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The verbal passive in Indonesian is good hunting ground for linguists.¹ There is very little in Indonesian verbal passives that is readily comparable to verbal passives in Indo-European languages, at least from the point of view of morphology, perhaps not even very much so from the point of view of syntax. Inversely, (synchronic) comparisons with local vernaculars in Indonesia which are related to Indonesian itself are highly useful, but I have so far not done much of a comparing job, due to my ignorance of much in that area. In general we seem to be entering here a world not very much reconnoitred so far by linguists.

Not that the passive in Malay/Indonesian has not been discussed before.² But most of the publications concerned suffered from the linguistic defects of their time. Still, there is at least a veritable wealth of material, and some good insights here and there, and I wish to express my debt to those sources in general here. I must here mention also two recent articles by Chung, "On the subject of two passives in Indonesian" (Chung 1976a) and "An object-creating rule in Bahasa Indonesia" (Chung 1976b), which I find hard to evaluate: on the one hand Chung's use of syntactic criteria opens up new approaches to Indonesian grammar very much worth pursuing further; on the other hand in some cases complicated syntactic operations are invoked to prove things much more easily established by very simple morphemic operations. (Also, the grammaticality of a number of the examples, some of them crucial for the theory developed, must, in my opinion, be questioned.)

Several kinds of verbal passives may be distinguished in Indonesian: (1) passives of men- verbs; (2) ke-/-an passives; (3) monomorphemic passives. -- Passives of men- verbs are here assumed to belong to one and the same paradigm in each case, and to comprise: (a) di- passive; (b) zero passive; (c) ku- and kau- passive; (d) ter- passive. -- (1), (a) is exemplified by dibaca, (b) by kami baca or (imperative) baca!, (c) by kubaca and kau baca, and (d) by terbaca; (a) may be called the "canonical" passive (after Chung 1976a), (b), by analogy, the "noncanonical" passive, (c) the "pronominal" passive, and (d) the "eventive" passive. -- No. (2) is exemplified by kelihatan, kehujan, etc., and (3) by verbs like lupa, kena, or tampak.

I shall not be concerned with ke-/-an passives, which, though interesting in themselves, have little bearing on issues raised by the other varieties of passive. I shall have little to say on monomorphemic passives, and therefore most of what follows will actually concern the paradigmatic members of transitive men- verbs.³

Passivization of men- verbs

A huge number of Indonesian verbs begin with men-; I follow tradition in calling them "prenasalized". Though some words opening with men- are nonverbs (menyeluruh, melainkan, e.g.)⁴, and though men- also characterizes a limited, slightly productive list of intransitive verbs (such as menyeberang, menyalak, mendekat, membeku, membesar, etc.), most verbs with men- are transitive (though often there need not be an object).⁵ These are highly productive, and account for the majority of men- verbs in Indonesian.

The men- form of these transitive verbs I consider as the "first member" of the paradigm in each case. This is for descriptive convenience rather than for reasons of principle; paradigmatic rules are unordered, in contrast to derivational rules. Lexicographers freely choose their "canonical form" from verbal (or other) paradigms. Of course, in the ordered sequence of derivational steps, it is the men- form of derived verbs, and not any other member of its paradigm, that is the result of derivation. This is also my (merely practical) reason for picking the men- form as the first member of each paradigm. This does not, it should be noted, imply that actives are somehow more "basic" than passives in the Indonesian verb. I shall have some more comments on this in a moment.

Purely morphemically the active men- forms have three paradigmatic variations: with -ku, -mu, and -nya. These simple changes (functional ones, for object) would not be important for the topic of the present paper if not for a complication, which I may introduce by way of a question. Are passive forms like dimakan, kumakan, kaumakan, dimakannya passives of monomorphemic makan, or of prenasalized memakan? The answer must be that they are not forms of makan, but of memakan, for Saya memakannya is grammatical while *Saya makannya is not.⁶ Thus, the possibility of -nya as a functional suffix is a test to (strong) transitivity. We shall come across this verb makan, and a few others, once more below.

The di- passive

Formation of the di- passive is simple; men- is replaced by di-, cancelling any morphophonemic changes caused by the prenasalization: membuat → dibuat; menyangka → disangka; and so forth.⁷ A striking feature of the di- passive is that it can be accompanied only by a (postposed) third person agentive, bound (-nya) or free (orang itu), nonperiphrastic (as in the examples just now), or periphrastic (olehnya; oleh orang itu). First and second person agentives make the sentence ungrammatical (*Buku itu dibaca oleh saya), but "honorific" pronouns (Bapak, Ibu, Saudara, etc.) count as third person; for third personhood of these forms there is also another test: their "vocative" forms (Pak, Bu, etc.), which are socially equivalent to second person, as postposed agentives with di- passives, make the sentence ungrammatical ([...] *seperti sudah dikatakan Pak; etc.).⁸ Contrary to grammarians who claim that first and second person postposed agentives with di- passives may be grammatical (McDonald and Soenjono 1967: 235; Chung 1976a, b), I claim that such passives are never used, unless, highly exceptionally, for very clearly identifiable reasons.⁹

