SUBJECT SELECTION AND SUBJECT SHIFTING
IN INDONESIAN

Gloria Poedjosoeardmo
IKIP Sanata Dharma, Yogyakarta

Subject selection in Indonesian reflects topic selection, and topic selection is related to, though not entirely dependent upon, definiteness or indefiniteness of the object. Shifting of the subject to final position is just one example of a more far-reaching phenomenon, the function of which is to place sentence elements in a position in which they can be treated as having a particular information status.

0. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In an article analyzing an Indonesian construction characteristic of informal style, which she calls 'stem sentences', Chung (1979) mentions two phenomena which she says require further investigation: the choice between active and passive transitive verb forms, and a phenomenon which she calls subject shifting, that is moving a subject from its neutral or unmarked position at the beginning of a sentence to final position.

In G. Poedjosoeardmo (1977), I discuss two aspects of Javanese discourse structure which I call, following Halliday (1967-1968), thematization and information structure. The analysis of the Javanese material is to a large extent applicable to Indonesian, and sheds light on the phenomena which Chung cites as requiring further investigation.

1. SUBJECT SELECTION

The choice between active and passive transitive verb forms is in other words a choice between agent and patient as subject. In other languages, subject and topic selection may be quite independent of each other, but in Indonesian, as in Javanese, they are closely related. It is true that in both languages it is possible to extract some element other than the subject and topicalize it. In fact 'topicalized' sentences are of very high frequency. Despite this high frequency of occurrence of topicalized sentences in general, however, only two types of topicalized sentences are very common, both having a topic which bears a genitive relationship to the subject. In the first type, the subject is an ordinary noun:

Kalau Pak Kerto, anaknya pandai-pandai semuanya.

If Mr. (name) child-his smart-pl. all-of-them

"With regard to Mr. Kerto, his children are all smart."

In the second type a statement about manner is being made, where the underlying subject is topicalized and the verb is nominalized and functions as subject of the manner phrase, which acts as predicate:

Kalau Mas Edi, larinya cepat sekali.

If older brother (name) running-his fast very

'With regard to Edi, he runs very fast.'
In both cases it can be argued that the subject is still a secondary topic, since it always constitutes a distinct information unit, a term which will be explained presently. In non-topicalized Indonesian sentences, the subject is always topic.

Subject selection and topic selection are primarily stylistic matters, which means that in a given context one choice may be more appropriate than another, but in other contexts more than one choice might be possible. It is for this reason that it is difficult to give hard and fast rules about subject selection, that is the choice between active and passive sentences, in Indonesian. Certain tendencies, however, can be described.

When only one participant has a continuing role in a discourse, it is normally topic, regardless of semantic role (agent, patient) or features such as [+ animate] which might apply to it. When two or more participants have continuing roles, however, a number of possibilities for topicalization patterns exist. Specific languages, however, may tend to select the participant with a particular semantic role or with particular features. In English the tendency is to select agent as both subject and topic. In German the tendency is to select agent as subject, but not necessarily as topic.

Chung mentions two tendencies (which she states as rules) with regard to the choice between active and passive constructions in Indonesian, which have been observed by herself and others. They are:

1. Active transitive clauses appear only when the event described is imperfective or incomplete.
2. Passive clauses do not allow indefinite (derived) subjects.

If both of these rules actually applied, the language would not allow one to make a statement about a completed event with an indefinite object such as:

**The servant bought rice this morning.**

In fact, aspect has nothing to do with the choice active and passive constructions. It is true that the prefix meN-, which appears in the active form of transitive verbs, can form a verb with incomplete meaning when added to noun or adjective roots, as in menggunung 'piling up like a mountain', memutih 'becoming white', but these forms are intransitive. Active transitive verbs can be used to describe either complete or incomplete events. Sentences such as

| Si | Bibi | sudah |
| personal marker | literally 'aunt' | already |
| membeli | beras | tadi | pagi |
| buy-active-transitive | uncooked-rice | earlier today | morning |

'The servant (already) bought rice this morning'

in which an active transitive verb describes a completed event, are perfectly grammatical. Chung does not claim that passive sentences are used only to describe complete events, but it is worth noting explicitly that sentences such as

| Adik | menangis. | Dia | sedang | dimarahi |
| younger brother | cry | he | in-process | scold-passive |

Bapak.
Father

'Little brother is crying. He's being scolded by Father.'
are also perfectly grammatical.

