Discourse Structures of the Chinese Indonesian of Malang
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DISCOURSE STRUCTURES OF THE CHINESE INDONESIAN OF MALANG

by

Ellen Rafferty

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Universitas Atma Jaya
Jakarta
ABSTRACT

The structure of the discourse of the Indonesian as spoken by the Chinese of Malang, East Java is examined in order to discover the relationship between grammatical structures and pragmatic, non-referential information which is inferable from the discourse. The data are ten spontaneous conversations which have been taped, transcribed, and put into a concordance program. The objective of this study is to investigate patterns in the surface phenomena of actually uttered language, not to present a theoretical framework other than a functional approach to the study of textual materials.

Language is viewed as one of a set of semiotic systems that make up culture where all the systems are mutually supportive and interdependent. It is because of this interdependence that the study of language must be set within a cultural context, if it is to be intelligible. Language, like all symbolic systems, has both referential (semantic) meaning and non-referential (pragmatic) meaning. The semantic meaning is constant across contexts, while the pragmatic meaning is specific to one context, and thus dependent upon the discourse and the non-linguistic setting for its meaning. It is the purpose of this dissertation to examine a few instances in which the non-referential meaning is vital to an understanding of the grammar and the sense of Chindo (i.e. the Indonesian as spoken by the Chinese of Malang).

The dissertation is divided into six chapters. Chapter One introduces the reader to the theoretical and ethnographic background of the study. Chapter Two defines the significant elements of Chindo grammar including phonemes, affixes, word classes, and predicate classes (which entails the definition of degrees of transitivity and semantic roles of NP arguments of a clause). A discussion of the admixture of Javanese and Indonesian that is the basis of Chindo is given. This admixture allows the Chindo speaker to express slight style changes by shifting along the continuum between Javanese and Indonesian. The central thesis of Chapter Three is that the verbal prefixes NG- and DI- carry the important non-referential meaning of aspect, in addition to their grammatical function of indicating the semantic role of the grammatical subject. The foregrounding and backgrounding function of the verbal prefixes is then related to the verbal categories of mood, mood, and tense. Chapter Four defines the functions of subjects and topics in Chindo discourse and evaluates the problem of a universal definition of subject. The data suggest that the pursuit of a universally valid definition of subject is best abandoned and instead that the category of subject be divided into semantic subject, grammatical subject, and referential subject. The separation of these three types of subjects allows one to define the relationship between subject-prominent languages and topic-prominent languages on the basis of universal functions in languages. Chapter Five defines ergativity as a language pattern that equates (morphologically or syntactically) the actor/affected of an intransitive verb with the patient of a transitive verb. Both types of ergativity are found in Chindo.

One of the major objectives of this chapter is to suggest a scheme for the evolution of an ergative pattern in Malay grammar by examining the grammar of mid-19th century narrative and the grammar of Chindo today. The evolution of the ergative pattern presented here involves the grammaticalization of the pragmatic information of aspect in the verbal prefixes, and thus demonstrates the role of pragmatics in diachronic, as well as, synchronic studies.

The concluding remarks of Chapter Six state the primary goal of this study as the investigation of the spontaneous speech in its socio-cultural and pragmatic context, and the secondary goal as the presentation of data on a variety of Indonesian, Chindo. The most important finding is that pragmatic information is not separable from formal grammar. Indeed, de-contextualized speech is often unintelligible. The intersection between formal grammar and pragmatics yields highly interesting connections and interactions between language and other aspects of social and cultural behaviour.

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Appendix

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The structure of discourse of the language of the Chinese of Malang, East Java, Indonesia is examined here by employing a functional, semiotic approach to language. The primary purpose of the study is to discover the function of pragmatic information in relation to semantic and syntactic elements of discourse. A secondary purpose of this study is to describe phonological, morphological, and syntactic characteristics of the language of the Chinese of East Java, that is basically a combination of Javanese and Indonesian with only a few words from Dutch and Chinese languages. This language will be referred to as Chindo. The introduction covers four areas; 1) theoretical background to the linguistic analysis, 2) field and analytic methods used in the study, and 3) ethnographic description of the people, and 4) specific issues covered in the dissertation.

1.1 Theoretical background

Language is a symbol system for communication, and as such, it is part of a larger symbolic or semiotic system, that includes culture. Semiotics is the theory of signs and is divided into three areas of study: syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. Pragmatics studies the use of signs and their effects on behavior; semantics, the signification of signs; and syntax, the combinations of signs (Morris 1946). Carnap (1942) points out that pragmatics is the study of language in context. Semantics is an abstraction or decontextualization of the sign in order to establish a signification that is appropriate across contexts, and syntax decontextualizes further, yielding a logical calculus with no meaning.

The definition of pragmatics is explained in greater detail below because pragmatics is often neglected by linguists and, thus, not well understood by them. Pragmatics is best understood in relation to Pierce’s division of signs into three types: 

1. Icons - signs that relate to objects by means of physical similarities.

2. Indices - signs that relate to objects by means of participation in an event.

3. Symbols - signs that relate to objects by an arbitrary agreement.

Pragmatics deals with the indexical meaning, while semantics deals with the symbolic meaning. The definition of semantic meaning is independent of the speech act and speaker, and thus it is not necessary to know the context in order to give the semantic meaning of a word. Pragmatic meaning on the other hand, depends on the context, and requires knowledge of the event, before referential meaning can be assigned to the indexical. The simplest example of such dependence on context is the pronoun system which depends on the identity of the speaker in order to define the referent of the pronoun. Pragmatic meaning is referential when it is contextualized, but the referential meaning cannot be spelled out except in context.

Other examples of pragmatics in language are anaphoric utterances, deictics (of space and time), and mood, or illocutionary force of the speech act, that defines the purpose or intention of the speaker in uttering the speech (e.g. to question, to state, to command). All of the above depend on the context for interpretation. Rules for the interpretation of indexicals can be formulated, but no referential definition can be given to an indexical out of context. For this reason, the information that indexicals carry is called non-referential. Certainly in context, the meaning of an indexical is referential, but out of context it is not. (Cf. Silverstein 1976 and Bates 1976 for a discussion of pragmatic information in linguistic studies.)

Linguistics has preferred to deal with syntactic problems and has tended to leave the problem of meaning (semantic and pragmatic) to other disciplines. Although Chomsky (1965) and his followers added deep structure to linguistic analyses, they did not pay a great deal of attention to either semantics or pragmatics. The purpose of linguistics for the transformational, generative linguist was the formation of a set of rules for the generation of the sentences of a language. Chomsky (1965:3) said, “Linguistic theory is concerned primarily with an ideal speaker listener in a completely homogeneous speech community, who knows its language... perfectly and is unaffected by grammatically irrelevant conditions.” Linguistics became the study of the logical calculus for the generation of decontextualized grammatical sentences. Their data was elicited language, not uttered language. Grammatical meant understandable not that which was uttered in real situations.

It soon became clear that the generation of the sentences of a language was impossible without the inclusion of a semantic and pragmatic component in the grammar of a language. A study of well-formed sentences must take into account the speaker's knowledge of the world and the presuppositions of the specific social situation. A presupposition is a set of assumptions about reality (not necessarily about truth) that the speaker takes for granted and assumes that the hearer does, too. A sentence will be considered deviant and unintelligible by a native speaker not only if it is ungrammatical according to syntactic rules, but, also, if it contradicts
his factual and cultural knowledge and beliefs. The example below from Lakoff (1971: 339) shows that correct syntax depends on knowledge of the presuppositions of the speaker and hearer.

1. The Yankees play the Red Sox tomorrow.
2. *The Yankees play well tomorrow.
3. The Yankees will play well tomorrow.

The will is deletable from sentences if the speaker can be reasonably certain of the truth of the statement. The playing of 1. is predictable, and for this reason the will can be deleted, while the playing will of 2. is not, regardless as predictable, therefore, the will is not deletable. If in our culture there were someone who could predict the quality of performance, then 2. would be grammatical when uttered by that person. Grammaticality depends on the belief system of the culture; thus a theory of grammar must include contextual information.

The realization of the need to include semantic and pragmatic information in a predictive functional model gave rise to the generative semantics school of linguists. The aim of this school was to account for the ability to produce sentences, and this entailed formulating a theory of communicative competence. This competence involves much more than competence in a logical calculus because appropriateness of language depends upon knowledge of situational factors such as social and delitive roles, mood, mode, style, and emotional involvement of the speaker.

It has been shown by Hooper and Thompson (1973) that transformations which were thought to apply only to main clauses (Emonds 1969) actually apply to assertive clauses regardless of syntactic structure. Thus, the belief of generative semanticists that syntactic descriptions depend upon semantic and pragmatic information is supported.

The tradition of treating language as a symbolic system in which semantic structure gives rise to linear syntactic arrangements is not new. Anthropologists and linguists have long supported such a view; prominent among these scholars are Malinowski, J.R. Firth, and members of the Prague School.

The anthropologist Malinowski saw language as an integral part of society and culture. Language could only be understood in ‘sit’ and therefore, the sentence in context was the basic unit of analysis. Meaning was found first at the utterance level and then broken down to the word and morpheme level. The importance of the context of the situation in the study of language was further developed in the work of the British linguist, J.R. Firth of the London School. The study of language, Firth believed, could not only depend on the linear arrangements, but must include grammatical relations and meanings. Firth's notion of semantics was based on the notion of context where meaning was a result of a series of contextualizations culminating in the context of the culture of a society (Firth 1935: 33). The Prague School of Linguistics developed a functional view of language based upon the belief that the most important fact about language was its social communicative function. Language is an instrument for the transmission of referential (factual, semantic) and non-referential (interpersonal, pragmatic) information. Thus when analyzing language systems, the linguist must never forget the connection that language has with its social function and structure. This necessitates investigating the relation between and among the different components of language, such as syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. The most important contribution of the Prague School was the development of the Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP) which stressed the importance of treating grammatical, semantic, and thematic components separately in linguistic analysis. The central terms in FSP are defined by Mathesius (1942) as theme, that which is being discussed, and rheme, that which is predicated of the theme. The theme and rheme are then related to syntactic structure and semantic information of the sentence.

More recently there have been various attempts at integrating semantics into a unified theory of language. Fillmore contributed a functional model for a case grammar and Chafe developed a semantically based theory of language. Chafe (1976) looked at packaging phenomena of noun phrases in relation to syntax and semantics. Some of the packaging phenomena are definiteness, information structure (givenness versus newness), focus, subject, topic, semantic role structure and thematic structure. All of these recent approaches to language concurred that linguistic theory must include semantic and pragmatic information in addition to syntactic patterns. They also have in common a non-transformational analysis of language (Cf. Ivan Kalmar 1976 and Li and Thompson 1976) in which sentences are not derived from a basic sentence as is proposed in transformational grammar. The concept of a basic sentence, if it is used at all, is a function of discourse use and is defined in terms of pragmatic and semantic factors not generative efficiency (see Givon 1974). Sentences are ordered units expressing referential and non-referential meaning. The units and their associated meanings are learned by the speakers just as lexical meaning or case meaning is learned (Li and Thompson 1976).

"There is more to the description of a language system than constructing a set of rules which will generate correlates of all and only what are taken to be the system sentences of a language in question" (Lyons 1977 vol.1:131). Lyons notes further that linguists have dealt with the system sentence, not with the text sentence, in order to eliminate contextual variables (Lyons 1977 vol.2:387). This selection means that linguistic theory is not a theory of actual language, but a theory of an abstraction from language. A system sentence is a theoretical construct derived from an actually uttered sentence. It is a sentence that has been decontextualized. The system sentence is, or has been, accepted by the linguist as the proper data of study as long as the sentence is understandable and judged as grammatical by a native speaker. The text sentence is the actually uttered sentence and is often not a sentence, but rather a sentence fragment or an elliptical sentence.
that can only be understood in context. Discourse tolerates fragments and elliptical sentences because of the internal coherence of the text. Elliptical sentences and sentence fragments are treated as sentences because they function as sentences in discourse and because they show the intonation contour of a sentence.

The ability to understand discourse and to produce it or to contextualize it is an ability of all native speakers, but it is not an ability so easily acquired by second language speakers. The art of contextualization has been neglected by linguists. The resources which enable a speaker to contextualize are phonological, grammatical, syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic. It is the aim of this study to discover some of these resources for contextualization in Chindoes through an investigation of the verbal categories, aspect, mood, and mode; definiteness of NPs; word order; and thematic and information structure of the sentence.

The eclectic approach espoused in this study combines the Prague School Functional Sentence Perspective, Chafe's semantic packaging phenomena, and a non-transformational analysis of utterances in context for the purpose of discovering the affect that pragmatics has on semantic and syntactic relations. This study expands the unit of analysis from the sentence to the speech event which may be a conversation, a lecture, or any other language unit. The unit of analysis is the text.

The data base of this study is actual discourse or text sentences so as to allow the investigation of the role of pragmatics in relation to semantics and syntax. Text is used here not in the literary sense, as a complete work or a whole with a beginning, development and conclusion. Text here is any unit of speech that holds together or that has coherence. Cohesion may be a function of time, logic, topic, or actors and is a property of all language whether it is planned or unplanned. The mechanisms used for cohesion may differ among languages and among styles of speech. Some of the familiar mechanisms used to produce cohesion or linkage include conjunctions, connectives, juxtaposition, recapitulation and intonation (Longacre 1972). Just as important in producing cohesion in discourse are deictics, grammatical relations, syntax, thematic structure, aspect and mood. The analysis of text sentences in discourse will show how a text sentence is linked into the whole and what grammatical relations are used to achieve this. Similar investigations have been done by Pike using the tagmemic approach to language. His aim was to extend the hierarchy of constituency from word to phrase to clause to paragraph and finally to discourse. The highest constituent is called the behaviorism in this approach (Pike 1954). The present study will not use this approach but an approach directed at discovering cohesive mechanisms within, and between, sentences and their relation to pragmatics and semantics.

1.2 Methods

1.21 Field methods

The data for this study are ten conversations which were collected in 1976 in the city of Malang, East Java, Indonesia, from the local community of Peranakan Chinese Indonesians. The conversations involve 23 speakers and a total of more than 11,500 words. Of the 23 speakers 14 were male and 8 were female. There were three adolescents (14-20 years), thirteen young adults (21-35), and seven older adults (36-65 years). All speakers are ethnically Chinese and all but one were born in Indonesia. These conversations were taped and transcribed by members of the local community under my direction.

The first task of the linguist who wants to analyze discourse is the collection of accurate and representative discourse from natural situations of communication. To control for naturalness, no conversation was elicited for the specific purpose of recording it. Thus, there was no unnatural guidance given to the flow of discourse. Conversations that arose naturally from the desire to communicate were recorded with a small Sony TC-55 tape recorder.

All but one of the conversations were in informal settings. The one semiformal setting was in a church where a minister was speaking to his congregation. In Chapter VI, I conclude with a discussion of the affect of style on the grammar and its importance in a linguistic theory that includes pragmatic information. The other nine conversations occurred among friends in informal settings, such as in homes, on school grounds, and in small shops.

The data for this study are taken from spontaneous conversations because the dependence on pragmatic information is greater in informal than in formal discourse. The unplanned discourse among friends is difficult to understand for an outsider since the information communicated is, to a great extent, non-referential (i.e. indexical or pragmatic) and therefore dependent upon the context for interpretation. The non-referential information may concern values, the definition of the social situation, and/or the social statuses of the speaker and hearer. In planned discourse the information communicated is to a great extent referential (i.e. semantic) and specifiable without reference to the context, and is thus less bound to a cultural or social setting. Planned discourse is made explicit by a greater dependence upon syntactic structures, and for this reason a more reliable means of communication among strangers as it does not depend on context as much as unplanned discourse.

Two assistants were hired, one from the local Chinese community and one from the Javanese community. The job of the Chinese assistant was to record the natural conversations among the members of the Chinese community and to gather as much information as possible about the social environment, the topic and purpose of the conversation. He
also noted the social identity of the participants and the audience (no names were recorded). Identity consisted in approximate age, sex, level of education, places of residence outside of the Malang area, and the speaker-hearer relationship.

The taped conversations were first written down by the Chinese assistant, and then reviewed with me. This allowed the noting down of contextual information and intent of the speaker, thus rendering the taped conversation intelligible to the outsider. This time consuming process impressed upon me the importance of general information about a culture and subculture that is necessary before an outsider can understand a conversation. It is no wonder that second language speakers often complain that, although they know the referential meaning of every word, they still do not know the meaning of the utterance. What the second language speaker does not know is the shared presuppositions of the culture and the information that is inferable from the context.

Once the discourse was understood, the Javanese assistant transcribed the taped conversations. I found that the phonemic repertoire of the Javanese assistant was greater than that of the Chinese assistant, and therefore he was better able to transcribe the tapes.

1.22 Analytic methods

After returning to the United States I reviewed the tapes and chose ten of the clearest and most complete conversations. These were put on a computer in a concordance program. The program produces 1) an alphabetical listing of all occurrences of all words and affixes and reproduces them in their linguistic environment, and 2) a frequency listing of all items. These two procedures were executed for every conversation individually, and for the set of ten conversations as a whole. The results of the concordance program are the data for this dissertation. The print-outs from the concordance program provide easy reference for comparative studies of the uses of affixes and syntactic constructions as they relate to semantic and pragmatic factors, such as aspect, mood, mode, and social and deictic roles of noun phrases.

1.3 Ethnographic situation

The Chinese of Malang are 8.5% of the total population of the city (i.e. 37,067 out of 435,834). The category Chinese includes everyone with any Chinese ancestor. Many of the Chinese families have some Javanese ancestors and have lived in Java for generations, yet they are still considered Chinese because of cultural differences. Indonesian citizenship does not make a person non-Chinese. Today, in fact, the majority of ethnically Chinese have Indonesian citizenship, but this does not make them native Indonesian. Clearly, the most significant divide is between the /prakam/ 'native' and the /asing/ 'foreigner' (or /keturunan/ 'one of foreign descent').

In addition to the Chinese population, the city is ethnically approximately 80% Javanese and 10% Madurese. There are very small populations from India and Arabic countries, but they are not large enough to create significant social change. The languages in the Malang area include Javanese, Madurese, Chinese (to be discussed below in section 1.32) and Indonesian, the national language. The predominant language and culture of the city of Malang is Javanese although there is an increasing use of, and corresponding ability in, Indonesian in the city as compared with the country side.

The description presented below (sections 1.31 and 1.32) gives a brief review of the history of the Chinese in Indonesia, specifically in Java, and a description of the two major groups of Chinese in Indonesia today.

1.31 History of the Chinese of Java

There have been permanent Chinese settlements in Java since the 14th century (Skinner 1958:1), but the Chinese came as traders before the Srivijaya Kingdom of Palembang (6-12th century) (Mackie and Coppell 1976). Most of the settlements in Java were, and still are, in cities on the north coast. The Chinese have always been an urban population because of economic and legal factors. They came as traders and have remained merchants and traders because their travel, and place of residence were restricted to the cities by the Dutch.

Another factor contributing to the urban nature of the Chinese population was the Agrarian Law of 1870 which prohibited land ownership by foreigners. Most Chinese at that time held dual citizenship and thus were considered foreign. The Chinese therefore did not enter the agricultural economy of the country, but stayed in the trade and business sector. Chinese migration to Java may be divided into two periods: pre- and post-1900. Most of the immigrants who came before 1900 were single men from southern Fukien province who came as coolies and spoke Hokkien. They married local women in Indonesia and the resulting community developed a culture that combined Chinese and Javanese cultural features. The members of this community are called Peranakan 'half-breed' or Baba 'Indonesian-born-Chinese'. The Peranakan lost their language, Hokkien, and developed a dialect of Malay which is called Chinese Malay.

The immigration after 1900 was radically different from that of the pre-1900 period in several respects: 1) women were allowed to come, 2) a greater diversity of language groups was represented, and 3) the number of immigrants sharply increased. The immigration rate before 1900 was on the average a few thousand per year, and it rose to as high as 40,000 during some years in the 1920's. The immigration slowed down during the depression and picked up again in the late 1930's and 1940's. Since 1950 there has been virtually no immigration at all because of Indonesian government restrictions. The post-1900 influx caused the following demographic changes in the Chinese population. In the mid-nineteenth century there were only 0.5 million Chinese in In-
is a function of cultural orientation not blood or place of birth; the Totok being the group that is oriented toward China, and the Peranakan the group that is oriented toward a modern, westernized Indonesia. My observation and study of the Chinese of the Malang area certainly supports this view. Based on informal discussions and participant observation, I present a discussion of both groups and outline the differences that appear relevant in today's society.

1.321 The Totok

The Totok are /totok/ 'conservative' in many spheres of social interaction. They are reluctant 1) to take risks in economic matters, or 2) to change their social customs (eg. marriage and child raising patterns) or their language. Totok usually keep their Confucian religion, they keep strict control over their children, especially the female ones, and have traditionally maintained a Chinese language in the house.

Totok are considered /kasar/ 'crude and vulgar by Peranakan and Javanese because it appears that they are primarily interested in money and not concerned about human relations or non-material goals. They are usually self-employed and work long hours in order to realize a good profit; leaving them little or no time to participate in social gatherings of the immediate community. This lack of participation in the community breaks Javanese cultural rules and is interpreted by the Javanese as disrespectful. Unfortunately, the existence of differing cultural systems frequently leads to misunderstandings and mutual distrust.

Since 1965, the government has not permitted the running of Chinese schools causing a change in attitude toward education among the Chinese. Some Chinese no longer place as much emphasis on schooling but rely to a greater extent on work experience as the best preparation for life. This is especially true for the female children, who are expected to remain within the home. Occasionally girls are given training in practical skills such as sewing or hair styling, but they are not given as much education as the male children.

The linguistic repertoire of the Totok includes a variety of languages varying with age. The older Totok speak a regional language of China and if they are educated will also speak Mandarin. Since there are no more Chinese schools, fewer of the younger generation are learning Mandarin, and thus, today the language of the home may be a combination of a Chinese language, and Chindo. In informal situations older Totok speak low Javanese to Javanese, their local Chinese language to Chinese of that region, and Chindo to other Chinese. The youth often use only low Javanese and Chindo. In formal situations the Totok use Indonesian, but the uneducated have difficulty with Standard Indonesian.

Although many Totok are citizens of Indonesia, of those who are foreign citizens the majority are Totok, rather than Peranakan. This is certainly to be expected because the term Totok is defined in terms of
cultural orientation.

1.322 The Peranakan

The Peranakan, in contrast to the Totok, have accepted many cultural values from the Dutch and/or modern, urban, Indonesians. Many Peranakan are Protestant and some are Catholic. They see their futures as involving acculturation and accommodation to the modern technological world. The Peranakan value education for both male and females and have traditionally pursued professional careers in law, medicine, and engineering. In the last ten years, their ability to gain entrance to universities has declined. The percentage admitted may be as low as 5-10% of an entering class. This change in school policy makes it difficult for the Peranakan to pursue professional careers and encourages them to seek education outside of Indonesia. This policy is a result of mutual distrust regarding values and motives. The Indonesians believe that the Chinese do not have the best interests of the country in mind but rather their own personal, financial gain. Indonesians do not want the Chinese to attend government supported schools and then use their education only for personal gain. Occupational interests of the Peranakan may be changing in the direction of non-professional occupations such as business. This will draw the Peranakan into greater contact with the Totok and may result in a diminishing of cultural differences.

The language repertoire of the Peranakan Chinese varies with age. The older Peranakan speak Dutch within the family, Indonesian in formal situations, low Javanese in informal situations with Javanese, and Chindo in informal situations with Chinese who do not speak Dutch. The youth speak Indonesian in formal situations, low Javanese in informal situations with Javanese and Chindo in informal situations with Chinese. This pattern of language use is different from that which was reported by Skinner in 1957. He reported that the Peranakan were changing from Bazaar Malay or Chinese Malay (Chindo) to Standard Indonesian. I find on the other hand that the use of Chinese Malay (or Chindo) is widespread, and not declining. It is used by all Chinese among themselves whatever their cultural orientation. In fact, Chindo expressions are in vogue among the city youth of all ethnic groups because they are regarded as a reflection of the urban, cosmopolitan lifestyle.

Below is a chart that summarizes the basic distinctions between the Totok and Peranakan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Totok</th>
<th>Peranakan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Language - good Mandarin</td>
<td>Language - good Dutch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bad Indonesian</td>
<td>good Indonesian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low Javanese</td>
<td>low Javanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese-Indonesian</td>
<td>Chinese-Indonesian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Chinese language</td>
<td>no Chinese language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WNA - alien</td>
<td>WNI - Indonesian citizen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above description is necessarily stereotypical; people, of course, can possess qualities from both categories. The purpose is to show that, in the minds of the Javanese and Chinese themselves, there is a real and acknowledged division in the Chinese community. This division between Peranakan and Totok may weaken as both realize that Indonesia is their only real home, and as they both adopt cultural features from the Indonesians. The language, Chindo which is a combination of Javanese and Indonesian (with only a few Chinese words) is one example of this adoption of cultural traits. Chindo gives the Totok and the Peranakan a common language which they never had before. This language may draw the two groups closer together, but a discussion of this possibility is beyond the scope of this research.

1.33 Chindo and language mixing

While Chindo may be creating and/or reflecting closer social and cultural ties between the Totok and Peranakan, it is at the same time a symbol of Chinese identity which distinguishes and separates the Chinese from the 'native' Indonesians. It is significant to note that the mixing phenomenon of the ethnically Chinese is different from the language mixing of the Javanese (or other native ethnic groups, such as Sundanese or Madurese). The Chinese combine Javanese and Indonesian elements at the morphemic level whereas the Javanese combine the two languages at the word or phrase level. (See Wolf and Soepomo 1981 for a discussion of the language of the Peranakan of the Yogyakarta region.) Neither of the types of mixing reflects the process of acquisition of Indonesian, but rather reflects social situational factors.

Chindo is a symbol of Chinese cultural identity, and is intelligible to anyone who speaks both Javanese and Indonesian. Chindo speakers are generally fluent in both Indonesian and low Javanese. The language mixing of the ethnically Javanese is done for convenience to render either language (Javanese or Indonesian) more versatile and expressive or to make sure that the addressee understands. The use of a Javanese word in Indonesian speech adds intimacy, emotional intensity, or exactness that is not expressible in Indonesian. The mixing of the languages by the Chinese and the Javanese is thus done for different social reasons.

Chindo, a language formed from two other languages, is different from creoles in the sense that there is no unidirectional movement toward a target language. The social situation in Java is such that there is no one prestigious language towards which everyone is striving. In many social situations, it is more prestigious to use Chindo or Javanese than Indonesian. Language mix-
ing is multidirectional in Java creating many
codes and reflecting the existence of various
social groups, such as the Javanese-Indone-
sians and Chinese-Indonesians. Language is
extremely versatile and sensitive to the so-
cial reality of Java and the language mixing
is one reflection of this sensitivity.

1.4 Issues covered in the dissertation

Five chapters follow this introduction. Chapter Two reviews the grammar of Chindo and
identifies the various elements which come
primarily from Indonesian, Javanese and
Dutch. A large portion of the chapter is
devoted to verb classes and morphology be-
cause of the central role which they play in
the language and in the remaining sections
of the dissertation. Chapter Three explains
the relationships among verb affixes, word
order and pragmatic factors, such as thema-
tic structure, definiteness, role structure
and information structure. The role of prag-
matic information in relation to the func-
tion of the verbal prefixes is then related
to the verbal categories of voice, aspect,
mode and tense since they interact with the
verbal morphology in the communicative pro-
cess. Chapter Four presents a brief review
of the linguistic terms subject and topic
and then defines the subjects and topics of
Chindo as well as the basic sentence of
Chindo. Chapter Five considers the function
of the ergative construction in Chindo dis-
course as a foregrounding device. From a
comparison of the method of foregrounding in
Chindo, a contemporary Malay dialect, with
the method of foregrounding of mid-19th cen-
tury Malay narrative, a diachronic model of
change is proposed. Chapter Six reviews the
salient points of the dissertation and relates
them to directions in contemporary linguistic
theory.

* * *

FOOTNOTES:

1. I do not intend to establish a name for this
language, but merely to use Chindo as an abbreviation
for the language of the Chinese of East Java.

2. All national statistics come from the Bureau
of Statistics Data Bank, second edition 1976. City
and regional statistics come from city and district
office records and from Penyajian Data Potensi Desa
(Report of the Potential of Malang Villages) Kabupa-
ten Malang 1971, Badan Pembinaan Pendidikan Kabupaten

3. A survey in 1976 showed that the percentage
of people able to speak fluent Indonesian was 30.8
in a village, 42 in a town, and 60.8 in the city of
Malang. See Rafferty, forthcoming.

4. In the district of Malang which includes
towns and villages, but not cities, the Chinese are
only .28 percent of the total population showing that
the Chinese are an urban population. District of Malang
records, 1976.

5. See Shellabear (1913) for a discussion of
Baba Malay and see Leo (1972) for a discussion of
Chinese loan words in Indonesian today. Leo found 244
loan words from Chinese languages in Indonesian speech
today.

6. In general, the Chinese of Malang only speak
Low (informal) Javanese, not High (formal) Javanese.
For an explanation of the difference between Low and
High Javanese see Horne 1961.

7. A computer print-out of the date (i.e. the
transcriptions of the ten conversations) on which this
dissertation is based is available to any interested
reader. Address inquiries to the Department of South
Asian Studies University of Wisconsin, Madison,
Wisconsin 53706, USA.
Chapter Two

A REVIEW OF THE GRAMMAR

2.0 Introduction

The grammar of the language of the Chinese of Malang, East Java, is based on ten conversations. The grammar of colloquial unplanned discourse will necessarily be different from a grammar based on elicited speech or on written texts (cf. Elinor Keenan 1977). In this chapter a brief outline of the segmental taxonomic phonemes, word classes, verbal morphology and nominal morphology is given, but no attempt is made to analyze the discourse functions of the elements described or to show the interrelationships among the elements of discourse. In each section the Javanese, Indonesian or Dutch origin of the elements is noted.

It is appropriate that the grammar of Chindo be based on unelicited oral discourse for several reasons; first the language is not used in written communication, second the language is not standardized thus allowing for a continuum of variation showing greater and lesser degrees of Javanese and Indonesian influence depending on the social situation, and third the grammar of oral language is a worthy endeavor for it allows one to examine mechanisms of variation and possible change. Variation can be expected to be quite prominent in an oral, non-standard language, while determining grammatical acceptability may often be impossible. The description in this chapter is thus not to be regarded as a formulation of the grammar of Chindo but a grammar of one possible state of this language which can then be used for comparison with the languages (Indonesian and Javanese) with which Chindo is constantly in contact and from which it arose. For a complete account of the grammar of Standard Indonesian see Dyen (1967) or Wolff (1967) and for an account of Javanese grammar see Horne (1961).

The elements presented in this chapter are those which appeared in the ten conversations. It is, of course, possible that there are other elements which might be included in Chindo but did not occur. It must be remembered that the Chinese speak many languages depending on the social setting in which they find themselves; style change involves language change. A formal setting demands a move to, or toward, Standard Indonesian while an informal setting demands colloquial Indonesian with Javanese morphology. In semi-formal settings a Chinese usually speaks Chindo with more Indonesian words than he would usually use in an informal situation, but the verbal and nominal affixes usually remain in Javanese. Javanese affixes indicate that the setting is still considered informal or that the speaker cannot speak Standard Indonesian. The problem of defining the line between any two closely related dialects or languages is always difficult, but the problem is more complex in a multilingual situation where the languages are functionally specialized. The definition of Chindo used in this study is the colloquial language of the Chinese and thus restricted to the informal style. I have controlled for stylistic changes by selecting informal conversational settings. The purpose of this chapter is to present the predominant patterns of this colloquial language not the determination of the boundary that divides colloquial Chindo from Standard Indonesian, colloquial Indonesian or Javanese.