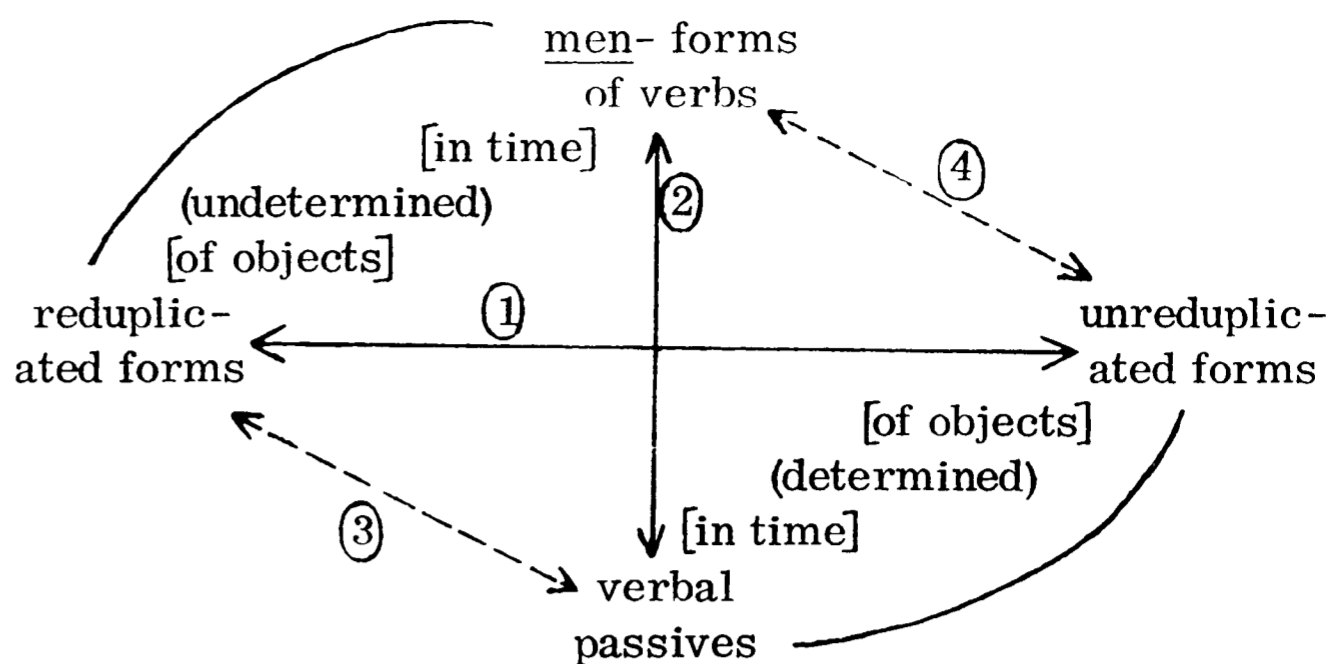
An interesting feature is the di- passive without a following agentive constituent where we evidently do not have the kind of "impersonal" passive in which the agent is irrelevant. The agent has then been mentioned before. For example Dikiranya betul (where -nya is anaphoric) may be paraphrased as Dikira betul. Diputar rodanya may, in context, be a paraphrase of Diputarnya rodanya. So far as I have been able to verify provisionally, the -nya agentive is obligatory only when there is a successivity of actions, as in Dipegangnya

buku, lalu dilemparkannya kepada temannya [...], and I am inclined to ascribe this obligatoriness of the agentive to the circumstance that such passives are semantically active, as Fokker (1951: 69) already noted; I will return to this point in a moment. The deletability of anaphoric *-nya* in the examples just now has led me to hypothesize that *di-* in the passives concerned is in fact a (what I propose to call) "proleptic" agentive: agentive load distributionally is not only on the agentive constituent, but also somehow, by anticipation, on *di-* itself (one might postulate postposed agentive $-\emptyset$ for the *Dikira betul* cases, so as to keep *di-* "proleptic"). This would be an interesting grammatical confirmation of the restriction of *di-* passives to third person agentives more generally. Such *di-* passives without a (formative) postposed agentive would of course suit very well the older claim that passive *di-* is "really" pronominal, but my claim here is merely synchronic, and would not lose whatever validity it may have should the older, diachronic, theory prove to be wrong.¹⁰ Clearly there is still much work to be done on the *di-* passive.

There are still two problems requiring our attention: the "redundancy" of *oleh* with *di-* passives, and the semantic value of the morphemic passives (including zero passives). Purely structurally *oleh* is indeed redundant, on condition that no other constituent intervenes between verb and agentive (*Buku itu dibeli kemarin* **(oleh) teman saya*; the asterisk here, before the opening parenthesis, eliminates optionality). But syntactic redundancy is not necessarily the same as semantic redundancy (for example in English a "continuative" relative clause is syntactically redundant, but semantically clearly not redundant). Perhaps *oleh* emphasizes agentiveness, or perhaps it introduces a new agent in the context, at least new in regard to degree of anaphoricity of the determiner in the agentive constituent. This, of course, would have to be tested; I am merely advancing a heuristic hunch. One test would be to check if nonperiphrastic agentives are normally anaphoric. It would lead me too far afield to do so here, but it looks like a genuine problem for further analysis.

What about the special semantic features of the morphemic passive with *di-* (and of the zero passive as well)? Van den Bergh (1967: 92ff.) distinguishes *men-* forms from their passives as "noneventive" from "eventive", in the sense that *men-* forms are often not fixed in time (for example because they are durative, or habitual and therefore "timeless"), whereas passives are considered as fixed in time (of this the successitivity of action as mentioned above is a good example). Such a characterization is, of course, not particularly new, and we may find various phrasings of it in several books on Indonesian. However, van den Bergh (personal communication) recognizes an analogy between noneventive/eventive on the one hand with, respectively, indeterminateness/determinedness as in reduplicated and unreduplicated forms (particularly in nouns) or the other. As is well-known (and increasingly little practiced in modern Indonesian of a more sloppy type), reduplication of nouns does not signify plurality but variation of one sort or another: something, in other words, not sharply determinable. If the above analogy -- which is worth studying further -- holds water, then Indonesian grammar has special instruments for distinguishing indeterminateness (with *men-* forms for verbs, and reduplicated forms for nouns, or for verbs with reduplicated basic forms) from determinedness (with verbal passives, and with unreduplicated basic forms of verbs which may also have those reduplicated). The following figure may help to understand this. The arrows pointing two ways symbolize contrast or opposition, and when

the shafts are dotted the contrast or opposition is indirect. For convenience' sake the arrows have been numbered.



The following evaluation is wholly my responsibility, though it is in large part based on van den Bergh's ideas just mentioned. Opposition (1) accounts for the ungrammaticalness of **Di situ ada empat kursi-kursi*, though *Di situ ada kursi-kursi* is all right, the difference being due to the preciseness (determinedness) of *empat*. Opposition (2) would account for why it would be rather hard to find a suitable context for ?*Buku seperti itu sudah lama mau dibelinya*, while *Buku itu dibelinya* would suit many kinds of obvious contexts; I suggest that one reason is that *sudah lama [mau]* entails a duration (of the desire to purchase the book), which is not easily compatible with a *di-* passive. (Certain contexts, of course, may result in a neutralization of the determined/undetermined opposition.) The oppositions (3) and (4) present greater problems, once more because neutralizations of oppositions (1) and (2) may not be so very rare, for example because, for some reason or other, the object to a *men-* verb may have to have initial position, which requires change of active into passive, as the order **OV* in Indonesian is invariably ungrammatical (when the object is *yang*, whose position is always initially fixed, the verb must always be passive). Similarly, a reduplicated form may be the only way to make plurality (which, though it is not signified by reduplication, is nevertheless implied) indubitable. However, (3) may be the closest explanation for the extremely low frequency (in my observation) of passives of verbs with a reduplicated base, and of the proportionately high frequency of their *men-* forms; *ditimbang-timbang*, for example, as compared to *menimbang-nimbang*. It is hard to come up with an example explained by no. (4), but a striking feature of objects is that they frequently need no determiner when used with *men-* forms (*Saya membeli buku*), whereas the "same" nominal constituent in initial position (so that the passive must be used) can rarely do without a determiner (?**Buku sudah saya beli*, vs *Buku itu sudah saya beli*, which is undoubtedly all right). I would ascribe the need for a determiner here to initial position due to topicalization, but Bambang Kaswanti Purwo has pointed out to me that something is to be said for the hypothesis that a nominal constituent without determiner with passives is, more generally, quite less likely than with *men-* forms.¹¹ Further research is badly needed here.

