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This paper presents several alternative analyses of the ber-/meN- and di- prefixes in Indonesian. The first is an Intransitive/Transitive analysis, the second is an Active/Stative analysis, and lastly I present a case role analysis which I will argue, leaves a smaller residue than either of the other analyses. My method of presentation is Goldilocks like in that I present first a theory which is too hot, then one which is too cold, and lastly my own theory, which if not just right, seems to cover the data more completely than the other two.

TRANSITIVE/INTRANSITIVE ANALYSIS

A tempting analysis for meN-/di- and ber- has meN- as a so-called "active-transitive prefix", di- being one of its passive counterparts, and ber- as an "intransitive", or "intransitivizing" prefix. Beginning with ber-, it does seem to be the case that the majority of ber- forms occur in one-argument clauses at least on the surface. Even forms such as (1) and (2) where in the English translation we can isolate a direct object we can argue that Indonesian invites a one-argument analysis by incorporating the semantic direct object into the verb stem:

- (1) Saya ber-sepeda.
'I bicycle.' or 'I own a bicycle.'
- (2) Perempuan itu ber-anak.
'That woman gave birth.' or 'That woman has a child.'

What is semantically and syntactically an object in English becomes syntactically and morphologically a verb in Indonesian in these examples.

There are several examples of ber- forms which appear to be transitive. A couple of examples follow as in (3) and (4):

- (3) Dia ber-tanam padi.
'He plants rice [habitually, or generically].'
- (4) Pemerintahan ini ber-dasar-kan agama.
'This government is based on religion.'

I argue that sentences of (3) and (4)'s type are only superficially transitive. In fact neither (3) nor (4) has a passive counterpart. So truth-conditionally, (5) is not equivalent to (3) (although it is grammatical) and (6) is unacceptable:

- (5) Padi di-tanam-nya.
'Rice was planted by him.'
- (6) *Agama di-dasar-kan (oleh) pemerintahan ini.
'.....'

Topicalization or Clefting of the putative syntactic direct object in (3) will produce an unacceptable counterpart in (7):

- (7) *Padi yang dia ber-tanam.
'It is rice that he plants.'

Under normal circumstances the object in (3) cannot be free-

ly quantified as (8) is meant to illustrate:

- (8) Dia ber-tanam (*dua, *batang) padi.
'He plants (*2, *stick) rice.'

We see that with respect to three syntactic operations: Passive, Topicalization, and Quantification, the putative direct object in (3) seems to be inaccessible. We argue therefore that what we have in sentences like (3) is a case of object incorporation. The object seems glued to the verb. Sentences of this sort we may call "derived intransitives". Thus it appears that the hypothesis that ber- serves to mark intransitives is still an accurate statement, whether underlying or derived.

In Classical Malay we have (what to me are) several perplexing examples first pointed out by Winstedt (1913) where ber- and meN- seem to be used interchangeably as in (9), where both ber- and meN- apparently may be followed by direct objects with qualifying adjectives (neither the ber- nor the meN- plus Direct object seems generic):

- (9) Maka sultan Mansur Sjah memberi titah pada bendahara menyuruh berbuat istana.... Maka orang Ungaran berbuat istana besar dan orang Tunkal membuat istana kecil.... (Sejarah Melayu p. 153)

As my understanding of the classical text is less than sufficient and given the possibility of scribal errors in such texts I leave the question open as to what was or what were the classical distinctions between meN- and ber-. If anyone reading this paper can shed any light on this mystery I, for one, would be most grateful.

To this point then, we have shown that at least in the modern system, ber- occurs only in Intransitives on the surface. Sentences like (3) prove to be intransitive as what initially looks like a direct object proves to be inaccessible to various syntactic operations such as Passive, Topicalization, and Quantification.

What then about meN- and di-? In most accounts meN- and di- are said to be related derivationally, di- being the so-called passive equivalent in (10b) and (11b) to meN- sentences (10a) and (11a):

- (10a) Mus me-mukul dinding itu.
'M. hit that wall.'
- (10b) Dinding itu di-pukul (oleh) Mus.
'That wall was hit by M.'
- (11a) Dia men-jalan-i jalan.
'He walked the road.'
- (11b) Jalan di-jalan-i.
'The road was walked [by someone].'

There is some problem in equating the passive in Indonesian with an English type passive. For one thing passive type constructions occur much more frequently in Indonesian than they do in English. In fact, it seems that there are several syntactic templates in Indonesian which may be called

structurally or typologically passive, or passive like. Note in the following examples (12) - (14) that there is together with a morphological change in the verb an entity up front which is semantically patient and an entity following the verb which is more or less semantically agent:

- (12) Buku itu di-bawa (oleh) Ali.
'That book was brought by Ali.'
- (13) Saya ter-tarik (oleh) orang itu.
'I was attracted by that person.'
- (14) Rumah ini ke-jatuh-an pohon.
'This house was fallen on by a tree.'

As Soenjono Dardjowidjojo pointed out in his 1974 paper entitled, "Passives as Reflections of Thought; an example from Indonesian", this perponderance of "passive" forms wants explaining. We seem to have a cline of agentivity represented in (12) - (14) with a fully responsible agent in (12), an accidentally involved agent in (13), and in (14) an agent whose destiny is controlled only by nature.

As many have spoken to, there is in Indonesian culture a considerable amount of attention paid to the THOU or OTHER. One's behavior in almost any Indonesian cultural context seems greatly shaped by the perceived needs of the other. Ego, or agent non-involvement seems traditionally, at least, to be an Indonesian cultural ideal. It should not be particularly surprising therefore to find the grammar of Indonesian mimicing or mirroring Indonesian Phenomenology in diminishing or lessening the clout of ego or agent and promening or highlighting the role of patient or other in the many passive forms. Relatively subtle distinctions from an English point of view involving levels of ego or agent involvement seem to be morphologically marked in Indonesian in these various passives illustrated above.

Both the frequency and elaboration of the various passive forms in Indonesian brings up the question of derivational primacy. Which is more basic: the meN- or the di- and other passive forms? Which is derived from which? A second problem in equating Indonesian passives to an English type passive is that there is a lack of meaning equivalence between the active and passive forms and this fact is morphologically marked in the passive; but not in the meN- or active form. One quick example of non-equivalence truth-conditionally between a ter- and a meN- is illustrated in (13b) and (13c) where in (13b) accidental agentivity is morphologically explicit, marked by the ter- prefix, and in (13c) the volition of the agent is ambiguous:

- (13b) Mereka ter-ganggu (oleh) anak itu.
'They were disturbed by the child [+ accidentally].'
- (13c) Anak itu meng-ganggu mereka.
'That child disturbed them [+ accidentally].'

A third problem in equating di- forms with an English type passive is that in traditional Malay, word order was apparently freer than it is today. A baffling example from Warisan Prosa Klasik (p. 92) illustrating this point follows in (15):

- (15) Maka oleh Hanuman di-palu-nya bahu Indrajit dengan kayu.
'Then by Hanuman was hit by him the shoulder of Indrajit with wood.'

Note that not only does the agent Hanuman precede the di- verb but it appears to be marked redundantly in both the di- prefix (a reduced 3rd person agent-personal communication from A.L. Becker) and by the -nya suffix on the verb also marking the same 3rd person agent. The logical object in (15) follows the verb just as it would normally in a meN- sentence. What motivated the syntax of (15) is beyond any analysis I can presently offer. Comments or suggestions would be most welcome on this point.

This section on di- and the other passive forms has discussed several of the problems we encounter both semantic and syntactic in talking about "passives" in Indonesian, and therefore in associating them derivationally to the active meN- form

Returning to meN- we find that the majority of meN- prefixed verbs occur in two or more argument (i.e. transitive) constructions. Typically the agent coded entity comes first and the second argument immediately follows the verb. There are, however, a considerable number of one argument clauses marked by meN-. A few examples follow illustrated by (16) - (21):

- (16) Saya me-rasa sakit.
'I feel sick.'
- (17) Barometer itu sedang me-nurun.
'That Barometer is falling.'
- (18) Saya mengantuk.
'I'm sleepy.'
- (19) Dia meng-inap di hotel itu.
'He stayed overnight in that hotel.'
- (20) Teman-ku meng-anggur bulan ini.
'My friend is out of work this month.'
- (21) Mereka me-nangis sepanjang malam.
'They cried the whole night long.'

Sentences (16) - (21) are illustrative of what seems to be a significant residue to the claim that meN- marks transitivity. That is, although the majority of meN- verbs occur in transitive clauses (i.e. two or more arguments) there is a considerable residue of intransitive clauses marked by meN-.¹

To this point then we have seen that while ber- does seem to occur in intransitives only, whether underlying or derived, the evidence concerning meN- as marking transitivity is inconclusive. We have also observed that there are problems in relating derivationally, the meN- or so-called active form, to the di- and other so-called "passive" forms.

STATIVE/ACTIVE ANALYSIS

A second possible analysis for these three prefixes has ber- marking a stative function, and meN- and di- marking event or action functions in the grammar. The second half of this generalization does seem to be the case most of the time. MeN- and di- do seem to mark events rather than states. Illustrative of this difference in function is (22a) and (22b):

- (22a) Kapal itu ber-cat merah.
'That boat was painted red [+ state].'

- (22b) Kapal itu di-cat merah.
'That boat was painted red [+ event].'

This difference in function is more clearly seen when adverbial modification is added as in (22c) and (22d). The state focus with ber- is ungrammatical while the di- or event focus sentence is o.k.:

- (22c) Kapal itu ber-cat merah (*dengan hati-hati).
'That boat was painted red with care.'

- (22d) Kapal itu di-cat merah dengan hati-hati.
'That boat was painted red with care.'

Note that the English counterpart to both a and b above would be the same as in (23):

- (23) That boat was painted red.

Thus Indonesian makes a morphological distinction between event and stative focuses where English does not.

There are several examples of meN- occurring in what appears to be stative constructions. The following examples (24a) and (24b) were given me by professor Samsuri of IKIP Malang:

- (24a) Saya me-rasa sakit.
'I feel sick.'

- (24b) Saya be-rasa sakit.
'I feel sick.'

Samsuri tells me (personal communication) that (24a) or the meN- form tends to be used by younger people in his experience and that the ber- by older people. He suggests jokingly that perhaps older people are more stative than younger people. I suspect there may well be some truth to his evaluation of the difference between (24a) and (24b). It may well be that sickness or bad health appears to be more temporary from the point of view of youth, and more generic or timeless when viewed from an elderly person's point of view. Two levels of stativity would thus be marked here, one a temporary stativity marked by meN- as opposed to a longer lasting state marked by ber-.

A more serious problem for the ber- as stative marking and di-/meN- as event function marking analysis is that there exist many ber- motion or action verbs. I will list a few as in examples (25) - (28), and leave the question open as to how a stative function analysis could be preserved for ber-:

- (25) Saya ber-lari ke pasar kemarin.
'I ran to the market yesterday.'
- (26) Saudara akan ber-jalan ke rumah saya besok.
'You will walk to my house tomorrow.'
- (27) Mereka sedang ber-belanja sekarang.
'They are shopping now.'
- (28) Baru saja dia ber-henti.
'He just stopped.'

There is also some residue of meN- occurring in what appears to be functionally stative clauses. I repeat (24a) here and add a few more to the list:

- (24a) Saya me-rasa sakit.
'I feel sick.'

- (29) Rupa-nya, wanita itu mengantuk.
'Apparently, that woman is sleepy.'

- (30) Bapaknya meng-anggur tahun ini.
'His father is out of work this year.'

Perhaps Samsuri's suggestion that there may be contrasting levels of stativity is a fruitful road to research with meN- statives.

In summary then, it appears that the majority of meN- and di- forms are functionally active while the majority of ber- forms are functionally stative. However, there is a significant residue of ber- forms which are used in functionally active clauses, and a somewhat smaller corpus of examples of meN- forms that are stative, to some degree at least.

SEMANTIC CASE ROLE ANALYSIS

In this final section I argue that a meN- or a di- prefix on a verb with no other affixes indicates that there is an entity in the clause that is semantically coded as patient or experiencer. I argue that the agent in such clauses is actually more dispensable than the patient/experiencer. My arguments for the above are based on intransitive meN- clauses and di- clauses where these prefixes are the only affix on the verb.

Secondly, I argue that ber- provides us with less certain semantic case role information. The single argument of ber- marked clauses may be agent, as in (25) - (28), or patient, as in (22a), or semantically of mixed case, as is the case in reciprocals where each participant is semantically both an agent and a patient. Even in examples such as (3) where we seem to have both an agent and a patient which are separately distinguishable for case roles (Dia ber-tanam padi. / 'He plants rice [+generic]'); I argue that case role information is backgrounded informationally as what seems to be important in (3) is a general description of the man in question not a statement about his participation in some local event. I suspect that the lack of syntactic prominence for the patient entity in sentences like (3) (i.e. it cannot be moved or quantified) correlates with the fact that the case role of patient is presupposed and not asserted informationally. Thus, I argue that whether or not the patient entity in a clause is syntactically prominent correlates with whether or not case role information is primary in the clause; when the patient entity lacks such prominence as in (3) case role information (although clear) seems to be backgrounded to some other clausal function such as characterizing an individual beyond a particular event.