A few remarks need to be made concerning the structure of Chindo and the nature of the translations and glosses. The data are conversations among people who share many experiences which allow them to assume a certain amount of common knowledge. The literal translations, therefore, may not be understandable to someone from outside the subculture of the Chinese of Java, because much of the information needed to understand any one statement comes from the prior discourse or from cultural assumptions. One obvious example of this dependency on context is tense. Chindo, like Javanese and Indonesian, has no tense marking on the verb. The time of the predication may be indicated by a time word or by the linguistic and/or social context. Glosses frequently appear to be far removed from the literal translations because intelligibility of conversational language is achieved through both explicit and implicit information.

2.1 Phonology

The chart on the next page presents the taxonomic phonemes of Chindo.

Following the chart is a comparison of several points in Chindo phonology with Javanese and Indonesian phonology.

The significant phonological differences between Chindo and Standard Indonesian which will be discussed are: retroflex stops /t/ and /d/; initial, medial, and final /h/; final /k/; /r/; centralization of vowels; and shortening of words.

Chindo, like Standard Indonesian (and Javanese), has unaspirated voiceless stops in word-final position. (The term Indonesian will be used to mean Standard Indonesian in the remaining parts of the dissertation.)

Chindo, unlike Indonesian, has the Javanese retroflex /t/ and /d/ in words borrowed from Javanese when the social and/or linguistic environment is Javanese, but more frequently the Indonesian dental /t/ and /d/ are used in Chindo. Not all Chinese produce the retroflex /t/ and /d/ but the more ac-
Phonemic Chart for Chindo

Consonants

1. Obstruents
   a. Non-continuants - voiceless: Labial Dental Retroflex Palatal Velar Glottal
      \( p \quad t \quad \dot{t} \quad c \quad k \quad ? \)
      \( b \quad d \quad \dot{d} \quad \dot{\acute{y}} \quad g \quad h \)
   b. Continuants
      \( f \quad s \quad l \quad w \quad r \quad y \)

2. Non-Obstruents
   a. Nasal:
      \( m \quad n \quad \acute{n} \quad \dot{\acute{n}} \)
   b. Non-nasal
      lateral:
      \( l \)
      non-lateral:
      \( w \quad r \quad y \)

Vowels

Front Mid Back

High higher:

lower:

Mid higher:

lower:

culturated can distinguish the dental from the retroflex /\dot{t}/ and /\dot{d}/. Chindo is distin-
guished from Indonesian by the frequent drop-
ning of the initial, medial and final /h/ when the social setting is informal. The /h/
remains in Chindo in formal and semi-formal
settings but since Chindo is specialized for
informal settings, the /h/ rarely appears.

As might be expected, formal style in-
creases the influence of Indonesian, while
informal style increases the influence of
Javanese. The purpose of the following par-
agraphs is not to account for changes in
phonology, but to summarize the presence and
absence of /h/ in various linguistic envi-
ronments in the recorded data.

The initial /h/- is frequently dropped in
Chindo in words of Javanese and Malay
origin but rarely in words of foreign origin
such as Arabic or Sanskrit. Some deletions
in Malay words are: /\(h\)ab\)/ 'finished',
/\(h\)ati/ 'soul or feeling', and /\(h\)idap/
'life'. The following foreign words never
lose their initial /h/-: /\(k\)al/ 'matter'
(Arabic), /\(k\)arga/ 'price' (Sanskrit), and
/\(h\)asil/ 'result' (Arabic). A few words of
local origin which do not lose their initial
/h/- are: /\(h\)a\(n\)/ 'only' (Minangkabau Malay),
and /\(h\)amba/ 'servant' (Malay).

The medial /-h/- is deleted when it oc-
curs between unlike vowels, but not when it
occurs between like vowels; eg. /\(m\)ahal/ 'ex-
pensive', but /\(t\)iat/ from /\(t\)ihat/ 'see', and
/\(taxn/ from /\(t\)ahun/ 'year'. This deletion
occurs in Chindo, and Jakarta Malay (Wallace
1976), but not in Indonesian.

The final /-h/ in Chindo as well as in
colloquial Indonesian is often dropped when
the word is not stressed. Although this
dropping occurs in colloquial Indonesian, it
is not as common as it is in Chindo. Below
is an example of an unstressed auxiliary
that ends with an /-h/. Under such condi-
tions the /-h/ is often dropped.

1. /\(d\)erman \(s\)\(\acute{k}\)ara\(q\) \(s\)uda \(p\)indah/
   Derman now already move
   (not \(s\)udah, but \(p\)indah)
   'Derman has already moved.'

The verb /\(p\)indah/ 'move' is stressed and the
/-h/ is not deleted, while the auxiliary is
not stressed and the /-h/ is deleted. If
the word /\(s\)udah/ 'already' occurs in utter-
ance final position and functions as a par-
ticle commenting on a complete utterance,
the word always retains the /-h/ because it
is stressed. For example:

2. /\(l\)abih \(m\)urah \(b\)eli \(s\)\(\acute{a}\)-\(r\)atos
   more cheap buy one-hundred
   \(s\)\(\acute{a}\)-\(kal\)ig\(o\)c, \(s\)udah /
   one-time already
   'It's cheaper to buy a hundred at
   once, you know.'

Below is another example of retention of
/-h/ in stressed position. (The dropping
of the initial syllable will be discussed
later; /\(s\)udah/ > /\(d\)ah/.)

3. /\(i\)ya, \(t\)au \(d\)a \(h\), \(b\)i\(a\)sa \(d\)a \(h\)/
   yes know already usual already
   'Yes, he knows, of course; he's
   used to it, of course.'
   (You should have known.)
words come directly from Javanese or Indonesian and remain unchanged. (I am not considering the phenomenon of combining an Indonesian word with a Javanese affix which is very common in Chindo.)

Words are shortened by dropping the first syllable or consonant. This process is common in Javanese and Indonesian, as well as in Chindo. Words are almost never shortened from the final syllable. Some examples of shortening are given below:

\[ /\text{enter} / > /\text{er} / \text{accompany} \]
\[ /\text{anom} / > /\text{nom} / \text{six} \]
\[ /\text{qay} / > /\text{g}/ \text{go} \]
\[ /\text{habis} / > /\text{ah}/ \text{already} \]
\[ /\text{habis} / > /\text{bis} / \text{finished} \]

Chindo uses the Javanese word when the Indonesian and Javanese words are related by vowel lowering or raising. Some examples are given below:

\[ /\text{onam} / > /\text{am} / \text{six} \]
\[ /\text{dayag} / > /\text{ayag} / \text{come} \]
\[ /\text{aanag} / > /\text{anag} / \text{happy} \]
\[ /\text{gogar} / > /\text{gar} / \text{hear} \]

The /a/ in a closed final syllable in the Indonesian word is raised to /a/ in Javanese in all but the last example. In the last example, the Indonesian word /gogar/ 'hear' becomes /gar/ by the application of Javanese phonological rules, but the word /gogar/ does not exist in Javanese. There is a word /gar/ in Javanese meaning 'to know', not 'to hear'. The word /gar/ is not used by Javanese when speaking colloquial Indonesian, but it is used by Chinese when speaking Chindo.

Below are some examples of vowel lowering:

\[ /\text{ikut} / > /\text{ikot} / \text{follow} \]
\[ /\text{balum} / > /\text{bolom} / \text{not yet} \]
\[ /\text{ambil} / > /\text{ambe}/ \text{take} \]
\[ /\text{abis} / > /\text{bes} / \text{finished} \]
\[ /\text{bali} / > /\text{be}/ \text{return} \]

The examples above demonstrate a lowering of closed final /u/ and closed open final /i/. In Javanese the open, final vowels /i/, /e/, and /a/ are lowered when followed by the /an/ suffix. See the examples below from Javanese (Horne 1961):

\[ /\text{lai}/ > /\text{la}/ + /\text{an}/ \text{sweet nectar} \]
\[ /\text{e}/ > /\text{e}/ + /\text{an}/ \text{too long} \]
\[ /\text{lo}/ > /\text{lo}/ + /\text{an}/ \text{belief} \]
Chindo generalizes the vowel lowering rule 
and applies it to both open and closed final 
vowels. The above vowel lowering does not 
occur in Indonesian. Here we see the close 
tie between Javanese and Chindo.

2.2 Word classes

This section divides all words into open 
or closed word classes. There are two mutu-
ally exclusive, open word classes: nouns and 
predicates; and three closed word classes: 
pronouns, particles and interjections. Each 
word class is described briefly.

2.21 Open word classes

2.211 Nouns

The notional definition of a noun is a 
lexical item that names a person, place, 
thing, or idea. Nouns can take the one nom-
inial suffix /-a/ and can be juxtaposed to a 
predicate or to another noun to express a 
complete thought.

2.212 Predicates

Predicates include adjectives, verbs (of 
existence, motion, perception, bodily function, 
mental activity, rest and transfer), and loc-
atives of space. (For examples see section 
2.3 on predicate classes.)

I do not use the term adverb because 
there are no adverbs of manner which are not 
also adjectives. See the examples below:

4. /wara baca lahir./ Adjective 
program free it is 
'The program is free.'

5. /dia baci beli baca./ Adverb 
he may buy freely 
'He may buy freely.'

6. /anti? minggu lagi 
later sunday another 
Adjective 
not able 
'Next Sunday I will not be 
able to.'

7. /wara anti? pulang-ra 
then later go home-def. 
Adverb 
rent again 
'Then for the return trip 
we'll rent (it) again.'

There is a periphrastic construction which is 
available to unambiguously state the advers-
ial form of an adjective. This construction 
was used only twice in the discourse analyzed. 
In most cases the adjective is merely juxta-
posed to a predicate in order to express an 
adverb. An example of the periphrastic con-
struction appears next :

8. /kita-bicara-kan 
we (DI-) talk-obj. 
dagan batul./ Adverb 
with correct 
'We will really discuss 
this.'

The reason for including adjective, locative, 
and verb together in one class are primarily 
syntactic. These reasons will become clear 
when the predicate is sub-divided into four 
classes. (See section 2.32.)

2.22 Closed word classes

2.221 Particles

Particles are items that express mood, 
aspect, logical relations, location, negation, 
conjunction, and subordination. Chindo par-
ticles are taken from both Indonesian and 
Javanese. See the examples of particles be-
low: (The listings are not intended to be 
complete, but rather representative.)

| Conjunctions: | /dan/ | 'and' |
| : | (Indonesian) | |
| Prepositions: | /dari/ | 'from' |
| : | (Indonesian) | |
| Modals and | /boleh/ | 'may' |
| Actuals: | (Indonesian) | |
| Subordinators: | /karena/ | 'if' |
| : | (Indonesian) | |
| Negators: | /tidak/ | 'not' |
| : | (Indonesian) | |
| Locatives: | /kemarin/ | 'yesterday' |
| Time: | (Indonesian) | |

(For a more complete listing of time words see 
section 3.4 which treats tense.)
2.222 Interjections

Interjections express mood, mode, and emotion. In defining mood they often define the speech act. Most of the interjections are from Javanese, and are commonly used in both Chindo and colloquial Indonesian. Some examples are:

/\-bo/ (Javanese) 'surprise'
/\-ha/ (Javanese) 'surprise and relief'
/\-ko/ (Javanese) 'disbelief'

The scope of these interjections is always a complete thought or utterance, and they stand before or after the statement about which they comment.

2.223 Pronouns

Pronouns provide a revealing area for linguistic borrowing. (Cf. Wallace 1976 for an interesting discussion of borrowing in Jakarta Malay.) Instead of being one of the categories of language resistant to change and borrowing (Cf. Bloomfield 1933:468–71), pronouns are borrowed extensively from other languages. Pronouns are crucial for understanding a linguistic system in flux because they play a central role in the deictic and verbal systems of a language (Givón 1976).

Pronouns may be divided into the following groups: personal, demonstrative, and interrogative pronouns.

Personal pronouns are divided into two classes: free forms and bound forms. The free forms are separate lexical items which receive full stress, while the bound ones are tied to a word and do not receive full stress. Of all the categories in Chindo, the free form pronoun category has accepted the greatest percentage of loan words from Dutch, Javanese, and Chinese languages. The free forms are listed below along with their language of origin and glosses.

/\-ku/ (Javanese/Indonesian) 'I' - informal
/\-ke/ (Dutch) 'I'
/\-u/ (Chinese/Jakarta Malay) 'I' - stylish slang of the youth
/\-o/ (Chinese) 'I' - said by a male speaker only
/\-o\-a/ (Indonesian) 'I' - slightly more formal than /\-ku/
/\-a/ (Indonesian) 'we' (inclusive and exclusive)
/\-ka/ (Indonesian) 'you' - slightly informal (singular)
/\-ko/ (Indonesian) 'you' - for good friends usually used in Central Java (singular)
/\-ko\-a/ (Indonesian) 'you' - usually to a subordinate (singular)
/\-ko\-a/ (Javanese) 'respectful you'
/\-u\-a/ (Javanese) 'you' (singular) stylish slang of the youth
/\-u\-a/ (Chinese) 'you' (singular)
/\-o\-a/ (Dutch) 'he, she, it'
/\-o\-a/ (Indonesian) 'he, she, it'
/\-o\-a\-a/ (Javanese) 'they' (this is not used in the recorded data)

The one obvious omission from the Javanese set of pronouns is the exclusive /\-ka\-a/ although in practice the Javanese distinguish /\-ka\-a/ and /\-ka/ with the inclusive /\-au\-e\-a/ and exclusive /\-au/. Chindo, as well as Javanese, has only one first person plural pronoun /\-u\-a/ Here again we see the close affinities between Chindo and Javanese. In general, the choice of personal pronouns used for the addressee depends upon ethnic affiliation of the addressee because it is the speaker's duty to respect the addressee and use the addressee's system of pronouns.

In Chindo, as in Indonesian and Javanese, kin terms are frequently used instead of pronouns. Below I list the kin terms commonly used in Chindo as free (not bound) pronouns.

/\-ib\-a/ or /\-n/ (Indonesian/Javanese) 'mother'
/\-ib\-a/ (Chinese) 'mother'
/\-pa\-a/ (Indonesian/Javanese) 'father'
/\-pa\-a/ (Dutch) 'father'
/\-جا\-a/ (Javanese) 'older sister'
/\-جا\-a/ (Indonesian) 'older sister'
/\-جا\-a\-a/ (Chinese) 'older sister'
/\-u\-a/ (Dutch) 'sister'
/\-جا\-a/ (Javanese) 'older brother'
/\-جا\-a\-a/ (Indonesian) 'older brother'
/\-جا\-a\-a/ (Chinese) 'brother'
/\-جا\-a/ (Dutch) 'uncle'
/\-جا\-a/ (Dutch) 'aunt'
/\-جا\-a\-a/ (Dutch) 'tante'
/\-جا\-a\-a/ (Indonesian) 'sibling'

The Dutch kin terms are the most frequently used terms, and they form the most complete set. There are four Indonesian terms compared with six Dutch terms. This cultural borrowing reflects close social and cultural ties between the Chinese and the Dutch and the fact that the borrowings are still alive after thirty six years of independence indicates the strength of the ties.

The bound pronouns are divided into two types: the proclitic and the enclitic.
The proclitic pronouns, prefixed to the verb to indicate the agent, cannot be moved and do not receive full stress. The set of proclitics has had no influence from any other language except Javanese. (Note that /di/ is also used in Indonesia.) I list these proclitics below:

/ta?/ (Javanese) 'I'
/di/ (Javanese) 'he, she, it' (but can be used for any person provided that its referent is inferable from the discourse.)

Some examples of how proclitic pronouns are used in sentences are given below:

9. /enti? seq ta?-simpon later the ones I(DI)-save
ta?-kasi?-no mamah-e I(DI)-give-obj. mother-def.
'I later I will give the ones that I saved to mother.'

10. /ta?-kira' gini ae, I(DI)-think this way just, seq raga-ragu that which uncertain
tulis-on baya?-ido./ write-imperative father mother
'I think that you should just do this, on the ones that you are uncertain about write Mr. and Mrs.'

11. /iki di-simpon dimana ?/ this DI-save where
'Where should I put this for safe keeping?'

12. /meguard seq di-estugoni about that which DI-agree-obj.
rapat./ meeting
'Concerning that which they agreed on at the meeting.'

13. /ini di-iisi-kan besc?/ this DI-fill-obj. tomorrow
'Will we fill this out tomorrow?'

Both /sayaq/ 'I' and /kita/ 'we' which were listed earlier as free pronominal forms, are occasionally used as proclitics; they directly precede the verb and receive no stress. When they are used as proclitics the auxiliary or modal cannot come between the proclitic and the verb. There was no proclitic pronoun 'you' in the Chindo discourse examined. It is not unusual to find an avoidance of the term 'you' in conversation because it is embarrassing and often unnecessary to directly refer to the addressee. The use of the Javanese pronoun system (which is used in Chindo when the addressee is Javanese) is particularly embarrassing because it requires an exact specification of the social status relationship between the speaker and hearer.

The Indonesian pronominal system is not exact in the specification of the social status relationship. Below are examples of /sayaq/ and /kita/ used as proclitics and free pronouns.

Proclitic pronouns

14. /mau sayaq-kasih topi./ want I(DI)-give hat
'I want to give (you) a hat.'
(The hat is right there in front of the speaker.)

15. /ya, ada ya adara-ku ini yes, sibling-my this
hamas kita-liat./ must we(DI-) see
'Yes, my brothers and sisters we must see (witness) this (event.)'

Free pronouns

16. /lha, sayaq mau pulak, yes, I want go home,
saya sudah pikir aama mari./ I already think about Mari
'Yes, I want to go home now, I've begun thinking about Mari.'
(I'm worried because I have been away from home too long.)

17. /dari itu adara-ku kita from that sibling-my we
hamas buka mata./ must open eye
'Because of that, my brothers, we must open our eyes.' (We must be aware of what is happening around us.)

Although /sayaq/ and /kita/ are occasionally used in the proclitic form, it is the /di-/ and the /ta?/-forms which are more frequently used. The /di-/ form is often used for any person if the person is inferable from the context of discourse. Note that the /ta?/-form can only mean 'I'. The social and linguistic context regularly indicates the agent of the verb, allowing the /di-/prefix great flexibility. Indonesian has a fuller set of proclitics than Chindo including /ku/ 'I' and /kauf/ 'you'. If the need arises for linguistic specification of the interlocutor in Chindo conversation, a name or kin term is frequently used rather than a pronoun.

The enclitic pronouns are possessive pronouns when suffixed to nominals and are objects of prepositions when suffixed to prepositions. The propositions and nominals may take either the free or the enclitic pronoun. The enclitic category, like the proclitic one has borrowings only from Javanese. The en-
clitic forms are listed below:

/-ku/  'me, my'  (Javanese and Indonesian)
/-mu/  'you, your'  (Javanese and Indonesian)
/-na/  'it, him, her; its, his, hers'  (Indonesian)
/-n(w)/  'it, him, her; its, his, hers'  (Javanese)

The *interrogative pronouns* occurring in the discourse are listed below:

/-apa/  'who'  (Javanese)
/-apa/  'who'  (Javanese with Indonesian pronunciation)
/-iapa/  'who'  (Indonesian)
/-apa/  'what'  (Indonesian)
/-apa/  'what'  (Javanese)

Some examples of utterances with enclitic and free pronouns are given below:

**Possessive pronouns**

18. /sana?-ku ko jakarta? / Enclitic child-my to Jakarta pronoun
   'My child went to Jakarta.'

19. /koka? saya bilaq ..../ Free sister-my say pronoun
   'My sister said ...'

**Object of a preposition**

20. /roh tuhan ada / Enclitic spirit God there is
    pada-ku. / with-me pronoun
    'The spirit of God is with me.'

21. /bebat kita pula / Free for-us have
    lambis .../ ticket pronoun
    'For us who have tickets ...'

As can be seen from the above examples, the free form pronouns /saya/ 'I, me, my' and /kita/ 'we, us, our' can be used in place of enclitic pronouns.

It is interesting to note that the borrowings from Dutch and Chinese have not influenced the bound forms (proclitics or enclitics), but only the free forms of the personal pronouns. The most likely reason for this lack of borrowing is that the clause construction in which the proclitic occurs has a different word order from that found in Dutch resulting in a different semantic role structure of the theme and rheme. This difference in structure makes it difficult for a speaker to freely substitute words from one structure into another. In Dutch, the theme of the basic, declarative, transitive sentence is most often the agent, whereas, in Chindo it is the patient. (This will be discussed further in Chapter Four.)

The *demonstrative pronouns* are used in a variety of ways in the discourse. The demonstrative pronouns occurring in the Chindo discourse are listed below:

/-ini/ or /ini?/ 'this'  (Indonesian)
/-iti/ 'this'  (Javanese)
/-itu/ 'this'  (Indonesian)
/-itu/ 'that'  (Javanese)
/-itu/ 'that'  (Javanese)
/-itu/ 'that farther away'

**2.3 Predicate classes**

The predicate in Chindo may be an adjective, locative, or verb. In this section predicates will be divided into four classes. The two criteria for making this classification are: 1) the number (one or two) and the semantic role of the major NP arguments that can occur with the predicate, and 2) the degree of transitivity of the clause. NP's introduced by prepositions will not be considered major arguments in the classification of verbs. (A verbal suffix can make the NP of a prepositional phrase into a major NP argument of a verb.) Before presenting the four predicate classes, the semantic roles of the NP arguments of Chindo are defined, and a discussion of transitivity is given.

*Actor* is the volitional, active NP of an intransitive verb.

For example: *Heloise paints.*

*Affected* is the non-volitional NP argument of an intransitive verb. It is characterized by the state or quality of the predicate.

For example: *The book is red.*

*Experiencer* is one of the arguments of a semi-transitive verb. The experiencer is animate, and does not will the event or state signaled by the verb but rather undergoes or experiences it. The absence of volition distinguishes the experiencer from the actor.

For example: *Jack heard the crash.*

*Referent* is the non-volitional NP complement of a semi-transitive verb. It is not a patient because it is not changed or directly affected by the action of the verb.

For example: *Angela saw the monster.*

*Agent* is the volitional NP of a transitive verb. An agent causes or initiates an activity that affects another NP.

For example: *Bill planted the corn seeds.*

*Patient* is the non-volitional NP of a transitive verb, and is changed or directly affected by the action of the verb.

For example: *Tom baked the pie.*

**2.3.1 Transitivity**

The semantic definition of transitivity is the transfer of activity of a verb from one NP argument to another. It is a quality usually assigned to verbs, but entails the whole clause including the NP arguments of the verb. The semantic definition is most applicable to verbs, such as 'hit' and 'throw' that have agents and patients because the action of the verb passes directly from one NP to the other.
but also applies in a lesser degree to verbs of perception, such as hear or see, that do not affect their objects in a direct manner. The notion of transitivity applies in a more peripheral manner to those verbs, such as appear and sit, that have no object at all.

Transitivity depends not only on the verb type but also on the definiteness of the NP arguments since transitivity is a characteristic of a clause and in its most complete sense entails three elements: 1) the agent, experiencer, or actor; 2) the verb; and 3) the patient, referent, or benefactor (see Hopper and Thompson 1980). Transitivity also involves two relationships: the agent-verb tie and the verb-complement tie.

Full transitivity requires that the three elements be present and that the two relationships be strong. The agent-verb tie is strongest and most transitive when the agent is referential and definite. When the agent is indefinite and non-referential the transitivity is decreased. The following sentences show increasing degrees of transitivity.

1. Someone ate the cake. (agent is indefinite and non-referential)
   The robber killed the man. (Transitive verb)
   The man was killed (by the robber). (Intransitive verb)
   There was a man who was killed (by a robber). (Passive voice)

2. A girl ate the cake. (agent is indefinite and referential)
   The girl ate the cake. (agent is definite and referential)
   Mary ate the cake. (agent is definite and referential)

In English the absence of the agent as a major argument causes the utterance to be intransitive; either in the passive voice or in an existential sentence. For example:

Mary eats cake. (patient is indefinite and non-referential)
Mary ate some cake. (patient is indefinite and referential)
Mary ate the last piece of cake. (patient is definite and referential)

Likewise, the second relationship, the verb-complement tie, is strongest and most transitive when the object is referential and definite. The following sentences show the increasing degrees of transitivity.

The degrees of transitivity of the verb not only depend on the semantics of the verb and definiteness of the NP's but also on the tense, aspect, mode and mood of the verb. The most transitive verb form is the past, perfective, real, declarative verb. This will be discussed further in the chapter on verbal categories: tense, aspect, and mood.

The above semantic definition of transitivity must be supplemented by a morphologic-
24. /nda\? isaa not able
    ng-wrong-obj. Idered
    misalaha-kan, saya (verb from
    think)
class I

'Syou can not blame me,
I think.'

Sentence 24 shows the adjective / sala\a/ pre-
fixed with NG- and suffixed with /-kan/ re-
sulting in a fully transitive verb. Except
in the derived form, class I predicates do
not take affixes. The class I predicate at-
tributes qualities to the subject NP without
describing any action.

The existential verb /ada/ (Indonesian)
and /ono/ (Javanese) 'there is' must be
grouped with class I predicates because it
does not take the verbal affixes except in
the derivational sense. Below I show the
existential verb as a class I verb and then
as a derived class IV verb (fully transitive).

25. /ono/
    there is
    ojobe./ husband-def.
    'Her husband is there.'

26. /baru-baru
    new-new
    bauapa kali
    how many times
    Derived
    msi-ada-kan
    NG-there is-obj.
    rapat./
    meeting
    'Recently how many
    times have we had a
    meeting?'

2.33 Class two - one-place predicates with
an actor

The predicate in this category includes
verbs of motion, bodily function, and re-
flexive verbs. (It is interesting to note
that there is only one reflexive pronoun in
the discourse.) Chindo usually deals with
reflexives in a manner that does not require
the reflexive pronoun. For further expla-
nation see section 2.37. Some common class
II verbs are: /tida\y/ 'sleep', /mandi/
'bathe', /ba\a\a/ 'get up', /kombal\a/ 're-
turn', /pula\a/ 'to come home', /krama\a/
'to shampoo', /pur\a/ 'go', and /duda/ 'to sit'. These verbs take one major prepo-
tion-less NP argument as actor. Class II,
like class I, does not take the prefixes NG-
or DI- except in a derivational sense. When
a class II verb receives a prefix (NG- or
DI-) and a suffix (-kan or -i) the result is
a fully transitive class IV verb. Below are
some examples of class II verbs and some de-
derived class IV verbs from class II verbs.

27. /koh\ a\ a
    brother Ming-def.
    pagi sabentar,
    class I verb
    'Go a moment
    'Brother Ming went for
    a moment.'

28. /tante
    bara
    ba\a\a
    aunt just get up
    ada
tamu,
    there is guest
    'Auntie just got up and
    there was a guest.'

29. /kamarin
ta\ a-krama\a.

    yesterday I-(DI-) shu\a\o
    'I shampooed yesterday.'

30. /bara\kali
    m-bali-no
    Derived
    h\a\a-nae de\ u.
    NG-return-obj. matter
    Honda-def. he
    'Probably he is return-
ing the Honda.'

31. /ja\a\a
    terlalu suah
    don't too sad
    ma-mikir-kan pergara
    NG-think-obj. matter
    harta benda/
    wealth things
    'Don't be too sad thinking
    about the things of the
    world.'

2.34 Class three - two-place predicates of
perception with an experiencer and a
referent

Class III verbs are interesting because
they can take two bare NP arguments, yet they
are not fully transitive because the object
can not be fronted or made definite without
additional affixes. (This relationship be-
tween definiteness, word order and verb mor-
phology will be discussed in Chapter Four.)
Class three verbs include verbs such as:
/daga/ /'to hear', /pu\a/ /'to own', /bilag/
/'to say', /pi\a\a/ /'to think', and /main/ /'to play'. One of the NP arguments is the
experiencer and the other is the indefinite
referent. The referent is the complement of
the verb but is not a direct object which is
affected by the action of the verb. This con-
struction is not fully transitive because of
the indefiniteness of the object/referent.
The semi-transitive nature of the verb is made
obvious by the ungrammaticality of object
fronting (see sentence 33). The grammatical
subject of this class of verbs must be the
actor. When a suffix is added to increase the
transitivity of the verb phrase the verb be-
comes a class IV verb. Class III verbs may
take the NG-prefix and two NP arguments with
the actor as the grammatical subject and theme
and the referent as complement. (See appendix
for definitions of theme, grammatical subject and referent.) More commonly the class III verb is used in the stem form (see section 3.230 for a discussion of the function of stem verbs). The stem form of the verb is the unaffixed form of a verb. It is used when the transitivity of the clause is low, as in predicates of classes I and II. Because class III predicates are semi-transitive, they, too, frequently use the stem form. To make a class III verb fully transitive, the prefix DI-and one of the suffixes */-kan/, */-no/ or */-i/ must be added to the verb. The complement of the verb is then fronted to become the grammatical subject and theme of the sentence. Examples below exemplify the semi-transitive nature of the class III verbs and the transitivizing function of the suffixes.

Semi-transitive verb:

32. */orag kanc? main bilyartan./*
   person can play billiards
   'People can play billiards (there).

One may not front the indefinite object and make it the grammatical subject of the sentence.

33. */bilyartan kanc? di-main orag /*
   But one may say with a fully transitive verb:

34. */bilyartan di-main-kan
   billiards DI-play-obj.
   orag itu
   person that
   'That man played billiards.' or
   'That man will play billiards.'
   (The tense depends on the context.)

The meaning of sentence 34 is perfective; a particular individual played at a specific time, but the time is not grammatically defined. An event is being described and the object is definite.

Semi-transitive verb:

35. */saya bilaq sama
   I say to
   orag gini tho./*
   person this way you know
   'I said to someone, it's this way, you know.'

Fully transitive verb:

36. */ta?-bilaq-i buah apal
   I (DI) say-obj fruit apple
   lima kilo suahah bali./*
   five kilo already buy
   'I tell you that I've already bought five kilos of apples.'

Full transitivity requires a definite object and a transitivizing suffix */-kan/, */-no/ or */-i/ with class III verbs. One more example of this fact is given below:

Semi-transitive verb:

37. */kita mo-liat tadi pagi
   We NG-see last morning
   suatu hal./*
   a matter
   'We saw something this morning.'

Fully transitive verb:

38. */itu ta -liat-no ao./*
   that I-(DI-) see-obj just
   'I just saw that.'

If the object is definite and the event perfective, the verb must be fully transitive. Thus, the perfective class III verbs must take a suffix and the DI-prefix.

2.35 Class four - two-place predicate with an agent and a patient

All class four verbs are fully transitive and have two NP arguments: one the agent and the other the patient. They take both prefixes NG-and DI-in a non-derivational sense. The object patient may be fronted without the addition of a suffix. (The function of the suffixes will be discussed later in this chapter in section 2.42.) Some examples of class four verbs are: */buag/ 'to throw', */ambil/ 'to take', */bati/ and */kasih/ 'to give', */bawa/ 'to carry', and */julat/ 'to sell'. Sentences using these verbs are given below.