The zero passive and the pronominal passive

In a sentence like *Buku itu sudah saya baca* one might superficially be tempted to consider *baca* as monomorphemic. Yet little reflection is needed to recognize that that must be too simple. First, if *baca* in that sentence were monomorphemic

there would be no reason not to consider it as a free variation of membaca. However, that would make buku itu the object, which is impossible in Indonesian (*OV), unless we want to phrase a meaningless *ad hoc* rule to salvage the free variation assumption. Then, also, though buku itu may occur to the right of baca (Besok akan saya baca buku itu), yet buku itu could not in that case be the object either, for it could not be replaced by -nya (even though that would be possible with membaca: Saya akan membacanya is all right): *Besok akan saya bacanya (see also note 6). Furthermore, if buku itu were the object (in either of the two examples just cited), there is no way for saya not to be the subject, as that functional interpretation would conflict with a number of characteristics of the constituent saya: it cannot be separated from the constituent baca by any other constituent (genuine subjects can be separated from their predicates), and it can be replaced by ku- (the subject saya cannot).

Therefore, baca in these examples is not an active. Could it be a "semiactive" in the sense that we could call baca a "semitransitive" verb? By "semitransitivity" (as distinguished from "strong" transitivity, whose object may take the form of -nya) here is meant the relation of a verb to its complement in ways readily comparable to the relation between a strongly transitive verb and its object. Such a comparison makes sense for Indonesian, because this language has a few truly "semitransitive" verbs, i.e. makan, minum, minta and mohon. They are like memakan, meminum, meminta and memohon in that their complements must occur to the right of the verb. The role filling complement place is "objective", both for the forms with men- and for the forms without that prefix. On the other hand, only with the men- forms is the complement replaceable by -nya: Saya memakannya is wellformed, while *Saya makannya is not. Therefore, let us call the complements of makan, minum, etc. "semi-objects", those verbs themselves "semitransitives", and the role in predicate position "semiactive". Then, it might be asked, why can we not deal with baca in the same manner? Then there would be some sense in which we would have to agree with Chung (1976a: 59) that men- is indeed "optional". The makan-minum list would be much longer than just four, and we would have a useful generalization. Other arguments would support this: while we have such forms as kumakan, kaumakan, we would have the same formations also in kubaca, kaubaca, etc.

Nevertheless, the counterarguments are too strong. It is true that forms like kumakan, kaumakan, dimakan, etc. are grammatical and therefore look the same as kubaca, kaubaca, dibaca, etc. But while they agree in the noninterposability of constituents between the pronominal agentive and the verb ([...] sudah saya makan and [...] sudah saya baca are all right), they do not equally admit of interposition (Saya sering makan nasi, Saya tidak makan roti are grammatical, but *Saya sering baca buku and *Saya tidak baca buku are not). This is because baca is a genuine passive (of membaca), while monomorphemic makan is not even a paradigmatic member, let alone the passive, of memakan. A sentence like Saya makan nasi is ambiguous: makan may be the passive of memakan, in which case it is a zero passive as much as baca in Besok akan saya baca buku itu; or it is the semitransitive verb makan; the former consists of \emptyset - + -makan, the latter is monomorphemic. No such ambiguity is found in any occurrence of baca, which is always polymorphemic, and a passive. Similar arguments could be given for minum, mohon and minta, and these four verbs are therefore truly a class all their own.¹² It follows, among other things, that men- is never demonstrably optional.¹³

When we now return to our passive baca, a new problem arises. If indeed passive, why polymorphemic? Is it not enough, in view of the evidence above, to distinguish a form like baca from makan (and its three colleagues) and have done with it? Why must baca consist of \emptyset - + -baca? My reason for postulating the presence of a zero prefix here is that there is an opposition between baca of all the examples above on the one hand and the basic form, or "root", -baca, which is both monomorphemic and a bound form: a lexical item in its own right, "pre-categorial" (my term) in that it does not qualify for membership of any word class ("pre-" refers to the history of morphemic derivation). At the same time zero (\emptyset -) in baca (as distinct from -baca) contrasts with active men-, with ku- and kau- of the pronominal passive, and with di- of the canonical passive. I grant that neither argument is highly compelling on empirical grounds. The first argument is paradigm-external, the second paradigm-internal, but not all contrasts need to be marked by an affix (in this case \emptyset -). The real argument for \emptyset - in the noncanonical passive is one of theoretical coherence and descriptive consistency, especially as regards the first argument: the list of pre-categorial forms in Indonesian totals several hundreds, most of them of high text frequency, and -- a typological argument -- many thousands in each of a relatively great number of related languages in Indonesia; concerning the second, paradigm-internal argument, we may perhaps say that polymorphemicity of the noncanonical passive gives a ready syntactic ground for the inseparability of such passives and their preposed morphemically free pronominal agentives: e.g. saya in saya baca is bound to baca by reason of baca's prefix, \emptyset -. It is now also clear why pronominal passives (with ku- and kau-) are distinct from zero passives: there is no need for \emptyset - where there is already the bound form ku- or kau-.

