadirin sekalian yang saya mulyakan.

Marilah sekali lagi, pada kesempatan yang amat bersejarah ini, kita panjatkan puji dan syukur kehadirat Tuhan Yang Maha Kuasa, Allah SWT, karena kepada kita masih diberikan kesempatan, kekuatan dan semoga kesehatan untuk melanjutkan pembangunan bangsa berdasarkan Pancasila. Saya ingin mengucapkan terima kasih dan penghargaan yang setinggi tingginya kepada pimpinan MPR RI Bapak Taufiq Kiemas atas prakarsanya kembali memperingati pidato Bung Karno 1 Juni 1945. Saya juga ingin menyampaikan ucapan terima kasih dan penghargaan kepada Bapak Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie dan Ibu Megawati Soekarnoputri yang disamping hadir juga menyampaikan pidato beliau pada hari yang penting ini. Semoga kehadiran kedua beliau dan para tokoh nasional hari ini dapat lebih meningkatkan semangat, tekad, dan upaya kita bersama untuk melanjutkan pembangunan bangsa berdasarkan Pancasila, UUD 1945, NKRI dan Bhineka Tunggal Ika.

Hadirin sekalian yang saya hormati.

Saya menyimak dengan seksama apa yang disampaikan oleh Bapak Taufiq Kiemas, Bapak Habibie dan Ibu Megawati Soekarnoputri. Saya bersetuju terhadap apa yang disampaikan oleh Pak Taufiq Kiemas bahwa Pancasila harus menjadi landasan ideologi, falsafah, etika moral, pemersatu bangsa dan sumber inspirasi dalam menyelesaikan berbagai persoalan bangsa. Presiden Soekarno pernah mengatakan, saya petik, Sulit sekali saudara-saudara, mempersatukan rakyat Indonesia itu, jikalau tidak didasarkan atas Pancasila.” Hal itu Bung Karno sampaikan pada acara peringatan ulang tahun Pancasila, pada tanggal 5 Juni 1958 di Istana Negara, Jakarta. Saya juga menggarisbawahi apa yang disampaikan oleh Bapak Habibie tadi, Presiden Republik Indonesia ke-3 bahwa Pancasila telah lulus ujian sejarah. Bahwa kini seolah Pancasila tersandera dan dilupakan, juga penglihatan tentang hak azasi manusia yang

diunggulkan, tetapi kurang diimbangi dengan kewajiban yang mesti dilakukan. Kemudian, Pak Habibie juga mengatakan, kekerasan atas nama agama itu kontra produktif. Beliau mengatakan ada bayang-bayang neokolonialisme dalam perekonomian kita. Saya bersetuju Pak Habibie. Itulah yang kita lakukan sekarang ini, memastikan kontrak-kontrak baru itu benar dan adil, karena sudah cukup lama puluhan tahun kita menghadapi seperti itu. Marilah kita ubah agar tidak terjadi lagi di masa depan. Saya juga ingin menekankan arti penting yang disampaikan oleh Ibu Megawati Soekarnoputri tadi. Presiden ke-5 kita. Bahwa di tengah kegamangan bangsa ini melihat masa depan dalam derunya globalisasi, Pancasila hadir kembali dan *insya* Allah akan tetap menjadi pelita dan solusi kebangsaan bagi kita. Saya juga setuju bahwa berbicara Pancasila tidak mungkin tidak berbicara tentang Bung Karno. Kita mesti memberikan apresiasi kepada Bung Karno atas pemikiran besarnya, serta perjuangannya yang luar biasa. Bung Karno adalah pejuang, pemikir, dan juga penggali Pancasila. Rumusan manapun saudara-saudara, dari masa ke masa tetapi substansi Pancasila tidak berubah, sebagaimana yang dipidatokan pada tanggal 1 Juni 1945 yang lalu. Ibu Megawati juga menyampaikan, saya bersetuju, janganlah mempertentangkan antara nasionalisme dengan Islam karena memang tidak perlu dipertentangkan.