39. */sama di-bati kode /*
   all DI-give code
   'All have been given a code.'

40. */sama? sama egkong
   mother and grandfather
   mau di-aqa? lestoran /*
   want DI-invite restaurant
   'She wants to invite Mom and grandfather to the restaurant.'

41. */tante m-bawa payaq /*
   aunt NG-carry umbrella
   'Auntie carries an umbrella.'

Class IV verbs may or may not take the prefixes NG- and DI- and suffixes */-kan/, */-no/ and */-i/. The function of these affixes is not transitivizing but rather discourse related. (The function of the prefixes will be discussed in Chapter Three section 3.2.)

2.36 The equative sentence

Before leaving this section on verb classes, it is important to mention that many sentences in Chindo have no predicate as defined by the above four classes of predicates. These sentences consist in two conjoined NP's. The first NP is the theme and the second is the theme. In these equative sentences, predication occurs by mere juxtaposition. For example:

42. */nus ini putu-e tonto /*
   one who this grandchild-def aunt
   'This one is the grandchild of Auntie.'
43. /zo? pagi minggu./
   tomorrow morning Sunday
   'Tomorrow morning is Sunday.'

Predicates are divided into four verbal predicate classes and one predicate nominative. The four verbal predicates have been divided based upon the number and semantic role of the NP arguments which can accompany the predicate, and the transitivity of the clause. This division of verbal predicates allows one to identify the semantic role of the grammatical subject for each class of the predicate. For class I predicates, the grammatical subject is the experiencer; for class II predicates, the grammatical subject is the experiencer, and for class III, the grammatical subject is the experiencer, and for class IV the grammatical subject is the agent with the NG-prefix, and the patient with the prefix DI-. Section 2.4 deals with verbal affixes and provides further discussion of the relationship between verb morphology and transitivity.

2.37 The reflexive and BER-predicate

The reflexive may be expressed in Chindo by two constructions: 1) the prefix /bar-/ such as:

44. /dia bar-aikur/
   He is shaving (himself).

or 2) the NG-prefix (not by the DI-prefix), a semi-transitive verb plus the complement /diri/ 'self'. For example:

45. /dia mambunuh diri,/
   He killed himself.

(See section 2.4.1 for a discussion of the function of the major prefixes.) In both types of reflexives, the grammatical subject is the actor of the sentence. The verb is not fully transitive and thus the complement can not be fronted to become the grammatical subject.

The /bar-/ predicate can take an indefinite (but not a definite) object and must take a definite agent/actor. The agent/actor is the theme and grammatical subject of the sentence and the indefinite object may be regarded as a type of noun incorporation since it can not be fronted and/or made definite. The focus is on the verb not the definite object thus the significant information of the sentence is contained in the theme-rheme relationship. The theme is the actor and the rheme is the /bar/-verb which contains the new information. The degree of transitivity of the /bar/-predicate is similar to that of the class III predicates. Below are some examples of the /bar/-predicate from the Chindo discourse:

46. /mahasiswa lama se? bar-agama
   Student old who BER-religion
   krestan la? maati-ne ada to/
   Christian must be
   'There must be some old students who are Christian, you know.'

47. /semua orang boleh bar-dag?gan/
   all men may BER-trade
   'Everyone may trade.' or 'Everyone may be a trader.'

48. /dari sabab itu kita bar-kumpul
   from because that we BER-gather
   ber-sama-sama/
   BER-together
   'Because of that we gathered together.'

One can not put the reflexive pronoun after any of the /bar/-predicates, because the meaning of the prefix implies that the activity or quality of the verb affects the actor.

49. */kita bar-kumpul diri/
   We BER-gather self
   But one can put an indefinite noun after a /bar/-verb.

50. /semua orang boleh bar-dag?gan karit/
   all men may BER-trade rubber
   'Everyone may trade rubber.' or
   'Everyone may be a rubber trader.'

Sentence 50 gives an example of noun incorporation where the focus is on the /bar/-verb, not the indefinite object. As can be seen in the example below the indefinite patient can not be fronted or made definite. The addition of definiteness requires a change in the verb form.

51. */karit itu dia bar-dag?gan/
   rubber that he BER-trade

52. /karit itu dia dagagan/
   rubber that he trade
   'He sells that rubber.'

The combination of the NG-prefix, a transitive verb plus the reflexive pronoun /diri/ is also a reflexive expression. The verb is a middle verb i.e. not fully transitive, because the object of the verb is referentially identical to the actor, thus the subject is the grammatical subject and theme. As with the /bar/-predicate, the object can not be fronted. The important tie is between the actor and the verb because the theme is the actor and the rheme is the verb (not the complement of the verb). Some examples of the NG-verb in reflexive constructions are given below:

53. /ya? bat? kita liat
   that which good we see
   mam-por-siap-kan diri
   NG-become ready-obj. self
   'What is best is that we get ourselves ready.'

The stem is the adjective /siap/ 'ready' to which the transitiveizing prefix /mamper-/ and suffix /-kan/ has been added.

54. /ko? isi q-undur-no diri?
   surprise able NG-go back-obj. self
The stem verb is /mundaw/ 'go back, decline'. It has been made transitive with the prefix /a/ and the suffix /no/. Once the intransitive verb is made transitive, it can take an object. By taking an object which is referentially equivalent to the actor, the transitivity is not fully realized, thus, leaving the verb a middle verb. (A more complete discussion of the function of the verbal morphology and its relation to transitivity will be given in the section on verbal affixes 2.4)

Chindo expresses reflexives and semi-transitive, middle verb constructions with the NG- verb or BER- verb forms showing the functional similarity of these two constructions. Both it is claimed here are semi-transitive while the fully transitive constructions require the DI- verb form. It is interesting to note the scarcity of BER- verb constructions in the Chindo discourse compared with Indonesian texts. This is most likely a reflection of the strong Javanese influence on Chindo because Javanese has no BER-construction but uses stem or NG-verbs instead.

2.4 Verbal affixes

The verbal affixes which will be dealt with are listed:

Prefixes: /NG-/ (Javanese and Indonesian)
/DAI- (Javanese and Indonesian)
/BER- (Indonesian)

Suffices: /-kan/ (Indonesian) /-kan/ (Java-nese pronunciation of Indonesian suffix) /-no/ (Javanese) (variant of /-kan/ Indonesian)
/-i/ (Indonesian and Javanese)
/-q/ (Javanese)

Infixed: /-ui/ (regional - East Java)

2.4.1 Prefixes

The most frequently occurring verbal prefixes are the NG- and the DI- which indicate the semantic role of the grammatical subject of the utterance. If the NG- prefix is used, the grammatical subject is the agent/actor, and if the DI- prefix is used, the grammatical subject is the patient. These prefixes can be used with all four classes of predicates, but with varying effects.

The NG- is an abbreviation for the homorganic nasal prefix that assimilates to the position of the initial consonant and thus has many representations in the surface forms (maw-, man-, mar, m, n, n). (See Horne 1961 for a discussion of the morphophonemics of this process of assimilation.) The NG- prefix is used in a derivational sense with classes I and II and in an inflectional sense in classes III and IV. With classes I and II active verbs are formed. See the examples below:

55. /tes marq. taoq. already finish year
   n-qist. / which NG-first

   'It will be finished in the first year (in the year which comes first).'

If the NG- prefix plus a suffix is added to a class I predicate, the result is a class IV predicate. Below is a derived causative, transitive verb:

56. /nda? isa H-alah-kan not able NG-wrong -obj. naga./ (Adjective is /salah/ 'wrong') me

   'You can not blame me.'

The NG- prefix can be affixed to a noun to form an active verb of class II.

57. /kalow d采暖 atas naga? if from above not
   mar H-erum want NG-electricity
   (noun = /erum/ 'electricity'.
   'If connected from above (the cord).
   will not electrify (that is conduct electricity).
   (A flash is being attached to a camera.)

58. /nda? ada seq not there is one who
   g-lawan (noun = /lawan/ 'enemy')
   NG enemy
   'There is no one who will oppose.'

An active and transitive verb of class IV can be formed by affixing both the NG- prefix and a suffix to a noun.

59. /jadi kare n-jumlah-no so left NG-sum-obj
   psrt-e /click-nom-def.
   'So what's left is to total up the shots.'
   (The woman in the photo store is instructing the helper on how to total up the shots taken on a roll of film.)

The DI- prefix (see section 2.223 for a description of the other proclitic pronouns) is used in a non-derivational sense only with class IV verbs. When a verb has the DI-affix it is fully transitive. Some examples of class IV verbs are given below:

60. /badi taq-bali?-no amplop before I buy-obj envelope

   'I just bought the envelopes.'

61. /anti? malam di-quoi. later night DI-wash

   'Later tonight he will develop (the film).'

In general with class IV verbs, the suffix only emphasizes the verb-patient relationship and does not derive a new verb. (See discussion of /-no/ and /-i/ suffixes in section 2.42.)

In a derivational sense, DI is used with classes I, II, and III to form fully transitive verbs of class four. The following examples from each class show how the DI-prefix in conjunction
with one of the suffixes forms a new verb.

Class one predicates:

62. /warga negara di-gitu?-no./
    family country DI-that way-obj.
    'Citizens were treated that way.'

Class two predicates:

63. /sondër di-baqun-i
    without DI-get up-obj.
    pas amblas./
    exactly disappear
    'Without being awoken, he totally
    disappeared.'
    (I didn't even wake him up and all
    of the sudden he was gone.)

64. /itu ta?-liat-no ae.
    that I(DI)-see-obj. just
    'I just saw that.'

The DI- verb form takes a definite direct object, is fully transitive, and has as grammatical subject, the patient of the sentence. Briefly, the NG- and DI- prefixes serve to indicate the grammatical subject of the sentence. The NG- prefix makes the verb active in the sense that there must be an actor/agent but not necessarily fully transitive. For example:

65. /ga? tau q-êttk./
    not know NG-type
    'I don't know how to type.'

66. /saya q-omel sama
    I NG-grumble at
    si ana?./
    endearment child
    'I grumble at the dear child.'

The grammatical subject is the actor/agent in the NG- sentence while in the sentence with the fully transitive DI- predicate the patient is the grammatical subject.

The /ber-/prefix is joined to nouns and adjectives forming a class III predicate that takes an experiencer NP and may also take an indefinite object/referent NP. This predicate is semi-transitive because the object can not be made definite or fronted. The grammatical subject and theme must be the actor/experiencer.

67. /sêkaraq bar-diri laqî./
    now BER-self again
    'We are now standing again.' or
    'We are financially established
    again.'

68. /dia nda? isa bar-malam disana./
    he not able BER-night there
    'He can not spend the night there.'

For a more complete discussion of the /ber-/ prefix and how it relates to reflexives see the section 2.37.

The /ter-/prefix may be affixed to any class of predicate in order to form a class I predicate which is an adjective. Class I predicates takes only an NP that is the affectee and not agent/actor. The /ter-/ predicate is used in situations where the agent is not known or is not important and is frequently used to report involuntary actions. Some examples are given below:

69. /kêpada yaq ter-hormat
    to the one TER-respect
    bapa? ibu./
    father mother
    'to the respected fathers and
    mothers.' (this is an address)

70. /kita mem-puña-i mata
    we NG-own-obj. eye
    yaq ter-buka./
    which TER-open
    'We (must) have open eyes.' (That
    is we must look carefully.)

71. /baru ber-aqkat se-togah tiga
    new BER-step one-half three,
    ter-lambat sudah./
    TER-late already
    'They just left at two thirty, it
    was already too late.' (for the
    speaker to do anything else that
day.)

72. /meäti ada, kan
    must there is of course
    ter-masu? aara-ne itu./
    TER-enter program-def. that
    'We must have that (budget), it is
    included on the program.'

2.42 Suffixes

The /-no/ (and its variants) and /-i/ suffixes indicate that there is an NP argument that is affected by the action of the verb and thus the transitivity of the verb. All but class IV verbs require a suffix to indicate this transitivity. If there is no suffix and if the verb is not a class IV verb, the NP complement must be introduced with a preposition. The NP of a prepositional phrase is a non-major argument of the sentence, whereas the NP complement of a verb suffixed with /-i/ or /-no/ is a major argument of the sentence and a direct complement of the verb. The suffixes when occurring with class I, II, and III verbs are always transitivizing and sometimes causative. In classes I and II the predicate with the /-no/ suffix is causative, whereas with class III the predicate becomes fully transitive. The complement of the verb with the /-no/ suffix is the NP directly affected by the action of the verb.

Below are some examples of the /-no/ suffix with classes I and II. For examples of the /-no/ suffix with classes III and IV see section 2.34.

Class one predicates become causative, transitive

73. /iya tapi sudah se-ne duwe?,
    yes but already finish-obj. money
    'Yes, but he has already used up
    the money.' or 'Yes, but he has already
caused the money to be finished.'

74. /de?e nda? isa he not able
    M-alah-kon saya./
    NG-wrong-obj. I

'I can't blame me.' or 'He cannot cause me to be wrong.'

Class two predicates become causative, transitive.

75. /barakali m-bal?e-no probably NG-come back-obj.
    hondo-e de?e /
    hondo-def he

'He is probably returning the honda.'
or 'He is probably causing the honda
to come back.'

76. /ana?e di-tidur-no./ child-def DI-sleep-obj.

'The child was put to sleep.'
or 'Someone put the child to sleep.'

In general the /-no/ suffix with class IV predicates merely emphasizes the relationship between the verb and patient that is directly affected by the action of the verb. Occasionally the /-no/ suffix makes the benefactor the object of the verb. See the examples below:

77. /kembaq tagan flower hand
    di-kas?-no perampuan.
    DI-give-obj. girl

'He will give the girl the hand bouquet.'

The /-i/ suffix is a transitivizing suffix when used with classes I, II and III predicates. The object of the predicate with the /-i/ suffix is the NP that is indirectly affected by the verb. This is usually the place or person secondarily affected, i.e. the locative or dative NP. Occasionally the /-i/ suffix is used to indicate repeated action with class IV predicates. Examples are given from each predicate class and from predicates derived from nouns:

Class I predicates

78. /tuhan penuh-i saya God full-obj. I
dagan roh.
with spirit

'God filled me with spirit.'

79. /toron lagi dakat-i go down again close-obj.
i-?l-se itu.
name that

'Go down again and go over toward the ELS (offices).'

Class II predicates

80. /dia di-baqun-i./ he DI-get up-obj.

'I got him up.'

Class III predicates

81. /ta?-bilag-i buah apel I-(Di-) say-obj. fruit apple
    lima kilo sudah beli./ five kilo already buy

'I tell you I've already bought five kilos of apples.'

Class IV predicates

82. /di-lonpar-i batu teres./ DI-throw-obj. stone continually

'They throw stones continually.'

Class IV predicates dirived from nouns

83. /pasi akan certainly will
    di-barkat-i roh./ DI-blessing-obj. spirit

'The spirit will certainly bless you.'

84. /nda? kono di-ke?-i at there DI-give-obj.
    tanah wis-an./ land already
    (/ke?/ 'grandfather' The verb form means 'to do in a grandfatherly
    manner.)

'Over there they have given out
land already.'

Imperatives

There are two forms of the imperative in Chindo and Javanese, but not in Indonesian. One imperative takes the patient as the theme
(and usually given information) in the utterance. (See section 4.3 for a discussion of information structure). The other imperative takes the actor as the theme (and usually given information). The first imperative takes an /-o/ suffix and the second, an /-on/ suffix. When the patient is the theme, the verb must be fully transitive, and when the actor is the theme, the verb may be transitive,
intransitive or semi-transitive. A few examples follow:

85. /poka?-e tulis-on./ point-def. write-imp.
    point-def. write-imp.

.'Just write it.' or 'The point
is just write it.'

86. /suaun-on marto./ arrange let's

'Arrange them, okay.'

87. /duda?-o nes./ sit-imp. name

'Sit down, Nes.'

88. /ya, bilag-o ooh./ yes, say-imp. just

'Yes, just say so.'
It is significant to note that the object of the active imperative is indefinite. The active imperative focuses on the action of the addressee not on the resulting affect on the patient.

2.43 Infix

The /-u/ infix can be added to any adjective of greater intensity. This infix is very productive in East Java. The vowel /-/ is inserted immediately after the first consonant of the adjective. If the adjective is vowel initial the /-u/ is prefixed to the word. A lengthening of the /-u/ vowel increases the intensity of the adjective. Some examples follow.

90. /-s-u-akit kapala-e./
very sick head-def.
'My head aches terribly.'

91. /adhuk, p-u-anas sa-iki/
wow very hot now
'It's extremely hot now.'

2.5 Nominal Affix

The definite nominal suffix has three representations in Chindo: /-(n)e/ (Javanese), /-nə/ (Indonesian) and /-(?)e (Chindo). The /e/ in Chindo is preceded by either a glottal stop or an /n/ when the word is vowel final; the /n/ reflects the Javanese influence and the /e/ a unique Chindo characteristic. The more relaxed the situation the more likely it is that the /e/ will be used. The definite affixes /-e/ and /-ne/ occurred 358 times in the discourse, while the Indonesian /nə/ occurred only 143 times, again showing the strong influence from Javanese. This suffix serves two functions: a definite marker and a genitive marker. Standard Indonesian does not use the suffix as a genitive marker, but Javanese and Chindo do. Below are some examples of the uses of the nominal affix as a definite marker and as a genitive marker.

92. /di-simpan ae karna ini DI-save just because this
arsip-e./
original-def.
'Just save this because it is the original.'

93. /apa itu nama-nə what that name-def.
acara? /
program
'What is the name of that program?'

94. /manah-ŋə Eko./
mama-def. Eko
'Eko's mother...

The /-e/ affix can be added to a verb in order to derive a nominal. For example:

95. /piro m-bayar-e?/
how much NG-pay-def.
'How much is the payment?'

96. /itu kan beso?
that you know tomorrow
itu n-ulis-e./
that NG-write-def.
'As for that, the writing can be done tomorrow.'

It is interesting that the definite particle is not attached to a verb with the prefix DI-but only to ones with the NG-prefix or to stem verbs. The reason for this may be related to the aspectual function of the verbal prefixes which will be discussed in the chapter on aspect. The meaning of the nominal with the NG-affix is processual while the meaning of the nominal with a stem verb is static. See the example below:

97. /tapu le? sembilan puluh but if nine ten
ouci-e m-bayar tiga ratus./
wash-def. NG-pay three hundred
'But if the wash is 90 rupiahs, then we will have to pay three hundred rupiahs.'

2.6 Summary

In Chapter Two, I have reviewed the basic elements of Chindo phonology and morphology in order to show the contribution of elements from Javanese and Indonesian, and to define the verb classes on the basis of a semantically-based definition of transitivity that shows degrees of transitivity rather than a dichotomy of transitive versus intransitive. In general, it was shown that the Chindo language borrows more verbal and nominal affixes from Javanese than Indonesian, but borrows lexical items from both languages. The only significant borrowing from Dutch and Chinese languages occurs in the pronominal and kin term areas.
Chapter Three

PRAGMATICS OF VERBAL CATEGORIES:
VOICE, ASPECT, MODE, AND TENSE

3.0 Introduction

The verbal categories: voice, aspect, tense, and mode are examined as integral parts of discourse in order to see to what degree the information of these categories is communicated by indexicals (i.e. pragmatics) and to what degree it is communicated by grammatical structures. This chapter has five sections, one devoted to each of the above verbal categories and a conclusion. In the first section I dismiss the hypothesis that the NG- and DI- verbal prefixes mark voice. In section two an argument for the aspectral function of the verbal prefixes NG- and DI- is presented. Section three looks at the primary and secondary tense markers and the relationship between tense and aspect as well as their relationships to the transitivity of the verb. In the final section of the chapter, where the relationship between mode and aspect is discussed, the need for a pragmatic component of a grammar is made clear.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine text sentences, that is language from discourse and to define the interaction between morphosyntactic rules, such as word order and verbal affixes and pragmatic factors, such as presupposition, topic, definiteness, and information and semantic role structures. A full explanation of a linguistic system rests on an understanding of the presuppositions of the society, of the sub-culture and of the participants of a particular speech act. The meaning of any one utterance can only be fully understood within the larger context of discourse.

3.1 Voice

The term voice refers to a verbal category which comes from the Greek term diathesis meaning ‘state, disposition or function’. The passive voice is the state where the subject is being acted upon, while the active voice is the state where the subject is acting. The specifications for the passive construction have been recently discussed from a transformational grammar approach (Langacker and Munro, 1975) and from a relational grammar approach (Perlmutter and Postal, 1977). There is a great deal of agreement on the characteristics of the passive construction in the above approaches. The following are the three main characteristics of passive sentences:

1. The sentence is impersonal having an unspecified semantic subject.
2. The clause with the unspecified subject is embedded as subject complement to the predicate 'BE' making the sentence intransitive.
3. The underlying object is topicalized. One assumption that is implicit in both of these approaches, but not made explicit, is that the active clause is more basic (in the generative sense) than the passive one. The passive sentence is regarded as a derived structure. The stand taken in this work concerning the relationship among sentences is a non-transformational one. This must be the stand taken if one includes semantics and pragmatics in a theory of syntax because it has been shown that two sentences that are logically equivalent are not necessarily semantically equivalent (Shopen 1972). Thus, a theory of grammar that includes semantic factors can not make equivalency statements about sentences based upon syntax alone. This means that a linguist who takes the semantic/pragmatic approach espoused here can not say, in any meaningful sense, that the passive sentence is equivalent to the active sentence. Shopen (1972) has demonstrated that the active and passive constructions in English are not semantically equivalent in the sense that they share the same deep structure with different surface structures. The different surface forms signal different relationships among the lexical items and therefore different meanings of the utterances. It is within this theoretical framework that the basic clausal constructions in Chindo will be examined in order to discover whether they might be classified as either active or passive.

3.12 Voice in Chindo

There are two basic clausal constructions in Chindo: one which is characterized by the NG- prefix and the other by the DI- prefix. In Indonesian the NG- clause has been identified as the active clause, and the DI- clause as the passive clause (Wolff 1971, MacDonald and Scoenjono 1967, and Chung 1976). The verbal order of the NG- clause is Actor/Agent-Verb Complement. For example:

1. /tanta ini awma? m-bali?−no baki/
   Aunt this only NG-buy-obj. tray
   'This Auntie will just buy a tray (for them).'

The DI-clause has been divided by Chung (1976) into two types of passives (1) the canonical passive that has the DI-prefix plus verb immediately followed by the agent or the preposition 'by' plus the agent, and (2) the passive with object topicalization. This second type of passive has a proclitic pronoun that identifies the agent of the verb. This is a simplification of the actual range of variation in the types of constructions which are classified as passive but is sufficient for the discussion here. Chung does not attempt to discuss the variables which trigger the two passive constructions or the range of variation. (The range of variation will be examined in Chapter Four. The development of this range and
its diachronic and synchronic significance will be treated in Chapter Five.)

In the discourse analyzed there were 21 examples of canonical passives and 243 passives with object topicalization. The functions of the two types of passives are very different; the canonical passive is often a real passive with an intransitive verb while the object topicalization passive is most frequently an active transitive verb used for making assertions. Because of the overwhelming majority of object topicalization passives, I will only discuss the object topicalization passives. The canonical passive is found almost exclusively in the one semi-formal conversation and is regarded as formal and characteristic of Standard Indonesian not characteristic of Chindo. Below are examples of both types of passive constructions:

2. /kitu akin di-taña tuhan./
   we will DI-ask God
   'We will be asked by God.'

3. /turu di-tar-no ambe? Tantin./
   then DI-escort-obj by Tantin
   'Then (she) was escorted by Tantin.'
   or 'Then Tantin escorted (her).'

Passive with object topicalization

4. /mau ta?-kast?-no derman./
   want I (DI-) give-obj. Derman
   'I want to give (it) to Derman.'

5. /itu di-taña aja bego? /
   that DI-ask just tomorrow
   'Just (you) ask that tomorrow.'

3.2 Aspect

Aspect is a verbal category that relates the actions of verbs to the actions of other verbs in the discourse and thus, the information communicated can only be understood in context. The speaker relates one event to another by means of three perspectives from which he views the state or action. The perspectives are: (1) perfective aspect which defines a bounded, complete event, (2) imperfective aspect that defines a durative incomplete activity (see Comrie 1976 for a similar definition) and (3) perfect aspect which identifies an action or state as currently relevant to the present situation. (See Li, Thompson and Thompson 1979 and Friederich 1974 for a discussion of this point.) The perfect aspect is only relevant to the intransitive (primarily stem) verbs. The discussion will focus on the relationship between the perfective and imperfective aspects and how they interact with the verbal morphology of transitive verbs (i.e., NO- and DI- prefixes).

The primary difference between perfective and imperfective verbs is that the activity of the imperfective verb co-occurs with other activities or states, whereas the perfective verbs mark sequential events. An aspect is chosen by the speaker for discourse reasons and has no semantic content of itself. An event is not inherently perfective or imperfective but only presented from one of these perspectives for discourse reasons. Since aspect is a function of discourse, a study of how one language marks it can only be attempted with discourse material.

Aspect is to be distinguished from aktionsart, which defines a semantic component of the verb or verb phrase. The durative versus punctual dichotomy is one instance of 'aktionsart' and another is the telic versus atelic distinction. The punctuality of 'cough' is a semantic component of the verb, whereas the telic nature of 'writing a book' is a function of the verb phrase. Telic verbs have defined goals and thus a specified end to the process in mind. Atelic verbs or verb phrases have no defined end. For example: 'He was playing baseball' is atelic because if the action of the verb is interrupted, he has still played baseball. The clause 'writing a book', is telic because if the writer is interrupted while writing his book, he has not written his book (Comrie 1976). Aktionsart is a semantic dimension of the verb or verb phrase while aspect relates one verb to other verbs in the discourse, but adds nothing to the semantics of the verb. Since aspect and aktionsart serve two different functions they may intersect. Below I give a few examples of how aspect and aktionsart may intersect:

The medicine made the man cough.

In the above sentence the aktionsart is punctual and the aspect is perfective. Punctual verbs are frequently used in the perfective aspect because of the natural semantic connection between punctuality and perfectivity, but may also be used in the imperfective aspect. When the punctual verb 'cough' is used in the imperfective aspect, the verb is interpreted with an iterative sense. An example of this iterative sense is given below:

He coughed all last night.
The two sentences below show that the imperfective aspect can occur with both durative and punctual aktionsart.

He played poker until 2 AM  Durative aktionsart and Imperfective aspect
He sneezed until 2 AM  Punctual aktionsart and Imperfective aspect

The interaction between aspect and 'aktionsart' explains why some words more frequently occur in one or the other aspect. Because aspect is a function of discourse and aktionsart a function of semantics, they are independent of each other.

3.21 Aspect in narrative and conversation

Aspect, which may be indicated by word order, morphology, inflection or particles, is most easily discovered in narrative structure (Hopper 1977a). Probably one of the clearest examples of aspect marking is the use of particles /ka/ and /ki/ in Swahili narrative for the perfective and imperfective aspects respectively. The perfective verbs are foregrounded and the imperfective ones are backgrounded. (Hopper 1977a.) The use of the perfective aspect for foregrounding has been observed in several languages. The imperfective aspect relates activities that co-occur with the main events of the story providing descriptive, supportive material for the narrative. Aspect is easily discovered in narrative structure, because all narratives have a story line marked by the perfective aspect.

The data examined here is not narrative but conversational. The most important difference between these two genres is that the former is planned and directed, while the later is unplanned and often rambling. Elinor Keenan (1977) finds that the most significant difference between planned and unplanned discourse is that unplanned discourse structures are syntactically simpler and rely more heavily on juxtaposition, social context and inference, while planned discourse relies more heavily on morphological and syntactic structures to communicate relations. There are fewer subordinate clauses in unplanned discourse and deictic words are used in place of the definite article.

The conversations examined exhibit short term planning. Short stretches have unitary purpose and theme, but there is no development of a unitary story. The direction of a conversation can rapidly change and can then revert to a former topic depending on the success of the communicative acts. Conversational exchanges frequently check to see if communication has occurred. If there has been a misunderstanding, information is restated. Conversation has a sensitive feedback mechanism for directing attention, checking on communication, and re-directing attention. Because of frequent interaction between at least two speakers, conversations do not develop a neat unitary episode. This makes the function of aspect in conversation slightly different from that of narrative. In conversation the perfective aspect points out, or calls attention to, the actions that the speaker regards as most important, whereas, in narrative the perfective marks the sequencing of events. The purposes are similar, but the discovery of aspect in conversation is more difficult because conversation is less neat and has no one story-line to define the progression of thought.

Conversational style, like all styles in language, communicates referential and non-referential information. The referential parts of language are spoken to exchange information about objects with semantically definable references. One of the non-referential functions of language is to give the speaker's perspective or point of view; two perspectives for relating such information are the perfective (foregrounded) and imperfective (backgrounded) aspect. In order that the audience not confuse the major points with the supportive background data, the speaker highlights the main points in the perfective aspect. Other non-referential functions of language are the communication of social identity (status, age, sex), emotion, politeness, and the mood of the speech act.

The main points of a conversation do not create a story line and for this reason the demonstration of aspect is more difficult. Aspect in conversation only becomes clear when a complete conversation is analyzed and when the extra-linguistic setting is known. Only under such conditions is one able to know the intentions and presuppositions of the speaker and the main points of the conversation. With this type of information, one can then demonstrate the highlighting function of the perfective aspect in conversation.

3.22 Aspect in Chindo

Having defined aspect and discussed its role in narrative and in conversational structure, I begin the analysis of the verbal prefixes NG- and DI- to show that they are aspect markers. (DI- is the symbol used for both canonical 'passives' and object topicalization 'passives'.) In this analysis it is shown that the NG- prefix marks imperfective aspect and the DI- prefix, the perfective aspect. (In the word-for-word translations the prefixes are not translated because the translations vary greatly.)

3.2210 Aspect of the NG- verb clause

The aspect of the NG- verb clause will become clear through an examination of the function of the verb in main and subordinate clauses and as a nominal.

3.2211 Characteristics of the NG- verb clause

There are several characteristics which are shared by all NG- verb clauses whether subordinate or main. These characteristics will be enumerated and examples given. In all NG- verb clauses: 1) the agent/actor/experiencer is the grammatical subject and the theme of the sentence (see appendix for a definition of theme); 2) the word order is agent/verb/patient (or referent); 3) the NG- verb implies the existence of an agent but not of a patient, and 4) the patient, if present, is usually indefinite. Below is a chart which categorizes the neutral NG-verb occurrences according to the type of patient with which it occurs. (See section 4.3 for a discussion of information structure.)
NG- verb + patient
1. definite and old information patient = 14
2. definite but new information patient = 6
3. indefinite NP or no patient = 189
Total = 209

The indefinite patient or lack of a patient is one characteristic which distinguishes the NG-verb phrase from the DI-verb phrase. If the NG-verb stands alone without an agent, the agent is understood from the context because the NG-prefix implies that the grammatical subject is the agent/actor. See the examples below:

6. /m- bau/  
NG- bark  
'The dog is barking.'

7. /mo-mikir-i/  
NG- think-over  
'Are you worried?'