Chung's second point, if taken as an invariable rule, is also inaccurate. In a text in which a new topic is introduced as patient of an action in which the agent is either unknown or irrelevant, an indefinite noun phrase can be subject of a passive verb. Thus in a newspaper article, one might find:

Seorang gadis kecil, berumur empat tahun, ditemukan a-person girl small have-age four year find-passive
tadi earlier today pagi morning di location depan front Rumah Sakit Bethesda hospital
location street general name

'A small girl, four years old, was found this morning in front of Bethesda Hospital on General Sudirman Street.'

The fact is that the choice between active and passive constructions cannot be explained by inflexible syntactic rules. As indicated above, choice of subject is a matter of style, and though particular languages may exhibit particular tendencies with regard to stylistic choices, there are always contexts in which different speakers will make different choices with regard to subject and topic.

However, rule number two above comes somewhat closer to elucidating the choice between active and passive constructions in Indonesian than do Chung's other comments. More accurately, when a series of actions involving the same patient is described, the tendency is to use passive constructions after the introduction of the patient. Thus in relating the information in the following passage, the majority of speakers would make these voice choices:

Tono tadi pagi membeli sebuah buku, (name) earlier morning buy-active-trans a- book plus classifier

'Tono bought a book this morning.

Buku itu dibawa pulang, lalu dibacanya, book that take-passive go home then read-passive-by-his

He took it home and then read it.

lalu ditaruhnya di meja tulis. then place-passive-by-him loc-active table write =desk

Then he put it on the desk.'

If, on the other hand, an agent is the only recurring participant in a passage, verb forms will all be active:

Tono tadi membeli sebuah buku, lalu dia (name) earlier today buy-active-trans a- book then he classifier

masuk warung, enter stall

'Tono bought a book earlier today. Then he entered a roadside stall.
Di situ dia makan nasi goreng dan minum teh.
Tadi dan Anto bertengkar.
Tono memukul Anto, lalu Anto memukul Tono.
Toni dan Anto bertengkar.
Anto dipukul oleh Tono, lalu Tono dipukul oleh Anto.
Tono bertengkar dengan temannya Anto.
Tono memukul temannya itu, lalu dipukul olehnya.
Tono menjual mobilnya ke saya.

There he ate some fried rice and drank some tea.'

When two participants interact, changing roles from one event to the next, there is most likely to be variation from one speaker to another with regard to topicalization. The following three passages all describe the same series of events:

Toni dan Anto bertengkar.
Toni memukul Anto, lalu Anto memukul Toni.
Toni dan Anto bertengkar.
Anto dipukul oleh Toni, lalu Toni dipukul oleh Anto.
Toni bertengkar dengan temannya Anto.
Toni memukul temannya itu, lalu dipukul olehnya.
Toni menjual mobilnya ke saya.

'Earlier today Tono and Anto quarreled. Tono hit Anto, and then Anto hit Tono.'

'Earlier today Tono and Anto quarreled. Anto was hit by Tono, and then Tono was hit by Anto.'

'Earlier today Tono quarreled with his friend Anto. Tono hit his friend Anto, and then was hit by him.'

It is in such passages that active verbs with definite objects are often found. Active verbs with definite objects are also found where an object is definite by virtue of its having a genitival relationship to the subject rather than because it was mentioned previously in the text, as in:

Toni menjual mobilnya ke saya.

'Tono sold his car to me.'