Saudara-saudara, hadirin yang saya hormati.

Saudara-saudara kita se-bangsa dan se-tanah air yang saya cintai.

Makna memperingati Pidato Bung Karno 1 Juni 1945 yang banyak dimaknai sebagai Hari Kelahiran Pancasila, menurut pendapat saya, ada dua. Pertama adalah sebuah refleksi kesejarahan dan kontemplasi untuk mengingat kembali gagasan cemerlang dan pemikiran besar Bung Karno yang disampaikan oleh beliau pada tanggal 1 Juni 1945. Ingat, pada saat itu, para founding fathers kita tengah merumuskan dasar-dasar dari Indonesia merdeka. Memang berkali-kali Bung Karno mengatakan bahwa beliau bukan pembentuk atau pencipta Pancasila, melainkan penggali Pancasila. Namun, sejarah telah menorehkan tinta emas. Bahwa dijadikannya Pancasila sebagai dasar dan ideologi negara sangat terkait erat dengan peran dan pemikiran besar Bung Karno. Yang kedua, memperingati pidato 1 Juni 1945, adalah menjadi misi kita ke depan ini melakukan aktualisasi agar pikiran-pikiran besar dan fundamental itu terus dapat diaktualisasikan, guna menjawab tantangan dan persoalan yang kita hadapi di masa kini dan masa depan.

Hadirin yang saya muliakan.

Namun, di samping dua hal tadi yang mencerminkan pidato refleksi kesejarahan, pada kesempatan yang mulia ini sekali lagi, disamping kontemplasi dan aktualisasi, saya juga ingin menyampaikan satu hal penting, yaitu sebuah pemikiran tentang perlunya revitalisasi Pancasila sebagai dasar dan ideologi negara dan sekaligus sebagai rujukan dan inspirasi bagi upaya menjawab berbagai tantangan kehidupan bangsa.

Saya yakin, yang ada di ruangan ini, bahkan rakyat kita di seluruh tanah air, bersetuju Pancasila harus kita revitalisasikan dan aktualisasikan. Pertanyaannya, bagaimana cara mengaktualisasikan yang efektif, sehingga rakyat kita bukan hanya menghayati, tetapi juga mengamalkan nilai-nilai Pancasila? Hal ini penting Saudara-saudara, ketika, kita, juga mendengar akhir-akhir ini aspirasi dan pikiran banyak kalangan di negeri kita yang mengatakan bahwa telah terjadi erosi terhadap penghayatan, kesadaran, dan pengamalan Pancasila.

Pada peringatan Pidato Bung Karno 1 Juni 1945, lima tahun yang lalu, yang kita selenggarakan di Jakarta pada tanggal 1 Juni 2006, Bapak Taufik Kiemas juga hadir

waktu itu, saya pernah menyampaikan, antara lain, sebagai anak bangsa kita harus menyudahi perdebatan tentang Pancasila sebagai dasar negara. Mengapa Saudara? Karena hal itu sudah final. Tidakkah MPR RI pada tahun 1998 melalui Tap Nomor 18 MPR/1998 telah menetapkan Pancasila sebagai dasar Negara? Tidak ada alternatif lain. Saya pada waktu itu juga mengajak rakyat Indonesia bahwa dalam era reformasi, demokratisasi, dan globalisasi dewasa ini, kita perlu terus menata kembali kerangka kehidupan bernegara kita berdasarkan Pancasila, bukan berdasarkan yang lain-lain, bukan diinspirasi oleh pikiran-pikiran lain, meskipun Indonesia mengalami perubahan yang luar biasa sejak tahun 1998 yang lalu. Terkait pemikiran besar Bung Karno yang disampaikan pada tanggal 1 Juni 1945 itu, waktu itu saya sampaikan agar bangsa Indonesia selalu ingat, dan mengetahui pandangan Bung Karno yang orisinal, yang sejati, yang cemerlang, yaitu perlunya mendirikan negara kebangsaan atau negara nasional Indonesia. Kemudian Bung Karno mengatakan apa arti nasionalisme bagi bangsa Indonesia, kaitan nasionalisme dengan internasionalisme, hubungan antara demokrasi, kesejahteraan dan keadilan sosial dan tidak kalah pentingnya Bung Karno mengupas secara dalam hakekat ke-Tuhan-an Yang Maha Esa.