The actor is not usually stated if the identity of the actor/agent is obvious from the context. If the actor is neither stated nor implied from the context, an indefinite agent is understood. See the example of an indefinite agent below:

8. /kira-kira ne m-bawa? sayor  
think-think if NG-carry vegetable  
itu wa? proto itu cukup./  
that one truck that enough  
'Probably if one brings vegetables a truck-load is enough.'

On the other hand, if there is no patient in a clause with an NG-verb, the verb is interpreted as intransitive. The verb may or may not be inherently intransitive. See the examples below:

9. /ya, itu m-laku./  
yes, that NG-run  
'Yes, that runs.'

The verb /m-laku/ is inherently intransitive.

10. /yaq mq-motret rda?  
one-who NG-take pictures really  
koh miq./  
brother Ming  
'The one who will take the pictures, is it really brother Ming?'

The verb 'to take pictures' is a transitive verb (the object of the verb is that which is photographed), but in this sentence the verb is intransitive because the object is unspecified. Since the important piece of information being communicated is the activity of the verb not the identity of the object, the NG-form of the verb is chosen. The NG-prefix indicates that the verb is active, but not that it is transitive; thus an actor is always implied, but not necessarily a complement.

3.2212 The NG-verb as main verb
The NG-main verb expresses an activity in the imperfective aspect because the activity may be:

11. /paa ambas barangkali  
completely disappear probably  
m-bak2-no honda-e de-e/  
NG-return-obj. Honda-def. he  
'(He) completely disappeared. He's probably returning the Honda.'

A man has come into a photographic store and asks for a worker. The woman in the store responds with the above sentences. She is explaining why the worker is not present by telling what he is doing now. (I will discuss the relationship between mode and imperfective aspect in section 3.30.) The activity of returning the Honda is simultaneous with the present conversation; it has begun, but no end is given. The imperfective aspect is appropriate in this situation to express the durative quality of the activity returning and to give simultaneity with the conversation between the woman and the customer.

Another situation in which the imperfective aspect is appropriate is when the activity of the verb is repeated.

12. /baru-baru ini barapa kali  
new-new now how many times  
mq-ada-kan rapat pa?/  
NG-is-obj. meeting Sir  
'Just recently now how many times have we had a meeting, Sir?'

The speaker is annoyed with the number of meetings which have just occurred. He wants to emphasize the continuing nature of this state of affairs, and he is probably trying to prevent future meetings. To present this situation in the perfective aspect would be inappropriate since the calling of meetings remains a present state.

A general condition that is in effect for a period of time is also presented in the imperfective aspect. Only when the speaker wants to define one occurrence of a condition is the perfective aspect used because the perfective aspect implies that the condition is considered as a complete unit, not a continuing state.

13. /m-laku tapi itu pita-e kow-m/  
NG-run but that tape-def. empty  
'(It) runs but that tape is blank.'

Sentence 13 reports that although it appears that the machine doesn't work because there is no sound, it does work; it is just that the tape is blank. The verb 'run' is durative because the sentence is reporting a condition which continues and which is simultaneous with the activity of other verbs in the discourse.

A condition that is contingent upon some other action is presented in the imperfective aspect.

14. /le? sembikan puluh cu-gi-e  
if nine ten wash-def.
The action of paying is not a realized event, but a condition that is generally true, thus the imperfective is used.

3.2213 The NG- verb as a non-main-verb

Non-main clauses and phrases use the NG-form of the verb more frequently than the DI-form. Some of the important non-main uses include conditional and relative clauses, objects of prepositions and nominal constructions. Below is a chart presenting the number of times each form of the verb is used in main and non-main constructions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NG-form</th>
<th>DI-form</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Main verb</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-main verb</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The NG-form is used: 48.5% of the time as a main verb. 51.5% of the time as a non-main verb.

The DI-form is used: 94.4% of the time as a main verb. 5.6% of the time as a non-main verb.

The imperfective aspect (NG-form) is used in both main and non-main clauses to describe and support the assertions which are made by the DI-form of the verb. The NG-form is used for the imperfective aspect and thus makes a verb semantically closer to an adjective or stative verb by extending the time of its effectiveness. The choice of verb form is directly related to the function of the verb in the discourse: descriptive, supportive material is put in the NG-form and assertive material is put in the DI-form. (See section 3.2219.)

The following sections on aspect will show how the NG-form is used in non-main constructions, conditional clauses, relative clauses, and nominal constructions.

3.2214 The conditional clause and verb prefixes

There are aspectual and modal reasons for the conditional clause to frequently be in the imperfective aspect. The aspectual reason is that conditions, by their nature, last for a period of time and are the background for other foregrounded events. The modal reason is that conditionals communicate a certain amount of uncertainty and this uncertainty makes them less likely to be put into the perfective aspect which expresses the speaker’s certainty concerning the realization of the activity. Conditionals do occur with a DI-form of the verb when the speaker wants to communicate a degree of certainty not usually associated with conditionals. This will be discussed further in the next section which deals with mode (see section 3.30). Below I present a few examples of conditional clauses:

15. /n-konw-o te? ing gram-tor-nc/ happy-def if able NG-accompany-oc.

'(I would be) happy if (I) could accompany (my sister),'

16. /ne? di-tuntoi moruca bakal/ If DI-demand they future

berapa agka-na must/. How much budget-ref. must

'(If they demand how much the budget will be, we must have it ready.)'

In 15 the use of the NG-form (imperfective aspect) reflects the semantics of the lexical item, as well as, its function in discourse. The verb 'accompany' often occurs in the imperfective aspect because of its durative aktionsart. The speaker is lamenting the fact that she was not able to accompany her sister to the next city. To emphasize her condition of immobility and the permanence of this state, she reports it in the imperfective aspect.

In 16 the DI-form is used with the verb 'demand' which has punctual aktionsart and perfective aspect since the verb defines one event. Punctual verbs tend to be used in the perfective aspect because of the semantic closeness of perfectivity and punctuality. The speaker is trying to persuade the hearer to draw up the budget for the organization because the budget is a prerequisite for obtaining funding for the next year. To add urgency and importance to this situation, the speaker puts the verb in the perfective aspect. The perfective aspect in conversation calls for the hearer’s attention and consideration.

We see in the above two examples of conditional clauses that, although they are both unrealized actions, one verb is in the NG-form and the other in the DI-form. This shows that mode is not marked by the verbal prefixes. The choice of verbal prefixes marks the aspectual function in discourse and is only related statistically to the aktionsart and mode of the verb (see section 3.2). To emphasize the likelihood or importance of an action in a conditional clause the DI-form is used. The analysis of verb morphology demands an understanding of discourse function which in turn demands textual analysis, not analysis of isolated sentences.

3.2215 The relative clause and verb prefixes

This section examines the organization of the relative clause and its use in discourse. Use in discourse is defined as the referential content as well as the non-referential content of an utterance or what the speaker intends to accomplish by uttering the statement; its illocutionary force. The relative clause is made up of a relative pronoun, and an NP or VP. The relative pronoun which introduces the relative clause is the grammatical subject and theme of the clause. (See appendix B for definition of this theme and grammatical subject.) The predicate of the clause may be either a noun phrase or a verb phrase. Below are examples of relative clauses with an NP and a VP as complement of the relative pronoun:

VP complement of relative pronoun

17. /seg n-2Jgav-o hoit irn/ one who NG-drive-obj bus this

tics-bak/ grandchild of Aunt

'The one who drives the bus, he is the grandchild of Auntie.'

27
NP complement of relative pronoun

18. /əŋg pong wu'puan əŋg ge'/
one who girl person Hakka
'The girl is of the Hakka group.'

The function of the relative clause in relation to the rest of the utterance varies depending on the presence or absence of the co-referent NP of the relative pronoun. For example:

19. /da'en yag n-gəjar itu teacher who NG-teach that
werə n̂da? dətəq,.
often not come
'The teacher who teaches that, often doesn't come.'

The relative clause in 19 modifies its co-referent NP, 'teacher', of the main clause.
When the co-referent NP is absent, the relative clause is an independent noun phrase which may be an independent NP argument of an utterance or a complete utterance by itself (see sentences 23 and 24). In the equative sentences 17 and 18, the relative clause is an independent NP argument. In sentences 17 and 20 the relative clause provides supplementary information as an introductory topic of the utterance.

20. /əŋg n-gəjar?-nə əľu one which NG-make-obj dizzines
itu bodrex-e./ that bodrex-def
'What causes dizzines, is (the medicine) bodrex.'

The relative clause is used to make an equative sentence from a verbal one when the theme (the first NP in the equative sentence) is to be given contrastive stress. This use of the relative clause supports the claim that the information in the relative clause is presupposed (given) and not asserted. Below is an example:

21. /tən əŋg m-bəwa payəq. Aunt NG-carry umbrella
theme given new information
'Auntie carries an umbrella.'

But

22. /tən əŋg m-bəwa payəq. Aunt one who NG-carry umbrella
theme given given information
information (with contrastive stress)
'Auntie is the one who carries an umbrella (not someone else).'

In sentence 22 both the subject and the predicate (or theme and rheme) are old information. The relative pronoun refers to a previously mentioned NP or to shared knowledge; therefore, it communicates old and definite, referential information. The purpose of the sentence is to give contrastive stress to the theme, Auntie.

This purpose is clear from the discourse and from stress and intonation patterns. The imperfective aspect is used to present presupposed material and, therefore, it is often found in relative clauses (as well as in conditional and subordinate clauses).

In conversation the relative clause may stand alone as a complete utterance. For example:

23. /əŋg ənə'/ /əŋg itəʔ/
the one which the one this
'Which one is it? Is it this one?'

24. /itəʔ yəʔ? /
this also
'(Do you want) this one, too?'

25. /itəʔ itəl/
the one that
'(No), that is the one (I want).'

The relative clause in Chindo is only used in the restrictive sense i.e. it is descriptive and points out the NP being discussed. In the discourse analyzed there were 223 occurrences of the relative pronoun. The chart below categories them according to the linguistic environment in which they occurred:

Relative pronoun followed by:

1. NG- verb 26 occurrences
2. DI- verb 6 occurrences
3. Other predicates (adjectives and intransitive verbs) 155 occurrences
4. Noun phrases 36 occurrences
Total 223 occurrences

The relative pronoun in Chindo is most frequently used to form definite and referential nominals from intransitive predicates (see 3 above). It also makes definite nouns from indefinite nouns (see 4 above). It is least frequently used with a verbal clause to form an independent NP when the coreferent is absent and an adjectival phrase when the co-referent NP is present (see 1 and 2 above).

It is clear from the chart that the imperfective aspect (NG- form) is used much more frequently than the perfective (DI- form) in relative clause constructions. There are at least two reasons for this; the first is the discourse function, and the second is the aktionsart of the verbs. The discourse function of the relative clause is to present descriptive, presupposed material to modify or point out, but not to assert. The imperfective aspect is more appropriate for this purpose because it implies duration of the action of the verb. The second reason for using the imperfective aspect is related to the aktionsart of the verb. All but one of the verbs used in the imperfective aspect are durative and all of the verbs in the perfective aspect are punctual. The aktionsart, one semantic component of the verb, makes the verb more likely to occur in one or the other aspect. Below are some examples:

25. /itəʔ əŋg / di-lingal
this surprise the one DI-left
The perfective aspect is used in the relative clause of 25 because the verb 'leave' is punctual, and it occurred only once. The perfective aspect is appropriate because the verb expresses one complete event.

26. /ci? sam-e sq m-aqaq
   Sister Sam-def one who NG-prepare
tempat tidur.
   place sleep

'Sister Sam is the one who prepares the bed.'

The relative clause of 26 describes sister Sam's duties in the preparation for a wedding. The verb 'prepare' is not punctual; the job is lengthy and is repeated each time there is a wedding therefore the imperfective aspect (NG-form) is chosen.

3.2216 Complements of verbs and the NG-prefix

The NG-form of the verb is used to complement a main intransitive verb when the grammatical subject of both verbs is the same NP. (See the appendix for a definition of grammatical subject.) See examples below:

27. /edara edara-ku jagan toralau
   sibling sibling-my don't too
   suleh me-mikirkkan parkara
   sad NG-think-obj. matter
   harta benda./(wealth thing

'my brothers and sisters don't be too sad worrying about the things of the world.'

28. /pintar koh mig
   skillful brother Ming
   m-aqaq m-aqaq./ NG-prepare NG-prepare

'Brother Ming is skillful at doing the preparations (for the wedding).'  

29. /di? suhad na?
   he already rise
   mon-jadi pemimpin./ NG-become leader

'He has already risen to become leader.'

The NG-form can follow the stem verb or the adjective but can not follow another NG-form. See below:

   he not know NG-type

'He doesn't know how to type.'

But not:

   he not NG-know-obj. NG-type

The NG-form can follow the DI-form of the verb when the grammatical subjects of both verbs are the same. For example:

32. /coli di-suru? m-euson./
   we DI-order NG-arrange

'We were ordered to arrange (the budget).'

33. /da di-tinda? man-dalap./
   he DI-oppress NG-hide

'He was oppressed and then hid.'

The subject of the first verb is the patient, and the subject of the second is the agent. In this situation a NG-verb may follow a transitive verb (DI). (For a more detailed discussion of this relation between verb forms and grammatical subjects see Chapter Five on ergativity.)

3.2217 The NG-form as object of a preposition

Below are some examples of the NG-form of the verb being used as the object of a preposition.

34. /da? alat di-situ buat
   there is instrument at there for
   m-bukur ko-capat-an./
   NG-measure nom-fast

'There is an instrument there for measuring the speed.'

35. /kon mig untu? m-aqaq./
   brother Ming for NG-prepare

'Brother Ming is to make the preparations.'

The NG-verb is used because the activity of the verb is seen as on-going not complete, thus the NG-form is used when a nominal is required. A noun can not assert an event and by its nature is durative, thus it is appropriate that the NG-form of the verb is used in nominal constructions. This lends support to the claim that the NG-prefix marks the imperfective aspect.

3.2218 The NG-form as a nominal

When the NG-form of the verb is suffixed with the definite article /-/ it is considered a nominal. For example:

36. /pro m-bayar-e ima mato?/  
   how much NG-pay-def. five hundred

'How much is the payment, is it five hundred?'

37. /itu kon heo? iku
   that correct tomorrow that
   m-alite-e./
   NG-write-def.

'That writing can be done tomorrow, isn't that right?'

In colloquial Indonesian one of the uses of the definite article is as a derivational particle creating a noun from a verb. The definite particle is suffixed to both the NG- and the DI- forms of the verb in colloquial Indonesian, while in Chindo text examined the definite particle (as a derivational particle) is only suffixed to the NG-form of the verb. Other affixes which can derive nominals from
predicates will not be listed here because they are adequately described in Indonesian grammars and are not significant in distinguishing Chindo from standard Indonesian or from Javanese.

3.2219 Aspect of the DI-verb clause

The DI-prefix is used almost exclusively (94.4%) as a main verb to assert a real (past, present, or future) event. Below are some examples of the DI-verb used as main verb.

38. /itu sa? kekeh di-tingga amblas./
that one lot DI-leave disappear
'All that (work) and he left, just disappeared.'

39. /di-boro dari malag./
DI-buy-wholesale from Malang
'(They) will buy wholesale from Malang.'

The two sentences above assert events. Both are reported in a perfective aspect which means that the speaker views the event as a complete unit, a whole that did or will occur. The speaker expects the audience to focus attention on, and believe the predicate with the DI-prefix.

40. /lo? di-aqkat gae ogo lo./
Don't DI-appoint, make what surprise
'Don't appoint me, why (would you do it)/Internal.'

41. /dade?-no sekeratan, ga?
become-obj. secretary not
tau q-steke?/
know NG-type

'How can you make me secretary, I don't know how to type.'

In 40 the important word for the audience to hear and remember is 'don't appoint', which is in the perfective aspect or DI-form. In 41 the highlighted item is the imperative verb 'become' and the supporting material 'not know how to type', is in the imperfective aspect (NG-form) and thus backgrounded.

The following four sentences show the use of the perfective aspect in a stretch of discourse.

42. /nu? makan itu sembaraq
if eat that everything
sembaraq ga waa maso?/
everything yes already enter
'If (I) eat that, I can eat everything.'

43. /lah ada oraq bilaq
now there is person say
waa bolt sallri./
order buy celery
'Now there was a person who told me to buy celery.'

44. /ini taq?-bolt?-no sallri
this I(DI-) buy-obj. celery
sa? on./
one ounce

'She told me to mash (the celery), and early in the morning, before eating, to drink it.'

Sentences 42 and 43 present background information introducing the woman and her condition. Sentences 44 and 45 give important foregrounded information and use the DI-verb form. The spaced italicized words are the important predicates in this monologue and as such are in the perfective aspect.

3.2220 Aspect in the NG- and the DI-clause

In the preceding sections, it has been shown that the NG-verb and the DI-verb is used in both main and subordinate clauses to present on-going activities, repeated events and general conditions.

It is also frequently used to present background and supportive material in relative clauses and conditional clauses. It is used as a nominal following prepositions, as a complement of intransitive verbs, and as an NP argument in摧毁 verb with the definite article. In all of these uses the one characteristic which is shared by all NG-forms, is the imperfective aspect or durative quality of the action of the verb. The NG-verb has stative, adjective-like qualities and its action can even be frozen to form a nominal.

In contrast to the function of the NG-verb, the DI-verb is used to highlight and assert main events or important points of the story or conversation. It is impossible to 'prove' that the verb prefixes mark various aspects without textural material because their function is to relate various activities to one another and without textual material it is impossible to see these relationships. The proof of the aspectual nature of the verbal prefixes is seen in the cumulative evidence from many conversations in many situations.

3.230 Aspect of the stem verb

The aspectual functions of the two prefixes NG- and DI- have been discussed. Before leaving this section on aspect, a few points need to be made concerning the aspect of the stem verb. The determination of the aspect of the stem verb depends upon verb class, as well as, discourse function.

The reasons for using a stem verb are multiple. The dropping of the affixes (making a stem verb) for classes III and IV is fundamentally a detransitivizing process because the deletion of the prefix is the deletion of the agent marker. Transitivity entails the agent-verb relationship as well as the patient-verb relationship. The removal of the prefix removes information about the syntactic subject and its semantic role. The NG-prefix indicates that the agent/actor is the theme and grammatical subject of the sentence, while the DI-prefix indicates that the agent is not one of the major arguments of the verb and that the syntactic subject is the patient of the verb.
The meaning of the stem form depends on the verb class. For classes I and II the stem verb is the only form because all of these verbs are intransitive. They usually present descriptive background statements in the imperfective aspect, but they can be put in the perfect aspect in order to emphasize the present relevance of the state or condition. Aspect is not marked by verbal prefixes here but by the thematic order. The imperfective aspect of class I and II is associated with the normal thematic order which is theme followed by rhyme, while the perfect aspect is indicated by a reversal of this thematic order. Below are some examples of an aspecual change as a result of a change in word order.

46. /kök mīg-e aad?/ Imperfective
brother Ming-def. there is Aspect
theme rhyme
'Is brother Ming here?'

47. /kök mīg-e pagi./ Imperfective
brother Ming-def. go Aspect
theme rhyme
'Brother Ming left.'

A few lines later the speaker of sentence 47 repeats the same information to emphasize the fact that Brother Ming has really gone. She says:

48. /pagi kök mīg-e./ Perfective
go brother Ming-def. Aspect
theme rhyme
'Brother Ming left.'

Sentence 48 is in the perfect aspect because it communicates the present relevance of his absence. Sentence 47 is in the imperfective aspect because it merely relates a present state or condition.

Another example of an intransitive clause in the perfect aspect is given below in sentence 49. The fact that the predicate is being stressed is obvious in 49 from the infix /u/ which gives an excessive meaning to a predicate. For example: /aakit/ 'hurt', and /s-wu-akit/ 'hurts very much'.

49. /s-wu-akit kopala-e./ Perfective
hurt very much head-def. Aspect
theme rhyme
'I have a terrible headache.'

The stem verb of class III predicates is used when the agent is not being emphasized and the verb complement is not a definite object, thus making the clause not fully intransitive. For example:

50. /kita dōgar ada laraqon./ we hear is prohibition
'We hear that there is a prohibition.'

51. /sowdara līa? sakaraq apa you see now what
yag ter-jadi dī-sini./ that happen here
'See what has happened here now.'

The action of the verb is the important information being communicated while neither the object nor the agent is stressed. The stem verb is used when the verb is the rheme and is in focus. With class III verbs if the object is made definite and the agent is transformed, the verb must take the DI- prefix and a transitiveizing suffix. All class IV verbs can be used in the stem form for discourse reasons and a few commonly used verbs which describe human activities are almost always in the stem form. A few examples of these verbs are: /makan/ 'to eat' /minum/ 'to drink', /bikin/ 'to make', /buat/ 'make', /jual/ 'to sell', and /beli/ 'to buy' In all of the above cases the agent is almost always a human and is often inferable from the context. It is clear that the transitivity of the verb phrase is decreased only slightly because these class IV verbs can take a transitiveizing suffix. The stem verb generally receives less emphasis than the prefixed DI- verb.

Class four verbs are also used in the stem form for discourse reasons. The primary discourse reason is to place less emphasis on the agent. The use of the stem verb with class four verbs occurs most often when there is a series of actions and the aspect of the first action of the series holds for the whole series of actions. An example is given below:

52. /salamat dulu ko? N-impan mas, good before surprise NG-save gold
'It is good that we were able to save gold.'

53. /ya puña prato, puña montor, yes own truck own car
'Yes we owned a truck, we owned a car'

54. /prato dī-jual koja toko lagi, truck DI-sell for store again
'We sold the truck to improve the store.'

55. /dawa bai?, satu-ña jual, come good, one-def. sell, koja toko lagi, for store again
'All went well, we sold another one, for improving the store again,'

56. /si montor-e jual koja endearment car-def. sell for
n-ambeli toko lagi, NG-make ends meet store again
'We sold that dear car to make ends meet at the store again.'

57. /sama-e satu kilo dī-jual gold-def one kilo DI-sell
sudah n-ambeli, already NG-make ends meet
'We sold one kilo of gold and now are making ends meet.'

58. /sokaraq bor-diri lagi, now ber-stand again
'Now we are established again.'

Sentence 51 and 52 use the NG- and stem forms
to set the scene for the events that follow. Sentences 53 through 56 relate events and the first and last transitive actions in the series are marked with the DI-prefix. Although the intermediary verbs are not marked by the DI-prefix, the actions are also perfective because they describe complete, real events which are sequential. They receive less emphasis because they are expressed by the stem forms (see 54 and 57); thus the audience does not need to pay as close attention to these verbs as to the ones marked by the DI-prefix. The parallel structure allows the speaker to drop the DI-prefix which indicates the syntactic subject and aspect and the first and last verbs in the series mark the boundary of the perfective aspect. The narrative appropriately opens and closes with intransitive verbs telling the state of the family just after the revolution of 1965 (see 52 and 53) and then their present state (see 58). Because stories often display this pattern (opening state, development and new state), we commonly find this aspectual pattern of the verbs (imperfective, perfective, imperfective). In the development of a cohesive stretch of the discourse one finds that the stem verb is used after one aspect has been established for a series of actions in parallel structure. Thus, the stem verb is not necessarily imperfective or perfective, but follows the aspect of the first verb in a series. The parallel construction below allows the second verb to lose its prefix.

59. /koh miq wntu? m-ajag
   brother ming for NG-prepare
   aama bikin kombaq tagan./
   and make flower hand

'Brother Ming is to prepare and make
   the hand bouquets.'

Only the first one receives the imperfective marker because the hearer automatically assumes that the parallel structure indicates similar aspect and grammatical function in the sentence.

The stem verb is also used when the verb and complement are not part of the main sentence, but a supplement or an after-thought. For example:

60. /ha siu itu dibagom ini,
   yes Siu that in-section this,
   bikin podag /
   make pudding

'Yes, Siu is in this section, the
   one making pudding.'

In 60 the stem verb is used due to its peripheral and supplemental nature. Since the agent is not new information the NG-prefix can be omitted. In many instances stem verbs are less explicit and considered sub-standard. Below are two examples contrasting the importance given to the agent.

61. /roh tuhan mem-bawa yahya
   spirit god NG-carry John
   kopada, ko suatu gung./
   to to a mountain

'The spirit of God carries John to
   a mountain.'

62. /moe? bawa tek ukuai/
   how carry type at once

'How could you type it right away?'

In 61 the speaker wants to make sure that the audience remembers who the agent is. In 62 the agent is the addressee, so the speaker assumes that agency is understood and does not need to be stated. In such situations one often finds that the stem verb is used. Since inferred agency occurs more frequently in conversation than in formal speech or written language, the stem verb is more frequent in relaxed speech.

The stem verb is also used to form compound verbs with single meanings. For example: /kasih tau/ 'give-know' means to inform and the second verb can never take an affix. Other examples are /bawa tek/ 'carry-type' or 'type' and /kasi? tukju/ 'give snow' or 'show', 'demonstrate'. If the two verbs retain their separate meanings and represent two actions they both can receive affixes. For example: /nai? mons-ta/ 'rise and become'.

The stem verb occasionally loses all verb qualities and is used as a preposition or as a noun. Two verbs in the discourse are used as prepositions. Below are examples:

63. /itu buat simpam-an/
   that for save-nom.

'That's for the records.'

64. /iti kega amrip ka-satu/
   this for record ordinal-one

'This is for the first record.'

An analysis of discourse shows that in some utterances the stem form is a noun. Here is an example of a stem verb being used as a noun.

65. /nanti? auu salaeq daa/
   later wash finish already

'Later the wash will be finished
   already.'

The noun here is not the processual noun but the object noun. That is, the clothes are being referred to, not the process of washing. The processual nominal keeps the NG-prefix and adds the nominal suffix /e/.

3.231 Summary of aspect of the stem verb

In summary, the stem verb is used in classes I and II for both the perfect and imperfective aspects. The perfect aspect reverses the normal thematic order putting the theme in front of the theme. The imperfective aspect follows the neutral order of theme and then rheme. Classes III and IV use the stem form when the agent is not important or is inferable from the context. The lack of an agent-indicating-prefix makes the verb less transitive. With class IV verbs the stem verb can be used for discourse reasons to deemphasize a verb. The stem verb can be used for either aspect if the verb is in a series, because the aspect of the first verb of the series marks the aspect of the following stem verbs.
There are also a few stem verbs which can be used as prepositions or nouns. The removal of the prefixes makes the verb less transitive and more stative until finally all its verbal qualities are bleached away and it can then be used as a preposition or noun. The determination of the grammatical function of these stem verbs is found in the context of the discourse. The idea of dependence on the context is not a new idea:

"Now on the whole, it is true to say that the simple verb does denote the active voice, but at the bottom there are too many exceptions, too many cases where the verb simple and derivative can denote both active and passive for one to be able to discern any fundamental logical conception or distinction of voice in the Malay language. Context determines voice."
(Winstedt 1913: 60; 61).

3.31 Auxiliaries

Auxiliaries precede the main verb and indicate the mode of the clause. The auxiliaries dealt with here are:

/bisa/ 'can' (Indonesian)
/mau/ 'want, will' (Indonesian)
/mosti/ 'should, must' (Indonesian)

All of the above models can occur with both the NG- and the DI- forms of the verb. /bisa/ can precede both aspects. In the discourse analyzed there are five occurrences of each. In order to see the different affect of /bisa/ with the two aspects examples are given below:

66. /kita ong tida? bisa ma-tia? /
we people not can
NG-see
'We can not see.'

This is a part of a sermon and the minister is telling the people that they can not see. What he means is that the people can not perceive the good or proper way of living because of their failings and weaknesses. This is a statement of a general condition of man and is in the imperfective aspect. The speaker chose the modal /bisa/ 'able' to make his statement more convincing for his audience. /bisa/ brings the utterance closer to the realis end of the continuum by specifying the time period as always, until some condition changes. Consider for example the two sentences below:

He does not see the kite.
He can not see the kite.

The effectiveness of the activity of the verb of the first sentence is assumed to be shorter than that of the second. Sentence two allows one to predict events or conditions in the future, whereas sentence one does not allow this. One assumes the inability is an enduring state in the second sentence. Briefly, the reality or certainty of 67 is increased by the addition of the modal /bisa/.

67. /jadil bisa (i-ore) to so able DI-cross out just
dari pada.../
rather than
'So we can just cross (it) out rather than ... (make a mistake).'

The discussants are wondering what term of address to use in addressing invitations. The speaker suggests that both Mr. and Mrs. be used on every invitation since it is better to be too inclusive than too exclusive. Later one of the terms of address can be crossed out if necessary. Sentence 67 is in the perfective aspect because it is referring to a specific future event. By adding the modal /bisa/ the speaker introduces some uncertainty and the statement is presented as an option or possible course of action to the hearer. The speaker hopes that the hearer agrees with him but in order to be polite, the speaker does not present this statement as a certainty. The uncertainty is introduced by the modal.
Had the speaker said, /beso? di-cort/, this would have been interpreted as an order, 'Tomorrow you will cross out (those terms).'. On the other hand, the choice of the perfective aspect by the speaker shows that he considers this action the appropriate one. The relationship between politeness and the introduction of uncertainty will be seen over and over again in the examination of modality in Chindo, as well as, in many other languages.

The modal /bisa/ adds certainty to the NG-clause and uncertainty to the DI-clause. Modals move statements along a continuum rather than place them in either the realis or irrealis category.

/Mau/ meaning 'will' or 'want' is used in the discourse 4 times with the NG-verb and 8 times with the DI-verb. The NG-form is found with indefinite objects and the DI-form of the verb is found with definite objects. As with the English word 'will', this word has both tense and modal components. All future activities have some degree of uncertainty inherent in them so it can be expected that with the future tense one will find some degree of the irrealis mode.

68. /lu? iya mau ta?q-kai?-no d?ma?/ di-rum. / Derman,

'Yes, of course I will give it to Derman.'

There has been a discussion about the transfer of records to the new secretary, Derman. In 68, the speaker voices her intention, to give the notebooks over to Derman. The modal /mau/ introduces only the uncertainty of future time. Her intention is definite but her statement is close to a question, because it asks for approval from her interlocutor. She defers to the president of the organization by using the modal /mau/. He responds with a reminder concerning the proper procedure for turning over the records. Thus, he acknowledges her deference and agrees with her plans to turn over the records. Sentence 69 gives another example of the modal /mau/ with the DI-verb form.

69. /maqeti?ada, tap? bima
must-def there is, but Bima
kata-nya mau di-bawa? bima./
say-def. will DI-take Bima

'It should be over there, but if it isn’t then Bima must have it because he said he was going to take it.'

The speaker is almost certain that Bima is the one who took the missing notebook, but since he did not witness the event himself he includes the modal /mau/ to introduce uncertainty. If the notebook is not where it should be, then Bima must have taken it. The modal /mau/ gives uncertainty and future time to the verb /bawa?/ 'take'. The action of the verb /bawa/ is made posterior to the verb 'say' by the modal /mau/. The uncertainty of the /mau/ with a DI-verb sentence is less than that of the /mau/ with a NG-verb.

Some examples of /mau/ with an NG-verb sentence are given below.

70. /karon? kal? war? atas because if from above nga? mau di-rum.
not want NG-electrify

'Because if (the cord) is (attached) from above, it won’t conduct electricity.'