To conclude this section, no invariable rule can be stated with regard to subject selection in Indonesian, but there is a tendency for active verbs to have definite objects and passive verbs to have definite subjects, or stated another way, there is a tendency, when the patient is definite, for verbs to be passive, and when the patient is indefinite for verbs to be active.
2. SHIFTING

2.1 Subject Shifting

Subject shifting is the term which Chung applies to movement of subjects from unmarked initial position to marked final position. Her discussion relates in particular to passive verb constructions, but she states in a footnote that subject shifting in passive clauses probably ought to be related to subject shifting in intransitive verb clauses. She states, however, that to her knowledge active verb clauses do not undergo this process.

Subject shifting, in fact, is a phenomenon which can occur in any sort of clause, whether the predicate be an active verb, a passive verb, an intransitive verb, an adjective, or a noun phrase. The phenomenon may be rarer in active transitive clauses than in other clause types for reasons which are not entirely clear to me at this time. An example of it, nevertheless, is:

A: Apa question marker Bibi aunt=female servant sudah already kembali return
dari pasar? from market
'Has the servant returned from the market?'

B: Sudah, sudah tadi. Belanjanya di earlier already today shopping=her loc-active marker dapur, kitchen
'Yes, she has. She returned some time ago. The things she bought are in the kitchen.'

A: E, apa question marker sudah already membeli buy-active-trans.
beras, si familiar particle bibi? rice uncooked aunt=female servant
'Hey, did she buy rice?'

An example of subject shifting where the predicate is an adjective is:

Cantik beautiful sekali, very gadis young girl itu.

'She's very beautiful, that girl.'

And an example where the predicate is a noun is:

E, ternyata exclamation it turns bapaknya father-his Mas Tono, older (name) guru teacher saya my itu.
hout brother

'Hey, it turns out he's Tono's father, that teacher of mine.'

Before I explain the significance of subject shifting, it is neces-
sary to say something about intonation. Chung gives the intonation pattern

\[ \text{Ditutupnya} \quad \text{pintu itu} \quad 9 \]
\[ \text{close-passive-by him door that} \]

'It was closed by him, the door,' or 'He closed it, the door.'

for sentences exhibiting subject shifting, and this is also the pattern
for the examples I have given above, with the exception of the question:

\[ \text{Apa} \quad \text{sudah} \quad \text{membeli beras,} \quad \text{rice} \quad \text{uncooked} \]
\[ \text{question already by-active- trans.} \]

\[ \text{si} \quad \text{familiar particle Bibi?} \]
\[ \text{aunt=female servant} \]

'Did she buy rice, the servant?'

as questions exhibit somewhat different contours, though the highest pitch
and main sentence stress in questions with subject shifting also fall at
the end of the verb phrase. This intonation pattern, contrary to what
Chung claims, is characteristic of informal colloquial style. There is,
however, another sort of subject shifting, characteristic of formal liter-
ary style, in which main sentence stress falls on the shifted subject:

\[ \text{Pada waktu itu, tiba-tiba terdengar suara harimau.} \]
\[ \text{at time that suddenly hear-passive-un- voice tiger} \]
\[ \text{intentional} \]

'At that moment, suddenly there was heard the voice of a tiger.'

2.1.1 Theoretical Remarks

To make sense of the data presented here, it is necessary to consider
not only the syntactic structure, that is the identification of elements
such as subject, verb, and object, and their linear order, but also the in-
formation structure of sentences. Hailday (1967-8) describes the way in
which English breaks sentences into information units and places stress or
information focus within them. English exhibits a fair degree of freedom
with regard to both of these phenomena. But in Javanese and the variety
of Indonesian described here, the speaker has little choice with regard to
the breaking of a sentence into information units. Each phrase or gatra,
a construction within which the order of the elements is invariable,
equals one information unit and stress within the unit falls at the end.
The significant aspect of Indonesian information structure lies in the
intonation patterns applied to the units. There are three possible in-
formation contours for information units, rising, rising-falling, and flat.
Each type of intonation contour signifies one kind of unit. I call units
with rising intonation anticipatory, units with rising-falling intonation
focal, and units with flat intonation supplementary. A sentence can have
one or more anticipatory units, or none at all, and one or more supple-
mentary units, or none at all, but every sentence must have one and only
one focal unit. Anticipatory units, if they occur, must precede the focal
unit, and supplementary units, if they occur, must follow the focal unit.
The unit types mark the relative importance, as judged by the speaker, of
the information contained within them. The focal unit contains what the
speaker judges to be the most informative information in the sentence.
Anticipatory units are relatively important. They typically contain infor-
mation which is old or given in some respect, but whose relationship to the rest of the clause is not deducible from previous information given in the text. Supplementary units contain relatively unimportant information. A fourth possibility exists for information which is totally recoverable from either the text or the extralinguistic environment, that is deletion. In formal and literary language, supplementary units are rare and deletion occurs only when a subject applies to a series of verbs within the same sentence. In formal written Indonesian, it is often the case that only two levels of information status are used, anticipatory and focal. For this reason, and because of the nature of the anticipatory unit, always containing some information also found in the previous sentence, or at the beginning of a text relating the text to what the addressee is assumed to know about the universe, formal Indonesian texts often strike speakers of European languages as being extremely logical and explicit to the point of redundancy.