Let us first look at single argument meN- and di- clauses where these affixes are the only affix on the verb. Sentences (16) - (21) are a fair sampling of intransitive meN- clauses. It seems to be the case that of these examples only (19) is not clearly a patient or experiencer in its case role. In none of these examples is an agent referentially recoverable. The generalization that I am claiming here is that with regard to intransitive meN- clauses, the single argument more often than not is patient/experiencer rather than agent in its case role, and that this fact informs us that in Indonesian, patient is a more primacy case role category than is agent.²

It is important to note that transitive meN- clauses do not decide the issue as we cannot tell which of the two noun entities is being tokened by the meN- prefix. It is my impression

that many researchers in Indonesian have been fooled by the proximity of the agent NP to the meN- prefix in transitive clauses, and have called the meN- an "actor" indicating prefix.³ I suspect that the appellation "actor" is meant to cover the semantic case role ambiguity for the entity immediately preceding a meN- form. That is, although an entity coded for agent typically precedes a transitive meN- clause, the entity in an intransitive meN- clause is more often patient or experiencer in its case role and it too immediately precedes the meN- prefix. It seems as if there are various problems in using "actor" as a semantic case role category as it is not necessarily equivalent to agent as in (16) - (18), (20), and (21). "Actor" seems to have a wider semantic domain than do other case role categories such as Locative, Instrument, Agent, Patient, Benefactive...etc. Investigators who use "actor" as a case role category seem to mean that the actor entity is sometimes an agent and sometimes a patient or experiencer. "Actor" seems to me to be a fudge or a hedge semantically.

In my analysis of meN- I claim that meN- signals the fact that there is an entity in the clause which is semantically patient or experiencer⁴ although that entity need not come immediately before the meN-. Thus I make no claims about word order in terms of where that entity will be located.

Now, the claim I make is testable. We have only to look at intransitive meN- clauses to decide the issue. Transitive meN- clauses where meN- is the only verbal affix always have a patient entity which is referentially recoverable.⁵

There is a class of intransitive meN- clauses which may be described as inchoative in that the single noun entity changes its state as a result of being impinged upon, usually by nature. Several examples follow:

- (31) Pada musim ini bunga-bunga semua-nya menguning.
'This time of year all the flowers turn yellow.'
- (32) Baju saya sudah mengering.
'My shirt has already dried.'
- (33) Laut Caribe membiru sesudah hujan.
'The Carribbean sea becomes blue after it rains.'

In these above examples we have a single entity which is patient to some natural force. Examples (16) - (21) provide us with what seems to me to be a typical sample of intransitive meN- clauses. As noted before, only (19) seems to be an exception to the generalization that the single entity in intransitive meN- clauses where meN- is the only verbal affix will be patient/experiencer in its case role.

There are other exceptions to my generalization as well. Several that I have found follow:

- (34) Saya menari.
'I dance.'⁶
- (35) Saya menyanyi.
'I sing.'
- (36) Saya melompat dari pohon kelapa itu.
'I jumped from that coconut tree.'

My claim therefore, has to be weakened as there are exceptions. Restated, I claim that where meN- is the only affix there will be without exception an entity which is patient in its case role in transitive clauses and in a majority of cases

in intransitive clauses.

It seems to me therefore that an entity whose case role is patient or experiencer more frequently co-occurs with meN- (when meN- is the unique affix) than does an entity whose case role is agent. It is in this sense that I claim that the case role of patient is morphologically more primary than is the case role of agent in Indonesian.

Where di- is the only verbal affix, there is without exception a syntactically prominent entity whose case role is patient. In fact the agent is often not recoverable, referentially.⁷ Thus, it seems that systematically, an entity whose case role is patient is more indispensable than an entity whose case role is agent where we have either a di- or a meN- as the only verbal affix.

Ber-, I argue, gives less certain case role information than does meN- or di-. We find single argument ber- motion verbs like 'run, walk, stop, swim, and shop', where the single argument seems agent in its case role. We find as well single argument ber- clauses like (22a) where the case role seems more patient like than anything else. We find as well a few generics or occupationals like (3) where we have ber- occurring in a clause with both an agent and a patient although case role information seems secondary to the fact of general characterization of the person involved. Ber- also occurs in clauses where entities are of mixed or of more than one case role semantically. Reciprocals are commonly formed by reduplicating the verb stem and suffixing an -an to the verb and prefixing the verb with ber-.⁸ A couple of examples follow:

- (37) Jon dan Mus ber-pukul-pukul-an.
'J. and M. were hitting each other.'
- (38) Anak yang dua itu ber-kejar-kejar-an.
'Those two children were chasing e.o.'

Reciprocals are heartland examples where each participating entity is both an agent and a patient with respect to the other.

Ber- is also used in simulfactive clauses (personal communication-pointed out to me by Professor Anton Moeliono) where we seem to have a sharing of the agent role; or a diffusion of responsibility among various participants as in the following two examples:

- (39) Tati dan Mustafa ber-datang-an.
'T. and M. came together.'
- (40) Kami berdua ber-jual-an sayur-sayur-an di pasar kemarin.
'We two sold vegetables at the market yesterday.'

Ber-, I argue, is a question raiser in terms of case role information. Its presence in a clause tells us something like 'suspend judgement' as to what case role relationships will obtain.

It is interesting to note that while the verbal suffix -i may occur with both meN- and di-, it can never co-occur with ber-. Ber- seems to deny morphological elaboration of case role information and this particular co-occurrence constraint seems to bear witness to this fact. MeN- and di-, on the other hand, function to foreground or assert case role information.

From a cursory examination of old Malay texts such as the Hikajat Petani, now being worked on by Danielo Ajamiseba at Michigan, and sections from Warisan Prosa Klasik I have found a tendency that ber- verbs come most frequently in the

beginning of the text. Generics, existentials and statives abound in the beginning of such texts. It is as if ber- serves the function of populating the world in these texts, setting out the actors or characterizing them in some general way so that later in the text they may participate in specific or time bound events more fully elaborated by meN- and di- verbs. Thus, if this road of investigation bears any fruit, it would appear that not only is case role information being promentized by meN- and di- but not by ber-, but that the use of these prefixes correlate with different text strategies as well; the ber- indexing the script or ballpark of discourse⁹, and the meN- and di- marking the instantiation of the script in some specific event.

SUMMARY OF ALL THREE ANALYSES ALA GOLDBLOCKS

A. Transitive/Intransitive analysis: hypothesis plus short discussion

1. meN- signals transitivity (i.e. at least two syntactically prominent entities.)
2. di- and other passive forms are derivationally related to meN- forms
3. ber- signals intransitivity

Discussion:

While it is true that ber- occurs in intransitives only whether underlying or derived, it is not true that meN- occurs only in transitives. In fact, there is a considerable residue of intransitive meN- forms.

There are several problems involved in relating the several passive forms in Indonesian to meN- derivationally: (a) di- and the other passives occur much more frequently than do passive structures in English; this raises the problem of derivational primacy. (b) There is often non-equivalence truth conditionally between the various passives and the meN- form of the same verb as various levels of agentivity seem to be distinguished morphologically in the passive forms but not in the meN- or 'active form'. (c) Word order evidence often fails to distinguish di- form from meN- forms; for example, a di- clause as in (15) may have a preceding agent and a logical direct object which follows the verb, as is the case with meN- verbs normally.

B. Stative/Active¹⁰ analysis: hypothesis plus short discussion

1. meN-/di- Both meN- and di- signal event or action focuses
2. ber- signals stativity

Discussion:

While it is true that most meN- and di- forms occur in functionally active clauses, there is some residue of meN- forms which appear in functionally stative clauses. Perhaps, Samsuri's suggestion that meN- marked statives may contrast with ber- statives; meN- indicating a more temporary stativity than ber- statives may bear fruit. This area remains to be researched in greater detail. Now, while ber- often occurs in functionally stative clauses there is a considerable residue of ber- action or motion verbs such as 'walking (ber-jalan)', 'running (ber-lari)', 'swimming (berenang)', etc.

C. Semantic case role analysis: hypothesis plus short discussion

1. both meN- and di- when only affix, signal patient/experi-

encer's presence in the clause. That entity is syntactically prominent.

2. ber- backgrounds case role information. Case role information cannot be predicted when ber- occurs.

Discussion:

In transitive meN- or di- clauses there is without exception a syntactically prominent patient/experiencer entity when meN- or di- is the only affix. In intransitive meN- clauses there is in a majority of cases a patient/experiencer entity when meN- is the only affix. If we assume that meN- marks the presence of an agent in the clause we will have a much larger residue of intransitive patient only clauses than if we assume that meN- marks a patient's presence. If we argue that meN- marks transitivity we will also have a much larger residue than if we assume a patient signalling function for meN-. This paper argues for the case role analysis based only on its having a smaller residue than either of the other two analyses discussed.

Ber- clauses seem not to be constrained by particular case role requirements. We find agent only clauses (such as 'walk, swim, run...etc. '), and patient only clauses (such as 'painted'...). We find as well ber- marked generics or occupationals where we have both an agent and a patient in the clause although the patient is generic. It is suggested that the lack of syntactic prominence for the patient entity in ber- marked clauses (i.e. it cannot be passivized, topicalized, or quantified) correlates with the fact that case role information is of a secondary nature in such clauses (i.e. 'backgrounded')¹¹.

While meN- and di- may co-occur with the -i suffix ber- may not. This co-occurrence constraint suggests that ber- seems to deny a morphological elaboration of case role information while meN- and di- do not.

It is suggested that meN-, di- and ber- may have served textual functions in the classical Malay system. Ber- seems to occur most frequently at the very beginning of texts and meN- and di- come later only after the text has first been contextualized. It is suggested that ber- may have had the textual function of 'setting the stage', or of 'populating the world' meN- and di- coming later on in the text their functions being to elaborate or instantiate the general 'script' information first introduced by ber- verbs.

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NOTES

1. One fact supporting a Transitive/Intransitive analysis with meN- marking transitivity is that in Imperatives transitive verbs lose the meN- prefix while intransitive verbs retain it. This fact was originally pointed out to me by Sandra Chung and John Verhaar.

2. My point here is that patient/experiencer is morphologically more primary than is agent. I base this generali-

zation for Indonesian on the fact that in di- clauses (where di- is the only affix) an entity whose case role is patient is obligatory where the agent is not, and in meN- clauses (where meN- is the only affix) a patient/experiencer is statistically present more of the time than is an agent.

3. Michael Thomas in his papers for both The Second International Austronesian Conference (held in Ann Arbor in May, 1976) and the Hawaii L.S.A. Austronesian Symposium (August, 1977) equates meN- to 'Actor Focus', by which he seems to mean sometimes agent and sometimes experiencer.

The tradition of using the term "Actor Focus" to designate a semantic/case role category is not original with M. Thomas. Philippine Linguists have traditionally referred to the Mag-/Nag-, and -um- affixes as "Actor Focus" affixes. The Philippine Linguists Paz Naylor, Otnes...etc.) have also intended the term to cover both agents and experiencers.

4. In meN- transitive clauses the patient typically follows the verb assuming no -kan nor -i suffix, and in meN- intransitives the patient/experiencer typically precedes the verb.

5. In normal conversation (i.e. not elicited sentences) there are data such as saya me-mukul 'I hit...' where although an object or patient of the 'hitting' is not mentioned it is known to both participants in the conversation. So, in a conversation which began with the question 'Who was hitting that guy?' the answer 'I hit' becomes contextualized and therefore understandable even without the patient on the surface. The point here is, however, that even in such cases as these, the patient is referentially recoverable.

6. John Grima here at the University of Michigan tells me that in Thai languages the verbs 'sing', and 'dance', are transitive. So we have Thai sentences which are of the form 'sing a song', and 'dance a dance'. It is remotely possible that such was the form in Malay at some earlier period but I have not found any evidence for this as yet.

7. There are many examples of di- sentences where the agent is not recoverable. An analogous example from English: 'Apparently, this cake was eaten', has no recoverable agent referentially, although some agent is abstractly needed.

8. There is a second strategy for forming reciprocals which seems to have less general application. This other reciprocal strategy has a reduplicated verb stem with a meN- prefix on the second half. One example follows:

- (i) Saya dan dia surat-me-nyurat.
'He and I write letters to each other.'

I have no particular insights to share regarding the 'V meN- V' reciprocal forming strategy and would welcome comments on this form.

9. These observations about ber-/meN- and di- as serving textual functions is offered tentatively here. Thorough research on this question remains to be done.

10. Professor Anton Moeliono informs me that Samsuri himself does not use the contrast 'Active/Stative', but rather 'Transient/Stative'. Since I am not debating the relative merits of one term with the other here I have nothing to say about this difference in terms. I assume the difference in

terms here is not crucial to any of the arguments discussed.

11. Talmy Givon has argued in various articles that SVO is a preferred word order in languages which lack case marking systems. His point is that word order often assumes the burden of keeping case role information clear when case marking systems fall apart. We note that in the English sentence,

- (ii) 'He's a rice-planter.'

normal English word order which has objects following verbs is suspended just in case the object is generic in import. We note that the incorporated object in (ii) is inaccessible to various syntactic operations such as clefting, relativization, and passive. I argue that in such cases as (ii) represent the normal English word order which functions to keep case role information clear is suspended just in those cases where case role information is not being asserted; that is, case role information is already clear in (ii). The point of (ii) is to characterize this person beyond a particular event just as (3) does in Indonesian. In both the Indonesian and the English examples of Object incorporation there is a lack of syntactic prominence for the object NP which corresponds to a generic sense to the utterance.

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Michael R. Thomas

1. Introduction

In a previous discussion of the Indonesian focus system (Thomas 1977) it was shown that the transitive sentences in this language may be divided into four overtly marked types - Actor Focus (AF), Goal Focus (GF), Referent Focus (RF), and Instrument Focus (IF) according to the following verbal affixes:

<u>meN</u> + verb	AF
<u>di</u> + verb	GF
<u>i</u> + verb	RF
<u>kan</u> + verb	IF

1.1. Focus, as used here, is a sentence level, overt marking system whereby the predicate undergoes derivational affixation to specify one of a restricted number of semantically based facets of the happening. Typically, Indoeuropean speakers tend to subdivide (on the basis of supposedly universal semantic considerations) each overtly marked facet, or focus, into additional unmarked 'categories'. These commonly include: actor/agent, goal/object/patient, temporal/spatial specificity, and instrument/motivation/beneficiary/etc., etc. Since these subdivisions are not overtly marked in Austronesian languages they are, strictly speaking, not syntactic features and for that reason will not be considered a functional part of the focus system, whether or not they do exist on a 'deeper' level. Additionally, the focus process itself involves neither topicalization¹ nor emphasis, but the establishment of an equational relationship between the focused verb and one of its associated NP's. Thus, focal elements do not simply assign a syntacto-semantic role to the in-focus (equated) NP, as is true for case markers, they specify the semantic orientation of the VP-NP pair that have been syntactically equated. In light of the foregoing, let us examine the following Indonesian sentences.