The speaker is advising the addressee on how to connect the flash attachment to the body of the camera. When the cord is attached at the top of the camera, a connection is not made. This statement is composed of a conditional clause and a resultant clause. The modal /mau/ clarifies the sequence, placing the main predicate /di-rum/ after the conditional clause in time. The modal /mau/ also gives an uncertainty in the main predications. Without the modal the sentence would be translated, 'Because if (the cord) is attached from above, it does not make contact.' With the modal /mau/ the implication is that the cord should be able to make contact from above, but for some unknown reason it does not.

The meaning of the modal varies with the situation and with the verb form. In order to understand the use of modals, one must understand the prior discourse and the extra-linguistic setting.

71. /ke? d?he mau h?um? ya if he want /di-rum? yes
mar? d?at. / finished already

'If he wanted to do the washing, it would have been finished by now.'

In the above sentence the modal /mau/ with the NG-form of the verb expresses uncertainty and future time. The woman speaker believes that 'he' of sentence 72 will not do the wash and she is angry at the man for being so lazy and irresponsible. The modal /mau/ with the NG-verb produces a verb phrase that is closer to the irrealis end of the continuum than the modal /mau/ with the DI-verb. Because of the indefiniteness of the object of the NG-verb, and thus increased uncertainty, the /mau/ is often translated 'want to'. In contrast, the /mau/ with a DI-verb is usually translated 'will'.

72. /jad? maqeti? maq-jad? mehu so should NG-become a
hari, h?um? ti-ban./
day day-genitive god

'So everyday should be a day filled with God.'

73. /jad? matokar mehu di-h?u? ahu? so notes must DI-read-obj. yes

Some examples of /mau/ with an NG-verb
'So I must read the notes (tomorrow), right?'

The same general rule applies for verb form use with /mesti/ as with the other modals. In general the NG-verb is used with /mesti/ when the patient is indefinite, and the DI-form, when the patient is definite. In sentence number 73 the force of the modal /mesti/ is mild and is translated 'should'. In sentence number 74 the secretary is asking the president what must be done at the next meeting. Here the obligation is strong and certain and the modal is translated 'must'.

3.32 Conditionals

The conditionals that are discussed in this section are the Javanese words /mek/ and /te/; both meaning 'if' and the Indonesian words /kalo/ 'if' and /kapan/ 'when'. All of the conditionals introduce subordinate clauses which express some degree of uncertainty. The degree of certainty is dependent on the aspect of the verb: the more certain the action of the conditional clause, the more likely it is that the DI-form will be used. The factor which is most closely correlated with the aspect of the verb is the definiteness of the object. An event with the definite object is usually in the perfective aspect and a verb with an indefinite object or no object at all is usually in the imperfective aspect. Below are a few examples:

74. /kalo? tida? di-gara? kan oleh if not DI-move-obj. by roh, kita mesti lia? jaman spirit, we must see time akher int.../ last this

'If (we) are not transformed by the spirit, we will have to see (what must be done) in these last days...'

75. /seng-e me? iso n-antar-no./ happy-def. if able NG-accompany-obj.

'I'd be happy if I could accompany (my sister).' (but I can not).

The function of the conditional is to place the event or state closer to the irrealis end of the continuum than the utterance would have been without the conditional word.

3.33 Interrogative mood

The interrogative mood is indicated by the particles /apa/, /a/ and rising intonation. Both of the particles and the rising intonation are used to form yes/no questions. /apa/ is also used to form WH-questions. There are other interrogative words, but since /apa/ is the one most frequently used, it will be used to show the relationships among interrogative mood, mode, and aspect. Below are examples of each type of question and how they express both aspect and mode.

/Apa/ What question:

76. /teros yan dulu di-minta? then the one before DI-ask apa seh?/ what yeah

'Then, as for previous one, what did you ask for?'

The conversation occurs in a photographic store. When the customer gives a package of negatives to be developed, the storekeeper inquires what was to have been done to the last package the customer brought into the store. What was it that he requested last time? There is no question about the reality of the past request; the question concerns the content of the request. The perfective aspect is used when the action of the verb is certain and something else is being questioned.

Yes/No question 77. /apa di-kasi?-no derman?: ques. DI-give-obj. Derman

'Should I give (it) to Derman (or to someone else),'

This question is also in the perfective aspect because the activity is viewed as certain; the action of the verb is not being questioned, only the recipient. The information being elicited is the identity of the benefactor of the action of the verb, not the occurrence of the action of the verb. In each of the above sentences, the interrogative mood results in some uncertainty and thus the utterance is pushed toward the irrealis end of the modal continuum. However, since the activities of the verbs in sentences 77 and 78 are not within the scope of the question, the verb is in the perfective aspect.

Below is an example of a question using the NG-form of the verb.

78. /apa man-ampog?: ques. NG-receive

'Will (the room) be able to hold (all of the students)?'

The organizers of a gathering are trying to decide whether a room is big enough to hold all of the members of the social group. The activity of the verb is being questioned. The verb is within the scope of the question particle giving more uncertainty to the utterance than in either 76 or 77. The imperfective aspect with the interrogative mood produces an utterance that is close to the irrealis end of the modal continuum. The imperfective aspect and the interrogative mood complement each other in creating an irrealis utterance because the verb is within the scope of the question while with the DI-verb it is not within the scope of the question.

In Chindo mode and aspect intersect; questions by their nature express a certain degree of uncertainty, but some questions are more uncertain than others with respect to the main predication due to the scope of the interrogative. In order to express this variation in uncertainty the DI-form of the verb is used when the action of the verb is not being questioned and the NG-form when it is being questioned.

The /a/ interrogative marker seeks confirmation from the interlocutor or merely draws the hearer's attention to some point about which the speaker is fairly certain. The /a/ never marks a WH-question. Below are
some examples:

79. /mau 飑drə? a ㎗at?/  
    want develop ques. Nes
    'Do you want to have (that) developed, Nes?' (I think you do.)

The speaker is assuming that the boy who has just walked into the photographic store with a packet is interested in getting the film developed. The speaker is so certain that this is true that the question particle /a/, which asks for affirmation, is used.

80. /ini za? akeh a./  
    this yes much you know
    'This is a lot, you know (don't you agree?).'

The sentence lies on the border between a question and a statement. The speaker is almost certain but wants the hearer's reaction, presumably his affirmation.

81. /di-kast?-i manoa a ini?/  
    DI-give-obj. new one ques. this
    'I should give this to the new student, right?' (not to one of the old students)

The particle /a/ occurs immediately after the word which is being questioned.

The particle /a/ does not occur with the NG-form, but only with the DI-form or the stem verb. The attitude of the speaker is 'I know what is happening but I would like to have some confirmation from my audience.' This attitude is close to the certainty end of the modal continuum even though there is some uncertainty being expressed by the question particle. With this degree of certainty one would predict the DI-verb form.

The complementarity of mode and aspect was first made clear by the following exchange:

Speaker A: /m-basa? dari malaq?/  
    NG-carry from Malang?
    'Are you going to transport (all these goods) from Malang?'

Speaker B: /nda? m-basa? dari malaq,  
    not NG-carry from Malang
di-basa? sona./  
    DI-carry there.
    'No, we won't transport (everything) from Malang, but they (over there) will transport (the goods).'

In the above sentences, when the verb 'carry' is being questioned and negated the aspect is imperfective because the verb is communicating an unrealized state or condition. When the verb 'carry' relates a certain (in the mind of the speaker), future event, the verb is in the perfective aspect. It should be noted that not all negative verbs are in the NG-form. A forceful, certain denial can demand the DI-verb form. The complete discourse setting and intention of the speaker are needed in order to account for verb morphology.

3.34 Opinion particles

There are a few opinion particles that express the opinion of the speaker about the reality or certainty of an utterance which precedes or follows it. In order to determine the meaning of these particles one must understand the pragmatics of the sentence including the intention of the speaker (see Bambang Kaswanti 1976). These particles are not really interrogative in mood but they do elicit a response from the speaker by commenting on the truth value of a statement. The most important particles are /kan/, /toh/, /ko?/ and /lho/. They occur before or after a complete utterance and comment on the utterance by expressing the speaker's opinion about its factuality. Below I present each particle, with its definition and a few examples of how it is used.

The utterance initial /kan/ expresses the belief of the speaker that the utterance is true. It is used when the interlocutor has indicated that he (the interlocutor) does not agree with the utterance following the initial /kan/. The /kan/ not only expresses the speaker's belief in the statement but requests a response explaining why the hearer does not agree with the statement.

82. /kan sudaŋ di-basa?-no./  
    you know already DI-read-object
    'Don't you know that it has been read already.'

This /kan/ only occurs with /di-/ verbs. The speaker is certain of an event and thus the perfective aspect is appropriate.

When the /kan/ is utterance final the implication and prior discourse are different. Utterance final /kan/ means 'isn't that right', and elicits agreement from the hearer. A statement is made which the speaker believes to be true, and /kan/ then is added to elicit agreement. No contradiction or disagreement between speaker and hearer is implied.

83. /sudaŋ di-basa?-no kan./  
    already DI-read-obj. right
    'It has already been read, isn't that right?'

The verb remains in the DI-form because the event and the mode remain the same. Both initial and final /kan/ assert the truth of the utterance but they imply different prior discourse. The initial /kan/ requires an explanation and the final /kan/ only requests agreement.

/toh/ is similar in meaning to the final /kan/. It asks for agreement from the addressee and asserts the speaker's belief in the statement. The /toh/ particle is always utterance final and is found with the DI-verb even though the particle gives some degree of uncertainty to the statement.

84. /lwaŋ muraŋ toh?/  
    more cheap right
    'It is cheaper, isn't it?'

An initial /ko?/ relates surprise and dis-
belief at an event or state and elicits an explanation. The final /ko?/ expresses an emphatic assertion by the speaker about the truth of the statement and aims at persuading the hearer to believe the statement. Below are examples of both initial and final /ko?/.

85. /ko? makan obat mak./
surprise eat medicine stomach
'I don't believe that you take stomach medicine.' (Explain to me why you do, if in fact you really do.)

86. /seg mahasiswa lama belum
one who student old not yet
Jalan semua ko?/. register all assertion
'The old students, they all have not registered yet, you know.' (You should believe this, even though it is obvious that you don’t believe it yet.)

In the Chindo discourse the final /ko?/ occurs only with adjectives and stem verbs while the initial /ko?/ is often followed by a NG-verb. This is appropriate since the NG-verb expresses more uncertainty and the speaker is expressing his disbelief. It is clear that the speaker does not believe the statement and is seeking an explanation from his interlocutor. See the example below:

87. /lho do? tsaq q-undur-no./
how surprise able NG-go back-obj.
'How can you possibly resign (that position)?' (I don’t believe you can do that. Tell me how you could do that.)
/lho/ calls the attention of the hearer to something which the hearer has not been thinking about. /lho/ means 'see', 'look here', or 'consider this point of view'. /lho/ can precede or follow the statement about which it is commenting. The statement may use the imperative or perfective aspect depending upon the verb-complement relationship. Definite patients define perfective events and indefinite patients define imperative actions.

88. /lho di-antar sampai?
listen DI-accompany to
Surabaya gitu./
Surabaya like that
'No, I wanted to accompany (her) to Surabaya, that was it.'

3.35 Imperative mood

Imperative mood uses the stem form of the verb which can be either in the active form where the actor-agent is taken as theme or in the passive form where the patient is taken as theme. Below are examples of these two imperatives:

89. /dudu?-o res./
sit-imp. res
'Sit, Nes.'

90. /bilag-o srt./
say-imp. - okay

'Say it, go on.'

Both transitive and intransitive verbs may use this form. If the speaker wants to take the object of the action as theme, then the stem verb is suffixed with /an/.

91. /tulis-an toh, bali?-e piro./
write-imp. just buy-nom how much
'Just write it, how much the price was.'

A polite way of expressing an order is to use a declarative statement with the verb in either the NG- or DI-form. The NG-verb form assumes agency and this is the source of politeness since agency implies volition and thus negates the imperative mood. See the example below:

92. /salamat mon-dagar-kan./
be good NG-hear-obj.
'I hope that your listening is good.' or 'May your listening be good.'

The speaker may also lessen the force of an imperative in another way by using the DI-form of the verb. Here as with the NG-form (sentence 92), the force of the order is weakened by the inclusion of an implied agent in the prefix. The imperative with the DI-prefix softens the order further by using the third person for the second person. This manner of ordering using the declarative verb for an imperative and the third person for second person makes the imperative indirect and thus polite.

93. /ayo di-minum./
let's DI-drink
'Go ahead and drink (it).'</n
94. /jakar di-pagak./
don't DI-touch
'Don't touch (the things).'</n
The difference between the NG- and the DI-imperative is related to the aspectual difference of these forms. The NG-imperative assumes the existence of an agent/actor verb tie but leaves the verb-patient relationship indefinite. The DI-form of the imperative takes for granted the verb-patient relationship and expresses the hope that the interlocutor execute that action.

3.36 Concluding remarks

Modal are a fruitful area of inquiry for the linguist interested in the interstices of grammar and pragmatic assumptions of a particular society. Mode is a complex and sensitive verbal category which interacts with mood, tense, and aspect (cf. Robin Lakoff 1972).

The preceding section gives examples of the impingement of pragmatic factors on verb morphology and syntax. In order to explain the meaning of modals, one must consider the aspectual system, intonation, prior discourse, shared assumptions, social setting and even status relationships of discoursants because the speech act must be appropriate to the situation. For example, politeness demands dif-
ferent degrees of certainty in different social settings and thus different verb forms.

Mode is related to the mood of the speech acts: questions, orders, requests for information (either due to disbelief or due to ignorance), and wishes. All speech acts can be graded according to their certainty and this interacts with the definiteness of aspect which may or may not be semantically close to, and complementary with, the certainty of the realis mode. The quality of certainty co-varies with aspect, with the function of the speech act and sometimes with tense. The study of mode shows how verbal categories are interdependent and how all are dependent on pragmatic factors.

3.40 Tense

The deictic category of tense in Chindo is expressed by lexical items not by inflectional categories of the verb. Because the meaning of time in any language is grounded in an egocentered view of the speaker, tense is a deictic category and its meaning depends on knowledge of the time of the speech act. One can not totally decontextualize a sentence and still retain the tense of a statement.

In Chindo there are two types of time markers: 1) primary tense markers that measure time from time zero of the speech act, and 2) secondary tense markers that measure time from the primary time marker. The secondary markers may be considered local aspect markers because they express time by means of concepts, such as anteriority, posteriority, and proximity. These means are not deictic but aspectual in the sense that they give a perfective, imperfective, or perfect contour to the action or state. Both types of time markers are discussed below.

3.41 Primary tense markers

The primary tense markers usually occur before the verb they modify and have a rising intonation contour. If they occur after the main verb, they are an adjunct to the utterance, or a comment and have a flat intonation contour (Cf. Poedjosodarmo 1977). The placement of the time word does not change its scope, but does change its emphasis. In any case, the primary tense markers are deictic, they point to the time of the action of the statement by using the time of the speech act as time zero. Below are some primary tense markers and some examples of how they are used in sentences.

/komaren/ 'yesterday' Indonesian
/beso?/ 'tomorrow' Indonesian
/nanti/ 'later' Indonesian
/anti?/ 'later' Javanese
/sokaraag/ 'now' Indonesian
/tadi/ 'just before' Indonesian
/dulu/ 'before' Indonesian

Some of the primary tense markers can co-occur with nouns to make the time more specific. Below are some examples:

/anti? malam/ 'tonight'
/beso? pagi/ 'tomorrow morning'

The primary time markers most often occur before the main verb in the utterance. Below are some examples of utterances:

95. /anti maiom di-cuoi./ DI-wash
   'Tonight he will wash (the negatives).' or 'He will develop the film tonight.'

96. /tanta ini loh, kemaren pulaq./ return home
   'Auntie came home yesterday, you know.' (Auntie is speaking about herself, this is very common for a speaker to use his/her name instead of the pronoun I to be more polite.)

97. /juga portu to di-baca-no also necessary ques. DI-read-obj.
   so-kali lagi bso?/ one-time again be so?
   'Is it necessary to read it again tomorrow?'

98. /tadi ta?-bali? no amlop./ just before I-(DI-) buy-obj. envelope
   'I just now bought envelopes.'

The word /dulu/ 'before' can be either a primary or secondary time marker depending upon its position in relation to the verb. When /dulu/ precedes the verb it is a primary marker. See sentence 99 below.

99. /dulu bali muraah/ before buy cheap
   '(They) bought (it) at a cheap price before.'

When /dulu/ follows the verb it is a secondary time marker, see examples 100 and 101.

100. /apa owo liat dulu/ ques. I see first
   'Should I see (them) first?' (before something else which is in the future).

101. /a yo makan dulu/ come on eat first
   'Come on, eat first (and then we'll do something else).'

In sentences 100 and 101 the focused word of the predicate, the one with greatest stress is the sentence final word /dulu/. In this position the word means 'first' which gives a future tense to the sentence. The time of the speech act is the primary tense. When /dulu/ occurs before the verb in an unfocused and unstressed position the meaning is before and the tense of the sentence is past.

3.42 Secondary tense markers

The secondary tense markers define the time of an action or state by relating it to another time frame in the utterance or discourse. Secondary tense markers can co-occur with primary time markers but two primary markers can not co-occur. If there is no primary time marker the utterance takes its time frame from its role in discourse or from the
time of the speech act. This time frame is used as the starting point for secondary time markers. Some examples of the secondary time markers are given below:

/baru/  anterior and Indonesian
'just recently' proximate
/satolah/  anterior Indonesian
'already' (formal)
/sudah/  anterior Indonesian
'already' (informal)
/ws/  anterior Javanese
'already' (informal)
/balom/  posterior Indonesian
'not yet'

Below are some examples of how these secondary time markers are used in conjunction with the primary markers and by themselves (using the time frame of discourse as the primary time reference).

102. /baru/ borakat se-togah tiga. just leave one-half three
 '(Me) just left at two thirty.'

The 'just' is measured from two thirty which establishes the primary tense of the sentence in reference to the time of the speech act. The primary tense is deictic while the secondary tense measures from the primary and is more similar to a local aspect.

103. /ekonomi/ dulu baru agama. first just religion
'First the economy and then the religion.' or 'They will reorganize the economy and then the religion.'

The secondary tense markers can be used with nouns to give sequencing. In the above elliptical sentence the verb 'reorganize' is understood.

104. /kemarin/ baru dapat pa-kerja-an. yesterday just get nom.-work-nom.
 'Just yesterday (I) got work.'

The primary tense is established by the word /kemarin/ 'yesterday'. The secondary tense is established by /baru/ 'just' and is anterior and proximate to primary tense.

105. /baru/ baqin ada tamu. just get up there is guest
 'Just after (I) got up, a guest arrived.'

This sentence derives the past tense from the discourse. Without the time from context it is ambiguous. In another context the same sentences could be translated: 'Just after I get up, a guest arrives.' What is constant is that the first clause precedes the second in time; what is ambiguous is the primary time.

106. /nanti/ kalo? satolah later when already
'satelah, unto? apa?/ finish for what

Later when this is finished, what will (this) be for?

The tense is future because of the primary time marker /nanti/ 'later'. The word /satolah/ 'already' places the 'finishing', of the subordinate clause, prior to the main clause. The secondary time markers provide sequencing of actions or states.

107. /balom/ sampat bali itu. not yet opportunity buy that
 '(I) have not had a chance to buy that.'

The woman speaker is reporting how busy she has been lately. She has been so busy that she has not even had time to buy a certain item. The future time of the buying is inferred from the context. In another context the same woman says:

108. /balom/ sampat bali itu, not yet opportunity buy that
 sddah nai?. already rise
 'Before (I) had a chance to buy that, (the price) rose.'

In this last sentence the verb /nai?/ 'rise', which is in the past, places the buying into the English pluperfect to make it prior to a past. The determination of time requires an understanding of the discourse. The primary time marker establishes a deictic meaning from which the local aspectual or secondary time markers are measured. Out of context the tense of the verb phrase is frequently ambiguous.

The most frequently used secondary time marker is /sudah/. It was used 82 times in the discourse analyzed; 73 of the 82 occurrences were with an unprefixed predicate, which in most cases was an intransitive verb. There were 2 occurrences with an NG-verb and 4 with a DI-verb. Some examples of how it is used are given below.

109. /ini/ sudah lama. this already long time
 'This has already been a long time.'

A shopkeeper is complaining about her husband who has been out enjoying himself and has left her with a backlog of work. The woman points to a pile of receipts to be developed and says that they have already been there a long time. It is time that he develop the film. The intransitive, static predicate 'long time' has an imperfective aspect, the long time continues into the present; nothing has changed the present state of affairs. The secondary time marker places emphasis on the present relevance of the situation.

110. /sudah/ kabe?/ already all
 'Have (you) (divided up) all the work?'

111. /bun/ yow sudah sama. already there
 'Bun Yow already there

39
'Bun Yow is there already.'

112. /ama? ounm sudah kwen dua./
child six already married two

'O of the six, two are married.'

In all of the above three sentences the function of /sudah/ is to give present relevance to the state of the intransitive verb. Everything is now in order, Bun Yow is there and two of the children are now married. The /sudah/ in none of these sentences terminates the activity of the verb but rather communicates a state and thus it marks the imperfective aspect. The sentence, /sudah kabout/ implies that the state is new or at least it is new information for the addressee.

When /sudah/ is used with a transitive verb the meaning of the secondary tense marker changes. Some examples are given below.

113. /dalu kan sudah di-baqo?-no/
before you know already DI-read-obj.

'You know, we have already read it.'

In the above sentence the primary tense is past due to the word /dalu/ 'before'. The /sudah/ marks the anteriority of the activity of the verb 'read' to the time of /dalu/. In the past the activity of reading was already complete. /sudah/ in conjunction with the DI-form of the verb has the perfective aspect.

114. /uwa sina sudah di-amer
person there already DI-escort

'mother-def. / you know

'You will have already been escorted by your mother, you know.'

The primary tense is the future because of the context of the discourse. /sudah/ places the escorting prior to a future event. /sudah/ in conjunction with the DI-form of the verb gives perfective completed action.

115. /ama-e satu kilo di-jual,
gold-def. one kilo DI-sell,

'sudah n-ambl-i./ already NG-make ends meet-obj.

'We sold a kilo of gold, and then we could make ends meet.'

116. /itu alat sudah
that instrument already

men-wuj?-kan bahwa itu tulis-ay
NG-show-obj. that that write-nom.

'Ada di-situ./ there is at-there

'Vertat instrument would show (each time a person came in) that there was writing there.'

When /sudah/ occurs with an NG-verb the meaning is not perfective, but imperfective in the sense that it marks the inception of an activity. It places the activity of the NG-verb after the DI-verb in sentence 115 and it shows the inception of repeated acts in sentence 116. The activity of showing in sentence 116 occurs after the people come into the store which is related in the prior utterance. /sudah/ is a secondary tense and aspect marker because it measures time from another activity in the discourse. The aspectual meaning of /sudah/ varies depending upon the degree of transitivitv of the predicate. The word /sudah/ adds the notion of anteriority when used with the DI-verb which is the most transitive verb form and in this manner emphasizes the completion and perfective aspect of the DI-verb. With the NG-verb, the /sudah/ marks the inception of the activity which has or had duration and is thus imperfective in aspect. With an intransitive verb /sudah/ marks the inception and continued presence of a state resulting in perfective or imperfective aspect.

In this section on secondary tense markers, two uses of /sudah/ (or its variants /wts/ and /dah/) are described: 1) as part of a verb phrase and 2) as a comment on an utterance and thus as a supplement or adjunct to the utterance that precedes it. As a part of a verb phrase /sudah/ precedes the verb it modifies. As a comment on an utterance /sudah/ follows the utterance and gives perfective or imperfective aspect to the comment. Below are some examples:

/sudah/ as a part of the verb phrase:

117. /dalu kan sudah di-baqo?-no/
before surprise already DI-read-obj.

'You know, I've already read it.'

The past tense is provided by the word /dalu/ and the concept of anteriority by the word /sudah/, which, in conjunction with the DI-form of the verb, produces the perfective aspect.

/sudah/ as a comment:

118. /baru boraqak sa-taqah tiqa,
just leave one-half three

tarlamat sudah./
too late already

'(They) just left at 2:30, it was too late, you know that's the way it was.'

The emphatic abbreviation of /sudah// /dah/, is never used as part of a VP but is always used as a comment. See the example below.

119. /ama?e piro nda?
child-def. how many not

tau, dath./
know, already

'I don't know how many children I have, you know that's the way it is.'

As a comment /sudah/ gives an imperfective aspect to the utterance.

3.50 Concluding remarks and a pragmatic explanation

The relationships between verbal affixes and aspect, mode and tense have been examined. In general when the object of the verb is definite the verb takes the DI-form, and when the
object is indefinite the verb takes the NG-
form. This rule generally holds, but there
are exceptions where the NG-form occurs
with a definite object and the DI-form with
an indefinite one. The choice of verb morpho-
ylogy actually is based upon the speaker's
evaluation of the action of the verb with re-
gards to the degree of transitivity and degree
of volition or potency in the agent. Below
are some examples of the exceptions to the gen-
eral rule.

120. /aku q-antɔr kakaʔ?-ku
I NG-escort sister-my
gitu pulanq;/
that way go home
'I went home to escort my sister
(to the bus station).'

121. /baru baryakat sa-taqah tiga,
just leave one-half three
tolambat sudah;/
late already
'I just left at 2:30, I was al-
ready late.'

The imperfective aspect which is expres-
sed by the semi-transitive verb usually does
not specify frequency, time, or completion of
the action or the exact object affected. The
imperfective aspect is an indefinite action
in the sense that the speaker is not pointing
to it, as a complete entity. Although irrealis
events are associated with the NG-verb form,
the imperfective aspect does not preclude
realis mode.

The linguist must examine the presuppo-
sitions of the society because of the impor-
tance of semantics and pragmatics in the verb
morphology of Chindo. Knowing what is in the
mind of the speaker is not easy; and the only
entry into the world of the speaker is by
means of observation of the complete speech
act and through participation in the cultural
world of the speaker. In this way the lin-
guist gains access to the presuppositions which
are a product of the society and of the speci-
cific speech acts. Different types of speech
acts require more or less shared knowledge.

Formal language is less dependent upon
presuppositions than informal language. The dis-
tinction between restricted and elaborated
codes (Bernstein 1962), I believe is to a large
degree caused by greater and lesser reliance
on inference and shared knowledge.

Unplanned discourse and conversations
lend themselves to use of a restricted lan-
guage code and, therefore, a cultural outsider
will have greater difficulty understanding
isolated sentences from a conversation than
from a lecture. Large units of discourse are
needed to analyze conversation.

In the analysis of the Chindo discourse
the hearer needs to know shared information
and presuppositions in order to understand
the point of the conversation and the linguist
needs this information in order to write a
comprehensive grammar. The meaning of the
discourse allows one to discover to what extent
pragmatic factors are needed to explain the
linguistic setting (i.e. prior discourse),
extra-linguistic setting (i.e. formal versus
informal situation) and shared presuppositions

The interaction between verb morphology
and both mode and aspect is illustrated in
the excerpts below:

A.122. /ako, konq apa yaq
surprise occur what that
partama nga? ikut?/
first not come along
'Why didn't you come along at first?'

B.123. /ako q-antɔr kakaʔ?-ku
I NG-accompany sister-my
gitu pulanq;/
that way go home, ....
'I went home to accompany my sis-
ter (somewhere), ....'

B.124. /ako q-antɔr kakaʔ?-ku
I NG-accompany sister-my
'He's probably returning the Honda.'

The reason the NG-form of the verb is
used in the above two sentences is that the
intention of the speaker is to report a tenu-
ous connection between the verb and patient,
or to detransitivize the utterance.

The semi-transitive or detransitivized verb
occurs most often when the patient is indefi-
nite but can also occur when the patient is
definite as shown in sentences 120 and 121 if
despite uncertainty about the occurrence of
the activity. When the verb is semi-transitive
the object can not be topicalized and retain
the same meaning because the topicalization
makes the actions realized or realizable events.
The factor determining aspect is not the defi-
niteness of the object but the intention of
the speaker regarding the transitivity of the
verb.

125. /kakaʔ?-ku ke Jakarta; ono?
sister-my to Jakarta; there is
ko ajob-e baryak; /
husband-def, together
'My sister was going to Jakarta
with her husband.'

126. /ko ajob-e ne? keoo q-antɔr-no; /
husband-def, happy-def, if able NG-accompany-
'I'd be happy if I could accompany
her.'

A.127. /ako q-antɔr oopo?/
NG-carry what
'What were (you) going to carry
(for her) ?'

B.128. /ako di-antɔr sampɛ?
surprise DI-accompany to
Surabaya gitu; /
Surabaya that way
'I'd accompany her to Surabaya,
you know, that's what I mean.'

B.129. /ya ne? kamu parji must;
yes, if you go must
ako q-antɔr ...
I NG-accompany ...

41
'Yes, if you go (somewhere) I must accompany you.'

Yes.

B.130. /yoo/

B.131. /tha habas gëm ña aku kalo?/ yes, already how if g-antar wëq situ sudah NG-accompany person there already
di-antar mami-ña ko?./ DI-accompany mother-def. surprise

Yes and how will it be if I plan to accompany you and your mother has already decided to accompany you.'

In B's first answer (sentence 123) she is explaining why she did not go along with her friends yesterday. Although the verb /antar/ has a definite object 'my sister' the NG-form is used. The verb is not fully transitive, because the action is not a complete and definite event in the mind of the speaker. The speaker does not use the DI-form because that would mean that the act of escorting her sister was definite and, therefore had occurred or would occur. In this case the speaker knows that she did not accompany her sister although she intended to do it. This unrealized action of escorting is presented in the imperfective aspect. Yesterday speaker B might have said to someone as she left for home, /kaka?-ku ta?-antar, situ pulay/. Meaning, 'I will accompany my sister, that's why I'm going home.' What is required for the use of the DI-form is a definite connection between a verb and a patient in the mind of the speaker producing a fully transitive verb.

The verb /antar/ in sentence 126 is in the imperfective aspect due to the indefiniteness or semi-transitive nature of the verb. The indefiniteness comes from the verb not from the patient. The verb is in a conditional clause which means that the agent is not able to realize her desire to escort her sister. When B answers the question, 'What are you going to carry for her?' B uses (in sentence 128) the DI-form because indeed the act had been considered a certainty and thus could be viewed from a complete/perfective aspect. In sentence 131 one of the /antar/ verbs is in the DI-form and the other in the NG-form, although neither action has been realized. Speaker B, imagines a situation in the future. To contrast one action which the speaker presents as likely, with the other that is not likely, she places the more certain one in the DI-form and the less certain one in the NG-form of the verb. The DI-form cements the relationship between the verb and patient by making the verb fully transitive and in so doing gives the verb greater prominence (Cf. Hopper 1977b). The sentence reflects the speaker's evaluation of the likelihood of events.

Another example of a definite patient in conjunction with the NG-form of the verb is as follows:

A.132. /torou yaa ini kira-kira then one this probably

be?/ diay ye

tomorrow noon you

bisa q-arjä?-noi?/ able NG-work on-obj.

'Then this one, you will probably be able to work on tomorrow noon.'

B.133. /anti? le? iea ta?-karjä?-noi./ later if able I-(DI)-work on-obj.

'Later if I can I'll work on it.'