In informal conversational style, on the other hand, both supplementary units and deletion are common, the latter applying even to subjects of independent sentences. Because of the high frequency of deletion of established topics (both subject and non-subject), speakers of European languages often find informal conversation difficult to follow, even when they understand everything that has been said.

2.1.2 Information Status of the Subject: Possibilities in Formal and Informal Style

To return to the main topic of this paper, subject shifting of the sort described by Chung occurs in conversational style when the subject, which normally constitutes an anticipatory unit, is relatively unimportant as information.

However, as described above, there is another sort of subject shifting, common in formal and literary style. This sort of subject shifting occurs most often when a new topic is introduced as subject. The topic—subject being new information, the speaker wishes it to receive focus. However, there is a rule in Indonesian that the focal unit may not precede the unit containing the verb, without the entire sentence first undergoing radical syntactic changes of a type which I will describe presently. One solution is placing the subject in post-verbal position where it, together with the verb, forms the focal unit:

\[
\text{Pada waktu itu, tiba-tiba terdengar suara harimau.} \\
\text{At time that suddenly hear-passive voice tiger} \\
\text{unintentional}
\]

'At that moment, suddenly there was heard the voice of a tiger.'

In conversational style the subject often receives focus without subject shifting. This occurs most often when the speaker wishes to emphasize or contradict the identity of a participant in an event which is old information. To do this, as suggested above, he must radically alter the syntactic structure of the sentence, since a rule of Indonesian grammar does not allow the focal unit to precede the unit containing the verb. The solution is to nominalize the verb phrase with yang, thus converting it to superficial subject in shifted position with supplementary intonation, the underlying subject serving as predicate of an equational sentence and receiving information focus:

\[
\text{Tono yang menang tadi.} \\
\text{(name) nominalizer win earlier today}
\]

'Tono won earlier today.'
2.2 Subject Shifting and Topic Shifting

Subject shifting is really a kind of topic shifting, because the same process which applies to subject-topics applies to non-subject topics. In the neutral or unmarked instance a non-subject topic is sentence initial and constitutes an anticipatory unit:

Kalau Pak Kerto, anaknya pandai-pandai.
if Mr. (name) child-his clever-plural

'As for Mr. Kerto, his children are all clever.'

Kalau Mas Edi, larinya cepat sekali.
if older brother (name) run-his fast very

'As for Edi, he runs very fast.'

but if the status of the topic as information is relatively low, it will be shifted to a post-comment position and constitute a supplementary unit:

Anaknya pandai-pandai, kalau Pak Kerto.
child-his clever-plural if Mr. (name)

'His children are all clever, Mr. Kerto's are.'

Larinya cepat sekali, kalau Mas Edi.
run-his fast very if older (name) brother

'He runs very fast, Edi does.'

The only way to have a non-subject topic form the focal unit requires nominalizing the entire comment with yang. This results in an equation sentence with the underlying topic forming the predicate, the underlying comment forming the subject. The nominalized comment can follow the underlying topic as a supplementary unit:

Pak Kerto itu yang anaknya pandai-pandai.
Mr. (name) that nomi-child-his clever-plural

'Mr. Kerto's the one whose children are all clever.'