- (1) Heru men-(t)ulis-Ø surat kepada Muti.
 AF Heru AF write GF letter to Muti
 'Heru wrote a letter to Muti.'
- (2) Heru men-(t)ulis-i buku Muti.
 AF Heru AF write RF book Muti
 'Heru scribbled in Muti's book.'
- (3) Heru men-(t)ulis-kan surat untuk Muti.
 AF Heru AF write IF letter for Muti
 'Heru wrote a letter on behalf of Muti.'

Sentences (1), (2), and (3) are actor focus examples in which, as in most cases, attention has been drawn to the in-focus NP (Heru) by preposing. As will be seen in further examples, the in-focus NP need not necessarily be the one which is emphasized or topicalized through some other syntactic device such as preposing. Additionally, it is seen that Indonesian has a dual or secondary focus capability for AF sentences, in which non-Actor Focus (-AF) NP's are indicated

by the simultaneous use of one of the -AF suffixes. This double focus marking seems rather rare in terms of the system's characteristics in other Austronesian languages, and may indicate recent change from the more common and more symmetrical systems such as are found on Taiwan and in the Philippines (compare Ferrell 1974, and Naylor 1975).

Indonesian's non-Actor Focus sentences reveal a different pattern, as shown below.

- (4) Surat itu di- tulis -Ø (oleh) Heru kepada Muti.
 GF letter that -AF write GF by Heru to Muti
 'The letter was written by Heru to Muti.'
- (5) Buku Muti di- tulis -i (oleh) Heru
 RF book Muti -AF write RF by Heru
 'Muti's book was scribbled in by Heru.'
- (6) Surat itu di- tulis -kan (oleh) Heru untuk Muti.
 IF letter that -AF write IF by Heru for Muti
 'The letter was written by Heru on behalf of Muti.'

In the above -AF sentences attention is drawn to the in-focus NP's 'book' and 'letter' through preposing, as is true of the actor NP in examples (1), (2), and (3). The prefix di- has replaced the +AF affix, and the exact orientation of the VP-NP pair is specified by the verbal suffix.

It will be noted by those familiar with other focus languages that the construction markers (sometimes erroneously referred to as case marking particles) which normally distinguish in-focus from non-focal NP's are lacking in Indonesian. While non-focal NP's may be identified when used in prepositional phrases, the situation is quite different from one in which each NP is regularly marked, and necessitates heavier reliance on context for identification of the in-focus noun phrase. Indonesian may be in the process of compensating for this lack of overt construction markers, however, by the increasingly common use of verb stems such as oleh dan untuk in extended senses directly analogous to Indoeuropean prepositions. This usage in turn tends to obscure the basic focus organization and lead some investigators to force Indonesian's focus-based verbal system into a case mold.

With the foregoing as an introduction to the regular appearance of the focus system, the remainder of this study will be concerned with sentences which do not conform to the above pattern with regard to the affixation of transitive verbs. Specifically, this paper will examine sentences in which the verb is not prefixed to show +AF or -AF.

2. Focus and Unmarked Verbs

- (7) Anjing itu Arman panggil.
 dog that Arman call
 'Arman called the dog.' or
 'The dog was called by Arman.'

In (7) anjing has been preposed for emphasis, but since the verbal prefix is lacking it has been previously considered debatable whether it is also the in-focus NP.² In transformational terms, that is, the question asked here is whether sentences such as (7) are derived from type (8) or type (9)

below.

- (8) Arman mem-(p)anggil-Ø anjing itu.
AF Arman AF call GF dog that
'Arman called the dog.'
- (9) Anjing itu di-panggil-Ø (oleh) Arman.
GF dog that -AF call GF by Arman
'The dog was called by Arman.'

This question may be resolved through an examination of the verbal prefix di- and additional transitive sentences in which the verb is not marked by the +AF prefix, meN-.

2.1. It has long been noted that the Indonesian languages typically have both full and short forms for the pronouns (e.g. Brandstetter 1916). The full forms are in most cases used independently, while the short forms are often bound as either prefixes or suffixes to the verb. Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia) itself, however, is conspicuous for there no longer being a productive short, prefixed form of the third person singular (3sg) dia. Based on the internal evidence that the di- prefix is restricted overwhelmingly to use in sentences couched in third person, and on the comparative evidence that in many Indonesian languages, such as the Lampung dialect (Haaksma 1933) and many Sulawesi languages (John Wolff, personal communication) a short form of the 3sg pronoun still exists as a verbal prefix, it has been at least the implicit assumption of several scholars that the di- prefix in Bahasa Indonesia has developed from the full form dia although the connection is no longer recognized by native speakers.³ If this is correct, an interesting pattern develops when a comparison is made between -AF sentences such as (4), (5), and (6), and those of the type shown below.

- (10) Tali ku- potong-Ø dengan pisau.
rope 1sg cut GF with knife
'The rope was cut by me with a knife.' or
'I cut the rope with a knife.'
- (11) Ku- lihat-Ø Anjing Hitam ber- lari ke-
1sg see GF dog black stat. run prep.
luar, di- kejar -Ø oleh Kapten Flint.
out 3sg chase GF by captain Flint
'I saw Black Dog running out, chased by Captain Flint.' or
'Black Dog was seen by me running out, chased by Captain Flint.'
- (12) Akan kau kejut -kan dia.
will 2sg startle IF 3sg
'You will startle him.' or
'He will be startled by you.'

It will be noticed that sentence (10) above bears a striking resemblance to (9) in that the 'object' has again been preposed, and a pronoun is serving as the verbal prefix. In (9) it is the 3sg dia, and in (10) it is the first person pronoun aku. Since it has been shown that (9), in which the 'dog' is the 'called', is the Goal Focus equivalent of AF (8), in which 'Arman' is the 'caller', it is suggested that (10) is also non-Actor Focus, differing from (13) in person only.

- (13) Tali di- potong-Ø dengan pisau.
rope 3sg cut GF with knife
'The rope was cut with a knife.'

In sentence (11) it is seen that the in-focus NP is not necessarily the NP to which attention is drawn, since 'Black Dog' has not been preposed. Thus, the difference in sentences (10) and (11) is not one of focus, but one of emphasis. That this de-emphasis of the focal NP is not only possible in sentences in which the verb is prefixed by the first person pronoun, but also occurs when the third person pronoun is used is shown in (14) where 'debt' follows the verb.

- (14) Akan di- bayar-Ø dengan apa hutang-mu?
will 3sg pay GF with what debt 2sg poss.
'With what will your debt be paid?'

In light of the foregoing, it seems likely that the prefixed forms of the first and third person pronouns serve as non-focal actors, while their independent counterparts, saya or aku, and dia may function as focal actor NP's in a way which is analogous to their use in other Austronesian languages.

2.2. For consideration of the second person cases lacking the meN- prefix, we now refer to sentence (12). Here, a form of the second person pronoun (engkau) has been used in a way seemingly identical to the first and third person examples in section 2.1. If kau is also considered non-focal in (12), then can it be said to act as a bound form as in the case of the first and third person pronouns? If kau is being used as a bound form then it should not allow intercession between itself and the unmarked verb to which it is attached, as is true for the prefixed pronouns. From an examination of sentence (15) we see, in fact, that its separation results in only a marginally acceptable sentence (there may be exceptions to this non-insertion rule, however, as will be seen in the summary).

- *Kau akan kejut -kan dia.
2sg will startle IF him

The picture emerging from this analysis is that there exist bound forms of the Indonesian pronouns which when prefixed to the transitive verb indicate that the actor is not in a focal relationship. In other words, the prefix di- is not THE non-actor focus marker, as it was previously described, because there is no '-AF marker.' Di- is simply one of several pronouns which when prefixed to the verb indicate that the actor is not focused. It does differ from the other forms, however, in being used automatically, and redundantly, when no other bound pronoun occurs or is appropriate. It is this tendency to place the non-focal actor in third person, as well as the fact that di- prefix is no longer recognized as a short form of the 3sg dia by native speakers, which led to the erroneous identification of di- as the non-Actor Focus marker.

With this in mind, we may now ask whether Arman in sentence (7) behaves as a bound form, as does the pronoun in sentence (9), or an independent form, as in (8). If it is a bound form then its position immediately before the verb should be obligatory, which may be tested as was kau in (12) and (15). Indeed, as with kau, Arman may not be separated from the unprefixed verb, as is shown by the unacceptability of (16).

- *(16) Anjing itu Arman akan panggil-Ø
dog that Arman will call GF

The conclusion of this analysis is, therefore, that sentence (7) is derived from -AF sentence (9) in which the third person pronoun prefix di- has been supplanted by Arman, with

the non-focal actor NP in both cases bound to the verb. The Indonesian Focus System, then, may be outlined as follows: in Actor Focus sentences the position of the pronoun may vary, depending on the desired emphasis, but the verb must be marked with the +AF prefix meN-; in GF, RF, and IF sentences the non-focal actor (personal pronoun or name) is bound to the verb, whether or not it is currently recognized as a prefix, and any variation in its position results in an ungrammatical expression.

3. Summary

The type of sentence analysed in this paper, that is, one without the obvious focus trappings of more common forms, has hindered exploration of the semantic aspects of its use by Indonesian speakers. Even those who cling tenaciously to the dichotomous classification of Indonesian sentences according to the Indoeuropean active and passive model have had considerable difficulty in dealing with this type. Tchekhoff's conclusion that sentences such as (7) are neutral as to voice was itself, I believe, motivated by this dissatisfaction with the previous active/passive descriptions (Tchekhoff 1977). Faced with such a choice for the above constructions she concluded on the basis of semantic considerations that they were neither active nor passive. While I agree with her position on the inadequacy of the earlier model, I do not agree that investigation must remain in the semantic realm because of insufficient syntactic evidence to evaluate the verb phrase-noun phrase relationships in these sentences. That these relationships are discernable syntactically has, I believe, been amply demonstrated here.

3.1. A second area in which a focus analysis of this sentence type has the potential for greater explanatory power is in terms of the different volitional connotations in sentences with and without the +AF prefix. It has been noted by Indonesian speakers that there are different implications for (17) and (18) below, which I have tried to reflect in the glosses.

(17) Dia nggak lihat-Ø.
3sg not see GF
'He did not happen to see (it).'

(18) Dia nggak me-lihat-Ø.
3sg not AF see GF
'He could not see (it).'

It seems clear that in light of the preceding analysis the non-volitional connotation of (17) is due to its being in Goal Focus rather than in Actor Focus, as is (18). It is quite consistent that AF sentences should carry volitional implications while their -AF counterparts could remain non-specific in terms of volition.⁴

3.2. It should also be pointed out that the analysis of this sentence type in a focus framework may necessitate a revision of our concepts of Indonesian "grammatical errors". The cases which come to mind are those described by Becker (1977) for example, as those in which the meN- prefix has been lost. These cases may in fact not be errors because of the prefix's deletion, but rather the bound form of the pronoun may have been used with an unprefix verb in a sentence in which the actor is not focal. The "error" in this construction may really be the intercession of a modifier or auxiliary between a bound actor and its verb.

*(19) Aku akan pukul-Ø ular itu.
1sg will hit GF snake that
'I will hit the snake.' or
'The snake will be hit by me.'

Thus, (19) is not an incorrect statement of the Actor Focus sentence Aku akan memukul ular itu, but of the Goal Focus sentence Akan kupukul ular itu in which a modifier, 'will', has been incorrectly inserted between a bound form of the pronoun and the verb. A possibility that should be explored at more length, however, is that a small class of words including modifiers such as 'will' above and perhaps negatives as in (17), existed which could be placed between a bound actor and its unprefix verb, so that (19) is, or was at one time, a perfectly acceptable GF sentence. The fact that it may now be considered an error may be the result of hyper-correction.

3.3. In conclusion, it is through the use of the focus system as an organizational framework for a transformational analysis that semantic problems of voice, aspect, volition, and grammatical errors may be approached most fruitfully. Our insights into Austronesian languages will be greatly enhanced if the basis for our work is a coherent and systematic study of their overt syntactic systems. It is from the concreteness of syntax that the much needed naturalness constraints must come if our conclusions are to escape the level of truisms.

FOOTNOTES

1. For an examination of the distinctions between topic and focus in Ilocano, see Schwartz (1976).
2. Claudie Tchekhoff has commented perceptively on aspects of this construction in a previous paper (Tchekhoff 1977).
3. There is some discussion of the universality of this tendency for pronouns to become cliticized to the verb in Givón (1976).
4. I thank John Wolff for pointing this out, and have used his examples as sentences (17) and (18).