In the question, the action of the verb 'work' is definite therefore the verb takes the NG-prefix even though there is a frontal definite, direct object. The verb takes the DI-form in the answer (133), even though the verb is in a conditional clause because speaker B wants to stress his willingness and commitment to do the work unless unforeseen difficulties arise. He will certainly try his best to do the work. Politeness requires that Speaker A present a tenuous tie between the verb and patient in the question (by using a semi-transitive verb). The DI-form in this situation would produce an order. Politeness in the answer on the other hand demands the DI-verb to show a degree of certainty and willingness.

Another interesting example of how aspect highlights one verb in an utterance is illustrated below.

A.134. /ddi kek di-suruh n-ooon he you know DI-order NG-arrange

aggow-e piro./ budget-def. how much

'You know, he ordered us to figure out how much the budget would be.'

B.135. /suruh di-tumbo?/ order DI-pound

'She orders (me) to pound it.'

In sentence 134 the important point is that he ordered us to do something and we have been negligent in our duties. We must get the job done soon. The speaker's aim is to force the addressee to begin the work by reminding him of the previous order. The word 'order' is being stressed and thus is in the DI-form. In sentence 135 the speaker is relating instructions which she received from a friend. The important point is not the act of ordering but what was instructed, that is, to pound. The perfective aspect serves the function of focusing the attention of the speaker on the action which is the most important in the mind of the speaker.

As can be seen, aspect has no definite meaning in itself, but serves several functions in discourse depending on the context. The perfective aspect highlights or foregrounds an action of a transitive verb and in so doing cements the relationship between the verb and the patient. The perfective aspect does not insure that the action will be realized but does communicate the speaker's belief that it should or could be realized.
Chapter Four

SUBJECTS AND TOPICS

4.0 Introduction

Recently there has been renewed interest in the terms Subject and Topic (Li 1976). This interest comes mainly from two linguistic approaches: relational grammar and the functional, pragmatic, sentence perspective. Both of these approaches see the failure of transformational grammar to develop a comprehensive linguistic theory and are turning to grammatical relations (relational grammar) and to surface structure and pragmatic information (functional sentence perspective) as the basis of a theory of grammar. Subject has been variously defined as a primitive (in relational grammar), as a purely syntactic function (in transformational grammar) and as a product of syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic factors (Chafe 1976, Keenan 1976, and Li and Thompson 1976). Topic is the grammatically independent NP that provides a framework (usually spatial or temporal) within which the main assertion is valid (Li and Thompson 1976). Topics have not been viewed as crucial in a theory of grammar because they have been seen as playing a role only in the few topic prominent languages, such as Mandarin, Lahu and Lisu. After suggesting that subjects and topics are closely related in function, subjects being topics that have verb agreement, Li and Thompson (1976) present a typology of languages ranging from topic prominent to subject prominent that reflects the diachronic change from a state where the role of topic and subject are possessed by different lexical items to a state where the two roles are unified in one lexical item. This chapter defines the subject-topic relationship and relates it to the problem of making a universally valid definition of subject through an examination of subject and topic in Chindo.

4.10 The problem of a universal definition of subject

Many attempts have been made at creating a universally valid definition of subject. One of the latest is Keenan's (1976) which lists 30 semantic, syntactic, and pragmatic properties of subject, no single one of which is necessary or sufficient. Because of the inability to define the characteristics of a universal subject, this study proposes that there is no universal subject, but rather that subject is a conglomeration of three separate kinds of subject; semantic, syntactic and thematic, which in subject prominent languages coincide in the basic sentence. Since these three types of subject fall together in one lexical item in subject prominent languages, it has been assumed that they should fall together in the basic sentence (but not in a derived or marked sentence) of every language. This study does not make this assumption but defines the three types of subject individually (see section 4.2 for a definition of each subject). Below is a discussion of the importance of role and referential prominence in defining the different subjects in any language.

4.11 Role and referential prominence

The referential hierarchy as defined by Foley (1977) and Silverstein (1977) follows the inherent topicality of an NP resulting in the following ranking from the most to the least topical NP: speaker, hearer, proper and human, common and human, animate, and inanimate noun. Role hierarchy places agents at the top and patients at the bottom with the other NPs intermediary between them (Chafe 1960 and Noonan 1977). The utility and even necessity of separating the different types of subject from one another has been pointed out by Schachter (1977) and Noonan (1977). Schachter (1977) shows that subjectness is a combination of role and referential prominence which coincide in subject prominent languages but do not coincide in Tagalog or in topic prominent languages (Li and Thompson 1976) where the role prominent NP is the semantic subject and the referentially prominent NP is the topic or theme. Because of the separability of the role and referential prominence in topic prominent languages, one cannot assume that subject is a unitary lexical item in all languages. In subject prominent languages where one item expresses both role and referential prominence (in the neutral sentence) the hierarchies for role and referential prominence are coordinated to choose the one NP that is to be both subject and topic of the sentence. In these languages the highest NP on the role hierarchy fills the highest syntactic slot which is the referential-prominent NP.

4.12 Subjects and topics in Chindo

The Chindo data support the view that there is not one subject, but that there are three types of information carried on various NPs of an utterance which are 1) semantic role, 2) referential prominence, and 3) grammatical function which shows agreement with the verb. In order to establish the subjects of Chindo discourse, it is necessary first to establish one clausal construction as the basic sentence since we are looking for the subject of the basic sentence. The remainder of this chapter 1) defines the three subjects (semantic, syntactic, and thematic), 2) defines the characteristics of the basic sentence, 3) identifies the three subjects in the two major clausal constructions of Chindo, and 4) chooses one clause as the basic sentence of discourse in Chindo and then identifies the 3 types of subjects in that basic sentence. The results of the analysis support Schachter (1977) and Noonan (1977) by demonstrating the separability.
of the role and referential prominence in the basic sentence and suggest that Chindo is 1) ergative because the role hierarchy is contradictory (i.e. the patient not the agent is the grammatical subject of the basic sentence), and 2) topic prominent because the role and referential prominence are separable.

4.2 Subjects

The three types of subjects discussed in the two major clausal constructions are: the semantic subject, the referential subject (theme or topic), and the syntactic or grammatical subject. Below are the definitions of these subjects:

1. The semantic subject is, "The entity to which the action of the verb is attributed" (Benton 1971:167). This may be the agent, actor, or experiencer. It is the noun phrase (NP) which has control over the action of the verb if there is, or could be, control.

2. The referential subject or theme is the NP with the least amount of new information. It is usually definite and referential. Mathesius (1942) earlier identified the theme as that which one is talking about. The information communicated by the theme is usually, but not always, given (see section 4.3) in the social or linguistic context. The complement of the theme is the rheme which is the element which carries the most amount of new information. The rheme is that which is predicated of the theme.

3. The grammatical subject is the one obligatory NP of the clause and the NP with the role or referential prominence (Schachter 1977). This prominence allows the NP to be relativized and to be deleted in equi-NP deletion.

4.3 Information structure

Because the informational status of the NPs (given or new) affects the word order, these terms will be defined. A word is 'given' if it has been stated in the current conversation or if it is directly implied in the conversation or social context. A word is 'new' information if it has not been stated or implied.

4.31 Information structure in Chindo

In Chindo the informational status of nouns is divided into three categories: new, shared but new, and old or given (cf. Kaswanti for a discussion of informational status in Indonesian). The category new includes items which are totally new and therefore indefinite. Those items which are new to his conversation but shared from another previous encounter define the second informational status which is new but shared. The item which relates shared information is suffixed with a definite article. (This definite marker is not the same as the definite marker that is used to mark definiteness of old or given information). The definite, but new, marker is a reminder to the addressee to pull out stored information. The third informational status in Chindo is the old or given status which is marked as definite and has been discussed in the conversation. Briefly, new is totally new to the hearer and indefinite, shared but new is definite because the addressee should remember the item from a previous occasion, and given is old information because it has been specifically stated or implied in the present conversation and is definite.

4.4 Definition of basic sentence

The functional definition of the basic sentence given here has been made to fit the Chindo data, but is patterned on Givón's ideas for a discourse definition of syntax (Givón 1974). The basic sentence or clause in Chindo must fulfill all of the following conditions: 1) asserts a real event, not a conditional one; 2) has the least amount of presupposition material; 3) is the main clause, not a relative clause, prepositional phrase or nominal construction; and 4) is syntactically free in terms of information distribution. This definition of a basic sentence supports the observation of Hooper and Thompson (1973) that root transformations apply not only to main clauses but to all assertive clauses. The basic clause is the assertive one and is syntactically the most flexible. The assertive clause represents real events and presents, or is able to present, the most new material.

4.5 Subjects in the two major clausal constructions in Chindo

This chapter examines the structure of the transitive sentence. Transitive verbs in Chindo have either a homorganic nasal prefix (NG-) or a pronominal proclitic (DI- 3rd person marker). Some linguists classify these prefixes in Standard Indonesian as voice markers (MacDonald 1976, Wolff 1971, Chung 1976) while other linguists suggest that these prefixes mark aspect and/or mode (Wallace 1976, Hooper 1977). The purpose of this chapter is to describe the distribution and function of the subject NPs in both the NG- and DI-clauses.

4.51 Semantic and referential subjects in the NG-verb clause

The word order of the NG-clause is Agent-Verb-Complement.

1. /tanto m-basa payoaq/
   Aunt NG-carry umbrella

   'Auntie carries an umbrella.'

The semantic subject is the agent of the verb and is only obligatory NP of this clause. The agent in sentence 1 is also the referential subject or theme. The subject must be thematic and old information in the NG-clause. If the agent is new, the predicate must be nominalized thereby creating an equative sentence. For example:

2. /tanto yao m-basa payoaq/
   Aunt one who NG-carry umbrella

   'Auntie is the one who carries an umbrella.'
In sentence 2 the semantic subject (and theme) is given contrastive stress by nominalizing the predicate and making it definite.

The complement of the NG-verb is always new (as defined in section 4.3.1); it may be totally new or shared information from a previous conversation. In any case, the complement of the NG-verb is not old information. This complement is not obligatory, and when there is no object the meaning of the sentence is similar to the anti-passive as discussed by Heath (1976) in the English sentence, 'He drinks'. The indefinite object is deleted yielding an intransitive meaning to the verb. The indefinite object may or may not be obvious from the context. Below are some examples:

3. /gag/ m-s-motret nda?
   one who NG-take pictures really
   koh mig/
   brother Ming
   'The one who will take the pictures, will he really be brother Ming?'

The object of the verb (person whose picture is taken) is not stated because it is not important at this point in the conversation.

4. /koh/ mig unu? m-qaq
   brother Ming for NG-prepare
   wana m-bi'kin kromba tagan./
   and NG-make flower hand
   'Brother Ming will make the preparations and make the hand flowers.'

Here again the object of 'prepare' is indefinite and unnecessary, but imaginarile from the context of the conversation.

To summarize, the clause with the NG-verb has an obligatory and definite subject which must be both agent and theme. It has a complement which is new and deletable and word order in this construction is Subject-Verb-Object or Agent-Verb-Patient.

4.52 Semantic and referential subjects in the DI-verb clause

The basic word order for the DI-clause is Patient-Verb-Agent

5. /aku di-gera-kon ols buh rok./
   I DI-move by spirit
   'I was moved by the spirit.' or 'The spirit moved me.'

6. /itu di-bawa bima./
   that DI-take Bima
   'That was taken by Bima.' or 'Bima took that.'

In the above examples the agent is given full lexical expression and is optionally introduced by the preposition 'by'. Often in discourse the agent is obvious and, therefore, is omitted leaving the proclitic to stand alone. The proclitic most often used when the agent is inferable from the discourse is the third person marker DI-. The DI- may be used even when the agent is first or second person. In these cases the DI- provides no information concerning the person.

7. /nda? di-agda?/
   not DI-develop?
   'Don't you want to develop (the film)?'

The information identifying the agent must be inferred from the context of the conversation.

When the agent is given full lexical expression, it is usually placed immediately after the verb; however, the agent is fronted and the patient placed in sentence final position when the patient is new.

8. /are? are? balum di-tulas
   child-child not yet DI-writes
   laporan-e/ report-def. (new)
   'The children have not yet written the report.'

In sentence 8 'the report', the new information to this conversation but shared from a previous time, is given sentence final position.

9. /olol toko di-siap-kon distitu
   by store DI-prepare there
   unto? mem-par?sa./
   for NG-inspect
   'The store prepared to make an inspection there.'

Phrasal complements (as seen above in sentence 9) are also placed in sentence final position because of their length and thus, the agent is fronted. In sentence 9 the agent is introduced by the preposition 'by', but the preposition 'by' is not necessary.

Both the referential subject (theme) and the grammatical subject (see section 4.53 below) are the patient in all DI-clauses. The semantic subject (agent) is not one of the major arguments of the verb even though it is understood. The patient may be either new or given and will follow or precede the verb depending on its informational status. If the information of the patient is given, the patient precedes the verb, and if the information is new, it follows the verb. When the patient follows the verb, the agent is fronted. Often the agent is not given lexical expression in discourse leaving the patient and verb (plus proclitic) to stand alone (see sentence 10). If the patient is obvious, that too will be deleted leaving the verb alone (see sentence 11).

10. /di-ambe? air-e/
    DI-take water-def. (new)
    'You take the water.' or 'Water is taken.' (The interpretation depends on the context.)

11. /anti? malam di-cuci/
    later night DI-wash
    'Later tonight he will wash (the film)'

The absence of case marking and the lack of a fixed word order might lead to confusion between agent and patient except that the addressee is aided by juncture. In addition to juncture, inference helps the addressee dis-
tistinguish agent from patient. The examples below will show how juncture identifies the semantic role of the NPs.

12. /oraq yaq nda? tahu people one who not know
    di-saqka?-no + kauq./
    DI-mistake-obj. (juncture) servant

'People who don't know will mistake
(him) for a servant.'

13. /oraq-øa +
    di-saqka?-no
    kauq./
    person-def. juncture DI-mistake-obj.
    servant

'The servant mistook (something)
for a person.'

Note the addition of the definite article /-øa/ to the grammatical subject of sentence 12. The grammatical subject must be definite. The initial /oraq/ in sentence 12 must be agent (not patient) because a new patient (one without the definite article) of a DI-verb is placed after the verb. What is most crucial is the placement of the juncture in the DI-clause. Juncture occurs between the verb and the theme which is the patient. The patient of the DI-clause is the one obligatory NP which must appear if any NP appears. Word order in the DI-clause is determined by the informational status (given or new) of the theme. The theme/patient in the DI-clause is obligatory in the sense that it must be present or understood, while the agent may or may not be stated or implied (see sentence 10).

To summarize: the DI-clause has an optional agent and a obligatory patient which is also theme and grammatical subject (see section 4.53 below). The informational status of the patient determines word order. The basic word order is Patient-Verb-Agent not Agent-Verb-Patient because this construction uses the unmarked thematic structure, theme preceding rHEME.

4.53 Grammatical subjects in the NG- and DI-
verb clauses

In this section three syntactic phenomena are used in order to identify the grammatical subjects in both major clauses of Chindo. The 3 syntactic constructions are: relative clause formation, equi-NP deletion, and imperative construction. I base my remarks on grammatical subjects upon the Keenan and Comrie (1972) Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy, which states that the noun phrase most accessible in transformations is the subject. If only one category of NP can be relativized or deleted that NP must be the subject of the clause. The accessibility is due to the role and/or referential prominence of the NP.

4.531 Relativization

Only the theme of the NG- and DI-clause may be relativized (cf. Keenan 1972). The theme is the agent in the NG-clause and the patient in the DI-clause. It is the referentially prominent NP which is relativized in each case. The relativized NP is deleted and replaced by the relative pronoun /yaq/ (Indonesian) or /seq/ (Javanese). Below are two examples of relative clause formation, one with a DI-verb and one with a NG-verb.

14. /kita mesti lihat satu ko-gara?an
    we must see one event
    di- satu badan yaq
    in an organization which
    di-kuanai olsh anti-krisi.
    DI-control-obj. by anti-Christ
    'We must see an event in an organization which is controlled by anti-Christ.'

The theme of the relative clause which is old information and in clause initial position is the relative pronoun /yaq/. If the semantic role of the theme is patient the DI-form of the verb is used.

15. /seq
    n-jalan-o.
    one who NG-drive-obj. bus
    ini putu-e
tanta./
    this grandchild-def./new Aunt

'The one who will drive the bus is
the grandchild of Auntie.'

The old information and theme here, as in all relative clauses, is /seq/, the relative pronoun. The only difference between sentences 14 and 15 is the semantic role of the theme of the clause. In sentence 15 it is the agent of the verb; in sentence 14 it is the patient. The semantic role of the theme determines the verb prefix; DI- with patient as theme and NG- with agent/actor as theme. The verb prefix therefore identifies the semantic role of the grammatical subject.

In the discourse analyzed almost all of the relative clauses use the NG-form of the verb. This means that relative clauses are used to modify NPs that are animate and volitional much more frequently than NPs that are inanimate and lack volition.

4.532 Equi-NP deletion

In the NG-, the DI-, and the transitive clauses, it is the referentially prominent NP which is deleted. The referentially prominent NP in the transitive sentence is the affectee; in the NG-clause, the agent/actor; and in the DI-clause, the patient. The examples below will clarify the relationship between controller and deleted NP:

16. /dia poga pulaq tram-e
    he go repeat new
    are?-are? sampi? — pulaq jam
    child-child until return hour
    piro qga? tahu./
    what not know

'He went to the children's birthday party. When (he) returned, I don't know.'

The deleted NP is subject of the intransitive verb /pulaq/ 'return' and the controller is subject of the intransitive verb /poga/ 'go'.

17. /ini tadi sornor — di-lagan-i
    this before. without DI-awake-obj.
pas amblas./
extactly disappear

'Just before, without (him) having been awakened by me, (he) disappeared completely.'

'He' has been the topic of conversation for several sentences. The last explicit mention of 'him' was as subject of an intransitive verb. In sentence 17, 'he' is the object of a transitive verb and then the subject of an intransitive verb.

18. /roh tuhan ada pada-ku suqaya spirit God is at-me so
aku di-bawa — akan men-jadi I DI-carry future NG-become
orang yaq baik./ person who good

'The spirit of God is with me so I will be carried and (I) will become a good person.'

In sentence 18 the coreferential nouns are the object of a transitive verb as controller and the subject of an intransitive verb as victim.

A common sequence in which deletion occurs is subject of an intransitive verb followed by a subject of a transitive verb (NG-form); the second subject is deletable.

19. /yang turlalu susah—me-mikir-kan don't too sad NG-think-obj.
porkara harta./ matter wealth

'Don't be too sad you thinking about wealth.'

20. /kalo dia sudah nai? — if he already rise
men-jadi pamimpin .... / NG-become leader

'When he has risen and (he) has become leader ....'

Another common sequence for deletion is object of a DI-transitive verb followed by subject of an NG-transitive verb.

21. /de?e kan kami di-suruh — he you know us DI-order
*a-susan angaran-e piro./ NG-arrange budget-def.(new) how much

'You know he ordered us to draw up how much the budget would be.'

Below is a list of possible combinations of controller and victim in equi-VP deletion as evidenced in the data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Controller NP</th>
<th>Deleted NP</th>
<th>Subject of Vbi</th>
<th>Subject of Vbi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject of Vbi</td>
<td>Object of Vbi (DI-form)</td>
<td>Object of Vbi (DI-form)</td>
<td>Subject of Vbi (NG-form)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above pattern shows that the referentially prominent NP (i.e., actor of an intransitive verb, agent of the NG-clause, and the patient of the DI-clause) can be either the controller or victim in equi-VP deletion. The pattern indicates that this is a syntactically ergative language, but I will not discuss this issue now. (See Chapter Five) The purpose here is to show that in the NG-clause the agent is grammatical subject and in the DI-clause the patient is the grammatical subject.

4.53 Imperative

In Chindo there are two imperative constructions, one with the patient as the grammatical subject and one with the actor/agent as grammatical subject. In both of these constructions it is the role prominent NP that is deleted whether it is also the referentially prominent NP or not. In all other constructions in the language the deleted NP is the referentially prominent NP, not the role prominent one. In the NG-verb clause the actor/agent is both role and referentially prominent so there is no contradiction when the actor/agent is deleted. In the DI-clause the referentially prominent NP is the patient, but it is the role prominent NP that is deleted in the imperative construction. In sentence 22 the role and referential prominence is divided.

22. /tulis-oen bapa? ibu./ write-imp. father mother

'(You) write father and mother (on those invitations)!!'

The agent is deleted even though it is not the referentially prominent NP. In sentence 23 the deleted NP is the referentially prominent NP which is the actor.

23. /gole?-o oth / search-imp. just

'(You) just search!'

There are two points to be noted from the imperative construction. The first is that there is evidence of the separability of the role and referentially prominent NP, and the second point is that in this construction the semantic subjects of both the transitive and intransitive verbs are treated alike. This might seem to detract from the ergative nature of the language, but it has been found that the semantic subjects of transitive and intransitive verbs in the imperative construction are treated alike in many ergative languages. This fact shows that there is a great semantic similarity between the agent and actor which overrides the ergative principle in ergative-absolutive languages. The ergative-absolutive and the nominative-accusative principles are probably present in every language to a greater or lesser extent so this phenomenon in the imperative of Chindo should not be disturbing.

4.6 The basic sentence in discourse

In section 4.4 the basic sentence in discourse is defined as the one which 1) asserts real events, 2) has the lowest amount of pre-
supposition, 3) appears in main clauses, and 4) is syntactically free in terms of information structure. On all points it can be shown that the DI-clause should be considered the basic sentence.

In the discourse analyzed, the DI-clause relates the real events while the NG-clause presents the on-going activities, states and conditional events. For example see the sentences below:

24. /di-tiggal kaplas. /
   DI-leave all the sudden
   'He left all of the sudden.'

25. /baraqkali m-bale-no honda-e./
   probably NG-return Honda-def./new
   'He is probably returning the Honda.'

26. /m-laku tapl-iku
   NG-run but this
   pita-ne kooq./
   tape-def./new empty
   'It would run but this tape is empty.'

The aspectual contrast between the NG- and the DI-clauses cannot be deduced from any one sentence but must be deduced from discourse studied in situ because pragmatic factors affect linguistic structure. In Chindo discourse, the DI-clause marks the perfective aspect and the NG-marks the imperfective aspect. The DI-clause asserts or foregrounds events in main verb clauses, while the NG-form presents supportive background material which is often in subordinate clauses.

The following data confirms the above statements. The chart below presents the distribution of verbal prefixes used in main and non-main constructions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NG-Form</th>
<th>DI-Form</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Main verb</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-main verb</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>219</strong></td>
<td><strong>488</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The NG-form is used: 48.4% of the time as a main verb.
51.6% of the time as a non-main verb
The DI-form is used: 94.4% of the time as a main verb
5.6% of the time as a non-main verb.

Non-main uses of the NG-form include relative clauses (26 of the 32 relative clauses used the NG-form of the verb), objects of prepositions, complements of intransitive verbs and other nominal constructions (all of the above categories use the NG-form). The NG-form as a non-main verb presents presupposed material which is descriptive and this calls for a static like or imperfective form of the verb. As a main verb the NG-form presents continuous activity, repeated events and general conditions. The above use is characteristic of the imperfective aspect also. The NG-clause does not fulfill the requirements for being the basic sentence.

The DI-form of the verb occurs almost exclusively as a main verb. It relates real events, has a lesser amount of presupposed material, and thus is syntactically free in terms of information structure (both the agent and patient can be new, while the NG-clause requires a given agent). Therefore, the DI-clause with a word order of Patient-Verb-Agent or Subject-Verb-oblique case fulfills all the requirements for being the basic sentence.

Now that the DI-clause has been selected as the basic clause it discoursal or clause (based on the functional definition given in 4.4, what implications does this have for the possibility of a definition of a universal subject and for the applicability of the role hierarchy in all languages? The fact that the patient of the basic sentence is the grammatical subject, despite the fact that the agent is present in the sentence, contradicts the role hierarchy which places agent at the top of the hierarchy. It has been suggested (Noonan 1977) that the role hierarchy does not apply to ergative languages, thus supporting the claim made in this study that Chindo is an ergative language. (See Chapter Five.)

The fact that the patient is the grammatical subject of the basic sentence also makes the definition of a universal subject difficult because it has been supposed by others that the subject of the basic sentence is the agent whenever it is present. Thus, the Chindo data cast doubt on the possibility of formulating a universal definition of subject.

4.7 Topics

Topics are grammatically independent NPs that provide a spatial or temporal frame within which the main predication is applicable, while subjects are semantically tied to the verb. Although there is no agreement between the verb and topic, there is some logical and semantic relationship, (for example genitive or locative) between the topic and an NP argument of the main assertion. Another difference between topics and subjects is that topics (when independent of the subject) must be definite, while subjects may be indefinite. The topic is always the referentially prominent NP, and the one that links the main assertion with the prior discourse (cf. Li and Thompson 1976, Noonan 1977, and Chafe 1976). The separate functions of topic and subject are well established in Chindo discourse thus placing Chindo intermediate on the continuum between subject prominent languages and topic prominent languages. (See Li and Thompson 1976: 485.) The transition to a topic prominent language is easier from a focus system language, such as Tagalog, where the separability of role and referential prominence is already established, than from a nominative-accusative language where role and referential prominence are united in the category of subject. This separability is established in Chindo. Topics can easily arise in conversation when a speaker begins with one topic (the item which is to be subject) and then changes his focus from a general to a more specific item as subject of the main verb. It is thus suggested that Chindo, a language closely related to Malay, has been able to incorporate topics into discourse because it has already accepted the divisibility of subject into role prominent NPs and referentially prominent NPs. (For further discussion of the relationship between
Malay and Chindo see Chapter Five.)

In Chindo there are three types of topics: 1) the initial frame of topic, 2) the initial equative topic, and 3) the final supplemental topic. All three are NPs that occur outside the main assertion which consists of a subject and a predicate. The first is usually a frame that is related to a main NP by a genitive or locative relationship, the second is an NP that is referentially equivalent to the subject NP and is either an expansion on or an anaphoric reference to the subject NP, and the third topic is a temporal frame within which the utterance is true. Below are examples of the three types of topics.

4.71 Initial frame-topic

This is very similar to the Chinese topic (Chafe 1976). The topic establishes the domain within which the subject-predicate assertion applies; it defines the general topic of conversation.

27. /payoŋ, ya ne? payoŋ baŋua, umbrella, yes if umbrella good, woa payoŋ korteas. but umbrella paper,'Concerning the umbrella, you are right if it is a good umbrella, but not if it is only a paper umbrella.'

28. /trọs yaq dulu, then the one before, di-minta? apa esk?/ DI-request what yea,'The ones you brought in before, what did you want done with them?'

29. /arli? sapu-təgaŋ itu, later handkerchief that, di-bikin marmot cili? cili?/ DI-make guinea pig little little,'Later with those handkerchiefs, they will make little guinea pigs with them.' (For a wedding feast the gifts are made into the shapes of various animals.)

30. /suna di-tulsa bapa'-ibu./ all DI-write father-mother,'On all (those invitations) write Mr. and Mrs.'

31. /bima, itu sapa?/ Bima, that who,'Bima — who's that?' or 'Who is that person called Bima?'

32. /ini, mau di-buat apa esk?/ this want DI-make what just,'With this, just what do you want to make?' or 'Just what do you want to make with this?'

4.72 Initial equative-topic

There are two varieties of the initial equative topic, but in both varieties the topic and the subject have the same referent. The first topic is anaphoric because it is a pronoun followed by an explicit statement of the NP, which is the subject of the sentence (see example 33). In this situation the speaker at first assumes that the addressee can identify the NP and then on second thought adds a more elaborate statement of the NP. The second variety of initial equative topic is a nominal phrase which is followed by a pronominal reference to the phrase. The phrase is the topic and the pronoun is the subject of the sentence (see examples 34, 35, 36). The summing up or repetition function of the subject in sentences 34, 35, and 36 might be interpreted as a phrase marker because it is immediately followed by the predicate and immediately preceded by the topic. Below are some examples of both types of initial equative topics:

Anaphoric topic

33. /ini tanto ini, seq repot./ me, Auntie this one who busy,'Me, Auntie here, is the one who is busy.'

Phrasal topic

34. /nomor tujuh belas, ini number seven ten , this tiga kali./ three times,'As for number 17, it is to be printed three times.'

35. /buana? sodara, itu di-makan many sibling, that DI-eat biasa./ ordinary,'There are many siblings, they will eat ordinary food.'

36. /sambagan-e itu contribution-def. that bolon di-bari-kan./ not yet DI-give-obj,'As for the contribution, it hasn't been given yet.'

4.73 Final supplemental-topic

The nominalization of auxiliaries, such as /sudah/ 'already', /wis/ 'already', and /misi?/ 'still' allow them to be used as topics which give a time frame within which the main utterance is valid. The main assertion is treated as an NP for which the second NP (the topic) provides an adverbial time frame. Some examples are given below:

37. /taplo koh miq taw, suda? an/ but brother Ming knows, already-nom,'But brother Ming knows, that's the way it is (has been).'</n
38. /ada? ad, suda? an./ not there is, already-nom,'There isn't any, and that's the way it is (has been).'</n
39. /orang-e gomu?, misi? an/ man-def. fat, still-nom,'The man is fat, and he remains that way.'

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40. /nde? kono di-ke?-i tanah, at there Di-give-obj. land,
wie-an./ already-nom.
'They've given land over there, it has already been given.'

Another frequent construction which can appropriately be placed in the category of supple-mental topic is the interjection. The interjection adds not a spatial or temporal framework, but a modal framework within which the main assertion is applicable. These Ja-vanese interjections are frequent in unplanned relaxed discourse where one is allowed to openly express disagreement and surprise. A few examples are given below (for further examples see Chapter Two).

41. /ko? makan obat makh? surprise eat medicine stomach
'How can it be that you take stomach medicine?'

42. /iho, ba?ka? iho ya./ surprise many surprise yes
'You know there are many, you know it is so.'

Topics are those NPs which stand outside of the grammatical constraints of the main assertion and yet are connected to some part of the main assertion through inference. Because of this dependence on inference, topics are more frequently used in informal speech than in formal speech. The topic construction allows the speaker to change the NP, on which he is commenting in mid-stream. A speaker can begin with a broad framework and then more precisely define the noun to which the predicate applies. He can also define the same NP in two ways by means of the topic construction. Topics are versatile elements that give the speaker a linguistic mechanism for changing the grammatical subject of an utterance. This construction in Chindo necessitates the separation of the referentially prominent NP from the subject because topics are always the most referentially prominent NPs of an utterance.

4.8 Conclusions concerning subjects and topics in grammars

The Chindo data does not lend support to the concept of a universal definition of subject because the role and referentially prominent NPs are separable in the basic sentence and in the topic construction. In the basic sentence the referentially prominent NP is the patient while the role prominent NP is the proclitic agent of the verb (the ergative NP). In the topic constructions, the topic is referentially prominent and the subject may or may not be the role prominent NP (in the basic sentence the grammatical subject is not the role prominent NP). The separability of role and referential prominence and the inapplicability of role hierarchy raise doubts about grammars, such as relational grammar, which takes as a primitive the relations 'subject of' and 'object of'. How is 'subject of' to be defined if the hierarchies only apply to nominative-accusative languages? Subject in relational grammar and in transformational grammar is assumed to be the agent in the basic sentence (if the agent is present). This assumption precludes the inclusion of pragmatic factors, such as information structure, thematic structure and definiteness, from a theory of grammar, and from the definition of primitives, such as 'subject of'. The solution proposed here is to accept the fact that there is no universal definition of subject, and to define three types of subject (semantic, thematic, and grammatical) one of which is topic. Topic is then a functional element in the grammar of all languages whether they are topic or subject prominent. The topic is the referentially prominent NP which may or may not be a separate lexical item from the grammatical subject in the sentence.