Mas Edi itu yang cepat sekali larinya.
older (name) that which fast very run-his brother

'Edi's the one who runs really fast.'

or precede it as an anticipatory unit:

Yang anaknya pandai-pandai Pak Kerto itu.
nomi-child-his clever-plural Mr. (name) that

'The one whose children are all clever is Mr. Kerto.'
Yang cepat sekali larinya Mas Edi itu.
nomi- fast very run-his
nalizer
older (name) that
brother

'The one who runs really fast is Edi.'

It should also be noted that in a topicalized sentence, the subject within the comment can be shifted without affecting the position of the topic or its relationship to the comment as a whole:

Pak Kerto itu, rumahnya besar sekali.
Mr. (name) that house-his large very

'As for Mr. Kerto, his house is very large.'

Pak Kerto itu, besar sekali rumahnya.
Mr. (name) that large very house-his

'As for Mr. Kerto, his house is very large.'

2.3 Shifting of Other Elements

Subjects and non-subject topics are the elements most often mentioned as capable of undergoing shifting, but, in fact, other syntactic elements can also be shifted forwards or backwards from their normal position if the speaker wishes to treat them differently in terms of information structure from the way in which they are treated in the neutral position.

2.3.1 Time and Locative Phrases

Time and locative phrases are semantically always exterior to what has been called the propositional core of a clause or sentence. In the surface syntax of most languages they can occur either initially or finally. This is also the case in Indonesian. As would be expected, in initial position, a time or locative phrase is anticipatory:

Kemarin itu, di sekolah, saya dapat hadiah.
Yesterday that loc- school I get prize
ative

'Yesterday in school I got a prize.'

At the end of a sentence such phrases are typically supplementary:

Saya dapat hadiah di sekolah kemarin.
I get prize loc- school yesterday
ative

'I got a prize in school yesterday.'

But they may be focal:

Saya dapat hadiah itu di sekolah.
I get prize that locative school

(Bukan di gereja.) not locative church
'I got that prize in school. (Not in church.)'

Saya dapat hadiah itu kemarin. (Bukan minggu yang lalu.)
I get prize that yesterday not week which past = last

'I got that prize yesterday. (Not last week.)'

In Indonesian it is also possible for at least one time or locative phrase to follow a topic which may or may not be a subject:

Saya kemarin itu dapat hadiah di sekolah.
I yesterday that get prize loc- school
ative

'I yesterday got a prize in school." (?) or
'Yesterday I got a prize in school.'

As would be expected, the time or locative phrase here, too, is anticipatory. It is not entirely clear to me yet what the difference is between time/locative + topic order on the one hand, and topic + time/locative order on the other. I suspect, though, that it has to do with relative scope of application within the discourse. In other words, if the topic either has been or will be constant for several sentences, but the time/locative phrase applies only to the clause or sentence in question, the order will be topic + time/locative. If, however, the time/locative applies to a large segment of discourse, the order will be time/locative + topic. This matter, however, requires further investigation.

2.3.2 Concomitants

When a participant in a discourse, particularly a topic, whether or not it is subject, is plural, there are various ways of handling that plurality in most languages. The simplest way is by treating the plural participant as a single group, expressed by a single noun phrase which is marked as plural in some way, depending on the language. Sometimes, however, the speaker wishes to foreground the role of one member of the group and treat the other as a concomitant. In Indonesian a concomitant is marked with dengan. It may follow the topic and be treated as anticipatory:

Tadi saya dengen Mas Edi menonton filen.
earlier I with older (name) watch-ac- active-trans
today brother tive-trans

'Earlier today Edi and I saw a film.'

or it may follow the verb phrase as a focal unit:

Tadi saya menonton filen dengan Mas Edi.
earlier I watch-ac- active-trans film with older (name) brother

today

'Earlier today I saw a film with Edi.'

or as a supplementary unit:
Earlier today I saw a film with Edi.'