One prominent form of the zero passive is the imperative. In Baca(lah) buku ini!, baca! is passive. The arguments are simple: first, -nya cannot replace buku ini: *Bacanya(lah)! is ungrammatical; second, the agent may be expressed with oleh (not optional this time, if there is an agentive constituent): Bacalah olehmu! (the construction, though rather literary, has long-standing credentials); third, only imperatives of transitive men- verbs dispense with men-, and intransitive imperatives of men- verbs retain prenasalization: Mendekatlah!, Menyeberang di sini!. The conclusion must be that buku ini in Bacalah buku ini! cannot be the object. Sheer elimination forces us to conclude that it must be the subject; this is also confirmed by its role: objective, for objectives role-wise with passives are subjects function-wise. One salient feature with this kind of subject, however, is that it can occur only to the right of the verb, and never, like other subjects (including those of the other zero passives) to the left: *Buku ini bacalah! is not wellformed (unless, of course, there is a pause after buku itu: Buku itu//bacalah!, but then we have two clauses, not one, and each with its own functional analysis; the pause itself would be an instrument of topicalization). There is, it must be noted, also something counter-intuitive about the designation of buku ini as the subject. Though intuition is notoriously of little value for the substantiation of theories (in contrast to intuition as an argument for the determination of grammaticality of utterances), yet in the present case some explanation reducible to intuition is possible. I shall return to that point at the end of this paper.

There now arises the question of the agentives with zero passives (for pronominal passives the result is already there for us to see: only ku- and kau-). The agentives, preposed all of them, except for periphrastic olehmu in imperatives,

comprise all personal pronouns, as well as the so-called "honorific" pronouns Bapak, Ibu, Saudara, etc. (though not their "vocative" short forms Pak, Bu, etc.). Third person singular, which may be either dia or ia (ia may, in certain contexts, be slightly more dignified in reference to the person spoken about), or beliau, is also possible in this position. Reduplicated personal pronouns qualify as well (mereka-mereka, Saudara-Saudara, beliau-beliau), but I have not been able to ascertain if saya-saya (which may be used in depreciation) is possible in preverbal agentive position with zero passives. There seems to be some doubt about Saudara-Saudara sekalian in that position. I have occasionally heard honorific pronoun plus proper name (even in "short" form, as mentioned above) in that position, but I believe that careful speakers reject such phrases. Nonpronominal nouns and noun phrases are out (one may hear them used in this position by East-Indonesians), but "editorial" references to the writer such as penulis (without any determiner) I have found regularly in written work, though I feel it is somewhat stilted ([...] sebagaimana sudah penulis katakan di atas).

The eventive passive

There is a great deal more to ter- forms of verbs (there are also nonverbal ter- forms, which are of no importance to my topic here) than those that are here called "eventive".¹⁴ Forms like tertidur, terjadi, etc. are also "eventive" in some straightforward use of that term (saying that something "happens to" take place), but they are not passive, and I will not be concerned with them, as neither with those that alternate with (intransitive) men- forms of the same base, like tertangkap/menangkap, terjuler/menjuler, which are not passive either. We are concerned, then, with forms like terkunci, tertutup, terganggu, etc. (some are related to men- forms slightly different: meninggalkan → tertinggal, melibatkan → terlibat).

Some ter- forms which are prima facie verbal passives are in fact adjectival passives, i.e. it is perhaps more straightforward not to consider them as included in the paradigms of the verbs concerned, but rather to treat them as derivations (see above, note 3). These occur for the most part with a negative modifier tak (not *tidak) to denote impossibility: tak terelakkan, tak tertahan, tak terungkap, and many more, with slight productivity (assuming the ter- form itself can be productively formed¹⁵). I shall not be concerned with those any further either.

As to paradigmatic passive ter- forms more properly so speaking, many verbs do not have them, and newformations may be felt to violate productivity rules. I have not found any clear pattern yet (though some hard work should uncover them soon enough), why, e.g., ?terbantu is doubtful, while tertolong is all right; or why terberkatilah! is fully acceptable, while *termuliakanlah! is not. Terbaca is acceptable, but I suspect *terbacakan is not. Rules would have to be elicited from indubitable material and from authentic pronouncements on acceptable productivity of new formations.

Finally, agentives with ter- forms are always postposed, always periphrastic, and not confined to third person.

Paradigmatic rules for passives conflated

The following conflated rule should take care of most of what has been said about the passive so far; a few details are added.

Optionality of the entire agentive constituent (in all cases) has been ignored, to avoid the unsightliness of top-to-bottom parentheses for it. Brackets, braces, parentheses, and underscores are used according to current conventions. Asterisks before parentheses rule out optionality; the symbol "----" stands for any appropriate constituent. "Free" means "morphemically free", and "full" honorific pronouns rule out the short alternatives. The "base" has no affixation (e.g. -baca, bound; or pahat, free), but it does not have to be monomorphemic; for example, it may be reduplicated. "N" is "Noun" and "P" is "Phrase". I ignore the possibility of the base having the suffixes -i or -kan.