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John W. M. Verhaar

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 recognised 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, kehujanan, 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

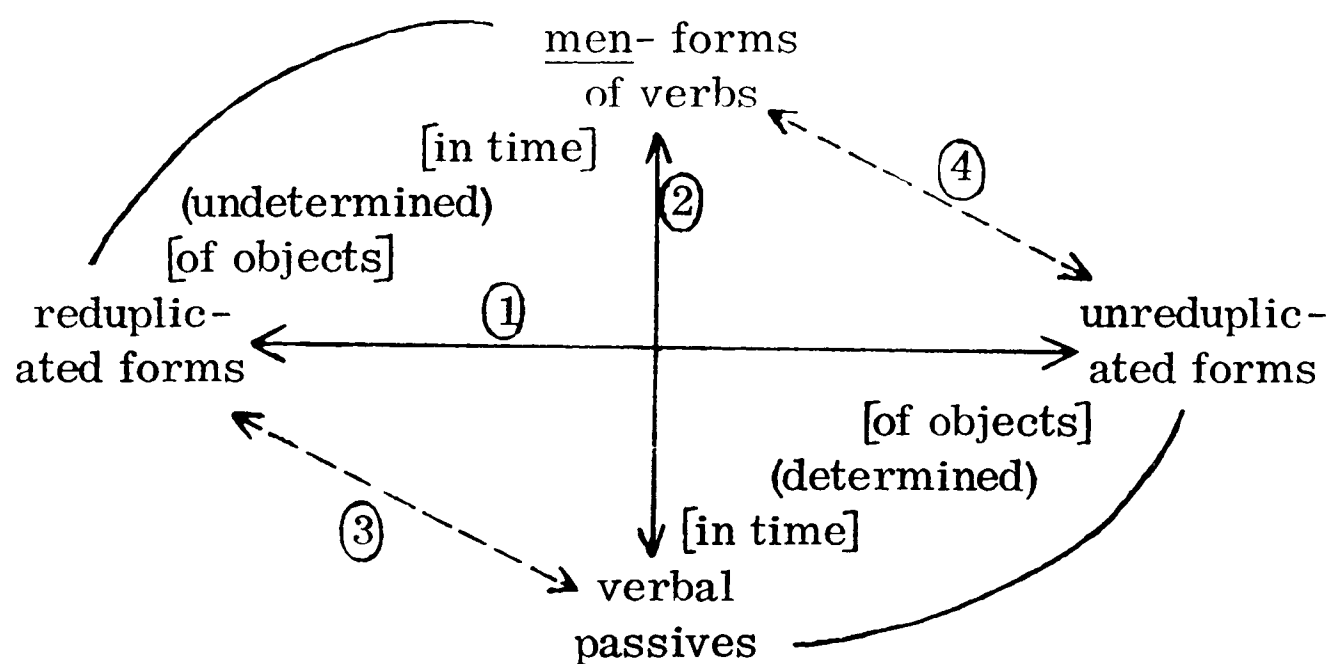
An interesting feature is the di- passive without a following agentive constituent where we evidently do not have the kind of "impersonal" passive in which the agent is irrelevant. The agent has then been mentioned before. For example Dikiranya betul (where -nya is anaphoric) may be paraphrased as Dikira 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 memakan-nya 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-categorical" (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-categorical 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: Mendekatkan!, 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 tertancap/menancap, terjulur/menjulur, 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 postponed, 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.

(Diagram, see page 15)

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.

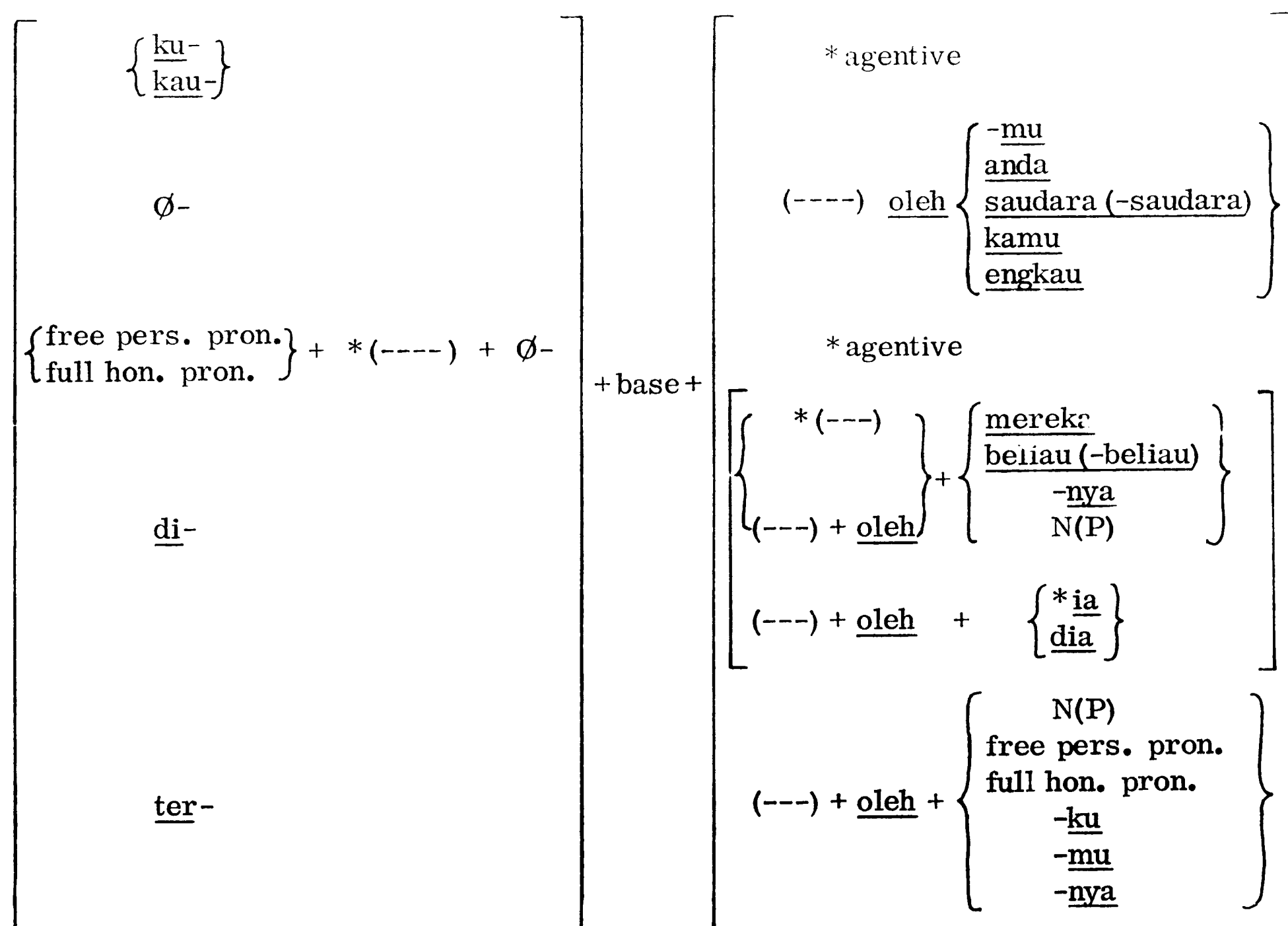
Some generalizations have had to be broken up, because of complications in conflating the rule, e.g. the optionality of oleh after di- passives. I am not sure whether the reduplicated forms of pronouns are exhaustively presented (cf. depreciative saya-saya).

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 mencari 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 ver-voegde 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 bupatinya), 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 olehMu (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 dicarikan 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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Stephanus Djawanai

I. Introduction

The focus of the present effort is to analyze the ways speakers of Nga'da establish interpersonal relationships in discourse. I am using the term discourse in its narrow sense, that is, speech or oral communication. The theoretical background of this study is, to some extent, based on works done by C. Geertz, David G. Hays, R. Brown and A. Gilman, and Charles Pyle.

Geertz, in his essay "Person, Time, and Conduct in Bali" (1973), maintains that people everywhere have developed symbolic structures in terms of which persons are perceived as representatives of certain distinct categories of individuals. In other words, every individual has his own place within the social system to which he belongs, and this practice is socially determined and maintained. This is true among the Nga'da people who, according to my observation, distinguish persons and map them within the social system with respect to age, caste, as well as social status. Hays (1973) asserts that language is a vehicle of socialization, of group solidarity, of tension release, of psychotherapy, and of love, which is in fact what conversation is all about. He further claims that a conversation is an interchange of remarks within a social setting that gives each participant a role as well as a status. Hays' ideas fit perfectly with the subject of the present study concerning a verbal interaction in Nga'da whose ultimate purpose is to mend a breach among family members and in which each participant plays some role and is given a status with which to analyze others involved in a family dispute. Brown and Gilman (1960) observe that, in a conversation, a speaker may express his transient moods and attitudes towards his audience by varying his pronoun style. The notion holds true in Nga'da as we will see in the discussion where, judging from the choice of pronouns, one could interpret and even predict the emotions and attitudes a speaker has towards his audience. One could judge whether the speaker considers his addressee as superior, inferior, equal, intimate, or as distant. Pyle, in his paper called "Pragmatics" (1975), regards metaphor as a deviant use of language since it is not meant to be taken literally. He also sees metaphor as a language device manipulated to gain respect, credibility, or advantage over other people. As will be shown in the discussion, the conversation in Nga'da is strewn with metaphors which can be considered as "clichés" in the language since they have been used time and again. However, one must also consider that metaphors are an essential device in language whereby people express themselves. Despite their constant use, metaphors in Nga'da have a unique function of preserving knowledge as Nga'da remains an oral tradition even up to the present moment. Like other oral traditions, Nga'da relies heavily on simple, stereotypic, and formulaic expressions that can easily be memorized and hence handed down from generation to generation, and metaphors constitute one particular kind of them. Furthermore, as Charlotte Linde (to appear)² puts it, an individual having a high social status tends to use more metaphors than those lower in status. This is also true in Nga'da.

I hope to show in this paper that in Nga'da, the interpersonal relationships of individuals involved in a conversation may be interpreted and explained in terms of the language

they use, especially, in the manipulation of pronouns, honorifics, verbs that mean 'to speak', and metaphors. The attitudes of the participants to one another, as well as to the subject-matter of the verbal interaction, and their statuses could be defined by observing the way they interact. While the conversation builds up, the interpersonal relationships between the speakers develop and are finally established based on their respective statuses.

The material used for this study is part of a thirty-minute recording of an actual conversation in Nga'da, taped in its natural setting. The main topic of the conversation is an attempt to solve a family dispute over an inheritance in the form of land. The term "family" is to be understood as "extended family" in that it is not applied exclusively to immediate-family ("nuclear family") members only. The family-talk which pretty much resembles an "arbitration" is initiated by the disputants in an attempt to solve a problem concerning shares of the inheritance before they go to court to get a written certificate of ownership; besides, they also want to decide about whether or not to sue a neighbor with whom two of the family members have a dispute over land boundaries.

It is a common practice among the Nga'da people to try to settle disputes over inheritance among family members before bringing the case to an official village court. Several cases resolved in a village court are reported by Arndt (1954)³. If the dispute can be solved in accordance with the customary laws within the family, or in a village court, the case is regarded settled and there is no need to go to a higher court. Then, government officials are asked to register and certify in writing ownership of land with its boundaries. However, if an agreement cannot be reached, the case may be brought to a higher court where it will be solved in accordance with both the customary laws of Nga'da and the constitutional laws of the country (Indonesia). Usually, in this type of family meeting advisors are invited to help solve the problem. The advisors are normally village elders who are knowledgeable about the customary laws. This kind of situation where the disputants gather and invite advisors as well as witnesses to dine with them before talking about a family problem is very common. This practice, in my opinion, reflects some kind of democracy in the villages which survives the changes of the social system of Nga'da. The most significant changes resulted from the introduction of the tradition of Kings in 1907 by the Dutch,⁴ and from the new constitution of Indonesia when it became independent in 1945. Such a meeting is usually held in the evening and while people talk, palm-wine is served.

The participants of the conversation can be classified into three groups, namely,

A. Advisors

These people are the village elders or current government officials who are knowledgeable about the customary laws concerning inheritance as well as the government regulations concerning land-ownership and taxes.⁵

1. JD, the current village chief.
2. PM, the former village chief.

3. HN, the former chief of the district.⁶

[When the conversation took place HN was a member of the People's Council of the regency of Nga'da.]

4. WS, acting as a counselor of N. WS is probably an in-law of N by marriage.

B. Witnesses

These are people who are knowledgeable about the kinship relationship of the disputants as well as the inheritance. Older people are considered the best witnesses since they have possibly had direct experiences about a certain village affair and they are the preservers of knowledge about the people and the village.

5. UV, an old lady who knows about the "family-tree" or kinship relationship of the disputants, the shares of the inheritance, and the land boundaries. UV is a distant relative of the disputants by marriage.
6. Gi, a distant relative of the disputants who is also knowledgeable about the shares of the inheritance as well as the land boundaries.

C. Disputants

These are members of an "extended" family who have two problems to be resolved, that is, N's claim for his share of the family land, and whether or not as a family they agree to sue V concerning land boundaries.

7. G, the oldest in the family who is in charge of the inheritance, in this particular case, land.⁷
8. B, a younger brother of G.
9. N, a cousin of G and B who feels unfairly treated by G. He is now claiming his share of the family land.
10. T and Na (husband and wife), cousins to G and B as well as to N. T and Na have a dispute over land boundaries with V who is probably a neighbor. V is not invited to the meeting as he is not a member of the "extended" family.

There are other people present at the meeting but they are hard to identify. Most likely they are all members of the "extended" family of the disputants. Some comment about the importance of witnesses is, I think, necessary at this point. Witnesses are a very important factor in Nga'da customary laws and culture since there are no written records about land-ownership or "family-trees", that is, kinship relationships. Moreover, there is no written code of the customary laws.

The family meeting described here is not a village court but rather an "arbitration" because it is the disputants themselves who take the initiatives and not the village chief and elders; however, the presence of the village chief, advisors, and witnesses makes the meeting a little bit formal and yet retains the informal atmosphere of a family meeting.

II. Relationships established

In an attempt to define the relationships of the participants of this conversation, I begin with an assumption that language can be used to negotiate relationships as it is a common practice that people who engage in a verbal interaction put themselves in their appropriate places in relation to one another. To put it in another way, where am "I" or where do "I" fit in the "social map" of a particular interaction. As I mentioned earlier in the introduction, the status of a speaker is socially determined by age, caste, and social standing and within

these categories a speaker must, according to Nga'da tradition, put himself with respect to his interlocutor. However, negotiation of relationships is still possible in that one may, despite the difference in age, caste, etc., view his interlocutor or addressee as superior, inferior, equal, intimate, or distant, although a choice in matters like these is normally available only for those having a high social status.