Notice that in the discussion of time/locative phrases and concomitants no mention was made of which positions were basic, which shifted. Since these are not basic components of every sentence, it is difficult to say. The various possibilities appear to occur with about equal frequency except that perhaps time/locative phrases following a topic are rarer than other orders.

2.3.3 Agent of the Passive

Another element that can be shifted from its neutral position is the agent of the passive. Before I describe the resulting structure, however, it is necessary to give a general description of the formation of the passive. Chung (1976) distinguishes what she calls the 'canonical passive' forms like dilihat oleh banyak orang 'was seen by many people' and dibaca Lisa 'was read by Lisa', where the verb form contains what in writing is treated as a prefix di-. From what she calls 'object preposing', where verb phrases have forms like kita lihat, Lisa baca, the verb base being written as a distinct word. However, for my purposes here, I would classify Indonesian passive forms in a somewhat different way. First of all, the pronominal forms include:

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<td>normal</td>
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<td>2nd person</td>
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<td>3rd person</td>
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Of these, the forms kubaca, kaubaca, dibaca(nya) are written as single words, while the other pronominal forms are not. It is an interesting question, which I cannot answer at this time, whether the difference in writing conventions is due simply to the fact that the forms treated as separate words are more recent developments and were first written under the influence of different writing traditions from the older forms, or whether there is some real structural basis for the difference. Whatever the answer, there are in addition to the pronominal forms three passive forms in which the identity of the agent is made explicit by either a name, a kinship term, a title, or some combination of these:
Preposed Agent Identification:
Lisa baca
Bapak baca
Pak dokter baca

Postposed Agent Identification without oleh:
dibaca Lisa
dibaca Bapak
dibaca Pak dokter

Postposed Agent Identification with oleh:
dibaca oleh Lisa
dibaca oleh Bapak
dibaca oleh Pak dokter

Something which has been generally ignored in earlier descriptions is that, at least on Java, the forms with preposed agent identification are used almost exclusively for first or second person, while both sets of forms with postposed agent identification can be used when the agent is either first, second, or third person. What is most significant in connection with the topic of this paper, however, is that while the other forms all constitute single gaatra with invariable order of elements, and thus single information units, for the forms with oleh, the oleh phrase is a potentially separate gaatra and information unit. Thus in terms of placement of information focus, there are several distinct possibilities. Focus can fall on the agent phrase with the verb forming part of the same unit, or with the verb phrase forming an anticipatory unit:

Tadi pagi, buku itu, dibaca oleh Lisa.
earlier morning book that read- by (name)

'This morning that book was read by Lisa.'

Tadi pagi, buku itu, dibaca oleh Lisa.
early morning book that read- by (name)

'This morning that book was read by Lisa.'

or focus can fall on the verb phrase, and the agent phrase can be supplementary:

Buku itu, sudah, dibaca oleh Lisa.
book that already read-passive by (name)

'That book has already been read by Lisa.' or 'Lisa has already read that book.'

Still a third possibility exists. Though the agent of a passive verb when it is realized as a full noun phrase normally follows the verb, and typically (though, as just illustrated, not necessarily) receives information focus, when the speaker wishes to place focus on the verb, but still treats the agent as important information, which occurs most often in literary style, he may shift the agent to initial position. This usually also results in shifting of the subject to final position, making it a supplementary unit, one of the few instances mentioned earlier where supplementary units occur in formal style:
Oleh Pak Kerto dipukullah anjingnya. 18
by Mr. (name) hit-passive-emphatic dog-definite

'Mr. Kerto hit the dog.'

Occasionally in informal speech one hears forms like:

I tu dibu at oleh saya.
that do-passive by me

'That was done by me.'

Educated Indonesians, when confronted with such sentences, invariably label them ungrammatical, but they constitute a common mistake among at least some groups of people. An understanding of Indonesian information structure makes it clear why they do occur. In the standard form of the Indonesian passive with first person agent, stress falls on the verb (or if not, on a following noun phrase). If the speaker wishes to put information focus on the agent of the passive verb, the agent must be moved to a position where the rules allow it to receive focus. Another and perhaps more acceptable possibility is:

Kalau itu, saya yang membuatnya.
if that nominalizer do-active-trans-it

'With regard to that, I'm the one who did it.'