Saudara-saudara.

Itu telah saya sampaikan pada peringatan tahun 2006. Tahun lalu, di ruangan ini, pada peringatan pidato Bung Karno tepat dilaksanakan 1 Juni 2010, saya kembali mengajak rakyat Indonesia untuk memahami gagasan cemerlang Bung Karno yang lain, antara lain, waktu itu saya sampaikan bagaimana prinsip nasionalisme yang kita anut dan kosmopolitisme yang kita tolak, hubungan antara demokrasi, *fairplay* dan mufakat serta konsep gotong-royong sebagai warisan luhur bangsa yang tidak boleh hilang, meskipun kita menuju dan akan menjadi bangsa yang maju dan modern.

Saudara-saudara.

Pada peringatan 1 Juni 2011 ini, saya hanya ingin mengedepankan satu hal besar, yang juga digagas oleh Bung Karno, 66 tahun yang lalu, yaitu, pentingnya kita menegakkan dan menjalankan negara Pancasila atau negara berdasarkan Pancasila. Yang saya maksudkan dengan negara Pancasila, di samping Indonesia adalah negara yang berdasarkan Pancasila, juga mesti dimaknai, Indonesia bukan negara yang berdasarkan yang lain-lain. Ingat Saudara-saudara, sejak awal, para pendiri Republik dengan arifnya disertai pemikiran yang luas dan menjangkau ke depan telah membangun konsensus yang bersifat mendasar, *fundamental concensus*, yaitu Indonesia adalah negara berke-Tuhan-an, istilah Bung Karno, negara yang ber-Tuhan dan sekaligus negara nasional, jadi bukanlah negara agama. Meskipun bukan negara yang berdasarkan agama, agama mesti dijunjung tinggi. Kehidupan masyarakat mestilah religius dan bukan sekuler dalam arti meminggirkan agama dan tidak mengakui adanya Tuhan. Konsensus penting lainnya, yang tercetak abadi dalam sejarah kita adalah Indonesia adalah negara berdasarkan ideologi Pancasila, bukan ideologi-ideologi lain yang dikenal di dunia, seperti kapitalisme, liberalisme, komunisme, sosialisme, dan fasisme. Sekali lagi Saudara-saudara, ini sangat fundamental, yaitu dasar dari Indonesia merdeka, dasar dari negara kita adalah ideologi Pancasila.

Saudara-saudara.

Akhir-akhir ini, saya menangkap kegelisahan dan kecemasan banyak kalangan melihat fenomena dan realitas kehidupan masyarakat kita, termasuk alam pikiran yang melandasinya. Apa yang terjadi pada tingkat publik kita? Ada yang cemas, jangan-