In Nga'da, and I suspect in other sub-cultures of Indonesia as well, the defining and establishing of relationships before people talk "business", as opposed to "small-talk", is an important introductory part of a conversation. Very often the introduction is lengthy and unclear, and, to foreigners particularly, it can be very confusing as the talk usually goes round and round before hitting the heart of the problem or the intention of the speaker. Sometimes the intention is even left unsaid and the addressee, to his bewilderment, has to infer or guess as to what the speaker is trying to say. This can only be understood if one considers the introductory part as a way a speaker of Nga'da attempts to "define" his relationship with another individual. The content of this part of the conversation may not be important; what is important is the acknowledgement of a good relationship. If the relationship is good, then, the speaker will make it clear as to the purpose of the conversation or the intention of a particular encounter. It is also worth mentioning that in a small community like Nga'da the relationship is always perceived as long-termed since mobility is low and everybody knows everybody else in a village.⁸

Below is the discussion of the conversation. For practical purposes, the data, gloss, and free translation are given in three lines: line 1 is the Nga'da utterance, line 2 is the gloss or the grammatical category if a gloss cannot be given,⁹ and line 3 is a free translation of the whole utterance. I must also add that due to the limitation on the length of this paper, I am not including the complete text of the conversation; instead, I quote sample sentences which I think best illustrate the core of the conversation. While to give a "real" feeling about the conversation I am including the phonemic transcription of the first three minutes of the interaction in the appendix.

- (1) JD : Na?u Pegho ne?e Langa Pegho na
Na?u Pegho and/with Langa Pegho POINTER
vi mogo ; ?io ?
 IRREALIS together TAG
 'Na?u Pegho and Langa Pegho [both personal names, male or female] are from the same family, right?'

- (2) G : e?e ngata ka?e ne?e
 yes they-respectful older-sibling and/with
azi.
 younger-sibling
 'Yes, they were sisters.' [They are both dead now.]

- (3) JD : miu vi na?a ngia sei di ?
 you-pl IRREALIS keep face/place who this
 'Whose place do you keep' ('Who begot you?')

As expected by the Nga'da people, the village chief, due to his social status, is given the privilege to open the discussion. He starts with a statement (1), which is in point of fact meant to be a question directed to the disputants. Notice that the tag-question is rhetorical since JD knows that what he states is the case. G's answer in (2) acknowledges the fact

that Na?u Pegho and Langa Pegho were sisters, and in (3) JD pursues the question further asking G and supposedly all of the disputants as to where their places are with respect to the two ancestors. JD's utterances are to be viewed as an invitation to the disputants to state their relationships to Na?u Pegho and Langa Pegho and consequently to one another. This is the time for the disputants to acknowledge or re-establish their relationships to one another as members of an "extended" family. Notice also that JD, the village chief, does not proceed directly to the problem concerning inheritance or deal with N's claim for a piece of land but rather he works from what is basic in this culture, that is, the relationship of the people involved. JD seems to act in line with the general notion that when the relationship is good, half of the problem is already solved. G's answer in (2) clarifies the state of affairs. Although the lengthy description of their kinship relationship is not presented here, it is in fact the case that G and B are descendants of Na?u Pegho, while N is a descendant of Langa Pegho who was Na?u Pegho's younger sister. The land that G and B now occupy and claim to be their own is part of the inheritance bequeathed by Pegho who was the two ancestors' father.

The attitudes of the two speakers quoted above are obvious from their utterances. In (1) JD is being impersonal, like reading a line from the village record. He is detaching himself from the disputing parties and as an outsider he just opens the discussion, he himself uninvolved. He does not even use any honorifics when referring to Na?u Pegho and Langa Pegho. Normally, one would in Nga'da use the expression bbu nusi 'ancestor(s)' as an honorific, or the title mate 'the deceased' to show deference to dead people. The word bbu literally means 'grand-parent(s)', while nusi means 'great-grand-parent(s)' or refers to the generations preceding great-grand-parent(s). In (3) JD addresses the disputants with the pronoun miu 'you [plural]' without being specific. (3) is an instance of a rhetorical question where three things are asked in just one utterance, that is, what is the kinship connection between them and Na?u Pegho and Langa Pegho, how are the disputants related to each other, and through what line of descent do they claim their shares of the inheritance. G's attitude to his ancestors is different and he refers to them using the pronoun nga'a 'he/she' or 'they' in a manner which is distant and respectful. G might have chosen the pronoun emu 'they' but he did not since they were his ancestors who deserve respect.

As the disputants describe the kinship relationship, the land they inherited, as well as the land boundaries, the advisors just sit back and watch. But when N tries to present his view and the others interrupt him, HN steps forward saying

- (4) HN : molo gha miu mu
fine PERF-ASP you-pl ATT-PART
mazi.
speak/discuss
'That is fine, you all may speak.'

I suspect that one of the speakers signals to HN to give his comment concerning N's participation in the discussion as N is the youngest of them all. HN just tells them to go on with the discussion, but he also implies, using the pronoun miu 'you [plural]' that all of them need to be heard. Like JD in (3), HN is putting himself at a distance because he is an outsider and is reluctant to be involved. It is worth noting concerning interruption that in Nga'da culture only an older man or woman with a high social status may interrupt a conversa-

tion, otherwise interrupting is impolite, especially when older people are engaged in talking. People of lower status and younger like N in this particular case should wait until they are invited to speak and present their views. This is part of the reason why N invites WS to act as his counselor since WS, being older and higher in status, may interrupt on his behalf.

After watching the disputants struggle for some time about the problem of land boundaries and seeing that they get nowhere near a solution, HN steps in again, and this time taking the initiative, he speaks directly to G who is the oldest among the disputants and who is actually in charge of the bequeathed land, saying

- (5) HN : moe dia na Ga?e, ja?o mazi ne?e
like this POINTER Ga?e I speak with
kau.
you-sg
'This is the way Ga?e [personal name, male]
I'm speaking with you.'
- (6) HN : 'bee masa masa ne?e o, ne?e beli
summon all with with witness
kita na.
we-incl POINTER
'Invite all of our witnesses.'

HN proposes to bring forth witnesses who know about the bequeathed land as well as the boundaries, otherwise it would be hard to decide whether one's claim has any basis or not. HN's attitude to G is shown in using the formulaic expression moe dia na, which is a very polite way of starting an explanation. And though HN has several verbs meaning 'to speak' at his disposal, he chooses mazi which can be rendered as 'to discuss' or 'to speak'. HN regards G as an equal with whom one discusses things and does not just tell him what to do; and yet he refers to G with the pronoun kau 'you [singular]' without an honorific. But notice the shift in mood and in attitude in (6) where HN uses the pronoun kita 'we [inclusive]' to refer to G and all the disputants. Here HN, unlike in (4) and (5), puts himself as one of the parties involved in the disputes. He does not regard himself as an outsider any more, but as a "member" of the family. HN, due to his status, caste, and occupation, has a wider choice as to where to put himself in relation to the others and, as we will see later on, HN will switch back and forth from the position of an outsider and as one of the disputants, as obvious in his pronoun choice and the choice of the verbs that mean 'to speak'.

To clarify the matter concerning the kinship relationship, inheritance, and land boundaries HN invites UV, the old lady, to present her views and knowledge.

- (7) HN : ja?o vi ngede go boro miu
I IRR ask for NON-HUM mouth you-pl
uge, 'bila miu da be?o pu?u
mother like you-pl REALIS know from/base
n bumai pu?u vəngizua.
yesterday from the day-before-yesterday
'I'm asking for your advice, madam, as to
what you know about the past.'

HN, like JD, who is aware of the importance of witnesses to solve the problem, now invites the old lady, UV, to tell the meeting about what she knows. She has lived longer than anyone else present at the meeting and she is now the source of information about what happened in the past, that is, who

owned the land and what are the boundaries, as well as who inherited or inherits which piece of land. HN's deference to the old lady is manifest even in the very idea of asking for her views since nobody else has done so. Moreover, HN refers to her by using the honorific uge which literally means 'mother' but here used as an honorific or endearment term. The word uge can also be considered as 'reciprocal' terminology, as Geertz (1973) puts it, since it can be used to refer to one's daughter for example. Notice also that HN refers to UV using the pronoun miu 'you [plural]' and not kau 'you[singular]' as when he addresses G in (5). The plural pronoun is here used to mark respect; HN is addressing UV not as an individual but as representing a generation older than his own, the ascending generation, that is, of his own parents.

The old lady responds, saying

- (8) UV : 'dano mu tana ja'o mma.
 also ATT-PART ask I father
 'You ask me too, sir/son.'

Indirectly, UV thanks HN for asking her to present her views and notice how she addresses HN using the honorific mma which could also be interpreted as an endearment term; while, like uge in (7) the word mma which literally means 'father' can also be used reciprocally by father and son or by grandfather and grand-son. uge and mma can also be used as honorifics when one refers to a younger woman or man to show respect.

The old lady then describes the kinship relationship of the disputants as well as the land bequeathed to them along with the description of the boundaries. To gain credibility for her explanation UV also includes her personal history in which she describes her position as a distant relative by marriage to the disputants. She even volunteers an explanation concerning the dispute over land boundaries that T and Na have against V. Here is how it started

- (9) UV : ja'o Na'u, me Tena
 I Na'u intimate title for men Tena
bela 'bagho la'a ropi ?
 really REALIS NEG go clean garden be-

fore planting

'I said, Na'u [personal name, male or female] why doesn't Tena [personal name, male] go to clean the garden to prepare it for planting?'

- (10) UV : o, uge me Tena ro'baze'e
 mother int-title Tena tomorrow
na nanga la'a ropi.
 POINTER will go cleangarden for planting
 'Madam, T plans to go clean the garden, and make ready for planting, tomorrow.'

- (11) UV : ala lau mai na
 but/TOPIC MARKER East come POINTER
me Vuda de le
 int-title Vuda REALIS ADV- MANNER
taxa.
 insist on keeping
 'But there [near to the East] Vuda [personal name, male] insists that the garden is his.'

The quotation is interesting as in (9) UV quotes herself talking to Na, while in (10) and (11) she quotes what Na actually

said. Notice that UV refers to Na only by her name without an honorific. This gives some clue as to what her relationship to Na is. One might guess that UV is being distant or not respectful, or considers Na as inferior. In Nga'da culture one can address his interlocutor by name if both the speaker and the listener are equals and know each other intimately, or when the addressee is a relative and younger in age. In this particular instance, UV has the privilege to address Na by her name only because she is older than Na and they are distant relatives. While Na as quoted in (10) has to use an honorific (uge) when she refers to UV since she feels bound to be deferential to an old lady whether she is a relative or not. Notice also that to T (Na's husband) both UV and Na use the intimate title me, and even when referring to V with whom Na and her husband have a dispute over garden boundaries, Na is quoted as having referred to him with the honorific/intimate title me. Despite the dispute, Na still respects V as V is older than herself.

Interestingly enough it is in the middle of the conversation and not at the beginning that HN explains how he was invited by PM to attend the family meeting. HN was not directly invited by the disputing parties and so he wants to make it clear that since he is willing to come, he deserves to be heard. Notice HN's understatement in (12)

- (12) HN : ja'o naji o, Polus, kita vi
 I say Polus, we-incl IRREAL
la'a ulu zale kita mesi
 go/walk tc/head South we-incl only/if
da be'o.
 REALIS know
 'I said, Polus [personal Christian name, male] we can go (to the South) only if we know about their problem and a way to solve it.'

This utterance is an understatement since eventually, it is HN who, with his experience and knowledge about the customary laws as well as his knowledge about the current government regulations, helps solve the problem. Due to his status, HN is a perfect mediator since he is detached enough in the sense that he is not emotionally involved in the problem and is free enough to offer an impartial judgement. (12) is another example where no honorific is used and like the situation in (9), the reader might guess as to what kind of relationship HN has with respect to PM. Actually, HN and PM are second cousins and they are of about the same age and intimate with one another as well. If the situation were otherwise, HN would have to address PM with an honorific. Notice also that HN uses the pronoun kita 'we [inclusive]' to refer to himself and PM but in this case excluding all the other participants. Another clue about the relationship of HN and PM is the use of the verb naji which literally means 'to say' or 'to mean' but in this context it may very well mean 'to reprimand' since PM volunteered to invite HN to attend the meeting with the people who are not their relatives. Besides, PM knows full well that HN does not have enough information about the case especially, the "family-tree" of the disputants.

Nevertheless, HN is willing to help solve the problem and he even identifies himself with them and acts on their behalf in appealing to the village chief to consider their problem more wisely, when JD, the village chief, threatens to confiscate the land under dispute and make it a site for the village greens. Consider the following

(13) HN : bapa desa, dia na ja'o
 father village this POINTER I
vi mazi ghoa, diana.
 IRREALIS speak straight this
 'Sir, village chief, here I want to speak
 straight.'
 (The words bapa and desa are borrowed from
 Indonesian)

(14) HN : dia na masa me'a
 this POINTER all UNSPECIFIED NUM-
lau mai doa ja'o.
 BER East come cousin I
 'These people all sitting here [near to the
 East] are my cousins.'

(19) HN : ja'o punu ne'e miu.
 I tell with you-pl
 'I'm telling you.'

(20) HN : ja'o di da meri la'a
 I this REALIS CLASS/INTEN go/walk
utu vi zili.
 gather at down there
 'I'm the one who went to the conference [on
 clan-lands and land-ownership] at the capital
 of the province.'

(21) HN : na'e magha leva vali, bagi!
 don't think long again/more divide
 'You don't need to think longer, it's better to
 divide the land!'

Even though HN is higher in status, in age, and in rank in the government hierarchy than JD, he addresses JD with an honorific, which is the full title of a village chief. This is also an example of giving respect to the village chief since earlier one of the speakers, G, referred to him only by his name. To express his respect HN also uses the verb mazi 'to speak' or 'to discuss' and not verb naji like in (12). So far we have seen instances of the development of HN's relationship with the disputants as manifest in his utterances, that is, in (4) he addresses them with the pronoun miu 'you [plural]', in (6) with kita 'we [inclusive]', and now in (14) he refers to them as doa ja'o 'my cousins'. Putting himself as one of the disputants, HN not only lowers the tension among the people, but also strengthens the appeal to the village chief in order that their land not be confiscated. In return, the disputants respect him more and towards the end of the meeting G even offers HN a piece of land as a token of gratitude.