The syntactic structure of this sentence is quite different, however. Itu, the patient, is topic, but not subject. Saya, as subject, receives information focus and the nominalized verb forms a supplementary unit.

3. SUMMARY

In this paper I have tried to show that in Indonesian subject selection, resulting in active or passive verb forms, is a stylistic matter which is related to, but not entirely dependent upon, the definiteness or indefiniteness of the object, and that subject shifting, just one aspect of a more far-reaching phenomenon, occurs when the speaker wishes to treat the subject, in terms of its information status, as something other than what it is in neutral or unmarked initial position, an anticipatory information unit.

NOTES

1. This paper resulted from a team project sponsored by the Volkswagen Foundation, begun in January 1982 and still in progress at the time of its initial writing. The project was a contrastive analysis of Indonesian and German for the purpose of producing Indonesian language teaching materials for German students. Other members of the team were Prof. Dr. Bernd Notherofer (Frankfurt), Dr. Karl-Heinz Pampus (Frankfurt), Dr. Yu Siu Liem (Surabaya), Dr. Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo (Yogyakarta), and Mr. K. Parrangan (Toraja, Sulawesi). The first volume of the resulting textbook has been published (Notherofer, Pampus, G. and S. Poedjosoedarmo, 1985).

2. Idiolects classified as Indonesian vary perhaps even more greatly
than do idiolects classified as English. Obviously trying to write a description of English using as informants uneducated speakers from Alabama, New England, Yorkshire and the Australian bush would be an impossible task. I assume Chung is describing a variety of Indonesian used by educated speakers for whom it is, if not a first language, at least one code which is the only choice in certain daily occurring situations. The variety of Indonesian which I describe is essentially that used by educated speakers on the island of Java. However, examples were checked by all of my Indonesian colleagues on this project.

Concerning the use of Indonesian as a code among the Javanese of Central Java, the reader is referred to S. Poedjosenoedarmo and Wolff (1982). For a discussion of the use of Indonesian by the Chinese in East Java, see Rafferty (1982) and Wolff (1983).

Though the description of subject selection given here is probably valid for all varieties of Indonesia, it appears that information structure as described here may hold only for Java. Varieties of Malay/Indonesian described by Rafferty (1983, 1985) exhibit quite different patterns of organization of information.

3. In G. Poedjosenoedarmo (1977), I used the term theme, following Halliday (1967-68). Terminology in talking about aspects of linguistic structure which not all linguists take into account and which those who do label differently is indeed a problem. However, topic is the term most often used, at least in Austroasian linguistic studies. As long as we are careful to distinguish it from what Halliday calls information focus, I see no objection to continuing that tradition.

4. German is such a language. If the agent is known in German, the chances are extremely great that the sentence will be active. The choice of patient or some other element as topic, however, is very common in both speech and writing. Some examples are:

   Diese Stellung als Bürstenverkauf er hätte ich
   accusative subjunctive nominative
   niemals annehmen sollen.
   never take on should

   'I should never have taken on this position as brushsalesman.'

      Passagiere die nach New York weiterfliegen,
   passengers who to further-fly
   (acc.) nominative

      bitten wir das Flugzeug zu verlassen
   request we the airplane to leave
   nominative acc.

      und sich zur Zollkontrolle zu begeben.
   and self to customs-(control) to report
   dat.

   'We request passengers continuing on to New York to leave the
   aircraft and report to customs.' or

   'Passengers continuing on to New York are requested to
dismbark and proceed to customs.'

5. Though both English and German can say, for example,

   Das Buch musz ich lesen.
   That book I've got to read.

14
the frequency is much higher in German than in English and while in English such sentences are limited to an informal conversational style, in German they occur in formal and written language as well. Sometimes this German form in formal or written style is equivalent, in terms of usage, to the passive in English:

Passagiere die nach New York weiterfliegen, bitten wir das Flugzeug zu verlassen und sich zur Zollkontrolle zu begeben.