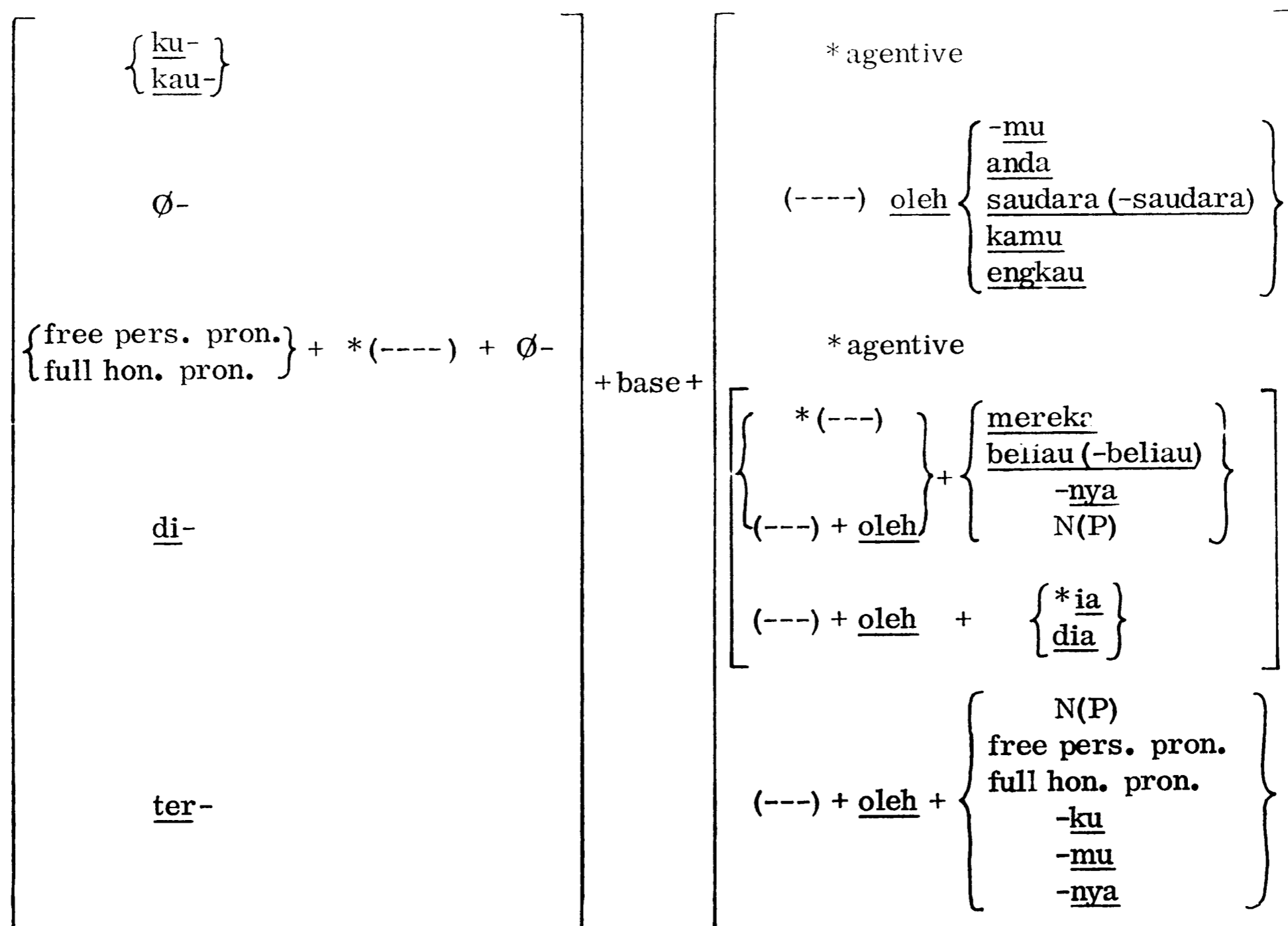
Some generalizations have had to be broken up, because of complications in conflating the rule, e.g. the optionality of oleh after di- passives. I am not sure whether the reduplicated forms of pronouns are exhaustively presented (cf. depreciative saya-saya).

Monomorphemic passives

This class (one member paradigms all of them) has been very little researched so far. Berg 1937 has a number of interesting examples for Javanese, which language has more of them than Indonesian. Examples for Indonesian are lupa, tampak, kena, tembus, sembuh, tewas, kalah, masak, and perhaps a few dozen more. But their syntactic distribution is not the same everywhere. E.g. kena may have an agentive without oleh, whereas tembus and lupa would need a periphrastic agentive. I have not found out whether there are any that could not have an agentive at all, and neither do I understand, at this stage, how much of interference there may be from a first language (for example, I have repeatedly heard, from Javanese native speakers, the phrase Saya periksa dokter, where the context is clearly that the speaker diperiksa dokter). Also, a number of such words may be "passive" only on a "translationese" view. A wider framework for this question is whether a lexical item could be "two-faced" in any other contrast than that of active vs passive, e.g. the Indonesian word sepi, which (as also in Javanese sěpi, Krama sěpě) corresponds to both 'empty' and 'lonely' (one is lonely, the implication would be, in an empty place). Here, too, there may be something of the "translationese" fallacy. My principal purpose in mentioning the monomorphemic passives is that I feel they should be further investigated, and that, in any case, they are different from the base of a passive form as per the above conflated rule.

Why "passive"?

There is scarcely any imaginable view of what is here called "passive" that has not been represented in all the studies (much of it polemics) around the "vervoegde werkwoordsvormen". To take just a sample or two, Mees (1954: 315) maintains that there is no active-passive problem in Indonesian at all. Wils (1952, passim) feels that the so-called "passives", especially those with proposed agentives, are very concrete "locative", or perhaps rather "ostensive", indications which are virtually equivalent to the denotative capacity of nouns, the agentive suffixes themselves being largely "possessive". Though Wils is highly "romantic" and "empathic" in the manner of van Ginneken's psychologism



in which he received his training as a linguist, and his presentation accordingly persuasive rather than supported by hard evidence, his heuristic hunches must, in my opinion, be taken seriously. The interpretation of passives as somehow "nominal" is already old (for di- passives the combination di-/-nya has been used as an argument of this, and di- has also been equated, historically, with either the preposition di or the pronoun dia). Van der Tuuk (1971: 122) was very much in favor of the "nominal" theory, though he never said so in so many words (see also Teeuw 1971: XXXI). Again, it has been claimed that Indonesian is not an "inflectional" language for verbs, but when these ideas are developed in discussions it invariably (in my experience) turns out that what is meant is that Indonesian verbs are not inflectional in the way Indo-European verbs are. That reminder, despite its obviousness to the point of triviality, may not have been so superfluous in earlier times when Latin and Greek were supposed to stand model for the description of any language whatever.

It is hard to imagine that anyone could have a comprehensive grasp of what the opposition active-passive entails language-universally. Gonda, in his detailed twosome of articles "Over Indonesische werkwoordsvormen" (1949a and b) makes a good many digressions on passives in languages other than those in Indonesia, many of them useful even if well-known: for example the Latin verba deponentia, passive in morphemic form but active role-wise (as we might say now) are transitive; there are those that are active in form and passive role-wise; there is the well-known problem of the "middle" in Greek and other languages. Many languages have no (morphemic) passive at all; and so forth. Gonda's review of them is erudite, insightful, and makes the kind of one-man brain storming that may give one new ideas.

One would like to cut down on the number of problems by distinguishing those due to a variety of data from many languages from problems that are largely terminological. There is, from the terminological point of view, no reason not to

employ the term "passive" for the forms so named in the present article. Once one does, of course, so call them, one may reject interpretations of them that are due only to the critic's understanding of the terms involved; for example "passive" need not be understood in its Indo-European sense. One also has to take the consequences of terms once one has (stipulatively) defined them; in other words, the stipulations must be clear. This writer, for example, is committed to the idea that the active-passive contrast in Indonesian is a paradigm-internal one. That in itself is merely stipulative. But one cannot, then -- on my understanding of what a paradigmatic process is --, also accept that, though men- forms are verbs, the passive forms thereof are nouns, for class membership distinction can never fit the same lexical identity (entailed in the notion of paradigm), or at least it cannot to me. But all these problems (which could easily be added to) are matters of internal consistency of the assumptions used, and, though in that case they are no longer merely terminological any more but rather conceptual-theoretical, they still do not necessarily directly concern the data in the sense that no other conceptual-theoretical framework could handle those data. Protestations like "There is no active-passive problem in Indonesian" are perhaps exclamations of theoretical impatience (or intolerance) rather than statements about lingual data. (This is not to say, I should like to add, that I imagine that data are available as such without any approach that has theoretical implications classifying them.) I have no strong reasons for insisting that the forms called "passive" in the present paper are most aptly so called, but I have not run into a better approach that would preserve conceptual-theoretical consistency (especially concerning the relation between lexical identity and word class membership); however, I cannot imagine that there could not be a much more adequate approach than the one taken here.