Now, having considered the parties to the dispute as 'cousins', HN is given the privilege to act more directly towards finding a solution to the problem. Notice how HN speaks directly to G in (15), (16), (17), (18), (19), (20) and (21).

(15) HN : 'ba'i molo, 'bila dia ja'o e tuku
 NEG fine like this I make longer
go e mazi go azi ja'o
 NON-HUM speak POSS younger sib I
buku.
Buku
 'Well fine, and now I want to add to what my
 younger brother Buku [personal name, male]
 was saying.'

(16) HN : dia na ja'o ngede.
 this POINTER I beg/ask for
 'I hereby beg you.'

(17) HN : kau Ga'e, kau ngara
 you-sg Ga'e you-sg COMP/more
ka'e.
 older-sibling
 'Ga'e, you are the oldest.' ('You are older
 than anybody else.')

(18) HN : kau da ngara ka'e, kau
 you-sg REAL COMP older-sib you-sg
bo'da ngara pado.
 must EMPHASIZER arrange
 'You are older and thus responsible for ar-
 ranging things in the house.'

As HN's involvement in the dispute becomes more intense, he feels appropriate to act on N's behalf in getting his share of the family land. HN literally begs for G's considerate judgement concerning N's claim as N needs a piece of land to work on. Notice that in (15) HN puts himself one more step closer to the disputants by putting B's remark in his discourse, that is, continuing what B was saying; and in addition, HN regards B as azi ja'o 'my younger brother'. HN also gives due respect to what B was saying by referring to his remark as mazi, that is, as 'discussion' or 'wise words'. B was in fact suggesting to his elder brother G to give a piece of land to N and thereby restore family unity. HN's remarks in (17) and (18) are interesting since here he switches his position to that of an elder brother of G and B and which, subsequently, gives him the right of an elder brother to speak strongly and even reprimand whenever necessary. HN is reminding G of his position as an elder brother who must think and act wisely towards the other members of the family and also of his responsibility for arranging things in the house, seeing to it that every member is well-off by giving them land to work on. HN addresses G only as kau 'you [singular]' without an honorific, which is acceptable only after asserting himself as an elder brother. In fact, HN could, if he wanted to, use his high social status to impose his views on G and B but he did not want to since it would only cause G and B to resent him. Notice also that even though HN is being harsh with G (and then comes to the climax in (21) where he literally and directly orders G to divide the land), he still gives due respect to G by acknowledging G's rights and responsibility as the eldest in the house; and thereby HN maintains his good relationship with G. In (19), (20), and (21) HN switches to his status as a government official; he is now telling them about the new regulations concerning clan-lands and land-ownership. HN uses the verb punu which literally means 'to tell' and which carries with it the force of an order implying that they had better pay due attention to him now since it is the government plan to take away all untitled lands and give them to those who do not own land. Furthermore, if G wants to keep all of the family lands then he is the only one responsible for paying taxes, while if the lands are divided among the family members then each of them will share that responsibility and not just G alone. HN is well-informed about these regulations since he was chosen to represent the regency of Nga'da in conference on customary laws concerning clan-lands at the capital of the province. It is understandable that HN has to switch to his position as a government official in order to make his point clear and strong, at the same time gaining credibility or what he is saying. These remarks eventually lead to the solution

of the problem about N's claim for a piece of land. As I pointed out before, HN is the best mediator since he is detached enough and yet due to his high status he may put himself as belonging to the in-group and suggest a solution that is acceptable to all. At his point in the conversation G agrees to give a piece of land to N and eventually the family breach is mended. They then go on to discuss whether or not to sue V concerning a dispute over land boundaries with T and Na.

It is worth nothing that in the course of the conversation, JD, the village chief, repeatedly quotes HN, putting him in his discourse. This seems to be an effective strategy of gaining credibility. Here are some examples :

(22) JD : 'ba?i, ree go ngata kaka
NEGation deny POSS he-resp older-sibling
hengki.
(borrowed fom Indonesian kakak) HN
'Well, nobody is to deny what [honorific] HN
is saying.' (Hengki is a nick-name, male)

(23) JD : ja?o tuku vali səzu go
I make long more/again talk POSS
kaka hengki.
older-sib HN
'I want to add to what [honorific] HN is saying.'

(24) JD : remo go ngata ka?e ja?o
fit POSS he-resp older-sib I
da 'danga səzu.
REALIS used to talk
'It fits in precisely with what my elder brother
[meaning HN] used to say.'

(25) JD : kami 'dano papa mazi kami
we-excl also RECIPROCAL speak we-cxcl
ka?e azi tau təlu.
older-sib younger-sib make three
'The three of us [JD, PM, and HN] have also
discussed the matter together as brothers.'

In (22) and (23) JD refers to HN as kaka which is a borrowing from Indonesian ka'kak meaning 'older sibling'. The word can be used as an honorific or an endearment term. In (23) and (24) JD refers to HN's remarks as səzu 'talk' or 'wise words', and to HN as ngata 'he/she' or 'they', in a respectful manner. JD could if he wanted to, refer to HN as gazi 'he/she' but he chooses the pronoun ngata to put HN in his respectful status. The relationship that JD has with PM, the former village chief, and HN is manifest in (25) where he quotes that the three of them 'discussed things together as brothers' that is, papa mazi. The expression papa mazi implies that the participants are on an equal basis in which every one is given the opportunity to give his views. The words ka?e and azi, like uge and mma, can be used as honorifics.

To sum up we can say that the participants of the conversation succeed in establishing, re-establishing, and maintaining good relationships among themselves and that every one of them is given the respect he deserves in the various positions each of them holds, and this not only minimizes the difference in social statuses, but also eases the way towards a solution of the dispute. This is an example of how language is used for tension release and for maintaining group solidarity as Hays (1973) puts it. At the end of the conversation G

even pretends that the conversation is only a play when he says

(26) G : 'bila kita ka?e azi sə voe,
like we-incl older-sib younger-sib one clan
kita da papa mazi 'degħa.
we-incl REALIS RECIPROCAL speak play
'Just like we all older and younger siblings of
one clan speak to one another as when we are
at play.'

Here G wants to make sure that all misunderstandings and bad feelings are eliminated because they are in fact members of one clan, and united, they will go to court to sue V concerning garden boundaries.

Finally, I want to add that the subjective points of view in defining relationships are manifest in the utterances of every participant throughout the conversation. To quote Benveniste (1971), "Language is possible only because each speaker sets himself up as a subject by referring to himself as 'I' in his discourse."¹⁰ In other words, it's 'I' that defines myself as "an ego" in relation to others and defines other people in relation to 'I'. While on the other hand, it is the society that defines my place in the "social map" as an individual according to age, caste, or social standing as the case stands in Nga'da culture. When people talk about "individuality" it seems to me, that in a culture like Nga'da where individuals are rigidly defined according to their respective statuses, the sense of "being individual" is most obvious.

The following is an attempt to display the core of the conversation in diagrams. Diagram 1 is a paradigm of personal pronouns, diagram 2 maps kinship terms used as honorifics or terms of address, paradigm 3 gives titles used as honorifics or terms of address, diagram 4 is a paradigm of verbs that mean 'to speak', and diagram 5 represents the interpersonal relationships of the participants.

Diagram 1: Personal Pronouns in Nga'da

	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
	CLOSE	DISTANT	
FIRST PERSON	ja?o	{kami [exclusive] gami kita [inclusive]}	CLOSE
SECOND PERSON	kau miu respectful	miu	DISTANT
THIRD PERSON	gazi ngata re-spectful	emu {emu xoga [respectful] emu sogu rivu (unknown 'people')}	

- Notes:
1. There is only one set of pronouns in Nga'da.
 2. To mark possession the POSSESSIVE PARTICLE go is stacked preceding the pronoun.
 3. The term exclusive is used to mean excluding the addressee, and inclusive means including the addressee.
 4. The word xoga or its variant sogu literally means 'young man'.

Diagram 2: Kinship Terms

Can be used as pronouns or honorifics	<u>bbu</u>	'grand-parent(s)'	also used reciprocally by grand-parent(s) and grandchildren, father and son, or mother and daughter to show respect or affection
	<u>mma</u>	'father'	
	<u>{ine uge</u>	'mother'	
	<u>{kaʔe kaka</u>	'older sibling'	
	<u>azi</u>	'younger sibling'	
Cannot be used as pronouns but only as honorifics.	<u>doa</u>	'cousin'	(kagak is borrowed from Indonesian)
	<u>bbunusi</u>	'ancestor(s)'	
	<u>ine veta</u>	'aunt' (father's sister(s)) ('veta' 'sister')	
	<u>ana saʔo</u>	'members of an "extended" family' (ana 'child' saʔo 'traditional house')	
	<u>ana voe</u>	'clan members' (voe 'clan')	

Diagram 3: Titles

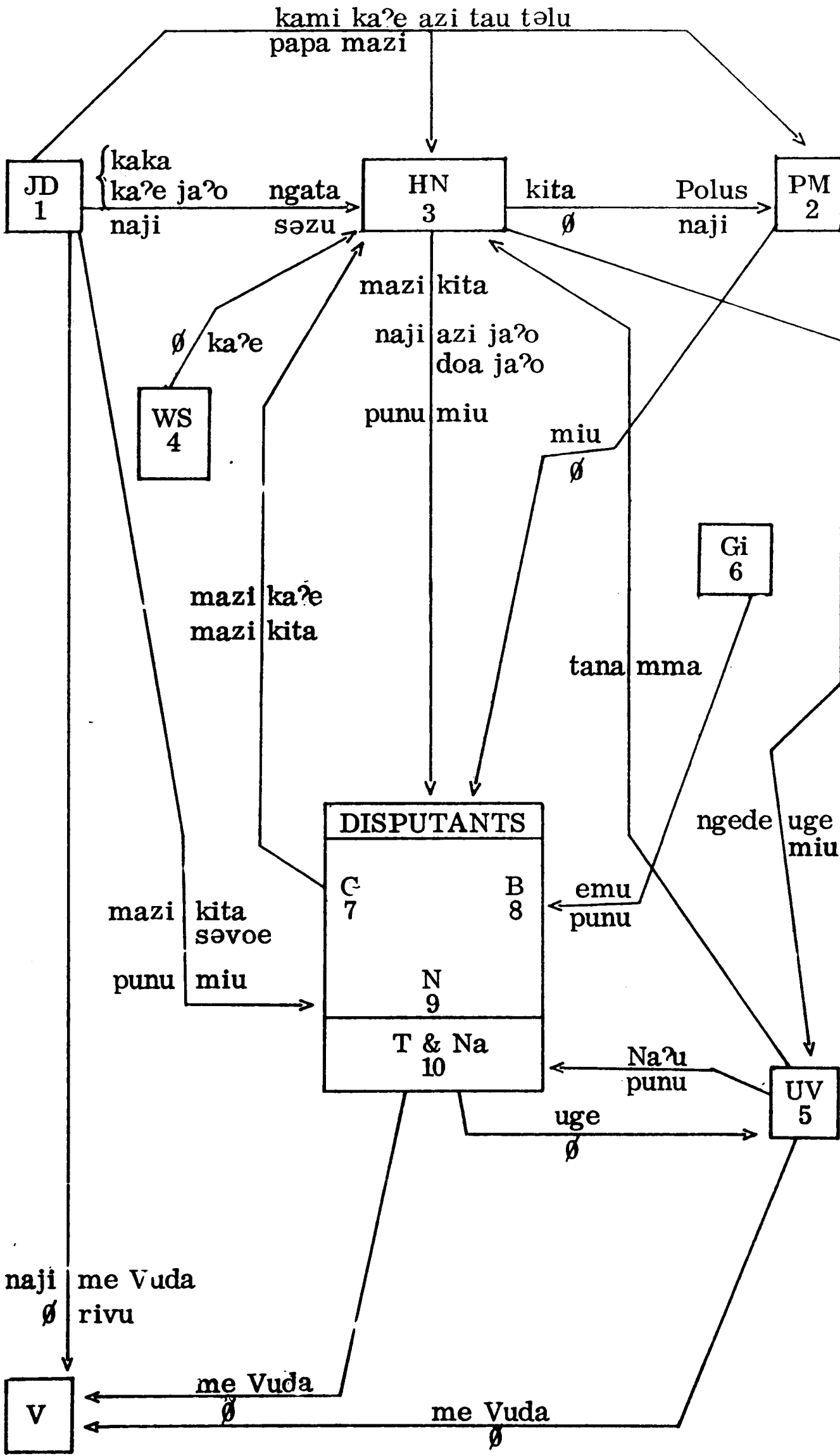
Used independently without personal name(s)	<u>bapa desa</u>	'village chief' (borrowed from Indonesian; <u>bapa</u> 'father', <u>desa</u> 'village')
	<u>kapala</u>	'chief' (borrowed from Indonesian <u>kepala</u> 'head')
	<u>kapala mere</u>	'village chief' (<u>mere/meze</u> 'big')
	<u>kapala camat</u>	'district chief' (<u>camat</u> 'district' is a borrowing from Indonesian)
Always used with personal name(s)	<u>me</u>	'intimate title for men'
	<u>ne</u>	'intimate title for women'
	<u>meo</u>	'intimate title for unfamiliar person(s)' (also used as a playful term of address to a familiar person)
	<u>ghili</u>	'friend' (may be used with or without personal name(s))

Diagram 4: The Verbs for 'to speak'

↑	4	<u>mazi</u>	to speak, to discuss
	3	<u>naji</u>	to say, to reprimand, or to mean [in general]
	2	<u>punu</u>	to tell, to relate
	1	<u>səzu</u>	to talk

Note: The higher in number the more intimate; the lower in number the more distant and respectful.