Passengers continuing to New York are requested to disembark and proceed to customs.

(see Note 4)

This shows again that in English subject and topic are more likely to be the same than in German.

6. Actually Chung distinguishes two kinds of passives and claims that some speakers allow indefinite subjects for the one kind, but not for the other. Nevertheless, if I read the article correctly, she claims that for some speakers both rules 1 and 2 apply.

7. In G. Poedjosoedarto (1977) and elsewhere I use the term complement to refer to the syntactic role of an NP which in Indonesian immediately follows a verb without any intervening preposition. I do so because the term object is often used ambiguously, sometimes to refer to the syntactic role of the NP following a verb, and sometimes to a semantic role, as in the case of "direct" and "indirect" objects. Elsewhere I use the term object to refer to the semantic role of an entity which moves as opposed to goal, the place to which an object moves or where the action ends up. I also use the term patient in contrast to both, meaning the entity affected, though often either the patient and object roles, or the patient and goal roles are filled by the same participant. Here, however, since such fine distinctions are not really relevant, I use the more generally recognized term object for the syntactic role, and patient for an undifferentiated semantic role contrasting with agent.

8. Masuk in this example is intransitive, but there is a transitive form of the same verb memasuki which could be passivized to allow warung to become subject. Makan and minum, though lacking the active transitive prefix men-, are in fact active transitive forms and have passive forms dimakan and diminum respectively.

9. This style of drawing intonation contours follows Chung. In other sentences here I show intonation using the stylized patterns which I introduced in G. Poedjosoedarto (1977). The significance of the stylized patterns will be explained presently.

10. It is also possible in formal literary style for a shifted subject to form a supplementary unit, but in this case the verb is marked with -lah:

\[ \text{Pada waktu itu tiba-tiba terdengarlah suara harimau.} \]

In older literary Malay -lah probably marked the end of the focal unit, while -pun probably often marked the end of an anticipatory unit.

11. Indonesian linguists, such as Slametmuljana (1956) and Samsuri (1975), use the term gatra to refer to a syntactic element of one or more words which combines with other similar elements to form a sentence. A gatra is distinct from a frase, which consists of two or more words which relate internally to each other. Any frase is potentially a gatra but not all gatras are frases. Uhlenbeck (1975) makes a similar distinction
for Javanese, using the terms word group for frase and sentence segment for gatra.

12. In questions the shapes are somewhat different, but the three types of units still occur with the same significance to be explained here.

13. Sometimes saya is used for the first person plural exclusive when other members of the group, usually family members, can be assumed to be known by the addressee. The third person forms dibaca, dibacanya are also not necessarily singular. Kita and mereka are always plural in most places, but in Jakarta kita can also be singular in colloquial style. Kami, though it is usually plural, can be singular in polite formal usage.

14. To illustrate that what is written as a single word is often simply a matter of convention, until recently di 'at' and ke 'to' were written as prefixes to the following noun, but now, as a result of the spelling reform introduced in 1973 and codified in 1975, they are written as separate words.

15. This is not true in all cases, as Cumming (1985) points out. However, in the absence of either textual or extralinguistic evidence suggesting the contrary, preposed agents will be interpreted as first or second person.

16. For a discussion of the use of names, kinship terms, and titles to replace first and second person pronouns, see S. Poedjososodarmo (1978).

17. It is difficult to translate Indonesian sentences into English out of context. In addition to the fact that what an appropriate tense choice might be is often unclear, factors triggering the choice between active and passive in the two languages differ radically. In the majority of cases, an active sentence in English is the more appropriate translation of the Indonesian passive. But since sentences given here are out of context, where not excessively awkward, I give literal translations.

18. Note that different sentences are given to exemplify the different patterns. This is because it is only in certain contexts that each pattern would be likely to occur.

19. One of my Indonesian colleagues during a project meeting uttered such a sentence five minutes after claiming that they didn't occur.

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