jangan dalam era reformasi, demokratisasi, dan globalisasi ini sebagian kalangan tertarik dan tergoda untuk menganut ideologi lain selain Pancasila. Ada juga yang cemas dan mengkhawatirkan, jangan-jangan ada kalangan yang kembali ingin menghidupkan pikiran untuk mendirikan negara berdasarkan agama. Terhadap godaan, apalagi gerakan nyata dari sebagian kalangan yang memaksakan dasar negara selain Pancasila, baik dasar agama ataupun ideologi lain, sebagai Kepala Negara dan Kepala Pemerintahan, saya harus mengatakan dengan tegas bahwa niat dan gerakan politik itu bertentangan dengan semangat dan pilihan kita untuk mendirikan negara berdasarkan Pancasila. Gerakan dan paksaan semacam itu tidak ada tempat di bumi Indonesia. Jika gerakan itu melanggar hukum, tentulah tidak boleh kita biarkan. Namun satu hal cara-cara menghadapi dan menangani gerakan semacam itu haruslah tetap bertumpu pada nilai-nilai demokrasi dan aturan hukum atau *rule of law*, tidak boleh main tuding dan main tuduh karena akan memancing aksi adu domba yang akhirnya menimbulkan perpecahan bangsa. Disamping itu, negara tidak dapat dan tidak seharusnya mengontrol pandangan dan pendapat orang-seorang. *We cannot and we should not control the minds of the people*. Kecuali apabila pemikiran itu dimanifestasikan dalam tindakan nyata yang bertentangan dengan konstitusi, undang-undang, dan aturan hukum lain, negara harus mencegah dan menindaknya. Kuncinya Saudara-saudara, negara mesti bertindak tegas dan tepat, tetapi tidak menimbulkan iklim ketakutan, serta tetap dengan cara-cara yang demokratis dan berdasarkan *rule of law*. Negara harus membimbing dan mendidik warganya untuk tidak menyimpang dari konstitusi dan perangkat perundang-undangan lainnya.

Hadirin yang saya muliakan.

Saudara-saudara se-bangsa dan se-tanah air yang saya cintai dan saya banggakan.

Pada bagian kedua atau bagian akhir dari sambutan saya, saya ingin menyampaikan apa yang telah saya sampaikan tadi bagaimana kita melangkah ke depan, mengaktualisasikan dan merevitalisasi nilai-nilai Pancasila dalam kehidupan kita. Pada tanggal 24 Mei 2011 yang lalu atau minggu lalu, kami para pemimpin lembaga negara, di samping Presiden dan Wakil Presiden hadir Ketua MPR, Ketua DPR, Ketua DPD, Ketua MA, Ketua MK, Ketua BPK, dan Ketua Komisi Yudisial. Kami melaksanakan pertemuan konsultasi dengan agenda utama, implementasi empat pilar kehidupan bernegara, Pancasila, Undang-Undang Dasar 1945, NKRI, dan Bhinneka Tungga Ika. Forum bersepakat, bulat, tentang perlunya revitalisasi Pancasila. Sementara itu, Saudara-saudara, melalui interaksi langsung saya dengan banyak pihak, serta mengikuti apa yang diangkat di berbagai media massa, saya juga mengetahui, mendengar, merasakan amat banyak kalangan yang menginginkan perlunya dilakukan revitalisasi nilai-nilai Pancasila, mereka semua. Guna lebih melengkapi pemahaman saya, atas apa yang sesungguhnya menjadi pemikiran, aspirasi, dan rekomendasi masyarakat luas, saya telah meminta BPS untuk melakukan survei tentang apa dan bagaimana rakyat kita memandang Pancasila sekarang ini. Survei ini penting sebelum kita menentukan kebijakan, strategi, dan cara-cara yang efektif dalam melaksanakan revitalisasi Pancasila nanti. Survei BPS ini dilaksanakan pada tanggal 27 sampai 29 Mei 2011 mengambil *sample* 12.056 responden, tersebar di 181 kabupaten kota, di 33 provinsi di seluruh Indonesia. Metode yang dilakukan adalah wawancara langsung atau tatap muka. Siapa yang diwawancarai, Saudara-saudara? 12.056 responden. Itu terdiri dari pelajar dan mahasiswa, ibu rumah tangga, petani dan nelayan, guru dan dosen, PNS, Polri dan TNI, tenaga profesional, pengusaha, anggota DPRD dan lain-lain.