Diagram 5: The Interpersonal Relationships of the Participants



- Notes:
- Below and to the left of the arrow are the verbs for 'to speak'.
 - Over and to the right of the arrow are the pronouns, honorifics, title, or just name initials.
 - The nearer an item is to the originator (from which the arrow departs) the closer and more intimate the relationship.
 - Ø means no verb is present (where 'to speak' is understood).
 - The number next to name initials corresponds to the number given to each participant of the conversation by the end of section I (Introduction) of this paper.
 - V is not invited to the meeting but constantly mentioned in the conversation.
 - ngede means 'ask for' and tana means 'to ask' (like a question).

III. The uses of metaphors, metonymy, and words with uncommon meanings

As I mentioned in the introduction, metaphors are important in Nga'da culture since they can be used as a device to gain respect, credibility, and advantage over other people, likewise are the uses of metonymy and words with uncommon meanings. Moreover, metaphors and metonymies in Nga'da normally constitute the so-called "words of wisdom". They are stereotypic as well as formulaic and are handed down from generation to generation as a form of knowledge and are taught to children as a mnemonic device to aid memory. In this section I will quote some examples as used by several participants of the conversation and I hope to show that the person who has the highest status in this social interaction actually uses more metaphors, and metonymies in his discourse than the rest of the participants.

- (27) UV : napa dia ga'e milo vi pasa turi ja'o...
till this Ga'e Milo IRR marry write I
'Starting from the time that Ga'e Mi'o [personal name, male] married me ...'

To gain credibility for what she was saying concerning her knowledge about the "family-tree" of the disputants, the inheritance, and the land boundaries, UV presents her personal history and refers to her marriage to Ga'e Milo who was a distant relative of G, B, N, and T & Na. She explains that her marriage is a pasa turi, meaning her husband paid the dowry and took her into his family; consequently, she has some claim to the inheritance in the name of her late husband. UV was an outsider before the marriage but now she is a member of the "extended" family, and it follows that in this type of family meeting she has the right to speak and act as a witness to help solve the family problem. Some comment on marriage in Nga'da is necessary here. In Nga'da, if a man marries a woman and is not able to pay the dowry set by the bride's family, the marriage is called di'i sa'o (di'i 'to stay', sa'o 'traditional house') which means the man has to go and live with his wife's "extended" family. In the case of a di'i sa'o, a man does not have the rights of being the "head" of the family; instead, the woman (if she is "strong" enough) will be the "head" of the family, while the usual case is that the woman's brother(s) will act as head(s) of the family. If a marriage is a pasa turi, the man will bring his wife to live with his own ("extended") family and he is the head of the new ("nuclear") family. Certain complications may arise if the caste system is taken into account but I avoid discussing it in this paper. For the reader's information, I will just mention the castes, as existing in the past, since at the present moment the system is almost completely extinct. The three castes in Nga'da are: ga'e meze (ga'e 'respected', 'god'; meze 'great') which is the highest caste, ga'e kisa (kisa 'middle') is the middle caste, and azi ana (azi 'younger sibling', ana 'child') is the lower caste. For more information on castes, see Arndt (1954) Chapter II, pp. 321 - 343; and Chapter I, pp. 17-72.¹¹

- (28) WS : da mogo najigo jara
REALIS willing to stay say NON-HUM horse
da sapa kuru kana ghe.
REALIS graze grass/pasture that INTEN
'Like a horse that is willing to stay at the place where it grazes.'

WS is speaking on behalf of N who is claiming his share of the family land. WS is here comparing N to a horse that will never leave the pasture where it grazes if grass is plentiful. WS is trying to convince G and B that N will be willing to stay with or near the "extended" family and can be counted upon only if he is given a piece of land to work on, otherwise N will go away and will not feel tied to the family. It is clear that WS wants to strengthen his statement by using this metaphor.

- (29) G : dia kita le papa mazi
this we-incl ADV-MANN RECIP speak
mema kita dia moti ngia kita
true we-incl this at/together face we-incl
ka'e azi se voe.
older-sibling younger-sib one clan/herd
'Now we had better speak truthfully as we are gathered here face-to-face as older and younger siblings of one clan.'

The utterance is an appeal by G that everybody speak truthfully and that all should act as witnesses in the future to what is agreed on in this meeting. The expression ka'e azi can be rendered as "love one another", se voe means 'one clan' or 'one herd'; like a herd of cattle the family should stick together.

- (30) Gi : dia nale 'domi ngaku da mai
this Nale only INTENS REALIS come
go kuru da nguza molo
NON-HUM grass REALIS green attracted
vae da limo ...
water REALIS ample and forming a pool
'Nale [personal name, male or female] here only comes because the grass is green and the water is abundant ...'

Gi is being sarcastic to N and compares him to a horse that comes only because grass and water are abundant. It is to be noted that N married a girl from a remote village and used to live there for a while, but now he comes back since the conditions are much better at home.

At some point in the course of the conversation HN states that he does not want to be a witness to a family fight, to which B replies

- (31) B : vaki gami dia ka'e ne'e
body/TOPIC we-excl this older-sib with/and
azi.
younger-sib
'As for us, we are older and younger siblings.'

B makes it clear that this is a family meeting and nobody wants to have a fight. B's attitude towards the others is implied in the use of the word vaki which literally means 'body'; it reflects the idea that every one of them is a member of the same family and a descendant of the same "blood".

- (32) JD : kita bo'da punu pu'u bbu
we-incl must tell from grand-parent(s)
kita na'a dia na ...
we-incl keep this POINTER
'We must state and explain that our grand-parent(s) or great-grand-parent(s) begot this person and left the property to such-and-such a person ...'

JD wants the disputants to be clear about their positions in the kinship relationship. It is worth nothing that the word naʔa 'to keep' is here used with an uncommon meaning, that is, 'to beget'. In everyday conversation, the word naʔa is normally used to mean 'to keep' or 'to store'. In this type of family meeting the word punu also has a special meaning, that is, 'to invoke', whereby one invokes the ancestor(s) to be witnesses and this is the reason why everybody should speak only the truth.

- (33) JD : kita tau moli gha,
we-incl do/make finished PERF-ASPECT
gazi koʔo mu le seghe
he/she still INTEN ADV-MANNER put/bend
buri təto meda.
buttock and then/CONJUNCTION sit in relaxation
'We have already dug the garden, then he just
claims it and sits and relaxes without doing
anything.'

JD is talking about V, who starts the dispute over garden boundaries with T and Na. JD uses a sarcastic expression to refer to V's dishonesty, that is, V waits until others have dug the garden and prepared it for planting before claiming that the garden is his and so saves himself the hard labor. seghe buri is an expression used ordinarily to refer to a lazy person who just sits and never works.

In (34) JD is quoting HN putting him in his discourse. This is a strategy to make one's statement more credible.

- (34) JD : kaʔe jaʔo naji neʔe uri təngu
older-sib I say with range/line neck
ngata 'baghi ngia.
he/she-resp each place/face
'My elder brother [meaning HN] says every-
body has his own range of the neck.'

This utterance is to be taken as meaning 'everybody has his own strength and should be responsible for himself'. JD makes this remark in relation to HN's suggestion to divide the family land in order that every one of the family is responsible to pay taxes on his share.

- (35) JD : ngalu kau gaʔe, neʔe ngalu kau gaʔe.
share you-sg Gaʔe with share you-sg Gaʔe
'You, Gaʔe, have your place in the family a-
long with your share of the inheritance.'

ngalu literally means 'share' but in Nga'da tradition one's share is defined by his place within the 'family-tree'; so the word can be rendered as 'a node' in the 'family-tree'. In everyday conversation, the word ngalu is used to mean 'first' like in ana ngalu 'the eldest child', or to refer to person(s) who are giving a feast as in mori ngalu (mori 'owner'). JD's remark also implies that nobody is to meddle with someone else's share, in this particular case N's share of the family land, because that might bring about disputes.

- (36) JD : napa mali rivu da miri, kita
till when/if people REALIS push we-incl
ghagha utu 'bou.
then gather pile
'Only when an outsider [meaning V] tries to
push us, then we will stand together.'

This remark is made in relation to the question as to either divide the land among family members, or keep it under one name. JD is suggesting that it would be wise to divide the land and to consider it as one family land only when one of the family members has a dispute with another person who does not belong to the family. In the case of going to court to sue V, they all should go and bear witness that the land is their family land and not just T and Na's problem. The word miri literally means 'to shove with one's shoulder' and is used here to mean 'try to take away somebody else's property'. While utu 'bou is an expression meaning 'to stand together and help one another'.

- (37) JD : miu vi lengi bədi neʔe pamareta,
you-pl IRR lubricate gun with government
miu da mə'bo.
you-pl REAL crumble
'If you want to wage war against the govern-
ment [meaning 'the government regulations'],
you will be crushed.' (The word pamareta is
borrowed from Indonesian pemerintah 'ruler'
or 'government'.)

Here JD is reminding the disputants that it is of no use fighting government regulations concerning taxes and land ownership as HN has clearly explained that the government will take away untitled lands and give them to those who need land but do not own any. lengi bədi 'lubricate gun' is a metonymy referring to a preparation for a war or actually waging war. mə'bo 'to break into small pieces' is a metaphor derived from the decay or disintegration of wood, bamboo, or stone.

- (38) HN : jaʔo naji mali da vi utu ulu
I say in RELATER IRR gather head
kəna, jaʔo ngee.
that I can
'I said, if it was just to have a meeting, I
could come.'

HN is here explaining about accepting the invitation to attend the family meeting. The expression utu ulu 'gather head(s)' is to be interpreted as 'to meet and exchange ideas'. The metaphor is derived from piling corn in groups of forty as ulu also means 'a group of forty' normally used when counting corn on the cobs or coconuts.

- (39) HN : meʔa mma kita ngata kaa
UNSPEC-NUM father we-incl they-resp eat
də le papa rebu, inu
REALIS ADV-MANN RECIP snatch/rob drink
papa resi.
RECIPROCAL leave food or drink
'Our fathers used to eat together from one
plate and drink from the same cup, one leaving
some amount for the other.'

HN is reminding the disputants of their ancestors who lived in peace and helped one another. The ancestors were never selfish as they shared food and drink. The expressions kaa də le papa rebu and inu papa resi figuratively mean 'love one another as brothers and sisters'. HN is, in fact, asking G to give N a piece of land since he (G) already has enough.

- (40) HN : vəki kau gaʔe, kau da
body/TOPIC you-sg Gaʔe you-sg REALIS

di?i sa?o.

stay traditional house

'As for you Ga?e, you got married and went to live with your wife's "extended" family.'

G's marriage is a di?i sa?o either because he could not pay the dowry or the bride's family did not want to accept the dowry. In this remark HN is reminding G of his position in the family; G now lives with his wife's family which means his children will one day inherit some land from his wife's side. HN is, in point of fact, asking G as to why he does not give a piece of land to N whose only sources are in this family.

- (41) HN : so?o da meze paba lima gho, bagi
even RELATER big palm hand TAG divide
supaya dago 'baghi ngia.
so that strong each place
'Even though one only gets as large as one's palm, please divide the land so that everybody takes the responsibility of his share.' (supaya is a borrowing from Indonesian)

HN is reminding G of future problems if he insists on keeping all the family land since that means he will be responsible for paying all the taxes; while, if the land is divided among family members, every one of them will share the burden. paba lima is to be interpreted as "however small", it is meaningful as one gets his share of the inheritance.

- (42) HN : kita ko?e sala bani ne?e ngata
we-incl still/before INTEN brave with they-
rivu ulu zale kisa nata,
resp people to/head South/below middle betel/
bo'da kita ghami kita
center of village must we-incl ready we-incl
ulu zeta one sa?o.
to/head up inside house
'Before we go out into the center of the village to fight other people meaning V, we must be ready and united first as members of one family.'

HN is advising the disputants to settle their problem with N first before going to court to sue V as they will appear strong as a family. kisa nata literally means 'in the center of the village', but here it must be taken to mean "in public" or "in court". one sa?o literally means 'inside the traditional house' but HN is using this expression to refer to members of the "extended" family which consists of several immediate families who, in the past (as it is not fashionable any more with the present generation), used to live in one big traditional house. one sa?o ordinarily refers to 'the house proper' in which members of the family live and in which important meetings pertaining to the family affairs are held. Guests are received in the tada 'veranda'.

- (43) HN : 'bila dia kita naji vanga to?o
like this we-incl say IRR-want/will get-up
la?a moedia na, kita bo'da mogo
go/walk like this POIN we-incl must together
sə ate kole.
one liver in the first place
'Now that we have decided to go [to court against V], we must settle our disputes first.'

HN repeatedly stresses the idea of family unity because of its importance and usefulness in resolving family disputes. to?o la?a literally means 'to get up and go' but, with respect to the case at hand, the expression means 'to make ready for litigation against V'. mogo sə ate 'having one liver' is to be rendered as 'being in agreement with one another'.

- (44) HN : kita kago one sa?o;
we-incl drive into a flock inside traditional
ngia ma?e nuu, pasu ma?e
house face don't smoke/frown cheek don't
nau.
droop
'We have to stick together like a herd of cattle and we must not frown upon or look down upon one another in our family.'

The notion of family unity is here reiterated by HN implying that outsiders may read what is in their hearts. The expression in their faces will tell the public that there is a resentment against one another in their family. Ultimately, HN wants the disputants to settle their dispute once and for all and that they love one another as brothers and sisters. kago literally means 'to drive a flock of sheep together', that is, not letting even one go astray. This is apparently an appeal to welcome N back into the family.

To sum up we can say that it is obvious that metaphors, metonymies, as well as words with uncommon meanings can be used as a device to gain credibility, respect, and advantage. In this particular study the advantage is the mending of the breach among members of an "extended" family. To support my claim that a person having a high social status tends to use more metaphors I did some counting and the result shows that HN uses the most metaphors and is second only by JD, the village chief. Interestingly enough, HN and JD have naturally become the center of attention to whom the disputants look for advice and help in resolving the family dispute.