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Chapter Five

ERGATIVITY AND FOREGROUNDING

5.0 Introduction

Ergativity is a characteristic of numerous languages scattered throughout the world. Some of the better documented examples of ergativity are found in the languages of the Caucasus (Catford 1976), Hindi (S. Allen 1950 and W.K. Matthews 1953), Australian languages (Dixon 1972 and Blake 1976), Eskimo (Woodbury 1975 and Kalmar 1976) and Polynesian languages (Hohepa 1969, Hale 1970, Clark 1973, Milner 1962, Chung 1976). Ergativity is the morphological and/or syntactic identification of the actor/affette of the intransitive sentence with the patient of the transitive sentence, while the agent of the transitive verb is marked differently.

The purpose of this chapter is: 1) to discuss the language patterns and the characteristics of ergativity, 2) to present a review of how linguists have viewed the evolution of ergativity in Austronesian languages, and 3) to present a case study of change in Malay grammar from a less to a more ergative grammar by comparing characteristics of foregrounding in Chindo conversation and Malay narrative of the mid-19th century. The objectives of this chapter are to show that Chindo conversation has ergative constructions, to propose the necessity of examining language in context when studying language change, and to outline a plausible scheme of change from a less, to a more, ergative grammar of Malay.

5.01 Language patterns and ergativity

There are three basic language patterns for making the grammatical function of the NPs in an utterance: nominative-accusative, ergative-absolutive, and active-stative. All languages mark the NPs according to their grammatical function in relation to the verb. In the intransitive sentence there must be at least one NP and in the transitive sentence at least two NPs. The NPs may be of four basic semantic roles or types: actor, affettee; agent and patient; but there are only two grammatical categories, subject of and object of, into which the above four semantic roles of NPs are placed. These two grammatical categories coincide with the binary division of the sentence into: topic-comment, subject-predicate; NP-VP; theme-rheme; and figureground. In other words, in every sentence there is 1) the entity or state from which the speaker begins (which is often 'given' information), and 2) the complement which is the state or action the speaker attributes to the prior entity. There is something talked about and something said about it.

The obligatory NPs of intransitive and transitive sentences are identified with either the first category, that is subject, topic, NP, or theme, or with the second category, that is comment, predicate, VP, or rheme. The four semantic classes of NPs are:

- Actor : an NP of an intransitive verb showing volition.
- Affettee : an NP of an intransitive verb showing no volition.
- Agent : an NP of a transitive verb showing volition.
- Patient : an NP of a transitive verb showing no volition.

The four semantic roles will be categorized in one of the two grammatical categories. Languages differ on how they divide the NP arguments into the two grammatical categories. What is important in all language patterns is the ability to distinguish the subject from the object, the topic from the comment, and the theme from the rheme in the transitive sentence. What is variable, is the grammatical identification of the subject of the intransitive sentence with either the subject or object of the transitive sentence. The patterns are explained below:

I. Nominative-Accusative pattern:

Sentences are classified on the basis of the transitivity of the verb. The actor/affettee is identified with the agent in opposition to the patient. The nominative NPs are in Courier italics and the accusative are in Light italics. Examples are given below:

1. He hit him.
2. He appeared.
3. He is dead.

II. Ergative-Absolutive pattern:

Sentences are categorized on the basis of transitivity and the actor/affettee is identified with the patient in contrast to the agent. The ergative NPs are in Courier italics and the absolutive NPs are in Light italics. Examples are given below:

1. He hit him.
2. He appeared.
3. He is dead.

III. Active-Stative pattern:

Sentences are categorized according to the activity of the NP and thus the actor and the agent are grouped together, in contrast to the patient and affettee. The active NPs are in Courier italics and the stative NPs are in Light italics. Examples are given below:

1. He hit him.
2. He appeared.
3. He is dead.

The ergative pattern (and any other language pattern) may be marked morphologically or syntactically. The morphological marking may be on the NPs resulting in a case system or on the verb resulting in a concord system. Syn-
tactic ergativity is evidenced in the deletion patterns of equi-NP constructions, coordination, subordination, and relative clause formation. Any syntactic pattern which treats the patient and the actor/affectee as a grammatical category may be labeled ergative. A syntactically ergative-absolutive language has one clausal construction, the basic one, in which the patient and the actor/affectee are treated similarly. The language usually has another construction which realigns the grammatical categories among the different NP semantic roles. This realignment is similar to the passive transformation in a nominative-accusative language in that the grammatical categories are given different semantic role NPs. The realigned sentence in the ergative-absolutive language is referred to as anti-passive. Although it is commonly thought that an ergative-absolutive language will have only two types of constructions, the basic and the anti-passive, it has been shown by Kalmar (1976) that Inuktitut also has a passive construction. Below I present the typical pairs of constructions associated with the nominative-accusative languages and the ergative-absolutive languages.

**Nominative-Accusative language clausal constructions:**

- Active-NP (agent) Verb transitive NP (patient) Accusative case
- Passive-NP (patient) Verb intransitive NP (agent) Oblique case

**Ergative-Absolutive language clausal constructions:**

- Ergative-NP (patient) NP (agent) Verb transitive
- Absolutive case Ergative case
- Antipassive-NP (agent) NP (indirect) Verb intransitive
- Absolutive case Oblique case

No language is totally ergative-absolutive, but it seems that some languages are almost totally nominative-accusative. The reason for this is probably because of the semantic closeness of the actor and agent which is grammatically acknowledged in the nominative-accusative pattern but not in the ergative-absolutive pattern. This closeness is grammatically expressed even in languages which exhibit some ergativity. This expression occurs most frequently in the imperative and jussive constructions, which means that the actor and the agent of an imperative are treated in a similar manner. Many languages exhibit both nominative-accusative and ergative-absolutive patterns, causing considerable discussion concerning the various types of ergative-accusative splits. The ergative construction may appear only in particular tenses, aspects, or modes. In such instances, the ergative construction most frequently occurs in the past tense, perfective aspect and realis mode. In Georgian, Punjabi, Hindi and Samoan, the ergative is restricted to the past tense and/or the perfective aspect (Comrie 1973, Blake 1976). The ergative-accusative split instead of dividing along verbal categories, may divide along clause types with the ergative construction only in the subordinate clauses. Blake (1976), in discussing certain Australian languages, points out that the ergative case marking pattern is used with nouns and free pronouns, but not with bound pronouns. What is obvious from the above examples of partial ergativity, is that the pattern need not permeate the whole grammar. Most often the ergative pattern appears in a limited number of constructions. It is best regarded not as a characteristic of a few aberrant languages, but as a very natural categorization (affected versus affecting) which plays different roles in different languages.

5.02 Linguists’ views of the evolution of ergativity in Austronesian languages

The existence of an ergative-accusative split is well documented and has caused an interest in the evolution of ergativity. The development of ergativity in some Polynesian languages (part of the Austronesian language family) and not in others has intrigued Austronesian scholars and caused a continuing controversy concerning the significance of this phenomenon. The development and distribution of ergativity is of interest to the historical linguist and in particular to the Austronesian linguist.

Chindo, the Austronesian language examined here, has an ergative pattern in the perfective aspect of discourse; in this chapter a plausible evolution of this ergativity is presented. First let us consider some of the proposals of change in various Polynesian languages.

A few proposals concerning the existence and role of ergativity in the Polynesian languages are presented. Clark (1973) proposed that Proto-Eastern-Polynesian had an ergative-absolutive case marking system that later developed into a nominative-accusative system. The ergative pattern was only used in fully transitive sentences, while the nominative-accusative marking was used in intransitive and middle verb sentences. The evolution from an ergative to a nominative pattern in Clark’s proposal involved an aspectual distinction. The imperfective aspect which had been used only in intransitive and middle verb sentences became the norm for fully transitive sentences and the perfective came to be treated as a passive. Clark presents a scheme for the transition from an ergative to accusative pattern via an aspectual distinction.

Hale (1968) and Hohepa (1969) present the argument that Proto-Polynesian was a nominative-accusative language and that the ergative case marking developed from an earlier passive construction. The argument depends upon the ordering of the pronominalization rule prior to the passive rule. The theoretical framework of this work is transformational grammar.

Chung (1976b) also proposes an accusative to ergative movement but bases it on a different set of claims regarding syntactic change. Her argument assumes that 1) change
must depend on semantic and pragmatic factors, such as thematic structure, information structure, focus, aspect and definiteness. I suggest that the investigation of the process of change necessitates the inclusion of pragmatic material which is found in actual discourse and/or in stretches of written material. Both the Chindo data and the Malay narrative data mentioned in this chapter will provide the necessary contextualization of language for such an analysis.

Pragmatic factors will affect the grammar of Chindo conversation more directly than the Malay narrative because unplanned discourse relies on inference and shared assumptions to a greater extent than planned discourse. It is due to this dependence on pragmatic factors that there is a greater opportunity for ambiguity and reanalysis in conversation. For the linguist who takes a functional approach to language, this type of data is critical for an understanding of the interrelations among pragmatic, semantic and grammatical categories. One example of a changing system is presented here with the hope that it will provide valuable information concerning some salient variables in language change situations and their interrelations.

5.1 The evolution of ergativity in Malay grammar

In order to see the changes in Malay grammar from a less ergative to a more ergative language, two sources of data will be examined. One is the Chindo discourse which has been discussed in this dissertation and the other is a mid-19th century Malay narrative. First, there is a discussion of the phenomenon of foregrounding and its relation to focus, topic and transitivity; next, the data from Chindo conversation and Malay narrative are presented and finally an evolutionary scheme is presented as a review of the changes that have occurred. More precisely, this is not a review of changes that have occurred but of the differences that distinguish mid-19th century Malay narrative from colloquial Chindo. One can not assume that there has been a direct evolution from Malay narrative to Chindo conversation. Also, one must consider the affect of style on language and the affect of outside languages on Chindo.

Foregrounding is an important linguistic tool for guiding the reader or audience through a narrative or conversation and for pointing out the important information that is being communicated. Foregrounding (or perfective aspect) is used here to mean global aspect or that which highlights and gives prominence to events in discourse (Cf. Grimes 1975 for a discussion of global and local aspect.) Aspect is not being used in the sense of local aspect which is the information carried by the aktionsart and the degree of transitivity of the verb (see Hopper and Thompson 1980 for a discussion of the role of transitivity in relation to foregrounding). There is some interaction between narrative aspect and the variables, aktionsart and transitivity, in the sense that statistically the more transitive and the more punctual verbs occur more frequently in perfective aspect, but any verb may take either aspect. The
decision to foreground the transitive or the intransitive verb is a function of the discourse.

Three linguistic phenomena which often interact with, and support the aspctual distinction between foregrounded and backgrounded material are 1) transitivity (Pinker and Thompson 1980), 2) topic marking or thematic structure, and 3) focus marking. Foregrounded events are characteristically presented by transitive verbs, i.e. verbs that have definite objects that are affected completely by the action of the verb. Another linguistic device which supports aspect in contrasting foreground with background is the thematic structure (Topic) situation here. The topic is that which is being discussed and is often old information. For a distinction between subject and topic see Chapter Four and the appendix.) Often one thematic structure is associated with foregrounded events and one with backgrounded events. For example, in English, foregrounded events usually have the agent/actor as grammatical subject, whereas backgrounded events may have the patient as the grammatical subject. In Chindo device frequently used in conjunction with aspect to mark foreground is the information structure or the focus marking. The focus of a sentence is usually marked by word order, stress, juncture and/or intonation contour. The focus is that item which carries the most new information and is usually part of the rhyme. (The rhyme is what the sentence is about, or what is said about the theme.) In some instances the focus of a sentence is the theme, but this is not the neutral pattern and in this situation the theme receives contrastive stress. The focused item is often the complement of the verb but may be any item: a noun, verb, adjective, adverb or particle.

These three systems: topic, focus, and transitivity all conspire to support one aspect for foregrounding and another for backgrounding. The foregrounded events or pieces of information tend to be, but are not necessarily, fully transitive, of one thematic structure, and containing the focused item in the rhyme. Those utterances that have all three characteristics and are perfecive are the most prominent elements in the narrative.

5.11 An overview of foregrounding in Malay narrative and Chindo discourse

Malay narrative and Chindo discourse mark aspect or foregrounded and backgrounded information in different ways. In Chindo discourse the verbal prefixes NG- and DI- mark aspect for transitive utterances while word order or thematic structure marks aspect and focus in the intransitive sentences. In mid-19th century Malay, aspect and focus were marked by the particles /lah/ and /pun/ and the word /maks/. Perfective aspect was associated with both the DI- and the NG- forms of the verb because the verbal prefixes in narrative Malay marked only the topic of the sentence not the aspect. The NG- prefix marked the agent/actor as topic and the DI- the patient as topic. The semantic role of the topic was not specified in foregrounded utterances so both verb forms could occur with the perfective aspect words and particles. In the Malay system only two topics can be indicated on the verb: the patient and the actor/agent. If an indirect object is to be the topic of the utterance, the suffix is changed. Generally a zero or /-kan/ suffix becomes an /-i/ suffix to indicate that the complement of the verb is an indirect object. The fact that the verbal prefixes of Malay marked only topic and not aspect may have allowed the establishment of the intransitive 'passive' construction from the patient-topic DI- form through the use of the DI- form as an unspecified agent marker. Today in Chindo the DI- form of the verb can be used to indicate an unspecified agent and this may have begun in 19th century Malay. (This was suggested by Hopper, Buffalo Conference on Aspect, May 1977.) The utterance with an unspecified agent has only a patient and a transitive verb which could be interpreted as a patient and an intransitive verb or a passive construction that needs a prepositional phrase to introduce the agent. The use of this construction which Chung (1996b) has labelled the canonical passive is rare in colloquial Indonesian and Chindo but is found in formal speech and written language.

The difference between the aspectual marking may be attributable to changes in the grammar over time and/or to changes due to the style differences. Until more is known about the changes due to style, no definitive statement can be made about the cause and origin of grammatical differences. One fruitful area of research would be the semantic and pragmatic structure of oral and written Indonesian narrative today. This would provide comparative data for the mid-19th century Malay narrative study.

5.2 Foregrounding and ergativity in Chindo discourse

5.2.1 The two clausal constructions

This section begins the analysis of the Chindo discourse by describing the function and variability in the two clausal constructions: 1) the NG- verb clause and 2) the DI-verb clause. The NG- clause has been identified as active in Malay and Standard Indonesian and in this study as imperfective. The DI- clause has been identified by others as passive and in this study as perfective. Below is an example of the NG- clause:

1. /ot? same seq m-aqag
tampat tidor.
sister Same one who NG-prepare
coloc sleep

'Sister Same is the one who will prepare a bed.' (She will make the wedding bed.)

The word order which is strictly adhered to in the NG- clause is Agent-Verb-Patient and the agent is both the grammatical subject and the theme of the sentence and must be old information. It is the one non-deletable NP in the utterance whereas, the patient may be deleted. The DI- verb clause has been shown to mark perfective aspect in Chindo discourse.
The word order is flexible allowing for a variable information structure. If the patient is 'given' information the word order is Patient-Agent-Verb. For example:

2. /sambaq-an-e itu balèm
   offer-nom-def. that not yet
   di-bari-kan?/
   DI-give-obj.

   'Have they not given the contribution yet?'

If the patient is 'new' information it is put in the prominent sentence final position yielding Agent-Patient word order. Despite the variation in word order, the grammatical subject is still the patient. See sentence 3 below:

3. /are? are? balèm di-tulea laporan-e/
   child child not yet DI-write report-def.

   'The children have not written the report yet.' (The addressee had not heard of the report recently, so it was introduced as new information.)

In contrast to the NG-clause, the patient is not deletable except when it is inferable from the context. It is the one non-deletable NP of the DI-verb clause.

The DI-verb clause can show a change in agent by a change in the proclitic pronoun. For example:

4. /ini ta?-bali?-no saídmn./
   this I(DI)- buy-obj. celery

   'Just now I bought celery.'

If the context of the discourse allows the addressee to infer the agent from the context, the DI-proclitic will be used for any person. For example:

5. /nda? di-asdrm?./
   not DI-develop

   'Don't you want to develop (the film),'

Chung (1976) has identified two passive constructions in Indonesian: 1) the canonical passive in which the verb is prefixed with the DI- and is followed by the preposition /olch/ 'by' and an agent. In this construction the DI- can not be changed with a change in person and it marks a passive and intransitive verb. The canonical passive is contrasted with the 2) object topicalization passive which was discussed above. The object topicalization passive has a proclitic agent on the verb and is a transitive, active, verb form used in discourse to foreground events. Below are examples of both types of passives:

Canonical passive:

6. /día di-tindis olch golongan itu./
   he DI-press by group that

   'He was oppressed by that group.'

Object topicalization passive:

7. /æ-æ-balèm-e makan itu di-minum.
   before-def. eat that DI-drink

   'You should take that (pill) before eating.'

In the Chindo discourse analyzed it is clear that the two passives are very different and that the object topicalization passive is the form most often used. There are only 14 canonical passive constructions and 250 object topicalization passives in the Chindo discourse examined. Eight of the fourteen canonical passives were uttered by one man while he was giving a sermon. This was the only discourse which could be considered semi-formal, the rest were informal. The canonical passive is associated with a formal style and with Standard Indonesian but rarely found in casual conversation.

A close examination of these two structures shows that functionally and grammatically they are very dissimilar. In both of the constructions the grammatical subject is the patient of the verb but this is the extent of their similarity. The major differences between the two passives are 1) the transitivity of the verb and 2) the informational status of the agent and patient. The verb in the canonical passive sentence is intransitive, while the verb in the object topicalization construction is transitive. The agent in the canonical passive is in post verbal position in a prepositional phrase and gives new information which the addressee could not have gathered from the context. There can be no empathy with this NP because it is not one of the two major NP arguments of the verb. Its position is peripheral in the structure of the utterance. The agent in the object topicalization passive is part of the verb phrase, is often 'given' information, and is inferable from the context. This agent makes the verb active and it can receive the empathy of the speaker and can control the reflexive and intransitive constructions. The patient of the canonical passive is always old information, but the patient of the object topicalization passive may be either old or new information. The object topicalization passive is the active, transitive, perfective verb of discourse and by far the more versatile in terms of information distribution.

The following chart summarizes the distribution of sentence types in foregrounded and backgrounded constructions and identifies the topic and focus in each construction for Chindo.

### Foregrounding:

1. Agent (optional) DI-verb Patient(new) (transitive)
2. Patient (given) Agent DI-verb (optional) (transitive)
3. Intransitive (rheume) Actor/Affected (theme)

In construction 1. the topic is the patient and the patient is in focus
In construction 2. the topic is the patient and the verb is in focus
In construction 3. the topic is the actor/affectee and the verb is in focus.

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5.22 Evidence of ergativity in Chindo

In this section evidence of ergativity in the perfective aspect in Chindo discourse is given. The first piece of evidence is the two sets of pronouns, one that is used as the agent of the fully transitive verb and the other as the agent/actor of the semi-transitive or intransitive verbs and the object of the transitive verb. The first set are bound pronouns borrowed from Javanese and the second set are free pronouns borrowed from Indonesian, Dutch, and Chinese. The categorization of the subject of the intransitive verb with the object of the transitive verb is characteristic of ergativity. Below are some examples of the two sets of pronouns in use.

5.221 Free pronouns

Subjects of semi-transitive verbs:

8. /kita mo-biat jaman akhir
   we NG-see time last
     ini ka-swi-an ma-muna?/
     this NG-rise

   'In these last days we have seen the rise of purity.'

9. /saya q-omel sama si ana?/
   I NG-grumble at that child

   'I grumbled at the child.'

Subjects of intransitive verbs:

10. /lu, saya mau pulan./
   yes, I want go home

   'Yes, I want to go home now.'

11. /dia kman./
   he marry

   'He is married.'

12. /dia dari goraj.
   he from church

   'He came from church.'

Objects of transitive verbs:

13. /di-guyu sama dia./
   DI-laugh at him

   'They laughed at him.'

14. /kita akan di-ta'na tuhan./
    we will DI-ask god

    'God will ask us.'

5.222 Proclitic pronouns

In conversation the set of proclitic pronouns have been reduced to two: /ta/ 'I' and /di/ 'he', she, it' (or any person who is inferable from the context.) Some examples are:

15. /di- kasi? uaq tiga puluh lima./
    DI-give money three ten five

    'They gave me thirty five rupiah.'

16. /omar-e satu kilo di- jual./
    gold-def. one kilo DI-sell

    'We sold one kilo of gold.'

17. /itu di-ta'na aja./
    that DI-ask just

    'Just (you) ask that.'

18. /itu beo? itu ta?-romawa-kan./
    that tomorrow I- plan-obj.

    'Tomorrow I will plan for that.'

The examples above show the two sets of pronouns: one restricted to agents of transitive verbs and the other used for the subject of intransitive predicates and the object of transitive predicates.

The syntactic nature of the ergativity of Chindo is demonstrated also in the construction of relative clauses and in the coordination and subordination of clauses. (S = subject of an intransitive verb, A = agent of a transitive verb, and O = object of a transitive verb.) In all the examples cited the S is identified with O and can be either the controller or victim in deletion. A stands alone and can not be deleted. Below are some examples of deletion in relative clause formation and in coordination and subordination of clauses.

5.223 Relative clauses

The NP which is relativized can only be the object of a transitive verb or the subject of an intransitive verb. It can not be the agent of a transitive verb. For example:

19. /mahasiswa lama seq ber-agama
   S S student old one who ber-religion
   kreton la? masti-ne ada
   christian yes must-def there is
   to./ you know

   'There must be some old students who are Christian, right?'

20. /seq ta?-simpal ta?-kasi-no
   0 one which I-save (DI-)give-obj.
   mamah-e./ mother-def.

   'The one which I saved I gave to my mother.'
The referent of the relative pronoun is given in the previous discourse and is not repeated in sentence 20. The relative pronoun is the object of the clause and the whole relative clause is the object of the main verb 'give'. Sentence 21 gives another example of the relative pronoun as direct object of the clause.

21. /soal-ña yaq S O
   problem-def. which
di-persoal-kon itu ruq-an-ña./ DI-problem-causative that room-def
   'The problem that troubled (us) was the room.'

5.224 Equi-NP deletion

Below are some examples of the ergative nature of NP deletion in coordination and subordination of clauses.

22. /tante ini tho kemaren S
    aunt this yes, yesterday
   pulaq, la?— kujanak O
   come home, yes rained on
   you know Nes.
   'You know Nes, Auntie (I) came home yesterday and was caught in the rain.'

23. /de?v kon di-suruh — ñ- weed S O
    he you know DI-order NG-arrange
auguran-e./ budget-def.
    'You know, he was ordered to arrange the budget.'

24. /mosti-ña ada daftar-e S
    must-def. there is notebook-def.
tapi kata-ña — mau di-bawa bima./ O
    but say-def. want DI-take Bima
    'The notebook must be there, but they say Bima wanted to take it.'

25. /sampe? — pulaq jam piro S
    until come home hour what
   gqa? tau./ not know
   'I don't know when he came home.'
   /ini tadi sonder — di-bayoi O S
   this before without DI-awaken
   pas amblas./ completely disappear
   'Just now without being awakened (by me) he disappeared completely.'

26. /tante ini oukap apa nda? — S O
    aunt this enough what not
di-kasi? waq tiga puluh lima./ DI-give money three ten five
   'Does Auntie have enough if she is given thirty-five (rupiah),'

27. /roh tuhan ada pada-ku supaya spirit god is with-me so
    O S
    aku di-bawa — akan men-jadi
    I DI-carry will NG-become
   oraq yaq baik./ person that good
   'The spirit of God is with me so I'll be transformed into a good person.'

28. /diä di-tindis — mon-dalop./ O S
    he DI-oppress NG-hide
    'He is oppressed and then hides.'

29. /jayan — terlalu susah — ma-mikir-kon./ S
    don't too much sad NG-think-obj.
    'Don't be too sad worrying.'

Below is a list of possible combinations of controller and victim in equi-NP deletion as evidenced in the data.

**Controller** | **Deleted NP**
---|---
Subject of Intransitive Verb | Subject of Intransitive Verb
Subject of Intransitive Verb | Object of Transitive Verb
Object of Transitive Verb | Subject of Intransitive Verb
Object of Transitive Verb | Subject of Semi-Transitive Verb

The NPs listed above are all referentially prominent in the clause. In relative clause formations the victim is a referentially prominent NP, but the controller can be any NP; it does not need to be a referentially prominent NP. The deletion pattern indicates that Chindo is syntactically ergative because it treats the S and the O in a similar manner and sets A apart. Chindo shows morphological ergativity in the functions of the two sets of pronouns.

In Chindo the foregrounded material (or perfective aspect) for transitive sentences is expressed by means of the DI-prefix (object topicalization passive) and for the intransitive sentences ordering the theme prior to the theme produces a foregrounded (perfect aspect) statement. (See Chapter Two for a discussion of aspect in Chindo) The DI form is always perfective, except when it is used in the canonical form. The imperfective aspect is expressed by the NG-prefix for transitive sentences and by the theme-rHEME order for intransitive sentences. The significance of the preceding analysis of the ergativity of Chindo is, that it is in the perfective aspect that the ergative construction was allowed to develop. Perhaps it is just as important that ergativity developed in informal conversation, not in formal speech. The reason for this may be that change is most likely to oc-
cur in an environment where the role of pragmatic factors is the greatest. The specialized uses of the two sets of pronouns and the syntactic rules that treat the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb in a similar manner show that the perfective construction in Chindo is ergative. The imperfective aspect is similar to the antipassive in the sense that the theme shifts from the patient in the ergative sentence to the agent in the antipassive sentence. (Note that the NG- construction plays a larger role in formal standard Indonesian.)

The above analysis indicates several facts about Chindo: 1) it has ergative constructions, 2) the verb prefixes indicate aspect, 3) the perfective aspect is ergative and the imperfective aspect is antipassive, and 4) the development of the ergative construction occurred in conversational language rather than in formal language.

5.3 Foregrounding and ergativity in Malay narrative

Hopper (1977a and 1977b) examined the linguistic marking of foregrounded and backgrounded material in mid-nineteenth century narrative. In this section the linguistic mechanism for foregrounding (or perfective aspect) is examined, one more distinction is added to Hopper's analysis, and the perfective aspect is related to the evolution of ergativity in Malay grammar.

The two passages examined here are taken from the Hikayat Abdullah (1907), an autobiography by Abdullah bin Abdul-Kadir Munshi. One of the two passages was used by Hopper (1977a) and is used again to contrast our analyses which differ only slightly. One distinction is added to the DI-verb category in order to show that the DI-verb can be either perfective or imperfective. Hopper's analysis (1977a) finds that perfective aspect (foregrounding) of the transitive sentence is marked by the DI- prefix and perfect aspect of the intransitive sentence is marked by the particle /-lah/. My analysis is presented below.

In Malay, predicates are foregrounded by placing the particle /-lah/ immediately after the non-DI predicates (verbs, adjectives, or adverbs) and by placing the word /maka/ somewhere (not necessarily immediately) before the predicate. When the agent/actor is to be given contrastive stress the suffix /-pun/ is placed after the noun and the predicate is foregrounded. Predicates which do not receive the /-lah/and/or /maka/ marking are imperfective and backgrounded whatever their verbal prefixes. The charts below summarize the possible combinations of verb forms with foregrounding and backgrounding.

Foregrounding - is verb initial (except when contrastive stress is given an actor/agent and the NG-verb is medial) and the topic is final.

1. Maka DI-verb (transitive) new object
2. Maka verb (intransitive)-lah actor
3. Agent NG-verb (trans.)-lah object -pun

In construction 1 the topic is the patient and the patient is in focus. In construction 2 the topic is the actor and the verb is in focus. In construction 3 the topic is the agent and the verb is in focus.

To foreground an intransitive verb the focus must be on the verb giving perfect aspect to the verb. This changes the meaning of an intransitive verb from state to event by focusing on the commencement of that state and the focus can not be on the actor. With the NG-prefix, the focus also must be on the verb and secondary stress or contrastive stress may be on the agent. The DI-construction is the only one in which the focus is on an NP.

Backgrounding - is verb medial and the topic is initial.

4. Patient DI-verb (transitive) (optional) (old) new agent
5. Actor verb (intransitive)
6. Agent NG-verb (transitive) object

In construction 4 the topic is the patient and the verb or the optional agent is in focus. In construction 5 the topic is the actor and the verb is in focus. In construction 6 the topic is the agent and the verb plus incorporated object or only the object is in focus.

Although construction 2 is foregrounded and construction 5 is backgrounded, both have the topic as actor and the verb in focus. What distinguishes construction 2 from 5 is word order and thematic structure. The foregrounding of 2 is attributable to the ordering of theme prior to rhyme. The distinguishing characteristic of the foregrounded sentence is the sentence initial verb in Malay narrative. The sentence initial verb is introduced by /maka/ and suffixed with the particle /-lah/. In construction (maka verb -lah) the focus is on the verb if it is intransitive and on the patient if it is transitive. The backgrounded utterances have medial verbs, initial topics, and never have the emphasizing particle word /-lah/ or the introductory word /maka/.