Apa hasilnya? Hasil survei yang penting adalah, pertama, 79,26% masyarakat berpendapat Pancasila penting untuk dipertahankan. Nomor dua, 89% masyarakat berpendapat bahwa berbagai permasalahan bangsa, menurut mereka, seperti tawuran antar pelajar, konflik antar kelompok masyarakat, antar umat beragama, antar golongan dan etnis, karena kurangnya pemahaman dan pengamalan nilai-nilai Pancasila dalam kehidupan sehari-hari. Yang ketiga, ketika ditanya, bagaimana cara yang paling tepat agar masyarakat memahami dan menjalani nilai-nilai Pancasila. Jawabannya adalah 30% berpendapat melalui pendidikan. 19% melalui contoh dan perbuatan nyata para pejabat pemerintahan dan pejabat negara pusat, daerah. 14% melalui contoh dan perbuatan para tokoh masyarakat. 13% melalui penataran. 12% melalui media massa. 10% melalui ceramah keagamaan. Itu pendapat mereka. Sedangkan yang keempat atau yang terakhir dari hasil yang penting, ketika ditanya siapa yang seharusnya yang melaksanakan edukasi dan sosialisasi Pancasila? 43% menjawab sebaiknya dilaksanakan oleh para guru dan dosen. 28% oleh tokoh masyarakat dan pemuka agama. 20%, berarti 1 dari 5 orang, oleh badan khusus yang bisa dibentuk oleh pemerintah, semacam BP7. 3% oleh elit politik.

Saudara-saudara.

Saya ingin menambahkan hasil survei lain. Saya juga mendapatkan informasi tentang hasil survei oleh sebuah lembaga survei yang menyangkut pendapat publik tentang isu negara berdasarkan agama yang mencuat akhir-akhir ini. Mereka berpendapat, sekitar 75%, mereka mengatakan keinginan untuk mendirikan dan adanya gerakan politik negara berdasarkan agama. Itu tidak dibenarkan dan itu tidak boleh dibiarkan.

Saudara-saudara.

Tentu saja hasil-hasil survei ini bukan menjadi satu-satunya faktor dalam menentukan langkah kita untuk melakukan revitalisasi Pancasila. Namun, pendapat dan aspirasi rakyat seperti itu mestilah kita perhatikan dan pertimbangkan secara seksama. Kita ingin tentunya, langkah dan cara revitalisasi Pancasila itu benar-benar efektif, bisa diterima oleh masyarakat luas dan tidak kontraproduktif. (kandidat-another NYA) Sebagai contoh, saya telah menginstruksikan Mendiknas dan menteri terkait lainnya, untuk segera merumuskan dan kemudian menjalankannya, edukasi nilai-nilai Pancasila dengan metode yang paling efektif, apakah melalui pengajaran formal atau melalui kegiatan ekstrakurikuler, atau melalui gerakan Pramuka ataupun melalui wahana seni budaya yang bisa diikuti oleh masyarakat luas.

Hadirin sekalian.

Saudara-saudara se-bangsa dan se-tanah air.

Itulah bagian kedua, pikiran-pikiran kita untuk memastikan bahwa langkah-langkah revitalisasi Pancasila itu akan berjalan secara efektif. Akhirnya, saya telah menyampaikan dua substansi utama dalam pidato ini. Pertama tadi adalah refleksi dan kontemplasi pikiran-pikiran besar Bung Karno. Kemudian yang kedua, adanya keperluan bagi kita untuk melakukan revitalisasi nilai-nilai Pancasila melalui cara-cara yang efektif dan perlu kita garis bawahi melalui edukasi, sosialisasi, dan keteladanan.

Dan pada kesempatan yang baik ini, hadirin yang saya muliakan, saya ingin mengingatkan kembali bahwa Pancasila bukanlah doktrin yang dogmatis, tetapi sebuah *living ideology*, sebuah *working ideology*. Sebagai ideologi yang hidup dan terbuka,

Pancasila akan mampu mengatasi dan melintasi dimensi ruang dan waktu. Saya yakin. Namun satu hal yang pasti, yang ingin saya teguhkan dalam kesempatan ini, bangsa Indonesia mesti teguh dan tegas terhadap pentingnya Pancasila sebagai dasar dan ideologi negara.

Marilah Saudara-saudara, kita semakin bersatu, melangkah bersama, dan bekerja lebih keras untuk membangun negeri ini ke arah masa depan yang lebih baik berdasarkan Pancasila.

Sekian.

Terima kasih.

Wassalamualaikum Wr Wb.