IV. Conclusion

This short study concerning the interpersonal relationships in Nga'da is not exhaustive, and the present paper serves as a partial contribution to the study of pragmatics as a means of investigating human interaction. I should acknowledge that my subjective point of view may have crept into the analysis since I personally know most of the persons involved in the conversation. However, as Pike puts it, "The observer adds part of himself to the data that he looks at or listens to".¹²

University of Michigan
Ann Arbor, June 22, 1978

NOTES

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1. Nga'da is a language spoken in the West-Central part of the island of Flores, Indonesia by an ethnic group also called Nga'da. For the reader's information, the following are the phonemes of Nga'da and the orthography as used in the present paper.

The phonemes:

Consonants:

m	n	ŋ
b	d	g
ɸ	ɗ	
p	t	k
		ʔ
v	z	ʃ
f	s	x
	j	
	r	
	l	

Vowels:

i		u
e	ə	o
	a	

For practical purposes the phonemes are orthographically represented as

<u>m</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>ng</u>		<u>i</u>		<u>u</u>
<u>b</u>	<u>d</u>	<u>g</u>		<u>e</u>	<u>ə</u>	<u>o</u>
<u>ɸ</u>	<u>ɗ</u>				<u>a</u>	
<u>p</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>k</u>				
			ʔ			
<u>v</u>	<u>z</u>	<u>gh</u>				
<u>f</u>	<u>s</u>	<u>x</u>				
	<u>j</u>					
	<u>r</u>					
	<u>l</u>					

For further information about the phonology of Nga'da, see Djawanai (1977).

2. I am indebted to A. L. Becker for drawing my attention to C. Linde's idea.

3. See Arndt (1954) Chapter V, Section II, pp. 501- 543 (Strafrecht)

4. See Arndt (1954) Introduction, p. 7. (Land - Leute - Forschung)

5. Indonesia operates under the constitutional laws of the country, and the customary laws. The customary laws are uncodified and based on tradition, and vary from area to area. For further information see Arndt (1954) Chapter V, pp. 471 - 543 (Rechtswesen).

6. The hierarchy in the government of The Republic of Indonesia is:

1. The central government (Pemerintah Pusat)
2. The provinces (Propinsi); a province comprises several regencies.
3. The regencies (Kabupaten); a regency comprises several districts.
4. The districts (Kecamatan); a district comprises several villages.
5. The villages (Desa or Kampung).

The hierarchies starting from the districts down may vary from area to area (rural or urban).

7. The most common property bequeathed is land but very often cattle and gold are inherited.

8. The Nga'da villages are relatively small. The largest town, Bajawa, has a population of about 1000 people.

9. Explanation on abbreviations used for the glosses of Nga'da words:

ADV-MANN(ER) - adverb of manner

ATT-PART

- attitude particle used to mark the attitude of the speaker (insisting or encouraging)

CLASS

- classifier; normally used with numerals in counting things, animals, or human beings.

COM

- comparative form

CONJUNCTION

- conjunction

excl

- exclusive (excluding the addressee)

incl

- inclusive (including the addressee)

INTEN

- intensifier word or particle

IRR(EALIS)

- irrealis marker; marking an intention, plan, condition, or futurity.

NEG

- negation

NON-HUM(AN)

- non human object marker

PERF-ASP

- perfective aspect marker

POIN(TER)

- pointer particle

pl

- plural

POSS(ESSIVE)

- possessive marker

REAL(IS)

- realis marker (as opposed to irrealis) marking that an action or event really happens, happened, or referring to a definite plan.

RECIP(ROCAL)

- reciprocal

RELATER

- predicative relater

resp

- respectful

sg

- singular

sib(ling)

- sibling (brother(s) and/or sister(s))

TAG

- question tag

TOPIC

- topic marker

UNSPEC-NUM(BER)

- unspecified number marking a group of individuals

int-title

- intimate title used as honorific

10. See Benveniste (1971), Problems in General Linguistics, Chapter 21, pp. 224 - 225 (Subjectivity in Language)

11. Arndt (1954) Chapter II, Section IV (Die Rangklassen innerhalb der Klane); Chapter I, Section I (Heirat und Eheleben).

12. See Pike (1972), "Beyond The Sentence", in Selected Writings of Kenneth L. Pike, p. 192.

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APPENDIX

The dialogue in Nga'da (the first three minutes of the conversation)

- | | | | |
|----------------------|--|----|--|
| Unidentified Speaker | 1. ?ini kita mau tanya ...
this we-incl want ask
(The words are all borrowed from Indonesian)
'Now let's ask ...' | G | 10. oje na?u
Oje Na?u |
| JD | 2. na?u pegho ne?e na ..., na?u pegho ne?e
Na?u Pegho and Na ... Na?u Pegho and
langa pegho na vi ... mogo; ?io ?
Langa Pegho POIN IRR together TAG
'Na?u Pegho and Langa Pegho are related, right?' | JD | 11. miu vi dau dau na, vi na?a
you-pl IRR nowdays POIN IRR keep/beget/
sei ?
bequeath who
'But who begot you' ('Whose place do you keep?', or 'Who bequeathed the property to you?') |
| G | 3. e?e ngata ka?e ne?e azi.
yes they-resp older-sib and younger-sib
'Yes, they were siblings (sisters).' | B | 12. na?a gami di.
keep we-excl this
'They begot us here.' |
| N | 4. ka?e ne?e azi.
older-sib and younger-sib | G | 13. e?e moli ... 'ba?i vø ... na?u pegho ne?e
yes finished NEG IRR Na?u Pegho and
langa pegho vønga na?a oje na?u.
Langa Pegho IRR/would keep Oje Na?u
'Yes, well ... Na?u Pegho and Langa Pegho
begot Oje Na?u.' |
| Unident. S. | 5. ka?e azi. | | 14. oje na?u vønga na?a gami dia
Oje Na?u IRR/will keep/beget we-excl this
na.
POIN
'Oje Na?u then begot us here.' |
| JD | 6. ka?e ne?e azi ?artinya kəna
older-sib and younger-sib meaning that
vi ngia mogo sə ngalu na.
IRR place together one share POINTER
(artinya is borrowed from Indonesian)
'They were siblings mean they shared the inheritance.' | JD | 15. miu na utu da denge miu ...,
you-pl POIN gather REAL listen you-pl
miu kəna vøki ga?e na
that/there body/TOPIC Ga?e POIN
so?o ?
TAG
'You are here gathered to listen to G,
right?' |
| G | 7. e?e
yes | | 16. ne?e sei sei so?o ?
and who who TAG
'Or who else?' |
| Unident. S. | 8. m?m
yes | | |
| JD | 9. miu vi na?a ngia
you-pl IRR keep/beget/bequeath place
sei di ?
who this
'Who begot you then?' | | |

17. kita bo'da punu pu'ʔu bbu
 we-incl must tell from grand-parent
kita na'ʔa diana
 we-incl keep/beget/bequeath this-POIN
diana, diana diana; diana na'ʔa diana.
 'We must relate the kinship relationship
 starting from our fore-fathers; such-and-
 such a person begot this person and left
 his property to such-and-such a person,
 and so forth.'
- B 18. vəki gami dia ka'ʔe ne'ʔe
 body/TOPIC we-excl this older-sib and
azi də le ...
 younger-sib REAL ADV-MANN
 'As for us, we are in fact siblings (related).'
- JD 19. a ... di lau mai də ... miu də də ...
 this East come you-pl
də lange ne'ʔe go sei go sei
 REALIS adjacent with POSS who POSS who
diana ?
 this-POIN
 'Now near to the East, whose garden is
 adjacent to yours?'
- G 20. də lange zili vəna na, vi
 REAL adjacent down bottom POIN IRR
go uge 'done; uge 'done roja.
 POSS mother 'Done mother 'Done Roja
 'The boundary at the bottom is adjacent to
 [honorific] 'Done Roja's garden.'
21. kasa lau go e go sina meo;
 side East POSS POSS Sina Meo
sina meo 'diu.
 Sina Meo 'Diu
 'To the East is Sina Meo 'Diu's garden.'
- JD 22. sina meo ... ?
 'Sina Meo who?'
- G 23. sina meo 'diu.
 'Sina who is Meo's son and in turn is 'Diu's
 daughter.' ('Diu is Sina's grand mother,
 while Meo is Sina's mother.')
24. moli kəna zili au gə vaija selo,
 finished that down under POSS Vaija Selo
selo ngeko na.
 Selo Ngeko POIN
 'Now, lower down is Vaija Selo's garden.'
25. a ... kasa lau iju meo
 side East Iju Meo
 'On the East side is Iju Meo's garden.'
26. iju meo, moli kəna eta mai vavo,
 finished that up come over
go java lengi
 POSS Java Lengi
 'And next, above is Java Lengi's garden.'
27. java lengi, moli kəna fale lau ...
 finished that side East

'And then to the East ...'

- N 28. kasa lau
 side East
- G 29. kasa lau, moli kəna eta mai vavo,
 finished that up come over
kənana go ja ... go go sina meo
 that-POIN POSS POSS
'dano; sina meo 'diu 'dano.
 also
 'To the East and then above is also Sina
Meo 'Diu's garden.'
- B 30. zeta vavo go e ... go sile nga'da.
 up over POSS Sile Nga'da
 'Above it is Sile Nga'da's garden.'
31. zeta ulu go sile nga'da.
 up head
- Interrupt. (not clear)
- G 32. sile nga'da vənga na'ʔa uge vua
 IRR-will keep mother Vua
diana
 this-POIN
 'Sile Nga'da then begot mother [honorific]
Vua here.'
- N interrupt's (not clear)
- PM 33. dere ghe'ʔe; ma'ʔe kəsa!
 wait please don't add
 'Wait until he finishes what he's saying,
 and please don't interrupt!'
- HN 34. molo, molo gha ...
 fine fine PERF-ASP
 'That's fine ...'
- G 35. sile nga'da vənga na'ʔa uge vua
 Sile Nga'da IRR-will keep mother Vua
diana.
 this-POIN
- HN 36. molo gha, miu mu mazi.
 fine PERF-ASP you-pl ATT speak
 'That's fine, you all may speak.'
- Unident. S. 37. 'ba'ʔi ... papa rebu 'ba'ʔi
 NEG RECIP snatch/take/rob NEG
apa apa.
 what
 'It's fine to interrupt and fight for turns at
 talking.'
- N 38. vəki fale zale ...
 TOPIC side South
 'As to the South of ...'
- B 39. kəna lange ne'ʔe vuda kəna
 that/there adjacent with Vuda that/there
lau mai nətu alo na ...
 East come along ditch POIN
 'There is the boundary next to Vuda's

- garden right along the ditch there.'
- JD 40. kənana miu mədu papa rebu
that-POIN you-pl NEG RECIP take
go ngora; 'domi tange go
NON-HUM garden only fight NON-HUM
lange.
boundary
'Now it looks like you are not fighting for
possession of a certain garden but you are
disputing about boundaries.'
- Unident. S. 41. dia papa tange go lange.
this/here RECIP fight NON-HUM boundary
'We are having a dispute over land bound-
aries.'
- JD 42. yang paleng pənting
RELAT most/SUPERLATIVE important
miu 'bee ne?e orang-orang yang
you-pl summon with people RELAT
cukup kənal ... e pu?u vunga da tau
enough know from first REAL do
ghe?e, ?io ka?e ?
please TAG older-sib
'The most important thing for you to do is
summon all those who know enough about
who first tilled the land, right[honorif-
ic?]' (The words yang, paling, penting,
orang, cukup, kenal, are borrowed from
Indonesian)
- HN 43. e?e
yes
- JD 44. pu?u vunga da tau vi lange ne?e
from first REAL do IRR adjacent with
sei ne?e go sei.
who with POSS who
'When you first dug the garden who worked
near you.'
45. vi zele na?a ... lange ne?e sei da
at West keep boundary with who REAL
tau gha na?
do PERF-ASP POIN
'Who worked in the garden to the West of
yours?'
46. emu me vuda ro'baze?e vəngizua
they int-title Vuda tomorrow the day-af-
mu mali naji vi da
ter-tomorrow ATT if say IRR REAL
tau na, lange ne?e sei ne?e sei?
do POIN boundary with who
'In the future Vuda (and his party) should
also name their witnesses if they claim the
garden.'
- HN 47. moc diana ga?e, ja?o mazi ne?e
like this-POIN Ga?e I speak with
kau.
you-sg
'Now this is the way Ga?e, I'm speaking
with you.'
- HN 48. 'bee masa masa ne?e o ...
summon all with
'Please summon all of ...'
- JD 49. ne?e beli.
with witness
- HN 50. ne?e beli kita na.
with witness we-incl POIN
'Our witnesses.'
51. pu?u təve kəna da tau, pu?u xiva
from time that REAL do from year
kənana lami tau na ... uma
that-POINTER we-excl do POIN garden
diana.
this-POIN
'At that time, in that year, we worked on
this garden.'
52. dia lange ' ne?e kənana; kəna tau
this adjacent with that-POIN that do
ne?e kənana.
with that-POIN
'Our garden here is adjacent to that one,
and that person worked together with such-
and-such a person.'
53. zeta ulu ne?e sei; zili vəna ne?e sei;
up head with who down bottom
zale ghəve ne?e sei; ulu məna ne?e sei?
South slope to/head North
'who worked or owned the garden above,
at the bottom, to the South slope, and to
the North of you?'
54. supaya ro'baze?e vəngizua
so that tomorrow the day-after-tomorrow
na, kəna vi tau go e beli
POIN that IRR do NON-HUM witness
kita na.
we-incl POIN
'So that in the future they could act as our
witnesses.' (supaya is borrowed from In-
donesian)
- Notes: 1. Lines connecting two or more speakers mark that
the speakers talk simultaneously.
2. I mark the Indonesian words used here as bor-
rowings but most likely the speakers just switch
from Nga'da to Indonesian and back.

* * *