5.31 Examples of foregrounding and backgrounding in Malay narrative

The following passage from the Hikayat Abdullah gives examples of the various backgrounding and foregrounding constructions. The analysis is basically similar to Hopper's but one distinction is added to the DI-verb category showing that there are both perfective and imperfective DI-verbs. The verb prefixes have not yet become aspectual markers, but remain only topic markers. (B = background and F = foreground)

1. Sa-bermula maka pada suatu hari Mr. Raffles itu tengah berkata-kata dengan juru-tulisnya was talking with his secretary
   1A

2. Maka -pun
   1B
dari-hal hembas membalas surat ke-pada rumah about wishing to send a reply to Primo Santis
   2B

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maka tiba-tiba datang-lah sa-orang orang Malayu and suddenly arrived a Malay man 3F
membawa exam bauh kepala-kepala durian, di-eangka-bringing six pieces of durian, thinking 4B
nya Tuan Raffles itu hendak membeli durian, thinking 5B
Mr. Raffles wanted to buy durians, bringing 6B
lalu di-bawa-nya masak ka-dalam rumah ia and brought them into the house he 7B
berdiri di-pintu; maka Tuan Raffles pun stood at the door and Mr. Raffles 8B
mendapat-lah bau durian itu, maka dengan got the smell of the durians, and im- 9F
segera-nya di-tutup-nya hidong-nya, lari-lah mediatly held his nose ran 10F
in naik ka-atas. Maka hairah-lah semua orang he upstairs And amazed all people 11F
melihatkan hal-nya itu berlari, tiada to see this thing of running they 12F
ketahui ia tiada boleh menolak bau durian. didn't know he could not take the smell of durian. 13B
Maka sebentar lagi di-panggil-nya akan supai And after a moment he called to the sepoiy 14B
yang menjaga pintu itu, kata-nya: "Siapa bawa who guarded the door, saying Who brought 15B
who guarded the door, saying Who brought 16B
bauh durian ka-mari?" Maka di-unjukkan-nya the durian here And he pointed to 17B
orang Malayu itu, maka di-supai-nya keluar lekas-And he ordered him outside 18B
the Malay man, and he ordered him outside 19B
lekas, serta ia memberi perantah ka-pada supai quickly, and he gave order to the sepoiy, 20B
itu, "Sa-orang pun jangan beri bawa lalu durian allow to bring durian 21B
No-one 22B
in that day no-one 23B
dari pintu ini." Maka dari-pa hari itu sa-orang pun through this door. And from that day. 24B
that time had been wholly unaccustomed to eating 25B
durian... Maka se-bentar lagi turun-lah ia durian... And a moment later came down he 26B
Mr. Raffles at 27F
floa pada masa itu sakali-kali tiada tahu makan that time had been wholly unaccustomed to eating 28B
durian... Maka se-bentar lagi turun-lah ia durian... And a moment later came down he 29B
ka-bawah, kata-nya: "Sakit kepala ahaya, sebab downstairs, saying: My head aches from 30B
menchium bauh durian itu; maka terlalu smelling the odor of the durian; because a most 31B
jahat makanan itu." Maka terenyum-lah aku evil food is that And smiled all 32B
of us to hear his words because 33B
sakalian menengar perkataan-nya itu, karna difference his habits from other people's; a thing 34B
berlaiman tabiat-nya dari-pada orang lain; barang different his habits from other people's; a thing 35B
yang di-sukai oleh orang, di-benhikan-nya. was liked by people, was hated by him. 36B
And because of that, whenever there were people 37B
membawa durian di-halaukan oleh supai, bringing durian they were sent away by the sepoiy. 38B
( Abdullolah, 63 - 64)

Below are examples from the above passage of each type of foregrounding and backgrounding construction:

**Foregrounding**
1. Maka dengan segera-nya di-tutup-nya hidong-nya; (10F)  
2. Maka tiba-tiba datang-lah sa-orang orang Malayu. (3F)  
3. Maka Tuan Raffles pun mendapat-lah bau durian itu. (9F)

**Backgrounding**
1. barang yang di-sukai oleh orang, (33B)  
2. ia berdiri di-pintu, (88B)  
3. semua orang melihatkan hal-nya itu (13B)

Below is a listing of the types of predicates in foregrounded and backgrounded constructions.

**Foregrounded**
1 NG- predicate 10 NG-predicates  
2 stem predicates 4 stem predicates  
3 DI- predicates 5 DI-predicates  
4 ber-predicates  
13 = Total predicates 23 = Total predicates

**Backgrounded**

NG- verbs are used predominantly for background information. The only NG- verb to be used in a foregrounded construction is 19 which has the particle /-pun/ after the agent which gives contrastive stress or emphasis to the agent. The same sentence might be expressed today by the following sentence:

maka Tuan Raffles juga dapat bau durian itu then Mr. Raffles also got smell durian that  
'Then Mr. Raffles also smelled that durian.'

Another interesting difference between the Malay and the present day colloquial language is that in Malay the NG- verb sometimes takes
a definite direct object. In this section there were definite objects after 4 of the 11 NG-verbs. (See verbs 9, 13, 18, and 31.) The DI-verb when it is foregrounded does not usually have a new agent introduced in the prepositional phrase but rather has a new patient. For example,

di-tutup-nya hidung-nya. (verb 10F)

An example counter to the generalization that the foregrounded DI-verb does not have a new agent introduced in a prepositional phrase is found in the following example: (Hikayat p.21)
maka oleh ibu-bapa-ku di-jumpikan-nya-lah
so by mother father my DI-invite-agent-perf.
segala adik-kakak dalam Malaka.
all sibling in Malacca

'So my mother and father invited all their sibling in Malacca.'

The prepositional phrase can be used in a foregrounded DI- sentence although it is not common. What is important to notice here is that the particle /-lah/ which is not generally used with the DI- form is needed because of the new agent in the focused initial position.

All DI- verbs except for 33 which is a canonical passive are transitive whether they are foregrounded or not. The canonical passive with the patient-verb-new agent introduced by /oleh/ is not common here. Grounding in this Malay narrative is more dependent upon particles and the word /maka/ than on verb form. The backgrounded DI- verbs usually have objects which occur in pre-verbal position or in prior discourse and an old agent. The only exception to this rule is when the verb complement is a complete clause and then it can occur in post-verbal position. For example:

di-maukan-nya Tuanku Raffles itu hendak verb 5B
DI-think-agent Mr. Raffles that would
membeli durian.
NG-buy durian.

'He thought that Mr. Raffles would buy durian.'

Another excerpt from the Hikayat Abdullah is given as further evidence of linguistic mechanisms for foregrounding and backgrounding material:

San-bormula maka ada-iah kira-kaia
1F
From the beginning there were about
delapan nabubian bulan aku bertekun mengaji
2B
eight or nine months I was studiously reading
dan menulis itu, maka tinggi-iah suka
4B
and writing, so my reading was high
bichaum-ku, maka makin-iah terbuka jalan
6F
(good), so the more open were methods
pengajian itu ka-pada-ku; maka ada-iah waktu
7F
of reading for me; so there was time
tengah hari, lepas lepas mengaji itu, aku per-
8B
at mid-day free from reading, I made
buat layang-layang lidi kecil, ku jual ka-pada
9B
kites of small palm leaves I sold them
budak-budak satu duit harga-nya; maka itu-lah
10B
budak-budak eat duit harga-nya; thus it was
11F
to the boys at the price of one coin; so that was
menjadi balanja-ku mem-beli pengaman dom buah-
12B
my spending money to buy snacks and fruit.
buah. Ada-pun dari-pada layang-layang itu-lah
13B
14F
It was from the kites that
asa-nya aku tahu menulis bunga-bunga dar
15B
(from that) I learned how to draw flowers and
gambar-gambar, karna pada masa itu aku biasakan
16B
pictures, because at that time I trained my
tanganku, dan kuperhatikan barang-barang
17B
hand and I noticed things
di-mana ku lihat orang China membuat gambar-
18B
19B
whenever I saw Chinese people making pic-
gambar dan bunga-bunga, maka aku tilihkan
20F
tures and flowers, so I drew (them)
ka-pada layang-layang; maka ada juga orang lain
21F
on the kites, and there were also other
lain pen membuat layang-layang di-jadi-nya,
22B
23B
people making kites to sell,
tetapi budak-budak tiada akh membela, karna
24B
but the boys did not like to buy them, because
bunga-bunga-nya itu di-bubah-nya.
25B
the flowers were glued on.
Demikian-lah bi-li menchari duit belanja;
26F
27B
And so that was how I got my pocket money,
dan lagi lain pula aku mendapat uang-ugah
28B
and also I got money that was
di-berti budak-budak sebab menuliskan papam
29B
30B
given by the boys because I wrote their
masing-masing. Maka dengan hal yang demikian
31F
32B
made my les-
tables. So in that way
tamat-iah aku mengaji komadian oolkit hari lagi
33B
I graduated, I read, and a few days later
di-suroh oleh bapa-ku mengulang-ulang leksihan-
34B
my father told me to repeat
my les-
ku-ku, ada-iah kira-kira dua-puluhan kali tamat.
35B
36B
sons, so I graduated about twenty times.
( Abdullah, 20 – 21).
Foregrounding and backgrounding had the following types of predicates:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Foregrounding</th>
<th>Backgrounding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9 stem predicates</td>
<td>14 NG- predicates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 stem predicates</td>
<td>9 DI- predicates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Ber- predicates</td>
<td>1 Total predicates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>24 Total predicates</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparing the summaries of the two readings, one can generalize that, for this story the most popular predicate for foregrounding is the stem verb and the most popular backgrounding predicate is the NG- verb. This may not be true for other narratives or other styles of literature. A more action filled story might use more DI- forms for foregrounding and more stem forms for backgrounding. What is probably true of all literature, is that the NG- is not prominent in foregrounded material and the DI- is not prominent in backgrounded material. The NG- verb has not yet been specialized for use with indefinite objects and thus to semi-transitive utterances. At this stage in Malay grammar the NG- verb is still frequently used with definite objects and the DI- verb is rarely used as an intransitive verb in the canonical passive form.

The main reason for including this reading is to show how the DI- verb is used in the imperfective aspect even though it is a punctual verb, and thus might be associated with the perfective aspect. The DI-verb is frequently used in this reading to give supportive background material and therefore does not further the story line. This story is about a boy's school days. One example of a backgrounded DI- verb is as follows: Predicate 7 is perfective and defines the free noon hour. During this time each day the boy performs several activities which are related by verbs 9 and 10: 'He made and sold kites.' The result of these activities is summarized by the perfective predicate 11. 'And this was the way he made his pocket money.' The actions of 9 and 10, although punctual, are repeated daily and thus the verbs are understood to be iterative. Verbs 16, 17 and 18 are also in the DI- form, although they are not perfective but rather imperfective. These imperfective verbs are introduced by the phrase 'at that time' which often introduces the imperfective aspect. During that time the boy trained himself, noticed and saw, but all of the actions are interpreted as iterative because they occurred many times during that period of time. In mid-19th century Malay narrative, although the DI-verb occurs with a punctual aktionsart, it does not necessarily indicate perfective aspect. The determination of aspect requires context; and there is no reason (except statistically perhaps) to assume perfectivity will occur with punctual aktionsart.

In Malay narrative the perfective aspect is indicated by the particle /-lah/ and the word /maka/. It is also obvious from both readings that there is not yet been a specialization of the pronouns with respect to aspect or transitivity. Both the proclitic and the free form pronouns are used with the DI-verb form, while the NG- verb form occurs only with the free pronouns. See the back-grounded verbs 9 and 10; one uses the free pronoun /aku/; while the other uses the proclitic /ku-/. In conclusion the verbal prefixes at this time in Malay are used to point out topics but are not gramaticized to indicate aspect. The emergence of the DI-verb as a canonical passive with a given patient, an intransitive verb, and an unspecified or new agent is just beginning. Most DI- verbs have new patients and old agents.

The DI-verbs with imperfective aspect (i.e. 9, 10 and 16, 17, 18) have the same word order, information structure, and focus system as the perfective DI-verb clauses. The difference between these clauses and the perfective DI-clauses is that they do not have the initial introductory word /maka/ which indicates the perfective aspect. The imperfective aspect with an iterative aktionsart is associated with a DI-verb with a new patient in post-verbal position.

Today in colloquial Indonesian /maka/ is still used to bring attention to a statement; /maka/ is used to introduce a summary statement following a discussion. For example, the proposal for a vote after a long discussion at a teacher's meeting would be introduced by the word /maka/. Thus /maka/ has the meaning of 'from the previous discussion we can conclude thus and so'. Its use seems to have changed from a more narrow foregrounding tool to a broader and higher level tool for drawing conclusions at the paragraph or text level.

The imperfective aspect may also occur with the following word order: given patient plus DI-verb. This word order with focus on the patient instead of the patient removes the verb clause from the foregrounded interpretation of the perfective aspect. Some examples of this are verbs 23, 25, 29 and 33. In these sentences the patient is given information, and it precedes the verb which is in a subordinate clause that provides descriptive material for the main clause.

5.4 Evolution of ergativity

The following stages summarize how change may have occurred from a topic marking system, which was neither accusative nor ergative, through a partially ergative pattern (mid-19th century narrative) to a stage in which there is both morphological and syntactic ergativity (Chindo discourse). This scheme of evolution of ergativity is presented as a suggestion in order to stimulate further research on diachronic and synchronic variation in the grammar of Malay languages. Below the evolutionary steps are outlined.

1. Early Malay grammar has a topic marking verbal system similar to the Philippine system, however the number of possible topics in Malay grammar was (and is) only two: agent with the NG-verb and patient with the DI-verb. In the patient, topic sentence the prefix DI- indicates a third person agent, while other persons are marked by other pronouns.

11. It was suggested by Hopper (personal communication) that the DI-prefix has been generalized to an unspecified agent nevertheless. Today in Chindo conversation the DI-
prefix is used for the unspecified agent as well as for any person who is inferable from the context. It is most likely that the specialization of the DI- form for unspecified agent occurred in conversation because conversation depends upon shared knowledge which makes possible deletion and abbreviation in the message. The abbreviation or deletion can occur first in situations where the agent is already known and then in situations where it is simply unimportant. Once the DI- prefix has been established as the unspecified agent marker; the following situation may obtain:

a. The agent is not stated.
b. The utterance is ambiguous (i.e. either the agent is understood and the verb is transitive, or there is no agent and the verb is intransitive).
c. The DI- verb is now open to reanalysis.

III. This ambiguous construction is interpreted as a passive construction with an intransitive verb with no agent or one introduced in a prepositional phrase. The DI- prefix no longer marks agency, but only the passive voice of this verb. By analogy the NG- prefix marks the active voice and the Malay grammar can adopt a nominative accusative pattern.

IV. In mid-19th century narrative all four verb forms exist: the NG-agent, topic sentence, the DI- patient, topic sentence; the NG- active, transitive, and foregrounded sentence, and the DI- nominal, passive sentence. The foregrounding or perfective aspect is marked by the particle /-lah/ on the verb and the introductory word /maka/. Both perfective and imperfective aspect have specified word orders which also mark them. There is incipient pronominal specialization and a preference for indefinite objects with the NG- predicates. These characteristics mark the beginnings of ergativity in the language.

V. Chindo discourse shows that aspect is marked by the verbal prefixes DI and NG, and that the DI construction is syntactically ergative.

5.5 Syntactic change and cultural values

In the evolution of ergativity described above, one thematic structure (the agent as theme or topic) has become the fully transitive and perfective construction. This construction complements a cultural value of the Javanese, the dominant ethnic group of this area (East Java). The value is that the role of the speaker should be belittled and that explicit reference to the speaker or addressee should be avoided whenever the addressee is able to infer the identity of the agent from the context. It is embarrassing to refer to oneself or to the addressee by a pronoun because this necessitates choosing a pronoun which makes explicit the social status relationship. The speaker is always concerned that the addressee may be insulted by the choice of the term of address. Thus he avoids the use of the pronoun by either totally avoiding reference to agency or by using a name or other term of address. In formal spoken or written language one can not avoid reference to the agent because there are fewer shared assumptions between the speaker and audience, and thus the speech must be explicit. The embarrassment is lessened by the distance which writing fives to the communication and also by the use of pronouns which are less precise indicators of the social status relationship than the Javanese pronouns. In formal situations it is frequently necessary to use either the NG- form or the canonical passive form of the verb so that the agent is explicitly stated but not in focus.

The fact that the canonical passive construction is associated with Indonesian and formal language suggests that the ergative construction arose in conversational discourse where Javanese is frequently used and thus Javanese proclitics /ta-/? and /di-/ are associated with ergative construction. The split between Indonesian and Javanese, and between formal and informal speech parallels the accusative-ergative split. For this reason I suggest that ergativity will be found more frequently in informal language and in the language of the home than in formal or written language.

The change in the grammar has involved the specialization of one thematic structure (theme-rheme) for the perfective aspect and this is just the reverse of the neutral thematic structure of Malay (rheme-theme). The specialization of one thematic structure for the basic sentence identifies the logical accent of the language (Menovskaya 1969). The logical accent of a language characterizes a language and distinguishes the basic clause type from the other clause types. No one set of semantic and pragmatic features can be assumed to characterize the basic sentence of every language. Logical accent is a product of the division of the three principle items of a transitive clause (verb, agent, patient) into two categories, theme and rheme. This division that applies in any one language must be determined through an investigation of the actual discourse of a people and may easily change over time. The logical accent of a nominative-accusative language is different from that of an ergative-absolutive language. The nominative-accusative pattern begins with a thematic agent in the basic sentence and adds to that the verb and patient as rheme, while the ergative-absolutive language begins with a patient as theme and adds the agent and verb as rheme. The thematic slot of the nominative language is filled by the active, volitional NP if there are two NPs available, while the ergative language fills the theme slot with the patient. The axis of the nominative-accusative language lies between the actor and the action, while the axis of the ergative-absolutive language lies between the patient and the agent action. A different section of the transitivity continuum is used as the thematic pivot in each pattern, but both express the same transitivity. The only difference is the point on the transitivity continuum.
at which the language chooses to place the axis. This choice gives the logical accent and this may be influenced by the cultural values of the people.

The linguist from one language type must avoid ascribing pragmatic and semantic factors associated with a clause from one system to a clause in another system. The pragmatic factors and the function of a clause can only be ascertained within its own language system, within the actual context. To say that the antipassive is the active or passive of the nominative-accusative patterns is only to confuse the issue. What is needed is an accurate description of each language system and the clausal structures which are used.

Then, there can be an analysis of the function of each clause type within that particular language.

The language pattern (ergative, nominative or active) chosen by a language is only the use of one logical accent or axis to the partial exclusion of the others. In fact, all the principles probably co-exist to some degree in every language. The important investigation for the linguist lies at the level of semantic, pragmatic and grammatical variables, such as definiteness, mode, aspect, focus, topic and transitivity which contribute to the establishment and integration of one or more of these language patterns.

* * *
Chapter Six

CONCLUSION

6.0 Introduction

In this dissertation, ten taped conversations from the Chinese population of Malang, East Java, Indonesia are examined in order to discover the relationship between grammatical structure and pragmatic, non-referential information which is inferable from the discourse. Patterns in the surface phenomena are investigated, and no theoretical framework is proposed other than a functional approach to the study of textual materials.

Language is one of a set of semiotic systems that make up culture where all the systems are mutually supportive and interdependent. It is because of this interdependence that the study of language must be set within a cultural context, if it is to be intelligible. The cultural context that provides the necessary pragmatic information in this study, is the discourse or text of the conversation. Language, like all symbolic systems, has both referential (semantic) meaning and non-referential (pragmatic) meaning. The semantic meaning is constant across contexts, while the pragmatic meaning is specific to one context, and thus dependent upon the discourse and the non-linguistic setting for its meaning.

The non-referential meaning may be encoded on any linguistic form (a morpheme, a lexical item, or a prosodic feature). The item on which the non-referential meaning is encoded is referred to as an indexical because its meaning is dependent upon the context of the discourse. It is the purpose of this dissertation to examine a few instances in which the non-referential (pragmatic) meaning is vital to an understanding of the grammar and the meaning of Chindo. Below a review of each chapter is given.

6.1 Chapter One

Chapter One introduces the reader to the theoretical and ethnographic background of the language of the Peranakan Chinese of East Java, Chindo. Chindo communicates non-referential meaning, as all languages do, and thus for a complete grammar of the language non-referential meaning is incorporated into a theory of the language. It has been shown in studies of artificial language that an understanding of language necessitates the inclusion of contextual knowledge, or knowledge of the world (Winograd 1972). It is clear that no language can be understood with reference only to syntactic rules and a dictionary of referential meanings; pragmatic, contextual information is essential.

The mere use of the language Chindo, communicates non-referential meaning concerning the speaker, hearer, and setting because this language is functionally specialized for informal settings among Chinese. In any multi-lingual society where there is functional specialization of languages the mere choice of one language over another communicates a great deal about the setting and participants of the speech act. The language reflects the social and cultural world of the society and creates a social world for the participants of the speech act. This creation allows for the evolution and change of the referential and non-referential meaning of the linguistic forms.

Chindo has its roots in the homes of the Peranakan Chinese of Java, who have neither a language of their own (i.e. Chinese) nor a language of a prestige group (e.g. Dutch) to emulate. As the community that needs this common language grows, it can be expected that Chindo will develop and its social functions will expand. The study of pragmatics is particularly interesting in situations like this where there is a changing relationship between the language and culture. Pragmatics is often the area of language in which cultural changes are first seen. It might be regarded as the cutting edge where culture enters language, or the thin line between language and culture, and the line between referential, grammaticalized meaning and non-referential, pragmatic meaning. It is because there is always some interaction and interdependence between language and culture, and between grammaticalized and non-grammaticalized categories, that we may expect that the social developments on Java will be reflected in the development of Chindo. Chindo (the common language of many Chinese) may someday unify the two groups of Chinese, the Peranakan and the Totok, who have been, and still are, widely separated by cultural traditions.

6.2 Chapter Two

Chapter Two defines the significant elements of Chindo grammar including phonemes, affixes, word classes, and predicate classes (which entails the definition of degrees of transitivity and semantic roles of NP arguments of a clause). The chapter outlines the admixture of Javanese and Indonesian that is the basis of Chindo. Because of this admixture, a Chindo speaker can easily shift along a continuum between Javanese and Indonesian to express slight style changes. A shift toward Javanese indicates increased informality, while a shift toward Indonesian indicates increased formality. It is true that Chindo is functionally specialized for informal situations, yet it is occasionally used in semi-formal settings. The effect of style change on the grammar of the language was not investigated, but such an investigation would be a worthwhile undertaking.

Style is one universally significant area of non-referential information and certainly
each genre of language with its specific social functions affects the grammar of the language in different ways. One interesting area of investigation would be the specification of the affect of genre on grammatical constructions. Preliminary investigation shows an increased use of the NG-form of the verb in formal (particularly in written) language. The NG-form requires that an actor/agent be specified as one of the major arguments of the verb, whereas with the DI-verb form this is not necessary. The agent of the DI-verb may be left unstated because in informal conversation the agent is often inferable from the discourse. The preference for the DI-form in conversation may be related to a cultural avoidance of direct statement of words referring to the speaker or the hearer.

In more formal situations it is permissible to state the agent for two reasons: 1) a formal situation creates distance between the speaker and the addressee; and the second item often determines the status relationship, thus making the restatement of the relationship in this setting not impolite, and 2) the more formal situation demands Indonesian lexical items which do not communicate status relationships as finely as Javanese, thus the choice of address term is made easier. Whatever the reason for the increased use of the NG-form of the verb in formal language, it is true that style or genre serves social functions and communicates non-referential meaning. This meaning may then affect the grammar. (Cf. Dixon 1976 pp 406-407 for differences in pronoun use between Yidin and Dyirbal.) Here we find examples where cultural preferences affect the preference for certain constructions over others.

Chapter Two also gives information concerning the non-referential meaning of Chindo lexical items by identifying their language of origin. The Indonesian words communicate a more formal style, as do the Dutch words, while the Javanese words communicate informal style. For example, the term /owe/ 'I' has the non-referential meaning of male speaker. The terms /gu/ 'I' and /lu/ 'you' now carry the meaning of a cosmopolitan life style and are used by many young urbanites.

6.3 Chapter Three

The central thesis of Chapter Three is that the verbal prefixes NG- and DI- carry the important non-referential meaning of aspect, in addition to their grammatical function of indicating the semantic role of the grammatical subject. The foregrounding/backgrounding function of the verbal prefixes is thus related to the verbal categories of mode, mood, and tense.

Because the complete meaning of the indexicals NG- and DI- depends on their discourse functions and context, an account of the grammatical function of these prefixes is unmotivated without the inclusion of contextual constraints that determine the choice of one of the grammatical forms in any one situation. A model of production depends on the knowledge of pragmatic factors and their interaction with grammatical categories. For example, both of the sentences below are grammatical, but only one of them is correct in any one setting.

1. /kakaʔ-ku taʔ-antar ko surabayə./ sister-my I DI-escort to Surabayə.
   'I will escort my sister to Surabayə.'

2. /aku g-antar kakaʔ-ku ko surabayə./ I NG-escort sister-my to Surabayə.
   'I was going to escort my sister to Surabayə.'

The mood, tense, aspect and mode of the 1 and 2 above are derived from the context of the discourse. It is shown in chapter II that the pragmatic function of the NG-form of the verb is to background the predicate and it is often associated with irrealis mode and questions, but it is not associated with any tense. The DI-verb form marks the perfective aspect, and is found in declarative statements, positive assertions, and in all tenses. This aspectual function of the verbal prefixes contrasts with previous analyses that attribute a voice distinction to the prefixes.

The choice of the prefix of the verb depends on the speaker's evaluation of the action of the verb in relation to the other actions in the discourse. The verbal prefix reflects the perspective from which the speaker views the event in relation to other activities, it does not give any information about the semantic meaning of the event itself. One event may be reported by two individuals for different purposes in different aspects because the non-referential meaning of indexicals is by definition non-semantic and dependent upon the context for meaning. There are statistical correlations of the prefixes with, for example, definiteness of the object, word order, and informational status of an NP argument, but all of these factors are not in themselves motivating factors. They are instead better viewed as concomitant factors in the choice of indexicals. The motivating factor is the intention of the speaker, that is the purpose of the utterance. Although this type of information is carried by the grammatical prefixes, its meaning is inferred from the cultural context of the discourse. It is for this reason that the study of the speech event necessitates the study of the cultural context in which it occurred.

6.4 Chapter Four

Chapter Four defines the functions of subjects and topics in Chindo discourse and evaluates the problem of a universal definition of subject. The data suggests that the pursuit of a universally valid definition of subject is best abandoned, and instead that the category of subject be divided into semantic subject, grammatical subject, and referential subject. The separation of these three types of subjects allows one to define the relationship between subject prominent and topic prominent languages. In subject prominent languages the three types of subjects are co-terminous in one lexical item in the basic sentence, while in the topic prominent languages the topic is the referential subject (or theme), but not the semantic subject or the grammatical subject. The topic has referential prominence and
is separable from the semantic subject which has role prominence. This type of separation of the different functions of subject is not found in subject prominent languages but is evidenced in the focus systems of Philippine languages (Schachter 1976) and in topic prominent languages, such as Mandarin (Li and Thompson 1976). With the separation of different functions of subject, the dichotomy of two types of languages (one topic-prominent and the other subject-prominent) is explained and the basis for universal functions in language is given. A scheme is presented that allows for movement from subject construction to topic construction by means of the grammaticalization of pragmatic categories, such as topicalization. In diachronic syntax it appears that the most consistent patterns of change are found in the surface level phenomena, and that the motivation for the change can often be found in the non-referential information that is added to the grammatical categories. The new meaning and function of the linguistic item is then to a greater or lesser extent grammaticalized. The study of the function of pragmatic information is thus important in both synchronic studies of variation and diachronic studies of change in language.

The analysis of subjects and topics requires the examination of the two major clausal constructions of Chindo, and the choice of one of them as the basic or unmarked sentence. The definition of the basic sentence of discourse is a functional one, and is a development from Givón's definition (1974). It is found that the DI-clause is the assertive and most flexible clause type and is thus, defined as the basic clause of Chindo.

6.5 Chapter Five

Chapter Five defines ergativity as a language pattern that equates (morphologically or syntactically) the actor/affected of an intransitive verb with the patient of a transitive verb. Both types of ergativity are found in Chindo. Morphological ergativity is found in the pronoun system, while syntactic ergativity is found in equi-NP deletion rules.

One of the major objectives of the chapter is to suggest a scheme for the evolution of an ergative pattern in the grammar of Chindo; for this reason a review of some of the more recent discussions concerning the evolution of ergativity in Austronesian languages is presented. The Chindo grammar is then compared with the grammar of Malay narrative of the mid-19th century. It is found that in the Malay narrative there is incipient specialization of the DI-verb clause for the perfective aspect, but that the perfective aspect is still consistently marked by the particle /lah/ and the word /maka/. A scheme for the evolution of the ergative pattern through the grammaticalization of the pragmatic factor, aspect, is given. The chapter attempts to show that the role of pragmatics can only be deduced from contextual materials, and that pragmatics plays an important role in diachronic studies of change and synchronic studies of variation in language. The best data for diachronic studies is literature and for synchronic studies is actual language in context.

6.6 Concluding remarks

The goal of the present study has been the investigation of spontaneous speech in its socio-cultural and pragmatic context. Because of the novelty of this undertaking, there are no doubt numerous imperfections of method and insight. Nonetheless, it is hoped that it might stimulate others, both linguists and anthropologists, to carry out similar investigations in other sociolinguistic environments.

A secondary goal has been to present first-hand data on a variety of Indonesian, Chindo, which is growing in size and importance.

With regard to the primary goal, perhaps the most important finding is that pragmatic information is not separable from formal grammar. Indeed, de-contextualized speech is often unintelligible. Furthermore, grammatical descriptions without a pragmatic component are consistently found to lack the possibility of an intuitively convincing analysis of syntactic change.

Finally, for the anthropologist, the area of intersection between formal grammar and pragmatics yields highly interesting connections and interactions between language and other aspects of social and cultural behaviour. Through it, valuable material for an understanding of the internal structure of a language and the external relations with other stages of the language and with the cultural rules of society is provided.

* * *
APPENDIX

Semantic roles of NPs:

**Actor** - is the volitional, active, NP of an intransitive verb.

**Affected** - is the non-volitional NP argument of an intransitive verb. It is characterized by the state or quality of the predicate.

**Agent** - is the volitional NP of a transitive verb. An agent causes or initiates an activity that affects another NP.

**Experiencer** - is one of the arguments of a semi-transitive verb. The experiencer is animate, and does not will the event or state signaled by the verb, but rather undergoes or experiences it. The absence of volition distinguishes the experiencer from the actor.

**Referent** - is the non-volitional NP complement of a semi-transitive verb. It is not a patient because it is not changed or directly affected by the action of the verb.

**Patient** - is the non-volitional NP of a transitive verb, and is changed or directly affected by the action of the verb.

**Complement** - is an object of the verb. It may be the referent or the patient.

Thematic structure

**Theme** - is the one obligatory NP of a clause. It is that NP which has the least amount of new information, and is often given information. The theme is the topic when the topic and subject are expressed by one lexical item.

**Rheme** - is the item of an utterance with the most amount of new information. It is the predication which is attributed to the theme.

**Topic** - is the grammatically independent NP that provides a framework (often spatial or temporal) within which the predication is made. It is the referentially prominent NP and is therefore definite and referential.

Prefix abbreviations:

**NG** - is the prefix abbreviation that indicates that the verb is active, that the grammatical subject is the semantic subject, and that the aspect is imperfective.

**DI** - is the prefix abbreviation for the proclitic pronouns of transitive verbs. The two possible representations in Chindo (but not in Indonesian) are /di/- 'he' or any inferable person, and /tag/- 'I'. The DI prefix indicates that the grammatical subject is the patient and that the aspect is perfective.

**Pragmatics** - the study of the use of signs in context, the study of indices that are only referential when in context. Pragmatic meaning is non-referential.

**Semantics** - the study of the signification of signs that is appropriate across contexts. This requires the decontextualization of signs. Semantic meaning is referential because it can be defined without reference to the context.

**Syntax** - the study of the possible combinations of signs, it is a logical calculus devoid of meaning.

**Referential Prominence** - is a scale of topicality along which NP arguments are ranked. The NP with the least amount of new information is referentially prominent, and is the topic of the utterance. The referentially prominent NP is the one most likely to participate in syntactic transformations.

**Role Prominence** - is a scale of semantic characteristics to rank NP arguments with respect to their ability to be the semantic subject of the utterance. Agents are at the top of the scale and patients at the bottom.

Informational categories

**Given** - is the information which has been explicitly or implicitly provided by the linguistic and/or social context. It is definite and referential.

**Shared** - is the information that is new to the present conversation, but assumed to be part of the knowledge of the hearer. It is definite and referential, but is marked differently in Chindo from the category Given.

**New** - is the information that has not been defined by the context. It is indefinite.

Subjects

**Grammatical subject** - is the one obligatory NP of a predicate, it is the NP that agrees with the verb or is marked by the verb in Chindo. It is also the referentially prominent NP in Chindo.

**Semantic subject** - is a cover term for the animate NP of a predicate. It is the actor, agent, or experiencer.

**Referential subject** - is the theme (defined below).
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