By "passives", then, I mean passives morphemically, with syntactic consequences, such as that the object to an active becomes the subject to its passivized form. I would,

for example, call Latin verba deponentia "semiactives", for, though they are passives morphemically and are like actives in that they are transitive, yet they cannot be passivized as morphemically they are already passive, and Latin, as it happens, has no syntactic standby to do the passivization job, as one might perhaps argue is the case in certain ergative languages.

Morphemically, I think it can be argued that the forms called passive in the present paper may be considered as genuine passives, in the sense that there is confirmation from syntax (though I shall make a few reservations concerning this point in a moment). If, then, it is argued that, for example, zero passives are much less like passives when compared with the di- forms, or that di-/-nya forms are "active" semantically, or (perhaps better) are the Indonesian equivalent to a praesens historicum in other languages, depicting "actuality" rather than "activity", then there is no contradiction between such an intuitive insight and the morphemic-syntactic evaluation on the other. The intuitive evaluations, even though only heuristic and rather vague, should perhaps be taken seriously in the case of those who have a good grammatical and stylistic command of the language under analysis, and they may open the way to new insights not easily attainable along a chain of strict argumentation, while there may always be new possibilities of testing. Argumentation and theory will be the easier to check so long as they are "reconstructive" rather than "constructive".

A special problem for passives in Indonesian arises where syntax is also semantic: in the roles.¹⁶ The roles are not all that semantics is about (lexical semantics is excluded from role evaluation, as also the kind of semantics entailed in such problems as discourse structure and topicalization), but they appear to be of great importance in our morphosyntactic passives. A good example of this is that there is something counterintuitive about calling the "complement" of bacalah! in Bacalah buku ini!, i.e. buku ini, the "subject" of the sentence. Role-wise, of course, buku ini is "objective", which is much closer to unanalyzed intuition. As it happens, the imperative differs from other zero passives in that its subject must be to the right of the verb, which is unusual for the subject position. If, then, our intuitive appraisal of buku ini in Bacalah buku ini! is closer to the objective role than to the functional subject (even though both qualifications apply equally from a theoretical point of view), and if the intuition is such that we feel that "transitivity" would somehow convey the relation from bacalah! to buku ini, then we might phrase this by saying that what we have in that sentence is not functional transitivity but role transitivity. That conception has interesting corollaries for Indonesian syntax, and I want to go into just one of those now.

Perhaps the obligatory and highly consistent VO order for Indonesian (which, strictly functionally, is perhaps better phrased as PO, Verb being a category and Predicate being a function) has a few interesting parallels for word order involving constituents whose role is objective (objective constituents). Bacalah buku ini! is one example. Another one is the functional "adjunct" filled with objective role content, in the case of predicates that already have an object (with a different role), as in the sentence Ayah mencarikan saya pekerjaan. The object is saya (for saya would become the subject in the passivization Saya dicarikan pekerjaan oleh ayah), even though its role is not objective but benefactive, while the constituent filled by the objective role, pekerjaan, is not an object but an adjunct (even though that adjunct is a nuclear rather than a nonnuclear constituent). (Grammarians who

speak of "double object" here confuse function and role.) Now, the point I wish to make here is that pekerjaan, even though it is not the object, cannot be placed to the left of the verb, whereas all other adjuncts invariably can. Even in passivization this adjunct still has to take its place to the right of the verb: *Pekerjaan ayah mencarikan saya, *Pekerjaan saya dicarikan ayah are both ungrammatical. This feature of syntax I have never seen noted anywhere except in Chung 1976b (Chung calls the objective adjunct the "direct object", and the benefactive object the "indirect object", but in Chung's theory that is, this time, not a confusion of function and role, but rather due to the distinction between underlying and surface structure; nevertheless, the determination of deep structure in terms of functions rather than of roles is perhaps an "Indo-European" onesidedness, which non-Fillmore transformational grammarians still seem to think language-universal (66-67)). It is relevant to my topic here that even in the passive form there is no way for the objective adjunct to get to the left of the verb. This shows, among other things, that the PO order has its strict parallel in a PasOb order (Passive plus Objective), but only in imperatives for their objective constituents functionally not the subject. This is not much of a generalization yet, probably because we still know so little of the relations between the functional level and the role level in Indonesian syntax. (And, perhaps, in syntax more generally: the basic polemics between Fillmore's earlier case grammar and Chomsky's earlier standard theory in transformational grammar may have proved insoluble precisely because of the insolubility, so far, of the problem how functions and roles compare language-universally.)¹⁷

Someone should write a detailed study on the passive in Indonesian, preferably bringing in a great deal of data from many languages related to Indonesian. In the present paper I have outlined a few problems to which, among others, such a new study might have to address itself.

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FOOTNOTES

1. I have profited much from discussions, oral and by correspondence, with Dr Sandra Chung, Mr Harimurti Kridalaksana, M.A., Mr A. Moeliono, M.A., Dr Muhadjir, Mr Bambang Kaswanti Purwo, M.A., Professor Samsuri, Dr W.A.L. Stokhof, Mr Sudaryanto, M.A., Dr I. Suharno, Dr Alan Stevens, and Dr Dale Walker. I owe first insights into the passive in Indonesian to many more, especially to Rev. J.D. van den Bergh, as specifically mentioned below. None of all these colleagues is responsible for the use I have made of their ideas. -- The present article is a revised version of one under the same title, which appeared in: Ignatius Suharno (ed.). Irian: Bulletin of Irian Jaya Development, vol. V, no. 3, October 1976. Institute for Anthropology, Cenderawasih University, Jayapura, by the gracious permission of the Editor.

2. See Haaksma 1933. In that work is also to be found previous bibliography including all the items of an acrimonious dispute, involving Tendeloo and Jonker, concerning "de verwoegde werkwoordsvormen", beginning in the 1880-ies and closing in 1911. Haaksma's book was extensively reviewed by Esser (1935). J. Gonda has two articles "Our Indonesische werkwoordsvormen" (1949a; 1949b). Most of the above (plus some other discussions) has been reviewed by Wils (1952);

standard handbooks on Malay/Indonesian have, of course, scattered notes on problems around the passive.

3. I distinguish, with many linguists, paradigmatic from derivational processes in morphology. Paradigmatic processes do not affect lexical identity, derivational ones do. A change of word class membership is a prominent, but not the only, test of derivational processes. See Verhaar, 1977, and forthcoming.

4. I now prescind from the problem whether forms like menurut are necessarily always verbs, rather than prepositions in certain cases. This, in fact, may well be much of a pseudo-problem, seeing that prepositions (and postpositions) language-universally behave very much, at the phrase level, like transitive verbs at the clause level; see Lehmann 1972; 1973; 1975.

5. Verbs with men-/-i are always transitive, and all verbs with men-/-kan except merupakan. Verbs of the form X + men- + X (where X is a basic form, discretely reduplicated) are intransitive: tolong-menolong, kejar-mengejar, etc., even though their unreduplicated (prenasalized) forms are invariably transitive.

6. Indonesians whose first language is Javanese may often be heard to say sentences like [Pintu itu/] nanti saya tutupnya, or [Manisan ini/] nanti saya belinya. Though in Indonesian such forms are ungrammatical, they may well become grammatical before long, because of the heavy interference from Javanese. However that may be, -nya in such cases does not stand for the object but is what older grammarians of Javanese called the "propositive": it indicates that the speaker proposes to do something. It is, therefore, not surprising that one will never hear a Javanese speaker of Indonesian say *Tadi saya tutupnya, or *Kemarin saya belinya, because the analogous construction in Javanese would be ungrammatical; other restrictions are: not in second and third person, not in the negative. Also, Javanese never use -(n)é (its equivalent for Indonesian -nya in its possessive use and its use as a determiner) in object place after the verb. I am indebted for some of these findings to Mr Bambang Kaswanti Purwo. On the "propositive" in Javanese, see Berg 1937: 2, 112; Bezemer 1931: 49; Jansz 1893: 348ff.; Roorda 1855: 319.

7. I bypass, beyond mentioning them briefly, irregularities occurring with some verbs regarding the suffixes -i and -kan; for example dicinta relates to mencintai, and not to *mencinta. As is to be found in any grammar, mengerti does not lose prenasalization: → dimengerti. Some verbs are (strongly) transitive but cannot be passivized in certain phrases: Berita itu menarik hatiku → *Hatiku ditarik oleh berita itu (but tertarik is all right). Inversely, ditemukan relates to menemukan, not to *mengetemukan. Such irregularities, since they form a close list, should be made complete in a more comprehensive study on the passive. -- I am indebted to Mr Sudaryanto for some of this material. -- For similar data, see Stevens 1970, 69-70.

8. However, restrictions on these "vocatives" are more severe, for they cannot occur in subject or object position either, or after a preposition, unless, in all these cases, they are followed by the appropriate proper name.

9. I have carefully listened for them to occur for eight years, with no result. I have tried to put the case to the test by contrasting such agentives (Surat ini jangan ditandatangani oleh saya, harus ditandatangani oleh lurah), or as part of an agentive constituent in which agentives are conjoined (Surat itu sudah ditandatangani oleh saya, oleh lurah, dan oleh bupati), but "approval" of educated Indonesians (when asked if one could "say" this) was hesitant. (Needless to say, such overt

ways of obtaining informants' responses, untrammelled by theoretical considerations, are inadequate, but they were, in this case, the best I could think of.) I have found one spontaneous contrastive exception in a carefully composed liturgical text, in a prayer for the deceased, especially for those unknown ones [...] yang hanya dikenal oleh Mu (where -Mu refers to God). Dr Alan M. Stevens (personal communication) tells me that in a year of daily reading of two newspapers and one magazine he came across only one example of nonthird postposed agentive: Tokh pertempuran dimenangkan kita ('And yet we won the battle'). Typologically, it is interesting to find that Sundanese is an exception in allowing first and second person agentives with di- passives; these also occur in Jakarta Malay, but they are structurally exceptional and their text frequency is very low, according to data communicated to me by Muhadjir. Several North-Sumatran languages can have second person (but not first) agentives with (their equivalent of) di- passives.

Lawler (1977) has drawn attention to an "agreement" (which term he uses in a somewhat wider sense (221)) between a verbal prefix for passive in Acehnese and the postposed agentive. The point is evidently of importance, as Lawler himself points out, for relational grammar, seeing that there is in such a case verbal agreement with a "nonterm". I should like to point out that Acehnese is not so exceptional in this respect, for Indonesian (and vernaculars such as Javanese) can have only third person agentives with di- passives. Below I shall show that di- itself must be somehow considered to be third person "pronominal"; meaning, it should be emphasized, purely synchronically.

10. It is tempting to see in "proleptic" di- without a formative postposed agentive Javanese influence, as indeed Javanese has no equivalent to agentive -nya with di- passives (notwithstanding the fact that the language has postposed agentives that are morphemically free). In fact I hear most of such di- forms from Javanese speakers. However, a thorough investigation of older Malay would be needed to determine if proleptic di- is not older in Malay, quite apart from interference. Provisional ratings by Gonda (1949a: 349ff.) show that agentiveless di- passives in older Malay are in the minority; however, what Gonda investigates here is an original situation as compared to the recent increase in impersonal passives, which are undoubtedly due to Indo-European influence. The question then is if there is all that much difference between agentiveless passives and impersonal passives. To the extent that the difference might be comparatively small, we would have to expect the remarkable convergence, in Indonesian of modern times, of interference from Javanese and interference from languages such as Dutch or English.

I should like to distinguish quite a distinct type of agentiveless passives, i.e. what I call the "absolute" di- passives (which could never have an agentive added to it), i.e. in the di- forms which are imperatives semantically: diputar! 'turn it!'; dinaikkan! 'lift it!'. I have no data to account for this. Such di- imperatives are mostly used by Javanese speakers. However, without evidence to the contrary we might as well assume that such di- forms are elliptic, for supaya (an optative preverbal particle) + di- form, in which supaya is left out for the short.

11. Chung (1976a: 62) points out that with di- passives the subject does not need a determiner, but that "object preposing" (i.e. the subject of a noncanonical passive) will have a subject with a determiner. The examples given are somewhat hard to evaluate for determiners need, frequently, a context. But later it is pointed out (63ff.) that object preposing is not in fact a topicalization rule but a passivization rule.

However, that argument does not seem to hold water, for subjects of passives (except imperatives, see below) have no fixed position: they may occur to the left or to the right of the verb.

12. The ambiguity of Saya makan nasi is anything but merely theoretical. Context will easily disambiguate it. For example the sentence Pagi hari saya makan nasi, sore hari saya makan roti, assuming it states the speaker's habit, makes it hard to interpret makan as a passive, which is unusual for something so timeless as a habit. If the utterance were to be continued by saying that for guests I prepare what they prefer I would have to add a clause like [...], tetapi kalau ada tamu saya mempersiapkan makanan menurut selera mereka, and the alternative [...] *saya persiapan makanan [...], which is in itself morphemically and syntactically possible, would surely be ungrammatical, unless other reasons force neutralization of the contrast between men-form and zero passive, as, for example, if the continuation were to be [...], tetapi apa yang saya persiapan untuk tamu selalu sesuai dengan [...], because in this case the fixed position of yang must make it the subject of the relative clause, and, therefore, the verbal form a passive. Barring such cases of neutralization, when makan expresses a habit, that form cannot be interpreted as a zero passive. There is another test for this, e.g. the outlandish character of a sentence like *Pagi hari tidak saya makan nasi (instead of the normal Pagi hari saya tidak makan nasi), even though it would not be hard to find a (time-determined) example of [...] tidak saya makan.

13. Men- has many other complications. For example, the sentence Mereka sering tidak kirim surat is perfectly well-formed, while *Mereka sering tidak bandingkan yang satu dengan yang lainnya is not. The first example is the exception. I am inclined to hypothesize that the exception is due to closeness of the group, perhaps even to the point of kirim surat being made into a compound. Saya mau tunggu jawaban dulu is approved by many careful speakers of Indonesian, who would reject *Kami akan selesaikan tugas itu besok immediately. Again, tunggu jawaban is a closer group than selesaikan tugas. The growing influence of vernaculars and dialects where prenasalization is far more optional is sociolinguistically a complication, but that influence has basically very little to do with close-group prenasalization-lessness in standard Indonesian.

14. The term "eventive" as used here should be sharply distinguished from van den Bergh's use of that term, as explained above.

15. Newformations in nominalized form, without the negative, are limited to professional circles of scholars, e.g. philosophers. I have myself been responsible for a few of them, and reception of scholars has been positive; examples: keterbacaan 'readability', ketepercayaan 'plausibility [of a theory e.g.]', keteperumuman 'generalizability' (itself from the neologism memperumum 'to generalize', to get away from the cacophonous menggeneralisasikan which one may hear now and then), keterbagian 'divisibility [by x]'.

16. I consider functions (subject, predicate, object, etc.) as empty places of constituency; only frames, so to speak, of constituents. These frames have to be "filled" (according to a conception freely borrowed from tagmemic theory) in two ways: according to form, and according to meaning. According to form functional positions are filled categorially. It is the semantic fillings of functional positions (such as agentive, active, passive, objective, benefactive, locative, and the like) which are here meant by "roles". The issue raised

here is, of course, the role of role rather than the case for case.

17. One may occasionally hear sentences like Ayah mencari pekerjaan untuk saya, or Saya membukakan pintu untuk tamu. Such constructions are, in my own environment (Jakarta and Central Java), clearly due to interference from Javanese, which allows a similar word order with their -ake verbs, and I consider them ungrammatical for standard Indonesian. However, Dr Dale Walker (personal communication) considers them as acceptable and in tune with principal typological features of Indonesian.

There is another problem with my analysis of Ayah mencari saya pekerjaan as containing a (benefactive) object saya, and an objective adjunct pekerjaan. This analysis presupposes, theoretically, that the benefactive suffix (focus ending) -kan is derivational, not paradigmatic. But clearly if -kan is paradigmatic, then two passivizations are possible with the same verb, i.e. Pekerjaan dicari ayah untuk saya, and Saya dicari ayah pekerjaan; similarly, we could have the passives Beras itu saya beli untuk ayah and Ayah saya belikan beras. The argument would then be that mencarikan and mencari are lexically identical, and similarly membelikan and membeli (this would just be a more principled way of saying that -kan is paradigmatic, not derivational). In that case the theory which interprets the two complements in Ayah mencari saya pekerjaan and Saya membelikan ayah beras, as two objects, or a "double object", would be correct. That analysis, also, would not confuse function and role. Therefore, it would, in such a discussion, be up to me to prove that mencarikan and mencari, as well as membelikan and membeli, are not lexically identical. Such a proof, obviously, would have to be based on lexical semantics, and would therefore be hard to substantiate, unless one had a grammatical test. I think I have found one in what I have called the "law of government basis" (hukum dasar penguasaan) in Verhaar forthcoming.

Though I think I have thus vindicated -kan as derivational, not paradigmatic, on the basis of lexical identity supported by syntactic tests, there are still problems with -kan which seem to show that "paradigmatic interpretation" is not totally out (confirming also Dale Walker's grammatical stand as cited above, in the present note). Consider the sentence Perusahaan ini membuat kami pakaian seragam. Context variations (not really transforms, but that is now irrelevant) may produce such sentences as [...] pakaian seragam yang baru saja dibuatkan oleh perusahaan ini [...], which I consider to be grammatical; if we fill in a benefactive constituent kami here, we would get the ungrammatical [...] *pakaian seragam yang baru saja kami dibuatkan oleh [...]. What is ungrammatical here is the prepredicate position of yang, which, even though it would (on my theory) not be an object, while yet it would be objective role-wise, as has just been argued. Therefore, if kami as a formative is not possible, then its postulability as a zero constituent (in parallel distribution with kami) is equally out of the question. This would mean that dibuatkan cannot have any subject, whether formative (kami) or zero, which would have no parallel in any other utterance, so that a rule positing obligatory subjectlessness would be out as clearly ad hoc. Therefore, inescapably, in [...] pakaian seragam yang baru saja dibuatkan oleh [...] yang must be the subject. If so, -kan in dibuatkan must be paradigmatic, not derivational. I do not know how to solve this problem, considering the validity, as I see it, of my "law of government basis". Unfortunately to explain that law here would lead me to far afield in the present article.

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